Advances in Crusades Research

RECALCITRANT CRUSADERS?

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SOUTHERN ITALY AND SICILY, CRUSADING AND THE CRUSADER STATES, *C.* 1060–1198

Paula Z. Hailstone

ROUTLEDGE

Recalcitrant Crusaders?

This book explores the contribution of southern Italy and Sicily to the crusades and crusader states. By adopting the theme of identity as a tool of analysis, it argues that a far more nuanced picture emerges about the relationship than the dismissive portrayal by William of Tyre in his *Chronicon*, which has largely been accepted by later historians. Building upon previous scholarship in relation to Norman identity, it widens the discussion to evaluate the role of more fluid and evolving Italo-Norman and Italo-Sicilian identities, and how these shaped events. In so doing, this book also argues that the relationship between the territories needs to be considered in different dimensions: direct involvement of leaders and rulers versus indirect engagement through the geography of southern Italy and Sicily. Over time, and as identities change, these two dimensions converge, making the kingdom itself a leading participant in crusading.

Paula Z. Hailstone completed her PhD at Royal Holloway, University of London in 2019 under Professor Jonathan Phillips. She is currently an independent researcher.

Advances in Crusades Research

Series Editor: Natasha Hodgson,
Nottingham Trent University, UK

Advances in Crusades Research provides a forum for specialist scholars working on crusading and its ideology wherever crusading had an historical impact. The chronological scope of the series is broad, extending into the twenty-first century, but the focus remains on crusade as an historical field of enquiry rather than a political one relating explicitly to the modern day. The series welcomes and actively seeks monograph proposals from scholars in all fields and disciplines related to crusade historiography, history and areas of conflict/settlement from differing social, economic, ideological, military, cultural and material perspectives. Contributions from Islamic, Jewish, Eastern Christian or any other relevant perspectives are welcomed, as are cross-cultural and interdisciplinary approaches. Preference will be given to proposals employing new methodologies and exploring new subject areas.

Recalcitrant Crusaders?

The Relationship Between Southern Italy and Sicily, Crusading and the Crusader States, *c*. 1060–1198

Paula Z. Hailstone

Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group
LONDON AND NEW YORK

First published 2020
by Routledge
2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN

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

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

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

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data
Names: Hailstone, Paula Z., author.
Title: Recalcitrant crusaders?: the relationship between Southern Italy and Sicily, crusading and the crusader states, c. 1060–1198 / Paula Z. Hailstone.
Description: London; New York, NY: Routledge/Taylor & Francis Group, 2020. | Series: Advances in Crusades Research | Includes bibliographical references and index.
Identifiers: LCCN 2019040835 (print) | LCCN 2019040836 (ebook) | ISBN 9780367313463 (hbk) | ISBN 9780429316449 (ebk)
Subjects: LCSH: Normans–Italy–Sicily–History–To 1500. | Normans–Italy, Southern–History–To 1500. | Sicily (Italy)–History–1016–1194. | Italy, Southern–History–535–1268. | Crusades–Participation, Italian. | Crusades–Participation, Norman. | Cultural fusion–Italy, Southern. | Cultural fusion–Italy–Sicily. | Group identity.
Classification: LCC DG867.2 .H35 2020 (print) | LCC DG867.2 (ebook) | DDC 945/.703–dc23
LC record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2019040835
LC ebook record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2019040836

ISBN: 978-0-367-31346-3 (hbk)
ISBN: 978-0-429-31644-9 (ebk)

Typeset in Times New Roman
by Deanta Global Publishing Services, Chennai, India

Contents

Illustrations

Figures

Tables

Maps

Acknowledgements

Many people have contributed to the following pages, through their ideas, support and encouragement. These include Andrew Buck, Sigi Eiberle, Martin Hall, Natasha Hodgson, Mike Horswell, Andrew Jotischky, Graham Loud, Paul Oldfield, Jonathan Phillips, Clare Vernon, and Ian Wilson. My thanks also go to the librarians of the Institute of Historical Research, Senate House Library, the Warburg Institute, Royal Holloway, the Bodleian Library and the British Library, as well as to the numismatics department in the British Museum. Most of all I like to thank Julien for being willing to share our life with the Italo-Norman-Sicilians for so long, without any complaint. This book is therefore dedicated to you.

