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The Re-Arrangement of the Nobility Under the Hauteville Monarchy: The Creation of the South Italian Counties

By the eleventh century, Southern Italy was a constantly warring setting that had become the breeding ground for the Norman mercenaries who first infiltrated and then conquered the entire region. By 1059, Pope Nicholas II had acknowledged the two main Norman leaders, Richard Quarrel (of the Drengot family) and Robert Guiscard (of the Hauteville family) as the rulers of the Principality of Capua and the Duchy of Apulia respectively. Guiscard's youngest brother Roger also led the conquest of the island of Sicily from its Muslim rulers. What these conquests had not done was unite the entire region. The years after Duke Guiscard's death in 1085 and that of Prince Jordan I in 1090 saw the collapse of centrally enforced authority. Guiscard's son and grandson, Dukes Roger Borsa and William, tried to exercise their nominal position of power in the Italian mainland, but the actual focus of their activities came to be reduced to the principality of Salerno on the west coast. Capua, meanwhile, remained an independent principality under the Drengot rulers, and the towns along the Adriatic coast escaped from the Duke of Apulia's jurisdiction. Such was the situation when Count Roger of Sicily claimed the Italian mainland territories as the rightful heir of the Duke of Apulia, after the death of his cousin William in 1127. Duke William was the last surviving direct heir of Robert Guiscard. He was not only the nominal leader of all those Normans who had settled in Apulia since its conquest from the Greeks after 1042, but also the heir to the Lombard princes of Salerno, for the Tyrrhenian city

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had become the dukes' capital since Guiscard took it in 1076. It took Roger II three years to bring all his insular and peninsular dominions together under a kingdom. Thus, in the year 1130, after having subjected the most prominent lords in southern Italy by force, Count Roger of Sicily became the King of Sicily, ruling over all the Norman dominions in Italy. These lands, however, had not previously seen a widespread and univocal notion of nobility and government.

The ruling class and the nobility had undoubtedly changed in almost a century since the Normans settled in the south; but despite the existence of new formal polities, the territory that would later form the kingdom of Sicily was still submerged in a quarrelling polyarchy in 1127. In the words of the royal apologist Alexander of Teleso, 'just as the great wickedness of the Lombards was formerly overcome by the violence of the Normans when they arrived, in the same way now it is certain that it was either given or permitted to Roger by Heaven to coerce the immense malice of these lands by his sword.'² It is in this complex political reality that the first step towards the counts' new organisation took place. But, how did the counties in the middle of the twelfth century differ from the lordships held by the counts when the kingdom was founded? To what extent did the new monarchy employ the creation of counts and counties for either restructuring the organisation of the mainland or rewarding loyal territorial leaders? These are ambitious questions, and in the space available here I can at best offer a sketch, rather than a finished picture. One principal aspect of these questions is nevertheless considered: the changes to the comital class during Roger's new monarchy.

It remains necessary to establish a basis upon which a sound social model can be built, and for Norman Italy, a great deal of prosopographical work needs to be done before one can begin to analyse the region's society, or to discuss modern historiography effectively. The current scholarship on the Norman kingdom of Sicily can be classified into three groups. The first group contains general and foundational historical surveys and documentary collections, including the

² *Alexandri Telesini abbatis Ystoria Rogerii regis Sicilie, Calabrie atque Apulie* (hereafter A. Tel.), ed. by L. De Nava, FSI, cxii (Rome: Istituto storico italiano per il medio evo, 1991), p. 3.

early studies by M. Amari, E. Caspar, F. Chalandon, C. Garufi and G. Siragusa. The second group comprises of general discussions of the kingdom's organisation and in-depth exploration of regional cases, most notably the works of E. Jamison, L-R. Menager, C. Cahen, E. Cuozzo, H. Houben, H. Bresc, J-M. Martin, G. Loud, H. Taviani-Carozzi, J. Drell, and H. Takayama. The studies of the third group specialise in intercultural and intellectual phenomena, and address, amongst others, issues of ethnicity, urban life, cohabitation, textual production, and religious identity. The scholars researching these aspects include A. Metcalfe, J. Johns, V. von Falkenhausen, G. Cavallo, H. Enzensberger and others. Despite the diversity of subjects and approaches, and the more nuanced though localised explanations found in the latter groups, the mainstream narrative of the Sicilian kingdom's political history still relies on circular interpretations of commonplaces that are agreed a priori to be relevant, mostly if one takes into account the reference works of Jamison, Houben and Takayama. Some of these common places are the administrative genius of Roger II, the grand plan of state design behind the King's actions, and a solid centralised government created with the kingdom. The pragmatic defect of these common places resides in the fact that many of the premises formulated by the scholars of the first group are just as much in need of systematically-presented evidence as the conclusions of many of the more recent works which attempt to re-explain the political configuration of the kingdom in general. Hence, instead of assuming the existence of a hypothetical political structure, or even extrapolating the rhetorical images found in contemporary narratives into the contemporary social arrangement, I start from the bottom: I will present the available sources for the study of the nobility in the wake of the kingdom's creation. I am not interested here in discussing a possible grand plan of state creation of administrative engineering, but in clarifying the sequence of events, the documented presence of the nobility, and in initiating a larger, more comprehensive social study of the kingdom's aristocracy. In order to avoid the temptation of circularity, this article attempts to lay the foundations for a wider study grounded on sources, and not on the common places found in modern historiography. The article seeks to do so by

discussing how the upper aristocracy was reorganised during the first decades of the Sicilian kingdom through the appointment or confirmation of counts, and the possible total number of counties after this reorganisation. I offer here a ‘before and after’ picture of the changes in the upper nobility during the first decades of the Sicilian kingdom.

I will first introduce the line-up of the comital class before King Roger took over the mainland. Without discussing the civil war itself, I will provide an overview of which characters lost, kept, and received the comital honour by the time it ended, c. 1139, by suggesting the phases of reorganisation through which the South Italian counts were transformed, starting from the emergent arrangement of c.1139, moving on to the subsequent gradual alterations in the 1140s, and ending with the general adjustment of c.1150. The article consequently provides a survey of the documented changes attested in the kingdom’s consolidation period, between 1130 and 1154.

The basis of the survey of primary sources is the *quaternus magne expeditionis*, a listing of land tenancies and obligations in the principality of Capua and the duchy of Apulia that is contained in the compendium known as the *Catalogus Baronum*.³ The *quaternus* presents plentiful – although fragmented and at times misleading – information on the barons’ holdings and military dues that the royal *curia*, in all likelihood, expected to levy in the territories of Apulia and Capua. Despite its problematic nature, the *quaternus* provides a valuable starting point from which to begin to analyse the composition and organisation of the kingdom’s territorial lordships. Here, I will compare the information from the *quaternus* with documents found in diplomatic collections, given that charters found in repositories in Salerno and Cava dei Tirreni, for example, are of equal importance to the study.

³ *Catalogus Baronum*, ed. by E.M. Jamison, FSI, 11 (Rome: Istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo, 1972), I.

