

**What was the relationship between Southern Italy and Sicily,
Crusading and the Crusader States, *c.* 1060-1198?**

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Declaration of authorship

I, Paula Z Hailstone, hereby declare that this thesis and the work presented in it is entirely my own. Where I have consulted the work of others, that is always clearly stated.

Signed:

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "P Z Hailstone". The signature is written in a cursive style with a long horizontal stroke at the end.

Date: 26th September 2018

Abstract

Despite the centrality of their geographical location in relation to routes to the East, the contribution of southern Italy and Sicily to the history of crusading and the crusader states (c. 1060-1198) has often only been recognised in passing. Historians have tended to focus upon either the development of the Italo-Norman states in southern Italy and Sicily, or on the crusades and their outcome in the Latin East. This thesis examines the interaction between these two different strands through an exploration of the role of identity. Building upon previous scholarship, it argues that an emergent Italo-Norman identity can be discerned in the actions and practices of the southern Italian contingent on the First Crusade and its aftermath. Different elements of identity were foregrounded by Bohemond *et al* for political purposes. A similar process of deliberate identification occurred following the creation of the kingdom of Sicily. Here, differences in the identities adopted on Sicily and the mainland were reflected in the subsequent political orientation of the two areas, with Sicily looking towards North Africa whilst the mainland continued to act as the principal conduit between the West and the Latin Near East. This changed over time resulting in an increasingly direct engagement with the Latin States, and by the end of this period the kingdom itself can be regarded as being a leading participant in the crusading movement. This thesis therefore significantly extends academic debate by arguing that the relationship between southern Italy, Sicily and the Latin East should not only be considered in terms of military involvement but also that of indirect support on different levels. This creates a far more nuanced picture of the situation than that created by William of Tyre's dismissive portrayal, which has been largely accepted by later historians.

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List of Abbreviations

- AA Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana*, ed. and trans. S. B. Edgington (Oxford, 2007)
- AK Anna Komnene, *The Alexiad*, trans. E. R. A. Sewter, revised P. Frankopan (London, 2009)
- Alex. Tel. Alexander of Telese, *Alexandri Telese Abbatis Ystoria Rogerii Regis Sicilie Calabrie atque Apulie*, ed. L. de Nava, with historical commentary by D. R. Clementi (Rome, 1991); translated in *Roger II and the Creation of the Kingdom of Sicily*, selected sources trans. and annotated G. A. Loud (Manchester, 2012), pp. 63- 129
- Amatus Amatus of Montecassino, *Storia De' Normanni di Amato di Montecassino*, ed. V. de Bartholomaeis (Rome, 1935); translated as *The History of the Normans*, trans. P. N. Dunbar, revised G. A. Loud (Woodbridge, 2004)
- Ambroise *The History of the Holy War: Ambroise's Estoire de la Guerre Sainte*, ed. and trans. M. Ailes and M. Barber, 2 vols (Woodbridge, 2003)
- Anon. Chron. *Anonymi Auctoris Chronicon ad A.D. 1234 Pertinens*, II, ed. and trans. A. Abouna (Louvain, 1974)
- ANS *Anglo-Norman Studies*
- BAS *Biblioteca Arabo-Sicula – Versione Italiana*, ed. M. Amari, 2 vols (Turin-Rome, 1880-81)
- BB Baldric of Bourgueil, *The Historia Ierosolimitana of Baldric of Bourgueil*, ed. S. Biddlecombe (Woodbridge, 2014)
- BMGS *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*
- Caffaro *Annali Genovesi di Caffero e de suoi continuatori*, ed. L. Belgrano, *Fonti per la storia d'Italia*, 11-14, (Rome, 1890-1901); selections translated as *Caffaro, Genoa and the Twelfth-Century Crusades*, trans. M. Hall and J. Phillips (Farnham, 2013)
- Cart. Hosp. *Cartulaire Général de l'ordre des Hospitaliers de S. Jean de Jérusalem (1100-1310)*, ed. J. Delaville Le Roulx, 4 vols (Paris, 1894)
- CDB *Codice diplomatico barese*, 19 vols (Bari, 1897-1950)
- EHR *English Historical Review*

- Eustathios Eustathios of Thessaloniki, *The Capture of Thessaloniki*, trans. J. R. Melville Jones (Canberra, 1988)
- Falcandus Falcandus, *La Historia o Liber de Regno Siciliae e la Epistola ad Petrum Panormitane Ecclesie Thesaurarium di Ugo Falcando*, ed. G. B. Siragusa (Rome, 1904); translated as *The History of the Tyrants of Sicily by 'Hugo Falcandus' 1154-69*, trans. and annotated by G. A. Loud and T. Wiedemann (Manchester, 1998)
- FC Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia Hierosolymitana, (1095-1127)*, ed. H. Hagenmeyer (Heidelberg, 1913); translated as *A History of the Expedition to Jerusalem, 1095-1127*, ed. H. S. Fink, trans. F. R. Ryan (Knoxville, 1969)
- GF *Gesta Francorum: The Deeds of the Franks and the Other Pilgrims to Jerusalem*, ed. and trans. R. Hill (Oxford, 1962)
- GN Guibert of Nogent, *Dei gesta per Francos*, ed. R. B. C. Huygens (Turnhout, 1996); translated as *The Deeds of God Through the Franks*, trans. R. Levine (Woodbridge, 1997)
- HAI *Hystoria de via et recuperatione Antiochiae atque Ierusolymarum*, ed. E. D'Angelo (Florence, 2009)
- IA Ibn al-Athīr, *The Chronicle of Ibn al-Athīr for the Crusading Period from al-Kāmil fī'l-ta'rīkh*, trans. D. S. Richards, 3 vols (Aldershot, 2006-2008)
- Idrīsī al-Idrīsī, *La Première Géographie de l'Occident*, trans. H. Bresc and A. Nef (Paris, 1999); sections translated in *Roger II and the Creation of the Kingdom of Sicily*, selected sources trans. and annotated G. A. Loud (Manchester, 2012), pp. 355-63 [Loud, Roger]
- IJ *The Travels of Ibn Jubayr*, trans. R. Broadhurst (London, 1952)
- IP *Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta regis Ricardi, autore, ut videtur, Ricardo canonico Sanctae Trinitatis Londoniensis*, ed. W. Stubbs, RS 38 (London, 1864); translated as *Chronicle of the Third Crusade: A Translation of the Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi*, trans. H. J. Nicholson (Aldershot, 1997)
- IQ Ibn al-Qalānīsī, *The Damascus Chronicles of the Crusades*, ed. and trans. H. A. R. Gibb (London, 1932)
- JK John Kinnamos, *Deeds of John and Manuel Comnenus*, trans. C. M. Brand (New York, 1976)
- JMH *Journal of Medieval History*

- Kreuzzugsbriefe *Die Kreuzzugsbriefe aus den Jahren 1088-1100*, ed. H. Hagenmeyer (Innsbruck, 1901)
- Malaterra Geoffrey Malaterra, *De rebus gestus Rogerii Calabriae et Siciliae Comitis et Roberti Guiscardi Ducis fratris eius auctore Gaufrido Malaterra monacho Benedictino*, ed. E. Pontieri (Bologna, 1925-28); translated as *The Deeds of Count Roger of Calabria and Sicily and of his brother Duke Robert Guiscard*, trans. K. B. Wolf (Michigan, 2005)
- ME *Armenia and the Crusades 10th-12th Centuries: the Chronicle of Matthew of Edessa*, trans. A. E. Dostourian (Lanham, 1993)
- MGH *Monumenta Germaniae Historia* (SS = *Scriptores*; SRG = *Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum*, etc.) available online <<http://www.dmgh.de>>
- MS *Chronique de Michel le Syrien patriarche Jacobite d'Antioche (1166- 99)*, ed. J-B. Chabot (Paris, 1905)
- NC Niketas Choniates, *O City of Byzantium, Annals of Niketas Choniates*, trans. H. J. Magoulias (Detroit, 1984)
- OD Odo of Deuil, *De profectioe Ludovici VII in orientem*, ed. and trans. V. G. Berry (New York, 1948)
- OF Otto of Freising, *Otonis et Rahewini Gesta Friderici I. Imperatoris*, translated as *The Deeds of Frederick Barbarossa*, trans. C. C. Mierow (New York, 1953)
- OFCWT *La Continuation de Guillaume de Tyr (1184-1197)*, ed. M. R. Morgan (Paris, 1982); translated as 'The Old French Continuation of William of Tyre' in *The Conquest of Jerusalem and the Third Crusade*, trans. P. W. Edbury (Farnham, 1998), pp. 11-149
- OV Orderic Vitalis, *The Ecclesiastical History*, ed. and trans. M. Chibnall, 6 vols (Oxford, 1969-80)
- Pipe Roll *Great Rolls of the Pipe* (Pipe Roll Society, 1884-)
- PL *Patrologia Latina*, ed. J. P. Migne, 221 vols (Paris, 1844-64) available online: <<http://patristica.net/latina/>>
- PT Peter Tudebode, *Historia de Hierosolymitano Itinere*, ed. J. H. Hill and L. L. Hill (Paris, 1977), translated as *Historia de Hierosolymitano Itinere*, trans. J. H. Hill and L. L. Hill (Philadelphia, 1968)
- RA Raymond D'Aguilers, *Le Liber de Raymond D'Aguilers*, ed. J. H. Hill and L. L. Hill (Paris 1969), translated as *Historia*

- Francorum Qui Ceperunt Iherusalem*, trans. J. H. Hill and L. L. Hill (Philadelphia, PA, 1968)
- RC *Radulphi Cadomensis Tancredus* ed. E. D'Angelo (Turnhout, 2011), translated as *The Gesta Tancredi: A History of the Normans on the First Crusade*, trans. B. S. Bachrach and D. S. Bachrach (Aldershot, 2005)
- RHC Oc. *Recueil des historiens des croisades: Historiens occidentaux*, 5 vols (Paris, 1844-95)
- RHC Or. *Recueil des historiens des croisades: Historiens orientaux*, 5 vols (Paris, 1872-1906)
- Roger of Howden Roger of Howden, *Chronica Magistri Rogeri de Hoveden*, ed. W. Stubbs, 4 vols, RS 51 (London, 1869); translated as *The Annals of Roger de Hoveden*, trans. H. T. Riley, 2 vols (London, 1853)
- Romuald *Romualdi Salernitani Chronicon*, ed. C. A. Garufi, (Città di Castello, 1935); translated as 'Romuald of Salerno, *Chronicon sive Annales, 1125-54*' in *Roger II and the Creation of the Kingdom of Sicily*, selected sources trans. and annotated G. A. Loud (Manchester, 2012), pp. 250-268 [Loud, *Roger*] and 'Romuald of Salerno, *Chronicon sive Annales, 1153-69*' in *The History of the Tyrants of Sicily by 'Hugo Falcandus' 1154-69*, trans. and annotated by G. A. Loud and T. Wiedemann (Manchester, 1998), pp. 219-44 [Loud, *Tyrants*]
- RRH *Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani*, ed. R. Röhricht (Innsbruck, 1893)
- RS Rolls Series
- Saewulf *Peregrinationes Tres: Saewulf, John of Würzburg, Theodericus*, ed. R. B. C. Huygens (Turnhout, 1994); translated as *Jerusalem Pilgrimage 1099-1185*, J. Wilkinson, with J. Hill and W. F Ryan, (London, 1988)
- UKJ *Die Urkunden der Lateinischen Könige von Jerusalem*, ed. H. E. Mayer, 4 vols (Hanover, 2010)
- Usama Usama ibn Munqidh, *The Book of Contemplation: Islam and the Crusades*, trans. P. M. Cobb (London, 2008)
- WA Guillaume de Pouille, *La Geste de Robert Guiscard*, ed. M. Mathieu (Palermo, 1961); translated as *The Deeds of Robert Guiscard by William of Apulia*, trans. G. A. Loud
<http://www.leeds.ac.uk/arts/downloads/file/1049/the_deeds_of_robert_guiscard_by_william_of_apulia> [Accessed 1/7/16]

- WC Walter the Chancellor, *Bella Antiochena*, ed. H. Hagenmeyer (Innsbruck, 1896); translated as *Walter the Chancellor's The Antiochene Wars*, trans. T. S. Asbridge and S. B. Edgington (Aldershot, 1999)
- WT William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, ed. R. B. C. Huygens with H. E. Mayer and G. Rösch, 2 vols (Turnhout, 1986); translated as *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*, trans. E. A. Babcock and A. C. Krey, 2 vols (New York, 1943)

Introduction

He conceived a mortal hatred against the kingdom and its people. Other Christian princes in various parts of the world, either by coming in person or by giving liberal gifts, have amplified and promoted our infant realm. But he and his heirs to the present time have never been reconciled to us to the extent of a single friendly word.¹

Aims of this thesis

From their geographical position in the central-southern Mediterranean, it would be logical to expect that southern Italy and Sicily played a key role in the crusading movement. Yet except for a few brief interludes, it seems that the inhabitants and rulers of these lands showed limited interest in the Holy Land. That can be partly explained by periods of internal instability, but even when peace prevailed direct military involvement was minimal. William of Tyre, writing c. 1170-1184, explained that Sicilian disinterest was the result of the insult accorded to Adelaide del Vasto, when her marriage to Baldwin I was dissolved in 1117, and she returned to Sicily significantly poorer than when she had arrived.² Whilst this argument has merit, it is interesting to note that throughout the southern Italian sources, including the accounts of writers such as Romuald of Salerno, 'Hugo Falcandus' and Alexander of Teleso there is only limited reference to the Holy Land or anything related to it.³ Even the southern Italian monastic chronicles tend to focus upon local affairs, including that of Montecassino which despite its role in hosting potential crusaders *en route* to and from the Latin East rarely offers any details pertaining to the Levant.⁴ Yet this belies the ongoing relationship arising from the traffic of pilgrims, crusaders, churchmen and envoys, to say nothing of the flow of merchants and trade, which passed through southern Italy. There were also physical reminders of the Holy Land in southern Italy and Sicily, such as associated churches, hospitals and shrines, which suggest an ongoing interaction on Italian soil at the very least.

¹ WT, 11:29, pp. 542-43; trans. I, p. 514.

² Ibid.

³ Romuald; Falcandus; Alex. Tel.

⁴ *Annales Casinenses*, MGH SS 19, pp. 303-20; *Chronica Monasterii Casinenses*, MGH SS 34.

Figure 1: The Mediterranean world in the mid eleventh-century



This thesis will build upon previous scholarship which has considered the influence of Norman identity and widen the discussion to evaluate the role of more fluid, and at times conflicting, identities both in relation to the Italo-Norman contribution to the First Crusade and the principality of Antioch, and then in relation to the kingdom of Sicily. It will explore the apparent lack of interaction between the *regno* and the Latin Near East, and will demonstrate that in reality the situation was more nuanced. The creation of a single kingdom from a collection of Italo-Norman counties and principalities saw a deliberately adopted political and cultural identification. For Sicily, this initially resulted in an increased orientation towards Ifriqiya, whilst the mainland continued to play a far more active role in relation to the Latin Near East. Because of political changes elsewhere, together with increased Latinisation of Sicily and greater integration with the mainland, the orientation of the island shifted and with it came the possibility of more direct engagement with the Holy Land. However, the following study will contend that it was only news of the fall of Jerusalem in October 1187 that prompted direct Sicilian involvement in Levantine affairs, when a fleet was sent to succour its beleaguered ports. Until then, whilst there may have been a convergence of interests with the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem in attacking Egypt, this was coincidental rather than deliberately planned, with Sicilian interests being paramount in shaping their Mediterranean actions. This thesis will therefore demonstrate that the relationship

between the areas needs to be considered in two dimensions. On what can be termed the local level, there was an ongoing tacit engagement between southern Italy, Sicily and the Latin East, whilst more explicit military engagement was determined by the interplay between the fluid identities and alignment of its rulers.

In discussing the above themes, this study covers the period from the Norman conquest of Sicily by the Hauteville brothers, Robert Guiscard and Roger, through to the death of the last of their direct descendant, Constance, in 1198. Frederick II has not been included since his Hauteville descent is through his mother and he is more usually referred to as a Hohenstaufen. To consider his contribution to and impact upon the kingdom's relations with the Holy Land would have resulted in an imbalanced study: either with too much weighting being given to his reign, or it would have been too cursory a summary of a complex and changing identity. Similarly, relations with the papacy, German emperor and Byzantium are only addressed in relation to the context of the relationship (or apparent lack thereof) between the Italo-Norman-Sicilian realms and the Holy Land.

Defining identity

The concepts of identity and ethnicity are complex, not least because there is little agreement in how they are defined and applied, both in anthropology and in their subsequent use by historians. In the nineteenth century, anthropologists argued that an ethnic group could be recognised by its unique racial, linguistic and cultural profile. Whilst it was increasingly recognised that ethnic identity was complex, research remained focused on a checklist of concrete categories until Leach's 1954 study of Burmese hill tribes showed that groups were more fluid and diverse than the previous view that ethnicity and cultural features were directly correspondent.⁵ In 1969, Barth *et al* published a collection of papers which advocated what became known as the 'instrumentalist' view, in that identities were not inborn and unchanging but were chosen by individuals.⁶ They emphasised that ethnicity was something that was claimed by those within a group and attributed by those outside it. What was of significance

⁵ P. Heather, *The Goths* (Oxford, 1996), pp. 3-4; N. Webber, *The Evolution of Norman Identity, 911-1154* (Woodbridge, 2005), pp. 2-3.

⁶ F. Barth (ed.), *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries. The Social Organisation of Cultural Difference* (Oslo, 1969), esp. pp. 9-38.

were the boundaries between groups, and interactions across them. This was contested by ‘primordialists’, whose observations of individuals (as opposed to groups) suggested that group membership can limit the extent to which an individual can manipulate their identity, even when for material advantage.⁷ The ambiguity surrounding terminology between scholars (both within and across different disciplines) has added further complexity to the discussion, including what constitutes an ethnicity and a nation; whether ‘modern’ concepts can be applied to earlier societies; and also how membership of these identities is defined, such as through language, territory, culture, and so on.⁸ Despite these difficulties, a general consensus has emerged amongst medieval historians which recognises that identities are constantly subject to change, that ethnicity is not necessarily the primary form of an individual’s identity, and nor is ethnicity the only form of community in a society.⁹

In regard to the question of Norman identity, the large corpus of debate ranging from whether there was a ‘*gens normannorum*’ as portrayed in Orderic Vitalis through to the wider impact of the Normans upon the world they inhabited reflects this multi-disciplinary approach.¹⁰ Trying to define who, what or when someone was Norman can be fraught with difficulty, as Hurlock and Oldfield indicate in their introduction to a collection of essays entitled *Crusading and Pilgrimage in the Norman World*.¹¹ For contemporaries, being Norman not only meant originating from Normandy but also reflected certain characteristics, which could include some or all of piety, military ability, knightly valour, deviousness, cunning and rapacity.¹² A further aspect of Norman identity was their ability to rapidly assimilate into the societies they conquered, thereby creating new identities, and in a relatively short space of time they became so successful in this as to lead Brown to argue that, ‘they adapted themselves out of history.’¹³ Burkhardt and Foerster have recently widened the discussion to consider the

⁷ Heather, p. 5.

⁸ Webber gives a concise summary of issues surrounding identity theory and the problems arising from different approaches; pp. 2-9.

⁹ See, for example, Heather, p. 6; P. Amory, *People and Identity in Ostrogothic Italy, 489-554* (Cambridge, 1997), p. 13; p. 16; p. 317; H. Thomas, *The English and the Normans. Ethnic Hostility, Assimilation, and Identity 1066-c.1120* (Oxford, 2003), pp. 5-15.

¹⁰ A useful starting point for how the Normans portrayed themselves is given by E. Albu, *The Normans and their Histories* (Woodbridge, 2001); and G. A. Loud, ‘The *Gens Normannorum* – Myth or Reality?’, *ANS*, 4 (1981), 104-16, which argues that what was a myth became so established as to become a reality.

¹¹ K. Hurlock, and P. Oldfield (ed.), *Crusading and Pilgrimage in the Norman World* (Woodbridge, 2015), pp. 1-10.

¹² Webber, p. 103.

¹³ R. A. Brown, *The Normans and the Norman Conquest* (London, 1969), p. 23.

impact of ‘cultural flows’ using the concepts of ‘tradition’ and ‘heritage’ to explore how Norman identity changed and disappeared.¹⁴ In southern Italy, Loud has suggested that as the twelfth century progressed there was a blurring of identity through intermarriage and the adoption of differing customs, resulting in distinctions between Lombards and Normans dying out.¹⁵ This idea has been contested by Drell, who argues that naming patterns suggest a continued recognition of ethnicity in such marriages, although she admits that the subject is fraught with difficulties, and is perhaps ‘an exercise in frustration’.¹⁶ Despite the problems associated with onomastic evidence, Heygate’s study of eleventh-century marriage strategies in southern Italy has suggested that people may have held multiple identities which could be foregrounded at different times depending upon circumstance.¹⁷ Furthermore, Williams has argued that by the early twelfth century people were aware of the difference between ethnicity which was determined by birth, family and descent, and nationality which was a matter of law, land and allegiance, when they referred to someone’s identity.¹⁸ This differentiation can be detected in the early Latin crusade chronicles in relation to the Italo-Normans from southern Italy and Sicily, which will be explored below. Building upon these ideas, and Barth’s concept of fluid ethnic identity, this thesis will consider identity to refer to how people defined themselves (or were defined) through their family connections, geographic origins and local place.¹⁹ It will explore the idea that different identities were deliberately adopted, which subsequently shaped their political (and economic) interaction with other Mediterranean players. Ménager’s detailed study of the names of those who emigrated to southern Italy shows not all originated from Normandy, but the term Italo-Norman will be used to apply to all those who came south and settled there, as well as in relation to the contingent led by Bohemond and Tancred on the First Crusade.²⁰ When Sicily is referred to it will denote the island, whilst references to the

¹⁴ S. Burkhardt and T. Foerster (ed.), *Norman Tradition and Transcultural Heritage* (Farnham, 2013), pp. 1-18.

¹⁵ G. A. Loud, ‘Continuity and change in Norman Italy: the Campagna during the eleventh and twelfth centuries’, *JMH*, 22:4 (1996), 313-43.

¹⁶ J. Drell, ‘Cultural syncretism and ethnic identity: The Norman ‘conquest’ of Southern Italy and Sicily’, *JMH*, 25:3 (1999), 187-202, (p. 198); also ‘The Aristocratic Family’, in *The Society of Norman Italy*, ed. G. A. Loud and A. Metcalfe (Leiden, 2002), pp. 97-113.

¹⁷ C. Heygate, ‘Marriage strategies among the Normans of southern Italy in the eleventh century’, in *Norman Expansion: Connections, Continuities and Contrasts*, ed. K. J. Stringer and A. Jotischky (Farnham, 2013), pp. 165-86.

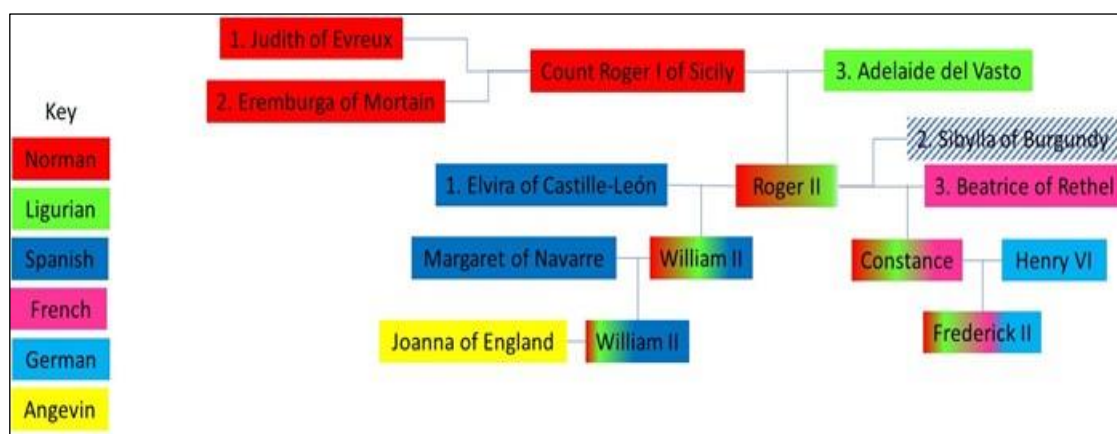
¹⁸ A. Williams, ‘Henry I and the English’, in *Henry I and the Anglo-Norman World: Studies in Memory of C. Warren Hollister*, ed. D. F. Fleming and J. M. Pope (Woodbridge, 2006), pp. 27-38.

¹⁹ Barth, pp. 9-38. Whilst it could be argued that elements of national identity are discernible, I would suggest that other elements are of greater significance. See A. Smith, *National Identity* (Nevada, 1991), p. 14.

²⁰ L-R Ménager, ‘Pesanteur et étiologie de la colonisation normande de l’Italie’, in *Roberto il Guiscardo e il suo tempore: relazioni e comunicazioni nelle prime giornate normanno-sveve* (Rome, 1975), pp. 189-

kingdom or *regno* will refer to the wider whole, incorporating the mainland, post-1130. Although traditionally referred to as the **Norman** kingdom of Sicily, until the demise of Constance in 1198, as figure 2 below indicates this is in many ways a misnomer and so it is more appropriate to refer to the monarchs as Italo-Sicilian.

Figure 2: Identity through geographical origin



Historical background

This section provides a brief overview of the period, beginning with a *précis* of the Norman context in southern Italy.²¹ The diversity of population and rule within the region provided the initial impetus for Norman involvement. Very broadly, at the start of the eleventh century the principalities of Capua, Salerno and Benevento were Lombard; Calabria was largely Greek; whilst in Apulia the population was predominantly Italo-Lombard but the province itself was nominally under Byzantine control. Formerly Byzantine Sicily had been gradually conquered first by the Aghlabid Muslims during the course of the ninth century, then by the Kalbids who owed allegiance to the Fatimids of Cairo. By the eleventh century, Kalbid authority was breaking down in the face of internal unrest as well as external threats both from the Greeks and the Zirids of Ifrīqiya. The population was about two-thirds Muslim, and one third (mainly Greek) Christian who predominantly lived in the north-east of the island

214; and 'Inventaire des familles normandes et franques émigrées en Italie méridionale et en Sicile (XIe-XIIe siècles)', in *ibid.*, pp. 260-390; both reprinted in *Hommes et institutions de l'Italie normande* (London, 1981). This volume also contains 'Additions à l'inventaire des familles normandes et franques émigrées en Italie méridionale et en Sicile', IV, pp. 1-17.

²¹ Both G. A. Loud, *The Age of Robert Guiscard: Southern Italy and the Norman Conquest* (Harlow, 2000) and J. J. Norwich, *The Normans in the South 1016-1130* (London, 1967) describe the arrival and settlement of the Normans in southern Italy and Sicily.

in the Val Demone region.²² Hence on both the mainland and Sicily as different groups sought to extend their influence opportunities were ripe for those who earned their living as mercenaries. Accounts of the arrival of the first Normans in southern Italy in around 1000 make the significance of the south as a ‘bridge to salvation’ clear.²³ Whilst the details differ, a common theme is that the Normans were there as pilgrims, returning from the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem in the account given by Amatus of Montecassino, or visiting the shrine at Monte Gargano according to William of Apulia.²⁴ During their passage through southern Italy, they gave military assistance to the local Lombard inhabitants, against either Saracen raiders or Byzantine officials. Further assistance was requested, so when the pilgrims returned to Normandy they collected new recruits for the south. Increasingly, the newcomers began to turn on those they had come to aid and started to establish themselves as an occupying force, with Aversa being their first settlement. As Loud has shown, the Normans were far from united amongst themselves and the south soon became subject to struggles between different factions, and it was in this milieu that the Hauteville brothers rose to pre-eminence.²⁵ Tancred of Hauteville was described as being of ‘middling’ status by William of Malmesbury writing in the 1120s, and in the course of his two marriages Tancred fathered twelve sons.²⁶ Since the landholding in north-west Normandy was insufficient to sustain them all and wishing to avoid fratricidal conflict, the eldest two (or three) left to seek their fortune elsewhere and ended up in Apulia in the mid-1030s where they served as mercenaries.²⁷ There, William ‘Iron Arm’ eventually established himself as the chosen leader of the Normans until his death in 1045-6, when he was succeeded by his brother Drogo. In 1046/7 his half-brother Robert arrived, but Drogo was either unwilling or unable to assist him, forcing him to initially carve out his own existence, during which time he earned the soubriquet *Guiscard* (the ‘cunning’ or ‘weasel’). The details of his rise to power have been clearly elucidated by Loud in his study *Robert Guiscard* and need not be repeated

²² Loud, *Robert Guiscard*, pp. 146-47; A. Metcalfe, *The Muslims of Medieval Italy* (Edinburgh, 2009), pp. 4-88.

²³ P. Oldfield, *Sanctity and Pilgrimage in Medieval Southern Italy, 1000-1200* (Cambridge, 2014), pp. 181-225.

²⁴ Amatus, 1:17, pp. 21-22; trans. p. 49; WA, Bk. 1, l. 10-14, p. 98; trans. p. 3.

²⁵ Loud, *Robert Guiscard*, pp. 60-80.

²⁶ William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, I, ed. and trans. by R. A. B. Mynors, completed by R. M. Thomson and M. Winterbottom (Oxford, 1998), pp. 482-83. In researching his *Gesta Regnum*, completed c. 1125/6, R. M. Thomson points out that William travelled widely, during which it is possible that he met Eadmer of Canterbury (*d. c.* 1126). Eadmer had accompanied St Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury (1093-1109) to Apulia in 1098 and had met both Roger Borsa and Count Roger I. See R. M. Thomson, ‘Malmesbury, William of (*b. c.* 1090, *d.* in or after 1142)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004), <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/29461>> [Accessed 9/11/17].

²⁷ Malaterra, 1:5, 9; trans. p. 54.

here. Suffice to say that by 1057 Guiscard had become leader of the Normans and whilst this was not uncontested, he further cemented his position in Apulia by repudiating his first wife, Alberada, on the grounds of consanguinity and marrying Sichelgaita, sister of Prince Gisulf II of Salerno in autumn/winter 1058. Another

Figure 3: The kingdom of Sicily



brother, Roger, had arrived in 1057 and although again the relationship was not always smooth, together they turned their attention to the conquest of Muslim Sicily in 1060. Whilst this was ostensibly to return it to Christian rule and had papal support, leading Chevedden to argue that it was a crusade, the process involved a willingness to work

with Muslims and exhibited few, if any, elements of a Holy War.²⁸ Instead, I argue that experience of fighting alongside and against Lombards, Greeks and Muslims in the subjection of both the mainland and Sicily, together with the methods used to establish control, helped shape an Italo-Norman identity in the south. This was further influenced by the campaigns of Robert Guiscard and his eldest son Bohemond against the Byzantines in 1081-85, which in turn helped shape Bohemond's actions during the First Crusade (1096-99).

Indeed, it is possible that Guiscard's invasion of Byzantine territory was designed to provide for his eldest son, who had been disinherited when Guiscard recognised his son by Sichelgaita, Roger Borsa, as his heir in 1072. Guiscard's death during the campaign in Cephalonia on 17th July 1085 left Bohemond landless, and whilst by 1086 he had managed to wrest control of the southern tip of Apulia from his brother, adding Bari in 1089, the fact that Count Roger of Sicily supported his nephew Roger Borsa meant there was little prospect of further gains in southern Italy. Hence the call by Urban II (1088-99) in November 1095 to go to the aid of Eastern Christians and liberate Jerusalem from infidel control may have offered Bohemond the prospect of new opportunities elsewhere. On hearing of the expedition from crusaders travelling through southern Italy, Bohemond and his followers dramatically took the cross, left the siege of Amalfi in which they were aiding Roger Borsa in his attempt to subdue the town, and headed to Bari to prepare for their departure East.²⁹ Neither Roger Borsa nor Count Roger took the cross, although they later acted as hosts to the contingents led by Duke Robert of Normandy and Count Stephen of Blois who over-wintered in the south in 1096/7. Meanwhile, the Italo-Norman contingent had departed in October 1096 and as it passed through Byzantine territory Bohemond went ahead to Constantinople possibly to negotiate his appointment as *domestikon* with Emperor Alexios I Komnenos (1081-1118).³⁰ Whilst there he took the oath of allegiance to Alexios, together with Hugh of Vermandois, Godfrey of Bouillon, Baldwin of Boulogne, Baldwin of Bourcq and eventually Raymond of Toulouse, the consequences of which were to be of significance

²⁸ P. E. Chevedden, "'A Crusade from the First': The Norman Conquest of Islamic Sicily, 1060-1091", *Al-Masāq*, 22:2 (2010), 191-225.

²⁹ GF, 1:4, p. 7.

³⁰ J. H. Pryor and M. J. Jeffreys, 'Alexios, Bohemond, and Byzantium's Euphrates Frontier: A Tale of Two Cretans', *Crusades*, 11 (2012), 31-87.

following the capture of Antioch in June 1098.³¹ The subsequent dispute between Raymond of Toulouse and Bohemond split the crusading forces, with Bohemond remaining in Antioch as the rest of the armies, including Bohemond's nephew Tancred, headed south to Jerusalem, which was finally captured in July 1099. After an unsuccessful attempt to create a principality around Galilee, Tancred returned to Antioch to act as regent (1101-03) during Bohemond's capture and imprisonment by the Danishmendid emir Gümüshtekin in August 1100.³² Following Bohemond's release, Tancred seems to have been left landless, but remained in northern Syria and acted as regent again when Bohemond departed for Europe in 1105 with the aim of recruiting more men, which were needed in the face of threats from both the Seljuks and the Byzantines. Bohemond's campaign against Alexios of 1107-08 ended in defeat and his submission at Devol in September 1108, and he returned to Apulia where he died in around 1109/11. Tancred, meanwhile, refused to accept the terms agreed and continued to expand Antioch until his death in 1112. He was succeeded by his nephew, Roger of Salerno. His death in 1119 saw King Baldwin II of Jerusalem (1118-31) assume control of Antioch until the arrival of Bohemond II from Apulia in 1126. His rule was also short, as he was killed in 1130 leaving only an infant daughter, Constance. This effectively ended the Hauteville dominance of Antioch and although her closest male relative was Roger II of Sicily, he was unable (or unwilling, as will be discussed below) to influence the succession.

The marriage of Adelaide del Vasto, widow of Count Roger of Sicily and mother of Roger II, to Baldwin I of Jerusalem in 1113 offered the possibility of closer links between Sicily and the Holy Land. Yet the annulment of the marriage in 1117 also meant that the clause in the original contract which stated that should there be no offspring of the union Roger would inherit the throne of Jerusalem on Baldwin's death was also made void. Certainly, the ignominy of Adelaide's penniless return was the reason William of Tyre gave for the subsequent disinterest of the Sicilian rulers in the affairs of the Latin East, as mentioned above. Roger was, however, more concerned first with establishing his control over his Sicilian and Calabrian inheritance, then on the

³¹ For an overview of the First Crusade see, for example, C. Tyerman, *God's War: A New History of the Crusades* (London, 2006). For a more dated (although still popular) account, S. Runciman, *A History of The Crusades*, I, (Cambridge, 1951).

³² For a chronological account see M. Barber, *The Crusader States* (New Haven and London, 2012); and T. S. Asbridge, *The Creation of the Principality of Antioch, 1098-1130* (Woodbridge, 2000).

death of his childless nephew, Duke William of Apulia in 1127, upon extending his influence on the mainland.³³ In 1128, Roger gained papal recognition for his claim to the duchy, whilst the papal schism following Pope Honorius II's death in 1130 saw Roger II's elevation to King of Sicily, Apulia and Calabria by the anti-pope Anacletus II (1130-38). It was not until 1139 that Roger was finally able to subdue both his internal and external opponents and on 25 July, at Mignano, Pope Innocent II (1130-43) formally confirmed Roger as king of 'the kingdom of Sicily, the duchy of Apulia and the principality of Capua'.³⁴ This became the official title of the kingdom, and it reflects the different status of Sicily within it, which will be discussed below. From this point, Roger II increasingly turned his attention to territorial expansion. In 1146, he offered King Louis VII of France (1137-80) the kingdom's assistance and fleet, but when this was declined Roger showed no further interest in the Second Crusade, and turned his attention to an attack on Byzantium.³⁵ More significant for the kingdom, however, was the conquest of North Africa with Tripoli being taken in 1146 followed by Mahdiyya, Sfax and Sousse in 1148. For King William I (1154-66), much of his reign was taken up with Byzantine invasion, papal opposition and internal revolts, as well as Ifrīqiyān insurrection. Whilst stability within the kingdom was eventually achieved, by 1160 Sicilian control of its North African lands had been lost to the Almohad advance.

It was during the reign of William II (1166-89) that the kingdom of Sicily appeared to direct its resources to sustaining the Latin States of the Near East. The attack on Alexandria in 1174 is usually taken to mark the start of this renewal of interest, which then faltered until news of Saladin's conquest of Jerusalem in October 1187 reached the West. William responded by sending the Sicilian fleet under the command of his admiral, Margaritus, to assist the Levantine ports in their resistance to Saladin's advance and wrote to other European leaders exhorting them to action.³⁶ Whether William II would have followed in the footsteps of his crusading forebears, Bohemond and Tancred, remains unknown but it seems that he had not taken the cross when he died in November 1189. This plunged the kingdom into civil war, as in 1184 William

³³ For an account of Roger's reign, see H. Houben, *Roger II of Sicily: A Ruler between East and West*, trans. G. A. Loud and D. Milburn (Cambridge, 2002); and J. J. Norwich, *The Kingdom in the Sun 1130-1194* (London, 1970), which as the titles indicates, also covers the reigns of Roger II's successors.

³⁴ Houben, *Roger II*, p. 132; *Rogarii II Regis Diplomata Latina*, ed. C. Brühl, *Codex Diplomaticus Regni Siciliae*, Ser. II.ii.1 (Cologne, 1987), pp. 113-115, no. 41.

³⁵ OD, pp. 68-69.

³⁶ Latin text of Letter of Innocent II in *Das Papsttum und die süditalienischen Normannenstaaten, 1053-1212*, ed. J. Deér, (Göttingen, 1969), pp. 74-75; trans. Loud, *Roger*, p. 311.

had designated his aunt Constance as his successor should he die childless on her betrothal to Henry VI of Germany. Meanwhile, two internal candidates came forward and whilst Tancred of Lecce had the better direct claim since he was the illegitimate son of Roger II's eldest son, Duke Roger of Apulia (d. 1148), Count Roger of Andria had the support of many of the nobility. Tancred won this contest, being crowned king in January 1190, but the threat of German invasion remained. Against this backdrop, the French and English contingents of the Third Crusade arrived in Messina, and as a result of an alliance finally agreed with Richard I of England (1189-99), Tancred made a substantial contribution to the resources of the crusade and hoped for an ally against Henry VI in return. But events and illness acted against Tancred, and his death in February 1194 left Queen Sibylla to defend the rights of their young son, William III. Despite an attempt at resistance, she was unable to halt Henry VI's advance and accepting his offer of safe conduct to Lecce she conceded defeat. Henry VI was crowned king in Palermo on 25th December 1194. Four days later he claimed to have discovered that Sibylla and many of the Sicilian nobility were plotting against him and ordered their arrest and removal to Germany. Meanwhile Constance had remained in Jesi (Ancona) where she gave birth to a son, Frederick, on 26th December. Henry died in September 1197, and fourteen months later was followed by Constance, the last direct descendant of the Hautevilles. Although the kingdom's resources had contributed to the Third Crusade, and the subsequent German Crusade of 1197-98 (launched by Henry VI in 1195), it was not until the expedition of Frederick II in 1228 that a king of Sicily finally went to the Holy Land.

Wider Academic Context

Both academic and popular interest in the Normans in southern Italy and Sicily has increased in England in recent years, with two key exhibitions in 2016 at the British Museum and the Ashmolean Museum, and a conference in Oxford in July 2017.³⁷ Yet prior to this, interest in the Italo-Normans developed slowly. In 1908, Chalandon's seminal two-volume study *Histoire de la domination Normande en Italie et en Sicilie* was published, and whilst some areas such as those relating to land tenure and the structure of government have been re-evaluated, much of his study remains relevant

³⁷ British Museum, 'Sicily: Culture and Conquest', 21 April-14 August 2016; Ashmolean Museum, 'Storms, Wars and Shipwrecks: Treasures from the Sicilian Seas', 21 June-25 September 2016; 'The Normans in the South: Mediterranean Meetings in the Central Middle Ages', St Edmund Hall, Oxford, 30 June-2 July 2017.

today.³⁸ Jamison added significantly to our knowledge, both in relation to the administration of Apulia and Capua, as well as in her analysis of the Italo-Norman contingent on the First Crusade.³⁹ Meanwhile, although her ideas about the possible identity of ‘Hugo Falcandus’ have since been shown to be incorrect, more recently by Loud and D’Angelo, her account of *Admiral Eugenius of Sicily* provides an insightful discussion of the end of Italo-Norman rule in the south.⁴⁰ Norwich produced a two-volume history of the Italo-Normans, covering their arrival and establishment in *The Normans in the South, 1016-1130* (1967), followed by *The Kingdom in the Sun, 1130-1194* (1970), both of which provide a lively narrative, but since they were targeted towards the general reader, they are frustrating in their lack of references.⁴¹ This was to some extent addressed by Matthew in 1992 with his textbook, *The Norman Kingdom of Sicily*, but as the title suggests much of the focus relates to kingship and royal rule.⁴² Takayama’s study of the development of royal administration supplements this, as he charts its development both within Sicily and on the mainland.⁴³ Meanwhile Martin’s detailed study of Apulia from the sixth to the twelfth century draws on a range of documentary evidence, although his focus also remains largely political in its emphasis.⁴⁴ There are, however, many (particularly local) studies which concentrate upon different artistic and cultural aspects which will be referred to within the chapter-specific discussions below.

In regard to Sicily, Amari’s monumental work documenting Muslim Sicily, together with his translation of Arabic texts into Italian, are still key sources of material especially for non-Arabists.⁴⁵ However, whilst Amari saw the Arabic influence in the Sicilian court as being a legacy of its Muslim past, Johns has challenged this and has established that it was instead a deliberate importation of Fatimid systems and customs

³⁸ F. Chalandon, *Histoire de la domination Normande en Italie et en Sicilie*, 2 Vols (Paris, 1907).

³⁹ E. M. Jamison, ‘The Norman Administration of Apulia and Capua: More Especially under Roger II and William I, 1127-1166’, *Papers for the British School at Rome*, 6 (1913), 211-418 [also available as a separate monograph, Aalen, 1987]; also ‘Some notes on the *Anonymus Gesta Francorum*, with special reference to the Norman contingent from South Italy and Sicily in the First Crusade’, in *Studies in French Language and Literature Presented to Professor Mildred Pope*, ed. M. K. Pope (Manchester, 1939), pp. 183-208.

⁴⁰ E. M. Jamison, *Admiral Eugenius of Sicily. His Life and Work* (London, 1957); Falcandus, trans., pp. 26-42; E. D’Angelo, ‘The pseudo-Hugh Falcandus in his own texts’, *ANS*, 35 (2013), 141-62.

⁴¹ See fns 21 and 33.

⁴² D. Matthew, *The Norman Kingdom of Sicily* (Cambridge, 1992).

⁴³ H. Takayama, *The Administration of the Norman Kingdom of Sicily* (Leiden, 1993).

⁴⁴ J-M. Martin, *La Pouille du VI^e au XII^e Siècle* (Rome, 1993).

⁴⁵ M. Amari, *Storia dei Musulmani di Sicilia*, 3 vols, 2nd ed. C. Nallino (Catania, 1985-8); *BAS* I and II.

during the reign of Roger II.⁴⁶ This has been further reflected by the studies of the Muslim population in Sicily by Metcalfe, and their changing status within the kingdom.⁴⁷ Nef's more recent study of the methods used by the Normans in their take-over and subsequent rule of Muslim Sicily up to 1189, whilst not arguing a new approach, also adds significantly to the range of source material available to scholars.⁴⁸ Houben's analysis of the reign of Roger II provides a useful account of both the political and cultural milieu of the court, as well as providing an economic dimension to Roger's actions.⁴⁹ This thesis evaluates this further, and questions whether the cultural appropriation of Fatimid practices was of greater political significance than has been argued by Johns *et al*, particularly regarding Sicilian involvement in North Africa.

Other aspects of the Norman impact in southern Italy have been documented by Loud, and his assessment of the complexity of society and politics surrounding the Norman 'conquest' of the south goes some way to explaining why the nobility appeared to have little appetite for crusading.⁵⁰ Loud's 1992 article 'Norman Italy and the Holy Land' showed that by the 1130s, interest had dwindled; an idea recently reiterated by Russo in which he characterises the Italo-Normans as 'bad crusaders', not least because he suggested there was no memory of the crusade.⁵¹ Yet that does not allow for the physical reminders of the Holy Land, such as associated churches, pilgrim hospitals, and even Bohemond's tomb. So, whilst there is little evidence to suggest an ongoing participation in crusading after the First Crusade, this thesis will argue that it is necessary to differentiate between large scale military enterprises which merited reference in many of the primary sources, and a low-level ongoing interaction which was rarely documented. In so-doing it will draw upon the idea outlined by Oldfield within his wider study of *Sanctity and Pilgrimage in Medieval Southern Italy, 1000-1200*, in which he argues that southern Italy acted as 'a bridge to salvation' in its role as a main route to the Holy Land.⁵² Trade was also a significant area of interchange,

⁴⁶ J. Johns, *Arabic Administration in Norman Sicily: The Royal Dīwān* (Cambridge, 2002).

⁴⁷ A. Metcalfe, *Muslims and Christians in Norman Sicily: Arabic Speakers and the End of Islam* (London, 2003); and *Muslims of Medieval Italy*.

⁴⁸ A. Nef, *Conquérir et Gouverner la Sicile Islamique aux VI^e et XII^e Siècles* (École Française De Rome, 2011).

⁴⁹ Houben, *Roger II, passim*.

⁵⁰ Loud, *Robert Guiscard*, pp. 92-146 and pp. 234-90.

⁵¹ G. A. Loud, 'Norman Italy and the Holy Land', in *The Horns of Hattin*, ed. B. Z. Kedar (Jerusalem, 1992), pp. 49-62; L. Russo, 'Bad Crusaders? The Normans of Southern Italy and the Crusading Movement in the Twelfth Century', *ANS*, 38 (2015), 169-80.

⁵² Oldfield, *Sanctity and Pilgrimage*, p. 181, *passim*.

certainly for pre-Norman Sicily, as Goitein's study of the Cairo Geniza documents has shown.⁵³ Abulafia's thorough evaluation of trade between southern and northern Italy has revealed that the Italo-Norman rulers seemed willing to forego Levantine trade but were protective of the royal grain trade.⁵⁴ The implications of this in relation to the monarchs' wider Mediterranean involvement and political alignment have not, however, been explored until now. This approach will therefore contest the view espoused by Stanton that Sicilian hegemony in the southern Mediterranean was lost solely through the actions of her kings.⁵⁵ Instead, I argue that a more nuanced approach is required which takes into account shifting centres of power, as well as their economic consequences, in shaping royal actions.

Turning briefly to the role of the Italo-Normans and crusading, Ní Chléirigh's study of the Latin chronicles of the First Crusade has shown that when talking about the Italo-Norman contingent, they were not regarded as "Norman" except in the *Gesta Tancredi* of Ralph of Caen to which I will return below.⁵⁶ France has also demonstrated that the two contingents of the Normans under Robert Curthose and the Italo-Normans under Bohemond were separate entities and that there was not anything approaching a 'special relationship' between the two.⁵⁷ Building upon this recognition, this thesis will move beyond the more traditional approach of focusing upon elements of "Norman" identity, and will suggest that a nascent **Italo**-Norman identity which had been created out of the experience of fighting against and alongside Greeks and Muslims is discernible both during the First Crusade and in the subsequent establishment of the Latin States. In regard to the principality of Antioch, Cahen's formative study is still of relevance today, although certain elements of his argument have been reassessed, particularly in relation to his view that the Italo-Normans imported *feudal* practices found in southern Italy.⁵⁸ Not only has the nature of Italo-Norman society in southern Italy itself been questioned by Skinner but in regard to Antioch Asbridge, in his analysis of the creation of the

⁵³ S. D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society*, I (Los Angeles, 1967); also, 'Sicily and Southern Italy in the Cairo Geniza Documents' *Archivio Storico per la Sicilia Orientale*, 67 (1971), 9-33.

⁵⁴ D. Abulafia, *The Two Italies: Economic Relations Between the Norman Kingdom of Sicily and the Northern Communes* (Cambridge, 1977).

⁵⁵ C. D. Stanton, *Norman Naval Operations in the Mediterranean* (Woodbridge, 2011).

⁵⁶ L. Ní Chléirigh, 'Gesta Normannorum? Normans in the Latin Chronicles of the First Crusade', in *Norman Expansion*, ed. Stringer and Jotischky, pp. 207-26.

⁵⁷ J. France, 'The Normans and Crusading', in *The Normans and their Adversaries at War: Essays in memory of C. Warren Hollister*, ed. R. P. Abels and B. S. Bachrach (Woodbridge, 2001), pp. 87-101 (p. 91).

⁵⁸ C. Cahen, *La Syrie du nord a l'époque des croisades et la principauté franque d'Antioche* (Paris, 1940).

Principality up to 1136, has argued that its early development was far less formal than suggested by Cahen, particularly in relation to the structure of its government.⁵⁹ This has been supplemented by Buck's recent monograph continuing the history of the principality to the end of the twelfth century.⁶⁰ In it, Buck argues that the nobility of Antioch was more powerful than previously thought in relation to their role in government and in shaping the policies pursued by its rulers. Both studies recognise the role of the original Italo-Normans, but they also argue that ongoing links rapidly declined and that the Antiochenes deliberately pursued help elsewhere rather than turning to southern Italy and Sicily. Whilst that view has merit, I argue that greater account needs to be taken of Roger II's own situation and concerns in southern Italy. I also draw upon prosopographical studies by Murray, as well as exploring the continuous passage of people through southern Italy, to contend that the early links continued for longer than suggested, albeit at a low level.⁶¹ MacEvitt has argued that in at least the twelfth century there was a high level of pragmatic tolerance shown by the Frankish settlers (particularly in the northern states) towards the religious practices of the indigenous inhabitants, which was not found anywhere else in Europe.⁶² Yet this does not recognise the situation in Sicily (and southern Italy), where different faiths were also accepted. This leads me to argue that parallels can be drawn in that in both areas such 'rough tolerance' was largely dictated by political pragmatism, but it also suggests that the Italo-Norman experience in Sicily may have been influential in shaping their approach. Kirschberger has recently widened the debate in relation to Antioch, by suggesting that a specific Antiochene identity emerged following the Italo-Norman establishment of the principality.⁶³ Although there are some weaknesses with his argument in relation to how he categorises the primary sources he uses as 'Antiochene'

⁵⁹ P. Skinner, 'When was southern Italy "feudal"?', in *Il feudalesimo nell'alto Medioevo*, I (Spoleto, 2000), pp. 309-40; Asbridge, *Antioch*, esp. pp. 129-95, *passim*.

⁶⁰ A. Buck, *The Principality of Antioch and its Frontiers in the Twelfth Century* (Woodbridge, 2017).

⁶¹ A. V. Murray, 'Ethnic Identity in the Crusader States: The Frankish Race and the Settlement of Outremer', in *Concepts of National Identity in the Middle Ages*, ed. S. Forde, L. Johnson and A. V. Murray (Leeds, 1995), pp. 59-73; 'How Norman was the Principality of Antioch? Prolegomena to a Study of the Origins of the Nobility of a Crusader State', in *Family Trees and the Roots of Politics: The Prosopography of Britain and France from the Tenth to the Twelfth Century*, ed. K.S.B. Keats-Rohan (Woodbridge, 1997), pp. 349-59; 'Norman Settlement in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, 1099-1131' *Archivio Normanno-Svevo*, 1 (2008), 61-85; 'National identity, language and conflict in the crusades to the Holy Land, 1096-1192', in *The Crusades and the Near East: Cultural Histories*, ed. C. Kostick (Abingdon, 2011), pp. 107-30; also, 'The Nobility of the Principality of Antioch, 1098-1187: Names, Origins and Identity', in *The Norman Edge: People, Places and Power*, ed. A. Jotischky and K. Stringer (Routledge, 2018) *forthcoming*.

⁶² C. MacEvitt, *The Crusades and the Christian World of the East: Rough Tolerance* (Philadelphia, 2008).

⁶³ T. Kirschberger, *Erster Kreuzzug und Ethnogenese: In novam formam commutatus – Ethnogenetische Prozesse im Fürstentum Antiochia und im Königreich Jerusalem* (Göttingen, 2015).

and ‘Jerusalemite’, the idea of constructed identity allows for a broader exploration of how such identities were perceived, and their wider significance beyond Antioch.

Meanwhile, the question of interaction at what might be termed the ‘local level’ between southern Italy, Sicily and the Latin East, has only indirectly been addressed by historians, and often only in relation to specific circumstances. Hence by drawing upon a range of different themes, this thesis will argue that there was an ongoing interaction which in many respects belies the kingdom’s apparent disinterest in the Holy Land suggested by its lack of direct military involvement. Indeed Oldfield raises the idea that southern Italians may have believed they were contributing enough to the Holy Land at a supply and transit level, but as his main focus is upon the nature of pilgrimage, he does not evaluate the wider impact of travellers (of all sorts) passing through the *regno*.⁶⁴ Similarly, White’s thorough study of *Latin Monasticism in Norman Sicily*, together with Loud’s more recent survey of *The Latin Church in Norman Italy*, indicate that there was at least limited royal and noble support for the offshoots of Holy Land churches and the military orders, but neither study addresses the extent of local involvement in their sustenance.⁶⁵ However, Houben’s study of the thirteenth-century holdings of the Teutonic Order in the kingdom has shown that since their numbers remained small, they relied upon networks of laymen to rent (and work) their properties, particularly from ethnic and religious minorities, which may therefore have applied elsewhere.⁶⁶ The possibilities for engagement through aspects of architecture and art will also be examined below, and this thesis posits that this reflected an ongoing interaction with the Holy Land on Italian soil. As mentioned above ongoing trade was significant and may also have provided opportunities for more direct participation by southern Italians. As Balard and Abulafia have shown, a ship’s origin did not always reflect its crew, nor flag of identity.⁶⁷ In discussing the above, this thesis will further the

⁶⁴ Oldfield, *Sanctity and Pilgrimage*, p. 267.

⁶⁵ L. T. White, *Latin Monasticism in Norman Sicily* (Cambridge, MA, 1938); G. A. Loud, *The Latin Church in Norman Italy* (Cambridge, 2007).

⁶⁶ H. Houben, ‘Between Sicily and Jerusalem: The Teutonic Knights in the Mediterranean (Twelfth to Fifteenth Centuries)’, in *Islands and Military Orders, c. 1291 – c. 1798*, ed. E. Buttigieg and S. Phillips (Farnham, 2013), pp. 155-63.

⁶⁷ M. Balard, ‘Escalaes génoises sur les routes de l’Orient méditerranéen au XIV siècle’, in *Les grandes escales: colloque organisé en collaboration avec la Commission internationale d’histoire maritime (10e Colloque d’histoire maritime)*, I (Brussels, 1974), pp. 243-64; D. Abulafia, ‘Crocuses and Crusaders: San Gimignano, Pisa and the Kingdom of Jerusalem’, in *Outremer: Studies in the History of the Crusading Kingdom of Jerusalem*, ed. B. Z. Kedar, H. E. Mayer and R. C. Smail (Jerusalem, 1982), pp. 227-43.

debate by arguing that the issue of identity is a key component in the changing relationship between the kingdom and the Latin Near East.

Sources and outline

Latin sources for southern Italy and Sicily

In terms of narrative sources, the coverage is better for the earlier years of the period under study than the later. There are three near-contemporary eleventh-century sources relating the actions of Robert Guiscard and Roger, and whilst Webber has evaluated their portrayal of Norman identity, they also give an insight into the formation of an Italo-Norman identity.⁶⁸ Very little is known about Amatus of Montecassino, author of the *Historia Normannorum*, not least because the only surviving copy of the text is an early fourteenth-century French translation. Champollion-Figeac, editor of the first printed edition in 1835 identified Amatus as bishop of Nusa in Campania, who died in 1083, whilst Wolf has argued that he was bishop of Paestum (1047-58), who retired to Montecassino and subsequently wrote his history, and it is this identification which Dunbar suggests is the most likely.⁶⁹ The text was dedicated to Abbot Desiderius of Montecassino (1058-87) and the last event recorded is the death of Prince Robert of Capua in April 1078, suggesting it was written *c.*1080.⁷⁰ Whilst there are some differences in the details Amatus gives, and on occasion he glosses over difficulties in Norman-papal relations, the account provides a detailed account of Norman expansion in the south as well as the beginnings of the conquest of Sicily. Geoffrey Malaterra's *De rebus gestis Rogerii Calabriae et Siciliae Comitis et Roberti Guiscardi Ducis* focuses far more on Roger as the title suggests.⁷¹ He was commissioned to write it by Roger himself, and the account covers events from the arrival of the Hautevilles in southern Italy through to Pope Urban II's granting of papal legateship for Sicily to Roger in July 1098. Although he refers to Bohemond's departure on crusade, he makes no reference to either the capture of Antioch (June 1098) nor of Jerusalem (July 1099), suggesting it was completed before news of these events reached the West.⁷² His identity, too, is

⁶⁸ Webber, pp. 55-85.

⁶⁹ Amatus; see Amatus trans. pp. 10-15; K. B. Wolf, *Making History: The Normans and Their Historians in Eleventh-Century Italy* (Philadelphia, 1995), p. 88.

⁷⁰ Amatus trans. p. 19.

⁷¹ Malaterra.

⁷² Wolf, *Making History*, pp. 147-48. The timeframe Wolf suggests has been questioned by M-A. Lucas-Avenel, 'Le récit de Geoffroi Malaterra ou la légitimation de Roger, Grand Comte de Sicile', *ANS*, 34 (2011), 169-92.

unknown. He explains that he came from ‘north of the Alps’ and on occasion refers to ‘our men’, which has led to the suggestion that he may have been from Normandy, although there is no evidence to directly support this contention. In fact, Malaterra also indicates the fluidity of identity, as he explains how he has lately ‘become Sicilian’ and the inclusive use of ‘our men’ may reflect this adopted identity.⁷³ The third account is a poem by William of Apulia, the *Gesta Roberti Wiscardi*, which covers the arrival of the Normans before moving on to give (on occasion) a selective account of Robert Guiscard. In its references to Pope Urban II, it appears to have been composed between November 1095 and July 1099.⁷⁴ As with the two other accounts, little is known about William’s identity; Mathieu in the introduction to her translation argues that he was a Norman, and Wolf has further suggested that he may have been part of Roger Borsa’s court and have been commissioned to write it to further legitimise Borsa’s status as Guiscard’s heir.⁷⁵ That William links Guiscard’s rise in status to his marriage to Sichelgaita may be a further reflection of this, although Brown argues that William’s portrayal of the duchess is not always flattering, and queries whether Borsa needed to reaffirm his legitimacy to the dukedom by 1099.⁷⁶ Whilst the similarities between William’s account of Guiscard’s Byzantine campaigns and those of Anna Komnene in *The Alexiad* has led to the suggestion that they may have shared a common source, Loud refutes this as unlikely.⁷⁷ That aside, it gives some detailed episodes of Guiscard’s life, which are later seen reflected in some of Bohemond’s actions.

As we move into the twelfth century, the narratives tend to cover only parts of the period, both in relation to time and space. Alexander, abbot of the monastery of San Salvatore near Telesse, wrote his *Ystoria Rogerii Regis Sicilie Calabrie atque Apulie* in around 1136.⁷⁸ Whilst the section covering Roger’s younger years and the regency of his mother Adelaide lacks depth, from 1127 to the point at which it abruptly breaks off in 1136 the account becomes more comprehensive. Loud has suggested that

⁷³ Malaterra, p. 3; trans. p. 42. As Wolf discusses in his introduction (p. 6, fn. 6) the suggestion that Geoffrey was a Norman rests largely with E. Pontieri’s enthusiastic endorsement of the idea, and his suggestion that prior to Geoffrey’s arrival in Apulia, he was at St. Evroul, for which there is no evidence (Malaterra, p. iv).

⁷⁴ WA.

⁷⁵ WA, pp. 17-21; Wolf, *Making History*, p. 124

⁷⁶ P. Brown, ‘The *Gesta Roberti Wiscardi*. A ‘Byzantine’ history?’, *JMH*, 37:2 (2011), 162-79.

⁷⁷ P. Frankopan, ‘Turning Latin into Greek: Anna Komnene and the *Gesta Roberti Wiscardi*’, *JMH*, 39:1 (2013), 80-99; G. A. Loud, ‘Anna Komnene and her Sources for the Normans of Southern Italy’, in *Church and Chronicle in the Middle Ages: Essays Presented to John Taylor*, ed. I. Wood and G. A. Loud (London, 1991), pp. 41-57; also, WA, trans., p. 2.

⁷⁸ Alex. Tel.

Alexander's favourable portrayal of Roger may have been partly dictated by the hope of rewards for his monastery, since Alexander explains that he had been requested to write the chronicle by Countess Matilda of Caiazzo, sister of Roger II.⁷⁹ Despite its deliberately positive spin on Roger's actions, only one manuscript dating from the fourteenth century survives therefore suggesting that it had limited distribution and impact. The detail it provides about Roger's actions in establishing the kingdom, and how it defines him, makes it a valuable resource. Another contemporary source, this time critical of Roger, is the *Chronicon Beneventanum*.⁸⁰ This was written by the Lombard notary Falco of Benevento and covers the period 1101 to 1144. As its title indicates its focus is predominantly upon events in Benevento but from 1127 it also includes details from Apulia and the Terra di Lavoro.⁸¹ Covering the period from the death of Roger II in February 1154 through to spring 1169, there is *La Historia o Liber de Regno Siciliae e la Epistola ad Petrum Panormitane Ecclesie Thesaurarium di Ugo Falcando*.⁸² As mentioned above, the identity of its author, 'Hugo Falcandus' (hereafter referred to as Falcandus) remains unknown, since the name attributed to the manuscript was added when it was first published in 1550. Since all manuscripts also include the 'Letter to Peter', D'Angelo has argued that it is possible the author was either William or Peter of Blois, both of whom spent time in Sicily during the minority of William II.⁸³ It is scathing in its depiction of both William I and Maio of Bari, so needs to be treated with an element of caution but the focus upon Palermitan affairs, about which the author was clearly well-informed, gives a useful insight into the politics of the court. The *Chronicon* attributed to Romuald Guarna, archbishop of Salerno (1153-81), begins with the Creation and ends with a detailed account of the peace treaty agreed at Venice between Pope Alexander III, Frederick Barbarossa, and the kingdom of Sicily, thereby providing the only account we have that includes part of William II's reign. The final section was certainly an eye-witness account as Romuald was head of the Sicilian delegation in Venice, but how much of the rest of the *Chronicon* can be attributed to him remains a matter of debate.⁸⁴ The section after 1140 includes reference to events

⁷⁹ Loud, *Roger*, intro, pp. 52-55; Alex. Tel. p.2; trans. Loud, *Roger*, p. 63.

⁸⁰ Falco of Benevento, *Chronicon Beneventanum*, ed. E. D'Angelo (Florence, 1998); translated as *The Chronicle of Falco of Benevento in Roger II and the Creation of the Kingdom of Sicily*, selected sources trans. and annotated G. A. Loud (Manchester, 2012), pp. 130-249 [Loud, *Roger*].

⁸¹ G. A. Loud, 'The Genesis and Content of The Chronicle of Falco of Benevento', *ANS*, 15 (1992) 177-98.

⁸² Falcandus.

⁸³ D'Angelo, 'The pseudo-Hugh Falcandus', pp. 156-61.

⁸⁴ Loud, *Roger II*, pp. 58-59; D. Matthew, 'The Chronicle of Romuald of Salerno', in *The Writing of History in the Middle Ages: Essays Presented to Richard William Southern*, ed. R. H. C. Davis and J. M. Hadrill (Oxford, 1981), pp. 239-74.

outside the kingdom, although their significance is not always made explicit. Richard of S. Germano was a notary at Montecassino, and later in the service of Frederick II. His account of the years from William II's death until 1243, written between 1216 and 1243, includes many events he would have witnessed.⁸⁵ Finally, Peter of Eboli's poem, *Liber ad Honorem Augusti*, describes (and praises) the conquest of the kingdom by Henry VI.⁸⁶ It was probably written between 1195 and 1197, and the only surviving manuscript also includes fifty-three full page colour illustrations which give an insight into court society.⁸⁷ Hence the final years of Hauteville rule in Sicily receive limited coverage in terms of narrative accounts. There are, however, several monastic chronicles that serve to corroborate events and sometimes add further details, including the anonymous *Chronica Ignoti Monachi Cisterciensis S. Mariae de Ferraria*.⁸⁸ The *Annales Casinenses* also offers further glimpses into aspects of the kingdom, but despite the monastery's location which would have brought it into contact with many of those travelling to and from the Holy land, there are relatively few references to crusading.⁸⁹ Perhaps more significant was another product of the monastery's scriptorium which in a 2008 edition by D'Angelo has been entitled *Hystoria de via et recuperatione Antiochiaae atque Ierusalymarum* (HAI), which I will discuss further in relation to crusade texts below.⁹⁰ Many of the extant (Latin) documents from the rulers of Sicily have been published in various collections, including most recently the *Codex Diplomaticus Regni Siciliae*, whilst the *Codice diplomatico barese* provides a wealth of material relating to Apulia and its ports.⁹¹

⁸⁵ Richard of S. Germano, *Ryccardi di Sancto Germano Notarii Chronicon*, ed. C. A. Garufi, 2nd ed. (Bologna, 1938); translated as *The Chronicle of Richard of S. Germano, 1189-1199*, trans. G. A. Loud <http://www.leeds.ac.uk/arts/info/125040/medieval_studies_research_group/1102/medieval_history_texts_in_translation> [Accessed 3/2/16].

⁸⁶ Peter of Eboli, *Liber ad Honorem Augusti di Pietro da Eboli*, ed. G. B. Siragusa (Rome, 1906); translated as *The Book in Honour of the Emperor by Peter of Eboli*, trans. G. A. Loud, I. Moxon and P. Oldfield <http://www.leeds.ac.uk/arts/info/125040/medieval_studies_research_group/1102/medieval_history_texts_in_translation> [Accessed 3/2/16].

⁸⁷ Peter of Eboli, trans., p. 1.

⁸⁸ *Chronica Ignoti Monachi Cisterciensis S. Mariae de Ferraria*, ed. A. Gaudenzi (Naples, 1888).

⁸⁹ *Annales Casinenses*, pp. 303-20. See Chalandon, I, pp. xxxv-vi, for his critical assessment of the veracity of the account produced by Peter the Deacon.

⁹⁰ HAI.

⁹¹ *Rogerii II Regis; Guillelmi I Regis Diplomata*, ed. H. Enzensberger, *Codex Diplomaticus Regni Siciliae*, Ser. I.iii (Cologne, 1996); *Tancredi et Willelmi III Regnum Diplomata*, ed. H. Zielinski, *Codex Diplomaticus Regni Siciliae*, Ser. I.v (Cologne, 1982); *CDB*.

Latin sources for links with crusading and the crusader states

Of the four eyewitness accounts of the First Crusade, the Anonymous *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum* gives most information about the Italo-Normans and the actions of Bohemond during the First Crusade, at least up to the capture of Antioch.⁹² Whilst the author's identity remains unknown, his references to Bohemond as *dominus*, together with his listing of some of those accompanying Bohemond implies he was also part of the contingent. Kostick has argued persuasively that he was more likely a knight than a cleric as suggested by Morris, and that his account was probably written around 1101.⁹³ His purpose in writing has also been the subject of debate, in which Paul has rebutted Kray's argument that it was written at Bohemond's request as propaganda for his recruitment campaign in 1107 against the Byzantines.⁹⁴ Discussion also revolves around similarities between the *Gesta Francorum* and another eyewitness account, that of Peter of Tudebode's *Historia de Hierosolymitano Itinere*.⁹⁵ Rubenstein has suggested that the *Gesta* was based upon a loose collection of stories, which were reworked to form a narrative, whilst Peter Tudebode's account was a reworking of an earlier version of the *Gesta*. Both France and Bull remain unconvinced by this theory, with Bull recently arguing that when the lexical and syntactical textures are compared a more complicated picture of a continuum of production emerges.⁹⁶ It is worth noting that the way in which the *Gesta*'s author refers to the southern Italians suggests that he was writing for a local audience who would understand his approach. Bearing in mind the fact that Robert Guiscard's campaign against the Byzantines had been unpopular with many in 1081, and that Apulia and Calabria had recently supported the armies of Robert of Normandy and Stephen of Blois during the winter of 1096/7, I contend it may well have been utilised (and perhaps therefore become more widely known?) in an attempt to encourage enthusiasm in and around Bohemond's Italian lands for another influx of

⁹² GF.

⁹³ C. Kostick, *The Social Structure of the First Crusade* (Leiden, 2008), pp. 13-15; C. Morris, 'The "Gesta Francorum" as narrative history', *Reading Medieval Studies*, 19 (1993), 55-71.

⁹⁴ A. C. Krey, 'A Neglected Passage in the *Gesta* and Its Bearing on the Literature of the First Crusade', in *The Crusades and Other Historical Essays Presented to D. C. Munro*, ed. L. J. Paetow (New York, 1928), pp. 57-78; N. L. Paul, 'A Warlord's Wisdom: Literacy and Propaganda at the Time of the First Crusade', *Speculum*, 85:3 (2010), 534-566.

⁹⁵ PT.

⁹⁶ J. Rubenstein, 'What is the *Gesta Francorum*, and who was Peter Tudebode?', *Revue Mabillon*, 16 (2005), 179-204; J. France, 'The Use of the Anonymous *Gesta Francorum* in the Early Twelfth-Century Sources for the First Crusade', in *From Clermont to Jerusalem: The Crusades and Crusader Societies 1095-1500*, ed. A. V. Murray (Turnhout, 1998), pp. 29-42; M. Bull, 'The relationship between the *Gesta Francorum* and Peter Tudebode's *Historia de Hierosolymitano Itinere*: the evidence of a hitherto unexamined manuscript (St. Catharine's College, Cambridge, 3)', *Crusades*, 11 (2012), 1-17.

men.⁹⁷ The other two eye-witness accounts are those of Raymond of Aguilers' *Le Liber de Raymond D'Aguilers* and Fulcher of Chartres' *Historia Hierosolymitana*.⁹⁸ Raymond was chaplain to Count Raymond of St Gilles, and wrote his account with the knight Pons of Balazun but finished it alone around 1102 following Pons' death at the battle of Arqah (May 1099), whilst Fulcher accompanied Robert of Normandy and Stephen of Blois on crusade and remained in the East to at least 1127 where his narrative abruptly ends. Both accounts therefore give differing perspectives on Bohemond and Tancred and their relationship with the other crusade leaders. Other accounts such as Guibert of Nogent's *Dei gesta per Francos* produced in around 1108 and Baldric of Bourgueil's *Historia Ierosolimitana* of 1106/07 added details as they utilised the *Gesta Francorum* as their chief source, whilst Albert of Aachen's *Historia Ierosolimitana* drew on the memories of returning crusaders and provides information about the new Latin States including Antioch up to 1119.⁹⁹ As mentioned above, the HAI is another monastic account which provides further details not found in its sources, such as Bohemond's gift of Kerbogha's tent to St Nicholas' shrine in Bari. Its production at some point between 1130 and 1144 suggests that there was an ongoing interest in crusading in the monastery at least until the mid-twelfth century.¹⁰⁰ One of its sources is Ralph of Caen's *Gesta Tancredi*.¹⁰¹ As Ralph points out in his prologue, much of this was based upon information he heard directly from Bohemond and Tancred, and it gives details of Tancred's role both on the crusade and in Antioch up to 1106. This, together with its possible purpose and date of composition, will be discussed further in chapter two. Additional evidence about the principality covering the period 1114 to 1122, and therefore much of the reign of Roger of Salerno (1113-19), is given by Walter the Chancellor in his *Bella Antiochena*.¹⁰²

Of particular significance in terms of both the history of the Latin East and also its relationship with the West, including the kingdom of Sicily, is William of Tyre's *Chronicon*.¹⁰³ Born in the Latin East in c.1130, William spent some twenty years in the West from c. 1146-1165, at Paris, Orleans and Bologna, before returning to the Latin

⁹⁷ WA, Bk. 4, l. 128-32, p. 211; trans. p. 47; OV, V, pp. 34-35.

⁹⁸ RA; FC.

⁹⁹ GN; BB; AA.

¹⁰⁰ HAI; for an analysis of the text, see B. S. Vertannes, 'Crusade and reform: the language of Christian martyrdom, c.1095-1190.' Unpublished DPhil thesis, University of Cambridge, 2013 (esp. pp. 183-95).

¹⁰¹ RC.

¹⁰² WC.

¹⁰³ WT.

kingdom of Jerusalem where he entered royal service, and soon became tutor to the future Baldwin IV. He subsequently became royal chancellor in 1174 and archbishop of Tyre in 1175. He travelled widely including to Byzantium as a royal ambassador and back to the West on Church business on several occasions. This was reflected in his *Chronicon*, which he started in around 1170 and continued to include events up until early 1184. Debate continues surrounding the relative importance of the factors which motivated him, which were essentially to generate support in the West for the crusader states, whilst his subsequent revisions were not always consistent allowing for an element of ambiguity particularly in regard to the Sicilians.¹⁰⁴ Orderic Vitalis, though drawing largely upon the account of Baldric of Bourgueil in his description of the First Crusade, also includes an account of the Italo-Normans in southern Italy and Sicily, on occasion adding (romantic) details such as the story surrounding Bohemond's escape from Danishmendid captivity.¹⁰⁵ In considering the relationship between the kingdom of Sicily and later crusades, Odo of Deuil's *De profectone Ludovici VII in orientem* describes Roger II's offer of assistance to Louis VII which is not recounted elsewhere, and for the Third Crusade, Ambroise's *Estoire de la Guerre Sainte*, the *Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta regis Ricardi* and *La Continuation de Guillaume de Tyr* all refer to William II, as well as describing the events in Messina over the winter of 1189/90, as does Roger of Howden.¹⁰⁶ As Staunton has recently demonstrated, he and other "Angevin" historians, had varying agendas particularly in their portrayal of Richard I's crusade, but they still provide useful (sometimes eye-witness) details.¹⁰⁷ Further glimpses of links between the kingdom and the Latin East are also given in surviving cartularies of the military orders and Holy Land churches.

Other sources

For the earlier period, Anna Komnene describes the campaigns of Robert Guiscard and Bohemond.¹⁰⁸ Her account was designed to laud the actions of her father, but at the

¹⁰⁴ P. W. Edbury and J. G. Rowe, *William of Tyre: Historian of the Latin East* (Cambridge, 1988), pp. 23-31; B. Z. Kedar, 'Some New Light on the Composition Process of William of Tyre's *Historia*', in *Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*, ed. S. B. Edgington and H. J. Nicholson (Farnham, 2014), pp. 3-12; B. Ebels-Hoving, 'William of Tyre and his patria', in *Media Latinitas: A collection of essays to mark the occasion of the retirement of L. J. Engels*, ed. R. Nip, H. van Dijk, E. van Houts, C. Knoepkens, and G. Kortekaas (Turnhout, 1996), pp. 211-16; D. Vessey, 'William of Tyre and the Art of Historiography', *Mediaeval Studies*, 35 (1973), 433-55.

¹⁰⁵ OV; D. Roach, 'Orderic Vitalis and the First Crusade', *JMH*, 42:2 (2016), 177-201.

¹⁰⁶ OD; Ambroise; IP; OFCWT; Roger of Howden.

