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VARIORUM COLLECTED STUDIES SERIES

Sicily and the Mediterranean in the Middle Ages

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Sicily and the Mediterranean in the Middle Ages

Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group
LONDON AND NEW YORK

First published 2019
by Routledge
2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN

and by Routledge
52 Vanderbilt Avenue, New York, NY 10017

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

British Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data
A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data
A catalog record for this book has been requested

ISBN: 978-1-138-49619-4 (hbk)
ISBN: 978-1-351-02230-9 (ebk)

Typeset in Times New Roman
by Apex CoVantage, LLC

VARIORUM COLLECTED STUDIES SERIES CS1076

TO YOSHIKO

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PREFACE

This book is a collection of reprinted essays devoted to the study of Sicily and the Mediterranean in the Middle Ages, a crossroads of Latin-Christian, Greek-Byzantine and Arab-Islamic cultures. The papers included here were published in English between 1985 and 2017. Of the twenty papers and reviews (chapters and appendixes), eighteen are reprinted here as originally published, with a few minor corrections and modifications. In Chapter 1 I have added English translations to most of the Latin and Greek texts quoted. These English translations were not included in the original article. In Chapter 12 I have removed all Japanese and Chinese characters from the text and notes, and attached an appendix of Chinese texts quoted.

The range of the papers extends from Norman administration to multi-cultural elements at the royal court, confrontation of powers (kings, nobles, bureaucrats and cities), religious tolerance, Frederick II's crusade (Christian-Muslim diplomacy), migrations and classification of villeins. In a series of papers on the administrative structure of the Norman Kingdom of Sicily, I have engaged in major debates with other scholars in the field based on analysis of Latin, Greek and Arabic documents as well as multilingual parchments. These works would give insight into how the Norman rulers successfully governed multi-cultural people in Sicily and South Italy.

The special position of medieval Sicily and the Mediterranean, bordered by the Latin, Greek and Islamic cultural zones, makes possible the analysis of the three different cultural elements within the same context and offers a valuable and rare vantage point to grasp the picture of a larger geographical unity in which the three different cultures interacted. I hope this book will reveal various aspects of cross-cultural activities in medieval Sicily and the Mediterranean, as well as the historical relationship between Christians and Muslims, and thus help us understand the globalizing world in which people with different religions, languages and cultures interact more intensely than ever.

For the publication of this book, I would like particularly to thank Professor David Abulafia of Cambridge University and Professor Anna Abulafia of Oxford University who gave me valuable suggestions, advice, encouragement and recommendations. I would also like to express my gratitude to my supervisors, Professor

Kōichi Kabayama, Professor Takeshi Kido and Professor Tsugitaka Satō (†) at the University of Tokyo; Professor John Boswell (†), Professor Robert Stacey and Professor Harry Miskimin (†) at Yale University; and those scholars who gave me their valuable advice and encouragement, especially Professor Kenneth M. Setton (†), Professor Giles Constable, Professor David J. Herlihy (†), Professor Robert I. Burns (†), Professor Norbert Kamp (†), Professor Elizabeth A. R. Brown, Professor Peter Herde, Dr. Susan Reynolds, Professor Pierre Toubert, Professor Shōsaburō Kimura, Professor Sadao Itō, Professor Henri Bresc, Dr. Jean-Marie Martin, Professor Giovanni Maniscalco Basile (†), Professor Masanori Aoyagi, Professor Jean-Philippe Genet, Professor Lester K. Little, Professor Shōichi Satō, Professor Jean-Claude Schmitt, Professor Kazuhiko Kondō, Professor Hubert Houben, Professor Horst Enzensberger, Professor Patrick J. Geary, Professor Errico Cuozzo, Professor Michael Borgolte, Professor Katsumi Fukasawa, Professor Pietro Corrao, Professor Jeremy Johns, Professor Graham Loud, Professor Lucia Travaini, Professor Shunichi Ikegami and Professor Claudia Rapp. For the preparation of the manuscript, I am grateful to my graduate students, especially Daiki Sano, Shinichi Kubo, Takanori Shibata, Wataru Yanada and Andrea A. Tanosaki.

I should like to dedicate this book to my wife Yoshiko Takayama.

Hiroshi Takayama
The University of Tokyo
14 February 2019

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to thank the following persons, editors, publishers and organizations for permission to reprint the articles as the chapters of this book: Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies (UCLA) for Chapter 1; Oxford University Press for Chapters 2, 9 and Appendix III–3; Cambridge University Press for Chapter 3; Anton Hiersemann KG. Verlag (Stuttgart) for Chapter 4; Professor Cosimo Damiano Fonseca (editor) for Chapter 5; Dr. Maria Stuiber (editor) and University of Bamberg Press for Chapter 6; Professor Susan O. Shapiro (editor of *Mediterranean Studies*) for Chapter 7; Viella Libreria Editrice for Chapter 8; Dr. Vivian Prigent (editor) and Professor Constantin Zuckerman (Managing Director of ACHCByz) for Chapter 10; Taylor & Francis for Chapter 11 and Appendix II–2; De Gruyter for Chapter 12; Professor Shōichi Satō (editor of *Spicilegium*) for Chapter 13; Professor Nobuaki Kondō (editor-in-chief, Japan Association for Middle East Studies) for Appendix I–1; Professor Yasuhiro Ōtsuki (editor of *Mediterranean World*) for Appendix I–2; Professor Kazuhiko Kondō (editor) for Appendix II–1; and Medieval Academy of America for Appendix III–1 and Appendix III–2.

The articles and reviews included in this book first appeared in the following publications:

Chapter 1 in *Viator*, vol. 16 (1985), pp. 129–157.
Chapter 2 in *English Historical Review*, vol. 104 (1989), pp. 357–372.
Chapter 3 in *Papers of the British School at Rome*, vol. 58 (1990), pp. 317–335.
Chapter 4 in *Forschungen zur Reichs-, Papst- und Landesgeschichte*, eds. K. Borchardt and E. Bunz, 2 vols. (Stuttgart, Anton Hiersemann, 1998), vol. 1, pp. 133–144.
Chapter 5 in *Mezzogiorno – Federico II – Mezzogiorno*, ed. Cosimo D. Fonseca, 2 vols. (Rome, Editore De Luca, 2000), vol. 1, pp. 61–78.
Chapter 6 in *Bausteine zur deutschen und italienischen Geschichte. Festschrift zum 70. Geburtstag von Horst Enzensberger*, ed. Maria Stuiber and Michele Spadaccini (Bamberg, University of Bamberg Press, 2014), pp. 413–431.
Chapter 7 in *Mediterranean Studies*, vol. 12 (2003), pp. 1–15.

Chapter 8 in *Città e vita cittadina nei Paesi dell'area mediterranea: secoli XI–XV, Atti del Convegno Internazionale in onore di Salvatore Tramontana*, ed. B. Saitta (Rome, Viella, 2006), pp. 541–552.

Chapter 9 in *Italy in the Central Middle Ages*, ed. David Abulafia (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2004), pp. 58–81, 257–260.

Chapter 10 in *Puer Apuliae. Mélanges offerts à Jean-Marie Martin*, ed. E. Cuozzo, V. Déroche, A. Peters-Custot and V. Prigent, 2 vols. (Paris, Centre de Recherche d'Histoire et Civilisation de Byzance, 2009), vol. 1, pp. 451–464.

Chapter 11 in *Mediterranean Historical Review*, vol. 25-2 (2010), pp. 169–185.

Chapter 12 in *Europa im Geflecht der Welt: Mittelalterliche Migrationen in globalen Bezügen*, ed. M. Borgolte et al. (Berlin, Akademie Verlag, 2012), pp. 217–229.

Chapter 13 in *Spicilegium*, vol. 1 (2017), pp. 3–16.

Appendix I–1 in *Annals of Japan Association for Middle East Studies (AJAMES)*, vol. 7 (1992), pp. 427–443.

Appendix I–2 in *Mediterranean World*, vol. 13 (1992), pp. 21–30.

Appendix II–1 in *Proceeding of the Fourth Anglo-Japanese Conference of Historians 2003*, ed. Kazuhiko Kondo (Tokyo, 2003), pp. 27–36.

Appendix II–2 in *Journal of Medieval History*, vol. 21 (1995), pp. 167–193.

Appendix III–1 in *Speculum*, vol. 62 (1987), pp. 704–706.

Appendix III–2 in *Speculum*, vol. 81 (2005), pp. 1267–1268.

Appendix III–3 in *English Historical Review*, vol. 128 (2013), pp. 645–647.

ABBREVIATIONS

Only unusual abbreviations or those cited very frequently are listed here. Other abbreviations will be easily recognized through the Bibliography.

Appendix I and the Bibliography have different abbreviation systems, which are shown at their beginnings.

Amari, *Biblioteca, testo arabo*: Michele Amari, ed., *Biblioteca arabo-sicula ossia Raccolta di testi arabici che toccano la geografia, la storia, le biografie e la bibliografia della Sicilia*, Leipzig 1857.

Amari, *Biblioteca, versione italiana*: Michele Amari, ed. and trans., *Biblioteca arabo-sicula, versione italiana*, 2 vols., Turin/Rome 1880–1881.

Amari, *Storia dei Musulmani*: Michele Amari, *Storia dei Musulmani di Sicilia*, 2nd ed. Carlo Alfonso Nallino, 3 vols., Catania 1933–1939.

Amari, "Su la data": "Su la data degli sponsali di Arrigo VI con la Costanza erede del trono di Sicilia, e su i *divani* dell'azienda normanna in Palermo. Lettera del dottor O. HARTWIG e Memoria del Socio Amari," *Atti della R. Accademia dei Lincei*, anno 275 (1877–1878), serie 3, Memorie della classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche, vol. 2 (1878), pp. 409–438.

Amatus: Amatus Casinensis, *Storia de' Normanni di Amato di Montecassino*, ed. Vincenzo de Bartholomaeis, Rome 1935 (Fonti per la storia d'Italia pubblicate dall'Istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo, vol. 76).

API: *Archivio paleografico italiano*, Rome 1882–.

Brühl: Carlrichard Brühl, *Urkunden und Kanzlei König Rogers II. von Sizilien*, Köln 1978.

Collura: Paolo Collura, *Le più antiche carte dell'archivio capitolare di Agrigento (1092–1282)*, Palermo 1961 (Documenti per servire alla storia di Sicilia, serie 1, vol. 25).

Constantiae: *Constantiae imperatricis et reginae siciliae diplomata*, ed. Theo Kölzer, Köln 1983. (Codex diplomaticus regni siciliae, Series secunda: Diplomata regum egente suevorum, vol. I–2).

Cusa: Salvatore Cusa, *I diplomi greci ed arabi di Sicilia pubblicati nel testo original*, vol. 1 (2 parts), Palermo 1868–1882.

Delaborde: Henri-François Delaborde, *Chartes de Terre-Sainte, provenant de l'abbaye de Notre-Dame de Josaphat*, Paris 1880 (Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, vol. 19).

Del Giudice: Giuseppe del Giudice, *Codice diplomatico del Regno di Carlo I e II d'Angiò*, Naples 1863.

Delisle, *RHF*, vol. 24: Léopold Delisle, "Chronologie des baillis et des sénéchaux royaux depuis les origines jusqu'à l'avènement de Phillipe de Valois," *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*, ed. Martin Bouquet et al., 24 vols. (Paris, 1738–1904), vol. 24 (1904), pp. *15–270*.

Falcandus, "Epistola": Hugo Falcandus, "Epistola ad Petrum Panormitane ecclesie thesaurarium de calamitate Sicilie," Giovanni B. Siragusa, ed., *La historia o Liber de Regno Sicilie e la epistola ad Petrum Panormitane ecclesie thesaurarium di Ugo Falcando*, Rome 1897, pp. 167–186.

Falcandus, *Liber de Regno*: Hugo Falcandus, *Liber de Regno Sicilie*, in Giovanni B. Siragusa, ed., *La historia o Liber de Regno Sicilie e la epistola ad Petrum Panormitane ecclesie thesaurarium di Ugo Falcando*, Rome 1897, pp. 1–165.

Garufi, *I documenti inediti*: Carlo A. Garufi, *I documenti inediti dell'epoca normanna in Sicilia*, Palermo 1899 (Documenti per servire alla storia di Sicilia, s.1, Diplomatica XIII).

Institutions, vol. 1: Ferdinand Lot and Robert Fawtier, eds., *Histoire des institutions françaises au Moyen Age, vol. 1: Institutions seigneuriales*, Paris 1957.

Inventaire: Robert Mignon, *Inventaire d'anciens comptes royaux dressé par Robert Mignon sous le règne de Philippe de Valois*, ed. Charles-Victor Langlois, Paris 1899 (Recueil des historiens de la France, Documents financieres, vol. 1).

Journaux: *Les journaux du Trésor de Philippe IV le Bel*, ed. Jule Viard, Paris 1940.

Malaterra: Gaufredus Malaterra, *De rebus gestis Rogerii Calabriae et Siciliae comitis et Roberti Guiscardi ducis fratris eius*, ed. Ernesto Pontieri, Bologna 1928 (Rerum Italicarum Scriptores, vol. 5–1).

Ménager, *Recueil de actes*: Léon-Robert Ménager, ed., *Recueil des actes des ducs normands d'Italie (1046–1127), I. Les premiers ducs (1046–1087)*, Bari 1981 (Società di storia patria per la Puglia, Documenti e monografie, vol. 45).

MGH: *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*.

MGH SS: *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores*.

MGH SS rer. Lang.: *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores rerum Langobardicarum et Italicarum*, ed. Georg Waitz, Hannover 1878.

Olim: *Les Olim, ou registres des arrêts rendus par la cour du roi . . .* ed. Arthur Beugnot, 3 vols. in 4 parts, Paris 1723–1849.

Pirro, *Sicilia sacra*: Rocco Pirro, *Sicilia sacra disquisitionibus et notitiis illustrata*, 2 vols., 3rd ed., A. Mongitore, Palermo 1733.

RHF: *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*, ed. Martin Bouquet et al., 24 vols., Paris 1738–1904.

RIS: *Rerum Italicarum scriptores*, 25 vols., Milan 1723–1751.

Rogerii II.: *Rogerii II. Regis diplomata Latina*, ed., Carlrichard Brühl, Köln 1987 (Codex diplomaticus regni siciliae, series prima: Diplomata regum et principum e gente normannorum, vol. 2–1).

Spata: Giuseppe Spata, *Le pergamene greche esistenti nel grande archivio di Palermo*, Palermo 1862.

Strayer, "Viscounts": Joseph R. Strayer, "Viscounts and Viguiers under Philip the Fair," *Speculum*, vol. 38 (1963), pp. 242–255, repr. in: *Medieval Statecraft and the Perspective of History. Essays by Joseph Strayer*, eds. John F. Benton and Thomas N. Bisson (Princeton, 1971), pp. 213–231. I use the page numbers of this book.

TRANSLITERATION SYSTEM

Greek

α = a, β = b, γ = g, δ = d, ε = e, ζ = z, η = ē, θ = th, ι = i, κ = k, λ = l, μ = m, ν = n, ξ = x, ο = o, π = p, ρ = r, σ(ς) = s, τ = t, υ = y, φ = ph, χ = ch, ψ = ps, ω = ō, ‘ = h

- As for proper nouns, I usually use *e*, in place of *ē*, for η, and *o*, in place of *ō*, for ω based on customary English usage. Greek names are written in Latinized forms if they are familiar in such.
- All accent marks and ’ are ignored.
- γ before κ, γ, χ or ξ is transliterated into *n*.

Arabic

bāʾ = b, tāʾ = t, thāʾ = th, jīm = j, ḥāʾ = ḥ, khāʾ = kh, dāl = d, dhāl = dh, rāʾ = r, zāy = z, sīn = s, shīn = sh, ṣād = ṣ, ḍād = ḍ, ṭāʾ = ṭ, ẓāʾ = ẓ, ʿayn = ʿ, ghayn = gh, fāʾ = f, qāf = q, kāf = k, lām = l, mīm = m, nūn = n, hāʾ = h, wāw = w, yāʾ = y, hamza = ʾ

- I transliterate Arabic letters based on this rule with vowels added. If there is a problem in determining vowels, I show only consonants with dashes. Example: sh/m/sh
- I usually do not transliterate hamza. If necessary I use ’ to indicate hamza.
- I ignore assimilation of the definite article *al*.
  Ex.: *al-dīwān*, not *ad-dīwān*; *Abū al-Qāsim*, not *Abū-l-Qāsim*.

Part I

Administrative organizations and officials

1

THE FINANCIAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE ORGANIZATION OF THE NORMAN KINGDOM OF SICILY

The Norman Kingdom of Sicily has attracted attention not only from Italian historians but also from English, American, German and French medievalists because of its political, cultural, commercial and institutional peculiarities as well as its importance in twelfth-century Europe. The kingdom established by King Roger II, based on commercial prosperity and efficient administration, was competing for hegemony in the Mediterranean region with Venice and the Byzantine and German Empires. Sicily, under a mixture of Roman, Greek and Arabic influences, developed one of the most remarkable civilizations of twelfth-century Europe, a center for translating Greek and Arabic literature into Latin and a meeting point for North Italian and Muslim merchants. A well-developed administrative organization was indispensable to this prosperous kingdom. Its bureaucracy, precocious as England's, was to be copied by Emperor Frederick II.

The study of its administrative organization contributes not only to a comparative study of other medieval institutions but also to the understanding of the kingdom itself. Many historians have tackled the subject, including the problems of its financial administration; yet the *duana* (*dohana*/*doana*), the central fiscal organization and best example of the advanced bureaucracy of Norman Sicily, has not been reexamined since Garufi expounded his theory in 1901.[1] Garufi explained the structure of the *duana* as follows (see Figure 1.1): Two offices, the supervising office (*ufficio di riscontro*) and the treasury office (*ufficio del tesoro*), were located in the royal palace in Palermo. The latter office was subordinate to the former. The supervising office, which had registers of lands, was divided into two departments, *duana de secretis* and *duana baronum*. The *duana de secretis* supervised the affairs of the royal domains, and the *duana baronum* handled the feudal affairs. The treasury office, in contrast, kept registers of villeins and collected taxes. This office was called *al-dīwān al-ma'mūr* in Arabic. To the treasury office was subordinate the office of profits (*ufficio dei proventi*), called *dīwān al-fawā'id* in Arabic.[2]

Almost all subsequent historians have accepted and built upon Garufi's assumptions.[3] Only Caravale has advanced an independent theory (1964). Against the classic statement of Garufi, Caravale asserted that the functions of the *duana de secretis* and the *duana baronum* were distinct in their administrative districts, though he basically accepted Garufi's structural analysis of the *duana*. The former

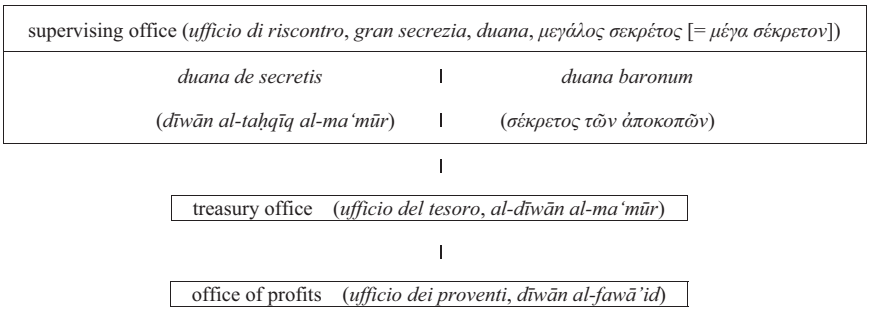

Figure 1.1 Sicilian financial and administrative organization as schematized by Garufi

had competence over Sicily and Calabria and the latter over the peninsula except Calabria.[4] As Mazzarese Fardella says,[5] this theory of Caravale does not completely supersede that of Garufi. The subject should be reexamined to explain a number of points left unclear. Therefore, the central aim of this paper will be a structural and functional analysis of the *duana*.

I. Premise

As preliminary steps we shall first try to determine the corresponding terms in Latin, Greek and Arabic sources and to decide the date of the *duana baronum*'s appearance.[6]

A. Corresponding terms (Latin, Greek and Arabic)

In this section we shall fix the Greek and Arabic corresponding to the most essential Latin terms: *duana de secretis, duana baronum, magister duane de secretis*, and *magister duane baronum* (see Figure 1.2).

First let us compare Latin and Greek documents of 1180. These differ a little in details but have the same content:

> [Latin] Geoffrey of Modica (*Goffridus de moac*), *palatinus camerarius* and *magister regie duane de secretis et duane baronum*, (send) greeting and love to all *baiuli* and *portulani* of Sicily, Calabria, and the principality of Salerno, that is, his friends to whom this letter will be shown.[7]

> [Greek] Geoffrey of Modica *(ἰοσφρὲς τῆς μοδάκ), ho epi tou megalou sekretou kai sekretou tōn apokopōn (ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ μεγάλου σεκρέτου καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ σεκρέτου τῶν ἀποκοπῶν)* and *ho palatinos kapriliggas (ὁ παλατῖνος καπριλίγγας),* [send] greetings to all *exousiastai (ἐξουσιασταί)* and *parathalattioi (παραθαλάττιοι)* of Sicily, Calabria, and the principality of Salerno, that is, his friends reading this letter.[8]

Latin	(S1) *duana de secretis*	(B1) *duana baronum*
Greek	(S2)	(B2)
Arabic	(S3)	(B3)
Latin	(mS1) *magister duane de secretis*	(mB1) *magister duane baronum*
Greek	(mS2)	(mB2)
Arabic	(mS3)	(mB3)

Figure 1.2 Corresponding terms I (Latin, Greek and Arabic)
Note: S = *duana de secretis*; B = *duana baronum*; m = *magister*; 1 = Latin; 2 = Greek; 3 = Arabic

We find close correspondence of Latin to Greek. *Magister regie duane de secretis et duane baronum* corresponds to *ho epi tou megalou sekretou kai sekretou tōn apokopōn* (*ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ μεγάλου σεκρέτου καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ σεκρέτου τῶν ἀποκοπῶν*). So, (mS1) *magister duane de secretis* corresponds to (mS2) *ho epi tou megalou sekretou* (*ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ μεγάλου σεκρέτου*) and (mB1) *magister duane baronum* to (mB2) *ho epi tou sekretou tōn apokopōn* (*ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ σεκρέτου τῶν ἀποκοπῶν*). Therefore, (S1) *duana de secretis* corresponds to (S2) *mega sekreton* (*μέγα σέκρετον*) and (B1) *duana baronum* to (B2) *sekreton tōn apokopōn* (*σέκρετον τῶν ἀποκοπῶν*). For the Arabic correspondents, our source is a Latin document translated in 1286 from the Arabic of 1175:

> [Latin] and Sanson *baiulus* in the Marrani River presented the document of the *dohana mamur*, that is, *doana secreti* including the declaration of the aforesaid division (*divisa*), and was read in the presence of these aforementioned Christians and Saracens who knew the names of these places . . . and confirmation was firmly made among them on what was said in the presence of Shaikh Bicca'ib *magister doane de secretis* which is called in Arabic *duén tahki'k elmama*. This is *doana veritatis* in the aforesaid old times.[9]

We are able to establish that (S1) *duana de secretis* corresponds to (S3) *dīwān al-taḥqīq al-ma'mūr* (*duén tahki'k elmama* in this document). But we cannot verify the relation of (S1) *duana de secretis* and (*) *al-dīwān al-ma'mūr* (*dohana mamur* in the document).

Our next sources are Greek and Arabic documents of 1161. They have the same general contents but slightly differing styles of expression:

> [Greek] Martin, Matthew, and other *gerontes* (*γέροντες*), that is, *ho epi tou sekretou* (*οἱ ἐπὶ τοῦ σεκρέτου*) who confirm this document below admit the following.[10]

> [Arabic] This is the writing in which they recorded what Ya'qūb b. Faḍlūn b. Sāliḥ had bought from *al-shaikh al-qā'id* Martin, *al-shaikh al-qā'id* Matthew and *al-shuyūkh* who are *aṣḥāb dīwān al-taḥqīq al-ma'mūr*.[11]

In these, (mS2) *ho epi tou sekretou* (*οἱ ἐπὶ τοῦ σεκρέτου*) corresponds to (mS3) *aṣḥāb dīwān al-taḥqīq al-ma'mūr*. Therefore (S2) *sekreton* (*σέκρετον*) corresponds to (S3) *dīwān al-taḥqīq al-ma'mūr*. Here one should note the terms *gerōn* (*γέρων*, pl. *γέροντες*) and *shaikh* (pl. *shuyūkh*). These are not official posts but only titles of honor. They mean something like "elders."[12]

The aforementioned terms are the only exact correspondents that we can verify. We can ascertain further information from bilingual sources. In documents of October 1172, a certain Geoffrey was called *iosphres ho sekretikos* (*ἰοσφρὲς ὁ σεκρετικός*) in Greek and *al-shaikh Jāfrāy ṣāḥib dīwān al-taḥqīq al-ma'mūr* in Arabic.[13] (mS2') *sekretikos* (*σεκρετικός*) corresponds to (mS3) *ṣāḥib dīwān al-taḥqīq al-ma'mūr*. Similarly, in documents of February 1172 the same Geoffrey was called *domini gaufridi secretarii* in Latin and *τοῦ σεκρετικοῦ κυροῦ ἰοσφρὲ* in Greek.[14] (mS2') *σεκρετικός* corresponds to (mS1') *secretarius*. These are rough but not exact correspondences, however.

In summary, one can arrange the correspondent words in order as in Figure 1.3.[15]

B. Date of the duana baronum*'s appearance*

Caravale says of the *duana baronum*, "This office appears for the first time in two sources of 1174."[16] Mazzarese Fardella states, "We desire to emphasize that the *duana baronum* is documented only since 1174 and that, therefore, we should

Latin	(S1) *duana de secretis*	(B1) *duana baronum*
Greek	(S2) *μέγα σέκρετον* (S2') *σέκρετον*	(B2) *σέκρετον τῶν ἀποκοπῶν*
Arabic	(S3) *dīwān al-taḥqīq al-ma'mūr*	(B3) ----------
Latin	(mS1) *magister duane de secretis* (mS1') *secretarius*	(mB1) *magister duane baronum*
Greek	(mS2) *ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ μεγάλου σεκρέτου* (mS2') *ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ σεκρέτου* (mS2") *σεκρετικός*	(mB2) *ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ σεκρέτου τῶν ἀποκοπῶν*
Arabic	(mS3) *ṣāḥib dīwān al-taḥqīq al-ma'mūr*	(mB3) ----------

Figure 1.3 Corresponding terms II (Latin, Greek and Arabic)
Note: S = *duana de secretis*; B = *duana baronum*; m = *magister*; 1 = Latin; 2 = Greek; 3 = Arabic

examine what competence the *duana de secretis* had had before this date."[17] Jamison also suggests the year 1174.[18] Is it certain, however, that the *duana baronum* had not existed before 1174?

We have established in the former section that the term *duana de secretis* corresponds to *μέγα σέκρετον* or *σέκρετον* and *dīwān al-taḥqīq al-ma'mūr*, and the term *duana baronum* to *σέκρετον τῶν ἀποκοπῶν*. Why does the *duana de secretis* have two Greek names, *μέγα σέκρετον* and *σέκρετον*? That is to say, why was the *magister duane de secretis* called *ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ σεκρέτου* in January 1161 and November 1167, though he was entitled *ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ μεγάλου σεκρέτου* in 1180?[19] The reason must be that the office corresponding to *σέκρετον* was originally the *duana de secretis*, but that when another *σέκρετον*, that is, the *duana baronum*, appeared, one had to call the *duana de secretis* as *μέγα σέκρετον* to distinguish it from the other *σέκρετον*.[20] Therefore, to find the date of the *duana baronum*'s appearance, we must search for the date when the expression *μέγα σέκρετον* began to be used. *Μέγα σέκρετον* appeared for the first time in a document of October 1170:

> [Greek] In October of Indiction IV, honorable Qā'id Richard of *μέγα σέκρετον* left Palermo, and went to Chaki region to investigate grab of the great king's lands and villeins.[21]

Furthermore, we see the same terminology in a Latin source of October 1168 translated from Greek by Pirro:

> [Latin] In fact, he transcribed the aforesaid division of Buscenia Village denoted at the end of the *sigillum* from *quinterni magni secreti*, in which the boundaries of Sicily are included, because the letters were totally deleted and could not be clearly read.[22]

The *magni secreti* in this source is the equivalent for the Greek *τοῦ μεγάλου σεκρέτου*. Therefore, we surmise that the *duana baronum* appeared just before October 1168. But we need not decide the date of the *duana baronum*'s nascence on this surmise alone. It is not in fact, as others have said, that we are unable to find the term *τὸ σέκρετον τῶν ἀποκοπῶν* in sources before 1174, as the following example shows:

> [Greek] However, in order that it should be ensured for future and its ownership would last, we ordered Qā'id Richard, *πρωτωκαμπέρι καὶ φαμελλιαρίω ἡμῶν τῶ ἐπὶ τοῦ σεκρέτου τῶν ἀποκοπῶν*, to press our majesty's seal.[23]

The date of this source is March of Indiction I and AM 6678, that is, March of AD 1168. From this we can verify that the *duana baronum* appeared just before March 1168.

II. Structure of the financial and administrative organization during the reign of William II

We have established above the Greek and Arabic correspondents of the *duana de secretis*. But we could not determine through bilingual documents the relation of the *duana de secretis* and *al-dīwān al-ma'mūr*. To decide this, we must know first whether the *dīwān al-taḥqīq al-ma'mūr* and the *al-dīwān al-ma'mūr* are the same office or different ones.[24]

A. Dīwān al-taḥqīq al-ma'mūr *and* al-dīwān al-ma'mūr

Amari says that *al-dīwān al-ma'mūr* is an abbreviated expression for *dīwān al-taḥqīq al-ma'mūr*.[25] Similarly, Besta and Genuardi say they are different names for the office.[26] Conversely, Garufi, Mazzarese Fardella, Caravale and others think that the *dīwān al-taḥqīq al-ma'mūr* and the *al-dīwān al-ma'mūr* are different offices,[27] and insist that the former is the supervising office and the latter is the treasury office. Do these terms indicate the same office or two different offices?

A *jarīda* (pl. *jarā'id*, an Arabic writ usually including a list of villeins and often used as a deed of transfer) of 1178 contains these terms:

> [Arabic] And the supreme ordinance was issued to the *aṣḥāb dīwān al-taḥqīq al-ma'mūr* that they should inspect the aforementioned men, extract them from the *dafātir al-dīwān al-ma'mūr* and old *jarā'id*, and write the *jarīda* in which their names are written.[28]

In this source the *dīwān al-taḥqīq al-ma'mūr* and the *al-dīwān al-ma'mūr* are treated as if they were different: The *dīwān al-taḥqīq al-ma'mūr* inspects the villeins of the royal domain which is to be transferred, and makes the *jarīda* which contains the list of these villeins. The *al-dīwān al-ma'mūr* keeps the *daftar* (pl. *dafātir*, a register of lands in Sicily possibly including the name of inhabitants). This raises our next problem. Can we distinguish the functions of the *dīwān al-taḥqīq al-ma'mūr* and the *al-dīwān al-ma'mūr* clearly? To answer this we shall examine their functions as related in the sources.

al-dīwān al-ma'mūr

The preface to a *jarīda* of 1183 contains two ordinances: First, that all the *rijāl al-dīwān al-ma'mūr* in the lands of churches and barons throughout Sicily should return to the *bilād al-dīwān al-ma'mūr*; and second, that the inhabitants of St. Mary's Church should be exempted and, excepting the *rijāl al-jarā'id*, should be allowed to remain in their present condition and appertain to this church.[29]

Judging from the context, the *rijāl al-dīwān al-ma'mūr* are the people under the control of the *al-dīwān al-ma'mūr* and the *bilād al-dīwān al-ma'mūr* are the lands

under the control of the *al-dīwān al-ma'mūr* – that is, the royal lands, because the term was used in contrast to that for the lands of churches and barons.

We can regard the functions of the *al-dīwān al-ma'mūr* as keeping the *daftar* and *jarīda*, and controlling the royal lands and villeins registered in them. Are its functions limited to royal lands? Our next source is the conclusion of the *jarīda* written in September 1168:

> [Arabic] He has bestowed all things that are written here upon the before-mentioned *Isbṭāl* (hospital), on condition that the people of Termini who live in ʿAyn al-Liyān Village, have their fields in it, and have reclaimed them for themselves or through their fathers, should keep their fields but go on paying to the *Isbṭāl* what they have been requested to pay to the tax collector (*'ummāl*) hitherto. So, this village, which was under the control (*ḥukm*) of the *al-dīwān al-ma'mūr*, shall never burden them with any increase, and the sailors (*baḥrīyūn*) and other inhabitants of this village shall follow their practice with the tax collector in all affairs as before. And he put the well-known seal confirming it and proving it at the date written at the head. Allah is enough for us, and what an excellent *wakīl* He is![30]

This source details the conditions when royal lands were conferred, and thus it gives us information about both royal lands and fiefs. From this source we can confirm our hypothesis that the royal lands were under the control (*ḥukm*) of the *al-dīwān al-ma'mūr*. And we see that the inhabitants of royal lands paid taxes to the tax collector of the *al-dīwān al-ma'mūr*.[31] By this fact we understand the role of the *jarīda*. It served as a register of taxes. The other important fact is that the sailors and other inhabitants in this village continued to keep the old relationship with the tax collector. This means that, even in fiefs, the inhabitants who were not registered in the *jarā'id* of barons and churches were under the control of the *al-dīwān al-ma'mūr*, and the right of collecting their taxes belonged to this office.

Given these points we can regard the functions of the *al-dīwān al-ma'mūr* as follows: (1) control over royal lands and their inhabitants, and control over the inhabitants of fiefs not registered in the *jarā'id* of barons and churches but in those of the *al-dīwān al-ma'mūr*; (2) collection of taxes; and (3) preservation of *jarā'id* and *dafātir*. Probably by means of these *dafātir*, this office would embrace all the inhabitants of royal lands and other lands of barons, churches and so on, and collect taxes from them.

dīwān al-taḥqīq al-ma'mūr

Dīwān al-taḥqīq al-ma'mūr literally means the office of verification. Thus a Latin source of 1286 translated from an Arabic document issued in 1175 says, "*doana de secretis qui arabice dicitur duén tahki'k elmama. hoc est doana veritatis*."[32] What functions did the *dīwān al-taḥqīq al-ma'mūr* have in fact?

In 1172 Shaikh Geoffrey, in his capacity as *ṣāḥib dīwān al-taḥqīq al-ma'mūr*, was ordered to inspect the lands in the area of the *amīr*'s house and in Sha'rānī Village which Sayyid George had granted to St. Mary's Church in Palermo. He gathered the men who lived in the area of the *amīr*'s house and who knew its boundaries well, had them describe the boundaries, and had the document (*sijill*) containing their details written. And he put his seal (*'alāma*) on it and delivered it to Shaikh Philosopher John (*al-shaikh Failasuuf Yānī*).[33]

The functions of the *dīwān al-taḥqīq al-ma'mūr* are the inspection of transferred lands, the fixing of boundaries, and the preparation of documents which record them.

At the end of a *jarīda* written in 1182 the following statement is found:

> [Arabic] On the fifteenth of May in AM 6690, this order of the King was issued . . . that the boundaries of the estates transferred to St. Mary's Abbey and the aforementioned village contained in them should be transcribed by the pen of a Latin, Kātib Alexander (*al-kātib al-Ṣandr al-laṭīnī*), in Latin, and by the pen of Kātib Yūsuf of the *dīwān al-taḥqīq al-ma'mūr* in Arabic. So what the supreme order had indicated was transcribed and described from Arabic to Latin by the pen of the aforementioned Kātib Yūsuf from the *dafātir* of the *dīwān al-taḥqīq al-ma'mūr* at the date written in the beginning. Allah is enough for us, and what an excellent *wakīr* He is![34]

From this we gather that the *dīwān al-taḥqīq al-ma'mūr* had *dafātir* containing the boundaries of various domains, and made *jarā'id* of transferred lands.

We can summarize the functions of the *dīwān al-taḥqīq al-ma'mūr* thus: (1) inspection of transferred lands, whether royal lands or fiefs, and fixing of boundaries of the transferred lands; (2) preparation of documents which record the boundaries of transferred lands; (3) preservation of *dafātir*; and (4) issuance of *jarā'id*.

Comparing the function of the *al-dīwān al-ma'mūr* with those of the *dīwān al-taḥqīq al-ma'mūr*, we can see clear differences between them. The *al-dīwān al-ma'mūr* carried out routine tasks, principally the control of the royal domains and the villeins on them, as well as the collection of taxes. In contrast, the *dīwān al-taḥqīq al-ma'mūr* inspected the lands when they were transferred or exchanged, prepared the documents necessary for these purposes and revised the *daftar*. Therefore, this latter office controlled all the lands of Sicily, and to do so, it used the *dafātir*.

Thus we have an answer to the first question: Are the *al-dīwān al-ma'mūr* and the *dīwān al-taḥqīq al-ma'mūr* the same office, or different offices? They are different offices, because their functions were clearly different – contrary to the theory of Amari, Besta and Genuardi. Two further points need mention. First, both the *dīwān al-taḥqīq al-ma'mūr* and the *al-dīwān al-ma'mūr* kept *dafātir* – contrary to Garufi's and Caravale's distinction that the *dīwān al-taḥqīq al-ma'mūr*

kept *dafātir* and the *al-dīwān al-ma'mūr* kept *jarā'id*.[35] Therefore we should also discard Caravale's suggestion that the *dīwān al-taḥqīq al-ma'mūr* recorded the taxes from fiefs and the *al-dīwān al-ma'mūr* recorded the taxes of the inhabitants, whether in lands transferred to vassals or in royal lands.[36] Second, it is important to recognize that we cannot ascertain from the sources whether the *dīwān al-taḥqīq al-ma'mūr* had the function of a financial supervising office, that is, the office supervising the *al-dīwān al-ma'mūr*.

B. Duana de secretis

Let us now examine the functions of the *duana de secretis* in order to answer the next question: Does *duana de secretis* correspond exactly to *dīwān al-taḥqīq al-ma'mūr*, or does it incorporate both *dīwān al-taḥqīq al-ma'mūr* and *al-dīwān al-ma'mūr*?

First, in a Latin source of 1168 translated from Greek by Pirro, a certain Caitus Richard, *thesaurarius et familiaris noster qui est super omnes secretos*, was ordered to renew a writ of transfer.[37] And from another source concerning the same Richard, we know that the *duana de secretis* (*μέγα σέκρετον*) supervised the royal lands and their inhabitants.[38] A writ of transfer of the same year from William II to Stephen, a hermit of the monastery of Monte Givello, gives us information about *dafātir*:

> [Latin] And we perpetually grant, and give, to you and your successors in it the mill of Talarico in the appurtenances of Paternò, and a village called *Rahal Senec* in the appurtenances of Leontini with its lawful appurtenances according to the boundaries (*divisae*) of the village which have been written in the *deptarii Duane nostre de secretis*. We give this village to him in exchange for a fief, which had once belonged to Obertus Costa in the appurtenances of Paternò, and which thereafter we had granted to the above-mentioned Brother Stephen, and have now brought back into the demesne of our *curia*.[39]

The *duana de secretis* had *dafātir* (*deptarii*) in which both royal domains and fiefs were recorded. Exchanges of domains were carried out according to the divisions of the *dafātir*. In a writ of 1173 from William II to St. Mary's Church of Monte Majore, the *duana de secretis* fixed the boundaries of lands to be transferred:

> [Latin] we have granted the aforesaid church . . . land large enough for fifty *modius* of seeds as is included in the boundaries which for the aforesaid land Geoffrey of Centuripe and Qā'id Abū al-Qāsim, *magistri duane nostre de secretis*, had made with the support of our authority.[40]

In 1172 Geoffrey, who was *secretarius* (*σεκρετικός*), ordered Geoffrey Femeta, who was *stratigotus* (*στρατιγός*), to grant lands to the bishop of Cefalù,[41] and it was the *duana de secretis* that made the writ of transfer:

> [Latin] the name of these villeins are included in the *platea* then made by our *duana de secretis* which has been sealed with our leaden seal.[42]

In a document of 1183, the *duana de secretis* received the order from the *magna curia* and the king, and in turn it ordered the *iusticiarii regii* to examine the loss of royal lands and recover them.[43]

Therefore, we can summarize the functions of the *duana de secretis* as follows: (1) fixing of boundaries of transferred lands; (2) grant of royal lands; (3) supervision of royal lands; (4) issuance, confirmation and renewal of writs of transfer; and (5) preservation of *dafātir*.

Comparing the functions of the *duana de secretis* with those of the *dīwān al-taḥqīq al-ma'mūr*, we find that they are almost the same. The functions of the *duana de secretis* are clearly different, however, from those of the *al-dīwān al-ma'mūr*. Therefore, we have the answer to the second question: The term *duana de secretis* corresponds only to *dīwān al-taḥqīq al-ma'mūr* and it is not an expression that includes both *dīwān al-taḥqīq al-ma'mūr* and *al-dīwān al-ma'mūr*. The *al-dīwān al-ma'mūr* and the *duana de secretis* (*dīwān al-taḥqīq al-ma'mūr*) had different functions, and they were different offices.

As regards the structure and functions of the *duana*, there is one major problem left that we need to solve. What was the *duana baronum*, and how was it related to the *duana de secretis*?

C. Duana baronum

Hartwig thought that the *duana baronum* was one section of the *duana de secretis*, and that the *duana baronum* corresponded to the *scaccarium superius* and the *σέκρετον τῶν ἀποκοπῶν* to the *scaccarium inferius* of England.[44] Amari thought that the *duana baronum* was an office of transfer, and so the same as the *dīwān al-majlis* of the Fāṭimids in Egypt. He reasoned thus: *Duana baronum* corresponds to *σέκρετον τῶν ἀποκοπῶν* in Greek. *Ἀποκοπῶν* is the genitive of *ἀπόκοπα* and means "things being cut, pieces." This is the same as *'iqṭā'* in Arabic. Therefore, the *duana baronum* was an office of transfer and corresponded to the *dīwān al-majlis*.[45] Genuardi thought that the *duana baronum* had been subordinate to the *duana de secretis*.[46] But Garufi concluded from many sources that the *duana baronum* had been merely one section of the supervising office – that the *duana de secretis* had supervised the affairs of the royal domains, while the *duana baronum* had supervised feudal affairs.[47] His theory is accepted by most subsequent historians.[48] Only Caravale insists that the *duana de secretis* had

competence over Sicily and Calabria and the *duana baronum* over the peninsula except Calabria, though at the same time he accepts Garufi's analysis of the structure of the *duana*.[49]

Let us examine the functions of the *duana baronum* in the sources and compare them with those of the *duana de secretis*. First, in 1175 Eugenius *magister regie duane baronum* received an order from the king that he should grant lands to St. Sophia's Monastery at Benevento, and he did so.[50] And in 1191 Abdeserdus, *palatinus, camerarius, et magister dohane baronum*, was ordered by King Tancred to grant the tithes of Oria to Peter, archbishop of Brindisi.[51]

While carrying out these functions, analogous to those of the *duana de secretis*, the *duana baronum* also performed others. In 1187 Eugenius *magister regie duane baronum* received the king's writ that he should communicate the royal command, and he sent a copy of it to William *regius camerarius terre laboris*. In this writ the king ordered that the *ius passagii* in rivers, bridges and royal lands should be abolished. This command was valid if fiefs where *ius passagii* had been collected were returned to the royal domain. But lands granted by the king's favor were excepted.[52] In 1174 the same Eugenius *magister duane baronum* granted a sale of lands in Salerno. The proceeds of this sale were delivered to Bartholomew *regius ostiarius* in order that a debt of ten thousand taris in Sicilian money, which had been received as a loan from the *duana baronum*, might be reduced.[53] From this source one receives the impression that the *duana baronum* was an independent office. It is far from the image of a feudal section of the central supervising office. And this impression is strengthened by the following source from 1176:

> [Latin] I, William, count of Marsico by the grace of the God and the king, declare in the present document that by my good and voluntary will I have sold all my houses that I had in the city of Palermo to the *duana baronum*, that is, to the hands of Qā'id Matara (= Materacius), the *regij sacri palatii camerarius et magister eiusdem duane*.[54]

In addition, the *duana baronum* exercised judicial functions completely different from the preceding. For example, in 1174, Eugenius *magister regie duane baronum* held court.[55] Again, in June 1178, the same Eugenius *magister regie dohane baronum et de secretis*, upon receiving a mandate from Walter of Modica (Moac) (*Gualterius de Mohac*) *regii fortunati stolii ammiratus et magister regie duane et de secretis*, held court in the Terracena castle and brought to conclusion a dispute between Amalfi and Ravello.[56] And in May of the same year, Walter of Modica *regii fortunati stolii amiratus et magister regie duane baronum* sent to *Romoaldus Marchisanus baiulus Sarni* the following mandate:

> [Latin] The bearers of these letters, Fuscandina and Oddolina of Sarno, came to us and complained about John Cicerus, now *baiulus*

> of Sarno, as is included in these letters of complaint which we send to you in this sealed charter of ours. Therefore, we commission you and firmly order you that, upon having seen these letters of ours, such and sufficient justice be done to him that they may not have to complain hereafter for lack of justice or to take troubles to come to the *curia regia* for this cause. *Data Salerni sexto die mensis madii undecime indictionis*.[57]

Walter of Modica sent this mandate to the *baiulus* of Sarno on his own authority, without seeking royal instruction. This shows that he was the most powerful person in this place. And the fact that the two complainants brought their indictment to Walter of Modica in Salerno suggest the existence of an office in Salerno. The content of this mandate is purely judicial, differing completely from the description of the functions of the *duana de secretis*.

From these examples we can regard the functions of the *duana baronum* as follows: (1) grant of royal lands and royal properties; (2) communication and promulgation of royal ordinances; (3) permission for sale of lands; (4) lending of monies; (5) buying of houses and paying of the sums owing; (6) holding of court and solving of various troubles by trial; (7) control of officials; and (8) receipt of indictments. The *duana baronum* had different functions from the *duana de secretis*. If Garufi's theory were right, it should have only one difference: the distinction between jurisdiction over royal lands and over feudal affairs. And if Caravale's theory were right, it would have only this difference: the distinction of administrative district. The sources refute both theories.[58] According to my analysis of the sources, it appears that the *duana baronum* included both the routine tasks of the *al-dīwān al-ma'mūr* and the special tasks concerning administration of land performed by the *duana de secretis*.

D. The structure of the duana

Therefore, it is misleading to attempt to juxtapose the *duana de secretis* and the *duana baronum*. Instead, we should regard the *duana de secretis*, the *duana baronum* and the *al-dīwān al-ma'mūr* as three different offices. What relationship did these three offices have, and how were their functions divided?

Caravale's theory gives us a hint. He erred in regarding the *duana de secretis* and the *duana baronum* as two sections of one supervising office; but his theory that they were distinguished by their administrative districts is valid. It is my conclusion that there was one office for the entire peninsula, save Calabria. That office was the *duana baronum*. From the evidence summarized in Figure 1.4, I believe that the place where this office was situated was Salerno. Historians have hitherto thought that the *magistri duane baronum* were usually based in the royal palace in Palermo and traveled all over the kingdom. In fact, however, the documents show that they usually stayed in Salerno and issued their mandates

	Date	*Locations of mag. duane baronum*	*magister duane baronum*	*Area Concerned*	*Action*	*Sources*
(1)	1174, Sep	Salerno	Eugenius	Salerno	Permission of sales of land	Charles H. Haskins, "England and Sicily in the Twelfth Century," *English Historical Review*, vol. 26 (1911), p. 653.
(2)	1174, Sep	Salerno (Terracena)	Eugenius	Salerno	Justice	R. Perla, "Una charta iudicati dei tempi normanni," *Archivio storico per le provincie napoletane,* vol. 9 (1884), pp. 342–347.
(3)	1175, Oct	[unknown]	Eugenius	Avellino (Montefusco)	Transfer of royal land	Evelyn Jamison, *Admiral Eugenius of Sicily, His Life and Work* (London, 1957), pp. 317–319.
(4)	1176	[unknown]	Materacius	Marsico	Purchase of houses in Palermo from the count of Marsico	Carlo A. Garufi, *Catalogo illustrato del Tabulario di S. Maria Nuova in Monreale* (Palermo, 1902), pp. 163s.
(5)	1178, May	Salerno	Gualterius	Sarno	Order to bring a *baiulus* to justice	Haskins, "England and Sicily," p. 445.
(6)	1178, June	Salerno (Terracena)	Eugenius	Amalfi/Ravello	Justice	Matteo Camera, *Memorie storico-diplomatiche dell'antica città e Ducato di Amalfi*, vol. 1 (Salerno, 1876), pp. 364–366.
(7)	1178, Sep	Minori	Eugenius	Amalfi/Ravello	Justice	Camera, pp. 364–366.
(8)	1187	[unknown]	Eugenius	Terra di Laboro	Communication of royal ordinance to chamberlains	Camillo Minieri-Riccio, *Saggio di codice diplomatico formato sulle antiche scritture dell'Archivio di Stato di Napoli. Supplemento, parte 1* (Naples, 1882), pp. 20–21.
(9)	1190	Salerno	Darius	Salerno	Inspection of a church's revenue	Jamison, *Admiral Eugenius*, pp. 323–332.
(10)	1191	[unknown]	Abserdus	Oria	Transfer of tithes	*Codice diplomatico Brindisino*, ed. G. M. Monti (Trani 1940), p. 51.

Figure 1.4 Actions of the *duana baronum*

therefrom to the *camerarii* and *iusticiarii* of the various regions in the peninsula, except Calabria.

Thus, I regard the structure of the *duana* as follows. The *duana* comprised three offices, namely, the *al-dīwān al-ma'mūr*, the *duana de secretis* and the *duana baronum*. The *al-dīwān al-ma'mūr* and the *duana de secretis* were located in the royal palace in Palermo and had competence over Sicily and Calabria. The functions of the two offices were clearly distinguished: The *al-dīwān al-ma'mūr* was the central office carrying out routine tasks; it collected taxes and controlled inhabitants and officials. The *duana de secretis* carried out special duties concerning land; it supervised all boundaries, royal domains, fiefs and inhabitants in Sicily and Calabria, and always recorded their conditions in the registers of land, *dafātir*, to guard the lands and inhabitants in the kingdom. In contrast, the *duana baronum* was located in Salerno, perhaps in the castle of Terracena, and had competence over the peninsula except Calabria. It carried out various administrative duties needed there.[59]

III. Development of the financial and administrative organization

Thus far, my evidence for the *duana*'s organization has been assembled from the terminology of various sources. To be valid, however, the theory must make sense historically. In this section, therefore, let us examine the origin and development of the *duana* focusing on three questions: (1) When and in what circumstances were the *al-dīwān al-ma'mūr* and the *duana de secretis* created? (2) What differences between the functions of these two offices before and after 1168 have been discovered? (3) In what circumstances was the *duana baronum* created in 1168?

A. The appearance of the duana de secretis *and the* al-dīwān al-ma'mūr

When and in what circumstances were the *duana de secretis* and the *al-dīwān al-ma'mūr* created? To solve this problem, first we elucidate the circumstances before these two offices appear in the sources, going back to the period of the Norman conquest.

Continuation of the registers of land and villeins in Sicily and Calabria

According to Amari and Caravale, in Sicily the Arabic registers of land and villeins made prior to the Norman conquest remained in force, and the Normans

made use of them.[60] We can confirm this from a document of 1090 transcribed by Pirro (a writ of transfer from Roger I to the archbishop of Messina):

> [Latin] Having heard their petition, . . . for the welfare of my soul and of the soul of my brother, the most noble Duke Robert Guiscard, . . . I gave and in perpetuity granted the village (*casale*) of Saracens called Butahi together with its belongings to the church of St. Nicholas in the bishopric of Messina according to the old divisions of Saracens (*antiquae divisiones Saracenorum*).[61]

Just after the conquest, Roger I must have made use of the Arabic registers of land and villeins in granting fiefs to his feudatories, because the two writs of transfer of 12 and 20 February 1095 were made on the basis of the Arabic registers of villeins, with a Greek foreword and afterword added.[62] This shows the existence of Greek clerks who knew Arabic, as well as of Arabic clerks. In fact, we know one such Greek clerk, in the person of *Iohannes Protonotarius* (*Ἰωάννης πρωτονοτάριος*), who supervised the work of making registers of land and writs of transfer.[63]

On the basis of these registers, Roger I's policy about land and villeins was carried out. The afterword of the writ of transfer of 1095 shows this:

> [Greek] This *platea* (*πλατεῖα*) was written by the order of me, Count Roger, in Indiction III and AM 6603 (= AD 1094/5) in Messina. However, the other *plateae* of my land and my feudatories (*τερρερίοι*) had been written in Indiction I and AM 6601 (= AD 1092/3) in Mazara. Therefore, we order that if anyone of those Hagarites (*ἀγαρινοί* = Saracens) listed in this *platea* should be found in the *plateae* of my feudatories the bishop must turn them back without any excuse.[64]

Roger's policy seems to have been carried out strictly; when he ordered the *ἄρχοντες* of Calabria and Sicily to see to it that all the landholders should return villeins who were not involved in their *plateae* (*jarā'id*) to their rightful lords, he said that severe punishment should be inflicted on the disobedient.[65]

This policy was adopted by his son, Roger II. And we confirm from the following source that under the reign of Roger II the *protonotarius* continued to make registers of villeins and land:

> *quaterni* of the royal *duana* which had been once made by the hand of the *protonotarius* of the *Curia* sixty five years before.[66]

These examples of the continuation of preexisting registers come from Sicily, which the Arabs had dominated. What was the situation on the mainland?

Caravale says that in Byzantine South Italy there remained Greek land registers similar to those of the Arabs, and that there existed a financial and administrative system similar to that of Sicily.[67] He refers us to two sources. The first is a writ

of transfer of 1046 from the *Eustathius Catepanus* (*Εὐστάθιος κατεπάνω*) to the *Bisantius iudex* (*Βυζάντιος κριτής*):

> [Latin/Greek] We order that all inhabitants of the village of Foliano that live in the village or that have their houses outside the village by chance, should pay Bisantius *iudex* (*κριτής*) all the tributes that they used to pay into the *publicum*, wherever they are, in the castle, in the village or any other place.[68]

From this source we know that the empire supervised all the inhabitants of this *pagus* and imposed tribute on them. This suggests the existence of land registers. We are further convinced of their existence in another source from 1087, which refers to the *quaternus fiscalis*:

> [Latin] The men dwelling . . . in the aforesaid fief . . . and the protected *servientes* should render and pay *jura* and *servitia* as they paid to our *camera* and are included in *quaterni fiscales*. . . . And, to the aforesaid castle they should give and pay all *tributa*, *pensiones*, *angariae*, et *perangariae* . . . which they would have been under obligation to pay to our *camera* for their expenses and arms (*arma*) as protected *servientes* as well as for ours in certain days and time as explained more clearly in our *fiscalis quaternus*.[69]

In Byzantine South Italy, then, there remained registers of land similar to those of the Arabs in Sicily. In fact, the list of inhabitants in the writ of transfer of the village of Laco in Calabria to the archbishop of Palermo, which was translated into Latin by Pirro, had been written in Greek.[70]

But it does not appear that Calabria saw the same continual revision of registers as occurred in Sicily, because Calabria was not constantly in the hands of Roger I and Roger II. Therefore, we must bear in mind the fact that the circumstances in which the registers of land and villeins were preserved differently for Sicily and for Calabria.

Establishment of the kingdom of Sicily and the annexation of Apulia and Capua

In 1130 Roger II was crowned king and the kingdom of Sicily was established. Thereafter, the lands of South Italy were annexed to this kingdom one after another. Most, excepting Calabria, had no tradition of land registers. There, in the first half of the eleventh century, Lombard principalities (Benevento, Salerno and Capua) had coexisted with Byzantine dukedoms (Gaeta, Amalfi and Naples). Complex feudal relations had developed after the Norman conquests in the second half of the eleventh century. Power and authority had been dispersed. The death of Robert Guiscard had caused disorder. And surely, the Byzantine institution of land registers had not existed in all these areas, which had been under completely different circumstances from those of Sicily.

After the establishment of the kingdom and the annexation of the land in the peninsula, a policy based on registers of lands and villeins was in force in Sicily. The registers of land were revised one after another. For example, we can read a detailed explanation of the boundaries of land granted in a writ of transfer of 1131 to Bartholomew, prior of St. Mary's Monastery in Marsala.[71] This was drafted on the basis of Arabic land registers. The king ordered the *baiuli* of Marsala to fix the boundaries and confirm them, and had this writ made under his own direction. This suggests that the king himself performed activities which were later to be carried out by the *duana de secretis*. In the same way, the registers of villeins were used and revised. A writ of transfer of St. Cosmo's Church from David, prior of St. Trinity Monastery, to the church of Cefalù in 1136 contains a list of thirty-eight villeins.[72]

Assizes of Ariano and the appearance of the duana de secretis *and the* al-dīwān al-ma'mūr

After Emperor Lothar returned to Germany, especially after his reconciliation with Pope Innocent II, Roger II devoted himself to the administration of the kingdom and issued his well-known Assizes of Ariano.[73] In these Assizes he established the *fiscus* and fixed its competence,[74] promulgated statutes for the control of royal properties and officials,[75] ordered the financial institutions of the kingdom, and fixed the obligations and competence of officials. At this same time, he appointed provincial officials throughout the kingdom. Romuald of Salerno wrote as follows:

> [Latin] King Roger, having obtained the tranquility of perfect peace in his kingdom, in order to maintain peace, instituted chamberlains and justiciars over the whole land, and promulgated the laws newly made by himself, and abolished the bad customs.[76]

In this way the king established the administrative framework. Then he confirmed writs of transfer in a large-scale reconfirmation of privileges. Contemporary writs of confirmation follow this formula:

> [Latin] It pertains to our care to lead everything into a better state, especially to confirm what belongs to the liberty of churches more willingly, and to make it stronger by the serenity of our time. Therefore we order that all privileges of churches and subjects of our kingdom made in former times should by our clemency be newly clarified and secured by our highest authority.[77]

Two writs of 18 October and 3 November 1144 have exactly this formula, and a writ of 1145, which we know through Pirro, is almost identical.[78] It is also in 1145 that the Arabic *jarā'id* appeared with the following formula:

> [Arabic] The archons, bishops, counts, vassals and other men of the whole of Sicily (Allah! May He guard it!) gathered in the town – *i.e.*

> Palermo – (Allah! May He guard it!) to renew their *jarā'id* for inspection and annulment.[79]

This formula was followed literally in the *jarā'id* of 1 January, 7 January and 24 March 1145. These sources illustrate the large-scale revision and confirmation of writs of transfer in 1144 and 1145. Many Arabic clerks must have worked on them, for while previous writs of transfer had had Greek forewords and afterwords with Arabic lists of villeins, they were now entirely in Arabic. Since one of the most important duties of the *duana de secretis* was the renewal of *jarā'id* in Arabic, I suggest that the *duana de secretis* was created during this large-scale revision and confirmation of writs of transfer in 1144 and 1145.[80]

When was the *al-dīwān al-ma'mūr* created? The term first appeared in Arabic sources in 1145. But it is unlikely that the *al-dīwān al-ma'mūr* was created in this year. Caravale says that the king restored this Arabic office about 1140 to handle financial problems and to fix legal privileges,[81] and I concur. Strictly speaking, however, this new office, *al-dīwān al-ma'mūr*, was a reorganized *curia regis*, in the sense of a royal office whose main duties were collection of taxes and control of officials, and which had many Arabic officials.

We have examined here the date and circumstances of the creation of these two offices. Next we shall examine the functions of these two before 1168 and compare them with those after 1168 that we have already discussed.

B. The duana de secretis *and the* al-dīwān al-ma'mūr *during the reigns of Roger II and William I (1145–1167)*[82]

The duana de secretis *and the* al-dīwān al-ma'mūr *in Sicily*

Garufi juxtaposes the *duana de secretis* and the *duana baronum* even during the reign of Roger II and thinks that each had a tendency to independence during the reign of William II.[83] Contrary to Garufi's theory that the *dīwān al-taḥqīq al-ma'mūr* and the *al-dīwān al-ma'mūr* were distinct in the whole Norman period, Caravale asserts that during the reign of Roger II they were not yet separated by function.[84] What explanation is best, then?

We know from a *jarīda* of 1 January 1145 that, when the monks of Catania came to Palermo to have their *jarā'id* renewed, a royal council was held and the king ordered their renewal and confirmation on the following condition:

> [Arabic] If anyone of them (i.e., the villeins) is found in the *jarā'id* of the *al-dīwān al-ma'mūr* or the *jarā'id* of vassals or other *jarā'id*, this church should except him.[85]

In this source, the *jarīda* of the *al-dīwān al-ma'mūr* is contrasted with the *jarā'id* of vassals. We see that the *al-dīwān al-ma'mūr* at this time controlled the villeins registered in the *jarīda*, as it did after 1168.

In December 1149, the *dīwān al-taḥqīq al-ma'mūr* received a royal order to grant to the monks of Furfur Church royal land sufficient for cultivation by four yokes of oxen and the sowing of 120 *mudda* of wheat, and it ordered the *'āmil* of Jato, Abū al-Ṭayyib, to fix the extent of such land in the royal domain in Jato, with the help of reliable Christian and Muslim *shuyūkh*. The specific land chosen by Abū al-Ṭayyib in Wazān Village was granted to the monks of Furfur Church according to the boundaries which he established, after these had been recorded in the *daftar al-ḥudūd* of the *dīwān al-taḥqīq al-ma'mūr*. A copy was made for the grantees, and the *shuyūkh* of the *al-dīwān al-ma'mūr*, *al-qā'id Brūn* and *al-kātib 'Uthmān* affixed their seals.[86] Besides fixing the boundaries of land grants and keeping the *dafātir*, the *dīwān al-taḥqīq al-ma'mūr* sold royal land, as we know from the document of January 1161.[87]

The functions, thus, of the *al-dīwān al-ma'mūr* and the *dīwān al-taḥqīq al-ma'mūr* are the same before as after 1168. Therefore, the functions of these two offices were not affected by the appearance of the *duana baronum*. The *duana baronum* did not branch off from the *duana de secretis*, then, but was created independently. But we should note the following: Both the *al-dīwān al-ma'mūr* and the *duana de secretis*, I shall argue, had limited their competence to Sicily before the creation of the *duana baronum*, but extended it to Calabria after. We shall discuss this change in section III.C. First, however, we must examine the evidence that the jurisdiction of the *al-dīwān al-ma'mūr* and the *duana de secretis* was limited to Sicily prior to 1168, and consider the situation during this period of that part of the peninsula which had already been annexed to the kingdom of Sicily.

The situation of the peninsula

The administration of the peninsula differed significantly from that of Sicily. In 1140, the king subdued the cities and barons who had resisted and revolted with the help of the pope and the German and Byzantine emperors.[88] In the period immediately thereafter, he kept control of the vassals in his own hands. After 1150, however, he delegated this authority to his appointed provincial chamberlains and justiciars. After the death of Roger II, Emperor Frederick Barbarossa, the Byzantine Emperor Manuel Comnenus and Pope Hadrian IV invaded the kingdom, and a revolt of barons and cities broke out again. As a result, the great Admiral Maio imposed a new administrative structure on the peninsula. He divided the peninsula into two provinces: Apulia with the principality of Capua, and Calabria with the valleys of Sinni and Crati. Jamison explains as follows:

> In Apulia and Capua two master captains exercised the powers of viceroy and commander-in-chief with extensive judicial functions, while a master chamberlain took over the control of fiscal matters. In Calabria the old office of justiciar of all Calabria was continued and approximated to that of the new master captains in Apulia, and a master chamberlain was introduced. The importance of these reforms cannot be over-estimated: the establishment of permanent governors and fiscal officers on the

> mainland must be regarded as a part of the anti-feudal and anti-municipal policy of Maio, especially in view of the exclusion of the great nobles from the viceregal office during his life.[89]

Maio's policy of repression provoked another revolt of barons and cities (1160–1163), in which almost all the barons of Apulia and Capua cooperated with the cities. Maio was assassinated in 1160. When the revolt was finally subdued, a great part of the rebellious barons' domains were confiscated.

Thus the circumstances of the peninsula were quite different from those of Sicily, and very unstable. The continuation of the Byzantine tradition of land registers would have been impossible on the peninsula, except Calabria, even if such a tradition had existed in limited areas before. The king could control lands and villeins only through vassals, though it was very difficult because the revision of the *catalogus baronum* could not keep up with the change in landowners. Therefore, it was quite natural that the competence of the *duana de secretis* and the *al-dīwān al-ma'mūr* should be limited to Sicily, and that on the peninsula there existed a completely different administration. It was in these circumstances that the *duana baronum* was created.

C. Creation of the duana baronum

Transition from the two master chamberlains to the duana baronum *in the peninsula*

We have established previously that the *duana baronum* appeared just before March 1168. Although they thought that the *duana baronum* first appeared in a document of 1174, Jamison, Caravale and Mazzarese Fardella sensitively noticed a slight change in administration just before that date. Jamison says, "Further changes in administration with a somewhat different bearing make their appearance in the years immediately preceding 1174."[90] Caravale says that something changed just before 1170,[91] and Mazzarese Fardella says that the competence of the *duana* extended to Calabria only after 1167.[92] Jamison explains as follows:

> The first of these changes, contingent on the fuller organization which the dîwân had attained, extended the control of the masters of the *duana* to the mainland regions at some date between 1168 and 1174. Hitherto their activity had been confined to Sicily, and the fiscal oversight of the provinces across the Faro had, as we have seen, been exercised by the master chamberlain of Apulia and Capua and the master chamberlain of Calabria and the Valleys. The first of these officials, after 1168, disappears from the extant records for a quarter of a century and the second is never found again after a mention in 1163, although the office must have continued somewhat later. Once in abeyance in Calabria, it was not revived. The functions formerly exercised by these provincial master chamberlains were carried out by masters of the *duana* who travelled on tours of duty throughout the regions of the mainland.[93]

We should especially note that the functions formerly exercised by the provincial master chamberlains were taken over by the masters of the *duana*. The theory that the *duana* was a central supervising office cannot explain this. Examining the same sources used by Jamison, one sees that the term *duana* (or *dohana*) is always followed by the term *baronum*, without exception.[94] Jamison's *duana* means *duana baronum* in this context. I suggest, therefore, that after the institution of the two great provinces and two master chamberlains had been abolished, the office of *duana baronum* was established in Apulia and Capua, with the functions of the provincial master chamberlain being taken over by the masters of the *duana baronum*. At the same time, Calabria was annexed to the administrative district of Sicily because it had the Byzantine tradition of land registers and political stability. The date of this alteration was about 1168.

Duana baronum *and* catalogus baronum

We should also note that "the curia was engaged in bringing the Catalogus up-to-date in 1167" and that "a more thorough revision was undertaken in 1168."[95] This *catalogus baronum* contains the names of vassals, their fiefs, and the number of their *milites, servientes* and *villani*.[96] Jamison observes that it presents precise and detailed statements of the extraordinary contribution owed to the king.[97] Perhaps the *duana baronum* could not have functioned properly without the more thorough revision of the *catalogus baronum*. It would not be accidental, then, that the date of the revision of the *catalogus baronum* coincides with the date of the appearance of the *duana baronum*.[98] Once established, the *duana baronum* was probably responsible for maintaining the *catalogus baronum*. The vassals listed in the *catalogus baronum* were limited to the peninsula, except Calabria. This agrees with the competence of the *duana baronum* that we have ascertained. In this area were many fiefs – in contrast to Sicily, where there were large royal domains.[99] This is the reason that led Garufi to interpret the function of the *duana baronum* as the supervision of feudal affairs, and that caused this office to be called *duana baronum*, "office of barons." Considering that its functions were limited to areas that did not have the Arabic tradition of registers, it is natural that in this office there were no Arabic clerks and that we cannot find the Arabic equivalent of *duana baronum* in Arabic sources. In sum, the structure of the *duana* proposed in section II fits what one knows of the actual situation.

Conclusion

The structure of the *duana* described here is quite different from that suggested by earlier historians. Two offices, the *al-dīwān al-ma'mūr* and the *duana de secretis*, were located in the royal palace in Palermo and had jurisdiction over Sicily and Calabria. Another office, the *duana baronum*, was located in Salerno and had jurisdiction over the peninsula, except Calabria. The *al-dīwān al-ma'mūr* was the central office in Sicily engaged in routine and general work. It collected taxes

and controlled inhabitants and officials. The *duana de secretis* was charged with special duties concerning administration of land. It supervised all the boundaries, royal domains, fiefs and inhabitants of Sicily and Calabria, and always controlled and verified transfers and sales of land. In the process this office confirmed, revised and made registers of land and villeins. On the contrary, the *duana baronum* was, as it were, a branch office on the peninsula, meeting a variety of local administrative needs: grants of royal lands and properties, communication and promulgation of administrative commands, judicial work and so on. This irregular administrative system explains the administrative difference between Sicily with Calabria and the South Italian peninsula. The king had immediate control of inhabitants and lands by means of registers of land and villeins in Sicily and Calabria. Vassals and churches were no obstacle to the royal administration. Here there existed a valid and stable administration. In the peninsular administration, however, the vassals were indispensable. The king could control and govern inhabitants and land only through vassals. The list of these vassals was the *catalogus baronum*.[100]

This administrative difference developed from historical circumstances. In Sicily there existed an Arabic tradition of registers of land and villeins, and both Roger I and Roger II owed much to this tradition in developing their administrative institutions. In the process, the office of the *duana de secretis* was created and the *al-dīwān al-ma'mūr* developed. Also in Calabria there existed a Byzantine tradition of registers of land. Because of the political situation, however, the annexation of Calabria to the district of Sicily was delayed until the date of the creation of the *duana baronum*. The peninsula, excepting Calabria, was always politically unstable and had no tradition of registers of land and villeins. The landowners changed very frequently due to the unsettled situation. Besides, barons and towns tended to be independent of the king and were great obstacles to a centralized administration. Therefore, a quite different administrative organization was necessary, the *duana baronum*, an office suited to these conditions. This *duana baronum* governed inhabitants and lands through vassals, to control whom the *catalogus baronum* supplied the government with indispensable information. The creation of this office stabilized the peninsula, and henceforth baronial revolts disappeared. Thus we can regard the creation of the *duana baronum* as the completion of centralization of the Norman administrative system.

Acknowledgments

I would like to thank Professor Kōichi Kabayama, Professor Takeshi Kido and Professor Tsugitaka Satō of the University of Tokyo for their indispensable advice in the preparation of this chapter. I am also grateful to Professor Kenneth M. Setton, Professor Michael Altschul, Professor James M. Powell, Dr. David Abulafia, Professor Giles Constable, Professor David J. Herlihy and Professor Armand Citarella for their useful comments and encouragement to publish this chapter in English.

Appendix

1 note 11. Cusa, p. 624:
هذا كتاب فيه ذكر ما اشتراه يعقوب بن فضلون بن صالح من اصحاب ديوان التحقيق المعمور الشيخ القايد مرتين و الشيخ القايد ماثاو والشيوخ . . .

2 note 28. Cusa, p. 135:
و خرج امرها المطاع . . . الى اصحاب ديوان التحقيق المعمور بالكشف عن الرجال المذكورين و استخراجهم من دفاتر الديوان المعمور و من الجرايد القدم و كتب الجريدة باسمايهم

3 note 29. Cusa, pp. 245–246:
لما كان بتاريخ شهر ابريل الحول الاول من سنة ستة الاف و ستماية واحد وتسعين سنة لتاريخ العالم عند خروج الامر العالى المطاع . . . برجوع جميع من كان ساكنا من رجال الديوان المعمور من الجرايد و المحلات و الملس ببلاد الكنايس المقدسة و البارونية بساير صقلية حماها الله و انتقالهم منها الى بلاد الديوان المعمور خرج امر الحضرة . . . بالانعام على كنيسية صنت مارية باركنة منت ريال المقدسة ببقا جميع من كان ساكنا فى بلادها و رحايل الكنايس و الترارية الداخلة فى حدودها من رجال المحلات و الملس خاصة دون رجال الجرايد على حالهم و تسليمهم اليها والانعام بهم عليها انعاما خالصا موبدا وعطا سالما مخلدا لا تلزمها عنه خدمة ولا تلحقها لاجله موزنة ولا كلفة باقى ما تجددة الايام ثابت ما تكررت الشهور والاعوام . . .

4 note 29. Cusa, p. 246:
و متى ظهر ان احدا من هولا الرجال المثبوتين اسماوهم فى هذه الجريدة من جرايد ثنى من البلاد الديوانية او اخذ من الترارية كان خارجا عن هذا الانعام وراجعا الى مكانه . . .

5 note 29. Cusa, p. 564:
. . . ان كان يوجد احد منهم فى جرايد الديوان المعمور او فى جرايد الترارية وغيرهم فتتلفه الكنيسة . . .

6 note 30. Cusa, pp. 38–39:
انعم على الاسبطال المذكور بجميع ما ذكر على ان اهل ثرمة السكان بها وعندهم رباعا فى عين الليان فتحوها هم او اباوهم او اجدادهم تبقى بايديهم على حالها يودون عنها من الاعطية الى الاسبطال ما كانوا يودونهم الى العمال فالرحل المذكور فى حكم الديوان المعمور من غير زيادة عليهم وباقى سكان الرحل من البحرين وغيرهم من . . . يجرون فى جميع امورهم على عادتهم مع العمال و ختم بالطابع المسهور تاكيدا له ودليلا عليه بالتاريخ المتقدم وحسبنا الله ونعم الوكيل.

7 note 34. Cusa, pp. 243–244:
لما كان بتاريخ مايو الخامس عشر ومن سنى العالم ستة الاف و ستماية و تسعين سنة خرج امر الحضرة العالية . . . بكتب هذه الجريدة متضمنة ذكر ما انعمت به على الدير الكبير المقدس المعروف بصنت مارية الملكية من حدود رباع البلاد والرحايل المذكورين فيها وان تكتب الحدود المذكورة باللطينى بخط الكاتب الصندر اللطينى وبالغربى بخط الكاتب يوسف بديوان التحقيق المعمور فامتثل ما خرج به الامر العالى زاده الله علا ومضا وشرحت من العربى الى اللطينى بخط الكاتب الصندر المذكور وبالعربى بخط الكاتب يوسف المذكور من دفاتر ديوان التحقيق المعمور بالتاريخ المتقدم ذكره وحسبنا الله ونعم الوكيل.

8 note 79. Cusa, p. 563(1/1), pp. 472–473(1/7), p. 127(3/24):
. . . حضر بالمدينة حماها الله الاراكنة والاساقفة والقمامسة والترارية وغيرهم من ساير صقلية صانها الله لتجديد جرايدهم لاجل تمحيصها واندراسها . . .

9 note 86. Cusa, pp. 28–30:
. . . خرج الامر العالى المطاع . . . لديوان التحقيق المعمور بان يعط لرهبان كنيسية الهرهر من الربع الديوانى برسم حرث اربعة ازواج ما يبذر ماية وعشرين مدا . . . فامر ديوان التحقيق المعمور لابى الطيب ابن الشيخ اصطفن عامل جاطو ان يخرج بنفسه وصحبه شيوخ ثقات من النصارى والمسلمين ويحد لهم من الرباع الديوانية باقليم جاطو ما يبذر الماية وعشرين مدا المذكورة فسلم اليهم من رباع رحل الوزان باقليم جاطو . . . وقد سلمت هذه الرباع المذكورة المحدودة بطن هذا الكتاب لرهبان كنيسية الهرهر المتقدم ذكرهم بعد ان اثبتت حدودها المذكورة فى دفتر الحدود بديوان التحقيق المعمور على ما حده السردعوس ابو الطيب بن اصطفن والشيوخ النصارى والمسلمين المذكورون ثم كتبت لهم هذه النسخة لتكون بايديهم حجة لهم وعليهم واوقع فيها شيوخ الديوان المعمور القايد برون والكاتب عثمان حفظهما الله علامتهما تاكيدا لها ودليلا على صحتها . . .

Notes

I have added English translations to most of the Latin/Greek texts quoted here. These English translations were not included in the original article published in *Viator*.

1 For a bibliographical survey of this subject see Carlo Alberto Garufi, "Sull'ordinamento amministrativo normanno in Sicilia, Exhiquier o diwan? Studi storico-diplomatici," *Archivio storico italiano*, serie 5, vol. 27 (1901), pp. 225–233; Mario Caravale, "Gli uffici finanziari nel Regno di Sicilia durante il periodo normanno," *Annali di storia del diritto*, vol. 8 (1964), pp. 178–185, repr. in his *Il regno normanno di Sicilia* (Milan, 1966); Enrico Mazzarese Fardella, *Aspetti dell'organizzazione amministrativa nello stato normanno e svevo* (Milan, 1966), pp. 3–6.

2 Garufi, "Sull'ordinamento amministrativo," pp. 234–250, 259.

3 Erich Caspar, *Roger II. (1101–1154) und die Gründung der normannisch-sicilischen Monarchie* (Innsbruck, 1904), pp. 315–318; Ferdinand Chalandon, *Histoire de la domination normande en Italie et en Sicile*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1907), vol. 2, pp. 648–653; Ernst Mayer, *Italienische Verfassungsgeschichte von der Gothenzeit bis zur Zunftherrschaft*, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1909), vol. 2, pp. 384–404; Charles H. Haskins, "England and Sicily in the Twelfth Century," *English Historical Review*, vol. 26 (1911), p. 653; Carmela Ceci, "Normanni d'Inghilterra e Normanni d'Italia," *Archivio scientifico del R. Istituto superiore di scienze economiche e commerciali di Bari*, vol. 7 (1932–1933), pp. 330–331; Pier S. Leicht, "Lo stato normanno," *Il Regno Normanno* (Messina, 1932), p. 49; Pier S. Leicht, *Storia del diritto italiano: Il diritto pubblico* (Milan, 1944), p. 293; Francesco Calasso, *Gli ordinamenti giuridici del Rinascimento medievale* (Milan, 1949), p. 166; Evelyn Jamison, *Admiral Eugenius of Sicily, His Life and Work* (London, 1957), pp. 50–53; Adelaide Baviera Albanese, "L'istituzione dell'ufficio di Conservatore del Real Patrimonio e gli organi finanziari del Regno di Sicilia nel sec. XV," *Il circolo giuridico* (Palermo, 1958), pp. 269–271; Thomas C. Van Cleve, *The Emperor Frederick II of Hohenstaufen* (Oxford, 1972), pp. 264–265; Francesco Giunta, *Bizantini e bizantinismo nella Sicilia normanna*, 2nd ed. (Palermo, 1974), pp. 65–69; Aziz Ahmad, *A History of Islamic Sicily* (Edinburgh, 1975), pp. 65–66.

4 Caravale, "Gli uffici finanziari," pp. 206–218. His theory has been accepted by Norbert Kamp, "Vom Kämmerer zum Sekreten: Wirtschaftsreformen und Finanzverwaltung im staufischen Königreich Sizilien," *Problem um Friedrich II*. (Sigmaringen, 1974), p. 52.

5 Mazzarese Fardella, *Aspetti*, pp. 31–33.

6 We shall consider the date of the *duana baronum*'s appearance in this section for two reasons. First, only after that date can we analyze the completed structure of the

financial organization. It is essential for the elucidation of the structure of the *duana* to bring it into focus after the date of the *duana baronum*'s appearance. Second, we should separate sources about the *duana de secretis* after that date from those before it because there is a possibility that a part of the function of the *duana de secretis* may have been taken over by the *duana baronum*.

7 Salvatore Cusa, *I diplomi greci ed arabi di Sicilia pubblicati nel testo originale*, vol. 1 (Palermo, 1868–1882), p. 489; Giuseppe Spata, *Le pergamene greche esistenti nel grande archivio di Palermo* (Palermo, 1862), p. 447: "Goffridus de moac palatinus camerarius et magister regie duane de secretis et duane baronum universis baiulis et portulanis sicilie calabrie et principatus salerni quibus littere iste fuerint ostense amicis suis salutem et amorem."

8 Cusa, p. 490; Spata, p. 448: "ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ μεγάλου σεκρέτου καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ σεκρέτου τῶν ἀποκοπῶν ἰοσφρὲς τῆς μοδὰκ ὁ παλατῖνος καπριλίγγας πᾶσι τοῖς ἐξουσιασταῖς καὶ παραθαλαττίοις σικελίας καὶ καλαβρίας καὶ τοῦ πριγκιπάτου σαλερίνου τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσι τοῖς παροῦσι γράμμασι φίλοις αὐτοῦ χαίρειν."

9 Spata, pp. 453–454: "et presentavit Sanson Báiulus in flumine marrani scriptum dohane mamur idest doane secreti continens declaracionem divise predicte. et fuit lectum in presencia istorum prenominatorum Christianorum et sarracenorum qui sciebant nomina istorum locorum. . . . et confirmatum est inter eos firmiter super eo quod dixerit in presencia senis Bicca'ib magistri doane de secretis qui arabice dicitur duén tahki'k elmama. hoc est doana veritatis tempore precedente predicto."

10 Cusa, p. 622: "Μαρτῖνος καὶ ματθαῖος καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ γερώντες [*sic*, γέροντες] οἱ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ σεκρέτου οἱ κατωτέρω τοῦδε τοῦ ὕφου ὑποκυρώσαντες ὁμολογοῦμεν."

11 Cusa, p. 624. For the Arabic text, see Chapter 1 Appendix, no. 1.

12 In reading Arabic or Greek sources, we should ask ourselves whether a title means an official post or a title of honor. Many historians have not noticed that *shaikh* is merely a title of honor; for example, Garufi treats *shaikh* as identical with *ṣāḥib,* and Caravale equates it with *preposto*. One must also reject Mayer's opinion that *caitus* (*qā'id, καίτος*) is identical with *magister*. See Garufi, "Sull'ordinamento," pp. 252–254; Caravale, "Gli uffici finanziari," p. 203; Mayer, *Italienische Verfassungsgeschichte*, vol. 2, pp. 386–387.

13 Cusa, pp. 80–83.

14 Cusa, pp. 487–488.

15 Note that the triple-layered structure of officials of the *duana* which Garufi proposed (Garufi, "Sull'ordinamento," pp. 252–255, 262) is refuted by a verification of the corresponding terms, though Garufi's theory has been accepted without challenge by Caspar (*Roger II. und die Gründung*, pp. 316–317) and Chalandon (*Histoire de la domination*, vol. 2, pp. 650–653). I will examine the structure of the *duana*'s officials in another article (see Chapter 3).

16 Caravale, "Gli uffici finanziari," p. 210.

17 Mazzarese Fardella, "La struttura amministrativa del Regno Normanno," *Atti del Congresso Internazionale di Studi sulla Sicilia Normanna* (Palermo, 1973), p. 218.

18 Jamison, *Admiral Eugenius*, p. 53.

19 Cusa, pp. 622, 624, 321, 489.

20 There is a possibility, however, that the term *σέκρετον* might be used for indicating the *duana de secretis* after the *duana baronum*'s appearance.

21 Haskins, "England and Sicily," p. 650, note 160: "Τὸν δικέμβριον μῆνα τῆς ἰνδικτιῶνος δ' ἀπεσχωμένου τοῦ εὐδοξοτάτου καίτου Ῥικάρδου καὶ μεγάλου σεκρέτου ἐκ τοῦ Πανόρμου καὶ ἐξετάζωντα κατὰ ἁρπαχθέντα πράγματα τοῦ κραταιοῦ ῥηγὸς ὁμοίος καὶ τὰ τῶν βελλάνων, κατηντίασε εἰς τὴν χώραν χάκι."

22 Rocco Pirro, *Sicilia sacra disquisitionibus et notitiis illustrata*, vol. 2 (Palermo, 1733), p. 1017: "Solam enim divisionem praedictam Casalis Busceniae in fine sigilli denotatam, quoniam totaliter litterae deletae erant, et non poterant clarè legi, transcripsit ex quinternis magni secreti, in quo continentur confines Siciliae."

23 Karl A. Kehr, *Die Urkunden der normannisch-sicilischen Könige* (Innsbruck, 1902), doc. no. 19, p. 438: "ἵνα δὲ εἰς τὸ ἐξῆς ἔχει τὸ ἀνενόχλητον καὶ ἀσφαλεστέραν κτίσηται τὴν δεσποτείαν, ἐπετάξαμεν τῶ πρωτωκαμπέρι καὶ φαμελλιαρίω ἡμῶν τῶ ἐπὶ τοῦ σεκρέτου τῶν ἀποκοπῶν καίτη ῥιγκάρδη χαράξαι αὐτῆ τὸ παρὸν τοῦ ἡμετέρου κράτους σιγίλλιον."

24 I consider this problem as follows. If the *duana de secretis* was exactly identical with the *dīwān al-taḥqīq al-ma'mūr*, we would have no difficulties. But considering that we have no stated Latin equivalent of the *al-dīwān al-ma'mūr*, and that the *al-dīwān al-ma'mūr* was subordinate to the *duana de secretis* according to Garufi's theory, there is a possibility that the Latin *duana de secretis* may encompass both the *dīwān al-taḥqīq al-ma'mūr* and the *al-dīwān al-ma'mūr*. Therefore, in order to ascertain the exact relationship of these terms, we must first ascertain whether the *dīwān al-taḥqīq al-ma'mūr* and the *al-dīwān al-ma'mūr* mean the same office or not. If so, the *duana de secretis* is identical with both (*duana de secretis = dīwān al-taḥqīq al-ma'mūr = al-dīwān al-ma'mūr*), and we have no difficulties. But if they are different offices, we need to take a second step – that is, to verify whether the *duana de secretis* is identical simply with the *dīwān al-taḥqīq al-ma'mūr*, or instead contains both the *dīwān al-taḥqīq al-ma'mūr* and the *al-dīwān al-ma'mūr*.

25 Michele Amari, "Su la data degli sponsali di Arrigo VI con la Costanza erede del trono di Sicilia, e su i *divani* dell'azienda normanna in Palermo. Lettera del dottor O. HARTWIG e Memoria del Socio Amari," *Atti della R. Accademia dei Lincei*, anno 275 (1877–1878), serie 3, Memorie della classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche, vol. 2 (1878), p. 431; Michele Amari, *Storia dei Musulmani di Sicilia*, 2nd ed., a cura di Carlo A. Nallino, 3 vols. (Catania, 1933–1939), vol. 3, pp. 327–328, note 2.

26 Enrico Besta, "Il 'Liber de Regno Siciliae' e la storia del diritto Siculo," *Miscellanea di archeologia, storia e filologia dedicata al Prof. Antonino Salinas* (Palermo, 1907), p. 295, note 2; Luigi Genuardi, "I defetari normanni," *Centenario della nascita di M. Amari: Scritti di filologia e storia araba*, 2 vols. (Palermo, 1910), vol. 1, p. 161.

27 Garufi, "Sull'ordinamento," pp. 234–240; Caspar, *Roger II. und die Gründung*, pp. 315–318; Chalandon, *Histoire de la domination*, vol. 2, pp. 648–649; Caravale, "Gli uffici finanziari," pp. 206–209; Mazzarese Fardella, *Aspetti*, p. 29.

28 Cusa, p. 135. For the Arabic text, see Chapter 1 Appendix, no. 2.

29 Cusa, pp. 245–246. For the Arabic text, see Chapter 1 Appendix, no. 3. The ordinance has the following exception: [Arabic] "But if anyone, whose name is written in this *jarīda*, is found to be of royal domains or of fiefs, he should be excepted from this grant and return there" (Cusa, p. 246). For the Arabic text, see Chapter 1 Appendix, no. 4. I think this is almost the same as the following rule of 1145: [Arabic] "That is to say, if anyone of them is found in the *jarā'id* of the *al-dīwān al-ma'mūr* or the *jarā'id* of vassals or other *jarā'id* this church should except him" (Cusa, p. 564). For the Arabic text, see Chapter 1 Appendix, no. 5. In 1183 the policy on the basis of *jarīda* was carried out as in 1145. So, the *al-dīwān al-ma'mūr* should have kept a *jarīda* in 1183.

30 Cusa, pp. 38–39. For the Arabic text, see Chapter 1 Appendix, no. 6.

31 On the taxes of the kingdom see Tommaso Pedio, "L'ordinamento tributario del Regno Normanno," *Archivio storico pugliese*, vol. 12 (1959), pp. 79–86; Chalandon, *Histoire de la domination*, vol. 2, pp. 690–707.

32 Spata, p. 454. See note 9.

33 Cusa, pp. 81–83.

34 Cusa, pp. 243–244. For the Arabic text, see Chapter 1 Appendix, no. 7.

35 Garufi, "Sull'ordinamento," pp. 236–237; Caravale, "Gli uffici finanziari," p. 207.

36 Caravale, "Gli uffici finanziari," p. 207.

37 Pirro, *Sicilia sacra*, vol. 2, p. 1017.

38 Haskins, "England and Sicily," p. 650, note 160.

39 Carlo Alberto Garufi, *I documenti inediti dell'epoca normanna in Sicilia* (Documenti per servire alla storia di Sicilia, serie 1, Diplomatica 18, Palermo, 1899), p. 125:

"et tibi tuisque in eo successoribus concedimus et donamus in perpetuum molendinum de Talarico in pertinentiis Paternionis et Casale, quod dicitur Rahal Senec, in pertinentiis Leontini cum iustis pertinentiis suis secundum divisas ipsius Casali, que scripta sunt in deptariis Duane nostre de secretis. Quod Casale dedimus ei in excambio pro feudo, quod fuerat quoddam (*sic*, quondam?) Oberti Coste in pertinentiis Paternionis, quod jam predicto fratri Stephano concesseramus, et nunc in demanium Curie nostre redegimus." In this source the royal domain is called *demanium Curie nostre*. This is expressed as *bilād al-dīwān al-ma'mūr* in Arabic (see above at note 29). Comparison of these shows that *al-dīwān al-ma'mūr* is identical with *curia nostra*.

40 Alexandre Bruel, *Recueil des chartes de l'abbaye de Cluny*, vol. 5 (Paris, 1894), p. 600: "concessimus predicte ecclesie . . . terram quinquaginta seminum modios capientem, juxta quod continetur in divisis, quas de predicta terra Goffridus de Centurbio et Gaytus Bulcasseni, magistri duane nostre de secretis, nostra fecerunt auctoritate muniti."

41 Cusa, pp. 487–488; Spata, pp. 443–444.

42 Antonio Mongitore, *Bullae privilegia et instrumenta panormitanae Metropolitanae ecclesiae* (Palermo, 1734), p. 52: "nomina quorum villanorum continentur in platea facta inde a doana nostra de secretis que est plumbeo sigillo nostro sigillata."

43 Haskins, "England and Sicily," p. 654, note 191. The area concerned in this source is Val Sinni in Calabria, while all those we have examined are limited to Sicily.

44 Amari, "Su la data," p. 414. We have established above that *duana baronum* is identical with *σέκρετον τῶν ἀποκοπῶν*.

45 Amari, "Su la data," p. 432.

46 Genuardi, "I defetari normanni," p. 164.

47 Garufi, "Sull'ordinamento amministrativo," pp. 245–250, 261, 263.

48 See note 3 above. Mazzarese Fardella (*Aspetti*, p. 32), while accepting Garufi's theory, regards the *duana baronum* as an office of the *camera*'s officials, because *ἀπόκοπος* means eunuch.

49 Caravale, "Gli uffici finanziari," pp. 210–218.

50 Jamison, *Admiral Eugenius*, pp. 317–319.

51 *Codice diplomatico Brindisino*, ed. Gennaro M. Monti (Trani, 1940), p. 51.

52 Camillo Minieri-Riccio, *Saggio di codice diplomatico formato sulle antiche scritture dell'Archivio di Stato di Napoli. Supplemento, parte 1* (Naples, 1882), pp. 20–21.

53 Haskins, "England and Sicily," p. 653, note 186: "Suprascripta venditio celebrata est per licentiam domini Eugenii magistri duane baronum qui a regia celsitudine ad partes istas delegatus est pro exigendis rationibus a baiulis partium istarum, eo quod pretium eiusdem venditionis datum est Bartholomeo regio ostiario pro minuendo debito de decem milibus tarenis monete Sicilie quos prefatus Landulfus a doana baronum cui preest Gaytus Matara regius camerarius et senescalcus mutuo suscepisse dicitur, et ad ipsos tarenos recolligendos regia celsitudo predictum Bartholomeum ad partes istas delegaverat."

54 Carlo Alberto Garufi, *Catalogo illustrato del Tabulario di S. Maria Nuova in Monreale* (Palermo, 1902), pp. 163–164: "Ego Guillelmus dei et regia gratia Comes Marsici presenti scripto declaro quod bona et spontanea uoluntate mea uendidi duane baronum in manibus uidelicet Gayti Mataracij Regij sacri palatii camerarij et magistri eiusdem duane . . . omnes domos meas quas habui in ciuitate panormi." This count of Marsico received the payment from the aforementioned Gaytus Materacius *magister duane baronum*.

55 Raffaele Perla, "Una charta iudicati dei tempi normanni," *Archivio storico per le provincie napoletane*, vol. 9 (1884), p. 346: "In castello huius civitatis quod terracena dicitur eugenius magister regie duane baronum curiam congregavit ubi landulfus qui dicitur capuanus huius urbis stratigo et nos Guaferius Romoaldus. Petrus soler Landulfus. Petrus Romoaldus et Matheus judices convenimus."

56 Matteo Camera, *Memorie storico-diplomatiche dell'antica città e Ducato di Amalfi*, vol. 1 (Salerno, 1876), pp. 364–367.

57 Haskins, "England and Sicily," p. 445 (2): "Latores presencium Fuscandina et Oddolina de Sarno ad nos venientes nobis conqueste sunt de Iohanne Cicero iam baiulo Sarni secundum quod continetur in cartula clamoris sui quam tibi intus in hanc nostram cartam mittimus sigillatam. Quare mandamus tibi et firmiter precipimus quatinus his nostris visis litteris tantam et talem iusticiam sibi fieri facias quod pro recti penuria de cetero iuste conqueri non valeant nec sit eis opus pro hac causa ad regiam curiam fatigare. Data Salerni sexto die mensis madii undecime indictionis."

58 Garufi and Caravale develop the same order of argument. They begin with the *duana de secretis*, and they confirm in the sources that the *dīwān al-taḥqīq al-ma'mūr* (*duana de secretis*) and the *al-dīwān al-ma'mūr* are different. But then, because the *dīwān al-taḥqīq al-ma'mūr* is identical with the *duana de secretis*, they assume that the *dīwān al-taḥqīq al-ma'mūr* is an office supervising the *al-dīwān al-ma'mūr*, that is, a financial supervising office; this assumption is based on the source which says, "hoc [*duana de secretis*] est doana veritatis tempore precendente predicto" (Spata, p. 454). Therefore, they judge that the *al-dīwān al-ma'mūr* must have been subordinate to the *dīwān al-taḥqīq al-ma'mūr*. Then, in comparing the *duana de secretis* with the *duana baronum*, they reach opposed conclusions. Finally, they think it logical that the *al-dīwān al-ma'mūr*, which was subordinate to the *duana de secretis*, should have also been subordinate to the *duana baronum*.

Their line of argument has three weak points. The first is that they assume that the *duana de secretis* and the *duana baronum* were two sections of one office, the *duana* – and so they try to understand them in the same framework. But we should notice that excepting the one word, *duana*, nothing connects one with the other; their functions differ, as we have seen. The second weak point is the assumption that the *al-dīwān al-ma'mūr* was subordinate to the *duana de secretis* (*dīwān al-taḥqīq al-ma'mūr*) because the latter means "supervising office." One cannot establish the subordinate relationship on the basis of one word taken from a different context. In fact, the sources cited by Garufi and Caravale show only that these two terms indicate different offices. The third weak point is the conclusion that the *al-dīwān al-ma'mūr*, which was subordinate to the *duana de secretis*, must have also been subordinate to the *duana baronum*. No reasons are proffered for this assumption. These weaknesses have allowed Chalandon (*Histoire de la domination*, vol. 2, pp. 648–650) to design the structure slightly different from that of Garufi (Figure 1.5).

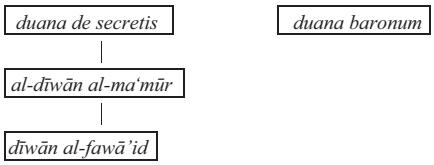

Figure 1.5 Structure of the *duana* by Chalandon

59 What is the Latin correspondent to *al-dīwān al-ma'mūr*? Historians hitherto have ignored this problem. But it is very important because the term appears so often in Arabic sources. *Al-dīwān al-ma'mūr* literally means "great office," "royal office" or "populous office." It is certain that this office was located in the royal palace. Considering its functions, we can suppose that the *al-dīwān al-ma'mūr* was identical with the *curia regis* in its largest sense. In fact, the royal domain was called *bilād al-dīwān al-ma'mūr* in Arabic and *demanium curie nostre* in Latin (see notes 29, 39 above).

Al-dīwān al-ma'mūr originally meant simply a royal office, and it was used to indicate the royal palace, the body of royal officials and so on. But an office concerning land, the *dīwān al-taḥqīq al-ma'mūr*, branched off from it. Therefore the Latin equivalent to *al-dīwān al-ma'mūr* is *curia regis* carrying out routine tasks.

60 Amari, *Storia dei Musulmani*, vol. 2, p. 34; Amari, "Su la data," p. 430. Caravale, "Gli uffici finanziari," pp. 185–187.

61 Pirro, *Sicilia sacra*, vol. 1, p. 384: "Unde audita ejus petitione pro salute animae meae et fratris mei nobilissimi Ducis Roberti Guiscardi . . . dedi et in perpetuum concessi Ecclesiae S. Nicolai Episcopi Messanae Casale Saracenorum quod dicitur Butahi cum omni tenimento et pertinentiis suis secundum antiquas divisiones Saracenorum."

62 The writ of transfer of 12 February, which was written in Palermo, has a foreword in Greek, seventy-five names of villeins in Arabic, and an afterword in Greek (Cusa, pp. 1–3). That of 20 February has a foreword in Greek, 398 names of villeins in Arabic, and an afterword in Greek (Cusa, pp. 541–549).

63 See Carlo A. Garufi, "Censimento e catasto della popolazione servile," *Archivio storico siciliano*, vol. 49 (1928), pp. 26–38.

64 Cusa, pp. 548–549: "Εγράφη οἱ τιαύτη πλατεῖα τῆ προστάξη ἐμοῦ κόμητος ῥωγερίου τῆς γ' ἰνδικτιῶνος τοῦ ϛχγ' ἔτους ὄντος μου ἐχ τὴν μεσσίνην, αἱ δαὶ ἄλλαι πλατείαι τῆς ἐμῆς χώρας καὶ τῶν ἐμῶν τερρερίων ἐγράφησαν ἐχ τὸ μαζάρρη τοῦ ϛχα' ἔτους τῆς α' ἰνδικτιῶνος. καὶ διὰ τούτω προστάττομεν ὅτι ἐάν τις εὐρέθη ἐχ τὰς ἐμὰς πλατείας ἤτε ἐχ τὰς πλατείας τῶν τερρερίων μου ἐκ τοὺς ἀγαρινοὺς τοὺς ὄντας γεγραμμένους ἐχ τὴν τοιαύτην πλατεῖαν ἵνα ἀντιστρέφη αὐτοὺς ὁ ἐπίσκοπος ἄνευ πάσης προφάσεως."

65 Cusa, pp. 532f.

66 Carlo A. Garufi, "Monete e conii nella storia del diritto siculo dagli arabi ai Martini. I," *Archivio storico siciliano*, n.s., vol. 23 (1898), p. 151: "quaterni duane regie qui factus fuerat olim per manus protonotarii Curie transactis annis sexaginta et quinque."

67 Caravale, "Gli uffici finanziari," pp. 187–188.

68 *Codice diplomatico Barese*, vol. 4 (Bari, 1900), doc. n. 32, pp. 67–68: "omnes incolas pagi Foliani qui eum incolunt vel qui forte foris sedes habeant ubicumque sunt in castro vel in pago vel alibi, omnia tributa quae in publicum solvebant iubemus eos solvi Bisantio iudici." "πάντας τοὺς οἰκέτωρας τοῦ χωρίου Φουλιάνου τοὺς ἐν αυτῶ οἰκοῦντας. εἶτ(α) πάλιν ἀπὸ τοὺς αὐτοῦ χωρίτας τυγχάνοντας ἐξοχεῖς τοῦ αὐτοῦ χωρίου ὁποῦ (sic) ἂν ὑπάρχουσιν εἶτεν εἰς κάστρον ἢ χωρίον [ἢ] ἀλλαχοῦ πᾶσας [τας] δουλείας ἃ πρὸς τὸ μέρος τοῦ δημοσίου κατεβάλοντο. τὸ κρίτ(η) Βυζαντ(ίω) διοριζόμεθα ἐκδουλεῦσαι."

69 Chalandon, *Histoire de la domination*, vol. 2, p. 649, note 2: "Ita quod homines morantes . . . in jamdicto feudo . . . et servientes defensati jura et servitia exhibeant et persolvant sicut nostre camere persolvebant et in quaternis fiscalibus continentur. . . . Atque castro predicto omnia tributa, pensiones, angarias, et perangarias . . . quas nostre camere dare et persolvere debuerint tam ad eorum expensas et arma propria ut servientes defensati . . ., quam ad nostra sub certis diebus et tempore sicut in nostro fiscali quaterno apertius declaratur."

70 Pirro, *Sicilia sacra*, vol. 1, pp. 77–78.

71 Garufi, *I documenti inediti*, doc. n. X, pp. 22–23.

72 Garufi, *I documenti inediti*, doc. n. XI, pp. 25–26.

73 On the Assizes of Ariano see Francesco Brandileone, *Il diritto romano nelle leggi normanne e sveve del Regno di Sicilia* (Rome, 1884), pp. 94–138.

74 Brandileone, *Il diritto romano*, pp. 98, 101–102, 104.

75 Brandileone, *Il diritto romano*, pp. 97, 107–108.

76 *Romualdi Salernitani Chronicon*, ed by Carlo Alberto Garufi (Città di Castello, 1909–1935, Muratori, Rerum Italicarum Scriptores, t. 8, pt. 1), p. 226: "Rex autem Roggerius in regno suo perfecte pacis tranquillitate potitus, pro conseruanda pace camerarios et iustitiarios per totam terram instituit, leges a se nouiter conditas promulgauit, malas consuetudines de medio abstulit."

77 Garufi, *I documenti inediti*, doc. n. XIX, pp. 45–46; doc. n. XX, p. 49: "Ad nostram spectat sollicitudinem cuncta in meliorem statum reducere et precipue que ad libertatem ecclesiarum pertinet libentius confirmare et serenitate nostri temporis validiora reddere. Iussimus itaque ut omnia privilegia ecclesiarum et subiectorum regni nostri antiquitus composita a nostra clemencia noviter essent elucidata et robore nostri culminis communita."

78 Pirro, *Sicilia sacra*, vol. 2, p. 1027.

79 Cusa, pp. 563 (1 January), 472–473 (7 January), 127 (24 March). For the Arabic text, see Chapter 1 Appendix, no. 8.
80 The term *duana de secretis* (*dīwān al-taḥqīq al-ma'mūr*) appears for the first time in a document of 1149. See Cusa, pp. 28–29.
81 Caravale, "Gli uffici finanziari," p. 198.
82 The reign of William I ended in 1166. But here we examine these offices before the *duana baronum* appeared, that is, through 1167.
83 Garufi, "Sull'ordinamento," pp. 258–259; Garufi, "Censimento e catasto," p. 83.
84 Caravale, "Gli uffici finanziari," pp. 199–200; Mazzarese Fardella, *Aspetti*, p. 29, accepts Garufi's theory.
85 Cusa, p. 564. See above at note 20.
86 Cusa, pp. 28–30. For the Arabic text, see Chapter 1 Appendix, no. 9.
87 Cusa, pp. 624–626.
88 On the political situation of the peninsula in this period see Evelyn Jamison, "The Norman Administration of Apulia and Capua, More Especially under Roger II and William I, 1127–1166," *Papers of the British School at Rome*, vol. 6 (1913), pp. 221–264.
89 Jamison, "The Norman Administration," pp. 260–261.
90 Jamison, *Admiral Eugenius*, p. 53.
91 Caravale, "Gli uffici finanziari," pp. 203–204.
92 Mazzarese Fardella, *Aspetti*, pp. 38–39.
93 Jamison, *Admiral Eugenius*, p. 53; Jamison, "The Norman Administration," pp. 299–300.
94 Jamison uses *duana* to mean a supervising office consisting of the *duana de secretis* and the *duana baronum*, according to Garufi's theory.
95 *Catalogus baronum*, ed. Evelyn Jamison (Rome, 1972), p. xvii.
96 See Evelyn Jamison, "Additional Work by E. Jamison on the *Catalogus Baronum*," *Bullettino dell'Istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo e Archivio Muratoriano*, vol. 83 (1971), pp. 1–63; Bartolommeo Capasso, "Sul catalogo dei feudi e dei feudatarii delle provincie napoletane sotto la dominazione normanna," *Atti dell'Accademia di archeologia, lettere e belle arti*, serie 1, vol. 4 (1868), pp. 293–371.
97 Jamison, "Additional Work," pp. 3–5.
98 The close relation of the *catalogus baronum* and the *duana baronum* is referred to also by Caravale ("Gli uffici finanziari," pp. 206, 216). Mazzarese Fardella (*Aspetti*, p. 32) insists on their relation on the basis of the commonality of the word *baronum*. This is unacceptable because the term *catalogus baronum* was not used in the Middle Ages but was "devised by Carlo Borrelli for the *editio princeps* of three separate and distinct documents appended to his *Vindex Neapolitanae nobilitatis,* Naples, 1653" (Jamison, *Catalogus Baronum*, Foreword, p. xv).
99 Many historians insist on the difference between these regions. See Wilhelm Heupel, *Der sizilische Grosshof unter Kaiser Friedrich II.* (Stuttgart, 1940), pp. 479–480; Jamison, "The Norman Administration," pp. 244, 246, 260; Mazzarese Fardella, *Aspetti*, pp. 8–9; Mayer, *Italienische Verfassungsgeschichte*, vol. 2, pp. 384–404; Hans Niese, *Die Gesetzgebung der normannischen Dynastie im Regnum Siciliae* (Halle, 1910), pp. 164–165; Chalandon, *Histoire de la domination*, vol. 1, pp. 210–211; Caravale, "Gli uffici finanziari," p. 217.
100 This suggests the following two points: First, the *duana* might be seen as a comprehensive administrative organization rather than a particular fiscal organization; second, one should note the institutional difference between the two districts, which in turn indicates the possible existence of social and cultural disparity between them. What interests us most, however, is that the administrative organization of the kingdom of Sicily was quite a new type, even though it stood solidly on Byzantine and Arabic traditions. The creation of this new type of administrative organization needs to be considered in the context of the bureaucratic changes (or renewals) in twelfth-century Europe, particularly in comparison with England.

2

FAMILIARES REGIS AND THE ROYAL INNER COUNCIL IN TWELFTH-CENTURY SICILY

Since J.E.A. Jolliffe emphasized their important role in the Angevin administration, English historians have paid special attention to the people called *familiares regis*.[1] J. Green and W. L. Warren focused on their administrative functions during the reigns of Henry I (1100–1135) and Henry II (1154–1189), respectively, and confirmed the significance of their place in the royal administration.[2] J. O. Prestwich, M. Chibnall and C. Warren Hollister drew attention to the importance of their military role through an analysis of the *familia regis* as a king's military household.[3] *Familiares regis* is, according to Warren, "a word which defies adequate translation: a *familiaris regis* was an intimate, a familiar resident or visitor in the household, a member of the *familia*, that wider family which embraces servants, confidents, and close associates."[4] This definition is basically shared by modern scholars,[5] who have generally followed Jolliffe in arguing that a private royal council (*concilium privatum, concilium familiare*) was not formed in England until the reign of Henry III (1216–1272).[6] In France too, *familiares regis* were the intimates of kings among the royal entourage, although Bournazel suggests that this term was reserved to designate only the most powerful persons around the palace in the twelfth century.[7] However, we do not have proof of a formally constituted royal council until the reign of Philip V (1316–1322), under whom the *magnum consilium* appeared.[8]

Historians have applied this very general concept of *familiares regis* to Sicily. Chalandon defines the Sicilian *familiares regis* as the counselors chosen from the *curia* who were the closest to the king, and lists men who bore this title during the Norman period. Although he does not mention such issues as their number, length of service and their functions in the administration of the kingdom, he states that the members of the "Privy Council" called *ἄρχοντες τῆς κραταιᾶς κόρτης* were chosen from among these *familiares regis*.[9] Other historians mention *familiares regis* only as kings' counselors consisting of lay and ecclesiastical vassals, but say nothing more.[10] However, the annals of Falcandus seem to suggest that *familiares regis* (or *familiares curie*) were not simply intimates or counselors of the kings, but were in fact the members of the royal inner council.[11] Dating formulae and witness lists during the reign of William II (1166–1189) also seem to suggest this

conclusion. In the Norman Kingdom of Sicily, then, did the term *familiares regis* really indicate the members of the royal inner council?

It is not easy to determine the date when the first royal inner council was formed and when *familiares regis* became its characteristic members. To be sure, the term *familiaris regis* is found in the sources during the reign of Roger II (1105–1154),[12] but we cannot confirm whether this term was employed to indicate one of the king's intimates or a member of a well-defined inner council. In the earlier half of the reign of William I (1154–1166), when the Great Admiral Maio of Bari governed the whole kingdom as head minister,[13] the term *familiaris regis* seldom appears in the sources. Falcandus' mention of the admission of Archbishop Hugh of Palermo to the *familiaritas regis* through Maio's efforts shows the significance of the title and implies that Maio himself was also a *familiaris regis*, but it does not necessarily demonstrate the existence of a royal inner council.[14]

The first inner council confirmed by the sources was formed after the assassination of Maio in 1160. The day after the assassination, King William I summoned Henry Aristippus, Archdeacon of Catania,[15] and appointed him *familiaris* so that he would take the role and office of Maio of Bari in dealing with affairs of the kingdom.[16] Count Silvester of Marsico, an elderly cousin of the king, and an Englishman, Richard Palmer, bishop-elect of Syracuse, were then appointed to be *familiares regis* by March 1161. The inner council of three *familiares regis* was thus formed.[17] Although the triumvirate of three *familiares regis* was to continue until the death of William I in 1166, two of the original members were replaced during this period. First, Henry Aristippus lost the king's confidence in the revolts of the barons in 1161 and was replaced by Matthew the notary, who had long served Maio of Bari and was later to compile a comprehensive land register.[18] Then the converted Muslim Qā'id Peter the eunuch, master chamberlain of the palace,[19] entered the inner council (*regis consilium*) after the death of Count Silvester of Marsico. Thus the new triumvirate of the three *familiares regis* (Bishop-elect Richard Palmer, Matthew the notary and Qā'id Peter the eunuch) was established.[20] These changes in the *familiares regis* have been arranged in Figure 2.1.

By this time the title *familiaris regis* appears already to have come to indicate members of the royal inner council: Falcandus, while remarking at one point that "Matthew the notary, *familiaris curie*, persuaded with many prayers the other *regis familiares*, the Bishop-elect of Syracuse and Count Silvester," explained elsewhere that "Count Silvester having died, only the Bishop-elect of Syracuse and Matthew the notary were members of the royal council (*consilium regis*)."[21] These three *familiares regis* did not include any members of the secular nobility but did represent the other three elements of the kingdom: clergy, southern Italian officials and converted Muslim officials. They continued to administer the affairs of the kingdom until the death of King William I in 1166.

When King William I died on 17 May 1166, there was no problem regarding his successor, because he had already decided that his eldest son, William II (1166–1189), should be crowned.[22] The only difficulty was that the new king

1160, November 10, the death of Maio of Bari ----------
1 HENRY ARISTIPPUS, 2 Count Silvester, 3 Bishop-elect Richard
1161, the revolts of Barons ----------
1 Count Silvester, 2 Bishop-elect Richard, 3 Matthew the Notary
----- the death of Count Silvester ----------
1 Bishop-elect Richard, 2 Matthew the Notary, 3 Qā'id Peter
1166, May 17, the coronation of William II ----------
1 QĀ'ID PETER, 2 Bishop-elect Richard, 3 Matthew the Notary
1166, Summer, the flight of Qā'id Peter to Tunis ----------
1 Count Richard, 2 Bishop-elect Richard, 3 Matthew the Notary
4 Qā'id Richard, 5 Qā'id Martin
1166, October or November ----------
1 STEPHEN DU PERCHE .....
1168, Spring, the flight of Stephen du Perche ----------
1 Bishop-elect Richard, 2 Bishop Gentile, 3 Archbishop Romuald
4 Bishop John, 5 Count Roger, 6 Count Richard, 7 Count Henry
8 Matthew the Notary, 9 Qā'id Richard, 10 Walter, dean of Agrigento
1169, September 28, the consecration of Archbishop Walter ----------
1 ARCHBISHOP WALTER, 2 Matthew the Notary, 3 Bishop Gentile

Figure 2.1 Changes in the *familiares regis* shown in Falcandus
Note: Uppercase letters indicate head ministers

was only twelve years old. King William I had declared in his testament that his three *familiares* should keep their status and help the regent, Queen Margaret, as Falcandus relates:

> [Latin] William I also ordered that the bishop-elect of Syracuse, Qā'id Peter and Matthew the notary, whom he had chosen as *familiares* for himself, should remain in the same *familiaritas* of the *curia* so that according to their counsel the Queen would manage that which it appears necessary to do.[23]

However, the new king's minority could not avoid political instability. The nobility gained more power at the royal court and had a great influence on politics. The *familiares regis* expanded in number, but their membership changed rapidly, reflecting the political struggles at the royal palace. Falcandus gives us detailed information about these political struggles and the change among the *familiares regis* during this period.

The first change was introduced by the regent, Queen Margaret. After the coronation of William II, she appointed Qā'id Peter the eunuch, the master chamberlain of the royal palace, head minister and made the other two *familiares regis* (Bishop-elect Richard Palmer of Syracuse and Matthew the notary) his assistants:

> [Latin] But she did not wish the *familiares* of the *curia* to remain in the same grade as before or in the same dignity. For, she granted Qā'id Peter the highest power concerning all matters, placed him in a higher position than anyone else and ordered that the bishop-elect of Syracuse and Matthew the notary should obey his orders in all matters, although as his assistants they were certainly to be named among the counselors (*consilii*) and *familiares*.[24]

Thus the effective direction of the kingdom was placed in the hands of a converted Muslim eunuch, Qā'id Peter.

His leadership did not continue long, however. By the middle of the summer, Sicily was almost in chaos. Plots and intrigues raged at the royal palace. Supported by the barons, Count Gilbert of Gravina, the queen's cousin, advanced his power and pressed the queen to appoint him head minister. In order to offset his power, Margaret appointed Richard of Mandra, the master constable, Count of Molise. But this measure did not prevent Gilbert from initiating serious plots against Qā'id Peter. In the end, the head minister, Qā'id Peter, fled to Tunis.[25]

Queen Margaret, having sent Gilbert of Gravina to the mainland as captain of Apulia and Terra Laboris, appointed Count Richard of Molise *familiaris curie* and gave him higher authority than the other *familiares* to take the place of Qā'id Peter.[26] Soon after that, two converted Muslims, Qā'id Richard, master chamberlain of the royal palace, and Qā'id Martin, who directed the *duana de secretis*, were added to the three *familiares regis*.[27]

Thus a new inner council of five *familiares regis* was formed. It consisted of Count Richard of Molise; Bishop-elect Richard Palmer of Syracuse; Matthew the notary; Qā'id Richard, master chamberlain of the royal palace; and Qā'id Martin.[28]

At the end of the summer in 1166, Stephen du Perche, a son of the count of Perche in France and a relative of Queen Margaret, arrived in Palermo in response to the queen's invitation. He was appointed chancellor in November of the same year and elected to the archbishopric of Palermo in October or November of 1167.[29] Thus he acquired the two highest positions of the kingdom in a very short time, and stood at the center of power.[30] Although it is certain that Stephen himself was appointed *familiaris regis*, we do not know precisely how the membership of the *familiares regis* changed under his headship. Falcandus sometimes mentions *familiares regis*, but he does not list their names. Qā'id Richard and Qā'id Martin enjoyed *familiaritas regis* at least for a while in 1167.[31] Matthew the notary also seems to have kept his *familiaritas*.[32] But it is not clear who the *familiares regis*

were in this period.[33] Stephen's control over the council seems to have been very strong, helped by members of his French entourage.[34] Therefore, it is probable that his strong rule overshadowed the power and authority of the other *familiares regis*. However, he faced serious resistance from the magnates and officials at the palace as well as from native Sicilians, and he left the kingdom during violent disturbances in the spring of 1168.

New *familiares regis* were appointed immediately, and a royal inner council of ten *familiares regis* was instituted, as Falcandus explains in detail:

> [Latin] In the meantime Bishop Gentile of Agrigento, who had been sent to Val Demone, was called back and appointed *familiaris* of the *curia*. Count Henry of Montescaglioso and Count Richard of Molise arrived at Palermo with many armed men of Messina and twenty-four armed galleys. Supported by these forces, they renewed the state of the *curia* and instituted ten *familiares*: Bishop-elect Richard of Syracuse, Bishop Gentile of Agrigento, Archbishop Romuald of Salerno, Bishop John of Malta, Count Roger of Gerace, Count Richard of Molise, Count Henry of Montescaglioso, Matthew the notary, Qā'id Richard, and Walter, dean of Agrigento and the king's tutor (*preceptor*).[35]

It is not certain how long this large royal inner council of ten *familiares regis* remained. By the next February, however, Qā'id Martin seems to have been reappointed *familiaris regis*, because his name was listed among the *familiares regis* at the end of two charters of February 1169. The same charters did not list the archbishop of Salerno, the bishop of Malta, the count of Gerace, and the count of Montescaglioso among the *familiares regis*.[36] In addition to these four, a charter of May 1169 did not list Bishop-elect Richard of Syracuse.[37] This implies that those people might have been excluded from the inner council by that time; but, of course, there is the possibility that they were simply absent from the royal palace, while keeping their title of *familiaris regis*.

All these changes occurred within the first three years of the minority of William II. But this instability among *familiares regis* came to an end when Walter, dean of Agrigento and the tutor of King William II and his brother, was consecrated archbishop of Palermo on 28 October 1169, and the political struggles subsided. Falcandus explains the consecration of Walter and the subsequent establishment of three *familiares regis*:

> [Latin] Therefore this affair was prolonged for a few days lest the decision should not seem to be precipitous. Then, the pope ratified the election and ordered that the archbishop-elect should be consecrated by the suffragan bishops. Walter, who was elevated to the highest dignity, immediately changed the constitution of the *curia*, and appointed Matthew the notary and Bishop Gentile of Agrigento to be *familiares* under his authority, retaining the highest power for himself.[38]

Falcandus' detailed account ends with the establishment of this triumvirate of the *familiares regis*. But, fortunately, other sources give us information on *familiares regis* thereafter. Royal diplomas had been customarily dated by chancellors or, during their absences, by their deputies until the death of Maio of Bari in 1160. After this date, however, the position of chancellor became vacant, and the diplomas were dated by Bishop-elect Richard of Syracuse, one of the *familiares regis*. The short chancellorship of Stephen du Perche (1166–1168) revived the dating by a chancellor, but after his flight in 1168 the office of chancellor was not filled until 1190 and the royal diplomas came to be dated by the *familiares regis*, as a charter of January 1176 shows:

> [Latin] Data in urbe Panormi felici per manus Gualterii venerabilis Panormitani archiepiscopi et Mathei regii vicecancellarii et Bartholomei Agrigentini episcopi *domini regis familiarium* anno dominice incarnationis.[39]

Sometimes the title of *familiaris regis* appears in texts of diplomas as "Guillelmum venerabilem archiepiscopum dilectum fidelem et familiarem nostrum."[40] The names of those with the title of *familiaris regis* have been gathered from various diplomas and arranged in Figure 2.2.

