

COUNTY AND NOBILITY IN NORMAN ITALY
(1130–1189)

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SUBMITTED IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

THE UNIVERSITY OF LEEDS

SCHOOL OF HISTORY / INSTITUTE FOR MEDIEVAL STUDIES

SEPTEMBER 2017

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The completion of this thesis would not have been possible without the support and assistance of many colleagues, friends, and family. A few of these have made such a contribution that it is my duty and pleasure to recognise them in particular.

It has been a privilege to be a part of the cadre of students that came together under the supervision of Graham A. Loud; his knowledge, direction, and resources have been an invaluable pillar upon which I was able to conduct my research. I am very grateful also to Isabelle Bolognese, Francesca Petrizzo, Danielle Morossi and James Hill for their advice and debate. I would also like to express my sincere gratitude to Ian Wood, Iona McCleery, Julia Barrow, Alan Murray, Bill Flynn, Catherine Coombs, Malcolm Chase, Melanie Brunner, Jonathan Jarrett and Emilia Jamroziak, who in their own, unique ways provided me with help and advice, and made my experience in Leeds a more constructive and solid one. Also, I have regularly benefited from the usefulness, kindness and patience of the staff of The Brotherton Library, and especially of the Documentary Supply Service; for this, I am deeply grateful. Among the esteemed and dear company that I found in Leeds I must recognise Otávio Luiz Vieira Pinto, Ioannis Papadopoulos, Mike Burrows, Cătălin Țăranu, Christian Aragón Briceño and Martín Lima for their companionship; I especially thank Otávio and Mike for kindly commenting on drafts of this thesis. Great colleagues, but even greater friends. I will miss your sincere support and our enjoyable tertulias.

This entire research would not have been possible without the very generous funding of the University of Leeds' research scholarship, and the overseas programme of the National Council for Science and Technology (CONACYT – Mexico). I am keenly aware of how fortunate and privileged I was to be given their support. To them, all my gratitude.

Beyond the confines of the University of Leeds, I must also attribute special thanks to my friends Antonella Furno and Paola Massa, who provided me with both valuable material and advice. I am likewise grateful to Piero Scatizzi, archivist of the Biblioteca S. Scolastica in Subiaco, for his assistance. Also, I am greatly thankful to Hiroshi Takayama, Paul Oldfield, and Antonio Macchione, for sharing their work with me and providing useful suggestions. I also thank my friend and *paisana* Isell Chavarin, who facilitated my access to resources from the University of S. Barbara, California. I am especially grateful to Alex Metcalfe, for his encouragement, guidance, generosity, and kindness.

Thanks must also be given to my family and friends from 'back home'. Both my parents and my sister, who I deeply love, have been greatly supportive and caring, even if they do not understand what I am doing or why I am doing it. Also, my friends Carlos Estrada Nava, Arturo 'Costi' García Cortés, Hugo 'Rosita' Vázquez Perales, Javier Bueno Gutiérrez, Carl Nordlund, and Gerardo 'Boris' Bravo Peña, constant friends who were always ready to offer me time, laughter, and an optimistic and empathic view. They know how important they all are. Finally, I must devote special thanks to my partner, Sajoncita, who not only helped me proof-read my churrigueresque English, but has also been a fountain of patience, encouragement, and love. Even in the *pérfida Albión*, she made me feel at home.

ABSTRACT

This research offers a rounded account of the local ruling elite in mainland Southern Italy during the first dynasty of the Sicilian kingdom. It does so through a chronological, in-breadth exploration of the counts' activities, and an in-depth analysis of both the role the counts played during the development of the kingdom's nobility and government, and the function the county acquired in the establishment of social control on the mainland. This study is supported by an extensive and detailed survey of the vast relevant diplomatic material, both edited and unedited, combined with a comparison of the diverse available narrative sources, both local and external. The study has two central objectives. The first is to suggest the composition of the peninsular nobility and its continuities and discontinuities, by revealing how lordships were reorganised through the appointment and confirmation of counts, the total number of counties after this reorganisation, and the transactions and major events in which the counts were involved throughout the kingdom's Norman period. The second is to interpret how territorial leaderships operated between the upper echelon of the peninsular aristocracy and the other economic and political agents, such as lesser barons, royal officials, and ecclesiastical institutions. I argue that the creation of the Kingdom of Sicily did not hinder the development of the nobility's leadership in southern Italy, but, in fact, the Sicilian monarchy relied on the county as both a military cluster and an economic unit, and, eventually, on the counts' authority, in order to keep the realm united and exercise effective control over the mainland provinces – especially in Apulia and the Terra di Lavoro. Such a finding should encourage further revision of the traditional interpretation of the kingdom's social mechanisms for military mobilisation, administration of justice, and political stability. By emphasising the importance of the comital class and the changeability and endurance of the peninsular nobility, this study underlines the complexity of medieval, South Italian societies, and the multi-layered structures which allowed the Kingdom of Sicily to be a viable polity.

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ABBREVIATIONS

<i>Actes de Gargano</i>	<i>Les actes de l'Abbaye de Cava concernant le Gargano (1086–1370)</i> , ed. by Jean M. Martin, Cod. Dipl. Pugliese, 32 (Bari: Società di Storia Patria per la Puglia, 1994)
<i>Al. Tel.</i>	<i>Alexandri Telesini abbatis Ystoria Rogerii regis Sicilie, Calabrie atque Apulie</i> , ed. by Ludovico De Nava, FSI, 112 (Rome: Istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo, 1991)
<i>Annales Casinensis</i>	<i>Annales Casinenses</i> , ed. by Georg H. Pertz, MGH SS, 19 (Hanover: Hahn, 1866)
<i>Annales Ceccanenses</i>	<i>Annales Ceccanenses</i> , ed. by Georg H. Pertz, MGH SS, 19 (Hanover: Hahn, 1866)
<i>Annalista Saxo</i>	<i>Die Reichschronik des Annalista Saxo</i> , ed. by Klaus Nass, MGH SS, 37 (Hanover: Hahn, 2006)
ASPN	Archivio Storico per le Province Napoletane
Benevento	Archivio Storico Provinciale di Benevento, Museo del Sannio
<i>Catalogus Baronum</i>	<i>Catalogus Baronum</i> , ed. by Evelyn M. Jamison, FSI, 11 (Rome: Istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo, 1972)
<i>Carte di Molfetta</i>	<i>Le carte di Molfetta (1076–1309)</i> , ed. by Francesco Carabellese, Cod. Dipl. Barese, 7 (Bari: Levante, 1912)
<i>Cartulaire de Sculgola</i>	<i>Le cartulaire de S. Matteo di Sculgola en Capitanate (Registro d'instrumenti di S. Maria del Gualdo 1177–1239)</i> , ed. by Jean M. Martin, 2 vols, Cod. Dipl. Pugliese, 30 (Bari: Società di Storia Patria per la Puglia, 1987)
Cava	Archivio della badia della Santissima Trinità, Cava dei Tirreni
<i>Chartes de Troia</i>	<i>Les chartes de Troia. Édition et étude critique des plus anciens documents conservés à l'Archivio Capitolare. I (1024–1266)</i> , ed. by Jean M. Martin, Cod. Dipl. Pugliese, 21 (Bari: Società di Storia Patria per la Puglia, 1976)
<i>Choniates</i>	<i>Nicetae Choniatae Historia</i> , ed. by Jan L. Dieten, 2 vols, Corpus fontium historiae Byzantinae, 11 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1975), I
<i>Chron. Cas.</i>	<i>Chronica Monasterii Casinensis</i> , ed. by Hartmut Hoffmann, MGH SS, 34 (Hanover: Hahn, 1980)
<i>Chron. Casauriense</i>	<i>Chronicon Casauriense, auctore Iohanne Berardi [Liber instrumentorum seu chronicorum monasterii Casauriensis]</i> , ed. by Ludovico A. Muratori, RIS, 2 (Milan: Societas Palatina, 1726)
<i>Chron. de Carpineto</i>	<i>Alexandri Monachi Chronicorum liber Monasterii Sancti Bartholomei de Carpineto</i> , ed. by Berardo Pio (Rome: Istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo, 2001)
<i>Chron. de Ferraria</i>	<i>Ignoti Monachi Cisterciensis S. Mariae de Ferraria Chronica et Ryccardi de Sancto Germano Chronica Priora</i> , ed. by Georg H. Pertz and A. Gaudenzi (Naples: F. Giannini, 1888)
<i>Chron. S. Sophiae</i>	<i>Chronicon Sanctae Sophiae: cod. Vat. Lat. 4939</i> , ed. by Jean M. Martin, 2 vols (Rome: Istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo, 2000), II

<i>Cod. Dipl. Aversa</i>	<i>Codice diplomatico normanno di Aversa</i> , ed. by Alfonso Gallo (Naples: Luigi Lubrano editore, 1926)
<i>Cod. Dipl. Barese</i>	<i>Codice diplomatico barese</i> , 19 vols
<i>Cod. Dipl. Cajetanus</i>	<i>Codex Diplomaticus Cajetanus</i> , 2 vols (Montecassino: Abbey of Montecassino, 1890), II
<i>Cod. Dipl. Molisano</i>	<i>Codice diplomatico molisano (964–1349)</i> , ed. by Bruno Figliuolo and Rosaria Pilone (Campobasso: Palladino, 2013)
<i>Cod. Dipl. Pugliese</i>	<i>Codice diplomatico pugliese</i> (Continuation of <i>Cod. Dipl. Barese</i>)
<i>Cod. Dipl. Tremiti</i>	<i>Codice diplomatico del Monastero Benedettino di S. Maria di Tremiti: 1005–1237</i> , ed. by Armando Petrucci, 3 vols. FSI, 98 (Rome: Istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo, 1960), III
<i>Cod. Dipl. Verginiano</i>	<i>Cod. Dipl. Verginiano</i> , ed. by Placido M. Tropeano, 13 vols (Montevergine: Edizioni Padri Benedettini, 1977–2001)
<i>Falcandus</i>	<i>De rebus circa regni Siciliae curiam gestis Epistola ad Petrum de desolatione Siciliae</i> , ed. by Edoardo D'Angelo (Florence: Sismel, 2014)
<i>Falco</i>	<i>Falcone di Benevento. Chronicon Beneventanum: città e feudi nell'Italia dei normanni</i> , ed. by Edoardo D'Angelo (Florence: Edizioni del Galluzzo, 1998)
FSI	Fonti per la storia d'Italia
<i>Italia Sacra</i>	<i>Italia sacra sive de Episcopis Italiae</i> , ed. by Ferdinando Ughelli and Nicolò Coleti, 2nd edn, 10 vols (Venice: Sebastianum Coleti, 1717–1721)
<i>Kinnamos</i>	<i>Ioannis Cinnami [Kinnamoi] epitome rerum ab Ioanne et Alexio Comnenis gestarum</i> , ed. by Augustus Meineke, Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae, 26 (Bonn: Weber, 1836)
<i>Malaterra</i>	<i>De rebus gestis Rogerii Calabriae et Siciliae comitis et Roberti Guiscardi ducis fratris eius, auctore Gaufrido Malaterra</i> , ed. by Ernesto Pontieri, RIS, 5.1 (Bologna: N. Zanichelli, 1928)
MGH	Monumenta Germaniae Historica, following the usual conventions, e.g. SS = Scriptores
<i>Necrologio Cas.</i>	<i>I Necrologi Cassinesi. I Il Necrologio del Cod. Cassinese 47</i> , ed. by Mauro Inguanez, FSI, 83 (Roma: Istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo, 1941)
<i>Necrologio di S. Matteo</i>	<i>Necrologio del Liber confratrum di S. Matteo di Salerno</i> , ed. by Carlo A. Garufi, FSI, 56 (Rome: Istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo, 1922)
PBSR	<i>Papers of the British School at Rome</i>
<i>Pergamene del Duomo di Bari</i>	<i>Le pergamene del Duomo di Bari (952–1264)</i> , ed. by Francesco Nitti di Vito, <i>Cod. Dipl. Barese</i> , 1 (Trani: V. Vecchi, 1897)
<i>Pergamene di Barletta</i>	<i>Le pergamene di Barletta, archivio capitolare (897–1285)</i> , ed. by Francesco Nitti di Vito, <i>Cod. Dipl. Barese</i> , 8 (Trani: V. Vecchi, 1914)
<i>Pergamene di Capua</i>	<i>Le pergamene di Capua</i> , ed. by Jole Mazzoleni, 3 vols (Naples: Università degli Studi di Napoli, 1957), I

<i>Pergamene di Conversano</i>	<i>Le pergamene di Conversano (901–1265)</i> , ed. by Giuseppe Coniglio, Cod. Dipl. Pugliese, 20 (Bari: Società di Storia Patria per la Puglia, 1975)
<i>Pergamene di S. Nicola di Bari</i>	<i>Le pergamene di S. Nicola di Bari. Periodo normanno (1075–1194)</i> , ed. by Francesco Nitti di Vito, Cod. Dipl. Barese, 5 (Bari: V. Vecchi, 1900)
<i>Pergamene di Salerno</i>	<i>Le pergamene dell'archivio diocesano di Salerno (841–1193)</i> , ed. by Anna Giordano (Salerno: Laveglia & Carlone, 2015)
<i>Pergamene di Terlizzi</i>	<i>Le pergamene della Cattedrale di Terlizzi (971–1300)</i> , ed. by Francesco Carabellese, Cod. Dipl. Barese, 3 (Bari: Commissione Provinciale di Archeologia e Storia Patria, 1899)
<i>QFIAB</i>	<i>Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken</i>
<i>Reg. Neap. Arch. Mon.</i>	<i>Regii Neapolitanae Archivii Monumenta</i> , 6 vols (Naples: Typographia Equitis G. Nobile, 1854–1861)
RIS	Rerum Italicarum Scriptores
<i>Roger II Diplomata</i>	<i>Rogerii II. Regis Diplomata Latina</i> , ed. by Carlrichard Brühl, Codex Diplomaticus Regni Siciliae, 2 (Cologne: Böhlau, 1987)
<i>Romuald</i>	<i>Romualdi Salernitani Chronicon</i> , ed. by Carlo A. Garufi, 2nd edn, RIS, 7 (Città di Castello: S. Lapi, 1935)
<i>Sicilia Sacra</i>	<i>Sicilia sacra disquisitionibus, et notitiis illustrata</i> , ed. by Rocco Pirri, 3rd ed, 2 vols (Palermo: Haeredes Petri Coppulae, 173)
<i>Tyrants</i>	<i>The History of the Tyrants of Sicily by 'Hugo Falcandus', 1154–69</i> , trans. by Graham A. Loud and Thomas Wiedemann (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998)
<i>William I Diplomata</i>	<i>Guillelmi I. Regis Diplomata</i> , ed. by Horst Enzensberger, Codex Diplomaticus Regni Siciliae, 3 (Cologne: Böhlau, 1996)
<i>William II Diplomata</i>	'Guillelmi II. Regis Siciliae Diplomata 1166–1189', ed. by Horst Enzensberger, 31 March 2016, < http://www.hist-hh.uni-bamberg.de/WilhelmII/index.html >
<i>William of Apulia</i>	<i>Guillaume de Pouille. La Geste de Robert Guiscard</i> , ed. and trans. by Marguerite Mathieu (Palermo: Istituto Siciliano di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici, 1961)
<i>William of Tyre</i>	<i>Willelmi Tyrensis Archiepiscopi Chronicon</i> , ed. by Robert B. Huygens, 2 vols, Corpus christianorum, 63 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1986), II

INTRODUCTION

Remarks on the Social Study of the Italo-Norman Aristocracy under the Sicilian Kingdom

PRINCE EDWARD

*Is it upon record, or else reported
Successively from age to age, he built it?*

BUCKINGHAM

Upon record, my gracious lord.

PRINCE EDWARD

*But say, my lord, it were not register'd,
Me thinks the truth should live from age to age,
As 'twere retail'd to all posterity,
Even to the general all-ending day.*

(Shakespeare, Richard III, Act 3, Scene 1)

Errico Cuozzo, one of the most experienced and renowned scholars in the field of Italo-Norman society, had by 1985 already identified one of the most important challenges facing current scholarship. In his exploration of the origin and development of the county of Montescaglioso, Cuozzo claimed that the county of the Norman Kingdom in Italy had not been subject to systematic research, and that the few researchers that had been occupied with this matter – himself included – had done so in an indirect and episodic manner, limited to piecing together the biographical and prosopographical data of some specific counts and baronial families.¹ Despite the numerous and extensive works Cuozzo has offered us, this challenge remains to this day a pending task in the field. His multiple attempts to disentangle the fragmented and intricate diplomatic evidence have resulted in an invaluable collection of material, from the *Commentario* for the *Catalogus Baronum* to the myriad articles and editions of documents on the peninsular nobility to which the present research is profoundly indebted. However, Cuozzo did not bring all the studied *exempla* together into one comprehensive study of all the counts and counties throughout the Norman monarchy. It is only with a systematic reconstruction of the social structure of the comital class that a synchronic analysis of the nobility's development and an accurate identification of the original South Italian counties can be conducted. This work seeks to set the basis for a truly comprehensive and detailed study of the role played by the nobility in the development of political and social power during the central Middle Ages, specifically the role taken by the Italo-Norman aristocracy under the first Sicilian royal dynasty.

¹ Errico Cuozzo, 'La contea di Montescaglioso nei secoli XI–XIII', *ASPN*, 103 (1985), 7–37 (pp. 7–8).

I present, in these remarks, the epistemological reflection and methodological definitions upon which my doctoral research is based, the central objective of which was to construct a social model that suggests the composition and structure of the South-Italian peninsular upper aristocracy. In order to reach this aim, the study stands on one key pillar: a prosopographical exploration of the counts who were created, confirmed and mutated under the first dynasty of the Kingdom of Sicily. As it is argued throughout this work, the kingdom's nobility must not be understood simply as the upper echelon of the aristocracy, which included land-holding knights and barons, but also as a social label consolidated around the role and prerogatives exercised by counts with, without, and even at times against royal authority. This allows for an observation of the overlapping of distinct social groups, in pursuit of an interpretation of how territorial leadership and centrally accountable officials operated together to exercise and maintain social control.

It is still necessary to set the foundations upon which to build a sound social model, and for Norman Italy a great deal of prosopographical work was necessary before one could begin to analyse the whole region's social strata effectively, or even to discuss modern historiography productively. In recent decades, historians have started to explore the less hierarchical relationships through which collectives, active in medieval communities, were embodied; for example, Rosenwein, Reynolds, Metcalfe, and Oldfield.² These approaches have relied on both a more careful understanding of the sociological implications of the object of study, and a reconsideration of classic socio-economic structuralism.

Historians have traditionally called this period 'anarchical' or 'feudal', but recently scholars have begun to look at the various ways in which people in this decentralised society transacted their social interactions. Indeed, the predominant theory which still informs the thought of both historians and archaeologists – unconsciously or not – is French structuralism. The gaze of many researchers, from Cahen to Carocci, continues to be fixed on 'feudalism' with its critiques of landholding, lordship and settlement patterns.³ Structuralist thinking has proved a useful tool for historians, but it has also had an important conditioning and distorting effect on our assumptions, preconceptions and interpretations. This is not least because the supposed structures of lordship and settlement

² Barbara H. Rosenwein, *To Be the Neighbor of Saint Peter: The Social Meaning of Cluny's Property, 909–1049* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1989); Susan Reynolds, *Kingdoms and Communities in Western Europe, 900–1300*, 2nd edn (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997); Alex Metcalfe, *The Muslims of Medieval Italy* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009); Paul Oldfield, *City and Community in Norman Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

³ Claude Cahen, *Le régime féodal de l'Italie normande* (Paris: Geuthner, 1940); Sandro Carocci, *Signorie di Mezzogiorno: società rurali, poteri aristocratici e monarchia (XII-XIII secolo)* (Rome: Viella, 2014).

nucleation have become the model of choice for explaining historical representations of core-periphery systems: society and power, urbanisation and urban communities, the rural economy, and the diverse arrangements of the countryside. Moreover, structuralism continues to provide a top-down model for societal formation which seeks to explain economic transformation, acculturation, and, ultimately, broader processes of social change as derived from a putative *incastellamento* and ‘feudal’ movement of settlement nucleation and lordship. The historiography of Norman Italy, including the very recent monograph by Carocci, uses modern assumptions about private property: when the property is given, it is alienated, and land tenure is either conditional (feudal) or absolute (allodial). Yet, the diplomatic evidence for southern Italy, at least in the twelfth century, does not depict a uniform or defined process of land acquisition.⁴ Nevertheless, the unclear pre-modern definition of ownership does not signify that donations were meaningless, but rather that they had, in addition to an economic significance, a political and symbolic one. It is clear to me that it is wrong to impose our own notions of property on earlier periods. Instead, territorial holdings were still tied to original tenants, granted away and then taken back, exchanged, and claimed only to be relinquished again.⁵ This rather fluid back and forth could last for several generations of barons, and the changes in the upper social echelon do not appear to have obstructed it; the higher aristocracy actually seem to have consolidated their roles as territorial leaders precisely by mediating the complexity caused by a mutable understanding of land ownership. A more careful reading, independent of these traditional legal notions common in continental historiography, can help shatter the chains of our modern mental constructs, and allow the sources to take their own shape. This exploration of Italo-Norman mobility is presented as a sound alternative to assuming the modern and Western preconception of property that has forced the scholarship to see land tenure either as allodial – owned outright or as a freehold – or feudal. Conversely, I offer here a more balanced view of so-called feudal society, and I suggest that medieval societies were grounded on a grid of notions less delimited and more complicated than one might expect.

No less problematic is the emphasis that has been laid on state, state-formation, kingship, and structures of authority, as well as administrative ‘systems’ in the Kingdom

⁴ On the structure of the Italo-Norman nobility and how unhelpful ‘feudal’ concepts are, see Graham A. Loud, ‘Le strutture del potere: la feudalità’, in *Il Mezzogiorno normanno-svevo fra storia e storiografia*, Atti del Centro di Studi Normanno-Svevi, 20 (Bari: Dedalo, 2014), pp. 147–68.

⁵ For a parallel example of holdings being granted, taken back and re-granted, see the remarkable discussion about Saxony in the eleventh-century by Karl Leyser, ‘The Crisis of Medieval Germany’, in *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 69 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984).

of Sicily, for instance by Jamison, Marongiu, Takayama, and Johns.⁶ The so-called royal assembly of Silva Marca has become, for example, an almost undeniable fact adopted by many scholars. As suggested by Jamison and advocated by Cuzzo, this idea assumes the existence of a constitutional assembly at which King Roger gathered all the men of the realm in 1142 at Silva Marca in order to introduce a new central administrative system for the entire kingdom, which allegedly included the establishment of a regular military service, creation and reorganisation of counties, and the introduction of ‘feudalism’.⁷ This premise, however, raises fundamental questions on the chronology of the south Italian counties, and the documented political and military role played by the counts.

In Norman Italy, after the kingdom’s creation and almost ten years of civil war, there was no actual discernible, fixed form of central authority that would embed the higher nobility within an established administration. The diverse royal functionaries attested in the surviving documentation appear to keep mutating, and the control exercised by the royal court would only start to consolidate and be widely documented on the basis of the actual role played by the peninsular nobility and local lords. The ‘royal state’, as it was at least in the peninsular provinces, consisted of the image of a recurrently absent monarch, a scattered staff of justiciars, constables, and chamberlains, and a mobile court of the king’s justice (which could be attended by the king and his entourage, if he was present on the mainland) that appeared at itinerant provincial assemblies. However, one of the most important monographic studies on this topic repeatedly speaks of ‘administrative systems’ at work in the ‘central government’ that existed in capital cities – Palermo in Sicily and Salerno on the mainland.⁸ Furthermore, a recent 800-page monograph by another leading expert that deals with such state-and-society history has

⁶ Evelyn M. Jamison, ‘The Norman Administration of Apulia and Capua: More Especially Under Roger II and William I, 1127–1166’, *PBSR*, 1913, 211–481; Antonio Marongiu, ‘A Model State in the Middle Ages: The Norman and Swabian Kingdom of Sicily’, *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 6.3 (1964), 307–20; Hiroshi Takayama, *The Administration of the Norman Kingdom of Sicily* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1993); Jeremy Johns, *Arabic Administration in Norman Sicily: The Royal Dīwān* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

⁷ Evelyn M. Jamison, ‘Additional Work on the Catalogus Baronum’, *Bullettino dell’Istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo ed Archivio Muratoriano*, 83 (1971), 1–63 (p. 15); Errico Cuzzo, ‘“Milites” e “testes” nella contea normanna di Principato’, *Bullettino dell’Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo e Archivio Muratoriano*, 88 (1979), 121–64 (p. 150); Errico Cuzzo, ‘Prosopografia di una famiglia feudale normanna: i Balvano’, *ASP*, 98 (1980), 61–80 (pp. 79–81); Cuzzo, ‘Montescaglioso’, p. 29; Errico Cuzzo, *‘Quei maledetti normanni’: cavalieri e organizzazione militare nel mezzogiorno normanno* (Naples: Guida, 1989), pp. 105–13; Jean M. Martin, *La Pouille du VIe au XIIe siècle*, Collection de l’Ecole française de Rome, 179 (Rome: Ecole française de Rome, 1993), pp. 770–95; Graham A. Loud, ‘Continuity and Change in Norman Italy: The Campania during the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries’, *Journal of Medieval History*, 22.4 (1996), 313–43 (pp. 333–37); Joanna H. Drell, *Kinship & Conquest: Family Strategies in the Principality of Salerno during the Norman Period, 1077–1194* (Ithaca, USA: Cornell University Press, 2002), pp. 44–45.

⁸ Takayama, *Administration of the Kingdom*.

been conceived in exactly the same tradition as its predecessors;⁹ one reviewer politely concluded that *il manque à ce grand livre d'histoire une réflexion plus poussée en anthropologie et en sociologie*.¹⁰ It seems that the importance of such state-driven views of structures and systems has been exaggerated, inviting thus both a historical and historiographical reconsideration of the available evidence and other, dismissed social actors. The Italo-Norman nobility of the Sicilian kingdom provides a precise example of a societal group whose importance has been disregarded in modern scholarship, because it is commonly placed at the margins of a central political structure preconceived as highly administrative and subordinating. I argue instead that in the study of historical social structures, it is necessary to engage in a discussion of the documented interactions and interconnectivity that make up social phenomena, and, as a result, to provide a rounded account of the composition and unfolding of the predominant societal group.

The snapshots in time and connections presented here do not necessarily imply the total hierarchy or property of the Italo-Norman nobility. In lieu of modelling hierarchies of lords and vassals, my exploration focuses on the morphing positions and community groups that made up the upper layers of society in Norman Italy under the Sicilian kingdom. The survey and hypothesis constructed by my research map the intersections of agents of military, political, and economic control, and the upper aristocracy.¹¹ Amongst other things, relationships were revealed, created, confirmed, and supported through charters. The legal proceedings and the guarantees included in the charters acted as a bond between the territorial leaders and the lords of the land. As such, the charters in which the counts are attested reflect the bonding through which social control was exercised in the peninsular domains. The recorded legal interactions functioned to define and validate groups, and enforce social cohesion. The secular use of monastic donations, the military and monetary fees demanded, and the flux of property and wealth created a grid of connections and relationships. I call this bonding the social meaning of the nobility's transactions, a mechanism for uniting a society too often seen as centrally oppressed and divided. It is social, and not secular or economic, because I point to the importance of the

⁹ Annliese Nef, *Conquérir et gouverner la Sicile islamique aux XIe et XIIIe siècles* (École française de Rome, 2011).

¹⁰ Max Lejbowicz, 'Annliese Nef, *Conquérir et gouverner la Sicile islamique aux XIe et XIIIe siècles*', *Cahiers de recherches médiévales et humanistes*, 2012 <<http://crm.revues.org/12719>> [accessed 27 August 2017].

¹¹ On the theoretical basis of these ideal types of social control, see Michael Mann, *A History of Power from the Beginning to AD 1760. The Sources of Social Power 1*, 2nd edn (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012), pp. 1–34; *An Anatomy of Power: The Social Theory of Michael Mann*, ed. by John A. Hall and Ralph Schroeder (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

relationship that affirmed or created transactions, a bond that functioned as the actual channel through which control could be exercised and implemented.

Timescale, sources, and diplomatic evidence

The vast and relatively accessible quantity of material available to carry out a historical exploration of the South Italian nobility had to force certain limitations on the study, for obvious reasons of space. The chronological scope of the research has been chosen for a number of reasons. It gives a broad enough timescale to discern relevant continuities and disruptions, while not being so broad as to prevent in-depth analysis. Also, a considerably rich corpus of charters survives for twelfth-century southern Italy, along with a series of chronicles and accounts composed by foreign and native contemporary witnesses. Last but not least is the fact that the creation of the Sicilian monarchy and its first dynasty was a watershed in the history of southern Italy, after which the local social and political arrangements were developed and defined, as will be seen in this exploration. However, this study goes beyond the kingdom's creation and Roger II's reign, and connects these episodes to the entire period of the Norman dynasty.

A diverse number of chronicles, histories, and other narrative accounts have been employed in this study. The chronicles composed by Alexander of Telese and Falco, a notary of Benevento, in the first half of the twelfth century contribute vital material on the early decades before and after the creation of the Kingdom of Sicily, a transformative period when the peninsular nobility changed greatly. Alexander's work stops in 1135, while Falco's chronicle in its present, incomplete, form ends in 1140, although it seems originally to have been continued until 1144; a rudimentary version of the last section has survived in the anonymous chronicle of Santa Maria of Ferraria in Fossanova.¹² This chronicle, together with the also anonymous annals of the abbeys of Montecassino (*Annales Casinenses*) and Fossanova in Ceccano (*Annales Ceccanenses*), were written in the late twelfth and early thirteenth century, and provide a useful view of key events and activities in the northwestern border of the realm, which serve to confirm both the changes in the nobility of the Terra di Lavoro and some of the military operations the kingdom was involved in.

¹² For a relevant discussion about Falco's chronicle, see Graham A. Loud, 'The Genesis and Context of the Chronicle of Falco of Benevento', in *Anglo-Norman Studies, XV: Proceedings of the Battle Conference 1992* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 1993), pp. 177–98; *Roger II and the Creation of the Kingdom of Sicily*, ed. by Graham A. Loud (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2012), pp. 52–62. Also, for the location of this and other abbeys relevant to this study, see Map 2.

One of the most important narrative sources is the history attributed to the so-called ‘Hugo Falcandus’ (henceforth Pseudo-Falcandus), which provides a vivid and detailed account of the political machinations and rebellions under William I and the first years of William II (1154–1169). Although the identity of this author remains a mystery, Pseudo-Falcandus’ testimony has become, for better or worse, a pillar for the understanding of the Kingdom of Sicily’s court affairs and nobility in the second half of the twelfth century. Likewise, the Salernitan chronicle, attributed to Romuald Guarna, archbishop of Salerno, provides a rich and crucial testimony for both the external events that surrounded southern Italy from a pan-European scope, and the kingdom’s internal politics, a useful take for checking and comparing with Pseudo-Falcandus’ account. It is possible that Romuald Guarna himself wrote the entries in the Salernitan chronicle starting in c. 1153–1156, after he became archbishop of Salerno and subsequently a crucial eye-witness, given the archbishop’s role as a Sicilian diplomat and occasional member of the royal court. The authorship of the chronicle is expressly declared at the end of the description of the peace conference at Venice in 1176–1177, which he himself attended as a chief Sicilian negotiator.¹³ However, Matthew has suggested that, due to the inconsistencies in the older part of the chronicle, Romuald wrote only the account of the conference of Venice himself. Matthew is doubtful whether Romuald Guarna was responsible for the entries after 1127, but his argument is not conclusive.¹⁴ The sources that Romuald employed for composing the earlier entries of his universal chronicle must have included compilations of older authorities, such as Isidore of Seville, Orosius, and Paul the Deacon. He must also have taken advantage of the *Annales Beneventani* (in their second or third year), the *Chronica Cavensis*, the chronicle of Lupus Protospatharius of Bari, the Troian *Annales*, and perhaps the Montecassino chronicle of Leo of Ostia and Peter the Deacon.¹⁵

External testimonies also offer useful brief information about the Italo-Norman nobility and the key events in the development of the Sicilian monarchy. The Greek histories of John Kinnamos and Niketas Choniates recorded the presence of several Apulian noblemen, both rebels and royal generals, in the Constantinopolitan court, and the military campaigns between the kingdom and the Eastern Empire. The work of William of Tyre also recorded relevant episodes in which members of the Italo-Norman

¹³ Romuald, pp. 293–94.

¹⁴ Donald J. Matthew, ‘The Chronicle of Romuald of Salerno’, in *The Writing of History in the Middle Ages. Essays Presented to Richard William Southern*, ed. by R.H.C. Davis and J.M. Wallace-Hadrill (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981), pp. 239–74 (pp. 267–71). Cf. Graham A. Loud and Thomas Wiedemann, ‘Introduction’, in *The History of the Tyrants of Sicily by ‘Hugo Falcandus,’ 1154–69* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998), pp. 1–53 (pp. 52–53).

¹⁵ Garufi’s introduction in *Romuald*, pp. v–x.

nobility were attested. Likewise, complementary, additional information can be drawn from German testimonies such as the *Annalista Saxo*, Otto of Freising, and the letters of Wibald of Corvey, who cover the conflicts in the 1130s and the subsequent contact between the German Empire, the South Italian nobility, and the Sicilian monarchy.

Other types of textual material were helpful in the conduct of this research. The survival of a collection of laws that contain the legislation of Roger II – also known inaccurately as his assizes or constitutions of Ariano – sheds some light on the relationship between the nobility and the kingdom's government. The geographical work of the Arabic cartographer Al-Idrisi, often called 'The Book of King Roger', provides a topological description of the mainland territories which resulted very useful in the identification of the northern Adriatic borders of the kingdom; Al-Idrisi used a wide variety of sources, including route descriptions and portable maps. The edition and translation prepared by Amari and Schiaparelli, although focused solely on a geographical description of Italy, has proven more than sufficient for this study.

Another useful type of documentary sources is the Abruzzese cartulary-chronicles from Casauria, Carpineto and Maiella, which offer both diplomatic and narrative evidence, at times otherwise unattested, for the activities in northern Apulia in the twelfth century. These codices were more than just a cartulary; they became a hybrid but integral textual instrument used to attest and corroborate the estates of the abbey, which provided not only a collection of documents but also put together many other texts and testimonies. The chronicle of John Berard, monk of Casauria, was written, c. 1175–1180, in the margins of the cartulary of the abbey of St Clement in Casauria, whose great bulk is composed of 2,150 documents, dating back to the foundation of the monastery (c. 872).¹⁶ Alexander the monk, the author of the chronicle of the abbey of St Bartholomew of Carpineto, composed his work in the last decade of the twelfth century, appended to a collection of 161 documents from the same monastery.¹⁷ Similarly, the *Liber instrumentorum monasterii Sancti Salvatoris de Maiella* is an unedited codex composed by the monks of the Holy Saviour at M. Maiella, at the turn between the twelfth and the thirteenth century, which provides a collection of both transcribed charters and narrative testimonies.¹⁸

¹⁶ Graham A. Loud, 'Monastic Chronicles in the Twelfth-Century Abruzzi', in *Anglo-Norman Studies, XXVII: Proceedings of the Battle Conference 2004*, ed. by John Gillingham (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2005), pp. 101–31 (pp. 106–26).

¹⁷ On the documents transcribed in the chronicle of Carpineto, see Walther Holtzmann, 'The Norman Royal Charters of S. Bartolomeo di Carpineto', *PBSR*, xxiv (1956), 94–100.

¹⁸ Lorenza Iannacci, 'Il Liber instrumentorum del monastero di San Salvatore a Maiella', *Studi Medievali*, III.53 (2012), 717–69.

In addition to the diverse textual material, the available diplomatic evidence formed an integral and core part of the sources for this study. The documentary heritage for the study of the Norman Kingdom of Sicily comes mostly from archives with an overwhelmingly ecclesiastical provenance; one must also note the relative wealth of monastic archives compared with the small number of surviving episcopal ones. The archbishoprics of Salerno and Bari, and the bishoprics of Aversa, are the only substantial such survivals – other episcopal archives that preserve twelfth-century evidence (e.g. Benevento, Brindisi, Caiazzo, Capua, Chieti, Taranto, and Troia) are smaller, and clearly preserve only a fraction of what once existed. Some of these also have rather more from the thirteenth century than the twelfth, e.g. Benevento. The geographical imbalance is also notable; far more from Campania and Adriatic Apulia than for the Basilicata and Molise.

This surviving *corpus* of charters has been mostly assembled from cartulary collections, which have provided thousands of private and public documents. The most important collections include the *Codice diplomatico barese* and *pugliese*, *Le pergamene dell'archivio diocesano di Salerno*, *Codice diplomatico normanno di Aversa*, *Le pergamene di Capua*, *Le pergamene normanne della Mater Ecclesia Capuana*, *Regesto di S. Angelo in Formis*, *Codice diplomatico molisano*, *Syllabus Graecarum membranarum*, *Codex Diplomaticus Cajetanus* and the *Codice diplomatico verginiano*, which considerably facilitated the diplomatic exploration of this study. General compilations of charters that are not specific to a particular city or region were also employed; the *Codex Diplomaticus Regni Siciliae* contains a variety of royal charters from the twelfth century, and Ughelli and Coleti's eighteenth-century *Italia Sacra*, a historical survey of Italy's bishoprics, offers copies of certain documents that are otherwise unedited or unidentified. It is important to note that the royal charters that survive now form just a small fraction of what was once written, and their edition is still incomplete.¹⁹ Neither the charters of William II nor the Greek documents of Roger II are available yet in printed editions; Enzensberger is still working on the publication of *Guillelmi II Diplomata*, although many of his edited charters are available online. The study of the surviving production of the Sicilian royal chancery reveals, nevertheless, a great deal about the *regnum's* government.²⁰ Furthermore, a seventeenth-century manuscript supplied complementary material, fundamental for this study: the *Historia delle famiglie*

¹⁹ It has been speculated, for example, that for the reign of Roger II the number of surviving documents might be no more than 10% of the total of those issued. Carlrichard Brühl, *Urkunden und Kanzlei König Rogers II. von Sizilien* (Cologne: Böhlau, 1978), p. 34.

²⁰ On the problem of the royal diplomatic evidence, see especially Graham A. Loud, 'The Chancery and Charters of the Kings of Sicily (1130–1212)', *The English Historical Review*, 124 (2009), 779–810.

di Salerno normande, by Giovan Battista Prignano (Rome, Biblioteca Angelica, cod. 277–76). Prignano was one of the first scholars to systematically survey the archival repositories of southern Italy for the study of the genealogy of the Norman aristocracy, completed c. 1640. He visited numerous archives and produced summaries and excerpts from the sources he consulted directly. Many of these documents have been lost since then, making Prignano’s *Historia* the only known surviving source for many of these transactions. Additionally, this study has relied on editions appended to academic articles and a handful of local prosopographies. All of the published charters have been extensively used to write histories of southern Italy and peninsular communities, having been heavily mined by scholars such as Jamison, Ménager, Martin, Takayama, Cuzzo, Loud and Houben.

Unpublished charters found in repositories in Rome, Benevento (specifically in the *Museo del Sannio*), Naples, and Cava de’ Tirreni are obviously equally fundamental to this study. Of outstanding importance is the abbey of the Most Holy Trinity of Cava, which contains one of the largest and most relevant archives for the study of the medieval Mezzogiorno – most of its twelfth century charters remain unedited. The charters from Cava attest not only the economic and legal interactions amongst the local aristocracy and the abbey itself, but also shed some light on the genealogies of southern Italy and the activities of local functionaries, such as judges, justiciars, constables, and comital officials.

Given the extensive range of available diplomatic material, it was necessary to define a theoretical framework and a data gathering method that would allow for a systematic survey of the relevant charters and the preparation of a prosopographical database. The first decision consisted of defining what a medieval charter is. Is it a textual artefact, a material object, or a piece of evidence? In the last decades, charters have experienced a sort of historiographical resurgence: Rosenwein’s research and the collected works edited by Davis and Fouracre are a good illustration of this.²¹ Charters are not as straightforward as they might appear. Donations, for example, might actually conceal a sale. As is the case with many South Italian charters, a document that initially records a grant may subsequently present another clause in which ‘compensation’ is given to the donor. Once examined in detail, charters contain more information, hidden behind an apparent formal simplicity. Keeping in mind the aims of my sociological exploration, and

²¹ Rosenwein; *The Settlement of Disputes in Early Medieval Europe*, ed. by Wendy Davies and Paul Fouracre (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992); *Property and Power in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. by Wendy Davies and Paul Fouracre (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002); *The Languages of Gift in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. by Wendy Davies and Paul Fouracre (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

the nature and historical context of the Italo-Norman documents, I have understood that a charter is the result of a negotiation process between social actors aimed at: 1) reaching a legal action; 2) certifying.²² As such, a charter is rendered as the source of information of a database that would have to capture the interactions involved in the recorded legal proceeding and its certification.

Also considered in establishing the framework for this study was the rather irregular nature of the Italo-Norman charter: although the classical charter elements are present, the surviving diplomatic material for twelfth-century southern Italy is relatively heterogeneous, and there is almost no standardisation when charters taken from either different regions or different social strata (royal vs. seigniorial) are compared. Moreover, many documents only survive in later copies that follow different contemporary formats, or in summaries compiled in a non-charter format.

Two of the most recurrent challenges of compiling data from diplomatic material are recurring names and vague geographical definitions. One way to tackle the former is to manage and correlate the names of the social actors attested in the charters together with the other names recorded in the same context, and then organise them under a single ‘key’ spelling. The vague geographical definitions can be organised under the recurring geographical terms found in the charters themselves. For the South Italian documents of the twelfth century, these are *casale*, *castrum*, *villa*, *campus*, and *mons*. The boundaries of the *campus* were not as certain as many researchers may think, and those of the *mons* are broader than those of the *villa* and the *casale*. A subsequent issue of dealing with geographical definitions is place-name identification. It is fundamental to recognise that any modern equivalent of a place-name in the South Italian charters is bound to be approximate. The very organisation of the land upon which the charters are drawn was changing into a layout that most likely remains the underlying pattern of the South Italian communes and countryside. Overall, these are identified on a case-by-case basis.

My methodological proposal is indebted to multiple lines of social interpretation and diplomatic research. If new questions are formulated and new answers suggested, it is because many of the old issues have already been resolved. Nevertheless, my efforts are bound to the axiomatic limitation of the available diplomatic material; the fragmented corpus of surviving medieval charters is in many ways unsatisfactory, many documents have been lost in time and others only survive as interpolated or even forged documents.

²² On this dual distinction, see Luca Larpi, ‘Medieval Charters and Sources for Prosopographical Analysis: The Case of the Medici of Lucca, Eighth to Eleventh Centuries’, *Medieval Prosopography*, 31 (2016) <<http://scholarworks.wmich.edu/medpros/vol31/iss1/4>> [accessed 18 December 2016].

Although charters do not necessarily attest what actually happened, they do reflect how people wanted themselves and their social spaces to be recorded. The documents offer thus a public impression of a social system lost in time. The recorded interactions might not tell us the whole story, but they are the closest approximations we may have to the social environment in which they were constructed. The South Italian charters present valuable insights into at least four aspects of the period in question: 1) the flux of land and wealth between individuals, families and communities; 2) the exercise of authority between the aristocracy and people of lesser rank; 3) the public display of prestige and authority; 4) the practical implementation of laws and customs.

Terminology and overlapping structures: using the *Catalogus Baronum*

Alongside the charters consulted and analysed, another key document employed in this study is the *Quaternus magne expeditionis*, a contemporary record present in the compendium known as the *Catalogus Baronum*. This official document has been identified as a general register of the military service owed to the central *curia* for the *auxilium magne expeditionis*.²³ The sole manuscript of the *Catalogus* was an Angevin copy that was destroyed in 1943, when the contents of the Archivio di Stato of Naples, then transferred to Nola, were burned. Capasso originally placed the composition date of its prototype, the *quaternus originalis* as it were, between 1155 and 1169.²⁴ Jamison subsequently corrected this time range to 1150 to 1168, based on the premise that the essential purpose of the *Quaternus* was not simply to provide a register of military service, but more importantly to organise the levy of the *auxilium magne expeditionis* that might have been summoned in 1150 and later, c. 1167.²⁵ The *Quaternus* provides information concerning the provision of armed forces for military service in Apulia and the Terra di Lavoro, at least theoretically. Despite the multiple problems that this source presents (such as the loss of the original and only known manuscript, the apparent *lacunae*, the manuscript's tradition through Swabian and Angevin copyists, and the still debatable purpose and date of its composition), the *Quaternus* provides a rich and instructive starting point for approaching the organisation of the kingdom's lordships during the mid-twelfth

²³ Evelyn M. Jamison, 'Foreword', in *Catalogus Baronum*, FSI, 11 (Istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo, 1972), I, pp. xv–x.

²⁴ Bartolomeo Capasso, *Sul catalogo dei feudi e dei feudatarii delle provincie napoletane sotto la dominazione Normanna: memoria* (Naples: Stamperia della Regia Università, 1870), pp. 293–371.

²⁵ Jamison, 'Additional Work on the Catalogus Baronum', p. 3.

century, and the territorial changes and social distinctions introduced with the Norman presence.

The contemporary terminology reveals some of the distinctions that existed within the kingdom's aristocracy. As we shall see, it was not uncommon in both royal and comital charters to include an invocation that addressed the king's and the counts' own *fideles*, *bones homines*, *barones*, and *milites*. These terms covered a wide range of social groups and classes, and the exact boundaries between these categories is not always made clear. However, one must note the differentiation between nobility and lesser barons. The language in what appears to have been part of Roger II's legislation sheds some light on the matter.

The Vatican version of the assizes includes an exposition of circumstances as a prologue, and in its first sentence Roger II called upon his *proceres* to recognise the glory and generosity of God. *Proceres* was an umbrella term that referred to the kingdom's nobility generally, and not exclusively to the members of the peninsular upper aristocracy and the comital class. King Roger's legislation employs more specific terminology to refer to the social groups to whom he directed the assizes. The second assize of the same Vatican *codex* commanded the 'princes, counts, barons and all our faithful subjects' (*principes, comites, barones et omnes nostri fideles*) to defend and protect all the possessions of the churches – this categorisation is omitted in the equivalent assize of the Montecassino version. The following assize (third in the Vatican version, second in the Montecassino *codex*) was a general admonition to treat one's subjects decently, especially in matters of taxation, which addressed 'greater and lesser barons' as well as 'princes, counts, archbishops, bishops, abbots, and all those who have subject to them citizens, burgesses, peasants, and men of any sort' (*principes, comites, barones maiores atque minores, archiepiscopos, episcopos, abbates, cunctos denique qui subditos habent cives, burgenses, rusticos, sive cuiuscumque professionis homines*). Conversely, the Montecassino version referred only to the princes, counts, barons, and all those who have men subject to them (*principes, comites et barones omnesque dominos subiectos*). The social terminology varied again in the following assize, which ordered the king's 'princes, counts, all the barons, archbishops, bishops, and abbots' (*principes nostros, comites, barones universos, archiepiscopos, episcopos, abbates*) not to alienate, grant or sell, or diminish in whole or in part anything belonging to the *regalia*.²⁶ Despite all the variations, it appears that the

²⁶ Francesco Brandileone, *Il diritto romano nelle leggi normanne e sveve del regno Sicilia* (Turin: Fratelli Bocca, 1884), pp. 94, 96–97, 119–20; Gennaro M. Monti, 'Il testo e la storia esterna delle assise normanne', in *Studi di storia e di diritto in onore di Carlo Calisse*, 3 vols (Milan, 1940), I, 295–348 (pp. 309, 311–12).

effect of these diverse legal categorisations was to differentiate between the members of society who ruled others and those who were subservient. Indeed, overlordship is the key concept around which the legal and social terminology of the South Italian aristocracy can be understood. The fundamental difference between major and lesser lords is that the former were overlords of other barons. Using the terminology of the *Catalogus*, a major baron held demesne property (i.e. *feuda in demanio*) and was placed above barons who held *feuda* from him *in servitio*. Therefore, the subjects of this study on nobility are those identified as overlords on the mainland.

The entries in the documents of the *Catalogus* clearly differentiate between the tenancy and the actual service due for the *magna expeditio*. Almost every entry presents the details of what each baron holds as patrimonial responsibility, which I will henceforth refer to as a ‘tenancy unit’. These tenancy units are generally presented in the form of *feuda*, territorial units valued in terms of *milites*. The accepted view is that the figure indicated in the *Quaternus* for a *feudum*, sporadically referred to in the document as *feudum proprium*, was the agreed figure of service decided on enfeoffment.²⁷ At this point I am not interested in a discussion of the actual validity of the general historiographical models of feudal and vassalage institutions, but simply wish to demonstrate that the contemporary terminology and the unrefined structure exposed in the textual sources are more useful and straightforward concepts than the traditional vocabulary employed to categorise the so-called feudal system.²⁸

Before, military service in the Lombard principalities was a matter of personal status, and not dependent on the tenure of property.²⁹ This changed with the arrival of the figure of the ‘knight’ (*miles*) brought by the transalpine invaders, and the subsequent introduction of the *feudum*, a rather ambiguous unit of tenancy by which land holdings could be transacted, or for which a service, often non-military, could be extracted from the holder (i.e. the baron). The term *feudum* can be attested, for example, in a series of surviving South Italian charters from the late twelfth century, used to refer to small-scale agricultural holdings for which rent or some type of professional service was rendered.³⁰ One must note, however, that the use of this term is less evident in those dominions that

²⁷ Jamison, ‘Additional Work on the Catalogus Baronum’, pp. 6–8; Cahen, pp. 41–51, 67; Martin, *La Pouille*, pp. 754–62.

²⁸ Cf. Cahen, pp. 51–54.

²⁹ Graham A. Loud, ‘Norman Traditions in Southern Italy’, in *Norman Tradition and Transcultural Heritage: Exchange of Cultures in the ‘Norman’ Peripheries of Medieval Europe*, ed. by Stefan Burkhardt and Thomas Foerster (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), pp. 35–56 (p. 51).

³⁰ *Chron. Casauriense*, cols 1010–11 (February 1165); *Cod. Dipl. Verginiano*, v, no 406 (June 1161); *Cod. Dipl. Aversa*, nos 113 pp. 210–11 (March 1181), 125 pp. 233–34 (January 1184), 143 pp. 270–72 (November 1191); *Pergamene di Salerno*, no 154 pp. 355–57 (March 1170).

had been under Byzantine rule (i.e. Adriatic Apulia), which had a stronger basis in Roman-style tax exactions. The word *vasallus* was never attested in Apulia, although the presence of *fideles* attributed to respective *domini* or *seniores* was well attested in southern Italy since the eleventh century.³¹ There were also other non-territorial units, such as villans, mills, and city houses, which although recorded in the *Quaternus*, do not attest a valued assessment in terms of *milites*. Both the tenants holding directly from the *curia* and the barons holding their units from other barons *in servitio* are recorded in the *Quaternus*, presenting thus a hierarchised distribution of tenancy units.

Apart from the detailed recorded tenancies, almost every entry in the *Quaternus* specifies the service offered by each baron in terms of *milites*, occasionally including an additional provision of *servientes* (i.e. foot soldiers).³² In a handful of entries there are even *balliste* or *ballistarii* offered to the army.³³ The service figures, often recorded as objects to the verb *offero* – seldom using verbs such as *debeo servire*, *debeo dare* in their place – indicate the military force that had to be provided in case the army needed to be mobilised *pro auxilio regni*. This figure was the result of adding up the value of the *feuda* and an additional figure referred to in the document as *augmentum*.³⁴ The structure of military service as reflected in the *Quaternus* seems to have rested upon a previously edified structure of tiered tenancy. Against the model of the accepted view, which essentially insists on the existence of a comprehensive system of ‘feudal’ institutions – put forward by Cahen and revised by Jamison – the *feuda* figures might represent instead the results of a preliminary land or wealth survey held by each tenant. On the other hand, the *offero* figures stand as a speculative total of the military service to be levied by the royal *curia* from the recorded barons.³⁵ Military services, for example, were apparently

³¹ Martin, *La Pouille*, pp. 754–62. On the matter of the documented appearance of the *milites* in Apulia after 1054, see Martin, *La Pouille*, pp. 749–54.

³² It is important to note that the term *pedites armati* is employed as, what it seems to be, an exchangeable voice for *servientes*. *Catalogus Baronum*, ¶¶ 291 p. 47, 438 p. 80, 445 p. 82, 871 p. 157.

³³ *Catalogus Baronum*, ¶¶ 344 pp. 57–58, 806 p. 148, 839 p. 153, 864 p. 156, 982 p. 176. These soldiers might have been, most likely, crossbowmen; for *ballista* usually translates as crossbow, and *ballistarii* as something pertaining to crossbows, or artillery. Jan F. Niermeyer and Co van de Kieft, *Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon Minus* (Leiden: Brill, 1976), p. 79.

³⁴ The term *augmentum* was seldom employed in other contemporary texts, but it is attested in the late eleventh century, in a document from the abbey of St Sophia in Benevento (June 1076–September 1091), relative to Fiorentino: *Vat. Lat.* 13491, no 9. Enzo Matera, ‘Le più antiche carte del monastero di S. Sofia di Benevento. Codice Vaticano latino 13491 (aa. 784–1330). Saggio di edizione’ (unpublished PhD, Università degli Studi di Roma ‘La Sapienza’, 1985); Martin, *Chartes de Troia*, p. 759 n. 508. On this collection of documents from St Sophia in the Vatican, see Paola Massa, ‘L’archivio dell’abbazia di Santa Sofia di Benevento’, *Archiv für Diplomatik, Schriftgeschichte, Siegel- und Wappenkunde*, 61 (2016), 433–66 (pp. 464–65).

³⁵ On this suggestion, see James Hill, ‘The Catalogus Baronum and the Recruitment and Administration of the Armies of the Norman Kingdom of Sicily: A Re-Examination’, *Historical Research*, 86.231 (2013), 1–14 (pp. 7–10).

levied by the overlords themselves, as is indicated by the fact that the figures of the subtenants' military dues were included in the overlords' final total service. However, thus far, no model has convincingly clarified the existence of two distinct figures, both computed using the *milites* as units. I argue that the register presents instead two distinct but overlapping structures in which the given figures express different types of measures for different purposes, whilst using the same unit, i.e. *miles*. Whereas the *milites* of the *feuda* appear to reflect a negotiated assessment of each unit's value, the *milites* that each baron is recorded to have offered must indicate the actual military service of men to be provided to the peninsular royal army. For example, despite the fact that numerous *feuda* on the register are described as fractional *milites*, almost all the service figures are given in whole amounts.³⁶ One should differentiate between these two types of relations in order to understand both the purpose behind the *Quaternus* and the social structures that the text presents.

Although it was drawn from the pre-existing tenancy structure made up of the aristocratic strata in Apulia and the Terra di Lavoro, this special military levy for the *magna expeditio* stood alongside it as a distinct structure of social power. The registers in the *Catalogus* were not a record of pre-existing obligations, but of a mandatory service on the basis of negotiated appraisal for each of the baron's *feuda*.³⁷ The document presents the names of the barons and the amount of military service due from their tenure to the king. The *Quaternus*, therefore, presents the numbers of the military contingents each of the recorded entities owed to the king's army in the mainland provinces. Some entries even explicitly refer to the military service owed *pro auxilio magne expeditionis*, mostly when recording the personal service owed by individuals with no recorded tenancy.³⁸ A similar, more elementary system of conditional tenancy appears to have been in use before 1150. Alexander of Telesse provides some examples of this. First, in 1129, Robert of Grandmesnil reportedly pleaded with Roger II to be allowed to return home across the Alps from the campaign in Apulia because his *feudum* was too small to sustain the burden of military service laid upon it. Since Roger II did not endow him with a richer *feudum*, Robert deserted the host. Also, we are told that in 1131 Richard [of Rupecanina], Count Rainulf's brother, claimed proudly that he held the city of Avellino and the *castrum* of

³⁶ Only three entries of the entire record express military service in fractional figures. *Catalogus Baronum*, ¶¶ 224–25 p. 37, 240 p. 39. Such a minuscule anomaly might have been, most likely, the result of a transmission or scribal mistake, and not necessarily the proof of a fiscal system or a 'fractional' military service. Cf. Cahen, pp. 71–73.

³⁷ Cf. Donald J. Matthew, *The Norman Kingdom of Sicily* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 145–46. See also Loud, 'Norman Traditions in Southern Italy', pp. 52–53.

³⁸ *Catalogus Baronum*, ¶¶ 282–90 pp. 46–47, 408 p. 73, 490–91 p. 93, 505 p. 95, 516 p. 96, 546 p. 101, 691–92 p. 122, 823 p. 150.

Mercogliano as a freehold, in that he rendered no service for this lordship to the king or any overlord.³⁹

The language of the *Quaternus* suggests that the kingdom's institutional organisation, the tenants of the *feuda*, were required to render to the king's army a certain agreed number of 'knights' (*milites*) or 'auxiliary infantry' (*servientes/pedites armatos*). This figure was proportional to the value of the tenancy unit as assessed by the royal court officials (e.g. *camerarii*), and agreed between the baron and the royal court. This case-by-case assessment was universally expressed in numbers of *milites*. The *augmentum*, on the other hand, was a figure used to translate the value of the held *feuda* into an actual figure of *milites* and, if the amassed lordships were rich enough, of *servientes* that ought to be levied for the king's army. The *augmentum* was not always clearly recorded, and, on many occasions, it was simply omitted. Conversely, the final number of soldiers that the baron 'offered' or 'presented' (*obtulit*) was expressed after the expression *cum augmentum*. It appears that the military service essentially consisted of doubling the value of the barons' tenure in *milites*, and in instances when foot soldiers were also offered, a fixed number of *servientes* was added to the final yield. Thus, in the vast majority of the entries in which the *augmentum* was explicitly recorded, this figure was a duplicate of the *feuda*'s value in *milites*.

Although the different barons would have been the overlords and masters of these military units, their command must have been a privilege exclusive to the king. Perhaps the territorial lords were not only in charge of summoning and providing the contingents that made up the great army of the king, but they must have also been responsible for the maintenance of the military service and the inspection of weaponry and equipment.⁴⁰ Even though the recorded barons must have led their own contingent of knights into the peninsular army, they would have been under the direct command of either a royal *comestabulus*, or an heir overlord. In turn, the regional *comestabuli* and major overlords (i.e. the counts) must have been commanded by a royal general, such as the chancellor or the *magnus capitaneus/comestabulus*, and, naturally, the king himself.

This could have also been a contingent solution for the kingdom's military control, constructed upon both the old Lombard concept of personal armed obligation and the newly introduced concept of *feudum*. This does not signify by any means that the South Italian *feuda* were units of military service; instead, the *feudum* was a unit of institutional

³⁹ *Al. Tel.*, bks 1 chap. 17 p. 16, 2 chap. 13 p. 30.

⁴⁰ Jamison, 'Additional Work on the Catalogus Baronum', pp. 3–23; Cuzzo, 'Balvano', pp. 80–81; Cuzzo, 'Montescaglioso', p. 29.

and conditional tenancy, the building block of an economic structure that allowed for both the delimitation of the object held (e.g. a piece of land, a town, or a mill) and its use in individual transactions and military administration. The structure of the *Quaternus magne expeditionis* reveals two overlapping systems: a military layer above an economic one. Just as *feudum* provided a basic reference to the royal court for the computing and demand of the military levy, other social actors employed these tenancy units for different economic and political activities.

Spatial focus

The study focuses on mainland territories of the Kingdom of Sicily, especially the contemporary provinces of Apulia and the Terra di Lavoro. Although the region of the Abruzzo is not entirely discounted, it is not fully covered. This is not only because its regional and cultural variations are considerably distinct from the actual constituent provinces of the kingdom, but also to avoid the study becoming too stretched and over-ambitious. Furthermore, not all the regions are represented equally by the surviving documentary evidence; the available documentation for the peninsular territories of Apulia and the Terra di Lavoro is far more extensive and accessible than the surviving material for Calabria. Likewise, the Calabrian territories are not covered in the *Catalogus Baronum*. In addition, and as is argued throughout this work, Sicily was essentially different from the mainland because there were no actual counties on the island during this period, and the noblemen who acquired a discernible protagonism and conducted transactions in Sicily were tied to a mainland lordship.

The *Quaternus magne expeditionis* is divided between the two constituent provinces of the kingdom: the duchy of Apulia and the principality of Capua. What once were separated polities became united *aeque principaliter* under the Sicilian crown. The full royal title normally concerned the duchy and the principality, as well as the highest royal offices on the mainland (e.g. *magister iustitarius totius Apulie et Terre Laboris*). The former principality of Capua, however, appears to have been more commonly identified as the ‘Terra di Lavoro’ in most of the surviving charters and chronicles of the second half of the twelfth century, except when enunciating the king’s full titles. Consequently, this study uses the principality of Capua and the Terra di Lavoro as interchangeable geographical terms that identified the same territory, from the county of Fondi to the former principality of Salerno. The former duchy of Apulia was far more extensive than the modern Italian region of the same name; the Apulian province included

the former principality of Salerno, the mountainous district of Irpina and the region of modern Basilicata. For the sake of clarity, although the principality of Salerno ceased to exist formally and this princely title was no longer used, the study employs it as a geographical identifier. Also, the study refers to Adriatic Apulia when it is helpful to emphasise the coastal area of modern Apulia.

Structure of the argument

This research focuses on the counts as the members of the highest levels of the aristocracy, for these are actors whom it has been possible to situate historically with a considerable degree of certainty. As such, the activities of the upper nobility and the configuration of the counties provide a sound platform upon which to start looking at the operation of social control, and the lesser rank connected to these nodes of regional authority.

Chapter 1 surveys the political background, social context and kinship of the South Italian upper aristocracy on the eve of the kingdom's creation, this in order to understand the original features of the peninsular nobility.

Chapter 2 discusses the implications of the related findings and the calendar of activities of the peninsular nobility during the reign of Roger II. The kingdom's social arrangement cannot be discussed without first knowing the composition of the upper aristocracy and their roles as nodes that made social control possible; hence, I present a complete picture. Here, the social meaning of the aristocracy's documented activities is examined around the concept of the comital rank and the county.

Chapter 3 explores the period of William I's reign and examines the presence and role of the nobility during a stage that served as a test of the endurance and relevance of the social arrangement achieved in the previous period. Through episodes of conflict and rebellion, and surrounding the leadership of the counts of Loritello and Gravina, this chapter presents a detailed description of the comital activities and an analysis of its development with, without, and against the Palermitan authority.

Chapter 4 surveys the political and military control exercised by the nobility during the regency of Queen Margaret. I also present a reconstructed picture of the mutated peninsular nobility, that which resulted from both counts and relatives of the queen becoming protagonists in royal court affairs, and the re-assignment of vacant counties.

Chapter 5 presents a rounded account of the new and consolidated ruling elite in the peninsular provinces, covering each county separately from 1169 to 1189. Although the argument has progressed chronologically thus far, the discussion here provides both a

sequential account of all the documented activities of the kingdom's counts, and an analysis of the development of the county and the consolidation of its authority by the end of the Norman period, on the eve of the succession wars and the Hohenstaufen takeover.

Chapter 6 encompasses the long-deferred discussion of the kingdom's social mechanism for military mobilisation and administration of justice. This deferral was necessary to avoid falling into the circular argument which expects to see an effective model of centralisation and royal state-building in the Norman Kingdom of Sicily. The chapter explores the intermediary role that some local barons played as both royal officials and para-comital supervisors of the military contingents levied from the peninsular aristocracy. In addition, the new, enhanced role played by some counts as active agents of the king's justice and army is discussed, and their position within the peninsular nobility contextualised.

Additionally, this study offers a chronological chart in which the number of counts and the existence of specific counties at any given time throughout the kingdom's Norman period can be identified; a genealogical chart in which the ancestry of those counts and the kinship connections between their families can be traced and visualised; and two maps of Southern Italy on which all the places related to comital activities and transactions can be located.

CHAPTER 1

The Kingless *Ancient Regime*. The Upper Aristocracy of Norman Italy before Roger II

Sicily, though nominally attached to the duchy of Apulia, was practically ruled autonomously by Count Roger II. The Sicilian count was also the undisputed ruler of the whole of Calabria, after his cousin Duke William ceded him the shares he and his father had retained in Palermo, Messina, and Calabria. By autumn 1124, Roger II had moved from Calabria northward into Apulian territory, as he attempted to establish his control over the lordship of Montescaglioso, which had been held by his sister Emma in the right of his son Roger, after her husband Rudolph Machabeus had died.¹ While the Sicilian count claimed Montescaglioso, he was accompanied by Christodoulos, his chief minister, and George of Antioch, the Arab-speaking Greek official who, a couple of years later, succeeded Christodoulos and became the first Sicilian ‘Emir of Emirs’.² These two administrators are an iconic example of the sort of Greek officials Count Roger II could rely on to exploit and manage his extensive resources in Sicily. The expertise of such functionaries allowed Roger II to organise his sources of income and develop both an army and a fleet that enabled him to impose his authority over the peninsular lands. However, the social arrangement of these lands differed greatly from that of the county of Sicily, and the authority of the Norman overlords acted as one of the central sources of this arrangement. The counts and princes of southern Italy were the vanguard of a society accustomed not only to its political autonomy, but also to the absence of a uniform system of government and social recognition.

¹ *Roger II Diplomata*, no 6 pp. 16–17.

² George of Antioch is described by the contemporary royal apologist Alexander of Telese as the *magnus ammiratus* who commanded the maritime attack over Amalfi in 1131, a man ‘most faithful to the king and most accomplished in secular matters.’ *Al. Tel.*, bk II chap. 8 p. 27. George of Antioch had previously been an official of the Zirid sultans of Ifriqiya, in Mahdia, who offered his services to the Sicilian ruler after he lost his favour with the new Zirid Sultan Yahya, c.1108–1113. By 1123 he had risen to second in command in Christodoulos’ navy during the unsuccessful campaign to take Mahdia that year. It might have been precisely around the year he is recorded in Montescaglioso that George of Antioch became Roger’s principal minister, a position he kept until his death in 1151. See Léon R. Ménager, *Amiratus-Αμύρας, l’émirat et les origines de l’amirauté (XIe-XIIIe siècles)* (Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N., 1960); Takayama, *Administration of the Kingdom*, pp. 66–67, 90–91; Johns, pp. 80–88; Metcalfe, pp. 124–28.

The overlords' power basis

After the death of Roger II's cousin in 1127, the count of Sicily claimed the mainland territories as the rightful heir of the Duke of Apulia. Duke William, as the last surviving direct heir of Robert Guiscard, was not only the nominal leader of all those Normans who had settled in Apulia since its conquest from the Greeks after 1042, but also the heir to the Lombard princes of Salerno, for the Tyrrhenian city had become the dukes' chief city after Guiscard took it in 1076. It took Roger II three years to bring all his insular and peninsular dominions together under a kingdom. Thus, in the year 1130, after having subjected the most prominent lords in southern Italy by force, Count Roger of Sicily became the king of Sicily, ruling over all the Norman dominions in Italy. These lands, however, had not previously seen a widespread and univocal notion of nobility and government; the different geographical and political contexts contained in the new kingdom varied considerably. What was once a constantly warring setting, became the breeding ground for descendants of the original Norman mercenaries who had arrived in the Mediterranean a hundred years before. The leaders of these northern mercenaries flourished and established their own rule, eventually becoming the princes of Capua on one hand, and the dukes of Apulia on the other.

Bringing all these units together into one single state might have actually heightened the expectation for autonomy of the territorial leaderships. The new subjects of the Sicilian king could have been prepared to acknowledge him as their nominal overlord, but they almost certainly did not expect to lose power in their own lands. Many of the counts in both Capua and Apulia were in practice independent of princely or ducal authority. In their documents, they did not formally acknowledge the authority of either the prince of Capua or the duke of Apulia. They appeared instead as counts, not by the grace of their overlord, but by grace of God alone, with those in Apulia referring to the emperor in Constantinople. Robert of Loritello (modern Rotello) and his son, furthermore, styled themselves in the 1090s and 1110s with the title *comes comitum*, 'count of counts', and they also appear to have used their own cruciform monograph as the comital signature.³ The portions that were nominally subject to the duke of Apulia,

³ *Reg. Neap. Arch. Mon.*, v, no 485 pp. 219–21; *Regesto delle pergamene della curia arcivescovile di Chieti. 1006–1400*, ed. by Antonio Balducci (Casalbordino: N. De Arcangeli, 1926), pp. 94–6; *Cod. Dipl. Tremiti*, no 90 pp. 262–4; *Registrum Petri Diaconi (Montecassino, Archivio dell'abbazia, reg. 3)*, ed. by Jean M. Martin and others, 4 vols (Roma: École française de Rome, 2015), III, no 581 pp. 1579–88; Wolfgang Jahn, *Untersuchungen zur die normannischen Herrschaft in Süditalien (1040–1100)* (Frankfurt: P. Lang, 1989), no 16 pp. 400–1; *Chron. S. Sophiae*, pp. 736–8. Gattola's edition, although inferior to the recent *Registrum Petri Diaconi: (Montecassino, Archivio dell'abbazia, reg. 3)*, provides in

like the *Terra Beneventana* and the dominions of the count of Loritello and his kin, threw off all obedience to any constituted authority, not to mention the actual independent lordships such as the Salento peninsula and the county of Sicily itself.⁴ Let us not forget that King Roger II had once been a count himself, a sovereign over his own dominions and without any effective lordship or authority exercised over him. The comital title was, hence, used to identify specific, prominent lords as leaders – or even potential leaders – amongst a community of other lords. In the eleventh century, as Cuozzo highlighted, the Norman leaders' power was based on two components: their economic power as landholders, and their local authority as military warrantors of order and justice.⁵ In this sense, the 'county' that could have emerged from these eleventh century *comites* in Norman Italy should have referred more to the original and ancient voice of *comitatus* as a company or band of soldiers, than the political and territorial unit found in successive centuries.

The search for the original South Italian counties has led to an overflow of misguided and anachronistic readings across history and historiography. From forged charters to modern Italian scholarship, there has been an assumption that the South Italian count existed continuously since the Norman conquest. A revealing example of this issue is the case of Richard the Seneschal, a Norman lord in the Terra d'Otranto at the end of the eleventh and beginning of the twelfth century. Since Prignano's seventeenth-century *Historia*, Richard had been identified as count of Mottola. Until Cuozzo argued against his identification as a count, it was assumed that a county of Mottola existed. After careful examination of the documents on which Richard's comital title had been attested, Cuozzo came to the conclusion that this dignity was ascribed to the lord of Mottola and Castellaneta around the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, in order to provide diplomatic evidence for the litigations concerning the Castellaneta properties of the monasteries of the Most Holy Trinity of Cava dei Tirreni, St Mary of Pisticci, St Anastasius of Carbone, and the Most Holy Trinity of Venosa.⁶ What had been thought to be an example of an early

the 1113 transcribed charter a reproduction of the cruciform comital cypher that the 'count of counts' used as his *signum manus*. Erasmo Gattola, *Ad historiam abbatiae Cassinensis accessiones*, 2 vols (Venice: Sebastian Coleti, 1734), 1, pp. 716–17.

⁴ Jamison, 'Norman Administration', pp. 229–30.

⁵ Errico Cuozzo, 'Le istituzioni politico-amministrative legate alla conquista. Le ripartizioni territoriali: i comitati', in *I caratteri originali della conquista normanna. diversità e identità nel Mezzogiorno (1030–1130)*, ed. by F. Violante and R. Licinio, Atti del Centro di Studi Normanno-Svevi, 16 (Bari: Dedalo, 2006), pp. 287–304 (p. 288).

⁶ Errico Cuozzo, 'La contea normanna di Mottola e Castellaneta', *ASPN*, 110 (1992), 7–46, especially pp. 7–8, and 34–9. On the extensively documented but controversial Richard the Seneschal, see Giovanni Guerrieri, *Il conte normanno Riccardo Siniscalco, 1081–1115, e i monasteri Benedettini Cavese in terra d'Otranto* (Trani: V. Vecchi, 1899); Matteo Villani, 'Diplomi inediti di Riccardo Siniscalco e Costanza

Norman county, turned out to be – if one believes Cuozzo’s compelling and diligent work – a treacherous fiction, created by both monastic forgery and institutional preconceptions.

The social typology of territorial lordships adopted by the Normans in the eleventh century appears to have been oriented towards distinguishing the ultimate coercive role exercised by the leaders of military units of knights, acknowledging also their condition as prominent and prosperous lords, for these leaders also held most of the land.⁷ The material resources that must have resulted from exploiting the land, and the miscellaneous local customs – which, as suggested by subsequent evidence, could have included *plateaticum*, *porticum*, or *incultum* – exacted from the populations under their control suggest that the early Norman counts could have amassed a substantial sum. Nevertheless, the counts’ revenues as overlords cannot be measured due to the lack of surviving evidence.

The scarcity of surviving documents at the beginning of the twelfth century makes it impossible to present a systematic treatment of comital prerogatives and competences; moreover, there is no clear or categorical usage of the title of *comes* before the creation of the Sicilian kingdom. At this time, the comital title was an umbrella distinction that did not carry any noticeable specific definitions of rights or responsibilities. This situation might reflect the absence of either an effective central authority or a generalised notion of government at the time. The authority exercised over the local population by these early Norman counts must have been given by the fact that they were the only ultimate coercive force in the region, and, consequently, their particular and local judicial faculties emanated from this particular, practical power.

In addition to distinguishing the economic and military sources of power, the title of *comes* was also an honorific title employed during the Norman conquest to express social prestige – an ideological source of power – by alluding to either old noble Lombard families or to the descendants of the ‘new nobility’ of conquerors. The latter group was made up of the handful of Norman kin-groups that provided both the upper aristocracy in southern Italy and the most influential lineages: the extended family of the princes of Capua; the Buonalbergo of Ariano; the Molise of Boiano; the descendants of Guiscard’s brother William of Principato; and the ‘sons of Amicus’ of Andria, Lesina and Molfetta.⁸

d’Altavilla. Per la storia della diocesi di Castellaneta e dell’insediamento cavense in Puglia’, *ASPN*, 106 (1988), 7–31.

⁷ On the military nature of the comital dignity in Norman Italy, see Errico Cuozzo, ‘L’unificazione normanna e il regno normanno-svevo’, in *Storia del Mezzogiorno II. Il Medioevo* (Naples: Del Sole, 1989), pp. 593–825; Cuozzo, ‘La contea normanna di Mottola e Castellaneta’, pp. 7–8.

⁸ Graham A. Loud, *The Age of Robert Guiscard: Southern Italy and the Norman Conquest* (Harlow: Longman, 2000), pp. 246–52.

This expression of prestige, nevertheless, did not bear any special faculties that were not already enjoyed in the capacity of overlords. Some lords (*domini*) might have held their lands from some of these counts; the counts of Loritello are a good example of this. However, other lords did not acknowledge any overlordship at all.⁹ It was the actual coercive capacity of the *dominus*, and not necessarily his title, that would have granted additional judicial and financial rights over other lords.¹⁰

Once these territorial military leaders, the *comites*, were securely established, the hereditary claims of their own kin prevailed in successive generations. The vanishing central authority left after Guiscard's death, together with the steady displacement of the older upper authorities, made the nominal endorsements both superfluous and unnecessary. Hence, the power of these first Norman counts could go as far as their political abilities and military successes would allow. The northern regions, both in the principality of Capua and in the Adriatic lands north of the Capitanata, granted the greatest opportunity for these counts to extend their authority beyond their own chief cities. In the east, the previously unconquered northern Adriatic opened a window of opportunity for the counts north of Bari and east of Benevento to occupy these lands and considerably expand their dominions, thus enlarging their own territorial and military resources. On the other hand, in Capua, the older Lombard comital dignities provided the new 'counts' with a rather useful background model of social prestige and political distinction that they could use to consolidate their authority over other lords and local communities, both urban and of tenant-farmers.

Regardless of their location on the peninsula, be that Apulia, Calabria or Terra di Lavoro, the counts' lordships do not appear to have constituted a delimited territorial unit, and the toponyms ascribed to some of the comital titles indicated either an autochthonous dignity attached to a specific city or urban population (such as the count of the 'Caiazzans' or the count of Catanzaro), or the location of the count's residence or main lordship (such as the count of Loritello). Since the comital title did not in fact define by itself the border of the count's holdings, these must have varied significantly as a consequence of military expansion and political quarrelling. Even though the comital dignity provided an enhanced and recognised social status for its bearer, the actual geographical area of authority and influence depended on each individual count, and not on the title.

⁹ Martin, *La Pouille*, pp. 717–18, 725–27.

¹⁰ On this discussion, see Loud, *The Age of Robert Guiscard*, pp. 253–55.

To sum up, the military prowess and political ability of each Norman lord were the means through which they could acquire a place of prestige and enhanced social status, regardless of their origins and family, or however distinct their respected areas of influence were.¹¹ That prestigious position was confirmed by the usage of the title of *comes*, which was ambiguous enough to allow a varied array of prominent barons to confirm their superior status over other lesser lords, although the comital title clearly established their inferiority to the duke of Apulia on one hand, and to the prince of Capua on the other. The status of the first Norman counts in Italy could have varied significantly, and the prerogatives they could have enjoyed depended not on the title itself but on the specific relationship between the *comes* and his community.

The usage of the comital title at this stage created thus a broad buffer zone of social recognition which simply distinguished the *comites* from less powerful barons. Unsurprisingly, this created in many instances asymmetric relationships between counts, as is illustrated in the following section. In addition, even though the comital title was evidently different and inferior to the dukedom in Apulia and the principedom in Capua, the social status of the early twelfth-century Norman counts seems not to have differed practically from those who bore autochthonous titles attached to prestigious maritime cities, such as the duke and *magister militum* of Naples and the duke and consul of Gaeta in the principality of Capua, and the patrician princes of Bari in Apulia.

The kingless counts

The organised resistance against the imminent takeover of the mainland by Roger II is a good starting point to reconstruct the composition of the peninsular aristocracy during the preceding decade of the kingdom's creation. Alexander of Teleso recorded that Pope Honorius II publicly threatened the count of Sicily with anathema if he should make any further effort to obtain the duchy of Apulia, and that Count Rainulf was the first local noble to follow the papal call to arms to oppose Roger II. Rainulf was the brother-in-law of Roger II, for he was married to the latter's sister Matilda.¹² Neither Alexander of Teleso nor Falco of Benevento refer to a specific toponym to Rainulf's comital title, and in Romuald's *Chronicon* he is only regarded as Count Rainulf of Airola, although he was most certainly known contemporarily as count of the *Caiazzans* and Airola. Although many modern scholars follow Chalandon in calling Rainulf count of Alife, perhaps as an

¹¹ Errico Cuozzo, *La cavalleria nel Regno normanno di Sicilia* (Atripalda: Mephite, 2002), p. 198.

¹² *Al. Tel.*, bk 9 chap. 7 pp. 9–10.

extrapolation of the later county of Alife which covered just a fragment of Rainulf's extensive dominions in the principality of Capua, such a title is not attested in any surviving contemporary source.¹³ Count Rainulf and his father are generally recorded in their charters using the formula 'count of the Caiazzans and many others' (*Caatianorum atque aliorum multorum Comes*).¹⁴ Pope Honorius's stand against Roger II was also attested by Falco of Benevento, who described a purported harangue preached in Capua to bishops and a multitude of distinguished men, including the Archbishop of Capua, Prince Robert of Capua, and Count Rainulf. The pontiff appealed to the assembled warriors to rally behind 'the cause of St Peter', and take up arms against the enemy of the Roman See, Count Roger of Sicily, who had been put under anathema already. Falco subsequently described how Prince Robert and Count Rainulf, amongst other nobles and bishops, promised to commit to the papal call to arms.¹⁵

Many prominent barons joined the pope and Count Rainulf in an alliance against the Sicilian count after these two openly opposed Roger II. The leaders of this party provide a useful picture of the peninsular upper aristocracy of the time; according to Alexander of Telesse, these were Count Geoffrey of Andria, Tancred of Conversano, Count Roger of Ariano, and 'Prince' Grimoald of Bari. The latter was an urban patrician who had claimed the title of 'prince' for himself, for he was recorded in October 1121 as the 'very excellent lord, ruler of Bariots' (*excellentissimi domini nostri [...] dominator barensium*), and by 1123 he presented himself as 'prince of Bari by the grace of God and St Nicholas' (*Grimoaldus Alfaranites gratia dei et beati Nikolai barensis principe*).¹⁶ Tancred of Conversano appears to have been the lord of the Adriatic cities of Brindisi and Barletta, and of other lands in central Apulia, including Acquabella, Corato, Minervino and Grottole.¹⁷ He was the son of Geoffrey, the former count of Conversano, and thus brother of Alexander, count of Conversano, during the early decades of the twelfth century.¹⁸ Both Grimoald and Tancred are recorded also by Falco of Benevento

¹³ Ferdinand Chalandon, *Histoire de la domination normande en Italie et en Sicile*, 2 vols (Paris: A. Picard et fils, 1907), II.

¹⁴ *Le pergamene dell'archivio vescovile di Caiazzo (1007–1265)*, ed. by Catello Salvati (Caserta: Società di Storia Patria di Terra di Lavoro, 1983), nos 7 pp. 46–48, 13 pp. 57–59.

¹⁵ *Falco*, pp. 90–100.

¹⁶ *Pergamene di S. Nicola di Bari*, nos 67 pp. 115–16, 69 pp. 121–22. The October 1121 charter was originally dated 1122, indiction 15, but considering that the editor Nitti di Vito placed this document before a May 1122 charter, and that the notary most likely counted the indiction following the Constantinopolitan calendar (the Byzantine year began on September 1), the correct year must then be 1121. See also Jean M. Martin, 'Les communautés d'habitants de la Pouille et leurs rapports avec Roger II', in *Società, potere e popolo nell'età di Ruggero II*, Atti del Centro di Studi Normanno-Svevi, 3 (Bari: Dedalo, 1979), pp. 73–98 (p. 83 n. 74).

¹⁷ *Al. Tel.*, bks 1 chap. 12 pp. 12–13, 2 chap. 38 pp. 41–42.

¹⁸ Jahn, pp. 262–65; Martin, *La Pouille*, pp. 737–40.

as part of the resistance against Roger II, for they seem to have been summoned by the pope and marched into Apulia with the Capuan barons.¹⁹ Count Geoffrey of Andria seems to have been the only attested count in Adriatic Apulia to have joined the opposing party, for the other count, Roger of Ariano, was based in the Irpina mountainous region, on the east side of the Terra di Lavoro. Ariano, a town east of Benevento, was on the border between the duchy of Apulia and the Terra di Lavoro, and thus in a rather strategic area. This geographical position might partially explain why Count Rainulf pushed Roger II, as soon as he arrived in Salerno and before the papal call to arms, to make the count of Ariano a subordinate of Rainulf. According to Alexander of Telese, despite Roger II's unwillingness to allow that 'one equal should make submission to another', the Sicilian count ultimately made the count of Ariano a 'subject' of the count of the Caiazzans.²⁰ This passage has an additional significance, for it displays the contemporary presumption that the bearers of the comital title were not only different from other lords but also political equals.

Alexander, count of Conversano and brother of the aforementioned Tancred, joined the opposition at some point afterwards. Although the count of Conversano is not recorded as an original member of the alliance, he is attested by Alexander of Telese as part of the group of magnates that surrendered to Roger II, finally acknowledged as the duke of Apulia in 1129.²¹ According to Falco of Benevento, Pope Honorius confirmed the ducal dignity to Roger II earlier, in 1128; after the pontiff allegedly found out about the deceitfulness of the Prince of Capua and other barons he came to an agreement.²² Consequently, in Alexander of Telese's account, only four counts are accounted for during the years before the kingdom's creation: Rainulf of Caiazzo, Roger of Ariano, Geoffrey of Andria, and Alexander of Conversano. It should be noted that the royal apologist focused mostly on the aristocracy that opposed Roger II, leaving any possible local supporters unaccounted for before 1129.

At variance with the Telesian apologist, Falco of Benevento provides a more detailed and extensive record. The Beneventan notary recorded that an earlier count of Ariano, Jordan, had risen against Duke William and was finally defeated and disinherited in 1122.²³ This Jordan of Ariano was surely the father of the aforementioned Count Roger of Ariano. Falco furthermore indicated that after young Duke William's death, Count

¹⁹ *Falco*, pp. 101–2.

²⁰ *Al. Tel.*, bk 1 chap. 8 p. 10.

²¹ *Al. Tel.*, bk 1 chap. 18 pp. 16–17.

²² *Falco*, pp. 102–4.

²³ *Falco*, pp. 66–70.

Jordan rose again and seized all the cities and towns that used to be under his ‘countship’ (*comitatus*).²⁴

Aside from the testimonies of Alexander and Falco, other counts can be attested in the peninsula in the 1120s: Count Nicolas of Principato, Count Henry of Sarno, Count Richard of Carinola, and Count Pandulf of Aquino. The latter is attested in the *Chronica Mon. Casinensis*, which registered a donation made in 1127 by Pandulf, son of Count Lando of Aquino (*Pandulfus filius Landonis Aquinensis comitis*), at Tyrilla.²⁵ Also, this same Count Pandulf appears to have built a castle (*castrum*) ‘in silva monasterii Casinensis Tirilla’, which was ordered by the Emperor Lothar to be destroyed by September 1137.²⁶ These counts of Aquino did not, however, descend from the Norman conquerors; instead they came from a Lombard family that had held Aquino since the mid-tenth century.

Still in the principality of Capua, Richard is recorded as ‘count of Carinola’ (*Calinesium comes*) when in December 1109 he granted ten families of men that lived ‘within the boundaries of the aforementioned county of Carinola’ (*infra fines prescripti comitatus Calinoli*), a mill, and twenty plots of land to his mother Anna.²⁷ The same Count Richard of Carinola (*Calinensium comes*) is attested in February 1115 as a donor to the church of St Mary outside Carinola, which had been built by the same Anne, mother of Richard of Carinola and former wife of Bartholomew.²⁸ This charter is the last documented surviving instance in which Richard is explicitly regarded as count of Carinola. Additionally, he is recorded in two subsequent charters issued by Prince Robert II of Capua. First, a charter of 1117 reveals that a Capuan court was attended by Richard son of Bartholomew as one of Prince Robert's esteemed barons.²⁹ Richard is later recorded as taking part in another Capuan court, regarded this time as ‘Richard of Carinola, our [Prince Robert's] relative (*consilio quoque et interventu Richardi de Caleno nostri consaguinei*), when Prince Robert II made a donation in favour of Montecassino,

²⁴ *Falco*, pp. 84–86.

²⁵ *Chron. Cas.*, bk 4 chap. 93 p. 553. The year ‘1127’ has been added in the margin by the editor. An 1148 charter subsequently records a dispute between Montecassino and ‘*dominus Pandulfus Aquini*’; Francesco Scandone, *Per la controversia sul luogo di nascita di S. Tommaso d'Aquino: Esame critico di alcune pubblicazioni recenti a pro' di Roccasecca (Caserta) e di Belcastro (Catanzaro)* (Naples: Stabilimento tipografico M. d'Auria, 1903), p. 27 [quoting Codex Diplomaticus Aquinas, 1148, Cod. Ms. 640, p. 42].

²⁶ *Chron. Cas.*, bk. 4 chap. 124 p. 600.

²⁷ Mazzoleni, *Pergamene di Capua*, I, no 11 pp. 26–31.

²⁸ *Le pergamene normanne della Mater Ecclesia Capuana: 1091–1197*, ed. by Giancarlo Bova (Naples: Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane, 1996), p. 247. Cf. Mazzoleni, who has dated the latter document to 1114 instead; *Pergamene di Capua*, I, no 12 pp. 31–33.

²⁹ *Cod. Dipl. Cajetanus*, II, no 290 p. 196–8; Martin and others, *Registrum Petri Diaconi*, III, no 577 pp. 1569–70.

in March 1128.³⁰ After this, no count of Carinola makes another documented appearance, to my knowledge, until Jonathan is recorded in both an 1152 charter and the *Quaternus magne expeditionis*. However, Richard of Carinola was definitely still operating in the Capua area during the decade in which the kingdom was created, for he was last attested as duke of Gaeta in a May 1135 charter, issued in the 13th year of Duke Richard's rule.³¹ Richard, the son of Bartholomew, may have thereafter been in the second decade of the twelfth century both count of Carinola and duke of Gaeta, as his father was before him.³² Nonetheless, although he was still recognised as duke of Gaeta, one cannot automatically assume Richard of Carinola kept the comital distinction throughout the 1120s.

Henry, the count of Sarno, is attested in May 1125, in the monastery of Holy Trinity at Metiliano (i.e. Cava), as a witness to the grant of a mill to the monastery.³³ In this document, Henry is recorded as son and heir of Count Richard of Sarno. Two other men from Sarno testified that while Count Richard was lying ill, but sound of mind and clear of speech, in their presence and that of others including the count's wife Agnes, he made disposition for his property after his death. The late Count Richard seems hence to have died in 1125, after having left a testament.

Turning to the region of the former principality of Salerno, it seems the only notable overlord, besides the duke, was Count Nicholas of Principato, son and heir of Count William II of Principato. There is, nevertheless, a considerable gap of more than sixteen years in the surviving evidence concerning the counts of Principato. The latest documented appearance of a count of Principato before 1128 is found in a February 1112 charter under which William, count of Principato 'by the grace of God' (*Guilielmus divina largiente clementia Dei gratia Principatus*), and his wife Countess Cassandra donated the church of St Nazarius *de la Mocava* to the abbey of Venosa.³⁴ Nonetheless, the following piece of evidence is a December 1128 charter, which records Count Nicholas, as 'count of Principato, son of the late William' (*comes de Principatu, filius quondam Guilielmi*), confirming a deathbed donation to Cava by his father, who appears to have just died, consisting of a half share in lands between the Rivers Tusciano and

³⁰ Martin and others, *Registrum Petri Diaconi*, III, no 603 pp. 1642–44.

³¹ *Cod. Dipl. Cajetanus*, II, no 328 pp. 260–62.

³² The parentage between Bartholomew and Richard is attested in *Cod. Dipl. Cajetanus*, II, no 262 pp. 142–43; *Cod. Dipl. Aversa*, no 54 pp. 401–2.

³³ Cava, *Arm. Mag. F.37*, ed. in Francesco Scandone, *Storia di Avellino: Abellinum feudale. Avellino durante la dominazione de' normanni (1077–1195)*, 2 vols (Naples: Armanni, 1948), II, no 113 p. 120.

³⁴ Hubert Houben, *Die Abtei Venosa und das Mönchtum im normannisch-staufischen Süditalien* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1995), no 89 pp. 322–23.

Sele, with all the men at Tusciano.³⁵ It would be therefore safe to argue that Nicholas of Principato was definitely around as an acting count in the years preceding Roger II's accession as a duke.

Additional members of the upper Norman aristocracy can be positively identified despite the lack of surviving evidence. First, one can expect that the same count of Boiano (Hugh II of Molise) who is recorded by Alexander of Telesse and the *Annales Casinenses*, c.1134/1135, was already an acting count when Duke William died.³⁶ Hugh's father, Simon of Molise, count of Boiano, had died during the earthquake of 1117 in Isernia.³⁷ Hugh II of Molise was seemingly too young to have become count of Boiano immediately after his father's death, and hence his uncle Robert was Count Simon's direct successor.³⁸ Robert is recorded a year later, in November, as 'count of Boiano by the grace of God, and son of the late Count Hugh, of fond memory' (*Dei gratia Boianensis comes filius quondam Ugonis bone memorie comitis*), suggesting thus that Robert might have indeed acted as a count during Hugh's minority.³⁹ The register of Peter the Deacon contains a donation in June 1128, by which Hugh, as 'count of Molise, by the grace of God' (*Dei gratia Molisii comes*), granted half of the *castrum Serre* to Montecassino, 'just as late Count Robert, my uncle, left on his deathbed to the same abbey [Montecassino] for the salvation of his soul'.⁴⁰ This conflicts with what is recorded in the Montecassino chronicle, which reports that the charter in favour of the monastery was in fact issued only by Robert, 'count of Molise' (*comes de Molisio*), through which the latter donated the same half of the *castrum Serre*.⁴¹ However, Peter the Deacon and the Montecassino chronicle are by no means sources free of the charge of omission or of deliberate alteration, and either one could have mistakenly recorded the original donor. Besides, the former charter recorded that Count Hugh made the donation in favour of the abbey

³⁵ Cava, *Arm. Mag.* F.44. Abstract in Carmine Carlone, *Documenti per la storia di Eboli* (Salerno: Carlone Editore, 1998), no 110 pp. 52–53.

³⁶ *Al. Tel.*, bk 2 chap. 48 pp. 46–47, chap. 68 p. 56; *Annales Casinenses*, p. 28.

³⁷ *Chron. Cas.*, bk. 4 chap. 62 p. 525.

³⁸ Armando De Francesco, 'Origini e sviluppo dei Feudalismo nel Molise fino alla caduta della dominazione normanna', *ASP* 34–35 (1910 1909): 432–60, 640–71–98, 273–307; Evelyn M. Jamison, *I conti di Molise e di Marsia nei secoli XII e XIII* (Casalbordino: Nicola de Arcangelis, 1932).

³⁹ *Chron. S. Sophiae*, pp. 772–78.

⁴⁰ '[...] sicut Robbertus comes patruus meus quondam moriens pro mercede anime sue in eodem monasterio dereliquit'. Martin and others, *Registrum Petri Diaconi*, III, no 606 pp. 1648–49; Tommaso Leccisotti, 'Antiche prepositure cassinesi nei pressi del Fortore e del Saccione', *Benedictina*, 1 (1947), 83–133, no 2 p. 89–90. See also *Studia Benedictina: in memoriam gloriosi ante saecula XIV transitus S.P. Benedicti*, ed. by Pontificio Ateneo di S. Anselmo (Vatican City: Libreria Vaticana, 1947), pp. 89–90; Hartmut Hoffmann, 'Chronik und Urkunden in Montecassino', *QFIAB*, 51 (1971), 93–206 (no 606 p. 143); Mariano Dell'Omo, *Il Registrum di Pietro Diacono (Montecassino, Archivio dell'Abbazia, Reg. 3). Commentario codicologico, paleografico, diplomatico* (Montecassino: Pubblicazioni Cassinesi, 2000), p. 165.

⁴¹ *Chron. Cas.*, bk. 4 chap. 96 pp. 556–57. Cf. Gattola, *Accessiones*, I, p. 242.

according to what his late uncle had decided (*quemammodum Robbertus comes eam prenominato monasterii iudicavit, ego Ugo comes eidem monasterio dono*). In any case, it is clear that Hugh of Molise ultimately succeeded his uncle and was already a count by the end of the 1120s. One should note that the counts of Boiano ruled a rather extensive lordship, situated in a strategic watershed area. It was located in the east of the principality of Capua, and stretched across the Matese mountain range into Adriatic Apulia, connecting thus the regions of the Terra di Lavoro, Capitanata, and central Italy.

In the Capitanata region, two other counts can be suggested to have existed before 1127: Count Rao of Lesina, and whoever might have succeeded Count Robert II of Loritello. The latter might not have been alive when Roger II invaded the peninsula, but his lordship was probably passed on to a relative.⁴² Count Robert of Loritello's last documented appearance takes place in 1122, when he is recorded as the overlord of his brother William of Hauteville, lord of Biccari (*concessu comitis Robberti domini mei, Guilielmus de Altavilla, dominor totius Biccari*), in a charter by which said William granted 'ad montem Erbemale' – which his brother had handed over to Prior John and the monastery of St Leonard before – to the church of St Pamphilus.⁴³ This William appears to have been the same count of Loritello who, at the request of Bishop Rusticus of Chieti, confirmed in 1137 what his grandfather Count Robert [I] and his father Count Robert [II] gave to the church of Chieti: various churches and the *castella* of Forca, Genestrella, and, on the far side of the River Pescara, Sculcula, Lastignano and St Casideus.⁴⁴ Interestingly enough, Count William is recorded here as 'count of counts' (*comes comitum*). Two other undated documents record a Count William of Loritello granting a tribute of twenty *solidi* a year, and the possession of the church of St Paul of Petazati, to the monastery of Tremiti.⁴⁵ This may have been the same William of Loritello who was regarded as a 'palatine [count]' who swore allegiance to Lothar II in 1137.⁴⁶ Count Rao of Lesina, on the other hand, is attested as count of Lesina and 'heir and son of count Petron' (*Rao comes Lisine [...] Petronis comitis heres et filius*), in a February 1119 charter.⁴⁷ Therefore, Rao might still have been alive before Roger II was invested duke, although it is as just likely that he died without an heir, for there is no evidence of either Rao or any successor after 1119.

⁴² Martin, *La Pouille*, p. 725.

⁴³ *Chartes de Troia*, no 44 pp. 171–72.

⁴⁴ *Italia Sacra*, VI, cols 706–7.

⁴⁵ *Cod. Dipl. Tremiti*, nos 99–100 pp. 284–86. See also Erica Morlacchetti, *L'abbazia benedettina delle Isole Tremiti e i suoi documenti dall'XI al XIII secolo*, Studi Vulturturnensi, 4 (Cerro al Volturno: Volturturnia, 2014), pp. 276–77.

⁴⁶ See below, on page 54.

⁴⁷ *Cod. Dipl. Tremiti*, no 94 pp. 267–69. Also, see Morlacchetti, p. 269.

In the principality of Capua, it seems that the old Lombard comital titles for Avellino and Fondi were vacant at that time, although a ‘consul’ of Fondi, Leo, and his son Peter appear to have been active in the 1120s. According to the chronicle of Montecassino, c.1123–1124, Leo the consul of Fondi and his son were betrayed by Richard Pygnardus who handed them over as prisoners to Richard, ‘lord’ of Carinola.⁴⁸ Following this, c. 1125, the same Leo and his son were finally freed from Richard of Carinola’s captivity, and were then received by the Abbot of Montecassino who offered his support and 50 pounds of gold in exchange for immunity for his monastery in Fondi.⁴⁹ The chronicle here does not employ the title of ‘count’ to refer to either Leo of Fondi, the consul, or Richard of Carinola. This not only reflects the flexible usage that these titles carried at this early stage, for it appears that distinctions such as *consul* or *comes* were more or less interchangeable, but it also shows that the consulship of this Leo of Fondi was the immediate precedent for the counts of Fondi.

In the area around the gulf of Taranto, Montescaglioso appears to have been the seat of another count. A June 1130 charter from the abbey of Cava records that William, a son of the count of Montescaglioso, made a donation to Cava. The comital title is employed here exclusively for William’s father, Count Robert, and not for William himself (*W[illelmus] Montis Caveosi filius comitis Rob[erti]*).⁵⁰ The document attests him as lord of the fortified village (*castellum*) of Brienza, which is located rather far from Montescaglioso, in the Melandro valley, on the eastern fringe of the Cilento region.⁵¹ Additionally, the *subscriptio* signature of William of Montescaglioso does not employ any title. However, Roger II himself moved to establish his control over the lordship of Montescaglioso in 1124, which had been held by his sister Emma in the right of his son Roger Machabeus, after her husband Rudolph Machabeus had died; in that year, at Montescaglioso, Count Roger II confirmed to the abbey of St Michael the Archangel what had been donated before by his sister Emma, without making any reference to his nephew Roger Machabeus.⁵² If all these documents are correctly depicting two different facets, then the recorded lords of Montescaglioso must have been somehow connected. Count Robert and the counts of Montescaglioso before him were descendants of Umfridus and

⁴⁸ *Chron. Cas.*, bk. 4 chap. 82 p. 545.

⁴⁹ *Chron. Cas.*, bk. 4 chap. 84 pp. 546–47.

⁵⁰ Cava, *Arm. Mag.* G.2, ed. in Carlo A. Garufi, ‘Per la storia dei sec. XI e XII. Miscellanea diplomatica. II. I conti di Montescaglioso.’, *Archivio Storico per la Sicilia Orientale*, 9 (1912), 324–66 (no 3 pp. 350–51).

⁵¹ *Castella* often refer to walled villages or fortifications, and not necessarily to ‘castles’. Such fortified villages were the norm in Apulia and the Terra di Lavoro in the twelfth century, in contrast to the island of Sicily, where villages were usually open (*casalia*). Martin, *La Pouille*, pp. 267–89.

⁵² *Roger II Diplomata*, no 6 pp. 16–17.

his first wife Beatrix, sister of Robert Guiscard; her marriage is suggested by the *Gesta Roberti Wiscardi*, which names ‘Count Robert of Montescaglioso, [...] Geoffrey’s brother, both born from the duke’s sister’ (*Robertus de Scabioso Monte comes [...] Gosfredi frater, et ambo orti germana fuerant ducis*).⁵³ Garufi and Antonucci have offered a documented genealogy of this family, in which Count Robert of Montescaglioso is placed as one of the sons of Umfridus, brother thus of Rudolph Machabeus.⁵⁴ Cuozzo has expanded on this, putting together the two distinct pictures that arise by contrasting the evidence from Cava with that from the abbeys of St Mary of Pisticci and St Michael the Archangel of Montescaglioso.⁵⁵ After untangling the diverse documentation and analysing the different types of forgeries, Cuozzo came to the conclusion that Rudolph Machabeus was already holding Montescaglioso in 1099, following the death of his father Umfredus after 1093.⁵⁶ Robert son of Umfridus must have then taken Montescaglioso at some point after the death of Rudolph’s son, Roger Machabeus, c. 1120–1124, and styled himself defiantly with the comital title. Neither Rudolph Machabeus nor his son Roger were regarded as counts in the surviving diplomatic evidence, and only Rudolph’s wife Emma held the title of ‘countess’, because that she was the daughter of Count Roger I of Sicily; the last documented appearance of Roger Machabeus is found in two July 1119 charters.⁵⁷ This might have been the reason why Roger II had to march over to Montescaglioso and claim the lordship himself on the grounds that it belonged to his sister Emma.

It appears hence that the aforementioned William of Montescaglioso did not inherit Montescaglioso or hold the comital title; the descendants of Count Robert of Montescaglioso appear to have been allowed to keep their tenure near the Cilento region. A subsequent document dated September 1138 records a donation of land made by Robert of Montescaglioso (*Robbertus qui de Montescabioso vocor*) to the church of St Peter the Apostle, which is located in Polla.⁵⁸ The charter registers the donor’s signature as lord

⁵³ *William of Apulia*, p. 192.

⁵⁴ Garufi, ‘I conti di Montescaglioso’, pp. 334–35; Goffredo Antonucci, ‘Goffredo conte di Lecce e di Montescaglioso’, *Archivio Storico per la Calabria e la Lucania*, 3 (1933), 449–59 (pp. 449–51). Umfridus is recorded as *comes Montis Scaviosi* in a 1085 donation by which he granted property to the monastery of St Michael the Archangel *in civitate vetera*, subscribed by *Gualterius, Goffredus filius domini Umfredus comes, domino Rao Machabeo, Asegatto*, amongst others. *Reg. Neap. Arch. Mon.*, VI, no 6 p. 156.

⁵⁵ Cuozzo, ‘Montescaglioso’, pp. 13–18.

⁵⁶ Cuozzo, ‘Montescaglioso’, p. 26.

⁵⁷ *Reg. Neap. Arch. Mon.*, VI, no 20–23 pp. 184–93. See also Serafini Tansi, *Historia cronologica monasterii S. Michaelis Archangeli Montis Caveosi* (Naples: Typografia Abbatiana, 1746), no 13 pp. 149–52.