¹⁰⁷ M. Staunton, *The Historians of Angevin England* (Oxford, 2017), pp. 51-149 and pp. 216-80

¹⁰⁸ AK.

same time she was clearly impressed by Bohemond whom she would have met when she was about fourteen, and a grudging admiration emerges in her descriptions of him. Caution is required when dealing with events that only she recounts, such as her description of the 1108 Treaty of Devol, but her account of the First Crusade provides a useful counterbalance to the Latin sources.¹⁰⁹ Meanwhile, John Kinnamos and Niketas Choniates offer the Byzantine perspective upon ongoing relations with the Latin East, and together with Eustathios of Thessaloniki, give a largely hostile account of what might be termed Sicilian foreign policy throughout the period.¹¹⁰ In relation to the principality of Antioch, further details are given in the Armenian chronicle of Matthew of Edessa, which covers events up to 1137, and by the Syriac chronicle of Michael the Great ending in 1195, whilst the thirteenth-century *Anonymi auctoris Chronicon ad A. C. 1234 pertinens* draws on a range of earlier, some now lost, sources.¹¹¹ The Arabic sources offer a substantial body of material relevant to this thesis, and although they tend to treat the ‘Franks’ in a generic way, they provide valuable insights into events in the Near East and also southern Italy and Sicily.¹¹² A key thirteenth century text covering both areas is the universal history of the Islamic world written by Ibn al-Athīr.¹¹³ Whilst it reflects a noted partiality for the Zengids, and events are often included to reflect a moral lesson, he also gives a nuanced account of many of the rulers he describes including Roger II.¹¹⁴ Meanwhile, the fifteenth-century writings on Fatimid Cairo by al-Maqrīzī mention Sicilian actions in the Mediterranean in the twelfth century not referred to in the southern Italian accounts, although the sources from which he drew this information are rarely given.¹¹⁵ As Abulafia has noted, the *Book of Roger* by the north-African scholar and resident of the royal court, Muhammad al-Idrīsī, has often been overlooked, but even allowing for contradictions arising from his use of earlier material and contemporary descriptions, it offers a valuable insight into the material

¹⁰⁹ See, for example, P. Magdalino, ‘The Pen of the Aunt: Echoes of the Mid-Twelfth Century in the *Alexiad*’, in *Anna Komnene and her Times*, ed. T. Gouma-Peterson (New York, 2000), pp. 15-43; and R. D. Thomas, ‘Anna Comene’s account of the First Crusade’, *BMGS*, 15 (1991), 269-312.

¹¹⁰ JK; NC; Eustathios.

¹¹¹ ME; MS; Anon. Chron.

¹¹² C. Hillenbrand, ‘Sources in Arabic’, in *Byzantines and Crusaders in Non-Greek Sources, 1025-1204*, ed. M. Whitby (Oxford, 2007), pp. 283-340.

¹¹³ IA.

¹¹⁴ F. Micheau, ‘Ibn al-Athīr’, in *Medieval Muslim Histories and the Franks in the Levant*, ed. A. Mallett (Leiden, 2015), pp. 52-83; A. Mallett, ‘Islamic Historians of the Ayyūbid Era and Muslim Rulers from the Early Crusading Period: A Study in the Use of History’, *Al-Masāq*, 24:3 (2012), 241-252.

¹¹⁵ F. Bauden, ‘Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn ‘Alī al-Maqrīzī’, in *Medieval Muslim Histories*, ed. Mallett, pp. 161-200.

resources the Sicilian kings had at their disposal.¹¹⁶ Ibn Jubayr's chronicle of his 1183-85 pilgrimage to Mecca from his native Andalusia, in which he also describes his travels through Egypt, the Levant, and finally Sicily, offers a vibrant account of the lands he passes through.¹¹⁷ His enthusiasm for Sicily and King William II is tempered by what he sees as the increasingly fragile positions of Muslims outside the court circle, thereby highlighting the tensions within the kingdom. Another account from the 1170s by the Jewish traveller, Benjamin of Tudela, comments on the Jewish communities he encounters as well as providing an indication of the extent of the pilgrim trade passing through southern Italy's ports.¹¹⁸ Finally, whilst this thesis draws predominantly upon written material, it will also utilise numismatic, sigillographic and architectural evidence where appropriate. This is discussed further within the relevant chapters.

Chapter Outline

Chapter one examines the military contribution of southern Italy and Sicily to the First Crusade and its immediate aftermath. In so-doing, the problems relating to identification and the factors used to identify individuals are considered. It argues that there was an emergent Italo-Norman identity, shaped by the process of conquest and settlement in southern Italy and Sicily, which was recognised by contemporaries as being different to that of Normandy-Norman. The chapter identifies the ways in which this difference emerged during the First Crusade shaping both the actions and interactions of the leading participants, and how it was reflected in the practices of the early rulers of Antioch. The chapter concludes by returning to the question of identification by briefly considering whether Richard of the Principate was lord of Marash, thereby reminding us of the ambiguous nature of identity at all levels.

Chapter two moves on to discuss the ways in which different identities could be deliberately foregrounded and the political significance of so-doing. The impact of family, particularly in relation to Robert Guiscard, in determining identity and Bohemond's actions is explored. It then considers the role of Ralph of Caen's *Gesta*

¹¹⁶ Idrīsī; D. Abulafia, 'Local Trade Networks in Medieval Sicily: The Evidence of Idrisi', in *Shipping, Trade and Crusade in the Medieval Mediterranean; Studies in Honour of John Pryor*, ed. R. Gertwagen and E. Jeffreys (Farnham, 2012), pp. 157-66.

¹¹⁷ *IJ*.

¹¹⁸ Benjamin of Tudela, *The Itinerary of Benjamin Tudela: Travels in the Middle Ages*, with introductions by M. A. Singer (1983), M. N. Adler (1907), and A. Asher (1840) (Malibu, 1983).

Tancredi in further constructing the identity of his key protagonist. As a component of this discussion, the uncertainty surrounding Ralph's intended audience and therefore the text's purpose is addressed, together with the potential significance of the ongoing links between Antioch and southern Italy. It suggests that throughout his account Ralph deliberately reinforced this connection and discusses whether his text can be regarded as an attempt to generate interest in the Latin East, especially Antioch, within the former homelands of the principality's initial rulers. The chapter concludes by questioning the assumption that following Bohemond's defeat by the Byzantines in 1108, his reputation was indelibly tarnished in the eyes of his contemporaries. It argues that his tomb negates this idea, and in acknowledging the multiple facets of his identity in its execution, it also served as a reminder of the connection between southern Italy and the Latin Near East.

Chapter three focuses upon the impact of the creation of the kingdom of Sicily and the Palermo court's subsequent Arabicisation. It argues that this reflected a deliberate political and economic alignment of the island towards North Africa. On the one hand, this was evidenced in the ongoing cordial relationship between Palermo and Cairo, whilst on the other it also saw increasing military intervention in Ifrīqiyan affairs and ultimately conquest of territory. This approach did not preclude potential involvement in Antioch, but when opportunities evaporated, political pragmatism took over. The chapter explores whether there was any religious motive to North African expansion, and the Sicilian position *vis-à-vis* the Second Crusade. It also returns to the issue of identity, suggesting that Roger II appropriated elements of Byzantine and Latin identity which reinforced the Christian faith of the kingdom, thereby counterbalancing the Muslim nature of the court.

Chapter four considers the interplay between the loss of Sicily's North African possessions and the gradually changing identity of the kingdom during the reign of William I, and whether this changed the perception of the kingdom in the Latin East. The chapter contends that a convergence of interest with the Latin East rather than a direct commitment to its preservation underpinned the majority of the campaigns of William II until 1187. It argues that William's actions were governed by a recognition of the different potential political and economic threats to Sicily. In so-doing, the kingdom became increasingly orientated towards Latin concerns, which in turn reflected

the changing nature of the kingdom itself. The mobilisation of the Sicilian navy to bring succour to the Holy Land in 1188 demonstrated this new alignment. William's unexpected death, the ensuing civil war, and eventual accession of Henry VI saw the kingdom continuing to participate in crusading enterprises but this was in its capacity as locale rather than through direct involvement of its ruling elite.

Chapter five argues that this role of the kingdom as a resource was present throughout the period, particularly in regard to the mainland. By acting as a main route to the Holy Land, engagement through pilgrims, crusaders and traders was constant. At certain points, the mainland hosted large armies bound for the Latin East and was therefore pivotal in their initial supply. The chapter discusses the physical reminders of crusading and the Latin East present within the kingdom, and the ways in which southern Italy acted as a conduit of communication and supply. Returning to the issue of contested identity, it proposes that many southern Italians may well have been mislabelled as Genoese or Pisan, suggesting a constant, albeit low level, participation in trade with the Holy Land. In these ways, the chapter argues that whilst direct military involvement in the Levant was limited, there remained an ongoing interaction which allowed the kingdom to tacitly support the Latin East in a manner that did not actively promote religious division within its own multi-ethnic society.

Chapter 1: The Italo-Normans - identities and influences

This chapter focuses upon the military contribution of southern Italy and Sicily to the First Crusade and its immediate aftermath. The issue of identification is addressed in relation to Bohemond's contingent, and how their identity was defined in the contemporary Latin accounts of the expedition. It considers the ways in which an emergent, albeit fluid, Italo-Norman identity can be detected during the First Crusade and explores its impact upon the course of events. The chapter concludes with a case study of Richard of the Principate, which highlights the problems of identifying individuals and their actions within the extant contemporary material.

In considering the role of the Italo-Normans in the crusades and the Latin States in the Near East, historians are faced with several problems in relation to identity. There are initial questions regarding the identity of those who took part and even when names of participants might be known, their origins both in terms of parentage and geographical location are not always clear. This is sometimes further obscured by attributed identities, which may be adopted by the individuals themselves, or assigned by others, whether in relation to their family connections or location with which they, or their family, were associated. Whilst Ménager's identification of immigrants to southern Italy highlighted the fact that not all originated from Normandy, as his study and subsequent work by Loud have both demonstrated, Normans formed the majority.¹¹⁹ As they settled and intermarried with native Lombards, their sense of identity became increasingly fluid, in which ethnic origins were largely subsumed by new markers arising from their assimilation into southern Italian society. The longer-term impact of this will be explored further in chapters two and three, but here I will focus upon how the southern Italian contingent were identified in relation to their family, geographical origins and place of abode. Bohemond and his named companions were either first or second-generation immigrants to southern Italy with many being of Norman ethnic origin, but whilst Orderic Vitalis promoted a sense of common Norman identity between the men of Normandy and those of southern Italy in his account of the First Crusade, there is little evidence that this was seen by the participants themselves.¹²⁰ The different

¹¹⁹ See, for example, Ménager, *Hommes et institutions, passim*; G. A. Loud, 'How "Norman" was the Norman Conquest of Southern Italy?', *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, 25 (1981), 13-34.

¹²⁰ OV, V, esp. pp. 34-35.

Norman contingents seem to have remained separate in battle, albeit working together on occasion, with Bohemond and his men taking centre stage for much of the action. Furthermore, their experience of everyday life and conflict in southern Italy and Sicily had exposed them to a multi-ethnic society in which ‘Saracens’ and Greeks were both enemies and allies. The Norman combination of diplomacy, alliances and military action suggests that they would have been skilled in fighting techniques as well as having an appreciation of the different people they dealt with, not least in terms of linguistic understanding. Robert Guiscard married a Lombard princess which suggests he would have spoken or at least understood Romance ‘Lombard Italian’, and Greek would also have been useful to communicate with his acquired subjects in southern Italy and Sicily. The recognition, and continued support of Greek monastic houses as well as Guiscard’s attempt to arrange a Byzantine dynastic marriage also indicates an awareness of religious differences (even if only at a superficial level) between the Latin and Orthodox Church. Furthermore, the techniques used by Robert Guiscard and his brother Count Roger in conquering their territory, as well as Bohemond’s own direct experience of Byzantine warfare, doubtless influenced the Italo-Norman approach to the peoples they encountered *en route* to and in the Near East, and in respect of Bohemond’s relations with the Byzantine emperor Alexios I Komnenos, may well have shaped the outcome of events themselves.

Italo-Norman crusaders

Bohemond was the elder son of Robert Guiscard, who had carved out a principality for himself in southern Italy comprising Apulia, Calabria and, nominally at least, also Sicily (although it was Guiscard’s brother, Count Roger, who was responsible for the ultimate conquest of the island in 1091). Despite this, on Guiscard’s death on 17 July 1085, Bohemond was left with nothing as his younger half-brother Roger Borsa has been designated as duke, being the elder son of Guiscard’s second wife, the Lombard princess Sichelgaita. Guiscard’s marriage to Bohemond’s Norman mother, Alberada, had been dissolved on grounds of apparent consanguinity, with what can only be described as fortuitous timing, allowing as it did for the subsequent politically advantageous second marriage.¹²¹ Whether Guiscard had plans for Bohemond to inherit the lands he was attempting to carve out in Greece and the Balkans is unknown; suffice

¹²¹ Malaterra, 1:30, p. 22; trans. p. 72.

to say Bohemond was in no position to continue the campaign on his father's death, not least because he was himself recuperating from illness on the Italian mainland and because of the unseemly collapse of army morale.¹²² He therefore rapidly turned his attention to trying to wrest lands from Roger Borsa. By mid-1088 Borsa had been forced to concede Oria, Taranto, Otranto and Gallipoli, together with the lands and service owed by his cousin, Geoffrey of Conversano (who had proved almost as troublesome a vassal), thereby making Bohemond one of the most powerful lords in southern Italy.¹²³ By May 1090, the half-brothers had established an uneasy peace but this was broken when Bohemond attempted to seize his brother's Calabrian lands following rumours of Borsa's death in late 1093. Thanks to the intercession of Count Roger of Sicily, as well as confirmation that Borsa was alive, Bohemond restored the fortresses he had seized and cordial relations were resumed, with all three acting together against another rebel, William of Grandmesnil, in early 1094 and again in besieging Amalfi in the summer of 1096. In many respects, it seems as if this inter-sibling rivalry was repeating the pattern of the previous Hauteville generation of confrontation followed by cooperation, and there is no reason to suppose that Bohemond and Roger Borsa would put personal animosity before political expediency in the future. However, Bohemond may already have had other intentions. The *Gesta Francorum* explains that as armed pilgrims travelling south to seek passage to the Holy Land brought news of their purpose, Bohemond and many others took the cross and withdrew to Bari to prepare for their journey East.¹²⁴ Whilst the impact of this, according to Malaterra, was such that the siege of Amalfi had to be abandoned, Borsa may well have been relieved that a potential thorn in his side was removing itself in this way.¹²⁵ He does not seem to have made any financial contribution to Bohemond's expedition which is perhaps not surprising both in light of his nickname (apparently bestowed by his father since he was always counting the coins in his purse) but also because he had bought stability with Bohemond and the support of his uncle at a high price.¹²⁶ Some of Borsa's men, and at least two barons of Roger of Sicily, did accompany Bohemond suggesting at least tacit support, whilst Bohemond's lands remained unmolested in his absence.¹²⁷ As Yewdale has pointed out, it is unlikely that the southern Italians were unaware of the crusade preparations before this date: relations

¹²² WA, Bk. 5, l. 364-90, p. 256; trans. pp. 64-65.

¹²³ Malaterra, 4:4, p. 87; trans. p. 180.

¹²⁴ GF, 1:4, p. 7.

¹²⁵ Malaterra, 4:24, p. 102; trans. p. 204.

¹²⁶ Norwich, *Normans*, p. 195; Loud, *Robert Guiscard*, pp. 256-58.

¹²⁷ Jamison, 'Some notes', pp. 183-208.

between Pope Urban II, his vassal Roger Borsa and his rear vassal Bohemond were good and communication had been regular.¹²⁸ Urban II had been in southern Italy for much of the latter half of 1089, including visiting Bari at Bohemond's invitation and consecrating the new shrine of St Nicolas in October.¹²⁹ Urban II was in Taranto in November 1092, and was attended on by both men at Montecassino in August 1093, so if ideas of a crusade were raised - or at least aid for Alexios I - at the Council of Piacenza in March 1095, it seems unlikely that news would not have filtered south.¹³⁰ Furthermore, the fact that the *Gesta Francorum* describes that both '*Lombardi et Longobardi*' were in the forces of Peter the Hermit, indicates that there would have been an earlier awareness of something happening.¹³¹ Alexios' court and army was the home to many 'exiles' from Italy; Guy, Bohemond's half-brother, was one such as the *Gesta Francorum* records.¹³² Indeed, in considering these factors and especially the contact between Urban II and Bohemond, Flori has argued that Bohemond must have been aware of both Alexios' appeal to Urban II at Piacenza and of Urban's launch of the crusade at Clermont in November 1095 well before hearing of it from the passing crusaders at Amalfi in August 1096.¹³³

It may well be that Urban II was aware of the potential problems that too much preaching against the infidel could cause in the south. Not only would it potentially undermine Count Roger's ongoing conquest of Sicily, which Chevedden has argued was a crusade, but he was doubtless also aware that Saracen troops were used on the mainland to help secure his own vassal, Roger Borsa's, position there.¹³⁴ I would suggest that this likelihood fundamentally undermines Chevedden's argument. Whilst he identifies the strong religious elements in the accounts of the conquest such as the emphasis upon God's will, papal involvement, the offer of absolution, spiritual preparation prior to battle and saintly intervention (all of which are features that define

¹²⁸ R. B. Yewdale, *Bohemond I, Prince of Antioch* (Princeton, 1924; reprinted by Leonaur.com, 2010), pp. 36-38.

¹²⁹ Lupus Protospatarius Barensis, *Rerum In Regno Neapolitano Gestarum Breve Chronicon ab Anno Sal. 860 vsque ad 1102* <<http://www.thelatinlibrary.com/protospatarius.shtml>> [Accessed 1/6/15]; *CDB*, I, pp. 61-65, nos. 33-34.

¹³⁰ D. C. Munro, 'Did the Emperor Alexios I. Ask for Aid to the Council of Piacenza, 1095?', *The American Historical Review*, 27:4 (1922), 731-33.

¹³¹ *GF*, 1:2, p. 3.

¹³² *Ibid.*, 9:17, pp. 64-65.

¹³³ J. Flori, *Bohémond d'Antioche: Chevalier d'Aventure* (Paris, 2007), p. 69.

¹³⁴ Chevedden, 'Crusade from the first', pp. 191-225. The idea that it was a crusade is also reiterated by S. Fodale in the introduction to his article, 'Ruggerio II e la seconda Crociata', in *Il Mezzogiorno normanno-svevo e le Crociate*, ed. G. Musca (Bari, 2002), pp. 131-44 (pp. 131-32).

the crusades from 1095 onwards), he tends to treat motivation and justification as being synonymous and does not explore the role of political expediency. To support his argument, Chevedden draws extensively on the writings of Amatus of Montecassino and Geoffrey Malaterra (amongst others), who were churchmen and so inevitably reflected the religious conventions of their day, which placed emphasis on the role of God and the spirituality of participants in battle. However, he remains silent about the fact that neither author makes any comment upon Robert Guiscard having an alliance with a ‘Saracen’, even though it was their cruelty in killing Christians that prompted Robert to take action.¹³⁵ Similarly, Malaterra makes clear that Roger also had pecuniary considerations at heart:

He figured that it would be of profit to him in two ways – that is, to his soul and to his body – if he could, on the one hand, reclaim that region, which had been given over to the idols, to divine worship, and on the other – speaking in more temporal terms – appropriate for himself the fruits and revenues of the land, which had been usurped by a people disagreeable to God, and dispose of them in the service of God.¹³⁶

As Wolf points out, Malaterra only refers to Holy War twice in his entire account in relation to Messina and Cerami whilst on other occasions he does not even mention that the enemy were Saracens, calling them Sicilians or Africans.¹³⁷ In effect, such Holy War references can be predominantly regarded as a *topos*. The fact that Malaterra makes no comment on Robert Guiscard’s or Count Roger’s use of Muslim forces on occasion, in both Sicily and on the mainland, nor on the pragmatism exhibited by the Normans in their dealings with Muslim towns which surrendered, indicates an understanding of the practicalities of conquest. Similarly, Amatus makes no comment on the fact that Robert Guiscard had loyal Muslim subjects in Reggio who were keen to show their support against their fellow co-religionists, ‘[i]n order that they might not be suspect, both Christians and Saracens who lived there armed themselves against the pagans of Sicily...’, thus further demonstrating recognition of the differentiation between theological ideas and political reality was present in Sicily in the 1060s-80s.¹³⁸ I would therefore suggest that it is not impossible that Urban had sent Roger Borsa and

¹³⁵ Amatus, 5:7, p. 229; trans. p. 136.

¹³⁶ Malaterra, 2:1, p. 27; trans. pp. 85-86.

¹³⁷ Wolf, *Making History*, pp. 155-57.

¹³⁸ Amatus, 5:11, p. 234; trans. p. 137.

Bohemond a letter informing them of his plans in a similar way to that sent to Flanders, thereby allowing for a more ‘controlled’ participation from southern Italy and Sicily.¹³⁹

Whilst the *Gesta Francorum* states that Bohemond was inspired by the Holy Ghost to take the cross, his subsequent actions in the Near East suggest that he saw the expedition as a means to improve his status and assets in a manner denied him in southern Italy.¹⁴⁰ Lupus Protospatarius, whose contribution to the Bari Annals covered the period 855-1102, portrays Bohemond as going to fight pagans with the help of Alexios then going on to the Holy Sepulchre, implying that he had a clear agenda for the coming campaign.¹⁴¹ Whilst it can only be a hypothesis, this could also have been a reflection of Bohemond’s publicly stated intentions, and it should be noted that his involvement would have had (albeit different) advantages for both Urban II and Alexios. As mentioned above, Urban had made several visits to southern Italy, including to Bari, and enjoyed good relations with Bohemond. His involvement in the crusade as an ally of Alexios would help improve East-West relations and potentially remove future instability within southern Italy. The papacy had no desire for Alexios to take back control of Apulia; Bari’s significance as a Latin bishopric was highlighted further by the fact that Urban chose to hold a council there in October 1098, for which he commissioned an episcopal throne for Archbishop Elia.¹⁴² Whilst the acts for this council have been lost, it was attended by both Latin and Orthodox bishops, and included a discussion of the disputed question of the *filioque*, that is whether, as Latin theology argued, the Holy Spirit proceeds from both the Father and Son, or from only the Father as in Orthodox teaching. The only account we have of this comes from the English monk Eadmer’s description of the lecture Anselm of Canterbury gave at the request of Urban II but unfortunately he does not give any insight into the wider context of Anselm’s contribution or the reaction to it, nor whether the letter sent by the crusade leaders from Antioch on 11 September 1098 arrived during the synod.¹⁴³ Bohemond’s

¹³⁹ P. Riant, ‘Inventaire critique des lettres historiques des croisades’, in *Archives de l’Orient latin*, I (Paris, 1881), pp. 217-66 (esp. p. 220).

¹⁴⁰ GF, 1:4, p. 7.

¹⁴¹ Lupus Protospatarius (online; entry for 1096).

¹⁴² C. Vernon, ‘Pseudo-Arabic and the Material Culture of the First Crusade in Norman Italy: The Sanctuary Mosaic at San Nicola in Bari’, *Open Library of Humanities*, 4(1): 36 (2018) 1–43 <DOI: <https://doi.org/10.16995/olh.252>>.

¹⁴³ Eadmer, *The Life of St Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury by Eadmer*, ed. and trans. R. W. Southern (Oxford, 1962), pp. 112-13; FC, 1:24, pp. 258-64; trans. pp. 107-12; F. Panarelli, ‘Il Concilio di Bari: Boemondo e la Prima Crociata’, in *Il Concilio di Bari del 1098: Atti del Convegno Storico Internazionale e celebrazioni del IX Centenario del Concilio*, ed. S. Palese and G. Locatelli (Bari, 1999), pp. 145-67; R. Somerville, ‘The Crusade in the Councils of Urban II beyond Clermont’, in *Jerusalem the Golden: The*

desire to justify his actions at Antioch in this letter, together with the appeal for Urban to join them in the East and take overall control of the rest of the mission, could be regarded as a further indication of his recognition of the importance of maintaining this papal support. Loss of such would also have ramifications for Bohemond in southern Italy, as if papal support had been withdrawn, Roger Borsa would have had no compunction in seizing Bohemond's lands. Meanwhile Alexios may have hoped that Bohemond, who had proven military experience, could be persuaded to act on the emperor's behalf. After all, Bohemond's half-brother Guy had entered Byzantine service at some point after 17 July 1085, in which he had received gifts and money, the title of *Nobelissimos*, and a niece of Alexios in marriage, so his envoys may have approached Bohemond at some point between March 1095 and summer 1096.¹⁴⁴ Whether, and in what form, an agreement was reached between Bohemond and Alexios has been discussed comprehensively by Pryor and Jeffries.¹⁴⁵ Whereas Anna Komnene says that Bohemond **requested** to be *Domestikaton of the East*, which Alexios refused to commit to, Pryor and Jeffries argue that it is more likely that **if** Bohemond actually asked for a position, it would have been *Domestikaton of the West*, which covered the territory that Guiscard had attempted to conquer. That would have been too much of a potential threat, and it also assumes that Alexios had given up all hope of regaining Bari which they argue was not the case, so instead Alexios would have felt it safer to **offer** him *Domestikaton of the East*. This would have the possibility of bringing territory lost back into the Byzantine orbit, which would accord with the description in the *Gesta Francorum* of land 'beyond Antioch, fifteen days' journey in length and eight in width'.¹⁴⁶ When that later proved to have been unwise, Anna wrote up the account accordingly to exonerate Alexios from any blame.¹⁴⁷ That aside, it seems that discussions were ongoing both prior to and during Bohemond's journey to Constantinople. This is suggested by the early departure of 'William, son of the marquis', who went ahead of the rest of the Italo-Norman contingent in the company of Hugh of Vermandois, according to the *Gesta Francorum*.¹⁴⁸ Whilst it can only be supposition, it is not impossible that he took a message to Alexios on Bohemond's

Origins and Impact of the First Crusade, ed. S. B. Edgington and L. García-Guijarro (Turnhout, 2014), pp. 89-100; L. García-Guijarro, 'Some considerations on the Crusaders' Letter to Urban II (September 1098)', in *ibid.*, pp. 150-71.

¹⁴⁴ W. B. McQueen, 'Relations between the Normans and Byzantium, 1071-1112', *Byzantion*, 56 (1986), 427-476 (p. 445).

¹⁴⁵ Pryor and Jeffries, pp. 31-87.

¹⁴⁶ GF, 2:6, p. 12.

¹⁴⁷ Pryor and Jeffries, p. 44.

¹⁴⁸ GF, 1:3, pp. 5-6.

behalf. Furthermore, Bohemond's slow approach to Constantinople allowed time for ongoing communication. That he ensured that where possible his forces lived off the land without causing too much devastation, and remained conciliatory in the face of what seemed to be imperial provocation, suggests that he deliberately wished to portray himself in a positive light to Alexios.¹⁴⁹ This was also seen in Bohemond's actions in Constantinople, where according to Raymond of Aguilers, he was instrumental in ensuring Raymond of St Gilles took the oath to Alexios.¹⁵⁰ Whilst it could be argued that this was part of a deliberate attempt to deceive Alexios of his true intentions, it could also indicate that Bohemond sought to portray himself as the equal in ability, even if not yet in social status, to the other leaders of the crusade.¹⁵¹ Putting these aspects together it seems likely that an agreement was made between Bohemond and Alexios, but as the campaign developed, Bohemond came to regard it as obsolete.

Identifying and defining Italo-Normans

Whilst it is inevitable that accounts focus upon the leaders of contingents, they sometimes give insights into the identity of some of those who accompanied them. Perhaps unsurprisingly, it is the southern Italian sources of the First Crusade that supply most information about Bohemond's contingent. The *Gesta Francorum* identifies them both through association with specific locations and through their family connections. From southern Italy were Richard of the Principate, Herman of Canne, Humphrey (Geoffrey) of Montescaglioso, and possibly also Robert of Ansa, Alberadus of Cagnano, and the count of Russignolo; from Normandy were Robert of Sourdeval and Boel of Chartres; whilst familial links were used for Tancred son of the Marquis; Ranulf brother of Richard of the Principate; Richard '*filius comitis Rainulfi*'; Robert '*filius Tostani*'; Humphrey '*filius Radulfi*'; and the brothers of the Count of Russignolo.¹⁵² Jamison's study of this contingent has highlighted some of the problems relating to identity. This is seen both in terms of identifying who they were, for example, Alberadus of Cagnano, as well as inaccuracies of names, for example the *Gesta Francorum* initially lists Humphrey of Montescaglioso as one of the participants, but later refers to Geoffrey of Montescaglioso.¹⁵³ As Jamison points out, he is correctly

¹⁴⁹ GF, 1:4, pp. 8-9.

¹⁵⁰ RA, p. 42; trans. p. 24.

¹⁵¹ The impact of the crusade on Bohemond's social status will be discussed further in chapter two.

¹⁵² GF, 1:4, pp. 7-8.

¹⁵³ Jamison, 'Some notes', pp. 200-03.

identified in the HAI, which was produced in the scriptorium of Montecassino in the 1130s-1140s. This text also gives further details of participants, explaining that the count of Russignolo was called Geoffrey, and whilst there is some ambiguity in the author's phrasing, Jamison suggests that Geoffrey's brothers were called Gerard and Episcopus, with the latter being a different person to the bishop of Ariano, who was also listed.¹⁵⁴ All these details are omitted in Peter Tudebode's *Historia de Hierosolymitano Itinere* upon which, together with the *Gesta Francorum*, the HAI drew.¹⁵⁵ Instead Peter simply states that Bohemond was accompanied by 'the most valiant Tancred, son of the marquis, and many other men.'¹⁵⁶ If, as Bull has argued, Peter was drawing upon an earlier copy of the *Gesta Francorum* his omission of further details may be because he felt them unnecessary as Bohemond's companions were unlikely to be recognised by his intended audience, whereas presumably they would be understood by one in southern Italy.¹⁵⁷ Turning to Bohemond, where authors of the Latin accounts of the First Crusade acknowledge his Norman descent, they also refer to other identifiers, thereby indicating how identity was shaped by circumstance. In Guibert of Nogent's *Dei gesta per Francos* Bohemond becomes a 'Frank' through his marriage to Constance of France.¹⁵⁸ To Fulcher of Chartres, Bohemond is also '*Apulus*', indicating the significance of place in identity.¹⁵⁹ Similarly, Albert of Aachen also recognises Bohemond's Norman background, but described him as 'prince of Sicily and Calabria'.¹⁶⁰ The *Gesta Francorum* gives Bohemond no further identifier, probably because he felt it was unnecessary, whilst the HAI refers to Bohemond's lands in Apulia, including Bari and Taranto, within the context of explaining Bohemond's disinherited status.¹⁶¹ Hence as this brief survey demonstrates, the authors of the extant texts play a key role in shaping and defining the identity of their protagonists.

As France has argued, although there was a strong sense of Norman identity in some sources in the early twelfth century, this did not seem to embrace the southern Italian

¹⁵⁴ HAI, pp. 19-20; Jamison, 'Some notes', pp. 206-07.

¹⁵⁵ Vertannes, p. 26; D'Angelo discusses the similarities and differences between the HAI, GF and PT in HAI, pp. xvi-lix.

¹⁵⁶ PT, p. 40; trans. p. 24.

¹⁵⁷ Bull, *passim* (esp. p.17).

¹⁵⁸ GN, p. 137 and p. 106; trans. p. 57 and p. 39.

¹⁵⁹ FC, 1:6, pp. 156-57; trans. p. 72.

¹⁶⁰ AA, 2:22, pp. 94-95. This association with Sicily and Calabria reflects more the lands held by Bohemond's uncle, Count Roger I, suggesting that Albert's source may have been confused about the situation in southern Italy.

¹⁶¹ HAI, p. 8.

Normans, whilst Ní Chléirigh's study of Normans in the Latin chronicles of the First Crusade indicates that, with the exception of Ralph of Caen's *Gesta Tancredi* (which I will discuss in chapter two) the emphasis on a '*gens Normannorum*' is not really there at all.¹⁶² This may go some way to explain the apparent lack of unity between the forces of Robert of Normandy and those of Bohemond (and Tancred). Despite Ralph of Caen's assertion that there was a common affinity between the Italo-Norman contingent and that of Robert Curthose as seen in the latter's rallying of men at Dorylaeum with the shout of 'Normandy', in the same section he reinforces their different origins as Curthose reminds Bohemond that 'Apulia is far away' and they must stand and fight together.¹⁶³ Indeed, France has demonstrated that there was not anything approaching a 'special relationship' between the two contingents.¹⁶⁴ Certainly Bohemond does not seem to have given any indication that he regarded Curthose as his 'natural lord', as Orderic Vitalis perhaps optimistically writes that Roger Borsa did in southern Italy when the armies of Curthose and Stephen of Blois overwintered there in 1096-7.¹⁶⁵ It is worth noting that there was an unwillingness amongst many southern Italian aristocrats to recognise ducal control there (including Bohemond in his own relations with Borsa), so it is unlikely that Bohemond would willingly submit to Curthose.¹⁶⁶ Nor is there any evidence to suggest that Robert viewed himself in this way whilst on crusade. On the contrary, he showed himself willing to defer to Bohemond's leadership of forces during, for example, the counter-siege of Antioch.¹⁶⁷ Although Robert had wintered in Apulia and Calabria with Roger Borsa and Geoffrey of Conversano amongst others, it seems that Robert showed no bias against Bohemond which would suggest that Borsa had not attempted to influence his opinion of Bohemond; during the battle of Dorylaeum shortly after Robert's arrival in the Near East, Robert is seen working alongside Bohemond to withstand the Muslim attack. During Bohemond's negotiations with Firuz in Antioch, it seems that only Tancred was aware of the plan in the early stages, although in a letter from the people and clergy of Lucca, Robert is also named as one of the conspirators (along with Robert of Flanders), indicating possible close links.¹⁶⁸ In January 1099 Robert of Normandy accepted Raymond of St Gilles' money fief of 10,000 *solidi*, after having been one of the mediators in the dispute with Bohemond, thereby suggesting at

¹⁶² France, 'Normans and Crusading', p. 88; Ní Chléirigh, '*Gesta Normannorum?*', pp. 207-26.

¹⁶³ RC, p. 26; trans. p. 46.

¹⁶⁴ France, 'Normans and Crusading', p. 91.

¹⁶⁵ OV, V, pp. 34-35.

¹⁶⁶ For an account of resistance to ducal control see Loud, *Robert Guiscard*, esp. pp. 165-85 and pp. 234-60, *passim*; and Martin, *La Pouille*, pp. 712-43.

¹⁶⁷ OV, V, pp. 34-35.

¹⁶⁸ *Kreuzzugsbriefe*, pp. 165-67.

least a limited change of allegiance, although this could also be seen as a financial expedient necessary for continuing south.¹⁶⁹ Certainly Robert was in need of money on his return to Europe, as he had mortgaged Normandy to his brother William Rufus and needed to redeem it. A further incident of opposition to Bohemond occurred in August 1099 when, together with Robert of Flanders and Raymond of St Gilles, he forced Bohemond to withdraw his forces from Latakia. The port had been re-taken by the Greeks and so Bohemond's actions were a direct violation of the crusaders' oath to Alexios, although there may again be an element of self-interest as the Greeks promised assistance to the two Roberts in returning to the West. On returning to southern Italy, Robert again stayed with Roger Borsa, and whilst there married Sybil of Conversano in 1100. Orderic Vitalis says that Robert had fallen in love with her during winter 1096-7, but her substantial dowry must also have contributed to her allure, allowing him to redeem Normandy; any potential political affiliation in southern Italy may have appeared attractive but it is unlikely that was a key factor.¹⁷⁰ Unfortunately there is no record of Robert meeting Bohemond when the latter visited Rouen in April 1106. Aird suggests this may be because events in the Near East had soured their relationship, but that can only be supposition. It is equally possible that Robert was one of the great nobles Suger says attended Bohemond's wedding at the court of Adela of Blois (Robert's sister).¹⁷¹ Whatever the case, I would suggest that the way in which the contingents were portrayed as being separate entities reflects the perception of the participants themselves. The southern Italian contingent regarded themselves as different from their Norman counterparts: they shared aspects of a common heritage with Norman traits such as their skill in warfare and their use of guile and trickery but their experience of 'conquering' and ruling in southern Italy and Sicily with their different populations, environment and language had shaped their identity in a different way.

The majority of Bohemond's contingent were first- or second-generation immigrants to the south, particularly within his wider army. Tyerman has estimated this as being between 3,500 to 4,000 men, so as well as Italo-Normans it is likely to have included

¹⁶⁹ RA, p. 100; trans. p. 80.

¹⁷⁰ OV, V, pp. 278-79.

¹⁷¹ W. M. Aird, *Robert Curthose, Duke of Normandy c. 1050-1134* (Woodbridge, 2008), p. 236; Suger, *Vie de Louis le Gros*, ed. and trans. H. Waquet (Paris, 2007), p. 48; translated as *The Deeds of Louis the Fat*, trans. R. Cusimano and J. Moorhead (Washington DC, 1992), p.45.

Lombards and Greeks.¹⁷² The Normans in southern Italy had showed themselves adept at negotiation and diplomacy, suggesting that they were quick to acquire the requisite linguistic skills. Malaterra describes both Robert Guiscard and Roger appealing to the citizens of Gerace, with Guiscard actually lunching incognito with one of the city's leaders, Basil, before being cornered by an angry mob. It was by appealing to them directly that he avoided death, whilst Roger was equally eloquent in obtaining his brother's release.¹⁷³ Similarly, during the attack on Syracuse in 1085, Greek sailors who also spoke Arabic were used to reconnoitre Benarvet's forces, and report back to the Count and his son Jordan, with the implication that this was in Greek.¹⁷⁴ Their ready adoption of Byzantine administration and the numbers of charters in Greek further indicates an understanding of the language. In Bari Bohemond referred to his chief official as *catapan*, and as Yewdale has shown, even his seal was Byzantine in style.¹⁷⁵ Whether Bohemond could actually read Greek as Shepard suggests is unclear, but the absence of any known chaplain or equivalent *en route* to Constantinople implies that he was indeed literate in order to read the letters sent by Alexios (although Paul is more sceptical of Bohemond's wider literary skills).¹⁷⁶ Yet that does not mean he could not speak Greek: Shepard cites Anna Komnene's description of his pun on Lykostomion following Alexios' flight from Larissa.¹⁷⁷ She also described Bohemond warning Tatikios of the plot against him in (May?) 1098, and although the envoys sent to Bohemond in 1108 included 'a certain Adralestos, who understood the Keltic language', he could well have been sent in the same way as Peter the Deacon had been sent to the emir of Palermo in 1062 to effectively spy.¹⁷⁸ There are also the apparent negotiations with Firuz at Antioch, which the *Gesta Francorum* suggests were in Greek.¹⁷⁹ Nor was Bohemond the only known Greek speaker: his half-brother Guy was in Byzantine service during the First Crusade, whilst William of Grandmesnil had spent time in exile there prior to joining the crusaders. Then there is the issue of Arabic. In his description of Roger gaining Chamut's surrender, Malaterra describes the count 'presenting many different arguments' to him.¹⁸⁰ Whilst translators may have been used here, it is not

¹⁷² Tyerman, *God's War*, p. 112.

¹⁷³ Malaterra, 2:24-26, pp. 37-39; trans. pp. 98-101.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 4:2, p. 86; trans. p. 178.

¹⁷⁵ Yewdale, p. 35.

¹⁷⁶ J. Shepard, 'When Greek meets Greek: Alexius Comnenus and Bohemond in 1097-8', *BMGS*, 12 (1988), 185-277 (esp. p. 253); Paul, 'Warlord's Wisdom', pp. 550-54.

¹⁷⁷ Shepard, p. 254; AK, p. 144.

¹⁷⁸ AK, p. 307 and p. 380; Amatus, 5:24, p. 244; trans. p. 142.

¹⁷⁹ GF, 8:20, p. 46.

¹⁸⁰ Malaterra, 4:6, p. 88; trans. p. 181

impossible that Roger had a working knowledge of Arabic. The HAI states both Tancred and Richard of the Principate spoke Arabic which adds further weight to this idea.¹⁸¹ There is a hint that Robert of Sourdeval may also have had some understanding of it. He had fought alongside Jordan, the illegitimate son of Count Roger, in putting down a Muslim revolt at Catania in 1080. Within the Italo-Norman group was a Muslim convert, Elias Cartomi, so it is not impossible that language skills were exchanged.¹⁸² Furthermore, Count Roger used Muslim troops in his campaigns in Sicily and the mainland, so this would also have afforded the opportunity for even limited cultural interchange.¹⁸³ Birk has argued that it is possible to see how this experience affected the author of the *Gesta Francorum*, in how he writes about Muslims. They are always ‘pagans’, but he recognises their martial skills and moral character on occasion, and whilst this might reflect that he had a military background, Birk argues that his geographical background is more significant in shaping his attitude.¹⁸⁴ However, an element of caution should be sounded here as Usama ibn Munqidh suggests any such linguistic knowledge was limited. He described the meeting of Tancred and Hasanun in the early 1100s, during which the latter was given a guarantee of safe-conduct, ‘or so Hasanun assumed, for they speak only Frankish and we do not understand what they say.’¹⁸⁵ That Hasanun was a Kurd may, however, have been a factor here in the failure to understand Frankish pronunciation of (possibly Sicilian) Arabic.

Prior experience 1: Muslim

The Italo-Normans were not unique in some of their experiences, as Raymond of St Gilles and doubtless some of his contingent had fought in Iberia, but they were there as ‘visiting soldiers’. In southern Italy and Sicily, the Italo-Normans may have arrived as soldiers, but they remained and became a part of its multi-ethnic society. The methods and tactics used in that process have parallels in those used by the Italo-Normans in the Near East. Whilst the techniques of medieval warfare were similar across western Europe, the method of creating a fortified base near the objective, then devastating the surrounding area in order to make the besieged town submit had been used to

¹⁸¹ HAI, p. 70.

¹⁸² Malaterra, 3.30, p. 75; trans. pp. 160-61.

¹⁸³ See, for example, Malaterra, 4.26, p. 104; trans. p. 208.

¹⁸⁴ J. C. Birk, ‘Imagining the Enemy: Southern Italian Perceptions of Islam at the Time of the First Crusade’, in *Just Wars, Holy Wars, and Jihads: Christian, Jewish and Muslim Encounters and Exchanges*, ed. S. H. Hashmi (Oxford, 2012), pp. 91-106, (pp. 100-01).

¹⁸⁵ Usama, p. 77.

particularly good effect in the Norman conquest of southern Italy.¹⁸⁶ Ralph of Caen explained that Tancred used this technique at Beit She'an, turning it into a walled fortress, from which 'he raided the other towns in the area.'¹⁸⁷ Nicholson described this as adopting 'the ancient tactics of the Arabs' but I would suggest it was more a case of applying Italo-Norman methods that Tancred possibly saw (and experienced) in Sicily.¹⁸⁸ It is worth adding here that Jamison has identified Tancred's father, *Odobonus Marchio*, as having close links with Count Roger in Sicily between at least 1087 and 1097, so this raises the possibility that Tancred's early experiences of both war and diplomacy may have been in the multi-ethnic environment of Sicily.¹⁸⁹ Castle building as a means of establishing supremacy was another approach that had been used by Robert Guiscard and Count Roger. Amatus of Montecassino specifically refers to citadels being built in Troia (Foggia), San Marco in Val Demone, and Catania, whilst Geoffrey Malaterra adds Gerace (Calabria), Petralia (Sicily) and Rossano (Cosenza); meanwhile other captured cities were refortified and garrisoned.¹⁹⁰ France has pointed out this technique was used elsewhere in western Europe, but it is interesting to note that he focuses upon Northern France and the Norman conquest of England when making comparisons with the Near East, whereas many of the southern Italian and Sicilian fortifications pre-date those he cites.¹⁹¹ Tancred was clearly aware of the significance of fortresses as Albert of Aachen's description of his destruction of Turkish fortifications which acted as a base from which to attack pilgrims makes clear; at this time he was unable to do more as he lacked the resources to leave strong garrisons.¹⁹² In contrast by 1111 Tancred was in a much stronger position as regent of Antioch and Albert of Aachen recounts how he used the fortress captured at Cerez as a base from which to attack Vetula; once this was captured 'he garrisoned the towers with his followers, and began to attack and subdue the area', again in a manner reminiscent of his family's actions in southern Italy.¹⁹³

¹⁸⁶ Loud, *Robert Guiscard*, p. 124.

¹⁸⁷ RC, p. 117; trans. p. 155.

¹⁸⁸ R. L. Nicholson, *Tancred: A Study of his Career and Work in their Relation to the First Crusade and the Establishment of the Latin States in Syria and Palestine* (Chicago, 1940), p. 106.

¹⁸⁹ Unfortunately, she gives no further details to support these ideas, see Jamison, 'Some notes', pp. 196-97. He is, however, a witness referred to several of Count Roger's charters: see *Documenti latini e greci del conte Ruggero I di Calabria e Sicilia*, ed. J. Becker (Rome, 2013), pp. 205-07, no. 57; pp. 212-21, nos. 54-56; pp. 232-34, no. 60; pp. 251-58, no. 67.

¹⁹⁰ Amatus, 5:6, p. 228, 5:25, p. 245, and 6:14, p. 276; trans. p. 135, p. 142 and p. 156; Malaterra, 2:26, p. 38, 2:28, p. 39, and 3:1, p. 57; trans. p. 102, p. 116 and p. 134.

¹⁹¹ J. France, *Western Warfare in the Age of the Crusades, 1000-1300* (London, 1999), pp. 77-128.

¹⁹² *Ibid.*, 3:26, pp. 180-81.

¹⁹³ AA, 11:47, pp. 824-25.

In Sicily and southern Italy, once a town submitted, oaths and hostages were taken and tributes paid. Amatus described how, following Guiscard and Roger's attack upon Castrogiovanni in 1061, 'With folded arms and heads bent, the Caid's came from everywhere, bearing gifts to make peace with the duke and to submit themselves and their cities to him.'¹⁹⁴ Similarly, Malaterra described Robert's gaining of the submission of the Calabrians,

assailing the inhabitants of Bisignano, Cosenza, and Martirano with daily attacks, and forcing the adjacent region to enter into a peace treaty with him, that is, a pact whereby they retained their fortresses while paying tribute and rendering some sort of service to Robert. This agreement was secured with oaths and hostages.¹⁹⁵

Whilst in Sicily, Roger made towns 'pay tribute by intimidating them with the threat of his yoke.'¹⁹⁶ A similar situation was seen in the Near East, where the coastal towns paid tributes and entered into peace treaties as the crusader army travelled to Jerusalem in order to avoid attack.¹⁹⁷ Meanwhile in Antioch, both Aleppo and Shayzar paid regular tributes, which Asbridge suggested were the equivalent of *parias* payments in Iberia.¹⁹⁸ Whilst there is some similarity, I would suggest that it was more likely the application of an approach known from the Italo-Normans' homeland, as was the need for fair rule. Guiscard demonstrated that magnanimity had its own rewards in gaining support, as William of Apulia explained in relation to Bari in 1071 (albeit in an overtly optimistic manner), in that he 'showed kindness and favour to the citizens, and since he always cherished those whom he made his subjects, he himself was loved by them all.'¹⁹⁹ Yet it seems that this was also a lesson Tancred had learned, as William of Tyre wrote of his rule in Galilee, 'In the management of this principality Tancred conducted himself so quietly and acceptably to God that even to this day his memory is held in benediction by the people of the land.'²⁰⁰

During the conquest of Sicily, there were occasions on which Muslims were enslaved and even resettled on the mainland. Malaterra described how, following a Muslim attack

¹⁹⁴ Amatus, 5:23, pp. 240-41; trans. p. 141.

¹⁹⁵ Malaterra, 1:17, p. 18; trans. p. 65.

¹⁹⁶ Ibid., 2:41, p. 49; trans. p. 119.

¹⁹⁷ GF, 10:34-36, pp. 81-86.

¹⁹⁸ Asbridge, *Antioch*, pp. 48-49.

¹⁹⁹ WA, Bk. 3, l. 149-51, p. 172; trans. p. 32.

²⁰⁰ WT, 9:13, p. 438; trans. I, p. 399.

on Catania in 1076, Roger responded by attacking Judica, ‘killing the men there and sending the women to Calabria to be sold as slaves.’²⁰¹ Similarly, in 1088 Roger sent the defeated leaders of Butera to Calabria.²⁰² Yet these occasions seem to have been few and generally relations with the (once defeated) Muslim population appear to have been cordial. Malaterra also told of how a miller who turned against his Muslim lord and submitted to Roger was rewarded, whilst Chamut’s wife and daughters were treated well in an attempt to gain his submission. When this was achieved, and he converted (which was rarely required), he was given new lands in Calabria in 1086.²⁰³ Even the conquest of Sicily itself was started through an alliance between Guiscard and the emir of Syracuse, Ibn al-Thumna, against his rival Ibn al-Ḥawwās. That Ibn al-Thumna knew his request for assistance would be regarded favourably both in terms of gaining military assistance and that Guiscard would have no qualms about such an alliance may well be a reflection of the cordial relations Guiscard had with the mixed Muslim and Christian community in Reggio.²⁰⁴ Not only was Ibn al-Thumna restored to his lordship in Catania, but also acted on behalf of Roger and Robert in attacking his Muslim neighbours and seeking further alliances in their name. This was ultimately to result in his own death, which was also the loss of a valued local ally to Roger.²⁰⁵ Count Roger later made an economic alliance with the Muslim emir of Mahdiyya, Tamīn, which he was prepared to honour rather than accept a proposal from the Pisans for a joint attack on Ifrīqiya in 1085.²⁰⁶ Tancred’s actions in the Near East reflect a similar willingness to enter into reciprocal (if not always equal) agreements with Muslims. For example, in September 1106, Tancred gained the surrender of Apamea (Famiya) at the request of the sons of its murdered ruler Khalaf b.Mula’ib. Khalaf had been killed by the Nizaris of Aleppo, on the orders of the *qadi* of Sarmin. His sons fled; one to Shayzar and the other to Damascus, whence they urged Tancred to act.²⁰⁷ When he did, they were both in his retinue. Tancred, however, refused to attack Apamea, instead guaranteeing the safe conduct of Abu Tahir, leader of the Nizaris, to Aleppo and negotiating future payments of tribute and promising the security of the inhabitants on the basis that he had an earlier agreement with Apamea dating back to spring 1106. Meanwhile, the sons of Khalaf remained in Tancred’s service and were allocated several villages, although the terms of

²⁰¹ Malaterra, 3:10, p. 62; trans. p. 140.

²⁰² Ibid., 4:13, p. 93; trans. p. 189.

²⁰³ Ibid., 3:12, p. 64 and 4:5-6, pp. 87-88; trans. p. 143 and pp. 181-82.

²⁰⁴ Amatus, 5:11, p. 234; trans. p. 137.

²⁰⁵ Malaterra, 2:22, p. 36; trans. pp. 96-97.

²⁰⁶ Ibid., 4:3, p.87; trans. p. 179.

²⁰⁷ AA says that they offered to enter Tancred’s service in return for payment in 10:21, pp. 738-39.

this are unclear.²⁰⁸ In gaining access to Vetula in 1111, Tancred had received assistance from ‘a certain emir, [who] seeing that the regions were being severely devastated by Tancred’s army, struck a deal with him that Tancred would not make incursions for the sake of seizing plunder from him.’²⁰⁹ Such actions clearly indicate an importation of Sicilian-Norman practices.

The above examples suggest another aspect of Muslim-Christian interaction in southern Italy and Sicily which may have further influenced the Italo-Normans, namely the provision of military service to their new lord. Amatus stated that Guiscard used ‘three sets of troops, from three different peoples, Latins, Greeks and Saracens’ in his campaign against Gisulf of Salerno in May 1076.²¹⁰ Malaterra, meanwhile, described several occasions on which Roger utilised Muslims: in 1079 he used ‘Sicilian knights to whom he had already distributed lands in the areas that he had conquered’ from Partinico and Corleone against the people of Iato.²¹¹ In 1091, he took an army of ‘many thousand Saracens’ to aid Roger Borsa in his siege of Cosenza, at which Bohemond was also present, then again against William of Grandmesnil in 1094, and also in the campaign against Capua in 1098.²¹² Similarly, Tancred took Turkish forces into his service in spring 1111 but here (again) the sources are unclear as to the terms of their remuneration. Ibn al-Qalānisī states that following the siege of Jubail in 1109, the terms Tancred offered for its submission included granting the town as a fief to Fakhr al-Mulk Ibn ‘Ammār.²¹³ Yet the fact that Tancred would have at the very least been aware that some Muslims were granted lands (but not, in Johns’ view, fiefs) in Sicily and southern Italy, which were not always dependent upon conversion, makes it a distinct possibility that he adopted a similar approach.²¹⁴ However, when talking of the use of troops in the Latin East, it should be borne in mind that this was a contingent from an ally, rather than Muslims performing military service for their lord, as was the case in Sicily.

²⁰⁸ M. A. Köhler, *Alliances and Treaties between Frankish and Muslim Rulers in the Middle East Cross-Cultural Diplomacy in the Period of the Crusades*, trans. P. M. Holt, rev. and ed. K. Hirschler (Leiden, 2013), p. 69.

²⁰⁹ AA, 11:45, pp. 822-23.

²¹⁰ Amatus, 8:14, p. 354; trans. p. 194.

²¹¹ Malaterra, 3:20, p.69; trans. pp. 150-51.

²¹² Ibid., 4:17, p. 96, 4:22, p. 100 and 4:26, p. 104; trans. p. 194, p. 200 and p. 208.

²¹³ IQ, p. 90.

²¹⁴ Johns, *Arabic Administration*, p. 4.

Even allowing for potential linguistic barriers between the various military contingents, such joint forces resulted in interaction between different cultures and faiths which doubtless in turn engendered some sense of shared understanding and esteem. That Bohemond's reputation was held in respect by the Muslim world was indicated by the actions of the emir of the Antioch citadel, following Kerbogha's defeat. In surrendering, he requested a Frankish banner and was sent that of Raymond of St Gilles. However, when he was informed whose it was, he returned it and instead raised that of Bohemond.²¹⁵ Similarly, although the Danishmend emir, Gümüshtekin, holding Bohemond captive from 1100 to 1103 was partly motivated by greed in refusing to surrender him to Alexios, Albert of Aachen's account of Gümüshtekin's subsequent discussion with Bohemond and the alliance formed between them is a further indicator of the status Bohemond had within the Muslim world.²¹⁶ Tancred, likewise, earned the respect of his Muslim allies according to Albert, who described how Ridwan ended up sacrificing his son as the price of honouring a treaty with him.²¹⁷ Köhler also gives the example of the Seljuk prince Ibn Tekish finding temporary asylum in Antioch, after being rebuffed in Hama, Homs and Aleppo. At Tancred's court he was highly honoured and was possibly allotted lands or a money fief, which indicates a similar political pragmatism as exercised in Sicily and southern Italy.²¹⁸ Tancred also obtained the release of hostages captured during raids and most notably arranged for the wives of Muslim and Armenian farmers to be released from the harem of Aleppo as part of his treaty with Ridwan in 1111, thereby ensuring both an element of stability within the population as well as loyalty to him.²¹⁹ Even though this approach could reflect purely vested interest, it also suggests an ability to work with the population which had been acquired in Sicily, thereby implying a conscious importing of a Sicilian practice into the Levant. Although it was perhaps inevitable that the Franks would fit in to what Köhler describes as the 'Syrian system of autonomous lordships' since they were numerically too small to survive otherwise, the prior experiences of Bohemond, Tancred and the other Italo-Normans facilitated this.²²⁰ It seems, however, that second generation immigrants did not bring the same experience, as following the arrival of Bohemond II in 1126 relations between Antioch and Shayzar deteriorated. Whilst it was clearly not the sole reason, Bohemond II had not had the same experience of fighting (and living)

²¹⁵ GF, 9:19, p. 71; GN, pp. 241-42; trans. p. 111; and BB, pp. 83-84.

²¹⁶ AA, 9:33-36, pp. 680-87.

²¹⁷ Ibid., 11:39, pp. 812-13.

²¹⁸ Köhler, pp. 69-70.

²¹⁹ Asbridge, *Antioch*, p. 66.

²²⁰ Köhler, pp. 7-175, *passim*.

alongside Muslims and this may have coloured his perspective. The Apulian population was more Greek than Latin, and his teenage years were dominated by power struggles between his mother Constance of France as regent and the local Apulian nobility. Whether this background may have influenced his relations with Byzantium must remain a matter of speculation; his four years as ruler of Antioch provide little information to the historian.²²¹

In Usama ibn Munqidh's account of the meeting between Tancred and Hasanun mentioned earlier, he describes how Tancred bestowed a robe of honour on Hasanun, which indicates a rapid level of assimilation of Muslim cultural practices in Antioch.²²² Whether this had Sicilian precedents is unknown. There is no account of this occurring in Sicily, although Roger II bestowed robes of honour upon those Muslims who acted on his behalf following the conquest of Ifrīqiya in the mid-1140s. Unfortunately the origin of Roger's knowledge of this form of diplomacy remains obscure.²²³ Meanwhile, Albert of Aachen's description of Baldwin I's mediation between Tancred and Baldwin Le Bourcq over the suzerainty of Edessa in 1110 has Baldwin stating that 'we shall hold nothing among us by gentile law [...] since the principles of the gentiles and our principles do not agree.'²²⁴ Tancred's willingness to adopt local law and custom in this instance was doubtless guided by ambition, but that he did so perhaps again reflects a politically pragmatic approach which had been adopted in Sicily. In negotiating the surrender of Palermo to Robert and Roger, the Muslim spokesmen

said that they were unwilling to violate or relinquish their law and wanted assurances that they would not be coerced or injured by unjust or new laws, but that under the present circumstances, they had no choice but to surrender the city, to render faithful service to the duke, and to pay tribute. They promised to affirm all this with an oath according to their own law. Rejoicing, the duke and the count accepted what was being offered to them...²²⁵

Similarly, at Rometta, in 1061 the Muslim population 'surrendered themselves and their city to the domination of the Normans, confirming their fidelity by means of oaths on books of their superstitious law that were placed before them.'²²⁶ Although initially the Normans may have had to be informed about what this was, the acceptance of the

²²¹ Asbridge, *Antioch*, p. 89 and p. 101.

²²² Usama, p. 77.

²²³ IA, II, p. 14.

²²⁴ AA, 11:22, pp. 794-95.

²²⁵ Malaterra, 2:45 p. 53; trans. p. 125.

²²⁶ *Ibid.*, 2:13, p. 33; trans. p. 92.

Koran's use in oaths indicates a swift level of understanding of its significance. Meanwhile, living alongside Muslims and requiring their military assistance suggests that a level of cultural awareness rapidly developed. For example, Count Roger appeared to be conscious of the dietary restrictions of his Muslim forces, since he ensured they were supplied with the 'flocks of sheep, cattle and goats on the hillsides of Calabria' in 1098; no mention was made of pigs.²²⁷ Neither Amatus nor Malaterra make any criticism of Guiscard and Roger's alliances with, and military use of, Muslims. Indeed, there are very few occasions in Malaterra's account in which negative language is used in relation to Saracens; when present it relates solely to attempts to resist or overthrow Roger's rule and revolves around issues of deceit.²²⁸ Only one incident includes reference to religious desecration by Saracens, which is promptly followed by the intervention of Divine Justice, which struck a named individual (Benarvet) rather than being a blanket punishment.²²⁹ Furthermore, in describing different groups of Muslims, Malaterra explicitly differentiates between Sicilians, Arabs from Arabia and Africans from Ifrīqiya, which raises the possibility that he was aware of some differences between them.²³⁰ Similarly, William of Apulia in describing the trade of the Amalfitans explained that they knew, 'the Arabs, the Libyans, the Sicilians and Africans.'²³¹ Although this could reflect simply geographical differentiation, by the reign of Roger II, there is the suggestion that he (at least) was more aware of religious variation, as seen in his offer of a fleet to aid the Arabs of the Maghreb against the Almohads in 1153-54.²³²

As Tolan has argued, the majority of Latin texts written shortly after the First Crusade described Muslims as idolatrous pagans, who worshipped amongst others Jupiter, Apollo, and Mahomet.²³³ Yet in the accounts of the Norman conquest of southern Italy and Sicily, there is surprisingly little mention of religion when referring to the Saracens. Malaterra makes Roger refer to the 'infidels' and explain that Sicily was 'given over to idols' when he explained to his men why they were going to attack it; but thereafter he refers to Muslims solely as 'pagans' and usually in relation to a Muslim attempt to

²²⁷ Malaterra, 4:26, p. 104; trans. p. 208.

²²⁸ Ibid., 2:46, p. 54 and 3:30, p. 75; trans. p. 126 and p. 160.

²²⁹ Ibid., 4:1-2, pp. 86-87; trans. pp. 177-79.

²³⁰ Ibid., 2:32, p. 41; trans. p. 106.

²³¹ WA, Bk. 3, l. 483, p. 190; trans. p. 39.

²³² IA, II, p. 62.

²³³ J. V. Tolan, *Saracens: Islam in the Medieval European Imagination* (New York, 2002), p. 109.

oppose Roger's rule.²³⁴ It is only in describing the rededication of St Mary's church in Palermo that he uses more conventionally critical language in his description of its prior use, saying that it had been 'violated by the impious Saracens and turned into a temple dedicated to their superstition.'²³⁵ Similarly in referring to the same incident William of Apulia described it as having been 'the seat of Mahomed and the demon', whilst Amatus focused upon Guiscard's piety in restoring the 'Saracen temple', having 'ordered all the rubbish and filth to be cleaned out' before a mass was said.²³⁶ Yet aside from this, all three writers refer without judgement to the fact that Muslims live and worship according to their own, albeit 'superstitious', laws alongside Christians. I would argue that this ambivalent acceptance is also seen in the *Gesta Francorum* and Ralph of Caen's *Gesta Tancredi*. In the former, whilst the author makes various references to different peoples as all being 'pagans', he recognises a difference between the Turks and others which include both Saracens and Arabs but says little else in respect of their faith, other than making two references to leaders swearing oaths 'by Mohammed and all the names of our gods.'²³⁷ Whilst this reflects the western medieval view that Muslims were polytheists (possibly caused by a lack of understanding of the role of caliphs who were also mentioned in prayers), the fact that he refers to Muhammad suggests a high level of knowledge for a layman that may well have been acquired in his probable homeland of southern Italy. Nor does he make any attempt to demonise the enemy with accounts of Saracen depravity towards the cross, or to justify the massacre of captured Muslims along religious lines in the way Tolan argues is used by Peter Tudebode and Raymond of Aguilers.²³⁸ Meanwhile, it is only in the *Gesta Francorum* that Tancred is described as being angry that the Saracens to whom he had given his banner on the roof of the Temple were subsequently killed, which I would suggest reflects the author's recognition of this practice from southern Italy. He also refers to the fact that the Fatimids were making overtures to the crusaders against their common enemy, the Seljuks.²³⁹ This again suggests a recognition of differences within the Islamic world which may have been influenced by Sicily. It is not impossible that he knew of the alliance made between Count Roger and Tamīn of Ifrīqiya, agreed some

²³⁴ Malaterra, 2:1, p. 29; trans. p. 85.

²³⁵ Ibid., 2:45, p. 53; trans. p. 125.

²³⁶ WA, Bk. 3, l. 353, p. 182; trans. p. 36; Amatus, 6:19, p. 282; trans. p. 158.

²³⁷ GF, 9:21, p. 52 and 10:39, p. 96.

²³⁸ Tolan, *Saracens*, pp. 109-20; and Birk, 'Imagining the Enemy', pp. 100-01.

²³⁹ GF, 6:17, pp. 37-39.

time prior to 1087, which prevented further aid being sent to the Muslims on the island.²⁴⁰

Ralph of Caen's account of Tancred destroying the idol he finds in the Temple initially seems to fit into the First Crusade chronicle genre developed by Tolan, which emphasises the crusaders' role in cleansing the pagan pollution of holy places, and thereby in helping 'justify the crusade' itself.²⁴¹ Despite Hill's suggestion that he may be drawing upon Tancred's description of events, I would suggest that this is unlikely in relation to this section of the account.²⁴² Firstly, Tancred and the other Italo-Normans were quite likely to be aware of the interior of mosques, and although they contained a 'throne' (*minbar*), there were no elaborate idols. Secondly, this section is in verse, which Bachrach and Bachrach argue Ralph used for dramatic effect and particularly for events which did not draw upon eye witness accounts.²⁴³ Tancred, as hero, needs to be seen to do more than simply strip the treasure he finds, so he is shown to be the true Christian prince in that he recognises and destroys a pagan idol in the 'Temple of Solomon'. This is more a platform for Ralph to use his education (and imagination) to dramatic effect in honour of Tancred. When he describes the wealth found within it Ralph reverts to prose, and whilst again there may well be an element of (memory-induced) exaggeration, it is not impossible that the decoration was impressive.²⁴⁴ Elsewhere, Ralph makes few references to the religion of the crusaders' opponents, beyond statements of fact such as when Bohemond was captured by 'the supporters of Mahomet' in August 1100.²⁴⁵ Turks and Saracens, together with Byzantines, simply formed the military enemy to be defeated, as seen in Bohemond's declaration of his intention to return to the West to seek further assistance against 'the two richest powers in the world, Constantinople and Persia.'²⁴⁶ This seems to reflect the Italo-Norman approach which was focused upon territorial conquest; whilst this aim included bringing that land (back) into (Latin) Christian hands, which was a useful rallying cry on

²⁴⁰ Malaterra, 4:3, pp. 86-87; trans. p. 179.

²⁴¹ Tolan, *Saracens*, p. 111.

²⁴² R. Hill, 'The Christian view of the Muslims at the time of the First Crusade', in *The Eastern Mediterranean Lands in the Period of the Crusades*, ed. P. M. Holt (Warminster, 1977), pp. 1-8.

²⁴³ RC, Intro., pp. 7-10.

²⁴⁴ Ibn Jubayr's account of his visit to the Damascus Mosque in 1184 describes the magnificent decoration that existed, so it is not impossible that the Temple was similar; II, p. 272.

²⁴⁵ RC, p. 118; trans. p. 157.

²⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 127; trans. p. 168.

occasion, their subsequent acceptance of different peoples meant their chroniclers rarely saw the need to justify their actions in religious terms.²⁴⁷

Prior experience 2: Greek

The Italo-Normans not only had experience of fighting against and alongside Muslims, but also of Greeks which again seems to have influenced their approach in the Near East. During the conquest of Sicily, the Greeks had initially welcomed the Normans as liberators, but soon found that they were little if any improvement upon the Muslims. Malaterra points out that Roger was welcomed with ‘less enthusiasm’ by the Greek citizens of Troina when he returned nine months after their initially joyous reception. As they became increasingly resentful of Norman troops billeted in their homes, they summoned Saracen aid against their Norman ‘occupiers’.²⁴⁸ As Tancred and Baldwin of Boulogne attempted the conquest of Cilicia, Matthew of Edessa reported that the Armenians quickly came to see the Franks they had initially welcomed as equally oppressive, although Tancred does seem to have attempted a conciliatory approach, particularly in first taking Mamistra.²⁴⁹ Ralph of Caen described how he and the citizens ‘bound themselves to each other, Tancred through the filial obedience of the city, and the city through the paternal rule of Tancred’ and later how he gave the people ‘laws which were more paternal than princely in nature.’²⁵⁰ Albert of Aachen explained that following the capture of the town, Tancred ‘garrisoned the towers with a guard of his own men; he distributed among the Christian confederates food, clothing, gold and silver which he found there in great quantity [...]’.²⁵¹ Whilst the details between the accounts vary, it could be suggested that Tancred was aware of the need not to alienate the local inhabitants, and bearing in mind that according to Ralph of Caen he was at this stage working with Ursinus (or Oshin) of Adana, the distribution above may well have included all Christians, as opposed to solely Latins. However, this did not stop the town from re-welcoming Byzantines in 1104.²⁵² Within the principality of Antioch, Martin has suggested that the administration of Bohemond’s territories in Apulia, especially Bari, may have inspired the adoption of offices in Antioch which also had Byzantine

²⁴⁷ The role of religion in relation to the conquest of North Africa will be discussed in chapter 3.

²⁴⁸ Malaterra, 2:29, p. 40; trans. p. 103.

²⁴⁹ ME, 3:30, p. 197.

²⁵⁰ RC, pp. 41-42 and p.45; trans. p. 66 and p. 70.

²⁵¹ AA, 3:15, pp. 162-63.

²⁵² RC, p. 126; trans. p. 167.

precedents, such as that of *dux* in Antioch being the equivalent of the *catepan* in Bari.²⁵³ Porteous has argued that there are close parallels between the early coins of the principality and those of southern Italy in relation to their design, the use of Greek and Latin (which also reflects some of the population of both areas), and the fact that they regularly overstruck existing coins.²⁵⁴ Porteous has also identified a coin from Edessa, possibly issued at the time of Richard of the Principate (? – see below) which features an armed knight. The only precedent for this is a coin of Count Roger of Sicily dating from some twenty years previously.²⁵⁵ Meanwhile, Cheynet’s analysis of the seal of Thierry Barneville, which he dates to the first half of the twelfth century, draws parallels with those of Robert Guiscard and Roger Borsa.²⁵⁶ There also appears to be some similarity in what can be termed “feudal” practices between southern Italy and the principality of Antioch, such as when military service was given and in the apparent autonomy of the landholders in each location, although caution has to be exercised here as little is known about the exact structure of either area until the mid-twelfth century.²⁵⁷

Even though the Norman conquest of southern Italy and Sicily led to a gradual Latinisation of the Church there, relations with the Orthodox Church remained good. When Palermo surrendered in 1071, the church of St Mary was (re)converted from a mosque and made the city’s cathedral, and Nicodemius, a Greek who had been administering to the Christian community from outside the city walls, was made archbishop.²⁵⁸ Although Latin bishops were subsequently installed in former Greek sees, it was usually only after the see became vacant, with many of the ordinary clergy remaining in place, and facing little interference whether on the mainland or on Sicily. Moreover, Roger I was willing to compromise when political necessity required it.²⁵⁹ In Rossano in 1093, he accepted the citizens’ demand for a Greek archbishop to replace his Latin candidate in return for their support against William of Grandmesnil.²⁶⁰

²⁵³ J-M. Martin, ‘Les structures féodales normanno-soubes et la Terre Sainte’, in *Il Mezzogiorno e le Crociate*, ed. Musca, pp. 225-50; see also Asbridge, *Antioch*, pp. 182-94; and Cahen, *La Syrie*, pp. 455-58.

²⁵⁴ J. Porteous, ‘Crusader Coinage with Greek or Latin Inscriptions’, in *A History of the Crusades*, VI, ed. H. W. Hazard and N. P. Zacour (Madison, 1989), pp. 354-420 (p. 368).

²⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 364.

²⁵⁶ J-C. Cheynet, ‘Le sceau de Thierry de Barneville, duc d’Antioche’, *Revue Numismatique 6e série*, 26 (1984) 223-28.

²⁵⁷ For an overview of different practices in southern Italy, see Skinner, ‘When was southern Italy “feudal”?’, pp. 309-40; Asbridge, *Antioch*, pp. 148-80.

²⁵⁸ Malaterra, 2:45, p. 53; trans. p. 125; Loud, *Robert Guiscard*, p. 174.

²⁵⁹ Loud, *Latin Church*, pp. 496-511.

²⁶⁰ Malaterra, 4:22, p. 100; trans. p. 201.

Meanwhile he proved a generous patron of Greek monasteries, founding or assisting the foundation of fourteen Greek houses, in comparison with three or four Latin houses.²⁶¹ A similar situation existed on the mainland, and again where Latin appointments were made, they tended to reflect political considerations, such as being initially made in the ports to attempt to prevent Byzantine infiltration. Even here, some sees reverted to Greeks where they were willing to swear obedience to the papacy, such as that of Gallipoli.²⁶² Such political considerations seemed to influence Bohemond's choice of the Latin bishops of Tarsus, Artah and Mamistra and later Bernard of Valence as patriarch of Antioch (1100-35) thereby ensuring Latin support in key locations, but the lower clergy were again left in place.²⁶³ Similarly, that Bohemond received his principality from Daimbert, patriarch of Jerusalem (1099-1101) meant that he avoided any links with Byzantium.²⁶⁴ Daimbert was also papal legate and since Bohemond's father had held his lands as a papal fief, he may also have seen this action as a further way of legitimising his position in Antioch. Another of his actions, however, suggests an understanding of at least some of the theological differences between the two churches. In his letter to Paschal II in September 1106, Bohemond referred to the existing dissent and Alexios' role in increasing divisions as a means of justifying his forthcoming campaign against the emperor: knowledge which he may well have acquired whilst living in southern Italy.²⁶⁵ On a more superficial level, physical appearance would not have caused confusion to the Italo-Normans, and this may help explain Orderic Vitalis' account of Tancred recognising a group of Eastern Christians who had taken refuge in the church of the Holy Sepulchre, greeting them as 'brothers and friends' and leaving Ilger Bigod to protect them.²⁶⁶ Whilst the account is not given anywhere else, it is not impossible that such an event occurred at some point in the storming of Jerusalem. Certainly, the fact that Bohemond and Tancred had lived alongside Greeks meant that they would have had a greater knowledge of the Orthodox Church than many of their co-crusaders.

²⁶¹ Loud, *Latin Church*, p. 501.

²⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 497.

²⁶³ B. Hamilton, *The Latin Church in the Crusader States* (London, 1980), p. 19.

²⁶⁴ A. V. Murray, 'The Enemy Within: Bohemond, Byzantium and the Subversion of the First Crusade', in *Crusading and Pilgrimage*, ed. Hurlock and Oldfield, pp. 31-47.

²⁶⁵ J. Harris, *Byzantium and the Crusades*, 2nd ed. (London, 2014), p. 96; W. Holtzmann, 'Zur Geschichte des Investiturstreites (Englische Analekten II.)', *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für Ältere Deutsche Geschichtskunde*, 50 (1935), 246-319 (esp. p. 281).

²⁶⁶ OV, V, pp. 168-171.

A further element of experience they brought to the First Crusade was, at least in Bohemond's case, of fighting against Alexios. Anna Komnene described how Alexios warned the crusaders 'about the things likely to happen on their journey. He gave them profitable advice. They were instructed in the methods normally used by the Turks in battle [...].'²⁶⁷ Although this advice was listened to by all the leaders, including Bohemond, Anna does not add that the latter also had some experience of this at Byzantine hands, as Alexios had deployed some of the 7000 Turkish troops he had received from the sultan, Solyman of Nicaea, against him in 1083.²⁶⁸ Whilst there has been much debate about the exact nature of relations established between Alexios and Bohemond in Constantinople in April 1097, that both had prior knowledge of the other shaped their perceptions and actions.²⁶⁹ Bohemond had bested Alexios in the field, and on two occasions in 1082 seemed to have been forewarned of Alexios' actions: the attempt to decimate Bohemond's forces by sending chariots armed with spears into their ranks and scattering iron caltrops on the battlefield to disable the Norman cavalry both failed because Bohemond adapted his own techniques prior to battle.²⁷⁰ Yewdale has also pointed out that Bohemond had by this time a large Greek contingent who had defected from Alexios, which may have increased his knowledge of potential Byzantine tactics.²⁷¹ It seems that in 1083 he no longer had informers as he was unaware of the stratagem employed by Alexios at Thessaly which resulted in Bohemond's defeat and subsequent withdrawal from the siege of Larissa. Bohemond then experienced another of Alexios' methods, this time his attempt to sow discord amongst Bohemond's men with promises of reward if they were to defect.²⁷² He was to attempt it again in 1107-8, with similar success, although it seems that Bohemond was at least aware of this attempt. On both occasions, Alexios was endeavouring to get Bohemond's men to break with him on the grounds that he had failed to meet his obligations (that is, pay them). In describing these tactics, Anna explained that 'sometimes, in the right circumstances, an enemy can be beaten by fraud.'²⁷³ It is interesting to surmise that this was a lesson that Bohemond had already learnt, both from the exploits of his family and from his dealings with Alexios when he persuaded the other crusade leaders to cede him control of Antioch. As Shepard has pointed out, it is impossible to know exactly when and why

²⁶⁷ AK, p. 295.

²⁶⁸ Ibid., p. 140 and p. 144.

²⁶⁹ See, for example, Pryor and Jeffreys, pp. 31-87; Shepard; and McQueen, *op. cit.*

²⁷⁰ AK, pp. 136-38.

²⁷¹ Yewdale, p. 24.

²⁷² AK, p. 146.

²⁷³ Ibid., p. 367.

Bohemond decided to distance himself from Alexios during the siege of Antioch.²⁷⁴ It is, however, worth bearing in mind that one of Bohemond's justifications against Alexios was that he had failed to come to the crusaders' aid, and this nullified the oaths they had made to him. I suggest that there was a precedent for this line of argument in Italo-Norman history, which possibly may also have influenced him. In 1058, Roger was in the service of Robert Guiscard, but because 'he received nothing by way of recompense for himself or his men [...] Roger renounced the agreement that they had worked out between themselves and returned to Scalea.'²⁷⁵ Whilst in this instance, there had been an attempt to negotiate prior to Roger's defection, there was an acceptance that he had the right to renounce the earlier agreement because Guiscard failed to honour his commitment as lord – which was essentially at the heart of Bohemond's complaint against Alexios. So here too it could, perhaps, be argued that Bohemond was also drawing upon familial experience in southern Italy in his actions at Antioch.

