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THE UNIQUENESS OF A KINGDOM: THE FRONTIER KINGDOM OF NORMAN SICILY IN COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE

by

ONYX DE LA OSA
B.A. Florida Atlantic University, 2014

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Master of Arts
in the Department of History
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at the University of Central Florida
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ABSTRACT

The frontier was once described as lands on the periphery of a culture. I argue that frontier spaces are a third space where hybridity can occur. Several of these areas existed in the medieval world with many centering around the Mediterranean and its surrounding lands. The Norman kingdom of Sicily is one such place. Utilizing three chronicles of the time, while looking through the lens of the frontier, something not done by other modern historical texts, a distinctiveness begins to become apparent. The geographic location, the island's past, and the eventual conquest by the Normans provide a base for hybridity to appear. The eventual kingdom came to have more than Christian subjects, they would have Muslim, Jewish and Byzantine Greeks as well. These communities entangling with one another eventually adopted ideas, languages, building styles, and more which is common in a frontier environment. They created something unique when compared to other Norman settlements such as Antioch, Edessa, or in Wales. When looking at the administration, propaganda, toleration and material culture of the kingdom and these settlements a uniqueness becomes clear. After usurping the former ruler and instilling their own administration the Normans had maintained the former structures of power; they had also utilized their subjects to help create a lasting legacy, one which is admired even today. The other settlements shared similarities, Antioch, for instance, was conquered the same way as Sicily. The Norman administration pushed for full integration, but the Christian subjects often still clashed showcasing a long-held unease with the other cultures in the kingdom. The administration also experienced their own cultural entanglement adopting Muslim thinking. The hybridity of cultures experienced in Sicily went unmatched by any other Norman settlement and would be the cause of their unique identity.

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To Dr. Simon Barton, may you rest in peace, and to my love, Tatiana.

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INTRODUCTION

"Whereas the invasion of 1066 was launched by the duke of Normandy himself, the settlement of southern Italy was part of a wider aristocratic diaspora of men seeking a role and position within society."[1] The settlement of Sicily was an event that had lasting echoes. The Normans made Palermo the seat of their power for centuries and by establishing themselves in this region they forged one of the most unique cultures found in the medieval world. This culture is typically titled as "Norman-Arab-Byzantine" by the masses, and within this label one can find a sense of the history which Sicily holds both as a land and as a kingdom.[2]

What I wish to argue within this thesis is how Sicily is unique in comparison to other Norman settlements. This argument is broken into three chapters, the first one functions to establish the history before and during Norman Rule, and the core theoretical underpinnings of existing scholarship especially the notion on the "frontier". In the second I will further explore the expansion of the Normans and compare their rule in Palermo with their other settlements. Finally, in the third chapter I seek to understand the settlement's uniqueness via the material culture that has been left behind.

To elaborate, I argue that Sicily, was located on a frontier region within the Mediterranean and that due to its location found on this frontier the Norman ruling class were able to establish themselves. I will also seek to understand the role that the prior Muslim

[1] Leonie V. Hicks, *A Short History of The Normans.* (New York: I.B. Tauris & Co. Ltd, 2016), 70.
[2] See Michael Huxley: "The Geographical magazine", Vol. 34, Geographical Press, 1961, p. 339 and Gordon S. Brown: "The Norman conquest of Southern Italy and Sicily", McFarland, 2003 for examples of the term and its variations

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inhabitants played in influencing the Norman rulers to be more "multicultural." This leads into a sense of Norman-Sicilian hybridity found within the region. The hybridity of the Normans and of Norman culture to what was established is a contributing factor to what made the kingdom of Sicily unique, in this portion I dive further into what the Normans of the region became by first understanding the Norman settlement of both the later Christian crusading kingdoms and also their rule in Ireland while seeking to understand their spread into these settlements and their regions. [3] I, likewise, explore how they integrated into the established cultures and finally I compare these settlements to that of Sicily. The final part, material culture, will explore examples of Norman-Arab-Byzantine architecture and artwork. I will be seeking to understand the physical representations of the heteroglossia, or the mixture of cultures, explored above. I use these material examples to provide examples of the Norman-Sicilian's distinctiveness when it came to matters of art and architecture and how the Normans pushed multiculturality onto their subjects.

This will be accomplished by combining multiple theories into a singular methodology. The theories of hybridity/heteroglossia and the frontier have had contact in the past and share a connection and it will be these two theories that will be applied to the Norman Sicilian context. The chronicles left by Falcandus, Malaterra and Al-Idrisi will be the main textual primary sources for my thesis. These chronicles provide evidence of the situation during the conquest and governing of the kingdom which range from the construction of castra to the quashing of

[3] In chapter 2 on pages 32-36 I go into an in-depth analysis as to what the term hybrid means and how I use it. A quick summary though of what I mean by the term is that a hybrid or hybrid culture is the product of two identities which do not originate within the third space or frontier and said product can cast influence in multiple directions.

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rebellions. These will be considered together to help compare the Norman Sicilian settlement to two others found in the middle east and Wales. This methodology will then work to understand how geography, administrative power, tolerance, and physical displays of power (or material culture) were handled in Sicily versus the other settlements and how it is these factors made Sicily stand out even compared to other multicultural regions, such as Antioch and Wales, who were conquered by the Normans.

This particular thesis seeks to fill a gap found within the historiography. This gap is the need to link the entanglement of Sicily, and thus its uniqueness, to the discussion of the frontier. Beginning with a book written by Tommaso Fazello (a Dominican friar), *De rebus Siculis decades duae* was written in 1560 and was a general history which included elements more akin to legends than verifiable historical events.[4] The reason for this lack of information is that his sources were predominately Greek and Latin. The next development came in the year 1720 with Giovanni Battista Caruso an abbot who wrote the *Historiae Saracenio-Siculae varia monumenta*[5] and happened to use the *Cambridge Chronicle*, which is another notable text on Sicilian history for it is a chronicle which covers 827-965 and is a native Sicilian chronicle on the emirate of Sicily. It was written near the end of the 10th century and it only lists major events which occurred from 812-964. Also, while it is a shallow text, lacking any depth, it is still "the only extant contemporary [Arabo-]Sicilian historical source."[6] It was also used in his later works. Rosario Gregorio pushed the scholarship further along by presenting the *Bibliotheca scriptorium*

[4] Tommaso Fazello, *De rebus Siculis decades duae* (*Reprint edition)* (Catania: Dafni, 1985).
[5] Giovanni Battista Caruso, "Historiae Saracenio-Siculae varia Monumenta" in *Dizionario Biograpfico Degli Italiani* (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1960.)
[6] Leonard C. Chiarelli, *A History of Muslim Sicily.* (Malta: Midsea Books Ltd. 2011), xxix

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qui res in Sicilia gestas sub Aragonum imperio retulere.[7] This was a collection of sources (published in 1791) which also included Arabic sources alongside the Latin sources. To today where there has been a lack of meaningful examination of the Falcandus, Malaterra, and Al-Idrisi chronicles through the lens of hybridity and the frontier. If one takes a brief overview of what there is, contemporary authors such as Alex Metcalfe who examined language in his *Muslims and Christians In Norman Sicily: Arabic Speakers and the End of Islam* or Graham A. Loud who looks at the wider general power administration in the kingdom within *The Age of Robert Guiscard* or even examinations of pre-Norman Sicily such as Leonard Chiarelli's *A History of Muslim Sicily.*[8] Many contemporary authors followed the shifts found in the overall historical field, the cultural or the gendered turn for instance. There are also more who look at the kings themselves such as those works by Hubert Houben or Rosa Bacile and try to interpret the kings and how they interacted with the kingdom. [9] Authors such as these have often come at concepts found in the kingdom of Sicily in a manner that focuses on either the unique artwork/architecture (such as the *Mosaics of Monreale*) or on the subjects of the kingdom and how they spoke to one another and they have applied their methodologies in a manner that does not speak about the cause or establishment of the hybridity which they speak about.[10] That is one part of the gap which this thesis seeks to fill, by understanding the circumstances around the rise of the

[7] Rosario Gregorio, *Bibliotheca Scriptorum qui res in Sicilia gestas sub Aragonum imperio retulere,* 2 vols. (Palermo: Ex Regio typographeo, 1791-1792).
[8] Alex Metcalfe, *Muslims and Christians in Norman Sicily: Arabic Speakers and the End of Islam* (New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003). Graham A. Loud, *The Age of Robert Guiscard*, (Oxford: Routledge, 2000). Leonard C. Chiarelli, *A History of Muslim Sicily. (*Malta: Midsea Books Ltd. 2011).
[9] Hubert Houben, *Roger II of Sicily: A Ruler between East and West*. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002) and Rosa Bacile, "Stimulating Perceptions of Kingship: Royal Imagery in the Cathedral of Monreale and in the Church of Santa Maria Dell'Ammiraglio in Palermo" in *Al-Masaq: Islam and the Medieval Mediterranean.* Vol 16, No 1, 2004 respectively.
[10] Otto Demus, *The Mosaics of Norman Sicily, (*New York: Hacker Art Books, 1988).

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hybridity, one can find how the Normans conducted their reign to control the region. The second gap is one of comparison; Norman Sicily is rarely placed into conversation with the other Norman settlements, those of Antioch and Wales, in order to examine how they compare in regards to how they conquered and controlled their areas and how they governed them. Together my thesis will achieve in establishing how the hybridity the kingdom of Sicily influenced its administration, the kings, and created a unique settlement and control pattern which when established, Sicily was only be the first.

The chronicles deserve to be recognized as well, Geoffrey Malaterra, who authored T*he Deeds of Count Roger of Calabria & Sicily & of Duke Robert Guiscard his brother*, wrote his text during the conquering of the island (1061-91) by the Normans in where he reports the struggles of the island shortly before the conquering as well.[11] He displays how the Normans moved through the country and establish their rule while also showcasing the multiple rebellions which Roger I and Robert Guiscard faced. Hugo Falcandus continues the timeline with his own chronicle titled *The History of the Tyrants of Sicily 1154-69* which has no solid date of writing, but it has been identified as having been writing in the lifetime of William II (1153-1189). *The History* deals primarily with William I for some time and William II for less.[12] Finally I have also chosen Al-Idrisi a traveling chronicler and geographer who was commissioned by Roger II around the year 1138 to create the *"Tabula Rogeriana"* Which detailed the lands of the kingdom

[11] Geoffrey Malaterra, *The Deeds of Count Roger of Calabria & Sicily & of Duke Robert Guiscard and his brother.* Trans. Graham A. Loud, (Unpublished, 2005) Accessed: 4/24/2019 https://web.archive.org/web/20140201232320/http://www.medievalsicily.com/Docs/03_Norman_Conquest/Malaterra%20all%20text%20revised.pdf, 5

[12] Hugo Falcandus, *The History of the Tyrants of Sicily 1154-69.* Trans. Graham A Loud and Thomas Wiedemann, (New Work: Manchester University Press, 1998).

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and its location in the world.[13] These three chronicles are often examined when looking at medieval Sicily and rightly so, they provide immense insight into the kingdom and its workings and how they ruled as well as the vastness of its land. I will be looking at these chronicles through the lens of what I define as the frontier to answer new questions about the society of Norman Sicily and how they had established themselves in the island of Sicily and the south of Italy while seeking to understand, through the chroniclers, how hybridity manifested and how the island kingdom compares to two other Norman settlements.

Each one of the chronicles does come with its own criticisms as well. Malaterra's work was created to both detail the Norman expansion but also to criticize the expansionism and aggression displayed by the Normans.[14] The comments within Malaterra's work often show how he perceives the bull-headedness of the Normans and how they would often infight.[15] The text itself is, as previously mentioned, a product of medieval writing and as such holds a narrative writing structure. This narrative style can also be found in the other two chronicles as well. It is clear from Malaterra's opening comments that he is under the employ of "The Prince" (more than likely Roger I) and was urged to write as candidly as he can while the text itself would be sent to the bishop of Catania to be stored.[16] So it is also evident that Malaterra holds a degree of influence from his possible patron. This does paint the material in a biased manner which the other chronicles do share. Particularly Al-Idrisi, from the title of his work *"The Book of Roger,"*

[13] Abu 'Adballah al-Idrisi "Tabula Rogeriana" in *Roger II and the Creation of the Kingdom of Sicily,* eds. And trans. by Graham A. Loud, *(*New York: Manchester University Press, 2012).
[14] Joanna Drell, "Review of The Deeds of Count Roger of Calabria and Sicily" *The Journal of Medieval Latin* 19 (2009): 346-47. Accessed April 3, 2020. www.jstor.org/stable/45020147.
[15] Malaterra, *The Deeds of Count Roger of Calabria & Sicily & of Duke Robert Guiscard and his brother,* 13-16
[16] Malaterra, *The Deeds of Count Roger of Calabria & Sicily & of Duke Robert Guiscard and his brother,* 2-3

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it is obvious that Roger II was the patron of this text (and it has been recorded as such). He commissioned Al-Idrisi for a text which mimicked the other great Arab atlases and it took Al-Idrisi fifteen or so years to complete. This work thus holds similar biases to which Malaterra has yet instead of describing a conquest and all of its aspects, Al-Idrisi is more focused on the land itself and the regions which fell under the control of Roger II. His work then holds the bias to show the lands to be more prosperous and thriving than they could have possibly been. The problems of his text are less so than that of Malaterra or Falcandus yet its focus on the kingdom proudly shows its influence and another point of criticism. Al-Idrisi's text refrains from commenting on the people of the kingdom and their administration. Arguably, this stems from the genre of text he was seeking to create, though I believe that this is still a weakness of the text. Finally, we come to Falcandus, the first major problem with this chronicle is that we do not know who the true author is. A few possible suspects have been narrowed down over the years; yet so far there is no concrete evidence which points to who the author is.[17] Thus it is more difficult to figure out who the patron of this work was and to whom does Falcandus' allegiances lie. From his work it is clear that he had an innate distrust of William I, who is known as "The Bad" thanks to Falcandus, and trust of William II, his successor and known as "The Good". Another criticism of the chronicle comes from its scope, it focused solely on Sicily and on the court of the kings, thus providing a narrow view of the kingdom. Another criticism of the work is that it cannot be cross-referenced for validity. Falcandus is the sole surviving chronicle of the region and of the events which transpired thus it is the only source for this timeframe. That being

[17] For an explanation of the different possible "Falcandus" please refer to the introduction of Hugo Falcandus, *The History of the Tyrants of Sicily 1154-69,* 28-39

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most of what is said in his chronicle can only be taken with the metaphorical grain of salt. All three works hold biases towards the kingdom that I will be exploring, and each have valid criticisms leveled against them. I will work to overcome these weaknesses by using all three together to help produce better, clearer, and more accurate evidence to be used within this thesis and to strengthen my argument.

It is important to understand how each one of the chapters of this text relate and how they work together to make clear my point. The first chapter, with its dive into what I mean by frontier, is vitally important to understand. I begin by providing some context to the term and what is typically meant by the word. Eduardo Monzano-Moreno breaks it down into three categories, an expanding frontier, a enclosing frontier, and a unstable frontier.[18] His peer, Janina Safran, speaks of the frontier and mentions the "Domain of Islam" and the "Domain of War" and how the territories of the frontier were never demarked, recognized or regulated by either the Muslim or Christian sides.[19]

It is within this timeframe that I begin to posit that the idea of toleration within Sicily, which also characterizes frontier living, began with help of the Muslim dhimmi system of laws and how this pushed the Norman kings to a more lenient state. Bringing up examples of the crusader states and Al-Andalus to help support my stance. I also utilize the chronicles left by

[18] Eduardo Manzano-Moreno, "The Creation of a Medieval Frontier: Islam and Christianity in the Iberian Peninsula, Eighth to Eleventh Centuries" in *Frontiers in Question: Eurasian Borderlands, 700-1700,* ed. Daniel Power, and Naomi Standen. (New York: Saint Martin's Press, 1999), 35[18]

[19] Janina Safran, *Defining Boundaries in al-Andalus: Muslims, Christians, and Jews In Islamic Iberia,* (New York: Cornell University Press, 2013), 170

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Malaterra, Falcandus, and Al-Idrisi to provide supportive evidence to reinforce my comments within this section.

Chapter two is dedicated to understanding how the Normans integrated themselves into Sicily. I also compare Sicily to the settlements in the crusader states and also to that of the British Isles in order to understand the uniqueness within the Norman context of the kingdom compared to the other settlements. The goal within this chapter is to understand hybridity and what it meant to the Norman ruling class of these lands as well as the extent to which this hybridity ran within the kingdom. With two prime examples provided by Falcandus given it shows how even when the Muslims work hard to establish themselves as citizens of the kingdom they are still viewed as less than that Christians.

Chapter three looks at the physical evidence of entanglement found within Sicily. The material culture found provides another form of evidence which helps support my thesis. The frontier influencing a society to the point where their artwork and structures begin to represent their mixed heritage becomes highly apparent when viewing the architecture left behind. The architecture found is known to be so unique that it has been dubbed Norman-Arab-Byzantine and it may only be found within Sicily. Utilizing a cultivated list and photos provided by the UNESCO Sicilian Heritage Foundation I begin to examine several buildings within Palermo, and two outside of the city. The buildings are notable for their structural styles borrowing Norman styled arches and Islamic domes and muqarnas. The mosaics found within the buildings are also

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of Byzantine make and style thus together all three parts make up the coined Norman-Arab-Byzantine style. [20]

With all three chapters set out and displayed they work in conjunction to prove my thesis of the Frontier creating a unique Norman society within the kingdom of Sicily. By examining their place on the frontier, the heritage of the inhabitants, and the spread of their propaganda the Normans expanded their influence and began to establish themselves as a frontier society. By understanding their hydridic nature and how the kingdom of Sicily compares to other Norman settlements I highlight the uniqueness of the kingdom thanks to its entanglement of cultures, yet I question how the ideal of a mixed hybrid culture truly extends into the Norman Society. By viewing the material culture left before the collapse of the kingdom one can see how the uniqueness of their hydridic culture made itself apparent and how it was facilitated by the administration of the kingdom and be disseminated within the common inhabitants found within the kingdom.

[20] Huxley: "The Geographical magazine", Vol. 34, p. 339

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CHAPTER 1: THE FRONTIER

Introduction

In this chapter I will be focusing on a few themes relating to the concept of the "frontier." I hope to showcase the influence of the frontier upon the actors in the areas with examples provided by Malaterra's chronicle, as well as what it means to live on the frontier. The themes in particular which I will be exploring in this section will be as follows: first, understanding the meaning behind the word; second, Sicily's geographic location and why I consider it to be a frontier area; third, how conflict colored the settlement of Sicily and the surrounding areas by the Muslims and the Normans; fourth, the type of tolerance which makes itself apparent in these areas and how it can lead to multiculturalism between the conquerors and once former rivals; and fifth the type of diplomacy and propaganda displayed by the Normans to better establish their presence in the southern regions of Italy, and what it means to do so in a frontier area. Ultimately, the goal of this chapter is to help show how the creation of a frontier leads to the hybridization process, which will be discussed later.

