

URBAN DYNAMICS AND TRANSCULTURAL
COMMUNICATION IN MEDIEVAL SICILY

MITTELMEERSTUDIEN

Herausgegeben von

Martin Baumeister, Mihran Dabag,
Nikolas Jaspert und Achim Lichtenberger

BAND 17

Theresa Jäckh, Mona Kirsch (Eds.)

URBAN DYNAMICS
AND TRANSCULTURAL
COMMUNICATION
IN MEDIEVAL SICILY

Wilhelm Fink | Ferdinand Schöningh

Titelillustration:
Angelo Callimaco, *De laudibus Messanae*, Vitt.Em.55, fol.18v,
Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Roma

Bibliografische Information der Deutschen Nationalbibliothek

Die Deutsche Nationalbibliothek verzeichnet diese Publikation in der Deutschen Nationalbibliografie; detaillierte bibliografische Daten sind im Internet über <http://dnb.d-nb.de> abrufbar.

Alle Rechte vorbehalten. Dieses Werk sowie einzelne Teile desselben sind urheberrechtlich geschützt. Jede Verwertung in anderen als den gesetzlich zugelassenen Fällen ist ohne vorherige schriftliche Zustimmung des Verlags nicht zulässig.

© 2017 Verlag Ferdinand Schöningh, ein Imprint der Brill-Gruppe
(Koninklijke Brill NV, Leiden, Niederlande; Brill USA Inc., Boston MA, USA;
Brill Asia Pte Ltd, Singapore; Brill Deutschland GmbH, Paderborn, Deutschland)

Internet:
www.fink.de | www.schoeningh.de

Einbandgestaltung: Evelyn Ziegler, München
Herstellung: Brill Deutschland GmbH, Paderborn

ISBN 978-3-7705-6167-4 (Fink)
ISBN 978-3-506-78629-6 (Schöningh)

Contents

Preface.....	7
Dynamics of communication in medieval Sicily. An urban, regional and Mediterranean perspective	9
THERESA JÄCKH & MONA KIRSCH	
Die griechischen Gemeinden in Messina und Palermo (11. bis 13. Jahrhundert)	27
VERA VON FALKENHAUSEN	
Space and place in Norman Palermo	67
THERESA JÄCKH	
Dynamic landscapes and dominant kin groups: hydronymy and water-management in Arab-Norman western Sicily	97
ALEX METCALFE	
Counter-narratives in 12 th century Norman art and architecture	141
THOMAS DITTELBACH	
<i>... ut omnes habitatores Messane tam latini quam greci et hebrei habeant predictam libertatem ...</i> Vita cittadina e cittadinanza a Messina tra Normanni, Angioini e Aragonesi	159
JULIA BECKER	
Dynamiken muslimischer Städte im staufischen Sizilien: Migration und Kommunikation	173
RICHARD ENGL	
Palermo in the late Middle Ages: territory and population (13 th –15 th century).....	207
KRISTJAN TOOMASPOEG	

Les communautés marchandes de Messine à la fin du Moyen Âge (c. 1250–c. 1500)	227
HADRIEN PENET	
Il governo vescovile nella diocesi di Catania tra fenomeni di comunicazione, presenze di forestieri e culti devozionali (secoli XIV–metà del XVI).....	251
FABRIZIO TITONE	
Archives and sources for medieval Sicily: a study upon the urban reality of a port (Messina in the 15 th century).....	277
ELISA VERMIGLIO	
The Sicilian sugar trade in the western Mediterranean in the later Middle Ages	291
MOHAMED OUERFELLI	
Abstracts	305
Index	311

Preface

This volume is the outcome of an international conference on *Urban Dynamics and Transcultural Communication in Medieval Sicily* that was held in Heidelberg on the 26th and 27th of November 2015. The meeting was a joint-venture financed by the Cluster of Excellence ‘Asia and Europe in a Global Context’ and the Junior Research Group ‘Protection’ of the Transcultural Studies Research Area. The Hochschule für Jüdische Studien Heidelberg kindly supported our conference by providing their facilities for the meeting.

The proceedings concern medieval Sicily’s urban centres and their transcultural societies. As nodes of urban, regional and Mediterranean networks, Sicilian cities enabled exchange and entanglement amongst groups and individuals of various linguistic, religious, ethnic and political backgrounds. By analysing different means and contexts of communication such as trade, administration, material culture or religious practices, this volume sheds new light on urban centres and their dynamic potential.

Most of the papers contained in this volume were presented at the 2015 conference. However, some of the contributions were, unfortunately, not published in this volume (Mark Aloisio, ‘The meat rejected by them’: Regulation, manipulation and anti-Jewish rhetoric in the meat markets of medieval Sicily; Giuseppe Mandalà, *Città e saperi: qualche riflessione sulla diffusione della cultura araba nella Sicilia medievale*). Elisa Vermiglio contributed a paper to this volume which was given in another workshop on medieval Sicily, held in Heidelberg on the 23rd of October 2014.

We would like to express our sincere gratitude to the aforementioned institutions for generously funding the meeting as well as the publication of the conference proceedings. Special thanks are due to our supervisors, Dr Jenny Oesterle and Prof Nikolas Jaspert, who have provided us with advice and guidance. We also wish to thank the advisory board of the *Mittelmeerstudien* for accepting our volume into their series, and the publishers at Fink und Schöningh, namely Dr Diethard Sawicki, for the friendly cooperation. We are grateful to those who have assisted us during the process of editing: For the language editing, John Aspinwall, Erica Lorenzoni and Magali Memponte; Cynthia Schöpp and Tiana Weidemaier for supporting the early stage of typesetting. However, our greatest debt is due to the authors for their contributions and their cooperation to share insights into their current research.

Theresa Jäckh and Mona Kirsch
Heidelberg, July 2017

Dynamics of communication in medieval Sicily. An urban, regional and Mediterranean perspective

At the very heart of the Mediterranean, the island of Sicily has long been a place of settlement, expansion and trade; a dynamic region of contacts, competition and conflict.¹ Since antiquity, the island's remarkably diverse ethnic, religious and linguistic transitions have ensured that Sicily has served as an exceptional arena from which scholars may trace the rise and fall of geo-political, economic, social and religious formations and ideas. For many would-be masters, the vision that control over Sicily, as a neuralgic key-point of the island-to-island route, would grant dominion of the Mediterranean, proved a powerful lure. Following the disintegration of the Roman Empire, the island was witness to multiple conquests and the manifold migration-flows of the Vandals, the Byzantines, various Muslim groups and dynasties, the Normans, their Staufener successors, the Angevins and the Aragonese. As heir to the legacy of these passing rulers, Sicily has been bequeathed a diverse physical, linguistic, religious and social legacy: the startling variety of this inheritance has led modern historians to describe Sicily in terms of a multi-layered culture. Indeed, the circulation of people, commodities, knowledge, artefacts and skills has left behind a remarkable wealth of material. In particular, cities received and absorbed diverse elements of language, art, administration and economics. As centres of such interaction processes, they lie at the core of our volume 'Urban dynamics and trans-cultural communication in medieval Sicily'.

This urban perspective is illustrated by a unique *veduta* of the city of Messina adorning the front-cover of this publication.² As part of an early 16th-century

¹ Peregrine Horden and Nicholas Purcell emphasise the importance of islands for maritime networks because they "lie at the heart of the medium of interdependence: they have all-round connectivity", Peregrine HORDEN / Nicholas PURCELL, *The Corrupting Sea. A Study of Mediterranean History*, Oxford / Malden / Victoria 2000, p. 227. According to John Pryor "control of the islands [...] which dominated the trunk routes [...] became the major focus of attention in the wider struggle for maritime supremacy", whilst Sicily built a neuralgic part of the island-to-island route along the northern shore of the Mediterranean, John H. PRYOR, *Geography, Technology, and War. Studies in the Maritime History of the Mediterranean, 649–1571* (Past and Present Publication), Cambridge / New York / Victoria 2000, p. 101. On Sicily's position in the Mediterranean, see David ABULAFIA, *The Western Mediterranean Kingdoms 1200–1500. The Struggle for Dominion* (The Medieval World), London / New York, pp. 3–5; Giuseppe PETRALIA, Im Herzen des Mittelmeers: Das mittelalterliche Sizilien zwischen regionaler Dimension und mediterranen Systemen, in: *Konstruktionen mediterraner Insularitäten*, ed. Reinhard VON BENDEMANN / Annette GERSTENBERG / Nikolas JASPERT et al. (Mittelmeerstudien 11), Paderborn 2016, pp. 117–135.

² We are most grateful to dott. Andrea De Pasquale, director of the *Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Roma*, for generously allowing us to reproduce this miniature contained in the codex

manuscript held in the *Biblioteca Nazionale di Roma*, the exceptional miniature serves as the programmatic representation of a poem composed in hexameter verses by the Sicilian writer Angelo Callimaco.³ From the mythical landing of Aeneas to Ferdinand III of Naples († 1516), the narrative of Callimaco's poem is emphatically a history that maintains a keen focus upon Sicily as a land of successive and changing rulerships. From here, Callimaco sets out to praise the Sicilian cities whilst naming their famous features and recounting their fluctuating fortunes. It is between these two sections that the *veduta* of the Messina is placed.⁴

Betraying the work of a highly-skilled artist, the miniature of Messina is remarkable for both its detail and the vibrant splendour of its colours. Guarded by a double-towered gate, Messina is draped in a radiant gold light: the many-steepled sky punctuated by one and two naved basilicas, a three-storey rotunda and a vast three-tiered fortification. Girdling the walls of the city, a turquoise sea fills a harbour-basin that bustles with carracks, caravels and galleys; the breeze directing the barks both to and from Mediterranean ports. Above, a seemingly evanescent sky lifts the beholder's gaze beyond the cityscape. Here, the sun-lit uplands of the Sicilian hinterland, loosely swathed in nebula, are populated by disparate towers. Lastly, looming above these billowing ridges of rock, lies the Calabrian coast, the bridge to the South Italian mainland.

For all its considerable artistic glory, this miniature depicts the Sicilian city as a dynamic hub of local, regional and Mediterranean networks. Here, Messina may stand as a local entity, a city that is regionally interwoven with the Sicilian hinterland and its minor towns and settlements. Furthermore, the port of Messina with its barks transporting people, goods and knowledge, symbolises the interaction with transregional networks of and beyond the Mediterranean. It is in this spirit that we propose an analysis of Sicilian cities and their hinterland, of Mediterranean contacts and processes of exchange. The focus on the physical entities of cities and hinterland is enriched by an analysis of their communities, societies and actors as well as their different means and contexts of communica-

Vitt.Em.55, entitled as *De laudibus Messanae* or *Rhegina Messana*, fol. 18^v; Scheda manoscritto, in: Manus OnLine: http://manus.iccu.sbn.it/opac_SchedaScheda.php?ID=67787 [8.7.2017].

³ An edition of the poem is provided by *Il "De laudibus Messanae" di Angelo Callimaco Siculo*, ed. Antonio DE STEFANO (Biblioteca del Centro di Studi Filologici e Linguistici Siciliani 8), Florence 1955. According to the library catalogue the work is datable between 1500 and 1510. The writer and the artist of the codex are unknown, the owner was a certain Pio Amori. The *De laudibus Messanae* is discussed by Adolfo CINQUINI, *In lode di Messina. Per la storia letteraria di Messina nel Quattrocento (nozze Picardi-Durante)*, Rome 1910; Oskar KRISTELLER, *Iter Italicum. A Finding List of Uncatalogued or Incompletely Catalogued Humanistic Manuscripts of the Renaissance in Italian and other Libraries*, vol. 2, 3rd ed. London / Leiden / Boston et al. 1998, p. 126; as for Angelo Callimaco, see Giancarlo SCHIZZEROTTO, Angelo Callimaco, in: *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* 16, Rome 1973, pp. 754–757.