Matrimonial ties: another factor in shaping inter-contingent relations?

The effect of family, and particularly matrimonial, links upon the relationship between the different crusade leaders has been little explored by historians. Contemporary accounts describe the hostility felt by almost all the leaders at different points towards the Byzantine emperor, Alexios, and the quarrel that developed between Raymond of St Gilles and Bohemond, but give little beyond that. Whilst Fulcher of Chartres describes the range of languages he heard in the armies which had the potential to cause confusion and misunderstandings, he goes on to explain that because they were united in serving God, problems could be resolved.²⁷⁶ Ralph of Caen gives a clearer view of perceived distinctions between groups, in his description of Provençals: whilst recognising their fighting ability, he emphasises their love of food above all else, stressing their differences to other 'Franks'.²⁷⁷ This latter term was used generically of all the French speakers, but it may also reflect an ongoing antipathy towards the Provençal contingent picked up from Bohemond and Tancred during his conversations with them.²⁷⁸ Relations between Bohemond and Raymond of St Gilles had been frosty since their meeting in Constantinople, and whilst it is impossible to know the impact of family

²⁷⁴ Shepard, p. 262.

²⁷⁵ Malaterra, 1:26, trans. pp. 69-70.

²⁷⁶ FC, I, 13:4-5, pp. 202-03; trans. p. 88.

²⁷⁷ RC, pp. 58-9; trans. pp. 86-7.

²⁷⁸ Ibid., pp. 3-4; trans. p. 20.

loyalties and perceived slights, it is worth noting that Raymond of St Gilles had married Matilda, daughter of Count Roger, in 1080 coming to Sicily for the wedding and remaining there for some time.²⁷⁹ By 1098, Matilda had either died or been put aside (it is unclear which), and Raymond had contracted a new marriage with Elvira, daughter of Alfonso VI of León and Castile, which reflected well on the prestige of the count.²⁸⁰ Meanwhile, in 1086, Roger had sent another daughter, Emma, to Raymond who was to hand her over to Philip I in marriage. Philip, however, was already married to Bertha of Holland and so Emma was eventually married to one of Raymond's vassals, Count Robert of Auvergne (not the count of Clermont as Malaterra reports). Whilst Robert was not as impressive a candidate as a king, it was not a particularly disparaging match; where conflict seemed to lie was in the issue of Emma's dowry. Raymond insisted it be left with him, but on hearing of Philip's marital status, those accompanying Emma (apparently at her request) took the money back to Sicily.²⁸¹ Whether this situation engendered a distrust that was to influence Bohemond later is impossible to know (nor indeed whether Bohemond and St Gilles had met back in 1080) but in an age where status and position were important, Elvira's presence on the crusade may have been perceived as an example of Raymond attempting to demonstrate his social superiority to the *parvenu* Italo-Normans. Meanwhile, Bohemond seems to have got along well with Robert of Flanders: they led a joint search for supplies during the siege of Antioch in which together they routed a Turkish force coming to the aid of Yaghisian, whilst according to Raymond of Aguilers Robert (and Godfrey of Bouillon) 'took the Antioch quarrel lightly and secretly favoured Bohemond's possession'.²⁸² Again there was a link through marriage in that Robert's sister Alaine had married Roger Borsa in 1093. When Robert had passed through southern Italy in autumn 1096, he had been well received by Roger Borsa who offered him gifts, which he declined save for some relics which he sent home.²⁸³ Finally, as mentioned above, according to Orderic Vitalis, Robert of Normandy had already formed an attachment to Sybil, whose father, Geoffrey of Conversano, was technically a vassal of Bohemond.²⁸⁴ A further albeit more remote familial link came through Geoffrey of Montescaglioso, in that he was Geoffrey of

²⁷⁹ Malaterra, 3:22, p. 70; trans. pp.151-52.

²⁸⁰ J. H. Hill and L. L. Hill, *Raymond IV, Count of Toulouse* (Syracuse, NY, 1962), p. 48.

²⁸¹ Malaterra, 4:8, p. 90; trans. pp. 184-85.

²⁸² Kemal al-Din, 'La Chronique d'Alep', *RHC Or.* 3, pp. 578-79; *GF*, 6:14, p. 32; *AA*, 3:50-52, pp. 216-21; *RA*, p. 93; trans. p. 75.

²⁸³ M. M. Knappen, 'Robert II of Flanders in the First Crusade', in *The Crusades and Other Historical Essays Presented to Dana C. Munro*, ed. L. J. Paetow (New York, 1928), pp. 79-100.

²⁸⁴ Martin, *La Pouille*, pp. 736-37.

Conversano's great-nephew.²⁸⁵ Clearly, such links were not the only factors which affected interactions between the leaders, but it is possible that on occasion they may have further helped engender a sense of commonality. For example, following the discovery of the Holy Lance, Ralph of Caen explains that 'Bohemond, and with him the counts of Normandy, Flanders, Arnulf the bishop's vicar and Tancred, discerned the subtleties of what had happened.'²⁸⁶ This incident also reflects (particularly) the Normans' perception of deceit, in which they themselves were adept, indicating a sense of shared heritage between the different participants.

*Case study: the ambiguous identity of Richard of the Principate and Lord of Marash*²⁸⁷

When looking at the role of the Hautevilles in the First Crusade and its aftermath, particularly in the establishment of the principality of Antioch, there is a tendency to focus upon the careers of Bohemond and Tancred. Yet two other family members were to play key roles in Antioch (and beyond): Richard of the Principate, and his son Roger of Salerno who succeeded Tancred in Antioch. Whilst Roger's appellation 'of Salerno' was not contemporaneous and is a later addition, here I will focus upon Richard. He has been identified as becoming regent of Edessa and lord of Marash, but I would suggest that some of the conclusions drawn about him are worthy of a closer examination, and that there is a case to be made of mistaken identity. When discussing Richard, the extant sources never use the soubriquet 'of the Principate' in relation to the lord of Marash.²⁸⁸ Whilst that could be argued to reflect the knowledge of the authors, in examining his supposed career (figure 4), further discrepancies arise.

Both the *Gesta Francorum* and the HAI include Richard of the Principate in the list of those who accompanied Bohemond's expedition in 1096. He was one of five sons of William of the Principate, whose lordship had been created by capturing the *castellum* of S. Nicandro about 40km east of Salerno in 1055, then extending into the surrounding

²⁸⁵ Jamison, 'Some notes', p. 200.

²⁸⁶ RC, p. 88; trans. p. 121.

²⁸⁷ This section is based upon a piece originally written and submitted to Professor Phillips on 13/10/15. In 2016, E. Gurinov (Belarusian State University) independently published the article, 'Was Richard of the Principate Regent of Edessa in 1104-1108', *Initial: A Review of Medieval Studies*, 4 (2016), 63-69 <https://www.academia.edu/32216097/Was_Richard_of_the_Principate_Regent_of_Edessa_in_1104_1108> [Accessed 5/4/17]. This is a journal published in Serbian and English in Belgrade. Submission for articles is 1 October of the year prior to publication.

²⁸⁸ Appendix A.

Figure 4: Richard of the Principate's 'career'

Year	Event	Source
1096	Joined Bohemond's contingent in southern Italy Crossed to Illyria ahead of him and captured by Greeks Avoided oath to Alexios	GF, HAI AK GF
1097	Battle of Dorylaeum With Tancred in Cilicia	GF AA, RC
1098	Siege of Antioch – used by Bohemond (together with Tancred) to speak to Turkish forces	HAI
1100	Captured with Bohemond whilst marching from Marash to Melitene. Imprisoned by Danishmends.	AA, OV
1103	Possibly sold to Alexios prior to his release? Late 1103/early 1104 in Limousin (St Leonard's shrine)	ME OV
1104	Syracuse, Sicily (witnessing a donation of his brother, Tancred, to the abbey of S. Lucia) By end of year, regent of Edessa	Pirri ²⁸⁹ ME, MS, Anon. Chron.
1105	Sent by Bohemond to negotiate his marriage	GN
1107-08	On campaign with Bohemond against Alexios Sept 1108 signatory of Treaty of Devol By end of year, in Edessa/Marash	AK AK ME, MS, Anon. Chron.
1111	Aid to Tancred	AA
1114	Death in earthquake	WC

area, acquiring lands held by the princes of Salerno.²⁹⁰ In looking at how Hauteville relationships are described in the Latin crusading sources, we immediately encounter a problem with identity. William of Tyre confuses the brothers of Robert Guiscard, and states (incorrectly) that Richard was the son of Robert's half-brother, William Iron-Arm, rather than of his full brother, William of the Principate.²⁹¹ Unfortunately, the source we would expect to be clear on Guiscardian familial relations, Ralph of Caen, refers to Richard as being, '*Wiscardi nepos [...] Boamundum secutus amitam suum*', suggesting he was Bohemond's nephew, as opposed to his cousin.²⁹² Malaterra makes no reference to him at this point (or any other), and his life prior to going on crusade is largely shrouded in obscurity. That aside, other than being associated with the

²⁸⁹ R. Pirri, *Sicilia sacra disquisitionibus et notitiis illustrate*, I, 3rd edition, ed. A. Mongitore (Palermo, 1733), pp. 619-20.

²⁹⁰ L-R. Ménager, 'Les fondations monastiques de Robert Guiscard, duc de Pouille et Calabrie', *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken*, 39 (1959), 1-116 (pp. 67-73); Loud, *Robert Guiscard*, pp. 122-23.

²⁹¹ Jamison, 'Some notes', pp. 183-208; WT, 2:13, p. 177; trans. I, p. 134.

²⁹² RC, p. 44.

Principate through his father as a younger son he seems to have little connection with the area. Indeed, Ralph explains that he left Syracuse to his brother Tancred, suggesting Richard's links were also stronger with Sicily than the mainland.²⁹³ Ralph's explanation is an oversimplification of matters, as Tancred had received Syracuse from Roger I at some point after the death of Roger's son Jordan in September 1091, but it does seem that Richard held some land there as, in 1103, Tancred confirmed donations Richard had made earlier to the abbey of S. Lucia.²⁹⁴ It is unclear whether Richard was present at the siege of Amalfi itself where Bohemond announced his decision to take the cross, but bearing in mind the above connection with Sicily, it is not impossible he was in the army of Roger I. In his account of Richard's life, Beech charts a career which culminates in the lordship of Marash, where he died at some point between 1112 and 1114.²⁹⁵ Within his account, Beech explains that whilst Richard was one of the signatories of the Treaty of Devol in September 1108, he then returned 'without delay' to Edessa, and following Baldwin's release from captivity before the end of that year, to Marash. This assumes that Richard could travel almost two thousand kilometres over difficult terrain as winter set in, and when the sailing season to the Near East had ended. As Pryor has pointed out that does not mean an absolute suspension of seafaring, so it is not impossible he was able to travel by ship, even though the rest of Bohemond's army wintered in Byzantium.²⁹⁶ If, however, we accept that passage by sea was unlikely as was such a rapid land journey, then either Richard was not at Devol, or he was not the lord of Marash.

Anna Komnene is very clear in listing Richard as one of the signatories on the Treaty of Devol, on behalf of the imperial court.²⁹⁷ As such, Richard was one of the Norman lords Alexios had persuaded to abandon Bohemond; whether his defection pre-dated the invasion of Byzantium in 1107 is unclear, although Beech suggests that it may have gone back as far as 1103.²⁹⁸ This assumes that following his, and Bohemond's, capture by the Danishmends in 1100, he was sold to Alexios, as Matthew of Edessa claimed,

²⁹³ Ibid.; trans. p. 69.

²⁹⁴ Ménager, 'Les fondations monastiques', p. 73 (esp. fn. 45); Chalandon, I, p. 347; Malaterra, 4:18, pp. 97-98; trans. pp. 196-97; Pirri, pp. 619-20.

²⁹⁵ G. T. Beech, 'A Norman-Italian Adventurer in the East: Richard of Salerno 1097-1112', *ANS*, 15 (1992), 25-40; also 'The Crusader Lordship of Marash in Armenian Cilicia, 1104-1149', *Viator*, 27 (1996), 35-52.

²⁹⁶ J. H. Pryor, *Geography, Technology, and War: Studies in the Maritime History of the Mediterranean, 649-1571* (Cambridge, 1988), p. 87; and AK, p. 397.

²⁹⁷ AK, p. 396.

²⁹⁸ Beech, 'Adventurer', p. 37.

and future loyalty to the emperor may have been part of the price of his subsequent release.²⁹⁹ This latter point seems to me to be unlikely, as it also suggests he was an even better dissembler than Bohemond in his relations with the Byzantines, since he gave no indication of a shift in loyalties until the collapse of the campaign in early autumn 1108 when the army was on the point of starvation. Although Anna had recounted that Richard's ship was amongst those encountered by the Greek fleet when crossing to Illyria in 1096, he, like Tancred, had avoided taking the oath to Alexios by crossing the Bosphorus in disguise.³⁰⁰ If he had then been brought into Byzantine service in 1103, it seems unlikely that Anna would not include it as a way of demonstrating how Alexios always triumphed by manipulating the Italo-Normans to his will, as well as giving a further example of their general perfidy. Beech, however, argues that the St Leonard miracle collection, written between 1106 and 1111, adds further weight to Matthew of Edessa's account in that it tells of how 'Richard the Norman' was sold to Alexios by his pagan captors, but following the intercession of St Leonard in response to Richard's prayers, he was subsequently released with honour by the emperor.³⁰¹ Although there is some ambiguity surrounding the identity of 'Richard the Norman' and the dating of the events described, Beech states that it is unlikely to be anyone other than Richard of the Principate. Poncelet, on whom Beech draws for this argument, seems less convinced, arguing that although it seems probable when the sources are taken together (including Matthew of Edessa), '*Je pose la question, sans me décider à la résoudre.*'³⁰² As to Matthew's account, this may well be a case of mistaken identity as Albert of Aachen relates that Alexios tried to buy Bohemond from the Danishmend for two hundred and sixty thousand bezants.³⁰³ Orderic Vitalis also states that Alexios tried to buy Bohemond 'for a hundred thousand philips. [...] For he was deeply vexed because Bohemond had taken Antioch from him.'³⁰⁴ Certainly Bohemond would be a more logical choice in light of previous relations with Alexios, rather than a somewhat obscure member of the Hauteville clan. Again, the issue revolves around the reliability of Matthew of Edessa as a source. As Dostourian argued in the introduction to his translation, the fact that so little is known about Matthew and his sources causes problems for historians.³⁰⁵ His account of events in northern Syria covers the years 1051

²⁹⁹ ME, 3:28, p. 192.

³⁰⁰ AK, pp. 281-84.

³⁰¹ Beech, 'Adventurer', pp. 33-34; A. Poncelet, 'Boémond et S. Léonard', *Analecta Bollandiana*, 31 (1912), 24-44.

³⁰² Poncelet, p. 36.

³⁰³ AA, 9:33, pp. 680-81.

³⁰⁴ OV, V, pp. 354-55.

³⁰⁵ ME, Intro. pp. 1-16.

to 1136, with the period up to 1101 based upon eyewitness accounts, whilst the later period relied more upon his own experiences. Whilst many of the events he described can be corroborated by looking at other Armenian, Syriac, Greek, Arabic and Latin sources, he also included details that are not verifiable elsewhere but have perhaps led historians to accept on the balance of probability. This may have been influenced by Matthew's own explanation that as well as using (unnamed) histories, he also 'consulted old people, scrutinising and collating what they said with care' but again he gave no indication of who they were.³⁰⁶ Yet this should act as a warning note to historians when it comes to using his references to otherwise undocumented events and relationships. For example, in describing Bohemond's journey to France, he explained that whilst there, Bohemond apparently married the former wife of Stephen of Blois.³⁰⁷ This account is interesting as it shows how stories are changed as they are passed on, and details misremembered. Whilst Constance's former husband was Hugh I of Champagne, her marriage to Bohemond took place at Chartres, where Adele of Blois prepared a great feast in celebration.³⁰⁸ Adele was the widow of Stephen of Blois, who Matthew may have been aware of as one of the First Crusaders. The rest of the account, in which Constance imprisoned Bohemond until she married him perhaps reflects a vivid imagination, which is also manifested at other points within the apocalyptic framework of his chronicle; it certainly indicates that we should be wary of relying too heavily upon the details Matthew gives us.³⁰⁹

A further indication that Richard was a signatory to the Treaty of Devol comes from Ralph of Caen. Despite Ralph's heavy emphasis upon both Tancred's and Bohemond's Guiscardian heritage, there is only one reference to Richard, as given above and his role in the *Gesta Tancredi* is limited to the confrontation between Tancred and Baldwin at Mamistra. In this, he is seen to be valiant in battle, and clearly valued sufficiently by Tancred in that his capture by Baldwin's forces helped lead to a compromise between the two sides.³¹⁰ This is despite that fact that according to the *Gesta Francorum* he accompanied Tancred in their disguised crossing of the Bosphorus to avoid the oath to

³⁰⁶ ME, 3:2, p. 183; see also T. L. Andrews, 'Prolegomena to a Critical Edition of the Chronicle of Matthew of Edessa, with a Discussion of Computer-Aided Methods Used to Edit the Text', Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Oxford, 2009, pp. 191-93.

³⁰⁷ ME, 3:20, p. 194.

³⁰⁸ OV, VI, pp. 70-71.

³⁰⁹ C. MacEvitt, 'The Chronicle of Matthew of Edessa: Apocalypse, the First Crusade, and the Armenian Diaspora', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 61 (2007), 157-81; and Andrews, 'Prolegomena', p. 194.

³¹⁰ RC, p. 44; trans. p. 69.

Alexios and he was also one of the named commanders at Dorylaeum (July 1097).³¹¹ Whilst Ralph may have chosen to ignore Richard's initial role as it could detract from Tancred's cunning on that occasion, his absence in the account of Dorylaeum indicates more of a deliberate selection of characters included. Bohemond, Robert of Normandy, Tancred and his brother William (who is killed) all play a courageous part in events. Richard's absence is notable, but if Ralph was writing for an audience who would appreciate the valour of the Guiscardians but not any betrayal to Byzantium, such as Adelaide del Vasto when she was Queen of Jerusalem (1113-17), his absence on this occasion and elsewhere in Ralph's account of events becomes more understandable.³¹² It also makes the fact that Ralph's account ends in 1107 even more frustrating to the historian.

What then of the case for Richard being regent of Edessa and lord of Marash? For both roles, we are again relying upon non-Latin sources, this time Matthew of Edessa, Michael the Syrian and the Anonymous Syriac Chronicle. Michael tells us that during the imprisonment in Mosul of Baldwin of Bourcq and Joscelin of Courtenay, Tancred in his role of regent of Antioch established Richard in Edessa, '*s'enfuit à Édesse, et y établit comme chef Richard.*'³¹³ Matthew of Edessa states, 'The commander of the Frankish forces was a man named Richard, to whom Tancred had entrusted the defence of the city.'³¹⁴ In neither case do they give any indication of who Richard is, in relation to Tancred or anyone - or where - else. In Matthew's case, on the previous occasions in which he refers to Richard of the Principate, he (erroneously) describes him as Bohemond's 'sister's son'.³¹⁵ Again, the time frame of events raises some interesting issues. In 1104, Richard witnessed a donation by his brother, Tancred, to S. Lucia of Bagnara in Sicily, presumably on his return from visiting St Leonard's shrine in the Limousin.³¹⁶ From Sicily, he then returned to the Latin Near East and was made Tancred's regent in Edessa by the end of the year, following the capture of Baldwin of Bourcq and Joscelin of Courtenay. According to Matthew of Edessa, in spring 1105, Richard led a sortie against Jokermish of Mosul, who was besieging the city. This resulted in the loss of 'as many as four hundred men', causing great lament in the

³¹¹ GF, 2:7, p. 13 and 3:9, p. 20.

³¹² See chapter two for Ralph's possible audience.

³¹³ MS, 15:5, p. 195.

³¹⁴ Ibid., 3:28, p. 197.

³¹⁵ Ibid., 2:133, p. 176 and 3:14, p. 192.

³¹⁶ Pirri, p. 619.

city.³¹⁷ This apparently successful attack on Edessa by Jokermish is unfortunately not mentioned in the Arabic sources. Meanwhile, whilst in Edessa, Richard also came to be hated for his rapacity and methods in collecting money from the local population. Michael said that he, *'infligea beaucoup de maux Édesséniens'*, whilst the Anonymous Syriac Chronicle states, *'Il (Richard) commença alors à infliger aux Édesséniens des tourments amers, emprisonnements et humiliations; il se mit à ramasser beaucoup d'or; surtout qu'il savait qu'il n'était qu'un hôte de passage et non le véritable maître et héritier.'*³¹⁸ Matthew also related that when a (false) rumour reached the Edessans that Baldwin had been killed in 1109, the citizens feared that Tancred 'would hand it over to Richard who, when he had previously occupied Edessa, had caused the ruin of many persons.'³¹⁹ It seems that Richard was already lord of Marash in 1108, as the Anonymous Syriac Chronicle adds that on Baldwin's and Joscelin's release, *'Richard [...] prit tout ce qu'il y avait ramassé et s'en alla à Mar'aš son pays.'*³²⁰ Richard, 'the commander of the town of Marash', then gave aid to Tancred in 1111 according to Albert of Aachen, and may well have been the lord of Marash who perished in the earthquake of 1114 as mentioned by Walter the Chancellor.³²¹ In both these references, no mention is made of any link to Tancred, the Principate or in 1114 to his son Roger of Salerno. Although it is not uncommon for medieval chroniclers to simply refer to people by name with no further elucidation in terms of their origin or identity, that Richard of the Principate always receives his by-name except when referring to the lordship of Marash raises the possibility that they are not the same person.³²² Perhaps it could be argued that his regency of Edessa and lordship of Marash superseded the earlier sobriquet 'of the Principate', as happened with Raymond of Poitiers when he became prince of Antioch, but it should also be noted that others retained their original names despite acquiring land in the Near East.³²³ So whilst it seems that Richard of

³¹⁷ ME, 3:28, p. 197. Andrews has argued that caution needs to be exercised in relation to Matthew's account, especially in Book 3, in which his portrayal of crusaders becomes confused as he tries to fit events into the context of Armenian prophecy. Allowing for that, his overall chronology in Book 3 is generally more consistent and accurate. See T. L. Andrews, 'The New Age of Prophecy: The Chronicle of Matthew of Edessa and its Place in Armenian Historiography', in *The Medieval Chronicle VI*, ed. E. Kooper (Amsterdam, 2009), pp. 105-23; and 'The Chronology of the Chronicle: An Explanation of the Dating Errors within Book 1 of the Chronicle of Matthew of Edessa', *Revue des Études Arméniennes*, 32 (2010), 141-64.

³¹⁸ MS, 15:5, p. 195; Anon. Chron., p. 52.

³¹⁹ ME, 3:40, pp. 201-02.

³²⁰ Anon. Chron., p. 53.

³²¹ AA, 11:40, pp. 814-15 and WC, 1:1, p. 64; trans. p. 82.

³²² Appendix A.

³²³ See Asbridge, *Antioch*, pp. 169-80 for a list of known landholders, and as an indicator of the continuity of families, Buck, *Antioch and Frontiers*, pp. 160-63.

Edessa and of Marash were the same person, I would argue that he was not also Richard of the Principate.

Who then was Richard of Edessa and Marash? His exact identity must remain unknown, but it is worth bearing in mind that there was another Richard in Bohemond's contingent in 1096. He is described as 'Richard son of Count Rainulf', and Jamison has suggested that he was an otherwise unnamed son of Count Rainulf of Caiazzo and Alife.³²⁴ This would make him a kinsman of Tancred through marriage: Rainulf was the brother of Richard I of Capua who was married to Fressenda, the aunt or great-aunt of Tancred. This Richard is not directly stated as being killed and nor does he appear to return to the West, so it is not impossible that he is the Richard to whom Tancred turned in 1104. This would also deal with the otherwise puzzling question of why Richard of the Principate would give up what was clearly a lucrative, as well as strategically important, position in Edessa to return to Europe on Bohemond's behalf in 1105 with no apparent replacement being made in his absence. Coinage issued in Edessa under Richard raises further confusion. Porteous has identified three coins in his name with Greek and some Frankish elements, followed by the issue of another of unknown identity but from the same time, which features an armed knight. The only precedent for this is a coin of Count Roger of Sicily dating from some twenty years previously.³²⁵ Whilst Richard of the Principate would certainly have had opportunity to see such coins in Sicily, that does not mean that Richard son of Rainulf would not, as such coinage could well have been circulating around Amalfi in 1096 as well as throughout Italo-Noman lands.

Returning to Richard of the Principate, according to Orderic Vitalis he returned to Europe to take a set of silver fetters to the shrine of St Leonard of Noblac in the Limousin on behalf of Bohemond following his release from captivity in late 1103/early 1104.³²⁶ As mentioned above, he then seems to have travelled to Sicily, possibly to await Bohemond's arrival in January 1105. According to Guibert of Nogent, Bohemond sent Richard of the Principate ahead of him as his envoy to King Philip I (1060-1108) in order to negotiate the subsequent marriage of Philip's daughter Constance to

³²⁴ GF, 1:4, pp. 7-8; Jamison, 'Some notes', pp. 197-98.

³²⁵ Porteous, p. 364.

³²⁶ OV, V, pp. 376-77.

Bohemond, which took place after Easter (25 March), 1106.³²⁷ His movements are then unknown, until reference is made of him on campaign with Bohemond against Alexios in 1107-08.³²⁸ If he did not then return to Marash as I suggest above, his ultimate fate remains even more unknown. One possibility is that he remained (at least temporarily) in Byzantine service. Another is that he returned to southern Italy along with Bohemond, although relations may well have been strained between the two men if Richard had actively supported Alexios. Assuming he was the father of ‘Roger of Salerno’ he presumably had a wife somewhere and may have returned to his family. As Beech points out, there is an otherwise unidentified *Riccardus comes* listed as a benefactor at the end of the martyrology of La Trinità di Venosa where other members of the Hauteville family were buried including Richard’s father, William, but there is no evidence of his burial there.³²⁹ Finally, had he been the same man as Richard of Marash and therefore still alive in 1112, in many respects he would have been a more likely candidate to succeed Tancred in Antioch than his hitherto unknown son, Roger, in terms of experience and status as a First Crusader. Maybe the fact that he had clearly alienated the Orthodox community in Edessa as indicated above suggested that such an ‘appointment’ would not be politically sensitive, but whilst the Franks often had good relations with the local Christian population, ensuring them does not seem to have been the primary factor shaping Latin actions up to this point.³³⁰ If he was passed over because he had been a signatory of Devol and was therefore ‘politically suspect’ to Tancred, then why was he allowed to remain in Marash? Neither scenario seems likely, suggesting there were two different Richards and the fact that Tancred turned to the son of a Hauteville indicates that the father was unavailable.

Conclusions

There was no apparent attempt to recruit participants for the First Crusade in southern Italy and Sicily, possibly because of the ongoing conquest of Sicily, but also perhaps because of a sensitivity to the political and military structure of Italo-Norman lands.

³²⁷ GN, p. 138; trans. p. 52: OV, VI, pp. 70-71.

³²⁸ AK, p. 368 and p. 396.

³²⁹ Beech, ‘Adventurer’, p. 38; and *Il "libro del capitolo" del Monastero della SS. Trinità di Venosa (Cod. Casin. 334): una testimonianza del Mezzogiorno normanno*, ed. H. Houben (Lecce, 1984), pp. 111-12, 136-37, 139.

³³⁰ MacEvitt, *Rough Tolerance*, esp. pp. 54- 99 looks at the complex interactions of native Christians and the Franks.

Whilst Bohemond's taking of the cross was portrayed as a spontaneous decision, the reality was doubtless far more complex. It offered Bohemond new opportunities, which he may have been encouraged to explore by both (albeit independently) Urban II and Alexios I Komnenos. The Italo-Norman contingent subsequently made a significant military contribution to both the First Crusade and in the establishment of the principality of Antioch. As the above case study and earlier discussion of the participants of the Italo-Norman contingent indicates, the identity of individuals can be ambiguous on occasion. People can be defined in relation to their family, as well as their ancestral and geographical origins, which can in itself present the historian with problems. Whilst many of the Italo-Norman contingent were ethnically Norman, it seems that they saw themselves - and were regarded as being - distinct from their northern Norman contemporaries. In this sense there was an emergent Italo-Norman identity which had been shaped by their experiences of fighting and living within a multi-ethnic society in southern Italy and Sicily. Whilst some of those experiences were not unique to the Italo-Normans, their actions in the Near East reflect an understanding and application of different cultural and political practices which they brought from southern Italy and Sicily. Of course, Italo-Normans were not the only men to settle in Antioch as Asbridge and Murray have identified.³³¹ Furthermore, Martin has pointed out that, other than the adoption of the title of 'prince' (to which I will return in chapter two), there seems to be no Lombard influence in Antioch as is found in southern Italy.³³² So it cannot be said that Antioch was an Italo-Norman state, but I would argue that it had elements of Italo-Norman identity in its early years of evolution. Finally, it is worth noting that whilst Bohemond's actions have often been attributed as the cause of Raymond of St Gilles' hostility towards him, previous matrimonial links may have contributed to the situation. Whilst this should not be overstated, it can be contrasted with other familial connections which may have engendered a greater sense of commonality between Bohemond and Robert of Flanders and possibly even Robert Curthose.

³³¹ Asbridge, *Antioch*, pp. 169-80; Murray, 'Nobility of the Principality', *forthcoming*.

³³² Martin, 'Les structures', pp. 230-33.

Chapter 2: Conscious construction of identity

This chapter addresses the ways in which identities could be deliberately embraced, and the potential significance in so-doing. It considers familial influences with regards to the way they shaped the actions and reinforced aspects of identity with reference to Bohemond. The manner in which Ralph of Caen constructs identities for his leading subject(s) in the *Gesta Tancredi* is then discussed, as is the idea that his Guiscardian emphasis also reflected a wider significance in respect to his intended audience. The chapter concludes with an evaluation of Bohemond's reputation in the early twelfth-century and suggests that this was not tarnished by his defeat at Devol, whilst his lavish tomb at Canosa provides a visual recognition of the different facets of Bohemond's identity.

Adopting identity

The idea that identity could be acquired was an accepted idea by the late-eleventh century, and is reflected in some of the southern Italian sources.³³³ Geoffrey Malaterra points out in his prologue of *The Deeds of Count Roger* that he has recently become 'an Apulian and indeed a Sicilian', following his move to Roger's territories.³³⁴ William of Apulia gives an example of how allegiance and adopting cultural traits enabled a change in identity, as he describes how the Normans in southern Italy, 'taught their own language and customs to those who joined them, thus creating a single, seemingly united, people'.³³⁵ The slightly later *Historia Sicula*, which was written in the mid-1100s (but before 1154), also describes how a Muslim, Elias Cartomenis, converted to Christianity and through the subsequent modelling of his actions upon those of his Norman compatriots, he 'became' a Norman.³³⁶ I will return to this later, but what is pertinent here is that an identity, and in this case the status attached to it, can be acquired through an individual's actions and choices.

³³³ See, for example, Williams, 'Henry I and the English', pp. 27-38 (esp. p. 38); and Heygate, pp. 165-86 (esp. p. 171), and Introduction above.

³³⁴ Malaterra, p.3; trans. p. 42.

³³⁵ WA, Bk. 1, l. 165-68, p. 108; trans. p. 7.

³³⁶ *Anonymi Historia Sicula a Normannis ad Petrum Aragonensem*, in *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, 8, ed. L. A. Muratori (Milan, 1726), cols 745-80 (col. 774); J. Aspinwall and A. Metcalfe, 'Norman Identity and the Anonymous *Historia Sicula*', in *Sicily: Heritage of the World*, ed. D. Booms (London, 2018) forthcoming.

This adoption of an identity, and the inherent status attached to it, can be seen in the *Gesta Francorum*'s description of Bohemond's actions in taking the cross. On hearing of the arrival of crusaders in Apulia, Bohemond made inquiries into their destination and leadership, and then 'inspired by the Holy Ghost, ordered the most valuable cloak which he had to be cut up forthwith and made into crosses'.³³⁷ Janet Snyder has suggested that this 'was most likely an Islamic textile', on the basis that the Geniza documents indicate textiles were imported into Sicily and southern Italy from North Africa and beyond. She also adds that, 'his action of marking his warriors with arm bands follows the Islamic fashion.'³³⁸ There are, however, several problems with this assertion. Firstly, by referring to the distribution of armbands, Snyder has ignored the phrasing of the *Gesta Francorum*, which specifically refers to Bohemond having his cloak cut up into crosses which he then distributed.³³⁹ In so-doing, she overlooks the specific crusading symbolism of his action.³⁴⁰ Secondly, the textile could equally well have been Byzantine, bearing in mind the previous and ongoing trade between southern Italian ports (including Amalfi) and Constantinople.³⁴¹ Allowing for that, as Joshua Birk has pointed out there would have been a large number of Muslim troops within Count Roger's forces, so it is tempting to suggest that Bohemond may have been aware of the dual symbolism of his action.³⁴² By cutting up an Islamic (or Greek) cloak to turn it into an inherently Latin Christian symbol Bohemond was publicly adopting a new identity of 'crusader', and whilst the spontaneity or otherwise of Bohemond's action remains open to question, his action positioned him differently to both Count Roger and Roger Borsa, who did not take the cross. Whilst neither man is censured for their lack of participation in the extant sources, the *Gesta Francorum*'s account implies an element of rebuke for Count Roger. He is described as returning to Sicily 'almost alone', where he 'grieved and lamented because he had lost his army'. This contrasts with the 'enthusiasm' of those who joined Bohemond in taking the cross.³⁴³ The lack of direct

³³⁷ GF, 1:4, p. 7.

³³⁸ J. Snyder, 'Cloth from the Promised Land: Appropriated Islamic T̄irāz in Twelfth-Century French Sculpture', in *Medieval Fabrications: Dress, Textiles, Clothwork, and Other Cultural Imaginings*, ed. E. J. Burns (New York, 2004), pp. 147-64.

³³⁹ GF, 1:4, p. 7.

³⁴⁰ See, for example, J. Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders, 1095-1131* (Cambridge, 1997), pp. 62-63 *passim*.

³⁴¹ See, for example, Goitein, 'Sicily and Southern Italy', pp. 9-33.

³⁴² Birk, 'Imagining the Enemy', pp. 91-106; and *Norman Kings of Sicily and the Rise of the Anti-Islamic Critique: Unbaptized Sultans* (Palgrave Macmillan e-book, 2017), pp. 33-80.

³⁴³ GF, 1:4, p. 7. Malaterra, writing at Count Roger's request, simply states that the siege had to be abandoned, 4:24, p. 102; trans. pp. 204-05.

criticism, together with the fact that the author makes no mention of Roger Borsa, may indicate that he had been part of Count Roger's contingent before joining the forces of Bohemond. In the latter's case, by his action Bohemond gained prestige both in terms of participating in the campaign to liberate Jerusalem and in that it made him the independent leader of a contingent as opposed to a vassal of his half-brother to whom he had to give military assistance when summoned. It also offered opportunities for material gain in the Near East, whilst at the same time giving his southern lands protection from encroachment in his absence. So religious commitment may well have been present, but the secular advantages cannot be ignored in relation to his action.

Bohemond's decisive assumption of princely status in 1105 also seems to be been a deliberately political step. Despite often being referred to as 'Prince of Taranto', as Yewdale convincingly demonstrated in the early twentieth-century, there is no evidence that this was contemporaneous to the First Crusade, and whilst Mayer stated that it was a revolutionary creation to demonstrate independence from the duke of Apulia he provided nothing to specifically support the title's use of '*princeps*' prior to 1154.³⁴⁴ Further evidence to suggest that this was a later designation comes from Bohemond II, who referred to himself in relation to his parents (and their rank) rather than to a locale in Italy.³⁴⁵ Asbridge has stated that it was only just before Bohemond's return to Europe in 1105 that he adopted the title of 'Prince of Antioch' which was then used in subsequent charters, probably to bolster his status.³⁴⁶ Russo has pointed out that in adopting the title, it raised his standing from disinherited older son to at least the equal of his half-brother Roger Borsa, who was nominally prince of Salerno as well as duke of Apulia and Calabria.³⁴⁷ In so-doing Bohemond may also have been conscious of southern Italy practise in regard to the title, which the Normans there had adopted from the Lombards, which indicated its holder's independence and jurisdictional rights over the territory to which it related.³⁴⁸ The immediate impact of the title itself is difficult to discern, but William of Malmesbury gives an indication of perceptions of status in the

³⁴⁴ Yewdale, p. 35; E. Mayer, *Italienische Verfassungsgeschichte von der Gothenzeit bis zur Zunfttherrschaft*, II (Leipzig, 1909), p. 372; *CDB*, II, pp. 219-23, no. 1 (p. 220).

³⁴⁵ G. Robinson, *History and Cartulary of the Greek Monastery of St Elias and St Anastasius of Carbone* (Rome, 1929), pp. 246-50 and pp. 257-61.

³⁴⁶ Asbridge, *Antioch*, pp. 131-33; *CDB*, V, pp. 83-102, nos. 46, 47, 50, 52, 54, 57.

³⁴⁷ L. Russo, 'I Normanni e il movimento crociato. Una revisione.', in *Il Papato e i Normanni. Temporale e Spirituale in età normanna*, ed. E. D'Angelo and C. Leonardi (Florence, 2011), pp. 163-174.

³⁴⁸ Martin, 'Les structures', p. 230-33; and *La Pouille*, pp. 715-68 for an analysis of power structures in Apulia; D. Crouch, *The Image of Aristocracy in Britain: 1000 – 1300* (London, 1992), pp. 92-93.

1120s, and how an individual's actions appear to legitimise self-elevation. He recounts that William the Conqueror bolstered his courage by reflecting that he could not be less daring than Robert Guiscard, who was born his social inferior. However, William of Malmesbury then relates how Guiscard was able to overcome all obstacles and make himself duke of Apulia and Calabria. The tone of the account, and subsequent details surrounding the rest of Guiscard's life, indicate that this elevation based upon military success was recognised by others.³⁴⁹ Meanwhile, a further identity was created by Bohemond's marriage to Constance, daughter of Philip I of France and Bertha of Holland, in 1106. As well as demonstrating Bohemond's increased European social standing it also made him a 'Frank' in Guibert of Nogent's view.³⁵⁰ Tancred's marriage to Cecilia, another (albeit illegitimate) daughter of the French king, again reflected his new identity as a leading player in the Latin East, and may have acted as a means of legitimising his leadership over a diverse body of men. The marriages also linked both men to the direct descendants of Charlemagne, although caution should be exercised here as this element of Capetian ancestry was not fully developed until the reign of Louis VI. It was, however, clear recognition of their status in that they were marrying into an established royal house, and this acceptance would have facilitated Bohemond's recruiting campaign in northern France. Meanwhile, Naus has recently argued that as the excommunicated Philip I had been unable to go on the First Crusade, and Hugh of Vermandois had abandoned the expedition in 1098 (although he did return to and die in the Near East in 1101), the monarchy was suffering a 'crisis of crusading'.³⁵¹ One way to help overcome this was through the association with Bohemond and Tancred, so the issue of enhanced status worked in both directions.

Bohemond seems to have been adept at exploiting this crusader identity on his return to the West in 1105.³⁵² Orderic Vitalis describes how as Bohemond travelled across France after visiting the shrine of St Leonard of Noblac, he would tell his story and leave 'relics and silken palls and other desirable objects on the holy altars', thereby creating a lasting memory of his visit.³⁵³ An indication of his success is seen in the fact that a monk in

³⁴⁹ William of Malmesbury, pp. 482-85.

³⁵⁰ GN, p. 137 and p. 106; trans. p. 57 and p. 39.

³⁵¹ J. L. Naus, *Constructing Kingship: The Capetian Monarchs of France and the Early Crusades* (Manchester, 2016), p. 9.

³⁵² For Bohemond's itinerary, see L. Russo, 'Il viaggio di Boemondo d'Altavilla in Francia (1106): un riesame', *Archivio storico italiano*, 163:1 (2005), 3-42.

³⁵³ OV, VI, pp. 68-69.

Angers used Bohemond's visit as a means of dating a transaction, whilst Orderic explains that 'Many nobles came to him and offered him their children, to whom he willingly stood godfather, even bestowing his own name on them. [...] Henceforth his name was popularized in Gaul, although previously it had been virtually unknown to most persons in the west.'³⁵⁴ As he retold his story, Bohemond would have been recognisable to many as the physical embodiment of the *preudomme* of the *chansons de geste*, although Friedman has suggested that Bohemond may have adapted the account of his captivity and release to reflect the medieval "miraculization" of events in order to make his story appear more heroic.³⁵⁵ As discussed in chapter one, Bohemond's participation in the First Crusade may have been actively encouraged by Urban II and following the capture of Antioch the letter sent to the West in September 1098 indicated a desire to retain papal support. Shortly after arriving in southern Italy, Bohemond travelled to Rome to meet Paschal II in September 1105 and was clearly held in high regard as the pope issued a privilege to the church of St Nicholas of Bari apparently at Bohemond's request on 18 November.³⁵⁶ Whether Bohemond made clear his intentions to attack Byzantium remains unclear, but he was given a papal banner and the support of Bruno, bishop of Segni, as papal legate in calling men to a new crusade.³⁵⁷ This support added to his status and may have increased his appeal to the Capetians, as well as to those Bohemond was seeking to recruit. As Rowe has suggested, one reason Bohemond went to northern France may have been because many of the crusaders who had returned would have harboured resentment against the Byzantines, especially following the events of the 1101 crusade.³⁵⁸ As also noted in chapter one, Bohemond had not only fought alongside Robert of Normandy and Robert of Flanders but he also had links to them through marriage, which may have contributed to both his political standing in the region and the spread of his fame.³⁵⁹

³⁵⁴ *Archives d'Anjou: Recueil de documents et mémoires inédits sur cette province*, III, ed. P. Marchegay (Angers, 1854), p. 242, no. 396; OV, VI, pp. 70-71.

³⁵⁵ D. Crouch, *The Birth of Nobility: Constructing Aristocracy in England and France, 900-1300* (Harlow, 2005), pp. 30-37; Y. Friedman, 'Miracles, Meaning and Narrative in the Latin East', in *Signs, Wonders, Miracles: Representations of Divine Power in the Life of the Church*, Ecclesiastical History Society (Woodbridge, 2005), pp. 123-34.

³⁵⁶ Yewdale, p. 109; PL, 163, col. 178-79.

³⁵⁷ J. G. Rowe, 'Paschal II, Bohemond of Antioch and the Byzantine Empire', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, 49:1 (1966), 165-202; HAI, p. 136; Bartolf of Nangis, *Gesta Francorum Iherusalem expugnantium*, RHC Oc. 3, p. 538.

³⁵⁸ Rowe, p. 181.

³⁵⁹ Robert of Normandy's wife, Sybil of Conversano, had died in 1103, but Robert of Flanders' sister Adela was still alive in Apulia. She outlived Roger Borsa, and acted as regent for their infant son, William.

Paternal influences in shaping actions

Whilst marriage as a means of increasing status was not unique to the Italo-Normans, Bohemond had experience of the political expediency involved in acquiring a spouse. Robert Guiscard's 'convenient' dissolution of his marriage to Bohemond's mother, Alberada, on grounds of consanguinity allowed him to marry Sichelgaita, sister of Prince Gisulf II of Salerno, in 1058 which thereby increased Lombard acceptance of the legitimacy of his rule. Although this led to Bohemond's disinheritance in southern Italy by his father in favour of Roger Borsa, Bohemond seems to have admired his father and to have been influenced by his approach. Guiscard's legacy (at least in the short term) was dazzling: he had arrived in southern Italy penniless and received little support from his older Hauteville siblings, but by the time of his death in 1085 he was recognized as Duke of Apulia, Calabria and Sicily, and was courted (and reviled) by popes and emperors. As his nickname denoted, it was through his use of guile and cunning that he was often most successful and instances in Bohemond's life seem to directly echo the actions of his father. William of Apulia described how Guiscard was able to capture a monastery in Calabria by staging a fake funeral of one of his men. On gaining access to the monastery, the "deceased" jumped out of his coffin and passed arms to his grieving comrades, thereby enabling Guiscard to seize the fortress.³⁶⁰ It was possibly this story that reoccurs in a somewhat garbled form, in which Guiscard had himself smuggled into Montecassino in a coffin in order to be buried there, during the quarrel between Tancred and Arnulf of Chocques recounted by both Ralph of Caen and the HAI (discussed below).³⁶¹ Meanwhile, Anna Komnene described Bohemond faking his own death in Antioch in 1106 and leaving in a coffin complete with dead cockerel to provide the stench of death in order to avoid Byzantine capture.³⁶² Another approach favoured by Guiscard was to use insiders to gain access to besieged cities, promising reward in return. In 1068, William of Apulia described how Guiscard offered to give the custodian of the fortress a better one in return (which he duly did) if he handed Montepeloso over to him.³⁶³ In December 1076, Amatus of Montecassino described a similar scenario in Salerno, although on this occasion an inhabitant came to tell the duke how to enter the

³⁶⁰ WA, Bk. 2, l. 335-50, pp. 150; trans. pp. 23-24.

³⁶¹ RC, p. 113; trans. p. 150; HAI, p. 127.

³⁶² AK, pp. 329-30.

³⁶³ WA, Bk. 2, l. 460-77, pp. 156-58; trans. p. 26

city and thereby avoiding killing the citizens and poor.³⁶⁴ Meanwhile, during the siege of Durazzo in February 1082, Guiscard was able to buy the support of a disgruntled Venetian in return for the gift of his niece in marriage.³⁶⁵ Hence it is not surprising that Bohemond saw the advantages of using this technique in gaining access to the seemingly impregnable Antioch in June 1098. Whilst Guibert of Nogent's subsequent account of Firuz accepting baptism, helping capture Jerusalem, returning to Antioch and then betraying Christians following reversion to his 'paganism' is fanciful in its detail, Bohemond like his father honoured his promise as agreed and ensured the safety of Firuz and his son.³⁶⁶ Bohemond also seems to have followed Guiscard's example of justifying his attack on Byzantium in terms of restoring its legitimate ruler. In 1080, Guiscard launched his attack in the name of the deposed Michael VII (1071-78), even producing a pseudo-Michael, whom Malaterra suggests many, including the duke, knew was a fake.³⁶⁷ Meanwhile, in 1106, Orderic Vitalis described how Bohemond,

was accompanied by the son of the Emperor Diogenes and other eminent Greeks and Thracians, whose suit against the Emperor Alexios for treacherously depriving them of the dignities of their ancestors further stirred up the warlike Franks to fury against him.³⁶⁸

Clearly, Bohemond was also aware of the limitations of his strategy, in that he recognised further justifications were required in order to gain (particularly papal) support for what remained essentially a political confrontation. He therefore sought to further blacken Alexios' standing in the West (already damaged by the letter sent from Antioch in September 1098) by accusing Alexios of betraying the First Crusade, assaulting pilgrims, and of creating dissent between the Orthodox and Latin churches.³⁶⁹ Obtaining papal sponsorship of a campaign also had a familial precedent. Following Count Roger's victory at Cerami in 1063 he had sent Pope Alexander II (1061-73) four camels, and in response Alexander had sent him a papal banner under which to continue the conquest of Sicily.³⁷⁰

³⁶⁴ Amatus, 8:24, p. 364; trans. p. 199

³⁶⁵ WA, Bk. 4, l. 449-71, p. 228; trans. p. 54; and Malaterra, 3:28, pp. 74-5; trans. pp. 158-59.

³⁶⁶ GN, pp. 250-51; trans. p. 116.

³⁶⁷ Malaterra, 3:13, p. 65; trans. p. 145.

³⁶⁸ OV, VI, pp. 68-71.

³⁶⁹ FC, 1:24, pp. 258-64; trans. pp. 107-12; B. E. Whalen, 'God's Will or Not? Bohemond's Campaign Against the Byzantine Empire (1105-1108)', in *Crusades – Medieval Worlds in Conflict*, ed. T. F. Madden, J. L. Naus and V. Ryan (Farnham, 2010), pp. 111-125.

³⁷⁰ Malaterra, 2:33, pp. 44-45; trans. p. 111.

It is also possible that Bohemond's recognition of the significance of sea power may have been partly gained from his father's experiences. For the conquest of Sicily to succeed, it had quickly become clear that Messina needed to be captured to secure a port on the island from which the Italo-Norman invaders could then operate.³⁷¹ Equally significant to Guiscard's success in southern Italy was the rapid realisation of the importance of sea power in its own right, as the 1071 siege of Bari made abundantly clear. In gaining the fleets needed the Italo-Normans used the shipping they found in the ports they took over, which on occasion included captured Byzantine vessels.³⁷² By 1081, it seems that Guiscard was also starting to build his own fleet, which was one reason why Venice entered into a pact with Byzantium against him.³⁷³ The subsequent campaigns against Byzantium of 1081-85 showed Guiscard's understanding of naval warfare, as well as its strategic importance of ensuring supply lines. The latter would not have been lost on Bohemond, who also had personal experiences of the problems such a failure could cause during a military campaign. If his attempt to expel the Greeks from Latakia in 1100 had succeeded it would have safeguarded the southern edge of Antioch, possibly offered a small fleet, and have opened up lucrative trade and supply routes to Latin shipping. In the absence of his own fleet, Bohemond needed maritime allies, and the Pisan fleet recently arrived provided the perfect opportunity (possibly helped by Daimbert's anti-Greek feelings). Although Bohemond was forced to retire by the crusaders returning from the capture of Jerusalem, the strategic significance of Latakia remained key, as Tancred's siege starting in summer 1101 and lasting for a year and a half demonstrated.³⁷⁴ Similarly, the need for future naval assistance may also have been a factor in Bohemond's charter to the Genoese at Antioch on 14 July 1098.³⁷⁵ Once the principality of Antioch was established the fact that the ports of St Simeon, Latakia and Jabala remained part of the princely domain, at least until 1126 in the case of the latter two, reflected both the recognition of their importance and demonstrated application of the practice followed by Robert Guiscard and Count Roger in southern Italy and Sicily.³⁷⁶

³⁷¹ Amatus, 5:18-19, pp. 237-38; trans. p. 139.

³⁷² D. P. Waley, 'Combined Operations' in Sicily, A.D. 1060-78', *Papers of the British School at Rome*, 22 (1954), 118-125.

³⁷³ Stanton, p. 48.

³⁷⁴ RC, pp. 120-23; trans. pp. 159-63.

³⁷⁵ Caffaro refers to this in his chronicle, 11, p. 109; trans. p. 115. For a copy of the grant made by Bohemond, and confirmed by his successors, see *RRH*, p. 2, no. 12; Caffaro trans. p. 169.

³⁷⁶ Asbridge, *Antioch*, pp. 148-49.

The construction of identity in the Gesta Tancredi

As the above examples indicate familial influence helped shape Bohemond's actions, but it is only in Ralph of Caen's *Gesta Tancredi* that there appears to be a deliberate emphasis placed upon the Guiscardian descent of Bohemond and Tancred. Indeed, as D'Angelo has pointed out, the shadow of Guiscard is a key theme that runs throughout the text, more so than that of the cross or of Jerusalem.³⁷⁷ In all, there are twenty-two occasions in the text that refer to either 'Guiscard' or 'Guiscardian', some of which make multiple uses of the terms. As figure 5 shows most references reinforce familial links, followed by military ability, the use of guile and, only in Bohemond's case, sagacity.³⁷⁸

Figure 5: Breakdown of references according to category

Who?	Family	Guile	Sagacity	Military	Family & Guile	Total
Tancred	6	3		3	1	13
Bohemond	3		1	2		6
Both	2					2
Richard	1					1
Total	12	3	1	5	1	22

There are two instances in which multiple references are made within the same incident: the speech of the hermit Tancred encounters on the Mount of Olives, and during the quarrel with Arnulf of Chocques in relation to the wealth Tancred has appropriated following his capture of the Temple, both of which are discussed below. The only other account which contains similar references is that of the HAI, which drew upon, amongst other sources, the *Gesta Tancredi*.³⁷⁹ There are, however, far fewer references to Guiscard in the HAI, and all except those relating to the Arnulf dispute relate to familial links. It also uses 'Robert Guiscard', 'Duke Robert' or 'Robert, Duke of Apulia' in its references, whereas Ralph's references are by surname only. The HAI also gives more context of Bohemond's situation *vis-à-vis* Roger Borsa, and refers to eight Hauteville brothers coming to southern Italy, as opposed to eleven mentioned by Ralph (that being the number of Tancred of Hauteville's sons in total), suggesting a correction of Ralph's

³⁷⁷ RC, Introduction, p. L.

³⁷⁸ Appendix B for more detail.

³⁷⁹ HAI, Introduction, pp. xxx-xxxiv.

account where local knowledge allowed.³⁸⁰ Since Guiscard and Sichelgaita were generous benefactors of Montecassino this may have indicated a sense of “personal” or familiar identification of the duke within the account written there.³⁸¹ For Ralph, his knowledge came from stories he heard from those who knew Guiscard, including Bohemond and Tancred, which raises the possibility that they influenced his approach and the identity he thereby creates. Ralph’s first reference to Guiscard explains that ‘both the Greek and the German emperors quailed’ at the sight of his banner, and he ‘freed Rome from the German emperor.’³⁸² He is presented as a fearless and respected warrior, as well as being a defender of the Church. By linking Tancred (and Bohemond) to Guiscard so explicitly, Ralph is suggesting that they are his equal at all levels in creating the Principality of Antioch. I would suggest that he is also re-emphasising their **Italo-Norman** identity to his audience, as it was through the conquest of Apulia, Calabria and Sicily that Guiscard initially achieved his fame and status.³⁸³ Whilst certain aspects of the *Gesta Tancredi* have been explored, the emphasis upon Tancred’s background has tended to be passed over, being seen as simply part of the eulogy to Tancred.³⁸⁴ In exploring that issue further in relation to the depiction of Tancred and also of Arnulf, patriarch of Jerusalem (1099; 1112-18) to whom the text was dedicated, as well as considering the uncertainty surrounding the dating and intended audience of the text itself, I would suggest that it reflects a deliberate attempt to reinforce the, albeit at times fluid, Italo-Norman identity of the Hautevilles in Antioch.

As Bachrach and Bachrach point out in their introduction, Ralph did not go on the First Crusade and was still in Caen when his teacher, Arnulf of Chocques, departed in 1096.³⁸⁵ Ralph probably joined the entourage of Bohemond when he came to Normandy in March 1106; what brought him to Bohemond’s attention is unknown but as Paul has pointed out, he had the kind of training that a lay lord like Bohemond required, being a skilled encomiast (as his later *Gesta* demonstrated).³⁸⁶ As Bohemond and his entourage

³⁸⁰ HAI, pp. 8-9; RC, p. 6; trans. p. 21.

³⁸¹ H. E. J. Cowdrey, *The Age of Abbot Desiderius: Montecassino, the Papacy, and the Normans in the Eleventh and Early Twelfth Centuries* (Oxford, 1983), p. 8 and p.19.

³⁸² RC, p. 6; trans. p. 21.

³⁸³ N. Hodgson, ‘Reinventing Normans as Crusaders? Ralph of Caen’s *Gesta Tancredi*’, *ANS*, 30 (2008), 117-32 (p. 132).

³⁸⁴ See, for example, H. Glaesener, ‘Raoul de Caen, historien et écrivain’, *Revue d’Histoire Ecclesiastique*, 46 (1951), 5-21; J-C. Payen, ‘L’image du Grec dans la chronique normande: sur un passage de Raoul de Caen’, in *Images et signes de l’Orient dans l’Occident médiéval* (Aix-en-Provence, 1982), pp. 269-80; and Hodgson as above.

³⁸⁵ RC, trans. p. 1.

³⁸⁶ Paul, ‘Warlord’s Wisdom’, p. 560.

travelled south through Italy to Bari, Ralph might have visited the monastery of Montecassino, although there is no record of such. He then accompanied Bohemond on his campaign against Alexios in 1107-08, and quite possibly wrote some of the letters Anna Komnene refers to in which Bohemond attempted to sue for peace.³⁸⁷ He is not listed as a witness to the Treaty of Devol, but would doubtless have been aware of its content. When exactly Ralph travelled to Antioch is similarly unknown, but it is possible that he remained with others in Byzantium over winter 1108 rather than returning to Italy with Bohemond. It is also unknown why he went; there is no suggestion in the *Gesta Tancredi* of any kind of falling out with Bohemond. He is critical of Bohemond's "seduction" by Alexios in April 1096 but that, together with his anti-Byzantine stance discussed by Payen in relation to the perfidious nature of Greeks, might have been affected by hindsight.³⁸⁸ It could well be possible that he was carrying letters, or even unwritten information from Bohemond to Tancred at this time. Paul suggests that Bohemond had become increasingly aware of the need to safeguard his honour (as well as preserve his memory) so by sending a trusted official he would ensure Tancred was reliably informed of (Bohemond's version of) events.³⁸⁹ Whether Ralph remained in Antioch because he was awaiting Bohemond (who was collecting a new army when he died in Apulia in March 1109/11), or because Tancred asked him to do so is also unknown.³⁹⁰ He may have simply preferred the character and temperament of the younger man as his portrayal implies when he said, 'no-one had a kinder lord, or one who was more generous or charming.'³⁹¹ Nor do we know exactly when and why Ralph wrote his account of the deeds of Bohemond and especially Tancred in the Latin East. In regard to the timing, in the prologue Ralph explains that he waited until after Tancred's death in December 1112, partly to ensure that he could not be accused of deliberate flattery in return for reward, and also because he was waiting for someone better suited to take up the task. Whilst this latter point is probably *topos*, his subsequent comments about ensuring that details are not forgotten or even suppressed reflect the earlier lament he attributes to Bohemond and Tancred, which they often addressed to him. In recounting this, Ralph claims ignorance as to their purpose, but this does not ring true, not least because Ralph also recounts how he decided to repay Tancred's kindness by ensuring his reputation was preserved after his death. Ralph's stated agenda

³⁸⁷ AK, p. 379.

³⁸⁸ RC, pp. 13-14; trans. p. 31; Payen, '*L'image du Grec*', p. 271, *passim*.

³⁸⁹ Paul, 'Warlord's Wisdom', p. 561.

³⁹⁰ Yewdale, p. 133.

³⁹¹ RC, p. 4; trans. p. 20.

therefore reflected that of Bohemond and Tancred, and so their portrayal in the *Gesta Tancredi* may reflect their own emphasis upon their familial background and heritage.

Before considering the prominence given to Tancred's Guiscardian lineage, it is worth noting the implications of Ralph's account of Tancred's paternal descent in which he seems to deliberately foreground aspects of Tancred's identity. In some ways, Ralph appears to lack specific details as he simply tells us that Tancred's father was 'the marquis' and states that he was 'of a renowned clan'.³⁹² Orderic Vitalis supplies further details, identifying him as '*Odonis Boni Marchisi*', and in narrating the events of Guiscard's death, explains that Odobonus was his brother-in-law and was one of those summoned to attend his final hours ('*Odonem quequo bonum marchisum sororium suum*').³⁹³ Jamison argued that the list of those attending Guiscard was likely to be correct, even though Orderic's suggestion that Guiscard was poisoned by his wife, Sichelgaita, is fictional. Jamison has further pointed out that although the origins of Odobonus' family are unknown the use of the title '*marchio*' or '*marchisus*' suggests they were probably from the Marche region. She identified him as the Odobonus Marchio who witnessed a privilege of Count Roger I for Archbishop Alcherius of Palermo in 1094, and was also acknowledged in a lawsuit of 1097 preserved in Agrigento, and as probably being the Othonus who had commanded part of Roger's army at Taormina in 1087, so it seems that he also had close links with Roger in Sicily.³⁹⁴ As mentioned in chapter one, this raises the possibility that Tancred's early experiences of both war and diplomacy may have been in the multi-ethnic environment of Sicily, which could therefore have helped shape his actions in the Near East. There are two further occasions in which Ralph uses a reference to Tancred's father as a means of referring to his inherited nobility of character. During the meeting with Alexios at Nicaea, in which Tancred finally took the oath of allegiance to the emperor, Ralph explains how, 'on the inside the son of the marquis was angry'; here he reigns in his own feelings and accepts the necessity of complying for the greater good of the expedition. This contrasts with Alexios' response when Tancred then requested his imperial tent, in which references to 'the son of the marquis' are used to emphasise Tancred's lower social status and therefore the arrogance of such a request.³⁹⁵ Tancred

³⁹² RC, p. 6; trans. p. 21.

³⁹³ OV, V, pp. 36-36; IV, pp. 32-33.

³⁹⁴ See fn. 189.

³⁹⁵ RC, p. 23; trans. p. 42.

is also referred to as ‘the son of the marquis’ by Arnulf during the quarrel relating to the treasures of the Temple (discussed below), where again it is designed to remind the audience of Tancred’s nobility.³⁹⁶ Elsewhere, Ralph uses the familial link to the marquis when describing Tancred’s brother, William. He is only mentioned in relation to his enthusiasm to fight and subsequent death during the battle of Dorylaeum. He is portrayed as being one of the impetuous *iuvenes* whom Bohemond had tried to reign in to avoid throwing the Latin forces into disarray with their undisciplined charge.³⁹⁷ I would suggest that he is described as ‘the son of the marquis’ in a similar way to that used for Tancred; that is, to demonstrate his nobility and valour which is reflected in Ralph’s account of William’s brave actions in battle and his determination to protect his companions unto death. The lack of Guiscardian reference, however, may reflect the idea that he did not (yet) possess the leadership qualities which were inherent to Tancred and Bohemond. Meanwhile, although Ralph refers to Tancred’s father’s wealth, he makes no mention that Tancred was probably an unprovided-for son. Whilst it is wise to exercise caution when relying upon Anna Komnene’s account of the Italo-Normans, she suggests that Tancred had a brother who remained in southern Italy. In 1106/7 the Byzantine commander appointed in charge of the Adriatic, Isaac Kontostephanos, launched an unauthorised naval attack on Otranto and was held at bay by a woman said to be Tancred’s mother until reinforcements led by her son arrived to see off the Greek threat. Anna adds that she was uncertain whether the woman was a sister of Bohemond, nor of how Tancred was related to him.³⁹⁸ This uncertainty about Emma’s relationship to Guiscard, and whether she was his sister or his daughter, was compounded by Nicholson in his monograph on Tancred. His evaluation of the relationship, which he intertwined with a calculation of Tancred’s age, argued that Emma was most likely a daughter from Guiscard’s second marriage.³⁹⁹ This would mean that she was, in effect, half-Lombard. Ralph, however, who stated that he had heard much of what he was to relate from Bohemond and Tancred, explained that Emma was the sister of Robert Guiscard. Whilst it has been argued that this enabled Ralph to emphasise that Tancred was therefore an offshoot of Normandy, that he goes on to relate the actions of the Hauteville brothers beyond Normandy (that is, in southern

³⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 112; trans. p. 150.

³⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 27-28; trans. pp. 48-49; C. Kostick, ‘*Iuvenes* and the First Crusade (1096-99): Knights in Search of Glory?’, *Journal of Military History*, 73:2 (2009), 369-92.

³⁹⁸ AK, pp. 351-52.

³⁹⁹ Nicholson, pp. 9-15.

Italy and Sicily) means he also reinforces Tancred's geographical roots as being **Italo-Norman**, as do the references to Tancred's father.⁴⁰⁰

In the portrayal of his hero Ralph includes mild criticisms of Tancred's actions within the text. These, however, only relate to the impetuosity of youth and the pursuit of military glory which he counters by demonstrating how Tancred matures with time and experience, as would be expected of a great leader. In developing this theme, Ralph shows that Tancred is shaped by his faith in God, and that his motive in joining the crusade was to serve Him through his military skills (whereas Bohemond's motives are more ambiguous).⁴⁰¹ This idea is reiterated in the scene Ralph describes occurring on the Mount of Olives, which Tancred climbs alone, almost literally following in Christ's footsteps, in order to contemplate the prospect of Jerusalem spread below him.⁴⁰² Whilst there, he meets a hermit and in the ensuing discussion Tancred's inherent nobility and military valour are reinforced through references to his Guiscardian heritage. The hermit is mentioned in two other sources, but they make no reference to Tancred in relation to him. Raymond of Aguilers described the hermit telling 'some princes' that if they attacked Jerusalem the following day until the ninth hour they would be successful, despite their lack of siege machinery.⁴⁰³ Albert of Aachen, however, states that it was some 'people' following the suggestion of the bishops and clergy who consulted the hermit, who promised success if they prayed and fasted prior to the attack.⁴⁰⁴ In Ralph's account, Tancred alone consulted the hermit about the location of various holy sites, and during this conversation the hermit discovered Tancred's identity. The hermit is well informed of Guiscard's military abilities, especially against Alexios, and goes on to describe him as his enemy and ravager of his homeland. Although this could be regarded as a critical reference, it is in relation to a military campaign in which Guiscard was the victor, rather than a personal attack upon his character and integrity. The hermit then recognises in Tancred all the greatness of Guiscard and in his current endeavour he will in effect atone for any wrongs committed by his ancestor.⁴⁰⁵ In this section, Ralph therefore combines the ideas of military ability and success when guided by faith, which

⁴⁰⁰ RC, p. 6; trans. p. 21.

⁴⁰¹ Ibid., pp. 6-7; trans. p. 22.

⁴⁰² Ibid., p. 95; trans. p. 129.

⁴⁰³ RA, p. 139; trans. p.117.

⁴⁰⁴ AA, 6:7, pp. 412-13.

⁴⁰⁵ RC, p. 96; trans. p. 130.

are embodied in Tancred.⁴⁰⁶ It also foregrounds the dispute with Arnulf, in which Tancred's purity of motive is questioned and shown to be unsullied.

Whilst the main subject of Ralph's text is Tancred, a military layman, Ralph dedicated the *Gesta Tancredi* to a churchman, Arnulf of Chocques. Arnulf had been his teacher back in Caen, and since the dedication refers to him as patriarch, this means this section was written at some point between 1112 and 1118. At first sight, this may appear to be a logical choice, not least if Ralph was looking for a new patron following Tancred's death, and except in the dispute surrounding Tancred's stripping of the Temple, Arnulf is painted in a positive light. Haskins has identified Arnulf as a chaplain to Duke Robert of Normandy in 1095; prior to this he may well have been an official in another capacity as he is mentioned by a monk in Bec as being the duke's messenger and intermediary.⁴⁰⁷ He had also been tutor to the duke's sister, Cecilia, and it seems as if it were through her friendship that Arnulf had entered the duke's service.⁴⁰⁸ Neither the *Gesta Francorum* nor Fulcher of Chartres give any information about his background in their accounts, but Raymond of Aguilers described him as being the son of a priest, a philanderer and generally lacking in conscience.⁴⁰⁹ This could be partly because Arnulf was one of those who questioned the veracity of the holy lance, but later events suggest an element of truth in some of the accusations, leading William of Tyre to describe him as 'a learned man, but of immoral life, a man who delighted to stir up discord.'⁴¹⁰ He travelled south into Italy in the entourage of Robert Curthose, but according to Guibert of Nogent he went to Palermo with Bishop Odo of Bayeux and was with him when he died there in early 1097, receiving a legacy from Odo, 'which consisted of almost all of his most precious possessions.'⁴¹¹ Orderic Vitalis describes how Count Roger of Sicily had a splendid tomb erected for Odo.⁴¹² It is therefore likely that Arnulf would have met Count Roger and his third wife, Adelaide del Vasto (and maybe his two young sons, Simon (b.1093) and Roger (b.1095)), and would have seen for himself the wealth of Sicily. This experience may have influenced his promotion of marriage between the then widowed Adelaide to Baldwin I in 1113. Once in the Holy Land, Arnulf only

⁴⁰⁶ Ibid., p. 7; trans. p. 23.

⁴⁰⁷ C. H. Haskins, *Norman Institutions* (Cambridge, MA, 1918), pp. 74-75.

⁴⁰⁸ C. W. David, *Robert Curthose, Duke of Normandy* (Cambridge, MA, 1920), pp. 217-20.

⁴⁰⁹ RA, p. 154; trans. p. 131.

⁴¹⁰ WT, 7:18, p. 366; trans. I, p. 324.

⁴¹¹ GN, 7:15, p. 291; trans. p. 136.

⁴¹² OV, IV, pp. 118-19.

comes to the fore in Ralph's account in relation to the discovery of the holy lance. Whilst Raymond of Aguilers described how he was ultimately won over to its authenticity, Ralph of Caen suggests he had always doubted its authenticity, grouping him with other Norman and Italo-Normans who were sceptical of it.⁴¹³ Ralph, however, does not suggest Arnulf played a role in the subsequent trial by ordeal of Peter Bartholomew, but instead says that he was blamed by the Provençals for the exposure of the fraud and had to seek refuge from attack with Robert of Normandy and Robert of Flanders, hence he is seen more as an innocent victim as opposed to the instigator of events in Raymond's account.⁴¹⁴ Ralph's positive portrayal is shown on other occasions. He highlights Arnulf's knowledge of astrology and its significance in guiding the army in giving battle, and also his role in preventing deserters at Antioch (a role accorded to Bohemond and Adhémar Le Puy in Raymond of Aguilers) and as an envoy summoning Godfrey and Robert of Flanders to Arqah in early 1099 which he did because he 'was always prepared to act for the public good'.⁴¹⁵ At several points, Arnulf's closeness to God is made explicit, both in his admonishment of the deserters above and also as a conduit to warn Bohemond that Raymond of St Gilles was plotting against him (thereby showing that God also favoured Bohemond above Raymond).⁴¹⁶ He does not, however, mention that Arnulf led the procession at the Mount of Olives, unlike Peter Tudebode and Albert of Aachen who both refer to his sermon there.⁴¹⁷ What Ralph does make clear is that Adhémar of Le Puy designated Arnulf as his successor as papal legate, being 'second to no one in this task.'⁴¹⁸ Richard has suggested that Arnulf and Alexander, chaplain of Stephen of Blois, had been made auxiliary papal legates when they met Urban II in Lucca in October 1096, in which case Adhémar's choice was logical.⁴¹⁹ This may also explain why Arnulf received the support of the (equally unsuitable, in Raymond of Aguilers' view) bishop of Marturana [Martirano], especially in regard to becoming patriarch (-elect) of Jerusalem.⁴²⁰ Again, Ralph side-steps the irregularity of Arnulf's status and only refers to it in relation to the arrival and subsequent elevation at Bohemond's behest of Daimbert of Pisa, at which 'Arnulf, who

⁴¹³ RA, p. 120; trans. pp. 99-100; RC, 312, p.88, trans. p. 121.

⁴¹⁴ RA, p. 120; trans. p.100; RC, 328, p. 93; trans. pp. 126-27.

⁴¹⁵ RC, pp.73-74, p. 71 and p. 92; trans. p. 105, p. 100 and p. 125; RA, p. 74; trans. p. 57.

⁴¹⁶ RC, p. 88; trans. p. 121.

⁴¹⁷ PT, p. 138; trans. p. 116; AA, 6:8, pp. 412-15.

⁴¹⁸ RC, p. 82; trans. pp. 113-14.

⁴¹⁹ J. Richard, 'Quelques textes sur les premiers temps de l'Église latin de Jérusalem', in *Recueil de Travaux offerts à Clovis Brunel: par ses amis, collègues et élèves*, II (Paris, 1955), pp. 420-430.

⁴²⁰ RA; trans. p.131. See also Hamilton, *Latin Church*, p. 14. Martirano is in northern Calabria (Loud, *Latin Church*, p. 184), so Arnulf may have met the bishop whilst staying with Count Roger.

was a man of great generosity, freely agreed to this although he had been elected to this dignity.⁴²¹

So as this brief survey indicates, Ralph pays tribute to Arnulf in the presentation of his merits and abilities and simply ignores any criticisms that were made of his character. The exception to this is the quarrel between Tancred and Arnulf over the treasures Tancred took from the Temple. Ralph explains that, ‘Jealousy grew up among the princes against Tancred because God had rewarded him more richly than the rest.’⁴²² Arnulf then ‘provoked the man’, and the language used by Arnulf is confrontational, claiming that Tancred ignored his status and had unjustly taken wealth that was not his. This stance is not surprising, in Richard’s view, as Arnulf’s legatine status would mean that he would regard himself as the guardian of all the treasures found in the holy sites of Jerusalem.⁴²³ Yet how Arnulf does this is to attack Tancred’s Guiscardian ancestry. Whereas Ralph’s references to this are all positive (with the one other exception being in relation to the hermit, referred to above), in this section, they are used against Tancred. Guiscard is accused of betraying comrades, making false peace and even of attempting to get himself buried in Montecassino, by being smuggled in alive in a coffin. The only positive point about Guiscard is that he endowed churches, whereas Tancred despoils them.⁴²⁴ Tancred’s response focuses firstly on the slur on his family, then secondly to defending his use of treasure in paying his troops, before moving on to criticise Arnulf’s inconsistency in initially agreeing that whoever first entered buildings should become their occupier but then demanding their return. Finally, he accuses Arnulf of cowardice in leaving Arqah despite his own boasts of his bravery and self-sacrifice in travelling to Antioch. In so-doing, Tancred focuses upon military issues which reflect his portrayal throughout the text: a fighting man who is always first to take action and who looks after his men. Throughout Tancred’s response, his speech is seen to be deliberately restrained: he could say more in his defence but will instead defer to his peers. The quarrel is subsequently settled through the mediation of the other crusade leaders, in which they recognise Tancred’s previous generosity to churches but agree that he will pay 700 marks back to the Temple. ‘Thus, in this manner, two men

⁴²¹ RC, p. 118; trans. p. 156.

⁴²² Ibid., p. 111; trans. p. 149.

⁴²³ Richard, ‘Quelques textes’, p. 423.

⁴²⁴ RC, p. 113; trans. p. 150.

who had been at odds were re-joined.⁴²⁵ Ralph then paraphrases Vergil: had two such men been in the past, Gaul would have conquered Egypt and Babylon.⁴²⁶ This may reflect an element of wishful thinking, but it is an effective way of closing the dispute in a manner that is positive to both participants, whilst also demonstrating Tancred's ability as a leader in which he is able to subordinate his pride to the needs of the common enterprise.⁴²⁷

This event is not in the *Gesta Francorum*, Peter Tudebode or Raymond of Aguilers, suggesting that Ralph had heard the account from either one, or both, of the protagonists but the question remains as to why he included this at all. It is possible that Ralph recounted the scene as a means of reconciling the conflicting identities embodied in what Hodgson has suggested was 'a new breed of Norman hero, fighting for the cause of Christendom despite his desire for worldly gain' which reflected the reality of crusading.⁴²⁸ Tancred's innate nobility is referenced in relation to his father, which Arnulf then contrasts with Guiscardian examples of what appear to be negative behaviour. However, Biddlecombe has pointed out that stories of guile and cunning would have been regarded by contemporaries in a positive light, which is reflected in Ralph's usage elsewhere such as Tancred's crossing of the Bosphorus *incognito*, obtaining Alexios' tent, and outwitting Raymond of St Gilles.⁴²⁹ So what at first appears to be a criticism when coming from a churchman could also be interpreted as a skill in a military leader, and Tancred's response indicates that such was his understanding when he said Arnulf, 'detracted from Guiscard, who was second only to Alexander (the Great) in audacity.'⁴³⁰ In many respects, Guiscard could be regarded as the precursor of the constructed identity Ralph was trying to assign to Tancred. Whilst his relationship with the papacy had not always been smooth, Guiscard was the defender of the Church, as Arnulf of Chocques acknowledged during his quarrel with Tancred.⁴³¹ Indeed, Guiscard had suspended his military campaign against Byzantium to come to the aid of Pope Gregory VII in Rome in 1084 (although it should be added that this also enabled him to

⁴²⁵ RC, p. 116; trans. p. 153.

⁴²⁶ Ibid., p. 116; trans. p. 153; cf. Vergil, *Aeneid*, 11.285-90
<<http://www.thelatinlibrary.com/vergil/aen11.shtml>> [Accessed 20/5/18].

⁴²⁷ Ralph may also have been trying to balance the contested masculinities of laymen and clerics. See N. Hodgson, 'Reputation, Authority and Masculine Identities in the Political Culture of the First Crusades: The Career of Arnulf of Chocques', *History* 102:353 (2017), 889-913.