⁵⁸ Cava, *Arm. Mag. G.27*, ed. in Garufi, ‘I conti di Montescaglioso’, no 4 p. 352. Polla is a town located in the Diano valley, in eastern Cilento, near Salerno.

and ‘ruler of the land of Polla’ (*signum manu domni Robberti Montis Scabeosi dominatoris terrae Polle*). According to Garufi, this Robert would have been William of Montescaglioso’s son, although he could actually have been his brother instead. Whichever might have been the case, Montescaglioso appears to have been employed by both William and Robert as a patronym that indicated the original focus of their lineage’s dominions. Moreover, the proximity of Brienza and Polla serves to support the contention that Count Robert’s descendants maintained their lordships for a time after 1124, albeit detached from Montescaglioso. However, c. 1150, the lordship of Polla was taken by Malgerius of Altavilla [Salentina], and in Brienza two *feuda* and some other tenancy units were held amongst five barons.⁵⁹

If we also consider the separated province of Calabria, in the south, an additional count is found. In Calabria, Count Geoffrey of Catanzaro is recorded as ‘Count Geoffrey, son of Count Rao of Loritello’ (κόμητος Γιοσφρι υιοῦ κόμητου Ράου του λωριτέλλου) in an 1131 document, in which he is attested as a donor in favour of the church of St Stephen del Bosco, still under the ‘tutelage’ of his mother Countess Bertha.⁶⁰ Count Geoffrey is further recorded as signatory of the treaty between Roger II and the city of Bari, dated 22 June 1132, in which he appears amongst other contemporary noblemen, including Alexander and Tancred of Conversano.⁶¹ The succession in the lordship of Catanzaro is hard to determine, mostly due to the relative paucity of surviving charters from Calabria, especially in Latin. It is, however, plausible to suggest that the Hauteville branch of Loritello kept the lordship throughout the beginning of the twelfth century (the Hauteville kin group included the families of the dukes of Apulia and the counts of Sicily).⁶² Geoffrey’s mother Bertha is recorded in 1112 as ‘countess of Loritello’, indicating not her actual lordship, but her position as a member of the Hauteville-Loritello kin-group – for rather than nuclear families, this was a case of extended groupings with distinct branches.⁶³

⁵⁹ Jamison, *Catalogus Baronum*, ¶¶ 465 p. 87, 552–56 p. 102.

⁶⁰ Evelyn M. Jamison, ‘Note e documenti per la storia dei Conti Normanni di Catanzaro’, *Archivio storico per la Calabria e la Lucania*, 1 (1931), 451–70 (p. 456). For a brief discussion of the first Norman counts in Catanzaro, see Antonio Macchione, *Alle origini di Catanzaro: la Chronica trium tabernarum* (Bari: Mario Adda editore, 2012), pp. 44–46. On St. Stephen del Bosco, see below, note 569.

⁶¹ ‘*Alexander Cupersanensis comes et Tanc Cupersani et Gauf Catenzarii comes et Robertus Gravini*’. *Roger II Diplomata*, no 20 pp. 54–56.

⁶² Jamison, ‘Note e documenti per la storia dei Conti Normanni di Catanzaro’, p. 319; Errico Cuzzo, ‘I conti normanni di Catanzaro’, *Miscellanea di Studi / Università degli studi della Calabria*, 2 (1982), 109–27 (pp. 110–14).

⁶³ *Palaeographia Graeca*, ed. by Bernard de Montfaucon (Paris: L. Guerin, 1708), col. 396.

The Abruzzo, a different animal, part I
 A Norman outpost in the vestiges of the duchy of Spoleto

The south-eastern part of the duchy of Spoleto, a polity in Adriatic central Italy, had been divided into five counties towards the end of the Carolingian period, which were equivalent to the ecclesiastical dioceses: Marsia, Valva, *Aprutium*, Penne and Chieti. This region would later be known as the Abruzzo, and operated as a buffer zone on the north-eastern border of Apulia. The territories originally formed ‘a sort of a frontier march’, whose function as a border province was implicitly confirmed during the tenth century, as the scenario of the delimitation of both the duchy of Spoleto and the Lombard principality of Benevento.⁶⁴ The Franco-Lombard counties of Sangro, Marsia, and Valva continued to dominate, but the old Carolingian counties in the region had disappeared by the end of the eleventh century, remaining only as formal geographical terms. It must be noted that the old Franco-Lombard counties rarely coincided with the subsequent Norman lordships, used with great particularity as geographical specifications in the subsequent military register of the kingdom. The political weakness left by a dismantled and outdated duchy of Spoleto opened the door for new lords and families to claim their dominance in the area, both local (e.g. the ‘sons of Borell’) and external (e.g. the Normans).

By the end of the eleventh century, the followers of the old Norman counts of Loritello occupied part of the territory of the county of Chieti, up to the River Sangro. The old count of Loritello, Robert son of Geoffrey of Capitanata, originally launched a military campaign in order to seize the lands on the other side of the River Trigno (i.e. the county of Chieti and part of the county of Penne). Afterwards, Count Robert’s brother Drogo ‘the Badger’ (*qui est Tasso*) and his followers were left in charge of the invasion. The Norman invaders that came from the Capitanata began thus to transform the political geography of these northern lands.⁶⁵ Marsia was a contemporary term that referred to the region comprising of the territories conquered by the Hauteville-Loritello kin-group, within what would later be known in the following century as the jurisdiction of Bohemund of Manopello. This region was also gradually infiltrated and invaded by members of the ‘sons of Amicus’ and the Loritello kin-groups, and due to the lack of any central authority to enforce order it remained unstable until its conquest by the royal forces in the 1140s.

⁶⁴ Laurent Feller, ‘The Northern Frontier of Norman Italy, 1060–1140’, in *The Society of Norman Italy*, ed. by Alex Metcalfe and Graham A. Loud (Leiden: Brill, 2002), pp. 47–73 (pp. 47–48).

⁶⁵ Feller, ‘The Northern Frontier’, pp. 59–51. See Genealogical Graph. Also, see B. Pio’s family tree. *Chron. de Carpineto*, Table 6.

In the decades preceding the creation of the Kingdom of Sicily, three counts are found in the Abruzzo: Count Pandulf of Marsia, Count Theodinus of Sangro, and Count Robert of Manopello. With regard to the first, Roger II confirmed a donation to Santa Maria della Noce, near Belmonte, made by ‘Pandulf son of Count Oderisius’ (*Pandulfum filium comitis Oderisii*) on 5 October 1130, which suggests that Pandulf of Marsia was already a count by the 1120s.⁶⁶ Pandulf came from an old Frankish-Lombard family, descendants of the old Attonid counts who had once dominated the entire region.⁶⁷ Another notable family of indigenous aristocrats who retained their place in the twelfth century were the ‘sons of Borell’, a kin-group that dominated the Sangro valley and is well-attested in the eleventh century. The Borell kin-group was the creation of an *Oderisius dictus Burrellus* and his four or five sons, who descended from a Frankish family from the county of Valva. The sons of said *Burrellus* held many lands in the Sangro valley and the southern part of the Marsia region, and profited at the expense of the monastery of St Vincent on Volturno. The usage of the comital title by the Borells dates to c. 1070, beginning with Oderisius II of Sangro.⁶⁸

As for Robert of Manopello, the *Liber instrumentorum-Chronicon* of St Clement in Casauria records that, after his father Richard had died (after 1103), Count Robert was restrained from attacking the abbey for fear of his mother; however, after the latter had also died (c. 1136), ‘this wicked son, engendered by a wicked father’ (*a malo patre malus filius generatus*), began to commit many hostile actions against the abbey of Casauria, seizing crop renders and harassing the abbey’s men.⁶⁹ Count Robert’s father, Count Richard, was a Norman lord who established the county of Manopello within the territory of the old Franco-Lombard lordship of Chieti, and the same count who, according to the chronicle of Casauria, was an enemy of said abbey.⁷⁰ It has been suggested that Robert

⁶⁶ *Roger II Diplomata*, no 15 p. 43; *Cod. dipl. Molisano*, pp. 325–26.

⁶⁷ Atto VII can be found as count of Teramo (*Aprutium*), 1101–1116. According to the chronicle of Casauria, c. 1099, Count Atto had abandoned his own legitimate wife and brought another woman to live with him, namely Rogata, the widow of [Hugh] Mamouzet. *Chron. Casauriense*, cols 874–75. Nonetheless, a November 1093 charter of Hugh Mamouzet suggests that Rogata was already dead (*pro anima Rogate Comitissa, qui fuit coniuge predicti Ugoni*). *Chron. de Carpineto*, no 120 pp. 253–56, at p. 254. For a discussion of the Attonid’s lineage and comital power, see Laurent Feller, *Les Abruzzes médiévales: territoire, économie et société en Italie centrale du IXe au XIIe siècle* (Paris: Ecole française de Rome, 1998), pp. 611–46, 685–97.

⁶⁸ On the origins and development of the Borell family, see Cesare Rivera, ‘Per la storia delle origini dei Borrelli conti di Sangro’, *ASPN*, 1919, 48–92; Evelyn M. Jamison, ‘The Significance of the Earlier Medieval Documents from S. Maria della Noce and S. Salvatore di Castiglione’, in *Studi in onore di Riccardo Filangieri*, 3 vols (Naples: Arte tipografica, 1959), I, 51–80 (pp. 54–56); Feller, ‘The Northern Frontier’, pp. 55–59.

⁶⁹ *Chron. Casauriense*, col. 886.

⁷⁰ In one of the chronicle’s most striking passages, Count Richard of Manopello was struck down by St. Clement as a punishment for his attacks on the abbey, and died mumbling ‘Clement, do not

of Manopello was related to either the ‘sons of Amicus’ or the Hauteville-Loritello kin-groups, for his father Richard might have been one of the sons of Count Peter II of Lesina, or perhaps a relative of the counts of Loritello.⁷¹ As a Norman baron and a follower of either kin-group of the Apulian counts, the count of Manopello must have become the new ruler of the lands between the Rivers Trigno and Sangro; as such, a physical and political bridge between Norman Italy and the Abruzzo. The influence of the old count of Loritello could have spread all the way up to the River Pescara and the town of Chieti, whose bishop Rainulf appears to have operated in collusion with Count Robert, but this would not have been possible without the extended Adriatic corridor that the Norman count of Manopello provided.⁷² It was in this way that the town of Chieti, and the counts of Manopello and Loritello, became crucial components of the Norman presence on the Adriatic coast of central Italy.

Aristocratic lineages and family ties

There was hence a total of twelve counts on the South Italian peninsula before Roger II’s takeover – five in Capua, one in Salerno, four in Apulia, and one in Calabria. Additionally, the Norman count of Manopello was established in the Abruzzo. Before reviewing the changes the comital class underwent after the convulsions of the kingdom’s first decade, the counts’ parentage ought to be examined first.

The first important feature to note about the South Italian magnates and territorial leaders at this time is their shared genealogy. The majority of the Norman counts were directly related to either the Drengot or Hauteville kin groups (the former was the family of the Norman princes of Capua, known also as ‘of Quarrel’, whilst the latter was the extended family of the dukes of Apulia). In the principality of Salerno, Count Nicolas of Principato descended from Robert Guiscard’s younger brother William, who had married Maria, Prince Guaimar IV’s niece.⁷³ The only Hauteville count in this area was thus the count of Principato. In the principality of Capua, Rainulf, count of the ‘Caiazzans’ (*Caiatianorum*), was a descendant of the Drengot kin-group. His grandfather, Rainulf I

persecute me’ (*Clemens noli me percutere, noli Clemens*). *Chron. Casauriense*, cols 873–76, especially col. 874. Cf. Loud, *The Age of Robert Guiscard*, p. 144.

⁷¹ Loud, *The Age of Robert Guiscard*, p. 253 n. 58.

⁷² On the influence of Robert of Loritello in the region and over the town of Chieti and its bishopric, see Feller, ‘The Northern Frontier’, pp. 61–64.

⁷³ Léon R. Ménager, ‘Les fondations monastiques de Robert Guiscard, duc de Pouille et de Calabre’, *QFIAB*, 39 (1959), 1–116; Cuzzo, ‘Milites e testes’, pp. 140–42, 158–60. Cf. Graham A. Loud, ‘The Abbey of Cava, Its Property and Benefactors in the Norman Era’, in *Anglo-Norman Studies*, IX: *Proceedings of the Battle Conference 1986*, ed. by R. Allen Brown (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 1987), pp. 143–77 (pp. 157–59). See also Cava, *Arm. Mag.* F.44, and F.45.

of Caiazzo (d. 1088), was the brother of prince Robert I of Capua, and thus the son of Asclettin Drengot, the brother of count Rainulf of Aversa.⁷⁴ The counts of Carinola were also related to the Drengots. The younger brothers of Prince Jordan I of Capua, Jonathan and then Bartholomew, had taken the title of ‘*comes Caleni*’ –the Latin names for the town of Carinola were many: *Calenum*, *Calinulum*, and *Carinula*. This title was perhaps taken by the princely family from the Lombard family of Landenolfus, who, before 1076, was ‘count of Carinola’ (*qui fuerat comes Caleni*).⁷⁵ The kinship between this older Jonathan and Bartholomew as being that of brothers is confirmed in a 1089 judgment (*iudicatum*) made by Prince Jordan of Capua ‘in the presence of Jonathan and his brother Bartholomew’.⁷⁶ By 1092, Jonathan is recorded as having authorised a donation made by his tenant Umfridus, the ‘count of Calvi’. As the overlord of Calvi, Jonathan would have been almost certainly the count of the region, namely that of Carinola, at the time.⁷⁷ Bartholomew would have then taken Carinola after 1092, based on the aforementioned evidence that regards his son Richard as count of Carinola. The Gaetan charters that record Richard of Carinola as duke of Gaeta establish at least one certainty: a unifying link between the count of Carinola and the nominal authority over Gaeta.⁷⁸ As count of Carinola, Richard probably already had a rather detailed knowledge of the Gaetan territories, for the lands of Carinola neighboured the eastern borders of the maritime city.⁷⁹ The influence of this cadet branch of the Capuan princely kin-group seems therefore to have grown with the duchy of Gaeta.

In Adriatic Apulia, the counts of Conversano descended from a branch of the Hauteville kin-group, for Geoffrey of Conversano may have been the son of one of Tancred’s daughters.⁸⁰ The count of Andria, on the other hand, seems to have belonged

⁷⁴ Graham A. Loud, ‘A Calendar of the Diplomas of the Norman Princes of Capua’, *PBSR*, 49 (1981), 99–143.

⁷⁵ Landenolfus is attested as being in dispute with Montecassino over ‘*de alveo fluminis Gariliani*’. A date is not indicated here, although the chronicle records a donation by Geoffrey Ridellus of Gaeta, duke of Gaeta, made just after this episode, dated February 1075/1076. *Chron. Cas.*, bk 3 chap. 41 p. 419.

⁷⁶ ‘*In presentia ionathae et bartholomei germanorum eius [Iordani]*’. *Cod. Dipl. Cajetanus*, II, no 262 pp. 142–43. Cf. G. Carelli, who assumes Bartholomew was Jonathan’s son instead; Guido Carelli, ‘I conti Normanni di Calinulo (1062–1187). Note storiche’, *Rivista araldica*, 11 (1913), 609–616 (p. 614). Also, cf. Loud, who suggests Count Richard of Carinola was the son of Jonathan as well, and not Bartholomew. Loud, ‘Continuity and Change in Norman Italy’, pp. 332–33.

⁷⁷ *Cod. Dipl. Aversa*, no 54 pp. 94–95.

⁷⁸ *Cod. Dipl. Cajetanus*, II nos 290 p. 196–98, 328 pp. 260–62.

⁷⁹ See Patricia Skinner, *Family Power in Southern Italy: The Duchy of Gaeta and Its Neighbours, 850–1139* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 158–60.

⁸⁰ Geoffrey Malaterra records that ‘*Gaufridum de Conversano nepotem suis [Roberti ducis][...] filius [...] sororis suae*’. *Malaterra*, bk. 2 chap. 39 p. 48. William of Apulia likewise stated that ‘*Robertus de Scabioso Monte comes dictus, Gosfredi frater, et ambo orti germana fuerant ducis*’. *William of Apulia*, p. 192. Interestingly enough, Orderic Vitalis is in accord with the South Italian chroniclers, as he seems to be correct in saying that Geoffrey of Conversano was *nepos* of Robert Guiscard, the first Duke of Apulia, for his mother was probably the duke’s sister. *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, ed. by

to a different Norman lineage, for he was most likely a descendant of Count Peter of Andria, a member of the family of the ‘sons of Amicus’, a kin group that constantly competed against the Hautevilles in Apulia during the eleventh century.⁸¹ Count Robert II of Loritello, whose last documented appearance takes place in 1122,⁸² was the son of Robert I of Loritello, the eldest son of Count Geoffrey [of Capitanata].⁸³

The same Hauteville lineage of Geoffrey of Capitanata produced the only count in Calabria at that time: Count Geoffrey of Catanzaro was the son of Rao/Rudolph of Catanzaro – Robert I of Loritello’s brother – and his wife, Countess Bertha.⁸⁴ Geoffrey’s ascendancy is furthermore confirmed in an 1131 document in which he is recorded as ‘Count Geoffrey, son of Count Rao of Loritello’ (κόμητος Γιοσφρὶ υἱοῦ κόμητου Ράου του λωριτέλλου).⁸⁵ Almost certainly, Rao of Loritello acquired the lordship over Catanzaro in 1088 because of his loyal support to Duke Roger Borsa against Bohemund of Taranto.⁸⁶ Rao apparently commanded the contingent of knights of the count of Sicily, and defeated the rebel and former lord of Catanzaro and Rocca Fallucca, Adam,⁸⁷ whose lands Rao apparently received in return.⁸⁸ Rao of Loritello is also regarded as count of Catanzaro in 1096, acting as a witness of the foundation, by Count Roger of Sicily and his wife Adelaide, of the bishopric of Squillace, to which Rao subjected lands in Catanzaro, Badolato, and Taverna.⁸⁹ It seems that Count Rao was dead by 1111, for a Greek charter, given in ‘μονιὸν τ(ῆς) μεγάλης ὠδηγατείας’ (later known as the abbey of St Mary of Patire), records ‘Countess Bertha of Loritello and her sons Count Geoffrey and Raymond’ (Βέρτης κομητίσσης τοῦ Λοριτέλλου καὶ [...] ὑοῖς τοῖς ἐμοῖς [...] Γιοσφρὲ κόμητι κ(αι) Ραιμούνδῳ) as donors who appear to have donated the church of St Apollinarius Martyr

Marjorie Chibnall, 6 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973), iv, bk 8 p. 33. For a further discussion on the reception of the Italian chroniclers in the north of Europe, see Marjorie Chibnall, *The World of Orderic Vitalis: Norman Monks and Norman Knights* (Rochester: Boydell & Brewer, 1996), pp. 169–220, especially 213–14; Graham A. Loud, ‘The Gens Normannorum: Myth or Reality?’, in *Proceedings of the Battle Conference on Anglo Norman Studies IV*, ed. by R. Allen Brown (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1981), pp. 104–16.

⁸¹ Martin, *La Pouille*, pp. 731–33; Loud, *The Age of Robert Guiscard*, p. 250. Cf. Jahn, pp. 203–5.

⁸² *Chartes de Troia*, no 44 pp. 171–72.

⁸³ *Romuald*, p. 183.

⁸⁴ ‘Die Chronik von Tres Tabernae in Calabrien (Cronica Trium Tabernarum)’, ed. by Erich Caspar, *QFIAB*, 10 (1907), 1–56 (p. 41); Macchione, p. 91. For a discussion on the nature and relevance of this source, the *Chronica trium tabernarum*, see the useful and recent study of Macchione, especially pp. 55–71.

⁸⁵ Jamison, ‘Note e documenti per la storia dei Conti Normanni di Catanzaro’, p. 456.

⁸⁶ As pointed out by Cuozzo, Rao’s closeness to Roger Borsa can be attested in two charters in which the former subscribed donations made by the latter to the abbey of Cava; *Arm. Mag.* G.31, and G 36. Cuozzo, ‘I conti normanni di Catanzaro’, p. 110.

⁸⁷ On Adam of Falloc, see Léon R. Ménager, ‘Inventaire des familles normandes et franques émigrées en Italie méridionale et en Sicile (XIe-XIIIe siècles)’, in *Roberto il Guiscardo e il suo tempo*, Atti del Centro di Studi Normanno-Svevi, 1 (Bari: Dedalo, 1975), pp. 259–390 (p. 273).

⁸⁸ *Malaterra*, pp. 91–93. See also Cuozzo, ‘I conti normanni di Catanzaro’, pp. 110–11.

⁸⁹ *Italia Sacra*, vii, cols 426–30.

in Conchile to the protonotary and admiral Christodoulos, in order to be given to the monastery *magnae Hodegetriae*.⁹⁰ This cadet branch of the Loritello-Hauteville kin group survived Roger II's takeover and, unlike its northern relatives, kept its lordship and position of power.

Amongst the upper local leaders that were not tied directly either to the Hauteville or Drengot kin groups at this point, besides the count of Andria, were the counts of Aquino, Boiano, and Sarno. Count Simon of Boiano, Hugh II of Molise's father, was the son of Hugh I of Molise, whose family originally derived from Moulins-la-Marche, in the region of Mortagne-au-Perche in Normandy.⁹¹ Count Henry of Sarno is recorded as the son and heir of Count Richard.⁹² The same Richard appears in earlier charters from Cava, dated October 1114 and June 1115, as a count and son of the late Count Richard; the 1115 document records the latter Count Richard as *ex genere nortmannorum*, without providing any specific toponymic reference.⁹³ Henry of Sarno was, nevertheless, related to another prestigious kin group, although not Norman but Lombard: he was the great-grandson of a certain Norman count Alfred, whose wife, Gaitelgrima, was a daughter of the Lombard prince of Salerno Guaimar IV.⁹⁴ Also of Lombard lineage were the counts of Aquino, who belonged to a family that had held this lordship before the Normans arrived.

Having surveyed the upbringing and social context of the South Italian aristocracy on the eve of the creation of the Kingdom of Sicily, it is now possible to understand in detail the original features of the nobility created under Roger II. The power basis and the families of these original counts were the foundations upon which the newly established monarchy rearranged the territory, and created and confirmed the kingdom's nobility.

⁹⁰ Montfaucon, cols 396–97. See also Jamison, 'Note e documenti per la storia dei Conti Normanni di Catanzaro', pp. 455–56; Ménager, *Amiratus- Αμνηρας, l'émirat et les origines de l'amirauté (XIe-XIIIe siècles)*, p. 175; Cuzzo, 'I conti normanni di Catanzaro', p. 111.

⁹¹ Ménager, 'Inventaire', pp. 330–36. On the origins of Count Hugh of Molise, see De Francesco, 'Feudalismo nel Molise', pp. 78–98; Jamison, *Molise e Marsia*, pp. 3–9. Cf. the latter with a previous and less extensive study that the same author published two years before in English on the same topic; Evelyn M. Jamison, 'The Administration of the County of Molise in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries', *English Historical Review*, 45.177 (1930), 1–34.

⁹² Cava, *Arm. Mag.* F.37, ed. in Scandone, II, no 63 p. 120.

⁹³ Cava, *Arca* xx.27 (1114); *Arm. Mag.* E.30 (1115). The latter was edited in Scandone, *Avellino*, vol. 2, no 50 pp. 113–14.

⁹⁴ As attested in Cava, *Arca* xx.37 (1115). This document records the will of Count Richard, count Henry's father, dated 1125. This Gaitelgrima was originally married to Drogo of Hauteville, then to Count Robert of Monte Sant'Angelo, and finally to Count Alfred. See also Loud, 'Continuity and Change in Norman Italy', p. 327.

CHAPTER 2

A Re-Arranged Nobility under the New Sicilian Monarchy. The Creation of the South Italian Counties

As the royal apologist Alexander of Telese described in the preface to his story:

Just as the great sin of the Lombards was once overcome by the violence of the Normans when they came, [...] in the same way today it is also certain that it was given, or at least permitted, to Roger by Heaven to coerce the immense malice of these regions by means of his sword. [...] those whom He [God] had long considered incorrigible should be frightened by fear of Roger and brought back to the path of justice.⁹⁵

The ruling class and the nobility had undoubtedly changed in almost a century since the Normans had settled in the south; but, despite the existence of new formal polities, the territory that would later form the Kingdom of Sicily was still submerged in a quarrelling polyarchy in 1127. It is in this complex political reality that the first step towards the counts' new organisation took place: 'some counties were therefore suppressed, others resized, and, in the new composition, redistributed'.⁹⁶ But, how did the counties at the middle of the twelfth century differ from the lordships held by the counts when the kingdom was founded? To what extent did the new monarchy employ the creation of counts and counties for either restructuring the organisation of the mainland or rewarding loyal local leaders and major landholders? In order to answer these questions, it is crucial to accurately understand first the development and changes that shaped the kingdom's upper aristocracy, by means of presenting a systematic survey of the counts' documented activities throughout Roger's reign.

After Count Roger II had reached an agreement with the pope and was invested duke of Apulia, he was ready to be elevated to the position of king. Some of the peninsular counts, as expected, reacted against the foundation of the new kingdom, and in 1131, a baronial league was assembled against Roger II. Though defeated, the rebellion soon reignited in the winter of 1134 in the northwest, still headed by Robert II of Capua and Rainulf of Caiazzo. But the darkest moment of the newly established monarchy was still at hand. After being defeated in 1135, Robert of Capua and Rainulf of Caiazzo returned as invading forces in what was an imperial and papal coalition against Roger II.

⁹⁵ *Al. Tel.*, p. 3.

⁹⁶ Enrico Mazzaese Fardella, 'Problemi preliminari allo studio del ruolo delle contee nel regno di Sicilia', in *Società, potere e popolo nell'età di Ruggero II*, Atti del Centro di Studi Normanno-Svevi, 3 (Bari: Dedalo, 1979), pp. 41–54 (p. 50).

A stubborn aristocracy and a lenient king

The civil war, part I

From 1127 until 1139, Roger II faced the threat of an aristocracy reluctant to accept the consolidation of the Sicilian kingdom and the enforcement of the king's authority. Almost every spring during this turbulent decade (except in 1136), King Roger arrived on the peninsula with an army in order to wage war in the summer, and then retire to the island in the autumn. In the beginning, Roger II travelled to the mainland by crossing the Straits of Messina and marching through Calabria – a route that would allow him to look out over what had been a close and integral province annexed to his Sicilian dominions before. Later, perhaps after 1133, he travelled to Apulia by sea, landing in Salerno, from where he customarily departed back to Palermo. The decade following the creation of the Sicilian monarchy was certainly an intense period of armed conflict and gradual re-adjustment of both Roger's attitude towards the aristocracy and the kingdom's making of its own nobility.

In the beginning, the prominent peninsular magnates were able to keep their own lordships. Count Roger of Ariano, for instance, was allowed to keep his extensive and geographically strategic lordship in the Irpina, while the brothers from Conversano, Tancred and Count Alexander, got their lands back after they surrendered in 1129. The extensive lordship of these brothers appears to have had two different foci: Conversano, to the southeast of Bari; and Gravina, in the west.⁹⁷ Although Gravina was not attached to a comital title at this time, that connection to Conversano partially explains why subsequent testimonies, and even Count Alexander himself, according to one of his surviving seals, employed the title 'count of Gravina'.⁹⁸ Even Grimoald of Bari and his sons were allowed to be consecrated princes, via a papal concession that Anacletus II gave to the archbishop of Bari, which in all probability was given under Roger's consent.⁹⁹ All of these magnates led the first armed opposition against Roger II, and still they were treated with leniency. It seems that the new king was originally invested in improving the legitimacy of his rule by appearing accessible to those who opposed his takeover in Apulia and Capua.

⁹⁷ Martin, *La Pouille*, pp. 734–36.

⁹⁸ See below, on page 111.

⁹⁹ *Pergamene del Duomo di Bari*, no 42 pp. 80–81. On Roger's possible consent, see Hubert Houben, *Roger II of Sicily: A Ruler between East and West*, trans. by Graham A. Loud (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 53.

The flexible treatment of the kingdom's upper aristocracy proved itself to be a failure; by 1132, the baronial coalition was reassembled and raised against the new monarchy. It seems that this rebellion originated in a quarrel between Roger II and his brother-in-law Count Rainulf of Caiazzo, over the former's sister and latter's wife Matilda. Although Alexander of Telese and Falco of Benevento present different versions of the causes of this falling out (the former attributed it specifically to the count's seizure of Matilda's dower lands, whereas Falco referred to the '*convicia multa et afflictiones*' Rainulf had inflicted on the king's sister), both of them agree on Matilda being the source of the discord.¹⁰⁰ Alongside Rainulf's insurrection, his nominal overlord Prince Robert of Capua joined the opposition again. As Loud has pointed out, once the Capuan prince became involved in the rebellion, the war was not only a battle against the effective authority of the king, but also a battle for the independence of the principality of Capua and its barons.¹⁰¹

The insurrection of the major barons in Adriatic Apulia is nevertheless much less clear. According to Alexander of Telese, as soon as Roger II started his summer campaign in 1132 and crossed the Straits of Messina into southern Apulia, in Taranto, he accused Count Geoffrey of Andria of certain inexcusable misdeeds, for which the latter had to hand over to the crown a great part of his lands.¹⁰² According to Falco of Benevento, Tancred of Conversano rebelled and resisted Roger II initially, and was later exiled from Apulia after the king marched on Brindisi.¹⁰³ The Telesian apologist is conversely clearer when he reports that Prince Grimoald of the Bariots was captured and sent in chains to Sicily after the king besieged Bari, for the prince of Bari had broken the fealty owed to the king and agreed with Roger's enemies. As vaguely as it was with Count Geoffrey, Alexander's story omits the exact role played by Tancred of Conversano, limiting his report to the latter's fearful handover of Brindisi and other cities and towns of which he was lord to Roger II. Tancred ultimately renounced his lands to the king in exchange for 20,000 *schifati* with the intention of 'departing' to Jerusalem.¹⁰⁴ The Conversano brothers were, however, amongst the barons who swore in the king's name to respect the rights of the people of Bari after the city's surrender on 22 June 1132.¹⁰⁵ Tancred's capitulation may have occurred during this period, perhaps towards the final stages of Bari's siege.

¹⁰⁰ *Al. Tel.*, bk 2 chap. 14 pp. 29–30; *Falco*, pp. 120–22.

¹⁰¹ Loud, *Creation of the Kingdom*, p. 31.

¹⁰² *Al. Tel.*, bk 2 chap. 18 p. 31.

¹⁰³ *Falco*, pp. 122–24.

¹⁰⁴ *Al. Tel.*, bk 2 chaps 19–21 pp. 31–32.

¹⁰⁵ *Roger II Diplomata*, no 20 pp. 54–56. It was considered degrading for kings to swear oaths in person, especially to their own subjects, a biblical concern based on Matthew 33:7.

Count Alexander of Conversano, on the other hand, seems to have at this point neither rebelled against the king nor renounced part of his lands. Count Rainulf seems, in the meantime, to have taken advantage of the king's campaign in the Adriatic.

The rebellion in the Tyrrhenian front then took a turn in favour of Count Rainulf, who defeated Roger and his army in a pitched battle on the border between the principality of Capua and the Salernitan region, at Nocera, on 25 July 1132.¹⁰⁶ This turn of events reignited the latent opposition left in the Adriatic; once the news of the royal defeat reached the Apulian barons, Tancred interrupted his plans to travel across the sea and captured the cities of Montepeloso and Acerenza in an attempt to recover his dominions. On this occasion Alexander is clear in attesting that both Tancred's brother Count Alexander and Count Geoffrey of Andria followed Tancred's momentum and committed treason against the king, binding themselves in an alliance with the Capuan rebels. Roger crossed the Straits of Messina once more, taking over the lands of all the Apulian rebels, capturing the *castrum* of Matera which was left to be defended by Count Alexander's son Geoffrey. The rest of the barons were defeated and sent in chains to Sicily; Count Geoffrey of Andria was banished, whereas Tancred was imprisoned. Whether it was preferential treatment offered to the magnate who bore the comital title, or simply a harsher punishment for him who allegedly incited the counts into betrayal, the distinction made here by Alexander of Teles between Geoffrey's exile and Tancred's imprisonment is noteworthy. The only Apulian magnate who was not captured was Count Alexander of Conversano, for he fled first to Count Rainulf, and then to Dalmatia, after he heard about his son's surrender.¹⁰⁷

Alternatively, Falco of Benevento reports that the king, after besieging Matera, captured Geoffrey, son of Count Alexander, and later imprisoned the 'illustrious' Tancred of Conversano. Falco, however, erred in recording that Count Alexander died soon after his son and his lands were captured.¹⁰⁸ The latter not only clashes with Alexander's report of his exile flight to Dalmatia, but is also disproven by a multitude of evidence that attests to Alexander of Conversano's activities as a political exile in both western and eastern imperial courts.¹⁰⁹ In any case, the barons' rebellion was not over yet, for the Capuan rebels were still campaigning.

¹⁰⁶ *Al. Tel.*, bk 2 chaps 29–32 pp. 36–38; *Falco*, pp. 134–40.

¹⁰⁷ *Al. Tel.*, bk 2 chaps 33–46 pp. 38–46.

¹⁰⁸ *Falco*, pp. 150–52.

¹⁰⁹ *Kinnamos*, pp. 36–37, 67, 139, 148–50, 170–74; *Otonis Episcopi Frisingensis et Rahewini Gesta Frederici seu rectius Cronica* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1965), pp. 168–70, 178, 300; *Falcandus*, p. 154; *William of Tyre*, II, pp. 915, 927, 981–83; *Das Briefbuch Abt Wibalds von Stablo und Corvey*, ed. by Martina Hartmann, MGH Briefe d. dt. Kaiserzeit, 9 (Hanover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 2012), no 18 pp. 29–30, 216 pp. 455–61, 233 pp. 497–99; *Registrum oder merkwürdige*

The count of Boiano, Hugh II of Molise, appears for the first time in Alexander of Telese's story as he joined, together with the *magister militum* of Naples, Duke Sergius, the expedition of Count Rainulf.¹¹⁰ After Roger II had captured Troia and other rebel towns in central Apulia, securing thus the duchy of Apulia once again, he arrived in Salerno ready to face the remaining Capuan rebel coalition. The Sicilian king then marched into Count Rainulf's lands, and captured Sarno and Nocera. It should be highlighted that here Alexander of Telese makes no mention of any count or lord of Sarno, although Count Henry must have been around at this time. Count Henry is recorded to have granted a mill to the church of St Mary of Montevergine in 1134, as 'Henry, count of Sarno, son of the late Richard, count of the same Sarno' (*Henricu comes de Sarno, filius quondam Ricchardi comitis eiusdem Sarni*).¹¹¹ It must be said that, because Count Alexander of Conversano, his brother Tancred, Count Geoffrey of Andria, Count Hugh of Boiano, and Count Rainulf openly rebelled against the crown, it does not necessarily mean that all the other members of the upper aristocracy on the mainland did so too, at least at this stage. Count Henry of Sarno is not the only one omitted; Count Nicholas of Principato is also not mentioned. Presumably, King Roger enjoyed almost complete support in the principality of Salerno, which operated as a safe base from which to wage his campaigns against the rebels in the Capuan border and in the Beneventan lands.

By 1134, Roger had finally defeated the leader of the rebellion, Count Rainulf, resulting in the latter's submission and homage, while Prince Robert of Capua stayed in exile. Count Hugh of Boiano begged for the king's pardon, which he only obtained after surrendering a considerable part of his extensive lordships: the land east of the River Biferno and the Castello Maris. Sergius of Naples ultimately, in 1135, surrendered and paid homage as well. After this, and following Alexander's testimony, the lord of the Borell family also paid homage to Roger II.¹¹² The heads of the Borell kin-group by the early twelfth century were Count Theodinus of Sangro and Borell IV, lord of Agnone.¹¹³ The comital title of this Theodinus seems to have been only a dignity of Lombard origin, and thus this distinction did not necessarily imply the possession of an authoritative, unified lordship. Jamison has suggested that Theodinus was a descendant of Count Oderisius II of Sangro, and, furthermore, she saw in him the same count Todinus who, in

Urkunden für die deutsche Geschichte, ed. by Hans F. Sudendorf, 3 vols (Berlin: Verlag von Franz Duncker, 1951), II, no 54 p. 132.

¹¹⁰ *Al. Tel.*, bk 2 chap. 48 pp. 46–47.

¹¹¹ *Cod. Dipl. Verginiano*, III, no 214 pp. 52–56.

¹¹² *Al. Tel.*, bk 2 chaps 62–68 pp. 52–56.

¹¹³ Cesare Rivera, 'L'annessione delle Terre d'Abruzzo al regno di Sicilia', *Archivio Storico Italiano*, 7, 6 (1926), 199–309.

1140, accompanied Roger II to the abbey of the Holy Saviour at M. Maiella, and who was the father of Count Simon of Sangro, later attested in the *Quaternus magne expeditionis*.¹¹⁴ Although the lands of the Borell family – known as *Terra Burrellensis* – were altogether rather extensive, tenancy was fragmented amongst the family. This *Terra* was located in an important frontier position, similar to that of the counts of Boiano, as it was there that the southern Adriatic plains of the Abruzzo meet the northern mountainous threshold that connected the principality of Capua and the duchy of Apulia.

After the 1133 campaign, the nature of Roger's tactics seems to clearly have changed. The king was much less flexible, and his reprisals were harsh. It is noteworthy that Falco of Benevento's tone changes also after 1133; his mild criticisms of Roger II are replaced by a severe critique of the king's cruelty. This new approach appears to have been more successful; after this victory and until the German invasion of 1137, the peninsular provinces remained securely under Roger's authority. The king may not have campaigned on the peninsula in 1136, as this was a relatively stable year; only the blockade of the coastal city of Naples disturbed the peace in the mainland provinces. Falco of Benevento does not mention a royal campaign in his brief record of 1136, and the surviving diplomatic evidence for that year made after the winter and before October was all issued to recipients in Sicily.¹¹⁵ The general historiography seems to concur with this assumption.¹¹⁶

It is during this stage of changing tactics that the first effort to construct a nobility from the centre can be traced. We are told by Alexander of Teleso that, by 1134, after Roger II had captured Capua and Sergius VII of Naples rendered homage and swore fealty to the new king, Roger II granted to Robert son of Richard the lands that Hugh II of Molise, count of Boiano, had surrendered to him.¹¹⁷ The Telesian abbot furthermore remarks that, while Roger was at war with the count of Boiano and the others, he had promised those lands to Robert son of Richard, providing that he remained loyal to the king.¹¹⁸ The aforementioned lands given to Robert were those to the east of the River

¹¹⁴ Jamison, 'Noce and Castiglione', I, pp. 59–60.

¹¹⁵ Falco, pp. 174–76; Erich Caspar, *Roger II (1101–1154) und die Gründung der normannisch-sicilischen Monarchie* (Innsbruck: Wagner, 1904), nos 108–10, pp. 528–29; *Roger II Diplomata*, no 43 pp. 119–23. The three documents summarised by Caspar were originally issued in Greek, and the last two, issued in April and September respectively, survive only in subsequent witnesses. The 28 April charter survives only in later copies, whilst the 1 September document is today lost and is only mentioned as a Latin translation in a March 1145 charter of the monastery of St Philip of Fragalà. See Loud, *Creation of the Kingdom*, p. 27 n. 81.

¹¹⁶ Caspar, *Roger II*, p. 180; Dione R. Clementi, 'Historical Commentary on the Libellus of Alessandro di Teleso', in *Al. Tel.*, 1991, pp. 175–336 (p. 335); Loud, *Creation of the Kingdom*, pp. 27–28.

¹¹⁷ Hugh had succeeded his uncle Robert, brother of his father, Count Simon, who had died in 1117. See above, note 37.

¹¹⁸ *Al. Tel.*, bk 2 chap. 68 p. 56.

Biferno, and the *Castellum Maris* (modern Castel Volturno), which was situated at the mouth of the River Volturno.¹¹⁹ These lands cannot have constituted all of Hugh of Molise's possessions, but they could have very well made up half of his Apulian dominions. This grant provided Robert son of Richard with two strategic zones: one area in the interior of central Apulia that bordered the Capitanata and the lordship of Loritello, and the other a point on the Tyrrhenian shore between Gaeta and Naples.

Robert son of Richard appears to have been a local baron before the arrival of Roger II in Apulia. Robert was recorded in July 1121 as the lord of *castrum* Cerentia, confirming the *castellum* of Cantelupo, which his baron Richard *de luguastu* and his son Robert had previously given to the monastery, to Abbot John of St Sophia in Benevento, at the latter's request.¹²⁰ This charter was written by Falco of Benevento. The Beneventan notary also recorded in his chronicle that Robert son of Richard requested that Count Jordan of Ariano join and help him take the city of Fiorentino in 1127.¹²¹ Given the prominent role played by Robert son of Richard as an avid royalist, his conspicuous absence during the first royal campaigns in the chronicle of Falco of Benevento should not come as a surprise to any historian, since Falco was a clear antagonist to the royal party. Count Robert is, nevertheless, recorded by Bishop Henry of Sant'Agata, an anti-Rogerian partisan. In the letter that Bishop Henry wrote to Pope Innocent informing him of Count Rainulf's victory over Roger II in Nocera in 1132, he recorded that: 'The names of the barons of the duke [Roger II] who were captured and held are these: Count R(oger) of Ariano, Count R[obert] of Civitate and almost thirty others'.¹²² Interestingly enough, Robert son of Richard is acknowledged here as count of Civitate, which suggests two things: first, that Robert son of Richard had already been honoured with the comital

¹¹⁹ *Castellum Maris*, though physically far away from the lordship of Boiano, had long been a possession of the Molise family. Hugh I of Molise granted in February 1097 fishing rights at *castello Maris* to the monastery of St Angelo in Formis. *Regesto di S. Angelo in Formis*, ed. by Mauro Inguanez (Montecassino: Camastro & figli, 1925), no 17 pp. 43–45.

¹²⁰ Benevento, *Fondo S. Sofia* vol. 2 no 5. The reference to Abbot John shows that this must be 1121, which is also what the indiction number would suggest. The previous abbot of St Sophia, Bernard, died on 29 July 1120. Falco the notary mentioned must be the chronicler Falco of Benevento, the only notary of this name active in Benevento at this time. On the abbey of St Sophia in Benevento and its sources, see Graham A. Loud, 'A Lombard Abbey in a Norman World: St Sophia. Benevento, 1050–1200', in *Anglo-Norman Studies, XIX: Proceedings of the Battle Conference 1996*, ed. by Christopher Harper-Bill (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1997), pp. 273–306.

¹²¹ *Falco*, pp. 86–87. Robert's father, Richard, was in turn the son of Guarin of Frumari (Flùmeri?), who was murdered by his own villeins, according to the Beneventan notary; *Falco*, pp. 70–71. This Richard has been identified by J-M. Martin in an 1120 Troian charter that records a donation made by count Robert of Loritello before other counts, the duke of Apulia and pope Calixtus II. *Chartes de Troia*, no 43 pp. 168–71.

¹²² 'Nomina autem baronum ducis, qui copti sunt et tenentur, hec sunt: comes R(ogerus) de Ariano, comes R. de Civitate et alii tales fere triginta'. *Codex Uldarici. Monumenta Bambergensia*, ed. by Philipp Jaffé (Berlin: Weidmann, 1869), pp. 442–44. Henry of Sant'Agata clearly refused here to acknowledge Roger's royal title, referring to him simply as 'duke'.

honour, even before he received the lands confiscated from Hugh of Molise; second, that the original lordship of Robert son of Richard was located in Civitate.¹²³ Thanks to his performance as both a royalist commander and an outstandingly loyal baron, in 1134 Count Robert was rewarded with the lands east of the River Biferno; however, Civitate would have been granted to another potential ally of King Roger. My impression therefore is that Robert was hence the overlord of the eastern Molisian dominions after 1134, but he was not allowed to keep his lordship in the Capitanata, as it appears that the king had other plans for it.

The other count mentioned amongst the king's allies, Count Roger of Ariano, provides another example of the intricate changes that may have been operating behind the scenes. Although he had originally resisted Roger II in the late 1120s, he is recorded here as a baron who fought on the king's side. Interestingly enough, Falco omitted this piece of information, despite his knowledge of and previous references to Roger of Ariano. He may have stayed on the royalist cause until Lothar's invasion in 1137, but the Beneventan chronicler remains again silent about his continuing changes of side and the attempted configuration of a kingdom's nobility.

We are told by Alexander of Telese that, by 1135, Robert son of Richard was a member of the king's army. At this time, the royal armed forces were then near to Caserta, defending the Terra di Lavoro under the command of Emir John, and had recently received reinforcements from Apulia of both knights and foot soldiers. Count Roger of Ariano is identified amongst the nobles that were in the royal army at this time.¹²⁴ Robert was, however, not attested by Alexander of Telese as a count until after Roger II had granted the dignity of prince of Capua to his son Alfonso, when, whilst in Aversa, the king entrusted the command of the knights chosen to defend the northwestern territories to several counts deemed worthy of his trust. These temporary commanders were to succeed each other for set terms, and Robert son of Richard was appointed to the second of these periods in command.¹²⁵ As commander of the royal knights, Count Robert blockaded the borders of Naples 'with such military prowess and energy that its defenders never dared to sortie to inflict injury on their enemies'. He completed his two-month term

¹²³ Robert son of Richard was also remembered as a count in an undated royal charter of William I (1154–1166), in which the following is recorded: *In Apulia autem. in territorio catule. ecclesiam Sancte Marie cum omnibus pertinentiis et possessionibus suis. A Roberto comite filio Riccardi comitis. ecclesie vallis iosaphat largitam. I documenti inediti dell'epoca normanna in Sicilia*, ed. by Carlo A. Garufi, *Documenti per servire alla storia di Sicilia*, I.18 (Palermo: Lo Statuto, 1899), no 29 pp. 67–72. See also Cuzzo, 'Balvano', p. 79 n. 82. Fiorentino was a town in the Capitanata (modern ruins of Castel Fiorentino), between Lucera and San Severo, in Capitanata; see Loud, *Creation of the Kingdom*, p. 174.

¹²⁴ *Al. Tel.*, bk 3 chap. 6 pp. 62–63.

¹²⁵ *Al. Tel.*, bk 3 chap. 32 p. 77.

of duty at Aversa, from November to December 1135, and then returned home – to the Capitanata, perhaps.¹²⁶ Robert son of Richard was then succeeded by Count Simon of Monte Sant’Angelo in Gargano.

The comital seat of Monte Sant’Angelo seems to have ceased to exist after the civil war, for there is no further evidence besides Alexander of Teleso that records the existence of either a count or county in Monte Sant’Angelo under Roger II. This Simon might have been Simon del Vasto, who is subsequently identified as Simon of Policastro, for the latter was the son of King Roger’s maternal uncle Henry del Vasto, lord of Paternò and Butera.¹²⁷ Henry del Vasto was a member of the north Italian family of the Aleramici, as the brother of Roger II’s mother Adelaide del Vasto.¹²⁸ The Sicilian lordships of Paternò and Butera had been associated with the Aleramici family since the time of Count Roger I.¹²⁹ Simon’s parentage is confirmed by a September 1156 royal charter under which William I guaranteed, by the request of the Abbot-elect of the monastery of Patti, the continued possession of the land previously by ‘count Henry, father of the actual Count Simon’ (*comes Henricus pater ipsius comitis Simonis*), to the church of the Holy Cross, which Simon had unjustly alienated.¹³⁰ It should be noted that all the subsequent documents in which Count Simon is attested take place in Sicily, and the toponym ‘of Policastro’ is only recorded by Pseudo-Falcandus.¹³¹ It seems in all likelihood that if the Count Simon in the Telesian testimony is the same Count Simon of Policastro, he was soon removed from the mainland and returned to Sicily as lord of Butera, becoming thus the only known baron on the island who held the comital dignity. This, however, might just have been the result of his temporary role as a royal commander during the civil war, which allowed him to keep the title he received whilst in the peninsula and hold it still as lord of Butera in Sicily. The references to his father as ‘Count Henry’ appear therefore to be given in hindsight after Count Simon’s activities on the mainland, and after his death the comital title seems to have lapsed. An alternative explanation is that Simon’s father, Henry, could have been given the honorary title in recognition of his parentage and also as a token of Roger’s esteem and special consideration. Henry was the son of Manfred

¹²⁶ *Al. Tel.*, bk 4 chap. 5 pp. 83–84.

¹²⁷ *Falcandus*, pp. 60–62; Carlo A. Garufi, ‘Gli Aleramici e i Normanni in Sicilia e nelle Puglie’, in *Centenario della nascita di Michele Amari* (Palermo: Virzi, 1910), pp. 47–83 (nos 6–8 pp. 76–81).

¹²⁸ On Henry’s parentage, see Garufi, ‘Gli Aleramici’, pp. 49–50; Houben, *Roger II of Sicily*, pp. 22, 26.

¹²⁹ Carlo A. Garufi, ‘Per la storia dei sec. XI e XII. Miscellanea diplomatica. III. La contea di Paternò e i de Luci’, *Archivio Storico per la Sicilia Orientale*, 10 (1913), 160–80 (pp. 160–63).

¹³⁰ *William I Diplomata*, no 16 p. 44. It also must be noted that Count Simon appears to have been mistakenly remembered in another document as the brother of Adelia, daughter of Rudolph Machabeus and Countess Emma, which would have made Simon grandson of Roger I. *Sicilia Sacra*, I, p. 586.

¹³¹ *Roger II Diplomata*, no 57 pp. 15–62, at p. 158; *William I Diplomata*, no 16 p. 44; *Falcandus*, pp. 60–3, 84–5.

del Vasto, brother of Marquis Boniface of Savona, and he was married to Flandina, daughter of Roger I by one of his first two wives. Furthermore, since Roger I died when Roger II was only five years old, his maternal uncle Henry must have played a leading part in the young duke's upbringing and in pressing forward the elevation of his nephew as a king. Proof of the latter can be found in Alexander of Telesse's testimony, as he narrates that 'those close to Duke Roger, and particularly his uncle Count Henry by whom he was loved more than anyone' (*familiari quorundam, maximeque Henrici comitis avunculi sui, quo plus aliis diligebatur*) were constantly suggesting the plan that Duke Roger ought to be additionally honoured with the royal title.¹³² In any case, Henry del Vasto does not appear to have been a count in the same way the peninsular counts were.

Another baron who is practically ignored in both Alexander and Falco and surviving charters, but who nevertheless appears to have played a central role during this interwar stage, was Jonathan of Carinola. A theory on this member of the new kingdom's nobility can be formulated using much earlier documentation from the former duchy of Gaeta and later charters concerning the lordship around Civitate. Jonathan was a relative – a son, according to Cuozzo¹³³ – of Count Richard of Carinola, and duke of Gaeta; the latter was a title that this branch of the Capuan princely kin-group held between c. 1112 and 1135. It appears that it was the same Richard of Carinola who issued a guarantee for the protection of the old Gaetan coinage to the people of Gaeta in November 1123, in which he regards himself as 'consul and duke of the city of Gaeta by divine mercy, son of the late Lord Bartholomew [brother of Prince Jordan I of Capua], of fond memory, descendant to the prince of Capua and to the counts of Carinola'.¹³⁴ However, young Jonathan is attested in earlier dating clauses as the duke and consul of Gaeta.

First, an August 1116 *exemplum* that registered a settlement on land delimitation between two brothers, recorded Duke Jonathan as in the fourth year of his 'minority' (*quarto Anno Ducatus atque Consulatus domni Ionathe qui in minore etate positus est*).¹³⁵ Then, two May 1119 transactions were dated to the seventh year of Jonathan's rule.¹³⁶

¹³² *Al. Tel.*, bk 1 chap. 1 p. 23.

¹³³ *Catalogus Baronum: Commentario*, ed. by Errico Cuozzo, FSI, 101.2 (Rome: Istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo, 1984), pp. 694–95; Cuozzo, 'Balvano', p. 78. Cf. P. Skinner, who identified Jonathan as nephew of Richard instead; Skinner, *Family Power in Southern Italy*, p. 159.

¹³⁴ This charter, dated 1123, records '*Riccardus Divina providente clementia Consul et Dux praefatae Civitatis olim Domini Bartholomei proles Capuane principis, et Calinulensi Comitibus piae recordationis filius*'. Cf. Skinner, who read this passage as if Richard actually bore the three titles: prince of Capua, count of Carinola and duke of Gaeta. Skinner, *Family Power in Southern Italy*, p. 159. The same lineage is recorded in a subsequent charter in 1127; *Cod. Dipl. Cajetanus*, II, no 311 pp. 231–33. Also, see *Cod. Dipl. Cajetanus*, II, no 326, pp. 256–57.

¹³⁵ *Cod. Dipl. Cajetanus*, II, no 289 pp. 194–96.

¹³⁶ *Cod. Dipl. Cajetanus*, II, nos 292–93 pp. 200–4. The first is a document that records the sale of a house, and the second charter records a concession made by Bishop Albert.

Finally, an April 1120 charter that records another settlement on land delimitation was given in the seventh year of Jonathan's rule as duke and consul.¹³⁷ As a minor, Jonathan would most probably be under the tutelage of his possible uncle Richard of Carinola; although, when Richard was recorded in February 1117 as being present in a Capuan princely court, he is only regarded as Richard son of Bartholomew, one of Prince Robert's 'esteemed barons'.¹³⁸ Additionally, a reference to Jonathan as being 'under the tutelage of his uncle (*avunculus*) Richard' is made in a footnote included by the nineteenth century editors of the Gaetan charters.¹³⁹ The young duke seems to have lost his position because, by 1121, Richard of Carinola is recorded as the sole duke and consul of Gaeta; an August 1121 charter recorded the 'first year of the dukedom and consulate of Lord Richard' (*primo anno Ducatus atque Consulatus Domino RICCARDUS*), and he was acknowledged in dating clauses between August 1121 and July 1131 as lord, consul, and duke of Gaeta.¹⁴⁰ Richard is also later recorded in July 1134 when he restored, as duke and consul of Gaeta, some land to Abbot Peter of the monastery of the Holy Trinity.¹⁴¹ Richard is last attested as duke of Gaeta in May 1135, in a charter given in the 13th year of Duke Richard's rule.¹⁴² A plethora of assumptions could be made about Richard's appropriation of the ducal dignity in 1121. Did Jonathan just die as a minor, or did Richard get rid of him? This is unclear, but one can reasonably argue that Jonathan's uncle simply pushed him away from the ducal seat, and took what had originally belonged to his younger relative.

This conjecture would also help to clarify Cuozzo's mistaken inference on Jonathan's parentage, because it would have been expected for Richard to have been mentioned in the dating clauses earlier than, or at least alongside, Jonathan, had Richard been Jonathan's father. It would also shed some light on Jonathan's sudden absence, for when inheritance practices are diverse and rather versatile, Richard would find in an underage relative – nephew or even brother – a significant obstacle in claiming in his own right the dukedom that originally could have belonged to another branch of his own kin-group. It must be noted that primogeniture was the imperative norm in neither Norman

¹³⁷ *Cod. Dipl. Cajetanus*, II, no 295 pp. 206–8.

¹³⁸ '[...] *interventum [...] nostrorum diletorum Baronum, videlicet Ricahrdi filii Bartholomei*'. Martin and others, *Registrum Petri Diaconi*, III, no 577 pp. 1569–70; *Cod. Dipl. Cajetanus*, II, no 290 pp. 196–98. Cf. P. Skinner, who said that the same 1117 charter revealed that 'at the Capuan court prince Robert's barons included "duke" Richard son of count Bartholomew of Carinola'. Skinner, *Family Power in Southern Italy*, p. 159. However, neither of these titles were actually recorded in the aforementioned document.

¹³⁹ *Cod. Dipl. Cajetanus*, II, p. 195 n. A.

¹⁴⁰ *Cod. Dipl. Cajetanus*, II, nos 296–99, 301–5, 309–11, 313–17, 319–21, pp. 208–49.

¹⁴¹ *Cod. Dipl. Cajetanus*, II, no 326, pp. 256–57.

¹⁴² *Cod. Dipl. Cajetanus*, II, no 328 pp. 260–62.

nor Lombard societies. Despite the apparent consolidation of this practice, there is no real evidence to support the claim of primogeniture as a social norm in southern Italy. Furthermore, the attested inheritance practices, such as partible inheritance exercised or *parage* tenure, reveal a rather diverse panorama of practices and customs emerging from a variety of family situations.¹⁴³

Turning back to the genealogy and documented appearances of the peninsular aristocracy before the civil war, it was hypothesised that Richard of Carinola, the elder and close relative of Jonathan of Carinola, was both the acting count of Carinola and Duke of Gaeta. Jonathan would have been then the legitimate heir not only to the duchy of Gaeta but to the dignity and lordship of Carinola as well, in the same way Richard of Carinola could have claimed the Gaetan title. Bartholomew might still have been alive before 1109; it is highly probable therefore that the prince of Capua gave the ducal title of Gaeta to a second cadet branch of his own family as an alternative dignity that their relatives could have borne apart from the comital title. Whether one cannot be certain about the specific kinship relation between young Jonathan and Richard of Carinola (as his son, nephew or brother), the rest of the evidence serves to support the contention that his affinity to the Drengot kin-group allowed him to hold Gaeta, and be closely connected to Richard of Carinola. Consequently, a legitimate heir to such a prominent dignity in the principality of Capua would have surely been a key ally to King Roger in his attempt to consolidate his authority on the mainland. If the former duke of Gaeta had survived, he could have then been a natural and expected supporter of the royal party against the Capuan nobles. Taking into consideration all the aforementioned pieces of evidence on the lineage and ties between the Gaetan consuls and dukes and the counts of Carinola, and given that ostensibly the former duke of Gaeta Jonathan would have still been alive in the 1130s, I join Cuozzo in identifying this Jonathan as the count of Carinola of the new kingdom. *Quid pro quo*: Jonathan recovered the lordship and titles to which he should have been entitled, and the Sicilian king tallied a noble Capuan collaborator to his side.

¹⁴³ Eleanor Searle, *Predatory Kinship and the Creation of Norman Power, 840–1066* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), pp. 173–75. J. Drell documented how the diverse family situations in the eleventh and twelfth century had generated different inheritance practices in Salerno's Italo-Norman society, pp. 90–121.

A ruthless king and the nascent nobility

The civil war, part II

In 1137, the relative stability of the previous year was replaced with the great perils of a full on German invasion. Lothar's marching army had an effect on Roger's campaign, for he only came to the peninsula in September of the same year in order to avoid meeting the rather large invading and rebel forces. According to the chronicle of Romuald of Salerno, 'the emperor occupied the whole of Apulia without resistance'.¹⁴⁴ Lothar entered Apulia and captured Bari in 1137, having crossed the River Pescara after Easter, marching through the Adriatic coast and capturing Siponto, Rignano, Monte Sant'Angelo, Troia, Canne, Barletta and Trani.¹⁴⁵ It would be safe to assume the entire coast from the Abruzzo to the Terra di Bari surrendered to the imperial invasion. Count Roger of Ariano, and possibly Count William of Loritello, joined the rebellion and welcomed the German emperor Lothar. This William might have been the same palatine lord that joined the imperial party, as the *Annalista Saxo* attests 'marquises Thomas and Matthew, together with their lord William, palatine [count]' (*Thomam et Matheum marchiones cum domno eorum Willehelmo palatino*) swore allegiance to Lothar II in 1137.¹⁴⁶ This is the episode to which Cuozzo refers when assuming that Lothar took the lordship of Civitate from Robert son of Richard and gave it to Jonathan. Although I disagree with the latter, the former seems highly likely.

Cuozzo has suggested also that Roger II found in Jonathan of Carinola a natural ally to the royal cause, but has taken the speculation one step further: he argues that Jonathan was nominated count of Civitate in 1137, after Roger II's ally, Robert son of Richard, a man described by Alexander of Telesse as 'most faithful to the king',¹⁴⁷ had lost it to the invading German emperor Lothar.¹⁴⁸ Cuozzo claims that Jonathan received the county of Civitate from Lothar after he lent himself to the imperial cause, as could be expected from a member of the Capuan princely family. The Italian scholar, however, fails to explain how a count, who was not simply a sympathiser of the opposing party but was also invested as count by the German emperor, could have remained under the mercy of the Sicilian king who would later endow him with both the comital title of Carinola

¹⁴⁴ *Romuald*, p. 265.

¹⁴⁵ *Falco*, pp. 178–80. The *Annalista Saxo* confirms this episode, by recording that the emperor sent Duke Conrad and part of his army to storm the fortress of Rignano, in the Gargano region, then to move to Monte Gargano to besiege the citadel until Lothar arrived with the rest of the army. The imperial army then marched over Troia, Canne, Barletta, and Trani, before entering Bari. After spending four weeks there, Lothar returned to Trani and then went to Melfi. *Annalista Saxo*, pp. 605–11.

¹⁴⁶ *Annalista Saxo*, p. 606.

¹⁴⁷ *Al. Tel.*, bk 3 chap. 6 pp. 62–63.

¹⁴⁸ Cuozzo, 'Balvano', pp. 78–79; Cuozzo, *Commentario*, p. 181.

and the lordship of Conza. Contrary to Cuozzo's assumptions, two other considerations must be made. First, the two major contemporary narrative witnesses, Alexander of Telesse and Falco of Benevento, do not give any mention of Jonathan as a member or sympathiser of the anti-Rogerian party. Since both chroniclers, in particular the Beneventan notary, are rather explicit in naming the king's enemies, it would be quite improbable for contemporary testimonies to have omitted an imperial supporter made count by Lothar himself. Second, a later 1152 charter subscribed by the count of Civitate, Robert son of Robert son of Richard, records Jonathan not only as having held previously his *comitatum* wholly and integrally, but as having done so lawfully (*iuste tenuit penitus et integer [comitatum] suis manibus*).¹⁴⁹ Had Jonathan held Civitate from Lothar, the son of the royalist Robert son of Richard would hardly have acquiesced that the former held it lawfully, or even properly.

I am therefore inclined to claim that Roger II granted the lands and lordships that would later constitute the *comitatus* of Civitate to Jonathan of Carinola at some point between 1134 and 1137, after Count Robert son of Richard received some of the dominions of Hugh of Molise, but before the entire region was convulsed by Lothar's expedition. This lordship in the Capitanata could have been granted to restore Jonathan's comital dignity, thus keeping him within the royal ranks but still far away from the original Capuan lands to which he should have been entitled. At the beginning of Roger's kingship, in the 1130s, the king was more cautious and willing to negotiate with the Capuan nobility, and for that reason, relinquishing Carinola might not have been a feasible option. Whether or not Count Robert son of Richard surrendered to the emperor's army at that time, he would have had to later, during Lothar's campaign. After seizing Bari, the imperial expedition advanced into the Beneventan plain and the principality of Capua. According to the chronicle of Montecassino, the entire Capuan principality abandoned its obedience to Roger, and the barons of the region surrendered themselves, their property and their city to the lordships of Pope Innocent II and Prince Robert II of Capua.¹⁵⁰

The maintenance of the king's marginal resistance, and perhaps even the possible minimal governance of these provinces, was left for this period in the hands of his local commanders, the territorial leaders left on the mainland. The royal garrisons were able to hold the invasion up until it withdrew in the autumn, allowing Roger II to recover what

¹⁴⁹ *Codice diplomatico del regno di Carlo I. e II. d'Angiò*, ed. by Giuseppe Del Giudice (Naples: Stamperia della Regia Università, 1869), App. 1, no 11 pp. 27–29. The original document is now lost; it used to be part of the Great Neapolitan Archive.

¹⁵⁰ *Chron. Cas.*, bk 4 chap. 105 p. 567.

had been lost as the Germans retreated. The king thence returned to Sicily at the end of the year. Falco of Benevento accounts that the king's comeback was swift and ruthless: Roger summoned his army and immediately went to Salerno to then march against Nocera, take over all Count Rainulf's lands, furiously storm Capua, 'devastating it with fire and iron', recapture Avellino and Benevento, and devastate Montecorvino. Also, the brother of Count Rainulf, Count Richard of Rupecanina, was forced out of his dominions. After this, Duke Sergius of Naples (the *Magister Militum*) rushed to the king's side, only to die soon after in Rignano fighting for the royal cause. Despite the initial drive of Roger's counteroffensive, here he lost again against Rainulf's army, on 2 October 1137.¹⁵¹ After Nocera, Rignano was the second great defeat of the king's army against Rainulf of Caiazzo, but it, like the former, had no durable effect. Roger II restarted his campaign in the following year, in 1138, crossing the frontiers of Apulia and making an incursion into Capua and the Apulian lands still under Rainulf's control. Although this royal campaign proved again unsuccessful, Roger II was able to finally secure his hold over the entire mainland in 1139, after the spurious Duke Rainulf fell sick and died in his base, Troia, on 30 April 1139.¹⁵²

The once rebellious nobility had been thus forcibly pacified. Throughout almost a decade, the peninsular aristocracy defended the rights and privileges that they had enjoyed for decades as a consequence of an absent effective central rule. But things were different by the 1140s; a new authority had arrived and ultimately won. After almost a decade of internal warfare, in September 1129, Roger II promulgated a comprehensive land peace at an assembly of mainland nobles in Melfi, by which these prominent lords swore to maintain peace and justice under the authority and assistance of the consolidated monarchy.¹⁵³ In 1140, Roger II was finally firmly in control of the entire southern third of the Italian peninsula, and had achieved tranquillity in his mainland dominions. Once the dust settled, the Sicilian king reorganised the lordships that his opponents had once occupied. These regional leaders served as the basis of the reorganisation of the mainland landholdings and the subsequent establishment of the peninsular counties.

¹⁵¹ Falco, p. 196.

¹⁵² Falco, pp. 206–30.

¹⁵³ According to Alexander of Telesse, Roger II's contemporary biographer, the oath read '*ab ipsa hora et in antea justitiam et pacem teneret, et adiuverent tenere*'. *Al. Tel.*, bk 1 chap. 21 pp. 18–19.

The surviving aristocracy in the aftermath of the rebellion

In the wake of the creation of the kingdom, after Roger II finally stood successfully before his enemies, the picture of the counts had already changed considerably. His original conciliatory attitude towards the peninsular leadership, by which he used both the sword and the word in order to secure and legitimise his kingship, had by 1134 morphed into a more belligerent approach, which was then completely transformed after 1137 into the spoils system that allowed him to directly reward his supporters and punish without prevarication any sort of opposition. First of all, the mainland was practically organised in three provinces after 1140 (Terra di Lavoro, Apulia, and Calabria; with Manopello and the Abruzzo as a separated region).¹⁵⁴ The counts of Ariano and Caiazzo were suppressed, as was that of Loritello, and the lands that were amassed under each comital title were confiscated by the crown and reassigned to other barons. The counts of Sarno disappear after 1139; it appears this lordship was also confiscated after Count Henry went into exile with the other rebels. The lords of Aquino, on the other hand, were allowed to keep their tenure, but not their comital title.

Count Roger of Ariano was defeated and imprisoned, and had his dominions confiscated.¹⁵⁵ Rainulf of Caiazzo died in Troia as the spurious Duke of Apulia in 1139, leaving no acting successor of neither his lands nor his position as head of the imperial party against the Sicilian crown. The lords of Aquino, after 1137, are solely referred to as *domini*, never again as *comites*. They are recorded only as lords in the *Quaternus* under a special section dedicated to Aquino.¹⁵⁶ Furthermore, the earliest reference to the lord of Aquino after the civil war is found in an 1148 charter that records a dispute between Montecassino and ‘lord Pandulf of Aquino’ (*dominus Pandulfus Aquini*).¹⁵⁷ After Henry of Sarno is recorded, as ‘count, by the grace of God, and son of lord Richard of Sarno’ (*Dei gratia comes filius domini Riccardo de Sarno*), to have made a donation in 1138 to Montevergine, there are no other counts of Sarno attested in all the surviving Italian evidence.¹⁵⁸ However, in a letter Conrad III sent to Manuel Komnenos c. 1144, which was transcribed by Otto of Freising, a certain Count Henry is mentioned amongst the Apulian barons known to the German king. It appears that the Eastern emperor previously

¹⁵⁴ Mazzaresse Fardella, ‘Problemi preliminari’, p. 50.

¹⁵⁵ *Falco*, p. 230. Roger of Ariano was already out of prison, and most likely exiled from the kingdom, for he is recorded to be present, together with the exiled prince of Capua, at the German royal court in April 1144, at Würzburg. *Conradi III. et filii eius Heinrici Diplomata*, ed. by Friedrich Hausmann, MGH DD, K III (Vienna: Böhlau, 1969), nos 99 pp. 176–77, 136 pp. 226–28.

¹⁵⁶ *Catalogus Baronum*, ¶¶ 1008–12 pp. 181–82.

¹⁵⁷ Scandone, *Per la controversia*, p. 24.

¹⁵⁸ *Cod. Dipl. Verginiano*, III, no 245 pp. 187–92.

requested that Conrad provide, amongst other things, information on South Italian exiles.¹⁵⁹ It is possible, hence, that Henry of Sarno remained an active count until 1139, due to his allegiance to Prince Robert of Capua. As such, he was forced into exile together with the other nobles who ended up in the German court as political refugees, namely Roger of Ariano, Richard of Rupecanina, and Robert of Capua himself.

Andria was left vacant and perhaps temporarily merged into the royal demesne. The aforementioned William of Loritello presumably welcomed and paid homage to the invading emperor, for which his lordship was later confiscated given this act of treason against the incipient Sicilian monarchy. Boiano, furthermore, seems to have been restored to Hugh II of Molise. First, the chronicle of Santa Maria of Ferraria indicates that in 1141 King Roger married Hugh of Molise's sister (*sororem comitis Ugonis de Molisio*), by whom he had his son Simon, the same son who reportedly was appointed prince of Capua (*filium Symonem, quem constituit principem Capue*).¹⁶⁰ Assuming the date referred to in the *Chronica Ferrariensis* is correct, it is not impossible that the couple got married, as this would have been after Roger's first wife Elvira of Castile had died in 1135, and well before the king's marriage to Sibylla of Burgundy in 1149. Houben has suggested that she was in fact one of the mistresses of Roger II.¹⁶¹ In any case, Hugh of Molise may have negotiated the recovery of his extensive dominions with the king between 1139 and 1142, and certainly before 1144 – when he appears to have presided over a court at Trivento.¹⁶²

Manopello, in the border province of Abruzzo, appears to have been given to a royalist Calabrian baron, Bohemund of Tarsia. The chartulary-chronicle of Casauria records that Roger II appointed 'Count Bohemund to the county of Manopello' (*comes Boamundus [...] comitatu Manupelli*), c. August 1140, while reporting that the same count sought to interfere with the monastery, albeit restrained by the king.¹⁶³ Although his origins are not entirely certain, he was originally a Calabrian baron from Tarsia and seems to have been a Norman lord under the favour of chancellor Robert of Selby.¹⁶⁴ Count Bohemund of Manopello appears to have been active in the first half of the 1140s as he interacted with the abbey of the Holy Saviour at M. Maiella, located in the Abruzzese Apennines. He first made a donation to this abbey in 1141; then, the count of

¹⁵⁹ Hausmann, *Conradi III. et Heinrici*, no 136 pp. 226–28.

¹⁶⁰ *Chron. de Ferraria*, p. 28.

¹⁶¹ Houben, *Roger II of Sicily*, p. 36. Cf. Jamison, *Molise e Marsia*, pp. 21–22.

¹⁶² Gattola, *Accessiones*, I, pp. 246–47. Trivento is a town in the region of Molise, NE of Isernia and NW of Campobasso, on the eastern bank of the River Trigno.

¹⁶³ *Chron. Casauriense*, col. 891.

¹⁶⁴ Loud, *Creation of the Kingdom*, pp. 45, 300 n. 10.

Manopello intervened in favour of Prior Alexander during a dispute with the bishop-elect of Chieti on 1142; and finally restored the church of St Andrew to the aforementioned abbey in 1144, under the king's direct instructions, and acting as his justiciar in Chieti.¹⁶⁵

Conversano, in southern Apulia, seems to have been given to Robert of Bassunvilla during the civil war, and before the disastrous year of 1137. He is attested in two documents pertaining to Cava, under charters dated October and November 1136, through which he donated 'churches and lands with olive fields and *casales* with villeins' (*ecclesiae et terrarum cum olivetis ac donatione villanorum casalis*), and confirmed a donation of a church with all its possessions and rights.¹⁶⁶ Alexander of Telese recorded, however, the existence of a certain Adam, King Roger's brother-in-law (*gener*), as count of Conversano, and temporary commander of the royal troops, c. 1135–1136.¹⁶⁷ The identity of this Count Adam is unclear. Chalandon had suggested Adam was in fact Adam Avenel, the son of Adelia, daughter of Roger's sister Emma and Rudolph Machabeus.¹⁶⁸ Alternatively, Loud has argued that Alexander of Telese may have made a mistake with the new count's name, and Robert would have therefore been appointed count slightly earlier than Alexander indicated.¹⁶⁹ Robert of Bassunvilla was not only already regarded as count of Conversano in April 1134, but he was Roger II's actual brother-in-law, because he married the king's sister Judith.¹⁷⁰ It is also noteworthy to mention that the very problematic *Breve chronicon Northmannicum* also relates that Robert was created count of Conversano by Roger II, after Alexander of Conversano, the former holder of this comital seat, was defeated.¹⁷¹ Another less likely possibility may be that this Adam

¹⁶⁵ Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Arch. Cap. S. Pietro Caps. LXXII, fasc. 53, no 1 ('Liber instrumentorum monasterii Sancti Salvatoris de Maiella'), ff 9r [1144], 16rv [1142], 25v [1141]. Excerpts of these transactions can be found in an eighteenth-century monograph: 'Dissertatio de antiquitate, ditione, juribus variaque fortuna Abbatiae S. Salvatoris ad Montem Magellae', in *Collectio Bullarum Sacrosanctae Basilicae Vaticanae* (Rome: Giovanni Maria Salvioni, 1747), I, pp. XX–XXII. The 1144 mandate, fol. 9, can be also found in *Roger II Diplomata*, App. 3, no 60 p. 308.

¹⁶⁶ Carlo A. Garuffi, 'I diplomi purpurei della cancelleria normanna ed Elvira prima moglie di re Ruggero (1117? - febbraio 1135)', *Atti della Reale Accademia di Scienze Lettere e Arti di Palermo*, 7 (1904), 3–31 (pp. 26–28). The original documents are found in Cava, *Arm. Mag.* G.19 and G.20; additionally, G.21 is a copy of G.20, and G.22 is a copy of G.19.

¹⁶⁷ *Al. Tel.*, bks 3 chap. 28 pp. 74–75, chap. 33 p. 77–78, 4 chaps 1–2 pp. 81–82, chap. 5 pp. 83–84.

¹⁶⁸ This suggestion has been contested on the grounds that, judging by the date of his mother's marriage, Adam Avenel was in 1135 little more than fifteen years old, making him therefore too young to have been a count and a commander. Evelyn M. Jamison, 'Judex Tarentinus', *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 53 (1967), 289–344 (pp. 342–44 n. 3).

¹⁶⁹ Loud, *Creation of the Kingdom*, p. 116 n. 149.

¹⁷⁰ *Pergamene di Conversano*, no 81 pp. 180–81. On Count Robert's union with Judith of Sicily, see below, page 95.

¹⁷¹ 'Il "Breve Chronicon Northmannicum"', ed. by Errico Cuzzo, *Bullettino dell'Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo e Archivio Muratoriano*, 83 (1971), 131–232 (p. 197). This *chronicon* is a short, anonymous Latin chronicle of the Norman conquest of southern Italy, probably written in Apulia in the early twelfth century. Its authenticity has nevertheless been called into question by André Jacob, who argued that it is an eighteenth century forgery by Pietro Polidori. André Jacob, 'Le Breve Chronicon Northmannicum: un véritable faux de Pietro Polidori', *QFIAB*, 66 (1986), 378–92.

died soon after his appointment as commander of the royal forces in Aversa, for Robert of Bassunvilla was definitively the count of Conversano by the end of the civil war.

In the Capitanata, in Adriatic Apulia, a Count William of Lesina appears to have been the new count of Lesina, before Geoffrey of Ollia was appointed as such. It is not clear who this William was; he could have been a descendant of the earlier counts. The only documented appearance of Count William of Lesina under Roger II's reign is found in the 1141 charter in which he is recorded as head of a court held at Lesina. The court heard a controversy about the usage of the River Caldoli by the monastery of St Mary in Tremiti.¹⁷² This William of Lesina appears to be the same count who, according to Pseudo-Falcandus, was King William I's captive, held in chains at Palermo in 1156, and one of the royal palace captives released during the baronial conspiracy of 1161.¹⁷³

The only comital positions that seem not to have changed were Principato, and Catanzaro. Count Nicolas of Principato made two documented appearances in 1141, and is also regarded as a ruling count in 1142. First, in March 1141 he and his brother William issue a confirmation (*preceptum*) of previously donated land in the vicinity of the church of St Peter of Toro to the archbishop of Salerno, for the salvation of the soul of their father, William II of Principato.¹⁷⁴ Later, also in March 1141, as requested by a deputy of Archbishop William of Salerno, a certain Judge Peter certified in the presence of Count Nicolas a *preceptum* issued by the count in favour of the archbishop (i.e. the previous 1141 charter), and measured the land delimitations of the confirmed grant.¹⁷⁵ Unfortunately, these documents are more than a little suspicious in their present form. Both their latest editor, Giordano, and Carlone have identified them as fabrications in the form of authentic copies; the first as a copy inserted into a document issued in 1252 and the second as a forgery which may have been produced by the same scribe who participated in the reproduction of the *preceptum* given by Count Nicolas in 1141.¹⁷⁶ This possibility, however, must not be taken as reason for dismissing the documents entirely, for a fabrication in the form of an authentic copy may still be based on an original

¹⁷² The document attests him also as signatory of the agreement; '*Ego Guidelmus Lisinensi comes concedo et confirmo hanc kartulam et testis sum*'. *Cod. Dipl. Tremiti*, no 103 pp. 287-91. A count Peter and a count Robert of Lesina are remembered in this transaction as former counts, and Robert of Lesina is also recorded as father-in-law (*socer*) of the current count William, but it is not entirely clear who they were or during which time they ruled. A. De Francesco has identified Robert as the lord of Devia, recorded in 1104. Armando De Francesco, *La badia benedettina di Tremiti e il Chartularium tremitense* (Catanzaro: Gaetano Silipo, 1910), p. 22. See also Morlacchetti, pp. 278-79.

¹⁷³ *Falcandus*, pp. 84-86, 144-45, 154-55.

¹⁷⁴ *Pergamene di Salerno*, no 102 pp. 195-99.

¹⁷⁵ *Pergamene di Salerno*, no 103 pp. 199-201.

¹⁷⁶ On the study of its condition as a forgery, see Carmine Carlone, *Documenti cavensi per la storia di Rocchetta S. Antonio* (Altavilla Silentina: Edizioni Studi Storici Meridionali, 1987), p. 74.

document, and the information thus contained in subsequent reproductions cannot be assessed as reliable solely on the grounds of diplomatic criteria. The information that the 1141 charters for the archbishop of Salerno contain makes sense when contrasted with what can be found in other surviving material. These two charters appear to be based on original transactions, as their prosopographical information is both accurate and significant. Cuozzo has already identified most of the individuals attested in these legal transactions as local officials and barons allegedly established as members of the *entourage* of Count Nicholas.¹⁷⁷ Moreover, there exists additional evidence that confirms that Count Nicholas was still alive by 1141: a Greek charter from the town of Auletta, dated May 1142, which records a sale of an estate made by John Buttillerus to Peter Molinari, was certified ‘in the time of our most pious Count Nicola’ (ἐν τοῖς καιροῖς τοῦ ἐυλαβεστάτου ἡμῶν κόμιτος νικολάου).¹⁷⁸ Countess Adelaide of Principato, in all likelihood Nicolas’ wife, is subsequently attested as a donor to Cava in 1143 and again in 1146. She donated in 1143 the rights of the church of St Peter of Tramutola to the monastery of Cava, for she was the *domina* of 13 patrons, citizens of Marsico.¹⁷⁹ In 1146, the countess granted her possessions in the valley of Tramutola to John of Cava, for the benefit of the church of St Peter of Tramutola.¹⁸⁰

In Catanzaro, the succession is harder to determine. It is, however, plausible to suggest that the Hauteville-Loritello branch kept the lordship throughout this period. Geoffrey of Catanzaro is last recorded in 1132, as a signatory in a royal charter.¹⁸¹ A subsequent document suggests however that the title was vacated after his death, which happened between 1143 and 1145. Geoffrey of Catanzaro seems to have been present in a royal *curia* that heard a suit between Bishop John of Aversa and Abbot Walter of St Lawrence in Aversa in November 1143, for the royal charter that records the ratification of the mediation presents him as a subscriber, as ‘count of Catanzaro’ (*comes Catacensis*).¹⁸² Subsequently, his mother, countess Bertha, made a donation in 1145 for the salvation of his son, the late Count Geoffrey.¹⁸³ Interestingly enough, Bertha is

¹⁷⁷ Cuozzo, ‘Milites e testes’, pp. 140–48.

¹⁷⁸ *Syllabus Graecarum membranarum*, ed. by Francisco Trinchera (Naples: J. Cataneo, 1865), no 132 pp. 174–75. Original document found in Cava, *Perg. Greca* 47.

¹⁷⁹ Leone Mattei-Ceresoli, ‘Tramutola’, *Archivio Storico per la Calabria e la Lucania*, 1943, 32–46, 91–118 (no 6 pp. 43–44).

¹⁸⁰ Mattei-Ceresoli, ‘Tramutola’, no 8 pp. 45–46.

¹⁸¹ Signatory as *Catenzarii comes* of a charter dated 22 June, relating to the city of Bari: ‘Alexander Cupersanensis comes et Tanc Cupersani et Gauf Catenzarii comes et Robertus Gravini’. *Roger II Diplomata*, no 20 pp. 54–56.

¹⁸² *Roger II Diplomata*, no 59 p. 166–70, at 169.

¹⁸³ *Carte latine di abbazie calabresi provenienti dall’archivio Aldobrandini*, ed. by Alessandro Pratesi (Vatican City: Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, 1958), no 14 pp. 41–42.

recorded both here and in 1112 as ‘countess of Loritello’, indicating not her actual lordship, but her position as a member of the Loritello kin-group, which descended directly from one of the original conquerors, Geoffrey of Capitanata.¹⁸⁴ Besides Bertha, it is also possible that Geoffrey’s brother Raymond succeeded him,¹⁸⁵ who was the husband of Countess Segelgarda and the father of young countess Clementia.¹⁸⁶

It is thus that, in 1140, there were only five confirmed counts on the mainland: three in Adriatic Apulia (Conversano, Lesina, Tricarico), one in the former principality of Salerno (Principato), and one in Calabria (Catanzaro); furthermore, it is after 1140 when three more counts must have been reinstated and confirmed (Boiano, Carinola, and Civitate).¹⁸⁷ From 1140 to 1150, when the *quaterniones curiae* on the lords’ land holdings that served as the original drafts for the *Quaternus magne expeditionis* were presumably drafted, the kingdom seems to have gone through a phase of peaceful reorganisation, which took over from the changes already introduced right after the end of the civil war.¹⁸⁸

Of old and new counts

The gradual settling of the dust

We are told by Archbishop Romuald of Salerno that the king ‘created many new counts in his kingdom’ (*De novo multos in regno suo comites ordinavit*).¹⁸⁹ Between 1140 and 1150, both continuity and readjustment can be documented in the activities and presence of the southern Italian counts. The *Quaternus magne expeditionis* implies the existence, by 1150, of eleven counts (Avellino, Boiano, Buon Albergo, Carinola, Civitate, Conversano, Fondi, Marsico, Montescaglioso, Principato, and Tricarico). Although the counties of Alife and of Caserta are clearly recorded in the *Quaternus*, there is no evidence of a count of Caserta or a count of Alife before 1162, and I shall later argue that these counties in the Terra di Lavoro were created by William I.

It should be noted that although the *Quaternus* seems to have been compiled by cataloguing lordships under either the duchy of Apulia or the principality of Capua – the two main provinces in which the mainland territories were divided – the lordships that were grouped under these comital titles were in some instances distributed in both provinces. The two most illustrative cases of this are the counts of Boiano and Carinola.

¹⁸⁴ Montfaucon, col. 396.

¹⁸⁵ A Raymond is recorded in the 1112 Calabrian donation as Count Geoffrey’s brother.

¹⁸⁶ See below, on pp. 145 and 201.

¹⁸⁷ See Chronological Chart.

¹⁸⁸ See *Catalogus Baronum*, pp. xv–xxii.

¹⁸⁹ Romuald, p. 235.

The count of Carinola, whose seat was in the Terra di Lavoro, held the significant lordship of Conza in Apulia, and the lordships gathered under the Count Hugh of Boiano were included both in the section for Apulia and Capua, for in these territories both provinces met on the northern borders. Additionally, Count Robert of Buonalbergo, whose comital seat was in the Apulian mountainous region of Irpina (northeast of Benevento), also held Acerra, Margliano and Sessola in southern Capua (between Naples and Avellino), for this recently created count must have held these lands previously as lord of Acerra in the same way his father Geoffrey of Medania did before him.¹⁹⁰

In addition, one should also consider the counts in the separated provinces of Calabria, in the south, and in the ‘jurisdiction’ (*justitia/comestabulia*) of the count of Manopello, the annexed province in central Italy known as the Abruzzo. Two more comital seats appear to have been based in Calabria, the counts of Catanzaro and Squillace, whereas Count Bohemund of Manopello appears to have overseen a handful of local overlords that bore the title of count: Count Robert of Abruzzo (*Aprutium*), Count Theodinus of Sangro, Count Rambot of Loreto, Count Rainulf of Celano, and Count Berard of Alba, amongst other overlords who were not recorded with the comital dignity.¹⁹¹

With regard to the count of Boiano, Hugh II of Molise appears to have presided over a court in 1144 at Trivento, according to a missing document from the archive of Montecassino. The document records a suit drawn up by a brother Machabeus, a monk of Montecassino and provost of the monastery of St Peter de Avellana, against Maynerius of Palena and Matthew of Pettorano, two barons of the count of Boiano, and other tenants under the apparent jurisdiction of Hugh of Molise; the abbey finally obtained the restitution of the church of St Peter de Avellana at the hands of the barons, ‘by *preceptum* and sentence of both the royal court and Count Hugh’ (*ex precepto et iudicio regalis curie et Comitum Ug.*)¹⁹² Interestingly enough, Hugh of Molise is regarded here as both count and justiciar (*comes et justitiarius Ug. de Molisi*); this would be the only known instance

¹⁹⁰ Geoffrey of Medania, Robert’s father, is attested in May 1118 as lord of Acerra and Sessola (*Gaufridus qui vocor de Medania, Suessolanorum et Acerranorum*). *Cod. Dipl. Aversa*, no 117 pp. 25–27.

¹⁹¹ For an overview of the Abruzzese counts during the time of Roger II, see Feller, *Les Abruzzes médiévales*, pp. 765–67, 75–78.

¹⁹² The legal contention concerned the half of the church of St Mark in Agnone, the possession of which Montecassino disputed with Maynerius of Palena and Matthew of Pettorano; Count Hugh of Molise is recorded as having confirmed one half to Maynerius, ordering hence the other half to be restored to the church. The document, edited by Gattola, could not be found in the archive of Montecassino by Jamison in 1906, but C.H. Haskins saw it in May 1909 and July 1910. Haskins considered it an early copy rather than an original, and noted that there were no witnesses listed. Jamison, ‘Norman Administration’, p. 418. See also Charles H. Haskins, ‘England and Sicily in the Twelfth Century’, *The English Historical Review*, 26.103–4 (1911), 433–47, 641–65 (p. 643 n. 113); Gattola, *Accessiones*, I, pp. 246–47.

in which the comital title is used alongside the title of justiciar during Roger II's reign, and though he is not explicitly attested as a 'royal justiciar', the court he presided over was both a king's court as well as the count's.¹⁹³ Count Hugh is additionally attested under King Roger's reign on three more occasions. Three Beneventan charters record him in 1147, 1149, and 1153. First, he appears to have presided, as 'Molisian count' (*comes Molisianus*), over a tribunal in October 1147, at Limosano, that heard and witnessed an agreement between Ugo Marcisius, lord of Lupara and Castelbottaccio, and John, abbot of St Sophia di Benevento, about the tribute that was owed by the men of the church of St Angelo Altissimo di Civitacampomarano.¹⁹⁴ Count Hugh is then recorded in a privilege, dated March 1149, in which he confirms, at Boiano, as 'count of Boiano' (*comes Boianensis*), the *castellum* of Castelvecchio and the *castella* of Toro and S. Giovanni in Galdo to the church of St Sophia in Benevento.¹⁹⁵ Hugh of Molise is also remembered in an agreement signed in Venafro,¹⁹⁶ in July 1153, in which the count, as 'Hugh by grace of God count of Molise' (*Hugo dei gratia de molisio Comes*), confirmed the *castella* of Castelvecchio, Toro, and S. Giovanni in Galdo to John, abbot of St Sophia di Benevento; the confirmation also stipulated the exclusion of a series of listed royal *placiti*.¹⁹⁷ All the places in which the aforementioned documents were written – Limosano, Boiano, Venafro, and the locations mentioned in them as well – are found within what would later be known as the county of Molise, the historical basis of the current region of Molise. One should note that the lands of the region of Molise were situated in an important strategic area, located in the vertex of the northern border between the Duchy of Apulia and the Principality of Capua, connecting thus both the Terra di Lavoro and Adriatic Apulia, and the special justiciarate of the Abruzzo. Hugh of Molise is later attested as count of Molise by Pseudo-Falcandus, c.1160, who records that

¹⁹³ Jamison, 'Norman Administration', p. 334.

¹⁹⁴ Limosano, Lupara, Castelbotta, and Civitacampomarano are towns located W of the River Biferno, in the modern region of Molise. Benevento, *Fondo S. Sofia* vol. 28 no 8, ed. in Jamison, *Molise e Marsia*, no 1 pp. 81–83.

¹⁹⁵ Benevento, *Fondo S. Sofia* vol. 12 no 41, ed. in Jamison, *Molise e Marsia*, no 2 pp. 83–84. The document is a notarised copy of April 1270. This charter must be used with the utmost care, for many of the St Sophia documents are known to be forgeries drafted in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. This piece of evidence nonetheless records the usage of the older title of count of Boiano, rather than that of count of Molise, which would be rather unusual for a document made up in a later age when the county of Molise was well defined and widely known as such.

¹⁹⁶ The town of Venafro is on the western border of the region of Molise, E of San Germano and W of the River Volturno, closer to the Tyrrhenian than to the Adriatic coast – a key location that surely connected the central region to the Terra di Lavoro and the road to Rome. See Map 1.

¹⁹⁷ Benevento, *Fondo S. Sofia* vol. 2 no 4, ed. in Jamison, *Molise e Marsia*, no 3 pp. 85–86. Both Toro and S. Giovanni in Galdo are small towns located E of Campobasso.

‘Matthew [Bonellus] was captivated by the beauty of an illegitimate daughter of King Roger who had been married to Count Hugh of Molise’.¹⁹⁸

It is important to note that in none of the surviving documents concerning Count Hugh of Molise is the comital title clearly and solely referring to the ‘county of Molise’; instead, the term ‘Molise’ appears to have referred originally to the iconic toponym of the family of barons that came from Moulins-la-Marche, in Normandy.¹⁹⁹ Hugh is attested in 1144 as both ‘count and justiciar, Hugh of Molise’ (*comes et justitiarius Ug. de Molisi*).²⁰⁰ Then, in 1147, he is regarded as ‘Molisian count’ (*comes molisianus*), and in 1153, he signs as ‘Hugh, count of Molise’ (*Hugo moilisii Comes*), which could still be referring to the toponymic name of Hugh’s Norman family.²⁰¹ Moreover, in the 1149 privilege, Boiano was still employed in the comital title; the designation ‘*comes Boianensis*’ survived in a late thirteenth century copy, a time in which the county of Molise was a much clearer geographical and political unit.²⁰² It must be noted, however, that the 1149 privilege appears to have been issued in Boiano itself. What seems to be clear is that the dominions of the count of Molise had not been consolidated at this time as a ‘county of Molise’. The head-lines for the county of Molise and the direct reference to count Hugh of Molise are absent in the *Quaternus*, which to all appearances indicates a serious lacuna before the section for the principality of Capua in one of the subsequent copies of the document.²⁰³ Though the composition of a rather large county for Hugh of Molise can be inferred from the content and structure of the *Quaternus*, the existence of a well-defined unit under the name of Molise cannot be confirmed at the time the first drafts of the *Quaternus* were made, c.1150–1167.

The restoration of the county of Hugh II of Molise must have diminished the lordships and lands that Count Robert son of Richard had amassed in the northern Capitanata, east of the River Biferno, under his comital title. It would have been necessary then to grant another lordship whose importance and extension matched that of his former holdings to one of the king’s trusted allies, as Robert son of Richard was. The lordship of Civitate and its tenure in the Capitanata, which bordered the lands east of the Biferno, seem to have been an ideal alternative for Count Robert son of Richard, as this was the original lordship Robert held before 1134. A charter dated January 1152 records Count

¹⁹⁸ *Falcandus*, pp. 102–3.

¹⁹⁹ Ménager, ‘Inventaire’, pp. 330–36; *Le pergamene di S. Cristina di Sepino (1143–1463)*, ed. by Errico Cuozzo and Jean M. Martin (Rome: Ecole française de Rome, 1998), p. 45 n. 55.

²⁰⁰ Gattola, *Accessiones*, I, pp. 246–47.

²⁰¹ Jamison, *Molise e Marsia*, nos 1 pp. 81–83, 3 pp. 85–86.

²⁰² Jamison, *Molise e Marsia*, no 2 pp. 83–84.

²⁰³ Jamison, ‘County of Molise’, pp. 535–36; Jamison, *Molise e Marsia*, pp. 11–13; *Catalogus Baronum*, p. 129 n. a; Jamison, ‘Additional Work on the Catalogus Baronum’, p. 50.

Robert of Civitate, as ‘the son of Robert, late count of Civitate by the grace of God and the king’ (*Robertus filius quondam Roberti comitis dei et regia gratia civitatensium comes*), restoring some land to Umfredus, abbot of *Terra Maggiore* (modern Torremaggiore), and agreeing upon some exemptions and privileges.²⁰⁴ In addition to this, the document records the existence of a previous count of Civitate, who used to lawfully hold the title and the tenure corresponding to it: Count Jonathan. The latter is attested as count of Civitate in an imperial confirmation made by Frederick II in 1225 in favour of the monastery of St Mary of Pulsano. In this charter it is recorded that ‘late Jonathan, count of Civitate by the grace of God and the king’ (*quondam Jonathas Dei et regis gratia Civitatis comes in territorio predictae terre*) donated two plots of land to the monastery.²⁰⁵ Robert son of Richard is furthermore remembered in an early thirteenth century testimony as an ‘old count’ (*vetus comes*) who had given land as a dowry for his daughter.²⁰⁶ This land was in a place that used to host a monastery called *Sanctus Angelus in Vico*, in the vicinity of Lucera and Fiorentino. One should remember that Fiorentino was precisely the same town in the Capitanata which, according to Falco of Benevento, was taken by Robert son of Richard in 1127.

Roger II appears, hence, to have seen a fitting opportunity to manoeuvre his nobles politically towards the consolidation of his rule and the restoration of the peninsular dominions by permuting Civitate and Carinola. The king would have returned Jonathan’s previous dominions to Count Robert son of Richard in order to maintain the social and economic power the latter wielded as lord of the Biferno lands between 1134 and 1137, and since the Capuan principality was finally subjugated after the end of the civil war, Jonathan could finally be restored to his place of origin: Carinola. In this way, after years of war and occasional permutations, the Counts Hugh of Molise, Jonathan of Carinola and Robert son of Richard were finally settled in their respective original lordships.

Jonathan’s restoration was not that simple, however. The duchy of Gaeta was not given back to him, for the king removed this ducal title. The city of Gaeta was,

²⁰⁴ Del Giudice, App. 1, no 11 pp. 27–29.

²⁰⁵ *Historia diplomatica Friderici Secundi*, ed. by Jean L. Huillard-Bréholles and Honoré D’Albert de Luynes, 6 vols (Paris: Plot Fratres, 1855), IV, pp. 479–83, specifically 481. On the abbey in Pulsano and its order of hermits, see Leone Mattei-Ceresoli, *La Congregazione Benedettina Degli Eremiti Pulsanesi: Cenni Storici* (Bagnacavallo: Società Tipografica editrice, 1938).

²⁰⁶ Martin, *Cartulaire de Sculgola*, II, no 187 pp. 333–34. The document, a testimony originally dated July 1210, survives as a copy in the *registro* of St. Mary of Gualdo Mazzocca, a manuscript of the Biblioteca della SNSP. This chartulary contains the charters of St Matthew of Sculgola, which was an obedience of St Mary of Gualdo founded near the lost city of Dragonara in Capitanata, by William Borell c. 1177. Jean M. Martin, ‘Étude sur le Registro d’istrumenti di S. Maria del Galdo suivie d’un catalogue des actes’, *Mélanges de l’École française de Rome. Moyen-Age, Temps modernes*, 92.2 (1980), 441–510 (p. 493). On St Mary of Gualdo, see Fiorangelo Morrone, *Monastero di Sancta Maria de Gualdo Mazzocca: Badia-Baronia di S. Bartolomeo in Galdo* (Naples: Arte Tipografica, 1998), 40–62.

nevertheless, given as a lordship to another one of Roger's allies: Geoffrey of Aquila, later appointed count of Fondi. This Geoffrey was closely tied to the city of Gaeta, for his father Richard I of Aquila had been duke of Gaeta c.1105–7. Richard I of Aquila is attested as 'Richard of Aquila, by the grace of God, duke and consul of Gaeta' (*Riccardus de aquila dei gratia consul et dux Kaietanus*) in an 1105 (?) charter; in that same year, he donated property, as 'duke of the Gaetans and count of the Sessans [of Sessa Aurunca]' (*Riccardus dux gaietanorum et comes suessanorum*), by charter dated September 1105.²⁰⁷ Dating clauses in subsequent Gaetan documents reveal Richard of Aquila in the fourth and fifth years of his dukedom in 1108 and 1109; he also held a court in Gaeta in 1109.²⁰⁸ Richard I of Aquila appears to have lost the duchy; for from 1113 onwards the surviving charters from Gaeta do not attest his dukedom.²⁰⁹ It should be noted that Richard of Carinola held the city of Gaeta c. 1121–1134. In the middle of the turmoil that followed Roger's coronation, Geoffrey of Aquila signed in May 1132 a peace treaty with the people of Gaeta, by which he restored to them the lands and possessions that they held 'during the time of Lord Richard of Aquila, my father' (*tempore domini Richardi de aquila genitoris mei*).²¹⁰ Additionally, Geoffrey declared in this document that 'Richard of Aquila, my brother, took part in this concession' (*huic concessioni, interfuit, Richardus frater meus*), which confirms the familial relation to Richard II of Aquila, who would later be count of Avellino. Furthermore, as soon as Richard of Carinola was no longer attested in Gaetan dating clauses as duke, Geoffrey of Aquila is instead already acknowledged as 'our lord' (*domini nostri*) by June 1135, and later in August 1136.²¹¹ Geoffrey of Aquila is not attested in the Gaetan charters until after the king restored and consolidated his rule c. 1138 against the rebels and the Pisan invaders, for Roger is finally recorded in Gaeta's dating clauses in 1138 and c. 1140.²¹² It appears, hence, that the ducal title was no longer employed, and the lordship over the city was held directly by Roger II after 1140; the counts of Fondi would exercise their influence in Gaeta as lords of *feuda* within the city, but no longer as their lords.

²⁰⁷ *Cod. Dipl. Cajetanus*, II, nos 280–81 pp. 174–78. Richard I of Aquila was documented since 1071; he received from the abbot of Montecassino the conditional lordship over Suio in 1089, and the *castellum* of Pico in 1091. Ménager, 'Inventaire', pp. 320–21. Richard's toponym 'of Aquila' indicates that he was a member of a Norman family originally from L'Aigle (a commune in the Orne department in Basse-Normandie). Kathleen Thompson, 'The Lords of Laigle: Ambition and Insecurity on the Borders of Normandy', in *Anglo-Norman Studies*, XVIII: *Proceedings of the Battle Conference 1995*, ed. by Christopher Harper-Bill (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer., 1996), pp. 177–99 (pp. 178–79).

²⁰⁸ *Cod. Dipl. Cajetanus*, II, nos 283–4 pp. 180–84.

²⁰⁹ *Cod. Dipl. Cajetanus*, II, nos 284–95 pp. 185–207. Cf. Skinner, *Family Power in Southern Italy*, pp. 158–59.

²¹⁰ *Cod. Dipl. Cajetanus*, II, no 323 pp. 250–51, at 251.

²¹¹ *Cod. Dipl. Cajetanus*, II, nos 329–30 pp. 262–64.

²¹² *Cod. Dipl. Cajetanus*, II, nos 332 pp. 265–66, 334 pp. 268–69.

In order to compensate Jonathan of Carinola for the loss of Gaeta, Roger must have granted a small but strategic lordship to him: Conza. The transfer of Conza opened up another problematic but rich episode in the transformation of the Italo-Norman nobility, which calls for attention to another notable document, retrieved from the Boncompagni-Ludovisi collection. The document, an original charter dated January 1124, followed an unfavourable decision made by Duke William of Apulia in the dispute brought up by Ursus, Abbot of St Mary in Elce, for the territory of Luzzano, held by William of Bisaccia.²¹³ The document records how Lord William accepted 40 Salernitan *solidi* from Abbot Ursone, and hence renounced to the possession of the disputed territory, according to the boundaries specified in the presented ancient privileges granted to St Mary in Elce by the prince of Salerno.²¹⁴ The said charter has the following dating clause: in the time of lord Count Geoffrey, in whose county the church is located; in the month of January, second indiction.²¹⁵ Although the allusion here to a *comitatum* as a territorial reference is rather suspicious, both Volpini and Cuzzo agree this is a reliable document that attests the authority Count Geoffrey of Catanzaro exercised outside of Calabria, in the Apulian Apennines.²¹⁶ The disputed lands in the charter (*territorium de Luzzano cum suis finibus et pertinentiis sicut in veteri privilegio Salernitani principis continentur*) provide a meaningful insight to what could have been the lordship of Conza as held by the Loritello branch.²¹⁷ The quoted clause also suggests that Count Geoffrey was the overlord of the lord of Bisaccia and Luzano. Furthermore, the charter was drafted by Dauferius, who was directly connected to the comital family of Catanzaro, as he described himself as ‘the notary of countess lady Bertha of Loritello’ (*N(otariu)s domine Berte Loretellensis comitisse*).²¹⁸

²¹³ The town of Bisaccia is W of Melfi, and less than 20 km N of Conza. Not to be confused with the *Bisaccia* that William of Scalfo used to hold from the count of Loritello c.1150–1167, which, according to Jamison, corresponds to Montenero di Bisaccia, in northern Adriatic Apulia. *Catalogus Baronum*, ¶ 362 pp. 62–63.

²¹⁴ Raffaello Volpini, ‘Diplomi sconosciuti dei principi longobardi di Salerno e dei re normanni di Sicilia’, in *Contributi dell’Istituto di Storia medioevale*, 10 (Milan: Vita e Pensiero, 1968), pp. 481–544, App. 1, pp. 532–39. It is important to note that the original alleged princely privileges survive in two witnesses; as a fabrication in form of original, granted by princes Guaimar IV and Guaimar V in 871 (*sic*), and as an original inserted in a 1403 renovation, granted by the same Lombard princes, but in August 1020. These have been edited and discussed as well in Volpini, ‘Diplomi sconosciuti’, pp. 491–94, 499–506. Additionally, Volpini’s edition includes two land delimitation charters, one donation, and a confirmation given by Gisulf II of the original ordinance. The church of St Mary in Elce, of which there are just some shabby ruins left today, takes its name from the plants of holm oak (*Elce* in Italian), and was located in the region of Irpina, in the vicinity of Conza.

²¹⁵ ‘*Sub tempore domini loffridi comitis, in cuius comitatu heccllesia sita est, m(ense) ianuario, secunda ind(ictione)*’. Volpini, ‘Diplomi sconosciuti’, p. 536.

²¹⁶ Volpini, ‘Diplomi sconosciuti’, pp. 532–35; Cuzzo, ‘I conti normanni di Catanzaro’, pp. 113–14.

²¹⁷ Volpini, ‘Diplomi sconosciuti’, p. 537.

²¹⁸ Volpini, ‘Diplomi sconosciuti’, p. 538.

