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## Cultural syncretism and ethnic identity: The Norman ‘conquest’ of Southern Italy and Sicily

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### Abstract

The culturally syncretic character of medieval Southern Italy and Sicily was never so apparent as under Norman rule in the twelfth century. From the fusion of artistic styles in the *Capella Palatina* in Palermo to the organization of King Roger II's *Regno*, the influence of Byzantine, Arab, Christian, Norman, and Lombard traditions is evident. This paper argues, however, that underlying these more obvious manifestations of cultural intersection was an enduring sense of ethnic identity. This self-conscious expression of identity is revealed through the articulation of ancestry and lineage in the eleventh- and twelfth-century charters of the aristocracy in the Principality of Salerno. The distinctions between conquerors and conquered, long considered irrelevant after decades of intermarriage, were remarkably durable throughout this period. Both Normans and Lombards employed genealogical memory as a strategy to enhance their status in the Principality: the Normans aimed to legitimize their present rule; the Lombards wished to recall their past dominance in the region. This paper suggests that the evidence for ancestral memory reveals both differences in self-perception and contemporary attitudes towards political change among the various religious and ethnic groups in the medieval *Mezzogiorno*. While the intersection of cultures in the South is unmistakable, this paper modifies previous theories to recognize the resistance to cultural absorption by both the new settlers and the indigenous peoples. © 1999 Elsevier Science Ltd. All rights reserved.

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The twelfth-century Kingdom of Southern Italy and Sicily has long evoked a romantic image of a region where cultural intersection and ‘state-building’ reached a level of sophistication unequalled in Western Europe for at least another century. Historians frequently compare the multi-textured character of the *Regno* to a ‘mosaic’ that

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'welded', 'blended' or 'assimilated' different cultures into this one realm. Indeed, Southern Italy and Sicily occupied a unique position in the Middle Ages, serving as both a gateway to the Middle East as well as a border. At the millennium it was already a region remarkable for its interplay of Greek, Latin, Jewish and Muslim cultures; in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the Normans from France added another piece to this mosaic when small bands of Norman soldiers, mercenaries and pilgrims settled in the South. The descendants of these Normans united the territories south of Rome, down through Sicily to create the Kingdom of Southern Italy and Sicily, a political unit some scholars have termed – perhaps rashly – the 'first modern state'.<sup>1</sup>

For years the study of the cultural *mélange* that was the Norman Italian kingdom has been the domain of historians of medieval political organisation and art.<sup>2</sup> From the fusion of artistic styles in the *Capella Palatina* in Palermo to the organization of King Roger II's court, the influence of Byzantine, Arab, Christian, Norman and Lombard traditions is evident. While scholars have traditionally emphasised the creation of a heterogeneous yet unified kingdom they have rarely explored the extent to which this extraordinary mixture of cultures manifested itself in society, that is, on the people of the

<sup>1</sup>It was Burckhardt who influenced a generation of scholars with his discussion of Frederick II as 'the first ruler of the modern type who sat upon a throne' (Jacob Burckhardt, *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy* (New York, 1929, repr. 1958), 24.) A discussion of this theme and how it relates to the Norman kingdom preceding Frederick's is found in A. Marongiu, 'A Model State in the Middle Ages: The Norman and Swabian Kingdom of Sicily', *Comparative Studies in Society and History. An International Quarterly*, 6 (1963), 307–320. See also Joseph Strayer's response to Marongiu, immediately following, 321–324.

<sup>2</sup>The classic work of Southern Italian history remains F. Chalandon, *Histoire de la domination normande en Italie et en Sicile*. 2 vols. (Paris, 1907). For a briefer account, see Chalandon, 'The Conquest of South Italy and Sicily by the Normans' and 'The Norman Kingdom of Sicily', in: *The Cambridge Medieval History, V: Contest of Empire and Papacy* (Cambridge, 1926), 167–207. For the pre-Norman period: J. Gay, *L'Italie Méridionale et l'Empire Byzantin* (Paris, 1904, repr. New York, 1960). Other fundamental works include John Julius Norwich, *The Normans in the South 1016–1194* (London, 1970) – this would be an extremely useful book save for the fact that Lord Norwich did not include citations; Claude Cahen, *Le Régime Féodal de l'Italie Normande* (Paris, 1940); Evelyn Jamison, 'Additional Work on the *Catalogus Baronum*', *Bullettino dell'Istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo*, 83 (1971), 1–63, and 'The Sicilian Norman Kingdom in the mind of Anglo-Norman contemporaries', *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 24 (1938), 237–285, and 'The Administration of the County of Molise in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries', *English Historical Review*, 44 (1929), 529–539 and 45 (1930), 1–34. and 'The Norman Administration of Apulia and Capua, more especially under Roger II and William I', *Papers of the British School at Rome*, 6 (1913), 211–481. [2nd ed. 1987, as a separate monograph, edited by D.R. Clementi and T. Kolzer]; Antonio Marongiu, 'A Model State in the Middle Ages. The Norman-Hohenstaufen Kingdom of Sicily', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 4 (1963/4), 307–321; Vera von Falkenhausen, 'I ceti dirigenti prenormanni al tempo della costituzione degli stati normanni nell'Italia meridionale e in Sicilia', in: *Forme di potere e struttura sociale in Italia nel Medioevo*, ed. Gabriella Rossetti (Bologna, 1977), 321–377; G.A. Loud, 'How "Norman" was the Norman Conquest of Southern Italy?', *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, 25 (1981), 23 and Loud, *Church and Society in the Norman Principality of Capua 1058–1197* (Oxford, 1985); Mario Del Treppo and Alfonso Leone, *Amalfi Medievale* (Naples, 1977).

More recently: D. Matthew, *The Norman Kingdom of Sicily* (Cambridge, England, 1992). (Unfortunately, Dr. Matthew chose to omit citations); H. Takayama, *The Administration of the Norman Kingdom of Sicily* (New York, 1993) (For a concise survey of theories of Southern Italian administrative organization proposed by various authors, see Takayama, 11–24.); P. Skinner, *Family Power in Southern Italy: The Duchy of Gaeta and its Neighbours, 850–1139* (Cambridge, England, 1995); also Skinner, 'Women, wills and wealth in medieval southern Italy', *Early Medieval Europe*, 1 (1993), 133–152; H. Taviani-Carozzi, *La Principauté Lombarde de Salerne (IXe–XIe s.) étude sur le pouvoir* (Rome, 1992); Jean-Marie Martin, *La Pouille du VIe au XIIIe siècle* (Rome, 1993); Wolfgang Jahn, *Untersuchungen zur normannischen Herrschaft in Süditalien (1040–1100)* (Frankfurt, 1989).

*Regno*. Do the sources permit us to know how aware people were of the different ethnic threads which comprised the Kingdom? Or was this cultural tapestry so enmeshed in the character of the South that the individual threads ceased to matter? In sum: how important was a person's ethnic heritage in the *Regno* and for how long did an awareness of ethnic identity endure in the face of constant intermarriage and the passage of time?