The Kingless *Ancient Régime*

Count Roger II's invasion of the mainland was met with opposition from the counts, backed up by a papal call to arms. The local nobles allied with Pope Honorius II to prevent Roger II from claiming the duchy of Apulia for himself. On the north-western front, the opposition was headed by Robert II, prince of Capua, and Rainulf, count of the 'Caiazzans' and Airola, as the former entered into an alliance with Honorius II. In the centre and east of the duchy of Apulia, the leaders were count Roger of Ariano, the bishop of Troia, Prince Grimoald of Bari, Tancred of Conversano, his brother count Alexander of Conversano, and count Geoffrey of Andria.⁴ Other counts are attested in the duchy: Hugh of Molise, count of Boiano; count Nicolas of Principato; count Pandulf of Aquino; count Henry of Sarno; whoever might have succeeded Robert II, count of Loritello; and count Rao of Lesina, if these last two titles were not vacant during this period. It seems the old Lombard comital titles for Avellino and Fondi were vacant at the time. If we also consider the separated territories of Calabria and Abruzzo, there were three more counts: Geoffrey of Catanzaro, Pandulf of Marsia, and Robert of Manopello. Most likely, there were a total of thirteen counts when the kingdom was founded – five in Capua, one in Salerno, four in Apulia, one in Calabria, and two in the Abruzzo.⁵ Before reviewing the changes experienced by the comital class after the civil war, the counts' parentage ought to be examined first.

⁴ This ruler of Bari was an urban patrician who presented himself as prince. *Le pergamene di S. Nicola di Bari. Periodo normanno (1075-1194)*, ed. by F. Nitti di Vito, Cod. Dipl. Barese, 5 (Bari: Vecchi, 1900), p. 121; A. Tel., bks I. 10, pp. 11–2. Also, for the year 1130, see A. Tel., bk. II.XVIII, p. 31.

⁵ Recorded as a donor in 1127. *Chronica Monasterii Casinensis* (Chron. Cas.), ed. by H. Hoffmann, MGH SS, 34 (Hanover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1980), p. 553; F. Scandone, *Storia di Avellino: Abellinum feudale. Avellino durante la dominazione de' normanni (1077-1195)* (Naples: Armanni, 1948), II, no. 113, p. 120. See also Cava de' Tirreni, *Armario Magna* (AM), F 37; *Codice diplomatico del Monastero Benedettino di S. Maria di Tremiti: 1005-1237*, ed. by A. Petrucci, 3 vols (Rome: Istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo, 1960), III, pp. 267–9; E.M. Jamison, 'Note e documenti per la storia dei Conti Normanni di Catanzaro', *Archivio storico per la Calabria e la Lucania*, 1 (1931), 451–70 (p. 456); *Rogeri II Regis Diplomata Latina*, ed. by C-R. Brühl, Codex diplomaticus Regni Siciliae, 2 (Cologne: Böhlau, 1987), no. 15.

In the principality of Salerno, Count Henry of Sarno was the great-grandson of the Norman count Alfred, whose wife, Gaitelgrima, was the Lombard prince Guaimar IV's daughter.⁶ Despite his Lombard and Norman descent, Henry was not related to the Hauteville or the Drengot family (the former was the family of the dukes of Apulia, whilst the latter was the family of the Norman princes of Capua). Similarly, Count Nicolas of Principato descended from Robert Guiscard's younger brother William, who had married Maria, Prince Guaimar IV's niece.⁷ The only Hauteville count in this area was the lord of the Principato.

In the principality of Capua, Rainulf, count of the 'Caiazzans,' descended from the Drengot family. His grandfather, Rainulf I of Caiazzo (d. 1088), was the brother of prince Robert I of Capua, and thus the son of Asclettin Drengot, the brother of count Rainulf of Aversa.⁸ The counts of Carinola and Caiazzo were also related to the Drengot family, for the younger brothers of prince Jordan I of Capua, Jonathan and Bartholomew, had taken the title of *comes Caleni* (of Carinola). They perhaps took this title from the Lombard family of Landenolfus, who, before 1076, was 'count of Carinola.'⁹ The kinship between the older Jonathan and Bartholomew as brothers is confirmed in a 1089 *indicatum*.¹⁰ Jonathan is recorded by 1092 as having authorised a donation made by his tenant Omfridus, the 'Count of Calvi.' As the overlord of Calvi, Jonathan

⁶ Scandone, II, pp. 113–4, 120. See also G.A. Loud, 'Continuity and Change in Norman Italy: The Campania during the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries', *Journal of Medieval History*, 22.4 (1196), 313–43 (p. 327).

⁷ L-R. Ménager, 'Les fondations monastiques de Robert Guiscard, duc de Pouille et de Calabre', *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken*, 39 (1959), 1–116; E. Cuozzo, "'Milites" e "testes" nella contea normanna di Principato', *Bullettino dell'Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo e Archivio Muratoriano*, 88 (1979), 121–64 (pp. 140–2, 158–60). Cf. G.A. Loud, 'The Abbey of Cava, Its Property and Benefactors in the Norman Era', in *Anglo-Norman Studies IX Proceedings of the Battle Conference 1986*, ed. by R. Allen Brown (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 1987), pp. 143–77 (pp. 157–9). See also Cava, AM, F 44 and F 45.

⁸ G.A. Loud, 'A calendar of the diplomas of the Norman Princes of Capua', *Papers of the British School at Rome*, 49 (1981), 99–143.

⁹ *Chron. Cas.*, p. 419.

¹⁰ *Codex Diplomaticus Cajetanus* (hereafter *CDC*) (Montecassino: Abbey of Monte Cassino, 1890), II, no. 262. Cf. G. Carelli, who assumes Bartholomew was Jonathan's son instead. G. Carelli, 'I conti Normanni di Calinulo (1062–1187). Note storiche', *Rivista araldica*, 11 (1913), 609–16 (p. 614). Also cf. Loud, who suggests count Richard of Carinola was son of Jonathan as well, and not Bartholomew. Loud, 'Continuity and Change in Norman Italy', pp. 332–3.

would have most likely been the count of the region, namely Carinola, at the time.¹¹ It is safe to assume that Bartholomew took Carinola after his brother Jonathan is recorded in 1092, based on the evidence that attests his son Richard as count of Carinola. First, an 1109 document records a donation made to Anne, mother of Richard of Carinola and former wife of Bartholomew. Then, in February 1115, Count Richard is attested as a donor to the church of S. Maria fuori Carinola.¹² Additionally, an 1117 charter records that the Capuan princely court included duke Richard, son of count Bartholomew of Carinola, as one of his barons.¹³ After this, the Count of Carinola does not make any other documented appearance, until Jonathan is recorded in the 1152 charter and in the *quaternus magne expeditionis*. Richard, the son of Bartholomew, was thereafter both count of Carinola and duke of Gaeta, as his father was before him.¹⁴

In Adriatic Apulia, the counts of Conversano descended from a branch of the Hauteville family, for Geoffrey of Conversano might have been Tancred's grandson.¹⁵ The count of Andria, conversely, seems to have been descended from a different Norman lineage, albeit close to the Hauteville lineage of conqueror, for he was most likely a descendant of Count Peter of Andria, a member of the family of the 'sons of Amicus,' a kin group that constantly competed against the

¹¹ *Codice diplomatico normanno di Aversa* (hereafter Cod. Dipl. Aversa), ed. by A. Gallo, Società napoletana di storia patria. Documenti per la storia dell'Italia meridionale, ii (Naples: Luigi Lubrano editore, 1926), no. 54.

¹² G. Bova, *Le Pergamene normanne della Mater Ecclesia Capuana: 1091-1197* (Naples: Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane, 1996), p. 247. Cf. Mazzoleni, who has dated the latter document 1114 instead. J. Mazzoleni, *Le Pergamene Di Capua* (Naples: Università degli Studi di Napoli, 1957), I, pp. 26–32.

¹³ CDC, II, no. 290.

¹⁴ CDC, II, n. 262; Cod. Dipl. Aversa, pp. 401–2.