William of Bisaccia appears to have nevertheless been the same lord who was recorded without an apparent overlord (i.e. not holding it *in servitio* of any lord), holding a *feudum* of three *milites*, and whose military services were placed under the command of the *comestabulus* Gilbert of Balvano.²¹⁹ Although the exact location of Luzano is unclear, one can safely assume it was in the vicinity of Conza, as recorded in the charter: ‘[next] to the boundaries of the land previously referred to as Luzano, out of the part of the land of Bisaccia’.²²⁰ This small lordship seems to have stayed on the margin of the lordships of both Count Jonathan of Carinola and Philip of Balvano, who would be made count c. 1167, and even though it is not clear why it was disconnected from the lordship of Conza, it might reflect the lack of a clear geographical definition of the so-called counties of Conza and Sant’Angelo dei Lombardi. Cuozzo has argued that the county that has been traditionally labelled as the ‘county of Balvano’, as found in Jamison’s edition of the *Catalogus Baronum*,²²¹ must be called instead county of Sant’Angelo dei Lombardi, for the title ‘count of Balvano’ (*comes de Balvano*) was in fact a toponymic name that referred to the original lordship that the count’s family held before they received the comital title.²²²

Conza and Bisaccia were not the only remnants left in Apulia from the branch of Rao of Loritello, of the Hauteville kin-group. His younger son Raymond might have inherited some lands closer to the toponymic nucleus of his lineage: Loritello. Whereas the older brother, Geoffrey, held the Calabrian comital lordship, Raymond appears to have held *Mons Odorisius* and *Mons Ylaris*, in the dioceses of Bovino; an 1118 document records that Raymond, son of Rao of Loritello, offered a house to the church of St Ephrem in ‘the fields’ (*campus*) of Deliceto, and handed it over to abbot Bernard of St Sophia in Benevento, while the former was in the *castello* of *Mons Ylaris*.²²³ Additionally, another charter from Sofia of Benevento recorded Raymond’s wife Segelgarda, as the ‘countess of Deliceto’ (*domina Sikelgarda deliceti comitissa*), in a September 1158 donation made to the same church of St Ephrem.²²⁴ Although Deliceto clearly was not the major residence of any known count, at least during the twelfth century, it seems that the title here was just referring to the dignity of Count Raymond’s wife, and to the fact that these lands used to be held by the Catanzaro branch of the Loritello family. All of these places,

²¹⁹ *Catalogus Baronum*, ¶ 706 p. 125.

²²⁰ ‘*Fines autem supra dicti Luczani ex parte Bisaziensis terre*’. Volpini, ‘Diplomi sconosciuti’, p. 537.

²²¹ *Catalogus Baronum*, ¶ 702 p. 124.

²²² Cuozzo, ‘Balvano’, p. 73.

²²³ Charter dated June 1118, whose original version survives in cod. *Vat. Lat.* 4939, f. 207v-208v. *Chron. S. Sophiae*, pp. 769–72.

²²⁴ Jamison, ‘Note e documenti per la storia dei Conti Normanni di Catanzaro’, p. 458; Cuozzo, ‘I conti normanni di Catanzaro’, pp. 114–15.

which belong to the dioceses of Bovino, are located in a region that stands in the middle of the way between Conza and Civitate. Unsurprisingly, *Mons Odorisius*, *Mons Ylaris*, and Deliceto (*Licetum*), are all places found in the *Quaternus magne expeditionis* as *feuda* of both the count of Civitate and Count Jonathan.²²⁵ This could either mean that these places were shared as *feuda* in equal proportions by the two counts, or, more likely, that these two records might actually manifest two different snapshots in time: before and after a change that could have occurred between 1150 and 1167. In any case, this situation does indicate how liquid the delimitations of the counts' dominions were, and how closely the counties of Civitate and Carinola were weaved together. However, what is much clearer is to whom Conza belonged, for it is recorded in the *Quaternus* as a *feuda* held *in demanio* solely by Count Jonathan c.1150.²²⁶ It seems hence that Geoffrey of Catanzaro originally held Conza, not as a county but simply as a lordship. Conza was then left vacant after Geoffrey's death between 1143 and 1145, and later given to the count of Carinola as a sort of compensation for the earlier permutations.²²⁷

Consequently, under Count Jonathan, the county of Carinola was enhanced with the lordship of Conza, a city that would play a crucial role in bringing together the count of Carinola's tenure in Apulia, and in the development of what would be known in subsequent centuries as the county of Conza. To sum up, I argue that Hugh II of Molise was either reinstated or confirmed as count of Boiano at some point between 1139 and 1144; Count Jonathan was restored to his ancestral county of Carinola c. 1140, allowing thus Count Robert son of Richard to receive the county of Civitate back; and, in order to compensate Jonathan for the abolished ducal title of Gaeta, he then received the lordship of Conza after 1144.

In Conversano, Robert of Bassunvilla appears to be already dead by 1142, as a vineyard was granted in 1142 to the monastery of 'the hermits of Driene' (μονή τῶν ἐραιήτων δριένης) by Adelia, who is attested as 'daughter of the most blessed [late] Count Robert of Bassunvilla' (ἀδελφία ἡ τοῦ μακαριωτάτου κόμητος ροπέριου βασαβύλλια θυγάτηρ).²²⁸ His son Robert II of Bassunvilla seems to have succeeded his

²²⁵ Count Philip of Civitate held *in demanium Mons Orisius (Odorisius)*, *feudum 3 militum*, *Mons Ylaris*, *feudum 3 militum*, and *Licetum*, *feudum 3 militum*. *Catalogus Baronum*, ¶ 390 p. 69. On the other hand, the same *feuda* are recorded under Count Jonathan of Carinola, who also held *in demanio* the Apulian *feuda* of *Mons Odorisius*, *Montellarem (Mons Ylaris)*, *Licetum*. *Catalogus Baronum*, ¶ 694 pp. 122–23.

²²⁶ Jamison, *Catalogus Baronum*, ¶ 694 p. 122.

²²⁷ As can be inferred from his presence at a royal *curia* at Capua in 1143 and a donation made by his mother Countess Bertha of Loritello to the church of St Mary *Requisita*, in Calabria, for the salvation of the souls of her son Count Geoffrey, of Geoffrey's brothers, of C[lementia], Geoffrey's sister, and Count *Radulf (Rao)*, the father of all the above mentioned. *Roger II Diplomata*, no 59 pp. 166–70, at 169; Pratesi, *Carte dall'archivio Aldobrandini*, no 14 pp. 41–42.

²²⁸ Trinchera, no 133 pp. 175–76.

father soon enough, for he subscribed in November 1143 two royal charters in Capua and in Salerno, as ‘count of Conversano’ (*comes Cupersani*). The Capuan charter recorded an assembled *curia*, presided by the king, which heard a suit between Bishop John of Aversa and the abbot of St Lawrence in Aversa.²²⁹ However, it should be noted that the second royal charter issued in Salerno, by which the king assured St Mary a Capella in Naples of his protection – the only known royal charter of Roger II issued to a Neapolitan recipient – has been identified as a forgery by its editor, Brühl.²³⁰ Its escathocol appears to have been copied from the Capuan charter; the dating clause was replicated almost verbatim, with the obvious exception of Capua having been substituted for Salerno, and the list of witnesses included in its *subscription* is almost the same, albeit with some omissions such as Count Geoffrey of Catanzaro and Count Richard of Avellino. It thus appears that the charter reportedly issued in Salerno was a fabrication. In any case, the existence of the first charter evidences the subscribers’ presence in the royal *curia* held at Capua in the autumn of 1143.

Robert II of Bassunvilla was recorded in 1146, in what are now two lost donations, as having granted to the abbey of Venosa the churches of St Nicholas of Terlizzi and St Mary, as count of Conversano and lord of Molfetta.²³¹ Additionally, a March 1148 charter records a confirmation of a grant made to the monastery of Cava by Robert of Bassunvilla, ‘by the grace of God and the king, count of Conversano’ (*gratia dei et predicti domini regis Cupersani comes*) and lord of Melfi (*civitatis mee Melficte*).²³² Robert II of Bassunvilla is subsequently attested in an 1153 reference as having donated, as count of Conversano, the church of St Nicholas of Terlizzi to the abbey of Venosa.²³³ In March of the following year, the same Robert appears to have granted the goods of Stephen the notary to the abbey of Venosa as well, this time recorded also as lord of Molfetta.²³⁴ Robert II of Bassunvilla seems thus to have been active as a prominent lord in Adriatic Apulia, around the *Terra Barese*. Similarly, just as the ‘sons of Amicus’ did from the

²²⁹ Brühl, *Roger II Diplomata*, no 59 pp. 166–70.

²³⁰ *Roger II Diplomata*, nos 59–60 pp. 166–72.

²³¹ Houben, *Die Abtei Venosa*, nos 121–22 pp. 355–57. Houben has presented here the surviving summary that can be found in Prignano, ‘Historia’, fol. 96v. Cf. Giuseppe Crudo, *La SS. Trinità di Venosa: memorie storiche, diplomatiche, archeologiche* (Trani: V. Vecchi, 1899), pp. 243–44. See also Armando Petrucci, ‘Note di diplomatica normanna. I. I documenti di Roberto di “Bansuvilla”, Il conte di Conversano e III conte di Loretello’, *Bullettino dell’Istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo ed Archivio Muratoriano*, 71 (1959), 113–40, nos 1–2 p. 115; Ménager, ‘Les fondations monastiques’, nos 36–37 p. 109.

²³² *Carte di Molfetta*, no 16 pp. 30–31. The original document can be found in Cava, *Arm. Mag.* H.4.

²³³ Houben, *Die Abtei Venosa*, no 130 p. 365. See also Crudo, pp. 244–45; Petrucci, ‘I documenti di Bansuvilla’, no 4 pp. 115–16.

²³⁴ Houben, *Die Abtei Venosa*, no 131 pp. 365–67. The original extract of the now lost document is found in Prignano, ‘Historia’, fol. 96v–97r. Cf. Crudo, pp. 243–44. See Petrucci, ‘I documenti di Bansuvilla’, no 5 p. 116; Ménager, ‘Les fondations monastiques’, no 40 pp. 111–12.

conquest until the civil war, Robert of Bassunvilla exercised his lordship over Conversano and the maritime city of Molfetta, but not over Andria and Lesina. It appears that the dominions that belonged to the new count of Conversano were less extensive than the lands the original counts of Conversano and ‘the sons of Amicus’ had held before the creation of the kingdom.

The old Lombard comital dignity for Avellino was used to create a new county from the former territories of the count of Sarno, and given to the Norman family of Aquila at some point before 1143. Richard II of Aquila, the son of the old duke of Gaeta, Richard I of Aquila,²³⁵ is recorded as count of Avellino (*comes Avellini*) in the list of subscribers of the aforementioned royal charter issued at Capua in November 1143.²³⁶ The count of Avellino is subsequently attested in a series of transactions in the following years. An August 1144 charter from Cava reveals that Richard of Aquila, ‘count, by the grace of God’ (*Riccardus de Aquila dei gratia comes*), was involved in a suit against Alexios son of John, involving the house the latter had built on the outskirts of Avellino, next to the public road named ‘Salernitana’. Romanus, the count’s *stratigotus* (and, hence, Avellino’s *stratigotus*) was recorded as having instructed the defendant.²³⁷ In December 1149, Richard of Aquila, ‘count of Avellino, by the grace of God’ (*Richardus de Aquila divina gratia comes de Avellino*), donated the *feudum*, houses, villains, churches, and other holdings that used to belong to Jordan *Pinczast* in Pontecorvo to Montecassino.²³⁸ This donation, although given under the title of count of Avellino, concerned land far from the town of Avellino; Pontecorvo was located on the western fringe of the principality of Capua, within the *Terrae Sancti Benedicti*, which was conceded to Montecassino in 1105.²³⁹ It should be remembered that Richard I of Aquila was originally established as baron in western Capua, even becoming duke of Gaeta between 1121 and 1129. A specific *feudum* held by Richard I of Aquila in the vicinity can be traced; the 1105 donation of Pontecorvo to Montecassino established that the *castellum* outside the town and *feudum* of Richard of Aquila were excluded.²⁴⁰ Subsequently, Richard of Aquila signed a written oath to Oddo, abbot of Montecassino, by which he committed to not

²³⁵ Richard II of Aquila is recorded as brother of Geoffrey of Aquila, count of Fondi, and consequently as son of Richard I of Aquila. *Cod. Dipl. Cajetanus*, II, no 323 pp. 250–51.

²³⁶ Brühl, *Roger II Diplomata*, no 59 pp. 166–70.

²³⁷ Cava, *Arca* xxv.106. Cf. Scandone, II, no 142 pp. 148–49.

²³⁸ Scandone, II, no 155 pp. 153–54. Cf. Gattola, *Accessiones*, I, pp. 256–57.

²³⁹ Prince Richard II of Capua granted and confirmed the town (*oppidum*) of Pontecorvo to Abbot Oderisius and Montecassino after having recovered it from the widow of the rebel *Gualguanus*, duke of Gaeta and lord of Pontecorvo (1092–1103). Martin and others, *Registrum Petri Diaconi*, III, no 511 pp. 1399–401. See also Martin et al., *Registrum Petri Diaconi*, vol. 3, no 630 pp. 1687–88.

²⁴⁰ ‘[E]xceptis castellis de foris cum pertinentiis illorum et feudum predicti Richardi de Aquila’. Martin and others, *Registrum Petri Diaconi*, III, no 511 pp. 1399–401, especially p. 1400.

harm the abbey, and to help him recover Pontecorvo.²⁴¹ An earlier donation charter recorded that back in April 1091 Richard of Aquila, ‘count’ of the *castellum* of Pico (*Richardus gratia Dei comes de castello Pica, qui vocor de Aquila*), offered four monasteries to Montecassino.²⁴² The *castellum* of Pico must have been the same *castellum* recorded in the 1105 donation, for Pico is located just 10 kilometres to the west of Pontecorvo, and the 1091 donation was drafted by the notary of Pontecorvo, priest John. It appears, therefore, that the county of Avellino had a second, smaller *focus* in Capua because of the inherited lordship that Richard II of Aquila received from his father.

Back in his Apulian dominions, Count Richard of Aquila was recorded in 1152 exchanging some lands near Avellino and a house in the same town. First, Richard of Aquila, ‘count of Avellino, by the grace of God’ (*Riccardus de Aquila Dei gratia comes Avellini*) exchanged in April three plots of land with a vineyard in *Allibergum* for another three plots of land with a forest (*arbustum*) and *iscla* in the vicinity of the *castellum* of Avellino, and a mill in the same *castellum*, on the River Cupo.²⁴³ It should also be noted that the official who was in charge of conducting this transaction was the same *stratigotus Romanus* mentioned in the 1144 charter from Cava. Then, in May, the aforementioned *stratigotus Romanus* received ‘on behalf of their lord, the count’ (*pro parte domini nostri comitis*) a plot of land with an orchard located next to the River Cupo, the same river on which said *castellum* was located, in exchange for a house in the town of Avellino, near the church of St Lawrence.²⁴⁴ Richard II of Aquila is the same baron attested in the *Quaternus* as former count of Avellino.²⁴⁵ His county (*comitatus*) appears to have passed onto his son Roger of Aquila after he died in September 1152.²⁴⁶ Because the 1152 transactions were all conducted by the *stratigotus Romanus*, and Count Richard was neither present nor conducted the exchanges personally, it could be assumed that the count of Avellino was already ill by then, close to death. Furthermore, these exchanges also suggest that the count of Avellino had a plan to concentrate tenure in his own comital *caput*, as he was clearly consolidating his hold on the *castellum* of Avellino and the lands around it, which in both 1152 documents is clearly distinguished from the *civitas* of Avellino.

²⁴¹ Martin and others, *Registrum Petri Diaconi*, III, no 631 pp. 1688–89.

²⁴² Martin and others, *Registrum Petri Diaconi*, III, no 544 pp. 1497–98.

²⁴³ *Cod. Dipl. Verginiano*, IV, no 306 pp. 24–26.

²⁴⁴ *Cod. Dipl. Verginiano*, IV, no 307 pp. 28–30.

²⁴⁵ *Necrologio di S. Matteo*, p. 142.

²⁴⁶ *Catalogus Baronum*, ¶ 392, p. 70. This would confirm that c. 1150 Richard II of Aquila was recorded in the first royal *quaterniones* as the original count of Avellino.

The counts of Montescaglioso appear to have disappeared after Roger II took control of the town in 1124; as was described above, the descendants of the last attested count of Montescaglioso did not bear the comital title and their lordships were not connected to Montescaglioso. However, Geoffrey of Lecce, son of Accardus, is recorded as count of Montescaglioso c. 1150.²⁴⁷ This count of Montescaglioso descended from the lords of Lecce, and not from the original Norman lords that arrived during the conquest and used to hold Montescaglioso.²⁴⁸ Additionally, Geoffrey of Lecce must have become count of Montescaglioso only after 1152, for, in May 1152, his daughter Alberada, *domina* of Lucera, refers to him solely as *Goffridus Licie*, without any mention of his comital honour or his link to Montescaglioso.²⁴⁹ In any case, a Sicilian marble inscription that dates from 14 June 1153 records that ‘Geoffrey of Lecce, the most serene count of Montescaglioso’ (*Gosfridus Licii serenissimus comes Montis Caveosi*) consecrated the church of the Holy Spirit in Caltanissetta.²⁵⁰ It can be argued then that the count of Montescaglioso had two peninsular foci by 1153: the lordship of Lecce that Geoffrey inherited from his family, and Montescaglioso, which was granted by the king when the lord of Lecce was created count in southern Apulia. Before 1150, Geoffrey had certainly taken the lordship of Lecce and Ostuni, as an 1148 inscription in the castle of Ostuni (now preserved in the atrium of the bishop’s palace) reads as follows:

† REGIS HONOR VERI TIBI SIT REX MAGNE ROGERI
 TEMPORIBUS CUIUS FABRICE LABOR EXTITIT HUIUS
 QUAM SIC GOSFRIDUS LICII STATUIT SIBI FIDUS
 ANNO MILLENO CENTUMQ(UE) QUATER DUODENO²⁵¹

It should be noted that the dominions of Montescaglioso are located in the valleys of the Basento, the Sinni, and the Agri, all of which flow into the northern part of the gulf of Taranto (the south of the instep of the Italian ‘boot’), whereas Lecce and Ostuni are located in the Salento peninsula (the heel of the ‘boot’). The count of Montescaglioso was

²⁴⁷ *Catalogus Baronum*, ¶ 155, p. 28. On the county of Montescaglioso and its origins, see Cuozzo, ‘Montescaglioso’, pp. 7–24.

²⁴⁸ I.e. the descendants of Umfridus and Beatrix, such as Rudolph Machabeus, husband of Emma, Count Roger I’s daughter.

²⁴⁹ ‘*Ego d(omi)na alb(erad)a goffridi licie filia divina favente clem(en)tia Luc(erie) civit(at)is do(omi)na*’. Cava *Arm. Mag.* H.11. An apparent contemporary copy and a later transcription of this transaction survive in H.12 and P.13 [a. 1365]. See also Cuozzo, *Commentario*, p. 194; Cuozzo, ‘Montescaglioso’, p. 30.

²⁵⁰ Garufi, ‘I conti di Montescaglioso’, pp. 326–28. Cf. Antonucci, p. 457; Cosimo D. Poso, *Il Salento Normanno. Territorio, istituzioni, società* (Galatina: Congedo, 1988), p. 57.

²⁵¹ Antonucci, pp. 455–56; Poso, p. 67 n. 161.

hence an overlord in a pivotal territory that extended from the lands of the newly created count of Marsico, in the southern Cilento, to the easternmost boundary of the kingdom. Additionally, and most likely due to the fact that his sister was the mistress of Duke Roger III of Apulia, Roger II's first-born and apparent heir to the throne until his death in 1148, Count Geoffrey's tenure was not limited to southern Apulia, as he was also later regarded by Pseudo-Falcandus as the lord of various towns in Sicily, including Caltanissetta, Noto and Selàfani.²⁵² It is not certain when Geoffrey of Lecce became a lord of Sicilian lands, but a *terminus a quo* is provided by the marble inscription in Caltanissetta: 1153.

In the Principato, Countess Adelaide was almost certainly the widow of the late Count Nicolas of Principato, and was presumably in control of the administration of the lordship until her last documented appearance in 1146. Nicolas' brother, William of Principato, may have been for whatever reason out of the picture at the time, to then suddenly reappear, first as a donor to the monastery of the Most Holy Trinity of Venosa in 1150, and then in a Palermitan prison in 1161. William of Principato is recorded in the March 1141 confirmation (*preceptum*) of land previously granted by his brother Nicholas to the archbishop of Salerno, in which William is referred to as 'heir and former son, in the same way, of the count [...] brother of mine [Nicolas'] (*similiter comitis heres et quondam filius [...] germano mio*).²⁵³ This charter, identified by its editor and C. Carlone as a fabrication in the form of an original, has been discussed previously. As was pointed out before, the recorded transaction appears to be based on an original document.²⁵⁴ William of Principato is subsequently recorded as a donor to the abbey of Venosa in 1150.²⁵⁵ Afterwards, he is attested by Romuald Guarna in a prison in Palermo in 1161.²⁵⁶ In the former reference, William of Principato appears to have donated, as count, a house in *Esculi* (nowadays Ascoli Satriano) to Abbot Peter II of the Most Holy Trinity of Venosa. This reference, nonetheless, survives only in an abstract prepared by Prignano. Although the source's nature is rather problematic, it does shed some additional light on the already puzzling question of Principato in the 1150s. The hypothesis of this William of Principato being Nicholas's youngest brother is also supported and shared by Drell,

²⁵² *Falcandus*, pp. 70–73.

²⁵³ *Pergamene di Salerno*, no 102 pp. 195–99.

²⁵⁴ On the study of its condition as a forgery, see Carlone, *Rocchetta S. Antonio*, p. 74. Cuozzo has already identified most of the individuals attested in this charter, who were local officials and barons allegedly established as members of the *entourage* of Count Nicholas. Cuozzo, 'Milites e testes', pp. 140–48.

²⁵⁵ Houben, *Die Abtei Venosa*, no 128 pp. 361–62.

²⁵⁶ *Romuald*, p. 246.

who points out that William may have served in his brother's comital court in some capacity.²⁵⁷

New counts were also created from other, lesser lords: Geoffrey, count of Tricarico, is recorded in 1139 and 1143; and Sylvester, count of Marsico by 1150. Geoffrey of Tricarico subscribed the two aforementioned November 1143 royal charters as 'count of Tricarico' (*comes Tricarici*).²⁵⁸ As was explained previously, it should be noted that the royal charter issued in Salerno has been identified as a forgery. Again, the existence of the first charter suggests the presence of a count of Tricarico named Geoffrey in a royal *curia* held at Capua in 1143. Furthermore, Count Geoffrey of Tricarico was recorded earlier in June 1139 as confirming under oath a concession granted by Duke Roger III of Apulia in favour of the archbishop and citizens of Trani, by which their urban customs were recognised; apparently confirming the *preceptum et convenciones* his father Roger II had bestowed before.²⁵⁹ This interesting document is one of just three known surviving documents issued by Roger II's first-born, and stands as one of the earliest pieces of evidence not only for the count of Tricarico, but also for young Duke Roger's role in the aftermath of the rebellion. This agreement with the city of Trani was made just after Apulia was secured again by the monarch, and before Duke Roger defeated the papal forces at Mignano; a victory that led to the treaty by which Innocent II finally 'authorised' the creation of the Kingdom of Sicily, inclusive of the duchy of Apulia and the principality of Capua.²⁶⁰ It appears thus that the first count of Tricarico was not only a royalist, as would be expected of a position created by Roger II himself, but also a baron close to both the royal court and the young Duke Roger.

The county of Tricarico was given to a Roger who appears to have granted, as count of Tricarico, a *feudum* to a Thomas Sarracenus within his own county, in 1154.²⁶¹ According to the *Quaternus magne expeditionis*, c. 1150, the lordships that Count Roger of Tricarico held *in demanio* were Tricarico (the *caput* of his dominions), Albano di

²⁵⁷ Drell, p. 114. The piece of evidence that Drell employs is a March 1135 charter, Cava's *Armaria Magna*, G.16, ed. in Carmine Carlone, *Falsificazioni e falsari cavensi e verginiani del secolo XIII* (Altavilla Silentina: Edizioni studi storici meridionali, 1984), no 3 pp. 72–74. *Arm. Mag.* N.15 (1262) is a notarial copy of this charter. C. Carlone considered the document to be an extrapolation in the form of an original, though not an entirely made-up forgery.

²⁵⁸ *Roger II Diplomata*, nos 59 pp. 166–69, 60 pp. 170–72.

²⁵⁹ *Roger II Diplomata*, Documenta Ducis Rogerii, filii Rogerii II Regis, no 1 pp. 237–38. Also, see Arcangelo di Gioacchino Prologo, *Le carte che si conservano nella archivio del capitolo metropolitano della città di Trani: dal IX secolo fino all'Anno 1266* (Barletta: V. Vecchi, 1877), no 37.

²⁶⁰ *Das Papsttum und die süditalienischen Normannenstaaten. 1053–1212*, ed. by Jozsef Deér, *Historische Texte: Mittelalter*, 12 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck u. Ruprecht, 1969), no 20.4 pp. 74–75.

²⁶¹ *Annali Critico-Diplomatici del Regno di Napoli della Mezzana Età*, ed. by Alessandro Di Meo, 12 vols (Naples: Stamperia Simoniana, 1805), x, p. 206 n. 22. Di Meo uses as a source Costantino Gatta, *Memorie topografico-storiche della provincia di Lucania compresa al presente* (Naples: Presso Gennaro Muzio, 1732), p. 2. See also Cuzzo, *Commentario*, p. 32.

Lucania, Pietragalla, Tolve, and *Sanctum Julianum*, and a *feudum* within the city of Andria.²⁶² It is unclear whether the *feudum* in Andria was already part of his family heritage, or if it was given to Roger of Tricarico at a later stage, perhaps after the death of the count of Andria in 1155. However, the rest of the places recorded in the *Quaternus* suggest that the count of Tricarico's dominions were located between the northern valleys of the Basento and Bradano rivers, in the modern province of Potenza. This area would have been the nucleus of the county of Tricarico.

The extension of Count Roger's dominions before 1150 is uncertain, as it is difficult to determine if all the entries in the *Quaternus* between paragraphs 108 and 134 were held *in servitio* from the count of Tricarico, or were independent lordships overseen militarily by Roger of Tricarico as royal *comestabulus*.²⁶³ The current version of the *Quaternus* does not allow us to identify the original (c. 1150) delimitation of Tricarico. These changes are illustrated and discussed in the following chapters. Moreover, there is a great deal of confusion surrounding the origins of this Count Roger of Tricarico, as the evidence for the count of Tricarico is extremely scarce. The 1154 evidence is rather obscure, as it only survives in the eighteenth-century memory composed by Gatta, and the *Quaternus* does not provide any kinship relation for Count Roger. There is a considerable documentary silence up until 1181, and only the chronicle of Romuald of Salerno and Pseudo-Falcandus refer to the count of Tricarico in the meantime. Romuald's chronicle placed Count Roger of Tricarico amongst the conspirators in 1159; again, no kinship is attested here either.²⁶⁴ Interestingly enough, Pseudo-Falcandus omits the count of Tricarico entirely when providing his own list of rebel counts for the same conspiracy; Pseudo-Falcandus also omitted the Abruzzesi counts of Manopello and Sangro when he named the 1159 conspirators.²⁶⁵ Pseudo-Falcandus, however, did record the activities in which Count Roger of Tricarico was involved nine years after, in 1168, and on this occasion, he clearly was identified as the son of Robert of Lauro, count of Caserta and a member of the S. Severino kin-group.²⁶⁶ However, is this Roger, son of Robert of Lauro, the same count of Tricarico recorded earlier? In order to answer this question, one should first look at the S. Severino ancestry of Robert of Lauro.

²⁶² *Catalogus Baronum*, ¶ 100 pp. 18–19.

²⁶³ On the *comestabulia* of Tricarico, see below, on page 266.

²⁶⁴ 'Ionnthas comes Consie, et Gilbertus comes Gravine, et Boamundus comes Monopelli, et Rogerius comes Acerre, et Philippus comes de Sangro, et Rogerius comes Tricarici, et multi barones'. Romuald, p. 244.

²⁶⁵ Falcandus, pp. 98–99.

²⁶⁶ Falcandus, pp. 260–61.

The S. Severino kin-group also held extensive lands in the former principality of Salerno, both in the north (around Lauro, Montoro and S. Severino) and the south (around Rocca Cilento, in western Cilento), as is revealed by their numerous donations to the abbey of Cava.²⁶⁷ A donation made in April 1105 by the late patriarch of the family, Roger of S. Severino, to the monastery of St Lawrence di Aversa, records in its witness list three of Roger's sons: Robert, Trugisius, and Roger.²⁶⁸ Roger of S. Severino must have died before 1125 as a major benefactor of Cava, as his son Henry is already recorded in 1125 as lord of S. Severino.²⁶⁹ However, the family had several small branches, and it appears that Roger of S. Severino's estate was fragmented amongst his children both before and after his succession. Lauro was given to Roger's son Robert before his father died; in 1119, Robert made a donation to St Angelo in Formis as 'Robert son of Roger of S. Severino, lord and resident of the *castellum* called Lauro' (*Robbertus filius cuiusdam Roggerii qui de Sancto Severino, qui sum domnus et habitator castelli qui dicitur Laure*).²⁷⁰ Portanova suggested that the Robert of Lauro who became the count of Caserta was actually Roger of San Severino's grandson, not Roger's son Robert.²⁷¹ I agree with him; documents from St Angelo in Formis reveal that Robert II of Lauro was a minor, and that his lordship was administered by Robert Capumaza before 1141.²⁷²

However, there is no concrete evidence to support the hypothesis that the Count Roger of Tricarico recorded in 1154 and 1159 was a member of the S. Severino family. On the contrary, it seems practically impossible for the son of a baron who was underage before 1141 and whose lordships were then limited to the *castrum* of Lauro to have been created count by Roger II in the 1150s. For a count that remained active until the 1190s, Roger son of Robert of Lauro must have been an infant when the first Count Roger of Tricarico was attested in 1154. One should not be surprised that two unrelated counts of

²⁶⁷ On the origins and activities of the early San Severino family, see Gregorio Portanova, 'I Sanseverino dalle origini al 1125', *Benedictina*, 23 (1976), 105–49; Loud, 'Continuity and Change in Norman Italy', pp. 326–33; Maria Galante, 'Un esempio di diplomazia signorile: i documenti dei Sanseverino', in *Civiltà del Mezzogiorno d'Italia: libro, scrittura, documento in età normanno-sveva*, ed. by Filippo D'Oria (Cava dei Tirreni: Carlone Editore, 1994), pp. 279–331; Drell, pp. 185–90. Despite the considerable amount of documents that survive for the San Severino family, one ought to use and analyse these charters with extreme care, as the authenticity of a large number of these Cava documents has been questioned; see Carlone, *Falsificazioni e falsari*; Carlone, *Documenti per la storia di Eboli*.

²⁶⁸ *Reg. Neap. Arch. Mon.*, v, no 518 pp. 295–96.

²⁶⁹ Cava, *Arm. Mag.* F.36. Cf. Drell, who dated the document 1123. Drell, p. 128.

²⁷⁰ Inguanez, *S. Angelo in Formis*, no 59 pp. 159–61.

²⁷¹ Gregorio Portanova, 'I Sanseverino dal 1125 allo sterminio del 1246', *Benedictina*, 23 (1976), 319–63 (pp. 319–20).

²⁷² Consequently, Robert I of Lauro must have died, and his widow Sarracena remarried to Robert Capumaza before 1141. However, this was not the last time she remarried, for Sarracena is also recorded as widow of Simon of Tivilla. In 1159, Sarracena made a donation to Cava for the souls of her late husbands Robert Capumaza and Simon of Tivilla; apparently the memory of her first husband Robert of Lauro had ceased to be fresh in her mind by then. Cava, *Arm. Mag.* H.35.

the same county were both named ‘Roger’, as this was one of the most common names in twelfth-century southern Italy, a clear cultural consequence of the Norman presence in the Mediterranean. Additionally, both the *feuda* held *in demanio* by the count of Tricarico, and the *feuda* held *in servitio* by lesser barons from the same count do not correspond or even neighbour the lands that S. Severino donated to Cava in southern Apulia; if anything, the lands which S. Severino held in Cilento must have been surrounded by the county of Marsico. The development of S. Severino’s political and economic power is discussed further in following chapters; for now, it is enough to indicate the unlikelihood of Count Roger I of Tricarico being the same Roger of San Severino who is attested from 1168 onwards.

On the other hand, Sylvester of Marsico is recorded in 1150 as having offered his vineyards in S. Juliani Calesia to St Stephen of Marsico, as ‘count, by the grace of God, for the prosperity of the very vigorous King Roger and our own, and for the redemption of our deceased parents’ souls’.²⁷³ The same Sylvester of Marsico is recorded in the *Quaternus* as a count whose lordships held *in demanio* consisted of Marsico Nuovo, *Rocettam*, Tegghiano, and Sala Consilina.²⁷⁴ The latter two are located in the eastern end of the Vallo di Diano,²⁷⁵ and Marsico Nuovo is near the source of the River Agri. Three documents from the archives of Cava provide a useful and additional insight into the early development of the count of Marsico. In December 1153, Sylvester, regarded as ‘count of Marsico, by the grace of God and the king’ (*Dei et domini regis gratia Marsici comes*), confirmed to the church of St Peter of Tramutola – subordinated to the abbey of Cava – all previous donations, sales and exchanges made by his predecessors and by the *boni homines* of Marsico [Nuovo], and he also granted additional lands to the monastery.²⁷⁶ Count Sylvester of Marsico is later recorded in May 1154, as conceding to Abbot Marinus of Cava and to his successors pasturage rights (*glandes*) throughout the count’s territory of Marsico for Cava’s demesne of St Peter of Tramutola and the men of the *casale* of Tramutola; these rights apparently consisted of an exemption from the swine pasturage

²⁷³ ‘*Silvester Dei gratia Marsici comes, strenuissimi regis Rogerii salute ac nostri nostrorum que defunctorum parentum animarum redemptione*’. Ménager, ‘Les fondations monastiques’, no 39 p. 111.

²⁷⁴ *Catalogus Baronum*, ¶ 597 p. 108.

²⁷⁵ Situated between the Alburni Mountains and the borders of the modern provinces of Campania and Basilicata, it is considered a geographical subregion of Cilento.

²⁷⁶ Mattei-Ceresoli, ‘Tramutola’, no 14 p. 108–11. Original document is found in Cava, *Arm. Mag.* H.17. The date recorded in the original charter is ‘*millesimo centesimo quinquagesimo quarto* (1154), *mense decembri, indictione secunda*’; but although the II indiction does correspond to the year 1154, the document’s proem makes an explicit reference to the reign of King Roger II. Consequently, the document must have been issued before Roger II’s death (1154) and after their reckoning of the New Year and indiction, which must have been on 25 December at the latest.

fees (i.e. *glandaticum*), and the permission to collect gleanings.²⁷⁷ Interestingly enough, this grant was made in his chamber at Ragusa (*in camera mea Ragusie*), which indicates that Count Sylvester was not only concurrently a lord in Sicily but he was also administering his peninsular county from his ancestral, insular lordship. A year later, in May 1155, the same Count Sylvester granted to the church of St Peter of Tramutola and to the men of the *casale* of that church the right for their flocks to pasture (*glandes*) and graze (*herbae*), and the right to take wood from the forests, in all the territory of Marsico, as the other men of Marsico had received.²⁷⁸ It is not clear where the 1153 and 1155 transactions were conducted, in either his chambers in Marsico or Ragusa, but the comital notary who drafted all these documents appears to be the same: Lambert. Based on all this evidence, it can be safely argued that the nucleus of the county of Marsico was located on the south-western fringe of the region of Cilento, between the River Agri and the Vallo di Diano. Additionally, the lands which, according to the *Quaternus*, other lords held *in servitio* from Count Sylvester were located in Caselle in Pittari, Gioi, Magliano Vetere, Monteforte Cilento, Novi Velia, Padula, and Tortorella;²⁷⁹ all of these places are situated between the rivers Tanagro and Alento, southwest of the Vallo di Diano. Hence, the domains of the count of Marsico extended from its nucleus to the west, covering thus southern Cilento.

It has been suggested by Cuzzo that some of the lands that were placed under Count Sylvester of Marsico belonged to the count of Principato until 1150, and hence the king expropriated them in order to grant them to the new count of Marsico.²⁸⁰ Although it is possible that the lands of the original counts of Principato were more extensive than what is suggested in the *Quaternus*, this is not clear. The most compelling argument Cuzzo makes in favour of a partial expropriation of the Principato lands c.1150 is the case of Auletta. Located at the core of the territory of the count of Principato's domains, the town of Auletta provides a rich collection of surviving Greek charters that illustrate the changes in the region. The aforementioned May 1142 Greek charter is the last

²⁷⁷ Cava, *Arm. Mag.* H.13, ed. in Mattei-Ceresoli, 'Tramutola', no 15 pp. 111–12. The date recorded in the original charter is 1153, second indiction; but 1153 does not correspond to the second indiction, and the document's proem only refers to the reign of William I. The donation was made for the good memory of King Roger, clearly implying that Roger II was dead by then. Consequently, the correct year must be 1154.

²⁷⁸ Cava, *Arm. Mag.* H.19, ed. in Mattei-Ceresoli, 'Tramutola', no 16 pp. 112–13.

²⁷⁹ *Catalogus Baronum*, ¶¶ 598–602 p. 109.

²⁸⁰ Cuzzo, 'Milites e testes', pp. 157, 160. This should not be confused with the hypothesis presented by Jamison, and seconded by Ménager, according to which the county of Principato was suppressed and dismembered c. 1166–1168 in order to benefit and expand the counties of Marsico, Conza (actually a lordship of the count of Carinola), and Balvano (actually the county of Philip of Balvano, lord of Sant'Angelo dei Lombardi). Jamison, 'Norman Administration', p. 365; Ménager, 'Les fondations monastiques', p. 81.

documented instance in which the authority of a count of Principato is regarded in Auletta before the reign of William II; the charters dated between 1148 and 1164 mention exclusively the royal authority and the *strategus* of Auletta, without making any reference to a count of Principato.²⁸¹ This would imply that after Countess Adelaide of Principato died, which must have occurred between 1146 and 1148, some lordships were taken from the heritage of the count of Principato. Even if it is the case that William, brother of Nicolas of Principato, inherited his brother's comital title and core lands, he would have then done so as overlord of fewer lords, losing for example Auletta and some towns in southern Cilento. Furthermore, since the first Auletta charter that ignores the count of Principato is dated 1148, the original *quaterniones* that served as a basis for the *Quaternus magne expeditionis* would have been drafted with a diminished entry for the count of Principato. To this point, the royal official that appears to have been in charge of assessing the *feuda* in Auletta was a chamberlain named Alfanus.

The *Quaternus* records Alfanus the chamberlain as being in charge of reporting the number of non-landed tenancy units held (i.e. *villaini* and *molendini*, as opposed to the *feuda*) and the military service owed by two barons: the unnamed son of John the notary, and Aschettinus of Armo.²⁸² This royal chamberlain is the same Alfanus who, according to the *Quaternus*, was temporarily placed in charge of the *comestabulia* of Lampus of Fasanella (*comestabulia Lampi de Fasanella de Baiulatione Alfani Camerarii*), a position that appears to have been left vacant after 1156.²⁸³ Additionally, Alfanus the chamberlain is remembered in an Auletta charter, which was given 'in the time of our most mighty lord King Roger, his son King William, the chamberlain Lord Alfanus of Castellamare, and the *strategus* of Auletta John of the court, son of Vitale the judge'.²⁸⁴ Alfanus was, however, responsible for the appraising of many other holdings across the region, including even some land north east of Avellino, and was not limited solely to the *subcomestabulia* that would have corresponded to the dominions of the count of Principato. Hence, the documented appearance of Alfanus does not necessarily imply that he replaced the count of Principato at all, although it is possible that he was in charge of inspecting the military service alongside, or under, the royal constable (*comestabulus*)

²⁸¹ Trinchera, no 145 pp. 192–93, 148 pp. 195–96, 160–64 pp. 204–16. Originals in Cava, *Perg. Greca* 12, 52, 56, 58, 59, 60, and 61.

²⁸² *Catalogus Baronum*, ¶¶ 659, 663 pp. 117–18.

²⁸³ *Catalogus Baronum*, ¶ 604 p. 110.

²⁸⁴ 'Ἐν τοῖς καιροῖς τοῦ κρατεοτάτου αὐθέντι, ἡμῶν, ρίξ ρογερίου, καὶ ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ ρίξ γουλιέλμου καὶ καμυηρήγιου ὁ κύρ ἀλφάνος καστέλλου μάρης καὶ στρατιγός δὲ ὀλέττας ἰωάννης τῆς ὄρτης [corr. κόρτης] ὁ υἱὸς βιτάλη κρήτης'. Trinchera, no 148 p. 195–96.

Robert of Quallecta.²⁸⁵ What appears to be clear is the noteworthy absence of a count of Principato after 1150.

If one ought to follow the tradition of Jamison and Cuzzo, the general territorial reform that may have taken place in the year 1142 in Silva Marca could have been the setting in which these changes were negotiated and took effect.²⁸⁶ The possible existence of an assembly in Silva Marca is, however, very problematic. The only known piece of evidence that places Roger II in the so-called Silva Marca is a July 1142 charter given ‘in the lands of Ariano, in the place called Silva Marca’ (*Data in territorio Ariani, in loco ubi Silva Marca dicitur*).²⁸⁷ The charter attests a royal confirmation bestowed on the nunnery of the church of St John in Lecce, of the possessions of the church of St Andrew in Mari, after Abbess Guimarca had presented her case. The document furthermore records that Roger II’s court was convened at Silva Marca, with his son Alfonso, duke of the Neapolitans and prince of the Capuans, his counts, some other barons and most of the people of his kingdom, in order to correct disputes and injustices (*Cum apud Silvam Marcam cum Anfuso Neapolitanorum duce et Capuanorum principe, filio nostro, et comitibus nostris ceterisque baronibus et parte maxima populi regni nostri ad altercationes et iniusticias corrigendas congregaremur*). It appears, hence, that the king had assembled a large entourage during his stay on the mainland during the summer of 1142, and this extended court was hearing complaints and making justice.

The correction of ‘disputes and injustices’ does not necessarily imply the introduction of a new military organisation, or the deliberate creation of new counties in the peninsula, and an open royal court held with many members of the different circles of power in the kingdom does not constitute a constitutional or reform assembly. It was customary for the king to not only hold open courts during his stay on the mainland, so the monarch could hear pleas, settle controversies, and execute the royal judicial supremacy himself, but also to invite the archbishops, bishops, counts, barons, and royal functionaries to be part of his itinerant court. One might be tempted to assume from the language employed in this 1142 royal charter that some larger, sui generis gathering between the king and the peninsular aristocracy took place, but there is no testimony of such an assembly having occurred. However, Cuzzo takes this further, and argues that Silva Marca offers ‘an explicit documentation of the Norman general assembly, which,

²⁸⁵ Cf. Cuzzo, ‘Milites e testes’, pp. 159–60.

²⁸⁶ Jamison, ‘Additional Work on the Catalogus Baronum’, p. 15; Cuzzo, ‘Milites e testes’, p. 150; Cuzzo, ‘Balvano’, pp. 79–81; Cuzzo, ‘Montescaglioso’, p. 29; Cuzzo, *Quei maledetti normanni*, pp. 105–13.

²⁸⁷ *Roger II Diplomata*, no 148 pp. 53–54.

following the model of the ancient Germanic assembly, resembles the gathering of all the freemen of the kingdom in a quadrille or troop unit (*quadrivio*).²⁸⁸ Following this line of enquiry, Cuzzo proposes that there were actually three general assemblies summoned by Roger II: in 1140, 1142, and 1149.²⁸⁹ The 1140 assembly is assumed from Falco of Benevento's testimony that in 1140, after Roger II rode to the Abruzzese region of Pescara, which had been recently captured by his sons, he went to Ariano and held a court with his nobles and bishops and dealt with a large number of different matters. According to Falco, amongst the other dispositions which he made there, was a currency edict by which a 'terrible' new coinage was introduced: the ducat.²⁹⁰ Again, this appears to have been more of a royal court that settled specific judicial controversies, including the standardisation of the kingdom's currency, than a constitutional assembly in which the laws and government of the kingdom were generally established.

On the other hand, the 1149 assembly is assumed to have existed as a necessary legal preamble for the drafting of the military service *quaterniones* that were commissioned in order to oppose a potential invasion by Conrad III and Manuel Komnenos. Whereas Jamison has focused more on the role that these hypothetical assemblies played in the construction of a feudal language, to be implemented and enforced with the *Quaternus magne expeditionis*, Cuzzo has emphasised that it was in the assembly of Silva Marca where the centralising design was enforced against the counts of the kingdom, and that this design entailed the systematic creation of a new feudal structure called a county in the two continental provinces of Apulia and Capua.²⁹¹ As a result, it became commonplace in South Italian historiography to assume that the county was a deliberate and designed creation of a centralising monarchy in 1142, without careful regard for the available evidence on the counts' presence and activities.²⁹²

The territorial rights that the counts seem to have enjoyed during the Norman monarchy have also been understood by Martin, following Cuzzo's hypothesis, as a concession of non-military prerogatives and other *regalia* dues granted by the king, including the rights of *plateaticum* and *incultum*, and organised under the *feuda* recorded

²⁸⁸ For an overview of the Germanic quadrille as a judicial concept in Italy, see Pietro Torelli, *Lezioni di storia del diritto italiano. Diritto privato. Le persone* (Milan: A. Giuffrè, 1949), pp. 25–27.

²⁸⁹ Cuzzo, *Quei maledetti normanni*, pp. 106–7.

²⁹⁰ Falco, pp. 234–35; Loud, *Creation of the Kingdom*, pp. 244–45.

²⁹¹ Jamison, 'Additional Work on the Catalogus Baronum', pp. 15–17; Cuzzo, *Quei maledetti normanni*, p. 108.

²⁹² For example, Dione R. Clementi, 'Definition of a Norman County in Apulia and Capua', in *Catalogus Baronum. Commentario*, by Errico Cuzzo, FSI, 101.2 (Rome: Istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo, 1984), pp. 377–84 (pp. 377–85); Martin, *La Pouille*, pp. 770–93; Feller, 'The Northern Frontier', p. 68; Carocci, pp. 142–43; Drell, pp. 44–45.

in the *Quaternus*. A market tax of Lombard origins, the *plateaticum* developed by the end of the eleventh century into a crucial prerogative of territorial lordship in southern Italy; even taxes considered public, such as the *incultum*, fell within the lord's authority, and eventually became rights that only the count could administer within his own lands.²⁹³ The assumption here appears to be that the newly created monarchy claimed that all public agricultural and commercial fees, even those that had become seigniorial rights under the Norman lords, were part of the *regalia*, and as such the counts exercised these rights as a royal concession.²⁹⁴ However, at least under the Norman dynasty, these territorial prerogatives were never executed or forgiven *ex parte regia* in the few comital donations that attest them, but simply as fees expected to be collected and controlled by the overlord of the land. Additionally, the *Quaternus* holding units make no reference to any territorial right. That the new royal authority allowed the counts to keep exercising these territorial rights does not necessarily imply that these fees were understood as royal taxes, nor that these were unilaterally conceded during a constitutional assembly.

Be that as it may, the strongest argument against the hypothetical constitutional assembly of Silva Marca is the actual traceable chronology of the counts' activities, as was documented above; it is clear that there was no single year after which most of the counties had been established.²⁹⁵ The appointment, confirmation, and development of each comital position was an individual process, and although some groups of counts appear to have been either confirmed or made around the same periods of time, it is futile and even misleading to reduce the different stages of the social re-arrangement into a single turn and constitutional assembly. This might have helped to push forward the impression that Roger II's monarchy was an administrative state with a clear centralising agenda and a preconceived plan for government. However, the documentary evidence reveals a much less sophisticated reality that, although it may not explicitly deny the possibility that such a grand plan of Rogerian government ever existed, vindicates the role played by the upper aristocracy in the social control of Norman Italy, and the contingent nature of the Hauteville royal authority.

²⁹³ Martin, *La Pouille*, pp. 303–5, 770. Cf. Carocci, pp. 71–72, 142–43, 148, 233, 450–51.

²⁹⁴ On this idea of *regalia*, see Cahen, pp. 111–15; Cuzzo, *La cavalleria nel Regno normanno di Sicilia*, pp. 143–46.

²⁹⁵ See Chronological Chart.

The Abruzzo, a different animal, part II
An annexed province and the jurisdiction of Manopello

The delimitation of the scattered Norman lordships in the Abruzzo, and its boundaries with those that belonged to the counts of Loritello and Boiano, is a highly contested matter, and there is no available detailed evidence that could actually define the frontiers in this area.²⁹⁶ The geographical treaty prepared by Muhammad Al-Idrisi for Roger II offers relevant information concerning the strategic value of the Adriatic corridor between the county of Loritello and the town of Chieti. Although the section concerning modern Abruzzo presents many problems of interpretation, Al-Idrisi revealed an interesting image of the kingdom's Adriatic border. The frontier area appears to have been set up from the River Sangro, passing through the *castellum* of Sangro (modern Castel di Sangro), up to Chieti, and then stretched up to the west up to the town of Pacentro (*bâ'g.nn.rah*), in the hinterland and west of the Maiella range. Interestingly enough, the border sketched by Al-Idrisi did not extend to the valley of Pescara, but instead, rested on the Sangro. Also, the lordship of Manopello is not mentioned, although it is located between the Manopello and Maiella range.²⁹⁷ This could have been the result of Al-Idrisi's sources having been drafted before Bohemund of Tarsia was appointed count of Manopello, and consequently this pivotal area could not be sketched in detail, although it was identified and delimited. Pacentro was subsequently reordered in the *quaternion* for the Abruzzo as a *feudum* that was held by Manerio of Palena and later his sons, and although he appears to have been a local Abruzzese baron, Manerio's *feuda* were recorded as held *in servitio* from his overlord the count of Manopello.²⁹⁸

As argued above, it seems that Count William of Loritello joined the rebellion during the civil war against Roger II, and allied with Lothar II. Hence, it is almost certain that the count of Manopello followed the count of Loritello in opposition against the Sicilian monarchy. The recently created kingdom could not have been able to impose its authority over these territories before King Roger emerged triumphant; thus, the effective takeover of both Loritello and Manopello must have come after 1139. Falco of Benevento

²⁹⁶ On this question, see Jean M. Martin, 'La frontière septentrionale du royaume de Sicile à la fin du XIIIe siècle', in *Une région frontalière au Moyen Âge. Les vallées du Turano et du Salto entre Sabine et Abruzzes*, ed. by Étienne Hubert (Rome: Ecole française de Rome, 2000), pp. 291–303 (pp. 291–303); Feller, 'The Northern Frontier', pp. 64–66; Kristjan Toomaspoeg, 'La frontière terrestre du Royaume de Sicile à l'époque normande: questions ouvertes et hypothèses', in *Quei maledetti Normanni: Studi offerti a Errico Cuozzo per suoi settent'anni da Collegui, Allievi, Amici*, ed. by Jean M. Martin and Rosanna Alaggio, 2 vols (Ariano Irpino: Tipografia Villanova, 2016), II, 1205–24 (pp. 1205–24).

²⁹⁷ *L'Italia descritta nel 'Libro del re Ruggero' compilato da Edrisi [Al-Idrisi]*, ed. by Michele Amari and Celestino Schiaparelli (Rome: Coi tipi del Salviucci, 1883), pp. 115–22.

²⁹⁸ *Catalogus Baronum*, ¶ 1020 p. 187.

alleged that, in 1140, Roger II sent his son Alfonso, prince of the Capuans, and later his older son Duke Roger, beyond the city of Pescara (15 km. northeast of Chieti) with a large army of knights and infantry to subjugate that province to his power, a task that both of them ultimately accomplished. The notary from Benevento also described this province as ‘close to the frontiers of Rome’ (*prope Romanos fines adiacens*). Falco further related that, in the summer of that same year, Roger II rode with 500 knights (*milites*) to Pescara, after having stayed in Capua and dismissed the troops of his army.²⁹⁹ King Roger’s temporary stay in the Abruzzo is also revealed by two surviving royal charters issued in August 1140. A transcription in the chartulary-chronicle of Casauria alleges that the king granted three *castella* (Colle Odoni, Casale Plano and Bolognano) and a privilege of liberty and protection to the abbey of St Clement in Casauria.³⁰⁰ Another contemporary, although dubious, surviving charter attests the same royal privilege given to the abbey, and a confirmation of a long list of local properties and churches that allegedly belonged to the abbey of Casauria.³⁰¹ The pivotal role the count of Manopello and the town of Chieti played before in the Norman invasion was evidently still present during the time of the annexation of the Abruzzo to the kingdom.

One should remember that the chartulary-chronicle of Casauria records that Roger II appointed ‘Count Bohemund to the county of Manopello’ (*comes Boamundus [...] comitatu Manupelli*), c. August 1140, as the monastic account alleged that the new count of Manopello sought to interfere with the abbey, but the king issued an order for him to stop the harassment against Casauria.³⁰² In addition, the new count of Manopello restored the church of St Andrew to the abbey of the Holy Saviour at Maiella in 1144, under Roger II’s direct instructions, and acting as his justiciar in Chieti.³⁰³ On 22 April 1148, Bohemund of Tarsia, alongside the Count Robert of *Aprutium* and two other local barons (Oderisius of Pagliara and Richard of Turgisio), recorded a suit between the abbot of Montecassino and the bishop of *Aprutium*, acting as royal justiciar (*iustitarius domini regis*) in Chieti. Interestingly enough, the count of Manopello appears hence to have shared the responsibility for administering the king’s justice with a lesser count and two

²⁹⁹ Falco, pp. 232–35; Loud, *Creation of the Kingdom*, pp. 243–44.

³⁰⁰ Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, *Lat.* 5411, fol. 246r, edited in *Roger II Diplomata*, no 49 pp. 139–40. This royal privilege appears to have partially confirmed the dominions that St Clement had once held. The *castella* of Casale Plano and Colle Odoni were subsequently omitted among the *feuda* that abbot Oderisius of St Clement held in the counties of Manopello and *Aprutium*, according to the register for the Abruzzo. *Catalogus Baronum*, ¶ 1217 p. 252. On the territory that the abbey claimed to control, see Feller, *Les Abruzzes médiévales*, pp. 65–66.

³⁰¹ *Chron. Casauriense*, cols 889–90; *Roger II Diplomata*, no 50 pp. 141–43.

³⁰² *Chron. Casauriense*, cols 891–92; *Roger II Diplomata*, no 51 p. 144.

³⁰³ Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Arch. Cap. S. Pietro Caps. LXXII, fasc. 53, no 1 (‘Liber instrumentorum monasterii Sancti Salvatoris de Maiella’), ff 9r.

Abruzzese lords, and the recorded suit was additionally subscribed by another local count: Count Berard of Chieti.³⁰⁴ The titles and positions of the royal administration appear thus to have been given also to the Abruzzese barons, perhaps in a direct attempt to both use the indigenous structure and incorporate the local aristocracy into the kingdom's organisation. However, this annexation effort must have been implemented through Count Bohemund, the Calabrese royal loyalist who had been given the gateway of the northern Adriatic frontier: Manopello.

The Abruzzese register of *feuda* and military service in the *Catalogus Baronum* actually constituted a different *quaternion*, with a particular and distinct structure, whose recorded barons appear to have been placed originally under the authority of Bohemund of Tarsia, count of Manopello. No inclusive geographical designation appears in the *Catalogus*, and the name *Aprutium* applied not to the entire province but to a single county and diocese. However, the record for all the Abruzzese lands brings out the unity of a region secured under the supervision of the new count of Manopello. According to Jamison, the modern editor of the *Catalogus*, a third scribe took up his pen with the section 'on the jurisdiction of Count Bohemund' (*De Justitia Comitum Boamundi [...]*), with different handwriting and different spelling, and a new and separate *quaternion* began there.³⁰⁵ In this fresh *quaternion*, structural and textual elements that were not present in the preceding *Quaternus* are found. First, the register utilises references to inner 'principalities', and uses the notion of 'county' (*comitatus*) as a geographical specification no longer corresponding to any specific political reality or major lordship. One example is the old Franco-Lombard counties of Penne, *Aprutium*, Marsia, and Rieti; the town of Rieti itself was destroyed by Roger II in 1148 and only rebuilt after the kingdom lost control of the territories in 1156.³⁰⁶

Furthermore, the social structure sketched by the Abruzzese records furnishes counts whose *feuda* were recorded as having been held *in servitio* of another count, Bohemund of Manopello, which implies the military subordination of counts to a peer who technically held the same comital dignity as them. In addition, the tenurial structure

³⁰⁴ Jamison, 'Norman Administration', App., no 5 pp. 458–61. Cf. Feller, *Les Abruzzes médiévales*, pp. 768–72.

³⁰⁵ *Catalogus Baronum*, p. 183.

³⁰⁶ William I must have confirmed in 1156 to the papacy that the land north of the River Tronto, including part of the territory of the 'county' of Rieti, was outside of the kingdom's dominions, not only because the Abruzzese *quaternion* did not record these lands, but also it was at the treaty of Benevento (1156) that both Pope Adrian IV and the Sicilian monarchy agreed, although vaguely, on the extent of the kingdom's territories. This explains why it was recorded that Rieti was rebuilt in 1156 'with Roman assistance' (*reparatum cum adiutorio Romanorum*). *Annales Reatini*, ed. by Ludwig C. Bethmann, MGH SS, 19 (Hanover: Hahn, 1866), p. 267; *William I Diplomata*, no 12 pp. 32–35.

revealed here is generally stepped in three levels; the Abruzzese record presents a vast multitude of overlords who in turn held their *feuda* from other overlords, and a handful of them have another overlords subordinate to them. On the other hand, the *Quaternus* for Apulia and the Terra di Lavoro reveals very few instances of three-level *in servitio* barons, and it does not record any count whose dominions and main *feuda* were held from other lords. However, such clear social distinction and superiority held by the South Italian counts appears to be disregarded in the register for the Abruzzo with the predominance of Count Bohemund.

The great majority of Abruzzese overlords did not bear the comital title, whereas in Apulia and the Terra di Lavoro the counts made up almost the entire social layer of overlords. If anything, the register of the annexed Abruzzo resembled the vague manner in which the comital title was traditionally employed by notorious lords in the lands of the Lombard principalities before the creation of the kingdom. Furthermore, the main *Quaternus* does not record any special ‘jurisdiction’ (*justitia*) like the one attested for the entire Abruzzo under Count Bohemund; the closest entity to this jurisdiction were the ‘constabularies’ (*comestabulia*) that are occasionally recorded in Apulia and the Terra di Lavoro, but the Abruzzese *quaternion* does not reveal the presence of any royal constable (*comestabulus*) in the province. In short, it appears clear that the section in the *Catalogus* for the Abruzzo comprised a separate register, which, although employed for the same main goal as the original *Quaternus magne expeditionis* (i.e. identifying and mobilising the continental armed forces), was drafted and administered differently, as the central Italian lands were annexed to the kingdom and controlled by the count of Manopello.

As a separated region, the Abruzzo appears then to have been annexed to the kingdom, rather than having been a constituent province, like Apulia, Capua, and Calabria. The notion of ‘annexation’ has been employed before to refer to the question of the Abruzzo and the Sicilian kingdom; Rivera used that same term to describe the appropriation of the *Terre d’Abruzzo* to emphasise the regional individuality and socio-political singularity of the Abruzzo. The preceding and partial Norman occupation in the region does not appear to have been interested in attaching themselves to the social groups from which they emerged, either ‘Norman’ or Apulian, but instead in acquiring lands and enhancing their military power.³⁰⁷ Hence, the partial presence in the Abruzzo of the followers of either the Hauteville-Loritello or ‘sons of Amicus’ did not significantly alter the local peculiarity of this region. Consequently, Roger II’s takeover could not rely on

³⁰⁷ Feller, *Les Abruzzes médiévales*, pp. 783–84; Feller, ‘The Northern Frontier’, pp. 70–72.

the same social mechanisms that he had adopted and implemented in Apulia and the former principality of Capua. As long as the local customs and social setting inherited from the Carolingian duchy of Spoleto remained current, the province in central Italy could not have been controlled and incorporated into the kingdom in the same way as the rest of the continental territories.

Therefore, I understand the Abruzzo as a large border area, established as a special and separated jurisdiction. The whole region was thus no longer fragmented by boundaries of different states, between Spoleto and Benevento, as it was before its inclusion in the orbit of the Sicilian kingdom. As a result, the Abruzzo became a region that was less fully colonised by the Normans than the rest of the southern peninsula. It was consolidated by two of its main geographical features: its role as a coastal centre for the Adriatic routes, and its mountain passes that connected the kingdom and the northern territories of the peninsula, thanks to its position between the central highlands in the Apennines and the *Tavoliere delle Puglie* (i.e. the region of the Capitanata). This annexed province was set up as a march protecting the Adriatic borders of the kingdom from both the remnants of the duchy of Spoleto and the potential invasion from the Western Empire.³⁰⁸ Under the Sicilian monarchy and on the basis of the military and political control exercised from Manopello, the reconstruction of the Abruzzese nobility was possible but gradual; in decades to come it would acquire a new role in the kingdom's politics. The local social order in the Abruzzo would be forcefully modified through a series of subsequent wars and rebellions on the peninsula after Roger II's death.

A last picture of the Rogerian nobility The finishing touches

A decade after Rainulf of Caiazzo died and King Roger consolidated his effective authority in 1139, some of the Capuan lands were distributed amongst the counts of Carinola and Fondi. The town of Airola must have been granted to Jonathan of Carinola, for he is recorded as its lord in c.1150.³⁰⁹ In this same border region, Fondi was given to the kin-group of Aquila in recompense for the duchy of Gaeta; Geoffrey, the son of Richard I of Aquila – former duke of Gaeta – is recorded dead, as count of Fondi, in

³⁰⁸ Feller, *Les Abruzzes médiévales*, pp. 764, 768–70; Errico Cuozzo, 'Il sistema difensivo del regno normanno di Sicilia e la frontiera abruzzese nord-occidentale', in *Une région frontalière au Moyen Âge* (Rome: Ecole française de Rome, 2000), pp. 273–90 (pp. 273–90).

³⁰⁹ Airola appears as a *feudum* of five *militēs*, as part of the *demanio* of the count of Carinola. *Catalogus Baronum*, ¶ 995 pp. 178–79.

1149.³¹⁰ The *Quaternus* already attests Geoffrey's son Richard II of Aquila as count of Fondi, and lord only of a *feudum* in Gaeta, c. 1150.³¹¹ Precisely when these towns were granted is uncertain, but the documented pattern suggests that the additions to the lordships of Carinola and Fondi might have occurred under a rapid, new reorganisation which may have been concluded around the year 1150. A similar situation can be observed in what used to belong to the counts of Ariano. The county of Buonalbergo was created from lordships that belonged to the former lordships of Ariano and given to Robert of Medania, c. 1150. The only known record that attests Robert of Medania as count of Buonalbergo is found in the *Quaternus*. Although this register presents his son Roger as the current count, this must have been changed in a subsequent revision of the *Quaternus* because a consecutive item in the same section for the county of Buonalbergo refers to his father Robert as the head of the county.³¹² The dominions of this new count had two foci: Buonalbergo as the seat of their county, and Acerra as the original lordship of the family.

Between 1140 and 1154, the kingdom's higher aristocracy on the mainland went from having five counts to being arranged in thirteen counties, and towards the end of Roger II's reign there were only some slight changes made to this structure. At some point before 1152, the count of Civitate, Robert son of Richard, must have been succeeded by his son, because Count Robert son of Robert was attested as the ruling count of Civitate by 1152. Richard of Aquila, count of Avellino and brother of Geoffrey of Aquila, died in 1152, and his son Roger must have inherited his lordship and succeeded him as count.³¹³ Roger of Aquila, his son, is remembered by Pseudo-Falcandus as the noble and very youthful (*nobilis adolescentulus*) count of Avellino, as he joined Matthew Bonellus against Maio in 1160.³¹⁴ Roger of Aquila is recorded in the *catalogus* as well, c. 1167, replacing his father's original entries of c. 1150.³¹⁵ Robert of Medania, count of

³¹⁰ *Necrologio di S. Matteo*, p. 8.

³¹¹ *Catalogus Baronum*, ¶ 995 pp. 178–79. Although it could be argued that the Count Richard attested in the *Quaternus* was in fact his son, Richard II of Fondi, restored back to the county of Fondi after 1168, Count Richard I of Fondi is recorded as [*Gaiteae*] *Civitatis comes et miles streuissimus*, in a charter (*exemplar mutilum*) through which his mother Adeliccia, *Gaeta Comitissa relicta quondam Domini Gaufridi*, and himself made a donation to the monastery of Cava, dated 1153 and issued in Gaeta. *Cod. Dipl. Cajetanus*, II, no 363 pp. 280–81. Additionally, there is a Richard of Aquila likewise recorded in the *Quaternus* as an overlord of 14 barons in Calvi and Riardo, in the province of Capua, but these ancestral *feuda* must have fallen into the hands of the other branch of the Aquila family, as a subsequent charter (1174) reveals that Roger of Aquila, son of the Richard of Aquila who was the count of Avellino, was the ruling overlord in Calvi. *Catalogus Baronum*, ¶ 808 p. 148; *Cod. Dipl. Verginiano*, VI, no 596 pp. 259–61.

³¹² *Catalogus Baronum*, ¶ 806–7 p. 148.

³¹³ *Necrologio di S. Matteo*, p. 142.

³¹⁴ *Falcandus*, p. 136.

³¹⁵ *Catalogus Baronum*, ¶¶ 392–95 pp. 70–71.

Buonalbergo, was succeeded by his son Roger at some point between 1150 and 1154, as the latter is recorded already as a count in June 1154.³¹⁶ In Calabria, the county of Squillace may also have been created before 1154, as it is recorded by Pseudo-Falcandus that soon after Maio of Bari was created ‘great admiral’ by William I, he was particularly apprehensive of Count Ebrardus of Squillace.³¹⁷

The evidence on the counts of Andria after 1130 and before William II’s reign is rather scarce. Kinnamos records a Count Richard of Andria as having been killed in combat during the Byzantine campaign in Apulia in 1155.³¹⁸ This Count Richard appears to be the same Richard of Lingèvres recorded by Robert of Torigni. The chronicler from Normandy had indicated that Richard of Lingèvres (*Ricardus de Lingheve*), described as an ‘excellent knight’ (*miles optimus*), joined King Roger’s attack on Tripoli. Furthermore, Robert of Torigni attests that Richard of Lingèvres came from the county of Bayeux (*Baiocensi comitatus*), and that Roger II bestowed on him the ‘county of Andria’ (*comitatus Andri insulae*).³¹⁹ Robert of Torigni also attests Count Richard of Andria’s participation in the war in Apulia in 1155.³²⁰ It appears therefore that Roger II was not limited to employing only local peninsular barons from his military contingent for the creation of the new nobility, as Count Richard of Andria would have been a recent Norman immigrant who had joined the king’s army. Andria would have thus been the fourteenth county created under Roger II before the king passed away.

The lordship that used to belong to Robert II of Loritello remained unassigned, perhaps incorporated into the royal demesne.³²¹ Although the available sources do not provide a picture of the actual extension and use of the royal demesne in the peninsula at this stage, it seems that the king was more interested in temporarily keeping it for subsequent redistribution to loyal supporters than in expanding it.

The basis for the territorial additions of the future counties of Gravina and Sant’Angelo dei Lombardi, which belonged to the Aleramici and Balvano kin-groups

³¹⁶ He is recorded in a charter concerning delimitation of land as the overlord of Constantinus Aczarulus, as *domini comitis Rogerii de Medania*. *Cod. Dipl. Aversa*, no 17 pp. 337–39.

³¹⁷ He was part of the opposition to Maio of Bari, together with other nobles. *Falcandus*, pp. 60–62.

³¹⁸ See below, note 439.

³¹⁹ *The Chronicle of Robert of Torigni*, ed. by Richard Howlett, *Chronicles of the Reign of Stephen, Henry II and Richard I*, 4 (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1889), p. 153. The use of the term *insula* here might indicate either a geographical mistake made by a northern chronicler unfamiliar with Italy’s geography, who assumed Andria was an island in the Mediterranean, or a qualification made of the county as an administrative unit held in tenancy. Interestingly enough, Robert of Torigni also recorded that the county of Andria was recently captured by Roger II from the Emperor of Constantinople (*quam nuper idem rex super imperatorem Constantinopolitanum ceperat*), which may echo an unclear notion the chronicler had of the Norman attacks against the Byzantine rule in Apulia a century before.

³²⁰ Howlett, *Robert of Torigni*, p. 185.

³²¹ Jamison, ‘Norman Administration’, p. 254.

respectively, may have been set at this time, but the evidence for these comital titles before 1156 is scarce.³²² The case of the county of Sant'Angelo dei Lombardi is a rather misleading one, for Count Philip of Balvano is recorded in the *Quaternus*. However, this does not necessarily imply that he was already a count in 1150, and most likely he was made a count after 1167;³²³ it should be noted that Philip of Balvano is recorded as having declared to the *curia regis* the military service owed by his uncle Gilbert of Balvano, but he is not referred to as a count here.³²⁴ On Gravina, Pseudo-Falcandus has recorded that the 'county of Gravina' (*comitatus Gravinae*) was given to Gilbert of Perche, a blood-relative of Queen Margaret, just before 1158.³²⁵ Furthermore, there is no surviving evidence that records the existence of a count of Gravina before 1157. The kin-group that held the lordship of Gravina appears to have done so under the title of *marchio*; the descendants of Marquis Boniface successively held this lordship, from the Aleramici family (the north Italian relatives of Roger II's mother Adelaide). Thus, before 1156, there was neither a count nor a county of Gravina. But, what exactly do we know about this 'marquis' of Gravina?

The title of 'marquis' was rather rare in the Kingdom of Sicily, at least during the twelfth century. The marquis of Gravina was the only baron who bore such a title during Roger II's reign, because the lord of Gravina, Manfred, was the son of the renowned Boniface del Vasto, marquis of Savona and western Liguria. During the time of the conquest, Marquis Boniface was an ally of Drogo of Hauteville and Robert Guiscard; the marriage arranged between his niece Adelaide del Vasto and Roger I strengthened the position of both families and consolidated the alliance.³²⁶ As such, the branch of the Aleramici that settled in southern Italy could have enjoyed a special status amongst the South Italian aristocracy, due to the prestige their bloodline carried from the marquis of Savona and Liguria.

Manfred, son of Marquis Boniface, granted a mill to archbishop William of Salerno in January 1146, with the consent of his wife Philippa and Bishop-elect Ursus of Gravina. The donation was made in the *castellum* of Gravina, and refers to the donor as 'Marquis Manfred, lord of the city of Forenza, by the grace of God and of the king' (*Manfredus marchio, gratia Dei et domini Rogerii magnifici regis civitatis Florencie*

³²² Cuozzo, 'Balvano', p. 73.

³²³ On the origin and nature of Philip of Balvano's county, see below, on page 255.

³²⁴ *Catalogus Baronum*, ¶ 433 p. 78. Cuozzo has already presented a well-documented study on the family of the lords of Balvano. Cuozzo, 'Balvano'.

³²⁵ *Falcandus*, pp. 98–99.

³²⁶ Garufi, 'Gli Aleramici', p. 48.

dominus).³²⁷ The following year, in September 1147, the same Manfred, together with his wife Philippa, made a donation to the monastery of St Leo [the Great] at Bitonto. Manfred called himself ‘lord of the city of Gravina, by the grace of God and of the king, and son and heir of Lord Boniface, marquis’ (*Ego Manfredus marchio, gratia Dei et domini nostri magnifici Rogeri civitatis Gravine dominus, filius et heres domini Bonifacii marchionis*).³²⁸ Marquis Manfred appears to have died before 1151, because five years later his wife Philippa is attested as ‘marchioness, once wife of Marquis Manfred, lord of the city of Gravina’ (*marchionissa, olim domni Monfridi marchionis uxor [...] civitatis Gravine*), in a privilege granted and confirmed to the bishopric of Gravina, in which she and her son Sylvester are recorded as signatories.³²⁹ The same Sylvester is subsequently recorded in three charters of the monastery of Cava dated November 1155, in which he makes several donations, together with his mother *marchionissa* Philippa to the aforementioned monastery.³³⁰ A donated estate (a vineyard) attested in one of these documents technically belonged to a certain Sinarcha son of Raynerius, but since the latter died without an heir, it was recorded that the vineyard ‘reverted to their dominion [of the marquises of Gravina]’ (*ad nostrum publicum*).³³¹ The lordship of Gravina appears thus to have enjoyed the legal ownership of the land held by the barons in their territory. In all these documents, including their respective copies, the lord of Gravina is attested as marquis. None of these marquises appear to have played a prominent role during Roger’s reign; they do however seem to have exercised authority over other, lesser barons. This can be inferred from the right of claiming inherited tenancy that is documented in one of the 1155 transactions, their relation with the bishop of Gravina and archbishop of Salerno, and the tenure *in demanio* that they might have had c. 1150, as is suggested in a deconstruction of the *Quaternus magne expeditionis* (these holdings would have been the *feuda* of Gravina, Spinazzola, and Forenza, each one valued as *feudum* of eight, four and four *milites* respectively).³³² The marquises of Gravina can, hence, be considered lesser counts who did not originally hold the prestige a count could enjoy under the traditionally ambiguous usage of the title. Nevertheless, they exercised a functional social role as major landholders and donors to the church, overlords of other barons, and local

³²⁷ *Cod. Dipl. Verginiano*, III, no 285 pp. 348–50.

³²⁸ *Le pergamene dell’archivio diocesano di Gravina (secc. XI-XIV)*, ed. by Corinna Drago Tedeschini, *Cod. Dipl. Pugliese*, 37 (Bari: Società di Storia Patria per la Puglia, 2013), Fondo Opera Pia Sacro Monte dei Morti, no 1 pp. 107–10.

³²⁹ Drago Tedeschini, Fondo Capitolare, no 2 pp. 47–49.

³³⁰ Cava, *Arm. Mag.* H.21–6.

³³¹ Cava, *Arm. Mag.* H.22.

³³² *Catalogus Baronum*, ¶¶ 54–71 pp. 11–14.

authorities. Gravina would consequently become a county that would play a major role during the subsequent rule of King William.

The counts established under the reign of Roger II also provided the highest stratum of the continental aristocracy with new kin groups. With the new count of Buonalbergo, the Medania family and a branch of the Lombard princely family of Salerno attained a position amongst the kingdom's nobility; Count Robert of Buonalbergo was the son of the lord of Acerra, Geoffrey of Medania, and Sichelgaita (also attested as Sica). The maternal lineage of Robert of Medania is confirmed in a March 1125 charter, which recorded Henry of S. Severino swearing to respect the abbey of Cava's property, with Robert present as Henry's uterine brother.³³³ Sichelgaita, granddaughter of Guaimar IV of Salerno, was married for a second time to Roger of S. Severino, most certainly after Geoffrey's death.³³⁴ The count of Buonalbergo, Robert of Medania, was thus a descendant by the maternal line from the princely family of Salerno, but he was not directly tied to the Rogerian kin group.³³⁵ However, these two families, Medania and S. Severino, were strategic allies and loyal supporters of the king's activities on the peninsula. Their new status and power seem to have been a well-taken reward from Roger II with the county of Buonalbergo, which was made up with the remains of the former dominions of the count of Ariano.

Count Sylvester of Marsico was tied to both the Sicilian lords of Ragusa and the royal kin-group; his father, Geoffrey of Ragusa, was an illegitimate son of Roger I.³³⁶ In December 1153, Count Sylvester of Marsico confirmed a series of donations made to the abbey of Cava, and he conducted this transaction 'for the soul of Count Roger I of Sicily, and that of his father Geoffrey' (*pro domni etiam Rogerii primi Sicilie comitis anime salute magnifici memorie et domni Goffridi nostri patris*).³³⁷ This special consideration to Roger I is also attested in the other two donations made to Cava by Count Sylvester: in May 1154 the count made a donation for the salvation of the souls of Roger I, Roger II, and Sylvester's unnamed relatives (*pro animarum magnifici Rogerii primi comitis*

³³³ Cava, *Arm. Mag.* F.36. See also Portanova, 'I Sanseverino dal 1125 allo stermino del 1246', pp. 326–27.

³³⁴ As attested in Cava, *Arm. Mag.* F.18.

³³⁵ On the mixed ancestry of the Medania, see Loud, 'Norman Traditions in Southern Italy', pp. 50–51.

³³⁶ Carlo A. Garufi, 'Adelaide nipote di Bonifazio del Vasto e Goffredo figliolo del gran conte Ruggiero. Per la critica di Goffredo Malaterra e per la diplomatica dei primi tempi Normanni in Sicilia', in *Rendiconti e memorie della Real Accademia di scienze, lettere ed arti dei Zelanti di Acireale*, 3, 1905, IV, 185–216 (pp. 188–92); Enrico Mazzaresse Fardella, *I feudi comitali di Sicilia dai Normanni agli Aragonesi* (Milan: A. Giuffrè, 1974), p. 15. The familial tie between Sylvester and Geoffrey is recorded as such: '*Gaufridus bona memoria Comitis Rogerii filius, et Comes Silvester filius eiusdem Gaufridi ea Syracusana Ecclesia pia devotionis intuitu contulerunt*'. *Sicilia Sacra*, I, pp. 622–23.

³³⁷ Cava, *Arm. Mag.* H.17, ed. in Mattei-Ceresoli, 'Tramutola', no 14 pp. 108–11.

Sicilie, necnon gloriosi regis Rogerii bone memorie salute, meique genitoris ceterorumque parentum salute);³³⁸ and in May 1155 he donated again ‘for the relief and salivation of the first Sicilian count and the most glorious King Roger’ (*pro remedio et salute animarum domni Rogerii primi Sicilie comes, domnique gloriosissimi regis Rogerii bone memorie*).³³⁹ Additionally, it should be remembered that Sylvester of Marsico must have inherited his father’s lordships in Sicily, being at least lord of Ragusa, as he issued at least one donation as count of Marsico from his chamber in Ragusa. It is clear then that Sylvester of Marsico was a descendant of Count Roger I. Likewise, the new count of Montescaglioso, Geoffrey of Lecce, was tied to both a family of lesser barons and to the Rogerian kin-group; he was the son of Accardus, lord of Lecce and Ostuni, the brother of young Duke Roger’s mistress – Tancred of Lecce’s mother.³⁴⁰ In this way, the newly established counties of Marsico and Montescaglioso allowed two of the illegitimate branches of the Hauteville royal family to climb up to the highest echelon of the kingdom’s peninsular society, and, at the same time, brought along two families of lesser barons: the lords of Ragusa and Lecce.

The other new comital family incorporated by Roger II was the Bassunvilla.³⁴¹ Their already elevated position was further enhanced: Robert, count of Conversano, married Judith, the sister of King Roger.³⁴² The chronicle of Romuald Guarna, archbishop of Salerno, corroborates that Robert II of Bassunvilla was Roger II’s nephew, as it records that ‘Robert of Bassunvilla, count of Conversano and cousin of the king’ (*Robertus de Basavilla comes de Conversano consobrinus frater eiusdem regis*) was present at the coronation of William I, in 1154.³⁴³ John Kinnamos likewise attests the familial connection: ‘Roger [II] tyrant of Sicily had a nephew, by name [Robert of] Bassonville’ (Ρογερίω γὰρ Σικελῶν τρῦάννω ἀδελφίδους ἦ ὄνομα Βασαβίλας). Even the distant chronicler from Normandy Robert of Torigni acknowledged the fact that Robert of

³³⁸ Cava, *Arm. Mag.* H.13, ed. in Mattei-Ceresoli, ‘Tramutola’, no 15 pp. 111–12.

³³⁹ Cava, *Arm. Mag.* H.19, ed. in Mattei-Ceresoli, ‘Tramutola’, no 16 pp. 112–13.

³⁴⁰ Giovanni Guerrieri, ‘I conti normanni di Lecce nel secolo XII’, *ASPN*, 1900, 196–217 (no 1 pp. 202–4, 3 pp. 208–90). For a summary of Geoffrey’s ancestry, see Garufi, ‘I conti di Montescaglioso’, pp. 337–38; Cuozzo, ‘Montescaglioso’, p. 30.

³⁴¹ Robert of Bassunvilla probably originated from the area of Caux, Normandy. Three charters of the monastery of Saint-Victor-en-Caux refer to *Vassunvilla*: Hugues Archbishop of Rouen confirmed donations to Saint-Victor-en-Caux, including property in *Vassunvilla* (Vassonville, a town in the district of Tôtes), by charter dated 1137. *Recueil de chartes concernant l’abbaye de Saint-Victor-en-Caux*, ed. by Charles de Beaurepaire, Mélanges publiés per la Société de l’histoire di Normandie, 5 (Rouen-Paris: Société de l’Histoire de Normandie, 1898), p. 363.

³⁴² Houben, *Roger II of Sicily*, p. 86. Also, see below, note 365.

³⁴³ *Romuald*, p. 237.

Bassunvilla was a relative (*cognatus*) of King William.³⁴⁴ Robert II of Bassunvilla, the heir of the county of Conversano, was thus also related to the royal family.

Marriage ties appear, hence, to have also played an important role in the establishment of a new royal continental nobility. The new count of Conversano was not the only prominent baron tied to the new monarchy by means of marriage. As indicated before, the count of Molise was one of the first major overlords and territorial leaders who was soon tied to the Hauteville royal family, because it appears that both Hugh of Molise's sister became a consort of Roger II, as suggested by the chronicle of St Mary of Ferrara, and Hugh of Molise married an illegitimate daughter of Roger II.³⁴⁵ The new count of Avellino, Richard II of Aquila, must have married Magalda, daughter of Adelia of Aderno, at some point. The evidence for this is scarce, as it is only Pseudo-Falcandus who elaborates on how the count of Avellino was related to the king, as the anonymous author explained that William I pardoned his 'blood relative' (*consanguineum*) Count Roger of Avellino, as the king 'was moved by the pleas and tears of his cousin Adelia, the same count's grandmother, who was terribly fond of her grandson because she had no other surviving heir' (*prece motus et lacrimis Adelicie consobrine sue, eiusdem comitis avie, que cum alium heredem superstitem non haberet, nepotem suum tenerrime diligebat*).³⁴⁶ In turn, Adelia appears to have been the daughter of Countess Emma, Roger I's daughter, and Rudolph Machabeus, the lord of Montescaglioso.³⁴⁷ We also know that the name of Count Roger of Avellino's mother was Magalda, because the former made a donation in 1167 for the salvation of her soul (*pro remedio et salvatione anime comitissa Magalde matris mee [Rogerii]*).³⁴⁸ Hence, Adelia must have been Magalda's mother, and Magalda must have married Richard of Aquila at some point before the 1150s. For this reason, Count Roger of Avellino was subsequently remembered as a blood-relative, albeit a distant one, of the Sicilian kings. It is uncertain if King Roger played an active role in arranging the marriage of his young great-niece, but this union

³⁴⁴ *Kinnamos*, bk 4 chap. 2 p. 136; Howlett, *Robert of Torigni*, p. 185.

³⁴⁵ On Hugh of Molise's sister, see *Chron. de Ferrara*, p. 28; Houben, *Roger II of Sicily*, p. 36. On Hugh of Molise having been married to King Roger's illegitimate daughter, see *Falcandus*, p. 102.

³⁴⁶ *Falcandus*, pp. 162–63.

³⁴⁷ Adelia subscribed a donation made by her mother Emma in July 1119 (*Signum manus domine adelize predicte comitissa filie*). *Reg. Neap. Arch. Mon.*, VI, no 23 pp. 191–93. Adelia was also recorded in a very dubious entry, according to which she appears to have issued a charter in Sicily, in 1136, to the churches of St Elias of Aderno and St Andrew of Lentini, where she was remembered as the daughter of 'Rudolph Maniacis of Montescanusio' [corr. Machabeus of Montescaglioso], and sister of Count Simon (*ex dipl. Adelasiae Comitissae Rodulphi Maniacis de Montescanusio [corr. Macabei de Montescaveosi] filiae, ac Comitissae Simonis sororis*). *Sicilia Sacra*, I, p. 586. Rudolph Machabeus, however, did not actually bear the comital title, and Count Simon was in fact the son of Henry of Paternò, Roger II's maternal uncle. The author of this entry had a vague idea of Adelia's lineage, but was clearly confused about the details.

³⁴⁸ *Cod. Dipl. Verginiano*, V, no 474 pp. 261–64, at 262.

almost certainly improved the proximity between the Avellino branch of the Aquila family and the monarchy.

Having explored the familial diversity of the old and new counts that constituted the kingdom's continental nobility, it is clear that there is no discernible majority of new comital appointees that were either royal relatives, or from Sicily or Calabria.³⁴⁹ Only five new counts were technically royal relatives, but the only direct and legitimate blood-relative was the young Count Robert II of Conversano. The marital tie to Hugh of Molise certainly brought the count closer to the monarchy, but it did not yield any issue that would have secured the royal connection to his county. Count Richard of Avellino's son Roger was also a royal relative, albeit a rather distant one. Count Sylvester of Marsico became a close figure of the royal court in Sicily, but his position as a royal relative was most likely tainted because his father was an illegitimate son. Geoffrey of Lecce, count of Montescaglioso, also became a close figure, mostly because of his residence in Sicily as lord of Ragusa, but his connection to the royal family was also tenuous given his sister's condition as a mistress of young Duke Roger.

The rest of the South Italian counts – Buonalbergo, Catanzaro, Carinola, Civitate, Fondi, Lesina, Manopello, Principato, and Tricarico – were related to local Norman families. Also, it does not appear that there was a major placement of barons from Sicily and Calabria into comital positions. Only Sylvester of Marsico appears to have come from Sicily as a result of having held his father's original lordship of Ragusa, and the new count of Manopello, Bohemund of Tarsia, was a Calabrian royalist who was given authority over the annexed Abruzzo. It must also be highlighted that the counts of Catanzaro and Principato were the only two families of old counts tied to the larger Hauteville kin-group, but this connection did not have the same significance as it did in the preceding century; under the newly created kingdom, the only royal Hautevilles were those that descended from Count Roger I of Sicily.

Final considerations on the eve of William I's kingship

The permutation of Carinola and Civitate, and the creation of new counts are illustrative examples of how the dignity of *comes* was neither restricted to military commanders nor sufficient to secure an important baron's allegiance. Granting lands was not sufficient either. Although not all the counts were part of the 'royal nobility', for not everybody was

³⁴⁹ Cf. Graham A. Loud, 'William the Bad or William the Unlucky? Kingship in Sicily 1154–1166', *Haskins Society Journal*, 8 (1999), 99–113 (p. 105).

related to the Sicilian branch of the Hauteville kin group, they still occupied the highest place amongst the most prominent local lords. Securing certain territories and lords under the overlordship of a count seems to have been the strategy followed by the Sicilian monarchy on the mainland. However, how much of the comital organisation can be attributed to King Roger's planning and implementation? Although there is no consistent and firm evidence to prove the existence of a royal project or policy for a specific social re-arrangement, it appears that Roger II used the lordships and barons clustered together under these enhanced territorial leaders, i.e. the counties, to gather and organise his army, but not necessarily to command it.

The comital title transitioned from a local dignity to a distinction of power that emanated from a single authority to which all were accountable. As such, the counts validated their higher social position over the rest of the barons under the new monarchy, and the crown secured certain territories and lords under the overlordship of a count. If a strategy can be reconstructed from the unfolding of the South Italian county this be one of symbiotic adaptation between the Sicilian monarchy and the peninsular aristocracy. Consequently, although the *comitatus*, the county, was not necessarily a fixed territorial demarcation at that point in history, it became a useful unit for organising the powerful and loyal aristocracy and their tenure. The county under the early Hauteville monarchy seems to have been employed thus: as a unit of social power for manoeuvring with and against the upper strata of society. The counts, operating as heads of territorial clusters of lordships and landholders, commonly connected to a central authority, did not exist before the king. In this sense, there were no counties before 1140, only counts whose title referred to an authoritative lordship. Furthermore, after 1140, *comes* was neither a general and vague term used to denote a member of the upper aristocracy nor a simple honorary title. From this point onwards, the bearers of the comital title can be identified much more precisely.

The nobility's acquiescent strategy might have opened the door to the king's advance on the peninsula during the dawn of the Norman monarchy, but, at the same time, it allowed them to consolidate their authority as major landlords and territorial leaders, and the comital title was used as the ultimate confirmation of this condition. The counties, as clusters of local authority, operated as the 'connecting tissue' of a complex structure of social control on the Italian mainland. It was precisely this attempted social structure upon which the successes and failures of the following generations unfolded.

CHAPTER 3

'Only a Cat of a Different Coat'. The Opposition, Survival and Ascent of the Nobility under the Counts of Loritello and Gravina

It appears that a restructuring of the baronial upper stratum had already started to be consolidated during the last years of Roger's kingship. The peninsular upper aristocracy cemented around the counts. Without having to depend on a royal office, such as that of *magister capitaneus* or *comestabulus regis*, these counts enjoyed the highest position amongst the peninsular landholders. The economic and political power brought about by the counts' numerous territorial holdings and subtenants was different from the authority held by the royal functionaries who were in charge of the mainland, such as the chancellor or the *magister capitaneus*. As such, the confirmed and newly appointed counts appear to have been seen by the new monarchy as reliable leaders, worth keeping on top of the local society's structure. When Roger II died in 1154, there were eleven counts in the provinces of Apulia and the Terra di Lavoro (Avellino, Boiano, Buonalbergo, Carinola, Civitate, Conversano, Fondi, Lesina, Marsico, Montescaglioso, and Tricarico), and two more in Calabria (Catanzaro and Squillace).³⁵⁰

An important additional comital title was granted during the transition period that followed Roger II's death. Although his son William I had been nominally co-ruling with his father as king since 1151, it was not until Roger's absence that the order of things started to change; according to the chronicle of Romuald of Salerno, William had reigned with his father for two years and ten months by the time of the latter's death.³⁵¹ The new changes that the South Italian aristocracy would go through during William I's time could not be solely the result of the new policies; the circumstances in which the kingdom was created, including the social rearrangements implemented on the mainland, were also consequential to these changes. This can be observed clearly in what became the first significant change to the peninsular nobility under William I: the creation of Robert of Bassunvilla as count of Loritello.

³⁵⁰ See Chronological Chart.

³⁵¹ *Romuald*, p. 237. William I was crowned at Easter (18 April) 1151, becoming thus a co-ruler alongside his father King Roger. *The Historia Pontificalis of John of Salisbury*, ed. by Marjorie Chibnall (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1956), p. 69. For an important discussion, see *Tyrants*, p. 221.

Robert of Bassunvilla, twice a count The proud lord of Conversano and Loritello

Robert II of Bassunvilla, originally the count of Conversano, was one of the direct results of King Roger's approach to bonding with the local peninsular leadership by way of marriage – he was the son of Judith of Sicily, Roger II's sister.³⁵² This Robert of Bassunvilla was the only member of the peninsular nobility who could have claimed direct membership to the royal kin-group. The other three counts who were related to the royal family, Hugh of Molise, Roger of Avellino and Sylvester of Marsico, were in a different, less secure position. Whereas both Hugh of Molise's and Sylvester of Marsico's ties to the king's kin-group were rather weak or distant (Hugh was related either as the brother of Roger's mistress or as the husband of Roger's illegitimate daughter, and Sylvester's father was an illegitimate son of Roger I), Count Roger of Avellino was too distant a relative of the royal family to be considered a potential candidate for the crown and a part of the king's kin-group. His mother Magalda was a great-niece of King Roger, making Roger of Avellino a grandnephew of William I only in the third degree. Count Robert I of Conversano was, on the other hand, married to a sister of King Roger himself. Robert II of Bassunvilla was in this way clearly a member of both the peninsular nobility and the Sicilian royalty.

As explained previously, Robert II of Bassunvilla must have inherited his father's lordship and title soon after his death and before 1142, as by November 1143 he subscribes two royal charters in Capua and in Salerno as 'count of Conversano' (*comes Cupersani*).³⁵³ One should, nevertheless, remember that the second royal charter is, in all likelihood, a forgery. In any case, Robert II of Bassunvilla was recorded in 1146, in two now lost donations as count of Conversano and lord of Molfetta.³⁵⁴ As documented in the previous chapter, Robert II of Bassunvilla appears to have been active as a prominent lord in Adriatic Apulia, around the *Terra Barese*, and he exercised his authority over Conversano and the maritime city of Molfetta.

The creation of Robert II of Bassunvilla as count of Loritello was without doubt a turning point in the development of the South Italian county. First of all, one should remember what is known of Loritello before 1154. As has been detailed above, the last

³⁵² See above, on page 95. Also, see Genealogical Graph.

³⁵³ *Roger II Diplomata*, nos 59–60 pp. 166–72. On Robert I of Bassunvilla's death, see Trinchera, no 133 pp. 175–76.

³⁵⁴ Houben, *Die Abtei Venosa*, nos 121–22 pp. 355–57. Houben has presented here the surviving references and summaries that can be found in Prignano, 'Historia', fol. 96v. Cf. Crudo, pp. 243–44; Petrucci, 'I documenti di Bassunvilla', nos 1–2 p. 115; Ménager, 'Les fondations monastiques', nos 36–37 p. 109.

dated documented appearance of a count of Loritello was in 1137, when William of Loritello confirmed what his grandfather Count Robert [I] and his father Count Robert [II] gave to the church of Chieti.³⁵⁵ This William appears to have been the same lord recorded in two undated charters from the abbey of St Mary in Tremiti, and also the count who swore allegiance to Lothar II in 1137.³⁵⁶ It has, therefore, been assumed that the king confiscated his county as a punishment for this disloyalty. Jamison was of the opinion that the lands of Loritello were merged with the demesne of the new crown for administrative purposes.³⁵⁷ Very little is actually known about the royal demesne on the mainland at this stage, but Jamison seems to assume that the lands in which there is no surviving evidence of any count's activity or presence after the civil war were confiscated by the crown and held as royal demesne. Ariano and Loritello might have been attributed to the royal demesne, but as documented in the previous chapter, many of the towns and lordships that fell under the authority of former counts were granted to other lords aligned with the monarchy, and so subsequently became parts of new counties.

In the case of Ariano, for example, we know that the newly created count of Buonalbergo, Robert of Medania, was the overlord of most of the territories north of the former comital seat. Interestingly enough, the *Quaternus* records that a handful of *feuda* south of Ariano (Contra, Flùmeri, *S. Angelum*, Trevico, and Vallata) did not fall under the lordship of any count, and their lord, Richard son of Richard – the brother of the count of Civitate – appears to have held these lands *in demanio*, directly from the royal *curia*, and acted also as an overlord of two other lesser barons.³⁵⁸ Albeit not a count, this Richard son of Richard is recorded as an overlord of two other lesser barons, and as such his military obligation is recorded to be of forty *milites* and eighty *servientes*, most of these due from the *feuda* near Ariano. Cuozzo has suggested that Richard's father was in fact Richard son of Guarin of Flumeri, who was also the father of Count Robert of Civitate.³⁵⁹ Even though the *Quaternus* could in fact reflect a later snapshot in time, c. 1167, rather than when the original drafts might have been constructed, c. 1150, the county of Buonalbergo did not go through any apparent transformation, and no further county was created around the area. Conversely, the lands and *feuda* that are recorded in the *Quaternus* under the 'county of Loritello' appear to have been grouped as a small vacant

³⁵⁵ *Italia Sacra*, VI, cols 706–7.

³⁵⁶ *Cod. Dipl. Tremiti*, nos 99–100 pp. 284–86; *Annalista Saxo*, p. 606.

³⁵⁷ Jamison, 'Norman Administration', p. 254.

³⁵⁸ *Catalogus Baronum*, ¶ 291 p. 47.

³⁵⁹ Errico Cuozzo, 'Ruggiero, conte d'Andria: ricerche sulla nozione di regalità al tramonto della monarchia normanna', *ASPN*, 20 (1981), 129–68 (pp. 129–33). See above, note 123.

county whose military obligation consisted of only sixteen *milites* and thirty *servientes*.³⁶⁰ This vacancy could have been the case in either period of time, or even in both: so far as we know, Loritello remained vacant until 1154, and again after the events that would transpire in 1158 – those which are discussed below. In a nutshell, Loritello could have been the only vacant county whose original title preceded the kingdom's creation. Even though it is not certain just how these lands were preserved and administered, whether as a core lordship, unassigned and held by the crown, or as dismantled series of small lordships that were put together in 1154, a revived comital title for Loritello was used in 1154, and a county was created from it.

There exist three main narrative sources that describe how Robert II of Bassunvilla was created count of Loritello: the chronicles of Romuald of Salerno, John Berard of St Clement in Casauria, and Alexander of S. Bartholomew in Carpineto. Romuald Guarna's *Chronicon* recorded that 'after the death of his father, he [King William] summoned the magnates of his kingdom and was solemnly crowned at the next Easter [4 April 1154]. Robert of Bassunvilla, count of Conversano, the king's first cousin, was present at this court. King William gave him the county (*comitatus*) of Loritello and sent him honourably back to Apulia'.³⁶¹ Together with the appointment of chancellor Maio of Bari as great admiral of the kingdom, it seems that investing Robert of Bassunvilla with the county of Loritello was William I's inaugural political manoeuvre. John Berard, in his chronicle appended to the *Liber instrumentorum* of the abbey in Casauria, reports that William I 'was a man of extraordinary wisdom and great courage, who wishing to benefit his relatives (*consanguineis suis*) made Robert of Bassunvilla count of Loritello, and placed both the whole of that county (*comitatus*) and the neighbouring lands under his rule, for he believed him to be loyal to himself and that he would be even more devoted if well-rewarded'.³⁶² These two versions seem to agree, and no further explanation on the possible reasoning behind this decision is presented. Alexander the monk expands this story in the chronicle of Carpineto, by explaining that Robert of Bassunvilla, the king's nephew, was made count by the explicit death-bed wish of Roger II.³⁶³ Interestingly enough, Robert of Loritello was recorded a couple of months earlier, before Easter, just as count of Conversano and lord of Molfetta, as he granted holdings to the abbey of Venosa in March 1154.³⁶⁴ On the other hand, Robert's earliest

³⁶⁰ *Catalogus Baronum*, ¶¶ 357–63 pp. 61–63.

³⁶¹ *Romuald*, p. 237. See also *Tyrants*, p. 221.

³⁶² *Chron. Casauriense*, col. 895.

³⁶³ *Chron. de Carpineto*, bk 5 p. 78. Cf. *Il Chronicon di S. Bartolomeo di Carpineto*, ed. by Enrico Fuselli (L'Aquila: Libreria Colacchi, 1996), p. 131.

³⁶⁴ Houben, *Die Abtei Venosa*, no 131 pp. 365–67.

documented transaction as count of Loritello is a concession he made to the bishop of Chieti in July 1154. Count Robert exempted the cathedral of St Thomas Apostle of all the dues related to the lands, animals, gates, and rivers located in its diocese; the count of Loritello did this for the salvation of ‘his father Count Robert of Conversano and Judith, his mother’ (*pro salute animarum ac peccatorum [redemptione] domini et patris mei Roberti cupersani comitis bone memorie domine Iuditte matris mei*).³⁶⁵

This is a convenient point to note that, like many other monastic chronicles, the authors of the chronicles of Casauria and Carpineto, John Berard and Alexander, tend to interpret events as though their own monasteries were central to them. One should be cautious when interpreting these testimonies; comparing statements between different chronicles and understanding the local relevance of each viewpoint provide here useful and more detailed insights. Furthermore, these accounts also provide a useful corrective to the narrative of Pseudo-Falcandus, in that they present a positive view of William I as king. Altogether, these testimonies not only confirm the kinship bond between the Bassunvilla and the Sicilian crown, and the creation of the former as count of Loritello, but they also provide a common picture in which the Apulian noble is the centre of attention of the monarchy, placing him at the same level of the ‘emir of emirs’ Maio of Bari, the most important office in the kingdom.

Why would the king pay so much attention to the count of Conversano and enhance his position and power by granting him a second county? It is not even clear if this decision was made by William I, or by Roger II, if we ought to believe Alexander of Carpineto. Pseudo-Falcandus suggested, in the treacherous mouth of an ill-depicted Maio of Bari, that Roger II ‘was said to have directed in one of his wills that if his son William should turn out to be useless or unsuitable, then they should put Count Robert, about whose abilities there was no doubt, in charge of the realm’.³⁶⁶ John Kinnamos provides another take on the issue, albeit a muddled one. The Greek historian related that: ‘while Roger II lived, [Robert of] Bassunvilla had authority over [southern] Italy’, and that after Roger died and the authority passed to his son William, Robert ‘was constrained to continue as an assistant governor, while another controlled [southern] Italy. Refusing to

³⁶⁵ Chieti, Curia Arcivescovile, *Archivio storico*, perg. no 19. Summarised in *Italia Sacra*, VI, cols 706–7. The charter’s left margin is partially damaged, and the year’s last number is absent; however, the rest of the dating clause is legible: on the fourth year of King William, July, 2nd indiction. Ughelli mistakenly dated it to 1157, because the fourth regal year of William I was 1154 – he was crowned at Easter 1151, and since then regarded co-ruler together with his father King Roger. Cf. Balducci, p. 7; Cuzzo, *Commentario*, p. 73.

³⁶⁶ *Falcandus*, pp. 64–65. See also *Tyrants*, pp. 63–64.

endure the affront, he contemplated revolt'.³⁶⁷ There is no indication whatsoever that the count of Conversano held any additional title, such as 'chancellor' or even 'master justiciar', so it is clear that Count Robert did not exercise any authority over the other counts of Apulia and the Terra di Lavoro, nor did he hold any sort of gubernatorial position. Kinnamos' confusion is most likely the result of a remote, retrospective view of Robert of Bassunvilla's pretensions and the role he exercised during the insurrection, as well as a convenient rationalisation for Robert's opposition against William I. In any case, despite the inaccurate details of Robert's actual political position, the historian knew of Robert of Basunvilla's relationship to the royal family and of his rebellion on the mainland.

It seems feasible that behind Roger's presumed wish to make Robert of Bassunvilla count of Loritello was the king's scepticism about William's capacity to rule the entire kingdom, but this is not the only likely explanation. This passage, albeit hardly plausible due to the prejudiced nature of Pseudo-Falcandus' portrayal, may echo Roger's desire to reward a potential heir, should his only surviving legitimate son die unexpectedly and without surviving issue. It should be noted nonetheless that the future William II was probably born in 1153, and he had an elder brother, Roger (d. 1161), making Robert of Loritello third in line to the throne at best.³⁶⁸ However, the very young age of William's children could not have been a stable guarantee for succession. Perhaps the mainland dominions could have remained stable by strengthening the position of a loyal noble, and the control over the peninsular aristocracy would not only be guaranteed by royal functionaries but also by one of their own. There were enough reasons to believe that Robert of Bassunvilla's loyalty was reliable: after all, his father had been a loyal supporter of the king during the civil war, Conversano seems to have remained unproblematic throughout the rest of Roger's reign, and Robert himself was a royal relative. One can take this speculation even further, and imagine that Roger II could have seen in his nephew a potential substitute for the crown in case William lacked both the

³⁶⁷ 'οὗτος Ῥογερίον μὲν ἔτι περιόντος τὴν Ἰταλίαν διεῖπεν ἀρχὴν, ἐκίνου δὲ τετελενηκότος ἐπὶ τὸν υἱὸν τε Γυλιέλμον τῆς ἀρχῆς μετελθοῦσης, ἠνάγκαστο λοιπὸν ἐν ὑποστρατήγου λόγῳ διατελεῖν, ἐτέρου τὴν Ἰταλίαν διέποντος, καὶ δὴ τὴν ὕβριν οὐκ ἐνεγκὼν εἰς ἀποστασίαν εἶδε'. *Kinnamos*, bk. 4 chap. 2 p. 136.