At this point it may be necessary to offer some historical background on the circumstances of the Norman presence in Southern Italy and to note the sharp contrast between the actions of the Normans in Italy with the planned and executed invasion of Normans in England in 1066. Some Normans in the South were, in fact, the brothers, uncles, and cousins of the same Normans who conquered England in 1066.<sup>3</sup> Historians are quite comfortable describing as a 'conquest' the efforts of the Normans under King William (The Conqueror)—that is, the military actions that took about six years from start to finish, resulting in the displacement of the ruling class of Anglo-Saxons by the Normans. By comparison, Normans settled in Southern Italy and Sicily in a piecemeal fashion, with the first Normans arriving perhaps as early as the 1010s and still immigrating into the 1080s and 1090s. The Normans eventually insinuated themselves into the highest levels of Southern Italian society through military prowess and clever intermarriage.<sup>4</sup> Because they arrived in Southern Italy in small numbers, they could not attempt a wholesale 'Normanization' or transplantation of their customs and laws in the South.<sup>5</sup> Rather, they assimilated and adapted to their new surroundings, resulting in the preservation in the South of many different religions, languages, political traditions and

<sup>3</sup>For comparisons of the two conquests, see: Charles Homer Haskins, *The Normans in European History*; F. Chalandon, 'The Conquest of South Italy and Sicily by the Normans'; D.C. Douglas, *The Norman Fate 1100–1154* (Berkeley, 1976) and *The Norman Achievement*. (Berkeley, 1969); Antonio Marongiu, 'A Model State in the Middle Ages. The Norman-Hohenstaufen Kingdom of Sicily', 307–321; Takayama, *The Administration*.

<sup>4</sup>The subject of marriage alliances has been examined to some degree in the following works: Ludwig Buisson, 'Le più antiche forme dell'organizzazione politica normanna', in: *I Normanni in Italia*, ed. P. Delogu (Naples, 1984). [trans. from Buisson's 'Formen normannischen Staatsbildung 9. bis ii. Jahrhundert' in *Studien zum mittelalterlichen Lehnswesen (Vorträge und Forschungen 5)*, (Konstanz 1960)], 156–184. See also: Vincenzo D'Alessandro, 'Il nobile', in: *Condizione umana e ruoli sociali nel Mezzogiorno normanno-svevo*, Atti 9 (Atti delle nove giornate normanno-sveve, Bari, 17–20 ottobre 1989), ed. Giosuè Musca (Bari, 1991), 405–421; Pietro De Leo, 'Solidarietà e Rivalità nel clan del Guiscardo (La testimonianza delle cronache coeve)', in: *Roberto il Guiscardo tra Europa, Oriente e Mezzogiorno* (Atti del Convegno internazionale di studio promosso dall'Università degli Studi della Basilicata in occasione del IX centenario della morte di Roberto il Guiscardo, Potenza-Melfi-Venosa, 19–23 ottobre 1985), ed. Cosimo Damiano Fonseca (Galatina, 1990), 147–151; Vera von Falkenhausen, 'I ceti dirigenti prenormanni al tempo della costituzione degli stati normanni nell'Italia meridionale e in Sicilia', (Bologna, 1977), 326ff; G.A. Loud, 'How "Norman"', *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, 25 (1981), 23; F. Chalandon, *Histoire*; Errico Cuzzo, *'Quei Maledetti Normanni' Cavalieri e organizzazione militare nel mezzogiorno normanno* (Naples, 1989). The most recent examination of Campanian intermarriage can be found in Loud's 'Continuity and Change in Norman Italy: The Campania during the eleventh and twelfth centuries', *Journal of Medieval History*, 22 (1996), 325–332. Loud convincingly argues that marriage not only provided a means for the Norman invaders to acquire property in Campania but it also allowed for the 'survival' of Lombard kin groups, 325.

<sup>5</sup>G.A. Loud addresses some similar themes about the endurance (or lack thereof) of *Normanitas* in 'Betrachtungen über die normannische Eroberung Süditaliens', *Forschungen zur Reichs-, Papst- und Landesgeschichte* (Stuttgart, 1998).

social mores. The eminent medievalist, Charles Homer Haskins, even suggested that the Normans lost their identity 'in the general mass'.<sup>6</sup> According to Haskins:

Wherever [the Normans] went, they showed a marvelous power of initiative and of assimilation; if the initiative is more evident in England, the assimilation is more manifest in Sicily. The penalty for such activity is rapid loss of identity; the reward is a large share in the general development of civilization. If the Normans paid the penalty, they also reaped the reward, and they were never more Norman than in adopting the statesmanlike policy of toleration and assimilation which led to their ultimate extinction.<sup>7</sup>

To the limited extent that scholars have examined the specific dynamics of ethnic identity in the medieval *Mezzogiorno*, two contrasting beliefs have been advanced. As a part of his larger thesis that considerable continuity (as opposed to discontinuity) characterised the Norman conquest of Campania, G. A. Loud argued that ethnic distinctions between persons identifying themselves as 'Lombard' or 'Norman' grew less important and less frequent over the course of the twelfth century, principally as the result of intermarriage.<sup>8</sup> When such distinctions did exist, they were 'mark(s) of personal identification, not the demarcation of separate governing and subject castes'.<sup>9</sup> Loud's conclusions were based on an examination of many of the same charters used here, preserved in the archive of the abbey of the Holy Trinity at Cava dei Tirreni, outside Salerno.<sup>10</sup> E. Cuozzo has more recently argued that tensions between the two races definitely existed and even contributed to a significant rebellion in 1161 against King William I. Cuozzo reached his conclusions through an analysis of the accounts of the rebellion in the chronicles of Romuald Guarna, archbishop of Salerno and the anonymous author (who wrote under the pseudonym, Hugo Falcandus) of the *Historia/Liber de Regno Sicilie*.<sup>11</sup> J. Martin, in his initial examination of naming patterns in Southern Italy, further suggests that regional and cultural differences in Lombard and Greek areas were significant between the tenth and thirteenth centuries.<sup>12</sup> Cuozzo, Loud

<sup>6</sup>Charles Homer Haskins, *The Normans in European History*, 224–225.

<sup>7</sup>Haskins, 246–247.

<sup>8</sup>G.A. Loud 'Continuity and Change', 329. Here Loud suggests that Norman/Lombard distinctions were 'relatively unimportant' by 1134 and the last example of such distinctions that he cites dates to 1167. Loud goes on to suggest that intermarriage is responsible for the 'dilution' of such Norman/Lombard distinctions, 329. Some of these issues were raised in Loud's earlier articles: 'How "Norman" was the Norman Conquest of Southern Italy?', and 'The "Gens Normannorum" – Myth or Reality?', *Proceedings of the Battle Conference on Anglo-Norman Studies*, 4 (1981), 104–116. He treats the subject of Norman/Lombard identity and intermarriage much more thoroughly, especially in regards to the Cava documentation, in his 1996 work.