⁴²⁸ Hodgson, p. 132.

⁴²⁹ BB, pp. lxvii-lxviii; RC, pp. 15, 22 and 84; trans. pp. 34, 42 and 116.

⁴³⁰ RC, p. 114; trans. p. 150.

⁴³¹ Ibid., p. 113; trans. p. 150.

deal with a revolt in Apulia *en route* to Gregory's assistance).⁴³² Additionally, whilst he came from Normandy with nothing, through his own actions he had become duke of Apulia, Calabria and Sicily and in so-doing he had become Italo-Norman, thereby showing how multiple identities could be constructed. I would suggest that this section therefore also acts to remind the audience of Tancred's Italo-Norman background through the two different familial links he includes.

Ralph's treatment of events at the Temple demonstrates a further way in which he attempts to construct the identity of his leading characters. After describing Tancred's actions in stripping the wealth from the building, he then gives a generalised account of the fighting and slaughter that occurred. He does not include the account given in the *Gesta Francorum*, in which Tancred (and Gaston of Bearn) offered protection under their banners to the Muslims sheltering on the roof of the Temple, and Tancred's anger at their subsequent massacre.⁴³³ Peter Tudebode adds that it was Tancred who ordered their slaughter, whilst Albert of Aachen says that Tancred's anger was appeased when the action was justified to him on military grounds.⁴³⁴ Nor does Ralph include any reference to an earlier incident in December 1098, during the siege of Ma'arra, in which Bohemond initially promised his protection to the town's Muslim leaders and their families. When the town was taken, however, he reneged on this, killed and enslaved those who had accepted his offer and seized their wealth for himself. Raymond of Aguilers implies that Bohemond did this out of cupidity, as he complains that, 'The knights of Bohemond, although half-hearted in pressing the siege, acquired the greater number of towers, horses and captives, and thereby led to hard feelings between the Normans and the Provençals.'⁴³⁵ Whilst the *Gesta Francorum* records the whole incident without making any judgement on Bohemond's actions, the details of betrayal are not mentioned by Fulcher of Chartres, who passes over the events by saying that acting together, Bohemond and Raymond captured the city and 'killed all the citizens to a man, and confiscated everything.'⁴³⁶ In Ralph's version, he concludes his rather florid description of the fighting by stating, 'some of their men spent their time killing while others sought riches.'⁴³⁷ No names of any of the participants are given throughout his

⁴³² Loud, *Robert Guiscard*, pp. 219-22.

⁴³³ GF, 10:36, pp. 91-92.

⁴³⁴ PT, pp. 141-42; trans. pp. 119-20; AA, 6:29, pp. 440-41.

⁴³⁵ RA, p. 98; trans. p. 79.

⁴³⁶ GF, 10:23, pp. 78-9; FC, I, 25:2, p. 266; trans. p. 112.

⁴³⁷ RC, p. 89; trans. pp. 121-22.

account. In discussing the massacre at the Temple, Kedar has suggested that the differences in the accounts reflect the moral dilemma facing the authors in that the promise of a crusade leader had been broken, so a similar process may also be happening in regard to the events at Ma'arra.⁴³⁸ Their actions also contradicted those of Robert Guiscard, as he and Count Roger had honoured their promises to those Muslims who submitted to them in Sicily. By passing over these events in silence, Ralph was able to avoid having to reconcile conflicting traits in his depiction of his Guiscardian heroes whose later actions (especially Tancred's in Antioch) were to be far more honourable in their dealings with Muslims.

For whom was Ralph writing?

From the literary style of Ralph's text, it is likely that he was aiming at an elite audience, but where they were is less certain.⁴³⁹ In considering the potential recipients of the *Gesta Tancredi*, its time of creation is of relevance. From the dedication to Patriarch Arnulf of Jerusalem it suggests he was writing at some point between December 1112 (following Tancred's death) and April 1118 (when Arnulf himself died). Bachrach and Bachrach suggest that following Tancred's death, Ralph came to Jerusalem to seek a position with his former teacher, and may have been made a canon of the cathedral church thereby giving him the time and materials to write.⁴⁴⁰ Whilst this is not an unreasonable idea in light of Arnulf's role in establishing twenty canons at the church of the Holy Sepulchre, as D'Angelo points out, it is purely a hypothesis that Ralph was one of them.⁴⁴¹ Instead, he suggests that Ralph might have initially remained in Antioch, firstly to see if anyone else was going to write Tancred's biography, and secondly to research details of a duel in which Tancred had participated but refused to be spoken of.⁴⁴² He may then have come to Jerusalem at around the time of the arrival of Adelaide del Vasto at Easter 1113. Again, the reason for so-doing can only be conjecture, but the fact that he had been close to both Bohemond and Tancred, and therefore probably spoke "Italian" as well as Norman French would have made him a useful addition at court. If Ralph had been writing at some point between 1113 and

⁴³⁸ B. Z. Kedar, 'The Jerusalem Massacre of July 1099 in the Western Historiography of the Crusades', *Crusades*, 3 (2004), 15-75 (p. 30).

⁴³⁹ Hodgson, pp. 125-26.

⁴⁴⁰ RC, trans. p. 4.

⁴⁴¹ D. S. Spear, 'The Secular Clergy of Normandy and the Crusades', in *Crusading and Pilgrimage*, ed. Hurlock and Oldfield, pp. 81-102 (p. 83).

⁴⁴² RC, p. ix.

1116, it is possible that he also sought to win favour with Adelaide, and her entourage (and possibly through her ultimately to Roger in Sicily?) perhaps with the aim of gaining a position within Adelaide's or even Baldwin I's household. This may also explain the glowing reference to Count Roger, 'who gained greatest glory among the remaining brothers and took his place second only to Guiscard when pagan Sicily fell to him.'⁴⁴³ Similarly, when he is critical of Byzantine perfidy, this tends to relate to the actions of Alexios who had also conspired against Guiscard in Italy causing him and Count Roger difficulties, hence that theme would be understood within the 'Sicilian' contingent. Meanwhile, Arnulf was already unpopular with some of the Jerusalem baronage and by 1115 had to travel to Rome to clear his name, so it could be that Ralph was trying to hedge his bets, writing positively of his patron but with an eye to the future.⁴⁴⁴ Until Arnulf had persuaded Baldwin to repudiate Adelaide, his role in the *Gesta Tancredi* did not become problematic. By indicating a personal dislike of Tancred and his illustrious ancestor Ralph could indicate a flaw in Arnulf without it undermining his other abilities as a churchman and hopefully thereby avoid alienating one patron before he had fully secured another.

Unfortunately, there are several references in the text itself that potentially throw doubt upon this hypothesis. Ralph mentions a later visit to Rome when writing of events in 1098, suggesting he returned to Europe at some point, but whether that was before travelling to Antioch or later is unclear within the context of its mention.⁴⁴⁵ More significant is his allusion to the death of Bohemond II in 1130, and in describing the devastation of Latakia, D'Angelo cites Manselli in tentatively suggesting that the *Gesta Tancredi* was written after 1136 when a series of devastating earthquakes started in that area.⁴⁴⁶ It is not impossible, however, that Ralph was simply referring to the various Roman and other ruins within the port, which may have suffered damage in earlier earthquakes; after all tremors in the region were not uncommon, as Fulcher of Chartres recorded.⁴⁴⁷ The reference to Bohemond II is included in the HAI, as is Arnulf's assertion that Guiscard tried to trick his way into being buried in Montecassino. Whilst

⁴⁴³ RC, p. 6; trans. p. 21.

⁴⁴⁴ B. Hamilton, 'Women in the Crusader States: the Queens of Jerusalem 1100-90', in *Medieval Women*, ed. D. Baker (Oxford, 1978), pp. 143-74.

⁴⁴⁵ RC, p. 55; trans. p. 83.

⁴⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. x and p. 66 and p. 120; trans. p. 96 and p. 159; R. Manselli, 'Raoul di Caen storico di Tancredi', in *Italia e italiani alla prima crociata*, ed. R. Manselli (Rome, 1983), pp. 137-61 (p. 142).

⁴⁴⁷ FC, 1:15, p. 224; 2:34, p. 505; 2:51, pp. 578-79; 2:54, p. 590; 2:61, p. 605; trans. p. 95; pp. 188-89; pp. 208-09; p. 214; p. 220.

the story itself may reflect confusion with one given by William of Apulia (see above), the inclusion of Arnulf's version could indicate a desire by the Montecassino chronicler to suggest it was the case. Guiscard and Sichelgaita had been generous patrons of the monastery, and Sichelgaita was also buried there in 1090.⁴⁴⁸ Such inclusions raise the - albeit hypothetical - possibility that Ralph may have either given a copy of his text to the monastery, or since it breaks off in 1105 he could have been in Italy when he was completing it. That Ralph had an interest and possible knowledge of the monastery is suggested by his reference to Peter Bartholomew being a disciple of Simon Magus, a figure who featured strongly in reforming Cassinese literature, which may have come from an earlier visit as suggested above.⁴⁴⁹ The only copy of the text to survive, at the Benedictine abbey of Gembloux in Belgium, also raises unfortunately unanswerable questions about its transmission and whether the text could have been revised by the author or his successors.⁴⁵⁰

In some respects, the timing and arrival of the text in Italy adds to the ambiguity surrounding Ralph's intended audience. Hodgson has suggested that whilst much of Ralph's Norman emphasis may be largely a reflection of his own influences, the emphasis upon Tancred's Norman ancestry was designed to appeal to the Antiochene nobility which included both northern and southern Normans.⁴⁵¹ I would suggest that Ralph's references to Guiscard, as well as those to Tancred's father the marquis, served to reinforce links to southern Italy. Several of those who accompanied Bohemond or have been identified in Antioch retained family links in southern Italy. Many have been well-documented, including a member of the Sourdeval family, Samson, who was present at Roger II's court in 1128, whilst a branch of the Fraisons held land in the Avellino region in the mid-twelfth century, and although Roger of Barneville was killed at Antioch in June 1098 he left a son and daughter in Sicily.⁴⁵² The family name seems to have continued as a Silvester of Barneville was present at the royal court in Palermo

⁴⁴⁸ HAI, p. 112 and p. 127; WA, Bk. 2, l. 335-50, pp. 150-52; trans. pp. 23-24; Cowdrey, *Abbot Desiderius*, p. 8 and p. 19; *Chronica Monasterii Casinenses*, pp. 472-73; Amatus, trans. p. 35; see also Vertannes, p. 263.

⁴⁴⁹ RC, p. 93; trans. 126; Cowdrey, *Abbot Desiderius*, p. 142.

⁴⁵⁰ J-C. Payen, 'Une légende épique en gestation: les *Gesta Tancredi* de Raoul de Caen', in *La chanson de geste et le mythe carolingien: mélanges René Louis publiés par ses collègues, ses amis et ses élèves*, I (Saint-Père-sous-Vézelay, 1982), pp.1051-62 (esp. p.1058, fn. 2).

⁴⁵¹ Hodgson, p. 127

⁴⁵² Loud, 'Norman Italy', p. 52; Ménager, *Hommes et institutions*, p. 346 and pp. 353-54; *Catalogus Baronum. Commentario*, ed. E. Cuozzo (Rome, 1984), no. 703; *Rogeri II Regis Diplomata*, pp. 22-24, no. 9; A. Buck, 'Dynasty and Diaspora in the Latin East: The Case of the Sourdevals', *JMH*, 44:2 (2018), 151-69.

in May 1194.⁴⁵³ A Thierry of Barneville was at the battle of Tell Danith in 1115 (and was possibly the holder of the seal discussed by Cheynet as mentioned in chapter one).⁴⁵⁴ Jotischky and Johnson have identified links between southern Italy and Antioch with Guy Le Chevreuil's family, and also that of William Mansel, as well as a possible relative of Robert of St Lô amongst others.⁴⁵⁵ Murray's list of Antiochene nobility also throws up further names with potential links with southern Italy. One possibility not previously connected to the region is *Muschedus Ceomannensis* from Le Mans who, according to Orderic Vitalis, was one of those captured by Balak of Aleppo in 1124.⁴⁵⁶ Whilst there is no way of knowing if they were related, it is worth noting that Ménager has identified a *Gaulterius Cenomannensis* in Syracuse in 1105, and a *Gaufridus Cenomanensis* who signed an act restoring land to Cefalù in September 1141.⁴⁵⁷ There is also Mauger of Hauteville, who led forty knights on a sortie around al-Atharib in June 1119, and it is possible he was a kinsman of the William of Hauteville who witnessed a charter of Guy Carpenal in 1114.⁴⁵⁸ Whilst they do not equate with anything like a flood, their presence suggests that men were arriving from Italo-Norman Italy and remaining for at least a period in the Latin East. That these links existed raises the possibility that there were familial networks at different social levels similar to those identified by Bates between England and Normandy.⁴⁵⁹ Furthermore, as Jotischky and Johnson have suggested, men from southern Italy may well have helped fill the ranks of the armies of both Antioch and the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem as they seemed to recover relatively quickly after what at times appear to be very heavy losses.⁴⁶⁰ Albert of Aachen provides a hint that this was the case in his description of the wedding of Adelaide del Vasto and Baldwin I. One of the magnates attending was Roger of Salerno, ruler of Antioch, who after the celebrations, 'graciously commended by the king, decided to press on the road to Antioch, and the new queen herself granted him as a gift a thousand marks of silver, with precious purple cloths, five hundred bezants, outstanding mules and horses'.⁴⁶¹ Roger is the only individual mentioned, and it may

⁴⁵³ Jamison, *Eugenius*, p. 110.

⁴⁵⁴ WC, 1:5, p. 91; trans. p. 99.

⁴⁵⁵ E. Johnson and A. Jotischky, 'Les Normands de l'Italie méridionale et les États croisés au XII^e siècle', in *911-2011 Penser les mondes normands médiévaux*, ed. D. Bates and P. Bauduin (Caen, 2016), pp. 163-76 (esp. pp. 169-71).

⁴⁵⁶ OV, 6, pp. 120-21; Murray, 'Nobility of the Principality', *forthcoming*.

⁴⁵⁷ Ménager, *Hommes et institutions*, pp. 380 and 368.

⁴⁵⁸ WC, 2:3, p. 83; trans. p. 119 and fn. 33; also 'Chartes de l'abbaye de Notre-Dame de la vallée de Josaphat en Terre Sainte', ed. C. Kohler, *Revue de l'Orient Latin*, 7 (1899), pp. 115-16, no. 4.

⁴⁵⁹ D. Bates, *The Normans and Empire* (Oxford, 2013), pp. 128-52.

⁴⁶⁰ Johnson and Jotischky, p. 172.

⁴⁶¹ AA, 12:14, pp. 844-47.

well be that such considerable generosity was accorded to him as a fellow ‘countryman’ and (albeit distant) kinsman of the queen. Whilst no men are mentioned, it is not unlikely that some of the accompanying ‘five hundred men very experienced in warfare’ Albert described as part of Adelaide’s wedding entourage joined Roger in heading north, even if he exaggerates their numbers.⁴⁶² This influx of men may also help account for some of the high estimates of men killed at the battle of the Field of Blood.⁴⁶³ A further indication that ‘new men’ did arrive is given by Walter the Chancellor, in his account of the events immediately following Roger of Salerno’s death in 1119. The Antiochene nobility may have been concerned about the possible impact of new arrivals seeking land in the principality when, in agreeing to recognise the claim of Bohemond II, they stipulated that no-one should ‘lose their homes and belongings by any change of Christian lordship, but should possess them by hereditary right.’⁴⁶⁴ Meanwhile, when Bohemond II left Taranto in 1126, William of Tyre described how he arrived with, ‘A fleet of ten galleys and twelve other vessels suitable for carrying the baggage and equipment as well as arms and provisions.’⁴⁶⁵ This suggests that he was accompanied by up to two hundred men, and although many of the ships’ crews would ultimately return to Italy, it is likely that some men remained.⁴⁶⁶ Murray’s list of the nobility of Antioch for the period 1098-1187 includes four Guiscards (within the date range of 1146-1180), and two Tancreds (1153-1170), and whilst for some their geographical origins are unclear, their presence in the principality would act as reminder of the Hauteville and southern Italian connection, well beyond the change in princely dynasty.⁴⁶⁷ In this way, I propose that the *Gesta Tancredi* may ultimately have been intended for an audience both in southern Italy and Antioch; that a copy of the text seems to have reached Montecassino further suggests this contention.

Kirschberger has recently suggested that the text was part of an attempt to create an Antiochene identity, which was different from that of the other Latin States in the Near East, and combined a political positioning *vis-à-vis* Byzantium, a glorification of its Hauteville princes, and a community-based mythomoteur founded upon a collective

⁴⁶² AA, 12:13, pp. 844-45.

⁴⁶³ WC, trans. p. 56.

⁴⁶⁴ WC, 2:10, pp. 98-99; trans. p. 145.

⁴⁶⁵ WT, 13:21, p. 613; trans. II, p. 32.

⁴⁶⁶ Pryor, *Geography, Technology, and War*, pp. 76-77.

⁴⁶⁷ Murray, ‘Nobility of Principality’, *forthcoming*.

struggle for survival.⁴⁶⁸ In making his case, Kirschberger argues that the references to Guiscard contribute to the development of the inherited heroic nature of the Hautevilles in Antioch, together with a reinforcement of the anti-Greek stance adopted by him which is then continued by Bohemond and Tancred. This emergent identity in which the settlers linked themselves to the new lands they controlled, he argues, explains why there was so little reference to other (such as Norman) identities within the extant charters in a similar way to that seen in southern Italy. Johnson has proposed that those Normans who were temporarily exiled to southern Italy but subsequently returned to the duchy retained a greater sense of identification with Normandy than those who remained in the south. Where there was no hope of returning to Norman comital lands, toponyms relating to them were rapidly abandoned, so it is possible that a similar process occurred in Antioch where people chose to remain there.⁴⁶⁹ Although Kirschberger's analysis relies heavily on a designation of sources as being Antiochene, Jerusalemite and 'other' source types in which he does not take account of recent work on the interconnectivity of the early crusade accounts, that should not undermine the idea of another layer of adopted identity. Bearing in mind the multiple identities formed through intermarriage between (Italo-)Normans and Lombards in southern Italy identified by Heygate, a similar situation would have occurred as Latin settlers married into the local Armenian community.⁴⁷⁰ Kirschberger proposes that Bohemond's tomb can be regarded as further evidence of this Antiochene identity and, whilst caution should be exercised here, if that were the case it suggests that this Antiochene identity was recognised by others outside the principality.⁴⁷¹

Kirschberger does not debate the ambiguity of dating Ralph's text, but the situation in the principality in the early 1130s also appears to support a later date of production. Following the death of Bohemond II in February 1130 the Antiochene nobility appealed to King Baldwin II of Jerusalem to come to their assistance, as they had in 1119

⁴⁶⁸ Kirschberger, pp. 351-54 for a summary of his argument; also pp. 62-65 and pp. 140-43.

⁴⁶⁹ E. Johnson, 'The Process of Norman Exile into Southern Italy', in *Exile in the Middle Ages: Selected Proceedings from the International Medieval Conference, University of Leeds, 8-11 July 2002*, ed. L. Napran and E. van Houts (Turnhout, 2004), pp. 29-38; see also A. V. Murray, 'The Prosopography and Onomastics of the Franks in the Kingdom of Jerusalem, 1099-1187', in *Onomastique et Parenté dans L'Occident Medieval*, ed. K. S. B. Keats-Rohan and C. Settapani (Oxford, 2000), pp. 283-94; and 'How Norman?', pp. 349-59.

⁴⁷⁰ Heygate, p. 171.

⁴⁷¹ Kirschberger, p. 235.

following the death of Roger of Salerno on the Field of Blood.⁴⁷² But whereas in 1119 Bohemond II was accepted as the heir-in waiting once he had come of age, in 1130 he left only the infant Constance as his heir. The situation was further complicated by the attempt of Bohemond's widow (and Baldwin's daughter) Alice to take control of the principality. Whilst this was thwarted by Baldwin in 1130, she made a second attempt following Baldwin's death in 1131. This attempt also failed despite Alice having some noble support, and the new king of Jerusalem, Fulk, was summoned to provide guidance and military support to the principality, albeit on different terms to those offered to his predecessor.⁴⁷³ This could only be a short-term solution so in 1135, possibly acting on King Fulk's suggestion, Raymond of Poitiers was approached by the Antiochene nobility as a husband for Constance; an offer he duly accepted, arriving in Antioch in April 1136.⁴⁷⁴ Despite Roger II of Sicily being Constance's closest male relative, his involvement was seemingly not sought at any point. The Sicilian perspective will be explored further in chapter three, but following Baldwin I's repudiation of Roger's mother Adelaide in 1117, according to William of Tyre Roger's anger was such that it is unlikely Ralph was hoping his text would generate much interest in the Sicilian court. But as the above discussion of ongoing southern Italian links indicates, that does not have to mean that no contact was made with other players in southern Italy in the search for military assistance. With that possibility, together with the concept of an emergent Antiochene identity in mind, it is conceivable that Ralph was seeking to remind the Antiochenes of the Hauteville contribution to the development of the principality, at a time of instability and potential change. It is worth noting that the southern Italian *Historia Sicula*, produced in the mid-1100s, places emphasis on *Normanni* at a time when Norman markers of identity were decreasing in southern Italy, which led Michele Amari to regard it an attempt to reflect a declining identity at a time of shifting values.⁴⁷⁵ In this way, I would suggest that there is a parallel to Ralph's text, as he deliberately constructs layers of identity in his depiction of (Bohemond and) Tancred during a time of transition, which it could be argued applied both during the tenure of Roger of Salerno as Tancred's immediate successor or in the period post-Bohemond II. Of course, in trying to ascertain twelfth-century motives, there is always a danger of

⁴⁷² Asbridge, *Antioch*, pp. 143-46; J. Phillips, *Defenders of the Holy Land: Relations Between the Latin East and the West, 1119-1187* (Oxford, 1996), pp. 44-49.

⁴⁷³ H. E. Mayer, 'Studies in the History of Queen Melisende of Jerusalem', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 26 (1972), 95-182 (esp. pp. 102-08); T. S. Asbridge, 'Alice of Antioch: a case study of female power in the twelfth century', in *The Experience of Crusading II: Defining the Crusader Kingdom*, ed. P. W. Edbury and J. Phillips (Cambridge, 2003), pp. 29-47; Buck, *Antioch and Frontiers*, pp. 71-72.

⁴⁷⁴ Phillips, *Defenders*, pp. 51-59.

⁴⁷⁵ Aspinwall and Metcalfe, *forthcoming*; Amari, *Storia*, III, p. 27.

over-surmising the apparent relevance of small details. In returning to Ralph's own account of his reasons for writing, he points out that he so admired Tancred that he determined that he would 'praise him after his death'.⁴⁷⁶ Bohemond's reputation as a leader had been established before his return to Europe in 1105 as Ralph makes clear in his refusal to allow Tancred to go in his stead, and (as discussed below) remained after his death: in Antioch the princes continued to be named Bohemond, whilst in southern Italy Bohemond I's tomb at Canosa situated on the *Via Traiana* to Bari was a very visible reminder there of his role in the principality.⁴⁷⁷ Tancred's legacy in the Latin Near East was less obviously recorded beyond his burial in the 'basilica of blessed Peter the apostle' in Antioch, and possibly not at all in southern Italy, until Ralph wrote the *Gesta Tancredi*.⁴⁷⁸

The physical embodiment of multiple identities

Bohemond's last years are often regarded as something of a failure, with much resting upon his capitulation to Alexios in September 1108. His return to Apulia and death shortly afterwards compounded this view, shaped as it is by the only account of the Treaty of Devol given by Anna Komnene. However, on a close analysis of this period, I would suggest that this view does not reflect contemporary southern Italian opinion. Despite stating that Anna's account must be treated with caution, Asbridge has proposed that we must accept that it required the complete and humiliating submission of Bohemond.⁴⁷⁹ Bohemond was allowed to hold Antioch as *dux* (not prince), but it was to be at the whim of the emperor and could be withdrawn at any time. Much detail was also included about the territories covered, together with particular and repeated emphasis on Bohemond's pledge of loyalty to both Alexios and his son John, as well as his oath to protect them and the lands of the empire against all attackers.⁴⁸⁰ Anna's agenda in writing the *Alexiad* continues to provoke debate with Magdalino and Thomas arguing that since much of it was written during the reign of Manuel I Komnenos (1143-80), Anna was trying to show how much her father had achieved in regard to the West.⁴⁸¹ In her portrayal of the First Crusade she is implicitly critical of Manuel's pro-

⁴⁷⁶ RC, p. 4; trans. p. 20.

⁴⁷⁷ Ibid., p. 128; trans. p. 169.

⁴⁷⁸ AA, 12:8, pp. 836-37. Tancred's burial there is also mentioned in WT, 11:18, pp. 522-23; trans. I, p. 493; and ME, 3:58, p. 212.

⁴⁷⁹ Asbridge, *Antioch*, pp. 94-98.

⁴⁸⁰ AK, pp. 385-96.

⁴⁸¹ Magdalino, 'The Pen of the Aunt', pp. 15-43; and Thomas, 'Anna Comene's account', pp. 269-312.

Western approach, whilst by giving such details of the Treaty of Devol, she was demonstrating that the precedent for the submission of the prince of Antioch - which was finally achieved in reality by Manuel in 1158 - had been set by Alexios in 1108. Although this argument has merit, it is worth noting that Anna is remarkably reticent when it comes to acknowledging an earlier precedent for Bohemond's oath of loyalty. In 1074, Robert Guiscard had concluded a marriage alliance between one of his daughters and Constantine, the heir of Michael VII Doukas, and in return for various honours Guiscard was required to swear an oath to recognise the supremacy of the emperor and defend the boundaries of the Byzantine empire, the text of which is transcribed by Bibicou from a chrysobull dated August 1074,

*Pour ta part, tu conviens de me montrer la soumission et les bonnes dispositions qui me sont dues, non seulement en ne violant pas mes frontières, mais encore en pourchassant ceux qui les violeraient, les repoussant loin de notre territoire et en combattant à nos côtés [...].*⁴⁸²

In March 1078 following a palace coup Nikephoros III Botaneiates (1078-81) replaced Michael VII Doukas, and he promptly stopped both the marriage of Constantine to Helena and all payment of the pensions granted at the time of the agreement to the Italo-Normans. This eventually helped Guiscard justify his invasion in 1080, the details of which need not concern us here. In Anna's account of the proposed marriage, other than being critical of the fact that Michael VII Doukas had agreed to it, she gives no details of the terms beyond stating that, 'The marriage settlement had been committed to writing, though it was not executed and consisted merely of promises, [...]' and as soon as Nikephorus Botaneiates became emperor the contract was torn up.⁴⁸³ On one hand, the terms agreed offered Anna an opportunity to point out that Guiscard, too, had sworn to respect and protect the emperor, but in so-doing it would also have shown that Alexios was not the first to apparently tame the Italo-Normans. Nor could she accuse Guiscard of breaking his oath when Nikephorus had himself 'torn up' the contract. By glossing over this precedent, Anna's dramatic wording of Bohemond's submission has led Buckley to suggest that it is deliberately selected to demonstrate what 'amounts to an act of self-alienation, even self-immolation on Bohemond's behalf.'⁴⁸⁴ In other words, it is literary rather than literal, and therefore must be treated as such. Much that

⁴⁸² H. Bibicou, 'Une page d'histoire diplomatique de Byzance au XIe siècle: Michel VII Doukas, Robert Guiscard et la pension des dignitaires', *Byzantion*, 29-30 (1959/60), 43-75 (p. 45).

⁴⁸³ AK, p. 35.

⁴⁸⁴ P. Buckley, *The Alexiad of Anna Komnene: Artistic Strategy in the Making of a Myth* (Cambridge, 2014), p. 243.

was agreed at Devol was not new: recognition of imperial sovereignty and a promise to protect Byzantine territory echoed the oath made by Guiscard to Michael VII Doukas in 1074, as did the possible agreement between Alexios and Bohemond in April 1097 which was superseded by this treaty.⁴⁸⁵

It has generally been assumed that the Western sources glossed over the treaty because it was such a humiliation. Fulcher of Chartres explains that as stalemate was reached in the war, negotiations began resulting in agreement whereby Alexios promised to protect pilgrims travelling through his lands, whilst 'Bohemond on his part swore to observe peace and loyalty to the emperor in all things.'⁴⁸⁶ Albert of Aachen explains that seeing many of his men desert in response to Alexios' offers, Bohemond conceded to 'his men's advice, and thus he was reconciled to the emperor with an extraordinary quantity and weight of gold and silver, and precious purple.' Albert then appears to contradict his own account that Bohemond had been persuaded to seek terms by his own men, in that he adds Bohemond returned to Apulia, 'cheating all those who had endured with him [...] and giving them no reward. They, indeed, recognised Bohemond's deception [...] and his secret agreement with the emperor [...].' He adds that 'they withdrew sad and sorrowing from the siege, having entreated the emperor's mercy so that he might permit them to go on their way peacefully through his realm all the way to Jerusalem'.⁴⁸⁷ Whilst this seems to indicate that Bohemond looked only after himself, even Anna explains that he asked the emperor to allow his men to overwinter in Byzantium before being allowed to continue on to the Holy Land. Orderic Vitalis similarly describes that Bohemond sued for peace, again on the advice of his men, 'and returned sadly to Apulia. He was ashamed to face the men from Gaul whom he had promised great kingdoms, and with embarrassment gave them permission to continue on their pilgrimage.'⁴⁸⁸ Whilst this seems to indicate the humiliation Bohemond felt in defeat, it could be read as criticism of a 'Norman' who had in effect made a deal with Alexios for his personal advantage. At this point it is worth briefly reconsidering Bohemond's motive in attacking Illyria in 1107. The view put forward by Yewdale was that Bohemond was intent upon the conquest of Byzantium itself, motivated by what

⁴⁸⁵ AK, p. 385.

⁴⁸⁶ FC, 2:39, pp. 524; trans. p. 193.

⁴⁸⁷ AA, 10:45, pp. 758-59.

⁴⁸⁸ OV, VI, pp. 104-05.

Runciman was later to call his ‘unscrupulous ambition’.⁴⁸⁹ For this reason, he strove to stir up anti-Greek feeling as he travelled through France, and according to Orderic ‘promised his chosen adjutants wealthy towns and castles.’⁴⁹⁰ Since the location of such rewards is not specified, it is not impossible that Bohemond had intended it to be a means of strengthening the borders of the principality of Antioch. Whilst many might be willing to ‘punish’ Alexios for his supposed maltreatment of the First Crusaders and pilgrims as they marched onward to Jerusalem, as Whalen has pointed out there was nothing to suggest it was to be an assault upon Greek Christians *per se*.⁴⁹¹ If Bohemond’s aim was instead to put pressure upon Alexios to accept the *status quo* with regard to Antioch, recognising his claim to the principality, then what he achieved at Devol may not have been such a “disaster” in the short term. As discussed above, there were precedents for aspects of his oath to Alexios. Admittedly, it meant that he was now to hold Antioch from the emperor rather than as an independent prince invested by a papal representative, but that echoed his father’s actions. More importantly, however, it served to secure his position and granted him much of the territory that had been promised back in 1097, together with Antioch itself which had been specifically excluded in the earlier agreement, as well as a large pay-off, and a pension. The exclusions this time were Cilicia and Latakia; as Asbridge points out these territories had been at the heart of the conflict between Antioch and Byzantium since 1099.⁴⁹² They were also those which Tancred was continuing to play a key role in conquering. Both Bohemond’s and Alexios’ relationship with Tancred had been fraught in the past, so it may have been that Bohemond’s return to Apulia was to allow him to gather reinforcements in order to impose the agreement upon Tancred, since Bohemond was doubtless aware that many of those wishing to travel on to the Holy Land would have little interest in Italo-Norman quarrels. It is also possible that this was a wily move on Bohemond’s part, in that it also bought Tancred time in his expansion of Antiochene borders, which could then be treated as a *fait accompli* by Bohemond, although the repercussions would again potentially destabilise Antioch’s frontiers with Byzantium. Hence in many respects, it seems that Bohemond was the victor. He had obtained some impressive concessions from Alexios, and whilst he was to ensure Tancred’s submission and restitution of an Orthodox Patriarch on his subsequent return to Antioch, by returning first to Apulia implementation could be delayed. Whilst in the

⁴⁸⁹ Yewdale, p. 109; Runciman, II, p. 51.

⁴⁹⁰ OV, VI, pp. 70-71.

⁴⁹¹ Whalen, p. 116.

⁴⁹² Asbridge, *Antioch*, pp. 96-97.

longer term, the treaty was further cause for friction between the Byzantines and the princes of Antioch, in the short term Bohemond's failure to return to the Near East, together with Tancred's refusal to accept the terms agreed, meant that for Alexios the Treaty of Devol failed to live up to its promises.

Bohemond's early death also obfuscates his intentions for his sons in and beyond southern Italy. One of the terms of Devol was that on Bohemond I's death the territory would be handed back to Alexios to reallocate to whom he chose rather than pass to Bohemond's heir. This could indicate that Bohemond's two sons had not yet been born. Suger stated that Bohemond and Constance had 'two sons, John and Bohemond. John died in Apulia before the age of knighthood; but Bohemond, a handsome youth well suited to be a knight, became the prince of Antioch.'⁴⁹³ This is also recorded by Romuald of Salerno, who made clear that the firstborn was called John. He died whilst still a boy, and the second was named Bohemond.⁴⁹⁴ Yewdale implies that both of Bohemond's sons were born after his return to Apulia in 1108, but if this were the case Bohemond II would be nearer sixteen when he arrived in Antioch in September 1126, rather than being about eighteen as according to William of Tyre.⁴⁹⁵ This is not impossible as we can see from other Italo-Normans in that the son of Roger Borsa, William, became duke of Apulia at seventeen (in 1114), whilst Roger became count of Sicily at sixteen.⁴⁹⁶ Ménager, however, states that John was born before Bohemond's departure for Avlona in September 1107 and Bohemond II was born in 1108 which meant he, too, would have had to be conceived before Bohemond's departure.⁴⁹⁷ According to one of the last documents in Constance's name, Bohemond II came of age in 1124.⁴⁹⁸ Meanwhile, John died in or around 1123 as a seal showing Constance with her two sons on an unspecified document dates from that year.⁴⁹⁹ The ambiguity around his date of birth makes the choice of the name John even more intriguing in regard to

⁴⁹³ Suger, p. 50; trans. p. 46.

⁴⁹⁴ Romuald, p. 203.

⁴⁹⁵ WT, 13:21, p. 613; trans. II, p. 33.

⁴⁹⁶ Houben, *Roger II*, pp. 31-32.

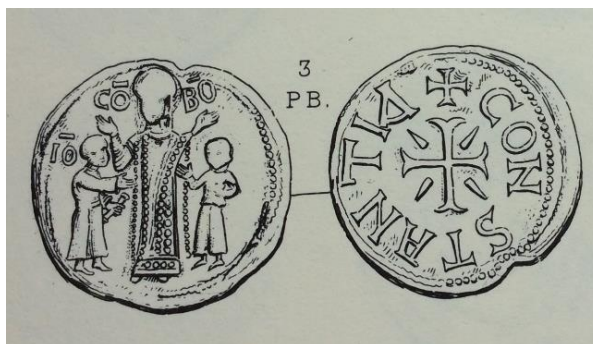
⁴⁹⁷ L-R. Ménager, 'Costanza di Francia', *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 30 (1984)

<[http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/costanza-di-francia_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)/](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/costanza-di-francia_(Dizionario-Biografico)/)> [Accessed 26/3/18].

⁴⁹⁸ Ibid.; and Robinson, *History and Cartulary*, pp. 246-50 and pp. 257-61.

⁴⁹⁹ Yewdale, p. 132; A. Engel, *Recherches sur la numismatique et la sigillographie des Normands de Sicile et d'Italie* (Paris, 1882; reprinted Bologna, 1972), Pl. 2, no. 3. To date I have been unable to track this down any further.

Figure 6: Constance's seal, Engel, Plate 2, no. 3



constructing a cultural identity. Although it later became popular in both western Europe and the Latin East, in the early twelfth century John was not a common choice of the aristocracy.⁵⁰⁰ It was, however, popular in Byzantium and within communities of mixed Latin and Greek Christians, such as those found in southern Italy or Antioch.⁵⁰¹ It therefore raises the possibility that Bohemond may have deliberately chosen the name in order to align himself and his heir with Byzantine tradition. Whilst it can only be supposition, he may have intended to break the terms of the Treaty, or re-negotiate them in the future, in much the same way both he and his father had done in the past.

A similar uncertainty surrounds Bohemond's death and burial. Anna Komnene says that Bohemond died within six months of returning to Apulia, in what can only be described as an almost dismissive reference to the man who until this point had been an opponent almost equal to her father.⁵⁰² William of Tyre also says Bohemond died in 'the following summer' of 1109, whereas both Albert of Aachen and Orderic Vitalis put his death in 1111.⁵⁰³ Falco of Benevento says both Roger Borsa and Bohemond died in the same month, whereas Romuald of Salerno states Bohemond died fourteen days after Roger Borsa who died on 21 February 1111, implying that Bohemond therefore also died that year on March 7.⁵⁰⁴ Unfortunately the few extant charters do not throw any

⁵⁰⁰ Riley-Smith identified three certain, two possible and three probable Johns on the First Crusade, and none on Bohemond's campaign of 1107-08. See Riley-Smith, *First Crusaders*, pp. 214, 230 and 236.

⁵⁰¹ According to the Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium, John was second only to Constantine in popularity of names cited in AK. It was the third most common imperial name and used by fourteen patriarchs of Constantinople. A simple name search on the Prosopography of the Byzantine World database threw up 1154 entries for John. For southern Italy, see J-M. Martin, 'Personal names and family structure in Medieval Southern Italy and Sicily', in *Personal Names: Studies of Medieval Europe: Social Identity and Familial Systems*, ed. G. T. Beech, M. Bourin, and P. Chareille (Kalamazoo, 2002), pp. 109-17.

⁵⁰² AK, p. 397.

⁵⁰³ WT, 11:6, p. 504; trans. I. p. 472; AA, 11:48, pp. 824-25; OV, VI, pp. 104-05.

⁵⁰⁴ Falco of Benevento, p.5; trans. Loud, *Roger*, p. 133; Romuald, p. 206; see also Yewdale, p. 133; *Necrologio del Liber Confratrum di S. Matteo di Salerno*, ed. C. A. Garufi (Rome, 1922), p. 28;

further light on matters, with the last one issued directly in his name dated September 1108.⁵⁰⁵ In 1109, Constance was acting in Bohemond's stead although it is unclear why; it is possible that Bohemond was ill or had even died.⁵⁰⁶ Gadolin has tried to reconcile the different dates by suggesting that Bohemond died in 1109 and was buried in 1111 within a month of Roger Borsa, as this would have allowed time for Bohemond's tomb to be built.⁵⁰⁷ Flori has pointed out that whilst conjecture, this idea is quite possible especially in light of the grand design of the tomb itself. He points out that one of the objections to the year of Bohemond's death being 1109 is that according to William of Tyre he was preparing a fleet in 1110, which Flori discounts as essentially wishful thinking on William's part.⁵⁰⁸ Whilst William may have been confused about the details, it is worth noting that in around August 1110 a fleet did arrive in the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem and subsequently assisted in an attack on Sidon, but it was originally from Norway not Apulia.⁵⁰⁹ This fleet had, however, overwintered in Sicily as Snorre Sturlason recounted how King Sigurd stayed with Roger II, and whilst there conferred the title of king upon him.⁵¹⁰ Although there is clearly a danger in grounding an argument in absence, I would suggest that the fact that no mention is made of Sigurd and his companions meeting Bohemond, the great hero of the First Crusade, is because he had already died several months prior to their arrival. As to why he was buried in Canosa, both Gadolin and Epstein argue that the choice of San Sabino was significant in relation to its similarity to the now demolished church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople, and that Bohemond was consciously emulating imperial Byzantine burial practices.⁵¹¹ Indeed, Gadolin further suggests that Bohemond may have funded the rebuilding of the church, and therefore have had some input into its design, although he admits that this is only conjecture. On his return to the West in 1105, Bohemond apparently gave two blood-stained thorns from the Holy Crown to the church of San Sabino in Canosa, but beyond that he seems to have had no particular links with either the church or the town itself.⁵¹² It should, however, be remembered that San Sabino

Necrologi Cassinesi I II Necrologio del Cod. Cassinese 47, ed. M. Inguanez (Rome, 1941), p. 27 and p. 59.

⁵⁰⁵ CDB, II, pp. 221-22, no. 1.

⁵⁰⁶ CDB, V, pp. 97-98, no. 54.

⁵⁰⁷ A. R. Gadolin, 'Prince Bohemond's Death and Apotheosis in the Church of San Sabino, Canosa di Puglia', *Byzantion*, 52 (1982), 124-53.

⁵⁰⁸ Flori, p. 289.

⁵⁰⁹ AA, 11:26, pp. 798-801; FC, 2:44, pp. 543-48; trans. p. 199.

⁵¹⁰ Snorre Sturlason, *Heimskringla*, ed. E. Monsen (Cambridge, 1932), p. 610.

⁵¹¹ Gadolin, pp.132-41; A. W. Epstein, 'The Date and Significance of the Cathedral of Canosa in Apulia, South Italy', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 37 (1983), 79-90.

⁵¹² Yewdale, p. 108; A. A. Tortora, *Relatio status sanctae primatialis ecclesiae Canusinae, seu Historia* (Rome, 1785), p. 180.

was in effect the ‘second cathedral’ of the archbishop of Bari which may explain why Albert of Aachen said that Bohemond was buried in Bari.⁵¹³ He (together with Roger Borsa) had attended the dedication of the crypt of St Nicholas of Bari by Urban II in 1089; in 1098 he had sent the shrine Kerbogha’s tent captured outside Antioch, and in 1105 he had petitioned Paschal II to grant a privilege in its favour.⁵¹⁴ Since St Nicholas of Myra was important to both Latin and Greek Christians, Bohemond’s support may well have had a political dimension in terms of appealing to the local population to support his subsequent claim to Antioch. Furthermore, Bohemond was also linked with the (re)foundation of the Orthodox monastery of St Nicholas di Casole in around 1099, which again may have been largely politically and culturally motivated as a means of maintaining Orthodox support in southern Apulia.⁵¹⁵ An alternative possibility could be that the church of San Sabino was similar to a church or cathedral in Antioch. Even though Bohemond had appointed a Latin patriarch in Antioch, the churches themselves would have been largely Orthodox or Armenian in design. With this possibility in mind, I would suggest that we need to be cautious of seeing Bohemond’s burial in Canosa as being what Harris has described as ‘a visual acceptance of the leading role of the imperial city.’⁵¹⁶ Instead, the possible similarity in design between Canosa and Byzantine churches whether in Constantinople or in the principality of Antioch may indicate that the location of Bohemond’s tomb was a deliberate recognition of his multiple identities.

The nature of Bohemond’s tomb has also caused much debate amongst historians, with links being made to a Muslim *turbeh* and even the church of the Holy Sepulchre in relation to its design.⁵¹⁷ Whilst the current shape may reflect more the latter, it seems that the mausoleum originally had an octagonal spire which would have made the similarity with a *turbeh* more obvious, not least because such tombs could have been seen in parts of southern Italy and Sicily. The bronze doors into the mausoleum have

⁵¹³ AA, 11:48, pp. 824-25; Loud, *Latin Church*, p. 211.

⁵¹⁴ Lupus Protospatharius; *CDB*, I, pp. 61-65, nos. 33-34; HAI, p. 89; *PL* 163, col. 178.

⁵¹⁵ P. Batiffol, *L’Abbaye de Rossano* (Paris, 1891), p. xxviii.

⁵¹⁶ Harris, *Byzantium*, p. 85.

⁵¹⁷ As well as Gadolin and Epstein *op cit*, see also G. Bertelli, *Canosa di Puglia Fra Tardoantico e Medioevo* (Rome, 1981), pp. 47-53; also M. L. Testi Cristiani, ‘Sul Mausoleo di Boemondo a Canosa’, in *Boemondo: storia di un principe Normanno*, ed. F. Cardini, N. Lozito and B. Vetere (Galatina, 2003), pp. 107-16.

Figure 7: Bohemond's tomb, Canosa



elements of Islamic influence in their decoration, as well as Christian imagery (the Virgin, now erased). On the left door, there is an inscription, whilst on the right are three panels containing images. The inscription is not evenly arranged on the door and appears to contain two calligraphic styles within the text:

*Unde Boamundus, quanti fuerit Boamundus,
Graecia testator, Syria dinumerat.
Hanc expugnavit, illam protexit ab hoste;
Hinc rident Graeci, Syria damna tua.
Quod Graecus ridet, quod Syrus luget, uterque
Iuste, vera tibi sit, Boamundi, salus.*

*Vici opes regum Boamundus opusque potentum
Et meruit dici nomine iure suo:
Intonuit terris. Cui cum succumberet orbis,
Non hominem possum dicere, nolo deum.*

*Qui vivens studuit, ut pro Christo moreretur
Promeruit, quod ei morienti vita daretur.
Hoc ergo Christi clementia conferat isti,
Militet ut coelis suus hic athleta fidelis.*

*Intrans cerne fores; videos, quid scribitur; ores
Ut coelo detur Boamundus ibique locetur.*⁵¹⁸

Translated as:

From this tomb the world proclaims how great was Bohemond; Greece bears witness, Syria counts the cost.

He conquered Greece, protected Syria from the enemy.

From this tomb, Greeks are laughing and Syria is grieving,

Each of them rightly. Bohemond, may yours be a real salvation.

Bohemond conquered the powers of kings and the efforts of the powerful, and has earned by his own authority to be known by his name. He thundered over the world; since the globe succumbed to him. I cannot call him a man, yet I do not wish to call him a god.

In his life he strove to die for Christ, in dying he earned the grant of life. So let Christ's mercy grant to him that this man, his faithful warrior, should serve as a knight in heaven.

As you enter, look at the doors. May you see what is written. May you pray that Bohemond be given to heaven and offer his services there.⁵¹⁹

On the right door, one panel depicts two people kneeling in prayer before a now-erased subject. In the scene below it, two figures (again robed) seem to be turning away from a third. Again, there is debate surrounding their identity and significance, with Bertaux and others suggesting that they included Bohemond, Roger Borsa, William (of Apulia), Tancred and the young Bohemond II.⁵²⁰ Flori, however, has argued that the scenes represent Bohemond's praying for release from imprisonment and Richard of the Principate's departure ahead of him to Western Europe.⁵²¹ This interpretation, he asserts, would reflect the inscriptions which refer both to his (successful) campaigns against the Greeks and also to the capture of Antioch. If one of the figures does represent Richard of the Principate, this would further indicate that his role as signatory of the Treaty of Devol was not seen as a betrayal of Bohemond, again raising questions about what exactly was agreed there. More recently, Vernon has questioned these interpretations, arguing that the lack of visual or written clues identifying them as

⁵¹⁸ Yewdale, p. 134.

⁵¹⁹ My thanks go to Dr Martin Hall for his generosity in providing this polished version of my original translation.

⁵²⁰ É. Bertaux, *L'Art dans L'Italie Méridionale*, 1 (Paris, 1904), p. 316; echoed by Bertelli, p. 52.

⁵²¹ Flori, pp. 297-300.

Hautevilles suggests the artist deliberately made them anonymous. Instead, by linking the panels directly to specific verses in the inscription, the viewer is guided to view it as a shrine.⁵²² (See also chapter five.) There is also an inscription above the tympanum, which reads,

The magnanimous prince of Syria lies under this vault, than whom no one better will after be born in the world. Greece conquered four times, Parthia, the greatest part of the world, felt long ago the spirit and strength of Bohemond. In ten battles he subdued by the reins of his valour hosts of thousands, which indeed the city of Antioch knows.⁵²³

Whilst this translation describes Bohemond as ‘magnanimous’, alternative readings for *magnanimus* also include ‘brave’, ‘valiant’, ‘courageous’ or ‘unwavering’, which I would argue offer a more appropriate interpretation of Bohemond’s character here. Meanwhile, the lack of any reference to Apulia either here or in the door inscription has led McQueen to argue that this indicates Bohemond did not intend to remain in southern Italy and that he had no identification with the lands he held there. It should be noted, however, that Guiscard’s epitaph also concentrated solely upon his ‘foreign’ campaigns.⁵²⁴ Paul’s argument that the tomb was essentially a visual depiction of how his reputation was to be preserved is, perhaps, more convincing.⁵²⁵ Indeed, according to local tradition Alberada was largely responsible for the mausoleum which, if so, shows that not only did family ties remain close, but that his family made a conscious decision not to bury Bohemond with the other Hautevilles (including his father, and ultimately Alberada) in the Abbey of SS Trinità in Venosa but at Canosa.⁵²⁶ As mentioned above, Kirschberger has suggested that the design of Bohemond’s tomb acts as a physical expression of Antiochene identity, and that the inscription contains all the elements of an *origo gentis*, with its references to conquest of a new homeland, identification of Byzantium as an enemy and glorification of its occupant as the founder.⁵²⁷ Whilst I think it is unlikely that most contemporaneous viewers would recognise the different elements Kirschberger identifies as being ‘Antiochene’, the choice of site, together with the different architectural elements on his tomb, deliberately reflect the multiple facets

⁵²² C. Vernon, ‘Visual Culture in Norman Puglia, c. 1030-1130’, Unpublished DPhil thesis, University of Cambridge, 2014, pp. 199-203.

⁵²³ Pryor and Jeffries, p. 79; Yewdale, p. 134 gives the Latin: ‘Magnanimus siriae iacet hoc sub tegmine princeps / Quo nullus melior nascetur in orbe deinceps / Grecia victa quater, pars maxima partia mundi / Ingenium et vires sensere diu buamundi. / Hie acie in dena vicit virtutis arena / Agmina millena, quod et urbs sapit anthiocena.’

⁵²⁴ McQueen, p. 473; for Guiscard’s epitaph see William of Malmesbury, I, pp. 484-85.

⁵²⁵ Paul, ‘Warlord’s Wisdom’, p. 561.

⁵²⁶ A. Venturi, *Storia dell’arte italiana*, II (Milan, 1902), p. 556; Testi Cristini, p. 111.

⁵²⁷ Kirschberger, p. 235.

of Bohemond's experience of, and identification with, Greeks, Muslims and Christians in Apulia and Antioch. Furthermore, to commemorate his life in such a visual and lavish manner does not indicate that he was seen to be a defeated man by his contemporaries, nor does his later reputation for being *sapientissimus*.⁵²⁸ Perhaps the laudatory accounts of Bohemond's final campaign in the *Narratio Floriacensis* and Rodulfus Tortarius' epic poem should not be regarded simply as an attempt to ensure Bohemond's reputation did not tarnish the Capetians, but as a possible alternative interpretation to the events described by Anna Komnene.⁵²⁹ Finally, Russo has pointed out that there were nine Bohemonds covering a wide geographical area in the Sicilian Catalogue of Barons (covering the period *c.* 1150 and revised *c.* 1167/8) implying that there continued to be a positive identification with him in southern Italy.⁵³⁰

Conclusions

The idea that identity was multi-faceted and was shaped by the actions and choices of an individual was recognised by people in the late eleventh-century. These could include moving into a new community, adopting a new language and customs, through marriage or even by specific actions. Bohemond recognised this and deliberately foregrounded different elements of identity, some of which reflected the actions and legacy of his father Robert Guiscard, whilst others were politically orientated in order to raise and reflect his increased social standing. Within the context of such fluid and emergent identities Ralph of Caen's *Gesta Tancredi* could be seen as a further attempt to shape the conflicting identities of his subjects. By drawing on the legacy of Robert Guiscard, Ralph is able to portray particularly Tancred as his equal in military valour and ability, whilst also having a nobility of character shaped by his father the marquis and by his own faith. In so-doing, I suggest that Ralph's depiction serves to reinforce Tancred's (and Bohemond's) Italo-Norman background, which both emphasises their difference to the other Norman contingent on the crusade, and reinforces their innate abilities as rulers acquired through their familial and geographical heritage. Whilst it is not possible to draw any definitive conclusion regarding the location of Ralph's

⁵²⁸ Paul, 'Warlord's vision', p. 534; and his earlier article 'Crusade, memory and regional politics in twelfth century Amboise', *JMH*, 31:2 (2005), 127-41 (p. 141).

⁵²⁹ Paul, 'Warlord's Wisdom', pp. 562-63; *Narratio Floriacensis de captis Antiochia et Hierosolyma et obsesso Dyrrachio*, *RHC Oc.* 5, pp. 356-62; Rodulfus Tortarius, *Carmina*, ed. M. B. Ogle and D. M. Schullian (Rome, 1933), pp. 298-316.

⁵³⁰ Russo, 'Bad Crusaders?', pp. 178-79; *Catalogus Baronum*, ed. E. M. Jamison (Rome, 1972), nos. 7, 47, 268, 393, 1013-14; and *Catalogus Baronum. Commentario*, nos. 38, 370, 433.

potential audience, the text could also reflect an attempt to ensure the preservation of Tancred's memory, both within and beyond Antioch, at a time of political flux. Ralph may have felt this was necessary as, despite Bohemond's defeat at Devol by Alexios I Komnenos in 1108, positive engagement with his reputation continued both in Antioch and in southern Italy. The fact that Canosa was on one of the main routes to the Holy Land provided a visual reminder to those travelling along it of the southern Italian contribution to the Latin States in the Near East. Furthermore, the various elements contained within the location and design of his tomb encompassed the different aspects of Bohemond's identity, and encouraged those who saw it to recognise this multiplicity.

Chapter 3: Eclectic identities and shifting alignments in the kingdom of Sicily, c. 1130-54

This chapter considers the relationship between Sicily and North Africa, and advances the argument that the political orientation of the island southwards was economically motivated, building upon the approach taken by Count Roger during its Italo-Norman conquest. Following the creation of the kingdom in 1130, there was an increasing Arabicisation of the royal court centred upon Palermo. This was a physical expression of the significance of Sicily's North African interests, as well as a reflection of the island's alignment within the Mediterranean. It did not preclude exploration of potential opportunities elsewhere, such as those offered by Antioch in the 1130s and the Second Crusade in 1147, but here political pragmatism ruled the day. The chapter argues that whilst there is no evidence to suggest that North African expansion was religiously motivated, nor that Roger II was a nascent crusader, other aspects of adopted identity reinforced the inherent Christian basis of the kingdom. This was to become increasingly significant for Roger's successors.

Sicily: separate within the kingdom?

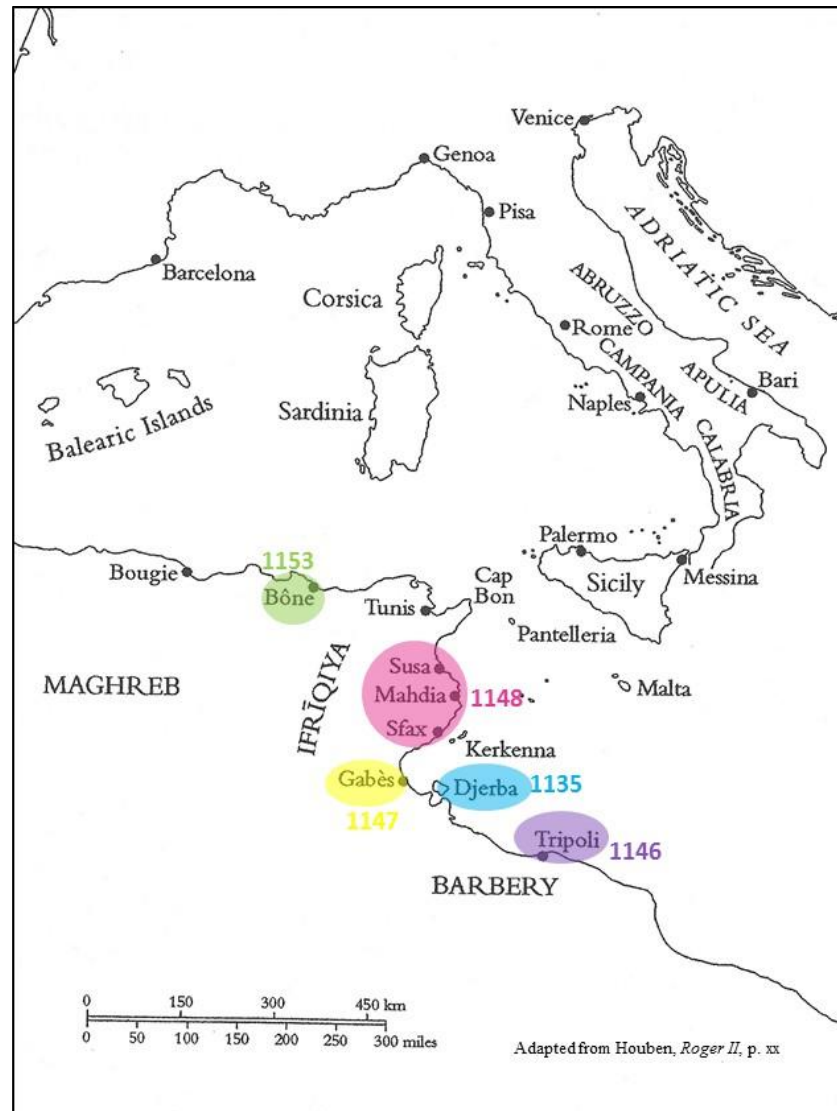
Whilst Roger II was made a king by the anti-pope Anacletus II in 1130, he was not to gain recognition of his new kingdom from Pope Innocent II nor all his mainland subjects until 1139. From this time onwards, Roger appeared in his charters as 'King of Sicily, of the duchy of Apulia and of the principality of Capua', which made clear the different elements within the kingdom.⁵³¹ As Alexander of Telesse explained, this reflected the claim that Roger was 'restoring' the monarchy as kings had existed in Sicily in the past rather than creating a new kingdom, but it also makes clear the centrality of the island itself in the new kingdom's identity.⁵³² This recognition of the difference between the mainland and Sicily was also seen in the fact that whilst the royal court in Palermo was increasingly Arabicized, there was no attempt to export this to the mainland. Although the different elements of the kingdom have been explored by historians these focus upon either Sicily or the mainland, or where wider studies are made they have often been in relation to the extent and extension of royal control.⁵³³

⁵³¹ Houben, *Roger II*, p. 132; *Rogarii II Regis Diplomata*, pp. 113-15, no. 41.

⁵³² Alex. Tel., 2:1-2, pp. 22-23; trans. p.78.

⁵³³ For example, Johns, *Arabic Administration*; Martin, *La Pouille*; Nef, *Conquér et Gouverner*; Oldfield, *City and Community*; Takayama, *Administration*; et al.

Figure 8: Sicilian conquest of North Africa



What has not been examined to date is whether the alignment of Sicily reflected a deliberate identification with the areas offering economic and territorial benefit. In considering this, I would argue that it was a key factor in explaining the kingdom's (apparent) lack of involvement in the Latin States of the Near East until the reign of William II. Southern Italy did play a far more active role in their survival through her produce and ports, acting as a conduit of communication between the Latin East and West (discussed in chapter five), but the island of Sicily was increasingly orientated towards Ifrīqiya. This was partly determined by geographical factors, but more importantly, it was influenced by the pursuit of economic goals which then shaped aspects of the identity and political alignment of the island under Roger II. His interest in and identification with multiple cultures is not surprising. Roger's father was a Norman immigrant who became Count Roger I of Sicily, and his mother, Adelaide del Vasto, was a Ligurian noblewoman. His father died when Roger was about five years

old and he was subsequently brought up by Adelaide, who surrounded herself with Greek advisors.⁵³⁴ She moved the court from Mileto to Messina, partly to escape the factionalism of southern Italy, and when Roger was sixteen the court relocated again to Palermo. Hence from a young age Roger was exposed to a mixture of Latin, Greek and Arabic culture. This experience, together with the lack of 'Norman' influence, also helped shape the future identity and orientation of king and his court. Meanwhile, as al-Idrīsī was later to point out in his *Book of Roger*, Palermo epitomised the significance of Sicily's interaction with the Muslim world, particularly of Ifrīqiya.⁵³⁵ At the shortest point, the two lands are separated by only ninety-six miles of sea, which meant that it was the logical area to look towards for trading Sicilian grain in return for sub-Saharan gold. In this he followed in the footsteps of his father, but during Roger II's lifetime it also offered opportunities for further expansion of the kingdom.

Economic orientation

To say that the Norman rulers developed a clear economic 'policy' in regard to Sicily and North Africa is anachronistic, but I would argue that we must be equally wary of moving too far in the opposite direction and assume that they were unable to pursue a deliberate approach with financial gain as the guiding principle. This was essentially why the Hautevilles had come to southern Italy in the first place in that they were seeking land, and in considering the conquest of Sicily Malaterra points out that (Count) Roger intended to 'appropriate for himself the fruits and revenues of the land', albeit in theory to subsequently 'dispose of them in the service of God.'⁵³⁶ The fact that Roger and Guiscard went to the aid of a Muslim emir of the island, Ibn al-Thumna, suggests that they would have been made aware of the potential wealth to be obtained through both the land itself and trade with North Africa and Alexandria, including the sub-Saharan gold which enabled Sicily to mint gold coins. Whilst it can only be conjecture, this may be one reason why Roger declined to participate in a joint attack on Palermo proposed by the Pisans in 1063. Had it been successful, it would have given the Pisans a foothold on the island, despite Malaterra's assertion that they were simply interested in avenging 'the injuries that had been inflicted on them.'⁵³⁷ When Palermo was finally

⁵³⁴ H. Houben, 'Le royaume normand de Sicile était-il vraiment «normand»?', in *911-2011 Penser les mondes*, ed. Bates and Bauduin, pp. 325-40, also *Roger II*, pp. 24-26.

⁵³⁵ Idrīsī, p. 307; trans. p. 358

⁵³⁶ Malaterra, 2:1, p. 27; trans. p. 86.

⁵³⁷ Malaterra, 2:34, p. 45; trans. pp. 111-12.

captured in 1072 it was by Norman means alone and whilst the rest of the island would take almost twenty more years to subdue, the majority of it, especially the west with the other key port of Mazara in the Tunis-Sicily-Alexandria route, remained firmly in Robert's and (in the case of half of Palermo) Guiscard's control. The majority of the population continued to be Muslim, to whom a conciliatory approach was taken, allowing them to live by their own laws and faith in return for swearing loyalty 'with an oath according to their own law', giving military service and paying the equivalent of the *jizya*.⁵³⁸ Such political pragmatism might be deemed a necessity in light of the small size of Norman forces, as was the alliance Roger entered into with Tamīn, ruler of Mahdiyya, in around 1075 which ended North African assistance to those Muslims still resisting Norman rule.⁵³⁹ Yet this alliance also seems to have another dimension, as indicated by Ibn al-Athīr who described Roger's unwillingness to participate in a joint venture with Baldwin (of Boulogne?) against Ifrīqiya, on the grounds that he stood to lose 'the money that comes in every year from agricultural revenues', instead directing Baldwin to Syria.⁵⁴⁰ This may also explain Roger's refusal to join with the Pisans and Genoese (and a small Amalfitan contingent) in their attack on Mahdiyya in 1087.⁵⁴¹ When or how the Italo-Norman rulers of Sicily developed a controlling interest in the Ifrīqiyan grain trade remains unknown, but I would suggest that several factors indicate a rapid awareness of its potential. Whilst a Norman knight was appointed as *amiratus* following the capitulation of Palermo in 1072, Takayama argues that this was essentially symbolic, and that the Muslim administrative system remained which would have overseen trade and its subsequent taxes and duties. Indeed, the use of local Greek and Muslim officials was seen throughout both Sicily and Calabria, as reflected in the keeping of land registers and lists of villeins.⁵⁴² Meanwhile, when looking at the distribution of fiefs granted by Roger I, except for those granted to immediate family members and in some cases the Latin Church, they tended to be small, and most were in the north and east of Sicily. This is significant in that it meant that the main grain producing areas, together with the ports used in North African commerce and therefore the income they generated, remained in comital control. As Abulafia has pointed out, there was not a state monopoly on the grain trade, but strict controls (which were

⁵³⁸ Ibid., 2:45, p. 53; trans. p. 125.

⁵³⁹ Loud, *Robert Guiscard*, pp. 182-84; Chalandon, I, p. 331.

⁵⁴⁰ IA, I, p. 13. This is in the entry for 490/1096-7, although he gives no further indication when Baldwin made the suggestion.

⁵⁴¹ Malaterra, 4:3, pp. 86-87; trans. p. 179.

⁵⁴² Takayama, *Administration*, pp. 38-40.

retained by Roger's successors) on this and other foodstuffs including tunny fish and salt brought in large revenues in taxes.⁵⁴³

The peace treaty agreed between Roger I and Tamīn of Mahdiyya had survived the succession of their respective sons, as had commercial enterprise, with the presence of Sicilian merchants being attested in Mahdiyya in 1117.⁵⁴⁴ Even the Sicilian 'abduction' of George of Antioch in 1108-09 had not disturbed it. However, in 1117/18 Rāfi', the governor of Gabès fell out with his overlord, 'Ali of Mahdiyya (grandson of Tamīn) over the right to operate a merchant ship and appealed to Roger II for assistance. A Sicilian fleet was sent, but withdrew when faced with opposition from 'Ali, who also seized the Sicilian representatives and their assets in Mahdiyya. Embassies were exchanged, but relations continued to be tense, and it was only 'Ali's death that prevented a joint attack with the Almoravids of Marrakech upon Sicily.⁵⁴⁵ Italo-Norman aggression clearly continued against the Zīrids, as in 1123 an ambassador was sent by al-Ḥasan ('Ali's successor) to re-pledge his master's allegiance to the Fatimids and to request that the caliph al-Hāfiẓ intervene with Roger in order to restore peace.⁵⁴⁶ An embassy was duly sent, at the same time as an unsuccessful Sicilian attack was launched led by the *emirs* Christodoulos and George of Antioch on al-Dīmās (just north of Mahdiyya), in July 1123.⁵⁴⁷ Idris suggests that this Zirid appeal to Cairo indicates relations between Sicily and Cairo were therefore already cordial; that George of Antioch was sent as an envoy to Cairo 'many times' by Christodoulos according to al-Maqrīzī, which Johns suggests occurred in the period between 1114 and 1126, supports this idea.⁵⁴⁸ Unfortunately, the purpose of these visits is unknown, but it is not impossible that it was linked with trade. In a letter from al-Hāfiẓ to Roger dated 1137-38, in gratitude for preferential treatment one of the caliph's ships had received, al-Hāfiẓ promised to waive customs duties on cargoes belonging to Roger and George of Antioch (and on those of two ambassadors yet to arrive) in Alexandria and Cairo,

⁵⁴³ Abulafia, *Two Italies*, pp. 39-40; also 'The Crown and the Economy under Roger II and His Successors', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 37 (1983), 1-14 (p. 5, *passim*).

⁵⁴⁴ H. R. Idris, *La Berbérie orientale sous les Zīrides, Xe-XIIIe siècles*, 2 vols (Paris, 1962), I, p.308; Amari, *Storia*, III, pp. 375-76.

⁵⁴⁵ 'al-Bayān, *BAS* II, pp. 33-34; IA, I, pp. 186-87; Idris, I, pp. 323-24.

⁵⁴⁶ Johns, *Arabic Administration*, p. 258.

⁵⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 85-86; Idris, I, pp. 334-38.

⁵⁴⁸ Johns, *Arabic Administration*, p. 81 and p. 259.

indicating the significance of commercial relations between the two rulers.⁵⁴⁹ It is likely that the deterioration in Sicilian-Zirid relations had affected income from grain sales, hence trade elsewhere was needed to make up shortfalls. Whilst the mechanism for this trade is also unknown, ships seem to have been provided by comital (later royal) towns for its transportation.⁵⁵⁰ This is indicated by a much later charter of 1191 issued by King Tancred to the citizens of Gaeta which excused them of providing a ship to carry the royal ‘*frumentum*’.⁵⁵¹ Any interruption to this also would affect Sicilian access to the gold it brought in. Indeed, Abulafia has suggested that the desire to prevent Muslim piracy, which also damaged trade and therefore the income Roger could generate through taxes, was the key motivation behind his actions including the (re)capture of Malta in 1127, and the assistance offered to Count Ramón Berenguer III of Barcelona in 1128.⁵⁵² Meanwhile, from a treaty made with the citizens of Savona in 1128, it seems that Roger regarded the sea between the Maghreb and Tripoli as his sphere of influence.⁵⁵³ The Sicilian capture of Djerba in 1135 was justified as a means of protecting shipping from piracy, whilst the sending of a fleet to assist his now-ally al-Ḥasan against Yahya, the Hammadid emir of Bougie, offered a further opportunity for political involvement in Ifrīqiyan affairs.⁵⁵⁴ With this desire to extend trade in mind, it is worth briefly considering the symbolism of Roger’s cloak.⁵⁵⁵ Made in 1133/4, it features two lions, each apparently attacking a camel. Houben has argued that the lions represent the king, whilst the camels are his Muslim subjects, indicating that they are contained within his power. Camels are also the main means of transport across the desert, and would have been used in the sub-Saharan gold trade. When some of the references within the Arabic border extolling Roger’s kingship are taken into consideration, such as those to prosperity, the fulfilment of his hopes, his defence and

⁵⁴⁹ J. Johns, ‘The Norman Kings of Sicily and the Fatimid Caliphate’, *ANS*, 15 (1992), 133-59; and M. Canard, ‘Une lettre du calife fāṭimite al-Ḥāfīz à Roger II de Sicilie’, *Atti del Convegno Intern. di Studi Ruggeriani* (Palermo, 1955), pp. 125-46.

⁵⁵⁰ Abulafia, ‘Crown and the Economy’, p. 4.

⁵⁵¹ *Tancredi et Willelmi III*, pp. 42-46, no. 18.

⁵⁵² D. Abulafia, ‘The Norman Kingdom of Africa and the Norman Expeditions to Majorca and the Muslim Mediterranean’, *ANS*, 7 (1984), 26-49.

⁵⁵³ As part of an agreement in which the Savonesi requested the release of a galley and crew held in Messina, they offered never to harm his subjects whether encountered in Savona or elsewhere – in ‘*totum mare quod est a Numidia usque ad Tripolum et totum mare et totam terram que inter nos et eis sunt.*’ Abulafia, *Two Italies*, p. 65; Houben, *Roger II*, p. 77.

⁵⁵⁴ Chalandon, II, p. 158; Ibn ‘abi-Dinār, *BAS* II, pp. 290-91 who says Yahya was approached by some citizens of Mahdiyya as they objected to al-Ḥasan’s treaty with Roger. Ibn al-Athīr does not give that reason, but instead claims it was because al-Ḥasan was favouring the emir Maymūn ibn Ziyād over others; see IA, I, pp. 320-21.

⁵⁵⁵ I am grateful to Dr Clare Vernon for allowing me to read her forthcoming article, ‘Dressing for Succession in Norman Italy: The Performative Context of the Mantle of Roger II’.

Figure 9: Roger's cloak (in Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna)



protection, good fortune and victory, it is possible to regard the cloak as an expression of his ambitions in North Africa.⁵⁵⁶ Although an attempt at wider conquest had to wait (largely because of further upheaval in the *regno*), by 1142 it seems that expansion into North Africa was only a matter of time. In return for financial assistance at a time of severe famine, Roger had wrung a range of concessions from al-Ḥasan that included proceeds from customs duties from Mahdiyyan ports and the right to conquer any area which revolted against their Zirid masters.⁵⁵⁷ Sicilian attacks upon the coast between Bougie and Mahdiyya occurred each summer from 1143, and in 1146 Tripoli was taken by George of Antioch, marking the beginning of direct Sicilian control of Ifrīqiya. Here, as in the subsequent “conquests”, once the citizens had submitted a small garrison was installed, but the city itself was governed by directly-appointed local Muslim officials to whom a large measure of autonomy was granted.⁵⁵⁸ The resultant stability encouraged trade, thereby generating further revenue for the Sicilian crown from ongoing grain

⁵⁵⁶ Houben, *Roger II*, p. 125; J. Johns, ‘I titoli arabi dei sovrani Normanni di Sicilia’, *Bollettino di Numismata*, 6-7 (1986), 11-54 (pp. 40-41). Meanwhile, I. Dolezalek has suggested possible continuity between Sicily and Ifrīqiya in relation to the cloak; see ‘Textile Connections? Two Ifrīqiyān Church Treasuries in Norman Sicily and the Problem of Continuity across Political Change’, *Al-Masāq*, 25:1 (2013), 92-112.

⁵⁵⁷ H. Wieruszowski, ‘The Norman Kingdom of Sicily and the Crusades’, in *A History of the Crusades*, II, ed. R. L. Wolff and H. W. Hazard (Madison, 1969), pp. 3-42 (pp. 22-23); Ibn ‘abi-Dinār, *BAS II*, pp. 292-93.

⁵⁵⁸ For the slight variants of rule in each city, see M. Brett, ‘Muslim Justice under Infidel Rule: The Normans in Ifrīqiya, 517-55H/ 1123-1160AD’, *Cahiers de Tunisie*, 43 (1995), 325-36; reprinted in *Ibn Khaldun and the Medieval Maghrib*, ed. M. Brett (Aldershot, 1999). This general approach also reflects that taken by Count Roger and Robert Guiscard, during the Norman conquest of Sicily.

sales as well as through taxes and customs duties on all merchant shipping. Furthermore, by gaining control of one of the main terminals of the trans-Saharan routes, gold continued to flow into the kingdom.⁵⁵⁹ The full extent of this income is impossible to determine, but an indication is given in Falcandus' description of the attack on the royal palace in Palermo in 1162 during which large quantities of gems, rings, expensive garments, silver and gold were looted.⁵⁶⁰

An expression of identification?

I suggest that this ongoing involvement in North Africa raises the possibility of a broader significance of the Arabicisation of the Sicilian court in the early 1130s. Johns has argued it is probable that it was modelled upon that of the Fatimids who were the strongest power within the southern Mediterranean at the time, and so Roger was deliberately promoting an image of kingship that was to be at least their equal.⁵⁶¹ However, Johns also contends that in adopting such symbols, Roger was 'attracted only by [their] external form, and cared nothing for [their] intrinsic meaning.'⁵⁶² He cites the example of an inscription from the Cappella Palatina in Palermo which encouraged the visitor to treat it with the same reverence as in a visit to the Kaaba, thereby implicitly linking Roger's holiness to that of the Meccan sanctuary in the understanding of his Muslim subjects. Such an idea would be repellent to his Sunni subjects, as would its incorporation into a Christian chapel, suggesting that Roger may not have been aware of its spiritual significance, with the court Muslims maintaining a discrete silence about it.⁵⁶³ However, it would be wise to treat the subject of religious affiliation with caution. Metcalfe has pointed out that within Sicily, the impact of the Norman conquest and subsequent migration of many of the leading families led to a more cohesive community in which divisions between Sunnis and Shia, or Arab and Berber were dissipated.⁵⁶⁴ Similarly, as Baadj's analysis of the 'confusing and difficult to follow' history of Ifrīqiya shows, the switching of allegiance between the Ismaili Fatimids and Sunni Abbasids was often politically motivated, rather than reflecting an ideological position and could be reversed when circumstance required.⁵⁶⁵ Johns also argues that Roger and

⁵⁵⁹ Abulafia, 'Norman Kingdom', p. 36.

⁵⁶⁰ Falcandus, p. 56; trans. p. 108.

⁵⁶¹ Johns, *Arabic Administration*, pp. 257-83 (p. 282).

⁵⁶² Johns, 'Norman Kings', p. 159.

⁵⁶³ *Ibid.*, pp. 157-58.

⁵⁶⁴ Metcalfe, *Muslims of Italy*, pp. 123-24.

⁵⁶⁵ A. S. Baadj, *Saladin, the Almohads and the Banū Ghāniya* (Leiden, 2015), p. 30, *passim*.

his successors may not have been aware of the religious sub-text of the *'alāmas* of the court eunuchs but it is notable that they were careful to ensure that their 'Arabic' coins issued in both Sicily and Ifrīqiya did not feature any reference to Muhammad indicating an understanding of its significance.⁵⁶⁶ Bearing this in mind, I propose that there was a political dimension to this adoption of elements of Fatimid identity in that many of the different factions competing for power along the North African coast had in the past – or did – nominally recognise Fatimid overlordship. This is not to suggest that Roger was in any way seeking to usurp the Fatimid's religious role and affiliations. Instead, Roger may have hoped to be regarded as an alternative political suzerain at a time when Fatimid control of Ifrīqiya was in decline and could no longer provide stability in the region. Indeed, Brett has argued that many Ifrīqiyans submitted to Roger's rule because they recognised the economic benefits it brought in terms of stability and trade; only when it later became repressive did revolt against infidel rule spread.⁵⁶⁷ The Islamic elements of the court were not ideological; the king was definitely a Christian, as his religious foundations showed and even his fiercest critics accepted. But the adoption of an Arabic administration, together with the appropriation of elements of court ceremonial, dress and decoration, could have been part of a deliberate attempt to make Roger's control of North Africa outwardly appear more acceptable to its indigenous inhabitants, rather than simply to appeal to his Muslims subjects in Sicily. Also, it should be noted that these Islamic elements were only found in Sicily, and not on the mainland (at least not until the reign of Frederick II), thus reflecting both the different populations and, I would propose, political orientation of the territories.