¹⁵ *De rebus gestis Rogerii Calabriae et Siciliae comitis et Roberti Guiscardi ducis fratris eius, auctore Gaufrido Malaterra*, ed. by E. Pontieri, RIS, 5 (Bologna: N. Zanichelli, 1928), bk. II. 39, p. 48. *La geste de Robert Guiscard*, trans. by M. Mathieu (Palermo: Istituto Siciliano di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici, 1961), p. 192. Interestingly enough, Orderic Vitalis is in accord with the south Italian chroniclers, as he seems to be correct in saying that Geoffrey of Conversano was *nepos* of Robert Guiscard, the first Duke of Apulia, for his mother was probably the Duke's sister: Orderic Vitalis, v. IV, bk. VII, p. 33. I am not interested here in discussing the reception of the Italian chroniclers in the north of Europe, but for further discussion see M. Chibnall, *The World of Orderic Vitalis: Norman Monks and Norman Knights* (Boydell & Brewer, 1996), pp. 169–220, especially 213–4; G.A. Loud, 'The Gens Normannorum: Myth or Reality?', in *Proceedings of the Battle Conference on Anglo Norman Studies IV*, ed. by R.A. Brown (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1981), pp. 104–16.

Hautevilles in Apulia during the eleventh century.¹⁶ Count Robert II of Loritello, whose last documented appearance was in 1122, might not have been alive when Roger II invaded the peninsula, but his lordship was probably passed on to a relative.¹⁷ He was the son of Robert I of Loritello, grandnephew of Guiscard.¹⁸

The same Hauteville lineage of Geoffrey of Capitanata produced the only count in Calabria at this time: Count Geoffrey of Catanzaro was the son of Rudolf (Rao) of Catanzaro and his wife, Countess Bertha.¹⁹ Rao of Loritello had most likely acquired the lordship over Catanzaro in 1088.²⁰ This cadet branch of the Loritello-Hauteville kin group survived Roger II's takeover and, unlike their northern relatives, kept its lordship and position of power.

After Count Roger II reached an agreement with the Pope and was invested 'Duke' of Apulia, he was ready to be elevated to the position of king. The peninsular counts, as expected, reacted against the foundation of the new kingdom, and in 1131, the old baronial league was reassembled against Roger II. Though defeated, the rebellion soon reignited in the winter of 1134 in the northwest, still headed by Robert II of Capua and Rainulf of Caiazzo. But the darkest moment of the newly established monarchy was yet to come. After being defeated in 1135, Robert and Rainulf returned as invading forces in what was an imperial and papal coalition against Roger II. Count Roger of Ariano, and possibly count William of Loritello, joined the

¹⁶ J.-M. Martin, *La Pouille du VI^e au XII^e siècle*, Collection de l'École française de Rome, 179 (Rome: École française de Rome; Diffusion De Boccard, 1993), pp. 731–3; G.A. Loud, *The Age of Robert Guiscard: Southern Italy and the Norman Conquest* (Harlow: Longman, 2000), p. 250. Cf. W. Jahn, *Untersuchungen zur die normannischen Herrschaft in Süditalien (1040-1100)* (Frankfurt: P. Lang, 1989), pp. 203–5.

¹⁷ *Les chartes de Troia. Édition et étude critique des plus anciens documents conservés à l'Archivio Capitolare (Troia) I (1024-1266)*, ed. by J.-M. Martin, Cod. Dipl. Pugliese, 21 (Bari: Società di storia patria per la Puglia, 1976), n. 44; *Die Reichschronik des Annalista Saxo*, ed. by K. Nass, MGH SS, 37 (Hannover, 2006), p. 606.

¹⁸ *Romualdi Salernitani Chronicon* (Romuald), ed. by C.A. Garufi, RIS, 7, 2nd edn (Città di Castello: S. Lapi, 1935), p. 183.

¹⁹ B. de Montfaucon, *Palaeographia Graeca* (Paris: L. Guerin, 1708), cols 396–7. See also Jamison, 'Note e documenti per la storia dei Conti Normanni di Catanzaro', pp. 455–6; L.-R. Ménager, *Amirauté - Ἀμνηροαζ, l'émirat et les origines de l'amirauté (XI^e-XIII^e siècles)* (Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N., 1960), p. 175; E. Cuozzo, 'I conti normanni di Catanzaro', in *Miscellanea di Studi Storici - II* (Cava dei Tirreni: Università degli Studi della Calabria, 1982), pp. 109–27 (p. 111).

²⁰ Malaterra, pp. 91–3. See also E. Cuozzo, 'I conti normanni di Catanzaro', pp. 110–1.

rebellion and welcomed the German emperor Lothar.²¹ After an intense confrontation, and the subsequent withdrawal of the German forces, the new king was victorious and consolidated his monarchy by 1139.

In their documents, the counts in both Capua and Apulia did not formally acknowledge the authority of either the prince of Capua or the duke of Apulia. They appeared instead as counts, not by the grace of their overlord, but by grace of God, as well as referring to the emperor in Constantinople. Robert of Loritello and his son, furthermore, fashioned themselves with the title *comes comitum*, ‘count of counts.’²² The portions that were nominally subject to the duke of Apulia, like the *Terra Beneventana* and the dominions of the count of Loritello and his kin, threw off all obedience to any constituted authority, not to mention the actual independent lordships such as the principality of Taranto and the county of Sicily itself.²³ Let us not forget that King Roger II was once a count himself, a sovereign over his own dominions and without any effective lordship or authority exercised over him. The comital title was hence used to identify specific, prominent lords as (potential) leaders amongst a community of other lords. In this sense, the ‘county’ that could have emerged from these eleventh century *comes* in Norman Italy referred more to the original voice of county, *comitatum*, as a company or band of soldiers, rather than the political territorial unit found in successive centuries. In the eleventh century, as highlighted by E. Cuozzo, the Norman leaders’ power was based on two components: their local and economic authority as landholders and military warrantors of order and justice.²⁴ The social typology of

²¹ *Annalista Saxo*, p. 606.

²² *Reg. Nap. Arch. Mon.*, ed. by A. Spinelli and others, 6 vols (Naples: Regia Typographia, 1857), v, nos. 485, pp. 219–21; *Regesto Delle Pergamene Della Curia Arcivescovile Di Chieti. 1006-1400*, ed. by A. Balducci, i (Casalbordino, 1926), pp. 94–6; *Cod. Dipl. Tremiti*, III, no. 90 pp. 262–4; *Ad historiam abbatiae Cassinensis accessiones*, ed. by E. Gattola, 2 vols (Venice: Sebastiano Coleti, 1734), I, pp. 344–5; *Chron. S. Sophiae, Chronicon Sanctae Sophiae: cod. Vat. Lat. 4939*, ed. by J-M. Martin, 2 vols (Rome: Istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo, 2000), II, pp. 736–8.

²³ E.M. Jamison, ‘The Norman Administration of Apulia and Capua: More Especially Under Roger II and William I, 1127-1166’, *Papers of the British School at Rome*, (1913), 211–481 (pp. 229–30).