<sup>9</sup>Loud, 'How Norman', 24.

<sup>10</sup>Loud, 'How Norman', 24.

<sup>11</sup>Errico Cuozzo, 'À propos de la coexistence entre Normands et Lombards dans le Royaume de Sicile (La révolte féodale de 1160–1162)', in: *Peuples du Moyen Âge, Problèmes d'identification* (Aix-en-Provence, 1996), 45–56.

<sup>12</sup>J.M. Martin, 'L'Italie méridionale', in: *L'Anthroponymie: Document de L'Histoire Sociale des Mondes Méditerranéens Médiévaux*, ed. M. Bourin (Rome, 1996), 29–39.

and several other historians concur that cultural differences were not so important as to prevent the Norman rulers from incorporating members of the Lombard aristocracy into the Norman political structure and working side by side.<sup>13</sup>

Although scholars have scarcely examined issues of identity and ethnicity in Southern Italy, by comparison, the subject in other medieval 'frontier' regions has inspired considerable and growing interest.<sup>14</sup> In this field scholars have explored the dynamic of contact and separation, of cultural exchange and resistance in such frontier regions as Spain, England/Scotland, England/Wales, and England/Ireland. Particular studies have examined the cultural impact of the so-called 'aristocratic diaspora' which seemed to occur during the High Middle Ages in various parts of Europe.<sup>15</sup>

In many ways the situation in Southern Italy and Sicily mirrors developments in other frontier areas. I hope that this study will contribute to the scholarly conversation by offering detail to the sketchy picture of Southern Italy as a frontier region. This examination of identity focuses on naming practices in Southern Italy and what they reveal about attitudes towards self-definition and possibly conquest. The issue of ethnic identity in Southern Italy emerged from my work on family structure based on the systematic analysis of the 3,000-plus charters extant for the period c.1050–c.1200 contained in the archive at the Cava dei Tirreni abbey. These charters record property transactions that relate to the abbey and its neighbours and include sales, pious donations, leases, wills, marriage contracts, exchanges and disputes.<sup>16</sup> The documents further include the names of the various parties to such deals, from the donor to the recipient (lay or ecclesiastical), from the family members who witnessed the agreements to the community members who officially guaranteed the successful completion of the

<sup>13</sup>The integrated Norman and Lombard composition of noble retinues forms part of the discussion of the Appendix to Chapter 1 of my 1996 Brown University doctoral dissertation: *Marriage, Kinship and Power: Family Structure in the Principality of Salerno under Norman Rule, 1077–1154*. See also Cuozzo, 'À propos', and his '“Milites” e “Testes” nella contea normanna di Principato', *Bullettino dell'Istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo*, 88 (1979), 121–163; Takayama, *The Administration*; G.A. Loud, 'Continuity and Change'.

<sup>14</sup>For a general overview on the subject, see Robert Bartlett, *The Making of Europe, Conquest, Colonization and Cultural Change, 950–1350* (Princeton, 1993). Also, *Medieval Frontier Societies*, ed. Robert Bartlett and Angus MacKay (Oxford, 1989), in particular: Geoffrey Barrow, 'Frontier and Settlement: Which Influenced Which? England and Scotland, 1100–1300' (3–21); Robert Bartlett, 'Colonial Aristocracies of the High Middle Ages' (23–47); Robert Burns, 'The Significance of the Frontier in the Middle Ages' (307–330); Manuel Jimenez, 'Frontier and Settlement in the Kingdom of Castile (1085–1350)' (49–74). Also, Patrick Geary, 'Ethnic identity as a situational construct in the early middle ages', *Mitteilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien*, 113 (1983), 15–26, and *Aristocracy in Provence The Rhône Basin at the Dawn of the Carolingian Age* (Philadelphia, 1985).

On the subject of English identity: J.C. Holt, 'Family Nomenclature and the Norman Conquest', originally the Stenton Lecture at the University of Reading, 1981, now collected in an anthology of Holt's articles, *Colonial England, 1066–1215* (London, 1997), 179–196; Sarah Foot, 'The Making of ANGELCYN: English Identity Before the Norman Conquest', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6<sup>th</sup> ser., 6 (1996), 25–51; and R.R. Davies, 'Presidential Address: The Peoples of Britain and Ireland, 1100–1400, Identities', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6<sup>th</sup> ser., 4 (1994), 1–21.

<sup>15</sup>Bartlett, 'Colonial Aristocracies', 24–25; this subject has yet to be explored for Southern Italy.

<sup>16</sup>For a further discussion of the use of similar charter sources, see Barbara Rosenwein, *To Be the Neighbor of St. Peter: The Social Meaning of Cluny's Property, 909–1049* (Ithaca and New York, 1989).

transaction.<sup>17</sup> The thousands of names recorded in the Cava dei Tirreni charters provide insight into the naming practices of the time, that is how the various figures whose activities were recorded in a charter identified themselves or wished to be identified by the notary. Significantly for the purpose of this study, such naming practices yield a wealth of genealogical detail which, in turn, reveal some remarkable patterns. To paraphrase J.C. Holt, nomenclature can guide us to a 'sense of history' expressed by contemporaries.<sup>18</sup>

The examination of the charters offers a new avenue with which to explore the issue of identity in medieval Southern Italy. This paper argues that juxtaposed against the obvious manifestations of cultural intersection in the Kingdom of Southern Italy and Sicily was a resilient and self-conscious individual identity among both the new and indigenous peoples that endured long after the so-called 'Norman conquest' of the region. How and why people chose (or chose not) to emphasise their cultural links – often to a distant ancestral past – and what this phenomenon suggests about the political climate of this unified 'state' forms the basis for this inquiry. Of particular interest is the distinction between Lombards and Normans in the Principality of Salerno and the Campania but where appropriate I will draw on examples from the whole of the *Regno*. I propose a modification of previous theories – particularly Haskins' and Loud's – to recognize a subtle resistance to cultural absorption by both the new settlers and the locals as expressed through the memory of forebears. The 'ultimate extinction' of the Normans [this is another Haskins phrase] – or of any other resident ethnic group in the medieval *Mezzogiorno* – did not occur during the Norman period where past generations were kept visible and through them the myriad cultures which comprised the *Regno*.

Recently, the study of how people articulated their relationships to their ancestors, and more specifically, how people used ancestral ties to express current status has received much attention.<sup>19</sup> Historians have examined the concept of lineage and ancestral memory as part of larger investigations of family structure and kinship. They have studied how far back ancestral memory extended, through whom kinship was traced, and whether one gender was favoured over the other. Scholars of the family have particularly sought to understand what is revealed about a society that emphasised some ancestral ties, but not others. The evidence for ancestral memory is intriguing for it reveals differences not only in self-perception among the Lombard and Norman populations but also in attitudes towards the political changes which occurred after the arrival of the Normans.