From a political perspective, this approach seems to have had some success, as indicated by the events at Gabès in 1147. Following the death of Rāfi', lord of Gabès, a leading citizen named Yūsuf expelled Rāfi's eldest son, Mu'ammār, and seized power in the name of the youngest, Muhammad.⁵⁶⁸ Mu'ammār and his supporters appealed to al-Ḥasan, ruler of Mahdiyya for justice. In response, Yūsuf wrote to Roger II, asking that he be sent a robe of honour and diploma to be his deputy, 'just as you did with the Banū Maṭrūḥ in Tripoli.'⁵⁶⁹ This Roger did, whilst al-Ḥasan sent troops to besiege

⁵⁶⁶ Johns, *Arabic Administration*, pp. 251-52; also 'Malik Ifrīqiya: The Norman Kingdom of Africa and the Fatimids', *Libyan Studies*, 18 (1987), 89-101 (p. 93); and 'Norman Kings', pp. 157-58.

⁵⁶⁷ Brett, 'Muslim Justice', p. 19ff.

⁵⁶⁸ He was also accused of mistreating some of Rāfi's womenfolk, who appealed to their tribe for assistance, thereby complicating matters further.

⁵⁶⁹ IA, II, p. 14.

Gabès. As the situation escalated both Yūsuf and al-Ḥasan had sent envoys to Roger to protest at the other's behaviour. On their return Yūsuf's envoy was captured and sent to Mahdiyya, where he was humiliated because such was 'the reward of anyone who strives to make the Franks masters of Muslim lands', and subsequently stoned to death.⁵⁷⁰ The citizens then rose up against Yūsuf, 'because of his policy of submitting to the Franks', tortured and killed him, and Mu'ammār became the new lord of Gabès. Meanwhile Yūsuf's brother and son fled to Sicily, thereby prompting Roger's subsequent invasion of Mahdiyya.⁵⁷¹ As well as demonstrating the complexity of Ifrīqiyān politics, this account given by Ibn al-Athīr with its preoccupation with the Muslim perspective means that it tends to gloss over the full extent of Sicilian involvement in the region.⁵⁷² Ibn al-Athīr makes no mention of the fact that al-Ḥasan also had an alliance with Roger. As mentioned above, in return for financial assistance at a time of severe famine, Roger had wrung a range of commercial and political concessions from al-Ḥasan.⁵⁷³ When recounting the events of 1142, Ibn al-Athīr states only that al-Ḥasan renewed his truce with Roger 'for the sake of transporting grain from Sicily to Ifrīqiya, because there was a serious famine there and high mortality.'⁵⁷⁴ The narrative does, however, indicate an ongoing economically-based relationship in which Roger was increasingly the stronger partner, and also that Roger seemed to have been accepted by both sides as their political suzerain, but that it was the local population who were opposed to his involvement upon religious grounds.

Religious motivation?

The expansion into Ifrīqiya may help explain why there was so little southern Italian and Sicilian military involvement in the Latin East. Although local governors were appointed to rule in the king's name, garrisons were established under Italo-Norman-Sicilian commanders.⁵⁷⁵ When describing the capture of Mahdiyya by 'Abd al-Mu'min in 1160, Ibn al-Athīr said that it contained 'the scions of Frankish princes and their leading knights' who had taken refuge there from nearby Zawīla.⁵⁷⁶ From the Arabic

⁵⁷⁰ IA, II, p. 14.

⁵⁷¹ Ibid., p. 14.

⁵⁷² For comments regarding the veracity of Ibn al-Athīr, see H. A. R. Gibb, 'Notes on the Arabic Materials for the History of the Early Crusades', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, 7:4 (1935), 739-54.

⁵⁷³ Wieruszowski, 'Norman Kingdom', pp. 22-23; Ibn 'abi-Dinār, *BAS* II, pp. 292-93.

⁵⁷⁴ IA, I, p. 365.

⁵⁷⁵ Abulafia, 'Norman Kingdom', pp. 37-38.

⁵⁷⁶ IA, II, p. 104.

sources, it seems that men from elsewhere were recruited to complete the conquest of Ifrīqiya, although these could be mercenaries and adventurers who joined the enterprise looking for reward.⁵⁷⁷ One such was Richard de Lingèvres, who joined Roger II's forces for the attack on Tripoli in 1146, for which he received the county of the island of Andros, recently captured from the Greeks. Later, he is called count of Andria, which Jamison has suggested may have been compensation for the subsequent loss of Andros.⁵⁷⁸ This recruitment of men from beyond the kingdom, together with Ibn al-Athīr's emphasis upon the religious opposition Roger faced as described above, has led King to argue the conquest of Ifrīqiya reflected a wider interest in extending Christian territorial and religious boundaries, and that the Sicilian invasion of North Africa was seen by some Muslim writers in this way.⁵⁷⁹ He cites a letter written by the Zirid historian Abu 'l-Ṣalt, which has survived in al-Tijānī's fourteenth-century *Rihla*, which describes the attack and subsequent defeat of the Sicilians at al-Dimas (near Mahdiyya) in 1123 as a success for Islam. However, I would suggest that we need to exercise some caution here, as many religious references were conventional, and in the case of Abu 'l-Ṣalt, Brett has pointed out that there was a political agenda behind his rhetoric in which he sought to champion the role of the Muslim citizens in the defence of the city.⁵⁸⁰ Likewise, Ibn al-Athīr, writing in the early thirteenth century, was more concerned to describe events in relation to the moral lesson they taught rather than present 'facts'; moreover, his view of Roger is far more nuanced than this incident suggests.⁵⁸¹ Nor is there any evidence in the southern Italian and other Latin sources which mention Sicily's involvement in North Africa to suggest that it was regarded as part of a wider crusading movement. Constable has pointed out that only three western sources mention religious motives for Roger's campaigns.⁵⁸² Robert of Torigni and the Premonstratensian continuator of Sigebert of Gembloux's chronicle make the link

⁵⁷⁷ 'al-Bayān, *BAS* II, p. 85; Abulafia, 'Norman Kingdom', p. 39, fn. 72.

⁵⁷⁸ E. M. Jamison, 'The Sicilian Norman Kingdom in the Mind of Anglo-Norman Contemporaries', *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 24 (1938), 1-51 (pp. 18-19); Robert of Torigni, *Chronica* in *The Chronicles of the reigns of Stephen, Henry II and Richard*, IV, ed. R. Howlett, *RS* 82 (London, 1889), p. 153 and p. 185.

⁵⁷⁹ M. King, 'Crusade and Jihad in Medieval Sicily and Ifrīqiya: The Case of the Zirids and the Normans', unpublished paper given at The Normans in the South Conference, St Edmund Hall, Oxford, 30 June-2 July 2017. I am grateful to the author for sharing this with me.

⁵⁸⁰ M. Brett, 'The Armies of Ifrīqiya, 1052-1160', *Cahiers de Tunisie*, 48 (1997), 107-25; reprinted in *Ibn Khaldun and the Medieval Maghrib*, ed. M. Brett (Aldershot, 1999), p. 114.

⁵⁸¹ Mallett, p. 250; Gibb, p. 746. Ibn al-Athīr recognises Roger's abilities but is critical of William II, whom he described as 'a corrupt administrator and a man of evil designs.' (IA, II, p. 64). Note also the account of events of 1135 in which IA omitted details which explained the wider context, given by Ibn 'abi-Dinār (*supra* fn. 554).

⁵⁸² Runciman, II, p. 251; G. Constable, 'The Second Crusade as seen by contemporaries', *Traditio*, 9 (1953) 213-79 (esp. pp 235-36).

through association within their accounts of the Second Crusade, and only Peter the Venerable's letter to Roger written sometime between 1148 and 1150 refers to the many benefits his military valour has brought to the Church, including that obtained against the Saracens.⁵⁸³ Constable argues, however, that since Peter had a political motive in trying to promote peace between Roger and Conrad III of Germany, the allusion should not be over-stated. Meanwhile, Romuald of Salerno simply recorded that 'since [Roger] was great of heart and always full of ambition, he was by no means contented just with the lordship of Sicily and Apulia.'⁵⁸⁴ The continuator of Sigebert added that once Roger had freed Mahdiyya from Muslim hands, he installed the 'Archbishop of Africa' in his see. He had been consecrated by Pope Eugenius III at Brescia in September 1148, but continued to live in Rome until he could be installed in his see following Roger's capture of Mahdiyya.⁵⁸⁵ This could, therefore, be indicative of a religious motivation. However, whilst Idris explains that an edict was issued in Sicily encouraging settlers, from Ibn al-Athīr's reference to both Sicilians and Byzantines (*Rūm*), it suggests that it was not an attempt to *Latinise* North Africa but rather to exploit its commercial opportunities.⁵⁸⁶ Nef has also pointed out that in examples designed to show the monarchs' sovereign authority in Ifrīqiya, such as their coinage, it is never officially defined as being Christian.⁵⁸⁷ A similar situation seemed to exist in regard to Malta. The island had been attacked by Roger I in 1091, and the Christian captives found there were freed. At the same time, a raid was made on Gozo, and Malaterra relates that the Sicilian fleet returned laden with booty. The Christians were offered advantageous terms to settle in Sicily or safe passage to their original homelands.⁵⁸⁸ It was not until 1127 that Roger II brought Malta under Italo-Sicilian control and added it to the royal demesne, probably because of the fiscal benefits it brought but there does not seem to have been any attempt to (re)settle it. The first reliable accounts of a Maltese bishopric date to 1156, but that seems to have been a suffragan of Palermo. There was also a Johannes Bishop of Malta active in Sicily from 1168 to 1212, but as Luttrell has identified, there is no clear archaeological evidence of church (re)building during this

⁵⁸³ Robert of Torigni, *Chronica*, p. 153; Sigebert of Gembloux, *Continuatio Praemonstratensis*, MGH SS 6, pp. 447-56 (p. 454); Peter the Venerable, *The Letters of Peter the Venerable*, ed. Giles Constable, 2 vols (Cambridge, MA, 1967), I:162, pp. 394-95.

⁵⁸⁴ Romuald, p. 227; trans. Loud, *Roger*, p. 259.

⁵⁸⁵ Houben, *Roger II*, p. 81; Sigebert, p. 454.

⁵⁸⁶ Idris, I, p. 352; Amari, *Storia*, III, p. 417, fn. 1; IA, I, p. 380.

⁵⁸⁷ Nef, p. 597.

⁵⁸⁸ Malaterra, 4:16, pp. 94-96; trans. pp. 191-94.

period.⁵⁸⁹ Even the settlement of Lipari in the Aeolian Islands, owned by the Benedictines, was open to anyone who was willing to work the land.⁵⁹⁰ Extending Christianity therefore seems to have been a by-product rather than the rationale for Sicilian expansion.

Commercial considerations underpinned Sicilian relations with Cairo although as will be discussed later there may also have been a political dimension in regard to Antioch. In a charter issued to the citizens of Salerno in November 1137, Roger promised to try to obtain for them the same benefits in trade with Alexandria as enjoyed by the merchants of Sicily.⁵⁹¹ Meanwhile in 1143 Romuald of Salerno referred to Roger having ‘made peace with the king of Babylon’, although he gives no further details.⁵⁹² This seems to have survived the Norman conquest of Tripoli in 1146, and Mahdiyya, Sousse and Sfax in 1148, despite the latter areas being at least nominally back under Fatimid sovereignty. It may be that a relatively benign rule that used Muslim officials in the occupied areas, coupled with an upturn in financial prosperity, helped maintain good relations.⁵⁹³ Furthermore, Johns has argued that despite experimenting with the title *Malik Ifrīqiya* Roger did not officially adopt it, thereby showing a willingness to compromise and avoid diplomatic confrontation.⁵⁹⁴ Roger’s forces had been successful partly because the Sicilians were able to exploit the internal divisions within Ifrīqiya itself thus indicating at least a basic understanding of them, which may well have come via George of Antioch. A further example of awareness of different factions is seen in 1153, when according to Ibn al-Athīr Roger offered ‘5,000 Frankish knights’ to help the Hammadids of Bougie against the advancing Almohads.⁵⁹⁵ Although it was declined, apparently on the grounds that the Muslims would not accept Christian aid, it demonstrates Roger’s willingness to engage politically within the Muslim world, albeit doubtless for his own (economic) advantage. Relations with Cairo appear to deteriorate around the time of Roger’s death (26 February 1154). Ibn al-Athīr mentions a raid on

⁵⁸⁹ A. Mayr, ‘Zur Geschichte der ältern christlichen kirche von Malta’, *Historisches Jahrbuch*, XVII (1896), 475-96 (pp. 488-92); Falcandus, pp. 114, 122, 161; trans. pp. 165, 173, 213; A. Luttrell, ‘Approaches to Medieval Malta’, in *Medieval Malta: Studies on Malta before the Knights*, ed. A. Luttrell (London, 1975), pp. 1-70 (p. 33).

⁵⁹⁰ White, pp. 84-85.

⁵⁹¹ W. Heyd, *Histoire du Commerce du Levant au Moyen-Âge*, 2 vols (Leipzig, 1923), I, p. 391; *Rogierii II Regis Diplomata*, pp. 129-31, no. 46.

⁵⁹² Romuald, p. 227; trans. Loud, *Roger*, p. 260.

⁵⁹³ IA, I, p. 380

⁵⁹⁴ Johns, ‘Malik Ifrīqiya’, p. 97.

⁵⁹⁵ IA, II, pp. 62-63.

Tinnis taking place in the year 548AH (1153-54), and whilst John Kinnamos refers to the fleet being William I's suggesting it was later in 1154, the Premonstratensian continuator of Sigebert of Gembloux's chronicle includes it in his account of 1153.⁵⁹⁶ Where there is agreement between the latter two sources is that large amounts of booty were captured. Meanwhile al-Maqrīzī states there was a raid on Damietta, Rosetta and Alexandria in 1155.⁵⁹⁷ Johns has suggested that this later date is more likely than the earlier options and that it reflects a breakdown in relations following the death of al-Hāfīz in 1149 and the subsequent civil war in which survivors of the Zirid royal family played a key role.⁵⁹⁸ Other events adding to the strain upon personal relations may have included the death of George of Antioch in 1151, and also the execution of Philip of Mahdiyya in November-December 1153 supposedly upon the grounds of apostasy.⁵⁹⁹ A further element may well be the fact that Pisa had made a treaty with Cairo in 1154, which granted them commercial privileges as well as either a *fondaco* in Alexandria or a second one in Cairo.⁶⁰⁰ Sicilian-Pisan relations had been strained for much of Roger's reign, as Pisa had sided with imperial forces in the mid-1130s, even briefly occupying Amalfi in 1135. Although peace had been made in 1137, the terms are unclear and it does not seem that Pisa was offered any commercial rights or concessions in the kingdom.⁶⁰¹ That did not mean, however, that Sicily would wish to see Pisa gaining a permanent foothold in Egypt, so it is not impossible that all the above factors coalesced into the attacks of 1154/55. The impact of this will be discussed further in chapter four.

Indirect interest in the Latin East

As we have seen, Sicilian involvement in North Africa pre-dated Adelaide del Vasto's marriage to Baldwin I, but its escalation may have been influenced by the limited opportunities that the Latin East offered. The clause in the original marriage contract stating that should there be no offspring of the union Roger would inherit the throne of Jerusalem on Baldwin's death had been dissolved when the marriage was annulled. Baldwin of Bourcq succeeded as Baldwin II following his cousin's death in April 1118 to unanimous acclaim. Roger, meanwhile, was too busy ensuring his own position as

⁵⁹⁶ IA, II, p. 65; JK, 3:13, pp. 95-6; Sigebert, p. 456.

⁵⁹⁷ al-Maqrīzī, *BAS* II, pp. 591-92.

⁵⁹⁸ Johns, 'Malik Ifīrīqiya', pp. 98-99.

⁵⁹⁹ Romuald, pp. 234-6; trans. Loud, *Roger*, pp. 266-68; IA, II, p. 64. See Johns, *Arabic Administration*, pp. 217-18 for a discussion of the accounts of Philip's death; and Birk, *Norman Kings*, pp. 139-72.

⁶⁰⁰ Heyd, I, pp. 392-93.

⁶⁰¹ Abulafia, *Two Italies*, pp. 60-62.

count of Sicily to contend it even had he so-wished. William of Tyre laments that Roger then turned his back on the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem, but this was not as total as William suggests.⁶⁰² Adelaide's first marriage to Count Roger, and the subsequent granting of an estate to her brother Henry around Butera and Páterno, marked the arrival of increasing numbers of 'Lombards' from Liguria.⁶⁰³ This was to have an impact upon the later alignment of the island (see chapter four), but during Roger's reign it may also have offered commercial opportunities to the Genoese and therefore indirectly to the Levant. In 1116, whilst Adelaide was still in the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem as the wife of Baldwin I, Roger made a grant of land in Messina to the Genoese brothers Ogerio and Amico to build or extend a sailors' or merchants' hostel, as well as a pound of gold per annum, and a limited tax concession on their trade passing through Messina.⁶⁰⁴ Although this was a private agreement and did not apply to all Genoese merchants, firstly it indicates a Genoese trading presence in Sicily, and secondly that Roger was encouraging it. Furthermore, in 1127 or 1128, Roger made three pacts with Savona, a tributary of Genoa, offering protection to their ships and merchants in Sicilian waters, which Abulafia contends is further evidence of Roger's friendship with Genoa.⁶⁰⁵ The comital fisc benefitted from mercantile activities passing through its ports, and whilst familial links may have helped generate positive relations, the Genoese were also one of the main operators in terms of trade and supply to the Latin States in the Near East.⁶⁰⁶ Roger's involvement with the kingdom of Jerusalem may therefore only have been by proxy, but as will be discussed further in chapter five, the kingdom and especially the mainland played a key role in this. It is also William of Tyre who argues that Roger sought to gain control of Antioch but this, too, may not be quite as he portrays it.

Roger II and Antioch: a chimerical opportunity?

Bohemond II's tenure of Antioch seemed to offer a revival of Hauteville involvement in the Latin East, after the brief hiatus of a Jerusalem regency. According to Walter the Chancellor, following a council of the Antiochene nobility in 1119, Bohemond the

⁶⁰² WT, 11:29, pp. 542-43; trans. I, p. 514.

⁶⁰³ Loud, *Robert Guiscard*, p. 177; also C. A. Garufi, 'Gli Aleramici e I Normanni in Sicilia e nella Puglia. Documenti e ricerche', in *Centenario dalla nascita di Michele Amari*, 1 (Palermo, 1910), pp. 47-83.

⁶⁰⁴ Abulafia, *Two Italies*, pp. 62-63.

⁶⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 65-70, which also includes a discussion of their veracity.

⁶⁰⁶ Caffaro recounts how they obtained concessions in the Latin Near East. For example, for Acre, Jubayl, and Tripoli see Caffaro, 11, p. 120-24; trans. pp. 122-25; for Antioch, p. 109; trans. p. 115.

Younger was offered the principality as the heir of his father, Bohemond I. This was on condition that he marry Baldwin II's daughter, Alice, and that he protect the land with his '*concilio et auxilio*'.⁶⁰⁷ As he was still a minor in Apulia, Baldwin acted as regent until his arrival in 1126. Orderic Vitalis adds that envoys were sent to encourage his departure, but that his mother, Constance, was unwillingly to let him depart until news of Baldwin's release from captivity had been received.⁶⁰⁸ His arrival in the Near East is described by Fulcher of Chartres, in that he was welcomed by Baldwin who turned the principality over to him, following his marriage to Alice. He also gives details of Bohemond's investiture which included his wearing a robe of state.⁶⁰⁹ Asbridge suggests that this was possibly influenced by Byzantine use of imperial vestments in Antioch in the past, but it is also worth noting that Usama ibn Munqidh describes how Tancred bestowed robes of honour on a Muslim, reflecting a level of assimilation of practice in Antioch that may well have been translated into the investiture ceremony itself.⁶¹⁰ Furthermore, it is worth bearing in mind that Bohemond grew up in Apulia, which had a large Greek community that retained elements of Byzantine ceremonial and titles, and also that he seemed to be very aware of his father's legacy, so this may have been equally influential in shaping Bohemond II's actions.⁶¹¹ Fulcher gives no detail as to whether the robe was bestowed upon him or whether he donned it himself; if the latter it could also be construed as a deliberate assertion of independence from any attempt by the Byzantines to reimpose control.⁶¹² Unfortunately, little is known about his reign in Antioch, although he waged campaigns against both Shaizar and in Cilicia and it was there that he met his premature death in early 1130.

This heralded another period of instability in Antioch, as Bohemond II left only the infant Constance as his heir. According to William's account, Alice, Bohemond's widow and King Baldwin II's daughter, then attempted to take over the principality which was to be to the exclusion of Constance. William adds that she approached Zengi of Mosul and Aleppo for assistance in her plans, but as Asbridge points out, there is

⁶⁰⁷ WC, 2:10, pp. 98; trans. p. 144.

⁶⁰⁸ OV, VI, pp. 134-35.

⁶⁰⁹ FC, 3:6, pp. 821-22; trans. p. 303.

⁶¹⁰ Asbridge, *Antioch*, p. 147; Usama, p. 77.

⁶¹¹ OV, VI, pp. 134-35.

⁶¹² This raises an interesting parallel with the Byzantine robe worn by his uncle, Roger II, in the Martorana mosaic in Palermo. W. Tronzo has pointed out that by adopting a form of Byzantine regalia, Roger was claiming the sovereignty of the emperor in his own lands, in *The Cultures of His Kingdom: Roger II and the Cappella Palatina in Palermo* (Princeton, 1997), p. 118.

again no other evidence to substantiate either claim.⁶¹³ She also seems to have contacted John Komnenos with the suggestion of a marriage alliance although it is unclear whether this was in 1130 or when Alice regained control of Antioch in late 1135/early 1136.⁶¹⁴ John Kinnamos is the only source for this approach, and whilst he implies that it was shortly after Bohemond's death, the timing is not made explicit. It is not impossible that envoys were sent almost immediately, even if not from Alice, but other events prevented the emperor from pursuing matters until 1136-37.⁶¹⁵ Leaving that aside, despite Alice having more noble support than William of Tyre allows, it was not sufficient to ensure her success as some within the principality clearly felt that Baldwin II of Jerusalem would be able to provide stronger leadership and military assistance. He had acted as regent during the period following Roger of Salerno's death in 1119 and the arrival of Bohemond II in 1126, and despite a period of captivity from April 1123 to August 1124, had been able to exploit Aleppan divisions in restoring the eastern frontier of the principality.⁶¹⁶ Although Baldwin initially found the gates of Antioch barred by Alice's supporters, the situation was rapidly resolved. Alice capitulated and subsequently withdrew to her dowry lands of Latakia and Jabala.⁶¹⁷ Baldwin then returned to Jerusalem, where he died shortly afterwards on 21 August 1131.⁶¹⁸ Alice appears to have made another unsuccessful bid for power, although to what extent she was the instigator or merely a participant with the other plotters, Count Pons of Tripoli, Joscelin II of Edessa and William, lord of Saone, is again unclear.⁶¹⁹ Fulk, the new king of Jerusalem, was summoned north and, whilst Buck has suggested that the authority accorded to him was less than that granted to Baldwin II, took control of the principality.⁶²⁰ Having stabilised the situation, he returned to Jerusalem, leaving Renaud Masoir, lord of Marqab, as regent.⁶²¹ In early 1134 Fulk again came north, to help defend the principality from Muslim threat, and whilst there it seems that with the support of the majority of the Antiochene nobility a decision was taken to find a husband for Constance. Raymond of Poitiers was the chosen candidate.⁶²² Neither then,

⁶¹³ WT, 13:27, p. 623; trans. II, p. 44; Asbridge, 'Alice', pp. 32-35.

⁶¹⁴ Asbridge, 'Alice', p. 46; JK, p. 22.

⁶¹⁵ Asbridge, 'Alice', p. 46.

⁶¹⁶ Asbridge, *Antioch*, pp. 81-89.

⁶¹⁷ Asbridge, 'Alice', pp. 36-37; Phillips, *Defenders*, p. 45.

⁶¹⁸ WT, 13:28, p. 625; trans. II, p. 46.

⁶¹⁹ Asbridge, 'Alice', pp. 35-38.

⁶²⁰ Phillips, *Defenders*, pp. 47-48; Buck, *Antioch and Frontiers*, p. 72.

⁶²¹ WT, 14:5, p. 637; trans. II, p. 54.

⁶²² Phillips, *Defenders*, pp. 49-52.

nor earlier, does it seem that an attempt was made to approach Constance's closest male relative Roger II of Sicily.

A reason given for this omission is that the Antiochene nobility were unwilling to accept Sicilian encroachment upon their power in the principality, but no direct evidence is provided to support this claim.⁶²³ Similarly, William of Tyre's assertion that Roger sought to gain the principality for himself is generally accepted. As in the case of Alice's actions, I would propose that the situation was more complex than William suggests, particularly from the Sicilian perspective. As discussed in chapter two, it does seem that the Antiochene nobility were conscious of the threat that an influx of 'new men' could cause. This was suggested by the fact that in agreeing to recognise the claim of Bohemond II, they had stipulated that no-one should 'lose their homes and belongings by any change of Christian lordship, but should possess them by hereditary right.'⁶²⁴ The ongoing family connections with southern Italy referred to earlier may support the contention that the reluctance to involve Roger II reflected hostilities engendered by his consolidation of power on the mainland, but these links could equally well have allowed for a recognition that Roger had other concerns in 1130. Whilst the death of Bohemond II of Antioch in February 1130 potentially offered the opportunity for Roger's involvement in the principality, perhaps more significantly it helped entrench his position in southern Italy. Though William of Tyre may have been confused about the relationship between Bohemond II and William of Apulia, in that in reality they were cousins, he describes how before leaving for Antioch, Bohemond had 'made an alliance with his paternal uncle, William, duke of Apulia, and concluded a treaty with him in regard to the future succession, by which it was stipulated that the one who died first was to be succeeded by the other in entirety.'⁶²⁵ Unfortunately, this agreement is not attested elsewhere; Alexander of Telesse states that Bohemond had left his lands to be administered by the papacy, whereas Romuald of Salerno said he left them to his relative, Count Alexander of Conversano.⁶²⁶ Meanwhile, William had died first in 1127 but before so-doing seems to have also bequeathed his lands to both the

⁶²³ Ibid., p. 52; Buck, *Antioch and Frontiers*, p. 72.

⁶²⁴ WC, 2:10, pp. 98-99; trans. I, p. 145. Fulk's promotion of 'new men' in Jerusalem do not seem to occur prior to 1131, so it is unlikely his arrival had greatly influenced Antiochene attitudes at this time. See H. E. Mayer, 'Angevins versus Normans: The New Men of King Fulk of Jerusalem', *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 133 :1 (1989), 1-25.

⁶²⁵ WT, 13:21, p. 613; trans. II, p. 32.

⁶²⁶ Alex. Tel., 1:12, p.13; trans. p. 70; Romuald, p. 214; trans. Loud, *Roger*, p. 251.

papacy and his uncle Roger, who ultimately acquired them (and Bohemond's estates) by August 1128. Whilst this resulted in opposition from many of the Apulian nobility, including the Conversano family, by late 1129 Roger had obtained peace throughout the south, including the recognition of his suzerainty by Richard of Capua.⁶²⁷ Bohemond's death in Antioch, leaving only a very young girl, meant that Roger would therefore not face any external claims to the appropriated lands. Furthermore, Pope Honorius II also died in February. The subsequent papal schism between Innocent II, who appealed for support north of the Alps (to France and Germany) and Anacletus II, who looked south to Roger as the traditional protector of the popes against imperial aggression, meant that Roger had more pressing concerns and opportunities at home in 1130. Antioch's borders were constantly threatened by its hostile neighbours in Aleppo, Cilicia and Iconium, resulting in a high casualty rate, including that of two of its leaders. Byzantine claims of suzerainty, albeit in abeyance following the death of Alexios I Komnenos in 1118, remained a further potential cause of confrontation, whilst relations with the other Latin States were not always smooth, as the confrontation between Bohemond II and Joscelin I of Edessa in 1127 had demonstrated.⁶²⁸ In comparison, Sicily was stable and wealthy, and in 1130 provided the justification of a crown, as well as the possibility to obtain a foothold in nearby North Africa (as discussed above). Admittedly Roger II's hold on southern Italy was not to be secure until 1139 but he had achieved substantial territorial gains there by the early 1130s.⁶²⁹ Furthermore, unless Roger had the support of the majority of the principality's nobility, little would be gained by attempting to assert a claim to it. Antioch, therefore, may have had little to recommend it in 1130.

By 1134, however, the situation had changed and it appears that Roger felt it was worth pursuing matters. By this time in Antioch, Alice seems to have established an independent government based in Latakia, and had the support of a circle of nobles including Walter of Sourdeval, a Mansel and his son William.⁶³⁰ As discussed in chapter two, both families had ongoing links with southern Italy.⁶³¹ One of Alice's

⁶²⁷ Houben, *Roger II*, pp. 41-50.

⁶²⁸ WT, 13:22, p. 614; trans. II, p. 34; Asbridge, *Antioch*, p. 127

⁶²⁹ For an account of events, see Houben, *Roger II*, pp. 44-73.

⁶³⁰ Asbridge, 'Alice', pp. 40-41; H. E. Mayer, *Varia Antiochena: Studien zum Kreuzfahrerfürstentum Antiochia in 12. Und frühen 13. Jahrhundert* (Hannover, 1993), pp. 110-12, no. 1; pp. 113-14, no. 2; *Cart. Hosp.*, I, p. 92, no. 109.

⁶³¹ Buck, 'Dynasty and Diaspora', pp. 151-54; Johnson and Jotischky, p. 168; H. Houben (ed.), *Die Abtei Venosa und das Mönchtum im normannisch-staufischen Süditalien* (Tübingen, 1995), pp. 350-51, no. 115.

charters was also witnessed by a John of Naples and even if he were only visiting the Latin East, as Asbridge suggests, this sort of contact could well have helped provide a conduit of communication.⁶³² Meanwhile, in (probably) autumn 1134, Hugh of Jaffa arrived in Apulia, following his exile from the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem. His father had accompanied Bohemond I in 1107 and had subsequently settled in the Holy Land, but Hugh had been born in Apulia so it appears that he had retained links with southern Italy. He was well received by Roger, who granted him the county of Gargano.⁶³³ The key element of Hugh's dispute with Fulk centred upon the fact that Hugh had refused to attend a judicial duel and had made a treaty with the Egyptian garrison of Ascalon. Riley-Smith suggested this may be because Fulk had refused to accept a truce offered by the Fatimids in 1131, one clause of which could possibly have been the surrender of Ascalon. Since Hugh had already been granted the fief of Ascalon, pending its subsequent capture, he may well have been aggrieved at Fulk's refusal to negotiate.⁶³⁴ It is unlikely that Hugh's willingness to co-operate with representatives of the Fatimid regime in Cairo influenced Roger's support, even though Sicily enjoyed cordial relations with the Fatimid court at this time. Of greater significance is the fact that Hugh had been present in Alice's court at Latakia as late as July 1134, perhaps going there after the attempt made upon his life in Jerusalem described by William of Tyre.⁶³⁵ Hugh may therefore have brought Roger news of the situation in Antioch and raised the possibility of Sicilian involvement.

The exact timing of the decision to invite Raymond of Poitiers to marry Constance is unclear, although it seems that Fulk was approached to suggest a candidate when he was in Antioch in 1134. According to William of Tyre, following discussion of 'many names', Raymond was unanimously agreed upon, and it was decided to send a Hospitaller, Gerald Jebarre, to ensure the mission remained secret. William explains that this was to prevent Roger II from hearing of it, as he 'desired to succeed Bohemond, his kinsman, and was claiming Antioch with all its possessions as belonging to him by hereditary right.'⁶³⁶ Again, William demonstrates that his grasp of Italo-Norman

⁶³² *Cart. Hosp.*, I, p. 92, no. 109; Asbridge, 'Alice', p. 41, fn. 57.

⁶³³ For the debate see H. E. Mayer, *The Crusades*, trans. J. B. Gillingham (Oxford, 1972), p. 87; and Asbridge, 'Alice', pp. 43-44; WT, 14:18, p. 655; trans. II, p. 76.

⁶³⁴ J. Riley-Smith, 'King Fulk of Jerusalem and "the Sultan of Babylon"', in *Montjoie: Studies in Crusade History*, ed. B. Z. Kedar, J. Riley-Smith and R. Hiestand (Aldershot, 1997), pp. 55-66.

⁶³⁵ Mayer, *Varia Antiochene*, p. 114, no. 2; WT, 14:18, p. 655; trans. II, p. 75.

⁶³⁶ WT, 14:9, p. 641; trans. II, pp. 59-60.

familial links is a little confused, saying that Roger I was ‘surnamed Bursa’, when this name applied to Bohemond I’s half-brother rather than his uncle. Although this is a small detail, it should serve as a reminder that William’s knowledge of Sicilian affairs may not always have been very accurate, whether by accident or through omission. That Roger II heard of the mission was made clear by William of Tyre, who recounted how Raymond had to travel *incognito* as Roger ‘had made arrangements in every coast city of Apulia to waylay him.’⁶³⁷ Since Raymond was found at the court of Henry I, Runciman suggests it was probably from there (or Normandy) that Roger heard of the plan.⁶³⁸ Whilst that is possible as there was clearly ongoing contact between Roger’s court and that of England (see below), it is perhaps equally likely that news also came from Antioch itself. Furthermore, William explains that Roger’s intention on capturing Raymond was then to bribe ‘the great men of that land’ in order to obtain the inheritance himself.⁶³⁹ It is unlikely that Roger would have been interested in ruling the principality himself but at this time all five of his sons were alive and two were, as yet, unprovided for. Although in theory a match with Constance would be consanguineous, dispensations were always possible especially from a [n anti-] pope with whom Roger was on good terms, had the possibility arisen. Just as William’s account of Alice’s actions in Antioch is highly selective, I suggest that his description of Roger’s intentions may also have deliberately down-played (or indeed, ignored) any possibility of support for him within the principality. Meanwhile, a Fatimid-Armenian dimension has also been proposed. From some point in 1135 Bahrām, a Christian Armenian and member of the Pahlavuni family, was appointed as the Fatimid vizier. In autumn of that year, Sicilian forces captured and occupied Djerba, to which Bahrām, on behalf of the caliph al-Hāfīz, gave tacit approval, despite an improvement in Zirid-Fatimid relations at this time. Furthermore he maintained close contacts with the Armenian community in both Antioch and Cilicia, where members of his family occupied key roles within the Armenian Church including that of patriarch.⁶⁴⁰ This led Canard to suggest the possibility that Roger may have anticipated some support from this direction in relation to the principality.⁶⁴¹ Johns has added that there were possible links between the family of Roger’s emir, George of Antioch, and Bahrām, which could have further facilitated

⁶³⁷ Ibid., 14:20, p. 657; trans. II, p. 78.

⁶³⁸ J. Phillips, ‘A Note on the Origins of Raymond of Poitiers’, *EHR*, 106:1 (1991), 66-67; Runciman, II, p. 199.

⁶³⁹ WT, 14:20, p. 657; trans. II, p. 78.

⁶⁴⁰ For the role of the Pahlavuni family in the Armenian Church see MacEvitt, ‘Chronicle of Matthew of Edessa’, pp. 164-66ff.

⁶⁴¹ M. Canard, ‘Un vizier chrétien à l’époque fātimite, l’Arménien Bahrām’, *Annales de l’Institut d’Etudes Orientales de la Faculté des Lettres d’Alger*, 12 (1954), 84-113; and ‘Une lettre’, pp. 141-46.

such an understanding.⁶⁴² It should also be added that not only was Alice's mother Armenian, but also one of her allies, Joscelin II of Edessa, was himself half-Armenian.⁶⁴³ Yet whilst an Armenian interest in events is possible, it should be added that direct evidence is lacking for any such conspiracy of interests.

Roger's failure to intercept Raymond of Poitiers brought any such ambitions for Antioch to a halt. Furthermore, by 1136 Roger was facing serious ongoing problems on the Italian mainland as Naples remained in rebel hands, and Lothar III of Germany (as an ally of Innocent II) was planning to lead an army into southern Italy. In 1137 Lothar's army moved south and managed to capture Bari but eventually the summer heat and disease took its toll, and he was forced to retreat. The subsequent collapse of the imperial-papal coalition offered Roger some hope, but despite the efforts of Bernard of Clairvaux to end the papal schism and conflict in the south, throughout 1138 Roger's leading opponent, Count Rainulf of Alife with the support of Innocent II, continued to ferment revolt. Buck has suggested that Antiochene concern that the Sicilians might seek to intervene there if John Komnenos had been allowed to take Antioch in August 1137 may explain the actions of Raymond of Poitiers and the nobles in submitting to the emperor outside the city walls.⁶⁴⁴ But as indicated, Roger was in no position to do so, nor would there be any advantage unless he had support within the principality for his involvement. It is possible, however, that the arrival of the patriarch of Antioch, Ralph of Domfront, in Apulia in 1138 offered such an opportunity. Again, the only source for events is William of Tyre. He explains that Raymond of Poitiers conspired with two churchmen, Archdeacon Lambert and Canon Arnulf against Ralph and encouraged them to take their case to Rome. Arnulf, who came from Calabria, went via Sicily where he met Roger and pointed out that as Ralph had been responsible for thwarting Roger's plans for Antioch, he should arrest him. Roger duly complied, and when the ship Ralph was travelling on docked in Brindisi *en route* to Rome, he was seized. When Ralph appeared before Roger, he persuaded him of a commonality of interests as he was released and allowed to continue his journey. Having similarly convinced the pope of his cause, Ralph returned to Antioch via Sicily in autumn 1138 where, 'Duke Roger received him with honour and [...] furnished him with galleys sufficient for the

⁶⁴² Johns, *Arabic Administration*, pp. 263-67.

⁶⁴³ WT, 14:3, p.635, trans. II, p. 52.

⁶⁴⁴ Buck, *Antioch and Its Frontiers*, pp. 193-94.

voyage'.⁶⁴⁵ William of Tyre added that according to a letter Arnulf sent to Raymond, a secret deal had been made in which Ralph would hand the principality over to Roger.⁶⁴⁶ Again, this raises the question of the extent of Antiochene support Ralph (and Roger) could hope to draw upon, especially amongst those who resented Raymond's submission to John Komnenos in late August 1137. In this context Buck's suggestion of fears of potential Sicilian involvement in the principality makes more sense.

If Roger had such designs, it may also be that he still hoped for Armenian support. Although by this time Bahrām was no longer vizier in Cairo, having been ousted from power by Ridwan ibn Walakhshi, extracts of a letter from the caliph al-Hāfīz indicate that in a prior communication Roger had expressed concerns about Bahrām's fate. Although that might have been in relation to the impact his removal might have upon Norman expansion in the central Mediterranean, it may not have been the sole motivation.⁶⁴⁷ Joscelin II of Edessa's invitation to Ralph, when Raymond barred him from Antioch, may therefore have reflected a wider support from within some of the Armenian community. Meanwhile, as Johns has pointed out, the Fatimids could also have been supportive of Roger's Antiochene ambitions as a friendlier state in the north may have been a useful counterweight to the pressure being placed upon Ascalon.⁶⁴⁸ Yet again it availed to nothing. Hamilton suggests that by 1140, Roger was more concerned about the implicit threat posed by the proposed marriage alliance between John Komnenos' son Manuel and a German princess (the choice eventually being Conrad of Germany's sister-in-law, Bertha of Salzbach) to intervene in Antiochene affairs.⁶⁴⁹ Whilst that is possible, it should be noted that this did not result in a betrothal until 1143, nor marriage until January 1146. Roger's relations had again become strained with Innocent II in 1140, particularly following the military campaign by his sons right up to the borders of papal territory in Abruzzo, but that in itself would not impede other ventures. However, as the dispute between Raymond and Ralph continued in Antioch, it became clear that Raymond's position as prince was secure and that there was little potential for successful Sicilian involvement. Roger's focus therefore remained upon maintaining the hard-won stability in his kingdom, and increasingly

⁶⁴⁵ WT, 15:12, pp. 691-92; trans. II, p. 114.

⁶⁴⁶ Ibid., 15:14, p. 694; trans. II, p. 116.

⁶⁴⁷ Canard, 'Une lettre', pp. 143-44.

⁶⁴⁸ Johns, *Arabic Administration*, pp. 259-64.

⁶⁴⁹ B. Hamilton, 'Ralph of Domfront, Patriarch of Antioch (1135-40)', *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, 28 (1984), 1-21 (p. 17).

turned to more lucrative commercial interests in North Africa. It is possible that Roger's interest in Antiochene affairs continued at a distance, as Hamilton suggests that Roger may have used his influence in gaining Ralph a hearing with Pope Lucius II (March 1144 – February 1145), when he again travelled to Rome to appeal against his deposition as patriarch by the legatine synod of 1140.⁶⁵⁰ Meanwhile, it seems that some links also continued with Arnulf. Despite his role in the revival of the quarrel upon Ralph's return to Antioch, Roger clearly did not bear him any grudge as William of Tyre explained that Arnulf was 'later Bishop of Cosenza'.⁶⁵¹ Whilst it can only be speculation, his return to Calabria may have helped Roger clarify the situation in Antioch, confirming that Raymond of Poitiers had the support of the knightly class and that therefore nothing was to be gained from further involvement.⁶⁵²

Potential Near Eastern crusader?

Although Romuald of Salerno included a brief description of the Second Crusade in his *Chronicon* he gave no motive for Conrad III's and Louis VII's journey to Jerusalem, nor did he describe their actions in the East, but merely attributed their failure to achieve anything as the consequence of sin and 'the trickery and deceit of the Greeks'.⁶⁵³

Whilst that is a common theme of southern Italian sources, and not surprising in light of Roger's own relations with the Byzantine emperor, Romuald made no reference to any possible involvement of Roger in the Second Crusade. Indeed, the description of Sicilian attacks on Corfu, Thebes and Corinth launched in April 1147 precedes that of the crusade and were in response to Manuel Komnenos' dismissal (and possible imprisonment) of Roger's envoys. According to Romuald, the exchange had been initiated by Manuel, to arrange a marriage for Roger's son, although John Kinnamos portrays Roger as the instigator, stating that the proposal had first been raised with John Komnenos, and on his death Roger sent another embassy to Manuel. However, it was Manuel's dismissal of Roger's claims of parity of status in the 1143-4 negotiation that led to Roger 'constructing a fleet, [which] he held in readiness, waiting for the moment somehow to be avenged on the Romans.'⁶⁵⁴ By spring 1147, the fleet was finally

⁶⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 20.

⁶⁵¹ WT, 15:12, p. 691; trans. II, p. 113. Cosenza was in fact an archbishopric, having been promoted in the early eleventh century, Loud, *Latin Church*, p. 34, esp. fn. 100.

⁶⁵² Hamilton, 'Ralph', p. 21.

⁶⁵³ Romuald, p. 229; trans. Loud, *Roger*, p. 262.

⁶⁵⁴ Romuald, p. 227; trans. Loud, *Roger*, p. 260; JK, pp. 75-6.

available, having been engaged prior to this in attacking and occupying territory on the western Maghreb coast, with Tripoli finally being taken in June 1146. Furthermore, Roger was aware that Manuel had withdrawn some of his forces to deal with the arrival of the German and French crusading armies, hence the timing was particularly fortuitous from the Sicilian perspective. Magdalino has pointed out that neither John Kinnamos nor Niketas Choniates make any link between Roger's actions and the crusaders, although it demonstrated to Manuel the potential threat the western armies posed to Byzantine society, thereby making him more determined to extract an oath of fealty from Louis VII and to move the French army away from Constantinople as soon as possible.⁶⁵⁵ Furthermore, the pending arrival of Amadeus of Maurienne, and William of Montferrat who were crossing from Apulia, possibly on ships supplied by Roger, added to Manuel's concerns.⁶⁵⁶

The Sicilian attacks themselves seem to have been more designed as raids rather than heralding an attempt at conquest as had been the case in 1081-5 or 1107-8. Although small garrisons were left, Romuald, Otto of Freising and Niketas Choniates all mention that the raids were extremely lucrative, with the latter two including the abduction of silk weavers from Corinth.⁶⁵⁷ Indeed, Choniates described how the Sicilian triremes were so overladen with merchandise, they resembled merchant ships, and 'were submerged very nearly to the level of the upper rower's bench'.⁶⁵⁸ There is, however, an echo of Robert Guiscard in Otto's description of the capture of Corfu, which was too strong to take by force of arms.

Accordingly, having sent ahead (so the story goes) certain men to pretend that they were bring a corpse for burial – for there is in the aforesaid stronghold a congregation of clerics or monks, as is customary among the Greeks – they burst into the town, seized the fortress, and, ejecting the Greeks, stationed their garrisons there.⁶⁵⁹

⁶⁵⁵ P. Magdalino, *The Empire of Manuel I Komnenos, 1143-1180* (Cambridge, 1993), p. 51; JK, pp. 71 and 82.

⁶⁵⁶ OD, pp. 78-79.

⁶⁵⁷ This meant that Sicily was then able to produce high-quality silk to rival that of Byzantium, although this may have been largely for royal use. See D. Jacoby, 'Silk Economies and Cross-Cultural Artistic Interaction: Byzantium, the Muslim World, and the Christian West', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 58 (2004), 197-240.

⁶⁵⁸ Romuald, p. 227; trans. Loud, *Roger*, p. 260; OF, pp. 53-54; trans. pp. 69-70; NC, p. 45.

⁶⁵⁹ OF, p. 53; trans. p. 69.

This account bears a close similarity to that given by William of Apulia in his *Deeds of Robert Guiscard* written between 1096 and 1099, in which he described Guiscard's capture of a monastery in Calabria.⁶⁶⁰ Although it seems that William's work was not well known, the similarity and Otto's own phrasing in relation to it being a story, raises some interesting questions about the nature of his source here.⁶⁶¹ It is also notable that Otto included no condemnation of the attack upon a fellow Christian monarch, nor did he draw any attention to its timing. It is only Odo of Deuil who did so in relation to Manuel's actions against Louis' army in Constantinople, and how some including the Bishop of Langres favoured joining forces with Roger's fleet in an attack on Constantinople itself.⁶⁶² Yet this should be treated with caution in light of Odo's anti-Greek views. Instead, the attacks seem to have been regarded as a continuation of the ongoing conflict between Sicily and Byzantium, with no particular significance in their timing, and not as a deliberate ploy to embarrass the crusaders as Chalandon suggested.⁶⁶³ Metcalfe meanwhile proposes that the timing of the attack on Thebes and Corfu may well have been influenced by the conquest of North Africa, in that it was a way of keeping the fleet at sea and active, as well as raising funds, until the time was right to launch a full-scale attack on Ifrīqiya.⁶⁶⁴ Since the islands provided anchorage and water for ships en route to the Latin East, I suggest that control of them offered an opportunity to extend the kingdom's influence within the Mediterranean.

Even though Odo of Deuil's account has been shown to be more nuanced and wide ranging than simply being a diatribe against the Greeks, the references to Roger of Sicily remain problematic.⁶⁶⁵ His is the only account to describe Louis writing to Roger, who in return, 'sent nobles who pledged his realm as to food supplies and transportation by water and every other need and promised that he or his son would go along on the journey.'⁶⁶⁶ The offer was ultimately declined by Louis at Étampes, and so Roger took no further direct part in the expedition. That Louis should write to Roger is quite likely,

⁶⁶⁰ WA, Bk. 2, l. 335-50, p. 150; trans. 23-24.

⁶⁶¹ It is possible that this may be a case of small group association leading to collective memory, as discussed by M. Bull, 'The Challenges of "Eye-witness"', paper given at the Institute of Historical Research, London, 23rd November 2015.

⁶⁶² OD, pp. 58-59.

⁶⁶³ Chalandon, II, p. 38.

⁶⁶⁴ Metcalfe, *Muslims of Italy*, p. 164.

⁶⁶⁵ J. Phillips, 'Odo of Deuil's *De profectioe Ludovici VII in orientem* as a source for the Second Crusade' in *The Experience of Crusading I: Western Approaches*, ed. M. Bull and N. Housley (Cambridge, 2003), pp. 80-95.

⁶⁶⁶ OD, pp. 10-11.

as his great-uncle Hugh of Vermandois had departed for the East on the First Crusade via Bari to Durazzo, and as mentioned above, others did take this route.⁶⁶⁷ Roger's motive in making the offer, however, remains unclear. By this time, Raymond of Poitiers was clearly established as Antioch's prince, and was also a kinsman of Louis, hence there was no reason for Roger to view that any longer as a potential prize. In terms of timing, the offer seemed to provide the perfect opportunity to launch an attack upon Manuel's lands, perhaps along the lines of 1107-08. As Phillips points out, Suger and possibly others had witnessed Bohemond's appeal at the Council of Poitiers for a crusade against Byzantium, and there was an anti-Greek contingent in the royal court when Roger's offer was considered.⁶⁶⁸ Yet I would suggest this was also unlikely as there would be little to be gained from a campaign of conquest from a Sicilian perspective, particularly if it relied upon others' assistance as that would limit any prospective spoils. Furthermore, it would incur papal condemnation, from which neither Louis nor Roger would benefit. Instead, it is more likely that Roger was directly seeking to improve relations with the French crown, as opposed to simply gaining more general kudos as implied by Houben.⁶⁶⁹ That Roger was now related to the counts of Champagne (see below) may have been a further factor in explaining the offer of assistance. Roger was also aware that the crusade presented the possibility of a Franco-Byzantine-German alliance which could potentially be used against him. Manuel Komnenos had finally married Bertha of Salzburg in January 1146, whilst some of Roger's enemies had sought exile in the German and Byzantine courts, adding to Sicilian concerns. That an agreement between Manuel and Conrad III against Roger would not be made until autumn 1148 could not be known; that it did occur then simply bore out Roger's earlier concerns. Odo's account also raises the issue of identity and its political significance, in which historical familial origins are foregrounded, when he comments that Roger was 'one who came originally from our part of the world [who] cherished the Franks.'⁶⁷⁰ In this way, Odo recognises a wider geographical area in shaping identity, which suggests that Roger did not regard his ancestry as being specifically 'Norman' but instead identified himself with a 'northern French' heritage. It is possible that this was a deliberate action to promote a commonality of purpose and allay any suspicions of there being an ulterior motive behind his offer. The suggestion that Roger was an incipient crusader, however, seems unlikely. That neither he nor his

⁶⁶⁷ OV, IV, pp. 36-37.

⁶⁶⁸ Phillips, 'Odo', p. 85; OD, pp. 12-13.

⁶⁶⁹ Houben, *Roger II*, p. 88.

⁶⁷⁰ OD, pp. 14-15.

sons showed any interest in the crusade once his offer had been declined suggests that the offer made to Louis was simply for transportation across the Aegean, coupled with warnings of the perfidy of the Greeks. Furthermore, Roger's interest in North Africa and his willingness to work with the local Muslim population both there and at home indicates that he had no interest in promoting a holy war in his lands. Instead, it seems his contribution was limited to supplying transportation for Amadeus of Maurienne and William of Montferrat from Brindisi to Durazzo.⁶⁷¹ Even then, since the Apulian ports continued to exercise a great deal of local autonomy, the arrangements may have been only nominally at royal behest.⁶⁷²

Whilst Louis declined Roger's offer of transportation, and the timing of the Sicilian attacks as he was in Constantinople doubtless added to tension between the Greeks and French, it would appear that he did not hold Roger in any way responsible for the subsequent failure of the crusade. This is seen in his decision to return to Europe on Sicilian ships during which he and Eleanor experienced an attack by a Byzantine fleet, and his sojourn in Apulia on the way to Rome.⁶⁷³ It is during this time that the proposal for an anti-Byzantine alliance was apparently formed, influenced by Louis' recent experiences and perhaps also George of Antioch's daring raid on the walls of Constantinople which in some ways foreshadowed the events of 1204. Although this plan was originally viewed as part of a new crusade, Phillips, Constable and Reuter have all argued that the two were unrelated and were distinct enterprises.⁶⁷⁴ Yet here, it is worth briefly questioning whether an attack on Byzantium was really planned, or was simply a chimera arising from the threat the Sicilian kingdom posed to so many other vested interests in southern Europe. As in 1147, Roger was aware of the need for allies, and whilst the details of a Greek-German alliance probably did not reach Italy until late summer 1149, as argued above Roger must have been aware of its likelihood, hence his solicitude towards Louis. This could be seen to be part of a wider strategy in that he was also seeking to destabilise Conrad's position at home in Germany through his continued support of Welf VI of Bavaria, who had travelled home via Sicily in 1148/9.⁶⁷⁵

⁶⁷¹ OD, pp. 68-9; pp. 10-15.

⁶⁷² P. Oldfield, *City and Community in Norman Italy* (Cambridge, 2009), pp. 84-86, *passim*.

⁶⁷³ JK, p. 72.

⁶⁷⁴ Phillips, *Defenders*, pp. 113-18; G. Constable, 'The Crusading Project of 1150', in *Montjoie*, ed. Kedar, Riley-Smith and Hiestand, pp. 67-75; and T. Reuter, 'The "non-crusade" of 1149-50', in *The Second Crusade: Scope and Consequences*, ed. J. Phillips and M. Hoch (Manchester, 2001), pp. 150-63.

⁶⁷⁵ Houben, *Roger II*, p. 90.

Attempts to arrange a reconciliation between Roger and Conrad III, which would in theory have led to the Byzantine attack, failed not only because Conrad would not abandon his ally, but also because of a lack of papal backing. Whilst Eugenius III was not in favour of a Greek-German alliance that could lead to the re-establishment of the Byzantine church on southern Italian soil, nor was he willing to lose an ally against both the Roman commune and what he saw as the increasing strength of the Sicilian crown.⁶⁷⁶ Meanwhile Conrad III's letter to Bertha/Irene in spring 1150 warning Manuel that the Sicilians and French were planning an attack has often been taken as further evidence of Roger's intentions, but as Reuter points out this could well be a case of Conrad jumping to conclusions in such a way as to justify his own failure to invade Italy.⁶⁷⁷ Hence it is possible that Roger's ambitions on this occasion were solely the product of German-Byzantine scaremongering, reflecting the ongoing hostility of both rulers to the king of Sicily.⁶⁷⁸

Eclectic identities with political overtones?

The royal court at Palermo not only appropriated elements of Islamic culture, but also aspects of Byzantine identity were adopted. Coins and seals show the Sicilian kings with Byzantine insignia.⁶⁷⁹ As Deér has discussed, the deliberate use of porphyry in the decoration of (particularly) Cefalù and Roger's intended tomb show a deliberate political statement to both the Byzantine emperor and the papacy, indicating that Roger saw himself as their equal, and like the *basileus* he was responsible only to God.⁶⁸⁰ The mosaics of Santa Maria dell'Ammiraglio (Martorana), the Cappella Palatina and Cefalù demonstrate their use of imported Greek artists.⁶⁸¹ Mostly famously, the Martorana also includes the 'portrait' of Roger, wearing the ceremonial costume of a Byzantine ruler. Hayes has posited that within this, Roger also sought to identify himself as a *Frankish* king, which she regards as the equivalent of *French*.⁶⁸² She refers to Odo of Deuil's

⁶⁷⁶ Phillips, *Defenders*, pp. 117-18; I. S. Robinson, *The Papacy 1073-1198* (Cambridge, 1990), pp. 387-88.

⁶⁷⁷ Conrad III, *Die Urkunden Konrads III. und seines Sohnes Heinrich*, ed. F. Hausmann, *MGH DD 9* (Vienna, 1969), pp. 404-06, no. 229; Reuter, p. 159.

⁶⁷⁸ H. Wieruszowski, 'Roger II of Sicily, Rex-Tyrannus, In Twelfth-Century Political Thought', *Speculum*, 38:1 (1963), 46-78 (pp. 60-64).

⁶⁷⁹ For a concise summary, see Houben, *Roger II*, pp. 113-35.

⁶⁸⁰ J. Deér, *The Dynastic Porphyry Tombs of the Norman Period in Sicily* (Cambridge, MA, 1959), p. 160.

⁶⁸¹ See, for example, E. Kitzinger, *I mosaici del periodo normanno in Sicilia*, 2 vols (Palermo, 2000) for a discussion of the mosaics and images.

⁶⁸² D. M. Hayes, 'French Connections: The Significance of the Fleurs-de-lis in the Mosaic of King Roger II of Sicily in the Church of Santa Maria dell'Ammiraglio', *Viator*, 44:1 (2013), 119-50.

description of Roger's offer of a fleet to Louis VII in 1146 because he 'cherished the Franks' as evidence of "a special bond" between the two monarchs.⁶⁸³ As discussed, there were political reasons for Roger seeking to gain a potential ally in Louis VII, so an emphasis upon their common Frankish heritage would be useful in such a context. Hayes begins her argument in favour of Roger's apparent Capetian alignment by quoting Falcandus, putting emphasis on his comment, 'Since he derived his own origin from the Normans and knew that the French race excelled all other in the glory of war, he chose to favour and honour those from North of the Alps particularly.'⁶⁸⁴ Nevertheless, care must be exercised here in accepting this at face value. Whilst the identity of the author is uncertain, it is likely that he came from the very land he lauds. This is seen in his treatment of individuals, in that he is especially critical of William I (in contrast to Roger), Maio of Bari, and the 'palace Saracens', whereas his treatment of Stephen of Perche is generally favourable. Perhaps greater emphasis should be placed upon the start of the quotation, 'He also made every effort to find out about the customs of other kings and peoples, in order to adopt any of them that seemed particularly admirable or useful.' Since this follows directly after Falcandus' description of Roger's subjugation of North Africa, it indicates a wider understanding of Roger's cultural appropriation.⁶⁸⁵ Hayes also points to the *fleur-de-lis* shown on Roger's robes in the Martorana mosaic, which were an emerging symbol of Capetian France, as evidence of this French identification.⁶⁸⁶ However, as Beaune (upon whom Hayes draws) points out, use of the *fleur-de-lis* by the French king was very limited at this time and only identifiable on coins.⁶⁸⁷ It was not until the reign of Louis VIII (1223-1226) that it was used as a symbol on his coronation robe, as well as on a shield on the reverse of his seal. Kitzinger suggests that its use is understandable in a church dedicated to Mary, and it is also worth considering the similarities between Roger and Christ, which Kitzinger argues were intended to elevate Roger's image to the highest level.⁶⁸⁸ Roger's power was derived from God alone, and he personified God's authority on earth.⁶⁸⁹ This would

⁶⁸³ OD, pp. 14-15; Hayes, 'French Connections', p. 126.

⁶⁸⁴ Falcandus, p. 6; trans. p. 58.

⁶⁸⁵ Falcandus, pp. 5-6; trans. pp. 57-58.

⁶⁸⁶ Hayes, 'French Connections', pp. 122-26.

⁶⁸⁷ C. Beaune, *The Birth of an Ideology: Myths and Symbols of Nation in Late-Medieval France*, trans. S. R. Huston, ed. F. L. Cheyette (Berkeley, 1991), pp. 201-25.

⁶⁸⁸ E. Kitzinger, *The Mosaics of St. Mary's of the Admiral in Palermo* (Washington D.C., 1990), p. 264; and 'On the Portrait of Roger II in the Martorana in Palermo', in *The Art of Byzantium and the Medieval West: Selected Studies by Ernst Kitzinger*, ed. E. Kleinbauer (London, 1976), pp. 320-26 (p. 322).

⁶⁸⁹ W. Tronzo, 'The Artistic Culture of Twelfth-Century Sicily, with a Focus on Palermo', in *Sicily and the Mediterranean: Migration, Exchange, Reinvention*, ed. C. Karagoz and G. Summerfield (Basingstoke, 2015), pp. 61-76 (p. 64).

suggest that the use of the *fleur-de-lis* in the mosaic reflects its theological symbolism of faith, purity and perhaps also majesty, rather than trying to advocate specifically Capetian affinity.⁶⁹⁰ This is further indicated by the amalgamation of Byzantine, Islamic and Romanesque styles within the Cappella Palatina, which Johns has argued were deliberately designed to enhance and extend the power of the king.⁶⁹¹ Meanwhile, although the Cappella Palatina, Martorana and Cefalù Cathedral all have Arabic influences, these are of secondary importance as the mosaics within these foundations (and later Monreale) powerfully reinforce the Christian nature (and divine approval) of the monarchy.

One element of identity missing from the royal court is that of *Normanitas*. Houben has pointed out that the legislation issued by Roger contained elements of Roman, Byzantine and Lombard law, but very few traces of legal traditions from western France and none from Normandy.⁶⁹² Indeed, Houben has not found any evidence that the language used was even French.⁶⁹³ Only one Sicilian source, the *Historia Sicula*, explicitly refers to ‘Norman’ identity. Aspinwall and Metcalfe suggest that Michele Amari ‘may have been right to see it as being composed in a reflective tradition at a time of shifting values’.⁶⁹⁴ In this way, it could be a means of reinforcing an identity that had been associated with conquest and control which some may have felt was being lost as more settlers from Northern Italy (especially Liguria) arrived and perhaps also as a reaction to the Islamic/Fatimid identity of the court. This reflects aspects of identity theory surrounding migrations discussed by Weinreich in which identity can become ‘vulnerable’, and a group’s identity and aspirations ‘have been overtaken by social change and become meaningless given contemporary norms.’⁶⁹⁵ If some within the group are unable to change, they may attempt to fight to re-establish their primary identity. Drawing upon this theory, Webber has pointed out that whilst Roger did not see himself as ‘Norman’, traces of Norman identity remained on the mainland, where it was less under threat from competing lifestyles within the surrounding society, and so

⁶⁹⁰ Beaune, pp. 202-10.

⁶⁹¹ J. Johns, ‘Muslim Artists and Christian Models in the Painted Ceilings of the *Capella Palatina*’, in *Romanesque and the Mediterranean: Points of Contact Across the Latin, Greek and Islamic Worlds, c. 1000 to c. 1250*, ed. R. M. Bacile and J. McNeill (Leeds, 2015), pp. 59–89.

⁶⁹² Houben, ‘Le royaume’, p. 334.

⁶⁹³ *Ibid.*, p. 329 and p. 331.

⁶⁹⁴ Aspinwall and Metcalfe, *forthcoming*; Amari, *Storia*, III, p. 27.

⁶⁹⁵ P. Weinreich, ‘The operationalisation of identity theory in racial and ethnic relations’, in *Theories of Race and Ethnic Relations*, ed. J. Rex and D. Mason (Cambridge, 1986), pp. 299-320 (pp. 301-03).

more likely to be retained as a viable identity.⁶⁹⁶ It also seems that such retention often had a political element. This is seen in Canosa's study of Norman origin in donations and charters in southern Italy. For example, she cites a donation of Count Richard II of Sarno to a Lombard, *Dauforius*, in 1115 in which he recalls the Norman origin of his father. In further charters to the abbey of Holy Trinity of Cava, this identification is omitted.⁶⁹⁷ Canosa argues that where it is present, it is to signify the power of the conqueror's descendant to make the gift to the Lombard recipient. A similar situation is seen in Lombard naming patterns studied by Drell, through which links are made back to the founding member of the family, usually a count, as a means of recalling a former social status held prior to the conquest.⁶⁹⁸ As von Falkenhausen has shown many Greeks and Lombards in southern Italy adopted 'Norman' names, especially those of the Hauteville family, thereby demonstrating their political affiliation with the ruling house.⁶⁹⁹ This contrasts with Shagrir's analysis of Italo-Norman naming patterns, based upon Ménager's lists, which has shown that whilst they follow the general European pattern of a rise in Latin and saints' names, they do not indicate a strong impact of either Greek or Lombard local traditions.⁷⁰⁰ Nevertheless, it is worth noting that one of the most popular names in the period 1160-99 is John, which crosses several cultural boundaries and, as Martin has pointed out, was the most used saint's name throughout southern Italy.⁷⁰¹ (This may explain why Bohemond I chose it for his first-born son, as discussed in chapter two.) Hence as Drell points out, 'the issue of names for southern Italy - especially during the Norman period - is complex and perhaps ultimately an exercise in frustration.'⁷⁰²

Despite the lack of any sense of internal Norman identity, this is ascribed to Roger by authors outside the kingdom. Otto of Freising includes a letter from Conrad III to John II Komnenos dated 12 February 1142 which refers to Roger as 'whether Norman or

⁶⁹⁶ Webber, pp. 81-84.

⁶⁹⁷ R. Canosa, 'Discours ethniques et pratiques du pouvoir des Normandes d'Italie: sources narratives et documentaries (XI^e-XII^e siècles)', in *911-2011 Penser les mondes*, ed. Bates and Bauduin, pp. 341-56 (p. 350); for the charter see F. Scandone, *Storia di Avellino*, II:1 *Abellium Feodale* (Naples, 1948), p. 114, no. L1.

⁶⁹⁸ Drell, 'Cultural syncretism', p. 192ff.

⁶⁹⁹ V. von Falkenhausen, 'The South Italian Sources', *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 132 (2007), pp. 95-122 (p. 101).

⁷⁰⁰ I. Shagrir, 'Franks and Normans in the Mediterranean: A Comparative Examination of Naming Patterns', *Medieval Prosopography*, 30 (2015), 59-72.

⁷⁰¹ Martin, 'Personal names and family structure', pp. 117.

⁷⁰² Drell, 'Cultural syncretism', p. 196.

Sicilian', thereby recognising Roger's ethnic origins as well as the basis of his power.⁷⁰³ It may also be a reflection of the view of Roger as a tyrant, both in the tradition of the ancient tyrants of Syracuse to which Otto of Freising refers, as well as the view expounded by St Bernard who had attacked Roger as a usurper of imperial and church rights, before making his peace following the Treaty of Mignano in 1139.⁷⁰⁴ A second and more positive example is an anonymous poem from Rouen, which links the city as the birth place of Norman achievement to Roger's rule.⁷⁰⁵ As Richard explains, the poem is on a separate sheet inserted into a fifteenth century chronicle of Normandy, but he dates it to the mid-twelfth century based on his interpretation of the inclusion of Rome in relation to the Empress Matilda and Count Geoffrey of Anjou. Pohl in his discussion of representations of Normandy in shaping identity accepts this dating, despite arguing for a different interpretation of the significance of the Rome reference.⁷⁰⁶ Although it is impossible to know why the author wrote this tribute, he was clearly impressed by Roger's achievements and wanted to ensure that they were remembered in relation to the king's Norman ancestry:

*Ex te progentis, Normanno sanguine clarus,
Regnat Rogerus victor, sapiens, opulentus.
Tu Rogere potens, tu maxima Gloria regum;
Subditur Ytalia et Siculus, tibi suditur Afer;
Grecia et timet et Syria, et te Persa veretur;
Ethiopes, Albi, Germania, Nigra, requirunt
Te dominate sibi, te protectore, tueri.
Vera fides et larga manus tibi septra dedere;
Tu (sic) dignum imperio solum dijudicat orbis.*

Translated by Pohl as:

From you came forth, made from pure Norman blood
The conqueror who rules supreme, Roger, wise and rich.
You mighty Roger, you mightiest of kings
Conqueror of Italy and Sicily, and Africa

⁷⁰³ OF, 1:25, p. 38; trans. p. 55.

⁷⁰⁴ Wieruszowski, 'Rex-Tyrannus', esp. pp. 53-64; Otto of Freising, *Otonis Frisingensis Chronica*, ed. A. Hofmeister (Hanover, 1912), p. 346; Bernard of Clairvaux, *Sancti Bernardi Opera*, VII: *Epistolae*, ed. J. Leclercq and H. Rochais (Rome, 1974), pp. 335-36, no. 139; translated as *The Letters of St Bernard of Clairvaux*, trans. B. S. James and intro. B. M. Kienzle (Stroud, 1998), pp. 210-11, no. 142; also pp. 325-26, no. 130; trans. pp. 201-02, no. 132.

⁷⁰⁵ C. V. Richard, *Notice sur l'ancienne bibliothèque des échevins de la ville de Rouen* (Rouen, 1845), pp. 37-38.

⁷⁰⁶ B. Pohl, 'Keeping it in the Family: re-reading Anglo-Norman Historiography in the Face of Cultural Memory, Tradition and Heritage', in *Norman Tradition and Transcultural Heritage*, ed. Burkhardt and Foerster, pp. 219-52 (pp. 231-36).

Feared by Greece and Syria, and even Persia;
Ethiopia, the white, and Germany, the dark,
They all ask you to rule over them, to watch over them.
They seek your true belief and your lavish hand to grant them protection.
You alone are worthy of the empire of the world.⁷⁰⁷

Some parts of the poem have echoes of the inscriptions on Bohemond's tomb, raising the possibility that it may have been a source of inspiration whether from seeing it himself or hearing of it from others. Nor do we know why it was written, but whilst Loud has shown that the English chroniclers show little interest in southern Italy and Sicily after the First Crusade, Roger seems to have maintained close links with Anglo-Norman England.⁷⁰⁸ For example, Robert of Selby was chancellor of Sicily from 1140 until his death in 1151, whilst Master Thomas Brown also held high office but fell from favour following Roger's death and returned to England, where he served in Henry II's Exchequer.⁷⁰⁹ Archbishop William of York, who was distantly related to Roger, visited the royal court in 1146, after failing to obtain his pallium from Eugenius III in Rome.⁷¹⁰ Further links were to continue in the reigns of his successors, which will be addressed in chapter four. Unfortunately, it is impossible to know whether the poem above came out of this ongoing contact.

Marriage as a reflection of Sicilian re-orientation?

Although Roger II seems to have encouraged Anglo-Norman administrators to his kingdom, when it came to marriage alliances Hayes has suggested that he deliberately sought to identify himself with families linked both to the Capetians and those with a crusading heritage.⁷¹¹ Whilst there are connections, I would argue that other factors were more significant in the matrimonial alliances Roger forged. Following the failed marriage negotiations with Manuel, in around 1143 Roger's eldest son and heir (also

⁷⁰⁷ Pohl, p. 232.

⁷⁰⁸ G. A. Loud, 'The Kingdom of Sicily and the Kingdom of England, 1066-1266', *History*, 88:4 (2003), 540-567.

⁷⁰⁹ Takayama, *Administration*, p. 70; Richard fitzNigel, *Dialogus de Scaccario: De Necessariis Observantiis Scaccarii Dialogus, qui dicitur Dialogus de Scaccario*, ed. and trans. C. Johnson (London, 1950), pp. 35-36.

⁷¹⁰ C. Norton, *St William of York* (York, 2006), p. xiii, pp. 204-08; *Symeonis Monarchi Opera Omnia*, II, ed. T. Arnold, *RS 75* (London, 1885), pp. 318-19. Norton has also suggested that William of York's visit to Sicily may explain the Arabo-Siculo casket in York Minster, which dates to this period (p. 126).

⁷¹¹ D. M. Hayes, 'The Wives of Roger II of Sicily: Reflections on the Marriage Strategies of an Evolving Monarchy', unpublished paper given at The Normans in the South Conference, St Edmund Hall, Oxford, 30 June-2 July 2017, via <<https://montclair.academia.edu/DawnMarieHayes>> [Accessed: 20/3/18].

Roger) married Elizabeth, daughter of Count Theobald IV of Champagne and Blois. At the time of this marriage, Theobald was in conflict with Louis VII but following the intercession of Abbot Suger, this was largely resolved after 1144. There are crusading links in that whilst Theobald's father had been the albeit not very successful First Crusader, Stephen of Blois, his uncle Hugh had become a Knight Templar in 1125 and carefully built his reputation in relation to his journeys to Jerusalem.⁷¹² Theobald's son, Henry, was to go on the Second Crusade, whilst under St Bernard's guidance Theobald seems to have come to epitomise the ideal Christian knight.⁷¹³ Such a familial crusader connection may therefore have brought some reflected glory, but perhaps of greater significance in this alliance in the short term was the close link between Theobald IV and Bernard of Clairvaux, whose support Roger was also cultivating at this time.⁷¹⁴ Elizabeth's uncle Stephen was king of England, and in 1143 his position seemed increasingly secure, so that also had political merit. It may be that the younger Roger's early death in 1148, leaving only one brother (William) to inherit the kingdom, prompted Roger II to finally seek a new wife, fourteen years after the death of his first, Elvira of Castile-León. In 1149, Roger married Sibyl, sister of Duke Odo II of Burgundy (1143-62). Hayes contends that this connection was sought because of their ancestral links to Hugh Capet, and through him to Charlemagne. Whilst the status through association added inferred prestige, it was short-lived as Sibyl died whilst giving birth to a still-born child in 1150. Shortly afterwards Roger married Beatrice of Rethel, whose family was linked to the kings of Jerusalem. Meanwhile, in around 1150, Roger's sole surviving son and heir, William, married Margaret, daughter of King Garcia IV Ramirez of Navarre (1134-50) and Margaret of L'Aigle, thereby forging a matrimonial link with the counts of Perche.⁷¹⁵ Again, it may be that Roger was seeking to benefit from what Naus has termed the 'economy of crusade status' through these matches, but there is no evidence to support Hayes's notion that Roger's third marriage was indicative of a desire to assert a claim to the throne of Jerusalem.⁷¹⁶ Instead, it is more likely that Roger was seeking to forge links with the leading, established (and available) aristocratic houses in western Europe as a buttress against possible future imperial threat.⁷¹⁷ These alliances were ultimately to contribute to the shift in the

⁷¹² J. Doherty, 'Count Hugh of Troyes and the Prestige of Crusade', *History*, 102:353 (2017), 674-88.

⁷¹³ J. A. Truax, 'Miles Christi: Count Theobald IV of Blois and Saint Bernard of Clairvaux', *Cistercian Studies Quarterly*, 44:3 (2009), 299-320.

⁷¹⁴ Houben, *Roger II*, p. 87.

⁷¹⁵ Houben, *Roger II*, p. 96; K. Thompson, *Power and Border Lordship in Medieval France: The County of Perche, 1000-1226* (Woodbridge, 2002), pp. 6-7.

⁷¹⁶ Hayes, 'Wives', p. 5

⁷¹⁷ Naus, *Constructing Kingship*, pp. 28-56, *passim*.

orientation of Sicily towards Christian Europe, but this was also to be the product of as yet unforeseen territorial losses in North Africa and political instability within the kingdom itself. It is doubtful whether Roger deliberately planned that outcome.

Intention undermined by practical reality?

During Roger's reign, Sicily's position in North Africa offers an interesting parallel with the political situation in the Latin East. Baadj has pointed out the complex state of affairs but the Ifrīqiyān coast and immediate hinterland was made up of numerous independent and competing lordships, whose allegiance to either Cairo or Baghdad was largely determined by that of their rivals.⁷¹⁸ As the Franks in the Levant were able to fit into what Köhler has described as the 'Syrian system of autonomous lordships' by making alliances with different factions as a means of bringing (albeit often only temporary) stability, so Roger may have hoped to play a similar role in Ifrīqiyā.⁷¹⁹ Johns has suggested that this could have been a reason why the Fatimid caliph al-Hāfīz was willing to tolerate this incursion into what was nominally their empire as Sicilian control brought commercial stability and also enabled the Fatimids to focus upon Red Sea trade.⁷²⁰ Yet like Frankish rule in the Latin East, it was only successful in the short term. Whilst the Arabic sources agree that Sicilian rule brought some benefits and was essentially benign in its exercise, it was only accepted when there was no obvious alternative.⁷²¹ The arrival of the Almohads offered strong leadership together with religious unity, at a time when Sicilian rule appeared to waver. The capture of Bône by Philip of Mahdiyya in autumn 1153 was designed to provide a bulwark against the impending threat to Norman Ifrīqiyā, but his subsequent arrest and execution on his return to Palermo may have acted as a signal to those who resented Sicilian rule in Ifrīqiyā of a change in royal policy. Ibn al-Athīr suggests that Philip was punished because of showing excessive leniency to the citizens of Bône, but his approach did not seem significantly different to that taken by George of Antioch during the capture of Tripoli and Mahdiyya.⁷²² Romuald of Salerno, who provides the only other account of events, cites apostasy and says that Roger acted against the crypto-Muslims as part of an

⁷¹⁸ Baadj, pp. 30-47.