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	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	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, 1897); 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); translation of an earlier edition in *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	Ibn Jubayr, *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-Qalānisī, *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*
Malaterra	Geoffrey Malaterra, *De rebus gestus Rogerii Calabriae et Siciliae Comitis et Roberti Guiscardi Ducis fratis eius auctore Gaufredo 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	Matthew of Edessa, *Armenia and the Crusades 10th–12th Centuries: The Chronicle of Matthew of Edessa*, trans. A. E. Dostourian (Lanham, 1993).
MGH	*Monumenta Germania Historia (SS = Scriptores; SS rer. Germ. = Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum*, etc.) available online <http://www.dmgh.de>
MS	Michael the Syrian, *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 profectione Ludovici VII in orientem*, ed. and trans. V. G. Berry (New York, 1948).
OF	Otto of Freising, *Ottonis et Rahewini Gesta Friderici I. Imperatoris*, ed. G. Waitz and rev. B. de Simson (Hanover and Leipzig, 1912); 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	Ralph of Caen, *Radulphi Cadomensis Tancredus*, ed. E. D'Angelo (Turnhout, 2011), translation of an earlier edition in *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, 1868–71); translated as *The Annals of Roger de Hoveden*, trans. H. T. Riley, 2 vols (London, 1853).
Romuald	Romuald of Salerno, *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*
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	William of Apulia, *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, via: <https://ims.leeds.ac.uk/online-resources/translations/> [Accessed 14/6/19].
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 [continuous pagination] (Turnhout, 1986); translation of an earlier edition in *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*, trans. E. A. Babcock and A. C. Krey, 2 vols (New York, 1943).

Timeline

1059 Robert Guiscard swears fealty to Pope Nicholas II and is invested as Duke of Apulia, Calabria and, in the future, of Sicily
1061 Norman conquest of Sicily begins; Messina captured in May
1071 Italo-Norman capture of Palermo
1081 Robert Guiscard launches attack on Illyria, accompanied by Bohemond
1085 Death of Robert Guiscard; Roger Borsa succeeds to his lands; Byzantine campaign collapses
1087 Roger I declines to join a joint Pisan and Genoese attack on Mahdiyya
1090 Roger I captures Malta
1095 Birth of Roger II; Pope Urban II launches First Crusade at the Council of Clermont (November)
1096 Bohemond and his contingent leave the siege of Amalfi, after taking the cross
1098 Capture of Antioch (June)
1099 Capture of Jerusalem (July)
1101 Death of Roger I (June); regency of Adelaide del Vasto begins
1108 Bohemond agrees to Treaty of Devol with Alexios I Komnenos (September)
1111 Death of Bohemond I and Roger Borsa
1112 Start of Roger II's independent rule; death of Tancred in Antioch (December), leaving regency to Roger of Salerno
1113 Marriage of Adelaide to King Baldwin I of Jerusalem
1117 Baldwin I repudiates Adelaide and she returns to Sicily; (?) Marriage of Roger II to Elvira, daughter of King Alfonso VI of Castille-León
1118 Failed Italo-Sicilian attack on Gabès
1119 Death of Roger of Salerno in Antioch
1122 Duke William of Apulia surrenders his share of Sicily and Calabria to Roger II
1123 Failed Italo-Sicilian attack on Mahdiyya
1126 Bohemond II goes to Antioch, having given his lands in Southern Italy to Duke William of Apulia
1127 Childless death of Duke William of Apulia; Roger II now Prince of Salerno, Duke of Apulia, Calabria and Sicily; reconquest of Malta by Roger II
1128 Pope Honorius II invests Roger II with the duchy of Apulia, Calabria and Sicily; Roger II offers Count of Barcelona 50 galleys in his struggle against Muslims