To students of the medieval family, the genealogical characteristics of the nobility in

<sup>17</sup> A volume of articles has recently been published following a 1994 conference on medieval Mediterranean naming practices: *L'Anthroponymie: Document de L'Histoire Sociale des Mondes Méditerranéens Médiévaux* (Actes du colloque international organisé par l'École française de Rome avec le concours du GDR 955 du C.N.R.S. 'Genèse médiévale de l'anthroponymie moderne') (Rome, 1996); for Southern Italy see articles by E. Cuzzo and J.M. Martin

<sup>18</sup> J.C. Holt, 'Family Nomenclature', 183. Holt concludes this article by remarking, 'Names are not aseptic, cinerary remains. They are rich fruit, left by our ancestors. If subjected to the right pressures they will yield much rich juice to the historian', 196.

<sup>19</sup> James Fentress and Chris Wickham, *Social Memory* (Oxford, 1992); Karl Leyser, 'The German Aristocracy from the Ninth to the Early Twelfth Century: A Historical and Cultural Sketch', *Past and Present*, 41 (1968), 33–34; Geary, *Phantoms*, especially 177; Duby, 'The Structure of Kinship and Nobility', *Chivalrous Society* (Berkeley, 1977), especially 134, 146. Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory* (Cambridge, England, 1990).

at least one city in Campania, Amalfi, are well-known.<sup>20</sup> It was customary for the notaries of Amalfi to record extensive genealogies of the participants in a variety of transactions. According to Mario del Treppo, this remarkable expression of ancestry indicated a 'strong consciousness of family unity, continuity...and the antiquity of one's origins'.<sup>21</sup> In Amalfi, the genealogical memory could extend back seven or eight generations, averaging at about four generations, as this example, from 1139, illustrates: 'Pantaleone son of Sergius son of Maurus son of Count Maurus'.<sup>22</sup> Medieval Amalfi, however, turns out to be an exceptional case; such recollection of ancestry along the lines of the Amalfitan model was comparatively rare among the inhabitants of other Campanian cities, as well as for the rest of Southern Italy.<sup>23</sup> In the Principality of Salerno, specifically, most often the sources tell us someone's first name and who his (and less often her) father was. This practice was characteristic of the region since the ninth century.<sup>24</sup> For example the majority of people identified themselves or were identified along the lines of 'Maius, son of John',<sup>25</sup> or, at a much more exalted social level, 'Henry, son of Roger of San Severino'.<sup>26</sup> Though people rarely traced their genealogy further back than one generation, there were numerous exceptions to this practice. In my examination of the Campanian charters two distinct naming patterns became apparent, both of them relating to ancestral memory: one which I call generational memory, the other, ethnic memory. It is these instances when people identify themselves by invoking distant ancestors and family honours which offer clues to a contemporary consciousness of and regard for cultural heritage.

## 1. Generational memory

Those people who traced their genealogy back farther than one generation were mostly of Lombard origin. The direct male heirs of the Lombard princely family of Salerno – and some collateral heirs as well – were one kin group with a very distinctive practice for expressing names. They almost always listed their family genealogy dating back several generations. It would appear to have been customary to trace the family back to Prince Guaimar III (d. 1017) and sometimes even to Prince Guaimar's father,

<sup>20</sup>David Herlihy, *Medieval Households* (Cambridge, MA, 1985), 46–47; Taviani, *La Principauté*; Skinner, *Family Power*, 127.

<sup>21</sup>Del Treppo, *Amalfi Medievale*, 96.

<sup>22</sup>Del Treppo, *Amalfi Medievale*, 111, 118.

<sup>23</sup>Del Treppo noted that Amalfitani outside of Amalfi would still rigorously include their genealogies in transactions. However I have found no example of this from the Campanian charters that is out of the ordinary. It would be useful to examine the *Codice Diplomatico Amalfitano*, ed. R. Filangieri di Candida (Naples, 1917). Skinner also examines naming practices for the Duchy of Gaeta, Amalfi and Naples and suggests that Gaetans, in particular, manipulated the past for genealogical purposes. Skinner, *Family Power*, 126ff.

<sup>24</sup>For the pre-ducial period, see Taviani, 732–733 for the practice of naming counts in a lineage but also on more general Lombard naming practices.

<sup>25</sup>The Manuscript Collection of the Archive of the Holy Trinity, Abbazia di S. Trinità, Cava dei Tirreni: Cava XVII, 117 (1104). The Archive is divided into the *Armarii Magni* (identified with capital letters, followed by arabic numerals) and the *Arcae* (identified with Roman numerals, followed by arabic numerals). In this paper I will use the simple form adopted by most scholars of the archive.

<sup>26</sup>Cava F, 36 (1125).

Prince John (d. 999). For example, a charter from 1098 refers to ‘Guaimar son of Pandulfus son of *dominus* prince Guaimar son of *dominus* prince John’<sup>27</sup> and a charter from 1118 (which contains a transcription of an earlier charter from 1112) mentions ‘*dominus* Gregory son of *dominus* Pandulfus son of Prince Guaimar’.<sup>28</sup> Five charters of donation to the Church of St Nicolas in Capaccio made by different people, recorded by at least three different notaries, and dating from 1115–1138, all declared that the Church itself was held by ‘*dominus* Gregory son of *dominus* Pandulfus son of *dominus* prince Guaimar’.<sup>29</sup> Moreover, there are twenty-two charters, spanning fifty years, which mention men probably linked to the princely family of Salerno.<sup>30</sup> This practice held true for female as well as male members of the princely family – some daughters of the princely family recalled their princely lineage, or their association with the descent group by marriage. For example, Gaytelgrima, the widow of Guaimar II of Giffoni, is called in one charter ‘Gaytelgrima, widow of Guaymar son of Guaymar (I) son of *dominus* Duke Guido son of *dominus* Prince Guaymar(III)’.<sup>31</sup> Although this charter notes Gaytelgrima’s ties through marriage to the Lombard family, in contrast, another charter describes Mabilia, the daughter of Guaimar I of Giffoni in terms of her father: ‘Mabilia daughter of *dominus* Guaymar son of Guido son of Prince Guaymar(III)’.<sup>32</sup> When Mabilia had this charter redacted in 1122 (a confirmation of her mother Sikelgarda’s earlier donation of lands to the Cava monastery), she was probably married to her second husband, Simon the Norman called Tibilla (de Théville).<sup>33</sup> It is significant that she emphasised her parental ancestry, not that of her husband, in contrast to the earlier example of Gaytelgrima who mentioned only her husband’s ancestry. It is not clear, therefore, what concerns, if any, might have motivated Mabilia in this instance. In 1122 she may have been better served in some way by noting her Lombard connections over her husband’s. (We know that a decade later her husband was a well-regarded companion of Roger II who had served in the campaign to take Apulia.<sup>34</sup>) It should be noted that a clear pattern of lineage identification for women – that is, lineage in terms of parents, husbands or both – has yet to emerge. While more work remains to be done on this question, it is most likely that the declaration of descent may have to do with the provenance of properties. In the case of Gaytelgrima, the charter in which she is described in terms of her husband’s lineage involves the donation of lands that originally belonged to her husband, Guaimar, to the monastery of Cava.<sup>35</sup> By comparison, Mabilia

<sup>27</sup>Cava XVI,86 (1098).