The primary source I shall be focusing on in this chapter will be "*The Deeds of Count Roger of Calabria & Sicily & of Duke Robert Guiscard and his brother"* by Geoffrey Malaterra,[21] because it covers the timeframe that I will be examining. During this time the island is occupied by the Greek-Byzantines and then the later Muslims, and finally the conquest and occupation by the Normans of Sicily. I do also use Al-Idrisi's text "*The Book of Roger",* but it is

[21] The unpublished translation by Graham A. Loud found at: https://web.archive.org/web/20140201232320/http://www.medievalsicily.com/Docs/03_Norman_Conquest/Malaterra%20all%20text%20revised.pdf,

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not to the same extent as Malaterra. Granted, both his words and the words Malaterra are often taken with caution, for they are ultimately written while under the employ of the Normans and are skewed towards them in order to help showcase them a more justified light than that of their enemies.

The Frontier: What Does it Mean?

With the groundwork laid out, it is important to begin this section with an understanding of the "frontier" and what it means. The origins of the idea come from American studies of the mid-west and westward expansion. Eventually it was adopted by Iberian studies and applied to the medieval world. This idea has not been explored by Norman-Sicilian historians, and the historiography of the idea is predominantly centered in other regions as a result. What I seek to use is the variation which has become known in the Iberian context. I will be seeking to build on theories of the frontier to shed light on Norman Sicily as a space of cultural encounter, creating conditions of hybridity under a ruling elite. Because the frontier has been interpreted in many ways, I will first survey the scholarship of this concept.

An exploration of the idea of the frontier is needed and an overview of its history is necessary in order to understand how I utilize it. There are as numerous understandings of what the frontier is as there are texts upon the subject. Eduardo Monzano-Moreno breaks down the frontier into three categories: an expanding frontier, an enclosing frontier and a unstable frontier.[22] He defines the lattermost as frontiers who edges were constantly undergoing change

[22] Manzano-Moreno, "The Creation of a Medieval Frontier," 35

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due to political, military or diplomatic reasons.[23] This example of an unstable frontier works as a model for the frontier of Iberia before the expansion of Castile, and after the conquering of Al-Andalus by Islamic peoples. This time in between the conquering of Al-Andalus and the expansion of Castile was where the most nebulous type of frontier could be found where the influence of the individual settlements, be them Islamic or Christian, was constantly moving forward and backwards across the land continually flowing and following the movements of the inhabitants of either side. The other two frontier types are linked with one another. An enclosing frontier, Manzano-Moreno details not only acts like a boarder which keeps two distinctive, political, social and cultural areas apart; and that these areas are exclusive though sudden impactful events can rip up these boarders.[24] Stated differently, an enclosing frontier is one of the most defined borderlines because it is ever closing due to various events (more often than not this event tends to be some sort of conflict such as a battle between two groups). The last type of frontier is the expanding frontier, where possible colonization can occur. Often expanded by conquest, their main component is the settlement of land in order to bring even further areas under control of these settlements.[25] These kind of frontiers are most exemplary of typical expansionist empires.

Beyond these models presented by Moreno, another author named Janina Safran, spoke about the frontier area as well, making her position well known. Mentioning how the boarder was a imagined and not an agreed upon, regulated, recognized, or controlled territory edge and that the Dar al-Islam (also known as the Domain of Islam) and the Dar al-Harb (the Domain of

[23] Manzano-Moreno, "The Creation of a Medieval Frontier," 35
[24] Manzano-Moreno, "The Creation of a Medieval Frontier," 35
[25] Manzano-Moreno, "The Creation of a Medieval Frontier," 35

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War) were conceptualized territories in Iberia and each had their own laws; though the Muslims and Christians of both sides did not use these terms.[26] Safran makes an important distinction that must be kept in mind throughout this work: the idea and the concept of the "frontier" is imposed through time by historians of the present day onto the world of Medieval Iberia. Those who lived during the time did not establish a working hard definition of the frontier. What is more probable is that they understood certain areas (such as an area just outside the town or particular routes or other general areas) were safe or unsafe. The closest to a hard definition of the frontier we get is the idea of the Dar al-Islam versus the Dar al-Harb which were established ideas and structures within Islam that separate the location where the Muslims live and where they create war.

Safran provides another model to understand the frontier system where it is possible to understand the influence of a culture via spheres of influence, which radiate out from a central area in order to keep a sense of theoretical power over the lands.[27] This type of understanding may be the best interpretation for usage within this paper, for it works best to represent what was most likely the most well understood spread of power, and influence into the immediate area. Granted, this may be projection on the part of the writer. There is a bit of irony to be found in that it was the Muslim population which ended up with a frontier that enclosed on them with the expansion of Castile and Christian Spain. After further enlightenment from more current understandings of readings and theories on the subject, particularly from Bhabha, it is clear that this core-periphery model is wholly outdated, and that the hybridity model proves more useful.

[26] Safran, *Defining Boundaries in al-Andalus: Muslims, Christians, and Jews In Islamic Iberia,* 168
[27] Safran, *Defining Boundaries in al-Andalus: Muslims, Christians, and Jews In Islamic Iberia*, 170

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Yet I believe that there is a way to mix frontier theory with newer understandings of the situation to produce something new for this thesis.[28]

For purposes of this particular work the frontier will be inspired along the lines of what Safran models, spheres of influence which decrease over time. But this will be with the added caveat that they are *cultural frontiers*, the result of where a cultural identity begins to entangle itself (i.e. mix/hybridize) with another cultural identity in a third space where they do not originate from, and it will be this *cultural frontier* which is spoken about when I utilize the term "frontier". That is to say that the frontier, as I will use it, is a third space where encounters of actors who do not originate there can occur. To be clear, this does not then mean that this third space is at all a peripheral or that there is a "pure" variation of culture where the actors themselves come from. The third space mentioned is the frontier location where hybridity can occur. The term hybridity/entanglement will be further spoken about in chapter 2.[29] A quick overview is needed for the term though, a hybrid culture/entangled culture for this text means a product of two interacting cultures which do not originate in the third space/frontier. Hybridity/entanglement is the action of the actors mixing to create it. Above all, it is important to remind ourselves that this idea of a borderland/frontier is only a construction by contemporary historians who have the fortune of hindsight and itself has no equal idea within the historical

[28] This discussion is continued in chapter 2

[29] A good place to begin to understand the larger concepts of the frontier and to see it applied to Europe itself please see Robert Bartlett, *The Making of Europe: Conquest, Colonization and Cultural Change, 950-1350*, (London: Princeton University Press, 1993) as well as Daniel Power, *The Norman Frontier in the Twelfth and Early Thirteenth Centuries. (*New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

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documents for it was not understood in the same manner as it is understood through contemporary eyes.

Sicily's Prime Location

Sicily's geographic situation has made it an appealing location for many. Located off the coast of the Italian peninsula the island is situated in such a way that various empires must pass it. Hubert Houben states the situation with Sicily well. That the three cultures which often interacted with one another - the Roman/Latin Christians, the Byzantine/Greek Orthodox Christians and the Arabic-Islamic - came into contact in Sicily, the most central and the largest island in the Mediterranean.[30] The island could be considered excellent real-estate for anyone who had settled near the Mediterranean. Clearly, the island served as a borderland location for many, and eventually became third space for many interactions. The island was set in a prime location where it could quickly become a main port for the greater part of western and northern Latin Europe. The central location of the island made it an obvious location where the interacting of various cultures, languages and religions would occur. It was this ease of access which led to the hybridization of the communities found on the island be it by the Arabic ruling elite or the Norman.

The island of Sicily was known for trade as well. The kingdom forged trade relationships with Genoa and frequently host foreign traders within its lands.[31] For understanding, Houben details the various coinage types found on the island, and details for four types of gold coins and

[30] Hubert Houben, *Roger II of Sicily: A Ruler between East and West*. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 76

[31] Houben, *Roger II of Sicily: A Ruler between East and West*, 76

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three types made of silver.[32] The coins tell an interesting tale of trading and commerce.[33] The towns located on the island constantly had traders within its ports. Its traders ranged from Genoese, Venetians, Byzantines and Muslims from all across the Mediterranean portions of the Islamic world. All various kinds of traders and merchants.

This leads me to my next point, as is evidenced by the amount of trade that tended to pass through Sicily, that it was a desirable location where many established various colonies. This list of colonizers began with the Phoenicians, then the Greeks, Romans, Carthaginians, and of course, the Muslim peoples.[34] The island constantly shifted hands to more people than even listed here, and each had an impact.[35] The two most important to note were the Phoenicians and the Muslim people of the island. The Phoenicians became the founders of the capital of the city of Palermo who founded it in the eighth century BC.[36] They originally named it Ziz, and after them the Greeks came and named it Panormus.[37] The other group of people of importance require an entire section of their own, for even the historiography of Medieval Muslim Sicily alone is great.

The anxieties and pressures faced by the various occupiers of Palermo were immense, but these types of pressures are common of those who live in frontier-like areas. The island had moments of peace, but it was constantly be warred over and controlled for its geographic

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[32] Houben, *Roger II of Sicily: A Ruler between East and West*, 159-160
[33] Graham A. Loud, Ed. *Roger II and the Making of the Kingdom of Sicily. (*New York: Manchester University Press, 2012), 12
[34] Alex Metcalfe, *Muslims and Christians in Norman Sicily: Arabic Speakers and the End of Islam* (New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003),3
[35] For an informative read about the various occupations refer to the introduction found in Jeremy Drummett, *Palermo:City of Kings, The Heart of Sicily. (*New York: I.B. Tauris & Co. Ltd. 2015)
[36] Drummett*, Palermo: City of Kings*, 3
[37] Drummett, *Palermo: City of Kings*, 3

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location in the Mediterranean. There is evidence found both in the Iberian and middle eastern context that show often how people try to adapt to the new occupiers but often they were subjugated to a new set of laws and taxes and threats that come from their conquering. Palermo, because of its location, could have been fruitful for those who migrated to the island. Traders, agriculturalists, and sailors are some examples, but it could be ruinous for them as well. For instance, when the Muslims came to occupy the island for instance, they came at the request of a rebellion to help gain their freedom. It has been argued that these rebellious people were seeking independence from Constantinople, though the true motivations were still unclear.[38] The Muslims still agreed even after the rebels had taken several Muslim merchants. Sicily's location and centuries of history provides a testimony to the island's place as a cultural frontier. With its location one can easily see how the Arabs, the Normans, and other cultural groups would eventually seek out the land and how it led to the mixture of war, conflicts, occupation, and peace which lead to the hybridization of the people of Sicily and those who came to the island of Sicily.

Sicilian Occupation

As established, the frontier is an area where particularities of habitation, of culture, and of interactions between people of different cultural identities tended to be different from what was found from where they came from. The Islamic occupiers and eventual Norman conquerors found that the perils and reality of living on the edge of Christian/Islamic society would change the way they waged war and create peace in this perspective home. As such I wish to dive further

[38] Chiarelli, *A History of Muslim Sicily,* 21

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into understanding the motivations of occupation by the Muslims to better understand the Norman occupation and provide some possible comparisons. This will show how the island has undergone a history of settlement and conflict which in turn is a result of its location, the settlement of these people then brought forth a interactions between these actors and lead to the beginnings of the hybridization process.

The Byzantine rebels were led by a man named Euphemius, who fled to the Aghlabid court in Kairouan and struck a deal with the Amir Ziyadat Allah I.[39] Chiarelli, translating Ibn al-Athir, states that the Amir consulted with his court. They had a peace treaty with Constantinople, but Euphemius highlighted the fact that the Byzantines had incarcerated several Muslim merchants, which violated the treaty.[40] After further consultation the Amir agreed, and the Aghlabids helped. The Muslim forces faced various trials while on the island, but in 835 they captured Palermo and established Muslim rule on the island, taking it from the Byzantines. The Normans themselves began their conquering in a similar manner, by being asked by the Byzantines to help take back their land in Sicily, though that shall be explored later.

Interestingly, Chiarelli posits the idea that the expedition was a potential way for the Aghlabids to channel the problematic energies of rowdy groups.[41] He later believes that the Amir sent his expedition to the island. He was surprised to see that they succeeded in establishing a foothold on the island.[42] To me, it seems similar to the situation when the Normans came and conquered the island. A large majority of the people who went to the island were second sons

[39] Chiarelli, *A History of Muslim Sicily*, 23
[40] Chiarelli, *A History of Muslim Sicily*, 24
[41] Chiarelli, *A History of Muslim Sicily*, 27-28
[42] Chiarelli, *A History of Muslim Sicily*, 32

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and the like who did not have the benefits of land. Take for example, Roger I, the twelfth son of Tancred, who later came and conquered Sicily.[43] So, they went seeking out glory in the other ways that they could. "They saw that their own neighborhood would not be big enough for them…the individual shares would simply not be big enough"[44] The evidence from Malaterra supports this stance. The distribution of land amongst successors was a common problem of those who had multiple children during that time. These people were an unruly and restless population who sought only to help before motivations shifted, and conquering seemed possible. When comparing the Norman conquering motivations to that of the Muslims there are differences. One came to support a rebellion while one to overthrow, yet both held the same type of energies when moving across the land. Arguably when a culture moves into a third space such as Sicily, there must be a push from where the actors (the Muslims and the Normans in this case) come from and a draw to the land (the help asked by the Byzantines or the rebels in these cases) before any type of entangling can occur.[45] The third space of Sicily was a result of all these various conquests as well as the peace which was brought on by the eventual occupations helped expand the cultures of the Normans and of the Muslims, and eventually led to the entanglement which Sicily would become so known for.

This similarity between the two groups is also another reflection of the idea of the what the frontier can be. It is not farfetched to imagine that the rulers of a region sent those who were deemed the most likely to cause instability or challenge them away to remove the issue if only

[43] Malaterra, *The Deeds of Count Roger of Calabria & Sicily & of Duke Robert Guiscard and his brother,* 5
[44] Malaterra, *The Deeds of Count Roger of Calabria & Sicily & of Duke Robert Guiscard and his brother,* 5
[45] For another perspective on the movement of Normans please view Kathryn Hurlock, and Paul Oldfield, eds. *Crusading and Pilgrimage in the Norman World*. (Woodbridge, Suffolk, UK; Rochester, NY, USA: Boydell & Brewer, 2015) chapters 2-4

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for a little while. Chiarelli shows this in the quotes from above and with further evidence presented in his work. He states that the Aghlabids did not trust any of the leaders of the conquest, and that when Palermo was captured, the Amir realized that he had to place someone he trusted in control of the island.[46] The Amir had sent people who he did not trust to conduct this raid, at most hoping they would return with loot. The edges of a ruler's territory was as good of a place as any to try and expel these difficult individuals. By sending them on expeditions such as these they could gain gold, goods, and even theoretically expand their territory. But if the person failed, they either lost support and was no longer became a problem for the ruler or died, which settled the issue altogether. A later rebellion put down by William I, King of Sicily, shows how this can occur, how quickly it can be handled, and its people swayed. The King himself did not send out the rebel, Matthew Bonellus, but his Admiral, Maio of Bari did; this action led to the death of both Maio and Matthew.[47] The way this ties into the idea of the frontier is to showcase that the population who made up the third space was not completely at peace, nor did it allow for any weakness when trying to establish oneself in this third space and shows the need for strength.

Occupation by the Muslims lasted for hundreds of years, though in 1038 the Byzantines tried to retake the island. The Greek governor Maniaces, as named by Malaterra, sought assistance in retaking the island. They first landed at Messina and won, before being betrayed by Maniaces and not given their previously agreed upon gifts of plunder.[48] This eventually led to several more battles where the Normans established their presence in the region. After about

[46] Chiarelli, *A History of Muslim Sicily*, 31-32
[47] Falcandus, *The History of the Tyrants of Sicily 1154-69*, 86-124
[48] Malaterra, *The Deeds of Count Roger of Calabria & Sicily & of Duke Robert Guiscard and his brother*, 7

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thirty years of battles, in 1068 the Normans captured Palermo and established their rule in the area. As a reminder, a motivating reason that many went on such conquests was to gain vast quantities of goods and loot. Gaining lands was often be a secondary endeavor. In this case, while the Normans went about conquering the island in a different manner, they still had similar motivating reasons as did Muslims of North Africa.

The goal of highlighting these conquests are to show how the lens of the frontier may help us understand the going on of these regions. Similar to my previous points here we see the struggles realized.[49] The Byzantines (and Greeks), the North African Islamic peoples, and of course the Normans mounted warbands to secure positions within the region. Colonization was not at the forefront of their plans. After occupation, the Muslims were able to constantly fight back Byzantine counter attacks to regain the area, falling only to the Normans who had established themselves in the region. Essentially, the Muslims moved their influence into the Italian region and from there launching their conquering endeavors. The lens of the frontier tends to highlight the difficulties in living in a third space where the reality of settlement triumphs over previously conceived notions of habitation which was influenced from the time these settlers spent in their origin countries. These interactions found within Sicily was not be possible where either the Muslims, Byzantines or Normans were, the sole or majority culture. A rebellion, where a third space has established itself with a defined culture, where it is difficult to influence this defined culture against their rulers, would not be able to ask for aide as the Byzantine rebellion

[49] For another take on the conquests and the movement of the Normans into Sicily please read Laurent Feller, "The Northern Frontier of Norman Italy, 1060-1140" in *The Society of Norman Italy* ed. Graham A. Loud and Alex Metcalfe, (Boston: Brill, 2002), 47-75

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was able to do. Matthew's rebellion failed partly due to its upheaval of the Sicilian Norman culture on the island.[50]

The other aspect which shows itself through the evidence provided is the constant conflict within the area of Sicily. The core cultural areas of Constantinople, Normandy and Kairouan were relatively stable in comparison to the areas found within the island. Thirty years of conflict in the region is representative of some of the struggles present. The anxieties of the conflict often led to civil unrest. In Malaterra's account of the conquering of the island, he speaks of Palermo and Robert Guiscard, after launching an attack against the city, "a truce was agreed and their leaders came to talk to the two brothers."[51] What is interesting here is that Malaterra shows how the people of Palermo ruled themselves. If it were a king or someone of note the author would have mentioned them by name, as he had done before. But here he refers to them as "their leaders," the possible aristocracy of Palermo, or simply the governors of the city. Whomever they were, they referred to themselves as Sicilians, and they had ousted the former Muslim ruler of the city and installed their own governance.[52] This self-governance can be an attributing factor as to how easily Guiscard had captured the city and had its terms of surrender presented to him. This type of deposition is a characteristic of Norman expansionism, one which was also reflected in Antioch and in Wales, is spoken about in the next chapter.