1129 Quelling of revolts in Apulia; Peace of Melfi
1130 Papal schism of Anacletus II and Innocent II (begins February); Anacletus raises Roger II to be king (September); Roger II crowned in Palermo (25 Dec); death of Bohemond II of Antioch (February)
1131 Campaigns against rebellions in southern Italy: peace not achieved until 1139
1135 Roger II's forces conquer Djerba
1136 Raymond of Poitiers travels through Apulia, en route to Antioch, and marriage to Constance, daughter of Bohemond II
1137 Campaign by Emperor Lothar III and Pope Innocent II against Roger II; they invest Rainulf of Alife with the duchy of Apulia
1139 Victory of Roger II over the army of Pope Innocent II; Peace of Mignano: Innocent II invests Roger II with the kingdom of Sicily (July)
1142 Mahdiyya effectively becomes a Sicilian-protected city
1145 Pope Eugenius III launches the Second Crusade (December)
1146 Italo-Sicilian capture of Tripoli (North Africa)
1147 German and French contingents travel to Latin East by land route, via Constantinople; the fleet of Roger II plunders Thebes and Corinth
1148 Italo-Sicilian capture of Mahdiyya, Sousse and Sfax
1149 Marriage of Roger II to Sibylla of Burgundy
1151 Elevation of William I as co-king; marriage of Roger II to Beatrice of Rethel
1153 Italo-Sicilian capture of Bône
1154 Death of Roger II (February); posthumous birth of his daughter, Constance
1155 Greek troops capture Bari, Trani, Giovinazzo, Andria and Taranto, and begin to besiege Brindisi
1156 William I recaptures Bari (May); Pope Adrian IV comes to terms with the Treaty of Benevento; revolt begins in Sfax, and spreads to Djerba, Kerkenna, Tripoli and Gabès
1159 *Qa'id* Peter leads the Sicilian fleet on a raid on Balearics, is diverted to Mahdiyya but sails away
1160 Mahdiyya surrenders (January); Maio of Bari murdered (November)
1166 William I dies (May); regency of Margaret of Navarre begins
1171 William II enters majority (March)
1174 Sicilian attack on Alexandria
1175 Sicilian attack on Tinnis
1177 William II marries Joanna, daughter of Henry II of England (February); Sicilian fleet attacks Tinnis and Alexandria; Treaty of Venice between Papacy, Emperor Frederick I and Sicily
1185 Sicilian attack on Byzantium: Durazzo (Dyrrachium) captured (June), followed by Thessaloniki (August); also attacks on Corfu, Cephalonia, Ithaca, and Zakynthos
1186 Marriage of Constance to Henry VI of Germany (January)
1187 Battle of Hattin (July); fall of Jerusalem to Saladin (October)
1188 Sicilian fleet under command of Admiral Margaritus sent to the Holy Land to relieve ports

1189 Death of William II (November)
1190 Tancred of Lecce crowned King of Sicily (January); arrival of Third Crusade forces of Philip Augustus (August) and Richard I (September)
1191 Henry VI attacks kingdom of Sicily but forced to withdraw
1192 End of Third Crusade; Richard I taken prisoner by Leopold of Austria whilst returning from the Holy Land
1194 Death of Tancred (February); William III deposed (later blinded, then killed); Henry VI crowned King of Sicily (25 December); birth of Frederick (II)
1195 Henry VI takes the cross in Bari (March)
1197 Death of Henry VI (September); regency of Constance
1198 Death of Constance (November); Frederick is a ward of the papacy