This figure suggests that the newly established triumvirate continued for more than ten years. In this triumvirate, the archbishop of Palermo maintained the highest position and Matthew, who was promoted to vice-chancellor from notary in December 1169, enjoyed the second highest status, although the third member of the inner council was changed.[41] The nobility were kept completely away from the royal inner council, and only clerics and royal officials were appointed *familiares regis*. It should be noted that during this period the kingdom enjoyed almost complete peace and experienced no serious revolts. At the same time, however, the third *familiaris regis* changed. First, Bishop-elect Bartholomew of Agrigento, a brother of Archbishop Walter of Palermo, succeeded Bishop Gentile of Agrigento who had died and appeared as the third *familiaris regis* in December 1171. He remained in *familiaritas regis* for about five years. Bishop Richard Palmer of Syracuse replaced him by February 1177. Richard Palmer became archbishop of Messina at the end of 1182, but kept the title of *familiaris regis* for about seven years until 1184.[42]

This long-established triumvirate of *familiares regis* was modified by a new element, the archbishopric of Monreale created in February 1183 by the bull of Pope Lucius III.[43] William, the first archbishop of Monreale, appeared as one of the four *familiares regis* in a diploma of May 1184.[44] Almost at the same time, Bishop Bartholomew of Agrigento joined the *familiares regis* again, replacing Archbishop Richard of Messina. Thus in 1184 a new arrangement of the royal council with four *familiares regis* appeared. The creation of the archbishopric of Monreale probably weakened the power and authority of Archbishop Walter of Palermo. Considering that Vice-chancellor Matthew worked to create this archbishopric, it is probable that Archbishop Walter of Palermo made his

Date		Familiares		
(1) 1169	Feb	1 Archbishop-elect Walter, 4 Count Richard,	2 Bishop-elect Richard, 5 Qā'id Richard,	3 Bishop Gentile, 6 Qā'id Martin
(2)	Feb	1 Archbishop-elect Walter, 4 Matthew the notary, 7 Qā'id Martin	2 Bishop-elect Richard, 5 Count Richard,	3 Bishop Gentile, 6 Qā'id Richard,
(3)	May	1 Archbishop-elect Walter, 4 Count Richard,	2 Bishop Gentile, 5 Qā'id Richard,	3 Matthew the notary, 6 Qā'id Martin
(4) 1170	Oct	1 Archbishop Walter,	2(Vice-Chancellor Matthew),	3 Bishop Gentile

Figure 2.2 *Familiares regis* shown in diplomas

Sources: (1) Carlo Alberto Garufi, *I documenti inediti dell'epoca normanna in Sicilia* (Palermo, 1899) (hereinafter Garufi, *Documenti*), p. 111. (2) Alessandro Pratesi, ed., *Carte latine di Abbazie Calabresi provenienti dall'Archivio Aldobrandini* (Città del Vaticano, 1958), doc. 23, pp. 60–62. (3) Garufi, *Documenti*, p. 112. (4) *Ibid*., p. 126. (5) *Ibid*., p. 128; Karl Andreas Kehr, *Die Urkunden der normannisch-sicilischen Könige* (Innsbruck, 1902) (hereinafter Kehr), pp. 440–441. (6) Rocco Pirro, *Sicilia sacra disquisitionibus, et notitiis illustrata*, 2 vols., 3rd ed., A. Mongitore (Palermo, 1733) (hereinafter Pirro), p. 669; Wilhelm Behring, "Sicilianische Studien II/2: Regesten des normannischen Königshause 1130–1197," *Programm des königlichen Gymnasiums zu Elbing* (Elbing, 1887) (hereinafter Behring), no. 181. (7) Kehr, p. 442. (8) Ferdinando Ughelli, *Italia sacra sive de episcopis Italiae et insularum adiacentium*, 2nd ed., 10 vols. (Venice, 1717–1721), 8:983; Behring, no. 188. (9) Alexandre Bruel, *Recueil des chartes de l'abbaye de Cluny*, vol. 5 (Paris, 1894), pp. 600–601. (10) Kehr, pp. 375, 382. (11) Behring, no. 192; Pirro, p. 741. (12) Behring, no. 193. (13) G. B. Siragusa, *Il Regno di Guglielmo I in Sicilia*, 2nd ed. (Palermo, 1929), p. 379. (14) *Ibid*., pp. 380–381. (15) Kehr, p. 443. (16) Behring, no. 202; Pirro, p. 700. (17) Behring, no. 203. (18) Behring, no. 204; Pirro, p. 107. (19) Kehr, p. 445. (20) Behring, no. 206. (21) G. Bresc-Bautier, ed., *Le Cartulaire du chapitre du Saint-Sépulchre* (Paris, 1984), pp. 316–317. (22) Kehr, p. 448; Behring, no. 211. (23) Pirro, p. 702; Behring, no. 212. (24) Garufi, *Documenti*, p. 172. (25) Charles Homer Haskins, "England and Sicily in the Twelfth Century," *English Historical Review*, vol. 26 (1911), p. 445. (26) Behring, no. 218. (27) Salvatore Cusa, *I diplomi greci ed arabi di Sicilia pubblicati nel testo originale*, vol. 1 (Palermo, 1868–1882), pp. 202, 244; Behring, no. 219. (28) Garufi, *Documenti*, p. 182; Behring, no. 220. (29) Behring, no. 221. (30) *Codice diplomatico Barese*, vol. 5 (Bari, 1902), pp. 252–253. (31) Garufi, *Documenti*, p. 189. (32) Carlo Alberto Garufi, *Catalogo illustrato del Tabulario di S. Maria Nuova in Monreale* (Palermo, 1902) (hereinafter Garufi, *Catalogo*), p. 26; Behring, no. 222. (33) Pirro, p. 460; Behring, no. 223; Garufi, *Catalogo*, p. 27. (34) *Ibid*., p. 27. (35) *Ibid*., p. 28. (36) *Ibid*., p. 29. (37) Behring, no. 225. (38) Behring, no. 230. (39) Kehr, pp. 455–456. (40) Garufi, *Documenti*, p. 213. (41) Kehr, p. 457. (42) Garufi, *Catalogo*, p. 230. (43) *Tancredi et Willelmi III Regum Diplomata* (Codex Diplomaticus Regni Siciliae, Serie I, tomus V, *Cologne*, 1982), p. 213. (44) *Ibid*., pp. 61–62. (45) *Ibid*., p. 92. (46) *Ibid*., p. 94. (47) *Ibid*., p. 96. (48) *Ibid*., p. 98. (49) *Ibid*., p. 101. (50) *Ibid*., pp. 103–104. (51) *Ibid*., p. 106.

Notes: Matthew is among the dataries of the diplomas of (4) and (8), but does not bear the title of *familiaris regis*. Garufi informs that the diplomas of (34), (35) and (36) were dated by Walter, Matthew and Richard (or Bartholomew), but it has not been confirmed yet in the original manuscripts whether these people bore the title of *familiaris regis*.

Date		Familiares			
(5) 1171	Mar	1 same as above,	2 same as above,	3 same as above	
(6)	Dec	1 same as above,	2 same as above,	3 Bishop-elect Bartholomew	
(7) 1172	Apr	1 same as above,	2 same as above,	3 same as above	
(8)	Jul	1 same as above,	2(same as above)		
(9)	Nov	1 same as above,	2 same as above,	3 same as above	
(10) 1173	Feb	1 same as above,	2 same as above,	3 same as above	
(11)	Mar	1 same as above,	2 same as above,	3 same as above	
(12) 1174	Nov	1 same as above,	2 same as above		
(13) 1175	Sep	1 same as above,	2 same as above,	3 Bishop Bartholomew	
(14)	Sep	1 same as above,	2 same as above,	3 same as above	
(15) 1176	Jan	1 same as above,	2 same as above,	3 same as above	
(16) 1177	Jan	1 same as above,	2 same as above		
(17)	Feb	1 same as above,	2 same as above,	3 Bishop Richard	
(18)	Mar	1 ----------	2 same as above,	3 same as above	
(19)	Nov	1 same as above,	2 same as above,	3 same as above	
(20)	Nov	1 same as above,	2 same as above,	3 same as above	
(21) 1178	Apr	1 same as above,	2 same as above,	3 same as above	
(22)	Nov	1 same as above,	2 same as above,	3 same as above	
(23)	Dec	1 same as above,	2 same as above,	3 same as above	
(24) 1180	Mar	1 same as above,	2 same as above,	3 same as above	
(25)	Mar	1 same as above,	2 same as above,	3 same as above	
(26) 1182	May	1 same as above,	2 same as above,	3 same as above,	4 Bishop John
(27)	May	1 same as above,	2 same as above,	3 same as above	
(28)	Oct	1 same as above,	2 same as above,	3 same as above	
(29)	Nov	1 same as above,	2 same as above,	3 same as above	
(30)	Dec	1 same as above,	2 same as above,	3 same as above	
(31) 1183	Jan	1 same as above,	2 same as above,	3 Archbishop Richard	

Figure 2.2 (Continued)

(32)	Apr	1 same as above,	2 same as above,	3 same as above	
(33)	May	1 same as above,	2 same as above,	3 same as above	
(34) 1184	Mar	1(same as above),	2(same as above),	3(same as above)	
(35)	Mar	1(same as above),	2(same as above),	3(Bishop Bartholomew)	
(36)	May	1(same as above),	2(same as above),	3(same as above)	
(37)	May	1 same as above,	2 Archbishop William,	3 Vice-Chancellor Matthew,	
		4 Bishop Bartholomew			
(38) 1185	Jun	1 same as above,	2 ----------,	3 same as above,	4 same as above
(39) 1186	May	1 same as above,	2 same as above,	3 same as above,	4 same as above
(40)	Nov	same as above			
(41) 1188	Oct	1 same as above,	2 same as above,	3 same as above,	4 same as above
(42)	Dec	1 same as above,	2 same as above,	3 same as above,	4 same as above
(43) 1190	Oct	Archbishop Nicholas			
(44) 1192	Jun	Richard			
(45) 1194	Jun	1 Archbishop Bartholomew,	2 Archbishop Nicholas,	3 Count Richard	
(46)	Jul	1 same as above,	2 same as above,	3 same as above	
(47)	Aug	1 same as above,	2 same as above		
(48)	Aug	1 same as above,	2 same as above		
(49)	Sep	1 same as above,	2 same as above		
(50)	Oct	1 same as above,	2 same as above		
(51)	Oct	1 same as above,	2 same as above		

Figure 2.2 (Continued)

brother, Bishop Bartholomew of Agrigento, *familiaris regis* in order to create a balance with the other two *familiares regis* in the royal inner council. This arrangement of four *familiares regis* continued until the death of William II on 18 November 1189.

The death of William II without an heir caused a dispute over the succession. There were three candidates: Constance, daughter of Roger II, who had married Henry VI, son of the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa; Tancred, count of Lecce, illegitimate son of Duke Roger and thus grandson of Roger II; and Count Roger of Andrea. While Archbishop Walter of Palermo favored Constance, Vice-chancellor Matthew strongly supported Count Tancred, who was finally elected and crowned at Palermo on 18 January 1190.[45] The balanced structure of the four *familiares regis* of William II was then drastically changed. Archbishop Walter of Palermo died before the end of 1190,[46] and Archbishop William of Monreale died on 28 October 1191.[47] Although Bishop Bartholomew of Agrigento became archbishop of Palermo in succession to his brother Walter, he does not seem to have held the title of *familiaris regis* during the reign of Tancred (1190–1194). The only remaining *familiaris regis*, Vice-chancellor Matthew, became head minister and by April 1190 was promoted to chancellor, a dignity which had been vacant since the flight of Stephen du Perche in 1168. At the same time the diplomas came to be dated by Chancellor Matthew or, during his absences, by his deputy and own son Richard,[48] and no longer by a group of *familiares regis*. For this reason, as well as for the paucity of documents, it is difficult to know who the *familiares regis* were during the reign of Tancred. Besides Chancellor Matthew, his two sons, Archbishop Nicholas of Salerno[49] and Richard,[50] who became count of Ajello in 1192, held the title of *familiares regis*. These three *familiares regis* were the most powerful ministers in the royal government and seem to have formed "a family triumvirate."[51] There may have been other *familiares regis*,[52] but undoubtedly Chancellor Matthew exercised by far the dominant power and influence, and seems to have overshadowed the other *familiares regis* as had Chancellor Stephen du Perche almost thirty years before. Chancellor Matthew died on 21 July 1193,[53] and King Tancred died on 20 February 1194, leaving his child William III as successor.

During William III's short reign (February–December 1194) under the regency of the queen mother, Sibylla of Acerra, the royal inner council of *familiares regis* seems to have taken the lead again.[54] The dating by the *familiares regis* in royal diplomas revived. Two diplomas of June and July 1194 were dated by the three *familiares regis*, Archbishop Bartholomew of Palermo, Archbishop Nicholas of Salerno, and Count Richard of Ajello.[55] Thus, Archbishop Bartholomew, who had been a *familiaris regis* for many years under William II but lost this position under Tancred, received his title anew. Archbishop Nicholas of Salerno and Count Richard, both of whom were sons of Chancellor Matthew, maintained their titles of *familiaris regis* and the high status which they had enjoyed during the former reign. Five other diplomas (two of August, one of September and two of October) dated after those mentioned above include Archbishop Bartholomew and

Archbishop Nicholas as dataries, but not Count Richard of Ajello.[56] This practice of dating by the *familiares regis* shows a strong resemblance to that under William II. But it should be kept in mind that the political situations were completely different. In the very unstable political condition under William III it is difficult to believe that those dataries were the only *familiares regis*. In fact, we find another *familiaris regis*, Admiral Margaritus, count of Malta, who was described as *domini regis familiaris* in a charter of July 1194.[57] He was certainly one of the most powerful and influential magnates in the kingdom.

Thus in the Norman Kingdom of Sicily, *familiaris regis* was neither a general term to indicate a member of the royal household nor a simple honorary title with special privileges. The bearers of this title can be identified very precisely. The number of the *familiares regis* was usually between three and five, although it expanded to ten in the special circumstances of 1168. These *familiares regis* were the most powerful ministers in the kingdom. They were not, however, merely ministers or counselors of high status who acted independently and served the kings individually. Rather they were members of a formally recognized royal inner council, in whose hands administrative power was concentrated. This royal inner council should therefore be distinguished from that larger, undefined body of advisers who made up the king's "great council," if we may so call it, a body not yet institutionalized or fixed in its composition. The *familiares regis* acted together to decide important issues and to date royal diplomas. Most importantly they managed the state affairs and royal government. It is well known that William I "devolved the exercise of power upon his ministers, and was content to live in his palace surrounded by his harem like an oriental sovereign" except in the case of "urgent necessity for his personal intervention."[58] William II also entrusted his *familiares* with management of state affairs throughout his reign. Their authority, however, seems to have derived entirely from the kings they served, and their power and influence therefore probably depended on the personal character of the kings and other political factors. Thus, under the chancellorships of Stephen du Perche (1166–1168) and Matthew (1190–1193), the *familiares regis* figured less prominently and their activities became less clear. Before the consecration of Archbishop of Palermo in 1169, this inner council seems to have balanced three elements: nobility, bureaucrats and clergy. It is noteworthy that, during this period, converted Muslims were included in the inner council and took part in the decision-making process of the kingdom. The power of the nobility rapidly increased during the minority of William II, but they were completely excluded from the inner council after 1169 throughout the reign of William II until 1189. This practice of choosing *familiares regis* only from among the royal officials and the clergy seems to have continued until the extinction of the Norman Kingdom in 1194.[59]

This conclusion, however, raises a serious problem in the historiography of Norman Sicily because it contradicts the traditional idea of members of the "Privy Council" (or royal court council), called *ἄρχοντες τῆς κραταιᾶς κόρτης*. Chalandon thought that *ἄρχοντες τῆς κραταιᾶς κόρτης* had been a separate entity chosen

from among the *familiares regis*,[60] but this is unlikely if, as I have argued, *familiares regis* were in fact members of the royal inner council. It does not make sense to assume a more limited royal council than the *familiares regis*, who frequently numbered only three. What then was the relationship of the *familiares regis* to the *ἄρχοντες τῆς κραταιᾶς κόρτης*? The following source of 1172 suggests that *ἄρχοντες τῆς κραταιᾶς κόρτης* were in fact identical to *familiares regis*:

> [Greek] In October of the sixth Indiction and AM 6681, I, Geoffrey the *σεκρετικός*, came to the *amīr*'s house (*μινζηλμήρ*) to examine carefully and fix the boundaries of Sha'rānī Village according to the order of the very distinguished and honorable *ἄρχοντες τῆς κραταιᾶς κόρτης*, that is, Lord Walter, the first *familiaris* and very sacred and very pious archbishop of Palermo, the honorable Vice-chancellor Matthew, and Bartholomew, the honorable bishop of Agrigento and *familiaris*.[61]

This source shows that the *ἄρχοντες τῆς κραταιᾶς κόρτης* were Archbishop Walter of Palermo, Vice-chancellor Matthew and Bishop-elect Bartholomew of Agrigento, who were, as has been shown, the *familiares regis* in 1172. The term *ἄρχοντες τῆς κραταιᾶς κόρτης* never referred to the members of a more limited royal court council chosen from among the *familiares regis*, as Chalandon thought. This identification of *ἄρχοντες τῆς κραταιᾶς κόρτης* with *familiares regis* also makes manifest the fact that there was no special "Privy Council" (or royal court council) consisting of the master chamberlain of the royal palace and the master justiciar of the great royal court but excluding the masters of the *duana*, as Garufi, Caspar, Caravale and Chalandon have presumed.[62]

This conclusion also raises a more general and important question for the usage of the phrase *familiaris regis* in twelfth-century Europe. We have seen that in Sicily *familiaris regis* was not a vague term indicating a king's intimate or simply a member of the royal household (*familia regis*), but a title denoting a member of the royal inner council, which was the most powerful decision-making body in later twelfth-century Sicily. Was this usage of *familiares regis* limited to Sicily? Or did England, France and other monarchies use this title in much the same way? Considering the close contacts among these royal courts and the similarities in the titles of certain other royal officials, there is the possibility that other monarchies had the same or similar usages of *familiaris regis*. In fact, Bournazel's study argues that the *familiares regis* in twelfth-century France were the most powerful people in the kingdom, and that this term had a close connection with the notion of council.[63] Although some scholars seem to believe that in twelfth-century England *familiaris regis* was just another expression to denote a member of the *familia regis*, several sources imply that this word had a more positive connotation, as King Henry II gave orders to counts, barons and knights of the kingdom "*per consilia familiarium suorum*,"[64] and sent his *familiares* to foreign courts as envoys.[65] It is, indeed, very suggestive that the bearers of the title *familiaris regis* included the most powerful people in the kingdom such as Ranulf Flambard under

William II,[66] Walter de Coutances under Henry II,[67] and Peter des Roches under John.[68] Of course this evidence does not provide a definite answer to our question, and further conjectures should not be attempted. Only a more thorough investigation of the persons described as the *familiares regis* of those monarchies will enable us to know the real answer. Such an investigation should, I believe, be attempted because *familiares regis* could prove to be a key concept in the understanding of medieval government in Western Europe.[69]

Acknowledgments

I would like to thank Professors John Boswell and Robert Stacey of Yale University; Professor Giles Constable of The Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton; and Professor J. C. Holt and Dr. David Abulafia of Cambridge University for their valuable advice. I am also grateful to Professor James Powell of Syracuse University; Professor Michael Altschul of Case Western Reserve University; and Professors Kōichi Kabayama, Takeshi Kido and Tsugitaka Satō of The University of Tokyo for their comments on an earlier version of this chapter; and to Lisa and Jonathan Rotondo-McCord, Colleen Ravillini and Frederick Dickinson for their help in revising this chapter.

Notes

1 John E. A. Jolliffe, *Angevin Kingship* (New York, 1955), pp. 168–187, 277–297. Although historians have often employed a simpler form *familiares* to indicate a king's *familiares*, I will use the more precise term *familiares regis* (or *curie*) based on available sources.

2 Wilfred L. Warren, *Henry II* (Berkeley/Los Angeles, 1977), pp. 305, 309–311; Judith A. Green, *The Government of England under Henry I* (Cambridge, 1986), pp. 19–37, especially pp. 19–20, 36–37.

3 John O. Prestwich, "The Military Household of the Norman Kings," *English Historical Review*, vol. 96 (1981), pp. 1–35; John O. Prestwich, "Anglo-Norman Feudalism and the Problems of Continuity," *Past and Present*, vol. 26 (1963), pp. 39–57; Marjorie Chibnall, "Mercenaries and the *Familia Regis* under Henry I," *History*, vol. 62 (1977), pp. 15–23; Charles Warren Hollister, *The Military Organization of Norman England* (Oxford, 1965).

4 Warren, *Henry II*, p. 305. He explained, furthermore, that there were "few who were simply courtiers, for the king employed his *familiares* on a variety of administrative tasks." In England, therefore, "the functions of the *familiares*, indeed, make nonsense of any attempt to describe the king's government simply in terms of offices or institutions" (p. 305). See also Jolliffe, *Angevin Kingship*, p. 184.

5 For example, Wilfred L. Warren, *The Governance of Norman and Angevin England 1086–1272* (London, 1987), p. 127; Green, *The Government*, pp. 18–19, 36–37; Charles Warren Hollister and John Wesley Baldwin, "The Rise of Administrative Kingship: Henry I and Philip Augustus," *American Historical Review*, vol. 83 (1978), p. 870.

6 Jolliffe, *Angevin Kingship*, p. 166.

7 Hollister and Baldwin, "The Rise of Administrative Kingship," p. 901; Eric Bournazel, *Le Gouvernement Capétien au XIIe siècle 1108–1180: Structures sociales et mutations*

institutionelles (Paris, 1975), pp. 147–148. Bournazel suggests the close connection of the term *familiares* with the notion of council (*conseil*) and analyses in detail the beginnings of the royal council (pp. 149, 151–173).

8 François Olivier-Martin, *Histoire du droit français des origins à la Révolution*, 2e tirage (Paris, 1951), p. 661.

9 Ferdinand Chalandon, *Histoire de la domination normande en Italie et en Sicile*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1907), vol. 2, pp. 632–634; Ferdinand Chalandon, "The Norman Kingdom of Sicily," *The Cambridge Medieval History V: Contest of Empire and Papacy* (Cambridge, 1926), p. 205. According to Chalandon the "Privy Council /*conseil privé*" itself was called *ἡ κραταιὰ κόρτη* and included the master chamberlain of the royal palace and the master justiciar of the great royal court, but not the masters of the *duana* ("Norman Kingdom of Sicily," p. 205; *Histoire de la domination*, vol. 2, p. 651). This idea was first presented by Carlo A. Garufi ("Sull'ordinamento amministrativo normanno in Sicilia, Exhiquier o diwan? Studi storico-diplomatici," *Archivio storico italiano*, serie V, vol. 27 [1901], pp. 256–257), and has been accepted by Chalandon, and by Erich Caspar, *Roger II. (1101–1154) und die Gründung der normannisch-sicilischen Monarchie* (Innsbruck, 1904), p. 316; Mario Caravale, "Gli uffici finanziari nel Regno di Sicilia durante il periodo normanno," *Annali di storia del diritto*, vol. 8 (1964), pp. 203, 218–219. For the most recent arguments and literature on the Norman administration in Sicily including the *duana* system, see Hiroshi Takayama, "The Financial and Administrative Organization of the Normans in Twelfth-Century Sicily," *Shigaku-Zasshi*, vol. 92, no. 7 (1983), pp. 1–46; Hiroshi Takayama, "The Grand Officials of the Norman Kingdom of Sicily," *Shigaku-Zasshi*, vol. 93, no. 12 (1984), pp. 1–46; Hiroshi Takayama, "The Financial and Administrative Organization of the Norman Kingdom of Sicily," *Viator*, vol. 16 (1985), pp. 129–157; Hiroshi Takayama, "The Great Administrative Officials of the Norman Kingdom of Sicily," *Papers of the British School at Rome*, vol. 58 (1990), pp. 317–335.

10 However, Jamison, Kehr and Loewenthal use this term in a more limited sense. They seem to believe, as I do, that the *familiares regis* were the members of the royal inner council. See Evelyn Jamison, *Admiral Eugenius of Sicily: His Life and Work* (London, 1957), pp. 45–49, 93–94, 103–104; Karl A. Kehr, *Die Urkunden der normannisch-sicilischen Könige* (Innsbruck, 1902), pp. 86–88; Leonard J. A. Loewenthal, "For the Biography of Walter Ophamil, Archbishop of Palermo," *English Historical Review*, vol. 87 (1972), p. 76.

11 Hugo Falcandus, *Liber de Regno Sicilie* [hereinafter Falcandus, *Liber de Regno*], in Giovanni B. Siragusa, ed., *La historia o Liber de Regno Sicilie e la epistola ad Petrum Panormitane ecclesie thesaurarium di Ugo Falcando* (Rome, 1897), pp. 1–165. The identity of the author of the *Liber de Regno Sicilie*, who has been called Hugo Falcandus, remains a mystery. The best argument is Jamison, *Admiral Eugenius*, Part II. On the literature of this subject, see *ibid*., p. 177, note 1. See also Hartmut Hoffmann, "Hugo Falcandus und Romuald von Salerno," *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters*, vol. 23 (1967), pp. 116–170.

12 Falcandus (*Liber de Regno*, p. 7) suggests that Roger II had his *familiares*. In fact we can easily find the term *familiaris* in sources during the reign of Roger II. For example, "saepissima ac familiaris collocutio" in the summer of 1130 (Léon-Robert Ménager, "L'institution monarchique dans les États normands d'Italie," *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale*, vol. 2 [1959], p. 445). On 30 November 1133, Archbishop Peter of Otranto was called *consiliarius et familiaris noster dilectus* (*Rogerii II. Regis Diplomata Latina* [Codex diplomaticus regni Siciliae, Serie I, tomus II–1, Cologne, 1987], p. 96). In 1142, Count Simon, nephew of the king, and Admiral George of Antioch were *familiares regis* (Salvatore Cusa, *I diplomi greci ed arabi di Sicilia pubblicati nel testo originale* [Palermo, 1868–1882], p. 309: "κώμητως συμεὼν καὶ γεωργίου ἀμυρᾶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ

καιροῦ φαμιλιαρίων"). In July 1143, Master Thomas Brown and Archbishop-elect Roger of Palermo were *familiares regis* (*Rogerii II*., pp. 160, 164–165). In 1144, we find three *familiares regis*: Archbishop Roger Fresca of Palermo in January (Cusa, p. 25: "τῆς ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς ὑποψιφίω ἡμετέρω πιστωτάτω φαμιληάρι καὶ συμβουλάτωρι κυρῶ ῥογερίω φεσκὰ"), Bishop Osbert of Mazara in March (*Rogerii II*., p. 174), and Bishop Parisius of Syracuse in May (*Rogerii II*., p. 178). A Baron Deutesalve was also called *fidelis et familiaris* (Kehr, *Urkunden*, p. 498). Cf. Chalandon, *Histoire de la domination*, vol. 2, p. 632. King Roger's charter for the abbey of St. John of the Hermits (San Giovanni degli Eremiti) in Palermo, dated July 1148, gives us interesting information on Roger's *familiares*. It shows that the abbot of St. John of the Hermits and his successors were granted privileges as *consiliarii et familiares* (*Rogerii II*., pp. 221–222, and Rocco Pirro, *Sicilia sacra disquisitionibus, et notitiis illustrata* [Palermo, 1733], vol. 2, p. 1111). On the abbey of St. John of the Hermits, see Lynn Townsend White Jr., *Latin Monasticism in Norman Sicily* (Cambridge, MA, 1938), pp. 123–131.

13 Maio of Bari was one of the greatest head ministers of the Norman Kingdom of Sicily. Under King Roger II he was a *scriniarius* or *notarius* in the Latin chancery (c. 1144–1148), and became vice-chancellor (*vicecancellarius*) by 1151. Under King William I he was the chancellor, admiral of admirals (*ammiratus ammiratorum*), and head minister (1154–1160). See Léon-Robert Ménager, *Amiratus-Ἀμηρᾶς. L'Émirat et les origines de l'amirauté (XIe–XIIIe siècle)* (Paris, 1960), pp. 55–56.

14 Falcandus, *Liber de Regno*, p. 10: "hac inita societate, prefatus archiepiscopus, instinctu et consilio Maionis, in familiaritatem regis admictitur, ut quicquid admiratus regi suggereret, socii testimonio confirmaret."

15 Henry Aristippus is well known as the first translator of *Meno* and *Phaedo* of Plato and of the fourth book of Aristotle's *Meteorology*. See Charles H. Haskins, *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, MA, 1927), p. 292; Charles H. Haskins, *Studies in the History of Medieval Science* (Cambridge, MA, 1927), pp. 53, 142–183; Maria T. Mandalari, "Enrico Aristippo arcidiacono di Catania nella vita culturale e politica del secolo XII," *Bolletino storico catanese*, vol. 4 (1939), pp. 87–123.

16 Falcandus, *Liber de Regno*, p. 44: "Sequenti die rex Henricum Aristippum, archidiaconum Cataniensem, . . ., familiarem sibi delegit ut vicem et officium interim gereret admirati, preessetque notariis, et cum eo secretius de regni negotiis pertractaret."

17 Falcandus, *Liber de Regno*, p. 69: "erant eo tempore familiares regis, per quos negotia curie disponebat, Richardus Siracusanus electus, Silvester comes Marsicensis et Henricus Aristippus." See also Jamison, *Admiral Eugenius*, pp. 46–47.

18 Falcandus, *Liber de Regno*, p. 81: "sed Matheus notarius, familiaris curie, cum et ipse salernitanus esset, alios regis familiares, Richardum Siracusanum electum et Silvestrum comitem, multis precibus exoravit."

19 Falcandus (*Liber de Regno*, p. 25) describes Qā'id Peter as "a Christian only in name and dress but a Saracen at heart like all the eunuchs of the palace (sicut et omnes eunuchi palatii, nomine tantum habituque christianus erat, animo saracenus)." According to Falcandus (*Liber de Regno*, p. 25), Qā'id Peter commanded about a hundred and sixty Sicilian vessels on the expedition to Mahdīya in North Africa on 8 September 1159. G. Siragusa (Falcandus, *Liber de Regno*, p. 99, note 1) and Michel Amari (*Storia dei Musulmani di Sicilia*, 2nd ed. a cura di Carlo A. Nallino, 3 vols. [Catania, 1933–1939], vol. 3, p. 496) identify Qā'id Peter with Aḥmad al-Ṣiqillī (Aḥmad the Sicilian) of Berber origin. According to Ibn Khaldūn ("Kitāb al-'Ibar," *Biblioteca arabo-sicula ossia Raccolta di testi arabici che toccano la geografia, la storia, le biografie e la bibliografia della Sicilia*, ed. Michele Amari (Leipzig, 1857), p. 462; Michele Amari, ed. and trans., *Biblioteca arabo-sicula, versione italiana*, 2 vols. [Turin/Rome, 1880–1881], vol. 2, pp. 166–167), Aḥmad al-Ṣiqillī was taken from the island of Jerba to Sicily by Christians, educated there, and employed by the Prince (*sulṭān*) of Sicily (Roger II).

After the Prince died and was succeeded by his son, Aḥmad al-Ṣiqillī fell into the latter's disgrace, and fled to Tunis and then to Morocco, where he served Caliph Yūsuf b. ʻAbd al-Mūmin al-ʻAsharī (1163–1184).

Jamison (*Admiral Eugenius*, p. 35) thinks that the title *qā'id* (*qā'id* in an original Arabic form, which means a leader, commander and so forth; *gaytus* or *caitus* in the contemporary Latin transliteration; and *καΐτος* [*καΐτης*] in the contemporary Greek transliteration) was given to "men of Arabic race" while the title *κύριος* was given to those of "noble Greek origin." To be sure, Falcandus suggests that Qā'id Peter, Qā'id Richard and Qā'id Martin, all of whom became *familiares regis*, and Qā'id Iohar, master chamberlain of the royal palace, were converted Muslims, and Qā'id Abū al-Qāsim was a Muslim. But we should be cautious because a certain Brūn, who has been identified with the Englishman Thomas Brown, also had the title *qā'id* (Cusa, pp. 28–30) and the three *familiares regis* in 1172 (Archbishop Walter, Vice-chancellor Matthew and Bishop-elect Bartholomew), none of whom has been regarded as of Greek origin, were given the title *κύριος* (see note 61).

20 Falcandus, *Liber de Regno*, p. 83: "nec multo post, moriente Silvestro comite, Siracusanus electus et Matheus notarius soli consilio regis intererant et regni disponebant negotia, quibus socius datus est gaytus Petrus eunuchus, qui post mortem gayti Ioharii fuerat magister camerarius palacii constitutus."

21 See notes 18 and 20 above. It is difficult to know whether the phrase *consilium regis* in the sentence of note 20 means "council" in a technical and institutional sense, or more vaguely "to be in the king's confidence." But it seems to me certain that these three people constituted the royal inner council.

22 Falcandus, *Liber de Regno*, pp. 87–88; Romualdus Salernitanus, *Chronicon siue Annales*, ed. Carlo A. Garufi, vol. 8 (Rerum italicarum scriptores, Città di Castello, 1909–1935), pp. 253–254.

23 Falcandus, *Liber de Regno*, p. 88: "electum quoque Siracusanum, gaytum Petrum, Matheum notarium, quos ipse sibi familiares elegerat, in eadem iussit familiaritate curie permanere, ut eorum regina consilio que gerenda viderentur disponeret."

24 Falcandus, *Liber de Regno*, p. 90: "familiares autem curie non in eo gradu quo fuerant aut dignitatis equalitate voluit permanere; nam gayto Petro summa rerum omnium potestate concessa, super omnes eminentiori loco constituens, electum Siracusanum Matheumque notarium precepit, ut eius coadiutores, interesse quidem consiliis et familiares appellari, sed eius in omnibus imperio subservire."

25 Falcandus, *Liber de Regno*, pp. 98–99; Romualdus Salernitanus, p. 254.

26 Falcandus, *Liber de Regno*, pp. 101–102: "eius autem loco regina Richardum Mandrensem Molisii comitem, eo quod gaytum Petrum fidelissime dilexisset, curie familiarem constituit et maiorem ei quam ceteris familiaribus contulit potestatem."

27 The *duana de secretis* was a central administrative organization charged with special duties concerning the administration of land. See Takayama, "The Financial and Administrative Organization," pp. 129–157. On Qā'id Richard and Qā'id Martin, see Takayama, "The Great Administrative Officials."

28 Falcandus, *Liber de Regno*, pp. 108–109: "Curie vero status hic erat: Richardus Molisii comes, ceteris familiaribus potestatis eminentia prelatus, apud reginam postulata facilius impetrabat; electus vero Siracusanus et Matheus notarius cancellarii gerebant officium; gaytus quoque Richardus magister camerarius palacii et gaytus Martinus, qui duane preerat, consiliis nichilominus intererant et cum predictis familiaribus negotia regni tractabant."

29 Chalandon thinks Stephen du Perche was elected to the Archbishopric of Palermo by March of 1167 (Chalandon, *Histoire de la domination*, vol. 2, p. 322). But I believe that the date of Behring no. 158 is 1168 as Kehr asserts. See Kehr, *Die Urkunden*, p. 84, note 8; Wilhelm Behring, "Sicilianische Studien II: Regesten des normannischen

Königshauses (1130–1197)," *Programm des königlichen Gymnasiums zu Elbing* (Elbing, 1887), nos. 158, 161, 162.

30 Romualdus Salernitanus, p. 255; Falcandus, *Liber de Regno*, p. 111. See also Chalandon, *Histoire de la domination*, vol. 2, pp. 321–322.

31 Falcandus, *Liber de Regno*, p. 128, note 2, p. 79, note 1.

32 Falcandus, *Liber de Regno*, p. 122; Romualdus Salernitanus, p. 257.

33 The following text shows the magnates at the palace, but Falcandus does not use the term *familiares* for them: "hec omnia cum audisset cancellarius, convocatis in domum suam electo Siracusano, Matheo notario, Richardo Molisii comite, Rumoaldo Salernitano archiepiscopo ceterisque episcopis ac plerisque proceribus, rem eis totam exposuit iussitque Salernum eorum consiliis accersiri" (Falcandus, *Liber de Regno*, p. 123).

34 Chalandon, *Histoire de la domination*, vol. 2, p. 321; Falcandus, *Liber de Regno*, pp. 111–112.

35 Falcandus, *Liber de Regno*, pp. 161–162: "Interea Gentilis Agrigentinus episcopus qui in vallem Demenie missus fuerat revocatur et curie familiaris efficitur. Henricus comes Montis Caveosi et Richardus Molisii comes cum plerisque Messanensium .xxiiii. galeis armatis Panormum perveniunt, viribusque freti, curie statum innovant, et .x. familiares instituunt: Richardum Siracusanum electum, Gentilem Agrigentinum episcopum, Rumoaldum Salernitanum archiepiscopum, Iohannem Maltensem episcopum, Rogerium comitem Giracii, Richardum Molisii, Henricum Montis Caveosi comitem, Matheum notarium, gaytum Richardum, Gualterium decanum Agrigentinum regis preceptorem."

36 Carlo Alberto Garufi, *I documenti inediti dell'epoca normanna in Sicilia* (Documenti per servire alla storia di Sicilia, s. 1, Diplomata xviii, Palermo, 1899), p. 111: "Data in urbe felici Panormi, per manus gloriosissimi domini Regis familiarium Gualterii scilicet venerabili Panormitani Electi, Riccardi Venerabili Electi Syracusani, Gentilis Venerabilis episcopi agrigentini, Riccardi comitis Molisii, Gaiti Riccardi Regii magistri camerarii et Gaiti Martini Regii camerarii," *Carte latine di abbazie calabresi provenienti dall'archivio Aldobrandini*, ed. Alessandro Pratesi (Studi e Testi 197, Vatican City, 1958), doc. 23, pp. 60–62.

37 Garufi, *I documenti inediti*, p. 112.

38 Falcandus, *Liber de Regno*, pp. 163–164: "hoc itaque negotio paucis diebus protracto, ne videretur precipitari sententia, demum Romanus pontifex electionem ratam habuit, ipsumque iussit electum a suffraganeis episcopis consecrari. qui tante dignitatis culmine sublimatus, repente statum immutavit curie, summamque sibi potestatem retinens, Matheum notarium et Gentilem Agrigentinum episcopum sub se familiares instituit." On Walter, see Loewenthal, pp. 75–82.

39 Kehr, *Die Urkunden*, pp. 443–444. See also notes 36, 37 above. There was a different style of *familiaris regis* in a dating line: "Data in urbe felici Panormi per manus Gualterii venerabilis Panormitani Archiepiscopi et *Regis familiaris*, Mathei domini nostri Regis Vicecancellarii, et Gentilis venerabilis Agrigentini Episcopi et *Regis familiaris*, anno dominice incarnationis" (Garufi, *I documenti inediti*, p. 126). Concerning this formula see Horst Enzensberger, *Beiträge zum Kanzlei- und Urkundenwesen der normannischen Herrscher Unteritaliens und Siziliens* (Kallmünz, 1971), pp. 56, 109–110.

40 Garufi, *I documenti inediti*, p. 213.

41 See Jamison, *Admiral Eugenius*, p. 48. Besides the diplomas listed in Figure 2.2, some documents show the bearers of the title *familiaris regis*. Archbishop Walter of Palermo was described as *domini regis familiaris* in a document of 1172, and Vice-chancellor Matthew appeared as *Matheus domini Regis vicecancellarius et familiarius* in the witness list and as *domini Matthei regij Vicecancellarii et familiaris* in the text of a document of March 1183 (Garufi, *I documenti inediti*, pp. 152, 190–191).

42 In the meantime, however, Bishop John of Gaeta appeared as the fourth *familiaris*. See Behring, no. 218.

43 White Jr., *Latin Monasticism*, pp. 142–145.
44 Behring, no. 225. Archbishop William of Monreale was called *domini Regis familiaris* in a document of November 1183 or 1184 (Garufi, *I documenti inediti*, p. 193). In the same document Notary Philip de Claromonte was also called *domini Regis familiaris*.
45 M. Scaduto, *Il monachesimo basiliano nella Sicilia medievale* (Rome, 1947), p. 131; Jamison, *Admiral Eugenius*, p. 79.
46 Norbert Kamp, *Kirche und Monarchie im staufischen Königreich Sizilien I: Prosopographische Grundlegung: Bistümer und Bischöfe des Königreichs 1194–1266*, 4 vols. (Munich, 1973–1982), vol. 3, p. 1112; Chalandon, *Histoire de la domination*, vol. 2, p. 428; Jamison, *Admiral Eugenius*, p. 93.
47 Kamp, *Kirche und Monarchie*, vol. 3, pp. 1186–1195; Although White Jr. (*Latin Monasticism,* p. 144) thinks that Archbishop William of Monreale died on 28 October 1189, it is unlikely, as William met King Richard in October 1190 in Messina (*Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi Benedicti Abbatis: The Chronicle of the Reigns of Henry II and Richard I*, ed. William Stubbs, vol. 2 [London, 1867], p. 128). William was succeeded by Carus (1194–1222) as archbishop of Monreale.
48 Richard assumed his father's role as chancellor during his father's absences after July 1191, but never attained the chancellorship.
49 Nicholas succeeded his predecessor Romuald in 1182 (Kamp, *Kirche und Monarchie*, vol. 1, p. 425; Chalandon, *Histoire de la domination*, vol. 2, p. 476). Archbishop Nicholas of Salerno was described as *dilectus fidelis et familiaris noster* in a diploma of 3 October 1190 (*Tancredi et Willelmi III Regum Diplomata* [Codex Diplomaticus Regni Siciliae, Serie I, tomus V, Cologne, 1982], p. 22), *regis dilectus familiaris* in a document of November 1190 (Jamison, *Admiral Eugenius*, p. 325) and *dilectus fidelis et familiaris noster* in a royal mandate of 30 October 1190 (Jamison, *Admiral Eugenius*, p. 328).
50 Richard was described as *dilectus familiaris noster* and *regius familiaris* in a diploma of June 1192 (*Tancredi et Willelmi III*., pp. 61, 62).
51 Jamison, *Admiral Eugenius*, p. 94.
52 *Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi* (vol. 2, p. 128) named Archbishop Richard of Messina, Archbishop William of Monreale, Archbishop William of Reggio, and Admiral Margaritus among the *familiares regis* in October 1190, and described Admiral Margaritus and Jordan del Pin as *familiares regis Tancredi* elsewhere (p. 138). It is possible that these people held the title of *familiaris regis* for a short period under the unstable political condition, but there is no Sicilian source to support this information.
53 Carlo A. Garufi, ed., *Necrologio del Liber Confratrum di S. Matteo di Salerno* (Rome, 1922), p. 100; Jamison, *Admiral Eugenius*, p. 94.
54 Jamison, *Admiral Eugenius*, pp. 103–104.
55 *Tancredi et Willelmi III*., doc. 1, p. 92; doc. 2, p. 94.
56 *Tancredi et Willelmi III*., doc. 3, p. 96; doc. 4, p. 98; doc. 5, p. 101; doc. 6, p. 104; doc. 7, p. 106. For Admiral Margaritus, see Ménager, *Amiratus*, pp. 96–103.
57 Carlo A. Garufi, "Margarito di Brindisi, conte di Malta e ammiraglio del re di Sicilia," *Miscellanea di archeologia, storia e filologia dedicata al Prof. Antonino Salinas* (Palermo, 1907), doc. 2, pp. 281–282: "Margaritus de Brundusio, dei et Regia gratia Comes Malte et Regij uictoriosi stolij amiratus ac domini Regis familiaris." This document is also published in *Codice diplomatico Brindisino*, ed. Gennaro Maria Monti (Trani, 1940), doc. 31, pp. 55–56.
58 Chalandon, "The Norman Kingdom of Sicily," p. 191.
59 Count Richard of Ajello and Admiral Margaritus, Count of Malta, do not seem to have represented the nobility.
60 Chalandon, *Histoire de la domination*, vol. 2, pp. 632–633. On the *ἄρχοντες τῆς κραταιᾶς κόρτης,* see p. 33 and note 9 above.

61 Cusa, p. 80: "Κατὰ τὸν ὀκτώβριον μῆνα τῆς ἐνισταμένης ἰνδικτιῶνος ς΄ τοῦ ἔτους ϛχπα' ἐκ προστάξεως τῶν μεγαλεπιφανεστάτων καὶ θεοτιμήτων ἀρχόντων τῆς κραταιὰς (*sic. κραταιᾶς*) κόρτης, τοῦ τε παναγιωτάτου καὶ πανευλαβεστάτου ἀρχιεπισκόπου πόλεως πανόρμου κυρίου γαλτερίου τοῦ πρωτοφαμιλιαρίου καὶ κυρίου ματθαίου τοῦ ὑπερτίμου ἀντικαγκελλαρίου καὶ κυρίου βαρθολομαίου τοῦ τιμιωτάτου καὶ θεοφιλεστάτου ὑποψηφίου ἀγραγαντίνης χώρας καὶ φαμιλιαρίου, ἀπῆλθον ἐγὼ ἰοσφρὲς ὁ σεκρετικὸς εὶς (*sic*. εἰς) τὸ μινζηλμὴρ πρὸς τὸ ἐξετάσαι λευτομερῶς καὶ διαχορῆσαι τὰ σύνορα τοῦ χωρίου σαράνη,"

The term *ἄρχοντες τῆς κραταιᾶς κόρτης* was expressed *al-mawālī al-wuzarā'* in the Arabic version.

62 Garufi, "Sull'ordinamento," pp. 256–257; Caspar, *Roger II und die Gründung*, p. 36; Caravale, "Gli uffici finanziari," pp. 203, 218–219; Chalandon, *Histoire de la domination*, vol. 2, p. 651.

63 Bournazel, *Le Gouvernement*, pp. 147–148. See also Hollister and Baldwin, "The Rise of Administrative Kingship," pp. 901–904.

64 *Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi*, vol. 1, p. 138: "Praeterea ibidem per consilia familiarium suorum, mandavit omnibus comitibus et baronibus et militibus regni, qui de eo in capite tenebant."

65 *Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi*, vol. 1, pp. 19, 157; vol. 2, pp. 44–45.

66 Richard William Southern, *Medieval Humanism and Other Studies* (Oxford, 1970), pp. 183–185.

67 Jolliffe, *Angevin Kingship*, p. 184, note 2: "regis Henrici secundi clericus familiaris." Some of Henry II's *familiares* seem to have been less powerful, but it is necessary to make a list of *familiares regis* in order to know whether *familiares regis* were the most powerful people or just members of the *familia regis* or intimates and counselors of the king in twelfth-century England.

68 Henry Richards Luard, ed., *Annales Monastici*, 5 vols. (Rolls Series, London, 1864–69), vol. 2, p. 257: "Petrus de Rupibus clericus curialis, regis Johannis familiaris, ad episcopatum Wintoniensem per regem Johannem electus, Romam adiit, consecratus rediit." In addition, Warren lists as *familiares regis* William de Longchamps under Richard I, and Richard Marsh and William Brewer under John (Warren, *The Governance*, pp. 130, 132, 173).

69 Concerning German *familiares regis*, there is an interesting passage in a letter of Abbot Bern of Reichenau to Archbishop Gero of Magdeburg (1012–23): "Oportet autem, ut talentum regiae familiaritatis in miseria et afflictione positis pie ac misericorditer per intercessionis auxilium subveniendo Domino, a quo illud percepistis, reportetis cum lucro" (Franz-Josef Schmale, ed., *Die Briefe des Abtes Bern von Reichenau* [Stuttgart, 1961, Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für geschichtliche Landeskunde in Baden-Württemberg, Reihe A, Quellen 6], pp. 21–22). Cf. Karl J. Leyser, *Rule and Conflict in an Early Medieval Society: Ottonian Saxony* (London, 1979), pp. 79, 169, note 14.

3

THE GREAT ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICIALS OF THE NORMAN KINGDOM OF SICILY

The emergence of the powerful Norman monarchy in Sicily, as well as that in England, constituted one of the most important factors in the transformation of European society in the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries. It affected the development of new political and intellectual ideas as well as the actual relationship of various political elements in Europe.[1] It also influenced the commercial network. The kingdom of Sicily brought Mediterranean trade increasingly under its control and thus contributed to the emergence of Western Europe "as a single, powerful and aggressive economic system."[2] It also developed as an unparalleled center for translating Arabic and Greek literature into Latin, and became one of the focal points of the so-called Twelfth-Century Renaissance.[3] These conditions promoted "the unity and strength of Western Europe," which led to "the formation of a European identity."[4]

The efficient and rigorous administration of the kingdom of Sicily has been considered one of the forerunners of modern secular governments. Its financial administration, as well as the judicial, is said to have been highly bureaucratic and the most advanced in Europe.[5] Heinrich Mitteis argued that it had influenced French, German and even English administrations.[6] Surprisingly, however, almost all the opinions hitherto expressed about the financial administration were based on only one Italian scholar's theory about the structure of the *duana* (*dohana, doana, dīwān*), a central financial and administrative organization. This Italian scholar, Carlo Albert Garufi, expounded his theory in 1901, stating that the *duana* had consisted of three offices: the supervising office (*dīwān al-taḥqīq al-ma'mūr*), the treasury office (*al-dīwān al-ma'mūr*) and the office of profits (*dīwān al-fawā'id*).[7] His idea that the supervising office was divided into two departments – the *duana de secretis* supervising the affairs of the royal domains and the *duana baronum* handling feudal affairs – has been commonly accepted by historians since.[8] According to his theory, the treasury office keeping registers of villeins and collecting taxes had been subordinate to the supervising office, while the office of profits had been subordinate to the treasury office. Following this theory, subsequent historians have developed various views on the financial officials of the kingdom. Of these, two significant ideas have emerged, illustrating the remarkable advancement of the administration and bureaucracy of this kingdom: (1) a specialized financial

committee (*Gran Secrezia*), which had branched off from the *curia regis* and (2) a triple-layered structure of officials in the supervising office.

Many historians believe the supervising office was controlled by a group of higher financial officials, although they differ in defining the character and members of this group. Some, including Garufi himself, believe that the supervising office was controlled by a special financial committee (*Gran Secrezia*), whose members were described as *ἄρχοντες τοῦ σεκρέτου* in Greek, and which included the master chamberlain of the royal palace, the master justiciar of the great royal court and the masters of the *duana*. They distinguish this financial committee from the royal court council (*consiglio aulico*), which had higher authority and controlled the whole administration of the kingdom. The members of the royal court council were called *ἄρχοντες τῆς κραταιᾶς κόρτης* in Greek, and included the master chamberlain of the royal palace and the master justiciar of the great royal court, but not the masters of the *duana*.[9] Some historians simply regard the members of the financial committee (*ἄρχοντες τοῦ σεκρέτου*) as identical with the masters of the *duana*.[10] Norbert Kamp states, however, that some of the *ἄρχοντες τοῦ σεκρέτου* (*Archonten der Sekretie*) belonged to both the *duana de secretis* and the *duana baronum* and some to one or other of them, and that the masters of the *duana*, with the title of master chamberlain, excelled other members of the *ἄρχοντες τοῦ σεκρέτου*.[11] Adelaide Baviera Albanese proposed a different opinion from all the above. Identifying *ἄρχοντες τοῦ σεκρέτου* (*arconti del segreto*) with *qā'id* (*gaiti*) in Arabic, he put the *camerarius palatinus et magister regie duane de secretis et baronum* at the top of the office of the *duana*.[12]

It should be noted here that despite their seeming complexity, the differences of the various opinions, in fact, derive from one issue, that is, how to recognize the *ἄρχοντες τοῦ σεκρέτου*: (1) Were they members of the special financial committee (*Gran Secrezia*) or simply identical with the masters of the *duana*? (2) Did they include the master chamberlain of the palace, the master justiciar of the great royal court or other great officials? (3) What was their relationship with the *ἄρχοντες τῆς κραταιᾶς κόρτης*? To reexamine the existing literature related to these questions, and thus to investigate the true meaning of the Greek term *ἄρχοντες τοῦ σεκρέτου*, as it compares with corresponding terms in Arabic and Latin, is the intent of this paper.

The idea of the triple-layered structure of officials in the supervising office was also expounded by Garufi and has been accepted by others. He explained that the supervising office had consisted of officials of three ranks – master of the *duana*, *σεκρετικός*, and *kātib* – and compared this structure to that of Byzantine financial officials, which had *quaestor*, *ἐκσκέπτωρ*, and *σκρίβας*, in that order.[13] Concerning the officials of the treasury office, most scholars mention a treasurer as head of this office, but they think the treasurership was usually held by the master chamberlain of the royal palace.[14]

These reconstructions all presume Garufi's model for the *duana*. Recently, however, I suggested a new model for the *duana*.[15] The *al-dīwān al-ma'mūr*, which had been regarded simply as the treasury office by Garufi and subsequent

scholars, was in fact the central office in Sicily engaged in routine and general work. The *duana de secretis* was not a department of the supervising office, as Garufi thought, but an independent office charged with special duties concerning administration of land. On the other hand, the *duana baronum*, which Garufi regarded as another department of the supervising office, this time for feudal affairs, was in fact a branch office at Salerno, meeting a variety of local administrative needs on the peninsula which included, but were by no means limited to, feudal matters.

This model is not at all compatible with previous reconstruction of the financial officials. Here I will describe the responsibilities of the chief administrative officials in the *duana*, based on newer understanding of its organization.

I. *Camerarii regii palatii*

The *al-dīwān al-ma'mūr* was the central office engaged in routine and general work. It was a reorganized *curia regis*, a royal office whose main duties were the collection of taxes and control of officials, and whose officials included many ex-Muslims.[16] Who was the head of the *al-dīwān al-ma'mūr*? Although Garufi, Chalandon and Caravale assume that the treasurer (*thesaurarius*) was its head, this opinion cannot be accepted. The *al-dīwān al-ma'mūr* was not purely a treasury office as they believe, and the term *thesaurarius* in the source of 1168, upon which they developed their argument, seems to be a translation of *πρωτοκαμπήρ* (*magister camerarius*).[17] Considering the function of the *al-dīwān al-ma'mūr* (or *curia regis*), its head must have been the highest official of the *curia regis* who directed the financial administration of the kingdom. Only the chamberlains of the royal palace (*camerarii regii palatii*) corresponded to this office during the reigns of William I and William II, especially after the assassination of Maio of Bari (1160).[18]

During the reign of Roger II (1105–1154), the chamberlains of the royal palace (*camerarii regii palatii*) had not appeared yet. Instead, we find the royal chamberlains (*regis camerarius*, *καμβριλλίγγας*, *καπρελίγγας*) working at the royal palace. A certain Nicholas was in office at least from 1090 to 1105.[19] In 1117 Basil (*Basileios*) was a chamberlain, and in 1122 Jordan and Paenos were described as *καμβριλλίγγας*.[20] Paenos reappeared as *καμβριλλίγγας* in 1125.[21] Philip of Mahdīya also seems to have been the king's *camerarius*.[22] In 1153 John was the king's *καπρελίγγας*.[23] At the beginning of the reign of William I, when Maio of Bari was the head minister, Atenulf, the former royal chamberlain of Salerno (*regis camerarius*), appeared as chamberlain of the royal palace (*camerarius regalis palatii*). This is the first chamberlain defined as *camerarius regalis* (*regii*, *regis*) *palatii*.[24] Thus the existence of *regis camerarius* staying at the royal palace is confirmed, but it is difficult to find their precise functions and roles in the administration. After the death of the last Great Admiral Maio of Bari in 1160, another title of *magister camerarius regii palatii* (master chamberlain of the royal palace) appeared, which suggests the plurality of chamberlains of the

royal palace. This master chamberlain of the royal palace came to take a significant role in the central administration. One can recognize at least three master chamberlains of the royal palace between the death of Maio of Bari in 1160 and the establishment of the triumvirate of *familiares regis* (the king's familiars) by Walter, archbishop of Palermo, in 1169.[25] The first master chamberlain of the royal palace was an ex-Muslim, Qā'id Iohar the eunuch. He was probably appointed to the office by Maio of Bari. Falcandus noted his death in narrating the baronial revolts in 1162:

> [Latin] In those days Qā'id Iohar the eunuch, the *magister camerarii palatii*, fled to the count of Loritello with the royal seals, because, as he said, he had undeservedly received much injustice and lashing from the king in the army. But he was caught on the way and brought to the king. The king ordered that he should be put on a boat, brought to the sea, and submerged there.[26]

Another ex-Muslim, Qā'id Peter the eunuch, succeeded Qā'id Iohar after his death.[27] Qā'id Peter was appointed *familiaris regis*, a member of the royal inner council, by William I, and became one of the most powerful persons in the kingdom. Thereafter he was to deal with the affairs of the kingdom with the other two *familiares regis*, Bishop-elect Richard of Syracuse and Matthew the notary, until the death of William I in 1166. Then he was appointed head minister by the regent Queen Margaret. He took control of the whole kingdom until his own flight to Tunis.[28] His successor, the third master chamberlain of the royal palace, was also an ex-Muslim, Qā'id Richard.[29] He became one of the five *familiares regis* organized after the flight of Qā'id Peter. Although the number of *familiares regis* fluctuated thereafter, Qā'id Richard seems to have remained in this position until Walter established the triumvirate of the *familiares regis* in 1169.[30] Thereafter, Qā'id Richard was to devote himself to the office of *magister camerarius regii palatii* (see Figure 3.1).

These three *qā'id*s were the master chamberlains of the royal palace. But Qā'id Martin the eunuch also appeared as *magister camerarius regii palatii* in 1167, when Stephen was the head minister. Thereafter, however, his title was *camerarius regii* (*palatii*) as the sources of February 1169, May 1169 and 1176 indicate.[31] He seems to have had great power in the royal palace even before his appointment as chamberlain of the royal palace. Falcandus described his importance in 1162 as follows:

> [Latin] For, Qā'id Martin the eunuch, whom the king left as the guard of the city and the palace of Palermo, raged against all the Christians fiercely and secretly, and imputed his brother's death to them, because he knew that his brother had been killed by some Christians in the capture of the palace, but could not find the particular persons responsible for that affair.[32]

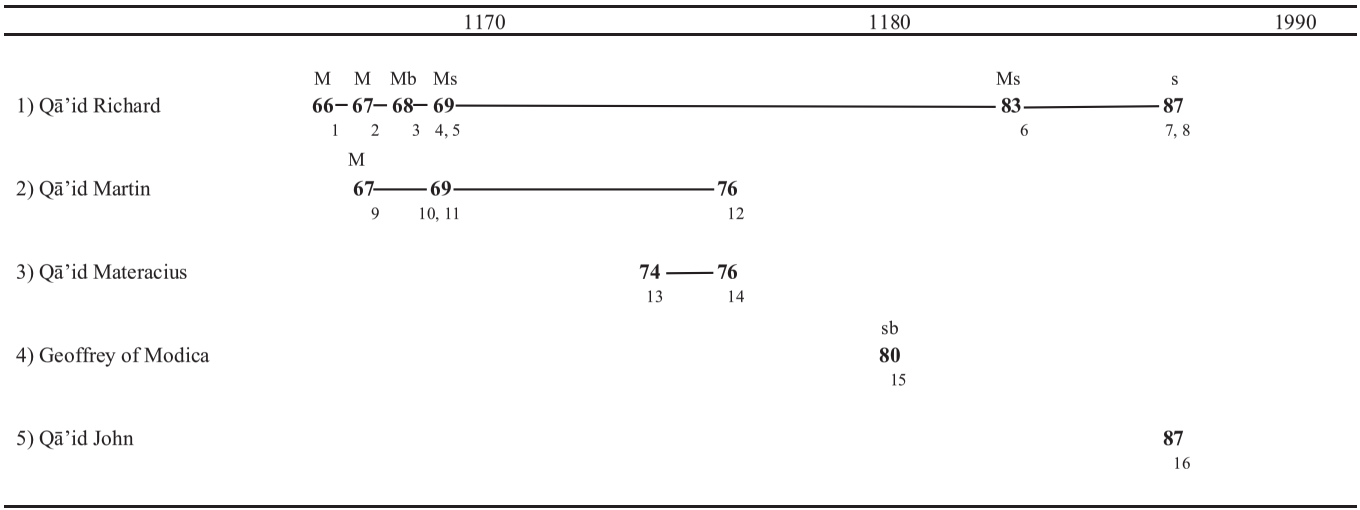

Figure 3.1 *Camerarii regii palatii*
Note: M = *magister camerarius regii palatii*; s = *magister duane de secretis*; b = *magister duane baronum*

Sources: (1) Falcandus, *Liber de Regno* (note 24), pp. 108–109. (2) Falcandus, *Liber de Regno*, p. 128. (3) Kehr (note 17), p. 438. (4) Pirro (note 17), vol. 2, p. 1017. (5) Garufi, *I documenti inediti* (note 31), p. 111. (6) Haskins, "England and Sicily" (note 5), p. 654. (7) Garufi, *I documenti inediti*, p. 214. (8) Cusa (note 19), p. 83. (9) Falcandus, *Liber de Regno*, p. 79. (10) Falcandus, *Liber de Regno*, p. 79. (11) Garufi, *I documenti inediti*, pp. 111–112. (12) Falcandus, *Liber de Regno*, p. 79. (13) Haskins, "England and Sicily," p. 653. (14) Garufi, *Catalogo illustrato* (note 42), p. 163. (15) Cusa, p. 489. (16) Cusa, p. 83.

He became one of the five *familiares regis* in 1166, and entered the royal inner council with his superior Qā'id Richard.[33] Qā'id Martin directed the *duana* at that time, though he had not yet been appointed *camerarius regii palatii*.[34] When the new royal inner council of ten *familiares regis* was established in the spring of 1168, he was excluded from it. But he was reappointed *familiaris regis* by February 1169, by which time he had already been appointed *camerarius regii palatii*.[35]

After the establishment of the triumvirate of *familiares regis* in 1169, no chamberlains of the royal palace took part in the royal inner council.[36] Instead, they seem to have concentrated on their administrative duties. Qā'id Richard held the office of the master chamberlain of the royal palace during most of the reign of William II, at least until 1183.[37] However, he seems to have had two subordinate chamberlains, as Jamison suggests.[38] The first one is Qā'id Martin mentioned above. He was a chamberlain of the royal palace until his death in 1176[39] and directed the *duana de secretis* (*gaytus Martinus, qui duane preerat*).[40] The other chamberlain of the royal palace was Qā'id Materacius. He appears in the two sources of 1174 and 1176. In 1174 he directed the *duana baronum* (*doana baronum cui preest gaytus Matara*) with the title of *regius camerarius et senescalcus*.[41] In 1176, representing the *duana baronum*, he bought houses from Count William of Marsico with the title of *camerarius regis palatii et magister duane baronum*.[42] Thus Qā'id Materacius, the chamberlain of the royal palace, also held the office of *magister duane baronum*, and directed the *duana baronum*.

After the death of Qā'id Martin, Geoffrey of Modica seems to have been appointed chamberlain of the royal palace. In the decree of 8 January 1180, he ordered *baiuli* and *portulani* of Sicily, Calabria and the principality of Salerno to accept the privileges which King Roger had granted to the church of Cefalù, such as exemption from port taxes, sales taxes and transit taxes.[43] At this time Geoffrey of Modica also held the offices of *magister duane de secretis* and *magister duane baronum* (*palatinus camerarius et magister regis duane de secretis et duane baronum*), and issued the above decree from the royal palace in Palermo. Finally, another chamberlain of the royal palace, Qā'id John, appears only in the source of March 1187. He received a piece of land from St. Andrew's Church with the permission of his superior, Qā'id Richard, the master chamberlain of the royal palace.[44]

Thus the chamberlains of the royal palace were central to the administration of the kingdom. Especially after the death of the Great Admiral Maio of Bari in 1160, they took an important role in the central administration. Qā'id Peter became one of the three *familiares regis* during the reign of William I and was appointed head minister of the kingdom after the coronation of William II. Qā'id Richard and Qā'id Martin were also members of the decision-making council of the kingdom as *familiares regis*.

In 1169 they were excluded from the council, but they retained control of the three *duana*s thereafter. Qā'id Richard, the master chamberlain of the royal

palace, always held the central position, and the other two chamberlains of the royal palace were subordinate to him. One of the two chamberlains seems to have directed the *duana baronum* with the title of *magister duane baronum* until an admiral took charge. The other chamberlain usually also held the office of *magister duane de secretis*, and seems to have directed the *duana de secretis* with Qā'id Richard. Almost all these chamberlains of the royal palace were ex-Muslims, amply demonstrating the important role of this group in the administration of the kingdom during this period.

II. *Magistri duane de secretis* and *ἄρχοντες τοῦ σεκρέτου*

The *duana de secretis* was an office in charge of special duties concerning land: It supervised all boundaries, royal domains, fiefs and inhabitants in Sicily and Calabria; it always recorded their conditions in the registers of land (*dafātir*) to guard the lands and inhabitants of the kingdom. This office was called *dīwān al-taḥqīq al-ma'mūr* in Arabic and *μέγα σέκρετον* or *σέκρετον* in Greek.[45] Who was the head of this office? Historians have regarded the *magister duane de secretis* as the head of the *duana de secretis*. For example, Mayer and Caspar assume one *magister duane de secretis* to be undoubtedly the head of the *duana de secretis*. Caravale thinks "one person usually held the office of *magister*, but two officials could have been placed in charge of the *duana* at the same time."[46]

As shown previously, however, the *duana de secretis* was directed by the chamberlains of the royal palace, first Qā'id Martin and then Geoffrey of Modica. Qā'id Martin had been appointed *magister duane de secretis* before he became the chamberlain of the royal palace. He appeared as *ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ σεκρέτου* (Greek correspondent to *magister duane de secretis*) and *ṣāḥib dīwān al-taḥqīq al-ma'mūr* (Arabic correspondent to *magister duane de secretis*) in 1161, and again as *ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ σεκρέτου* in 1167.[47] However, Falcandus clearly states that he directed the *duana de secretis* in about 1166. Qā'id Martin was appointed chamberlain of the royal palace by 1167 and seems to have continued to direct the *duana de secretis* until his death in 1176. After Qā'id Martin's death, Geoffrey of Modica seems to have taken over this position. Although Geoffrey of Modica had been a master justiciar of Val di Noto in 1172,[48] he was a chamberlain of the royal palace, *magister duane de secretis*, and *magister duane baronum* in 1180, and issued orders from the royal palace in Palermo to the officials in Sicily, Calabria and Salerno.[49] Their superior, Qā'id Richard, master chamberlain of the royal palace, also held the office of the *magister duane de secretis* from 1168 to 1187.[50] Although his role at the *duana de secretis* was not clear, it is probable that he also directed this office with his subordinate.

The office of the *magister duane de secretis* was not occupied only by the chamberlains of the royal palace, as we can find many other *magistri duane de secretis* in our sources (see Figure 3.2). Some of them held only this office. For example, Qā'id Matthew (*ματθαῖος*, *al-shaikh al-qā'id Māthā'ū*) appeared as *ṣāḥib dīwān al-taḥqīq al-ma'mūr* or *ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ σεκρέτου* in a source of 1161.[51] He

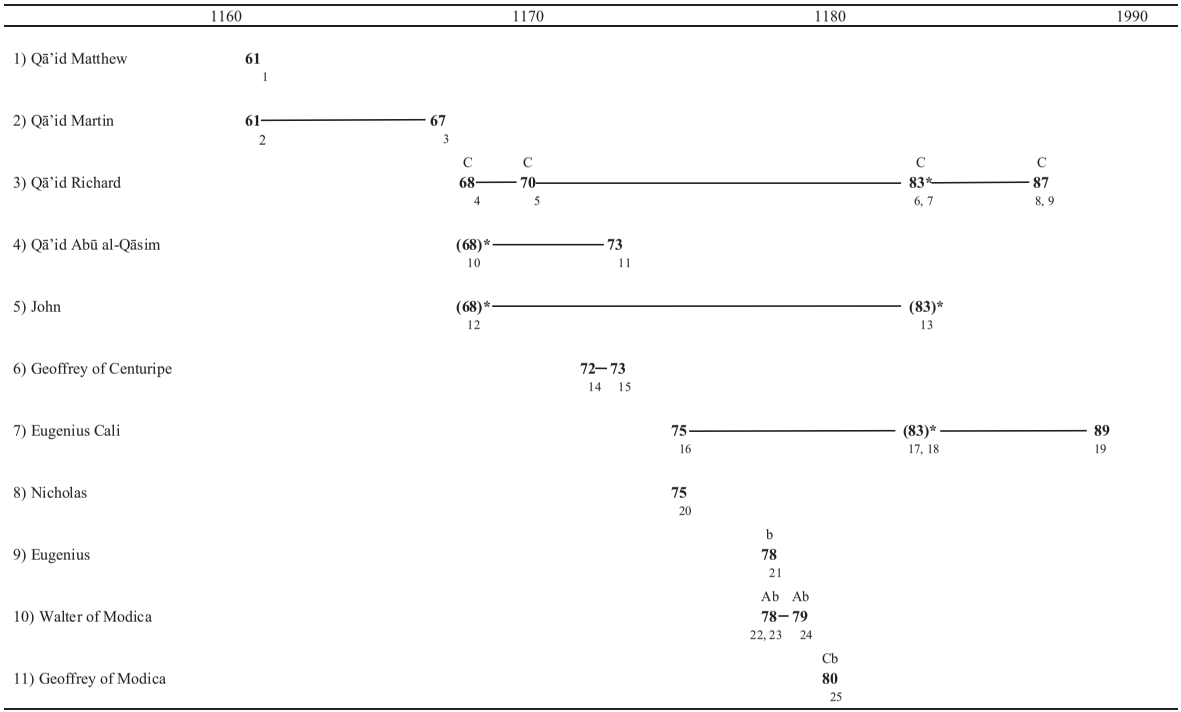

Figure 3.2 *Magistri duane de secretis*
Note: ( )* = ἄρχοντες τοῦ σεκρέτου; C = *camerarius regii palatii*; A = *ammiratus regii fortunati stolii*; b = *magister duane baronum*

Sources: (1) Cusa (note 19), pp. 622–624. (2) Cusa, pp. 622–624. (3) Cusa, p. 321. (4) Pirro (note 17), II, p. 1017, (5) Haskins, "England and Sicily" (note 5), p. 650. (6) Haskins, "England and Sicily," p. 654. (7) Cusa, p. 432; Spata (note 19), p. 293. (8) Garufi, *I documenti inediti* (note 31), p. 214. (9) Cusa, p. 83. (10) Cusa, pp. 484–486; Spata, pp. 437–442. (11) Bruel (note 52), p. 600. (12) Cusa, pp. 484–486; Spata, pp. 437–442. (13) Cusa, p. 432; Spata, p. 293. (14) Cusa, p. 81. (15) Bruel, p. 600. (16) Spata, pp. 452, 454. (17) Garufi, p. 195. (18) Cusa, p. 432; Spata, p. 293. (19) Garufi, "Monete" (note 55), p. 195. (20) Siragusa (note 57), p. 438. (21) Camera (note 75), p. 364. (22) *Ibid.*, p. 364. (23) Haskins, "England and Sicily," p. 445. (24) Pometti (note 75), p. 276. (25) Cusa, pp. 489–490; Spata, pp. 447–448.

was probably Matthew the notary who had served the Great Admiral Maio of Bari and who became one of the *familiares regis* in 1161. He was never called *magister duane de secretis* thereafter. Qā'id Abū al-Qāsim and Geoffrey of Centuripe appeared as *magistri duane de secretis* in 1173, and fixed the boundaries of the land to be granted to a church.[52] Qā'id Abū al-Qāsim was an influential leader of the Sicilian Muslims.[53] Geoffrey of Centuripe may have been the same Geoffrey that appeared in the charter of 1172: The latter Geoffrey, in the capacity of *σεκρετικός* or *ṣāḥib dīwān al-taḥqīq al-ma'mūr*, inspected the land granted to St. Mary's Church by Admiral George.[54] Furthermore, Eugenius Calì worked as *magister duane de secretis*, in 1175, 1183 and 1189.[55] He was called *Abū al-Ṭayyib* in Arabic, and had been the *'āmil* and *stratigotus* (*sardaghuus*) of Jato in 1143.[56] A certain Nicholas was a *σεκρετικός* in 1175.[57]

All these five (or six) *magistri duane de secretis* seem to have devoted themselves only to the duties of the *duana de secretis*. But there were other officials who concurrently held the offices of the *magister duane de secretis* and the *magister duane baronum*. For example, Eugenius, *magister duane baronum* at least from 1174 to 1190, had the office of the *magister duane de secretis* in 1178.[58] Walter of Modica, the admiral, also held both offices in 1178 and 1179.[59] However, these persons stayed at the *duana baronum* in Salerno and do not seem to have carried out the duties of the *magister duane de secretis*.

Thus, one can confirm that besides the chamberlains of the royal palace, some people worked in the position of *magistri duane de secretis*. It is certain that more than a couple of *magistri duane de secretis* existed at the same time. Records indicate that in 1178 more than four *magistri duane de secretis* worked at the same time. What does this plurality of *magistri duane de secretis* mean? It is clear that the *magister duane de secretis* did not designate the head of the *duana de secretis*. I suggest that the *magister duane de secretis* was a member of the board of higher officials of the *duana de secretis*. This system of the board of the *magistri duane de secretis* is incompatible with the triple-layered structure of officials in the supervising office proposed by Garufi. But it is enough to say here that this triple-layered structure is not sound because Garufi's argument has unacceptable weaknesses,[60] and also because the verification of the corresponding terms refutes it.[61] The following source in February 1172 suggests that the *magistri duane de secretis* (*secretarii*) had districts of their own jurisdiction:

> [Latin] Therefore I, Geoffrey Femeta, who was the *stratigotus* of Syracuse in those days, assigned the above-mentioned land according to the order of the king and the lords of the *curia*, especially of Lord Geoffrey, *secretarius*, to whose *baiulia* this affair mainly belonged and to whom I answered about my *baiulia* . . . as was said before I handed over the above-mentioned land to the canons of Cefalù according to the order of the king and the lords of the *curia* to whose *dispensatio* this affair mainly belonged.[62]

Unfortunately, there is no available information about these districts; the preceding text is the only reference to them.

If the *magistri duane de secretis* designated the members of the board of higher officials in the *duana de secretis*, what was their relationship with the *ἄρχοντες τοῦ σεκρέτου*? Garufi, Caspar, Caravale and Chalandon believe that the *ἄρχοντες τοῦ σεκρέτου* were the members of the specialized financial committee (*Gran Secrezia*) which had branched off from the *curia regis*, and which controlled the supervising office consisting of the *duana de secretis* and the *duana baronum*.[63] However, an examination of the sources never suggests the existence of such a special financial committee consisting of the master chamberlain of the royal palace, the master justiciar of the great royal court and *magistri duane*. What, then, were the *ἄρχοντες τοῦ σεκρέτου*?

From a source of June 1168, we obtain the following information about the *ἄρχοντες τοῦ σεκρέτου*. Eufemius of Traina and William Murize of Petralia, the *catepani* and foresters of the land of the queen, were called to the royal court during their stay in Palermo by Lord John and Qā'id Abū al-Qāsim, *ἄρχοντες τοῦ σεκρέτου*. They were ordered to go to the place in Capizzi, where the Church of the Saviour stood, to divide one *jugerum* of land in the assigned part of the forest and to give the land to the church.[64] A charter of April 1183 provides the following information. The abbot of St. Philip's Monastery came to Andrea Raimond, *στρατηγός* of Centuripe, and Adam, *ἐξουσιαστής* (= *baiulus*) of Centuripe, with a letter sent from the *ἄρχοντες τοῦ σεκρέτου*, that is, Lord Qā'id Richard, Lord John Graffeus and Lord Eugenius Calì. The letter ordered them to inspect land belonging to Kallestos, a monk, and his brothers.[65]

From these sources we learn two characteristics of the *ἄρχοντες τοῦ σεκρέτου*: (1) they worked in the royal palace in Palermo and (2) they ordered local officials to grant a piece of land in the queen's forest to a church or to inspect land belonging to a monk. These characteristics are the same as those of the *duana de secretis*, as I have confirmed in another paper.[66] In addition, all the persons who appeared as *ἄρχοντες τοῦ σεκρέτου* in the sources were in fact *magistri duane de secretis* except John (Graffeus), but not *magistri duane baronum*. Furthermore, in the source of 1168, Lord John and Qā'id Abū al-Qāsim were called *ἄρχοντες τοῦ σεκρέτου* in one place but *ἄρχοντες* and *σεκρετικοί* in another.[67] The *σεκρετικοί* were identical with *magistri duane de secretis*, as I have already shown elsewhere.[68] Therefore, I suggest that the *ἄρχοντες τοῦ σεκρέτου* were actually identical to *magistri duane de secretis*.

The assumption by Garufi, Caspar, Caravale and Chalandon that a specialized financial committee (*Gran Secrezia*) consisting of the master chamberlain of the royal palace, the master justiciar of the great royal court and the *magistri duane* existed is unfounded. Rather, we should see that these authors misinterpreted the Greek term *ἄρχοντες τοῦ σεκρέτου*. The present detailed reexamination of the existing literature on the subject seems to refute the previous models of a specialized financial committee (*Gran Secrezia*).

III. *Magistri duane baronum*

The *duana baronum* was, as it were, a branch office at Salerno on the peninsula, meeting a variety of local administrative needs: grants of royal land and properties, communication and promulgation of administrative commands, judicial work and so on. It was called *σέκρετον τῶν ἀποκοπῶν* in Greek, but its Arabic correspondent is not known.[69] The *duana baronum* was established just before 1168, when Stephen du Perche was the head minister.[70] Although historians have regarded the *magister duane baronum* (*ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ σεκρέτου τῶν ἀποκοπῶν* in Greek) as the head of the *duana baronum*,[71] this is not likely. The *magister duane baronum* seems to have designated a member of the board of high officials at the *duana baronum*, as the *magister duane de secretis* was a member of the board of high officials at the *duana de secretis*.

The first *magister duane baronum* confirmed in the sources is Qā'id Richard, the master chamberlain of the royal palace. He was described as *τῶ πρωτωκαμπέρι καὶ φαμελλιαρίω ἡμῶν τῶ ἐπὶ τοῦ σεκρέτου τῶν ἀποκοπῶν καίτη ῥιγκάρδη* in a source of 1168.[72] This suggests that Qā'id Richard, the master chamberlain of the royal palace, was involved in the creation of the *duana baronum*. Considering the political situation at that time, it is possible that Qā'id Richard, the most powerful of all the ex-Muslim officials, was appointed *magister duane baronum* in order to decrease the power of the barons of the peninsula, or at least to create a balance of power between officials and the nobility. Qā'id Richard resigned this office shortly after his appointment, possibly because the *duana baronum* was located at Salerno, most likely requiring the presence of the *magister duane baronum*, which would have been difficult, given Qā'id Richard's position in Palermo.

Qā'id Materacius, the chamberlain of the royal palace, seems to have directed the *duana baronum* in the first half of the reign of William II (see Figure 3.3). He was described as *doana baronum cui preest gaytus Matara regius camerarius et senescalcus* in September 1174.[73] He bought some houses in Palermo from the Count of Marsico and made payment on behalf of the *duana baronum* in 1176.[74] Subsequently, Admiral Walter of Modica seems to have taken over his charge and directed the *duana baronum*. He appeared as *regii fortunati stolii ammiratus et magister regie duane de secretis et duane baronum* in three sources: 6 May 1178, June 1178 and 13 February 1179.[75] In May 1178, he gave an order to the *baiulus* of Sarno on his own authority without following any decrees from the central government.[76] In June 1178, he ordered Eugenius, another *magister duane baronum*, to hold a *curia*, at which Eugenius received and obeyed the decisions of the *curia* held by Walter of Modica at Minori. In February 1179 Walter of Modica received the king's order at Barletta to fix the boundary of the land granted to the monastery St. Maria of Corazzo.[77]

Eugenius, another *magister duane baronum*, worked for about twenty years under these directors of the *duana baronum*. Eugenius appeared in the sources in 1174, 1175, 1178, 1187, 1189 and 1190.[78] He was promoted to admiral in 1190

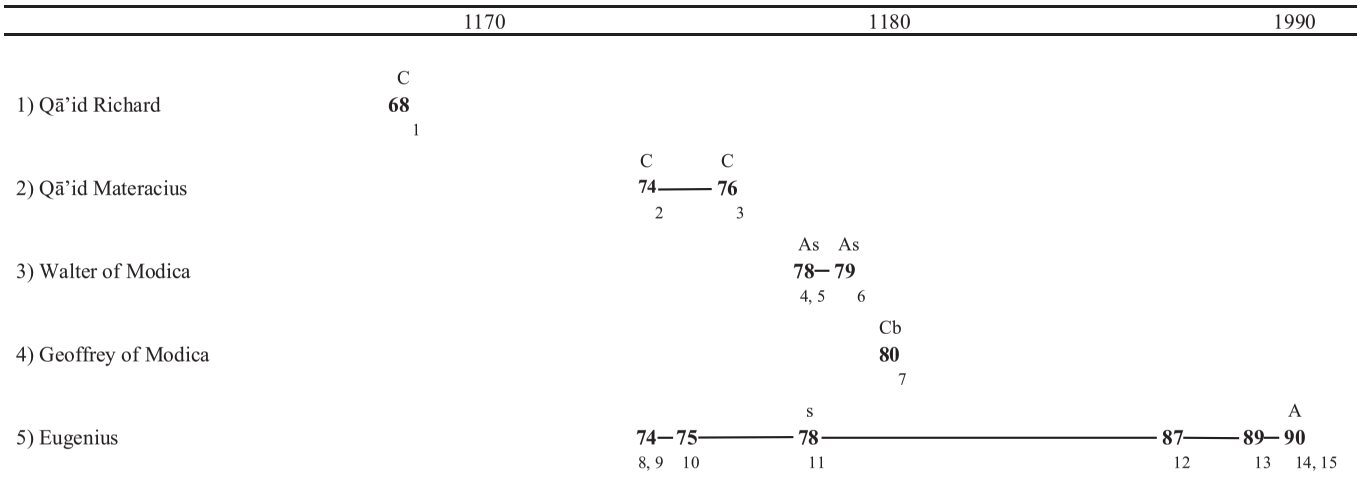

Figure 3.3 *Magistri duane baronum*
Note: A = *ammiratus regii fortunati stolii*; C = *camerarius regis palatii*; s = *magister duane de secretis*

Sources: (1) Kehr (note 17), p. 438. (2) Haskins, "England and Sicily" (note 5), p. 653. (3) Garufi, *Catalogo illustrato* (note 42), p. 163. (4) Haskins, "England and Sicily," p. 445. (5) Camera (note 75), p. 365. (6) Pometti (note 75), p. 276. (7) Cusa (note 19), p. 489. (8) Perla (note 78), p. 346. (9) Haskins, "England and Sicily," p. 653. (10) Jamison, *Admiral Eugenius* (note 8), pp. 317–318. (11) Camera, p. 364. (12) Minieri-Riccio (note 19), p. 21. (13) Jamison, *Admiral Eugenius*, p. 342. (14) Jamison, *Admiral Eugenius*, p. 320. (15) Jamison, *Admiral Eugenius*, pp. 342–345.

after having held the office of *magister duane baronum* for a long time.[79] One finds another *magister duane baronum*, Geoffrey of Modica, the chamberlain of the royal palace, in 1180. However, he also held office as *magister duane de secretis* and seems to have stayed at the royal palace in Palermo.[80]

Thus it was Qā'id Materacius, the chamberlain of the royal palace, and Eugenius for the first half of the reign of William II, and admiral Walter of Modica and Eugenius for the second half, who managed the *duana baronum*. The change of director from chamberlain to admiral should be noted, because it suggests that the office of the *duana baronum* was originally placed under the direction of a more bureaucratic official and later under a more military-oriented administrative official. If one considers the political conditions in these regions, it is not difficult to understand this change: In these areas there were many fiefs; vassals and cities had a tendency to become independent from the authority of the king. One of the main functions of the *duana baronum* was to watch over and control the vassals and cities, and this was one of the main reasons why the *duana baronum* had been created. The creation of the *duana baronum* was successful, and baronial revolts disappeared thereafter. However, the admiral may have been more suitable for the office than the chamberlain of the royal palace, as he had more authority due to his military skills as a commander and could more easily control and recruit nobles and knights.

Conclusion

Having analyzed and described high officials of the *duana*s in later twelfth-century Sicily, I have arrived at a new understanding of their organization. As a result, I have developed a structure of the central administration different from that of previous historians. At the top of the Sicilian government, the royal inner council, whose members were called *familiares*, made decisions on important issues of the kingdom or on matters concerning the kings' interests.[81] The executive and administrative organizations were the *al-dīwān al-ma'mūr*, the *duana de secretis* and the *duana baronum*. The *al-dīwān al-ma'mūr*, the central office engaged in routine and general work at Palermo, was directed by the master chamberlain of the royal palace with his two subordinate chamberlains of the royal palace. The *duana de secretis*, the office at Palermo charged with special duties concerning the administration of land, was directed by one of the two chamberlains of the royal palace. Its high officials were called *magistri duane de secretis, aṣḥāb dīwān al-taḥqīq al-ma'mūr, οἱ ἐπὶ τοῦ μεγάλου σεκρέτου* (*οἱ ἐπὶ τοῦ σεκρέτου*) or *ἄρχοντες τοῦ σεκρέτου*. The *duana baronum*, a branch office at Salerno meeting a variety of local administrative needs on the peninsula, was directed first by the other chamberlain of the royal palace and later by the admiral. The high officials of this office were called *magistri duane baronum* or *οἱ ἐπὶ τοῦ σεκρέτου τῶν ἀποκοπῶν*.

This structure of the central administration is different from that posited by previous historians. It does not allow for the *Gran Secrezia*, a specialized financial

committee. This new model refutes the triple-layered structure of officials at the *duana* and suggests that the functions of the high officials at the *duana* were not purely financial as had been believed, but rather concerned more general administrative duties. It should be noted that the administrative structure summarized above has limitations. First, it should not be applied to the whole period of the kingdom, but rather should be confined to the period after the establishment of the *duana baronum*. The administrative structure before the death of Maio of Bari was different. During the reign of Roger II, for example, admirals were far more important in the administration, and *familiares regis* figured much less prominently. Second, in order to understand the whole administrative structure, one has to analyze the positions of the local officials such as *camerarii*, *justiciarii* and *stratigoti*. In most cases the chamberlains of the royal palace, the *magistri duane de secretis*, and *magistri duane baronum* carried out their duties by issuing orders to these local officials. Additionally, the task of writing documents was often entrusted to them as well.

Working within these limitations, some characteristics of the administration in late twelfth-century Sicily can be observed. First, it was common in Sicily for high officials to hold more than one office concurrently, which has caused a problem in defining the duties and functions of offices. Schematization of their functions and relationships based on a strict definition of each office is an inevitable result of our efforts to understand the administrative structure, but it should not be forgotten that the power and authority of offices were often greatly affected by the personal character of the individuals who held the offices. Second, the balance of power among officials, clergy and nobility is an important element of the administration, although there was a marked tendency to exclude the nobility from the central government. Third, officials included many ex-Muslims, as well as Greeks and Italians, who were closely connected with the Muslim population in Sicily. The participation of ex-Muslims in the central government was an important characteristic of Sicilian administration. It is probable that the kings appointed many ex-Muslims to offices under their direct authority in order to weaken the power of the barons and thus strengthen their own power. More importantly, the kings needed the Muslims' sophisticated skills and knowledge of administration, and the Muslims, opposed to the barons, needed the kings as their protectors. Ibn Jubair described Muslims working at the royal palace in 1184 as follows:

> [Arabic] The king trusted in Muslims so much and relied on them so much in his own affairs and important work that he had a group of black slaves and had a *qā'id* of them chosen from among them, and the ministers (*wuzarā'*) and the chamberlains (*ḥujjāb*) were Muslim *fityān*, and had a group of officials of the kingdom and the royal court chosen from among these *fityān*. . . . As for the *fityān* who were the important persons in his government, and administrators of the royal properties, they were Muslims.[82]

We should be careful in accepting this description because it is natural that Ibn Jubair had his own bias as a Muslim. However, it is clear that many Muslims or ex-Muslims were working at the royal palace.

Considering the close connection of this kingdom with England and other monarchies, one may wonder how much the administration of Sicily affected those monarchies.[83] As I mentioned in my introduction, Mitteis believes that it influenced those of England, France and Germany. The genealogical relationship of the *duana* of Sicily and the Exchequer of England has been one of the biggest questions of institutional historians.[84] Some historians believed that both institutions were the earliest independent financial organizations stemming from the *curia regis* in medieval Europe. To be sure, the *duana de secretis*, the *duana baronum* and the Exchequer were very conspicuous in their great independence from the *curia regis* in twelfth-century Western Europe, and worthy of comparison. However, this present study seems to suggest that the *duana* in Sicily was created by emergent necessity based on existing local conditions, but not necessarily according to a financial criterion. It also seems to suggest that the Sicilian administrative structure was different from that of England, and the *duana* functioned differently from the Exchequer in the administration. There is no doubt that skills and knowledge imported from the outside could affect any medieval administration. But during the formation of an administrative system, traditional and regional conditions could determine the type and structure of the administration, as the Sicilian system examined here illustrates.

Acknowledgments

I would like to thank Professor John Boswell of Yale University; Professor Robert Stacey of University of Washington; Professor Giles Constable of The Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton; and Professor James C. Holt and Dr. David Abulafia of Cambridge University for their advice. I am also grateful to Professor James Powell of Syracuse University; Professor Michael Altschul of Case Western Reserve University; and Professors Kōichi Kabayama, Takeshi Kido and Tsugitaka Satō of The University of Tokyo for their comments on an earlier version of this chapter; and to Colleen Ravillini and Lisa Rotondo-McCord for their help in revising this chapter.

Notes

1 Robert L. Benson, "Political *Renovatio*: Two Models from Roman Antiquity," *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*, ed. Robert L. Benson and Giles Constable (Cambridge, MA, 1982), p. 339; Helene Wieruszowski, "Roger II of Sicily, *Rex-Tyrannus*, in Twelfth-Century Political Thought," *Speculum*, vol. 38 (1963), pp. 47–48; Albert Brackmann, "The Beginning of the National State in Medieval Germany and the Norman Monarchies," *Medieval Germany 911–1250*, ed. and trans. Geoffrey Barraclough, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1938), vol. 2, pp. 288–292, 296–298. It is well recognized that the political philosophy of John of Salisbury was much influenced by the contemporary political condition of the two Norman Kingdoms in England and Sicily.

2 Richard W. Southern, *Medieval Humanism and Other Studies* (Oxford, 1970), p. 140. On the commercial activity of Sicily, see David Abulafia, *The Two Italies: Economic Relations between the Norman Kingdom of Sicily and the Northern Communes* (Cambridge, 1977), and a series of his articles which have been reprinted in *Italy, Sicily and the Mediterranean, 1100–1400* (London, 1987); Shelomo Dov Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society: Vol. 1, Economic Foundations* (Berkeley, 1967); Shelomo Dov Goitein, "Sicily and Southern Italy in the Cairo Geniza Documents," *Archivio storico per la Sicilia orientale*, vol. 67 (1971), pp. 9–33.

3 Charles Homer Haskins, *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, MA, 1927), pp. 283–284, 291–302.

4 David C. Douglas, *The Norman Fate 1100–1154* (Berkeley, 1976), pp. 5, 216–217.

5 Douglas, *The Norman Fate*, pp. 2–3, 120, 217; Brackmann, "The Beginnings of the National State," p. 289. In his book, Douglas assessed "the contribution made by the Normans to the political growth of Europe between 1100 and 1154," and underlined the effects of the Norman administration on the later development of secular government in Western Europe: "The Norman rulers everywhere, and particularly in the South, had initiated in Europe a new development in secular government" (Douglas, *The Norman Fate*, p. 120). Besides Douglas, not a few scholars have considered comparing the administrative system of Norman Sicily with that in England, which is also regarded as the most advanced in Western Europe, in order to find the common Norman influence or to look for other important factors causing them. For example, Charles H. Haskins, "England and Sicily in the Twelfth Century," *English Historical Review*, vol. 26 (1911), pp. 433–447, 641–665; Charles H. Haskins, *The Normans in European History* (Boston, 1915); Charles H. Haskins, *Norman Institutions* (Cambridge, MA, 1925), pp. 23–24, 61, 111–112, 232–234; Carmela Ceci, "Normanni d'Inghilterra e Normanni d'Italia," *Archivio scientifico del R. Istituto superiore di scienze economiche e commerciali di Bari*, vol. 7 (1932–1933); Dione Clementi, "Notes on Norman Sicilian Surveys," Vivian H. Galbraith, *The Making of Domesday Book* (Oxford, 1961), pp. 55–58; Antonio Marongiu, "I due regni normanni d'Inghilterra e d'Italia," *I normanni e la loro espansione in Europa nell'alto Medio Evo*, vol. 16 (Settimane di studio del centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, Spoleto, 1969), pp. 497–557; Sally Harvey, "Domesday Book and Its Predecessors," *English Historical Review*, vol. 86 (1971), p. 765.

6 Heinrich Mitteis, *Deutsche Rechtsgeschichte, ein Studienbuch*, rev. by Heinz Lieberich, 15th ed. (Munich, 1978), p. 186. See also Brackmann, "The Beginnings of the National State," pp. 290–292.

7 Carlo Alberto Garufi, "Sull'ordinamento amministrativo normanno in Sicilia, Exhiquier o diwan? Studi storico-diplomatici," *Archivio storico italiano*, serie 5, vol. 27 (1901), pp. 234–250, 259. *Duana*, also written as *dohana* or *doana*, is a transliteration of Arabic *dīwān* into Latin letters, literally meaning an office. I use *duana*, not *dohana* or *doana*, in this study simply because *duana* seems to me more often used in Latin sources and may be more pertinent from a phonetic point of view. Some authorities such as Chalandon and Caravale use *dohana*, and I followed their usage in my former studies. Whichever usage scholars follow, there is no difference between *duana, dohana* and *doana*.

8 Works which have accepted this theory include Erich Caspar, *Roger II. (1101–1154) und die Gründung der normannisch-sicilischen Monarchie* (Innsbruck, 1904), pp. 315–318; Ferdinand Chalandon, *Histoire de la domination normande en Italie et en Sicile*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1907), vol. 2, pp. 648–653; Ernst Mayer, *Italienische Verfassungsgeschichte von der Gothenzeit bis zur Zunftherrschaft*, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1909), vol. 2, pp. 384–404; Haskins, "England and Sicily," p. 653; Ceci, "Normanni d'Inghilterra," pp. 330–331; Pier Silverio Leicht, "Lo stato normanno," *Il regno normanno* (Messina,

1932), p. 49; Pier Silverio Leicht, *Storia del diritto italiano: Il diritto pubblico* (Milan, 1944), p. 293; Francesco Calasso, *Gli ordinamenti giuridici del Rinascimento medievale* (Milan, 1949), p. 166; Evelyn Jamison, *Admiral Eugenius of Sicily: His Life and Work* (London, 1957), pp. 50–53; Adelaide Baviera Albanese, "L'istituzione dell'ufficio di Conservatore del Real Patrimonio e gli organi finanziari del Regno di Sicilia nel sec. XV," *Il circolo giuridico* (Palermo, 1958), pp. 269–271; Thomas C. Van Cleve, *The Emperor Frederick II of Hohenstaufen* (Oxford, 1972), pp. 264–265; Francesco Giunta, *Bizantini e bizantinismo nella Sicilia normanna*, 2nd ed. (Palermo, 1974), pp. 65–69; Aziz Ahmad, *A History of Islamic Sicily* (Islamic Surveys 10, Edinburgh, 1975), pp. 65–66. This theory is easily accessible in English: see Brian Tierney and Sidney Painter, *Western Europe in the Middle Ages 300–1475*, 4th ed. (New York, 1983), p. 249.

Contrary to the classic statement of Garufi, Mario Caravale asserted that the functions of the *duana de secretis* and the *duana baronum* were distinct in their administrative districts, though he basically accepted Garufi's structural analysis of the *duana*. He explained that the former had competence over Sicily and Calabria and the latter over the peninsula except Calabria. See Mario Caravale, "Gli uffici finanziari nel Regno di Sicilia durante il periodo normanno," *Annali di storia del diritto*, vol. 8 (1964), pp. 178–185, repr. in his *Il regno normanno di Sicilia* (Milan, 1966). His theory has been accepted by Norbert Kamp, "Vom Kämmerer zum Sekreten: Wirtschaftsreformen und Finanzverwaltung im staufischen Königreich Sizilien," *Problem um Friedrich II.*, ed. Josef Fleckenstein (Sigmaringen, 1974), p. 52. Concerning the meanings and Arabic usages of *dīwān* (*duana*), *al-dīwān al-ma'mūr* and *dīwān al-taḥqīq al-ma'mūr*, see Albrecht Noth, "Die arabischen Dokumente Roger II.," Carlrichard Brühl, *Urkunden und Kanzlei König Roger II. von Sizilien* (Cologne, 1978), pp. 254–257.

9 Garufi, "Sull'ordinamento amministrativo," pp. 256–257; Caspar, *Roger II. und die Gründung*, p. 316; Chalandon, *Histoire de la domination*, vol. 2, p. 651; Ferdinand Chalandon, "Norman Kingdom of Sicily," *The Cambridge Medieval History, Vol. 5: Contest of Empire and Papacy* (Cambridge, 1926), p. 205; Caravale, "Gli uffici finanziari," pp. 203–204, 218–219. I have proposed a different view on the *ἄρχοντες τῆς κραταιᾶς κόρτης*: Hiroshi Takayama, "*Familiares Regis* and the Royal Inner Council in Twelfth-Century Sicily," *English Historical Review*, vol. 104 (1989), pp. 370–371.

10 Haskins, "England and Sicily," p. 653; Jamison, *Admiral Eugenius*, p. 51; Ceci, "Normanni d'Inghilterra," pp. 331–332. Jamison explains that "the *duana* were directed by the board of senior officials, perhaps some ten in number; among them were always the three chamberlains," and says that "the general designation of the board was *ἄρχοντες τοῦ σεκρέτου, magistri duane*, and *sayh* (*sheik*) of the *dīwān al-taḥqīq al-ma'mūr* according to the language used."

11 Kamp, "Vom Kämmerer," p. 52.

12 Baviera Albanese, "L'istituzione," p. 271.

13 Garufi, "Sull'ordinamento amministrativo," pp. 251–256, 262; Chalandon, *Histoire de la domination*, vol. 2, pp. 651–652; Caspar, *Roger II und die Gründung*, p. 316; Mayer, *Italienische Verfassungsgeschichte*, vol. 2, p. 386, notes 36–37; Caravale, "Gli uffici finanziari," pp. 203–204, 209. Only Jamison disagrees with this triple-layered structure, and insists that *σεκρετικός* had been identical with master of the *duana* (*Admiral Eugenius*, pp. 51–52).

14 Garufi, "Sull'ordinamento amministrativo," pp. 251, 261; Chalandon, *Histoire de la domination*, vol. 2, p. 654; Caravale, "Gli uffici finanziari," pp. 204, 209. Garufi listed "*kātib*" and "*gaiti*" as officials of the treasury office. Only Caspar holds that the financial administration at this office was controlled by the "*Kaids*" and "*Hakim*" who had been judicial officials of the Arabs in the former ages (Caspar, *Roger II. (1101–1154) und die Gründung*, pp. 316–317).

15 Hiroshi Takayama, "The Financial and Administrative Organization of the Normans in Twelfth-Century Sicily," *Shigaku-Zasshi*, vol. 92, no. 7 (1983), pp. 1–46; Hiroshi Takayama, "The Financial and Administrative Organization of the Norman Kingdom of Sicily," *Viator*, vol. 16 (1985), pp. 129–157. I should like to express my special gratitude to Ms. Mary A. Rouse, managing editor of *Viator,* who gave me indispensable advice on the texts in English in the process of publication.

16 Takayama, "The Financial and Administrative Organization of the Norman Kingdom of Sicily," pp. 149, 145, note 59.

17 Garufi confirms the existence of the treasurer (*thesoriere*), the head of the treasury office, in the source of 1168 which we know through Pirro's translation. He thinks that this office was not a specialized one but was held by the master chamberlain of the royal palace (*magister camerarius regii palatii*), and reasons as follows: Qā'id Richard, the treasurer, was also a master chamberlain of the royal palace; Qā'id Materacius, the master chamberlain of the royal palace, carried out tasks of completely financial nature such as a payment of 8,000 tari for the *duana baronum* in 1176. He thinks *kātib* and *gaiti* belonged to this office ("Sull'ordinamento amministrativo," pp. 251, 261). Chalandon accepts this opinion (*Histoire de la domination*, vol. 2, p. 654), and Caravale, based on Garufi's argument, developed this idea further, stating that the first appearance of this treasurer in 1169 (1168?) means the beginning of the process of forming and completing the treasury office ("Gli uffici finanziari," pp. 204, 209). However, their supporting source of 1168 is not reliable: "et paterno nostro amore more solito usi cessimus tuae petitioni et praecipimus Thesaurario et familiari nostro qui est super omnes secretos Caiti [*sic*] Riccardo renovare praedictum sigillum" (Rocco Pirro, *Sicilia sacra disquisitionibus et notitiis illustrata*, vol. 2 [Palermo, 1733], p. 1017). This source is a translation from Greek by Pirro. The original phrase of the "*thesaurario et familiari nostro . . . Caito Riccardo*" is supposed to be "τῶ πρωτωκαμπέρι καὶ φαμελλιαρίω ἡμῶν . . . καίτη ῥιγκάρδη" found in another source (Karl A. Kehr, *Die Urkunden der normannisch-sicilischen Könige* [Innsbruck, 1902], p. 438), which in turn corresponds to "*gaytus Ricardus domini regis magister camerarius et familiaris*" (Giovanni B. Siragusa, ed., *La historia o Liber de Regno Siciliae* [Rome, 1897], p. 128, note 2). In sum, the word "*thesaurarius*" in the source of 1168 seems to be a translation of *magister camerarius* (*πρωτοκαμπήρ*). Therefore we should not assume that the *thesaurarius* was the head of the *al-dīwān al-ma'mūr* nor should we think, as Caravale does, that the function of the *al-dīwān al-ma'mūr* began to be defined at this time. We have not yet succeeded in identifying the head of the *al-dīwān al-ma'mūr* from the sources.

18 Before the death of Maio of Bari, the condition of the *curia regis* and the administrative officials had been completely different. One cannot talk about the royal administration without mentioning an admiral (*amīr, ammiratus, ἀμῆρ, ἀμηρᾶς*). See Chalandon, *Histoire de la domination*, vol. 2, pp. 634–638; Jamison, *Admiral Eugenius*, pp. 35–44; Léon-Robert Ménager, *Amiratus-Ἀμηρᾶς. L'Émirat et les origines de l'amirauté (XIe–XIIIe siècles)* (Paris, 1960), pp. 26–56.

19 Carlo Alberto Garufi, "Censimento et catasto della popolazione servile. Nuovi studi e ricerche sull'ordinamento amministrativo dei Normanni in Sicilia nei secoli XI e XII," *Archivio storico siciliano*, vol. 49 (1928), p. 32, note 1. For example, *Νικολάου πρωτονοταρίου καὶ καπριλλίγγουα καὶ πρωτοσπαθαρίου* in June 1090 (Salvatore Cusa, *I diplomi greci ed arabi di Sicilia pubblicati nel testo originale*, vol. 1 [Palermo, 1868–1882], p. 384; Giuseppe Spata, *Le pergamene greche esistenti nel grande archivio di Palermo* [Palermo 1862], p. 247); *nicolao canberlario* on 16 June 1101 (Francesco Trinchera, *Syllabus graecarum membranarum* [Naples, 1865], p. 87); *ὁ ἡμέτερος πιστοτατος νικόλαος καπριλινγας* in June 1104 (Camillo Minieri-Riccio, *Saggio di codice diplomatico formato sulle antiche scritture dell'Archivio di Stato di Napoli*, Supplemento, parte prima [Naples, 1882], p. 6); *Νικολάου τοῦ ἐνδοξοτάτου καπριλίγγα*

in March 1105 (Cusa, p. 399); *Nicolaus Caplinga, seu Camerarius* in 1105 (Pirro, *Sicilia sacra*, p. 1042; cf. Caspar, *Roger II. und die Gründung*, reg. no. 5). Jamison states that Nicholas held this office from 1086 to 1105 (*Admiral Eugenius*, p. 34).

20 Léon-Robert Ménager, "Notes et documents sur quelques monastères de Calabre à l'epoque normande," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, vol. 50 (1957), p. 336.

21 Caspar, *Roger II. und die Gründung*, reg. no. 48; Jamison, *Admiral Eugenius*, p. 34. Jamison identifies this Basil (*Basileios*) with Admiral Basil. Paenos was among the witnesses of a charter in 1125: *Παένος καμβριλλίγγας μάρτυρ ὑπέγραψα* (Cusa, p. 556).

22 Rumualdus Salernitanus, *Chronicon sive Annales*, ed. Carlo A. Garufi (Città di Castello, 1909–1935), pp. 234–236. See also ibid., p. 341 and Jamison, *Admiral Eugenius*, pp. 41–42.

23 John was among the witnesses of a charter in 1153: *Ἰωάννης καπρελίγγας τοῦ μεγάλου ῥιγὸς μάρτυρ* (Cusa, p. 33). Jamison identifies this John with the son of Admiral Graffeus (*Admiral Eugenius*, p. 42).

24 Jamison, *Admiral Eugenius*, p. 45: "in presentia domini Atenulfi supradicti domini nostri regis camerarii regalis palatii." See also ibid., pp. 391–392, 394. However, Falcandus called him simply *Adenolfus camerarius* (Hugo Falcandus, *Leber de Regno Sicilie*, in Giovanni B. Siragusa, ed., *La historia o Liber de Regno Sicilie e la epistola ad Petrum Panormitane eccclesie thesaurarium* [Rome, 1897], pp. 42, 48–50, 72). Atenulf was killed in the spring of 1161.

25 *Familiaris regis* was a well-defined title to indicate a member of the royal inner council during the reigns of William I (1154–1166) and William II (1166–1189). As the decision makers on policy and other important matters, they were the most powerful people in the kingdom. See Hiroshi Takayama, "The Grand Officials of the Norman Kingdom of Sicily," *Shigaku-Zasshi*, vol. 93 (1984), no. 12, pp. 17–22; Hiroshi Takayama, "*Familiares Regis* and the Royal Inner Council in Twelfth-Century Sicily," *English Historical Review*, vol. 104 (1989), pp. 357–372.

26 Falcandus, *Liber de Regno*, p. 77: "eisdem diebus gaytus Iohar eunuchus, magister camerarius palatii, cum in exercitu multas a rege preter meritum, ut aiebat, iniurias pertulisset ac verbera, cum sigillis regiis ad comitem Lorotelli transfugiens, in itinere captus est et ad regem perductus; quem rex impositum lintri, deduci iussit in pelagus ibique submergi." Falcandus' narration implies that Qā'id Iohar was killed in about 1162, but Jamison identifies him with Theodore, the master chamberlain of the king, whose death in February 1163 was recorded: "A.D.I. .M.C.LXIII. indictionis .XII. dominus Theodorus domini regis magister camerarius ob." (Carlo A. Garufi, ed., *Necrologio del "Liber Confratrum" di S. Matteo di Salerno* [Fonti per la storia d'Italia, LVI, Rome 1922], p. 20). See Jamison, *Admiral Eugenius*, p. 44, note 3.

27 Falcandus, *Liber de Regno*, p. 83.

28 Takayama, "*Familiares Regis*," pp. 360–362.

29 Although Falcandus does not call Qā'id Richard eunuch, the following description implies that he was also a eunuch: "Gaytus quoque Richardus illi cum ceteris eunuchis infestissimus erat, eo quod Robertum Calataboianensem contra voluntatem eius dampnaverat" (Falcandus, *Liber de Regno*, p. 119).

30 Takayama, "*Familiares Regis*," pp. 362–364.

31 Falcandus, *Liber de Regno*, p. 79, note 1; Carlo Alberto Garufi, *I documenti inediti dell'epoca normanna in Sicilia* (Documenti per servire alla storia di Sicilia, serie 1, Diplomatica XIX, Palermo, 1899), pp. 111, 112. Qā'id Martin's appointment as master chamberlain of the royal palace was probably temporary in the conflict of Qā'id Richard with the head minister Stephen.

32 Falcandus, *Liber de Regno*, p. 79: "nam gaytus Martinus eunuchus, quem rex ad custodiam civitatis ac palacii Panormi reliquerat, cum in captione palacii fratrem suum a Christianis sciret occisum, nec eius facti certos repperisset auctores, in omnes Christianos atrociter occulteque deseviens, fratris mortem omnibus imputabat."

33 Takayama, "*Familiares Regis*," p. 363.
34 Falcandus, *Liber de Regno*, pp. 161–162.
35 Takayama, "*Familiares Regis*," p. 364; Falcandus, *Liber de Regno*, pp. 108–109; Garufi, *I documenti inediti*, p. 111.
36 Takayama, "*Familiares Regis*," pp. 364–368.
37 This is confirmed in some sources: "gaytus Ricardus domini regis magister camerarius et familiaris" in 1167 (Falcandus, *Liber de Regno*, p. 128, note 2); "τῶ πρωτωκαμπέρι καὶ φαμελλιαρίω ἡμῶν τῶ ἐπὶ τοῦ σεκρέτου τῶν ἀποκοπῶν καίτη ῥιγκάρδη" in March 1168 (Kehr, *Die Urkunden*, p. 438); "thesaurario et familiari nostro qui est super omnes secretos Caiti [*sic*] Riccardo" in 1168 (Pirro, *Sicilia sacra*, vol. 2, p. 1017); "τοῦ εὐδοξοτάτου καίτου Ῥικάρδου καὶ μεγάλου σεκρέτου" in October 1170 (Haskins, "England and Sicily," p. 650, note 160); "magistro palatino camerario domino gayto Riccardo magistro regie duane de secretis" in January 1183 (Haskins, "England and Sicily," p. 654, note 191).
38 Jamison, *Admiral Eugenius*, p. 49. But I am suspicious of her reasoning from the following source: "Putifares omnes claves et scrinia portant; Adsignant quasquas fiscus habebat opes; Thesauros numerant, quos vermis araneus ille Auserat, et frustra retia nevit apris; Primus neutrorum claves escriniat omnes, Alter apodixas explicat, alter opes; Hec quantum Calaber seu quantum debeat Afer, Apulus aut Siculus debeat orbis habet" (Petrus de Ebulo, *Liber ad Honorem Augusti*, ed. G. B. Siragusa [Rome, 1906], pp. 91–92). To be sure we see three *putifares* working like treasurers, but it is not certain that these *putifares* were identical with *camerarii regii palatii*. As examined above, the *camerarii regii palatii* in this period were high administrative officials at the center of the administration rather than just specialized financial officials. It is impossible, either, to identify eunuchs (*neutri*) with *camerarii regii palatii,* because there were many eunuchs in the royal palace besides the chamberlains.
39 Falcandus, *Liber de Regno*, p. 79, note 1.
40 Falcandus, *Liber de Regno*, pp. 108–109.
41 Haskins, "England and Sicily," p. 653, note 186.
42 Carlo Alberto Garufi, *Catalogo illustrato del Tabulario di S. Maria Nuova in Monreale* (Palermo, 1902), pp. 163–164: "Ego Guillelmus . . . declaro quod . . . uendidi duane baronum in manibus uidelicet Gayti Mataracij Regij sacri palatii camerarij et magistri eiusdem duane . . . omnes domos meas."
43 Cusa, pp. 489–490; Spata, pp. 447–449.
44 Cusa, pp. 83–84.
45 Takayama, "The Financial and Administrative Organization of the Norman Kingdom of Sicily," pp. 133, 145.
46 Mayer, *Italienische Verfassungsgeschichte*, vol. 2, p. 386; Caspar, *Roger II. und die Gründung*, p. 316; Caravale, "Gli uffici finanziari," p. 217.
47 Cusa, pp. 622–624, 321. On the Arabic and Greek corresponding terms, see Takayama, "The Financial and Administrative Organization of the Norman Kingdom of Sicily," pp. 131–133.
48 Garufi, *I documenti inediti*, p. 152.
49 Cusa, pp. 489–490; Spata, pp. 447–448.
50 Pirro, *Sicilia sacra*, vol. 2, p. 1017; Haskins, "England and Sicily," pp. 650, 654; Cusa, p. 432; Spata, p. 293; Garufi, *I documenti inediti*, p. 214; Cusa, p. 83.
51 Cusa, pp. 622–624.
52 Alexander Bruel, *Recueil des chartes de l'abbaye de Cluny*, vol. 5 (Paris, 1894), p. 600.
53 Falcandus, *Liber de Regno*, p. 119: "nec minus Bulcassem inter Sarracenos Sicilie nobilissimus ac prepotens multam illi Sarracenorum conflarat invidiam, cum eum ab initio plurimum dilexissent."
54 Cusa, pp. 81–83; Takayama, "The Financial and Administrative Organization of the Norman Kingdom of Sicily," p. 137.

55 Spata, pp. 452, 454; Garufi, *I documenti inediti*, pp. 195–196; Garufi, "Monete e conii nella storia del diritto siculo dagli arabi ai Martini," *Archivio storico siciliano*, n.s., vol. 23 (1898), p. 153.
56 Cusa, pp. 29, 35.
57 Giovanni B. Siragusa, *Il Regno di Guglielmo I in Sicilia*, 2nd ed. (Palermo, 1929), p. 438: "Νικόλαος ὁ σεκρετικός."
58 See note 78.
59 See note 75.
60 On the triple-layered structure of the supervising office, see p. 53 and note 13 above. Garufi's argument consists of two parts. First, he demonstrates the difference between the ranks of *magister duane* and *σεκρετικός*. According to Garufi, the *σεκρετικός* received an order from the dignitaries (*altissimi dignitari*) of the royal palace and executed it. For example, Martin, one of the *γέροντες τοῦ σεκρέτου* which Garufi regards as identical with *σεκρετικός*, carried out an order from the king or chancellor in 1161. In 1172, likewise, Geoffrey of Modica (Moac/Modac), *σεκρετικός* (*ṣāḥib*), received an order from the *ἄρχοντες τῆς κραταιᾶς κόρτης* and carried it out. In contrast, the *magistri duane*, Garufi believes, concluded issues of an administrative nature by themselves. For example, Eugenius Calì, *magister duane*, dealt with one issue without any orders from the king or *ἄρχοντες* in 1174; Geoffrey of Modica, *magister duane*, ordered the local officials to grant lands to the bishop of Catania on his own authority in 1180. Thus Garufi insists that there were differences of rank between the *σεκρετικός* and the *magister duane* (Garufi, "Sull'ordinamento," pp. 253–254). However, this argument should not be accepted, because the *ἄρχοντες τῆς κραταιᾶς κόρτης* who gave orders to the *σεκρετικός* in 1172 were the three *regis familiares* at that time, and all officials including both *σεκρετικός* and *magister duane* should have been under their direction. One can easily find an example of a *magister duane* who received an order and carried it out: In 1178 Eugenius, *magister regie duane baronum et de secretis*, received an order from Walter of Modica, *regii fortunati stolii ammiratus et magister regie duane baronum et de secretis*, and held a *curia* (Garufi, *I documenti inediti*, p. 152). We should not accept Garufi's insistence on the difference of the ranks between the *magister duane* and the *σεκρετικός*.

The second part of Garufi's argument is the demonstration of the difference of ranks between *σεκρετικός* and *kātib*. He explains as follows: Geoffrey of Modica, who had been a master justiciar of Val di Noto on 1 September 1172, became *σεκρετικός* in the same month. This suggests that the rank of the *σεκρετικός* was higher than, or at least same as, that of the master justiciar of Val di Noto. The master justiciar of Val di Noto had a fairly high judicial power and was a far higher rank than a *kātib*. Therefore, Garufi insists, *σεκρετικός* was a higher rank than *kātib*. On the other hand, Geoffrey of Modica had also been *σεκρετικός* in April before he became the master justiciar of Val di Noto. He had the authority over the *stratigotus* (*στρατηγός*) of Syracuse in both cases. Therefore, Garufi believes, the master justiciar of Val di Noto and the *σεκρετικός* were of the same rank (Garufi, "Sull'ordinamento," pp. 248, 254).

The sources to which Garufi refers concerning Geoffrey of Modica are in fact as follows: in 1172 (Garufi notes as September 1 in 1172), *Gaufridus de Moach eo tempore in Valle noti magister iusticiarius* (Garufi, *I documenti inediti,* p. 152); on February 20 in 1172 (Garufi notes as April), *dominus Gaufridus secretarius* and *τοῦ σεκρετικοῦ κυροῦ ἰοσφρὲ* (Cusa, pp. 487–488); in October 1172 (Garufi notes as September) *ἰοσφρὲς ὁ σεκρετικός* and *al-shaikh Jāfrāy* (Cusa, pp. 80–83). In sum, "de Moac" is not written in the sources of 20 February 1172 and of October 1172. It is possible that the Geoffrey in these two sources was someone other than Geoffrey of Modica because the expression "*Gaufridus de Moac*" or "*ἰοσφρὲς τῆς μοδάκ*" appears in the sources of 1180 again (Cusa, pp. 489–490; Spata, pp. 881–889). In fact, one can confirm another

Geoffrey, Geoffrey of Centuripe *magister duane de secretis*, in a source of 1173 (Bruel, *Recueil des chartes*, vol. 5, p. 600). Even if Geoffrey and Geoffrey of Modica were the same person, it is reasonable to think that he served concurrently as *σεκρετικός* and master justiciar of Val di Noto, because it was customary for high officials to hold more than one office at the same time. In either case, one should not say that *σεκρετικός* and the local master justiciar were in the same rank of offices. The only difference of rank which we can confirm in the sources are between a simple *kātib* and *magister duane*, or *σεκρετικός*.

61 Takayama, "The Financial and Administrative Organization of the Norman Kingdom of Sicily," pp. 131–133, note 15.

62 Cusa, pp. 487–488: "unde ego gaufridus femeta tunc temporis siracuse stratigotus regio precepto et dominorum curie et maxime domini gaufridi secretarii ad cuius baiuliam hoc potissimum pertinebat cui ego respondebam de baiulia mea, adsignavi predictam terram . . . ego ut predictum est regio precepto et dominorum curie quorum dispensationi hoc potissimum pertinebat prefatam terram tradidi canonicis chephaludi."

63 On the *Gran Secrezia* and the *ἄρχοντες τοῦ σεκρέτου*, see p. 53 and notes 9–10 above.

64 Cusa, p. 484; Spata, pp. 437–438: "Επειδεὶ κατὰ τὸν ἰούνιον μῖνα τῆς ἰνδικτιῶνος α' ὄντων ἡμῶν τῶν κατεπάνων χώρας τῆς εὐσεβεστάτης ῥηγένης καὶ μαΐστρων φοριστερίων τοῦ τε εὐφημίου τῆς δραΐνας καὶ γουλιάλμου δεμουρίτζη τοῦ ἀπὸ τῆς πετραλίας ἐν τῆ πόλει πανόρμου, ἐπίησαν ἡμᾶς ἀπελθεῖν ἐνώπιον αὐτῶν οἱ ἄρχοντες τοῦ σεκρέτου ὅ ται κυρὸς ἰωάννης καὶ κάϊτος βουλκάσιμ. . . . ὅθεν προστάττωμεν ὑμᾶς τοῦ ἀπελθῖν ἐκεῖσαι ἐπιτοπίως εἰς τὴν καπίτζην ἐν ᾧ καὶ ὁ τιμιώτατος ναὸς τοῦ σωτῆρός ἐστην καὶ διαχωρήσεται ἀπὸ τῶν ἐκεῖσε χωραφίων τῆς φορέστας ζευγαρίου ἑνὸς καὶ ἀποδόσεται ταῦτα εἰς τὸν τιμιώτατον ναὸν τοῦ σωτῆρος."

65 Cusa, p. 432; Spata, pp. 293–294: "Τὸν ἀπρίλλιον μῆνα τῆς ἰνδικτιῶνος α' ἦλθες συ ὁ καθηγούμενος μονῆς ἁγίου φιλίππου δεμέννων κομίζωντα γραφὴν παρὰ τῆς θεοφρουρήτου κούρτης καὶ τῶν ἐνδωξωτάτων ἀρχόντων τοῦ σεκρέτου κυρίου κάϊτου ρικκάρδου καὶ κυρίου ἰωάννου γραφέου καὶ κυρίου εὐγενίου τοῦ καλοῦ πρὸς μὲ τὼν στρατηγὸν κεντουρύπη καὶ τῶν καλῶν ἀνθρώπων διλωποιοῦντα οὕτος· τοῦ ἀπελθεῖν ὑμᾶς ἧς τὰ χωράφη ὅπου ὑπήρχουν τοῦ γέρωντος καλλήστου μοναχοῦ καὶ τῶν αὐταδέλφων αὐτοῦ, ὁμίος ἐκάτηλαβα καὶ ὁ κῦρ γεώργιος τοῦ μοδίου ὑπὸ προστάξεως τοῦ ἐνδοξωτάτου ἄρχοντος κάϊτου ῥηκκάρδου καὶ τῶν συντροφῶν αὐτοῦ."

66 Takayama, "The Financial and Administrative Organization of the Norman Kingdom of Sicily," pp. 137–140.

67 Cusa, pp. 484–486; Spata, pp. 437–440: "ἀρχόντων καὶ σεκρετικῶν τοῦ τε κυροῦ ἰωάννου καὶ κάϊτου βουλκάσιμ."

68 Takayama, "The Financial and Administrative Organization of the Norman Kingdom of Sicily," pp. 131–133.

69 Takayama, "The Financial and Administrative Organization of the Norman Kingdom of Sicily," pp. 133, 142–145.

70 Takayama, "The Financial and Administrative Organization of the Norman Kingdom of Sicily," pp. 132–135, 152–153.

71 See note 46 above.

72 Kehr, *Die Urkunden*, p. 438.

73 Haskins, "England and Sicily," p. 653, note 186.

74 Garufi, *Catalogo illustrato*, pp. 163–164.

75 Haskins, "England and Sicily," p. 445 (2); Matteo Camera, *Memorie storico-diplomatiche dell'antica città e Ducato di Amalfi*, vol. 1 (Salerno, 1876), pp. 364–366; Francesco Pometti, "Carte delle Abbazie di S. Maria di Corazzo e di S. Giuliano di Rocca Fallucca in Calabria," *Studi e documenti di storia e diritto*, vol. 22 (1901), p. 276.

On Walter of Modica, see Ménager, *Amiratus*, pp. 93–96. His name was mentioned as *Gualterius Modicensis* by Falcandus in his description of the disturbance of 1168

against Stephen du Perche (Falcandus, *Liber de Regno*, p. 142). In April 1171, he appeared among the witnesses of an act: "Ego Gualterus de Moac, regie private masnede magister conestabularius, testis sum." (Eugène de Rozière, *Cartulaire de l'église du Saint-Sépulcre de Jérusalem* [Paris, 1849], doc. n. 165, p. 296). He had already been appointed *regii fortunati stolii admiratus* in 1177 (Ménager, *Amiratus*, p. 94, note 4).

76 Takayama, "The Financial and Administrative Organization of the Norman Kingdom of Sicily," p. 142.

77 On 11 June 1179, Hugh of Belmesia, a royal chamberlain of Val di Crati, received an order from Walter of Modica, *regius ammiratus et regiarum sabaduatiarum magister*, and assigned land in the region of Decollatura to the monastery S. Maria of Corazzo (Pometti, "Carte delle Abbazie di S. Maria," p. 278).

78 Raffaele Perla, "Una charta iudicati dei tempi normanni," *Archivio storico per le province napoletane*, vol. 9 (1884), p. 346; Haskins, "England and Sicily," p. 653; Jamison, *Admiral Eugenius*, pp. 317–318; Camera, *Memorie storico-diplomatiche*, vol. 1, p. 364; Minieri-Riccio, *Saggio di codice diplomatico*, p. 21; Jamison, *Admiral Eugenius*, p. 342; Jamison, *Admiral Eugenius*, pp. 320, 342–345.