⁷¹⁹ Köhler, pp. 7-175 *passim*.

⁷²⁰ Johns, 'Malik Ifrīqiyā', p. 99.

⁷²¹ Abulafia, 'Norman Kingdom', p. 37; Ibn 'abī-Dinār, *BAS* II, p. 296; Ibn Khaldun, *BAS* II, p. 224.

⁷²² *IA*, I, p. 380; II, pp. 18-16; pp. 63-64.

increasing piety.⁷²³ Metcalfe has argued that the trial was probably politically motivated, and reflected a concession on Roger's part towards the Latin nobility who resented the fact that they had been excluded from power, both in Sicily and in Ifrīqiya.⁷²⁴ The role of the future William I in events remains unknown, but on becoming king in February 1154, Falcandus describes how he 'sent into exile the advisors he looked to, or locked them within the confines of prisons.'⁷²⁵ Falcandus is highly critical of William, and particularly of Maio of Bari, so an element of caution needs to be exercised here in accepting his account, but it does support the idea of a power change in the court as advanced by Birk.⁷²⁶ Maio continued to work with the court Muslims, but it is possible that his ascendancy was also seen outside Sicily as the beginnings of a re-orientation of Sicilian identity. The consequence of these changes will be discussed in chapter four.

Conclusions

In defining himself as 'King of Sicily, of the duchy of Apulia and of the principality of Capua', Roger II made explicit the difference that existed between Sicily and the mainland. Sicily's proximity to North Africa made Ifrīqiya the logical arena for Sicilian trade and territorial expansion. Whilst the pace of this was partly governed by the need to first secure the kingdom itself, when opportunities presented themselves to exploit famine and political tensions between rivals in North Africa, Roger seized them. Nor did he omit to cultivate relations with Fatimid Cairo, whose suzerainty in the region he was impinging upon. This alignment of the island was reflected in the increasing Arabicisation of the court, but in this the island was not synonymous with the kingdom as a whole. The mainland reflected different identities, and it was through its role as a conduit to the Holy Land that tacit royal support was given to the Latin Near East. Nor was this the only area to apparently offer opportunities. The Hautevilles had played a leading role in the establishment and first two decades of rule in the principality of Antioch, but after a brief reprise in the short reign of Bohemond II, their direct influence declined. Again, events in his own kingdom played their part in preventing Roger II intervening in the early 1130s, but whilst he may have explored the possibility, when it became clear that there was no Antiochene support for Sicilian involvement,

⁷²³ Romuald, p. 235-36; trans. Loud, *Roger*, p. 267.

⁷²⁴ Metcalfe, *Muslims of Italy*, pp. 168-69.

⁷²⁵ Falcandus, p. 7; trans. p. 60.

⁷²⁶ Birk, *Norman Kings*, p. 160.

pragmatism took over in cultivating links but taking no direct action. His focus remained upon strengthening the position of his own kingdom, both internally and within the Mediterranean. That the Byzantines refused to accept Roger's overtures provoked an attack on their territory reminiscent of the days of Robert Guiscard and Bohemond, but it can best be seen as a demonstration of Sicilian strength rather than an attempt at Guiscardian conquest. In that aim it was successful although it meant that there was no reconciliation between Roger and Conrad III so any plans for a new crusade against Byzantium, if such were ever on the cards, came to nothing. Meanwhile, Roger and his heirs took no direct part in the Second Crusade nor was Sicilian expansion into North Africa seen to be part of a wider crusading movement, unlike contemporaneous campaigns in Iberia and the Baltic regions. But then Sicily was a very different state to its European counterparts in terms of its population and its administration, as well as its recent Italo-Norman conquest. It was only as internal changes coincided with political shifts elsewhere, that Sicily's position in international relations started to move more into line with other Latin Christian states.

Chapter 4: Assuming a crusader identity - the kingdom if not the king

This chapter considers the impact of perception in contributing to the loss of the Sicilian territories in Ifrīqiya, and how a realignment of Sicily subsequently became reality. Whilst this was partly a reflection of changes within the kingdom itself, familial links and other influences are explored. In discussing William II's actions, it argues that they were largely motivated by a desire to ensure Sicily's political and economic stability within the Mediterranean, and while at times they reflected a convergence of interest with the Latin States in the Near East, there was no direct military commitment to their preservation until news of the fall of Jerusalem was received in Palermo. Even then, the king did not commit to be a crusader, but his actions ensured Sicily came to play a key role in shaping both the Third and (so-called) German Crusades.

Indications of change?

The start of the reign of King William I saw the kingdom of Sicily facing the hostility of both the western and eastern empires; simmering discontent amongst those who had been displaced by Roger II's consolidation of his control over southern Italy which boiled over into a Byzantine-backed invasion in 1155; and a breakdown in papal relations. Since these problems were largely the legacy of his father's actions, Loud has suggested that William was more 'the Unlucky' than 'the Bad', as the other disaster to befall the kingdom during his reign, the loss of its Ifrīqiyān possessions, was largely the result of Almohad strength within the region.⁷²⁷ But it is also possible that events around the time of Roger II's death in late February 1154 reflected the beginnings of a new alignment of Sicily. The last years of his reign saw the deaths of Roger's *emir of emirs* George of Antioch and his chancellor Robert of Selby in 1151, and the trial and execution of George's replacement, Philip of Mahdiyya in late 1153, as discussed in chapter three. If William I had been involved in this, it may help explain why Ibn al-Athīr described him as 'a corrupt administrator and a man of evil designs.'⁷²⁸ William had been crowned co-ruler in Easter 1151. Roger had then divided the kingdom, keeping control of Sicily, Calabria and Capua, and giving William the government of Apulia, although over time he was also associated with his father in the issue of

⁷²⁷ G. A. Loud, 'William the Bad or William the Unlucky? Kingship in Sicily 1154-1166', *Haskins Society Journal*, 8 (1996), 99-113.

⁷²⁸ IA, II, p. 64.

mandates.⁷²⁹ Circumstantial evidence indicates that William gave at least his tacit support to events. One beneficiary of the plot against Philip and those convicted with him was the chancellor, Maio of Bari, who then rapidly consolidated his position in the court. On William's accession as sole ruler, Maio became chief minister and, in June 1154, was made *amiratus amiratum*.⁷³⁰

The significance of Maio's background in shaping his outlook is unknown, but he came from the urban patriciate of Bari where his father was a judge and possibly also an entrepreneur in the growing olive oil export trade from the city.⁷³¹ Bari was a gateway to the Levant, bringing news as well as people through southern Italy. This may explain why the illuminated manuscript of Maio's commentary of the Lord's Prayer produced in Palermo around 1154-60 has similarities to earlier work produced in the scriptorium of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem.⁷³² That Maio continued to work closely with the court Muslims suggests that he was not intent upon changing the court's structure and outward appearance, but it is possible that as opportunities presented themselves, he may have sought to reshape the kingdom's involvement in the Mediterranean in order to secure its future at a time of uncertainty elsewhere. The treaty of 1156 between William I and the Genoese was largely politically motivated in that it ensured an ally against German, Pisan and Byzantine aggression, but as Abulafia points out it, also secured a regular market for Sicilian produce especially that coming from the royal demesne.⁷³³ As well as giving various tax concessions within Sicily, the treaty stated that Genoese ships arriving from Alexandria and Syria would only pay a three per cent *commercium* on goods sold in Sicily and nothing on those in transit. Furthermore, they were given access to Tripoli's markets, but William I's attempt to restrict the ability of Genoese merchants to speculate in grain indicates that he was unwilling to erode royal income in relation to that lucrative market whilst it remained open to the Sicilians.⁷³⁴ That proviso aside, it is possible to regard the agreement as reflecting the beginnings of a change

⁷²⁹ Takayama, *Administration*, p. 93; A. di Meo, *Annali critico-diplomatici del Regno di Napoli della mezzana età*, 10 (Naples, 1885), pp. 177-78; Jamison, 'Norman Administration', p. 281.

⁷³⁰ Birk, *Norman Kings*, pp. 160-61.

⁷³¹ Loud, 'William the Bad', pp. 103-04; Martin, *La Pouille*, pp. 362-66

⁷³² H. Buchthal, 'The Beginnings of Manuscript Illumination in Norman Sicily', *Papers of the British School of Rome*, 24 (1956), 78-85.

⁷³³ Abulafia, *Two Italies*, p. 97.

⁷³⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 92-94; *Codice diplomatico della Repubblica di Genova*, I, ed. C. Imperiale di Sant'Angelo (Rome, 1936), pp. 338-41, no. 279.

within the kingdom, in which Maio saw the benefits of establishing wider trade links (and mutually beneficial cooperation) at a time of increasing instability in North Africa.

With this concept of developing Sicily's position in the Mediterranean in mind, the attacks by Sicilian ships on Tinnis in 1153/4 and on Damietta, Rosetta and Alexandria in 1155 invite re-evaluation.⁷³⁵ As discussed in chapter three, some uncertainty surrounds their dating, but it seems that they were intended as raiding ventures rather than an attempt at conquest.⁷³⁶ Johns has argued that they reflected the breakdown in relations with Cairo, but even allowing for some uncertainty, their timing also suggests a wider knowledge of Mediterranean affairs than has been previously assumed. In August 1153, Baldwin III of Jerusalem had finally captured Ascalon, thereby not only securing the Latin kingdom's southern border but also giving it a staging-point for future incursions into Egypt.⁷³⁷ This, together with the ongoing instability within Cairo as different factions sought to gain control of the caliphate, may have emboldened Sicily to undertake the attack on Tinnis. Meanwhile, the later attack of 1155 may have been designed to coincide with the absence of the Fatimid fleet as it was sent to attack Tyre.⁷³⁸ If this were the case, it suggests that the flow of communication between the Sicilian and Cairo courts continued, albeit no longer at the top level. Later, in 1160, Falcandus states that the 'palace eunuchs' wrote to 'Abd al-Mu'min to inform him that relief would not be sent to Mahdiyya.⁷³⁹ Although the accusation of treason reflects the hostility Falcandus felt towards the Muslim palace officials, the comment supports the suggestion that communication between the Sicilian Muslims and their co-religionists in North Africa not only remained open but also may have helped inform royal responses. Whether the raids were the beginning of a more aggressive approach towards Muslim North Africa remains unclear, but together with the trial and execution of Philip of Mahdiyya, it seems to have added to the perception in Ifrīqiya that a change had been initiated.

⁷³⁵ al-Maqrīzī, *BAS* II, pp. 591-92.

⁷³⁶ IA, II, p. 65; JK, 3:13, pp. 95-96; Sigebert, p. 456.

⁷³⁷ Barber, pp. 202-04.

⁷³⁸ M. Brett, *The Fatimid Empire* (Edinburgh, 2017), p. 285.

⁷³⁹ Falcandus p. 27; trans. p. 80.

The loss of Ifrīqiya

Following Roger II's death, garrison commanders in Sfax sought to increase their revenues through increasing tax demands.⁷⁴⁰ It also seems that in some cases, there was an attempt to interfere religiously, by demanding that sermons against Almohad doctrines be preached.⁷⁴¹ As Brett has pointed out, many Ifrīqiyan had submitted to Roger's rule because they recognised the economic benefits it initially brought in terms of stability and trade; only when the rule became harsh and discriminatory did they revolt.⁷⁴² But to what extent these actions were royal policy or simply local initiatives by the Sicilian commanders to extend their control when the crown was distracted by other affairs, remains unclear. A further criticism Ibn al-Athīr made of William I was that he was a 'wicked ruler, so that several Sicilian fortresses rebelled against his authority'. Unfortunately, he does not elaborate upon William's activities but it is possible that he regarded the actions in Sfax as being at the king's command and therefore the justification for his analysis.⁷⁴³ Ibn al-Athīr then goes on to describe how following the subsequent revolt in Sfax in 1156, the people of Zawīla rebelled against their Italo-Sicilian rulers with local Arab support and attempted to besiege Mahdiyya. The Sicilians, however, showed their ongoing understanding of the volatile nature of Ifrīqiyan alliances by bribing the Arabs to withdraw (although al-Athīr glosses over this), and so were able to take Zawīla, where on entering the town, they seized booty and killed all the women and children they found within its walls.⁷⁴⁴ Although the capture of Djerba back in 1135 had involved the enslavement of women and children, following their submission to Roger II the surviving men were able to redeem their families.⁷⁴⁵ It therefore seems that a harsher approach was now being taken, but it is also possible that Ibn al-Athīr was heightening the drama of his account to illustrate the king's infamy.⁷⁴⁶ William's willingness to extract revenge was demonstrated in the punishment meted out to Bari in 1156, when its citizens rebelled against the king.⁷⁴⁷ Whilst this did not include the massacre of its inhabitants, the city was razed to the ground. Similarly, al-Athīr attributes William with the claim that if the Almohad leader, 'Abd al-Mu'min, killed the garrison at Mahdiyya in 1160, in return he would 'kill the

⁷⁴⁰ Brett, 'Muslim Justice', pp. 20-21.

⁷⁴¹ Ibn Khaldun, *BAS* II, pp. 230-31; Amari, *Storia*, III, pp. 481-82.

⁷⁴² Brett, 'Muslim Justice', p. 6ff.

⁷⁴³ IA, II, p. 76.

⁷⁴⁴ Ibid., pp. 76-77.

⁷⁴⁵ IA, I, p. 322.

⁷⁴⁶ Gibb, pp. 745-51.

⁷⁴⁷ Falcandus, pp. 21-22; trans. pp. 73-74; Romuald, p. 240; trans. Loud, *Tyrants* p. 224.

Muslims who are in the island of Sicily and seize their womenfolk and their property.⁷⁴⁸ Yet there is no evidence to support this claim elsewhere, nor did William act against *qa'id* Peter following his failure to rescue the Mahdiyya garrison. It seems, instead, that Ibn al-Athīr was conflating events, as there was a massacre of Muslims in Palermo in 1160, and further attacks on the Muslims around Piazza Armerina and Butera in 1161, but these were expressions of opposition to William and Maio of Bari rather than a royal response to the loss of Sicilian Ifrīqiya (see below). That aside, as the revolt in Sfax spread to Djerba, Kerkenna, Tripoli and Gabès, the local governors submitted to the Almohads to expel their Italo-Sicilian occupiers. Despite the attempt at resistance by the Italo-Sicilian garrison at Mahdiyya, when the fleet sent to assist them turned back, there was little more that could be done against the Almohad advance. Falcandus' claim that Maio deliberately abandoned Mahdiyya to discredit the king and thereby enable him to seize power for himself is another example of his vitriol against William's chief minister.⁷⁴⁹ A probably more likely version is given in the *Chronica de Ferraria*, in which Maio down-played the severity of the situation to William in order to avoid rousing his anger, rather than attempted to manipulate events for his own purposes.⁷⁵⁰ Whatever the motive, Maio seems to have recognised that the Sicilian cause in North Africa was lost. Whether this was because he had been responsible for introducing the catalytic changes in approach to governing Ifrīqiya, or simply because he understood that to continue to resist could provoke retaliatory action against Sicily itself, at a time when tensions within the island remained high, must remain unknown. However, the return of the remnants of the defeated garrison in January 1160 signalled that Sicily's political and economic position had changed within the Mediterranean world, although the balance between necessity and design in this process is impossible to determine with any precision.

Inter-community tensions as a consequence of change?

The gravity of the loss of the North African possessions on Sicilian politics is a matter of some debate. Whilst Houben does not see it as being significant, Metcalfe has argued that it inflicted a psychological blow which contributed to political discontent.⁷⁵¹ But although the king's Muslim officials were targeted in the ensuing conflict, it was more

⁷⁴⁸ IA, II, p. 106.

⁷⁴⁹ Falcandus, pp. 24-28; trans. pp. 78-81.

⁷⁵⁰ *Chronica de Ferraria*, p. 29; Jamison, *Eugenius*, pp. 288-89.

⁷⁵¹ Houben, *Roger II*, p. 170; Metcalfe, *Muslims of Italy*, p. 181.

because of their role within the state's administration rather than a reaction to their co-religionists' actions in Ifrīqiya. The economic repercussions would have been rapidly felt by both the crown and Genoese, as they were the main beneficiaries of North African trade, but there would also have been a wider impact on all those involved in the supply and transit chain. It is therefore possible that the grant of privileges to Messina in May 1160 was an attempt by Maio (on William's behalf) to address the rising tensions in the kingdom. Trasselli links its issue to the disruption in Messina's trade with Europe and the Latin East arising from the rebellions in Sicily against royal rule, but as Abulafia points out the November rebellion can hardly have caused the May charter.⁷⁵² Neither historian, however, makes any reference to its significance in relation to the loss of Ifrīqiyān trade. Whilst Abulafia argues that it granted mostly 'status privileges' such as freedom from royal requisition of livestock, and of no longer having to provide food and lodgings for ambassadors to and from the royal court, together with commercial concessions such as reducing taxes and allowing the free carriage of food through the city gates, these were a means of appealing to the concerns of the largely Latin and Greek urban community.⁷⁵³ Although the November rebellion was initiated by a conspiracy of the nobility against Maio's influence, Maio may have hoped that by obtaining urban support for the king's actions, his own position may have been further strengthened against any impeding opposition. But if that were the case, the concessions failed. In November 1160 Maio was assassinated, William briefly imprisoned and many of the Muslims of Palermo massacred.

Meanwhile, other changes had been occurring within Sicily that contributed to the increasing tension. Oldfield has identified that internal migration within the kingdom was increasing from c. 1150, particularly to its cities.⁷⁵⁴ This was reflected in the fiscal organisation of the kingdom, which was shifting away from Greek to Latin control, and in which Italians from the mainland increasingly came to dominate the administration.⁷⁵⁵ Perhaps of greater impact was immigration from outside the kingdom,

⁷⁵² Abulafia, *Two Italies*, p. 117; C. Trasselli, *I Privilegi di Messina e di Trapani (1160-1355)* (Palermo, 1949), pp. 13 and 16.

⁷⁵³ Abulafia, *Two Italies*, pp. 117-18; for text of the privileges, see *Capitoli e Privilegi di Messina*, ed. C. Giardina (Palermo, 1937), pp. 15-16.

⁷⁵⁴ P. Oldfield, 'An Internal Frontier? The Relationship between Mainland Southern Italy and Sicily in the "Norman" Kingdom', *Haskins Society Journal*, 20 (2009), 161-74 (p. 168); see also V. von Falkenhausen, 'The Greek Presence in Norman Sicily: The Contribution of Archival Material', in *Society of Norman Italy*, ed. Loud and Metcalfe, pp. 253-88.

⁷⁵⁵ Jamison, *Eugenius*, pp. 39-45.

particularly from Lombardy, which had been increasing ever since Count Roger's marriage to Adelaide del Vasto and the arrival of other members of the Aleramici family.⁷⁵⁶ By 1168, Falcandus described that the Lombard towns of 'Randazzo, Vicari, Capizzi, Nicosia, Maniace and the other North Italian communities' offered Stephen of Perche '20,000 fighting men' which even allowing for wild exaggeration indicates a large population of Northern Italians.⁷⁵⁷ Birk has argued that this Christian immigration helped fuel resentment towards the Muslim community as pressure upon land and influence increased.⁷⁵⁸ The hostility towards those close to the king is reflected in Falcandus' accusations that the 'palace eunuchs' were in contact with 'Abd al-Mu'min, and also in his allegation of treason levied against the commander of the fleet, *qa'id* Peter, in sailing away from the Sicilian garrison still resisting the Almohads in Mahdiyya in January 1160. This interpretation is not echoed in the Muslim sources, which instead recognise that Peter attempted to fight, and only withdrew when his fleet was attacked and seven ships were captured following 'Abd al-Mu'min's prayers for victory.⁷⁵⁹ Yet whilst Birk argues that such attitudes reflect an 'innate animosity' of Christians towards Muslims, and Falcandus does regard the Muslims as being different to 'our people', his account of the attacks on the Muslim community in Palermo is not virulently anti-Muslim.⁷⁶⁰ Nor did the spread of violence to the 'Lombard' cities in the eastern end of the island in 1160-61 demonstrate what Birk describes as 'a seismic shift in the way the Christian population viewed their Muslim counterparts.'⁷⁶¹ The massacres took place around Piazza Armerina and Butera, under the leadership of Tancred of Lecce and particularly Roger 'Sclavus' who 'along with the North Italians, started to stir up sedition in Sicily, invading the land of the royal demesne and killing Muslims wherever he could find them'.⁷⁶² Although this indicated increasing sectarian tensions between the different communities, that the royal demesne was invaded was significant in demonstrating that the attacks were motivated primarily by political and economic discontent by those who felt excluded from royal government, including those more recent immigrants to the island, rather than by religious differences.⁷⁶³ Furthermore, the Latin sources do not attach any blame for the loss of Sicilian Ifrīqiya to the Muslim inhabitants of Sicily, other than in relation to the palace eunuchs as cited

⁷⁵⁶ Garufi, 'Gli Aleramici', p. 49ff; Abulafia, 'Crown and Economy', pp. 11-13.

⁷⁵⁷ Falcandus, p. 155; trans. p. 208.

⁷⁵⁸ Birk, *Norman Kings*, pp. 206-18.

⁷⁵⁹ IA, II, p. 105; Ibn Khaldun, *BAS* II, p. 233.

⁷⁶⁰ Birk, *Norman Kings*, p. 210; Falcandus, pp. 56-57; trans. pp. 109-10.

⁷⁶¹ Birk, *Norman Kings*, p. 206.

⁷⁶² Falcandus, p. 70; trans. pp. 121-22; Romuald, p. 248; trans. Loud, *Tyrants*, pp. 231-32.

⁷⁶³ Metcalfe, *Muslims of Italy*, pp. 184-91.

above. So, while tensions between Latin immigrants and indigenous Muslim inhabitants increased at this time, the evidence does not support Birk's view that Sicily was divided by 'irreconcilable hatred' between Muslims and Christians.⁷⁶⁴

By the end of William I's reign order had been restored within the kingdom. Despite the revolt of the nobility in 1160-61, they had failed to increase their influence and royal government was increasingly centred upon the *familiares regis*. On William's death, this represented three key elements of the kingdom; the clergy in the person of Richard Palmer, Bishop-elect of Syracuse; the southern Italian officials in Matthew the notary, who had risen through the administration under the tutelage of Maio of Bari; and *qa'id* Peter on behalf of the Muslim or ex-Muslim officials. It was upon them that William's queen, Margaret of Navarre initially relied as regent for the eleven-year-old William II, but following her promotion of Peter above the other two members of the *familiares regis*, factionalism soon broke out again in the court.⁷⁶⁵ As tensions increased and fearing that he would face the same fate as Maio, Peter fled to Ifrīqiya whence he had come as a child, where he (re?) took the name Ahmed. He was later to become commander of the Almohad fleet of 'Abd al-Mu'min's son, Yūsuf I (1163-85), and it seems that he was still alive when a Sicilian treaty was agreed with the Almohads in 1180, although whether he played any part in this remains unknown.⁷⁶⁶ Leaving aside the details of the court intrigues which are beyond the purview of this discussion, several key administrative changes continued to develop from the regency which further affected Sicily's orientation towards wider Christian concerns in the Mediterranean. Although Muslim-converts continued to hold high office in the royal administration particularly as chamberlains of the palace, after 1169 they no longer held positions in the decision-making *familiares regis*, which was instead controlled by Latin bishops and non-Muslim royal officials.⁷⁶⁷ This gradual change was not surprising in that it reflected the changing nature of the kingdom in terms of its lands and inhabitants. It was accompanied by an increasing unification of the different administrative systems of the mainland and Sicily, particularly with the creation of the *duana baronum* in 1168, which augmented crown control over the mainland and helped to make the two areas

⁷⁶⁴ Birk, *Norman Kings*, p. 209.

⁷⁶⁵ H. Takayama, 'Familiares Regis and the Royal Inner Council in Twelfth-Century Sicily', *EHR*, 104:411 (1989), 357-72; and *Administration*, pp. 100-01.

⁷⁶⁶ Ibn Khaldūn, *BAS* II, p. 166 and p. 238; Metcalfe, *Muslims of Italy*, p. 202.

⁷⁶⁷ Takayama, *Administration*, pp. 119-30.

more integrated.⁷⁶⁸ The impact upon identity within the kingdom is hard to ascertain. Cuozzo has argued that the process resulted in a Sicilian ‘national identity’, although Houben has disputed this suggesting that there was at best a regional identity in Sicily itself.⁷⁶⁹ Since differences remained between the mainland and Sicily, Oldfield has suggested that whilst there was little sense of a kingdom identity, there was a shared loyalty to the monarch.⁷⁷⁰ But whilst the perception of identity of the people is almost impossible to determine, William II’s “international” actions indicate a deliberate attempt to define Sicily’s position within the Mediterranean world. Again, familial links and wider influences can be considered in relation to this.

Anglo-Sicilian links

As mentioned in chapter three, links with England were clearly established during Roger II’s reign and continued after his death. This ongoing interaction was cultural as well as political. Sykes’ zooarchaeological analysis of fallow deer bones and Anglo-Norman hunting practices has led her to posit later eleventh-century Sicily as the origin of both.⁷⁷¹ Although extant evidence is lacking, Rowley has suggested that the royal park at Woodstock with its menagerie and water gardens may have been influenced by the palaces of Sicily.⁷⁷² Arthurian legends were an area of mutual interest, whilst another possible interchange or at least commonality is suggested by the Sicilian lion on coins, and the lion or leopard adopted by Geoffrey Plantagenet in Anjou, but unfortunately further investigation is beyond the scope of this thesis.⁷⁷³ Churchmen continued to migrate south: Richard Palmer was made bishop-elect of Syracuse in 1157,

⁷⁶⁸ Ibid., pp. 145-55, *passim*.

⁷⁶⁹ E. Cuozzo, ‘Palermo normande: un exemple d’acculturation’, in *De la Normandie à la Sicile : réalités, représentations, mythes : actes du colloque tenu aux Archives départementales de la Manche du 17 au 19 octobre 2002*, ed. M. Coulin and M-A. Lucas-Avenel (Saint-Lô, 2004), pp. 121-36; H. Houben, ‘Between Occidental and Oriental Cultures: Norman Sicily as a “Third Space”’, in *Norman Tradition*, ed. Burkhardt and Foerster, pp. 19-33.

⁷⁷⁰ Oldfield, ‘Internal Frontier?’, p. 171, *passim*.

⁷⁷¹ N. Sykes, ‘The Introduction of Fallow Deer to Britain: A Zooarchaeological Perspective’, *Environmental Archaeology*, 9:1 (2004), 75-83; also ‘Zooarchaeology and the Norman Conquest’, *ANS*, 27 (2004), 185-97.

⁷⁷² T. Rowley, *The Norman Heritage* (London, 1983), pp. 155-56.

⁷⁷³ For an overview of Italian interest, see the last two essays by G. Allaire in *The Arthur of the Italians: the Arthurian Legend in Late Medieval Italian Literature and Culture*, ed. G. Allaire and F. R. Psaki (Cardiff, 2014), pp. 205-46. For the Angevins, see M. Aurell, ‘Henry II and Arthurian Legend’, in *Henry II: New Interpretations*, ed. C. Harper-Bill and N. Vincent (Woodbridge, 2007), pp. 362-94 (esp. p. 373 fn. 3 for Geoffrey of Anjou); and M-M. Gauthier, *Émaux du Moyen Âge occidental* (Fribourg, 1972), pp. 81-83, P. 327, no. 40. For Sicilian coins, see P. Grierson, and L. Traviani, *Medieval European Coinage with a Catalogue of the Coins in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. 14. Italy (III) Southern Italy, Sicily, Sardinia* (Cambridge, 1998), pp. 126-39.

and became a key member of the *familiares regis*, whilst Herbert of Middlesex was appointed to Conza in 1169.⁷⁷⁴ Jamison has discussed how the rise of English churchmen influenced Anglo-Sicilian relations, not least during the quarrel of Archbishop Thomas Becket of Canterbury (1162-70) and Henry II (1154-89) of England in the course of which both sides sought Sicilian support. Indeed, Becket's subsequent canonisation in February 1173 saw some of the earliest dedications to the martyr in the kingdom, including a full-length representation of him in mosaic in Monreale.⁷⁷⁵ William II's tutor during 1166-68 was Peter of Blois, who later entered Angevin service and wrote vociferously in Henry II's defence during the Becket controversy.⁷⁷⁶ Gervase of Tilbury spent several years at William's court in the 1180s, and was even given a villa in Nola by the king.⁷⁷⁷ Yet despite this apparently close relationship, it did not seem to engender any sense of shared ethnic identity. As mentioned in chapter three, Houben has suggested that the use of French as the court language may have been a product of Stephen of Perche's time, as he has found no evidence to suggest it was a continuum from the first Normans.⁷⁷⁸ Meanwhile, it seems that part of the hostility to Stephen of Perche stemmed from the fact that he was French. Falcandus relates the response of Richard Palmer to Stephen's attempt to address what he saw as judicial malpractice. The bishop's view was that, 'perhaps it was the sort of decision that was customary in France, but such a judgement had no validity in Sicily.'⁷⁷⁹ It is possible that this may reflect an Anglo-Norman perspective rather than a Sicilian one, but even Stephen's Norman companions were regarded as outsiders indicating that there was no longer any residual sense of a shared common heritage. Where the Anglo-Sicilian relationship may ultimately have been of significance is in developing William II's interest in the Latin East. News from the Angevin court would have shown that Henry II followed events throughout the eastern Mediterranean closely, authorising taxation to help the beleaguered Latin States as early as 1166, and in 1172 promising to go in person to the Holy Land.⁷⁸⁰ Whether contact between Sicily and the

⁷⁷⁴ Loud, 'Kingdom', p. 550; N. Kamp, *Kirche und Monarchie im staufischen Königreich Sizilien*, 4 vols (Munich 1973-82), II, p. 743; III, pp. 1013-18.

⁷⁷⁵ E. M. Jamison, 'Alliance of England and Sicily in the Second Half of the Twelfth Century', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 6 (1943), 20-32 (pp. 24-25).

⁷⁷⁶ For a brief overview of Peter of Blois, see R. W. Southern, 'Blois, Peter of (1125x30-1212)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/22012>> [Accessed 28/7/17].

⁷⁷⁷ Gervase of Tilbury, *Otia Imperialia*, ed. and trans. S. E. Banks and J. W. Burns (Oxford, 2002), pp. xxviii-xxix.

⁷⁷⁸ Houben, 'Le royaume', p. 329

⁷⁷⁹ Falcandus, p. 113; trans. p. 164.

⁷⁸⁰ This was repeated in 1185: C. Tyerman, *England and the Crusades 1095-1588* (Chicago and London, 1988), p. 40.

Angevin Empire increased following Joanna's arrival is unclear, but as will be discussed below, William was possibly in discussion with Richard about a fleet in 1188 and promised Henry II serious material assistance for his forthcoming crusade suggesting (at least) a sense of shared interest in the expedition.⁷⁸¹

Crusading heritage and renewed communication

Other familial links within the royal household may also have played a role in shaping both William's interest in latent Mediterranean opportunities as well as external perceptions of the kingdom's potential role as a source of assistance to the Latin East. As previously mentioned, Roger II's third marriage in 1151 was to Beatrice of Rethel, which thereby brought Roger into the same family as the kings of Jerusalem.⁷⁸² This marriage resulted in the birth of a daughter, Constance, shortly after her father's death in early 1154. Leaving aside her later significance in Sicilian history, little is known of either her early years or the fate of her mother, but the latter's presence on the island may have been a further factor influencing the appeal sent to the kingdom of Sicily (as well as to England, France and Germany) by King Amalric in 1169.⁷⁸³ This was carried by the envoys Frederick, archbishop of Tyre, and John, bishop of Banyas.⁷⁸⁴ Whilst little is known of the latter, Frederick was the grandson of Albert III of Namur, from whom Beatrice was also directly descended through the female line, as well as therefore being related to the house of Rethel.⁷⁸⁵ Hence it is feasible to surmise that Frederick visited his kinswoman as part of his embassy to the West. Furthermore, Margaret of Navarre's ancestors were also crusaders as through her mother Margaret of Laigle she was related to the counts of Perche.⁷⁸⁶ Margaret's great-uncle on her mother's side, Rotrou II (1099-1144), had gone on the First Crusade, and his albeit probably exaggerated exploits were recorded in the *Chanson d'Antioche*.⁷⁸⁷ When Margaret had written to her uncle, Rotrou Archbishop of Rouen (1165-83) in 1166 asking him to send

⁷⁸¹ See below and fns 900 and 901.

⁷⁸² A. V. Murray, 'Dynastic Continuity or Dynastic Change? The Accession of Baldwin II and the Nobility of the Kingdom of Jerusalem', *Medieval Prosopography*, 13 (1992), 1-27.

⁷⁸³ Beatrice died in March 1185 and was buried in the chapel of St Mary Magdalene, adjoining Palermo Cathedral; see Deér, p. 3; *Necrologia Panormitana*, ed. E. Winkelmann, *Forschungen zur Deutschen Geschichte*, 18 (1878), pp. 471-75 (p. 472).

⁷⁸⁴ WT, 20:12, p. 926; trans. II, p. 360.

⁷⁸⁵ Murray, 'Dynastic Continuity', pp. 26-27 for family tree.

⁷⁸⁶ Norwich, *Kingdom*, p. 395 for family tree; and Riley-Smith, *First Crusaders*, pp. 104-05.

⁷⁸⁷ Thompson, pp. 51-52; Riley-Smith, *First Crusaders*, pp. 144-45; OV, V, pp. 34-35; *La Chanson D'Antioche*, 2 vols, ed. S. Duparc-Quioç (Paris, 1976), I, lines 1174, 2023, 2816, 2929, 3506, 3622, 4695, 6131, 8990.

her either Robert of Neubourg or Stephen of Perche to help her govern rather than rely upon the local nobility and thereby become embroiled in the factionalism within the Sicilian court, Stephen was *en route* to the Holy Land.⁷⁸⁸ Unfortunately, his appointment as chancellor in August 1167, followed shortly afterwards by that of archbishop-elect of Palermo, only added to the instability of the court.⁷⁸⁹ In 1168, he was forced to flee on board a Genoese ship headed towards Jerusalem with only two of his original thirty-seven companions remaining alive.⁷⁹⁰ William of Tyre recounts how Stephen died shortly after his arrival, and was buried with honour in a chapel of the Temple.⁷⁹¹ Yet prior to his death, Stephen may have helped shape interest in Sicily as a source of aid for the Latin East. He had direct experience of the resources of the kingdom and the fact that he had been ousted from power by a coup may have led Stephen to indicate that Queen Margaret would welcome overtures as a means of encouraging troublemakers to follow in the footsteps of another of her cousins, Count Gilbert of Gravina, who was exiled to the Holy Land shortly after Stephen's departure.⁷⁹²

Following the loss of her Ifrīqiyan territories to the Almohads, Sicily may also have been considered more open to the ideas of gaining territory further along the North African coastline. Since Baldwin III's campaign against Ascalon in 1153, expansion into Egypt was seen as the best way to extend the territories of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem, as well as preventing encirclement by forces loyal to Nur ad-Din, so it was not surprising that Amalric also looked southwards. Between September 1163 and the appeal to the West in 1169, he had led five expeditions into Egypt, and in 1167 had even briefly occupied Alexandria.⁷⁹³ So although it can be argued that the approach to Sicily was an indication of the level of Jerusalem's need for widespread western assistance, it also suggests a belief that the kingdom would now be more receptive to an appeal. Papal politics may also have played a role in this. In 1156, the conflict between the papacy and Sicily had been concluded by the Treaty of Benevento, in which Hadrian IV (1154-59) recognised William I's kingship, the extension of the kingdom into the

⁷⁸⁸ Falcandus, p. 109; trans. p. 159.

⁷⁸⁹ Falcandus, trans. p. 161, fn. 173 discusses the dispute surrounding the date of his appointment as chancellor.

⁷⁹⁰ Falcandus, p. 161; trans. p. 214; Romuald, p. 257; trans. Loud, *Tyrants*, p. 242; Peter of Blois, *Petrus Blesensis Epistolae* in *PL* 208, n. 46, col. 133-34.

⁷⁹¹ WT, 20:3, pp. 914-15; trans. II, pp. 346-47.

⁷⁹² Romuald, p. 257; trans. Loud, *Tyrants*, p. 242.

⁷⁹³ Barber, pp. 237-53; Phillips, *Defenders*, pp. 154-67.

Abruzzi, and the extent of royal privileges over the Church. Whilst this signalled a period of harmony between the former protagonists, the election of the pro-Sicilian cardinal and chief negotiator of the treaty, Roland Bandinelli, as Pope Alexander III (1159-81) saw the relationship grow even closer as he relied upon Sicilian support in the face of German opposition. In 1167, he had been rescued by Sicilian galleys from the combined threat of both the Roman commune and Frederick I, and spent the following two and a half years in Benevento where Sicilian gifts continued to sustain him.⁷⁹⁴ Phillips' suggestion that the Jerusalemite embassy were likely to have met William II *en route* to Benevento is therefore persuasive, but Alexander III may not have encouraged widescale Sicilian commitment to the Latin States at this time in light of his own need for their services.⁷⁹⁵ This may help to explain why, if there was any Sicilian involvement, it was on a small scale. The argument surrounding whether Sicily did participate in the (ultimately unsuccessful) siege of Damietta in 1169 has been well rehearsed by historians.⁷⁹⁶ Amari suggested that aid was sent, citing the reference in Ibn al-Athīr in which he describes how the Franks of Syria 'wrote to the Franks who were in Sicily, Andalusia and elsewhere, appealing for their aid [...] and in due course they sent supplies of men, weapons and made arrangements to descend upon Damietta...', and the fifteenth-century al-Maqrīzī who explains that men, money and weapons were sent, although he does not explicitly state where they came from.⁷⁹⁷ Chalandon counters this by pointing out that the excerpt of a letter from Saladin to the caliph of Baghdad in the anthology of Abu Shama refers to only the forces of Constantinople and Jerusalem, and that it was the failure of the siege of Damietta that prompted Sicily to attack Alexandria in 1174.⁷⁹⁸ Nor does William of Tyre make any mention of Sicilian involvement in his account of the siege, also pointing out that the embassy to the West of 1169 achieved little, leading Stanton to conclude that 'the evidence appears unequivocal' in relation to the kingdom's involvement.⁷⁹⁹ However, it should be noted that whilst William was usually well-informed about Sicilian affairs, he did not record everything; for example, he mentioned the arrival of Stephen of Perche but made no reference to the Count of Gravina, his son and their men who are described as leaving for Jerusalem by Romuald of Salerno.⁸⁰⁰ Whilst they may never have arrived in

⁷⁹⁴ Loud, *Latin Church*, pp. 164-67; Robinson, *Papacy*, pp. 390-92.

⁷⁹⁵ Phillips, *Defenders*, p. 188.

⁷⁹⁶ Stanton, p. 145.

⁷⁹⁷ Amari, *Storia*, III, p. 515; IA, II, p. 183; al-Maqrīzī, *BAS* II, p. 593.

⁷⁹⁸ Chalandon, II, pp. 394-95; Abu Shama, 'Le Livre des deux Jardins', *RHC Or.* 4, p. 177.

⁷⁹⁹ WT, 20:13, pp. 926-27 and 15-16, pp. 929-33; trans., II, pp. 360-61 and pp. 363-68; Stanton, p. 146.

⁸⁰⁰ Romuald, p. 257; trans. Loud, *Tyrants*, p. 241.

Outremer, it is also possible that they formed a small Sicilian contingent in the siege, albeit in an 'unofficial' capacity, the knowledge of which may have been recorded through Muslim channels originating in Sicily. In reality, it seems that it was not until after William II had reached his majority in March 1171 that the kingdom committed itself to a North African enterprise but the king's maternal crusading heritage did not appear to be the primary motivator for so-doing.

Commitment to a common cause or convergence of interests?

A new appeal from the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem was sent to the West that year (although its destination was unknown), together with a simultaneous approach being made to Constantinople, led by King Amalric himself. Whilst there Amalric sent William, bishop of Acre, on a mission to Italy. No details of its purpose are known, only that the bishop was murdered, apparently by one of his own entourage, as he returned through Adrianople.⁸⁰¹ Phillips suggests that he may have been sent to inform the pope of the progress of negotiations with Manuel I Komnenos, and to seek his approval for them.⁸⁰² However, it may also have been linked to Sicilian affairs in the form of potential marriage alliances. In 1167 Manuel had proposed the marriage of his daughter Maria to William II, together with the promise that William would succeed to the imperial throne on Manuel's death.⁸⁰³ Parker has suggested that this was part of a wider plan on Manuel's behalf to gain recognition of the papacy as sole Roman emperor at a time when German-papal relations were fraught. For the plan to succeed, Sicilian support was also needed. Although it resulted in a renewal of the 1158 peace treaty, the marriage proposal seems to have been ignored by the Sicilians, perhaps because they were aware that Maria had also been betrothed to Béla of Hungary.⁸⁰⁴ Instead marriage negotiations were begun with Henry II of England regarding his youngest daughter Joanna but these, too, foundered in early 1171 following Becket's murder in December 1170. In 1172 the Byzantine match was revived and the contract agreed, so whilst it can only be speculation it may be that William of Acre's mission had a Sicilian agenda.⁸⁰⁵ Not only would Pope Alexander III have an interest, but Amalric would also have been

⁸⁰¹ WT, 20:25, p. 947; trans. II, p.385

⁸⁰² Phillips, *Defenders*, pp. 212-13.

⁸⁰³ Romuald, pp. 254-55; trans. Loud, *Tyrants*, pp. 239-40.

⁸⁰⁴ J. Parker, 'The Attempted Byzantine Alliance with the Sicilian Norman Kingdom (1166-7)', *Papers of the British School at Rome*, 24 (1956), 86-93.

⁸⁰⁵ Romuald, p. 261.

aware of the benefits that such a three-way alliance could offer the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem. Although Amalric's visit resulted in improved diplomatic relations with Constantinople, those between the latter and Sicily collapsed as, at the last minute, Manuel changed his mind about the marriage alliance and William was left waiting in vain for Maria first at Taranto, then Monte Gargano and finally Bari before returning to Palermo alone.⁸⁰⁶ Why the Byzantine emperor changed his mind about the alliance remains unclear. He may have felt that there was no longer any advantage to the match, and whilst Tolstoy-Miloslavsky has argued there were no serious repercussions in that it did not immediately push William into an alliance with Frederick Barbarossa, the possibility of a marriage between Frederick's daughter, Beatrix, and William was raised in 1173.⁸⁰⁷ Indeed, this may have sufficiently concerned Manuel that he sent word to Saladin of the Sicilian preparations for an attack on Egypt, which had apparently been under way for the five years since the attack on Damietta.⁸⁰⁸ If this were the case, it suggests that William may have been influenced by earlier appeals for assistance from Amalric. Meanwhile, as Henry II of England's plans for a crusade foundered in 1173 in the face of more pressing Angevin concerns, Amalric may have sent a further appeal to William.⁸⁰⁹ From a Sicilian perspective, the potential offered by a large-scale attack upon weakened Fatimid ports was clear from past-experience, so there was a material incentive for responding positively if such an approach was made.

Disunity in the Muslim East also seemed to be a harbinger of success. Not only was Nur ad-Din increasingly suspicious of Saladin's progressively autonomous actions in Egypt, but Saladin's position in Cairo was also outwardly insecure.⁸¹⁰ In September 1171, within days of Saladin ordering the restoration of the Abbasid *khutba* in the Cairo mosques, al-Adid, the last Fatimid caliph died but whilst the dynasty had ended not all its supporters accepted defeat despite Saladin's attempts to purge the army and administration.⁸¹¹ The details and objectives of the 1174 plot are confused, but essentially it involved former Fatimid courtiers and soldiers who planned to overthrow

⁸⁰⁶ W. Fröhlich, 'The Marriage of Henry VI and Constance of Sicily: Prelude and Consequences', *ANS*, 15 (1992), 99-115; Romuald, pp. 261-62.

⁸⁰⁷ D. N. Tolstoy-Miloslavsky, 'Manuel I Komnenos and Italy: Byzantine Foreign Policy, 1135-1180', Unpublished PhD Thesis, Royal Holloway University of London, 2008.

⁸⁰⁸ Abu Shama, *RHC Or.* 4, p. 177.

⁸⁰⁹ Tyerman, *England and Crusades*, pp. 40-41; Phillips, *Defenders*, p. 223.

⁸¹⁰ For an overview, see M. C. Lyons and D. E. P. Jackson, *Saladin: The Politics of Holy War* (Cambridge, 1982), pp. 32-38.

⁸¹¹ A-M. Eddé, *Saladin*, trans. by J. M. Todd (Cambridge, MA and London, 2011), pp. 47-55.

Saladin in a combined attack with Frankish forces.⁸¹² Ibn al-Athīr, later echoed by Ibn Khaldun, states that the plotters contacted the Franks of both Sicily and Syria, offering them money if they invaded Egypt, and an element of co-ordination was implied by the suggestion that the plotters awaited the arrival of ‘the Franks’.⁸¹³ Whilst Metcalfe cautions about lending too much credence to the plot, the direct references to Sicily indicate that there may have remained some legacy of the cordial relations which had previously existed between the Sicilian and Fatimid courts.⁸¹⁴ As mentioned above, although in Palermo the position of the ‘palace Saracens’ was in decline as from 1169 they were excluded from the king’s *familiars*, they remained as chamberlains of the palace and other officials including within the *dīwān*.⁸¹⁵ As such, they were well placed to receive news of the Muslim world and act as conduits of communication. Both Johns and Metcalfe highlight the intellectual circle of Abū l-Qāsim, the ‘leader of the Sicilian Muslims’, and the letters and visitors he received from throughout the Muslim world.⁸¹⁶ One such was the poet Ibn Qalāqīs, who left the island for Egypt in April 1169, accompanied by a Fatimid diplomat who may well have also stayed with Abū l-Qāsim, thereby indicating a potential link in relation to the anti-Saladin conspiracy.

Although it can only be supposition, the plot may have offered the ‘palace Saracens’ an opportunity to restore their influence in the king’s court, in favouring an enterprise that also accorded with Christian endeavour. This may also indicate why in 1175 Abū l-Qāsim had apparently changed his position, and sent a letter to Saladin via the writer al-Harawī, in which he was invited to invade Sicily. As there is no record of its delivery it may be it was lost when the ship he was sailing on sank just off the coast.⁸¹⁷ Metcalfe dismisses the claim in terms of serious diplomacy as absurd, arguing that it was part of Abū l-Qāsim’s attempt to reposition himself as pro-Sunni and pro-Saladin, and thereby distance himself from the Alexandrian attack, as part of attempting to secure his own position within the Muslim community in Sicily.⁸¹⁸ Leaving aside the details of his later fall from royal favour and at least partial restoration, Abū l-Qāsim’s actions could be

⁸¹² Y. Lev, *Saladin in Egypt* (Leiden, 1998), pp. 86-94.

⁸¹³ IA, II, p. 219 and p. 229; Ibn Khaldun, *BAS* II, p. 234.

⁸¹⁴ Metcalfe, *Muslims of Italy*, p. 229, note 25. For an examination of the plot, see P. Smoor, ‘The Yemen Connection in Cairo: A Case of Revenge?’, in *Authority, Privacy and Public Order in Islam*, ed. B. Michalak-Pikulska and A. Pikulska (Leuven, 2006), pp. 223-38.

⁸¹⁵ Metcalfe, *Muslims of Italy*, p. 207.

⁸¹⁶ Johns, *Arabic Administration*, p. 240; Metcalfe, *Muslims of Italy*, pp. 215-21.

⁸¹⁷ al-Harawī, *A Lonely Wayfarer’s Guide to Pilgrimage*, trans. J. W. Meri (Princeton, 2004), pp. 144-45.

⁸¹⁸ Metcalfe, *Muslims of Italy*, pp. 219-20.

seen to epitomise the political manoeuvring and attempted lines of communication in existence at this time.

Meanwhile, the plot was discovered by Saladin, and according to Ibn al-Athīr, when the Syrian Franks heard this they abandoned their plans. The subsequent arrival and scale of the Sicilian forces at Alexandria on 28 July 1174 caught Saladin by surprise, suggesting that any bipartite nature of the plan, if such existed, had not been exposed. Ibn al-Athīr added that the Sicilians were not informed that the venture had been cancelled, thereby further suggesting that the *joint* element of the venture may only have been notional.⁸¹⁹ The attack is only briefly referred to in two southern Italian sources, with no rationale being given for its instigation: the *Annales Casinenses* simply recorded that a fleet was sent but passed over the outcome, although the *Chronica de Ferreria* indicated that it was defeated by stating that many were held by the Saracens.⁸²⁰ Nor does William of Tyre give any indication of a collaborative project between Jerusalem and Sicily. In recounting the last months of Amalric's life, William describes his attempt to besiege Banyas, following Nur ad-Din's death in spring 1174. When peace was made with Nur ad-Din's widow, Amalric then withdrew his forces, and began to move south back towards Jerusalem. As he did so, he started to feel ill, so he 'dismissed his forces and went on with his personal retinue to Tiberias', then via Nazareth and Nablus to Jerusalem, where he died on 11th July 1174.⁸²¹ At no point does William indicate that the army had intended to go to Egypt. When he later describes the Sicilian attack upon Alexandria, again he makes no reference to any prior arrangements with Amalric, simply stating that the attack occurred 'about the beginning of August', and he blames its failure on a 'lack of caution displayed by the governors and leaders' of the Sicilian forces.⁸²² William's silence could be construed as an attempt to exonerate the kingdom of Jerusalem from any blame, but this seems unlikely as he was willing to offer criticism on other occasions.

As indicated above, for the Sicilians the attack on Alexandria had offered the prospect of enormous financial reward at a time when other revenues had decreased. The Pisans

⁸¹⁹ IA, II, p. 220.

⁸²⁰ *Annales Casinenses*, p. 312; *Chronica de Ferreria*, p. 31.

⁸²¹ WT, 20:31, p. 956; trans. II, p. 395.

⁸²² *Ibid.*, 21:3, p. 963; trans. II, pp. 399-400.

had profited from their involvement in Amalric's expeditions to Alexandria in 1167 and Tinnis in 1168, but by 1173 they had agreed a treaty with Saladin.⁸²³ They had also made peace with Sicily in June 1169, and whilst there was still a danger that friendly ships could get caught up in the cross-fire of an attack (as happened during that on Alexandria), it meant there was no immediate competition for the spoils.⁸²⁴ Capturing Alexandria, the richest port in the southern Mediterranean, also offered a potential new gateway for direct Sicilian grain exports. The loss of the Ifrīqiyān market may have been partly offset by trade via the Genoese and Pisans, both of whom had trade agreements with the Sicilian crown. Furthermore, they may also have acted as middlemen in North Africa, since both cities continued to extend their trade with the Almohads. Genoa was in negotiations in 1169 and 1170 to extend earlier agreements they had, whilst Pisa had obtained a *funduq* at Zawīla in 1166 together with other privileges throughout the caliph's lands.⁸²⁵ So whilst Sicily had indirect access to North African markets through her treaties with these northern Italian cities, a further source of direct income, even in the short-term, would be appealing. An additional factor influencing the decision and subsequent attacks on Egyptian ports may also have been William's decision to build Santa Maria Nuova of Monreale. Although its foundation charter was dated 15 August 1176, an earlier reference is made to it in March 1174 when the Archbishop of Messina ceded episcopal jurisdiction of the abbey of St Mary of Maniace to it.⁸²⁶ Such a project required vast funds, to which control of Alexandria would have contributed enormously. The scale of the attack, even allowing for an element of exaggeration, suggests that this was more than simply a Sicilian raiding expedition. Ibn al-Athīr stated that it comprised of 'two hundred galleys carrying men, thirty-six transports carrying horses, six large ships carrying war materials and forty vessels with provisions. In the fleet were 50,000 infantry, 1,500 knights and 500 turcoples.'⁸²⁷ William of Tyre's account similarly indicated the presence of two hundred ships and 'a splendid force of both cavalry and infantry'.⁸²⁸ Saladin also appeared to be attempting to rebuild the Fatimid navy, the capture or destruction of

⁸²³ Phillips, *Defenders*, pp. 162-67; Heyd, I, p. 397.

⁸²⁴ Abulafia, *Two Italies*, p. 140.

⁸²⁵ D. Abulafia, 'Christian Merchants in the Almohad Cities', *Journal of Medieval Iberian Studies*, 2:2 (2010), 251-257; also J. L. Yarrison, 'Force as an Instrument of Policy: European Military Incursions and Trade in the Magrib, 1000-1355', Unpublished PhD Thesis, Princeton University, 1982.

⁸²⁶ White, pp. 132-45; Loud, *Latin Church*, pp. 329-39; *Catalogo Illustrato del Tabulario di S. Maria Nuova in Monreale*, ed. C. A. Garufi (Palermo, 1902), p. 7, no. 8.

⁸²⁷ IA, II, p. 229.

⁸²⁸ WT, 21:3, p. 963; trans. II, p. 399.

which could be a further incentive for the Sicilian expedition.⁸²⁹ Whilst in this aim the Sicilians were successful, since Abu Shama described that Saladin's forces destroyed their own ships rather than allowing them to fall into Sicilian hands, the overall result was defeat.⁸³⁰ On hearing of the attack Saladin rapidly had the fortifications of Damietta strengthened and sent reinforcements to Alexandria.⁸³¹ The Sicilians subsequently withdrew suffering heavy losses in the process, although again the full extent of these remains unclear. Al-Maqrīzī describes that William sent a fleet of forty ships to attack Tinnis in July 1175, and a further raid was made upon Tinnis and Alexandria in 1177, during which both plunder and prisoners were taken, suggesting that the Sicilian forces had not been too seriously undermined.⁸³² These attacks, however, were solely Sicilian enterprises with a purely economic motive behind them, despite the potential benefit to the Latin States that campaigns designed to divide Saladin's forces might have.⁸³³

Indeed, there does not seem to have been any attempt in the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem to revive the earlier "alliance" with William or solicit further aid from Sicily. Whilst Miles of Placy as regent for the thirteen-year-old leper king, Baldwin IV (1174-85) may have sent an appeal to France, he did not contact the Sicilians. Unfortunately, the itinerary of Balian of Jaffa's summer visit to the West, probably with news of Amalric's death and possible appeal for further assistance, remains unknown.⁸³⁴ Miles was murdered in autumn 1174 but even his anti-Greek replacement, Count Raymond III of Tripoli, did not seem to favour a Sicilian alliance which Hamilton suggests was because he instigated a policy of détente with Saladin, thereby precluding the option of assisting the Sicilians.⁸³⁵ King William II was not approached as a husband for Sibylla, sister of Baldwin IV, despite seeming to be an ideal candidate. He was unmarried, was aged about 22, and could bring the wealth and navy of Sicily to the defence of the Latin

⁸²⁹ A. S. Ehrenkreutz, 'The Place of Saladin in the Naval History of the Mediterranean Sea in the Middle Ages', *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 75:2 (1955), 100-116.

⁸³⁰ Abu Shama, *RHC Or.* 4. p. 165.

⁸³¹ Eddé, p. 188.

⁸³² al-Maqrīzī, *BAS* II, p. 274.

⁸³³ Key commodities from these ports were flax and high-quality linen, which were sought after in Europe. See D. Jacoby, 'Western Commercial and Colonial Expansion in the Eastern Mediterranean and the Black Sea in the Late Middle Ages', in *Rapporti mediterranei, pratiche documentarie, presenze veneziane: le reti economiche e culturali (XIV-XVI secolo)*, ed. G. Ortalli and A. Sopracasa (Venice, 2017), pp. 3-50.

⁸³⁴ Phillips, *Defenders*, p. 226; WT, 21:4, pp. 964-65; trans. II, p. 402.

⁸³⁵ B. Hamilton, *The Leper King and his Heirs: Baldwin IV and the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem*, (Cambridge, 2000), p. 100; IA, II, p. 241; al-Maqrīzī, *A History of the Ayyūbid Sultans of Egypt*, trans. R. J. C. Broadhurst (Boston, 1980), p. 53; Abu Shama, *RHC Or.* 4, pp. 181-82.

kingdom. Instead William Longsword of Montferrat was seen as the best candidate, apparently because of his links to Frederick Barbarossa, whose prospects for success against the Lombard League, the papacy and Manuel I looked promising in 1175. Whilst this argument has merit, it glosses over the fact that the Jerusalemite nobility preferred a candidate with potential future support rather than one who was already a king and whose arrival would possibly disrupt the balance of power in the kingdom of Jerusalem.⁸³⁶ Perhaps William II himself had made clear his disinterest in further involvement in Jerusalem's affairs, or perhaps he had never really had any beyond a willingness to react to an opportunity that had been offered to both him and Amalric in 1174. A final point to make in support of this argument possibly comes again from William of Tyre's comment that Roger II 'and his heirs have never become reconciled to us'.⁸³⁷ It has been argued that William must have written this before 1174, but despite later in his narrative describing the king as one of 'the illustrious lords' to whom an appeal had been sent for assistance in 1169 and 1171, William does not make any suggestion that this resulted in any military response.⁸³⁸ I would suggest that this is because he did not see any connection between the appeals and the Sicilian attack on Alexandria, as William II's involvement had not been motivated by a commitment to assist the Latin States, nor had it been part of any co-ordinated plan.

Redefining the Sicilian sphere of influence?

In the timing of the Sicilian raids on Egypt in 1175 and 1177, it is notable that both occasions coincided with Saladin's preoccupation elsewhere. During the former, he was engaged in attempting to establish his control of northern Syria, whilst in 1177 his forces were campaigning against the forces of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem at Ascalon, Gaza, Lydda and Ramla. This suggests at least an awareness of the relative position of forces at given times, which allowed the optimum chance of success for the sort of smash-and-grab raids the Sicilians were engaged in. Elsewhere, Sicily continued to optimise opportunities to strengthen her position in the Mediterranean. In 1171, the Venetians had been expelled from Constantinople. They had hoped it would be temporary but by 1175 the city decided a direct approach was needed and sent an embassy to Manuel. When this failed to make progress, they turned to William II. The

⁸³⁶ B. Hamilton, 'Manual I Comnenus and Baldwin IV of Jerusalem', in *Kathegetria. Essays Presented to Jean Hussey for her 80th Birthday*, ed. J. Chrysostomides (Camberley, 1988), pp. 353-75.

⁸³⁷ WT, 11:29, pp. 542-43; trans. I, p. 514.

⁸³⁸ *Ibid.*, 20:22, p. 941; trans. II, p. 377.

treaty, made up of two parts, promised the Venetians ‘protection by land and sea throughout the Norman kingdom’ and whilst pirates were excepted, so too were ‘those who act against our kingdom and those who are in the service of the emperor at Constantinople to defend his empire.’⁸³⁹ Although Sicilian hostility to Byzantium is supposed to stem from the failed marriage alliance of 1172, the letter of Manuel to Saladin in 1174, assuming that was known about, would doubtless have increased it which may explain this inclusion. As Abulafia has shown, one impact of the trade aspect of the agreement was that the kingdom of Sicily became an integral part of Venetian business between the West and the Levant, thereby increasing the *regno*’s indirect contribution to the maintenance of the Latin States. The Venetian alliance also seems to have facilitated other diplomatic achievements, leading to the peace treaties between Frederick Barbarossa and Pope Alexander III, the Lombard League and William II in July 1177.⁸⁴⁰ This removed the threat from north of the Alps, thereby allowing Sicily to focus upon redefining her position in the wider Mediterranean. Meanwhile any possibility of Sicilian direct involvement in Levantine affairs was effectively precluded by the fact that in winter 1176, the kingdom of Jerusalem had again turned to Byzantium for assistance, with a new campaign in Egypt being discussed.⁸⁴¹ In this way, it can be argued that wider political considerations were also a significant factor in governing Sicily’s participation in the Latin Near East.

Even though Sicily seemed to have no direct involvement in the Latin States, Saladin regarded her as a potential threat. In 1181 a large fleet was sent against the Balearics, but according to William of Tyre, Saladin had feared that it was destined for Egypt.⁸⁴² It was partly to counter this threat that Saladin sought to rebuild the Egyptian fleet, and according to Ehrenkreutz this also helps explain his desire to secure the North African Barka region between Alexandria and Tripoli. Not only did it give a greater zone of security on the Mediterranean, but it also increased access to resources, including timber, as well as experienced sailors as Moroccans were recorded as serving in his fleets.⁸⁴³ The policy appeared to be successful as by 1179 Saladin had eighty vessels, fifty of which were to protect Egyptian shores.⁸⁴⁴ In 1180 he also strengthened the

⁸³⁹ Abulafia, *Two Italies*, p. 143, esp. fn. 41.

⁸⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 144-45.

⁸⁴¹ Phillips, *Defenders*, pp. 228-31.

⁸⁴² WT, 22:8, pp. 1017-18, trans. II, p. 458.

⁸⁴³ Ehrenkreutz, p. 105; Abu Shama, *RHC Or.* 4, pp. 209 and p. 342; Eddé, pp. 85-86.

⁸⁴⁴ Ehrenkreutz, p. 106.

defences of Damietta and Tinnis (and Suez). As well as spelling the end of further lucrative raids for the Sicilians, it may also have had an influence upon their relations with the Almohads of Ifrīqiya. Although Robert of Torigni gives a romantic tale of the capture and subsequent honourable release of Abū Yūsuf Ya‘qūb’s daughter as being the cause of a peace treaty between the two kings, both sides also stood to benefit from peace and the resultant prosperity brought about through (unmolested) trade following their ten-year treaty.⁸⁴⁵ To what extent these factors influenced William’s interest in the Balearics is unknown. Stanton regards the enterprise as yet another ‘large scale risky offensive’ that ended in disaster, but he fails to consider both the wider context of events and the geographical significance of the Balearics.⁸⁴⁶ The islands were held by the family of Ibn R’Ania, who were allies of the Almoravids (and therefore enemies of the Almohads).⁸⁴⁷ As Yarrison has pointed out, the islands were a key stopping point on the route from the northern Mediterranean to Sicily and the central Maghreb.⁸⁴⁸ To stop pirate raids on shipping, or better still to obtain control over the islands, would give Sicily and her allies secure shipping. It seems that the Sicilians hoped to obtain Genoese support as in late 1180 or early 1181 the fleet under the command of William’s ‘*amiratus fortunati stolii*’, Walter of Moac, sailed into Genoa, ‘*cum maximo stolo de galeis et plurimis uxeriis cum militibus*’ according to Ottobuono Scriba, in his continuation of the *Annales Ianuenses*.⁸⁴⁹ However, assistance was unforthcoming as pestilence in the city forced Walter to move the fleet to overwinter at Vado. Chalandon suggests that a second fleet was prepared over the winter of 1181/82, which he presumably based upon the fact that William of Tyre describes it at around the time of the death of as-Salih, Nur al-Din’s son, (November 1181). However, William also explains that shortly after concluding a temporary peace with the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem, Saladin had returned to Egypt, as he ‘had heard with much uneasiness that the fleet of the king of Sicily with a mighty equipment and innumerable forces, had put to sea with the intention of proceeding against Egypt.’⁸⁵⁰ Since the truce was agreed in May 1180, it is more likely that the attack on Majorca was launched, as Stanton and Abulafia suggest, in spring 1181 but whatever the date it was defeated *en route* by

⁸⁴⁵ Chalandon, II, pp. 399-40; Robert of Torigni, *Chronica*, p. 285; IA, II, p. 274; *Traités de paix et de commerce et documents divers concernant les relations des Chrétiens avec les Arabes de l’Afrique septentrionale au Moyen Age*, I, ed. M. L. Mas Latrie (Paris, 1866), pp. 51-52.

⁸⁴⁶ Stanton, p. 149.

⁸⁴⁷ Chalandon, II, p. 398.

⁸⁴⁸ Yarrison, p. 32.

⁸⁴⁹ Ottobuono Scriba, *Annales Ianuenses Otoboni Scribae* in *Annali Genovesi di Caffaro e de’suoi continuatori*, II, ed. L. T. Belgrano and C. Imperiale di Sant’Angelo (Rome, 1901), p. 16.

⁸⁵⁰ WT, 22:8, p. 1017; trans. II, p. 458.

storms at sea.⁸⁵¹ Abulafia points out that in June or July 1181 the Genoese commune confirmed its past truces with the Sultan of Majorca, although whether this was a consequence of the failure of the Sicilian attack remains unknown.⁸⁵² It should be noted that William II was equally aware of the advantages of playing off different Muslim factions as, according to Ibn Khaldun, some years later the Sicilian fleet assisted the brother of Ali ibn R'Ania in an attempt to recapture the Balearics from Almohad supporters, who had taken them in the interim.⁸⁵³ Confusing though the details and chronology of these events are, they indicate an awareness on William's part of the need for Sicily to take a proactive and evolving position in the Mediterranean in order to avoid isolation and, perhaps more importantly, a threat from increasingly powerful Muslim leaders in North Africa. In many ways, this policy also demonstrates continuity with that followed by William's forebears in Sicily, and indicates that whilst the political influence of the Muslims within the kingdom had declined, the willingness to align with Muslims beyond its borders had not.

The lure of Constantinople, or part of a wider picture?

In 1182 as accounts of the massacre of Italian merchants, their families and even Latin churchmen in Constantinople reached the West, it seems that William II saw this as an opportunity. As news spread of Andronicus' increasingly repressive measures, calls were made by those in exile to invade and overthrow the tyrant.⁸⁵⁴ In preparing a fleet to do so, William appeared to be following in the footsteps of his forebears, Robert Guiscard, Bohemond I and Roger II, not least because he claimed to be acting in the name of the rightful emperor, Alexios II, while his forces followed a similar route although geography made that virtually inevitable. (A further suggestion that William was conscious of this legacy is considered below.) William's involvement has been criticised as ambitious and foolhardy in light of its outcome, but again it is important to consider the bigger picture and whether his campaign was regarded as part of a wider defence of the Latin East against multiple threats.⁸⁵⁵ Although Neocleous has convincingly demonstrated that there was not an alliance between the Byzantines and

⁸⁵¹ Stanton, p. 150; Abulafia, *Two Italies*, p. 156; WT, 22:8, p. 1017; trans. II, p. 458; *Bernardi Maragonis Annales Pisani*, ed. M. L. Gentile (Bologna, 1936), p. 72.

⁸⁵² Abulafia, *Two Italies*, p. 157.

⁸⁵³ Chalandon, II, p. 398; Ibn Khaldun, *BAS* II, pp. 237-38; Amari, *Storia*, III, pp. 527-29.

⁸⁵⁴ Harris, *Byzantium*, pp. 131-32.

⁸⁵⁵ Stanton, p. 150.

Saladin aimed at undermining the Latin States, pointing out that the 1181 treaty agreed in Cairo related only to the release of 180 Muslim prisoners, the importance of perception over reality should not be ignored.⁸⁵⁶ Saladin was steadily extending his power, and after finally capturing Aleppo in June 1183, turned his full attention to defeating the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem. There, different factions continued to struggle for dominance over the increasingly debilitated Baldwin IV, and whilst temporary unity could be found such as at Kerak in 1183, tensions remained.⁸⁵⁷ Finally in 1184 a new embassy was sent to the West, led by Patriarch Heraclius of Jerusalem, Roger of Moulins, master of the Hospitallers, and Arnold of Torroja, master of the Templars. Despite landing at Brindisi in late summer, they do not seem to have met with William II before travelling up to Verona to meet with Pope Lucius III (1181-1185) and Frederick Barbarossa.⁸⁵⁸ At this time Sicily had good relations with Genoa, Pisa and Venice; was at peace with both the papacy and the German emperor; and as a result of William's marriage in 1177 to Henry II's daughter, Joanna, relations with the Angevin court were also positive, so approaching William would not immediately rule out anyone else. Possibly the devastating earthquake of May 1184 in Calabria had influenced the initial routing of the delegation, but the lack of communication is surprising considering the determined effort made by the delegation to trammel up support elsewhere and in that Sicily had shown her ability to launch large scale attacks, possibly even in some form of liaison with Jerusalem, in the past.⁸⁵⁹

It is possible that upon hearing of William's intention to target Andronicus in Constantinople, the Jerusalemite delegation did not see any need to petition him further as his plan was regarded as a means of providing indirect assistance to the Latin East. When exactly William's preparations started is unclear, but it seems likely that they would have begun in spring 1184. Andronicus was crowned senior emperor in September 1183, after which Alexios disappeared until appearing in Sicily a few months later.⁸⁶⁰ Allowing for a further couple of weeks for him to be brought before the king, and the decision to be taken, arrangements could have started by March and

⁸⁵⁶ S. Neocleous, 'The Byzantines and Saladin: Some Further Arguments', *Al-Masāq*, 25:2 (2013), 204-22.

⁸⁵⁷ Phillips, *Defenders*, pp. 251-52.

⁸⁵⁸ Ibid, pp. 253-63; Ralph of Diceto, *Radulfo de Diceto decani Lundoniensis opera historica*, ed. W. Stubbs, 2 vols, RS 68 (London, 1876), II, p. 27.

⁸⁵⁹ *Annales Casinenses*, p. 313.

⁸⁶⁰ Harris, *Byzantium*, p. 129.

therefore have been well underway by the time the Jerusalem delegation arrived in Europe.⁸⁶¹ Eustathios of Thessaloniki implies that William had to overcome some internal opposition, as he states that the bishops of Palermo (Walter of the Mill) and Messina (Richard Palmer) protested at William's plans, although whether it was because (according to Eustathios) William intended to claim the throne himself or because they were against the enterprise *per se* is unclear. In his notes to Eustathios' text, Melville Jones suggests they may have been voicing concerns from the papacy, but there is nothing to support this suggestion.⁸⁶² Meanwhile, Fröhlich has dismissed the idea that William's agreement to the betrothal of his aunt, Constance, to Henry VI in October 1184 was a means of protecting Sicily, since the Treaty of Venice (1177) had included a promise not to attack the Sicilian kingdom for the next fifteen years, but he does not consider whether it was a way of effectively buying imperial support for William's plans to attack Byzantium.⁸⁶³ Whilst it can only be supposition, the European silence regarding Sicily could reflect a tacit acceptance that William's campaign was a step towards bringing assistance to the Holy Land. A precedent for this had been set in 1107, when Bohemond I had returned to Europe from Antioch and had called for more crusaders to support the new Latin States by first attacking Byzantium, using anti-Byzantine propaganda in the process.⁸⁶⁴ In recounting the speculation surrounding the destination of the fleet being prepared in early 1185, Ibn Jubayr makes clear the impact of rumour and the popular belief that Andronicus was in league with Muslims, recounting the story he says was believed by Muslims and Christians alike.⁸⁶⁵ Harris has argued that where collusion did happen, it was in defence of Constantinople but as he readily points out, to westerners such actions could be seen as 'treachery'.⁸⁶⁶ The scale of the fleet was even more impressive than that launched against Alexandria. Ibn Jubayr estimated that it included three hundred ships plus a further hundred carrying supplies, whilst Eustathios put the number at over two hundred ships belonging to the king, plus other 'pirate' vessels, together with a land army of over 80,000 men, some of whom were not paid but hoped to profit from plunder.⁸⁶⁷ A further insight into the wider

⁸⁶¹ Eustathios, pp. 52-53; pp. 60-65.

⁸⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 63; for note see p. 193.

⁸⁶³ Fröhlich, p. 105.

⁸⁶⁴ S. Neocleous, 'Byzantine-Muslim conspiracies against the crusades: history and myth', *JMH*, 36:3 (2010), 253-274.

⁸⁶⁵ *IJ*, p. 355.

⁸⁶⁶ J. Harris, 'Collusion with the Infidel as a Pretext for Western Military Action Against Byzantium', in *Languages of Love and Hate: Conflict, Communication and Identity in the Medieval Mediterranean*, ed. S. Lambert and H. Nicholson (Turnhout, 2012), pp. 99-117 (p. 108).

⁸⁶⁷ *IJ*, p. 354; Eustathios, p. 151.

appeal of the campaign is given in the Old French Continuation of William of Tyre (OFCWT), which described the scale of William's preparations were such that they had a detrimental effect upon the Latin East, both in terms of numbers of men recruited and the impact upon the pilgrim route.⁸⁶⁸ Even though William II seized vessels (and crew) passing through Sicilian ports, the numbers indicate that there were also many willing volunteers who joined the expedition. While doubtless the hope of self-profit was a factor for many participants, against the backdrop of the embassy from Jerusalem, the numbers also suggest that in the popular mind Emperor Andronicus was seen as a threat to Latin Christians.

Initially, the Sicilians were successful, taking Durazzo on 24 June, then Thessaloniki on 24 August. The subsequent massacre of the inhabitants and destruction of the city was graphically described by Eustathios.⁸⁶⁹ The Sicilians then moved towards Constantinople, but as they advanced, events in the capital were to prove to be their undoing. Andronicus was finally overthrown by the populace in September and replaced by Isaakios Angelos, who immediately despatched an army under the (single) command of Alexios Branas.⁸⁷⁰ In November, the Sicilian army was defeated near Amphipolis and those not captured or killed withdrew to Thessaloniki which was rapidly abandoned, as was Durazzo. Meanwhile, the Sicilian fleet which had expected to join the army in an attack on Constantinople awaited its arrival in vain before it, too, departed for home with many being lost due to storms during their return voyage.⁸⁷¹ Even allowing for an element of hyperbole, the losses described by Choniates together with the number of prisoners taken, were in the region of fourteen thousand men thereby indicating that the OFCWT's criticism above may have had some justification. Yet despite this, William sent a new fleet to Cyprus the following year under the command of Margaritus of Brindisi to assist the self-declared emperor of the island, Isaac Komnenos, withstand an assault launched against him by Isaac II Angelos. Although this could be regarded as simply a means of undermining Byzantine control of the eastern Mediterranean, again there is a further dimension worth considering. Whilst Neocleous has also shown that the apparent alliance between Andronicus and Saladin agreed in 1185 was improbable, bearing in mind the rumours mentioned by Ibn Jubayr

⁸⁶⁸ OFCWT, p. 82; trans. pp. 73-74.

⁸⁶⁹ Eustathios, pp. 115-25.

⁸⁷⁰ NC, pp. 188-94; p. 198.

⁸⁷¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 198-200.

above, it is not implausible that the defence of Cyprus was seen **at the time** as a means of further thwarting Byzantine-Muslim actions which could ultimately threaten the Latin States.⁸⁷² It is therefore not impossible that William II, whilst seeking to increase Sicily's influence in the Mediterranean, was also aware of, and promoted reports, that linked Sicilian actions to the wider aim of supporting Outremer. There is no evidence of any further direct appeals to Sicily from the Latin East until that of Bohemond III of Antioch in September 1187 but that does not mean they were not made.⁸⁷³ Indeed the fact that Bohemond III wrote to William suggests that he felt William had the means and interest to act, and I would suggest that this was not because William was deemed to be particularly pious, but because of his appreciation of Mediterranean *realpolitik* in ensuring Sicily's status as a leading European power.

Further family influences on identity

Although it is impossible to know whether William's actions *vis-à-vis* Byzantium were inspired by his ancestors, nor whether he saw the attack as part of a wider defence of the Latin States, a possible hint that this may have been the case is given in the *Chronica* of Robert of Torigni. He is the only source to mention that William and Joanna of England had a son called Bohemond, who was invested with the duchy of Apulia following his baptism.⁸⁷⁴ Delisle, in his 1873 French edition of the text, adds that Bohemond died shortly afterwards, but gives no further details.⁸⁷⁵ The incident is recounted within the events of 1182, although not all references in this section refer solely to that year. Robert does not give his source either, beyond stating that 'we have heard from some people' but bearing in mind the communication together with the physical movement of ecclesiastics and laymen between Sicily and England, this is not impossible.⁸⁷⁶ Whilst Robert of Torigni has been criticised for his inaccuracy in places, van Houts has demonstrated his reliability as a genealogist of Norman families, suggesting that he was

⁸⁷² S. Neocleous, 'The Byzantines and Saladin: Opponents of the Third Crusade?', *Crusades*, 9 (2010), 87-106; also 'Further Arguments', p. 210.

⁸⁷³ R. Hiestand, 'Antiochia, Silizien und das Reich am Ende des 12. Jahrhunderts', in *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken*, 73 (1993), pp. 70-121 (p. 87; pp. 94-119, esp. pp. 115-17).

⁸⁷⁴ Robert of Torigni, *Chronica*, p. 303.