⁴ For Callimaco, who dedicated his poem to the Messina-born Cardinal Pietro Isvalies, the *Rhegina Messana* is assigned the most prominent role amongst the Sicilian cities. The miniature on fol. 18^v carries a caption that praises Messina as *Gloria terrae / Es Siculae*.

tion. This includes trade, administration and material cultures that had initiated or reflected processes of urban development.⁵

The contributions of this volume span from the late 11th to the mid 16th-century and feed into the afore-mentioned categories of analysis that shall not be considered as distinct sections of an exclusive character, but rather as connective spheres: interwoven and mutually dependent upon one another. Within the volume, the papers are chronologically ordered. Yet, for the purpose of this introduction, they shall be discussed from different disciplinary angles in an attempt to trace down the manifold processes of urban dynamics and transcultural communication within their urban, regional and Mediterranean context. Our approach shall highlight underlying research questions and issues that may not only be of interest to Sicilianist scholarship, but, indeed, shall stress the importance of further integrating medieval Sicily into the field of Medieval Mediterranean studies.

I. Urban centres and transcultural societies

Since the 16th-century, cities have been a key focus of Sicilianist historiography. It was with Claudio Mario Arezzo and Tommaso Fazello that an account of Sicilian history was first conducted via an investigation of the island's urban centres.⁶ The reasons why cities have traditionally constituted a major field of interest for historical scholarship is certainly presupposed by what Arnold Esch has famously described as *Überlieferungschance*⁷: the sources have been best-preserved in the cities' ecclesiastical and civic archives and, therefore, research has necessarily assumed a predominantly urban perspective. Furthermore, the long-standing historiographical interest in various forms of rule (*Herrschaft*)

⁵ As for the research term "communication" see e.g. Gerd ALTHOFF (Ed.), *Formen und Funktionen öffentlicher Kommunikation im Mittelalter* (Vorträge und Forschungen 51), Stuttgart 2001; Jan DUMOLYN, Political Communication and Political Power in the Middle Ages: A Conceptual Journey, in: *Edad Media. Revista de Historia* 12 (2012), pp. 33–55; Romy GÜNTERT / Michael JUCKER (Ed.), *Kommunikation im Spätmittelalter. Spielarten – Wahrnehmungen – Deutungen*, Zürich 2005; Sophia MENACHE, *The Vox Dei. Communication in the Middle Ages* (Communication and Society), New York 1990; Marco MOSTERT, New Approaches to Medieval Communication?, in: *New Approaches to Medieval Communication*, ed. IDEM (Utrecht Studies in Medieval Literacy 1), Turnhout 1999, pp. 15–37; Hedwig RÖCKELEIN (Ed.), *Kommunikation* (Das Mittelalter 6,1), Berlin 2001; Karl-Heinz SPIEB (Ed.), *Medien der Kommunikation im Mittelalter* (Beiträge zur Kommunikationsgeschichte 15), Stuttgart 2003; Richard UNGER, Commerce, Communication and Empire: Economy, Technology and Cultural Encounters, in: *Speculum* 90, pp. 1–27; for an extensive bibliography on medieval communications, see Marco MOSTERT, *A Bibliography of Works on Medieval Communication* (Utrecht Studies in Medieval Literacy 2), Turnhout 2012.

⁶ Claudio Mario AREZZO, *De situ insulae Siciliae*, Palermo 1537; Tommaso FAZELLO, *De rebus Siculis decades duae*, Palermo 1558.

⁷ Arnold ESCH, Überlieferungs-Chance und Überlieferungs-Zufall als methodisches Problem des Historikers, in: *Historische Zeitschrift* 240 (1985), pp. 529–570, see particularly pp. 536–593.

was, in Sicily⁸, bound to a predominantly urban context as the Sicilian cities – particularly Palermo and Messina – have functioned as centres of political rule and of religious, legal and civic authorities from an early stage.

Besides the focus on rule and authority, an investigation of urban centres is benefited by encompassing both the physical structure, that is the topography, as well as the composition of the “human unit”, that is the urban society and their varied processes of communication.⁹ Any negotiations resulting from contacts between or amongst different urban groups, could result in conflict over powers, rights, status within the urban community. Such processes, in turn, often left their mark upon the city and its society.¹⁰ One way to consider such urban dynamics is by analysing the urban layers and their topographic transformation. Theresa Jäckh discusses how the Norman conquerors acquired the city of Palermo. Hereby, the new rulership was communicated via topographical interventions: transformed or newly established religious and political spaces, such as churches and castles, seem to have immediately preceded the conquest.¹¹ Whilst changes in living and community spaces were more gradual, they were nevertheless profound. As the social aspect of groups also carries a spatial dimension, shifts in the composition of the urban society also became tangible via the topographical structure.¹² Most notably, this concerns the marginalisation of the

⁸ See among others Horst ENZENSBERGER, *La struttura del potere nel Regno: corte, uffici, cancelleria*, in: *Potere, società e popolo nell'età sveva 1210–1266. Atti delle seste giornate normanno-sveve. Bari – Castel del Monte – Melfi, 17–20 ottobre 1983* (Centro di Studi Normanno-Svevi 6), Bari 1985, pp. 49–70; Norbert KAMP, *Monarchia ed episcopato nel Regno svevo di Sicilia*, in: *ibidem*, pp. 123–149; Lioba GEIS, *Die Hofkapelle als Herrschaftsinstrument Rogers II. für Sizilien?*, in: *Zwischen Ideal und Wirklichkeit. Herrschaft auf Sizilien von der Antike bis zum Spätmittelalter*, ed. EADEM / David ENGELS / Michael KLEU, Stuttgart 2010, pp. 283–305; Georg VOGELER, *Die Urkunden Kaiser Friedrichs II. für die Empfänger auf der Insel Sizilien. Herrschaftspraxis zwischen Zentrum und Peripherie*, in: *ibidem*, pp. 307–323; Pietro CORRAO, *Governare un regno. Potere, società istituzioni in Sicilia fra Trecento e Quattrocento* (Nuovo Medioevo 39), Naples 1991; IDEM, *Policentrismo die poteri contrattazione politica nel regno di Sicilia (1282–1458). La fisionomia e la negoziazione interna (città, monarchia, nobiltà, parlamento). Résumé*, in: *Avant le contrat social. Le contrat politique dans l'Occident médiéval XIII^e–XV^e siècle. Colloque international de Madrid (2008)*, ed. François FORONDA (Histoire ancienne et médiévale 107), Paris 2011, pp. 715f.; Fabrizio TITONE, *Citizens and Freedom in Medieval Sicily*, in: *A Companion to Medieval Palermo. The History of a Mediterranean City from 600 to 1500*, ed. Annliese NEF (Brill's Companions to European History 5), Leiden / Boston 2013, pp. 489–524.

⁹ For Fernand Braudel, communication and cities stand for the “human unit” in contrast to the “physical unit” of climate and history, see Fernand BRAUDEL, *La Méditerranée et le monde méditerranéen à l'époque de Philippe II*, vol. 1, 2nd ed. Paris 1966, chapter 5: L'unité humaine : routes et villes, villes et routes, pp. 253–322.

¹⁰ As for urban change as an indicator of political developments, see recently Laura SCIASCIA, *Palermo as a Stage for, and a Mirror of, Political Developments from the 12th to the 15th Century*, in: NEF, *Companion* (as n. 8), pp. 299–323.

¹¹ Cf. Theresa JÄCKH, *Space and Place in Norman Palermo*, pp. 72–89.

¹² On the spatial dimension of urban minority groups see e. g. Susan G. MILLER, *An Introduction to the Mediterranean Minority Quarter*, in: *The Architecture and Memory of the Minority Quarter in the Muslim Mediterranean City*, ed. EADEM / Mauro BERTAGNIN, Cambridge, Mass.

Muslim community¹³, a trend that appears to have been accelerated following the consolidation of the Kingdom around the Norman capital of Palermo after 1130.

A different and varied insight into a minority group is given by Vera von Falkenhausen for the Greeks who left a considerable body of evidence; documentary, literary and artistic. With this, von Falkenhausen analyses the Greek-speaking communities in Messina and Palermo during the Norman period.¹⁴ Here, the picture is that of a minority group whose representatives exercised a remarkably disproportional influence in the administration and organisation of the Norman realm. Whilst Messina had long been a foothold for Byzantine culture, the Greeks also became politically dominant in the largely Arabic-influenced city of Palermo following the Norman court's relocation from Messina. Here, it is interesting to note that influential Greeks became increasingly visible in the urban space, e. g. via religious foundations.¹⁵ However, despite integration into the Palermitan urban society, the Greeks often maintained their ties to Messina and eastern Sicily with the bordering Calabria as an important cultural and religious point of reference. The ability to operate in different spheres appears to have been a key to success: Greek-speakers acted as effective agents and intermediators between the Arabic and Latin speaking groups.¹⁶

Within the last years, the outcome of such communication processes has frequently been addressed with reference to the research paradigm of transculturality.¹⁷ Although the concept of transculturality emphatically opposes “a juxtaposition of clearly delineated cultures”¹⁸, it has attracted scholarly interest in terms of communication between groups or individuals that are allegedly forced to overcome sizeable cultural gaps (e. g. Arabic-Greek-Latin).¹⁹ In his analysis of late medieval Palermo, however, Kristjan Toomaspoeg focuses on ur-

2007, pp. 10–33; in terms of the structures and institutions of Islamic cities, Gustave von Grunebaum's 1955 article has been particularly influential and broadly acknowledged, see Gustave VON GRUNEBaum, The Structure of the Muslim Town, in: *American Anthropologist* 57 (1955), pp. 141–158; for a general view on the social aspects of grouping and outsiders see Frank REXROTH, Mediävistische Randgruppenforschung in Deutschland, in: *Mittelalterforschung nach der Wende 1989*, ed. Michael BORGOLTE (Historische Zeitschrift. Beiheft N.F. 20), Munich 1995, pp. 427–451.

¹³ Cf. JÄCKH, Space, pp. 90–94.

¹⁴ Cf. Vera VON FALKENHAUSEN, Die griechischen Gemeinden in Messina und Palermo (11. bis 13. Jahrhundert), pp. 27–66.

¹⁵ Cf. *ibidem*, for Messina pp. 46; for Palermo pp. 51–56.

¹⁶ Cf. *ibidem*, p. 44, pp. 59f.

¹⁷ See pp. 22–26 of this introduction for further notes.

¹⁸ Wolfgang WELSCH, Transculturality – The Puzzling Form of Cultures Today, in: *Spaces of Culture: City, Nation, World*, ed. Mike FEATHERSTONE / Scott LASH (Theory, Culture & Society), London 1999, pp. 194–213, here p. 203; for a medievalist's perspective see Georg CHRIST / Saskia DÖNITZ / Daniel G. KÖNIG et al., *Transkulturelle Verflechtungen. Mediävistische Perspektiven*, Göttingen 2016, here chapter 2.2.9: Transkulturalität, pp. 72–77.

¹⁹ For Medieval Sicily, such assumptions have often relied upon the idea that, due to the manifold ethnic, religious and linguistic minority groups, Sicily was a medieval cauldron of cultures, see e. g. Henri BRESCH / Geneviève BRESCH-BAUTIER (Ed.), *Palerme 1070–1492. Mosaïque de*

ban groups from different ‘Latin’ origins. Whilst Palermo had become a Christian, Catholic city, it had, by no means, lost its pluralism of peoples.²⁰ As people immigrated into the city from various ‘Latin’ origins, conflicts were by no means reduced and the picture of the urban society remained complex. This analysis, hence, challenges a simplistic conception of ‘Latinisation’. In fact, the evidence suggests that the debate concerning transcultural communications must also consider interactions between different ‘Latin’ groupings and cannot rely on monolithic understandings of ‘Arabic’, ‘Greek’ and ‘Latin’ cultures. In terms of the city’s population, Toomaspoeg also demonstrates how minority groups acted as proxies for urban transformation or conflict. It is made clear how, even in times of less radical political changes, the acceleration of change can often be indicated by the level of ‘Latin’ immigration.²¹ The different immigrant groups of Palermitan society also transformed the physical space of the city. Here, Toomaspoeg approaches the architectural landmarks as markers for political and social structures.