²⁴ E. Cuozzo, ‘Le istituzioni politico-amministrative legate alla conquista. Le ripartizioni territoriali: i comitati’, in *I caratteri originali della conquista normanna. Diversità e identità nel Mezzogiorno (1030-1130)*, ed. by F. Violante and R. Licinio, (Bari: Dedalo, 2006), pp. 287–304 (p. 288).

territorial lordships adopted by the Normans in the eleventh century appears to have been oriented towards distinguishing the ultimate coercive role exercised by the leaders of military parties or units of knights, acknowledging conversely their condition as lords who held most of the land.²⁵ In addition to distinguishing the economic and military sources of power, the title of *comes* seems also to have been an honorific title employed during the Norman conquest to express social prestige, an ideological source of power, by alluding to either old noble Lombard families or to the descendants of the ‘new nobility’ of conquerors – the handful of Norman kin-groups that provided both the overall rulers in southern Italy and the most influential lineages: the extended family of the princes of Capua; the Buonalbergo of Ariano; the Molise of Boiano; the descendants of Guiscard’s brother William of Principato; and the ‘sons of Amicus’ of Andria, Lesina and Molfetta.²⁶ This expression of prestige nevertheless did not bear any special faculties that were not already enjoyed by territorial lords. Some territorial lords, such as the counts of Loritello, might have held their lands from some of these whereas other lords did not acknowledge any overlordship at all.²⁷ It was the coercive capacity of the lords, and not the title or its prestige, which would have granted additional judicial and financial rights over other lords.²⁸

But by the 1140s, things were different; a central authority had arrived and ultimately won. After years of internal warfare, in Melfi in September 1129, Roger II promulgated a comprehensive land peace, by which they swore to maintain peace and justice under the authority and assistance of the consolidated monarchy.²⁹ In 1140, Roger II was finally firmly in control of southern Italy, and had achieved tranquillity in his mainland dominions. Once the dust settled, the Sicilian king

²⁵ On the military nature of the comital honour in Norman Italy, see E. Cuozzo, ‘L’unificazione normanna e il regno normanno-svevo’, in *Storia del Mezzogiorno II. Il Medioevo* (Naples: Del Sole, 1989), pp. 593–825; E. Cuozzo, ‘La Contea Normanna di Mottola e Castellaneta’, *Archivio storico per le province napoletane*, 110 (1992), 7–46 (pp. 7–8).

²⁶ Loud, *The Age of Robert Guiscard*, pp. 246–52.

²⁷ Martin, pp. 717–8.

²⁸ See Loud, *The Age of Robert Guiscard*, pp. 253–5.

²⁹ A. Tel., bks I.21, pp. 18–9.

reorganised the lordships once occupied by his opponents. These served as the basis for the reorganisation of the mainland landholdings and the subsequent establishment of the peninsular counties.

A Surviving Aristocracy in the Aftermath of the Rebellion

By the creation of the kingdom, and Roger's victory, the picture of the counts had already changed considerably. First, the mainland was practically organised in three regions after 1140 (Capua, Apulia, and Calabria; with Manopello and the Abruzzo as a separate region).³⁰ The counts of Ariano and Caiazzo were suppressed, as was that of Loritello, and the lands amassed under each comital title were confiscated by the crown and reassigned to other barons. The lords of Aquino were allowed to keep their holdings but not their comital titles. The counts of Sarno disappear after 1138; it is unclear whether this was because the lands of the last count of Sarno were confiscated, or because he did not produce an heir.

Count Roger of Ariano was defeated and imprisoned, and had his dominions confiscated.³¹ Rainulf of Caiazzo died in Troia as the spurious Duke of Apulia in 1139, leaving no acting successor. The lords of Aquino, after 1137, are referred to as *domini*, never again as *comites*. They are recorded only as lords in the *quaternus* in a special section dedicated to Aquino.³² Furthermore, the earliest reference to the lord of Aquino after the civil war is in an 1148 charter.³³ After Henry of Sarno is recorded, as 'count by the grace of God,' to have made a

³⁰ E. Mazzaresse Fardella, 'Problemi Preliminari Allo Studio Del Ruolo Delle Contee Nel Regno Di Sicilia', in *Società, Potere E Popolo Nell'età Di Ruggero II* (Bari: Centro di Studi Normanno-Svevi, 1979), pp. 41–54 (p. 50).

³¹ *Falcone di Benevento. Chronicon Beneventanum: città e feudi nell'Italia dei normanni* (Falco), ed. by E. D'Angelo, Per verba, ix (Florence: Edizioni del Galluzzo, 1998), p. 230. Roger of Ariano was already exiled, for he is present at a German royal court in April 1144, at Würzburg. *Conradi III. et filii eius Heinrici Diplomata*, ed. by F. Hausmann, MGH Diplomatum Regum et Imperatorum Germaniae, 9 (Vienna: Böhlau, 1969), nos. 99, pp. 176–7.

³² *Catalogus Baronum*, I, pts 1008–12, pp. 181–2.

³³ F. Scandone, *Per la controversia sul luogo di nascita di S. Tommaso d'Aquino: Esame critico di alcune pubblicazioni recenti a pro' di Roccasecca (Caserta) e di Belcastro (Catanzaro)* (Naples: Stabilimento tipografico M. d'Auria, 1903), p. 24.

donation in 1138 to Montevergine, no other counts of Sarno are attested in the surviving evidence.³⁴

Andria and Carinola were left vacant, and perhaps temporarily merged into the royal demesne. The aforementioned William of Loritello presumably welcomed and paid homage to the invading emperor; his lordship was later confiscated given this act of treason against the incipient Sicilian monarchy. Lesina appears to have been granted around 1140, for the earliest attested existence of a count of Lesina is William of Lesina, who is recorded in an agreement of February 1141 as count and head of a court in Lesina.³⁵ Boiano, furthermore, seems to have been restored to Hugh of Molise. First, the *Ignoti Monachi Chronica* indicates that in 1141 King Roger married Hugh of Molise's sister, by whom he had his son Simon.³⁶ Assuming the date referred to in the *Ignoti Monachi Chronica* is correct, it is not impossible that the couple married, as it is after Elvira of Castilla's death in 1135, and well before the King's marriage to Sibylla of Burgundy in 1149. Houben has suggested that she was in fact one of Roger II's mistresses.³⁷ In any case, Hugh of Molise certainly negotiated the recovery of his extensive dominions with the King before 1144, possibly between 1139 and 1142.

Manopello appears to have been given to a royalist Calabrian baron, Bohemund of Tarsia. The Casauria Chronicle records that Roger II appointed 'count Bohemund to the countship of Manopello,' c. August 1140.³⁸ Although his origins are uncertain, he was originally a Calabrian baron from Tarsia and seems to have been a Norman lord under the favour of chancellor Robert

³⁴ *Cod. Dipl. Verginiano. III. 1132 - 1151*, ed. by P.M. Tropeano, 13 vols (Montevergine: Edizioni Padri Benedettini, 1979), nos. 245, pp. 187–92.

³⁵ *Cod. Dipl. Tremiti*, III, nos. 103, pp. 287–91.

³⁶ *Ignoti Monachi Cisterciensis S. Mariae de Ferraria Chronica et Rycardi de Sancto Germano Chronica Priora*, ed. by G. H. Pertz and A. Gaudenzi (Naples: F. Giannini, 1888), p. 28.

³⁷ *Roger II of Sicily: A Ruler between East and West*, trans. by G.A. Loud (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 36.