With the evidence presented so far, we can determine what caused the third space of Sicily to hold the cultures of the Normans, the Muslims and the Greek Byzantines. It was a result

[50] See Falcandus, *The History of the Tyrants of Sicily 1154-69,* 120-124 for the best evidence of this.
[51] Malaterra, *The Deeds of Count Roger of Calabria & Sicily & of Duke Robert Guiscard and his brother*, 40
[52] Chiarelli, *A History of Muslim Sicily*, 122-124

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of unrest from all three of these factions which then led to an opportunity for the third space to appear, and for these cultures to move in and interact with one another in a way that they had not done so before in other spaces. The motivational energies of both the Muslims of North Africa and the Normans of were similar in its origin as well as in its result. Arguably, it takes some sort of conflict and a resolution to this conflict for there to be any kind of hybridization to begin in a third space. Though this is only one aspect, toleration is another core factor in the creation of a third space.

Toleration

Toleration, of religion and of a culture group, are one of the most important aspects in understanding the process of hybridization. Without understanding how the governing elite of a region tolerated a group of subjects it becomes difficult to see how hybridity took root and begin to morph both actors within the region. One of the largest and most impactful outcomes during the conquest of the Normans was the allowance of self-governance when it came to matters of faith. Malaterra details the terms of the surrender of Palermo to Roger and Robert: "next morning a truce was agreed, and their leaders came to talk to the two brothers. They told them that they refused absolutely to abandon or to act in breach of their own faith. But provided that they were sure that they would not be forced to do this, and that they would not be oppressed with new and unjust laws,…they would surrender the city, serve them faithfully and pay tribute"[53] With this stipulation the people of Palermo were able to protect themselves in the sense that they were freely allowed to practice their own religion and that they were not forced to do practice another.

[53] Malaterra, *The Deeds of Count Roger of Calabria & Sicily & of Duke Robert Guiscard and his brother*, 40

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They requested this because the citizenry of the city's population became predominantly Muslim after the occupation of the Aghlabid colonizers.[54] The aristocratic class of people in the city had also converted, but they still maintained a population of Christians within their walls. At this point I would like to posit that those who lived in the city were now a hybrid of the former Sicilians and the Muslims who had conquered the island. A portion of the population became similar to the Mozarabs of Al-Andalus, while another portion became converts to the Islamic religion.

This freedom of religious choice is a valuable example of the pressures of the cultural frontier in action. Roger I and Robert understood their positions as conquerors, and Roger I wished to rule. It is without doubt that he did not want to completely destroy the cities and towns he seized. It is logical to assume that Roger I maintained as many institutions as he could in order to help make the transition to his rule that much easier. Malaterra also mentions that once Roger I further solidified his grip on Sicily he set about plundering what he could, gaining all the gold possible while yet leaving most of the towns without much damage.[55] One example of this was when Roger I had worked on the capture of Petralia: "Its citizens, both Christians and Saracens, discussed the matter [of surrender] and made peace with the count surrendering their castra and themselves to his rule."[56] The Muslims of the island surrendered themselves not only to simply protect themselves from death, but in order to try and protect the city from wonton damage, something which the Normans wanted to avoid as well. Out of this deal they then gained a fortification with little wounded within their ranks or any fighting with a enemy, thus

[54] Chiarelli, *A History of Muslim Sicily*, 105-121
[55] Malaterra, *The Deeds of Count Roger of Calabria & Sicily & of Duke Robert Guiscard and his brother*, 65-86
[56] Malaterra, *The Deeds of Count Roger of Calabria & Sicily & of Duke Robert Guiscard and his brother, 23-24*

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allowing them to continue their efforts of conquering without being impeded by any dead or any strained supplies.

There are connections here to the frontier and its realities that can be seen, and a comparison to other regions can be made to further highlight this fact. The first area is that of the middle east during the time of the first and second crusades. The crusader states which appeared after the first crusade can also be considered frontier regions for similar reasons that Sicily can be. It is a created third space where multiple cultures interact with one another, and it is an area plagued with continuous conflict that led to cities located in this region to constantly shift hands. Brian Catlos provides valuable insight on the topic. He details that by the time those Franks who had settled in Outremer in 1100 they had utilized the politics pioneered by the Normans and had made agreements with those Muslim princes out there. The eventual trade networks which came about because of this made sure that the Muslims and Latin Christians continued to work with one another.[57] Here one can gain an understanding that Roger I, with his and Robert's actions both in the south of Italy and also in Sicily, reverberated through the Frankish and European world. While not the first to do so, Roger's mild toleration of the Muslim peoples within his territories led to a new style of rulership for those who went to Outremer. Because of the proximity to Islamic settlements, the rulers could understand that the main sustenance of their kingdoms was actually trading with these new neighbors. The reality of being within a frontier influenced them to tolerate those who were normally be their enemies and trade with them to the

[57] Brian A Catlos, *Infidel Kings and Unholy Warriors,* (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 2014), 262

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point that while the battles were raging, trade with Italians, Muslims and Christians continued. At that it continued in their own mother tongues.[58]

The other comparison location is that of Al-Andalus. Menocal details the toleration of Muslims within Christian spheres of influences. The Jews of Andalusia, the Mozarabs, and the Mudejars were all groups which were tolerated within the borders of both Christian controlled and Islamic controlled cities.[59] There is an even larger debate about this topic, named Convivencia, which comments upon Andalusian tolerance.[60] Though the aspect which I wish to draw attention to in Al-Andalus is actually the usage of Arabic that the Jews and Christians of Cordoba used as their primary language. The Christians and Jewish people of Cordoba had found Arabic useful because it was able to satisfy needs that Latin could not.[61] The language of the land, the lingua franca, was definitely Arabic and it points to an adaptation found in frontier areas, such as Sicily. The mixing and adopting of another language is one of the largest signs of what makes up a third space. Because it is a space where foreign cultures meet and intermingle, the process of adopting or mixing languages showcases a need to better communicate within the region, and thus provides a point of interaction where the further transmission of ideas can occur.

What is telling is that once Roger I fully controlled and established himself in the then kingdom of Sicily, his successors were not averse to the usage of other languages and

[58] Catlos, *Infidel kings and Unholy Warriors,* 262
[59] Maria Rosa Menocal, *The Ornament of the World: How Muslims, Jews and Christians Created a Culture of Tolerance in Medieval Spain*. (New York: Back Bay Books, 2003), 18-49
[60] For a quick summary of this debate please see Maya Soifer, "Beyond Convivencia: Critical Reflections of the Historiography of Interfaith relations in Christian Spain" in the *Journal of Medieval Iberian Studies.* Vol. 1 No. 1 *(*2009), 19-35
[61] Menocal, *The Ornament of the World: How Muslims, Jews and Christians Created a Culture of Tolerance in Medieval Spain*, 68

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knowledge. In the chronicle, *The Book of Roger* by Abu 'Abdallah Al-Idrisi, one can get a sense of the more academic side of Roger I's successor, Roger II. Al-Idrisi praises his mental prowess and understandings of the "mathematical and applied sciences [that] know no bounds."[62] As with all patronized texts, one must take this with a large grain of salt. To tie this point back, *The Book of Roger* was written and presented Arabic and was presented in Arabic. Roger II also utilized Greek as another language. He was known to create several Greek houses while alive, and had set an administration whose language was predominantly Greek to rule over Sicily.[63] His use of multiple languages other than Latin within his government was telling of his tolerance, as well as pressures upon him due to the realities of the frontier. His heir, William I who ruled from 1154-1166, had an admiral named Maio of Bari who was of Muslim decent. Maio instituted changes to the court of William I and based it on the model of the Fatimid caliphate's court in Egypt. He also created an office of land administration in the style of the Muslims government. While those who were part of this office were often Arabic speaking Christians and historians, such as Loud, suspect that they were converted Muslims as well.[64] This showing that the tolerance of the kingdom only grew with each new Norman ruler of the kingdom.

The tolerance found within Sicily and the other examples provided show how the frontier exerts its influence on those who live in the periphery. It forced those who rule into a type of administration style which took the reality of being surrounded by a new world of cultures around it into consideration. It also led to a spread of languages and heritages of both the subjects

[62] Graham A Loud, Ed. *Roger II and the Creation of the Kingdom of Sicily. (*New York: Manchester University Press, 2012), 355-356
[63] Loud, *Roger II and the Creation of the Kingdom of Sicily*, 7 & 13
[64] Loud, *Roger II and the Creation of the Kingdom of Sicily*, 40-41

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and administrative staff. It resulted in a mash up of organizational ideas and ruling cultures where the monarchs tried to appeal to their home, while simultaneously to the specific area where they were in. I would like to state that this tolerance is where the influence of the frontier is felt most. When the cultures begin to interact with one another the need for a common language between the two (or however many mixing cultures) is vital. Without that common language greater tolerance cannot occur. Tolerance when interacting with foreign cultures is needed in order to produce that new hybrid culture. Arguably, if the Normans and those who chose to stay in Sicily were not as tolerant and accepting as they had been of their new reality, tensions once again rose, and the hybridization of these cultures could not happen.

Diplomacy and Propaganda

The final aspect which I wish to address is how the Normans spread their propaganda and rule through Sicily, how they reminded people of their rule, and how they established their sphere of influence within the region. This is important to consider, because the pressures and conflicts typical of the frontier often led to rebellion, conquest, or other such events.[65] Within this section I wish to highlight how the Norman rulers established their strength within Sicily and with this establishment a settlement of greater conflict. When overwhelming conflict is present in a frontier area the process of hybridization struggles to take root. The actions by the Normans

[65] A companion to this section would be a chapter found in Robert Bartlett, *The Making of Europe: Conquest, Colonization and Cultural Change, 950-1350*, (London: Princeton University Press, 1993), titled "The Image of the Conqueror" pages 85-106 as well as part 1 of Daniel Power, *The Norman Frontier in the Twelfth and Early Thirteenth Centuries. (*New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

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work to establish themselves as level headed, which allows for greater toleration, and as a protector of their subjects.

One of the ways that Roger I established his hold on the various regions of Sicily was with the founding and creation of many "castra," which can be translated as fortresses, in order to help establish bases all around Sicily for him and his men.[66] The creation of castra was understood as an Norman staple. To be clear, they did not restrict their building of castra to Sicily, nor was it something found only in the region, but they did create many new castra within the region. These Norman buildings also played a role in establishing the Norman aesthetic (which will come into play in Chapter 3), while also working to clearly define what spaces would be considered Norman within the third space of Sicily.[67] All throughout the text Roger and his brother Robert established multiple castra throughout the realm. The amount of times that Malaterra mentions the creation of these fortifications are countless and spread all throughout the chronicle. This can be attributed to the possible ease in creating the structures and the materials used in its creation. However, this cannot be confirmed via the text alone as it does not list how these castra came about.

Another form of establishing one's control in these frontier areas is the diplomacy in which a sovereign handles their opposition. There is evidence within Malaterra's chronicle that often suggest instead of outright killing the rebellious leaders, they utilized their political prowess and showed mercy. In one instance Bohemond, Roger I's nephew, rebelled against his

[66] Malaterra, *The Deeds of Count Roger of Calabria & Sicily & of Duke Robert Guiscard and his brother*, 7
[67] For a quick example please view C.G. Harfield's "A Hand-list of Castles Recorded in the Domesday Book" in *The English Historical Review,* Oxford: Oxford University Press, Vol. 106 No. 419, 1991, 371-392 www.jstor.org/stable/573107

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uncle and family and began to take territory for himself. Eventually the family came to terms of acceptance and granted each other a town and autonomy.[68] Here is but one example of the type of diplomacy displayed by both Roger as ruler of the kingdom of Sicily but also his family and the other ruling Normans who established themselves within the Italian peninsula and surrounding islands. Actions such as these often acted as propaganda for that of the Norman rulers. They were seen as admirable, honorable, and level headed when it came to diplomatic matters, and thoughtful when it came to the well-being of his subjects at a given location. Falcandus demonstrates how Roger II, Roger I's son and successor to the crown, inherited this levelheadedness when it came to peace "In short, he made efforts to administer justice in its full rigor on the ground that it was particularly necessary for a newly establish realm, and to exercise the options of peace and war by turns, with the result the he omitted nothing that virtue requires, and had no king or prince as his equal during his lifetime."[69] We see a similar peace offering later on as well while Roger I, Bohemond, and others were besieging Cosenza. Within the chronicles the Norman kings did not have to deal with a similar situation with the Muslim subjects. They often had to deal with violence from their own Christian subjects against the Muslims.[70] Thus, these offers of peace were a common way to deal with rebellions without the spilt blood of their own subjects souring the politics of ruling. [71]

When it came to the spread of propaganda almost nothing came above the approval of the Roman Church and the Pope. Spread throughout Malaterra's chronicle there are multiple

[68] Malaterra, *The Deeds of Count Roger of Calabria & Sicily & of Duke Robert Guiscard and his brother*, 70-71
[69] Falcandus, *The History of the Tyrants of Sicily 1154-69,* 58
[70] This shall be further explored in chapter two.
[71] Malaterra, *The Deeds of Count Roger of Calabria & Sicily & of Duke Robert Guiscard and his brother*, 75-76

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mentions of the pope throughout, specifically during the time of the conquering there is Pope Leo IX, Pope Alexander, Pope Gregory, and Pope Urban. Roger and the other Norman kings constantly sought their favor and their blessings.[72] Naturally, the acknowledgement by the Church helped validate and solidify their right to rule.

The final action of the Norman conquerors which I wish to discuss is actually one of pure luck and most completely out of their control. As Malaterra puts it, "It seems to us proper to insert into this work a miraculous sign which was seen throughout the whole of Apulia, Calabria, and Sicily, particularly we think that we on our part are not in ignorance of what such a sign portended."[73] There was a complete solar eclipse on February, in 1084, the same year that Pope Gregory and Duke William passed away. This allowed Roger, who was Bohemond's brother and son of Duke William to ascend with the help of his uncle Roger I, to control Calabria. Tellingly, Malaterra says "But before a year had gone by, the significance of this eclipse, at least in our opinion, declared itself to the majority of the people with absolute clarity."[74] From here he goes on to explain the rise of the son of Duke William as mentioned above. Malaterra used this eclipse as a sign to show favor towards the Normans and those who would become allies to that of Robert I. It is also not farfetched to believe that others also used the same event to push the narrative of Roger I's right to become king and ruler of the lands. This event furthered the propaganda that came with a recent ascension of a new king This tactic is especially useful for a

[72] Mentions of the various Popes can be found in Malaterra, *The Deeds of Count Roger of Calabria & Sicily & of Duke Robert Guiscard and his brother*, 9, 32, 62, and 71 in that order
[73] Malaterra, *The Deeds of Count Roger of Calabria & Sicily & of Duke Robert Guiscard and his brother*, 65
[74] Malaterra, *The Deeds of Count Roger of Calabria & Sicily & of Duke Robert Guiscard and his brother*, 65

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new king of a foreign culture seeking to use a divine blessing to justify their conquest across a land.

These examples show how the Normans established their presence in the south of Italy. These instances were more than just propaganda. It was a way to let those around them know of their strength and of their territory. They also worked to further show the appeal of their kingdom in how they treated their Muslim subjects and how they easily protected their subjects from harsh judgements against them. It is another example of frontier pressure on these men. They felt a need to properly mark their area of influence, where for them, the presence of the third space of entanglement became a space with a definite ruler. The need to mark their territory and determine rule was also an establishment of the power structure and dynamics which allowed the frontier of Sicily to metamorphose into the kingdom of Sicily, while also allowing a sense of ease to better facilitate the hybridization of the cultures. Arguably, it takes a mixture of peace and conflict within a region to help hybridization occur. Without a sense of peace those in the frontier space would struggle to settle and create a population which borrowed from all the cultures there, yet conflict is also needed in these areas in order to bring new cultures into the interaction and allow for further hybridization between what is already established in these frontier areas and themselves.

Conclusion

With the above, I had hoped to show the influence that the frontier and had upon the Norman men who made their way into the southern portion of Italy. First, I spoke about what does the term “frontier” means and a discussion that surrounds it. While it may be an idea found

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predominately in the Iberian peninsula, I hoped to apply it to Sicily. Next, I explained how the geographic location of the island provided a desirable location for those who would conquer it and conquer it they have done as highlighted by my next point, the Muslim and then Norman occupation. The constant conflict of the area is characteristic of a frontier area, and this example is made by the conflicts which included Greeks, Byzantines, Muslims, "Sicilians" and the Normans, and how it was the act of occupation which allowed for the creation of a third space which can only happen on a frontier. Once occupied, I showcased how sovereigns of a territory needed to be tolerant of other people around them, even when normally they were not. Their survival rested on their tolerance of other religious and cultural groups because it often led to trade and other changes such as adoption of the other's language for various means, and was highlighted as the most important aspect of the hybridization of multiple cultures in a frontier. Finally, I showed how the Normans used propaganda to establish themselves in the southern region of Italy, and how it allowed for a sense of peace to be created, which further facilitated hybridization. The next chapter will continue with the dealings of the Normans and how the Sicilian region compares to that of other Norman territories, and how by being under the influence of the frontier, the Sicilian kingdom is unique in comparison.

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CHAPTER 2: HYBRIDITY

Introduction

This chapter seeks to understand how the ruling Norman elites integrated themselves into the lands they conquered and tried to control. It will consider two other Norman settlements: those in Wales found north of their homeland in Normandy, and those located in the so called crusader states where cousins of the reigning Roger II of Sicily, and cousins such as Bohemond of Taranto, went on to establish themselves out in new lands. The crusader states have been mentioned in the last chapter, but this chapter I hope to elaborate on the integration and how they controlled these lands as well as the lands of the British Isles, which included the kingdom of England and the "Celtic fringes" in Wales, Scotland, and Ireland. Part of understanding how they have mixed with the native culture of the land is to understand how they created a "hybrid culture" of their own and of the native land, and how that helped them establish themselves within the ruling elite. This comparison will highlight how unique the kingdom of Sicily was in comparison to the other settlements, be it via how they controlled the area, utilized their people, spread their control, established their administration, and even how they kept them separate. The overall connection that this chapter shares to the overarching point is that it works to establish how integrated the ruling classes of Normans were in their particular settlements, for without an examination of this subject one cannot understand what made Norman Sicily unique in comparisons to the other settlements. As stated before, such an idea requires explanation to understand its usage and as such, I hope to provide my own take and understanding of the idea so

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that this chapter can better benefit from said idea. Finally, this chapter will also explore the similarities to that of Norman Sicily, and whether they are similar at all.