³⁶⁸ William II's date of birth can be inferred from three references. First, Romuald of Salerno reported that young William II was 12 years old when he succeeded his father in the kingdom (*Romuald*, p. 254.); secondly, it has been recorded that William I died on 15 May 1166 (*Necrologio Cas.*, p. 67, fol. 290v; Garufi, *Necrologio di S. Matteo*, p. 70; *Annales Casinenses*, p. 312.); and finally we know that William II died in November 1189 at the age of 36 (*Annales Casinenses*, p. 314.). Although the *Annales Casinenses* record that William II was crowned in July, Garufi disagreed and claimed that young William was in fact proclaimed king days after his father died, as Di Meo asserted that William II's rule lasted 23 years and 6 months. *Annales Casinenses*, p. 312; *Romuald*, p. 254 n. 2; Di Meo, x, p. 293. In order to reconcile all these dates, William must have been born in 1153. Conversely, Loud follows the *Annales Casinenses* and suggests that a birthday in June 1153 would solve the discrepancies. *Tyrants*, p. 138 n. 132.

ability and the support to be king. With this in mind, one should also assess the motives behind William's possible determination to make his cousin a double count. Was William I trying to dissuade a potential rival, or rewarding someone who appeared to be a close noble ally?³⁶⁹ Whether it was met with fear or confidence, the decision carried an inherent risk: tipping the scales of power in favour of a single aristocrat, and so disturbing the social equilibrium that had been created along with the re-arrangement of the landholding aristocracy. In any case, the immediate consequences of creating a double count in Robert of Bassunvilla did not fulfil the possible expectations of either Roger II or William I, and instead unleashed a new period of instability.

This was the first time under the new monarchy that two comital titles were assigned to one noble. Furthermore, Loritello was not an insignificant lordship. Since the conquest, Loritello had been the gate to the northern Adriatic, connecting the Capitanata with the lands of the count of Boiano and the border region of the Abruzzo. It is reasonable to argue that many of the lords and lands that fell under the authority of the original Hauteville counts of Loritello were reassigned to other neighbouring counts (i.e. Boiano and Civitate), and hence the actual dominions granted along the Loritello title might have been less extensive than what was held by the original Loritello counts – just as the post-1136 county of Conversano was less extensive than the pre-1130 lands of the original counts of Conversano. Nevertheless, the *feuda* placed under the county of Loritello provided a rather useful foothold to connect the lands in the southern Adriatic with the rest of the Italian peninsula. Robert II of Bassunvilla was therefore more than a simple baron honoured twice with the comital title; he became the most important lord of the Adriatic front of the kingdom. As such, he embodied the first manifest opposition in the kingdom since the civil war. Robert of Bassunvilla, count of Conversano and Loritello, rebelled against the Sicilian crown.

The barons' rebellion and the invasion of the kingdom The nobility still had its claws

The rebellion of Robert of Bassunvilla spearheaded a fresh new period of instability, but the double-count himself was not the only trigger. Frederick Barbarossa marched to Rome in the spring of 1155 for his imperial coronation. Both events seem to have sparked off a fully fledged revolt across all of the kingdom: Robert of Bassunvilla in the Adriatic coast,

³⁶⁹ On this discussion, see Armando Petrucci, 'Bassunvilla, Roberto', in *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, by Alberto M. Ghisalberti (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia italiana, 1960), p. 186; *Chron. de Carpineto*, pp. 32–34.

the exiled prince Robert of Capua who came back to recover the principality and invaded the Tyrrhenian front, and the supporters of Count Simon of Policastro on the island of Sicily. Although it is not the aim of this section to explain in detail and discuss what occurred during this period, it is necessary at least to relate the higher aristocracy's performance and transformation during these years of war.

The only sources that explicitly report a connection between Robert of Loritello and Frederick Barbarossa are John Kinnamos and the chronicle of Alexander of Carpineto. We are told by Kinnamos that, after contemplating revolt, Robert of Bassunvilla wrote to Emperor Frederick and 'promised to place the whole of [South] Italy and Sicily in the emperor's hands'.³⁷⁰ Conversely, the monk of St Bartholomew in Carpineto records that soon after (*post modicum tempus*) Robert was given Loritello, he rebelled against his lord the king, and in order to oppose him, Robert placed himself under oath to the 'Roman Emperor'.³⁷¹ The rebel count's hopes were thwarted however, for the Emperor went back to Germany, and no effective support was provided. Although the chronicle of Carpineto does not elaborate on why Frederick did not come down to the Sicilian kingdom, we know that the German emperor left Rome after his imperial coronation on 18 June 1155 and retreated northwards at the end of July, apparently due to sickness in the German army and the explicit refusal of the German nobles to accept the pope's condition to consecrate Frederick after he had captured Apulia and Sicily.³⁷² Robert of Loritello hence appealed to another potential ally against the king: the emperor in Constantinople.

Alexander of Carpineto reports that the count's envoys to the eastern Roman Emperor agreed to yield the naval cities of [Adriatic] Apulia and to place under the emperor's overlordship the rest of the towns; consequently, the emperor sent an army, with an immense amount of money, that encamped in the Apulian Adriatic coast, at

³⁷⁰ 'καὶ δὴ τὴν ὕβριν οὐκ ἐνεγκὼν εἰς ἀποστασίαν εἶδε. τοίνυν καὶ ἐπὶ Φρεδερίκον πέμψας Ἰταλίαν τε πᾶσαν καὶ Σικελίαν αὐτὴν ἐγχειρεῖν ἐπήγγελλετούτω'. *Kinnamos*, bk. 4 chap. 2 p. 136.

³⁷¹ *Chron. de Carpineto*, bk 5 p. 79.

³⁷² Schmale, *Gesta Frederici*, bk 2 chaps 34–37 pp. 352–62; *The Deeds of Frederick Barbarossa*, by Otto of Freising and his Continuator Rahewin, trans. by Charles C. Mierow, Records of Western civilization, 49 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1953), pp. 152–55. Additionally, Helmold of Bosau had provided in his *Chronica Slavorum* a contemporary testimony of the nobles' response to Frederick's intentions to march over Apulia: '*Diu est, ex quo fuimus in castris et desunt nobis stipendia, et tu dicis tibi Apuliam require et sic demum ad consecracionem veniri? Dura sunt haec et supra vires nostras. Quin potius impleatur opus consecraciones, ut pateat nobis reditus patriae, respiremusque paululum de labore; postmodum magis expiditi redibimus expleturi quod nunc faciendum restat*'. *Helmoldi Presbyteri Bozoviensis Cronica Slavorum*, ed. by Johann M. Lappenberg and Bernhard Schmeidler, MGH SS rer. Germ., 32 (Hanover: Hahn, 1937), bk 1 chap. 81 p. 154. For an important discussion, see Graham A. Loud, 'The German Emperors and Southern Italy during the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries', in '*Quei maledetti Normanni*': *Studi offerti a Errico Cuzzo per suoi settent'anni da Collegui, Allievi, Amici*, ed. by Jean M. Martin and Rosanna Alaggio, 2 vols (Ariano Irpino: Tipografia Villanova, 2016), I, 583–606 (p. 604).

Brindisi.³⁷³ Kinnamos also recorded that after Robert of Loritello had achieved nothing in Barbarossa's court, he arranged a meeting with Michael Palaiologos – a member of the Greek Emperor's council who held the rank of *sebastos* – in order to negotiate an alliance with the Greek Empire. Apparently, they had already met and exchanged oaths in Apulia at Vieste (Βεστία), a coastal town on the tip of the Gargano peninsula which had previously been captured by Palaiologos' fleet.³⁷⁴ Based on these two testimonies, it would appear that Count Robert of Loritello had made an initial offer to the Greek emperor, which allowed for a naval vanguard led by Palaiologos to set foot in Apulia before both parties had arranged the terms of their alliance.

On the other hand, the chronicle of Casauria detailed Robert's unruly attitude as his unlawful action preceded his eventual rebellion. John Berard of Casauria related that the count of Loritello wanted to rule over the things which had not been granted to him, and thence 'he occupied the monastery of St Clement, and forced its men and some of the brothers to place themselves under oath before the count'. Accordingly, the chronicler states that the king became angry and indignant, and commanded Count Robert to refrain from this presumption, and to leave the abbey of St Clement in peace, since it belonged to and was under the direct protection of the crown. The count of Loritello appears to have relented, and released its men and monks from the oath, but soon after he again 'acted treacherously against his lord [King William] and seized a great part of his kingdom'.³⁷⁵ Robert of Bassunvilla was not the only aristocrat to participate in this uprising.

John Berard of Casauria provides a little more detail by recording that Robert of Loritello 'lured many counts into becoming associates in his wickedness, and being more ambitious than one could imagine for a time he disturbed the whole country'. The war that resulted from the counts' sedition appears to have been rather destructive, as the chronicle of Casauria reports that fortresses were overthrown, villages left deserted, and many abbeys harmed. Additionally, another count is specifically attested during this time by John Berard: Count Bohemund of Manopello. He is recorded as having lost his county

³⁷³ *Chron. de Carpineto*, bk 5 p. 79.

³⁷⁴ *Kinnamos*, bk. 4 chap. 2 pp. 136–37. Vieste is a maritime town located on the easternmost tip of the Gargano peninsula, 55 km NE of Monte Sant'Angelo. Interestingly enough, the Greek control of the Gargano peninsula appears to be already confirmed in an October '1156' [corr. 1155] charter from the monastery of St Leonard of Siponto – a town 20 km SW of Monte Sant'Angelo – which was recorded as having been issued 'in the 1st ruling year [in Italy] of the most serene Roman emperor, Manuel Porphyrogennitos, our lord' (*serenisimo imperatore Romeon Porfirogeniton Maineli domino nostro .I. a. imperante*). *Regesto di S. Leonardo di Siponto*, ed. by Fortunato Camobreco, *Regesta Chartarum Italiae*, 10 (Rome: E. Loescher & Co., 1913), no 41 p. 26.

³⁷⁵ *Chron. Casauriense*, col. 895.

(*comitatus Manupelli*) after having resisted the rebellion for a while. The invaders who ‘took back’ the county were described as those ‘who had been driven out of the county of Manopello, and who thought that it rightfully belonged to them’.³⁷⁶ These unnamed men would have been the descendants of Robert of Manopello, whom the same chronicle records as the ruling count in the late 1130s.³⁷⁷ John Berard thus suggests that after the civil war, the heirs of the former counts of Manopello – who were related to either the ‘sons of Amicus’ or the Hauteville-Loritello branch – remained alive but were exiled from their own lands. As mentioned above, it is imperative to exercise caution when interpreting the testimonies of monastic chroniclers. Although John Berard tends to portray events as if Casauria was central to them, his testimony does supply us with a relevant local point of view; Casauria was at the centre of the Abruzzo, a region that, due to its geographical position as a border buffer zone and its proximity to the county of Loritello, became pivotal to Count Robert’s rebellion. The regional viewpoint of the monastic chronicle ought nevertheless to be contrasted with other testimonies.

An alternative reason for the insurrection of Robert of Loritello is provided by the archbishop of Salerno. According to Romuald’s *Chronicon*, after the king had ordered his army to besiege Benevento some of the barons rebelled and some others returned home without permission. As the royal army was broken up, the count of Loritello abandoned the king, fearing that William I would have him arrested on the hateful suggestion of the admiral, Maio of Bari.³⁷⁸ This episode is echoed in the chronicle of William of Tyre, in which it is told that the pope, in order to agitate the Sicilian king’s own men after the latter had ordered them to lay siege to Benevento, ‘persuaded the most powerful count of the realm, Robert of Bassunvilla, the son of the king’s aunt, and many other nobles to rise against him [William I] by promising that they should never lack the aid and counsel of the Roman church’.³⁷⁹ The chronicle of Romuald of Salerno furthermore suggests that the reason behind William I’s order to attack Benevento, which happened after Easter in 1155, was the failed attempt of King William to make peace with the Roman curia after the election of a new pope, Adrian IV.³⁸⁰ The Sicilian king refused to receive the papal mission sent to Salerno because the apostolic letters brought referred

³⁷⁶ *Chron. Casauriense*, cols 895–96.

³⁷⁷ *Chron. Casauriense*, col. 896.

³⁷⁸ *Romuald*, p. 238.

³⁷⁹ *William of Tyre*, II, bk 18 chap. 2 p. 811; *A History of Deeds Done beyond the Sea*, by William of Tyre, trans. by Emily A. Babcock and August C. Krey, 2 vols (New York: Columbia University Press, 1943), II, p. 238.

³⁸⁰ Adrian IV was elected pope after the death of Pope Anastasius IV in December 1154. For additional information on Adrian IV’s origins and career, see *Adrian IV, the English Pope, 1154–1159: Studies and Texts*, ed. by Brenda Bolton and Anne J. Duggan (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003).

to William I solely as ‘lord of Sicily’, therefore denying him of his regal status.³⁸¹ As a papal city, Benevento was the central stage for any conflict between the papacy and the Sicilian kingdom. In this way, Robert of Loritello’s desertion would have made him a crucial ally of the pope.

Pseudo-Falcandus furnishes a distinct and much more nuanced, if rather partisan picture of the reasons behind Robert of Loritello’s revolt. He starts by describing the ambitions and scheming of the great admiral of the kingdom, Maio of Bari. It is related that Maio was particularly afraid of three counts: Robert of Loritello, Simon of Policastro, and Everard of Squillace. The reason behind Maio’s alleged fear was rooted in what Pseudo-Falcandus describes as these nobles’ ‘good character’, which made Maio believe he could not corrupt their loyalty through deceit or bribes.³⁸² Pseudo-Falcandus seems here to be identifying one aristocratic leader for each major geographical area of the kingdom: Simon for Sicily, Everard for Calabria, and Robert for Apulia. It should be remembered that, as explained above, Count Simon seems to have been removed from the mainland soon after the end of the civil war, and returned to Sicily as lord of Butera, becoming thus the only known baron on the island who held the title of ‘count’ under the Hauteville monarchy.³⁸³

The image portrayed by Pseudo-Falcandus already conflicts with what was briefly said about the count of Loritello in the chronicles of Casauria and Carpineto. The count of Conversano and Loritello is no longer a treacherous and seditious lord, but the victim of a Machiavellian plot hatched between the great admiral and the archbishop of Palermo. It is then reported by Pseudo-Falcandus that the king crossed the straits, and many leaders went to visit the king in Salerno from many parts of the mainland. After Maio had turned the king’s mind against Robert of Loritello, the latter was unable to have an audience with the king, which angered the count. William I then returned to Palermo leaving in the mainland provinces a displeased count and an army ready to oppose the German emperor. Although Pseudo-Falcandus does not make any explicit mention of Frederick Barbarossa’s intentions, or even address the emperor by his name, he does attest that the potential threat of a sudden invasion was seriously considered. According to Pseudo-Falcandus, the royal army left in Apulia was commanded by the Chancellor Asclettin and Count Simon, neither of whom were members of the peninsular nobility.³⁸⁴ Romuald of Salerno provides confirmatory evidence on Asclettin’s role; we are told in his chronicle

³⁸¹ *Romuald*, pp. 237–38.

³⁸² *Falcandus*, pp. 60–63.

³⁸³ See above, on page 50.

³⁸⁴ *Falcandus*, pp. 62–65.

that just after his coronation William I committed the administration of Apulia (*Apulie amministrationem commisit*) to Archdeacon Asclettin of Catania, whom he had made chancellor, he was later ordered by the king to gather a great army and besiege Benevento.³⁸⁵ Assembling and commanding the royal army appears here to be the substantial duty of ‘administering’ the peninsular dominions, hence Asclettin would have been as chancellor the commander of the king’s armed forces on the mainland, just as Robert of Selby had been before.

Robert of Loritello’s blood-line was definitely seen as a threat, and Pseudo-Falcandus actually uses this when explaining how Maio managed to manipulate the king against the count. On the grounds that Robert’s uncle was Roger II himself, the count of Loritello was presented as someone who both wanted and could take control of the realm, at least according to Pseudo-Falcandus’ Maio. The king purportedly summoned Count Robert to meet the royal commanders – chancellor Asclettin and Count Simon of Policastro – in Capua. Here, Pseudo-Falcandus provides one of the most useful and interesting insights into the social system that articulated the military power in the kingdom; the author reports that the chancellor went to Count Robert to tell him that ‘it was the king’s wish that he should transfer all the knights whom he levied from his *feudum* to the command of Count Bohemund [of Manopello]. The count was greatly annoyed by this, and replied that it was an offence and contrary to the custom for his own *milites* to be appointed to another commander (*dux*), as if he himself were considered a traitor or incompetent for war’.³⁸⁶ It is not entirely clear what the author means here with the term *feudum*, but if one bears in mind the vocabulary and structure of the *Quaternus magne expeditionis*, Pseudo-Falcandus must be referring to the *milites* that were required by the *feuda* of both his tenure *in demanio* as the lords that held their respective *feuda* from the count of Conversano or Loritello. The author also hereby implies that it was ‘the custom’ for a count to be the commander (*dux*) of the *milites* that belonged to his tenure. As a holder of two counties, the contingent of armed men that he could levy was surely considerable; if the details in the *Quaternus* accurately reflect the status of these counties c. 1155, then the barons grouped under these two titles would have provided for a contingent of at least c. 80 *milites* and 100 *servientes* – and these figures do not include what the *feuda* held *in demanio* could have provided to the count of Loritello and Conversano.³⁸⁷ We are told by Pseudo-Falcandus that Robert of Loritello refused to

³⁸⁵ *Romuald*, p. 238.

³⁸⁶ *Falcandus*, pp. 66–67.

³⁸⁷ *Catalogus Baronum*, ¶¶ 89–99 pp. 17–18, 351–62 pp. 61–63.

follow such orders, and then turned back and went into the Abruzzo. Perhaps it is after this episode that the events narrated in the chronicles of Casauria and Carpineto, both written by Abruzzesi monks, took place.

Just as the chronicle of Alexander of Carpineto did, Pseudo-Falcandus also records the Byzantine expedition in Apulia. He mentions too that the Emperor of the Greeks was asked for support by Count Robert of Loritello, and that an army was dispatched to Brindisi, in which ‘noble and very powerful men’ were sent with enormous amounts of money.³⁸⁸ We know from Greek sources that the imperial expedition of Constantinople for the occupation of Apulia was led by John Doukas and Michael Palaiologos, and reinforced by Alexios Komnenos, son of Nikephoros Bryennios and Anna Komnene. Alexander of Conversano, the former rebel who was defeated in 1132 and then in exile became a key mediator between the empires as a Constantinopolitan legate, is also recorded to have been present with the Greek army.³⁸⁹ Alexander was described by Conrad III as ‘accustomed to serve both empires with unbroken loyalty’ ([*Alexander de Gravina*] *utrique imperio perpetua fidelitate servire manifeste consuevit*), and by Kinnamos as ‘extremely devoted to the Romans [i.e. Byzantines] and the emperor’s affairs’ ([*Ἀλέξανδρος*] *Λογγιβάρδος μὲν τὸ γένος λίαν δὲ εὐνοϊκῶς ἔχων ἔς τε Ῥωμαίους καὶ τὰ βασιλέως πράγματα*).³⁹⁰ It must be pointed out that Alexander of Conversano was referred to in exile as ‘count of Gravina’ by John Kinnamos, Conrad III, Otto of Freising, and William of Tyre.³⁹¹ It is not clear why Alexander’s toponymic name changed; before 1132, he is attested as count of Conversano and lord of Matera, but without any overt reference to the inland town of Gravina. Perhaps Alexander wanted to avoid direct confrontation with the newly established continental nobility in his struggle to recover his former dignity against the Sicilian monarchy, because the title ‘count of Conversano’ was reused after 1140 by Roger II when he made Robert Bassunvilla a count. This was an exceptional situation considering that most of the titles of the other rebel and exiled nobles were abandoned, such as the counts of Ariano, Caiazzo and Sarno. Another possible reason is that the Byzantine emperor was expecting to exercise direct control over the maritime cities in the Adriatic in their plans to ‘recapture’ Apulia. Consequently, by supporting the exiles and rebels that would become subjects of the empire, at least nominally, the Greek Empire must have required the Italian nobles to

³⁸⁸ *Falcandus*, pp. 70–71. The chronicle of Carpineto had recorded that a vast amount of money was seized from this Greek army after it was defeated and captured (*devictis Grecis eorumque copiosa quam attulerant accepta pecunia*). *Chron. de Carpineto*, bk 5 p. 79.

³⁸⁹ *Kinnamos*, bk 4 chap. 1 pp. 135–36, chap. 6 p. 148, chap. 7 p. 150.

³⁹⁰ Hartmann, no 216 p. 460; *Kinnamos*, bk 4 chap. 6 p. 148.

³⁹¹ See above, note 109.

confine themselves to the mainland. Interestingly enough, a Byzantine seal found in Dorostolon (modern Silistra, Bulgaria) has the name of Count Alexander ‘of Gravina’ engraved on one side, and of St Catherine on the other.³⁹²

The count of Montescaglioso, Geoffrey of Lecce, appears to have been another nobleman who played a prominent role during this time. Count Geoffrey is personified by Pseudo-Falcandus as a benevolent, smart and outstanding warrior, who was nevertheless a fickle, disloyal and opportunist individual. Count Geoffrey’s tenure appears to not be limited to southern Apulia; he is also recorded as lord of various towns in Sicily, including Caltanissetta, Noto and Sclàfani. This is backed up by the aforementioned 1153 marble inscription, in which the count of Montescaglioso was recorded as the patron of the church of the Holy Spirit in Caltanissetta.³⁹³ According to Pseudo-Falcandus, and apparently during the time of the rebellion, Maio was able to persuade William I that it was too dangerous for the count to hold Noto, which had a well-fortified *castellum* that was ultimately confiscated.³⁹⁴ In an attempt to circumvent Maio’s machinations, the count of Montescaglioso obtained the loyal support of other aristocrats, such as Count Simon of Sangro, from the Abruzzo, and Roger son of Richard, from the family of the lords of Treviso.³⁹⁵ Let us remember that lordships gathered under the county of Montescaglioso were pivotal for the territorial control of the kingdom, for it covered an extensive area around the gulf of Taranto. Additionally, this southern Apulian nobleman held a considerable influence in Sicily, in that his connection to the royal family via his sister – the late Duke Roger’s mistress – was the main reason why he received the lordships on the island.

Count Geoffrey is subsequently attested as having attempted to assassinate Maio, and after failing to do so, fleeing to Butera. According to Pseudo-Falcandus, Butera had been taken by Bartholomew of Garsiliato and other sympathisers of Simon of Policastro, in order to demand the liberation of Count Simon, who had been imprisoned by the king’s command, on Maio’s instigation. Geoffrey of Lecce’s role during the siege and negotiations of the occupied *castellum* of Butera is rather unclear. It seems, however, that the count of Montescaglioso went there to support the rebels, for after the surrender of

³⁹² *Obv.* Bust of St Catherine with nimbus and long hair, wearing a chlamys and a loros and holding (r. hand) a martyr’s cross in front of her breast. Vertical inscription: H - AΓI - AЄK | TЄP - ... [+] ἡ ἀγία Ἐκ(α)τερ[ίνα]. *Rev.* Inscription of three lines: | ALEXA. | ...OM.. | GRAVIN. [+] Alexa[nder c]ome[es] Gravin[e]. *Corpus of Byzantine Seals from Bulgaria*, ed. by Ivan Jordanov, 3 vols (Sofia: Agato Publishers, 2006), II, no 150 pp. 115–16.

³⁹³ See above, note 251.

³⁹⁴ *Falcandus*, pp. 70–73.

³⁹⁵ *Falcandus*, pp. 74–77. On Roger’s father, Richard son of Richard, lord of Contra, Flumeri, S. *Angelum*, Treviso, and Vallata, see, *Catalogus Baronum*, ¶ 291 p. 47.

Butera was negotiated, the royal party swore to him and his associates that the king would allow them to leave the kingdom unharmed. Count Simon was released following tremendous disturbances at Palermo, and his presence allowed the siege to be concluded and the negotiations to end successfully. Another notable aristocrat is attested in the Butera episode: Everard of Squillace. Count Everard of Squillace, described as a man of ‘unshakable loyalty’, is recorded by Pseudo-Falcandus to also have been active in Sicily during the rebellion. According to the author, he was sent as a royal representative to Butera, in order to negotiate with the rebels who had occupied the site’s *castellum*.³⁹⁶

The Adriatic and Sicilian fronts were not the only theatre of war; Robert of Loritello’s sedition also presented the opportunity the Capuan exiles had been waiting for since their defeat in 1139. The confusion that came from the rebellion brought also instability to the principality of Capua and the former principality of Salerno. According to Romuald’s *Chronicon*, the rebellion opened the gates for the Pope and his army to enter the Terra di Lavoro and to recover papal control over Benevento.³⁹⁷ The *Annales Casinenses* record that the former Prince of Capua, Robert of Sorrento, ‘captured the whole principality of Capua up to Naples and Salerno’.³⁹⁸ Similarly, Pseudo-Falcandus relates that Robert of Sorrento was welcomed by the Capuans, and took possession of the principality of Capua that belonged to him ‘by right of inheritance’.³⁹⁹ The word even reached Archbishop William of Tyre, as we are told in his chronicle that ‘Robert of Sorrento, the Capuan prince’ (*Robertus de Surrento princeps Capuanus*), was amongst the many illustrious and mighty-in-battle men who had been banished by William I and his father, and who were then exhorted by the pope to return to the kingdom and regain the possessions which belonged to them by hereditary right.⁴⁰⁰ The papal support appears to have come with a serious provision; according to the *Liber Pontificalis*, Pope Adrian IV received at San Germano ‘an oath of fealty, and homage from Prince Robert of Capua, Count Andrew [of Rupecanina], and other nobles from those lands [Terra di Lavoro]’.⁴⁰¹ Robert of Sorrento’s return appears to be confirmed by a donation issued by Prince Robert at Capua in April 1156, by which land was granted and confirmed to the nunnery of St John the Baptist in Capua; although we know of the transaction only from Monaco’s

³⁹⁶ *Falcandus*, pp. 78–81.

³⁹⁷ *Romuald*, pp. 238–39.

³⁹⁸ *Annales Casinenses*, p. 311.

³⁹⁹ *Falcandus*, pp. 70–71. The appellation of Robert as ‘of Sorrento’, which appears to be more commonly used after his defeat in the 1130s, comes from the fact that his mother was Gaitelgrima, a daughter of Duke Sergius of Sorrento.

⁴⁰⁰ *William of Tyre*, II, bk 18 chap. 2 p. 811.

⁴⁰¹ *Liber Pontificalis*, ed. by Louis M. Duchesne, 2 vols (Paris: Ernest Thorin, 1892), II, pp. 393–94.

transcription.⁴⁰² In the charter Robert fashions himself as *Secundus Robertus Capuanorum Princeps*. Interestingly enough the transaction is dated to the 29th year of his principedom; just as if his rule had never been interrupted since he was made prince in 1127. The return of Robert of Sorrento to his original principality brought the war to the other coast of the realm.

Together with Robert of Sorrento, other former members of the South Italian nobility came back to the Capuan province. The chronicle of Santa Maria of Ferraria recorded that ‘Robert, the former Capuan prince, Robert, count of Loritello and a relative of the king, and Count Andrew, nephew of the late Rainulf [of Caiazzo]’, invaded the kingdom alongside the Greek army, and subjugated all Apulia and the Terra di Lavoro.⁴⁰³ In the same way, the German *Gesta Friderici* reports that ‘the count of Capua, Andrew, a count of Apulia, and the other exiles from that province, entering Campania and Apulia with the emperor’s [Frederick I’s] embassy, received back the cities, castles, and the other possessions which they once had, without the opposition of the inhabitants who were supposing that the emperor would follow them’.⁴⁰⁴ Andrew of Rupecanina is recorded thus as one of the invaders who marched into the *regnum* with the former prince of Capua during the first year of William I’s reign. Even William of Tyre named ‘Count Andrew of Rupecanina’ (*comes Andreas de Rapa Canina*) as one of the exiled nobles who, together with Robert of Sorrento, returned to the kingdom.⁴⁰⁵ Andrew is attested with the comital title, and although there is no specific reference to where that title belongs, the rebel Count Andrew appears to have claimed the lordships that used to belong to his family as lords of Caiazzo, Alife and Airola. As a matter of fact, it was recorded that by this time ‘count’ Andrew had taken the town of Alife. The *Annales Casinenses* records that Andrew captured the ‘county of Alife’ (*comitatum Alifae*) once he heard that William I had allegedly died; it appears that the king was ill by this time, which not only secluded him for some months but also set off rumours of his death.⁴⁰⁶ The other Capuan counts that could have either assisted the king’s forces, or joined the rebels, seemed to be absent from the surviving records as well. Count Jonathan of Carinola, who is recorded as the lord of Airola in the *Quaternus*, appears to have been conspicuously inactive; no sources suggest he presented resistance to the rebel forces. On the contrary, Mario Borell, a lord who used to hold lands (*totam terram que fuit Gregorii Pagani*) of the count of Carinola

⁴⁰² Michele Monaco, *Sanctuarium Capuanum* (Naples: Octavium Beltranum, 1630), pp. 646–48.

⁴⁰³ *Chron. de Ferraria*, p. 29. Since Richard of Rupecanina was established before as brother of Rainulf, Andrew of Rupecanina must have been Richard’s son.

⁴⁰⁴ Schmale, *Gesta Friderici*, bk 2 chap. 37 p. 362. Cf. Mierow, pp. 154–55.

⁴⁰⁵ *William of Tyre*, II, bk 18 chap. 2 p. 811; Babcock and Krey, II, p. 238.

⁴⁰⁶ *Annales Casinenses*, p. 311.

does appear to have joined the rebels.⁴⁰⁷ Mario, a relative of the Abruzzesi counts of Sangro, is recorded as having burned on 21 August 1155 the town of Arce, in the northern borders of the principality of Capua, north of Fondi and east of Ceccano.⁴⁰⁸

The other major aristocratic figure who could have played a central role during the rebellion was Count Hugh of Molise. The *feuda* that other lords held *in servitio* from Count Hugh not only comprised a major part of the north-eastern territory of the Capuan province, but also created a territorial bridge deep into the lands of the count of Loritello. He was a prominent overlord located in a strategic area, yet still his presence and activities during this time of instability and double-front war are conspicuously undocumented. Jamison suggests that Count Hugh of Molise could have been involved as a member of Maio of Bari's party because it appears that Hugh of Molise was a close friend of Archbishop Hugh of Palermo.⁴⁰⁹ Such a claim is made on the basis of a thirteenth-century account of the *translatio* of the body of St Christina from Sepino to Palermo,⁴¹⁰ in which it is related that the archbishop of Palermo asked Count Hugh about the presence of this relic at the *castrum* of Sepino, and then requested that he allow the relic's transfer to the Palermitan church, where the remains of St Christina ultimately arrived on 7 May.⁴¹¹ The date of the *translatio* is uncertain, but Hugh of Molise's reported communication with Archbishop Hugh must have taken place at some point before 1158, but certainly after Hugh of Capua became archbishop of Palermo in 1150, and not necessarily after Roger II's death. Be that as it may, Count Hugh of Molise is not attested in any surviving contemporary testimony as a participant in Robert of Loritello's rebellion; he could have actually been deceased by 1156, although the first clear record that he was dead comes only in October/December 1158. The *Necrologio* of Montecassino has two Count Hughs (*Ugo comes*) listed but it is not clear which one would be Hugh II of Molise and who would be Hugh I of Molise.⁴¹² Pseudo-Falcandus' testimony confirms that Hugh of Molise's wife was a widow by 1160, in that it records that Matthew Bonellus was captivated by 'an illegitimate daughter of king Roger who had been married to Count Hugh of Molise'.⁴¹³ Without the support of the *milites* of Count Hugh of Molise and

⁴⁰⁷ *Catalogus Baronum*, ¶ 835 p. 152. The paragraph breaks off without specifying the *feuda* held.

⁴⁰⁸ *Annales Ceccanenses*, p. 284.

⁴⁰⁹ Jamison, *Molise e Marsia*, p. 23.

⁴¹⁰ Sepino is located 17 km SE of Boiano. See Map 1.

⁴¹¹ Luigi Boglino, *Palermo e Santa Cristina* (Palermo: Tip. delle Letture Domenicali, 1881), p. 64. Cf. Ottavio Gaetano, *Vitae Sanctorum Siculorum*, 2 vols (Palermo: Cirilli, 1657), II, pp. 145–46, *Animadversiones* pp. 58–59. See also Cuozzo and Martin, *Cuozzo and Martin, Le pergamene di Sepino*, pp. 60–61.

⁴¹² *Necrologio Cas.*, p. 66, ff. 304v, 310r.

⁴¹³ *Falcandus*, pp. 103–3.

Count Jonathan of Carinola, the king's barons could not stand a chance on his own against the rebel forces of the exiled Drengot family (i.e. the Quarrels) and the count of Fondi.

Sicilian rule in the peninsula appeared to be abolished during the climax of the war; in the words of Romuald of Salerno, 'one part by Prince Robert of Capua and the other by Count Robert, the whole land was occupied, except for Naples, Amalfi, Salerno, Troia, and Melfi, and a handful of cities and *castra*'.⁴¹⁴ However, just as rebellion sprung up everywhere, it was soon suppressed across the entire kingdom. After Butera was retaken, and the island pacified, the king's army crossed the straits, razed Bari, and defeated the Greek army in Apulia. Before this, the former commander of the king's army, chancellor Asclettin, appears to have fallen from the king's grace and been thrown into prison. According to Pseudo-Falcandus, Asclettin was arrested and then sent to prison after being attacked and accused by Simon of Policastro, who in turn was manipulated by Maio.⁴¹⁵ Although one cannot be certain if Asclettin did in fact fall victim of a conspiracy from within the court, it does appear that his activities in the peninsula ceased entirely, and that the king himself commanded the armed forces during the summer of 1156. William I's campaign seems to have stretched from May to June 1156.⁴¹⁶

The alliance between the count of Conversano and Loritello and the Eastern Empire turned out to be a disaster, for it appears that the Constantinopolitan generals alienated the Apulian barons. According to Pseudo-Falcandus, the Greeks were cheated out of the help of Robert of Loritello, who did not join the battle between the king's forces and the invaders; Romuald of Salerno explained that Count Robert left Brindisi and went to Benevento after learning of William I's arrival, and John Kinnamos blamed the imperial defeat on the count's abandonment of the army.⁴¹⁷ The outnumbered opposing army was defeated at Brindisi, many of the Greeks and their generals were captured and sent to Palermo, and the Apulian rebel barons were scared away into the Abruzzo. William's capture of Brindisi on 28 May 1156 was a watershed in the rebellion's development.⁴¹⁸ The *Annales Casinenses* and *Ceccanenses* record that after the king had retaken Brindisi and Bari, he met with Pope Adrian IV in Benevento in order to negotiate

⁴¹⁴ *Romuald*, p. 239.

⁴¹⁵ *Falcandus*, pp. 80–81.

⁴¹⁶ *Gli Annales Pisani di Bernardo Maragone*, ed. by Michele Lupo Gentile (Bologna: N. Zanichelli, 1936), pp. 15–16.

⁴¹⁷ *Falcandus*, pp. 80–83; *Romuald*, p. 239; *Kinnamos*, bk 4 chap. 8 pp. 151–52, chaps 12–13 pp. 165–68.

⁴¹⁸ *Annales Ceccanenses*, p. 284; *Annales Casinenses*, p. 311. The victory in Brindisi is recorded in a royal charter confirming the privileges of the archbishopric of Brindisi in August 1156, the *arenga* of which describes in detail the appalling punishment inflicted on the people of the maritime town and the traitors. *William I Diplomata*, no 15 pp. 42–44.

the safe passage out of the realm of the count of Loritello and ‘Count’ Andrew [of Rupecanina].⁴¹⁹ The chronicle of Alexander of Carpineto confirms this incident, as it records that, after the Capuan prince was captured, King William ‘headed ragingly towards Benevento as fast as a lion, laid siege to the aforesaid Count Robert and his companion Andrew, who, terrified of the royal power, fled to the pope. Thence, by intervention of Pope Adrian, the king granted them safe passage out of the realm’.⁴²⁰ Furthermore, we are told by William of Tyre that Andrew of Rupecanina sought refuge with the German emperor.⁴²¹ Romuald of Salerno likewise explained in his chronicle that, on the pope’s plea, the king allowed Robert of Loritello, Andrew of Rupecanina, and the rest of the rebels who had taken refuge in Benevento to leave the realm.⁴²² Subsequently, the Capuan rebellion collapsed without even having directly to face the royal forces; the king’s victories seemed to have shaken the hopes of the entire rebellion.

Pseudo-Falcandus provides an illustrative insight into the behaviour of the nobility during the rebellion, as the author relates Robert of Sorrento’s capture. As the rebel prince of Capua was fleeing the realm, he travelled through the lands of the count of Fondi, Richard of Aquila; but as Robert of Sorrento was crossing the River Garigliano he was arrested on the count’s orders and surrendered to the king.⁴²³ Romuald of Salerno echoes this testimony, in that he recorded that Robert II of Capua was ambushed and captured by his own man (*homo*), Count Richard of Fondi, while the former was crossing the Garigliano.⁴²⁴ The Garigliano was a natural border of the county of Fondi, as all the *feuda* recorded in the *Quaternus* that the count of Fondi held either *in demanio* or *in servitio* were exclusively located west of the river.⁴²⁵ It must be noted that the county of Fondi was situated on the northwestern fringe of the kingdom, and was the last major district through which the Via Appia passed,⁴²⁶ connecting the northern territories of Capua with the Gaetan shore and the Papal States to the north – today, the communes of Fondi and Gaeta are actually placed in the region of Lazio and not in the Campania, and the River Garigliano is the current border between these two modern regions. The county

⁴¹⁹ *Annales Casinenses*, p. 311.

⁴²⁰ *Chron. de Carpineto*, bk 5 pp. 79–80.

⁴²¹ *William of Tyre*, II, bk 18 chap. 8 p. 820.

⁴²² *Romuald*, p. 240.

⁴²³ *Falcandus*, pp. 84–85; *Annales Casinenses*, p. 311.

⁴²⁴ *Romuald*, p. 240.

⁴²⁵ *Catalogus Baronum*, ¶¶ 995–1007 pp. 179–81.

⁴²⁶ The Via Appia is one of the earliest and strategically most important roads since the time of the Roman Republic, connecting the central Tyrrhenian region to the southern Adriatic coast and stretching from Rome to Brindisi. For a general reference, see *Brill’s New Pauly: Encyclopaedia of the Ancient World. Antiquity*, ed. by Hubert Cancik, Helmuth Schneider, and Christine F. Salazar, 22 vols (Brill: Leiden, 2010), xv, cols 368–69.

of Richard of Aquila was thus located in a crucial enclave, a mandatory passage for whoever wished to go to or from Rome. It is interesting to note that it appears that the count of Fondi did not stay loyal to the crown throughout the entire rebellion.

Pseudo-Falcandus relates that Richard of Aquila had ‘greatly displeased the king before’, and Romuald of Salerno referred to the count of Fondi as a ‘man’ (*homo*) of Prince Robert of Capua who, through an act of treachery (*proditionis genere*), recovered the king’s grace, which he had previously lost.⁴²⁷ This deed did not entirely spare the count of Fondi a bad reputation, as Pseudo-Falcandus recorded that ‘many people consider it to have been a criminal act for him to have vilely betrayed his lord [Robert of Loritello], a man of the greatest nobility and humanity, to whom he had in addition bound himself by an oath of loyalty (*sacramentum quoque fidelitatis prestiterat*)’.⁴²⁸ Since we already know that this Count Richard of Aquila was the son of the late Count Geoffrey of Aquila, who died in 1148, the count of Fondi of this time could not have been tied to Robert of Sorrento before he had been deprived of his principality by Roger II in 1135. Hence, if what Pseudo-Falcandus reports is accurate, Count Richard of Fondi did betray the king and joined the party of the rebel Prince of Capua. The count of Fondi is furthermore recorded as having, in 1155, in the midst of the rebellion’s disorder, seized Suessa and Teano.⁴²⁹ These two towns were located deeper into the Capuan territory, southeast of Fondi, and appear to have been royal towns; Teano is recorded in the *Quaternus* under the section of Capua, as a city that was under direct control of the crown. Two lesser barons are recorded in the *Quaternus* as having held in Teano two *feuda* directly from the royal *curia*: Raoul son of William of Capua, who held a *feudum* of two *milites* in Teano, Octaiano and Fellino; and William son of John of Teano, who held a *feudum* of one *miles* in Teano.⁴³⁰ Suessa, on the other hand, has its own section in the *Quaternus*, and was clearly under direct control of the king; all the barons who held *feuda* in the city are not placed under any other major lord, and what appears to be a royal official, Ebolus the chamberlain, had recorded the value and service of many of the town’s *feuda*.⁴³¹ His betrayal of Robert of Capua seems to have been the reason why Count Richard of Fondi survived and kept his title and position after the rebellion.

⁴²⁷ *Falcandus*, pp. 84–85; *Romuald*, p. 240.

⁴²⁸ *Falcandus*, pp. 84–85. See also *Tyrants*, pp. 74–75.

⁴²⁹ *Annales Casinenses*, p. 311.

⁴³⁰ *Catalogus Baronum*, ¶¶ 905 p. 162, 926 p. 165.

⁴³¹ *Catalogus Baronum*, ¶¶ 932–46 pp. 166–68.

The consequences of the 1155–1156 rebellion
 The apparent tranquillity in the eye of the hurricane

By the autumn of 1156, William I had ‘expelled many of his enemies from the realm, sent others to prison, and received the rest back into his grace and love’ (*Rex autem plures de inimicis suis de regno expulit, quosdam in carcere posuit, quosdam in sua gratia et amore recepit*).⁴³² The count of Conversano and Loritello appears to have left the kingdom, lingering around the northern Adriatic border. Count Geoffrey of Montescaglioso, the insular Count Simon, and Count Everard of Squillace were out of the picture once stability returned to the kingdom. We are told by Pseudo-Falcandus that Geoffrey of Montescaglioso was firstly prevented from leaving Messina while the king was on campaign, against what was guaranteed to him during the Butera negotiations, and subsequently that he was imprisoned and blinded at Maio’s behest.⁴³³

Although there is no certainty beyond Pseudo-Falcandus’ testimony that Geoffrey of Lecce was in fact blinded, it does appear that he lost all his lordships. He does not appear in any surviving document as conducting any activity on neither the mainland nor the island. The only piece of evidence that attests him after 1156 is a funerary inscription from the cathedral of Palermo, dated 8 April 1174, in which he is recorded as ‘Count Geoffrey of Lecce’ (*Comes Licii Gosfridus*). Garufi arrived at the conclusion that the usage of the comital title here was given as a mark of respect to the defunct, in that he was the uncle of Tancred of Lecce, who had acquired a considerable degree of influence in the king’s *curia* by that time.⁴³⁴ It is safe to assume then that Geoffrey stayed in Sicily, deprived of his lordships and the county of Montescaglioso, and died in Palermo, perhaps after having been released from prison by 1169. Count Simon, on the other hand, is recorded by Pseudo-Falcandus as having died after he was summoned to court, just before he actually arrived in Palermo.⁴³⁵ Simon’s death is attested in the same 1156 royal document in which his parentage is confirmed.⁴³⁶ Everard of Squillace survived sometime after the realm was pacified, but soon after he too seems to have fallen from the king’s grace and was imprisoned. According to Pseudo-Falcandus, Maio inflamed the king’s suspicions after Count Everard had left the court ‘without permission’ with a contingent of *milites*, as reportedly he went out to hunt. Everard was then summoned to court,

⁴³² Romuald, p. 241.

⁴³³ Falcandus, pp. 80–85.

⁴³⁴ Garufi, ‘I conti di Montescaglioso’, pp. 339–40.

⁴³⁵ Falcandus, pp. 84–85.

⁴³⁶ See above, note 130.

arrested, had his eyes gouged out and his tongue cut off.⁴³⁷ Such a sudden and gruesome fate could be more a figment of Pseudo-Falcandus' rhetoric than an actual testimony of what occurred; it does however indicate the deposition of the count of Squillace. There is no further evidence that records any count for Squillace before 1176.

In the principality of Capua, there appears to have been no discernible change in the configuration of the local upper leadership. After hearing the news of William's victories in the Adriatic front, Andrew of Rupecanina left Alife and the kingdom. The silence around most of the Capuan counts forces us to rely solely on the conjecture that they were neither involved with the rebels nor mobilised themselves actually to face the rebellion without the direct command of the royal army. Thus, after 1156 the upper aristocracy of the province of Capua had the same members and arrangement as it did before the rebellion.

The Adriatic front must have been an arena of intense conflict during this period; from the *Terra Barese*, where the invading Greek army had obtained a foothold, to the River Trigno (the border between northern Apulia and the Abruzzo), where Robert of Loritello appears to have been active. The lords who were grouped under the count of Conversano might have joined the rebellion as part of the reinforcement the rebel count meant to send to the Greek army, but there is no evidence of any major confrontation or battle taking place in the valleys of the gulf of Taranto (located in the instep of the Italian 'boot'), where many of these lords held their respective *feuda*. The count of Andria, on the other hand, appears to have been active in fighting on the king's side.

The count of Andria, Richard of Lingèvres, is recorded by Robert of Torigni as having participated in the destruction of Apulia, alongside Robert II of Bassunvilla.⁴³⁸ The Norman chronicler nevertheless mistakenly asserts that Count Richard presumed the king was dead, and ravaged Apulia together with the count of Loritello. Conversely, John Kinnamos provides a more detailed and closer look at the activities of Count Richard of Andria. The Greek historian recorded that a certain Richard, who was in command of the 'fortress' of Andria (Ἀντροῦ φρουρίου), opposed the Greek advance in Apulia and joined with other counts (κόμητες) and the 'logothete' Asclettin (according to Kinnamos, 'logothete' was the Greek equivalent to 'chancellor') in the recovery of the city of Trani (it should be noted that the maritime city of Trani is adjacent to the north-east to the town of Andria). This commander of Andria was assuredly the same Count Richard that Robert of Torigni attested as count of Andria. Kinnamos furthermore indicates that Richard was

⁴³⁷ *Falcandus*, pp. 86–87.

⁴³⁸ Howlett, *Robert of Torigni*, p. 185.

originally followed by an army of 2,000 knights (*ἰππεῖς*) and a myriad of soldiers, and that his intervention shifted the balance of the war; Richard later retreated to Andria followed by 2,800 knights and a large group of foot soldiers. The count of Andria was nonetheless pursued and ultimately defeated by the Byzantine army and the contingent of the count of Loritello. We are also told by Kinnamos that after Richard of Andria was killed, Andria and its troops went over to the invading Greek army.⁴³⁹ After this, no other baron is remembered to have been created count of Andria during William I's reign.

The count of Civitate, Robert son of Robert, is conspicuously absent from the surviving evidence. As the county of Civitate appears to have been intertwined, or at least juxtaposed, with the county of Loritello, Count Robert of Civitate would have been placed at the centre of the rebellion's arena. He is nevertheless omitted by the narrative accounts, and does not appear in any subsequent document. Robert son of Robert may either have joined Robert of Loritello and then been killed in combat or fled the realm, or alternatively he might have supported the royal resistance and then been killed in combat like the count of Andria. Had the former been the case, his heirs, if he had any, would not have been allowed to inherit the county, or even to stay in the kingdom; had it been the latter, the rebel forces of the count of Loritello would have taken his lands and removed any potential local rivals and heirs. Whichever the case, it is clear that Count Robert of Civitate was out of the picture after the rebellion, and his county remained vacant through William I's reign.

Finally, the count of Lesina, a neighbouring overlord of both Civitate and Loritello, does make an appearance in Pseudo-Falcandus' testimony. Count William of Lesina is reported to have already been taken prisoner in Palermo, together with Bohemund of Tarsia, the defeated count of Manopello, as King William was concluding his campaign on the mainland; John Berard furthermore recorded that Count Bohemund was captured by William I, and then put in chains.⁴⁴⁰ Hence, Count William of Lesina appears to have either taken part in the rebellion as an ally of the count of Loritello, or failed to defend his lands from the rebels, and been consequently deprived of the county and his freedom. By 1156 a new count of Lesina had been created: Geoffrey of Ollia, the son of the former royal justiciar Henry of Ollia.⁴⁴¹ Count Geoffrey of Lesina is mentioned

⁴³⁹ *Kinnamos*, bk 4 chap. 4 pp. 141–45. See also *The Deeds of John and Manuel Comnenus*, by John Kinnamos, trans. by Charles M. Brand (New York: Columbia University Press, 1953), pp. 110–13; Jamison, 'Norman Administration', p. 286.

⁴⁴⁰ *Falcandus*, pp. 84–85; *Chron. Casauriense*, col. 897.

⁴⁴¹ *Cod. Dipl. Tremiti*, no 107 pp. 297–99. Cf. Morlacchetti, *Tremiti e i suoi documenti*, 283. Henry of Ollia, son and heir of Lando of Ollia, ceded two fishermen of Varano (in the Gargano) to Cava before becoming royal justiciar, in October 1140. Cava, *Arm. Mag.* G.34.

in an October 1156 charter when Robert, his chamberlain (*Robertus, Malfridi filius, totius terre comitis Guffredi Alesine camerarius*), was recorded to have heard a legal case made by the abbot of the monastery of St John *in Piano* against the abbey of Tremiti.⁴⁴² Additionally, a March 1173 charter was issued by the same Count Geoffrey in the 18th year of his countship.⁴⁴³ This Geoffrey of Lesina was the same count of Lesina and royal justiciar (*Comes Alesin[us] et Domni Regis Iustitiarius*) who maintained correspondence regarding land distribution with Abbot Leonas of St Clemente of Casauria at some point after 1157.⁴⁴⁴ Hence, the Adriatic front must have comprised a corridor of six counties, starting from Manopello in the Abruzzo, going through Loritello, Lesina and Civitate, all the way down to Andria and Conversano, which were adjacent to the maritime cities of Barletta and Trani, and the whole Terra di Bari. From this geographical perspective, it makes sense that the prominent barons recorded as major players during the rebellion of the count of Loritello and Conversano were in fact the counts in this corridor. With the exception of Count Robert of Civitate, the counts of Manopello, Lesina and Andria are attested as having been actively involved in the armed conflict, and all of these noblemen either ended up in prison or died in combat; again, the count of Civitate might have actually been involved in the war, and his subsequent absence could have been the result of his participation in the conflict.

There are no major recorded activities related to the rebellion on the Tyrrhenian coast and Central Apulia. The count of Buonalbergo, Roger of Medania, is recorded in an 1154 local transaction as the overlord of a certain Constantine Aczarulus. He appears to have remained in place after the rebellion, for a June 1158 donation attests him as a benefactor of the monastery of Cava, in which he is recorded as ‘count of Buonalbergo, by the grace of God and the king’ (*Rogerus gratia Dei et regia Boni Herbergi*).⁴⁴⁵ Interestingly enough, Roger of Medania was mentioned months earlier, in a May 1158 transaction, according to which the bishop of Caserta granted the churches of St Mary and St Marcianus, at Cervino, in the territory of Maddaloni and within the bishop’s diocese, to the abbey of Cava, by request of Countess Judith – the widow of Count Robert of Buonalbergo – and her son Count Roger.⁴⁴⁶ Likewise, the activities of the count of Avellino during this period are scarcely documented; after Count Richard of Aquila died

⁴⁴² *Cod. Dipl. Tremiti*, no 108 pp. 300–3. Cf. Morlacchetti, *Tremiti e i suoi documenti*, 284–85.

⁴⁴³ See below, note 860.

⁴⁴⁴ *Chron. Casauriense*, cols 913–14.

⁴⁴⁵ Cava, *Arm. Mag.* H.32.

⁴⁴⁶ ‘*Domina quoque Comitisse et Rogerii filii eius Comitibus precibus mediantibus*’. Cava, *Arm. Mag.* H.31, ed. in Giacinto De Sivo, *Storia di Galazia Campana e di Maddaloni* (Naples, 1865), App., no 2 pp. 338–40.

in 1152, the earliest testimony of his successor, Roger of Aquila, is found in Pseudo-Falcandus, relating events of 1160. Conversely, the recently created count of Marsico is recorded just after the rebellion; in December 1157 in the Palermitan royal court, Count Sylvester of Marsico was attested as witness of a royal charter.⁴⁴⁷ In a similar way, Count Roger of Tricarico is only recorded in 1154, and nothing is heard of him until Romuald of Salerno attests him in his chronicle whilst relating a subsequent rebellion in 1159.⁴⁴⁸

The only county in this area in which there appears to have been some changes during this period is Principato. Unfortunately, there is no surviving evidence that records any activity conducted after 1150 by a count of Principato. Cuzzo and Houben have hypothesised that Count William, brother of Count Nicholas of Principato, joined the rebellion against William I in 1155–1156 and was subsequently imprisoned in Palermo, for he is recorded to have escaped from prison in Palermo in 1160 in order to join another rebellion.⁴⁴⁹ Although it seems likely that the Count William of Principato who was attested years later in a Palermitan prison was the same Count William recorded in 1150, this is no evidence that he was actually actively involved in the 1155–1156 rebellion. Additionally, Cuzzo has suggested that the royal justiciar and *comestabulus* Lampus of Fasanella was involved in the rebellion as a ‘loyal man’ of the family of the counts of Principato;⁴⁵⁰ however, again there is no actual evidence that Lampus conducted any activity during this period, apart from the fact that he does not appear in any surviving document after 1153.⁴⁵¹ It must be noted that, as royal justiciar, Lampus of Fasanella would have been in charge of overseeing the lands that corresponded to the former Lombard principality of Salerno. As such, he must have acted not as a man of the count, but as a delegate of the king’s authority when he subscribed, alongside the *stratigotus* of Eboli, a judicial authentication of a *preceptum* issued by the count of Principato.⁴⁵² As the head of an extensive county, covering a territory that went from Salerno to the lands of the count of Tricarico, if Count William of Principato had been involved in the uprising, a new front would have been open in the Salernitan region and southern Apulia. On the contrary, we do not hear about any important action taking place here, nor was the role of the count of Principato mentioned in any surviving narrative source. It seems more reasonable on the other hand to assume that Count William was imprisoned later, between 1156 and 1160, perhaps falling victim to the plots and conspiracy Pseudo-Falcandus so

⁴⁴⁷ See below, note 486.

⁴⁴⁸ See below, notes 463 and 465.

⁴⁴⁹ Cuzzo, ‘Milites e testes’, p. 161; Houben, *Roger II of Sicily*, p. 181.

⁴⁵⁰ Cuzzo, ‘Milites e testes’, p. 147.

⁴⁵¹ On Lampus of Fasanella, see below, on page 274.

⁴⁵² *Pergamene di Salerno*, no 103 pp. 190–201, especially 201.

vividly attests as having taken place in the royal court. Hence, the counties of Avellino, Buonalbergo, Marsico, Tricarico, and perhaps Principato, appear to have remained unchanged in 1156.

The barons' rebellion thus ended with some very significant but not numerous changes to the composition of the peninsular nobility. Pseudo-Falcandus recapped the state of affairs amongst the aristocracy: by the end of 1156 'opposition died down throughout the kingdom; all those brave men whom the admiral thought he had cause to fear had either been imprisoned or forced into exile'.⁴⁵³ Only a handful of the Rogerian nobility appear to be explicitly recorded as participants in the rebellion on either side. Count Robert of Loritello and Conversano was the leader of the rebellion in Adriatic Apulia, and was then forced into exile in the Abruzzo. Count William of Lesina and Bohemund of Tarsia were both taken prisoner after the king's successful campaign in the Adriatic. Although the former was almost certainly an ally of Robert of Loritello, Bohemund of Tarsia was not; he appears to have been blamed for failing to conduct the defence effectively in the country of the Abruzzo. Count Richard of Andria died in combat against the rebel Count and the Greek army. Count Richard of Fondi joined Robert of Sorrento when the latter captured Capua, and then betrayed Robert in order to regain the king's favour. Andrew of Rupecanina had joined the invasion of Robert of Sorrento, the rebel prince of Capua, only then to surrender and return to exile. Geoffrey of Ollia was, soon after the rebellion, created count of Lesina. Thus, only the counties of Civitate, Conversano and Loritello appear to have been left vacant by the end of 1156.

The overall picture of the peninsular nobility during this period of instability is thus one of limited changes but generalised disaffection. The absence of recorded incidents in Central Apulia and the former principality of Salerno, and of activities performed by most of the upper aristocracy, might suggest a nobility that had remained loyal, but still one that was rather passive and alienated. Were these major landholders and territorial leaders capable of maintaining both their social status and control over the land even in times of rebellion and shifting central authorities? Trouble seems to have been attested only when the forces of Palermo clashed directly with those of the foreign powers and the rebels. It was not until King William and his army crossed the Strait of Messina that effective and lasting resistance was exercised against the opposition. Consequently, the main core of the royal military forces during this campaign would have

⁴⁵³ *Falcandus*, pp. 86–87. See also *Tyrants*, p. 77.

come from Sicily and Calabria, and also perhaps from the southern counties of Marsico, Montescaglioso, Principato and Tricarico.

Kinnamos' account appears to be the only surviving narrative testimony that provides a deeper insight into the local military mobilisations before the king's army reached the Adriatic coast by land from Messina to Bari. The Greek chronicler alleged that the count of Andria not only commanded a considerable armed force – of 2,000 to 2,800 knights and a large group of foot soldiers – but that he also marched from his principal fortress to the defence of the city of Trani, which would have been the closest Adriatic bastion to his county. Contrary to the Greek narrator, the *Quaternus magne expeditionis* provides rather different figures. According to the military service records, the count of Andria under Count Bertram (c. 1167–1168) had to provide 72 *milites* and 200 *servientes* for the *feuda* he held directly (i.e. *in demanio*), plus 50 knights for the *feuda* held by his sixteen subtenants (*in servitio*).⁴⁵⁴ The 122 knights that the count of Andria was formally obliged to mobilise c. 1167–1168 falls deeply behind the 2,000 *ἰππεῖς* Count Richard supposedly commanded in 1155. Even if one assumes that the subsequent count of Andria was granted fewer *feuda* and had acted as overlord of fewer barons than those held by Richard of Lingèvres, no county in the *Quaternus* is recorded to have been responsible for a number of *milites* even close to one thousand. It appears thus that Kinnamos must have exaggerated the size of the ultimately defeated army of the count of Andria. Even if Kinnamos was correct and Count Richard did in fact lead the large army the chronicler attests, it can be inferred that Richard of Lingèvres must have been a commander of not only his own knights and barons, but of a larger division of the royal peninsular armed forces. In any case, and despite the count of Andria's apparent impressive military strength, he was still defeated by the rebels and the invaders.

This episode of the 1155–1156 war suggests that the peninsular counts might have been effective foci of military mobilisation only under direct command of the king's forces. As overlords, the counts appear to have played a vital role in guaranteeing social stability during times of peace, acting as nodal points within the regional economic and political structures. At this moment of crisis, however, the counts do not appear to have been effective commanders of autonomous royal military forces. The count of Andria, in Adriatic Apulia, and the count of Manopello, in the Abruzzo, appear to have led their own military contingents against the rebellion, albeit unsuccessfully. The transition from times of peace to times of war apparently resided precisely in the counts' integration with

⁴⁵⁴ *Catalogus Baronum*, ¶¶ 72–88 pp. 14–16.

the forces of the royal *curia*. Only a handful of noblemen openly rebelled against the crown in 1155–1156, but that was hardly an indicator of domestic stability. The following years proved just how manifold and capricious were the social structures that the centre at Palermo believed to have under control. The rebellion of 1155–1156 appears hence to have opened the gates for a new period of political tension and structural rearrangement.

The counts' coalition against the Sicilian rule, and the loss of the peninsula Recoil and survival, part I

As the most important baron on the mainland and the leading count of the realm, Robert of Loritello provides a rich insight into the development of the nobility in the years following Roger II's death. His case, however, does not illustrate the condition of the kingdom after 1156; the great count of Conversano and Loritello went from being a linchpin of the aristocracy's structure, to a rebel and finally an exile and a marauder. During the apparent peace after the rebellion, Robert of Loritello appears to have been constantly occupying and leaving the kingdom as he harried the north-eastern border. Pseudo-Falcandus reports that Count Robert attacked the Abruzzo and the adjacent districts of Apulia (the county of Loritello must have been one of these 'adjacent' Apulian districts), the reason for which an army had to be retained in Apulia.⁴⁵⁵ As the former count of Loritello was raiding the northern border, his *comestabulus* Richard of Mandra and the bishop of Chieti were arrested and taken to Palermo. If one recalls the donation made by Count Robert of Loritello in July 1154 to Bishop Alan of Chieti, it can be argued that this captured Bishop, and supporter of the rebel count, was probably this same Alan of Chieti.⁴⁵⁶ Robert of Loritello appears to have continued his career outside the borders of the kingdom, and the remaining members of the upper aristocracy, including Richard of Mandra, went into another stage of change and ascent without him. The stability left by the royal army became an evanescent accomplishment undermined by an unsteady nobility. The same counts that appeared rather passive to the count of Loritello's rebellion and the invasion in Capua started to become restless actors in the political arena. The absent leadership left by Robert of Loritello's defeat was soon occupied not by another single powerful baron, but by a coalition of counts.

The activities conducted on the island have been vividly narrated by Pseudo-Falcandus, although his rather dramatic testimony may contain figments of the courtier's

⁴⁵⁵ *Falcandus*, pp. 82–85. *Falcandus*, 82–85.

⁴⁵⁶ *Italia Sacra*, VI, cols 706–7.

political imagination. In any case, most of the reported events in this source are centred around the court in Palermo. The Great Admiral Maio and his circle of royal functionaries have been deeply studied, from the time in which Pseudo-Falcandus wrote his political account, up to the present day; however, the unfolding of the peninsular affairs has been eclipsed by the emphasised leadership of Maio of Bari. The present exploration, by contrast, directs its attention to the continental dominions of the realm, and following the actual documented actions of those magnates and barons that stood at the top of the social structure outside of the island itself.

Soon after 1156 an important change appears to have taken place on the peninsula: the creation of the count of Gravina. We are told by Pseudo-Falcandus that the ‘county of Gravina’ (*comitatus Gravinae*) was given to Gilbert of Perche, a blood-relative of Queen Margaret, just before 1158.⁴⁵⁷ Furthermore, there is no surviving evidence that records the existence of a count of Gravina before 1157. The kin-group that held the lordship of Gravina appears to have done so under the title of *marchio*; this lordship was held successively by the descendants of Marquis Boniface, from the Aleramici family.

In the Kingdom of Sicily, after the civil war period and the consolidation of Roger II’s reign, *comes* was no longer a vague term indicating a baron with an additional dignity or simply a member of the upper aristocracy, but a title denoting a member of the nobility and a leader amongst other peninsular barons. Although the lords of Gravina did not appear to have been key actors in the process of creating and imposing a new order under Roger’s kingship, they must have been pivotal aristocrats who would have gradually allowed for the control and mobilisation of local barons and their respective knights. In other words, the marquises of Gravina were counts in the making; after the first rebellion William I faced, Gravina became a new county ready to play a major role in the kingdom’s development.

An additional piece of evidence suggests that the count of Gravina was created before the appointment of the queen’s relative Gilbert. A charter issued in March 1157 to the monastery of Cava records an Albert son of Marquis Boniface as ‘count, by the grace of God and the king’, in which said Albert confirmed a donation previously made to Cava by his nephew Marquis Sylvester.⁴⁵⁸ The document refers to all previous lords of Gravina as ‘marquises’, but Albert himself employs the comital title and signs as a count, even though he was a son of the original Marquis Boniface. Hence, it seems that between 1155 and 1157, in all likelihood during the turmoil of the Greek invasion, Sylvester either died

⁴⁵⁷ *Falcandus*, pp. 98–99.

⁴⁵⁸ Cava, *Arm. Mag.* H.28.

without leaving any heir or was removed from his position, and his uncle was placed in his stead as count. There is not enough evidence safely to hypothesise on Marquis Sylvester's role in the rebellion and the invasion, but it is certain that the king allowed and even utilised the promoted lordship of Gravina as a county when he created Gilbert a count; we can hence presume Sylvester's uncle Albert was given the comital title as Sylvester's successor. By the mid-twelfth-century, the previous notion of bearing a prestigious but politically ambiguous dignity appears to have fallen behind the new social significance and prominence of being a count of the realm. The subsequent vacancy of Gravina was in all probability the result of Albert having died c. 1157, and Sylvester's heirs being either inexistent or banned. Sylvester's mother Philippa continued to hold an estate in Forenza, a nearby town of which Boniface was originally a lord, until her death before 1168, for she was interestingly recorded in the *Quaternus* as the 'former' (*quondam*) Marquioness of Gravina, whose *feudum* in Forenza would revert (*revertetur*) to Count Gilbert of Gravina on her death.⁴⁵⁹ It is probable then that the family of the sons of Boniface of Gravina died out just before Gilbert became count of Gravina.

We are told by Pseudo-Falcandus that King William summoned Gilbert of Perche from Spain in order to take the comital position of Gravina.⁴⁶⁰ His familial relationship to Queen Consort Margaret was rather distant, although certain. Gilbert's father Bertram was the illegitimate son of Count Rotrou II, who in turn was the son of Count Geoffrey II of Mortagne, counts who later adopted the style counts of the Perche. Count Rotrou II was the brother of Juliana of Perche, who stood for his brother while the former participated in the crusade led by King Alfonso of Aragón and Navarre, and acted as a lord of Tudela through the 1120s. This legacy was presumably the reason why his illegitimate son and his grand-son were residents and lords in Navarre.⁴⁶¹ Count Rotrou II also appears to have arranged the marriage of Margaret, daughter of his sister Juliana and Gilbert of L'Aigle, with García Ramírez, a member of the former royal dynasty of Navarre.⁴⁶² Hence, when García Ramírez secured his claim to the throne of Navarre in

⁴⁵⁹ *Catalogus Baronum*, ¶ 71 p. 14.

⁴⁶⁰ *Falcandus*, pp. 98–99. See Genealogical Graph. Also, see chart no II in *Tyrants*.

⁴⁶¹ On the county of Perche, see Kathleen Thompson, *Power and Border Lordship in Medieval France: The County of the Perche, 1000–1226* (Boydell & Brewer Ltd, 2002); Thompson, 'The Lords of Laigle', 183–84. For a summary of Rotrou's activities in the Iberian Peninsula, see Lucas Villegas-Aristizabal, 'Norman and Anglo-Norman Participation in the Iberian Reconquista c.1018 - c.1248' (unpublished PhD, University of Nottingham, 2007), pp. 109–11; Lynn H. Nelson, 'Rotrou of Perche and the Aragonese Reconquest', *Traditio*, 26 (1970), 113–33.

⁴⁶² *Chronica Albrici monachi Trium Fontium*, ed. by Paul Scheffer-Boichorst, MGH SS, 23 (Hanover: Hahn, 1874), p. 794. The lordship of Tudela was the dowry of Margaret of L'Aigle, as confirmed by Roger of Hoveden when he described a dispute between the kings of Navarre and Castile in 1177. *Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi Benedicti Abbatis*, ed. by William Stubbs, *Rerum Britannicarum Medii Aevi Scriptores*, 49, 2 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1867), I, pp. 146–48.

1135, Margaret of L'Aigle became the queen consort of Navarre, whose daughter Margaret was to become the wife of William I and queen consort of Sicily.

The appointment of this Hispano-Norman relative of the queen initially backfired against William I; Count Gilbert of Gravina was soon enough involved in a coalition against the Sicilian regime. Both Romuald of Salerno and Pseudo-Falcandus recorded the formation of a coalition of counts in the midst of a conspiracy against the Great Admiral Maio of Bari. Romuald recorded that, in 1159, the group of conspirators consisted of 'Count Jonathan of Conza, Count Gilbert of Gravina, Count Bohemund of Manopello, Count Roger of Acerra, Count Philip of Sangro, Count Roger of Tricarico, and other barons'.⁴⁶³ Similarly, we are told by Pseudo-Falcandus that the conspiracy consisted of 'Count Jonathan, Count Richard of Aquila, Count Roger *Acerranus*, and other counts and powerful men. Together with them there was also Count Gilbert'.⁴⁶⁴ The Count Jonathan here is the count of Carinola who, as explained above, was granted some of the Apulian lands that used to belong to Geoffrey of Catanzaro, as well as Conza. Count Roger of Acerra was in fact count of Buonalbergo, but as is illustrated above, he also held Acerra, a lordship that had belonged to his family before the comital title was granted to his father, Robert of Medania. Count Philip of Sangro must have been the son and heir of Simon of Sangro, the same Abruzzese Count Simon recorded in the *Quaternus*, who had sided with the former count of Montescaglioso, Geoffrey of Lecce, during his feud against Maio of Bari. Being both a baron from the Abruzzo – a region where authority appears to be in fluctuating disarray between the exiled Robert of Loritello and the remaining royal loyalists since the rebellion broke out in 1156 – and a son of a sympathiser of an imprisoned rebel nobleman, Philip of Sangro would have been an ideal candidate to lead an uprising against the Sicilian rule. One could even suspect that Count Simon of Sangro either died as a combatant or was captured during the rebellion led by Robert of Loritello in the region; however, there is no surviving evidence or explicit testimony that would prove any of this. Count Roger of Tricarico, on the other hand, does not appear to have been engaged in any of the partisan disputes during the previous years; his last recorded presence is found in an 1154 donation made to a certain Thomas Sarracenus.⁴⁶⁵ It should also be highlighted that Pseudo-Falcandus does not explicitly list Roger of Tricarico as a member of the coalition, leaving Romuald's chronicle as the sole piece of available evidence that overtly records the involvement of the count of Tricarico in the uprising.

⁴⁶³ *Romuald*, p. 244. According to the Archbishop of Salerno, this conspiracy would have taken place by the time that Alexander III was elected pope.

⁴⁶⁴ *Falcandus*, pp. 98–99.

⁴⁶⁵ Di Meo, x, p. 206 n. 22. See also Gatta, p. 2; Cuzzo, *Commentario*, p. 32.

The Richard of Aquila recorded by Pseudo-Falcandus was Count Richard of Fondi, the same baron who had recovered the king's grace by betraying Robert of Sorrento and handing him over to the royal government.

The Count Bohemund of Manopello mentioned by Romuald of Salerno is not the same count that was taken prisoner after the previous rebellion, Bohemund of Tarsia. The disgraced Bohemund of Tarsia appears to have been replaced in Manopello by another Bohemund. According to the chronicle of Casauria, the first Count Bohemund was soon spared by the king and then released from prison, but went back to his native Tarsia, in Calabria, where he unexpectedly died. Additionally, it is mentioned that Bohemund of Tarsia's heirs were not allowed to succeed him; John Berard alleged that this was the result of the offences the former count of Manopello committed against the abbey of St Clement and the church of Pescara.⁴⁶⁶ Certainly this rationalisation can be expected from a monastic chronicler who would constantly overemphasise the role of his own abbey; the explanation however pinpoints the fact that the county of Manopello was confiscated, perhaps for the same reason that William I imprisoned Bohemund of Tarsia in the first place. Cuzzo has hypothesised that this Count Bohemund was related to Tancred of S. Fele (*Sanctus Felex*), a lesser baron from Central Apulia who held S. Fele, Agromonte and Ricigliano, and *feuda* in Bella and Muro Lucano.⁴⁶⁷ Cuzzo identified this Count Bohemund with a certain *Boamundus Sancti Felis*, and on that premise he assumes the connection with the barons of S. Fele.⁴⁶⁸ I have, nonetheless, been unable to confirm this, as Count Bohemund II of Manopello is not attested with such a patronymic label in either the *Chronicon* of Casauria nor in Pseudo-Falcandus, and no other surviving diplomatic evidence indicates the actual descent or origin of this Bohemund.

Although the conspiracy claimed justification because of the great admiral's alleged tyranny, it was nevertheless ultimately aimed against a royal court that attempted to govern from Palermo. Romuald of Salerno reported that even though the king ordered the conspirators to desist in their attempt against his trusted and loyal admiral, the counts refused to sustain the admiral's 'rule and government' (*amirati dominium et amministrationem*).⁴⁶⁹ It seems that regardless of the chroniclers' rationalisation, whether this was against only Maio of Bari or actually King William, the counts and their league were rebelling against the regime of the Palermitan court. The counts of the kingdom

⁴⁶⁶ *Chron. Casauriense*, col. 897.

⁴⁶⁷ *Catalogus Baronum*, ¶¶ 482 p. 91, 677 p. 120.

⁴⁶⁸ Cuzzo, *Commentario*, p. 291.

⁴⁶⁹ *Romuald*, pp. 244–45.

were not alone in their efforts against the Sicilian rule: Andrew of Rupecanina was back once more.

The new insurgency was assisted by a previous invasion led by Andrew of Rupecanina, who had taken the comital title and invaded the kingdom during the 1154–1156 rebellion, and kept raiding and occupying the northern territories of the principality of Capua even after his defeat in 1156. We are told by the chronicle of the Fossanova Abbey in Ceccano (*Annales Ceccanenses*) that in November 1157, Count Andrew crossed the Capuan border alongside ‘Romans, Greeks, and many other allies’, captured all the land of Fondi (i.e. the county of Fondi), burned down Traetto (modern Minturno),⁴⁷⁰ vengefully seized the lands of St Benedict (Montecassino’s land), reached Comino, burned down *Posta* and *Campuri*, and marched to Atina, finally retreating to Aquino (a border lordship on the north-eastern fringe of the kingdom, right to the west of Montecassino).⁴⁷¹ Kinnamos confirmed the Greek involvement in this campaign, as the Greek contemporary historian recorded that in 1157 Alexios [Axouchos], the imperial protostrator, sent Constantine Otto and ‘Count’ Andrew from Ancona to Apulia, where they raised a large mercenary force in order to subdue numerous cities, including S. Germano.⁴⁷² The same *Annales Ceccanenses* also recorded that on the fourth Sunday after Epiphany of the following year (January 1158), Count Andrew marched against the town of S. Germano, on the foot of the hill of Montecassino, and fought and defeated the king’s knights, from whom Andrew seized more than 200 men and all their spoils, whilst some others fled to the abbey of Montecassino. Count Andrew then gained control of San Germano and climbed up the hill, and occupied the abbey of Montecassino. Andrew stayed there until the feast day of the Forty Martyrs (10 March), when he abandoned the occupied lands and went to Ancona. After this he went to meet the emperor Frederick Barbarossa, who at that time was besieging Milan.⁴⁷³ It must also be noted that the Greek support for this campaign must have been short-lived, because the Greek war prisoners

⁴⁷⁰ Situated at the south-eastern slopes of the Aurunci, on the Via Appia, a few kilometres from the right bank of the Garigliano.

⁴⁷¹ *Annales Ceccanenses*, p. 284.

⁴⁷² *Kinnamos*, bk 4 chap. 14 pp. 170–71. The rank of protostrator originated as the title for the captain of the imperial stables. From the eleventh century, the position became more an honorific dignity for senior members of the court, than an actual office. In any case, Alexios Axouchos acted as a military commander in several campaigns during the middle reign of Emperor Manuel Komnenos. He was sent to southern Italy in 1157, in an effort to retrieve the Byzantine position there following the defeat in 1156. Rodolphe Guiland, *Recherches sur les institutions byzantines*, 2 vols (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1967), I, pp. 478–97; *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, ed. by Alexander P. Kazhdan (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), pp. 239, 1748–49.

⁴⁷³ *Annales Ceccanenses*, p. 284.

that William I captured in 1156 brokered a peace treaty between the kingdom and Constantinople by which the prisoners were released.⁴⁷⁴

The *Annales Casinenses* confirm Count Andrew's invasion: they recorded that in November 1157 Andrew seized the land of Fondi, Aquino, the land of Montecassino, and Comino. Later, according to the same *Annales*, on 6 January 1158 the same count captured San Germano, forcing Abbot Rainulf of Montecassino, Archbishop Alfanus of Capua, and many others to retreat to Montecassino. The land of St Benedict then surrendered itself to the invading count, who the following day ascended to the abbey and fought fiercely, but did not accomplish anything; afterwards, Count Andrew left the kingdom.⁴⁷⁵ The *Annales Casinenses* do not specify if Andrew of Rupecanina went to Frederick Barbarossa; yet they do mention that the German emperor was besieging Milan.⁴⁷⁶ Pseudo-Falcandus has echoed these recorded events, and he alleged that, after being in exile in Campanian territory, Andrew of Rupecanina gathered some knights and captured Aquino, captured San Germano and from there marched as far as Alife.⁴⁷⁷ One should remember that Alife, together with the region in general, was closely tied to the former dominions of his family, the Drengot kin group, as Andrew's uncle was Count Rainulf of Caiazzo.

Therefore, it is clear that the territory of the Principality of Capua was temporarily taken away from the king's authority in 1157–1158, and after Andrew of Rupecanina started a war in the north-western territories. The counts of Carinola and Fondi must have then been pressured into joining the unruly coalition of nobles. Andrew, the invader count, returned to the Capuan province in 1160, as the *Annales Casinenses* recorded that in the same year that Matthew Bonellus assassinated Admiral Maio in Palermo, Count Robert of Loritello and Count Andrew entered the kingdom.⁴⁷⁸ It appears thus that Pseudo-Falcandus summarised Andrew of Rupecanina's activities from late 1157 to 1160; Count Andrew would have crossed the Garigliano and taken the rest of the Capuan province, including Alife, after he returned to the kingdom in 1160. Count Richard of Fondi must have remained on the invader's side, for Fondi was not reported to have been captured again in 1160, and although Count Andrew had left the kingdom after 1158, the pressure of his constant presence and imperial support would have been incentive enough

⁴⁷⁴ *Kinnamos*, bk 4 chap. 14 pp. 170–76.

⁴⁷⁵ *Annales Casinenses*, p. 311.

⁴⁷⁶ *Annales Casinenses*, p. 311.

⁴⁷⁷ *Falcandus*, pp. 98–99.

⁴⁷⁸ *Annales Casinenses*, p. 311.

to oppose the king's armed forces. However, by 1160, the heads of the Capuan counties of Carinola and Fondi had openly joined the rebellious coalition.

We do not hear about Count Jonathan of Carinola before 1160; he may have either opposed Andrew by commanding the king's knights that the *Annales Ceccanenses* recorded in 1157, or simply stayed in his dominions on the southern side of the River Garigliano (in either Carinola or Conza), away from the lands Andrew took in 1157–1158. Soon thereafter, Count Jonathan appears to have made a donation during the last stage of the widespread rebellion. According to a now lost charter, which survives only as a transcription made by Ughelli, in February 1161 Jonathan granted the church of St Andrew and the *castrum Petre Pagane*, including all of its inhabitants (*habitantes*) and lands, to the cathedral of St Mary of Conza. It must be noted that in this donation Jonathan called himself 'count of Conza, by the grace of God' (*Dei gratia Compsie Comes*), and mentioned neither the regnal year nor the grace of the Sicilian king. Additionally, the donation was made together with, and was subscribed by Jonathan's wife Stephanie, 'countess of Conza' (*Compsie Comitissa*), and his sons Richard and Geoffrey.⁴⁷⁹ Although the document only survives as a modern transcription, it correctly reflects contemporary practices of other comital charters from a diplomatic point of view, including both the fact that Count Jonathan must have joined the rebellion against the king by this time, and that his son and future heir Richard was already of age to subscribe in cruciform his father's transaction. Moreover, no elements of the charter's content are contradicted by any other surviving piece of evidence; for these reasons Cuozzo has defended the position that this document is indeed a copy of an original, arguing against those jurists who claimed that the transaction was a forgery.⁴⁸⁰ However, the document does not refer to Jonathan's other title as count of Carinola nor to his Capuan dominions, which suggests that during the rebellion Jonathan must have resided in central Apulia, further from the active northwestern arena. This is the first known charter in which the title of 'count of Conza' was employed; before this Pseudo-Falcandus and Romuald of Salerno were the only contemporary sources that spoke of Count Jonathan of Conza. Perhaps it was the turbulent years of Andrew of Rupecanina's constant incursions and provocation that pushed the count of Carinola closer to his other cluster of lordships in central Apulia. What was initially a handful of scattered lordships in the inland valleys of Ofanto and Cervaro, granted to the restored count of Carinola, developed over the years

⁴⁷⁹ *Italia Sacra*, VI, cols 810–11; Vito Acocella, 'Storia di Conza. I. Il gastaldato e la contea fino alla caduta della monarchia', *Atti della Società Storica del Sannio*, 6 (1927), no 6 p. 131.

⁴⁸⁰ Cuozzo, 'Balvano', p. 82. Cf. Antonio Rinaldi, *Memoria pel comune di Pescopagano contro il comune di S. Menna* (Potenza: A. Pomarici, 1889), pp. 37–39.

into a second county within the dominions and under the authority of Count Jonathan: the county of Conza. The lands and lordships under Count Jonathan became thus a ‘polynuclear’ county with two emblematic centres: Conza and Carinola.

In addition to the Capuan dissident counts, we are told by Pseudo-Falcandus that Count Sylvester of Marsico supported the plan of the ‘Apulians’ – a term employed by Pseudo-Falcandus when referring to the rebel barons – and promised to help them. The count of Marsico however did not dare to act on these alleged intentions, and is described by Pseudo-Falcandus as ‘the timidest of men’ (*hominum timidissimus*).⁴⁸¹ In this passage Pseudo-Falcandus attests another supposed count who had likewise hidden his true intentions against Maio of Bari: Roger of Craon. The latter’s comital title was an oversight of Pseudo-Falcandus, for Roger of Craon is not attested anywhere else as such. This lesser Sicilian baron was the son of William of Craon, and he is recorded in May 1142 in a legal case before Roger II as he and his mother Rocca held a dispute against the canons of Agrigento.⁴⁸² Furthermore, he is attested in a forged document, dated July 1143, in which the rights of the church of Messina were confirmed by King Roger.⁴⁸³ Although this is a forgery, one should note that Roger of Craon is not recorded here as a count. Nor did the people who were identified as his possible relatives by Ménager in his *inventaire* bear the comital title in any documented instance.⁴⁸⁴ It is clear, therefore, that Roger of Craon was neither a count nor a member of the peninsular upper aristocracy.

It should also be noted that at some point between 1154 and 1157, Count Sylvester had been in Sicily and was part of the royal court; one should not forget that the count of Marsico had already issued a donation from Sicily in May 1154, in his chamber of Ragusa.⁴⁸⁵ Pseudo-Falcandus’ testimony is not the only piece of evidence that suggests the count of Marsico’s involvement in the king’s close circle. In December 1157, Count Sylvester witnessed in Palermo a royal charter, by which William I granted a *feudum* of six *milites* to Archbishop Hugh and the church of Palermo Brocato; he subscribed the document as ‘count of Marsico’ (*Silvester comes Marsic[i]*).⁴⁸⁶ The donation was drafted by Matthew the notary and issued by the Great Admiral Maio, and was also witnessed by Matthew Bonellus, Admiral Stephen son of the Great Admiral Maio, another Admiral

⁴⁸¹ *Tyrants*, pp. 98–101.

⁴⁸² *Roger II Diplomata*, App. 2, no 3 pp. 265–66. The name Craon derives from the town in Mayenne, France, of the same name. Cf. Ménager, ‘Inventaire’, pp. 369–70.

⁴⁸³ *Roger II Diplomata*, no 58 pp. 163–66.

⁴⁸⁴ *Recueil des actes des ducs normands d’Italie (1046–1127). I: Les premiers ducs (1046–1087)*, ed. by Léon R. Ménager (Bari: Grafica Bigiemme, 1980), pp. 369–70.

⁴⁸⁵ Cava, *Arm. Mag.* H.13, ed. in Mattei-Ceresoli, ‘Tramutola’, no 15 pp. 111–12.

⁴⁸⁶ *William I Diplomata*, no 22 pp. 60–64, at 63.

Stephen (seemingly Maio's brother), and a series of archbishops and bishops.⁴⁸⁷ Alongside all the notable heads of the South Italian church, there are two other counts whose origins are uncertain: Count Simon of Mileto and Count Roger of Yscla.

There is no other evidence to attest the existence of another 'count of Mileto', or even to suggest that Mileto was a seat of a county by this time. This Simon could, however, have been the same 'Count Simon' Pseudo-Falcandus recorded to have been a son of Roger II by a concubine and kept in the royal palace at Palermo.⁴⁸⁸ Jamison has suggested that the concubine mentioned here was a sister of Count Hugh of Molise.⁴⁸⁹ As I have explained above, Hugh of Molise appears to have offered the hand of his sister to King Roger in order to recover the monarch's grace after the civil war.⁴⁹⁰ Moreover, Pseudo-Falcandus ambivalently referred to 'Count' Simon as 'prince', and also alleged that it was with that title that 'he was addressed' (*Symonem quem principem appellabant*).⁴⁹¹ The usage of the comital title here is thus rather confusing and unclear, since Count Sylvester was the only actual count in the *subscriptio*. What does seem to be clear is that there was neither a county of Mileto nor a county of Yscla in the Kingdom of Sicily during Norman rule. I have not been able to accurately identify this 'Yscla', although it could be a reference to the island of Ischia (*Ischia Maior*), near Napoli, or to any other island or town near Sicily or Calabria. In any case, the royal donation indicates that Count Sylvester of Marsico, attested together with the king, the royal officials and the high-ranking members of the South Italian church, had become a close component of the Palermitan court. Sylvester's lineage might explain his presence in the royal court, as one should remember that the count of Marsico was a member of the royal family; his father, Geoffrey of Ragusa, was an illegitimate son of Count Roger I of Sicily.⁴⁹²

In order to oppose the raids and subsequent occupation of almost all of Apulia that Count Robert of Loritello appeared to have been leading since 1158, Maio's brother Stephen was placed in command of the knights of Apulia; at least according to Pseudo-Falcandus.⁴⁹³ We are told by the same anonymous author that the great admiral's power was consolidated during the apparent peace that followed Count Robert's rebellion. Maio

⁴⁸⁷ These include: Archbishop John of Bari, Bishop-elect Bernard of Catania, Bishop Gentile of Agrigento, Bishop Herbert of Tropea, Bishop-elect Gilbert of Patti, Bishop Robert of Messina, Bishop Tustinus de Mazara, Bishop-elect Richard of Syracuse, Bishop-elect Boso of Cefalù, Archbishop Roger of Reggio and Bishop Stephen of Mileto.

⁴⁸⁸ *Falcandus*, pp. 136–37. It could not be Count Simon 'of Policastro', as he was dead by this time. See above, on page 119.

⁴⁸⁹ Jamison, *Molise e Marsia*, p. 17.

⁴⁹⁰ See above, on page 58.

⁴⁹¹ *Falcandus*, pp. 154–55.

⁴⁹² See above, note 336.

⁴⁹³ *Falcandus*, pp. 100–101.

of Bari's brother Stephen had risen to the rank of admiral, and his brother-in-law, Simon the seneschal, was appointed 'master captain' (*magister capitaneus*) for Apulia and the Terra di Lavoro.⁴⁹⁴ Based on the testimonies provided by both Pseudo-Falcandus and Romuald of Salerno, Jamison has suggested that Simon's appointment occurred just after the summer of 1156.⁴⁹⁵ As the *magister capitaneus*, Simon would have replaced chancellor Asclettin and the king himself as commander of the royal armed forces in the peninsula, albeit without holding the title of chancellor as the previous peninsular commanders did. Instead, as Pseudo-Falcandus records, Simon the seneschal became the *magister capitaneus totius Apulie et principatus Capue*. Simon is nevertheless last attested in October 1158 as 'royal seneschal and master captain of Apulia' (*dominus Simon regius senescalcus et magister capitaneus totius Apulie*) in a court case involving the monastery of St Sophia in Benevento, held at Capua.⁴⁹⁶ The chronicle of Casauria similarly described Simon the seneschal as 'master captain of the whole realm' (*totius regni Magister Capitaneus*), when he presided over a court at Salerno, at some point between 1156–1160, to hear the monastery's complaints in its dispute with Count Bohemund II of Manopello.⁴⁹⁷ Jamison has also suggested that Simon's appointment as *magister capitaneus* may be reflecting a second stage of the office's development.⁴⁹⁸ If this is the case, the development of this 'office' would have thus been hindered by the counts' rebellion.

Having Stephen, and not Simon, in command of the peninsular knights after 1159 might be an indication of a sudden change of the *magister capitaneus* during the crisis of the counts' coalition, as it appears that whoever was supposed to be in command of the royal forces had been already cornered and surrounded. Furthermore, Pseudo-Falcandus reported that a fear of the counts had forced Simon the seneschal (the actual 'master captain') to retire into a very well-defended town. Even the main places that had stayed loyal to the king in the past swayed against the royal court: the city of Salerno and the region of Calabria. Marius Borell, one of the leading members of the counts' coalition, persuaded the majority of the Salernitan citizens into taking the same oath the

⁴⁹⁴ *Falcandus*, pp. 88–89.

⁴⁹⁵ Jamison, 'Norman Administration', p. 287. Cf. Mario Caravale, *Il regno normanno di Sicilia* (Rome: Giuffrè, 1966), pp. 254–55.

⁴⁹⁶ Graham A. Loud, 'New Evidence for the Workings of the Royal Administration in Mainland Southern Italy in the later Twelfth Century', in *Puer Apuliae: Mélanges offerts à Jean-Marie Martin*, ed. by Errico Cuzzo and others, Monographies, 30 (Paris: Association des amis du centre d'histoire et civilisation de Byzance, 2008), pp. 395–417, no 1 pp. 407–8. The original document (*Pergamene Aldobrandini*, Cartolario II, no 13) was examined in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana by Graham A. Loud before the collection was returned to the Aldobrandini family.

⁴⁹⁷ *Chron. Casauriense*, col. 903.

⁴⁹⁸ Jamison, 'Norman Administration', p. 288. Cf. Takayama, *Administration of the Kingdom*, pp. 105–8.

conspirators had taken against the great admiral. Calabria, whose ‘loyalty had previously hardly even been shaken’ (*cuius antea fides difficillime consueverat vacillare*), also sided with the opposition.⁴⁹⁹

The well-known (or rather intensely narrated) episode of Matthew Bonellus’ involvement in the assassination of Maio of Bari provides a number of insights into the Calabrian nobility. According to the chronicle of the archbishop of Salerno, the Apulian counts promised Matthew Bonellus the hand of Countess Clementia of Catanzaro, in exchange for his active participation in Maio’s assassination.⁵⁰⁰ The narrative sources do not go into too much detail on the development of the insurrection on the mainland, as they mostly focus on the plot executed by Matthew Bonellus on the island and the assassination of the great admiral. Yet on the other hand, we are told by Pseudo-Falcandus that Matthew Bonellus, who was allegedly related to several noblemen from Calabria by lineage, was offered the hand in matrimony of the countess of Catanzaro (*comitissa Catacensis*) by Roger of Martorano, a prominent man who acted as the spokesman of the conspiring Calabrians.⁵⁰¹ Although there is no agreement on who actually offered him the empty comital seat of Catanzaro, it does seem that the Calabrian county was effectively used as a bargaining chip in the plot against the great admiral of Sicily.

After Maio of Bari was assassinated in November 1160, Pseudo-Falcandus relates that Count Sylvester of Marsico disclosed the malign intentions of Admiral Maio to the king, following which he pardoned Matthew Bonellus and arrested Maio’s brother and son, both admirals and both named Stephen. Again, we do not hear any more about the great admiral’s brother-in-law, Simon the seneschal, which strengthens the hypothesis that the nominal *magister capitaneus* was either routed or removed from its charge during the last years of Robert of Loritello’s rule. Pseudo-Falcandus had put in the mouth of Matthew the notary the pragmatic reason behind the king’s pardoning of Bonellus; the latter had both popular acclaim and the support of all the counts and of Calabria who had rebelled against the great admiral.⁵⁰² Even if the words of the anonymous author might have been skewed against Matthew the notary, whom he disliked, the reasoning provided by both contemporary writers serves to support the assertion that Matthew Bonellus became the charismatic leader of the rebellion. Having the peninsular nobility as *de facto* military rulers of all the mainland territories (‘Count’ Andrew of Rupecanina in the Principality of Capua, and Count Robert of Loritello and the leagues of counts in Apulia

⁴⁹⁹ *Falcandus*, pp. 98–101.

⁵⁰⁰ *Romuald*, p. 245.

⁵⁰¹ *Falcandus*, pp. 102–8.

⁵⁰² *Falcandus*, pp. 126–29.

and Calabria) was anything but a simple task, even during the lowest point of the civil war of the 1130s King Roger did not lose Salerno or Calabria.

Once the apparent reason for the counts' rebellion was removed, it became much clearer that the nobility's opposition went further than simply going against Maio of Bari, regardless of how wicked the great admiral was depicted by Pseudo-Falcandus. Even in the year after Maio's assassination, turmoil continued to convulse Sicily. A subsequent plot was brewed in Palermo, and this time William I himself was the person under attack. We are told by Pseudo-Falcandus that Roger of Avellino, count of Avellino, a 'young noble' (*nobilis adolescentulus*), joined Matthew Bonellus and the bastards 'Count' Simon and Tancred. The latter two were alleged by Pseudo-Falcandus to have practically been prisoners of the king, in that they were not allowed to leave the palace at Palermo. Simon was the son that Roger II presumably had had with his concubine, Hugh of Molise's daughter, whereas Tancred was the son of Duke Roger, the first-born of Roger II who had died in 1148, and his mistress Emma of Lecce. As has been detailed before, the young Roger of Avellino was a distant relative of William I, for his grandmother Adelia of Adernò was a cousin of the king.⁵⁰³

This is a convenient point to emphasise the vague nature of the titles borne by Simon and Tancred. As children of King Roger II and young Duke Roger respectively, they could have been considered direct members of the kingdom's royalty, but their condition as illegitimate offspring surely marginalised them from the highest positions and the honours of their fathers. Pseudo-Falcandus expands on this issue, asserting that Roger II had left in his will (*testamentum*) the princely dignity of Taranto (*principatus Tarenti*) to his bastard Simon, and that later on William I took it away from him. Houben has suggested that the princely title of Taranto was left vacant after William was made 'prince of Capua' following the death of his older brother Alfonso c.1144.⁵⁰⁴ Furthermore, Pseudo-Falcandus explains that 'the princely dignities of Taranto and Capua should have only been conferred upon legitimate children, although it was not unworthy for even natural sons to be granted counties or other royal dignities'.⁵⁰⁵ This reasoning could actually reflect the mentality by which Simon and Tancred used, or rather were allowed to use, the comital title under William I. Throughout the chronicle of

⁵⁰³ See above, on page 96.

⁵⁰⁴ Hubert Houben, 'Le origini del principato di Taranto', *Archivio Storico Pugliese*, 61.I-IV (2008), 7–24 (p. 17). Alfonso is last attested as prince of Capua in an 10 October 1144 charter from Aversa, and a March 1156 charter asserts in its dating clause to have been made in the second year of William's principedom (*secundo anno principatus dimini Willelmi [...] Dei gratia principis Capuanorum et ducis Neapolitanorum*). *Cod. Dipl. Aversa*, nos 53–54 pp. 92–95.

⁵⁰⁵ *Falcandus*, pp. 136–37.

Romuald of Salerno, Tancred and Simon are only referred to as ‘counts’, and Pseudo-Falcandus relates that Simon was called prince during the attempted *coup d'état* in Palermo. It seems clear that neither Simon nor Tancred were proper counts, in the sense that they were not overlords of other barons and did not seem to exercise any authority over other lordships. Even if the comital title granted was attached to a specific toponym, if we believe that this is the same ‘Count Simon of Mileto’, being forced to stay within the walls of the royal palace would not have allowed them to exercise any sort of role on the mainland.

The scheme of Count Roger of Avellino and Matthew Bonellus planned the release of the noble prisoners that were held in the palace dungeons, and the deposition of William I. We are told in the chronicle of Romuald Guarna, archbishop of Salerno, that on the fifth day of Lent (9 March), the dungeons of the Palermitan palace were opened, and then the king was captured and imprisoned. Amongst the noblemen who were reported to have been released and later involved in the plot against the king were Count William of Principato, Richard of Mandra, Alexander ‘the monk’, and ‘Count’ Tancred of Lecce.⁵⁰⁶ Pseudo-Falcandus recorded additionally that amongst the noble prisoners were [former] Count William of Lesina, ‘a most atrocious man’ (*vir atrocissimus*), together with Robert of Bova and Richard of Mandra, the former *comestabulus* of the rebel count of Loritello and Conversano. It was precisely during this episode, narrated in detail by Pseudo-Falcandus, that Richard of Mandra beat off an attack of William of Lesina and Robert Bova against the king himself.⁵⁰⁷ This gesture undoubtedly explains his subsequent successful career, and the favour of the Sicilian king towards a man who had previously been a commander for one of the worst enemies of the royal government. The prominent position of Richard of Mandra is part of a later stage in the nobility’s development, and as such is discussed below. Although the king was held prisoner in his own palace by the conspirators and the escaped prisoners, he was soon released. The prisoners fled and took refuge in Caccamo, a town east of Palermo and just south of the port of Termini.

Without having to go into too much detail relating the events once again of the momentary *coup d'état* in Palermo, it is fundamental for the purpose of the present work to highlight the consequences the plot had for the composition of the upper aristocracy. Romuald of Salerno’s chronicle alleged that King William I had counts William, Simon and Tancred of Lecce, as well as ‘the many others that were unwilling to remain in the

⁵⁰⁶ Romuald, p. 246.

⁵⁰⁷ Falcandus, pp. 144–45.

country' taken out of the realm by galley under safe-conduct, most probably embarking from Termini, to either Terracina (a coastal town near Rome) or Jerusalem.⁵⁰⁸ Conversely, we are told by Pseudo-Falcandus that Matthew Bonellus and some of the conspirators who were involved in the king's capture stayed in Caccamo, and that, after the barons there expressed their displeasure, they negotiated their expulsion from the kingdom, whereas Matthew Bonellus returned to Palermo. The names Pseudo-Falcandus recorded as having been in Caccamo were 'Prince' Simon (referred to here as a prince and not a count), Tancred, William of Lesina, Alexander of Conversano, and Roger Sclavus, the son of the disgraced Count Simon del Vasto.

Alexander of Conversano may have been the same Alexander 'the monk' recorded by Archbishop Romuald as having been released from the dungeon in the palace. In addition, this Alexander could have also been the same former count who rebelled against the nascent kingdom and who later came back together with the Greek army in 1156. Although there is no direct reference to the capture of the former count of Conversano, it must be remembered that Alexander's presence in Apulia with the invading Greek army – as commander of the 'French' contingent (*Γερμανοί*) – was recorded by John Kinnamos.⁵⁰⁹ As William I decisively defeated all the opposing forces when his army recaptured Brindisi, Alexander of Conversano must have escaped to Ancona, avoiding thus the king's wrath when the other Greek generals were captured and taken in chains to Palermo. When Manuel Komnenos dispatched Protostrator Alexius [Axouchos] to Ancona to lay claim again to Italy in 1157, his last attempt to make war in the peninsula, Alexander was used by Alexius to negotiate with the people of Ancona.⁵¹⁰ In all likelihood, Alexander was part of the Greek contingent that assisted Andrew of Rupecanina in the latter's raiding campaign in 1157. However, soon after the peace treaty between Sicily and Constantinople was made later that year, Alexander of Conversano must have stayed in Italy, insisting in making war against the kingdom. It appears thus that Alexander ended up in a Palermitan prison after this point, perhaps being captured after participating in some of the incursions that Andrew of Rupecanina led on the kingdom's border between 1157 and 1158. After his release, Alexander of Conversano must have returned to the Greek court. Alexander of Conversano did not return to the kingdom after 1161, and he appears to have finally admitted defeat and stayed under the employment of Constantinople. Alexander is only attested again in 1168, 1169, and 1177

⁵⁰⁸ *Romuald*, p. 248.

⁵⁰⁹ *Kinnamos*, bk 4 chap. 6 p. 148. On the translation of the ethnonym *Γερμανοί*, see Brand, *Deeds of John and Manuel*, p. 115, App. 2.

⁵¹⁰ Sudendorf, II, no 54 p. 132.

when, according to William of Tyre, he was sent to the kingdom of Jerusalem as an imperial envoy by Manuel Komnenos.⁵¹¹

Simon is likewise attested as having gone to the Constantinopolitan court in 1166: Kinnamos recorded that after William I had died, his brother (ἀδελφός) approached Emperor Manuel Komnenos in order to receive his assistance to rule Sicily; Manuel however did not support the king's brother, as the Greek emperor was ensuring the good will that had been achieved with the peace treaty agreed by both rulers after the failed Apulian expedition in 1158.⁵¹²

Finally, Roger of Aquila, count of Avellino, was pardoned and allowed to stay in the kingdom. Pseudo-Falcandus explains that William I considered his betrayal a mistake rather than a misdeed on the grounds of his young age. Also, as mentioned above, Roger of Aquila's grandmother Adelicia of Adernò was William I's cousin, and she intervened in order for her only surviving heir to recover the king's grace.⁵¹³ Roger of Avellino was henceforth the only nobleman who, after having been actively involved in the king's capture, was allowed to stay in the realm without losing his lordships or comital dignity. Yet, the count of Avellino appears to have angered King William once again; Pseudo-Falcandus reveals that Count Roger of Avellino married the daughter of Fenicia of S. Severino without the royal court's permission, and both Count Roger and his brother-in-law William of S. Severino fled the kingdom in order to avoid the king's anger when the latter marched across the peninsula later in 1162. However, the countess of Avellino was taken to Palermo as a prisoner alongside her mother Fenicia, after defending her besieged *castellum*; it is unclear if Pseudo-Falcandus referred here to the *castellum* of Avellino or the *castrum* of S. Severino.⁵¹⁴ Count Roger's wife, it should be noted, was called Marocta.⁵¹⁵ This episode, however, did not mean the end of the turmoil in the peninsular dominions; the counts were not even close to allowing the king to have his rule back on the mainland, at least not without another war.

⁵¹¹ *William of Tyre*, II, bks 20 chap. 4 p. 915, chap. 13 p. 927, 21 chap. 16 pp. 981–83.

⁵¹² *Kinnamos*, bk 4 chap. 15 p. 175.

⁵¹³ *Falcandus*, pp. 162–63.

⁵¹⁴ *Falcandus*, pp. 178–79. Cf. Portanova, 'I Sanseverino dal 1125 allo sterminio del 1246', pp. 330–32. Cuozzo suggested that both Count Roger of Avellino and William of S. Severino went to the court of Frederick I after they were exiled. Errico Cuozzo, 'A propos de la coexistence entre Normands et Lombards dans le Royaume de Sicile. La révolte féodale de 1160–1162', in *Peuples du Moyen Âge. Problèmes d'identification. Séminaire sociétés, idéologies et croyances au Moyen Âge*, ed. by Claude Carozzi and Huguette Taviani-Carozzi (Aix-en-Provence: Publications de l'Université de Provence, 1996), pp. 45–56 (pp. 50–51).

⁵¹⁵ *Cod. Dipl. Verginiano*, v, no 474 pp. 261–64.

The defeated nobility and the rise of the count of Gravina Recoil and survival, part II

After William I had recovered from the attempted *coup d'état*, he was ready to launch a counterattack against what still appears to have been a rebellion against the Palermitan government. According to Pseudo-Falcandus, the king's *familiaries* at this time were Bishop-elect Richard of Syracuse, Henry Aristippus, and Count Sylvester of Marsico.⁵¹⁶ As pointed out above, Count Sylvester of Marsico appears to have formed part of the court's entourage since at least 1157; his role and prominence in the Palermitan court was however not entirely clear.⁵¹⁷ The count of Marsico must have become a *familiaris* of the king and a regular resident in Palermo after the assassination of Maio of Bari; a July 1176 charter from Palermo records a sale made to the *duana baronum* by Count William of Marsico, son of Count Sylvester, in which it was remembered that Sylvester, 'by the grace of God and the king, count of Marsico' (*Silvester Domini et Regis gratia Marsici comes*), had purchased Maio of Bari's house in Palermo, near to the church of St Mary of the Admiral.⁵¹⁸ Sylvester's position at the head of the royal court should however not automatically be interpreted as an act of representation for the kingdom's nobility.