Table 0.1 Simplified Hauteville family tree

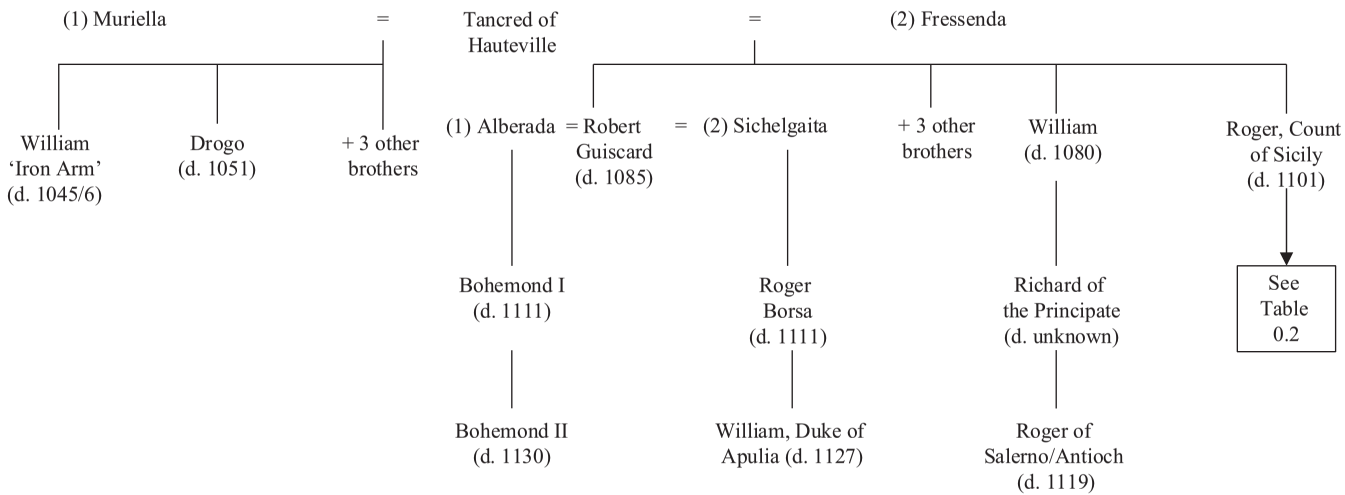
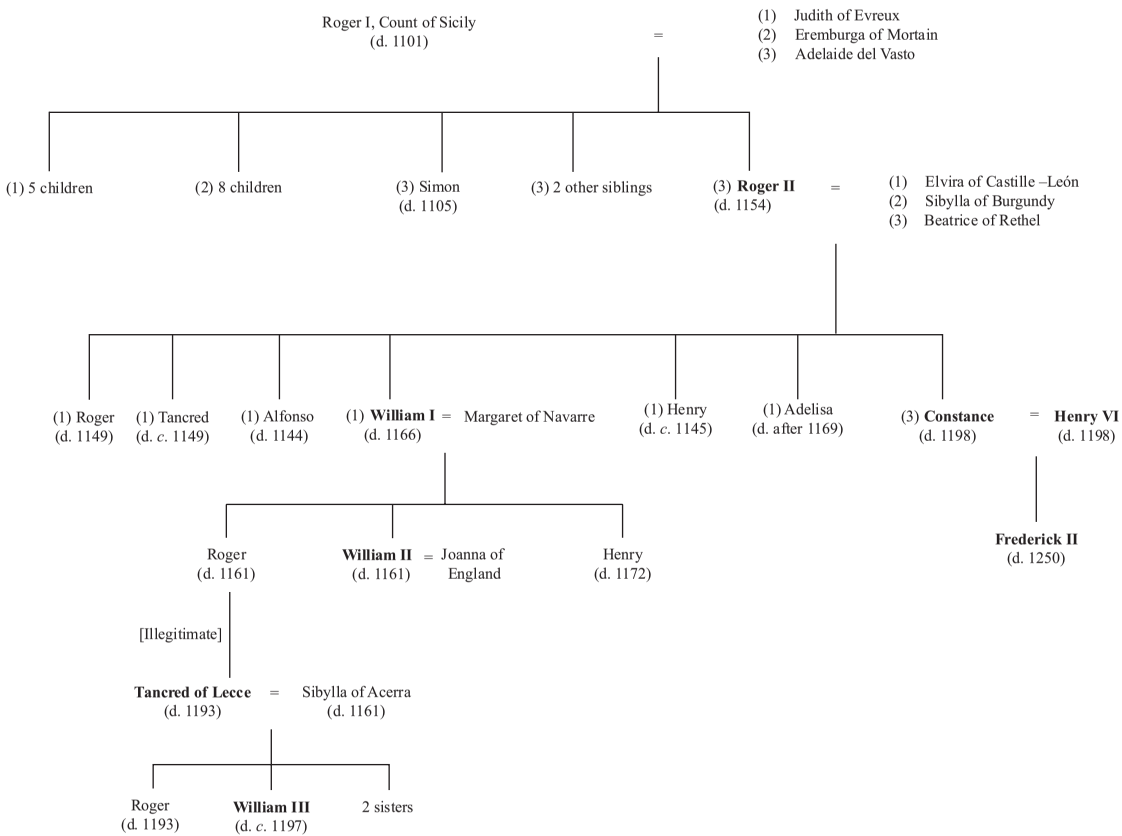