<sup>28</sup>Cava XX,116 (1118).

<sup>29</sup>Cava XX,14 (1115); XX,52 (1116); XXIII,21 (1132); XXIII,24 (1133); XXIV,50 (1138).

<sup>30</sup>Consistently the charters of Guaimar I of Giffone, ‘son of *dominus* duke Guido son of Prince Guaimar III’, [Cava D,9 (1096); D,13 (1097); C,29 (1091); F,28 (1124).] Gregory of Capaccio, ‘son of Pandulfus son of Prince Guaimar’, [Cava C,33 (1092); C,34 (1092); XIX,17 (1111); XX,116 (1118)] Guaimar II of Giffone, ‘son of Guaimar son of *dominus* duke Guido’, [Cava E,10 (1110); E,13 (1110)] Guaimar of Capaccio, ‘son of Pandulfus son of Guaimar (III) son of Prince John’, [Cava XVI,86 (1098)] and Jordan lord of Corneto, ‘son of *dominus* Pandulfus son of Prince Guaimar(III)’ [Cava G,24 (1137)] catalogued the lengthy and distinguished ancestry of their Lombard forbears in their names.

<sup>31</sup>Cava F,29 (1124).

<sup>32</sup>Cava F,21 (1122).

<sup>33</sup>Loud, ‘Continuity and Change’, 331.

<sup>34</sup>*Catalogus Baronum: Commentario*, ed. E. Cuozzo (Rome, 1984), 187–188 (#701).

<sup>35</sup>Cava F, 29 (1124)



alienated lands that belonged to her mother which perhaps explains why she identified herself or was identified by the notary in terms of her blood family. Taken as a whole, the evidence indicates that for more than two generations after the Normans seized control in the Principality there was some value associated with linking oneself with the Lombard princely family and invoking their memory through the articulation of lineage.

The above example of Mabilia further illustrates how, despite intermarriage with the Normans, Lombard families preserved the memory of their Lombard past. This lends credence to the view advanced by Loud and others that the Norman settlement in Southern Italy did not result in a full-scale replacement of Lombard practices or traditions with Norman ones.<sup>36</sup> The deliberate intermarriage of the few Norman warriors with the indigenous Lombards did not extinguish the Lombard sense of genealogy.

It was not only the direct descendants of the Lombard princely family who continued to emphasise their family line across the generations. A distinctive naming pattern in the charters suggests that well into the later twelfth century, people of non-royal and probably Lombard descent made deliberate efforts to recall a more distinguished time in their family's past. It has already been noted that the charters rarely identified people with a name that traced genealogy back farther than one generation (e.g. 'John son of John of Salerno'). But those occasions where genealogy was traced back farther than one generation share a remarkable characteristic: from c. 1077–c.1200, in every instance in the Principality of Salerno where a name traced genealogical ascent back more than one generation, the name included an ancestor designated with a title, most commonly, 'count'.<sup>37</sup> Examples include, from 1116, 'John son of Guaimar son of count Guaimar',<sup>38</sup> and from 1139, 'Guido and William brothers, and sons of Alfanus son of count Ademarius'.<sup>39</sup> Several lengthier examples from later dates include 'Drogo son of Drogo who was the son of Peter son of count Albertus' from 1162<sup>40</sup> and 'Bartholomeus son of John who was called Sarracenus and was son of count Lambertus' in 1180.<sup>41</sup> (In some cases, the count named at least two generations back was a member of the Lombard princely descent group.<sup>42</sup>) I have argued elsewhere that 'count' was a term of status among the Lombards, not a territorial designation and that, by comparison, most twelfth-century counts in the Principality of Salerno were territorial counts of Norman descent.<sup>43</sup> In these examples it seems clear that lineage was being used as a tool to express status – though it was a status from an earlier time when the Principality of Salerno was under the territorial and political control of the late tenth- and early eleventh-century Lombards.

Other naming patterns in the charters further reveal the significance of 'counts' in

<sup>36</sup>In the Principality of Salerno the Lombard ruling family was thoroughly incorporated into the Norman-led ruling structure with most of the Lombards retaining their tenurial rights. Cf. Loud, 'Continuity and Change', 324–333.

<sup>37</sup>See Drell, 1996 dissertation, Appendix 3 for a complete list of the charters which contain the names of persons linked with a count in their ancestry.

<sup>38</sup>Cava, XX,49 (1116).

<sup>39</sup>Cava, XXIV,75 (1139).

<sup>40</sup>Cava, XXX,116 (1162).

<sup>41</sup>Cava, XXXVII,28 (1180).

<sup>42</sup>See Drell, 1996 dissertation, Appendix 2.

<sup>43</sup>See Drell, 1996 dissertation, chapter 1, 39–47.

exclusively Lombard ancestral memory. In the Principality of Salerno, in the period from 1101 to 1148, there are numerous references to men and women who named a 'count' among their ancestors when they listed their ascent back just one generation, 'X' son/daughter of count 'Y'.<sup>44</sup> If personal names are any indication, the vast majority seem to refer to people of Lombard comital descent.

At this point the issue of what personal names were Norman or Lombard needs to be addressed. Quite simply, the issue of names for Southern Italy – especially during the Norman period – is complex and perhaps ultimately an exercise in frustration.<sup>45</sup> Inter-marriage between the Normans and Lombards was extensive enough to make the identification of purely 'Norman' or 'Lombard' names after about 1100 impossible.<sup>46</sup> There are some names which were originally only used among the Lombard peoples, such as 'Grimoald,' and 'Adelbertus,' but as time passed, the Normans introduced new names into the region, such as William and Matilda. G.A. Loud has argued that people began to give their children the names of the conquerors in an attempt 'to fit into the accepted social structure and emphasise their links with the invaders'.<sup>47</sup> A Salerno charter from 1136 described an earlier (1134) donation to the abbey at Cava made by 'Simon son of Gloriosus son of count Pandulfus'.<sup>48</sup> 'Simon' was a typical Norman name while 'Pandulfus' was a Lombard name. The Novi branch of the Capaccio family present an unusual example when they mixed Lombard and Norman names in the family: Pandulfus of Capaccio had two sons, one with the Norman name of William (he became William de Mannia) and another with the Lombard name of Gisulf.<sup>49</sup> At the least, Lombard naming practices offer an intriguing picture of contemporary attitudes towards the Norman presence in the South.

Perhaps more significant than the evidence of personal names is the fact that in these cases where 'X' is the son or daughter of 'Count Y', none of the counts mentioned appeared to be territorial counts of the Norman variety.<sup>50</sup> It is probable, therefore, that

<sup>44</sup>Some examples include (these are not all the examples from the Cava charters I have examined) XVIII,1 (1106); XVIII,69 (1109); XIX,119(1114); XIX,85 (1113); XXII,85 (1129); XXIII,93 (1135); XXV,38 (1143).