Hybridity: Definition and Usage

The idea of hybridity itself has been debated, primarily by archeologists, but it has made its way into works by historians as well. At the core of the idea, hybridity is a need to better understand the transmission of culture and the integration that can be found. These previous terms serve well to show the transmission of culture but only to show the transmission in one direction and not the other. *Conceptualizing Cultural Hybridization: A Transdisciplinary Approach*, edited by Philipp Wolfgang Stockhammer provides a starting point. His definition states that it is normally a concept found in postcolonial studies; he also brings up that hybridity is often utilized to explain the interactions and transmissions which can be easily identified yet not as easily defined.[75] He later goes on to highlight that there are three core facets of understanding the term hybridity: the notion that if there is hybridity then there is purity (its opposite); hybridity is a metaphor for "the scientific approach" of understanding asymmetric power relations; and lastly as a basis of a methodological approach into understanding a group of cultures within close proximity to one another. Stockhammer continues to work to showcase how all three are problematic, and the need for clarity and discretion while using the concept [76] Later on, Stockhammer also posits "entanglement" as a possible alternative to the use of the word which provides a lessened, "depoliticized," variation on the term, while maintaining the core of

[75] Phillip Wolfgang Stockhammer, Ed. *Conceptualizing Cultural Hybridization: A Transdisciplinary Approach, (*New York: Springer Heidelberg Dordrecht, 2012), 1
[76] Stockhammer, *Conceptualizing Cultural Hybridization: A Transdisciplinary Approach*, 2

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what the word itself is trying to show, that being mixing of two cultures in a multidirectional manner.[77]

The term hybridization itself tends to lean on certain colonial ideas (it was created to better explain these ideas). As thus, it constantly undergoes redefinition for the sake of trying to divorce the term from the preconceived notions. The term that Megan Cifarelli, Miguel Caselluccia and Roberto Dan put forth better encapsulates the situation. They use the term "hetroglossia" as a form to further separate hybridization from the connection of colonialism.[78] This stemming from further comments put forward by another voice, Mikhail Bakhtin. Cifarelli, Caselluccia, and Dan highlight the function of these separate cultures coming together in a mutual space to converse and form the new cultural product, together thus equalizing the effort. It no longer is a conversation dominated by the domineering culture, but one where they can converse (the authors further this idea by using the term heteroglot).[79]

Nevertheless, the term hybridity still holds a heavily debated position. Even with all the other words one may use to describe the cultural interactions in this liminal third space, it still results in a confusion where one struggles to better speak about interaction which is clear to see.[80] Stockhammer shows that removing the political from Bhabha's work results in an interpretation where one can see that the push and pull of various cultures come together to create a uniquely novel culture in the region without the overbearingness of the colonial presence

[77] Stockhammer, *Conceptualizing Cultural Hybridization: A Transdisciplinary Approach*,42
[78] Megan Cifarelli, Manuel Castelluccia, and Roberto Dan, "Copper-alloy Belts at Hasanlu, Iran: A Case Study in Hybridization and Heteroglossia in Material Culture" in *Cambridge Archaeological Journal*, Vol. 28 No. 4 539-563; Accessed: 11/21/2018 https://www.jstor.org/stable/S0959774318000264541-544
[79] Cifarelli, Castelluccia, and Dan, "Copper-alloy Belts at Hasanlu, Iran: A Case Study in Hybridization and Heteroglossia in Material Culture," 544
[80] Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*. (London: Routledge, 2007).

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within.[81] This further begs the question for those who are familiar with frontier theory as to why utilize both "hybridity" *and* "frontier" theory as hybridity supersedes the frontier theory as a post-colonial understanding of the situation, which is found not just within Sicily but in all these border-like liminal spaces. I wish to argue that there is still utility in understanding how these third spaces work when placed in context. Norman Sicily was a location which was inhabited *already* by the Greek-Byzantines by the time the Muslims got there. Once they did, they supplanted the established rulers and administration there to a greater degree than the Normans later did. This third space then becomes the central location for *Sicilian Arab* culture which is then pulling from Byzantine-Greek and North African Arabic. Once the Normans made their way to the island, their presence entangled to create the new *Norman-Sicilian*, which used the aspects that were known by them. Though, that is not to say that "pure" variations of these mentioned and eventual entangled cultures could not be found in Normandy nor North Africa, but simply to underline that these already multicultural groups mingled further in the Sicilian context.

As shown, usage of the word hybridity comes with certain ideas already attached to it. It is not the goal of this project to better solve what these other professionals have done with their own explorations of the term. As I have done with the definition of the frontier and what it particularly means for this work, I will borrow from these ideas about hybridity to inform my understanding and usage of the term. Shown in the previous paragraph, I believe Stockhammer's variation of "entanglement" best encapsulates the way I wish to understand the situation found at

[81] Stockhammer, *Conceptualizing Cultural Hybridization: A Transdisciplinary Approach,* 43-51, I recommend focusing on 47-51 to better understand the concept.

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the three previously mentioned settlements. That being said I will continue to use the term "hybridity" as well. Both of which will come to mean the product of two identities which do not originate within the island (or in general, in the third space), and said product can work in multiple directions. I will use the terms in order evaluate the comparison of Norman Sicily to the other two settlements in order to understand how hybridity began to emerge, while simultaneously highlighting the specific uniqueness and of Norman Sicily. These two terms will be used interchangeably, because it is important to highlight what I mentioned before. The time window I will be looking at is different from the age of imperialism and the colonial era where the term originated I would like to argue that some of these "proto-colonial-sentiments" can be found particularly within the Norman cultural group. The reason for their being in these areas have been explained previously, and it would be a disservice to deny that they were completely devoid of any imperialistic goals. Again the main group of Normans who made their way to these locations, were second sons or cousins who sought to establish themselves with new land, with the exception of the Norman conquest of England in 1066, which was led by the duke of Normandy himself. Therefore, the term "hybridity" works well for this chapter, because my intention is not to completely erase what can be found within this group of people in these foreign lands. As will be explained later in chapter three, it works to also describe the materiality of the culture.

Understanding the Established Cultures of the Lands

The best place to begin with this chapter is to understand the cultures of who were already in each one of these locations where the Normans settled. There is an importance in

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understanding the pre-existing cultures of those who already inhabited these lands. In order to better understand how the Normans interacted with and changed these systems, one must understand what the established systems were to begin with. Without thoughtful consideration of what existed before the Normans arrived, we cannot hope to fully understand what could be considered to be "hybrid," and what can be considered separate. Thus, in this section I hope to highlight these lands, both pre and post Norman conquest. There were three main differing points of culture which will be looked at with all four core interacting communities located on the island. The three points will be law, religion, and language. The mentioning of four communities may be a surprise, but it is important to remember that there were the Normans who were Catholic, the Greek-Byzantines were Greek Orthodox Christians, the Jews, and the Muslims. After defining all four points it will be easy to see their interactions across the three settlements mentioned previously.

The Arabs of Sicily have been spoken about at length before, but I wish to simply highlight some points of pre-conquest Arabic Sicily. The first and most important aspect to remember is the hierarchy of religions found within Arabic controlled spaces. The Normans adopted the Muslim-originated dhimmi system of laws found within the core cultural territory of the Muslim controlled space. They provided an emphasis on Muslim subjects having all the liberties of freedmen while, if later interactions found in Al-Andalus are a guide, those who practiced Christianity and those who practiced Judaism were controlled and those communities placed under certain restrictions. There is little surviving information from the time about the settlements of the native Sicilians, Berbers and Christian converts during this time, with most

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remaining information coming from the Arabic lords and not so much from their own sources.[82] The other important aspect to remember is that of their political practices. They have fell to the administration of the first governor of the island Ibn Qurhub 'Uthman who, while holding some freedoms of choice, continued to work under the orders of their caliphate on the mainland. In the case of Arabic Sicily, it changed governors many times, as well as change hands from Aghlabid rulers to that of the Fatimid caliphate, who continued to hold official control of the land until the Kalbid dynasty came. The island gained a large influx of Berber people who later resettled old abandoned towns left by those who fled during the Arabic conquest.[83] Those who were non-Muslims on the island were either placed under the dhimmi or became tribute paying subjects where they maintained some autonomy until times of war, where then they would be fully controlled.[84] Besides the controlling of its subjects, the island grew to be a location of education learning, and as other Muslim controlled lands, became a reflection of Arabic culture. The island transformed into a location of greater education, religious learning, arts, and literature.[85] Gradually, the island hosted many students and academics who traveled to and from its lands which in turn brought more and more artistic works and creations to the island and its people. The Muslims also spread their building style and artwork during the time of expansion across the island.[86] The spread of Islam grew into the catalyst where the minority cultures and religion under their rule began speaking the language, the local common tongue (which was probably a mix of Latin and Arabic, which was potentially a proto-Sicilian language), as well as their own

[82] Chiarelli, *A History of Muslim Sicily,* 143
[83] Chiarelli, *A History of Muslim Sicily,* 144-155
[84] Chiarelli, *A History of Muslim Sicily, 162-163*
[85] Chiarelli, *A History of Muslim Sicily,*289
[86] Chiarelli, *A History of Muslim Sicily,* 312

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language for the purpose of religious services, ultimately leading to a further entangling of their cultures.[87]

The island's Christian population was mostly Greek Orthodox due to the former control of Constantinople along previous settlers being of Greek-Byzantine. This led the eventual church ecclesial society to be completely Greek by the time the Normans arrived to the area.[88] By the time of the Normans, the island held only pockets of these Byzantine-Greek-Christians in both monasteries and communities due to famine. This forced many to flee to the mainland.[89] Of those who remained, there were also Arabic Christians, probably in similar manner to that of the Mozarabs found in Al-Andalus, which is another prime example of entanglement to be explored elsewhere. These individuals spoke a mixture of Latin and Greek in religious settings, Arabic when needing to have a written language to speak to the Arabic lords, and an early colloquial form of Sicilian with one another. This Christian group was allowed to govern themselves under the dhimmi laws, yet they still needed permissions allowed to progress forward by the dominant Arabic administration on the island. They often still paid taxes to allow themselves to continue some sort of group autonomy when it came to certain judicial rulings. We find an example of just such a thing within Malaterra's chronicle, in it he writes about the liberation of those at Val Demone: "The Christians who had stayed in the Val Demone had paid tribute to the Saracens…They claimed as an excuse [for their previous conduct] with regard to the Saracens that they had done this not for love of them but to protect themselves and what was theirs.."[90]

[87] Chiarelli, *A History of Muslim Sicily,* 301-311
[88] Chiarelli, *A History of Muslim Sicily,* 167
[89] Chiarelli, *A History of Muslim Sicily,* 172
[90] Malaterra, *The Deeds of Count Roger of Calabria & Sicily & of Duke Robert Guiscard and his brother,* 22

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Seen here is how the Greek Christians did what they needed to in order to survive under the Muslim rule of the island. In this detail provided by Malaterra, there is an example of hybrid interactions, but also a forced coercion which came to be implicit in the relationships of the communities of Norman Sicily. Similar stories were undoubtedly found all across the island in the Greek Christian pockets of people. Furthermore, not all of these Greek Christians wanted the support of the Normans or Latin Christians. Some resisted the conquering "With the city [Nicosia] now cut in two, the Greeks built a barricade for their protection between themselves and the Normans."[91] Here, they struggled against the Normans while trying to maintain their former way of life. These were cases where hybridity was complicated. These communities working with one another were mostly the result of a stronger power forcing them to do so and to do so reluctantly. It forced a subjugation on them which led to the entanglement of these communities.

The Jewish population of the island holds more information about themselves due to remaining documents from their perspective. Theorized to have arrived at the island as early as the 3rd century B.C., the Jewish population had a undeniably deep root system found on the island.[92] From the remaining documents, the Jews of the island came from all around the Mediterranean and participated heavily in commerce, and artisan work, and medicine.[93] The Jewish subjects and participated in the wealth of the island and in Palermo proper. Through the time of the Normans, there were communities of Jews who gathered and conduct business without much harassment. As subjects under the dhimmi system, they were able to self-govern

[91] Malaterra, *The Deeds of Count Roger of Calabria & Sicily & of Duke Robert Guiscard and his brother,* 28
[92] Chiarelli, *A History of Muslim Sicily,* 175
[93] Chiarelli, *A History of Muslim Sicily,* 175-177

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and interact with the Muslim administration, even sending representatives to speak to the governor of the island.[94] When it came to language they mimicked the Christians and applied a mixture of languages. Hebrew: in the synagogues; Arabic for politics; and so on. Interestingly, the influx of Jewish people to the island led to differing groups of Jews who came from various lands to come together and there is evidence that points to these differing groups calling synagogues by various names showing how mixed this minority group was.[95]

Finally, there were the Normans proper who came into the land and established their rule. Their native culture from the heart of Normandy was arguably already a hybrid of both Scandinavian conquerors and that of French influence. The Normans were a Latin speaking group who practiced religion in what we know to be the Catholic manner and held their arts with clear influence from Rome and the Carolingians. These influences allowed them to create arts with their own unique identity, which spread with them across their conquered lands.

With all four cultures explained we can now begin to see the influence of the Norman culture on the world of Arabic Sicily, and see how they entangled, often forcefully, to create the unique Norman-Arab-Byzantine culture that stands apart from the local populations. In the following examples I have deemed it unnecessary to dive into their own respective cultures. The Arabs and Christians of the Middle East and the Welsh of the western Britain have their own cultures, but for purposes of this thesis the focus is properly on the Normans of those settlements and the extent to which they adopted aspects of indigenous cultures. For Sicily it is important to

[94] Chiarelli, *A History of Muslim Sicily,* 178-179
[95] Chiarelli, *A History of Muslim Sicily,* 176

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highlight the cultures there because we cannot see the uniqueness of the kingdom of Sicily without it.[96]

The key example of how the Arabic Sicilian culture endured is to look at the way the Norman kings conducted their royal court. The first example is how Roger II was inclusive in his politics as well as his governance of his realm. Previously I have already touched upon the idea of tolerance and Roger II's usage of foreign peoples and foreign languages. It is known that Roger II utilized Al-Idrisi and other Muslim workers in various ways within his monarchy.[97] The various religions continued to be taxed as they had been in the Muslim's dhimmi system, and in that sense they were integrated within what was established with the new rule. Though, it is important to note that with the presence of these other religious groups, such as the Arabic Sicilians, Berbers and some of the Greek Christians, it is easy to forget that at the same time the people of the other religious factions were removed by force or otherwise.[98] The integration of the two societies spread further than the politics of the region. For example, Sicily is known to house the unique style of architecture dubbed the Norman-Muslim-Byzantine style. It combines building philosophies of the three different cultures which inhabited the island. While this will be spoken about further in the next chapter, it is important to understand that the widespread influence and integration of the Norman culture into the culture of the conquered land of Sicily

[96] Another good look at the topic of languages and societal structure can be located in Robert Bartlett, *The Making of Europe: Conquest, Colonization and Cultural Change, 950-1350*, (London: Princeton University Press, 1993), 197-205

[97] Hicks, *A Short History of The Normans,* 173

[98] Hicks, *A Short History of The Normans*, 174

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resulted in new styles of art and new creations of artwork such as the map found in Al-Idrisi's atlas.

At the time of the Norman invasion of Sicily, it was a predominantly prosperous place, especially when it came to agricultural prosperity: "They had no need to search for food or to roam around anywhere since all Sicily provided the supplies which they needed, which were eagerly brought in from other areas."[99] It is no surprise as even today Sicily continues to be an agricultural powerhouse for Italy. The heartland, constantly refreshed by the volcanism of the island, continues to output fertile soil and prosperous farms. To tie this back to previous statements, this was also another factor in the constant colonization that the island constantly experienced. Malaterra does little to describe the land proper but it is at this point that it is taken up by Al-Idrisi. Within his text, *Tabula Rogeriana*, he also mentions the fertility of the land when describing Messina: "Its territory is fertile, and one finds orchards and gardens which produce fruit in abundance. It is surrounded by excellent watercourses which turn numerous mills. It is one of the most remarkable and prosperous of localities."[100] Messina, one of the island's most lucrative towns, is a prime example of the riches that the land itself brought to the colonists that inhabited it and cultivated its lands for harvest. Its agricultural prospects resulted in culture based on this agrarian lifestyle which was similar to that of Normandy proper. Once more, Malaterra again quickly provides a description of their homeland in the opening pages of

[99] Malaterra, *The Deeds of Count Roger of Calabria & Sicily & of Duke Robert Guiscard and his brother*, 28
[100] Al- Idrisi, "The Book of Roger", 361

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his text, describing it as a fertile land ripe for harvest which Rollo the Walker wished to take for his own.[101]

In contrast, crusader states had run somewhat differently. Not only are Antioch and Edessa - the two principalities of which I speak of directly- in a more arid environment than that of Sicily or Normandy, but arguably, more susceptible to raids and other acts of violence. Falcandus, Al-Idrisi and Malaterra naturally do not have anything to say of these lands in comparison to Sicily, but Brian Catlos provides a bit of illuminating information. Catlos describes the need for trade, and how in times of open war between the kingdom cities trade continued between them. He also made mention of a progression of Frankish slaves that were lead into the city of Jerusalem during a time of war.[102] The ports as well provided a constant influx of economy and prosperity, in a similar manner that Messina did for the rest of the region. What can be gathered thus far is that the region relied much more on trade than the Sicilian kingdom. Granted, one must keep in mind that the constant warring which transpired in this region it was most definitely a powder keg, ready to explode without any provocation. Catlos also provides further information on the mercenaries that held no ties to the local Franks and frequently mistreated their Muslim allies and subjects.[103]

The trade which came through this region was a large reason for its prosperity. The subjects of these areas also did more, such as animal husbandry and olive cultivation.[104] With the invasion of the crusaders, a rise in planned villages also happened. Andrew Jotischky highlights

[101] Malaterra, *The Deeds of Count Roger of Calabria & Sicily & of Duke Robert Guiscard and his brother*, 3-4
[102] Catlos, *Infidel kings and Unholy Warriors*, 262
[103] Catlos, *Infidel kings and Unholy Warriors*, 263
[104] Andrew Jotischky, *Crusading and the Crusader States,* (Great Britain: Pearson Education Limited. 2004), 150

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that most of the evidence at this location suggested that these planned villages were on lands which the king controlled, or if not, it belonged to religious institutions, or military groups. This shows attempts by landowners to exploit natural resources of the lands that they now controlled.[105] It was a reminiscent way of organizing land distribution and payment. They use a similar, and familiar (and Western European) way of maintaining their influence over the common folk. To this end, the lands given could also be distributed to traders. The Venetians in particular gained many lands and sections of other cities where they were constantly trading.[106] The crusader states were at a central point in the exchange of goods between the East and West, and as such the society reflected that within themselves as a result. Of course, another reason for this is the mixing of cultures. But that will be touched upon later.