Table 0.2 Simplified Sicilian monarchs' family tree



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]

Such was the explanation that William of Tyre gave in his *Chronicon* (*c*. 1170–84) for Sicilian disinterest in the Holy Land after 1117. It is not surprising that Roger II of Sicily was angry. In 1113, accompanied by a heavily laden fleet, his widowed mother Adelaide del Vasto had journeyed to Jerusalem to marry King Baldwin I. Four years later, the marriage was dissolved following Baldwin's illness-induced guilt that it was technically bigamous, and Adelaide returned home in penury. This meant that the clause in the marriage contract stating that should the union between Adelaide and Baldwin be childless Roger would inherit the throne of Jerusalem was also made null and void. Whilst the loss of a potential crown must have been galling to a count, by 1130 Roger was king of Sicily and southern Italy. That may not have had the spiritual resonance of Jerusalem, but in the longer term it certainly offered more material rewards. Though it is possible that the dishonour continued to rankle throughout Roger's life, his heirs showed no evidence of direct animosity towards the Latin States of the Near East.

Even so, except for a few brief interludes, it seems that the inhabitants and rulers of these lands showed limited interest in the Holy Land, giving weight to William of Tyre's analysis. That can be partly explained by periods of internal instability, but even when peace prevailed direct military involvement was minimal.[2] This disinterest also seems to be reflected in the extant southern Italian sources, which make 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 and were vital in sustaining the Latin States (Map 0.1). 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.

This book therefore argues that the relationship between southern Italy and the Latin Near East needs to be considered in different dimensions. On what can be termed the local level, there was an ongoing engagement between southern Italy, Sicily, and the Latin East. Explicit involvement by the lands' rulers, particularly through military engagement, was more variable. This was determined by the interplay between fluid identities and alignments, occasioned by the changing political nature of southern Italy and Sicily.

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 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] Drawing upon these ideas, this book argues that this fluid nature of identity is a key element in explaining the changing relationship between southern Italy and Sicily and the Holy Land.

Lying in almost the centre of the Mediterranean, southern Italy and Sicily had been fought over and occupied by competing powers for centuries, resulting in a politically fragmented and diverse society.[10] Very broadly, at the start of the eleventh century the area around Capua, Salerno and Benevento was Lombard; Calabria was largely Greek; whilst in Apulia the population was predominantly

Map 0.1 Southern Italy and Sicily within the Mediterranean world

Italo-Lombard but the province itself was nominally under Byzantine control. Meanwhile, formerly Byzantine Sicily had been gradually conquered by Muslims from North Africa, first by the Aghlabids during the course of the ninth century, and then by the Kalbids who owed allegiance to the Fatimids of Cairo. By the 1000s, Kalbid authority was breaking down in the face of internal unrest as well as external threats both from the Greeks and the Zīrids of Ifrīqiya. The population was about two-thirds Muslim, and one-third (mainly Greek) Christian who lived predominantly in the north-east of the island in the Val Demone region.[11] 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 in this region of political and ethnic flux.