The relationship of people and territory further evokes questions concerning the legal status of a city’s population.²² The broader Medievalist approach to cities has arguably been strongly focused on analyses of their legal status. Here, research has also sought to examine questions concerning civic rights and citizenship.²³

peuples, nation rebelle : la naissance violente de l’identité sicilienne, Paris 1993; Simon SIMONSOHN, Sicily: a Millennium of Convivenza (or almost), in: *The Jews of Europe in the Middle Ages (Tenth to Fifteenth Centuries). Proceedings of the International Symposium held at Speyer, 20–25 October 2002*, ed. Christoph CLUSE (Cultural Encounters in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages 4), Turnhout 2004, pp. 105–121; Nadia ZELDES, The Last Multicultural Encounter in Medieval Sicily: A Dominican Scholar, an Arabic Inscription, and a Jewish Legend, in: *Mediterranean Historical Review* 21 (2006), pp. 159–191; Stefan BURKHARDT / Thomas FÖRSTER (Ed.), *Norman Tradition and Transcultural Heritage. Exchange of Cultures in the ‘Norman’ Peripheries of Medieval Europe*, Farnham 2013.

²⁰ Cf. Kristjan TOOMASPOEG, Palermo in the Late Middle Ages: Territory and Population (13th–15th Century), pp. 207–226.

²¹ Cf. *ibidem*, pp. 211–214.

²² As is well-known, affiliation with a city could bring certain liberties and rights. Here, the spatial and juridical definition of a city was of crucial importance, see e. g. Clausdieter SCHOTT, Bürger und Bauer scheidet nichts als ein Zaun und eine Mauer – Studie zu einem Rechtsspruchwort, in: *Signa Iuris* 13 (2014), pp. 273–292. The spatial definition of urban and rural entities was also relevant in the Islamic juristic discussion, see Baber JOHANSEN, The All-Embracing Town and its Mosques. Al-miṣr al-ġāmi‘, in: *Revue de l’Occident Musulman et de la Méditerranée* 32 (1981–1982), pp. 139–161; IDEM, ‘Amwāl Zāhira and Amwāl Bāṭina. Town and Countryside as Reflected in the Tax System of the Hanafite School, in: *Studia Arabica et Islamica. Festschrift for Ihsān Abbās on his Sixtieth Birthday*, ed. Wadād AL-QADĪ, Beirut 1981, pp. 247–263.

²³ Such scholarly approaches have been strongly influenced by the conceptions of Max Weber’s considerations on cities and their urban societies, see Max WEBER, *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft. Die Wirtschaft und die gesellschaftlichen Ordnungen und Mächte. Nachlaß*, ed. Wilfried NIPPEL (Max Weber Gesamtausgabe, Abteilung I: Schriften und Reden 22–5), vol. 5: Die Stadt, Tübingen 1999; on citizenship in medieval Sicily, see Carmelo TRASELLI, *I privilegi di Messina e di Trapani (1160–1355) con un’appendice sui consolati trapanesi nel sec. XV* (Collana di testi e studi storici 5), Messina 1992, pp. 32–34; E. Igor MINEO, Palermo in the 14th–15th Century: The Urban Society, in: NEF, Companion (as n. 8), pp. 269–296, pp. 283–287.

Focussing on the city of Messina, Julia Becker contributes to a nuanced understanding of medieval citizenship.²⁴ The status of citizenship was by no means uniform: terms such as *oriundus* and *habitor* were used to distinguish between persons who had been born within the city walls and those who had resided in the city for a certain amount of time. As the population of Messina included strong Jewish and Greek communities, Becker demonstrates how the lives of the citizens amongst the Latins were regulated by the city's statutes. The Messinese *consuetudines* consist of a complex body of legal traditions and customs that address, inter alia, inner- and interreligious legal questions. Some of the privileges granted to the city, however, were directed explicitly to the different groups that coexisted in Messina, thus including Latins, Greeks and Jews alike. With a reference to Palermo, Julia Becker concludes that Messina provided more favourable fiscal and legal conditions to its Jewish and Greek / non-Latin citizens which might have resulted from the rivalry with the capital city on the one hand and Messina's strategic position as a vivid commercial hub on the other. Interestingly, whilst the diverse groups appear as one legal community (in contrast to the non-citizens), the documentary evidence indicates that an individual's identity largely depended upon their cultural and ethnic identification.

II. A dynamic landscape: the hinterland and its patterns of communication

The political, social, religious and legal structures of cities have often been assumed to facilitate an understanding of wider regional and transregional structures. Thus, many assumptions concerning the Sicilian hinterland have actually been based on studies that are mainly concerned with the urban centres. An extrapolation of the urban findings onto the hinterland is, however, methodologically problematic. Historically, analysis has been hampered by the fact that the hinterland presents a paucity of extant written sources that in some parts still remain unpublished and, hence, not extensively recognised.²⁵ Nevertheless, scholarly exploration of the hinterland promises fruitful rewards. In fact, the

²⁴ Cf. Julia BECKER, ... *ut omnes habitatores Messane tam latini quam greci et hebrei habeant predictam libertatem ...* Vita cittadina e cittadinanza a Messina tra Normanni, Angioini e Aragonesi, pp. 159–171.

²⁵ On the relationship between urban centres and hinterland, see Henri BRESCH, *Un monde méditerranéen. Économie et société en Sicile 1300–1450* (Bibliothèques des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome 262), vol. 1, Rome / Paris 1986, see particularly pp. 7–21; Stephan R. EPSTEIN, *An Island for Itself. Economic Development and Social Change in Late Medieval Sicily* (Past and Present Publications), Cambridge 1992; Vincenzo D'ALESSANDRO, Città e campagna in Sicilia nell'età angiono-aragonese, in: *La Sicilia rupestre nel contesto delle civiltà mediterranee. Atti del sesto Convegno Internazionale di Studio sulla Civiltà Rupestre Medioevale nel Mezzogiorno d'Italia, (Catania – Pantalica – Ispica, 7–12 settembre 1981)* (Saggi e ricerche. Università degli Studi di Lecce, Dipartimento di Scienze Storiche e Sociali 18. Convegni di studio sulla civiltà rupestre medioevale nel mezzogiorno d'Italia 6), Galatina 1986, pp. 199–212.

hinterland can be considered alongside the valuable records of archaeological surveys that have resulted in important and thought-provoking sets of data. Here, the evidence indicates that the hinterland offers fertile ground from which to explore settlements patterns and migration flows, as well as questions of how rule was exercised.²⁶

Addressing the vexed questions concerning ‘centre’ and ‘periphery’ in medieval Sicily, Alex Metcalfe approaches the ditches (*handaq*) of the Western Sicilian hinterland via the Monreale boundary descriptions. The presentation of this important, and as yet unpublished set of data²⁷, brings to light an overlooked system for the provision of water that was both basic and powerful. As the *handaq*-system was easy to construct and difficult to control, it was maintained by local kingroups without intervention from the central political power.²⁸ This research vividly depicts a dynamic hinterland populated by groups that achieved a degree of regional autonomy. In terms of communication, Metcalfe demonstrates how Latin lords negotiated with representatives of Muslim kingroups over the control of water resources. Hence, this approach also demonstrates that the Muslim communities of western Sicily arguably enjoyed a considerable degree of autonomy both during and immediately following the Norman period.

The idea of autonomous structures in the hinterland is also addressed by Richard Engl. Here, the situation of Muslim communities in the period that stretched from the collapse of Norman power until their displacement to the mainland is analysed in terms of migration processes within the western Sicilian hinterland.²⁹ Evidencing the longevity of the Muslim communities, several com-

²⁶ Here, a considerable number of studies have combined archeological and historic approaches in order to gain a deeper understanding of socio-religious and cultural processes, see e.g. Jeremy JOHNS, *Monreale Survey: Indigines and Invaders in Medieval West Sicily*, in: *Papers in Italian Archaeology. The Cambridge Conference*, ed. Caroline MALONE / Simon TODDARTS (BAR International Series 246), vol. 4: Classical and Medieval Archaeology, Oxford 1985, pp. 215–223; in this volume: Alex METCALFE, *Dynamic Landscapes and Dominant Kin Groups: Hydronymy and Water-Management in Arab-Norman Western Sicily*, pp. 97–139; Alessandra MOLINARI, *Paesaggi rurali e formazioni sociali nella Sicilia islamica, normanna e sveva (secoli X–XIII)*, in: *Archeologia Medievale* 27 (2010), pp. 229–245; Lucia ARCIFA / Alessandra BAGNERA / Annliese NEF, *Archeologia della Sicilia islamica: nuove proposte di riflessione*, in: *Histoire et archéologie de l’Occident musulman (VII^e–XV^e siècles). Al-Andalus, Maghreb, Sicile*, ed. Philippe SÉNAC (Villa 4), pp. 241–274; Lucia ARCIFA / Annliese NEF (Ed.), *Les dynamiques de l’islamisation en Méditerranée centrale. Nouvelles propositions et découvertes récentes* (Collection de l’École française de Rome 487), Rome 2014. Several ongoing research projects are expected to bring to light further data, such as the bilateral project on Castronovo, see <http://www.sicilyintransition.org/>; as for their 2015 results see Martin CARVER / Alessandra MOLINARI, *Sicily in Transition Research Project. Investigations at Castronovo di Sicilia. Results and Prospects*, 2015, in: *The Journal of Fasti Online* 13 (2016), pp. 1–12, and the forthcoming volume of Alessandra MOLINARI, *The Archaeology of Medieval Sicily. Cultures, Social Structures, Economies*, in: *Studies in the Archaeology of Medieval Europe* (forthcoming 2019).

²⁷ Cf. METCALFE, *Landscapes*, pp. 126–137.

²⁸ Cf. *ibidem*, pp. 110f., pp. 115f.

²⁹ Cf. Richard ENGL, *Dynamiken muslimischer Städte im stauffischen Sizilien: Migration und Kommunikation*, pp. 173–206.

munication media such as letters, diplomatic exchanges and coinage appear to give a useful insight into questions concerning their self-conception and their struggles to retain autonomy.³⁰ Whilst this research has endeavoured to show the dynamics of the Muslim groups within the Sicilian hinterland and, in particular, their attempts to expand their influence beyond the island's borders, it may be illustrative that this group – so heavily dependent on the central authority – often sought to act in times of central power struggles.

Insights into the interaction between local communities and the urban representatives of authority, both political and religious, are given by Fabrizio Titone.³¹ Via an investigation of the episcopal government in the diocese of Catania, Titone demonstrates a keen interest in communication processes between urban centres and the hinterland. Whilst his analyses of (micro-)migrations not only contributes to an understanding of the territory's diverse society in terms of its social and religious groups, it furthermore reveals much concerning their communication processes. Documents such as requests to and responses from the authority stress the dense communication patterns of the Catanese diocese. This view is enriched by a perspective on the means of communication, here cults and devotional practises. By observing examples such as the cult of Saint Agatha, Titone reveals how the urban authorities aimed to centrally regulate religious practises within the hinterland.³² With this, Catania was able to expand its control beyond the confines of its territory.

Whilst it has been debated whether any city other than Messina could exercise control over their rural hinterland³³, Mohamed Ouerfelli emphasises the close connection between the city of Palermo and its countryside with regard to the Sicilian sugar trade.³⁴ Regular contacts ensured that the product, which was grown, harvested and manufactured outside of Palermo, was transported and sold at the markets of the city. Messina's unique position amongst the Sicilian cities is also stressed by Hadrien Penet and Elisa Vermiglio³⁵: the city not only controlled a vast hinterland since the beginning of the 14th-century³⁶, but it had also established a close connection with mainland Italy, namely Calabria, from which it is only separated by the narrow Strait of Messina or "lu faru". Therefore, for the supply of agricultural products, Messina not only relied on its sur-

³⁰ Cf. *ibidem*, pp. 199–201.