The last of these conquered areas to look at are the British Isles, but more specifically the land of Wales. The local economy relied heavily on agriculture for sustenance. What we do gain, though, is a seed of information in the form hybrid policies built in the style of those Welshmen who called Wales home. While encroaching on the Welsh countryside, the Normans adapted to the style of warfare found within the region. This style was highly dependent on the formation of alliances against rivals, essentially being realization of the proverb "the enemy of my enemy is my friend", as well as alliances that constantly changed and altered.[107] There are chronicles which detail this: "When the meeting was over and the council dispersed, [Gruffydd King of Gwynnedd, 1081-1137] again voyaged by sea towards the castle of Rhuddlan to Robert of Rhuddlan [(a Norman)], a renowned, valiant baron of strength, a nephew of Hugh Earl of Cester,

[105] Jotischky, *Crusading and the Crusader States*, 150
[106] Jotischky, *Crusading and the Crusader States*, 151
[107] Elizabeth Van Houts, Ed. *The Normans in Europe. (*New York: Manchester University Press, 2000), 175.

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and he besought him for help against his enemies who were in possession of his patrimony. And when Robert heard who he was, and for what he had come, and what his request was, he promised to support him."[108] Here we see the Normans forming alliances with those kings who were there: "After a little time had then elapsed, urged by the leading men of the land, he mustered a large host and advanced towards the castle of Rhuddlan."[109] With this quick allegiance, enemies then showcased some of the traumatic battling and war which was waged here in Wales. The Normans eventually grew to control the area, while maintaining the culture of the society they found. The Normans happily used the political institutions of those in Wales against them.[110] Similarly to that of the Sicilian conquerors, they used castra to establish themselves: "And straightway after he had been captured, Earl Hugh came to his territory with a multitude of forces and built castles and strongholds after the manner of the French."[111] The ruling Normans saw that it not only kept their Welsh rivals weakened by putting them against one another, but that it helped smooth the transition to Norman rule by allowing the conquered to have a sense of the familiar. Therefore, they took over and maintained just as they had done in Sicily and established themselves as rulers. This understanding of the established cultures helps to clarify where these regions and these communities were at before the Norman entanglement began. The establishment of these cultures help show how these communities of people managed to survive under Norman rule and in turn entangle with them to create a culture unique to not oly

[108] Houts, *The Normans In Europe,* 173-4
[109] Houts, *The Normans in Europe,* 174
[110] David C. Douglas, *The Normans, (*Edinburgh: St. Edmundsbury Press. 1976), 327
[111] Houts, *The Normans in Europe,* 175

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the Sicilian context but in their own lands as well, Sicily was a culture which was unlike any other Norman settlement of the time.

Norman Hybridity with Local Cultures

Assimilation was at the core of Norman conquest. The hybridity experienced by both cultures exemplify the conquering style of the Normans, one noticeable difference was their influence in the British Isles. Already seen was how the Normans entangled themselves within the culture of their new subjects. It most definitely became a tactic that the Normans employed to make their conquering actions seem less hostile and make their conquered subjects submit to them more easily. But it was also an action which represented their past and their heritage. From the days of Rollo the Walker, the (eventual) Normans adapted to the group which they surrounded themselves with and intermingled until they had taken on substantial cultural similarities with the native population in their newly conquered lands. Just as they changed from Viking/Northern raiders to French/Norman, they changed from Normans to English, Scottish, Welsh, Sicilian, and "Frank" without losing their sense of personal identity, instead molding themselves to fit their new situations. I would like to also point out how noticeable and accentuated this became on these later conquered frontier territories, where they constantly had to adapt to different styles of livelihoods, particularly when it came to the Mediterranean and crusader colonies. They usurped the established power and maintained what they had found, be it economic practices (the formerly mentioned creation of new towns in the middle east) or administrative policies (the maintaining of Jewish and Muslim subjects). It is important to

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remember the influence of hybridity/entanglement while looking at the campaigns in Wales, the conquering of Antioch, and the creation of the kingdom of Sicily in the south of Italy.

Another example of the entanglement of cultures can be found with similarity in how the ruling Normans of Antioch adopted the system of governing which others in the crusader states had. Arguably, it is important to realize the familial connections between those who went on to rule Antioch, and those who ruled the kingdom of Sicily. Bohemond I, the one who captured Antioch and rule was the nephew of Roger I, conqueror of Sicily.[112] He helped his uncle in the conquest of the region before making his way to the Middle East.[113] Malaterra describes the incident, "Seeing a great Multitude of people traveling through Apulia but lacking a leader, he hastened there, and wishing to be the arm's leader and to make them his followers…Hence they assumed the cross and immediately bound themselves by a vow to make no further attack on any Christian land until they had reached the land of the pagans."[114] Thus it is simple to see how Antioch had situations where, just like Sicily, those of other religions gained political powers. Jotischky, points out such a time where Greeks were given offices and were allowed to become patriarch inside of Antioch.[115]

For those who inhabited the new lands and kingdoms within the crusader states, there was more of a distinction between Frankish and non-Frankish.[116] Thus, this provided more of a European versus non-European dichotomy, as opposed to one that separated religions. It allowed

[112] Hicks, *A Short History of The Normans*, XXVIII
[113] Malaterra, *The Deeds of Count Roger of Calabria & Sicily & of Duke Robert Guiscard and his brother,* 15-81, He is mentioned 24 times before his departure to the middle east.
[114] Malaterra, *The Deeds of Count Roger of Calabria & Sicily & of Duke Robert Guiscard and his brother*, 81
[115] Jotischky, *Crusading and the Crusader States*, 126
[116] Jotischky, *Crusading and the Crusader States*,128

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those who came to establish themselves as a separate group from the Christians which had adopted to this newer way of life and separate even further from those non-Christians. This was be unlike what was be found within the kingdom of Sicily. This may be due to increased influence by other Europeans as well as due to their proximity to the core of the Muslim kingdoms.

In a sense, the entanglement of cultures found so far within the texts shows how the inhabitants adapted to the cultures which surrounded them, willingly or not. Within the Hugo Falcandus text we see some prime examples of what this means. Minus the first part of his work, these texts came from a time when the Normans had reigned over Sicily for more than fifty years and the subjects had had time to raise a new generation where they commonly interacted with those from other cultural groups. Falco, a notary from Benevento and suspected Falcandus writer, made mention of Muslim troops used by Roger II.[117] This shows how even before the kingdom was solidified as its own polity it utilized those of other religions within its ranks. This is similar to how those mercenaries in Spain joined the forces of supposed as "enemies" and work for them as mercenaries for a time such as the fabled El Cid. Another example comes from Falcandus, who details an attack during the reign of William I against the Almohad in Africa: "At the time it was commanded by Caid Peter, a eunuch. Like all the palace eunuchs, this man was a Christian only in name and appearance, but a Muslim by conviction.[118] He continued in detail the account for how the Admiral Maio used this to sow dissent in the ranks about the king. This is further explained by the historian Ibn al-Athir, the same chronicler Falcandus got his

[117] Falcandus, *The History of the Tyrants of Sicily 1154-69*, Introduction, 7
[118] Falcandus, *The History of the Tyrants of Sicily 1154-69*, 78

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information from about Caid Peter "Praised Roger [II] for the use he made of Muslim officials and administrative practices, and the judicial protection he accorded them" [119] This allows for further exploration into the idea of entanglement in that it provides an avenue where the Islamic subjects could influence and hold political offices within the realm of a Christian ruler.

Granted this could at times be seen less as a proper mixing - one group blending with another - but more so it can simply be a tolerance. I argue that it is the former rather than the later, with specific examples coming from Falcandus himself. The first example is to look at a gruesome scene where the Muslim inhabitants were attacked by restless knights: "They made unprovoked attacks on nearby places, and massacred both those who lived alongside the Christians in various towns as well as those who owned their own estates, forming distinct communities."[120] Within this quote we can extrapolate that the Muslim subjects of the crown were generally accepted by the local population of the towns (Butera, Piazza Armerina, and others controlled by Normans), and lived somewhat peacefully with them. It shows that they had integrated with them and conducted business with the locals. It seems like they were like any other subject and thus shows part if the aforementioned entanglement, but there is still more. "Throughout these three days women and noble matrons – especially the Muslim ones, whose grief for the king's death was not feigned…"[121] Here Falcandus shows again how Muslims integrated within the society of Norman Sicily. They had become such an included part of the society that they mourned the loss of William I. They were allowed to partake in said mourning

[119] Falcandus, *The History of the Tyrants of Sicily 1154-69*, Introduction, 11, Loud and Weidemann, the translators of the Falcandus text, provide this bit of information.
[120] Falcandus, *The History of the Tyrants of Sicily 1154-69*, 121
[121] Falcandus, *The History of the Tyrants of Sicily 1154-69*, 138

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and had not left without showcasing how integrated they were to their surrounding communities and the greater kingdom. The aforementioned court eunuchs, which Caid Peter was a part of, were all converts of Islam to Christianity. They held positions which allowed them some sort of power, which proves to be another example. With another show of this integration which took place during an attack on Palermo proper. "When the entire city – both the Muslims and the Christians – heard the recognized signal for battle, they assumed that it was being made on the king's [William II] orders, and they soon ran up with a great deal of noise and shouting and began to attack with even greater violence."[122] Both cultural groups sought to defend the town they inhabited from those who sought to attack them and destroy their town which was normally under the protection of the Normans. The townsfolk sought to defend their king to the best of their abilities. This final example shows how far they came to become a unified group of people under the leadership of the Normans, for it is safe to assume that if they had cared any less for the Normans who had now ruled them, they quickly abandoned the town or hide and allow the attackers quick passage into the town to attack the king. It is also noteworthy that the Muslim subjects did not rebel against the Normans either. The entangling of Normans into the cultures of their conquered subjects shows how they adapted themselves and their administration to what they found in these regions. This adaption was what lead to hybrid policies and the acceptance of these subjects within the core of the hybrid administrations, policies that allowed Muslims and Greeks to work within its administration. They then used this to help push their societies,

[122] Falcandus, *The History of the Tyrants of Sicily 1154-69*, 211

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sometimes forcefully, into a hybrid stance with one another and forced entanglement between the cultures there.

Hybridity or Simply Tolerance?

The hybridity which I have explained so far did not always work to quell the distrust that each particular group held for one another. Becoming an entangled society helped integrate them into a working community where they could progress how they interacted with the world and other early societies. But from what is apparent in the primary texts, it was common to still hold the old grudges. Falcandus once again provided more examples in his chronicle. The first shows us how deep this distrust ran: "There rioting broke out between the Muslims and the Christians in his army, a greater number of the Muslims were killed when the Christians fiercely attacked them, and they did not stop out of respect for the king, nor fear of his threats when he sent officers to help the Muslims and ordered the killing to stop."[123] These Muslims in question were actually part of king William I's army, who were sent out to help defeat Roger Sclavus - a rebellious attacker - and alleviated the town of Piazaa Armerina. The attacks upon the Muslim soldiers show that while there were efforts to integrate, many held onto old grudges and prejudices to the extent that they ignored their king's orders.

Another example of this distrust comes from the accusations leveled against Robert of Calatabiano. Robert was a chancellor who was known for being egalitarian and unwavering in his pursuit of justice: "…They laid accusations before him against many people who had given

[123] Falcandus, *The History of the Tyrants of Sicily 1154-69*, 124

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up being Christians and become Muslims and had long secretly been under the protection of the eunuchs."[124] Hybridity in the sense of Christians becoming Muslims or taking on Muslim culture was shown to be disapproved of. Islamic culture gaining in any form above Christianity was thought of as "wrong" by those who had lived in these societies and was thus criticized as a result. The translators of this section suggest that these converts were originally Muslim, converted, and returned to Islam.[125] This act of regression was seen as an affront to the Christian way of life. Research in Al-Andalus has shown how such societies can take this act as an insult to their culture and way of life.[126] Undoubtedly, similar types of accusations and distrust made its way to the middle east, as well as the Latin Christian controlled areas as well.

The accusations continued: "Apart from these, another accusation made against [Robert] was that several wine-merchants had hired a certain house from him for an enormous sum of money, so that under his protection Muslim people were permitted to violate Christian women there and sexually abuse boys without fear of punishment, and carry out other enormities…"[127] This is a telling accusation, the idea of Muslim people sexually exploiting the woman and children other religions is a particularly pointed and over-used accusation by Christianity. In regard to the children it was a stereotype held against them. It can be seen used throughout most spaces of interaction between the two religions such as the crusader states and in Al-Andalus. It essentially held the same societal meaning as "they're evil!" or "they're killing the women and

[124] Falcandus, *The History of the Tyrants of Sicily 1154-69*, 166
[125] Falcandus, *The History of the Tyrants of Sicily 1154-69,* footnote #183, 166
[126] See *Ana Echevarria, Knights on the Frontier: Moorish Guard of the Kings of Castile (1410-1467) Translated by Martin Beagles. Boston: Brill, 2009* Leonard P. Harvey, *Islamic Spain:1250-1500, (*Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1992), and Jarbel Rodriguez, ed. *Muslim and Christian Contact in the Middle Ages: A Reader, (*Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2015). for such examples.
[127] Falcandus, *The History of the Tyrants of Sicily 1154-69*, 166

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children!" These accusations only served to rile up whomever is being spoken to. The other aspect of this is how the accusation holds that Muslim men were assaulting the Christian women. This is another often used trope for it can be interpreted that these Muslim men were violating Christianity as a whole. Not just the physical body of a person - typically the woman - but the spiritual body that represented the collective identity of Christianity. This action held such contempt that a century later, with the creation of the *Siete Partidas* in Al-Andalus by then king of Castile, Alfonso XI – in order to deal with his own multicultural and mixed population of subjects - the action is still banned.[128]

Thus, within this context it can be summarized that these accusations were, at surface level, a clichéd attempt to slander Roger Sclavus. Below this surface level it was motivated by a want to undermine Roger and his position at the court of William I to make him somewhat vulnerable in order to replace and kill him, a plan which in the end succeeded.[129] Though the slander was ignored by the prosecutors, as they opted to solely judge him on his crimes against the Church.[130]

From the evidence pertaining to the trial of Roger and the disregard of the king's orders, it seems that while the Normans were rather accepting of their new subjects and entangled themselves within the home culture of the land they inhabited, this was not a unlimited and truly an equal form of hybridity. They adopted the political, economic, and societal systems which they sought as benefiting them, but they did not allow change away from the core culture. In a

[128] Samuel Parsons Scott, Trans., *The Siete Partidas: Volumes I-VII*, edited by Robert I. Burns, (Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia Press, 2001), 1441-1442
[129] Falcandus, *The History of the Tyrants of Sicily 1154-69*
[130] Falcandus, *The History of the Tyrants of Sicily 1154-69*, 168

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sense it was a coerced hybridity and less so a "true" hybrid society. This reflects on the debate found earlier in this chapter and the necessity of two distinct cultures being present in a given location. The culture of the domineer takes precedent, i.e. the Normans allowed newcomers into what they ascribe as "Normanness" (or, Norman Identity) but they did not allow people within their in-group to take on characteristics of another culture overtly. To expand, they did not allow those who adhered to the dominant "Normanness" to leave, the converts who regressed and returned to Islam, the trial of Robert, and the acts of racial violence together remind those multicultural subjects that they are still at the whims of the Christians. Discriminatory practices continued even though these men were supposedly part of the new society. Even Falcandus is noted to have anti-Muslim views and sentiments throughout his chronicle, as evidenced by his choice of words and portrayals of many of the Muslim people found within his text.[131] Even the previous examples given from Antioch show how the Normans did what they could to maintain their identity, while selectively taking on aspects of whatever society they were seeking to dominate. Further research on Norman identity itself could yield even more data of interest which could better detail this concept.

Conclusion

This analysis of Norman settlement habits and their cultural entanglement with those who occupied their conquered spaces shows that they adopted a forced hybridity with many of their newer subjects. An exploration of what "hybrid" itself means was deemed necessary and through the efforts of Philipp Wolfgang Stockhammer, Megan Cifarelli, Miguel Caselluccia, and Roberto

[131] This is supported by Loud and Wiedemann as well in Falcandus, *The History of the Tyrants of Sicily 1154-69*, 13

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Dan I settled on the term of "entanglement" to be synonymous with hybridity particularly because it can also reflect the material culture of an entangled society. From there, I sought out to sketch Norman engagement with the areas of Wales, Antioch, and Sicily, highlighting the economy and inclusion in politics in the various regions. I also sought to provide various examples of entangling of Norman cultures and the native cultures of the areas via examples of Muslims in positions of power, and how the common folk interacted often with Muslim subjects, which included mourning with them, and living amongst them. Finally, I showed how even though there were definitely cases of hybridity, there were still negative thoughts associated with Muslims and harsh punishments for those who were thought to regress from Christianity to Islam through a slaughter of Muslim troops, which went against their very kings orders and the trial of Roger Sclavus for supposed transgressions against Christianity. Similarly, the Greek Christians were clearly forced into working with the Normans at times. While acknowledging the contributions to the new entangled culture of Sicily, it should be recognized that, like the Arab population, they were not on an equal footing with the Norman conquerors.

The final conclusion I present is that while the Normans worked hard to incorporate portions of other cultures into their society, they in turn did not allow those who they converted into their own culture to return to their original ways of life before the Normans had settled there. They sought to coerce who they could into their culture. Interestingly acting in a way which might be construed as "progressive" (i.e showing some tolerance and integrating to a degree) allowed them to better conquer their new territories. Compared to other Norman settlements the kingdom of Sicily did not act as uniquely as originally thought. The example of Wales shows that the Normans used this concept in practice, probably as a holdover from their foundational

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times. The example of Antioch shows how the Normans continued ideas exemplified within the kingdom of Sicily. This may in part be because of the familial connection of Bohemond I, the conqueror and ruler of Antioch, and Roger II, conquer of Sicily which resulted in the similar settlement, ruling and conquering styles. Once captured, the city of Antioch posed similar challenges to rule as Sicily once had. I believe that Palermo and by extension the kingdom of Sicily was be unique in regard to other Norman settlements during the time of its first conquering, but not for long because of the connection it shared with Antioch. It would in essence be unique for how the ruling elite sought out their own configuration of power that relied upon the integration of the cultures of their kingdom, on their own terms, integrating to an extent.