³⁸ *Chronicon Casauriense, auctore Iohanne Berardi*, ed. by L.A. Muratori, RIS, 2 (Milan, 1726), col. 891.

of Selby.³⁹ Conversano, in southern Apulia, seems to have been granted to Robert of Bassunvilla during the civil war, and before the disastrous year of 1137. He is attested in two documents pertaining to Cava, under charters dated October and November 1136.⁴⁰ Alexander of Telesse has recorded however the existence of a certain Adam, King Roger's brother-in-law, as count of Conversano, and temporary commander of the royal troops, c. 1135-1136.⁴¹ The identity of this Count Adam is unclear. F. Chalandon has suggested Adam was in fact Adam Avenel, the son of Adelia, daughter of Roger's sister Emma and Rodolfo Maccabeo, lord of Montescaglioso.⁴² Alternatively, G.A. Loud has argued that Alexander of Telesse may have made a mistake with the new count's name, and Robert would have therefore been appointed count slightly earlier than Alexander indicated.⁴³ Robert of Bassunvilla was not only already recorded as count of Conversano in April 1134, but he was Roger II's actual brother-in-law, because he married the King's sister Judith.⁴⁴ It is also noteworthy to mention that the *Breve chronicon Northmannicum* relates that Robert was created count of Conversano by Roger II.⁴⁵ Another less likely possibility is that this Adam died soon after his appointment as commander of the royal forces in Aversa, for Robert of Bassunvilla was definitely the count of Conversano by the end of the civil war.

In the Capitanata, in Adriatic Apulia, a Count William of Lesina appears to have been the new count of Lesina, before Geoffrey of Ollia was appointed as such. It is unclear who this William was; he could have been a descendant of the earlier counts. The only documented appearance of

³⁹ G.A. Loud, *Roger II and the Making of the Kingdom of Sicily* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2012), p. 45, and n. 10 in p. 300.

⁴⁰ C.A. Garufi, 'Per la storia dei sec. XI e XII. Miscellanea diplomatica', *Archivio Storico per la Sicilia Orientale*, 9 (1912), 324–66. The original documents are found in Cava, AM, G 19 - G 20.

⁴¹ A. Tel., bk. iii. 28 and 33 pp. 74-5 and 77-8, bk. iv. 1-2 and 5 pp. 81-2 and 83-4.

⁴² F. Chalandon, *Histoire de la domination normande en Italie et en Sicile*. II, 2 (Paris: Librairie A. Picard et fils, 1907), p. 49. This suggestion has been contested; see E. M. Jamison, 'Judex Tarentinus', *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 53 (1967), 289–344 (pp. 520–1, n. 3.).

⁴³ Loud, *Roger II and the Making of the Kingdom of Sicily*, p. 116, n. 149.

⁴⁴ *Le Pergamene di Conversano, I, (901-1265)*, ed. by G. Coniglio, Cod. Dipl. Pugliese, 20 (Bari: Società di storia patria per la Puglia, 1975), nos. 81, pp. 180–1.

⁴⁵ 'Il "Breve Chronicon Northmannicum"', ed. by E. Cuozzo, *Bullettino dell'Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo e Archivio Muratoriano*, 83 (1971), 131–232 (p. 197); *Le Breve chronicon Northmannicum: un véritable faux de Pietro Polidori*, *Quellen und Forschungen aus Italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken*, 66 (1986), 378–92.

Count William of Lesina under Roger II's reign is found in an 1141 charter which records him as head of a court in Lesina.⁴⁶ He appears to be the same count who, according to ps. Falcandus, was King William I's captive, held in chains in Palermo in 1156, and released during the baronial conspiracy of 1161.⁴⁷

The only comital positions that seem not to have changed were Principato and Catanzaro. Count Nicolas of Principato makes one last documented appearance in 1141, issuing with his brother William a confirmation of land to the archbishop of Salerno.⁴⁸ Countess Adelaide of Principato, possibly Nicolas's wife, is subsequently attested as a donor to Cava in 1143, and again in 1146.⁴⁹ In Catanzaro, the succession is harder to determine. It is, however, plausible to suggest that the Hauteville-Loritello branch kept the lordship throughout this period. Geoffrey of Catanzaro is last recorded in 1132, as a signatory in a royal charter.⁵⁰ A subsequent document suggests however that the title was vacated after his death, which happened before 1145; his mother, countess Bertha, made a donation in 1145 for the salvation of the late Count Geoffrey.⁵¹ Interestingly enough, Bertha is recorded both here and in 1112 as 'countess of Loritello,' indicating not her actual lordship, but her position as a member of the Loritello kin-group, which descended directly from one of the original conquerors, Geoffrey of Hauteville.⁵² Besides Bertha, it might have also been possible that Geoffrey's brother Raymond succeeded him, being thus the

⁴⁶ *Cod. Dipl. Tremiti*, III, nos. 103, pp. 287–91.

⁴⁷ *De rebus circa regni Siciliae curiam gestis Epistola ad Petrum de desolatione Siciliae* (Falcando), ed. by E. D'Angelo (Firenze: Sismel, 2014), pp. 84–6, 144–5, 154–5.

⁴⁸ A. Giordano, *Le Pergamene dell'Archivio diocesano di Salerno (841-1193)* (Salerno: Laveglia & Carlone, 2015), no. 102, pp. 195–9.

⁴⁹ L. Mattei-Ceresoli, 'Tramutola', *Archivio Storico per la Calabria e la Lucania*, 1943, 32–46, 91–118 (no. 6, pp. 43–4); Mattei-Ceresoli, no. 8 pp. 45–6.

⁵⁰ *Rog. Dipl. Lat., Rogerii II Regis Diplomata Latina*, ed. by C-R. Brühl, *Codex diplomaticus Regni Siciliae*, 2 (Cologne: Böhlau, 1987), no. 20, pp. 54–6.

⁵¹ A. Pratesi, *Carte latine di abbazie calabresi provenienti dall'archivio Aldobrandini* (Vatican City: Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, 1958), no. 14.

⁵² Montfaucon, col. 396.

former husband of the countess Segelgarda, and the father of young countess Clemence.⁵³

Therefore, after 1140, there were only six confirmed counts in the mainland: none in the principality of Capua, four in Adriatic Apulia, one in the former principality of Salerno, and one in Calabria. From 1140 to 1150, when the *quaterniones curiae* of the lords' land holdings that served as the original drafts for the *quaternus magne expeditionis* were most likely drafted, the kingdom seems to have gone through a phase of peaceful reorganisation, which followed the changes introduced right after the civil war.⁵⁴

The Gradual Settling of the Dust: of New and Old Counts

Between 1140 and 1150, both continuity and readjustment can be documented in the activities and presence of the southern Italian counts. The *quaternus magne expeditionis* implies the existence, by 1150, of thirteen counts (Alife, Avellino, Boiano, Buonoalbergo, Carinola, Caserta, Civitate, Conversano, Fondi, Marsico, Montescaglioso, Principato, and Tricarico). It should be noted that although the *quaternus* seems to have been compiled by cataloguing lordships under either Apulia or Capua, the two main provinces in which the mainland territories were divided, the lordships that were grouped under these comital titles were in some instances distributed in both provinces. The two most illustrative cases of this are the counts of Boiano and Carinola. The count of Carinola, whose seat was in Capua, held the significant lordship of Conza in Apulia, and the lordships gathered under the count Hugh of Boiano were included both in the section for Apulia and Capua, for in both provinces met on their northern borders. Additionally, Count Robert of Buonoalbergo, whose comital seat was in the Apulian mountainous region of Irpina, also held Acerra, Margliano and Sessola in southern Capua, as the count previously held these

⁵³ Montfaucon, col. 396; Falcandus, pp. 108, 175; Garufi, *Documenti inediti, I documenti inediti dell'epoca normanna in Sicilia*, ed. by C.A. Garufi, *Documenti per servire alla storia di Sicilia: Ser. I*, xviii (Palermo: Lo Statuto, 1899), p. 96. Cf. Romuald, p. 245.

⁵⁴ See *Catalogus Baronum*, I, pp. xv–xxii.

lands as lord of Acerra, just as his father Geoffrey of Medania most likely did.⁵⁵ In addition to these, one should also consider the counts in the separate regions of Calabria and the Abruzzo. Two more comital seats appear to have been based in Calabria: the counts of Catanzaro and Squillace.