Exactly when and why the Normans arrived in southern Italy to fill this role is unclear, but the accounts indicate the significance of the south as a 'bridge to salvation'.[12] The details differ, but a common theme is that the Normans were there in around 1,000 as pilgrims, either returning from the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem or visiting the shrine at Monte Gargano. During their passage through southern Italy, they gave military assistance to the local Lombard inhabitants, against either Saracen raiders or Byzantine officials.[13] 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. Like their former paymasters, the Normans were far from united amongst themselves and the south soon became subject to struggles between different factions.

It was in this milieu that the Hauteville brothers rose to pre-eminence.[14] In the course of two marriages, Tancred of Hauteville had fathered twelve sons. Being of only 'middling' status, the family landholding in north-west Normandy was insufficient to sustain them all and so 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.[15] 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 here. Suffice to say that by 1057 Guiscard had himself become leader of the Normans, although he continued to face opposition to his authority. In an attempt to cement his position, he repudiated his first wife, Alberada, on the grounds of consanguinity and married Sichelgaita, sister of Prince Gisulf II of Salerno in autumn/winter 1058. Meanwhile, another Hauteville brother, Roger, had arrived in 1057. This fraternal relationship was also sometimes fraught, but in 1060 they turned their attention to the conquest of Muslim Sicily. This was ostensibly to return the island to Christian rule, thereby gaining the enterprise papal support, but despite reflecting many other Norman traits the reality showed little religious commitment.[16]

Map 0.2 The kingdom of Sicily

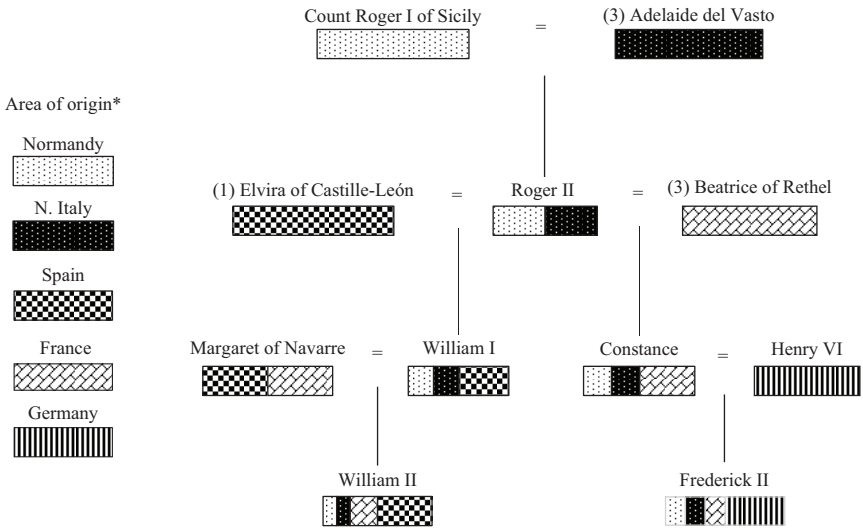
The question of Norman identity has generated a large corpus of debate ranging from whether there was a '*gens normannorum*' as portrayed in Orderic Vitalis through to the wider impact of the Normans upon the world they inhabited.[17] For contemporaries, being Norman not only meant originating from Normandy but also reflected certain characteristics, which could include some or all of piety,

military ability, knightly valour, deviousness, cunning, and rapacity.[18] 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 that 'they adapted themselves out of history.'[19] This creates problems for modern historians in trying to define who was a Norman: someone who could simply trace their lineage back to Normandy, or did it require the retention of more direct links to the region?[20] The impact of this debate is seen in regard to southern Italy, where 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.[21] This idea has been contested by Drell, who argues that naming patterns indicate a continued recognition of ethnicity in such marriages.[22] Yet 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.[23] Furthermore, 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.[24]