³¹ Cf. Fabrizio TITONE, *Il governo vescovile nella diocesi di Catania tra fenomeni di comunicazione, presenze di forestieri e culti devozionali (secoli XIV–metà del XVI)*, pp. 251–276.

³² Cf. *ibidem*, pp. 260–267.

³³ According to Epstein, urban powers in medieval Sicily – with the exception of Messina – were largely unable to exercise control of the hinterland. For the various reasons, see EPSTEIN, *Island* (as n. 25), pp. 132f. On Messina, see *ibidem*, pp. 240–267.

³⁴ Cf. Mohamed OUERFELLI, *The Sicilian Sugar Trade in the Western Mediterranean in the Later Middle Ages*, pp. 291–304.

³⁵ Cf. Elisa VERMIGLIO, *Archives and Sources for Medieval Sicily: A Study Upon the Urban Reality of a Port (Messina in the 15th Century)*, pp. 277–290; Hadrien PENET, *Les communautés marchandes de Messine à la fin du Moyen Âge (c. 1250–c. 1500)*, pp. 227–250.

³⁶ EPSTEIN, *Island* (as n. 25), p. 133.

rounding rural districts, but also on trade with Calabria.³⁷ The hinterland of Messina was used to cultivate crops such as sugar-cane and grain which was the most sought-after Sicilian export.³⁸ Local businessmen maintained contacts with the hinterland while foreign merchants were mainly concerned with the commercial ties between Messina and its foreshore.³⁹ The port city served as a distributive centre for local products such as grain and for imports that consisted of cloths, slaves, and spices. Furthermore, Messina was part of several regional commercial networks that linked the urban centre to the rest of Sicily, Apulia, Calabria, Campania, Sardinia, and the Aeolian Islands.⁴⁰ Hence, the hinterland played a pivotal role for the internal market structures of Sicily and for the supply of agricultural goods, part of which were shipped from there to other cities along the Mediterranean coasts.

III. Nodes of communication: merchants, commodities, and Mediterranean transfer

Trade functions as an important interacting category of medieval Mediterranean communications. Maritime commerce became an essential “factor in the improvement of the communication networks among the three main cultures of the Mediterranean world”.⁴¹ In the papers of this volume, communication processes will be analysed with regard to a diverse range of source material: the merchants themselves, the commercial goods they carried and the routes and sea lanes along which they moved.⁴²

The important Sicilian harbour cities, first and foremost Palermo and Messina, served as crucial meeting points for merchants from different Mediterranean regions, for local sellers and consumers as well as for buyers from the

³⁷ Cf. VERMIGLIO, Archives, p. 288.

³⁸ Cf. *ibidem*, p. 285.

³⁹ Cf. PENET, Communautés, pp. 248f.

⁴⁰ Cf. *ibidem*, p. 248; VERMIGLIO, Archives, pp. 286–288.

⁴¹ Ruthi GERTWAGEN, Geniza Letters: Maritime Difficulties along the Alexandria-Palermo Route, in: *Communication in the Jewish Diaspora. The Pre-Modern World*, ed. Sophia MENACHE (Brill’s Series in Jewish Studies 16), Leiden / New York / Cologne 1996, pp. 73–90, p. 90.

⁴² Michael McCormick has approached early medieval economic history with the premise that people and things on the move as well as the resulting patterns of trade and exchange, serve as indicators of communication processes: Michael MCCORMICK, *Origins of the European Economy. Communications and Commerce AD 300–900*, Cambridge / New York / Port Melbourne et al. 2001, reprint 2005; see also HORDEN / PURCELL, *Corrupting Sea* (as n. 1), chapter 5 and 9. For a discussion of McCormick’s ideas see Edward JAMES / Michael MCCORMICK / Joachim HENNING et al., *Origins of the European Economy: A Debate*, in: *Early Medieval Europe 12* (2003), pp. 259–324; Sarah Davis-Secord adopts a similar method in order to analyse communication and exchange within Sicily and the Mediterranean from the 6th to the 11th-century whilst questioning the paradigm of the island as a major hub of political and commercial relations, see Sarah C. DAVIS-SECORD, *Sicily and the Medieval Mediterranean. Communication Networks and Inter-Regional Exchange*, PhD Thesis Notre Dame, Indiana 2007, p. 4, n. 5.

surrounding countryside.⁴³ Joint trading adventures that had been fixed in *com-menda* or *societas*-contracts, mirror the business relations between fellow Sicilian citizens as well as between investors, ship owners and merchants from different parts of the Mediterranean. Merchants often served as mediators between cultures who, along with new commodities, brought innovative techniques as well as their cultural mindset, their ideas, moral values and religious beliefs with them.⁴⁴ But the newcomers, too, were influenced by the experiences that resulted from their encounter with the indigenous population.⁴⁵ Various forms of communications evolve and result from these exchanges that included individuals and groups with different cultural backgrounds and interests.⁴⁶

⁴³ Sicily's role within Mediterranean networks as well as the extent to which the island was integrated into larger trading units has inspired numerous publications; for the period under consideration see e. g. Shelomo D. GOITEIN, Sicily and the Southern Italy in the Cairo Geniza Documents, in: *Archivio Storico per la Sicilia orientale* 67 (1971), pp. 9–33; David ABUALFIA, *The Two Italies. Economic Relations between the Norman Kingdom of Sicily and the Northern Communes* (Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought 3,9), Cambridge 1977; IDEM, *Commerce and Conquest in the Mediterranean, 1100–1500* (Variorum Collected Studies Series 410), Aldershot 1993; Marco TANGHERONI, La Sicilia e il mercato mediterraneo dalla fine del Duecento alla metà del Trecento, in: *Archivio Storico Siciliano* 23 (1997), pp. 151–166; Mark A. ALOISIO, A Test Case for Regional Market Integration? The Grain Trade between Malta and Sicily in the Late Middle Ages, in: *Money, Markets and Trade in Late Medieval Europe*, ed. Lawrin ARMSTRONG / Ivana ELBL / Martin ELBL (Later Medieval Europe 1), Leiden / Boston 2007, pp. 297–309; Stephan KÖHLER, Handel und Wirtschaft Siziliens im Mittelalter. Verschiedene Betrachtungsweisen von innen und von außen, in: *Siziliens Geschichte. Insel zwischen den Welten*, ed. IDEM / Wolfgang GRUBER (Expansion, Interaktion, Akkulturation 24), Vienna 2013, pp. 144–167. For the period following the Vespers in 1282, Sicilian trade has been primarily considered in the light of the political conflicts between the Angevin and Aragonese rulers and the economic decline of Southern Italy. This discussion has been heavily influenced by the research paradigms of the economic dualism and the *questione meridionale*: Illuminato PERI, *Industrializzazione e sviluppo economico*, Palermo 1972; BRESC, Monde (as n. 25); EPSTEIN, Island (as n. 25); Clifford BACKMAN, *The Decline and Fall of Medieval Sicily. Politics, Religion, and Economy in the Reign of Frederick III, 1296–1337*, Cambridge 1995. Historians such as Henri Bresc and Clifford Backman have emphasised Sicily's dependence upon foreign trade and thereby the exploitation of its valuable trading commodity, grain, by the North Italian and Aragonese merchants. Other researchers have questioned the notion of the poverty-stricken south; Stephan Epstein, for instance, focuses on the regional specialisation of different products and the development of internal market structures. In this volume, Hadrien Penet and Elisa Vermiglio – with regard to Messina – argue for a more nuanced view in terms of the city's regional, transregional and Mediterranean networks.

⁴⁴ Kathryn L. REYERSON, Commerce and Communication, in: *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, ed. David ABULAFIA, vol. 5: c.1198–c.1300, Cambridge 1999, pp. 50–70, p. 53.

⁴⁵ Several merchant manuals of the early 14th-century document the awareness of European merchants concerning the cultural and religious differences of their Eastern counterparts. Their accommodating attitude towards their Muslim associates should be regarded in the light of their commercial objective – entry into a successful business relationship. On this point, see John E. DOTSON, Perceptions of the East in Fourteenth-Century Italian Merchants' Manuals, in: *Across the Mediterranean Frontiers. Trade, Politics and Religion, 650–1450. Selected Proceedings of the International Medieval Congress, University of Leeds, 10–13 July 1995, 8–11 July 1996* (International Medieval Research 1), Turnhout 1997, pp. 173–192.

⁴⁶ For Sicily, see e. g. Mario DEL TREPPO, *I mercanti catalani e l'espansione della corona d'Aragona nel secolo XV* (Università degli studi di Napoli. Seminario di storia medioevale e moderna

The attempts to reconstruct these medieval commercial networks often suffer from the relative dearth of sources.⁴⁷ Over the course of the centuries, the Sicilian archives experienced heavy losses by wars or natural disasters.⁴⁸ The surviving archival records, however, are often concerned with long-distance trade whereas local commercial activities remained largely undocumented.⁴⁹ In addition to the documentary preponderance on high value, foreign based trade most of the notarial registers that include commercial contracts originate from western Sicily, mostly from the city of Palermo. Hence, a close look at the existing sources as well as at the pattern of documentary survival serve as an important precondition for analysing Sicily's trade relations and its economic development.

The study by Elisa Vermiglio on the socio-economic structures of a medieval Sicilian city demonstrates the inherent benefits of a source based-approach.⁵⁰ Turning away from Palermo whose archival sources had often been used as the basis for the historical research on the dynamics of Sicilian trade, she offers a micro-historical analysis of the city of Messina. Her study is based on an introductory overview of the ecclesiastical, diplomatic as well as private charters and notary acts that reflect upon the business activities in late medieval Messina. Because of its favourable geographical position, the city was a centre of attraction for foreign merchants and a commercial hub between the urban centre and its surrounding regions as well as between Sicily and mainland Italy. It can be assumed that Messina, even though it might not have fully exploited its advantages⁵¹, was to a greater extent actively engaged in Mediterranean trade and more economically active than modern historiography has so far acknowledged.

Hadrien Penet, too, underlines Messina's nodal position in Mediterranean trading networks and its importance as a staging post for exchange on a regional

4), Naples 1972, pp. 149–187; David ABULAFIA, Catalan Merchants and the Western Mediterranean, 1236–1300: Studies in the Notarial Acts of Barcelona and Sicily, in: IDEM, *Italy, Sicily and the Mediterranean, 1100–1400* (Variorum Collected Studies Series 250), London 1987, pp. 209–242; IDEM, The Role of Trade in Muslim-Christian Contact during the Middle Ages, in: IDEM, *Mediterranean Encounters, Economic, Religious and Political, 1100–1550* (Variorum Collected Studies Series 694), Aldershot 2000, pp. 1–24; Pietro CORRAO, Uomini d'affari stranieri nelle città siciliane del tardo medioevo, in: *Revista d'Historia Medieval* 11 (2000), pp. 139–162; Gian L. BORGHESE, The City of Foreigners: Palermo and the Mediterranean from the 11th to the 15th Century, in: NEF, *Companion* (as n. 8), pp. 325–348. For the trading privileges of foreign merchants in the Sicilian cities, see Rosa M. DENTICI BUCCELLATO, *Fisco e società nella Sicilia aragonese. Le pandette delle gabelle regie del XIV secolo* (Acta curie felicitis urbis Panormi 2), Palermo 1983; TRASSELLI, *Privilegi* (as n. 23).

⁴⁷ Georg CHRIST / Daniel KÖNIG / Margit MERSCH et al., Netzwerke, in: CHRIST / DÖNITZ / KÖNIG et al., *Transkulturelle Verflechtungen* (as n. 18), pp. 65–67. For an overview over the unpublished and published source material on the economic history of (late) medieval Sicily, see BRESI, *Monde* 1 (as n. 25), pp. 25–36.

⁴⁸ EPSTEIN, *Island* (as n. 25), pp. 18f.; VERMIGLIO, *Archives*, p. 278.

⁴⁹ EPSTEIN, *Island* (as n. 25), pp. 15f. For general considerations on this issue, see ESCH, *Überlieferungs-Chance* (as n. 7), pp. 535f.