79 Jamison, *Admiral Eugenius*, p. 344.

80 Cusa, pp. 489–490; Spata, pp. 447–449.

81 Takayama, "*Familiares Regis*," pp. 369–370.

82 Ibn Jubair, *Riḥla*, ed. William Wright, 2nd ed. De Goeje (Leyden, 1907), pp. 324–326.

83 This close connection is, for example, reflected in foreign elements of the people who were working at the royal palace. Stephen du Perche, head minister, chancellor and archbishop of Palermo, came from France with many of his fellowmen. The *familiares regis* included an Englishman, Archbishop Richard Palmer, although Archbishop Walter and Bishop Bartholomew should not be regarded as Englishmen (Leonard J. A. Loewenthal, "For the Biography of Walter Ophamil, Archbishop of Palermo," *English Historical Review*, vol. 87 (1972), pp. 75–82. Thomas Brown, who held "an extraordinary position at the exchequer" (Wilfred L. Warren, *Henry II* [Berkeley/Los Angeles, 1977], p. 313) and was "associated with them [i.e. barons] in all important business" (*Dialogus de Scaccario: De necessariis observantiis scaccarii dialogus, qui vulgo dicitur Dialogus de Scaccario*, ed. Charles Johnson [London, 1950], p. 35), had been "a great man at the court of the great King of Sicily [i.e. Roger II], a prudent counsellor, and almost at the head of the King's confidential business" (*Dialogus de Scaccario*, p. 35). For more details about Thomas Brown, see ibid., pp. 35–36; Warren, *Henry II*, pp. 313–314; Reginald L. Poole, *The Exchequer in the Twelfth Century* (London, 1912), pp. 67, 118–122. It should be noted that some historians have seen in Bishop Richard of Winchester and Thomas Brown "the forerunners of officials of the exchequer known as *King's Remembrancer* and *Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer*" (Warren, *Henry II*, p. 314; see also Poole, *The Exchequer*, pp. 119–122). On other evidence of constant intercourse between England and Sicily, see Haskins, "England and Sicily," pp. 435–443.

84 For example, William Stubbs, *The Constitutional History of England*, 3 vols. (Oxford, 1896–1897), vol. 2, p. 408; Michele Amari, "Su la data degli sponsali di Arrigo VI con la Costanza erede del trono di Sicilia, e su i *divani* dell'azienda normanna in Palermo. Lettera del dottor O. HARTWIG e Memoria del Socio Amari," *Atti della R. Accademia dei Lincei*, serie 3, anno 275 (1877–78), Memorie della classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche, vol. 2 (1878), pp. 409–438; Haskins, "England and Sicily," pp. 651–655; Poole, *The Exchequer*, pp. 66–69, 118–119. For more recent studies, see note 5 above.

4

AMIRATUS IN THE NORMAN KINGDOM OF SICILY
A leading office of Arabic origin in the royal administration*

The Norman Kingdom of Sicily, crossroads of Arab-Islamic, Greek-Byzantine and Latin-Christian cultures in the twelfth century, is well known for its efficient and rigorous administration. This highly developed bureaucracy is generally regarded as the most advanced in Europe at that time. Some scholars even see it as one of the forerunners of the modern secular state. Nevertheless, owing to the complicated interweaving of Arabic, Greek and Latin elements within the administration, there has been much confusion as to how this bureaucratic system actually worked.[1] In this article I aim at clarifying some of the problems and misunderstandings concerning one of the most important offices of the kingdom: the office of *amiratus*.

The *amiratus* is a Latinized form of *amīr* in Arabic[2] and the origin of admiral in English, *Admiral* in German, *amiral* in French and *ammiraglio* in Italian.[3] This title was held by the most powerful people and sometimes by head ministers in the kingdom. Many historians think that the *amiratus* was the highest official in charge of the financial administration as well as the commander of the navy. According to Jamison,

> His duties included primarily the control of the fiscal administration and the organization of the navy; in time of war they extended to the command of the forces by sea and also by land. The admiral was an important member of the *curia*, with his full share in its judicial and advisory functions.[4]

If we closely examine the documents, however, we immediately find that the *amirati* were very different from this generalized image and that the character and administrative function of this office changed rapidly over time. In order to understand the administrative structure of the kingdom, we must also understand exactly the changing process this office was subject to. In the following sections I will show when, how and in what circumstances the office of *amiratus* changed its functions and meaning.

I. The first *Amiratus*

The first use of the word *amiratus* is found in the *Gest of Robert Guiscard* written by William of Apulia:

> Having taken hostages and built a fortress, Victorious Robert went back to Reggio leaving in Palermo a knight of his own race, who was given to the Sicilians as their *amiratus*.[5]

Thus, after occupying Palermo in January 1072 – the capital of the Muslims in Sicily – Duke Robert of Apulia appointed one of his knights as governor of Palermo with the title of *amiratus*. At this time Robert adopted the Arabic title *amīr* (*amiratus* in Latinized form) instead of a Latin or Greek title more familiar to him. What was the reason? It is probably because a majority of the inhabitants of Palermo were Muslims. Then, what did this word *amīr* mean to the Muslims in Sicily in those days? To answer this question, I shall examine how this word had been employed in Sicily before the Norman conquest and what it meant for the contemporaries in the Islamic world.

Before the Norman conquest, the island of Sicily had been under Islamic rule for more than two centuries. This Islamic age can be roughly divided into three periods: The first under the rule of the Aghlabids (827–909), the second under the rule of the Fāṭimids (909–948) and the third under the rule of the Kalbids/Kalbites (948–1044), who gained independence from the Fāṭimids.

Under the Aghlabids it was the Aghlabid rulers themselves who held the title of *amīr*. They resided in the capital Qayrawān in Tunisia and controlled Sicily through their agents. These agents in Sicily – governors of Sicily, as it were – were called *wālī* in Arabic. When the Aghlabids were replaced in Tunisia by the Fāṭimids in 909, Sicily also came under Fāṭimid rule. In those days the Fāṭimid ruler in North Africa had the title of caliph, and his governors in Sicily were called *wālī* as under Aghlabid rule.

In 947 a great revolt erupted against the Fāṭimid governor in Palermo. To deal with this crisis, the caliph dispatched a new governor to Sicily. This marked the beginning of the Kalbid/Kalbite dynasty, because his descendants came to inherit the governorship of Sicily. It is generally assumed that the Kalbid governors of Sicily used the title of *amīr* only when they enjoyed more independence from the Fāṭimid authority. Thus, the fourth governor of Sicily was the first to assume the title of *amīr*. The fifth, sixth and seventh governors also had the title of *amīr*, but thereafter the governors came to be called again *wālī*. As the Kalbid authority declined, local lords, who bore the title of *qā'id*, gained power and fought among themselves. Under these circumstances Sicily was conquered by the Normans.[6]

Thus in the history of Sicily under Islamic rule, the title of *amīr* was used only to denote the Aghlabid rulers in North Africa or the Kalbid governors of Sicily who became independent of the Fāṭimid authority.

What was the usage of the term *amīr* in other Islamic regions? In the age of Muhammad and during the caliphate of Medina, military commanders were

known as *amīrs*. Although they often became governors of the regions they had conquered, they continued to use the title of *amīr*. Under the Umayyads, these governors were entrusted with all administrative power, and in some regions they enjoyed almost the same authority as the caliphs. Under the ʻAbbāsids, there appeared *amīrs* who, though appointed by the caliph, were relatively independent of the caliph's authority. Some of them even founded their own dynasties. Thus by the latter half of the eleventh century, a majority of the *amīrs* in the Islamic world were rulers politically independent of the caliph.[7]

We cannot confirm whether Robert, duke of Apulia, followed the practice of the Kalbid dynasty or adopted the contemporary Islamic usage when he appointed a knight as governor of Palermo with the title of *amīr* in 1072. In any event, it is safe to say that to the Muslims in Sicily this title meant a "ruler." When Robert granted this title to the governor of Palermo, he probably intended to show the Muslims in Sicily that this governor was their head and representative. The creation of this office implies his strong will to control the Muslims in Sicily without destroying their administrative unity.[8]

When the first *amiratus* was appointed, Sicily was in the middle of the conquest, and it was Robert's brother Roger I, count of Calabria and Sicily, who was actually engaged in the war against the Muslims. After the fall of Palermo, Robert gave half of the city to Roger and retained its administration and the other half in his own hands. This largest and most prosperous city in Sicily was indeed too important to give away as a whole, but from a territorial point of view it was only an exclave for Robert as the preponderant part of his territory was located in the Italian peninsula. Thus, the *amiratus* was just a local official of the duke of Apulia who was entrusted with the administration of Palermo and its environs.

It is not certain who succeeded *amiratus* after the first *amiratus*, an unnamed Norman knight. But we know that a certain Peter Bido, the earliest *amiratus* whose name we know, had become *amiratus* by August 1086. He is mentioned as "*armeratus* of Palermo" in two documents of August 1086.[9] Afterwards for a certain period the title of *amiratus* of Palermo seems to have been held by Norman vassals of the dukes of Apulia (Robert and his son Roger).

II. From a local official to the governor of the capital

A major change in the functions of the *amiratus* occurred in 1091. In this year Roger I, count of Calabria and Sicily, not only completed the conquest of Sicily but also obtained the other half of Palermo and its administration which had been retained by the duke of Apulia, and thus put this town under his complete control. This was an extremely important event for Count Roger I, because he controlled now the whole of Palermo, the biggest town on the island of Sicily and the most important city in his county culturally, politically and economically. He appointed Eugenius, one of his most important magnates, as *amiratus*.[10]

There is no doubt that, as Jamison has pointed out, the *amiratus* of Palermo "enlarged his sphere and became the *ἄμηρ* of all the count's dominions in Sicily

and Calabria" under Count Roger I and Adelasia.[11] But it should be emphasized that the office of *amiratus* of Palermo assumed great importance precisely when the administration of Palermo was transferred from the duke of Apulia to the count of Calabria and Sicily.

For the duke of Apulia, Palermo had been no more than an exclave far from his residential palace, but for Count Roger I it was the largest and the most prosperous city in his county. With the transfer of its administration from the duke of Apulia to the count of Sicily the *amiratus* became one of the most important officials of the comital court. He was the person who governed the largest city of the county. He was now no longer a mere local official responsible for an exclave. It should be emphasized that this office did not gain importance by a gradual process under Eugenius. It gained great importance suddenly when the count of Sicily obtained the whole city of Palermo and its administration. It is probable that the office of *amiratus* became so significant that Roger I placed Eugenius, one of his magnates, at this office.

Despite its Arabic origin, the office of *amiratus* was not given to Arabs as it was held by Eugenius, a Greek, during the reign of Roger I. This does not mean that there were no Arabs close to Roger I. On the contrary, many Muslims are known to have worked in Roger I's army and government.[12] Eadmer of Canterbury, author of *The Life of St. Anselm*, reports that a number of Muslims served the army of Roger I. In the expedition against Taormina in March 1079, an Arab, Elias of Cartomi, led one troop of Roger I's army.[13]

When Roger I died and his wife Adelasia/Adelaide started her regency (1101–1112) in 1101, the principal residence of the count was transferred to Messina in Sicily from Mileto in Calabria. Although Adelasia retained most of her husband's officials, Eugenius disappeared from the sources and Christodoulos, again of Greek origin, seems to have taken his position as *amiratus*.[14] Christodoulos, born near Rossano in Calabria, which was steeped in Greek culture,[15] and he became *amiratus* by around 1105 (1107 at the latest). One of the most important persons in the central government and most trusted magnates of Adelasia, he attained a status almost equivalent to that of head minister.

When Roger II came of age and was made knight in 1112, the capital was fixed in Palermo. Thereafter this old Muslim city remained the center of the county both in name and reality.[16] Roger II made the palace of Muslim rulers his own residence and came to spend most of his life there.

This transfer of the capital from Messina to Palermo caused a shift of the gravity within the county. Messina, located in the middle of Calabria and Sicily, was a convenient place to govern the two regions. During the period when the count's residential palace was located in Messina, the two regions of Calabria and Sicily had the same importance for the count. However, when the residential palace was moved to Palermo in the northwest of Sicily, Sicily became much more important than Calabria. Sicily became the principal body of the county and Calabria fell into second position.

This change of gravity had a large effect on the governmental structure. Sicily was put under the direct control of the central government in Palermo while Calabria became a

provincial district. The Muslim population in Sicily became much more important than the Greeks in Calabria. In accordance with these changes, the office of *amiratus* of Palermo became more influential and the *κριτής* (*kritēs*) and *πρωτονοτάριος* (*prōtonotarios*) in Calabria lost their leading position at the comital court.

After the capital was fixed at Palermo, the central government gradually increased its staff and improved its organization. The witness lists found in the comital documents of this period suggest that high clerics and officials among the entourage increased in number and influence with the corresponding decline in power of lay vassals in the central government.[17]

Christodoulos, who had worked actively under Adelasia, kept his high position under Roger II. He possessed the highest status in the comital government with the title of *amiratus* until 1127.[18] Thereafter, however, he was succeeded as *amiratus* by a Greek, George of Antioch. George led many expeditions under Roger II and became head minister after the creation of the kingdom in 1130. He had been appointed *amiratus* by 1124 at latest. Thereafter, he worked with his superior, Christodoulos, until the latter's retirement (or death) in 1127, and played an active part as head minister after the establishment of the kingdom.[19]

It should be noted that Christodoulos and George held the title of *amiratus* concurrently for some years. It is also confirmed that Nicholas[20] and John, son of Eugenius,[21] also held the title of *amiratus* in the same period. For a certain period at least four *amirati* existed. The plurality of *amiratus* should be emphasized because it suggests that the bearers of this title no longer were the representatives of Muslims in Sicily. I suspect that this title had also lost its original function as governor of Palermo and was simply becoming a title given to a leading official without any specific offices attached to it. It is certain that the aforementioned four *amirati* were powerful high officials of Roger II.[22]

III. *Amiratus* after the establishment of the kingdom

When William, duke of Apulia, passed away in 1127, Roger II succeeded to the dukedom and made every effort to establish his authority in the new territory. Since his coronation in 1130 did not at all guarantee his dominion in Southern Italy, he had to continue fighting against rebellious vassals and towns until 1140.

During this war period, however, a new administrative system was being formed in the peninsula in accordance with the changing political situation. The central government remained basically the same as the one for the county of Calabria and Sicily. However, war conditions had a big effect on the members of Roger II's entourage and governmental officials.[23]

The *amirati* were the most active officials during this period. Their activities were so conspicuous that one may call this period the era of *amirati*. Many of them commanded royal fleets and armies, and the *amiratus* George was the head minister in charge of the state affairs. After the death (or retirement) of the *amiratus* Christodoulos, he had emerged as the most important magnate at the court. After the establishment of the kingdom, he appeared in the documents with such solemn titles as

"*amiratus* of *amirati* (*amiratus amiratorum*, *ἀμηρᾶς τῶν ἀμηράδων*)" "great *amiratus* (*maximus amiratus*, *magnus amiratus*, *μέγας ἀμυρᾶς*)" or "magnate of magnates (*ἄρχων τῶν ἀρχόντων*)."[24] In Arabic sources he was referred to as *wazīr*, that is, head minister.[25] He was well known as an able commander of the royal fleet.[26]

In addition to this great *amiratus* George, there were also some other *amirati* who worked for Roger II. John, son of Eugenius, who had already appeared with the title of *amiratus* in the documents of 1117 and 1122, still remained in the same position.[27] Likewise, it is possible that Nicholas held the title of *amiratus* in the same period.[28] In addition, Theodore[29] and Basil (*Basilius*)[30] started to work actively as *amirati* in this war period. Thus several *amirati* worked for Roger II.

George and John were the king's most powerful magnates, while they led royal armies and fleets. They took command of the counts, barons and other king's vassals at war. The appearance of the title of "*amiratus* of Sicily" or "great *amiratus* of Sicily" borne by George seems to imply that in this period the office of *amiratus* expanded its official jurisdiction from Palermo to the whole of Sicily. War conditions increased their military activities and made their military role conspicuous. But it should be emphasized that their principal duties were of a general nature as magnates of Roger II and that they were not limited to military tasks. They were not just admirals in the modern English sense, but powerful magnates who took any administrative and military duties to govern the kingdom.

Even after 1140, when the peninsula was pacified and order was restored in the kingdom, the *amirati* kept their high position among the officials of the central government. George maintained his position as head minister and continued to be engaged in military activities until he died in 1151 (or 1152).[31] John seemed to keep the office of *amiratus* for a while.[32] It is likely that Theodore and Basilius continued to work as *amirati* under George. In 1143, Michael, son of George, also held the title of *amiratus*.[33] Furthermore, in the winter of 1147–1148, the *amiratus* Salerno commanded a royal fleet and directed an expedition against the Byzantine Empire. He won a glorious victory at the Cape Male and captured Angelus Despoti, the commander of the Byzantine fleet and a relative of the emperor.[34]

After the death of George, Philip of Mahdīya, an ex-Muslim, gained the king's confidence and rapidly increased his influence at the royal court. He took command of a royal fleet in a successful expedition against Bona, but was subsequently imprisoned and executed in 1153. We find Philip of Mahdīya described as *amiratus regii stolii* in the interpolation of the *History* of Romuald of Salerno, but there is no other document to support this information.[35]

IV. Maio, the great head minister of William I

After Roger II's death in 1154, his son William I succeeded to the throne. The kingdom under the new king was immediately invaded by an alliance of Byzantine and papal troops. The troops included those who had been exiled by Roger II and were reinforced by many vassals and cities inside the kingdom. Although most of the barons of Calabria and some important cities such as Naples, Amalfi, Salerno,

Troia and Melfi continued to be loyal to the king, they could not defeat the rebels. Given the difficult situation, in 1156 William I decided to take direct command of the army. As soon as the king came to the front stage, his army crushed the rebels and beat off the invasion. The rebels were severely punished. The rebellious city of Bari was razed and its inhabitants were expelled from the city. Palermo was subjected to a new tax and other financial burdens. Most of the rebellious barons had their estates confiscated, were expelled from the kingdom, imprisoned or blinded. Consequently, the arrangement of the counties greatly changed.[36]

When the kingdom recovered its order and peace, William I left the government to Maio. Maio, being entrusted with state affairs, bore the title of *amiratus amiratorum*, which George once had, and became powerful head minister. He was different from the former *amirati* on several points. First, unlike his predecessors, he grew up in Latin culture. Most of the *amirati* before Maio were Greek, but Maio came from Latin Bari. Second, although he once held the offices of notary and chancellor in charge of handling Latin documents, he was never engaged in military activities, even if he appointed his brother-in-law as military commander in the peninsula.[37]

Maio governed the whole kingdom in the king's name and was, as Jamison states, "practically the ruler of the kingdom."[38] He utilized his great power to reorganize the local administrative system and to accelerate the centralization of the government. He gave greater power to officials while trying to reduce the barons' political influence. Against this policy, discontented barons formed an alliance with several cities and assassinated him on 10 November 1160. This incident marked the beginning of a large-scale rebellion that spread over Calabria, Sicily, Apulia, Salerno and Capua. The revolt was quelled in the end, however, and the rebels were severely punished.[39]

With the assassination of Maio, the age of powerful *amirati* was over. He was the last *amiratus amiratorum*. Immediately after his death, William I invited Henry Aristippus, deacon of Catania, appointing him *familiaris regis* or *familiaris* of the king. Thus Henry Aristippus took charge of state affairs as Maio once had done.[40] Subsequently in March 1161 at the latest, Count Silvester of Marsico and Bishop-elect Richard of Syracuse were appointed as *familiares regis* and thus the kingdom's inner council of the three *familiares regis* was established.[41] At that time the word *familiaris regis* became a very narrowly defined title to indicate a member of the kingdom's highest advisory group throughout the reigns of William I and William II. The *familiares regis* were the most powerful people in the kingdom that decided the kingdom's policy and handled important issues.[42]

V. Differentiation of the *amiratus*

We cannot find the title of *amiratus* in the documents between the assassination of Maio in 1160 and the end of the reign of William II (1166–1189). It reappears around 1187, but at this time the *amiratus* seems to have changed its meaning significantly. It appears that under William II the *amirati* were specialized bureaucrats rather than powerful magnates of the royal palace.

These new *amirati* seem to fall into two categories.[43] The one is the *amiratus* as admiral of the navy. In this case, they were called not by the simple title of *amiratus* but by a more limited Latin title of *regii stolii amiratus* (*amiratus* of the king's fleet). It was Walter of Modica who assumed this title first. In addition he bore the title of "master of the *duana de secretis* and the *duana baronum*" and was responsible for the administration of the kingdom, especially for that of Apulia and Capua. But he was the commander of the king's fleet.[44] He led the royal fleet against the Muslims in the Balearic Islands in 1181–1182.[45] He was the only "*amiratus* of the king's fleet" under William II confirmed in the documents. But there is a possibility that Margaritus also had the same title. This commander of the royal fleet, famous for his crusading expedition, held the title of "*amiratus* of the king's fleet" as well as that of *familiaris regis* during the reign of King Tancred.[46]

The other sort of *amiratus* was a simple *amiratus*, an honorary title granted to a bureaucrat toward the end of his career. In this case, the title was just *amiratus* without any modifiers. The recipients of this title were Sanctorus (under William II) and William of Malconvenant and Eugenius (under Tancred).

Sanctorus worked as notary and then master justiciar under William II. He was the king's notary in January 1159 under William I and stayed in this position at least until September 1169 under William II.[47] By March 1185, when he held a court at Messina, he had been promoted to "master justiciar of the king's great court."[48] Subsequently, he must have obtained the title of *amiratus*, as he already bore the title of "*amiratus* and master justiciar of the king's great court" when he held a court at Palermo together with his colleague Geoffrey in June 1187.[49] The fact that he had the title of *amiratus* was also confirmed in a later document.[50] Thus, Sanctorus obtained the title of *amiratus* in the final stage of his career as the king's official.

The careers of Eugenius and William of Malconvenant also suggest this point. Eugenius, who had long served William II as master of the *duana baronum*, obtained the title of *amiratus* in 1190 under Tancred.[51] William of Malconvenant was given the title after serving William II as "master justiciar of the king's great court" between May 1183 and January 1186.[52]

Conclusion

The changes in the administrative function of *amiratus* under Norman rule can be summarized as follows. The *amiratus* was originally a mere local official of the duke of Apulia, a sort of governor of Palermo who ruled over the Muslims in Palermo. When Palermo came under the control of Count Roger I of Sicily, the *amiratus* became one of the most important offices at his court. Over time the power of this office increased, and eventually it evolved into the most powerful position in the comital palace. Thus it seems to have expanded its function from the governorship of Palermo to the governorship over the whole of the island of Sicily. But at the same time, the title of *amiratus* came to be borne by a number of very powerful magnates of counts and kings. Two of them, George and Maio, obtained the position of head minister as well as the title of *amiratus amiratorum*.

After the assassination of Maio the title of *amiratus* disappeared from the documents for thirty years. And when it reappeared, it seems to have been used in two distinct senses. One is the *amiratus* of the king's fleet, the other the simple *amiratus*, an honorary title given to officials toward the end of their careers.

Thus, the *amiratus*, an Arabic title adopted by the Norman rulers, gradually lost its original meaning and obtained its particular significance in the Norman administration. As its Arabic title suggests, the office of *amiratus* was first introduced to govern Arabic inhabitants in Palermo. But it soon lost its original function and came to be a title held by court potentates. Thus, except in the early stages of Norman rule, the title had nothing to do with Muslims or Arabs.

In my previous study, I suggested that the administrative system and structure of Norman Sicily continued to change all the time, and that these changes were great enough to invalidate any generalization about the Norman administration.[53] This present study shows that even an office like *amiratus*, which existed from the beginning to the end of the Norman period under the same name, changed its function and meaning in a very short time. I would like to emphasize again that in order to discuss the structure of the administration of the kingdom, we must define the period narrowly enough and closely analyze the chronological change.

Notes

* This is a revised version of my Japanese article published in Kōichi Kabayama, ed., *Seiyō Chūseizō no Kakushin (Renewal of the Image of Medieval Europe)* (Tokyo, 1995), pp. 31–50. Its substance was presented at the 1997 meeting of the Medieval Association of the Pacific in Honolulu, Hawaii. I should like to thank Dr. Christopher Szpilman for his help in revising this paper.

1 For the historiography on the Norman administration of Sicily, see Hiroshi Takayama, *The Administration of the Norman Kingdom of Sicily* (Leiden/New York/Cologne, 1993), pp. 11–24; Hiroshi Takayama, *The Medieval Mediterranean and the Kingdom of Sicily* (Tokyo, 1993), pp. 8–28; Hiroshi Takayama, "The Norman Kingdom of Sicily and Historical Studies of the *duana*," *Rekishi to Chiri*, vol. 435 (1991), pp. 1–16.

2 In Greek documents of the same period, we find the word *ἄμηρ*, which was phonetically transliterated from the Arabic word *amīr*.

3 The most important studies on the *amiratus* of the Norman Kingdom of Sicily are as follows: Michele Amari, *Storia dei Musulmani di Sicilia*, 2nd ed. a cura di Carlo A. Nallino, 3 vols. (Catania, 1933–1939), vol. 3, pp. 357–371, 429; Erich Caspar, *Roger II. (1101–1154) und die Gründung der normannisch-sicilischen Monarchie* (Innsbruck, 1904), pp. 300–301; Ferdinand Chalandon, *Histoire de la domination normande en Italie et en Sicile*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1907), vol. 2, pp. 636–637; Willy Cohn, *Die Geschichte der normannisch-sicilischen Flotte unter der Regierung Rogers I. und Rogers II. (1060–1154)* (Breslau, 1910); Evelyn Jamison, *Admiral Eugenius of Sicily* (London, 1957); Léon-Robert Ménager, *Amiratus- Ἀμηρᾶς. L'Émirat et les origines de l'amirauté (XIe–XIIIe siècles)* (Paris, 1960). Among these studies, Ménager's is distinguished for its strict analysis of documents and abundance of information. The present paper owes much information to this study.

4 Jamison, *Admiral Eugenius*, p. 33.

5 Guillaume de Pouille, *La geste de Robert Guiscard*, ed. Marguerite Mathieu (Palermo, 1961), Lib. III, vers 340–343, p. 182: "Obsidibus sumptis aliquot castrisque paratis,

Reginam remeat Robertus victor ad urbem, Nominis eiusdem quodam remanente Panormi Milite, qui Siculis datur amiratus haberi."

6 For Sicily under the control of Muslims, see Takayama, *The Medieval Mediterranean*, pp. 53–66, and Appendix III (pp. 30–43); Takayama, "The Aghlabid Governors in Sicily: 827–909 – Islamic Sicily I," *Annals of Japan Association for Middle East Studies*, vol. 7 (1992), pp. 427–443; Takayama, "The Fāṭimid and Kalbite Governors in Sicily: 909–1044 – Islamic Sicily II," *Mediterranean World*, vol. 13 (1992), pp. 21–30.

7 *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed. P. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C. E. Bosworth, E. Van Donzel and W. P. Heinrichs, 12 vols. with indexes (Leiden, 1960–2005), vol. 1, pp. 439–440. In the case of the Aghlabids (800–909) and the Ṭāhirids (821–873), the caliphs' names were mentioned in the *khuṭba* and inscribed on coins. In the case of the Ṭūlūnids (868–905), the Ikhshīdids (935–969), the Sāmānids (875–999) and the Ḥamdānids (905–1004), the *amīr*'s name was mentioned at the *khuṭba* together with the name of the caliph, and was inscribed on coins. In the case of the Ṣaffārids (867–903) and the Ghaznavids/Ghaznawids (977–1186), *amīrs* were in practice completely independent rulers.

8 See Takayama, *The Administration*, pp. 36–37; Takayama, *The Medieval Mediterranean*, pp. 140–141.

9 Léon-Robert Ménager, *Recueil des actes des ducs normands d'Italie (1046–1127), Vol. I. Les premiers ducs (1046–1087)* (Bari, 1981), nos. XLIV, XLV.

10 The three magnates at the comital court in this period were Eugenius, Leo the *logothetes* and Nicholas the chamberlain. See Salvatore Cusa, *I diplomi greci ed arabi di Sicilia pubblicati nel testo originale* (Palermo, 1868–1882), pp. 396–400; Giuseppe Spata, *Le pergamene greche esistenti nel grande archivio di Palermo* (Palermo, 1862), pp. 197–204. For Eugenius, see Ménager, *Amiratus*, pp. 26–28; Takayama, *The Administration*, p. 32; Takayama, *The Medieval Mediterranean*, p. 141, note 74.

11 Jamison, *Admiral Eugenius*, p. 33.

12 Chalandon, *Histoire de la domination*, vol. 1, p. 330.

13 Eadmer, *Vita Sancti Anselmi: The Life of St. Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury*, ed. Richard William Southern (London, 1963), pp. 111–112; Chalandon, *Histoire de la domination*, vol. 1, p. 304.

14 For Christodoulos, see Ménager, *Amiratus*, pp. 28–36; Takayama, *The Administration*, pp. 44–45, 51–52; Takayama, *The Medieval Mediterranean*, pp. 150–152.

15 Ménager, *Amiratus*, pp. 28–30; Carlo Alberto Garufi, "Il più antico diploma purpureo con scrittura greca ad oro della Cancelleria Normanna di Sicilia per il protonobilissimo Cristodulo," *Archivio storico siciliano*, vol. 47/48 (1927), pp. 127–128; Francesco Giunta, *Bizantini e bizantinismo nella Sicilia normanna*, 2nd ed. (Palermo, 1974), pp. 104–105.

16 Rocco Pirro, *Sicilia sacra disquisitionibus et notitiis illustrata*, 3rd ed. Antonino Mongitore and Vito M. Amico, 2 vols. (Palermo, 1773), vol. 1, p. 80; Takayama, *The Administration*, pp. 42, 47; Takayama, *The Medieval Mediterranean*, p. 169.

17 Takayama, *The Administration*, pp. 47–48; Takayama, *The Medieval Mediterranean*, pp. 169–171.

18 Takayama, *The Administration*, pp. 52–53; Takayama, *The Medieval Mediterranean*, p. 175.

19 For George of Antioch, see Ménager, *Amiratus*, pp. 44–53; Takayama, *The Administration*, pp. 53, 66–67; Takayama, *The Medieval Mediterranean*, pp. 175–176. The name of George appeared for the first time in the documents of 1124 and 1125 where he had already the title of *amiratus*.

20 For Nicholas, see Ménager, *Amiratus*, pp. 61–62; Takayama, *The Administration*, pp. 54–55, 68; Takayama, *The Medieval Mediterranean*, p. 176.

21 For John, see Ménager, *Amiratus*, pp. 59–60; Takayama, *The Administration*, p. 54; Takayama, *The Medieval Mediterranean*, p. 176.

22 Takayama, *The Administration*, p. 54; Takayama, *The Medieval Mediterranean*, p. 177. Under Count Roger II of Sicily, the *amiratus* became more active and influential than before, while the Greek officials of Byzantine origin lost their once overwhelming power and saw their role in the central government reduced.

23 Takayama, *The Administration*, pp. 56–57; Takayama, *The Medieval Mediterranean*, p. 191.

24 Alexander Telesinus, "De rebus gestis Rogerii Siciliae regis libri quatuor," *Cronisti e scrittori sincroni napoletani editi e inediti*, ed. Giuseppe Del Re, vol. 1 (Naples, 1845), II/8, p. 104; Romualdus Salernitanus, *Chronicon sive Annales*, ed. Carlo A. Garufi (Città di Castello, 1909–1935), p. 233; Ménager, *Amiratus*, p. 47, note 4 and App. II, nos. 23–24; Cusa, pp. 117–118, 524–525; Caspar, *Roger II*, pp. 546–547, no. 148. See Takayama, *The Administration*, pp. 66–67; Takayama, *The Medieval Mediterranean*, pp. 191–192; Ménager, *Amiratus*, pp. 51–53.

25 Ibn al-Athīr, "Al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh," *Biblioteca arabo-sicula ossia Raccolta di testi arabici che toccano la geografia, la storia, le biografie e la bibliografia della Sicilia*, ed. Michele Amari (Leipzig, 1857) [hereinafter Amari, *Biblioteca, testo arabo*], p. 297, sana 544; Italian translation in Michele Amari, ed. and trans., *Biblioteca, versione italiana*, 2 vols. (Rome/Turin, 1880–1881) [hereinafter Amari, *Biblioteca, versione italiana*], vol. 1, p. 476, anno 544; Safadī, *Kitāb al-Wāfī bi al-Wafayāt*, in Amari, *Biblioteca, testo arabo*, p. 657 (Amari, *Biblioteca, versione italiana*, vol. 2, p. 563).

26 Alexander Telesinus, II/8, p. 104; "Ignoti Monachi Cisterciensis S. Mariae de Ferraria chronica," *Monumenti storici, Serie Prima, Cronache*, ed. Augusto Gaudenzi (Naples, 1888), p. 20; Ibn Khaldūn, *Kitāb al-'Ibar*, in Amari, *Biblioteca, testo arabo*, p. 496, sana 529 (Amari, *Biblioteca, versione italiana*, vol. 2, p. 219, anno 529); Ibn Abī Dīnār, *Kitāb al-Mūnis*, in Amari, *Biblioteca, testo arabo*, p. 537 (Amari, *Biblioteca, versione italiana*, vol. 2, pp. 291–292). See Ménager, *Amiratus*, pp. 48–49; Takayama, *The Administration*, p. 67; Takayama, *The Medieval Mediterranean*, p. 192.

27 Alexander Telesinus, II/8, p. 104; III/3, p. 130; III/5–6, pp. 131–132; Cusa, p. 23; Caspar, *Roger II*., p. 546, no. 148. Ménager, *Amiratus*, pp. 60–61; Takayama, *The Administration*, pp. 67–68; Takayama, *The Medieval Mediterranean*, p. 193.

28 In a document of 1177, he is described as *Dominus Nicolaus Graffeus, quondam ammiratus* (Carlo Alberto Garufi, *I documenti inediti dell'epoca normanna in Sicilia* [Palermo, 1899], pp. 166–167), but his name cannot be found in the documents of this period. See Takayama, *The Administration*, p. 68; Takayama, *The Medieval Mediterranean*, p. 193.

29 In 1133, King Roger II ordered Chancellor Guarinus and Amiratus Theodore to hold a court to settle a conflict. Amiratus Theodore died before 1150. Rosario Gregorio, *Considerazioni sopra la storia di Sicilia dai tempi dei Normanni sino ai presenti*, 3 vols., new ed. (Palermo, 1972), vol. 1, pp. 195–198; Ménager, *Amiratus*, p. 63; Takayama, *The Administration*, p. 68; Takayama, *The Medieval Mediterranean*, p. 193.

30 Ménager, *Amiratus*, p. 63; Takayama, *The Administration*, p. 68, note 117; Takayama, *The Medieval Mediterranean*, p. 193.

31 *Ignoti Monachi*, p. 27; Tījānī, *Riḥla*, in Amari, *Biblioteca, testo arabo*, p. 399; Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh*, in Amari, *Biblioteca, testo arabo*, p. 297; Ioannis Kinnamos, *Ἐπιτομή*, ed. August Meineke (Bonn, 1836), III/5, p. 98; Safadī, *Kitāb al-Wāfī bi al-Wafayāt*, in Amari, *Biblioteca, testo arabo*, p. 657 (Amari, *Biblioteca, versione italiana*, vol. 2, p. 563).

32 Cusa, pp. 23, 317–321; Giuseppe Spata, *Diplomi greci siciliani inediti (ultima serie)* (Turin, 1871), pp. 42–51; Ménager, *Amiratus*, p. 60, note 5; Takayama, *The Administration*, pp. 90–91; Takayama, *The Medieval Mediterranean*, p. 236. John died before 1154.

33 Caspar, *Roger II. und die Gründung*, nos. 158, 159; Takayama, *The Administration*, p. 91; Takayama, *The Medieval Mediterranean*, p. 237.

34 Romualdus Salernitanus, p. 227.

35 Romualdus Salernitanus, pp. 234–236; Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh*, in Amari, *Biblioteca, testo arabo*, pp. 295–300; Ibn Khaldūn, *Kitāb al-'Ibar*, in Amari, *Biblioteca,*

testo arabo, pp. 502–503; Amari, *Storia dei Musulmani*, vol. 3, pp. 432–433, 443–447; Ménager, *Amiratus*, pp. 64–67; Chalandon, *Histoire de la domination*, vol. 2, p. 104; Vincenzo Epifanio, "Ruggero II e Filippo di Al Mahdiah," *Archivio storico siciliano*, n.s., vol. 30 (1905), pp. 471–501; Caspar, *Roger II*., pp. 432–433; Takayama, *The Administration*, p. 91; Takayama, *The Medieval Mediterranean*, p. 237.

36 Takayama, *The Administration*, p. 95; Takayama, *The Medieval Mediterranean*, p. 251.

37 Takayama, *The Administration*, pp. 96–97; Takayama, *The Medieval Mediterranean*, pp. 252–253.

38 Evelyn Jamison, "The Norman Administration of Apulia and Capua, More Especially under Roger II and William I, 1127–1166," *Papers of the British School at Rome*, vol. 6 (1913), p. 260.

39 Takayama, *The Administration*, p. 97; Takayama, *The Medieval Mediterranean*, p. 253.

40 Hugo Falcandus, *Liber de Regno Sicilie*, in Giovanni B. Siragusa, ed., *La historia o Liber de Regno Sicilie e la epistola ad Petrum Panormitane ecclesie thesaurarium* (Rome, 1897), p. 44.

41 The royal inner council of three *familiares regis* lasted until the death of William I in 1166, but the two out of the first three members were replaced with others. First, Henry Aristippus lost the king's confidence in the revolt of barons in 1161, and was replaced by notary Matthew. Next, after the death of Count Silvester of Marsico, Qā'id Peter, the king's chamberlain of the palace and Arabic eunuch joined the royal inner council. See Takayama, *The Administration*, pp. 98–101; Takayama, *The Medieval Mediterranean*, pp. 255–256.

42 Takayama, *The Administration*, p. 123; Takayama, *The Medieval Mediterranean*, pp. 254–255. For *familiares regis*, see Hiroshi Takayama, "*Familiares Regis* and the Royal Inner Council in Twelfth-Century Sicily," *English Historical Review*, vol. 104 (1989), pp. 357–372; Hiroshi Takayama, "The Grand Officials of the Norman Kingdom of Sicily," *Shigaku-Zasshi*, vol. 93, no. 12 (1984), pp. 17–22; Hans Schadek, "Die Familiaren der sizilischen und aragonischen Könige im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert," *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Kulturgeschichte Spaniens*, vol. 26 (1971), pp. 201–217.

43 Jamison, *Admiral Eugenius*, p. 54; Ménager, *Amiratus*, pp. 93–95.

44 Ménager, *Amiratus*, p. 93, note 4; Charles H. Haskins, "England and Sicily," *English Historical Review*, vol. 26 (1911), p. 445; Jamison, *Admiral Eugenius*, App. II, no. 7, pp. 336–338.

45 Ménager, *Amiratus*, p. 93; Chalandon, *Histoire de la domination*, vol. 2, p. 398; Takayama, *The Administration*, p. 131; Takayama, *The Medieval Mediterranean*, pp. 298–299.

46 Ménager, *Amiratus*, pp. 73, 98, note 2, 99–100; Roger of Howden, *Chronica Rogerii de Houedene*, ed. William Stubbs, 4 vols. (Rolls Series, London, 1868–1871), vol. 3, pp. 66, 95; *Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi Benedicti Abbatis: The Chronicle of the Reigns of Henry II and Richard I*, ed. William Stubbs, 2 vols. (Rolls Series, London, 1867), vol. 2, p. 128; Takayama, *The Administration*, pp. 131–132; Takayama, *The Medieval Mediterranean*, pp. 299–300.

47 Ménager, *Amiratus*, pp. 73–74; Karl A. Kehr, *Die Urkunden der normannisch-sicilischen Könige* (Innsbruck, 1902), p. 58; Takayama, *The Administration*, p. 132; Takayama, *The Medieval Mediterranean*, p. 300.

48 Jamison, "The Norman Administration," pp. 476–477; Carlo A. Garufi, "Per la storia dei secoli XI e XII: Miscellanea diplomatica," *Archivio storico per la Sicilia orientale*, vol. 10 (1913), App. doc. no. 1, pp. 358–360; Ménager, *Amiratus*, p. 73.

49 Garufi, "Per la storia," App. doc. no. 2, pp. 360–361; Ménager, *Amiratus*, p. 73; Takayama, *The Administration*, p. 132; Takayama, *The Medieval Mediterranean*, p. 300.

50 Ménager, *Amiratus*, p. 73; Takayama, *The Administration*, p. 132; Takayama, *The Medieval Mediterranean*, p. 300.

51 Jamison, *Admiral Eugenius*, App. II, nos. 2–21; Ménager, *Amiratus*, p. 73.

52 Ménager, *Amiratus*, pp. 74–75.

53 Takayama, *The Administration*, pp. 163–164.

5

THE ADMINISTRATIVE ORGANIZATION OF THE NORMAN KINGDOM OF SICILY

I. Historiography

Many historians have treated the administration of the Norman Kingdom of Sicily as one of the greatest achievements of the Middle Ages on the assumption that it attained extraordinarily high specialization and bureaucratization in medieval Europe. Some have seen in it even the forerunner of modern governments. However, scholars' opinions on the functions and relations of the actual officials or organizations differ widely, and sometimes contradict each other.[1]

Most of the earliest researches on the Norman administration were concerned with the question of its origin. In the nineteenth century, some scholars thought that Sicilian system had its origin in England. Rosario Gregorio, for example, an Italian scholar of the early nineteenth century, proposed the theory that King Roger II had established his administrative organization on the model of the system of William the Conqueror of England,[2] and this opinion was accepted by the celebrated English scholar William Stubbs.[3]

Having a great interest in the relationship between the Sicilian and English administrations, Otto Hartwig compared the two organizations of the two kingdoms – that is, the *duana de secretis* of Sicily and the Exchequer of England – and he too concluded that the Sicilian institution had had its model in England. According to Hartwig, the *duana de secretis* had consisted of two divisions, one (*duana baronum*) supervising accounts and the other (*σέκρετον τῶν ἀποκοπῶν*) collecting taxes and paying expenses. This structure of the *duana de secretis* was seen as parallel to the organization of the Exchequer of England which consisted of the Upper Exchequer (*scaccarium superius*) and the Lower Exchequer (*scaccarium inferius*).[4]

Against this theory of an English origin, Michele Amari, a distinguished Italian Arabist, suggested an Arabic origin for Sicilian administrative organization. The *duana de secretis*, he explained, had its origin in a Muslim office (*dīwān al-taḥqīq*) whose duty had been the preservation of land registers (*daftar al-ḥudūd*), and that the *duana baronum* corresponded to the *dīwān al-majlis* of the Fāṭimids, an office dealing with the transfer of lands.[5] Amari's idea emphasizing an Arabic origin was accepted by Isidoro La Lumia, Giovanni B. Siragusa and Hans Von Kap-Herr.[6]

In 1901, Italian scholar Carlo Alberto Garufi proposed a new theory on the financial and administrative organization. His opinion was accepted by most subsequent scholars and remained as the most commonly accepted theory for a century.[7] According to Garufi, the highest policy-making organization of the kingdom was a royal court council (*consiglio aulico*), which supervised the whole royal administration. Its members were called *ἄρχοντες τῆς κραταιᾶς κόρτης* in Greek and included the master chamberlain of the royal palace and the master justiciar of the royal court. The financial administration was supervised by a specialized financial committee (*Gran Secrezia*), whose members were called *ἄρχοντες τοῦ σεκρέτου* in Greek, and which consisted of the master chamberlain of the royal palace, the master justiciar of the royal court and the masters of the *duana*.[8]

These officials directed the supervisory office of financial administration (*ufficio del riscontro*), which consisted of two departments: the *duana de secretis* and the *duana baronum*. The *duana de secretis* supervised the affairs of the royal domain and the *duana baronum* handled feudal affairs. This supervisory office was called *dīwān al-taḥqīq al-ma'mūr* in Arabic, and had a subordinate treasury office (*ufficio del tesoro*) or *al-dīwān al-ma'mūr* in Arabic, which in turn had a subordinate office of profits (*ufficio dei proventi*) or *dīwān al-fawā'id* in Arabic.[9] The supervisory office also consisted of officials of three ranks: master of the *duana*, *σεκρετικός* and *kātib*. This structure was parallel to that of the Byzantine financial officials, which had *quaestor*, *ἐκσκέπτωρ* and *σκρίβας*.[10]

Garufi's idea on the Sicilian administrative organization had enormous influence over subsequent historians. Despite some scholars' serious questions about its structure,[11] many others accepted his model without serious examination and used his study as the foundation of their own researches. Caspar and Chalandon, whose works are still standards on the Norman period, immediately accepted this opinion, with only slight modifications.[12]

Most of the questions and criticisms posed by other scholars were concerned with only a part of Garufi's theory. A wholescale reexamination of his model had not been undertaken until Mario Caravale wrote an article on the financial officials in 1964.[13] Prior to this, however, Evelyn Jamison, one of the most respected authorities on the Norman administration, had outlined her theory of the financial and administrative organization in her study of the admirals in the Norman period. Although she was affected by Garufi's ideas, her picture of the financial administration is rather different from his. She regarded the treasury and the *duana* as the two basic financial organizations and emphasized differences between Roger II's organization and that of William I and William II. According to Jamison, Roger II's financial organization consisted of two departments: the treasury (*camera*) and the *duana*. The treasury was "concerned with the receipt of revenues and the disbursement of monies"; its higher officials were treasurers or chamberlains. The other department, the *duana*, was a purely Arabic office and was known only by its Arabic title of *dīwān al-taḥqīq al-ma'mūr*. It was "charged with the administrative and judicial business appurtenant to the finances of the kingdom" and was administered by the *shaikh*s of the *dīwān*. The treasury and the *duana* were both

ultimately controlled by the *curia* but more directly by the great admirals of Greek origin, who thus constituted the link between the two offices.[14]

Jamison thought that this central fiscal organization had developed rapidly and had acquired a more complicated structure under William I and William II. The treasury came to have three chamberlains. Its head was the master chamberlain of the palace, and his two subordinates were the chamberlain of the palace and the controller of the royal household. These three chamberlains were responsible for the receipt and payment of monies. The *duana* (*duana de secretis* in its full Latin name, *σέκρετον* or *μέγα σέκρετον* in Greek and *dīwān al-taḥqīq al-ma'mūr* in Arabic), on the other hand, received a great extension of powers after Roger II's death. It "became the central organ of the whole kingdom for the purposes within its scope, including the judicial decision of cases of fiscal import." It dealt with all matters concerning royal rights and the royal demesne, while keeping the registers of lands and services. By 1174 (probably about 1172), however, a new section of the *duana* appeared: the *duana baronum*. This office was "concerned with feudal and patrimonial tenures and services due to the crown."[15]

In 1964, Italian scholar Mario Caravale proposed a new theory different from Garufi's. He examined all the sources used by Garufi, and concluded that Garufi's structural analysis was basically right but needed to be modified. According to Caravale, the duties of the *al-dīwān al-ma'mūr* and the *dīwān al-taḥqīq al-ma'mūr* were differentiated during the reign of William II and had not been separated under the reign of Roger II. He also suggested that the function of the *duana de secretis* and the *duana baronum* were distinct in their administrative districts, not in their duties as Garufi had thought: The former had competence over Sicily and Calabria, and the latter over the rest of the peninsula except for Calabria.[16]

Thus we had two important theories which made modifications to Garufi's, but most contemporary scholars seem to prefer Garufi's theory. Enrico Mazzarese Fardella, the most recent contributor to our subject, is no exception.[17] After having clarified important historiographical issues and problems, he examined the structure of the *duana* in the Norman and Hohenstaufen periods. As for the structure of the *duana* in the Norman period, he followed Garufi's understanding.[18]

In the historiography, we can see that the concerns and the framework for analysis of earlier scholars greatly affected the studies of later scholars. Before the study of Garufi, scholars' main concern was the origin of the Sicilian administrative system. They compared some elements of the Sicilian administration with those of the English, Islamic or Byzantine ones, and they found similarities between them. After the study of Garufi, however, scholars' main concern was shifted to the structure of the administrative organization. Many scholars argued various theories different from Garufi's, but most of them seem ultimately to be based on the structure proposed by Garufi.

These views on the administrative organization are very complicated, including Garufi's, but it is not too difficult to find the central points at issue. There are three major themes: (1) the structure of the financial administration, (2) its

evolution and (3) its relationship with those of other monarchies. The first major theme includes several controversial issues: (1) the relationship among *al-dīwān al-ma'mūr*, *dīwān al-taḥqīq al-ma'mūr*, *duana de secretis* and *duana baronum*; (2) what were *ἄρχοντες τῆς κραταιᾶς κόρτης* and *ἄρχοντες τοῦ σεκρέτου*; and (3) their relationship with the *curia*, *camera*, *duana de secretis* and *duana baronum*.

II. A new framework for the Norman administration

When we examine the administration of the kingdom, we have to bear in mind two important historical facts. One is that since the kingdom was born when Roger II (count of Sicily and Calabria, then duke of Apulia) was crowned, the substance of the kingdom was the county of Sicily and Calabria. The other point is that Roger II's dominion was multiplied just before and after the coronation. We are tempted to think that the administration of the kingdom began when the kingdom was created. But in fact, all the regions of the kingdom in the later period were not subject to the kingship at the beginning of the kingdom. The regions and inhabitants under the Norman kingship changed rapidly, especially during the reign of Roger II. It was only the county of Sicily and Calabria that Roger II inherited from his father. However, he thereafter obtained the duchy of Apulia, the principality of Capua and the principality of Taranto, together with the titles of duke of Apulia and king of Sicily. Feudal lords in this region were not willing to respect the new kingship, and Roger II had to fight with them to secure their obedience for more than ten years. In due course, he introduced various institutions and formed an administrative system suitable for the whole kingdom.

In order to recognize how the administration of the kingdom was formed and changed, we must understand the characteristics of the administration of Roger I, count of Sicily and Calabria, whom Roger II was to succeed. Roger I, a mere landless knight when he arrived in southern Italy, was a strong ruler of Sicily and Calabria when he died. To administer the drastic increase in lands and people, his government might well change its character and function at different stages of the conquest. Nonetheless, we can point out some of its important characteristics.

First, Roger I's power, based on a strong army of Muslim mercenaries and wealth deriving from his large demesne and various taxes, was far stronger than that of his feudal vassals. In order to prevent his vassals from gaining power, he granted only scattered pieces of land to them. Second, his central government, consisting mainly of his Norman compatriots and Greek officials, was small, as his continual campaigning necessitated frequent changes of location. Third, Roger I kept the administrative units and officials of the former governments, both Byzantine and Muslim, and made full use of them, although the Byzantine influence was dominant in his administration, as most of his territory and his central base was in Calabria.[19] Fourth, he effectively made use of the land registers the Muslim rulers had left.

Most of these characteristics were preserved in the government of his widow Adelasia. Only one important change should be noted, however: the transfer of

the principal residence of the count from Mileto in Calabria to Messina (or San Marco), in Sicily. As the center of the county moved to Sicily from Calabria, the office of *amiratus* (governor of Palermo) gained more importance at the central government, although Greek officials were still dominant in administration.[20]

When Roger II came of age, the capital was moved further westward and finally fixed at Palermo. In this city the central government was to develop, not least with an increase in its staff. In the earlier part of his reign, however, the government did not change that much. It was still the continuation of that of his parents. Roger II continued to use Greek officials, although the office of *amiratus* gained special importance.[21]

Important administrative changes were introduced after his acquisition of large territory in the peninsula. Between 1127 and 1140 he gained the duchy of Apulia, the principalities of Taranto and Capua and the duchy of Naples. In this period he had to fight with both feudal lords and cities in these new territories to put them under his control. When he pacified all of them in 1140, he had become the sole powerful ruler in southern Italy. In order to govern his subjects in this vast area, which consisted of various entities with different political and cultural traditions, he instituted a number of administrative reforms.[22]

First, he installed local chamberlains and local justiciars systematically all over the kingdom. It is possible that administrative boundaries were drawn at this time, especially in the case of the justiciars, but it seems to me more likely that the king simply assigned some important towns and parts of the royal demesne to the chamberlains and placed justiciars in principal towns.[23]

Second, he created a new office, called the *dīwān al-taḥqīq al-ma'mūr* in Arabic. This office was concerned exclusively with land administration. The functions of the *dīwān al-taḥqīq al-ma'mūr* were (1) the inspection of transferred lands, whether royal lands or fiefs, and the delineation of boundaries of the transferred lands; (2) the preparation of documents which recorded the boundaries of transferred lands; (3) the preservation of *dafātir* (land registers); and (4) the issuance of *jarā'id* (writs of transfer). I presume that this office was created around the remaining land registers of former Muslim rulers in order to keep and to revise these useful documents, although it is also conceivable that this office extended its sphere of functions in the course of time.[24]

Third, Roger II transformed the central government, which had been formed to govern only the county of Calabria and Sicily, into one more suitable for the newly established kingdom. Conceivably, one of the major changes in his entourage was the increased role of the lay and ecclesiastical magnates, especially the bishops and counts of the peninsula, after 1140. But the *amirati* as well as the chancellor continued to overshadow the other officials at the central government. However, chamberlains and justiciars need special attention. While new local justiciars and chamberlains were instituted around 1140, other justiciars and chamberlains continued to work in the central government, and a justiciar working at the royal court (*curia regis*) already had the special title of justiciar of the (royal) court (*iustificator curialis*), probably in order to distinguish him from local justiciars.[25]

Under Maio, royal officials seem to have advanced in specialization and hierarchization; this change was especially marked in the organization of chamberlains and justiciars at the central government as well as in the provinces. At the beginning of the reign of William I, a chamberlain working at the central government came to be distinguished from the local chamberlains with a new title of "chamberlain of the royal palace" (*camerarius regalis palatii*).[26] After the death of Maio in 1160, another title of "master chamberlain of the royal palace" (*magister camerarius regii palatii*) appeared, which suggests the plurality of chamberlains of the royal palace as well as their hierarchization. This master chamberlain of the royal palace came to take a significant role in the central administration.[27]

Justiciars at the central government also show the specialization and hierarchization under Maio. A new title of "master justiciar" (*magister iusticiarius*) at the central government appeared in 1157[28] and a more defined title, "great justiciar of the royal great court" (*magnus Iusticiarius Regie magne curie*), appeared in 1159.[29] The latter title suggests that justiciars of the great royal court had by this time been distinguished from local justiciars. Further information, quite interesting and contrasted with that available for the chamberlains, is gained from a document in January of the same year. This shows the existence of three "master justiciars of the royal court" (*regis curie magistri justiciarii*).[30] Thus the *curia regis* came to have three professional members dealing with justice. The system of three master justiciars of the great royal court seems to be in contrast with that of one master chamberlain at the royal palace in this period but, most interestingly, it was similar to that of the three chamberlains of the royal palace in a later period.[31]

After the death of Maio, a royal inner council of *familiares regis* was established and came to govern the kingdom. The day after Maio's assassination King William I summoned Henry Aristippus, archdeacon of Catania,[32] and appointed him as a *familiaris* so that he would take the role and office of Maio of Bari in dealing with the affairs of the kingdom.[33] Count Silvester of Marsico, an elderly cousin of the king, and an Englishman, Richard Palmer, the bishop-elect of Syracuse, were then appointed to be *familiares regis* by March 1161. Thus the first royal inner council of three *familiares regis* was formed.[34] From this time, the *familiares regis* came to have special significance in the Norman administration. *Familiaris regis* was a well-defined title to indicate a member of the royal inner council during the reigns of William I (1154–1166) and William II (1166–1189). As the decision makers on policy and other important matters, they were the most powerful people in the kingdom.[35]

At the beginning of William II's reign, a new office called *duana baronum* was created for the government of the peninsula. This new office was located in Salerno, perhaps in the castle of Terracena, and had competence over the whole peninsula except for Calabria. It carried out various administrative duties needed there: (1) the granting of royal lands and royal properties; (2) the communication and promulgation of royal ordinances; (3) permission for sale of lands; (4) lending money; (5) buying houses and payment of the sums owed for this; (6) the holding

of courts and the solution of various problems through judicial hearings; (7) the control of officials; and (8) the receipt of indictments.[36]

Thus the administrative organization of the kingdom changed continuously; some offices became more important while others lost their significance in the government. The *duana baronum* did not exist before the reign of William II, nor did the inner council of *familiares regis* before the death of Maio. We should underline the importance of chronological developments with regard to administration and officials, because so many previous scholars have treated offices belonging to different periods as if they were contemporaneous and thereby confused our image of the Norman administration. In order to examine the structure of the Norman administration we must clearly specify the time period, which should be limited narrowly enough.[37]

Let us now focus on the two decades under William II after the creation of the *duana baronum* so that we may see the structure of the Norman administration at its most developed stage. In this period, the royal inner council of *familiares regis* held the highest authority in the government and made decisions on important issues of the kingdom or on matters concerning the king's interests.

The master chamberlain of the royal palace and his two subordinate chamberlains of the royal palace directed the executive and administrative functions of the central government. Most of the holders of these offices were Muslims or ex-Muslims. For special duties concerning the administration of land, however, there was a special office called *dīwān al-taḥqīq al-ma'mūr* (or *duana de secretis*, or *μέγα σέκρετον*, *σέκρετον*), which was located at the royal palace in Palermo and under the direction of one of the two chamberlains of the royal palace. It had high officials called *magistri duane de secretis*, *aṣḥāb dīwān al-taḥqīq al-ma'mūr*, *οἱ ἐπὶ τοῦ μεγάλου σεκρέτου* (*οἱ ἐπὶ τοῦ σεκρέτου*) or *ἄρχοντες τοῦ σεκρέτου*, most of whom were also Muslims or ex-Muslims. Their primary duty was land administration within Sicily (later possibly Calabria too), but they were among the most powerful officials of the kingdom.

For the government of the peninsula, a branch office called the *duana baronum* (or *σέκρετον τῶν ἀποκοπῶν*) had been created at Salerno to meet a variety of local administrative needs. This office was directed first by one of the chamberlains of the royal palace and later by the *amiratus* of the royal fleet. It had high officials called *magistri duane baronum* or *οἱ ἐπὶ τοῦ σεκρέτου τῶν ἀποκοπῶν*, who were also among the most powerful officials of the kingdom. Local officials such as local chamberlains, local justiciars, magistrates of towns (*catepani* or *strategoi*) and *baiuli* worked for the king's interest under the direction of these high officials.[38]

III. Differences and reasons

The structure of the Norman administration outlined above is different from that posited by previous historians. It is much simpler than the previous ones. It does not allow for the *Gran Secrezia*, a specialized financial committee. This new

model refutes the triple-layered structure of officials at the *duana* and suggests that the functions of the high officials at the *duana* were not purely financial as had been believed, but varied with different offices and involved more general administrative duties. Given the fact that many scholars have argued for a highly developed bureaucracy and specialized administration based on Garufi's model, my model for the Norman administration poses a serious question about such a specialized image of the Norman administration of the kingdom.

Why do I have different conclusions from the previous scholars? The first and evident reason lies in the language problem. Many of the previous scholars seem to have been unfamiliar with Arabic. As a result, they had a tendency to take Arabic words as special technical terms. An obvious exception was Amari. His studies offered basic information on Arabic words to those who did not understand Arabic. We should not forget that just one office could be expressed in at least three different ways in three different languages. It is very important to define as many of the correspondent terms as possible. The lack of this procedure probably contributed to the complicated and confusing image of the administrative organization proposed by previous scholars.

Second, I suspect that scholars did not pay enough attention to changes in administration during the Norman period. Apart from relatively recent scholars like Jamison, Caravale and Mazzarese Fardella, scholars here tended to ignore the possibility of change. They seem to have tried to find an administrative organization which can be applicable to the whole period of the kingdom's history. However, the change of administration over this period was great enough to invalidate any generalization about its administrative organization. As I have already mentioned, we cannot discuss the Norman administration without specifying the period. Therefore, it is natural that the scholars who focused on the reign of Roger II and those who studied the reign of William II had different images of the Norman administration, and that those who mixed up the elements belonging to the reign of Roger II and those pertaining to William I and William II had an image of administrative organization far more complicated than it actually was. Jamison, Caravale and Mazzarese Fardella were quite right in paying more attention to chronological change in the administrative structure, but the changes in the administration did not occur simply because of a change of reign.

The third and biggest factor is the assumptions of scholars about the administration of the kingdom.[39] Garufi proposed a very complicated model of the administrative organization, and later scholars also suggested no less complicated models. Some of them are difficult to grasp. The scholars who have dealt with this subject do not seem to have raised questions about this complexity and difficulty for understanding. I assume that they had expected to discover a complex administrative organization when they began research. One of the main reasons why these scholars had been interested in the Norman administration was probably that it had been regarded as the most advanced in Europe; its high bureaucratization and specialization had been illustrated by various specialized offices with Arabic, Greek and Latin titles. It would have been the raison d'être of their studies

to confirm this image, or to make this image clearer, and to emphasize the peculiarity and importance of the Norman government in Sicily and southern Italy.

These three factors have contributed to the highly specialized image of the Sicilian administrative organization of the kingdom.

IV. The characteristics of the Norman administration in Sicily and Southern Italy

Based on our new understanding, let me summarize the characteristics of the administrative organization of the kingdom. First of all, it should be kept in mind that the administrative system changed rapidly and substantially in a very short time. As I have emphasized, the change of administration in the kingdom was great enough to invalidate any generalization. We should define the period when discussing administrative organizations or administrative structures. These changes occurred mainly in the central organization, or the provincial administration, of the peninsula. Few changes in the administration of Sicily itself were observed after 1140. Therefore we should pay attention to regional differences as well as chronological changes.

Second, it was common in the kingdom for high officials to hold more than one office concurrently. This seems to pose serious questions about the high specialization and bureaucratization of the government of Sicily.

The third point is also concerned with the officials. In this kingdom, the central government included, in addition to Greek and Italian officials, many ex-Muslim officials who were closely connected with the Muslim population in Sicily. The participation of ex-Muslims in the central government was an important characteristic of the administration of the kingdom. It is probable that the kings appointed many Muslims or ex-Muslims to offices under their direct authority in order to weaken the power of barons and thus strengthen their own power. More importantly, the kings needed their sophisticated skills and knowledge of administration, and the Muslims – as opposed to the baronial class – needed the kings as their protectors. There was a marked tendency to exclude the nobility from the central government.

The fourth and one of the most important characteristics is the administrative difference between Sicily and Calabria and the rest of the peninsula. In Sicily and Calabria, the king had immediate control of inhabitants and lands by means of registers of lands and villeins. Vassals and churches were no obstacle to the royal administration. Here, there existed a valid and stable administration. In the peninsular administration, however, the vassals were indispensable. The king could control and govern inhabitants and land only through vassals. The list of these vassals was the *catalogus baronum*.[40]

This administrative difference developed from historical circumstances. In Sicily there existed an Arabic tradition of registers of land and villeins, and both Roger I and Roger II owed much to this tradition in developing their administrative institutions. In the process, the office of the *duana de secretis* was created.

Furthermore, in Calabria there existed a Byzantine tradition of registers of land. Because of the political situation, however, the annexation of Calabria to the administrative district of Sicily was delayed until the time of the creation of the *duana baronum*.

The mainland north of Calabria was always politically unstable and had no tradition of registers of land and villeins. The landowners changed very frequently, due to the unsettled situation.[41] Here barons and towns tended to be independent of the king, and were great obstacles to a centralized administration. Therefore, a quite different administrative organization was necessary, and the *duana baronum*, an office suited to these conditions, was created. This *duana baronum* governed inhabitants and lands through barons. The *catalogus baronum* supplied the government with indispensable information on these barons. The creation of this office stabilized the peninsula, and henceforth baronial revolts disappeared. Thus we may regard the creation of the *duana baronum* as one of the most important steps for centralization of the Norman administrative system.[42]

Conclusion

The administrative organization of the Norman Kingdom of Sicily was either based on the existing administrative institutions of the former rulers or was created to control the existing different offices. The boundaries of the former duchies and principalities were made use of as the largest of their administrative units by the Norman rulers. The core regional unit of administration was the former county of Calabria and Sicily. It had a more solid and cohesive administration based on the surviving institutions and divisions of the Muslim rulers. This area was controlled by the king more closely than any other area. The peninsula north of Calabria had a different administration. The king tried to control this area through his local officials like chamberlains and justiciars, but to a large extent his vassals were the most important medium to control the inhabitants here.

The time lag in absorbing different regions, each of which had its political and historical integrity, made it difficult to organize a homogeneous administrative system over the whole kingdom; this led to the coexistence of different administrative systems. Although some scholars have seen in this kingdom an advanced centralization of government and even the origin of modern states, our study suggests that its administrative system was still a mixture of different systems.

This development pattern of the administrative system may appear peculiar to southern Italy, but this kind of administrative system might have been formed in any place when a monarchy with a small territory grew into a kingdom (or state) which governed a vast territory. I suspect that this twofold administrative system could be seen in the process of centralization or state formation.[43]

In the changes and characteristics of the Norman administration, we can see the ruler's consistent will to control the people and resources in his kingdom more efficiently. In order to fulfill this purpose, the monarchs created various organizations and offices. We see two different processes or circumstances in which a

new organization was created. Some organizations and offices were established on or around the existing administrative institutions which the previous rulers had left. This was true of the *duana de secretis*. Some other organizations were newly created to unify the existing systems. This was the case with the *duana baronum*.

We may regard the changes of administration as the process in which the ruler realized his wish to control the people and resources in his territory. He created or modified offices to control them better in response to the dangers of revolts and invasions. The degree of regional integrity and existing administrative methods and offices greatly affected the establishment of the administrative system.

If a newly acquired land had an administrative system similar to a ruler's old domain, it would be easy to establish a homogeneous system all over his territory. But it would not be the typical case, and certainly not in Sicily. I suspect that most rulers had to spend a lot of energy to make their administration homogeneous. At the beginning it was natural that the rulers had a different administrative system in their existing domain and in the newly acquired lands. If the ruler succeeded in centralization and established a homogeneous administration, his domain would have stronger integrity and become a more cohesive administrative unit.

In conclusion I would like to emphasize that, for the study of administration, whether it is for Sicily, southern Italy or indeed for any other monarchy, we should pay full attention to the gradations of the rulers' power and closely examine regional differences and chronological changes.

Acknowledgment

I would like to thank Dr. Graham Loud of the University of Leeds for his help.

Notes

1 For a bibliographical survey of this subject, see Carlo A. Garufi, "Sull'ordinamento amministrativo normanno in Sicilia, Exhiquier o diwan? Studi storico-diplomatici," *Archivio storico italiano*, serie 5, vol. 27 (1901), pp. 225–263; Carlo A. Garufi, "Censimento e catasto della popolazione servile. Nuovi studi e ricerche sull'ordinamento amministrativo dei Normanni in Sicilia nei secoli XI e XII," *Archivio storico siciliano*, vol. 49 (1928), pp. 1–6; Mario Caravale, "Gli uffici finanziari nel Regno di Sicilia durante il periodo normanno," *Annali di storia del diritto*, vol. 8 (1964), pp. 178–185, repr. in his *Il regno normanno di Sicilia* (Milan, 1966); Enrico Mazzarese Fardella, *Aspetti dell'organizzazione amministrativa nello stato normanno e svevo* (Milan, 1966), pp. 3–6. An enlarged version of this section on the historiography has been published as part of my book, Hiroshi Takayama, *The Administration of the Norman Kingdom of Sicily* (Leiden/New York/Cologne, 1993), pp. 11–24.

2 Rosario Gregorio, *Considerazioni sopra la storia di Sicilia dai tempi dei Normanni sino ai presenti*, new ed., vol. 1 (Palermo, 1972 [1st ed. 1805, 2nd ed. 1831, 3rd ed. 1845, new ed. 1972]), pp. 172–192, 205.

3 William Stubbs, *The Constitutional History of England in its Origin and Development*, 3 vols. (Oxford, 1896–1897), vol. 1, p. 408.

4 Michele Amari, "Su la data degli sponsali di Arrigo VI con la Costanza erede del trono di Sicilia, e su i *divani* dell'azienda normanna in Palermo. Lettera del dottor O.

HARTWIG e Memoria del Socio Amari," *Atti della R. Accademia dei Lincei*, anno 275 (1877–1878), serie 3, Memorie della classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche, vol. 2 (1878), pp. 409–417.

5 Michele Amari, *Storia dei Musulmani di Sicilia*, 2nd ed., 3 vols., a cura di Carlo A. Nallino (Catania, 1933–1939 [1st ed., 3 vols., Florence, 1854–1872]), vol. 3, parte 1, pp. 324–331; Michele Amari, "Su la data," pp. 417–438.

6 Isidoro La Lumia, *La Sicilia sotto Guglielmo il Buono* (Palermo, 1881), pp. 204–205; Giovanni B. Siragusa, *Il regno di Guglielmo I in Sicilia*, 2nd ed. (Palermo, 1929 [1st ed., Palermo, 1885–1886]), p. 263; Hans Von Kap-Herr, "Bajulus-Podestà, Consules," *Deutsche Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft*, vol. 5 (1891), pp. 21–69. Amari's influence is also seen in Rudolf Von Heckel, "Das päpstliche und sizilische Registerwesen in vergleichender Darstellung mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Ursprünge," *Archiv für Urkundenforschung*, vol. 1 (1908), pp. 372–394.

7 Garufi, "Sull'ordinamento amministrativo," pp. 225–263; Garufi, "Censimento e Catasto," pp. 1–100.

8 Garufi, "Sull'ordinamento amministrativo," pp. 256–257. The idea of the royal court council and the financial committee was accepted by Caspar, Chalandon and Caravale: Erich Caspar, *Roger II. (1101–1154) und die Gründung der normannisch-sicilischen Monarchie* (Innsbruck, 1904), p. 316; Ferdinand Chalandon, *Histoire de la domination normande en Italie et en Sicile*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1907), vol. 2, p. 651; Ferdinand Chalandon, "Norman Kingdom of Sicily," *The Cambridge Medieval History, Vol. 5: Contest of Empire and Papacy* (Cambridge, 1926), p. 205; Caravale, "Gli uffici finanziari," pp. 178–185.

9 Garufi, "Sull'ordinamento amministrativo," pp. 234–250, 259; Garufi, "Censimento e Catasto," pp. 3–5, 66–67, 83–86. His idea that the supervisory office was divided into two departments (the *duana de secretis* supervising the affairs of the royal domains and the *duana baronum* handling feudal affairs) has been commonly accepted by historians: Caspar, *Roger II. (1101–1154) und die Gründung*, pp. 315–318; Chalandon, *Histoire de la domination*, vol. 2, pp. 648–653; Ernst Mayer, *Italienische Verfassungsgeschichte von der Gothenzeit bis zur Zunftherrschaft*, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1909), vol. 2, pp. 384–404; Charles H. Haskins, "England and Sicily in the Twelfth Century," *English Historical Review*, vol. 26 (1911), p. 653; Carmela Ceci, "Normanni d'Inghilterra e Normanni d'Italia," *Archivio scientifico del R. Istituto superiore di scienze economiche e commerciali di Bari*, vol. 7 (1932–1933), pp. 330–331; Pier S. Leicht, "Lo stato normanno," *Il Regno Normanno* (Messina, 1932), p. 49; Pier S. Leicht, *Storia del diritto italiano: Il diritto pubblico* (Milan, 1944), p. 293; Francesco Calasso, *Gli ordinamenti giuridici del Rinascimento medievale* (Milan, 1949), p. 166; Evelyn Jamison, *Admiral Eugenius of Sicily: His Life and Work* (London, 1957), pp. 50–53; Adelaide Baviera Albanese, "L'istituzione dell'ufficio di Conservatore del Real Patrimonio e gli organi finanziari del Regno di Sicilia nel sec. XV," *Il Circolo giuridico* (Palermo, 1958), pp. 269–271; Mazzarese Fardella, *Aspetti*, p. 35; Mazzarese Fardella, "La struttura amministrativa del Regno Normanno," *Atti del Congresso Internazionale di Studi sulla Sicilia Normanna* (Palermo, 1973), pp. 217–220; Thomas C. Van Cleve, *The Emperor Frederick II of Hohenstaufen: Immutator Mundi* (Oxford, 1972), pp. 264–265; Francesco Giunta, *Bizantini e bizantinismo nella Sicilia normanna*, 2nd ed. (Palermo, 1974), pp. 65–69; Aziz Ahmad, *A History of Islamic Sicily* (Edinburgh, 1975), pp. 65–66. This theory is easily accessible in English: see Brian Tierney and Sidney Painter, *Western Europe in the Middle Ages 300–1475*, 4th ed. (New York, 1983), p. 249.

10 Garufi, "Sull'ordinamento amministrativo," pp. 251–262. This idea of the triple-layered structure of officials in the supervisory office was accepted by Chalandon, Caspar, Mayer and Caravale: Chalandon, *Histoire de la domination*, vol. 2, pp. 651–652; Caspar, *Roger II. und die Gründung*, p. 316; Mayer, *Italienische Verfassungsgeschichte*, vol. 2, p. 386, notes 36–37; Caravale, "Gli uffici finanziari," pp. 204, 209.

11 For example, Enrico Besta ("Il 'Liber de Regno Siciliae' e la storia del diritto siculo," *Miscellanea di archeologia, storia e filologia dedicata al Prof. Antonino Salinas* [Palermo 1907], p. 295, note 2), following Amari's idea (Amari, "Su la data," p. 431; Amari, *Storia dei Musulmani*, vol. 3, pp. 327–328, note 2) that *al-dīwān al-ma'mūr* had been an abbreviated expression for *dīwān al-taḥqīq al-ma'mūr*, insisted that there was only one office for collecting taxes to which other offices were subordinated, and denied the separation of the supervisory office and the treasury office as suggested by Garufi. Besta's opinion was accepted by Haskins ("England and Sicily," p. 652, note 174) and Luigi Genuardi ("I defetari normanni," *Centenario della nascita di M. Amari: Scritti di filologia e storia araba*, 2 vols. [Palermo 1910], vol. 1, p. 161). Haskins ("England and Sicily," p. 653) and Ceci ("Normanni d'Inghilterra," pp. 331–332) regard the members of the financial committee (*ἄρχοντες τοῦ σεκρέτου*) as identical with the masters of the *duana*, which contradicts the triple-layered structure of the officials of the supervisory office proposed by Garufi. This opinion was accepted later by Jamison (*Admiral Eugenius*, p. 51) and Norbert Kamp ("Vom Kämmerer zum Sekreten. Wirtschaftsreformen und Finanzverwaltung im staufischen Königreich Sizilien," *Problem um Friedrich II*., ed. Josef Fleckenstein [Sigmaringen, 1974], p. 52). Baviera Albanese ("L'istituzione," p. 271), identifying *arconti del segreto* (*ἄρχοντες τοῦ σεκρέτου*) with *gaiti* (*qā'id*) in Arabic, places the *camerarius palatinus et magister regis duane de secretis et baronum* at the top of the office of the *duana*.

12 Caspar, *Roger II. und die Gründung*, pp. 315–318; Chalandon, *Histoire de la domination*, vol. 2, pp. 648–653.

13 Caravale, "Gli uffici finanziari," pp. 177–223.

14 Jamison, *Admiral Eugenius*, pp. 39, 49.

15 Jamison, *Admiral Eugenius*, pp. 49–53. Jamison thinks the two *duanae* were directed by a board of about ten senior officials. The board was generally called *ἄρχοντες τοῦ σεκρέτου* or *σεκρετικοί* in Greek, *magistri duane* in Latin, and *shaikh* of the *dīwān al-taḥqīq al-ma'mūr* in Arabic, but some members were also called *magistri duane de secretis* (*οἱ ἐπὶ τοῦ μεγάλου σεκρέτου*), or *magistri duane baronum* (*οἱ ἐπὶ τοῦ σεκρέτου τῶν ἀποκοπῶν*) according to the section for which they were responsible. Jamison's theory on the financial board who controlled the *duanae* seems to have been accepted by Kamp ("Vom Kämmerer," p. 52).

16 Caravale, "Gli uffici finanziari," pp. 177–223. This theory of Caravale was accepted by Kamp ("Vom Kämmerer," p. 52).

17 According to his observation, the *curia* was something not well defined, an organism composed according to changing political criteria, and, more than once, a perfect outer identification of the sovereign, while the *camera* and the *duana* were not always be distinguishable against Jamison's schematization.

18 Mazzarese Fardella, *Aspetti*, pp. 2–5, 8–14, 27–36. See also Mazzarese Fardella, "La struttura amministrativa," pp. 217–220.

19 Takayama, *The Administration*, pp. 25–40.

20 Takayama, *The Administration*, pp. 40–46, 163.

21 Takayama, *The Administration*, pp. 47–56.

22 Takayama, *The Administration*, pp. 56–73.

23 Takayama, *The Administration*, pp. 73–81; Evelyn Jamison, "The Norman Administration of Apulia and Capua, More Especially under Roger II and William I, 1127–1166," *Papers of the British School at Rome*, vol. 6 (1913), pp. 254–256.

24 Takayama, *The Administration*, pp. 81–84; Takayama, "The Financial and Administrative Organization of the Normans in Twelfth-Century Sicily," *Shigaku-Zasshi*, vol. 92, no. 7 (1983), pp. 1–46; Takayama, "The Financial and Administrative Organization of the Norman Kingdom of Sicily," *Viator*, vol. 16 (1985), pp. 129–157.

25 Takayama, *The Administration*, pp. 84–93. For *amirati,* see Hiroshi Takayama, "*Amiratus* of the Norman Kingdom of Sicily: Arabic Office at the Top of the Norman

Administration," *Seiyō Chūseizō no Kakushin (Renewal of the Image of Medieval Europe)*, ed. Kōichi Kabayama (Tokyo, 1995), pp. 31–50 [Hiroshi Takayama, "*Amiratus* in the Norman Kingdom of Sicily: A Leading Office of Arabic Origin in the Royal Administration," *Forschungen zur Reichs-, Papst- und Landesgeschichte*, ed. Karl Borchardt and Enno Bünz (Stuttgart, 1998), pp. 133–144.]

26 Jamison, *Admiral Eugenius*, p. 45.

27 Hugo Falcandus, *Liber de Regno Sicilie*, in Giovanni B. Siragusa, ed., *La historia o Liber de Regno Sicilie e la epistola ad Petrum Panormitane ecclesie thesaurarium* (Rome, 1897), pp. 45, 83; Takayama, *The Administration*, pp. 95–103, 126.

28 Siragusa, *Il regno di Guglielmo I*, p. 397.

29 Carlo Alberto Garufi, *I documenti inediti dell'epoca normanna in Sicilia* (Palermo, 1899), no. XXXIV, p. 81: "Rainaldus de tusa magnus Iusticiarius Regie magne curie." Raynald of Tusa handled a controversy between Gilbert, bishop-elect of Patti, and Boso, bishop of Cefalù.

30 Evelyn Jamison, "Judex Tarentinus: The Career of Judex Tarentinus *magne curie magister justiciarius* and the Emergence of the Sicilian *regalis magna curia* under William I and the Regency of Margaret of Navarre, 1156–1172," *Proceedings of the British Academy*, vol. 53 (1967), App. doc. 1, pp. 318–319: "Nos Raynaldus de Tusa et Avenellus de Petralia, et Judex de Tarento regalis curie magistri justiciarii." "†Signum proprie manus Raynaldi de Tusa regalis curie justiciarii." "[† ὁ τῆς] μεγάλης κόρτης κριτὴς ὁ ταραντῖνος ὑπέγραψα προσεπικύρω οἰκειοχείρος."

31 Takayama, *The Administration*, pp. 103–104, 125–129.

32 Henry Aristippus is well known as the first translator of the *Meno* and *Phaedo* of Plato and of the fourth book of Aristotle's *Meteorology*. See Charles H. Haskins, *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, MA, 1927), pp. 60, 292, 298, 332, 344; Charles H. Haskins, *Studies in the History of Medieval Science* (Cambridge, MA, 1927), pp. 53, 142–143, 150, 152, 159–163, 165–172, 179–183, 190; Maria T. Mandalari, "Enrico Aristippo Arcidiacono di Catania nella vita culturale e politica del secolo XII," *Bollettino storico catanese*, vol. 4 (1939), pp. 87–123. Giunta (*Bizantini e bizantinismo*, pp. 51, 62) thinks Henry Aristippus was of Greek origin, but this is difficult to believe.

33 Falcandus, *Liber de Regno*, p. 44: "Sequenti die rex Henricum Aristippum, archidiaconum Cataniensem, . . ., familiarem sibi delegit ut vicem et officium interim gereret admirati, preessetque notariis, et cum eo secretius de regni negotiis pertractaret." For the recent literature and my own argument on the Sicilian *familiares regis,* see Hiroshi Takayama, "The Grand Officials of the Norman Kingdom of Sicily," *Shigaku-Zasshi*, vol. 93, no. 12 (1984), pp. 17–22; Hiroshi Takayama, "*Familiares Regis* and the Royal Inner Council in Twelfth-Century Sicily," *English Historical Review*, vol. 104 (1989), pp. 357–372. See also Hans Schadek, "Die Familiaren der sizilischen und aragonischen Könige im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert," *Spanische Forschungen der Görresgesellschaft: Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Kulturgeschichte Spaniens*, vol. 26 (1971), pp. 201–217. I am grateful to Professor Robert I. Burns for having let me know about this important study.

34 Falcandus, *Liber de Regno*, p. 69: "erant eo tempore familiares regis, per quos negotia curie disponebat, Richardus Siracusanus electus, Silvester comes Marsicensis et Henricus Aristippus." See also Jamison, *Admiral Eugenius*, pp. 46–47.

35 Takayama, *The Administration*, pp. 98–101, 124–125; Takayama, "*Familiares Regis*," pp. 357–372.

36 Takayama, *The Administration*, pp. 143–152; Takayama, "The Financial and Administrative Organization of the Norman Kingdom of Sicily," pp. 131–133, 142.

37 Takayama, *The Administration*, p. 164.

38 Takayama, *The Administration*, pp. 164–165. For the chamberlains of the royal palace and masters of the *duanae*, see Hiroshi Takayama, "The Great Administrative Officials

of the Norman Kingdom of Sicily," *Papers of the British School at Rome*, vol. 58 (1990), pp. 317–335.

39 It is necessary to set aside one basic presumption which has dominated the historiography: the division of the financial and judicial boundaries of the administrative system. This presumption has led scholars to miss important key factors which connect the various elements and clarify the whole administrative system, and as a result this has contributed to a confusing image of the Sicilian administration. This division should be set aside at the outset. One must, instead, examine the officials or organizations without separating the financial and judicial administrations, and discover their relationships, based on contemporary terms. Of course, we may regard one type of relationship as a specialized administration if it is exclusively or remarkably tied to and formed by one particular element (for example, finance). It should, however, be considered in the context of the whole administrative system.

40 Takayama, *The Administration*, p. 166.

41 See however Graham Loud, "La campania nell'età normanna," Cosimo D. Fonseca, ed., *Mezzogiorno – Federico II – Mezzogiorno* (Rome, 2000), vol. 2, pp. 253–272 for some qualifications to this view.

42 Takayama, *The Administration*, p. 165.

43 See Hiroshi Takayama, "The French Administrative Structure under Philip IV (1285–1314) – *Baillis* and Seneschals," *Shigaku-Zasshi*, vol. 101, no. 11 (1992), pp. 1–38; Hiroshi Takayama, "The Local Administrative System of France under Philip IV (1285–1314) – *Baillis* and Seneschals," *Journal of Medieval History*, vol. 21 (1995), pp. 167–193.

Part II

Power and governance

6

THE ADMINISTRATION OF ROGER I
Foundation of the Norman administrative system*

The administration of the Norman Kingdom of Sicily had been regarded to be highly specialized and bureaucratized in comparison with other monarchies in medieval Europe, and was treated as one of the most remarkable institutional achievements of that era. Heinrich Mitteis thought that the administrative institution of medieval Sicily had affected those of England, France and Germany,[1] while Albert Brackmann,[2] David C. Douglas[3] and Antonio Marongiu[4] argued that the efficient and rigorous administration of Norman Sicily had been a forerunner of the secular modern administration. When and how this highly bureaucratized administration of Sicily was formed has been a controversial topic among scholars for some time. Some scholars insisted on the influence of the Islamic world[5] or the Byzantine Empire,[6] while others emphasized the English influence.[7] However, I have proposed a new understanding, suggesting that the administration of the Norman Kingdom of Sicily had been far simpler than previously assumed, just a patchwork of the preexisting systems and organizations.[8] The purpose of this article is to elucidate the characteristics and changes of the administration of Count Roger I of Sicily (1072–†1101), which has been regarded as the foundation of the administrative system of the Norman Kingdom of Sicily.

When we examine the administration of Roger I, we have to bear in mind the fact that it was able to change greatly over the course of time. It cannot be held that he kept the same policy and the same administrative system for more than forty years, from 1058 when he obtained Mileto in Calabria until 1101 when he died. In fact, a very significant change occurred around 1086, when the powerful Muslim leader Ibn al-Ward died and Agrigento and Castrogiovanni fell. It is true that Muslims resisted in Noto until 1091, but the completion of the conquest of Sicily was thought to be sure a few years before.[9]

Therefore, in this article I would like to show how Roger I's administration changed around 1086 and what characteristics the newly formed administration had. The following argument consists of three parts. First, I will show the nature of the administration of Roger I before 1086. Second, I will examine the change caused after 1086. Third, I will show the characteristics of the newly formed administration.

I

Roger I's administration before about 1086 was basically a wartime one. There is very little information regarding the administration of this time. We have few comital documents, and thus we have to depend on contemporary narrative histories such as those of Malaterra, Amatus, Romuald and William.[10] These narrative sources are useful to know the process of the conquest of Roger I, but they offer little information about his administration.

One thing we can learn from these sources is about the generals who commanded the troops. One of them was Roger I's illegitimate son, Jordan,[11] who played a very significant military role under his father. He directed troops in the war and was entrusted with Sicily when his father was on the mainland in 1083.[12] Besides Jordan, we know of several magnates of Roger I. In the expedition against Taormina in 1079, the four troops of his army were under the directions of Jordan, Otto, Arisgot of Pozzuoli and Elias of Cartomi (†1081).[13] Arisgot worked for Roger I for a long time and was given a large fief after the fall of Palermo.[14] Elias was a Christian converted from Islam and was killed in the war against Catania in 1081.[15] In this war, Robert of Surdavalle directed a troop together with Jordan and Elias.[16] Furthermore, we know from narrative sources that Roger I's son-in-law Hugh,[17] his nephew Serlo,[18] Geoffrey Ridel[19] and Ursell (Roussel, Orsell) of Bailleul[20] played active roles as commanders of troops.

There is no doubt that they were magnates of Roger I and principal members of his entourage at that time. From narrative sources, we know only those great feudal vassals of Roger I. The comital document of 1085 has a list of witnesses, which also shows only feudal vassals.[21]

Contemporary narrative histories show that the conquest of Sicily is filled with sieges of cities. In fact, Muslims' bases of resistance were mainly those cities fortified with ramparts. To capture cities also meant gaining command of their far more extensive neighboring areas. In this time of war, Roger I's main concern was without a doubt to subject as many cities as possible to his own authority and hold them under his secure command.

When his brother, Robert Guiscard, entrusted Roger I with the conquest of Sicily he left only a small number of knights. Malaterra suggests that Roger I had only some hundred knights under his command.[22] And there was always the possibility of rebellions against his and his brother's authority, especially on the peninsula.[23] Therefore, it is quite understandable that he tried to avoid battles if possible and urged Muslims to surrender by negotiation. The case of Palermo illustrates this well.

When the Muslims of Palermo surrendered to Roger I and Guiscard in 1072, their representatives – two *qā'ids* – together with other magnates negotiated with Roger I.[24] Although no sources provide the details of the negotiation at this time, Roger I assured the safety of Muslim residents and allowed them to keep their own faith on the condition that they should pay annual tributes and give service to their new lord.[25] According to Malaterra, these representatives negotiated so

that "they should not be oppressed by unfair new laws."[26] At this time, as many scholars think, Muslims seemed to be allowed to keep some sort of autonomy, in particular having their own laws, judges and judicial system as they did in a later period.[27]

A large number of cities probably concluded similar treaties with Roger I when they submitted. Such were the cases of Catania, Mazara, Trapani, Taormina, Syracuse, Castrogiovanni, Butera, Noto and Malta.[28] In most of these cities, Roger I possibly kept the old administrative system as it was and did not do more than replace only top administrators with his own.

Therefore, a city under Roger I's authority could easily rebel against him. Such is the case of Catania. This city was subjected to the rule of Roger I in 1071 (1072), and was given to his son-in-law, Hugh of Gercé.[29] After his death, its administration was entrusted to Ibn al-Thumna, a leader of the Muslims of the city. When Roger I was away on the peninsula, the city revolted and took the side of Ibn al-Ward in 1081.[30] Roger I managed to regain the control of the city in the following year, but he was forced to spend much of his time and energy on the matter.[31]

It must be emphasized that in this period of war, Roger I's top priority was to subject as many cities as possible to his own authority and hold them under his secure command. However, since he could not afford to station many trusted able men in each city, he was obliged to keep an existing administrative system as it was. As the example of Catania shows, he probably appointed leaders of Muslim communities as heads in some cities. In this period it was impossible to build up a centralized governmental system.

II

The situation changed when Ibn al-Ward, the most powerful Muslim leader, died in 1086 and Agrigento and Castrogiovanni fell into Roger I's hands in the following year.[32] Roger I's brother and feudal lord, Robert Guiscard, had died a little earlier, in 1085. The death of his brother had already changed the situation of Roger I from a vassal of the duke of Apulia to the de facto independent ruler of Calabria and Sicily.[33]

Around the year 1086, Roger I's main concern shifted from the war of conquest to the secure governance and efficient administration of his dominion. This change may be reflected in an increase of issuance of his documents in the 1090s. Most of his documents were issued after 1090; very few documents were issued before this time. Furthermore, most of the documents were written in Greek.[34] The composition of the entourage of Roger I greatly changed and new governmental officials were appointed after this time.

A Greek document issued in 1117 by Roger II, son of Roger I, includes a Greek and Latin document of Roger I issued in 1090.[35] The Latin part and the witness list were written in the same handwriting, which suggests that a scribe copied a document from 1090 by hand in 1117.[36] There is also a listing of witnesses in the Greek text,[37] which includes clerics and officials as well as feudal vassals.

The people shown as witnesses in the documents were by no means the whole entourage of Roger I, or even all of its principal members, but just a part of this important group at a certain time. If there were a large enough number of lists available, it would be possible to reconstruct a whole image of the magnates surrounding the count. Unfortunately, however, we have very few lists, and it would be misleading to try to reconstruct the entire picture of his entourage based on the limited number of lists, which chronologically span some decades and do not reflect changes in members reliably enough. But the evidence found in these lists is still important even though it is inevitably partial.

The witness lists of the documents issued in 1097 and 1101 include clerics and officials in addition to Norman barons. In the document of February 1097 we see as witnesses the count's wife Adelasia, his son Malger, William of Hauteville, Josbert (Gosbert) of Lucy, Robert Borrell, Paganus de Gorgusio (Gorgiis), Roger of Stilo, John de Traginiis the *protonotarius*, Nicholas de Mesa, the three chaplains (Girald, his brother Falco and Jeremia de Sancto Egidio) and Hugh of Melfi.[38] The document of 16 June 1101 includes as witnesses Countess Adelasia, Robert Borrell, Josbert of Lucy, Robert (bishop-elect of Mileto), Roger (bishop of Syracuse) and Nicholas the chamberlain.[39]

This implies a change in the composition of the entourage. As mentioned above, Roger I had almost completed the conquest of Sicily in about 1086 and become the sole master of Calabria and Sicily. His priority was to consolidate his position in his territory and organize his administration more effectively. It is probable that he needed administrative officials and clerics more than ever. There was another reason for the increasing number of high ecclesiastics in the witness lists: territorial expansion made it possible for Roger I to found new Latin bishoprics.[40] Roger I first created a new bishopric at Mileto with a confirmation by Gregory VII (1073–†1085), probably between 1075 and 1081.[41] He also founded several new Latin bishoprics in Sicily. He selected Robert to be the first bishop of Troina in December of 1080[42] and, together with Robert Guiscard, replaced a Greek archbishop of Palermo with Alcherius, a Latin cleric, before 1083.[43] Thereafter he selected Latin clerics to the newly founded or formerly Greek bishoprics: Gerland *natione Allobrogum* to Agrigento, Stephen of Rouen (*Rothomagensem*) to Mazara, Roger of Provence (*in Provincia ortum*) to Syracuse and Anger of Brittany (*natione Britonem*) to Catania.[44] Thus there were drastic changes in the church organization under Roger I, and the witness lists partially reflect these changes.[45]

The last group of the entourage, who also appeared from 1090 on, was composed of governmental officials. This group included comital household officials like Geoffrey the seneschal and William the seneschal in 1090, both of whom seem to have been Norman vassals. However, the most important officials, such as *prōtonotarios* (*πρωτονοτάριος*), *prōtokritēs* (*πρωτοκριτής*), and *logothetēs* (*λογοθέτης*), were of Greek origin. These titles had been used for the imperial officials in South Italy under the Byzantine rule.

It is certain that Roger I preserved most of the Byzantine administrative offices and officials in Calabria. Under Byzantine rule, the *thēma* of Calabria had been

governed by the *stratēgos* (*στρατηγός*) of Calabria. By the tenth century, however, other officials like *prōtonotarios* and *kritēs* (*κριτής*) began to work together with the *stratēgos*.[46]

These offices survived the Norman conquest of Calabria, although the title of *kritēs* had begun to be held by local judges of towns in the course of the tenth and eleventh centuries.[47] Under Roger I, Leo the *logothetēs* held the office of *megas kritēs* of Calabria (*μέγας κριτὴς πάσης καλαβρίας*),[48] and Nicholas the *prōtonotarios*, who bore the title of *prōtokritēs* of the whole of Calabria (*πρωτοκριτὴς ἁπάσης Καλαβρίτιδος χώρας*) in 1098, seems to have taken over for him.[49] These two offices of Byzantine tradition, *prōtonotarios* and *prōtokritēs* (or *megas kritēs*) of Calabria, were significant officials at the comital court and constituted core members of Roger I's entourage. The Byzantine *stratēgos* of Calabria disappeared after the Norman conquest, but the title of *stratēgos* was given to magistrates of towns under Roger I.[50]

Thus the Greek officials with Byzantine titles were predominant at the court of Roger I after 1086, and Byzantine officials continued to function as local ones in Calabria.[51] They were overwhelmingly influential at the time when Roger I's administrative system was being structured. A Greek document of 1105 mentioned three people as the magnates of the comital court just after the completion of the conquest of Sicily in 1091,[52] and all three were Greek. They were *kaprilingas* (*καπριλίγγας*) Nicholas, *logothetēs* Leōn, and Eugenios *prosēnestatos tēs eugeneias* (*προσηνέστατος τῆς εὐγενείας*).

III

Thus, after around 1086 the entourage of Roger I came to consist of feudal vassals, clerics and governmental officials, and a new administrative organization began to take shape. Two important features should be pointed out concerning Roger I's administration in this period. The first one is good use of the former ruler's governmental units and tools. The second is the predominance of Greeks and absence of Muslims in the central government.

In fact, Roger I seems to have effectively used land registers (*daftar* in Arabic) and lists of inhabitants (*jarīda* in Arabic, *plateia* in Greek and *platea* in Latin) made by the Muslim rulers in distributing fiefs, and preserved their territorial divisions (*iqlīm* in Arabic).[53] This is suggested by two kinds of sources. First, the following document (a writ of transfer from Roger I to the bishop of Messina), dated as 1094 and transcribed by Pirro, states that a grant of land was made according to the old Muslim divisions:

> [Latin] Having heard their petition for the welfare of my soul and of the soul of my brother, the most noble Duke Robert Guiscard, . . . I gave and in perpetuity granted the village of Saracens called Butahi together with its belongings to the church of St. Nicholas in the bishopric of Messina according to the old divisions of Saracens.[54]

This document is claimed to be a forgery of the early to mid-twelfth century by Jeremy Johns, but the phrase "*secundum antiquas divisiones Saracenorum*" was probably taken from older documents.[55]

Second, the two writs of transfer of 12 and 20 February 1095 consist of a foreword in Greek, a list of inhabitants in Arabic and an afterword in Greek.[56] This suggests that these writs were based on the list of inhabitants of the former Muslim rulers and that Roger I made use of them in granting fiefs.[57]

Thus the land registers and lists of inhabitants became the most significant land administration tools for Roger I, and keeping these documents and revising them became an important duty of the comital government. Roger I's policy about land and inhabitants was carried out on the basis of these registers. The afterword of the writ of transfer of 1095 shows this.

> [Greek] This *plateia* (*πλατεῖα*) was written by the order of me, Count Roger, in Indiction III and AM 6603 (= AD 1094/5) in Messina. However, the other *plateiai* (*πλατείαι*, pl. of *πλατεῖα*) of my land and my feudatories (*τερρερίοι*) had been written in Indiction I and AM 6601 (= AD 1092/3) in Mazara. Therefore, we order that if anyone of those Hagarites (*ἀγαρινοί* = Saracens) listed in this *plateia* should be found in the *plateiai* of my feudatories the bishop must turn them back without exception.[58]

While issuing these documents, Roger I's government had to revise and maintain land registers and lists of inhabitants. They needed skilled officials to do so. In a later period, an organization specialized in such work was created. This was called *dīwān al-taḥqīq al-ma'mūr* in Arabic or *duana de secretis* in Latin.[59] However, we do not know whether such an organization existed in this period or not.

The second feature of Roger I's administration in this period is the predominance of Greeks and absence of Muslims in the central government. Concerning the demographic condition after the conquest, most of the population in Calabria and the eastern region of Sicily was Greek, and in the rest of Sicily Muslim. In order to govern these people Roger I needed experts on their customs and legal systems. It would be quite understandable if he had made use of Greek and Muslim officials of the former rulers. But he did not use Muslim officials in the central government, although they were the majority of the population of Sicily. Most officials were Greeks. Muslims or titles of Arabic origin seldom appear in Roger I's documents. The only exception is the title of *amiratus*.[60] William of Apulia described that when Robert Guiscard occupied Palermo in January 1072, he appointed his knight to be *amiratus* to govern this city.[61] This word *amiratus* is a transliteration of Arabic *amīr*.

Guiscard used this Arabic title instead of a more familiar Latin or Greek title for this new governor, probably with the intention of showing Muslims in Palermo that this knight was their head and representative. The creation of this office symbolically shows the fact that Guiscard simply put one of his vassals at the top of

the Muslim population without destroying the autonomy of the existing Muslim administrative units.

When the first *amiratus* was appointed, Sicily was in the middle of the conquest. Guiscard retained half of Palermo and its administration in his own hands while giving half of it to his brother Roger I. But this city was an exclave for him as the preponderant part of his territory was located on the Italian peninsula. Thus, the *amiratus* was just a local official of the duke of Apulia who was entrusted with the administration of Palermo and its environs. In its initial stages, the office of *amiratus* was held by Norman vassals.[62]

However, when Roger I obtained the other half of Palermo and its administration in the same year of the completion of the conquest of Sicily, he gave this office to a Greek official Eugenios. As shown above, he was one of the three magnates at Roger I's court.

Thus the office of *amiratus*, although of Arabic origin, was exclusively given to either Norman vassals or Greeks. It was not given to Arabs at all. Arabic people did not appear in the witness lists of comital documents either. These facts seem to suggest that Muslims were excluded from the central government.

* * *

Although the conquest of Sicily was completed in 1091, Roger I's main concern seemed to have already shifted from the war of conquest to the secure governance and efficient administration of his dominion some years before. This is a change from wartime governance to peacetime governance. After around 1086 a new administrative organization began to take shape. This change seems to be reflected in the increased number of comital documents issued and in the change of members of witness lists.

In this formation period, Roger I made good use of the former ruler's governmental units and tools, especially lists of inhabitants and land registers. He kept Muslims' administrative autonomy in many cities and utilized Byzantine officials together with their local administrative units. But he did not employ Arabic people as high officials in the central government.

This does not mean that there were no Arabs around Roger I. When he began the conquest, his ally was Ibn al-Thumna (Betumen).[63] Elias of Cartomi, who directed one of Roger I's troops, was formerly a Muslim.[64] According to Eadmer of Canterbury, a great number of Muslim soldiers had been working for Roger I.[65] Ḥamūd (Chamut), once a ruler of Castrogiovanni, converted to Christianity and spent the rest of his life in the region of Mileto.[66]

Roger I seems to have excluded Arab officials from the central government intentionally. The memory of the long war against Muslims, or the betrayal of Ibn al-Thumna of Catania, might have made Roger I take this policy. There might be other reasons. No matter the reason, however, it was after his death that many Arabs began to play important roles in the central government, and we do not know precisely when this occurred. The transfer of the capital to Palermo would probably have contributed to this change. George, that great minister of Roger

II who knew Arabic language and culture well, might have started to employ Arabic people.[67] However, the answer to this important question requires further investigation.

Notes

* This is a revised version of my paper, *The Administration of Roger I: The Foundation of the Norman Administrative System*, which was read at the *Congresso internazionale di studi per il IX Centenario* in Troina in 2001, and was published in its proceedings: *Ruggero I Gran Conte di Sicilia 1101–2001*, ed. Guglielmo De' Giovanni-Centelles (Rome, 2007). Unfortunately there were too many errors in the text in the proceedings, most of which had been caused by the conversion from a Word file to a different type of file for printing in the editorial process, and it remained uncorrected due to the absence of my own proofreading. For the present publication, I have corrected all these errors and added new information, although I have kept revisions to a minimum to ensure the original argument is not altered.

1 Heinrich Mitteis, *Deutsche Rechtsgeschichte, ein Studienbuch*, new ed. Heinz Lieberich (Munich, 1978), p. 186.

2 Albert Brackmann, "The Beginning of the National State in Medieval Germany and the Norman Monarchies," *Medieval Germany 911–1250*, trans. Geoffrey Barraclough, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1938), vol. 2, p. 289.

3 David C. Douglas, *The Norman Fate 1100–1154* (Berkeley, 1976), pp. 2–3, 120, 217.

4 Antonio Marongiu, "Lo spirito della Monarchia normanna nell'Allocuzione di Ruggero II ai suoi Grandi," *Atti del Congresso internazionale di diritto romano e di storia del diritto. Verona 1948*, ed. Guiscardo Moschetti, 4 vols. (Milan, 1951), vol. 4, pp. 315–327 (reprinted in Antonio Marongiu, *Byzantine, Norman, Swabian and Later Institutions in Southern Italy* [London, 1972]); Antonio Marongiu, "Concezione della sovranità ed assolutismo di Giustiniano e di Federico II," *Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi Federiciani* (Palermo, 1952), pp. 31–46 (reprinted in Marongiu, *Byzantine, Norman, Swabian*); Antonio Marongiu, "La concezione di sovranità di Ruggero II," *Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi Ruggeriani*, 2 vols. (Palermo, 1955), vol. 1, pp. 213–233 (reprinted in Marongiu, *Byzantine, Norman, Swabian*).

5 Michele Amari, "Su la data degli sponsali di Arrigo VI con la Costanza erede del trono di Sicilia, e su i *divani* dell'azienda normanna in Palermo. Lettera del dottor O. HARTWIG e Memoria del Socio Amari," *Atti della R. Accademia dei Lincei*, serie 3, anno 275 (1877–78), Memorie della classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche, vol. 2 (1878), pp. 409–438; Michele Amari, *Storia dei Musulmani di Sicilia*, 2nd ed., 3 vols., ed. Carlo A. Nallino (Catania, 1933–1939), vol. 3, pp. 451–473, 498–499, 541–553; Francesco Gabrieli, "La politique arabe des Normandes de Sicile," *Studia islamica*, vol. 9 (1958), pp. 83–96; Jeremy Johns, "The Norman Kings of Sicily and the Fāṭimid Caliphate," *Anglo-Norman Studies*, vol. 15 (1993), pp. 133–159; Jeremy Johns, "I re normanni e i califfi fāṭimiti. Nuove prospettive su vecchi materiali," *Del nuovo sulla Sicilia musulmana*, ed. Biancamaria Scarcia Amoretti (Rome, 1995), pp. 9–50; Jeremy Johns, *Arabic Administration in Norman Sicily* (Cambridge, 2002), pp. 1–7, 193–300; Adalgisa de Simone, "Il Mezzogiorno normanno-svevo visto dall'Islam africano," *Il Mezzogiorno normanno-svevo visto dal'Europa e dal mondo mediterraneo* (Bari, 1999), pp. 281–285; Alex Metcalfe, "The Muslims of Sicily under Christian Rule," *The Society of Norman Italy*, ed. Graham A. Loud and Alex Metcalfe (Leiden, 2002), pp. 289–317.

6 Marongiu, "La concezione di sovranità di Ruggero II," pp. 228–232; Francesco Giunta, *Bizantini e bizantinismo nella Sicilia normanna*, 2nd ed. (Palermo, 1974 [1st ed. 1950]).

7 Charles H. Haskins, "England and Sicily in the Twelfth Century," *English Historical Review*, vol. 26 (1911), pp. 433–447, 641–665; Charles H. Haskins, *The Normans in European History* (Boston, 1915); Charles H. Haskins, *Norman Institutions* (Cambridge, MA, 1925), pp. 23–24, 61, 111–112, 232–234; Carmela Ceci, "Normanni d'Inghilterra e Normanni d'Italia," *Archivio scientifico del R. Istituto superiore di scienze economiche e commerciali di Bari*, vol. 7 (1932–1933); Dione Clementi, "Notes on Norman Sicilian Surveys," *The Making of Domesday Book*, ed. Vivian H. Galbraith (Oxford, 1961), pp. 55–58; Antonio Marongiu, "I due regni normanni d'Inghilterra e d'Italia," *I normanni e la loro espansione in Europa nell'alto Medio Evo*, vol. 16 (Settimane di studio del centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, Spoleto, 1969), pp. 497–557; Sally Harvey, "Domesday Book and Its Predecessors," *English Historical Review*, vol. 86 (1971), p. 765. Some scholars think the nature of the kingship of Sicily was in substance same as other feudal monarchies in Europe: Léon-Robert Ménager, "L'institution monarchique dans les États normands d'Italie. Contribution à l'étude du pouvoir royal dans les principautés occidentales, aux XIe–XIIe siècles," *Cahiers de Civilisation médiévale*, vol. 2 (1959), pp. 303–331, 445–468; Donald Matthew, *The Norman Kingdom of Sicily* (Cambridge, 1992), pp. 165–206.

8 Hiroshi Takayama, "The Financial and Administrative Organization of the Norman Kingdom of Sicily," *Viator*, vol. 16 (1985), pp. 129–157; Hiroshi Takayama, "*Familiares Regis* and the Royal Inner Council in Twelfth-Century Sicily," *English Historical Review*, vol. 104 (1989), pp. 357–372; Hiroshi Takayama, "The Great Administrative Officials of the Norman Kingdom of Sicily," *Papers of the British School at Rome*, vol. 58 (1990), pp. 317–335; Hiroshi Takayama, *The Administration of the Norman Kingdom of Sicily* (Leiden/New York/Cologne, 1993).

9 Concerning the basic information on the administration of Roger I, see Takayama, *The Administration*, pp. 25–40; Graham A. Loud, *The Age of Robert Guiscard* (Harlow, 2000), pp. 146–185; *Ruggero il Gran Conte e l'inizio dello stato normanno* (Rome, 1977). See also Julia Becker, *Graf Roger I. von Sizilien* (Tübingen, 2008).

10 Gaufredus Malaterra, *De Rebus Gestis Rogerii Calabriae et Siciliae Comitis auctore Gaufredo Malaterra*, ed. Ernesto Pontieri (Bologna, 1927–1928) (hereinafter Malaterra); Amatus Casinensis, *Storia de' Normanni di Amato di Montecassino*, ed. Vincenzo de Bartholomaeis (Rome, 1935) (hereinafter Amatus); Romualdus Salernitanus, *Chronicon sive Annales*, ed. Carlo A. Garufi (Città di Castello, 1909–1935); Guillaume de Pouille, *La Geste de Robert Guiscard*, ed. Marguerite Mathieu (Palermo, 1961) (hereinafter Guillaume de Pouille).

11 Jordan was a natural son of Roger I and a brother of Geoffrey born of the same mother. Malaterra, Lib. III, Cap. XXXVI, p. 78: "Erat autem Jordanus ex concubina, tamen magnae viris animi et corporis et magnarum rerum gloriae suae dominationis appetitor."

12 Malaterra, Lib. III, Cap. XXXVI, p. 78. This promising successor-to-be of Roger I died young in 1092, just in the same year of the completion of the conquest of Sicily (ibid., Lib. IV, Cap. XVIII, pp. 97–98). According to *Necrologia Panormitana* (ed. Eduard Winkelmann, *Forschungen zur Deutschen Geschichte*, vol. 18 [1898], pp. 473, 475), Jordan died on 17 (*15 kal. oct.*) or 18 September (*14 kal. oct.*) of 1091. But, as Pontieri (Malaterra, p. 98, note 1), editor of Malaterra, suggests, Roger I, together with Jordan, made donation to the monastery of St. Agatha at Catania in a diploma of 26 April 1092 (Catania, Archivio Capitolare della Cattedrale di Catania, Pergamene latine, n. 1: 26 April 1091, Ind. XV [= AD 1092]. Cf. Carl A. Kehr, *Die Urkunden der normannisch-sicilischen Könige* [Innsbruck, 1902], p. 14).

13 Malaterra, Lib. III, Cap. XVIII, p. 67: "Primus ad excubias Othonus, alter Elias, Tertius Arisgotus, Jordanus abinde remotus esse recusavit."

14 He fought in the battle of Cerami in 1063. Malaterra, Lib. II, Cap. XXXIII, p. 42; Lib. II, Cap. XLVI, p. 53.

15 Malaterra, Lib. III, Cap. XXX, p. 75. Elias of Cartomi was probably a native of Cartomi in Spain. See Amari, *Storia dei Musulmani*, vol. 3, p. 156, note 1.
16 Malaterra, Lib. III, Cap. XXX, p. 75: "Porro Jordanus, filius comitis, et Robertus de Surda-valle et Elias Cartomensis – qui ex Saracenis ad fidem Christi conversus, postea apud Castrum-Johannis a sua gente hostiliter interfectus, quia negando apostata fieri noluit, martyrio vitam laudabiliter finivit – exercitu commoto, versus Cathaniam iter intendunt."
17 Malaterra, Lib. III, Cap. X, p. 61.
18 Malaterra, Lib. II, Cap. XLVI, p. 53.
19 Amatus, Lib. IV, Cap. VIIII[*sic*, = IX]–X, pp. 231–3; Cap. XVIII, p. 237, note 2. Geoffrey Ridel became duke of Gaeta in 1068. Cf. Loud, *The Age of Robert Guiscard*, p. 153; Amatus, p. 274, note 1.
20 Malaterra, Lib. II, Cap. V; Lib. II, Cap. XXXIII, p. 42, note 2; Amatus, Lib. I, Cap. VIIII [*sic*, = IX]–XV, pp. 17–20. Roussel of Bailleul, who was active in Sicily in 1063, came to serve the Byzantine Emperor in the 1060s, and became an independent lord in Asia Minor after the battle of Mantzikert in 1071. Malaterra, Lib. II, Cap. XXXIII, p. 43; Amatus, p. 17, notes 1, 2, and p. 18, note 2; Loud, *The Age of Robert Guiscard*, p. 153; Jonathan Shepard, "The Uses of the Franks in Eleventh-Century Byzantium," *Anglo-Norman Studies XV: Proceedings of the Battle Conference 1992* (Woodbridge, 1993), pp. 299–302.
21 Kehr, *Die Urkunden*, p. 412: "†EGO ROGGERIVS COMES ME INTERSCRIPSI. †Signum Roberti Burrelli. †Signum Willelmi de Altavilla. †Signum Willelmi de Monte Piloso. †Ego Radulfus de Monte Piloso idem testor. †Signum proprie manus Goffredi filii comitis. †Signum Willelmi Culchebreti. †Signum Robberti de Bubone. †Signum Roberti Britonis filii Willelmi de Altavilla. †Signum Guidardi Orbec."
22 Malaterra, Lib. II, Cap. XVII, p. 34: "Comes vero Rogerius, quietis impatiens et laboris avidus, trecentos juvenes secum ducens, usque Agrigentum praedatum et terram inspectum vadit, totam provinciam incendio concremando devastans." Malaterra, Lib. II, Cap. XVIII, p. 35: "Media vero hieme, videlicet ante natalem Domini, cum ducentis quinquaginta militibus iterum mare transiens, usque ad Agrigentinam urbem, totam patriam sollicitans, praedatum vadit." Malaterra, Lib. II, Cap. XXIX, p. 39: "iterum Siciliam cum trecentis debellaturus aggreditur." Cf. Ferdinand Chalandon, *Histoire de la domination normande en Italie et en Sicile*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1907), vol. 1, p. 328.
23 In fact, a large revolt of Norman barons broke out on the peninsula in 1064 and 1072.
24 Amatus, Lib. VI, Cap. XVIIII [*sic*, =XIX], p. 281: "Et, en celle nuit, se esmurent o tout li ostage, et manderent certains messages liquel doient dire coment la terre s'est rendue. Et puiz, quant il fu jor, dui Cayte alerent devant, loquel avoient l'ofice laquelle avoient li antique, avec autrez gentilhome." Cf. Amari, *Storia dei Musulmani*, vol. 3, pp. 130–131.
25 Malaterra, Lib. II, Cap. XLV, p. 53: "Quandoquidem fortuna praesenti sic hortabantur, urbis deditionem facere, se in famulando fideles persistere, tributa solvere: et hoc juramento legis suae firmare spopondunt." Guillaume de Pouille, Lib. III, p. 182: "Cuncta duci dedunt, se tantum vivere poscunt. Deditione sui facta meruere favorem Exorare ducis placidi; promittitur illis Gratia cum vita. Nullum proscribere curat, Observansque fidem promissi, laedere nullum, Quamvis gentiles essent, molitur eorum. Omnes subiectos sibi lance examinat aequa." Cf. Amari, *Storia dei Musulmani*, vol. 3, pp. 130–131, 277; Chalandon, *Histoire de la domination*, vol. 1, p. 208; Loud, *The Age of Robert Guiscard*, pp. 161–162.
26 Malaterra, Lib. II, Cap. XLV, p. 53: "Proximo mane primores, foedere interposito, utrisque fratribus locutum accedunt, legem suam nullatenus se violari vel relinquere velle dicentes, scilicet, si certi sint, quod non cogantur, vel injustis et novis ligibus non atterantur."

27 Amari, *Storia dei Musulmani*, vol. 3, p. 132; Chalandon, *Histoire de la domination*, vol. 1, p. 208; Francesco Gabrieli, "La politique arabe des Normands de Sicile," *Studia Islamica*, vol. 9 (1958), p. 93.
28 Amari, *Storia dei Musulmani*, vol. 3, p. 277.
29 Malaterra, Lib. III, Cap. X, p. 61: "Comes vero, quibusdam necessitatibus se vocantibus, a Sicilia versus Calabriam digrediens, Hugonis de Gircaea, cui, propter strenuitatem, quam habebat – nam et praeclari generis a Cenomanensi provincia erat – cum filia sua de priore uxore Cathaniam dederata, totam Siciliam servandam delegavit, interdicens ne, si Bernarvet, quia vicinius sibi Syracusis morabatur, aliquem incursum versus se faceret, callidas eius versuitias cavens, nusquam urbe digregiens, hostem persequeretur."
30 Malaterra, Lib. III, Cap. XXX, p. 75: "Hic quendam paganum, nomine Benthumen, quem comes apud Cathaniam majorem urbi praefecerat, callidis circumventionibus aggrediens, ad tradendam urbem multis munerum, possessionumve pactionibus sollicitabat. Paganus vero nominis sui competens imitator, avaritia coecatus, fidei sacramentorumque, quae comiti dederat, oblitus, statuto termino, infra urbem illum cum multitudine suorum fraudulenter de nocte accipiens, traditionis nomen sibi perpetuo vindicavit."
31 Malaterra, Lib. III, Cap. XXX, p. 76.
32 Malaterra, Lib. IV, Cap. II, p. 86; Lib. IV, Cap. V–VI, pp. 87–88.
33 Robert Guiscard died on 17 July 1085 in Cephalonia during his expedition against the Byzantine Empire. Guillaume de Pouille, Lib. V, pp. 252–254. Cf. Loud, *The Age of Robert Guiscard*, pp. 222–223.
34 Becker, *Graf Roger I.*, pp. 245–259.
35 Palermo, Archivio di Stato, Tabulario di Abbazia di S. Filippo di Fragalà e di S. Maria di Maniaci, Pergamene, n. 1. Facsimile: Salvatore Cusa, *I diplomi greci ed arabi di Sicilia pubblicati nel testo originale*, vol. 1 (Palermo, 1868–1882), Tav. III (Diploma of Count Roger II, 7 May, AM 6625, Ind. X [= 1117], Mileto, Greek. Edition: Cusa, pp. 383–385; Giuseppe Spata, *Le pergamene greche esistenti nel grande archivio di Palermo* [Palermo, 1862], pp. 245–248, which has errors concerning the dates on p. 703). This includes the privilege granted by his father Roger I (June, AM 6598, AD 1090, Ind. XIII, Greek and Latin).
36 Cusa, p. 385; Spata, p. 248: "huius rei sunt testes. gofridus filius comitis rogerii. gofridus stratigotus. paganus de gorgusio. willelmus capriolus. willelmus de surdavalle. hugo de puteolis. gofridus senescalcus."
37 According to the Greek text, this document was issued in the presence of Geoffrey, son of the count; his real brother Jordan; Robert Borrell; William the seneschal; Stephen the *iatros*; Stephen the chaplain; Basil, son of Tricari the archon of Demena; Nicholas the *prōtonotarios*, chamberlain and *prōtospatharios*; Lord Ūrsinos the *notarios*; and Nicholas, son of the *prōtospatharios* Garzēfa. Cusa, p. 384; Spata, p. 247: "γέγωνεν δὲ τὸ παρὸν χρυσωβούλλιον κατενώπιον γιοσφρέδα υἱοῦ κόμητος, καὶ ἰορδάνου ἀπταδέλφου αὐτοῦ καὶ ῥουμβέρτου βουῤῥέλλου καὶ γουλιάλμου συνεσκάλκου καὶ στεφάνου ἰατροῦ καὶ στεφάνου καππελλάνου καὶ βασιλείου υἱοῦ τρηχάρι ἄρχοντος δεμέννων καὶ νικολάου πρωτονοταρίου καὶ καπριλλίγγουα καὶ πρωτοσπαθαρίου καὶ νοταρίου κυροῦ οὐρσίνου καὶ νικολάου υἱοῦ πρωτοσπαθαρίου τοῦ γαρζήφα καὶ ἑτέρων πλήστων."
38 Francesco Trinchera, *Syllabus graecarum membranarum* (Naples, 1865), doc. LX, p. 78: "Quod actum est teste et concedente. Adelaide. coniuge. mea et Malgerio filio meo. Willelmo. de alta villa. Iosberto de luciaco. Roberto borrello. Pagano de gorgiis. Rogerio de stilo. Iohanne prothonotario de traginiis. Nichola de mesa. Giraldo capellano meo. et Fulcone fratre eius capellano meo. Hugone de melfia. Jeremia de sancto egidio capellano meo."
39 Trinchera, *Syllabus*, doc. LXIX, p. 87: "κομιτίσσης αδυλασιας καὶ απεδωκα τον χαρτὶον εὶς χειρὰς του κυρου λανυινου ενοπιον ρονκεριου επισκοπου συρακουσιου

καὶ ρουμυερτου δε παρις καὶ ροὺμυὲρτου υουρελλου καὶ γιοὺσυὲρτου καὶ λοὺτζι†καὶ νικολαου μεσῶν"; "Comitissa adelaide. et roberto borrello et iosberto de luciaco. et roberto electo melitensi atque Rogerio siracusano episcopo. et nicolao canberlario"; "hanc chartulam tradidi in manus domini Lanuini, coram Rogerio Syracusano Episcopo, et Roberto de Paride, et Roberto Borello, et Giusberto, et Lutzi † et Nicolao cubiculariis."

40 Salvatore Fodale, "Il gran conte e la sede apostolica," *Ruggero il gran conte*, pp. 27–32; Cosimo D. Fonseca, "Le istituzioni ecclesiastiche dell'Italia meridionale e Ruggero il gran conte," *Ruggero il gran conte*, pp. 46–58; Chalandon, *Histoire de la domination*, vol. 1, pp. 342–347. For Roger's church policy, see also Lynn T. White Jr., *Latin Monasticism in Norman Sicily* (Cambridge, MA, 1938); Mario Scaduto, *Il monachesimo basiliano nella Sicilia medievale. Rinaschita e decadenza (sec. XI-XIV)* (Rome, 1947); Tommaso Leccisotti, "Ruggero II e il monachesimo benedettino," *Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi Ruggeriani*, vol. 1, pp. 63–72; Léon-Robert Ménager, "La 'byzantinisation' religieuse de l'Italie méridionale (IXe–XIIe siècles) et la politique monastique des normands d'Italie méridionale," *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, vol. 53 (1958), pp. 747–774; vol. 54 (1959), pp. 5–40.

41 Fonseca, "Le istituzioni ecclesiastiche," pp. 46–47. The diocese of this bishopric was defined by the diploma of Roger I in 1087.

42 Malaterra, Lib. III, Cap. XIX, p. 68, note 2; Lib. III, Cap. XXIII, p. 101; Lib. III, Cap. XXIX, p. 107. Roger I defined its diocese in February of 1081, and gained the papal confirmation from Gregory VII in 1082.

43 Malaterra, Lib. III, Cap. XLV, p. 53. Alcherius received a bull of Gregory VII dated on 16 April 1083 (Philipp Jaffé, Samuel Löwenfeld, Wilhelm Wattenbach, Ferdinand Kaltenbrunner, and Paul Ewald, eds., *Regesta pontificum Romanorum ab condita ecclesia ad annum post Christum natum MCXCVIII*, 2 vols. [Leipzig, 1885–1888], vol. 1, pp. 644–645, no. 5258; Rocco Pirro, *Sicilia sacra disquisitionibus et notitiis illustrata*, 2 vols., reprint ed. Antonino Mongitore [Palermo, 1733], vol. 1, p. 70). Cf. Fonseca, "Le istituzioni ecclesiastiche," p. 52; Scaduto, *Il monachesimo basiliano*, p. 51; Dieter Girgensohn, "Dall'episcopato greco all'episcopato latino nell'Italia meridionale," *La chiesa greca in Italia dall'VIII al XVI secolo. Atti del Convegno storico interecclesiale (Bari 30 aprile-4 maggio 1969)*, vol. 1 (Padova, 1973), p. 30.