Sylvester's comital title does not serve to support the presumption that 'class consciousness' of the upper aristocracy existed by this time, and that he acted as its representative. As argued by Pio, the members of the royal inner council of the king did not represent the social echelon from where they came; they were instead prominent members of the social circles that were already close to the king.⁵¹⁹ Sylvester of Marsico had been present in the Palermitan court for some time before, most probably because of his status as a member of the royal family, and his involvement during the counts' rebellion was at most marginal. Sylvester of Marsico does not appear to have intervened directly as a mediator between the king and the other counts; Pseudo-Falcandus even suggested he was in fact in favour of the rebels' intentions. The count of Marsico was neither a spokesman of the peninsular nobility nor the most powerful count of the kingdom; he was nonetheless an ally of the king both as a royal relative and a major landholder and overlord who could offer the economic and military support his position

⁵¹⁶ *Falcandus*, pp. 162–63.

⁵¹⁷ See above, on page 134.

⁵¹⁸ Carlo A. Garufi, *Catalogo illustrato del tabulario di S. Maria Nuova in Monreale*, Documenti per servire alla storia di Sicilia: Diplomatica, 19 (Palermo: Era nova, 1902), App. 1, no 2 pp. 163–65.

⁵¹⁹ Berardo Pio, *Guglielmo I d'Altavilla: gestione del potere e lotta politica nell'Italia normanna: 1154–1169*, *Il mondo medievale*, 24 (Bologna: Pàtron, 1996), p. 81. Cf. Hiroshi Takayama, 'Notes and Documents. *Familiaries Regis* and the Royal Inner Council in Twelfth-Century Sicily', *The English Historical Review*, 104.411 (1989), 357–72 (pp. 359–61).

could guarantee. Pseudo-Falcandus related that Count Sylvester opposed Matthew Bonellus' presence in the court, and persuaded the monarch to arrest Matthew Bonellus under the presumption that the latter was somehow involved with the rebellion that Roger Sclavus was leading in the south-eastern lands of the island; it appears thus that Roger Sclavus did not leave Caccamo with the rest of rebels, but instead went back to Butera once again to lead the insurgency in the region.⁵²⁰

As Sicily was mired in unrest, Apulia and the Terra di Lavoro were submerged in war once again. According to Romuald of Salerno's chronicle, Count Robert of Loritello occupied Apulia without meeting any resistance, whereas Andrew of Rupecanina invaded the Terra di Lavoro. Robert of Loritello came back with a vengeance; he appears to have marched as far as Salerno in the west, although the Salernitans refused to receive him, and by 1161 he had invaded the territory all the way to Taranto in southern Apulia.⁵²¹ Pseudo-Falcandus agrees with this, for he recorded that the count of Loritello invaded most of the kingdom, reaching Orgeolo, a place on the borders of Apulia and Calabria.⁵²² The *Chronica* of Archbishop Romuald records that the king sent the archbishop himself to Apulia in order to appease the counts, whom the king feared would rebel yet again. Romuald of Salerno was, according to his chronicle, so zealous in convincing the peninsular barons to 'bow to the royal love and fealty' (*ad amorem et fidelitatem regiam uehementer adtraxit*), that 'all of them wanted to travel to Sicily and vindicate the injury done to him [the king]' (*quod unanimite volebant in Siciliam pergere et regis iniuriam vindicare*). The emollient words of the archbishop of Salerno appear to have been less effective in practice; we are also told by Romuald that at Easter the king ordered the counts to abjure the oaths (*sacramenta*) they had made when they formed the rebellious coalition. However, most of the counts, except Count Gilbert of Gravina and Count Bohemund of Manopello, rejected the royal command, despairing of recovering the king's grace. They went to Count Robert of Loritello, and after the counts paid homage to Robert (*facto ei [Roberti] hominio*), they invaded and occupied the king's land with him.⁵²³

⁵²⁰ *Falcandus*, pp. 164–71.

⁵²¹ *Romuald*, p. 249; *Annales Ceccanenses*, p. 285.

⁵²² *Falcandus*, pp. 172–73.

⁵²³ *Romuald*, p. 248. The usage here of the term *hominium* is rather illustrative. The notion of 'homage' was rarely employed in Italy, at least before the thirteenth century. The references to either *homagium* or *hominium* are scarce. The term *hominium* appears to have been employed before in the region, in a 1079–1090 complaint sent to Gregory VII about the bishop of Penne, in the Abruzzo. In this document the term *hominium* is used twice: first, it is stated that the deposed Bishop John of Penne was summoned in order to do homage to the newly appointed bishop (*Veni ante nostrum praesentiam coram omni multitudine huic nostro confratri hominium faci*); then, a 1079 charter appended to the complaint records that the same Bishop John had received those who had wrongly held the lands of his see into the fidelity of the

The *Annales Ceccanenses* add little to this, but they at least tell us that by the time that Robert of Loritello had reached Taranto, ‘many counts attached themselves (*coniunxerunt se*) to Count Robert’.⁵²⁴ Pseudo-Falcandus explains that all of the counts who had rebelled because of Admiral Maio’s wickedness joined the count of Loritello because they despaired of being restored to William I’s favour, except for Count Gilbert of Gravina who obtained the king’s favour as a result of the pleas of his relative, Queen Margaret.⁵²⁵ Again, this appears to have been a convenient explanation for the counts’ continued opposition, which appears to have essentially been a protest against the royal government rather than a personal quarrel against the great admiral. It must be noted, however, that there is no clear indication in the surviving evidence that the Sicilian government ever recovered its control over the mainland after the assassination of Admiral Maio; it appears that the unstable state of Palermo and the court would not have allowed the king to settle the quarrel with the peninsular nobility in the meantime. The great exception in this persistent insurgency was the count of Gravina, and it was through him that the Sicilian king responded to the counts.

In December 1162, Count Gilbert made a donation of some lands near Polignano to Abbess Scolastica of the nunnery of St Benedict in Polignano.⁵²⁶ Gilbert called himself here both ‘count of Gravina, by the grace of God and of the king, and great constable for all Apulia and the principality of Capua’ (*dei et Regia gratia Gravina comes et magnus comestabulus totius Apulie et principatus Capue*). His charter was subscribed not only by the count of Gravina, but also by his son Bertram and Milianus the seneschal – most likely Gilbert’s seneschal, although he did not refer overtly to the count as his lord and he was not attested amongst the comital seneschals in a subsequent transaction.⁵²⁷ Three years later, in January 1166, Count Gilbert of Gravina granted a mill to the same nunnery of St

holy church ‘by means of homage and oath’ (*omnes istos homines et alios per hominum et sacramentum recepi ad fidelitatem sancta ecclesiae*). *Libellus querulus de miseriis ecclesiae Pennensis*, ed. by Adolf Hofmeister, MGH SS, 30.2 (Leipzig: K.W. Hiersemann, 1934), pp. 1462–67, especially 1464 and 1467. Ganshof and Reynolds have already drawn attention to this evidence; Ganshof interpreted this homage as analogous to that done by tenants of subordinate property, whereas Reynolds also sees it as a sign of a more general submission or subjection. François L. Ganshof, ‘Note sur l’apparition du nom de l’hommage particulièrement en France’, in *Aus Mittelalter und Neuzeit. [Festschrift] Gerhard Kallen zum 70*, ed. J. Engel and H. Klinkenberg (Bonn: P. Hanstein, 1957), 31–32; Reynolds, *Kingdoms and Communities in Western Europe, 900–1300*, 213–14. Cf. Cahen, pp. 42–47, 103–7.

⁵²⁴ *Annales Ceccanenses*, p. 285.

⁵²⁵ *Falcandus*, pp. 172–73.

⁵²⁶ Polignano is a coastal town in the Terra di Bari, 10 km. E of Conversano. See Map 1.

⁵²⁷ *Pergamene di Conversano*, no 109 pp. 227–28. The original year recorded in the charter is 1163, 10th indiction, but Coniglio corrected this to 1162, assuming that the indiction’s beginning was reckoned in December and the new year started before December. Cf. Morea’s edition, who suggests that the charter’s original date (1163) is indeed correct, and that instead its indiction (10th) was mistaken, and should have been 11th, or even the 12th if the Greek reckoning were to be followed. *Il chartularium del monastero di S. Benedetto di Conversano*, ed. by Domenico Morea (Montecassino: A. Forni, 1892), I, no 106 pp. 205–6.

Benedict in Polignano, still in the hands of Abbess Scolastica. On this occasion, Gilbert appears to have employed a very similar title as great constable, referring to the ‘principality of Capua’ instead of to the Terra di Lavoro, and he also called himself lord of the town of Polignano (*gratia Dei et domini [nostri Guilielmi excellenti]ssimi regis Gravine comes et magnus comestabulus totjus Apulie et principatus Capue civitatis [Poliniani] dominator*). The transaction was subscribed by both his family and comital officials: his wife Countess Stephanie, his sons Bertram and Bartholomew, and his seneschals Pagan and Bernard.⁵²⁸

We are told by Pseudo-Falcandus that Count Gilbert of Gravina was admitted back into the king’s grace by intervention of his relative Queen Margaret. He subsequently deserted the rebellion and commanded the [king’s] army in Apulia.⁵²⁹ On the other hand, Romuald of Salerno records that William I commissioned Aquinus of Moac to retain knights on the mainland and resist the enemy, which would have made the latter the effective commander of the royal forces, responsibility that nominally fell under the authority of the ‘master captain’ (*magister capitaneus*).⁵³⁰ These two pieces of information are not necessarily mutually exclusive, in that Aquinus could have been a co-commander, operating in a different region, most likely the former principality of Salerno and the Terra di Lavoro. The count of Gravina therefore would have operated in the Adriatic front during this contingency. After the king was able to stabilise the island and suppress the rebellion led by Roger Sclavus in Butera, he gathered his forces and crossed over to Apulia. William I was able to capture Taverna, in Calabria, and Taranto. Taverna was a bastion of the counts of Catanzaro, and it had become the first fortified resistance to the king’s advance into the peninsula. Countess Clementia of Catanzaro was recorded by Pseudo-Falcandus to have joined Robert of Loritello, just as the other counts did, and reinforced Taverna in order to oppose the royal army. The siege of Taverna, which took place in March 1162, resulted in a royal victory, allowing William to advance through Calabria into Apulia, not without capturing the rebels first.⁵³¹ These included Roger of Martorano, the countess, her mother, and her maternal uncles, Alferius and Thomas. The latter two were identified as the heads of the affair (*principes*); Alferius was handed over for punishment whereas Thomas was immediately hanged at Messina. Conversely, the countess of Catanzaro was sent with her mother Segelgarda to Messina and then to

⁵²⁸ *Pergamene di Conversano*, no 114 pp. 239–41.

⁵²⁹ *Falcandus*, pp. 172–75.

⁵³⁰ *Romuald*, p. 249.

⁵³¹ *Annales Ceccanenses*, p. 285. The anonymous chronicle from Montecassino provides little detail, but, at least, recorded that in 1162 the king of Sicily went to Apulia and destroyed Taverna. *Annales Casinenses*, p. 312.

Palermo to be kept in prison.⁵³² This would mean that the king's army crossed the Messina straits, went through Calabria and marched over the southern regions of the peninsula.

The royal incursion was impressive enough to scare Robert of Loritello back into the Abruzzo, after having been based previously around the lake of Salpi, on the Adriatic coast, below the Gargano Peninsula. Romuald of Salerno explains that Count Robert of Loritello retreated because he feared that the barons of Apulia would desert him, 'as was their custom' (*barones Apulia ipsum solito more relinquerent*).⁵³³ In the same way Pseudo-Falcandus relates that the count of Loritello mistrusted the divided loyalties of the South Italians, and he preferred to retreat rather than relying on untrustworthy soldiers. Robert of Loritello then went back to Taranto, later to return to the Abruzzo.⁵³⁴ At this stage it was not Aquinus of Moac but Richard of Say (*Riccardus Ysaiae*) who is recorded to have been commanding the king's army as it pushed the rebels away into the Abruzzo.⁵³⁵ The presence of 'the Say' family in Sicily appears to date back to 1094, when Geoffrey of Say (*Gofridus de Sageio*) – who was perhaps Richard's grandfather – granted, with his wife's consent, three villeins in Caccamo, and also witnessed a charter of Roger I of Sicily to the abbey of Lipari.⁵³⁶ Richard of Say had been employed before as a royal commander and administrator for the province of Calabria, as he is recorded in January 1157 as 'constable and justiciar' (*comestabulus et justiciarius*), exercising 'judicial supremacy by royal prerogative' (*regali potestate primatus iudicorum*) alongside Carbonellus of Tarsia and Roger of Sanginetto, the royal justiciars (*iustificatores/regalis iusticiarii*) for the Val di Crati, in Calabria.⁵³⁷ The rebel count of Loritello was able to flee the realm before the arrival of Richard of Say.

Likewise, we are told by Pseudo-Falcandus that Count Jonathan of Conza [and of Carinola], Count Richard of Fondi, Count Roger of Acerra [of Buonalbergo], Marius Borell, and the other barons who had associated with Robert of Loritello fled into either the Abruzzo or the [Papal] Campania, terrified by the king's approach.⁵³⁸ King William himself appears to have marched over the Terra di Lavoro, as Romuald of Salerno recorded that the king and his army went to San Germano, which lies beneath

⁵³² *Falcandus*, pp. 174–77.

⁵³³ *Romuald*, p. 251.

⁵³⁴ *Falcandus*, pp. 176–77.

⁵³⁵ *Annales Ceccanenses*, p. 285.

⁵³⁶ *Romuald*, p. 251 n. 4; Ménager, 'Inventaire', p. 344.

⁵³⁷ Pratesi, *Carte dall'archivio Aldobrandini*, no 20 pp. 53–55. Carbonellus of Tarsia was the son of Bohemund I of Tarsia, the disgraced count of Manopello. However, the family of Bohemund of Tarsia was not completely disregarded, and his sons Carbonellus and Bohemund II remained active in Calabria as barons and judicial officers; the two were present in William II's court in Messina in 1167–1168. See below, note 696.

⁵³⁸ *Falcandus*, pp. 178–79.

Montecassino, and expelled the count of Fondi, Richard of Aquila.⁵³⁹ The *Annales Ceccanenses*, furthermore, describe William I's activities in the northern territories in 1162: the king went to a hill identified as *colle Aponis*, appointed some knights to the custody of Montecassino, sent the 'count of Lauro' (i.e. Robert II of Lauro) together with an army, took Monte Arcano in Fondi and captured Count Richard of Fondi's wife and many others who were found in that location.⁵⁴⁰ This is the first reference made to Robert II of Lauro as a count, and this is the same Robert who would later become a count in the former principality of Capua as well.⁵⁴¹ Although his role during the first uprising of Robert of Loritello is not clear, Robert of Lauro is conversely recorded as an active member of William's army during the counts' insurrection in the Tyrrhenian front. Robert II of Lauro would, henceforth, have become a prominent baron as one of the king's men during the opposition against the invading forces of Andrew of Rupecanina and the rebellion in Capua.

By 1162, William I was able to subjugate the county of Fondi, the northernmost region of the principality of Capua, and the gates into the kingdom from the Tyrrhenian coast. The invader Count Andrew must have already left the realm by this stage, in that there is no subsequent report of him engaging in any confrontation or battle against the king's armed forces, but instead he was recorded in 1161 as having left his lands behind and gone to Constantinople.⁵⁴² Kinnamos also related that the Greek military campaign, which reinforced Andrew of Rupecanina's invasion, ended because the notables Doukas and Komnenos, prisoners of war held captive in Sicily, brokered a peace treaty between William I and Constantinople. Although Emperor Manuel disgruntledly accepted, the agreement finally halted the wars between the kingdom and the Eastern Empire.⁵⁴³ In this way, the Sicilian monarch re-established his control over the mainland and forced the rebel counts back into exile.

Additional changes were made to the peninsular nobility in and after 1162. Robert of Lauro was already regarded in the *Annales Ceccanenses* as a count by 1162, as the king appears to have given him an army in order to capture the last bastion of the count of Fondi (Monte Arcano). The 'county of Lauro' did not exist as such, but what the *Annales* from Fossanova must be referring to is the fact that Robert of Lauro was

⁵³⁹ *Romuald*, p. 251.

⁵⁴⁰ *Annales Ceccanenses*, p. 285. Monte Arcano is located in the mountain range W of Fondi, upon which the sanctuary of the 'Madonna della Rocca' is found. See Map 1.

⁵⁴¹ Giuseppe Tescione, *Caserta medievale e i suoi conti e signori: lineamenti e ricerche*, 3rd edn (Caserta: Libreria G.D.C., 1990), p. 36. Cf. Giovanni B. Siragusa, *Il regno di Guglielmo I in Sicilia*, 2nd edn (Palermo: Sandron, 1929), p. 216.

⁵⁴² *Annales Ceccanenses*, p. 285.

⁵⁴³ *Kinnamos*, bk 4 chap. 15 pp. 172–76. Also, see *Falcandus*, pp. 88–89.

rewarded with the rank of count for his role as an ally against the rebels during 1162. He was the son of Sarracena and Lord Robert I of Lauro, who in turn was son of Roger of S. Severino and Sichelgaita (also known as Sica), the daughter of Landulf, son of Prince Guaimar IV of Salerno.⁵⁴⁴ Robert II of Lauro is recorded in 1141 as an underage holder of land administered by Robert Capumaza (Sarracena's husband by that time); in the following year he made a donation as 'Robert son of Robert, lord of Lauro' (*Robbertus filius robberti senior Lauri*).⁵⁴⁵ Robert II of Lauro was not just a local baron who acted as a military leader on the king's side, but the member of a family, the S. Severino, that had been gradually climbing up the ladder of the peninsular aristocracy since the time of Roger II. It should be remembered that the S. Severino kin-group held extensive lands in the former principality of Salerno, both in the north (around Lauro, Montoro and S. Severino) and in the south (around Rocca Cilento).

Robert of Lauro does not appear to have held the county of Caserta before his active participation in William's army in 1162; his earliest record as count of Caserta was found in a now lost document from the nunnery of St John Baptist of the Nuns in Capua, in which he is regarded as 'count of the Casertans and many others' (*Casertanorum aliorumque plurium comes*).⁵⁴⁶ The same title is employed in a July 1165 transaction, when Count Robert, by request and intervention of Bishop John of Caserta, donated some men from Sarzano to Stephen, provost of St Angelo in Formis; the charter was subscribed by the same bishop and by John, judge of Caserta.⁵⁴⁷ It could have been possible that Robert of Lauro employed the comital title before receiving Caserta, for the *Annales Ceccanenses* already referred to him in 1162 as count, and also a *memoratorium* made by Benedict, the prior of St Peter of Scafati, in February 1159 recorded that 'Count Robert' had questioned the father of chaplain William on the service that a handful of men of Lauro owed to the church.⁵⁴⁸ However, in all pre-1163 instances Robert is recorded only in the vicinity of Lauro, which is located east of Avellino and north of Salerno. Robert of Lauro's record as count of Caserta in the *Quaternus magne expeditionis* must have then been included when the register was put together c. 1167–1168.⁵⁴⁹

The county of Caserta might also have been created later from lordships that belonged to the former count of Caiazzo and which Andrew of Rupecanina had reclaimed

⁵⁴⁴ As attested in Cava, *Arm. Mag.* F.18.

⁵⁴⁵ Inguanez, *S. Angelo in Formis*, no 60 pp. 161–63, at p. 162; Cava, *Arca XXV*.87. The document from Cava has been edited in Tescione, *Caserta medievale*, no 1 p. 159. Also, see above, note 272.

⁵⁴⁶ Tescione, *Caserta medievale*, p. 36 n. 148.

⁵⁴⁷ Inguanez, *S. Angelo in Formis*, no 47 pp. 133–35. A reproduction of Count Robert's comital cruciform cypher survives in Gattola, *Accessiones*, I, p. 262.

⁵⁴⁸ Inguanez, *S. Angelo in Formis*, no 50 pp. 140–43, at 141–42.

⁵⁴⁹ *Catalogus Baronum*, ¶¶ 964–70 pp. 172–73. See also Tescione, *Caserta medievale*, pp. 38–40.

and occupied between 1160 and 1161. Additionally, it also appears that some of the lands held *in demanio* by the count of Caserta had previously belonged to Nicholas Frascenellus, as the record in the *Quaternus* indicated. This Nicholas Frascenellus seems to have been the original lord of Caserta and of the many *feuda* in the vicinity, including in Teleso and Solopaca, but after the turbulent years of rebellion and invasion, he appears to have lost all of these, either because he had died or as a result of his participation in the rebellion. In this way, the head of the Lauro branch of the S. Severino family was able finally to enjoy comital rank, and additionally received a county of his own in the Capuan province that he helped to reclaim; the title and the county were perhaps granted by William I as a reward and incentive for his support during the peninsular rebellions. The ‘many others’ to which Robert’s comital title referred after 1163 must have indicated that this new county of Caserta comprised also the ancestral dominions that Count Robert originally held in Lauro. This is a convenient point to remember that, contrary to Robert of Lauro’s case, another member of the S. Severino family appears to have left the kingdom in order to avoid the king’s anger: William of S. Severino, son of Marocta of S. Severino, fled with his step-father Roger of Aquila, count of Avellino.⁵⁵⁰

By this time, after the province of Capua was finally recovered and the rebels and invaders had been expelled, William I appears to have taken this opportunity to rearrange and modify the local nobility. The county of Caserta was not the only creation, but the county of Alife must have been also granted after 1162. The town of Alife, a town once held by the former counts of Caiazzo and Andrew of Rupecanina, and its surrounding smaller lordships were given to Malgerius son of Richard, as the latter was recorded in the *Quaternus* as a count in Alife. The recorded county of Alife was rather small (four *feuda in demanio* and one baron, Polido de Thora, holding four small *feuda* from him [*in servitio*], being obliged to thus levy a total of 86 *milites* and 250 *servientes*), and hence the new county would not have been as powerful as the former dominions of Rainulf of Caiazzo and Andrew of Rupecanina, but it was big enough to mobilise an additional contingent of the king’s knights against any other possible invasion.⁵⁵¹

Malgerius is additionally remembered in a January 1170 recorded legal sentence (*iudicatum*) of a complaint (*querimonia*) that John Bova presented against Odoaldus *Carbonarii* to a court convened by Lord Peter of Ravello, the chamberlain (*camerarius*) of the count. In this sentence, it was remembered that the aforementioned John and his father held in the time of Lord Malgerius these same lands that Odoaldus had seized, a

⁵⁵⁰ *Falcandus*, pp. 178–79. See above, note 514.

⁵⁵¹ *Catalogus Baronum*, ¶¶ 959–60 pp. 170–71.

situation that they presented to their count. As this unnamed count heard their plea, he ordered Peter of Ravello to make justice for them; hence, the comital chamberlain, with the count's order, conducted the interrogation in the presence of judges and other *bones homines* so he could decide whether John Bova and his father were correct on this issue.⁵⁵² It is not entirely clear if the count who originally heard the complaint and ordered the chamberlain to take action was the same Lord Malgerius during whose rule the lands were lawfully held. However, the fact that the entire legal complaint was presented in one court only, and that throughout the document the count presiding over the court remains unnamed, suggests that Count Malgerius was either dead or removed by 1169, before John Bova and his father initiated the legal complaint but after the *iudicatum* was finalised, and that the comital chamberlain, Peter of Ravello, was left in charge temporarily. Malgerius would therefore have been created count not in 1167, but before, precisely after Andrew of Rupecanina and the rebel counts of Fondi and Carinola were pushed out of the realm. The Capuan territories must have been redistributed after the province had been shaken up during the invasion of Count Andrew. This redistribution meant that new smaller counties were created in Capua, adding two new clusters of lordships between Carinola and Fondi, and northwestern Apulia.

The defeated nobility left a profound mark on the territorial structure of the kingdom. We are told by Pseudo-Falcandus that, by the end of 1162, 'some of the king's enemies had crossed over to Greece, others had fled to the German emperor with the count of Loritello, and many remained impoverished in the papal Campania'.⁵⁵³ Moreover, it also appears that William I imposed over the defeated 'redemption fees', in that Pseudo-Falcandus recorded that, after the king's death, the queen abolished the 'unbearable burden of redemption fees' (*redemptionis onus importabile*) that had shaken Apulia and the Terra di Lavoro with utter despair.⁵⁵⁴ This implies that not only the rebel towns and rural aristocracy on the mainland were subjected to an economic penalty for the rebellion, but that also there were lesser barons who must have participated in the insurgency, who nevertheless stayed in the kingdom. The remaining upper aristocracy was hence consolidated in a handful of lordships, organised around significantly fewer

⁵⁵² '[*Terrae*] quas a tempore domini Malgerii bona fide et per cambium et sine terratico ego [*Iohannes Bova*] et pater meus possideamus nos dissaysivit, quam domino comiti ostendamus. Dominus noster comes hoc audiens iussit eidem Petro de Revello, ut nobis exinde iustitiam faceret. Ideo dominus Petrus de Revello, habita iussione domini comitis, congregates iudicibus aliisque bonis hominibus, interrogavit me ut si rationes quibus questio decidi posset haberemus'. *Le pergamene della Società Napoletana di Storia Patria. Parte II. Note di diplomatica sigli Atti giudiziari*, ed. by Catello Salvati (Naples: Arte Tipografica, 1966), no 1 pp. 29–30.

⁵⁵³ *Falcandus*, pp. 186–87.

⁵⁵⁴ *Falcandus*, pp. 196–97.

counts than when William I became the sole Sicilian king. Starting with the province of Capua, two new counties were created from the remnants of older lordships, between the counties of Fondi and Carinola: Alife, given to Count Malgerius, and Caserta, given to Count Robert of Lauro.

The other two Capuan counts, Roger of Fondi and Carinola, had to forsake their counties in their exile. There is no surviving evidence for either before the end of William I's rule. The Apulian lands of the count of Carinola (i.e. the lordship of Conza) were not given to either the *comestabulus* Gilbert of Balvano, or to Roger of Medania, count of Buonalbergo and Acerra, as has been suggested by F. Scandone when he speaks of the '*comestabulia* of the count of Conza', and the lands of the lord of Montella.⁵⁵⁵ Roger of Medania appears to have held some lands east of Conza, as lord of Nusco, but evidence that is discussed in the following chapter indicates that the county of Carinola would be restored to Jonathan's heir, and Conza was included in the dominions returned to him.⁵⁵⁶ Another major baron with tenure in the province of Capua was Roger of Aquila, count of Avellino. Count Roger of Avellino must have returned to his county after 1162 and before William I died, as a 'Count Roger' is mentioned in an 1165 land delimitation concerning some lordships near Avellino (*ab uno latere fine Rogeri comite*).⁵⁵⁷ This is not unlikely considering also that Roger of Aquila had been pardoned before by William I, just after his participation in the coup d'état in Palermo, and that, according to Pseudo-Falcandus, he fled the kingdom during William I's march over the peninsula because he had married Marocta of S. Severino without the royal court's permission. Although he would appear to have disobeyed the king just after being pardoned, he was not regarded as a rebel by this stage, which places him at a different level than that of those insurgents who were driven into exile. Perhaps Adelia of Adernò (Roger of Aquila's grandmother and William I's cousin) intervened again in favour of this mischievous young count, or simply Count Roger returned to his lands without the explicit permission of the king. Whatever the case here, the count of Avellino must be distinguished from the rest of the nobles exiled in 1162.

The other two major barons forced into exile were Roger of Acerra, count of Buonalbergo, and, of course, the count of Conversano and Loritello, Robert II of Bassunvilla. These counties remained vacant through the rest of William I's rule. Other comital dominions in Apulia appear to have been left vacant as well, but the evidence is

⁵⁵⁵ Francesco Scandone, *L'alta valle del Calore. II. Il feudo e il municipio di Montella dal dominio dei Normanni a quello della Casa d'Aragona* (Palermo, 1916), pp. 20, 28–29, 35–36.

⁵⁵⁶ See below, on page 221.

⁵⁵⁷ *Cod. Dipl. Verginiano*, v, no 453 pp. 187–88.

even more scarce; these include the counties of Civitate, Molise, Montescaglioso, and Tricarico. It should be remembered that Civitate and Montescaglioso were already vacant before the second rebellion faced by King William, as Geoffrey of Lecce must have been deprived of the county of Montescaglioso when he was sent to Sicily as a prisoner, and Count Robert of Civitate disappeared after 1156. It has been suggested by Cuzzo that during this vacancy the county of Civitate was administered by Guarmundus son of Walter, a chamberlain recorded in Cava charters between 1146 and 1180; this suggestion is founded on the fact that the *feuda* the count of Civitate held in Campomarino (near the mouth of the River Biferno) and in the area northwest of Biccari were accounted in the *Quaternus* by testimony of Guarmundus.⁵⁵⁸

The county of Hugh of Molise had remained vacant since the death of the count c. 1158, leaving this pivotal lordship at the margins of rebellion and turmoil. Nevertheless, a son of Robert of Molise, who consequently was also a cousin of Count Hugh II of Molise, appears to have been active in this county, and their descendants remained in his lordship. Hugh of Molise, lord of Sepino and son of Robert of Molise, made a donation in November 1143 to the church of the Holy Cross.⁵⁵⁹ Although this Hugh was a relative of Count Hugh II, and a lord of a central town within the dominions of Boiano, he does not appear to have been part of the count's entourage. The available documents for Count Hugh II of Molise do not attest the presence of this Hugh of Molise, and the charters from St Cristina of Sepino that record the latter's transactions do not confirm that the count personally exercised his authority in Sepino. Interestingly enough, after Count Hugh II of Molise died, the lords of Sepino continued to remember their relative Hugh of Molise as a count. Two charters from St Cristina, one issued by Hugh of Molise in 1150 and the other by his son Robert of Molise in 1175, recorded transactions made for the salvation of the soul of Count Hugh of Molise.⁵⁶⁰ Although the county of Hugh of Molise was no longer in the hands of the Molise family, the familial connection the lords of Sepino had to the old count remained in their memory. Additionally, the charters of Robert of Molise, ranging from 1175 to 1189, do not make any reference to the actual contemporary ruling counts of Molise; perhaps a result of them not being entirely comfortable with the idea that the county of Molise no longer belonged to the kin-group that gave the county its name.

⁵⁵⁸ *Catalogus Baronum*, ¶ 295 p. 48; Cuzzo, 'I conti normanni di Catanzaro', p. 67.

⁵⁵⁹ Cuzzo and Martin, *Le pergamene di Sepino*, no 1 pp. 75–76.

⁵⁶⁰ Cuzzo and Martin, *Le pergamene di Sepino*, nos 2–3 pp. 76–80.

The role played by Count Roger of Tricarico during the uprising is rather unclear; the only overt reference to his involvement is found in Romuald's chronicle, where he is named amongst the conspirators in 1159.⁵⁶¹ However, Count Roger was not identified as a leader of the rebellion by Pseudo-Falcandus, and there is no record of the count of Tricarico after 1159 and before 1168. Moreover, it is not clear if in 1159 this Count Roger of Tricarico was either the same Roger created count before 1154, or the son of Robert of Lauro, who was awarded the comital title and Caserta by 1162. Of course, it is possible that father and son could have stood on different sides during the upper-baronial war, but Robert of Lauro's son might not have been old enough by 1159, and not least because it would have been extremely unlikely for Roger to become a count before his father did in 1162. Considering it is almost impossible for Roger, son of Robert of Lauro, to have been the same count of Tricarico in 1154, and that the latter may have been involved in the rebellion, Roger II of Tricarico must have been made count at some point after 1162, but before William I died, in 1166. Robert of Lauro's recently acquired position as count of Caserta, and the favour he enjoyed after having been the king's commander in Capua and a royal ally during the rebellion, must have allowed him to convince the king to grant his son the vacant county of Tricarico, securing thus the comital title for both of his sons. This would explain why Pseudo-Falcandus does not mention Roger's appointment as count of Tricarico during the regency when several counts were created, c. 1167–1168, but the same Roger was then attested in Messina in 1168 as count of Tricarico and son of the count of Caserta.

The corridor of counties that had been created along the northern Adriatic coast of the kingdom (Manopello, Loritello, Lesina, Civitate, Andria and Conversano) appears to have been temporarily dismantled after 1162, leaving the count of Lesina as the only major baron in the whole region between the border with the Abruzzo and the Terra di Bari. The area of influence of Geoffrey, count of Lesina, was restricted to the northern Capitanata, closer to the Abruzzo and far from the coastal cities of Adriatic Apulia. Count Geoffrey was recorded in documents regarding the abbeys of Casauria, in the Abruzzo, and Tremiti, on an island north of the Gargano peninsula; it should be remembered that soon thereafter Count William of Lesina was captured and removed from his county in 1156, Geoffrey was already regarded as the ruling count of Lesina in an October 1156 charter concerning the abbey of Tremiti.⁵⁶² Count Geoffrey of Lesina was also recorded in the *Chronicon Casauriense* as having sent a letter to the abbot of St Clement in

⁵⁶¹ See above, note 463.

⁵⁶² *Cod. Dipl. Tremiti*, no 108 pp. 300–3. Cf. Morlacchetti, pp. 284–85.

Casauria at some point after 1157.⁵⁶³ The chartulary-chronicle of the same abbey of Casauria subsequently attests a donation of some lands around the swamp of Lesina, free of taxes and *plateaticum*, made by the count of Lesina in 12 February 1165, in which he was recorded both as ‘Geoffrey, by the grace of God and the king count of Lesina, and royal justiciar’ (*Goffridus Dei et Regis gratia Alesinae Comes et Regius Iustitiarius*).⁵⁶⁴ As the son of a royal justiciar, Henry of Ollia, and as a justiciar himself, Geoffrey was not originally a member of the upper peninsular aristocracy, and instead he appears to have been a member of the circle of royal functionaries that, in the middle of the social turmoil caused by the count of Loritello’s rebellion, was elevated to the comital rank. There is no doubt that his new title and lordship over Lesina were more prestigious than his office as a justiciar, but in all surviving evidence he does not omit his original position. Count Geoffrey of Lesina appears thus to have held these two positions in parallel, serving as both a representative of the king’s justice and a major local landholder and overlord. Perhaps his lack of military protagonism and his role as justiciar in the region allowed him to stay away from the counts’ coalition and survive first the insurgency and then the king’s march over the mainland.

A new type of count had thus emerged from the counts’ rebellion, a social overlapping that appears to have not existed during Roger II’s reign: the royal functionary and comital overlord. The blurred lines between the military responsibilities of a count and those of an appointed royal commander allowed for their roles to be constantly changing and overlapping throughout the multiple wars and rebellions. Military offices had been granted before to peninsular counts (e.g. the temporary commanders Roger II left on the mainland during the civil war period, and Count Gilbert of Gravina being made *magister comestabulus* by William I), and loyal royal commanders had been awarded before with a county (e.g. Roger of Andria and Robert of Lauro, count of Caserta). However, never before had an administrator of justice been elevated to the upper social echelon, and allowed to be at the same time a local overlord with direct social and economic control over other barons. What could have started as a contingent solution to displace rebel counts and an attempt to keep local structures close to the crown during times of lost social control, appears to have become a situation thereafter normalised in the Sicilian kingdom.

Another count who consolidated his position after the rebellion was Sylvester of Marsico. As explained above, Count Sylvester stayed close to the king as a member of

⁵⁶³ *Chron. Casauriense*, cols 913–14.

⁵⁶⁴ *Chron. Casauriense*, cols 1010–11.

his court in Palermo. The few surviving documents that record his activity as count of Marsico during the first years of William I's reign were actually issued in Sicily, in his chamber of Ragusa, and Pseudo-Falcandus' testimony and the December 1157 royal charter indicate that the count was a regular member of the Palermitan royal court. Furthermore, Count Sylvester appears to have moved his residence to Palermo, as is suggested by the purchase he made of Admiral Maio's houses in the city.⁵⁶⁵ One must not forget that the count of Marsico was made a royal *familiaris* after Maio's assassination, and that he seems to have kept this position in the wake of the rebellion.

According to Pseudo-Falcandus, the king's *familiares* accompanied William I in his march across Apulia, and then reached Salerno after the rebellion was suppressed. Mathew the notary, who is recorded as one of these *familiares* of the royal court (as Henry Aristippus appears to have lost the king's favour after the attempted *coup d'état* and been subsequently arrested and sent back to Palermo during the king's campaign on the mainland), addressed the other *familiares* Richard, bishop-elect of Syracuse and Count Sylvester, so they could help him to convince the king to be lenient with the city of Salerno, which had shown support for the counts and to Marius Borell during the insurgency.⁵⁶⁶ Salerno was ultimately spared, and William I and his *familiares* returned to Sicily. Nonetheless, Count Sylvester's consolidated position as royal minister was truncated by his own death. According again to Pseudo-Falcandus, not long after the kingdom was pacified, Sylvester of Marsico died. He must have died then at some point after 1162, but considerably before 1166, when William I died. The vacancy left in the wake of Count Sylvester's death was not taken by another count – another argument against the suggestion that the count of Marsico joined the king's court as a representative of the peninsular nobility. Instead, we are told by Pseudo-Falcandus that the other two remaining *familiares* (Bishop-Elect Richard and Matthew the notary) monopolised the king's council and the 'administration of the realm' (*disponebant regni negotia*), and that Qaid Peter, the master chamberlain of the palace (*magister camerarius palatii*), was then associated with them.⁵⁶⁷ Sylvester's son, William of Marsico, must have then inherited his father's title and lordships, but it is not exactly clear when he did so, or even if the new count of Marsico also resided in Palermo.

In the province of Calabria, changes were naturally expected to take place; after all, the members of the Calabrian nobility had played an actual role against Maio of Bari

⁵⁶⁵ Garufi, *Tabulario di Monreale*, App. 1, no 2 pp. 163–65.

⁵⁶⁶ *Falcandus*, pp. 182–83. On the reasons for the arrest of Henry Aristippus, see *Falcandus*, pp. 162–65.

⁵⁶⁷ *Falcandus*, pp. 186–87.

and during the insurgency. After Clementia, countess of Catanzaro, and her mother Countess Segelgarda had been imprisoned, there is no further account of her condition or of that of the county of Catanzaro. It has been suggested by Cuzzo that both countesses were pardoned and released at some point before 1165, as a Greek charter from that same year indicates that they were back in their county.⁵⁶⁸ The cited document, however, does not actually refer to either of the countesses as a contemporary ruler. The charter issued 10 August 1165 records a judicial inquiry and mandate made by Michael, the ‘chamberlain’ of Badolato (καπριλλίγγος εἰς τὸν Βαδουλάτον), against the ‘labourers’ (δουλευτῆς) and ‘tax collectors’ (ἀπέτιται) of Badolato; it was recorded that the ‘colonists’ (πάρ[ο]ικος) of the monastery ‘of the mountain’ (εἰρημίτες τοῦ ὄρους) held in Badolato were being unjustly taxed by the men of said town.⁵⁶⁹ These men were summoned by the chamberlain, and they were remembered as the collectors ‘from the time of Count Geoffrey and the countess (ἀπό τὸν καιρὸν τοῦ κόμητος ἰσοφρῆ καὶ τη[ς] κομητίσσης); furthermore, Geneisos the notary was especially remembered as a tax collector during the time of Countess Segelgarda (νοτάριος γένεισος, ὁ ὢν ἀπειτῆς εἰς τὸν καιρὸν σικληγαίδας κομητίσσης). On the monastery’s part, it was declared under oath that such exactions did not take place at the time of either count or countess. It is therefore clear that, in 1165, the countesses of Catanzaro were remembered as the former rulers of this Calabrian region. Moreover, a ruling count would have been expected to be the authority figure to mediate these sorts of disputes, or at least one of his or her officials; yet, the inquiry does not make any contemporary reference to a comital authority, but instead presents this ‘chamberlain’ as a mediating authority among, or even over, the local officials – the charter attests amongst its witnesses Sideros, the judge of the town of Badolato, and the *stratego*i of the towns of Stilo and S. Caterina dello Ionio, all localities south of Catanzaro. The presence and role of Michael the chamberlain were justified by the absence of a count or countess of Catanzaro. He was thus acting not as local judge or municipal administrator, but as a temporal source of social control appointed by the royal court after the rebellion.

It seems, hence, that the county of Catanzaro was left vacant throughout the rest of William I’s reign. The status of the other Calabrian comital position, Squillace, is even more obscure, as Pseudo-Falcandus is the only surviving source that attests Count

⁵⁶⁸ Cuzzo, ‘I conti normanni di Catanzaro’, p. 116.

⁵⁶⁹ Trinchera, no 167 pp. 219–21. This monastery was presumably St Stephen del Bosco (modern La certosa di Serra San Bruno e Santi Stefano), founded c. 1118. See Annick Peters-Custot, *Bruno en Calabre. Histoire d’une fondation monastique dans l’Italie normande: S. Maria de Turri e S. Stefano del Bosco* (Rome: Ecole française de Rome, 2014), pp. 122–23.

Everard, the only known count of Squillace, before 1176. It would appear then that, after Everard was deposed in 1156, there were no counts for Squillace until the time of King William II.

The kingdom's two centres of power Compromising with the nobility

During the first eight years of William I's reign, royal control over the peninsular territories was fragmented and even interrupted. Although it is not clear to what extent the peninsular nobility shook off Sicilian authority during the first rebellion of Robert of Loritello, it would be impossible to claim that the royal *curia* was in control of the aristocracy of Apulia and the Terra di Lavoro between 1160 and 1162. As has been narrated by both Pseudo-Falcandus and Romuald of Salerno, for three years the Sicilian king and his court fought against the coalition of nobles and cities whose insurrection lasted beyond the assassination of Maio, which happened in November 1160. Whether out of frustration, or because they despaired of recovering William I's grace, the counts stayed in open rebellion. Both narrative testimonies, Pseudo-Falcandus and Romuald, agree on the resistance the king still had to face on the mainland, and how it was not until William I marched himself with his Sicilian army that the royal court's control was established in both Apulia and the Terra di Lavoro. It appears, therefore, that the implication of this continuing insurgency was more severe than in Sicily. The focus in Pseudo-Falcandus' narrative is, however, primarily on the events unfolding on the island; after all Palermo was the main stage for the coup d'état and the plots of the royal court. Romuald Guarna, archbishop of Salerno, does pay proportionally more attention to the situation on the mainland, but the focus of his 'universal' chronicle is still divided between affairs in Rome and the development of the rebellion in Sicily. Nevertheless, from the point of view of the nobility's activities, the Kingdom of Sicily appears to have been split between opposing effective authorities: the Sicilian royal government and the league of counts led by Robert of Loritello in Apulia.

The activities in the Terra di Lavoro are less clear, and there is no explicit indication that Count Andrew of Rupecanina was the leader of the counts in this province. Nevertheless, Andrew must have exercised a conspicuous role as head of the revolt in the Terra di Lavoro because of his familial connections to the former princes of Capua and the counts of Caiazzo, and his political connections with both the Greek and German

emperors.⁵⁷⁰ Additionally, Count Andrew appears to have expanded his alliance strategy through marriage; Count Andrew ‘of Comino’ is recorded to have accepted in marriage the daughter of Count Berard of Alba in October 1160.⁵⁷¹

This marriage has several, significant implications. First, this confirms Andrew’s presence at the northern border of the realm in 1160. Second, Count Andrew, regarded here as ‘count of Comino’, appears to have established a base in a pivotal region (the Comino valley), distant from the centre of the Capuan province but strategically located in the inland northern vertex between the Abruzzo, central Italy and the kingdom, where he would have been able to coordinate the incursion into the Capuan principality from a safe position behind the Abruzzese mountains. Third, Andrew’s activities were not merely military, but also political; he was rallying to his cause a local baron from a region that had been practically severed from the kingdom, but that had played a vital role as a buffer zone between central Italy and Apulia and as a base for Robert of Loritello’s incursions against the kingdom. The marriage seems to have sealed both a settlement and partnership between Andrew and Berard of Alba, as it was also recorded that Berard gave money to Andrew for which the former had his lands restored and dominion over his lands conceded, after which Berard went to Comino and then plundered the town of Schiavi di Abruzzo (*Sclavi*). Subsequently, both Andrew and Berard raided the region as they marched over the lands of the abbey of St Vincent in Volturno and burned many towns down.⁵⁷² Although it is impossible to confirm the extent of Andrew of Rupecanina’s control over the Capuan province, he definitely acted as a major leader of the insurgency and a key broker between the rebels and the external political forces. For three years the peninsular territories of the kingdom appear to have escaped from the Sicilian rule, and instead to have been under the independent control of the counts.

The Abruzzo must have been a lost province during this eight-year period (1154–1162). As a border area, established as a northern march, the Abruzzo was predisposed to instability and a lack of centralised control in times of turmoil and invasion. The special jurisdiction (*justitia/comestabulia*) led by the count of Manopello could have been the only royal post in the region; the rest appears to have been land submerged in chaos and

⁵⁷⁰ In addition to his partnership with the pope during Robert of Loritello’s first rebellion (according to the *Liber Pontificalis*, pp. 393–4, he even swore fealty and paid homage to Pope Adrian IV), Andrew of Rupecanina was recorded to have been in Ancona in 1157, to have later been sent by the Greek commander (*protostrator*) Alexios Axouchos into southern Italy. The Greek source referred to Andrew as ‘a count of an Italian city, valiant in might and well-supplied with bravery’. *Kinnamos*, bk 4 chap. 14 pp. 130–31. Also, it should be remembered that Andrew of Rupecanina met with Frederick Barbarossa during the siege of Milan in 1158.

⁵⁷¹ *Annales Ceccanenses*, p. 285.

⁵⁷² *Annales Ceccanenses*, p. 285.

plunder. After Count Bohemund I of Manopello was defeated, the great lords of the region, the Abruzzese counts, benefited from Robert of Loritello's rebellion and the lack of royal control as they plundered the neighbouring churches and the lands of the major monasteries (e.g. Casauria and Carpineto). Unsurprisingly, the Abruzzo became a safe zone for the rebel count of Loritello; the frontier hosted Count Robert of Loritello after the royal army defeated his insurrection, and served as a centre of operations for the expelled rebels.

What was the actual state of the kingdom's government on the mainland during these three years (1159–1162)? There is no evidence that would indicate that either Count Robert of Loritello or Count Andrew of Rupecanina claimed the royal title for themselves. They appear instead to have been more interested in shaking off royal authority, and much less in appointing a new figure of central authority, not even from amongst themselves. Their military leaderships were not translated into a claim to the throne. The league of counts did not constitute a substitute for government, but a military alliance which prevented the enforcement of the king's authority. Neither Robert of Loritello nor Andrew of Rupecanina would have been interested in taking over responsibility for the administration of the entire kingdom; what actually concerned them was not being placed under the effective control of any overlord or military commander. Like Count Robert II of Loritello, son of Rao, and Rainulf of Caiazzo during the early decades of the same century, the dissident counts might have been willing to acknowledge a nominal figure of authority, as long as in practice they were allowed to rule autonomously, commanding their own armed forces and controlling the lesser barons in their vicinity. After all, one should not forget that it was the former count of Loritello who, before the arrival of Roger II and the creation of the kingdom, regarded himself as 'count of counts'. The rebellion of the peninsular nobility against Maio of Bari and William I appears thus to have been an aristocratic movement against the expanding institutional control of the Sicilian government, and not a political organisation or federation that intended to provide a substitute for the functions of the Palermitan court.

This opposition to the king's control did not necessarily imply a class-conscious effort from the nobility against the court's officials, but instead a real effort for their survival and consolidation. Count Richard of Fondi, for example, was constantly switching sides throughout this period, but his apparent political fickleness could have been more sensible than cynical. Given the county of Fondi's exposed but strategic position on the Tyrrhenian border of the kingdom, and the seemingly considerable external support for the exiled prince, and then the exiled count of Rupecanina/Caiazzo

(from Rome and both the German and Greek empires), Count Richard may have had little choice but to join the rebels. As keeper of the gateway between the kingdom and the papal lands, the count of Fondi was liable to become a major actor in the insurrection, whether he wished to be or not. Also, one should not forget the role played by Robert II of Lauro, who appears not to have joined the coalition and fought alongside the king's forces, and Sylvester of Marsico, who was directly involved in the Palermitan court despite his condition as a count. Pseudo-Falcandus seems to have struggled with Count Sylvester's closeness to the royal court, in that this undermines his categorical assertion that all barons and nobles were against the tyranny of the royal government. This might have been the reason why Pseudo-Falcandus rationalised Count Sylvester's absence from the counts' rebellion on the grounds of his timidity. In any case, it is certain that the count of Marsico neither joined the league of counts nor openly opposed the king's control over the mainland.

The rebel counts would not have needed to reject or repudiate their king overtly; they fought against the effective rule of his court officials, namely his great admiral or any other of the royal commanders and high officials. The rebels' desperation to be restored to the king's favour could have justified their continuing insurrection, but this would have meant that the enemy to defeat was the king's ability to exercise his will, not the existence or legitimacy of his kinship. The existence of a nominal king who would stay in Sicily and the dissipation of economic and military restraints seem to have been the purpose of the league of counts. Pio called them the 'centrifugal force';⁵⁷³ however, the peninsular nobility was not necessarily a unified hierarchy that acted as a self-aware class against the central bureaucracy, but instead a coalition in favour of a strong but local military command. It is fundamental to pinpoint that the leadership of Robert of Loritello was not simply a matter of *primus inter pares*, but a recognised subordination. The attachment and the homage that the other counts made to the count of Loritello and Conversano suggest that a degree of at least military subordination was acknowledged by other barons, who would appear to bear the same nominal authority and distinction. Thus, Robert would have become a true 'count of counts'. Effective military leadership requires a centre of authority. It was precisely this political realisation that allowed the unity of the kingdom to survive, and the Sicilian king partially to recover his control of the territories across the straits of Messina. If William I wanted to control the counts, he needed to do so through an indirect deputy, one from the counts' own echelon.

⁵⁷³ Pio, *Guglielmo I d'Altavilla*, pp. 43–64.

According to Pseudo-Falcandus, King William only pardoned two counts: Roger of Aquila, count of Avellino, and Count Gilbert of Gravina. In both instances, the former rebels were admitted back into the king's grace because of the direct plea their relatives made to William; in both cases, however, they seem to have taken little part in the rebellion. It should also be remembered that a 'Count Roger' was recorded in 1165, near Avellino.⁵⁷⁴ It was precisely the king's pardon that allowed Count Gilbert to switch sides. The defection of the count of Gravina was the next, necessary step in the redefinition of the relationship between the Sicilian royal government and the peninsular aristocracy. Count Gilbert was a recent addition to the kingdom's nobility, and his familial ties to the Queen made him a natural ally of the king.

Since the kingdom's creation, neither the high offices for the military command nor those of the administration had been occupied by a member of the peninsular nobility. According to Alexander of Telese, the counts who were entrusted with the command of the king's knights to defend the northwestern territories were to succeed each other for set terms. These commanders however were temporary, and they do not appear to have kept their positions after the imperial invasion of 1137. The role played by these counts was limited to the civil war period, and this rotating command would only have been a reality during the stage before the re-arrangement and consolidation which was implemented after 1139. However, in 1162, the count of Gravina was made the *magister comestabulus* for Apulia and the Terra di Lavoro. Count Gilbert and Richard of Say, the same royal commander who led the offensive against the rebels after Aquinus of Moac, were subsequently recorded in 1165 as royal commanders; we are told by the *Annales Ceccanenses* that the two came into the papal Campania with the army of the Sicilian king in order to recapture the lands that the imperial commander, Chancellor Christian of Buch, and a Count Gonzolinus had taken and harried before, so that these territories would swear allegiance to the anti-pope Paschal III and the German emperor.⁵⁷⁵ The two appear to have captured Veroli (north of Ceccano), and marched all the way to the S. Lorenzo valley; after they burned the *castrum* of S. Lorenzo, each one returned to their

⁵⁷⁴ See above, note 557.

⁵⁷⁵ *Annales Ceccanenses*, p. 285. Christian of Buch, archbishop of Mainz from 1165 until his death in 1183, served Emperor Frederick I for much of his pontificate as his imperial chancellor, and acted as a diplomat and general in Italy. Peter Acht, 'Christian I', in *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, 26 vols (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1957), III, 226–27. Christian's role as a military leader is discussed in Benjamin Arnold, 'German Bishops and Their Military Retinues in the Medieval Empire', *German History*, 7 (1989), 161–83. On the political, legal, and ceremonial expressions of power of Archbishop Christian, and his relationship with the German Empire, see Stefan Burkhardt, *Mit Stab und Schwert: Bilder, Träger und Funktionen erzbischöflicher Herrschaft zur Zeit Kaiser Friedrich Barbarossas: Die Erzbistümer Köln und Mainz im Vergleich* (Ostfildern: Thorbecke, 2008), pp. 163–66, 183–84, 228–32, 322–73, 403–40.

own place. Interestingly enough, William I appears thus to have assisted the pope against Frederick Barbarossa and Paschal III, with an army partially commanded by the count of Gravina. This confirms both the military role taken by Count Gilbert as *magister comestabulus*, and the survival of Richard of Say as a royal commander during the final years of William I's reign. However, it is uncertain whether Richard of Say was still a constable and royal justiciar in Calabria by that time, or if he had acquired the same title as Gilbert. Nor is it clear what specific role the count of Gravina played during the royal incursion.

Although it was reported that Gilbert of Gravina joined the king's cause and was made a commander, Aquinus of Moac and Richard of Say were the ones recorded as active captains of the royal army. What is more certain is that after the counts and Robert of Loritello had been defeated and expelled, Count Gilbert was left as both a leading count and the king's man on the mainland. Neither Aquinus of Moac nor Richard of Say appear to have been part of the kingdom's upper aristocracy, and their lack of both an honorary title and a county meant that they did not have the economic means to consolidate their own authority. Their authority derived only from the king, and even though they were commanders of the army on the mainland, in times of peace they were only lesser barons with a royal appointment. Conversely, Gilbert of Gravina was not only a *magister comestabulus*, but a local authority and an overlord. As such, he could recall and mobilise the lords and their respective knights who held lands *in servitio* of the count of Gravina, not to mention the wealth that all the lands he held *in demanio* could produce. This was the first occasion since the creation of the kingdom that a count was not only appointed commander of the armed forces but also a continuing overseer for the royal government. Although this may appear at first reading to be counterintuitive, mostly since it has been presumed that Roger II was keen to detach the peninsular nobility from the central government in order to avoid creating uncontrollable magnates, it was not until both social layers overlapped in the figure of Count Gilbert that a lasting peace with the upper aristocracy was achieved. By the end of 1162 the peninsular territories had a new master and commander; Count Gilbert of Gravina was the royal governor on the mainland for the remaining years of William I's reign.

Although his remit did not extend to Calabria and the separated region of the Abruzzo, Gilbert of Gravina had hence become the most powerful commander on the mainland. While the role the count of Gravina actually played as a royal ally during the pacification of 1162 is not entirely clear, Gilbert was the man left in command after William I had won the war and returned to Sicily. We do not hear much more about these

captains later on, but the *magister comestabulus* Gilbert became a central actor in the kingdom's politics and administration. The power that the count of Loritello and Conversano would have wanted to wield on the mainland was now in the hands of the count of Gravina. William I was ultimately forced to concede and relinquish the direct control the royal court exercised over the two major provinces in the Italian peninsula, as the new royal commander was neither a functionary of the court nor a lesser baron with a temporary appointment, but a nobleman who resided on the other side of the straits of Messina. Thus, Count Gilbert of Gravina became the additional centre of power through which William's reign could continue, without any further insurrection or internal challenge.

CHAPTER 4

A Mutated Nobility at the Centre of the Sicilian Regime. The Tragedy of Queen Margaret's Relatives

Before King William passed away, he appointed his queen consort, Margaret of Navarre, as the regent and guardian of his sons, all minors at the time of his death. By this stage, the existence of only three counties can be confirmed (Caserta, Gravina and Lesina), although the counts of Alife and Marsico must have been also active until c.1163–1166 (before their respective deaths), and a new count of Tricarico was most likely appointed before 1166. The rest of the counties appear to have been left vacant during the remaining years of William I's reign.⁵⁷⁶ In the spring of 1166, the eldest son William, who was then twelve years old, succeeded his father on the throne.⁵⁷⁷ The policy of the new regime radically changed the Palermitan court's attitude towards the peninsular nobility. We are told by Romuald of Salerno in his chronicle that Queen Margaret 'opened the prisons, freed the numerous captives, restored the lands to those liberated, forgave debts, recalled to the kingdom the counts and barons that had been banished, and gave them their confiscated lands back'.⁵⁷⁸ The royal court also granted royal lands to the churches, counts, and barons. In the same way, Pseudo-Falcandus explained that the queen granted copious favours, such as opening the prisons and abolishing the 'redemption fees' imposed by William I on Apulia and the Terra di Lavoro, in order to make both the people and the nobles grateful and loyal towards her and her son.⁵⁷⁹ Many of the benefits that were thus conferred by the queen and her court seem to have been made in order to turn the page from William I's reign, and make the young William II a beloved king, and his kingdom a peaceful polity. However, in the midst of the subsequent changes and arrangements made in the Sicilian court and Qaid Peter's apparent predominance over the other royal *familiaries*, the count of Gravina did not stay idle either, and crossed the straits of Messina into Sicily.

⁵⁷⁶ See Chronological Chart.

⁵⁷⁷ On William II's coronation, see above, note 368.

⁵⁷⁸ *Romuald*, p. 254.

⁵⁷⁹ *Falcandus*, pp. 196–97.

The count of Gravina vs. the count of Molise
The queen's family drama, part I

We are told by Pseudo-Falcandus that the reason Count Gilbert had come to the royal court was to be appointed 'master captain of the whole kingdom' (*magister capitaneus totius regni*), and to administer the affairs of the court in the top position after the queen (*negotia curie post reginam principe loco disponderet*).⁵⁸⁰ Furthermore, it is explained that since the count of Gravina did not bring enough knights (*milites*) with him, and that the queen was not willing to put Qaid Peter, the master chamberlain of the royal palace, in second position to anyone, Count Gilbert was not able to exclude the other *familiares* from the court against Queen Margaret's wishes. It appears then that, even as a commander on the mainland, far from the royal court's residence, the count of Gravina would still be considered a *familiaris* of the queen. Also, this passage suggests that Count Gilbert's title as 'great constable' (*magnus comestabulus*) was a military position, and did not actually carry an administrative responsibility that a 'master captain' would have done, as was explicitly put by Pseudo-Falcandus when he described Gilbert's intention to be put in charge of the administration of the affairs of the court. Although the surviving evidence for the last years of William I's reign is scarce, the count of Gravina is not recorded as presiding over any court on the mainland, or as conducting any mediation or issuing any mandate outside his county. He was nevertheless remembered in the *Annales Ceccanenses* as a commander of the king's armed forces in the peninsula.⁵⁸¹ The count of Gravina would, however, acquire the position to which he was aspiring at a later stage, as the chronicle of Casauria recorded that Count Gilbert, 'the current master captain and governor of the whole realm' (*Comes Gilisbertus [...] tunc temporis Magistrus Capitaneus et gubernatore totius regni*), presided over a court at Foggia to follow up the long-running controversy between the monastery of Casauria and Count Bohemund II of Manopello, just as the previous master captain, Simon the seneschal, had done before him.⁵⁸² At least it is clear from Pseudo-Falcandus' testimony that the count of Gravina, after William I's death, wanted to improve his position and expand his authority through his relative, the queen.

It is not clear the real extent to which the titles of 'great constable' and 'master captain' differ. Both Jamison and Takayama agree that there was no practical difference between these two titles; Jamison suggests that 'captain and constable were titles equally

⁵⁸⁰ *Falcandus*, pp. 206–7.

⁵⁸¹ *Annales Ceccanenses*, p. 285.

⁵⁸² *Chron. Casauriense*, p. 903.

applicable to the new governor [of the mainland]’, and Takayama simply assumes that the master captains, constables, and justiciars were part of the same institution of two general governors, originally established under Maio’s administration and subsequently consolidated as the ‘viceroys’ overseeing Apulia and Capua.⁵⁸³ These assumptions present a neat image of the royal administration and an understanding of a designed central office; nonetheless, the terminology and context of the surviving evidence presents a less elegant and more contingent institutional development. The case of the count of Gravina illustrates precisely this, as it not only serves as an example of the difference between the titles of ‘great constable’ and ‘master captain’ and their possible distinct military and administrative functions, but also as an example of the political environment in which the royal court revived the office of ‘master captain of the whole of Apulia and the Terra di Lavoro’, a title that was last documented before Maio of Bari was assassinated and his brother-in-law, Simon the seneschal, the original *magister capitaneus*, disappeared from the political arena. Gilbert of Gravina seems thus to have taken advantage of the confusion following William I’s death, by aspiring to the gubernatorial office created under Admiral Maio’s administration, and thence merging it with both his military rank as peninsular commander-in-chief and his socio-economic position as a member of the kingdom’s nobility. Such an ambitious agenda must have been the reason behind Gilbert’s presence in Sicily, and Qaid Peter’s concern and precautions.

Following Pseudo-Falcandus’ account, there were two Apulian noblemen advising Qaid Peter at the time: Hugh, son of Atto, and Richard of Mandra, who was regarded as the ‘master constable [of the royal guard]’ (*magister comestabulus*). While the former was described as both sensible and a good warrior, who was put in charge of the Qaid’s knights, Richard of Mandra is remembered as an experienced soldier, who had fought together with Robert of Loritello, and had plenty of courage but not so much wisdom.⁵⁸⁴ It is not clear whether the title of *magister comestabulus* was actually officially given to Richard of Mandra or if it was simply a testimony of his military responsibilities in the royal court, but it is highly unlikely that he functioned as a commander on the mainland; he is not recorded in any other surviving document, and neither Jamison nor Takayama list him amongst the ‘great constables/master captains’ of the kingdom. Richard is, however, subsequently regarded by Pseudo-Falcandus as the

⁵⁸³ Jamison, ‘Norman Administration’, pp. 290–91; Takayama, *Administration of the Kingdom*, pp. 106–6.

⁵⁸⁴ *Falcandus*, pp. 210–11.

‘constable’ (*comestabulus*) of the ‘salaried knights’ (*milites stipendiari*), which confirms both the real extent of his title and the role he played in the royal court as the commander of the king’s household soldiers. It must also be remembered that, as a man of the rebel count of Loritello, he was part of the rebellion until he was captured and sent in chains to Palermo. Richard’s luck had a sudden twist however when he was released from prison during the attempted coup d’état, and defended William against the attacks of the other freed rebels. Although there is no evidence on what exactly happened to Richard of Mandra after that, he must have earned the king’s favour and become part of the court’s entourage.

The kingdom’s two centres of power were thus in confrontation one with another soon thereafter William I died, with Qaid Peter standing on the side of the Sicilian court. According to Pseudo-Falcandus, ‘the barons and the rest of the nobles who held any estates or fiefs preferred the count of Gravina to be at the head of the court and be appointed captain, whereas the salaried knights, alongside their constable [Richard of Mandra], and except for a few from the north of the Alps, preferred the rewards of Qaid Peter’.⁵⁸⁵ Such a testimony does not only provide an insight into the composition of the royal contingent of hired soldiers, which apparently was made up partially of transalpine knights, but also reveals to some extent the administrative and political division of the kingdom’s armed forces, between conscripted and contracted. Additionally, it should be noted that Gilbert himself came from across the Alps, as he was a member of the kin-group of the counts of Perche and had come from Spain; one might have expected, therefore, that some of these transalpine knights empathised with Gilbert of Perche.

Count Gilbert of Gravina stood in a position that no other nobleman had enjoyed since the creation of the kingdom. Robert of Bassunvilla, the former count of Loritello and Conversano, had previously attempted to shake off the control of the royal court. The consequence of this, however, was the insurgency and ultimately Gilbert’s rise to power. Making Count Gilbert, a relative of the queen, a ‘great constable’ in the midst of a punished and reduced nobility, allowed Gilbert to consolidate himself amongst the other remaining counts. Now that William I had died, and rapid changes were taking place in the court, the count of Gravina sought to take a further step, and seize the authority of the royal court itself. Just as the upper peninsular aristocracy appeared hence to attempt to take over the political source of the kingdom’s social control, the chief *familiaris* of the royal court responded symmetrically by ‘infiltrating’ the nobility and placing one of his

⁵⁸⁵ *Falcandus*, pp. 210–11.

own men in charge of one of the economic and military sources of control on the mainland: Richard of Mandra was appointed count, and given the county that used to belong to Hugh of Molise. This interpretation does not solely rely on the ties Richard of Mandra had with Qaid Peter and the royal court, but also on Pseudo-Falcandus' own impression of the affair; we are told by the anonymous historian that Qaid Peter planned to have Richard of Mandra 'made a count and use him thus as a defence against the count of Gravina, so that count could resist the other count with full authority, as if from horseback'.⁵⁸⁶ Even if one is sceptical of Qaid Peter's role in the nomination of Richard of Mandra, being cautious of Pseudo-Falcandus' detailed and politically charged account, it is crystal clear that as an appointed official of the royal court's government, Richard of Mandra was not powerful enough to face the influence of the count of Gravina. The rationale presented here reveals the contemporary core understanding of what a count was: a knightly military force (*ex equo*) and a baron with full authority (*plena auctoritas*). The authority that a royal functionary could have wielded as a representative of the court, either as a military commander (*comestabulus*) or as an administrator (*justitiarius* or *camerarius*) was apparently not enough, or even complete; only as a count could Richard have 'full authority'. Making Count Gilbert a 'great constable' (*magnus comestabulus*), and thus a general of the king's army, unshackled the system that throughout Roger II's reign and the first seven years of William I's rule had allowed the crown to consolidate its pre-eminent jurisdiction over the whole mainland and restrain the nobility while, at the same time, acknowledging the local authority, prestige and overlordship of the nobility, which was recognised as such through the comital title. The Sicilian court decided then to fight fire with fire, and granted Richard the constable the extensive dominion of the late Hugh II of Molise, including Boiano and Venafro, creating as a result a powerful noble to rival Count Gilbert on the mainland.

This episode additionally provides a fascinating insight into the procedure of making a count. As recorded by Pseudo-Falcandus, Richard was made a count 'with trumpets, drums and cymbals going in solemn procession before him, according to custom' (*tubis tympanis cymbalisque de more solepnmniter preeuntibus*).⁵⁸⁷ Such a scene must have been similar to the image of the triumphant entry of King Tancred I into Palermo in 1190, which was preceded precisely with cymbals, drums, and trumpets, as was depicted by Peter of Eboli in his *Liber ad honorem Augusti*.⁵⁸⁸ Apparently, the

⁵⁸⁶ *Falcandus*, pp. 210–11.

⁵⁸⁷ *Falcandus*, pp. 210–11.

⁵⁸⁸ See Figure 1.

comital dignity was accompanied with a ceremony that matched the gravity of the appointment. The evidence is tenuous, and Pseudo-Falcandus' words are the only indication of such a ceremony having taken place in the creation of a count. However, it seems in all likelihood that this was the case in the other comital appointment, as in the Kingdom of Sicily it was undoubtedly the king who created and confirmed the counts. It is uncertain if this ceremony had to have taken place on every occasion, perhaps in Palermo as the permanent seat of the royal court, but it would not come as a surprise to assume that some of these processions took place in other cities, while the monarch held courts on the mainland.

We are also told by Pseudo-Falcandus that Count Gilbert of Gravina stayed in Palermo, allegedly hatching some major plot against Qaid Peter, together with the bishop-elect of Syracuse. As a result, the chief royal *familiaris* fled during the night alongside a few eunuchs, with a considerable amount of money, and sailed across to Africa to the king of the Muwahids and of Morocco [Caliph `Abd al Mu'min].⁵⁸⁹ Qaid Peter's escape intensified the drama in the royal court, as Count Gilbert took the opportunity to publicly denounce the great danger that it was to have a 'Muslim slave' (*servus Saracenum*) in a position of power. Countering the imputations made by the count of Gravina, Count Richard of Molise defended the Qaid and thence both counts began arguing, to the point that the new count of Molise 'called the count of Gravina a coward and unworthy to be one to whom the king's army could be entrusted'.⁵⁹⁰ Here, the specific nature of Count Gilbert's position is again made clear, as it is implied that the royal armed forces were entrusted to him, a position that Count Richard reportedly was opposing very forcefully. The escalated argument between the counts of Gravina and Molise ended with Queen Margaret's orders and the appeals of the magnates of the court to both sides to simply forgive each other's injurious statements.⁵⁹¹ However, the apparently appeased confrontation with Count Gilbert of Gravina was far from being over.

In the meantime, it appears that the expelled Capuan counts resumed the attacks against the kingdom. Andrew of Rupecanina and Richard of Aquila, the former count of Fondi, were recorded as having invaded the dominions of the Sicilian king immediately after William I's death. According to the *Annales Ceccanenses*, both counts besieged Pastena, and after not being able to capture the town, marched to Pico and burned it, and

⁵⁸⁹ *Falcandus*, pp. 210–13. Qaid Peter, a royal eunuch and naval commander, was one of the leading figures at the court of William I. For a discussion of Peter's identity and role, see Johns, pp. 222–28; Metcalfe, pp. 195–203.

⁵⁹⁰ *Falcandus*, pp. 212–15.

⁵⁹¹ *Falcandus*, pp. 214–15; *Romuald*, p. 254.

then captured Itri and Traetto (modern Minturno), to finally return to Ceccano.⁵⁹² All of these places are located on the Capuan border, around what would have been the county of Richard of Aquila; Pastena and Pico are north of Fondi, whereas Itri and Traetto are found on the South-eastern route towards the River Garigliano, on the Via Appia – Traetto had been taken before by Andrew of Rupecanina in 1157.⁵⁹³ The records do not provide any detailed account of the kingdom's reaction to this invasion, except that 'the knights of the king burned Traetto'.⁵⁹⁴ Although the royal army's general on the mainland, the *magister comestabulus* Gilbert of Gravina, must have been engaged at this time with the royal court's politics, the invading counts not only stopped their advance before they crossed the River Garigliano, but also appear to have retreated back into the papal Campania.

It is uncertain whether the incursion led by Andrew of Rupecanina and Richard of Aquila, former count of Fondi, was originally meant to be a harrying expedition to exercise pressure on the recently appointed regency, or part of a larger campaign against the Sicilian kingdom. We know that after William I's triumph over the rebel and invading forces, and the retreat of Frederick Barbarossa in 1155, Pope Adrian IV was forced to come to terms with the Sicilian king at the Treaty of Benevento.⁵⁹⁵ Since both the Sicilian monarchy and the papacy were almost certainly wary of Emperor Frederick's agenda on the Italian peninsula, an exercise of *realpolitik* and a recognition of common interests must have been necessary for such an agreement to be finally reached. The practical, shared motivations behind this treaty seem clear: to avoid future mutual confrontations and prepare for a common front against the German emperor and his allies. Even though Andrew of Rupecanina was a papal ally, and able to escape the king's wrath in 1156 thanks to the pope's intervention, he was also a baron close to the German emperor. Furthermore, we are told by Kinnamos that Andrew had antagonised the pope before, when Alexios the protostrator sent him to Apulia to subdue numerous cities in 1157.⁵⁹⁶ Andrew's subsequent attacks and harassment must have taken place without support from Rome, but with the implicit backing of Frederick Barbarossa. In any case, Andrew of Rupecanina does not appear to have had another chance to reclaim his ancestral domains after 1162.

⁵⁹² *Annales Ceccanenses*, p. 285.

⁵⁹³ See above, on page 131.

⁵⁹⁴ *Annales Ceccanenses*, p. 285.

⁵⁹⁵ *William I Diplomata*, no 12 pp. 32–35. On the relationship between the papacy and the Kingdom of Sicily, see Errico Cuzzo, *La monarchia bipolare: il regno normanno di Sicilia* (Pratola Serra: Elio Sellino, 2000); Graham A. Loud, *The Latin Church in Norman Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 154–80.

⁵⁹⁶ *Kinnamos*, bk 4 chap. 14 pp. 170–71.

The last documented appearances of Count Andrew are found in 1167. First, when the German army marched through Italy in 1167, as the imperial chancellor Rainald, and then Frederick himself, besieged Rome; Andrew participated in the battle of Monte Porzio on the side of the Emperor, as a soldier in Christian of Buch's army to fight against Pope Alexander III and the Romans.⁵⁹⁷ Additionally, Andrew of Rupecanina witnessed two charters issued by Frederick I in the same year, one in Rimini in April, and another in Pisa in August.⁵⁹⁸ Consequently, a potential invasion led by the German emperor could have seemed a real danger, but due to both the accord between Rome and the Sicilian monarchy, and the hostilities between Rome and Frederick Barbarossa, the exiled barons had to neglect their campaign against the *regnum* and assist the emperor, their main – if not only – political patron. In any case, Barbarossa's campaign was halted by the sudden outbreak of an epidemic, which effectively destroyed the German army and drove the emperor back north of the Alps.⁵⁹⁹

It was precisely the threat of a German invasion that, according to Pseudo-Falcandus, was announced in a false letter composed and presented to the court by Matthew the notary, in order to provide the Queen with a reasonable justification for ordering Count Gilbert to go to Apulia as soon as possible. As such, the count of Gravina was finally appointed 'captain of Apulia and the Terra di Lavoro' (*capitaneus Apuliae Terraeque Laboris*), together with his son Bertram, who had recently been granted the county of Andria (*Andriae comitatus*).⁶⁰⁰ Although these two concessions appear to have been downplayed by Pseudo-Falcandus' narrative, these must have been as important as the creation of Richard of Mandra as count of Molise; not only did Count Gilbert acquire the title and power he had been demanding since his arrival in Palermo, but his son also received one of the counties in the sensitive Adriatic line, a position that had been left vacant since the late Count Richard of Andria died in 1155 fighting against the Greek army.⁶⁰¹ This must have created a considerable block of lordships and dominions around

⁵⁹⁷ *Romuald*, p. 255; *Chron. de Ferraria*, p. 30; *Italische Quellen über die Taten Kaiser Friedrichs I.*, ed. by Franz J. Schmale, *Ausgewählte Quellen zur deutschen Geschichte des Mittelalters*. Freiherr vom Stein-Gedächtnisausgabe, 17a (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1986), pp. 196–97, 200. On Christian of Buch, see above, note 575. On Frederick I's expedition in 1167, see more especially John Freed, *Frederick Barbarossa: The Prince and the Myth* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016), pp. 334–48.

⁵⁹⁸ *Friderici I. Diplomata*, ed. by Heinrich Appelt, MGH DD, F I.2 (Hanover: Hahn, 1979), nos 532 p. 475, 536 p. 483.

⁵⁹⁹ The local sources that recorded this retreat include *Annales Ceccanenses*, p. 286; *Romuald*, p. 256. Of course there are many other accounts in German and north Italian sources for this, such as the *Historia Welforum*, or Acerbus Morena's account in *Ottonis Morenae et Continuatorum Historia Frederici I.*, ed. by Ferdinand Güterbock, MGH SS rer. Germ., 7 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1930), pp. 205–7. Additionally, Freed argues this setback was the turning point of Emperor Frederick's reign. Freed, pp. 343–45.

⁶⁰⁰ *Falcandus*, pp. 216–17.

⁶⁰¹ See above, note 439.

the Terra di Bari, extending from the central Apulian Adriatic coast to the hinterland, bordering with the Cilento region, which had also been placed under the comital authority of Gilbert of Perche and his son.

Gilbert of Gravina's power was thus consolidated as the *de facto* governor of Apulia and the Terra di Lavoro, in exchange for his 'departure' from Palermo and the royal court. We are told by Pseudo-Falcandus that in Count Gilbert's place the queen made Count Richard of Molise a *familiaris* of the court, 'since he had cherished great loyalty for Qaid Peter, and granted him greater power than the other *familiares*'.⁶⁰² Richard of Mandra appears to not only have taken Gilbert's place, but also Qaid Peter's membership of the council of royal 'ministers'. By temporarily appeasing the confrontation between the count of Molise and the count of Gravina, the queen's government further consolidated the two centres of power that had been developing since the last insurgency. On one hand, Gilbert and his family enjoyed the overlordship of two adjacent counties, and Gilbert himself became the first documented 'great captain' of the kingdom since 1158, under Maio of Bari's administrative control of the court's affairs. On the other hand, Richard had not only acquired the extensive county of the late Hugh II of Molise, but was also anointed as a royal *familiaris*, becoming thus one of the most influential men in the court of the regent queen. There is no evidence, however, that Richard of Mandra conducted any specific activity, or held a court, in any of his recently given peninsular dominions, at least before 1170. It appears hence that during this stage of the regency, the count of Molise was engaged with affairs of the court at Palermo, rather than spending his time on the mainland.

It must have been at this time, in 1167, after the count of Gravina was made great captain, his son Bertram count of Andria, and Richard of Mandra count of Molise, and whilst Emperor Frederick was campaigning in central Italy, that the *Quaternus magne expeditionis* was put together, transformed from the original drafts or *quaterniones* made c. 1150, into the core structure in which it survives to this day. The *Quaternus* already attests Bertram as count of Andria, and the counts of Alife and Caserta recently created by William I during the last rebellion, but it still does not name any count of Loritello, Conversano, or Principato. However, the entire document was not updated, as many entries still made mention of counts who had either died or were in exile by that time (for example. Count Sylvester of Marsico, dead before 1166, and Richard of Aquila, the exiled count of Fondi). Also, it must be noted that the entries for the county of Molise appear to

⁶⁰² *Falcandus*, pp. 216–17.

begin abruptly, without any subheading or introduction, and the rest of the register does not make any overt mention of the name of the count of Molise. All of this may suggest that the surviving recession of the *Quaternus* was left incomplete, perhaps after the ensuing turmoil at the royal court during Easter 1168.

A group of newly created counts

The unfolding of the year 1167 was turbulent and confusing. The chronicle of Romuald Guarna, archbishop of Salerno, does not expand on the arrangement made by the royal court at this time in much detail; conversely, Pseudo-Falcandus provides a thorough, albeit confusing summation of the changes that took place before the appointment of a new chancellor by the regent queen. The most relevant passage to this inquiry is the list of new counts provided by Pseudo-Falcandus. He wrote that the queen ‘created eight counts in that one year [1167]: Richard of Mandra, the count of Gravina’s son Bertram, Richard of Say, Roger son of Richard, Jocelyn, Simon of Sangro, Count Sylvester’s son William, and her relative Hugh of Rochefort, a man devoid of every virtue who had recently arrived from France; in addition he restored to their previous dignity Count Roger of Acerra and Count Roger of Avellino’.⁶⁰³ First of all, it must be noted that Pseudo-Falcandus employs the comital title in a rather relaxed manner, and this is not the first time he assigns this dignity to a man that clearly did not belong to the same rank as the kingdom’s counts (i.e. Roger of Craon). Hugh of Rochefort is another of these instances, as nothing certain is known about him. Loud and Wiedemann have provided an exploration of Hugh’s possible origins in France, and have proposed, on the basis of a suggestion made by Cuzzo, that he may have received the county of Alife; although this is not impossible, there is no evidence or even indication that this Capuan county was given to this French foreigner.⁶⁰⁴ Furthermore, an April 1170 charter records a donation made to the church of St Mary of Monte Drogo [della Grotta] by Roger son of Richard, count of Alife.⁶⁰⁵ It is even more unlikely that Hugh of Rochefort would have received Alife to then lose it to a Roger son of Richard without any overt reference of this in any surviving contemporary testimony. However, this Count Roger son of Richard must not be confused with the Roger son of Richard who, according to Pseudo-Falcandus, was made count in 1167, because the 1170 charter of the count of Alife was dated in the first year of his countship. This other Roger son of Richard appears instead to have been

⁶⁰³ *Falcandus*, pp. 226–29.

⁶⁰⁴ *Tyrants*, p. 157 n. 165.

⁶⁰⁵ See below, note 756.

related to the original Norman counts of Caiazzo.⁶⁰⁶ It has been generally assumed that the Roger son of Richard that Pseudo-Falcandus remembered here was in fact given the county of Alba, in the Abruzzo. But, before I explain this possibility, it is necessary to discuss the group of Abruzzese counts listed by Pseudo-Falcandus.

Both Cuozzo, Loud and Wiedemann have identified Roger son of Richard, Jocelyn, and Simon of Sangro as the counts of Alba, Loreto, and Sangro, respectively.⁶⁰⁷ The separate *quaternion* for the Abruzzo, appended to the *Quaternus magne expeditionis* and likewise edited in the *Catalogus Baronum*, provides the direct reference for these identifications. The case of Count Simon of Sangro is straightforward; his toponym already provides the answer for the core lordships of this recently created count, and the Abruzzese *quaternion* records ‘the county of Simon, count of Sangro’, and the same Count Simon, ‘son of Count Theodinus’ is found as the lord, among many other lordships and barons, of the *castellum* of Sangro.⁶⁰⁸ Jocelyn is a rather uncommon name amongst the Lombard, Greek, and Norman aristocracies of southern Italy (there are only eight different *Joczelinus* recorded in the entire *Quaternus*, all lesser barons); besides, there is no record of any count named Jocelyn in Apulia or the Terra di Lavoro, and only one Count *Joczelinus* can be found in the Abruzzese *quaternion*: the son of Rambot, lord of Loreto – this Rambot appears to have been a descendant of Drogo ‘the Badger’, son of Geoffrey of Capitanata (death c. 1063).⁶⁰⁹ Interestingly enough, Count Jocelyn’s entry in the *Quaternus* explicitly mentions that he held his *feuda* ‘from the king’ (*tenet a domino Rege*). Hence, there is no reason to doubt the identification by Pseudo-Falcandus of this new count Jocelyn as the Abruzzese count of Loreto. However, the case of Roger son of Richard is less clear.

The *quaternion* for the Abruzzo records a Count Roger of Alba, ‘who says that he held *in demanio*’ Alba, and many other *feuda* in Marsia; however, by the end of the entry the name of another count is recorded: Count Berard of Alba. This is a common situation in the records for the *magna expeditio*, whereby the previous entries from original drafts were not updated in subsequent references to the military service owed by the same lordships and counties. Also, it must be remembered that earlier, in 1160, Andrew of Rupecanina (count ‘of Comino’ by that time), is recorded to have accepted in marriage the daughter of Count Berard of Alba; afterwards, both counts raided southern Abruzzo

⁶⁰⁶ On Roger’s relation with the Rupecanina, see below, on page 214.

⁶⁰⁷ Cuozzo, *Commentario*, pp. 64–66, 322, 328–30; *Tyrants*, p. 157.

⁶⁰⁸ *Catalogus Baronum*, ¶ 1079 p. 205. See also Cuozzo, *Commentario*, p. 322.

⁶⁰⁹ *Catalogus Baronum*, ¶ 1095 p. 212. See above, on page 36.

and the northern part of the county of Molise.⁶¹⁰ It is clear that Count Berard of Alba was involved in the insurgency, and it is probable that he was expelled, or even killed, in the wake of William I's campaign on the mainland, thus leaving the lordships of Alba and Marsia vacant c. 1162–1166. Nonetheless, there is no certainty as to the relation between this Count Roger and Count Berard, or for when Count Roger received Alba.

The identification of this Count Roger of Alba and Roger son of Richard found in Pseudo-Falcandus is essentially based on two pieces of evidence. First, an Abruzzese charter issued on 1 April 1198 by Count Peter of Celano, son of Count Berard, confirmed the holdings that the church of St Cesidius of Trasaco lawfully took when 'late Count Roger of Andria granted those fisheries to the said church in the time when he held the county of Alba' (*Comes quon. Rogerius Andree ipsas Piscationes, iam dictae Ecclesie dedit eo tempore, quo tenebat comitatus Albae*).⁶¹¹ Second, the fact that the latter's given name is also Roger and that he was created count in 1167. Roger son of Richard was mentioned earlier by Pseudo-Falcandus as one of the barons who were staying in Palermo and who were on the side of Geoffrey of Lecce, by then the count of Montescaglioso, when the latter was plotting against Maio of Bari.⁶¹² On that occasion, Pseudo-Falcandus named him together with Simon of Sangro, an Abruzzese baron. Since Geoffrey of Lecce was later arrested, and many barons involved in that rebellion were either imprisoned or forced into exile, it is quite probable that Roger son of Richard was in exile after 1156. As such, Roger son of Richard must have returned to the realm at the same time as the first batch of pardoned counts were accepted back by the queen regent. Moreover, Cuzzo has argued that Roger's father was the same Richard son of Richard attested in the *Quaternus* as lord of Trevico, Contra, Flumeri, Vallata, and *Santum Angelum* (a region in Apulia, south of the county of Buonalbergo), overlord of two barons, and placed under the *comestabulia* of Guimund of Montellari.⁶¹³ It must be noted that Richard son of Richard was the brother of Robert son of Richard, the loyal supporter of Roger son of Robert who was made count of Civitate. Hence, Roger son of Richard was also the cousin of Count Robert II of Civitate, who most likely also joined the rebellion in 1155–1156. Even though the count of Civitate does not appear to have recovered his lordships after

⁶¹⁰ *Annales Ceccanenses*, p. 285.

⁶¹¹ Munzio Febonio, *Historiae Marsorum libri tres, una cum eorundem episcoporum catalogo* (Naples: M. Monaco, 1678), Cat., pp. 23–24. Referenced in *Italia pontificia. Umbria, Picenum, Marsia*, ed. by Paul F. Kehr, 10 vols (Berlin: Weidmann, 1909), IV, p. 245; Cuzzo, 'Ruggiero, conte d'Andria', p. 143 n. 43.

⁶¹² *Falcandus*, pp. 74–75.

⁶¹³ *Catalogus Baronum*, ¶¶ 291–93 p. 47, 396 p. 71.

the debacle of 1156, his cousin Roger found a way to return to the kingdom and be pardoned by the new regime.

Roger son of Richard would have thus received a vacant county in the Abruzzo on his return, mostly considering both the former status of his father as an overlord and of his cousin as count of Civitate, and the possibility that he became close to some notables from the Abruzzo (such as Simon of Sangro) whilst in the Palermitan royal court supporting Geoffrey of Lecce. A Count Roger of Alba is subsequently attested in Pseudo-Falcandus as the military commander who, together with Richard of Say, would chase Count Gilbert out of the realm. This episode is naturally discussed below; however, what is relevant to the issue of Roger son of Richard's identification is that his political career escalated speedily enough that in less than two years he went from being a former Apulian rebel in exile to an Abruzzese count, who was then temporarily appointed as royal general.

The testimony of Pseudo-Falcandus also attests that two former counts were restored to their position at this stage: Roger of Acerra, count of Buonalbergo, and Roger of Aquila, count of Avellino. As explained above, it appears that Count Roger of Avellino had returned to his dominions before William I's death, but this might have happened without the full approval of the royal court, which he seems to have received after under Queen Margaret's regency. Roger of Medania, count of Buonalbergo, would then be the first exiled nobleman recalled back to the kingdom by the new royal administration. A donation of some land and a mill, made on 25 May 1166 by Roger of Medania to the abbey of the Holy Saviour at Goletto (modern S. Guglielmo al Goletto), remembered the latter as 'count of Acerra and lord of the city of Nusco' (*Rogerus de Medania, comes Acerrarum et dominus civatis Nusci*).⁶¹⁴ Subsequently, on 2 May 1167, Roger of Medania was recorded as having granted some land and timber rights to the same abbey as 'count of Acerra and lord of Nusco, by the grace of God and the king' (*Rogerus de Medonia Dei et Regis gratia Acerrarum Comes et Nusci Dominus*).⁶¹⁵ Although the original comital seat of the county created by Roger II was located in Buonalbergo, northwest of Ariano, and the *Quaternus* recorded it as the 'county of Buonalbergo', the ancestral lordship of the Medania family in the principality of Capua (i.e. Acerra) gradually became the toponym of his comital title. Pseudo-Falcandus always regarded Roger of Medania as

³⁷ Giuseppe Campanile, *Notizie di nobiltà* (Naples: Luc' Antonio de Fuseo, 1672), p. 344; Francesco Scandone, *L'alta valle del Calore. VII. La città di Nusco. Parte prima*. (Naples, 1970), p. 41 n. 21.

⁶¹⁵ Scandone, *Montella II*, p. 37 n. 2; Scandone, *Nusco*, p. 41 n. 22. Also in *Italia Sacra*, VII, cols 535–36. The original document was found in the archive of *Real Casa Santa dell'Annunziata* (Naples), Inventario antico, no 213.

count of Acerra, and this 1167 donation does not employ Buonalbergo as part of Roger's dignity. Perhaps the comital seat was transferred after Roger of Medania was restored to his original lordships. It appears hence that after Roger of Medania returned from exile, the former county of Buonalbergo was transformed into a cluster of three geographically separated lordships: Acerra in the principality of Capua, and Buonalbergo and Nusco in the duchy of Apulia.

Of the other recently made counts recorded by Pseudo-Falcandus, we already know how Richard of Mandra was made count of Molise and Bertram, Gilbert's son, was made count of Andria. The remaining two, Count Sylvester's son William and Richard of Say, can be clearly identified. It must be remembered that Count Sylvester of Marsico died at some point between 1162 and 1166; perhaps his son stayed in Marsico while his father was residing in Palermo as a member of the royal court, and had not been able to go to Sicily in order to receive properly his father's comital title beforehand. It also appears that William of Marsico inherited his father's lordships on the island, as he is much later recorded as lord of Ragusa.⁶¹⁶ William of Marsico was mentioned in 1168 as the overlord of Laverius, priest of Marsico, in his condition as count and son of Count Silvester.⁶¹⁷ It is clear that the county of Marsico was inherited by Sylvester's son William, and that the confirmation, and possibly the appointment ceremony, of his comital dignity took place in 1167.

Richard of Say, on the other hand, had been attested in Palermo by Pseudo-Falcandus, as pursuing the annulment of his marriage with the sister of Bartholomew of Parisio in order to marry the niece of the archbishop of Capua. According to Pseudo-Falcandus, Richard of Say had remained unshakeably loyal and never deserted the king as 'captain and master constable for Apulia' (*Apuliae capitaneus et magister comestabulus*). The title of 'master constable' (*magister comestabulus*) must have referred to his position as general of the royal army on the mainland, both during the last insurgency and when William I sent his army to assist Pope Alexander III in 1165, and was equivalent to the title of 'great constable' (*magnus comestabulus*) that Gilbert of Gravina once held. It is not clear, however, why Pseudo-Falcandus would have given Richard of Say the title of 'captain' (*capitaneus*). Although, it is certain that Richard was by no means a 'master captain' or governor for Apulia and the Terra di Lavoro, in that not only Pseudo-Falcandus overtly used the adjective *magister* uniquely and specifically for his condition as 'constable', but there is also no evidence that he exercised such

⁶¹⁶ *Sicilia Sacra*, I, p. 624.

⁶¹⁷ Ménager, 'Les fondations monastiques', no 44 p. 112.

responsibility or employed that title. Perhaps the distinction of ‘captain’ used by Pseudo-Falcandus echoed Richard of Say’s previous gubernatorial role for Calabria as both master justiciar and constable for that province. We know for sure that Richard of Say received the county of Fondi, as Pseudo-Falcandus explicitly explained that, precisely due to his loyalty, the regent queen received him favourably in Palermo and invested him with the county of Richard of Aquila, the exiled count of Fondi.⁶¹⁸ It should be remembered that the lands of the county of Fondi were invaded as soon as William I died, and the incursion was led by Andrew of Rupecanina and Richard of Aquila himself; consequently, the responsibility of the new county must have included the mobilisation of the local knights in order to resist the Capuan exiled counts and protect the realm’s gates between the province of Capua and the papal Campania. Richard of Say’s previous experience as both a general of the royal armed forces and envoy to the papal Campania must have been one of the central reasons why, of all vacant comital seats, he received the county of Fondi. Also, given the strategic importance of the county of Fondi discussed before,⁶¹⁹ the appointment of an experienced and reliable commander to his county would seem a sensible move.

This was the rapidly-changing scenario taking place in the Sicilian royal court and the nobility of the kingdom. But as if things were not escalating quickly enough already, things went from turbulent to uncontrollable yet again: Stephen of Perche, another relative of the queen, was appointed chancellor of the realm.

The chancellor from Perche and the count from Navarre The queen’s family drama, part II

The chancellorship of Stephen of Perche opened the door for the unbalanced power on the mainland, unleashed first with the appointments of Gilbert of Gravina and Richard of Mandra, to be resolved in the midst of incipient conspiracies and rebellions taking place on the island of Sicily. Pseudo-Falcandus, and to a much lesser extent Romuald of Salerno, have provided a detailed image of the activities and conspiracies that took place in Sicily during Stephen’s chancellorship.

Chancellor Stephen, a relative of the regent queen, Margaret of Navarre, did not come from Navarre, but from the county of Perche, between Normandy and Maine. Stephen of Perche was, according to Pseudo-Falcandus, the son of the count of Perche,

⁶¹⁸ *Falcandus*, pp. 222–23.

⁶¹⁹ See above, on page 159.

Rotrou [II] (d. 1144), making him a paternal uncle of Count Gilbert of Gravina.⁶²⁰ As was pointed out before, Gilbert was a grandson of Count Rotrou II of Perche, who had participated in the crusade led by King Alfonso of Aragón and Navarre and acted as a lord of Tudela between 1123 and 1133. Although it is not clear who exactly Count Gilbert's father was, it seems that he was one of the indirect results of Count Rotrou's temporary stay south of the Pyrenees.⁶²¹ Furthermore, Pseudo-Falcandus confirms these familial ties when he subsequently relates that Stephen of Perche, on his way to Sicily, had stopped with the count of Gravina, 'his brother's son', who gave Stephen many gifts and briefed him about the state of affairs at the court.⁶²² The chronicle of the archbishop of Salerno, on the other hand, just mentions that Stephen was the son of the count of Perche and a blood-relative of the queen, without any overt relation to Gilbert of Gravina; however, Romuald's chronicle summarised Stephen's presence in Sicily by saying that, in a very short space of time, the chancellor from Perche, whose subsequent election as archbishop of Palermo was arranged soon after, 'had become so favoured and close to the [minor] king and queen that he administered the whole kingdom as he wished'.⁶²³ Since the regent queen was herself the daughter of Margaret of L'Aigle, niece of Count Rotrou II, Stephen of Perche and Queen Margaret's cousin were hence cousins once removed.⁶²⁴

Stephen of Perche's first records as chancellor are rather dubious. A November 1166 charter for the monastery of St Mary of Nardò that records Stephen as chancellor, edited in Coleti's *addenda to Italia Sacra*, is an eighteenth-century forgery.⁶²⁵ Moreover, it is clear from the surviving testimonies of Pseudo-Falcandus, and Romuald's chronicle, that Stephen arrived in the kingdom in 1167. A second royal charter given in Palermo by Chancellor Stephen in August 1167, by which King William II granted the destroyed *castrum* of Montecorvino to Archbishop Romuald of Salerno, appears to be a falsification in the form of an original.⁶²⁶ The most recent editor of the document, Giordano, provides a comprehensive list of the palaeographic characteristics that sustain the forgery hypothesis. In addition, Giordano has indicated other elements in favour of this suggestion, such as the absence of the title *notarius domini regis* to indicate the scribe of

⁶²⁰ *Falcandus*, pp. 228–29.

⁶²¹ See above, on page 128.

⁶²² *Falcandus*, 228–29.

⁶²³ *Romuald*, p. 255.

⁶²⁴ See Genealogical Graph. Also, see chart no II in *Tyrants*.

⁶²⁵ *Italia Sacra*, x, col. 296; Di Meo, x, pp. 299–300. Cf. Chalandon, II, p. 231; 'The Image of the Tyrant in the Work of "Hugo Falcandus"', *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, 57 (2013), 1–20 (p. 161 n. 173).

⁶²⁶ *Pergamene di Salerno*, no 145 pp. 337–40, especially 338.

the royal document,⁶²⁷ and the presence of an ‘f’ on the *verso* of the parchment that seems to be the abbreviation for *falsum*.⁶²⁸ What we do not know is whether this document was an outright fabrication, or an ‘improved’, retrospective version of a genuine original. By November 1167, Stephen was archbishop-elect of Palermo, and it seems that his appointment to his position had already been made c. July.⁶²⁹ Although it appears thus to be impossible to pinpoint exactly and accurately the month in which Stephen started to exercise his chancellorship, it seems very probable that he became chancellor in the summer of 1167.

The superior role taken by Chancellor Stephen is clearly confirmed by Pseudo-Falcandus. Reportedly, the regent queen ordered that all the court business should first of all be brought to the new chancellor in the first place (*iussit ut universa curiae negotia deinceps ad eum principaliter referrentur*); additionally, it was noted that Stephen undertook ‘the burden and the honour of presiding the royal court, only after the queen, after having attained two of the great dignities of the kingdom [chancellorship and the archbishopric of Palermo]’ (*duas regni maximas dignitates adeptus, totius curie post reginam onus et honorem suscepit*), and ‘the foremost position of power and government of the entire realm’ (*potestatis prerogativa et totius regni cura*). This caused a negative reaction, as the magnates of the court complained about Stephen’s appointment, ‘saying that it was a disgrace that this foreign-born boy had occupied the highest position of the court’ (*dicentes indignum esse puerum hunc alienigenam, maximis curiae dignitatibus occupatis*).⁶³⁰ Hence, a foreigner but a relative of the queen had precipitously become the head of the royal government.

Another blood-relative of the Queen had arrived in the kingdom and was staying in Palermo by this time; Henry, Margaret’s natural brother, received the county of Montescaglioso, which used to belong to Geoffrey of Lecce, and the hand of one of the daughters of Roger II.⁶³¹ We are told by Pseudo-Falcandus that this other Spaniard relative brought with him many Spanish knights, and that he was never recognised by the king of Navarre, García Ramírez, as his son. Moreover, this apparent illegitimate son of the king of Navarre was originally named Rodrigo, but this was a name that ‘the Sicilians

⁶²⁷ Horst Enzensberger, ‘Il documento regio come strumento del potere’, in *Potere, società e popolo nell’età dei due Guglielmi*, Atti del Centro di Studi Normanno-Svevi, 4 (Bari: Dedalo, 1981), pp. 103–38 (p. 119); Horst Enzensberger, ‘Chanceries, Charters and Administration in Norman Italy’, in *The Society of Norman Italy*, ed. by Alex Metcalfe and Graham A. Loud (Leiden: Brill, 2002), pp. 117–50 (p. 122).

⁶²⁸ Carlone, *Falsificazioni e falsari*, pp. 18–20.

⁶²⁹ *Tyrants*, pp. 161–62 nn. 174–75.

⁶³⁰ *Falcandus*, pp. 230–33, 242–43, 256–57.

⁶³¹ *Romuald*, p. 255. She could have been in fact Countess Adelicia, who was recorded in a September 1177 charter from Auletta. See below, note 900.

did not like because it was unknown to them and laughed at as barbarous; so the queen told him to call himself Henry'.⁶³² The mainland appears to have been left again on the margins of the narrative focus of the surviving testimonies; the peninsular aristocracy did appear to have played a prominent role in the kingdom's affairs, but this time the noblemen from the peninsula were the ones who meddled in the Sicilian court, and not the other way around.

As expected, important changes took place under Stephen's administration. After Richard of Mandra, the former chief constable of the court's military entourage (a position which Pseudo-Falcandus refers to under the title of *magister comestabulus*), was made count of Molise, Berengarius appears to have been appointed as the new chief constable of the royal court. This appointment, however, must have been transitory, as we are told by Pseudo-Falcandus that Stephen put Roger of Tiron in Berengarius's place when the latter went away across the Straits of Messina to visit the lands that the court had granted to him.⁶³³ According to the *Quaternus*, Berengarius of Gisay (also attested as Peregrinus of Giso), regarded as a 'constable' (*comestabulus*) had acquired Viggiano, and held *Sarconem* and *Pertecara*, all *feuda* located in the Agri valley (south of modern Basilicata).⁶³⁴ For Berengarius to have been recorded in the *Quaternus* both as a 'constable' and a baron with holdings in southern Apulia, he must have been appointed chief constable of the royal household soon enough after Richard of Mandra and Bertram, son of Gilbert, were made counts. On the other hand, Roger of Tiron was a descendant of a family that originally came from modern Thiron-Gardais, in the region of Perche, and that held lands in Sicily, near Vizzini, and in Calabria, in the Stilo region.⁶³⁵ Although Pseudo-Falcandus does not elaborate on the reaction that this replacement caused directly, it must have been seen negatively by the Apulian aristocracy, and of course by the replaced Apulian baron.

Pseudo-Falcandus expands on the reported dissent that arose on the mainland, as he explains that while intrigue was developing in the Sicilian territories, another conspiracy was being formed in Apulia, supported by a large party aggrieved by Richard of Mandra's sudden elevation to a pinnacle of so much honour – 'the most noble county

⁶³² *Falcandus*, pp. 224–27.

⁶³³ *Falcandus*, pp. 244–45.

⁶³⁴ See below, on page 267.

⁶³⁵ Roger of Tiron's grandfather Robert had witnessed Roger II's treaty with the count of Barcelona in 1128. *Roger II Diplomata*, no 9 pp. 22–24. Additionally, a Robert son of Robert of Tiron (ρωπέρτος υιοῦ ρωπέρτου δὲ τεροῦν), made two donations to Calabrian churches in October 1154, and both transactions were subscribed by his son Roger; this donor must have been Roger of Tiron's father. Trincherà, nos 150–51 pp. 198–201.

of Molise' (*nobilissimus Molisii comitatus*).⁶³⁶ In other words, the other counts did not like the idea of having a lesser baron, who had been a military commander (constable) on the sides of both the rebel Count Robert of Loritello and the Sicilian royal court, amongst their rank. This is the first known testimony of the upper aristocracy's opposition to the creation of a count, and the first occasion that a lesser baron from a questionably loyal past had been elevated to the peninsular nobility; previously, the kingdom's counts were either members of noble families (old counts or royalty) or loyal royalist allies. Regardless of how impressed and grateful William I could have been after Richard of Mandra saved his life during the attempted coup d'état, the former combatants who witnessed the insurrection on the mainland must have remembered his role as constable of Robert of Loritello. Pseudo-Falcandus does not name all the leaders of this new conspiracy, but he identified several of them: Count Bohemund of Manopello, William of Gesualdo, and Richard of Balvano.⁶³⁷ Interestingly enough, Bohemund is the only count clearly identified as a conspirator by Pseudo-Falcandus, but it is hard to believe that he would have been the only count who opposed Richard of Mandra. This Richard of Balvano must have been the son of Gilbert of Balvano recorded in the *Quaternus*, whose military service was originally declared (when his father Gilbert was still alive) to the *curia regis* by his cousin, Philip of Balvano.⁶³⁸ Gilbert of Balvano was a peninsular baron who had acted as an official of the Sicilian royal government, as he is attested as one of the 'royal justiciars' who were present in 1149 in a court held at Melfi, presided by Chancellor Robert [of Selby].⁶³⁹ Richard's father Gilbert of Balvano was also recorded as a *comestabulus* in the *Quaternus* c. 1150, whose *comestabulia* comprised a region with two core areas: the lands east of Avellino and the lordships around Conza.⁶⁴⁰ Although it is not clear if Richard's cousin Philip of Balvano had been created count by this stage, the fact that Pseudo-Falcandus named Richard and not Philip may indicate that either the counts of Apulia were keeping a low profile during this conspiracy, or that Philip had not yet acquired the comital dignity. Be that as it may, the figure which these conspirators were inciting as the spearhead of their movement was the queen's brother Henry, the recently appointed count of Montescaglioso.

⁶³⁶ *Falcandus*, pp. 250–51.

⁶³⁷ *Falcandus*, pp. 250–51. William of Gesualdo was the son of Elias of Gesualdo, a prominent overlord in the Irpina region who subsequently became a royal constable and justiciar. Cuozzo, *Commentario*, p. 194. Also, see below, on page 256.

⁶³⁸ See above, note 324.

⁶³⁹ Houben, *Die Abtei Venosa*, no 127 pp. 360–61. The record only survives in Prignano's 'Chron(ica) in Bergamena del Monist(ero) della Trin(ità) di Venosa'. Prignano, 'Historia', fol. 108v.

⁶⁴⁰ *Catalogus Baronum*, ¶ 694 p. 122.