⁵⁰ Cf. VERMIGLIO, *Archives*, pp. 277–290.

⁵¹ Cf. *ibidem*, p. 289.

and macro-regional level⁵²: from the 12th-century onwards, numerous merchants from various nationalities entered the port of the Sicilian city; some of them left Messina immediately after their business had been completed. Others stayed longer, some settled down and acquired citizenship. Hence, there must have been many occasions for interaction and commerce between foreign and local merchants. In Messina, merchants who shared a common local background formed communities such as the Genoese, Pisans, Venetians, Marseillais and Catalans. The presence of these foreign merchant communities left its traces in the cityscape: Their *fondachi* and warehouses were to be found in the port area. A consul represented commercial and political issues that involved a member of his merchant community before the local authorities.⁵³

Not only was Messina a place of foreign merchant settlement and trade, but Messinese merchants also took an active part in the Mediterranean trade networks. Merchants from Messina can be found in the important western Mediterranean trading cities such as Genoa, Marseille, Venice and Tunis. Messina, too, had long-distance trading contacts with the Levant and Egypt, Cyprus, Crete, Rhodes and Genoese Romania. The Messinese citizens became specialised in maritime transport: Local shipmasters often entered into the service of Catalan merchants who used Messina as a hub to reach into the eastern Mediterranean.⁵⁴

Further insight into the complex communication processes can be gained from a close look on the commodities that were shipped to and from medieval Sicily.⁵⁵ Messina, for instance, took an active part in the trade with slaves from Romania.⁵⁶ Local sellers acted as intermediaries for Catalan slave traders who carried their human cargo from the Sicilian island further south into the Mediter-

⁵² Cf. PENET, *Communautés*, pp. 227–250.

⁵³ Cf. *ibidem*, pp. 232–234.

⁵⁴ Cf. *ibidem*, pp. 247; VERMIGLIO, *Archives*, pp. 287f.

⁵⁵ For the benefits that can be gained by a nuanced study of the Sicilian trading commodities, see David ABULAFIA, *The Pisan bacini and the Medieval Mediterranean Economy: A Historian's Viewpoint*, in: IDEM, *Italy* (as n. 46), pp. 287–302; IDEM, *Industrial Products: the Middle Ages*, in: IDEM, *Mediterranean Encounters* (as n. 46), pp. 333–358; as for material objects as proxies of cultural exchange and entanglement see below, pp. 22–26 with note 60.

⁵⁶ Cf. PENET, *Communautés*, pp. 247; VERMIGLIO, *Archives*, pp. 293f. For the Sicilian slave trade, see Charles VERLINDEN, *L'esclavage en Sicile sous Frédéric II d'Aragon 1296–1337*, in: *Homenaje a Jaime Vicens Vives*, vol. 1, Barcelona 1965, pp. 675–690; IDEM, *L'esclavage dans un quartier de Palerme. Aspects quantitatifs*, in: *Studi in memoria di Federigo Melis*, ed. Luigi DE ROSA, vol. 3, Naples 1987, pp. 505–526; BRESC, *Monde 1* (as n. 25), pp. 439–475, 2, pp. 443–450; IDEM, *Une société esclavagiste médiévale : l'exemple de la Sicile*, in: *Sardegna, Mediterraneo Atlantico tra medioevo ed età moderna. Studi storici in memoria di Alberto Boscolo*, ed. Luisa D'ARIENZO, vol. 2, Rome 1993, pp. 297–314; BACKMAN, *Decline* (as n. 43), pp. 247–302; Laura SCIASCIA, *Schiavi in Sicilia. Ruoli sociali e condizione umana*, in: *De l'esclavitud a la llibertat. Esclaus i lliberts a l'edat mitjana. Actes del Colloquio Internacional celebrat a Barcelona, del 27 al 29 de maig de 1999*, ed. Maria T. FERRER I MALLOL / Josefina MUTGÉ I VIVES (Anuario de estudios medievales. Anejo 38), Barcelona 2000, pp. 527–547; Henri BRESC, *Esclaves noirs et esclaves blancs en Sicile (vers 1300–vers 1450). Entre déshumanisation et socialisation*, in: *Couleurs de l'esclavage sur les deux rives de la Méditerranée*

ranean. The range and variety of goods, the processes of production as well as of transport and distribution allow the historian to discern the establishing of economic relationships and shared commercial enterprises as well as patterns of commercial exchanges that cross the political, cultural and religious barriers of the Mediterranean regions. Mohamed Ouerfelli whose paper focuses on the production and trade with Sicilian sugar in the late Middle Ages sheds light on the important role of Pisan businessmen.⁵⁷ It was also due to their investment that Palermo turned into a centre for sugar production. Merchants from Pisa participated in the trade with Sicilian sugar and helped to enhance the reach of their trading contacts. The Sicilian sugar trade spanned from the southern part of the Mediterranean, from the Maghreb and Egypt, to Northern Europe, to Flanders and England. Such long-distance networks underline the idea of a medieval Mediterranean that stretches far wider than the geographic entity itself.⁵⁸

IV. Motifs and images: transcultural discourses and perceptions

Commercial exchange enabled various processes of cultural entanglement.⁵⁹ Within urban, regional and Mediterranean networks, people and goods as well as ideas and knowledge, images, and motifs crossed both natural as well as political boundaries. An outcome of such contacts were material objects and artefacts.⁶⁰ Indeed, Siculo-Norman art is widely-recognised for its artistic brilliance as well as for its variety of motifs and forms that have often been described as a mixture of Latin, Greek and Islamic art. Here, the process of translation has been used to describe the process of creating and, literally, reading Norman art.⁶¹

(*Moyen Age–XX^e siècle*), ed. Alessandra STELLA / Roger BOTTE (Hommes et sociétés), Paris 2012, pp. 55–84.

⁵⁷ Cf. OUERFELLI, Sicilian Sugar Trade, pp. 291f., 302f.

⁵⁸ BRAUDEL, Méditerranée 1 (as n. 9), chapter 3: Les confins ou la plus grande Méditerranée, pp. 155–210; HORDEN / PURCELL, Corrupting Sea (as n. 1), pp. 7–25.

⁵⁹ MCCORMICK, Origins of the European Economy (as n. 41).

⁶⁰ Ulrike RITZERFELD, Materialisierte Verflechtungen und ihre Deutungen, in: CHRIST / KÖNIG / MERSCH et al., Transkulturelle Verflechtungen (as n. 18), p. 123; Alex METCALFE / Mariam ROSSER-OWEN (Ed.), *Forgotten Connections? Medieval Material Culture and Exchange in the Central and Western Mediterranean* (Al-Masāq 25,1), London 2013.

⁶¹ The attempt to categorise Norman art was inter alia done by using terms such as ‘hybridity’, see e.g. William TRONZO, *The Cultures of His Kingdom. Roger II and the Cappella Palatina in Palermo*, Princeton 1997, p. 14: “Norman art is a hybrid, we infer from the literature, because Norman society itself was a hybrid, and art reflects society”; as for Norman art as a Mediterranean *koine*, Christine UNRUH, Die normannischen Gartenpaläste in Palermo: Aneignung einer mittelmeerschischen koiné im 12. Jahrhundert, in: *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 51 (2007), pp. 1–44; as for an analysis of language and script from an art-historical perspective see Isabelle DOLEZALEK, Fashionable Form and Tailor-Made Message: Transcultural Approaches to Arabic Script on the Royal Norman Mantle and Alb, in: *The Medieval History Journal* 15,2 (2012), pp. 243–268.

Certainly, the creation and perception of objects and artefacts entails a communicative process. However, as the exploration of the material lives of artwork shows their sheer variety of media, of contexts and of interpretations is vast. As such, any monolithic attributions must be critically questioned.⁶²

The questions of how and in which context motifs and images evolved and how they were supposed to be perceived is dealt with by Thomas Dittelbach.⁶³ He analyses some of the most famous objects and visual images of Siculo-Norman art, such as the Palatinate and Monreale mosaics, Roger II's mantle, the famous epitaph for Anna or the ellipsoidal ivory casket from the Cappella Palatina. With reference to the trilingual Norman chancery, Dittelbach states that the production of art was similar in the respect that it was intended to transmit messages to the trilingual peoples of the Norman realm. As such, the unique visual repertoire appeared as a programmatic construct and an understanding of this artistic language as a communicative process that transmitted messages can be understood "between the lines".⁶⁴ Here, Dittelbach uses the concept of narratives and counter-narratives to discuss the socio-political and religious messages contained in artefacts and architecture that, for Dittelbach, served as the transmitters of an ambiguous narrative. That is, messages could be transformed without changing whilst only the context altered and became de-constructed before being re-constructed or re-contextualised in a modified interpretation. This communicative strategy served the multi-cultural people of the Norman Kingdom.

Undoubtly, the sheer existence of images and motifs can be understood in terms of communication with the beholder.⁶⁵ Whilst interpretation is a dynamic process bound to time, space and context, such notions of discourses and perceptions become particularly tangible in a historiographical context. Indeed, the question of how historiography has depicted Sicily in terms of its multi-layered history is revealing. Here, it is immediately noteworthy that the transcultural remains attesting to Sicily's multifaceted imprint have long-been neglected and, often, dismissed.

This fact is well-illustrated by the poet Angelo Callimaco who recounted the history of his homeland. For Callimaco, it was Aeneas who established the first

⁶² See e.g. Avinoam SHALEM, *Dangerous Claims. On the 'Othering' of Islamic Art History and How It Operates within Global Art History*, in: *Universalität der Kunstgeschichte*, ed. Matthias BRUHN / Monica JUNEJA / Elke A. WERNER (Kritische Berichte. Zeitschrift für Kunst- und Kulturwissenschaften 40, Heft 2), Ulm 2012, pp. 69–86.

⁶³ Cf. Thomas DITTELBACH, *Counter-Narratives in 12th-Century Norman Art and Architecture*, pp. 141–157.

⁶⁴ Cf. *ibidem*, pp. 141f.

⁶⁵ As other articles in the present volume indicate, political messages and ideologies could be communicated via representations, images or objects, too. For the urban topography and architecture such as city gates as representation of victory, see JÄCKH, *Space*, pp. 81–86; as for a self-understanding and representation of independency via coinage see ENGL, *Dynamiken*, pp. 203f.

‘Latin kingship’ on Sicily.⁶⁶ However, Aeneas’ patrimony was then usurped by the ‘Greeks’ (the Byzantines) and, later, the ‘Muslim infidels’.⁶⁷ It was only with the Normans that the Sicilian Kingdom returned to its rightful, Latin-Christian, glory; this decisive moment re-established a legitimate line of ‘many great kings’⁶⁸ that culminated in the reign of his royal contemporary, Ferdinand III. Like Callimaco’s poem, 16th-century Sicilian historiography is noteworthy for its attempt to chronicle the island’s history from its ancient origins onwards. Whilst acknowledging that Sicily’s history was heavily influenced by its foreign and relatively transient rulers, for many of these historiographers it was the Norman creation of the Kingdom of Sicily which witnessed the island’s historical (re-)birth. This claim is well evidenced by reference to Tommaso Fazello’s formative account of Sicilian history that was published in 1558. Composed in elegant Latin, Fazello’s long and complex work sought to explain the history of Sicily alongside the island’s inhabitants and their customs. Whilst conventionalising the Norman conquest of Sicily as the starting point of the ‘valuable’, Christian Sicilian history, Fazello’s strong urban focus ensures that he could not entirely dismiss the island’s Muslim past. Many surviving monuments and objects in the cities’ urban spaces recalled the Islamic-Arabic influence that Fazello did not ignore but, nevertheless, often misunderstood.⁶⁹

Indeed, despite the importance of this multi-faceted culture for explaining the uniqueness of the Sicilian historical legacy, the transcultural inheritance long remained understudied. A growing sense of appreciation of the Arabic-Islamic facet of Sicilian history can be traced to the 18th-century.⁷⁰ However, such abstract notions did not find adequate articulation until the time of Michele Amari.⁷¹ Whilst Amari himself was dismissed by fellow historians⁷², the somewhat biased view on Sicilian history resolved into a more balanced one, as in-depth studies carried to light more sources and analysed them in a time in which national considerations dwindled or were, at least, increasingly questioned. It is

⁶⁶ Biblioteca Nazionale di Roma, Vitt.Em.55, fol. 1^r.