44 Malaterra, Lib. III, Cap. VII, p. 89: "Ecclesias passim per universam Siciliam fieri imperat; ipse pluribus in locis de suo sumptus, quibus facilius fiant, attibuit. In urbe Agrigentina pontificalibus infulis cathedram sublimat: terris, decimis et diversis copiis, quae pontifici et clero competenter designata sufficiant, haereditaliter chirographis suis dotat, ornamentis et sacri altaris utensilibus ed plenum consignatis. Huic ecclesiae Gerlandum quendam natione Allobrogum, virum, ut ajunt, magnae charitatis et ecclesiasticis disciplinis eruditum, episcopum ordinans, praefecit. Haud secus apud Mazariam facere addens, omnibus quae rite sufficienter praelato et clericis ad plenum designatis, Stephanum, quendam Rothomagensem, honestae vitae virum, episcopum ordinavit. Apud Syracusam vero idem adjicens Rogerium, decanum ecclesiae Traynensis, honestae eruditionis clericum et boni moris et affabilitatis virum, in Provincia ortum, pontificalibus infulis sublimavit. . . . Apud Sanctam Euphemiam vero, monachum quendam, natione Britonem, virum religiosum, post abbatem totam ecclesiam prudenti moderamine audiens, ut hunc ecclesiae Cathaniae – si impetrare queat – episcopum ordinet, intendit. . . . Sicque solemniter episcopatum concedens, quod nulli episcoporum fecisse cognoscitur, totam urbem sedi suae cum omnibus appendicis suis sub chirographo et testibus haereditaliter possidendam assignavit." See Fodale, "Il gran conte e la sede apostolica," pp. 31–32; Fonseca, "Le istituzioni ecclesiastiche," pp. 49–50. In Catania, however, a Greek bishop kept his office at least until 1103, and in Syracuse a Greek cleric was still working under the Latin Bishop in 1093. In 1096 the diocese of Messina

was combined with that of Troina, and entrusted to Robert, bishop of Troina. In Calabria the first bishop of Squillace, John Nicephoros, was appointed by the papal legate in 1096. Giunta, *Bizantini e bizantinismo nella Sicilia normanna*, p. 31; Fodale, "Il gran conte e la sede apostolica," p. 32. The foundation of the Latin bishoprics of Syracuse, Catania and Agrigento has been placed between 1086 and 1088 by Chalandon (*Histoire de la domination*, vol. 1, p. 344).

45 Robert, bishop-elect of Mileto, appeared in 1095 and 1101; Roger, bishop of Syracuse in 1101; and Anger, bishop of Catania, in 1095. Besides these high ecclesiastics, comital chaplains seem to have played important roles as members of the entourage as well as scribes. We see several chaplains in sources, such as Stephen in 1090, and Girald, his brother Falco and Jeremia de Sancto Egidio in 1097.

46 Jules Gay, *L'Italie méridionale et l'empire Byzantine, depuis l'avènement de Basile Ier jusqu'à la prise de Bari par les Normands, 867–1071* (Paris, 1904), pp. 556–560; George Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, trans. Joan Hussey, rev. ed. (New Brunswick, NJ, 1969), p. 247. For the Byzantine officials in Southern Italy, see also Vera Von Falkenhausen, *Untersuchungen über die byzantinische Herrschaft in Süditalien vom 9. bis ins 11. Jahrhundert* (Wiesbaden, 1967); Vera Von Falkenhausen, *La dominazione bizantina nell'Italia meridionale dal IX all'XI secolo* (Bari, 1978).

47 Gay, *L'Italie méridionale*, pp. 559–560. We have much information concerning the *kritēs* under Byzantine rule. A certain *kritēs* Eupraxios appeared in Rossano in the latter half of the tenth century. In 1026, Leo, *kritēs* of Langobardia and Calabria, presided over a court at Taranto. In 1048 Cricorius, an imperial *kritēs* of Italy, appeared in Bari. See Evelyn Jamison, "The Norman Administration of Apulia and Capua, More Especially under Roger II and William I, 1127–1166," *Papers of the British School at Rome*, vol. 6 (1913), pp. 302–303; Gay, *L'Italie méridionale*, p. 556.

48 We do not have much information about Leo the *logothetēs,* but a later document suggests that he concurrently held this office and that of *megas kritēs* of Calabria (*μέγας κριτὴς πάσης καλαβρίας*). Bernard de Montfaucon, *Palaeographia graeca* (Paris, 1708), Lib. VI, p. 402, a document dated September, Ind. V (= AD 1126), AM 6639 (= AD 1130) (Montfaucon attributes the date to AD 1131); cited by Jamison, "The Norman Administration of Apulia and Capua," pp. 303–304.

49 André Guillou, "Lo svolgimento della giustizia nell'Italia meridionale sotto il Gran Conte Ruggero e il suo significato storico," *Ruggero il Gran Conte e l'inizio dello stato normanno*, p. 72, note 12; Montfaucon, *Palaeographia graeca*, Lib. VI, p. 394.

50 *Les actes latins de S. Maria di Messina (1103–1250),* ed. Léon-Robert Ménager (Palermo, 1963), pp. 27–42.

51 Cusa, p. 390 (December 1094); Cusa, p. 643 (20 August 1099). Besides *stratēgos*, we find viscounts (*vicecomites*, *βεσκόμητες*), foresters (*φορεστάριοι*), *exousiastai* (*ἐξουσιασταί*), which were described as *baiuli* in Latin documents, and *tourmarchoi* (*τουρμάρχοι*).

52 Palermo, Archivio di Stato, Tabulario di Abbazia di S. Filippo di Fragalà e di S. Maria di Maniaci, Pergamene, n. 8 (Original. May, AM 6613 [= AD 1105], Indiction XIII. Edition: Cusa, pp. 399–400; Spata, p. 203): "κόμιτος ὡς (Spata, κόμητως) ὁδηγούμενος παρὰ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος ὁμοίως καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἀρχόντων τῶν τιμίων λέγω δὴ νικολάου τοῦ ἐνδοξοτάτου καπριλίγγα καὶ τοῦ ἐνδοξοτάτου λέοντος τοῦ λογοθέτου, οἵτινες καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ ὁ προσηνέστατος (Spata, προσηνιστατος) τῆς εὐγενείας εὐγένιος (Spata, εὐγένιος)."

53 Amari, *Storia dei Musulmani*, vol. 2, p. 34; Amari, "Su la data," p. 430; Mario Caravale, "Gli uffici finanziari nel Regno di Sicilia durante il periodo normanno," *Annali di storia del diritto*, vol. 8 (1964), pp. 185–187; Chalandon, *Histoire de la domination*, vol. 1, p. 348.

54 Pirro, *Sicilia sacra*, vol. 1, p. 384: "Unde audita ejus petitione pro salute animae meae, et fratris mei nobilissimi Ducis Roberti Guiscardi . . . dedi, et in perpetuum concessi Ecclesiae S. Nicolai Episcopii Messanae, casale Saracenorum, quod dicitur Butahi cum omni tenimento, et pertinentiis suis secundum antiquas divisiones Saracenorum."

55 Johns, *Arabic Administration*, p. 41.

56 The writ of transfer of 12 February, which was written in Palermo, has a foreword in Greek, seventy-five names of inhabitants in Arabic and an afterword in Greek (Cusa, pp. 1–3). That of 20 February has a foreword in Greek, 398 names of inhabitants in Arabic and an afterword in Greek (Cusa, pp. 541–549).

57 In Calabria too, as Caravale suggests, there seem to have remained lists of inhabitants similar to those of the Muslims in Sicily. The list of inhabitants in the writ of transfer of the village of Laco in Calabria to the archbishop of Palermo issued in December, AM 6601 (= AD 1092), had been written in Greek. See Caravale, "Gli uffici finanziari," pp. 187–188; Pirro, *Sicilia sacra*, vol. 1, pp. 77–78.

58 Cusa, pp. 548–549: "Εγράφη οἱ τιαύτη πλατεῖα τῆ προστάξη ἐμοῦ κόμητος ῥωγερίου τῆς γ' ἰνδικτιῶνος τοῦ ϛχγ' ἔτους ὄντος μου ἐχ τὴν μεσσίνην, αἱ δαὶ ἄλλαι πλατείαι τῆς ἐμῆς χώρας καὶ τῶν ἐμῶν τερρερίων ἐγράφησαν ἐχ τὸ μαζάρρη τοῦ ϛχα' ἔτους τῆς α' ἰνδικτιῶνος. καὶ διὰ τούτω προστάττομεν ὅτι ἐάν τις εὐρέθη ἐχ τὰς ἐμὰς πλατείας ἤτε ἐχ τὰς πλατείας τῶν τερρερίων μου ἐκ τοὺς ἀγαρινοὺς τοὺς ὄντας γεγραμμένους ἐχ τὴν τοιαύτην πλατεῖαν ἵνα ἀντιστρέφη αὐτοὺς ὁ ἐπίσκοπος ἄνευ πάσης προφάσεως."

59 As for the *dīwān al-taḥqīq al-ma'mūr* or *duana de secretis* in a later period, see Takayama, *The Administration*, pp. 81–84; Takayama, "The Financial and Administrative Organization," pp. 129–157.

60 Concerning the office of *amiratus*, see Hiroshi Takayama, "*Amiratus* in the Norman Kingdom of Sicily: A Leading Office of Arabic Origin in the Royal Administration," *Forschungen zur Reichs-, Papst- und Landesgeschichte*, ed. Karl Borchardt and Enno Bünz (Stuttgart, 1998), pp. 133–144.

61 Guillaume de Pouille, Lib. III, vers 340–343, p. 182: "Obsidibus sumptis aliquot castrisque paratis, Reginam remeat Robertus victor ad urbem, Nominis eiusdem quodam remanente Panormi Milite, qui Siculis datur amiratus haberi."

62 Cava de' Tirreni, Archivio della Badia della Santissima Trinità, Arca magna, Armarium C, nos. 5, 6 (Edition: Léon-Robert Ménager, *Recueil des actes des ducs normands d'Italie (1046–1127), vol. 1: Les premiers ducs (1046–1087)* (Bari, 1981), nos. XLIV, XLV). See Léon-Robert Ménager, *Amiratus – Ἀμηρᾶς. L'Émirat et les origines de l'amirauté* (*XIe–XIIIe siècles*) (Paris, 1960), p. 25, and Appendice II, nos. 1, 2, pp. 167–168. Ménager thinks at least one of the two diplomas is a falsification based on an original document.

63 Malaterra, Lib. II, Cap. III, IV, XVI–XXII, pp. 30, 34–36.

64 Malaterra, Lib. III, Cap. XVIII, p. 67.

65 Eadmer, *Vita Sancti Anselmi: The Life of St. Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury*, ed. Richard W. Southern (London, 1963), pp. 111–112; Chalandon, *Histoire de la domination*, vol. 1, p. 304.

66 Malaterra, Lib. IV, Cap. V–VI, pp. 87–88.

67 For George, see Ménager, *Amiratus*, pp. 44–53; Takayama, "*Amiratus*," pp. 138–140; Takayama, *The Administration*, p. 53.

7

CENTRAL POWER AND MULTI-CULTURAL ELEMENTS AT THE NORMAN COURT OF SICILY

Historians have characterized the royal court of the Norman Kingdom of Sicily in a variety of different ways.[1] More than seventy years ago Charles H. Haskins illustrated its Oriental features vividly in his well-known study, *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century* (1927):

> The Sicilian court is more clearly bureaucratic: indeed, it has a strongly Oriental flavor, Byzantine as well as Arabic, and its astrologers and poets, its Arab physicians and many-tongued secretaries come very near to reproducing the entourage described by the poet of Samarcand with whom we started. Its records, in Latin, Greek, and Arabic, required a large staff of expert clerks and a permanent depository at Palermo; its palaces suggest the pleasure dwellings of the Mohammedan East; its household has the seclusion of an Oriental harem.[2]

In another publication, he had also pointed out the possibility that, in the two Norman Kingdoms of Sicily and England, similar administrative needs might have created similar administrative organizations and emphasized the necessity to investigate their mutual influence in order to explain their organizational similarity.[3] However, his basic understanding of the Sicilian court lay primarily in its Eastern and Oriental features. For Haskins, the Norman court of Sicily, "with its harem and eunuchs, resembled that of the Fatimite caliphs," and the kingdom was "of a far more absolute and Oriental type than is found among the northern Normans or anywhere else in Western Europe."[4]

Antonio Marongiu regarded the Byzantine Empire as being the most significant of Eastern influences. According to him, the first king of Norman Sicily, Roger II (1130–1154), imitated the Byzantine emperor as the successor of the Roman emperor in an attempt to make an absolute monarchy.[5] Francesco Giunta similarly emphasized the influence of the Byzantine Empire.[6] However, Léon-Robert Ménager, objecting to these scholars, argued that the Norman kings of Sicily had many similarities with those of Western Europe and that the kingship of Sicily was not fundamentally different from that of other feudal kings in Europe.[7]

Some other scholars regard the coexistence of Arab, Byzantine and Latin elements as a characteristic of the Norman court of Sicily rather than emphasizing one predominant cultural element.[8]

On the other hand, a number of scholars have taken special note of the highly bureaucratic nature of the Sicilian court, and they have argued for its precocious modernity rather than searching for similarities with Byzantine, Islamic or European courts. Marongiu, who emphasized the importance of Byzantine influence, also examined laws, government and the concept of sovereignty under Roger II and argued for their high level of development within Western Europe.[9] Contrary to the interpretation put forth by Ménager, Enrico Mazzarese Fardella insisted that the Norman Kingdom had been "born as a negation of the feudal state."[10] Jean-Marie Martin shared this idea, describing that

> thus, the Oriental elements in the royal government should not be considered as relics of the former periods, but surely as governmental techniques developed and completed during the monarchy. Despite (and, at the same time, because of) its Oriental and, in appearance, archaic features, the Norman monarchy was indeed the first "modern" state which the West had at its margin.[11]

With similar perspectives, Walther Holtzmann examined how the expansion of the power of Roger II affected European politics,[12] and Helene Wieruszowski examined how the new system of the government of Sicily was reflected in the activities and thoughts of contemporary Europeans.[13]

Thus scholars have provided us with differing views of the Norman kings and the royal court of medieval Sicily. At first glance they do not seem to have much common ground. However, a closer look leads us to their two basic concerns. The first of these is which element among Western European, Islamic and Byzantine influences was the most predominant in the royal court and kingship. The other is whether feudal features were dominant in Sicily as in other monarchies of Western Europe, or whether the origin of the organizations of the modern state could in fact be found there. These two main concerns are different, but they are also closely related. For example, Western European elements and feudal features are connected to each other, while Byzantine elements and Islamic elements are connected with the image of the Oriental absolute monarchies. On the other hand, the view that recognizes the beginnings of the modern state in Sicily denies any elements of Western Europe, Islam and the Byzantine Empire.

Should we view the Norman court of Sicily as an Oriental court with an Oriental monarch, as Haskins believed? Or is it fundamentally the court of Western Europe, based on a feudal system as Ménager insisted, and should we consider the Sicilian king as just one of the many feudal monarchs of Western Europe? Alternatively, can we find the beginnings of modern state organizations here, which are completely different from other feudal courts or feudal monarchs of Western

Europe, as Marongiu suggests? The purpose of this article is to answer these questions by examining the features of the Norman court of Sicily.

I would like to emphasize two important points in advance, which should be kept in mind in considering these issues. First, we should be fully aware that the nature of the court and sovereignty could change over the course of time. While some features did not change throughout the Norman period, others changed greatly. However, many scholars have thought that the kingdom had an unchanging character and have not paid enough attention to the changing aspects. The second important point is that we need to clarify in detail how the three different cultural elements existed and in which part of the court they existed. Many scholars have focused on a specific cultural element and argued for the strength of the cultural influence of that single element. However, we cannot discover the actual condition of the Norman court in this way. The important thing is to see how and in what form these three cultural elements existed. I will clarify the characteristics of the Norman kings and their court by examining them with full attention to these two points.

I

Concerning the kingship and royal court of Norman Sicily, there are two important features unchanged throughout the Norman period. One is that the kings themselves were always Christians. This may seem obvious, but it is a point that must always be kept in mind or one can lose perspective, as the more one knows the Norman kings of Sicily, the more one feels they were Muslim rulers. In fact, Ibn al-Athīr informs us that there was a rumor that Roger II was a Muslim.[14]

It is well known that the Norman kings of Sicily had a deep knowledge of both Arabic and Greek cultures. Roger II was strongly influenced by Greek culture, and almost all of his signatures remaining to us were written in Greek.[15] According to Ibn Jubayr, a Muslim traveler from Spain who visited the kingdom in the second half of the twelfth century, William II had the ability to read and write Arabic, and his seal was written in Arabic as "Praise to Allāh. Praise to Allāh is right," while his father William I's seal was the Arabic for "Praise to Allāh. Thank Allāh for His grace."[16] Roger II's golden bull[17] and lead seal[18] had a legend in Greek proclaiming "ΡΟΓΕΡΙΟΣ ΚΡΑΤΑΙΟΣ ΕΥΣΕΒΗΣ ΡΗΞ" (Roger, strong and pious king), while the latter also had a Latin inscription on the reverse, "ROGERIUS DEI GRACIA SICILIE CALABRIE APULIE REX" (Roger by the grace of God king of Sicily, Calabria, and Apulia). All the gold and many of the silver and copper coins made by the Norman kings in Sicily had Arabic inscriptions in Cufic or Nashki script.[19]

These three Norman kings had a great interest in learning and the arts, and they gathered many scholars, such as doctors, astrologers, philosophers, geographers and mathematicians, to the royal palace in Palermo. According to the Arab geographer Al-Idrīsī, Roger II had a deep understanding of mathematics, political sciences and natural sciences and enjoyed discussing these subjects with scholars.[20]

We know that he had a Greek theologian named Neilos Doxopatres[21] at his court in addition to Al-Idrīsī. Moreover, according to Ibn Jubayr, William II had doctors and astrologers under his close care and offered a huge amount of money as living expenses to foreign doctors and astrologers when they passed through the kingdom.[22] Thus the Norman kings, while being Christian, were well versed in Greek and Arabic learning and were intellectuals who appreciated Greek and Arabic scholars.

The other important feature unchanged throughout the Norman period concerning the kingship and royal court of Norman Sicily is that the capital was fixed at Palermo. The Norman kings had palaces all over the kingdom, but their principal residence was the palace in Palermo. They stayed in a white palace in Messina for some months every year, and they sometimes traveled from one castle to another within the kingdom.[23] However, their main residence was the palace in Palermo, and this city was also the center of the kingdom.[24] This marks a clear contrast with other European monarchies, which did not have fixed capitals; the royal courts moved around with the itinerant kings. The latter was the case with the kingdoms of England, France and Germany, where the kings, without fixing their principal palaces, traveled from one castle to another within their kingdoms with their retinues every several weeks or months.

Palermo was the center of almost all aspects of human activity, including politics, economy and culture, and it was by far the biggest city in the kingdom with the exception of Naples. The population of Palermo in the twelfth century is estimated to have been between 50,000 and 100,000,[25] and it was bigger than Rome or London, which had populations of 50,000.[26] According to Al-Idrīsī, Palermo consisted of two districts, the castle district and the suburban district, as had been the case under Muslim rule.[27] In the castle district "there were high palaces, noble and graceful mansions, mosques, trading halls, public baths, and stores of big merchants."[28] The Muslim traveler Ibn Jubayr also gives us a vivid image of this city. The royal palace stood at the highest part of the castle district, fortified by high towers and ramparts. The buildings of the royal palace, he describes, "stood in a row tidily like a necklace of pearls hanging from a neck of a woman with big breasts."[29]

This palace originated from an old Muslim castle. The letter of the so-called Falcandus to Peter, canon and treasurer of Palermo, lets us know the structure of the palace.[30] During the reign of Roger II it had two towers: the Pisan Tower and the Greek Tower. The Pisan Tower was used to watch the treasure house. The Greek Tower was so called because it was constructed by Greek craftsmen. It was also called the Red Tower because it was made of red bricks. Between these two towers Roger II built a third, the Joaria Tower, where he might pass leisure time. Its interior was decorated with glittering furniture.[31] Its name originates from the Arabic word "*jawharīya*," which means a jewelry room. William I built a fourth tower, called the Kirinbi Tower.[32]

The main building, which connected these towers and the Palatine Chapel, was built at the center.[33] Mosaics of various colors, which illustrated the stories of the

Old and New Testaments, decorated the upper parts of its walls.[34] Its ceiling was made of wood decorated with sculptures of Arab style. Within the ramparts of the royal palace there were houses for the court ladies, for the girls serving the kings and queens, and for pages. There were also beautiful smaller buildings in which the king consulted with ministers or discussed important issues with magnates.[35] This royal palace at Palermo was an important element that remained unchanged throughout the Norman period. The royal court of Sicily is thus this particular royal palace in Palermo and the people working there.

Meanwhile, the Arab historian Ibn al-Athīr noted that there had been a rumor that Roger II was a Muslim because his favor for the Muslims was so conspicuous.[36] Some modern historians, including Haskins, think that he even had a harem like a ruler in the Islamic world.[37] It is difficult to confirm this, but there is no doubt that he had many Muslims in his court.

Muslims also surrounded the successors of Roger II in their daily lives. William I entrusted his ministers with the affairs of state and preferred to live a tranquil and secluded life with Muslim pages and court ladies. He began to build a beautiful oriental palace called the Zisa surrounded by fruit trees and gardens in a suburb of Palermo.[38] According to Ibn Jubayr, William II's trust of Muslims was so deep that he entrusted all private matters and important affairs to them. His chief cook was a Muslim. He was guarded by a troop of Muslim black slaves.[39] Moreover, most of the pages serving the king were eunuchs and secretly worshipped the faith of Islam. Many of the bureaucrats of the kingdom were recruited from among these pages, and so were the chamberlains, who had great power in the royal palace.[40]

Thus, at the center of the kingdom there were always Christian kings, and the governmental center of the kingdom was the royal palace in Palermo. If we look at the kings' living environment, they appeared to have lived a life not unlike that of Muslim rulers in the Islamic world. (This is precisely the image of the Sicilian court and kings that Haskins held.) However, this alone cannot lead us to believe that the Norman kings' court was the same as that of a court in the Islamic world. If we examine the power structure of the court or the administrative system of the kingdom, we see that the actual condition of the court was completely different from that of Muslim courts.

II

An administrative organization was created and the government officials came to reside in the royal palace from the reign of Roger II. Moreover, the royal palace of Palermo continued to function as the center of administration even if the king was absent. However, both the power structure of the royal court and the administrative organization of the kingdom continued to change over the course of time.[41]

Although the king was at the center of the court, there were very few royal family members in any reign. When Roger II was crowned in Palermo in 1130, his parents and brothers had already passed away, and his only remaining family

members were his wife and children. When William I began his independent rule, only his wife and children were still alive. When William II acceded to the throne, he had only his mother and younger brother Henry. Thus, a powerful aristocratic family line did not branch off from the royal family. The kings had no choice but to depend on government officials, ministers, clerics or lay vassals who had no blood relationship. The power structure of the court depended on their relationship with the kings or on the power balance among powerful people.

In examining the character of the kingship and the power structure of the court, we should also pay attention to head ministers and groups of the *familiares regis* (the royal inner council). The real power was not always held by a king but sometimes by a head minister or a group of the *familiares regis*. We should keep in mind that these three forms of central power appeared in turns at the royal court of Sicily.

When a king himself did not exercise power, the court became the stage of an intense struggle for power and a game of cunning diplomacy for hegemony. Confrontations between different groups, such as bureaucrats, clerics and feudal lords, between natives and foreigners, and among different cultural groups and so on, complicated the situation further.

During the reign of Roger II we see the first form of central power: the king himself exercised power. In the royal court, Roger II had many able officials, most of whom he inherited from his parents, as well as Norman aristocrats and Christian clerics. These officials bore various titles of Roman, Frankish, Byzantine and Arabic origins, such as *cancellarius*, *camerarius*, *καπριλίγγας* (*kaprilingas*), *πρωτονοτάριος* (*prōtonotarios*), *notarius*, *νοτάριος* (*notarios*), *λογοθέτης* (*logothetēs*), *amiratus* and so on.[42] The high officials who bore the title of *amiratus*, originating from the Arabic *amīr*, were powerful magnates in the court with the king's full confidence. They commanded the army and were concerned with the administration of the kingdom. Most of them were Greek. A powerful head minister, George, who also bore the title of *amiratus*, was a typical example of such Greeks.[43] He was born in Antioch, served a Zirid ruler in Tunisia and then came to Sicily. He spoke Greek and Arabic, and thus he was very useful for the administration of the kingdom, which had many Greek and Arabic inhabitants.[44] Although supported by these able ministers, officials and feudal vassals, Roger II solved various problems personally and dealt with important matters himself. Thus Roger II himself exercised power, and he was the real center in administration.

The reign of William I was completely different. Once the unsettled situation after the death of Roger II stabilized, William I entrusted the government to the head minister, Maio, and decided to live an easy life in a secluded palace.[45] The king stepped down from the center stage of politics, and Maio held full control over the kingdom. This is the second form of central power: a head minister exercising power instead of a king. Maio promoted the centralization of the government, strengthened the bureaucratic system and increased royal power. In the central government, chamberlains achieved hierarchization.[46]

However, after the death of Maio a third form of the central power appeared. William I appointed the archdeacon of Catania, the count of Marsico and the

bishop-elect of Syracuse to be *familiares regis*, and he entrusted them with the administration of the government.[47] From this time, the *familiares regis* came to have special significance in the Norman administration. *Familiaris regis* was a well-defined title to indicate a member of the royal inner council during the reigns of William I and William II. Although the holders of this title swelled to as many as ten people at one time, they were usually between three and five in number. As the decision makers on policy and other important matters, they were the most powerful people in the kingdom.[48] Thus, under William I central power was transferred from a single head minister to a group of *familiares regis*.

William II did not exercise direct power either. During his reign, we see the second and third forms of the central power just as under William I. In the early period of the king's minority, the regent Queen Margaret made Peter, an ex-Muslim eunuch and the master chamberlain of the royal palace, head of the inner council, and had him play the role of head minister by concentrating power in his hands.[49] However, the dissatisfaction of the Norman lords increased, and Peter fled to North Africa during the confusion. Then Stephen, son of the count of Perche in France, came to Palermo at Margaret's invitation. He was soon appointed chancellor, and in the following year he was elected to the archbishopric of Palermo. Thus he held the two highest positions of the kingdom and dealt with state affairs as head minister. However, he faced serious resistance from the magnates and Sicilians and fled the kingdom, which was in a state of civil war.

Stability was restored when Walter, one of the *familiares regis* and the dean of Agrigento, was consecrated archbishop of Palermo. He changed the composition of the inner council and established a triumvirate consisting of himself, Gentile the bishop of Agrigento and the notary Matthew.[50] In this way, the central power of the court took the third form again. This triumvirate continued for about fifteen years and was modified by the addition of the archbishop of Monreale. This archbishopric was created in 1183, and William, its first archbishop, joined the *familiares regis*. The governing of the kingdom by the *familiares regis* came to an end after the death of William II. It was not restored under the new king, Tancred, but during the reign of his son, William III.[51]

Thus central power at the court greatly changed over the course of time. Roger II kept the real power in his hands and managed state affairs by himself, although he was supported by able officials. However, William I and William II were not eager to govern the kingdom. In fact, their head ministers or inner council of *familiares regis* took care of daily state affairs. Even if the king was the center of the kingdom institutionally or symbolically, the real administrative power was exercised by a head minister or an inner council of *familiares regis*.

III

What roles did the different cultural elements play, and what influences did they have in the central power at the court? At the beginning of this article, I called attention to the fact that all the Norman kings were Christian. All the queens were

also Christian, although foreign-born: Roger II's first wife Elvira was a daughter of King Alfonso VI of Castile in Spain; his second wife Sibyl was a daughter of Duke Hugh of Burgundy in France; his third wife Beatrice was a daughter of the count of Rethel in France; William I's wife Margaret was a daughter of King Garcia of Navarre in Spain; and William II's wife Joanna was a daughter of King Henry II of England. The cultural backgrounds of the head ministers and the *familiares regis* were remarkably varied. Most head ministers were also foreign-born. As already stated, George, head minister of Roger II, was a Greek born in Antioch.[52] Peter, head minister during the minority of William II, was a converted Christian eunuch with an Arab-Islamic background and was born in Jerba. Falcandus described him as "a Christian only in name and dress but a Saracen at heart like all the eunuchs of the palace."[53] His successor and head minister Stephen was French.[54] Maio was the only head minister born in South Italy.[55]

Many foreigners can be found in the inner council, and a good number of them had an Arab-Islamic background. Among the three *familiares regis* at the end of the reign of William I, Richard the bishop-elect of Syracuse was English,[56] and Peter the master chamberlain of the royal palace was an ex-Muslim eunuch.[57] Among the five *familiares regis* formed after the flight of Peter were the English bishop-elect, Richard of Syracuse, and two ex-Muslim eunuchs, Richard[58] and Martin.[59] Three foreigners – Richard the bishop-elect of Syracuse who was English; Gentile the bishop of Agrigento who was Hungarian; and Henry the count of Montescaglioso who was Spanish – were included in the ten *familiares regis* formed after the flight of Stephen.[60] Furthermore, the Hungarian Gentile and the English Richard were both included in the three *familiares regis* established after 1169.[61] Thus we see a great number of foreigners, including those with Arab-Islamic backgrounds, in the *familiares regis*.

Those within the Arab-Islamic tradition or those within the Greek-Byzantine tradition also occupied some other important offices in the central government. Most of the *amirati* who played important roles under Roger II were Greek.[62] On the other hand, most of the chamberlains of the royal palace who were at the center of the royal administration in the latter half of the twelfth century were of Arab-Islamic background. Among the eight chamberlains of the royal palace (including master chamberlains of the royal palace) confirmed in the sources, either four or six had Arab-Islamic cultural background.[63] All three master chamberlains of the royal palace – Iohar,[64] Peter[65] and Richard[66] – were eunuchs with Arab-Islamic backgrounds. Many of the masters of the *duana de secretis*, which kept and dealt with documents related to land, had Arab-Islamic cultural backgrounds.[67] There were also many foreigners among other governmental officials. Robert the chancellor[68] and Thomas Brown the chaplain,[69] both of whom served Roger II, and Florius de Camerota, who served the three kings as justiciar,[70] were from England.

Thus we see many foreigners, and especially a large proportion of Greeks and those with Arab-Islamic backgrounds, among the ministers and officials at the royal court. It should be noted here, however, that we cannot find any Jews at the

center of power or even in the royal administration, although there were certainly Jewish communities within the kingdom. We do not have a good explanation for this important fact. In any case, those who were at the center of power in the royal court had various cultural backgrounds. If we look at them carefully, we can recognize that the predominant culture at the royal court changed over the course of time. Under Roger II, Greek officials such as George had great power, but under William I, officials with Arab-Islamic cultural background such as chamberlains of the royal palace became very influential. Under William II, Latin officials gained more importance. In the long run, influence in the royal court shifted from Greeks to Arabs to Latins.[71]

IV

The royal court of the kingdom of Sicily was essentially fixed at the royal palace in Palermo, where people of Arab, Greek and Latin backgrounds coexisted. The Christian Norman kings lived there surrounded by Muslims. This is an important characteristic of the Norman kingship that did not change throughout the Norman period. However, the central power in the court and its power structure greatly changed over the course of time. At various points, the kings themselves, their head ministers and the inner council of *familiares regis* exercised power. Therefore we should not just focus on kings to discuss the character of the Sicilian sovereignty. The character of sovereignty changes according to the form of the central power, as does the power structure of the court. There were many Arabs, Greeks and other foreigners among head ministers and *familiares regis*. The culture of influential officials changed over time, from Greek to Arab to Latin.

Many historians have focused on a specific cultural element (Islam, Byzantine or European) at the court and insisted on its paramount influence. However, emphasizing one cultural element in characterizing the court of Sicily is like arbitrarily cutting off a part of reality and building a false image upon that fragment. We cannot characterize the Norman court unless we consider how each cultural element developed.

Moreover, we cannot see the origins of the modern state in the central administrative organization of the Sicilian court. Compared with other monarchies in Western Europe, the administrative organization of Sicily seems to have achieved a high level of bureaucratization. However, we cannot accept the position of historians who argue for such a high level of bureaucratization and an advanced financial and administrative organization. These historians posit an overly complicated organization as a result of the confusion engendered by the complicated use of Latin, Greek and Arabic words.[72] Of course, it is possible that Sicily's system affected other kingdoms later, and it is true that the administrative organization of Sicily supported by Arab and Greek officials appears to have been relatively advanced in comparison to that of contemporary Europe. But in fact these advances were nothing more than the adaptation and adoption of former Muslim or Byzantine systems. There were many intellectual bureaucrats with Islamic or

Greek cultural backgrounds in the kingdom of Sicily's court in Palermo, and they exercised great influence. The Norman kings of Sicily, supported by these Greek and Arab bureaucrats, were Christian kings standing knee-deep, so to speak, in Islamic and Greek cultures.

Notes

This is a revised version of my Japanese article published in Hiroshi Takayama and Shun'ichi Ikegami, eds., *Courts and Public Squares in Medieval Europe* (Tokyo, 2002), pp. 25–45. Previous versions were presented at the American Academy in Rome on 24 October 2002 and at the seminar "Religious Minorities in the Norman World" (Faculty of History, Cambridge University, in conjunction with "EU Culture 2000 Project on the Culture, Settlement and Migration of the Jews in Medieval Europe") on 28 November 2002.

1 For general accounts of the Norman court of Sicily, see Jean-Marie Martin, *Italies Normandes, XIe–XIIe siècles* (Paris, 1994), pp. 259–287; Hubert Houben, *Roger II. von Sizilien* (Darmstadt, 1997), pp. 104–135 [English translation: Graham A. Loud, trans., *Roger II of Sicily* (Cambridge, 2002), pp. 98–135].

2 Charles H. Haskins, *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, MA, 1927), p. 59.

3 Charles H. Haskins, *The Normans in European History* (Boston/New York, 1915), pp. 228–230. See also Charles H. Haskins, "England and Sicily in the Twelfth Century," *English Historical Review*, vol. 26 (1911), pp. 433–447, 641–665.

4 Haskins, *The Normans in European History*, p. 230. Investigation of Islamic, especially Fāṭimid, influence on the Norman kings and court in Sicily had been largely done by Michele Amari in the nineteenth century, and was taken over by Francesco Gabrieli in the twentieth century. See Michele Amari, "Su la data degli sponsali di Arrigo VI con la Costanza erede del trono di Sicilia, e su i *divani* dell'azienda normanna in Palermo. Lettera del dottor O. HARTWIG e Memoria del Socio Amari," *Atti della R. Accademia dei Lincei*, anno 275 (1877–78), serie 3, Memorie della classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche, vol. 2 (1878), pp. 409–438; Michele Amari, *Storia dei Musulmani di Sicilia*, 2nd ed., ed. Carlo A. Nallino, 3 vols. in 5 parts (Catania, 1933–1939), vol. 3, pp. 451–473, 498–499, 541–553; Francesco Gabrieli, "La politique arabe des Normands de Sicile," *Studia islamica*, vol. 9 (1958), pp. 83–96. At the end of the twentieth century, a new generation of Arabists resumed emphasizing the importance of Islamic influence on the Norman kings and court. See Jeremy Johns, "The Norman Kings of Sicily and the Fatimid Caliphate," *Anglo-Norman Studies*, vol. 15 (1993), pp. 133–159; Jeremy Johns, "I re normanni e i califfi fāṭimiti. Nuove prospettive su vecchi materiali," *Del nuovo sulla Sicilia musulmana*, ed. Biancamaria Scarcia Amoretti (Rome, 1995), pp. 9–50; Jeremy Johns, *Arabic Administration in Norman Sicily* (Cambridge, 2002), pp. 1–7, 193–300; Adalgisa de Simone, "Il Mezzogiorno normanno-svevo visto dall'Islam africano," *Il Mezzogiorno normanno-svevo visto dall'Europa e dal mondo mediterraneo* (Bari, 1999), pp. 281–285; Alex Metcalfe, "The Muslims of Sicily under Christian Rule," *The Society of Norman Italy*, ed. Graham A. Loud and Alex Metcalfe (Leiden, 2002), pp. 289–317.

5 Antonio Marongiu, "La concezione di sovranità di Ruggero II," *Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi Ruggeriani*, 2 vols. (Palermo, 1955), vol. 1, pp. 228–232.

6 Francesco Giunta, *Bizantini e bizantinismo nella Sicilia normanna* (Palermo, 1950 [2nd ed. 1974]).

7 Léon-Robert Ménager, "L'institution monarchique dans les États normands d'Italie. Contribution à l'étude du pouvoir royal dans les principautés occidentales, aux XIe–XIIe

siècles," *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale*, vol. 2 (1959), pp. 303–331, 445–468. See also Donald Matthew, *The Norman Kingdom of Sicily* (Cambridge, 1992), pp. 165–206. Matthew stands with Ménager, stating that the "the inspiration of its government was not Greek, but western. If anything was borrowed from Constantinople, it was its Roman core, not its Byzantine shell" (ibid., p. 170).

8 For example, see Vera Von Falkenhausen, "I gruppi etnici nel regno di Ruggero II e la loro partecipazione al potere," *Società, potere e popolo nell'età di Ruggero II* (Bari, 1979), pp. 133–157; Houben, *Roger II. von Sizilien*, pp. 179–184 [English trans., pp. 176–181].

9 Marongiu, "La concezione di sovranità di Ruggero II," pp. 231–233; Antonio Marongiu, "Lo spirito della monarchia normanna di Sicilia nell'allocuzione di Ruggero II ai suoi Grandi," Guiscardo Moschetti, ed., *Atti del Congresso internazionale di diritto romano e storia del diritto, Verona 1948*, vol. 4 (Milan, 1951), pp. 315–327; Antonio Marongiu, "Concezione della sovranità ed assolutismo di Giustiniano e di Federico II," *Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi Federiciani* (Palermo, 1952), pp. 31–46. See also David C. Douglas, *The Norman Fate, 1100–1154* (Berkeley, 1976), pp. 115–120, 217.

10 Enrico Mazzarese Fardella, *Aspetti dell'organizzazione amministrativa nello stato normanno e svevo* (Milan, 1966), p. 18.

11 Martin, *Italies Normandes,* p. 261.

12 Walther Holtzmann, "Il regno di Ruggero II e gli inizi di un sistema di Stati Europei," *Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi Ruggeriani*, 2 vols. (Palermo, 1955), vol. 1, pp. 29–48.

13 Helene Wieruszowski, "Roger II of Sicily, Rex-Tyrannus in Twelfth-Century Political Thought," *Speculum*, vol. 38 (1963), pp. 46–78.

14 See note 36.

15 Most of his signatures were written in Greek, not only in Greek documents but also in Latin ones. For example, see a Latin document of 18 October 1144 issued at Messina (Palermo, Archivio di Stato, Tabulario di Santa Maria Maddalena di Valle Giosafat, perg. no. 29; *Rogerii II. regis diplomata Latina* [Cologne/Vienna, 1987], pp. 183–186, no. 64); a Latin document of 24 October 1144 issued at Messina (Rome, Biblioteca Apost. Vaticana, *Fondo Aldobrandini*, Pergamene II, 10 (5); *Archivio Paleografico Italiano*, vol. 14 (1954), Tav. 4; *Rogerii II. regis diplomata Latina*, pp. 187–189, no. 65); a Latin document of 3 November 1144 issued at Messina (Palermo, Biblioteca della Regione Siciliana, Tabulario di S. Maria Nuova di Monreale, perg. no. 3; Carlo A. Garufi, *Catalogo illustrato del Tabulario di S. Maria Nuova in Monreale* [Palermo, 1902], Tav. 1; Carlrichard Brühl, *Urkunden und Kanzlei König Rogers II. von Sizilien* [Cologne, 1978], Tav. XI; *Rogerii II. regis diplomata Latina*, pp. 189–192, no. 66). However, Von Falkenhausen believes that Roger II's Greek signatures were not written by his own hand but by one of his scribes. See Vera Von Falkenhausen, "I diplomi dei re normanni in lingua greca," *Documenti medievali greci e latini. Studi Comparativi. Atti del seminario di Erice (23–29 ottobre 1995)*, ed. Giuseppe De Gregorio and Otto Kresten (Spoleto, 1998), pp. 283–286. For his signature in Latin, see a Latin document from 1124 in *Archivio Paleografico Italiano*, vol. 3 (1892–1910), Tav. 45; Houben, *Roger II. von Sizilien*, p. 40 [English trans., p. 40]; *Rogerii II. regis diplomata Latina*, pp. 16–17, no. 6. For the analysis of the documents issued under the Norman rule, see Johns, *Arabic Administration*, for Arabic; Von Falkenhausen, "I diplomi dei re normanni," for Greek; and Horst Enzensberger, *Beiträge zum Kanzlei- und Urkundenwesen der normannischen Herrscher Unteritaliens und Siziliens* (Kallmünz, 1971); Brühl, *Urkunden und Kanzlei*; Theo Kölzer, *Urkunden und Kanzlei der Kaiserin Konstanze, Königin von Sizilien (1195–1198)* (Cologne/Vienna, 1983), for Latin.

16 Ibn Jubayr, *Riḥla (The Travels of Ibn Jubair)*, ed. William Wright, 2nd ed. revised by De Goeje (Leiden, 1907), p. 325 [English trans.: *The Travels of Ibn Jubayr*, 2nd ed. (trans. by Ronald Broadhurst, London, 1952), p. 341].

17 This is the only surviving golden bull of Roger II as king, and was attached to a diploma of February 1131 (*Archivio Paleografico Italiano*, vol. 14 [1954)], Tav. 18–19, with an illustration of this bull in Tav. 19; *Rogerii II. regis diplomata Latina*, pp. 45–48, no. 16). See Enzensberger, *Beiträge zum Kanzlei- und Urkundenwesen*, pp. 89–92; Brühl, *Urkunden und Kanzlei*, p. 76; Houben, *Roger II*., pp. 123–124 [English trans., p. 119].

18 This seal was attached to a diploma of 3 November 1144 (*Rogerii II. regis diplomata Latina*, pp. 189–192, no. 66). Houben, *Roger II*., pp. 124–125 [English trans., 120–121], which has illustrations of this seal.

19 Jeremy Johns, "I titoli arabi dei sovrani normanni di Sicilia," *Bollettino di Numismatica*, vol. 6–7 (1986), pp. 11–54; Lucia Travaini, *La monetazione nell'Italia normanna* (Rome, 1995); Philip Grierson and Lucia Travaini, *Medieval European Coinage 14: Italy (III) (South Italy, Sicily, Sardinia)* (Cambridge, 1998), pp. 1–140.

20 Al-Idrīsī, *Kitāb nuzha al-mushtāq fī Ikhtirāq al-Āfāq (Opus geographicum)*, 6 vols. (Rome, 1970–1976), vol. 1, p. 5; in Michele Amari, ed., *Biblioteca arabo-sicula ossia Raccolta di testi arabici che toccano la geografia, la storia, le biografie e la bibliografia della Sicilia* (Leipzig, 1857) [hereinafter Amari, *Biblioteca, testo arabo*], p. 16; in Michele Amari, ed. and trans., *Biblioteca arabo-sicula, versione italiana*, 2 vols. (Rome/Turin, 1880–1881) [hereinafter Amari, *Biblioteca, versione italiana*], vol. 1, p. 35.

21 Alexander Kazhdan, "Doxopatres, Neilos," *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, 3 vols., ed. Alexander Kazhdan (Oxford, 1991), vol. 1, p. 660; Vera Von Falkenhausen, "Doxapatres, Nilo," *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 41 (1992), pp. 610–613.

22 Ibn Jubayr, *Riḥla*, p. 324 [English trans., p. 341].

23 Al-Idrīsī, *Kitāb nuzha al-mushtāq*, vol. 4, pp. 590–592; in Amari, *Biblioteca, testo arabo*, pp. 28–30; Amari, *Biblioteca, versione italiana*, vol. 1, pp. 59–62.

24 The Norman kings had also palaces for resort around Palermo, such as the Favara, which was surrounded by a large garden with thermal springs, and the palace of Altofonte, which was also surrounded by a garden. Romualdus Salernitanus, *Chronicon sive Annales*, ed. Carlo A. Garufi, vol. 7–1 (Rerum Italicarum Scriptores, Città di Castello, 1909–1935) (hereinafter Romualdus Salernitanus), p. 232 [English translation: Graham A. Loud and Thomas Wiedemann, trans., *The History of the Tyrants of Sicily by "Hugo Falcandus" 1154–69* (Manchester/New York, 1998), p. 219]; Hugo Falcandus, *Liber de Regno Sicilie*, in Giovanni B. Siragusa, ed., *La historia o Liber de Regno Sicilie e la epistola ad Petrum Panormitane ecclesie thesaurarium* (Rome, 1897), p. 87 [English translation: Loud and Wiedemann, trans., *The History of the Tyrants of Sicily*, pp. 136–137]. See Houben, *Roger II*., p. 131 [English trans., pp. 130–131].

25 Illuminato Peri, *Uomini, città e campagne in Sicilia dall'XI al XIII secolo* (Bari, 1978), p. 108; Hans Van Werveke, *The Cambridge Economic History*, vol. 3 (1963), p. 38.

26 Van Werveke, *The Cambridge Economic History*, vol. 3, pp. 38–39; Lester K. Little, *Religious Poverty and the Profit Economy in Medieval Europe* (Ithaca, 1978), pp. 22–23; Brian Tierney and Sidney Painter, *Western Europe in the Middle Ages, 300–1475*, 4th ed. (New York, 1983), p. 274.

27 The structure of Palermo had not changed much from the time under Muslim rule. Ibn Hawqal, who visited the city in the tenth century, left us detailed information on it. See Ibn Hawqal, *Kitāb Sūra al-Arḍ*, ed. Michele Amari, *Journal asiatique*, 4e série, vol. 5 (1845), pp. 84–85.

28 Al-Idrīsī, *Kitāb nuzha al-mushtāq*, vol. 4, pp. 590–591; Amari, *Biblioteca, testo arabo*, pp. 28–29; Amari, *Biblioteca, versione italiana*, vol. 1, pp. 59–60.

29 Ibn Jubayr, *Riḥla*, p. 331 [English trans., p. 348]. Cf. Houben, *Roger II*., pp. 129–130 [English trans., p. 128].

30 Hugo Falcandus, "Epistola ad Petrum Panormitane ecclesie thesaurarium de calamitate Sicilie," Giovanni B. Siragusa, ed., *La historia o Liber de Regno Sicilie e la epistola ad Petrum Panormitane ecclesie thesaurarium* (Rome, 1897), p. 177 [English translation:

Loud and Wiedemann, trans., *The History of the Tyrants*, pp. 258–259]. See Houben, *Roger II*., pp. 130–131 [English trans., pp. 128–129].

31 Falcandus, "Epistola," pp. 177–178 [Loud and Wiedemann, trans., *The History of the Tyrants*, p. 259].

32 The Kirinbi Tower was also written as *Chirimbi* or *Chirumbi* in Latin narrative sources. *Chronicon Siciliae*, in Ludovico A. Muratori, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, 25 vols. (Milan, 1723–1751), vol. 10, p. 814; Otto Demus, *The Mosaics of Norman Sicily*, (London, 1949 [repr. New York, 1988]), p. 56.

33 Of these four towers, the Greek Tower and the Kirinbi Tower were destroyed. The Pisan Tower remains in an almost original form. The Joaria Tower remains partially intact. The Hall of Roger in the Norman Palace is the remains of the Joaria Tower. For the Hall of Roger, see Demus, *The Mosaics of Norman Sicily*, pp. 180–186.

34 Falcandus, "Epistola," p. 180 [Loud and Wiedemann, trans., *The History of the Tyrants*, p. 260]. We still can see this Palatin Chapel; see Demus, *The Mosaics of Norman Sicily*, pp. 25–72; Eve Borsook, *Messages in Mosaic* (Oxford, 1990), pp. 20–41, fig. 16; William Tronzo, *The Cultures of His Kingdom* (Princeton, 1997).

35 Falcandus, "Epistola," p. 178 [Loud and Wiedemann, trans., *The History of the Tyrants*, p. 259]. Cf. Falcandus, *Liber de Regno*, p. 55 [Loud and Wiedemann, trans., *The History of the Tyrants*, p. 108].

36 Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh*, in Amari, *Biblioteca, testo arabo*, p. 288; Amari, *Biblioteca, versione italiana*, p. 464.

37 Haskins, *The Normans in European History*, p. 230; Amari, *Storia dei Musulmani*, vol. 3, p. 449; Edmund Curtis, *Roger of Sicily* (New York, 1912), pp. 309–312; Aziz Ahmad, *A History of Islamic Sicily* (Edinburgh, 1975), p. 58.

38 Romualdus Salernitanus, pp. 252–253 [Loud and Wiedemann, trans., *The History of the Tyrants*, p. 237]; Falcandus, *Liber de Regno*, p. 87 [Loud and Wiedemann, trans., *The History of the Tyrants*, p. 137] Cf. Amari, *Storia dei Musulmani*, vol. 3, pp. 500–501.

39 Ibn Jubayr, *Riḥla*, p. 324 [English trans., p. 340].

40 Ibn Jubayr, *Riḥla*, pp. 325–326 [English trans., p. 340].

41 For the central administrative organizations and the power structure of the royal court, see Evelyn Jamison, *Admiral Eugenius of Sicily: His Life and Work* (London, 1957); Fardella, *Aspetti dell'organizzazione amministrativa*; Hiroshi Takayama, "The Financial and Administrative Organization of the Norman Kingdom of Sicily," *Viator*, vol. 16 (1985), pp. 129–157; Hiroshi Takayama, "*Familiares Regis* and the Royal Inner Council in Twelfth-Century Sicily," *English Historical Review*, vol. 104 (1989), pp. 357–372; Hiroshi Takayama, "The Great Administrative Officials of the Norman Kingdom of Sicily," *Papers of the British School at Rome*, vol. 58 (1990), pp. 317–335; Hiroshi Takayama, *The Administration of the Norman Kingdom of Sicily* (Leiden/New York/Cologne, 1993); Martin, *Italies Normandes*, pp. 107–129; Houben, *Roger II*., pp. 149–162 [English trans., pp. 147–159]; Mario Caravale, *La monarchia meridionale. Istituzioni e dottrina giuridica dai Normanni ai Borboni* (Bari, 1998).

42 For the entourage and officials of Roger II, see Takayama, *The Administration*, pp. 48–56, 66–93.

43 For *amiratus*, see Jamison, *Admiral Eugenius*; Léon-Robert Ménager, *Amiratus – Ἀμηρᾶς. L'Émirat et les origines de l'amirauté (XIe–XIIIe siècles)* (Paris, 1960); Hiroshi Takayama, "*Amiratus* in the Norman Kingdom of Sicily: A Leading Office of Arabic Origin in the Royal Administration," *Forschungen zur Reichs-, Papst- und Landesgeschichte*, ed. Karl Borchardt and Enno Bünz (Stuttgart, 1998), pp. 133–144.

44 Ibn 'Adhāri, *Kitāb al-Bayān al-Mughrib*, in Amari, *Biblioteca, testo arabo*, p. 373; in Amari, *Biblioteca, versione italiana*, vol. 2, p. 38; Amari, *Storia dei Musulmani*, vol. 3, pp. 368–369. Ibn Khaldūn, *Kitāb al-'Ibar*, in Amari, *Biblioteca, testo arabo*, p. 487; in Amari, *Biblioteca, versione italiana*, vol. 2, p. 206; Amari, *Storia dei Musulmani*, vol. 3, p. 369; Takayama, *The Administration*, pp. 53, 66–67.

45 Falcandus, *Liber de Regno*, p. 87 [Loud and Wiedemann, trans., *The History of the Tyrants*, p. 136].
46 Takayama, "The Great Administrative Officials," pp. 321–326.
47 Falcandus, *Liber de Regno*, pp. 44, 69 [Loud and Wiedemann, trans., *The History of the Tyrants*, pp. 98, 120]. Cf. Jamison, *Admiral Eugenius*, pp. 46–47.
48 For the *familiares regis* of Sicily, see Hans Schadek, "Die Familiaren der sizilischen und aragonischen Könige im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert," *Spanische Forschungen der Görresgesellschaft: Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Kulturgeschichte Spaniens*, vol. 26 (1971), pp. 201–217; Takayama, "*Familiares Regis*," pp. 357–372; Takayama, *The Administration*, pp. 98–101, 115–125.
49 Falcandus, *Liber de Regno*, p. 90 [Loud and Wiedemann, trans., *The History of the Tyrants*, p. 139].
50 Falcandus, *Liber de Regno*, pp. 163–164 [Loud and Wiedemann, trans., *The History of the Tyrants*, p. 216].
51 Takayama, "*Familiares Regis*," pp. 365–370.
52 See note 44 above.
53 Falcandus, *Liber de Regno*, p. 25 [Loud and Wiedemann, trans., *The History of the Tyrants*, p. 78]: "sicut et omnes eunuchi palatii, nomine tantum habituque christianus erat, animo saracenus." Siragusa (Falcandus, *Liber de Regno*, p. 99, note 1) and Amari (*Storia dei Musulmani*, vol. 3, p. 496) identify Peter with Aḥmad al-Ṣiqillī (Ahmad the Sicilian) of Berber origin. According to Ibn Khaldūn (*Kitāb al-'Ibar*, in Amari, *Biblioteca, testo arabo*, p. 462; Amari, *Biblioteca, versione italiana*, vol. 2, pp. 166–167), Aḥmad al-Ṣiqillī was taken from the island of Jerba to Sicily by Christians, educated there, and employed by the Prince of Sicily (Roger II). See Takayama, *The Administration*, p. 100, note 20; Johns, *Arabic Administration*, pp. 222–228.
54 Falcandus, *Liber de Regno*, pp. 109–110 [Loud and Wiedemann, trans., *The History of the Tyrants*, pp. 159–160]; Ferdinand Chalandon, *Histoire de la domination normande en Italie et en Sicile*, vol. 2 (Paris, 1907), p. 320.
55 Maio was a son of the *regalis protojudex* of Bari. For Maio, see Andreas Gabrieli, "Majone da Bari. Indagini storiche con nuovi documenti," *Archivio storico pugliese*, vol. 2 (1895), pp. 248–252; Otto Hartwig, "Re Guglielmo I e il suo grande ammiraglio Majone di Bari," *Archivio storico per le privincie napoletane*, vol. 8 (1883), pp. 397–485; Takayama, *The Administration*, pp. 96–98. Francesco Giunta, however, thinks that Maio belonged to a Greek bourgeois family at Bari. See Giunta, *Bizantini e bizantinismo nella Sicilia normanna*, pp. 51, 60.
56 Norbert Kamp, *Kirche und Monarchie im Staufischen Königreich Sizilien*, 4 vols. (Munich, 1973–1982), vol. 3, pp. 1013–1018.
57 Falcandus, *Liber de Regno*, p. 83 [Loud and Wiedemann, trans., *The History of the Tyrants*, p. 133]. See note 53 above.
58 Although Falcandus does not call Richard a eunuch, the following description implies that he was just that: "Gaytus quoque Richardus illi cum ceteris eunuchis infestissimus erat, eo quod Robertum Calataboianensem contra voluntatem eius dampnaverat" (Falcandus, *Liber de Regno*, p. 119 [Loud and Wiedemann, trans., *The History of the Tyrants*, p. 170]). See also Falcandus, *Liber de Regno*, p. 161 [Loud and Wiedemann, trans., *The History of the Tyrants*, p. 214]; Takayama, "The Great Administrative Officials," pp. 323–324; Johns, *Arabic Administration*, pp. 228–234.
59 Falcandus, *Liber de Regno*, p. 79, note 1, pp. 108–109 [Loud and Wiedemann, trans., *The History of the Tyrants*, pp. 129, 158]; Carlo A. Garufi, *I documenti inediti dell'epoca normanna in Sicilia* (Documenti per servire alla storia di Sicilia, serie 1, Diplomatica XVIII, Palermo, 1899), p. 111; Takayama, "The Great Administrative Officials," p. 323; Johns, *Arabic Administration*, pp. 219–222.
60 Falcandus, *Liber de Regno*, pp. 161–162 [Loud and Wiedemann, trans., *The History of the Tyrants*, p. 214].

61 Falcandus, *Liber de Regno*, pp. 163–164 [Loud and Wiedemann, trans., *The History of the Tyrants*, p. 216]; Takayama, "*Familiares Regis*," pp. 365–368.
62 In addition to George, John, son of Eugenius, Nicholas, Theodore, Basil and Michael, son of George, were all Greek *amirati*. See Takayama, "*Amiratus*," pp. 138–140.
63 Takayama, "The Great Administrative Officials," pp. 321–326.
64 Falcandus, *Liber de Regno*, p. 77 [Loud and Wiedemann, trans., *The History of the Tyrants*, p. 128]. Cf. Jamison, *Admiral Eugenius*, p. 44, note 3.
65 See notes 53, 57 above. Cf. Takayama, "*Familiares Regis*," pp. 360–362.
66 See note 58 above.
67 Takayama, "The Great Administrative Officials," pp. 326–331.
68 Karl A. Kehr, *Die Urkunden der normannisch-sicilischen Könige* (Innsbruck, 1902), p. 75, note 8; Haskins, "England and Sicily," p. 437; Evelyn Jamison, "The Sicilian Norman Kingdom in the Mind of Anglo-Norman Contemporaries," *Proceedings of the British Academy*, vol. 24 (1938), p. 270.
69 *Dialogus de Scaccario: De Necessariis Observantiis Scaccarii Dialogus, qui Vulgo dicitur Dialogus de Scaccario*, ed. Charles Johnson (London, 1950), p. 35; Haskins, "England and Sicily," pp. 438–440; Wilfred L. Warren, *Henry II* (Berkeley/Los Angeles, 1977), pp. 313–314; Reginald L. Poole, *The Exchequer in the Twelfth Century* (London, 1912), pp. 67, 118–122.
70 Haskins, "England and Sicily," pp. 437–438; Jamison, "The Sicilian Norman Kingdom," pp. 274–275.
71 For the decline of the Muslim population in Sicily in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, see David Abulafia, "The End of Muslim Sicily," *Muslims under Latin Rule: A Comparative Perspective*, ed. James M. Powell (Princeton, 1990), pp. 103–133.
72 Takayama, "The Financial and Administrative Organization," pp. 129–157.

8

CONFRONTATION OF POWERS IN THE NORMAN KINGDOM OF SICILY

Kings, nobles, bureaucrats and cities

The Norman conquest of Sicily and Southern Italy in the eleventh century marked a watershed in Mediterranean history. It destroyed the old political order in this region, balanced among several states with different cultural traditions, and created a new set of political circumstances under the Normans.[1] Islamic Sicily, Byzantine Apulia and Calabria, the Lombard principalities of Benevento, Salerno and Capua and the city-states of Naples, Amalfi and Gaeta were placed under Norman rulers and eventually unified into the Norman Kingdom of Sicily in the twelfth century. Thus Sicily and Southern Italy, one of the most important strategic points and most important trading centers in the Mediterranean, ceased to be the border region between the Arab Islamic, Greek Byzantine and Latin European cultural zones, and became a part of the political sphere of Latin-Christian Europe.

The Norman conquerors occupied a vast area spanning Sicily and Southern Italy, establishing themselves as a ruling class consisting of the kings, lay aristocrats and high clerics. They were the new masters of the conquered Muslims, Greeks and "Lombards."[2] Thus we tend to draw a line of confrontation between the Normans and the others, especially between the Normans and the conquered Muslims and Greeks. The name-lists of Muslim peasants in the writs of transfer of lands issued in the eleventh and twelfth centuries seem to illustrate well these Muslims under Norman lords.[3]

It is well known that Greek and Muslim (or ex-Muslim) officials served the Norman kings in the royal palace.[4] Scholars have been inclined to think that they were a small portion of the entire population of officials and that they were employed to govern the Greek and Muslim populations, acting as intermediaries between the ruling Normans and the ruled Greeks and Arabs.[5] This inclination seems to be justified from the fact that a large number of cities in Sicily were allowed their autonomy when they submitted to Roger I,[6] and also from the fact that Abū al-Qāsim, a leader of the Muslims in Sicily, served William II as a high official.[7] However, the relationship among those people was not simple. There were very few wars fought based on differences in religion or culture after the establishment of the kingdom.[8] The Norman kings often fought against rebellious Norman barons, cities and outside powers, such as popes or German and Byzantine emperors, all of them Christian. The power struggles in the royal palace also lack confrontation

purely based on differences in religion or culture.[9] It is difficult to see a clear line of confrontation between the Norman kings and Muslims or Greeks.

Then how should we see the power structure of the kingdom? We could list various human groups such as kings, aristocrats, cities, high clerics, bureaucrats, Muslims, Greeks, Jews and so forth as possible actors confronting each other. What kind of relationships did they have in terms of power? The main line of confrontation could be different during the conquest and after the establishment of the kingship. Here I focus on the period after the pacification of the kingdom in 1140.

I

In considering the power relationships or the lines of confrontation within the kingdom, we should first understand the changing nature of the central power.[10] We need to pay sufficient attention to head ministers and groups of the *familiares regis* (members of the royal inner council), because the real power was not always held by a king, but sometimes by a head minister or a group of the *familiares regis*. It is important to keep in mind that three forms of central power appeared in turns at the royal court of Sicily.[11] During the reign of Roger II we see the first form of central power: The king himself exercised power. Roger II was supported by able ministers, officials and feudal vassals, most of whom he inherited from his parents, as well as Norman aristocrats and Christian clerics.[12] The high-level officials with the title of *amiratus*, originating from Arabic *amīr*, were powerful magnates in the court with the king's full confidence.[13] However, Roger II solved various problems personally and dealt with important matters himself. Thus for a large part of his reign, Roger II himself exercised power and was the real center in administration.

His son William I's attitude was different. After having overcome a crisis at the beginning of his reign, William I entrusted the government to the head minister, Maio, and tried to live a secluded life.[14] The king stepped down from the center stage of politics and the head minister took full control of the government. This marked the appearance of a second form of central power: A head minister exercising power instead of a king. Maio promoted centralization of the government and tried to exclude Norman barons from the royal court.[15] This policy raised their hostility against him and brought about his assassination. After the death of Maio, William I appointed the archdeacon of Catania, the count of Marsico, and the bishop-elect of Syracuse to be *familiares regis*, and he entrusted them with the government of the kingdom.[16] Thus a third form of central power appeared. From this time on, the *familiares regis* were members of the royal inner council. As decision makers on policy and other important matters, they were the most powerful people in the kingdom under William I and his son William II.[17]

William II was another ruler who did not exercise power personally. During his reign we see the second and third forms of central power just as under William I. In the early period of William II's reign, the regent Queen Margaret made Peter, an ex-Muslim eunuch,[18] and Stephen, son of the count of Perche in France, head

ministers by turns, entrusting them with state affairs. However, both of them faced serious resistance from the magnates and Sicilians, and they fled the kingdom in disturbances. Stability was restored when Walter, one of the *familiares regis* and the dean of Agrigento, was consecrated archbishop of Palermo. As soon as he gained the highest ecclesiastical position in the kingdom, he changed the composition of the inner council and established a triumvirate consisting of himself, Gentile the bishop of Agrigento and Matthew the notary.[19] In this way, the central power of the court returned to the third form again. This triumvirate continued for about fifteen years and was modified by the addition of the archbishop of Monreale.[20] The governing of the kingdom by the *familiares regis* came to an end after the death of William II.[21]

Thus the central power at the court greatly changed over the course of time. Roger II kept the real power in his hands and managed state affairs by himself, although he was supported by able officials. In contrast, William I and William II were reluctant to govern the kingdom for themselves. Their head ministers or inner council of *familiares regis* took care of daily state affairs. Even if the king was the center of the kingdom institutionally or symbolically, the real power was exercised by a head minister or an inner council of *familiares regis*. Therefore, we should not just focus on kings to discuss the character of the Sicilian sovereignty. The character of sovereignty varies according to the form of the central power, as does the power structure of the court. We must pay full attention to head ministers and *familiares regis* to discuss the central power of the kingdom.

II

Although the kings were Normans, none of the head ministers was a Norman from Normandy or their offspring. George, head minister of Roger II, was born in Antioch of Syria and had a Greek cultural background.[22] Maio, head minister of William I, was a son of a local judge of Bari in South Italy.[23] Peter, head minister during the minority of William II, was born in Jerba and was a eunuch with an Arab-Islamic tradition, although he was a converted Christian.[24] His successor Stephen was French, a son of the count of Perche, but not of Norman origin from Normandy.[25] Few of the *familiares regis* were Norman aristocrats or offspring of such aristocrats. Among the three *familiares regis* appointed just after the assassination of Maio, only Sylvester, count of Marsico and cousin of William I, was a Norman aristocrat.[26] After his death, no Norman lords entered the inner council of three *familiares regis* until the flight of Peter in 1166.[27] The inner council of five *familiares regis* established at that time included one aristocrat, Richard of Mandra, count of Molise, and that of ten *familiares regis* reorganized after the flight of Stephen in 1168 included three aristocrats: Richard of Mandra, count of Molise; Roger, count of Gerace; and Henry, count of Montescaglioso.[28] The last was a brother of the regent Queen Margaret and a Spaniard.[29] Richard of Mandra was originally the constable of Robert, count of Loritello and Conversano.[30] He was imprisoned for the support of the rebel but was liberated in 1161 and appointed

master constable of the king.[31] Then he was made count of Marsico by the regent Queen Margaret.[32] He might be of Norman origin, but this fact is difficult to ascertain. We have little information concerning Roger, count of Gerace.[33] After the establishment of the triumvirate of three *familiares regis* in 1169, no aristocrats entered the inner council until the death of William II.[34]

The list of the *familiares regis* rather shows remarkable variance, like that of head ministers, in terms of their origins and cultural backgrounds. Among the three *familiares regis* at the end of the reign of William I, Richard the bishop-elect of Syracuse was an English cleric,[35] and Peter the master chamberlain of the royal palace was an ex-Muslim eunuch.[36] The group of five *familiares regis* formed after the flight of Peter consisted of two ex-Muslim eunuchs, Richard[37] and Martin;[38] Matthew, a notary born in Salerno; and count Richard of Molise. The group of ten *familiares regis* formed after the flight of Stephen included three foreigners – the English Bishop-elect Richard of Syracuse, the Hungarian Bishop Gentile of Agrigento and the Spanish Count Henry of Montescaglioso – besides three ecclesiastics, two counts, and one notary.[39] Furthermore, the Hungarian Gentile and the English Richard were both included in the three *familiares regis* established after 1169.[40] Thus a great number of foreigners and those with Arab-Islamic backgrounds attained the rank of *familiares regis*. Feudal lords joined the inner council in serious situations for a limited extent of time, but their numbers were very few in ordinary conditions and nil after 1169.

It should be also noted that Muslims (or ex-Muslims) and Greeks occupied other important offices at the central government. Most *amirati* under Roger II were Greek.[41] Most chamberlains of the royal palace under William II were Muslims or ex-Muslims. Of the eight chamberlains of the royal palace (including master chamberlains of the royal palace) confirmed in the sources, at least four, and possibly as many as six, had Arab-Islamic cultural backgrounds.[42] All three master chamberlains of the royal palace – Iohar,[43] Peter[44] and Richard[45] – were eunuchs with Arab-Islamic backgrounds.[46]

Thus those who were at the center of power had various cultural backgrounds, although influence in the royal court shifted from Greeks to Arabs to Latins.[47] A Greek, an ex-Muslim eunuch, a Frenchman and a southern Italian reached the post of head minister; ex-Muslim eunuchs and foreigners joined the *familiares regis*; and all three master chamberlains of the royal palace were ex-Muslim eunuchs. These were not simple government officials of the king but people that had real power and influence.

Why did the king appoint those with a different culture or even a different religion to such a high position? Why did he have such a trust in them? What elements tied them together? What could the main confrontation axes be if not differences in religion or culture?

III

At the royal court, the difference in religion or cultural background did not serve as a clear line of confrontation. It is true that Muslims were attacked, pillaged and killed by Christians during disturbances,[48] and religious differences served as a

reason of hatred.[49] However, the main line of confrontation did not lie between Christians and Muslims or between Latins and Greeks or Arabs, but between kings and aristocrats – both Christians.

Although the kings and barons shared many common characteristics, such as Norman origin, Christianity, Latin tradition and knightly status, they were different in other respects. The kings had more in common with bureaucrats than with the aristocrats. For example, both the kings and bureaucrats were intellectuals. It is well known that the Norman kings of Sicily were well versed in Arabic and Greek cultures. Roger II had a strong influence of Greek culture and most of his signatures appear to have been written in Greek.[50] According to Ibn Jubayr, William II was able to read and write Arabic. The Norman kings were very interested in learning and the arts, and they gathered many scholars – doctors, astrologers, philosophers, mathematicians including Greek theologian Neilos Doxopatres[51] and geographers including the Arab Al-Idrīsī – to the royal palace in Palermo. According to Al-Idrīsī, Roger II had a deep understanding of mathematics, political science and natural sciences and enjoyed discussing these subjects with scholars.[52] Moreover, according to Ibn Jubayr, William II had doctors and astrologers under his close care, and he offered vast sums as living expenses to foreign doctors and astrologers passing through the kingdom.[53] Thus the Norman kings, while being Christian, were intellectuals who appreciated Greek and Arabic scholars. Many of the kings' ministers and bureaucrats were also highly educated and learned intellectuals. Henry Aristippus, a Latin-Christian cleric who served William I as *familiaris regis*, translated *Meno* and *Phaedo* by Plato, and *Meteorology* by Aristotle, from Greek into Latin.[54] Eugenius, a Greek official who served William II as master of the *duana baronum*, translated *Optics* by Ptolemy into Latin from Arabic.[55]

Both the kings and bureaucrats lived in Palermo, the capital of the kingdom. Palermo was the center of almost all aspects of human activity including politics, the economy and culture, and it was the second biggest city in the kingdom after Naples. Its population in the twelfth century is estimated to have been between 50,000 and 100,000,[56] and it was bigger than Rome or London, which had populations of 50,000.[57] Palermo, which had been also the capital under Muslim rule, was populated by many Muslims even after the Norman conquest, thus Islamic culture was dominant there. Ibn Jubayr described that

> The Christian women of this city follow the fashion of Muslim women, are fluent of speech, wrap their cloaks about them, and are veiled. They go forth on this Feast Day dressed in robes of gold-embroidered silk, wrapped in elegant cloaks, concealed by colored veils, and shod with gilt slippers.[58]

Although the Norman kings had palaces all over the kingdom, their principal place of residence was the palace in Palermo,[59] which was originally an old Muslim castle.[60] The royal court of Sicily effectively meant this royal palace in Palermo and the people working there. This marks a clear contrast with other

European monarchies. In the kingdoms of England, France and Germany, the kings did not fix their capitals in one place, instead moving within their kingdoms from one castle to another once every several weeks or months with their retinues in tow. The Norman kings of Sicily lived in the royal palace in Palermo surrounded by Muslims. William I entrusted his ministers with the affairs of state and preferred to live a tranquil and secluded life with Muslim pages and court ladies. According to Ibn Jubayr, William II trusted Muslims deeply, assigned all private matters and important affairs to them, hired a Muslim chief cook, and had a troop of Muslim black slaves.[61] Moreover, most of the pages serving the king were eunuchs and secretly worshipped Islam.[62]

On the other hand, most aristocrats were feudal lords who lived in the countryside of the peninsula, distant from Palermo, in marked contrast with the kings, who lived in gorgeous palaces with Muslim pages and court ladies, and the intellectual bureaucrats engaged in government. The aristocrats were Christians, and many of them were Normans. Unlike the kings, few of them had opportunities to come into contact with sophisticated Arab or Greek cultures or to enjoy their studies and arts. We do not know much about their activities except those pertaining to the military and maintenance of peace. There is little information about their cultural activities. Many of them lived a substantial distance from the larger cities, which offered various cultural activities and opportunities of education, and they probably did not have much opportunity to receive a literary education, although they were certainly trained as warriors and knights. Although their lord, the king, understood plural languages, was well versed in Islamic and Greek cultures as well as Latin, and enjoyed an urban life at a gorgeous palace in the capital city Palermo, most aristocrats lived in castles or houses in remote rural areas, had no opportunity to receive a good education, and lived their lives in a wholly Christian culture.

IV

Thus the kings and aristocrats show marked contrast in many respects, although both were Christian knights. The contrast between them is shown by whether they were located in the center or a regional district, a large cosmopolitan city or a rural country, and whether they were intellectuals or warriors. Palermo, in which the kings and bureaucrats resided, was an overwhelmingly large city. The population, wealth and cultural activities of the kingdom were concentrated on this capital. There were other big cities such as Naples, Amalfi and Gaeta that were prosperous with commerce. Some of them, surrounded by ramparts, even had the power to revolt against a king. However, these cities, with some exceptions, were not places inhabited by aristocrats.

Other rulers in contemporary Western Europe, without fixing a residential palace, traveled with their suites from one place to another. Since their courts moved around, a capital was not fixed in one place, which was not conducive for development of the bureaucracy. In the kingdoms of England, France and Germany,

those who supported the kings were aristocrats and clerics who accompanied the kings. The kings' government officials were, in general, aristocrats of lower ranks who were the kings' vassals. The kings and aristocrats shared the same Christian culture. In these monarchies, there was not such marked difference between kings and aristocrats as seen in the kingdom of Sicily.

In Sicily, however, there was a more developed bureaucracy and bureaucrats had varied cultural backgrounds. The kings and these bureaucrats took a stand against the aristocrats, who had solely Latin-Christian backgrounds. In fact, the keynote of the political history of the kingdom was a process in which the kings together with bureaucrats held down the aristocrats and cities of the peninsula. The kings and bureaucrats, who had different cultural backgrounds but were highly educated and cultured, took a stand against aristocrats who were not well cultured but trained as warriors. It should not be forgotten, however, that this line of confrontation was visible only during peacetime. During wartime, a line of confrontation was drawn between aristocrats and cities that had military power. Aristocrats and cities were divided into pro-king and anti-king groups and fought amongst each other, while bureaucrats were usually on the side of the kings. This suggests that even the mighty Norman kings supported by the bureaucrats were by no means absolute. The strong Norman kingship of Sicily was in fact only made possible by a delicate balance of power among aristocrats, cities and bureaucrats.

Notes

1 The impact of the Norman conquest in Southern Italy has long been discussed by scholars. See Einar Joranson, "The Inception of the Career of the Normans in Italy: Legend and History," *Speculum*, vol. 23 (1948), pp. 353–396; Hartmut Hoffmann, "Die Anfänge der Normannen in Süditalien," *Quellen und Forschungen aus Italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken*, vol. 49 (1969), pp. 95–144; Léon-Robert Ménager, "Pesanteur et étiologie de la colonisation Normande de l'Italie," *Roberto il Guiscardo e il suo tempo* (Rome, 1975), pp. 189–215; Norbert Kamp, "Vescovi e diocesi nell'Italia meridionale passaggio dalla dominazione bizantina allo stato normanno," *Forme di potere e struttura sociale in Italia nel Medioevo*, ed. Gabriella Rossetti (Bologna, 1977), pp. 379–397; Graham A. Loud, "How 'Norman' was the Norman Conquest of Southern Italy?," *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, vol. 25 (1981), pp. 3–34; Graham A. Loud, "Continuity and Change in Norman Italy: The Campania during the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries," *Journal of Medieval History*, vol. 22 (1996), pp. 313–343; Wolfgang Jahn, *Untersuchungen zur normannischen Herrschaft in Süditalien (1040–1100)* (Frankfurt, 1989); John France, "The Occasion of the Coming of the Normans to Southern Italy," *Journal of Medieval History*, vol. 17 (1991), pp. 185–205.

2 From a demographic point of view, the Normans were a minority with respect to their number. The majority of Sicilians were Muslims and Greeks. Many of the inhabitants in Calabria and a part of Apulia were Greeks, while the majority in Apulia and Campania were those with Latin-Christian traditions, often described as "Lombards" in contemporary sources. Concerning the survival of Lombard aristocrats after the conquest in Campania, see Loud, "Continuity and Change in Norman Italy," pp. 324–336.

3 For example, a Greek document issued on 20 February of AM (*annus mundi*) 6603, Indiction III (AD 1095), lists 390 names of peasants (Catania, Archivio Capitolare della Cattedrale di Catania, Pergamene Greco-arabe e greche, note 1; Salvatore

Cusa, *I diplomi greci ed arabi di Sicilia pubblicati nel testo originale*, vol. 1 in 2 parts [Palermo, 1868–1882], pp. 541–549; Jeremy Johns, *Arabic Administration in Norman Sicily* [Cambridge, 2002], pp. 301–302, Appendix 1, no. 4), and an Arabic document (the revision of the document of 1095) issued in AM 6653, AH (*annus hegirae*) 539, Indiction VIII (AD 1145) includes 525 names of the people of Catania, 94 names of widows, 23 names of "slaves of the church (*'abīd al-kanīsa*)," 25 names of Jews, and 8 names of the blind (*'umy*) (Catania, Archivio Capitolare della Cattedrale di Catania, Pergamene Greco-arabe e greche, note 6; Cusa, pp. 563–585; Johns, *Arabic Administration*, pp. 119–120, 306, Appendix 1, no. 21).

4 Hiroshi Takayama, "The Great Administrative Officials of the Norman Kingdom of Sicily," *Papers of the British School at Rome*, vol. 58 (1990), pp. 317–335; Hiroshi Takayama, *The Administration of the Norman Kingdom of Sicily* (Leiden/New York/Cologne, 1993); Alex Metcalfe, "The Muslims of Sicily under Christian Rule," *The Society of Norman Italy*, ed. Graham A. Loud and Alex Metcalfe (Leiden, 2002), pp. 289–317; Johns, *Arabic Administration*, pp. 212–256.

5 Denis Mack Smith, *Medieval Sicily 800–1713* (New York, 1968), pp. 15–17. On the other hand, many scholars think that Greek and Muslim officials were employed for their skills to carry out specialized work for royal finance. This view is typically shown in the following sentence: "during the reign of Roger the Great the responsibility for royal finance came to be vested almost exclusively in the hands of Greek and Saracen officials" (David C. Douglas, *The Norman Fate 1100–1154* [Berkeley/Los Angeles, 1976], p. 116). It is true that many Muslim and some Greek officials worked for the *duana* (*dīwān*), which scholars have regarded as a highly specialized financial office. However, the *duana* was not a specialized financial office. See my argument on the *duana* in Hiroshi Takayama, "The Financial and Administrative Organization of the Norman Kingdom of Sicily," *Viator*, vol. 16 (1985), pp. 129–157; Takayama, *The Administration*. Cf. Johns, *Arabic Administration*, p. 193.

6 When the Muslims of Palermo surrendered to Roger I and Guiscard in 1072, their representatives, two *qā'ids*, together with other magnates, negotiated with Roger I (Amatus Casinensis, *Storia de' Normanni di Amato di Montecassino*, ed. Vincenzo de Bartholomaeis (Rome, 1935) (hereinafter Amatus), Lib. VI, Cap. XVIIII [*sic*, =XIX], p. 281), and gained his assurance of the safety of Muslim residents and permission of their own faith on the condition that they should pay annual tributes and give service to him (Gaufredus Malaterra, *De rebus gestis Rogerii Calabriae et Siciliae comitis et Roberti Guiscardi ducis fratris eius*, ed. Ernesto Pontieri [Bologna, 1928] [hereinafter Malaterra], Lib. II, Cap. XLV, p. 53). Cf. Michele Amari, *Storia dei Musulmani di Sicilia*, 2nd ed., 3 vols., ed. Carlo A. Nallino (Catania, 1933–1939 [1st ed., 3 vols., Florence 1854–1872]), vol. 3, pp. 130–131, 277; Ferdinand Chalandon, *Histoire de la domination normande en Italie et en Sicile*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1907), vol. 1, p. 208; Graham A. Loud, *The Age of Robert Guiscard* (Harlow, 2000), pp. 161–162. At this time the Muslims in Palermo seemed to be allowed to keep some sort of autonomy, especially to have their own laws, judges and judicial system (Amari, *Storia dei Musulmani*, vol. 3, p. 132; Chalandon, *Histoire de la domination*, vol. 1, p. 208; Francesco Gabrieli, "La politique arabe des Normands de Sicile," *Studia Islamica*, vol. 9 [1958], p. 93). In many other cities, such as Catania, Mazara, Trapani, Taormina, Syracuse, Castrogiovanni, Butera and Noto, Roger I probably kept their old administrative systems (Amari, *Storia dei Musulmani*, vol. 3, p. 277). See Hiroshi Takayama, "The Administration of Roger I," *Ruggero I Gran Conte di Sicilia,* Guglielmo De' Giovanni-Centelles (Rome, Istituto Italiano dei Castelli, 2007), pp. 124–140.

7 Ibn Jubayr, *Riḥla (The Travels of Ibn Jubair)*, ed. William Wright, 2nd ed. revised by Michael J. De Goeje (Leiden, 1907), p. 341 [English translation: Ronald J.C. Broadhurst, trans., *The Travels of Ibn Jubayr* (London, 1952), p. 358]; Takayama, *The Administration*, pp. 136–138, 141–142; Johns, *Arabic Administration*, pp. 234–242.

8 Even during the conquest, there were few wars purely based on difference in religion or culture. The Normans first entered Sicily to support a Muslim lord who was in war with another Muslim lord. Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh*, in Michele Amari, ed., *Biblioteca arabo-sicula ossia Raccolta di testi arabici che toccano la geografia, la storia, le biografie e la bibliografia della Sicilia* (Leipzig, 1857) [hereinafter Amari, *Biblioteca, testo arabo*], p. 276; Michele Amari, ed. and trans., *Biblioteca arabo-sicula, versione italiana*, 2 vols. (Turin/Rome, 1880–1881) [hereinafter Amari, *Biblioteca, versione italiana*], vol. 1, p. 447; Nuwayrī, *Nihāya al-Arab fī Funūn al-Adab*, in Amari, *Biblioteca, testo arabo*, p. 447; in Amari, *Biblioteca, versione italiana*, vol. 2, pp. 143–144; Ibn Khaldūn, *Kitāb al-'Ibar*, in Amari, *Biblioteca, testo arabo*, pp. 484–485, 497; in Amari, *Biblioteca, versione italiana*, vol. 2, pp. 202, 221; Malaterra, Lib. II. Cap. 1–11, pp. 29–33; Amatus, Lib. V, Cap. 8–18, pp. 229–237. Cf. Loud, *The Age of Robert Guiscard*, pp. 148–158.

9 Hugo Falcandus, *Liber de Regno Sicilie*, in Giovanni B. Siragusa, ed., *La historia o Liber de Regno Sicilie e la epistola ad Petrum Panormitane ecclesie thesaurarium* (Rome, 1897) [English translation: Graham A. Loud and Thomas Wiedemann, trans., *The History of the Tyrants of Sicily by 'Hugo Falcandus' 1154–69* (Manchester/New York, 1998)].

10 For the central administrative organizations and the power structure of the royal court, see Evelyn Jamison, *Admiral Eugenius of Sicily: His Life and Work* (London, 1957); Enrico Mazzarese Fardella, *Aspetti dell'organizzazione amministrativa nello stato normanno e svevo* (Milan, 1966); Takayama, "The Financial and Administrative Organization," pp. 129–157; Hiroshi Takayama, "*Familiares Regis* and the Royal Inner Council in Twelfth-Century Sicily," *English Historical Review*, vol. 104 (1989), pp. 357–372; Takayama, "The Great Administrative Officials"; Takayama, *The Administration*; Jean-Marie Martin, *Italies Normandes, XIe–XIIe siècles* (Paris, 1994), pp. 107–129; Hubert Houben, *Roger II. von Sizilien* (Darmstadt, 1997), pp. 149–162 [English translation: Graham A. Loud, trans., *Roger II of Sicily* (Cambridge, 2002), pp. 147–159]; Mario Caravale, *La monarchia meridionale. Istituzioni e dottrina giuridica dai Normanni ai Borboni* (Bari, 1998).

11 For a fuller argument on the central power, see Hiroshi Takayama, "Central Power and Multi-Cultural Elements at the Norman Court of Sicily," *Mediterranean Studies*, vol. 12 (2003), pp. 1–15.

12 For the entourage and officials of Roger II, see Takayama, *The Administration*, pp. 48–56, 66–93. These officials bore various titles of Roman, Frankish, Byzantine and Arabic origins, such as *cancellarius*, *camerarius*, *καπρελίγγας* (*kaprelingas*), *πρωτονοτάριος* (*prōtonotarios*), *notarius*, *νοτάριος* (*notarios*), *λογοθέτης* (*logothetēs*), *amiratus*, *ἀμηρᾶς* (*amērās)* and so forth. See also Vera Von Falkenhausen, "I ceti dirigenti prenormanni al tempo della costituzione degli stati normanni nell'Italia meridionale e in Sicilia," *Forme di potere e struttura sociale in Italia nel Medioevo*, ed. Gabriella R. Pepe (Bologna, 1977), pp. 321–377; Vera Von Falkenhausen, "I gruppi etnici nel regno di Ruggero II e la loro partecipazione al potere," *Società, potere e popolo nell'età di Ruggero II* (Bari, 1979), pp. 133–156.

13 They commanded the army and were concerned with the administration of the kingdom. Most of them were Greek. For *amiratus*, see Evelyn Jamison, *Admiral Eugenius of Sicily* (London, 1957); Léon-Robert Ménager, *Amiratus – Ἀμηρᾶς. L'Émirat et les origines de l'amirauté (XIe–XIIIe siècles)* (Paris, 1960); Hiroshi Takayama, "*Amiratus* in the Norman Kingdom of Sicily: A Leading Office of Arabic Origin in the Royal Administration," *Forschungen zur Reichs-, Papst- und Landesgeschichte*, ed. Karl Borchardt and Enno Bünz (Stuttgart, 1998), pp. 133–144.

14 Falcandus, *Liber de Regno*, p. 87 [Loud and Wiedemann, trans., *The History of the Tyrants*, p. 136].

15 Takayama, *The Administration*, pp. 95–98; Evelyn Jamison, "The Norman Administration of Apulia and Capua More Especially under Roger II and William II 1127–1166," *Papers of the British School at Rome*, vol. 6 (1913), p. 260.
16 Falcandus, *Liber de Regno*, pp. 44, 69 [Loud and Wiedemann, trans., *The History of the Tyrants*, pp. 98, 120]. Cf. Jamison, *Admiral Eugenius*, pp. 46–47.
17 For the *familiares regis* of Sicily, see Hans Schadek, "Die Familiaren der sizilischen und aragonischen Könige im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert," *Spanische Forschungen der Görresgesellschaft: Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Kulturgeschichte Spaniens*, vol. 26 (1971), pp. 201–217; Takayama, "*Familiares Regis*," pp. 357–372; Takayama, *The Administration*, pp. 98–101, 115–125.
18 He was the master chamberlain of the royal palace. Falcandus, *Liber de Regno*, p. 90 [Loud and Wiedemann, trans., *The History of the Tyrants*, p. 139]. For Peter, see note 24.
19 Falcandus, *Liber de Regno*, pp. 163–164 [Loud and Wiedemann, trans., *The History of the Tyrants*, p. 216].
20 This archbishopric was created in 1183 and its first archbishop William joined the *familiares regis*.
21 It was not restored under a new king, Tancred, but restarted during the reign of his son William III. Takayama, "*Familiares Regis*," pp. 365–370.
22 George, who also bore the title of *amiratus*, was a powerful head minister. He was born in Antioch, served a Zirid ruler in Tunisia, then came to Sicily. He spoke Greek and Arabic, thus being very useful for the administration of the kingdom, which had many Greek and Arabic inhabitants. For George, see Ibn ʻAdhāri, *Kitāb al-Bayān al-Mughrib*, in Amari, *Biblioteca, testo arabo*, p. 373; in Amari, *Biblioteca, versione italiana*, vol. 2, p. 38; Amari, *Storia dei Musulmani*, vol. 3, pp. 368–369. Ibn Khaldūn, *Kitāb al-ʻIbar*, in Amari, *Biblioteca, testo arabo*, p. 487; in Amari, *Biblioteca, versione italiana*, vol. 2, p. 206; Amari, *Storia dei Musulmani*, vol. 3, p. 369; Takayama, *The Administration*, pp. 53, 66–67.
23 Maio was a son of *regalis protojudex* of Bari. For Maio, see Andreas Gabrieli, "Majone da Bari. Indagini storiche con nuovi documenti," *Archivio storico pugliese*, vol. 2 (1895), pp. 248–252; Otto Hartwig, "Re Guglielmo I e il suo grande ammiraglio Majone di Bari," *Archivio storico per le province napoletane*, vol. 8 (1883), pp. 397–485; Takayama, *The Administration*, pp. 96–98. Francesco Giunta, however, thinks that Maio belonged to a Greek bourgeois family at Bari. See Francesco Giunta, *Bizantini e bizantinismo nella Sicilia normanna*, 2nd ed. (Palermo, 1974), pp. 51, 60.
24 Falcandus described him as "a Christian only in name and dress but a Saracen at heart like all the eunuchs of the palace." Falcandus, *Liber de Regno*, p. 25 [Loud and Wiedemann, trans., *The History of the Tyrants*, p. 78]: "sicut et omnes eunuchi palatii, nomine tantum habituque christianus erat, animo saracenus." Giovanni B. Siragusa (Falcandus, *Liber de Regno*, p. 99, note 1) and Michele Amari (*Storia dei Musulmani*, vol. 3, p. 496) identify Peter with Aḥmad al-Ṣiqillī (Aḥmad the Sicilian) of Berber origin. According to Ibn Khaldūn (*Kitāb al-ʻIbar*, in Amari, *Biblioteca, testo arabo*, p. 462; Amari, *Biblioteca, versione italiana*, vol. 2, pp. 166–167), Aḥmad al-Ṣiqillī was taken from the island of Jerba to Sicily by Christians, educated there, and employed by the prince of Sicily (Roger II). See Takayama, "*Familiares Regis*," pp. 360–362; Takayama, *The Administration*, p. 100, note 20; Johns, *Arabic Administration*, pp. 222–228.
25 Falcandus, *Liber de Regno*, pp. 109–112 [Loud and Wiedemann, trans., *The History of the Tyrants*, pp. 159–162]; Chalandon, *Histoire de la domination*, vol. 2, pp. 320–322.
26 Falcandus, *Liber de Regno*, pp. 44–69 [Loud and Wiedemann, trans., *The History of the Tyrants*, pp. 98, 120]; Takayama, "*Familiares Regis*," pp. 359–361; Takayama, *The Administration*, pp. 98–101. Count Silvester of Marsico was the son of Geoffrey of Ragusa (son of Roger I), and thus the grandson of Roger I. See Errico Cuozzo, *Catalogus baronum. Commentario* (Rome, 1984, Fonti per la storia d'Italia, vol. 101), pp. 159–160; Loud and Wiedemann, trans., *The History of the Tyrants*, p. 84, note 55.

27 Takayama, "*Familiares Regis*," pp. 360–361; Takayama, *The Administration*, pp. 100–101, 115–116.
28 Falcandus, *Liber de Regno*, pp. 108–109, 161–162 [Loud and Wiedemann, trans., *The History of the Tyrants*, pp. 158, 214]; Takayama, "*Familiares Regis*," pp. 362–363; Takayama, *The Administration*, p. 117.
29 Falcandus, *Liber de Regno*, p. 107 [Loud and Wiedemann, trans., *The History of the Tyrants*, pp. 155–156].
30 Falcandus, *Liber de Regno*, p. 24 [Loud and Wiedemann, trans., *The History of the Tyrants*, p. 77]. He had lands at Terlizzi and near Troia (*Codice diplomatico barese*, vol. 3 [Bari, 1899], pp. 128, 136). Cf. Evelyn Jamison, "The Administration of the County of Molise in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries," *English Historical Review*, vol. 44 (1929), p. 532. According to Garufi (Romualdus Salernitanus, *Chronicon sive Annales*, ed. Carlo Alberto Garufi [Città di Castello, 1909–1935] [hereinafter Romualdus Salernitanus], p. 241 note 3, p. 389), he was a son of Count Robert of Molise, but I could not confirm this in sources.
31 Falcandus, *Liber de Regno*, pp. 24, 56, 69 [Loud and Wiedemann, trans., *The History of the Tyrants*, pp. 77, 109, 120]; Romualdus Salernitanus, p. 246.
32 Falcandus, *Liber de Regno*, pp. 97–98 [Loud and Wiedemann, trans., *The History of the Tyrants*, pp. 146–147].
33 Cf. Loud and Wiedemann, trans., *The History of the Tyrants*, p. 193, note 227.
34 Takayama, "*Familiares Regis*," pp. 365–369; Takayama, *The Administration*, pp. 118–123.
35 Norbert Kamp, *Kirche und Monarchie im Staufischen Königreich Siziliens*, 4 vols. (Munich, 1973–1982), vol. 3, pp. 1013–1018.
36 Falcandus, *Liber de Regno*, p. 83 [Loud and Wiedemann, trans., *The History of the Tyrants*, p. 133].
37 Although Falcandus does not call Richard a eunuch, the following description implies that he was also a eunuch: "Gaytus quoque Richardus illi cum ceteris eunuchis infestissimus erat, eo quod Robertum Calataboianensem contra voluntatem eius dampnaverat" (Falcandus, *Liber de Regno*, p. 119 [Loud and Wiedemann, trans., *The History of the Tyrants*, p. 170]). See also Falcandus, *Liber de Regno*, pp. 161–162 [Loud and Wiedemann, trans., *The History of the Tyrants*, p. 214]; Takayama, "Great Administrative Officials," pp. 323–324; Johns, *Arabic Administration*, pp. 228–234.
38 Falcandus, *Liber de regno*, p. 79, note 1, pp. 108–109 [Loud and Wiedemann, trans., *The History of the Tyrants*, pp. 129, 158]; Carlo A. Garufi, *I documenti inediti dell'epoca normanna in Sicilia* (Palermo, 1899), p. 111; Takayama, "The Great Administrative Officials," p. 323; Johns, *Arabic Administration*, pp. 219–222.
39 Falcandus, *Liber de Regno*, pp. 161–162 [Loud and Wiedemann, trans., *The History of the Tyrants*, p. 214].
40 Falcandus, *Liber de Regno*, pp. 163–164 [Loud and Wiedemann, trans., *The History of the Tyrants*, p. 216]; Takayama, "*Familiares Regis*," pp. 365–368.
41 In addition to George, John, son of Eugenius, Nicholas, Theodore, Basil and Michael, son of George, were all Greek *amirati*. See Takayama, "*Amiratus*," pp. 138–140.
42 Takayama, "The Great Administrative Officials," pp. 321–326.
43 Falcandus, *Liber de Regno*, p. 77 [Loud and Wiedemann, trans., *The History of the Tyrants*, p. 128]. Cf. Jamison, *Admiral Eugenius*, p. 44, note 3; Takayama, "The Great Administrative Officials," pp. 322–323; Johns, *Arabic Administration*, p. 224.
44 See note 24 above.
45 Takayama, "The Great Administrative Officials," pp. 323–324; Johns, *Arabic Administration*, pp. 228–234.
46 Many of the masters of the *duana de secretis*, which kept and dealt with documents related to land, had Arab-Islamic cultural background. Takayama, "The Great

Administrative Officials," pp. 326–331. There were also many foreigners among other government officials. Robert the chancellor and Thomas Brown the chaplain, both of whom served Roger II, and Florius de Camerota, who served the three kings as justiciar, were from England. For Robert the chancellor, see Karl A. Kehr, *Die Urkunden der normannisch-sicilischen Könige* (Innsbruck 1902), p. 75, note 8; Haskins, "England and Sicily," p. 437; Evelyn Jamison, "The Sicilian Norman Kingdom in the Mind of Anglo-Norman Contemporaries," *Proceedings of the British Academy*, vol. 24 (1938), p. 270. For Thomas Brown, see *Dialogus de Scaccario: De Necessariis observantiis scaccarii dialogus qui vulgo dicitur Dialogus de scaccario*, ed. Charles Johnson (London, 1950), p. 35; Charles H. Haskins, "England and Sicily in the Twelfth Century," *English Historical Review*, vol. 26 (1911), pp. 438–440; Wilfred L. Warren, *Henry II* (Berkeley/Los Angeles, 1977), pp. 313–314; Reginald L. Poole, *The Exchequer in the Twelfth Century* (London, 1912), pp. 67, 118–122. For Florius de Camerota, see Haskins, "England and Sicily," pp. 437–438; Jamison, "The Sicilian Norman Kingdom," pp. 274–275.

47 Takayama, "Central Power and Multi-Cultural Elements," p. 14. For the decline of the Muslim population in Sicily in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, see David Abulafia, "The End of Muslim Sicily," *Muslims under Latin Rule: A Comparative Perspective*, ed. James M. Powell (Princeton, 1990), pp. 103–133.

48 For example, many Muslims were killed by Christians in the riot in 1161 after the assassination of Maio. Falcandus, *Liber de Regno*, pp. 56–57 [Loud and Wiedemann, trans., *The History of the Tyrants*, pp. 109–110]; Romualdus Salernitanus, pp. 246–247 [English translation: Loud and Wiedemann, trans., *The History of the Tyrants*, p. 230].

49 According to Falcandus, Martin, an ex-Muslim eunuch, raged all the Christians fiercely and imputed his brother's death to them, because he knew his brother had been killed by some Christians. Falcandus, *Liber de Regno*, p. 79 [Loud and Wiedemann, trans., *The History of the Tyrants*, p. 129].

50 Most of his signatures were written in Greek not only in Greek documents but also in Latin ones. See Takayama, "Central Power and Multi-Cultural Elements," p. 5, note 16. However, Von Falkenhausen believes that Roger II's Greek signatures were not written by his own hand but by one of his scribes. See Vera Von Falkenhausen, "I diplomi dei re normanni in lingua greca," *Documenti medievali greci e latini. Studi Comparativi. Atti del seminario di Erice (23–29 ottobre 1995)*, ed. Giuseppe De Gregorio and Otto Kresten (Spoleto, 1998), pp. 283–286.

51 Alexander Kazhdan, "Doxopatres, Neilos," *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* ed. Alexander Kazhdan, 3 vols. (New York/Oxford, 1991), vol. 1, p. 660; Vera Von Falkenhausen, "Doxapatres, Nilo," *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 41 (1992), pp. 610–613.

52 Al-Idrīsī, *Kitāb nuzha al-mushtāq fī Ikhtirāq al-Āfāq (Opus geographicum)*, 6 vols. (Rome, 1970–1976), vol. 1, p. 5; in Amari, *Biblioteca, testo arabo*, p. 16; in Amari, *Biblioteca, versione italiana*, vol. 1, p. 35.

53 Ibn Jubayr, *Riḥla*, p. 324 [English trans., p. 341].

54 Jamison, *Admiral Eugenius*, pp. xvii–xxi; Charles H. Haskins, *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, MA, 1927), pp. 60, 292, 298, 332, 344; Charles H. Haskins, *Studies in the History of Medieval Science*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, MA, 1927), pp. 53, 142–143, 150, 152, 159–163, 165–172, 179–183, 190; Maria T. Mandalari, "Enrico Aristippo Arcidiacono di Catania nella vita culturale e politica del secolo XII," *Bolletino storico catanese*, vol. 4 (1939), pp. 87–123.

55 Jamison, *Admiral Eugenius*, pp. xxi–xxii, 4.

56 Illuminato Peri, *Uomini, città e campagne in Sicilia dall'XI al XIII secolo* (Bari, 1978), p. 108; Hans Van Werveke, *The Cambridge Economic History*, vol. 3 (Cambridge, 1963), p. 38 .

57 Van Werveke, *The Cambridge Economic History*, vol. 3, pp. 38–39; Lester K. Little, *Religious Poverty and the Profit Economy in Medieval Europe* (Ithaca, NY, 1978), pp. 22–23; Brian Tierney and Sidney Painter, *Western Europe in the Middle Ages 300–1475*, 4th ed. (New York, 1983), p. 274.
58 Ibn Jubayr, *Riḥla*, p. 333 (English trans., pp. 349–350).
59 The Norman kings had also a white palace in Messina, and the palaces of Favara and Altofonte near Palermo. See Al-Idrīsī, *Kitāb nuzha al-mushtāq*, vol. 4, pp. 590–592; in Amari, *Biblioteca, testo arabo*, pp. 28–30; Amari, *Biblioteca, versione italiana*, vol. 1, pp. 59–62; Romualdus Salernitanus, p. 232 [Loud and Wiedemann, trans., *The History of the Tyrants*, p. 219]; Falcandus, *Liber de Regno*, p. 87 [Loud and Wiedemann, trans., *The History of the Tyrants*, pp. 136–137]; Houben, *Roger II*., p. 131 [English trans., 130–131].
60 For the royal palace, see Hugo Falcandus, "Epistola ad Petrum Panormitane ecclesie thesaurarium de calamitate Sicilie," Siragusa, *La historia o liber de Regno Sicilie*, p. 178 [English translation: Loud and Wiedemann, trans., *The History of the Tyrants*, p. 259]. Cf. Falcandus, *Liber de Regno*, p. 55 [Loud and Wiedemann, trans., *The History of the Tyrants*, p. 108].
61 Ibn Jubayr, *Riḥla*, p. 324 [English trans., p. 340].
62 Ibn Jubayr, *Riḥla*, pp. 325–326 [English trans., p. 340].

9

LAW AND MONARCHY IN THE SOUTH

In modern scholarship, medieval southern Italy (understood here to mean Sicily and mainland southern Italy) has been discussed, first and foremost, in relation to the formation of Western Europe. To some scholars, it was a gateway through which Western Europe received Byzantine and Islamic cultures. Translations into Latin of a number of important Greek and Arabic texts, ranging from philosophy to natural science, were undertaken here. Knowledge of Byzantine art and architecture was also transmitted to Europe through medieval southern Italy. To other scholars it was the nurturing place of the first modern state in Western Europe to have a highly developed royal administration and bureaucracy. On the other hand, southern Italy has been discussed with a negative connotation in the context of the formation of Italy. Regardless of how the Norman and Hohenstaufen kingdom dominated the central part of the Mediterranean and had so much influence over the politics, economy and cultures of this region, it might be seen as a glorious historical anecdote or even as a serious obstacle to Italy's unification in the "history of Italy."

Southern Italy in the Middle Ages should not be treated just as a frontier of Europe or a part of the Italian entity. Both frameworks, Europe and Italy, as fixed geopolitical or historical entities prevent us from understanding the history of Southern Italy. We could certainly take different viewpoints or use different frameworks to see its history, but it should not be forgotten that southern Italy itself was not an everlasting geopolitical entity either. Many of the phenomena that happened in southern Italy must be considered and understood in a far larger context extending beyond its geographical limits. A large part of its history was not self-contained at all, but a reflection of power relationships in a wider context, even though it sometimes became a powerful engine to effect change further afield. Although obvious, it should also be noted that the history of southern Italy cannot be fully understood without putting it in the context of the history of the Mediterranean. The sea could be a serious obstacle to transportation and become a natural border. But at the same time, it could be a busy road along which goods and people went back and forth. In the case of southern Italy, the hinterland of which was extremely mountainous, most of the important cities were located

along the coastline and were connected to each other and with foreign cities by sea. In the Middle Ages, southern Italy was more often a part of the Mediterranean than a part of the European continent.

Norman unification

From the seventh century, the Mediterranean region consisted of three major cultural zones: Latin-Christian Western Europe, the Greek-Christian Byzantine East and Arab-Islamic North Africa and Spain. Southern Italy was located on their borders, and as a result it had a remarkably complicated history. In the eleventh century, when Norman warriors arrived from Normandy in northern France, Calabria and Apulia were under the control of the Byzantine Empire. The three duchies of Naples, Amalfi and Gaeta were nominally subject to Byzantine authority, and the three Lombard principalities of Salerno, Capua and Benevento were to all intents independent. Sicily was divided among local Muslim warlords.

The Normans first worked for Lombard rulers and Byzantine governors as mercenaries but were soon drawn to Aversa and Melfi, which became centers for the Norman warriors. By the middle of the eleventh century, the Normans in Southern Italy had already become a strong force affecting international politics, and had grown into perhaps one of the most active political elements in Western Europe besides the papacy and the German Empire. In fact, the Normans had a strong bearing on the papacy. They fought with Pope Leo IX and captured him in 1053, and they supported Pope Nicholas II against his rival. They were to play important roles during the Investiture Controversy. Without their military support, the popes could not have fought against the German emperors so persistently.

In 1059 Richard, a leader of the Normans at Aversa, and Robert Guiscard, a leader at Melfi, received from Pope Nicholas II the investiture of the principality of Capua, and the duchy of Apulia, Calabria and Sicily, respectively. The duchy of Apulia rapidly developed into a powerful principality under Robert Guiscard. He conquered the Byzantine territory in Apulia and Calabria (Bari fell in 1071) and unified southern Italy. Although he faced serious baronial revolts, Robert Guiscard basically succeeded in keeping his authority over the duchy. He also played an important role in international politics. He fought with Pope Gregory VII at first, but after making peace with him in 1080, they maintained a good relationship thereafter. When the German King Henry IV made an expedition to Italy and besieged Gregory VII in 1084, Robert Guiscard marched on Rome, sacked the city and rescued Gregory VII. He mounted two large expeditions against the Byzantine Empire. During the first in 1081–1082, he took Avlona (modern Vlorë), Corfu and Durazzo (Durrës, Dyrrachium), which were lost after his return to Italy. In the second expedition in 1084–1085, he reconquered Avlona and Corfu and occupied Butrint, but he fell ill and died in Cephalonia in 1085.

After the death of Robert Guiscard, the duchy rapidly lost its integrity. His son Roger Borsa (duke from 1085 to 1111) and his grandson William (duke

from 1111 to 1127) failed to maintain his strong authority, and they allowed many of the Norman barons within the duchy to become effectively independent. This tension between the aspirations of the barons and that of the rulers is a constant in the history of medieval southern Italy. Count Roger I of Sicily, brother of Robert Guiscard, became the most powerful ruler in southern Italy. Prior to his brother's death, Roger I had patiently been conquering Sicily with a few hundred knights under his command. When he took Noto in 1091, the last city retained by the Muslims, he had already spent thirty years in this endeavor since the capture of Messina in 1061. Even though technically inferior to the duke of Apulia, Roger I transformed Sicily into a cohesive and wealthy state, and he became one of the most influential monarchs in Western Europe. An agreement with Pope Urban II endowed him with authority over the Church in Sicily, even though the exact terms of this arrangement gave rise to argument for the next six centuries. Powerful princes in Europe sought to make alliances with him. His daughters were married to King Coloman of Hungary, the count of Toulouse, and Conrad, son of Emperor Henry IV of Germany. Roger I died in 1101 and left two sons, Simon and Roger II. During their minority, their energetic mother Adelasia (Adelaide) from Savona in northern Italy managed to maintain authority and order in Sicily as regent. In 1112 she left Sicily for Jerusalem to marry King Baldwin (who before long repudiated her, having only sought to benefit from the wealth of Sicily); Count Roger II began independent rule.

The Norman conquest redrew the political map of southern Italy. The old political order in this region, balanced among several states with different cultural traditions, was destroyed, and new political circumstances emerged under the Norman rulers. Some of the old political units were simply destroyed, while others remained with their rulers replaced by Normans. Almost all regions in southern Italy were placed under Norman rulers. Thus, in a political sense, one of the most important strategic points and most important trading centers in the Mediterranean ceased to be the border region of the three cultural zones and became a part of Latin-Christian Europe.

From a demographic point of view, however, the Normans were a minority in terms of numbers, and most of the inhabitants remained almost the same as before. The majority of Sicilians were Muslims and Greeks. Many of the inhabitants in Calabria and part of Apulia were Greeks, while the majority in Apulia and Campania were those with Latin-Christian traditions. These people with different cultural backgrounds preserved their own customs and traditions under the new rulers. Despite the change of rulers, some of the old political units survived the Norman conquest as Norman political entities or as regional boundaries within the Norman monarchies. However, the links between Adelaide of Savona and northern Italy helped stimulate large-scale migration by so-called Lombards into Sicily from the end of the twelfth century onwards, leading to the gradual Latinization of the island and the spread there of Italian vernacular dialects in place of Arabic and Greek.

The Norman Kingdom of Sicily

When his cousin's son, Duke William of Apulia, died without heirs in 1127, Count Roger II of Sicily quickly took over the duchy of Apulia. Having subdued discontented barons, he succeeded in receiving the investiture of the duchy of Apulia from Pope Honorius II in 1128. In 1130, taking advantage of a papal schism, Roger II obtained from Antipope Anacletus II the crown of the kingdom of Sicily, Calabria and Apulia, the principality of Capua, the honor of Naples and the protectorate of the men of Benevento. This was the beginning of the Norman Kingdom of Sicily and marked a watershed in both Italian and Mediterranean history. Italy had been ruled by a series of outsiders after the fall of the Western Roman Empire, and its southern part had been divided into small states with different cultural backgrounds. This fragmented situation in the south came to an end when Roger II unified this region and transformed it into a mighty kingdom. This kingdom was a sound political entity with a stable governing system, far more cohesive than the dominion of Robert Guiscard, which had lacked a stable governing system and which was dismembered at his death. Its rulers became powerful and influential players in Mediterranean and European politics.

Thus the creation of the new kingdom in 1130 symbolizes a great historical change in southern Italy and the Mediterranean. But the actual condition of the kingdom should not be misunderstood. Roger II's authority was not yet recognized in a vast area of the peninsula, which was still under the control of independent warlords and cities. At this moment the political extent of the kingdom was far smaller than its nominal extent. Roger II had to spend almost ten years pacifying all the territory. Powerful barons and many cities in Apulia, supported by Pope Innocent II, continuously revolted. Lothar, the German emperor, invaded the kingdom in response to the pope's request in 1136. The pope himself also made an expedition in 1139 but was captured by Roger, son of Roger II. As a result, he was forced to rescind the excommunication of Roger II and to confirm his status as king of Sicily, duke of Apulia and prince of Capua.

The kingdom as a political entity

By the end of the summer in 1140, Roger II restored peace and order in the kingdom and gained almost complete control over the whole territory, which now consisted of the county of Calabria and Sicily, the duchies of Apulia and Naples and the principalities of Taranto and Capua. The gain of land north of Calabria had multiplied his territory and population. Sicily and southern Italy were put under one ruler and to all intents constituted one political entity. The extent of the kingdom became the basic framework for the history of this region thereafter, and it remained long in people's mind as the *regno* (kingdom) par excellence. Modern scholarship tends also to take the existence of the kingdom as a framework within which to describe the society of medieval southern Italy and Sicily.

No matter how important the creation of this political entity was, however, the kingdom was not a uniform one but a complex of different regions with different traditions. Roger II used the administrative units of the old polities as his largest governmental districts, and for that reason he kept the duchy of Apulia, the principality of Taranto and the principality of Capua as administrative divisions of the kingdom. He appointed his sons as dukes and princes, as if the old polities continued to exist under the authority of the king. The principality of Capua offers a good example. It fell into the hands of Roger II in 1135 and was given to his third son, Anfusus. Its unity was preserved for a certain period of time within the kingdom; documents were dated by the regnal year of Anfusus and he had his own chamberlain, who seems to have been active in the administration of the principality as late as 1149. The kingdom was thus a mosaic of different political units unified under Roger II.

Within the boundaries of the newborn kingdom lived people with different cultural traditions: Arab-Islamic, Greek Orthodox Christian, Latin Catholic Christian and Jewish. These people did not live together but in different regions and districts. The southern and western parts of Sicily were mostly inhabited by Muslims and the northeastern part by Greeks. The majority of the inhabitants of Calabria and part of Apulia were Greeks. To the north of Calabria lived mainly south Italians of the Latin Catholic tradition. Almost all of the lay landlords were Latin, above all Norman, and so were many of the high clerics. The coexistence of people with different cultural backgrounds within the kingdom was a simple result of the unification of political entities belonging to different cultures.

After the pacification of the peninsula in 1140, however, the kingdom was gradually transformed into a state more cohesively and systematically governed by new administrative apparatuses. Roger II's intent is well reflected in the so-called Assizes of Ariano, the laws he promulgated just after the pacification. The first article included in the Vatican manuscript proclaimed that because of the variety of people subject to the Norman rule, their usages, customs and laws should not be abrogated unless they are clearly contradictory to the newly promulgated laws. This clearly shows the ruler's will to respect the existing laws and customs among different people on the one hand, but on the other it also makes clear that his edicts had priority over them. Roger II tried to control the people in much the same condition as they had been, but definitely under his strong and sole authority.

Kingship and the royal court

At the center of the kingdom there were always Christian Norman kings, and the governmental center of the kingdom was the royal palace in Palermo, where the royal court of the kingdom became fixed. The character of sovereignty changed according to the form of central power, as did the power structure of the court. Day-to-day power was not always held by a king, but sometimes by a head minister or a group of the *familiares regis*. These three forms of central power appeared in turn at the royal court of Sicily. When a king himself did not exercise power,

the court became the stage for an intense power struggle and a cunning battle for hegemony. Confrontations among different groups, such as bureaucrats, clerics and feudal lords, between natives and foreigners, and among different cultural groups, complicated the situation further.

During a large part of the reign of Roger II, the king himself exercised power. In the royal court, Roger II had many able officials, most of whom he inherited from his parents, as well as Norman aristocrats and Christian clerics. These officials bore various titles of Roman, Frankish, Byzantine and Arabic origins such as *cancellarius*, *camerarius*, *kaprilingas*, *protonotarius (protonotarios)*, *notarius (notarios)*, *logothetes*, *amiratus* and so forth. The high officials who bore the title of *amiratus*, which is of Arabic origin, were powerful magnates in the court with the king's full confidence. They commanded the army and were concerned with the administration of the kingdom. Most of them were Greek. A powerful head minister, George, who also bore the title of *amiratus*, was a typical example of such a Greek. Although supported by these able ministers, officials and feudal vassals, Roger II solved various problems and dealt with important matters himself. Thus Roger II himself exercised power for a prolonged period, and he was the real center of administration for a large part of his reign.

His son William I (1154–1166) was completely different. Once the unstable situation after the death of Roger II subsided, William I entrusted the government to the head minister Maio and decided to live an easy life in a secluded palace. The king stepped down from the center stage of politics and Maio held full control over the kingdom. After the death of Maio in 1160, William I appointed the archdeacon of Catania, the count of Marsico, and the bishop-elect of Syracuse to be *familiares regis*, and entrusted them with the government. From this time, the *familiares regis* came to have special significance in the kingdom. *Familiaris regis* was a well-defined title to indicate a member of the royal inner council during the reigns of William I and his son William II (1166–1189). Although the holders of this title swelled to ten people at one point, they usually numbered between three and five. As the decision makers on policy and other important matters, they were the most powerful people in the kingdom.

William II did not exercise power either. In the early period of his minority, his mother Margaret entrusted the government first to Peter, an ex-Muslim eunuch, and then to Stephen, a son of the count of Perche in France. Both of them fled the kingdom in disturbances. Stability was restored when Walter, one of the *familiares regis* and the dean of Agrigento, was consecrated archbishop of Palermo. He changed the composition of the inner council and established a triumvirate consisting of himself, Gentile the bishop of Agrigento, and the notary Matthew. This triumvirate continued for about fifteen years with changes in membership and was modified by the addition of the archbishop of Monreale. This archbishopric was created in 1183 and its first archbishop, William, joined the *familiares regis*. The government of the kingdom by the four *familiares regis* lasted until the death of William II.

Norman administration

With regard to administrative organizations, we should underline the importance of chronological developments, because so many previous scholars have treated offices belonging to different periods as if they were contemporaneous, and have thereby created a confused image of the Norman administration. In order to examine the structure of the Norman administration, we must clearly specify the time period, which should be limited within a sufficiently narrow time frame.

Roger II introduced the first important administrative changes after his pacification of the peninsula in 1140. He installed local chamberlains and local justiciars systematically all over the kingdom. Then he created a new office with the Arabic title of *dīwān al-taḥqīq al-ma'mūr*. This office was created around the remaining Arab documents, which included information on land and its inhabitants, in order to keep and to revise the useful documents. It soon came to be called *duana de secretis* in Latin. Under Maio, royal officials advanced in specialization and hierarchization; this change was especially marked in the organization of chamberlains and justiciars in the central government. A chamberlain working in the central government came to be called "chamberlain of the royal palace" (*camerarius regalis palatii*), while another title of "master chamberlain of the royal palace" (*magister camerarius regii palatii*) appeared a little later. This master chamberlain of the royal palace came to take a significant role in the central administration. The presence of justiciars in the central government also displayed the increased level of specialization and hierarchization under Maio. At the beginning of William II's reign, a new office called *duana baronum* was created for the government of the peninsula. This new office was located in Salerno, perhaps in the castle of Terracena, and had competence over the whole peninsula except for Calabria, carrying out various administrative duties needed there.

After the creation of the *duana baronum*, we can see the structure of the Norman administration at its most developed stage. In this period, the royal inner council of *familiares regis* held the highest authority in the government and made decisions on important issues of the kingdom or on matters concerning the king's interests. The master chamberlain of the royal palace and his two subordinate chamberlains of the royal palace directed the executive and administrative functions of the central government. Most of the holders of these offices were Muslims or ex-Muslims. For special duties concerning the administration of land, however, there was the special office called *dīwān al-taḥqīq al-ma'mūr* in Arabic (or *duana de secretis* in Latin, or *mega sekreton, sekreton* in Greek), which was located at the royal palace in Palermo and under the direction of one of the two chamberlains of the royal palace. It had high officials called *magistri duane de secretis* in Latin, *aṣḥāb dīwān al-taḥqīq al-ma'mūr* in Arabic, *hoi epi tou megalou sekretou* (*hoi epi tou sekretou*), or *archontes tou sekretou* in Greek, most of whom were also Muslims or ex-Muslims.[1] Their primary duty was land administration within Sicily (later possibly Calabria too), but they were among the most powerful officials of the kingdom. For the government of the peninsula a branch office called the

duana baronum in Latin (or *sekreton tōn apokopōn* in Greek) had been created at Salerno to meet a variety of local administrative needs. It had high officials called *magistri duane baronum* in Latin or *hoi epi tou sekretou tōn apokopōn* in Greek, who were also among the most powerful officials of the kingdom. Local officials such as local chamberlains, local justiciars, magistrates of towns (*catepani* or *stratēgoi*) and *baiuli* worked for the king's interest under the direction of these high officials.

One of the most important characteristics is the administrative difference between Sicily together with Calabria, and the rest of the peninsula. In Sicily and Calabria the king had more immediate control of inhabitants and lands by means of registers of lands and villeins. Vassals and churches were not such strong obstacles to the royal administration. Here existed a more valid and stable administration. In peninsular administration, however, the vassals were indispensable. The king could control and govern the inhabitants and the land only through vassals. The administrative organization of the kingdom was based on the existing administrative institutions of the former rulers or was created to control the different existing offices. The time lag in absorbing different regions, each of which had its own political and historical integrity, made it difficult to organize a homogeneous administrative system over the whole kingdom, and as a result, it led to the coexistence of different administrative systems. Although some scholars have seen in this kingdom an advanced degree of centralization of government, and even the origin of modern states, its administrative system was in fact a mixture of different systems.

The kings' ambitions and diplomacy

Through the decade-long pacification, Roger II consolidated his authority within the kingdom and expanded its power base. This inner solidarity made possible his remarkable naval expansion into Africa and Greece. His fleet repeatedly attacked northern Africa and finally established mastery in the area between Tripoli and Bona. He also made an expedition against the Byzantine Empire, taking Corfu and Cephalonia. By his death in 1154, Roger II had gained dominance over important commercial routes in the central Mediterranean, which was to be lost under William I.

William I, after expelling the invasions of the papal and German armies at the beginning of his reign, increased his influence over the papacy, and at the death of Hadrian IV, he succeeded in establishing his candidate as Pope Alexander III (1159–1181). In 1158 he concluded a peace with the Byzantine emperor and they remained on good terms thereafter. During the reign of William II the kingdom maintained good and peaceful relationships with many foreign states. A treaty with Genoa in 1156 provided Sicily with an assured market for its grain and cotton. Pope Alexander III was its best ally. After a failed attempt by the German emperor to gain control of both northern and southern Italy in the 1160s, the Peace of Venice of 1177 established a truce with the German Empire for fifteen

years; the marriage of Constance, aunt of William II, to Henry, son of Emperor Frederick Barbarossa, further improved the relationship between the two monarchies. The kingdom made alliances with Genoa and Venice and even retained a peaceful relationship with the normally troublesome Byzantine Empire for quite a while. Furthermore, the marriage of King William II to Joanna, daughter of King Henry II of England, in 1176 consolidated the close connection between the two most powerful Norman Kingdoms in twelfth-century Europe. While keeping on good terms with foreign powers, William II also showed great military adventurousness. Taking advantage of the dispute over a successor to Emperor Manuel, he attacked the Byzantine Empire in 1185. The Norman fleet took Durazzo and Thessalonica in the same year and marched on Constantinople, resulting in a war that lasted for several years. He also sent expeditions against the Muslims, especially those in Egypt. The Norman fleet attacked Damietta in 1169, Alexandria in 1174 and Tinnis twice between 1175 and 1178; William II attacked Majorca to the west as well in 1181–1182. He also sent his fleet to join the Third Crusade in 1189, but he died before knowledge of the successes of his *amiratus* Margaritus in the East reached him.

Transition

William II died childless in 1189 at the age of thirty-six. His aunt Constance, a daughter of Roger II, was the legitimate heiress to the crown of Sicily, but her marriage to Henry VI, king of Germany, caused fear among Sicilian magnates that Sicily might lose its independence to the German Empire. Eventually Tancred, count of Lecce and illegitimate son of Duke Roger, and hence grandson of Roger II, was elected king in 1190. But his reign was fraught with difficulties from the beginning. He had to fight against his opponents and enemies. An opposition party revolted in the peninsula while the Muslims rose in Sicily. King Richard the Lionheart of England arrived in Messina with his crusading army and created havoc. In 1191 Henry VI, now emperor, invaded the kingdom and established his authority in Salerno. Although Tancred succeeded in reconquering the peninsula, the kingdom had lost its integrity and the cohesiveness preserved under his predecessors. It was on the way to dismemberment and disorder. Tancred died in 1194, leaving his child William III as successor.