It is important to note that in none of the surviving documents concerning Count Hugh of Molise, the comital title clearly and solely refers to the ‘county of Molise.’ In 1147, he is recorded as ‘Molisian count’, and in 1153, he signs as ‘Hugh, count of Molise,’ which could still be a reference to the toponymic name of Hugh’s Norman family. Moreover, in the 1149 privilege, Boiano was still employed in the comital title, *comes Boianensis*, which survives in a late thirteenth century copy, when the county of Molise was a much clearer geographical and political unit.⁵⁶ One should not forget, however, that the document was allegedly signed in Boiano itself. What seems clear is that the dominions of the count of Molise had not been consolidated at this time as a ‘county of Molise.’

As a possible consequence of the restoration of the county of Hugh of Molise, the lordship land that Count Robert son of Richard amassed in the northern Capitanata under his comital title would have then been diminished. An 1152 charter attests Count Robert of Civitate, restoring some land to Unfredus, abbot of Terra Maggiore.⁵⁷ The document additionally records the existence of a previous count of Civitate, who used to lawfully hold the honour and the holdings corresponding to it: Count Jonathan. Another piece of evidence in which Jonathan is attested as count of Civitate is found in an imperial confirmation made by Frederick II in 1225 in favour of the monastery of S. Maria di Pulsano, in which it is recorded that ‘late Jonathan, count of

⁵⁵ Cava, AM, F 18.

⁵⁶ E.M. Jamison, *I conti di Molise e di Marsia nei secoli XII e XIII* (Casalbordino: Nicola de Arcangelis, 1932), no. 3.

⁵⁷ *Codice diplomatico del regno di Carlo I. e II. d’Angiò*, ed. by G. Giudice (Naples: Stamperia della Regia Università, 1869), no. 11. [15/07/2016 14:07](#)

Civitate' donated two plots of land to the monastery.⁵⁸ It would have been necessary then to grant one of the King's trusted allies, as Robert son of Richard was, another lordship whose importance and extension matched that of his former holdings. Civitate, east of the Biferno River, seems to have been an ideal alternative for Count Robert son of Richard. Robert son of Richard is also remembered in an early thirteenth century testimony as an 'old count.'⁵⁹ Roger II might have hence seen the lordship and the land held together by counts as an opportunity to politically manoeuvre his nobles towards the rearrangement of his dominions and the consolidation of his rule. The King would grant the lordship of Jonathan to Count Robert son of Richard in order to restore the social and economic power he wielded as lord of the Biferno lands before 1137, and now that the Capuan principality was subjugated after the civil war, Jonathan could finally be restored to his place of origin: Carinola.

Jonathan's restoration was not that simple, however. The city of Gaeta was not returned to him; the ducal honour was removed by the King and the city granted as a lordship to another one of Roger's allies: Geoffrey of Aquila, later appointed count of Fondi. This Geoffrey was closely tied to the city of Gaeta, for his father Richard I of Aquila had been duke of Gaeta c.1105-7. Furthermore, as soon as Richard of Carinola was no longer attested in Gaetan date clauses as duke, Geoffrey of Aquila is instead referred to as *domini nostri* in June 1135 and August 1136.⁶⁰ Also, c. 1150, his son Richard is only recorded as holding a *feudum* of three *militum*. It is probable that the lordship over the city was held directly by Roger II after 1140. In order to make this up to Jonathan, Roger granted him a small but strategic lordship: Conza. It would be safe therefore to assume that after 1140, Robert son of Richard became count of Civitate, while Jonathan was established as count of Carinola—lord of Conza only after 1144.

⁵⁸ *Historia Diplomatica Friderici Secundi*, ed. by J.-L.-A. Huillard-Bréholles and H. D'Albert de Luynes (Paris: Plon Fratres, 1852), II, pp. 479–483, more specifically 481.

⁵⁹ J.-M. Martin, *Le cartulaire de S. Matteo di Sculgola en Capitanate (Registro d'instrumenti di S. Maria del Gualdo 1177-1239)*, Codice Diplomatico Pugliese, 30, 2 vols. (Bari: Società di storia patria per la Puglia, 1987), II, no. 187, pp. 333–4.

⁶⁰ CDC, II, nos. 329–30.

In Conversano, Robert of Bassunvilla appears to have died by 1142, as an 1142 donation made to the monastery of ‘*Eremitarum de Driene*’ records a donor Adelasia, attested as ‘daughter of [late] Count Robert of Bassunvilla, of fond memory’.⁶¹ His son Robert II of Bassunvilla seems to have succeeded his father soon enough, for he subscribes a royal charter in November 1143 as ‘count of Conversano’.⁶² Robert II of Bassunvilla was nevertheless recorded in 1146 in what are now two lost donations.⁶³ Additionally, a March 1148 charter records a confirmation of a grant made to the monastery of Cava by Robert of Bassunvilla.⁶⁴ Robert II of Bassunvilla is subsequently attested in an 1153 donation to SS Trinità of Venosa.⁶⁵ In March of the following year, the same Robert appears to have also granted the goods of notary Stephen to the abbey of Venosa, this time recorded as lord of Molfetta.⁶⁶ Robert II of Bassunvilla seems therefore to have been active as a prominent lord in Adriatic Apulia. Similarly, just as the ‘sons of Amicus’ did from the conquest until the civil war, Robert of Bassunvilla exercised his lordship over Conversano and the maritime city of Molfetta.

In the Principato, Countess Adelaide was most likely the widow of late Count Nicolas of Principato, and in control of the administration of the lordship. This was because Nicolas’ brother, William of Principato, may have been out of the picture at the time, to then suddenly reappear, first in 1150 as a donor to the monastery of SS. Trinità di Venosa, and then in 1161 in a Palermitan prison.⁶⁷ William of Principato is recorded in an 1141 charter, under which he is

⁶¹ F. Trinchera, *Syllabus Graecarum membranarum* (Naples: Joseph Cataneo, 1865), no. 133, pp. 175–6.

⁶² *Rog. Dipl. Lat.*, no. 60, pp. 170–2.

⁶³ Ménager, ‘Les fondations monastiques de Robert Guiscard, duc de Pouille et de Calabre’, nos. 36–7 p. 109. Ménager has presented here the surviving summaries that can be found in G.B. Prignano, ‘Historia Delle Famiglie Di Salerno Normande’ (Biblioteca Angelica, Rome), fol. 96v, Cod. 276-7. Cf. G. Crudo, *La SS. Trinità Di Venosa: Memorie Storiche, Diplomatiche, Archeologiche* (Trani: Vincenzo Vecchi editore, 1899), pp. 243–4. See also A. Petrucci, ‘Note di diplomazia normanna. I. I documenti di Roberto di “Bansuvilla”, II conte di Conversano e III conte di Loretello’, *Bullettino dell’Istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo ed Archivio Muratoriano*, 71 (1959), 113–40 (nos. 1–2 p. 115).

⁶⁴ F. Carabellese, *Le Carte Di Molfetta (1076-1309)*, Cod. Dipl. Barese (Bari: Levante, 1979), VII, no. 16.

⁶⁵ Crudo, pp. 244–5. See also Petrucci, no. 4, pp. 115–6.

⁶⁶ Ménager, ‘Les fondations monastiques de Robert Guiscard, duc de Pouille et de Calabre’, no. 40, pp. 111–2. See also Petrucci, no. 5, p. 116.