<sup>45</sup>J.M. Martin's 'L'Italie méridionale' is the most recent work that explores this issue.

<sup>46</sup>Loud, 'How "Norman"': 'beyond this date (1100) nomenclature may not be a safe guide to race...These habits of nomenclature testify to the influence of the conquerors on the social mores of the local population', 21–22.

<sup>47</sup>Loud, 'How "Norman"', 22.

<sup>48</sup>Cava XXIV,6 (1136).

<sup>49</sup>Cava G,12 (1134). See also Cava XXIV,60 (1139) and XXIV,75 (1140). Loud has performed a painstaking and valuable service by reconstructing the 'de Mannia' kin group, in 'Continuity', 326.

<sup>50</sup>The roles of counts and the distinction between Norman and Lombard counts are issues of some scholarly studies. For both the Norman and pre-Norman period, the title of 'count' was a mark of status. According to Taviani, for pre-Norman Salerno, 'count' was most likely an honorary title, lacking in any administrative function (Taviani, *La Principauté*, 725ff). The Norman period witnessed significant increase in the real status of counts. This is seen by the increase in references among the Cava charters to territorial counts, that is, counts who were 'the count of' an area. Examples include 'count Richard of the Normans' (Cava XX,27 (1115)) and the 'Count of the *casale* of Tusciano' (Cava XXIII, 70 (1134)). Not only did the actual power or territorial control of counts appear to have increased during this period, but also the number of counts increased from the early decades of the twelfth century. This may reflect a territorial reorganization advanced by Roger II, as Cuozzo has argued, though much work remains to be done on this question. Studies that investigate these issues include the following: Cuozzo, *Quei Maledetti Normanni' Cavalieri e organizzazione militare nel mezzogiorno normanno*. (Naples, 1988); Jamison, 'Additional', 22; Chalandon, *Histoire*, vol. 2, 567–68.

most of the counts referred to in these ancestral declarations were Lombards or of Lombard descent. If so, this offers further evidence of the manner in which Lombards emphasised their links to past power, perhaps to enhance their present status.<sup>51</sup>

In sharp contrast to the Lombard practices described above, those charters redacted by Normans in the South – including the most important lords of Eboli, San Severino, and the counts of the Principate – did not record personal genealogies beyond one generation. They noted only their fathers, if anyone at all. This is most likely due to the fact that their origins in Normandy were not particularly distinguished.<sup>52</sup> Tancred of Hauteville, the progenitor of the descent group that produced Robert Guiscard and Roger II, was himself a Norman lord of moderate means. For comparative reasons, it would be valuable to know how the first Normans in England identified themselves shortly after their clear victory over the Anglo-Saxons.

To summarise the evidence to this point, the naming patterns in the Principality strongly suggest that among people of Lombard descent, a significant effort was made to reinforce their ties with their Lombard past in the permanent record that was a charter. This was a distinctly Lombard practice that endured into the 1180s<sup>53</sup> in spite of the culturally mixed and intermarried character of the *Regno*. Moreover, this was not a practice adopted by people of Norman descent. An awareness of ancestry – in this case status and cultural heritage – seems to have existed only among Lombard descendants.<sup>54</sup>

Naturally, this begs the question of *why* people felt it necessary to look to a Lombard past even one hundred years after the Lombards lost control over the region. Scholars have argued that a sign of nobility in the Middle Ages was a consciousness of lineage

<sup>51</sup>While I have argued elsewhere that charters most often recorded agnatic descent, an exception to this pattern may support my hypothesis concerning Lombard memory practices. Two charters, from among those which probably included matronymics, mentioned 'Peter de Maralda son of John de Comitissa'. [Cava XX,82 (1117); XX,110 (1118)]. It is further possible that 'de Comitissa' suggests a toponym as opposed to a matronymic. I have not found evidence for this, however. Although this is an isolated example and there is no way of knowing if it referred to a family of Lombard or Norman descent, it does reveal the occasional definition of lineage through the female line; in this case, however, the female line is distinguished by the title of 'countess'. With the exception of the Lombard princely family, this is one of only a few examples where both father (John de Comitissa) and son (Peter de Maralda) identified themselves through the same ancestor. There may be one other example: three charters dating from 1106 to 1117 mentioned 'Leo son of John from Amalfi de Constantina' as either witness or guarantor to someone else's transaction. [Cava XVIII,40 (1106) Leo is a witness; XVIII,107 (1109) Leo is a guarantor; XX,89 (1116) Leo is a guarantor.] Leo is a mystery, save for the family relationships expressed in his charters. A charter from 1136 described a land sale made by 'Ursus son of Leo son of John de Constantina'. [XXIII,117 (1136) Ursus sold lands to Peter son of Nicholas – all four charters were recorded] 'Constantina' in this charter might be a reference to a female ancestry; it might also be a place name or a family name. Nonetheless, if the four 'Leo son of John de Constantina' were the same person and Ursus was his son, then the genealogical memory of 'Constantina' endured three generations. As noted previously, it was most common for people to have a genealogical memory that extended to one generation only. It is likely that once again, the link to a prominent ancestor, in this case a woman (a countess), served to underscore or perhaps to confer family status.

<sup>52</sup>Many of the Normans in the South were younger sons trying to make their fortunes.

<sup>53</sup>For example: Cava XXX,116 (1162), XXXIII,12 (1164), XXXIII,86 (1171), XXXVII,28 (1180), XL,47 (1185).

I have recently come across a charter from 1236 which cites a man '---' son of '---' son of '---' son of a Beneventan count. The Lombards controlled the Principality of Benevento as they did the Principality of Salerno. Cava XLIX, 54 (1236).

<sup>54</sup>Cf. J.M.Martin, 'L'Italie méridionale', 39.

and ancestral ties.<sup>55</sup> Among people of Lombard descent in the Principality of Salerno, there was clearly great significance attached to the articulation of noble ascent. Did the Lombards perceive a need to legitimize their current status by linking themselves to distinguished ancestors? Or was it an attempt to reinforce existing status in a changing political climate created by the advent of Norman rule? Despite E. Cuozzo's recent suggestions to the contrary, there is no evidence to suggest that an ethnically Lombard group in any area (apart from earlier incidences in the fractious Benevento) was devising an overthrow of the *Regno*.<sup>56</sup> Salerno itself was among the most loyal cities to the Southern Italian Kings during the twelfth century and rarely a source of conflict for the *Regno*. There does not appear to have been an immediate political trigger to motivate the lineage-strategy of the Lombards. It is most likely that Lombard descendants, even in this culturally blended area, desired to 'emphasise their links' with their forbears in an effort to reaffirm their connections with a more illustrious time in their family histories, before the Normans had conquered their territories.