We are told by Pseudo-Falcandus that the conspirators drove Count Henry of Montescaglioso by telling him that he had more right to be in charge of the kingdom's administration, in that he was both the queen's brother and the king's uncle. Count Henry appears to have armed his Spanish knights, and then crossed over to Sicily, accompanied by the barons explicitly mentioned earlier as some of the leaders of the conspiracy. However, Chancellor Stephen managed to defuse the entire situation, making Count Henry's associates return to Apulia, winning the favour of Count Bohemund of Manopello, and keeping an appeased Henry with him in Palermo.⁶⁴¹ Turmoil was, nevertheless, far from coming to an end. The peninsular nobility had another chance to clash against the Sicilian establishment in Messina.

The counts' ambitions unleashed in Messina

According to Pseudo-Falcandus, on 15 November [1167], the king and his court set off for Messina. Conversely, Romuald Guarna's chronicle recorded that the king and the queen, together with the magnates of the court, went to Messina around Christmas [1167].⁶⁴² The first royal charters issued by William II in Messina were in January 1168. The first one was given on 7 January to the Greek monastery of SS. Elias and Anastasius, in Val Sinni (northern Calabria, now southern Basilicata).⁶⁴³ The second Messina charter was issued on 18 January to another Greek monastery, St Philip in Val Demone (north-western Sicily).⁶⁴⁴ In his narrative surrounding the court at Messina, Pseudo-Falcandus relates many tensions and conspiracies, providing many details but also constructing a reality that fits classical rhetorical models (notably Sallust and Plutarch); it is neither useful nor pertinent to the current exploration to discuss Pseudo-Falcandus' intertextuality, or to focus too much on the alleged speeches delivered by courtiers and nobles during these courts. What is relevant to this study is the prosopographical information provided for the peninsular nobility and the concrete confrontations in which they were involved.

The noblemen who were attested in Messina by Pseudo-Falcandus are Count Gilbert of Gravina, Count Robert of Caserta with his son, Count Roger of Tricarico, Count Bohemund of Manopello, Count Roger of Avellino, Count Henry of

⁶⁴¹ *Falcandus*, pp. 250–57.

⁶⁴² *Romuald*, p. 256.

⁶⁴³ Walther Holtzmann, 'Papst-, Kaiser- und Normannenurkunden aus Unteritalien I', *QFIAB*, 35 (1945), 46–85 (no 8 pp. 67–69).

⁶⁴⁴ *William II Diplomata*, no 13 <<http://www.hist-hh.uni-bamberg.de/WilhelmII/pdf/D.W.II.013.pdf>>.

Montescaglioso, Count Simon of Sangro, an obscure and unattested Count Roger ‘of Gerace’, and of course Count Richard of Molise. There is no further evidence of this so-called count of Gerace; he seems to be one of the several otherwise unattested characters upon which the anonymous author incautiously assigned the title of count. Gerace is a town in southern Calabria, and since the Calabrian documentation is very fragmented and scarce, it could be possible for such an important lord as the bearer of the comital title to have escaped record in that area.⁶⁴⁵ However, unlike the case of Squillace, there is no subsequent evidence that would reveal the existence of a count of Gerace at any time in the Kingdom of Sicily.

One of the matters that was attended to during this Messina court was a land dispute amongst the S. Severino kin-group. William of S. Severino, this time remembered as the cousin of Robert of Lauro, count of Caserta, had recently been recalled from exile, and was occupying *feuda* that Robert of Lauro was claiming to be legally his.⁶⁴⁶ This is the same William of S. Severino, son of Fenicia of S. Severino, who earlier Pseudo-Falcandus attested as the brother-in-law of Roger of Aquila, count of Avellino, and who in 1162 fled the kingdom in order to avoid the king’s anger when the latter marched across the peninsula.⁶⁴⁷ William of S. Severino was recorded in the *Quaternus* as son of Henry of S. Severino and lord of S. Severino, a *feudum* of eight *milites*, Rocca Cilento, a *feudum* of six *milites*, and Montoro, a *feudum* of thirteen *milites*.⁶⁴⁸ According to Pseudo-Falcandus, Count Robert of Caserta approached the court in order to argue that Montoro and the *castrum* of S. Severino, and ‘other towns’ (perhaps referring to Rocca Cilento) were being held by William, and that ‘William’s father had taken control of these illegally and by force’ (*Willelmi pater iniuste ac violenter eadem [Montorium et castrum Sancti Severini ceteraque opida] possedis*).⁶⁴⁹ William’s father Henry of San Severino was a baron active in the northern region of the former principality of Salerno, and a benefactor of Cava and Montevergine, between 1125 and 1157.⁶⁵⁰ Henry is attested as lord of S. Severino and Montoro in March 1125.⁶⁵¹ Nothing is known about his death, but in March 1157 his widow Fenicia was recorded as the head of the S. Severino *feuda*.⁶⁵² It is clear

⁶⁴⁵ Cf. Chalandon, who suggests that this Roger was the count of Geraci, in Sicily, but this seems even more unlikely because of the much richer documentation available for the island of Sicily and the fact that there were no counties in Norman Sicily. Chalandon, II, p. 335.

⁶⁴⁶ *Falcandus*, pp. 260–61.

⁶⁴⁷ See above, note 514.

⁶⁴⁸ *Catalogus Baronum*, ¶ 438 pp. 79–80.

⁶⁴⁹ *Falcandus*, pp. 260–63.

⁶⁵⁰ Portanova, ‘I Sanseverino dal 1125 allo stermino del 1246’, pp. 321–28.

⁶⁵¹ Cava, *Arm. Mag.* F.36.

⁶⁵² Cava, *Arca* xxix.92.

then that Henry of San Severino was the lord originally recorded in the 1150 *quaterniones* of the military levy, and that his son William was added into the *Quaternus* c. 1167–1168, after the regent queen and the royal court had pardoned the first group of exiled counts. This means that the royal administration had acknowledged William of S. Severino as the lord of these three *feuda* under Queen Margaret's regency. Consequently, the allegation that Robert of Lauro, count of Caserta, was making about the unlawful holding of these lands by Henry of S. Severino was indeed a challenge to the inheritance of the San Severino domains that occurred before the kingdom was founded, in 1125.⁶⁵³ It took more than forty years for Robert of Lauro, grandson of Roger of S. Severino, to confront the descendants of Henry in an old but seemingly dormant family inheritance feud.

The case presented by Count Robert of Caserta against his cousin William of S. Severino did not prosper, as Pseudo-Falcandus reported that Chancellor Stephen did not want William, whom he knew was a 'loyal supporter' (*fideles sibi [Stephano]*), to sustain any loss. Hence, the royal court 'restored' to William of S. Severino his inheritance, which can be attested in the *Quaternus* as William's lordships. However, Stephen of Perche did not want to give Count Robert of Caserta an excuse for causing trouble, so he arranged for Robert to be granted other land in Apulia, on the condition that the matter of William's inheritance would never be contested again.⁶⁵⁴ The *Quaternus* records a *feudum* of only three *milites*, composed of two towns, Mandra and Pulcarino, as belonging to Count Robert of Caserta; Mandra does not exist today and has not been identified yet, but Pulcarino (modern Villanova del Battista) is located southeast of the county of Buonalbergo.⁶⁵⁵ This entry is a separate record from both the section for the county of Caserta and the entry for Lauro, Robert's original lordship.⁶⁵⁶ Moreover, it is clear that this dual *feudum* was neither within the county of Caserta or in the proximity of the *feudum* of Lauro. Consequently, it is safe to assume that Mandra and Pulcarino were the Apulian lands which, according to Pseudo-Falcandus, were granted to Count Robert of Caserta at Messina in 1168.⁶⁵⁷ It should be noted that Lauro was officially (i.e. according to the *Quaternus*) located within the province of the principality of Capua, though adjacent to its southern border with the former principality of Salerno, north of Sarno and west of Avellino. Hence, even if the *feudum* granted was much smaller than the S. Severino lordships, it definitely gave Robert, a Capuan lord and count, the tactical

⁶⁵³ On the possible intrigues behind the succession of Roger of S. Severino, see Portanova, 'I Sanseverino dal 1125 allo stermino del 1246', pp. 319–21.

⁶⁵⁴ *Falcandus*, pp. 260–63.

⁶⁵⁵ *Catalogus Baronum*, ¶ 294 p. 48.

⁶⁵⁶ *Catalogus Baronum*, ¶¶ 843 p. 153, 964 p. 172.

⁶⁵⁷ *Tyrants*, p. 183 n. 208.

advantage of having a foothold in the Irpina region. Thanks to the conciliatory nature of Chancellor Stephen's position, the count of Caserta was able to at least expand his dominions into central Apulia.

Count Gilbert of Gravina did not go to Messina unaccompanied, as we are told by Pseudo-Falcandus that he brought 100 of the best knights of Apulia and the Terra di Lavoro (*de nominatissimis Apulie ac Terre Laboris militibus multis cognitos bellis elegerit*) – one should note that, as the master captain on the mainland, this must have been an easy task for Gilbert to coordinate.⁶⁵⁸ The chronicle of Archbishop Romuald also recorded that Count Gilbert of Gravina, remembered as the blood-relative of both the chancellor and the queen, and the master captain of all Apulia (*regine et cancellarii consanguineus, qui tunc capitaneus erat totius Apulie*), arrived in Messina with a large force of knights (*cum magna manu Militum*). We are also told by Romuald's chronicle that Count Gilbert 'advised' Chancellor Stephen to arrest his nephew Count Henry of Montescaglioso and imprison him on the other side of the Messina straits, in Reggio Calabria. He was later accused of having plotted the deaths of the count of Gravina and the chancellor.⁶⁵⁹ On the other hand, Pseudo-Falcandus relates that Count Gilbert was instead summoned by Stephen of Perche, alongside Count Bohemund of Manopello and Count Roger of Avellino, in order to be briefed on the whole affair related to an alleged plot led by Count Henry of Montescaglioso, the regent queen's brother, against Chancellor Stephen. However, Count Henry not only resumed his opposition against Stephen of Perche, but also his demand for a better political position. According to Pseudo-Falcandus, Henry claimed that 'the county of Montescaglioso could not meet his expenses and financial distress, and he asked to be granted either the principality of Taranto or the "county" that Count Simon [son of Henry del Vasto] had once held in Sicily' (*comitatum Montis Caveosi sumptibus vel angustiis non posse sufficere, petiitque principatum Tarenti vel comitatum quem in Sicilia Symon comes olim tenuerat sibi concedere*).⁶⁶⁰ Again, one ought to be very careful when reading Pseudo-Falcandus' words here.

It is possible that Henry of Montescaglioso, the king's uncle, may have requested the princely title, which before had only been used as an appanage for a junior member of the royal family; as far as we know, this title had only been used by William I while his two older brothers were still alive, and each had the titles of duke of Apulia and prince

⁶⁵⁸ *Falcandus*, pp. 264–65.

⁶⁵⁹ *Romuald*, p. 256.

⁶⁶⁰ *Falcandus*, pp. 266–71.

of Capua, and by Simon, the illegitimate son of Roger II. Up to this point, the title of ‘prince of Taranto’ was created *ex novo* c. 1140 as a royal distinction but a legal nullity. The principality of Taranto never formed a specific administrative division, and its title did not carry any specific land tenure or authority over an actual province or delimited district. Apart from the prestige that this princely title had, this appanage must have consisted of a gift of money for the maintenance of the prince, which might have come from the south Apulian lordships that some barons held directly from the king.⁶⁶¹ Likewise, when Pseudo-Falcandus talks of the ‘county that Count Simon used to hold in Sicily’, this does not mean there was a county within the island, but, as explained above, instead referred to Butera and Paternò, lordships that Henry del Vasto, Roger II’s maternal uncle, and then his son Simon, had held in Sicily. The comital dignity these two enjoyed was associated with their Sicilian estates, but this did not imply that these lands were organised in the same manner as counties. Additionally, it must be remembered that the former count of Montescaglioso, Geoffrey of Lecce, was also a landholder in Sicily; Geoffrey has been attested as patron of the church of the Holy Spirit in Caltanissetta, and by Pseudo-Falcandus as lord of Caltanissetta, Noto and Sclàfani.⁶⁶² There is no available evidence on Henry’s Sicilian possessions, and it is not clear if the new count of Montescaglioso was also granted Geoffrey’s lordships in Sicily, but perhaps the petition alleged by Pseudo-Falcandus echoed an actual case presented by Count Henry, in order to hold the entire estate once held by the former count of Montescaglioso.

Apparently, the situation escalated rapidly, and Henry of Montescaglioso was accused by Gilbert himself of being both a disturber of the realms and a rebel against the royal majesty, and was subsequently kept under guard within the palace. The chancellor ordered both Gilbert’s knights and his own to assemble in front of the palace, which scared off the Spaniard’s knights, supporters of Henry of Montescaglioso – a large number of them seem later to have perished in the snow in the forest of Sila, a mountain range in southern Calabria. In this way, Stephen of Perche appears to have used his nephew, Count Gilbert, in order to neutralise the regent queen’s brother, Count Henry. Gilbert of Gravina, however, did not stay idle, and in return he attempted to use the court in order to push his own agenda. We are told by Pseudo-Falcandus that the time had come for Gilbert to settle a pending score with Count Richard of Molise.⁶⁶³ Count Gilbert did not stand alone in his fight against Richard of Mandra; Bohemund II of Tarsia and Count

⁶⁶¹ Houben, ‘Le origini del principato di Taranto’, pp. 15–18. Cf. Jamison, ‘Norman Administration’, pp. 279–80. Also, see below, on page 238.

⁶⁶² See above, on page 74

⁶⁶³ *Falcandus*, pp. 270–77.

Robert of Caserta publically spoke against the count of Molise. Bohemund II of Tarsia was the son of the former Count Bohemund of Manopello, who had been removed of his authority and county in disgrace after having been defeated by Robert of Loritello; William I had imprisoned the defeated count of Manopello in 1157.⁶⁶⁴ After this, there is no further record for Bohemund I of Tarsia.

Since Richard of Mandra was the constable of the rebel count of Loritello, and the former was almost certainly involved in the military conflict that caused Bohemund of Tarsia's disgrace, his son must have seen this as an opportunity to take revenge. Hence, Bohemund II of Tarsia testified against Richard of Mandra, accusing him of having acted disloyally towards the *familiaries* of the court. On the other hand, Robert of Lauro, count of Caserta, claimed that Richard of Mandra had illegally occupied (*invadere*) and secretly held Mandra, as well as some of the other towns belonging to the king in the territory of Troia. Count Richard of Molise replied that Qaid Peter, the former top *familiaris* of the royal court, had conceded Mandra to him in exchange for an annual fee, and that the Troian towns were given to him by Turgisius, the [royal] 'chamberlain' (*camerarius*) of that territory.⁶⁶⁵ We already know from the *Quaternus* that Mandra, together with Pulcarino, was later held as a *feudum* by Count Robert of Caserta, and that these towns were presumably granted during this time at Messina.⁶⁶⁶ Robert of Lauro's grievance reinforces the assumption that Mandra and Pulcarino were the lands given to him in return for dropping his claim over the S. Severino inheritances, not only because these towns would have been available to be given as part of the royal possessions in Apulia, but also because this reveals the special interest the count of Caserta had in Mandra. Conversely, Richard of Mandra must have been especially interested in holding Mandra as well, the town of his namesake, as Richard's origins must have been connected to this town.

Even more interesting is the mechanism that Pseudo-Falcandus attests for Richard of Mandra's sentencing. The accusations had been made before the royal *familiaries*, the royal officials, and the noblemen gathered at the open court. These noblemen also heard Richard's response and even questioned Chamberlain Turgisius, who happened to also be at the Messina gathering. Subsequently, we are told that:

All the nobles, with the exception of the *familiaries* of the court, were ordered to withdraw in order to bring a judicial sentence on these charges that had been made against the count [Richard]. The following were those who rose to pass judgment: Bohemund, count of Manopello; Robert of Lauro, count of Caserta;

⁶⁶⁴ See above, note 440.

⁶⁶⁵ *Falcandus*, pp. 278–81.

⁶⁶⁶ See above, on page 185.

his son Roger, count of Tricarico; Roger, count of Avellino; Simon, count of Sangro; Roger, count of Gerace; Roger of Tiron, master constable [of the royal guard]; and Florius of Camerota; as well as the master justiciars Tarentinus the judge and Abdenago, son of Hannibal.⁶⁶⁷

It is not entirely clear who actually ordered the nobles (*proceres*) to withdraw, but it would be safe to assume that it was Queen Margaret who instructed for the verdict to be delivered. The court's *familiares* were also instructed to recuse themselves from the sentencing, which reveals a very interesting insight into both the kingdom's judicial procedures and the prerogatives of the upper aristocracy. It appears hence that a nobleman could only be judged by his peers, and that the ecclesiastical figures and palace employees were excluded from this process; the other court *familiares* were Bishop-elect Richard, Matthew the notary, Qaid Richard, and Qaid Martin.⁶⁶⁸ However, even though the *familiares* excluded themselves, royal authority was still present amongst the jury; Roger of Tiron, Florius of Camerota, and the master justiciars cannot be considered upper aristocracy. As it has been pointed out already, Roger of Tiron's family held some land in Sicily and Calabria. Florius of Camerota became a key player on the mainland as a justiciar and constable, but he was not a major baron or an overlord; one of Florius' *feuda* was actually held *in servitio* from William of S. Severino.⁶⁶⁹ Consequently, Florius' presence in the court and on this jury must have been the result of his role as a royal official on the mainland.⁶⁷⁰ Also, since Florius was an experienced royal justiciar on the mainland, he might be considered as a loyal expert. This situation is even clearer with the master justiciars; not only their titles as royal officials were explicitly mentioned by Pseudo-Falcandus, but there is additional evidence as to their administrative careers. Jamison has explored extensively the judicial career of Tarentinus, a Greek who served as a master justiciar (ὁ τῆς μεγάλης κόρτης κριτής) between 1159 and 1171.⁶⁷¹ On the other hand, Abdenago is attested in the *Quaternus* as the official that accounted to the royal court the value and tenancy of the *feuda* of Petrella Tifernina, Campo Sacco,⁶⁷²

⁶⁶⁷ *Iussi sunt itaque proceres omnes, preter curie familiares, in partem secedere, super hiis que adversus comitem dicta fuerant iudiciale sententiam prolaturi. Erant autem hii qui ad iudicium faciendum surrexerant: Boamundus Monopolis comes, Robertus de Lauro comes Casertinus, Rogerius eius filius Tricarici comes, Rogerius comes Avellini, Symon comes Sangrensis, Rogerius comes Giracii, Rogerius Tironensis magister comestabulus, Florius Camerotensis, iudex quoque Tarentinus et Abdenago Hannibalis filius, qui magistri erant iusticiarii.* Falcandus, pp. 280–81.

⁶⁶⁸ On the composition of the royal *familiares* at this stage, see Takayama, 'Familiares Regis', pp. 361–63; Takayama, *Administration of the Kingdom*, pp. 115–18.

⁶⁶⁹ *Catalogus Baronum*, ¶439 pp. 80–81.

⁶⁷⁰ On Florius of Camerota, see below, on page 276.

⁶⁷¹ Jamison, 'Judex Tarentinus'.

⁶⁷² This place has not been accurately identified yet, though it could have referred to a town in modern Campo Sacco, a field by the River Volturno, in the commune of Monteroduni (SW of Isernia). See Map 1.

Campolieto, Mignanello and *Petra Fringa*,⁶⁷³ and *Piczutum*.⁶⁷⁴ From the location of these *feuda*, it appears that Abdenago was some sort of local chamberlain in northern Apulia, overseeing the lands between the rivers Biferno, Fortore, and Volturno – a region of what appears to have been part of the dominions of the late Count Hugh of Molise. Moreover, Abdenago, Tarentinus and Roger of Tiron were recorded at Messina in February 1168 as arbiters in a judicial case between the Calabrian monasteries of Bagnara and St Euphemia [of Aspromonte]. This not only confirms their presence at the court in Messina but also their role as royal judges.⁶⁷⁵

We are also told by Pseudo-Falcandus that Count Bohemund proclaimed the jury's judgement, 'in the presence of the king and on behalf of all and with their approval', and that Bohemund forbade Count Richard to reply that the verdict was unjust or false, as 'this insult reflected not on them, who had delivered the verdict, but on the crown'.⁶⁷⁶ It is clear, hence, that Richard of Mandra was judged by the other counts, although this judgment was reinforced by four legal officials, representing the royal administration. This reveals the importance and relevance that comital authority had even in the presence of the monarch and the royal court, as it appears that neither Chancellor Stephen nor Queen Margaret herself were able to use the royal prerogative to dismiss the charges brought against the recently appointed count of Molise. It appears that Richard's new status as a count implied a requirement that he needed to be judged by his own peers, which allowed Count Robert of Caserta to be both accuser and juror in this instance. Count Gilbert's absence is conspicuous, although he was not a member of the court's *familiars*; perhaps also his superior position as 'master captain' for Apulia and the Terra di Lavoro, and the fact that he had verbally attacked Richard of Mandra before, forced him to keep a low profile during the entire process.

The verdict delivered against Richard of Mandra basically ratified the accusation made against him, placing him at the king's mercy with regard to the lands that he held in secret, after Qaid Peter had fled the kingdom, and for those others that he occupied on his own authority, contrary to the loyalty he owed to the monarchy. However, the counts did not appear to have set the penalty, but instead the archbishops and bishops present were ordered to decide a just penalty, not only for the verdict that confirmed his unlawful

⁶⁷³ Neither Mignanello nor *Petra Fringa* have been accurately identified, but their lord Robert of Mignanello was subsequently attested in a complaint presented in May 1172 by Abbot John of St Sophia against him in the king's presence – while the latter was in Barletta – which suggests that his *feudum* was located near Boiano. Loud, *The Latin Church in Norman Italy*, pp. 287–88. The original document is *Pergamene Aldobrandini*, Cartolario II, no 25.

⁶⁷⁴ *Catalogus Baronum*, ¶¶ 726 pp. 129–30, 743 p. 133, 761 pp. 137–38, 804–5 p. 147.

⁶⁷⁵ Jamison, 'Note e documenti per la storia dei Conti Normanni di Catanzaro', no 2 pp. 465–70.

⁶⁷⁶ *Falcandus*, pp. 280–81.

occupation of land, but also for contempt – he insulted the crown by saying that the court’s judgement was false. The ecclesiastical figures decreed, ‘in accordance to the constitutions of the Kingdom of Sicily’ (*iuxta Constitutiones regum Siciliae decreverunt*), that Count Richard was liable with respect for both the lands he held and his limbs and body. Consequently, Count Richard was arrested and ordered to be taken to Taormina (in Sicily).⁶⁷⁷ Romuald of Salerno’s chronicle summarised the whole affair by only recording that, about the time when Count Henry was arrested, Count Richard of Molise, amongst some other lesser barons, was arrested and imprisoned as well.⁶⁷⁸ There is no known contemporary provision that would overtly stipulate that in the Kingdom of Sicily the verdict of a noble charged of a crime should be delivered by his peers, or that the sentence must be decided by churchmen. However, the role exercised here by the archbishops and bishops can be explained on the grounds that contempt against the court’s judgement was considered sacrilege. The collections of laws that contain the legislation of Roger II stipulates what ought to be considered to be sacrilege; the relevant articles on committing sacrilege read:

Cod. Vat. Lat. 8782

Art. 17. Concerning Sacrileges. There should be no dispute about the judgement, purposes, decrees or deeds of the king; for it is comparable to sacrilege to dispute his judgements, decrees, deeds and purposes, or to dispute whether the king chosen or appointed [official] is worthy. Many laws have punished sacrilege most severely, but the penalty must be moderated by the decision of the one who is judging, unless perhaps the temples of God have been openly and violently despoiled, or gifts and sacred vessels have been stolen at night, for in that case the crime is capital. (XVII. *DE SACRILEGIIS. Disputari de regis iudicio, consiliis, institutionibus, factis non oportet; est enim par sacrilegio disputare de eius iudiciis, institutionibus, factis atque consiliis, et an is dignus sit, quem rex elegerit aut decernit. Multe leges sacrilegos severissime punierunt, set pena*

Cod. Cassinese 868

Art. 11. Concerning Sacrilegious Purposes. There should be no dispute about the judgements, purposes, decrees or deeds of the king; such dispute is deemed the same as sacrilege. Many laws have punished sacrilege most severely, but the penalty must be moderated by the decision of the one who is judging, unless perhaps the temple of God has been openly and violently despoiled, or gifts and sacred vessels have been stolen at night, for in that case the crime is capital. (11. *DE SACRILEGIS CONSILIIS. Disputari de regis iudiciis, consiliis, institutionibus et factis non oportet; talis disputatio par sacrilegio computatur. Multe leges sacrilegos severissime punierunt, set pena moderanda est arbitrio iudicantis, nisi forte manu facta templum dei fractum est violenter, aut dona et vasa sacra noctu sublata sunt: hoc enim casu capitale est.*)⁶⁷⁹

⁶⁷⁷ Falcandus, pp. 280–83.

⁶⁷⁸ Romuald, p. 256.

⁶⁷⁹ Brandileone, pp. 103–4, 122–23; Monti, I, p. 320.

moderanda est arbitrio iudicantis, nisi forte manufacta templa dei fracta sunt violenter, aut dona et vasa sacra noctu sublata sunt, hoc enim casu capitale est.)

It must be noted that, from the first sentence, the law appears to have been taken from Justinian's *Codex*, book 9, title 29, article 3 (*Disputari de principali iudicio non oportet; sacrilegii enim instar est dubitare, an is dignus sit, quem elegerit imperator*).⁶⁸⁰ However, the Sicilian legislation significantly altered the original statute, not only in shape but also in content, as the original seems to have referred only to the emperor's administrative appointments – the preceding statute speaks generally of observing the divine law and the following one specifically refers to the provincial offices appointed by the emperor. In the Sicilian instance, sacrilege is being paired with any sort of judicial action taken in the name of the crown; the version of the Montecassino text does not even elaborate on the crime being extended to the king's appointees. Furthermore, the Rogerian statute explicitly contextualised the dispute against royal judgment with the actual desecration of churches, although with the provision that the former should not be punished as severely as the latter. Regardless of the actual extent to which Roman law influenced the Sicilian legislation, it is clear that arguing against the resolution or deliberation of a royally sanctioned body was legally considered sacrilege. Hence, this could explain why the ecclesiastical leaders present were ordered ultimately to sentence Count Richard of Molise.

After Count Richard had been temporarily neutralised in this way, Pseudo-Falcandus reports that another count was appointed during the Messina court: Hannibal of Celano.⁶⁸¹ This Abruzzese count appears to have been simply approved to inherit the comital dignity and lands of his father, Count Rainulf of Celano, who had probably died shortly before 1168.⁶⁸² Count Hannibal was thus the third Abruzzese count present in the royal court at Messina; the others were Bohemund of Manopello and Simon of Sangro.

The count of Gravina was not done yet, however; before the court left Messina, Gilbert of Gravina had one more ambition to satisfy. We are told by Pseudo-Falcandus that Count Gilbert was emboldened by the fact that the chancellor had survived his enemies thanks to him, and that no danger remained, and as a result he put in a request to

⁶⁸⁰ *The Codex of Justinian*, ed. by Bruce W. Frier and others, trans. by Fred H. Blume, 3 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), III, p. 2376.

⁶⁸¹ *Falcandus*, pp. 282–83.

⁶⁸² *Catalogus Baronum*, ¶ 1105 p. 215.

the court that he be given the county of Loritello.⁶⁸³ It is not made clear in Pseudo-Falcandus' narrative whether or not Gilbert was in fact granted all the lands that the then exiled Robert Bassunvilla used to hold as both count of Conversano and Loritello. Romuald of Salerno's chronicle, on the other hand, recorded that the royal court did indeed grant Gilbert the notorious county of Loritello. We are told by Romuald of Salerno that Gilbert obtained the county of Loritello 'with everything belonging to it' (*comitatum Loritelli cum omnibus suis pertinentiis*), and he did so 'on the advice and with the help' of chancellor Stephen (*consilio et auxilio cancellarii*).⁶⁸⁴ Again, it is not clear if this 'county of Loritello' also comprised the lands of the county of Conversano, which had previously been held by Robert II of Bassunvilla. Whichever may be the case, the *magister capitaneus* had left Messina and returned to the mainland as the new double count: Gilbert, count of Loritello and Gravina.

Pseudo-Falcandus added that, by taking the county of Loritello, Count Gilbert provoked the jealousy and the relentless animosity of the nobles and cities of Apulia, because Gilbert had thus obstructed the reinstatement of Robert II of Bassunvilla, whose return they all very keenly wanted.⁶⁸⁵ There is no further evidence on this alleged romanticising of the former and exiled count of Loritello and Conversano, or if there had been some negotiations between the royal court and Robert of Loritello before. Nevertheless, the other nobles must have been at least sceptical and weary of all the political and economic power Queen Margaret's second cousin had amassed in two years of the queen's regency. Echoing the former count of Loritello and Conversano, the new count of Loritello and Gravina appears to have become the strongman of the South Italian peninsula. This time, the tenure of two counties came alongside one of the most important appointments of the royal government on the peninsula, as he had become the master captain of Apulia and the Terra di Lavoro. This was the first time since the creation of the kingdom that a high-profile nobleman occupied the position equivalent to a royal governor on the mainland. From being count of Gravina, to becoming the *magister comestabulus* and *magister capitaneus totius Apulie*, and then being granted the county of Loritello, Gilbert seems to have used both his relationship to the Queen and the position he was given as a general to intervene in the affairs of the royal court. He then used his influence in the Sicilian government in order to enhance and consolidate his authority as a prominent member of the kingdom's nobility. The end game here appears to emerge,

⁶⁸³ Falcandus, pp. 282–83.

⁶⁸⁴ Romuald, p. 257.

⁶⁸⁵ Falcandus, pp. 282–83.

and just as the count of Loritello and Conversano attempted to do before him, Count Gilbert aimed to exercise his authority over the mainland, above the other counts, and separately from the Sicilian court's control. The zenith of Count Gilbert's career was nevertheless ephemeral; he is recorded to have been expelled from the realm in the year after he became the governor in Apulia.

The takeover of counts Richard of Molise and Henry of Montescaglioso The end of the queen's family drama

In the spring of 1168, William II and Margaret, together with their court, returned to Palermo. With regard to the regent queen's brother, Count Henry of Montescaglioso, Pseudo-Falcandus relates that the queen decided to give him 1,000 ounces of gold, and to arrange his transportation from the fortress of Reggio, where he was being held captive, back to Spain. After this, Pseudo-Falcandus recorded that the king left Messina on 12 March, and reached Palermo on 20 March.⁶⁸⁶ Likewise, Romuald's chronicle reports that the chancellor, together with the king and queen, was back in Palermo around Easter (which in 1168 fell on 31 March).⁶⁸⁷ The last surviving royal charters issued at Messina in 1168 were given by Chancellor Stephen in March, but the specific dates are not attested. First, William I and his mother Queen Margaret granted exportation privileges (i.e. an exemption from paying *plateaticum* or *portaticum*) that allowed the monks of St Mary de Latina at Jerusalem to export specific and limited goods from Messina to Jerusalem. Also, they confirmed the said house's possessions and privileges.⁶⁸⁸ According to a third royal charter, the monarchs granted Casale del Conte (modern Torregrotta) to the nunnery of St Mary of Scala at Messina.⁶⁸⁹ The end of their stay in Messina, however, came with yet another period of turmoil.

Another rebellion broke out in Sicily just after the counts of Montescaglioso and Molise were arrested and imprisoned. Without having to go into the details provided by Pseudo-Falcandus about the palace conspiracy against Stephen of Perche, it is important to highlight how the unfolding of this rebellion affected the composition of the aristocracy. The *Chronicon* of the archbishop of Salerno reported that, during the Octave of Easter of 1168, the people of Messina rose in rebellion and went to Reggio to free Count Henry of Montescaglioso, and to Taormina, on the Sicilian east coast, to release

⁶⁸⁶ *Falcandus*, pp. 284–85.

⁶⁸⁷ *Romuald*, p. 257.

⁶⁸⁸ Holtzmann, 'Unteritalien', no 7–8 pp. 70–72.

⁶⁸⁹ 'Casale quod dicitur Comitibus et saracenice vocatur Rachal eimelum [Rahl el Melum] Rameth, situm in plano Milatii inter Montefortem et Ramet versus mare [...]' Garufi, *Documenti inediti*, no 44 pp. 101–2.

Count Richard of Molise from the prison.⁶⁹⁰ We are also told by Pseudo-Falcandus that, during the uprising in Messina, the Greeks were busy slaughtering anyone from north of the Alps they could find, until Count Henry forbade this by threatening to punish them. After this, the people of Messina occupied Rometta (west of Messina) and approached Taormina (south of Messina) in order to set free Count Richard of Molise; afterwards, the people of Messina took control of the castle (*castellum*) of Taormina and of the count himself.⁶⁹¹ This Sicilian rebellion managed thus to quickly release the counts disgraced in Messina, but the unrest had still to take one more victim.

After having heard of this uprising, the people of Palermo also rioted, and attacked and cornered Chancellor Stephen and all his men. The regent queen and young William II had to intervene, ordering the chancellor and his transalpine allies to leave the kingdom by sea; he then boarded a ship and sailed to [the kingdom of] Jerusalem.⁶⁹² According to Pseudo-Falcandus, the otherwise unattested Count Roger of Gerace and the very well-known Count Roger of Avellino participated in the conspiracy against Chancellor Stephen.⁶⁹³ This suggests that the count of Avellino, Roger of Aquila, did not return to his dominions, but instead had accompanied the royal court back to Palermo, and stayed there during the uprising of Messina. The last documented appearance of Roger of Aquila in Apulia before he went to Messina is found in an August 1167 donation he made in his *castellum* of Avellino. As count of Avellino, he granted two plots of land (*pecie de terries*), an orchard (*ortum*) in the church of St Basil, and a vineyard (*vinea*) in *Orrita*, near the *castellum* of Mercogliano, to the abbey of Montevergine, for the salvation of the souls of his parents Count Richard and Countess Magalda, and his wife Countess Marocta. Interestingly enough, Count Roger of Avellino's donation also stipulated that the same abbey had the right to take water from the public aqueduct (*publicus aqueductus*) that came from Mercogliano; the use of public infrastructure, at least in the county of Avellino, appears to have been a comital prerogative.⁶⁹⁴ Furthermore, we are told by Pseudo-Falcandus that Count Roger of Avellino kept riding up and down outside the royal palace in the midst of a city confused by rumours, and when the supporters of Qaid Richard saw him, they attacked him. The rioters were already pointing their spears at the count of Avellino when William II, who had gone to the palace windows to see what the

⁶⁹⁰ *Romuald*, p. 257.

⁶⁹¹ *Falcandus*, pp. 302–5.

⁶⁹² *Romuald*, p. 257.

⁶⁹³ *Falcandus*, pp. 304–7.

⁶⁹⁴ *Cod. Dipl. Verginiano*, 1982, vol. 5, no 474 pp. 261–64. *Cod. Dipl. Verginiano*, 1982, vol. 5, no 474 pp. 261–4.

ruckus was about, ordered the mob to bring the count to him unharmed. The king then ordered Count Roger of Avellino to be kept under close guard in the Castello a Mare.⁶⁹⁵

Chancellor Stephen's allies did not only include transalpine sympathisers, but, according to Pseudo-Falcandus, Bohemund II of Tarsia, his brother Carbonellus, and William of S. Severino 'were always closely attached to Stephen' (*semper ei [Stephano] familiaris adherebant*).⁶⁹⁶ Bohemund, who had testified against Richard of Mandra, and William of S. Severino, whose lordships were protected by the court's decision to dismiss the count of Caserta's accusation, must have known that the chancellor's enemies were their enemies as well. Perhaps this is the reason why William of S. Severino had not gone back to his Apulian dominions after the court of Messina was adjourned, and rather followed the royal court and Chancellor Stephen to Palermo. The tension left after the arrest of counts Henry and Richard of Mandra, and the role that Count Robert of Caserta played during the Messina courts, might have pushed William of S. Severino to retreat temporarily in Sicily, regardless of whether the royal chancellor had confirmed his lordship over S. Severino, Montoro, and Rocca Cilento.

After the upheaval and violence in Palermo escalated to the point that Stephen and his party were trapped inside a bell tower, we are told by Pseudo-Falcandus that the conspirators offered the chancellor terms for his surrender; it was agreed that the chancellor should sail to Syria in an armed galley with a few men of his choice, the other Frenchmen were to be given ships to cross the sea, and the noblemen of the Kingdom of Sicily who were with the chancellor were to keep their lands safely and freely. That these terms would be fulfilled was sworn by Bishop-elect Richard of Syracuse, Matthew the notary, Qaid Richard, Archbishop Romuald of Salerno, and Bishop John of Malta. Ultimately, Stephen of Perche left Sicily and made the journey safely to Syria.⁶⁹⁷ Stephen's arrival in Jerusalem is not only attested in the chronicle of Romuald of Salerno, but also William of Tyre recorded that, in the summer of 1168, Stephen of Perche arrived in the kingdom [of Jerusalem] attended by a small retinue. Stephen was thereby remembered as 'chancellor of the king of Sicily and bishop-elect of the church at Palermo, [...] a brother of Count Rotrou of Perche, and a young man of fine appearance and excellent natural ability' (*domini regis Sicilie cancellarius et Panormitane electus ecclesie, [...] domini Rotoldi comitis de Percio frater*). Stephen, however, was overtaken by a serious illness after his arrival and died, according to William of Tyre; he was buried

⁶⁹⁵ *Falcandus*, pp. 308–11.

⁶⁹⁶ *Falcandus*, pp. 310–11.

⁶⁹⁷ *Falcandus*, pp. 314–17.

at Jerusalem with fitting honour, in a chapel of the *Templum Domini* (i.e. the Dome of the Rock, on the Temple Mount).⁶⁹⁸ The life and career of the regent queen's relative, royal chancellor, and archbishop-elect of Palermo was thus abruptly terminated.

Counts Richard of Molise and Henry of Montescaglioso went to Palermo upon their release, where, according to Romuald of Salerno, the king pardoned them and granted them their lands back.⁶⁹⁹ Pseudo-Falcandus detailed their arrival; both counts arrived at Palermo with twenty-four armed galleys from Messina, relying on their power (*vires*) they altered the composition of the court, and appointed ten *familiares*, three of whom were counts: Richard of Molise, Henry of Montescaglioso, and the otherwise unattested Roger of Gerace.⁷⁰⁰ It appears thus that the counts of Molise and Montescaglioso not only greatly expanded the number of royal *familiares*, but forced their own inclusion into this high-ranking court cabinet.

Under the new administration imposed by the queen regent's brother Henry and Richard of Mandra, Gilbert, the mainland's *magister capitaneus* and count of Gravina and Loritello, saw the end of his dominance. We are told simply by Archbishop Romuald Guarna's chronicle that after Chancellor Stephen left, Count Gilbert of Loritello, with his son Count Bertram of Andria and all his men, abjured their land, to then go to Jerusalem.⁷⁰¹ The *Annales Casinenses* likewise recorded that, in 1168, Count Gilbert (without making an overt mention of any of his counties) and his son Bertram were expelled from the kingdom, and went to Jerusalem.⁷⁰² This sudden and drastic withdrawal was a predictable result of the similarly sudden change in power at Palermo. Pseudo-Falcandus related that the first decision of the newly constituted court, which was under the power of Richard of Molise and Henry of Montescaglioso, was to expel Count Gilbert of Gravina and his son Count Bertram from the realm. The court also threatened Gilbert to use the kingdom's full force 'if he should resist by making use of force and gathering his knights' (*si viribus uti et militibus adunatis reniti presumpsisset*). Pseudo-Falcandus manifestly omitted many details of such a large and drastic operation, mostly compared with the previous testimonies of the court's events just before Stephen left the kingdom. He only attests that the matter was assigned to Roger, count of Alba, and Richard of Say, count of Fondi, who assembled accordingly an enormous army from all the cities of

⁶⁹⁸ *William of Tyre*, II, bk 20 chap. 3 pp. 914–15.

⁶⁹⁹ *Romuald*, p. 257.

⁷⁰⁰ *Falcandus*, pp. 316–17.

⁷⁰¹ *Romuald*, p. 257.

⁷⁰² *Annales Casinenses*, p. 312.

Apulia, and besieged Count Gilbert in a certain fortress to which he had retreated together with his wife'.⁷⁰³

It would have been very illustrative to the understanding of both Count Gilbert's activities and the development of the counties of Gravina and Loritello to have known which was this fortress to which the count retreated during this reported siege. Likewise, it is notable that Richard of Say and Roger son of Richard, the recently appointed counts of Fondi and Alba, respectively, suddenly became Gilbert's royal replacements, in that they acquired what seems to be the central entitlement of either the *magister comestabulus* or the *magister capitaneus*: assembling an army from the Apulian draft. Richard of Say had been in that position before, as it should be remembered that he was a long-standing royal official, a general during William I's last uprising, and had commanded the royal army alongside the *magister comestabulus* Count Gilbert of Gravina in 1165. Roger son of Richard had also recently acquired the comital rank, and had been involved with the Palermitan royal court before. However, he appears to have joined the rebellion against William I's regime and been in exile just before 1167; perhaps Richard of Mandra did not consider this to be a deterrent, but instead a shared circumstance that could potentially serve as an incentive for Roger son of Richard to support his takeover.

Pseudo-Falcandus further explains that all the knights (*milites*) deserted Count Gilbert as soon as they heard the 'court's order' (*curiae mandatum*), and that he had attracted a great deal of jealousy from the nobles and severe hatred from the cities. Consequently, Gilbert realised that there was no hope left, and then chose to submit himself, together with all his goods (*thesaurus*), to Count Richard of Fondi, on the agreement that Gilbert would be allowed to cross over to Syrian lands with his wife and children.⁷⁰⁴ Hence, if we ought to believe Pseudo-Falcandus, all the knights in the peninsula were informed, bypassing the head of the structure that was put in place to control the knights. The knights' desertion could have operated that smoothly only if their lords and commanders had reached them without any regard for their master captain. In other words, the *comestabuli* and the counts must have almost unanimously tolerated Richard of Mandra and Henry of Montescaglioso's takeover, in order to have ignored Gilbert's royal title as master captain and, at the same time, have cornered a family that technically held the Adriatic corridor of lordships that extended from the border with the Abruzzo, in Loritello, all the way down to the Terra di Bari, with Gravina, Andria and,

⁷⁰³ *Falcandus*, pp. 316–17.

⁷⁰⁴ *Falcandus*, pp. 316–19.

perhaps, Conversano. This must have made up the largest county in the kingdom thus far; nonetheless, the great count of Gravina and Loritello, also the father of the count of Andria, was all of a sudden left powerless, cornered in a fortress.

It must be emphasised that the ‘court’s orders’ could not have been the main reason behind the knights’ desertion, in that even if these orders carried all the weight of the royal authority and its supremacy, a structure and mechanism were required for these orders to be transmitted and headed. The counts’ rebellion during William I’s reign clearly revealed how the royal court’s order did not prevent the rebels from gathering their own knights and assembling their own armies in their war against the command of the royal court. If anything, the peninsular insurgencies demonstrated the vulnerability of the royal military appointments and the fleeting control the royal court exercised over the nobility; Count Robert of Loritello was both supported by many counts and even acknowledged as their leader. The new count of Loritello, however, was not even slightly close to have been regarded in the same way. Like many of the royal favourites, the privileges that Count Gilbert had acquired so much and so swiftly had won him few allies and a lot of enemies; besides, he was an outsider. No other single episode could better illustrate the importance of the South Italian nobility and the role the counts collectively played in the effective control of the aristocracy than the swift removal of Gilbert, count of Gravina and Loritello and master captain for all Apulia and the Terra di Lavoro. Just as Count Gilbert had used the royal court in order to push his own agenda and undermine Richard of Mandra, the latter used it to avenge his previous downfall and remove the man who appeared to be the most powerful count of the kingdom.

We cannot know for sure what the position and wishes of the monarch or the queen regent were; Pseudo-Falcandus is not explicit here, but it can be assumed that Queen Margaret would not have agreed on her own to attack and expel Stephen and Gilbert, both of whom were their blood-relatives. Thus, the royal court appears to have been taken hostage by the opponents of the chancellor and the counts released by the mob of Messina. William of Tyre provides an external but useful perspective on this issue, as he explained that Stephen ‘had been made the victim of a conspiracy on the part of the combined nobles of Sicily, who by their intrigues had succeeded in driving him from that land. This was done contrary to the wishes of the young king, a minor, and his mother, but they were powerless to prevent it’.⁷⁰⁵ If William II and his mother Queen Margaret were indeed powerless, the counts of Molise and Montescaglioso, the new members of

⁷⁰⁵ *William of Tyre*, II, bk 20 chap. 3 pp. 914–15; Babcock and Krey, II, pp. 346–47.

the kingdom's nobility, must have arranged an alliance with the already established nobility – including both the counts made by William I and the former rebel counts who were pardoned by the new regency – in order to counteract Count Gilbert.

The same counts who had sat in judgment on Richard of Mandra were now on his side, for without Robert of Caserta and Roger of Avellino the operation against the *magister capitaneus* could not have been possible; and this, in hindsight, should not surprise anyone. Robert of Lauro, count of Caserta, must have been aware both of the power Gilbert had concentrated from his multiple appointments, and that the tables had turned in Palermo. Even though Robert of Caserta had testified against Richard of Mandra, changing sides should not have been a problem; guaranteeing the stability of the position he and his family enjoyed as counts, and perhaps also his tenure of Mandra, would have been incentive enough to support the takeover. Roger of Aquila, count of Avellino, had been involved before in Robert of Loritello's rebellion and then temporarily exiled during the last years of William I's reign, so he would have been inclined to support Richard of Mandra and oppose Gilbert, the master captain who rose into prominence after the rebel counts were exiled in 1162. The otherwise unattested Count Roger of Gerace was a member of the jury that condemned Richard of Mandra, but he was also involved in the conspiracy against Stephen of Perche, and as a result he had to associate with the leaders of the mob that facilitated the chancellor's expulsion. The other counts who were involved in Richard of Mandra's judgement were from the Abruzzo: Bohemund of Manopello and Simon of Sangro. They, together with Roger son of Richard for the time he held the county of Alba, appear to have been part of a new and increasingly significant role that the Abruzzo played in the kingdom's new equilibrium of power.

The other change made to the kingdom's upper aristocracy by the new court dominated by Richard of Mandra and Henry of Montescaglioso was the attempted expulsion of Hugh Lupinus, count of Catanzaro. We are told by Pseudo-Falcandus that, after Gilbert's expulsion, the 'magnates of the court' (i.e. Richard of Mandra and Henry of Montescaglioso, and their followers) decided to exile Count Hugh of Catanzaro, because he was a 'relative of the chancellor' (*cancellarii consanguineus*), but since Hugh reportedly was 'a stupid and violent man whom they feared as someone who would plot in secret or else undertake some reckless act on impulse', he was spared, hoping that by this Margaret's anger would be in some way restrained.⁷⁰⁶ There is no certainty around this Calabrian county at this stage, but a July 1167 charter attests the presence of Countess

⁷⁰⁶ *Falcandus*, pp. 318–19.

Segelgarda and her daughter Clementia, administering what would have been her husband's ancestral land. It must be remembered that Segelgarda was the wife of the late Count Raymond of Catanzaro, and the mother of Countess Clementia, and it had been reported that both she and her daughter were imprisoned by William I when the latter marched over the mainland in order to recover control of the territory.⁷⁰⁷

Countess Segelgarda appears to have made a donation at her deathbed on 28 July 1167, to the church of St Christopher at Deliceto (*ecclesia sancti xpofori, quo est sita ante portam eliceti*), and she called herself 'once wife of R[aymund] comitis (*quondam uxor .R. comitis*).⁷⁰⁸ Raymond of Loritello, count of Catanzaro and Segelgarda's husband, appears to have held lands around Deliceto, lordships that used to be held by the Catanzaro branch of the Loritello family; and Segelgarda made a donation in September 1158, as the 'countess of Deliceto' (*domina Sikelgarda deliceti comitissa*), to the church of St Ephrem – Deliceto itself is found in the *Quaternus magne expeditionis* as a *feudum* that both the count of Civitate and the count of Carinola held, most likely at different stages.⁷⁰⁹ In any case, it seems that Segelgarda was released from prison at some point after 1162, most probably after William I's death. Interestingly enough, the deathbed donation made by Segelgarda was entrusted to Bishop Robert of Catanzaro, who subscribed the donation and attested how he received the charter from Segelgarda and her daughter Clementia.⁷¹⁰ It appears then that Segelgarda was staying in Calabria, although she almost certainly did not recover any authority over the county of Catanzaro, as neither she nor her daughter subscribed the donation as countesses of Catanzaro. Even though it is not clear if Segelgarda or Clementia recovered Catanzaro, this reveals that Segelgarda was allowed to hold some of the lands that corresponded to her husband's ancestral inheritance.

There is no surviving testimony about the creation of a new count of Catanzaro, or even on Clementia's marriage. However, Count Hugh of Catanzaro was present in the same judicial case arbitrated by the master justiciars Abdenago and Tarentinus at Messina in February 1168 that heard the dispute between the Calabrian monasteries of Bagnara and St Euphemia; Count Hugh of Catanzaro was recorded in this resolution as the judicial instance who had previously heard this case, as 'master justiciar and constable of the

⁷⁰⁷ See above, on page 145.

⁷⁰⁸ Garufi, *Documenti inediti*, no 42 pp. 96–99.

⁷⁰⁹ See above, en la página 69.

⁷¹⁰ '*Ego Robertus episcopus catanzarii precibus comitisse Segelgarde et filie eius clemencie cum veniret ad obitum suum deprecata est me ut imponerem manum per iudicium suum. et dispositione rerum suarum in carta ista que ante pretermiserat de ordinacione sancti xpofori ecclesie quam de suo proprio fecerat*'. Garufi, *Documenti inediti*, no 42 pp. 96–99, at p. 98.

entire Calabria' ([...] *iussum fuerat ab illustri comite Hugone catanzarii, magistro iusticiarii et comestabulo totius Calabriae*).⁷¹¹ It does not appear as if Count Hugh attended the court in Messina, as he was not recorded as having personally testified before the royal court there and did not subscribe the judgment. This would also explain why he was not attested by other testimonies as being present in Messina, or amongst Stephen's supporters during the Palermo riots; almost certainly Count Hugh must have stayed in Calabria, acting as the top royal official for that province.

Pseudo-Falcandus did not mention either a Count Hugh or a count of Catanzaro having been appointed during the regency's first batch of new counts. Count Hugh's sudden appearance however can be explained if he was indeed appointed during Chancellor Stephen's administration. Moreover, as a blood-relative only of Stephen of Perche, Hugh must have arrived in the realm with the transalpine contingent who accompanied Stephen to Sicily, and been consequently appointed royal governor for Calabria, with the title of master justiciar and constable – the same office that Richard of Say had once occupied. The implication here is that the master justiciar and constable for Calabria married Countess Clementia, the surviving heir of an apparently vacant though crucial county in Calabria, instead of being unilaterally assigned the county of Catanzaro. Hugh must then have acquired the comital dignity as a result of being the spouse of Countess Clementia.⁷¹² If Count Hugh was in fact a relative of Stephen of Perche, it is probable that he was also a relative of the queen, and as such his expulsion must have antagonised Queen Margaret further. However, Hugh's role as both royal governor for Calabria and count of Catanzaro, and the fact that he must have been in Calabria during the development of these events, were practical and strong considerations that Richard of Mandra, Henry of Montescaglioso, and their followers must have made when they decided to 'spare him'.

At this stage, there is one more issue that must be discussed: the role of Count Roger of Alba. It is almost certain that the Count Roger of Alba recorded in the *Quaternus magne expeditionis* is the same Count Roger of Alba who was reportedly assigned, together with Count Richard of Fondi, the task of assembling the Apulian army. An additional element that should be considered is Pseudo-Falcandus' own account of Count Gilbert's surrender: the omission of Count Roger of Alba. Although the same author

⁷¹¹ Jamison, 'Note e documenti per la storia dei Conti Normanni di Catanzaro', no 2 pp. 465–70, especially p. 467.

⁷¹² Count Hugh of Catanzaro was subsequently remembered, by Pope Alexander III, as the spouse of Countess Clementia. *Italia pontificia. Samnium, Apulia, Lucania*, ed. by Paul F. Kehr, 10 vols (Berlin: Weidmann, 1962), IX, p. 139.

related before that both Richard of Say, count of Fondi, and Count Roger of Alba, were appointed as some sort of *de facto* peninsular great constables, we are told that Gilbert of Gravina chose to submit himself only to Count Richard. The logistics of such a potential military mobilisation forces us to consider that, had Roger of Alba taken a more significant role during this operation, he would have been in the lead of the Adriatic front, while Richard of Say would have operated on his side of the peninsula, in the Terra di Lavoro and the former principality of Salerno. However, it was the commander on the other coast who appears to have marched to the Adriatic lands, where Gilbert's fortress may have been located between Loritello and Gravina. My impression, hence, is that Roger of Alba was temporarily placed in command of the knights from the Abruzzo during the court's takeover by Richard of Mandra and Henry of Montescaglioso, instead of the other, leading Abruzzese counts who had been previously closer to the royal court – Philip of Sangro and Bohemund of Manopello – but were directly involved in Richard of Mandra's trial.

The count of Manopello would have been expected to lead the Abruzzo contingent, as he had been the traditional figure on whom the royal administration relied for control of this border province, as is attested by both the role the count of Manopello played during Robert of Loritello's rebellion, and the *quaternion* of the 'jurisdiction' (*justitia/comestabulia*) of Count Bohemund of Manopello, the register in which the *feuda* and military service of the Abruzzo were recorded. Nonetheless, during this time of turmoil and rapid change, Count Richard of Molise and Count Henry of Montescaglioso appear to have relied on the apparently less important count of Alba to mobilise the Abruzzo in case Gilbert's opposition turned into a full-on rebellion that could have destabilised the northern border province, just as Count Robert of Loritello had done before. The re-assignments of the counties of Gravina, Andria, and Loritello-Conversano, were a matter for a different stage of the royal court's government, and although Richard of Say might have used his role in bringing the count of Gravina down as political leverage, this entire episode does not directly justify the subsequent concession of another county to Richard of Say – at that time count of Fondi. Likewise, the fact that Roger son of Richard was made afterwards count of Andria must not be regarded as an unequivocal result of his momentary position as a count in the Abruzzo.

The earliest evidence that attests the existence of at Roger as count of Andria is an 1175 charter that records a donation made by 'Roger, son of the late and fondly remembered Richard, and count of Andria by the grace of God and of the king' (*Rogerus quondam Riccardi bone memorie filius d. et r. gratia comes Andrie*) to the nunnery of St

Mary of Porta Somma in Benevento.⁷¹³ Similarly, the earliest known piece of evidence that still attests Richard of Say as a count after 1169 is found in a Montecassino document from September 1173 in which a 1172 royal mandate was copied, by which William II gave orders to his great constables and master justiciars, Count Richard of Say and Count Robert of Caserta.⁷¹⁴ The latter document does not make any reference to Richard of Say's specific county, but it has been assumed that he received Gravina at some point because his wife Theodora was recorded as countess of Gravina in 1178, and his descendants held it subsequently.⁷¹⁵

The social profiles of both Richard of Say and Roger son of Richard were similar; barons who did not belong to comital families but had served in the royal court as appointed regional officials, and who had subsequently been commissioned in high-ranking administrative positions thanks to the role they played in political conjunctures. Richard of Say had been a loyal royal official, both as master justiciar and constable for Calabria and commander of the royal army in Campania, and Roger son of Richard was an overlord close to the Sicilian court who would have returned alongside the barons who had played an important role on Apulia before having been exiled by William I. As a result, the economic position and social prestige of both of them was enhanced by granting Fondi to Richard and restoring Roger of Richard to the lordships that belonged to his father, perhaps even giving him the comital title. Overall, it seems clear to me that the creation of the new counts of Andria and Gravina is a matter that belongs to a different stage in the kingdom's development, and was not a direct result of the takeover by Richard of Mandra and Henry of Montescaglioso in 1168.

⁷¹³ Benevento, *Fondo S. Pietro*, vol. 6 no 5. Partially ed. in Evelyn M. Jamison, 'The Abbess Bethlem of S. Maria di Porta Somma and the Barons of the Terra Beneventana', in *Oxford Essays in Medieval History, presented to Herbert Edward Salter* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1934), pp. 33–67 (no 10 p. 64).

⁷¹⁴ See below, note 1024.

⁷¹⁵ Wolfgang Hagemann, 'Kaiserurkunden aus Gravina', *QFIAB*, 40 (1960), 188–200 (no 3 pp. 196–97). Also, see below, note 829.

CHAPTER 5

The Foundations of the South Italian Nobility. Consolidated Counties under an Acquiescent 'Good King'

*E quel che vedi ne l'arco declivo,
Guglielmo fu, cui quella terra plora
che piagne Carlo e Federigo vivo:
ora conosce come s'innamora
lo ciel del giusto rege, e al semblante
del suo fulgore il fa vedere ancora.*
(Dante, Paradiso, chant XX, lines 61–66)

Archbishop Romuald of Salerno mentioned in his chronicle that after the expulsion of Chancellor Stephen and Count Gilbert, the realm remained in peace and tranquillity.⁷¹⁶ By 1169, the peninsular aristocracy appears to have started to enjoy a new period of stability, during which time the nobility's composition was cemented upon a new type of relationship between the Sicilian government and the social authorities on the mainland. An additional smaller phase of change occurred around this time, most notably when a new inclusion to the nobility was agreed by Queen Margaret and William II: Robert II of Bassunvilla was allowed back into the kingdom.

This chapter presents a detailed exploration of the new and consolidated ruling elite in the mainland, covering each county separately from 1169 to 1189. The numbers of counts occupying their respective counties remained relatively stable. By 1175, there were seventeen confirmed counts in the provinces of Apulia and the Terra di Lavoro (Alife, Andria, Avellino, Buonalbergo/Acerra, Carinola/Conza, Caserta, Civitate, Conversano and Loritello, Fondi, Gravina, Lecce, Lesina, Marsico, Molise, Principato, S. Angelo dei Lombardi, and Tricarico), and two more in Calabria (Catanzaro and Squillace); by 1189, only four of these counties appear to have been left vacant (Avellino, Conversano, Lesina, Loritello).⁷¹⁷ The following discussion provides both a sequential account of all the documented activities of the southern Italian counts, and an analysis of each county's development and the consolidation of the comital authority by the end of the William II's reign.

⁷¹⁶ Romuald, p. 257.

⁷¹⁷ See Chronological Chart.

The palatine county of Loritello and Conversano

‘What comes around, goes around’: the return of Robert of Bassunvilla

Romuald’s chronicle records that after the rebel Count Robert of Loritello had repeatedly begged for King William’s grace without success, the queen and young king took pity on him, restored their grace to him, and finally ‘restored to him the county of Loritello, just as his father [William I] had granted it to him [Count Robert], and out of the abundance of his grace added to this the county of Conversano’.⁷¹⁸ The chronicle of the Archbishop of Salerno appears to have suggested here that the ‘county of Conversano’ was a gift bestowed upon the forgiven count, when in fact, as we already know for certain, it was his original lordship: the title he had inherited from his father Robert I of Bassunvilla, count of Conversano. This must have happened after the convulsions of Stephen of Perche’s chancellorship were finally resolved, but before 1170. According to the *Annales Ceccanenses*, Robert of Loritello made peace (*concordia*) with the Sicilian king in March 1169; the *Annales Casinenses* agree with this, although without mentioning any month in particular.⁷¹⁹ The great count of Loritello and Conversano had thus returned. At this stage, it is not clear on what terms this peace was reached, nor what was the extent of the counties of Loritello and Conversano on Robert’s return. However, one can be certain that both territories and dignities were restored, and that from this point onwards Robert’s comital title would always bear the additional dignity of ‘palatine’ (*palatinus*).

The earliest known transaction of Count Robert after his restoration is a now lost February 1173 charter. Reportedly, Robert, ‘palatine’ count of Loritello and Conversano, lord of Casone (*Casalinovo*), granted an exemption from all dues normally owed to the church of SS. Philip and James in Casone.⁷²⁰ These taxes must have been the typical local fees, such as the *plateaticum* and other agricultural and commercial rights, which the counts in southern Italy usually controlled. Moreover, the town of Casone (now an abandoned *masseria*) is located east of San Severo, c. 40 km. east of Loritello.⁷²¹ Casone is recorded in the *Quaternus* only as a town where a *feudum* of just one *miles* was held by a lesser baron, Gualdimus Malacorona. He appears to have held this unit directly, not from an overlord.⁷²² However, this entry is both contextually very close to the section for the county of Loritello in the *Quaternus* (§§ 357–62), and geographically near to Loritello.

⁷¹⁸ *Romuald*, p. 258.

⁷¹⁹ *Annales Ceccanenses*, p. 286; *Annales Casinenses*, p. 312.

⁷²⁰ The original charter (*Pergamene dei Monasteri Soppressi* II. 156) was destroyed in 1943, together with all the other documents in its collection of the Archivio di Stato of Naples. Petrucci, ‘I documenti di Bansuvilla’, no 7 p. 117.

⁷²¹ On the identification of *Casalinovo*, see *Catalogus Baronum*, p. 65 n. 5. Also, see Map 1.

⁷²² *Catalogus Baronum*, § 368 p. 64. Jamison,

As argued previously, the ‘county of Loritello’ of the *Quaternus* appears to have been grouped as a small vacant county, which could reflect either snapshot in time: c. 1150 or c. 1167.⁷²³ Consequently, either the dominions of the former counts of Loritello were divided and reduced by Roger II before these were granted to Robert II of Bassunvilla in 1154, or William I fragmented the county of Loritello as a corrective and punitive measure against the insurrections led by the head of the county between 1155 and 1162. Evidently, there is not sufficient evidence to reconstruct the composition of the county of Loritello as held originally by Robert of Bassunvilla. Nonetheless, the 1173 transaction sheds some light on this question. It is very unlikely that the royal court would have granted additional lordships to Robert of Bassunvilla on his return, but, instead, both parties must have agreed to restore Robert’s county as it was constituted before the rebellion – perhaps even a reduced version of it. Hence, if Robert of Loritello was also lord of Casone by 1173, and was exercising local fiscal authority in the area, in all likelihood his county included this town, and perhaps many more than the few locations recorded in the *Quaternus* as part of the county of Loritello’s demesne.

In the same year, in April 1173, Count Robert, attested also as lord of Molfetta, granted the harbour of Molfetta to the church of St James, while he was in the casale of St Nicholas in Silva.⁷²⁴ Then, in July 1174 the ‘palatine’ count of Loritello and Conversano, again as lord of Molfetta, granted an olive grove and a plot of land, which belonged to his demesne lands in Molfetta, to the church of St Mary of Bagnara.⁷²⁵ The transaction was conducted in the count’s *castellum* of Rignano [Garganico], and was subscribed, amongst others, by Nicholas the priest, the count’s castellan. It appears, hence, that one of the residences of the count of Loritello was Rignano, which was kept by a comital castellan. According to an April 1175 charter from Cava, Robert, as ‘palatine’ count of Loritello and Conversano and lord of Molfetta, granted ten *cannae* of land next to the city wall of Molfetta and numerous olive trees in diverse places to his ‘loyal man’ (*fidelis*) Petrarch of Taranto.⁷²⁶ This last document was issued in Casone and drafted by the count’s notary Griffus of Molfetta. Additionally, it was subscribed by Bishop Pandulf of Bovino, William of Rapolla seneschal of the count, and judges Peter Rufus and Mark. It is unclear where the judges were from, but most likely they were from Casone.

⁷²³ See above, on page 101.

⁷²⁴ *Pergamene di Barletta*, no 119 pp. 164–65.

⁷²⁵ Petrucci, ‘I documenti di Bassunvilla’, no 1 pp. 135–38.

⁷²⁶ Cava, *Arm. Mag.* I.14, ed. in *Carte di Molfetta*, no 55 pp. 70–71.

In April 1179, Robert, ‘palatine’ count of Loritello and Conversano and lord of Campomarino, and son and heir of Count Robert of Conversano, declared that he had received, as a lease, two farms from the Abbot Absalom of Tremiti. For this, the count paid the tithe and the *terraticum*, and additionally exempted the monastery’s men who lived in Campomarino from paying local fiscal dues. This *preceptum* was subscribed by men who can be described as members of the comital administrative staff: Leonasius the ‘justiciar of the palatine count’ (*palatini comitis iustitarius*), Lucasius the constable (*comestabulus*), Cedemarius the chamberlain (*camerarius*), Thomas son of Gilbert, chamberlain of the palatine count (*palatini comitis camerarii*), and William, judge of Loritello.⁷²⁷ The ‘palatine’ count brought to Campomarino not only his own attendants, but also his judicial administrator and even a judge from his northern comital *caput*; perhaps Thomas son of Gilbert came from Loritello as his main administrator, while Cedemarius was Robert’s local official in the lordship of Campomarino. Furthermore, it also appears that Count Robert made some administrative appointments in the city; a scribe appointed by ‘palatine’ Count Robert, named Palmerius, drafted a private sale charter (*cartulam scripsi ego Palmerius a domino palatii comite Roberto ordinatus*), issued in Campomarino on 5 December 1191.⁷²⁸ It must be noted that Campomarino, as a *feudum* of six *milites*, appears to have belonged to the county of Civitate, as indicated by the *Quaternus*.⁷²⁹ The counties of Loritello and Civitate were adjacent to each other; their *capita* were just 25 km. apart, and it can be expected that some of their respective dominions would intertwine. It is not clear why the lordship of Campomarino changed hands at some point between 1167 and 1179, but it is possible that this Adriatic town used to belong to the original county of Loritello, and after the latter was confiscated following Count Robert’s defeat, the town was given to the neighbouring county of Civitate. In any case, this 1179 transaction confirms that the county of Loritello, at least by the 1170s, was larger than the *Quaternus* suggests.

Another April 1179 charter recorded that the ‘palatine’ count of Loritello and Conversano, on this occasion also lord of Bovino, made a donation of some *casali* and land near Bovino to the cathedral of St Mary of Bovino while in Fiorentino (*Florentinum*).⁷³⁰ The transaction was subscribed, amongst others, by Bishop Giso of Fiorentino, Bishop Robert of Civitate, and Abbot Matthew of *Terra Maggiore* (modern Torremaggiore); ecclesiastical figures who must have witnessed this donation to the

⁷²⁷ *Chron. de Carpineto*, pp. 289–90; Petrucci, ‘I documenti di Bansuvilla’, no 2 pp. 138–40.

⁷²⁸ *Cod. dipl. Molisano*, pp. 305–7, at 306.

⁷²⁹ *Catalogus Baronum*, ¶ 295 p. 48. Also, see Map 1.

⁷³⁰ *Italia Sacra*, VIII, cols 253–55.

bishopric of Bovino as heads of the local churches – Civitate and Torremaggiore are neighbouring towns of Fiorentino. Concerning the same area, in the following month, May 1179, Count Robert issued a fiscal concession by which he exempted the men of the abbey of St Leonard in Siponto from paying the local agricultural and commercial fees (i.e. *adiutorium*, *forisfactura*, and *platea*), and granted that the herds of the church of St Mary of Olecino should graze and have free use of water in the territory of Dragonara⁷³¹ and Fiorentino.⁷³² This transaction was subscribed, amongst others, by two interesting administrative figures: Philip, the count's marshal (*palatini comitis manescalcus*), and a certain 'constable' (*comestabulus*) Roger Tisonus. They must have been part of the military entourage of Count Robert of Loritello; Philip as the commander of the count's own armed forces, and Roger as a military functionary in charge of the regional contingent of knights. Moreover, an October 1180 charter for the monastery of St Mary of Gualdo, issued in the same Dragonara, was dated in the time of their lord Robert, 'palatine' count of Loritello (*tempore domini nostri Roberti Dei et domini nostri regis Wi. Gratia palatinus comes Lorotelli*).⁷³³

Back in Molfetta, fashioning himself again as the lord of this coastal city, the 'palatine' count of Loritello and Conversano issued a confirmation in March 1180 to the abbey of Cava; the count thus granted that all the houses, vines, olives and other holdings of Cava in Molfetta should be free from all public service or tribute, reserving only action against all those who should seek the abbey's property.⁷³⁴ Amongst others, the charter was subscribed by Amandus, the chamberlain, and three judges: Peter, judge of Ruvo, and judges Alexius and Ambrose – ostensibly the judges of Molfetta.⁷³⁵ According to Prignano, the count of Loritello and Conversano appears to have subsequently made another donation to Cava, in 1182, but to my knowledge there are no further surviving charters of Count Robert in the archives of Cava.⁷³⁶ This is the last documented appearance of Robert II of Bassunvilla, 'palatine' count. It should also be noted that a papal confirmation, issued on 27 September 1181 and by which Lucius III confirmed all the donations and privileges the church of Larino had received thus far, referred to the

⁷³¹ Located in the vicinity of modern Bosco and Castel Dragonara, 20 km. SE of Loritello. See Map 1.

⁷³² Del Giudice, *App.* 1, no 20 pp. xliii–xliv. These local fees, although sometimes regarded as public taxes, developed as seigniorial prerogatives in Apulia, and as such, fell within the count's authority. Martin, *La Pouille*, pp. 302–6.

⁷³³ Martin, *Cartulaire de Sculgola*, I, no 2 pp. 7–8.

⁷³⁴ Cava, *Arm. Mag.* I.26, ed. in *Carte di Molfetta*, no 62 pp. 79–80.

⁷³⁵ Ruvo is a town in the Terra di Bari, 14 km. SW of Molfetta. See Map 1.

⁷³⁶ Houben, *Die Abtei Venosa*, no 162 pp. 386–87. Houben has presented here the surviving reference found in Prignano, 'Historia', fol. 109v. Cf. Ménager, 'Les fondations monastiques', no 44 p. 114.

holdings of the ‘palatine’ count of Loritello (*possessiones Palatini comitis Lorotelli*), which appear to have been part of the said church’s lands.⁷³⁷

The usage of the specific title of ‘palatine’ was unprecedented in Norman Italy, at least under the Sicilian monarchy; the only known exception is found in the *Annalista Saxo* when it related that the rebel William, ‘palatine [of Loritello]’, swore allegiance to Lothar II in 1137.⁷³⁸ One might be tempted to make a connection between this dignity and the lordship of Loritello, but no other source attests the ‘palatine’ title for the Norman counts of Loritello before the kingdom’s creation. The palatine title used by Robert of Bassunvilla must have been then an additional dignity conferred to him in the peace treaty he made with William II, in order to distinguish the king’s cousin from the rest of the counts and confirm the royal nature of Loritello’s concession without actually granting him any additional power over other noblemen or within the royal administration. The count of Loritello and Conversano was not a ‘count palatine’ in the imperial and German sense of the term, but simply a count related to the royal palace by means of bloodline and royal favour.

Nonetheless, a dubious document from Montecassino, dated 10 September 1175, attests Count Robert acting as a royal official. Robert, as a ‘master justiciar’ (*magister justitiarius*), but still palatine count of Loritello (*Palatinus Comes Rotelli*), presided over a judicial court in *Aternum*, in the Abruzzo, which judged a dispute between Montecassino and Raynald and Alexander of Troia concerning the church of St Angelo of Barano.⁷³⁹ Jamison argued that this was a forgery, on the basis that she thought it impossible for Count Robert to be a master justiciar for the king, as well as because of the strangeness of the *intitulatio*’s wording and the abnormality in the notary’s naming (*scriptum per manus Roberti notarii nostra curia juratus iussimus scribi*).⁷⁴⁰ Petrucci added that its mistaken *datatio* provided a day and followed the Roman calendar, something unusual in Count Robert’s charters and rather uncommon in twelfth-century South Italian documents generally.⁷⁴¹ This charter may be a forgery, but this does not exclude the possibility that an original act which served as a basis for this document could have existed. Furthermore, both Jamison and Petrucci seem to have ignored a letter, included in the chartulary-chronicle of Carpineto, which King William II sent to Count

⁷³⁷ *Cod. dipl. Molisano*, pp. 239–41, at 240.

⁷³⁸ See above, on page 54.

⁷³⁹ Gattola, *Accessiones*, I, pp. 265–66.

⁷⁴⁰ Jamison, ‘Norman Administration’, pp. 477–78.

⁷⁴¹ Petrucci, ‘I documenti di Bassunvilla’, p. 118 n. 2.

Robert on 5 June 1173, issued in Messina.⁷⁴² The king referred here to Robert as both the ‘palatine’ count of Loritello, and his own blood-relative and loyal man (*palatinus comes Lorotelli, dilectus consanguineus et fidelis suus*). The letter relates that Abbot Oliver of Carpineto had complained to the royal court about the barons of Civitaquana, located also in the Abruzzo, saying that they had invaded the abbey’s holdings.⁷⁴³ The king exhorted Count Robert to investigate and resolve this issue. Perhaps Count Robert never received an official royal administrative appointment, or even the title of ‘master justiciar’, but he was at least, according to this royal letter, serving the royal court as a procurator of justice in the Abruzzo. After Robert returned to his county, and Count Bohemund II of Manopello died c.1170, the royal court must have relied incidentally on the count of Loritello as their main gateway and communication channel with the aristocracy of the Abruzzo.

Count Robert of Loritello must have died at some point between 1182 and 1184. First, a charter from the chartulary-chronicle of Carpineto, dated 1184 and regarding the market dues (*platea*) of the Abruzzese town of *Aternum*, does not refer to the ruling count of Loritello, but instead attests the existence of an acting ‘chamberlain’ for the whole county of Loritello: Robert of Varo (*existente camerario eius totius comitatus Lorotelli Roberto de Varo*).⁷⁴⁴ Second, an 1187 concession of pasturage rights made by Adelia, lady (*seniora*) of Fiorentino, to St Sophia in Benevento and the men of the *casale* of S. Salvatore, recorded the former as the daughter of the late Count Robert of Loritello, confirming that Robert II of Bassunvilla was dead by that time.⁷⁴⁵ It appears that Count Robert did not have a male heir, and his daughter was not given nor allowed to inherit either county. Perhaps this was another condition agreed by the peace agreement made in 1169, and part of the distinct nature of the palatine title: the granting of these two counties was a royal prerogative and not a hereditary holding.

It should also be underlined that the new ‘palatine’ count clearly did almost everything as both count of Loritello and Conversano, regardless of whether he was in the Capitanata or in southern Adriatic Apulia, and even if he was conducting a transaction as lord of Bovino, Campomarino, Casone, Campomarino, or Molfetta. In practical terms, during Count Robert’s second period the counties of Loritello and Conversano merged into a single political unit and territorial cluster. However, after Robert II of Bassunvilla

⁷⁴² *Chron. de Carpineto*, no 137 pp. 289–90. The letter does not provide a year, but it is dated to the 6th indiction; the only possible year for this indiction is 1173, as 1158 is before William II’s reign and 1188 is after Count Robert’s death.

⁷⁴³ The town of Civitaquana is 25 km W of Chieti. See Map 1.

⁷⁴⁴ *Chron. de Carpineto*, pp. 299–300.

⁷⁴⁵ Benevento, *Fondo S. Sofia* vol. 2 no 10.

passed away, these two comital dignities were separated again; Tancred of Lecce, as the newly elected Sicilian king, would grant the county of Conversano, without Loritello, to Hugh II Lupinus, son of Count Hugh of Catanzaro.⁷⁴⁶ There is also a charter, from the monastery of St Benedict in Conversano, that attests the existence of a royal administrator for the county of Conversano by the final year of William II's reign. In September 1188, Thomas of Frassineto, lord of Turi, made a donation to the aforementioned monastery, before the presence of Bishop-elect William of Conversano, Roger of Barletta, Robert of Bari, 'royal chamberlain of the count of Conversano' (*dominus Robbertus de Baro comitis cupersani regius camerarius*), and Robert, royal chamberlain of the honour of Montescaglioso.⁷⁴⁷ There is no further known evidence for this Robert of Bari; although both Jamison and Takayama cited this document, neither of them identified a royal chamberlain with this name.⁷⁴⁸ On the other hand, William is attested as bishop of Conversano, from 1188 to April 1202, and the use of the term 'honour of Montescaglioso' can be traced back to 1183.⁷⁴⁹ It is possible that Robert of Bari, as a royal chamberlain, was placed in charge of the 'vacant' county of Conversano at some point after Robert of Basunvilla's death, and although he administered this Adriatic county, he did not receive the comital rank or become the official count of Conversano. Perhaps a more correct version of his title should have been *comitatus Cupersani regii camerarii*. Whichever may be the case, this royal functionary was soon displaced by an actual count, Hugh II Lupinus.

The county of Acerra (formerly known as Buonalbergo)

The united families of Medania and Aquino

Roger of Medania must have died soon after his return to the kingdom in 1167, as in the same year a new count of Acerra is recorded. Richard of Aquino, son of Roger of Medania's sister Cecilia, reportedly made a donation in 1167 to the former Neapolitan abbey of the Holy Saviour in 'Castro Lucullano', as 'count of Acerra' (*Riccardus dei*

⁷⁴⁶ *Pergamene di Conversano*, p. lii; Evelyn M. Jamison, *Admiral Eugenius of Sicily: His Life and Work and the Authorship of the Epistola Ad Petrum and the Historia Hugonis Falcandi Siculi* (London: Oxford University Press, 1957), p. 88; Cuzzo, 'I conti normanni di Catanzaro', p. 118.

⁷⁴⁷ *Pergamene di Conversano*, no 138 pp. 287–89. The charter was originally dated, following the byzantine style, in September 1189, 7th indiction; therefore, the correct year must be 1188, not 1189. Cf. Morea, *Chartularium di Conversano*, I, no 133 pp. 255–58.

⁷⁴⁸ Jamison, 'Norman Administration', p. 389 n. 3; Takayama, *Administration of the Kingdom*, p. 161 n. 114.

⁷⁴⁹ *Italia Sacra*, VII, cols 704–5; Norbert Kamp, *Kirche und Monarchie im staufischen Königreich Sizilien. I: Prosopographische Grundlegung. Bistümer und Bischöfe des Königreichs 1194-1266. 2: Apulien und Kalabrien* (Munich: W. Fink, 1975), p. 626. On the honour of Montescaglioso, see below, on page 241.

gratia comes Acerrarum), according to a seventeenth-century summary of the now lost charter.⁷⁵⁰ It is known that this count of Acerra was Richard of Aquino because in two subsequent transactions Count Richard described himself as the heir of his uncle Roger of Medania. First, in September 1171, Count Richard of Acerra granted the casale of S. Lorenzo, a hazel orchard, a plot of land in Bisselita, and a mill to the abbey of Montevergine. Richard is recorded here as ‘count of Acerra’ (*Acerrarum comes*). He reportedly made this donation for the salvation of his soul and that of his parents, and that of ‘his maternal uncle Roger, the late count of Acerra’ (*avunculus meus Rogerius quondam comes Acherrarum*).⁷⁵¹ The charter was drafted by John, judge and notary of Montella, and was sanctioned not only by the bishop of Nusco but also by the judges of the towns of Montella and Nusco, both called John. Additionally, a Vicencius the castellan is recorded in the escahocol as a subscribing witness; as both a castellan and one of the count’s witnesses, Vicencius must have been a comital official in charge perhaps of Count Richard’s residence. Then, in July 1174, Richard of Aquino made another donation while in the land of Goletto, as son of Raynald of Aquino, count of Acerra, and lord of Nusco (*filius R[ainaldi] A[quini] domini Dei et regia gratia Acerrarum comes et Nusci dominus*). This donation was to the abbey of the Holy Saviour at Goletto and the charter was written by his notary, Robert.⁷⁵²

Richard of Aquino, the new count of Acerra, must have not only held lands near Montella and Nusco, but also the nucleus of Robert of Medania’s original county: Buonalbergo. The *Quaternus magne expeditionis* is the latest known source in which the comital title of this family is linked to Buonalbergo. There is no evidence to suggest that either Roger of Medania or his nephew Richard of Aquino lost the cluster of lordships that used to belong to the Norman counts of Buonalbergo. As such, even though Richard of Aquino is only attested in the surviving evidence as count of Acerra, it seems probable that he was also the head of the county of Buonalbergo. Throughout the reign of William I and the first decade of that of William II, the ancestral lands of the Medania family became the emblematic focus of the counts of Buonalbergo, and the lordship of Acerra eventually became the main identifier of this position.

Richard of Aquino became a central actor in William II’s reign by its final decade. The prominent role Count Richard of Acerra played during the war against the Byzantines

⁷⁵⁰ Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, *Biblioteca Brancacciana* L.F.5, ff. 51r–232v (Camillo Tutini, ‘Notationes desumptae ab Archivii monasteriorum’), fol. 77v.

⁷⁵¹ *Cod. Dipl. Verginiano*, VI, no 533 pp. 124–29; Scandone, *Montella II*, no 8 pp. 171–73.

⁷⁵² Francesco Scandone, *L’alta valle dell’Ofanto. I. Città di S. Angelo dei Lombardi dalle origini al sec. XIX* (Avellino: Tip. Pergola, 1957), no 11 p. 208.

in 1185 was soon confirmed and enhanced after William II died and Tancred of Lecce took over as the new Sicilian king. An August 1190 charter recorded the count of Acerra (*comes Acerrarum*) as the captain and master justiciar of Apulia and the Terra di Lavoro (*capitaneus et magister iusticiarius Apulie et Terre Laboris*), an office which he shared with Count William of Caserta.⁷⁵³ With this title, Count Richard of Acerra became one of two royal governors on the mainland. Such a promotion must have been the result not only of the role he played during William II's reign and the responsibilities he acquired in this period, but also of his familial tie with King Tancred: the consort queen was Richard of Aquino's sister.⁷⁵⁴ During the succession war that followed William II's death, Count Richard of Acerra became the general of an army supporting Tancred of Lecce, made war with and captured Count Roger of Andria in 1190, and then handed the rebel over to Tancred. During this episode, several chronicles overtly remembered Richard as the brother of Tancred's wife.⁷⁵⁵ His status as both a count of the kingdom and a royal relative made Richard of Aquino a crucial ally of King Tancred during the upcoming wars. Furthermore, it must be highlighted that Richard's position offered a strategic location in two different key areas: in the Terra di Lavoro, north of Naples, and in Buonalbergo and Montella, in Irpina.

The county of Alife

In the shadow of the house of Rupecanina

A certain Roger son of Richard made in April 1170 a donation to the church of St Mary of Monte Drogo [della Grotta], located in the territory of the count's *castrum*. The donor, calling himself 'count of Alife and many others, by divine grace' (*Rogerus filius Riccardi divina favente clementia Comes alifii et aliorum multorum*), granted and confirmed a *cesina* (non-arable land) into the hands of Prior Robert. This charter was dated 'in the first year of the countship' of Count Roger of Richard (*primo anno comitatus eiusdem domini nostri Ruggerii filii Riccardi sagacissimi atque strenuissimi Comitatus alifii*), and was written on the count's order, by Regitius the judge, who must have been a judge of Alife.⁷⁵⁶ It appears, hence, that this Roger son of Richard received the county of Alife c. 1169–1170. Cuozzo has suggested that this Roger was in fact the son of Richard of Rupecanina, the father of Andrew of Rupecanina and brother of Rainulf of Caiazzo,

⁷⁵³ *Cod. Dipl. Verginiano*, IX, no 842 pp. 142–45.

⁷⁵⁴ *Italia Sacra*, I, cols 723–24.

⁷⁵⁵ Carlo A. Garufi, *Ryccardi de Sancto Germano Notarii Chronicon*, RIS, 18, 2nd edn (Bologna: N. Zanichelli, 1938), pp. 9–10.

⁷⁵⁶ *Del Giudice*, App. 1, no 14 pp. xxxi–xxxii.

which is possible but unproven.⁷⁵⁷ If this was the case, he must have been allowed to take control of his ancestral lordship and bear the comital title after the expulsion of Stephen of Perche and Gilbert of Gravina. It is not entirely clear if his presumed uncle, the infamous Andrew of Rupecanina, was still alive by that time, but he most certainly would have been excluded from any royal pardon on account of his many offences against the Sicilian kingdom. However, it would seem that his house had not entirely been proscribed, and one of his relatives was accepted back into the former principality of Capua and given one of the counties that had been made from the remnants of his uncles' once extensive lordship. Of course, this Roger of Rupecanina did not employ the family name that his uncle had practically turned into a synonym for rebellion and plundering.

A subsequent document from October 1181 offers further evidence for the count of Alife: Count Roger is remembered as ruling count in a document (*instrumentum*) presented as evidence in a suit for the payment of *terraticum* in *Monte Drogi*. Peter of Velleto [corr. Revello] is recorded here as the *camerarius* of the count.⁷⁵⁸ This is the same Peter of Revello who was recorded in a January 1170 legal sentence as the *camerarius* of an unnamed count, in which it was also remembered the time of Lord Malgerius, the former count of Alife.⁷⁵⁹ This *camerarius*, Peter of Revello, appears thus to have been a comital official who served first Count Malgerius and then stayed under the new count, administering seigniorial justice in the county of Alife even during the transition period between Malgerius and Roger son of Richard, c. 1169. Not only did the lesser strata of the aristocracy apparently remain stable, but also the functionaries that served the count's authority continued in office. These comital officials must have been pivotal for the preservation of the local social control in the midst of rebellion and political change, in that they bridge the ruling periods of former and newly made counts.

The county of Andria

Count Roger, *vir utique providus et discretus*

The earliest reference to the count of Andria after Gilbert's son Bertram was expelled from the realm is an 1175 donation made by 'Roger, son of the late and fondly remembered Richard, and count of Andria by the grace of God and of the king' to the

⁷⁵⁷ Cuzzo, *Commentario*, p. 266; Loud and Wiedemann, 'Introduction', p. 26. See Genealogical Graph.

⁷⁵⁸ *Le pergamene della Società Napoletana di Storia Patria. Parte I. Il fondo pergamenaceo del monastero di S. Maria della Grotta*, ed. by Jole Mazzoleni (Naples: L'arte tipografica, 1966), no 9 pp. 40–42; *Le pergamene di S. Maria della Grotta di Vitulano (BN) (secc. XI-XII)*, ed. by Antonella Ambrosio (Battipaglia: Laveglia & Carlone, 2013), no 13 pp. 23–24.

⁷⁵⁹ Salvati, *Le pergamene della SNSP II*, no 1 pp. 29–30.

nunnery of St Mary of Porta Somma in Benevento.⁷⁶⁰ As discussed earlier, this Roger son of Richard was most likely the son of Richard son of Richard, an overlord of two other lesser barons whose *feuda* was located in central Apulia, south of Buonalbergo. It is not clear exactly when Roger was made count of Andria. However, this appointment must surely have happened after Robert of Loritello's return, c.1169–1170.

Unfortunately, there is no surviving diplomatic evidence for the county of Andria, nor regional private charters that would attest the presence of Count Roger. This documentary void is, however, partially supplemented by Roger's activities in his ancestral domains. The 1175 transaction was conducted in his ancestral lordship of Flumeri, in his quality as lord of Trevico and Flumeri. Nicholas, judge of Benevento, and *Finees*, judge of 'all the count's holdings' (*Finees iudex totius patrimonii nostri*), validated the charter, which was also subscribed by his brother Philip and other *boni homines* from Benevento and *castrum* Flumeri: Richard of Vallata, William of Vallata, and Michael of Benevento. It seems clear that if any of these lesser barons were part of Count Roger's entourage, none of them were actually tied to Andria or its county in the Adriatic coast of Apulia. It also appears that the count's ancestral domains had their own judge, rather than a comital one who came from Andria, or a city judge from Benevento. *Finees* must have acted as the judge of the lordship of Trevico, for he is attested as 'judge of all the holdings of Trevico' (*totius patrimonii Vici iudex*) in an 1183 legal controversy that involved the bishopric of Trevico, which he still subscribed as 'judge of all the count [of Caserta]'s holdings' (*Ego Finees iudex totius patrimonii Domini Comitis*).⁷⁶¹

Fortunately, a lead seal of Count Roger of Andria survived in the collection of the Royal Palace of Torino. The seal has the same imprint on both sides: a profile of a clean-shaven man facing right, surrounded with the inscription: 'Roger, son of Richard, count of Andria by the grace of God and the king' (\pm *ROG FILIV RICC DI ET REGIA GRA COMES ANDRI*).⁷⁶² As pointed out by Cuozzo, the count's depiction in his seal follows a classical model, as if it were a precursor of Frederick II's *augustalis*.⁷⁶³ This uncommon piece of evidence illustrates how developed the count's chancery was, despite the lack of surviving documents. It also sheds some light on the way comital authority was self-depicted in Norman Italy, as in the case of Andria title and certification appears to have been aggrandised with a personal image.

⁷⁶⁰ Benevento, *Fondo S. Pietro*, vol. 6 no 5, ed. in Jamison, 'Bethlem', no 10 p. 64; Cuozzo, 'Ruggiero, conte d'Andria', p. 165.

⁷⁶¹ Prignano, 'Historia', fol. 60r. Referenced in Cuozzo, 'Ruggiero, conte d'Andria', p. 166.

⁷⁶² Domenico Promis, 'Notizia di una bolla di piombo del secolo XII', *Atti della R. Accademia delle scienze di Torino*, 4 (1869), 670–74 (p. 670). Also, see Figure 2.

⁷⁶³ Cuozzo, 'Ruggiero, conte d'Andria', p. 166.

Count Roger of Andria's dignity and political power were not limited to his comital authority by 1183, but were additionally enhanced as he became a central functionary for the royal court.⁷⁶⁴ Following a trend that began under William I's concessions after the last rebellion and was normalised under the regency of Queen Margaret, the new count of Andria became also the king's master justiciar and royal constable in the peninsula.

The county of Avellino

Roger of Aquila, an assiduous nobleman between Sicily and Apulia

Roger of Aquila, as count of Avellino, made a donation in March 1174 in Calvi to Montevergine. The count, accompanied by Benedict, his chaplain, granted a mill on the River Volturno in the casale of Schiavi, and a handful of plots of lands in the same casale. Additionally, the abbey was exempted from paying to collect timber and graze in the forest that belonged to the count of Avellino *in demanio*. However, even more interestingly, this comital donation also stipulated that Montevergine would receive a series of privileges from the count's authority. First, the monks were exempt from any service attached to the donated land, and they received *licencia et potestas* to dispose of the land and the mill as they wished, without the count's previous consent. Second, the abbey's court (*curia*) was authorised to judge cases in which Montevergine's men injured the count's men or knights (*milites*), whereas the count retained jurisdiction over the cases in which his own men injured Montevergine's men.⁷⁶⁵ In the traditional terminology of feudalism, this concession would be referred to as an allodial title, as opposed to the conditioned ownership identified as 'feudal', even though the document does not employ the term *feudum* at all. However, besides the flexibility and specificity with which land donations could be made by an overlord, the concession given by Count Roger is also particularly revealing in terms of delimiting local jurisdictions. The count of Avellino displayed here his faculty not solely to pass judgement over civil and territorial injuries, but also to guarantee the judicial rights of a third party, which in this case was the abbey of Montevergine.

The other important aspect revealed by this donation is the geographical extent of the count of Avellino's dominions. As a member of the Aquila family, Count Roger of Avellino must have inherited some of the ancestral holdings that the original Aquila lords

⁷⁶⁴ See below, on pages 280 and 290.

⁷⁶⁵ *Cod. Dipl. Verginiano*, VI, no 569 pp. 359–65.

held in the principality of Capua. The *Quaternus* records a Count Richard of Aquila as the lord of Calvi and Riardo, and an overlord of 14 lesser barons in these same Capuan towns.⁷⁶⁶ Although it is unclear from the register itself whether this Richard is the count of Fondi or the count of Avellino, this 1174 donation confirms that Calvi and Riardo belonged to the counts of Avellino, and that the Count Richard in the *Quaternus* was in fact the father of Count Roger of Avellino. The county of Avellino must have had then a second, lesser *focus* in the Capuan province, around Calvi, because of its counts' ancestral lordships.

The familial holdings of Count Roger of Avellino were not limited to the mainland; he also appears to have inherited some Sicilian lordships from his mother's side. One should remember that Count Roger's mother was Magalda, daughter of Adelia of Adernò. According to a December 1177 confirmation, Roger of Aquila re-granted the church of St John, located in the plains of Adernò, and the church of St Mary of Catania, located in the old town of Adernò, to the Order of the Hospital of Saint John of Jerusalem,⁷⁶⁷ confirming thus what his grandmother Adelia had reportedly donated before.⁷⁶⁸ It seems then that the plains around Adernò were an external territorial *focus* of the domains of the count of Avellino. It should be noted that by this time one cannot speak of a 'county of Adernò', as there were no counties on the island during the Norman period; instead, these lands were simply the Sicilian lordship that a count happened to hold because of his maternal heritage. So, the connection between Adelia and Count Roger of Avellino must have been the reason behind the subsequent attachment of the comital title to Adernò.

Although it is not clear in its current form where this document for Adernò was actually issued, additional evidence from Montevergine suggests that Count Roger of Avellino was not present in the county during that same year. A May 1177 charter, issued by five judges of the city of Avellino, records a donation the count of Avellino made to Montevergine.⁷⁶⁹ The charter also attests that the count of Avellino sent two letters by which he ordered the transaction to be made. In the first letter, the count instructed his 'master bailiff' (*magister baiulus*), Raymarius, to grant a plot of land with a hazel orchard (*nucelletum*), located in a place known as Cerreta, which the count claimed to have bought

⁷⁶⁶ *Catalogus Baronum*, ¶ 808 p. 148.

⁷⁶⁷ For a description of the early foundations of the Order in Sicily, see Kristjan Toomaspoeg, 'L'insediamento dei grandi ordini militari cavallereschi in Sicilia, 1145–1220', in *La presenza dei Cavalieri di San Giovanni in Sicilia* (Rome: Gran Magistero del Sovrano Militare Ordine di Malta, 2001), pp. 41–51 (pp. 41–51).

⁷⁶⁸ *Sicilia Sacra*, I, p. 934.

⁷⁶⁹ *Cod. Dipl. Verginiano*, VII, no 614 pp. 54–57.

from Bernard the *stratigotus*, to Abbot John. In the second, the count requested that the judges of Avellino convene in order to draft and authenticate the donation. It is hence clear that the Count Roger of Avellino was not present in Avellino at the time, having conducted his business by means of correspondence, using the city judges as representative of his authority and his bailiff as the overseer of his estate. It appears therefore that Count Roger's residence was not limited to his comital *caput*, and that he visited the other foci of his dominions (i.e. Calvi and Adernò) in order to administer them personally, at least throughout William II's reign.

The master bailiff of the count of Avellino is further attested in an April 1181 charter, issued in Mercogliano. In what appears to have been a court composed by the judges of Mercogliano and the count's master bailiff Simon Filiolo, the 'justiciar' of the Terra di Lavoro, Grimoald, accused a monk and notary named William of having unlawfully held a plot of land that used to belong to the former husband of Grimoald's wife.⁷⁷⁰ The document records that both parties reached an agreement before the judges and the bailiff passed any judgment on the case.⁷⁷¹ Interestingly enough, two subsequent charters, issued in Avellino in August 1181, record a donation made to Montevergine by a certain Bernard, who called himself a former *stratigotus* (*stratigus*) and son of the late Bernard, who was called a 'viscount' (*vice comes*).⁷⁷² The document does not provide any further information about the activities of either Bernard, but the title of 'viscount' is rather puzzling. A *stratigotus* named Bernard was attested earlier in the 1177 donation as the seller who originally conceded the land that the count of Avellino was donating to Montevergine at that time. It is not clear when in the past this previous transaction had occurred, and consequently one cannot be sure if this *stratigotus* was the son or the father; it is possible that the younger Bernard occupied the same post as his father. Given that Richard of Aquila had been away from the core focus of his county, either in exile or personally administering his ancestral dominion, it is entirely possible that the *stratigoti* of Avellino partook the responsibility of representing the count's authority just as the city judges did. Likewise, although it is not clear to what extent the functions of the count's appointed bailiff and those of the city *stratigotus* overlapped, it is possible that during the

⁷⁷⁰ Grimoald's actual title is not clear; in the document's original form, that section is illegible, and the editor has proposed the following reading: *Gri[maldus filius [...]] qui magister iustiti]e est in Terra Laboris*. However, the peninsular master justiciars are only documented as high officials in charge of all Apulia and the Terra di Lavoro, and under William II's reign, this position was occupied only by counts. As a lesser baron, and if he was in fact in charge of the *iustitie* in the Terra di Lavoro, he must have been simply a provincial justiciar, or perhaps a deputy acting for the master justiciar. On the noblemen who acted as master justiciars on the mainland, see below, on page 285.

⁷⁷¹ *Cod. Dipl. Verginiano*, VII, no 681 pp. 286–89.

⁷⁷² *Cod. Dipl. Verginiano*, VII, nos 686 pp. 302–3, 688 pp. 308–10.

count's absence both figures were accountable for the lands that fell within the orbit of Avellino as the *caput* of the county.

The county of Avellino appears thus to have developed a body of comital functionaries, which exercised the count's authority during his constant absences. While Count Roger of Aquila conducted business in his other ancestral dominions, either in the Terra di Lavoro or in Sicily, the judges of the cities of the county filled the gap with their authority and the bailiffs administered the count's lands and business. After having become count of Avellino at what appears to have been quite a young age, c.1152, Count Roger of Aquila had died by 1184 when a legal case from Avellino recorded him as deceased. The role played by both the bailiff and the city judge is furthermore revealed in this subsequent document.

A judicial settlement in January 1184 recorded that William, judge of Mercogliano, had received a letter from Count Roger of Andria, attested here as master constable and justiciar for Apulia and the Terra di Lavoro (*magister comestabulus et iustiarius tocius Apulie et Terre Laboris*), written in response to a petition from two brothers, John and Tristan, sons of Pagan the judge. The count ordered both William and the bailiff of Mercogliano to investigate and resolve an alleged usurpation of land committed by the late Count Roger of Avellino against Pagan the judge.⁷⁷³ The letter reported that Pagan had produced another letter that the king and his vice-chancellor Archbishop Walter of Palermo had previously sent to the late Count Roger, which ordered the latter to return the lands. The judge of Mercogliano issued a sentence in favour of the sons of Pagan; interestingly enough, he did so not only together with the bailiff of his same city, but also his sentence ordering the restoration of their property was corrected on the advice of Jacob, the judge of Avellino. It appears thus that the judge of Avellino had some sort of jurisdiction over Mercogliano, the latter being a smaller town that was deemed to be part of the territory of Avellino. After what must have been the recent death of Count Roger of Aquila, no comital successor seems to have taken control over the county. Perhaps this was the reason why Avellino's judge had the authority to correct the sentence and oversee local estates.

A countess of Avellino is subsequently attested in the town of Taurasi during the first years of the Hohenstaufen dynasty. Perrona 'once countess of Avellino', and Matthew of Castelvetere, her son and the lord of Taurasi (*Perrona olim comitissa Avellini et Matheus Castelli Veteris eius filius dei gratia domini Taurassi*), made a donation in

⁷⁷³ *Cod. Dipl. Verginiano*, VIII, no 733 pp. 117–20.

January 1196 to one of his men of Taurasi (*Taurasinus noster fidelis libertus*).⁷⁷⁴ There is no actual evidence that would reveal the relationship between Perrona and Count Roger of Avellino; Scandone has assumed that she must have been the daughter of Roger of Aquila, but the documents he cited attest neither her ancestry nor her alleged rule as countess of Avellino or before Henry VI's reign. Since she was the mother of Matthew of Castelvetere, it seems safe, at least, to assume that Perrona was married to Roger of Castelvetere, lord of Taurasi and Rocca S. Felice. Hence, Scandone suggested that Roger of Castelvetere became the new count of Avellino during the turmoil that followed William II's death, on the basis of his wife's alleged connection with Roger of Aquila. After Roger of Castelvetere disappeared in 1194, his wife Perrona opposed Henry VI, and consequently both she and her son were deprived of their dominions.⁷⁷⁵

However, Scandone's assumption is misleading. In a charter of May 1200, in which he remitted the labour service owed by a certain Alferius the priest, Matthew was unequivocally described as 'son of Count Roger of Avellino and by the grace of God lord of Taurasi and other places' (*Matheus filius comitis Rugerii de Avellino, Dei gratia dominus Taurasie et de aliis locis*). This would suggest, therefore, that Perrona had been married first to Count Roger of Aquila, and then, after his death, to Roger of Castelvetere; consequently, Perrona would have been Count Roger's second wife, as Marocta of S. Severino was his original spouse. Another point of interest concerning the May 1200 charter is that it was not dated according to the regnal year of any ruler, and Matthew described his lordship as being conferred upon him only 'by God's grace', with no reference to the king.⁷⁷⁶ This was probably a reflection of the weakness of royal authority in the early years of King Frederick's minority. Although this charter may confirm Roger of Castelvetere's temporary position as count of Avellino, it also indicates that his family was allowed to keep their original lordships, and hence did not lose Taurasi, as Scandone supposed. In any case, one can be certain, at least, that the house of Aquila no longer possessed the county of Avellino.

The dual county of Carinola and Conza Count Richard's bequest and heritage

The timeline for the succession of Count Jonathan of Carinola is quite hazy. The last documented appearance of Count Jonathan is when, according to Pseudo-Falcandus, he

⁷⁷⁴ *Cod. Dipl. Verginiano*, X, no 997 pp. 318–22.

⁷⁷⁵ Scandone, II, pp. 60–67.

⁷⁷⁶ *Cod. Dipl. Verginiano*, XI, no 1091 pp. 319–22. Also, see Genealogical Graph.

joined the rebellion and then left the realm c. 1162, terrified by the king's approach.⁷⁷⁷ Count Jonathan's last documented donation (1161) was made and subscribed also by his son Richard, who appears to have been his father's successor.⁷⁷⁸ The earliest dated document in which Richard is attested as count of Conza is a June 1168 charter by which he granted an *iscla*, which was located near *Castellum Caletri* (modern Calitri) and used to be held by Guido of Lagopesole,⁷⁷⁹ to the abbey of St Mary in Elce, by then in the hands of Abbot Roger.⁷⁸⁰ This implies that at some point before June 1168, Jonathan's heir was allowed to both return to his lordship and bear the same comital dignity that his father had held since the time of Roger II. Although the available narrative witnesses are silent on the restitution of the county of Carinola and Conza during Margaret's regency, Jonathan's son must have been allowed to inherit his father's dominions and title at the time that the other counts were pardoned and created, either early in 1167 or during the chancellorship of Stephen of Perche. It is not clear if Jonathan died at some point after he left the realm as a rebel in 1162, or if he was simply not allowed back, but instead a compromise was reached between his family and the Sicilian royal court that allowed Richard to recover his father's 'polynuclear' county. Whichever the case may be, by 1168 the count of Conza and Carinola was back and active in southern Italy.

Count Richard's donation was also subscribed by a Thomas of Carbonara, who must have been the same Thomas, son of the [former] count of Catanzaro (*filius Comitis Catacensis*), recorded in the *Quaternus* as the baron who held from Count Jonathan of Conza two *feuda* of three *milites* each: *Monticulum* (possibly modern Monticchio Sgarroni)⁷⁸¹ and Carbonara (modern Aquilonia).⁷⁸² This Thomas must then have been the illegitimate son of Count Geoffrey, son of Rao and Bertha of Loritello.⁷⁸³ As an illegitimate son, Thomas must have not been allowed to inherit his father's comital title or his core dominions in Calabria, but instead he was given some of these minor *feuda* that belonged to his father's ancestral lands, in the vicinity of Conza.⁷⁸⁴ Thomas of Carbonara appears thus to have been part of the comital entourage of his overlord, and as

⁷⁷⁷ *Falcandus*, pp. 178–79.

⁷⁷⁸ See above, note 479.

⁷⁷⁹ The town of Calitri is located 12 km. NE of Conza, along the banks of the River Ofanto. See Map 1.

⁷⁸⁰ Rome, Archivio Segreto Vaticano, *Arch. Boncompagni-Ludovisi* prot. 270, no 9 [A].

⁷⁸¹ The ruins of a medieval castle, identified as *Castrum Monticuli*, can be found in the zone of Gli Sgarroni, which appears to have been a residence for a Norman baron in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Raffaele Licinio, *Castelli medievali: Puglia e Basilicata, dai Normanni a Federico II e Carlo I D'Angiò* (Bari: Dedalo, 1994), p. 191.