⁶⁷ Romuald, p. 246.

referred to as 'heir and former son, in the same way, of the count [...] brother of mine [Nicolas]'.⁶⁸ This charter, a confirmation of land made to the Archbishop of Salerno for the salvation of William II of Principato's soul, has been identified by its latest editor and by C. Carlone as a falsification in the form of an authentic copy, inserted into a documented issue in 1252.⁶⁹ This, however, must not be taken as reason to dismiss it completely; a fabrication in the form of an authentic copy may still be based on an original document, and the information contained in subsequent reproductions cannot be assessed as reliable solely on the grounds of diplomatic criteria. The information contained in the 1141 charter for the Archbishop of Salerno makes sense when contrasted with what is found in other surviving material: William of Principato is subsequently recorded as a donor to Venosa in 1150.⁷⁰ Afterwards, he is recorded by Romuald Guarna in a Palermitan prison in 1161.⁷¹ In the former reference, Count William of Principato appears as a donator to Venosa. The hypothesis that this William of Principato was Nicholas's youngest brother is also supported by J. Drell, who suggests that William may have served in his brother's comital court in some capacity.⁷²

The old Lombard comital honour for Avellino was used to create a new county from the former territories of the count of Sarno, and given to the Norman family of Aquila. Young Richard of Aquila, the son of the old duke of Gaeta Richard of Aquila, is recorded as count of Avellino in 1144.⁷³ This Richard of Aquila is attested later in the *quaternus* as former count of Avellino, his county having passed onto his son Roger.⁷⁴

New counts were also created from other lords: Geoffrey, count of Tricarico, is recorded in

⁶⁸ Giordano, no. 102, pp. 195–9.

⁶⁹ C. Carlone, *Documenti cavensi per la storia di Rocchetta S. Antonio* (Altavilla Silentina: Edizioni Studi Storici Meridionali, 1987), p. 74.

⁷⁰ Houben, *Die Abtei Venosa Und Das Mönchtum Im Normannisch-Staufischen Süditalien*, no. 128.

⁷¹ Romuald, p. 246.

⁷² J.H. Drell, *Kinship & Conquest: Family Strategies in the Principality of Salerno during the Norman Period, 1077-1194* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2002), p. 114.

⁷³ Scandone, II, no. 155.

⁷⁴ *Necrologio del Liber confratrum di S. Matteo di Salerno*, ed. by C.A. Garufi, FSI, 56 (Roma: Istituto storico italiano, 1922), p. 142; *Catalogus Baronum*, I, para. 392.

1143; and Sylvester, count of Marsico in 1150.⁷⁵ The county of Tricarico might have nevertheless been given to another branch of the San Severino family before 1150, for Roger of San Severino is attested in the *catalogus* and in an 1154 charter as count of Tricarico.⁷⁶ The basis for the southern territorial additions of the future county of S. Angelo dei Lombardi, which belonged to the Balvano family, might have been set at this time, but the evidence for this comital title before 1154 is scarce. E. Cuozzo has argued convincingly that what has been traditionally labelled as the ‘county of Balvano,’ as found in Jamison’s edition of the *quaternus*, was in fact the county of S. Angelo dei Lombardi, for the title *comes de Balvano* was a toponymic name that referred to the original lordship held by the count’s family before receiving the comital title.⁷⁷ The case of the count of Balvano is a rather misleading one. Philip, count of Balvano, is recorded in the *quaternus*, but this does not necessarily mean that he was already a count in 1150, as most likely he was made count c. 1166. This Philip of Balvano is recorded as having declared to the *Curia Regis* the military service owed by his nephew Gilbert of Balvano, but he is not referred to as a count here.⁷⁸ Furthermore, Geoffrey, son of Accardus, is recorded count of Montescaglioso in 1150.⁷⁹ He descended from the lords of Lecce, and not from the original Norman lords that arrived during the conquest and previously held Montescaglioso.

The Finishing Touches: a Last Picture of the Rogerian Counts

A decade after King Roger consolidated his effective authority in 1139, a handful of lords in the principality of Capua acquired comital titles. Once Rainulf of Caiazzo died in 1139, lands were distributed amongst many lords. For example, the town of Alife and its surrounding smaller

⁷⁵ *Rog. Dipl. Lat.*, no. 60; Ménager, ‘Les fondations monastiques de Robert Guiscard, duc de Pouille et de Calabre’, sec. 39.

⁷⁶ *Catalogus Baronum*, I, para. 100; C. Gatta, *Memorie topografico-storiche della provincia di Lucania compresa al presente* (Naples: Presso Gennaro Muzio, 1732), p. 2.

⁷⁷ E. Cuozzo, ‘Prosopografia di una famiglia feudale normanna: i Balvano’, *Archivio storico per le province napoletane*, 98 (1980), 61–80 (p. 73).

⁷⁸ *Catalogus Baronum*, I, para. 433. E. Cuozzo has already presented a well-documented study on the family of the lords of Balvano. ‘Prosopografia’.

⁷⁹ *Catalogus Baronum*, I, para. 155. On the county of Montescaglioso and its origins, see Errico Cuozzo, ‘La contea di Montescaglioso nei secoli XI-XIII’, *Archivio storico per le province napoletane*, 103 (1985), 7–37.

lordships may have been given to Malgerius son of Richard, as the latter is attested as a ‘small’ count in Alife, c. 1150, if we believe the early drafts of the *quaternus*.⁸⁰ This redistribution did not necessarily imply that new, smaller counties were created in the northwestern borderlands of Capua then, a task that might have been left for a subsequent phase. The comital honour seems therefore to have been granted to Malgerius in a later stage of the reorganisation process, a decade after the civil war. The count of Caserta, Robert of San Severino, is also registered in 1150. The count of Caserta was the son of Robert of Lauro, who in turn was son of Roger of San Severino and Sichelgaita (also known as Sica), the daughter of Landulf, son of Prince Guaimar IV of Salerno.⁸¹ Robert of Caserta is recorded as an underage holder of land administered by Robbertus Capumaza in 1141, and in the following year as just ‘Robert son of Robert, lord of Lauro’.⁸² Robert of Caserta would not be attested as a count until after 1150, when he is registered in the *quaternus* as count.⁸³ The county of Caserta might also have been created later from lordships that also belonged to the count of Caiazzo, and then given to a branch of the San Severino family which held the border castle of Lauro, northeast of Caserta. The town of Airola might have been granted to Jonathan of Carinola, for he is recorded as its lord in c.1150.⁸⁴ In this same border region, Fondi might have been given to the family of Aquila; Geoffrey, the son of Richard of Aquila – former duke and later lord of Gaeta – is recorded dead, as count of Fondi, in 1149, and the *quaternus* attests his son Richard II as count of Fondi and lord only of a *feudum* in Gaeta, c. 1150.⁸⁵ Precisely when these new counts were created is uncertain, but the documented pattern suggests that the creation of counts in Alife, Caserta and

⁸⁰ Catalogus Baronum, I, pp. 170–1.

⁸¹ Cava, AM, F 18.

⁸² Inguanez, no. 60 pp. 161.

⁸³ Catalogus Baronum, I, paras 964aronum See also G. Tescione, *Caserta medievale e i suoi conti e signori: lineamenti e ricerche* (Marcianise: La diana, 1965), pp. 201–2.

⁸⁴ Catalogus Baronum, I, p. 150.

⁸⁵ CDC, II, nos. 280–1. Cf. P. Skinner, *Family Power in Southern Italy: The Duchy of Gaeta and Its Neighbours, 850-1139* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 158–9.; Garufi, *Necrologio del Liber confratrum di S. Matteo di Salerno*, p. 8; Catalogus Baronum, I, paras 808, 995. Count Richard I of Fondi also is recorded as count in 1153. CDC, II, no. 363.