⁸⁷⁵ Robert of Torigni, *Chronique de Robert de Torigni, abbé du Mont-Saint-Michel; suivie de divers opuscules historiques de cet auteur et de plusieurs religieux de la même abbaye*, II, ed. L. Delisle (Rouen, 1873), p. 115, fn. 5. Howlett gives no details in his version of the text.

⁸⁷⁶ Robert of Torigni, *Chronica*, p. 303, 'Audivimus a quibusdam...'; Jamison, 'Alliance of England and Sicily', p. 30; Roger of Howden, II, p. 95; trans. I, p. 43. (It is tempting to wonder if Baldwin Bulot remained in Sicily and became one of the leaders of the army sent to Byzantium in 1185.)

willing to investigate his sources as far as he was able.⁸⁷⁷ Assuming there was a child, the context of events may help explain the choice of his name. As mentioned above, through his mother's family William II had crusader links, his father-in-law continued to hold out the prospect of going on crusade, and William seems to have shown (at least a pecuniary) interest in events relating to the Holy Land.⁸⁷⁸ Additionally, as news arrived in Palermo of the increasing excesses being committed by Andronicus in Constantinople, Bohemond would have been a name that encapsulated the concept of both crusader and anti-Byzantine warrior.⁸⁷⁹ I would suggest a further argument to support the birth of a son comes from the betrothal of Constance, William's aunt, to Henry VI of Germany in October 1184. In his analysis of its timing, Fröhlich argues that, 'By 1184 [...] William II may have realised that his marriage to Joan Plantagenet would remain childless', but if that were the case, why did William not contemplate a new marriage for himself?⁸⁸⁰ As a favoured son of the papacy that would doubtless have been possible whilst England was far enough away to cause little impediment. Certainly, the imperial marriage alliance would add to the prestige of the Sicilian monarchy, but the importance of it in securing the kingdom's northern borders should not be so readily discounted. Frederick Barbarossa had signed the Peace of Constance with the Lombard League in 1183, leaving him to focus upon exerting imperial control over Tuscany. Whilst this did not in its own right threaten Sicily, the removal of potential allies further north may have concerned the Sicilians as past history had demonstrated that imperial alliances did not always hold. Furthermore, the fact that Pope Lucius III (1181-85) was initially conciliatory suggests that the papacy, as well as the Sicilian court, did not expect the potential amalgamation of the two kingdoms to occur since William had already had a son. Even if Bohemond had died by the time the betrothal was celebrated, the fertility of both William, and more importantly Joanna, had been demonstrated, so there would be an expectation that further issue would follow. Similarly, when the marriage of Constance and Henry took place on 27 January 1186, expectations may not have changed. William was only just thirty-four, and although his father had died when he was thirty-five, his grand-father had still been siring children at fifty-eight. Joanna was only twenty, but Constance was thirty-one which was relatively old to start child-bearing (as later events showed). Returning to the

⁸⁷⁷ E. van Houts, 'Robert of Torigni as Genealogist', in *Studies in Medieval History presented to R. Allen Brown*, ed. C. Harper-Bill, C. Holdsworth and J. L. Nelson (Woodbridge, 1989), pp. 215-33.

⁸⁷⁸ Tyerman, *England and Crusades*, p. 40.

⁸⁷⁹ NC, p. 164.

⁸⁸⁰ Fröhlich, p. 105.

question of why only Robert of Torigni mentions this child, it should be remembered that he was writing very close to the time news may have arrived and died in 1186. Richard of S. Germano's *Chronicle* focuses upon the events 1189-1243, probably being commenced around 1216, and since Richard was in the service of Frederick II his focus was not upon the lost opportunities of William II's reign.⁸⁸¹ A similar case can be made in regard to Peter of Eboli, whose long poem in praise of Henry VI only mentions that William died childless and passed the throne to Constance.⁸⁸² Unfortunately in light of the lack of any further evidence, the case must remain unproven.

Commitment in name if not in person

It was to take the news of the fall of Jerusalem to finally motivate King William to act solely in defence of the remaining Latin possessions in the Near East. According to a letter written by Peter of Blois to Henry II of England, William's reaction was impressively pious: he withdrew from court for four days in grief and penitence, then wrote to the other kings of Europe to exhort their aid in reclaiming the city for Christians.⁸⁸³ Unfortunately none of these letters survive, but whilst it is likely that the often-unreliable Peter was ascribing a dramatically pious response in his former pupil, it does seem that William responded to the news rapidly.⁸⁸⁴ One reason for this was, according to the OFCWT, personal guilt at denuding the Latin East of men during his attack on Byzantium in 1185 (see above), and so he sent a fleet to the East comprising '200 galleys and 200 knights and the following August he sent another 300 knights', whilst collecting a further fleet 'on which he intended on coming with the king of England, the brother of his wife.'⁸⁸⁵ The *Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi* concurs in saying that William was the first to send assistance, consisting of 'two counts, 500 knights and fifty galleys.'⁸⁸⁶ This fleet was led by the admiral Margaritus of Brindisi, about whose origins little is known. The first clear reference to him is in relation to Cyprus, where he aided Isaac Komnene's seizure of the island from the Byzantine empire. Choniates describes him as 'the most formidable pirate on the high seas at that time', but we must beware of taking this too literally since Choniates

⁸⁸¹ Richard of S. Germano, p. 4; trans. p. 1.

⁸⁸² Peter of Eboli, l. 35-44, pp. 7-8; trans. p. 4.

⁸⁸³ The letter is inserted in the *Gesta Henrici II et Ricardi I*, MGH SS 27, p. 109; Chalandon, II, p. 416

⁸⁸⁴ For Peter of Blois' unreliability, see N. Vincent, 'The Court of King Henry II', in *Henry II: New Interpretations*, ed. Harper-Bill and Vincent, pp. 278-334 (p. 303-04).

⁸⁸⁵ OFCWT, p. 83; trans. p. 74.

⁸⁸⁶ IP, 1:14, p. 27; trans. p. 43.

despised both Isaac and the Sicilians.⁸⁸⁷ Garufi suggests that it was his capture of seventy Byzantine galleys during this campaign that led him to being appointed admiral.⁸⁸⁸ His renown increased as according to the *Itinerarium Peregrinorum* he came to be given ‘the title of “king of the sea”. Some also called him “Neptune.”’⁸⁸⁹ The fleet he commanded was instrumental in protecting the Levantine coastal ports, and probably led Saladin to abandon ideas of attacking Tripoli. It also harried his forces as he passed below Margat, forcing him to take defensive measures to protect his troops as they marched along the narrow coastal strip.⁸⁹⁰ Whilst Margaritus could not prevent Saladin’s capture of Latakia in July 1188, both Ibn al-Athīr and Imād ad-Din describe how Margaritus came ashore under a safe conduct and tried to persuade Saladin to withdraw his forces, ‘otherwise there will come to you from beyond the sea what you will not have the power to stand against.’⁸⁹¹ Although Saladin declined to follow his advice, the meeting indicates the respect Margaritus commanded in the Muslim world as well as in the Christian. Yet whilst the fleet played a significant role in hampering Saladin’s movements, it seems that it soon returned to Sicily, as Margaritus was part of the delegation sent by King Tancred to negotiate with Richard I and Philip Augustus in Messina in October 1190.⁸⁹² Meanwhile, William’s death on 18 November 1189 meant we will never know if he would have joined the Third Crusade in person; the fact that he did not appear to have taken the cross nor did he rally his nobility to commit themselves, suggests that he would not have done so.⁸⁹³ Even William II’s apparent piety raises some questions. Leaving aside the veracity of Peter of Blois’s account above, the foundation of Monreale is cited as a reflection of William’s faith, but there was also a political motivation in that it curbed the growing influence of Walter of the Mill, archbishop of Palermo.⁸⁹⁴ Furthermore, as Roger II had shown, founding a cathedral (Cefalù) did not make him a crusader. Sending a fleet demonstrated the kingdom’s willingness and ability to act for the wider good of Christendom, and the aid offered to William’s fellow rulers reflected his support of the cause, but without having to compromise his position as the ruler of a still-sizable Muslim population.

⁸⁸⁷ NC, p. 204.

⁸⁸⁸ C. A. Garufi, ‘Margarito di Brindisi, conte di Malta e ammiraglio del re di Sicilia’, in *Miscellanea di Archeologia, Storia e Filologia dedicata al prof. Antonino Salinas* (Palermo, 1907), pp. 273-82.

⁸⁸⁹ IP, 1:14, p. 28; trans. p. 44.

⁸⁹⁰ IA, II, pp. 354-47; Imād ad-Din, *BAS* I, pp. 341-42.

⁸⁹¹ IA, II, p. 347; Imād ad-Din, *BAS* I, pp. 343-44.

⁸⁹² Amari, *Storia*, III, p. 539; IP, 2:16, p. 160; trans. p. 160.

⁸⁹³ OFCWT, p. 83; trans. p. 74; Roger of Howden, III, p. 88; trans. II, p. 118; IP, 1:14; trans. p. 43.

⁸⁹⁴ Norwich, *Kingdom*, pp. 314-16.

This brings us (briefly) back to the issue of the transculturality of the royal court, and how it may have shaped the identity (and actions) of Sicily's king. Ibn Jubayr marvelled at William II's apparent tolerance of other faiths, and the prevalence of Muslims at all levels in the royal palaces.⁸⁹⁵ Whilst the court still resembled that of a Muslim ruler, the cultural appropriation described by Ibn Jubayr no longer had a wider political agenda in terms of making the king's rule at least superficially more acceptable to his subjects. The Muslims of Sicily, although still nominally powerful within the royal administration, had increasingly been marginalised and were progressively more reliant upon the king's protection. Nor was there any need to appeal to a wider Muslim world, as Sicily had lost her North African territories. Alongside this change, the legitimacy of the kingdom had been accepted by its early opponents, and Sicily's orientation had shifted. Tronzo has argued that this is reflected in the decline of the Islamic element in royal architecture and decoration. Whereas Islamic styles had been adopted in the past, they 'were just that-styles: they were not the representation of intrinsic beliefs. One might say that they were used superficially, in a loose and free way.'⁸⁹⁶ Whilst I concur with his argument that the different styles did not reflect a desire to be a Muslim prince (or Byzantine emperor), I would argue that their adoption was more politically motivated than Tronzo suggests here, and had a deliberate agenda which was to promote aspects of identity and power that would be understood by all the king's subjects. As these subjects changed, both through the loss of North Africa and as the population of Sicily itself became increasingly Latinised, so did the court structure. At the same time, Sicily also sought to realign herself in the Mediterranean as a leading Christian state. Tronzo argues that this saw a 'new awareness and attitude toward the other' which meant that it was no longer possible for Islamic styles to be used in the same way, for example, in parity with Christian imagery as had been the case in the Cappella Palatina.⁸⁹⁷ Whilst I am not convinced that the Islamic element exists only on the margins in Monreale out of this sense of necessity to demote them, the decoration in Monreale does assert an unambiguous Latin Christian identity which reflects the political dominance of this element within the kingdom. Cultural appropriation of Arabic styles continued in the secular royal court, but they no longer had any wider

⁸⁹⁵ IJ, pp. 340-41.

⁸⁹⁶ Tronzo, 'Artistic Culture', pp. 70-71.

⁸⁹⁷ Ibid.

political agenda underlying them. To what extent, if at all, this change influenced the willingness of the Third Crusaders to accept Sicilian help remains an unknown.

Participation via its locale

Whatever William II's ultimate intentions were in regard to the nature of his participation, his appeal to his fellow monarchs to recapture Jerusalem from Saladin and offer of assistance in this endeavour saw the kingdom play a significant role in shaping the Third Crusade. Messina, apparently agreed as the staging point for the expedition, was a well-appointed port on the main shipping route from southern France and northern Italy. Abulafia has shown that trade relations between Sicily and Genoa remained strong in the late twelfth century, despite a slight hiatus during William's Byzantine campaign of 1185-86.⁸⁹⁸ Whilst no commercial treaties survive for 1187, 1188 or 1189, by spring 1190 trade had clearly resumed so the Genoese may have seen a convergence of interests when they contracted to supply Philip Augustus with ships and supplies in February 1190.⁸⁹⁹ Furthermore, as mentioned above, William was preparing another fleet, possibly that negotiated with Richard in 1188 as mentioned by Gerald of Wales, when he died.⁹⁰⁰ These factors may explain why Messina remained the muster point for Richard I of England and Philip II of France after William's death, although for Richard a further incentive was the desire to collect Joanna's dowry and the legacy William had bequeathed to Henry II which included ships and provisions for two years, an enormous silk tent and a twelve-foot gold table.⁹⁰¹ Although King Tancred was not in a position to honour the whole bequest, after some forceful negotiations he eventually gave Joanna a million *tari* in lieu of her dower together with half the 40,000 ounces of gold to Richard in return for a marriage alliance between one of Tancred's daughters and Richard's heir-designate, Arthur of Brittany.⁹⁰² That Richard subsequently gave a third of this to Philip Augustus indicates that the original legacy had been made for the specific purpose of the crusade, as it had been agreed at

⁸⁹⁸ Abulafia, *Two Italies*, pp. 163-67.

⁸⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 174; *I libri iurium della Repubblica di Genova*, 8 vols, ed. A. Rovere, D. Puncuh and E. Pallavicino (Rome, 1999-2002), I/6, pp. 11-14, no. 935.

⁹⁰⁰ J. Gillingham, *Richard I* (New Haven and London, 1999), p. 133; Gerald of Wales, *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera: De Principis Instructione Liber*, ed. G. F. Warner (London, 1891), p. 245.

⁹⁰¹ Richard of Devizes, *Cronicon Richardi Divisensis De Tempore Regis Richardi Primi*, translated as *The Chronicle of Richard of Devizes*, ed. J. T. Appleby (London, 1963), p. 17; Roger of Howden, III, pp. 61; trans. II, p. 163.

⁹⁰² Gillingham, p. 136; Roger of Howden, III, p. 61-62; trans. II, p. 164.

Vézelay that all acquisitions won during the expedition would be shared equally.⁹⁰³ Although Richard's actions in Messina, particularly when he seized the city and attempted to raise his banners above it, had caused tension in the French camp, Philip's actions whilst in Sicily also contributed to the worsening relations between himself and Richard. Gillingham has described the attempt he made to persuade Tancred that Richard had designs upon Sicily itself.⁹⁰⁴ As news reached Tancred that Eleanor had met with Henry VI at Lodi, the prospect that her ships had a more sinister intent than simply bringing Richard's fiancée, Berengaria of Navarre, must have seemed a distinct possibility. According to Roger of Howden, when Richard met Tancred in Catania on 3 March to demand an explanation for why Eleanor and Berengaria had been refused permission to dock at Messina and had instead been sent to Brindisi, Tancred informed him of Philip's role in attempting to sow discord between them. Tancred decided that the Angevin (and anti-Hohenstaufen) alliance was worth more to him than anything Philip was offering, and so he made peace with Richard. The price of this was 'four large ships and fifteen galleys', which Tancred possibly saw as worth paying if it helped hasten the departure of the crusaders.⁹⁰⁵ When Philip subsequently sailed first on 30 March, cordial relations had been restored all round, but the resentment and tension between Philip and Richard remained under the surface and so the sojourn in Sicily thereby helped undermine the success of the crusade itself.

Tancred was not alone in feeling relief when the crusaders finally departed on 10 April. As the *Itinerarium Peregrinorum* describes, tensions between the crusading army, especially the 'English', and the local population had rapidly risen. Whilst this was doubtless partly down to the impact on prices and space caused by the influx of so many extra bodies to accommodate, the poor behaviour of some of the men indicated by both Richard and Philip's attempts to maintain discipline exacerbated matters.⁹⁰⁶ Despite this, violence had erupted in Messina during which the Sicilian galleys in the harbour were somewhat short-sightedly 'set on fire and burnt to ashes'.⁹⁰⁷ It is possible that

⁹⁰³ Gillingham, p. 128; Ambrose, I, 365-70, p. 6; trans. p. 35; and William of Newburgh, *Historia Rerum Anglicarum*, in *Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II and Richard I*, I, ed. R. Howlett, RS 82 (London, 1889), 4:21, pp. 353-54 both suggest that divisions were to be made to acquisitions made jointly, although a letter of Innocent III from 1198 suggests it applied to everything, *Selected Letters of Innocent III concerning England*, ed. C. R. Cheney and W. H. Semple (London, 1953), p. 6.

⁹⁰⁴ Gillingham, pp. 141-42.

⁹⁰⁵ Roger of Howden, III, pp. 97-98; trans. II, pp. 194-95.

⁹⁰⁶ IP, 2:14, pp. 157-58; trans. p. 148; Roger of Howden, III, pp. 59-60; trans. II, p. 161.

⁹⁰⁷ IP, 2:16, p. 164; trans. p. 163.

there was also a more ‘political’ dimension to the hostility, as the predominantly Greek community supported Tancred’s claim to be king over that of Henry VI and Constance, so this may have increased suspicion of the crusaders’ presence in Messina which the rivalry between Philip and Richard did nothing to calm. Roger of Howden gives a further indication of the wider impact of the arrival of the Jerusalem-bound forces in Sicily, this time in relation to the Muslims. Following William II’s death, there had been a Muslim revolt which Metcalfe argues was partly opportunistic and partly a reaction to the ongoing marginalisation of their position and status on the island.⁹⁰⁸ The threat posed to Tancred was sufficiently great as to keep him in Sicily, whilst Richard of Acerra was tasked with dealing with the German invasion on the mainland led by Henry Testa in May to September 1190.⁹⁰⁹ The Muslims do not seem to have had any external support, nor do any of the Muslim sources refer to events in Sicily at this time, indicating that it was not directly linked to events in the Holy Land, although it is possible that news of Saladin’s actions had heightened sensibilities of difference on the island. Roger of Howden ascribes the rebellion to the threat of German invasion and also Richard I’s actions in taking over part of Sicily, and that it was on hearing that ‘a treaty of peace and a final reconciliation had been made between the king of England and King Tancred’ that they submitted and accepted Tancred’s rule. Although we must treat Howden’s account of Richard’s role with some caution, not least because Richard of S. Germano suggests the revolt was suppressed when the Muslim leaders were bought off by Tancred, it is conceivable that Richard offered his forces to help curb the insurrection.⁹¹⁰ This possibility is further suggested by Richard the Lionheart’s good relations with Archbishop William of Monreale, from whose estates many of the rebels came. Despite the uprising, Muslim troops continued to be used in the king’s forces, as they are recorded by Ottobuono Scriba fighting on behalf of William III, and whilst it can only be speculation, it is possible that it was from Sicily that Richard was to acquire his ‘Saracen’ troops used at Domfront and Le Passeis: perhaps they joined the returning escort of Joanna and Berengaria.⁹¹¹ At the very least his knowledge that they were used by a Christian king in his army against Christian rebels may have increased Richard’s willingness to do likewise.

⁹⁰⁸ Metcalfe, *Muslims of Italy*, p. 276.

⁹⁰⁹ Norwich, *Kingdom*, p. 361.

⁹¹⁰ Richard of S. Germano, p. 9; trans. p. 6.

⁹¹¹ Metcalfe, *Muslims of Italy*, p. 277; Ottobuono Scriba, p. 50; Gillingham, p. 295; *Magni Rotuli Scaccarii Normanniae*, 2 vols, ed. T. Stapleton (London, 1840-4), I, p. 221; II, p. 350.

Leaving such conjecture aside, the ships given to Richard by Tancred indicates that there was some southern Italian involvement in the subsequent crusade itself, although any named noble participation is not recorded. In listing those who died during the siege of Acre, Howden included ‘*Rogerus comes de Apulia et Joscellinus comes de Apulia*’ but gives no further information about them.⁹¹² It is possible they were the two counts referred to in the *Itinerarium Peregrinorum* who accompanied William II’s fleet sent to bring succour to the Levantine ports in 1187/88.⁹¹³ The lack of aristocratic engagement can be partly explained by the instability in the kingdom following William II’s death.⁹¹⁴ The German force led by Henry Testa into Abruzzo and eastern Apulia had withdrawn in September 1190, but the subsequent arrival of Henry VI was anticipated in the very near future. Furthermore, in central and southern Apulia many counties including Lesina, Loritello, Conversano, Avellino, Montescaglioso and possibly Civitate, had fallen vacant and escheated to the crown, which Tancred had awarded to his followers so their lords had a vested interest in remaining.⁹¹⁵ Whether members of the official class joined the Anglo-French forces is unknown, but at least one high-ranking churchman did. William of Monreale, who had so impressed Richard that he had apparently wanted to make him Archbishop of Canterbury, went to the Holy Land and died there in October 1191.⁹¹⁶ Furthermore in August 1191, the Genoese chronicler Ottobuono Scriba described how Margaritus was again in charge of Tancred’s fleet of seventy-two galleys, two *sagitteis* and two *scurzatis*, in a confrontation with the Pisan and Genoese allies of Henry VI.⁹¹⁷ As well as indicating that the destruction of ships in Messina had been limited in scope, it also means that a large number of Italian seamen would be unavailable for the crusade. It is, however, possible that others from the kingdom participated but that their precise origins were obscured by the contingent they joined. For example, in discussing Gaetans active in Genoa in 1190, Abulafia points out that ‘on 16th August Johannes Gaietanus and Ricardus Bonus Fides Gaiete engaged to travel to Syria on the ship of Lanfranco Malfigliastro and Ansaldo Mallone,

⁹¹² Roger of Howden, III, p. 88; trans. II, p. 188.

⁹¹³ IP, 1:14, p. 27; trans. p. 43.

⁹¹⁴ Jamison, *Eugenius*, pp. 80-81.

⁹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 88.

⁹¹⁶ Loud, ‘Kingdom’, p. 561; ‘Epistolae Cantuarienses’, in *Chronicles and Memorials of the Reign of Richard I*, II, ed. W. Stubbs, RS 38, (London, 1865), p. 330, no. 348; Kamp, III, p. 1189.

⁹¹⁷ Ottobuono Scriba, p. 40.

apparently as crewmen.⁹¹⁸ This ongoing potential contribution of southern Italians to the crusader states will be addressed in chapter five.

Whilst people are rarely mentioned as participants, the extant sources sometimes refer to places thereby indicating the significance of the kingdom's location as a resource in relation to the Holy Land. As well as Messina, there are also several references to southern Italian ports being used by German travellers during the Third Crusade. In 1189, a group of German pilgrim-crusaders passed through Bari, where they made a donation to St Nicholas' shrine, and took with them a '*buttia sancti Nicholai barensis*' to facilitate their journey to the Holy Sepulchre and their safe return.⁹¹⁹ Meanwhile around 1190 a hospital was built in Brindisi for German pilgrims and crusaders travelling to and from the Holy Land, suggesting a steady flow of people.⁹²⁰ Otto of St Blasien also informs us that Duke Leopold of Austria and many others from Cologne sailed from Brindisi in 1191.⁹²¹ On his return from Acre, Philip Augustus landed at Otranto and travelled overland to Rome, whilst Joanna and Berengaria returned from the Holy Land via Palermo in late 1192, and Richard was anticipated at Brindisi.⁹²² In fact, according to Ralph of Coggeshall, whilst at Corfu Richard decided to charter three smaller vessels to take him up the Adriatic coast, sending his big ship on to Brindisi.⁹²³ The potential impact of such traffic in terms of the kingdom's ongoing supporting role will be discussed further in chapter five, but it is worth briefly considering how Sicily also shaped Henry VI's planned crusade, once he had won the Sicilian crown.

Richard's decision above had dire consequences, both for himself in his subsequent capture by Leopold of Austria and imprisonment by Henry VI, and for Tancred in that he lost the chance of any aid from his former ally. It is unlikely that Tancred knew the final terms of Richard's release on 4 February 1194 before his own death on 20

⁹¹⁸ Abulafia, *Two Italies*, p. 179; *Oberto Scriba de Mercato (1190)*, ed. M. Chiaudano and R. Morozzo della Rocca (Genoa, 1938), p. 254, no. 640.

⁹¹⁹ *CDB*, V, pp. 262-63, no. 154.

⁹²⁰ H. Houben, 'Templari e Teutonici nel Mezzogiorno normanno-svevo', in *Il Mezzogiorno e le Crociate*, ed. Musca, pp. 251-288 (p. 276).

⁹²¹ Otto of St Blasien, *Otonis de Sancto Blasio Chronica*, ed. A. Hofmeister, *MGH SER* (Hanover, 1912), p. 48.

⁹²² Roger of Howden, III, p. 166, trans. II, p. 256; *Oeuvres de Rigord et de Guillaume le Breton, Historiens de Philippe-Auguste*, I, ed. H. F. Delaborde (Paris, 1882), p. 117; William of Newburgh, 4:31, p. 382; Chalandon, II, p. 473; *Tancredi et Willelmi III*, pp. 70-71, no. 29.

⁹²³ Ralph of Coggeshall, *Radulfi de Coggeshall Chonicon Anglicanum*, ed. J. Stevenson, *RS 66* (London, 1875), pp. 53-54; Roger of Howden, III, p. 194; trans. II, p. 278.

February, which included 50,000 silver marks in lieu of assistance for Henry's Apulian campaign, but this influx of funds helped enable Henry to finally capture the throne of Sicily in December 1194.⁹²⁴ Leaving aside the details of his campaign and consolidation of power, on Good Friday 1195 (31 March), Henry apparently took the cross in Bari, although it was not publicly announced until Easter Sunday.⁹²⁵ In the circular letter he then sent to the prelates of Germany, he requested them to raise volunteers and also explained that he would personally fund 1500 knights each with thirty ounces of gold and food for the expedition.⁹²⁶ Much of this cost would have probably been absorbed by the wealth he had captured during the conquest, including a substantial hoard discovered in the royal treasury.⁹²⁷ The forces travelling overland were to assemble at the Apulian ports, whilst those coming by ship from Germany would meet at Messina. Conrad of Querfort, the imperial chancellor, was responsible for mobilising ships, supplies and men at Bari, Barletta and Brindisi.⁹²⁸ It would seem as if this was to be achieved through financial payment rather than relying on previous royal dues. For example, on 20 March 1196, Conrad ordered the citizens and officials of Bari to desist from forcing the men of St Nicholas to serve them in their galleys.⁹²⁹ Whilst Tancred had granted privileges to many of the mainland ports as a means of retaining support, Conrad's actions may also have been a recognition of incipient German hostility.⁹³⁰ The actions of the crusaders travelling down through southern Italy had added to these tensions, as Arnold of Lübeck describes how they had plundered the countryside they passed through.⁹³¹ A similar level of contempt for the local inhabitants seems to have been shown by some of the German forces at Acre, so it may be that their southern Italian experiences shaped their attitude to "foreigners" elsewhere.⁹³² Meanwhile, Henry's actions on his return to the *regno* in December 1197 were to fuel latent feelings of discontent. As well as ordering the execution of the last of the Sicilian rebels, Richard of Acerra, and the punishment of the hostages and prisoners held in Germany since 1194, he levied a tax to pay for the crusade throughout the kingdom, and may also

⁹²⁴ Roger of Howden, III, p. 215; trans. II, p. 295.

⁹²⁵ G. A. Loud, 'The German Crusade of 1197-1198', *Crusades*, 13 (2014), 143-71, (pp. 148-49); C. Naumann, *Der Kreuzzug Kaiser Heinrichs VI* (Frankfurt, 1994), pp. 130-156.

⁹²⁶ *Chronica Regia Coloniensis*, MGH SS rer. Germ. 18, p. 157.

⁹²⁷ Otto of St Blasien, p. 60 and p. 63.

⁹²⁸ Arnold of Lübeck, *Chronica Slavorum*, MGH SS 21, pp. 192-96.

⁹²⁹ Jamison, *Eugenius*, p. 152; *CDB*, VI, pp. 8-9, no. 3: note the discussion of its veracity, which ed. Nitti di Vito accepts.

⁹³⁰ See Jamison, *Eugenius*, p. 92; *Tancredi et Willelmi III*, pp. 3-5, no. 1; pp. 15-19, no. 6; pp. 28-29, no. 11; pp. 42-46, no. 18.

⁹³¹ Arnold of Lübeck, p. 203.

⁹³² OFCWT, p. 187; trans. p. 140.

have issued a decree requiring the resignation of all privileges on the mainland into the emperor's hands.⁹³³ Whilst this may have subdued the mainland, revolt broke out in Sicily in May 1197, possibly with the direct involvement of Constance.⁹³⁴ Henry responded with a force that apparently included pilgrim-crusaders who had been suborned into his army as he had travelled south through the *regno*.⁹³⁵ It is perhaps not surprising that in light of these experiences there seems to have been little direct southern Italian participation in the crusade itself. The fact that many of the nobility were either taken prisoner or executed - whether in 1194 or 1197 - clearly had an impact upon their ability to participate even had they so-desired. Nor does there seem to be any attempt on Henry's part to offer "exile" to the Holy Land as an alternative, as had been used by the earlier Italo-Norman kings.⁹³⁶ Whether this was due to his mistrust of the kingdom's nobility or reflected a different outlook in relation to rebellion and penance must remain unknown. Henry did, however, use some churchmen in his preparations for the expedition. In October 1195 whilst Henry was in Gelnhausen, the envoys of Aimery of Lusignan had offered to pay homage and to hold Cyprus as a fief from the emperor, and requested that Henry crown him. Henry agreed and sent the archbishops of Trani and Brindisi to Aimery on his behalf, together with a golden sceptre as the symbol of investiture.⁹³⁷ Whilst there, it is possible that the Archbishop of Trani obtained from Aimery commercial privileges for the merchants of his city, suggesting that there was a thriving merchant community trading in the eastern Mediterranean at this time.⁹³⁸ That aside, it seems that the crusade of 1197-98 was very much a 'German' affair, as seen in Ibn al-Athīr's account of events in Jaffa and Beirut, when he describes the arrival of 'many troops, most of whom were from the king of the Germans'.⁹³⁹ Yet it was the kingdom of Sicily which had helped shape it. Indeed, Loud has argued that one factor influencing some German reluctance to commit to the project was the un-recouped cost incurred by those who had accompanied Henry during the invasion of 1194-95.⁹⁴⁰ The

⁹³³ Jamison, *Eugenius*, p. 154, and fn. 4 for a discussion of the latter.

⁹³⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 157-60 for a discussion of Constance's involvement and the possible identity of the other conspirators.

⁹³⁵ *Annales Marbacenses, MGH SS rer. Germ.* 9, p. 69; Otto of St Blasien, pp. 63-64.

⁹³⁶ See chapter five.

⁹³⁷ E. N. Johnson, 'The Crusades of Frederick I and Henry VI', in *A History of The Crusades*, II, ed. R. L. Wolff and H. W. Hazard (Madison, 1989), pp. 86-122 (p. 119).

⁹³⁸ *RRH*, p. 194, no. 729; G. Hill, *A History of Cyprus*, II (Cambridge, 1948), p. 49, fn. 2; see also Heyd, I, p. 361 who argues in favour of its authenticity despite some errors in the text.

⁹³⁹ *IA*, III, p. 29.

⁹⁴⁰ Loud, 'German Crusade', p. 154; *Historia de Expeditione Friderici*, *MGH SS rer. Germ. N.S.* 5, p. 110, translated as 'The History of the Expedition of the Emperor Frederick' in *The Crusade of Frederick Barbarossa: The History of the Expedition of the Emperor Frederick and Related Texts*, trans. G. A. Loud (Farnham, 2010), pp. 33-134 (p. 131).

duration of the crusade was also influenced by Sicilian affairs, this time with the death of Henry VI on 28 September 1197, which resulted in the failure of some to depart and the rapid return from the Holy Land of others when the news reached them. That is not to suggest that the Sicilian kingdom was the sole contributor to the outcome of the expedition, but these examples perhaps epitomise its role as a geographical participant in determining events in the late twelfth century.

Conclusions

It was during the reign of William I that the Sicilian lands in Ifrīqiya were lost. This was largely the result of changing circumstances in North Africa itself, but also of significance was that the arrival of the Almohads coincided with what seemed to be an increasingly oppressive stance taken by the Sicilian garrison commanders. Whether this was a reflection of royal policy is impossible to determine, but power struggles within the Palermo court may have acted as a signal of change to those who had formerly accepted Sicilian rule on the basis that it had provided stability with relatively little intrusion into their lives. The resulting political reorientation and alignment of the kingdom was additionally influenced by the fact that Sicily itself was changing as it became increasingly Latinised, both in its population and its administration. Other factors also played a part in shaping elements of its identity, including familial links. But despite William II's crusader heritage, it did not initially seem to steer his actions in the wider Mediterranean world. Although Sicily was included in King Amalric's appeal for assistance in 1169, it does not appear to have been answered. When William II did send a fleet to Alexandria in 1174, this seemed to reflect at best a commonality of interest with, rather than a dedicated commitment to, the Jerusalemite cause. However, that does not preclude the possibility that Sicily's attack on Byzantium in 1185 could be perceived of as part of a wider defence of the Latin States, at least by some of those participating in it. This interpretation may also help explain why the kingdom of Jerusalem apparently did not approach Sicily again in 1184, despite their desperation for assistance. It was only when news of Saladin's capture of the Holy City in October 1187 reached Palermo that William responded directly by sending the Sicilian fleet to aid the Levantine ports in resisting Saladin's advance. Whether William II's actions were dictated by piety, guilt or a combination of emotions cannot be determined but they were significant in their consequences. Whilst the king may never have committed himself to crusading, his offer of assistance to those willing to do so set the stage for the

kingdom's subsequent role in which **it**, both as a place and provider of resources, was to take a leading part in shaping the Third Crusade as well as the later German Crusade of Henry VI. As chapter five will argue, this foregrounded what had been an ongoing but largely unremarked-upon relationship with the Near East, particularly via the *regno*, since the First Crusade.

Chapter 5: A conduit of communication reflecting continuous commitment?

The relationship between the southern Italian mainland and the Holy Land preceded the crusades, and it was from this region that the majority of the Italo-Norman contingent on the First Crusade came. Despite this, it seems that interest in the Latin States of the Near East rapidly diminished. In building upon Drell's recent brief survey of the domestic impact of the crusades upon the *regno**, this chapter argues that the relationship with Outremer was so embedded in daily life that it elicited little mention by medieval writers in much the same way as they rarely commented upon logistical issues unless they impinged upon other events.⁹⁴¹ In exploring the ways in which southern Italy and Sicily acted as a conduit between the West and the Latin East I argue that this interchange, contrary to William of Tyre's assessment of Sicilian disinterest, also reflected an ongoing, albeit tacit, support by its rulers.

The importance of geography

The *regno* provided the main route for many pilgrims and crusaders travelling to the Latin East from the ports of Apulia, effectively making it what Oldfield has termed 'the bridge to salvation'.⁹⁴² Heading south from Rome, travellers could take the *Via Appia* which passed through Benevento, then through the centre of the lower 'boot', past Venosa and down to Taranto. From there they could then cross the heel to Brindisi. Alternatively, after passing through Benevento, they could continue east until Troia, then take the *Via Traiana* through Canosa to the coast just south of Trani. This route continued south through Bari and Brindisi, finally ending at Otranto.⁹⁴³ Hence it is not surprising that the eleventh-century French chronicler Adhemar of Chabannes referred to these southern Italian roads as the '*Via Hierosolimae*'.⁹⁴⁴ The relationship between southern Italy and the Holy Land preceded the arrival of the Normans, and the advent of

* For ease of discussion I will use '*regno*' throughout the period.

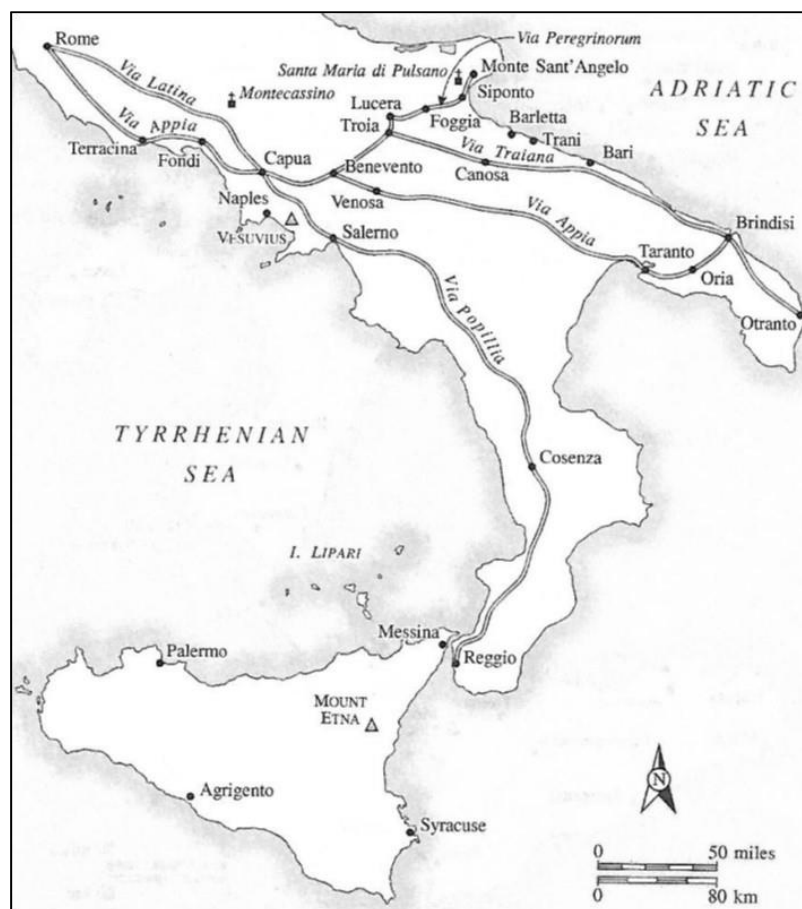
⁹⁴¹ J. Drell, 'Norman Italy and the Crusades: Thoughts from the "Homefront"', in *Crusading and Pilgrimage*, ed. Hurlock and Oldfield, pp. 51-64; R. Gertwagen, 'Harbours and facilities along the eastern Mediterranean sea lanes to Outremer', in *Logistics of Warfare in the Age of the Crusades*, ed. J. H. Pryor (Aldershot, 2006), pp. 95-118.

⁹⁴² Oldfield, *Sanctity and Pilgrimage*, p. 181, *passim*. For an overview of southern Italy's role, see J. Richard, 'Le Midi italien vu par les pèlerins et les chroniqueurs de Terre Sainte', in *Il Mezzogiorno normanno-svevo visto dall'Europa e dal mondo mediterraneo*, ed. G. Musca (Bari, 1999), pp. 341-358.

⁹⁴³ Oldfield, *Sanctity and Pilgrimage*, p. xvi and p. 184.

⁹⁴⁴ *Ademari Historiarum Libri III*, MGH SS 4, p. 180.

Figure 10: The major roadways in southern Italy and Sicily (Oldfield, Sanctity and Pilgrimage, p. xvi)



the crusades. For example, in around 870 Bernard the Monk wrote of his journey through the Italian peninsula, during which he visited Rome, Monte Gargano and eventually took a ship from Taranto to Alexandria.⁹⁴⁵ As discussed earlier in this thesis, according to Amatus of Montecassino it was during their return from a pilgrimage to Jerusalem that the Normans started their involvement in southern Italy.⁹⁴⁶ In 1101-03, the English pilgrim Saewulf travelled to the Holy Land, and named the ports of Bari, Barletta, Siponto, Trani, Otranto and Monopoli as points of departure in his account.⁹⁴⁷ Half a century later the Icelandic Abbot Nicholas also identified these places, with the exception of Otranto, as key embarkation ports for the eastern Mediterranean.⁹⁴⁸ The Jewish traveller Benjamin of Tudela travelling in the 1170s described the significance of Trani, as being ‘where all the pilgrims gather to go to Jerusalem; for the port is a

⁹⁴⁵ J. Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrims Before the Crusades* (Warminster, 1977), p. 141.

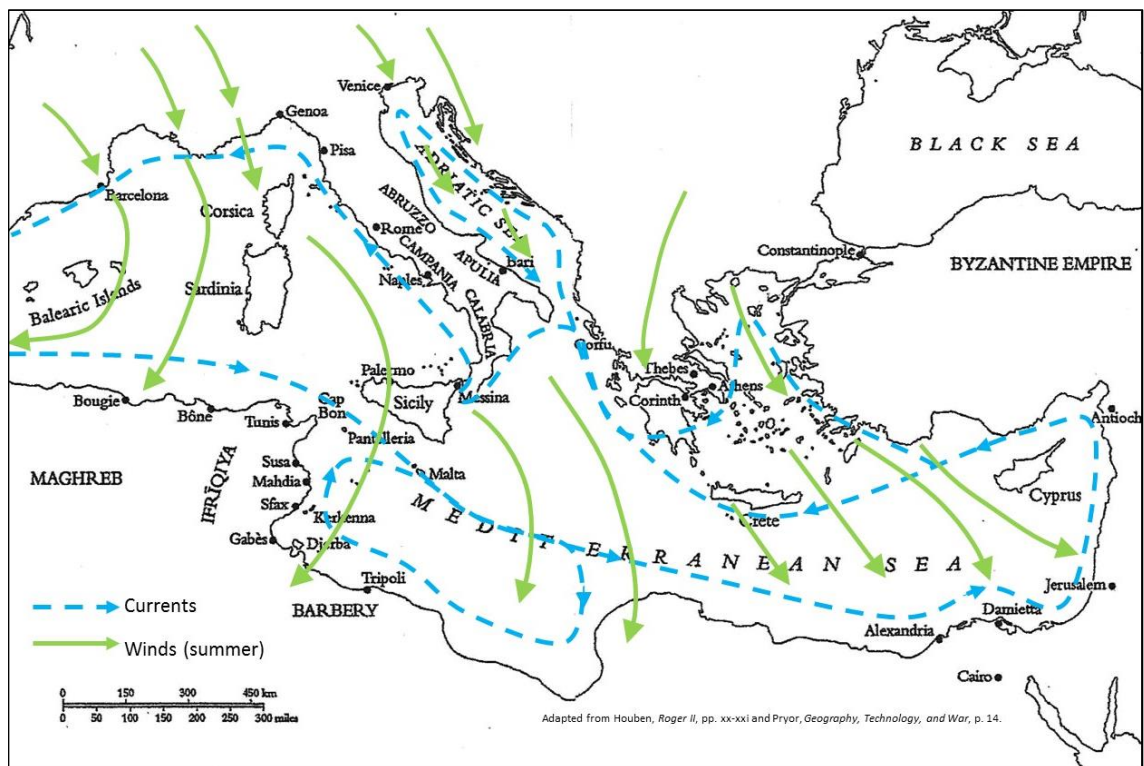
⁹⁴⁶ Amatus, 1:17, pp. 21-22; trans. p. 49.

⁹⁴⁷ Saewulf, p. 59; trans. p. 94.

⁹⁴⁸ J. Hill, ‘From Rome to Jerusalem: An Icelandic Itinerary of the Mid-Twelfth Century’, *Harvard Theological Review*, 76:2 (1983), 175-203.

convenient one.⁹⁴⁹ Meanwhile, Sicily and particularly Messina also acted as a gateway to the Eastern Mediterranean. Benjamin of Tudela writing in the 1170s described it as the assembly point for pilgrims wishing to travel to Jerusalem, ‘as this is the best crossing’; no doubt because it was such a commercial hub.⁹⁵⁰ This was echoed by Ibn Jubayr when he passed through in 1185, and although he was less enamoured of the city itself (largely due to its solely Christian population), he described it as ‘the focus of ships from the world over, and thronging always with companies of travellers by reason of the lowest prices.’⁹⁵¹ On leaving a port, as Pryor has shown medieval shipping tended

Figure 11: Currents and winds in the Mediterranean



to keep close to the shore and the main shipping lanes were punctuated by crucial mainland and island naval bases and ports, used for both logistical and commercial purposes. Vessels travelling to the eastern Mediterranean from northern Italy, would journey down the Italian coast, pass through the Straits of Messina, then either go along the base of the ‘boot’ of Italy and cross to the Balkans and Crete from Otranto, or alternatively head straight from the bottom of Calabria across the Ionian Sea to Modon

⁹⁴⁹ Benjamin of Tudela, p. 66.

⁹⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 137.

⁹⁵¹ IJ, pp. 338-39.

(Peloponnese) or Crete.⁹⁵² Whilst he focuses upon fourteenth-century accounts, Balard's analysis of Genoese routes to the East indicates that even in summer they preferred to keep to the coast as far as Otranto or Capo S. Maria Leuca, as winds in the Ionian were unpredictable.⁹⁵³ Throughout the journey, ships would stop for provisioning and especially water, to make any repairs that were needed, and to pick up or drop off passengers, all of which contributed to the interconnection between the *regno* and the Holy Land.⁹⁵⁴ The significance of the Ionian islands in providing further safe anchorage and essential supplies once the ships had left southern Italy may help explain the kingdom's interest in capturing such outposts in 1147 and 1185, as mentioned earlier.

As well as providing routes, southern Italy also provided the resources to sustain travellers during their journey. Leaving aside questions surrounding the authenticity of the details given by Amatus of Montecassino of the initial involvement of the Normans in southern Italian affairs, his account offers an insight into the fecundity of the land.⁹⁵⁵ He describes how after giving assistance to Prince Guaimar III at the siege of Salerno in c.1000, the Norman pilgrims returned home, and so the prince sent messengers to Normandy together with 'citrus fruit, almonds, preserved nuts, purple cloth, and instruments of iron adorned with gold to induce the Normans to come to the land of milk and honey and so many beautiful things.'⁹⁵⁶ Other key products of the area were olives and grapes, whilst Malaterra commented upon the 'flocks of sheep, cattle and goats on the hillsides of Calabria' in 1098.⁹⁵⁷ William of Apulia describes the Normans' early leader, Rainulf, sending envoys back to Normandy, who 'recounted how delightful and fertile Apulia was, promising wealth to the poor, and to the rich that their wealth would be still further enhanced.'⁹⁵⁸ Al-Idrīsī's later description of southern Italy in the *Book of Roger* also commented upon the fertility of Apulia, as well as the range of produce grown in the different areas.⁹⁵⁹ Meanwhile, Sicily grew durum wheat which

⁹⁵² Pryor, *Geography, Technology, and War*, pp. 7-8 and pp. 92-93.

⁹⁵³ Balard, 'Escalaes génoises', pp. 247-52.

⁹⁵⁴ For the importance of water supplies and shipping, see J. H. Pryor, "'Water, water, everywhere, Nor any drop to drink.'" Water supplies for the fleets of the First Crusade', in *Die gesta per Francos: Etudes sur les croisades dédiées à Jean Richard*, ed. M. Balard, B. Z. Kedar and J. Riley-Smith (Aldershot, 2001), pp. 21-28.

⁹⁵⁵ Loud, *Robert Guiscard*, pp. 60-66; E. Joranson, 'The Inception of the Career of the Normans in Italy-Legend and History', *Speculum*, 23:3 (1948), 353-96; J. France, 'The occasion of the coming of the Normans to southern Italy', *JMH*, 17:3 (1991), 185-205.

⁹⁵⁶ Amatus, 1:19, p. 24; trans. p. 50.

⁹⁵⁷ Malaterra, 4.26, p. 104; trans. p. 208.

⁹⁵⁸ WA, Bk. 1, l. 180-84, p. 108; trans. p. 7.

⁹⁵⁹ Idrīsī, pp. 381-85; p. 389; and p. 396.

was ideal for export in that it could be stored for long periods without fermenting and, as the Cairo Geniza documents testify, also produced silk, leather goods and hides, and cheese (recorded especially from the thirteenth century), whilst al-Idrīsī commented upon the abundant fruit and vegetables that grew in the fertile north-eastern coastal plains.⁹⁶⁰ As argued in earlier chapters this initially resulted in a closer relationship with Ifrīqiya, but as the kingdom became more aligned with the Latin West, Sicilian resources increasingly played a key role in the crusading movement. This was not surprising as al-Idrīsī had described Messina as being surrounded by a fertile area (which was clearly still the case almost forty years later as it managed to sustain two crusader armies), having a thriving shipyard and port, inexpensive markets, and a harbour in which ‘the largest vessels can moor there so close to the shore that one can transport by hand what is carried on the ships to dry land.’⁹⁶¹ Hence it is not surprising that both the *regno* and Sicily were able to support the presence of crusader forces.

The contribution of the mainland to the crusading movement was significant and its ongoing nature indicates greater engagement with the Latin East than the limited references to participation of named individuals suggests. In 1096 the contingent of Hugh of Vermandois sailed from Bari to Durazzo, whilst Robert of Flanders also immediately took ship from (unspecified) Apulian ports, as did Bohemond’s army. The forces led by Robert of Normandy and Stephen of Blois, however, overwintered in Apulia and Calabria.⁹⁶² Indeed, it seems that some also crossed to Sicily, as Bishop Odo of Bayeux died and was buried in Palermo in February 1097.⁹⁶³ The fact that they and their men stayed in different locations may explain why there were no recorded confrontations with the local inhabitants, although clearly the stay was costly for the ‘common people’ accompanying them as Fulcher of Chartres relates how some ‘fearing privation in the future sold their weapons and again took up their pilgrims’ staves, and returned home as cowards.’⁹⁶⁴ Even allowing for the desertion of some, the numbers seeking a passage East remained high as he describes seeing a ship carrying four hundred pilgrim/crusaders from Brindisi which ‘suddenly cracked through the middle for no reason’.⁹⁶⁵ The majority of its passengers, together with their horses, mules and

⁹⁶⁰ Abulafia, *Two Italies*, pp. 34-36; Goitein, ‘Sicily and Southern Italy’, pp. 13-16; Idrīsī, pp. 312-15.

⁹⁶¹ Idrīsī, p. 312; trans. Loud, *Roger*, p. 361.

⁹⁶² GF, 1: 3, pp. 5-6; OV, V, pp. 34-37.

⁹⁶³ OV, V, pp. 210-11.

⁹⁶⁴ FC, 1:7, p. 168; trans. pp. 75-76.

⁹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 1:7, pp. 168-69; trans. p. 76.

wealth, drowned, indicating the potential dangers involved in sea travel, including the issue of sea-worthiness of the vessels themselves. Albert of Aachen recounted how Peter the Hermit used Bari as a port of both departure and return.⁹⁶⁶ Meanwhile, Brindisi and Otranto were also used by departing crusaders, and it was in the former port that Bohemond amassed his forces prior to invading Byzantine lands in 1106.⁹⁶⁷ It is possible that Bohemond sought to ensure there were no confrontations between local inhabitants and his assembling armies by arranging for their supply himself, possibly in a similar way to that used by William of Normandy during his preparations for the conquest of England.⁹⁶⁸ In 1096, the *Gesta Francorum* described how he ‘made careful preparations’, whilst according to Yewdale, in 1106-07 Bohemond also supported those who ‘flocked to his standards [and] waited for the expedition to set out’.⁹⁶⁹ Rodulfus Tortarius’ epic poem describing Bohemond’s Byzantine campaign indicates the range of resources he drew upon in 1106, explaining that the wood for his four thousand ships came from Gargano, flocks of sheep came from Apulia and Sicily, and grain came from Apulia, Calabria and Sicily.⁹⁷⁰ Although it is impossible to determine how many people were involved on each occasion, the scale of provisioning calculated by Bachrach in considering the resources required by William of Normandy for the conquest of England give an indication of southern Italy’s contribution. A warhorse requires 5.4kg of grain and 5.8kg of hay daily, plus straw for bedding, whilst the daily ration for men included 1.8kg grain, 0.9kg firewood and at least 227ml of wine.⁹⁷¹ As well as basic foodstuffs (and water), other items including horseshoes, nails, and arrowheads would be required. Similarly, Pryor’s calculations of the provisioning needed for men and horses on campaign, plus the initial sea crossing to the next supply base (which could be up to seventeen days’ worth of supplies), suggest southern Italy would also have provided many of these initial campaign necessities.⁹⁷²

⁹⁶⁶ AA, 1:5, pp. 6-7.

⁹⁶⁷ GF, 1:3, pp. 5-6; FC, 2:38, p. 159; trans. p. 192.

⁹⁶⁸ B. S. Bachrach, ‘Some Observations on the Military Administration of the Norman Conquest’, *ANS*, 8 (1985), 1-25.

⁹⁶⁹ Yewdale, p. 115; *Anonymi Barensis Chronicon*, in *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, 5, ed. L. A. Muratori (Milan, 1724), p. 155; FC, 2:38, p. 518-19; trans. p. 192; Rodulfus Tortarius, l. 65-68, p. 300.

⁹⁷⁰ Rodulfus Tortarius, l. 71-80, pp. 300-01; V. Sivo, ‘Il Mezzogiorno d’Italia e la primo crociata in alcuni testi letterati’, in *Il Mezzogiorno e le Crociate*, ed. Musca, pp. 355-78.

⁹⁷¹ Bachrach, ‘Some observations’, pp. 11-15.

⁹⁷² J. H. Pryor, ‘Introduction: modelling Bohemond’s march to Thessalonikè’, in *Logistics of Warfare in the Age of the Crusades*, ed. J. H. Pryor (Aldershot, 2006), pp. 1-24.

Although Louis VII declined Roger II's use of ships for the Second Crusade, the counts of Maurienne and Auvergne and the marquis of Montferrat sailed with their forces from Brindisi to Durazzo.⁹⁷³ Through the resources of the *regno*, the king therefore tacitly supported the crusade. Despite instability following William II's death, it seems that the *regno* continued to sustain forces in transit with relative ease, as Louis III of Thuringia's journey to Tyre via Brindisi did not generate any further comment beyond its routing.⁹⁷⁴ Nor does Otto of St Blasien do more than state that Duke Leopold of Austria and many others from Cologne sailed from Brindisi in 1191.⁹⁷⁵ As discussed in chapter four, it was from the 1190s that the kingdom as a locale increasingly became a participant in crusading, both in terms of its resources and through its internal politics. According to Richard of Devizes, Richard I's forces for the Third Crusade included over a hundred ships, with 10,000 men and 5,000 horses.⁹⁷⁶ The Pipe Rolls show that he had bought cheeses, beans, bacon, horseshoes, nails, and arrowheads from England, but other items such as grain, wine and hay were not included.⁹⁷⁷ Further supplies would also be required whilst the English and French armies were assembling at Messina, and although possible Anglo-Sicilian hostility towards Tancred over his treatment of Joanna and her dowry may account for the hostile tone of the *Itinerarium Peregrinorum*, the account highlights the strains that an overwintering army could place upon a locality when long-term heavy provisioning was required. Even before Richard I arrived, many of those who had travelled on his fleet and preceded him, 'avoided staying in the city', according to the *Itinerarium Peregrinorum*, because of 'the violence of the godless citizens', although the author does add that tension may have been down to what he described as the innocent chatting of the pilgrims with the inhabitants' wives.⁹⁷⁸ Despite attempts by Richard and Philip to maintain discipline within their forces, negotiations over bread prices led to riots and Richard's subsequent seizure of the city as a means of restoring order.⁹⁷⁹ Whilst it can only be speculation, it is possible that inter-contingent rivalries may also have exacerbated local tensions, which had not been present during the sojourn of the First Crusaders.

⁹⁷³ OD, pp. 66-69.

⁹⁷⁴ Johnson, 'Crusades of Frederick I', p. 115.

⁹⁷⁵ Otto of St Blasien, p. 48.

⁹⁷⁶ Richard of Devizes, p. 15.

⁹⁷⁷ C. Tyerman, *How to Plan a Crusade* (London, 2015), p. 263; Pipe Roll 2, Richard I, pp. 3, 8-9, 53, 104, 112, 131-32; Pipe Roll 3, Richard I, p. 11.

⁹⁷⁸ IP, 2:12 and 2:16, p. 154-55 and 157-58; trans. p. 155 and p. 158.

⁹⁷⁹ IP, 2:14, pp. 157-58; trans. p. 148; Roger of Howden, III, pp. 59-60; trans. II, p. 161.

Nor was the traffic only one way as many returning crusaders would also have passed through southern Italy, and the kingdom's resources would have sustained them on their journey, whilst news of the Latin Near East would have travelled with them. One such was Robert Curthose, although he was probably not typical in that he married Sybil of Conversano (and thereby acquired her large dowry) when he returned via Apulia in 1100.⁹⁸⁰ John of Salisbury describes the rescue of Louis VII and Eleanor from Greek attack, and their subsequent visit to Palermo and journey onward to papal territory through Calabria (perhaps along the *Via Popilia* to Capua), as they returned from the Holy Land in 1149.⁹⁸¹ Their meeting with Roger II may have raised the possibility of future joint action, although as addressed in chapter three, this came to naught. In recounting Philip Augustus' return from Acre in 1191, Roger of Howden states that he landed at Otranto and then travelled overland to Rome, whilst Joanna and Berengaria returned from the Holy Land via Palermo in late 1192.⁹⁸² Richard had also intended to return via southern Italy. According to Ralph of Coggeshall, it was only whilst at Corfu that he decided to charter three smaller vessels to take him up the Adriatic coast, although he still sent his big ship on to Brindisi.⁹⁸³ Many of those returning from the Holy Land also visited shrines in southern Italy and Sicily during their journey homewards. For example, a Lombard traveller returning from Jerusalem developed epilepsy whilst at Monopoli, and on hearing of the miracles of St Catald at Taranto, went there and was healed.⁹⁸⁴ The kingdom's significance and role therefore varied to those passing through it, but at all levels it provided at least physical sustenance for their journey to and from the Latin East.

Other contingents heading to the Holy Land give further insight into the resources of the kingdom and their use in the Latin States of the Near East. In 1113, Adelaide del Vasto was accompanied by a laden flotilla when she went to marry Baldwin I. Even allowing for a level of exaggeration and the fact that this was a royal fleet designed to impress, Albert of Aachen's description of her ships filled with men, goods and wealth indicated

⁹⁸⁰ OV, V, pp. 278-79.

⁹⁸¹ John of Salisbury, *The Historia Pontificalis of John of Salisbury*, ed. and trans. M. Chibnall (London, 1956), pp. 60-61.

⁹⁸² Roger of Howden, III, p. 166, trans. II, p. 256; *Oeuvres de Rigord*, p. 117; William of Newburgh, 4:31, p. 382; Chalandon, II, p. 473; *Tancredi et Willelmi III*, pp. 70-71, no. 29.

⁹⁸³ Ralph of Coggeshall, pp. 53-54; Roger of Howden, III, p. 194; trans. II, p. 278.

⁹⁸⁴ Oldfield, *Sanctity and Pilgrimage*, p. 196; *Historia Inventionis et Translationis S. Cataldi*, in *Acta Sanctorum*, 1653, May II, (Paris, 1866), p. 571.

the ability of southern Italian lands to provide substantial resources.⁹⁸⁵ A similar picture emerges from William of Tyre's description of the arrival of Bohemond II in the Levant in 1126, as he brought, 'A fleet of ten galleys and twelve other vessels suitable for carrying the baggage and equipment as well as arms and provisions.'⁹⁸⁶ Whilst these expeditions elicited comment because of their circumstances, as Gertwagen has pointed out, the more mundane but necessary interaction between ships and the land they sailed down would only occasionally be mentioned in medieval accounts and chronicles when they formed part of a significant event or incident on the journey.⁹⁸⁷ This can be seen in Roger of Howden's account of Richard the Lionheart's fleet at Marseilles, when he recounts that, 'Not finding their master there, they made a stay of eight days, for some necessary repairs to the fleet; after which they set out in pursuit of the king [...]'.⁹⁸⁸ Similarly, within the context of describing the events that occurred in Messina during the winter of 1190/91, Roger refers to worm-damaged ships being hauled out and repaired.⁹⁸⁹ Yet despite such stops being rarely described, the constant movement of vessels, crews and passengers would have necessitated a widespread support system. Oldfield's suggestion that one reason southern Italians do not seem to have played a large part in crusading was because they believed they were contributing at a supply and transit level therefore has much to support it.⁹⁹⁰

This becomes even more likely when the impact of pilgrims travelling through the *regno* is considered. An indication of this traffic passing through Trani is given in the various amendments to the *Vita* of the city's saint, Nicholas the Pilgrim, which broadly covers the period of 1094-1142.⁹⁹¹ Many of the miracles relate to ships carrying pilgrims from Syria, and whilst the stories were designed to encourage worshippers to visit Trani's shrine (rather than its rival of St Nicholas of Myra at Bari), Oldfield has argued that the fact that they addressed sea-faring pilgrims indicates the significance of such trade to the city.⁹⁹² A suggestion of the scale of pilgrim traffic (and trade) is also given in Saewulf's account of his arrival in the Holy Land, when he explained how a

⁹⁸⁵ AA, 12:14, pp. 844-47.

⁹⁸⁶ WT, 13:21, p. 613; trans. II, p. 32.

⁹⁸⁷ Gertwagen, p. 96.

⁹⁸⁸ Roger of Howden, III, p. 54; trans. II, p. 156

⁹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 71-2; trans. II, p.173.

⁹⁹⁰ Oldfield, *Sanctity and Pilgrimage*, p. 267.

⁹⁹¹ *Vita Nicolai Peregrini et relation Adelferii*, in *Acta Sanctorum*, 1695, June I (Brussels, 1969), 57-58, p. 244; 66, p. 245.

⁹⁹² P. Oldfield, 'St Nicholas the Pilgrim and the city of Trani between Greeks and Normans, c. 1090-c. 1140', *ANS*, 30 (2008), 168-81.

storm destroyed twenty-three ships ‘all of them laden with palmers and merchandise [...] Of human beings of either sex more than a thousand died that day.’⁹⁹³ Pryor has also suggested that Saewulf’s initial difficulty in finding a ship to take him to the Holy Land in high summer is a reflection of the demand for such transportation.⁹⁹⁴ In 1136, Raymond of Poitiers had adopted the garb of a pilgrim as a foil to escape detection by Roger II as he travelled to Antioch. William of Tyre explained that despite Roger putting a watch on the Apulian ports, Raymond was able to slip through undetected by travelling ‘among the people’, whilst his companions and household did likewise, ‘divided into bands’ and separated by several days’ journey.⁹⁹⁵ That these groups were able to mingle with others indicates the high numbers passing through Apulia.

Not only did this mean that southern Italian resources played an important part in sustaining those travelling on its roads and through its ports, but by facilitating this traffic, the *regno* was also playing a significant wider role. Pryor has argued that the influx of pilgrims and crusaders whether as individuals or as small groups was vital for the establishment and continued survival of the Latin East.⁹⁹⁶ This can be seen in the chroniclers’ accounts. For example, Albert of Aachen described how pilgrim-crusaders played a role in the siege of Jaffa in 1102, when two ships arrived ‘unexpectedly with a company of pilgrims who intended to worship in Jerusalem.’⁹⁹⁷ In 1106, more ships arrived, this time bringing English, Flemish and ‘Danes’ to aid the Latin States, whilst in 1110 a Norwegian fleet arrived, and assisted in an attack on Sidon.⁹⁹⁸ This fleet had sailed via Sicily, as Snorre Sturlason recounted how King Sigurd stayed with Roger II, and whilst there conferred the title of king upon him.⁹⁹⁹ Although that is unlikely, as Roger did not claim to be king until 1130 when the title was conferred by the anti-pope Anacletus II, the sojourn in Sicily is not. On a later occasion, William of Tyre explained that the arrival of pilgrims during the siege of Ascalon in 1153 played a key role in boosting the crusader army.¹⁰⁰⁰ Any interruption to this pilgrim traffic could have a potentially disastrous impact upon the Latin States. As discussed in chapter four, such

⁹⁹³ Saewulf, p. 63; trans. p. 100.

⁹⁹⁴ J. H. Pryor, ‘The Voyages of Saewulf’, in *Peregrinationes Tres: Saewulf, John of Würzburg, Theodericus*, ed. R. B. C. Huygens (Turnhout, 1994), pp. 35-57.

⁹⁹⁵ WT, 14:20, p. 657; trans. II, p. 78.

⁹⁹⁶ Pryor, *Geography, Technology, and War*, p. 112.

⁹⁹⁷ AA, 9:23; pp. 666-67.

⁹⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 10:1, pp. 718-19 and 11:26, pp. 798-801.

⁹⁹⁹ Snorre Sturlason, p. 610.

¹⁰⁰⁰ WT, 17:24, p.793; trans. II, p. 221.

was certainly the view of the OFCWT whose author claimed that when William II was building up his forces in preparation to attack Byzantium in 1185, pilgrim traffic to Outremer ceased for two years. This so weakened the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem that he felt William II was essentially responsible for Saladin's victory at Hattin in July 1187.¹⁰⁰¹ Whether William II conscripted pilgrims for his forces, or merely held up their passage, is unclear. Ibn Jubayr's account of his journey through Sicily described how the Genoese-owned ship on which he and his companions were to leave Trapani for Spain was almost impounded together with her owners, but they escaped after paying a substantial bribe, suggesting that William wanted at least the ships themselves.¹⁰⁰² In 1194, however, when Henry VI invaded southern Italy in order to claim his wife's inheritance, fellow-German pilgrims travelling to Jerusalem were suborned into his army as he moved south.¹⁰⁰³ Leaving aside the historians' debate surrounding the terminology of crusading, clearly the status of a pilgrim versus a 'crusader' was not clear cut at the time.¹⁰⁰⁴ Indeed, Oldfield has argued that an attempt to address this ambiguity can be seen in a set of privileges granted to Barletta by King Tancred in 1190, which related to the assets of deceased pilgrims, and included steps to ascertain whether they really were pilgrims.¹⁰⁰⁵ That the step was considered necessary is also a further indication of the number of pilgrim/crusaders travelling through Barletta.

Another category of travellers passing between the Latin East and Europe were embassies, whether to solicit papal assistance in church affairs or to seek military aid from the West. William of Tyre often only mentions such journeys in passing, and rarely gives their itinerary, but as figure 12 shows, in at least nine cases they are recorded as travelling via southern Italy or Sicily. In two instances of people returning to the Holy Land, William cites their port of departure as Brindisi; hardly surprising given that both the *Via Appia* and *Via Traiana* met there as mentioned above. Other examples include Bishop Rainerius of Sebastea, who visited Bishop William of Salerno in 1140, and received a church in the territory of Eboli from him. He returned in 1150,

¹⁰⁰¹ OFCWT, p. 82; trans. p. 74.

¹⁰⁰² II, p. 353.

¹⁰⁰³ Otto of St Blasien, pp. 63-64.

¹⁰⁰⁴ C. Tyerman, 'Were There Any Crusades in the Twelfth Century?', *EHR*, 110:437 (1995), 553-77, who disagrees with some of the arguments of M. Markowski, 'Crucesignatus: its origins and early usage', *JMH*, 10:3 (1984), 157-65. For a brief summary of the debate, see also G. Constable, *Crusaders and Crusading in the Twelfth Century* (Farnham, 2008), pp. 349-52.

¹⁰⁰⁵ P. Oldfield, 'The Use and Abuse of Pilgrims in Norman Italy', in *Crusading and Pilgrimage*, ed. Hurlock and Oldfield, pp. 139-56 (p. 152); *Tancredi et Willelmi III*, pp. 4-5, no. 1.

when he accompanied Patriarch Fulcher of Jerusalem (1146-57) to Rome.¹⁰⁰⁶ The abbot of Josaphat was also in Italy in 1140.¹⁰⁰⁷ Other offshoots of Holy Land religious institutions in southern Italy doubtless also received visits from members of their parental houses. In 1150, Wibald of Corvey mentioned receiving a letter from Sicily

Figure 12: Journeys via southern Italy and/or Sicily in William of Tyre

Date	Who	From	To	In WT:
1118	Un-named (noble) envoys	Jerusalem	Sent to Eustace of Boulogne. Returned via Apulia	12:3, p. 550, trans. I, p. 521
1136	Raymond of Poitiers	France	LKJ via Apulia	14:20, p. 675; trans. II, p. 78
1138	Arnulf and then Ralph of Domfront	Antioch	Rome via Apulia and Roger II	15:12, pp. 691-92; trans. II, p. 113
1155	Frederick of Acre <i>et al</i>	HL	Rome via Otranto & coast of Apulia (as at war)	18:6-7, pp. 817-20; trans. II, pp. 246-49
1167	Stephen of Perche	Sicily	Jerusalem - died there	20:3, pp. 914-16, trans. II, p. 347
1169	Archbishop Frederick of Tyre & John of Banyas	Jerusalem	Main courts of Europe including Sicily	20:12, p. 926, trans. II, p. 360
1171	Envoys (Amaury went to Constantinople)	LKJ	All kings of West including Sicily	20:22, p. 941, trans. II, p. 377
1178	William of Tyre <i>et al</i> to Third Lateran Council	HL	Rome via S Italy - Brindisi	21:26, p. 996; trans. II, p. 436
1179	Henry of Champagne	Troyes	Acre via Brindisi, Apulia	21:30, p. 1003; trans. p. 443

NB William also refers to six journeys taken to Rome which would probably also have gone via southern Italy but do not explicitly state the routing, so they have not been included here. [HL = Holy Land; LKJ = Latin kingdom of Jerusalem]

¹⁰⁰⁶ G. A. Loud, 'A New Document concerning the Bishopric of Sebastea', *Crusades*, 16 (2017), 21-32, (pp. 23-24); *Le Pergamene dell'archivio diocesano di Salerno*, ed. A. Giordano (Battipaglia, 2014), pp. 190-93, no. 100; WT, 18:6, p. 818; trans. II, p. 247.

¹⁰⁰⁷ Loud, 'New Document', p. 24; *Papsturkunden für Kirchen im Heiligen Lande*, ed. R. Hiestand (Göttingen, 1985), pp. 156-60, nos. 44-45.

from Theodwin, bishop of Santa Rufina, who was also returning to Europe from the Near East.¹⁰⁰⁸ Nor was the traffic only one way: Archbishop Richard of Andria (who according to local tradition came originally from England) stayed in the Holy Land from 1158 to 1164, before returning to southern Italy.¹⁰⁰⁹ As mentioned in chapter three, at some point in the mid-1100s, Canon Arnulf of Antioch (one of Ralph of Domfront's accusers) became Bishop of Cosenza.¹⁰¹⁰ Meanwhile, Ralph of Diceto stated that the delegation led by Patriarch Heraclius of Jerusalem in 1184 went via Brindisi, although as discussed in chapter four, they did not seem to visit William II.¹⁰¹¹ The upheaval caused by wars within the *regno* clearly had an impact upon traffic between the Latin East and the West. William of Tyre pointed out that when Patriarch Fulcher of Jerusalem and accompanying prelates travelled to Rome to protest about the actions of the Hospitallers in spring 1155, they had to travel up the coast from Brindisi to Ancona, as they were unable to obtain safe conduct to travel overland.¹⁰¹² Benjamin of Tudela also described the impact of William I's razing of Bari for its participation in a revolt against royal authority in 1156: 'Neither Jew nor Gentiles live there at the present day in consequence of its destruction.'¹⁰¹³ But whilst the periods of civil war doubtless caused a great deal of disruption, it seems that the flow of traffic through the *regno* continued, and it is highly likely that the Sicilian court was aware of many of those transient visitors and the news they carried. Meanwhile, the diplomatic journey of Burchard of Strasbourg, who was sent by Frederick Barbarossa to Saladin in *c.* 1175, raises the possibility that the kingdom may also have acted as an interface between the West and the Muslim world on occasion.¹⁰¹⁴

The Italo-Sicilian rulers sought to ensure the safety of those passing through their lands, thereby indicating an awareness of the importance of this traffic. At Melfi in 1129, Roger II made his nobles swear an oath to cease private wars, and maintain peace and justice throughout their lands towards all non-knightly classes, 'as well as pilgrims, travellers and merchants, nor should they molest them, nor permit them to be molested

¹⁰⁰⁸ *Monumenta Corbeiensia*, ed. P. Jaffé (Berlin, 1864), (*Wibaldi epistolae*) pp. 376-78, no. 252 (esp. p. 377).

¹⁰⁰⁹ Kamp, I:2, p. 563; *Cartulaire du chapitre du Saint-Sépulcre de Jérusalem*, ed. G. Bresc-Bautier (Paris, 1984), pp. 119-22, nos. 43-44; pp. 129-31, no. 47; pp. 261-66, no. 135.

¹⁰¹⁰ WT, 15:12, p. 691; trans. II, p. 113.

¹⁰¹¹ Ralph of Diceto, II, p. 27.

¹⁰¹² WT, 18:7, pp. 818-19; trans. II, p. 248.

¹⁰¹³ Benjamin of Tudela, p. 66.

¹⁰¹⁴ J. V. Tolan, *Sons of Ishmael: Muslims through European Eyes in the Middle Ages* (Gainsville, 2008), pp. 101-05.

on their land.¹⁰¹⁵ Oldfield has suggested that such concern for travellers by Roger II was a deliberate attempt to counter the image of him as a tyrant, and demonstrate his Christian responsibility and commitment to the crusading movement.¹⁰¹⁶ The fact that al-Idrīsī described the order of coastal and inland towns travellers would pass through in Calabria and Apulia suggests that King Roger was keen to record the centrality of his kingdom to East-West travel. Meanwhile William II was portrayed at the Venice peace conference in 1177 as ensuring the route to the Holy Sepulchre was safe for travellers, whilst Richard of S. Germano claimed that within the kingdom at this time, ‘everywhere was safe, for the traveller did not fear the robber’s ambush, nor the sailor injury from pirates at sea.’¹⁰¹⁷ As well as showing his commitment to maintaining law and order, William II’s very public punishment of those found guilty of attacking the envoys of Frederick Barbarossa in 1178 was also a clear indication of the king’s understanding of the status accruing to a peaceful realm.¹⁰¹⁸ It is possible that Tancred had that in mind in 1192, when he ordered the archbishop of Brindisi to ensure that pilgrims arriving in the port were looked after.¹⁰¹⁹ In Sicily, it seems that this concern also applied to Muslim travellers, as Ibn Jubayr testified, when William II’s personal intervention ensured the safety of the Muslim passengers as their ship was wrecked outside Messina.¹⁰²⁰ Ensuring the safety of those passing through the kingdom also facilitated both internal and international trade, as Roger’s decree of Melfi (above) indicated.

Trade as a means of assistance?

Despite the range of commodities produced in the Italo-Sicilian kingdom, as Abulafia has shown, it was the North Italian merchants of Genoa, Pisa and Venice who came to dominate the trade routes from the *regno* to the Latin States of the Near East. The southern Italian cities seemed to play only an increasingly minor role despite earlier involvement in this trade. For example, Amalfitans had been trading throughout the eastern Mediterranean from the ninth century, and had pre-crusade links with

¹⁰¹⁵ Alex. Tel., 1:21, pp. 18-19; trans. p. 75.

¹⁰¹⁶ Oldfield, ‘Use and Abuse’, p. 148.

¹⁰¹⁷ Romuald, p. 290; Richard of S. Germano, p. 4; trans. p. 3. I am grateful to Professor Phillips for pointing out a parallel here to the Genoese claim that because they were keeping the sea safe from pirates, Frederick Barbarossa should not impose his authority over them too closely: see Caffaro, p. 50; trans. p. 81

¹⁰¹⁸ Oldfield, ‘Use and Abuse’, p. 146; Romuald, p. 296.

¹⁰¹⁹ Oldfield, *Sanctity and Pilgrimage*, p. 186; *Tancredi et Willelmi III*, pp. 70-71, no. 29.

¹⁰²⁰ *IJ*, pp. 337-38.

Jerusalem.¹⁰²¹ But whilst the timing and extent of the city's decline as a commercial centre in the twelfth century is uncertain, Amalfitan merchants clearly retained a presence in Outremer.¹⁰²² In 1163/4 Bohemond III of Antioch confirmed their possessions in Latakia, granted them the church of St Andrew and also trading concessions, whilst in 1166 they were granted part of the cemetery of St Nicholas in Acre for their use suggesting a sizable community in the city.¹⁰²³ Perhaps even more telling was the grant made by King Guy and Queen Sibylla during the siege of Acre on 10 April 1190, which clearly indicates a continued commercial presence there.¹⁰²⁴ Nor were the Amalfitans the only traders. As the events surrounding the translation of St Nicholas from Myra to Bari showed, the Baresi were also actively involved in eastern Mediterranean trade, including with Antioch. Other southern Italian cities including Gaeta, Molfetta, Bisceglie and Barletta played a key role in commerce but they were concerned predominantly with the internal markets of the *regno*. The Salernitans, however, seem to have traded in North Africa too.¹⁰²⁵ Trani's inhabitants were also engaged in wider commercial activities, as in 1196 the archbishop of Trani obtained commercial privileges for the city from King Aimery of Cyprus, when he (and the archbishop of Brindisi) invested Aimery with the royal sceptre on behalf of Henry VI.¹⁰²⁶ That aside, the overall lack of direct southern involvement in long distance trade has been explained by the fact that the Italo-Normans did not allow the coastal towns and cities to develop any independence from ducal (later royal) control, and increasingly their commercial activities were subordinated to royal political considerations.¹⁰²⁷ They were also required to provide ships and sailors for military and 'royal' commercial purposes, which was clearly resented, probably because it also affected their own ability to trade.¹⁰²⁸ Instead, it was the northern cities of Genoa, Pisa and Venice that came to control long-distance trade to the Levant, albeit travelling via the south. In so-doing, they developed a clear relationship with the *regno* as discussed

¹⁰²¹ A. C. Citarella, 'The Relations of Amalfi with the Arab World before the Crusades', *Speculum*, 42:2 (1967), 299-312; Amatus, 8:3, p. 342; trans. p. 188.