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CHAPTER 3: NORMAN-ARAB-BYZANTINE

Introduction

The idea of entanglement and the frontier extends further than what I have already outlined above. Material culture and its creation is often seen as an extension of a society as well as an avenue through which interpretive understandings of the society's reality can be expressed. A quote from the text *The Arts of Intimacy* reflects this notion: "Culture can bear the cherished scar, the suppressed memory of a civilization's unacknowledged parentage; it can coexist with religious difference and even with ideologies of dominance and opposition."[132] Why then, should the "material" in material culture be looked at in this comparative study of the Sicilian kingdom? The answer is that the art and architecture of the region is distinctive in comparison to the other Norman settlements found on the frontier, predominantly due to the region's main inhabitants, the Byzantines, Arabs, and Normans. Material culture studies has also often been heavily used by a collective of various disciplines that constantly communicate and inform one another. The authors of the *Arts of Intimacy*, Jerrilynn D. Dodds, Maria Rosa Menocal, and Abigal Krasner Balbale, support this notion in that the entangling of the two main cultures are in constant flux and moving in each individual.[133] Thus, analyzing a particular object with more than just the historian's mindset can yield further comprehension that one could not gain without them. In a discussion piece, Leora Auslander provides some comments on the subject mentioning how her argument rests on the belief that people act different with objects and with their words, and be it

[132] Jerrilynn D. Dodds, Maria Rosa Menocal, Abigail Krasner Balbale, *The Arts of Intimacy (*New York: Yale University Press, 2009), 6
[133] Dodds, Menocal, Balbale, *The Arts of Intimacy*, 5-6

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in their creation or application, people use objects differently from words in order to create meanings, experiences, and memories from them.[134] It may be obvious, but it is worth reminding oneself that objects are used in different manners than text and therefore may provide other lenses through which a glimpse of the subject may be seen. Though they come with their own challenges, a few surviving artifacts may produce said insight.

Architecture could be understood as one of the more prominent pieces of material culture from the time of Roger II and the other Normans. Palermo, as well as the greater reaches of the island, held a great collection of architectural examples which are of use for this thesis. And so, I decided to look at a few notable sites which include the Norman Royal Palace, the Church of San Giovanni Degli Eremiti, the Church of Santa Maria dell' Ammiraglio, San Cataldo, the Palatine Chapel, the Palermo Cathedral, The Zisa Palace, the Admiral's bridge, as well as the cathedrals of Monreale and Cefalu. Primarily for the timing of when the structures were created (during the Norman control of the area) they represent the idea of cultural entanglement on the frontier in the best way possible, that the power of the kingdom would come together to create this structure. "Intervention Freezes the action,"[135] the "intervention" in this quote is in reference to the action of creation for these buildings, and the action is the dynamic shifting of what "culture" is. It is a clear line of thinking brought by the authors of *The Arts of Intimacy* and accurately portrays these people's culture, which we can still experience, and it showcases how the Normans created

[134] Leora Auslander, Amy Bentley, Leon Halevi, H.Otto Sibum, and Christopher Witmore, "AHR Conversation: Historians and the Study of Material Culture" in *American Historical Review*, 114 (2009): Pages 1354-1404, 2
[135] Dodds, Menocal, Balbale, *The Arts of Intimacy*, 6

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a lasting legacy with their art and the buildings found on the island, creating the Norman-Arab-Byzantine style work found there.

Another piece of material culture is the mosaics found within these buildings: "Islamic traditions…restricted use of images of humans and animals, favoring abstract and meditative arts over figural ones." [136] The mosaic pieces of art often depict Jesus and other figures in its art, which clearly going against the establishment of Islamic culture, but this is reflective of the Byzantine influence within the structures. The Greek styled mosaics, the handiwork of inlaying metals, the use colors on the pillars typical of Islamic works, and their designs which reference Norman taste all showcase the entanglement of these cultures the same way that the architecture of the old city may have reflected this mixture; though there is little of these older city structures remaining.

Analysis of Structures in Palermo

Within the *Dossier of Nomination for Inscription on World Heritage List* by the Councillorship of Cultural Heritage and Sicilian Identity the Department of Cultural Heritage and Sicilian Identity, and the UNESCO Sicily Heritage Foundation provide illustrative comments about the sites, stating that the sites for the World Heritage List make up a selection of impactful, significant realizations of the culture of Sicily during the Norman occupation, and that they were the beginning of a unique point of heritage in the world.[137] In essence this statement,

[136] Dodds, Menocal, Balbale, *The Arts of Intimacy*, 5

[137] UNESCO Sicily Heritage Foundation, *Dossier of Nomination for inscription on World Heritage List of the Serial Property: Arab-Norman Palermo and the Cathedral Churches of Monreale and Cefalu,* Published Digitally, 2015, https://whc.unesco.org/uploads/nominations/1487.pdf, Accessed: 11/30/2019, 5

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referencing the architectural edifices of the buildings of Sicily, also serves well to establish how these buildings referenced the cultural hybridity of the island. The first image, Figure 1, shows the church of Santa Maria Dell'Ammiraglio next to the red domed church of Santa Cataldo. I will begin with this church for it provides a good introductory glance to the Norman-Arab-Byzantine style where one can see the influence of Greek and Arabic artisans. The church of Santa Maria Dell'Ammiraglio was chartered in the mid-1100s by George of Antioch, who was the first Admiral of Sicily, and had fought in Tripoli and North Africa. He was also a Syrian born Byzantine-Christian who immigrated to Sicily,[138] and features the more compact Greek cross design within its original construction reflective of his heritage. During later reigns more additions were added onto the building, not only changing its overall design but hiding its cross motif underneath later additions to the structure. The detailing of the decorations found within also show a distinctly Sicilian flair such as pointed arches, squinches with receding steps underneath the dome, and the location of the columns in the nave that lead to the crossing (Figure 2).[139] Outside, the building holds an design similar to a crenellated edge (or the small alternating pieces of rock which look similar to the battlements of old castles) all along the upper edge of the building. The zig-zagged Norman styled arches are visible from the outer walls as well. Its apses are viewable from the outside as well, with a bell tower located not too far from its façade. A telling sign of its heritage is its ionic relief pillars on its exterior.

Within the mosaics of the building this mixture of multiple regional influences continues. The central dome holds a rendition of Christ, in his Pantocrator variation typically seen in

[138] Falcandus, *The History of the Tyrants of Sicily 1154-69*, 219-220
[139] Demus, *The Mosaics of Norman Sicily*, 76

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Orthodox Christianity. He sits with a book in his hands, surrounded by a circle of Greek text. Outside the ring he is accompanies by archangels who themselves are encircled by various saints on the underside of the curved arches that hold up the center piece, the dome which contains Christ. The rest of the interior is full of depictions of apostles and scenes from the bible. These mosaics sit atop stone columns whose capitals are crowned with leaf motifs in a Corinthian style. Many of these changed through the centuries with restoration coming in 1869 returning the church to its former glory. The stylization of the figures is also of a Byzantine style, with the shadowing and contrasts of the figures pointing to such, with touches of Arabic styling throughout the mosaics. The floor of the structure demonstrates a geometric design with touches and hints of iconography such as the chalice with wings sprouting out of it representing the holy grail, as well as a green, white and red color scheme throughout that further strengthens the hybrid design influences. Additionally, there is also a notable mosaic depiction of Roger II being crowned by Christ in traditionally Byzantine styled clothing. It was commissioned by George of Antioch and it is possible that he did so to honor Roger II in his traditional way.[140]

This overview of its architecture and its mosaic interior help illustrate the idea of the multicultural, hybrid society of Medieval Sicily. The church was founded by a Syrian-Greek by the name of George of Antioch.[141] George worked in Tunisia before coming into Roger II's kingdom, and had begun work under the then admiral within Roger's African campaigns eventually working his way up to "Ammiratus Ammiratorum" in 1132.[142] Although he was raised Muslim, he grew he became an orthodox Christian, and in 1143 he founded the church

[140] Hicks, *A Short History of The Normans,* 164-165
[141] Demus, *The Mosaics of Norman Sicily*, 73
[142] Demus, *The Mosaics of Norman Sicily*, 73

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(the foundation letter can still be seen and it is written in Greek and Arabic).[143] At the same time, the foundational charter stipulates that the nunnery that it was connected to was also Greek, showing another nod to the idea of multiculturalism. The church of Santa Maria dell'Ammiraglio serves as one of the many prime examples of multicultural acceptance and an internalization of the hybrid idea. As stated in the previous chapters the frontier-like nature of the kingdom helped introduce a wide range of people and heritages to the populace and thus it is natural to see it expressed in the art.

The next architectural example which I wish to highlight is San Cataldo. The church is positioned right next to Santa Maria dell'Ammiraglio, within Figure 1; the red tri-dome of its roof catches the eye and drawing the viewer's attention to the right before they even laying sight onto the Santa Maria church. Even though the red domes are faded, and its façade shows its degradation, certain external design choices can still be seen. First is again the crenellated roof edge which in this case is more of an merlon style variation, distinctly of Arabic origin. Its arches, like those of Santa Maria, are of Norman stylization. The red domes also come from Arabic stylization techniques. The building, as it currently stands, is a simple box shape.[144] The interior of the church is bare, with no mosaics at all to speak of. It is bare white stone which allows one to have a greater appreciation of the architecture and the stonework of the church. Like the outside, the interior arches are again of the Norman style, with a slight point near the keystone at their apexes. The columns are again Corinthian in design with its leaf motif. Inside

[143] Demus, *The Mosaics of Norman Sicily*, 73

[144] UNESCO Sicily Heritage Foundation, *Dossier of Nomination for inscription on World Heritage List of the Serial Property: Arab-Norman Palermo and the Cathedral Churches of Monreale and Cefalu*": [The current building] constituted the chapel of a complex of buildings nowadays disappeared[.],54

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one can better see the Arabic influences on the structure of the domes and how they were created. The floor of the church is also decorated with the familiar geometrics, with a similar color scheme to that of Santa Maria dell'Ammiraglio. Finally, the structure allows in a great deal of natural light, highlighting the bareness of the inner structure.

The building was commissioned by Maio of Bari, the same admiral who worked under William I. He commissioned Santa Cataldo around 1160 and is typically touted as one of the prime examples of the Arab-Norman-Byzantine style of architecture.[145] It was be created by Arab laborers and built with Christian architects on hand. Thus, it produces another example of the hybrid visual discourse between the populations which inhabited the city. Maio himself having a Muslim heritage helped support the multicultural positioning of the kingdom. These two buildings work to further my point for they are the results of non-Normans within the administration of the kingdom. If they were not as successful in their navigating to their position, or if they were not as accepted within the administration there would have been little likelihood of these buildings' construction. This is why I have dedicated time to looking at them to better understand the cultural frontier analyzed in chapter 1, and how living on one influenced those in the kingdom of Sicily. Unfortunately, the chronicles say nothing of these buildings.

The next buildings I wish to focus on are the royal palace and the Palatine chapel, in which the chapel itself being a part of the palace. The palace has had many additions. It sits upon the highest point of the original city, as well as the original Greek colony that had established itself there. Today only parts of the original palace can be seen as it was constantly built upon

[145] UNESCO Sicily Heritage Foundation, *Dossier of Nomination for inscription on World Heritage List of the Serial Property: Arab-Norman Palermo and the Cathedral Churches of Monreale and Cefalu*, 23

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over the years. The building began as a palace center for the emir of Palermo to control the island and spread his influence. Later, once the Normans came, they adopted it for themselves and continued to renovate as they saw fit. This cycle continued well into and after the Renaissance. Figure 4 shows part of this exterior and here we can see the that the arches are slightly pointed tops/keystones with a wavy, zigzag interior edge like those found on the San Maria, As not much of the exterior remains there is little to speak about.

Fortunately, the inner pieces of the palace still allow much of the original architecture and style to shine through. The individual buildings within connect to interior gardens and arcades which is itself an influence of Arabic styles. With Figure 5 shows these inner gardens. Within you can see the original walls and arches, as well as the newer arches that are still in front, creating multiple halls within the different floors that are visible from within. This section borders the Palatine chapel and through it one can see some of the eras that have left their mark on the building, the first one being the wall of the Palatine chapel and the first layer of arches. Within the shadows one can see mosaic medallions depicting more saints with later additions of murals and paintings found above them. The arches within the first layer stand upon leafed Corinthian pillars once again. The archways provide a slight point but in a different way from the Norman arches found on the exterior. These red bricked arches are more similar to a simplified Arabic style. The outer layer of arches is composed of a Tuscan column with a Baroque styled archway that highlights the later additions to the building and showing a desire to protect the chapel's original exterior. The original walls can be see extending to the first floor in Figure 5, as well with older windows that are sealed off and covered. It is the inner portions of the building which hold the most useful evidence for my thesis. As mentioned, the palace was adopted from

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its former inhabitants and added upon. The building was not razed as one typically saw of these buildings. The Normans had taken control of what they could and added to it. This is reflective of their conquering style mentioned in Chapter 2, and reflective of how they eventually adopted the styles of the time.

The Palatine chapel is rightfully called the crown jewel of this Arab-Norman-Byzantine style. Figure 6 shows two of the three styles found within the chapel. Starting from the top one is able to see the muqarnas styled decorative roofing that is typical of Islamic building styles. Just below that, murals of the divine are shown flowing down the Arabic arches onto more stylized Corinthian leaf-crowned pillars. Separating these two parts is a ribbon of Latin text in black and gold. In the nave behind these archways is an indented painted roof with more depictions of holy men separated by Latin lettering as a molding before continuing with depictions of various saints and angels. Particularly visible is a depiction of St. Paul being baptized, located on the upper side of the gospel side of the chapel. Underneath two more separating ribbons flows marble with simple designs. This section is plainly decorated so that the eye stays on the heavenly work found above the head.

The dome provides the final artistic piece of the multicultural mosaic that is this chapel. In Figure 7 we once again see a depiction of Christ in his Pantocrator variation surrounded by a circle of Greek wording in black against the golden background. Underneath Christ stands a ring of angels with a few windows separating them to provide illumination. These angels are identified as the archangels Raphael, Michael, Gabriel, and Uriel.[146] Past a separation of

[146] Demus, *The Mosaics of Norman Sicily*, 39

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decorative flowers stand a group of eight prophets holding scrolls of Greek writing, surrounding four more prophets on curved walls underneath them that is located above the alter in the apse. These individuals are David, John the Baptist, Solomon, and Zacharias with their names written in Greek. On the very top of Figure 7 one can see Latin lettering on the entrance the arch of the crossing toward the apse. They are one of the few untouched and most pristine mosaics found within the chapel.[147]

Thus, the chapel serves as the more exemplary case of what the Norman-Arab-Byzantine style is. It is a multicultural fusion of the three main cultures found within the kingdom. For a further example there is the simple dating of the mosaics themselves. The mosaics of the transepts were done in a Byzantine manner while the rest of them were done later and in a crude Latin manner. The former mosaics more than likely were done by foreign artisans of Greek descent hired by Roger II, and the later ones by local artisans hired by William I. These show the extensiveness of the roots which made up the multiculturalism of Roger II's kingdom. I would further argue that this shows more than a passive tolerance which can be seen in Al-Andalus, but more of a true integration of the three cultures which made up the kingdom. The Palatine chapel has an extensive list of historiography attached to itself. One in particular, *The Culture of His Kingdom: Roger II and the Cappella Palatina in Palermo* by William Tronzo, describes in detail every facet of the structure. He also mentions the similarities between the chapel, Santa Maria, and the Cathedral of Monreale, stating how the same marblers (*marmorarii)* who put the pavement down on the chapel also made the their floors.[148] This shows a usage of specialists

[147] Demus, *The Mosaics of Norman Sicily*, 39
[148] William Tronzo, *The Cultures of His Kingdom: Roger II and the Cappella Palatina in Palermo,* New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1997, 33

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across the buildings of Norman Sicily. Again, the chronicles lack mention of these buildings. However, it is clear that there was purposeful usage of written Arabic as well as the usage of Byzantine styled mosaics, which shows an appreciation for these other cultures by the king. This furthers my idea that the administration pushed hybridity within the governing body towards the common subjects and fully utilized the kingdom's own subjects in order to create something new in the Norman world.[149]

Continuing with this examination of historical buildings, I wish to focus on San Giovanni degli Eremiti. This church was founded during Roger II's reign, but it was in fact built upon many older buildings which date back to the sixth century.[150] After the Muslims conquered the island it was converted into a mosque, only to be converted back into a church after the Normans arrival. The layout of the building is that of a Latin cross with five red domes. The current paint of these domes was done during restoration in the 1800s and is not a reflection of their original paint, though with their new colors it is hard not to see the resemblance with San Cataldo. Architecturally the exterior of the church proudly displays its heritage with the domes coming from Islamic architectural traditions and the arches which make up the upper parts of the bell tower. These design choices proudly show the Norman styled arches which can both be seen in Figure 8. In Figure 9, the cloister, shows an Islamic open concept with triple arches surrounding the whole square garden, and in the center of the square there is also an Islamic cistern for water. The outside and land of San Giovanni clearly and proudly displays its heritage and where it comes from. When the later Normans came and provided their additions, they preserved a lot of

[149] For further reading please refer to Tronzo's text.
[150] UNESCO Sicily Heritage Foundation, *Dossier of Nomination for inscription on World Heritage List of the Serial Property: Arab-Norman Palermo and the Cathedral Churches of Monreale and Cefalu*, 43

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the visuals and heritage that the building had, probably in deference to the king and his wishes as well as his inclusive leanings.

The interior of the church is rather bare. There are no mosaics like those found in the previous examples minus faded and faint paintings on the wall which look to be of a byzantine style. Time and wear have left it in various shades of white. This white washing of the surfaces bares the internal structure for clean viewing and appreciation. The grand arches which make up the internal bones of the structure are clearly seen. They are of Norman style once again, yet the domes sit on the upper part of the structure in a style that shows Muslim engineering with how the domes rest upon the squinches that the archways provide underneath. This main nave was thought to be a more modern addition to the building. There is also the possibility that the room could be a preexisting Islamic structure which was later be reused by the Normans.[151] The structure of the building, as exemplified above, does support this statement. It is common for opponents of a religion to re-consecrate a building for their own purposes and adopt it as their own, often covering up the edifice with their own additions which are palatable to the host culture. Yet, as is becoming evident, the Normans converted yet maintained certain parts of the original structure and create something of a fusion between the two. This showcases the top-down influence of multiculturalism, or a tolerance of this multicultural style. Though what has been examined so far points to a sense of cohesiveness within the buildings, it is clear that the kings tried to use entanglement to properly tie the far reaches of their kingdom together.

[151] UNESCO Sicily Heritage Foundation, *Dossier of Nomination for inscription on World Heritage List of the Serial Property: Arab-Norman Palermo and the Cathedral Churches of Monreale and Cefalu*, 43

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Something which better radiated their power outward onto the rest of the Christian European frontier.