Henry VI, having again put the peninsula under his authority, marched on Palermo, removed the child king William III from power, and had himself crowned king of Sicily on Christmas Day 1194. This was but one day before his wife – who had only reached Jesi in central Italy – gave birth to an heir, the future Frederick II. The coronation of Henry marks a change in the royal dynasty of the kingdom from the Hauteville Norman house to the German Hohenstaufen, although Norman blood was transmitted to Frederick II through his mother Constance. But no less important was the creation of the Italo-German political zone in which political elements closely interacted. Thereafter, the history of southern Italy cannot be fully understood without considering German factors. Henry VI

soon returned to Germany, leaving the government to Constance. The kingdom was after all a private foreign domain for him, no matter how wealthy it was. He died in 1197, followed by Constance in 1198. Although Constance had chosen the pope as guardian of her son, the kingdom was submerged in political confusion. The king's authority withered, and warlords came to fight one another for lands and hegemony. The kingdom lost its integrity and was no longer a single political entity.

Frederick II

After the death of Henry VI the kingship of Sicily was inherited by his son Frederick II. He was crowned at Palermo at the age of three in his mother's arms in May 1198. When his mother died later the same year, he was officially put under the guardianship of Pope Innocent III. In fact, he was just left in Palermo and was raised there. During his minority the kingdom became immersed in ever deeper disorder. In Germany the succession to Henry VI caused serious confrontation between two parties and produced two kings, Philip (Frederick's uncle) and Otto IV the Welf. After the assassination of Philip in 1208, Otto IV was reelected sole king of Germany and was crowned emperor in Rome in 1209.

In 1208 Frederick II came of age at fourteen and undertook a difficult task: the restoration of order and royal control in the kingdom. During his minority, disorder had prevailed throughout the kingdom. Many barons had become independent and usurped their neighboring lands including the royal demesne. Castles had been built here and there without royal permission. Many cities had also rid themselves of royal control. In 1209 Frederick II gathered his army and subdued rebellious barons by force, but there was a long way to go to fulfill his task. In the next few years his life and fortune drastically changed, for in 1210 the pope excommunicated Emperor Otto IV, who had marched into Italy and invaded the kingdom of Sicily, and in 1211 the supporters of the Hohenstaufen in Germany elected Frederick II king of Germany. Otto IV, who had already marched deep into the southern end of the peninsula, turned back to Germany, and Frederick II also left Sicily for Germany. Frederick II occupied Constance without much difficulty and was crowned at Mainz in 1212. Thereafter he was engaged in subduing the opposing barons and restoring order in Germany for twelve years. It was in 1220 that he finally came back to Sicily.

Restoration of royal authority

When he returned to the kingdom, Frederick II was not simply the king of Sicily. He had already established himself as the ruler of Germany, leaving his young son Henry (VII) as king in Germany.[2] He had even had himself crowned as emperor at Rome on his way home. With these titles and power, he resumed the difficult task of restoring order and royal control in the kingdom. His strong will to do so is well shown in the Assizes of Capua, which were promulgated in December 1220

just after his return to the kingdom. In the prologue, he proclaimed that he would restore the state of the kingdom to the good condition of the reign of William II; ordered that those castles unjustly built during the period of disorder should be destroyed or delivered to royal authority; and ordered that those charters and privileges issued during this period should be examined and confirmed by the royal chancery. Without doubt, the king's top priority was to restore royal authority within the kingdom. Thereafter, he energetically fought against powerful independent barons in the peninsula and subjected them to royal authority. He crushed the rebellious Muslims in Sicily and transferred a large part of the Muslim population in Sicily to Lucera in the peninsula.

After working hard at the consolidation of royal authority in Sicily and southern Italy, Frederick II took up the cross for the crusade in 1228. He had taken the crusade vow at his coronation in Germany, but the unstable condition of the kingdom obliged him to put off his departure, to the intense ire of the pope; excommunicated by Pope Gregory IX because of the constant delays, Frederick II finally left the kingdom for Cyprus and the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem in June 1228. He had taken as his second wife the heiress to Jerusalem, so he went there as crusader and as emperor, but also as king of Jerusalem in right of Isabella. He succeeded in obtaining Jerusalem by negotiation with al-Kāmil, sultan of Egypt, and celebrated his diplomatic victory with a crown-wearing in the Church of the Holy Sepulcher in March 1229. This remarkable success without shedding blood was not appreciated by the pope, however. On the contrary, the papal army invaded the kingdom of Sicily in what was a papal holy war against a crusader – an odd event by any standards. Frederick II immediately came back home and expelled the papal army. He made a generous peace treaty with the humiliated pope at San Germano in June 1230.

Thereafter he devoted himself again to consolidating the kingdom. In October of the same year, he summoned "old good people" from various regions of the kingdom and made inquiries about local laws and customs. Then he presented the edicts of his constitutions at the royal court of Melfi in June 1231 and promulgated them the following September. A large number of them are concerned with crimes and legal procedures, which suggests that their main purpose was to attain and keep peace and order in the kingdom. From this time to his death in 1250, he continued to issue additional new laws (*novellae*) in order to consolidate the kingdom, although he was distracted by the wars against the Lombard Leagues and the papacy; and his successors continued this practice.

The Norman inheritance

To what extent the Norman administrative system functioned during the period of disorder in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries is a question over which scholars' opinions differ widely. Some see the evidence for continuity in the existence of Norman titles and administrative districts in documents, while others think the Norman administration came to a standstill in the political confusion

after the deaths of Henry VI and Constance. But as many scholars have pointed out, there is certainly a conspicuous similarity and common character between the Norman Kingdom and that of Frederick II, including the idea of kingship, cultural activities at court and administrative organization.

When restoring royal authority, Frederick II obviously had an image of the kingdom of his Norman predecessors in mind. He intended to revive the governmental system of his Norman ancestors, and bring about a rebirth of the strong authority of the Norman kings. Such intent is clearly shown in the Assizes of Capua of 1220, in which he proclaimed his wish to restore the institutions of the Norman period, and ordered that his justiciars' duties should be the same under William II and that the divisions of duties between his justiciars and *baiuli* (bailiffs) should be the same as in the Norman period. His will is also reflected in the Constitutions of Melfi of 1231, which included the edicts of his Norman predecessors. His key officials in the administration were in fact justiciars, chamberlains and *baiuli* as in the Norman period. And like his Norman predecessors, he tried to exclude the powerful lay magnates from the government and created a corps of professional bureaucrats. One innovation in this respect was the foundation of the University of Naples, as a training center for future bureaucrats. A number of bureaucratic families emerged, many of them drawn from the Amalfi peninsula and the lands around Naples, and some of these, for instance the Rufolo family, would continue to serve later kings as well, even after the violent change of dynasty that was to occur.

A changed kingdom

Still, the kingdom could not be the same, no matter how hard Frederick II tried to revive the kingdom of his Norman predecessors. Indeed, the inner condition of Sicily and southern Italy had changed too deeply; there was a conspicuous change in its demography. The Muslim population decreased rapidly in Sicily from the late twelfth century to the early thirteenth century. The Saracens continuously revolted during this period, and Frederick II decided to transfer them from Sicily to Lucera, an inland town of the peninsula. Thus Lucera became the colony of Muslims in the kingdom and remained so until 1300. Most of them lived a peasant life separated from outside Christian society, while some served the king as soldiers or courtiers. The coexistence of Muslims and Christians, one of the more striking features of the Norman Kingdom, came to an end. Muslim agricultural skills were lost from Sicily, and a large part of the land for fruit, vegetables, indigo, henna and so on was converted to grain producing land, though attempts were made to remedy this by bringing Jewish cultivators from north Africa who had the same skills, but not the same religion, as the departed Saracens.

The kingdom's center of gravity also changed. Palermo was no longer the sole unrivaled capital. Frederick II moved around the kingdom and resided much more often in the peninsula than his Norman predecessors, who usually stayed in Palermo or Messina. Foggia, an inland town in Apulia, and Naples, a huge port city

in Campania, were both attaining the status of a capital in the peninsula. Some officials gained more power while others lost their influence. For example, justiciars became more and more active and important in his administration, but the master chamberlains of the royal palace, as well as the office of *duana de secretis*, seemed to have lost their influence. In his government, we find few of the Muslim or Greek officials who had been so conspicuous and influential under the Norman kings. The Assizes of Capua, while showing the king's strong will to restore Norman institutions, prohibited the custom of the Norman period that permitted senior ecclesiastics and local nobles to take charge of judicial matters. The Constitutions of Melfi, while including many edicts of the Norman kings, at the same time denied the effectiveness of his predecessors' laws that were not included.

Frederick II's position as the ruler of the kingdom was totally different from that of the Norman predecessors. He was in a far more complicated situation than the Norman kings. As Holy Roman Emperor he was at the center of European politics and had a difficult relationship with the more and more assertive papacy. He was not simply a ruler of just one kingdom as his Norman predecessors were, but a ruler of two large political entities, the kingdoms of Sicily and Germany. Unlike the Norman kings who could concentrate their energy and concern on southern Italy, he had to rule two different kingdoms with completely different traditions and peoples, one a decentralized kingdom with powerful nobles and cities, the other a bureaucratic kingdom in the Mediterranean tradition of Byzantium and Islam. It can easily be imagined how difficult it was for one person to govern the two kingdoms separated by the strong natural obstacle of the Alps. Frederick II made his son Henry (VII) king of Germany and entrusted him with rule in Germany, with the intention that he himself would concentrate on the kingdom of Sicily. However, this did not work out well because Henry alienated the great German princes by trying to create his own power base. He had to remove his rebellious son in 1235 and put another son, Conrad IV, on the German throne in 1237. All this involved coaxing, rather than coercing, the German princes, since it was they who elected the German king, and they had grave doubts about the merits of effectively permitting hereditary succession. Based in southern Italy, Frederick II had to watch troubles and problems beyond the Alps. No matter how important the kingdom of Sicily was to him, it was after all a mere part of his dominion. Added to this were his worries about the situation in northern Italy, where Lombard rebels, increasingly encouraged by the papacy, drew him into the bitter rivalries of Milan, Cremona and other towns. This culminated in the hysterical denunciation of Frederick II at the Council of Lyons (1245), when Innocent IV declared him deposed as king and emperor.

The dismemberment of Frederick II's dominion

Frederick II died from illness in the castle of Fiorentino on 13 December 1250, with many issues unresolved, notably the relationship between pope and emperor and the problem of Lombardy. Any successor would have difficulties in ruling his

inheritance. The large dominion extending from Sicily to the Baltic Sea, and even as far as the Middle East, was too large to be unified in any meaningful sense, and almost impossible to be ruled by a single ruler, given the natural obstacles such as the Mediterranean and the Alps. His successor would also have to deal with the hostile papacy. Even that energetic and intellectual monarch Frederick II had great difficulties ruling his vast dominion in the face of papal hostility. It was Conrad, his son and the king of Germany, whom Frederick II chose as his successor. Conrad succeeded to the German throne and the kingship of Sicily, while Manfred, an illegitimate son, took the position of regent for Italy and Sicily. When his father died, Conrad was at war with William of Holland, who was the leader of the anti-Hohenstaufen party in Germany. His campaign in Germany turned out to be a stalemate, but Hohenstaufen influence rapidly withered there. He returned to Italy in 1252 but struggled to secure his inheritance, and he died in 1254, leaving a two-year-old son, Conrad V (or Conradin).

This put an end to the large political complex of Germany and Italy which had been formed by the crowning of King Henry VI of Germany as ruler of Sicily and strengthened further by Frederick II. Germany and southern Italy, separated into different political entities, began to take different courses. Germany experienced double elections for a new king after the death of William of Holland in 1256 and thereafter a troubled interregnum until 1273; it became a land submerged in political confusion and falling victim to further decentralization. The kingdom of Sicily also fell into a state of war. After the death of Conrad, Pope Innocent IV tried to control the kingdom while Pietro Ruffo, who had been a faithful follower of Frederick II and Conrad, tried to establish his own dominion based on Messina. Manfred defeated the papal army at Foggia in 1254 but could not restore order within the kingdom. His coronation as the king of Sicily in Palermo in 1258 did not improve the situation to any significant degree.

Charles of Anjou and the two kingdoms

In its hostility to the Hohenstaufen, the papacy searched for an able pro-papal candidate for the throne of Sicily. Under the French pontiff Urban IV (1261–1264), the papacy chose Charles, count of Anjou and Provence and brother of King Louis IX of France. Charles was crowned as king of Naples and Sicily in January 1266 in Rome, and he initiated his campaign against Manfred with a force of French, Provençal and Italian knights. He killed Manfred at the battle of Benevento and took control of a large northern slice of the kingdom. He defeated Conradin, the sole descendant of Frederick II in the legitimate male line, at Tagliacozzo and mercilessly executed him in 1268. He made Naples his effective capital and began to rule the kingdom with great energy, succeeding in his efforts to restore order in Sicily and southern Italy.

The Angevin kingdom, which appeared as a political entity from the dust of political confusion, was in a sense a revival of the old Hohenstaufen kingdom. Although the crown was transferred to the French royal house from the German

Hohenstaufen, the basic framework of the kingdom seemed to remain the same. Its boundaries did not change much, nor did its inhabitants. Even its governmental system did not appear to show much difference from the former one. It is not clear whether this system survived the political confusion or was revived by Charles, but most historians agree to a conspicuous continuity from Hohenstaufen to the Angevin government. Charles brought French elements to the government, but its basic structure remained the same as the Hohenstaufen or Norman predecessors. Some of Charles' officials are known to have served Frederick II and Manfred. It is also known that Charles preserved Hohenstaufen taxation, including the notorious *collecta*, despite promises to the pope not to levy it. His son Charles II had the Norman register of military service known as the Catalogue of Barons copied, just as the Hohenstaufen had done before, and inserted it into the Angevin registers of official acts; this symbolizes how strongly the Norman and Hohenstaufen structure of land distribution remained alive. Charles continued to entertain close relations with the foreign merchants, aiming to sell Sicilian and Apulian grain to the Florentines and the Venetians among others; and the relationship with the leading banks in Florence, which provided his court with credit and luxury textiles in return for tax concessions on grain exports, became a mainstay of Angevin finances for the next eighty years.

No matter how conspicuously continuous it appears, however, the Angevin kingdom was certainly not the same as the Hohenstaufen one. Its inner condition had changed, and its surrounding situation was different. Although the majority of the population remained almost the same before and after the political confusion, there were a great number of immigrants from the peninsula to Sicily in the thirteenth century. When Charles took the throne, Sicily was no longer an island of Muslims and Greeks; it had been transformed into an island of Latin Christians. In addition, the Muslim population was about to disappear from the kingdom. In fact, their last survivors in Lucera, who had been transported from Sicily by Frederick II, were to be sold as slaves in 1300 under Charles II. Thus the kingdom was no longer a state in which Muslims, Greeks and Latins coexisted, but an almost solely Latin Christian one.

After the pacification of the kingdom, many foreigners, especially French and Provençal settlers, came to southern Italy. Some of them worked for the central government while others received lands and became landlords. They constituted the new ruling class. This created a fault line between the foreign ruling class, backed by the foreign king, and the ruled natives. However, the native aristocrats, who were struggling to gain positions at the center of power, were given a chance to replace the ruling foreigners. Furthermore, Charles chose Naples, not Palermo, as the capital of the kingdom, which meant a shift of gravity from Sicily to Campania; he only once visited Sicily, on his way to a crusade against Tunis. Although Norman and Hohenstaufen elements survived strongly in local administration, as did their governmental methods, the governmental structure subtly changed. Sicily became a province. Sicilians lost their central status, and their political and cultural influence at the royal court withered. The king may

well have regarded Sicily simply as a source of profit from the grain trade and other natural assets.

The relationship between the king and the kingdom also changed greatly. At his coronation in 1266, Charles was forty years old and was already count of Anjou and of Provence. He had married the heiress of the county of Provence in January 1246 and thus had come to rule this wealthy county. In August of the same year he had received Anjou and Maine from his brother Louis IX, and these always remained important fiefs to whose government he gave close attention, even from afar. For Charles, no matter how important it was, the kingdom of Sicily was but one part of his dominion. Under the Hohenstaufen there had been a large and dense Italo-German zone in which various political elements closely interacted. In place of that, Charles created an Italo-Angevin zone that consisted of Anjou, Provence, southern Italy and Sicily. He was king of Sicily but also king of Albania and Jerusalem; count of Provence, Forcalquier, Anjou, Maine and Tonnerre; overlord of Tunis; and sometime Senator of Rome. His concern was not limited to the affairs of the kingdom, and his ambitions went far beyond that, crossing over the Mediterranean. His agenda included the Tunis Crusade of 1270, attacks against the schismatic Greeks in Constantinople, the acquisition of lands in Burgundy and Flanders, the crusade to the East and interests in Greece, the Balkans and Sardinia. His dominion was too large to control, as was his ambition.

The Sicilian Vespers and arrival of the king of Aragon

On 30 March 1282 a revolt broke out at the Church of the Holy Spirit in Palermo. A personal quarrel between a Palermitan and a French soldier was its apparent principal cause. The revolt quickly spread throughout the island and many French soldiers were killed. The Sicilians asked Pope Martin IV to give them autonomy under his auspices, but the pope rejected this request and excommunicated all the inhabitants of Sicily. In August, representatives of the towns and nobility of Sicily held an assembly and decided to look for a protector outside the kingdom. They chose Peter III, king of Aragon. He was the husband of Constance, daughter of Manfred, who herself had been proclaimed queen of Sicily at the royal court of Aragon after the death of Manfred. Having accepted their offer, Peter landed at Trapani in late summer and was crowned king of Sicily following his election by a parliament held at the ancient Norman church of San Cataldo in Palermo. He was already awaiting the invitation, having sailed to north Africa on a self-proclaimed crusade against the Moors, high in the expectation that Sicily rather than Africa would prove to be his final destination.

This revolt, the so-called Sicilian Vespers, has been characterized by historians in various ways. One of the most lasting questions is whether it was a revolt against the French ruler or against the traditional oppressive rule adopted by the Normans, the Hohenstaufens, and the Angevins. Some scholars attribute its cause to the failure of Charles' government and insist that the rebels' purpose was to eliminate French and Provençal officials from the court as well as French

landlords. Others attribute it to economic burdens, especially that of the notorious *collecta*, first levied by Frederick II. It has been recently pointed out that many of the Amalfitan officials targeted by the rebels belonged to the families that had served Frederick II and Manfred. Some scholars even see a sense of national identity as Sicilians in this revolt, which was largely confined to the island part of the kingdom, although others question this interpretation.

The most important point of this revolt, however, is the fact that Charles could not subdue the revolt properly and quickly. This failure caused the breakaway of Sicily from his kingdom and made Sicily a different political entity. The profound and long-lasting result was the coexistence of two rival kingdoms in southern Italy. Thereafter it long remained the most fundamental political feature of southern Italy. The two political entities, each of which had its own close relationship with outside powers – that is, the houses of Barcelona and Anjou-Provence – opposed each other and brought southern Italy into a state of endemic warfare, damaging to the local economies and a constant distraction to popes planning crusades, north Italian cities in search of protectors and so on.

The two kingdoms of Sicily and Naples

The war started in 1282 between the Angevins and the Aragonese (the house of Barcelona) and lasted until 1302. However, after a break it was renewed on and off, continuing for about two centuries, and so it is justly called the "Two Hundred Years' War" by David Abulafia. Meanwhile, Charles died in 1285, and was succeeded by his son, Charles II. In the same year the French king began an anti-Aragonese crusade. In 1290 Charles II ceded Anjou and Maine to Charles of Valois. The Anjou family continued to rule the kingdom of Naples until 1435, while a branch of the house of Barcelona ruled Sicily until the start of the fifteenth century, when the island was reintegrated into the Aragonese-Catalan political federation.

As stated earlier, there was a governmental difference between Sicily together with Calabria and the peninsula under the Norman kings. This difference, based on political frameworks and traditions predating the Norman conquest, was consolidated in the process of the conquest and the centralization of administration. At first glance these two fundamental administrative frameworks appear to have been separated into the two political entities. Some scholars seem to think the Sicilian Vespers activated an inner dividing line and separated the kingdom, but we should not stress these regional differences too much. The regional lines of division existed in layers. We cannot totally deny the unity of the kingdom either, for one and a half centuries had already passed since the creation of the Norman Kingdom, and the kingdom already had common historical experiences including the idea of the kingdom, laws, customs, institutions and cultures. What happened here was not an inevitable result of history caused by regional differences, but a simple incident that changed the destination of the history of southern Italy. Taking the opportunity of the revolt, the Aragonese king used military force to realize

his wife's claim of succession to the throne. Thus the two political forces based in Naples and Palermo, both of which claimed their own legitimacy to the throne, collided with each other and divided the peninsula and Sicily.

These two kingdoms, both sharing the Norman and Hohenstaufen tradition, came to coexist in southern Italy for an extended period. Both of them were situated in the geographical framework of Italy, but they belonged to different political zones embracing larger geographical areas. The kingdom of Sicily came to be a part of the Aragonese zone, while the kingdom of Naples continued to be a part of the Angevin. At the Straits of Messina the two houses of Aragon and Anjou confronted each other, and they continued to do so for about two centuries.

Notes

1 *οἱ ἐπὶ τοῦ μεγάλου σεκρέτου* (*οἱ ἐπὶ τοῦ σεκρέτου*); *ἄρχοντες τοῦ σεκρέτου*.
2 Henry is known as Henry (VII) to avoid confusion with Henry VII of Luxembourg, emperor early in the fourteenth century.

Further reading

There is a steadily growing literature here. A readable narrative is provided by John J. Norwich, *The Normans in the South* (London, 1967); and *The Kingdom in the Sun* (London, 1970), repr. as *The Normans in Sicily* (London, 1992). A fine analytical study encompassing the period of the conquest and of the kingdom is Jean-Marie Martin, *Italies normandes, XIe–XIIe siècles* (Paris, 1994). For the eleventh century, Graham A. Loud, *The Age of Robert Guiscard: Southern Italy and the Norman Conquest* (Harlow, 2000), is excellent; see too Graham A. Loud and Alex Metcalfe, *The Society of Norman Italy* (Leiden, 2002), for recent work on all aspects of Norman Italy. Joanna Drell, *Kinship and Conquest* (Ithaca, NY, 2002), looks at Salerno at the time of the Norman conquest; for Gaeta, see the fine work of Patricia Skinner, *Family Power in Southern Italy* (Cambridge, 1995) .

Donald Matthew, *The Norman Kingdom of Sicily* (Cambridge, 1992), has some rather quirky views; better is Hubert Houben, *Roger II: A Ruler between East and West* (Cambridge, 2002). On administration, see Hiroshi Takayama, *The Administration of the Norman Kingdom of Sicily* (Leiden, 1993); also Jeremy Johns, *Arabic Administration in Norman Sicily* (Cambridge, 2002); and Léon-Robert Ménager, *Amiratus – Ἀμηρᾶς. L'Émirat et les origines de l'amirauté* (Paris, 1960), without forgetting the classic and very substantial work of Evelyn Jamison, "The Norman Administration of Apulia and Capua," *Papers of the British School at Rome*, vol. 6 (1913), repr. in her *Studies on the Medieval History of Sicily and South Italy* (Aalen, 1992). On politics and culture, see Evelyn Jamison, *Admiral Eugenius of Sicily* (London/Oxford, 1957), though with reservations. On politics and art, see Eve Borsook, *Messages in Mosaic: The Royal Programmes of Norman Sicily, 1130–1187* (Oxford, 1990); and William Tronzo, *The Cultures of His Kingdom* (Princeton, 1997), which looks at the Palatine Chapel in Palermo. On the wars in Africa, see David Abulafia, "The Norman Kingdom of Africa," *Anglo-Norman Studies*, vol. 7 (1985), pp. 26–49, repr. with other studies of Norman and Hohenstaufen Sicily in David Abulafia, *Italy, Sicily and the Mediterranean, 1100–1400*

(London, 1987). On the economy, see David Abulafia, *The Two Italies: Economic Relations between the Norman Kingdom of Sicily and the Northern Communes* (Cambridge, 1977).

On Frederick II, see the mystical work of Ernst Kantorowicz, *Frederick the Second, 1194–1250*, trans. Emily O. Lorimer (London, 1931), on which consult David Abulafia, "Kantorowicz and Frederick II," *History*, vol. 62 (1977), pp. 193–210, repr. in *Italy, Sicily and the Mediterranean*, and the excellent study of Martin A. Ruehl, "In This Time without Emperors: The Politics of Ernst Kantorowicz's *Kaiser Friedrich der Zweite* Reconsidered," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, vol. 63 (2000), pp. 187–242. See David Abulafia, *Frederick II: A Medieval Emperor* (London, 1988, 3rd ed., 2002), for a revisionist viewpoint. Wolfgang Stürner, *Friedrich II*., 2 vols. (Darmstadt, 1992–2000), is very learned. Thomas C. Van Cleve, *The Emperor Frederick II of Hohenstaufen* (Oxford, 1972), is disappointing. On intellectual life and also the wider background, see William Tronzo, ed., *Intellectual Life at the Court of Frederick II Hohenstaufen* (Studies in the History of Art, 44, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts, Symposium papers xxiv, National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC, 1994). On the Church, Helen J. Pybus, "The Emperor Frederick II and the Sicilian Church," *Cambridge Historical Journal*, vol. 3 (1929–1930), pp. 134–163, is still worthwhile; see also James M. Powell, "Frederick II and the Church in the Kingdom of Sicily, 1220–40," *Church History*, vol. 30 (1961), pp. 28–34, and "Frederick II and the Church: A Revisionist View," *Catholic Historical Review*, vol. 44 (1962–1963), pp. 487–497; Peter Herde, "Literary Activities of the Imperial and Papal Chanceries during the Struggle between Frederick II and the Papacy," in Tronzo, ed., *Intellectual Life at the Court of Frederick II*, pp. 227–239.

For the era of Charles of Anjou, a classic narrative is that of Steven Runciman, *The Sicilian Vespers: A History of the Mediterranean World in the Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1958); there is a sober account in German by Peter Herde, *Karl I. von Anjou* (Stuttgart, 1979), which can also be found in Italian in the *Dizionario Biografico Italiano*, s.v. "Carlo I d'Angio." A good thematic study is that of Jean Dunbabin, *Charles I of Anjou: Power, Kingship and State Making in Thirteenth-Century Europe* (London, 1998). The Angevin-Aragonese feud is the theme of David Abulafia, *The Western Mediterranean Kingdoms, 1200–1500: The Struggle for Dominion* (London, 1997). For an approach emphasizing continuity, see Léon Cadier, *Essai sur l'administration du royaume de Sicile sous Charles 1er et Charles II d'Anjou* (Paris, 1891; new Italian ed. prepared by Francesco Giunta, *L'amministrazione della Sicilia angioina* [Palermo, 1974]). On the wider political setting, Norman Housley, *The Italian Crusades: The Papal-Angevin Alliance and the Crusades Against Christian Lay Powers, 1254–1343* (Oxford, 1982), is valuable. On Lucera, see the items listed under Chapter 11 [David Abulafia, ed., *Italy in the Central Middle Ages* (Oxford, 2004), Chapter 11], which now includes Julie Taylor, *Muslims in Medieval Italy: The Colony at Lucera* (Lanham, MD, 2003). A superb study of a later Angevin king is Samantha Kelly, *The New Solomon* (Leiden, 2003), which looks at ideas of kingship under Robert the Wise (1309–1343). A great explosion of Angevin studies in France has resulted in several volumes of conference proceedings that address the period from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century in Anjou, Provence, Italy and beyond, beginning with *L'État angevin* (Rome, 1998) and continuing with *La noblesse dans les territoires angevins à la fin du Moyen Âge* (Rome, 2000); also *Les Princes angevins du XIIIe au XVe siècle. Un destin européen* (Rennes, 2003). On

Charles I and the Greek world, see Deno J. Geanakoplos, *Michael VIII Palaeologus and the West, 1258–1282* (Cambridge, MA, 1959), pp. 92–115. On Sicily under Charles, an important book is that of Luciano Catalioto, *Terre, baroni e città in Sicilia nell'età di Carlo I d'Angio* (Messina, 1995). Several intriguing articles of the French scholar Henri Bresc are reprinted in *Politique et société en Sicile, XIIe–XVe siècles* (Aldershot, 1990), and there is a wealth of precious material in his vast study *Un monde méditerranéen: économie et société en Sicile, 1300–1450*, 2 vols. (Rome/Palermo, 1986). On the economy of mainland southern Italy, an influential older work is that of Georges Yver, *Le Commerce et les marchands dans l'Italie meridionale au XIIIe & au XIVe siècle* (Paris, 1903); see also David Abulafia, "Southern Italy and the Florentine Economy, 1265–1370," *Economic History Review*, ser. 2, vol. 33 (1981), pp. 377–388, repr. in *Italy, Sicily and the Mediterranean, 1100–1400*. On Aragonese Sicily, see Clifford R. Backman, *The Decline and Fall of Medieval Sicily: Politics, Religion and Economy in the Reign of Frederick III, 1296–1337* (Cambridge, 1995); Stephan R. Epstein, *An Island for Itself: Economic Development and Social Change in Late Medieval Sicily* (Cambridge, 1992) challenges the work of Bresc but is mainly concerned with later centuries.

Philip Grierson and Lucia Travaini, *Medieval European Coinage, vol. 14: Italy (III)* (Cambridge, 1998), contains excellent surveys of political and economic developments throughout the Norman, Hohenstaufen, and Angevin periods.

Part III

Religions and cross-cultural contacts

10

RELIGIOUS TOLERANCE IN NORMAN SICILY?
The case of Muslims

The Norman Kingdom of Sicily is reputed to be a haven of peaceful coexistence of cultures and a paragon of Christian religious tolerance in medieval Europe. Isidoro La Lumia noted the kingdom's "*tolleranza*" that made it possible for Saracens, Jews, Greeks, French, Amalfitans and others to live together, while Charles Diehl praised its "*tolérance politique et religieuse*."[1] Francesco Gabrieli lauded the Normans' lack of prejudice towards the Arab legacy and the resultant fruitful amalgamation of different civilizations.[2] For Antonio Marongiu, Roger II's respect for customs and languages of various ethnic and religious groups as well as his judicious urge for mutual esteem made the Norman Kingdom of Sicily a forerunner of modern states.[3] The Palatine Chapel (Cappella Palatina), which combines Greek, Romanesque and Arab styles, epitomizes this peaceful coexistence for Ernst Kitzinger,[4] while for Wolfgang Krönig it is symbolized by a multilingual epitaph with Arabic, Greek, Latin and Hebrew letters.[5] Several scholars view the patronage of Arab scholars by the Norman kings as well as Frederick II's closeness with Arab and Jewish scholars as an expression of religious tolerance.[6]

Many scholarly works discussing tolerance in the Norman Kingdom of Sicily focus on Greeks, Jews and especially Arabs[7] as "minority groups," applying this term to populations that do not belong to the ruling ethnos regardless of their numbers. The kings' favorable attitude toward the Muslim "minority" – more numerous in eleventh-century Sicily than the Normans – is most often quoted as proof of their religious tolerance. The status of this best documented "minority group" will therefore be examined in this article in order to check the pertinence of the concept of tolerance to the Norman rulers' attitudes and policies over time in a changing political situation. The actual evidence, as we will discover, is highly contrasted. Many sources attest to the kings' favor and trust of their Muslim subjects who enjoyed not only religious freedom but also a degree of self-government in cities in which they lived. Ample evidence to this count is provided by Ibn Jubayr, a traveler from Spain, who visited Sicily in the winter of 1184–1185 and who will often be quoted herein. A miniature in a book by Peter of Eboli showing King William II attended in his bed by a Muslim doctor and a Muslim astrologer epitomizes the king's close relationship with Muslims, in particular palace servants and scholars.[8] Other evidence, however, often produced by the same Ibn

Jubayr, reveals the harshness of Muslims' existence, feelings of humiliation and slavery and a strong pressure to convert to Christianity. Whether this contrasting evidence can be described in terms of "tolerance" versus "intolerance" will be the question to ask.

It should be noted that the term "Muslims," used in this article to indicate those who believe in Islam, is only employed in Arabic sources (pl. *muslimūn*, sing. *muslim*). Latin and Greek sources use ethnic terms such as Arabs (*Arabici/Araboi*), Turks, Moors and Saracens (*Saraceni/Saracenoi*) or pagans (*pagani*), as well as Ishmaels and *Hagarenes/Agarenoi* to indicate the offspring of Ishmael and Hagar. Unless employed in an explicit contrast with "Christians," these designations were not defined by religion and did not necessarily indicate Muslims.[9] In this article, I use the word "Arabs" to designate those who speak Arabic. Wherever possible, I keep the terms used in primary sources.

I

The relationship between the first count of Sicily, Roger I, and the Muslims must be considered in the political context of the conquest. While we tend to associate the Norman conquest of Sicily with the Crusades or the Iberian *Reconquista*, it is crucial to remember that at its early stage the simplistic scheme of a global confrontation between Christians and Muslims in Sicily does not work. The conquest started with a Norman involvement in a war between two Muslim rulers. Roger I's first expedition to Sicily in 1060 took place after Ibn al-Thumna, heavily defeated by another Muslim ruler, Ibn al-Hawwās, invited Roger I as ally from the Italian peninsula and offered him lands in Sicily as reward.[10] Roger I occupied Messina, Rametta, Paternò and Troina in 1061, and he conquered Petralia near Cefalù together with Ibn al-Thumna in 1062. Then, as he went back to the peninsula to help his brother Robert Guiscard, Ibn al-Thumna was killed.[11] Only after his death, the war gained the character of a Norman conquest of Muslim Sicily, to which Roger I devoted himself after the fall of Bari in 1071. He occupied Palermo together with his brother in 1072[12] and spent the next twenty years in an effort to complete the conquest with his Norman vassals without his brother's help. In about forty years of warfare, the territory under Roger I's power increased rapidly, and so did the diversity of its population.

Many sources show a large number of Saracen soldiers in Roger I's service. For example, Malaterra informs us that Roger I had many Saracen soldiers in the siege of Cosenza in 1091 and that of Castrovillari in 1094,[13] and that Saracen soldiers entered his army on his way to Capua in 1098.[14] Lupus Protospatarius witnesses that Roger I had twenty thousand Saracen soldiers with him when he besieged Amalfi in 1096.[15] Eadmer of Canterbury also states that there were many Saracens in Roger I's army.[16] Elias of Cartomi (†1081), a Muslim convert to Christianity, commanded one of Roger I's four troops in the expedition to Taormina in 1079.[17] A man of an Arab-Islamic cultural background, he was one of Roger I's magnates and a prominent member of his entourage.[18]

Given the fact that Roger I first joined the war as an ally of Ibn al-Thumna, a Muslim ruler, it is no wonder that numerous Saracen soldiers later served in his army. It is difficult to know, however, whether this situation resulted from his "religious tolerance" or from a pragmatic political choice. His successors the Norman kings, Hohenstaufen kings and even Angevin kings took over the tradition of employing Muslim soldiers.[19] Ibn Jubayr notes that William II had a corps of black Muslim slaves,[20] and Richard of San Germano indicates that Frederick II dispatched ten thousand Saracen soldiers into North Italy.[21]

Most of the Muslims under Roger I's rule were not soldiers, however, but city dwellers and villagers and their social and legal conditions differed accordingly. Roger I, who disposed of only several hundred knights during the conquest, according to Malaterra,[22] strove to avoid battles and to submit Muslims through negotiations. Cities, endowed with military power and autonomy, could better resist the conquest and negotiate better conditions for submission.

The surrender of Muslims in Palermo to Roger I and Robert Guiscard in January 1072 was negotiated by their representatives, two *qā'ids*, and other magnates.[23] No source specifies the content of the negotiations, but Roger I and Robert Guiscard must have guaranteed the security of the Muslims' lives and worship in exchange of tributes and labor service.[24] The Muslim negotiators stipulated, according to Malaterra, that their commitments were valid "lest they should be oppressed by new and unfair laws."[25] Some historians think that the Muslims of Palermo obtained in these negotiations the degree of autonomy, especially the right to keep their own judges and legal system, as described later by Ibn Jubayr.[26]

Other Sicilian cities, such as Catania, Mazara, Trapani, Taormina, Syracuse, Castrogiovanni, Butera and Noto,[27] probably negotiated similar agreements. Most of them probably preserved the old administrative systems used by Muslims and only replaced the heads of administration with Roger I's vassals or men of his trust. Therefore, a city that had submitted to Roger I could revolt against him rather easily. For example, Catania gave in to Roger I in 1071 or 1072 and was first governed by his son-in-law, Hugh of Gercé, but after the latter's death the new governor, the local Muslim leader Ibn al-Thumna, soon switched allegiances to Roger I's Muslim opponent, Ibn al-Wald, obliging the count to invest time and energy in reclaiming the city.[28] Thus, Muslim inhabitants in cities probably kept some extent of autonomy after the Norman conquest.

In contrast to the city dwellers, Muslim villagers did not have the power to negotiate with the Norman conquerors. The most notable change in their condition produced by the conquest seems to have been the replacement of their former Muslim landlords by the Norman ones. Roger I's donation of land to the bishop of Messina in 1094 was made according to "the old division of Saracens."[29] He made use of the old Muslim land registers (*daftar al-ḥudūd* in Arabic) and lists of inhabitants (*jarīda* in Arabic, *plateia* in Greek, or *platea* in Latin), and preserved the old land divisions (*iqlīm*).[30] The two documents of 12 February 1095[31] and 20 February 1095[32] had Greek forewords and afterwords and a list of peasants in Arabic. This composition suggests a reuse by Roger I of the old Muslim landlords' lists

when he conferred lands to his vassals. The condition of Muslim peasants transferred to the new landlords with the donated land probably did not change much.

Past studies on Muslims in villages suggest a social organization independent from the surrounding Christian society. Very few sources, however, provide any detail on their actual situation or the pressure to convert to Christianity.[33] Further classification of peasants inferred by analysis of terms employed in medieval sources, including Muslim ones, stands on very fragile conjectures and needs reexamination.[34]

Roger I completed his conquest of Sicily in 1091. Even before, though, his priority changed from conquering more lands and people to securing control of land and people, and to establishing an efficient administration. From about 1086 on an entourage of feudal vassals, clerics and officials was formed around the count and a new administrative system was created.[35] Roger I made wide use of Muslim and Byzantine Greek institutions, lists of peasants and land registers, but while employing Byzantine officials on all levels of administration he did not employ Muslims in the central government.

Just after the conquest, the majority of the population in areas of Sicily other than its Eastern part was made up of Muslims, while Greeks made up the majority in Calabria and Eastern Sicily. When Roger I's administrative system was formed around 1086, most of his court officials were Greeks with Byzantine titles, and some Byzantine officials continued to exercise influence in the local government.[36] A Greek document of 1105 mentions three magnates, all Greeks, who had the greatest influence in the court: Nicholas the chamberlain, Leo the *logothetes* and Eugenius.[37]

Muslim officials or Arabic titles in Roger I's documents are hard to find. The only exception is the title of *amiratus*, a transliteration of Arabic *amīr*.[38] According to William of Apulia, Robert Guiscard, after he occupied Palermo with Roger I, gave this title to the knight he appointed to govern the city.[39] The choice of an Arabic title, rather than Latin or Greek one, made it clear to the Muslims in Palermo that this knight was the person in control and that he was to take over the existing administrative system instead of destroying it. The title of *amiratus* originating from Arabic was not given to Muslims or Arabs, however, but mainly to Greeks.[40] The fact that Muslims seldom appear in the witness lists of Roger I's documents confirms their exclusion from his central government. We ignore the reasons of this policy, but the memory of a long war against Muslims and the betrayal of Ibn al-Thumna in Catania may have been contributing factors.

II

Roger I, count of Sicily and Calabria, died in 1101 and was succeeded in turn by his young sons, Simon and Roger II, under the regency of his widow Adelasia (Adelaide). Her regency (1101–1112) produced little change in the administrative system, institutions, or officials at the court.[41] The capital, however, was moved from Mileto in Calabria to Messina and then to Palermo (1112), marking

the transfer of the county's center of gravity from a zone of a strong Byzantine influence to the mostly Muslim Sicily.

This move greatly affected the relationship between the Norman rulers and the Muslims. Palermo, the capital of Islamic Sicily, kept a large Muslim population long after the Norman conquest. The predominance of Islamic culture in this city as late as 1184–1185 is revealed by an observation of Ibn Jubayr: "Christian women in this town wear dresses like Muslim women. They speak Arabic correctly and fluently. They wear elegant garments and veil their faces."[42] The old palace of the Muslim rulers in Palermo became the main residence of the Norman kings after Roger II moved there around 1130.[43] In 1130 he claimed the title of king of Sicily, and by the summer of 1140 he became the sole ruler of the county of Sicily and Calabria, the duchy of Apulia, the duchy of Naples, the principality of Capua and the principality of Taranto.

The kingdom born of this rapid expansion was a mosaic of different geopolitical units with different traditions and cultures, each with a tendency for autonomy. Roger II's first effort at creating a new order can be observed in the assembly at Ariano, where he announced to magnates and bishops of his kingdom the minting of new money and the appointment of commissioners to enforce its use. He also promulgated "the assises of Ariano" in which he set out his policies. The first article declares that customs, traditions and laws of the peoples ruled by the Normans should not be abolished unless they contradict newly promulgated laws.[44] The ruler's respect for the existing laws and customs reveals his policy to make different peoples, including the Muslims, coexist in peace, judged principally by their own laws within their community.

The predominance of Greek officials and the marked absence of Muslim officials as seen in the court of Roger I are also observed in the courts of Adelasia and Roger II. Most *amirati* who had great influence during this period were Greeks, including George, head minister for Roger II;[45] John, son of Eugenius; and Nicholas, Theodore, Basil and Michael.[46]

However, a few Muslim officials, such as Abū al-Daw'[47] and Philip of Mahdīya,[48] began to appear in the 1120s under Roger II. In the process of renewal of his own or his ancestors' documents of donation in 1144–1145, Roger II probably employed many Muslim scribes. Some of these renewed documents of donations were written entirely in Arabic, while documents issued beforehand had usually Greek forewords and afterwords and a list of inhabitants in Arabic. Carlo A. Garufi suggests that documents of donation had been translated into Greek from Arabic before, but in 1144–1145 they were translated from Greek to Arabic.[49]

Roger II was under a strong Greek influence and usually signed in Greek in both Greek and Latin documents.[50] He loved the sciences and the arts, and he gathered doctors, astrologers, philosophers, geologists and mathematicians to his palace, including the Muslim geographer Al-Idrīsī and the Greek theologian Neilos Doxopatres. According to Al-Idrīsī, Roger II had deep knowledge of mathematics, political science and the natural sciences.[51] Ibn al-Athīr reports a rumor among Christian and Muslim subjects that Roger II was a secret Muslim because of his

conspicuous favor of Muslims.[52] It is also said that he was fond of conversations with Muslim scholars, and he spent much of his time on scientific speculation in the last fifteen years of his life.[53]

III

Roger II died in 1154, and was succeeded by his son William I. After subduing a revolt, which broke out just after his succession, William I entrusted the government to his head minister Maio and secluded himself in the palace. Thus from 1156 till his assassination in 1160, Maio became the effective ruler of the kingdom. Afterwards, the government was entrusted to three *familiares regis* who exercised the real power,[54] while William I preferred to live with Muslim pages and maids in a palace outside Palermo.

During his reign, Arabs become prominent in the government for the first time. Iohar, an Arab eunuch, became master chamberlain of the royal palace before 1162,[55] and Martin, also an Arab eunuch, became master of the *duana de secretis* before 1161.[56] Peter, another Arab eunuch, succeeded Iohar as master chamberlain of the royal palace in 1162.[57] Peter was born on the island of Jerba, and was a converted Christian with an Arab-Islamic cultural background. Falcandus described him as "a Christian in name and clothes, but a Saracen in heart like all other eunuchs in the royal palace."[58] Peter became one of the three *familiares regis* at the end of the reign of William I and took control of the government.[59]

During the weak reign of William I, frequent disturbances provoked massacres of Saracens by Christians, notably after the assassination of Maio in 1160.[60] On another occasion, Christian immigrants from Northern Italy massacred their Saracens neighbors.[61] Furthermore, Saracens and Christians in William I's army clashed with and killed each other.[62]

After the death of William I in 1166, thirteen-year-old William II succeeded to the throne under the regency of his mother Margaret. Margaret made Peter, one of the three *familiares regis*, head minister and appointed the other two as his assistants. Thus Peter, an Arab eunuch, held the control of the government. Other people with Arab-Islamic background also occupied important offices in the central government. This was the case of most of the chamberlains of the royal palace,[63] and all three master chamberlains under William I and William II – Iohar,[64] Peter[65] and Richard[66] – were Arab eunuchs. Masters of the *duana de secretis*, which kept and controlled the documents concerned with lands, also had Arab-Islamic background.[67]

William II did not take part in administration even after he came of age, and the *familiares regis* took care of the government. He appeared to Ibn Jubayr as a Muslim rather than a Christian ruler because of his deep trust in Muslims. He could read and write Arabic, and encouraged visiting foreign doctors and astrologers to stay in his kingdom by offering them large sums of money. He trusted Muslims employing them as cooks; his troop of guards was made up of black Muslim slaves and his many Arab eunuchs (*fityān*) were secret Muslims.

What is more, when a great earthquake hit Sicily in February 1169, the king told maids and pages in the palace to pray to the One, which each of them worshipped and believed in for protection.[68] According to Ibn Jubayr, Muslims in Palermo had their own mosques, their own residential area excluding Christians, their own markets and their own judge (*qādī*).[69] This strongly suggests that Muslims in Palermo had a system of self-government. While visiting Trapani, Ibn Jubayr witnessed a procession of Muslims sounding drums and trumpets, and he was surprised by the Christians' generosity.[70] The testimony of Ibn Jubayr, the lasting influence of the Islamic culture in Norman Sicily, and the strong influence of Muslims in the royal court are quoted by historians to support the "tolerance" of the kingdom.

In another illustration in Peter of Eboli, Muslims and Greeks in Palermo are fraught with grief at the death of William II.[71] The painter clearly views in a positive light a king loved by people of different cultures and religions.

However, Ibn Jubayr also notes that Muslims in Sicily were subject to humiliation and slavery under the rule of Christians and lived hard lives. Women and children were exposed to temptation to convert, and shaikhs were threatened to abandon their worship.[72] He later notes that the pressure to convert to Christianity was felt by all Muslims in Sicily.[73]

When Ibn Jubayr met ʻAbd al-Masīh, a page, the latter said "We hide our belief, but keep worshipping to God with anxiety about security of our life, and perform religious duties in secret. We are captives of infidels with our neck roped like a slave."[74] According to Falcandus, Martin, the powerful Arab eunuch, raged against all Christians and condemned them when he learned that his brother had been killed by Christians.[75] This vividly illustrates the anxiety and discontent of Arab officials at the center of power.[76]

Abū al-Qāsim, a member of a prominent Sicilian family and a high official of William II, was accused of conniving with Muwahhids and confined to his home. All of his property was confiscated, and he was left penniless.[77] Abū al-Qāsim did not give in to the pressure to convert, but some other Muslims did. As mentioned before, many chamberlains of the royal palace and many of the masters of the *duana de secretis* were converted Arabs with Christian names. Ibn Jubayr also describes the life of Ibn Zur'a, who converted to Christianity.[78]

Thus Ibn Jubayr shows facts indicating the "intolerance" of the kingdom as well as those showing the "tolerance" of the kings. The Muslim population continued to decrease after the Norman conquest, supporting the argument for the "intolerance" of the kingdom. Muslims in Sicily began to immigrate to North Africa, especially Tunisia and Egypt during the conquest, and they continued to do so under the Norman rule.[79] In particular, the Muslim population decreased rapidly in the latter half of the twelfth and the first half of the thirteenth century. In the 1220s, Frederick II made the Muslims in Sicily, who continued to revolt against the king, immigrate to Lucera in Apulia. Thus Lucera became a colony of Muslims. Most of them lived peasant lives separated from the outer Christian society while others served the king as soldiers and courtiers. In 1300 the last

Muslims in Lucera were sold as slaves, and Muslims were extinguished from the Italian peninsula.

* * *

Tolerance, deriving from the Latin *tolerantia* (or *toleratio*), is a word which indicates an attitude: Someone (an individual, a group, an institution) is tolerant towards another. Determining which human acts and statements, and in what context, should be considered "tolerant" is very much a matter of subjective judgment. The problem of ambiguity and subjectivity inherent in the concept of tolerance is illustrated by the work of Henry Kamen, which traces the history of ideas about tolerance as a moral value. Kamen examines ideas of tolerance in the Old and New Testaments, in the writings of Church Fathers like Tertullian and Augustine, medieval scholastics including Thomas Aquinas, and Renaissance humanists and modern philosophers of the Enlightenment.[80] It is the author's arbitrary judgment, however, which determines what statements of past writers show tolerance and how they can be related.

In speaking of a "tolerant society," scholars tend to view "tolerance" as a sort of a social mechanism which discourages members from driving out or attacking minority groups. Numerous historical studies, notably on Norman Sicily and Spain, consider tolerance from this angle. The subjects of tolerance are then always those who rule (ruler, ruling group, majority, etc.), and the objects of tolerance are "minority groups" defined not in terms of number but by opposition to rulers. In this scheme, scholars drew a line of confrontation between the conquering Normans, who formed a ruling class of kings, lay aristocrats and high clerics, and the conquered "minorities" – Muslims, Greeks, South Italians – who made up most of Sicily's population.[81] Based on this understanding, some scholars think that Muslims and Greeks lived safely in the kingdom thanks to the Normans' tolerant policy. In fact, the relationships between Normans, Muslims and Greeks were not so simple. Opposition could be created not only by religion but also by other factors. As I made it clear elsewhere, the difference in religion or cultural background did not serve as a clear line of confrontation, and those who were at the center of power in the Norman Kingdom of Sicily had various cultural backgrounds.[82] Thus we cannot simply regard the Normans as the majority in the kingdom, or see the Normans' stance towards other peoples as being "religious tolerance."

It is not easy to judge whether coexistence of different religious groups in the kingdom was a result of religious tolerance or a result of an unavoidable choice in the situation the Normans found themselves in. This is not just because it is difficult to know their actual state of mind, but because it is extremely difficult to exclude our subjectivity inherent in the concept of tolerance. The relationship between two groups that we call "tolerance" seems to be better understood if we consider it in relation to recognition of others, the issue of minority or the issue of identity and group, rather than the issue of tolerance.

Even in the kingdom where different religious groups seemed to coexist peacefully, there were lots of conflicts among people. One important point I see in

examining the changes in relationships between Norman rulers and Muslims is the collision and struggle of two forces, one seeking to exclude others from the group and the other seeking to keep order in the group. However, since others can be multilayered just as identity can be multilayered, those who believe in a different religion or in different sectarian beliefs can be regarded as others while also being members of the group one belongs to. A person or group may seek for coexistence with other religions or sects at one time, and try to be exclusive at another time according to how the other is recognized. Thus, the issue of tolerance is closely linked to the issue of "identity" and the issue of "others."

Notes

1 Isidoro La Lumia, *Guglielmo II. La Sicilia sotto il suo regno* (Palermo, 1867; repr. 2000), pp. 31–33; Charles Diehl, *Palerme et Syracuse* (Paris, 1907), pp. 2, 62–76.

2 Francesco Gabrieli, "La politique arabe des Normands de Sicile," *Studia Islamica*, vol. 9 (1958), p. 84.

3 Antonio Marongiu, "A Model State in the Middle Ages: The Norman Swabian Kingdom of Sicily," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, vol. 1 (1963), pp. 313–314.

4 Ernst Kitzinger, *The Art of Byzantium and the Medieval West* (Bloomington, 1976), pp. 290–313.

5 Wolfgang Krönig, "Der viersprachige Grabstein von 1148 in Palermo," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, vol. 52 (1989), p. 550.

6 Francesco Giunta and Umberto Rizzitano, *Terra senza crociati* (Palermo, 1967), pp. 72–97; David C. Douglas, *The Norman Fate, 1100–1154* (London, 1976), pp. 146–149; Hubert Houben, "Möglichkeiten und Grenzen religiöser Toleranz im normannisch-staufischen Königreich Sizilien," *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters*, vol. 50 (1994), pp. 159–198 (revised Italian edition: "Possibilità e limiti della tolleranza religiosa nel Mezzogiorno normanno-svevo," Hubert Houben, *Mezzogiorno normanno-svevo, monasteri e castelli, ebrei e musulmani* [Naples, 1996], pp. 213–242); Francesco Tateo, "La cultura nelle corti," *Centri di produzione della cultura nel Mezzogiorno normanno-svevo*, ed. Giosuè Musca (Bari, 1997), pp. 41–54.

7 Francesco Gabrieli, "Normanni e Arabi," *Archivio storico pugliese*, vol. 12 (1959), pp. 53–68; Giunta and Rizzitano, *Terra senza crociati*; Umberto Rizzitano, "La cultura araba nella Sicilia Normanna," *Atti del Congresso internazionale di Studi sulla Sicilia normanna* (Palermo, 1973), pp. 125–135; Francesco Giunta, *Bizantini e Bizantinismo nella Sicilia normanna*, 2nd ed. (Palermo, 1974); Houben, "Möglichkeiten"; Henri Bresc, "Mudéjars des pays de la Couronne d'Aragon et sarrasins de la Sicile normande: le problème de l'acculturation," *Jaime I y su época. 10 Congreso de Historia de la Corona de Aragón. Expansión politico-militar, ordenamiento interior, relaciones exteriores (Zaragoza 1975)*, vol. 2 (Zaragoza, 1980), pp. 51–60; Vera Von Falkenhausen, "Il popolamento: etnie, fedi, insediamenti," *Terra e uomini nel Mezzogiorno normanno-svevo*, ed. Giosuè Musca (Bari, 1987), p. 39–73; Henri Bresc and Annliese Nef, "Les Mozarabes de Sicile (1100–1300)," *Cavalieri alla conquista del Sud. Studi sull'Italia normanna in memoria di Léon-Robert Ménager*, ed. Errico Cuozzo and Jean-Marie Martin (Rome/Bari, 1998), pp. 134–156; Jeremy Johns, *Arabic Administration in Norman Sicily: The Royal Dīwān* (Cambridge, 2002); Alex Metcalfe, "The Muslims of Sicily under Christian Rule," *The Society of Norman Italy*, ed. Graham A. Loud and Alex Metcalfe (Leiden, 2002), pp. 289–317; Alex Metcalfe, *Muslims and Christians in Norman Sicily: Arabic Speakers and the End of Islam* (London/New York, 2003); Annkristin Schlichte, *Der "gute" König Wilhelm II. von Sizilien (1168–1189)* (Tübingen, 2005), pp. 198–211.

8 Bern, Burgerbibliothek, Codex 120 II, folio 97r; Petrus de Ebulo, *Liber ad Honorem Augusti di Pietro da Eboli, secondo il cod. 120 della Biblioteca civica di Berna*, ed. Giovanni B. Siragusa (Rome, 1906), Tav. III; Petrus de Ebulo, *Liber ad Honorem Augusti sive de rebus Siculis*, ed. Theo Kölzer and Marlis Stähli (Sigmaringen, 1994), p. 43.

9 John Victor Tolan, *Saracens: Islam in the Medieval European Imagination* (New York, 2002), p. xv; Metcalfe, *Muslims and Christians*, pp. 55–60.

10 Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh*, ed. J. H. Tornberg, 12 vols. (Leiden, 1851–1871), vol. 10, pp. 131–132; in Michele Amari, ed., *Biblioteca arabo-sicula ossia Raccolta di testi arabici che toccano la geografia, la storia, le biografie e la bibliografia della Sicilia* (Leipzig, 1847) [hereinafter Amari, *Biblioteca, testo arabo*], p. 275, sana 484 (Italian translation: Michele Amari, ed. and trans., *Biblioteca arabo-sicula, versione italiana*, 2 vols. [Rome/Turin, 1880–1881] [hereinafter Amari, *Biblioteca, versione italiana*], vol. 1, p. 275, anno 484); Al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāya al-Arab fī Funūn al-Adab*, in: Amari, *Biblioteca, testo arabo*, pp. 444–449, sana 410, 440 (Amari, *Biblioteca, versione italiana*, vol. 2, pp. 140–146, anno 410, 440); Abū al-Fidā', *Kitāb al-Mukhtaṣar fī Akhbār al-Bashar*, in: Amari, *Biblioteca, testo arabo*, pp. 413–414, sana 484 (Amari, *Biblioteca, versione italiana*, vol. 2, pp. 96–99, anno 484); Ibn Khaldūn, *Kitāb al-'Ibar*, 7 vols. (Beirut, 1959–61), vol. 4, pp. 207–208, in: Amari, *Biblioteca, testo arabo*, pp. 484–485 (Amari, *Biblioteca, versione italiana*, vol. 2, pp. 200–203); Amatus Casinensis, *Storia de' Normanni di Amato di Montecassino*, ed. Vincenzo de Bartholomaeis (Rome, 1935), Lib. V, Cap. VIII, pp. 229–230; Gaufredus Malaterra, *De rebus gestis Rogerii Calabriae et Siciliae comitis et Roberti Guiscardi ducis fratris eius*, ed. Ernesto Pontieri (Bologna, 1928), Lib. II, Cap. III, IV, XVI–XXII, pp. 30, 34–36. Cf. Michele Amari, *Storia dei Musulmani di Sicilia*, 2nd ed. Carlo A. Nallino, 3 vols. (Catania, 1933–1939 [1st ed., 3 vols., Florence, 1854–1872]), vol. 3, p. 65; Francesco Gabrieli, "Storia e cultura della Sicilia araba," *Libia*, vol. 1/4 (1953), p. 5; Umberto Rizzitano, "Ibn al-Hawwās," *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., 12 vols. (Leiden, 1960–2005), vol. 3, p. 788; Umberto Rizzitano, "Ibn al-Thumna," *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., vol. 3 (Leiden, 1960–2005), p. 956; Aziz Ahmad, *A History of Islamic Sicily* (Edinburgh, 1975), pp. 36–37, 49; Hiroshi Takayama, "The Fāṭimid and Kalbite Governors in Sicily: 909–1044 – Islamic Sicily II," *Mediterranean World*, vol. 13 (1992), pp. 25–27. For Ibn al-Thumna, see Metcalfe, *The Muslims of Sicily*, pp. 289, 293.

11 Amatus, Lib. V, Cap. XIII–XXII, pp. 239–240; Malaterra, Lib. II, Cap. VIII–XVII, pp. 31–34; Ferdinand Chalandon, *Histoire de la domination normande en Italie et en Sicile*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1907), vol. 1, pp. 192–195; Ferdinand Chalandon, "The Conquest of South Italy and Sicily by the Normans," *The Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. 5 (*Contest of Empire and Papacy*) (Cambridge, 1926), pp. 175–176; Ahmad, *A History of Islamic Sicily*, pp. 49–50.

12 Malaterra, Lib. II, Cap. XLV, pp. 52–53; Amatus, Lib. VI, Cap. XVI–XIX, pp. 278–282; Chalandon, *Histoire de la domination*, vol. 1, pp. 206–208; Ahmad, *A History of Islamic Sicily*, pp. 51–52; Falco Beneventanus, *Falco di Benevento, Chronicon Beneventanum: città e feudi nell'Italia dei Normanni*, ed. Edoardo D'Angelo (Florence, 1998), ad an. 1072 (Italian translation: Falcone Beneventano, *Chronicon*, trans. Raffaele Matarazzo [Naples, 2000]); Amari, *Storia dei Musulmani*, vol. 1, p. 137.

13 Malaterra, Lib. IV, Cap. XVII, p. 96: "ab omni Sicilia multa Sarracenorum millia excitans, sed et militum copias conducens"; Malaterra, Lib. IV, Cap. XXII, p. 100: "Comes vero multa millia Saracenorum a Sicilia et Calabria conducens, equitum quoque sive peditum Christianorum copias."

14 Malaterra, Lib. IV, Cap. XXVI, p. 104: "in usus Saracenorum, quorum maxima pars exercitui intererat."

15 Lupus Protospatarius, "Annales Barenses. Rerum in Regno Neapolitano gestarum breve chronicon," in *MGH. SS*, ed. Georg H. Pertz, vol. 5 (Hannover, 1884), p. 62:

"Rogerius comes Siciliae cum 20 milibus Sarracenorum et cum innumera multitudine aliarum gentium, et universi comites Apuleae obsederunt Amalfim."

16 Eadmer, *Vita Sancti Anselmi*: *the Life of St. Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury*, ed. Richard W. Southern (London 1963), pp. 111–112: "nam eorum multa milia in ipsam expeditionem secum adduxerat. . . . Quorum etiam plurimi velut comperimus se libenter eius doctrinae instruendos summisissent ac Christianae fidei iugo sua per eum colla iniecissent, si crudelitatem comitis sui pro hoc in se sevituram non formidassent. Nam revera nullum eorum pati volebat Christianum impune fieri." Cf. Chalandon, *Histoire de la domination*, vol. 1, p. 304; Houben, "Possibilità e limiti," p. 217.

17 Malaterra, Lib. III, Cap. XVIII, p. 67: "Primus ad excubias Othonus, alter Elias, Tertius Arisgotus, Jordanus abinde remotus Esse recusavit."

18 Malaterra, Lib. III, Cap. XXX, p. 75: "Porro Jordanus, filius comitis, et Robertus de Surda-valle et Elias Cartomensis – qui ex Saracenis ad fidem Christi conversus, postea apud Castrum-Johannis a sua gente hostiliter interfectus, quia negando apostata fieri noluit, martyrio vitam laudabiliter finivit – exercitu commoto, versus Cathaniam iter intendunt." Elias of Cartomi was probably from Cartomi in Spain. See Amari, *Storia dei Musulmani*, vol. 3, p. 156 note 1.

19 Julie Taylor, *Muslims in Medieval Italy: The Colony at Lucera* (Lanham, MD, 2003), pp. 102–111; Joachim Göbbels, *Das Militärwesen im Königreich Sizilien zur Zeit Karls I. von Anjou 1265–1285* (Stuttgart, 1984), pp. 118–127.

20 Ibn Jubayr, *Riḥla (The Travels of Ibn Jubayr)*, ed. William Wright, 2nd ed. by Michael J. De Goeje (Leiden/London, 1907), p. 324.

21 Ryccardus de Sancto Germano, *Ryccardi de Sancto Germano notarii Chronica*, ed. Carlo A. Garufi (Bologna 1937–1938), p. 195.

22 Malaterra, Lib. II, Cap. XVII, p. 34: "Comes vero Rogerius, quietis impatiens et laboris avidus, trecentos juvenes secum ducens, usque Agrigentum praedatum et terram inspectum vadit, totam provinciam indendio concremando devastans."; Malaterra, Lib. II, Cap. XVIII, p. 35: "Media vero hieme, videlicet ante natalem Domini, cum ducentis quinquaginta militibus iterum mare transiens, usque ad Agrigentinam urbem, totam patriam sollicitans, praedatum vadit."; Malaterra, Lib. II, Cap. XXIX, p. 39: "iterum Siciliam cum trecentis debellaturus aggreditur." Cf. Chalandon, *Histoire de la domination*, vol. 1, p. 328.

23 Amatus, Lib. VI, Cap. XVIII, p. 281: "Et, en celle nuit, se esmurent o tout li ostage, et manderent certains messages liquel doient dire coment la terre s'est rendue. Et puiz, quant il fu jor, dui Cayte alerent devant, loquel avoient l'ofice laquelle avoient li antique, avec autrez gentilhome." Cf. Amari, *Storia dei Musulmani*, vol. 3–2, p. 130, note.

24 Malaterra, Lib. II, Cap. XLV, p. 53: "Quandoquidem fortuna praesenti sic hortabantur, urbis deditionem facere, se in famulando fideles persistere, tributa solvere: et hoc juramento legis suae firmare spopondunt."; Guillaume de Pouille, *La geste de Robert Guiscard*, ed. Marguerite Mathieu (Palermo, 1961), Lib. III, p. 182: "Cuncta duci dedunt, se tantum vivere poscunt. Deditione sui facta meruere favorem Exorare ducis placidi; promittitur illis Gratia cum vita. Nullum proscribere curat, Observansque fidem promissi, laedere nullum, Quamvis gentiles essent, molitur eorum. Omnes subiectos sibi lance examinat aequa." Cf. Amari, *Storia dei Musulmani*, vol. 3, pp. 130–131, 277; Chalandon, *Histoire de la domination*, vol. 1, p. 208; Graham A. Loud, *The Age of Robert Guiscard: Southern Italy and the Norman C onquest* (New York, 2000), pp. 161–162.

25 Malaterra, Lib. II, Cap. XLV, p. 53: "Proximo mane primores, foedere interposito, utrisque fratribus locutum accedunt, legem suam nullatenus se violari vel relinquere velle dicentes, scilicet, si certi sint, quod non cogantur, vel injustis et novis ligibus non atterantur."

26 Ibn Jubayr, *Riḥla*, p. 332. Cf. Amari, *Storia dei Musulmani*, vol. 3, p. 132; Chalandon, *Histoire de la domination*, vol. 1, p. 208; Gabrieli, "La politique arabe," p. 93.

27 Amari, *Storia dei Musulmani*, vol. 3, p. 277.

28 Malaterra, Lib. III, Cap. X, p. 61: "Comes vero, quibusdam necessitatibus se vocantibus, a Sicilia versus Calabriam digrediens, Hugoni de Gircaea, cui, propter strenuitatem, quam habebat – nam et praeclari generis a Cenomanensi provincia erat – cum filia sua de priore uxore Cathaniam dederat, totam Siciliam servandam delegavit, interdicens ne, si Bernarvet, quia vicinius sibi Syracusis morabatur, aliquem incursum versus se faceret, callidas eius versutias cavens, nusquam urbe digregiens, hostem persequeretur"; Malaterra, Lib. III, Cap. XXX, p. 75: "Hic quendam paganum, nomine Benthumen, quem comes apud Cathaniam majorem urbi praefecerat, callidis circumventionibus aggrediens, ad tradendam urbem multis munerum, possessionumve pactionibus sollicitabat. Paganus vero nominis sui competens imitator, avaritia coecatus, fidei sacramentorumque, quae comiti dederat, oblitus, statuto termino, infra urbem illum cum multitudine suorum fraudulenter de nocte accipiens, traditionis nomen sibi perpetuo vindicavit."

29 Rocco Pirro, *Sicilia sacra disquisitionibus et notitiis illustrata*, ed. Antonio Mongitore, 2 vols. (Palermo, 1733), vol. 1, p. 384: "Unde audita ejus petitione pro salute animae meae, et fratris mei nobilissimi Ducis Roberti Guiscardi . . . dedi, et in perpetuum concessi Ecclesiae S. Nicolai Episcopii Messanae, casale Saracenorum, quod dicitur Butahi cum omni tenimento, et pertinentiis suis secundum antiquas divisiones Saracenorum."

30 Amari, *Storia dei Musulmani*, vol. 2, p. 34; Michele Amari, "Su la data degli sponsali di Arrigo VI con la Costanza erede del trono di Sicilia, e su i *divani* dell'azienda normanna in Palermo. Lettera del dottor O. HARTWIG e Memoria del Socio AMARI," *Atti della R. Accademia dei Lincei*, anno 275 (1877–78), serie 3, *Memorie della classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche*, vol. 2 (1878), p. 430; Mario Caravale, "Gli uffici finanziari nel Regno di Sicilia durante il periodo normanno," *Annali di storia del diritto*, vol. 8 (1964), pp. 185–187; Chalandon, *Histoire de la domination*, vol. 1, p. 348.

31 Salvatore Cusa, *I diplomi greci ed arabi di Sicilia pubblicati nel testo originale*, 2 vols. (Palermo, 1868–1882), vol. 1, pp. 1–3.

32 Catania, Archivio Capitolare della Cattedrale di Catania, Pergamene greco-arabe e greche, no. 1; Cusa, *I diplomi greci ed arabi di Sicilia pubblicati nel testo originale*, pp. 541–549; Johns, *Arabic Administration*, pp. 301–302, Appendix 1, no. 4.

33 Henri Bercher, Annie Courteaux, and Jean Mouton, "Une abbaye latine dans la société musulmane: Monreale au XIIe siècle," *Annales. Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations*, vol. 34 (1979), pp. 525–547; Metcalfe, *The Muslims of Sicily*, pp. 295–297; Metcalfe, *Muslims and Christians*, pp. 34–39, 71–98.

34 Chalandon, *Histoire de la domination*, vol. 2, pp. 528–530; Amari, *Storia dei Musulmani*, vol. 3, pp. 245–250; Ernst Mayer, *Italienische Verfassungsgeschichte von der Gothenzeit bis zur Zunftherrschaft* (Leipzig, 1909), vol. 1, p. 185; Carlo A. Garufi, "Censimento e catasto della popolazione servile. Nuovi studi e ricerche sull'ordinamento amministrativo dei Normanni in Sicilia nei secoli XI e XII," *Archivio storico siciliano*, vol. 49 (1928), pp. 73–75; Johns, *Arabic Administration*, pp. 61–62, 144–167; Metcalfe, *Muslims and Christians*, p. 37.

35 For Roger I's administration, see Hiroshi Takayama, "The Administration of Roger I," *Ruggero I Gran Conte di Sicilia, 1101–2001*, ed. Guglielmo De' Giovanni-Centelles (Rome, 2007), pp. 124–140; Hiroshi Takayama, *The Administration of the Norman Kingdom of Sicily* (Leiden/New York/Cologne, 1993), pp. 25–40; Loud, *The Age of Robert Guiscard*, pp. 146–185; *Ruggero il Gran Conte e l'inizio dello stato normanno* (Rome, 1977).

36 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)* (Paris, 1904), pp. 556–560;

George Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State* (New Brunswick, NJ, 1969), p. 247. For the titles of Byzantine officials in South Italy, see also Vera Von Falkenhausen, *Untersuchungen über die byzantinische Herrschaft in Süditalien vom 9. bis ins 11. Jahrhundert* (Wiesbaden, 1967); Vera Von Falkenhausen, *La dominazione bizantina nell'Italia meridionale dal IX all'XI secolo* (Bari, 1978).

37 Palermo, Archivio di Stato, Tabulario di Abbazia di S. Filippo di Fragalà e di S. Maria di Maniaci, Pergamene, no. 8, and Catania, Archivio Provinciale, Fondo Radusa, no. 22 (Original. May, AM 6613 [= AD 1105], Indiction XIII. Edition: Cusa, *I diplomi greci ed arabi di Sicilia pubblicati nel testo originale*, pp. 396–400; Giuseppe Spata, *Le pergamene greche esistenti nel grande archivio di Palermo* [Palermo, 1862], pp. 197–204).

38 For *amiratus*, see Hiroshi Takayama, "*Amiratus* in the Norman Kingdom of Sicily: A Leading Office of Arabic Origin in the Royal Administration," *Forschungen zur Reichs-, Papst- und Landesgeschichte: Peter Herde zum 65. Geburtstag von Freunden, Schülern und Kollegen dargebracht*, ed. Karl Borchardt and Enno Bünz, 2 vols (Stuttgart, 1998), vol. 1, pp. 133–144.

39 Guillaume de Pouille, Lib. III, vers 340–343, p. 182: "Obsidibus sumptis aliquot castrisque paratis, Reginam remeat Robertus victor ad urbem, Nominis eiusdem quodam remanente Panormi Milite, qui Siculis datur amiratus haberi."

40 Takayama, "*Amiratus*." Some of the earliest *amirati* seem to have been Normans, such as Peter Bido *armeratus Palermi*, who appears in two documents: Cava de' Tirreni, Archivio della Badia della S.ma Trinità, Arca magna, Armarium C, nos. 5–6 (edition: Léon-Robert Ménager, *Recueil des actes des ducs normands d'Italie (1046–1127), vol. 1: Les premiers ducs (1046–1087)* (Bari, 1981), nos. 52–53, pp. 182–184).

41 Takayama, *The Administration*, pp. 40–46.

42 Ibn Jubayr, *Riḥla*, p. 333.

43 For the palace, see Hugo Falcandus, "Epistola ad Petrum Panormitane ecclesie thesaurarium de calamitate Sicilie," Giovanni B. Siragusa, ed., *La historia o Liber de Regno Sicilie e la epistola ad Petrum Panormitane ecclesie thesaurarium* (Rome, 1897), pp. 177–178 (English translation: Graham A. Loud and Thomas Wiedemann, eds. and trans., *The History of the Tyrants of Sicily by 'Hugo Falcandus' 1154–69* [Manchester/New York, 1998], pp. 258–260). Cf. Hugo Falcandus, *Liber de Regno Sicilie*, in Giovanni B. Siragusa, ed., *La historia o Liber de Regno Sicilie e la epistola ad Petrum Panormitane ecclesie thesaurarium* (Rome, 1897), p. 55 (English translation: Loud and Wiedemann, eds. and trans., *The History of the Tyrants*, p. 108). The kings also constructed palaces in other places, for example, the white palace in Messina, the Favara and the palace of Altofonte outside Palermo. Al-Idrīsī, *Kitāb nuzhat al-mushtāq fī Ikhtirāq al-Āfāq (Opus geographicum)*, 6 vols. (Rome, 1970–1976), pp. 590–592, in Amari, *Biblioteca, testo arabo*, pp. 28–30 (Amari, *Biblioteca, versione italiana*, vol. 1, pp. 59–62); Romualdus Salernitanus, *Chronicon sive Annales*, ed. Carlo A. Garufi (Città di Castello, 1909–1935), p. 232 (English translation: Loud and Wiedemann, trans., *The History of the Tyrants*, p. 219; Italian translation: Romualdo II Guarna, *Chronicon*, ed. Cinzia Bonetti [Cava de' Tirreni, 2001]); Falcandus, *Liber de Regno*, p. 87 (Loud and Wiedemann, trans., *The History of the Tyrants*, pp. 136–137); Hubert Houben, *Roger II . von Sizilien: Herrscher zwischen Orient und Okzident* (Darmstadt, 1997), p. 131 (English translation: Hubert Houben, *Roger II of Sicily, a Ruler between East and West* [Cambridge, 2002], pp. 130–131).

44 Francesco Brandileone, *Il diritto romano nelle leggi normanne e sveve del regno di Sicilia* (Rome/Turin/Florence, 1884), pp. 95–96; Orfensio Zecchino, *Le Assise di Ariano* (Cava de' Tirreni, 1984), p. 26.

45 For George, see Ibn 'Adhārī, *Kitāb al-Bayān al-Mughrib*, in: Amari, *Biblioteca, testo arabo*, p. 373 (Amari, *Biblioteca, versione italiana*, vol. 2, p. 38); Amari, *Storia dei Musulmani*, vol. 3, pp. 368–369; Ibn Khaldūn, *Kitāb al-'Ibar*, in: Amari, *Biblioteca,*

testo arabo, p. 487 (Amari, *Biblioteca, versione italiana*, vol. 2, p. 206); Takayama, *The Administration*, pp. 53, 66–67.

46 Takayama, "*Amiratus*," pp. 138–140.

47 Johns, *Arabic Administration*, pp. 74, 81, 88–90, 212, 215, 252–253, 274, 289, 295; Metcalfe, *Muslims and Christians*, pp. 43–44, 46–47, 101.

48 Johns, *Arabic Administration*, pp. 198 note 25, 215–218, 249–255, 289; Metcalfe, *Muslims and Christians*, pp. 46–50.

49 Garufi, "Censimento e Catasto," p. 67.

50 Hiroshi Takayama, "Central Power and Multi-Cultural Elements at the Norman Court of Sicily," *Mediterranean Studies*, vol. 12 (2003), p. 5 note 16. However, Vera Von Falkenhausen believes that Roger II's signatures were written by a scribe and not by his own hand: Vera Von Falkenhausen, "I diplomi dei re normanni in lingua greca," *Documenti medievali greci e latini: studi comparativi. Studi Comparativi*, ed. Giuseppe De Gregorio and Otto Kresten (Spoleto, 1998), pp. 283–286.

51 Al-Idrīsī, *Kitāb nuzhat al-mushtāq*, p. 5, in Amari, *Biblioteca, testo arabo*, p. 16 (Amari, *Biblioteca, versione italiana*, vol. 1, p. 35).

52 Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh*, in Amari, *Biblioteca, testo arabo*, p. 288 (Amari, *Biblioteca, versione italiana*, vol. 1, p. 464). Cf. Edmund Curtis, *Roger of Sicily* (New York, 1912), pp. 309–312; Ahmad, *A History of Islamic Sicily*, p. 58.

53 Curtis, *Roger of Sicily*, p. 312.

54 For *familiares regis*, see Hiroshi Takayama, "*Familiares Regis* and the Royal Inner Council in Twelfth-Century Sicily," *English Historical Review*, vol. 104 (1989), pp. 357–372; Takayama, *The Administration*, pp. 98–101, 115–125; Takayama, "Central Power and Multi-Cultural Elements," pp. 1–15; Hiroshi Takayama, "Confrontation of Powers in the Norman Kingdom of Sicily: Kings, Nobles, Bureaucrats and Cities," *Città e vita cittadina nei Paesi dell'area mediterranea: secoli XI-XV*, ed. Biagio Saitta (Rome, 2006), pp. 541–552.

55 Falcandus, *Liber de Regno*, p. 83 (Loud and Wiedemann, *The History of the Tyrants*, p. 133).

56 Cusa, *I diplomi greci ed arabi di Sicilia pubblicati nel testo originale*, pp. 622–624.

57 Falcandus, *Liber de Regno*, p. 83 (Loud and Wiedemann, *The History of the Tyrants*, p. 133).

58 Falcandus, *Liber de Regno*, p. 25 (Loud and Wiedemann, *The History of the Tyrants*, p. 78): "sicut et omnes eunuchi palatii, nomine tantum habituque christianus erat, animo saracenus." Siragusa (Falcandus, *Liber de Regno*, p. 99, note 1) and Amari (*Storia dei Musulmani*, vol. 3, p. 496) identify Peter with Aḥmad al-Ṣiqillī of a Berber origin. According to Ibn Khaldūn (*Kitāb al-'Ibar*, in: Amari, *Biblioteca, testo arabo*, p. 462 [Amari, *Biblioteca, versione italiana*, vol. 2, pp. 166–167]), Aḥmad al-Ṣiqillī was brought from Jerba to Sicily, and educated there, and employed by the ruler of Sicily (Roger II); Takayama, *The Administration*, p. 100 note 20; Johns, *Arabic Administration*, pp. 222–228.

59 Falcandus, *Liber de Regno*, p. 83 (Loud and Wiedemann, *The History of the Tyrants*, p. 133).

60 Falcandus, *Liber de Regno*, pp. 56–57 (Loud and Wiedemann, *The History of the Tyrants*, pp. 109–110); Romualdus Salernitanus, pp. 246–247 (Loud and Wiedemann, *The History of the Tyrants*, p. 230).

61 Falcandus, *Liber de Regno*, p. 70 (Loud and Wiedemann, *The History of the Tyrants*, pp. 121–122).

62 Falcandus, *Liber de Regno*, p. 73 (Loud and Wiedemann, *The History of the Tyrants*, p. 124). For the political situation at this time, see also Romualdus Salernitanus, pp. 248–249 (Loud and Wiedemann, *The History of the Tyrants*, pp. 231–232).

63 Hiroshi Takayama, "The Great Administrative Officials of the Norman Kingdom of Sicily," *Papers of the British School at Rome*, vol. 58 (1990), pp. 321–326.
64 Falcandus, *Liber de Regno*, p. 77 (Loud and Wiedemann, *The History of the Tyrants*, p. 128). Cf. Evelyn Jamison, Admiral Eugenius of Sicily: his Life and Work (London, 1957), p. 44 and note 3; Takayama, "The Great Administrative Officials," pp. 322–323; Johns, *Arabic Administration*, p. 224.
65 See notes 58–59 above.
66 Takayama, "The Great Administrative Officials," pp. 323–324; Johns, *Arabic Administration*, pp. 228–234.
67 Takayama, "The Great Administrative Officials," pp. 326–331.
68 Ibn Jubayr, *Riḥla*, pp. 324–326.
69 Ibn Jubayr, pp. 332. Cf. Gabrieli, "La politique arabe," p. 93.
70 Ibn Jubayr, *Riḥla*, pp. 334–336. Cf. Gabrieli, "La politique arabe," p. 89.
71 Bern, Burgerbibliothek, Codex 120 II, folio 97r; Petrus de Ebulo, *Liber ad Honorem Augusti*, ed. Siragusa, Tav. III; Petrus de Ebulo, *Liber ad Honorem Augustis*, ed. Kölzer and Stähli, p. 43.
72 Ibn Jubayr, *Riḥla*, p. 340. Cf. Gabrieli, "La politique arabe," p. 89.
73 Ibn Jubayr, *Riḥla*, p. 342.
74 Ibn Jubayr, p. 326.
75 Falcandus, *Liber de Regno*, p. 79 (Loud and Wiedemann, *The History of the Tyrants*, p. 129).
76 Douglas, *The Norman Fate*, pp. 146–149. David Abulafia contests the idea that the kingdom was a place of religious tolerance: David Abulafia, "The End of Muslim Sicily," in *Muslims under Latin Rule, 1100–1300*, ed. James M. Powell (Princeton, 1990), p. 103.
77 Ibn Jubayr, *Riḥla*, pp. 341–342. Cf. Gabrieli, "La politique arabe," p. 90.
78 Ibn Jubayr, *Riḥla*, pp. 340–341. Cf. Gabrieli, "La politique arabe," p. 92.
79 Gabrieli, "La politique arabe," p. 86.
80 Henry Kamen, *The Rise of Toleration* (London, 1967). Recent works which have discussed ideas of tolerance in a long-time span include Cary J. Nederman, *Worlds of Difference: European Discourses of Toleration, c. 1100–c.1550* (University Park, PA, 2000); Perez Zagorin, *How the Idea of Toleration Came to the West* (Princeton, 2003).
81 Vera Von Falkenhausen, "I gruppi etnici nel regno di Ruggero II e la loro partecipazione al potere," *Società, potere e popolo nell'età di Ruggero II* (Bari, 1979), pp. 133–141. For Langobard aristocracy after the Norman conquest in Campania, see Graham A. Loud, "Continuity and Change in Norman Italy: The Campania during the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries," *Journal of Medieval History*, vol. 22 (1996), pp. 324–336.
82 Takayama, "Central Power and Multi-Cultural Elements"; Takayama, "Confrontation of Powers."

11

FREDERICK II'S CRUSADE
An example of Christian-Muslim diplomacy

Frederick II's crusade is unique in the bloody history of the crusades for its success in recapturing Jerusalem simply through negotiations with a sultan of Egypt, without any battles. When Frederick II landed at Acre in Syria on 7 September 1228, he was greeted with cheers by the crusaders. Contrary to their expectations, however, he did not take arms against the Muslims, and instead conducted negotiations with al-Kāmil, sultan of Egypt, to take back Jerusalem. Five months later, on 11 February 1229, he concluded a treaty with the sultan to receive Jerusalem. Thus Jerusalem was transferred into the hands of the Christians from the Muslims without any bloodshed.

At a time when many people in Europe – men and women, young and old – were eager to be martyred in the Holy Land due to their strong religious passion, and when many lords and knights tried to distinguish themselves in wars against Muslims, why did Frederick II choose to negotiate? Why was he able to do so with the sultan, who had such a different cultural background from Christians in Europe?

In this article I will focus on Frederick II's diplomatic relations with al-Kāmil and examine the envoys (or messengers) between them in detail. Since previous studies have highlighted changes in Frederick II's situation, especially regarding his relations with the pope, the barons in Germany and southern Italy, and the crusaders and prelates in the Levant, I hope to shed new light on another aspect of this crusade.

I believe Frederick II's crusade cannot be fully understood without knowledge of his long-term relationship with Muslim rulers, although the political circumstances in the Christian world, strongly influenced by the religious passion of the people and by papal ideology, should not be dismissed. Regardless of being marked by quite intense negotiations, his crusade is another example of his long-term diplomatic relations with the sultan rather than just an anecdote of the history of the crusades.

Some of the studies on Frederick II and crusades mention envoys and his diplomatic relationships as one of the important factors of his crusade, but there have been very few studies on the long-standing diplomatic relationships between Frederick II and Muslim rulers. Some exceptions include a partial description by

Michele Amari in his excellent work on the Muslims of Sicily, published in 1854–1872[1] and an article published by Edgar Blochet in 1902, which contains a rough sketch of the diplomatic relations between Frederick II and the Muslim rulers, with references to only a few Arabic sources, mainly Maqrīzī (†1442).[2] Previous studies have confused the chronology of envoys and have scant precise information on source materials. It is the purpose of this article, therefore, to reconstruct Frederick II's diplomatic relationships with Muslim rulers, particularly al-Kāmil, sultan of Egypt, as precisely as possible by examining the available sources.

I

Without doubt, Frederick II's diplomatic relationships with Muslim rulers in the Near East were heavily influenced not only by developments in the crusading movement and changing political circumstances, but also by changes in his own situation. Although crowned king of Sicily at the age of three in 1198, king of Germany in 1212 (and again in 1215), and Holy Roman Emperor in 1220, Frederick II's destiny became entwined with the crusades when Pope Innocent III, his official protector during his childhood and the person who made him king of Germany, proclaimed a new crusade in April 1213.[3] In fact, Frederick II swore to take the cross when he was crowned king of Germany in Aachen in 1215, and he again took the Crusader's Oath when he was made emperor in 1220.[4]

However, he did not leave Italy for the crusade in April 1221, when German troops under the command of Louis, duke of Bavaria, left Taranto for Damietta in April 1221, although a few months later he dispatched a fleet of more than forty ships under the commands of the chancellor Walter of Palear, the admiral Henry of Malta and the marshal Anselm of Justingen.[5] Two years later, at the meeting with the pope at Ferentino in March 1223, Frederick II made a promise to go on crusade on 24 June 1225, in light of the arrangement for his marriage with Isabella, queen of Jerusalem; nor did he set off in 1224 or thereafter, when preparations for the crusade were complete. Frederick II made another promise to leave for the crusade on 15 August 1227, according to the agreement of San Germano with Pope Honorius III in July 1225, but this promise was not fulfilled either.[6]

In August 1225 Frederick II married Isabella of Brienne (†1228), queen of Jerusalem and the only child of John of Brienne and Queen Maria of Jerusalem (†1212), by proxy at Acre. A few days later Isabella was crowned queen of Jerusalem at Tyre and sailed for Brindisi in the kingdom of Sicily. After her arrival in Italy, their wedding was celebrated anew in the cathedral of Brindisi on 9 November 1225. From then on Frederick II bore the title of king of Jerusalem.[7] It is certain that this marriage gave him a great incentive to go on crusade to recapture Jerusalem from the hands of Muslims.

In 1226 or 1227, an envoy from al-Kāmil, sultan of Egypt, Fakhr al-Dīn, arrived at the court of Frederick II. Al-Kāmil sent this envoy to ask for military aid from Frederick II, offering him Jerusalem in return. Most historians have regarded this diplomatic mission as one of the most important factors affecting

the emperor's decision to go on crusade, and some seem to think this was the first contact between Frederick II and al-Kāmil. However, this was neither the earliest nor the first envoy exchanged between the two leaders.

The Italian scholar Michele Amari suggests that Frederick II sent an envoy to the Ayyubid princes, al-Muʿaẓẓam and al-Kāmil, as early as 1217.[8] Around this time a number of Ayyubid princes ruled independently in the Levant. After the first Ayyubid sultan Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (Saladin) died in 1193, his large territory including Egypt, Syria and Jazīra was divided among the members of his own family. At times the Ayyubid rulers made alliances, and at others they fought amongst themselves. Al-ʿĀdil, brother of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, became the most powerful among them, and began to bear the title of sultan and govern Egypt with his son al-Kāmil in 1200. When al-ʿĀdil died in 1218, al-Kāmil became the sole and independent ruler of Egypt, and took the title of sultan. On the other hand, al-Muʿaẓẓam, another son of al-ʿĀdil, was installed as a ruler in Damascus in 1198 by his father, and began to govern his principality under the guidance of his father. After the death of al-ʿĀdil in 1218, he became an independent ruler of Damascus.[9]

Amari's conjecture that Frederick II sent an envoy to al-Muʿaẓẓam and al-Kāmil in 1217 is based on the mosaics with an inscription of Frederick II's words on the wall of the cathedral of Cefalù. The mosaics are now lost, but the observations of Pirro, an Italian historian in the seventeenth century, can be read in his book published in 1641.[10] According to Pirro, Frederick II says to John in the mosaic: "Go to Babylonia and Damascus, look for Paladinus' sons, and confidently speak my words."[11]

In the inscription on the mosaic, Frederick II tells John Cicala, bishop of Cefalù, to go to Cairo and Damascus, find al-ʿĀdil's sons (or Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's nephews), that is, al-Kāmil, sultan and ruler of Cairo, and al-Muʿaẓẓam, ruler of Damascus, and speak his words to them.[12] This information suggests that Frederick II had diplomatic relationships with Muslim rulers in the earlier part of his reign. It is based on a lost source and is not completely reliable, but it is most probable that Frederick II and al-Kāmil exchanged envoys in this period, given the fact that Frederick II had Muslim officials and soldiers as well as scholars at his court, and lived a life surrounded by Muslims, like the previous Norman kings of Sicily.

II

The fact that Frederick II and al-Kāmil had exchanged envoys before al-Kāmil's envoy arrived at Frederick II's court in 1226 or 1227 is confirmed by an Arabic chronicle *Tārīkh Baṭārika al-Kanīsa al-Miṣrīya* (or *Kitāb Sīar al-Abā'*), generally known as *History of the Patriarchs of Alexandria*, which mentions the three diplomatic missions exchanged between Frederick II and al-Kāmil.[13] First, Frederick II's envoy (*rasūl*) to al-Kāmil arrived in Egypt in the previous kharājī year (*al-sana al-khārija/al-sana al-kharājīya*).[14] Second, al-Kāmil's envoy to Frederick II went to Sicily accompanied by Frederick II's envoy on his way home. Third, a new envoy from Frederick II arrived in Egypt, accompanied by al-Kāmil's

envoy on his way home in 944 of the Diocletian era (era of Martyrs) (30 August 1227–28 August 1228).[15]

We know very little about the first envoy from Frederick II to al-Kāmil mentioned in *Tārīkh Baṭārika*, but it is confirmed by the annals of Nuwayrī (†1332), which informs us that the emperor's envoy (*rasūl al-inbarūr*) came to al-Kāmil in AH 624 (*Anno Hegirae*; in the year of the Hijra; 22 December 1226–11 December 1227).[16] This suggests that the envoy from al-Kāmil to Frederick II in 1226 or 1227 was not the beginning of their contact, but one of a series of envoy exchanges which started earlier.

The second envoy, from al-Kāmil to Frederick II, as cited in the *Tārīkh Baṭārika*, is well known to scholars as the envoy of Fakhr al-Dīn. However, scholars' opinions are not in accord on the year of arrival or of visiting, the number of visits, nor the content of the negotiations. Steven Runciman has asserted that Fakhr al-Dīn went to the court of Frederick II twice as representative of al-Kāmil's envoy: first in the autumn of 1226, and second before Frederick II's leaving for the Holy Land (28 June 1228).[17] Thomas C. Van Cleve has also insisted that Fakhr al-Dīn visited Frederick II twice: in 1226 and in the autumn of 1227.[18] Thomas F. Madden and R. Stephen Humphreys uphold that Fakhr al-Dīn visited Frederick II in 1226,[19] while Hans L. Gottschalk and Wolfgang Stürner believe it occurred in 1227.[20]

There is no doubt that al-Kāmil sent an envoy to Frederick II, since it is mentioned in many Arabic sources. It is also certain that the representative at the head of the mission was Fakhr al-Dīn (al-Amīr Fakhr al-Dīn Yūsuf), whose name is mentioned in various Arabic sources including the annals of the contemporary or later chroniclers Ibn Wāṣil (†1298),[21] Abū al-Fidā' (†1331)[22] and Maqrīzī,[23] as well as in the description of the mission by Baybars al-Manṣūrī (†1325) quoted by 'Aynī (†1451) in his *'Iqd al-Jumān*.[24]

Concerning the year of the visit, I have confirmed that the annals of Ibn Wāṣil[25] and Maqrīzī[26] put al-Kāmil's diplomatic mission in the events of AH 624. Baybars al-Manṣūrī's description of this mission is quoted in the part of AH 624 in *'Iqd al-Jumān* by 'Aynī.[27] Makīn (†1273)[28] and Ibn Khaldūn (†1406)[29] do not mention al-Kāmil's envoy, but inform us that al-Kāmil wrote a letter to Frederick II to ask for his aid in AH 624.[30]

Since AH 624 (22 December 1226–11 December 1227) overlaps for only ten days (22–31 December) of AD 1226, it is most probable that al-Kāmil's envoy was sent from Egypt and arrived in Italy in 1227. As I will discuss later, Fakhr al-Dīn returned to Egypt some time between 30 August 1227 and 12 November 1227 (probably September or October). If we take traveling and time spent in southern Italy into consideration, al-Kāmil probably sent Fakhr al-Dīn to Frederick II in the earlier half of 1227, as proposed by Gottschalk and Stürner.[31]

It is difficult to accept the claim by Runciman and Van Cleve that Fakhr al-Dīn visited Frederick II twice. The description of Baybars al-Manṣūrī, which these two scholars regard as referring to the second envoy, does not refer to a new diplomatic mission, but to the same envoy sent in the first half of 1227. *'Iqd al-Jumān* (or *Kitāb Jāmi' al-Tawārīkh*), in which Runciman and Van Cleve found

the description of Baybars al-Manṣūrī, is not the annals written by a sole author but a sort of patchwork of chronicles written by different authors and compiled by ʻAynī in AH 832 (11 October 1428–29 September 1429). It should also be noted that its contents are not arranged in strict chronological order.[32]

The chronicler Maqrīzī explains the reason why al-Kāmil sent an envoy to Frederick II, as follows:

> In AH 624 (22 Dec. 1226–11 Dec. 1227), discord erupted between al-Kāmil and his two brothers, al-Muʻaẓẓam and al-Ashraf. Al-Kāmil, fearing al-Muʻaẓẓam's vengeance, prepared for war against Jalāl al-Dīn, sultan of Khwarizmians, and sent al-Amīr Fakhr al-Dīn Yūsuf to the king of Franks (*malik al-Firanj*), and asked him to come to Acre on the condition that he would be granted the coastal lands under Muslim rule if he complied. Then, the emperor and king of Franks began to prepare to come to the coast of Syria.[33]

Thus, Maqrīzī is of the belief that al-Kāmil sent an envoy to Frederick II to ask for his military aid because he was threatened by the alliance between al-Muʻaẓẓam and Jalāl al-Dīn. This view of Maqrīzī is shared by many other Arabic chroniclers. Ibn Wāsil[34] and Baybars al-Manṣūrī[35] wrote, like Maqrīzī, that al-Kāmil sent Fakhr al-Dīn to Emperor Frederick II (*al-inbiraṭūr Furidirīk*) to ask for his military aid. Makīn,[36] Nuwayrī[37] and Ibn Khaldūn[38] do not mention the dispatch of Fakhr al-Dīn, but they do say that al-Kāmil wrote a letter to the emperor to ask for his aid to guard against the movement of al-Muʻaẓẓam allied with Jalāl al-Dīn. In addition, in the description on AH 624, Abū al-Fidā' informs us that al-Kāmil wrote a letter to the emperor asking him to come to Acre, while in the description on AH 625 he informs us that al-Kāmil sent Fakhr al-Dīn to encourage the emperor to come to Syria.[39] More significantly, while Maqrīzī reports that al-Kāmil offered to give Frederick II the coastal lands in return for his aid, by contrast Makīn,[40] Ibn Wāṣil,[41] Abū al-Fidā'[42] and Ibn Khaldūn[43] mention instead Jerusalem (*al-Bayt al-Maqdis, al-Quds*) as being offered in return for his help.

According to the contemporary chronicler Makīn, al-Muʻaẓẓam, who knew that al-Kāmil had asked Frederick II for his aid, sent a letter to Sultan Jalāl al-Dīn to ask for help against his brother al-Kāmil, and promised to have a *khuṭba* delivered in the name of Jalāl al-Dīn, and to have coins minted with the inscription of Jalāl al-Dīn. Jalāl al-Dīn accepted his offer, and sent gorgeous clothes (*khilʻa*) to al-Muʻaẓẓam, who walked around wearing them in Damascus. He also prohibited delivering *khuṭba* in the name of al-Kāmil. Having learned of this, al-Kāmil marched from Egypt and stayed in Balbays in the month of Ramaḍān (15 August–13 September 1227).[44]

The third diplomatic mission from Frederick II to al-Kāmil, as it appears in the *Tārīkh Baṭārika*, arrived in Egypt in 944 of the Diocletian era (Era of Martyrs, 30 August 1227–28 August 1228) accompanied by Fakhr al-Dīn, the returning envoy of al-Kāmil. This new envoy of Frederick II is also mentioned by Maqrīzī,

who says that in AH 624 (22 December 1226–11 December 1227), Frederick II's envoy came to al-Kāmil with gorgeous gifts and rare presents.[45] Considering the dates of 944 of the Diocletian era (Era of Martyrs) in the *Tārīkh Baṭārika* and AH 624 in Maqrīzī, this envoy probably arrived in Egypt between 30 August and 11 December of 1227. Furthermore, considering that this envoy had a meeting with al-Muʿaẓẓam which I will discuss later, his arrival in Egypt must have been before the death of al-Muʿaẓẓam (9 November 1227) and probably in September or October.[46] It is possible that this envoy left Italy around the same time as the departure of Thomas of Aquino, count of Acerra, whom Frederick II sent to Syria as his representative (*nā'ib*) in August 1227.[47]

According to Maqrīzī, the gifts brought by Frederick II's envoy to al-Kāmil included a number of horses, one of which was a steed belonging to the emperor himself, fitted with gold stirrups adorned with precious jewels.[48] In *Tārīkh Baṭārika*, it is written that this envoy brought horses (*khail*), fabric (*qumāsh*), bijouterie (*maṣaagh*) and falcons (*jawāriḥ*) as presents to al-Kāmil.[49] *Abū al-Faḍāyl* states that Kamāl al-Dīn, who had been at the court of al-Kāmil, talked about the arrival of the emperor's envoy with presents of horses and other indescribable things, and that al-Kāmil gave the special horse of the emperor (*faras al-imbiraṭūr*) to a son of al-Mālik al-Ẓāhir, prince of Aleppo.[50]

Al-Kāmil bore the cost of the trip of Frederick II's envoys from Alexandria to Cairo, went to meet them in person near the city, welcomed them in great honor, and provided them with the house of Wazīr Ṣafī al-Dīn b. Shakir as accommodation.[51] He decided to return Frederick II's generosity with splendid gifts of his own, which included products of India, Yemen, Iraq, Egypt and Persia.[52] One of the members of this diplomatic mission was Berard, archbishop of Palermo. Some scholars believe Thomas of Aquino, count of Acerra, was also one of the envoys,[53] but I have been unable to find sources to support this. The annals of Richard of San Germano indicate that Frederick II only sent Thomas of Aquino to Syria in July 1227.[54]

Frederick II's envoy traveled from Cairo to Damascus, and had a meeting with al-Muʿaẓẓam, which is mentioned by the contemporary or later chroniclers such as Abū Shāma, Abū al-Faḍāyl, Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī, Ṣafadī and Ibn Kathīr. According to the contemporary chronicler Abū al-Faḍāyl, its head was the emperor's deputy in Acre (*nā'ib-hu bi 'Akkā*) (that is, Thomas of Aquino), and the envoy had already met al-Kāmil to request the coastal lands in Syria.[55] This information is probably the foundation for some scholars' idea that the diplomatic mission sent from Frederick II to al-Kāmil included Thomas of Aquino as well as Berard, the archbishop of Palermo. However, it is uncertain whether the diplomatic mission included Thomas of Aquino from the beginning or whether he joined after its arrival in Egypt.

According to the contemporary chroniclers Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī[56] and Abū Shāma,[57] the emperor's envoy (*rasūl al-inbarūr*) came to al-Muʿaẓẓam after the meeting with al-Kāmil and demanded the land their uncle Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn had conquered, but al-Muʿaẓẓam harshly replied: "Tell your lord. I am not like others. I have nothing

to give him but a sword." This story is also found in the annals of Ibn Kathīr[58] and the work of Ṣafadī. Ṣafadī describes al-Muʿaẓẓam's subsequent dispatch of troops to Nablus in mid-Shawwāl, and his death from illness.[59]

Thus Frederick II's envoy to al-Kāmil arrived in Egypt probably in September or October of 1227, joined Thomas of Aquino and had a meeting with al-Kāmil first, and then with al-Muʿaẓẓam, to demand them to return the lands conquered by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn to Frederick II. It is apparent that their negotiations were not successful, since Frederick II began negotiations with al-Kāmil after he arrived in Syria in the following year. Berard, archbishop of Palermo, returned home in January 1228 and presented Frederick II with an elephant, mules and other precious gifts from al-Kāmil.[60]

III

Around the time when his envoy to al-Kāmil left Italy for Egypt, Frederick II was making preparations to leave for the crusade. He seems to have been fulfilling his promise made at San Germano to set off on 15 August 1227. In the summer of 1227, a large number of crusaders had gathered in Brindisi in southern Italy, and the main units embarked for the east by mid-August. Frederick II followed suit on 8 September, but he fell gravely ill on the way and his expedition was called off again. Pope Gregory IX, who had succeeded Honorius III, was infuriated at Frederick II's repeated postponement of the crusade expedition, and on 29 September pronounced an excommunication on Frederick II for breaching his promise to embark on the crusade.

On 12 November 1227 al-Muʿaẓẓam, al-Kāmil's brother, opponent and prince of Damascus, died.[61] It was just one or two months after Frederick II's envoy represented by Thomas of Aquino had a meeting with him. His twelve-year-old son al-Nāṣir succeeded him, but the government was entrusted to ʿIzz al-Dīn Atābak who had served al-Muʿaẓẓam.[62] Al-Nāṣir submitted to al-Kāmil, and made a *khuṭba* delivered in the name of al-Kāmil,[63] which means that al-Nāṣir recognized al-Kāmil's rule in public. The death of al-Muʿaẓẓam thus lessened the importance of Frederick II's military aid to al-Kāmil. The news of the death of al-Muʿaẓẓam reached Frederick II in Barletta in March 1228 via a letter from Thomas of Aquino, who was in Syria.[64] On 26 April 1228 Frederick II's wife Isabella of Brienne, Queen of Jerusalem, gave birth to Conrad, but died ten days later.[65]

It was in these circumstances that Frederick II finally left Brindisi for the Holy Land on 28 June 1228. He called into a port in Cyprus on 21 July by way of Corfu, Cephalonia, Crete and Rhodes.

Around that time al-Kāmil marched from Egypt to Syria, occupied Nablus, and encamped in al-Muʿaẓẓam's palace in the city.[66] "When he knew the arrival of the emperor in Syria," the contemporary English chronicler Roger of Wendover (†1236) writes in his well-known *Flores Historiarum (Flowers of History)*, "the sultan of Babylon (al-Kāmil) sent him many precious gifts of gold and silver, silks and jewels, camels and elephants, bears and monkeys, and other marvelous

things which are not to be got in the regions of the west."[67] The Arabic chronicle *Tārīkh baṭārika* gives a slightly different account, namely, that al-Kāmil sent the emperor horses (*ḥujūra*), mules (*bighāl*), Arabian camels (*hujun*), Bactrian camels (*najābī*), fabrics (*aqmisha*) and other things from Nablus, along with an elephant (*fīl*) from Tall al-ʻAjūl.[68] Shortly after the arrival of Frederick II in Acre, al-Kāmil moved his camp from Nablus to Tall al-ʻAjūl in the suburbs of Gaza closer to Egypt.[69]

Frederick II also sent an envoy to al-Kāmil as soon as he arrived in Acre, and began tenacious negotiations to obtain Jerusalem, a fact that is attested by many Arabic sources.[70] This was the continuation of the negotiation he had been engaged in through his representative Thomas of Aquino in the previous year. In fact, the main negotiator on the part of Frederick II was the same Thomas of Aquino, while his counterpart was Fakhr al-Dīn who had been sent to Frederick II's court. According to *Tārīkh Baṭārika*, Frederick II dispatched a diplomatic mission with a large number of followers and precious gifts, which included two people of high status, the prince (*ṣāḥib*) of Sidon (Balian) and Count Thomas (*al-Kund Tumās*), the viceroy (*nā'ib al-malik*) of the emperor in Acre, from Acre to al-Kāmil, which was received politely by the sultan.[71] These two people are also mentioned by the contemporary chronicler Abū al-Faḍāyl in his *Tārīkh Manṣūrī*, which informs us that at the beginning of Dhū al-Qaʻda of this year (AH 625; 2–11 October 1228), the messenger of the emperor, Count Thomas, arrived at the camp of al-Kāmil along with Balian, lord of Sidon.[72] Thereafter, al-Kāmil at Tall al-ʻAjūl and Frederick II in Acre frequently exchanged envoys.[73]

On the other hand, al-Kāmil's representative was Fakhr al-Dīn, who had previously visited Frederick II's court and had a long-standing friendship with the emperor.[74] He had two assistants, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Irbilī (Arbalī) and Shams al-Dīn. The contemporary chronicler Makīn writes that Fakhr al-Dīn went to the emperor's court alone on some occasions, and together with Ṣalāḥ (al-Dīn) al-Irbilī at others.[75] Abū al-Faḍāyl mentions Fakhr al-Dīn, the *qādī* of the army of Egypt (Shams al-Dīn), and Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Irbilī as al-Kāmil's envoys,[76] while the later chronicler Maqrīzī says that Fakhr al-Dīn and Shams al-Dīn al-Urmāwī, the *qādī* of the army, came and went more often than before between al-Kāmil and Frederick II during AH 626 (30 November 1228–19 November 1229).[77]

While continuing the difficult negotiations with Fakhr al-Dīn, Frederick II sent complex problems in philosophy, geometry and mathematics to al-Kāmil, who had scholars solve them and return the answers. According to Abū al-Faḍāyl, Frederick II asked al-Kāmil to arrange a meeting for him with a good astronomer, and al-ʻAlam Qayṣar, a man of learning in this field, was sent to him.[78] Ibn Wāṣil, another contemporary chronicler, states that the emperor sent difficult problems to al-Kāmil in various fields to discover whether the latter had men of learning at his court, and that the sultan passed the problems in mathematics to Shaikh ʻAlam al-Dīn Qayṣar, and the rest to other scholars, who provided answers to all the problems.[79] We find a similar description by Maqrīzī.[80]

On 11 February 1229, Frederick II and al-Kāmil finally reached an agreement (the Treaty of Jaffa) that al-Kāmil would give Jerusalem to Frederick II, on several conditions, however.[81] They concluded a truce pact for ten years, five months and forty days, starting on 28 of Rabīʿ al-Awwal of AH 626 (24 February 1229).[82] By this Treaty of Jaffa, Jerusalem, together with Nazareth and Bethlehem, were put under the rule of Frederick II, while the sacred area to Muslims (*al-Ḥaram al-Sharīf*) inside the city, including the Dome of the Rock and the al-Aqṣā Mosque (*Masjid al-Aqṣā*), remained in the hands of Muslims; the agreement also stipulated that the Muslims could freely come and go, while also keeping the right of worship there. Frederick II promised not to attack al-Kāmil on any condition, not to support Christians who would attack al-Kāmil, and to protect the lands under the control of al-Kāmil.[83]

On 17 March 1229, Frederick II entered Jerusalem with a guide sent by al-Kāmil, Shams al-Dīn, *qādī* of Nablus.[84] On the next day Frederick II went to the Holy Sepulcher and was crowned.[85]

These drawn-out negotiations to make the treaty of peace including the transfer of Jerusalem should be understood as one part of the long-standing diplomatic relations between Frederick II and al-Kāmil, which had started well before Frederick II's departure for the crusade.

IV

On 10 June 1229 Frederick II returned to Brindisi, having departed from Acre on 1 May 1229. It was only a month later that Pope Gregory IX heard of his departure from Acre. Frederick II repelled the papal army that had invaded his dominions, and made the pope absolve him of his excommunication.[86] Thereafter, he never visited the Holy Land until his death in 1250.

However, Frederick II maintained an intimate friendship with Fakhr al-Dīn and al-Kāmil after his return to Italy, and maintained his correspondences with them.[87] In AH 627 (20 November 1229–8 November 1230), Frederick II's envoy arrived in Harran in Mesopotamia under the Ayyubid rule with his Arabic letters to Fakhr al-Dīn, two of which have survived to the present day. In the letters Frederick II expresses his desire for frequent letters from Fakhr al-Dīn after having explained what happened in his kingdom, including the papal army's invasion and his successful counter-attack.[88] In AH 630 (18 October 1232–6 October 1233), al-Kāmil sent Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn to Frederick II to confirm the pact and receive his oath. Frederick II wrote two verses for al-Kāmil.[89] In the same year, Frederick II's envoy to al-Kāmil, Raymond, arrived in Egypt with birds and gyrfalcon (*sunqur*).[90] In AH 631 (7 October 1233–25 September 1234), Frederick II sent another envoy to Egypt with various gifts including a white bear and a white peacock.[91] According to the contemporary chronicler Ibn Wāṣil, "the Emperor was a sincere and affectionate friend of al-Kāmil, and they kept up correspondence until al-Kāmil's death."[92]

Al-Kāmil died on 9 March 1238 (23 Rajab AH 635)[93] and was succeeded by his son al-ʿĀdil (†1240). Frederick II was on sincerely affectionate term with

him as well and maintained correspondence with him, too.[94] In December of 1239, al-Nāṣir, son of al-Muʿaẓẓam, occupied Jerusalem.[95] It was about three months after the peace pact between Frederick II and al-Kāmil had lapsed. In 1240, al-ʿĀdil died and was succeeded by his brother al-Ṣalīh (†1249). Frederick II exchanged envoys with al-Ṣāliḥ, too.[96] Al-Ṣāliḥ sent the learned shaikh Sirāj al-Dīn Urmawī, *qādī* of Asia Minor, to Frederick II. This shaikh was received with honor by the emperor and wrote a book for him.[97] In AH 647 (16 April 1249–4 April 1250), Frederick II sent a messenger disguised as a merchant to al-Ṣāliḥ in order to inform him that King Louis IX of France had decided to attack Egypt.[98]

On 13 December 1250 Frederick II died in Castel Fiorentino near Lucera, shortly before his fifty-sixth birthday on 26 December. After his death, the kingship of Sicily passed to his son Conrad (†1254), grandson Conradin (†1268) and natural son Manfred (†1266), but the governing of the kingdom was entrusted to Manfred as representative or regent of the king. In 1258 Manfred himself became king on a false rumor of the death of Canradin. Like his father, Manfred exchanged envoys with Baybars, ruler of Egypt. In the month of Ramaḍān of AH 659 (August 1261), Baybars sent Ibn Wāṣil as his envoy to Manfred.[99] In the month of Shaʿbān of AH 660 (July 1262), his envoy who had been sent to Manfred returned with his letter and presents to Egypt.[100] Ibn Wāṣil reports that the pope loathed the kings of Sicily because they treated Muslims well, but that he was quite impressed by Frederick II, who excelled in sciences and arts, and began to build an institute of knowledge (*dār ʿilm*).[101]

In the Arabic chronicles, Frederick II, usually referred to only as *inbarūr* or *inbiraṭūr*, occasionally accompanied with his name *Furidirīk*, is described as an intelligent and prudent ruler with a love of knowledge and natural sciences, and who shows favor to Muslims.[102] Similarly, Ibn Wāṣil writes that Frederick II loved wisdom, logic and medicine, and favored Muslims,[103] while Maqrīzī observes that Frederick II was deeply interested in geometry, arithmetic and mathematics.[104] Another Arabic chronicler Ibn al-Furāt, while reporting the attempted murder of Frederick II by the followers of Pope Innocent IV in AH 644 (19 May 1246–7 May 1247), writes that the pope had declared that Frederick II had abandoned Christianity, and treated Muslims in favor.[105] He also informs us that Frederick II was said to be a secret Muslim (*muslim fī al-bāṭin*) in the news of his death in AH 648 (5 April 1250–26 March 1251).[106]

V

Here we have reconstructed Frederick II's relationship with Muslim rulers, mainly al-Kāmil, sultan of Egypt, based on the available sources. Since previous studies seem to have made only limited references to Arabic sources, I have tried to make precise references to all Arabic sources from which it is possible to obtain information regarding Frederick's relations with his Muslim counterparts. As this study shows, Frederick II's crusade, which resulted in the signing of the peace treaty between himself and al-Kāmil, was just one element of a

long-standing diplomatic relationship that had started long before the departure of Frederick II for the crusade. Placing Frederick II's crusade in the context of his diplomatic relations with the sultan of Egypt, as opposed to the normal context of the historiography of the crusades themselves, provides a new perspective of what was taking place in the Mediterranean world, and offers greater insight into the motives behind Frederick II's crusade.

Notes

1 Michele Amari, *Storia dei Musulmani di Sicilia*, 2nd ed. Carlo A. Nallino, 3 vols. (Catania, 1933–1939), vol. 3–2, pp. 634–670.
2 Edger Blochet, "Les relations diplomatiques des Hohenstaufen avec les sultans d'Égypte." *Revue historique*, vol. 80 (1902).
3 *Patrologia Latina*, ed. Jacques P. Migne, vol. 216 (Paris, 1844–55), pp. 823–825. James M. Powell, *Anatomy of a Crusade 1213–1221* (Philadelphia, 1986), p. 15.
4 Thomas C. Van Cleve, "The Crusade of Frederick II," *History of the Crusades*, ed. Kenneth Meyer Setton, vol. 2 (Madison, 1962), pp. 429–435.
5 Richard of San Germano: Carlo A. Garufi, ed. *Ryccardi de Sancto Germano Notarii Cronica* (Bologna, 1936–1938), pp. 95, 98. An Arabic source also testifies that in 938 of the Diocletian era (Era of Martyrs, 29 August 1221–28 August 1222), the emperor's fleet of 45 galleys approached Egypt to free Damietta, but turned back after learning that a truce had been concluded. *Tārīkh Baṭārika al-Kanīsa al-Miṣrīya (History of the Patriarchs of the Egyptian Church), vol. 4 in 2 parts: Cyril Ibn Laklak* (Cairo, 1974), p. 37 (Eng. trans., vol. 4, p. 78. Pages are numbered independently from the Arabic text); *Kitāb Sīar al-Abā'*, in Amari, *Biblioteca, testo arabo*, p. 322 (*Biblioteca, versione italiana*, vol. 1, p. 518).
6 Thomas C. Van Cleve, "The Fifth Crusade," *History of the Crusades*, ed. Kenneth M. Setton, vol. 2 (1962), pp. 423–424; Van Cleve, "The Crusade of Frederick II," pp. 435–442.
7 Van Cleve, "The Crusade of Frederick II," p. 442.
8 Amari, *Storia dei Musulmani*, vol. 3, pp. 647, 648 note 1.
9 For the Ayyubids see R. Stephen Humphreys, *From Saladin to the Mongols* (Albany, NY, 1977); Carole Hillenbrand, *The Crusades: Islamic Perspectives* (Edinburgh, 1999), pp. 195–255.
10 Amari, *Storia dei Musulmani*, vol. 3, pp. 647, 648 note 1.
11 "Noster Joannes, ac Fridericus Imperator musivo llus in llust pariete hac llustrate depicti visuntur. *Vade in Babyloniam*, dicit Fridericus Joanni, *et Damascum, et filios Paladini quaere, et verba mea audacter loquere, ut statum ipsius valeas llust reformare*." Rocco Pirro, *Sicilia sacra disquisitionibus et notitiis llustrate*, 3rd ed. Antonino Mongitore, 2 vols. (Palermo, 1733, 1st ed., 1641), p. 805.
12 Amari, *Storia dei Musulmani*, vol. 3, p. 648 note 1.
13 *Tārīkh Baṭārika*, vol. 4, p. 51 (Eng. trans., vol. 4, p. 105); *Kitāb Sīar al-Abā'*, in Amari, *Biblioteca, testo arabo*, p. 322 (*Biblioteca, versione italiana*, vol. 1, p. 518).
14 Amari edited *al-sana al-kharāja* in the Paris manuscript into *al-sana al-kharājīya* in *Biblioteca, testo arabo*, p. 322, and translated it as *l'anno innanzi* in *Biblioteca, versione italiana*, vol. 1, p. 518, although Antoine Khater and Oswald H. E. KHS-Burmester edited this phrase into *al-sana al-khārija* in the Arabic text and translated it as "Tax-Year" in *Tārīkh Baṭārika*.
15 For the Diocletian era or the Era of Martyrs, see Venance Grumel, *La Chronologie* (Paris, 1958), pp. 258, 304.
16 Nuwayrī (†1332): Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāya al-Arab*, 33 vols. (Cairo, 1923), vol. 29, p. 139.

17 Steven Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3 vols. (Cambridge, 1951–1954), vol. 3, pp. 184–185.
18 Van Cleve, "The Crusade of Frederick II," p. 449; Van Cleve, *The Emperor Frederick II*, p. 203.
19 Thomas F. Madden, *The New Concise History of the Crusades* (Oxford, 2006), p. 157; Humphreys, *From Saladin*, p. 184.
20 Hans L. Gottschalk, *Al-Malik al-Kāmil von Egypten und seine Zeit* (Wiesbaden, 1958), p. 141; Wolfgang Stürner, *Friedrich II*., 2 vols. (Darmstadt, 1992–2000), p. 145.
21 Ibn Wāṣil (†1298): Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarrij al-Kurūb fī Akhbār Banī Ayyūb*, 5 vols. (Cairo, 1953–1977), vol. 4, p. 206.
22 Abū al-Fidā' (†1331): 'Imād al-Dīn Ismā'īl Abū al-Fidā', *Kitāb al-Mukhtaṣar fī Akhbār al-Bashar*, 4 vols. (Cairo, 1325H), vol. 3, p. 141; in *RHC, Hist. orient*., vol. 1, p. 103; Amari, *Biblioteca, testo arabo*, p. 418 (*Biblioteca, versione italiana*, vol. 2, p. 104).
23 Maqrīzī (†1442): Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk*, 4 vols. (Cairo, 1939–1973), vol. 1, p. 259; Amari, *Biblioteca, testo arabo*, p. 518 (*Biblioteca, versione italiana*, vol. 2, p. 260).
24 Baybars al-Manṣūrī (†1325): *Zubda al-Fikra fī Tārīkh al-Hijra* (Beirut/Berlin, 1998), quoted in 'Aynī (†1451): Badr al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Aḥmad al-'Aynī, *'Iqd al-Jumān fī Tārīkh Ahl al-Zamān*, 4 vols. (Cairo, 1987–1892), in *RHC, Hist. orient*., vol. 2–1, pp. 186–187; *Kitāb Jāmi' al-Tawārīkh*, in Amari, *Biblioteca, testo arabo*, p. 510 (*Biblioteca, versione italiana*, vol. 2, p. 246).
25 Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarrij*, vol. 4, pp. 206–207.
26 Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk*, vol. 1, pp. 258–260; Amari, *Biblioteca, testo arabo*, p. 518 (*Biblioteca, versione italiana*, vol. 2, p. 260).
27 Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubda al-Fikra*, quoted in 'Aynī, *'Iqd al-Jumān*, in *RHC, Hist. orient*., vol. 2–1, pp. 186–187; *Kitāb Jāmi' al-Tawārīkh*, in Amari, *Biblioteca, testo arabo*, p. 510 (*Biblioteca, versione italiana*, vol. 2, p. 246).
28 Makīn (†1273): Al-Makīn Ibn al-'Amīd, *Akhbār al-Ayyūbīyīn* (Claude Cahen, "La chronique des Ayyoubides d'al-Makin ibn al-'Amid," *Bulletin d'études orientales*, vol. 15 [1955–1957]), p. 136; French trans., Anne-Marie Eddé and Françoise Michau, *Chronique des Ayyoubides: 602–658 (1205/6–1259/60)* (Paris, 1994), p. 38.
29 Ibn Khaldūn (†1406): 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Khaldūn, *Kitāb al-'Ibar*, 7 vols. (Beirut, 1959–1961), vol. 5, p. 418; Amari, *Appendice alla Biblioteca, testo arabo*, p. 10 (*Biblioteca, versione italiana*, vol. 2, p. 242).
30 'Aynī quotes from Ibn Kathīr: "al-Malik al-Kāmil wrote to the emperor, king of Franks, to urge him to come to Acre." I could not find this phrase in Ibn Kathīr (†1373): Ismā'īl Ibn Kathīr al-Qurashī, *Al-Bidāya wal-Nihāya*, 14 vols. (Beirut, 1966),. 'Aynī, *'Iqd al-Jumān*, in *RHC, Hist. orient*., vol. 2–1, p. 186; *Kitāb Jāmi' al-Tawārīkh*, in Amari, *Biblioteca, testo arabo*, p. 510 (*Biblioteca, versione italiana*, vol. 2, p. 245).
31 Gottschalk, *Al-Malik al-Kāmil*, p. 141; Stürner, *Friedrich II*., p. 145.
32 'Aynī, *'Iqd al-Jumān*, in *RHC, Hist. orient*., vol. 2–1, pp. 186–187; *Kitāb Jāmi' al-Tawārīkh*, in Amari, *Biblioteca, testo arabo*, p. 510 (*Biblioteca, versione italiana*, vol. 2, p. 246).
33 Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk*, vol. 1, pp. 258–259; Amari, *Biblioteca, testo arabo*, p. 518 (*Biblioteca, versione italiana*, vol. 2, p. 260).
34 Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarrij*, vol. 4, p. 206.
35 Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubda al-Fikra*, quoted in 'Aynī, *'Iqd al-Jumān*, in *RHC, Hist. orient*., vol. 2–1, pp. 186–187; *Jāmi' al-Tawārīkh*, in Amari, *Biblioteca, testo arabo*, p. 510 (*Biblioteca, versione italiana*, vol. 2, p. 246).
36 Makīn, *Akhbār al-Ayyūbīyīn* (Cahen, "La chronique des Ayyoubides"), p. 136; French trans., *Chronique des Ayyoubides*, p. 38.