⁷⁸² *Catalogus Baronum*, ¶ 699 p. 124.

⁷⁸³ Albina Palanza, 'Per un conte normanno di Avellino', *ASP*, 41–42 (1917), 124–37, 516–28, 68–78 (pp. 127–30).

⁷⁸⁴ See above, on page 68.

such, he must somehow have been close to both Count Jonathan of Carinola and to his son Count Richard.

Although the earliest documented activity of Richard son of Jonathan as a count only attests him as count of Conza, he is subsequently mentioned also as count of Carinola in a charter of the cathedral of Cefalù; this is the same document in which the donation made by Countess Segelgarda to the church of St Christopher at Deliceto is found.⁷⁸⁵ This peculiar document was made up of three different transactions: the first section comprised Segelgarda's deathbed donation, dated 28 July 1167; the second is a donation made by a certain Pagan, priest and chaplain of Count Richard, to Bernard, canon of Cefalù; and the third is an incomplete letter sent by Count Richard to Bishop Guido of Cefalù. Segelgarda's donation to the church of St Christopher at Deliceto was included here for it was precisely the church that Pagan donated to the bishopric of Cefalù. In his donation, Pagan called himself 'priest and chaplain of Count Richard of Carinola' (*sacerdos et cappellanus domini Riccardi comitis nobilissimi calinuli*). Interestingly enough, Pagan made this generous donation before going on pilgrimage to Jerusalem, to visit the Holy Sepulchre for the redemption of his soul. As one might expect, such a donation would have required the approval of either the donor's overlord or the count of the region acting as the relevant local authority. As such, Count Richard of Carinola sent a letter to the bishop of the endowed see in order to confirm Pagan's gift. The letter's dating can be estimated from its recipient: Guido, bishop of Cefalù (*Dominus Guido divina gratia sancte ecclesie de chephaludo venerabilis episcopus*).⁷⁸⁶ Guido's election was confirmed by Alexander III on 25 April 1178, and was attested for the last time in January 1193.⁷⁸⁷ Consequently, this letter must have been issued in or after 1178, and before 1191, when Count Richard was captured by the invading army of Henry VI, and remained thereafter a prisoner.⁷⁸⁸

A lost Neapolitan charter, a summary of which survives in Prignano's work, recorded a donation that Count Richard reportedly made in 1175 to the abbey of the Holy Saviour at Goletto.⁷⁸⁹ Likewise, a 1180 charter of the lost archive of the abbey of Venosa

⁷⁸⁵ Garufi, *Documenti inediti*, no 42 pp. 96–99. Also, see above, on page 201.

⁷⁸⁶ Garufi, *Documenti inediti*, no 42 pp. 98–99.

⁷⁸⁷ *Sicilia Sacra*, I, pp. 802–4; Lynn T. White Jr., *Latin Monasticism in Norman Sicily* (Cambridge, USA: The Medieval Academy of America, 1938), pp. 198–201.

⁷⁸⁸ Jamison, *Admiral Eugenius*, p. 101. Cf. Cuzzo, who estimates that the letter was written after 25 June 1175, when the canons of Cefalù were given royal dispensation to elect Guido their bishop, and before 1193; the Italian scholar did not consider that Guido would have been referred to as *electus* before his confirmation, as it was the contemporary customary practice, and that Count Richard could not have been able to issue a confirmation after his removal and imprisonment. Cuzzo, 'Balvano', p. 84.

⁷⁸⁹ Prignano, 'Historia', fol. 109r. This document was found in the donation register of the now lost archive of S. Annunziata of Naples, caps. 387 no 24.

recorded that Count Richard, as lord of Deliceto, granted some of his lands and possessions in Deliceto to Venosa.⁷⁹⁰ Count Richard is recorded again in 1185 as a donor to Montevergine. The count of Conza and son of the late Count Jonathan (*Consie comes et filius quondam domini comitis Ionathe*) granted one of the count's men of S. Martino, Martin Rocca, together with the man's holdings and services owed to the count (*cum tuto suo tenimento et cum omnibus servitiis et redditibus de eo nobis pertinentibus*), a mill, a plot of land in a place called Verzaro, and the right to collect timber from the count's forests in Monte Tolino (*lignaminibus fureste nostro montis Tolini*). The transaction was conducted before the judges of S. Martino (Philip and Durantus, according to the escahocol), and John son of Tancred, the count's judge (*noster iudex*) of Airola; it was subscribed, amongst others, by Borell and John, the count's *nutriti et camerarii*.⁷⁹¹ Interestingly enough, the land of S. Martino and the town of Airola were actually located within Count Richard's Capuan dominions, i.e. the sub-county of Carinola; however, Richard styled himself on this occasion using the toponym of Conza. This document illustrates how, as a count, Richard appears to have been able to summon the judges of two different towns. Furthermore, beyond the attested seigniorial prerogatives over tenant-farmers, such as the men of S. Martino, and lumbering rights over demesne lands, Richard of Carinola seems to have had a small entourage of comital functionaries, such as the protégés and chamberlains who subscribed this donation.

Five years later, during the turbulent year that followed William II's death, Count Richard appears to have made another donation to the abbey of Venosa. The original document is also now lost, but according to the later register of *privilegia* of the abbey of Venosa, Richard, count of Conza (*Consia Comes*) was a patron of the abbey in 1190.⁷⁹² In the letter appended to the Cefalù document, Count Richard employed only the Carinola toponym, omitting Conza, even though this affair concerned holdings in Apulia, which were much closer to Conza than to Carinola in the principality of Capua. Nevertheless, the political context of the letter is considerably different from that of the donations made in 1161 and 1168.

First, and as was discussed before, Count Jonathan must have been involved in the last rebellion but kept his distance from Andrew of Rupecanina and the disorderly Terra di Lavoro. Hence, he must have stayed in the Apulian parts of his county, as count of Conza. Likewise, Count Richard might have stayed in Conza during the first years of

⁷⁹⁰ Houben, *Die Abtei Venosa*, no 156 p. 383.

⁷⁹¹ *Cod. Dipl. Verginiano*, VIII, no 757 pp. 193–97.

⁷⁹² Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, *Vat. Lat.* 8222, ff. 49r–63r ('Privilegia Ecclesie Monasterii S. Trinitatis de Venusio'), fol. 57v.

his restitution and of Margaret's regency, staying away from trouble. With the passing of years during William II's reign, Richard must have acquired a more stable position, perhaps even managing to claim Carinola back after 1169. Additionally, in his letter Count Richard was not issuing a transaction himself, but simply confirming what his former chaplain had granted within his dominions around Deliceto, in the valley of Cervaro. Located in central Apulia, the valley of Cervaro is not close to Conza, and was thus an outlying territory of the Carinola-Conza cluster. Therefore, either toponymic title could have been used without any particular expectation of one in particular. In the now lost transactions of 1175 and 1180, Prignano recorded Count Richard 'of Conza' as the donor. In any case, Richard's county was represented by two different geographical centres: Carinola in the Terra di Lavoro, and Conza in the principality of Salerno (which was administratively deemed to be part of the province of Apulia).

The counties of Caserta and Tricarico

The rise to power of the S. Severino house of Lauro

A handful of charters have survived that attest the economic and social activity of the count of Caserta after 1169. In 1172, Count Robert of Caserta granted the inheritance of the late Richard *Menzonis* to William, abbot of the monastery of St Peter of Piedimonte, who was required to pay, in return for this concession, 100 Amalfitan tari. The donation, drafted by the notary and cleric Stanzione, also attests the presence of the city officials of Caserta: Basil the judge, and Lando the stratigotus.⁷⁹³ Two years after, in October 1174, Count Robert conceded and confirmed two plots of his land, located in Campus de Puczano and Piczone respectively, to Donnandus son of Nicholas, who was acting on behalf of the church and nunnery of St John Baptist in Capua and Abbess Lusiza. Robert described himself in these documents as 'count of the Casertans and many others' (*Casertanorum aliorumque plurium comes*).⁷⁹⁴ The only person who was expressly named among those who were present at this transaction was the judge of Caserta, John, described as one of the count's loyal men (*noster fidelis*). The same judge John of Caserta, Robert's *fidelis*, was present in an earlier donation that Count Robert made to St Angelo in Formis, in July 1165.⁷⁹⁵ The same count subsequently 'granted', in September 1176, a

⁷⁹³ *Regesta chartarum: regesto delle pergamene dell'Archivio Caetani*, ed. by Gelasio Caetani, 6 vols (Perugia: F. Ili Stianti, 1922), I, p. 13. On the Amalfitan tari, see Patricia Skinner, *Medieval Amalfi and Its Diaspora, 800–1250* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), p. 16.

⁷⁹⁴ Luigi Pescatore, 'Le piu antiche pergamene dell'Archivio arcivescovile di Capua (1144–1250)', *Campania sacra: rivista di storia sociale e religiosa del mezzogiorno*, 2 (1971), 22–98 (pp. 31–33). Reproduced in Tescione, *Caserta medievale*, no 4 pp. 164–65.

⁷⁹⁵ See above, note 547.

plot of land in the *casale* of Ventosa to Peter of Capua, in return for a lump sum of 30 Amalfitan tari and an annual fixed fee of two tari. The concession was issued in Caserta and drafted by a different notary, Jacob the cleric, but subscribed again by Basil, judge of the city of Caserta.⁷⁹⁶ Regardless of who occupied this position, it is clear that the judges of Caserta must have been important figures to the comital entourage, for they were the primary civil authorities of the county's *caput*. As such, it should not be a surprise to have the judge of a city where a count resided authenticating comital transactions.

Two documents from Cava in September 1178 further attest Count Robert's activities outside his Capuan dominions, closer to his ancestral lordship of Lauro, in the former principality of Salerno. First, Count Robert of Caserta issued a confirmation of two tenant-farmers (*homines censiles*) living at Solofra.⁷⁹⁷ The charter further relates that they had been previously ceded along with their wives, children and property, by the count's late mother Sarracena to Cava, and that these two men should no longer work for the count or his heirs, but in future for the abbey, just like its other ceded men. Sarracena had, in March 1159, given these and other tenant-farmers, inhabitants of the village (*vicus*) of Solofra, to Cava. It appears too that she had also granted a piece of land with trees, vines and fruit trees in the appurtenances of Solofra; we know of this donation only from a confirmation charter of April 1164.⁷⁹⁸ Consequently, after count Robert had inherited his mother's dower, at some point before September 1178, the abbey must have wanted to be reassured that these two specific tenant-farmers would stay working on the abbey's land and not on the count's.⁷⁹⁹ Moreover, the charter was witnessed by Count Robert's son Richard, and authenticated by John the judge. It is not clear if this John was the same judge of Caserta who oversaw the 1174 donation, and who was there described

⁷⁹⁶ Caetani, *Regesta chartarum*, I, p. 14.

⁷⁹⁷ Cava, *Arm. Mag.* I.21, ed. in Antonio Graziani, *Purdgavine* (Avellino: G. Iaccheo, 1883), pp. 18–20. One must be careful and not assume that these *homines censiles* were vassals in the traditional sense of the word – as one should be with any other term of classic 'feudalism'. In Italian historiography, it is common to see these terms such as *homines*, *censiles*, *servi* or *villani* translated as 'vassals', even though there is no clear relationship of submission, much less of homage or allegiance. In the South Italian context, at least in the Salernitan region up to the thirteenth century, these words reflected a less defined but simpler social condition with regard to peasant labour obligations: these men were settlers or villagers who acted as tenant-farmers in certain places or hamlets. Nevertheless, *censiles* were clearly not completely free men, and were bound to pay rent to their lord. This charter is indeed a good example both of this social condition and of the lack of clear definitions of attachment, as the abbey required a confirmation from the donor's heir that the *censiles* who had previously been granted with the land, and their descendants, would not work for the donor's heir, but for the abbey instead. See Graham A. Loud, 'The Monastic Economy in the Principality of Salerno during the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries', *PBSR*, 71 (2003), 141–79 (pp. 150–61).

⁷⁹⁸ Cava, *Arm. Mag.* H.35, H.39. The former was edited in Graziani, pp. 15–16. Cf. Scandone, who confused Sarracena's Cava documents. Scandone, *Montella II*, p. 23 n. 1.

⁷⁹⁹ On Sarracena's dower and holdings, see Scandone, *Montella II*, pp. 22–24; Tescione, *Caserta medievale*, p. 43.

as a 'loyal man' (*fidelis*) of the count, nor exactly where this confirmation was issued. The name John was very common, but it is still possible that this confirmation of the count of Caserta was sanctioned by the same judge of Caserta. The sign manual of the judge(s) concerned would make this clear, if one could consult the original parchments. The second September 1178 charter, seemingly sanctioned by the same Judge John, records an exchange of some lands and houses in Capua that Count Robert made with Cava.⁸⁰⁰ The count's sons, William and Richard, were present here; additionally, Count Robert and these two were recorded as the guarantors of the transaction.

A papal bull, issued on 14 August 1178 by Alexander III, placed the church of St James of Caserta under apostolic protection, and confirmed the holdings and rights that had been granted by both Count Robert and Bishop Porfirio of Caserta. Reportedly, it was Robert of Caserta who originally requested this, for the count himself had built the church for the salvation of his soul and in memory of his late wife, Countess Agnes.⁸⁰¹ This church in Caserta was in fact consecrated in the same year, and it must have been the result of the count's very generous patronage, as it appears to have been a substantial edifice.⁸⁰² The following year, in November 1179, Count Robert made a donation to this church; apparently, part of the land then granted had previously belonged to John the judge.⁸⁰³ This donation also recorded that the recipient, the church of St James, had been built on the suggestion of the count's late wife. This charter was drafted in Caserta by the same notary Stanzione who had written the 1172 charter, and it was authenticated by Basil, judge of Caserta – the same city judge attested in the 1172 and 1176 donations. It should be noted that in none of these charters did Count Robert employ the title of his royal office as either great constable or master justiciar, even though he had held these positions since at least 1171.

Robert II of Lauro, count of Caserta, must have died by 1183.⁸⁰⁴ According to a September 1183 charter, William of Lauro, son of the late Count Robert of Caserta,

⁸⁰⁰ Cava, *Arca* xxxvi.38, ed. in Tescione, *Caserta medievale*, no 5 pp. 165–67. The notary of this charter, Peter, must have been the same Peter who drafted the other 1178 transaction (Cava, *Arm. Mag.* I.21).

⁸⁰¹ Caetani, *Regesta chartarum*, I, pp. 14–16; *Regesta pontificum romanorum ab condita ecclesia ad annum post Christum natum 1198*, ed. by Philipp Jaffé, 2nd edn, 2 vols (Leipzig: Veit et comp., 1888), II, no 13094 p. 324. Another papal bull issued to Bishop Porfirio on the same day, 14 August 1178, should be noted here. It placed the church of Caserta under papal protection as well. Giuseppe Tescione, 'Il privilegio de 1178 di Alessandro III per la Chiesa Casertana', in *Studi in onore di Mons. Luigi Diligenza* (Aversa: Libreria G.D.C., 1989), pp. 247–56.

⁸⁰² *Italia Sacra*, VI, col. 480. According to Ughelli, the church was dedicated to two more saints besides James: St Nicholas and St Basil. On the church's possible holdings and large size, see Tescione, *Caserta medievale*, p. 43.

⁸⁰³ Caetani, *Regesta chartarum*, I, p. 16.

⁸⁰⁴ His death is recorded only as part of the scattered obituaries, without providing a specific month or year. *Necrologio di S. Matteo*, p. 208.

confirmed a disposition that his father had made in favour of the abbey of Cava. Reportedly, Count Robert disposed that Cava must receive a plot of land with an orchard and some *apothecae* (cellars, storehouses, or shops), outside the city of Salerno, near the church of St Mary of Charity. This land had previously been sold by the archdeacon Eufranonus, Guido, Marius and Doniza, executors of the late John of Guaferius, to Eustace, castellan of Montoro, who was acting on behalf of Richard de Lauro, son of the same defunct count of Caserta. This charter of sale was read out before all those that were present in the palace of the *castellum* of Lauro, including the judges Richard and Gilbert, who sanctioned the entire transaction by which William of Lauro finally gave the charter of sale to Abbot Benencasa of Cava. Richard and Gilbert must have been the city judges of Lauro.⁸⁰⁵ As the ancestral lordship of the family, Lauro was a second *caput* of the county of Caserta, located north of the former principality of Salerno, and its palace must have been a second residence for this count. This is evident if one reads the list of those present in the *castellum* of Lauro at this time: Bishop Porfirio of Caserta, the bishop of Telesse [?],⁸⁰⁶ Turgisius of Grutta, Richard of Valle, Robert of Rocca, and John Sylvaticus of Capua. Additionally, knights (*milites*) and *boni homines* from the contingents of the county's two foci, Caserta and Lauro, accompanied William in Lauro, and the names of some of them were actually recorded: John of Salerno, Bretonus and Walter [son of] Telegimus, knights of Caserta; and Guido son of Guaimar, knight of Lauro. It seems clear thus that William of Lauro was his father's legitimate heir as count of Caserta and lord of Lauro; however, throughout this entire document, William was neither referred to as count of Caserta, nor even given the comital title.

The creation of a new count of Caserta after Robert II of Lauro's death might simply have been delayed whilst the news reached Palermo and the king's approval received on the continent; there is no direct evidence that Count Robert's succession was problematic. Nonetheless, it should be considered that there was no actual documented certainty of who was the first born amongst his three sons: Richard, William, and Roger II of Tricarico. We know that Richard accompanied his father and subscribed both of his charters of 1178 and 1179, whereas William only subscribed the latter. Conversely, Robert's son Roger is not attested in any transaction in the county of Caserta before 1182, but let us not forget that Roger was already a powerful nobleman. When he had

⁸⁰⁵ Cava, *Arm. Mag.* L.4, ed. in Tescione, *Caserta medievale*, no 6 pp. 167–68.

⁸⁰⁶ The name of this bishop is not legible in the document's current form (*domino [...]* *esino episcopo*), but Kamp has suggested this could be the bishop of Telesse (*[Tel]* *esino*). Kamp, *Kirche und Monarchie*, p. 292 n. 8.

accompanied his father to the king's court in Messina in 1168 he was described as count of Tricarico.

The September 1183 charter does not refer to Richard as 'late' or 'deceased', but the *Necrologio* of Salerno shows that he had died in October 1182.⁸⁰⁷ Perhaps William, as the younger son, would not have been considered until that point as the next in line to rule the county; and one cannot be sure that Count Roger of Tricarico did not have any objection to the change of power in his father's dominions. This would not be the first time that the San Severino family had to deal with a succession dispute amongst legitimate heirs. In any case, it seems that William of Lauro, even though he was yet formally to become count, astutely and promptly surrounded himself with some of the key actors within the county, namely the bishop of Caserta and the barons and knights of both Caserta and Lauro; and he made sure this prestigious entourage would accompany him while he executed his father's last dispositions inside his palace of Lauro.

William of Lauro was finally attested as count of Caserta two years later. On 7 July 1185, Count William of Caserta (*Gulielmus comes Caserte*) made a donation in the presence of his wife Joetta, and on the advice and in the presence of his son Robert, to Cava, which consisted of a plot of land with a house in the city of Salerno, near the cathedral.⁸⁰⁸ The transaction was conducted before and subscribed by John the judge. It appears that this same judge sanctioned another charter from Cava, dated 8 January 1187, by which the monastery sold some lands and houses in Capua to a certain Geoffrey Pliarinus. This property had reportedly originally belonged both to Count William and to his father Count Robert, and was then granted by the former to the abbey.⁸⁰⁹ It is not clear when this previous donation occurred, but it might have been connected to the exchange of some lands and houses in Capua that Count Robert made with Cava in 1178.⁸¹⁰

One should remember that while the abbey of Cava possesses an outstanding collection of twelfth-century charters, there is a real danger that the social image of medieval southern Italy that one can construct from the surviving documentary sources will therefore be overly-dependent on the evidence from this one particular Salernitan abbey. It is, however, clear that the abbey of Cava was by no means the only monastic foundation that was patronised by Count William of Caserta. We know, for example, that he made a donation to the abbey of SS. Severino and Sossius in Naples in September

⁸⁰⁷ *Necrologio di S. Matteo*, p. 42. See also Giovanni Abignente, 'Le Chartulae fraternitatis ed il Libro de' confratres della chiesa Salernitana', *ASPN*, 13 (1888), 449–83 (p. 457); Tescione, *Caserta medievale*, p. 45.

⁸⁰⁸ Cava, *Arm. Mag.* L.15, ed. in Tescione, *Caserta medievale*, no 7 pp. 168–70.

⁸⁰⁹ Cava, *Arca* xl.100, ed. In Tescione, *Caserta medievale*, no 8 pp. 170–71.

⁸¹⁰ See above, note 800.

1188. William, recorded as ‘count of the Casertans and many others’ (*Casertanorum aliorumque plurium comes*), was in his comital *caput* of Caserta, together with his son Robert, when he granted the Neapolitan abbey a place for a mill (*sedile molendini*) in Scafati, near to a mill that the same count had previously donated to the church of the bishop of Vico Equense, and the right (*libera potestas*) to build other mills on land held by the abbey.⁸¹¹ Martin, the judge who subscribed this donation, was previously unattested in other comital charters of Caserta, but he was most probably a judge of Caserta. The count’s son also subscribed the charter, calling himself ‘Robert of Lauro’. Even though Count William conducted this transaction using his title as count derived from a location in the principality of Capua, and it concerned lands in the Terra di Lavoro, his son and successor still referred to the Salernitan town of Lauro as his toponymic denomination – a tradition that began when his ancestor, the first Robert of S. Severino, became lord of Lauro.

Count William’s brother Count Roger of Tricarico did not stay away from his father’s ancestral dominions, as one might have expected. Once Count Robert of Caserta died, Roger of Tricarico appears to have been involved alongside the count of Caserta in some transactions in the Salernitan region. According to a September 1187 charter, while Count Roger of Tricarico was in his *castrum* of Montoro, Abbot Benincasa of Cava requested that he and his brother Count William of Caserta grant permission for the abbey’s tenant-farmers (*homines [...] qui de terriis eiusdem monasterii ad laborandum tenet*)⁸¹² at Montoro or Solofra to appear at the monastery’s court at Montoro.⁸¹³ Both William and Roger issued the concession that the abbey’s men of Montoro and Solofra should always appear in its court at Montoro, if these men had committed any offence (*forisfactum*) against Cava, or had to deliver renders there. However, the monastery’s court was bound to do justice in front of either the judges of Montoro, for those men from there, or Serino, for those from Solofra.⁸¹⁴ This transaction was not only subscribed by the two counts, but by the aforementioned Robert of Lauro, Count William’s son.

Likewise, Count Roger of Tricarico and Count William of Caserta ceded, in June 1188, all the land in Montoro which Palmerius of Auricontha held at the time of his death to Alexander of Alife, son of the late John.⁸¹⁵ The charter does not state where the

⁸¹¹ Tescione, *Caserta medievale*, no 9 pp. 172–74.

⁸¹² On Cava’s tenant-farmers, see above, note 797.

⁸¹³ Cava, *Arm. Mag.* L.23, ed. In Graziani, pp. 20–22.

⁸¹⁴ These tenant-farmers of Solofra must have been the same men and their descendants of those that Sarracena granted to the abbey in 1159, and that her son Count Robert of Caserta confirmed in 1178. See above, on page 226.

⁸¹⁵ Cava, *Amr. Mag.*, L.30.

transaction was conducted, but this must have been done also in Montoro, not only because his brother Count William subscribed this concession, but also because both charters were sanctioned by the same three judges: Gervase, Guerrasius, and William. These must have been the judges of Montoro; additionally, judges Gervase and William were described in the second document as the counts' loyal men (*noster fideles*). This case illustrates yet another instance of the judicial role that a count exercised within his own county, and the administrative control that his position gave him over the local sphere of justice; although it did not matter how powerful the noblemen were, the judges were the authority who ultimately delivered the sentences.

The fact that these two judges of Montoro were men close to the counts of Caserta and Tricarico, and that the latter called the *castrum* of Montoro his, as he was conducting business there, forces us to remember the controversy which, according to Pseudo-Falcandus, Count Robert of Caserta had brought to the Sicilian royal court against his cousin William of S. Severino. Although Pseudo-Falcandus reported that Chancellor Stephen confirmed William of S. Severino in his inheritance, and previous documents of William's father Henry and the *Quaternus* indicate that Montoro must have been part of that inheritance,⁸¹⁶ the evidence cited above for the county of Caserta suggests that Montoro had changed hands in the late 1170s. Besides the final two 1187 and 1188 charters mentioned above, let us not forget that the September 1183 charter cited earlier, in which William of Lauro was recorded after his father had died, attested that the castellan of Montoro, Eustace, acted as a deputy of Richard de Lauro, the other son of Count Robert. Along with these charters from Cava, another document from the same abbey, dated March 1194, recorded that the aforesaid Judge Guerrasius sanctioned the sale of four plots of land to Alexander of Alife, and that this land had been previously donated by Count William of Caserta and Count James of Tricarico – Count Roger's successor.⁸¹⁷ Furthermore, a May 1179 papal document referred to a church of St Thomas, in the territory of Montoro, which the count of Caserta built.⁸¹⁸ This must have antagonised Lord William of S. Severino, but after 1169 and throughout William II's reign, Count Robert of Caserta as one of the top functionaries of the royal court on the mainland was one of the most influential nobles in the kingdom, and as such he must have been able to leverage his old claim over the ancestral S. Severino dominions.

⁸¹⁶ See above, on page 184.

⁸¹⁷ Cava, *Arca* xliii.110, ed. in Tescione, *Caserta medievale*, no 10 pp. 174–75.

⁸¹⁸ 'Ecclesia s. Thomae mart. a Roberto comite de Caserta in territorio Montorio aedificata'. *Italia pontificia. Regnum Normannorum, Campania*, ed. by Paul F. Kehr, 10 vols (Berlin: Weidmann, 1935), VIII, p. 236. See also Tescione, *Caserta medievale*, p. 41 n. 179.

Count Roger II of Tricarico, on the other hand, is attested in only a handful of transactions during the last decade of William II's reign. Tricarico was the least documented county of the Norman period, and it appears that only thanks to the ties between his family and Cava, and after Robert of Lauro's death, that the actions of the count of Tricarico can be discerned. The only known transaction that Count Roger of Lauro made in his comital *caput* was a donation made to the bishopric of Tricarico in 1181.⁸¹⁹

Roger, as count of Tricarico, and together with his wife Countess Sibylla, made a donation to Cava in November 1186, which was received on the abbey's behalf by the prior of its Apulian dependency of St Giles of Pantano. This consisted of two *morticii* at a place in the fishery of Varano (*in piscaria Barani*) on the Adriatic coast, and a site for a boat in the fishery of Miringus, together with two fishermen who could fish there freely. The charter was drafted by Sadoc, judge of Varano and a count's 'loyal man' (*fidelis*), and was not only subscribed by the count and countess, but also by Robert Torte, John Berard the knight (*miles*), Trabilia son of Drogo of Varano, Mansus son of Mark, and Barnabas.⁸²⁰ In February 1188, a year after his brother Count William and himself had issued a judicial concession to Cava,⁸²¹ Count Roger of Tricarico, for his salvation and that of the souls of his parents and late wife Countess Roagia, granted to the church of St Dominic at Cociano, another Cava obedience, the right to receive twenty men to live there in perpetuity, provided that these were not men from his land. These men were granted the right to use his lands for water, timber and grazing, just as his men of Cociano had them, only the prior of the church could bring them to justice. However, if the prelate failed to do these men justice, they were to receive justice in the count's court. The charter was drafted by Leo, curial and public notary of Tricarico, and subscribed, amongst others by John of Aversa, the count's seneschal, Eustace the chamberlain and castellan, Roger of Cociano, and the count's son James – whose subscription was placed at the charter's heading.⁸²² John of Aversa and Eustace, in their quality as comital officials, must have

⁸¹⁹ Cuozzo, *Commentario*, p. 31. Cuozzo cites here a record in a sixteenth-century manuscript (*Visitatio illustrissimi, et reverendissimi domini Joannis Baptistae Santonio, episcopi Tricaricensis. Anno 1588*), which to this day can be found in the Archivio storico diocesano di Tricarico, *Fondo Curia vescovile, Serie Visite pastorali*, Busta 1. On this manuscript, see Carmela Biscaglia and Michela Ginetti, 'Le visite pastorali della diocesi di Tricarico (1588–1959)', *Bollettino storico della Basilicata*, 27 (2011), 291–364 (p. 306).

⁸²⁰ Cava, *Arm. Mag.* L.16, ed. in *Actes de Gargano*, no 55 pp. 152–54. Copy in *Arm. Mag.* L.14. This concession was confirmed in November 1219 by Count Gentile of Lesina, master justiciar of Apulia and the Terra di Lavoro. *Arm Mag.* M.13, ed. in *Actes de Gargano*, no 64 pp. 169–71.

⁸²¹ See above, note 813.

⁸²² Cava, *Arm. Mag.* L.27.

been members of the comital entourage, administering the count of Tricarico's property and residence.

It is unclear whether Countess Roagia was Count Roger's first wife and Sibylla his second, or if he had remarried after 1186 and Roagia had died soon afterwards. Most probably the former was the case, since it would have been fitting for his son James to witness a transaction given for the salvation of his mother's soul. This charter offers another example of the reach of the comital authority, both in terms of seigniorial jurisdiction and the capacity from the overlord to surrender jurisdiction over villeins and labourers to ecclesiastical courts; even if the men were subordinated to a church's holding as their tenant workers and were not directly the count's lordship, the count still held the prerogative to administer justice over all the men inhabiting his dominions.

Not all the locations which these two transactions concerned can be clearly identified. The known geographical references given in the 1186 donation are the fishery in the lake – or possible river – of Varano, and the church of St Giles of Pantano, which can be identified with the modern ruins of Casale di S. Egidio al Pantano. Both of these places are located in the Gargano peninsula, and it is clear that the holdings of the county of Tricarico extended into that region. Furthermore, the scribe of this charter was the judge of Varano, which suggests the document was issued in the vicinity of Varano. I have not, however, been able exactly to pinpoint the location of Cociano, referred to in the 1188 concession. Given how scattered both Cava's monastic network and Count Roger II of Tricarico's holdings were in the province of Apulia, Cociano could have been located at any point between Tricarico, Montoro, and Varano. However, the charter was written by Leo, public notary of Tricarico, who most likely must have been a resident of this comital *caput*; even though he could have been part of the count's entourage, as a public city official, he would have stayed in Tricarico. In addition, one of the subscribers of this charter was a certain Roger of Cociano, who might not have been part of Count Roger's entourage, but must have witnessed the transaction as the lesser baron of the lands where the church of St Dominic and Cava's men were placed. Perhaps Cociano was not far from Tricarico, in the core dominions of Roger's county.

The still-existent county of Civitate Count Philip and his son Henry

After Count Robert II of Civitate had, most probably, joined the rebellion in 1155–1156, the county of Civitate appears to have been left vacant until the regency of Queen

Margaret. However, the *Quaternus* records a certain Count Philip in the county of Civitate.⁸²³ There is no additional information about Count Philip's origins; he could have been appointed either during Stephen's chancellorship, or just after c. 1169, but Philip is not attested by any contemporary narrative, nor in any transaction in the Civitate region. To my knowledge, indeed, there are no surviving charters in which Count Philip is recorded. The earliest piece of evidence for the county of Civitate after 1169 is a charter from Montevergine in 1178. Bishop Rao of Volturara Appula, together with Count Henry of Civitate and his mother Countess Sica (*cum domino meo egregio comite Henrico Civitatis et domina mea egregia comitissa Sica dilecta matre sue*), recognised the church of the Holy Spirit in Celenza [Valfortore] and made a donation to it, on 25 February 1178.⁸²⁴ It seems that Bishop Rao of Volturara concurred in this concession by request of Count Henry and his mother. This is not only because they were the bishop's lords, something which is indicated by both the language of the charter and the fact that Volturara was registered as one of the *feuda* that the count of Civitate held *in demanio*, but also because the transaction stipulated that, in return for Rao's donation, he would receive 20 plots of arable land (*terre ad seminandum*) in the vicinity of the bishop's *casale* of S. Gregorio, from Count Henry and Sica. Additionally, the bishop of Volturara received from the count and countess the holdings that Andrew [son] of Humphrey held within the bishopric's holdings (*tenimentum quod Andreas Unfridi infra tenimenta Vulturarie tenuit*), a fact that Andrew admitted, and which was confirmed by a sentence passed by the count's court (*per iudicium curie [...] comitis*).

Count Henry of Civitate was surely a second-generation count, given that, throughout this document, Henry's mother Sica was associated with her son's transactions and was herself called 'countess'. A subsequent document confirms that Count Philip of Civitate died at some point before 1179, and that his son, Count Henry, was left as the head of the county of Civitate; consequently, Count Philip must have married Sica no later than 1161. Henry, as count of Civitate and lord of Montecorvino (modern Pietramontecorvino), and son of the late Count Philip (*Civitatis Comes et Dominus Civitatis montis corvine olim domini comitis Philippi bone memorie filius*), sold a vineyard to his 'loyal man' (*fidelis*), John Priniataro, in April 1179. The sale was conducted in the presence of Robert, their judge (*noster iudex*), and the charter drafted in

⁸²³ *Catalogus Baronum*, ¶ 295 pp. 48–49.

⁸²⁴ *Cod. Dipl. Verginiano*, VII, no 623 pp. 90–94. Volturara Appula is c. 50 km SW of Civitate (modern San Paolo di Civitate); on the other hand, Celenza Valforte is NW of Volturara, near the River Fortore, and c. 45 km SW of Civitate. See Map 1.

Montecorvino by Umfridus, their public notary (*noster publicus notaries*).⁸²⁵ Although Count Henry referred in this sale charter to both the judge and the notary as ‘his’ (*nostris*), most certainly they were not agents of comital power, but public officials of Montecorvino; the town’s functionaries must have been subordinated to the count in his condition as lord of Montecorvino.

It would appear that Count Henry remained its count for the remainder of William II’s reign. However, the last surviving notice we have of Count Henry is a donation that he made in December 1180 to the monastery of St Mary of Gualdo Mazzocca, for the salvation of the soul of his father, Count Philip.⁸²⁶ This monastery was located near S. Bartolomeo in Galdo, 25 km. southwest of Montecorvino, and hence Count Henry must have issued this charter in the latter town, as its lord.⁸²⁷ It is noteworthy that these last two transactions dealt with lands around Montecorvino, suggesting that this lordship had become an important location within the county of Civitate.

The counties of Fondi and Gravina

Permutation and comital authority at the fringe of the kingdom

It is uncertain whether the county of Fondi remained in the hands of the trustworthy Richard of Say, great constable and master justiciar, in the immediate aftermath of the convulsions of 1168. However, it appears that the county was returned to the Aquila family at some point before 1171. First, the count of Fondi was remembered in the, admittedly later, chronicle of Richard of S. Germano specifically as Richard of Aquila.⁸²⁸ Second, an April 1178 charter recorded that Lady Theodora, countess of Gravina, ordered the catepan of Canne, Leo Vitalis, in the presence of Guirrisius the judge to concede some land to Cava, for the soul of her late husband Count Richard.⁸²⁹

That is the first known transaction relating to the county of Gravina since the time of Count Gilbert; however, this Count Richard must have been Richard of Say, former count of Fondi. We know this because his son Tancred of Say, as count of Gravina, and

⁸²⁵ Naples, Biblioteca della Società Napoletana di Storia Patria, *Compre e vendite* 2 AA III.17, ed. in Ambrosio, no 32 pp. 53–54. The charter’s original date clause provides the year 1180, but given that it was dated in the 12th indiction, the year must be corrected. Cf. Giuseppe De Blasiis and Nicola Parisio, ‘Elenco delle pergamene già appartenenti alla famiglia Fusco ed ora acquisite dalla Società Napoletana di Storia Patria’, *ASP*, 8 (1883), 153–61, 332–38, 775–87 (no 44 p. 783); Cuozzo, *Commentario*, p. 67.

⁸²⁶ The original charter (*Pergamene dei Monasteri Soppressi* III. 226) was destroyed in 1943, together with all the other documents in its collection of the Archivio di Stato of Naples. Jamison, ‘Norman Administration’, pp. 356 n. 3, 364; Cuozzo, *Commentario*, pp. 67–68.

⁸²⁷ On this monastery, see below, note 206.

⁸²⁸ Garufi, *Ryccardi de S. Germano*, p. 21.

⁸²⁹ Cava, *Arm. Mag.* I.20.

son and heir of Richard of Say, count of Gravina (*Tancredus de Say Dei et Regia gratia Comes Gravine filius et heres domini Riccardi de Say Illustris Comitibus Gravine*), made a donation in September 1189 to the church of Gravina, into the hands of Bishop Thomas, granting the bishopric some lands between the rivers Maiore and Valione.⁸³⁰ Then, in September 1189, the same Count Tancred granted some lands, between the rivers Maiore and Valione, to the church of Gravina, in the hands of Bishop Thomas.⁸³¹ The latter was originally drafted by Rao, the count of Gravina's notary, and subscribed by the judges Nicholas and Marco (most likely judges of Gravina as well), and three of his barons (*fideles*): Bohemund of *Fuliarinum* and Simon son of Richard as witnesses, and Galgarius of Auletta. Consequently, Countess Theodora must have been the niece of the archbishop of Capua, who according to Pseudo-Falcandus Richard took as a wife after his first marriage was annulled.⁸³² Moreover, the descendants of Richard of Say are attested as counts of Gravina in the thirteenth century.⁸³³ There is thus no doubt then that Richard of Say was 'transferred' from the county of Fondi to Gravina before he died; however, he appears to have surrendered Fondi before 1171.

A royal mandate addressed in 1172 to Richard as one of the two *magni comestabuli et magistri justitiarum* referred to him only as Count Richard of Say (*de Sayguine*), without specifying which county he headed at that time.⁸³⁴ In the twelfth century, the Sicilian royal government never had two master justiciars from the province of the Terra di Lavoro; it was not in vain that the full title came with the specification 'of all Apulia and the Terra di Lavoro'. After the last *magister capitaneus* was expelled, the great constables and master justiciars who replaced him and can be documented under William II were Count Robert of Caserta between 1171 and 1182, Count Richard of Say in 1172, Count Tancred of Lecce between 1176 and before 1185, and Count Roger of Andria in 1184 and before 1185.⁸³⁵ It appears, hence, that Richard of Say served as a master justiciar when he was already an Apulian count.

Richard of Aquila, who had been exiled by William I, must have been pardoned and allowed back into his former county between 1169 and 1171, probably around the time Robert of Bassunvilla was pardoned. In July 1173, Count Richard of Fondi granted a site for building a church and a hospice to the papacy.⁸³⁶ The count of Fondi was also

⁸³⁰ Houben, *Die Abtei Venosa*, no 168 pp. 390–91.

⁸³¹ An authenticated donation that was transcribed into a *diploma* issued by King Charles II of Anjou on 17 November 1304. Del Giudice, no 15 pp. xxxii–xxxvii, at pp. xxxv–xxxvi.

⁸³² See above, on page 177.

⁸³³ Hagemann, no 3 pp. 196–97.

⁸³⁴ See below, note 1024.

⁸³⁵ See below, on page 277.

⁸³⁶ Rome, Archivio Segreto Vaticano, *AA Arm.* I.xviii.118.

present at William II's wedding in 1176 and subscribed the charter specifying the dower of Joan of England.⁸³⁷ These documents, however, do not provide any additional toponym that would allow us to discern directly whether this Richard was 'of Say' or 'of Aquila', but, as argued earlier, this must have been the latter. In any case, the count of Fondi was expressly identified in 1178 and 1179 as Richard of Aquila.

On 14 December 1178, Richard of Aquila, count of Fondi by the grace of God and the king (*Riccardus de Aquila Dei & Regia gratia Fundorum Comes*) made a concession to Bishop John of Fondi. The count granted pasturage and timber rights (*pascua utenda [...] lignamina ad incidendum*) to the bishop and the men in the bishopric's lands. Naturally, the transaction was subscribed by the judge of Fondi, Bartholomew, and drafted by Leo, the notary of the same town. Additionally, Leo, lord of *Pominum*, subscribed the donation together with the *milites* Alferinus and Humbert, and Leo's *nepos* John also witnessed the act.⁸³⁸ These men might have been part of the entourage of the count of Fondi. However, what is more important are the possible reasons behind this exemption of agricultural dues given by Count Richard. A papal letter of June 1211 sent by Innocent III to the bishop of Fondi related that Richard of Aquila's son Count Richard confirmed a transaction from the time of William II between his father and Bishop John 'through the royal *familiares*' (*per ipsius Regis [Willielmi] familiares*), granting various liberties to the bishopric.⁸³⁹ Although there is no absolute certainty that Richard II of Aquila was referring to the same 1178 concession, the intervention of the king's *familiares* must have been part of a continuing attempt from the royal court to prevent the count of Fondi from overstepping his authority and acting in disregard of the sovereign's prerogatives and the customs established by the kingdom's new order.

A royal privilege issued on 7 November 1179, by which the customary practices in the county of Fondi were guaranteed in favour of the subjects, attested the presence of Richard of Aquila, count of Fondi, in Palermo. Reportedly, Count Richard was summoned by the royal court in order to answer, before the king, for all the damages the count had allegedly inflicted severely upon the people of Minturno (*populus Traiectensus*) and many *boni homines* of Fondi; these damages included the incarceration of individuals and alienation of their holdings. The royal court that heard this case condemned the count's oppression. The count of Fondi was therefore exhorted to limit himself to request a guarantee of a pledge from the perpetrator of a crime, without

⁸³⁷ See below, note 1005.

⁸³⁸ *Italia Sacra*, I, cols 723–24.

⁸³⁹ *Italia Sacra*, I, col. 725.

resorting to incarceration, and likewise reminded that judgement over those charged with murder, theft, arson, and forest destruction was a matter for a royally sanctioned court. Accordingly, Count Richard was told by the royal court not to alienate any goods, impose fines – unless livestock had been damaged – or obstruct the exercise of usage rights of land, forest and marshes. He was to hold his dominion following the good customs, and not demand contributions from his own men, unless these were for the marriage of a daughter or for a royal expedition.⁸⁴⁰ This rare piece of evidence illustrates the collision between the comital and royal authorities; a situation that may have been more common than the surviving evidence suggests, although this case may have been complicated by the fact that the abbey of Montecassino also had a claim to Traetto (modern Minturno).⁸⁴¹

This judicial record demonstrates the supremacy of the royal prerogative over the counts' jurisdiction: it not only claimed to be the only authority that could try and give judgement upon serious 'criminal' offences such as murder, theft, arson and forest destruction, but also that a count, or any other local authority, could not incarcerate anyone 'because the people's bodies belong to the king' (*quoniam corpora domini regis sunt*). Nonetheless, the count of Fondi was neither punished nor penalised. The royal court clearly confirmed his judicial supremacy and the boundaries of social control the count was allowed to exercise within his own county, and did not proceed further against the count. William II and his officials would not necessarily have considered Richard of Fondi a trustworthy noble – after all, he had rebelled against the monarchy before – but in what appears to have been a hallmark of this royal government, they allowed the count to make amends for his mistakes and submit again to the sovereign, without interfering economically or militarily in his county.

The county of Lecce, on the foundations of Montescaglioso The economic activities of Tancred of Lecce

In the *Quaternus magne expeditionis* it appears that Montescaglioso and Lecce were regarded as two different and separate counties, although at the beginning of the entry for Lecce it was recorded that Geoffrey, the former count of Montescaglioso, held the *feuda* that Count Tancred of Lecce held *in demanio*: Lecce, a *feudum* of ten *milites*; Carovigno,

⁸⁴⁰ Subiaco, Biblioteca S. Scolastica, *Archivio Colonna* III, BB xxix.20.

⁸⁴¹ Count Marinus of Traetto had granted a quarter of this *castellum* to Montecassino in 1058, and Abbot Desiderius had granted a franchise to the inhabitants in 1061. *Cod. Dipl. Cajetanus*, II, nos 204 pp. 17–20, 213 pp. 37–39. See also Graham A. Loud, *Church and Society in the Norman Principality of Capua: 1058–1197* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), p. 42.

one of three *milites*; and Ostuni, one of seven *milites*.⁸⁴² This does not imply that Count Geoffrey had held an additional county, but actually that he kept these three lordships in Salento whilst also being the count of Montescaglioso. There are, furthermore, some entries in the *Quaternus* that indicate the existence of the so-called principality, and of a *quaternion* that recorded the *feuda* of this territory, which were scattered around the town on Taranto, both in the Basilicata and the Salento peninsula.⁸⁴³ The so-called principality of Taranto must have been a territorial indicator rather than a judicial entity, and much less a separate administrative province. It was originally a princely title, tied to the royal family, that subsequently was used to refer to the southern Apulian dominions of Count Tancred of Lecce. There is evidence of neither the lands held *in demanio* of the principality, or of an actual royal official whose office was dedicated exclusively to administer the principality. Therefore, this principality must have started as a regional grouping of tenants that would later be tied to the actual comital dominions Tancred of Lecce held after 1169.⁸⁴⁴ However, the core territorial unit of Tancred's cluster of lordships was the county of Montescaglioso, whose count Geoffrey of Lecce had held Lecce and Ostuni as his original lordships. The county of Lecce was hence a subsequent creation, an expanded county of Montescaglioso as it were, given to Tancred of Lecce, who was both a relative and heir of Geoffrey of Lecce, and a royal relative who at some point held the princely title of Taranto.

Tancred must have been granted his uncle's former county of Montescaglioso before the end of 1168, because the previous count, Henry of Navarre, was already attested in December 1168 as count of Principato.⁸⁴⁵ The new count of Lecce was not only related to the Sicilian royal family, as the illegitimate son of William I's elder brother Roger, but also to the count of Acerra, as Tancred had married Sibylla of Aquino, Count Richard of Acerra's sister.⁸⁴⁶ Richard of Acerra was subsequently remembered as the brother of Tancred's wife (ὁ τῆς γυναικὸς τοῦ Ταγκρέ κασίγνητος), Tancred's brother-in-law (*frater uxoris regis Tancredi*), and his relative (*cognatus*).⁸⁴⁷ Palumbo has already offered an extensive and comprehensive study on Tancred and the county of Lecce. For

⁸⁴² *Catalogus Baronum*, ¶ 155 p. 28.

⁸⁴³ *Catalogus Baronum*, ¶¶ 108 p. 20, 125 p. 22, 131–36 pp. 24–25, 153–54 pp. 27–28.

⁸⁴⁴ Cf. Jamison, 'Additional Work on the *Catalogus Baronum*', pp. 53–55; Houben, 'Le origini del principato di Taranto', pp. 19–21.

⁸⁴⁵ See below, on page 253.

⁸⁴⁶ Pier F. Palumbo, *Tancredi conte di Lecce e re di Sicilia e il tramonto dell'età normanna*. (Lecce: Edizioni del Lavoro, 1991), pp. 86–87.

⁸⁴⁷ *Choniates*, I, p. 359; *Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi Benedicti Abbatis*, ed. by William Stubbs, *Rerum Britannicarum Medii Aevi Scriptores*, 49, 2 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1867), II, p. 141; *Annales Casinenses*, p. 314.

this reason, and in order to avoid repetition, I present here only a summarised account of the county's development and Tancred's activities.⁸⁴⁸ In the 1170s, Tancred was engaged in various judicial and military activities, serving the Sicilian monarchy; however, his transactions as count of Lecce are not documented until 1178.

First, the intercession of Count Tancred was recorded when Alexander III on 15 June 1178 confirmed the holdings of the nunnery of St John the Evangelist in Lecce and its direct dependence on Rome. This last had previously been granted by Anacletus II, but such an action by an 'anti-pope' would not, of course, have been considered completely valid.⁸⁴⁹ One might also note that Emma, abbess of this nunnery between 1152 and 1193, was Tancred's maternal aunt; Tancred made this relationship clear in May 1190, when he granted a *casale* near Lecce to the same nunnery.⁸⁵⁰ Tancred of Lecce also built and endowed the monastery of SS. Nicholas and Cataldo in Lecce, something which was recorded in two inscriptions, one on the lintel of church's main gate and the other over the cloister's door, which date the foundation to 1180.⁸⁵¹ This is confirmed by the foundation charter of the monastery, granted by Tancred in September 1180, noting his role as its founder and benefactor.⁸⁵² In October of the same year, Tancred made another ecclesiastical donation, this time to the bishopric of Lecce. The count compensated Bishop Peter of Lecce for the land the church had ceded to the recently founded monastery by allowing him to hold *in demanio* the casale of S. Pietro in Lama.⁸⁵³

Count Tancred made a series of subsequent donations to the monastery he founded, constantly expanding its holdings and securing its position. In January 1182, Tancred granted the *casali* of Valesio, Gagliano, and Oliva, and a vineyard and garden in the vicinity of Brindisi. Then, in February 1185, he granted one of his own olive groves, and the holdings of the church of St Andrew. Later in May, Count Tancred granted a vineyard, orchard, garden, and the *castellum* of Pagano, all in the vicinity of Ostuni, to the monastery.⁸⁵⁴ Interestingly enough, the May donation was dated to the sixteenth year of Tancred's countship (*comitatus nostri anno sextodecimo*), which confirms the fact that Tancred received the county of Montescaglioso in 1169. An undated *privilegium*, but which was issued during the reign of William II, records Count Tancred of Lecce, acting

⁸⁴⁸ Palumbo, pp. 57–110.

⁸⁴⁹ *Le pergamene di S. Giovanni Evangelista in Lecce*, ed. by Michela Pastore (Lecce: Centro di studi salentini, 1970), no 8 pp. 19–21; for Anacletus' concession, see no 2 pp. 4–7.

⁸⁵⁰ Pastore, no 11 pp. 27–28.

⁸⁵¹ Palumbo, pp. 248–49.

⁸⁵² Pietro de Leo, *Le carte del monastero dei Santi Niccolò e Cataldo in Lecce: (secc. XI–XVII)* (Lecce: Centro di Studi Salentini, 1978), no 3 pp. 7–13.

⁸⁵³ *Italia Sacra*, IX, col. 77; Leo, pp. 209–10.

⁸⁵⁴ Leo, nos 6 pp. 21–24, 10 pp. 30–31, 19 pp. 34–36.

also as lord of Ostuni (*Comes licii et Ostunii dominus*), granting the ‘free’ men (*franci homines*) of Ostuni permission to build mills, ovens, and other buildings, and to inhabit the land around the monastery by the sea in order to make the area safe and protect pilgrims from robbers. This licence was witnessed by Bishop Varoldus of Ostuni.⁸⁵⁵ One should note that in none of these transactions did Count Tancred employ his title as a royal official; he appears to have done this only when he exercised a judicial role outside his own county.

It is important also to note that, although the former county of Montescaglioso was in practice absorbed into Tancred’s new county of Lecce, a specialised royal functionary appears to have been appointed to serve in the territory of Montescaglioso. Richard of Balvano attended a court held by Count Tancred of Lecce in Barletta, in November 1183, as ‘royal constable and justiciar of the justiciarate of Melfi and the honour of Montescaglioso’ (*Justiciarius melfie et honoris mantis caveosi Regio Comestabili et Justiciario*).⁸⁵⁶ It is not clear what the actual geographical extent of Richard’s jurisdiction was; he was subsequently attested as a royal justiciar and constable in March 1187, when he made a donation to the church of St Mary of Perno. At this time, he called himself *Regius Comestabulus et Iusticiarius*, without specifying any regional jurisdiction.⁸⁵⁷ Towards the end of William II’s reign, another royal official for Montescaglioso is attested: a donation made in September 1189 to the monastery of St Benedict in Conversano was made in the presence, amongst others, of Lord Robert, royal chamberlain of the honour of Montescaglioso (*domnius Robertus tituli honoris montis scaveosi regius camerarius*).⁸⁵⁸ Since the county of Montescaglioso had technically disappeared into the extensive countship of Tancred of Lecce, the royal court must have called the territory in the valleys of the gulf of Taranto (modern Basilicata) that used to belong to the count of Montescaglioso an ‘honour’ as part of a reorganisation of its administration in Apulia. In this way, the royal administration was able to distinguish the Basilicata area from the rest of the county of Tancred, which also had holdings and lordships in the Salento and on the Adriatic coast, without splitting up Tancred’s comital authority or designating Montescaglioso as the seat for another count.

Besides his career as a royal master justiciar, the count of Lecce was also engaged in important military operations ordered by the Sicilian king. First, in July 1174, William

⁸⁵⁵ *Il libro rosso della città di Ostuni. Codice diplomatico compilato nel MDCIX da Pietro Vincenti*, ed. by Ludovico Pepe (Valle di Pompei: Bartolo Longo, 1888), Add., no 3 pp. 197–99.

⁸⁵⁶ See below, note 1035.

⁸⁵⁷ Giustino Fortunato, *Santa Maria di Vitalba* (Trani: V. Vecchi, 1898), no 5 pp. 38–42. Referred in Prignano, ‘Historia’, fol. 109r.

⁸⁵⁸ Morea, *Chartularium di Conversano*, I, no 133 pp. 255–58.

II sent Count Tancred to besiege Alexandria, as admiral of the fleet and commander of the invading forces; he was subsequently sent in 1176 to attack the army of the imperial commander Christian of Buch, Archbishop of Mainz, in Carsoli; and in 1185 to attack Constantinople as admiral of the Sicilian fleet that captured Thessaloniki.⁸⁵⁹ By 1176, Tancred of Lecce was already a great constable and master justiciar of Apulia and the Terra di Lavoro, but it is not clear if the king's cousin had already been appointed to this royal office in 1174. Having been an admiral commanding a specific expedition does not necessarily imply that he was *ipso facto* the main commander of the peninsular armed forces, but it does explain why Tancred would later become one of the king's top military and judicial officials on the mainland.

The county of Lesina and the honour of Monte Sant'Angelo The Ollias, justiciars and counts in the Gargano

Count Geoffrey of Lesina was one of those who survived the turmoil of Queen Margaret's regency. In March 1173, he issued a confirmation charter to Cava, into the hands of Guido, prior of St Egidius. In this document, he was described as count of Lesina and royal justiciar (*Lisine comes regalisque iustitarius*), son and heir of lord Henry of Ollia. The count confirmed two fishermen on the River Varano, previously ceded to the abbey by his father, in the presence of the judges Bartholomew and Falco and other witnesses. This charter was subscribed by these judges as *testatores*, and by the knights (*milites*) Roman and Richard. Additionally, it was dated in the eighteenth year of his countship.⁸⁶⁰ It is not clear where this transaction was issued, or from where the judges came, but it must have taken place in the vicinity of Varano, in the Gargano peninsula. The count of Lesina was attested again in October 1175, in the coastal town of Peschici, in the northern fringe of the Gargano. Here Geoffrey of Ollia, count of Lesina and royal justiciar, made a donation to the abbey of Tremiti in the presence of his *milites* and *boni homines* of Peschici. Count Geoffrey granted the church of St Martin, some pastures together with uncultivated land (*pastinos [...] cum omni terra vacua*) that the count held in Croce di Vico, and the area of Aqua de Planca, together with the colonists who lived there.⁸⁶¹

In this same year, Count Geoffrey made another donation, but on this occasion to the abbey of Casauria. Once again he was described as count of Lesina and royal justiciar,

⁸⁵⁹ See below, on pages 278 and 282.

⁸⁶⁰ Cava, *Arm. Mag.* I.7. A copy of this charter is *Arca xxxiv.62*, ed. in *Actes de Gargano*, no 46 pp. 135–37. The count's father, Henry of Ollia, had previously ceded these fishermen in October 1140. Cava, *Arm. Mag.* G.34.

⁸⁶¹ *Cod. Dipl. Tremiti*, no 117 pp. 324–26.

Geoffrey ceded three fishermen from Lesina and their sons and daughters, together with their inheritances, a salt flat in the marsh of S. Nicola, and the land of Albozzeto and some other lands in Plano. He did so in the presence of ‘his’ judge of Lesina, Alferius [son] of John (*Alferius Johannis noster iudex Alesinae*). The charter was given on 8 June 1177 and subscribed by the judge of Lesina, William of Isclitella, and by three men that must have been part of Geoffrey of Lesina’s comital entourage: the count’s chamberlain (*camerarius*), William Flanditius, and two of the count’s ‘companions’ (*socii comitis*), Roger of Baro and Albericus.⁸⁶² According to a now lost charter of the monastery of St John in Piano (9 km. south of Lesina) Count Geoffrey of Lesina confirmed in 1179 a donation that a Count Peter had previously made to this monastery.⁸⁶³ This original donation dated back to before the creation of the Kingdom of Sicily, for the donor must be identified as Count Peter of Lesina (d. 1092) son of Walter son of Amicus, count of Lesina.⁸⁶⁴

Geoffrey of Ollia died at some point between 1179 and 1182. In November 1182, Countess Sibylla, widow of the late Count Geoffrey of Lesina (*Sibila comitissa uxor quondam domini Comitiss Goffridi Alisine*), issued a confirmation charter to Cava, once more into the hands of Guido, prior of the church of St Egidius. In the presence of her *fideles* and *nutriti* Constantine and William the notary, the countess of Lesina ceded half the share of a fishery with all its produce – both regular and nocturnal – and fishing rights (*anglus cum omnibus piscanibimus et cum nocte omnique iure*), called Sassonis of Mango, on the River Varano, the other half of which had previously been granted to St Egidius. She had been informed that this had previously been granted to this church, but because of the carelessness (*incuria*) of the church’s rectors, it had remained in her power. Sibylla of Lesina thus confirmed that the entire fishery was to be held by this dependency of Cava. The document was sanctioned and drafted by Judge Sadoc of Varano, written by William the notary, and had as *witnesses (testatores)* Romanus the knight (*miles*) and Trabalia son of the late Drogo.⁸⁶⁵ This *testor* and *fidelis* Romanus the knight had already witnessed a comital transaction, Count Geoffrey’s 1173 confirmation; he must therefore have been one of the *milites* in the count of Lesina’s military entourage.

⁸⁶² *Chron. Casauriense*, cols 1012–13.

⁸⁶³ Cuozzo, *Commentario*, p. 95. Taken from a register, which Cuozzo consulted in 1974 from the curial archive of the bishopric of S. Severo, and that is now unavailable. The record is *Inventarium omnium bonorum stabilium Venerabili Monasterii Sancti Johannis in Plano, et Sancate Trinitatis de Sancto Severo*, fol. 7v.

⁸⁶⁴ Ménager, *Recueil des actes*, pp. 35, 181–86; *Cod. Dipl. Tremiti*, nos 54 pp. 168–70, 81 pp. 282–84; Loud, *The Age of Robert Guiscard*, pp. 249, 256.

⁸⁶⁵ Cava, *Arm. Mag.* I.39 (Copied in I.38), ed. in *Actes de Gargano*, no 52 pp. 146–49.

We have no other surviving document that attests further transactions for a count or countess of Lesina during the remainder of William II's reign. It is not clear if Geoffrey of Ollia had any issue, or whether his widow Sibylla died soon afterwards, or was simply removed from the countship. The county of Lesina eventually disappeared. This may simply have been a consequence of Geoffrey and Sibylla not leaving an heir. But it may also have been connected with William II's grant of the Gargano peninsula, together with all the holdings of the count of Lesina and the towns of Siponto and Vieste, as an honour included in the dower for his new queen consort, Joan of England, in 1177. This newly created lordship was named using a revived title: the honour of Monte Sant'Angelo.⁸⁶⁶

Since the first decade of the kingdom, when Alexander of Telese talked about Count Simon of Monte Sant'Angelo, neither this comital title nor the name of the county had been employed.⁸⁶⁷ The dowry charter provides a detailed description of the county's composition. First, the lands held *in demanio* by the county's titular were the cities of Monte Sant'Angelo, Siponto, Vieste, together with all their respective holdings and belongings. The honour also included the *servitium* of the holdings of Count Geoffrey of Lesina: Peschici, Vico, Serracapriola, Varano, Cephalicchia, and 'all other [places] recognised as held by the count of the honour of the county of Monte Sant'Angelo'. The king also enhanced the 'honour' with the following dependent lordships (*in servitio*): Candelaro, S. Quirico, Castel Pagano, *Bersentium*, Cagnano, and the monasteries of St John of Lama and St Mary of Pulsano.⁸⁶⁸ The county of Monte Sant'Angelo was thus renewed as an honour and expanded, absorbing the county of Lesina, and its nominal holder was the queen consort Joan. This is the first occasion since the kingdom's creation that a count was placed within the domains of another county. Interestingly enough, the charter does not refer to the 'county' of Lesina, but only to the holdings of the count of Lesina; a careful distinction that most likely was meant to avoid the incongruity of having a county situated inside another county or lordship, while actually making the holder of this honour, the queen consort, the overlord of a count.

⁸⁶⁶ See below, note 1005. On Siponto and Vieste, see above, note 374.

⁸⁶⁷ See above, on page 50.

⁸⁶⁸ '[...] *in demanio civitatem Montis Sancti m Angeli, civitatem Siponti et civitatem Veste cum omnibus iustis tenementis et pertinentiis earum. In servitio autem concedimus ei de tenementis comitis Goffridi Alesine, Peschizam, Bicum, Caprile, Baranum et Sfilizum et omnia alia que idem comes de honore eiusdem comitatus Montis Sancti Angeli tenere dinoscitur. Concedimus etiam ei similiter in servitio Candelarium, Sanctum Clericum, Castellum Paganum, Bersentium et Cagnanum. Insuper concedimus, ut sint de honore ipsius dodarii monasterium Sancti Iohannis de Lama et monasterium Sancte Marie de Pulsano cum omnibus tenementi, que ipsa monasteria tenent de honore predicti comitatus Sancti Angeli.*' Stubbs, *Gesta Henrici II*, I, p. 170.

This nominal overlordship was not mentioned by Count Geoffrey or Countess Sibylla in either of the transactions discussed above, those of June 1177 and November 1182, nor does the confirmation of 1179 provide any relevant information. It does not seem, therefore, that the queen's dowry had any immediate impact on the composition of the county of Lesina or the activities of its count. Count Geoffrey was already under the king's dominion, as any other count would be, and as a royal justiciar he must have been a nobleman who was particularly trusted by the royal court. There is no indication that Queen Joan or her officials administered this honour separately from the royal court, as the actual countess of Monte Sant'Angelo. On the contrary, the king's administration must have kept the honour, including the county of Lesina, under its own jurisdiction. This is suggested by the fact that during a court held by the master justiciars in Barletta, in November 1183, Guimund of Casteluzzo and Bonismirus of Siponto were called 'royal justiciars of the honour of Monte Sant'Angelo' (*Honoris montis sancti Angelii Regiis Justitiarum*).⁸⁶⁹ The fact that the newly created county in the Gargano was in theory an 'honour' must have allowed the king to create this extensive cluster of lordships and manage it without opening the opportunity for a nobleman to claim this comital position in the future – just as with the honour of Montescaglioso. Only after William II died, did Joan's dowry have any effect on the kingdom's politics. King Tancred refused to concede the honour of Monte Sant'Angelo to be held autonomously by Joan of England, on the grounds that these lands were unalienable from the Sicilian crown (after all, this was a county with a strategic position that lay on the route connecting Apulia with the rest of the Adriatic Italian coast).⁸⁷⁰

The county of Marsico

The legacy of Count Sylvester, and his son William

The son of the late Count Sylvester of Marsico, William, must have remained as head of the county after 1168, and he is documented as active both in Sicily and in his county. According to a July 1176 charter, William as count of Marsico (*comes Marsici*) sold property near the church of St George in Palermo that his father had bought from the king, and that previously belonged to Maio of Bari, to the *duana baronum*, into the hands of Qaid Mataracius, chamberlain of the king's palace (*Gaytus Mataracius Regij sacri palatii camerarius*). For this, the count of Marsico received 8,000 Palermitan [Sicilian] tari. His

⁸⁶⁹ See below, note 1035.

⁸⁷⁰ Palumbo, pp. 130–33.

charter was witnessed by the master justiciars of the king's court and Nicholas the secretary, son of Qaid Peter.⁸⁷¹ This property was part of one of the many donations King William subsequently made to the church of Monreale. He transferred it to the church only a month later, in a diploma witnessed by Count William himself.⁸⁷² After this, the count of Marsico appears to have made a series of donations to Venosa, c. 1177–1178.

First, at some point between September 1176 and February 1177, Count William of Marsico granted the church of St Mary of the Fountain – located in the Vallo di Diano, and built for the salvation of the count's father – to the abbey of Venosa. The transaction was witnessed, amongst others, by Marsilius, the count's seneschal, and the charter was drafted by John, the count's notary. Then, in February 1177, Count William, at the request of the abbot of Venosa, conceded the same church of St Mary to Maraldus of Urso, a man from Marsico. Furthermore, in the same year Count William appears to have issued a concession allowing the churches of the abbey of Venosa to collect timber from the count's forests. Soon thereafter, in 1178, the count of Marsico exempted in perpetuity the dues owed by a series of men who worked the vineyard and land the abbey had received from Alferana of Joffe; apparently these dues were still being collected by either Alferana or the count. Finally, in 1178 Count William appears to have issued a charter of unknown content.⁸⁷³

Eight years after, in January 1186, Alfana 'countess of Marsico by the grace of God' (*Alfana dei gratia comitissa marsici*) declared that Peter *vesterarius* of Cava, following Abbot Benincasa's orders, had leased the church of St Nicholas of Scaviano, in the Vallo di Diano, together with all its men and holdings, to her for nineteen years. Robert the notary, the countess' 'loyal man' (*fidelis*), drafted the declaration, and it was certified with the seal of 'her dearest husband' Count William (*sigillo domini egregii comitis Willielmi karissimi viri nostri*).⁸⁷⁴ It is not entirely clear how Countess Alfana and Count William of Marsico were related, but considering that she applied William's comital seal, and that he might have been in Sicily, either in his ancestral lordship of Ragusa or in Palermo, it is probable that she was either Count William's wife or sister. Portanova has indicated that Count William of Marsico had a sister, Elizabeth, who

⁸⁷¹ Garufi, *Tabulario di Monreale*, App., no 2 pp. 163–65.

⁸⁷² *Sicilia Sacra*, I, pp. 433–35; *William II Diplomata*, no 89 <<http://www.hist-hh.uni-bamberg.de/WilhelmII/pdf/D.W.II.089.pdf>>.

⁸⁷³ Houben, *Die Abtei Venosa*, nos 147–49 pp. 377–79, 153–54 pp. 381–82.

⁸⁷⁴ Cava, *Arca* xl.96 (To appear in Graham A. Loud's forthcoming edition of 'Selected Charters of the Abbey of Cava, 1097–1200').

appears to have married William of S. Severino; it was from this union that the baronial family of S. Severino inherited the county of Marsico in subsequent centuries.⁸⁷⁵

William of Marsico was finally attested in his mainland county in 1190. While Count William of Marsico was in his *castellum* of Rocchetta, the Prior of St Peter of Tramutola – the monastery that had been donated with all its holdings and men to Cava by his father Sylvester – requested that he prevent the many nuisances and insults with which his bailiffs and foresters had hitherto troubled the monastery and his men. After considering the matter with his *fideles*, William forbade his bailiffs or foresters from further disturbing the church. Should the men of the church do wrong, or usurp the count's property or that of the town of Marsico, then they were to be tried in the church's own court. Should his bailiffs infringe this exemption in future, a penalty of 10 ounces of gold was to be paid, half to the count and half to the monastery's court.⁸⁷⁶ The charter was drafted by the count's notary John, and it was subscribed by several comital officials: Robert Valencis, the [count's] seneschal (*senescalcus*); John of Marsico, castellan [of Rocchetta] (*castellanus*), and Herman, the constable of Marsico (*comestabulus*). It was also subscribed by two other local men who appear to have been part of the comital entourage of Marsico: Geoffrey the knight (*miles*), and Robert son of William of Sala – Sala Consilina was not only part of the county but also one of the *feuda* that the count of Marsico held *in demanio*.⁸⁷⁷ In practice, what the count of Marsico did was to surrender both his comital prerogative to exact agricultural dues, which his bailiffs and foresters must have been in charge of collecting, and his judicial authority within his own county, releasing Tramutola, which his father had previously donated to Cava, from his comital overlordship. The holdings of St Peter of Tramutola within the county of Marsico were confirmed as henceforth subordinated only to Cava.

The county of Molise

Fleeting comital activity in a 'most noble county'

Following the death of Count Hugh II of Molise, his county was left in a rather marginal position. After Richard of Mandra was made count and received this county, the situation does not appear to have changed and Count Richard remained attached to the king's court as a minister. Richard's activities within his county are documented in only one known document from Montecassino. In February 1170, Richard, as count of Molise and royal

⁸⁷⁵ Portanova, 'I Sanseverino dal 1125 allo stermino del 1246', pp. 333–35.

⁸⁷⁶ Cava, *Arm. Mag.* L.34, ed. in Mattei-Ceresoli, 'Tramutola', no 20 pp. 117–18.

⁸⁷⁷ *Catalogus Baronum*, ¶ 597 p. 108.

familiaris (*de molisio comes et domini Regis familiaris*), held a court in Isernia by royal mandate (*ex decreto sanctissime Regie curie et probatione aperta*), together with the bishops of Boiano, Isernia, and Trivento (Robert, Raynald, and Rao, respectively), and the count's justiciars and barons (*Justiciarii et Barones nostri*). This confirmed a series of royal concessions concerning the tenancy and liberties of the churches of St Lawrence in Anglona and St Nicholas in Vallesurda. The judicial record was written by Geoffrey, the count's notary, and subscribed by the same bishops, as well as Robert of Molina and Rampinus the judge.⁸⁷⁸ Robert of Molina was a comital official, who was attested in 1185 as the count's constable.⁸⁷⁹

A 'master bailiff of all the land of Count Richard of Molise' (*magister baiulus totius terre domini Riccardi Mulisani comitis*) is attested on the Adriatic coast of Apulia. In, May 1167, a certain Anuncius, carrying this administrative title, stated that the count sent a letter to Angelo, catepan of the town of Terlizzi, ordering him to distribute and assign the [count's] demesne land in Terlizzi amongst the town's citizens. This was for them to build the houses they wanted, so that the town would thrive; hence Anuncius granted some lands to John son of Gerome. A subsequent private transaction conducted in January 1170, also in Terlizzi, an exchange of property between Nicholas son of Peter and the aforementioned John son of Gerome, referred to the land of 'their lord, Count Richard', bordering one of the vineyards that they exchanged.⁸⁸⁰ Hence, Richard of Mandra was also a lord in Adriatic Apulia, as not only did he hold lands in the territory of Terlizzi, but its citizens referred to him as their lord. He had the capacity to address its catepan directly, and he maintained a 'master bailiff' who administered the lands. Perhaps Richard of Mandra's status as *royal familiaris* allowed him to send an order directly to a catepan, but his seignorial prerogatives must have overlapped with the town's local government; after all, his land donations directly concerned the interests of Terlizzi and its citizens. It is not clear if Anuncius was also the administrator of the county of Molise whilst Count Richard was in Palermo. His title states that he was the bailiff 'of all the land of Count Richard of Molise', but this could simply have referred to all the lands that Richard of Mandra held in this Adriatic area, not to the actual county.⁸⁸¹ Anuncius the bailiff is not attested in the county of Molise, and Terlizzi does not appear to have been attached to the county of Molise afterwards.

⁸⁷⁸ Erasmo Gattola, *Historia abbatiae Cassinensis per saeculorum seriem* (Venice: Sebastian Coleti, 1733), p. 243. Dated in 1169, but given it was issued in the 4th indiction and in William II's fourth regnal year, it should be 1170. Original in Montecassino, *Archivio*, caps. 102 fasc. 2 no 3.

⁸⁷⁹ See below, note 887.

⁸⁸⁰ *Pergamene di Terlizzi*, nos 101 pp. 128–29, 110 pp. 136–37.

⁸⁸¹ Cf. Jamison, 'County of Molise', pp. 547–48.

Due to the extension and location of this county, and the fact that it remained vacant for a long period (throughout William I's reign), it is understandable why there would be comital justiciars in charge of the administration of local authority. Moreover, Count Richard called himself here a royal *familiaris*, which indicated he was still part of the royal court and the king's closest circle; and indeed, he subscribed three royal charters alongside other *familiares* in 1169.⁸⁸² As a *familiaris* he must have spent most of his time with the king's court in Palermo, making the existence of comital justiciars necessary. However, the last mention of Count Richard of Molise comes in a charter for St Sophia in Benevento, in November 1170, issued from the medicinal baths at Pozzuoli.⁸⁸³ It may be that his presence there suggests that his health was failing. Certainly, he was no longer listed among the royal *familiares* in a diploma of October 1170, and he may well have already been dead, or have died soon afterwards.⁸⁸⁴ However, his successor in the county is only attested in 1185; thus, for fifteen years nothing is known of a count of Molise.

Although there is no evidence for an active 'vice-count' in this county, it is clear that the administration of justice could not rely on the city judges of the count's towns alone. In the case of the county of Avellino, the county of Molise was not only larger than that of Avellino, but appears to have been less centralised around a single comital *caput*, and instead was divided among relatively minor urban centres such as Boiano, Isernia, Sepino, Trivento, and Venafro.⁸⁸⁵ However, the boundaries between the royal and comital jurisdictions in the domains in the county of Molise appear to have been blurred after more than a decade of vacancy and royal management. The extensive domains of the late Count Hugh II of Molise were thus consolidated as an administrative territory that remained in royal hands until 1167, only to be granted to the constable of the royal guard, who stayed in Palermo as a royal *familiaris*. This territory, the county of Molise, was in this way essentially different from the other kingdom's counties. Hugh II of Molise was a remnant of the *ancient regime*, when the counts were the superior source of social control, while Richard of Mandra was a product of the Sicilian regime and an external agent, active primarily as a member of the royal court. The county was thus unable to develop like the rest under William II. One should be very careful and not confuse Count Hugh's inherited capacities and negotiated position with the role the new counts of Molise

⁸⁸² Garufi, *Documenti inediti*, nos 47–48 pp.109–12; Pratesi, *Carte dall'archivio Aldobrandini*, no 23 pp. 60–62. See also Takayama, *Administration of the Kingdom*, pp. 119–21.

⁸⁸³ Loud, 'A Lombard Abbey', no 5 pp. 302–3. Jamison has pointed out that there is indication that Richard of Mandra visited for two days the hermit John of Tufara, in Serracapriola (in the Capitanata), in order to hear his words with great devotion. Jamison, *Molise e Marsia*, p. 27.

⁸⁸⁴ Garufi, *Documenti inediti*, no 54 pp. 124–26.

⁸⁸⁵ See Jamison, 'County of Molise', pp. 536–41.

played in subsequent centuries. If Richard of Mandra exercised the king's justice in his county, it was not the result of any alleged inherent right as the count of Molise, but his condition as an almost absent royal minister of a county that had been managed previously as a royal jurisdiction.⁸⁸⁶ Hence, the counts of Molise in the second half of the twelfth century appear less as influential noblemen than as figureheads who appear to have been absent from their county. It is therefore hardly surprising that we lack evidence for the economic activities of the counts of Molise during this period. This could explain why the counts of Molise became hereditary officials of the king, and the county of Molise was conferred and administered under the subsequent royal dynasties as a special justiciarate.

A Count Roger of Molise is attested in a May 1185 charter that recorded the judgement of a suit brought by Abbot William of St Sophia in Benevento against Roger Bozzardi, lord of Campolieto, in regard to the *adiutorium* [...] *domini nostri Regis* demanded from the villages and churches of St Lucy and St Mark. In the presence of Count Roger, the matter was heard in a court held in Boiano, composed of local barons and judges; the judges who passed judgment and subscribed the charter were John of Venafro, 'master judge of the county' (*comitatus magister [iudex]*), and William and Bartholomew, judges of Boiano. Roger Bozzardi claimed the right to exact *adiutorium* because he had previously won this case when it was heard before the master justiciars of Apulia and the Terra di Lavoro, Counts Tancred of Lecce and Roger of Andria. The abbot, however, denied this, and claimed that the lord had failed to establish his right at a subsequent hearing before two royal justiciars, Hugh of Macchia and William of S. Framondi. Judgement was finally given in favour of the abbot.⁸⁸⁷ Count Roger of Molise subscribed the charter and commissioned Garardus, a public notary and *advocatus* of Boiano, to record the judgement. Likewise, the count of Molise's entourage must have assisted the court's activities, since the document was also witnessed by the county's constable (*comestabulus comitatus*) Robert of Molina.⁸⁸⁸ Also, the barons of Boiano who attended the court and witnessed the act must have been men subordinated to the local count; the judges of Boiano may have also been part of the comital entourage.

This charter exemplifies both the dues that fell under comital jurisdiction and the nature of the *adiutorium*. The abbey of St Sophia must have appealed to the count's justice after having been disappointed by the judgment of the king's provincial court presided

⁸⁸⁶ Cf. Jamison, 'County of Molise', p. 543.

⁸⁸⁷ Benevento, *Fondo S. Sofia* vol. 8 no 37, ed. in Jamison, *Molise e Marsia*, pp. 159–61.

⁸⁸⁸ Also witnessed the 1170 charter that Richard of Mandra issued as count of Molise, while at the baths of Pozzuoli. See above, note 883.

over by the provincial master justiciars. Consequently, the count of Molise summoned a court in Boiano for the local judges to resolve this issue. It was the count of Molise who ordered his notary to be the court's scribe, and provided subscribing witnesses from his entourage. This legal dispute must also have needed the count's approval because it was in regard of the *adiutorium*, an extraordinary seigniorial due that fell within the count's authority, just as the *plateaticum* or *terraticum* did.⁸⁸⁹ The legislation of Roger II made an explicit reference to this *adiutorium*, when, as a general caution on how to treat subjects (*III. Monitio generalis / 2. Ut domini subiectos humane tractent*), the king exhorted that all those who have citizens, burgesses, peasants, and men of any sort subject to them should treat them decently and mercifully, 'particularly when collecting the *adiutorium* owed, as they should demand this in moderation' (*maxime cum debitum adiutorium conveniens et moderatum valent ab ipsis / maxime cum debitum adiutorium et moderatum et conveniens volent ab ipsis*).⁸⁹⁰ This legislation appears to confirm both the extraordinary character of the *adiutorium* and that it was levied by the overlords themselves, not necessarily by royal officials. However, this law does not specify either the precise form of the tax or the substance of the contribution demanded.

Jamison assumed that this *adiutorium* must have been the same as the military levy for the royal *magna expeditio*; she hypothesised that Count Roger of Molise came from Palermo on this occasion to supervise the levy of an extraordinary *collecta* for William II's military campaign against the Eastern Empire of 1185.⁸⁹¹ There is no indication, however, that Count Roger of Molise was a member of the royal court, as his predecessor Richard of Mandra had been fifteen years earlier. Nevertheless, since in the charter the *adiutorium* was described as pertaining to the king (*adiutorium domini regis*), it could have referred to the *augmentum* of the royal military levy. This would explain why the controversy involving St Sophia was judged both by a provincial court of royal jurisdiction presided by master justiciars, and by a comital court, presided by the count of Molise. Roger Bozzardi, as lord of Campolieto, must have been the successor of Raynald of Pietrabbondante, who in the *Quaternus magne expeditionis* was recorded as lord of Campolieto, a *feudum* of only one *miles*, which was held directly from the king

⁸⁸⁹ The *adiutorium* was equivalent to the Norman *collecta*, according to the peace treaty Count Alexander of Conversano, Tancred of Conversano, Count Geoffrey of Catanzaro and Robert of Gravina had sworn to the city of Bari in 1132 in the name of the king (*adiutorium, quod ex nostre gentis [Normannorum] consuetudine collecta vocatur. Roger II Diplomata*, no 20 pp. 54–56, at 56.) This appears to have consisted of some sort of extraordinary contribution levied by overlords from their holders *in demanio* or *villains*. Cahen, pp. 75–77; Martin, *La Pouille*, p. 823; Carocci, p. 182.

⁸⁹⁰ Brandileone, pp. 97, 120; Monti, I, p. 132.

⁸⁹¹ Jamison, 'County of Molise', p. 532.

(*tenet de domino Rege*).⁸⁹² For this reason, the lord of Campolieto had appealed directly to the king's justice, but since this was still an issue of seigniorial dues, the abbey of St Sophia was then able to appeal to the local authority embodied in the comital court. The gathering of the *magne expeditio* was a highly sensitive issue that required the coordination of both spheres of control, for this was a royal entitlement that depended on the coordination and authority that a count offered as a local source of power.

The origins of this Count Roger of Molise are a mystery. He was quite probably Richard of Mandra's son, but there is no evidence that would suggest this relationship except for the fact that he succeeded him as count of Molise. Also, the fifteen-year gap complicated the matter even further, for, as we have seen, Richard of Mandra probably died c. 1170, when he ceased to be attested as a royal *familiaris*, while Count Roger might only have received the county just before 1185. A December 1183 charter, recording a court hearing at the *castellum* of Serracapriola, mentions a certain Gaitelgrima as countess of Molise, but provides no further information as to her connection either with Count Richard or with Count Roger. At this court, a certain Simon of Molise, sitting with the judges of Venafro, heard a suit against Ylaria, daughter of Geoffrey Cervus, who was accused of taking the holdings of the daughters of William Englisus. Ylaria, in response, declared that she had already proven her claim when she was accused of the same issue in the presence of Gaitelgrima, countess of Molise (*coram egregiam domina Gatel[grimam] comitissam Molissi*).⁸⁹³ Simon of Molise appears to have acted here as an agent of comital authority, in that he was able to summon the judges of the town of Venafro and hold a court in Serracapriola in order to pass judgment on a dispute about land-holding and inheritance, involving a case that had been heard before by the countess of Molise herself. However, the charter states neither Simon of Molise's title or office, nor his relationship with the countess. Gaitelgrima could have been Richard of Mandra's widow, who acted as the head of the county while Roger was still a minor, and Simon of Molise could have assisted her as the county's bailiff, but all this is speculation. The only certain thing is that a certain Roger was count of Molise for the remaining years of William II's reign.

⁸⁹² *Catalogus Baronum*, ¶ 798 p. 146.

⁸⁹³ *Cartulaire de Sculgola*, I, no 23 pp. 42–43; *Cod. dipl. Molisano*, pp. 336–37.

The resurgence of the county of Principato The Navarrese noble who came to stay

After having been left vacant for a long period of time, the county of Principato was revived, enabling Tancred of Lecce to acquire his uncle's county of Montescaglioso, and provide the current holder of that latter county, Henry (Rodrigo) of Navarre, with a more than satisfactory replacement. In contrast to what happened in the county of Molise with Richard of Mandra, Henry of Navarre was not subsequently attested in Palermo as a member of the royal court, but instead appears from the first to have been active in his new county of Principato. In December 1168, Henry, calling himself count of Principato and brother of Queen Margaret (*comes Principatus et domine Regine Margherite frater*), confirmed a donation made by one of his predecessors to the church of St Erasmus, in the *castellum* of Campagna. The charter further remembers that the county's lands used to be in the king's hands (*terra ipsa in manu regia esistebat*).⁸⁹⁴ Although the 'transfer' of Count Henry from Montescaglioso to Principato occurred soon after Count Gilbert of Gravina was expelled during the takeover orchestrated by him and Richard of Mandra, it was not quite immediate. A July 1168 charter, most likely issued in the vicinity of Auletta, declared to have been enacted in the time of Octavian son of Nicholas Vitziusos, the *stratigotus* of Auletta, and 'Viscount' Peter Gitzos.⁸⁹⁵ The latter must have been some sort of deputy placed by the royal court to administer the holdings in the Greek-speaking areas of the escheated county.

Count Henry was, however, regarded as the ruling count in a charter of September 1170, also from Auletta, but in this he was called by his original Iberian name, for the transaction was authenticated in the time of their most pious lord, Count Rodrigo.⁸⁹⁶ Two years later, in January 1172, Henry of Navarre ordered that a court be assembled in Eboli. Pagan the seneschal presided over this court, held in the church of St Lawrence in Eboli, on the orders of Count Henry (*per iussionem domini Comitis henrici*). The court was composed of two judges of Eboli, Rao and Landulf; two judges of Salerno, Guaferius and John; a royal justiciar, Lucas Guarna; and the prior of St Mary *Regalis*, Lord William. That two judges of Salerno attended this comital court may have been explicable because it heard a suit presented by the influential abbey of Cava, which charged a local baron, Hugh of Petina, with unlawfully holding a mill located in the appurtenances of the church

⁸⁹⁴ Antonino V. Rivelli, *Memorie storiche della città di Campagna* (Salerno: A. Volpe, 1895), pp. 96–97. Cited in Cuozzo, 'Milites e testes', p. 162.

⁸⁹⁵ 'στρατιγός όλέττας άτταβιανό ό υιός νικολάου βιτζιούσος και δεσκώμης πέτρος γίτζος'. Trinchera, no 172 pp. 227–28.

⁸⁹⁶ 'έν τοίς καιροίς τοῦ έυλαβεστάτου ήμῶν κόμης όρρήκος'. Trinchera, no 177 pp. 232–33.

of St Mary at Pertosa, a dependency of the abbey. Cava also appealed to the count's authority, on the grounds that it had received the mill from his predecessor, Count Nicholas of Principato, whose charter was presented before the court.⁸⁹⁷ Furthermore, Hugh of Petina was recorded in the *Quaternus* as a baron who held 70 villeins and a mill in Auletta (4 km. northwest of Pertosa), within the section that corresponded to the county of Principato (registered by then under the royal *comestabulus* Robert of Quallecta).⁸⁹⁸ As a baron of Auletta, any effective action over his holdings would have required the intervention of the count of Principato.

The count of Principato was attested again in the following year, in a donation made in July 1173 by Landulf the judge in the presence of Archbishop Romuald of Salerno to Pagan the seneschal, 'master of the land of Count Henry of Principato' (*Paganus Senescalcus, magister terre Comitis Henrici Principatus*), as a reward for services rendered to the Salernitan church.⁸⁹⁹ This Pagan the seneschal was the same Pagan who had held the court in Eboli in 1172 on the count's orders. His role as a 'master of the count's land' must have consisted, at least partially, of executing the count's instructions, and overseeing the judicial processes that fell within the comital authority.

Count Henry of Principato died at some point between 1173 and September 1177, for a charter issued in this latter month, probably in Auletta, was dated in the time of Countess Adelia (ἐν τοῖς καιροῖς τῆς κομητίσσης ἡμῶν ἀδελάγια).⁹⁰⁰ Although the connection between Adelia and Henry of Navarre is not overtly stated, and there are no known surviving transactions conducted by the countess, it seems safe to assume she was Henry's widow. As such, this Adelia could have been also a member of the Sicilian royalty – it should be remembered that the chronicle of Romuald of Salerno recorded that Henry of Navarre had married one of Roger II's daughters.⁹⁰¹ Countess Adelia was attested again as the ruling countess in Auletta, in two private transactions conducted in 1179.⁹⁰² Henry's son William must have been a minor during this period; he is only attested as an acting count during Henry VI's reign. In April 1195, William as count of Principato and son and heir of Count Henry of Principato (*Guilielmus divina favente clementia comes Principatus, domini Henrici similiter comitis de Principatu heres et quondam filius*), issued a charter to Cava, confirming all the holdings that belonged to the

⁸⁹⁷ Cava, *Arca* xxxiv.15. Lucas Guarna was attested again as royal justiciar in August 1189, when he made a donation to Cava in August 1189. Cava, *Arca* xlii.35.

⁸⁹⁸ *Catalogus Baronum*, ¶ 658 p. 117.

⁸⁹⁹ Ménager, 'Les fondations monastiques', no 41 pp. 112–13.

⁹⁰⁰ Trinchera, no 191 pp. 251–52. Original in Cava, *Pergamene Greca* no 68.

⁹⁰¹ See above, note 631.

⁹⁰² ἐν τοῖς καιροῖς τῆς κομητίσσης ἡμῶν ἀδελάγια'. Trinchera, no 195 pp. 256–57. ἐν τοῖς καιροῖς τῆς κομητίσσης ἡμῶν ἀ[δι]λάγια'. *Cod. Dipl. Verginiano*, VII, no 620 pp. 75–79.

church of St Blaise at Satriano.⁹⁰³ It is not clear if Count William, son of Henry, had become a count before William II's death, but he must have played only a marginal role during the convulsions of Tancred's reign, or he had changed sides adroitly, because he remained as count of Principato under the new Hohenstaufen dynasty.

Overlords in the Irpina, and the so-called county of Sant'Angelo dei Lombardi Count Philip of Balvano and Elias of Gesualdo

Although Philip of Balvano was recorded as a count in the *Quaternus magne expeditionis*, his activities are not subsequently documented until 1174. A royal court held in the abbey of the Holy Saviour at Goletto on 6 May 1174 to resolve a dispute between Abbess Marina and Bishop-elect John of Sant'Angelo dei Lombardi, was attended by 'the very vigorous' (*strenuissimus*) Count Philip, Roger son of Turgisius of Crypta, Henry of Monticulo, and Roger Frainella, lord of Oppido. Philip of Balvano and his sons Simon, Thomas, and Geoffrey witnessed the judgement emanated from this court.⁹⁰⁴ Interestingly enough, this Geoffrey of Balvano appears to have subsequently been somehow involved in the royal judicial administration on the peninsula, as in 1184 he witnessed a judgment sanctioned by the king's master justiciars, counts Tancred of Lecce and Roger of Andria, calling himself son of the *egregius comes Philippus de Balvano*.⁹⁰⁵

Although attested as a count, Philip of Balvano's role in this 1174 court lies on the margins between the king's justice and the comital domain. On the one hand, this was a provincial court summoned under royal authority; on the other, Count Philip subscribed the judgement using only his comital title, without claiming to hold any royal office. Furthermore, he held the court with his sons, and people who appear to have been barons whose lordships neighboured Philip's own. As a count, Philip of Balvano would not have been in charge of the administration of the king's justice, but nonetheless his family must have been highly regarded by the royal court, since Philip's uncle Gilbert of Balvano was a former royal official (a royal justiciar and *comestabulus*). This might have been one of the reasons why Count Philip was allowed to hold a royal court within his uncle's *comestabulia*.⁹⁰⁶ Of the local barons who accompanied Philip of Balvano, only Roger Frainella is recorded as one of his own vassals; according to the *Quaternus*, Roger of

⁹⁰³ Cava, *Arm. Mag.* L.38, ed. in Dione R. Clementi, 'Some Unnoticed Aspects of the Emperor Henry VI's Conquest of the Norman Kingdom of Sicily', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, 36 (1954), 328–59, App., no 1 pp. 355–56.

⁹⁰⁴ De Blasiis and Parisio, no 29 p. 779; Scandone, *S. Angelo dei Lombardi*, no 10 p. 208.

⁹⁰⁵ *Chartes de Troia*, no 102 pp. 302–8, at 308.

⁹⁰⁶ Cuzzo, 'Balvano', pp. 63–66. On Gilbert of Balvano's role as a royal constable, see below, on page 272.

Oppido held an unnamed *feudum* of two *milites* from Philip of Balvano.⁹⁰⁷ Henry of Monticulo was not recorded in the *Quaternus*, but there appears to have been a nearby locality called Monticulo, recorded as a *feudum* of three *milites*, which was held by Thomas, son of a former count of Catanzaro.⁹⁰⁸ Since this Thomas was attested for the last time in 1168 when he subscribed a donation of Count Richard of Conza, it is possible that Henry of Monticulo inherited Thomas's lordships after the latter died at some point between 1168 and 1174, and was perhaps his son.⁹⁰⁹ Roger son of Turgisius, on the other hand, appears to have been a lord subordinated to Elias of Gesualdo.

Roger's father Turgisius of Crypta must have been the same Turgisius of Grottaminarda (*Grutta*) who was recorded in the *Quaternus* as an overlord of nine barons in the region of Philip of Balvano, but whose lordship was held *in servitio* of another overlord, Elias of Gesualdo.⁹¹⁰ Roger son of Turgisius must have accompanied Count Philip not simply as a lord of S. Giorgio, but in his condition as first-son and heir of the lord of Grottaminarda; although Turgisius' presence is documented until 1183 (he was present when Count William of Caserta issued a confirmation to Cava in 1183), he must have been unable to attend this provincial royal court of 1174.⁹¹¹ It should also be noted that Elias of Gesualdo, although not holding comital rank, appears to have been a more economically powerful baron than Count Philip of Balvano, as his entry in the *Quaternus* reveals. Count Philip's demesne holdings comprised Sant'Angelo dei Lombardi, Calabritto, Caposele, Viara, and he was the lord of three other barons, for all of which he offered a total 34 knights (*milites*) and 76 foot soldiers (*servientes*) to the king's military levy. Elias of Gesualdo, meanwhile, held *in demanio* Gesualdo, Frigento, Aquapulida (modern Mirabella Eclano), Paternopoli, S. Magno sul Calore, Bonito, Lucera, and *Sacntum Lupulum*. He was the lord of seven barons – one of them an overlord (Turgisius of Grottaminarda) – for these he offered a total of 142 knights (*milites*) and 414 foot soldiers (*servientes*) to the same *magna expeditio*.⁹¹² However, it was Philip of Balvano who was recorded with the comital title, both in the *Quaternus* and in subsequent documents. Elias of Gesualdo was one of the few major overlords in the kingdom, excluding the Abruzzo, who held their lands directly from the crown and did not hold comital rank; others included Richard son of Richard and William of S. Severino.

⁹⁰⁷ *Catalogus Baronum*, ¶ 703 p. 125.

⁹⁰⁸ See above, note 782.

⁹⁰⁹ See above, note 780.

⁹¹⁰ *Catalogus Baronum*, ¶¶ 708–18 pp. 126–28.

⁹¹¹ On Turgisius' activities and sons, see Cuzzo, *Commentario*, pp. 202–3. Also, see above, note 805.

⁹¹² *Catalogus Baronum*, ¶¶ 702–24 pp. 124–29.

Unsurprisingly, both Count Philip and Elias were involved in the kingdom's provincial administration.

According to Prignano's history, both Count Philip of Balvano and Elias of Gesualdo held a court in 1183 as 'royal constables and justiciars', in Fiorentino, which heard a dispute between Abbot Umfredus of *Terra Maggiore* (Torremaggiore) and Nicholas, son of Hector; the court resolved in favour of the abbot. This was done in the presence of Philip's son Roger, and Elias' sons Roger and Geoffrey.⁹¹³ Just as had happened before, in 1174, the sons of these major barons attended the courts that their fathers held, not as lords, but as officials of the crown. This example was, however, different, in that this court heard a controversy about an abbey that was not located in their own domains or directly related to their respective lordships, and it was held not in their region, Irpina, but in the Capitanata. Undoubtedly, Count Philip and Elias acted here, holding a court and summoning the local judges, as agents of the king's justice, and not as major barons exercising their seigniorial prerogatives. Elias of Gesualdo was again attested as a royal constable and justiciar (*Helia de Gisualdo providissimus regius comestabulus et iustitiarius*), in December 1186, when William son of Tristan granted, in Elias' presence, the abbey of Montevergine permission to use his demesne forest and lands for pasturage. This donation was subscribed by both Elias and his son Roger of Gesualdo.⁹¹⁴ This transaction must have been witnessed by Elias not because he was a royal official, but through his seigniorial authority, as the ultimate overlord of the grantor; thus, William son of Tristan held his lordship from Turgisius of Grottaminarda, who in turn held it from Elias himself.⁹¹⁵ Nevertheless, it was not simply coincidental that the two overlords of this central region became royal officials.

The Balvano's growing influence and ties with the royal court might have operated when Philip was granted Sant'Angelo dei Lombardi, together with other lordships and barons, and received the comital title. However, it must have been the economic and military influence that both Philip of Balvano and Elias of Gesualdo wielded as major landholders and overlords that pushed the royal court to employ them as officers of the king's justice. Unsurprisingly, in light of the military role the counts acquired during William II's reign, the title of royal *comestabulus* indicated that both Count Philip and Elias acted also as regional commanders of the royal armed forces. In this way, while Elias of Gesualdo's rank was comparable to that of a count, Philip of

⁹¹³ Prignano, 'Historia', fol. 18v.

⁹¹⁴ *Cod. Dipl. Verginiano*, VIII, no 780 pp. 279–82.

⁹¹⁵ *Catalogus Baronum*, ¶ 709 p. 126.

Balvano's actual power seems to have been less than that of almost all the other counts of the kingdom; the county of Lesina appears to have been similar to Count Philip's domains, in that both counts acted as royal justiciars and both held relatively few *feuda* and dependent barons.

The last documented activity of Count Philip of Balvano appears to have taken place in November 1186. According to a very suspicious charter, edited by Ughelli, 'Count Philip of Balvano, lord of the *castellum* of Apice' made a donation to the library of the church of Benevento, which was written by a Gregory the notary and subscribed by Robert the judge and the count's sons Gilbert of Balvano and Lord Rao.⁹¹⁶ This document has been identified as a forgery, but Cuzzo argues that this was an altered extrapolation of a now lost original document, which he argues is demonstrated by the presence of his sons' names in the eschatocol.⁹¹⁷ In other words, even if the details of the transaction might have been a fabrication, it seems to echo an actual donation made by Count Philip, perhaps also in 1186.

The surviving evidence is scant for Count Philip of Balvano, but we should note that in none of that evidence is a county of Sant'Angelo dei Lombardi expressly attested. It appears, hence, that Philip of Balvano's county was not constituted in the same way as the rest, in that he held only a small cluster of lordships that lacked a dominant role even within his own region, and that his lands do not seem to have operated as a unit for the exercise of comital authority. The Balvano family was certainly rewarded with the conferral of the comital rank on Philip and of those lordships in Irpina, but this appears to have become only one of the three major 'overlordships' present in this central region, which in the *Quaternus* were grouped together under the *comestabulia* of Gilbert of Balvano (d. 1156): Sant'Angelo dei Lombardi under Count Philip of Balvano, Gesualdo under Elias, and Conza. This did not necessarily imply that a county of Sant'Angelo dei Lombardi was formed and recognised as a territorial unit; instead, this county operated in the same way as the neighbouring lordship of Gesualdo. The key distinction here was the comital title, for although this might not have made Philip of Balvano the most prominent lord of the region, it certainly enhanced his family's status and domains, providing them with a foothold within the regional circumscription of which his father, Gilbert of Balvano, had previously been in charge. Perhaps if Elias of Gesualdo's relatives had been similarly influential, through having lordships in other regions of the mainland and previously serving the Sicilian crown, he too might have received the title of count.

⁹¹⁶ *Italia Sacra*, VIII, cols 131–32.

⁹¹⁷ Cuzzo, 'Balvano', p. 74.

However, Elias' social leverage was limited to his own extensive lordship, which appears to have made him a royal judicial and military official, but no more than that.

The counties of Catanzaro and Squillace Some evidence for Calabria

In the province of Calabria, we hear nothing more of Count Hugh of Catanzaro for some years after he was 'spared' from being expelled by the royal court during the takeover by the counts of Molise and Montescaglioso, although a papal letter (1171–1181) recorded that his wife, Countess Clementia of Catanzaro (*C. comitissa Catacensis*), requested Alexander III to place the hospital of *Bonum Albergum*, built by Berard of Pietrabbodante in honour of St Thomas the Martyr, under apostolic protection.⁹¹⁸ In 1177, however, Count Hugh was one of the noblemen listed in the dower charter of William II's wife, Joan of England.⁹¹⁹ Unsurprisingly, there are no Calabrian charters that record Hugh Lupinus' activities as count – one should remember the paucity of surviving charters from Calabria. Count Hugh appears to have died before February 1195, as it was in that month that his son by Countess Clementia, Hugh II Lupinus, is recorded for the first time as his successor, as count of Catanzaro.⁹²⁰ Hugh II had become an important figure at the royal court even before he acquired his comital title. Hugh II Lupinus witnessed a March 1187 charter issued in Sicily by Qaid Richard, royal chamberlain and master of the royal *dīwān*, as 'royal seneschal' (*Lupinus domini Regis Senescalcus*); his brother Jordan subscribed this document as well, simply as Jordan Lupinus.⁹²¹

A count of Squillace finally makes an appearance under William II. Count Alfonso of Squillace subscribed the king's dowry charter in 1177.⁹²² Nonetheless, as is the case with Catanzaro, the available documentary evidence from Calabria is practically non-existent for Squillace. It is not known when this Alfonso was appointed count, only that this must have occurred at some point between 1169 and the beginning of 1177. King Tancred ceded in May 1191 some holdings to the monastery of St Stephen del Bosco, which reportedly were taken from the sons of Alfonso, late count of Squillace and blood-

⁹¹⁸ Kehr, *Italia pontificia*, IX, p. 139.

⁹¹⁹ See below, note 1005.

⁹²⁰ Karl F. Stumpf-Brentano, *Die Reichskanzler, vornehmlich des X., XI. und XII. Jahrhunderts* (Innsbruck: Wagner, 1865), p. 448; Jamison, *Admiral Eugenius*, p. 159 n. 4; Dione R. Clementi, 'Calendar of the Diplomas of the Hohenstaufen Emperor Henry VI Concerning the Kingdom of Sicily', *QFIAB*, 25 (1955), 86–225 (no 55 n. 8).

⁹²¹ Garufi, *Documenti inediti*, no 88 pp. 214–16.

⁹²² See below, note 1005.

relative of the king (*filiis Anfusi quondam comitis Squillacini consanguinei nostri*).⁹²³ It is not clear how Count Alfonso was related to Tancred I: whether he was a member of the kin-group of the Hauteville royalty or a relative of Tancred's mother, from the family of the lords of Lecce. In any case, Count Alfonso of Squillace was already dead by 1191, and his sons did not appear to have been able to inherit his comital dignity.

⁹²³ *Tancredi et Willelmi III. Regum Diplomata*, ed. by Herbert Zielinski, *Codex Diplomaticus Regni Siciliae*, 5 (Cologne: Böhlau, 1982), no 12 p. 30. On St Stephen del Bosco, see above, note 569.

CHAPTER 6

Military and Judicial Control Beyond the County. The Royal *Comestabuli* and the Counts' New Role

In the wake of the creation of the Sicilian monarchy, and the long conflict that extended for almost a decade, Roger II was ready to reorganise the entire country. According to the chronicle of Romuald of Salerno, after he overcame and destroyed enemies and traitors – both rebellious barons and imperial forces – and was accepted into the pope's grace, 'King Roger, after having obtained in his kingdom the order of complete peace, instituted chamberlains (*camerarii*) and justiciars (*iustitiiarii*) throughout all the land, promulgated laws newly drafted by him, and removed evil customs from their midst, in order to preserve the peace'.⁹²⁴ The institution of titles for the organisation and control of the peninsular province appears thus to have been an instrumental feature of the kingdom's social arrangement. However, the Sicilian monarchy employed more functionaries than simply justiciars and chamberlains.

The *Quaternus magne expeditionis* records use of the title 'constable' (*comestabulus*) and a territorial circumscription named 'constabulary' (*comestabulia*). Even if the title was well known in medieval Europe, the possible duties of a *comestabulus* varied considerably, from a commander-in-chief to a simple figure responsible for keeping stables and armaments. Scandone, for example, defined the royal *comestabulus* in Norman Italy as simply a 'cavalry general' (*generale di cavalleria*).⁹²⁵ These concepts, however, can be misleading if read under assumptions drawn from distinct temporal and spatial contexts, such as the contemporary duchy of Normandy or the Carolingian Empire. The use of this title in the *Quaternus*, and the social activities of its bearers suggest that the royal *comestabuli* in the continental territories of the Sicilian kingdom were employed in a more specific way. Was a *comestabulia* a fixed administrative district, or rather a type of social authority? In the kingdom's contemporary aristocratic society, the definitions for the Norman usage of the title *comestabulus* and the circumscription of *comestabulia* emerge as an obscure but crucial societal aspect of the control of the nobility on the mainland.

⁹²⁴ Romuald, p. 226.

⁹²⁵ Scandone, *Montella II*, pp. 28–29.