¹⁰²² D. Abulafia, 'Southern Italy, Sicily and Sardinia in the medieval Mediterranean economy', in *Commerce and Conquest in the Mediterranean, 1100-1500* (Aldershot, 1993), pp. 1-32 (esp. p.9, fn. 21).

¹⁰²³ *RRH*, p. 102, no. 388, and p. 98, no. 372; see also P. Skinner, *Medieval Amalfi and its Diaspora, 800-1250* (Oxford, 2013), pp. 228-31.

¹⁰²⁴ *RRH*, p. 183, no. 690; *UKJ*, 2, pp. 812-14, no. 478, and p. 855, no. 514.

¹⁰²⁵ D. Abulafia, 'Ragusa and the Norman Kingdom of Sicily' *The Slavonic and East European Review*, 54:3 (1976), 412-28; Oldfield, *City and Community*, pp. 246-62; P. Skinner, 'Politics and Piracy: the duchy of Gaeta in the twelfth century', *JMH*, 21:4 (1995), 307-19; *Rogerii II Regis Diplomata*, pp. 129-31, no. 46.

¹⁰²⁶ Hill, *History of Cyprus*, II, p. 49, esp. fn. 2; *RRH*, p. 194, no. 729.

¹⁰²⁷ Oldfield, *City and Community*, pp. 248-50.

¹⁰²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 85.

by Abulafia in his detailed study *The Two Italies*, so only a brief summary will be included here.

The Genoese were the first to build a close relationship with the new Norman lords, and whilst the grant of land in Messina to the Genoese consul Ogerio and his brother Amico in 1116 for a merchant hostel was a private one, it potentially indicates a sizable trade between the two cities by this date.¹⁰²⁹ Furthermore, as discussed in chapter three, Roger II's agreements with Savona indicate an ongoing support of Genoese trading activities, which could also be seen as a means of indirectly contributing to Levantine trade. As Ligurian settlement increased so too did trade links, many of which were facilitated by both commercial and personal links between families, as seen in Abulafia's analysis of the merchant, Solomon of Salerno.¹⁰³⁰ Trade between Genoa and the crown was formalised in 1156, as outlined in chapter four.¹⁰³¹ Certainly William I gained an important ally in the face of German, Pisan and Byzantine hostilities, but by encouraging Genoese trade he effectively made the kingdom a linchpin in their Mediterranean trading activities, including that with the Latin East. Relations with the other northern Italian trading cities were more turbulent, thereby reflecting their political allegiances which were often hostile to the kingdom. The Pisans were not offered the same commercial advantages as Genoa, both because of their competition with Amalfitan merchants and more significantly because they were imperial allies. It was not until 1169 that peace was finally made with William II and Pisan consuls became established in Messina.¹⁰³² Venetian interests were more focused upon the Adriatic and Byzantine trade, and this also brought them into political conflict with the Italo-Norman rulers until peace was finally established in 1175. As Abulafia has shown, they did have a presence in Sicily (including a church in Palermo from 1144) and Apulia prior to this, but not on the same scale as the Genoese.¹⁰³³ Following the peace agreement, trade seems to have developed throughout the kingdom, with Calabrian grain being the main Venetian export to the Latin States.¹⁰³⁴ Although it is unknown who was responsible for conveying it, pottery was a product that seems to have been

¹⁰²⁹ Abulafia, *Two Italies*, pp. 62-63; he cites *I diplomati greci e arabi di Sicilia*, ed. S. Cusa, 2 vols (Palermo, 1860-82), 1, p. 359.

¹⁰³⁰ Abulafia, 'Crown and Economy', pp. 11-13; and *Two Italies*, pp. 237-54.

¹⁰³¹ Abulafia, *Two Italies*, pp. 65-70, 92-99; *Codice diplomatico Genova*, I, pp. 338-41.

¹⁰³² D. Abulafia, 'Pisan Commercial Colonies and Consulates in Twelfth-Century Sicily', *EHR*, 93:366 (1978), 68-81.

¹⁰³³ Abulafia, *Two Italies*, pp. 142-49.

¹⁰³⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 147-49; Oldfield, *City and Community*, pp. 248-49.

exported both ways. Sicilian fragments have been found in Caesarea and Acre, whilst in Otranto ceramics from the Near East have been recovered.¹⁰³⁵ Meanwhile, a further indication of ongoing interaction (whether through trade or travel) is given through finds of Italo-Sicilian coins in the Holy Land.¹⁰³⁶ Matthew has remarked that the prosperity of the *regno* was largely due to its produce, and whilst other merchants might have been responsible for their export, that does not detract from the fact that through this production and the concessions granted to the northern Italian traders, the kingdom played a fundamental, albeit indirect, role in supporting the crusader states.¹⁰³⁷

Did blurred identity obscure involvement?

In many ways, the role of Messina epitomised that played by the Italo-Sicilian kingdom as a whole, acting as it did as a main conduit of trade from the northern sector of the Mediterranean to the Near East. Indeed, Abulafia has argued that Messina itself was ‘a Norman phenomenon and a phenomenon of the crusades.’¹⁰³⁸ In commenting on its resources and harbour, al-Idrīsī added that, ‘one encounters merchants from every sort of country, Christian and Muslim.’¹⁰³⁹ This view of Messina as a leading port for people and goods was echoed by Benjamin of Tudela and Ibn Jubayr, as mentioned above.¹⁰⁴⁰ As Abulafia’s study of the merchant community there has shown, whilst there remained a sizable Greek Christian community, for many of the Latin settlers from the eleventh century onwards their ancestors came from elsewhere in Italy, including Tuscany and Liguria. Whilst his links were more with the mainland than Sicily, the merchant Solomon of Salerno in many ways encapsulates the connections between commercial interests and family bonds, as well as the blurring of identity that could occur through identifiers such as place of origin, residence or trading interest.¹⁰⁴¹ As the crown granted trade concessions to the Genoese, Pisans and, later, Venetians, their merchants came to dominate ownership of the city’s warehouses and eastern trade routes.¹⁰⁴² A reflection

¹⁰³⁵ D. Pringle, ‘Pottery as Evidence for Trade in the Crusader States’, in *I Comuni italiani nel regno crociato di Gerusalemme*, ed. G. Airaldi and B. Z. Kedar (Geneva, 1986), pp. 449-75; Martin, *La Pouille*, p. 420, also fn. 134.

¹⁰³⁶ D. M. Metcalf, ‘Ritrovamenti di monete del regno di Sicilia negli stati crociati d’oriente’, *Bollettino di Numismatica*, 6-7 (1986), 81-84.

¹⁰³⁷ Matthew, *Norman Kingdom*, pp. 74-77; Oldfield, *City and Community*, pp. 251-55.

¹⁰³⁸ Abulafia, *Two Italies*, p. 42.

¹⁰³⁹ Idrīsī, p. 312; trans. p. 361.

¹⁰⁴⁰ Benjamin of Tudela, p. 137; II, pp. 338-39.

¹⁰⁴¹ Abulafia, *Two Italies*, pp. 237-54.

¹⁰⁴² D. Abulafia, ‘The Merchants of Messina: Levant Trade and Domestic Economy’, *Papers of the British School at Rome*, 54 (1986), 196-212.

of the subsequent northern Italian community, and how it continued into the fourteenth century, can be seen in Boccaccio's *Decameron*. The story of Day Four, Novella Five is set in Messina and involves three merchant brothers and their sister whose father came from San Gimignano, their young Pisan factor, and a pot of basil from Salerno.¹⁰⁴³ It also suggests other connections in that there could be a Greek sub-reference in the choice of herb, and a further allusion in its origin of Salerno which was famous for its medical school. This reflects the different layers of identity at play in Messina, which is also raised by the account of the 'English' crusaders' stay in Messina given in the *Itinerarium Peregrinorum*. The author never refers to Sicilians, despite being aware of the name of the country (and kingdom), but only to 'Griffones' in relation to those of Greek origin (although the author also attributes them with Saracen fathers), whilst the other citizens are referred to as 'Longobardis'.¹⁰⁴⁴ Ambrose, upon which this section of the *Itinerarium Peregrinorum* bears a very close resemblance, similarly refers to 'Grifon' and 'Longebard'.¹⁰⁴⁵ Both Nicholson and Ailes keep 'Grifon' and translate the other term as 'Lombards', but *Longobard* was also used in relation to southern Italians to distinguish them from 'northern' Lombards, so it may be that the original author was more aware of their identity than the English translations suggest.¹⁰⁴⁶ There is of course a danger of reading too much into the terminology used by the Latin sources which may at times simply reflect a lack of detailed knowledge on behalf of their authors. For example, in describing the arrival of Daimbert of Pisa at Laodicea in 1099, Fulcher of Chartres describes him as being accompanied by 'some Tuscans and Italians (*Italīs*)', including possibly the Bishop of Ariano.¹⁰⁴⁷ In describing the same event, Albert of Aachen refers to the presence of 'Pisans and Genoese'. Caffaro, however, in his account of Genoese involvement in the First Crusade makes no mention of this.¹⁰⁴⁸ So did Albert simply assume that the Genoese were present, or were some of the 'Italians' from Genoa, or even of Genoese origin but living elsewhere? Abulafia points out that in the eleventh century, Genoese merchants sometimes travelled on south Italian ships, whilst a Venetian contract of 1169 refers to a journey to Constantinople made 'cum nave de Longobardis'.¹⁰⁴⁹ Furthermore, there is the added issue that a ship's port of

¹⁰⁴³ G. Boccaccio, *Decameron*, Day 4, Novella 5

<http://www.brown.edu/Departments/Italian_Studies/dweb/texts/> [Accessed: 9/7/18].

¹⁰⁴⁴ IP, 2:12, p. 155, and 2:14, p. 157; trans. p. 155 and p. 158, *passim*.

¹⁰⁴⁵ Ambrose, I, l. 601 and 607, p.10; trans, II, p. 39.

¹⁰⁴⁶ For example, GF, 1:2, p. 3; and BB, p. 13.

¹⁰⁴⁷ FC, 1:33, pp. 327-28; trans. p. 130.

¹⁰⁴⁸ AA, 6:55, pp. 476-77; also fn. 85.

¹⁰⁴⁹ Abulafia, *Two Italies*, pp. 74-76; W. Wattenbach, 'Iter austriacum, 1853', *Archiv für Kunde österreichischer Geschichtsquellen*, XXIV (1855), p. 79, no. xix; *Documenti del Commercio Veneziano*

origin and ownership did not necessarily reflect the make-up of its crew, as Balard's discussion of Genoese trade routes through southern Italy indicated.¹⁰⁵⁰ Whilst opinion remains divided between historians about the extent to which distinctions between Lombard and Norman were dying out by the later twelfth century, there does seem to be a blurring of identity, particularly through intermarriage and the adoption of differing customs.¹⁰⁵¹ This in turn may have affected how chroniclers, including those of the crusades, referred to people, and may explain why there are so few references to Sicilians, [Italo-] Normans, Calabrians or even Apulians, but far more to Lombards and to specific northern Italian cities such as Genoa and Pisa. Furthermore, there are thirteenth-century accounts of Anconitan traders declaring themselves to be Genoese, Pisan or even Venetian, and merchants from San Gimignano flying under the Pisan flag in the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem in order to gain the trade privileges their own cities did not have.¹⁰⁵² It is not impossible that southern Italians could have conceivably done the same thing in relation to Genoa. Bearing these points in mind, it may be that southern Italians were far more involved with the Holy Land than the written evidence identifies, particularly at a 'grass-roots' level which was rarely recorded at all.

Whilst the northern Italian cities dominated Levantine trade, there does remain a possibility that southern Italian ships may have played a role akin to that of passenger ferries and also as 'contractors'. As mentioned above, for large-scale Italo-Norman military enterprises ships could be conscripted but as al-Idrīsī identified, Gaeta, Sorrento, Palermo, Messina and Bari were all ship-building ports.¹⁰⁵³ Aside from planned expeditions such as those of Adelaide del Vasto in 1113, and Bohemond II in 1126, an indication of Italo-Sicilian naval capacity is given by William of Tyre, who states that following his meeting with Ralph of Domfront in 1138 Roger II, 'furnished him with galleys sufficient for the voyage' back to Antioch.¹⁰⁵⁴ Whilst admittedly this could be almost any number, by 1161 the Messinans were able to threaten Stephen of

nei secoli XI-XIII, I, ed. R. Morozzo della Rocca and A. Lombardo (Rome and Turin, 1940), pp. 214-15, no. 217.

¹⁰⁵⁰ Balard, p. 253.

¹⁰⁵¹ Drell in 'The Aristocratic Family', pp. 97-113, and 'Cultural syncretism', pp. 187-202, contests the impact on identity, as argued by Loud, 'Continuity and change', pp. 313-43.

¹⁰⁵² D. Abulafia, 'The Anconitan Privileges in the Kingdom of Jerusalem and the Levant Trade in Ancona', in *I comuni italiani nel Regno Crociato di Gerusalemme*, ed. G. Airaldi and B. Z. Kedar (Genoa, 1986), pp. 525-70; and 'Crocuses and Crusaders', pp. 227-43.

¹⁰⁵³ Idrīsī, pp. 307-09; p. 312; pp. 377-78; p. 383.

¹⁰⁵⁴ WT, 15:13, p. 693 ('galeis'); trans. II, p. 115.

Perche with sixty armed galleys.¹⁰⁵⁵ Stanton has discussed the development and use of the Italo-Norman fleet but he does not address the question of what it did when not at war.¹⁰⁵⁶ Although medieval ship terminology can be confusing, I would suggest that when not in use by the crown many of the vessels used in the fleet were unlikely to be kept idle. Even though oared vessels tended not to be used for long distance commerce, as Stanton has noted, the Italo-Norman *galea* was able to undertake long range expeditions and possessed a large cargo capacity which gave it a greater flexibility of use.¹⁰⁵⁷ Some of the smaller vessels were involved in trade within the kingdom; as Ibn Jubayr points out, at Termini he and his companions changed to a local ship to travel to Palermo.¹⁰⁵⁸ But bearing in mind the scale of pilgrim traffic passing through the kingdom's ports, many of these people would have taken passage on southern Italian or Sicilian vessels. That local inhabitants played a key role in this is indicated by Falcandus' account of the events surrounding the murder of Odo Quarrel, one of Stephen of Perche's household, in Messina in April 1168. As well as sowing discord amongst the different communities in Messina, 'he began to extort money from ships leaving for Syria (otherwise he would not allow them to pass).' Falcandus adds that 'the citizens were extremely aggrieved at this action,' both because of the injustice of the activity, but also because it allowed 'foreign-born pirates to carry off to France the treasury of the realm', indicating that their resentment was fuelled by the fact that Stephen and his officials were regarded as "outsiders" who were undermining the kingdom's wealth and prosperity.¹⁰⁵⁹ Eustathios of Thessaloniki in his account of the Sicilian attack in 1185 also indicates that there were also many apparently undesignated vessels operating in the Mediterranean. In this, he described a fleet consisting 'of more than two hundred ships, together with those of the pirates, who were not receiving anything of the king.'¹⁰⁶⁰ Who these 'pirate' vessels belonged to is unknown but they may well have had southern Italian sailors on board. Ambiguity also surrounds the term 'piracy', as this could include attacking any ship deemed to threaten the shipping lanes around Sicily and southern Italy. That Muslim vessels fell into this category is indicated by Robert of Torigni's romantic tale surrounding the capture of Yusuf ibn 'Abd al-Mu'min's daughter *en route* to Spain by Sicilian ships and her subsequent honourable

¹⁰⁵⁵ Falcandus, p. 151 ('*galeas*'); trans. p. 204.

¹⁰⁵⁶ Stanton, p. 237.

¹⁰⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 232-37.

¹⁰⁵⁸ *II*, p. 344.

¹⁰⁵⁹ Falcandus, p. 147; trans. p. 200.

¹⁰⁶⁰ Eustathios, pp. 150-51.

return by William II.¹⁰⁶¹ It should be added that the attack was not religiously motivated but was instead driven by commercial considerations. Meanwhile, a diploma granted by King Tancred to the city of Gaeta in July 1191 reduced its quota for the royal fleet from two galleys to one, and also exempted it from providing a vessel for transporting royal grain (*cum navibus*), which raises the possibility that any ships not used by the king could be put to more profitable use elsewhere.¹⁰⁶² As well as transporting pilgrims, such vessels may also have carried the supplies sent by the offshoots of Holy Land institutions to their mother houses. Although the Hospitallers were granted a charter by Queen Constance in 1197 allowing them to carry pilgrims (*peregrini*) on their ships without paying a portion of their fare to the royal court, Jacoby has argued that it was unlikely they were carrying such passengers before then.¹⁰⁶³ The same charter also gave them the right to export goods to their Holy Land houses without paying taxes. Similar grants to export goods from their Sicilian dependencies had been made by William II to St Mary of the Latins in 1168 which makes no mention of shipping, and St Mary of Josaphat in 1185 which does.¹⁰⁶⁴ In the latter case, if the church's own ship were to come to Messina it was to be exempt from taxes. This could therefore imply that other (possibly Italo-Sicilian) ships were used on occasion to carry such cargo. Whilst this can only be supposition, if this was the case, it would be another way in which southern Italians were involved in the Holy Land in a manner which did not attract comment.

Recalcitrant crusaders?

In spite of the kingdom's centrality in the movement of people and goods to and from the Holy Land, its inhabitants seem to have shown little interest in the Latin States themselves. Oldfield has shown that southern Italians did visit foreign shrines, albeit with less frequency when compared with other regions, as well as local shrines, and he argues that many did go to Jerusalem.¹⁰⁶⁵ Folda suggests that the presence of St Catald of Taranto in the wall paintings of the church of the Nativity in Bethlehem reflects the

¹⁰⁶¹ Robert of Torigni, *Chronica*, p. 285.

¹⁰⁶² *Tancredi et Willelmi III*, pp. 42-46, no. 18.

¹⁰⁶³ *Acta Imperii inedita seculi XIII et XIV: Urkunden und Briefe zur Geschichte des Kaiserreichs und des Königsreichs Sizilien*, ed. E. Winkelmann (Innsbruck, 1885), pp. 66-67, no. 7; D. Jacoby, 'Hospitaller ships and transportation across the Mediterranean', in *The Hospitallers, the Mediterranean and Europe. Festschrift for Anthony Luttrell*, ed. K. Borchardt, N. Jaspert, and H. J. Nicholson (Aldershot, 2007), pp. 57-72.

¹⁰⁶⁴ *Papst-, Kaiser- und Normannenurkunden*, ed. W. Holtzmann (Tübingen, 1955), pp. 70-1, no. 7; *I Documenti inediti dell'epoca normanna in Sicilia*, I, ed. C. A. Garufi (Palermo, 1899), pp. 200-02, no. 82.

¹⁰⁶⁵ Oldfield, *Sanctity and Pilgrimage*, pp. 266-73.

interest of pilgrims visiting the church and commissioning the decoration.¹⁰⁶⁶ As Kühnel points out, firstly its inclusion was part of a planned organisation of decoration, and secondly in the style of execution of some of the other wall paintings there are similarities with works in the Palatine chapel and St Catald's church in Palermo, and also in Monreale, suggesting that a number of the artists may have come from southern Italy.¹⁰⁶⁷ The workshop in Bethlehem seems to have ceased in 1169, which allows for the possibility that the artist(s) then returned to work in Sicily. Indeed, the direction of influence between Apulia (in particular) and the Holy Land remains a contested topic. Whilst Buschhausen has argued in favour of a West to East movement, Pace has convincingly rebutted this suggestion, especially in relation to sculpture.¹⁰⁶⁸ As he points out, the main 'crusader' influences found in southern Italy post-date the development of identifiable themes found in works produced around the mid-1180s, including the tomb of King Baldwin V (1185-86), suggesting a transmission of styles from the Holy Land.¹⁰⁶⁹ There are exceptions, such as an early capital at San Clemente a Causaria which possibly dates from 1184, but in most cases it appears that the fall of Jerusalem helped lead to a translocation of artists (back to?) southern Italy. Yet as Loud has shown, after an initial swell of enthusiasm following the First Crusade, interest in the Holy Land dwindled.¹⁰⁷⁰ Shortly after the capture of Jerusalem, a nobleman from Troia called Defensor of Vaccarizia went there on pilgrimage; William Tassio, a relative of the Hautevilles, went in the early twelfth century, and a knight from Caiazzo went at the end of the century. There were also two pilgrims (of unidentified status) from the Avellino region who went in the 1130s.¹⁰⁷¹ As discussed in chapter two, it seems that there was a slow but steady trickle of people heading to Antioch up until at least 1136, possibly from collateral branches of the original Italo-Norman settlers.¹⁰⁷² Murray has also shown there was an influx of both secular and clerical Italo-Normans to

¹⁰⁶⁶ J. Folda, 'Painting and Sculpture in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, 1099-1291', in *A History of The Crusades*, IV, ed. H. W. Hazard (Madison, 1977), pp. 251-80 (p. 255).

¹⁰⁶⁷ G. Kühnel, *Wall Painting in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Berlin, 1988), pp. 126-47.

¹⁰⁶⁸ V. Pace, 'Sculpture italienne en Terre sainte ou sculpture des croisés en Italie? A propos d'un livre récent', *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 27 (1984), 251-57 <doi:10.3406/ccmed.1984.2269>, in which he discusses the ideas of H. Buschhausen, *Die süditalienische Bauplastik im Königreich Jerusalem von König Wilhelm II. bis Kaiser Friedrich II.* (Vienna, 1978).

¹⁰⁶⁹ Z. Jacoby, 'The Tomb of Baldwin V, King of Jerusalem (1185-1186), and the workshop of the Temple Area', *Gesta*, 18:2 (1979), 3-14; and for a further discussion of "crusader" styles in southern Italy, see M. S. Calò Mariani, 'Sulle relazioni artistiche fra la Puglia e l'oriente latino', in *Roberto il Guiscardo e il suo tempo* (Rome, 1975), pp. 35-66.

¹⁰⁷⁰ Loud, 'Norman Italy', p. 50.

¹⁰⁷¹ Ibid., pp. 53-54; and 'Monastic Chronicles in Twelfth-Century Abruzzi', *ANS*, 27 (2005), 101-31 (esp. p. 121, pp. 123-24, p. 131).

¹⁰⁷² A further 'push' factor may have been that in Apulia, at least, lords' demesnes were small. See J-M. Martin, 'Settlement and the Agrarian Economy', in *Society of Norman Italy*, ed. Loud and Metcalfe, pp. 17-46.

the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem following Adelaide's marriage.¹⁰⁷³ Their presence is also attested after its dissolution. A charter of Queen Melisende in 1149 regarding the sale of land and a horse to the *leprosarium* of St Lazarus included in the witness list a *Herbertus Longobardus* whose name could suggest he was of southern Italian origin, whilst in 1156 the names of the burgesses of Mahumeria who swore fealty to the Holy Sepulchre included several with variants of *Lombardus*.¹⁰⁷⁴ Although this could be used to denote a northern Italian origin, there were also many of Lombard origin in the south.¹⁰⁷⁵ In the same charter, there is also a *Rainaldi de Barlet*, who could possibly have come from Barletta, bearing in mind its role as a pilgrim port. Finally, William of Tyre records the death of Hugh of Creona, 'a nobleman of Sicilian birth' at the battle of Lamonia in March 1167.¹⁰⁷⁶ Despite these examples, it remains the case that the attested numbers are small, and even when William II did send forces to aid the Holy Land in 1187/8, only two 'comites' seem to have accompanied it, which indicates limited commitment to direct involvement.¹⁰⁷⁷ Meanwhile, Cordasco has concluded from his study of wills that '*nei documenti notarili, in quasi duecento anni, gli echi delle Crociate sono così fievoli e lontani.*'¹⁰⁷⁸ Powell has suggested that whilst an interest in crusading permeated society in the Sicilian kingdom, military participation of the nobility was controlled by the power exerted over them by the monarchy.¹⁰⁷⁹ This may have been the case later, particularly during the reign of Frederick II (to which most of the evidence he cites relates), but there is little to suggest that such was the case earlier. Whilst the *Catalogus Baronum* of 1150 listed the military obligations of all vassals, as Jamison points out this (together with its updating in 1167 and 1168) was in response to an emergency facing the crown; it was not an attempt to control the nobility in a wider sense.¹⁰⁸⁰ Furthermore, drawing upon the same document, as previously mentioned Russo has argued that the fact that there are nine Bohemonds listed suggests that there was an interest in Bohemond I and his reputation, if not in the Holy Land itself.¹⁰⁸¹

¹⁰⁷³ Murray, 'Norman Settlement', pp. 61-85 (esp. pp. 78-85)

¹⁰⁷⁴ *UKJ*, 1, pp. 358-60, no. 178; *Cartulaire du Saint-Sépulcre*, pp. 237-40, no. 117.

¹⁰⁷⁵ Drell, 'Cultural syncretism', pp. 192-202.

¹⁰⁷⁶ *WT*, 19:25, p. 899; trans. II, p. 332.

¹⁰⁷⁷ *IP*, 1:14, p. 28; trans. p. 44; Roger of Howden, III, p. 88; trans. II, p. 118.

¹⁰⁷⁸ P. Cordasco, 'Echi delle Crociate nei documenti notarili meridionali', in *Il Mezzogiorno e le Crociate*, ed. Musca, pp. 379-96 (pp. 391-92).

¹⁰⁷⁹ J. M. Powell, 'Crusading by royal command: monarchy and crusade in the kingdom of Sicily (1187-1230)', in *Potere, società e popolo tra età normanna ed età sveva (1189-1212)*. *Atti delle quinte giornate normanno-sveve, Bari-Conversano, 26-28 ottobre 1981* (Bari, 1983), pp. 131-46.

¹⁰⁸⁰ *Catalogus Baronum*, Intro. pp. xv-xxii.

¹⁰⁸¹ Russo, 'Bad Crusaders', pp. 178-79. See also chapter two.

Indeed, for some in southern Italy, the promise to go to the Holy Land was sometimes used as political subterfuge. In 1062 Amatus of Montecassino described how Gisulf of Salerno ‘pretended to go abroad to Jerusalem to pray, and as soon as he returned from where he was supposed to go and from where he did not go’ he sought financial assistance from his brother-in-law, Robert Guiscard (which was refused). ‘After this, Gisulf took the staff and purse of a pilgrim and went to the emperor of Constantinople’, where he sought aid against Guiscard.¹⁰⁸² Raymond of Poitiers had adopted the garb of a pilgrim in 1136 as a foil to escape detection by Roger II as he travelled to Antioch.¹⁰⁸³ In summer 1132, Tancred of Conversano had been involved in an abortive rebellion against Roger II, and rather than face judgement in the royal court, he ‘renounced his lands with the intention of hastening to Jerusalem within a fixed time.’¹⁰⁸⁴ For so-doing, he received 20,000 *schifati* from Roger, but rather than using it for the promised pilgrimage, he remained and continued his unsuccessful rebellion, which resulted in his ultimate capture and transfer to Sicily in chains.¹⁰⁸⁵ Pilgrimage as (political) punishment also seems to have developed in the kingdom. A sixteenth century copy of a charter of Godfrey III of Lecce of December 1146, states that Accard of Lecce (who was attested for the last time in March 1137) was sent into exile by Roger II and died in Jerusalem. Although this version is a forgery, Houben has suggested that it may have been based upon a genuine charter.¹⁰⁸⁶ In 1165, Florius of Camerota, a baron from Salerno and former royal official, was the subject of a letter from Pope Alexander III to Louis VII, asking him to intercede with William II. For some unknown reason, Florius had had his lands confiscated and had been sent into exile to Jerusalem, although by 1168 he had been restored to favour.¹⁰⁸⁷ In 1168 Stephen of Perche, chancellor and archbishop-elect of Palermo, was forced to flee the Sicilian court for Jerusalem, and as a further step towards restoring stability in the kingdom at this time, Queen Margaret also sent her cousin, Count Gilbert of Gravina, into exile to the Holy Land.¹⁰⁸⁸ This perception of the Holy Land as a home for those exiled is interesting, as the more common destination for political malcontents tended to be Byzantium, as was the case with Gisulf of Salerno (above), or that of Alexander of Gravina who fled there in the 1130s and became a

¹⁰⁸² Amatus, 4:36-37, pp. 207-08; trans. pp. 123-24.

¹⁰⁸³ WT, 14:20, p. 657; trans. II, p. 78.

¹⁰⁸⁴ Alex. Tel., 2:21, p. 32; trans. p. 85.

¹⁰⁸⁵ Ibid., 2:33-46, pp. 38-46; trans. pp. 89-94.

¹⁰⁸⁶ Houben, *Roger II*, p. 88, fn. 57; G. Vallone, ‘Lecce normanna e quattro documenti della sua storia medievale’, *Bollettino storico di Terra d’Otranto*, 4 (1994), 215-26.

¹⁰⁸⁷ Loud, ‘William the Bad’, p. 111; Oldfield, *City and Community*, p. 93; *PL*, p. 200, cols. 332-33.

¹⁰⁸⁸ Falcandus, p. 162; trans. pp. 214-15; Romuald, p. 257; trans. Loud, *Tyrants*, p. 242.

diplomat for both John and Manuel Komnenos.¹⁰⁸⁹ It may be that going to the Holy Land was increasingly seen to be a form of political atonement, reflecting the penitential nature of pilgrimage generally, which would ultimately lead to salvation (and rehabilitation). Unfortunately, there are insufficient extant examples to explore this hypothesis further at present. Civil war in southern Italy and the resultant changes in landholdings doubtless also played a part in preventing some of the nobility from choosing to go to Outremer. But whilst Russo believes one reason for a lack of participation was that no memorial process developed, I would argue that this does not sufficiently take into account the physical reminders and indeed presence of the Holy Land on Italian soil.¹⁰⁹⁰

The Holy Land on Italian soil?

On a column capital in Barletta Cathedral there is an inscription which records, ‘*MUSCATUS DEDIT IN IHR DUABUS COLUMNIS CC DUCALES Q. AS LEGIT ORET P. EO/A. MCLII M.AG.G.P.MA. A DO CAPTA E SCALIONA*’.¹⁰⁹¹ Nothing is known of ‘Muscatius’ identity; he may have been an inhabitant or simply passing through Barletta but such a donation and its very visual recording suggests a keen interest or involvement in at least some of the events of the Holy Land. Buschhausen also describes an undated carving to the left of the north portal which reads, ‘*Impensis Richarde tuis/hec porta nitebit/ergo tibi merito celestis/leta patebit*’, and which he suggests could relate to Richard the Lionheart’s arrival in southern Italy during the Third Crusade.¹⁰⁹² Whilst this idea has been adopted as a fact by some guidebooks, there is nothing to suggest any link to either; there is certainly no record of Richard going to Barletta in Roger of Howden’s otherwise detailed account of Richard’s travels

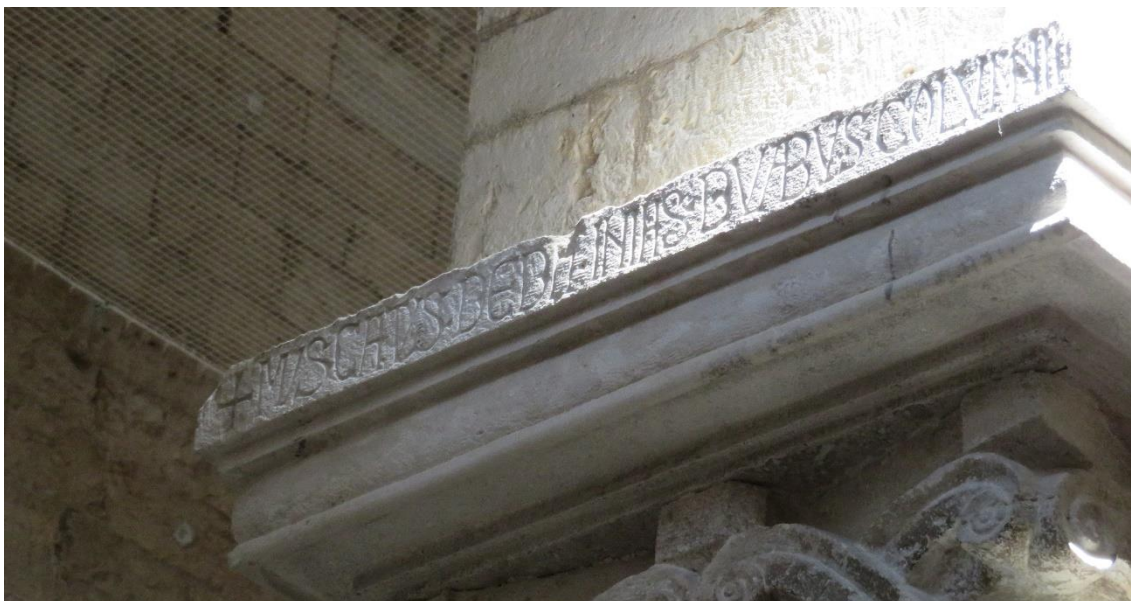
¹⁰⁸⁹ Chalandon, II, pp. 27-29; JK, 2:12, p. 58, and 4:1, pp. 106-07.

¹⁰⁹⁰ Russo, ‘Bad Crusaders’, p. 179; cf N. Paul, *To Follow in their Footsteps: The Crusades and Family Memory in the High Middle Ages* (Ithaca, NY and London, 2012), pp. 90-133.

¹⁰⁹¹ S. Loffredo, *Storia della città di Barletta*, 2 vols. (Trani, 1893), I, pp. 187-90; and V. Pace, ‘Echi della Terrasanta: Barletta e l’oriente crociato’, in *Fra Roma e Gerusalemme nel medioevo*, 2, ed. M. Oldini (Salerno, 2005), pp. 393-408.

¹⁰⁹² Buschhausen, p. 373.

Figure 13: Column in Barletta Cathedral



and sojourn in the Sicilian kingdom.¹⁰⁹³ Meanwhile, on the right-hand lintel of the door of basilica of St Nicholas in Bari within a scroll of vine leaves a Norman is shown in combat with a Saracen. The decoration dates from c. 1098 – c. 1123 so Belli D’Elia

Figure 14: Lintel carving on main door, St Nicholas Basilica, Bari



¹⁰⁹³ The *Blue Guide to Southern Italy*, ed. P. Blanchard (London, 2007) even adds that ‘it records the participation of Richard Coeur-de-Lion in the building’s construction.’ (p. 440).

has suggested that the scene relates to the First Crusade.¹⁰⁹⁴ Whilst its probable date makes that interpretation likely, I would propose that it could also have been inspired by the defeat of the Muslims in southern Italy, or even by the increasingly popular *chansons de geste*, since another scene on the portal shows Arthur rescuing his queen.¹⁰⁹⁵ But whatever the original inspiration, it is probable that the carving was perceived by many who saw it as relating to the crusades and as such offered a visual reminder of Bari's contribution to the Latin East. Providing a more direct association with the Holy Land is the church of San Sepolcro in Barletta. The first reference to it relates to 1138, although it seems that it was originally outside the town walls, thereby provoking some discussion of its original foundation and dedication.¹⁰⁹⁶ Certainly by 1162 it is referred to as being within the city, leading Ambrosi to suggest that this reflected the expansion of Barletta, particularly following the destruction of Bari in 1156. The church, which also had a hospital for pilgrims alongside it, was rebuilt in the thirteenth century, possibly being funded by the gifts of pilgrims passing through the port. Meanwhile in Brindisi the church of San Giovanni al Sepolcro was possibly built in the late eleventh-century on the site of earlier ruins, with the first reference to it being in the possession of the canons of the Holy Sepulchre in 1128.¹⁰⁹⁷ Salazaro in his description of medieval monuments of southern Italy suggested that Bohemond I was responsible for its inception in light of his crusade but gives no evidence to support this idea.¹⁰⁹⁸ That aside, the obvious symbolism of such buildings has led Bresc-Bautier to suggest they may have acted as '*une remplacement du voyage, une sorte d'ersatz, de compensation*', and as such reflected a deep devotion in that the Holy Land had been brought to southern Italy.¹⁰⁹⁹

Within such buildings, people could also see relics which brought the Holy Land closer to them. Whilst the removal of the bones of St Nicholas from Myra to Bari in 1087 pre-

¹⁰⁹⁴ P. Belli D'Elia, 'Segni e immagini delle Crociate nel Mezzogiorno normanno-svevo', in *Il Mezzogiorno e le Crociate*, ed. Musca, pp. 325-54 (p. 327).

¹⁰⁹⁵ Vernon, *Visual Culture*, p. 156.

¹⁰⁹⁶ *Cartulaire du Saint-Sépulchre*, pp. 44-46, no. 7; and A. Ambrosi, *Architettura dei crociati in Puglia: Il Santo Sepolcro di Barletta* (Bari, 1976), pp. 10-23.

¹⁰⁹⁷ R. Jurlaro, 'I primi edifice di culto Cristiano in Brindisi', in *Atti del VI Congresso Internazionale di Archeologia Cristiana Ravenna 23-30 Settembre 1962* (Vatican City, 1965), pp. 683-701; *Cartulaire du Saint-Sépulchre*, pp. 39-44, no. 6.

¹⁰⁹⁸ D. Salazaro, *Studi sui monumenti dell'Italia Meridionale*, II (Naples, 1877), p. 30.

¹⁰⁹⁹ G. Bresc-Bautier, 'Les imitations du Saint-Sépulchre de Jérusalem (IX^e-XV^e siècles): Archéologie d'une dévotion', *Revue d'histoire de la spiritualité*, 50 (1974), 319-42; and 'Les Possessions des Eglises de Terre-Sainte en Italie du Sud (Pouille, Calabre, Sicilie)', in *Roberto il Guiscardo e il suo tempo*, pp. 13-34 (p. 26).

dated the First Crusade, the accounts of their translation by John, archdeacon of Bari, and Nicephorus, a monk of St Benedict's Abbey of Bari, both indicate that Barese trading links with Antioch were well established at that time.¹¹⁰⁰ To what extent the theft, possibly with the support of Abbot Elias of St Benedict's, was premeditated is unclear, but that he was the first and ultimate recipient of the saint's remains indicates that this was a possibility.¹¹⁰¹ Oldfield has argued that the fact that neither author blamed the removal of the saint's bones on the wickedness of the inhabitants of Myra itself, but upon the Turkish threat they faced making them unable to protect the saint, is a reflection of their Barese background in terms of both the city's former Byzantine status as well as its current Greek Christian community.¹¹⁰² This portrayal of Eastern Christians under threat was one of the themes of Urban II's call for the First Crusade in 1095, which may suggest the translation of St Nicholas as an influence upon his thinking. Other relics arrived as a result of the conquest of the Latin States in the Near East. The basilica of St Nicholas also holds fragments of St Vincent the Martyr and St Thomas the Apostle which seem to have arrived after the First Crusade, with the latter being referred to in a visit by William II to Bari in 1182.¹¹⁰³ A further artefact apparently sent to the shrine of St Nicholas in Bari by Bohemond I was Kerbogha's tent following its capture outside Antioch on 28th June 1098. The HAI describes how people flocked to see it and on so-doing rejoiced at the Lord's triumph over the pagans.¹¹⁰⁴ Bohemond's action in sending it there may well have been politically motivated. Bari was within his southern Italian lands, and Bohemond (alongside Roger Borsa) had been present at the dedication of the crypt containing St Nicholas' remains by Urban II in October 1089.¹¹⁰⁵ Thus the gift indicated both his military prowess in defeating Kerbogha and may also have been a way of demonstrating to (particularly) the Greek Christian community that as liberator of Antioch, he was the most appropriate man to be the ruler of the principality. Vernon has suggested that the pseudo-Arabic pattern in the mosaic on the sanctuary platform may have been inspired by Bohemond's gift of Kerbogha's tent and its possible decoration.¹¹⁰⁶ Bohemond also apparently gave two blood-stained thorns from Christ's crown to the church of San Sabino in Canosa on his return to the West in 1105.¹¹⁰⁷ Frolov has identified reliquaries containing pieces of the

¹¹⁰⁰ OV, IV, Appendix II, pp. 353-54; and p. 567.

¹¹⁰¹ Ibid., IV, pp. 66-69.

¹¹⁰² Oldfield, *Sanctity and Pilgrimage*, p. 119.

¹¹⁰³ CDB, V, pp. 252-53, no. 147.

¹¹⁰⁴ HAI, p. 89.

¹¹⁰⁵ CDB, I, pp. 61-63, no. 33.

¹¹⁰⁶ Vernon, 'Pseudo-Arabic', pp. 25-26.

¹¹⁰⁷ Yewdale, p. 108; Tortora, p. 180.

True Cross in five southern Italian cities which are from the thirteenth century or later, although San Sepolcro, Barletta also had one from the twelfth century.¹¹⁰⁸ In his analysis of the design and decoration of the reliquary, Meurer argues that it probably dates to around the foundation of the church itself, and that it was one of many such reliquaries made in the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem. The identity of the craftsman is unknown but it has both Byzantine and Italian decorative elements, demonstrating the artistic cross-over that occurred in both kingdoms.¹¹⁰⁹ An indication of Sicily's role in the relic "trade" is given by the twelfth-century Muslim writer, Imād ad-Din. Following his description of Saladin's capture and cleansing of the Dome of the Rock, he describes how chips had been taken from the Rock, '*qu'ils avaient emportés à Constantinople et de là en Sicilie. On dit qu'ils les vendirent leurs poids d'or et en tirèrent profit.*'¹¹¹⁰ Ibn Jubayr in recounting his meeting with 'Abd al-Masih, one of the court officials describes how he 'asked if we could give him some blessed token we had brought' albeit in their case from Mecca or Medina, 'and begged us not to be sparing of what we could give him.'¹¹¹¹ This raises the possibility that such relics were therefore sold to both Christians and Muslims on the island (and beyond).

Returning to the mainland, a further reminder to travellers on the *Via Traiana* of southern Italy's role in the Christian recapture of the Holy Land was provided by Bohemond's tomb in San Sabino in Canosa. As discussed in chapter two, the inscriptions on the cupola and the bronze doors of the mausoleum remind the viewer of Bohemond's achievements in Syria and Antioch, together with his campaigns against the Greeks. Furthermore, Vernon proposes that the inscriptions on the door, together with the anonymous images, encourage the viewer to approach it as a shrine.¹¹¹² The wording suggests that Bohemond was a martyr, when it refers to him as a man who 'strove to die for Christ'.¹¹¹³ Cowdrey has pointed out that the theme of martyrdom had been prevalent prior to the First Crusade, and whilst some of the crusade accounts alluded to it, the HAI in particular 'regarded an eminent crusader's life as tantamount to

¹¹⁰⁸ A. Frolow, *La relique de la Vraie Croix: recherches sur le développement d'un culte* (Paris, 1961), no. 977 (Amalfi); no. 587 (Bari); nos. 416 and 616 (Barletta), no. 494 (Brindisi); and no. 401 (Cosenza).

¹¹⁰⁹ H. Meurer, 'Zu den Staurotheken der Kreuzfahrer', *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 48:1 (1985), 65-76.

¹¹¹⁰ Imād ad-Din, *Conquête de la Syrie et de la Palestine par Saladin*, trans. H. Massé (Paris, 1972), p. 56.

¹¹¹¹ II, p. 342.

¹¹¹² Vernon, 'Visual Culture', pp. 199-203.

¹¹¹³ From the inscription on Bohemond's tomb, '*Qui vivens studuit ut pro Christo moreretur*'.

martyrdom.¹¹¹⁴ In writing about Bohemond's journey through France in 1105 he is described as '*tanquam uerus miles martyrqe Christi*'.¹¹¹⁵ Although the HAI was written at least two decades after Bohemond's death, such ideas may have helped reinforce the memory and significance of his actions. Johnson has suggested that Bohemond's tomb, in a separate side chapel, may have been an inspiration for the tomb of Roger II's first wife, Elvira, in Palermo, and possibly that of his mother in Patti.¹¹¹⁶ Unfortunately, little now remains of either so it is impossible to tell whether, beyond the positioning of a separate funerary chapel, other elements of design and decoration from Bohemond's mausoleum were also adopted. Even so, it does suggest that Bohemond's tomb attracted attention for its significance and status, as well as reinforcing the argument raised in chapter two that Bohemond's defeat by Alexios I at Devol was seen simply in military terms, rather than as a career-defining humiliation.

It is possible that the ongoing interaction with the Holy Land, through people and goods, also brought other influences to bear upon the kingdom. Although it is impossible to quantify, the Sicilian kingdom may also have adopted ideas from the Latin East. Artistic influences have been referred to above in relation to sculpture, and Buchthal has shown that the illuminated manuscript of Maio of Bari's commentary of the Lord's Prayer produced in Palermo around 1154-60 has similarities to earlier work produced in the scriptorium of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem.¹¹¹⁷ A further area of potential cross-over can be found in the law codes of Roger II, promulgated in the 1140s. The clauses relating to punishments for adultery and prostitution show similarity with Canons 4, 5 and 7 from the 1120 Council of Nablus. Kedar has identified that the latter were based upon the eighth-century *Ecloga* and its later adaptations, with one compilation known as the *Prochiron Calabriae* being compiled in (Greek) southern Italy around 1000.¹¹¹⁸ Both Caspar and Brandileone have argued that there was a Byzantine influence upon Roger's assizes, but the timing of their promulgation may also have been affected by the Decrees of Nablus and their application in the Latin

¹¹¹⁴ H. E. J. Cowdrey, 'Martyrdom and the First Crusade', in *Crusade and Settlement*, ed. P. W. Edbury (Cardiff, 1985), pp. 46-56 (p. 52).

¹¹¹⁵ HAI, p. 135.

¹¹¹⁶ M. Johnson, 'The Mausoleum in Canosa and the Architectural Setting of Ruler Tombs in Norman Italy', in *Romanesque and the Mediterranean*, ed. Bacile and McNeill, pp. 151-66.

¹¹¹⁷ Buchthal, pp. 78-85.

¹¹¹⁸ B. Z. Kedar, 'On the Origins of the Earliest Laws of Frankish Jerusalem: The Canons of the Council of Nablus, 1120', *Speculum*, 74:2 (1999), 310-35.

kingdom of Jerusalem.¹¹¹⁹ Unfortunately, William of Tyre does not give the details of the canons themselves, merely stating that ‘Anyone who desires to read these articles may easily find them in the archives of many churches.’¹¹²⁰ He did, however, include the signatories, one of whom was *Guidoin*, abbot-elect of St Mary in the Valley of Josaphat. In 1140 the now-abbot of this church, *Guidon*, was in Italy.¹¹²¹ It can only be speculation, but it may be that Roger’s attention was drawn to the Decrees of Nablus during the abbot’s visit to the West. Nor was the abbot the only churchman from the Latin East in southern Italy that summer: Bishop Rainerius of Sebastea was in Salerno, where he and his diocese were granted a church in the territory of Eboli by Archbishop William of Salerno.¹¹²² Since William was also a royal justiciar, it is not infeasible that an interchange of legal ideas took place during these visits. Furthermore, whilst the royal court was a centre for the transmission of learning between Arabic, Greek and Latin texts, that scholars who spent time in Antioch such as Adelard of Bath and Stephen of Pisa had connections to, or promoted, the kingdom’s multi-lingual centres of learning, suggests that it would also have acted as a conduit of knowledge in this way.¹¹²³

Finally, there was an increasing presence of the offshoots of Holy Land institutions in the kingdom, and whilst recorded donations seem limited their sustenance relied upon an ongoing relationship with the kingdom and its inhabitants. By 1113 the Order of St John had houses at Bari, Otranto, Taranto and Messina, but then there seems to have been almost forty years before additional possessions were recorded, and even then further development was slow.¹¹²⁴ Roger II granted the Hospitallers special protection and economic concessions in 1136, and although there are problems surrounding the authenticity of donations he apparently made to the order, by 1147 the Hospitallers had possessions in Sicily donated by both Count Simon of Policastro and Arnald, bishop-

¹¹¹⁹ E. Caspar, *Roger II (1101-1154) und die Gründung der Normannisch-Sicilischen Monarchie* (Innsbruck, 1904), pp. 34-36; F. Brandileone, *Il Diritto Romano nella Leggi Normanne e Sveve del Regno di Sicilia* (Turin, 1884), pp. 253-54.

¹¹²⁰ WT, 12:13, p. 563; trans. I, p. 536.

¹¹²¹ *Papsturkunden für Kirchen*, pp. 156-60, nos. 44-45.

¹¹²² Loud, ‘New Document’, p. 5

¹¹²³ Houben, *Roger II*, pp. 98-113; C. Burnett, ‘Antioch as a Link Between Arabic and Latin Culture in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries’, in, *Occident et Proche: Contacts Scientifiques au Temps des Croisades Actes du colloque de Louvain-la-Neuve, 24-25 Mars 1997*, ed. I. Draelants, A. Tihon and B. van den Abaele (Turnhout, 2000), pp. 1-78.

¹¹²⁴ *Cart. Hosp.*, I, pp. 29-30, no. 30; Loud, ‘Norman Italy’, p. 60; A. Luttrell, ‘The Earliest Hospitallers’, in *Montjoie*, ed. Kedar, Riley-Smith and Hiestand, pp. 37-54.

elect of Messina and Troia, and by April 1171 they had a hospital in Messina.¹¹²⁵ The Templars are first mentioned as being present in southern Italy in the description of the translation of St Nicholas of Trani's body in 1142, and Houben has pointed out that they are recorded in Molfetta from 1148, and in Barletta from 1158.¹¹²⁶ White has also identified a Templar holding in Sicily possibly relating to 1146, and Pope Hadrian IV made reference to their houses in Sicily in an instruction issued on 7 September 1157, but evidence for their existence is sparse until the thirteenth century.¹¹²⁷ A possible indication of their presence is given in Roger of Howden's account of Richard I's stay, in that he explained after the Messina riots, Richard 'gave the city into the charge of the knights Hospitallers and the knights Templars.'¹¹²⁸ Meanwhile within an agreement between the Hospitallers and Templars regarding their respective rights in the crusader states dated February 1179, there is reference to a grievance of the Hospitallers against the Templars relating to a house in Barletta, indicating that both had a presence there.¹¹²⁹ A similar pattern occurs when looking at the holdings of St Mary of Josaphat, St Mary of the Latins, and the church of the Holy Sepulchre. Most donations relate to the early years of the establishment of the Latin States and tended to come from people who had connections with the Holy Land.¹¹³⁰ Loud's analysis of a previously unpublished charter from Salerno dated July 1140 indicates that the bishops of Sebastea were also granted holdings, but they were limited in scope and the donation was made by Archbishop William of Salerno from his own diocese.¹¹³¹ In 1183, Mount Tabor was given a church in Bari by the archbishop, but again this was a small donation.¹¹³² Even allowing for a lack of documentation relating to the kingdom of Sicily, it would seem that the nobility had limited enthusiasm for the Holy Land, but the assistance provided through goods and services should not be ignored despite being unrecorded.

It was not until the reign of Henry VI that both the Hospitallers and Templars presence in the kingdom were strengthened in preparation for the king's crusade.¹¹³³

¹¹²⁵ White, pp. 237-38; *Cart. Hosp.*, I, p. 134, no. 172; p. 136, no. 174; p. 1010, no. 122.

¹¹²⁶ Oldfield, 'St Nicholas', pp. 176-77; *Vita Nicolai Peregrini*, p. 245, 62; Houben, 'Templari e Teutonici', p. 259.

¹¹²⁷ White, pp. 234-35; *Papsturkunden in Italien: Reiseberichte zur Italia pontificia*, 6 vols, ed. P. Kehr (Vatican City, 1977), II, pp. 63-64, no. 4.

¹¹²⁸ Roger of Howden, III, p. 58; trans. II, p. 160.

¹¹²⁹ *Cart. Hosp.*, I, no. 558, pp. 378-79.

¹¹³⁰ White, pp. 207-33; Loud, 'Norman Italy', p. 61.

¹¹³¹ Loud, 'New Document', p. 23.

¹¹³² Loud, 'Norman Italy', p. 61; *CDB*, I, pp. 114-15, no. 59.

¹¹³³ Jamison, *Eugenius*, p. 156.

Furthermore, it was during Henry's reign that the nascent Teutonic Order was granted land in the kingdom, the timing of which Toomaspoeg has argued was directly linked to the wave of repression following the revolt of 1197.¹¹³⁴ In May they were installed in Barletta, and in July in Palermo, there being granted the Cistercian monastery of the church of the Trinity ('da Magione'); they also absorbed the hospital for German pilgrims and crusaders that already existed in Brindisi (built around 1190). The Order was granted privileges by Henry VI which included the right to cross the Straits of Messina without paying any taxes, and they were given the *castrum* of Mesagne, which controlled the *Via Appia* between Oria and Brindisi.¹¹³⁵ Following Henry's death, however, the new Order faced a period of uncertainty until the majority of Frederick II as Constance ignored them and gave her support to the Hospitallers.¹¹³⁶ Whilst it is just outside our period, the significance of the role played by the *regno* in sustaining the commanderies in the Holy Land is indicated in a letter from the *magister Hospitalis Jerusalem* to the *prior Anglie* of December 1200-early 1201. In it, he points out that as a result of the civil war waging in the kingdom, the Hospitaller commandery [*domus*] of Barletta has been abandoned and no supplies have arrived in the Latin East, leading to great expense and so he appeals for help from England as soon as possible.¹¹³⁷ Although we do not know how many southern Italians actually joined the Military Orders, many people must have interacted with them on a regular, if not daily, basis, and in such a way that they may have felt they were continuously supporting the Latin presence in the Near East without the need to go there themselves. An indication of this is given by Houben's analysis of the Teutonic Order's holdings in southern Italy and Sicily in the (admittedly) thirteenth century onwards which shows that since their numbers remained small, they relied upon networks of laymen to rent (and work) their properties, particularly from ethnic and religious minorities.¹¹³⁸ Although the other orders may not have operated in the same manner, it is possible that they also admitted similar *confratres* or *familiares* from the local community to help maintain their outposts in southern Italy and Sicily. Whatever the case in this regard, that supplies sent to the Holy Land came from the kingdom, as indicated by the concessions granted by William II to St Mary of the Latins and St Mary of Josaphat referred to above, demonstrates its

¹¹³⁴ K. Toomaspoeg, *Les Teutoniques en Sicilie 1197-1492* (Rome, 2003), pp. 25-31.

¹¹³⁵ Houben, 'Templari e Teutonici', p. 276; K. Toomaspoeg, 'La ravitaillement de la Terre sainte. L'exemple des possessions des ordres militaires dans le royaume de Sicilie au XIII^e siecle', in *Actes des congrès de la Société des historiens médiévistes de l'enseignement supérieur public* (Madrid, 2002), pp. 143-58 <doi: 10.3406/shmes.2002.1833>.

¹¹³⁶ *Cart. Hosp.*, I, p. 623, no. 984 and pp. 632-33, no. 1001.

¹¹³⁷ *Cart. Hosp.*, II, pp. 1-2, no. 1131.

¹¹³⁸ Houben, 'Between Sicily and Jerusalem', pp. 160-61.

importance in sustaining the Latin Near East both through its resources and also in terms of the ongoing indirect support of the king through the concessions he granted.

Conclusions

This chapter has suggested that the relationship between southern Italy and the Holy Land was ongoing. It also reflected a willingness by the lands' rulers to support the Latin States through ensuring pilgrims and traders were protected and supplied as they travelled through the *regno*. Southern Italy's significance predated the arrival of the Normans through its role as a conduit for pilgrims, but with the launch of the First Crusade the land also provided men and resources. Although the cash gift of 'a thousand bezants' sent by Roger Borsa to Patriarch Daimbert of Jerusalem to be divided between the church of the Holy Sepulchre, the Hospitallers and the king does not seem to have been repeated, southern Italy's wealth, resources and location ensured it continued to play a key role in providing transportation and supplies to further contingents heading East through its ports.¹¹³⁹ Meanwhile, Sicily with its predominantly Muslim population initially played little part in crusading against the infidel, particularly in the early years following its Norman 'conquest'. As the island and mainland became more integrated, together with other changes beyond the kingdom's borders, its ports and resources were also directly utilised for crusading purposes. Whilst Sicily provided relatively few fiefs, those on mainland saw many upheavals resulting from periods of civil upheaval as the nobility sought to remain independent from ducal, and later royal, control. This may help explain why there seems to have been little ongoing direct interest in Outremer by the kingdom's nobility. As fiefs and titles changed hands, any early associations of families to the First Crusade and foundation of the Latin States were severed. It may also be that the nobility followed the example of their overlords: neither Count Roger I nor his Italo-Sicilian successors took the cross themselves, whilst their grants and concessions to Holy Land offshoots in the kingdom were never at the expense of private enterprise.¹¹⁴⁰ Yet whilst large scale military involvement of southern Italians might be lacking, the ongoing interaction of many of the population in supporting and supplying those travelling to and from the Levant should not be disregarded. Since this went largely unrecorded, it has tended to be ignored by many historians in the past. As the physical evidence of buildings, their

¹¹³⁹ AA, 7:62, pp. 574-75.

¹¹⁴⁰ White, pp. 68-69.

decoration, and relics suggest, there was a presence of the Holy Land on Italian soil which ensured an ongoing daily interaction with it by the population. When this is added to the part many southern Italians (and Sicilians) played in sustaining those travelling to and trading with Outremer, it can be argued that the *regno* played a pivotal role in supporting and maintaining the Latin States. That the kingdom's rulers gave their (at least) tacit support through the treaties and concessions they granted suggests that William of Tyre's accusation of Sicilian disinterest was not as absolute as he claimed.

Conclusion

In considering the interaction between southern Italy, Sicily and the Latin States of the Near East, the issue of identity is of key significance. This theme, which runs throughout this thesis, has not previously been systematically explored across the period considered here. The Norman ‘conquest’ of southern Italy and Sicily prompted a gradual process of assimilation through intermarriage, resulting in an emergent, fluid Italo-Norman identity. In exploring the contribution of the Italo-Normans to the First Crusade, and the subsequent creation of the principality of Antioch in chapter one, the issue of identity was present, both in terms of how people were defined or defined themselves, and the potential problems this can generate. Whilst many of Bohemond’s contingent were first- or second-generation Norman immigrants to southern Italy, there seems to have been little emphasis upon a shared ethnicity with the Norman contingent from northern France. They may have shared a common heritage, but their experiences of conquest and subsequent cooperation with Greeks, Lombards and Muslims in southern Italy and Sicily, as well as the attempted invasions of Byzantium, had shaped them differently. This was reflected in the actions and political practices of the Italo-Normans, especially Bohemond and Tancred during, and in the aftermath of, the First Crusade. Bohemond’s involvement in this was doubtless far more premeditated than the *Gesta Francorum* suggests and offered potential advantages to both the papacy and Byzantine emperor. It is therefore likely that Bohemond did reach an agreement with Alexios regarding his future role, although whether both men agreed to the same details remains unclear. That Bohemond subsequently broke his oath drew on Italo-Norman precedent, which has been overlooked in previous accounts of his actions. The chapter also suggested that family links created through marriages may have been a factor in shaping inter-contingent relations on occasion.

Different elements of identity can be foregrounded depending upon circumstances and can be used as a means of defining status. The ways in which Bohemond and Tancred adopted identities for political purposes were examined in chapter two. In Bohemond’s case, the role of familial, and especially paternal, influences in shaping his identity are discernible. Meanwhile, his actions both in joining the crusade in 1096 and on his return to the West in 1105 reflected his deliberate adoption of the identity of “crusader”, and his recognition of its significance in raising his social (and political) position. His, and

Tancred's, marriage to French royal princesses further increased their standing at a time when new recruits were desperately needed to sustain the nascent Latin States. That Bohemond focussed his recruitment upon northern France also reflected his understanding of the new emergent economy of crusader status there.¹¹⁴¹ This did not seem to develop in southern Italy and Sicily, and whilst this may be partly explained by limited noble participation, traces of family connections between southern Italy and the Latin States indicate that there was at least a trickle of people heading East. Although political upheaval within southern Italy may also explain why noble military involvement was limited, other factors such as differences in population, the changing pattern of family land-holdings and previous interaction with the Levant (and Byzantium) may all have played a role in shaping perceptions of crusading. In chapter two I argued that Ralph of Caen's *Gesta Tancredi* with its emphasis upon his leading protagonists' Guiscardian heritage could be regarded as a deliberate attempt to resolve their conflicting identities of crusader, fortune seeker and ruler of different groups. Furthermore, in exploring its potential audience in both Antioch and southern Italy, the proposal was advanced that Ralph's purpose was to ensure Tancred's legacy was recorded at a time of change within the principality. This was necessary, as the memory of Bohemond was perpetuated through the use of his name (by Antioch's princes as well as in southern Italy), and in his ornate and multi-faceted tomb in Canosa. Whilst debate continues to surround the significance of its location, design and decoration, it formed a visual reminder of Bohemond's different identities, including an emergent Antiochene one, as well as of his actions. This ongoing commemoration also indicates that Bohemond's apparent humiliation by the Byzantine emperor, Alexios I Komnenos, at Devol in 1108 was not perceived as being anything other than a military defeat by his contemporaries.

Despite playing a leading role in particularly Antiochene affairs during and in the decades after the First Crusade, the role of the Hautevilles in the Latin East declined following the death of Bohemond II in 1130. This can partly be explained by the fact that Bohemond left only a daughter, Constance, to succeed him, whilst in southern Italy and Sicily the Hauteville inheritance was concentrated in the hands of Roger II. Although he was Constance's closest male relative, it seems he played no part in controlling her inheritance. This was largely determined by circumstances in southern

¹¹⁴¹ Naus, *Constructing Kingship*, pp. 28-56, *passim*.

Italy, where Roger was seeking to assert his authority and create a new kingdom. Nor did the majority of the Antiochene nobility seem to have supported his involvement, either then or again in 1136, although as chapter three has proposed, that may not have been a unanimous approach. The potential opportunities this initially offered, as I have argued, explains Roger's interest in Antiochene affairs, but also his pragmatic acceptance that there was nothing to be gained from direct involvement once Raymond of Poitiers became established as its prince. The possible Armenian connection with Roger's interest in Antioch was also raised, whilst Tancred's reception in Cilicia suggests at least prior knowledge of him there, possibly via the Armenian community in Apulia. Indeed, Boccaccio's description of Armenian ambassadors visiting William II's court also raises the possibility of wider ongoing diplomatic channels, the exploration of which were unfortunately beyond the purview here.¹¹⁴²

Meanwhile, following the creation of the kingdom of Sicily and Italy in 1130, I suggest there was a deliberate attempt to shape a new identity for it, which reflected the differences between the island and mainland. Royal control had to be imposed on the mainland, the population was Christian, and through its geography the *regno* had a relationship with the Holy Land that pre-dated the arrival of the Normans. Sicily was largely in comital (later royal) hands, had a large Muslim population, and already had economic links with Ifrīqiya. This meant that the political alignment of the island was orientated more to the Muslim world, whilst the mainland continued to act as a conduit between East and West. Famine combined with political instability presented the opportunity for Sicilian expansion into North Africa, which Roger and his admirals seized. Yet this expansionism was not motivated by religious zeal; the settlement of Christians was of secondary importance to commercial interests. This was further indicated by the royal court's Arabicisation, in which the adoption of largely Muslim cultural and administrative practices went beyond an attempt to appeal to Roger's Sicilian subjects but also, as I have proposed, to those within the wider Muslim world. Although elements of the administrative structure were later applied to the mainland, there was no further evidence of Arabic appropriation there. This may reflect the fact that the court remained centred in Muslim Palermo, with relatively little of the kings'

¹¹⁴² C. D. Fonesca, 'Tra gli Armeni dell'Italia Meridionale', in *Atti del primo simposio internazionale di arte Armena (Bergamo, 28-30 giugno 1975)*, ed. G. Ieni and L. B. Zekiyani (Venice, 1978), pp. 181-96; Boccaccio, *Decameron*, Day 5, Novella 7
<http://www.brown.edu/Departments/Italian_Studies/dweb/texts/> [Accessed: 9/7/18].

time being spent on the mainland, but it also seems to reflect a deliberate strategy in terms of recognising the differences between the component parts of the kingdom. At the same time, Byzantine and Latin traits were also incorporated in order to legitimise the kingdom's creation and reflect the inherent Christian nature of it. Whilst there has been substantial debate surrounding the significance and internal understanding of the symbolism adopted, this has perhaps distracted study from the wider perceptions of the kingdom, particularly within the Muslim world.

The extent to which the orientation of royal Sicily was changing towards the end of Roger's reign, and whether this was at his direction, is unclear. Whilst the marriages arranged for his sons, and later himself, might reflect a willingness to acquire crusader-related prestige, I have argued against the interpretation that they represented a direct political interest in the Latin East. As with the support the *regno* provided to the contingents travelling through it, Roger's disinterest in participating militarily in the Second Crusade indicated his support was given indirectly and never to the extent of undermining his position as ruler over a large Muslim population. The duality within the kingdom, in which the island acted as a conduit to the Muslim world in a similar way to that of the mainland in relation to the Holy Land, continued after the loss of the Ifrīqīyan territories. However, other aspects of the kingdom's political orientation were changing. Again, this was partly due to external circumstances. The expansion of the Almohads in North Africa, offering united Muslim rule, coincided with instability during the regency of Margaret of Navarre, which was itself exacerbated by other gradual changes in Sicily, including those in the population of the island. This resulted in a change in Sicily's Mediterranean involvement, as the kingdom sought to ensure the stability and centrality of her position in this arena. It was also at this point that the familial relationships initiated by Roger II came to fruition in terms of (re)opening communication between the kingdom and that of Jerusalem. Yet despite the potential opportunities this seemed to offer, there is a paucity of evidence to support the idea of a planned, joint attack on Alexandria. Indeed, as discussed in chapter four, I propose that a more likely interpretation is that it offered a commonality of interests which the anti-Saladin plotters (and it could also be argued, the increasingly side-lined Muslims of Sicily) sought to exploit.

The turning point came with the fall of Jerusalem, resulting in the direct commitment of Italo-Sicilian military aid to the Latin East. But even at this point, William II did not appear to take the cross. It may be that he was awaiting the arrival of his fellow kings, and that his unexpected death prevented his intention from being fulfilled; although in reality this was unlikely. He had no military experience, nor did he appear to encourage any of his nobility to join the campaign. Instead, the sending of a fleet to the Levant to assist in opposing Saladin's advances in 1188 and the assistance he bequeathed to Henry II of England indicate a willingness to support the recovery of Jerusalem back into Christian hands without endangering the stability of his multi-ethnic island. Although there was a Muslim uprising against Tancred this does not seem to have been connected with the forthcoming crusade but was a reflection of the frustrations arising from the ongoing marginalisation of the Muslim population in Sicily. Whether it may also have included an element of hostility towards Tancred of Lecce himself for his involvement in the anti-Muslim attacks of 1161 is impossible to ascertain. That aside, although her king did not participate in the Third Crusade, the financial contribution that Tancred made to Richard I, as well as the resources utilised during the overwintering of the French and English armies meant that the kingdom made a substantial commitment to the expedition. This was further supplemented by the resources supplied by the *regno* to those contingents journeying overland to its southern ports, whilst Henry VI's ultimate victory in claiming the crown resulted in Sicilian wealth and resources being dedicated to the so-called German Crusade of 1197-98. The kingdom itself became a participant, and its political events shaped relationships that had lasting consequences beyond its frontiers. In these ways, I argue that the kingdom shaped crusading, rather than simply be shaped by it.¹¹⁴³

Yet whilst this brought the island of Sicily to the forefront of crusading, as I have argued the mainland had a long-established relationship with the Holy Land. Acting as the main route to Jerusalem for thousands of pilgrims, travellers, and traders, its resources and what might be termed infrastructure played a key role in sustaining this traffic. That the kings were aware of the importance of this was reflected in their attempts to ensure the safety of those transiting through the kingdom. Furthermore, whilst agreements with the Genoese, Pisans and Venetians had political advantages, I contended that the trade concessions granted within the kingdom meant that it played a

¹¹⁴³ Drell, 'Norman Italy', p. 54.

pivotal role in supplying the Latin East, albeit through northern Italian middlemen. In considering the *regno*'s role in trade, the theme of fluid identity was again explored leading to the conclusion that far more southern Italians were involved than can be identified from the extant records. Acculturation with local Greek Orthodox and Muslim communities may have influenced southern Italians' (dis)interest in crusading, but I suggest that of equal significance was the continuous communication with the Holy Land.¹¹⁴⁴ As well as the steady flow of people travelling through the kingdom, for many there was also an ongoing interaction with the offshoots of Holy Land institutions, relics, shrines and other physical reminders of the Levant on Italian soil. These proxies may therefore have engendered a sense of identification with the Latin East, in a similar way to that in which copied icons came to be the object of pilgrimage in Byzantium.¹¹⁴⁵

The relationship between the Italo-Sicilian lands and the Latin States of the Near East therefore needs to be recognised as having operated in different ways, not only through time but also socio-politically. Once the Latin States had been established, the southern Italian and Sicilian nobility do seem to have been 'bad crusaders'.¹¹⁴⁶ But many were caught up in the internal wars following the creation of the kingdom or in opposing royal control, so had little opportunity to go East (as was the case in many other parts of Europe). Furthermore, other areas offered greater opportunities for territorial expansion, or at least short-term financial gain, particularly to the king. The increase in monarchic control may also have played a part in deterring potential Italo-Sicilian crusaders, but it also seems that for some the Holy Land came to be regarded as a place of exile rather than as a desirable destination. To what extent this was shaped by the attitude of others is impossible to discern, but the author of the *Itinerarium Peregrinorum* was clear in his loathing of Sicilians. Elsewhere, Robert the Monk describes how Bohemond 'had inherited his highest principles from his French father; but they were tainted by elements from his Apulian mother.'¹¹⁴⁷ Sweetenham in her translation of the text suggests this was a marginal comment which was then inserted into subsequent copies

¹¹⁴⁴ Oldfield, *Sanctity and Pilgrimage*, p. 267.

¹¹⁴⁵ A. W. Carr, 'Icons and the Object of Pilgrimage in Middle Byzantine Constantinople', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 56 (2002), 75-92.

¹¹⁴⁶ Russo, 'Bad Crusaders', p. 170, *passim*.

¹¹⁴⁷ Robert the Monk, *The Historia Iherosolimitana of Robert the Monk*, ed. D. Kempf and M. G. Bull (Woodbridge, 2013), p.92; translated as *Robert the Monk's History of the First Crusade*, trans. C. Sweetenham (Aldershot, 2005), p. 191.

of the text, but whatever the case, it suggests an element of inherent prejudice towards southern Italians.¹¹⁴⁸ What this was founded upon is unfortunately beyond the scope of the present study. That aside, despite William of Tyre's criticism that the kingdom turned its back on the Latin States, this thesis has argued that a more nuanced picture of interaction emerges.¹¹⁴⁹ William chose to ignore the ongoing contribution the mainland in particular played in supporting the traffic of pilgrims, crusaders and merchants whose presence was fundamental in sustaining the Latin States on a daily basis. But perhaps that is not surprising, as William wanted to attract military assistance to the Latin East, and that was only to arrive from the kingdom of Sicily after his death. Nor did he witness the subsequent participation of the kingdom as a locale, in which its internal politics as well as its resources helped shaped the outcome of the Third and German Crusades. Perhaps had he done so, William might have revised his comments about the kingdom's role.

¹¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, fn. 38.

¹¹⁴⁹ WT, 11:29, pp. 542-43; trans. I, p. 514.

Appendix A

Richard of the Principate in the sources

Source	Richard called:	Refs.
Albert of Aachen	<i>Richardus, princeps Salerne</i> ; trans. ‘Richard, prince of Salerno’ (and adds kinsman of Tancred) <i>eiusque propinquo Richardo</i> ; trans. ‘his [Bohemond’s] kinsman Richard’ (captured by Danishmend) <i>Richardus, prefectus ciuitatis Maresch</i> ; trans. ‘Richard...commander of the town of Marash’ (no ref. to any kinship)	3:15, 16, pp. 162-63 7:28, pp. 524-25 11:40, pp. 814-15
Anna Komnene	Count Prebentzas (identity debated, see p. 514) Richard Prigkipatos (as above, see p. 523) Richard of the Principate (signatory of Treaty of Devol)	10:8, pp. 281-84 13:4, p. 368 13:12, p. 396
Anon. Chronicle	Only refers to Richard (as Michael the Syrian)	p. 52
Gesta Francorum	<i>Richardus de Principatu</i> ; trans. ‘Richard of the Principality’; <i>Ricardus princeps, Richardus de Principatu, Richardus de Principatu</i>	pp. 5, 7, 13, 20
Guibert of Nogent	<i>Richardum de Principatu, vel Principem</i> ; trans. ‘Richard of the First City’ (see trans. fn. 116, p. 52)	p. 138; trans. p. 52
HAI	<i>Riccardus de Principatu</i>	pp. 19, 26, 31, 70 ¹¹⁵⁰
Matthew of Edessa	Richard, ‘his [Bohemond’s] sister’s son’ Later references to Richard regent of Edessa, and lord of Marash do not have this sobriquet.	II:133, p. 176 and III:14, p. 192 III:28, p. 197 and III:40, p. 201
Michael the Syrian	Only refers to Richard, who is made regent of Edessa by Tancred	15:10, p. 195
Orderic Vitalis	Only the spelling of Richard changes: <i>Ricardus de Principatu</i> or <i>Ricardo de Principatu</i> ; trans. ‘Richard of the Principality’	V, pp. 36, 50, 354, 372, 376 ¹¹⁵¹
Ralph of Caen	<i>Ricardus de Principatu</i> ; trans. ‘Richard of the Principate’	p. 44; trans. p. 69
Walter the Chancellor	No direct reference – refers to the lord of Marash.	p. 64; trans. p. 82

¹¹⁵⁰ The final HAI potential reference is p. 137 which refers to Tancred’s successor in Antioch – but only as ‘*Roggerio, filio Riccardi, nepoti suo*’ (trans. ‘Roger, son of Richard, his nephew’).

¹¹⁵¹ OV refers to Richard only on pp. 376, although it is clear from the context that it is the same person as mentioned earlier. He also recounts on p. 378 how Richard’s son, Roger, marries the former-Muslim princess Melaz who has helped Bohemond *et al* escape captivity.

Appendix B

Summary of Guiscardian references within the *Gesta Tancredi*

RC page	Reference type	Who?	Nature of ref.	Relates to	Times used	Trans. page
6	Guiscard	Tancred	Family	Ancestry via mother	4	21
6	Guiscard	Bohemond	Family	Ancestry	1	21
7	Guiscard	Bohemond	Family	Ancestry	1	23
8	Guiscardian	Bohemond & Tancred	Family	Ancestry	1	24
12	Guiscard	Bohemond	Family	Alexios letter	1	29
13	Guiscardian	Bohemond & Tancred	Family	His men	2	30
15	Guiscardian	Tancred	Guile	Crossing Bosphorus	1	34
22	Guiscardian	Tancred	Guile	Alexios tent	1	42
37	Guiscard	Tancred	Family	Ancestry	1	60
44	Guiscard	Richard of Principate	Family	Ancestry	1	69
60	Guiscard	Bohemond	Military glory	Military reputation	1	88
74	Guiscard	Bohemond	Military glory	Lining up in battle against Kerbogha	1	106
79	Guiscardian	Tancred	Military ability	Slaughtering Turks	1	111
84	Guiscard	Tancred	Guile	Against RT	1	116
88	Guiscardian	Bohemond	Sagacity	RT responding to B's doubts of Holy Lance	1	121
95	Guiscard	Tancred	Family	Hermit outside Jerusalem	1	130
95	Guiscardian	Tancred	Military	Hermit outside Jerusalem	1	130
96	Guiscardian	Tancred	Family	Leaving hermit	1	131
106	Guiscard	Tancred	Family	Approaching Jerusalem Temple	1	143
113	Guiscard	Tancred	Family; Guile	Arnulf quarrel	5	150
114	Guiscard	Tancred	Military glory/leadership	Tancred's response	2	152
117	Guiscardian	Tancred	Family	His men remaining in Holy Land	1	155

[B=Bohemond; RT=Raymond of Toulouse]

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