37 Nuwayrī, *Nihāya al-Arab*, vol. 23, p. 140; Amari, *Biblioteca, testo arabo*, p. 512 (*Biblioteca, versione italiana*, vol. 2, p. 249).
38 Ibn Khaldūn, *Kitāb al-ʻIbar*, vol. 5, p. 418; Amari, *Appendice alla Biblioteca, testo arabo*, p. 10 (*Biblioteca, versione italiana*, vol. 2, p. 242).
39 Abū al-Fidā', *Kitāb al-Mukhtaṣar*, vol. 3, pp. 137–138, 141; in *RHC, Hist. orient*., vol. 1, pp. 102–103; Amari, *Biblioteca, testo arabo*, p. 418 (*Biblioteca, versione italiana*, vol. 2, pp. 103–104).
40 Makīn, *Akhbār al-Ayyūbīyīn* (Cahen, "La chronique des Ayyoubides"), p. 136; French trans., *Chronique des Ayyoubides*, p. 38.
41 Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarrij*, vol. 4, p. 206.
42 Abū al-Fidā', *Kitāb al-Mukhtaṣar*, vol. 3, p. 138; in *RHC, Hist. orient*., vol. 1, p. 102; Amari, *Biblioteca, testo arabo*, p. 418 (*Biblioteca, versione italiana*, vol. 2, p. 103).
43 Ibn Khaldūn, *Kitāb al-ʻIbar*, vol. 5, p. 418; Amari, *Appendice alla Biblioteca, testo arabo*, p. 10 (*Biblioteca, versione italiana*, vol. 2, p. 242).
44 Makīn, *Akhbār al-Ayyūbīyīn* (Cahen, "La chronique des Ayyoubides"), p. 136; French trans., *Chronique des Ayyoubides*, p. 38. We can see almost the same story in the annals of Maqrīzī. Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk*, vol. 1, p. 259; Amari, *Biblioteca, testo arabo*, p. 518 (*Biblioteca, versione italiana*, vol. 2, p. 260).
45 Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk*, vol. 1, p. 260; Amari, *Biblioteca, testo arabo*, p. 519 (*Biblioteca, versione italiana*, vol. 2, p. 261).
46 Al-Muʻaẓẓam died on Friday the last day of Dhū al-Qaʻda in the year of 624 (9 November 1227), or on the first day of Dhū al-Ḥijja (12 November 227). See note 61. Makīn, *Akhbār al-Ayyūbīyīn* (Cahen, "La chronique des Ayyoubides"), p. 136; French trans., *Chronique des Ayyoubides*, p. 38. Ibn al-Athīr (†1233): Abū al-Ḥasan ʻAlī Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh*, 12 vols. (Leiden, 1851–1871; repr. Beirut 1965–1966 with a new index in 1967), vol. 12, p. 471 (English trans., Richard, Part 3, p. 284). Cf. Gottschalk, *Al-Malik al-Kāmil*, p. 145 and note 2 (for sources).
47 Richard of San Germano, p. 146. Abū al-Faḍāyl (13th cent.): Abū al-Faḍāyl Muḥammad b. ʻAlī Ḥamawī, *Tārīkh Manṣūrī*. Ат-та'рих ал-мансури (Мансурова хроника) (Moscow, 1963), p. 329 (folio 161a); Amari, *Seconda Appendice alla Biblioteca, testo arabo*, p. 29 (*Biblioteca, versione italiana. Appendice*, p. 47). Richard of San Germano informs us that Thomas of Aquino was sent in July 1227: "Thomas de Aquino Acerrarum comes in Syriam transfretat mense Iulii." Abū al-Faḍāyl states that the emperor (*imbiraṭūr*) sent his representative to Acre in AH 624 (22 December 1226–11 December 1227) without mentioning his name.
48 Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk*, vol. 1, p. 260; Amari, *Biblioteca, testo arabo*, p. 519 (*Biblioteca, versione italiana*, vol. 2, p. 261).
49 *Tārīkh Baṭārika*, vol. 4, p. 51 (Eng. trans., vol. 4, p. 105); *Kitāb Sīar al-Abā'*, in Amari, *Biblioteca, testo arabo*, p. 322 (*Biblioteca, versione italiana*, vol. 1, pp. 518–519).
50 Abū al-Faḍāyl, *Tārīkh Manṣūrī*, p. 338 (folio 165b); Amari, *Seconda Appendice alla Biblioteca, testo arabo*, p. 30 (*Biblioteca, versione italiana. Appendice*, pp. 49–50).
51 Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk*, vol. 1, p. 260; Amari, *Biblioteca, testo arabo*, p. 519 (*Biblioteca, versione italiana*, vol. 2, p. 261).
52 Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk,* vol. 1, p. 260; Amari, *Biblioteca, testo arabo*, p. 519 (*Biblioteca, versione italiana*, vol. 2, p. 261).
53 Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, vol. 3, p. 186; Van Cleve, "The Crusade of Frederick II," p. 449; Van Cleve, *The Emperor Frederick II*, p. 216.
54 Richard of San Germano, p. 146.
55 Abū al-Faḍāyl, *Tārīkh Manṣūrī*, p. 339 (folio 166a); Amari, *Seconda Appendice alla Biblioteca, testo arabo*, p. 30 (*Biblioteca, versione italiana. Appendice*, pp. 50–51).
56 Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī (†1257), *Mir' āt al-Zamān fī Tārīkh al-Aʻyān*, vol. 8 in 2 parts (Hyderabad, 1951–1952), vol. 2, p. 643.

57 Abū Shāma (†1267): Abū Shāma 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ismā'īl, *Tarājim Rijāl al-Qarnayn al-Sādis wa al-Sābi' al-Ma'rūf bi al-Dhayl 'alā al-Rawḍatayn* (Supplement to *Kitāb al-Rawḍatayn*) (Beyrut, 1974, 1st ed. 1947), p. 151; in *RHC, Hist. orient*., vol. 5, p. 185. Cf. 'Aynī, *'Iqd al-Jumān*, in *RHC, Hist. orient*., vol. 2–1, p. 186; *Kitāb Jāmi' al-Tawārīkh*, in Amari, *Biblioteca, testo arabo*, p. 510 (*Biblioteca, versione italiana*, vol. 2, p. 246).

58 Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāya wal-Nihāya*, vol. 13, p. 126. Cf. 'Aynī, *'Iqd al-Jumān*, in *RHC, Hist. orient*., vol. 2–1, p. 186; *Kitāb Jāmi' al-Tawārīkh*, in Amari, *Biblioteca, testo arabo*, p. 510 (*Biblioteca, versione italiana*, vol. 2, p. 246).

59 Ṣafadī (†1363): Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Khalīl al-Safadī, *Kitāb al-Wāfī bi al-Wafayāt*, 22 vols. (Wiesbaden, 1949–1984), in Amari, *Seconda Appendice alla Biblioteca, testo arabo*, p. 13 (*Biblioteca, versione italiana. Appendice*, p. 18).

60 Richard of San Germano, p. 149: "Archiepiscopus Panormitanus nuntius a Soldano ad Cesarem rediens, elephantem unum, mulos et pretiosa quedam alia munera ipsi Imperatori detulit ex parte Soldani."

61 Al-Mu'aẓẓam died on the first day of Dhū al-Ḥijja (12 November 1227). Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī, *Mir' āt al-Zamān*, vol. 2, pp. 644–652; Ṣafadī, *Kitāb al-Wāfī*, in Amari, *Seconda Appendice alla Biblioteca, testo arabo*, p. 13 (*Biblioteca, versione italiana. Appendice*, p. 18). Some other chronicles mention Friday at the end of the month of Dhū al-Qa'da (9 November 1227) as the day of al-Mu'aẓẓam's death. Makīn, *Akhbār al-Ayyūbīyīn* (Cahen, "La chronique des Ayyoubides"), p. 137; French trans., *Chronique des Ayyoubides*, p. 39; Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil*, vol. 12, p. 471 (English trans., Richard, part 3, p. 284). The last Friday of Dhū al-Qa'da of AH 624 is 9 November 1127. For the sources concerning the date of al-Mu'aẓẓam's death, see Gottschalk, *Al-Malik al-Kāmil*, p. 145 note 2.

62 Ṣafadī, *Kitāb al-Wāfī,* in Amari, *Seconda Appendice alla Biblioteca, testo arabo*, p. 13 (*Biblioteca, versione italiana. Appendice*, p. 18).

63 Ibn Khaldūn, *Kitāb al-'Ibar*, vol. 5, p. 418; Amari, *Appendice alla Biblioteca, testo arabo*, p. 10 (*Biblioteca, versione italiana*, vol. 2, p. 243).

64 Richard of San Germano, p. 150: "Imperator apud Barolum pascha Domini magnifice celebrat in Omni gaudio et exultatione, quia sicut ex litteris tunc didicerat Thome de Aquino Acerrarum comitis ad suum seruitium in Syria existentis, illis diebus Coradinus Soldanus Damasci mortuus fuerat."

65 Richard of San Germano, p. 150 and note 7.

66 Al-Kāmil marched from Egypt to Syria in Sha'bān (6 July–3 August 1228) (Ibn Abī al-Damm, p. 195), or Ramaḍān (4 August–2 September 1228) (Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarrij*, vol. 4, p. 226), or Shawwāl (3 September–1 October 1228) (Ibn al-Athīr, vol. 12, p. 479). Makīn, *Akhbār al-Ayyūbīyīn* (Cahen, "La chronique des Ayyoubides"), p. 137; French trans., *Chronique des Ayyoubides*, p. 41. Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil*, vol. 12, p. 482; Amari, *Biblioteca, testo arabo*, p. 315 (*Biblioteca, versione italiana*, vol. 1, p. 506) (English trans., Richard, part 3, p. 293). *Tārīkh Baṭārika*, vol. 4, p. 51 (Eng. trans., vol. 4, p. 106); *Kitāb Sīar al-Abā'*, in Amari, *Biblioteca, testo arabo*, p. 323 (*Biblioteca, versione italiana*, vol. 1, pp. 519–520). Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubda al-Fikra*, quoted in 'Aynī, *Kitāb Jāmi' al-Tawārīkh* in Amari, *Biblioteca, testo arabo*, p. 511 (*Biblioteca, versione italiana*, vol. 2, p. 248).

67 Roger of Wendover: Roger de Wendover, *Liber qui dicitur "Flores historiarum" ab Anno Domini MCLIV. annoque Henrici Anglorum regis secundi primo*, ed. Henry G. Hewlett, 3 vols. (London, 1886–1889), vol. 2, p. 351: "Soldanus vero Babyloniae, cum ejus adventum in Syriam cognovisset, misit ei xenia multa et pretiosa in auro et argento, in pannis sericis et lapidibus pretiosis, in camelis et elephantis, in ursis et simiis, et aliis rebus mirificis, quibus omnibus regiones abstinent occidentis."

68 *Tārīkh Baṭārika*, vol. 4, p. 51 (Eng. trans., vol. 4, p. 107); *Kitāb Sīar al-Abā'*, in Amari, *Biblioteca, testo arabo*, pp. 323–324 (*Biblioteca, versione italiana*, vol. 1, pp. 520–521).

69 Ibn al-Athīr, vol. 12, p. 482; Amari, *Biblioteca, testo arabo*, p. 315 (*Biblioteca, versione italiana*, vol. 1, p. 506); English trans., vol. 3, p. 293; *Kitāb Jāmi' al-Tawārīkh*, in Amari, *Biblioteca, testo arabo*, p. 510 (*Biblioteca, versione italiana*, vol. 2, p. 247); *Kitāb Sīar al-Abā'*, in Amari, *Biblioteca, testo arabo*, p. 323 (*Biblioteca, versione italiana*, vol. 1, pp. 519–520).

70 *Tārīkh Baṭārika*, vol. 4, p. 51 (Eng. trans., vol. 4, pp. 106–107); *Kitāb Sīar al-Abā'*, in Amari, *Biblioteca, testo arabo*, p. 323 (*Biblioteca, versione italiana*, vol. 1, p. 519). Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk*, vol. 1, p. 266; Amari, *Biblioteca, testo arabo*, p. 519 (*Biblioteca, versione italiana*, vol. 2, p. 262). Ṣafadī, *Kitāb al-Wāfī*, in Amari, *Seconda Appendice alla Biblioteca, testo arabo*, p. 14 (*Biblioteca, versione italiana. Appendice*, p. 18). Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubda al-Fikra*, quoted in 'Aynī, *Kitāb Jāmi' al-Tawārīkh*, in Amari, *Biblioteca, testo arabo*, p. 511 (*Biblioteca, versione italiana*, vol. 2, p. 248).

71 *Tārīkh Baṭārika*, vol. 4, p. 51 (Eng. trans., vol. 4, p. 106); *Kitāb Sīar al-Abā'*, in Amari, *Biblioteca, testo arabo*, p. 323 (*Biblioteca, versione italiana*, vol. 1, p. 519).

72 Abū al-Faḍāyl, *Tārīkh Manṣūrī*, p. 352 (folio 172b); Amari, *Seconda Appendice alla Biblioteca, testo arabo*, p. 32 (*Biblioteca, versione italiana. Appendice*, pp. 55–56).

73 Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk*, vol. 1, p. 266; Amari, *Biblioteca, testo arabo*, p. 520 (*Biblioteca, versione italiana*, vol. 2, p. 263).

74 Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarrij*, vol. 4, p. 242; Francesco Gabrieli, *Arab Historians of the Crusades* (London, 1957), p. 270. Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk*, vol. 1, pp. 258, 266–268; Amari, *Biblioteca, testo arabo*, pp. 519–520 (*Biblioteca, versione italiana*, vol. 2, pp. 262–263).

75 Makīn, *Akhbār al-Ayyūbīyīn* (Cahen, "La chronique des Ayyoubides"), p. 137; French trans., *Chronique des Ayyoubides*, p. 41. Cf. 'Aynī, *Kitāb Jāmi' al-Tawārīkh*, in Amari, *Biblioteca, testo arabo*, p. 511 (*Biblioteca, versione italiana*, vol. 2, p. 247). For Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Irbilī, see Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-A'yān*, vol. 1, pp. 184–187. According to Ibn Khallikān, al-Kāmil sent Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Irbilī to Frederick II as his envoy when the emperor arrived in Syria in AH 626.

76 Abū al-Faḍāyl, *Tārīkh Manṣūrī*, p. 370 (folio 181b); Amari, *Seconda Appendice alla Biblioteca, testo arabo*, p. 33 (*Biblioteca, versione italiana. Appendice*, p. 56).

77 Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk*, vol. 1, p. 268; Amari, *Biblioteca, testo arabo*, p. 520 (*Biblioteca, versione italiana*, vol. 2, p. 263).

78 Abū al-Faḍāyl, *Tārīkh Manṣūrī*, p. 370 (folio 181b); Amari, *Seconda Appendice alla Biblioteca, testo arabo*, p. 33 (*Biblioteca, versione italiana. Appendice*, pp. 56–57).

79 Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarrij*, vol. 4, p. 242; Gabrieli, *Arab Historians*, p. 270.

80 Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk*, vol. 1, p. 270; Amari, *Biblioteca, testo arabo*, p. 522 (*Biblioteca, versione italiana*, vol. 2, p. 266).

81 Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarrij*, vol. 4, pp. 241–243; Gabrieli, *Arab Historians*, pp. 269–270. Ṣafadī, *Kitāb al-Wāfī*, in Amari, *Seconda Appendice alla Biblioteca, testo arabo*, p. 14 (*Biblioteca, versione italiana. Appendice*, p. 19). Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk*, vol. 1, p. 268; Amari, *Biblioteca, testo arabo*, pp. 520–521 (*Biblioteca, versione italiana*, vol. 2, p. 264). 'Aynī, *Kitāb Jāmi' al-Tawārīkh,* in Amari, *Biblioteca, testo arabo*, p. 511 (*Biblioteca, versione italiana*, vol. 2, p. 247). Abū al-Faḍāyl, *Tārīkh Manṣūrī*, p. 370 (folio 181b); Amari, *Seconda Appendice alla Biblioteca, testo arabo*, p. 33 (*Biblioteca, versione italiana. Appendice*, p. 56). Abū al-Fidā', *Kitāb al-Mukhtaṣar*, vol. 3, p. 141; in *RHC, Hist. orient.*, vol. 1, p. 104; Amari, *Biblioteca, testo arabo*, p. 419 (*Biblioteca, versione italiana*, vol. 2, p. 105).

82 Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk*, vol. 1, p. 268; Amari, *Biblioteca, testo arabo*, p. 520 (*Biblioteca, versione italiana*, vol. 2, p. 264).

83 For the content of the treaty, see Huillard-Bréholles, vol. 3, pp. 86–110. Roger of Wendover, *Flores historiarum*, vol. 2, pp. 365–367. Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarrij*, vol. 4, p. 241; Gabrieli, *Arab Historians*, p. 269. Nuwayrī, *Nihāya al-Arab*, vol. 29, pp. 100–101. Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk*, vol. 1, p. 268; Amari *Biblioteca, testo arabo*, p. 520 (*Biblioteca, versione italiana*, vol. 2, pp. 263–264). *Tārīkh Baṭārika*, vol. 4, p. 52 (Eng. trans., vol. 4, p. 109); *Kitāb Sīar al-Abā'*, in Amari, *Biblioteca, testo arabo*, p. 324 (*Biblioteca, versione italiana*, vol. 1, p. 521). Cf. Van Cleve, "The Crusade of Frederick II," pp. 455–466; Gottschalk, pp. 156–157; Humphreys, pp. 202–203.

84 Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarrij*, vol. 4, pp. 244–245; Gabrieli, *Arab Historians*, pp. 271–272. Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk*, vol. 1, pp. 269–271; in Amari, *Biblioteca, testo arabo*, pp. 521–522 (Amari, *Biblioteca, versione italiana*, vol. 2, pp. 265–266); *Kitāb Jāmi' al-Tawārīkh*, in Amari, *Biblioteca, testo arabo*, p. 513 (*Biblioteca, versione italiana*, vol. 2, pp. 250–255).

85 A letter of Frederick II to Henry III of England: "sequenti die coronam portavimus." Roger of Wendover, *Flores historiarum*, vol. 2, p. 368. A letter of Hermann von Salza: "tamen coronam simpliciter sine consecratione de altari accepit et in sedem, sicut est consuetum, portavit." Huillard-Bréholles, vol. 3, p. 100. For the modern scholars' arguments against Kantorowicz's interpretation of Frederick II's act as self-coronation, see Hans E. Mayer, "Das Pontifikale von Tyrus," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, vol. 21 (1967), pp. 200–210; Helmuth Kruger, *Hochmeister Hermann von Salza und Kaiser Friedrich II*. (Marburg, 1987), pp. 95–113; David Abulafia, *Frederick II. A Medieval Emperor* (London, 1988), pp. 186–187; Rudolf Hiestand, "Friedrich II. und der Kreuzzug," *Friedrich II*, ed. Arnold Esch and Norbert Kamp (Tübingen, 1996), p. 146; Stürner, *Friedrich II*., vol. 2, p. 158.

86 *Breve chronicon de rebus Siculis*, Huillard-Bréholles, ed., *Historia diplomatica Frederici secundi*, vol. 1–2 (Paris, 1852), pp. 902–903. Van Cleve, "The Crusade of Frederick II," pp. 460–461. According to Abū al-Faḍāyl, *Tārīkh Manṣūrī*, p. 370 (folio 181b); Amari, *Seconda Appendice alla Biblioteca, testo arabo*, p. 33 (*Biblioteca, versione italiana. Appendice*, p. 57), he left Acre at the end of Jumādā I of 626 (26 April 1229).

87 Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarrij*, vol. 4, p. 246; Gabrieli, *Arab Historians*, p. 276. Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubda al-Fikra*, quoted in 'Aynī, *'Iqd al-Jumān*, in *RHC, Hist. orient*., vol. 2–1, p. 192; *Kitāb Jāmi' al-Tawārīkh*, in Amari, *Biblioteca, testo arabo*, p. 515 (*Biblioteca, versione italiana*, vol. 2, p. 253). Abū al-Fidā', *Kitāb al-Mukhtaṣar*, vol. 4, p. 38; Amari, *Biblioteca, testo arabo*, p. 421 (*Biblioteca arabo-sicula, versione italiana*, vol. 2, p. 107).

88 Abū al-Faḍāyl, *Tārīkh Manṣūrī*, p. 382 (folio 187b); Amari, *Seconda Appendice alla Biblioteca, testo arabo*, pp. 34–37 (*Biblioteca, versione italiana. Appendice*, pp. 57–62). Gabrieli, *Arab Historians*, pp. 280–283.

89 Ṣafadī, *Kitāb al-Wāfī*, in Amari, *Seconda Appendice alla Biblioteca, testo arabo*, pp. 14–15 (*Biblioteca, versione italiana. Appendice*, pp. 20–21).

90 Abū al-Faḍāyl, *Tārīkh Manṣūrī*, pp. 447–448 (folio 220a–220b); Amari, *Seconda Appendice alla Biblioteca, testo arabo*, p. 38 (*Biblioteca, versione italiana. Appendice*, pp. 64–65).

91 Ṣafadī, *Kitāb al-Wāfī*, in Amari, *Seconda Appendice alla Biblioteca, testo arabo*, p. 14 (*Biblioteca, versione italiana. Appendice*, p. 20).

92 Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarrij*, vol. 4, p. 246; Gabrieli, *Arab Historians*, p. 276.

93 Gottschalk, *Al-Kāmil*, p. 234 and note 1; Humphreys, *From Saladin to the Mongols*, p. 237.

94 Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarrij*, vol. 4, p. 246; Gabrieli, *Arab Historians*, p. 276. Ṣafadī, *Kitāb al-Wāfī,* in Amari, *Seconda Appendice alla Biblioteca, testo arabo*, p. 14 (*Biblioteca, versione italiana. Appendice*, p. 20).

95 Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk*, vol. 1, pp. 291–292. Abū al-Fidā', *Kitāb al-Mukhtaṣar*, in *RHC, Hist. orient*., vol. 1, pp. 117–118. 'Aynī, *'Iqd al-Jumān*, in *RHC, Hist.*

orient., vol. 2–1, pp. 196–197; *Kitāb Jāmi' al-Tawārīkh*, in Amari, *Biblioteca, testo arabo*, p. 516 (*Biblioteca, versione italiana*, vol. 2, pp. 255–256). Cf. Humphreys, *From Saladin to the Mongols*, p. 261; Sydney Painter, "The Crusade of Theobald of Champagne and Richard of Cornwall, 1239–1241," *History of the Crusades*, ed. Kenneth Meyer Setton, vol. 2 (Madison, 1962), pp. 475–478; Runciman, vol. 3, p. 215 note 2.

96 Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarrij*, vol. 4, p. 246; Gabrieli, *Arab Historians*, p. 276.

97 Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarrij*, vol. 4, p. 247; Gabrieli, *Arab Historians*, p. 276.

98 Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarrij*, vol. 4, p. 247; Gabrieli, *Arab Historians*, p. 276.

99 Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarrij*, vol. 4, p. 248. Abū al-Fidā', *Kitāb al-Mukhtaṣar*, vol. 4, pp. 38–39; Amari, *Biblioteca, testo arabo*, pp. 420–421 (*Biblioteca arabo-sicula, versione italiana*, vol. 2, pp. 106–107). Francesco Gabrieli, "Le ambascerie di Baibars a Manfredi," *Studi medievali in onore di Antonino de Stefano* (Palermo, 1956), pp. 222–223. Cf. Umberto Rizzitano, *Storia e cultura nella Sicilia Saracena* (Palermo, 1975), p. 333.

100 Gabrieli, "Le ambascerie di Baibars a Manfredi," p. 224.

101 Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarrij*, vol. 4, p. 248. Cf. Carole Hillenbrand, *The Crusade. Islamic Perspectives* (Edinburgh, 1999), pp. 340–341; Gabrieli, "La ambascerie di Baibars a Manfredi," pp. 222–223.

102 Hillenbrand, *The Crusade*, pp. 337–340.

103 Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarrij*, vol. 4, p. 234.

104 Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk*, vol. 1, p. 232.

105 Ibn al-Furāt (†1405): Nāṣil al-Dīn Muḥammad Ibn al-Furāt, *Tārīkh al-Duwal wa al-Mulūk*, in Ursula Lyons, Malcolm C. Lyons and Jonathan Riley-Smith, *Ayyubids, Mamluks and Crusaders*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1971), vol. 1, p. 11 (Arabic text), vol. 2, p. 9 (Eng. trans.).

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12

MIGRATIONS IN THE MEDITERRANEAN AREA AND THE FAR EAST
Medieval Sicily and Japan

"Migration" could be defined as "a spatial movement of individuals and groups with a permanent relocation of the main place of residence."[1] It might be a relatively simple concept, but it offers a lot of points for discussion according to its relationship with actual societies. For example, we can focus on movement of migration itself, societies for which migrants are destined or communities from which migrants come. If we focus on the movement itself, we may consider the time, route and distance of the movement, as well as the difference in the scale of migrations, that is, whether they are as individuals, as groups, or en masse. If we focus on migration's effects on the society for which the migrants are destined, we can discern between settlement in uninhabited areas, migration through conquest and migration as a minority into a society or state, and consider differences in migrants' relationship with the existing population, changes of their own and others' identities, their assimilation process and so forth. To identify the reasons and causes of migrations, we can examine the places and communities they come from, as well as the allure of their destinations.

The topic of my lecture, requested by the organizer of this conference, is "Migrations in the Mediterranean Area and the Far East." Since the two requested geographical areas include various regions with distinct features and are too large and too vague in their extents for my lecture, I focus on two smaller and more clearly defined geographical units: the island of Sicily in the Mediterranean and the islands of Japan in the Far East. Here, I will show some different types of migration in medieval Sicily and Japan and consider their effects on preexisting societies.

I

Sicily was one of the most important strategic points and a crossroads of different cultures in the ancient and medieval Mediterranean. Located at the center of the Mediterranean, only 3 kilometers from the Italian peninsula and 160 kilometers (a day's journey) from Tunis in North Africa, it long was the focal point of struggles for supremacy in the Mediterranean and was ruled by various peoples and states. Its history was marked by periodic conquests and immigrations of outsiders with various cultural backgrounds. Already in the early ancient period,

it was washed by migrant waves of Greeks, Carthaginians and Romans. After the rule of the Roman Empire, Sicily was subject to rule by groups such as Vandals, Ostrogoths, the Byzantine Empire, Muslims, Normans, Germans, Angevins and the kingdom of Aragon.[2]

Here I focus on two of the most conspicuous conquests of Sicily in the Middle Ages: those of Muslims and Normans, both accompanied by migrations. In the context of the political history of Sicily, these conquests were two of many alterations of the ruling or predominant groups of the island, but in a broader context they have been claimed by historians to mean transfers of the hegemony of the Mediterranean, first from Christians to Muslims and then from Muslims to Christians.

More than a few scholars believe that Muslim conquest of Sicily in the ninth and tenth centuries, followed by mass migrations of Muslims from North Africa, turned it from an island under strong Greek influence in language, administration and religion[3] into an Islamic one with prosperous agriculture and commerce.[4]

It is certain that the conquest wars, which continued intermittently for about 130 years from 827[5] till 965,[6] brought destruction and disorder to the island. In fact, Palermo, the future capital of Muslims in Sicily, was depopulated after its fall in 831. Ibn al-Athīr (1160–1233), a Muslim chronicler, states – possibly with exaggeration – that the victorious Muslims, on entering the city, found most of its inhabitants (seventy thousand at the beginning of the siege) dead and fewer than three thousand alive.[7] Syracuse, the Byzantine capital of the island, also lost most of its inhabitants after the fall of the city in 878. Theodosios, a Greek monk, described in his letter how horrible things, including famine and pestilence, happened in the city during the siege and how thoroughly the city was destroyed.[8] After the fall of Palermo in 831, Messina fell in 843, Butera in 853, Cefalù in 858, Castrogiovanni in 859, Noto in 864, Syracuse in 878 and Taormina in 902. Thus in 909, when Aghlabid rule came to an end, a large part of Sicily was under Muslim rule.[9] Most war prisoners were killed while some were sold into slavery.[10] Some of the inhabitants of Sicily probably took refuge on the Italian peninsula, although it is difficult to know the scale of this migration.[11]

However, those areas placed under Muslim rulers seem to have recovered rather quickly. Palermo, the new Muslim capital of the island, soon grew into one of the largest cities in the Islamic world. Its prosperity at the end of the tenth century is well illustrated by Ibn Hawqal, a Muslim geographer and traveler, who visited Sicily in 973.[12] His statement that this city had three hundred mosques might be an exaggeration, but Palermo was certainly one of the most active intellectual centers of the Islamic world in those days.[13]

Some historians believe that the early success of the Muslim conquest of Sicily was followed by mass migrations of Muslims to the island. For example, Denis Mack Smith states:

> From North Africa, Spain and the Levant they arrived in great numbers, probably greater numbers than any other conquerors of Sicily before and

> since. Some estimates went so far as to speak of half a million Muslim settlers. They settled more densely in the western and south-eastern provinces, but elsewhere too there must have been a considerable immigration. They repopulated the Sicilian countryside, too.[14]

They brought with them their religion, laws, literature, arts and sciences, as well as Persian hydraulic techniques. They introduced sugar cane, cotton seeds, mulberries, the date palm, the sumac tree for tanning and dying, papyrus, pistachio nuts, melons and silkworms. With the excellent irrigation system and new fruits and vegetables, the landscape of the island may have changed dramatically.[15]

Many Christians probably assimilated into Arab-Islamic culture or converted Islam, as stated by Yāqūt (1179–1229), a Muslim geographer.[16] By the end of the tenth century, Sicily seems to have become an essentially Arabic-speaking Muslim island with the exception of the Val Demone, the northeastern region of Sicily, which was filled with Christians speaking dialects of either Greek or Italo-Greek at the time of the Norman conquest.[17]

II

On the other hand, the Norman conquest of Sicily led by Roger I in the late eleventh century was quite different from the Muslim conquest in the ninth and tenth centuries. It was a part of the larger Norman conquest of southern Italy, which marked a watershed in Mediterranean history by destroying the old political order in this region and creating a new one under the Normans.[18] Not only Islamic Sicily but also Byzantine Apulia and Calabria, the Lombard principalities of Benevento, Salerno and Capua, and the city-states of Naples, Amalfi and Gaeta, were placed under Norman rulers and eventually unified into the Norman Kingdom of Sicily in the twelfth century. Thus Sicily and Southern Italy ceased to be the border region between the Arab Islamic, Greek Byzantine and Latin European cultural zones and became a part of the political sphere of Latin-Christian Europe.[19] The Norman soldiers from Normandy occupied a vast area in Sicily and the Italian peninsula and became a ruling class as lay aristocrats. From a demographic point of view, the Normans were a minority with respect to their number. The majority of Sicilians were Muslims and Greeks. Many of the inhabitants in Calabria and a part of Apulia were Greeks, while the majority in Apulia and Campania were those with Latin-Christian traditions, often described as "Lombards" in contemporary sources.[20]

The Norman conquest of Sicily, a significant element of the radical change of the political map in the Mediterranean history, certainly caused destructions of villages and houses, and casualties,[21] but it does not seem to have significantly changed the landscape or composition of the population of the island. During the conquest of Sicily from 1060[22] through 1091, Roger I could dispose of only several hundred knights, according to Gaufredus Malaterra,[23] and thus he strove to avoid battles and to submit Muslims through negotiations. The surrender of

Muslims in Palermo in January 1072 was negotiated by their representatives.[24] Although no source specifies the content of the negotiations, Roger I and his brother Robert Guiscard must have guaranteed the security of the Muslims' lives and worship in exchange of tributes and labor service.[25] Some historians think that the Muslims of Palermo obtained in these negotiations a degree of autonomy, especially the right to keep their own judges and legal system, as described later by Ibn Jubayr. Ibn Jubayr, who visited Palermo in December 1184, informs us that Muslims in Palermo had their own mosques, their own residential areas excluding Christians, their own markets, and their own judges (*qādī*).[26] This strongly suggests that Muslims in Palermo had a system of self-government. While visiting Trapani, Ibn Jubayr witnessed a procession of Muslims sounding drums and trumpets, and he was surprised by the Christians' generosity.[27] Other Sicilian cities, such as Catania, Mazara, Trapani, Taormina, Syracuse, Castrogiovanni, Butera and Noto,[28] probably negotiated similar agreements.

When Roger I completed his conquest of Sicily in 1091, the majority of the population in Sicily was made up of Muslims, although Greek-speaking Christians lived in Eastern Sicily. This composition of the population did not change much. When Roger I's administrative system was formed, most of his court officials were Greeks with Byzantine titles, and some Byzantine officials continued to exercise influence in the local government. He did not employ Muslims in the central government.[29]

During or after the conquest, there was no large-scale migration of Normans into Sicily, although many Normans established themselves as landlords in the peninsula. Even after the establishment of the Norman Kingdom of Sicily, Normans remained the minority in number, and many Muslims continued to live in Sicily, where Islamic culture remained as pronounced as ever under the Norman kings.

There were not many Normans in the royal palace in Palermo. Norman kings were surrounded by Muslim pages and court ladies in their daily lives. According to Ibn Jubayr, King William II's trust of Muslims was so deep that he entrusted all private matters and important affairs to them. His chief cook was a Muslim, and he was guarded by a troop of Muslim black slaves.[30]

The Norman kings themselves were all Christians and born in South Italy. All the queens were also Christians, but foreign-born: Roger II's first wife Elvira was a daughter of King Alfonso VI of Castile in Spain; his second wife Sibyl was a daughter of Duke Hugh of Burgundy in France; his third wife Beatrice was a daughter of the count of Rethel in France; William I's wife Margaret was a daughter of King Garcia of Navarre in Spain; and William II's wife Joanna was a daughter of King Henry II of England.

It is well known that Greek and ex-Muslim officials served the Norman kings in the royal palace.[31] It should be noted that the central government of the kingdom was run by migrants as well as Greeks and ex-Muslims. Most head ministers were foreign-born. George, head minister of Roger II, was Greek and born in Antioch in Syria. Peter, head minister during the minority of William II, was a eunuch with an Arab-Islamic background and born in Jerba, although a converted Christian.

Falcandus, a chronicler of the twelfth century, described him as "a Christian only in name and dress but a Saracen at heart like all the eunuchs of the palace."[32] His successor and head minister Stephen was French.

Many migrants as well as people with an Arab-Islamic background can be found also in groups of the *familiares regis*. *Familiaris regis* was a well-defined title to indicate a member of the royal inner council during the reigns of William I and William II. As the decision makers on policy and other important matters, they were the most powerful people in the kingdom.[33] Among the three *familiares regis* at the end of the reign of William I, Richard the bishop-elect of Syracuse was English,[34] and Peter the master chamberlain of the royal palace was an ex-Muslim eunuch.[35] Among the five *familiares regis* formed after the flight of Peter were the English Bishop-elect Richard of Syracuse, and two ex-Muslim eunuchs, Richard[36] and Martin.[37] Three migrants, Richard the bishop-elect of Syracuse who was English, Gentile the bishop of Agrigento who was Hungarian, and Henry the count of Montescaglioso who was Spanish, were included in the group of ten *familiares regis* formed after the flight of Stephen.[38] Furthermore, the Hungarian Gentile and the English Richard were both included in the group of three *familiares regis* established after 1169.[39] We also see many foreigners, Greeks and those with Arab-Islamic backgrounds among officials at the royal court.[40]

On the other hand, the Muslim population of Sicily continued to decrease after the Norman conquest. Muslims in Sicily began to migrate to North Africa, especially Tunisia and Egypt, during the conquest, and continued to do so under Norman rule. In particular, the Muslim population decreased rapidly in the latter half of the twelfth and the first half of the thirteenth century. In the 1220s, Frederick II made the Muslims in Sicily, who continued to revolt against the king, migrate to Lucera in the Italian peninsula.[41] Thus, Lucera became a colony of Muslims. Most of them lived peasant lives separated from Christian society outside, while some served the king as soldiers and courtiers. In 1300 the last Muslims in Lucera were sold as slaves, and Muslims were extinguished from the Italian peninsula.[42]

III

In contrast with Sicily, the islands of Japan, located to the east of the Eurasian continent, did not undergo any conquests or mass immigrations of outsiders in the Middle Ages.[43] Chinese sources show that the inhabitants of Japan certainly had contact with China and Korea in the ancient and medieval periods.[44] Wang Chong's *Lunheng*, written at the end of the first century, mentions "*woren* (*wajin* in Japanese; inhabitants of the islands of Japan)" who came with tributes to the court of the Zhou Dynasty (eleventh century to 256 BC).[45] According to the *Han Shu*, a history of the Former Han Dynasty (202 BC to AD 8) composed by Ban Gu (32–92) in the first century, *woren* occasionally sent envoys to the continent under the Former Han dynasty.[46] The *Hou Han Shu*, a history of the Later Han dynasty (25–220) compiled by Fan Ye (398–445) in the fifth century, also informs us that in AD 57 an envoy of the Na kingdom in the Japanese islands came to the court of

Emperor Guangwu (25–57) with tribute.[47] The *Wei Zhi*, a history of the Wei kingdom (220–265) written at the end of the third century and one of the *San Guo Zhi (Histories of the Three Kingdoms)*, describes that thirty countries in the Japanese islands had contact with the Wei kingdom through envoys.[48] It is confirmed from later Chinese sources that inhabitants of the Japanese islands thereafter maintained their tributary relations with the continent.[49]

Thanks to the extensive and collaborative research done by a dozen of scholars with the support of Todaiji in 1988,[50] we know the names of about 580 migrants or visitors to Japan between 538, the year of the arrival of Buddhism, and 894, the year of the abolishment of *Kentōshi*, the Imperial Japanese envoy to the Tang dynasty (618–907) in China. Many of those coming to Japan in the sixth and seventh centuries were from the Korean peninsula, while more and more came from mainland China in the eighth and ninth centuries. Many of those coming to Japan settled and played important roles in the early development of Japanese culture.[51] Those coming from the Korean peninsula to the Japanese islands in the sixth century brought with them knowledge of how to read and write Chinese characters, technique to produce iron, a large-scale irrigation system and so forth.[52]

It is known that migrants from the Korean peninsula increased in number at the end of the fourth century,[53] in the latter half of the fifth century,[54] and the latter half of the seventh century,[55] which are regarded as the periods of political turmoil and wars in the Korean peninsula or the continent. Many of the migrants of these periods were prisoners presented to Japanese rulers or refugees driven away by political turmoil and wars. In the periods of political stability, it was not easy for people to migrate beyond borders of states because of legal restraints.[56] Many of the migrants to Japan were monks. There were very few migrants from Tang China, although there were active cultural contacts between China and Japan.[57]

Japanese chronicles show that many groups immigrated to Japan around the falls of Baekje and Goguryeo in the latter half of the seventh century, and after the mid-eighth century.[58] According to *Nihon Shoki*, more than four hundred men and women of Baekje settled in Ōmikoku in 665, and more than two thousand people of Baekje settled in Tōgoku in 666.[59] According to *Shoku Nihongi*, 351 people of Silla were placed in Musashikoku in 760. In some cases, migrants had to return to their homeland.[60] *Shoku Nihongi* informs us that more than 1,100 people of Balhae and Tetsuri were placed in Dewakoku in 746, and 359 people of Balhae and Tetsuri in Dewakoku in 779, but all of them were later ordered to return to their homeland.[61]

Between 600 and 840, cross-cultural contact was promoted by the Imperial Japanese envoys, *Kenzuishi* to Sui China and *Kentōshi* to Tang China, who brought back new knowledge, skills, goods and migrants.[62] After the relationship between Japan and Silla deteriorated in the mid-eighth century, *Kentōshi* abandoned the north route crossing the Tsushima Strait (200 kilometers) to the Korean peninsula, and took the south route crossing the East China Sea from Kyushu to mainland China (about 700 kilometers, seven days), which was a dangerous route and led to

much loss of life.[63] After this official mission was abolished in 894, contact with the continent was carried out mainly by merchants.[64]

There were constant visits by merchants to Hakata in Kyushu from Northern Song China (960–1127), and merchant ships came and went more frequently between the Japanese islands and the continent after the mid-eleventh century. Japan's trade with China became more active under the Southern Song dynasty (1127–1276).

At the end of the thirteenth century, the Yuan Mongol dynasty of China attempted a full-scale invasion of Japan (*Genkō*) twice.[65] The first expedition in 1274 (Battle of Bun'ei) consisted of more than thirty thousand soldiers,[66] and the second in 1281 (Battle of Kōan) consisted of 140,000 soldiers with 4,400 ships.[67] Both failed, caught in severe storms. Thirteen thousand soldiers were killed in the first expedition,[68] while fewer than forty thousand soldiers survived and returned home in the second expedition.[69]

These were the only two attempted invasions Japan had experienced before the Second World War and the only two opportunities when the samurai, united under the shogunate, fought a defensive war against outsiders rather than amongst themselves. The storms which did fatal damage to the Mongols were called *kamikaze* ("Divine Wind"), and they created a belief that Japan was protected by the gods. This belief was held by many Japanese until their defeat in 1945.

After *Genkō* there was constant and active trade between the Japanese islands and China during the Yuan dynasty and the Ming dynasty (1368–1644). After all, Japan seems to have been kept under a moderate influence of China and Korea without their strong intervention or mass migrations in the Middle Ages.

* * *

Thus we have seen some different types of migrations in medieval Sicily and Japan. There is no doubt that the geographical locations and relationships with outside powers or states affected the migrations there. Sicily, located at the center of the Mediterranean, was so important strategically and commercially that many outsiders tried to take control of this island. Successful conquests were usually accompanied and followed by migrations of compatriots of the conquerors. Various peoples ruled this island and various migrants formed up its population. Some historians think that the Muslim conquest of Sicily caused mass migrations of Muslims into the island and changed it into an Islamic island. On the other hand, the Norman conquest of Sicily did not significantly change the existing order and system. Instead, the Normans seem to have tried to rule the population based on the existing systems. As a result, we see groups with different religions and cultures coexist under the Norman rulers.

Japan did not experience conquests by outsiders in the ancient and medieval periods. One of the main reasons for this may be that Japan's geographical location in the Far East did not make it so vital strategically or commercially as Sicily was in the Mediterranean. People on the continent did not seem to have had strong incentives to conquer Japan, while the Japanese had strong motivation to go to

China even at great cost. Therefore, migrations into Japan were small in number and did not cause radical changes in the political or social order. Migrants, who settled as minorities, had no choice but to assimilate themselves into the society, although their knowledge and skills were highly appreciated.

In conclusion, I point out two problems I faced in this research. The first one is concerned with sources. There are few contemporary sources on Muslim Sicily, and most information about the Muslim conquest comes from Arabic sources written outside Sicily in a later period, or sources written in the Norman period. Accordingly, our information is limited to political aspects which later Muslim historians were interested in or able to obtain, and those which chroniclers and writers in the Norman period were concerned with. On the other hand, the Japanese chronicles, which give us information on group migrations to Japan, were written in a later period on the order of emperors, and there is the possibility that their political intent might affect the description of migrants from the Korean peninsula.

The second problem is concerned with the framework related to "migration," that is, the framework of the land or society into which migrants go. It may not be so difficult to geographically define a host location of migration, as I fixed the island of Sicily and the islands of Japan as the areas concerned at the beginning. However, a host society or group, into which migrants go, does not necessarily correspond to a geographical unit, and it is not easy to define or find a group pertinent as a host society of migrants in the Middle Ages. The framework of Sicily works as a geographical unit, and it did work as an administrative unit in the Norman Kingdom. But it does not work well as a host society of migrations after the establishment of the Norman Kingdom of Sicily. The framework of the kingdom or a smaller community within the kingdom would work better as a host society. The framework of Japan shows a different aspect of this problem. Many historians consciously know that there was no sole ruler of Japan in the ancient and early medieval periods, and that there were different states inside the islands of Japan. They do not seem to believe that there was one group of human beings which could be called "Japanese society." Nonetheless, they seem to be using Japan as a host society when they discuss migration or cross-cultural contact.

Appendix

n. 45 Wang Chong, *Lunheng*, vol. 8, chapter "ruzeng," article 26: "周時天下太平，越裳獻白雉，倭人貢鬯草." Wang Chong, *Lunheng*, vol. 19, chapter "huiguo," article 58: "成王之時，越常獻雉，倭人貢暢." *Shan Hai Jing*, vol. 12 "hainei bei jing": "蓋國在鉅燕南倭北 倭屬燕."

n. 46 *Han Shu*, section of "dilizhi": "樂浪海中有倭人, 分為百餘國, 以歲時來獻."

n. 47 *Hou Han Shu*, vol. 85 "dongyi liezhuan," article 75: "建武中元二年，倭奴國奉貢朝賀，使人自稱大夫，倭國之極南界也。光武賜以印綬。安帝永初元年，倭國王帥升等獻生口百六十人，願請見."

n. 48 *Wei Zhi*, vol. 30, section of "dongyi zhuan," article of "woren": "倭人在帶方東南大海之中 依山島爲國邑 舊百餘國 漢時有朝見者 今使譯所通三十國."

Notes

1 Michael Borgolte, "Migrationen als transkulturelle Verflechtungen im mittelalerlichen Europa. Ein neuer Pflug für alte Forschungsfelder," *Historische Zeitschrift*, vol. 289 (2009), p. 270.

2 Moses I. Finley, *Ancient Sicily*, 2nd ed. (London, 1979), pp. xiii–xv; Denis Mack Smith, *Medieval Sicily 800–1713* (London, 1968).

3 Hugh N Kennedy, "The Muslims in Europe," *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, ed. Rosamond McKitterick, vol. 2 (Cambridge, 1995), p. 249. Most of the population of Sicily seems to have spoken dialects of either Greek or Italo-Greek just before the Muslim invasion. See Alex Metcalfe, *Muslims and Christians in Norman Sicily* (London, 2003), pp. xv, 7–8.

4 Hugh N. Kennedy, "Sicily and al-Andalus under Muslim rule," *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, ed. Timothy Reuter, vol. 3 (Cambridge, 1999), pp. 663–669; Metcalfe, *Muslims and Christians*, pp. 22–24.

5 In 827 the Aghlabid commander Asad Ibn al-Furāt was ordered to make an expedition to Sicily by the Aghlabid *amīr* Ziyāda Allāh (817–838), who had received an appeal for help from Euphemios, a rebellious Byzantine naval commander in Sicily. See Hiroshi Takayama, "The Aghlabid Governors in Sicily: 827–909 – Islamic Sicily I," *Annals of the Japan Association for Middle East Studies*, vol. 7 (1992), pp. 430–431. The Muslim forces included Arabs, Berbers, Spanish Muslims, and Persians. See Michele Amari, *Storia dei Musulmani di Sicilia*, 2nd ed. Carlo A. Nallino, 3 vols. (Catania, 1933–1939 [1st ed., 3 vols., Florence 1854–1872]), vol. 1, p. 394; Mack Smith, *Medieval Sicily*, pp. 3–4; Aziz Ahmad, *A History of Islamic Sicily* (Edinburgh, 1975), p. 7.

6 Rometta (Rametta), the last remaining base of Christian opposition, fell in May 965. See Amari, *Storia dei Musulmani*, vol. 2, pp. 307–308, note 2. Cf. Metcalfe, *Muslims and Christians*, p. 12.

7 Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh*, in Michele Amari, ed., *Biblioteca arabo-sicula ossia Raccolta di testi arabici che toccano la geografia, la storia, le biografie e la bibliografia della Sicilia* (Leipzig, 1857) [hereinafter Amari, *Biblioteca, testo arabo*], pp. 224–225 (Italian translation: Michele Amari, ed. and trans., *Biblioteca arabo-sicula, versione italiana*, 2 vols. [Rome/Turin, 1880–1881] [hereinafter Amari, *Biblioteca, versione italiana*], vol. 1, p. 369); Metcalfe, *Muslims and Christians*, p. 19.

8 Carlo O. Zuretti, "La espuganzione di Siracusa nell'880. Testo greco della lettera del monaco Teodosio," *Centenario di Michele Amari*, vol. 1 (Palermo, 1910), pp. 164–173, includes an introductory part of the Greek letter. A Latin translation by Ottavio Gaetani was published in Carlo O. Zuretti, ed., *Vitae Sanctorum Siculorum*, 2 vols. (Palermo, 1657), vol. 2, appendix, pp. 102–107; and in Rocco Pirro, *Sicilia sacra disquisitionibus et notitiis illustrata*, ed. Antonio Mongitore, 3rd ed., 2 vols. (Palermo, 1733), vol. 1, pp. 613–617. Francis M. Crawford, *The Rulers of the South: Sicily, Calabria, Malta*, 2 vols. (London, 1900), pp. 79–98, has an English translation of the letter. Available online: http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Gazetteer/Places/Europe/Italy/Texts/CRAROS/home.html (accessed 13 November 2011). See also Bruno Lavagnini, "Siracusa occupata dagli Arabi e l'epistola di Teodosio Monaco," *Byzantion*, vol. 29–30 (1959–1960), pp. 267–279; Amari, *Storia dei Musulmani*, vol. 1, pp. 541–551; Ahmad, *A History of Islamic Sicily*, p. 15; Mack Smith, *Medieval Sicily*, pp. 4–5; Alex Metcalfe, *The Muslims of Medieval Italy* (Edinburgh, 2009), pp. 27, 41 note 8.

9 For the Aghlabid, Fāṭimid, and Kalbid (Kalbite) rules of Sicily, see Takayama, "The Aghlabid Governors in Sicily: 827–909 – Islamic Sicily I"; Hiroshi Takayama, "The Fāṭimid and Kalbite Governors in Sicily: 909–1044 – Islamic Sicily II," *Mediterranean World*, vol. 13 (1992), pp. 21–30; Metcalfe, *The Muslims of Medieval Italy*, pp. 25–87.

10 Mack Smith, *Medieval Sicily*, p. 4.

11 Metcalfe, *Muslims and Christians*, p. 13. Léon-Robert Ménager ("La 'Byzantinisation' religieuse de l'Italie méridionale [IXe–XIIe siècle] et la politique monastique des Normands d'Italie," *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique*, vol. 53 [1958], pp. 747–774) thinks that the Muslim conquest caused a mass migration of Greek inhabitants into Calabria, although André Guillou (*Les actes grecs de S. Maria di Messina*, [Palermo, 1963], pp. 28–29) is doubtful of this idea.

12 Amari, *Storia dei Musulmani*, vol. 2, pp. 336–354.

13 Mack Smith, *Medieval Sicily*, p. 7; Umberto Rizzitano, "La cultura araba nella Sicilia normanna," *Atti del Congresso internazionale di studi sulla Sicilia normanna* (Palermo, 1973), pp. 279–297; Umberto Rizzitano, *Storia e cultura nella Sicilia saracena* (Palermo, 1975); Adalgisa De Simone, "I luoghi della cultura arabo-islamica," *Centri di produzione della cultura nel Mezzogiorno normanno-svevo* (Bari, 1997), pp. 55–87; Metcalfe, *Muslims and Christians*, p. 19.

14 Mack Smith, *Medieval Sicily*, p. 11.

15 Amari, *Storia dei Musulmani*, vol. 2, pp. 508–515; Mack Smith, *Medieval Sicily*, pp. 7–8; Ahmad, *A History of Islamic Sicily*, p. 38.

16 Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, in: Amari, *Biblioteca, testo arabo*, p. 117 (Amari, *Biblioteca, versione italiana*, vol. 1, pp. 202–203).

17 Amatus Casinensis, *Storia de' Normanni di Amato di Montecassino*, ed. Vincenzo de Bartholomaeis (Rome, 1935) [hereinafter Amatus], Lib. V, Cap. XII, XXI, XXV; Gaufredus Malaterra, *De rebus gestis Rogerii Calabriae et Siciliae comitis et Roberti Guiscardi ducis fratris eius*, ed. Ernesto Pontieri (Bologna, 1928) [hereinafter Malaterra], Lib. II, Cap. XIV; Amari, *Storia dei Musulmani*, vol. 2, pp. 456–457, 499; Metcalfe, *Muslims and Christians*, pp. xv, 12–19.

18 For the impact of the Norman conquest in Southern Italy, see Einar Joranson, "The Inception of the Career of the Normans in Italy," *Speculum*, vol. 23 (1948), pp. 353–396; Hartmut Hoffmann, "Die Anfänge der Normannen in Süditalien," *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken*, vol. 49 (1969), pp. 95–144; Léon-Robert Ménager, "Pesanteur et étiologie de la colonisation normande de l'Italie," *Roberto il Guiscardo e il suo tempo* (Rome, 1975), pp. 189–215; Norbert Kamp, "Vescovi e diocesi nell'Italia meridionale nel passaggio dalla dominazione bizantina allo stato normanno," *Forma di potere e struttura sociale in Italia nel medioevo*, ed. Gabriella Rossetti (Bologna, 1977), pp. 379–397; Graham A. Loud, "How 'Norman' Was the Norman Conquest of Southern Italy?," *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, vol. 25 (1981), pp. 13–34; Graham A. Loud, "Continuity and Change in Norman Italy," *Journal of Medieval History*, vol. 22 (1996), pp. 313–343; Wolfgang Jahn, *Untersuchungen zur normannischen Herrschaft in Süditalien (1040–1100)* (Frankfurt am Main, 1989); John France, "The Occasion of the Coming of the Normans to Southern Italy," *Journal of Medieval History*, vol. 17 (1991), pp. 185–205.

19 Hiroshi Takayama, "Confrontation of Powers in the Norman Kingdom of Sicily: Kings, Nobles, Bureaucrats and Cities," in *Città e vita cittadina nei paesi dell'area mediterranea: secoli XI–XV*, ed. Biagio Saitta (Rome, 2006), p. 541; Hiroshi Takayama, "Law and Monarchy in the South," *Italy in the Central Middle Ages*, ed. David Abulafia (Oxford, 2004), p. 58.

20 Concerning the survival of Lombard aristocrats after the conquest in Campania, see Loud, "Continuity and Change," pp. 324–336.

21 Malaterra, Lib. II, Cap. IV–VI, X, XVII, XXIX–XXX, XXXIII, XXXV; Mack Smith, *Medieval Sicily*, pp. 15–16.

22 Roger I's first expedition to Sicily in 1060 took place after Ibn al-Thumna, heavily defeated by another Muslim ruler, Ibn al-Hawwās, invited Roger I as ally from the Italian peninsula and offered him lands in Sicily as reward.
23 Malaterra, Lib. II, Cap. XVII–XVIII; Ferdinand Chalandon, *Histoire de la domination normande en Italie et en Sicile*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1907; rep. New York, 1960), vol. 1, p. 328.
24 Amatus, Lib. VI, Cap. XVIII. Cf. Amari, *Storia dei Musulmani*, vol. 3, pp. 130–131.
25 Malaterra, Lib. II, Cap. XLV; Guillaume de Pouille, *La geste de Robert Guiscard*, ed. Marguerite Mathieu (Palermo, 1961), Lib. III. Cf. Amari, *Storia dei Musulmani*, vol. 3, pp. 130–131, 277; Chalandon, *Histoire de la domination*, vol. 1, p. 208; Graham A. Loud, *The Age of Robert Guiscard: Southern Italy and the Norman Conquest* (Harlow, 2000), pp. 161–162.
26 Ibn Jubayr, *Riḥla (The Travels of Ibn Jubayr)*, ed. William Wright, 2nd ed. by Michael J. De Goeje (Leiden, 1907), p. 332. Cf. Amari, *Storia dei Musulmani*, vol. 3, p. 132; Chalandon, *Histoire de la domination*, vol. 1, p. 208; Francesco Gabrieli, "La politique arabe des Normands de Sicile," *Studia Islamica*, vol. 9 (1958), p. 93.
27 Ibn Jubayr, *Riḥla*, pp. 334–336. Cf. Gabrieli, "La politique arabe," p. 89.
28 Amari, *Storia dei Musulmani*, vol. 3, p. 277.
29 Hiroshi Takayama, "The Administration of Roger I," in *Ruggero I Gran Conte di Sicilia, 1101–2001*, ed. Guglielmo De' Giovanni-Centelles (Rome, 2007), pp. 124–140; Hiroshi Takayama, "Religious Tolerance in Norman Sicily? The Case of Muslims," in *Puer Apuliae. Mélanges offerts à Jean-Marie Martin*, ed. Errico Cuozzo, et al. (Paris, 2008), pp. 629–630.
30 Ibn Jubayr, *Riḥla*, p. 324.
31 Hiroshi Takayama, "The Great Administrative Officials of the Norman Kingdom of Sicily," *Papers of the British School at Rome*, vol. 58 (1990), pp. 317–335; Hiroshi Takayama, *The Administration of the Norman Kingdom of Sicily* (Leiden/New York/Cologne, 1993); Hiroshi Takayama, "Central Power and Multi-Cultural Elements at the Norman Court of Sicily," *Mediterranean Studies*, vol. 12 (2003), pp. 1–15; Alex Metcalfe, "The Muslims of Sicily under Christian Rule," in *The Society of Norman Italy*, ed. Graham A. Loud and Alex Metcalfe (Leiden/Boston/Cologne, 2002), pp. 289–317; Jeremy Johns, *Arabic Administration in Norman Sicily: The Royal Dīwān* (Cambridge, 2002), pp. 212–256.
32 Hugo Falcandus, *Liber de Regno Sicilie*, in Giovanni B. Siragusa, ed., *La historia o Liber de Regno Sicilie e la epistola ad Petrum Panormitane ecclesie thesaurarium* (Rome, 1897), p. 25: "sicut et omnes eunuchi palatii, nomine tantum habituque christianus erat, animo saracenus." (English translation: Graham A. Loud and Thomas Wiedemann, eds. and trans., *The History of the Tyrants of Sicily by 'Hugo Falcandus' 1154–69* [Manchester/New York, 1998], p. 78).
33 Hiroshi Takayama, "*Familiares Regis* and the Royal Inner Council in Twelfth-Century Sicily," *English Historical Review*, vol. 104 (1989), pp. 357–372; Takayama, "Central Power and Multi-Cultural Elements," pp. 11–12.
34 Norbert Kamp, *Kirche und Monarchie im Staufischen Königreich Sizilien I: Prosopographische Grundlegung: Bistümer und Bischöfe des Königreichs 1194–1266*, 4 vols. (Munich, 1973–1982), vol. 3, pp. 1013–1018.
35 Falcandus, *Liber de Regno*, p. 83 (Loud and Wiedemann, *The History of Tyrants*, p. 133).
36 Although Falcandus does not call Richard a eunuch, the following description implies that he was also a eunuch: "Gaytus quoque Richardus illi cum ceteris eunuchis infestissimus erat, eo quod Robertum Calataboianensem contra voluntatem eius dampnaverat" (Falcandus, *Liber de Regno*, p. 119 [Loud and Wiedemann, *The History of Tyrants*, p. 170]). See also Falcandus, *Liber de Regno*, pp. 161–162 (Loud and Wiedemann, *The History of Tyrants*, p. 214); Takayama, "The Great Administrative Officials," pp. 323–324; Johns, *Arabic Administration*, pp. 228–234.

37 Falcandus, *Liber de Regno*, p. 79 note 1 and pp. 108–109 (Loud and Wiedemann, *The History of Tyrants*, pp. 129, 158); Carlo A. Garufi, *I documenti inediti del'epoca normanna in Sicilia* (Palermo, 1899), p. 111; Takayama, "The Great Administrative Officials," p. 323; Johns, *Arabic Administration*, pp. 219–222.
38 Falcandus, *Liber de Regno*, pp. 161–162 (Loud and Wiedemann, *The History of Tyrants*, p. 214).
39 Falcandus, *Liber de Regno*, pp. 163–164 (Loud and Wiedemann, *The History of Tyrants*, p. 216); Takayama, "*Familiares Regis*," pp. 365–368.
40 Takayama, "The Great Administrative Officials," pp. 317–335; Takayama, "Central Power and Multi-Cultural Elements," pp. 1–15.
41 Gabrieli, "La politique arabe," p. 86; David Abulafia, "The End of Muslim Sicily," *Muslims under Latin Rule, 1100–1300*, ed. James M. Powell (Princeton, 1990), pp. 103–133. Date palms and sugar cane were abandoned in Sicily. Muslims were the only ones able to grow them. See Jean-Marie Martin, "Settlement and the Agrarian Economy," Graham A. Loud and Alex Metcalfe, eds., *The Society of Norman Italy* (Leiden, 2002), pp. 19–21.
42 For the Muslims in Lucera, see David Abulafia, "Monarchs and Minorities in the Christian Western Mediterranean around 1300: Lucera and Its Analogues," *Christendom and Its Discontents: Exclusion, Persecution, and Rebellion, 1000–1500*, ed. Scott L. Waugh and Peter D. Diehl (Cambridge, 1996), pp. 234–263; Julie Taylor, *Muslims in Medieval Italy: The Colony at Lucera* (Oxford, 2003).
43 For the relationship between Japan and the continent (China and Korea) in the ancient and medieval periods, see Kiyoaki Kitō, *Nihon Kodaikokka no Keisei to Higashiajia* (Tokyo, 1976); Yasutami Suzuki, *Kodai Taigaikankeishi no Kenkyū* (Tokyo, 1985); Kō'ichi Tamura and Yasutami Suzuki, eds., *Ajia kara Mita Kodai Nihon* (Tokyo, 1992); Shūichi Kaneko, *Zui Tō no Kokusai Chitsujo to Higashiajia* (Tokyo, 2001); Makoto Satō, *Nihon no Kodai* (Tokyo, 2005); Shōsuke Murai, *Higashiajia no Naka no Nihon Bunka* (Tokyo, 2005); Shōsuke Murai, "Wakō to 'Nihon Kokuō'," *Wakō to 'Nihon Kokuō'*, ed. Yasunori Arano, et al. (Tokyo, 2010), pp. 1–27; Kimiyuki Mori, *Higashiajia no Dōran to Wakoku* (Tokyo, 2006).
44 Masako Nakagawa, "The *Shan-hai ching* and *Wo*: A Japanese Connection," *Sino-Japanese Studies*, vol. 15 (2003), pp. 45–55. Online: http://chinajapan.org/articles/15/nakagawa15.45-55.pdf (accessed 13 November 2011).
45 Wang Chong, *Lunheng*, vol. 8, chapter "ruzeng," article 26 (Ōjū, *Ronkō*, ed. and Japanese trans. Katsumi Yamada, 3 vols. [Tokyo, 1976–1984; Shinshaku Kambun Taikei, vols. 68, 69, 94]). For the Chinese text, see Chapter 12 Appendix, n. 45. Wang Chong, *Lunheng*, vol. 19, chapter "huiguo," article 58. For the Chinese text, see Chapter 12 Appendix, n. 45. The earliest mention of "*wo*" is found in vol. 12 "hainei bei jing" of *Shan Hai Jing*, a collection of geographic and mythological legends between 300 BC and AD 250 (*Sengaikyō. Ressenden*, ed. and trans. Naoaki Maeno [Tokyo, 1975; Zenshaku Kambun Taikei, vol. 33]). For the Chinese text, see Chapter 12 Appendix, n. 45.
46 *Han Shu*, section of "dili zhi" (Michihiro Ishihara, ed. and trans., *Shintei Gishi Wajinden, Gokanjo Waden, Sōjo Wakokuden, Zuisho Wakokuden* [Tokyo, 1985], p. 135). For the Chinese text, see Chapter 12 Appendix, n. 46.
47 *Hou Han Shu*, vol. 85 "dongyi liezhuan," article 75 (Ishihara, *Shintei Gishi Wajinden*, p. 120). For the Chinese text, see Chapter 12 Appendix, n. 47.
48 *Wei Zhi*, vol. 30, section of "dongyi zhuan", article of "woren" (Ishihara, *Shintei Gishi Wajinden*, p. 105). For the Chinese text, see Chapter 12 Appendix, n. 48.
49 For example, see the section of "yiman zhuan" of *Song Shu*, a history of the Song dynasty (420–479) written at the end of the fifth century; the section of "dongyi zhuan" of *Liang Shu*, a history of the Liang dynasty (502–557) written in the seventh century; the section of "dongyi zhuan" of *Sui Shu*, a history of the Sui dynasty (581–618); and

the section of "dongyi zhuan" of *Tang Shu*, a history of the Tang dynasty (618–907) written in the tenth century.

50 *Shimpan Silkroad Ōrai Jimbutsu Jiten*, ed. Tōdaiji Kyōgakubu (Kyoto, 2002 [1st ed., Kyoto, 1988]).

51 *Shimpan Silkroad Ōrai Jimbutsu Jiten*, p. 161.

52 Satō, *Nihon no Kodai*, p. 50.

53 In the latter half of the fourth century, fierce battles continued between Goguryeo and Baekje in the Korean peninsula. Yukio Takeda, ed., *Chōsenshi* (Tokyo, 2000), pp. 54, 64–65.

54 In 475, Goguryeo occupied the capital of Baekje. See Satō, *Nihon no Kodai*, pp. 50–51.

55 In the latter half of the seventh century, the Tang dynasty attacked Goguryeo and Baekje. Baekje fell in 663, and Goguryeo in 668. See Satō, *Nihon no Kodai*, p. 73.

56 *Shimpan Silkroad Ōrai Jimbutsu Jiten*, p. 161.

57 *Shimpan Silkroad Ōrai Jimbutsu Jiten*, p. 162.

58 Satō, *Nihon no Kodai*, pp. 73, 75.

59 *Nihon Shoki* (ed. Tarō Sakamoto, et al., 2 vols., Tokyo, 1965–1967 [Nihon Koten Bungaku Taikei, vols. 67–68]), Tenji 4th year (665), 2nd month; *Shimpan Silkroad Ōrai Jimbutsu Jiten*, p. 161.

60 *Shoku Nihongi* (ed. Kazuo Aoki, et al., 5 vols., Tokyo, 1989–1998 [Shin Nihon Koten Bungaku Taikei, vols. 12–16]), Tempyō Hōji 4th year (760), 4th month; *Shimpan Silkroad Ōrai Jimbutsu Jiten*, p. 161.

61 *Shoku Nihongi*, Tempyō 18th year (746); Hōki 10th year (779), 9th month; *Shimpan Silkroad Ōrai Jimbutsu Jiten*, p. 161.

62 For *Kenzuishi* and *Kentōshi*, see Torao Mozai, et al., eds., *Kentōshi Kenkyū to Shiryō* (Tokyo, 1987); Haruyuki Tōno, *Kentōshi to Shōsō'in* (Tokyo, 1992); Takeshi Ueda, *Kentōshi Zenkōkai* (Tokyo, 2006); Haruyuki Tōno, *Kentōshi* (Tokyo, 2007); Kimiaki Mori, *Kentōshi to Kodai Nihon no Taigaiseisaku* (Tokyo, 2008); Kimiaki Mori, *Kentōshi no Kōbō* (Tokyo, 2010).

63 Satō, *Nihon no Kodai*, pp. 116–118.

64 Satō, *Nihon no Kodai*, pp. 190–193. Shōsuke Murai, *Higashiajia no Naka no Nihon Bunka*, pp. 54–55, 87–105.

65 For the Mongol invasions of Japan, see Shōsuke Murai, *Chūsei Nihon no Uchi to Soto* (Tokyo, 1999), pp. 98–123; Shōsuke Murai, *Hōjō Tokimune to Mōko Shūrai* (Tokyo, 2001); Judith Frölich, "Effekte von Migrationen auf Fremd- und Selbstbilder: die Mongoleneinfälle aus japanischer Sicht," Michael Borgolte, et al., eds., *Europa im Geflecht der Welt: mittelalterliche Migrationen in globalen Bezügen* (Berlin, 2012), pp. 231–246.

66 Murai, *Chūsei Nihon*, p. 115; Murai, *Hōjō Tokimune*, p. 112.

67 Murai, *Chūsei Nihon*, p. 117; Murai, *Hōjō Tokimune*, p. 127.

68 Murai, *Hōjō Tokimune*, p. 112.

69 Murai, *Chūsei Nihon*, pp. 117–118.

13

CLASSIFICATION OF VILLEINS IN MEDIEVAL SICILY

It has been generally understood, mainly based on studies of France, that a social class of unfree peasants subject to lords through land tenure was formed in Western Europe during the eleventh and twelfth centuries.[1] Marc Bloch, a well-known French medievalist, considered that most peasants in the Middle Ages had been unfree and in the status of serfdom due to the following three points. First, they had to pay *chevage*, a kind of poll money and a symbol of servitude. Second, they could not marry women living outside their lords' domains unless they got their lords' permission by making a large payment. Third, they had to pay *mainmorte* (death duty) to their lords when they bequeathed their property.[2] Hans Kurt Schulze, a German scholar, defines *Bauern* (sing. *Bauer*, peasant) in medieval Europe as those who belonged to rural population (as opposed to urban population), and explains that they constituted a quite uniform class as a whole in terms of social function, management style and lifestyle, although they consisted of various people in free, semi-free and unfree conditions, and they varied greatly in terms of land tenure.[3]

Scholars seem to have divided medieval peasants into slaves, unfree peasants and free peasants in terms of degree of freedom, and they subdivided unfree peasants into serfs and villeins in terms of degree of dependence on their lords, although these divisions and definitions are quite artificial. As a matter of fact, there were various words supposed to indicate peasants in medieval Europe, and some of them were sometimes ambiguous and polysemous.

It is important for us to clarify here the usage of some frequently used words, modern and medieval, for peasants of medieval Europe. The English word "serf" ("serf" in French, "servo" in Italian) derives from the Latin word "*servus*," while the English word "villein" ("vilain" in French, "villano" in Italian) comes from the Latin word "*villanus*" (Figure 13.1).

The Latin word "*servus*," originally meaning a slave, does not appear very frequently in medieval Latin sources,[4] but "serf" in English or French, and "servo" in Italian, are quite often used by modern scholars to indicate a medieval peasant subject to lords. On the other hand, the Latin word "*villanus*" originally meant a person in a *villa* (a village),[5] and "villein" in English ("vilain" in French, "villano" in Italian) is also used to indicate an unfree peasant in medieval Europe. "Villein"

servus (L) serf (E, F), servo (I)
villanus (L) villein (E), vilain (F), villano (I)
rusticus (←*rus*) (L) rustic, rural (E), rustique, rural (F), rustico, rurale (I)

Figure 13.1 Some words of Latin origin for peasants
Note: L: Latin, E: English, F: French, I: Italian

is sometimes used almost interchangeably with "serf." However, some historians think a villein was freer than a serf,[6] while others regard a serf as belonging to one of the two classes of villeins, a more unfree one.[7]

Meanwhile, recent studies seem to suggest that status and condition of peasants in medieval Europe varied from place to place and from time to time more largely than scholars had previously thought. It is getting more and more difficult for us to consider peasants in medieval Europe as a uniform class of unfree status under lordship.[8]

I. Historiography

The villeins in Norman Sicily have long been investigated by a number of historians, including Rosario Gregorio, Noël des Vergers, Michele Amari, Ferdinand Chalandon, Ernst Mayer, Carlo Alberto Garufi, Illuminato Peri and Giuseppe Petralia.[9] Scholars mentioned various words in Latin, Greek and Arabic supposed to indicate a villein, and interrelationships between them has been an issue subject to debate. For example, Chalandon, a French historian of the early twentieth century, found various words indicating a villein in the documents of Norman Sicily (Figure 13.2).[10]

There is no agreement of opinions on which word in Arabic, Greek, or Latin documents corresponds to which word, and there has been controversy over what these words precisely meant. But many scholars seem to have concluded that the villeins consisted of two basic different groups, those who owed hereditary service in person (*intuitu personae*) and those who owed service with respect to the terms of their tenure of land (*respectu tenimenti*), based on the following law of William II.

> Correcting by a benevolent interpretation the errors of those who say that without their lords' permission all villeins have been forbidden by royal constitution to enter the clergy, we decree that the villeins forbidden to become clerics by the above-mentioned constitution should be

Latin
servi glebae, rustici, adscriptitii, inscriptitii, homines, coloni, aldii, metochii, cortisani, angararii, homines censiles

Greek
πάροικοι (*paroikoi*), *ἄνθρωποι* (*anthrōpoi*), *ἐναπόγραφοι* (*enapographoi*), *ἐξώγραφοι* (*exōgraphoi*)

Arabic
Rigiâl el Geraîd (= *rijāl al-jarā'id*), *Maks, Mehallet* (= *maḥallāt*), *Ghorebâ* (= *ghurabā'*)

Figure 13.2 Words for villeins in three languages (Chalandon)
Source: Chalandon, *Histoire de la domination normande*, vol. 2, p. 528

> those who are held to serve personally, i.e., with respect to their own persons, like *ascriptitii*, *servi glebe*, and others of that kind. However, those who must serve by reason of a holding or other benefice, if they desire to enter clergy, they may do so even without the accord of their lords, after they previously give back what they hold from their lords into the lords' hands.[11]

In this law, the villeins are divided into two categories: "those who are held to serve personally, i.e., with respect to their own person, like *ascriptitii*, *servi glebe*, and other of that kind," and those "who owe service by reason of a holding or a benefice." The law makes clear that the villeins of the first category are forbidden to become clerics while those of the second category may do so even without the permission from their lords.

Based on these descriptions, historians have tried to arrange various words in Latin, Greek and Arabic documents into the two categories. For example, Chalandon, relying on the work of Amari,[12] put them in the following order (Figure 13.3). In the upper group are the villeins who owe service to their landlords by reason of a holding (*respectu tenimenti*), that is, *homines censiles* in Latin, *ἐξώγραφοι* (*exōgraphoi*) and *ἄνθρωποι* (*anthrōpoi*) in Greek, *maks* (Amari reads *muls* as *maks*)[13] and *maḥallāt* in Arabic. In the lower group are the villeins who owe service to their landlords with respect to their own persons (*intuitu personae*), that is, *servi* and *adscriptitii* in Latin, *ἐναπόγραφοι* (*enapographoi*) and *πάροικοι* (*paroikoi*) in Greek, and *rijāl al-jarā'id* in Arabic.[14]

Meanwhile, Carlo Alberto Garufi, an Italian scholar, explains as follows. A *jarīda* (pl. *jarā'id*) included only names of villeins of large estates who owed labor service personally with his family and sons because of their persons, while a *platea* (Lat. pl. *plateae*; Gr. *πλατεῖα*, pl. *πλατεῖαι*) included all villeins, more precisely, both those who owed labor service because of their persons and those who owed labor service for the lands and other benefices granted to them.[15]

	villeins who owe service to their lords by reason of a holding (*ratione tenimenti*)	villeins who owe service to their lords with respect to their own persons (*intuitu personae*)
Latin	*homines censiles*	*servi* *adscriptitii*
Greek	*ἐξώγραφοι* (*exōgraphoi*)	*ἐναπόγραφοι* (*enapographoi*)
	ἄνθρωποι (*anthrōpoi*)	*πάροικοι* (*paroikoi*),
Arabic	*maks* *Mehallêt* (= *maḥallāt*)	*rijāl al-jarā'id*

Figure 13.3 Classification of villeins by Chalandon
Source: Chalandon, *Histoire de la domination normande*, vol. 2, pp. 529–530

Although this classification is similar to that of Chalandon, Garufi thinks that a *jarīda* included only those who owed labor service personally but a *platea* included both this kind of villeins and the more free villeins who owed labor service by reason of a land holding. This understanding of Garufi based on the difference between a *jarīda* and a *platea* cannot be accepted, however, because the Arabic word *jarīda* is written as *plateia* in Greek in Arabic-Greek bilingual documents, which suggests both are identical.[16]

Although there is no agreement of opinion on which word in Arabic, Greek and Latin documents relates to which category of villeins, the idea of the classification of villeins into two groups seems to have been accepted by generations of historians.[17] Those scholars who have recently published studies relating villeins in Arabic documents, including Annliese Nef, Jeremy Johns, Alex Metcalfe and Adalgisa de Simone, also seem to share this idea.[18] For example, Jeremy Johns, who has examined words used for Muslim villeins in Arabic documents in detail, shows us a list of words categorized into two groups (Figure 13.4).[19]

According to him one group is a class of "registered" villeins expressed as *ḥursh* (the rough men) as well as *rijāl* (*ahl*) *al-jarā'id* (the men of the registers) in Arabic documents, and the other is a class of "unregistered" villeins expressed as *muls* (the smooth men) in Arabic documents. This summary, a result of Johns' extensive examination of Arabic parchments in Norman Sicily shows us his new interpretation and detailed information about Muslim peasants, but he preserves the traditional idea of the classification of the villeins into two groups.[20]

Johns' understanding of Muslim villeins has been accepted overall by Alex Metcalfe. According to Metcalfe, many terms were used synonymously across three languages to refer to villeins, and those in Arabic and Greek can be resolved into two basic categories: families who were "registered" and those who were "unregistered." Following Johns' idea, he explains that those who were "registered" were called *ḥursh* ("rough men") or *rijāl* (*ahl*) *al-jarā'id* in Arabic, and *enapographoi* (*ἐναπόγραφοι*) in Greek, while those who were "unregistered" were called *muls* ("smooth men") in Arabic and *exōgraphoi* (*ἐξώγραφοι*) in Greek.[21]

Registered	**Unregistered**
• *ahl* or *rijāl* (*iḍāfa* or preposition) *al-raḥl al-fulānī*, 'the people' or 'the men of such-and-such an estate'	
• *rijāl al-maḥallāt*, 'the men of the settlements'	• *al-ghurabā'*, 'the strangers'
• *οἱ ἐντόποι* (*oi entopoi*), 'the indigenes'	• *οἱ ξένοι* (*oi xenoi*), 'the strangers'
• *nativi*, 'indigenes'; *servi glebae*, 'serfs of the land'	• *advenae*, 'newcomers'; *hospites*, 'guests'
• *rijāl al-jarā'id*, 'the men of the registers'	
• *οἱ ἐναπόγραφοι* (*oi enapografoi*) 'the registered'	• *οἱ ἐξώγραφοι* (*oi exōgrafoi*), 'the unregistered'
• *adscriptitii*, 'the registered'	• *inscriptitii,* 'the unregistered'
• *al-ḥursh*, *al- rijāl al-ḥursh*, 'the rough', 'the rough men'	• *al-muls*, *al-rijāl al-muls*, 'the smooth', 'the smooth men'
• *rustici*, 'rough'	• [*glabri*, 'smooth']
• *qui personaliter, intuitu personae suae scilicet, servire tenentur*, 'those who are held to personal service, *i.e.* with respect to their own persons	• *qui ... respectu tenimenti vel alicuius beneficii servire tenentur,* 'those who ... owe service by reason of a holding or other benefice'

Figure 13.4 Classification of villeins by Jeremy Johns
Source: Johns, *Arabic Administration*, p. 151, Table 6.1

This categorization of the words of three languages is highly elaborative. However, it should be noted that many of the listed words have been categorized into the two groups, not based on the usage in the documents of Norman Sicily, but on analogy of the meanings of words, or by analogy with East Roman law and usages outside Norman Sicily. In addition, there is a possibility that such words do not correspond one to one contrary to the presupposition that words (concepts) indicating peasants correspond one to one between Arabic, Greek and Latin.

Furthermore, the interpretation of Amari and Nef that *ἐξώγραφοι* (*exōgraphoi*), a Greek word correspondent to the Arabic word *muls*, originally meant "those written outside (the lists) (*que' fuori scritto*/*écrites à l'extérieur (des listes*))," [22] and the opinion of De Simone that *ἐξώγραφοι* (*exōgraphoi*) means "those added (to the lists)," [23] call the understandings of Johns and Metcalfe into question.

In this article, I will focus on *muls* and *ḥursh* which Johns and Metcalfe have regarded as a pair of opposite words indicating "unregistered" and "registered" villeins, and have given "the smooth men" and "the rough men" as their English translations. I think a new interpretation of *muls* and *ḥursh*, as well as *rijāl* (*ahl*) *al-jarā'id*, in Arabic documents will reveal to us a different aspect of the reality of Norman Sicily.

II. *Muls* and *ḥursh*: a pair of opposite terms?

What is the Arabic word *muls*, then? "Another group of villeins, *al-muls*," explains Jeremy Johns,

> first appear in contraposition to the *rijāl al-jarā'id* in the *jarīda* renewed for San Giorgio di Triocala in November 1141. After the lists of the *rijāl al-jarā'id* of Triocala and Raḥl al-Baṣal comes a third list of the names of the *muls*. *Muls* is the plural of *amlas*, meaning "smooth," "soft," "sleek," et cetera. . . . In the Sicilian documents, however, the word is always used in the plural.[24]

According to Johns, *muls* is antithesis to *ḥursh*. "The *muls* appear in antithesis to the *ḥursh*," continues his explanation,

> in the two Chùrchuro documents of 1149 and 1154. Of the five households of Muslim *rijāl* granted to Chùrchuro, two are *ḥursh*, and three are *muls*. The word *ḥursh* is the plural of the adjectival form *aḥrash*, meaning "rough," "harsh," or "coarse". . . . As with *muls*, only the plural form *ḥursh* is used for the Muslim villeins of Norman Sicily.[25]

"The two terms," concludes Johns, "clearly form a pair of contrasted opposites, the *ḥursh* and the *muls*, the 'rough' and the 'smooth.' Neither term, to the best of my knowledge, is employed in this sense anywhere in the Arabic-speaking world, except Sicily."[26] This understanding of Johns has been accepted by Metcalfe[27] and Nef.[28]

The idea of contraposition of *muls* and *ḥursh* had already been shown in the nineteenth century by Reinhart Dozy, who explained that "The *muls* formed in Sicily a certain class of serfs, while another class had the name of *al-ḥursh*" without giving any French translation in his *Supplement to the Arabic Dictionaries* published in 1877–1881.[29]

Dozy's idea was thereafter accepted by Carlo A. Nallino, an editor and annotator of the second edition of Michele Amari's *Storia dei Musulmani di Sicilia* published in 1933–1939. In a footnote of this book, Nallino states that

> *ḥursh* (plural of *aḥrash*), which means rough (*ruvidi*), is the contrary of the class of the aforesaid *muls* (smooth [*lisci*]). Examination of the diplomas leads us to the equivalence of *ḥursh* to *rijāl* (*ahl*) *al-jarā'id* (people [inscribed] in the *platea*), that is, *villani*, *adscripticii*, and *rustici*.[30]

Johns' understanding of *ḥursh* and *muls* is basically based on these scholars' ideas. The supporting sources of their ideas are the two Arabic documents of 1149[31] and 1154,[32] which are two copies of a lost document of 1149. These copies have the same content except the part describing the granted land, and the sentence added

no. 14 (1149), line 6; no. 16 (1154), lines 5-6

"The total is five men (*rijāl*) from the district of Iato, among whom two are *ḥursh* and three *muls*."

الجملة خمسة رجال من إقليم جاطو منهم/ اثنين حرش وثلاثة ملس

Figure 13.5 Sentence referring to *ḥursh* and *muls*
Source: Palermo, Arch. Dioc., Fondo Primo, nos. 14, 16

to the document of 1154 to explain why the copy was made again. The word *muls* appears only once in these documents. "The total is five men (*rijāl*) from the district of Iato, among whom two are *ḥursh* and three *muls*" (Figure 13.5).

Based on this information, Dozy, Nallino, Johns and Metcalfe assumed that *ḥursh* and *muls* were a pair of opposites. If *ḥursh* and *muls* were in fact a pair of opposites, I might have been led to the same conclusion. But, this sentence does not include any detailed information about *ḥursh* and *muls*, although they were written side by side. There are no solid grounds to regard these words as a pair of opposites. We should set aside the contraposition of *ḥursh* and *muls*, and reexamine what these words really indicated.

III. What is *muls*?

If *ḥursh* and *muls* are not a pair of opposites, how should we understand *muls*? *Muls* (sing. *amlas*) is certainly a word meaning "smoothed (*laevis*)," "smooth (*glaber*)," "soft (*mollis*)" and so forth, but it is a very ambiguous and polysemous word signifying "mixed (*mixtus fuit*)," "escaped (*evasit*)," "freed (*liberatus fuit*)," "robbed (*ereptus fuit*)" and so on.[33] Thus, scholars have speculated about its meaning from its apposition with *ghurabā'* (*ghurbā'*)[34] or its contrast to *ḥursh* (*ḥurash*).[35] We have only five sources referring to *muls* (Figure 13.6).

The earliest of them is an Arabic document issued in 1141 and now preserved in an archive in Toledo.[36] The word *muls* appears twice in this document. The second and third earliest are the Arabic documents of 1149 and 1154, which are the two copies of a lost document of 1149 I have already mentioned. Both are now preserved in an archive in Palermo. The words *muls* and *ḥursh* appear once in each of these documents.[37] The fourth earliest is an Arabic-Greek document issued in 1169, now preserved in the same archive in Palermo.[38] This document includes the words *ḥursh, ghurabā'*, and *muls*.

The last of the five sources is a long Arabic-Greek bilingual document issued in 1183, and now preserved in another archive in Palermo.[39] It is this Arabic-Greek bilingual document of 1183 that gives us a hint to figure out what the word *muls* meant. In this document, the Arabic word *muls* is written as *ἐξώγραφοι* (*exōgraphoi*) in Greek. The words *muls* and *ἐξώγραφοι* (*exōgraphoi*) appear repeatedly in this document.

1141: Toledo, ADM, Mesina, no. 1119
- *muls*

1149: Palermo, Arch. Dioc., Fondo Primo, no. 14
(1st copy of a document of 1149)
- *muls* & *ḥursh*

1154: Palermo, Arch. Dioc., Fondo Primo, no. 16
(2nd copy of a document of 1149)
- *muls* & *ḥursh*

1169: Palermo, Arch. Dioc., Fondo Primo, no. 25
- *ḥursh*
- *ghurabā'* & *muls*

1183: Palermo, BCRS, no. 45
- *muls* = *ἐξώγραφοι* (*exōgraphoi*)

Figure 13.6 Sources including *muls*

Both *muls* and *ἐξώγραφοι* (*exōgraphoi*) are quite ambiguous words, and it would be difficult to know what a writer intents to indicate by these words in a monolingual document. However, if we can find an overlapping meanings of the Arabic word *muls* and the Greek word *ἐξώγραφοι* (*exōgraphoi*), it would be possible to figure out what the writer intended to mean. The Greek word *ἐξώγραφοι* (*exōgraphoi*) has such meanings as "the written outside," "outside the written" and "the unwritten" as Amari, Nef and De Simone suggest,[40] while the Arabic *muls* has meanings like "smooth," "slippery" and "slipped."

It would be plausible to assume that by these words, the writer of the document intended to indicate "slipped," that is, "slipped from the former document or name-list," "those slipped from the former document or name-list" or "those newly added," as De Simone suggests. This hypothesis seems to be supported by the composition of the document of 1183 (Figure 13.7).

In this document, as a matter of principle, the same contents are usually written in Arabic and Greek alternately line by line, and a subhead, a list of names, and a total number of the names constitute one unit. In many cases a unit of people of *maḥallāt* of a certain place (for example, Ghār al-Ṣirfī, lines 14–18) and a unit of *muls* of the same place (for example, Ghār al-Ṣirfī, lines 19–32) make a pair, although for some places there is only one of the two kinds of unit. The Arabic word *maḥallāt*, which appears repeatedly in the subheads of the former units of the pairs, is a general word to indicate a settlement, and the people of the *maḥallāt* at Ghār al-Ṣirfī simply indicate the people of the settlement of Ghār al-Ṣirfī.

The Greek word corresponding to *maḥallāt* is usually *μαχαλλέτ* (*machallet*), a transliteration of *maḥallāt*, and it is also expressed as *ἄνθρωποι μαχαλλέτ* (*anthrōpoi machallet*, people of *maḥallāt*).[41] In some cases, the word *ἐντόποι* (*entopoi*),[42] which means "born in the land," or the word *ἐντώπειοι* (*entōpeioi*), which means "people of the land," are added.[43] There is no word to suggest a class of villeins in the subheads. If *muls* means a class of villeins, why do none of the subheads of the other units of the pairs have words indicating a class of villeins?

lines 1-13: Introduction in Arabic

[1-a]
line 14: “Names of the people of the *maḥallāt* at Ghār al-Ṣirfī” (اسما أهل المحلات بغار الصرفي)
lines 15-18: **14 names** in Greek and Arabic
line 17: “These out of the *challet*, in all, 14 names” (οὗτοι [Cusa, οὔτοι] εκ τῶν χαλλέτ ὁμοῦ ὀνόματα ιδ’)
line 18: “The total from the *maḥallāt* is 14 names” (الجملة من المحلات اربع عشر اسما)

[1-b]
line 19: “The *exōgraphoi* of the estate Siriphē” (οἱ ἐξώγραφοι [Cusa, ἐζώγραφοι] τοῦ χωρίου σίριφη)
line 20: “And from the *muls* at Ghār al-Ṣirfī” (ومن الملس بغار الصرفي)
lines 21-30: **40 names** in Greek and Arabic
line 31: “In all 40 names” (ὁμοῦ ὀνόματα μ’)
line 32: “The total is 40 names” (الجملة عربعين اسما)

[2-a]
line 31: “And from the *machallet* Dartze” (καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν μαχαλλὲτ δάρτζε)
line 32: “And from the *maḥallāt* at Darja” (ومن المحلات بالدرجة)
lines 32-34: **10 names** in Greek and Arabic
line 33: “In all 10 names” (ὁμοῦ ὀνόματα ι’)
line 34: “The total is 10 names” (الجملة عشرة اسما)

[2-b]
line 35: “The *exōgraphoi* of Dartze” (οἱ ἐξώγραφοι τῆς δάρτζες)
line 36: “And from the *muls* at Darja” (ومن الملس بالدرجة)
lines 37-38: **3 names** in Greek and Arabic
line 37: “In all 3 names” (ὁμοῦ ὀνόματα τρία)
line 38: “The total is 3 names” (الجملة ثلاثة اسما)

[3-a]
line 39: “And from the *machallet* Tzatine” (καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν μαχαλλὲτ τζατίνε)
line 40: “And from the *maḥallāt* at Jaṭīna” (ومن المحلات بجطينة)
lines 41-46: **24 names** in Greek and Arabic
line 45: “In all 24 names” (ὁμοῦ ὀνόματα κδ’)
line 46: “The total is 24 names” (الجملة اربعة وعشرين اسما)

[3-b]
line 47: “The *exōgraphoi* of Tzatine” (οἱ ἐξώγραφοι τζατίνες)
line 48: “And from the *muls* at Jaṭīna” (ومن الملس بجطينة)
lines 49-56: **30 names** in Greek and Arabic
line 55: “In all 30 names” (ὁμοῦ ὀνόματα τρίακωντα)
line 56: “The total is 30 names” (الجملة ثلثون اسما)

Figure 13.7 Structure of the document of 1183
Source: Palermo, BCRS, Fondo Monreale, no. 45; Cusa, pp. 245–253

[4-a]
line 57: "And from the *machallet* Minzēl Abderrhachmen and Koumait" (καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν μαχαλλὲτ μίνζηλ ἀβδεῤῥαχμὲν καὶ κουμάϊτ)
line 58: "And from the *maḥallāt* in the estate (*manzil*) of ʻAbd al-Raḥmān
and al-Qumayṭ" (ومن المحلات بمنزل عبد الرحمن والقميط)
lines 59-60: **3 names** in Greek and Arabic
line 59: "In all 3 names" (ὁμοῦ ὀνόματα τρία)
line 60: "The total is 3 names" (الجملة ثلاثة اسما)

[4-b]
line 61: "And the *exōgraphoi* of the same" (καὶ οἱ ἐξώγραφοι ἀπ' αὐτῆς)
line 62: "And out of the *muls* there" (ومن الملس بها)
lines 63-68: **25 names** in Greek and Arabic
line 67: "In all 25 names" (ὁμοῦ ὀνόματα κε')
line 68: "The total is 25 names" (الجملة خمسة وعشرون اسما)

≈≈≈≈≈≈≈≈≈≈≈≈≈≈≈≈≈≈≈≈≈≈≈≈≈≈≈

[52-b]

Figure 13.7 (Continued)

If *muls* and *ἐξώγραφοι* (exōgraphoi) simply indicate those who were not written in former documents/name-lists, or those who were newly added, however, it is understandable that the subheads of the pairs of units are asymmetric, and that very general expressions like "men" and "people" are used. The document of 1141, the earliest source including *muls*, also seems to support this hypothesis.

This document includes three name-lists. The first one is the "names of men (*rijāl*) of Triocala," the second one the "names of men (*rijāl*) of Raḥl al-Baṣal," and the third one the "names written in this document who were found in your possession and *muls*." There is no word suggesting a class of villeins in this document either. The word *muls* appears twice in this document, and could be interpreted as "those slipped from the former lists/documents" as in the case of the document of 1183. The name-lists include names of inhabitants, usually, heads of households.

Already in the eleventh century, Count Roger I of Sicily made use of these name-lists when he granted lands to vassals, churches or monasteries. For example, his Greek-Arabic bilingual document issued in 1095 to grant land to St. Mary Church of Palermo includes name-lists in Greek and name-lists in Arabic,[44] and his Greek-Arabic bilingual document issued in the same year to grant land to the bishop of Catania includes a name-list of the people (*ahl*) of Aci (*Liyāj*, *Γιάκην*) and a name-list of widows (*arāmil*) in Arabic.[45] Thus, the Norman rulers' privileges of donation of land often included name-lists of inhabitants (heads of households) living there to confirm that the listed inhabitants should belong to a new lord.

Some of these documents have additional lists of inhabitants, who were not included in the preceding older name-lists, as shown in the documents of 1141

lines 1-2: "A *jarīda* attesting to names of men (*rijāl*) of Triocala /written on the date of Month November of the year 536 [=AD 1141]."
(جريدة تشهد علي أسماء رجال طرقلش /كتبت بتاريخ شهر نومبره من سنة ست وثلاثين وخمسماية)
lines 3-11: **50 names**

line 11: "The names of men (*rijāl*) of Raḥl al-Baṣal" (أسماء رجال رحل البصل)
lines 12-20: **50 names**

line 20: "The total is one hundred men (*rijāl*)." (الجملة ماية رجال)

line 21-22: "Then, when it was the date of Month July and Indiction IV [AD 1141], you asked us, — we were in Agrigento, may God protect it —, concerning these names which are written (Johns, *Arabic Administration*, p. 107: 'registered') in this document (*sijill*; *sigillum* in Latin; *σιγίλλιον* in Greek)/ who were found in your possession but *muls* (slipped from or out of the former list; Johns, p. 107: 'as newly commended villeins'). And so we granted them to you on the condition that if any of them is in our *jarā'id* or in the *jarā'id* of our landholders, he shall be taken from you."
ثم لما كان بتاريخ شهر اسطريون (أسطربير Gálvez) بالاندقتس الرابع (الربع Gálvez)
سالتنا ونحن بكركنت حماها الله في هاولا الاسما النين يثبتوا في هنا السجل/
النين وجدوا عندك (عبدك Gálvez) ملسا فسلمناهم لك على شريطة انه متى ما ظهر
منهم في جرايدنا وجرايد تراريتنا (قرابيننا Gálvez) احدا يوخذ (يوخذ Johns, p.107 n 51) منك

line 23: "These are their names." (وهنه اسماهم)
line 24-25: **15 names**.
line 26: "The total is fifteen *muls* men." (الجملة خمسة عشر رجلا ملس)

line 27: Roger II's signature in Greek "Ῥογέριος ἐν Χριστῷ Θεῷ εὐσεβὴς κραταιὸς Ῥὴξ καὶ τῶν χριστιανῶν βοηθός."

Figure 13.8 Structure of the document of 1141
Source: Toledo, ADM, Mesina, no. 1119; Gálvez, pp. 173–176

(Figure 13.8)[46] and 1145 (King Roger II's approval and renewal of Roger I's grant of land to his vassal Roger for Walter son of Roger).[47]

This shows that a revision of *jarīda* was made, not using a method that a completely new name-list was made by rearranging all names based on new information, but by simply putting a new name-list below the old ones. This method of revision seems to support the idea that the words *muls* and *ἐξώγραφοι* (*exōgraphoi*) in the subheads of the name-lists in the document of 1183 were used to indicate the following name-lists were additional. It does not mean that there were different classes of villeins expressed by different words, which were written in different columns. Various words were employed to indicate inhabitants, but most words are generally ones meaning "people" or "inhabitants." *Muls* and *ἐξώγραφοι* (*exōgraphoi*) are not words indicating different classes of villeins, but documental words meaning "slipped away from" (or "not written") in former *jarīda*. This word indicates that they refer to newly added information.

In Arabic documents of Norman Sicily we also see the phrase *rijāl al-jarā'id*, namely, "men of *jarā'id*." Some scholars have regarded it as another antithesis to the *muls*. For example, Johns explains as follows:

> Another group of villeins, *al-muls*, first appear in contraposition to the *rijāl al-jarā'id* in the *jarīda* renewed for San Giorgio di Triocala in November 1141. After the lists of the *rijāl al-jarā'id* of Triocala and Raḥl al-Baṣal comes a third list of the names of the *muls*.[48]

However, *al-muls* is not in contraposition to the *rijāl al-jarā'id* in this document. As we have examined before, there is no phrase of *rijāl al-jarā'id* here. We find only "*rijāl* of Triocala" and "*rijāl* of Raḥl al-Baṣal,"[49] which Johns probably interpreted as *rijāl al-jarā'id*.

Johns and other scholars have regarded *rijāl al-jarā'id* as a lower class of villeins, and *rijāl al-muls* as an upper class of villeins. I do not agree to this, because there are no sources showing that the phrase *rijāl al-jarā'id* indicated a class of villeins. The word *muls* appears repeatedly in the subheads of the name-lists in the document of 1183, but neither *ḥursh* nor *rijāl al-jarā'id* appears in subheads of the name-lists in the documents of Norman Sicily. The phrase *rijāl al-jarā'id* did not indicate a particular class of villeins, but meant literally "men of documents," that is, "men written in documents."

Documents of grant in Norman Sicily often include a conditional clause that if a person whose name is listed in the present document was already listed in another privilege or document, he should be excluded from this donation. For example, a Greek document issued in 1095 has the following sentence: "If someone of the Hagarenes written in this *plateia* donated to the bishop of Catania is found in my *plateiai* or the *plateiai* of my vassals, he should be returned without exception,"[50] and the document of 1141 we have already examined includes the following clause: "If someone of them is included in our *jarā'id* or the *jarā'id* of our vassals, he should be taken from you."[51]

What most matters here is in whose *jarīda* a peasant is written and to whom he belongs. Classes of villeins do not matter. Making clear and sure to which landlord a peasant belonged was the main purpose of including a name-list of peasants in these documents.[52]

Meanwhile, based on the existence of the two classes of villeins, scholars have posed two interesting questions. The first question is "Who were *muls*?" For example, Johns assumed that *muls* were new immigrants. According to his research, fourteen names out of fifteen *muls* written in a document of Triocala issued in 1141 have *nisbas* indicating their origin of North Africa. Thus, he infers that "they were new immigrants to the lands upon which they were registered." And this supposition is, he thinks, supported by the document of 1169 in which *muls* are paired with *ghurabā'* (foreigners).[53] Metcalfe made a slight modification to this view, insisting that we should not regard *muls* as the first generation of immigrants to Sicily. According to Metcalfe, most of them came from other towns

and villages, and received tolerant conditions to hold land, such as reduction of taxes and extension of its payment.[54]

The second question is "Does the legal status of *muls* change to that of *rijāl al-jarā'id* in due course of time?" According to Nef, *muls* were not members of the community in charge of paying tax, but changed to registered *rijāl al-jarā'id* after they joined the community.[55] On the other hand, Johns assumes that *muls* were unregistered "strangers" at the beginning, but changed to registered *rijāl al-jarā'id* after they settled in the land.[56] Metcalfe explains that after the next census, *muls* ceased to be "unregistered" and were written in a name-list as "men of registers." Thus, he thinks the class of villeins changed by a census.[57] Needless to say, however, *muls*, which these scholars regarded as an upper class of villeins, were not a class of villeins, but simply those not written in former documents/name-lists.

Johns, Metcalfe and Nef were obliged to explain the change of class from "unregistered men" to "men of registers" based on the existence of the two classes of villeins, but in fact this simply indicates that names omitted or unwritten in former documents/name-lists were added in new documents.

IV. What is *ḥursh*?

If the Arabic word *muls* is not in contraposition to *ḥursh*, but simply means omission or those who were not written in former lists, then, what does the Arabic word *ḥursh* indicate? As of now, no Greek word is known to correspond to the Arabic word *ḥursh*, and there has been controversy concerning the meaning of *ḥursh*. Some scholars believed that *ḥursh* has a relationship with a Latin word *rusticus*.[58] However, as Amari already pointed out, the conventional idea that *ḥursh* was an Arabic translation of Latin *rusticus* is not based on reliable grounds.[59]

Nallino explains that *ḥursh*, meaning rough (*ruvidi*), is an antithesis to *muls*, and that examination of sources leads us to the conclusion that it is the same as *rijāl* (*ahl*) *al-jarā'id* (men written in *plateiai*), that is, *villani*, *adscripticii* and *rustici*.[60] Based on this understanding of Nallino, Johns explains that the "word *ḥursh* is the plural of the adjectival form *aḥrash*, meaning 'rough,' 'harsh,' or 'coarse'. . . . As with *muls*, only the plural form *ḥursh* is used for the Muslim villeins in Norman Sicily."[61]

De Simone reads this word *ḥ/r/sh*, not as *ḥursh*, plural form of *aḥrash*, but as *ḥurash*, which she thinks the Arabic scribe writing the Arabic documents used as an Arabic translation of the Greek phrase *hoi ek tēs khōras* (*οἱ ἐκ τῆς χώρας*) meaning natives, former inhabitants, or old inhabitants. Thus, De Simone proposed a new interpretation that *ḥurash* and *muls* indicate old settlers (*indigeni*) and new settlers (*sopraggiunti*).[62]

There are only three sources that include *ḥursh*, all of which I have already mentioned as the documents including *muls* (Figure 13.9).

The earliest two documents of 1149 and 1154 are the copies of a lost document of 1149, and have almost the same content. Both have the following sentence as

1149: Palermo, Arch. Dioc., Fondo Primo, no. 14.
(1st copy of a document of 1149)
- *muls* & *ḥursh*

1154: Palermo, Arch. Dioc., Fondo Primo, no. 16.
(2nd copy of a document of 1149)
- *muls* & *ḥursh*

1169: Palermo, Arch. Dioc., Fondo Primo, no. 25.
- *ḥursh*
- *ghurabā'* & *muls*

Figure 13.9 Sources including *ḥursh*

I have already shown in Figure 13.5: "The total is five men (*rijāl*) from the district of Iato, among whom two are *ḥursh* and three *muls*." The third source is the Arabic-Greek document of 1169 which includes the words, *ḥursh, ghurabā'* and *muls*, and gives us more detailed infomation (Figure 13.10).[63]

The introductory Arabic text of this document informs us that an order of King William II was issued to write this document which includes what he grants to a hospital at Khandaq al-Qayruz, that is, a village (*raḥl*) known as 'Ayn al-Liyān in the district of Termini with all its rights, and ends with the phrase "and in it from *al-rijāl al-ḥursh*."

This Arabic text is followed by a list of six names in Greek and Arabic, a phrase "In all six names" in Greek, and an almost same phrase "The total is six names" in Arabic. Then, comes a subhead in Arabic "And from the foreign (*ghurabā'*) and *muls* men dwelling on the previously mentioned village (*raḥl*)," which is followed by a list of eight names in Greek and Arabic. The Arabic *ghurabā'* is a plural form of *gharīb* meaning "foreign." In the last sentence (lines 18–22) of the document, the king's order that he shall give all these people to the previously mentioned hospital is described in detail.[64]

As I have already stated, many scholars have regarded *ḥursh* as a class of villeins in contrast to *muls*. Johns and Metcalfe gave it an English translation "rough men," while others think it was used as a translation of the Latin word *rusticus*. On the other hand, it is possible that *ḥursh* meant "forest" in the documents.[65] In any case, our information on *ḥursh* is too limited to get a plausible answer. Further conjecture should not be made.

Conclusion

My conclusion drawn from the examination of sources about the Arabic words *muls* and *ḥursh* is that they were not a pair of opposite terms indicating two different classes of villeins. Thus, it would not be proper to translate them as "smooth men" and "rough men" in English. *Muls* is a word employed to indicate those who were omitted or not written in former documents/name-lists, and a term necessitated in document creation.

line 1: hoc est privilegium ...
line 2: † Τὸ κατόνομα τῶν ἀνθρώπων τοῦ χωρίου ἀιν λιαν τῶν δοθέντων εἰς τὸ σπιταλον τοῦ Κάμπο Γράσσου.

line 3: بسم اله الرحمن الرحيم
lines 4-10: "When it was the date of Month July and Indiction II ....." (a royal order of William II was issued to write this document which includes what he grants to a hospital at Khandaq al-Qayruz, that is, a village (*raḥl*) known as 'Ayn al-Liyān in the district of Termini with all its rights.)
line 10: "and in it from *al-rijāl al-ḥursh*" (وفيه من الرجال الحرش)
line 9-12: **6 names**
line 13: "In all 6 names" (ὁμοῦ ὀνόματα ς')
line 14: "The total is 6 names" (الجملة ستة اسما)

line 14: "And from the foreign (*ghurabā'*) and *muls* men dwelling on the above-mentioned estate (*raḥl*) " (ومن الرجال الغربا والملس الساكنين بالرحل المنكور)
lines 16-18: **8 names**
line 17: "In all 8 names" (ὁμου ὀνόματα η')
line 18: "The total is 8 names" (الجملة ثمانية اسما)

line 17: "In all, the two combined, 14 names" (ὁμου αἱ β' ὁμάδες ὀνόματα ιδ')
line 18: "The total of the two totals is 14 names" (جملة الجملتين اربعة عشر اسما)

line 18-22: "He has bestowed all things that are written here upon the above-mentioned hospital (*isbṭāl*, "*hospitale*" in Latin), on condition that the people of Termini who live in 'Ayn al-Liyān Village, have their fields in it, and have reclaimed them for themselves or through their fathers, would keep their fields but go on paying to the hospital what they have been requested to pay to the *'ummāl* (official) hitherto. So, this village, which was under the jurisdiction (*ḥukm*) of the *dīwān al-ma'mūr*, shall never burden them with any increase, and the sailors (*al-baḥrīyūn*) and other inhabitants of this village shall follow their practice (*āda*) with the *'ummāl* (officials) in all affairs as before. And he put the well-known seal confirming it and proving it at the date written at the head. God is enough for us, and what an exellent *wakīl* He is! "

انعم على الاسبطال المنكور بجميع ما ذكر على ان اهل ثرمة السكان بها وعندهم رباعا فى عين الليان فتحوها هم او اباوهم او اجدادهم تبقى بايديهم على حالها يودون عنها من الاعطية الى الاسبطال ما كانوا يودونهم الى العمال فالرحل المنكور فى حكم الديوان المعمور من غير زيادة عليهم وباقى سكان الرحل من البحرين وغيرهم من ... يجرون فى جميع امورهم على عادتهم مع العمال و ختم بالطابع المسهور تاكيدا له ودليلا عليه بالتاريخ المتقدم وحسبنا اله ونعم الوكيل.

Figure 13.10 Structure of the document of 1169
Source: Palermo, Arch. Dioc., Fondo Primo, no. 25; Cusa, pp. 37–39

This conclusion is rather different from previous scholars' understandings. At first glance, my view of *muls* might appear to be similar to the concept of "unregistered" villeins opposite to "registered" villeins, but in fact they are based on totally different perceptions. *Muls* as a word to indicate those who were omitted or not written in older name-lists reflects the reality of document creation, as well

as the Norman governance of land and inhabitants by means of written documents made based on Arabic name-lists, but it is not relevant to classes of villeins at all.

On the other hand, the idea of "registered and unregistered" as two classes of villeins is derived from the analogy to the Roman or East Roman laws. It is certainly possible that terms and concepts of a certain society's legal system are transmitted to another society, but the existence of such terms and concepts does not mean that the legal system of the original society functioned in the recipient society. Without examining the difference of the controlling power and method of governance by Norman rulers and territorial lords who make the legal system function, we would not be able to discuss a uniform system covering various territories.

As a matter of fact, it is difficult to assume the existence of two classes of villeins with legal status applied uniformly in Norman Sicily. Even if the Norman rulers restored order to a certain degree in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, their power was not strong enough to enforce legal status of villeins uniformly across the boundaries of seignorial domains. Despite the law of William II, actual conditions of villeins seem to have varied according to the relationship with their landlords.

The reason why listing names of inhabitants in documents was so important for landlords is because it offered them assurance that these inhabitants belonged to them. It seems to suggest a reality contrary to existence of a uniform legal system and a large-scale census which some scholars have presumed. Landlords' control of inhabitants in their domains probably continued to function as a basic framework of Norman governance, although Norman rulers tried to centralize their administration.

Notes

This is a revised English version of my Japanese article "Chūsei Sicilia ni okeru Nōmin no Kaisōkubun (Classification of Peasants in Medieval Sicily)," *Seiyō Chūsei Kenkyū (Medieval European Studies)*, vol. 6 (2014), pp. 141–159, which is one of the results of JSPS Grant-in-aid for Scientific Research 24520826 and 15K02931, and was made based on "Classification of Villeins in Norman Sicily" presented at the 2014 Annual Meeting of Medieval Academy of America (April 10–12, 2014, UCLA, USA).

1 Guy Fourquin, "Serfs and Serfdom: Western European," *Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, ed. Joseph R. Strayer, 13 vols. (New York, 1982–1989), vol. 11, pp. 199–208. Marc Bloch, *Les caractères originaux de l'histoire rurale française* (Oslo, 1931), pp. 87–95; Georges Duby, *La société aux XIe et XIIe siècles dans la région mâconnaise* (Paris, 1953), pp. 173–286; Georges Duby, *Rural Economy and Country Life in the Medieval West*, trans. Cynthia Postan (Columbia, SC, 1968; originally published in Paris, 1962), pp. 188–192; Georges Duby, *Guerriers et paysans, VIIe–XIIe siècles. Premier essor de l'économie européenne* (Paris, 1973), pp. 179–300, esp. pp. 256–257; Robert Boutruche, *Seigneurie et féodalité. I. Le premier âge des liens d'homme à homme*, 2nd ed. (Paris, 1968 [1st ed. 1959]), pp. 124–234; Theodore Evergates, *Feudal Society in the Bailliage of Troyes under the Counts of Champagne, 1152–1284* (Baltimore/London, 1975), pp. 137–144; Setsuo Watanabe, "Ryōshu to Nōmin (Lords and Peasants)," *Seiyō Chūseishi*, ed. Atsushi Egawa and Yoshihisa Hattori, 3 vols. (Tokyo, 1995), vol. 2, pp. 194–199.

2 Marc Bloch, *La société féodale* (Paris, 1939), pp. 366–367; Agnès Gerhards, *La société médiévale* (Paris, 1986), pp. 247–248, "Servage"; Werner Rösener, *Die Bauern in der europäischen Geschichte* (Munich, 1993), pp. 64–87.
3 Hans Kurt Schulze, *Grundstrukturen der Verfassung im Mittelalter*, 2nd ed., 2 vols. (Stuttgart/Berlin/Cologne, 1990–1992), pp. 72–73.
4 Du Cange et alii, *Glossarium mediae et infimae Latinitatis*, 10 vols. (Niort, 1883–1887), vol. 7, pp. 454–455, "Servus"; Bloch, *La société féodale*, p. 363.
5 Wolfgang Stürner, ed., *Die Konstitutionen Friedrichs II. für das Königreich Sizilien* (Hannover, 1996, MGH Const., 2, Suppl.), vols. 2–32, p. 338: "seu quicumque villanus qui in villis et casalibus habitat." Du Cange et alii, *Glossarium mediae et infimae Latinitatis,* vol. 8, p. 331: "Villani dicti sunt a villa, eo quod in villis commorentur, qui et rustici, a ruribus, quae excolunt, et Pagenses, etc." Cf. Adalgisa de Simone, "Ancora sui s di Sicilia," *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome*, vol. 116 (2004), p. 481; Bloch, *La société féodale*, pp. 369–370.
6 Jan F. Niermeyer, *Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon Minus* (Leiden, 1976), pp. 1103–1104, "villanus."
7 Cf. Ferdinand Chalandon, *Histoire de la domination normande en Italie et en Sicile*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1907), vol. 2, p. 528.
8 Robert Fossier, *Paysans d'Occident* (Paris, 1984); Paul Freedman, *The Origins of Peasant Servitude in Medieval Catalonia* (Cambridge, 1991), pp. 1–18. For studies on peasants in Medieval Sicily, see note 9. For recent studies and trends, see especially the works of Pietro Corrao, Giuseppe Petralia and Sandro Carocci.
9 Rosario Gregorio, *Considerazioni sopra la storia di Sicilia*, 4th ed. (Reprint of 3rd edition, Palermo, 1845; 1st ed., Palermo, 1810–1816); Michele Amari, *Storia dei Musulmani di Sicilia*, 1st ed., 3 vols. (Florence, 1854–1872), vol. 3, pp. 233–250; 2nd ed. Carlo A. Nallino, 3 vols. in 5 parts (Catania, 1933–1939), vol. 3, pp. 245–257; Chalandon, *Histoire de la domination normande*, vol. 2, pp. 528–530; Ernst Mayer, *Italienische Verfassungsgeschichte von der Gothenzeit bis zur Zunftherrschaft*, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1909), vol. 1, p. 185; Carlo A. Garufi, "Censimento e catasto della popolazione servile. Nuovi studi e ricerche sull'ordinamento amministrativo dei Normanni in Sicilia nei secoli XI e XII," *Archivio storico siciliano*, vol. 49 (1928), pp. 73–75; Illuminato Peri, *Il villanaggio in Sicilia* (Palermo, 1965), pp. 35–49; Illuminato Peri, *Villani e cavalieri nella Sicilia medievale* (Rome, 1993), pp. 26–37; Vincenzo d'Alessandro, "Servi e liberi," *Uomo e ambiente nel Mezzogiorno normanno-svevo* (Bari, 1987), pp. 293–317; Pietro Corrao, "Il servo," *Condizione umana e ruoli sociali nel Mezzogiorno normanno-svevo* (Bari, 1991), pp. 61–78; Pietro Corrao, "Gerarchie sociali e di potere nella Sicilia normanna (XI–XII secolo). Questioni storiografiche e interpretative," *Señores, siervos y vasallos en la Alta Edad Media. XXVIII Semana de Estudios Medievales, Estella 16–20 julio 2001* (Pamplona, 2002), pp. 459–481; Donald Matthew, *The Norman Kingdom of Sicily* (Cambridge, 1992), pp. 150–160; Jean-Marie Martin, *Italies normandes, XIe–XIIe siècles* (Paris, 1994), pp. 177–214; Emanuele Conte, *Servi medievali. Dinamiche del diritto comune* (Rome, 1996), pp. 219–223; Francesco Panero, *Schiavi, servi e villani nell'Italia medievale* (Turin, 1999), pp. 295–304, 324–330; Francesco Panero, "Le nouveau servage et l'attache à la glèbe aux XIIe et XIIIe siècle: l'interprétation de Marc Bloch et la documentation italienne," *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome. Moyen Âge*, vol. 112 (2000), pp. 551–561; Francesco Panero, "Signori e servi: una conflittualità permanente," *Rivolte urbane e rivolte contadine nell'Europa del Trecento. Un confronto*, ed. Monique Bourin, Giovanni Cherubini, and Giuliano Pinto (Florence, 2008), pp. 305–321; Giuseppe Petralia, "La 'signoria' nella Sicilia," *La signoria rurale in Italia nel medioevo*, ed. Gabriella Rossetti (Pisa, 2006), pp. 233–270; Sandro Carocci, "Le libertà dei servi. Reinterpretare il villanaggio meridionale," *Storica*, vol. 37 (2007), pp. 51–94; Sandro Carocci, "Angararii e franci. Il villanaggio meridionale," *Studi in margine all'edizione della platea di Luca arcivescovo*

di Cosenza (1203–1227), ed. Errico Cuozzo and Jean-Marie Martin (Avellino, 2009), pp. 205–241.

10 Chalandon, *Histoire de la domination*, vol. 2, p. 528.

11 Stürner, ed., *Die Konstitutionen Friedrichs II.*, vol. 3–3, p. 366: "Errores eorum, qui villanos quoslibet sine licentia dominorum ad ordinem clericatus accedere regia constitutione dicunt esse prohibitum, interpretatione benivola corrigentes, decernimus eos tantum villanos predicta constitutione intelligi fore prohibitos clericari, qui personaliter, intuitu persone sue scilicet, servire tenentur, sicut sunt ascriptitii et servi glebe et huiusmodi alii. Qui vero respectu tenimenti vel alicuius beneficii servire debent, si voluerint ad ordinem clericatus accedere, liceat eis sine voluntate etiam dominorum, prius tamen hiis, que tenent a dominis suis, in eorum manibus resignatis." Cf. James M. Powell, ed., *The Liber Augustalis, or Constitutions of Melfi promulgated by the Emperor Frederick II for the Kingdom of Sicily in 1231* (Syracuse, NY, 1971), p. 106; Chalandon, *Histoire de la domination normande*, vol. 2, pp. 528–530; Johns, *Arabic Administration*, p. 149.

12 Amari, *Storia dei Musulmani di Sicilia*, 2nd ed., vol. 3, pp. 245–250; Mayer, *Italienische Verfassungsgeschichte*, vol. 1, p. 185; Garufi, "Censimento e catasto," pp. 73–75.

13 Chalandon follows Amari, who read *muls* as *maks*. Amari, *Storia dei Musulmani*, 1st ed., vol. 3, p. 243; 2nd ed., vol. 3, p. 250.

14 Chalandon, *Histoire de la domination*, vol. 2, pp. 529–530. Chalandon, following the edition of Salvatore Cusa (*I diplomi greci ed arabi di Sicilia pubblicati nel testo originale*, vol. 1 [2 parts] [Palermo, 1868–1882], p. 247) uses the Greek word ἐζώγραφοι (*ezōgraphoi*), but the word in the original manuscript (Cf. Figure 13.7) is ἐξώγραφοι (*exōgraphoi*).

15 Garufi, "Censimento e catasto," pp. 74–75.

16 Cusa, pp. 134, 245–246.

17 Petralia, "La 'signoria' nella Sicilia," pp. 261–262; Carocci, "Angararii e franci," p. 24.

18 Annliese Nef, "Conquêtes et reconquêtes médiévales," *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome*, vol. 112–2 (2000), pp. 579–607; Annliese Nef, *Conquérir et gouverner la Sicile islamique aux XIe et XIIe siècles* (Rome, 2011); Jeremy Johns, *Arabic Administration in Norman Sicily* (Cambridge, 2002); Alex Metcalfe, *Muslims and Christians* (London, 2003), p. 37; Alex Metcalfe, *The Muslims of Medieval Italy* (Edinburgh, 2009), pp. 268–272; De Simone, "Ancora sui 'villani' di Sicilia," pp. 471–500.

19 Johns, *Arabic Administration*, p. 151, Table 6.1. On the other hand, Nef arranges various words written in *jarā'id* of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. She lists as Latin words, *villanus*, *homo*, *rusticus*, as Greek words *βελλάνος* (bellanos), *ἄνθρωπος* (anthrôpos), *ἀνέρ* (aner), *πάροικος* (paroikos), *ἐξώγραφος* (exôgraphos), *ἀγαρήνος* (agarênos), and as Arabic words *al-rijāl* ('les hommes'), *rijāl al-jarā'id* ('les hommes de documents'), *al-rijāl al-muls* ('les hommes doux, lisses'), *rijāl al-maḥallāt* ('les hommes des campements', 'les hommes des villages'), *al-rijāl al-ġurabā* [=*ghurabā*']/*al-rijāl al-ġurabā*' ('les hommes étrangers') and *al-rijāl al-ḫuršī* [=*khurshī*]/*rijāl al-ḥursh* ('les hommes rudes'). Nef, "Conquêtes et reconquêtes," pp. 586–588; Nef, *Conquérir et gouverner*, pp. 489–490.

20 Johns' book is a good scholarly work which examines Arabic documents of Norman Sicily in detail. Although I do not agree with the traditional view reinforced by Johns, it would not have been possible for me to complete this article without his work.

21 Metcalfe, *Muslims and Christians*, p. 37; Metcalfe, *The Muslims of Medieval Italy*, pp. 268–272. Brian Catlos accepted their idea in his latest book. Brian Catlos, *Muslims of Medieval Latin Christendom, c.1050–1614* (Cambridge, 2014), p. 116.

22 Amari, *Storia dei Musulmani di Sicilia*, 1st ed., vol. 3, p. 243; 2nd ed., vol. 3, p. 250. This interpretation of Amari was accepted by Nef. See Nef, "Conquêtes et reconquêtes médiévales," p. 600; Nef, *Conquérir et gouverner*, p. 501.