With this recognition in mind, identity in the following discussion refers to how people defined themselves (or were defined) through their family connections, geographic origins and local place.[25] Whilst Ménager's detailed study of the names of those who emigrated to southern Italy shows that not all originated from Normandy, the term Italo-Norman will be used here to apply to all those who came south and settled there. It will also be used in relation to the contingent led by Bohemond and Tancred on the First Crusade.[26] When Sicily is referred to it will denote the island, whilst references to the 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 Table 0.3 indicates, this is in many ways a misnomer. The kings will therefore be referred to as being Italo-Sicilian, to reflect their identity acquired through their lands of birth and rule.

Meanwhile, just as individuals can shape their identity through their actions, the Italo-Sicilian kings applied a similar process in their realm. Although it was a single kingdom its creation from a collection of Italo-Norman principalities and counties, together with societal differences between the mainland and Sicily, facilitated the deliberate adoption of different primary political and cultural identifications in the two areas (Map 0.2).[27] For Sicily, this initially led to an increased orientation towards Ifrīqiya, whilst the mainland continued to play a far more active role in relation to the Latin Near East.[28] 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

Table 0.3 Identity through parental origin



*Used in a geographical sense only.

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. Although William II's death in November 1189 plunged the kingdom into civil war, that did not prevent its resources from contributing to the Third Crusade. Indeed, increasingly the kingdom itself can be identified as a participant through its geography.

Tracing the relationship between southern Italy, Sicily and the Latin Near East, *c.* 1160–1198

In building upon previous scholarship which has considered the influence of Norman identity, this book widens the discussion to evaluate the role of more fluid, and at times conflicting, identities. The Italo-Norman contribution to the First Crusade and the formative years of the principality of Antioch has been closely argued by historians, but explanations of declining involvement have tended to focus upon Antiochene politics.[29] This book argues that greater recognition needs to be given to the political situation in southern Italy and Sicily. Nor have the parallels between the experiences of the Italo-Normans and the 'rough tolerance' they exhibited in the Latin Near East been fully explored.[30] By using the theme of identity as a tool of analysis, this study shows that greater account needs to be taken of the changes occurring both within and beyond the kingdom

of Sicily, in evaluating the changing nature and extent of involvement with the crusader states.

In so-doing, this book follows a broadly chronological approach. Chapter One looks at Italo-Norman involvement in the First Crusade and its immediate aftermath. 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. It concludes with a case study highlighting the problems with identification in regard to Richard of the Principate and Roger of Salerno.

Focussing initially upon Bohemond, Chapter Two begins with an exploration of the ways in which different identities could be deliberately foregrounded and the political significance of so-doing. It then moves on to consider the role and possible purpose of Ralph of Caen's *Gesta Tancredi* in further constructing the identity of his key protagonist. 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. 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 moves its focus back to southern Italy and Sicily, to consider 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. 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.

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, provides the starting point of Chapter Four. It 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, since his actions were governed by a recognition of the different potential political and economic threats to Sicily. As changes occurred within the kingdom, it became increasingly orientated towards wider Latin concerns, and 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.

This theme is explored further in Chapter Five. By acting as a main route to the Holy Land, engagement through pilgrims, crusaders and traders was constant. 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 king to tacitly support the Latin East in a manner that did not actively promote religious division within the kingdom's multi-ethnic society.

Regarding the timeframe, 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.

Detecting fluid identities and actions: the sources

In discussing the nature of interaction between southern Italy, Sicily, and the Holy Land, and the question of identity there is a wide range of sources to draw upon despite lacunae for some periods.

Latin sources for southern Italy and Sicily

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.[31] 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 more recently it has been suggested that he was bishop of Paestum (1047–58), who retired to Montecassino and subsequently wrote his history once there.[32] 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.[33] 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 gestus Rogerii Calabriae et Siciliae Comitis et Roberti Guiscardi Ducis* focuses far more on Roger as the title suggests.[34] He was