Palermo Cathedral holds a similar history in that the foundational building was built upon until it became what is visible today. Also built upon older buildings, the cathedral had its origins as a basilica in the fourth century, before being rebuilt in the sixth century due to the destruction coming from the Vandals. It was turned into a mosque by the Islamic inhabitants while they controlled the island. Afterwards it was refounded and transformed by Robert Guiscard once he controlled Palermo in 1072.[152] Later in its lifespan it underwent a restoration in the 1700s, transforming it into its current look in Figure 10

Little remains of the Norman era additions, other than some parts of the interior floor and certain archways scattered throughout. The only remaining Norman structures are the walls of the central nave, the lower parts of the tower which face west, and the apsidal façade.[153] The remains no longer properly represent the Norman kingdom's inclusivity. Internally, according to the UNESCO World Heritage dossier nomination, there remains no trace of mosaics of such as those found in the Palatine chapel. Just like San Cataldo or San Giovanni, it was sparse and empty, and as such there is little to physically analyze on this building. I still wish to highlight the immense structure due to its history of changing hands. Just like the other buildings found within this chapter and as mentioned previously, the building has undergone many changes, and it highlights the Norman's characteristic of practicality when taking over. Palermo Cathedral is

[152] UNESCO Sicily Heritage Foundation, *Dossier of Nomination for inscription on World Heritage List of the Serial Property: Arab-Norman Palermo and the Cathedral Churches of Monreale and Cefalu*, 59
[153] UNESCO Sicily Heritage Foundation, *Dossier of Nomination for inscription on World Heritage List of the Serial Property: Arab-Norman Palermo and the Cathedral Churches of Monreale and Cefalu*, 59

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also notable for its opposition to both Cefalu and to Monreale and shows some of the unwillingness of the subjects of the kingdom to conform to the king's multicultural wishes. This is evidenced by my points in the previous chapters, and it is for this reason I highlight this building. The cathedral notably came to hold the remains of William I and II.

Zisa Palace is one of the more overtly Arabic stylized buildings found in Palermo. The building resided in a large garden set on the outside of the old city's walls. Known as the Genoardo, the original land given to the garden spanned many buildings and lands. It was made up of the length of the city walls and went outwards towards the close mountains. The garden was stylized after those found in the Islamic world where riyads and agdals were the norm in various spheres, and there they were found together. The Genoardo was made up of the Old Park, the New Park, and the Altofonte which was Roger II's royal hunting grounds. It also held many royal buildings and springs such as the Maredolce, the Cuba Sottana, the Cuba Soprana, the Small Cuba, the Scibene, and the Menani. The word Zisa itself translates to "splendid," painting the whole area as a garden of paradise where the royals were able to step outside the city and enjoy the gardens at their leisure. It is interesting to note that the most overtly Arabic building was held outside of the city walls. The outside of the building is a simple rectangle with two squares added to its shorter ends for stairway access. Originally it was two floors, with the third being a fourteenth-century addition. The first floor holds three of the characteristic Norman archways in its front facing façade with its waving double-arched style. The second holds four similar arches with each inlayed with windows, but the windows themselves were later additions. The final third floor holds seven archways of the same style, though again they are a later

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addition. The roof of the building is topped with the same crenellated edge as the Santa Maria church and three red windows.

The interior of the Zisa Palace holds multiple mosaics and muqarnas-like stylizing throughout the building. The fountain room holds not just fountain but a waterway that flows outside into the larger pond found just in front of the Zisa Palace. Just above the fountainhead there are mosaics which remain from both Williams' (I and II) time of rule. They are notable for they are among the few remaining secular mosaics of the Norman period. The mosaics are visible in Figure 12 with a more detailed look at the central medallion in Figure 13. The mosaics are made up of three medallions. The two on the outside show two peacocks surrounding a central palm tree, with the center medallion showing two archers on either side of a tree with more birds in the tree. Outside the medallions are vines with blossoms of Sasanian palmettes. The mosaic medallions are separated from the wall by a small band of a geometric pattern and one of opus saracenum. More than likely the bands separated the upper part of the wall which held more mosaics from the medallions currently found.[154]

The Zisa represents an embrace of the Arabic heritage of the land. It shows how deep the integration of the cultures in Palermo ran, to the point that it can be said that there was also an appreciation of the heritage of the land could bring. Palermo's architecture, especially its most notable buildings, can also be seen as a desire to create something new and separate from the established norms. It is more than probable that this was not any king's intention, but it can be seen regardless. The gardens and the Zisa proudly display an Arabic influence on the land.

[154] Demus, *The Mosaics of Norman Sicily*, 178

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Interestingly, the most Arabic inspired place is found outside the city walls and thus it can also be seen as holding the culture at arm's length, away from the core of the city. The Zisa also holds similarities to the other buildings mentioned already, from its mosaics being referenced in Monreale to its floor sharing similarities to the palatine chapel. [155]

The final location within in the city of Palermo is also its simplest. The UNESCO Dossier posits that the bridge is an important aspect when understanding Norman civil engineering and architecture and that it is one of the best products of them in the Mediterranean.[156] Shown in Figure 15, it is built of freestone and stylistically holds an Arabic styled construction. It is made up of two ramps connected by seven arches and smaller cutaways in between. The arches are supported by larger pillars and with the help of the cutaways it is strengthened against the push of the river and secured against the rising tides. Currently the bridge stands bare against the earth since the river has receded, but I had hoped to highlight it as another form of public structuring which showed the hybrid administration at play.

With this final inclusion, the structures of Palermo paint a clear picture of inclusivity in their society and style differentiation in comparison to similar structures found in either the Islamic world or Norman-Frankish worlds. They had combined a unique mix of influences from local Islamic engineers and Byzantine decorative mosaics to Norman tastes and styles within the

[155] Demus, *The Mosaics of Norman Sicily*, and Tronzo, The Cultures of His Kingdom: *The Cultures of His Kingdom: Roger II and the Cappella Palatina in Palermo* both hold further, heavy, indepth analysis of the Zisa and its similarities. The Zisa holds a treasure trove of linkages which this thesis does not have the space to cover.
[156] UNESCO Sicily Heritage Foundation, *Dossier of Nomination for inscription on World Heritage List of the Serial Property: Arab-Norman Palermo and the Cathedral Churches of Monreale and Cefalu*, 73

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capital of the new kingdom. There are also locations outside the city proper that I have yet to touch upon.

Analysis of the Locations Outside of Palermo

The Cathedrals of Monreale and Cefalu are the two locations which I wish to also highlight as prime examples of the Arabic-Norman-Byzantine style. Monreale Cathedral is located outside the old city but is now on the fringes of Palermo. It shares similar mosaic depictions to that of the Zisa Palace. While the Cefalu Cathedral is located over 60 kilometers outside of Palermo, it sits close to the beach and towers well above all the other buildings around.

To begin with Cefalu Cathedral, it was founded by Roger II in 1131. It was initially meant to be a building where he and his successors would lay in death. This ended up not being the case as the tombs and remains meant for this building were never brought to Cefalu because it was not finished nor even dedicated. They was eventually be moved to the Cathedral of Palermo by Frederick II in 1215.[157] The building underwent many reconstructions throughout the centuries, and as such it now holds many inconsistencies in structure. The façade itself dates to 1240, well after the reign of the Normans had ended in the early 1190s. The original façade is notable for its interconnected arches which end with a central window that provides sunshine into the building. The interior reflects the Norman multicultural stance of both the administration

[157] UNESCO Sicily Heritage Foundation, *Dossier of Nomination for inscription on World Heritage List of the Serial Property: Arab-Norman Palermo and the Cathedral Churches of Monreale and Cefalu,* 75-76

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and the king of Sicily in hopes of further pushing entanglement on his subjects by surrounding them with multicultural art.

The building is made of a Latin cross with three rows along the nave. Each row is separated by Islamic-esque stone pillars leading to the crossing and then the apse, flanked by two smaller chapels within the chancel that house their own alters. Underneath and past the chancel, are the two transepts that make up the arm of the cross. There are two grand columns which cap the line of columns just before the crossing and these are topped with figures from a twelfth-century workshop in Apulia.[158] Within the main portion of the apse there is another rendition of Christ Pantocrator upon a strip depicting the Virgin Mary with archangels, and the Twelve Apostles right below. As seen in Figure 17, this and other depictions within the mosaics have inscriptions in both Greek and Latin. Within the windows there are geometric patterns of vegetables, with seraphs in the central portion of the apse right above them.

This cathedral I believe works well to also showcase how Roger II and his successors actively tried to include and introduce elements from Byzantine/Greek and Arabic heritage within their newly establish buildings. It speaks to the idea that Roger wanted Cefalu to be his final resting place and I would argue, that he would have included further nods to the Arabic culture other than just columns and geometric patterns if he had not died when he did. But it shows an internal agency for the Normans in creating their own identity and owning their

[158] UNESCO Sicily Heritage Foundation, *Dossier of Nomination for inscription on World Heritage List of the Serial Property: Arab-Norman Palermo and the Cathedral Churches of Monreale and Cefalu*, 75

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uniqueness of their location in the Mediterranean and Sicily. In a sense it was this need of agency which pushed them to create a legacy that stood out.

The final building will be that of Monreale (Figure 18). It was built by William II in 1174 and features a bloated Latin style cross with three aisles in the nave and a central apse flanked by two chapels with the gospel side aisle and epistle side aisle becoming two large aisles within the crossing and which continue on to flow to the two side alters. William II chose its location after having a vision of the Virgin Mary, and he also dedicated it to her. In truth the church was probably part of a large construction plan to overshadow the construction of the cathedral of Palermo. The exterior has undergone changes from its initial design. A portico was built in 1770, one of the towers which was incomplete was scarred after a battle in the sixteenth century, and the opposite complete tower was struck by lightning in 1807. Like Cefalu, the top of the front façade is decorated by arches and lava marqueteries with geometric designs. There is also a cloister which remains of the original church the cathedral was built by. The cloister was designed to be so grand that it provides a sense of wonder similar to that of the courtyards of Islamic heritage.

The interior holds similar mosaics to that of Cefalu. It showcases Christ Pantocrator with the Virgin Mary, accompanied by archangels underneath him. The twelve apostles are beneath them. The three layers are separated with ribbons depicting plants. The side altars hold full body depictions of St Peter and St Paul, and running the length of the gospel and epistle aisles are depictions from the book of Genesis as well as rest of the Old Testament, which are all organized in tiers with more bands separating these from one another. There are also mosaics depicting William II crowned by Christ while the other is William II offering the church to the Virgin

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Mary, which helps further the story he put forth. The floor was originally completely decorated with interlaced ribbons that become stars, which show a heavy Islamic influence. It also uses jasper to help provide a sense of care and wonder to it. The columns of the main aisle are also topped in a crown of a leafed Corinthian style. These two buildings work together to showcase the integration of the other two cultures into the Norman civilization which, along with my previous idea of creating a lasting legacy, come together to help prove my point that the Normans hold a unique cultural stance in comparison to the other Norman settlements such as Antioch, or even their built castra in Wales.

Conclusion

With the examination of the notable buildings of Sicily completed, we can see that the kings of Sicily strove to establish their own notable style and cultural influence on the architecture of the land, while incorporating aspects of the existing cultures in a hybrid fashion. I believe that this is in part because of the motivational energies which brought the Normans down into the region in the first place, that is, a desire to strike out on their own and create a new kingdom where these second and third sons could establish themselves as noteworthy. The other motivating factor is that I believe they wanted to show the integration of their people and their lands to others, for there is no other location where one may find this Norman-Arab-Byzantine style that the island is so notable for having. My selection of these buildings is not random. I have chosen them because they best capture the entanglement of the cultures found within the kingdom and as such produce a clear picture of how the hybridity of the land resulted in a blending of art pushed forward by the kings of the kingdom. As for the linkages found between

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the buildings, the best places to look are the countless secondary sources which dive into their connections.[159]

This chapter sought to show how these uniquely stylized structures demonstrate that the Latin Christian Normans borrowed from their Islamic and Byzantine predecessors and utilized their own subjects in a way that can be considered unique within the Norman spheres of settlement. This amalgamation was only possible because of their location in a frontier environment where they were free enough to and, arguably, mentally receptive to the concept of using more foreign designs and creations. It is without a doubt that the Christians were able to see the grandeur of Islamic engineering. With the help of their own artisans they created new structures that left a notable legacy of Byzantine mosaics and art, Islamic art and engineering, and Christian/Norman architecture for their successors to follow.

[159] Secondary sources such as the previously mentioned Otto Demus, *The Mosaics of Norman Sicily, (*London: Hacker Art Books, Inc. 1949)*,* William Tronzo, *The Cultures of His Kingdom: Roger II and the Cappella Palatina in Palermo, (*New Jersey: Princetion University Press, 1997)*,* Rosa Bacile, "Stimulating Perceptions of Kingship: Royal Imagery in the Cathedral of Monreale and in the Church of Santa Maria Dell'Ammiraglio in Palermo" in *Al-Masaq: Islam and the Medieval Mediterranean.* Vol 16, No 1, 2004, 17-52, and Umberto Bongianino, "The King, His Chapel, His Church: Boundaries and Hybridity in the Religious Visual Culture of the Norman Kingdom" in *The Journal of Transcultural Medieval Studies* Vol. 4, 2017, 3-50 Accessed: 11/21/2018. https://doi.org/10.1515/jtms-2017-0002
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CONCLUSION

This thesis has argued that the Norman settlement of the kingdom of Sicily was unique in comparison to the other Norman settlements due to its position on a particular type of "cultural" frontier. I broke this down by understanding the hybridity of the culture and the material culture via three historical chronicles and several still-standing buildings left behind. In the end after the three chapters I believe that I have proven my thesis correct, yet in my investigation to prove my point I have uncovered unseen evidence which reshapes how I now view the uniqueness of the kingdom. An explanation is in order and that is what I will be using my conclusion to help highlight while also wrapping up the many points made.

To begin, the first chapter sought to understand what was meant by the term "frontier" and had settled on the interpretation put forward by Janina Safran. She understood the frontier as a region where the sphere of influence from a given epicenter of power is weakened via distance.[160] It was an interpretation which I felt may work for structures of power but not when it came to the culture of a region, I then reclassified the frontier as a region of third spaces where actors, who are typically foreign to the third space, interact in new ways. It is useful to understand how the Muslims who sought to inhabit the island understood the landmass and how they interacted with it. With the concepts of the Dar-al-Islam and the Dar Al-Harb coloring how the population viewed their lands versus that of others it helped facilitate the conquering of the

[160] Safran, *Defining Boundaries in al-Andalus: Muslims, Christians, and Jews In Islamic Iberia,* 170

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island of Sicily. It works well to understand how the area came to be viewed by many (and arguably given current events, still tends to be).

Thus, with the frontier described and its geographic location already explored, and its habitation explained. I looked at the tolerance of the region and some possible factors that lead to its realization. I heavily emphasize that the Muslim Dhimmi system of laws was a large factor in the toleration of the eventual Norman Sicily because within the laws they allow Christianity and Judaism to continue to prosper during their rule amongst other allowances. As highlighted within Chapter 2, the Normans had a habit of adopting and adapting to the newly conquered lands so that they might better establish their rule over them. Another sign of the tolerance of the Normans that I highlighted was the use of languages and how Arabic and Greek continued to be used throughout the kingdom as administrative languages utilized by the courts of Roger II and his successors.

The last aspect of Chapter 1 which I have spoken about is the usage and spread of propaganda across the soon-to-be kingdom. The Normans utilized three main strategies. The first was the construction of fortresses also known as “castra” across the kingdom as the conquest moved across the land. The next was be legitimacy via the church and that came about by consistently honoring the popes of the time through various offerings and appeasement. Decisively, they also showed leniency towards any rebellious factions and leaders who constantly pushed back against the Normans. They often spared the leaders of these rebellions and thus were able to paint themselves in a sympathetic light. Finally, with a stroke of luck, an eclipse occurred during the Normans’ campaign for the island and they portrayed it as a sign of

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their right to rule created by God in order to solidify their control over the island of Sicily and led to the establishment of their kingdom.

The main goal of the chapter was to set the stage of the island and begin to explain Norman rule. The way they asserted their rule of the land can be seen in a similar manner to contemporaries of the time, adoption and divine right often being tools utilized by those who wish to establish themselves. In this aspect they may not seem as unique as I try to argue, but it is in the context of the Sicilian settlement versus that of other Norman regions of conquest. Looking at my comparisons to the crusader states and also the greater history of their settlement one can see how they worked. With agreements, and with purges of cities to commandeer the cities from their former inhabitants. The Sicilian Normans did lay waste to opposition but at the same time showed mercy to those that they could. From my newly uncovered evidence, my position shifts from the solely unique to more of a modified uniqueness; they were not alone in their usage of these tools in order to create a new kingdom, but they were alone in the degree of application on their lands.

Within Chapter 2 I looked at how the Normans' hybrid style of rule manifested itself in three contexts, they are Sicilian, Middle Eastern and British. As with the frontier analysis I established the way I interpret and use the word "hybrid" and introduced "entanglement" as a term. : "The terms, hybridity and hybridization are used to characterize phenomena which are easily detected as somehow 'borderline' but not easily explained."[161] Once again Stockhammer helps clarify what hybridity is as well as producing the term entanglement to help describe the

[161] Stockhammer, *Conceptualizing Cultural Hybridization: A Transdisciplinary Approach*, 1

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mixing of cultures which are being looked at without the extra weight that the term hybridity carries behind it.

Once I had helped define what I mean while using those terms I sought to establish a base of what the three areas were like before the Normans had conquered these lands and how they adopted their practices to better solidify their position as rulers. Al-Idrisi helped define the land of Sicily during the Norman invasion, making note of its prosperous ports and lands. The crusader states, specifically the cities of Antioch and Edessa, were notably different for their proximity to the Muslims and Byzantines, which produced a more hostile environment to the citizens. The cities were often in more turmoil than the kingdom of Sicily and this led to dangerous situations for the citizens, yet despite the danger Antioch and Edessa still conducted trade with the other cities. This was one of the larger differences between these states and Sicily. In Wales, the land suffered in a similar manner as the crusader states in that the lands were often at war with one another, the lords often forming and breaking alliances with opposing lordships and this allowed them to extend their own control.

The Normans, once their foothold was established, began to entangle themselves within the present culture, often removing the established ruler of the land yet maintaining the power structure that the former ruler had created. I had shown how in Sicily Roger II utilized Muslims and Jewish citizens within his administration to help govern and control the land that the Muslims once controlled and in Antioch Greeks were also allowed to establish themselves in administration. The Normans who controlled Antioch and Edessa also began to implement planned neighborhoods and villages in order to facilitate better production through the kingdoms they now controlled. The kingdom of Sicily had farmland and could better sustain itself

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independently while the crusader states struggled to do the same. In contrast, Wales was controlled in a different manner. The Normans constantly made and broke alliances with the locals to dominate the land, and "…[t]he Normans would be eager to use existing Welsh institutions"[162] They constantly pitted their allies and enemies against one another and weaken both in order to help them eventually control the land.