23 De Simone, "Ancora sui 'villani' di Sicilia," p. 489.

24 Johns, *Arabic Administration*, p. 147.
25 Johns, *Arabic Administration*, p. 147.
26 Johns, *Arabic Administration*, p. 147.
27 Metcalfe, *Muslims and Christians*, p. 37; Metcalfe, *The Muslims of Medieval Italy*, pp. 268–272.
28 Nef seems to have accepted Johns' opinion in her book published in 2011, although she showed an interpretation different from Johns' about *muls* in her article of 2000. Nef, "Conquêtes et reconquêtes médiévales," pp. 588–589, 600–606; Nef, *Conquérir et gouverner*, p. 506: "Que le terme *ḥursh* 'rude' s'oppose à celui de *muls* ('dous', 'lisse') paraît peu contestable. Il est donc probable que le premier désigne le *rijāl al-jarā'id*."
29 Reinhart Dozy, *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes*, 2 vols. (Leiden, 1877–1881), vol. 2, p. 620, ملس (*muls*), املس (*amlasu*): "Les ملس (*muls*) formaient en Sicile une certaine classe de serfs, tandis qu'une autre portait le nom de الحرش (*al-ḥursh*)." Already in the eighteenth century, Rosario Gregorio edited an Arabic document of 1149 (see Figure 13.5), which includes *muls* and *ḥursh*, and discussed what these two words meant. See Rosario Gregorio, *De supputandis apud Arabes Siculos temporibus* (Palermo, 1786), pp. 36–37. Noël des Vergers also stated that the word *muls* was written always as ἐξώγραφοι (*exōgraphoi*) in Greek, and that this Greek word corresponded to *ascriptitii* in Latin documents. See Noël des Vergers, "Lettre à M. Caussin de Perceval sur les diplomes arabes conservés dans les archives de la Sicile," *Journal Asiatique*, ser. 4, vol. 6 (1845), pp. 20–24.
30 Amari, *Storia dei Musulmani*, 2nd ed., p. 246, note 1.
31 Palermo, Arch. Dioc. (Archivio Diocesano), Fondo Primo, no. 14 (Edition: Cusa, pp. 28–30; Jeremy Johns and Alex Metcalfe, "The Mystery at Chùrchuro: Conspiracy or Incompetence in Twelfth-Century Sicily," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, vol. 62 (1999), pp. 242–248).
32 Palermo, Arch. Dioc., Fondo Primo, no. 16 Edition: Cusa, pp. 34–36; Johns and Metcalfe, "The Mystery at Chùrchuro," pp. 248–253.
33 De Simone, "Ancora sui 'villani' di Sicilia," p. 488. Cf. Ibn Manẓūr (AH 630–711), *Lisān al-'arab*, 18 vols. (Beirut, Dār Ṣādir, 2004), vol. 14, pp. 121–122, ملس (*m/l/s*).
34 Gregorio, *De supputandis*, p. 37; Amari, *Storia dei Musulmani*, 1st ed., vol. 3, p. 244; Amari, *Storia dei Musulmani*, 2nd ed., vol. 3, p. 252; Nef, "Conquêtes et reconquêtes médiévales," pp. 588, 604; Nef, *Conquérir et gouverner*, pp. 490, 506–507; Johns, *Arabic Administration*, pp. 148–150; Metcalfe, *Muslims and Christians*, p. 37; Metcalfe, *The Muslims of Medieval Italy*, pp. 269–272; De Simone, "Ancora sui 'villani' di Sicilia," pp. 486–489, 499.
35 Gregorio, *De supputandis*, p. 36; Des Vergers, "Lettre à M. Caussin de Perceval," pp. 20–23; Dozy, *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes*, vol. 2, p. 620; Amari, *Storia dei Musulmani*, 2nd ed., vol. 3, p. 246, note 1; Nef, "Conquêtes et reconquêtes médiévales," pp. 588–589, 600–606; Nef, *Conquérir et gouverner*, p. 506; Johns, *Arabic Administration*, p. 147; Metcalfe, *Muslims and Christians*, p. 37; Metcalfe, *The Muslims of Medieval Italy*, pp. 268–272; De Simone, "Ancora sui 'villani' di Sicilia," pp. 485–499.
36 Toledo, ADM (Archivo General de la Fundación Casa Ducal de Medinaceli), Mesina, no. 1119. Facsimile, *Messina il ritorno della memoria* (Palermo, 1994), p. 162. Edition: M. Eugenia Gálvez, "Noticia sobre los documentos árabes de Sicilia del Archivo Ducal de Medinaceli," Biancamaria Scarcia Amoretti, ed., *Del nuovo sulla Sicilia musulmana (Roma, 3 maggio 1993)* (Rome, 1995), pp. 171–181.
37 Palermo, Arch. Dioc., Fondo Primo, nos. 14, 16.
38 Palermo, Arch. Dioc., Fondo Primo, no. 25. Edition: Cusa, pp. 37–39. This document includes not only *muls* but also *ḥursh* and *ghurabā'*.
39 Palermo, BCRS (Biblioteca Centrale della Regione Siciliana), Fondo Monreale, no. 45. Edition: Cusa, pp. 245–286. In this document *muls* and ἐξώγραφοι (*exōgraphoi*) appear repeatedly.

40 Amari states that the Greek word *ἐξώγραφοι* (*exōgraphoi*) would mean "what was written outside", which becomes clear by comparison with *ἐναπόγραφοι* (*enapographoi*, registered [trascritti]), *adscriptitii*, that is, *villani*, true serfs of the glebe (veri servi della gleba). See Amari, *Storia dei Musulmani*, 1st ed., vol. 3, p. 243; 2nd ed., vol. 3, pp. 250–251.

In her article of 2000, Nef, following Amari's view, explains that *ἐξώγραφοι* (*exōgraphoi*) originally meant "written out of [the lists]" or "out of the *al-jarā'id*" (Nef, "Conquêtes et reconquêtes médiévales," p. 600), and "was invented as an antonym of *rijāl al-jarā'id* and as a synonym of *muls*" (Nef, "Conquêtes et reconquêtes médiévales," p. 606). In her book published in 2011 too, she states "the original meaning of this Greek word is 'written outside of [the lists]'" (Nef, *Conquérir et gouverner*, p. 51).

On the other hand, De Simone ("Ancora sui 'villani' di Sicilia," pp. 489–490) explains that *ἐξώγραφοι* (*exōgraphoi*) meant "registered from the outside," that is, "those added [to the lists]". According to her, *muls*/*ἐξώγραφοι* added to the lists were distinguished from those already registered in the lists at the beginning at least, but gradually came to be much the same thing as *ἐντόποι* (*hoi entopoi*, "born in the land"). She also states that the word *adscripticius* possibly corresponded to *ἐξώγραφος*, and both meant "added to the list" or "registered lately".

41 Palermo, BCRS, Fondo Monreale, no. 45, lines 2 and 16 from the last; Cusa, pp. 284, 286.

42 Palermo, BCRS, Fondo Monreale, no. 45, line 83; Cusa, p. 255.

43 Palermo, BCRS, Fondo Monreale, no. 45, lines 251, 257; Cusa, pp. 276, 277. Cf. Johns, *Arabic Administration*, pp. 148–149; Nef, "Conquêtes et reconquêtes médiévales," p. 602; De Simone, "Ancora sui 'villani' di Sicilia," p. 489.

44 Palermo, Arch. Dioc., Fondo Primo, no. 5. Edition: Cusa, pp. 1–3.

45 Catania, Archivio Capitolare della Cattedrale di Catania, Pergamene greco-arabe e greche, no. 1; Edition: Cusa, pp. 541–549. Cf. Hiroshi Takayama, *The Administration of the Norman Kingdom of Sicily* (Leiden/New York/Cologne, 1993), pp. 39–40.

46 Toledo, ADM, Mesina, no. 1119. Facsimile, *Messina il ritorno*, p. 162. Edition: Gálvez, "Noticia sobre los documentos árabes de Sicilia," pp. 171–181.

47 Palermo, BCRS, Fondo Monreale, no. 4. Edition: Cusa, pp. 127–129. Cf. Johns, *Arabic Administration*, p. 307, doc. no. 25.

48 Johns, *Arabic Administration*, p. 147.

49 Toledo, ADM, Mesina, no. 1119, lines 1–2, 11. Facsimile, *Messina il ritorno*, p. 162. Edition: Gálvez, "Noticia sobre los documentos árabes de Sicilia," pp. 171–181. See Figure 13.8.

50 Cusa, pp. 548–549: "καὶ διὰ τούτω προστάττομεν ὅτι ἐάν τις εὑρέθη ἐχ τὰς ἐμὰς πλατείας ἤτε ἐχ τὰς πλατείας τῶν τερρερίων μου ἐκ τοὺς ἀγαρινοὺς τοὺς ὄντας γεγραμμένους ἐχ τὴν τοιαύτην πλατεῖαν ἵνα ἀντιστρέφη αὐτοὺς ὁ ἐπίσκοπος ἄνευ πάσης προφάσεως." Cf. Takayama, *The Administration*, p. 39.

51 Toledo, ADM, Mesina, no. 1119, lines 21–22. Facsimile, *Messina il ritorno*, p. 162. Edition: Gálvez, "Noticia sobre los documentos árabes de Sicilia," pp. 171–181. See Figure 13.8.

52 Takayama, *The Administration*, pp. 38–40, 86–87; Takayama, "The Financial and Administrative Organization of the Norman Kingdom of Sicily," *Viator*, vol. 16 (1985), pp. 145–149.

53 Johns, *Arabic Administration*, pp. 147–148.

54 Metcalfe, *The Muslims of Medieval Italy*, p. 270.

55 Nef, "Conquêtes et reconquêtes médiévales," p. 600; Nef, *Conquérir et gouverner*, p. 501.

56 Johns, *Arabic Administration*, p. 149.

57 Metcalfe, *The Muslims of Medieval Italy*, p. 269.

58 De Simone, "Ancora sui 'villani' di Sicilia," p. 487.
59 Amari, *Storia dei Musulmani*, 1st ed., vol. 3, p. 239, note 1; 2nd ed., vol. 3, p. 246, note 1. However, Amari's reading of this Arabic word as *ḫ/r/ś* [=*kh/r/sh*], not as *ḥ/r/ś* [=*ḥ/r/sh*], is not acceptable. This word is always written as *ḥ/r/sh* in the manuscripts.
60 Amari, *Storia dei Musulmani*, 2nd ed., vol. 3, p. 246, note 1.
61 Johns, *Arabic Administration*, p. 147.
62 De Simone, "Ancora sui 'villani' di Sicilia," p. 487.
63 Palermo, Arch. Dioc., Fondo Primo, no. 25. Edition: Cusa, pp. 37–39.
64 For the content of the ending clause of this document, see Takayama, *The Administration*, pp. 86–87.
65 Johns, *Arabic Administration*, p. 170, note 1. For various meanings of the word, see Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-ʿarab*, vol. 4, pp. 85–86, حرش (*ḥ/r/sh*).

APPENDIXES

APPENDIX I
Islamic Sicily

APPENDIX I–1
The Aghlabid governors in Sicily, 827–909 – Islamic Sicily I

Until the Norman conquest in the eleventh century, Sicily had been part of the Islamic world for more than two centuries. It was a so-called *arabo-siculo* culture which remained alive under the Norman and Swabian rulers and was incorporated into a brilliant Arab-Norman culture. This Islamic tradition, which was to be firmly impressed on Sicilian history in due course, was nourished under the rule of Aghlabid, Fāṭimid and Kalbite dynasties.

Substantial investigation on Islamic Sicily was begun by an Italian Arabist, Michele Amari (1806–1906), most of whose studies are still of great value.[1] His monumental work, *Storia dei Musulmani di Sicilia* (3 vols., Florence 1854–1872), was first published more than 130 years ago. Many scholars have since been engaged in this subject and have produced important monographs on various topics.[2] Unfortunately, however, nobody has attempted to make a list of the Islamic governors (rulers) as complete as possible based on available sources,[3] a task which is most essential to the study of this period.

The following is the result of my investigation of the Muslim governors in Sicily, for which *BAS versione italiana*, vol. 2, pp. 723–726, has offered key information.

* * *

I transliterate Arabic letters based on the following rule with vowels added:

bā' = b, tā' = t, thā' = th, jīm = j, ḥā' = ḥ, khā' = kh, dāl = d, dhāl = dh, rā' = r, zāy = z, sīn = s, shīn = sh, ṣād = ṣ, ḍād = ḍ, ṭā' = ṭ, ẓā' = ẓ, 'ayn = ', ghayn = gh, fā' = f, qāf = q, kāf = k, lām = l, mīm = m, nūn = n, hā' = h, wāw = w, yā' = y, hamza = [']

- If there is a problem in determining vowels I show only consonants with dashes in square brackets. Example: [sh/m/sh].
- I usually do not transliterate hamza. If necessary I use " ' " to indicate hamza.

The abbreviation system is as follows:

AH = anno hezirae (the year of the Hegira/Hijra).

BAS testo arabo = Michele Amari, ed., *Biblioteca arabo-sicula ossia Raccolta di testi arabici che toccano la geografia, la storia, le biografie e la bibliografia della Sicilia* (Leipzig, 1857).

BAS Appendice = Michele Amari, ed., *Appendice alla biblioteca arabo-sicula*, (Leipzig, 1875).

BAS versione italiana = Michele Amari, ed. and trans., *Biblioteca arabo-sicula, versione italiana*, 2 vols. (Rome/Turin, 1880–1881).

b. = *ibn* (meaning "a son" in Arabic). This is a customary abbreviation.

Abū al-Fidā' = 'Imād al-Dīn Ismā'īl Abū al-Fidā', *Kitāb al-mukhtaṣar fī Akhbar al-Bashar*, 4 vols., Cairo AH 1325; in *BAS testo arabo*, pp. 404–423; in *BAS versione italiana*, vol. 2, Capitolo XLVII, pp. 85–109.

"Cronica di Cambridge" = "Cronica di Cambridge" in *BAS testo arabo*, pp. 165–176; in *BAS versione italiana*, vol. 1, Capitolo XXVII, pp. 277–293.

EI = *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 1st ed., 4 vols. and Suppl. (Leiden, 1913–1938).

EI^2 = *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., 12 vols. with indexes (Leiden, 1960–2005).

faṣl is an Arabic word, here meaning "section." This is not an abbreviation.

Ibn 'Adhārī = Ibn 'Adhārī ['Idhārī], *Kitāb al-Bayān al-Mughrib*, in *BAS testo arabo*, pp. 352–375 and *BAS Appendice*, pp. 5–6; in *BAS versione italiana*, vol. 2, Capitolo XLIV, pp. 1–40.

Ibn al-Athīr = Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī b. al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh*, ed. Carl Johan Tornberg, 12 vols. and index (Leiden, 1851–1871, 1876); in *BAS testo arabo*, pp. 214–316 and *BAS Appendice*, pp. 3–5; in *BAS versione italiana*, vol. 1, Capitolo XXXV, pp. 353–507.

Ibn Khaldūn = 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Khaldūn, *Kitāb al-'Ibar*, 7 vols. (Beirut, 1959–1961); in *BAS testo arabo*, pp. 460–508 and *BAS Appendice*, pp. 7–11; in *BAS versione italiana*, vol. 2, Capitolo L, pp. 163–243.

Nuwayrī = Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāya al-Arab fī Funūn al-Adab*, 26 vols. (Cairo, 1954–1985); in *BAS testo arabo*, pp. 423–459; in *BAS versione italiana*, vol. 2, Capitolo XLVIII, pp. 110–160.

sana is an Arabic word meaning "year." This is not an abbreviation.

SMS = Michele Amari, *Storia dei Musulmani di Sicilia*, 3 vols., 2nd ed., a cura di Carlo A. Nallino (Catania, 1933–1939).

* * *

I. The Aghlabid governors (*wālī*s): 827–909

The first Muslim dynasty was established by an Aghlabid military commander, *qāḍī* Asad b. al-Furāt, in the middle of the ninth century. In 827 the Aghlabid

commander Asad b. al-Furāt was ordered to make an expedition to Sicily by the third Aghlabid *amīr* Ziyāda Allāh (817–838),[4] who had received an appeal for help from Euphemios, a rebellious Byzantine naval commander in Sicily. This expedition was to change the destiny of the island because Asad's victory against the Byzantine army established a firm foothold for the Aghlabids in Sicily and began the long Muslim occupation of Sicily. Asad died in the following year, but his role as leader of the Muslim army of Sicily was taken over by Muḥammad b. Abī al-Jawārī (828–†829) and, after the latter's death, by Zuhayr b. Ghawth (829–830).[5]

The successors of Asad were called *wālī* (or sometimes *amīr* or *'āmil*) and ruled as governors of Sicily. These *wālī*s were sometimes elected by the Muslims in Sicily and confirmed by the Aghlabid *amīr*s, and at other times they were directly appointed by the latter. Thus they kept a close relationship with the Aghlabid court in Tunisia. The Aghlabid *amīr*'s influence is shown by Sicilian coins bearing the name of an Aghlabid *amīr*[6] and the Friday sermon (*khuṭba*) in which the name of an Aghlabid *amīr* was mentioned together with that of an 'Abbāsid caliph. But the *walīs* acted almost independently, deciding on war and peace on their own.[7]

Under Aghlabid rule (827–908) the Muslims took most Sicilian towns from Byzantine hands: Palermo – which became the capital of the Muslims in Sicily – was captured in 831, Messina in 843, Castrogiovanni in 859, Syracuse in 878 and Taormina in 902. Thus in 909, when Aghlabid rule came to an end, the whole of Sicily was under Muslim rule.[8] This Muslim occupation profoundly changed land ownership in Sicily. An *iqṭā'* system was introduced, in which conquered land was distributed among soldiers of the Muslim army (*jund*) and the landholder (*muqṭa'*) was given almost full power to administer the land (*qaṭī'a*), although he had to pay a land tax (*'ushr*) to the state.[9] Various administrative customs and organizations characteristic of other contemporary Muslim states were also introduced into Sicily.[10]

1. The qāḍī *Asad b. al-Furāt (827–†828)*

Asad b. al-Furāt was appointed commander of the Muslim force in Sicily by the third Aghlabid *amīr* Ziyāda Allāh I, and he left Africa for Sicily in the month of Rabī' al-Awwal of AH 212 (31 May–29 Jun. 827) [Nuwayrī, Ibn 'Adhārī, Ibn al-Athīr]. He died in the month of Sha'bān of AH 213 (15 Oct.–12 Nov. 828) [Nuwayrī] or in the month of Rajab of AH 213 (15 Sep.–14 Oct. 828) [Ibn 'Adhārī]. Nuwayrī in *BAS testo arabo*, pp. 427–429, *sana* 212 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 2, p. 114–117, anno 212); Ibn 'Adhārī in *BAS testo arabo*, pp. 354–355, *sana* 212, 213 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 2, p. 5, anno 212, 213); Ibn Khaldūn in *BAS testo arabo*, *faṣl* 1, p. 460, *faṣl* 4, p. 466 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 2, §1, p. 164; §4, p. 173); Ibn al-Athīr in *BAS testo arabo*, pp. 221–223, *sana* 201 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 1, pp. 364–367, anno 201). Cf. *SMS*, vol. 1, pp. 275, 361, 368–406, 455, 536; vol. 2, pp. 53, 255, 500.

2. Muḥammad b. Abī al-Jawārī (828–†829)

Muḥammad b. Abī al-Jawārī was chosen *wālī* by the Muslims of Sicily in AH 213 (22 Mar. 828–10 Mar. 229) after the death of Asad b. al-Furāt. He died in AH 214 (11 Mar. 829–27 Feb. 830). Nuwayrī in *BAS testo arabo*, p. 429, *sana* 213 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 2, pp. 117–118, anno 213); Ibn ʻAdhārī in *BAS testo arabo*, p. 355, *sana* 213 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 2, pp. 5–6, anno 213); Ibn Khaldūn in *BAS testo arabo*, *faṣl* 4, p. 467 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 2, §4, p. 174); Ibn al-Athīr in *BAS testo arabo*, p. 223, *sana* 201 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 1, pp. 367–368, anno 201). Cf. *SMS*, vol. 1, pp. 407, 414–417, 429.

3. Zuhayr b. Ghawth (829–830)

Zuhayr b. Ghawth is called Zuhr b. Barghūth (or Burghawth [B/r/gh/w/th]) by Nuwayrī and Zuhayr b. ʻAwn (ʻ/w/n) by Ibn Khaldūn. He was chosen by the Muslims of Sicily after the death of Muḥammad in AH 214 (11 Mar. 829–27 Feb. 830). Nuwayrī in *BAS testo arabo*, p. 430, *sana* 213 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 2, p. 118, anno 213); Ibn Khaldūn in *BAS testo arabo*, *faṣl* 4, p. 467 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 2, §4, p. 175); Ibn al-Athīr in *BAS testo arabo*, pp. 223–224, *sana* 201 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 1, p. 368, anno 201). There is no mention in Ibn ʻAdhārī. Cf. *SMS*, vol. 1, p. 415 and note.

4. Aṣbāgh b. Wakīr, Farghlūsh (830–†830)

Aṣbāgh b. Wakīr arrived in Sicily from Spain in AH 214 (11 Mar. 829–27 Feb. 830) and took the government in AH 215 (28 Feb. 830–17 Feb. 831), but died of the plague in the same year [Ibn ʻAdhārī]. Nuwayrī in *BAS testo arabo*, p. 430, *sana* 213 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 2, p. 119, anno 213); Ibn ʻAdhārī in *BAS testo arabo*, pp. 355–356, *sana* 214 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 2, pp. 6–7, anno 214). There is no mention in Ibn Khaldūn and Ibn al-Athīr. Cf. *SMS*, vol. 1, pp. 418–422; vol. 2, p. 53.

5. ʻUthmān b. Qurhub (830?–832)

ʻUthmān b. Qurhub was expelled from Sicily by Abū Fihr Muḥammad in AH 217 (7 Feb. 832–26 Jan. 833, Ibn ʻAdhārī). Ibn ʻAdhārī in *BAS testo arabo*, p. 356, *sana* 216 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 2, p. 7, anno 216). There is no mention in Nuwayrī, Ibn Khaldūn and Ibn al-Athīr. Cf. *SMS*, vol. 1, p. 427.

6. Abū Fihr Muḥammad b. ʻAbd Allāh b. al-Aghlab (831–†851)

Abū Fihr was appointed *wālī* by his cousin, the Aghlabid *amīr* Ziyādat Allāh I (817–838), in AH 216 (18 Feb. 831–6 Feb. 832). He went to Sicily from Africa and expelled ʻUthmān b. Qurhub in AH 217 (7 Feb. 832–26 Jan. 833) [Ibn ʻAdhārī].

Nuwayrī thinks that Abū Fihr ruled for 19 years and died on the tenth day of the month of Rajab of AH 236 (17 Jan. 851) [Nuwayrī]. Ibn al-Athīr also mentions Rajab of AH 236 as the date of his death. Ibn Khaldūn says that he died in AH 236 after having governed Sicily for 19 years. According to Abū al-Fidā', Abū Fihr died in the month of Rajab of AH 237 (29 Dec. 851–27 Jan. 852). Nuwayrī in *BAS testo arabo*, p. 431, *sana* 215, 236 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 2, p. 119, anno 215, 236); Ibn 'Adhārī in *BAS testo arabo*, p. 356, *sana* 216, 217, 220 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 2, p. 7, anno 216, 217, 220); Ibn Khaldūn in *BAS testo arabo*, *faṣl* 4, p. 471 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 2, §4, p. 180); Abū al-Fidā' in *BAS testo arabo*, p. 404–405, *sana* 228, 237 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 2, pp. 85, 86, anno 224 [*sic*], 237); Ibn al-Athīr in *BAS testo arabo*, pp. 225, 230, *sana* 201, 228, 237 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 1, pp. 369, 377, anno 201, 228, 237). Cf. *SMS*, vol. 1, pp. 358–359, 427–429, 431–432, 455.

* *Al-Faḍl b. Ya'qūb (835)*

The Aghlabid *amīr* Ziyāda Allāh sent Al-Faḍl b. Ya'qūb to Sicily. Ibn Khaldūn in *BAS testo arabo*, *faṣl* 4, p. 468 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 2, §4, p. 176); Ibn al-Athīr in *BAS testo arabo*, p. 225, *sana* 201 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 1, p. 370, anno 201). There is no mention in Nuwayrī, Ibn 'Adhārī and Abū al-Fidā'. Cf. *SMS*, vol. 1, pp. 432, 438.

* *Abū al-Aghlab Ibrāhīm b. 'Abd-Allāh b. al-Aghlab (835–†851)*

Abū al-Aghlab, brother of Abū Fihr, was appointed *wālī* by the *amīr* and left for Sicily on the fifteenth day of the month of Ramaḍān of AH 220 (12 Sep. 835) [Ibn Khaldūn]. He died in AH 236 (15 Jul. 850–4 Jul. 851) [Ibn 'Adhārī]. Ibn 'Adhārī in *BAS testo arabo*, pp. 356–357, *sana* 220, 236 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 2, pp. 7, 9, anno 220, 236); Ibn Khaldūn in *BAS testo arabo*, *faṣl* 4, p. 468 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 2, §4, p. 176); Ibn al-Athīr in *BAS testo arabo*, p. 226, *sana* 201 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 1, p. 370, anno 201). There is no mention in Nuwayrī and Abū al-Fidā'. Cf. *SMS*, vol. 1, pp. 427, 432–439, 454–455, 492.

7. Al-'Abbās b. al-Faḍl b. Ya'qūb b. Fazāra (851–†861)

Al-'Abbās was chosen *wālī* by the Muslims of Sicily and confirmed by the fifth Aghlabid *amīr* Muḥammad I (841–856) in AH 236 (15 Jul. 850–4 Jul. 851) [Nuwayrī, Ibn 'Adhārī], or in AH 237 (5 Jul. 851–22 Jul. 852) [Abū al-Fidā', Ibn al-Athīr]. He died either on the third day of the month of Jumādā al-ūlā of AH 247 (15 Jul. 861) [Ibn 'Adhārī], or on the third day of the month of Jumādā al-ākhira of AH 247 (14 Aug. 861) [Nuwayrī, Ibn al-Athīr]. Ibn Khaldūn says that his death was in the middle of AH 247. Nuwayrī in *BAS testo arabo*, pp. 431–432, *sana* 236, 244 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 2, p. 120, 122, anno 236, 244); Ibn 'Adhārī in *BAS testo arabo*, pp. 357–358, *sana* 236, 247 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 2,

p. 9, 12, anno 236, 247); Ibn Khaldūn in *BAS testo arabo*, *faṣl* 8, pp. 471–472 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 2, §8, pp. 180, 182); Abū al-Fidā' in *BAS testo arabo*, p. 405, *sana* 237, 247 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 2, pp. 85–86, anno 237, 247); Ibn al-Athīr in *BAS testo arabo*, pp. 231, 234, *sana* 237 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 1, p. 377, 381–382, anno 237). Cf. *SMS*, vol. 1, pp. 450–451, 456–475, 479, 481, 487, 512.

8. Aḥmad b. Ya'qūb (861–861)

Aḥmad b. Ya'qūb, uncle of Al-'Abbās b. Faḍl, was chosen by the Arabs of Sicily after the death of Al-'Abbās (Jul. or Aug. 861) and confirmed by the sixth Aghlabid *amīr* Abū Ibrāhīm Aḥmad, but he was deposed by the Muslims of Sicily in AH 247 (17 Mar. 861–6 Mar. 862). Nuwayrī in *BAS testo arabo*, p. 433, *sana* 247 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 2, p. 122, anno 247); Ibn 'Adhārī in *BAS testo arabo*, pp. 357–358, 359, *sana* 247 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 2, pp. 12–13, anno 247). No mention in Ibn Khaldūn, Abū al-Fidā' and Ibn al-Athīr. Cf. *SMS*, vol. 1, pp. 533–535.

9. 'Abd Allāh b. al-'Abbās (861–862)

'Abd Allāh, son of Al-'Abbās b. Faḍl, was chosen by the Muslims of Sicily but rejected by the *amīr* in AH 247 (17 Mar. 861–6 Mar. 862). He governed for five months [Nuwayrī, Ibn Khaldūn, Ibn al-Athīr]. Nuwayrī in *BAS testo arabo*, p. 433, *sana* 247 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 2, p. 122, anno 247); Ibn Khaldūn in *BAS testo arabo*, *faṣl* 6, p. 472 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 2, §6, p. 183); Abū al-Fidā' in *BAS testo arabo*, p. 405, *sana* 247 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 2, p. 86, anno 247); Ibn al-Athīr in *BAS testo arabo*, p. 234, *sana* 247 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 1, pp. 382–383, anno 247). No mention in Ibn 'Adhārī. Cf. *SMS*, vol. 1, pp. 480–481.

10. Khafāja b. Sufyān b. Sawāda (862–†869)

Khafāja was appointed *wālī* by the *amīr* and arrived in Sicily in the month of Jumādā al-ūlā of AH 248 (2–30 Aug. 862) [Ibn al-Athīr]. Ibn Khaldūn and Nuwayrī mention AH 248 (7 Mar. 862–23 Feb. 863) as that date. He was killed on the first day of the month of Rajab of AH 255 (15 Jun. 869) [Ibn 'Adhārī, Nuwayrī, Ibn al-Athīr]. Nuwayrī in *BAS testo arabo*, p. 433, *sana* 247 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 2, pp. 122–123, anno 247); Ibn 'Adhārī in *BAS testo arabo*, p. 360, *sana* 255 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 2, p. 14, anno 255); Ibn Khaldūn in *BAS testo arabo*, *faṣl* 6, p. 472 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 2, §6, p. 184); Abū al-Fidā' in *BAS testo arabo*, p. 405, *sana* 247, 255 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 2, pp. 86, 87, anno 247, 255); Ibn al-Athīr in *BAS testo arabo*, pp. 234, 237, *sana* 247 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 1, pp. 383, 387, anno 247). Cf. *SMS*, vol. 1, pp. 477–478, 481–489; vol. 2, p. 60.

11. Muḥammad b. Khafāja b Sufyān (869–†871)

Muḥammad, son of Khafāja, was chosen *wālī* by the Muslims in Sicily just after the death of his father (15 Jun. 869), and confirmed by the eighth Aghlabid *amīr* Abū al-Gharānīq Muḥammad II (863–875) in AH 255 (20 Dec. 868–8 Dec. 869). He was killed by his own eunuchs on the third day of the month of Rajab of AH 257 (27 May 871). Nuwayrī in *BAS testo arabo*, p. 433, *sana* 255 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 2, p. 123, anno 255); Ibn ʻAdhārī in *BAS testo arabo*, p. 360, *sana* 255, 257 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 2, pp. 14–15, anno 255, 257); Ibn Khaldūn in *BAS testo arabo*, *faṣl* 6, p. 473 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 2, §6, p. 184); Abū al-Fidā' in *BAS testo arabo*, pp. 405–406, *sana* 247, 255, 257 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 2, pp. 86, 87, anno 247, 255, 257); Ibn al-Athīr in *BAS testo arabo*, p. 237, *sana* 247 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 1, p. 387, anno 247).

12. Muḥammad b. Abī al-Ḥusayn (871–871)*

He was chosen *wālī* by the Muslims of Sicily after the death of Muḥammad on 27 May 871, but rejected by the *amīr* (Nuwayrī). Nuwayrī in *BAS testo arabo*, p. 433, *sana* 255 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 2, p. 123, anno 255). No mention in Ibn ʻAdhārī, Ibn Khaldūn, Abū al-Fidā' and Ibn al-Athīr. Cf. *SMS*, vol. 1, pp. 490–491, 531. Concerning the period of disturbance (871–873), the sources offer contradictory information. We need further examination on the governors during this period (I put asterisks on their numbers).

13. Rabāḥ b. Yaʻqūb b. Fazāra (871–†871)* **[and *ʻAbd Allāh b. Yaʻqūb (871–†871)* for Italy]**

Rabāḥ b. Yaʻqūb was appointed *wālī* of Sicily and his brother ʻAbd Allāh b. Yaʻqūb *wālī* of Italy by the *amīr* in AH 257 (29 Nov. 870–17 Nov. 871). Rabāḥ b. Yaʻqūb died in the month of Muḥarram of AH 258 (18 Nov.–17 Dec. 871), and ʻAbd Allāh died in the month of Ṣafar of the same year (18 Dec. 871–15 Jan. 872) [Nuwayrī]. Nuwayrī in *BAS testo arabo*, pp. 433–434, *sana* 255 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 2, p. 123, anno 255); Ibn ʻAdhārī in *BAS testo arabo*, p. 360, *sana* 257–258 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 2, p. 15, anno 257–258); Abū al-Fidā' in *BAS testo arabo*, p. 406, *sana* 257 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 2, p. 87, anno 257); Ibn al-Athīr in *BAS testo arabo*, p. 238, *sana* 257 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 1, p. 389, anno 257). No mention in Ibn Khaldūn. Cf. *SMS*, vol. 1, pp. 457, 467, 480, 491, 526, 531–532.

14. Abū al-ʻAbbās b. Yaʻqūb b. ʻAbd Allāh (871–†871)*

Abū al-ʻAbbās was chosen *wālī* by the Muslims of Sicily but died after a short time and was replaced with his brother ʻAbd Allāh b. Yaʻqūb, *wālī* for Italy.

Nuwayrī in *BAS testo arabo*, p. 434, *sana* 255 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 2, p. 123, anno 255). No mention in Ibn ʻAdhārī, Ibn Khaldūn, Abū al-Fidāʾ and Ibn al-Athīr. Cf. *SMS*, vol. 1, p. 531.

15. ʻAbd Allāh b. Yaʻqūb (871–871)*

ʻAbd Allāh, *wālī* for Italy and brother of Abū al-ʻAbbās and Aḥmad, was chosen *wālī* of Sicily by the Muslims of Sicily after the death of his brother Abū al-ʻAbbās. Nuwayrī in *BAS testo arabo*, p. 434, *sana* 255 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 2, p. 123, anno 255). No mention in Ibn ʻAdhārī, Ibn Khaldūn, Abū al-Fidāʾ and Ibn al-Athīr. Cf. *SMS*, vol. 1, pp. 491, 526–528, 531.

16. Al-Ḥusayn b. Rabāḥ Aḥmad b. Yaʻqūb (872–872)*

Al-Ḥusayn, son of Rabāḥ Aḥmad b. Yaʻqūb, was appointed *wālī* and deposed by the *amīr* in AH 258 (18 Nov. 871–6 Nov. 872) [Nuwayrī]. Nuwayrī in *BAS testo arabo*, p. 434, *sana* 255 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 2, p. 123, anno 255); Ibn ʻAdhārī in *BAS testo arabo*, p. 360, *sana* 258 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 2, p. 15, anno 258). No mention in Ibn Khaldūn, Abū al-Fidāʾ and Ibn al-Athīr. Cf. *SMS*, vol. 1, pp. 533, 553, 560.

17. ʻAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad (873–873)*

ʻAbd Allāh was appointed *wālī* by the *amīr* in the month of Shawwāl of AH 259 (31 Jul.–28 Aug. 873), but was deposed in the same year [Nuwayrī]. Nuwayrī erroneously called him ʻAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Aghlab. Nuwayrī in *BAS testo arabo*, p. 434, *sana* 255 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 2, pp. 123–124, anno 255). No mention in Ibn ʻAdhārī, Ibn Khaldūn, Abū al-Fidāʾ and Ibn al-Athīr. Cf. *SMS*, vol. 1, p. 53.

18. Habbāshī Abū-Mālik Aḥmad b. Yaʻqūb b. ʻUmar b. ʻAbd Allāh b. Ibrahīm b. al-Aghlab (873–875)

Abū-Mālik was appointed by the *amīr* in AH 259 (7 Nov. 872–26 Oct. 873). Nuwayrī says that Abū Mālik ruled for twenty-six years until AH 287 (7 Jan.–25 Dec. 900). Nuwayrī in *BAS testo arabo*, p. 434, *sana* 255 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 2, p. 124, anno 255). No mention in Ibn ʻAdhārī, Ibn Khaldūn, Abū al-Fidāʾ and Ibn al-Athīr. Cf. *SMS*, vol. 1, pp. 533–535.

19. Jaʻfar b. Muḥammad (875–†878)

Jaʻfar was appointed by the the ninth Aghlabid *amīr* Ibrāhīm II (875–902). He died in AH 264 (13 Sep. 877–2 Sep. 878). Ibn ʻAdhārī in *BAS testo arabo*, p. 361, *sana* 264 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 2, p. 15–16, anno 264); Ibn al-Athīr in *BAS*

testo arabo, p. 243, *sana* 264 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 1, p. 396, anno 264). No mention in Nuwayrī, Ibn Khaldūn and Abū al-Fidā'.

** Khurj al-Ru'ūna al-Aghlab b. Muḥammad b. al-Aghlab (878–878)*

Khurj al-Ru'ūna became governor but was not accepted by the Muslims of Sicily and so was expelled in AH 264 (13 Sep. 877–2 Sep. 878). Ibn 'Adhārī in *BAS testo arabo*, p. 361, *sana* 264 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 2, p. 16, anno 264). No mention in Nuwayrī, Ibn Khaldūn, Abū al-Fidā' and Ibn al-Athīr.

20. Al-Ḥusayn b. Rabāḥ (878–880?)

Al-Ḥusayn became ruler of Palermo in AH 264 (13 Sep. 877–2 Sep. 878). Ibn 'Adhārī in *BAS testo arabo*, p. 361, *sana* 264 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 2, p. 16, anno 264). No mention in Nuwayrī, Ibn Khaldūn, Abū al-Fidā' and Ibn al-Athīr.

21. Ḥasan b. al-'Abbās (881–882)

Ḥasan b. al-'Abbās became governor of Sicily in AH 267 (12 Aug. 880–31 Jul. 881), but was deposed in AH 268 (1 Aug. 881–20 Jul. 882) [Ibn 'Adhārī, Ibn al-Athīr]. Ibn 'Adhārī in *BAS testo arabo*, p. 361, *sana* 267, 268 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 2, p. 17, anno 267, 268); Abū al-Fidā' in *BAS testo arabo*, p. 406, *sana* 267 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 2, p. 87, anno 267); Ibn al-Athīr in *BAS testo arabo*, pp. 243–244, *sana* 267, 268 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 1, pp. 397–398, anno 267, 268). No mention in Nuwayrī and Ibn Khaldūn.

22. Muḥammad b. Faḍl (882–885?)

Muḥammad b. Faḍl became governor in AH 268 (1 Aug. 881–20 Jul. 882). Ibn 'Adhārī in *BAS testo arabo*, p. 361, *sana* 268 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 2, p. 17, anno 268); Ibn al-Athīr in *BAS testo arabo*, p. 244, *sana* 268 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 1, p. 398, anno 268). No mention in Nuwayrī, Ibn Khaldūn and Abū al-Fidā'.

23. Al-Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad (†885)

Al-Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad died in AH 271 (29 Jun. 884–17 Jun. 885). Ibn 'Adhārī in *BAS testo arabo*, p. 361, *sana* 271 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 2, p. 17, anno 271); Ibn al-Athīr in *BAS testo arabo*, p. 245, *sana* 271 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 1, p. 399, anno 271). No mention in Nuwayrī, Ibn Khaldūn and Abū al-Fidā'. Cf. *SMS*, vol. 1, p. 566.

24. Sawāda b. Muḥammad b. Khafāja (885–887)

Sawāda was given the office in AH 271 (29 Jun. 884–17 Jun. 885), but was deposed by the Muslims in Palermo in AH 273 (8 Jun. 886–27 May 887) [Ibn 'Adhārī]. Ibn

‘Adhārī in *BAS testo arabo*, pp. 361–362, *sana* 271, 273 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 2, pp. 17, 18, anno 271, 273); Ibn al-Athīr in *BAS testo arabo*, p. 245, *sana* 271 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 1, p. 399, anno 271). No mention in Nuwayrī, Ibn Khaldūn and Abū al-Fidā’. Cf. *SMS*, vol. 1, pp. 566–568, 571.

25. Abū al-‘Abbās b. ‘Alī (887–890?)

Abū al-‘Abbās was elected *wālī* by the rebels in AH 273 (8 Jun. 886–27 May 887). Ibn ‘Adhārī in *BAS testo arabo*, p. 362, *sana* 273 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 2, p. 18, anno 273). No mention in Nuwayrī, Ibn Khaldūn, Abū al-Fidā’ and Ibn al-Athīr. Cf. *SMS*, vol. 1, pp. 567–568.

** Sawāda b. Muḥammad b. Khafāja (890?–892?)*

Ibn ‘Adhārī in *BAS testo arabo*, p. 362, *sana* 276 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 2, p. 18, anno 276). No mention in Nuwayrī, Ibn Khaldūn, Abū al-Fidā’ and Ibn al-Athīr. See no. 24 above.

26. Muḥammad b. Faḍl (892–898)

Ibn ‘Adhārī in *BAS testo arabo*, p. 362, *sana* 278 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 2, p. 19, anno 278). No mention in Nuwayrī, Ibn Khaldūn, Abū al-Fidā’ and Ibn al-Athīr. Cf. *SMS*, vol. 1, p. 572. See no. 23 above.

27. Abū Mālik Aḥmad b. ‘Umar b. ‘Abd Allāh (900–900)

Abū Mālik was appointed by the *amīr* in AH 287 (7 Jan.–25 Dec. 900). Ibn al-Athīr in *BAS testo arabo*, pp. 245–246, *sana* 287 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 1, p. 400, anno 287). No mention in Nuwayrī, Ibn ‘Adhārī, Ibn Khaldūn and Abū al-Fidā’.

28. Abū al-‘Abbās ‘Abd Allāh b. Ibrāhīm b. Aḥmad b. al-Aghlab (900–902)

Abū al-‘Abbās, son of the Aghlabid *amīr* Ibrāhīm II (875–902), was appointed *wālī* by the *amīr*, and arrived in Mazara on 24 July of AM 6408 (24 Jul. 900) [“Cronica di Cambridge”] or arrived in Sicily on the first day of the month of Sha‘bān of AH 287 (1 Aug. 900) [Ibn al-Athīr]. He remained in Sicily until he was called back to Africa to take the throne of the tenth Aghlabid *amīr* in AH 289 (16 Dec. 901–4 Dec. 902). He was killed by three servants associated with his son Abū Muḍar on the last day of the month of Sha‘bān of AH 290 (28 Jul. 903) [Ibn al-Athīr]. Nuwayrī in *BAS testo arabo*, p. 434, *sana* 255 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 2, p. 124, anno 255); Ibn ‘Adhārī in *BAS testo arabo*, p. 362, *sana* 287, 289 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 2, pp. 20–21, anno 287, 289); Ibn Khaldūn in *BAS testo arabo*, *faṣl* 7, p. 474 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 2, §7, p. 185); Ibn al-Athīr in *BAS testo arabo*, pp. 245–246, 248, 250, *sana* 287, 289 (*BAS versione italiana*,

vol. 1, pp. 400, 403, 405, anno 287, 289); "Cronica di Cambridge" in *BAS testo arabo*, p. 167, *sana* 6408 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 1, p. 280, anno 6408). No mention in Abū al-Fidā'. Cf. *SMS*, vol. 2, pp. 70–74, 84–95, 97, 148–150.

* *The Aghlabid* amīr *Ibrāhīm II (902–†902)*

The *amīr* Ibrāhīm II (875–902) called back his son Abū al-'Abbās, *wālī* of Sicily, from Sicily to Africa, and gave the office of *amīr* to him in AH 289 (16 Dec. 901–4 Dec. 902, Ibn 'Adhārī). Then, he went to Sicily to take the command of the army personally for the holy war in May of AM 6416 ([*sic*], May 908) ["Cronica di Cambridge"], but died there on the nineteenth day of the month of Dhū al-qa'da of AH 289 (25 Oct. 902) [Abū al-Fidā']. Nuwayrī in *BAS testo arabo*, p. 434, *sana* 255 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 2, p. 124, anno 255); Ibn 'Adhārī in *BAS testo arabo*, p. 362, *sana* 289 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 2, p. 21, anno 289); Ibn Khaldūn in *BAS testo arabo*, *faṣl* 7, pp. 474–476 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 2, §7, pp. 186–188); Abū al-Fidā' in *BAS testo arabo*, p. 406, *sana* 261 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 2, p. 87, anno 261); Ibn al-Athīr in *BAS testo arabo*, p. 248, *sana* 289 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 1, p. 403, anno 289); "Cronica di Cambridge" in *BAS testo arabo*, p. 168, *sana* 6416 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 1, p. 280, anno 6416). Cf. *SMS*, vol. 2, pp. 93–117.

29. Abū Muḍar Ziyāda Allāh b. Abī al-'Abbās (902–903)

Abū Muḍar Ziyāda Allāh, son of Abū al-'Abbās, became governer in AH 289 (16 Dec. 901–4 Dec. 902), but was deposed and imprisoned in Africa by his father [Ibn al-Athīr]. He arrived in Tunisia on the nineteenth day of the month of Jumādā al-ākhira of AH 290 (20 May 903) [Ibn 'Adhārī]. He became the eleventh and last Aghlabid *amīr* in 903. Ibn al-Athīr mentions Abū Muḍar's brother Abū Ma'ad besides Abū Muḍar as commanders of Muslim army in Sicily. Ibn Khaldūn also mentions Ibrāhīm's two sons Abū al-Aghlab and Abū Muḥriz as well as Abū Muḍar as *amīrs* of the Muslim army in Sicily. Ibn 'Adhārī in *BAS testo arabo*, p. 364, *sana* 290 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 2, pp. 21–22, anno 290); Ibn Khaldūn in *BAS testo arabo*, *faṣl* 7, p. 475 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 2, §7, p. 187); Ibn al-Athīr in *BAS testo arabo*, pp. 248–250, *sana* 287, 289 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 1, pp. 403, 405, anno 287, 289). No mention in Nuwayrī, Abū al-Fidā' and "Cronica di Cambridge." Cf. *SMS*, vol. 2, p. 97.

30. Muḥammad b. al-Sarqūsī (903)

Abū al-'Abbās replaced Abū Muḍar with Muḥammad in 903. Nuwayrī in *BAS testo arabo*, p. 434, *sana* 255 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 2, p. 124, anno 255); Ibn al-Athīr, *BAS testo arabo*, p. 249, *sana* 289 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 1, p. 405, anno 289). No mention in Ibn 'Adhārī, Ibn Khaldūn, Abū al-Fidā' and "Cronica di Cambridge." Cf. *SMS*, vol. 2, pp. 165, 172.

31. ʻAlī b. Muḥammad b. Abī al-Fawāris (903)

ʻAlī b. Muḥammad became *wālī* in AH 290, but was deposed by the Aghlabid *amīr* Ziyāda Allāh (903–909) in AH 290 (5 Dec. 902–23 Nov. 903). Nuwayrī in *BAS testo arabo*, p. 434, *sana* 255 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 2, p. 124, anno 255); "Cronica di Cambridge," in *BAS testo arabo*, p. 168, *sana* 6417 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 1, pp. 280–281, anno 6417). No mention in Ibn ʻAdhārī, Ibn Khaldūn, Abū al-Fidāʼ and Ibn al-Athīr. Cf. *SMS*, vol. 2, pp. 165–168.

32. Aḥmad b. Abī al-Ḥusayn b. Rabāḥ (903–909)

Aḥmad was appointed *wālī* in AH 290 (5 Dec. 902–23 Nov. 903), but was deposed by the Muslims in Sicily on the tenth day of the month of Rajab of AH 296 (4 Apr. 909) [Nuwayrī]. According to "Cronica di Cambridge," the day of the deposition was 1 April of AM 6417 (1 Apr. 909), and Aḥmad is described as Ibn Rabāḥ. Nuwayrī in *BAS testo arabo*, p. 434, *sana* 255, 296 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 2, pp. 124, 125, anno 255, 296); "Cronica di Cambridge" in *BAS testo arabo*, p. 168, *sana* 6417 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 1, pp. 280–281, anno 6417). No mention in Ibn ʻAdhārī, Ibn Khaldūn, Abū al-Fidāʼ and Ibn al-Athīr. Cf. *SMS*, vol. 2, pp. 165–166.

Notes

Appendix I–1 is the former part of my study on *Islamic Sicily*, which originates from an appendix (Appendix 3: Islamic Sicily) to my Ph.D. dissertation entitled *Medieval Kingdom of Mystery: The Norman Kingdom of Sicily and Its Administration* (Yale University, New Haven, Conn., 1990). The latter part of *Islamic Sicily* is scheduled to appear in *Mediterranean World*, vol. 13 (1992), with the title of "The Fatimid and Kalbite Governors in Sicily: 909–1044 – Islamic Sicily II." I should like to thank Dr. Jonathan Rotondo-McCord of Xavier University of Louisiana for his help.

1 Michele Amari, *Storia dei Musulmani di Sicilia*, 3 vols. (Florence, 1854–1872; 2nd ed., a cura di Carlo A. Nallino, 3 vols. in 5 parts, Catania, 1933–1939); Michele Amari, ed., *Biblioteca arabo-sicula ossia Raccolta di testi arabici che toccano la geografia, la storia, le biografie e la bibliografia della Sicilia* (Leipzig, 1857); Michele Amari, ed., *Appendice alla biblioteca arabo-sicula* (Leipzig, 1875); Michele Amari, ed., *Appendice alla biblioteca arabo-sicula II* (Leipzig, 1878); Michele Amari, ed. and trans., *Biblioteca arabo-sicula, versione italiana*, 2 vols. (Rome/Turin, 1880–1881); Michele Amari, *Epigrafi arabiche di Sicilia*, 3 vols. (Palermo, 1875–1885).

2 For those works on Islamic Sicily, see Francesco Gabrieli, "Un secolo di studi arabo-siculi," *Studia islamica*, vol. 5 (1954), pp. 89–102; Umberto Rizzitano, "Il contributo del mondo arabo agli studi arabo-siculi," *Rivista degli studi orientali*, vol. 36 (1961), pp. 71–93; Umberto Rizzitano, "Gli Arabi in Italia," *L'occidente e l'Islam nell'alto medioevo* (Spoleto, 1965, Settimane de Studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medio Evo, XII), pp. 93–98; Umberto Rizzitano, "Aziz Ahmad: A History of Islamic Sicily," *Rivista storica italiana*, vol. 89 (1977), pp. 168–172. Very important works are Celestino Schiaparelli, *Il canzoniere di ʻAbd al Ġabbâr ibn Abî Bakr ibn Muḥammad ibn Ḥamdīs, poeta arabo di Siracusa* (Rome, 1897); Bartolomeo M. Lagumina, *Studi sulla numismatica arabo-normanna di Sicilia* (Palermo, 1891);

Bartolomeo M. Lagumina, *Catalogo delle monete arabe esistenti nella Biblioteca comunale di Palermo* (Palermo, 1892); Salvatore Cusa, *I diplomi greci ed arabi di Sicilia* (Palermo, 1868–1892); *Centenario della nascita di Michele Amari: Scritti di filologia e storia araba*, 2 vols. (Palermo, 1910); Francesco Gabrieli, *Dal mondo dell'Islam* (Milan/Naples, 1954); Umberto Rizzitano, *Storia e cultura nella Sicilia saracena* (Palermo, 1975).

3 The only exception is the list made by Amari in *BAS versione italiana*, vol. 2, pp. 723–726.

4 At the end of the eighth century the garrison of Tunis revolted against the governor (*amīr*) Ibn Muqtatil. Ibrahīm b. Aghlab, governor of the Zab, helped in suppressing the revolt and usurped Ibn Muqtatil's position. In 800 the 'Abba sid caliph recognized Ibn Aghlab as governor of Tunis and thus the Aghlabid dynasty was established. The eleven Aghlabid *umarā'* (= pl. of *amīr*) enjoyed great autonomy from the 'Abbāsid caliphs, and ruled Tunisia until 909. See Jamil M. Abun-Nasr, *A History of the Maghrib*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, 1975), pp. 76–78.

5 Ibn al-Athīr, vol. 6, p. 236 or in *BAS testo arabo*, pp. 221–223, *sana* 201 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 1, pp. 367–368, anno 201); Ibn 'Adhārī, *Al-Bayān al-mughrib*, ed. Dozy, vol. 1, p. 95 or in *BAS testo arabo*, pp. 354–355, *sana* 212, 213 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 2, pp. 5–6, anno 212, 213); Ibn Khaldūn, (ed. Būlāq), vol. 3, p. 253 or in *BAS testo arabo*, *faṣl* 1, p. 460, *faṣl* 4, pp. 466–467 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 1, §1, p. 164, §4, pp. 173–175); Nuwayrī, "*Nihāyat al-arab*," *BAS testo arabo*, pp. 427–430, *sana* 212, 213 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 2, pp. 114–118, anno 212, 213); *SMS*, vol. 1, pp. 394–399; Aziz Ahmad, *A History of Islamic Sicily* (Edinburgh, 1975), p. 7.

6 Lagumina, *Catalogo delle monete arabe*.

7 Ahmad, *A History of Islamic Sicily*, p. 23.

8 Abun-Nasr, *A History of the Maghrib*, pp. 76–78; Ahmad, *A History of Islamic Sicily*, pp. 6–24.

9 Amari, *SMS*, vol. 1, pp. 476–477; vol. 2, p. 33; Ahmad, *A History of Islamic Sicily*, pp. 23–24. The best and most complete study on the *iqṭā'* system in the Muslim world is Tsugitaka Satō, *State and Society in Medieval Islam: Studies on the Iqṭā' System in Arabic Society* (Tokyo, 1986).

10 Ahmad, *A History of Islamic Sicily*, p. 23. See also Amari, *SMS*, vol. 2, p. 14.

APPENDIX I–2
The Fatimid and Kalbite governors in Sicily, 909–1044 – Islamic Sicily II

This is the second part of my investigation on the Muslim governors (or rulers) in Sicily.

I transliterate Arabic letters based on the following rule with vowels added:

bā' = b, tā' = t, thā' = th, jīm = j, ḥā' = ḥ, khā' = kh, dāl = d, dhāl = dh, rā' = r, zāy = z, sīn = s, shīn = sh, ṣād = ṣ, ḍād = ḍ, ṭā' = ṭ, ẓā' = ẓ, 'ayn = ', ghayn = gh, fā' = f, qāf = q, kāf = k, lām = l, mīm = m, nūn = n, hā' = h, wāw = w, yā' = y, hamza = [']

- If there is a problem in determining vowels, I show only consonants with dashes in square brackets. Example: [sh/m/sh].
- I usually do not transliterate hamza. If necessary I use " ' " to indicate hamza.

The abbreviation system is as follows:

AH = anno hezirae (the year of the Hegira/Hijra).

BAS testo arabo = Michele Amari, ed., *Biblioteca arabo-sicula ossia Raccolta di testi arabici che toccano la geografia, la storia, le biografie e la bibliografia della Sicilia* (Leipzig, 1857).

BAS Appendice = Michele Amari, ed., *Appendice alla biblioteca arabo-sicula*, (Leipzig, 1875).

BAS versione italiana = Michele Amari, ed. and trans., *Biblioteca arabo-sicula, versione italiana*, 2 vols. (Rome/Turin, 1880–1881).

b. = *ibn* (meaning "a son" in Arabic). This is a customary abbreviation.

Abū al-Fidā' = 'Imād al-Dīn Ismā'īl Abū al-Fidā', *Kitāb al-mukhtaṣar fī Akhbar al-Bashar*, 4 vols., Cairo AH 1325; in *BAS testo arabo*, pp. 404–423; in *BAS versione italiana*, vol. 2, Capitolo XLVII, pp. 85–109.

"Cronica di Cambridge" = "Cronica di Cambridge" in *BAS testo arabo*, pp. 165–176; in *BAS versione italiana*, vol. 1, Capitolo XXVII, pp. 277–293.

EI = *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 1st ed., 4 vols. and Suppl. (Leiden, 1913–1938).

EI[2] = *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., 12 vols. with indexes (Leiden, 1960–2005).

faṣl is an Arabic word, here meaning "section." This is not an abbreviation.

Ibn ʻAdhārī = Ibn ʻAdhārī [ʻIdhārī], *Kitāb al-Bayān al-Mughrib*, in *BAS testo arabo*, pp. 352–375 and *BAS Appendice*, pp. 5–6; in *BAS versione italiana*, vol. 2, Capitolo XLIV, pp. 1–40.

Ibn al-Athīr = Abū al-Ḥasan ʻAlī b. al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh*, ed. Carl Johan Tornberg, 12 vols and index (Leiden, 1851–1871, 1876); in *BAS testo arabo*, pp. 214–316 and *BAS Appendice*, pp. 3–5; in *BAS versione italiana*, vol. 1, Capitolo XXXV, pp. 353–507.

Ibn Khaldūn = ʻAbd al-Raḥmān b. Khaldūn, *Kitāb al-ʻIbar*, 7 vols. (Beirut, 1959–1961); in *BAS testo arabo*, pp. 460–508 and *BAS Appendice*, pp. 7–11; in *BAS versione italiana*, vol. 2, Capitolo L, pp. 163–243.

Nuwayrī = Aḥmad b. ʻAbd al-Wahhāb al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāya al-Arab fī Funūn al-Adab*, 26 vols. (Cairo, 1954–1985); in *BAS testo arabo*, pp. 423–459; in *BAS versione italiana*, vol. 2, Capitolo XLVIII, pp. 110–160.

sana is an Arabic word meaning "year." This is not an abbreviation.

SMS = Michele Amari, *Storia dei Musulmani di Sicilia*, 3 vols., 2nd ed., a cura di Carlo A. Nallino (Catania, 1933–1939).

* * *

II. The Fatimid governors (*wālī*s): 909–948

Aghlabid rule of Sicily came to an end in 909 when the Aghlabid dynasty in Tunisia was replaced by the Fāṭimids (909–1171), and thus the history of Islamic Sicily entered the second phase. As soon as the news arrived in Sicily that Abū ʻAbd Allāh, a leader of the Shīʻites and one of the founders of the Fāṭimid dynasty, had occupied Tunisia, the Muslims in Sicily imprisoned Aḥmad b. Abī al-Ḥusayn, the last Aghlabid *wālī* (903–909), and reelected the former *wālī*, ʻAlī b. Muḥammad (903–903),[1] to be first Fāṭimid *wālī* (909–910) on 4 April 909. Thus Fāṭimid rule in Sicily began.

ʻAlī b. Muḥammad was, however, deposed and replaced with Al-Ḥasan (910–912) by the first Fāṭimid caliph ʻUbayd Allāh al-Mahdī (909–934) in 910. This new *wālī*, Al-Ḥasan, appointed Isḥāq b. Abī al-Minhāl to be *qāḍī* of Sicily, who proclaimed Al-Mahdī's name in the Friday sermon at Palermo.[2] Fāṭimid rule (909–947) of Sicily was then established religiously as well as politically. During this period most of the *wālīs* were appointed by the caliphs and maintained close ties with the Fāṭimid court in Tunisia, but they enjoyed political independence.

1. ʻAlī b. Muḥammad b. Abī al-Fawāris (909–910)

When the news arrived in Sicily that Abū ʻAbd Allāh, a leader of the Shīʻites and founder of the Fāṭimid dynasty, had occupied Tunisia, the Muslims in Sicily imprisoned the *wālī* Aḥmad b. Abī al-Ḥusayn and chose anew ʻAlī b. Muḥammad

(= I, No. 31) to be *wālī* on the tenth day of the month of Rajab of AH 296 (4 Apr. 909) [Nuwayrī]. He was confirmed by Abū ʻAbd Allāh in the same year but deposed by the first Fāṭimid caliph (*khalīfa*) Al-Mahdī ʻUbayd-Allāh (909–934) in AH 297 (20 Sep. 909–8 Sep. 910) [Nuwayrī]. He is described as Ibn Abī al-Fawāris in "Cronica di Cambridge." Nuwayrī in *BAS testo arabo*, pp. 434–435, *sana* 296, 297 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 2, p. 125, anno 296, 297); "Cronica di Cambridge" in *BAS testo arabo*, p. 168, *sana* 6417 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 1, pp. 280–281, anno 6417). No mention in Ibn ʻAdhārī, Ibn Khaldūn, Abū al-Fidāʼ and Ibn al-Athīr.

2. Al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad b. Abī Khinzīr (910–912)

Al-Ḥasan was appointed *wālī* by the caliph Al-Mahdī and arrived in Sicily on the tenth day of the month of Dhū al-ḥijja of AH 297 (20 Aug. 910) [Ibn al-Athīr]. He was deposed by the caliph in AH 299 [Nuwayrī]. According to Ibn ʻAdhārī, however, he was expelled from Sicily with ʻAlī in AH 300. Nuwayrī in *BAS testo arabo*, p. 435, *sana* 297 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 2, pp. 125, 126, anno 297); Ibn ʻAdhārī in *BAS testo arabo*, p. 364, *sana* 300 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 2, p. 23, anno 300); Ibn Khaldūn in *BAS testo arabo*, *faṣl* 8, p. 476 (*BAS versione italiana*, II, §8, p. 189); Abū al-Fidāʼ in *BAS testo arabo*, p. 406, *sana* 296 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 2, p. 88, anno 296); Ibn al-Athīr in *BAS testo arabo*, pp. 250–251, *sana* 296 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 1, p. 408, anno 296). No mention in "Cronica di Cambridge."

3. ʻAlī b. ʻUmar al-Balawī (912–913)

ʻAlī was appointed by the caliph Al-Mahdī and arrived in Sicily on the tenth day of the month of Dhū al-ḥijja of AH 299 (15 Aug. 912) [Nuwayrī] or on the last day of the same month (17 Aug. 912) [Ibn al-Athīr]. The Muslims in Sicily were not satisfied with him because he was old and weak, and they abandoned him in AH 300 (18 Aug. 912–6 Aug. 913) [Nuwayrī]. According to Ibn ʻAdhārī, however, ʻAlī was a brother of Al-Ḥasan and son of Aḥmad b. Abī Khinzīr. Nuwayrī in *BAS testo arabo*, p. 435, *sana* 297 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 2, p. 126, anno 297); Ibn ʻAdhārī in *BAS testo arabo*, p. 364, *sana* 300 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 2, p. 23, anno 300); Ibn Khaldūn in *BAS testo arabo*, *faṣl* 8, p. 476 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 2, §8, p. 189); Ibn al-Athīr in *BAS testo arabo*, p. 251, *sana* 296 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 1, p. 408, anno 296). No mention in Abū al-Fidāʼ and "Cronica di Cambridge."

4. Aḥmad b. Ziyāda Allāh b. Qurhub (913–†916)

Aḥmad was elected *wālī* by the Muslims of Sicily on 17 January of AM 6421 (27 Jan. 913) ["Cronica di Cambridge"], and confirmed by the ʻAbbāsid caliph al-Muqtadir (908–932) in AH 300 (18 Aug. 912–6 Aug. 913). He was deposed

by the Muslims in Sicily on 14 July of AM 6424 (14 Jul. 916) ["Cronica di Cambridge"], sent back to Africa in the month of Muḥarram of AH 304 (Jul. 916), and was killed in the same year (5 Jul. 916–23 Jun. 917) [Nuwayrī, Ibn ʻAdhārī]. Nuwayrī in *BAS testo arabo*, pp. 435–436, *sana* 297, 304 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 2, pp. 126–127, anno 297, 304); Ibn ʻAdhārī in *BAS testo arabo*, pp. 364, 366, *sana* 300, 304 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 2, pp. 23, 25–26, anno 300, 304); Ibn Khaldūn in *BAS testo arabo*, *faṣl* 8, pp. 476–477 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 2, §8, pp. 189, 190); Ibn al-Athīr in *BAS testo arabo*, p. 251, *sana* 300 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 1, pp. 409–410, anno 300); "Cronica di Cambridge" in *BAS testo arabo*, pp. 168–169, *sana* 6421, 6424 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 1, pp. 281–282, anno 6421, 6424). No mention in Abū al-Fidā'.

5. Abū Saʻīd Mūsā b. Aḥmad, al-Ḍayf (916–917)

Abū Saʻīd was sent to Sicily as *wālī* with a large force by the Fāṭimid caliph Al-Mahdī in AH 304 (5 Jul. 916–23 Jun. 917) [Nuwayrī]. He arrived in Palermo on 28 September of AM 6425 (28 Sep. 916) ["Cronica di Cambridge"]. He went back to Africa with his army in September of AM 6426 (Sep. 917) ["Cronica di Cambridge"]. Nuwayrī in *BAS testo arabo*, p. 436, *sana* 304 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 2, p. 127, anno 304); Ibn ʻAdhārī in *BAS testo arabo*, p. 366, *sana* 304 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 2, p. 26, anno 304); Ibn Khaldūn in *BAS testo arabo*, *faṣl* 8, p. 477 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 2, §8, pp. 190–191); Ibn al-Athīr in *BAS testo arabo*, p. 253, *sana* 300 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 1, p. 410, anno 300); "Cronica di Cambridge" in *BAS testo arabo*, p. 169, *sana* 6424, 6426 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 1, p. 282, anno 6424, 6426). No mention in Abū al-Fidā'.

6. Sālim b. Asad b. Rashīd (917–937[†940])

Sālim was appointed *wālī* in place of Abū Saʻīd Mūsā by Al-Mahdī in AH 305 (24 Jun. 917–13 Jun. 918) and was replaced with Khalīl b. Isḥāq in AH 325 (19 Nov. 936–7 Nov. 937) [Nuwayrī]. He died in AM 6448 (1 Sep. 939–31 Aug. 940) ["Cronica di Cambridge"]. Nuwayrī in *BAS testo arabo*, pp. 436–437, *sana* 304, 325 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 2, p. 127, 128–129, anno 304, 325); Ibn ʻAdhārī in *BAS testo arabo*, p. 366, *sana* 304 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 2, p. 26, anno 304); Ibn Khaldūn in *BAS testo arabo*, *faṣl* 8, p. 477 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 2, §8, p. 191); Ibn al-Athīr in *BAS testo arabo*, pp. 253, 255, *sana* 313, 325 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 1, pp. 411, 413, anno 313, 325); "Cronica di Cambridge" in *BAS testo arabo*, pp. 169, 173, *sana* 6426, 6446 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 1, p. 282, 288, anno 6426, 6646 [*sic*]). No mention in Abū al-Fidā'.

7. Abū al-ʻAbbās Khalīl b. Isḥāq b. Ward (937–941)

Abū al-ʻAbbās was appointed *walī* by the Fāṭimid caliph Al-Qā'im (934–946) in AH 325 (19 Nov. 936–7 Nov. 937). He entered Palermo on 23 October of AM 6446

(23 Oct. 937) ["Cronica di Cambridge"] and left for Africa on 11 September of AM 6450 (11 Sep. 941) ["Cronica di Cambridge"], in the month of Dhū al-hījja of AH 329 (27 Aug.–25 Sep. 941) [Nuwayrī, Ibn al-Athīr]. Nuwayrī in *BAS testo arabo*, p. 437, *sana* 325 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 2, p. 129, anno 325); Ibn ʻAdhārī in *BAS testo arabo*, pp. 368–369, *sana* 325 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 2, p. 29, anno 325); Ibn Khaldūn in *BAS testo arabo*, *faṣl* 2, p. 463, *faṣl* 8, p. 478 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 2, §2, p. 168; §8, pp. 192–193); Ibn al-Athīr in *BAS testo arabo*, pp. 255–256, *sana* 325 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 1, pp. 413–415, anno 325); "Cronica di Cambridge" in *BAS testo arabo*, pp. 172–173, *sana* 6446, 6450 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 1, pp. 287, 289, anno 6446, 6450). No mention in Abū al-Fidā'.

8. Ibn al-Kūfī (941–946?) and Abū al-Qāsim b. ʻAṭṭāf (941–948)

The *wālī* Khalīl b. Isḥāq left his two deputies (*mutawallī*), Ibn al-Kūfī and Ibn ʻAṭṭāf, in Sicily and returned to Africa on 11 Sep. of AM 6450 (11 Sep. 941) ["Cronica di Cambridge"], in the month of Dhū al-hījja of AH 329 (27 Aug.–25 Sep. 941) [Nuwayrī]. According to Nuwayrī, Muḥammad b. al-Ashʻath was the *wālī* in AH 334 (13 Aug. 945–1 Aug. 946), but Ibn ʻAṭṭāf assumed the state affairs (*istaqalla ʻAṭṭāf bi-al-amri*) until AH 336 (23 Jul. 947–10 Jul. 948). Nuwayrī in *BAS testo arabo*, p. 435, *sana* 325 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 2, p. 129, anno 325); Ibn Khaldūn in *BAS testo arabo*, *faṣl* 8, p. 479 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 2, §8, p. 193); Ibn al-Athīr in *BAS testo arabo*, p. 257, *sana* 336 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 1, p. 416, anno 336); "Cronica di Cambridge" in *BAS testo arabo*, p. 173, *sana* 6450 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 1, p. 289, anno 6450). No mention in Ibn ʻAdhārī or Abū al-Fidā'.

III. The Kalbite/Kalbid rulers (*wālī*s, *amīr*s): 948–1044

On 25 April 947 the people in Palermo rose against the Fāṭimid *wālī* Ibn ʻAṭṭāf. In order to handle this situation, the third Fāṭimid caliph al-Manṣūr (946–953) appointed Al-Ḥasan (948–953) as *wālī* and sent him to Sicily. This was the beginning of the Kalbite dynasty, which ruled the island for over ninety years (948–1044), and marks the third phase of the Islamic history of Sicily.[3] In 953 al-Ḥasan was called back to Mahdīya by the new caliph al-Muʻizz (953–975) to attend the Fāṭimid court, and his son Aḥmad was appointed *wālī* of Sicily. Aḥmad's governorship continued for more than sixteen years until he was also recalled to Africa in 969. The government of Sicily was entrusted to Al-Ḥasan's freedman Yaʻīsh. But soon disorder prevailed in Sicily, and Caliph al-Muʻizz sent Abū al-Qāsim ʻAlī b. al-Ḥasan, brother of Aḥmad, to the island as the latter's deputy. Aḥmad died a few months later and Abū al-Qāsim was confirmed as *wālī* of Sicily in 970. Thus, the Kalbite *wālī* of Sicily became hereditary and the Kalbite dynasty was established.[4]

The Kalbite dynasty was interrupted by the intervention of the Zīrid *amīr* Al-Muʻizz in Africa, who sent his son ʻAbd Allāh with his army to Sicily in 1036.

The Kalbite *wālī* Aḥmad al-Akḥal (1019–†1036) was killed during the war against the Zīrids, and the Zīrid prince ʻAbd Allāh was elected *wālī* in the same year. In 1040, however, al-Ḥaṣan al-Ṣimṣām, brother of Aḥmad al-Akḥal, defeated ʻAbd-Allāh, who fled to Africa, and became *wālī* (1040–1044). Thus the Kalbite dynasty was revived, but its authority no longer extended over the whole island. Local governors and leaders of the army gained more power and independence. Among them four powerful local rulers emerged: the *qā'id* ʻAbd Allāh b. Mankūd (or Mankūt), the independent ruler of Trapani, Marsala, Mazara, Sciacca and the western plains; the *qā'id* ʻAlī b. Niʻma, better known as Ibn al-Ḥawwās, the powerful master of Castrogiovanni, Agrigento, Castronuovo and their neighborhoods; the *qā'id* Ibn Maklātī, the ruler of Catania; and the *qā'id* Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Thumna, better known as Ibn al-Thumna, the master of Syracuse (Figure BM1.1).

In 1044 the *wālī* al-Ṣimṣām was deposed and the Kalbite dynasty came to an end. The government of Palermo was put in the hands of its nobles. Now, Ibn al-Ḥawwās became the most powerful local ruler. But the balance of power among local rulers was changed by Ibn al-Thumna, who first attacked and killed Ibn Maklātī, the ruler of Catania, and then defeated ʻAbd Allāh b. Mankūd and took all his territory in the western part of Sicily.

Thus, Ibn al-Thumna became the most powerful ruler in Sicily. His name was proclaimed in the Friday sermon in Palermo, and he was called *al-Qādir billāh*. However, a domestic conflict between Ibn al-Thumna and his wife Maymūna, Ibn al-Ḥawwās' sister, led to a conflict between himself and Ibn al-Ḥawwās. Ibn al-Thumna, defeated by Ibn al-Ḥawwās, asked for help from the Normans, offering the island in return. This enabled the Norman conquest of Sicily.[5]

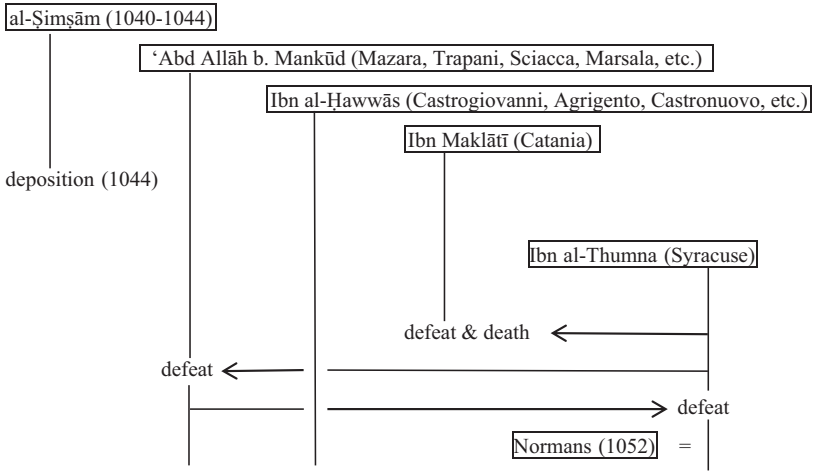

Figure BM1.1 Struggles among powerful local rulers in Sicily (ca. 1040–ca. 1060)

1. Al-Ḥasan b. ʻAlī b. Abī al-Ḥusayn al-Kalbī (948–953)

Al-Ḥasan was appointed *wālī* by the caliph al-Manṣūr, and arrived in Sicily from Africa in AH 336 (23 Jul. 947–10 Jul. 948) [Nuwayrī, Abū al-Fidāʾ] and in AM 6456 (1 Sep. 947–31 Aug. 948) ["Cronica di Cambridge"]. He was recalled to Mahdīya in AH 342 (18 May 953–6 May 954) after having spent two years and some months in Sicily [Abū al-Fidāʾ], or in AH 341 (29 May 952–17 May 953) [Ibn al-Athīr]. According to "Cronica di Cambridge" al-Ḥasan went back to Africa in AM 6469 (1 Sep. 960–31 Aug. 961), but returned to Palermo in AM 6473 (1 Sep. 964–31 Aug. 965), and died there in November of the same year (964) ["Cronica di Cambridge"] or in the month of Dhū al-Qaʻda of AH 353 (9 Nov.–8 Dec. 964) [Abū al-Fidāʾ]. Nuwayrī in *BAS testo arabo*, p. 435, *sana* 325 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 2, pp. 129–130, anno 325); Ibn Khaldūn in *BAS testo arabo*, *faṣl* 2, p. 463, *faṣl* 8, pp. 479–480 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 2, §2, p. 168; §8, pp. 193–194); Abū al-Fidāʾ in *BAS testo arabo*, pp. 407–409, *sana* 336 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 2, pp. 89, 91, anno 336); Ibn al-Athīr in *BAS testo arabo*, pp. 256–257, 262, *sana* 336, 340 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 1, pp. 415–416, 423, anno 336, 340); "Cronica di Cambridge" in *BAS testo arabo*, pp. 173–176, *sana* 6456, 6469, 6473 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 1, pp. 289, 292–293, anno 6456, 6469, 6473). No mention in Ibn ʻAdhārī.

2. Abū al-Ḥusayn Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan (954–969)

Aḥmad, son of Al-Ḥasan, was appointed *wālī* by the caliph Al-Manṣūr in AH 343 (7 May 954–26 Apr. 955), but recalled to Africa at the end of AH 358 (23 Nov. 968–13 Nov. 969) after having governed Sicily for six years and nine months [Abū al-Fidāʾ]. According to "Cronica di Cambridge" Aḥmad returned to Africa in August of AM 6471 (Aug. 963). Nuwayrī in *BAS testo arabo*, p. 435, *sana* 325, 358 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 2, p. 129–130, 135, anno 325, 358); Ibn Khaldūn in *BAS testo arabo*, *faṣl* 2, p. 464, *faṣl* 8, p. 481 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 2, §2, p. 169, §8, p. 196); Abū al-Fidāʾ in *BAS testo arabo*, pp. 407–409, *sana* 336 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 2, pp. 89–91, anno 336); Ibn al-Athīr in *BAS testo arabo*, p. 262, *sana* 340 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 1 p. 423, anno 340); "Cronica di Cambridge" in *BAS testo arabo*, pp. 175–176, *sana* 6470, 6471 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 1, pp. 292, 293, anno 6470, 6471). No mention in Ibn ʻAdhārī.

3. Yaʻīsh (969–970)

Yaʻīsh, a freedman of al-Ḥasan, was entrusted with Sicily by Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan in AH 358 (23 Nov. 968–13 Nov. 969) [Nuwayrī, Abū al-Fidāʾ] or in AH 359 (14 Nov. 969–3 Nov. 970) [Ibn al-Athīr], but soon recalled to Africa. Nuwayrī in *BAS testo arabo*, p. 442, *sana* 358 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 2, p. 135, anno 358); Ibn Khaldūn in *BAS testo arabo*, *faṣl* 8, p. 482 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 2, §8, p. 197); Abū al-Fidāʾ in *BAS testo arabo*, p. 409, *sana* 336 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 2, p. 91, anno 336); Ibn al-Athīr in *BAS testo arabo*, p. 266, *sana* 359 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 2, p. 429, anno 359). No mention in Ibn ʻAdhārī and "Cronica di Cambridge."

4. Abū al-Qāsim ʻAlī b. al-Ḥasan (970–†982)

Abū al-Qāsim, son of Al-Ḥasan and brother of Aḥmad, arrived in Sicily as deputy of Aḥmad on the 15th day of the month of Shaʻbān of AH 359 (23 Jun. 970) [Nuwayrī, Abū al-Fidā']. In the same year, Aḥmad having died, Abū al-Qāsim received a diploma from the caliph Al-Muʻizz and his promotion to *amīr* was confirmed. He died in the month of Muḥarram of AH 372 (26 Jun.–25 Jul. 982) [Nuwayrī, Abū al-Fidā']. Nuwayrī in *BAS testo arabo*, p. 442, *sana* 359 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 2, p. 136, anno 359); Ibn ʻAdhārī in *BAS testo arabo*, p. 369, *sana* 372 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 2, p. 30, anno 372); Ibn Khaldūn in *BAS testo arabo*, *faṣl* 8, p. 482 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 2, §8, p. 197); Abū al-Fidā' in *BAS testo arabo*, pp. 409–410, *sana* 336 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 2, pp. 91, 92, anno 336); Ibn al-Athīr in *BAS testo arabo*, pp. 267, 269–270, *sana* 359, 371 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 1, pp. 429, 434, anno 359, 371).

5. Jābir b. Abī al-Qāsim (982–983)

Jābir, son of Abū al-Qāsim, was elected *amīr* by the nobles of Sicily after the death of Abū al-Qāsim (Muḥarram of AH 372 [26 Jun.–25 Jul. 982]), and confirmed by the Faṭimid caliph al-ʻAzīz (975–996) in Egypt, but deposed by the caliph in AH 373 (15 Jun. 983–3 Jun. 984) [Nuwayrī, Ibn Khaldūn]. Nuwayrī in *BAS testo arabo*, p. 442, *sana* 359 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 2, p. 136, anno 359); Ibn ʻAdhārī in *BAS testo arabo*, p. 369, *sana* 372 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 2, p. 30, anno 372); Ibn Khaldūn in *BAS testo arabo*, *faṣl* 8, p. 482 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 2, §8, p. 198); Abū al-Fidā' in *BAS testo arabo*, p. 410, *sana* 336 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 2, p. 92, anno 336); Ibn al-Athīr in *BAS testo arabo*, p. 270, *sana* 371 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 1, p. 434, anno 371).

6. Jaʻfar b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. ʻAlī b. Abī al-Ḥusayn (983–†985)

Jaʻfar, a Kalbite, was appointed *amīr* by the caliph al-ʻAzīz and arrived in Sicily in AH 373 (15 Jun. 983–3 Jun. 984). He died in AH 375 (24 May 985–12 May 986, Nuwayrī, Abū al-Fidā', Ibn Khaldūn). Nuwayrī in *BAS testo arabo*, p. 442, *sana* 359 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 2, p. 136, anno 359); Ibn Khaldūn in *BAS testo arabo*, *faṣl* 8, p. 482 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 2, §8, pp. 198, 199); Abū al-Fidā' in *BAS testo arabo*, p. 410, *sana* 336 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 2, p. 93, anno 336). No mention in Ibn ʻAdhārī and Ibn al-Athīr.

7. ʻAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. ʻAlī b. Abī al-Ḥusayn (985–†989)

ʻAbd Allāh, brother of Jaʻfar, succeeded Jaʻfar as *amīr* in AH 375 (24 May 985–12 May 986), but died in the month of Ramadān of AH 379 (3 Dec. 989–1 Jan. 990) [Nuwayrī]. Nuwayrī in *BAS testo arabo*, p. 442, *sana* 359 (*BAS versione italiana*,

vol. 2, p. 136, anno 359); Ibn ʻAdhārī in *BAS testo arabo*, p. 369, *sana* 379 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 2, p. 31, anno 379); Ibn Khaldūn in *BAS testo arabo*, *faṣl* 8, p. 483 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 2, §8, p. 199); Abū al-Fidāʾ in *BAS testo arabo*, p. 410, *sana* 336 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 2, p. 93, anno 336). No mention in Ibn al-Athīr.

8. Abū al-Futūḥ Yūsuf b. ʻAbd Allāh, Thiqat al-Dawla (989–998)

Abū al-Futūḥ, son of ʻAbd Allāh, became *wālī* immediately after his father's death (Ramadān of AH 379 [3 Dec. 989–1 Jan. 990]), and was confirmed by the caliph al-ʻAzīz. He fell seriously ill and was succeeded by his son Jaʻfar in AH 388 (3 Jan.–22 Dec. 998) [Nuwayrī]. Nuwayrī in *BAS testo arabo*, p. 442, *sana* 379 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 2, p. 137, anno 379); Ibn ʻAdhārī in *BAS testo arabo*, p. 369, *sana* 379 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 2, p. 31, anno 379); Ibn Khaldūn in *BAS testo arabo*, *faṣl* 8, p. 483 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 2, §8, p. 199); Abū al-Fidāʾ in *BAS testo arabo*, pp. 410, 413, *sana* 336, 484 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 2, pp. 93, 96, anno 336, 484); Ibn al-Athīr in *BAS testo arabo*, p. 273, *sana* 484 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 1, p. 442, anno 484).

9. Jaʻfar b. Abī al-Futūḥ, Tāj al-Dawla, Sayf al-Milla (998–1019)

Jaʻfar, son of Abū al-Futūḥ, succeeded his father as *wālī* when the latter became seriously ill in AH 388 (3 Jan.–22 Dec. 998). But the Muslims in Palermo rose against him and chose Aḥmad al-Akḥal, brother of Jaʻfar, as *wālī* in place of him on the sixth day of the month of Al-Muḥarram of AH 410 (14 May 1019) [Nuwayrī]. Nuwayrī in *BAS testo arabo*, pp. 442, 444, *sana* 379, 410 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 2, pp. 137, 139, anno 379, 410); Ibn Khaldūn in *BAS testo arabo*, *faṣl* 8, p. 484, (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 2, §8, p. 199); Abū al-Fidāʾ in *BAS testo arabo*, pp. 411, 413, *sana* 336, 484 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 2, pp. 94, 97, anno 336, 484); Ibn al-Athīr in *BAS testo arabo*, p. 274, *sana* 484 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 1 pp. 442–443, anno 484). No mention in Ibn ʻAdhārī.

10. Aḥmad al-Akḥal b. Abī al-Futūḥ, Tāyīd al-Dawla (1019–†1036)

Aḥmad, son of Abū al-Futūḥ and brother of Jaʻfar, was chosen *wālī* on the sixth day of the month of Al-Muḥarram of AH 410 (14 May 1019), confirmed later by the Fāṭimid caliph al-Ḥākim. He died in AH 427 (5 Nov. 1035–24 Oct. 1036) [Nuwayrī, Abū al-Fidāʾ]. Nuwayrī in *BAS testo arabo*, p. 444, *sana* 410, 410 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 2, pp. 139, 141, anno 410, 410); Ibn Khaldūn in *BAS testo arabo*, *faṣl* 8, p. 484 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 2, §8, p. 200); Abū al-Fidāʾ in *BAS testo arabo*, pp. 411, 413, *sana* 336, 484 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 2, pp. 94, 97, anno 336, 484); Ibn al-Athīr in *BAS testo arabo*, p. 274, *sana* 484 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 1, pp. 443–444, anno 484). No mention in Ibn ʻAdhārī.

11. ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Mu‘izz b. Bādīs (1036–1040?)

‘Abd Allāh, son of the *Zīrid amīr*al-Mu‘izz b. Bādīs, arrived in Sicily with his army from Africa in AH 427 (5 Nov. 1035–24 Oct. 1036) [Nuwayrī, Abū al-Fidā’]. He returned to Africa. Nuwayrī in *BAS testo arabo*, p. 445, *sana* 410 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 2, p. 141, anno 410); Ibn Khaldūn in *BAS testo arabo*, *faṣl* 8, pp. 483–484 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 2, §8, p. 200); Abū al-Fidā’ in *BAS testo arabo*, p. 213, *sana* 484 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 2, p. 97, anno 484); Ibn al-Athīr in *BAS testo arabo*, p. 275, *sana* 484 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 1, p. 445, anno 484). No mention in Ibn ‘Adhārī.

12. Al-Ḥasan al-Ṣimṣām al-Dawla (1040?–1044)

Al-Ḥasan al-Ṣimṣām, son of Abū al-Futūḥ and brother of Ja‘far and Aḥmad, was chosen *wālī* by the Muslims of Sicily, but was expelled. Nuwayrī in *BAS testo arabo*, p. 445, *sana* 410 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 2, p. 141–142, anno 410); Ibn Khaldūn in *BAS testo arabo*, *faṣl* 8, p. 484 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 2, §8, p. 200); Abū al-Fidā’ in *BAS testo arabo*, pp. 411, 414, *sana* 336, 484 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 2, pp. 94, 98, anno 336, 484); Ibn al-Athīr in *BAS testo arabo*, p. 275, *sana* 484 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 1, p. 445, anno 484). No mention in Ibn ‘Adhārī.

Notes

Appendix I–2 is the latter part of my study on *Islamic Sicily,* which originates from an appendix (Appendix 3: Islamic Sicily) to my Ph.D. dissertation entitled *Medieval Kingdom of Mystery: The Norman Kingdom of Sicily and Its Administration* (Yale University, New Haven, Conn., 1990). The former part of *Islamic Sicily* is scheduled to appear in *Annals of Japan Association for Middle East Studies*, vol. 7 (1992), with the title of “The Aghlabid Governors in Sicily: 827–909 – Islamic Sicily I.” I should like to thank Dr. Jonathan Rotondo-McCord of Xavier University of Louisiana for his help.

1 He had been deposed by the Aghlabid *amīr* in 903. Nuwayrī in *BAS testo arabo*, p. 434, *sana* 255 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 2, p. 124, anno 255); “Cronica di Cambridge,” *BAS testo arabo*, p. 168, *sana* 6417 (*BAS versione italiana*, pp. 280–281).

2 Ibn al-Athīr, vol. 8, p. 38, or in *BAS testo arabo*, pp. 250–251, *sana* 296 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 1, p. 408, anno 296); Al-Nuwayrī in *BAS testo arabo*, pp. 434–435, *sana* 255, 296, 297 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 2, pp. 124–126, *anno* 255, 296, 297); Ibn Khaldūn in *BAS testo arabo*, *faṣl* 8, p. 476 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 2, § 8, pp. 188–189; Abū al-Fidā’ in *BAS testo arabo*, p. 406, *sana* 296 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 2, p. 88, anno 296); “Cronica di Cambridge,” *BAS testo arabo*, p. 168, *sana* 6417 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 1, pp. 280–281, anno 6417). Cf. Aziz Ahmad, *A History of Islamic Sicily* (Edinburgh, 1975), p. 25.

3 Nuwayrī in *BAS testo arabo*, p. 435, *sana* 325 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 2, pp. 129–130, anno 325); Ibn Khaldūn in *BAS testo arabo*, *faṣl* 2, p. 463, *faṣl* 8, pp. 479–480 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 2, §2, p. 168; §8, pp. 193–194); Abū al-Fidā’ in *BAS testo arabo*, pp. 407–9, *sana* 336 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 2, pp. 89, 91, anno 336); Ibn al-Athīr in *BAS testo arabo*, pp. 256–257, 262, *sana* 336, 340 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 1, pp. 415–416, 423, anno 336, 340); “Cronica di Cambridge” in *BAS testo arabo*,

pp. 173–176, *sana* 6456, 6469, 6473 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 1, pp. 289, 292–293, anno 6456, 6469, 6473).

4 Amari, *SMS*, vol. 2, pp. 276, 330–331; Ahmad, *A History of Islamic Sicily*, pp. 30–31.

5 Ibn al-Athīr, vol. 10, pp. 131–132 or in *BAS testo arabo*, p. 275, *sana* 484 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 1, p. 275, anno 484); Al-Nuwayrī in *BAS testo arabo*, pp. 444–449, *sana* 410, 440 (*BAS versione Italiana*, vol. 2, pp. 140–146, anno 410, 440); Abū al-Fidā' in *BAS testo arabo*, pp. 413–414, *sana* 484 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 2, pp. 96–99, anno 484); Ibn Khaldūn, vol. 4, pp. 207–8 or in *BAS testo arabo*, *faṣl* 8, p. 484 (*BAS versione italiana*, vol. 2, § 8, pp. 200–203); Aimé, *L'Ystoire de li Normant*, vol. 5, chap. 8; Gaufridus a Malaterra, *De rebus gestis Rogerii Calabriae et Siciliae Comitis et Roberti Guiscardi Ducis* (Bologna, 1927), vol. 2, chap. 3. Cf. Francesco Gabrieli, "Storia e cultura della Sicilia araba," *Libia*, vol. 1–4 (1953), p. 5; Umberto Rizzitano, "Ibn al-Hawwās," *EI*², vol. 3, p. 788; Umberto Rizzitano, "Ibn al-Thumna," *EI*², vol. 3, p. 956; Ahmad, *A History of Islamic Sicily*, pp. 36–37.

APPENDIX II
Medieval France

APPENDIX II–1
Kingdom and states in medieval France

Introduction

Development of telecommunication and globalization of economic activities are affecting our view of the state. The increasing movement toward the reorganization of the political frameworks has raised questions about the traditional concept of the state. We used to think that the world consisted of nation states and that each nation state had sovereignty and defined territory. It was unconsciously assumed that states had solid foundations and were not subject to major changes. This framework of nation states, which was created in nineteenth century Europe, seems to be undergoing fluctuations in the changing modern world.

I would like to introduce a new general view of medieval France, shared by many medievalists in recent times seeking for better understanding of changes in medieval France. This view on medieval France is rather conceptual, but I hope it will provide some help to the discussion of "states" in history.

I. Two traditional viewpoints on medieval France

The Middle Ages have been often investigated in comparison with the modern period, and the search for the origin of the modern state is still the most powerful motivation of many medievalists.[1] Most of them regard the state as something very solid, stable and long-lasting. According to a very traditional view, medieval France was a society completely different from our modern one. In medieval society, human relationships predominated in public institutions. Thus, a number of historians thought that state was not a proper word for polities of the Middle Ages. This idea has its roots in the nineteenth century, as Leopold Von Ranke of that time described that the world's first state appeared in the late fifteenth century Italy.[2] In another traditional view, medieval France was the origin of the modern state of France. The origin of the modern state has been always one of the most important issues for the scholars of medieval France. In fact, many historians sought the origin of the modern state in the kingship of the Middle Ages, and focused on the process of the increase of royal power. The kingship, which governed only the limited areas surrounding Paris at first in the tenth century, gradually increased its

demesnes, and finally came to control vast territory approximately correspondent to modern France. At the same time, it developed administrative organizations especially in the domains of finance and justice, and created the backbone of what would become the modern state of France. Medieval France, together with medieval England and Sicily,[3] have been regarded as the places in which the prototypes of the modern states of Europe were created.[4]

II. A new view of medieval France

These two traditional views are still vital in the historical scholarship of today. Against these traditional views, however, more and more historians of recent days came to have a different image of medieval France. Instead of presuming the unchanging feudal society contrasted with the modern one, or taking a simple expansion theory of the kingdom, they explain the Middle Ages as the process in which public authority gradually disintegrated and subsequently reintegrated.[5]

The process of disintegration was twofold. First, sometime in the late ninth century or the early tenth century, the Carolingian Empire broke up into territorial principalities. Then, in the late tenth century or the early eleventh century, territorial principalities broke up into counties or viscounties, which in turn broke up into castellanies. According to the degree of disintegration, the tenth century is called the age of territorial princes and the eleventh century that of castellans.[6] The process of reintegration was also twofold. First, at the beginning of the twelfth century, castellanies began to be unified within each principality.[7] Then, in the late twelfth century, these integrated principalities began to be unified under the kingship. According to this idea, the twelfth century was again the age of territorial princes, and the period extending throughout the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries was the age of unification of the kingdom.

Now, let us see how historians explain the change of France between the ninth and thirteenth centuries in more detail, and examine its advantages and problems.

The framework of France goes back to the kingdom of West Franks. Charlemagne's empire, which covered all Western Europe except the Iberian peninsula and South Italy, was divided into the three kingdoms of West Franks, East Franks and Italy in the ninth century. These three units are regarded as prototypes for France, Germany and Italy.

In the kingdom of West Franks, that is, in France, a new type of ruler appeared from the late ninth century. They are called "*princes territoriaux* (territorial princes)" by historians.[8] These newly created princes included the duke of Normandy and the count of Flanders in the north; the duke of Brittany in the west; the dukes of Burgundy and Aquitaine and the count of Toulouse in the south; and the duke of Franks in the area surrounding Paris. They bore the title of duke or count, and ruled vast areas independent of the kingship called "*principautés territoriales* (territorial principalities)."[9] The historical map of tenth-century France shows how the empire of Charlemagne was divided into these territorial principalities. Many scholars think that principalities were "cohesive political units ruled by the

territorial princes"[10] and made up a "regionally effective political framework."[11] The territorial princes "bore hereditary titles"[12] and "employed public authority like a king" inside their principalities.[13] They are regarded as rulers that were independent of royal authority.

Historians of recent days have attached much importance to these territorial principalities. Some say that ninth- and tenth-century France is marked not by the alteration of the royal dynasty from the Carolingians to the Capetians but by the appearance of these territorial principalities, which replaced the centralized monarchy.[14] Others state that medieval France from the end of the ninth century could be explained simply by the system of principalities.[15] Thus, the tenth century is called the age of principalities.[16] After the creation of principalities, France was caught up by the second wave of disintegration of public power in the late tenth century and the early eleventh century.[17] Principalities broke up into counties or viscounties, which in turn broke up into castellanies.[18] Some historians insist that this second stage of disintegration forms a great gap in French history because it profoundly changed the human relationship and the condition of the society.[19] Thus, the eleventh century is called the age of castellans (*châtelains*) or that of lords (*seigneurs*).[20] In this period, the castellans became independent of other authorities and the castellanies became the basic political units of France. The castellanies are the areas that castellans protected against invasions and attacks from the outside, in which they kept peace and order. The castellan had a group of warriors to protect the area, enforce his will, and impose services and taxes on its inhabitants. He was a ruler who monopolized judicial and administrative powers in this area.

In the twelfth century, however, principalities began to regain unity.[21] Some historians think that the disintegration and reintegration of public authority were made according to the order in which territorial princes came first, followed by counts, viscounts and castellans.[22] According to these scholars, feudal relationships were made based on this order, and the idea of this order remained alive in the minds of people even during the age of castellans. The revival of principalities was initiated by the duchy of Normandy and the county of Flanders. The kingship, which is also one of the territorial princes, subdued independent feudal lords and consolidated its authority inside the royal domains in the twelfth century. In the duchy of Burgundy and the counties of Anjou and Champagne, princes' authority began to be revived at the beginning of the twelfth century.

The second stage of integration of public authority was the absorption of principalities by the kingship. The kingship of France changed drastically under Philip II around 1200. Despite the title of king, his predecessors had been mere weak princes in the north. However, he took the duchy of Normandy and the county of Anjou and became a great territorial prince who governed a vast territory. Thereafter, in the thirteenth century the kingship put Auvergne, the county of Toulouse, Langue d'oc and the county of Champagne under its authority. In the latter half of the fifteenth century it unified the duchy of Burgundy and the county of Provence, and in the first half of the sixteenth century it absorbed the duchy of Brittany. Thus

the basic framework of modern France was made. Its present boundaries came to be fixed through conflicts with neighboring states over the years.

III. Examination of the new view

What is a "principality"?

Thus, historians of recent days explain the history of France between the ninth century and the thirteenth century as the process of disintegration and reintegration of public authority. The kingdom first broke up into principalities, and then the principalities broke up into counties, viscounties and castellanies. This process was reversed at the beginning of the twelfth century, when the castellanies were unified into viscounties, counties and principalities. The revived principalities were unified under the kingship.

Historians use the word "principality" to indicate the geopolitical units below the kingdom, such as duchies and counties. They think principalities made an appearance as political units in the late ninth century and tenth century, almost lost their substance in the eleventh century and revived as political units in the twelfth century. Those consolidated principalities were absorbed by the royal domain and became administrative units under the kingship. Their remains are recognized in the name of regions or administrative districts of France today.

The use of the word "principality" has three advantages. First, it made clear the fact that the political framework as state in this period was not the kingdom but lower units such as duchies and counties. The word "feudal society" is often used to imply the absence of states. However, states did exist as different units. Second, it made it possible to recognize medieval France not as a unified state under the kingship but as a mosaic of states – that is, a mosaic of principalities. These principalities were eventually unified under the kingship, but they had been independent states and kept their own laws, customs and traditions before the unification. By paying attention to these principalities, historians have been able to present an image of medieval France as a collection of various political bodies in place of a linear history centered on the kingship.

Third, the introduction of the concept of principalities made us conscious of the change of large political frameworks in medieval France, and thus we could provide a clearer explanation for the historical changes and characteristics of each period. As shown before, the tenth century was the age of territorial princes, the eleventh century the age of castellans and the twelfth century again the age of territorial princes.

Weaknesses

Despite these advantages, this new view has several weaknesses. First, historians have not yet successfully clarified the formation process of the principalities, and they have differing opinions. According to Werner, a well-known German

scholar, the princes who appeared in the tenth century derived power from those who had been entrusted the royal rights as a whole in the Carolingian subkingdoms.[23] However, upon examination of the formation process for each of the principalities, it is found that the origin of most territorial princes went back to the counts who were independent of the kingship and accumulated lands by absorbing their neighboring counties.[24] Second, scholars' opinions varied regarding the time of the creation of principalities. Historians' views are divided about the timing of the establishment of all principalities[25] except Burgundy[26] and Gascony.[27] This difference raises questions about the theory that the Carolingian kingdom broke up into principalities in the first stage of disintegration of public power. If this theory is correct, the principalities should have appeared at approximately the same time. Third, scholars' opinions varied on the time of the breakup of principalities into castellanies, and they were not limited to the period between the end of the tenth century and the beginning of the eleventh century. In the case of the duchy of Franks, which became the core of the royal domain later, it is true that princely authority was greatly weakened in the latter half of the tenth century, and many officials in charge of royal domains became independent and formed castellanies between the late tenth century and the early eleventh century.

However, the period of the breakup of other principalities extends more than a hundred years, from the early tenth century to the latter half of the eleventh century. This fact is not consistent with the theory that the second wave of disintegration occurred between the late tenth century and the early eleventh century. Furthermore, the duchy of Normandy and the county of Flanders did not break up. In fact, France was not equally divided into castellanies. Duchies, counties, viscounties and castellanies all coexisted as political units. Fourth, in response to the explanation that the principalities began to consolidate again in the twelfth century, I must say that only the royal domain, the duchy of Burgundy and the counties of Anjou and Champagne are counted among such principalities. The majority of principalities did not gain unity during this period.[28] Fifth, the understanding that the principalities were unified under the leadership of the kingship is erroneous. It is not the king but the count of Anjou who led the unification of principalities in France.[29] The count of Anjou governed the duchy of Normandy, the kingdom of England and the duchy of Aquitaine when the French king had control over just a small area surrounding Paris.

Given these points, we cannot accept the new theory as it is. Behind this new view lies a presumption that the same geopolitical framework continued from the kingdom of West Franks to nineteenth-century France. The Middle Ages is regarded as the period in which the kingdom of France temporarily entrusted its public authority to the lower political units and later regained it. Many historians are obsessed with the framework of the nation state created in the nineteenth century. Some even think of a continuation from the empire of Charlemagne to the European Union. However, in reality medieval France was home to a number of different movements.

IV. France in the tenth and twelfth centuries

There is no doubt that counts became independent rulers in the course of weakening of the kingship. Some of them were powerful enough to increase their territory and successfully gain the title of duke, while others failed to increase their power and submitted to the stronger ones. Very few principalities were kept as a cohesive unit over generations of princes. Most principalities experienced a cycle of territorial expansion and contraction. Territorial expansion in this period was mostly a temporal phenomenon. It is true that some rulers, like the duke of Normandy and the count of Flanders, successfully established lasting political units, but they are exceptional cases. The tenth and eleventh centuries in France were not the age of territorial princes or castellans. Rather, it was a period in which different types of rulers struggled to expand their territories. From the tenth century through the twelfth century, France consisted of various sizes of geopolitical frameworks, including the kingdom, duchies, counties, viscounties, castellanies and so forth. Only one of these frameworks functioned as the state in one place at any given time.

Some scholars have insisted that there was no state in medieval France. To be sure, France as a whole or the kingdom of France did not function as a state. However, if we regard a political unit that has the ultimate power of enforcement on its members as being a state, there were various states in medieval France. Those units called principalities were the states. When a principality broke up, lower geopolitical units such as counties, viscounties and castellanies became states. States could be formed beyond the boundaries of kingdoms. Such cases are the Anglo-Norman realm, that is, England and Normandy under one ruler and the so-called Angevin Empire consisting of England and the large continental lands. It is difficult to know how people at the time perceived these political units. However, we undoubtedly need these frameworks to comprehend and explain the condition of England and France in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. We use such words as "realm" and "empire," instead of "state," to indicate these political units because "state" is reserved for England and France, be it consciously or unconsciously.

We must discern states and geopolitical frameworks. Geopolitical frameworks could coexist, but there is only one state in one place at any given time. If a duchy was a geopolitical framework that had the ultimate power of enforcement on its members, like that of Normandy in the eleventh century, it was the state; counties or castellanies inside the duchy were not. However, if a duchy did not have the ultimate power of enforcement on its members, like that of Burgundy in the eleventh century, it was no longer a state, and some of the counties or castellanies were the states.

In France between the tenth and twelfth centuries, different types of states existed. The power and titles of their rulers varied, and their territories were of diverse sizes. Next to a large duchy that was in effect a state, a small castellany of 10 kilometers in diameter could exist as a state. However, in a few years, counties

or castellanies could replace a duchy as state. Several independent castellanies could be unified under a strong ruler, and a county could become a state. In this period, the political frameworks could change very rapidly. The ultimate power of enforcement on its members was moving around quickly among different geopolitical frameworks.

Conclusion

We can explain the current change of political frameworks from a similar viewpoint. For example, we may regard the collapse of the Soviet Union, as the process that the ultimate power of enforcement on its members moved from a large geopolitical unit (the Soviet Union) to smaller units (the republics). The movement toward unification of Europe is a change in the opposite direction. It is the process of the ultimate power of enforcement moving from member states to the larger unit of the European Union.

We often regard our states as modern nation states, that is, states which have predefined territory, sovereignty and members. Although there may be changes in its borders, we also tend to think that a state lasts almost forever. However, as can be seen in France between the tenth and twelfth centuries, the state is a changeable unit. It is a unit that can quickly move from one geopolitical framework to another, depending on where the ultimate power of enforcement lies. In more chaotic conditions, the ultimate power tends to lie in smaller geopolitical units. If there is a strong force for unification, a larger geopolitical unit may become the state. I would like to emphasize again the importance of geopolitical frameworks that exist inside and outside states and have the potential to act as states.

I have introduced a new view on medieval France and my own reflections on states. As I stated at the beginning, they were rather conceptual, but I think "state" is an analytical framework for better understanding and explanation of an actual society both in the past and present, when it is used without qualification. That is why comparison of states in different times and spaces always requires us to clarify what we think the state is.

Notes

Appendix II–1 is based on my Japanese article, "States and Regions in Medieval France – Changes in Frameworks of States," Noboru Karashima and Hiroshi Takayama, eds., Images of Regions (Tokyo, 1997), pp. 293–325.

1 Joseph R. Strayer, *On the Medieval Origin of Modern States* (Princeton, 1970); Françoise Autrand, *Prosopographie et genèse de l'état moderne* (Paris, 1986); Jean-Philippe Genet, ed., *L'État moderne: genèse* (Paris, 1990); Wim P. Blockmans and Jean-Philippe Genet, eds., *Visions sur le développement des états européens* (Rome, 1993); Wolfgang Reinhard, *Les élites du pouvoir et la construction de l'État en Europe* (Paris, 1996); Richard Bonney, ed., *Systèmes économiques et finances publiques* (Paris, 1996); Jean-Philippe Genet and Günther Lottes, eds., *L'État moderne et les élites, XIIIe–XVIIIe siècles* (Paris, 1996).

2 Leopold Von Ranke, *Geschichte der romanischen und germanischen Völker von 1494 bis 1514*, 2nd ed. (Leipzig, 1874), p. 18. Cf. Susan Reynolds, "The Historiography of the Medieval State," *Companion to Historiography*, ed. Michael Bentley (London, 1997), p. 117.

3 Historians have found highly specialized and bureaucratic institutions in the Norman Kingdom of Sicily, and it has been regarded as the forerunner of modern government. David C. Douglas, *The Norman Fate 1100–1154* (Berkeley, 1976), pp. 2–3, 120, 217; Albert Brackmann, "The Beginning of the National State in Medieval Germany and the Norman Monarchies," *Medieval Germany 911–1250*, trans. and ed. Geoffrey Barraclough, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1938), vol. 2, p. 289. In his book, Douglas assessed "the contribution made by the Normans to the political growth of Europe between 1100 and 1154" and underlined the effects of the Norman administration on the later development of secular government in Western Europe: "The Norman rulers everywhere, and particularly in the South, had initiated in Europe a new development in secular government" (Douglas, *The Norman Fate*, p. 120). Besides Douglas, no small number of scholars have considered comparing the administrative system of Norman Sicily with that in England, which is also regarded as the most advanced in Western Europe, in order to find the common Norman influence or to look for other important factors causing them. For example, Charles H. Haskins, "England and Sicily in the Twelfth Century," *English Historical Review*, vol. 26 (1911), pp. 433–447, 641–665; Charles H. Haskins, *The Normans in European History* (Boston, 1915); Charles H. Haskins, *Norman Institutions* (Cambridge, MA, 1925), pp. 23–24, 61, 111–112, 232–234; Carmela Ceci, "Normanni d'Inghilterra e Normanni d'Italia," *Archivio scientifico del R. Istituto superiore di scienze economiche e commerciali di Bari*, vol. 7 (1932–33); Dione Clementi, "Notes on Norman Sicilian Surveys," *The Making of Domesday Book*, ed. Vivian H. Galbraith (Oxford, 1961), pp. 55–58; Antonio Marongiu, "I due regni normanni d'Inghilterra e d'Italia," *I normanni e la loro espansione in Europa nell'alto Medio Evo* (Settimane di studio del centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo XVI, Spoleto 1969), pp. 497–557; Sally Harvey, "Domesday Book and Its Predecessors," *English Historical Review*, vol. 86 (1971), p. 765.

For a different view on the Norman administration, see Hiroshi Takayama, "The Financial and Administrative Organization of the Norman Kingdom of Sicily," *Viator*, vol. 16 (1985), pp. 129–157; Hiroshi Takayama, *The Administration of the Norman Kingdom of Sicily* (Leiden/New York/Cologne, 1993); Hiroshi Takayama, "The Administrative Organization of the Norman Kingdom of Sicily," *Mezzogiorno – Federico II – Mezzogiorno*, ed. Cosimo D. Fonseca, 2 vols. (Rome, 2000), vol. 1, pp. 61–78.

4 Reynolds, "The Historiography of the Medieval State," p. 117; Heinrich Mitteis, *Deutsche Rechtsgeschichte, ein Studienbuch, neubearbeitet von Heinz Lieberich* (15. ergänzte Auflage, Munich, 1978), p. 186. See also Brackmann, "The Beginnings of the National State," pp. 290–292.

5 For example, Jean-François Lemarignier, *La France* M*édiévale: institutions et société* (Paris, 1970); Karl F. Werner, "Kingdom and Principality in Twelfth-Century France," *The Medieval Nobility*, ed. Timothy Reuter (New York, 1979); Jean-Pierre Poly and Eric Bournazel, *La mutation féodale Xe–XIIe siècle* (Paris, 1980); Jean-Louis Harouel, Jean Barbey, Eric Bournazel, and Jacqueline Thibaut-Payen, *Histoire des institutions de l'époque franque à la Révolution* (Paris, 1987); Olivier Guillot, Albert Rigaudière, and Yves Sassier, *Pouvoirs et institutions dans la France médiévale*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1994); Michel Kaplan, ed., *Histoire médiévale*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1994).

6 The words "*princes territoriaux* (territorial princes)" and "*principautés territoriales* (territorial principalities)" were first used by Jan Dhondt, but are now employed by many scholars to indicate powerful rulers who appeared at the end of the ninth century in the decline of the Carolingian kingship. Dhondt began to use this French word

"*prince territorial*" based on a Latin word, "*princeps*," which had been reserved for Carolingian kings but began to be used in documents and annals to indicate powerful people in the kingdom of Franks. Jan Dhondt, *Études sur la naissance des principautés territoriales en France (IXe–Xe siècles)* (Bruges, 1948). Cf. Yves Sassier, *Hugues Capet* (Paris, 1987), p. 62.

7 Poly and Bournazel, *La mutation*, pp. 275, 348; Werner, "Kingdom and Principality," p. 251.

8 Poly and Bournazel, *La mutation*, p. 61.

9 See note 7 above.

10 Guillot et al., *Pouvoirs et institutions*, vol. 1, p. 158.

11 Dominique Barthélemy, *L'ordre seigneurial XIe–XIIe siècle* (Paris, 1990), p. 13.

12 Harouel et al., *Histoire des institutions*, p. 94.

13 Guillot et al., *Pouvoirs et institutions*, vol. 1, p. 157.

14 Dhont, *Principautés*, p. 231. Cf. Poly and Bournazel, *La mutation*, p. 64.

15 Barthélemy, *L'ordre seigneurial*, p. 13.

16 Régine Le Jan, *Histoire de la France: origines et premier essor 480–1180* (Paris, 1996), p. 146; Sassier, *Hugues Capet*, p. 61.

17 Le Jean, *Histoire*, pp. 146, 156.

18 Le Jean, *Histoire*, pp. 146, 156; Harouel et al., *Histoire des institutions*, p. 94; Werner, "Kingdom and Principality," p. 250.

19 Barthélemy, *L'ordre seigneurial*, p. 13. For recent arguments on this "massive social and institutional change towards the year 1000," the so-called feudal revolution, and related bibliography, see Thomas N. Bisson, "The 'Feudal Revolution'," *Past and Present*, vol. 142 (1994), pp. 6–42; Dominique Barthélemy, Stephen D. White, Timothy Reuter, Chris Wickham, and Thomas N. Bisson, "Debate the 'Feudal Revolution'," *Past and Present*, vol. 152 (1996), pp. 196–223, vol. 155 (1997), pp. 197–225. See also classic works: George Duby, *La société aux XIe et XIIe siècles dans la region mâconnaise* (Paris, 1953); Jean-François Lemarignier, "La dislocation du 'pagus' et le problème de 'consuetudines'," *Mélanges d'histoire du moyen âge dédié à la mémoire de Louis Halphen* (Paris, 1951), pp. 401–410.

20 Harouel et al., *Histoire des institutions*, p. 101.

21 According to Poly and Bournazel, the principalities formed in the twelfth century are completely different from those in the tenth century. They think the principalities in the twelfth century were social organizations lasting for centuries, while those in the tenth centuries were a transitional form between the breakup of Carolingian order and the feudal crisis around the year 1000. Poly and Bournazel, *La mutation*, p. 348. See also Jean Favier, *Le temps des principautés* (Paris, 1984).

22 Harouel et al., *Histoire des institutions*, p. 92; Werner, "Kingdom and Principality," p. 251.

23 Werner, "Kingdom and Principality," pp. 248–249.

24 Dhondt, *Principautés*, p. 248.

25 The county of Flanders became a principality under Baldwin the Iron-Arm (Alfred Fierro-Domenech, *Le pré carré* [Paris, 1986], p. 44) or under Baldwin II (Le Jan, *Histoire*, p. 147; Harouel et al., *Histoire des institutions*, p. 92). The duchy of Normandy became a principality under Rollo (Guillot et al., *Pouvoirs et institutions*, vol. 1, p. 159; Fierro-Domenech, *Le pré carré*, p. 44) or under Rollo and William Longsword (Le Jan, *Histoire*, p. 147; Harouel et al., *Histoire des institutions*, p. 92). The county of Champagne became a principality under Herbert II, count of Vermandois (Fierro-Domenech, *Le pré carré*, p. 44), or Theobald the Trickster, count of Bois and Chartres (Le Jan, *Histoire*, p. 152). The duchy of France became a principality under Robert the Strong, Hugh and Robert I (Fierro-Domenech, *Le pré carré*, pp. 44–45), or under Hugues, Robert and Hugh the Great (Le Jan, *Histoire*, p. 148), or under Hugh the Great (Guillot

et al., *Pouvoirs et institutions*, vol. 1, p. 162). The county of Anjou became a principality under Fulk *le Roux* (Harouel et al., *Histoire des institutions*, p. 94), or under Fulk II (Le Jan, *Histoire*, p. 152). The duchy of Aquitaine became a principality under Bernard Plantevelue (Laurent Theis, *L'héritage des Charles* [Paris, 1996], p. 154), or under William, count of Auvergne (Le Jan, *Histoire*, p. 147; Guillot et al., *Pouvoirs et institutions*, vol. 1, p. 157), or under Bernard Plantevelue and William (Harouel et al., *Histoire des institutions*, p. 92).

26 Most scholars think that the duchy of Burgundy became a principality under Richard, count of Autun. See Le Jan, *Histoire*, p. 147; Theis, *L'héritage*, p. 156; Harouel et al., *Histoire des institutions*, p. 92; Guillot et al., *Pouvoirs et institutions*, p. 156.

27 Most scholars think that the duchy of Gascony became a principality under Garcia Sanchez (Garcie Sanche), count of Fézansac. See Le Jan, *Histoire*, p. 147; Theis, *L'héritage*, pp. 153–154.

28 Some scholars think that the duchy of Normandy and the county of Flanders led the reunification of principalities. However, they had not been divided into subunits such as counties, but had simply maintained their unity. Other principalities, especially in the south, did not show any movement toward centralization.

29 This unification of principalities was not made by conquest but by inheritance and marriage. The "Angevin Empire" created by this unification drove centralization of administrative systems by suppressing feudal lords. However, it was a complex of the English kingdom and the continental principalities, and could not establish a centralized administrative system to govern the whole empire.

APPENDIX II–2
The local administrative system of France under Philip IV (1285–1314) – *baillis* and seneschals

It is well known that *baillis* and seneschals played an important role in local administration in medieval France. According to Joseph Strayer and other scholars, *baillis* and seneschals were local officials who had almost identical functions in administration, but were called *baillis* in the northern part of the kingdom and seneschals in the southern part.[1] According to Strayer,

> the key man in local administration throughout Philip's reign was the *bailli* or seneschal. He was ultimately responsible for every action in his district that touched the interests of the king – keeping the peace and defending the borders, arresting malefactors and seeing that the law courts performed their functions properly, collecting revenues and maintaining revenue-producing properties in proper condition, enforcing royal ordinances, and putting into effect the numerous mandates that ordered transfers of land, establishment of rents, compromises over jurisdiction, and enforcement of decisions of the Parlement. He was the highest judge and the final administrative authority; appeals from his decisions ran only to the Parlement or to the king and Council. The seneschals and *baillis* were capable men, as is shown by the fact that they were often promoted to positions in the central administration.[2]

In this paragraph, Strayer explains the administrative functions and duties of *bailli* and seneschal together, as if they functioned alike in administration. He even states elsewhere that "*bailli* and seneschal had almost identical functions by the era of Philip the Fourth. Officials freely moved between these two functions."[3] Similar assumptions have also been made by other scholars; one views the seneschal as "the provincial administrator in southern France, the counterpart of the northern *bailli*."[4]

Despite this general identification of the administrative functions of *baillis* and seneschals, several scholars seem to have noticed slight differences between the two.[5] Strayer himself points out different features of the two officials: (1) the seneschals had their origin in a great officer of a feudal court, while "the first *baillis* were simply working members of the administration"; (2) most of the *baillis* were of bourgeois origin, while many seneschals came from the aristocracy; (3) the

annual salary of *baillis* was 365 l.t., while that of seneschals was much higher, i.e., between 500 l.t. and 700 l.t.; and (4) the seneschal had greater military responsibilities than *baillis*, but they were not as financially expert as *baillis*.[6]

I suspect that those scholars who had recognized the differences between the two officials might have interpreted them as a mere reflection of differing social conditions in the north and the south. In their general descriptions of local administration, they dismissed such differences as factors unimportant for an understanding of local administrative systems in medieval France.

Consequently, previous scholars proposed an overly simplified model of the French local administrative systems (see Figure BM2.1). In this model only *prévôts* are mentioned as subordinate officials of the *baillis* and seneschals; François Olivier-Martin insisted that the basic structure of the royal administration, which lasted until the end of the *ancien régime*, was composed of a large group of middle-rank officials called *prévôts*, with *baillis* or seneschals as their supervisors.[7] In a few cases viscounts in Normandy were described as officials equivalent to *prévôts*, and *viguiers* or *bayles* are referred to as lower officials in other areas.

This article calls this overly general interpretation into question. I believe that *baillis* and seneschals should be treated differently, and they should not be considered as the same officials during the reign of Philip IV. This is not simply because I have confirmed the differences in origin and annual salary of *baillis* and seneschals, but also because the different titles of *bailli* and seneschal clearly reflect different ways of royal governance. I will describe the local administrative system of Philip IV in the following order: (1) administration in *bailliages* where *baillis* were assigned; (2) administration in *sénéchaussées* where seneschals were assigned; and (3) differences in royal governance between *bailliages* and *sénéchaussées*.[8]

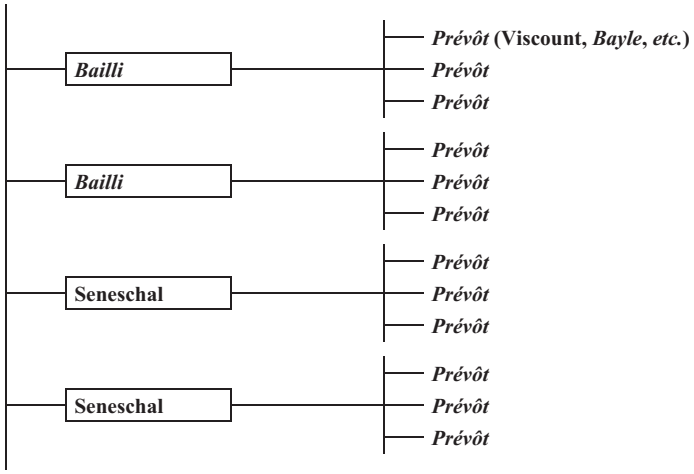

Figure BM2.1 Simplified diagram of the local administrative system of medieval France

I. *Bailliages* in the northern part of the kingdom

Figure BM2.2 shows all the thirty-seven *bailliages* and *sénéchaussées* under Philip IV, including the *prévôté* of Paris and excluding the *gouvernement* of

Old royal demesne, *etc*.			
1	**	**P Paris**	**1196–**
2	**	**B Sens**	**1202–**
3	**	**B Orléans**	**1198–**
4	**	**B Senlis**	**1202–**
5	**	**B Amiens**	**1197–**
6	**	**B Bourges**	**1199–**
7	**	**B Touraine**	**1213–**
8	**	**B Vermandois**	**1236–**
9	**	**B Mâcon**	**1236–**
10	**	**B Auvergne**	**1277–**
Normandy			
11	**	**B Rouen**	**1204–**
12	**	**B Caux**	**1204–**
13	**	**B Gisors**	**1186–**
14	**	**B Verneuil**	**1205–**
15	**	**B Caen**	**1205–**
16	**	**B Cotentin**	**1207–**
Champagne			
17	**	**B Troyes**	**1284–**
18	**	**B Meaux**	**1284–**
19	**	**B Vitry (Vitri)**	**1284–**
20	**	**B Chaumont**	**1285–**
21	**	**S Poitou/Poitou-Limousin**	**1275–**
22	**	**S Saintonge**	**1280–**
23	**	**S Périgord-Quercy**	**1233–**
24	**	**S Rouergue**	**1273–**
25	**	**S Beaucaire-Nîmes**	**1226–**
26	**	**S Carcassonne-Béziers**	**1226–**
27	**	**S Toulouse-Albi**	**1271–**
28	**	**G Navarre**	**1275–**
29	*	**B Crécy**	**1293–**
30	*	**B Franche-Comté**	**1296–**
31	*	**B Lille**	**1304–**
32	*	**B Tournai**	**1314–**
33	*	**B Arras (Artois)**	**1313–1318**
34	*	**B Limousin**	**1307–1315**
35	*	**S Agenais**	**1294–**
36	*	**S Gascogne; G Gascogne**	**1294–1298; 1302–**
37	*	**S Bigorre**	**1296–1314**
38	*	**S Lyons**	**1313–**

Figure BM2.2 List of *bailliages* and *sénéchaussées* under Philip IV
Source: Léopold Delisle, "Chronologie des baillis et des sénéchaux royaux depuis les origines jusqu'à l'avènement de Phillipe de Valois," *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*, ed. Martin Bouquet et al., 24 vols. (Paris, 1738–1904), vol. 24 (1904), pp. *15–270*.

Navarre. Out of the thirty-seven, ten *bailliages* and *sénéchaussées* were established in the reign of Philip IV. I will exclude these newly created ones from this analysis because we have far less information about them than about the others.[9]

As shown in Figure BM2.3, the *bailliages* and *sénéchaussées* are divided by a line across the kingdom from northwest to southeast. *Bailliages* covered the northeastern part while *sénéchaussées* characterize the southwestern part of the kingdom. The *bailliages* in the northeast include (1) the six *bailliages* of Rouen, Caen, Caux, Cotentin, Gisors and Verneuil in Normandy; (2) one *prévôté* of Paris and the eight *bailliages* of Senlis, Vermandois, Amiens, Sens, Orléans, Bourges, Touraine and Mâcon in the old royal demesnes (Île de France); (3) the four *bailliages* of Troyes, Meaux, Vitry and Chaumont in Champagne; and (4) the *bailliage* of Auvergne.