⁶⁷ Ibidem, fol. 8^r.

⁶⁸ Ibidem, fol. 8^v.

⁶⁹ Here, Fazello identifies the ‘Saracen’ or Arabic-Islamic heritage often as Punic or Chaldaean, see e.g. FAZELLO, *De rebus Siculis* (as n. 6), lib. 8, pp. 164–170.

⁷⁰ See e.g. Gregorio ROSARIO, *Rerum arabicarum quae ad historian Siculam spectant ampla collectio, opera ac studio*, Palermo 1790.

⁷¹ Michele AMARI, *Storia dei Musulmani di Sicilia*, 3 vols., ed. Carlo A. NALLINO, 2nd ed. Catania 1933–1937. For Amari, the Sicilian “otherness” well-served to reinforce his wider political beliefs of a Sicilian independence, see e.g. Bianca MARCOLONGO, *Le idee politiche di Michele Amari*, in: *Documenti per servire alla storia di Sicilia*, ed. Andrea BORRUSO / Rosa D’ANGELO / Rosa SCAGLIONE GUCCIONE (Società Siciliana per la Storia Patria), Palermo 1991, pp. 190–240.

⁷² In terms of Amari’s assumption that the Norman *dīwān* was inspired by the Fatimids, Johns remembers the incident in which “Carlo-Alberto Garufi, a figure of insular stature with none of Amari’s breadth and depth of scholarship, pretended to disprove Amari’s argument by means of a detailed philological discussion, regardless that he knew no Arabic”, see Jeremy JOHNS, *Arabic Administration in Norman Sicily. The Royal Dīwān* (Cambridge Studies in Islamic Civilization), Cambridge 2002, p. 7.

here that the term “transculturality” has offered an important component to critically challenge constructs of national states and civilisations.⁷³ The study of the history of Sicily has also benefited from a new trend in historiography termed ‘Mediterranean studies’.

Undoubtly, the most influential stimulus for a new approach to Mediterranean history was the opus of Fernand Braudel.⁷⁴ It was in the spirit of Braudel, that Nicholas Purcell and Peregrine Horden approached the Mediterranean in their book *The corrupting sea*. Here, the authors focussed on the ancient and medieval period that had been spared by Braudel or, rather, remained unpublished.⁷⁵ By the time that David Abulafia wrote a biography of the Mediterranean Sea⁷⁶, Mediterranean studies had already become a dynamic and complex field of scholarly debate.⁷⁷ For our purpose it shall be enough to refer to this development in terms of a historiographic discourse. For the study of medieval Sicily, this has resulted in a wider acknowledgment of the island’s multi-layered history and the role of cross-cultural interactions within the Mediterranean and provided powerful arguments for the understanding of Sicily in a Mediterranean context. Such notions fit well with attempts to study the regions of the Mediterranean in terms of a shared, interwoven (connected and intersected) history that is girdled by fluid borders of both political entities and scholarly

⁷³ As for globalist notions in art history and the methodological, maybe ideological problems, see Monica JUNEJA, Vorwort des Chair for Global Art History am Exzellenzcluster „Asia and Europe in a Global Context“ an der Ruprecht-Karls-Universität Heidelberg, in: *Kulturerbe und Denkmalpflege transkulturell. Grenzgänge zwischen Theorie und Praxis*, ed. EADEM / Michael FALSER, Bielefeld 2013, pp. 9–34, here pp. 21–23.

⁷⁴ BRAUDEL, Méditerranée (as n. 9).

⁷⁵ HORDEN / PURCELL, *Corrupting Sea* (as n. 1), p. 1 and pp. 39–43.

⁷⁶ Here, whilst stressing the geographical similarities and shared historical experiences within the Mediterranean, Abulafia also emphasises both the diversity within this dynamic area and its distinctiveness from other regions, see David ABULAFIA, *The Great Sea. A Human History of the Mediterranean*, London 2011, pp. xxiii–xxxii.

⁷⁷ As for Mediterranean studies as a field of interdisciplinary research, see e. g. Rania ABDEL-LATIF / Yassir BENHIMA / Daniel KÖNIG et al. (Ed.), *Construire la Méditerranée, penser les transferts culturels. Approches historiographiques et perspectives de recherche* (Ateliers des Deutschen Historischen Instituts Paris 8), Munich 2012, see particularly IIDEM, Introduction à l’étude des transferts culturels en Méditerranée médiévale. Aspects historiographiques et méthodologiques, pp. 14–44; Mihran DABAG / Dieter HALLER / Nikolas JASPERT et al., *Handbuch der Mittelmeerstudien. Systematische Mittelmeerforschung und disziplinäre Zugänge* (Mittelmeerstudien 8), Paderborn 2015, see particularly the contribution of Nikolas JASPERT / Sebastian KOLDITZ / Jenny OESTERLE, *Mittelalterliche Geschichte*, pp. 303–324; as for an art historical perspective on Mediterranean history see e. g. Jaynie ANDERSON (Ed.), *Crossing Cultures. Conflict, Migration and Convergence. The proceedings of the 32nd International Congress in the History of Art. The University of Melbourne, 13–18 January 2008*, Carlton / Victoria 2009, see particularly chapter 5: Fluid Borders: Mediterranean Art Histories, pp. 134–178; Gerhard WOLF, Alexandria aus Athen zurückerobern? Perspektiven einer mediterranen Kunstgeschichte mit einem Seitenblick auf das mittelalterliche Sizilien, in: *Latinisch-griechisch-arabische Begegnungen. Kulturelle Diversität im Mittelmeerraum des Spätmittelalters*, ed. Margit MERSCH / Ulrike RITZERFELD (Europa im Mittelalter 15), Berlin 2009, pp. 39–62.

disciplines. As such, the fluctuating trends of research paradigms may well-illustrate how history itself is interpreted. Here, the discourses that such paradigms stimulate can often reveal much about the perceptions of our time and space of writing.

Die griechischen Gemeinden in Messina und Palermo (11. bis 13. Jahrhundert)

Messina und Palermo waren in normannischer und staufischer Zeit die beiden wichtigsten Städte Siziliens¹; beide werden in den zeitgenössischen Quellen *μεγαλόπολις* genannt, die Hauptstadt Palermo allerdings seltener als Messina.² Dagegen spielte damals die alte byzantinische Hauptstadt Syrakus, von 663 bis 668 Residenz Kaiser Konstans' II.³, später Sitz der Strategen von Sizilien⁴ und seit dem 8. Jahrhundert der griechischen Erzbischöfe mit der Jurisdiktion über die dem Patriarchat von Konstantinopel unterstehenden sizilianischen Diözesen⁵, anscheinend keine große Rolle mehr. Messina war die erste Stadt Siziliens, die von den Normannen erobert wurde (1061). Nach Malaterra soll Roger I. sie als *quasi clavem Siciliae*, also als den Schlüssel zu Sizilien, betrachtet haben⁶, eine Bezeichnung, die Saba Malaspina am Ende des 13. Jahrhunderts wieder aufgriff.⁷ Bis zur Eroberung von Palermo dauerte es dann noch gute zehn Jahre.

¹ Ibn Ġubayr, *Viaggio in Ispagna, Sicilia, Siria e Palestina, Mesopotamia, Arabia, Egitto*, übers. v. Celestino SCHIAPARELLI, Rom 1906, S. 322.

² Palermo: *I diplomî greci ed arabi di Sicilia. Pubblicati nel testo originale, tradotti ed illustrati*, hg. v. Salvatore CUSA, Bd. 1,1, Palermo 1868, S. 27; Messina: *ibidem*, S. 324, S. 341, S. 352, 362; *I diplomî greci ed arabi*, hg. v. IDEM, Bd. 1,2, Palermo 1884, S. 637; Ermanno AAR, *Gli studi storici in Terra d'Otranto*, in: *Archivio storico italiano IV ser.* 9 (1882), S. 235–265, hier S. 253–255; *Les actes grecs de S. Maria di Messina. Enquête sur les populations grecques d'Italie du Sud et de Sicile (XI^e–XIV^e s.)*, hg. v. André GUILLOU (Istituto Siciliano di Studi Bizantini e Neellenici. Testi e monumenti 8), Palermo 1963, Nr. 15, S. 125f., App. II, S. 208–214; Cristina ROGNONI, *Messina 1208: un contratto matrimoniale greco (ADM 1302)*, in: *Néa Πόλις* 4 (2007), S. 331–342, hier S. 334. Weitere Urkunden, in denen Messina *μεγαλόπολις* genannt wird, sind noch unediert: Toledo Archivo General de la Fundación Casa Ducal de Medinaceli, Fonds Messina, Nrn. 1258, 1278, 1284, 1290, 1326, 1332. Im Folgenden werden die Urkunden aus diesem Archivfond mit der Sigle ADM bezeichnet.

³ *Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit. Erste Abteilung (641–867)*, hg. nach Vorarbeiten v. Friedhelm WINKELMANN v. Ralph-Johannes LILIE / Claudia LUDWIG / Thomas PRATSCH et al., Bd. 2, Berlin / New York 2000, # 3691, S. 480–484.

⁴ Ewald KISLINGER, *La città bizantina in Sicilia come centro amministrativo*, in: *La Sicilia bizantina. Storia, città e territorio. Atti del VI Convegno di Studi*, hg. v. Marina CONGIU / Simona MO-DEO / Massimo ARNONE, Caltanissetta 2010, S. 147–157; Mikaël NICHANIAN / Vivien PRIGENT, *Les stratèges de Sicile. De la naissance du thème jusqu'au règne de Léon V*, in: *Revue des études byzantines* 61 (2003), S. 97–141.

⁵ Vivien PRIGENT, *L'évolution du réseau épiscopal sicilien (VIII^e–X^e siècle)*, in: *Les dynamiques de l'islamisation en Méditerranée centrale et en Sicile : Nouvelles propositions et découvertes récentes*, hg. v. Annliese NEF / Fabiola ARDIZZONE (Collection de l'École française de Rome 487), Rom / Bari 2014, S. 89–102.

⁶ Gaufrédus Malaterra, *De rebus gestis Rogerii Calabriae et Siciliae Comitis et Roberti Guiscardi Ducis fratris eius*, hg. v. Ernesto PONTIERI (*Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*² 5,1), Bologna 1928, lib. III, cap. 32, S. 77.

⁷ *Die Chronik des Saba Malaspina*, hg. v. Walter KOLLER / August NITSCHKE (MGH SS 35), Hannover 1999, lib. VIII, cap. 10, S. 296: *Messanem ... civitatem, que clavis et custodia est totius Sycilie.*

Dort wurde alsbald ein Erzbistum eingerichtet – das vorerst einzige in Sizilien⁸, was wohl bedeutet, dass der Status der arabischen Hauptstadt auch unter den normannischen Eroberern aufrechterhalten werden sollte.