These royal *comestabuli* were not the only peninsular barons that operated in favour of the king's government. The new age of stability and peace inaugurated by the new policies of William II's reign after the expulsion of Gilbert of Gravina and Stephen of Perche opened a new chapter of comital intervention in the kingdom's politics. The delicate equilibrium of power achieved under the time of Roger, with the distinction between nobility and royal officials, was broken by the series of insurrections that had followed the creation of Robert of Bassunvilla as count of Loritello. Then, this balance was supplanted by the overlap of both comital and royal authorities on single agents of social control on the continental territories. This new model, inaugurated by the new appointments made by William I during times of war, was expanded under Queen Margaret's regency and finally became the norm by the end of William II's reign. During the last decades of the Hauteville dynasty in Sicily, a series of 'enhanced' counts occupied the highest positions amongst both the kingdom's nobility and the royal court's officials on the mainland. Without having to worry about or deal with insurrection or royal interference, the counts' authority was able to consolidate itself within the geographical boundaries of the counties, and the administrative and military functions of some of these counts flourished beyond their own dominions and into the spheres of royal government.

The king's military levy and the *comestabulia*

It must have been when the *quaterniones* were revised and put together into the surviving version of the *Quaternus* (c. 1168) that the headings containing the circumscription titles of *comitatus* and *comestabulia*⁹²⁶ were included. The headings are usually followed by their respective place names and subsequent entries belonging to the circumscriptions, and are not solely under the name of an overlord or an indication of an accountable functionary.⁹²⁷ The meaning and implication of *comestabulus* and *comestabulia* can be revealed by understanding the social position of those who bore them within the structures sketched in the *Quaternus*, and then expanding that position through the distinct perspectives offered in surviving documentation. The value held by the *Quaternus* for the study of social organisation lies precisely in its subdivision of the mainland nobility into the aforementioned circumscriptions. Instead of framing the object of study as an 'office,' my exploration rejects the assumption that the constabulary was a stable and impersonal

⁹²⁶ With an alternative spelling: *comestabilia*. *Catalogus Baronum*, ¶ 100 p. 18.

⁹²⁷ *Catalogus Baronum*, pp. xvii–xviii.

position, and instead renders it a dynamic social position of a functionary, determined by the common social role shared amongst those who bore the title.

Under this organisation the counts were a pivotal component, because as the major overlords of the lands, they were able to mobilise a vast number of soldiers. Instead of appealing directly to hundreds of unsubordinated lords (namely, those who held their *feuda* directly from the crown, *in capite Rege*), the royal court needed to rely on social brokers able to operate the logistics of putting an army together. The counts were the natural option for controlling the lower strata of the land-holding aristocracy; by controlling a handful of nobles the royal court would have access to hundreds of knights, without having to send orders to each of them individually. Another advantage of having a rich upper aristocracy with the economic resources that extensive *feuda* provided was that the magnates were also able to render considerable numbers of infantry. The only barons responsible for providing armed foot soldiers in the *Quaternus* were the only ones able to afford them: the counts and major land holders. The unsubordinated lords, on the other hand, were only recorded as responsible for providing knights for the army.

An April 1162 charter from Sicily sheds some light on the question of the military service lesser barons owed to the king. A certain John *male conuencionis*, son of the late Geoffrey, declared that he held the *castellum* of Calatrasi (in Sicily) directly from the crown (*ex sola gratia et misericordia Regie munificencie*), as a *feudum* for which he owed a service to the royal court (*feudi assuetum et statutum servicium curie*). John also declared himself unable to provide his *feudum*'s established service of eleven knights (*milites*), meant 'for the destruction of the king's traitors and enemies' (*ad destruendos proditores et inimicis suos [Regis]*), alleging that his *feudum* could only provide three. Together with Matthew of Partinico, John's brother Robert and the 'royal constables' (*regii comestabuli*) Richard of Mandra and Berengerius of Gisay, the royal court heard John's plea and agreed to take the *castellum* of Calatrasi and all its holdings from him, in exchange for another *feuda* in Sicily. For this, he would only owe the king three knights. The other holdings of the *castellum* were the casale of Lacumuca, a *feudum* of two knights, and the casale of Cellario, a *feudum* of one knight.⁹²⁸ It is perfectly clear that the service hereby owed was the military levy for the king's armed forces. It should be remembered at this stage that by April 1162, almost all the peninsular provinces were still in open rebellion, and William I needed to assemble an army in Sicily. With this, the king would cross the Straits of Messina and defeat the rebels later that year. It is also worth

⁹²⁸ Garufi, *Tabulario di Monreale*, App., no 1 pp. 161–63.

noting that John *male convencionis* was allowed to provide a smaller contingent of knights only after he surrendered his original *castellum* in exchange for *feuda* whose official value corresponded to the number of knights he claimed to be able to provide. Apparently, the court, although lenient, was not entirely convinced that his original *feudum* of Calatrasi was not valuable enough to provide the service of eleven knights previously agreed. Moreover, the ‘royal constables’ attested in this transaction were not actually the same type of constables recorded in the *Quaternus*. Both Richard of Mandra and Berengerius of Gisay subscribed this charter as *comestabuli*, and only Richard was recorded with the full title of *regius comestabulus*, but their presence in the royal court was a result of the role they played as commanders of the king’s guard in Palermo, not as local royal functionaries in charge of the mainland’s military levy.⁹²⁹ In Sicily there were no counties nor major overlords, so most of the land-holding and military administration must have been conducted by the Sicilian court directly. However, processes like the one illustrated in this charter must have been resolved in a similar manner, but without the direct intervention of the royal court and its employees. If lesser barons on the mainland could not attend a court in Palermo so easily, and if the royal court could not personally hear and execute this type of issue outside of the island, the royal administration must have relied on a body of local functionaries in charge of the king’s military service.

The counts, as both overlords and magnates, were powerful enough to have played a crucial role in the kingdom’s social organisation. However, this social power was as useful to the king’s government as it was a threat to the Sicilian centralising institutions. The opposition to the incipient monarchy, and the subsequent rebellions and insurrections that followed Roger II’s reign serve to support the argument that the kingdom’s nobility had the capacity to challenge the king’s rule over the mainland. The Sicilian king, nonetheless, needed that capacity in order to control the peninsular society; the counts were nodal points in the kingdom’s economic and military power, and as such were ultimately incorporated into its organisation.

In the midst of this dilemma, a middle ground between complete centralisation and baronial autonomy was reached in the figure of the *Quaternus*’ constables. Appointing lesser and local barons as royal commanders allowed the royal court to rely on a structure parallel to the economic hierarchy. The royal *comestabuli* attested in the *Quaternus* did not have the social prestige nor the economic resources of counts; they were not lords of other barons, and did not hold any special social rank (e.g. the comital

⁹²⁹ On Richard of Mandra, see above, on page 166.

title). However, these functionaries became commanders by extension of the king's privilege to demand a military levy. At the same time, they remained local barons whose economic power was no greater than that of the people they were supposed to mobilise and command when the great army was to be summoned. Neither a substitution nor a conflicting power, the structure of royal *comestabuli* functioned as an overlapping layer which adapted to the regional variations in Apulia and the Terra di Lavoro. These variations of supra-comital territorial arrangement can be grouped into three types:

- 1) in areas without major overlords or counties (most of the southern Adriatic coast, part of the Terra di Bari, and the more populated areas of the former principality of Salerno, outside the counties of Principato and Marsico), the royal *comestabuli* would have been responsible for mobilisation and inspection;
- 2) in regions where the counties were more dispersed and less extensive (such as the counties of Fondi, Caserta, Alife, and Carinola, and the lordships of the counts of Avellino and Buonalbergo in the Terra di Lavoro; the counties of Lesina, Civitate, and the shrunken, vacant Loritello in the Capitanata; the overlordship of Gesualdo, the Conza lordships of the count of Carinola, and the small county of Philip of Balvano in Irpina; and the counties of Gravina, Montescaglioso, and Tricarico, and the holdings *in demanio* of the count of Andria in the Basilicata), the *comestabuli* would have assisted in the grouping and coordination of the diverse military contingents;
- 3) where counties had been left vacant (Principato and Molise), the *comestabuli* would have taken over the logistical void, without becoming members of the comital rank.

Furthermore, despite the somewhat chaotic arrangement of the surviving version of the *Quaternus*, it is apparent that the recorded constabularies were not all equally important. The recorded sections under the heading *comestabulia* contain different numbers of total *milites* and *servientes* offered to the crown. Moreover, two constabularies are placed underneath as subordinated under other *comestabulia*, suggesting the existence of a hierarchy amongst the holders of the apparently same function. These are the *comestabulia* of Robert of Quallecta, which is 'of the same constabulary of Lampus of Fasanella' (*que est de eadem comestabulia Lampi de Fasanella*), and 'under the *comestabulia* of [late] Lampus, of the custody of Alfanus the chamberlain' (*que est subtus*

comestabulia Lampi de Fasanella, de baiulatione Alfani Camerarii); and the *comestabulia* of Richard son of Richard, ‘under the constabulary of Guimund of Montellari’ (*sub comestabulia Guimundi de Montellari*).⁹³⁰

The recorded presence of the royal *comestabuli*

The barons explicitly mentioned in the *Quaternus* as *comestabuli* or in charge of a *comestabulia* who are also not counts are: Fragalius of Bitricto, Angoth of Arcis, Guimundus of Montellari, Alfanus the chamberlain, Lampus of Fasanella, Gilbert of Balvano, Rogerius Bursellus, William Scalfonus, Richard son of Richard, and Robert of Quallecta. There are two instances in which a *comestabulus* is attested as a count as well: Count Roger of Tricarico, and, in the Abruzzo, Count Bohemund of Manopello. The case of the latter has already been discussed, and should be understood within the context of the organisation of the Abruzzo as an annexed province.⁹³¹ These barons comprise the first identifiable group of *comestabuli* who shaped the function of intermediaries between the royal *curia* and the other barons during the mid-twelfth century.

The case of Count Roger of Tricarico is remarkably different from the rest. Although the entry in the *Quaternus* reads ‘of the constabulary of the county of Tricarico’ (*De comestabilia comitatus Tricarici*), Jamison believed that a copyist substituted the word *comitatus* for *comitis* and the initial letter of Roger’s name.⁹³² Furthermore, a subsequent addition to this entry indicated that this ‘comital constabulary’ belonged to the so-called principality of Taranto. It seems, hence, that the original *quaternion* grouped the barons of this area under Count Roger I of Tricarico, and not Roger II, son of Robert of Lauro who, by 1150, must have also been appointed royal *comestabulus* by Roger II. As has already been discussed, a certain Count Roger held Tricarico from some point after 1143, when Count Geoffrey of Tricarico was attested for the last time, until the last peninsular insurgency against William I’s regime, in which he appears to have been involved as a rebel nobleman.⁹³³ It is unclear why Roger II’s court would have entrusted the count of Tricarico with the duties of a peninsular *comestabulus*, a situation that the monarch avoided in every other instance.

It should be considered, however, that in 1150 the area around the valleys of the gulf of Taranto (modern Basilicata) mostly comprised scattered lordships; the county of

⁹³⁰ *Catalogus Baronum*, ¶¶ 396* p. 71, 463* p. 86, 604* p. 110.

⁹³¹ See above, on page 87.

⁹³² *Catalogus Baronum*, p. 18 n. d.

⁹³³ See above, on page 76.

Gravina had not yet been created, Count Geoffrey of Tricarico appears to have either been removed or died, and the count of Montescaglioso had just been recently appointed. Perhaps it was not that Count Roger of Tricarico was made a constable, but that the constable in charge of overseeing the region was given the county of Tricarico. Despite the lack of evidence for the early counts of Tricarico, this would explain the origin of Count Roger I of Tricarico. A loyal local baron would have been thus rewarded with comital rank, and given a privileged position with which to exercise his royal appointment as regional military commander. By 1168, the situation in the Basilicata was very different, with the presence of Count Gilbert of Gravina and Count Roger II of Tricarico, son of Robert of Lauro, count of Caserta. Nonetheless, it changed even more after 1169: Tancred of Lecce was given the county of Montescaglioso, together with some additional lordships that would later be known as the county of Lecce. The reference to the principality of Taranto must have been appended to some of the entries in the *Quaternus* when the register was subsequently copied as a territorial indicator of what was Tancred of Lecce's county and authority.⁹³⁴ By the end of the Norman period, Count Tancred of Lecce had become not only the most prominent noble in southern Apulia, but a count and *magnus comestabulus* closely tied to the Sicilian royal court. As such, he must have taken the regional military duties that Roger of Tricarico once exercised as *comestabulus*.⁹³⁵

There are two lesser tenants in the *Quaternus* who are also recorded as *comestabuli*, but without any reference to their overseeing or engagement with the other barons. These tenants are Berengarius of Giso, who has been identified as Peregrinus of Gisay, and Peter Cacapice. Peregrinus/Berengarius 'acquired' Viggiano, a *feudum* valued at four *milites* and located in southern Apulia, between the Cilento region and the valleys of what is known today as Basilicata.⁹³⁶ A subsequent entry in the *Quaternus* attests Berengarius/Peregrinus of Gisay, 'constable' (*comestabulus*), as lord of *Sarconem* and *Pertecaram*, each one a *feudum* of two *milites*.⁹³⁷ It is uncertain exactly where these two places were located, but Jamison has suggested that *Sarconem* might be modern Sarconi, and *Pertecaram* the now ruined Torre di Perticara; neither is far from Viggiano, the *feudum*, and both are located in the Agri valley (south of modern Basilicata). Viggiano was also recorded as part of the so-called principality of Taranto, meaning that it was part of the lordships that were originally held directly from the king and subsequently placed

⁹³⁴ Jamison, 'Additional Work on the Catalogus Baronum', pp. 54–55. Also, see above, on page 238.

⁹³⁵ On Tancred of Lecce, see below, pages 238 and 278.

⁹³⁶ *Catalogus Baronum*, ¶ 108 p. 20.

⁹³⁷ *Catalogus Baronum*, ¶ 483 p. 91.

under the authority of Count Tancred of Lecce.⁹³⁸ This same Berengarius was present as a *comestabulus* when the royal court permuted the holdings of John *male conuencionis*.⁹³⁹ It is clear that he was a commander of the royal military household, and not a baron involved in the recruitment of the peninsular aristocracy. Peter Cacapice, on the other hand, held only two *feuda* of two *milites*, and the *Quaternus* records him explicitly as *comestabulus de Neapoli*, an urban responsibility that definitely does not place its bearer in the same position in the *Quaternus* as the other *comestabuli*.⁹⁴⁰ Hence, it seems clear that neither of these barons had a responsibility to the royal *curia* with respect to the articulation of the military aristocracy in the peninsular provinces.

The same barons bearing the title of *comestabulus* also held other administrative duties. Jamison, in her assumption that the country was subdivided into equivalent judicial circuits and constabularies, pointed out that the ‘office’ of a royal *comestabulus* and that of a royal justiciar (*iustitiarius regius*) were frequently held by the same person.⁹⁴¹ This is inaccurate; only three out of the eleven *comestabuli* or heads of *Quaternus*’ constabularies are attested to have held the title of *iustitiarius*: Gilbert of Balvano,⁹⁴² Guimundus of Montellari,⁹⁴³ and Lampus of Fasanella.⁹⁴⁴

The comparison of the indications contained in the available records where these individuals were present in their capacity, as depicted by the titles employed, confirms that the overlapping of functions performed as justiciars was far less common than was previously believed. A similar comparison from the point of view of the *iustitiiarii*, which emphasised the geographical indications in the records of suits, has suggested that a justiciar exercised a double role as constable in the same geographical area.⁹⁴⁵ Jamison hence concluded that a *comestabulia* formed at the same time a well-defined judicial circuit. However, the surviving charters do not provide any overt indication of the alleged military duties these justiciars could have exercised as dual functionaries carrying the title of *comestabulus*. Although this apparent coincidence is of course incomplete, and relies on the assumed existence of a homogenous and fixed administrative grid over the territory (namely, judicial circuits and constabularies), it does reveal a fundamental feature of the

⁹³⁸ See above, on page 238.

⁹³⁹ See above, note 928.

⁹⁴⁰ *Catalogus Baronum*, ¶¶ 833 pp. 151–52, 904 p. 161.

⁹⁴¹ Jamison, ‘Norman Administration’, p. 338.

⁹⁴² Prignano, ‘Historia’, fol. 108v (a. 1149).

⁹⁴³ Cava, *Arca* xxvii.117 (a.1151); Montecassino, *Ex Chartis Civ. Troie* caps. cxvo.i.1 (a. 1155–1156), ed. in Jamison, ‘Norman Administration’, App., nos 8 pp. 463–64, 11 pp. 468–70. Guimundus, and his son after him, held *Castellucium* (modern Castelluccio Valmaggiore, W of Foggia) a *feudum* of two *milites*. *Catalogus Baronum*, ¶ 396 p. 71.

⁹⁴⁴ See below, on page 274.

⁹⁴⁵ Jamison, ‘Norman Administration’, p. 338.

social organisation within the kingdom's administration: the fluid overlapping of functions and responsibilities.

If, then, the title of *comestabulus* marks a social role rather than the existence of a regionally fixed office, a closer examination of the position and activities of those functionaries who appear as such in the *Quaternus* would seem to be the logical first step. This is a fundamental piece of evidence, for the barons acting as royal functionaries are depicted as being in actual possession of the title or the circumscription.

The usage of the title of *comestabulus* in Norman Italy

The reorganisation of the mainland provinces in the wake of the civil war brought with it the need to forge new relationships between the royal court and the territorial nobility who held positions of authority in the mainland provinces. A royal commander in charge of directly contacting forces which, as was pointed out above, were not under direct royal control, could therefore improve the king's capacity for military control. In the early 1130s, Roger II started to reorganise the military command to help defend the peninsular dominions of the newly created kingdom. The first instance of this plan is found in Falco of Benevento's *Chronicon*. According to the Beneventan notary, Roger II appointed in 1132 a *comestabulus* at Montefusco in order to strike fear into the city, and ultimately protect the royal interests from the urban party in favour of pope Innocent II.⁹⁴⁶ The earliest known diplomatic evidence for the royal *comestabuli* of Montefusco is found in a donation of 1137, in which a certain individual named Pagan *filius Andree* calls himself *comestabulus domini regis Montisfusculis*.⁹⁴⁷ These functionaries are further mentioned at intervals in documents throughout the period.⁹⁴⁸

This is a convenient moment to elaborate on the fact that one of the earliest uses of the title *comestabulus* in contemporary sources for Norman Italy is found in Falco's *Chronicon*, years before the creation of the Sicilian kingdom: when Pope Paschal II appointed Landulf of Greca as *comestabulus Beneventanorum*,⁹⁴⁹ in order to make the city 'safe and kept so much in the future from the disorders which often menaced it and from the frequent conspiracies fomented against the lord pope'.⁹⁵⁰ Falco, furthermore,

⁹⁴⁶ Falco, p. 146.

⁹⁴⁷ *Cod. Dipl. Verginiano*, II, no 243 pp. 179–82.

⁹⁴⁸ Jamison, 'Norman Administration', p. 250 n. 4.

⁹⁴⁹ Loud has identified him as the Landulf of Greca mentioned by Cuozzo as the father of the baron Tadeus of Greca, who formerly held a *feudum* precisely at Montefusco. Loud, *Creation of the Kingdom*, p. 134; Cuozzo, *Commentario*, p. 115.

⁹⁵⁰ Falco, pp. 6–7; Loud, *Creation of the Kingdom*, p. 134.

refers multiple times to a position called the *honor comestabiliae*, or simply the *comestabilia*, as a sort of a ‘constabship’ appointed by either the pope or the archbishop of Benevento.⁹⁵¹ This same Landulf is subsequently presented in 1119 as the *comestabulus* of Montefusco, although there is no clear explanation how he acquired such an honour.⁹⁵² However, Falco does state later that in 1120 some friends of Landulf de Greca requested that the pope allow him, by then a former *comestabulus*, the right to live in the city of Benevento, for Landulf had been living in Montefusco for the previous three years.⁹⁵³ Throughout Falco’s narrative, Landulf is presented as struggling against the Norman threat, the archbishop of Benevento, and the city itself, in order to secure the privileged position within the city’s military command he had through the constabship granted originally by the pope. Cardinal priest Gerard conceded the same position in 1132, conceived on this occasion as both *honor* and *potestas*, to Rolpoto of S. Eustasius, commander of the city’s knights.⁹⁵⁴ This appointment was made in order to counter the aforementioned king’s *comestabulus* of Montefusco. Although the example of the *comestabulus* of Benevento sheds some light on the use of the royal *comestabulus* and *comestabilia* on the peninsula before the arrival of Roger II, it must be considered carefully as an honour within the context of urban military organisation in Benevento, rather than an immediate model for the later royal functionary.

Apart from these urban constables, there is another usage of the title *comestabulus* outside of the royal context that should likewise be pointed out: the ducal constables in Apulia. The earliest ducal constable identified is Rainulf Brito, baron of S. Agatha, attested as *celestes opitulante grata ducalis comestabulus* in documents from 1086,⁹⁵⁵ 1092,⁹⁵⁶ and 1095.⁹⁵⁷ In all of these documents, Rainulf is recorded together with his son Joel, who in turn is later attested as a ducal constable in a donation he made to Cava in July 1121.⁹⁵⁸ Joel’s will is recorded one month after, and in this document he is again referred to as a *comestabulus*.⁹⁵⁹ It is known that Joel was dead by 1127, for his son

⁹⁵¹ Falco, pp. 16–31.

⁹⁵² Falco, pp. 44–45.

⁹⁵³ Falco, p. 56.

⁹⁵⁴ Falco, p. 146.

⁹⁵⁵ Cava, *Arm. Mag.* C.7, ed. in Martino Martini, *Feudalità e monachesimo cavense in Puglia, I: Terra di Capitanata (S. Agata di Puglia)* (Martina Franca: Casa Ed. Apulia, 1915), no 1 pp. 39–41; Ménager, *Recueil des actes*, no 55 pp. 187–91. This charter has been identified as a ‘suspect’, and a forgery, at least in its present form. Carlone, *Falsificazioni e falsari*, p. 10; Giovanni Vitolo, *Insediamenti cavensi in Puglia* (Galatina: Congedo, 1984), pp. 83–84.

⁹⁵⁶ *Cod. Dipl. Aversa*, no 6 pp. 10–11.

⁹⁵⁷ Cava, *Arm. Mag.* D.6, ed. in Martini, *Terra di Capitanata*, no 4 pp. 43–45.

⁹⁵⁸ Cava, *Arm. Mag.* F.19, ed. in Martini, *Terra di Capitanata*, no 9 pp. 47–48. Carlone has identified the charter as a forgery, but no further explanation is provided. Carlone, *Falsificazioni e falsari*, panel 35.

⁹⁵⁹ Cava, *Arm. Mag.* F.20, ed. in Martini, *Terra di Capitanata*, no 10 pp. 48–50.

Richard made a donation to Cava for the memory of his father in 1127, in which he is attested as *celesti largita gratia ducalis comestabulus*.⁹⁶⁰ This is the same Richard, son of Rohel [Joel], who later in 1133, after the accession of King Roger, handed the town of S. Agatha over to whomsoever Roger II wished.⁹⁶¹ In addition to this apparent dynasty of ducal constables, there is also the case of Briennus/Brittinus *comestabulus*, who witnessed a series of charters issued by Duke Roger Borsa: one in favour of Venosa (1088), another in favour of Montecassino (1090), and two donations to the bishopric of Melfi (1094 and 1097).⁹⁶² Briennus was dead by September 1112, when his widow, daughter of count Tasso, made a donation to her *vicecomes*.⁹⁶³

However, these early instances are still far from the type of royal constables under whom lesser tenants were ordered in the *Quaternus*. During the kingdom's first decade, a time of constant rebellion and foreign threat, Roger II established temporary military leaders who were entrusted with the defence of the mainland territories.⁹⁶⁴ According to Jamison, a system was created through the implementation of such commanders, mostly during the time when the king faced the third noble uprising and the imperial-papal league against him. She claimed that the existence of 'special officers' at the head of the local forces in Apulia could be traced to the time Robert of Selby retreated to Salerno in 1137.⁹⁶⁵ Jamison furthermore suggested that this was followed by the consolidation of a system in which the peninsular territories – at least in Apulia – were divided into 'districts', namely, the *comestabulie*, and that the barons in each district were grouped under the command of an appointed constable.⁹⁶⁶ Although neither Jamison nor those who have subsequently used her claim do not provide direct evidence for the existence of those special officers in 1137, they presume the inauguration of the *comestabuli* plan from an incident attested in the Montecassino *Chronica*.⁹⁶⁷ The abbot-elect of Montecassino, in the context of the imperial German invasion, narrowly escaped when passing through the Terra Beneventana on his way to meet the German emperor at Lagopesole, being

⁹⁶⁰ Cava, *Arm. Mag.* F.43, ed. in Martini, *Terra di Capitanata*, no 14 pp. 52–53.

⁹⁶¹ *Al. Tel.*, bk 2 chap. 51 pp. 47–48.

⁹⁶² Houben, *Die Abtei Venosa*, no 54 pp. 284–87; Tommaso Leccisotti, *Le colonie cassinesi in Capitanata, IV: Troia* (Montecassino: Vallecchi, 1957), no 15 pp. 69–71; *Italia Sacra*, VII, cols 923–24.

⁹⁶³ *Cod. Dipl. Verginiano*, II, no 122 pp. 93–96.

⁹⁶⁴ Jamison, 'Norman Administration', pp. 250–54.

⁹⁶⁵ Robert of Selby had succeeded the late Guarin at the chancery and, thus, as commander in charge of the defence in Capua in 1137. The papal and imperial army dislodged the royal forces, forcing Robert's retreat. For a relevant discussion, see Jamison, 'Norman Administration', pp. 252, 257, 271–72. On Robert of Selby, see Caspar, *Roger II*, pp. 302–3; Haskins, p. 437; Caravale, p. 149; Horst Enzensberger, *Beiträge zum Kanzlei- und Urkundenwesen der normannischen Herrscher Unteritaliens und Siziliens*, Münchener historische Studien. Abteilung geschichtliche Hilfswissenschaften, Bd. 9 (Kallmünz: M. Lassleben, 1971), p. 75; Brühl, *Urkunden und Kanzlei König Rogers II. von Sizilien*, pp. 45–52.

⁹⁶⁶ Jamison, 'Norman Administration', p. 252.

⁹⁶⁷ For example, Takayama, *Administration of the Kingdom*, p. 64 n. 84.

delivered by the inhabitants of Guardia Lombardi into the hands of Robbertus de Morra and the aforementioned *comestabulus* Gilbert de Balvano, ‘who was in charge of King Roger’s army’ (*qui exercitui Rogerii regis preerant*).⁹⁶⁸ Though neither of these commanders is described as *comestabulus* in the chronicle, both are attested in the *Quaternus* as tenants of the region.⁹⁶⁹

Use of the title of *comestabulus* is not subsequently evidenced until the first drafts of the *Quaternus*, in 1150. By tracing the social interactions of the *comestabuli* identified earlier, one can note the absence of activities conducted under that title in the decades before and after 1150. These barons are mostly recorded in private documents, such as donations and other transactions during this time. This may indicate a shift in the mechanisms employed by the royal *curia*, mostly after the accession of King William I.

The invasion in the years 1155–1156, together with the concert of rebellious barons, provoked a period of unrest that may have forced King William I to rearrange his organisation of the peninsula. According to Pseudo-Falcandus, Count Simon of Policastro was placed in command of a large army in Apulia, together with Chancellor Asclettin.⁹⁷⁰ This Simon bore precisely the title of *comestabulus*, as is indicated further on in the same text, in that we are told that Count Simon was called back to Palermo on suspicion of conspiracy, and in his place another *comestabulus* was appointed.⁹⁷¹ It may not be safe to assume that Simon was actually the ‘master constable’ (*magister comestabulus*) in charge of the army of all Apulia and the Terra di Lavoro, rather than simply the constable in charge of the royal household’s armed forces.

Although Simon was soon replaced as *comestabulus*, as indicated above, the use of the title in southern Italy seems to have continued. Gilbert de Balvano was regarded as ‘royal master constable’ (*regius magister comestabulus*), in a judicial confirmation in favour of the monastery of All the Saints at Cuti (just outside of Bari), which was issued on 5 April 1155 by the royal justiciars William of Tivilla and Robert the seneschal.⁹⁷² Cuozzo has suggested that the *magister comestabulus* was a new office instituted by William I’s government in order to coordinate the command of the army in the region.⁹⁷³ However, given that Gilbert of Balvano died in 1156, his inclusion in the *Quaternus* can

⁹⁶⁸ *Chron. Cas.*, bk 4 p. 571.

⁹⁶⁹ Robert of Morra was a lesser tenant than Gilbert of Balvano, having held a *feudum* of two *milites* in *Castellione*, near the present-day town of Morra de Sanctis, located in the province of Avellino, 55 km. SE of Benevento. *Catalogus Baronum*, ¶ 696 p. 123.

⁹⁷⁰ See above, note 384.

⁹⁷¹ *Falcandus*, p. 68.

⁹⁷² *Pergamene di S. Nicola di Bari*, no 112 pp. 190–92.

⁹⁷³ Cuozzo, ‘Balvano’, p. 65.

be dated to the elaboration of the first draft in 1150.⁹⁷⁴ It could be assumed, therefore, that a similar administrative responsibility existed for the command of the levied forces on the peninsula during the latter days of Roger II. One should remember that Gilbert de Balvano had previously been in command of the royal forces in Apulia in 1137, and soon thereafter his services to the crown were extended through his service as a justiciar (*iustitiarius*), together with chancellor Robert of Selby, at a court held in Melfi in 1149.⁹⁷⁵ Gilbert of Balvano appears to have held *feuda* totalling twenty *milites* and located around the towns of Rocchetta S. Antonio, Lacedonia, and Monteverde, east of the Irpina mountainous region, and Valle di Vitalba, 30 km. south of Melfi.⁹⁷⁶ Gilbert's tenancy area is located thus at the centre of Apulia. Although the person recorded as the tenant of these *feuda* is his son, Richard of Balvano, in all likelihood Gilbert was the former tenant, most likely replaced in the 1168 revision. Gilbert's epithetical town and his influential family's place of origin, although not far from this region (40 km. south of Valle di Vitalba), was actually in a different area, much closer to the territories of the historical principality of Salerno. On the other hand, Gilbert of Balvano's *comestabulia* was located east of his lands, in the Irpina, and it contained, amongst other lesser barons, the dominions of Count Philip of Balvano (Gilbert's nephew), Elias of Gesualdo, and the Conza lordships of the count of Carinola.⁹⁷⁷ The seemingly prolific activities of this character may serve as an example of how the royal court was able to articulate its military and political agenda in the mainland territories aside from the tenancy structure, where the counts would have been the intermediaries between the Palermitan *curia* and the lesser tenants. Gilbert was, nevertheless, succeeded shortly after by Maio of Bari's brother-in-law, Simon.⁹⁷⁸

Although it previously overlapped with the title of simple *comestabulus* by Gilbert de Balvano, by the end of William I's reign the figure of *magister comestabulus*, seems to have acquired a very distinct meaning from the *comestabulus* as understood in the *Quaternus*. After Gilbert de Gravina, who had been appointed *magister capitaneus totius Apulie et principatus Capue*, was expelled from the realm, the subsequent royal generals on the mainland bore the title of 'great constable' (*magnus comestabulus*). It seems clear that the title of master or great constable carried different functions and responsibilities from those of the *comestabulus* of the *Quaternus*. Whereas the *magnus comestabulus*

⁹⁷⁴ *Necrologio di S. Matteo*, p. 108.

⁹⁷⁵ See above, notes 942 and 968.

⁹⁷⁶ Cava, *Arm. Mag.* H.10, edited in Carlone, *Rocchetta S. Antonio*, pp. 137–38; *Catalogus Baronum*, ¶ 433 p. 78.

⁹⁷⁷ See above, on page 255.

⁹⁷⁸ See above, on page 135.

implied a joint command of the armed forces of Apulia and Capua, the royal *comestabulus* seems to have been related to heterogeneous contingent units of barons spread across the land.

When recorded in documents of private transactions, the individuals identified as *comestabuli* do not bear that title. I have not found, so far, a recorded instance in which a royal *comestabulus* is presented as such. In the few instances where Guimund of Montellari, Lampus of Fasanella, and Gilbert of Balvano appear as participants of a *curia*, they are presented solely as justiciars. If these people presided over provincial courts, or issued orders to local royal chamberlains, they did so in a judicial capacity, which does not appear to correlate with their functions in the military service structure. The apparent overlapping of the titles of *comestabulus* and *iustitiarius* is presented, hence, as the result of the proximity that these barons already had with the royal court, and not necessarily as a constituent feature of the office of royal justiciar. As both local barons and functionaries of the crown, the king's justiciars on the mainland must have been seen as a convenient alternative to the noblemen that held the counties of the mainland for assisting with the logistics behind the *magna expeditio* and the king's peninsular army.

Social differences between a royal *comestabulus* and a *iustitiarius* The case of Lampus of Fasanella

A crucial question arises: would a contemporary baron refer to a *comestabulus* as such, in a context not directly related to military activity? Opposed to the social relevance of a *iustitiarius* as judicial warrantor and organiser of local *curie*, the people in charge of the military levy and the local command of armed forces appear to be of secondary importance to the private transactions.

Lampus de Fasanella, for example, appears to have been an active social actor in the region of Salerno. Starting as a *fidelis* of Count Nicolas of Principato, Lampus of Fasanella became a royal official in the former principality of Salerno. Cuozzo has inferred that, in a March 1141 document from Salerno concerning the land boundaries of the church of St Peter of Toro, Lampus de Fasanella may have acted under the king's authority as a result of his titles as *iustitiarius* and *comestabulus*.⁹⁷⁹ The charter, nevertheless, recorded him only as 'Lampus, lord of Fasanella' (*Lampus domno de Fasanella*).⁹⁸⁰ Later, in 1143, when attending the court of William, archbishop of Salerno,

⁹⁷⁹ Cuozzo, 'Milites e testes', p. 146.

⁹⁸⁰ *Pergamene di Salerno*, no 103 pp. 199–201, at 201.

Lampus is recorded solely as *iustificator regie justice*.⁹⁸¹ In 1146, Lampus witnessed, together with archbishop William, bishop Johannes of Paestum, royal chancellor Robbertus, chamberlain Adenulf, Simon of Tivilla, and Fulco of Divilla, amongst other barons, a donation made by his wife Emma to the monastery of Cava.⁹⁸² In 1150 and 1151, he is recorded as *dominus de Fasanella* and *iustitarius*, together with his colleague Florius de Camerota.⁹⁸³

Although he appears to have received the office of *comestabulus* c. 1150, in that he is recorded in the *Quaternus* as such, his documented social activities after that year do not refer to him as bearing that title. There are no entries in the *Quaternus* that directly record Lampus as a baron. However, some entries attest Lampus as the former tenant of a series of *feuda*, which may suggest how Lampus' tenancy might have been in 1150, having subsequently lost it before the time of the second revision (1167–1168). Lampus' original tenure can be geographically grouped into two general areas of Salerno: in the region of Cilento (Corneto, Trentinara, Magliano Vetere, and Selefone) he held *feuda* of five *milites*; whereas in the region around the Monti Alburni, where his epithet is from (Sant'Angelo a Fasanella, Pantoliano, Castelcivita and Sicignano degli Alburni), he held *feuda* of eight *milites*.⁹⁸⁴

Lampus' last recorded appearance is found in an April 1152 charter by which he, together with his son Robert, sold two pieces of land with a vineyard and orchard at Fellingine to the abbey of Cava. Interestingly enough, Lampus is recorded in this transaction only as 'lord of Fasanella' (*dominus de Fasanella*), without any overt mention of any other title or royal office, and the payment received for this sale was declared to have been used to pay the debt Lampus and his son owed to the [royal] court.⁹⁸⁵ The origin and motive of the debt that the lord of Fasanella appears to have owed to the royal court is uncertain. It could be argued that he was indebted to the crown as a consequence of losing the king's favour; Cuozzo has suggested that he might have joined the hypothetical rebellion of the count of Principato, having identified Lampus as a 'loyal man' (*fidelis*)

⁹⁸¹ Cava, *Arca* xxv.3, 38, 40. In Haskins, p. 643, n. 112; Jamison, 'Norman Administration', Calendar no 13, p. 415. The title *iustificator regis* is equivalent to that of *iustitarius*; Jamison, 'Norman Administration', 281.

⁹⁸² Cava, *Arca* xxvi.45. Simon of Tivilla was the third husband of Sarracena, mother of Count Robert of Caserta. See above, note 272.

⁹⁸³ *Roger II Diplomata*, App. 2, no 7 pp. 274–76; *Pergamene di Salerno*, no 123 pp. 269–71. Cf. Jamison, who also edited the same document but appears to have confused the location of the original document. Jamison, 'Norman Administration', App., no 9 pp. 464–66.

⁹⁸⁴ *Catalogus Baronum*, ¶¶ 442 p. 81, 487–89 pp. 92–93.

⁹⁸⁵ 'Quas videlicet uncias auri ipsipater et filius ut dictum est se sescepisse dixerunt pro solvendo debito quod ab eis curie debetur'. The payment consisted of 50 ounces of gold in 'Sarracen' tari (*quinquaginta uncias auri tarenorum saracenorum monete*). Cava, *Arca* xxviii.37.

of counts Nicholas and William (III).⁹⁸⁶ Entries in the *Quaternus* suggest that some of his lands were taken from him, or that at least his son Robert was not allowed to inherit them.⁹⁸⁷ However, there is no evidence to suggest that Lampus was either hostile to the monarchy or acted in insubordination, and much less that he participated in a rebellion. He would have already been in debt in 1152, four years before the first open rebellion after the end of the civil war in 1139. In any case, it is clear that Lampus of Fasanella had ceased to be the *comestabulus* in the Salernitan region by 1167, and he was no longer active as a lord of Fasanella after 1152; either he was removed by the royal court or, most likely, died c. 1153.

The case of Florius of Camerota, who, together with Lampus of Fasanella, attended a provincial court in 1150 and 1151 as a justiciar, sheds further light on the question of the *iustitiarius-comestabulus* overlap. Florius served as a *iustitiarius* in Capua in 1158,⁹⁸⁸ and in Aversa in 1162.⁹⁸⁹ He was sent into exile in Jerusalem, according to a letter of Pope Alexander III.⁹⁹⁰ Florius must have then been pardoned and welcomed back into the kingdom and the king's court, for he was amongst the officials in the royal *curia* held in Messina when Richard of Mandra, count of Molise, was judged and sentenced.⁹⁹¹ Florius subsequently resumed his activities as *iustitiarius* in Salerno, as he is attested in 1172⁹⁹² and 1174.⁹⁹³ Despite Florius of Camerota's documented prolific social activities and long career as a royal functionary, it was Lampus who held the title of *comestabulus* for their common region and social circle.

Equivalent social relations in the mainland's military organisation

The vast diversity of social profiles of royal *comestabuli* recorded in the *Quaternus* does not allow for an easy or homogenous conception of this class of royal functionaries to begin with. From figures as influential as the *magister* Gilbert of Balvano, to lesser tenants such as Angoth of Arcis, the scope of the title and its potential field of action vary greatly. Consequently, it seems rather unlikely that such disparate social actors, having

⁹⁸⁶ Cuzzo, 'Milites e testes', pp. 126–27.

⁹⁸⁷ *Catalogus Baronum*, ¶¶ 442 p. 81, 487–89 pp. 92–93.

⁹⁸⁸ See above, note 496.

⁹⁸⁹ *Cod. Dipl. Aversa*, no 70 pp. 120–21. Loud's suggested date to this document is 1161–1162, against the suggestion of 1158 offered by Gallo and unchallenged by Enzensberger and Cuzzo. Cf.

Enzensberger, *Beiträge zum Kanzlei*, p. 100; Cuzzo, *Commentario*, p. 133.

⁹⁹⁰ 'Epistolae et Privilegia. Alexander III', in *Patrologia Latina*, ed. by Jacques P. Migne, 200 (Paris, 1855), cols 69–1320 (no 303 cols 332–33).

⁹⁹¹ See above, note 667.

⁹⁹² Del Giudice, App. 1, no 27 pp. liii–lviii, at lv.

⁹⁹³ Cava, *Arca xxxiv*.91, ed. in Loud, 'New Evidence for the Workings of the Royal Administration in Mainland Southern Italy in the later Twelfth Century', pp. 408–10.

thus non-equivalent social positions, would have shared the same administrative place. The overlapping of different social functions for the same individual does not necessarily imply an institutional correspondence. Hence, distinguishing a *iustitiarius* from a *comestabulus*, and a *comestabulia* from any sort of defined and fixed circuit seems to be a more adequate way of defining these concepts. Instead of approaching the *Quaternus*' constables as an office, bound to the administration of justice, one should consider how it appears from the attested activities of the titles' bearers: a specific military function for social and contingent articulation, exercised by local barons by direct appointment from the royal administration.

Just as the idea of contrasting social positions argues against the idea of a common and defined social class from which these functionaries might have been drawn, it also suggests the existence, at least, of an equivalent social linkage. In their capacity as leaders of armed and equipped soldiers, both the counts and the lesser barons who acted as royal officials were mediating commanders who played a role in the organisation of the kingdom's armed forces scattered across the mainland. As military commanders, the royal *comestabuli* appear to have acted as social brokers who responded to the different local arrangements of their communities. In this way, the border regions such as the northern territories of the Terra di Lavoro and the Capitanata would have required an entirely different network for drafting the military levy than the local tenants in the Terra di Bari and the former principality of Salerno, although the function would have been the same. Therefore, the royal *comestabulia* must not have referred to the military counterpart of the judicial circuits, but to the different social groupings from which the information for the record of the general levy originated, without deliberate and vertical planning of territorial divisions. The constables were an alternative to the articulation of the continental armed forces, in that their military position extrapolated the social brokerage of the counts, without creating more overlords and expanding the comital rank.

The counts and the kingdom's 'international relations' (1174–1178) A defining moment of peace and alliance

The period between 1174–1178 was a milestone in the reign of William II. Four years had passed since his mother's regency and the turmoil of her relative's chancellorship. The reconfigured royal court that followed the transient takeover that pushed Chancellor Stephen and Count Gilbert of Gravina out of the realm enacted a visibly distinct policy. Archbishop Walter of Palermo, the king's former tutor, and the new royal *familiares*

demonstrated a different attitude towards the continental nobility, which appears to have given an implicit liberty to the kingdom's counts who for decades the Sicilian monarchy had either restricted or combatted; nevertheless, the years of internal division and insurrection were left in the past. Not only was the prominent count of Conversano and Loritello pardoned and restored back into his critical dual county, but some figures of the nobility were actually more involved in the kingdom's external policy. Several events of the years 1174–1178 illustrate the fundamental role that some of the counts played in foreign affairs.

First, in July 1174, William II shifted his gaze eastward and launched his first foreign campaign. The king collected a large fleet, commanded by his cousin, for an attack on Egypt. The plan was for a two-front assault on Saladin in Egypt: one coming overland from Jerusalem, led by King Amalric and the other coming from Sicily, besieging Alexandria. Although the Sicilians were able to land and lay siege to Alexandria, Saladin was ready to deal with the Sicilian threat directly, and caught them by surprise. The invading forces were forced to abandon the siege, and sailed back to Sicily.⁹⁹⁴ Given both Tancred's kinship with the king and the role he subsequently played as a military commander and great constable, he was without doubt the cousin whom William II sent as an admiral to Alexandria. Furthermore, the county of Lecce offered a strategic position in the Salento peninsula (the kingdom's eastern-most point) and on the Adriatic southern coast, which must have facilitated Tancred's efforts to mobilise a fleet and gather knights and naval recruits from Apulia.

Two years later, in March 1176, King William II appears to have sent armed forces to the northern frontier of the kingdom in order to oppose the German army. The German archbishop of Mainz, Christian of Buch, was back in the Italian peninsula, and again he crossed the Alps not as a diplomat but as a military commander.⁹⁹⁵ The *Annales Casinenses* recorded that, in 1176, Christian, chancellor of the emperor, besieged Carsoli, and that Counts Roger of Andria and Tancred of Lecce, together with 'other counts' (*cum*

⁹⁹⁴ Ibn al-Athir described the Sicilian army as a massive contingent of 200 warships, 36 ships carrying horses, six ships full of siege engines, forty supply ships, and transporting 1,500 knights, 50,000 foot-soldiers and 500 archers; William of Tyre recorded a fleet of 200 Sicilian ships sailing towards Alexandria, whereas the *Annales Pisani* said that it comprised 150 galleys and 50 transport ships. *William of Tyre*, II, bk 21 chap. 3 p. 963; *Biblioteca arabo-sicula*, ed. by Michele Amari, 2 vols (Turin/Rome: Ermanno Loescher, 1880), I, pp. 493–96; *The Chronicle of Ibn Al-Athir for the Crusading Period from Al-Kāmil Fī'l-Ta'rīkh*, trans. by Donald S. Richards, 3 vols (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), II, pp. 229–30; *Chron. de Ferraria*, p. 31; *Annales Casinenses*, p. 312; Lupo Gentile, p. 43. Cf. Michele Amari, *Storia dei Musulmani di Sicilia*, ed. by Carlo A. Nallino, 2nd edn, 3 vols (Catania: R. Prampolini, 1939), III, pp. 507–9; Chalandon, II, pp. 395–97. For an important discussion of this episode, see Charles D. Stanton, *Norman Naval Operations in the Mediterranean*, *Warfare in History* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2011), pp. 146–48.

⁹⁹⁵ On Christian of Buch, see above, note 575.

aliis comitibus), marched there to oppose him⁹⁹⁶ The *Annales Ceccanenses* recorded another version of the same episode: the town of Carsoli was besieged by the imperial chancellor, and ‘the counts of the king of Sicily’ (*Comites regis Siciliae*) rose up against him with a vast army; however, on 10 March, the Germans were victorious and captured the city, and the Sicilians turned and took flight.⁹⁹⁷ Although the latter account does not provide any specific names, it makes clear that the Sicilian army was defeated.

We do not know who exactly were those ‘other counts’ recorded in the chronicle of Ceccano; the writer might have used the term ‘counts’ in a rather generous and external way, without referring to the actual heads of the kingdom’s counties. Spagnoletti, Cuozzo, and Tescione have all suggested that the count of Caserta, Robert of Lauro, was one of the commanders sent by William II to face Christian of Buch.⁹⁹⁸ Even if the Sicilian peninsular army sent to Carsoli included all or most of the counts, as leaders of their counties’ contingents, the main reason behind the assumption of Robert of Caserta’s participation is his title of ‘great constable’ (*magnus comestabulus*). It should be remembered that both Count Robert and Count Richard of Say were recorded as ‘great constables’ in 1172.⁹⁹⁹ The count of Caserta appears to have borne this title from 1171 until his death in 1182. Conversely, Richard of Say count of Gravina, is only once referred to as ‘great constable’, in a 1172 royal mandate, and he died before 1178. It would be striking, but not entirely unlikely, if the counts of Caserta and Gravina co-commanded the army in Carsoli as *magni comestabuli* without being overtly mentioned by any of these sources. However, it seems more probable that, even if the Sicilian king mobilised a great army to face the Germans, he would not have sent all of his forces across the border, and instead would have left a contingent ready to face any possible threat of invasion. Tancred of Lecce and Roger of Andria must have then commanded an Apulian contingent that, after marching north and crossing the Abruzzo, ventured out of the realm in order to assist Pope Alexander III against the imperial threat. Meanwhile, Count Robert of Caserta may have led an army stationed in the Terra di Lavoro, in the eventuality that

⁹⁹⁶ *Annales Casinenses*, p. 312. Carsoli is located 65 km E of Rome, within the modern province of L’Aquila, in the Abruzzo; by the twelfth century, however, it was beyond the kingdom’s northern borders. The toponym *Cellis* has only remained to name the church of St Mary in Carsoli. ‘Chiesa Santa Maria in Cellis’, *Portale turistico del Comune di Carsoli (AQ)*, 2011 <http://www.comune.carsoli.aq.it/index.php?id_oggetto=17&id_doc=3&id_sez_ori=0&template_ori=1> [accessed 10 June 2015].

⁹⁹⁷ *Annales Ceccanenses*, p. 286.

⁹⁹⁸ Riccardo O. Spagnoletti, *Ruggiero, ultimo conte normanno di Andria* (Trani: V. Vecchi, 1890), p. 27; Cuozzo, *Commentario*, p. 274; Tescione, *Caserta medievale*, p. 38. Tescione also uses as a reference for this premise an eighteenth-century work: Francesco Testa, *De vita et rebus gestis Guilielmi II* (Monreale, 1769), pp. 216–7.

⁹⁹⁹ See above, note 1024.

the Germans would have succeeded in central Italy and threatened to invade through papal Campania. However, despite Archbishop Christian's victory at Carsoli, the imperial campaign in Italy collapsed after Frederick Barbarossa's defeat in Legnano the following month, on 29 May.¹⁰⁰⁰ Soon afterwards, in 1177, a peace treaty between the papacy and its allies, the north Italian city-states of the Lombard League, and Frederick Barbarossa was finally made: the treaty of Venice.

On the advice of Pope Alexander III, William II sent a delegation to take part in the negotiations and subscribe to the treaty of Venice, in order to secure peace with the German emperor. Romuald of Salerno, as one of the Sicilian delegates, provided a detailed account of the voyage, the negotiations, and the aftermath. The archbishop of Salerno and Count Roger of Andria, 'great constable and master justiciar of all Apulia and the Terra di Lavoro', were sent by William II as his ambassadors to make peace in the name of the Sicilian crown. After the peace was negotiated, the royal ambassadors were received by Frederick Barbarossa, and obtained from him in August 1177 a *privilegium*, endorsed by the pope, by which the emperor and his son King Henry [VI] committed to uphold the peace for 15 years. Pope Alexander, likewise, issued a sentence of excommunication against all those who would have disturbed or hampered this peace. Afterwards, the royal ambassadors were allowed to leave, and went back to Sicily, to meet the king in Palermo in order to deliver the *privilegium* of peace. Count Roger of Andria thereafter waited in vain for the arrival of the imperial ambassadors, until the king allowed him to return finally to Apulia on 22 February 1178.¹⁰⁰¹ Interestingly enough, when Romuald of Salerno was in audience before the German emperor and the pope, he described the count of Andria as 'a truly discrete and prudent man, descendant of royal blood' (*ad petitionem illius comitem Roggerium uirum utique prouidum et discretum et de sanguine regio ortum*). It is not clear what Romuald of Salerno truly meant here by calling him a descendant of royal blood. Count Roger of Andria was a cousin of Count Robert II of Civitate and member of a family of barons who were lords of Flumeri and Trevico, in Irpina, but does not appear to have been related in any way to the Sicilian royal family.¹⁰⁰² In any case, Count Roger of Andria had undoubtedly become a trustworthy and useful noble for the royal court; he was one of the leaders of a mission that determined both the diplomatic and military course of the Italian peninsula for

¹⁰⁰⁰ Romuald, pp. 266–67.

¹⁰⁰¹ Romuald, pp. 269–93.

¹⁰⁰² See above, on page 175.

William's remaining years, paving the way for years of peace in the Kingdom of Sicily and allowing William II to devote himself to foreign conquests in the East.

After the peace with the German emperor was reached, some tension appears to have remained in the March of Ancona, which was dealt with directly by the counts of Andria and Lecce in their conditions as royal officials. According to a letter sent by Alexander III to Frederick Barbarossa in 1179 (January-February), the pope turned to Count Roger of Andria and Count Tancred, the king's cousin (*regius consobrinus*), the 'master justiciars and great constables of Apulia and the Terra di Lavoro' (*magistri iusticiarum et magni comestabuli Apuliae et Terrae Laboris*), so that those mercenaries from the Sicilian realm would, 'under the penalty of their people and all their things' (*sub pena personarum et rerum omnium suarum*), stop assisting the Greeks [in Ancona], as they were invading the borders of both the [German] Empire and the papacy.¹⁰⁰³ It appears hence that the pope was aware of who the pertinent figures of authority in southern Italy able to deal with an issue of social control (i.e. military regulation and law enforcement) were. Interestingly enough, Alexander III did not have to address the Sicilian king, but was able to communicate directly with the king's top officials on the mainland.

The counts of Andria and Lecce, nevertheless, were not the only noblemen empowered to negotiate internationally on behalf of the king. After his engagement with Manuel Komnenos's daughter Maria had been broken off in 1172, William II sent, on the advice of the pope, a delegation to King Henry II of England to negotiate his betrothal to the latter's daughter. After the English king accepted the proposal, he sent his daughter Joan, together with a delegation of noblemen, to Saint-Gilles (southern France). William II, meanwhile, had sent his own corresponding delegation to meet the future queen consort of Sicily; this included Archbishop Alfanus of Capua, Bishop Richard of Syracuse, and Count Robert of Caserta. The Sicilian delegation escorted Joan to Naples and then to Palermo, passing through Salerno and Calabria. After such a long voyage, Joan married William II of Sicily at Palermo cathedral, and was crowned Queen of Sicily, on 13 February 1177. The dower given to the new queen comprised the 'county' (*comitatus*) of [Monte] Sant'Angelo, and the towns of Siponto and Vieste, together with many other

¹⁰⁰³ *Friderici I. Constitutiones*, ed. by Ludwig Weiland, MGH Const., 1 (Hanover: Hahn, 1893), no 409 pp. 584–85. Recorded in Jaffé, *Regesta*, II, no 13019 p. 319; Kehr, *Italia pontificia*, VIII, p. 54. The letter must have been issued in response to the landing of a Greek mercenary army in the Marches, at the end of 1178. Wolfgang Georgi, *Friedrich Barbarossa und die auswärtigen Mächte: Studien zur Aussenpolitik 1159–1180* (Frankfurt am Main: P. Lang, 1990), pp. 335–38. Cf. Chalandon, II, pp. 384–85.

castella and places.¹⁰⁰⁴ The dower charter, given in Palermo on 10 February 1177 by the three royal *familiares* Archbishop Walter of Palermo, Bishop Richard of Syracuse, and Vice-chancellor Matthew of Aiello, was also witnessed by Count Robert of Caserta, Count Jocelyn of Loreto (*comes Lert.*), Count Alfonso of Squillace (*comes Scrullacensis*), Count Hugh of Catanzaro, and Count Richard of Fondi.¹⁰⁰⁵

We know that the count of Caserta was by this time a *magnus comestabulus et magister iusticiarius*, so his presence here must have been mostly due to his role as high royal official – most likely for this same reason he was also included in the royal delegation that escorted Joan to Palermo. The count of Fondi must have been by this time Richard of Aquila, who as a distant relative of the king would have attended William II's wedding. It is not entirely clear why specifically the Abruzzese count of Loreto would have been present as a witness here, but it should be expected that at least one nobleman from the province of the Abruzzo would attend the king's wedding and subscribe his dowry; besides, Count Jocelyn was presumably trusted by the royal court since the queen regent had made him a count ten years before.¹⁰⁰⁶ The counts from Calabria, Hugh of Catanzaro and Alfonso of Squillace, on the other hand, may have been present not simply because of their proximity to the island of Sicily. Count Hugh of Catanzaro may have also been the royal governor for Calabria as he had been during Stephen's chancellorship, but it is also probable that they joined the royal delegation escorting Joan while they were travelling through Calabria.

Acerra and Lecce in the war against Constantinople One count by land and another by sea

The *Annales Ceccanenses* recorded that in 1185 the king appointed Count Richard of Acerra (*comes Riccardus de Cerra*) as one of the two captains who led the army sent to invade the Eastern Roman Empire; the other captain was, we are told, a Count Aldwin (*comes Alduinus*). Meanwhile, Count Tancred (*comes Tancredus*) was sent as the admiral of the accompanying fleet.¹⁰⁰⁷ In the confusion that followed the death of Manuel Komnenos (1180), William took the opportunity to attack the Eastern Empire and invade the Balkans, by intending to put on the throne of Constantinople Alexios Komnenos 'the

¹⁰⁰⁴ *Romuald*, pp. 268–69; *Radulfi de Diceto decani Landoniensis opera historica*, ed. by William Stubbs, *Rerum Britannicarum medii aevi scriptores*, 68, 2 vols (London: Longman & Company, 1876), I, pp. 413–14; Stubbs, *Gesta Henrici II*, I, pp. 157–58.

¹⁰⁰⁵ Stubbs, *Gesta Henrici II*, I, pp. 169–72. On the newly created honour of Monte Sant' Angelo, see above, on page 243.

¹⁰⁰⁶ See above, note 603.

¹⁰⁰⁷ *Annales Ceccanenses*, p. 287.

cupbearer' (ἐπὶ τοῦ κεράσματος), a nephew of Emperor Manuel who had fled Constantinople in 1184.¹⁰⁰⁸ The Sicilian king transported his land forces of mercenaries and knights to Illyria, where they captured its capital Dyrrachium on 24 June 1185. Meanwhile, the fleet sailed directly to Thessaloniki, seizing the provinces along the way as they capitulated. Eustace of Thessaloniki noted the Sicilians had more than 200 ships and a vast army of 80,000 soldiers (πεζῆ), and 5,000 knights (ἰππῶται); similarly, Ibn Jubayr related that whilst he was in Sicily, he saw an assembled fleet of 300 warships plus a hundred supply ships. The land forces lead by the count of Acerra surrounded Thessaloniki on 6 August 1185, and the navy commanded by the count of Lecce entered the city's harbour on 15 August 1185, besieged the city in concert and finally captured it on 24 August 1185.¹⁰⁰⁹

The two great constables at this time were Count Tancred and Count Roger of Andria, but the king instead sent Richard of Aquino, count of Acerra-Buonalbergo, who was Tancred's brother-in-law. This was not the first time that the *magnus comestabulus* for the mainland stayed on the mainland; it was sensible to keep a commander on the peninsula in order to maintain the internal military order. On the other hand, Richard of Aquino must have been considered a trustworthy noble thanks to his connection to Tancred of Lecce, but it was also sensible to send both brothers-in-law as commanders of the invading expedition, hoping perhaps that their operations could be thus coordinated better. Tancred's role as an admiral was expected here, in that this was not the first time he was placed in command of a fleet, and his lordships also had a strategic coastal position.¹⁰¹⁰

Richard of Aquino hence must have been present in the capture of Dyrrachium, and led the army that disembarked there and marched towards Thessaloniki. After the sack of Thessaloniki, the Sicilian invading army was halted in the battle of Demetritzes, where Alexios Branas launched a counteroffensive that routed the forces commanded by the count of Acerra, in the impetus given to the war by the new emperor, Isaac II Angelos, who replaced the usurper Andronikos Komnenos. We are told by Niketas Choniates that the two captains of the Sicilian army were captured; he too said that these were Count Richard of Acerra and 'Count Aldwin'. Interestingly enough, the Greek historian expands

¹⁰⁰⁸ This Alexios Komnenos must have been the son of Alexander Komnenos Batatzes, who was the son of Manuel's sister Eudoxia by Theodore Batatzes. Konstantinos Varzos, *Η Γενεαλογία των Κομνηνών*, 2 vols (Thessaloniki: Centre for Byzantine Reserach - AUT, 1984), II, pp. 390–91. Cf. Charles M. Brand, *Byzantium Confronts the West, 1180–1204* (Cambridge, USA: Harvard University Press, 1968), p. 54.

¹⁰⁰⁹ Choniates, I, p. 297; *La espugnazione di Tessalonica [di] Eustazio di Tessalonica.*, ed. by Stilpon Kyriakidis (Palermo: Istituto Siciliano di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici, 1961), pp. 58–69, 94–95, 104–5, 149–53; Amari, I, p. 169.

¹⁰¹⁰ See above, en la página 241.

on the origins of this previously unattested Count Aldwin, as the latter was described as being ‘not descended from a noble and prominent family, but was highly regarded by the king for his military skills; above all others at that time, he was bound with the dignity of generalship’.¹⁰¹¹

After waiting in vain to attack Constantinople in concert with the army of the count of Acerra and Aldwin, the Sicilian fleet returned to Sicily, c. November 1185, undisturbed but evacuating the recently captured islands as it withdrew. This retreat must have been led by the count of Lecce as the campaign’s admiral. On the other hand, the captive counts, Richard and Aldwin, were brought to the Greek emperor, Isaac II Angelos, as prisoners of war. According to Choniates, they rendered servile reverence and were questioned by the emperor himself. After a rather tense exchange between an arrogant Aldwin and the emperor, the two Sicilian commanders and counts were again placed under guard when they left.¹⁰¹² Following Branas’ decisive victory, the invading army was pushed back to Dyrrachium and ultimately back to the kingdom, ending abruptly the failed attempted Sicilian conquest of Constantinople.¹⁰¹³ At some point between the battle of Demetritzes and the loss of Dyrrachium, c. 1186, Count Richard of Acerra must have returned to his county in Italy.

Niketas Choniates appears to have placed Count Aldwin at the centre of his account, as a protagonist of the defeated Sicilian army, leaving Richard of Aquino in a marginal position. Eustathios of Thessaloniki, likewise, only makes an overt reference to Count Aldwin as commander of the ‘Latin’ invaders (i.e. the Sicilian army). First, Eustathios recalled having spoken to Count Aldwin (κόμης Ἀλδουίνος) about the disturbance caused by the invaders over the local Greek religious ceremonies, without having been able to accomplish anything, although in other respects the commander of the Sicilians seemed willing to accommodate the captured population.¹⁰¹⁴ Subsequently, the same Aldwin reportedly admitted the extensive number of deaths amongst the ‘Latin’ side, as he acknowledged that more than 3,000 of his men had died of disease.¹⁰¹⁵ Nonetheless, there is no evidence of any Count Aldwin in southern Italy, either before or after the capture of Thessaloniki. Even Choniates made this point when he described Aldwin as from a neither noble nor illustrious family. There is, however, an Aldwin of

¹⁰¹¹ ‘ὁ Ἀλδουῖνος κόντος, γένους μὲν οὐ φῦς εὐγενοῦς καὶ λαμπροῦ, διὰ δὲ τὴν κατὰ πόλεμον δεξιότητα αἰδέσιμος ὢν τῷ ῥηγί καὶ τότε ὑπὲρ πάντας τὸ τῆς στρατοτηγίας ὑπεζωσμένος σέμνωμα’. *Choniates*, I, p. 359.

¹⁰¹² *Choniates*, I, pp. 362–67.

¹⁰¹³ For a discussion about this military campaign, see Stanton, pp. 151–56.

¹⁰¹⁴ Kyriakidis, *Eustazio*, p. 126.

¹⁰¹⁵ Kyriakidis, *Eustazio*, p. 148.

Candida, who subscribed as royal seneschal (*Aldwinus de Candida, domini regis senescallus*) the 1177 charter in which William II granted a dower to his wife Joan of England.¹⁰¹⁶ It is possible that the use of the title ‘count’ by the Greek witnesses was not an actual reflection of the socio-political arrangement of the Italian nobility, but instead their own cultural understanding of what a κόμης was supposed to be. The formal use of the term *comes*, goes back to the time of the Roman Republic, when it was sometimes used to describe persons who accompanied those who went out to the provinces to act as governors. It was during the earlier Roman Empire that the comital title applied as a title of dignity to those who were in attendance to the emperor, particularly when he was travelling away from Rome; in the later Empire a range of specific administrative functions came to be created using this title.¹⁰¹⁷ In any case, it appears that western sources such as the *Annales Ceccanenses* may have used Eastern testimonies in order to inform the events surrounding the Sicilian invasion of the eastern Empire. Consequently, the use of the title of ‘count’ for Aldwin indicated not his position amongst the kingdom’s nobility but the role he played as a general during the Balkan campaign in 1185.

Judicial authority beyond the county

The counts of Andria, Caserta, Lecce, and Gravina as master justiciars

After having been involved in the trial against Richard of Mandra, count of Molise, Count Robert of Caserta must have returned to his lordship, keeping a low profile during the temporary takeover of Count Richard of Molise and Count Henry of Montescaglioso. However, he must have recovered his prominent status soon after Count Gilbert of Gravina left the realm. In June 1171, Count Robert presided over a court convened in Maddaloni, which heard a lawsuit between the bishops and the citizens of Teano and Sessa, as the former accused the latter of stealthily seizing their water stream. In all likelihood, this judicial role taken by Count Robert of Caserta was exercised not as a comital prerogative, but as a task that belonged to the ‘great constable and justiciar of Apulia and the Terra di Lavoro’, for this is Robert’s full title employed in the document that recorded this controversy (*D. Comes Robertus Caserte, Apulia et Terre Laboris magnus comestabulus et justitiarius*).¹⁰¹⁸ It should also be indicated that, although the

¹⁰¹⁶ See above, note 1005.

¹⁰¹⁷ Arnold H. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire 284–602*, 2 vols (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1964), I, pp. 104–7.

¹⁰¹⁸ The original document is now lost, and survives only as a transcription. Camillo Pellegrino, *Historia principum Langobardorum*, ed. by Francesco M. Prati, 2nd edn, 4 vols (Naples: Johannes de Simone, 1751), III, pp. 273–76; *Italia Sacra*, VI, cols 552–54. Referenced in Di Meo, X, p. 347; Tescione, *Caserta medievale*, p. 37; Jamison, ‘Norman Administration’, *Calendar*, no 35 p. 431. Cf. Takayama, who appears

town of Maddaloni is near Caserta, it appears not to have been part of the county of Caserta. According to the *Quaternus magne expeditionis*, four different barons held *feuda* in Maddaloni, three of whom were direct holders and only one held it *in servitio* from a lesser overlord, Walter de Molinis.¹⁰¹⁹ Likewise, Teano and Sessa were towns in the Terra di Lavoro that did not fall under the authority of any count, as indicated by the fact that the *feuda* located in these two places were held directly, *in demanio*, by lesser barons.¹⁰²⁰ The judgement of 1171 was passed by the city judges of Capua, Aversa, and Maddaloni, and the court that heard the controversy was not only presided over by the great constable and master justiciar, but on his instructions other local barons and Richard of Citro, royal constable, also sat in the court. The judges ultimately resolved the suit in favour of the people of Sessa. Interestingly enough, under the advice of the local residents and of the royal constable and Count Robert, the judges refused the request of the Teano party to ‘prove by combat’ (*per pugnam se probare*) that the sworn testimony that Anneus of Rivomatrice and Lando Borell made in favour of Sessa was false, partially because ‘this was a dispute between Lombards’.¹⁰²¹ The implication hence is not only that Anneus and Lando were Lombards, but also that judicial duels in the twelfth-century Terra di Lavoro were restricted to the Normans, because the use of this legal prerogative amongst Lombards was restricted by advice of royal functionaries (that is the master justiciar and constable). Besides presiding over what seems to have been a provincial judicial court,¹⁰²² and advising the local judges, Count Robert was also in charge of summoning the parties involved and relevant witnesses in this case.

In this same year, 1171, Count Robert of Caserta was present at the hearing of another legal dispute between a man called Tostaynus and the abbey of Cava, about some houses in Capua.¹⁰²³ Interestingly enough, this Tostaynus was a son of Anneus of Rivomatrice, the same baron who had testified in Count Robert’s court in Maddaloni in

to have mistaken Jamison’s sources, and duplicated this single witness as if there were two different instances for Count Robert of Caserta in 1171. Takayama, *Administration of the Kingdom*, 144, 217–18.

¹⁰¹⁹ *Catalogus Baronum*, ¶¶ 897 p. 160, 916–17 pp. 163–64, 932 p. 166.

¹⁰²⁰ *Catalogus Baronum*, ¶¶ 905 p. 162, 926 p. 165, 932–39 pp. 166–67.

¹⁰²¹ ‘[P]ugnare in hoc casu locum non habere, tum quia inter Longobardos erat quaestio, tum quia de his, quae non viderant Theanenses, pugnare non debebant’. Pellegrino, III, pp. 275–76; *Italia Sacra*, VI, col. 553. Judicial duels appear to have survived as a practice in southern Italy at least until the thirteenth century, as Frederick II included in his legislation (1231) a very explicit clause forbidding the practice, which aimed to be common in all cases and amongst both Lombards and ‘Franks’ (i.e. Normans). Huillard-Bréholles and D’Albert de Luynes, IV, pp. 105–5. For a discussion on judicial duels in southern Italy, see Pier S. Leicht, ‘Territori longobardi e territori romanici’, in *Atti del I Congresso internazionale di Studi Longobardi* (Spoleto: L’Accademia spoletina, 1952), p. 119.

¹⁰²² On the development of these courts of justice, see Raffaele Pescione, *Corti di giustizia nell’Italia meridionale: dal periodo normanno all’epoca moderna* (Milan: Societa editrice Dante Alighieri, 1924), pp. 88–91.

¹⁰²³ Cava, *Arca* xxxiii.91, ed. in Tescione, *Caserta medievale*, no 2 pp. 160–63.

favour of the town of Sessa. In this instance, Robert was recorded also as both count and ‘master constable and justiciar of all Apulia and the Terra di Lavoro’ (*Casertanus comes et magister comestabulus et magister iusticiarius totius Apulie et Terre Laboris*). Although it is not entirely clear where this court was held, its location was in all likelihood somewhere in the Terra di Lavoro; the city judge of Maddaloni was not present here, only the judges of Capua and Aversa. Additionally, two royal justiciars (*regis iusticiarii*) were present: Matthew of Avenabulo and John of Valle. This controversy recorded that a previous court held in Capua, and also presided over by Count Robert of Caserta as master justiciar and constable, and attended by John of Valle as royal justiciar, had resolved a controversy between Tostaynus and Anneus about the same Capuan houses. This resolution was subscribed by the judges of Sessa and Maddaloni.

In 1172, the count of Caserta received a mandate from William II, together with his colleague Count Riccardus de Say, in which both were addressed as ‘great constables and master justiciars of all Apulia and the Terra di Lavoro’ (*magni comestabuli et magistri justitiarii totius Apulie et Terre Laboris*). The transcription of this royal mandate survives in a September 1173 charter from Montecassino, which reportedly demonstrated, before the judges of Sora, that Roger II had restored some revenues and liberties to some of the churches of Sora. With a mandate dated 12 October 1172, William II had ordered his master justiciars to ascertain whether Roger II had given the monastery of St Dominic of Sora the annual fees of four churches and, if so, let the monastery have them.¹⁰²⁴ It is not clear which of the two master justiciars actually conducted the judicial inquiry, but Richard of Say must have been by this time count of Gravina, not of Fondi.

Richard of Say was not attested further, but instead in November 1176 the new count of Montescaglioso-Lecce was described as master justiciar and great constable. The count of Gravina must therefore have died before then, leaving the office free for Tancred of Lecce to occupy it. This document of November 1176 was a record of a legal dispute between Egidius, abbot of the Most Holy Trinity of Venosa, and the men (*homines*) of S. Nicholas of Casa Vetere, over whom the abbot claimed to exercise lordship and jurisdiction. Here Tancred, ‘son of Duke [Roger], count of Lecce by the grace of God and the king, and great constable and master justiciar of all Apulia and the Terra di Lavoro’ (*Ducis filius, dei et regia gratia Licii comes, magnus comestabulus et magister iusticiarius totius Apulie et Terre Laboris*) entrusted the judicial investigation on this matter to the bishop of Bitonto, the abbot of St Stephen in Monopoli, the royal justiciars

¹⁰²⁴ Tescione, *Caserta medievale*, no 3 pp. 162–64.

Gentile of Comano and Bernard of Fontanella, the chamberlains of the Terra di Bari Teselgard and Rao, and some local barons.¹⁰²⁵ Due to the location of all the actors involved in this dispute, it is evident that the pertinent master justiciar to administer this issue was the count of Lecce and not Robert of Caserta, as the former must have been much closer to the bishops, abbots, and royal functionaries on the Adriatic coast. Had Count Richard of Gravina been alive, he would have equally been a pertinent authority for the dispute.

A now lost 1177 charter from Venosa recorded a dispute between the abbot of Cava and the men of the town of Casavena (*homines oppidi Casae veane*); the *incipit* suggests that Count Tancred of Lecce, as *magnus Comestabulus et magister Justitiarius Apuliae et Terrae Laboris*, presided over the court that heard this case.¹⁰²⁶ Since the document was reportedly part of the records of the abbey of Venosa, although the abbot of Cava was involved in the dispute, the town of Casavena must have been in the vicinity of Venosa's lands.

Back in the Terra di Bari, Tancred, son of the duke and count of Lecce, presided over a court, again as *comestabulus et magister iustitiarius totius Apulie et terre Laboris*, which heard a dispute between the church of St Nicholas of Bari and a local baron, Geoffrey Gentile. The church's delegates, Nicholas the *primicerius* and John the notary, presented a royal writ issued in Palermo in May 1180 by which Tancred of Lecce was ordered to investigate the alleged usurpation by Geoffrey Gentile of lands belonging to the church of St Peter of Sclavezulis, which was a dependency of St Nicholas of Bari. After hearing both parties, a resolution was issued on 21 February 1181 that established a fifteen-day deadline for an investigation into and an assessment of the damages to be conducted, which would allow the court to reach a final decision on the matter.¹⁰²⁷ As one might expect, the court was attended by three judges of Bari (Amerutius, John Macciaccotta and Petracca Buffus), who actually passed judgment, while Tancred's role consisted of coordinating the entire judicial process, from receiving the king's orders and setting up the provincial court to commissioning the investigations and guaranteeing that justice was done.

Count Robert was recorded again, also in 1181, presiding over courts in Aversa and Capua. First, according to a now lost judgement made in Aversa, in the presence of Count Robert 'great constable and master justiciar of Apulia and the Terra di Lavoro'

¹⁰²⁵ Houben, *Die Abtei Venosa*, no 146 pp. 376–77. Cf. Palumbo, p. 246.

¹⁰²⁶ *Italia Sacra*, VII, col. 687. Summarised in Ménager, 'Les fondations monastiques', p. 113; Palumbo, pp. 247–48.

¹⁰²⁷ *Pergamene di S. Nicola di Bari*, no 145 pp. 249–51.

(*magnus comestabulus et magister iusticiarius Apuliae et Terre Laboris*), the judges [of Aversa] John, Leon, and Martin passed judgment on a controversy between Bishop Falco of Aversa and a certain Raynald son of Thomas, contravening thus an agreement contained in a charter (*instrumentum*) validated in the presence of the Abbot of the Monastery of St Lawrence in Aversa, Porfirio, Bishop of Caserta, and William of Bishop of Avellino.¹⁰²⁸

Then, Robert of Caserta presided over another court in Capua, attended by the city judges, as well as by the bishops of Teano and Caserta. The bishop of Marsia brought to the court, held on 12 February 1181, a letter issued by King William II in Palermo, in which the royal curia ordered the constables to do justice (that is to investigate and resolve, but not necessarily to pass judgement themselves) concerning the alleged usurpation of the church of St Bartholomew of Avezzano by Gentile ‘of Palearia’ from the bishop of Marsia.¹⁰²⁹ This letter was addressed to both great constables and justiciars on the mainland: Count Robert of Caserta and Count Tancred of Lecce. It is not clear, however, if the actual court held in Capua was presided over by both, or simply by Count Robert; the court’s judgement survives only as a summary prepared by Di Meo.¹⁰³⁰ Most probably, as in the legal case of 1171 discussed above, only the count of Caserta presided at this court, for the existence of two master justiciars must have allowed each one to be present and to exercise the royal judicial prerogative in different parts of the kingdom: the count of Caserta in the Terra di Lavoro, and the count of Lecce in southern and Adriatic Apulia. While the king might issue an order to both his top functionaries on the mainland, as they shared the same high office, in practice usually only one would execute the order in a provincial court.

Two letters sent by Count Robert of Caserta in 1182 shed light on his activities as a royal official, outside of both his own county and a provincial court. A letter, copied into a charter from Cava, was sent by Robert, as count of Caserta and great constable and master justiciar of all Apulia and the Terra di Lavoro (*Casertanus comes magnus comestabulus et magister iusticiarius tocius Apulie et Terre Laboris*) to William Buarumil, royal chamberlain (*regius camerarius*). By this letter, the count of Caserta ordered *ex regia parte* to not disturb the holdings and mill that the abbey held at Sarno.¹⁰³¹

¹⁰²⁸ Tescione, *Caserta medievale*, pp. 43–44. The document appears to have been transcribed by Del Giudice in an unpublished dissertation on the counts of Caserta; this work survives in the collection of texts and notes Del Giudice, vol. 4, of the SNSP.

¹⁰²⁹ Di Meo, X, p. 413.

¹⁰³⁰ Palumbo, p. 255.

¹⁰³¹ Cava, *Arca xxxviii.34*, partially ed. in Haskins, p. 455 [Edited in Loud’s forthcoming *Selected Charters*]. Referenced in Palumbo, p. 255.

Another letter, that survives in the chronicle-chartulary of Casauria, was sent by Count Robert to the abbey of St Clement in Casauria, and also attests the count of Caserta as master justiciar', although in this instance Count Robert did not describe himself as a constable (*Robertus Dei et Regis gratia Comes Casert. et Magister Justiciarius totius Apuliae et Terra-Laboris*).¹⁰³² In this letter, the count of Caserta exhorted *ex parte Regia* the monks of St Clement to address any legal complaint either to Count Tancred of Lecce or himself, as the abbey was in the hands of the king (*Ecclesia vestra in manibus Domini nostri Gloriosissimi Regis est*). This 'royal reminder' must have been sent to the abbey just after Abbot Leonas died, in 1182.¹⁰³³ Although the title of 'constable' is omitted in this instance, most likely this is simply the result of the lack of a single and consistent labelling for the same office, although since the text of this mandate survives only as a copy, we cannot exclude scribal omission. Let us remember that in the 1171 judgement, Count Robert was recorded as 'great constable and justiciar', and not technically as 'master justiciar', which was a more common version of the title.¹⁰³⁴ It seems clear, nevertheless, that at this stage, when some counts occupied also the highest office of royal authority on the peninsula, the great constables were *ex officio* master justiciars, although each title referred to a distinct administrative function; as constables, they were military commanders of the mainland forces, and as justiciars, chief administrators of royal justice.

William II wrote from Capua on 19 January 1183 to Tancred, 'count of Lecce, master constable and master justiciar of Apulia and the Terra di Lavoro' (*comes Liccii, magnus comestabulus et magister iustitarius Apulie et Terre Laboris*), explaining that the abbot of St Nicholas of Troia had complained that the citizens of Ascoli [Satriano] had invaded a property that the abbey used to hold, which had previously been confirmed to it by Roger II. Consequently, the king ordered Tancred to hear both parties and to reach the fairest and most reasonable resolution, to prevent any further complaint by the abbot. The dispute was eventually brought before a solemn court held in Barletta in November 1184, presided over by both great constables and master justiciars: Count Tancred of Lecce and Count Roger of Andria. Since Count Robert of Caserta was dead by then, the king must have appointed the count of Andria in his stead. The abbey's representatives presented as evidence both a royal charter and a donation made by the count of Loritello. In their defence, the representatives of Ascoli argued that the royal document did not

¹⁰³² *Chron. Casauriense*, col. 916.

¹⁰³³ *Chron. Casauriense*, col. 915.

¹⁰³⁴ Cf. Takayama, *Administration of the Kingdom*, pp. 143–45.

actually confirm the specific holding in dispute, and that the count of Loritello could not grant what was not his, and thus did not have the capacity to give that holding to the abbey. After having ordered an investigation on the actual boundaries of the comital dominions of Loritello, and having allowed each party to present fifteen witnesses, the court was unable to discern whose arguments were true. Thus, the court resorted to a judicial duel (*campiones ad campum pervenerunt et sic factum nutu et voluntate divina*); the abbey's champion (*canfio monasterii pugnam optinuit*) defeated the one from Ascoli, and so the court validated the authenticity of the royal and comital charters presented by St Nicholas of Troia. Consequently, the counts of Lecce and Andria, as royal master justiciars, invested the abbey with the lands that were in dispute. The charter that recorded this judgment was drafted by Simon of Matera, the count of Lecce's own notary.¹⁰³⁵

It appears, therefore, that Count Roger of Andria became a central functionary for the royal court soon after Count Robert of Caserta's death. Perhaps the unstable succession in the county of Caserta, or the fact that young William of Lauro was not as reliable, experienced or as close to the royal court as his late father had been, forced the king's administration to select a more trustworthy count. Although one might have expected Count Robert's replacement also to be from the Terra di Lavoro, the other counts from this region had a record of dubious loyalty to the monarchy. Richard of Aquila, count of Fondi, and Count Richard of Carinola and Conza had been pardoned and had recovered their counties after having gone into exile as rebels. In addition, Richard of Aquila had been censured by the royal court in 1179 for overstepping his judicial authority.¹⁰³⁶ Roger son of Richard of Rupecanina, count of Alife, on the other hand, was a relative of the old lords of Caiazzo and Rupecanina who, until 1169, were enemies of the Sicilian kingdom.¹⁰³⁷ As a result, the Sicilian king appointed a second Apulian count as master justiciar in 1183, which may explain why the court of Barletta was not presided over by just one count, as was the case in all previous instances under William II. From now on, and most likely until William II's death, the count of Andria shared the highest position of royal administration on the peninsula with the count of Lecce.

According to a January 1184 charter from Montevergine, Count Roger of Andria, as 'master constable and justiciar of Apulia and the Terra di Lavoro' (*comitis Roggerii Andrie magistri comestabuli et iustiarum totius Apulie et Terre Laboris*), issued an order to the judge of Mercogliano to investigate an alleged usurpation of land committed earlier

¹⁰³⁵ *Chartes de Troia*, no 102 pp. 302–8.

¹⁰³⁶ See above, note 840.

¹⁰³⁷ See above, on page 214.

by the late Count Roger of Avellino.¹⁰³⁸ In the same year, on 29 April 1184, a charter issued in S. Germano by the lords of Monte Millulo recorded that they had been called before a court presided by Count Tancred, master justiciar (*Comes Tancredus magister Justiciarius*), to answer charges brought by the abbot of Montecassino about a quarrel with the abbey's *homines* of St Peter of Avellana. In order to avoid the continuation of the litigation before the king's master justiciar, and no doubt the consequent expense and delay involved, the lords of Monte Millulo agreed to accept the judgement of the abbatial court of Cassino.¹⁰³⁹ This not only attests the continuing role played by the count of Lecce as a royal high official, but also illustrates how a seigniorial legal process could develop on the mainland: beginning when a major landholder such as the abbot of Montecassino appealed to the king's jurisdiction, and unfolding as the master justiciar summoned the defendant to a provincial court of justice, opening up the possibility for the defendant to avoid the king's justice by submitting to the overlord's court.

Count Tancred and Count Roger were once again recorded acting together as 'royal justiciars' (*Regis Iusticiariis*) in a judicial dispute in the county of Molise in May 1185, between Abbot William of St Sophia, Benevento, and Roger Bozzardi, lord of Campolieto. The court, presided over by the count of Molise and composed of the judges of Boiano, ultimately passed judgment in favour of the abbey. However, Roger Bozzardi claimed that Count Tancred and Count Roger heard this dispute before as royal justiciars, and ruled in his favour, approving his right to exact *adiutorium*.¹⁰⁴⁰ As discussed earlier, this instance illustrates the peculiar nature of the *adiutorium*, and the overlapping of the comital and royal authorities. It is not, however, clear either when the master justiciars had previously heard this case, or where they had held the court that allegedly ruled in his favour, but this must have happened at some point between 1183 and May 1185.

Tancred of Lecce was last attested as *egregius Comes Licii* and *magnus comestabulus et magnus justiciarius Apulie et Terre Laboris* in a charter of April 1187. This document records a *concordia* by which Roger the monk, prior of the church of the Holy Sepulchre in Brindisi renounced any claim over a piece of land in Calvignano, near Mesagne (15 km. southwest of Brindisi), located in royal land. This property had been claimed by Abbess Scolastica of St Mary in Brindisi as land that lawfully belonged to her nunnery, but Prior Roger had expelled the peasants and driven them from their ploughs. The abbess filed a complaint to the count of Lecce, as the king's representative, and

¹⁰³⁸ *Cod. Dipl. Verginiano*, VIII, no 733 pp. 117–20.

¹⁰³⁹ Gattola, *Accessiones*, I, p. 266. Referenced in Palumbo, p. 258.

¹⁰⁴⁰ See above, note 887.

consequently the master justiciar heard both parties, and summoned a court in which the abbess presented the donation that sustained her claim before the judges of the city of Brindisi and Eugenius, the *magister Regie Duane baronum*. Eventually, Prior Roger admitted his mistake and desisted from any action concerning the land in Calvignano.¹⁰⁴¹ As in every other such case, local judges were a fundamental component in the judicial process administered by the master justiciar, as it seems that the sole authority of counts or royal representatives was not sufficient to authenticate and legalise a transaction – in the same way judges were needed in order to pass judgement in civil disputes. They would, of course, contribute both their specialised legal expertise, and local knowledge, to the court. Interestingly enough, in this case another important royal functionary, the master of the *duana baronum*, was also present.

Overall, these accounts of legal and administrative processes illustrate the core duties that counts exercised as royal officials in order to coordinate the administration of justice. Great nobles such as the counts of Caserta, Gravina, Lecce, and Andria, must have enjoyed additional social and military leverage that would both have facilitated their roles as master justiciars in coordinating local judges and strengthened their authority as executors of judicial mandates. A situation that was avoided under Roger II's reign became increasingly common in the second half of the twelfth century: noblemen exercising both comital and royal authority. The dual roles played by these 'enhanced counts' might well have been seen as a threat to Roger's government-in-the-making, but by the time of William II, this had become a necessary measure to ensure the survival and continuity of the Sicilian royal authority on the continent, and enforce proper conduct of local judicial processes. The counts who also held royal offices became the main guarantors of social control on the mainland, and as both heads of the nobility and representatives of the king's justice they could operate outside their own counties.

¹⁰⁴¹ *Codice diplomatico brindisino: 492–1200*, ed. by Gennaro M. Monti (Brindisi: V. Vecchi, 1940), no 23 pp. 44–46.

CONCLUSIONS

In an attempt to follow the thematic thread of county and nobility in Norman Italy, this study has made recourse to a wide range of material relating to a period of sixty years. In presenting a rounded account of the comital class in the Kingdom of Sicily, drawing on charters, chronicles, testimonies, records, and other sources, a series of prosopographies and interpretations have uncovered a much clearer and nuanced picture of the nobility's power and its relationship with other structures of social control. Navigating the imprecise vocabulary and documentary voids that have been left by the numerous but scattered sources is a reality which any scholar, regardless of approach, must come to terms with. In analysing each source directly and independently, and contextualising them with contemporary testimonies, one is able to carefully assess the diplomatic and socio-historic relevance and value of the available material. The limited information the sources offer for periods of political turmoil and war create inconsistent and intermittent images of the different counties in the mainland provinces, which has forced this study to rely on a chronological progression to explore and analyse the growth and function of the county. Moreover, the collective role of the nobility can only be understood when all the pieces of evidence are brought together, and the distinctions within the upper social echelon made explicit.

The counties in southern Italy were not only a product of the change and rearrangement that came with the installation of the Sicilian monarchy, but also became the structure which defined the features of the territorial organisation and the expectations of the peninsular nobility. For example, the scattered dominions within a single comital authority, which created the 'patchwork-like' arrangement of some of the county's territory, were in most cases the result of elevating lesser barons to the comital rank by granting them a core lordship located elsewhere. Ancestral lordships were thus merged with clusters of tenant barons. This caused, for example, the county of Avellino to include lordships in the Terra di Lavoro, Buonalbergo to have another focus on Acerra, and Caserta and Tricarico to hold dominions in Lauro and north of the former principality of Salerno. Moreover, this would explain why, at some point, the county of Andria included lordships in the Agri valley. This also justifies the presence of 'Sicilian counties', which were nothing but ancestral lordships that certain counts held in parallel to their mainland holdings: Count Sylvester of Marsico, lord of Ragusa; Count Simon, lord of Butera and

Paternò; and Geoffrey of Montescaglioso, lord of Caltanissetta, Noto and Sclàfani. However, in all of these instances, tenant barons were actually clustered geographically; it was the *feuda* that the count held *in demanio* located far from the *caput* that gave a toponymic reference to the respective comital title. The remaining ‘spotted-like’ counties were located in the modern region of Basilicata. This particular geographical area appears to have been a fluid region of scattered lordships that were assigned to the intertwined counties of Montescaglioso, Tricarico, and Gravina.

The county did not begin as a fixed territorial demarcation, but it became a useful unit for organising the powerful and loyal aristocracy and their tenure. As an agglomeration of lordships, the county under Roger II developed into a unit of social power for manoeuvring with and against the upper strata of society. The created counties became protected and sanctioned spaces in which Norman rulers, local officials and pre-conquest aristocrats were merged together, allowing for both the legitimisation of a new, royally sanctioned upper social rank and the continuation of pre-Norman customs and social groups. From this point onwards, not only the bearers of the comital title can be identified much more precisely, but also the clusters of comital authority began to acquire a clearer and established geographical delimitation.

The original power of the peninsular nobility might have threatened the establishment of a successful kingdom, but it was only through it that the latter was able to survive as a unified political entity on both sides of the Straits of Messina. The legacy of Roger II’s reign appears to have been a double-edged sword, for although it explains the attempt by the monarchy to establish close control of the major barons in the peninsula, it eventually became the platform upon which the counts of the kingdom rebelled against the Palermitan regime and consolidated their position as an alternative centre of power.

The events of William I’s reign gradually tested the limits of Roger II’s legacy, and served to define the extent of both the counts’ and the king’s authorities. Around the leaderships of the count of Loritello and Conversano, and then of the count of Gravina, the nobility acquired the protagonism and influence necessary to both oppose the effective exercise of Palermo’s government, and embed themselves into the political structure of the royal court. The comital rank provided thus the status and common identity for the kingdom’s overlords to stand against the king’s admiral of admirals and master captains, to the point that even one of them, Count Gilbert of Gravina, was admitted to the rank of the top royal commanders. The comital authority must have acted, in the absence of the royal court’s direct command, as a viable collection of social mechanisms for the control of the local population and the maintenance of economic and judicial activities.

Furthermore, it appears that internal stability and peace in the continental provinces were only reached by acknowledging the comital authority and allowing the members of the nobility to be directly involved with the royal structures of power. Some evidence has been provided for the very few officials the counts relied on to administer the county before William I's reign – most notably in the case of the county of Avellino – but it was not until stability and peace were reached that functionaries acting as agents of comital power began to be broadly identified. The functionaries that served the count, and were neither royal nor public town officials, bore diverse titles, such as chamberlains, constables, seneschals, and castellans. These comital functionaries could have acted either as part of the count's mobile entourage, or as deputies responsible for the county's administration and the count's demesne holdings. The limited information the charters offer us on the scope of the comital functionaries' responsibilities can be accounted for by the fact that each count provided a distinct and personal administrative arrangement, in pursuance perhaps of local practices that were internally acknowledged. It is clear that the counties of the kingdom's Norman period did not follow a general model of organisation or common guidelines for their administrative staff.

By William II's reign, the king's military control had to be merged with that of the counts, in that the counts were acknowledged not as mere overlords who owed military service to the monarchy but as royal generals in their condition as constables or *magni comestabuli*. The direct economic control the Sicilian king could have pretended to claim on the mainland through fiscal administration and confiscated overlordship was yielded when many exiled noblemen were allowed back to their dominions and kept their rank as overlords. However, it was through the consolidation of the king's judicial supremacy that the monarchy was able to maintain a unified regime within all of the kingdom's counties. The administration of justice was the area in which the Sicilian monarchy was able to openly circumscribe the nobility's practices, and effectively condition the political control of the counts. This is not only illustrated by the fact that some counts were enhanced by having become master justiciars, but also by the judicial activity exercised by the counts within their own counties. In the case of Count Richard of Fondi, where the count apparently overstepped his authority, the superior prerogative of the king's justice was made clear.

On the eve of a new civil war and foreign intervention, William II's death opened up a new period of unrest and civil war. Tancred's election as the new king of Sicily, and the advent of the Hohenstaufen and Angevin dynasties, would administer a series of shocks to the South Italian nobility for the next century, but always on the basis of the

noble structure that had been created under the Norman dynasty. The changes made to the upper strata of the peninsular society after 1190 caused the expulsion of some counts, and the creation of new ones, but the comital titles and geographical spheres were retained and employed by the kingdom's ruling generations for centuries.¹ What once were Lombard dignities, Norman overlords, and then territorial clusters of tenants and contingents for the king's armed forces, became the political units upon which the nobility acquired its own identity, at the margins of the ever-present and ever-changing Sicilian royal government. After all, the German and French elites that would invade and infiltrate the kingdom in the following centuries did not speak of a Norman nobility, but of an Italian one.

The endurance and consolidation of the Italo-Norman aristocracy in Italy merits further discussion and deeper investigation. However, it is through local overlordship and the development of the county that these issues can be best understood, without the need to resort to overarching conclusions or divorced regional case-studies. One cannot comprehend the lower aristocracy – and agrarian society in general – without first deciphering the upper nobility which bound local lordships together, and connected them with the rest of the kingdom. As such, the counties of Norman Italy were nodal points, around which the extent of royal government and the specific nature of local baronial power were tested and defined. It is only through first considering the foundations laid by the counts and counties of the 'Norman' Kingdom of Sicily that the changes and further development experienced by the South Italian nobility, under the constantly changing royal dynasties of following centuries, can be understood.

The county became the social stage and political arena in which the upper aristocracy of the Kingdom of Sicily was defined and consolidated. The counts that were confirmed, created and mutated during the kingdom's first decades outlived the first royal dynasty, and it was precisely around the comital authority that the kingdom's nobility acquired an identity of their own. The counts of Norman Italy reached the end of the twelfth century as neither Lombard nor Norman, but as the nodal points of a generalised South Italian territorial ruling class.

¹ For further discussion, see Jean M. Martin, 'L'ancienne et la nouvelle aristocratie féodale', in *Le eredità normanno-sveve nell'età angioina: persistenze e mutamenti nel Mezzogiorno*, Atti del Centro di Studi Normanno-Svevi, 15 (Bari: Dedalo, 2004), pp. 101–36; Jean M. Martin, 'L'aristocratie féodale et les villes', in *Eclisse di un regno: l'ultima età sveva*, Atti del Centro di Studi Normanno-Svevi, 19 (Bari: Dedalo, 2012), pp. 119–62; Loud, 'Le strutture del potere'.

FIGURES



Figure 1. Tancred's triumphant entry into Palermo. Bern, Burgerbibliothek, cod. 120.II [Nos 7-8], fol. 102r. Facsimile in Theo Kölzer and Marlis Stähli, eds, *Petrus de Ebulo: Liber ad honorem Augusti sive de rebus Siculis*, trans. Gereon Becht-Jördens (Sigmaringen: J. Thorbecke, 1994), 62–63.

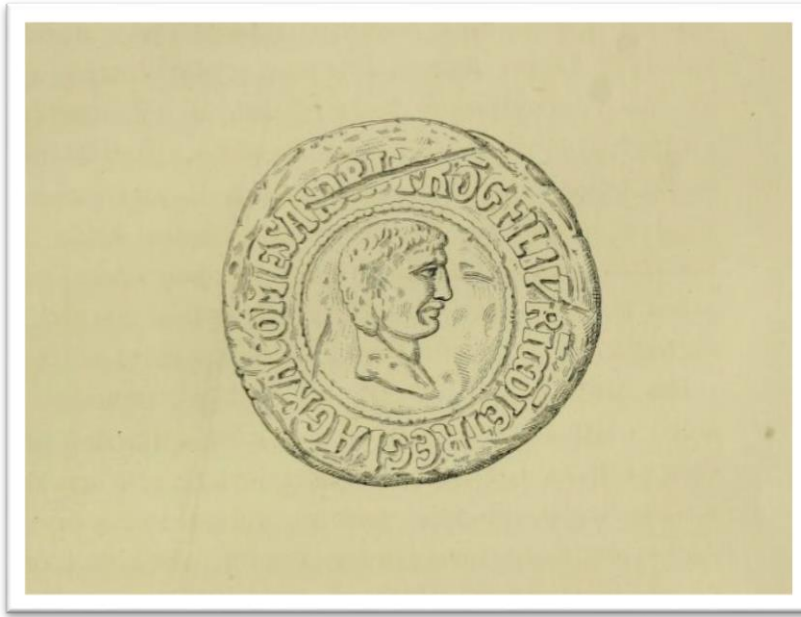


Figure 2. Lead seal of Count Roger of Andria. Promis, Domenico, 'Notizia di una bolla di piombo del secolo XII', Atti della R. Accademia delle scienze di Torino, 4 (1869), 670–74

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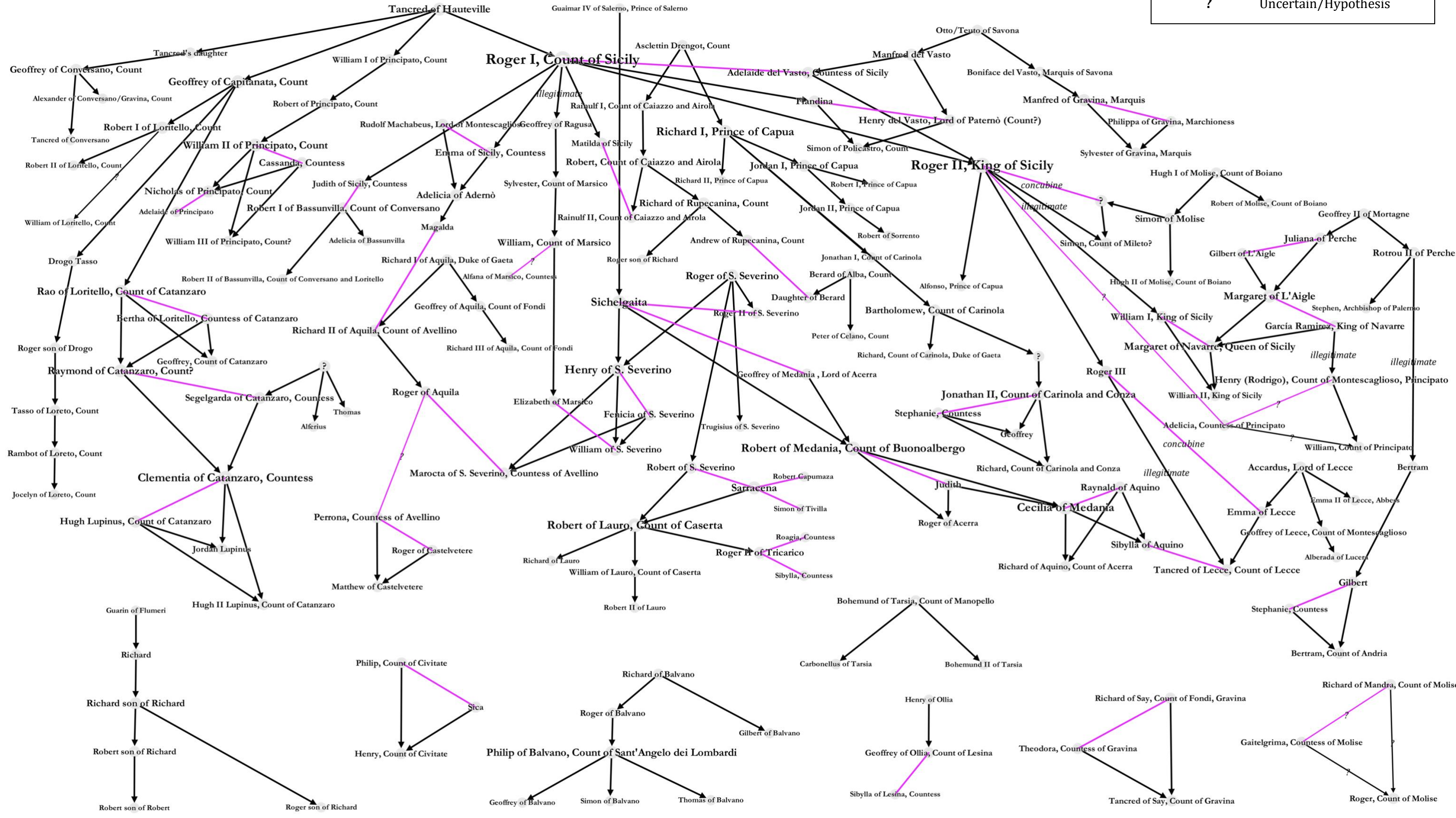
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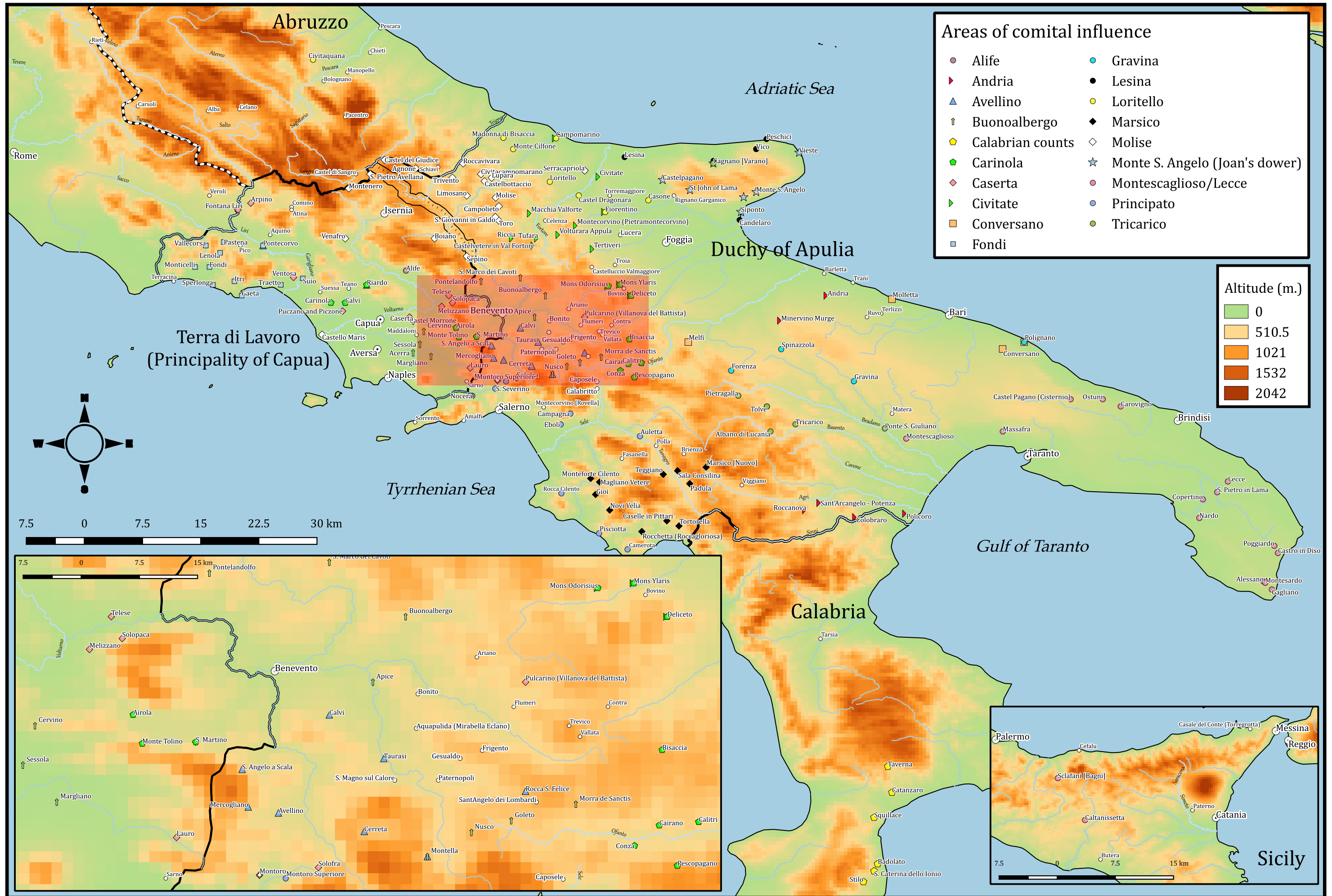
Comital kinship in the Norman Kingdom of Sicily (1137-1189)

Type of Relationship

- Lineage (Parent → Child)
- Marriage/Concubinage
- ? Uncertain/Hypothesis



Map 1. The Norman Kingdom of Sicily (1130–1189)



Map 2. Abbeys and churches involved in comital activities and transactions