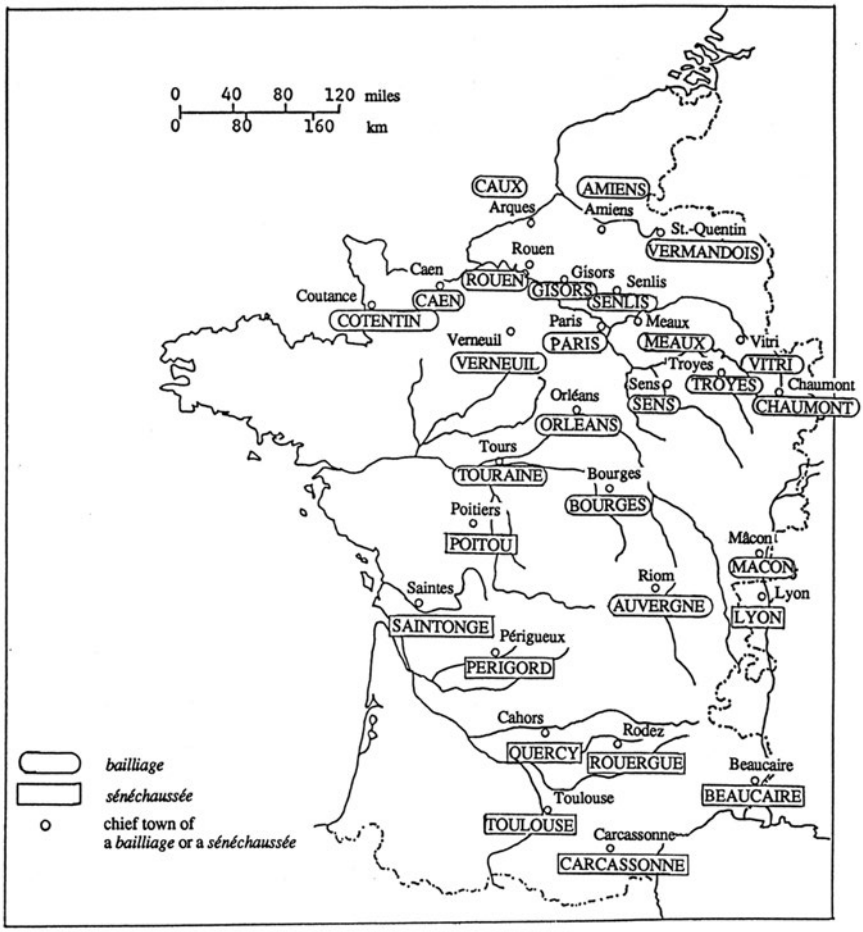

Figure BM2.3 *Bailliages* and *sénéchaussées* under Philip IV (map)

I classify the *bailliages* into two groups: The first group consists of the *bailliages* in which viscounts worked as subordinate officials of the *baillis*, and the second group is made up of the *bailliages* in which *prévôts* worked under the supervision of the *baillis*.

A. Viscounts and baillis *in Normandy*

As shown in Figure BM2.4, Normandy consisted of *bailliages*. However, these *bailliages* were different from the other *bailliages* in one regard; in Normandy *baillis* had viscounts as their subordinate officials, while in other places they had *prévôts* as their subordinates.[10]

In Normandy there were six *bailliages*, each of which was controlled by one *bailli*, except those of Gisors and Verneuil. The two *bailliages* of Gisors and Verneuil were supervised together by one *bailli* whose title was "*bailli* of Gisors and Verneuil (*baillivus Gisorti et Vernolii*)." In the middle of the reign of Philip IV, however, this dual title was replaced by the simple "*bailli* of Gisors," which implies that the *bailliage* of Verneuil was finally absorbed by that of Gisors.[11]

The *baillis* had two major functions: financial and judicial. First, they were responsible for collecting royal revenues in their own *bailliages*.[12] Even though their subordinate officials collected royal revenues, the *baillis* had the ultimate responsibility. They sent the monies collected to the treasury in Paris and their accounts to the *curia*. The accounts were to be examined and approved when a special meeting, called *curia in compotis*, was held at the end of each accounting term.[13]

The *baillis* exercised justice as well. They held assizes. According to the Ordinance of 1303, assizes were supposed to be held six times a year within a *bailliage*,[14] but I have not found sources verifying that this rule was actually followed. I have only confirmed that at least three assizes (May, September and December) were held in the *bailliage* of Caen in 1312.[15] A considerable number of cases which were difficult to handle in assizes went to the Exchequer of Normandy, which was held by the members of the Parlement of Paris and which the *baillis* of Normandy attended.[16]

Each of the Norman *bailliages*, except those of Gisors and Vernouil, was divided into smaller administrative districts called viscounties. Each viscounty was supervised by a viscount. The *bailliages* of Gisors and Vernouil were exceptionally divided into viscounties or *prévotés*, a type of administrative district found in the old royal demesnes. Each of the *prévotés* was controlled by one *prévot*.[17] According to Strayer, the viscounts were, like *baillis*, salaried officials who had financial and judicial duties. They were responsible for collecting royal revenues in their viscounties.[18] The annual revenues of a large viscounty amounted to around 10,000 l.t., which was as much as the income of a small *bailliage*.[19]

The viscounts' judicial duties were to hold court and handle preliminary acts for the higher courts.[20] They also acted as executive agents in carrying out the orders of the highest court.[21] The viscounts had little to do with military affairs.

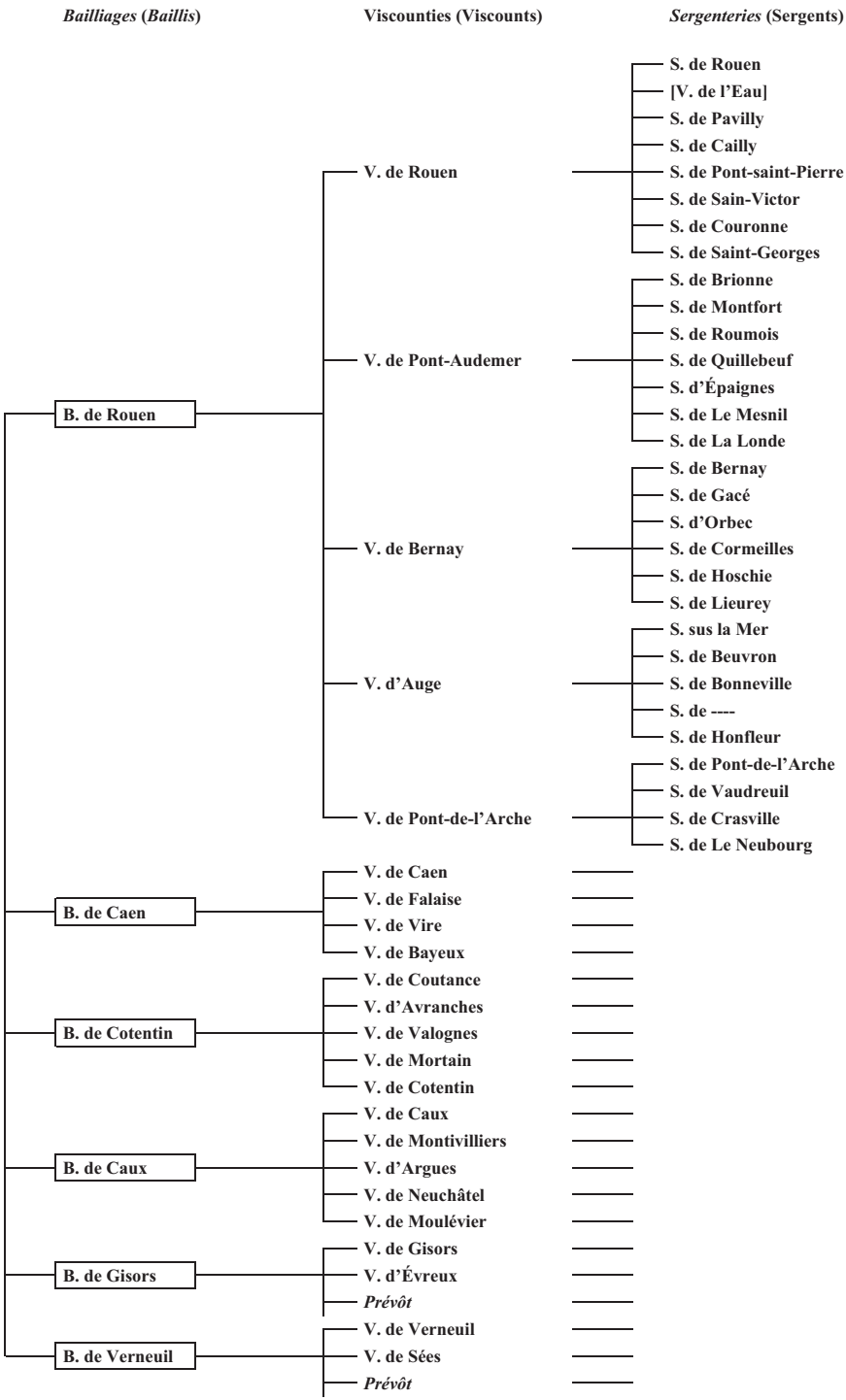

Figure BM2.4 Administrative districts in Normandy

They were not keepers of castles or commanders of troops. Instead, they were required to have skill and knowledge about accounting, administrative procedure, and Norman law in order to fulfill their financial and judicial duties. They seem to have attended the Exchequer regularly in order to acquire such expertise.[22] Therefore, it is natural that a large proportion of the viscounts were of bourgeois origin and came from Normandy. Strayer has confirmed that six viscounts were almost certainly from a bourgeois background and only five were knights, and has found that twelve were recruited from Normandy and seven from the old royal demesne.[23]

According to Strayer, the viscounts formed a surprisingly homogeneous group. They were all experts in accounting, Norman law and administrative procedures. Their duties did not differ according to region. Their salaries did not vary widely, as the range was from 60 to 100 l.t. per year.[24] This homogeneity probably made it possible for them to be transferred frequently to other *bailliages* within Normandy.[25]

Although they formed a homogeneous group in terms of duties and salaries, the viscounts certainly were awarded promotions. They were usually transferred to more important viscounties, and received higher salaries. For example, Geoffroi d'Anisy moved from the viscounty of Mortain to the more important viscounty of Caen.[26] Guillaume au Cros moved from the viscounty of Neuchâtel to that of Falaise, and his annual salary increased from 60 l.t. to 100 l.t.[27]

Some viscounts moving from one viscounty to another completed their careers as viscounts.[28] However, a fairly high number of viscounts became *baillis*. As shown in Figure BM2.5, nine viscounts out of forty became *baillis*.[29] This high rate of promotion from viscount to *bailli* should be emphasized, because it suggests that these two types of officials shared common skills and knowledge, and that the body of viscounts was the large pool from which new *baillis* were recruited.

The viscounties in the *bailliages* of Rouen and Caen were further divided into smaller administrative units called *sergenteries*, which were controlled by *sergents*. The *sergents* were responsible for keeping order within their own *sergenteries*.[30]

B. Prévots *and* baillis *in the old royal demesnes, Champagne and Auvergne*

As shown in Figure BM2.6, the old royal demesnes, Champagne and Auvergne, were also divided into *bailliages* controlled by *baillis*, but the main subordinate officials of the *baillis* were *prévôts*; this differentiates these areas from Normandy.[31]

The old demesne consisted of the *prévôté* of Paris, which was not a *bailliage* but was treated as one, and the eight *bailliages* of northern and central France: Senlis, Vermandois, Amiens, Sens, Orléans, Bourges, Tours and Mâcon. These *bailliages* were divided into smaller administrative units called *prévôtés*. The size of the *prévôtés* and the degree of royal rights in them varied significantly. As Strayer explains, "a *prévôté* could be anything from a mere accounting unit to a

1. Chretien le Chambellan		
1269	**Vis Caen**	Delisle, *RHF*, vol. 24, p. *149.
1274–1286	**B Cotentin**	Delisle, *RHF*, vol. 24, p. *140.
1288–1289	**B Caen**	Delisle, *RHF*, vol. 24, pp. *149–*151.
2. Raymond Passemer		
1294–1301	**Vis Pont-Audemar**	Delisle, *RHF*, vol. 24, p. *153 (1294); *Journaux*, nos. 2887 (1299, 6/26), 2888, 3466, 3961, 4352, 4633, 5372, 5759 (1301, 12/19).
1303	**B Cotentin**	Delisle, *RHF*, vol. 24, p. *153.
3. Geoffroi Avice		
1298–1305	**Vis Rouen**	*Inventaire*, p. 151, no. 1190 (1298); *Journaux*, no. 2811 (1299), *Journaux*, nos. 3276, 3466, 4633, 5372, 5776, 5777, 5780 (1301), *Comptes*, vol. 1, no. 6538 (1305).
1305–1307	**B Cotentin**	Delisle, *RHF*, vol. 24, p. *153.
4. Pierre de Bailleus		
1283	**Vis Valognes**	Delisle, *RHF*, vol. 24, p. *151.
1285–1286	**B Gisors**	Delisle, *RHF*, vol. 24, p. *121.
1287–1289	**B Cotentin**	Delisle, *RHF*, vol. 24, p. *151.
1290–1292	**B Caen**	Delisle, *RHF*, vol. 24, p. *140.
1296–1306	**S Saintonge**	Delisle, *RHF*, vol. 24, pp. *193–*194.
5. Jean de Verreto		
1298	**Vis Argues**	*Journaux*, no. 749 (1298 6/27); Delisle, *RHF*, vol. 24, p. *141.
1303–1312	**B Caen**	Delisle, *RHF*, vol. 24, p. *141.
6. Henri de Rie		
1285–1299	**Vis Caen**	*RHF*, vol. 24, Preuve, no. 208 (1285); *RHF*, vol. 23, p. 374 d.
1303–1304	**B Cotentin**	Delisle, *RHF*, vol. 24, p. *153.
7. Nicolas de Villers		
1281	**Vis Auge**	Delisle, *RHF*, vol. 24, p. 152*.
1284–1290	**Vis Rouen**	Delisle, *RHF*, vol. 24, p. 152*.
1292–1295	**B Cotentin**	Delisle, *RHF*, vol. 24, p. 152*.
8. Robert Busquet		
1303	**Vis Neuchâtel**	Delisle, *RHF*, vol. 24, p. 154*.
1314–1320	**B Cotentin**	Delisle, *RHF*, vol. 24, pp. 154*–*155.
9. Geoffroi le Blond		
1313	**Vis Coutances**	Delisle, *RHF*, vol. 24, p. *155.
1322–1326	**B Cotentin**	Delisle, *RHF*, vol. 24, p. *155.
# Louis le Convers (or of Villepreux)		
	Vis Auge?	Delisle, *RHF*, vol. 24, p. *153.
1308–1312	**B Cotentin**	Delisle, *RHF*, vol. 24, p. *153.

Figure BM2.5 Promotion from viscount to *bailli*

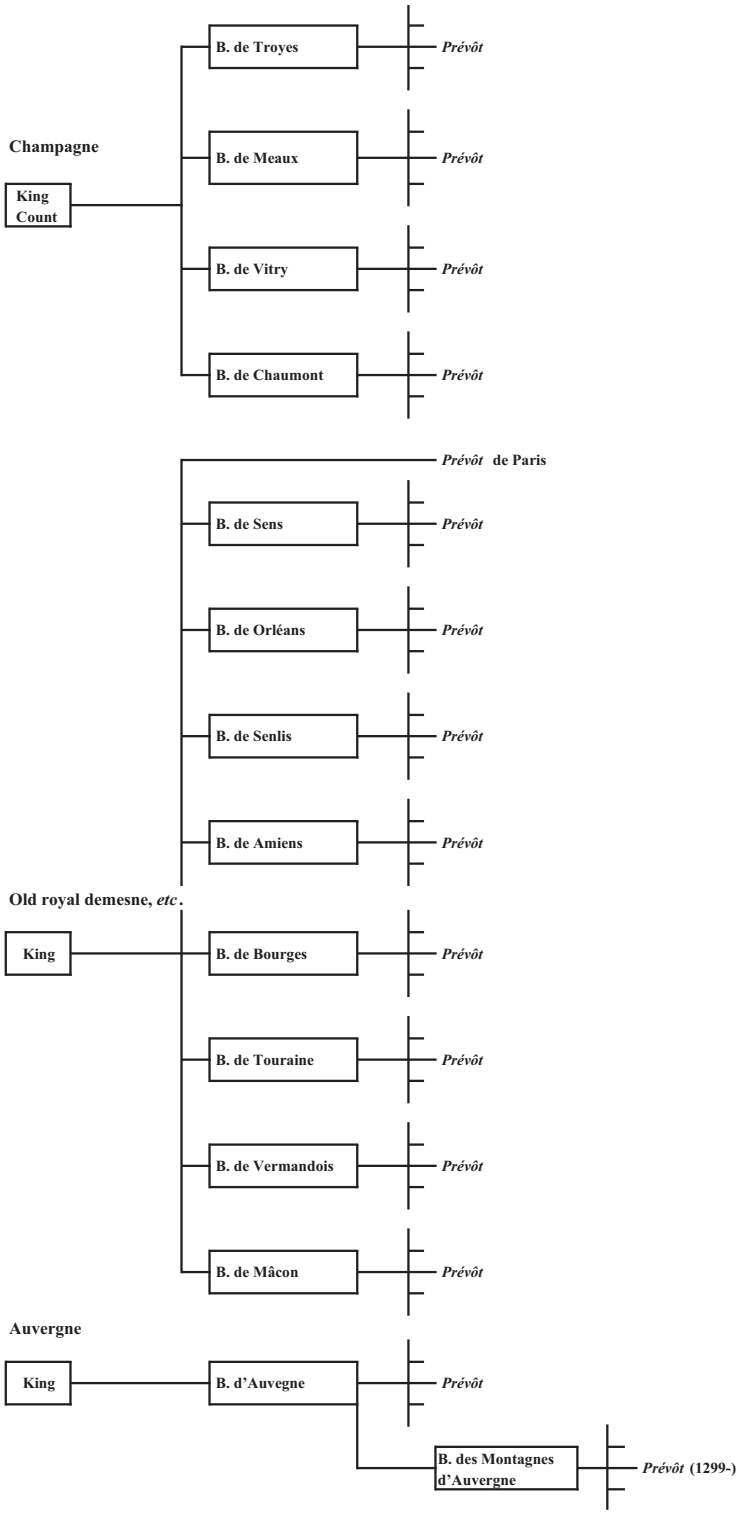

Figure BM2.6 Administrative officials in the old royal demesnes, Champagne and Auvergne

quite effective branch of local government."[32] Revenues of each *prévôté* varied as well. While the annual rents (*redditus*) of the *prévôté* of Melun were as much as 1,130 l. in 1305,[33] the whole revenues of the *prévôtés* of Grange was about 25 l., and that of the *prévôté* of Le Bourgneuf only about 14 l. in 1299.[34]

Each *prévôté* was farmed out under the supervision of *baillis*. Those who had a contract for *prévôtés* were called *prévôts*, and became the lowest royal officials. Terms of a contract were short, usually three years.[35] *Prévôts* were responsible for collecting tolls, market dues and legal fines.[36] They enjoyed police-court jurisdiction,[37] and played the role of royal agents.[38] As shown in Figure BM2.7, some *prévôts* became *baillis*, although the number of such cases is small. This suggests a similarity between *baillis* and *prévôts*.[39]

Like the old royal demesne, Champagne was divided into *bailliages*. Formally speaking, Champagne was a county separate from the royal demesne, since it was an inheritance of Queen Joan. In practice, however, it was under the king's control and governed by his officials.[40] The institution of *baillis*, which had been introduced to the county a long time before, was taken over by Philip IV. The four *bailliages* of Troyes, Meaux, Vitry and Chaumont and their subdivided units (*prévôtés*) continued to exist and came to be used as royal administrative districts.[41]

1. Guillaume Tibout		
1291	**P Montlhéry**	Delisle, *RHF*, vol. 24, p. 30*.
1291	**P Senlis**	Delisle, *RHF*, vol. 24, p. 30*.
1298–1302	**P Paris**	Delisle, *RHF*, vol. 24, pp. 30*–*31
1311–1313	**B Senlis**	Delisle, *RHF*, vol. 24, pp. 64*–*65.
2. Robert de Hueval		
1311	**P Pontoise**	*Olim*, vol. 3, p. 645.
1311–1313	**B Senlis**	Delisle, *RHF*, vol. 24, p. *65.
3. Gautier Bardin		
1261	**P Orléans**	Delisle, *RHF*, vol. 24, p. 162*.
1264–1265	**B Touraine**	Delisle, *RHF*, vol. 24, p. 162*.
1266–1267	**B Amiens**	Delisle, *RHF*, vol. 24, p. *79.
1268–1286	**B Vermandois**	Delisle, *RHF*, vol. 24, pp. *71–72*.
1292–1296	**B Vermandois**	Delisle, *RHF*, vol. 24, p. *73.
4. Dreu Pelerin		
1292	**P Orléans**	Delisle, *RHF*, vol. 24, p. 122*.
1293–1295	**B Gisors = Verneuil**	Delisle, *RHF*, vol. 24, p. 122*.
1300–1301	**B Cotentin**	Delisle, *RHF*, vol. 24, p. *153.

Figure BM2.7 Promotion from *prévôt* to *bailli*

The administration of Champagne was almost the same as that of the old royal demesne except that its judicial system had a certain autonomy based on its Grands Jours, which played a similar role as the Exchequer did in Normandy. In Champagne, cases were first sent to a court of a *prévôt*, then to a court of a *bailli* and finally to the Grands Jours of Champagne. Some cases went back and forth between the Grands Jours of Champagne and the Parlement of Paris, and at the end of the reign of Philip IV more cases tended to go from the Grands Jours of Champagne to the Parlement of Paris, but most cases still seem to have been concluded within Champagne.[42]

In the *bailliage* of Auvergne, which was located at the southern end of the area of *bailliages* and next to the region of *sénéchaussées, prévôts* were officials subordinate to *baillis*. This *bailliage*, however, had slight differences from the other *bailliages*. First, documents belonging to this period do not list Auvergne as a *bailliage*, but treat it as if it were a *sénéchaussée*. Second, in the reign of Philip IV, a large part of Auvergne was divided into *prévôtés* (*baylies* at the beginning of the reign), but its southern part consisted of small *bailliages* called "*bailliages* of the Mountains of Auvergne." Despite these deceptive names, these small *bailliages* were subdivisions within the *bailliage* of Auvergne. Their accounting reports were included in those of the *bailliage* of Auvergne, and their *baillis* were not high officials.[43]

The term of the *baillis* of Auvergne had probably been three years at the beginning, but this rule was seldom observed under the reign of Philip IV. Jean de Trie was *bailli* for eight years from 1289 until 1297, and Géraud de Parai was *bailli* for twelve years from 1298 until 1310.[44] The administrative system of the *bailliage* of Auvergne went through some changes under the reign of Philip IV. First, existing *bayles* began to be called *prévots* (as they were in other *bailliages*), and their administrative districts or *baylies* were renamed *prévôtés*. The actual function of the *prévôts* was almost identical with that of *bayles*. The office of *prévôt* was auctioned and farmed out by a contract under the supervision of the *baillis*. The administrative system seems to have become more organized by assigning one keeper of seals and one scribe to each *prévôté*. Second, the administration of the "*bailliages* of the Mountains of Auvergne" was changed. These *bailliages* remained part of the *bailliage* of Auvergne after they had fallen under royal control, but the *baillis* of the former count were replaced by those of the king. In 1299, new three *prévôtés* emerged for the first time in this area. Before 1299, there had been no such administrative districts, and *archiprêtrés* were used as lower administrative districts. Third, the number of royal officials working for *baillis* increased and administrative system seems to have become more organized.[45]

As already discussed, the *bailliages* in the old royal demesne, Champagne and Auvergne, had one common characteristic: Major subordinate officials of the *baillis* were *prévôts*. Only the *bailliages* in Normandy had different subordinate officials – viscounts – who were salaried officials, unlike *prévôts* who held their offices based on a farming contract. The *bailliages* in Normandy seem to have had a more efficient administrative system than did the other *bailliages*. The *baillis*

and their subordinate officials had few military responsibilities and mainly handled financial and judicial duties.[46]

II. *Sénéchaussées* in the southern part of the kingdom

At the beginning of the reign of Philip IV, the royal demesnes in the southern part of the kingdom consisted of seven *sénéchaussées* of Poitou, Saintonge, Périgord-Quercy, Rouergue, Toulouse, Carcassonne and Beaucaire. The formation process of these *sénéchaussées* was quite different from that of the *bailliages*. While most of the *bailliages* had been administrative districts divided by kings or territorial princes, most of the *sénéchaussées* had their origins in former political units or traditionally cohesive units. Thus, *sénéchaussées* were much larger and varied greatly in size, in contrast to *bailliages* which were relatively small and uniform.[47]

Each of the *sénéchaussées* was controlled by one seneschal, but the type of official subordinate to seneschals was significantly different in individual *sénéchaussées*. Smaller administrative divisions within the *sénéchaussées* were different as well. Around the seneschal we find officials such as *viguiers*, *bayles* and judges, in addition to *prévôts* as found in the *bailliages* of the northern part of the kingdom.

A. Viguiers (vicarii)

Viguiers were usually found among the advisors of seneschals and were frequently appointed as lieutenants when the seneschals were unable to perform their duties in person. *Viguiers* were not judges or financial officials but rather executive agents of the seneschals with military power. In peacetime "they saw that local administration ran smoothly, that orders were carried out, that the king's rights and properties were preserved, that order and peace were maintained and that their districts were defended from attack."[48] In 1302–1303, Mayalle Rebotin, *viguier* of Carcassonne, sought out malefactors and punished them.[49] In the same year, a *viguier* of Fenouillèdes sent his subordinates into Catalonia to investigate the military capabilities of the king of Aragon.[50] Also in the same year, a *viguier* of Béziers sent out several men to the coastal areas to investigate a certain Roger, who intended to invade the royal demesne with fourteen armed galleys.[51]

In wartime, the military function of the *viguiers* became very clear. They organized troops and sent supplies to the armies.[52] Ex-*viguiers* played important roles in the military occupation of Gascony. Jean l'Archevêque, ex-*viguier* of Toulouse, was a paymaster for the Gascon war.[53] Blayn Loup, another ex-*viguier* of Toulouse, was a military governor of Gascony.[54] Many of the *viguiers* had been castellans before they became *viguiers*, or were castellans while they were *viguiers*.[55]

The financial function of the *viguiers* was not so important compared with their military one. They had very limited responsibilities for collecting royal revenues,[56] except in some cases, such as that of a certain *viguier* of Toulouse who was responsible for large revenues (about 1,000 l. per year).[57] *Viguiers* generally

reported only small sums from reliefs and transfer taxes. Most *viguiers* had few judicial functions, again excepting the *viguiers* of Toulouse.

The *viguiers* were not a uniform group. Their power and influence varied widely, and so did the sizes of their districts. In the *sénéchaussée* of Toulouse, there was only one *viguier*, who retained the old strong power of the office including judicial power, but in the *sénéchaussée* of Carcassonne there were no less than seven *viguiers*, each of which had his own district called a *viguerie*, and in the *sénéchaussée* of Beaucaire there were about thirteen *viguiers*. Despite the same title, the "difference in prestige and influence between the *viguier* of Béziers and that of Cabordès, and between the *viguier* of Nîmes and that of St.-Saturnin, was tremendous."[58] Their salaries also varied widely. Blayn Loup, *viguier* of Toulouse, was paid about 200 l. per year in 1298–1299, while many *viguiers* in Beaucaire received only 20 or 30 l. per year in 1302–1303.[59]

The majority of the *viguiers* (no fewer than twenty-two) were knights.[60] Their job probably required military skills which knights were expected to have, rather than the accounting skills of the bourgeois. A large number of *viguiers* were recruited from the south and were not officials sent from Paris. At least twenty-two of them were natives of Languedoc, but only ten were northerners.[61]

Some *viguiers* kept their office for a long time.[62] Most of the *viguiers* moved from one *viguerie* to another within the limits of a single *sénéchaussée*, but they were often promoted. For example, Guillaume de Linière, who had been salaried 50 l. per year as *viguier* of Rochefort in the 1290s, received 120 l.t. per year in 1303 as *viguier* and castellan of Aigues Mortes.[63] Pierre *de Bosco* (*de Buxio*), who had been salaried 50 l.t. per year in the 1290s, was paid 146 l. 10 s.t. per year in 1303.[64]

It should be emphasized that some *viguiers* became seneschals (Figure BM2.8). At least seven *viguiers* were promoted to seneschals.[65] Promotion from *viguier* to seneschal is important, because it implies that *viguiers* and seneschals shared common knowledge and skills.

B. Bayles (baiuli)

Another kind of official around the seneschals were *bayles*, who were found in the *sénéchaussées* of Rouergue, Toulouse and Carcassonne.[66] *Bayles* undertook financial and administrative duties for administrative units called *baylies* (*baiuliae*) within *sénéchaussées* by contract. Terms of contracts were very short, usually one year.[67] They were first of all responsible for collecting revenues within *baylies*. The amount of revenue from each *baylie* could vary widely. The revenue of the *baylie* of Villemur was 450 l.t. per year in 1293–1294, while that of the *baylie* of Villeréal was only 7 l. 10 s.t.[68] In general, however, the revenues of *baylies* were small.

Bayles also carried out orders of the seneschals. In 1293–1294, Pierre Trajeti, *bayle* of Saint Gavella, made Sicard Mascaroni return to the king the land within the *baylie* of Saint Gavella which had been granted by the seneschal.[69] Pierre

1. Jean d'Arrablai		
1288–1291	**Vig Beaucaire**	Strayer, "Viscounts," p. 225 note 61; Delisle, *RHF*, vol. 24, p. *237 and note 9.
1291–1293	**S Périgord-Quercy**	Delisle, *RHF*, vol. 24, p. 214*
1295	**S Carcassone-Béziers**	Delisle, *RHF*, vol. 24, p. *255.
1296–1303	**S Beaucaire-Nîmes**	Delisle, *RHF*, vol. 24, pp. *237–238*.
1303–1313	**S Périgord-Quercy**	Delisle, *RHF*, vol. 24, pp. *215–217*.
2. Guichard de Marzi		
1287	**Vig Nîmes**	Strayer, "Viscounts," p. 225 note 61.
1294–1297	**S Périgord-Quercy**	Delisle, *RHF*, vol. 24, p. 214*.
3. Gui Cabrier (Chevrier)		
1293–1295	**Vig Beaucaire**	Strayer, "Viscounts," p. 225 note 61.
1297–1298	**S Périgord-Quercy**	Delisle, *RHF*, vol. 24, pp. 214*–*215.
1301–1303	**S Carcassonne-Béziers**	Delisle, *RHF*, vol. 24, p. 256*.
4. Blayn Loup		
1298–1299	**Vig Toulouse**	Strayer, "Viscounts," p. 225 note 62; Delisle, *RHF*, vol. 24, p. 262*.
1299	**S Agenais**	Delisle, *RHF*, vol. 24, p. 220*.
1302–1303	**S Toulouse**	Delisle, *RHF*, vol. 24, pp. 262*–*263.
5. Jean de Macherin		
1310–1312	**Vig Toulouse**	Strayer, "Viscounts," p. 225 note 63.
1313–1315	**S Lyons**	Delisle, *RHF*, vol. 24, p. 182*.
6. Pierre de Macherin		
1310–1312	**Vig Béziers**	Strayer, "Viscounts," p. 225 note 64.
1313–1315	**S Beaucaire-Nîmes**	Delisle, *RHF*, vol. 24, p. 240*.
7. Jean l'Archeveque		
N.D.	**Vig Toulouse**	Delisle, *RHF*, vol. 24, p. *261 and note 5.
1294	**S Toulouse-Albi**	Delisle, *RHF*, vol. 24, p. *261.

Figure BM2.8 Promotion from *viguier* to seneschal

Guillemi, *bayle* of Cazéres, searched for and arrested Pierre Uriol, a murderer, in 1293–1294.[70] Arnould de Rouaix, *bayle* of Verdun-sur-Garonne, carried out similar duties in the same year.[71] Some *bayles* guarded prisoners.[72]

C. Judges (judices)

The most important officials around the seneschals were legal experts called *juges* (*judices*), i.e., judges. The judges were seen in the *sénéchaussées* of Périgord-Quercy, Rouergue, Toulouse, Carcassonne and Beaucaire. They were

especially numerous in the courts of seneschals. They heard appeals from lower courts and gave judgments, but they gave legal advice to the seneschals.[73]

One of the judges in the courts of seneschals came to be called the "seneschal's judge," and, by the reign of Philip IV, "*juge-mage* (*judex maior*)," that is, "major judge." Each *sénéchaussée* had one *juge-mage*.[74] Some of the *juges-mages*, like Guillaume de Nogaret and Guillaume de Plaisians, were called to the royal court and were offered distinguished posts (far higher than that of any seneschal) by the king. The titles of other judges in the courts of seneschals varied greatly. In the *sénéchaussée* of Toulouse, we find the titles of "judge of appeals of the court (*judex curie appelationum*),"[75] "judge of criminal appeal of the *sénéchaussée* of Toulouse (*judex appelationum criminalium senescallie Tolose*),"[76] "criminal judge of the *sénéchaussée* of Toulouse (*judex criminum senescallie Tholose*),"[77] and "ordinary-judge (*judex ordinarius*)."[78] In the *sénéchaussée* of Rouergue, however, we do not find such a variety of titles. This suggests that the number and the degree of specialization of judges in the courts of seneschals differed widely in each *sénéchaussé*.

In the *sénéchaussées* there were also local judges who were responsible for their judicial districts called *jugeries*, and who presided over local courts. In the *sénéchaussées* of Beaucaire and Carcassonne, *jugeries* seem to have corresponded to *vigueries*, and each *viguerie* seems to have had one judge.[79] In the *sénéchaussée* of Toulouse, however, there was only one *viguier* while there were at least five local judges (those of Albigeois, Lauragais, Rieu combined with Rivière and Val d'Aran, Verdun-sur-Garonne and Villelongue) in addition to one judge of Toulouse.[80] The administrative districts (*baylies*) and the judicial districts (*jugeries*) were not related at all, since there were far fewer *baylies* than *jugeries*.

The salaries of local judges varied widely from district to district, but were almost equal to those of *viguiers*. In 1302–1303, local judges of Carcassonne and Béziers received 90 l.t. per year;[81] those of Albi, Limoux and Fenouillèdes 40 l.t. per year;[82] those of Beaucaire and Uzès 60 l. per year;[83] and those of Anduze and Lunel 50 l. and 30 l. per year.[84]

Judges were highly educated and experts on law. Out of the eleven *juge-mages* of Beaucaire, eight were doctors of law and one a *iurisperitus*.[85] According to Strayer, out of the 131 judges of Languedoc under Philip IV, 45 were called doctors of law and 35 *iurisperiti*.[86] These experts on law were indispensable for the seneschals' courts and local administration within the *sénéchaussées*. They were peculiar to the *sénéchaussées* and were not found in the *bailliages*.

D. Seneschals, viguiers, bayles *and judges*

Thus, the *sénéchaussées* had more complicated administrative systems than did the *bailliages*. Some of the *sénéchaussées* had three types of officials: *viguiers*, *bayles* and judges. This suggests a separation of executive, administrative and judicial functions among officials. But it should not be forgotten that not all *sénéchaussées* had these three officials. Figure BM2.9 shows that some

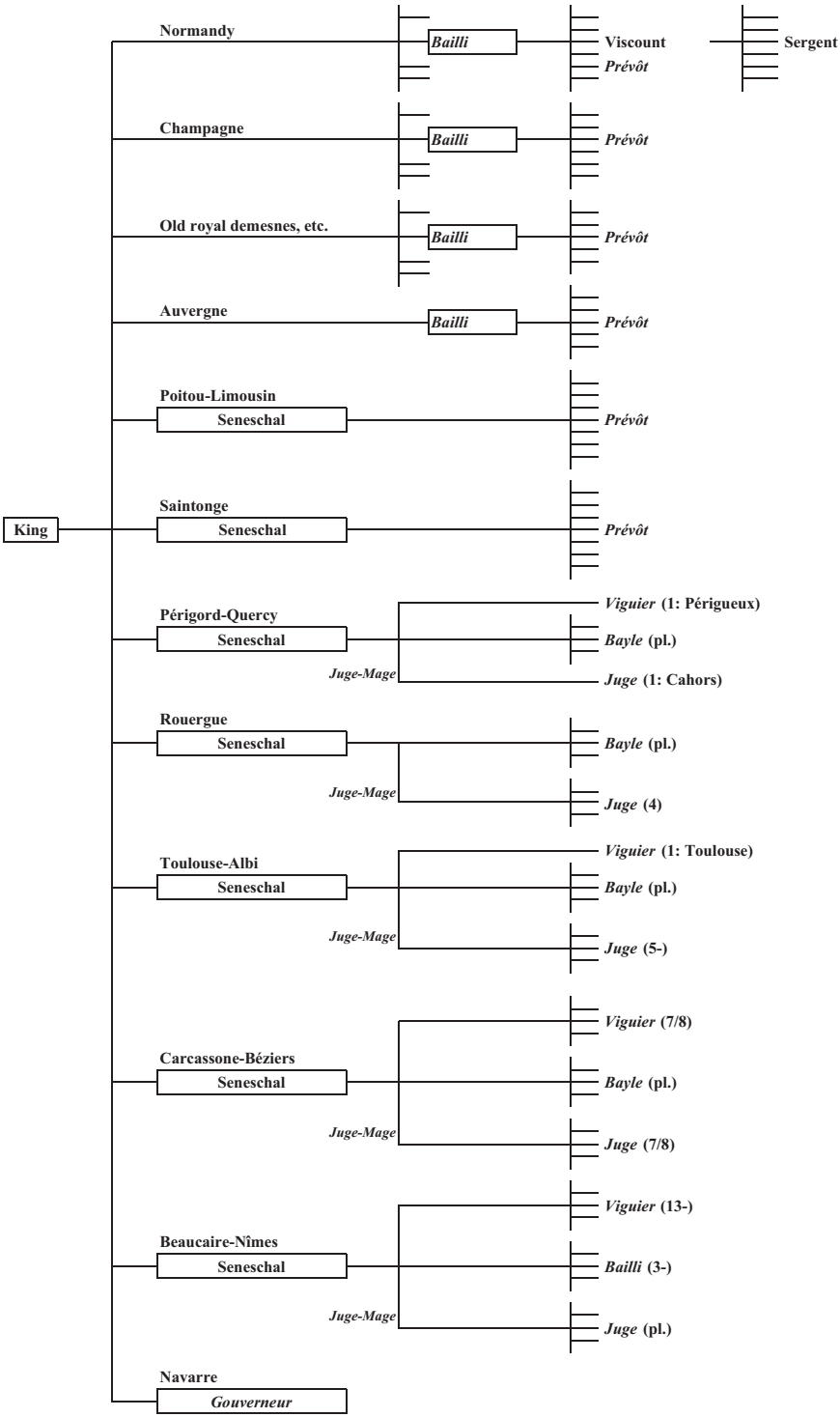

Figure BM2.9 Local administrative system of France under Philip IV

sénéchaussées had all three, but others had only *prévôts*. The two *sénéchaussées* of Poitou and Saintonge resembled the *bailliages* in that they had *prévôts*. The administrative systems of the *sénéchaussées* were very different from each other.

Each seneschal had great authority in his *sénéchaussée*, because all three types of officials were subordinate to the seneschal and obeyed his orders in almost all matters. This suggests that the seneschal himself exercised all military, judicial and financial functions. Other facts also suggest that the seneschals had great authority and power. A parliament held in the duchy of Aquitaine was dated as "in the days of the king of England and the seneschal of Périgord" (*ad dies regis Anglie et senescallie Petragoricenses*).[87] A seneschal of Carcassonne fired individuals appointed by royal letter in 1290.[88] Some seneschals, like Jean d'Arrabloy,[89] could ignore royal orders. The seneschals were, as it were, viceroys of the king who were entrusted with much of the king's power.

III. The administrative structure of the kingdom

A. Difference between the bailliages *and the* sénéchaussées

Having examined the administrative systems in both *bailliages* and *sénéchaussées*, I suggest the following conclusions. In the *bailliages* there were fairly solid and homogeneous administrative systems. The *baillis* were experts on customary laws and administrative procedures and had both financial and judicial functions. They were civil servants and did not have as much military power as did seneschals.

The *baillis*' subordinate officials, the viscounts in Normandy and the *prévôts* in other *bailliages*, helped them in these tasks. The viscounts performed duties similar to those of *baillis* and were responsible for their own districts (viscounties). They seem to have made the administration of the *bailliages* of Normandy far more rigid and far more efficient than the administration of other *bailliages*. The *prévôts* also helped *baillis*, especially in financial duties and also as royal agents. Actually, they exercised the *baillis*' financial powers themselves, in return for a fixed fee paid to the *baillis*. The *prévôts*, however, did not have as much administrative training as the viscounts.

In the *sénéchaussées* there were completely different administrative systems. The seneschals were not civil servants as were the *baillis*, but had great authority as viceroys of the king. Their subordinate officials shared executive, administrative and judicial functions derived from the authority of the seneschals. The specialization of the subordinate officials in some *sénéchaussées* was remarkable, but we should not forget that degrees of specialization varied widely from one *sénéchaussée* to the next. The financial administration of the *sénéchaussées* does not seem to have been as rigid or efficient as that of the *bailliages*. In the *sénéchaussées* the king's concern was focused more on peacekeeping and defense.

B. Functions of baillis *and seneschals*

If we consider the location of *bailliages* and *sénéchaussées*, we can easily understand the different administrations in the two areas. *Sénéchaussées* were situated in the southern part of the kingdom. This area lacked political stability and consisted of newly acquired lands. It bordered on the duchy of Aquitaine, held by the king of England, and was troubled by boundary conflicts. As shown in Figure BM2.10, the kings of both France and England claimed rights of possession over a large part of this area.[90]

Moreover, the region of *sénéchaussées* bordered on the kingdom of Aragon and was exposed to the danger of invasion. Its great distance from Paris and its different customs weakened the king's authority. There was always a possibility of revolt against the king. Therefore, the main duty of the officials there was to keep order and peace. It is natural that the seneschals had strong authority as viceroys of the king and that they held military power. It is also natural that *viguiers* with military power were assigned smaller districts to keep peace and order.

In contrast, the area of *bailliages* in the northern part of the kingdom was politically stable. Most of it consisted of the older royal demesnes. The king's authority was strong enough there. He could subdue revolts and expel invasions with his own armies. This area was under the direct protection of the royal army. Therefore, the king's officials did not need to exercise military power. They were expected to concentrate on financial and judicial duties. In Normandy the old Norman system of justice and finance had not been abolished, and it had come to be used by the royal government. The *baillis* had few military functions – mainly

***Sénéchaussées* of Philip IV (1285–1314)**		***Sénéchaussées* of Edward I (1272–1307)**
1. Poitou*	–	–
2. Limousin*	x	**1. Limousin**
3. Saintonge	x	**2. Saintonge**
4. Périgord**	x	**3. Périgord***
5. Quercy**	x	**4. Quercy***
6. Rouergue	x	**5. Rouergue***
7. Agenais (1294–)	x	**6. Agenais* (1279–)**
8. Bigorre (1296–1314)	x	**7. Bigorre**
9. Toulouse-Albi	–	–
10. Carcassonne-Béziers	–	–
11. Beaucaire-Nîmes	–	–
12. Lyons (1313–)	–	–
13. Gascogne (1294–)	–	–
–	–	**8. Landes**
–	–	**9. L'Île d'Oléron (1289)**

Figure BM2.10 Sénéchaussées of the French and English kings

financial and judicial functions instead – and were experts on law and administrative procedures.

Thus in the *bailliages* the king could control subjects and lands directly with his bureaucratic officials by his strong authority and military power, but in the *sénéchaussées* he was obliged to control people and lands indirectly, through seneschals, to whom he entrusted great powers, including military ones.

Conclusion

The administrative differences between the *bailliages* and *sénéchaussées* are not small variations in a basically homogeneous administrative system. The degree of royal control marked the essential difference between the *bailliages* and *sénéchaussées*. The *bailliages* in the northern part of the kingdom were under the direct control of the king. They were protected by the king's army, and therefore their officials did not have to exercise strong military power, but they were expected to have specialized skills in administration, finance and justice. From an administrative point of view, *baillis* and their subordinate officials were delegated only a small portion of the king's power. In sum, "a qualitative division of royal power" was made for royal officials in the *bailliages*.[91]

On the other hand, the *sénéchaussées* in the southern part of the kingdom were outside the direct protection of the king's military power. Therefore the royal power was not divided into military and other functions such as financial and judicial ones. Instead the power was delegated as a whole to the seneschals. We may call this "a quantitative division of royal power."[92] A seneschal was a governor who was entrusted with complete control of his district. Therefore, in the reign of Philip IV the royal demesnes were not governed by a single administrative system. There was no homogeneous administrative system such as that associated with modern nation states.

I should like to emphasize that this difference of administration in the *bailliages* and *sénéchaussées* did not derive from differences in legal traditions or languages in the northern and southern parts of France.[93] Since the line between *bailliages* and *sénéchaussées* did not exactly correspond to regional variations in legal traditions or in language, we cannot assume that the differences between *bailli* and seneschal were caused by variations in law[94] and language.[95] The differences between them reflect different ways of royal governance. This two-layered system might appear complicated and unique at first glance, but further examination easily leads us to the conclusion that this type of administrative system could exist at any time during the formation process of a large territorial power. I suspect that this two-layered system was quite common in medieval Europe, where so many territorial princes successively tried to subject neighboring princes and enlarge their demesnes.

It is certain that both *baillis* and *seneschals* were key men in the king's local administration, but we should not regard them as the same kind of official. If we do so, we will fail to notice key differences in royal governance in the *bailliages* and the *sénéchaussées* of medieval France.

Notes

Appendix II–2 is a revised version of my Japanese article published in *Shigaku-Zasshi*, vol. 101 (1992), no. 11, pp. 1–38. Its substance was presented at the 1994 meeting of the Medieval Association of the Pacific in Seattle, Washington. I should like to thank Professor Jonathan Rotondo-McCord (Xavier University of Louisiana) for his comments and help in revising this chapter.

1 Jean Favier, *Philippe le Bel* (Paris, 1978), p. 79; Jean F. Lemarignier, *La France médiévale, institutions et sociétés* (Paris, 1970), p. 340; James W. Fesler, "French Field Administration: The Beginnings," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, vol. 5 (1962–1963), pp. 82–83; Robert Fawtier, *The Capetian Kings of France, Monarchy and Nation 987–1328*, trans. Lionel Butler and Robin J. Adam (London, 1960), pp. 178–179, 189–190; François Olivier-Martin, *Histoire du droit français des origines à la Révolution*, 2e tirage (Paris, 1975), pp. 232–233.

2 Joseph R. Strayer, *The Reign of Philip the Fair* (Princeton, 1980), p. 111.

3 Strayer, *The Reign*, p. 112. In fact, however, there were not many individuals who held the offices of both *bailli* and seneschal under Philip IV. Through an examination of the careers of the *baillis* and seneschals of Philip IV, I have found that out of the sixty-six individuals who had held the office of *bailli* or seneschal more than once (I have included those who held the same office in different times), forty-two (63.3%) always retained the title of *bailli*, fifteen (22.7%) that of seneschal, while only ten (15.2%) moved between the offices of *bailli* and seneschal. If we take into account the possibilities of different individuals who had identical names, the number would decrease. I have also found that out of the sixty-two seneschals who served under Philip IV, forty-four (71.0%) held the title of knight (*miles*), although only twenty-eight (14.7%) out of the 191 *baillis* did so. "Un bailli pouvait-il devenir sénéchal? Rarement, car les sénéchaux sont ordinairement chevaliers et les baillis, pour la plupart, ne sont pas nobles." (François Maillard, "Mouvements administratifs des baillis et des sénéchaux sous Philippe le Bel," *Bulletin philologique et historique (jusqu'à 1610) du Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques* [1959], p. 407).

4 William C. Jordan, "Seneschal," *Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, ed. Joseph R. Strayer, vol. 11 (1988), pp. 159–160. However, Jordan recognizes the slight difference in nature of the two officials, and states that seneschals were more militarily active than *baillis*, and tended to be recruited from more powerful nobles.

5 Some scholars have regarded these seneschals – local officials newly established by the kings – as the continuation of the old seneschals (high central officials serving territorial princes), and have paid attention to the differences between *baillis* and seneschals at earlier times, but most have thought that these differences had disappeared, and that the administrative functions of the two types of officials had come to be identical by the reign of Philip IV. See Lemarignier, *La France médiévale*, pp. 339–340; Jordan, "Seneschal," p. 160; Olivier-Martin, *Histoire du droit française*, p. 233. However, Favier (*Philippe le Bel*, pp. 80–81) recognizes differences between *baillis* and seneschals under Philip IV.

6 Strayer, *The Reign*, p. 112. I describe Paris money as l. (pounds), s. (shillings), and d. (pence), and Tours money as l.t. (pounds), s.t. (shillings), and d.t. (pence). In the fourteenth century, 1 pound in Tours money equaled 0.8 pound in Paris money. See Strayer, *The Reign*, p. xvii.

7 Olivier-Martin, *Histoire du droit française*, p. 234; Fesler, "French Field Administration," pp. 82–83, 86.

8 The most important works for this topic are Strayer, *The Reign*; Joseph R. Strayer, "Viscounts and Viguiers under Philip the Fair," *Speculum*, vol. 38 (1963), pp. 242–255, repr. in *Medieval Statecraft and the Perspective of History: Essays by Joseph*

Strayer, ed. John F. Benton and Thomas N. Bisson (Princeton, 1971), pp. 213–231 [I refer to the pages of the book]; Joseph R. Strayer, *Le gens de justice du Languedoc sous Philippe le Bel* (Toulouse, 1970); Joseph R. Strayer, *The Royal Domain in the Bailliage of Rouen* (Princeton, 1936); Joseph R. Strayer, *Administration of Normandy under St. Louis* (Cambridge, MA, 1932); Léopold Delisle, "Chronologie des baillis et des sénéchaux royaux depuis les origines jusqu'à l'avènement de Philippe de Valois," *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*, ed. Martin Bouquet, et al., 24 vols. (Paris, 1738–1904), vol. 24 (1904), pp. *15–270* [hereinafter Delisle, *RHF*, vol. 24]; Ferdinand Lot and Robert Fawtier, eds., *Histoire des institutions françaises au Moyen Age, vol. 1: Institutions seigneuriales* (Paris, 1957) [hereinafter *Institution*, vol. 1]; August Molinier, "Études sur l'administration féodale dans le Languedoc," *Histoire générale de Languedoc, avec des notes et les pièces justificatives*, ed. Claude de Vic and Jean-Joseph Vissette, 16 vols. (Toulouse, 1872–1905), vol. 7, note 46, pp. 132–213; "Études sur l'administration de Louis IX et d'Alfonse de Poitiers (1226–1271)," *Histoire générale de Languedoc, avec des notes et les pièces justificatives*, ed. Claude de Vic and Jean-Joseph Vissette, 16 vols. (Toulouse, 1872–1905), vol. 7, note 59, pp. 462–570; Elizabeth Hallam, *Capetian France 987–1328* (London/New York, 1980); Charles Petit-Dutaillis, *La monarchie féodale en France et en Angleterre* (Paris, 1933; English translation, *The Feudal Monarchy in France and England* [London, 1936]); Gustave Dupont-Ferrier, *Les officiers royaux des bailliages et des sénéchaussées* (Paris, 1902); Kōichi Kabayama, *Pari to Abinyon (Paris and Avignon)* (Tokyo, 1990).

9 Strayer (*The Reign*, pp. 100–101) lists as the *bailliages* under Philip IV Paris, Senlis, Vermandois, Amiens, Sens, Orléans, Bourges, Tours, Mâcon and Lille in the old royal demesnes; Rouen, Caux, Caen, Cotentin and Gisors-Verneuil in Normandy; and Troyes-Meaux, Vitry and Chaumont in Champagne; and as the *sénéchaussées* Poitou, Saintonge, Auvergne, Périgord-Quercy, Rouergue, Toulouse, Carcassonne, Beaucaire and Lyons. Favier (*Philippe le Bel*, p. 79) has the same list as Strayer for the *bailliages* under Philip IV, although he mentions Gisors instead of Gisors-Verneuil and Troyes instead of Troyes-Meaux. For the *sénéchaussées*, he adds Montagne (Haute-Auvergne) and Angoulême to Strayer's list, and he mentions Toulouse-Albi instead of Toulouse.

10 *Prévôts* were also working in Normandy, however. In the *bailliages* of Gisors and Verneuil – the regions first conquered by Philip II – there were *prévôtés* similar to those in the old royal demesnes, which seem to have functioned as important administrative units. In other areas, there were small *prévôtés*, which were not so important in terms of administration. See *Comptes royaux 1285–1314*, ed. Robert Fawtier and François Maillard, 3 vols. (Paris, 1930), vol. 1, pp. 343–347, 353–355, 357–359; Strayer, *Administration*, p. 10. Concerning the *bailliages* of Normandy, there are accounts of 1292 for Caen and Verneuil (*Comptes royaux*, vol. 1, pp. 337–348), of 1296 for Rouen (vol. 2, pp. 123–126), of 1297 for Caen and Verneuil (vol. 1, pp. 349–356), of 1298 for Caux, Caen and Coutance (vol. 2, pp. 397–398, 402–403), of 1299 for Verneuil and Caux (vol. 1, pp. 357–360; vol. 2, pp. 416–418), of 1302 for Rouen and Verneuil-Gisors (vol. 2, pp. 127–149), and of 1303 for Caen (vol. 2, pp. 435–462).

11 Delisle, *RHF*, vol. 24, pp. 116*–130*.

12 *Ordonnances des roys de France de la troisième race . . .*, ed. Eusèbe-Jacob de Laurière, et al., 22 vols. (Paris, 1723–1849), vol. 1, p. 464; Strayer, *The Reign*, p. 114.

13 Strayer, *The Reign*, p. 144.

14 *Ordonnances*, vol. 1, p. 362, art. 26. Cf. Strayer, *The Reign*, p. 123.

15 Delisle, *RHF*, vol. 24, p. 142*. Strayer (*The Reign*, p. 123) states that four assizes were held within the *bailliage* of Caen in February, May, September and December of 1312, but I could not find evidence for the assize of February. The royal ordinance of 1190 seems to suggest that Philip II wanted assizes to be held every month, and

the ordinance of 1302 by Philip IV demanded that assizes should be held every two months. Philippe de Beaumanoir, in the late thirteenth century, recommended that *baillis* should hold assizes at least every six or seven weeks, and Boutiller in the fourteenth century stated that *baillis* were supposed to hold assizes every three months according to the royal ordinance, but that this was not a good custom. See Henri Waquet, *Le Bailliage de Vermandois aux XIIIe et XIVe siècle. Études d'histoire administrative* (Paris, 1919), pp. 48–49.

16 Strayer, *The Reign*, p. 139.

17 Viscounts' activities were not strictly limited within their viscounties. They had to deal with various problems in the regions neighboring their viscounties. In 1299 Geoffroi d'Anisy, viscount of Bayeux, investigated a tax collector in the *bailliage* of Touraine outside Normandy. See *Ordonnance*, p. 332.

18 In the Easter exchequer of 1301 Geoffroi d'Anisy, viscount of Bayeux, reported 5,600 l.t. as total revenues, and Jean le Hanapier reported 3,536 l. 3 d.t. (*Les journaux du Trésor de Philippe IV le Bel*, ed., Jule Viard [Paris, 1940], no. 4635; Strayer, "Viscounts," p. 215). In the St. Michael exchequer, Geoffroi Avice, viscount of Bayeux, reported 5,355 l. 6 d.t. as total revenues (*Les journaux*, no. 5372; Strayer, "Viscounts," p. 215).

19 A viscount of Rouen collected about 8,700 l.t. in 1301 (*Les journaux*, nos. 4550, 4633, 5372, 5776, 5780), and a viscount of Bayeux collected 9,800 l.t. in 1299 and 9,600 l.t. in 1301 (*Les journaux*, nos. 2548, 3468, 4635, 5374; Strayer, "Viscounts," p. 216, note 14).

20 Strayer, "Viscounts," p. 215; Strayer, *The Reign*, p. 122; Strayer, *Administration of Normandy*, p. 25.

21 Strayer, "Viscounts," p. 215.

22 Strayer, "Viscounts," pp. 215–216, 218.

23 Strayer, "Viscounts," pp. 220–221.

24 The viscount of Rouen was paid the highest salary of 100 l.t. per year, while the viscount of Avranches received the lowest of 60 l.t. per year. Strayer, *Administration of Normandy*, pp. 121–122; Strayer, "Viscounts," p. 219; Strayer, *The Reign*, p. 56.

25 Guillaume au Cros (aux Cros/as Cros) was once viscount of Neuchâtel in the *bailliage* of Caux, but in 1299 he became viscount of Falaise in the *bailliage* of Caen (*Journaux*, nos. 3467–3468; Strayer, "Viscounts," p. 219). Pierre Dalart was viscount of Orbec in the *bailliage* of Rouen in 1321, but became viscount of Carentan in the *bailliage* of Cotentin in 1317 (Strayer, "Viscounts," p. 228).

26 Delisle, *RHF*, vol. 24, p. 12* note, p. 150*.

27 *Journaux*, no. 3467; Delisle, *RHF*, vol. 24, p. 12* note, p. 150*.

28 Geoffroi d'Anisy held the office of viscount for sixteen years between 1285 (Delisle, *RHF*, vol. 24, p. 150*) and 1301 (*Journaux*, nos. 4260, 4635), and Guillaume au Cros held the office at least for eleven years between 1290 (Delisle, *RHF*, vol. 24, p. 373) and 1301 (*Journaux*, nos. 3467–3468, 4364, 5802). See Strayer, "Viscounts," p. 227. Laurent Tihart, having held the offices of *prévôt* of Belmont (*Journaux*, nos. 3222 [1299], 3815, 4285 [1300]) and of *prévôt* of Gournay (*Journaux*, no. 5373), became viscount of Auge in 1301 (*Journaux*, nos. 5372, 5396) and held the office of viscount more than ten years (Strayer, "Viscounts," p. 227).

29 Strayer, "Viscounts," p. 223.

30 Collection of revenues from the royal demesnes or royal rights and properties within the *sergenteries* seems to have been farmed out. For the *bailliage* of Rouen, see Strayer, *The Royal Domain*; for the *bailliage* of Caen, see Delisle, *RHF*, vol. 24, p. *143. Cf. *Comptes royaux*, vol. 1, pp. 337–342, 349–352; vol. 2, pp. 123–129.

31 Of the *bailliages* in the old royal demesnes, we have accounts for the following: Paris (*Comptes royaux*, vol. 1, pp. 29–40, 63–78), Senlis (*Comptes royaux*, vol. 1,

pp. 41–45, 79–85), Vermandois (*Comptes royaux*, vol. 1, pp. 46–48, 86, 94), Amiens (*Comptes royaux*, vol. 1, pp. 49–50, 95–109), Sens (*Comptes royaux*, vol. 1, pp. 51–56, 101–102), Orléans (*Comptes royaux*, vol. 1, pp. 57–60, 103–124), Bourges (*Comptes royaux*, vol. 1, pp. 61–62, 125–131), Tours (*Comptes royaux*, vol. 1, pp. 132–147) in 1299; Paris (*Comptes royaux*, vol. 1, pp. 169–183), Senlis (*Comptes royaux*, vol. 1, pp. 184–189, 220–236), Vermandois (*Comptes royaux*, vol. 1, pp. 190–191, 237–243), Amiens (*Comptes royaux*, vol. 1, pp. 192–193, 244–252), Sens (*Comptes royaux*, vol. 1, pp. 194–200, 253–264), Orléans (*Comptes royaux*, vol. 1, pp. 201–205, 265–280), Mâcon (*Comptes royaux*, vol. 1, pp. 289–291), Bourges (*Comptes royaux*, vol. 1, pp. 206, 292–299), Tours (*Comptes royaux*, vol. 1, pp. 300–314) in 1305; report of debts in the *bailliage* of Sens in 1308 (*Comptes royaux*, vol. 2, pp. 109–111); report of the *prévôts* of Orléans in 1295; accounts of 1295, 1296 and 1297 for the *bailliage* of Touraine (*Comptes royaux*, vol. 2, pp. 315–340); report of 1311 on the *bailliage* of Bourges (*Comptes royaux*, vol. 2, pp. 345–366); and report of 1300 on the *bailliage* of Mâcon (*Comptes royaux*, vol. 2, pp. 475–478).

32 Strayer, *The Reign*, p. 102. For *prévôts* and *prévôtés*, see Henri Gravier, "Essai sur les prévôts royaux du XIe au XVIe siècles," *Revue historique de droit français et étranger*, ser. 3, vol. 27 (1903), pp. 539–574, 648–672, 806–874. *Prévôts* worked in the *bailliages* in the old royal demesnes, Champagne, Auvergne and Normandy, and in the *sénéchaussées* of Poitou and Saintonge. They also worked in Anjou and Maine.

33 *Comptes royaux*, vol. 1, nos. 4111–4112.

34 *Comptes royaux*, vol. 1, nos. 1009, 1020, 1125; Strayer, *The Reign*, p. 102 and note.

35 Strayer, *The Reign*, pp. 102, 134. For the financial function of *prévôts*, see Gravier, pp. 558–574; for their judicial function, see Gravier, pp. 648–665.

36 Strayer, *The Reign*, p. 142.

37 Strayer, *The Reign*, p. 122 and note 114. *Prévôts* could try criminal cases, although they could not judge suits about noble land or rights annexed to land. See Gravier, pp. 665–672.

38 Simon de Courceaux, *prévôt* of Orléans, visited the *bailliages* of Troyes-Meaux, Vitry, Chaumont in Champagne in order to carry out a royal order (*Comptes royaux*, vol. 1, p. 153, nos. 3257–3260). A *prévôt* of St. Quentin played an important role for the royal policy in Flanders (Strayer, *The Reign*, p. 102).

39 According to Strayer (*The Reign*, p. 102), a *prévôt* of Péronne became *bailli*. For farming out of *prévôtés*, see Gravier, pp. 546–555.

40 When Henry le Gras, count of Champagne, died in 1274, his daughter Joan (Jeanne) of Navarre succeeded the kingdom of Navarre, county of Champagne, and county of Brie. Joan married Philip, son of Philip III in 1284. When Philip III died, Philip succeeded the crown of France. The counties of Champagne and Brie were Joan's inheritance and were not united with the royal demesne but were under the royal officials. When Joan died in 1305, her eldest son Louis succeeded the county and unified it with the royal demesne. Cf. Fawtier, *The Capetian Kings*, pp. 116, 127–129.

41 Jean Longnon, "La Champagne," *Institutions*, vol. 1, pp. 131–132. For Champagne, we have reports on debts in 1292 (*Comptes royaux*, vol. 2, pp. 94–104), account of the *bailliage* of Troyes-Vitry in 1302, accounts of the *bailliage* of Chaumont in 1295 (*Comptes royaux*, vol. 2, pp. 463–466), 1296 (*Comptes royaux*, vol. 2, pp. 427–431) and 1300 (*Comptes royaux*, vol. 2, pp. 419–426), and a report on the *bailliage* of Vitry in 1296 (*Comptes royaux*, vol. 2, pp. 419–426) and 1300 (*Comptes royaux*, vol. 2, p. 404). For *baillis* of Troyes, Meaux, Vitry and Chaumont, see Delisle, *RHF*, vol. 24, pp. 166*–172*.

42 Strayer, *The Reign*, p. 199.

43 For the *bailliage* of Auvergne, we have accounts of the *baillis* in 1293 (*Comptes royaux*, vol. 1, pp. 400–414), 1294 (*Comptes royaux*, vol. 1, pp. 415–425) and 1299 (*Comptes*

royaux, vol. 1, pp. 507–517). Cf. Strayer, *The Reign*, pp. 103–104. For the historical changes in the administrative system of Auvergne, see André Bossuat, "L'Auvergne," *Institutions*, vol. 1, pp. 101–122.

44 For the *baillis* of Auvergne and the *baillis* of "the Mountains of Auvergne," see *Recueil des historiens*, vol. 24, pp. 204*–210*. Delisle (*RHF*, vol. 24, p. *207) has confirmed that Jean de Trie was *bailli* of Auvergne at least between 1289 and 1295. Bossuat ("L'Auvergne," p. 108) states that Jean de Trie held the office between 1289 and 1297 (Bossuat does not show the source for 1297).

45 Bossuat, "L'Auvergne," p. 109.

46 Philippe de Beaumanoir (*Coutumes de Beauvaisis*, vol. 1, pp. 16–42) left detailed accounts of the duties of *baillis*. He emphasized their financial duties by stating that a good *bailli* should be good at accounting and should increase profits from his lord's lands (*Coutumes de Beauvaisis*, vol. 1, p. 25). We find similar statements in the writing of Guillaume de Hangest, *bailli* of Chaumont, in 1289 (Fritz Kern, ed., *Acta imperii Angliae et Franciae (1267–1313)* [Tübingen, 1911], no. 62), and in the writing of Guiars de la Porte, *bailli* of Chaumont, in 1291 (Kern, ed., *Acta*, no. 68).

47 The *sénéchaussée* of Lyons was different from the other *sénéchaussées*, since it had been newly created by Philip IV. In 1310 Philip unified Lyons, which had been independent archbishopric, with the royal demesne. He took Forez out of the *bailliage* of Mâcon, Le Puy and Velay out of the *sénéchaussée* of Beaucaire, and made them together with Lyons into the *sénéchaussée* of Lyons. Cf. Strayer, *The Reign*, pp. 356–364. For these *sénéchaussées*, we have the accounts of Poitou-Limousin in 1293 (*Comptes royaux*, vol. 1, pp. 363–368) and 1294 (*Comptes royaux*, vol. 1, pp. 369–375); Saintonge in 1293 (*Comptes royaux*, vol. 1, pp. 376–383), 1294 (*Comptes royaux*, vol. 1, pp. 384–399), 1299 (*Comptes royaux*, vol. 2, pp. 412–415) and 1305–1306 (*Comptes royaux*, vol. 2, pp. 154–166); Périgord-Quercy in 1293–1294 (*Comptes royaux*, vol. 1, pp. 426–431), 1299 (*Comptes royaux*, vol. 1, pp. 518–523) and 1296–1297 (*Comptes royaux*, vol. 2, pp. 237–238); Toulouse-Albi in 1274 (*Comptes royaux*, vol. 2, pp. 112–113), 1293–1294 (*Comptes royaux*, vol. 1, pp. 432–495), 1298–1299 (*Comptes royaux*, vol. 1, pp. 524–592) and 1301 (*Comptes royaux*, vol. 2, pp. 114–115); Rouergue in 1293–1294 (*Comptes royaux*, vol. 1, pp. 496–596) and 1298–1299 (*Comptes royaux*, vol. 1, pp. 593–604); Carcassone-Béziers in 1300 (*Comptes royaux*, vol. 2, pp. 11–13, 105–108), 1302–1303 (*Comptes royaux*, vol. 1, pp. 605–634) and 1306–1307 (*Comptes royaux*, vol. 2, pp. 167–176); and Beaucaire-Nîmes in 1302–1303 (*Comptes royaux*, vol. 1, pp. 636–679) and 1304 (*Comptes royaux*, vol. 2, pp. 14–18, 432–434).

48 Strayer, "Viscounts," p. 217.

49 *Comptes royaux*, vol. 1, no. 12983: "Item, per expensis, tam Mayolli Rebotini, vicarii Carcassonne, querendo malefactores et puniendos eosdem."

50 *Comptes royaux*, vol. 1, no. 12985: "Item, per vicarium Fenoledesii et Terminesii, eodem modo, et pro pluribus iusidiatoribus missis in Cataloniam, ad investigandum de armatis per regem Aragonie, tam in mari quam in terra."

51 *Comptes royaux*, vol. 1, no. 12987: "Item, per vicarium Bitteris, eodem modo, et pro mittendo probos viros et discretos per maritimam ad investigandum de fratre Rogerio, olim Templario, qui venerat cum 14 galeis armatis ad invadendum terram domini Regis."

52 Strayer, "Viscounts," p. 218.

53 *Comptes royaux*, vol. 1, nos. 12363–12386.

54 *Comptes royaux*, vol. 1, nos. 11643, 25453; *Histoire générale de Languedoc*, vol. 10, col. 253.

55 According to Strayer ("Viscounts," p. 217, note 25, p. 218, note 26), Guillaume Bocuce, *viguier* of Aigues-Mortes, was castellan of Sommières in 1280; Guillaume de Charenton, *viguier* of St.-Saturnin about 1303, was castellan of Sauveterre in 1295–1297; Jean

l'Archevêque, *viguier* of Toulouse, was once castellan of Verdun-sur-Garonne; Jean de Machery, *viguier* of Toulouse in 1311, was castellan of Montréal in 1307; Pierre de Machery, *viguier* of Béziers in 1310, was constable of Carcassonne in 1306; Gui Chevalier was *viguier* and castellan of Beaucaire in 1293–1295; Guillaume de Châtelet was *viguier* and castellan of Alais in 1308; Jean d'Arrablai was *viguier* and castellan of Beaucaire in 1289–1291; Philippe de Marolles, *viguier* of Minervois in 1304–1314, was constable of Carcassonne in 1305; and Pierre de Busco was *viguier* and castellan of Beaucaire in 1303.

56 Strayer, "Viscounts," p. 217 and note 23. Cf. *Compters royaux*, vol. 1, nos. 12667–12722.

57 *Comptes royaux*, vol. 1, nos. 9535, 11572.

58 Strayer, "Viscounts," p. 219.

59 *Comptes royaux*, vol. 1, nos. 11643, 13653, 13694, 13849; Strayer, "Viscounts," p. 219. *Viguiers* of Béziers received an annual salary of about 90 l.t., while those of Carcassonne, Fenouillèdes and Limaux were paid about 44 l.t. (*Comptes royaux*, vol. 1, nos. 12995, 12801).

60 Strayer, "Viscounts," p. 221, note 39.

61 Strayer, "Viscounts," p. 220.

62 Guillaume de Linières was *viguier* (first, of Rochefort, then, of Lunel, and finally of Aigues-Mortes) between 1289 and 1311; Mayeul Robutin was *viguier* of Carcassonne between 1302 and 1312; Raymond Arnaud was *viguier* of Toulouse for at least ten years, possibly for twenty years between 1274 and 1294; and Pierre de Provino was *viguier* of Carcassone in 1263, and still had the office of *viguier* in 1295 (Strayer, "Viscounts," p. 227).

63 *Comptes royaux*, vol. 1, nos. 13768, 14103; vol. 2, no. 15091; Strayer, "Viscounts," p. 223 and note 47.

64 *Comptes royaux*, vol. 1, no. 13567; vol. 2, no. 26913; *Histoire générale de Languedoc*, vol. 10, cols. 311, 314.

65 Strayer, "Viscounts," p. 226, note 64.

66 The *bayles* played important roles within the *sénéchaussées*, and therefore it is essential for us to know their functions in order to understand the administrative system in the *sénéchaussées*. However, few scholars have paid much attention to them. Strayer mentions almost nothing about their functions, except his suggestion of their financial functions in relation to the farming out of offices. Strayer, *The Reign*, pp. 136–137.

67 *Bayles* seem to have made a one-year contract. See *Comptes royaux*, vol. 1, no. 10040: "Quatuor servientes missis per 4 judicaturas senescallis Tholose ad faciendum tornare baiulias sive arendationem baiuliarum presentis anni."

68 *Comptes royaux*, vol. 1, nos. 9129, 9172.

69 *Comptes royaux*, vol. 1, no. 10034: "Petrus Traieti, baiulo de sancta Gavella, pro restitutione excambii facti cum domino Sicardo Mascaroni de 50 l.t., quas habebat apud Podium Syvranum in baiulia Sancte Gavelle."

70 *Comptes royaux*, vol. 1, no. 10093: "Petro de Caxtilhone et Petro Guillelmi de Casselis, baiulo dicte baiulie, pro expensis factis in perquirendo et capiendo et captum Tholose ducendo Petrum Uriodum, murtrerium."

71 *Comptes royaux*, vol. 1, no. 10090: "Arnaldo de Roaxis, baiulo Verdumi, pro expensis factis in prisonibus capiendis, justiciandis et perquirendis."

72 *Comptes royaux*, vol. 1, no. 10094: "Poncio Gayraldi, baiulo Montis Albani in Tholosano, pro expensa prisionum." See also *Comptes royaux*, vol. 1, nos. 10095–10097, 10111, 10119.

73 In 1293 the seneschal of Toulouse asked Sicard de Lavaur, *juge-mage*, for advice about the order which he was asked to promulgate by the consuls of Beaumont-en-Lomagne (Strayer, *Les gens de justice*, p. 39). For judicial functions and advisers of the seneschals of Beaucaire, see Jan Rogozinski, "The Counsellors of the Seneschal of Beaucaire and Nîmes 1250–1350," *Speculum*, vol. 44 (1969), pp. 421–439.

74 For example, the *juges-mages* of the *sénéchaussée* of Beaucaire under Philip IV were Raimond Bossigoni (1279–1286), Maître Bernard de Montuzorgue (1286), Bremond (1287–91), Yvo de Doulas (1291–1292), Guillaume de Nogaret (1293–1295), Raimond de Ponjoulat (1299–1300), Guillaume de Palaisians (1300–1303), Maître Raoul de Courjumelles (1305–1317) and Enguerrand de Fieffes (1319–1323) (Strayer, *Les gens de justice*, pp. 54–62).

75 Florius Agni, Etienne Motel, Hugues Guirand, Etienne Aubert and Guihem Bringuier were called *judices curie appelationum* (Strayer, *Les gens de justice*, pp. 172–174; *Comptes royaux*, vol. 1, no. 10226).

76 Maître Raimond Curti was called *judex appelationum criminalium senescallie Tolose* (Strayer, *Les gens de justice*, p. 175).

77 Guilhem de Cassitis, Jacque de Boulogne, Maître Bardin de Rabastens and Maître Jean Sirvent were called *judex criminum senescallie Tholose* (Strayer, *Les gens de justice*, pp. 175–183; *Comptes royaux*, vol. 1, nos. 9094, 9800).

78 Etienne Motel, Maître Guîlem de Mesuil-Aubery, Maître Arnand Mestre, Nicolas Foulque de Tournai, Yves de Loudéac, Guilhem de Molas and Guilhem Bringnies were called *judex ordinarius* (Strayer, *Les gens de justice*, pp. 177–183).

79 Strayer, *Les gens de justice*, pp. 62–92, 107–122.

80 Strayer, *Les gens de justice*, pp. 177–194: *Comptes royaux*, vol. 1, nos. 9526–9535.

81 *Comptes royaux*, vol. 1, nos. 12806–12807.

82 *Comptes royaux*, vol. 1, nos. 12795, 12801.

83 *Comptes royaux*, vol. 1, nos. 13568, 13689.

84 *Comptes royaux*, vol. 1, nos. 13661, 13820.

85 Strayer, *Les gens de justice*, pp. 54–62.

86 Strayer, *Les gens de justice*, p. 27.

87 *Les Olim, ou registres des arrêts rendus par la cour du roi* . . ., ed. Arthur Beugnot, 3 vols. in 4 parts (Paris, 1723–1849), vol. 2, pp. 46–47.

88 *Histoire générale de Languedoc*, vol. 10, col. 248.

89 Strayer, "Viscounts," p. 227, note 71.

90 Yves Renouard, "Les institutions du Duché d'Aquitaine (des origines à 1453)," Ferdinand Lot and Robert Fawtier, eds., *Histoire des institutions françaises au Moyen Age, vol. 1: Institutions seigneuriales* (Paris, 1957), p. 172. These seneschals of the king of England were seneschals subordinate to the seneschal of Gascogne.

91 I owe the idea of "a qualitative/quantitative division of public power (*kōken no shitsuteki/ryōteki bunkatsu*)" to Naohiko Tonomura, *Hikaku Hōkenseiron [Comparative Studies in Feudalism]* (Tokyo, 1991), p. 50.

92 See note 91 above.

93 It is true that the area of *bailliages* and that of *sénéchaussées* were divided by the line from the northwest to the southeast of the kingdom, and this division seems to have corresponded with the boundary lines between different legal traditions and different languages. Some might well think that the different features observed between *baillis* and seneschals were caused by these social differences, and simply show variations of the same kind of officials who had substantially the same functions. However, if we closely examine distribution of *bailliages* and *sénéchaussées*, we will find that the dividing line between the area of *sénéchaussées* and that of *bailliages* does not identically correspond to the line between different legal traditions or languages.

94 According to Olivier-Martin (*Histoire du droit français*, p. 112), the border line of the area of written law and that of customary law in the thirteenth century starts with the coast opposite to the island of Oléron, passes by Saintonge, Périgord and Limousin on their northern sides, runs through Auvergne, Vivarais, Forez, Lyonnais and Mâconnais, and reaches Gex. Thus, the area of written law in the south included most of the *sénéchaussées*, but not the *sénéchaussée* of Poitou. Instead, it included a part of the

bailliage of Auvergne and the *bailliage* of Mâcon. On the other hand, the area of customary law in the north included many of the *bailliages* but not a part of the *bailliage* of Auvergne or the *bailliage* of Mâcon. It did, however, include the *sénéchaussée* of Poitou.

95 According to Ferdinand Brunot (*Histoire de la langue française des origines à 1900*, vol. 1 [Paris, 1924], p. 304), the border line of the area of *langue d'oc* and that of *langue d'oil* starts with Grave on the Atlantic coast, and passes Lesparre, Bordeaux, Libourne, Mussidan, Périgueux, Nontron, Rochefoucauld, Confolens, Bellac, Guéret, Montluçon, Clermont-Ferrand, Boën, St.-Georges, St.-Bonnet-le-Château and St.-Sauveur. Thus, the area of *langue d'oc* in the south included most of the *sénéchaussées*, but not the *sénéchaussées* of Poitou and Saintonge. However, it included a part of the *bailliage* of Auvergne. On the other hand, the area of *langue d'oil* in the north included all *bailliages* except a part of the *bailliage* of Auvergne, and the *sénéchaussées* of Poitou and Saintonge.

APPENDIX III
Book reviews

APPENDIX III–1
Review of G. A. Loud, *Church and society in the Norman principality of Capua, 1058–1197* (Oxford University Press, 1985) in *Speculum*, vol. 62 (1987), pp. 704–706

Loud sheds new light on a subject historians have paid little attention to: eleventh- and twelfth-century Capua. This book provides abundant information about the history of the Capuan church. Accepting Fernand Braudel's model of the Mediterranean littoral as a series of isolated islands in contact with each other, and regarding the principality of Capua as "an entity with its own separate institutions and rulers," Loud insists that "its history has its own separate themes" (p. 1). Loud's main subject is the Capuan church between the creation of the Norman principality in 1058 and the death of Emperor Henry VI in 1197.

His leading motif is a "triangular relationship" among the Capuan church, the lay authority and the papacy. In the light of the changes in this relationship, Loud divides the history of the principality of Capua into four periods: Norman conquest and the established Norman principality of Capua (1058–1087); change in the "triangular relationship" (1087–1127); Roger's conquest of the principality of Capua (1127–1140); and the principality of Capua as part of the Norman Kingdom of Sicily (1140–1197). In these four periods the complex political relationship is analyzed in detail, and the author attempts to focus on three major themes: a detailed local study of the church in three periods of political instability (the Norman conquest of Capua, the *morcellement* of the principality after the death of Prince Jordan I in 1090, and Roger's conquest); the relations between the Capuan church and the papacy; and Capua and the papacy after the former's absorption into the united *regno* (I assume that "Capua and the papacy after the latter's absorption into the united *regno*" on page 7 is an error).

This "triangular relationship" was peaceful from 1058 to 1087. Loud attributes this to a coincidence of political interests. The prince needed papal recognition of the Norman conquest, papal aid against rebels, and papal acquiescence for the use of the church as a bulwark of princely power. He also needed the support of the Capuan church, especially the great monasteries, to assert his control. The papacy expected the prince to give military aid, to support papal political superiority and to secure its control over the Capuan church. The Capuan church also needed the protection and endowment which the prince could provide. Changes

in the triangular relationship appear after 1087. Loud observes the "burgeoning of comital particularism" in Capua as well as "a similar progress toward *de facto* independence" (p. 94) in some counties of Apulia. He then directs our attention to the change in the papacy's relationship with the prince. The papacy, "dependent on Norman military support," began "aggressively seeking to extend its political and ecclesiastical hegemony" (p. 95). The third change is the growth of papal influence over temporal lords and, more importantly for Loud, over the Capuan church. This latter growth of papal influence was caused by the revival of episcopal activity, the papal policy to support episcopal efforts, the weakness of the princely power, the physical proximity of Rome and the series of disputes between religious houses. During the civil war of 1127–1140 the Capuan churches took an important role because they could give direct military aid, financial assistance, valuable power bases in disputed areas and a corps of administration. Loud thinks that Monte Cassino welcomed a victory of Roger II because it expected long-term political stability and effective protection and was grateful to him for his past acts. Thus he insists that the schism was less important than local political considerations in the principality during the civil war. Loud sees the writings of Alexander of Telese and Peter the Deacon as reflections of this situation. After the absorption of the principality of Capua into the Norman Kingdom in 1134–1135, the powerful and efficient royal administration benefited local churches. Summarizing this period, Loud states that "the domestic peace brought by the Hautevill kings was a real and positive benefit" (p. 192). To be sure, the relationship of the papacy and the king appears to have been quite stable, but this might be only a reflection of the strong royal power and control over the Capuan church.

The argument concerning the change in the triangular relationship is quite sound. However, Loud interrupts the flow of his argument with his detailed narration of the political struggle and lengthy presentation of examples. His analysis of the four periods is uneven. Most of his study concerns a political analysis of Capua before 1140, and as a result his analysis of the Capuan church as part of the kingdom of Sicily is sketchy and brief. The social aspects of the Capuan society are hardly discussed. An examination of the "entity of the principality of Capua" which Loud proposes would be almost impossible, given the limited scope of his investigation.

The chapter on the internal structure of the Capuan church provides important information about Capuan society. Loud points out the absence of effective episcopal government in the twelfth century and lists three important factors causing it: the lack of a metropolitan tradition, the smallness of the dioceses of Capua and the lack of a division between the property of bishop and chapter. The chapters remained tied to older traditions: The canons do not seem to have lived in common; they possessed property in their own right throughout the period; and many of them were married. However, the development of capitular offices and the gradual separation of bishop and chapter were seen in Capuan monasticism. At Monte Cassino subordinate offices evolved from the time of Desiderius, and the claims of property administration led to a similar process in other houses.

In the twelfth century subordinate churches changed in both their function and status. They came to have baptismal rights in the latter half of the century. By the later twelfth century lay rights had been reduced to ones of patronage, primarily in the choice of the chaplain, and subordinate churches ceased to be pieces of property. Another remarkable change was economic: the growth of churches' purchase of land. The growth took place primarily after 1140. Loud speculates about the reason and shows important factors: the stability after the civil war, which encouraged churches to invest; economic developments within the principality; the fall of the prince, which removed the chief source of endowment; and a rising population and increased pressure on land, which led to a diminution in donation of land to churches.

Loud emphasizes the conservative nature of the spiritual life of the Capuan church and states that it was unaffected by the currents of reform of the later eleventh century. Many of the lower clergy were married, and this custom was "largely accepted and institutionalized" (p. 236). Private property within the cloister was also ingrained. On the other hand, the virgin cult, which was "inherited from the Lombard period" (p. 240), was strong and important for nunneries. Loud sensibly concludes that "the Norman conquest may have changed some aspects of Capua, but its religious life remained firmly tied to the past" (p. 243).

In his conclusion, Loud summarizes the characteristics of the Capuan church in three phrases: "cyclical pattern," "conservatism" and "particularism." However, his conclusion seems a little hasty. It is true that the ecclesiastical politics of the Capuan church appear to have "followed an almost cyclical pattern" (p. 244), but it is difficult to believe that this cyclical pattern stemmed from the particular geography of Capua. I do not object to his statement that "the tightly defined geographical bounds of the principality may have isolated it from religious currents" (p. 244), but a similar political pattern would appear in a similar structure of power relationship at any time and place. It is difficult to determine whether this "conservatism" was peculiar to the Capuan church in this period or shared by other local churches. A similar question could be raised about "intense particularism," which Loud lists as the third key aspect of the Capuan church: "The primary concern of the monks of Cassino was the temporal prosperity of their own monastery" (p. 245). But almost every church had more or less its own interests. The question is, therefore, whether particularism was really particular to the Capuan church or shared by other local churches.

This is a useful work on the Capuan church, albeit of limited geographic and chronological scope. If Loud had moved beyond political analysis of Capua and included social analysis of Capuan society, his study would have been more valuable.

APPENDIX III–2
Review of Joanna H. Drell, *Kinship and conquest: family strategies in the principality of Salerno during the Norman period, 1077–1194* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2002) in *Speculum*, vol. 81 (2005), pp. 1267–1268

The theme of this book is family relationships in the principality of Salerno during the Norman period, 1077–1194. The author's motivational questions are threefold: What impact did the Norman settlement have on family structures and practices in the principality? What do family strategies in the principality reveal about the evolution of political power in eleventh- and twelfth-century southern Italy? How do the dynamics of kinship in the principality compare with what scholars have discovered for kin groups in other parts of Europe? In order to answer those questions, the author analyzes aspects of kinship concerns in the principality in three parts.

In the first part ("The Structure of the Society"), the author tries to identify the noble families of the principality of Salerno. According to Drell, two distinct subcategories of the nobility existed. The first was the principality's top or upper aristocracy, who shared bonds of both blood and lordship. They were the descendants of a small group of intermarried and interrelated families, principally the sons of the Norman Tancred of Hauteville and the Lombard Guaimar III, and they consisted of seven kin groups. The second subcategory of the nobility was more diffuse and complex. Some of them had the title of count. "Count" was most often a personal title during the Lombard period, but it came to signify a territorial leader who bore a great military responsibility to the king by around 1142. The author argues that unlike other regions of medieval Europe, knights in Salerno were not obviously members of the nobility through the Norman period. They "more often served and attended the nobility than belonged to that social class" (p. 50). For the nobility as a whole, the author observes "significant changes in the definition of nobility" from the time of the Norman arrival to the period of the Normans' dominance. During the early decades of the twelfth century, the nobility in the principality formed a cohesive group with fluid boundaries. In contrast, after Roger II's attempt to exert tighter control over the noble or knightly class, "there seems to have been less mobility within and less access to the aristocracy" (p. 20).

In the second part ("Property and Kinship"), the author examines the exchange, donation, bequest and alienation of properties by and between family members in the principality. She observes noble families' efforts "to limit the dispersal of family properties" in the sources of the first half of the twelfth century and considers that this trend continued with greater urgency in the second half of the twelfth century. Drell emphasizes women's role as property owners and managers throughout the Norman period and states that women occupied a central place in estate administration as the recipients of dowries, marriage portions and inheritances. Drell also finds "the mixing of Lombard and Roman customs within a close kin group" in a large number of documents from the early twelfth century, and she concludes that "the family distribution of property and power in the south was affected by prevailing Lombard and Roman law customs" (p. 21). Meanwhile she observes that the great noble families practiced a variety of property-holding strategies to prevent the devolution of familial property. According to Drell, most aristocratic families practiced single-heir inheritance, especially by the second and third decades of the twelfth century, while others adopted more consortial forms of patrimonial management. Noble families had varied patterns of family property management, including joint and single tenure, which continued throughout the Norman period. The author considers that "the practice by noble families of protecting the integrity of their patrimonies was fairly well established prior to Roger's coronation in 1130" (p. 121) and that the "shift from the common practice of partible inheritance during the Lombard period to more consolidated forms of property transmission" was not related to the establishment of Norman rule.

In the third and final part ("The Flexible Kinship Network"), the author tries to find patterns of kinship organization in the principality of Salerno. She observes documented efforts of people of Lombard descent, which endured into the 1180s, to assert their ties with past generations of Lombards, and she considers this a distinctly Lombard practice not adopted by people of Norman descent. However, Drell could not find any particular patterns of kinship organization in the principality: "it is virtually impossible to define precisely the composition of the kin group based on the lineage evidence since there is so much variation in the sources" (p. 145). No single model of family organization applies to the principality. What she found is a considerably varied kin network for high and lesser nobles alike, ranging from small families to large and extended families. Thus she concludes that people "operated on the basis of a fairly flexible definition of family which could include everyone from maternal cousins to fathers" throughout the Norman period. Since there were no "strict rules governing the organization and definition of 'family,' kinship could be manipulated in whatever form best served a particular need at a specific time. Circumstances determined who might be considered or used as a part of the family from one time to the next" (p. 158). The author believes these findings on family organization in the principality "pose a significant challenge to the long-standing kinship model of the emergence of the patrilineage" (p. 116) in the early eleventh century originally outlined by Georges

Duby, as well as Duby's findings that "the twelfth century witnessed a contraction of larger extended families" (p. 155).

This is one of the first English books focusing on the principality of Salerno during the Norman period and also one of the few books investigating family structure in southern Italy. It offers a good deal of detailed information related to kinship and property transactions based on charter sources in the archive of SS. Trinità at Cava de' Tirreni near Salerno and successfully shows the richness of the sources in this archive. It would be useful for scholars interested in the family and southern Italy in the Middle Ages. Yet Drell's arguments would be clearer and more convincing if she had paid greater attention to the changing position of the principality as well as the changing situations of nobles within the principality. The principality of Salerno was a rather solid political entity under Lombard princes, but it became a part of the dominion of the Norman dukes of Apulia after the conquest of Guiscard in 1077, and it simply constituted an administrative district under the Norman kings. It is not self-evident that the principality of Salerno can be used as a framework to define people (or families, or nobles) of the principality as those shared the same characteristics throughout the Norman period. The lords of the nobles in the principality changed from the princes of Salerno to the dukes of Apulia to the kings of Sicily. The nobles' positions and situations in the principality could be changed largely according to their relationships with these lords. They could become almost independent when their lords lost power or when they opposed their lords. Nobles' family structure and their property transactions could be affected by any such changes in their situations.

APPENDIX III–3
Review of Alex Metcalfe, *The Muslims of medieval Italy* (Edinburgh University Press, 2009) in *English Historical Review*, vol. 128 (2013), pp. 645–647

This book by Alex Metcalfe, the theme of which is the Muslims in Sicily and South Italy between 800 and 1300, should be much welcomed by English-language readers. It is more useful, with updated information and thoughtful analysis, than Aziz Ahmad's *A History of Islamic Sicily* (1975), the only book in English on the subject for more than thirty years.

In the first four chapters, Metcalfe surveys the background of Muslim invasions into Byzantine Sicily and examines the island under the governance of the Aghlabid, Fatimid and Kalbite (Kalbid) Muslim rulers. His main concern is the transformation of Sicily, especially changes in the demographic structure in terms of languages and religion, caused by the conquest wars which continued intermittently for about 130 years. As the author states, most information about Sicily under Muslim rulers comes from Arabic sources written outside the island in a later period. Accordingly, our knowledge is biased toward political aspects in which later Muslim historians were interested or able to obtain. In order to compensate for this lack of information, Metcalfe cites various Arabic sources as precisely as possible, and utilizes recent archeological output, although Michele Amari's work *Storia dei Musulmani di Sicilia* (3 vols., 1858–1872; 2nd ed., 1933–1939), as well as his collections of Arabic sources *Biblioteca arabo-sicula* (1857–1887; Italian translations, 1880–1889), continue to be valid and indispensable sources. It is a pity that Metcalfe does not know of this reviewer's studies on Muslim governors of Sicily published in *AJAMES*, vol. 7 (1992) and *Mediterranean World*, vol. 13 (1992).

The current state of research on Sicily and South Italy after the Norman conquest is quite different from the Islamic period. We have contemporary sources written in Latin, Greek and Arabic and an accumulation of research by international scholars. Metcalfe's book, based on recent studies, surveys changing political circumstances and the Norman rulers' administration and makes contributions to arguments about important issues concerning Muslims, among which I focus here on two of the author's special concerns: *dīwān*, defined by the author as "a fiscal administration," and villeins (*villani*).

According to Metcalfe, Muslims maintained their roles as bureaucrats charged with the management of the royal fiscal administration and palaces during the period of Norman state building, and came to serve in a reconstructed fiscal administration (the *dīwān*) in the newly created Norman Kingdom of Sicily. The offices of the royal *dīwān* were located at the palace and were staffed by Arabic-speaking eunuchs. Instrumental to the issuing of the grant renewals were two offices, the *dīwān al-ma'mūr* and the *dīwān al-taḥqīq al-ma'mūr*. The *dīwān al-ma'mūr*, "in operation by 1136, generally oversaw the fiscal administration and its management of crown lands and men," and "might also refer in an abstract sense to the whole Arabic sector of the administration." On the other hand, the *dīwān al-taḥqīq al-ma'mūr*, "operational by 1149 and probably earlier, supervised, composed and verified confirmations of royal grants of lands and/or men."

The Arabic *dīwān* is a general word meaning "office," but its transliteration *duana/dohana/doana* was used (in many cases, as a phrase such as *duana de secretis* and *duana baronum*) to indicate a specific office or organization in the Latin documents, and there is a long historiography and controversy over its real meaning, including over the relationships between *duana de secretis, duana baronum, dīwān al-ma'mūr, dīwān al-taḥqīq al-ma'mūr*, and the *sekreton* (R. Gregorio, M. Amari, A. Garufi, E. Jamison, M. Caravale, E. Mazzarese Fardella, H. Takayama, J. Johns, *et al*.). Metcalfe, whose understanding of the *dīwān* is based on the studies of Jeremy Johns, emphasizes the importance of the influence of Fatimid Egypt in the royal administration and the Norman kingship, as Johns has insisted. However, confirmation of the influence of a specific cultural element may not necessarily mean that it had an overwhelming influence on the royal administration. It is important for us to see how, and in what form, these cultural elements existed in the royal administration. For the corresponding relations between Latin, Greek and Arabic terms, further examination is necessary, since Metcalfe's understanding that *dīwān al-ma'mūr* was called *sekreton* in Greek and *duana de secretis* in Latin is contradicted by a bilingual Greek-Arabic document issued in 1161, in which the Greek word *sekreton* corresponds to *dīwān al-taḥqīq al-ma'mūr* in Arabic.

The other important issue of particular concern to the author, the villeins (*villani*) in the Norman Kingdom of Sicily, has been studied before by a number of scholars (including F. Chalandon, A. Garufi, I. Peri, H. Bresc, V. d'Alessandro, P. Corrao, F. Panero, J.-M. Martin and G. Petralia). Many of these authorities seem to have concluded that the villeins were classified into two basic groups – those who owed hereditary service in person (*intuitu personae*) and those who owed service with respect to the terms of their tenure of land (*respectu tenimentorum*), although there is no agreement of opinion on which word in Arabic, Greek and Latin documents relates to which category of villeins. Those scholars who have recently examined the Arabic documents in detail, including A. Nef, A. de Simone, Johns and Metcalfe himself, also seem to share the idea of the classification of the villeins into two groups. According to Metcalfe, many terms were used synonymously across three languages to refer to villeins, and those in Arabic and

Greek can be resolved into two basic categories: families who were "registered" and those who were "unregistered." Following Johns' idea, he explains that those who were "registered" were called *ḥursh* ("rough men"), or *rijāl* (*ahl*) *al-jarā'id* in Arabic, and *enapographoi* in Greek, while those who were "unregistered" were called *muls* ("smooth men") in Arabic, and *exōgraphoi* in Greek.

This book, focused on Muslims, amply shows the fascinating history of medieval Sicily and South Italy with their many layers of different cultures, and reveals various aspects of cross-cultural activities under the Normans. Uncovering the real picture of this complicated past requires painstaking effort and skills, including analysis of multilingual parchments, but such research will undoubtedly provide us with more opportunities to reexamine the frameworks and concepts often used unconsciously and without serious examination by generations of scholars. Furthermore, the special position of medieval Sicily and South Italy, at the borders of three cultural zones, makes possible the analysis of three different cultural elements within the same context, and offers a valuable and rare vantage point from which to grasp the picture of a larger geographical unity in which these different cultures interacted.

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Tabulario di Abbazia di S. Filippo di Fragalà e di S. Maria di Maniaci, Pergamene, n. 14:

(Grant of the monastery of St. Anastasia by Matthew to the monastery of St. Philip, AM 6630 [= 1122], Greek. Edition: Cusa, pp. 413–414)

Tabulario di Abbazia di S. Filippo di Fragalà e di S. Maria di Maniaci, Pergamene, n. 15:

(Document of Archbishop William of Traina and Messina, 19 March, AD 1117, Ind. III [= 1125], the castle of Achari, Greek and Latin. Edition: Cusa, pp. 416–417)

Tabulario di Abbazia di S. Filippo di Fragalà e di S. Maria di Maniaci, Pergamene, n. 16:

(Record of a justice by Romanus, *strategos* of Demena, August, Ind. XIV [= 1136], Greek. Edition: Cusa, pp. 418–419; Spata, p. 265)

Tabulario di Abbazia di S. Filippo di Fragalà e di S. Maria di Maniaci, Pergamene, n. 17:

(Diploma of Queen Margaret, 27 November, AM 6680, Ind. V [= 1171], Palermo, Greek and Latin. Edition: Cusa, pp. 421–423; Spata, p. 273)

Tabulario di Abbazia di S. Filippo di Fragalà e di S. Maria di Maniaci, Pergamene, n. 18:

(Document concerning the complaint of Beatrice, June, AM 6690, Ind. XV [= 1182], Greek. Edition: Cusa, pp. 423–426; Spata, p. 279)

Tabulario di Abbazia di S. Filippo di Fragalà e di S. Maria di Maniaci, Pergamene, n. 19:

(Document concerning the complaint of Beatrice, September, AM 6691, Ind. I [= 1182], Greek. Edition: Cusa, pp. 427–432)

Tabulario di Abbazia di S. Filippo di Fragalà e di S. Maria di Maniaci, Pergamene, n. 20:

(Document of Adam the *baiulus* and *strategos* of Centuripe, April, AM 6691, Ind. I [= 1183], Greek. Edition: Cusa, pp. 432–434)

Tabulario di Abbazia di S. Filippo di Fragalà e di S. Maria di Maniaci, Pergamene, n. 21:

(Grant of land, 24 January, AM 6696, Ind. VII [= 1189], Greek. Edition: Cusa, pp. 436–437)

Tabulario di Abbazia di S. Filippo di Fragalà e di S. Maria di Maniaci, Pergamene, n. 22:

(Diploma of Tancred, 26 December, AM 6701, Ind. XI [= 1191], Palermo, Greek. Edition: Cusa, pp. 438–439)

Tabulario della Chiesa di Cefalù, Pergamene, n. 1:

(Diploma of Count Roger I, January 1123, AM 6631, Ind. I [= 1123], Greek. Edition: Cusa, pp. 471–472)

Tabulario della Chiesa di Cefalù, Pergamene, n. 2:

(Diploma of King Roger II, 7 January, AM 6653, AH 539, Ind. VIII [=1145], Greek and Arabic. Edition: Cusa, pp. 472–480)

Tabulario della Chiesa di Cefalù, Pergamene, n. 3:

(Diploma, 14 September 1131, Ind. IX, Latin)

Tabulario della Chiesa di Cefalù, Pergamene, n. 4:

(March 1132, Ind. X, Greek and Arabic)

Tabulario della Chiesa di Cefalù, Pergamene, n. 5:

(1132, Greek)

Tabulario della Chiesa di Cefalù, Pergamene, n. 6:

(March 1140, Ind. X, Greek and Arabic)

Tabulario della Chiesa di Cefalù, Pergamene, n. 7:

(Diploma of Adelasia, June 1140, Ind. II, Latin)

Tabulario della Chiesa di Cefalù, Pergamene, n. 8:

(Diploma of Adelasia, June 1140, Ind. II, Latin)

Tabulario della Chiesa di Cefalù, Pergamene, n. 9:

(June 1140, Ind. II, Latin)

Tabulario della Chiesa di Cefalù, Pergamene, n. 10:

(Document of Roger, son-in-law of Aschettin, August, AM 6656, Ind. XI [= 1148], Greek. Edition: Cusa, pp. 481–482)

Tabulario della Chiesa di Cefalù, Pergamene, n. 11:

(Diploma of Adelasia, 1156, Ind. IV, Latin)

Tabulario della Chiesa di Cefalù, Pergamene, n. 12:

(Document of Eufemio of Traina and William of Murize, *catepani* and master foresters of the Queen's land, June, AM 6676, Ind. I [= 1168], Greek. Edition: Cusa, pp. 484–486)

Tabulario della Chiesa di Cefalù, Pergamene, n. 13:

(Diploma of Geoffrey of Modica, *palatinus camerarius et magister regie duane de secretis et duane baronum*, 8 January, Ind. XIII [= 1180], Latin and Greek. Edition: Cusa, pp. 489–490)

Tabulario della Chiesa di Cefalù, Pergamene, n. 14:

(23 November 1169, Ind. III, Latin)

Tabulario della Chiesa di Cefalù, Pergamene, n. 15:

(April 1171, Ind. IV, Latin)

Tabulario della Chiesa di Cefalù, Pergamene, n. 16:

(A copy, April 1171, Ind. IV, Latin)

Tabulario della Chiesa di Cefalù, Pergamene, n. 17:

(June 1176, Ind. IX, Latin)

Tabulario della Chiesa di Cefalù, Pergamene, n. 18:

(August 1177, Ind. III, Arabic)

Tabulario della Chiesa di Cefalù, Pergamene, n. 19:

(21 April 1178, Ind. XI; 8 January 1180?, Latin)

Tabulario della Chiesa di Cefalù, Pergamene, n. 20:

(January 1181, Ind. XV, Latin)

Tabulario della Chiesa di Cefalù, Pergamene, n. 21:

(November 1183, Ind. I, Latin)

Tabulario della Chiesa di Cefalù, Pergamene, n. 22:

(Document of Margaret, January, Shawwāl AH 578, Ind. I [= 1183], Arabic, Edition: Cusa, pp. 491–493)

Tabulario della Chiesa di Cefalù, Pergamene, n. 23:

(March 1186, Ind. IV, Greek)

Tabulario della Chiesa di Cefalù, Pergamene, n. 24:

(15 March 1186, Ind. V, Latin)

Tabulario della Chiesa di Cefalù, Pergamene, n. 25:

(Transfer of writ in favor of the University of Jews of Syracuse, December, AH 948, Ind. VI [= 1187], Arabic, Edition: Cusa p. 495)

Tabulario della Chiesa di Cefalù, Pergamene, n. 26:

(December 1188, Ind. VII, Latin)

Tabulario della Chiesa di Cefalù, Pergamene, n. 27:

(3 May 1189, Ind. VI, Latin)

Tabulario della Chiesa di Cefalù, Pergamene, n. 28:

(23 October 1190, Ind. IX, Latin)

Tabulario della Chiesa di Cefalù, Pergamene, n. 29:

(Contract of a land sale, 1–10 Rabi‘ I, AH 589 [= 1193], Arabic. Edition: Cusa, pp. 496–498)

Tabulario della Chiesa di Cefalù, Pergamene, n. 30:

(January 1194, Ind. XIII, Latin)

Tabulario della Chiesa di Cefalù, Pergamene, n. 31:

(August 1194, Ind. XII, Latin)

Tabulario della Magione, no. 3:

[facsimile: Elisabetta Lo Cascio, ed., *Il Tabulario della Magione di Palermo (1116–1643)*, Roma 2011, Tav. I]
(A document of sale, AM 6673, Ind. XIII [= 1165], Greek. Edition: Cusa, pp. 107–108. Cf. Lo Cascio, ed., *Il Tabulario*, p. 25, n. 9; Jeremy Johns, *Arabic Administration in Norman Sicily*, Cambridge 2002, p. 318, Appendix 2, no. 10)

Tabulario della Magione, no. 5:

[facsimile: Lo Cascio, ed., *Il Tabulario*, Tav. II; Jeremy Johns, "The boys from Mezzoiuso: Muslim jizya-payers in Christian Sicily," R. Hoyland and P. Kennedy, eds., *Islamic Reflections, Arabic Musings: studies in honor of Professor Alan Jones*, Oxford 2003, p. 249, Fig 1.]
(A document concerning *ahl al-jarā'id* of Manzil Yūsuf, Rabīʿ I, [1177–1179], Arabic. Edition: Johns, "The boys from Mezzoiuso," p. 248; Cusa, pp. 107–108. Cf. "The boys from Mezzoiuso," pp. 247–255; Lo Cascio, ed., *Il Tabulario*, p. 27, n. 12; Johns, *Arabic Administration*, p. 320, Appendix 2, no. 16)

Tabulario del Monastero di S. Maria della Grotta, Perg., n. 1:

(Contract of a sale of a house, AM 6668, Ind. VIII [= 1160], Greek. Edition: Cusa, pp. 661–662)

Tabulario del Monastero di S. Maria della Grotta, Perg., n. 2:

(Diploma of William II, January, Ṣafar AH 556, Ind. IX [= 1161], Greek. Edition: Cusa, p. 622)

Tabulario del Monastero di S. Maria della Grotta, Perg., n. 3:

(Contract of a land sale, August, AM 6680, Ind. V [= 1172], Greek and Arabic. Edition: Cusa, p. 663)

Tabulario del Monastero di S. Maria della Grotta, Perg., n. 4:

(Contract of a land sale, December, AM 6682, Ind. VII [= 1173], Greek. Edition: Cusa, p. 665)

Tabulario del Monastero di S. Maria della Grotta, Perg., n. 5:

(Contract of a land sale, October, AM 6688, Ind. XIII [= 1179], Greek. Edition: Cusa, p. 667)

Tabulario del Monastero di S. Maria della Grotta, Perg., n. 6:

(A writ of transfer of land, May, AM 6693, Ind. III [= 1185], Greek. Edition: Cusa, p. 669)

Tabulario del Monastero di S. Maria della Grotta, Perg., n. 7:

(A contract of a land sale, March, AM 6694, Ind. IV [= 1186], Greek. Edition: Cusa, p. 670)

Tabulario del Monastero di S. Maria della Grotta, Perg., n. 8:

(A contract of a land sale, September, AM 6701, Ind. XI [= 1192], Greek. Edition: Cusa, p. 672)

Tabulario del Monastero di S. Maria della Grotta, Perg., n. 9:

(A grant of land of Stephen *ho epi tou secretou* in favor of the monastery, 6 October, AM 6703, Ind. XIII [= 1194], Greek. Edition: Cusa, p. 674)

Tabulario di Santa Maria Maddalena di Valle Giosafat, Pergamene, n. 2:

(Document of Leo Katanakgis, viscount of Rametta, November, AM 6604, Ind. IV [= 1095]. Greek, Edition: Cusa, p. 367)

Tabulario di Santa Maria Maddalena di Valle Giosafat, Pergamene, n. 3:

(Privilege granted from William of Medana, lord of Albidono, to William of Barcelona, abbot of the monastery of St. Mary di Stelegrosso, 20 August, Ind. VIII [= 1099]. Greek, Edition: Cusa, p. 643)

Tabulario di Santa Maria Maddalena di Valle Giosafat, Perg., n. 14:

(1178, 1129, 1126, February 1121, Ind. IV, Latin. Edition: Delaborde, pp. 36–42)

Tabulario di Santa Maria Maddalena di Valle Giosafat, Perg., n. 21:

(Document of Faraci, *baiulus* and viscount of S. Mauro, concerning his justice, January, AM 6645, Ind. XV [= 1137], Greek. Edition: Cusa, p. 627)

Tabulario di Santa Maria Maddalena di Valle Giosafat, Perg., n. 34:

(Contract of a land sale, May, AM 6656, Ind. XI [= 1148], Greek, Edition: Cusa, p. 620)

Tabulario di Santa Maria Maddalena di Valle Giosafat, Perg., n. 46:

(Contract of a land sale, November, AM 6671, Ind. XI [= 1162], Greek, Edition: Cusa p. 629)

Tabulario di Santa Maria Maddalena di Valle Giosafat, Perg., n. 50:

(March 1172, Ind. V, Latin)

Tabulario di Santa Maria Maddalena di Valle Giosafat, Perg., n. 51:

(Document of Andrew the *strategos* and the monks of S. Nicandro of Messina, February, AM 6684, Ind. IX [= 1176], Greek. Edition: Cusa, p. 371)

Tabulario di Santa Maria Maddalena di Valle Giosafat, Perg., n. 52:

(Contract of a land sale by Bartholomew count of Gaela of Messina, February, AM 6684, Ind. IX [= 1176], Greek. Edition: Cusa, p. 368)

Tabulario di Santa Maria Maddalena di Valle Giosafat, Perg., n. 53:

(Contract of a land sale, September, AM 6685, Ind. X [= 1176], Greek. Edition: Cusa, p. 373)

Tabulario di Santa Maria Maddalena di Valle Giosafat, Perg., n. 54:

(1176, Ind. X, Latin. Edition: Delaborde, p. 85)

Tabulario di Santa Maria Maddalena di Valle Giosafat, Perg., n. 55:

(February 1177, Ind. X, Latin. Edition: Delaborde, p. 86)

Tabulario di Santa Maria Maddalena di Valle Giosafat, Perg., n. 56:

(1178, Latin. Edition: Delaborde, p. 87)

Tabulario di Santa Maria Maddalena di Valle Giosafat, Perg., n. 57:

(1180, Latin. Edition: Delaborde p. 88)

Tabulario di Santa Maria Maddalena di Valle Giosafat, Perg., n. 58:

(Contract of a land sale, October, AM 6692, Ind. II [= 1183], Greek. Edition: Cusa, p. 631)

Tabulario di Santa Maria Maddalena di Valle Giosafat, Perg., n. 59:

(1183, Ind. I, Latin. Edition: Delaborde, p. 89)

Tabulario di Santa Maria Maddalena di Valle Giosafat, Perg., n. 60:

(2 April 1185?, Ind. III, Latin)

Tabulario di Santa Maria Maddalena di Valle Giosafat, Perg., n. 61:

(16 March 1185, Ind. III, Latin. Edition: Delaborde p. 91)

Tabulario di Santa Maria Maddalena di Valle Giosafat, Perg., n. 62:

(January 1188, Ind. VI, Latin)

Tabulario di Santa Maria Maddalena di Valle Giosafat, Perg., n. 63:

(January 1188, Ind. VI, Latin)

Tabulario di Santa Maria Maddalena di Valle Giosafat, Perg., n. 64:

(Grant of land to the church by Oliver, June, AM 6700, Ind. X [= 1192], Greek. Edition: Cusa, p. 634)

Palermo, Biblioteca Comunale

MS., Qq H 3, *Diplomata et monumenta varia ad Metropolitanam ecclesiam et regiam Capellam S. Petri Panormi pertinentia*

(A copy of MSS of the 17th and 18th centuries, Latin)

Palermo, Biblioteca Centrale della Regione Siciliana (former Biblioteca Nazionale)

Tabulario di S. Maria Nuova di Monreale, Pergamene n. 1:

(Copy of 18th c., Diploma of Duke William, May 1115, Ind. VIII, Latin. Edition: Pirro, *Sicilia sacra*, vol. 1, p. 457)

Tabulario di S. Maria Nuova di Monreale, Pergamene n. 2:

(Copy of 18th c., Diploma of Duke William, December 1120, Ind. XIII, Latin. Edition: Pirro, *Sicilia sacra*, vol. 1, p. 457)

Tabulario di S. Maria Nuova di Monreale, Pergamene n. 3:

[facsimile: Brühl, Tafel XI]:
(Original, Diploma of King Roger II, 3 November 1144, Ind. VIII, Messina, Latin. Edition: Garufi, *Documenti*, p. 46)
This includes privileges of Duke William (May 1115, Ind. VIII), of Duke Robert Guiscard (November AM 6600 [= 1091]), of the same Guiscard (May AM 6600 [= 1092]), of Geoffrey Malliard (September 1129, Ind. XIV)

Tabulario di S. Maria Nuova di Monreale, Pergamene n. 4:

(Original, *Jarīda* of Roger II, 24 March, AM 6653, AH 539, Ind. VIII [= 1145], Palermo, Greek and Arabic. Edition: Cusa, p. 127)

Tabulario di S. Maria Nuova di Monreale, Pergamene n. 5:

(Original, Diploma of Roger II, May 1151, AM 6659, Ind. XIV, Palermo, Greek and Arabic. Edition: Cusa, p. 130)

Tabulario di S. Maria Nuova di Monreale, Pergamene n. 15:

(Original, Diploma of William II, 15 August 1176, Ind. IX, Monreale, Latin)

Tabulario di S. Maria Nuova di Monreale, Pergamene n. 18:

(Copy of 16th c., Diploma of William II, January 1177, Ind. X, Palermo, Latin)

Tabulario di S. Maria Nuova di Monreale, Pergamene n. 19:

(Original, Document of Archbishop Walter of Palermo, March 1177, Ind. X, Palermo, Latin. Edition: Del Giudice, p. 69)

Tabulario di S. Maria Nuova di Monreale, Pergamene n. 22:

(Original, *Jarīda* of William II, May, AM 6666, AH 573, Ind. XI [= 1178], Palermo, Greek and Arabic. Edition: Cusa, p. 134)

Tabulario di S. Maria Nuova di Monreale, Pergamene n. 24:

(Original, Diploma of William II, August 1178, Ind. XI, Palermo, Latin. Edition: Del Giudice, p. 6)

Tabulario di S. Maria Nuova di Monreale, Pergamene n. 28:

(Original, Diploma of William II, March 1180, Ind. XIII, Palermo, Latin. Edition: Garufi, *Documenti*, pp. 171–172)

Tabulario di S. Maria Nuova di Monreale, Pergamene n. 32:

(Original, *Jarīda* of William II, 15 May, AM 6690, Ind. XV [= 1182], Palermo, Latin and Arabic. Edition: Cusa, pp. 179–244)

Tabulario di S. Maria Nuova di Monreale, Pergamene n. 33:

(Copy of 18th c., Diploma of William II, June 1182, Ind. XV, Palermo)

Tabulario di S. Maria Nuova di Monreale, Pergamene n. 35:

(Original, Diploma of William II, October 1182, Ind. I, Palermo)

Tabulario di S. Maria Nuova di Monreale, Pergamene n. 36:

(Original, Diploma of William II, October 1182, Ind. I, Palermo)

Tabulario di S. Maria Nuova di Monreale, Pergamene n. 37:

(Original, another copy of the same privilege of n. 36)

Tabulario di S. Maria Nuova di Monreale, Pergamene n. 45:

(Original, Diploma of William II, AM 6691, Ind. I [= 1183], Palermo, Greek and Arabic. Edition: Cusa, p. 245)

Tabulario di S. Maria Nuova di Monreale, Pergamene n. 46:

(Original, Permission of the marriage of Roger of Tarsia and Maria daughter of Robert of Malconvenant by William II, May 1183, Ind. I, Palermo, Latin. Edition: Garufi, *Documenti*, p. 190)

Tabulario di S. Maria Nuova di Monreale, Pergamene n. 47:

(Original, Diploma of William II, May 1183, Ind. I, Palermo, Latin. Edition: Del Giudice, p. 27; Pirro, *Sicilia sacra*, vol. 1, p. 460)

Tabulario di S. Maria Nuova di Monreale, Pergamene n. 48:

(Original, Donation of houses by Philippa to the church of Monreale, November 1183, Ind. II, Palermo, Latin. Edition: Garufi, *Documenti*, p. 192)

Tabulario di S. Maria Nuova di Monreale, Pergamene n. 50:

(Original, Diploma of William II, March 1184, Ind. II, Palermo, Latin. Edition: Del Giudice, p. 28)

Tabulario di S. Maria Nuova di Monreale, Pergamene n. 51:

(Original, Diploma of William II, March 1184, Ind. II, Palermo, Latin. Edition: Del Giudice, p. 29)

Tabulario di S. Maria Nuova di Monreale, Pergamene n. 53:

(Original, Diploma of William II, June 1185, Ind. III, Palermo, Latin. Edition: Del Giudice, p. 30)

Tabulario di S. Maria Nuova di Monreale, Pergamene n. 54:

(Original, Diploma of William II, 15 November, Ind. V [=1186], Palermo, Latin. Edition: Garufi, *Documenti*, p. 210)

Tabulario di S. Maria Nuova di Monreale, Pergamene n. 67:

[facsimile in part, Kölzer, Tafel V],
(Diploma of Constance, [25–31] December 1195, Palermo, Latin. Edition: *Constantiae*, doc. 11, pp. 40–48; in part Garufi, *Documenti*, no. XIII, pp. 33–36)
This diploma includes a document of May 1136.

Palermo, Cappella Palatina

Tabulario della Real Cappella Palatina, perg. n. 7:

[facsimile: Brühl, Tafel VIII]
(Original, Diploma of King Roger II, 28 April 1140, Palermo, Latin. Edition: *Rogerii*, doc. no. 48, pp. 133–138)

Tabulario della Real Cappella Palatina, perg. n. 8:

(Original, A document issued by George of Antioch, AM 6651, Ind. VI [= 1143], Palermo, Greek and Arabic. Edition: Cusa, pp. 68–70)

Tabulario della Real Cappella Palatina, perg. n. 16:

(Original, A document issued by Geoffrey of Centuripe, October AM 6681, Ind. VI [= 1172], Palermo, Greek and Arabic. Edition: Cusa, pp. 80–83; Léon-Robert Ménager, *Amiratus – Ἀμηρᾶς. L'Émirat et les origines de l'amirauté (XIe–XIIIe siècles)*, Paris 1960, Appendix 2, no. 33, pp. 214–224)

Tabulario della Real Cappella Palatina, perg. n. 171:

(Original, A document of sale, April AM 6704, Ind. [X]IV [= 1196], Palermo, Greek and Arabic. Edition: Cusa, pp. 87–88)

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale

Collection de Bourgogne, vol. 81, n. 263, f. 5:

[facsimile: *API*, vol. 14, Fascicolo 61, Tav. 33]
(Diploma of William II, November 1172)

Ms. lat. 5411, Chronicon Casauriense, fol. 248r:

[facsimile: Brühl, Tafel XV]
(Copy of 12th c., Diploma of King Roger II, 27 August 1140, Palermo, Latin. Edition: *Rogerii*, doc. no. 49, pp. 139–140)

Nouv. acq. lat. 2581, fol. 3:

[facsimile: *API*, vol. 14, Fascicolo 61, Tav. 37]
(Original, Diploma of Constance, September 1196, Palermo, Latin. Edition: *Constantiae*, doc. no. 34, pp. 122–124)

Nouv. acq. Lat. 2581, n. 5:

[facsimile: *API*, vol. 14, Fascicolo 61, Tav. 39]
(Diploma of Frederick II, May 1210, Messina)

Patti, Archivio Capitolare

#15:[facsimile: Collura, between p. 624 and p. 625]

(Diploma of Roger II, Aug., AM 6650 [=1142], Ind. XI [=1148], Greek. Edition: Collura, pp. 610–611)

Fondazione I, fol. 76:

[facsimile: Brühl, Tafel II]
(Original, Diploma of Adelasia, 25 May 1108, Ind. XV [=1107], Latin. Edition: *Roger II*, doc. I, pp. 3–4)

Fondazione I,:

[facsimile: Brühl, Tafel IX]
(Diploma of Archbishop Hugh of Messina, October 1131, Latin)

Fondazione I, fol. 171:

[facsimile: Brühl, Tafel XIII]
(Original, Diploma of King Roger II, February 1148, Palermo, Latin. Edition: *Rogerii*, doc. no. 75, pp. 214–216)

Pergamene restaurate latine, n. 12:

[facsimile: Brühl, Tafel VI]
(Original, Diploma of King Roger II, 26 February 1133, Messina, Latin. Edition: *Rogerii*, doc. no. 24, pp. 66–68)

Pergamene restaurate greche, fol. 20:

(Roger II's order, N.D., Greek. Edition: Cusa, pp. 532–535)

Pergamene restaurate greche, fol. 22:

[Photograph: Collezione fotografica Garufi, n. 121. Facsimile and edition: Collura, Appendice, pp. 595–597, 624–625]
(Original, Diploma of Adelasia, 1 December, AM 6620 [= 1111], Messina, Greek)

Pergamene restaurate greche, fol. 23:

(Charter of George of Antioch, May, AM 6651 [=1143], Ind. VI [=1143], Greek. Edition: Cusa, pp. 524–525)

Pergamene restaurate greche, fol. 25:

[facsimile: Brühl, Tafel XXIX],
(Diploma of King Roger II, January, AH 528 [=1134], AM 6642 [=1134], Ind. XII, Greek and Arabic. Edition: Cusa, pp. 517–519)

Pergamene restaurate greche, fol. 28:

(Diploma of Roger I, November, AM 6606 [= 1097], Ind. IX [= 1100], Greek. Edition: Cusa pp. 509–510)

Princeton, University Library

John Hinsdale Scheide Collection of Medieval and Renaissance Documents, n. 323:

[facsimile: Brühl, Tafel XXVII; Léon-Robert Ménager,"Notes et documents sur quelques monastères de Calabre à l'époque normande," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, vol. 50 (1957), Tafel II, p. 363]
(Greek Diploma of Count Roger II, September, AM 6628 [= 1119], Ind. XIII, Greek. Edition: Ménager, *ibid*., pp. 14–15)

Rome, Archivio Doria Pamphili

Fondo S. Elia di Carbone, t. I, n. 9:

[facsimile: *API*, vol. 14, Fascicolo 61, Tav. 36],
(Original, Diploma of Constance, 8 October 1195, Palermo, Latin and Greek. Edition: *Constantiae*, doc. no. 4, pp. 14–19)

Fondo S. Elia di Carbone, t. I, n. 13:

[facsimile: *API*, vol. 14, Fascicolo 61, Tav. 38]
(Diploma of Constance, September 1196, Palermo, Latin. Edition: *Constantiae*, doc. no. 33, pp. 120–121)

Salerno, Archivio della Curia Arcivescovile

arca II, n. 71 (vecchia segnatura: n. 97):

[facsimile: *API*, vol. 14, Fascicolo 61, Tav. 27–28]
(Diploma of William II, August 1167, Palermo)

arca II, n. 95 (vecchia segnatura: n. 126):

[facsimile: *API*, vol. 14, Fascicolo 61, Tav. 34–35]
(Diploma of Tancred, June 1190, Palermo)

Sevilla, Archivo Ducal de Medinaceli

Sección S(icilia), n. 15:

[facsimile, Brühl, Tafel XXI]
(Spurium in the name of King Roger II, July 1144)

Sección S, n. 55:

[facsimile, Brühl, Tafel XXIV].
(Spurium in the name of King Roger II, 15 May 1129, Palermo, Latin. Edition: *Rogerii II*, doc. no. †11, pp. 29–35)

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