It was also at this point that my perspective began to shift on the matter of entanglement that the Normans did in these frontier lands. I provide the example of in Antioch how those who came from Europe (the "Franks") were seen on a different level than that of the Christians that had already inhabited the lands. In the crusader states it was more of a European versus non-European dichotomy than that of Christian versus non-Christian in regard to the cities. While in Sicily the Muslims were still treated with a degree of mistrust, often with accusations being leveled against them based on stereotypes and were subjects of racial violence when the Christians were agitated.

Thus with these new highlighted facts which were looked at in Chapter 2, I begin to posit that, while Sicily was unique in comparison to other Norman settlements on the frontier, the degree of hybridity within the kingdom was once previously thought to be greater than evidence suggests. The Normans conducted themselves in a manner that worked to bring their citizens together, but in practice the inhabitants maintained old boundaries. As suggested this could be an avenue for further research into Norman identity and also research into how deep this hybridity ran, for it could be possible that only the kings themselves advocated for integration, for

[162] Douglas, *The Normans*, 327

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hybridization also made their job as king easier, and the distrust was only within the subjects and not the administration.

In the final chapter I had looked at the material culture of Palermo and two sites located outside the city. The idea for this chapter was to understand how the hybrid nature of Norman Sicily physically manifested itself within the buildings and structures of the city. The architectural style of the city was notable even to this day. Dubbed Norman-Arab-Byzantine, the structures reflect styles and aspects which refer back to their parent culture, resulting in something uniquely Sicilian which was only found in the kingdom.

Within this chapter I clarify the reason for selecting the material culture: "Culture can bear the cherished scar, the suppressed memory of a civilization's unacknowledged parentage; it can coexist with religious difference and even with ideologies of dominance and opposition."[163] With this in mind I continued forward looking at several buildings, conveniently with help from the UNESCO's dossier I was able to select a list of buildings which reflected this style. The notable buildings are Santa Maria Dell'Ammiraglio, Santa Cataldo, the Palatine chapel, San Giovanni Degli Eremiti, Palermo Cathedral, Zisa Palace, and the two places outside of the city, the cathedrals of Monreale and Cefalu. Each was listed with photos which I was able to utilize to show the buildings in their glory and properly display the artistic choices to represent their heritage. The notable pieces would be the Norman styled archway, the Byzantine mosaics found within and the Arabic geometric patterns as well as domes which often colored the building. Of the buildings found the Zisa Palace and the Palatine chapel both represent the best mixture

[163] Dodds, Menocal, Balbale, *The Arts of Intimacy*, 6

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between the three cultures, the Zisa for its original location and mixture of Arabic stylistic origins. It was inspired by Arabic pleasure grounds where hunting and a sense of outdoor connectedness was supposed to be felt. The Palatine chapel on the other hand was inspired by more Byzantine styles and its interior mosaics reflect it, they are grandiose and within create a separation from the Arabic geometrics on the floor.

The two buildings outside of the city are notable for being dedicated by Roger II and William II and thus out of the other buildings they are the only ones actually dedicated by the kings of Sicily. They hold notably less of an Arabic influence and more of a Norman-Byzantine one though. This, along with the location of the Zisa Palace can be argued to show the aforementioned division between the citizens. Overall, though the buildings do show a sense of integration, specifically when it is shown that some of the artisans working on these buildings were local citizens, of the listed buildings the UNESCO dossier only mentions about two named artisans who may have come from outside the island. There is a distinct lack of evidence proving that the artisans were either locals or foreigners, particularly within the primary sources, yet all that remains is their work and how it compares to one another.

The conclusion I had come to at the end of the chapter was that the Normans of Sicily had sought out a way to create a legacy that was be uniquely theirs. In harnessing all that their kingdom could produce they in turn produced a style which can only be found within their area of the frontier where their influence is strong. The Norman-Arab-Byzantine style worked two-fold for the kings, it allowed these second sons to create this unique style and it also allowed them to showcase the power of the kingdom and the diversity within their borders. The kingdom worked to expand their influence, and this was one manner in which they did so. Yet the

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tolerance only ran so far, as mentioned with the hybridity in Chapter 2 and my own revelation that the kings still used what they wanted from the Muslims and in a way still reinforced their own prejudices. The location of the Zisa Palace being the only location found in the city yet outside the walls proper, it was the most Arabic stylistic leaning building yet it was kept separate from the core of the city; this observation may also be another avenue for research in another text.

Overall, this brings me to my final conclusion. The Normans of Sicily hold several similarities to the settlements of Antioch, Edessa, and post-conquest Wales, such as adapting themselves to the local society and maintaining the structure of the cities that they conquered so that they could easily shift the power structure to themselves. The Normans of Sicily distinguished themselves from the others by creating a thriving kingdom of integration where the cultures of three different societies were able to meld into one another to create a culture unique to the region that resulted in structures unique to the region and an administration that favored integration. While the subjects of the city of Palermo continued to hold onto old prejudices and often lashed out in actions of racial violence, it can be argued that the kings themselves heavily favored integration to better their kingdoms and advocated as such with two prime examples being a continued commissioning of Arabic workers for buildings and the commissioning of Arabic workers within his administration such as Al-Idrisi and others. This entanglement of cultures could only be produced in a frontier environment, a location and environment that Sicily perfectly epitomizes due to its geographic location in the middle of the Mediterranean Sea. This is what allows the Normans of Sicily to stand out uniquely against the other Norman settlements of the medieval era, their location providing a perfect opportunity to show how a model of

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frontier society may act. Thanks to the chronicles of Falcandus, Malaterra and Al-Idrisi, and the architectural heritage of Norman Sicily, the evidence proves this to be true.

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APPENDIX A:
FIGURES

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Figure 1: Santa maria dell'Ammiraglio and Santa Cataldo[164]

[164] UNESCO Sicily Heritage Foundation, *Dossier of Nomination for inscription on World Heritage List of the Serial Property: Arab-Norman Palermo and the Cathedral Churches of Monreale and Cefalu,* Published Digitally, 2015, https://whc.unesco.org/uploads/nominations/1487.pdf, Accessed: 11/30/2019,795, Photo credit: Ruggero Longo

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Figure 2: Interior of Santa Maria dell'Ammiraglio[165]

[165] UNESCO Sicily Heritage Foundation, *Dossier of Nomination for inscription on World Heritage List of the Serial Property: Arab-Norman Palermo and the Cathedral Churches of Monreale and Cefalu,* 807, Photo Credit: Ruggero Longo

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Figure 3: Interior of Santa Cataldo[166]

[166] UNESCO Sicily Heritage Foundation, *Dossier of Nomination for inscription on World Heritage List of the Serial Property: Arab-Norman Palermo and the Cathedral Churches of Monreale and Cefalu,* 808. Photo Credit: Ruggero Longo

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Figure 4:Royal Palace, Pisana Tower Exterior[167]

[167] UNESCO Sicily Heritage Foundation, *Dossier of Nomination for inscription on World Heritage List of the Serial Property: Arab-Norman Palermo and the Cathedral Churches of Monreale and Cefalu,* 799. Photo Credit: Ruggero Longo

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Figure 5:Royal Palace, Maqueda quadrangle, northern front with the medieval arcade of the Palatine Chapel[168]

[168] UNESCO Sicily Heritage Foundation, *Dossier of Nomination for inscription on World Heritage List of the Serial Property: Arab-Norman Palermo and the Cathedral Churches of Monreale and Cefalu,* 805. Photo Credit: Ruggero Longo

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Figure 6: Palatine Chapel, Southern Aisle.[169]

[169] UNESCO Sicily Heritage Foundation, *Dossier of Nomination for inscription on World Heritage List of the Serial Property: Arab-Norman Palermo and the Cathedral Churches of Monreale and Cefalu,* 806. Photo Credit: Ruggero Longo

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Figure 7:Palatine Chapel, Dome[170].

[170] UNESCO Sicily Heritage Foundation, *Dossier of Nomination for inscription on World Heritage List of the Serial Property: Arab-Norman Palermo and the Cathedral Churches of Monreale and Cefalu,* 817. Photo Credit: Ruggero Longo

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Figure 8: San Giovanni degli Eremiti[171]

[171] UNESCO Sicily Heritage Foundation, *Dossier of Nomination for inscription on World Heritage List of the Serial Property: Arab-Norman Palermo and the Cathedral Churches of Monreale and Cefalu,* 58. Photo Credit: Ruggero Longo

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Figure 9: San Giocanni degli Eremiti, Cloister[172]

[172] UNESCO Sicily Heritage Foundation, *Dossier of Nomination for inscription on World Heritage List of the Serial Property: Arab-Norman Palermo and the Cathedral Churches of Monreale and Cefalu,* 59. Photo Credit: Ruggero Longo

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Figure 10: Palermo Cathedral, Eastern Façade[173]

[173] UNESCO Sicily Heritage Foundation, *Dossier of Nomination for inscription on World Heritage List of the Serial Property: Arab-Norman Palermo and the Cathedral Churches of Monreale and Cefalu,* 797. Photo Credit: Ruggero Longo

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Figure 11:Zisa Palace[174]

[174] UNESCO Sicily Heritage Foundation, *Dossier of Nomination for inscription on World Heritage List of the Serial Property: Arab-Norman Palermo and the Cathedral Churches of Monreale and Cefalu,* 800. Photo Credit: Ruggero Longo

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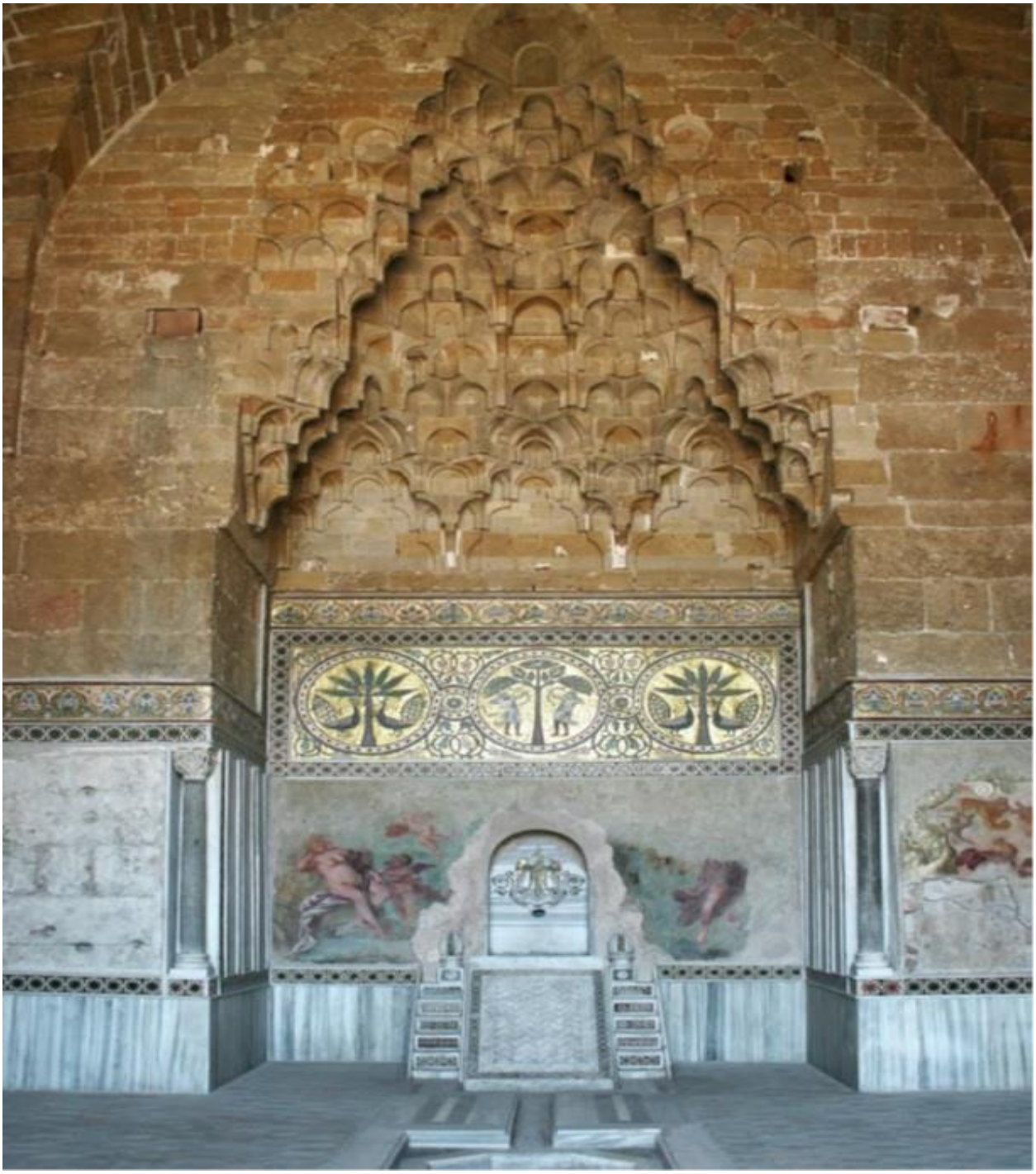

Figure 12:Zisa Palace, Room of the Fountain, muqanas[175]

[175] UNESCO Sicily Heritage Foundation, *Dossier of Nomination for inscription on World Heritage List of the Serial Property: Arab-Norman Palermo and the Cathedral Churches of Monreale and Cefalu,* 813. Photo Credit: Ruggero Longo

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Figure 13: Zisa Palace. Room of the Fountain mosaics[176]

[176] UNESCO Sicily Heritage Foundation, *Dossier of Nomination for inscription on World Heritage List of the Serial Property: Arab-Norman Palermo and the Cathedral Churches of Monreale and Cefalu,* 822. Photo Credit: Ruggero Longo

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Figure 14: Zisa Palace, Room of the Fountain, Mosaics[177]

[177] UNESCO Sicily Heritage Foundation, *Dossier of Nomination for inscription on World Heritage List of the Serial Property: Arab-Norman Palermo and the Cathedral Churches of Monreale and Cefalu,* 823. Photo Credit: Ruggero Longo

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Figure 15:Admiral's Bridge[178]

[178]UNESCO Sicily Heritage Foundation, *Dossier of Nomination for inscription on World Heritage List of the Serial Property: Arab-Norman Palermo and the Cathedral Churches of Monreale and Cefalu,* 803. Photo Credit: Ruggero Longo

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Figure 16: Cefalu Cathedral[179]

[179] UNESCO Sicily Heritage Foundation, *Dossier of Nomination for inscription on World Heritage List of the Serial Property: Arab-Norman Palermo and the Cathedral Churches of Monreale and Cefalu,* 851. Photo Credit: Ruggero Longo

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Figure 17: Ceflau Cathedral, Apse[180]

[180] UNESCO Sicily Heritage Foundation, *Dossier of Nomination for inscription on World Heritage List of the Serial Property: Arab-Norman Palermo and the Cathedral Churches of Monreale and Cefalu,* 92. Photo Credit: Ruggero Longo

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Figure 18: Monreale Cathedral, Façade[181]

[181] UNESCO Sicily Heritage Foundation, *Dossier of Nomination for inscription on World Heritage List of the Serial Property: Arab-Norman Palermo and the Cathedral Churches of Monreale and Cefalu,* 860. Photo Credit: Ruggero Longo

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Figure 19:Monreale: Closter south-western fountain[182]

[182]UNESCO Sicily Heritage Foundation, *Dossier of Nomination for inscription on World Heritage List of the Serial Property: Arab-Norman Palermo and the Cathedral Churches of Monreale and Cefalu,* 864. Photo Credit: Ruggero Longo

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APPENDIX B:
COPYRIGHT PERMISSION LETTER

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From: Sellem, Lise <L.Sellem@unesco.org>
Sent: Wednesday, November 20, 2019 3:50 AM
To: Onyx De La Osa <odelaosa@Knights.ucf.edu>
Cc: WH-Info <wh-info@UNESCO.org>
Subject: [photographs] Sicily

Madam,

Thank you for your interest in World Heritage.

Could you send us links to the photos which you would like to use, to facilitate our review of your request?

Thank you in advance,

Lise Sellem
World Heritage Centre

De : WH-info <wh-info@UNESCO.org>
Envoyé : lundi 18 novembre 2019 15:09
À : Sellem, Lise <L.Sellem@unesco.org>
Objet : FW: use of photos from Nomination dossier

From: Mr Onyx De La Osa <odelaosa@knights.ucf.edu>
Sent: jeudi 14 novembre 2019 20:46
To: WH-Info <wh-info@UNESCO.org>
Subject: Contact request: General

Message:
To Whom it may concern, My name is Onyx De La Osa and I am a M.A Graduate student at the University of Central Florida. I am currently working on my thesis for the program and it focuses in on Medieval Sicily and its conquerors, the Normans. I have found the Dossier of Nomination for inscription on World Heritage List of the serial property by the Sicilian Region - Councillorship of Cultural Heritage and Sicilian Identity, the Department of Cultural Heritage and Sicilian Identity, and the UNESCO Sicily Heritage Foundation. Within the Dossier there are several high quality photos of these heritage sites that would be highly useful for my thesis for graduation. I had wished to find out more about your regulations and conditions of use for students and educational purposes. I had also wished to find out if any special procedures needed to be done for usage, if any. Thank you for your time, Onyx
You can find answers here. General faq page
This message was sent via the whc.unesco.org contact form.

Section A

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Sellem, Lise <L.Sellem@unesco.org>
Fri 11/22/2019 3:40 AM
Onyx De La Osa

Sir,

Thank you for the details provided.

Please refer to pages 236-240 of the nomination file (pp 267-271 of the PDF version) concerning the rights of use of photographic material.

We are glad to confirm that you can use the images from the nomination file **for your thesis**, provided you mention the names of both the photographer and copyright holder. This authorization is restricted to non-commercial use only.

With best regards,
Lise Sellem

De : Onyx De La Osa <odelaosa@Knights.ucf.edu>
Envoyé : jeudi 21 novembre 2019 20:39
À : Sellem, Lise <L.Sellem@unesco.org>
Objet : Re: [photographs] Sicily

Hello!
Thank you for your reply, I accessed the Nomination files Here, the photos begin with Annex 4, on page 791 of the PDF and end on 869. Ideally would request the entire section as it would lend itself to best to allow me to pick and choose as many as I would need for a particular building, that and overall they're generally gorgeous photos. Granted I understand if such a request cannot be allowed and if so I can say the photos on pages:

793,795, 797, 798, 800, 803, 805, 806, 807, 808, 811, 813, 816, 817, 819, 851(top), 854, 860, 865

I have did my best to limit my requests to two outside photos and one inside photo per structure maximum, so that I can fully explain their similarities and how they are representative of the unique Norman-Arab-Byzantine style.

Thank you so much for taking your time to review my request,

Onyx

Section B

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