Für die ersten Jahrzehnte der normannischen Herrschaft ist die Quellenlage für Palermo unergiebig: Robert Guiskard setzte dort erst einen normannischen Ritter, Peter Vidon, als Emir, also als lokalen Gouverneur ein⁹, dem anscheinend alsbald der Notar Eugenios, ein Grieche aus dem ostsizilischen Städtchen Troina¹⁰, und schließlich Christodoulos, ein griechisch-arabischer Christ, der wohl aus der Gegend von Marsala stammte, folgten.¹¹ Offensichtlich musste dieser Posten auf die Dauer mit einem Beamten besetzt werden, der die beiden Landessprachen, Arabisch und Griechisch, beherrschte. Die normannischen Herzöge behielten gegenüber den Grafen von Kalabrien und Sizilien die Oberhoheit über die Stadt: Eine griechische Inschrift über den Neubau der Kirche San Pietro *de Balneariis* im Hafenviertel von Palermo aus dem Jahre 1081 ist in die Zeit Robert Guiskards und seiner Frau Sikelgaita datiert, während Roger I. gar nicht erwähnt wird¹²; ebenso beriefen sich die zuständigen Beamten auf die Autorität *τοῦ ὑπερλάμπρου* oder *πανυπερλάμπρου δουκός* und nicht auf die des Grafen von Kalabrien und Sizilien.¹³ Roger I. hatte zwar lange und erfolgreich in Sizilien gekämpft, scheint aber nie länger dort residiert zu haben. In seinen Urkunden, die zum allergrößten Teil nur in später überarbeiteten Abschriften oder Übersetzungen erhalten sind¹⁴, wird nur selten der Ausstellungsort angegeben. Zwi-

⁸ *Italia Pontificia*, Bd. 10: Calabria – Insulae, hg. v. Dieter GIRGENSOHN, Zürich 1975, S. 221, S. 228f.

⁹ Léon-Robert MÉNAGER, *Amiratus – Ἀμιράτς*. L'Émirat et les origines de l'amirauté (X^e–XIII^e siècles), Paris 1960, S. 23–26. In einer Urkunde Rogers I. vermutlich aus dem Jahre 1083 unterzeichnet er als *στρατηγός Πανόρμιον τοῦ ὑπερλάμπρου δουκός*: Documenti latini e greci del conte Ruggero I di Calabria e Sicilia, hg. v. Julia BECKER (Ricerche dell'Istituto Storico Germanico di Roma 6), Rom 2013, Nr. 6, S. 55; Vera VON FALKENHAUSEN, Ancora sul monastero greco di S. Nicola dei Drosi (prov. Vibo Valentia). Edizione degli atti pubblici (secoli XI–XII), in: *Archivio storico per la Calabria e la Lucania* 79 (2013), S. 37–79, hier S. 40–45.

¹⁰ MÉNAGER, *Amiratus – Ἀμιράτς* (wie Anm. 9), S. 26–28; Vera VON FALKENHAUSEN, I funzionari greci del regno normanno, in: *Byzantino-Sicula*, Bd. 5: Giorgio di Antiochia. L'arte della politica in Sicilia nel XII secolo tra Bisanzio e l'Islam. Atti del Convegno Internazionale (Palermo, 19–20 Aprile 2007), hg. v. Mario RE / Cristina ROGNONI (Istituto Siciliano di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici "Bruno Lavagnini". Quaderni 17), Palermo 2009, S. 165–202, hier S. 175–177.

¹¹ MÉNAGER, *Amiratus – Ἀμιράτς* (wie Anm. 9), S. 28–44, S. 180–183; VON FALKENHAUSEN, I funzionari greci (wie Anm. 10), S. 180–183.

¹² André GUILLOU, *Recueil des inscriptions grecques médiévales d'Italie* (Collection de l'École française de Rome 222), Rom 1996, Nr. 195, S. 210f.: *ἐν ἡμέραις τοῦ λαμπροτάτου δουκός Ρουμβέρτου καὶ Σικελγαίτας τῆς αὐτοῦ συνεύνου*.

¹³ BECKER, Documenti latini e greci (wie Anm. 9), Nr. 6, S. 55; VON FALKENHAUSEN, Ancora sul monastero greco di S. Nicola dei Drosi (wie Anm. 9), S. 45; Léon-Robert MÉNAGER, *Recueil des actes des ducs normands d'Italie (1042–1127)*, Bd. 1: Les premiers ducs (1046–1087) (Società di storia patria per la Puglia. Documenti e monografie 45), Bari 1981, Nr. 52–54, S. 181–186, Tav. 53; Jeremy JOHNS, *Arabic Administration in Norman Sicily. The Royal Dīwān* (Cambridge Studies in Islamic Civilization), Cambridge 2002, S. 68f.

¹⁴ BECKER, Documenti latini e greci (wie Anm. 9), S. 12.

schen Dezember 1094 und Februar 1095 stellte er vier Urkunden in Palermo aus, davon zwei für Erzbischof Alcherius.¹⁵ Auch Messina ist nur gelegentlich als Ausstellungsort angegeben.¹⁶ Seine offizielle Residenz in Mileto, wo er auch begraben ist, hat Roger nie aufgegeben.¹⁷

Nach Rogers Tod (1101) scheint sich seine Witwe, die Regentin Adelasia, dagegen oft und lange in Messina und im Val Demone aufgehalten zu haben, soweit man das aus den Ausstellungsorten und Empfängeradressen ihrer Privilegien schließen kann.¹⁸ Im Jahre 1112 zog der normannische Hof jedoch in die alte arabische Hauptstadt Palermo um.¹⁹ Die Gründe dafür sind nicht ganz eindeutig: Vielleicht spielten dabei die Aufstände der Barone im Osten der Insel eine Rolle²⁰; vielleicht wollte man auch mit der Präsenz des Hofes die normannische Herrschaft im Westen der Insel intensiver ausbauen, da sich inzwischen schon viele normannische Feudalherren dort niedergelassen hatten.²¹ Entscheidend war wohl der Tod des Herzogs Roger Borsa (1111), der als Lehnherr der Grafen von Kalabrien und Sizilien bis dahin seine Rechte dort geltend gemacht hatte.²² Auch der schon erwähnte Emir Christodoulos, ein griechisch-arabischer Christ aus Westsizilien, der seit 1107 in der Umgebung der Regentin nachzuweisen ist und bis in die zwanziger Jahre des 12. Jahrhunderts an der Spitze der Verwaltung der Grafschaft von Sizilien und Kalabrien stand, könnte diesen Entschluss mitbeeinflusst haben.²³ Auf seinen Besitzungen bei Marsala hatte Christodoulos ein Kloster gegründet, Santa Maria della Grotta, das im Jahre 1107/1108 ein Privileg von der Regentin Adelasia erhielt.²⁴ Schon im Jahre

¹⁵ Ibidem, Nr. 49, S. 197–199, Nr. 52, S. 205–207. Empfänger der beiden anderen in Palermo ausgestellten *σπιγίλλια* war das Kloster San Filippo di Fragalà im Val Demone: ibidem, Nrn. 45–46, S. 184–189.

¹⁶ Ibidem, † 11, S. 74f. (1087), Nr. 16, S. 89–91 (1091), Nr. 21, S. 107–111 (1092), Nr. 28, S. 127–130 (1092), Nr. 34, S. 147–149 (1093), Nr. 50, S. 200f. (1095).

¹⁷ Vera VON FALKENHAUSEN, Mileto tra Greci e Normanni, in: *Chiesa e Società nel Mezzogiorno. Studi in onore di Maria Mariotti*, hg. v. Pietro BORZOMATI, Bd. 1, Soveria Mannelli 1998, S. 109–133.

¹⁸ Vera VON FALKENHAUSEN, Zur Regentschaft der Gräfin Adelasia del Vasto in Kalabrien und Sizilien (1101–1112), in: *Aetos. Studies in Honour of Cyril Mango Presented to him on April 14, 1998*, hg. v. Ihor ŠEVČENKO / Irmgard HUTTER, Stuttgart / Leipzig 1998, S. 87–115, hier S. 105–115; Julia BECKER, Un dominio tra tre culture. La contea di Ruggero I alla fine dell'XI secolo, in: *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 88 (2008), S. 1–33, hier S. 16.

¹⁹ Hubert HOUBEN, Roger II. von Sizilien, Herrscher zwischen Orient und Okzident, 2. Aufl. Darmstadt 2010, S. 29f.

²⁰ Michele FASOLO, *Alla ricerca di Focerà*, Rom 2008, S. 9f.

²¹ VON FALKENHAUSEN, Zur Regentschaft der Gräfin Adelasia (wie Anm. 18), S. 94f., S. 98.

²² Im Sommer 1086 hatte er drei Urkunden in Palermo ausgestellt: MÉNAGER, *Recueil des actes des ducs normands* (wie Anm. 13), Nrn. 52–54, S. 181–186, Tav. 53.

²³ JOHNS, *Arabic Administration* (wie Anm. 13), S. 69–74; VON FALKENHAUSEN, *I funzionari greci* (wie Anm. 10), S. 180–183.

²⁴ Das Privileg ist nicht erhalten und wird nur in einer Bestätigungsurkunde Rogers II. erwähnt, die nur in einer nicht ganz korrekten lateinischen Übersetzung überliefert ist. Dort wird als Datum von Adelasias Urkunde das Jahr 6606 und die 1. Indiktion angegeben (Carlo A. GARUFI, *I documenti inediti nell'epoca normanna in Sicilia*, Bd. 1 [Documenti per servire alla storia di

1113, gleich nach dem Umzug des normannischen Hofes nach Palermo, stiftete er auch dort, neben dem *palatium*, eine Kapelle, die im Beisein der Bischöfe von Palermo, Messina, Agrigent und Syrakus geweiht wurde. Es handelt sich vermutlich um einen Bau, der später als die sogenannte *cripta* in die Cappella Palatina integriert wurde.²⁵ Es ist also durchaus wahrscheinlich, dass Christodoulos aktiv an der Verlegung der Residenz des Grafen von Kalabrien und Sizilien nach Palermo beteiligt war. Von da an war Palermo die offizielle Residenz der normannischen Herrscher, auch wenn Roger II. sich in seinen ersten Regierungsjahren nur selten dort aufgehalten hat²⁶; dort residierte der vorerst einzige sizilianische Erzbischof²⁷, und schließlich wurde dort die königliche Zentralverwaltung (*doana regia*) eingerichtet.²⁸

Messina dagegen fungierte sozusagen als zweite Hauptstadt: Auch dort gab es einen königlichen Palast²⁹, in dem die normannischen Könige oft residierten³⁰, und, um die Stadt auch auf kirchlicher Ebene aufzuwerten, kämpften die normannischen Könige und die lokalen Bischöfe jahrelang mit unterschiedlichem Erfolg um die Einrichtung eines Erzbistums in Messina, das schließlich

Sicilia publicati a cura della Società Siciliana di Storia Patria I,18], Palermo 1899, S. 22). Im Jahre 6606, einer 6. Indiktion, regierte jedoch noch Roger I., deshalb erscheint es mir wahrscheinlich, dass das Privileg im Jahre 6616, das einer 1. Indiktion entspricht, ausgestellt worden ist: VON FALKENHAUSEN, Zur Regentschaft der Gräfin Adelasia (wie Anm. 18), Nr. 10, S. 107.

²⁵ GARUFI, Documenti inediti (wie Anm. 24), S. 9–11; VON FALKENHAUSEN, I funzionari greci (wie Anm. 10), S. 182, Anm. 98; Vladimir ZORIĆ, *Arx praeclara quam palatium regale appellant ...: Le sue origini e la prima Cappella della corte normanna*, in: *La città di Palermo nel Medioevo*, hg. v. Franco D'ANGELO (Officina di Studi medievali. Machina Philosophorum 2), Palermo 2002, S. 85–193, hier S. 113–119, 141.

²⁶ Erich CASPAR, Roger II. (1101–1154) und die Gründung der normannisch-sicilischen Monarchie, Innsbruck 1904, S. 491–520.

²⁷ GIRGENSOHN, Italia Pontificia (wie Anm. 8), S. 221, S. 228–232.

²⁸ JOHNS, Arabic Administration (wie Anm. 13).