## 2. Ethnic memory

The expression of ancestral status was not the only way that people of Lombard or even Norman descent advertised their heritage. The nomenclature of the charters and of other sources, including the chronicles, offers even more direct evidence of an enduring consciousness of ethnic distinctions in the *Mezzogiorno*. The most direct means was to call oneself 'the Norman' or 'the Lombard'.

As early as the 1070s, when Norman dominance in the Lombard Principality of Salerno began, the politics of ethnicity figured prominently. It is well-known that the great Norman warrior, Robert Guiscard, repudiated his Norman wife to marry a Lombard princess, Sichelgaita, and used this connection to ally himself with the Lombard princely family. This mixture of ethnicities created tensions during Robert's conquest in 1077 of Salerno, the city ruled by his Lombard brother-in-law, Gisulf (Sichelgaita's brother). According to a chronicle account, when the two brothers-in-law met one night, near a rock, during the battle, Robert tried to make peace with Prince Gisulf. He appealed to him as his kinsman to become his ally. But Gisulf would have none of it, and urged Robert to favour his Lombard rather than his Norman ancestry:

[Gisulf speaks:] You have made me to be scorned before the whole world; and I suffer destruction, both me and my people. You should not pay attention to your Norman kinship but to your kinship with me, we who were joined together...<sup>57</sup>

Some time later, after Robert had successfully conquered Salerno, and made peace with

<sup>55</sup>Leyser, 32–33; Maurice Keen, *Chivalry* (New Haven, 1984), 143. Anthropologist Marshall Sahlins stated that 'by traditional definition, commoners are people who cannot trace their genealogies beyond their grandparents', *Islands of History* (Chicago, 1985), 25.

<sup>56</sup>Cuozzo, 'À propos'.

<sup>57</sup>Amatus of Montecassino, *Ystoire de li Normani*, in: *Storia dei Normani di Amato di Montecassino*, book VIII, ch. 27, ed. Vincenzo de Bartholomaeis (Rome, 1935).

the Lombards, his son, Duke Roger, was roundly criticized by a pro-Norman, anti-Lombard chronicler, Geoffrey Malaterra, for giving fair treatment and important responsibilities to both Lombards and Normans alike:

[Roger Borsa, as a ruler in the South] treated Lombards equally with Normans since he himself was from the former's people on his mother's side, and believing them faithful to him .... he entrusted castles to them to guard just as he did to Normans.<sup>58</sup>

This passage reveals not only the prejudices of its author, but also how Duke Roger clearly recognised and even benefited from his diverse ethnic background. He certainly stood to gain political advantage in an ethnically mixed region by acknowledging, in particular, his mother's Lombard origins. Duke Roger, like his father before him, recognised the political influence of his maternal, Lombard ancestry and therefore placed his maternal ancestry on the same level with his paternal Norman ascent.

Such distinctions between Normans and Lombards during a time of war when dynastic issues and political marriages could determine leadership are understandable. More difficult to explain is the way that people continued to refer in various ways to their Norman or Lombard heritage in the charters of the Principality of Salerno, well into the 1170s.<sup>59</sup> Someone might not only invoke his father's name, but he might also recall that his father was a Norman, for example, from 1118, 'Adam son of Gilbert the Norman of Castellum S. Georgio'<sup>60</sup> or, from 1145, 'Robert Mustazza, son of William the Norman'.<sup>61</sup> The charter evidence indicates that Lombards and Normans were recognized as totally different *gentes* or races.<sup>62</sup> One charter from 1166 mentions *dominus* William son of *dominus* Tutayni (?) *qui fuit ortus ex genere longobardorum*<sup>63</sup> while a charter from 1127 mentions Alberada the widow of William *qui fuit ortus ex genere francorum*.<sup>64</sup> Furthermore, the distinction between the two *gentes* is recognized in

<sup>58</sup>Geoffrey Malaterra, *De rebus gestis Rogerii Calabriae et Siciliae comites et Roberti Guiscardi ducis, fratris eius*, book IV, ch. 24, 102, ed. Ernesto Pontieri *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, 1 (1928). The translation is G.A. Loud's.

<sup>59</sup>The charters which make specific reference to Norman ethnicity include:

Cava: XV,20 (1090); XVI,3 (1094); XVI,59 (1096); XVII,65 (1103); XVII,84 (1103); XVIII,27 (1105); XIX,82 (1113); XX,27 (1115); XX,33 (1115); XX,66 (1117); XX,72 (1117); XX,108 (1118); XX,112 (1118); XX,118 (1118); XXI,1 (1118); XXI,5 (1118); XXI,28 (1120); XXII,4 (1125); XXII,8 (1126); XXII,80 (1129); XXII,89 (1129); XXIII,52 (1133); XXIII,88 (1134); XXV,3 (1141); XXV,38 (1142); XXV,40 (1142); XXVI,9 (1145); XXVI,49 (1146); XXXII,115 (1168); XXXIV,6 (1171); XXXIV,9 (1171); XXXVII, 56 (1180); XLII,96 (1191).

Also, from the archive of the Holy Trinity, S.S. Abbazia di Montevergine, contained in *Codice Diplomatico Verginiano*, ed. P.M. Tropeano (Montevergine, 1981–92) 10 vols.: MVI,90 (1095); MVI,99 (1102); MVII,100 (1102); MVII,103 (1102); MVII,104 (1102); MVII,105 (1102); MVII,121 (1112); MVII,175 (1129); MVII,190 (1130); MVIII,244 (1137); MVIII,263 (1140); MVIII,267 (1141).

<sup>60</sup>Cava XX,113 (1118).

<sup>61</sup>Cava XXVI,9; other charters about Robert Mustazza include XXV,3 (1142); XXV,38 (1143); XXV,40 (1142); L,2 (1183).

<sup>62</sup>For a discussion of the meaning of the term *gens* see Loud, 'Gens Normannorum', 110,111.

<sup>63</sup>Cava, H,44 (1166). It is interesting to note here that William and Tutaynus (?) are Norman names, yet as late as 1166 they relate themselves to the Lombard race. This is probably a good example of the thorough infiltration of Norman names into Southern Italy by this time.

<sup>64</sup>Cava, F,39 (1127)

charter invocations as late as 1184 when a lord addressed ‘all our [his] Norman and Lombard *fideles*’.<sup>65</sup> This type of invocation appears a few times about one century earlier but is comparatively rare in the later period.<sup>66</sup> Once again, the evidence reveals a persistent if not dominant consciousness of ethnic distinctions as late as the 1180s in the Principality. While I agree with Loud that the incidences of identifying oneself with ‘Normans’ or ‘Lombards’ decreased over time, the survival of even a few references is significant.