Fondi, and the additions to the lordship of Carinola, might have occurred under a rapid, new reorganisation that ended around 1150.

A similar situation can be observed in what used to belong to the counts of Ariano. The count of Buonalbergo was created from lordships that belonged to the former lordships of Ariano and given to the Medania family, who were Norman lords loyal to Roger II. Robert of Medania is recorded in the *quaternus* as *comes* of Buonoalbergo c. 1150.⁸⁶ He was the son of the lord of Acerra, Geoffrey of Medania, and Sichelgaita (Sica), the granddaughter of Guaimar VI of Salerno.⁸⁷ The counts of Buonoalbergo thus descended from the princely family of Salerno.

By 1150, there were fourteen documented counties, and, towards the end of Roger II's reign, there were only some slight changes. In other words, the kingdom's mainland aristocracy went from five counts to fourteen counties between 1140 and 1154. Richard of Aquila, count of Avellino and brother of Geoffrey of Aquila, died in 1152, and his son Roger must have inherited his lordship and succeeded him as count.⁸⁸ Roger of Aquila, his son, is remembered by ps. Falcandus as the noble and very youthful count of Avellino, as he joined Matthew Bonellus against Maio in 1160.⁸⁹ Roger of Aquila is recorded in the *catalogus* as well, c. 1167, substituting his father's original entries of c. 1150.⁹⁰ Robert of Medania, count of Buonoalbergo, was succeeded by his son Roger as count in 1154, as he is recorded as a count in that same year.⁹¹ In Calabria, the county of Squillace might also have been created before 1154, as ps. Falcandus records that soon after Maio of Bari was created 'great admiral' by William I, he was particularly

⁸⁶ Although the *quaternus* already records his son as count, a subsequent item on the same count's holdings that was not updated refers to his father Robert as count. *Catalogus Baronum*, I, paras 806, 899–900.

⁸⁷ Cava, AM, F 18.

⁸⁸ Garufi, *Necrologio del Liber confratrum di S. Matteo di Salerno*, p. 142.

⁸⁹ Falcandus, p. 136.

⁹⁰ *Catalogus Baronum*, I, paras 392–95.

⁹¹ *Cod. Dipl. Aversa*, p. 337.

apprehensive of Count Ebrardus of Squillace.⁹²

After 1130 and before William II's reign, the evidence on the counts of Andria is rather scarce. Kinnamos records a Count Richard of Andria as having died in combat during the Byzantine campaign in Apulia in 1155.⁹³ Lordships that previously belonged to Robert II of Loritello remained unassigned, perhaps incorporated to the royal demesne.⁹⁴ In 1154 however Robert II of Basunvilla, count of Conversano, was made count of Loritello by William I, Roger II's son and successor.⁹⁵ Although the available sources do not show the actual extension and use of the royal demesne in the peninsula at this time, it seems that the King was more interested in temporarily keeping it for subsequent redistribution to loyal supporters than in expanding it.

The new counts also provided new kin groups to the highest stratum of nobility: Geoffrey of Montescaglioso was the son of Accardus, the brother of young Duke Roger's mistress, Tancred of Lecce's mother.⁹⁶ The related Medania and San Severino families, maternal descendants of the princely family of Salerno, were not directly tied to the Rogerian kin group. However, they were tied to another prestigious lineage, and were strategic allies and loyal supporters of the King's activities in the peninsula. Their new status and power seem to have been a well-taken reward from Roger II: the kin group acquired three counties, Buonoalbergo, Caserta, and Tricarico. The other new comital family incorporated by Roger II was the Basunvilla. Their elevated position was further enhanced: Robert of Basunvilla, count of Conversano, married Judith, the sister of King Roger.⁹⁷ His son, Robert II of Basunvilla, the new count of Loritello, was so related to the

⁹² Falcandus, pp. 60–2.

⁹³ Kinnamos, *Joannis Cinnami [Ioannes Kinnamos] rerum ab Ioannes et Alexio [sic] Comnenis gestarum*, ed. by A. Meineke, *Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae*, xxvi (Bonn: Impensis E. Weberi, 1836), pp. 86–7. See also *The Deeds of John and Manuel Comnenus*, by John Kinnamos, trans. by C.M. Brand (New York: Columbia University Press, 1953), pp. 112–3.

⁹⁴ Jamison, 'Norman Administration', (p. 254).

⁹⁵ *Chron. Casauriense*, col. 895. Cf. *Alexandri Monachi Chroniconum liber Monasterii Sancti Bartholomei de Carpineto*, ed. by B. Pio (Roma: Istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo, 2001), pp. 78–9.

⁹⁶ G. Guerrieri, 'I Conti Normanni di Bardò e di Brindisi (1092–1130)', *Archivio Storico per Le Province Napoletane*, 1901, 288–314 (p. 202).

⁹⁷ Romuald, p. 237.

royal family. Count Sylvester of Marsico had connections with the royal family, either because his father, Geoffrey of Ragusa, was an illegitimate son of Roger II, or because his mother, Adelaide, was an illegitimate daughter of Roger.⁹⁸

Final Considerations in the Eve of William I's Kingship

The permutation of Carinola and Civitate, and the creation of new counts illustrate how the honour of *comes* was neither restricted to military commanders nor sufficient to secure an important baron's allegiance. Granting lands was not sufficient either. Although not all the counts were part of the 'royal nobility,' for not everybody was related to the Hauteville kin group, they still occupied the highest place amongst the most prominent territorial lords. Securing certain territories and lords under the overlordship of a count seems to have been the strategy followed by the Sicilian monarchy in the mainland. However, how much of the comital organisation can be attributed to King Roger's planning and implementation? Although there is no consistent and firm evidence to prove the existence of a royal project or policy for a specific social arrangement, it appears that Roger II used the lordships and barons clustered together under these enhanced territorial leaders, i.e. the counties, to gather and organise his army, but not necessarily to command it.

The comital title transitioned from a local honour to a distinction of power that emanated from a single, central authority to which all were accountable. As such, the counts validated their higher social position over the rest of the barons under the new monarchy, and the crown secured certain territories and lords under the overlordship of a count. If a strategy can be reconstructed from the unfolding of the South-Italian county, it would be one of symbiotic adaptation between the Sicilian monarchy and the peninsular aristocracy. Consequently, the *comitatus*, the county, although not necessarily a territorial demarcation at that stage, became a useful tool for

⁹⁸ Garufi, *Adelaide e Goffredo*; Mazzaresse-Fardella, *Feudi comitali*, p. 15; 1169 Papal bull to Riccardus bishop of Siragusa; R. Pirri, *Sicilia sacra disquisitionibus, et notitiis illustrata*, 3rd edn (Palermo: Haeredes Petri Coppulae, 1733), pp. 622–3; Mattei-Ceresoli, no. 14.

organising the aristocracy and their holdings, a unit of social power for manoeuvring the upper strata of society. The counts, operating as heads of clusters of territorial lordships commonly connected to a central authority, did not exist before the King; in this sense, there were no counties before 1140, only counts whose title referred to an authoritative lordship.

The nobility's defensive strategy may have opened the door to the King's advance during the dawn of the Norman monarchy, but, at the same time, it allowed them to consolidate their territorial authority as major lords and counts. The counties, as clusters of local authority, could have thus operated as the connecting tissue of a complex structure of government. It was precisely this attempted social structure upon which the successes and failures of the following generations unfolded.

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