²⁹ Patrick GAUTIER DALCHÉ, *Du Yorkshire à l'Inde. Une "géographie" urbaine et maritime de la fin du XII^e siècle (Roger de Howden?)* (École pratique des Hautes Études. Sciences historiques et philologiques. V. Hautes Études médiévales et modernes 89), Genf 2005, S. 210: *anchoratio est bona et sicura sub menibus civitatis prope palatium regis*. Ibn Ġubayr, *Viaggio* (wie Anm. 1), S. 322; Annliese NEF, Venti blocchi frammentari con iscrizioni arabe in lode di Ruggero II dal Palazzo di Messina, in: *Nobiles Officinae. Perle, filigrane e trame di seta dal Palazzo Reale di Palermo*, hg. v. Maria ANDALORO, Bd. 1, Catania 2006, S. 503–510. Die *contrata Palacii Regii*, die sich *in veteri civitate Messanae* befand, wird 1213 erwähnt: Raffaele STARRABBA, *I diplomi della Cattedrale di Messina raccolti da Antonino Amico* (Documenti per servire alla storia di Sicilia publicati a cura della Società siciliana di storia patria I,1), Palermo 1888, Nr. 46, S. 61f.

³⁰ Roger II.: CASPAR, Roger II. (wie Anm. 26), S. 485, 487, 494, 497, 499, 504, 510, 516f., 522f., 548, 554–558, 562, 567; Wilhelm I.: *Guillelmi I. regis diplomata*, hg. v. Horst ENZENSBERGER (Codex diplomaticus regni Siciliae ser. I, tom. 3), Köln / Weimar / Wien 1996, Nr. 3, S. 9–11, Nr. 5, S. 14–16, Nr. 21, S. 58f.; Wilhelm II.: Wilhelm BEHRING, *Sicilianische Studien*, Bd. 2, Berlin 1882, S. 15–19, 22, 24; Horst ENZENSBERGER, *Beiträge zum Kanzlei- und Urkundenwesen der normannischen Herrscher Unteritaliens und Siziliens* (Münchener historische Studien. Abt. Geschichtl. Hilfswissenschaften 9), Kallmünz 1971, S. 122f., 127f., 133–135; Tankred: BEHRING, Sicilianische Studien (wie Anm. 30), S. 24f.; *Tancredi et Willelmi III regum diplomata*, hg. v. Herbert ZIELINSKI (Codex diplomaticus regni Siciliae ser. I, tom. 5), Köln / Wien 1982, Nr. 15–19, S. 36–47, Nr. 28, S. 68f., Nr. 31f., S. 75–79.

im Jahre 1166 von Papst Alexander III. offiziell bewilligt wurde.³¹ Nach der Teilung der *doana de secretis* in staufischer Zeit blieb der Sitz der Zentralverwaltung in Palermo, während der Sekret, der für Ostsizilien und Kalabrien zuständig war, in Messina residierte.³² Die Stadt war nicht nur ein bedeutender internationaler Mittelmeerhafen³³, sondern vor allem auch der wichtigste Brückenkopf für die Verbindung der Insel mit den süditalienischen Provinzen des normannischen Reiches.³⁴ Schließlich, um zu meinem Thema zu kommen, gab es in beiden Städten große und lebendige griechische Gemeinden, deren unterschiedliche Strukturen im Folgenden dargestellt werden sollen.

Sowohl in Palermo als auch in Messina sind die weitaus meisten erhaltenen Privaturkunden des 12. Jahrhunderts auf Griechisch ausgestellt, und in beiden Städten ist die Ausstellung griechischer Privaturkunden im 13. Jahrhundert rapide rückläufig³⁵, was allerdings für ganz Sizilien und Kalabrien gilt.³⁶ Man sollte aber die sprachliche oder kulturelle Identität einer mittelalterlichen Stadt nicht nur an den dort ausgestellten Privaturkunden messen; meiner Ansicht nach waren die griechischen Gemeinden in diesen beiden Städten ganz unterschiedlich strukturiert und haben sich entsprechend unterschiedlich entwickelt.

³¹ GIRGENSOHN, *Italia Pontificia* (wie Anm. 8), S. 330, 339f.; Vera VON FALKENHAUSEN / Jeremy JOHNS, *An Arabic-Greek Charter for Archbishop Nicholas of Messina* (November 1166), in: *Néa Πόλις* 8 (2013), S. 153–168, hier S. 156–159.

³² Norbert KAMP, *Vom Kämmerer zum Sekretren. Wirtschaftsreformen und Finanzverwaltung im staufischen Königreich Sizilien*, in: *Probleme um Friedrich II.*, hg. v. Josef FLECKENSTEIN (Vorträge und Forschungen 16), Sigmaringen 1974, S. 43–92, hier S. 55, 89–91; Christian FRIEDL, *Studien zur Beamenschaft Kaiser Friedrichs II. im Königreich Sizilien (1220–1250)* (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Kl. Denkschriften 337), Wien 2005, S. 74, 478–482, 497–501.

³³ Al-Idrīsī, *Il Libro di Ruggero. Il diletto di chi è appassionato per le predegrinzioni attraverso il mondo*, übers. und hg. v. Umberto RIZZITANO, Palermo 2008, S. 35; Ibn Ġubayr, *Viaggio* (wie Anm. 1), S. 321; Enrico PISPISA, Messina, Catania, in: *Itinerari e centri urbani nel Mezzogiorno normanno-svevo, Atti delle decime Giornate normanno-sveve (Bari, 21–24 ottobre 1991)*, hg. v. Giosuè MUSCA, Bari 1993, S. 147–194, hier S. 162–165; Hadrien PENET, *L'organisation des réseaux d'un port de détroit : le cas de Messine (XI^e–XV^e siècle)*, in: *Espaces et Réseaux en Méditerranée, VI^e–XVI^e siècle*, hg. v. Damien COULON / Christophe PICARD / Dominique VALÉRIAN, Bd. 1, Paris 2007, S. 41–56.

³⁴ IDEM, *Clavis Siciliae. Les activités portuaires du détroit de Messine (XII^e–XV^e siècles)*, in: *Ports maritimes et ports fluviaux au Moyen Âge. XXXV^e Congrès de la SHMES (La Rochelle, 5 et 6 juin 2004)* (Société des historiens médiévistes de l'Enseignement supérieur public. Série Histoire ancienne et médiévale 81), Paris 2005, S. 261–276, hier S. 268–271.

³⁵ Vera VON FALKENHAUSEN, *La presenza dei Greci nella Sicilia normanna. L'apporto della documentazione archivistica in lingua greca*, in: *Byzantino-Sicula*, Bd. 4: *Atti del I Congresso internazionale di archeologia della Sicilia bizantina*, hg. v. Rosa Maria CARRA BONACASA (Istituto Siciliano di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici. Quaderni 15), Palermo 2002, S. 31–72, hier S. 42–72.

³⁶ EADEM / Mario AMELOTTI, *Notariato e documento nell'Italia meridionale greca (X–XV secolo)*, in: *Per una storia del notariato meridionale*, hg. v. Mario AMELOTTI (Studi storici sul notariato italiano 6), Rom 1982, S. 7–69, hier S. 11f.; EADEM, *I Greci in Calabria fra XIII e XIV secolo*, in: *Petrarca e il mondo greco. Atti del Convegno internazionale di Studi (Reggio Calabria, 26–30 novembre 2001)* (Quaderni Petrarqueschi 12–13, 2002–2003), Bd. 1, Messina 2007, S. 21–50.

Vor der arabischen Eroberung Siziliens im 9. Jahrhundert war die Insel weitgehend gräzisiert, zumindest war das Griechische die gängige Schriftsprache. Seit etwa der Mitte des 8. Jahrhunderts – das Datum ist umstritten³⁷ – unterstand die Kirche dem byzantinischen Patriarchen³⁸, und die sizilianischen Bischöfe besuchten die Synoden und Konzilien in Konstantinopel.³⁹ Die Verwaltung lag in den Händen von großen Teils aus Byzanz entsandten griechischen Beamten, wie aus der beachtlichen Anzahl byzantinischer Bleisiegel ersichtlich wird, die in Sizilien gefunden wurden, auf denen Namen, Titel und Ämter der Funktionäre in griechischer Sprache geprägt sind.⁴⁰ Zahlreiche griechische spätantike und frühmittelalterliche Inschriften sind auf der Insel gefunden worden und teilweise noch erhalten⁴¹, und griechisch war auch die Literatur, die damals in Sizilien produziert und auch im byzantinischen Reich rezeptiert wurde: Es handelt sich meistens, aber nicht ausschließlich, um hagiographische Texte. Man denke beispielsweise an die *Passiones* der heiligen Bischöfe Markianos von Syrakus⁴² und Pankratios von Taormina⁴³, an die *Vitae* der Bischöfe Zosimos von Syrakus⁴⁴ und Leo von Catania⁴⁵, an die liturgischen *Kontakia*, die sizilianischen Hymnographen zugeschrieben werden⁴⁶, oder auch an den Brief des Mönchs und *γραμματικός* Theo-

³⁷ EADEM, Chiesa greca e Chiesa latina in Sicilia prima della conquista araba, in: *Archivio storico siracusano nov. ser.* 5 (1978–1979) [1985], S. 137–155. Wolfram BRANDES, Das Schweigen des Liber pontificalis. Die ‚Enteignung‘ der päpstlichen Patrimonien Siziliens und Unteritaliens in den 50er Jahren des 8. Jahrhunderts, in: *Fontes Minores* 12 (2014), S. 187–201.

³⁸ PRIGENT, L'évolution du réseau épiscopal (wie Anm. 5), S. 89–102.

³⁹ So z. B. die Bischöfe von *Lilybaeum*, Carini, Triokala, Catania, Syrakus, Lentini, Messina und Lipari: GIRGENSOHN, Italia Pontificia (wie Anm. 8), S. 254, 259, 266, 283, 300, 326, 330f., 355f.

⁴⁰ Um hier nur eine kleine Auswahl des bekannten Materials vorzustellen: Ewald KISLINGER, Sigilli bizantini di Sicilia. Addenda e corrigenda a pubblicazioni recenti, in: *Archivio storico messinese* 75 (1998), S. 5–33; Vivien PRIGENT, La Sicile de Constant II : l'apport des sources sigillographiques, in: *La Sicile de Byzance à l'Islam*, hg. v. Annliese NEF / Vivien PRIGENT, Paris 2010, S. 156–185; BRANDES, Das Schweigen (wie Anm. 37), S. 154–162.

⁴¹ Vittorio Giovanni RIZZONE, *Opus Christi edificabit. Stati e funzioni dei cristiani di Sicilia attraverso l'apporto dell'epigrafia (secoli IV–VI)*, Catania 2011.

⁴² Augusta ACCONCIA LONGO, L'encomio per s. Marciano di Siracusa (BHG 1030): un'opera di età normanna?, in: *Rivista di studi bizantini e neoellenici nov. ser.* 33 (1996), S. 3–12, Wiederabdruck in: EADEM, *Ricerche di agiografia italogreca* (Testi e studi bizantino-neoellenici 13), Rom 2003, S. 75–84.

⁴³ Cynthia STALLMAN, *The Life of S. Pancratius of Taormina*, Diss. Oxford 1986 (unveröffentlicht); Augusta ACCONCIA LONGO, Siracusa e Taormina nell'agiografia italogreca, in: *Rivista di studi bizantini e neoellenici nov. ser.* 27 (1990), S. 33–54; Wiederabdruck in: EADEM, *Ricerche di agiografia italogreca* (wie Anm. 42), S. 53–74.

⁴⁴ EADEM, La Vita di Zosimo vescovo di Siracusa: un esempio di "agiografia storica", in: *Rivista di studi bizantini e neoellenici nov. ser.* 36 (1999), S. 5–17; Wiederabdruck in: EADEM, *Ricerche di agiografia italogreca* (wie Anm. 42), S. 9–22; Mario RE, La Vita di s. Zosimo vescovo di Siracusa come fonte per la storia della Sicilia del VII secolo, in: NEF / PRIGENT, *La Sicile de Byzance à l'Islam* (wie Anm. 40), S. 189–204.

⁴⁵ Augusta ACCONCIA LONGO, La Vita di s. Leone vescovo di Catania e gli incantesimi del mago Eliodoro, in: *Rivista di studi bizantini e neoellenici nov. ser.* 26 (1989), S. 3–98.

⁴⁶ EADEM, Il Concilio calcedonense in un antico contacio per s. Eufemia, in: *Analecta Bollandiana* 96 (1978), S. 305–337.