Overall, more people explicitly recalled their Norman ancestry than Lombard. Among the extant charters, the majority of ‘Norman’ references were recorded between the dates of 1100 and c.1130. The chronological breakdown of the forty-five charters, 1090–1191, which make specific reference to Norman ethnicity, is as follows:<sup>67</sup>

Dates	# of charters
1090–1100	4
1101–1130	26
1131–1161	10
1161–1191	5

It is quite remarkable that the first three decades of the twelfth century reveal the most concentrated number of examples where people championed their Norman ancestry. By this time, the second and even third generation of Norman descendants were in positions of power in the South – and expanding that power rapidly. This was certainly the period when Duke Roger (later King Roger II) united both Normans and Lombardo-Normans alike, along with all the disparate peoples and small kingdoms of Southern Italy and Sicily under his one rule. It is simply not clear whether a recognition of Norman ethnicity was a product of pride or an attempt to elevate status at the moment when the Normans were gaining ever-more control. As is well-known, the number of Normans who emigrated to the South was small compared to the indigenous population they encountered.<sup>68</sup> The emphasis of Norman ancestry in the first third of the twelfth century was perhaps an attempt to distinguish themselves from the subject Lombard peoples and to recall the memory of their own Norman/conquest heritage at a time when distinctions between Normans and Lombards were disappearing after three to four decades of intermarriage.<sup>69</sup>

### 3. Conclusions

The evidence for ethnic and generational memory among Normans and Lombards reveals that ethnic awareness remained important in the Principality, long after the

<sup>65</sup>Cava L,8 (1184)

<sup>66</sup>Emma of Eboli Cava B,21 (1082) and B, 22 (1082); also the San Severino family, Cava D,38 (1101) – perhaps also C, 14 (1087??).

<sup>67</sup>See note 59 above.

<sup>68</sup>L. R. Ménager, ‘Inventaire des Familles Normands et Franques émigrées en Italie Méridionale et en Sicilie (XI–XII Siècles)’, in: *Hommes et Institutions de l’Italie Normande* (London, 1981).

<sup>69</sup>On the subject of intermarriage in the South, see Loud ‘How “Norman”’, 23ff.

conquest of Salerno in 1077 and after intermarriage would seem to have blurred any distinctions. Cultural resistance survived, even late into the twelfth century. The Lombards employed various means to remember an illustrious heritage, for example, their links with titled ancestors. Among the truly noble kin groups of the Principality, only the descendants of the Lombard princely family articulated their full lineage. This practice continued well into the twelfth century when many of them were in high positions of power in the Norman administration and had been intermarried with the Normans for decades.<sup>70</sup> The Lombard practice of recalling their titled ancestors distinguished them clearly as Lombards and rendered their generational memory synonymous with ethnic memory. By comparison, such expression of ancestral memory was not characteristic of Normans of any rank. The Normans who came to the South were not of particularly noble origin and probably did not have several generations of aristocratic ascent to remember. In other words, a lengthy lineage would not have enhanced their status. When Normans, who were outnumbered despite their position of authority, did declare their heritage, e.g. 'William the Norman', this may have been an attempt to keep alive the more recent memory of their conquering forbears. Ethnic and generational memory in the Principality of Salerno thus emerge as strategies more often used by Lombards than Normans. A key question is whether the recollection of lineage indicates actual status or a desire for status. The lineage practices revealed here suggest that both Lombards and Normans struggled to legitimise their claims to the Principality – though for the Lombards it was a past claim and for the Normans it was a more recently-acquired right. The politics of lineage could be valuable tools for different groups to justify or emphasise their links to power: both their ancestral status and the status to which they aspired.

In sum, the long-acknowledged culturally syncretic character of *Mezzogiorno* institutions also existed on the more personal and individual level in the Principality of Salerno. People were aware of their own identity before the new unifying structures of the *Regno*. Perhaps no one better than King Roger II himself recognized the importance of his kingdom's cultural diversity. He balanced cultural heterogeneity and political unity and he encouraged the mixture of cultural traditions that flourished in his kingdom. Nowhere is that more apparent than in his attitude towards the law in the *Regno* which serves to illustrate one final point about the endurance of Lombard cultural identity in the South.

Roger maintained strict control over the law in his kingdom by retaining all the traditional laws of his subject peoples. In the early 1140s he issued a law code (commonly, though incorrectly referred to as the *Assises of Ariano*), which he introduced by stating:

We order that the laws newly promulgated...should be fully observed by all. Because of the variety of different people subject to our rule, the usages, customs and laws which have existed among them up to now are not abrogated unless what is observed in them is clearly in contradiction to our edicts here.<sup>71</sup>

<sup>70</sup>See note 11 above.

<sup>71</sup>*Codice Vaticano*, N. 8782, Fond. Lat. Edited in: *Il Diritto Romano nelle leggi normanno e Sveve del Regno di Sicilia*, ed. Francesco Brandileone (Turin, 1884, repr. 1982), 95–96 (trans. Loud).

Owing to Roger's actions, the most enduring monument to the resilience of a Lombard heritage at least in the Principality of Salerno was the continued use of Lombard Law. References to performing a transaction or respecting custom 'according to the law of the Lombards' were commonplace through the 1140s and still appeared with some frequency as late as 1196.<sup>72</sup> The charters further reveal that long after the mid-twelfth century, Lombard Law practices were still being observed if not explicitly referred to, especially as regards women and property management – for example, references to the *morgincaph*, *mundium*, and *mundwald* persist throughout this period. In keeping with the variety of customs inherent in Roger's kingdom, the documents also make constant reference to Roman Law as well as specific regional customary practices – on a few occasions even to Norman customs.<sup>73</sup>

It is probably thanks to Roger's tolerance of the variety of local customs in his kingdom that there were no successful rebellions during his reign and the people of the South continued to identify themselves as Norman or Lombard, sometimes even Greek until the end of the twelfth century. An autonomy of identity was preserved, encouraged – even exploited to make a strong kingdom that was largely peaceful during the century or so of Norman rule.

The history of the *Mezzogiorno* is unmistakably one of conquest and coexistence: from the Normans to the Angevins to the Bourbons and thereafter. It is for this reason that the apparent homogeneity of Norman rule set against the backdrop of the region's cultural diversity is one of its most noteworthy features to historians. Just as there can be no unique, easily-defined 'character' of Southern Italy, this study suggests that different ethnic groups exhibited a resilience to cultural absorption: motivated perhaps by political considerations, perhaps by personal concerns. The king himself encouraged this self-consciousness of 'difference'. The legacy of the South is vibrant testimony to the cultural and religious intersection of peoples who, in spite of their roles as rulers and ruled, exercised control in their territories through their resistance in recollections.

<sup>72</sup>The latest one I have come across is Cava, M,1 (1196).

<sup>73</sup>See Marongiu, *Matrimonio e famiglia nell'Italia meridionale (sec.VIII–XIII)* (Società di Storia Patria per la Puglia: Documenti e Monografie, vol. 39 (1944), repr. Bari, 1976), 116–35; Taviani, *La Principauté*, 516–518; Ménager, 'La législation sud-italienne sous la domination normande', in: *I normanni e la loro espansione in europa nell'alto medioevo* (Spoleto, 1969), also repr. in *Hommes et Institutions de l'Italie Normande* (London, 1981), 486–493; Drell, 1996 dissertation, 216–222.