

Epeiros, Akrotatos, Kleonymos, all unsuccessfully attempted this work in Italy; it was only Pyrrhos, the last and greatest of the series, who played any great part in Sicily. And before he came, Sicily had become the seat of a greater native power than ever. Never till the Norman came was any Sicilian dominion so famous in the world as that of the Syracusan tyrant or king Agathokles.

We have unluckily no intelligible account of Sicily during the twenty years after the death of Timoleon (337-317). His deliverance is said to have been followed by great immediate prosperity, but wars and dissensions very soon began again. Agathokles won his first fame in war between Syracuse and Akragas. The Carthaginians played off one city and party against another, and Agathokles, following the same policy, became in 317, by treachery and massacre, undisputed tyrant of Syracuse, and spread his dominion over many other cities. Akragas, strengthened by Syracusan exiles, now stands out again as the rival of Syracuse. The Carthaginian Hamilkar, by conduct which contrasted with the cruelty of Agathokles, won many Greek cities to the Punic alliance. Defeated in battle, with Syracuse blockaded by a Carthaginian fleet, Agathokles formed the bold idea of carrying the war into Africa. He set the model for Regulus and Scipio, and not a few later rulers of Sicily.

For more than three years (310-307) each side carried on warfare in the land of the other. Carthage was hard pressed by Agathokles, while Syracuse was no less hard pressed by Hamilkar. The force with which Agathokles invaded Africa was far from being wholly Greek; but it was representatively European. Gauls, Samnites, Tyrrhenians, fought for him, while mercenary Greeks and Syracusan exiles fought for Carthage. He won many battles and towns; he quelled mutinies of his own troops; by inviting and murdering Ophellas lord of Kyrene (Cyrene) he doubled his army and brought Carthage near to despair. Meanwhile Syracuse, all but lost, had driven back Hamilkar, and had taken and slain him when he came again with the help of the Syracusan exile Deinokrates. Meanwhile Akragas, deeming Agathokles and the barbarians alike weakened, proclaimed freedom for the Sicilian cities under her own headship. Many towns, both Greek and Sikel, joined the confederacy. It has now become impossible to distinguish the two races; Henna and Erbesos are now the fellows of Kamarina and Leontinoi. But the hopes of Akragas were checked when Agathokles suddenly came back from Africa, landed at Selinous, and marched to Syracuse, taking one town after another. A new scheme of Sicilian union was taken up by Deinokrates, which cut short his dominion. But he now relieved Syracuse from the Carthaginian blockade; his mercenaries gained a victory over Akragas; and he sailed again for Africa, where fortune had turned against his son Archagathos, as it now did against himself. He left his sons and his army to death, bondage, or Carthaginian service, and came back to Sicily almost alone. Yet he could still gather a force which enabled him to seize Segesta, to slay or enslave the whole population, and to settle the city with new inhabitants. This change amounts to the extinction of one of the elements in the old population of Sicily. We hear no more of Elymoi; indeed Segesta has been practically Greek long before this. Deinokrates and Agathokles came to a kind of partnership, and a peace with Carthage, with the old boundary, secured Agathokles in the possession of Syracuse and eastern Sicily (301).

At some stage of his African campaigns Agathokles had taken the title of king. Earlier tyrants were well pleased to be spoken of as kings; but no earlier rulers of Sicily put either their heads or their names on the coin. Agathokles now put his name, first without, and then with,

the kingly title. This was in imitation of the Macedonian leaders who divided the dominion of Alexander. The relations between the eastern and western Greek worlds are drawing closer. Agathokles in his old age took a wife of the house of Ptolemy; he gave his daughter Lanassa to Pyrrhos, and established his power east of Hadria, as the first Sicilian ruler of Korkyra. He carried on wars in the Liparæan Islands and in southern Italy, and died in 289 B.C., poisoned, some said, by his own grandson. Alike more daring and more cruel than any ruler before him, he carried the arms of Sicily further afield, and made the island the seat of a greater power than any of them.

This time was not favourable to the intellectual life of Sicily. Hitherto the island had attracted men of letters from old Greece. Now several distinguished Sicilian writers either chose or were driven to find homes elsewhere. Tinaios of Tauromenion, scorned by Polybios, but whose great Sicilian history is none the less a loss, was banished by Agathokles, and made Athens his headquarters for the last fifty years of his long life (356-c. 260 B.C.). Dikaiarchos (Dicearchus) of Messana, geographer and philosopher and author of the *Life of Greece*, lived mainly in Peloponnesos till about 285 B.C. Euhemerus (Evemerus), despoiser of the gods, who is claimed by more than one birthplace besides Messana, lived in the service and friendship of the Macedonian Kassandros. Philemon too, the long-lived writer of comedy (361-262 B.C.), is claimed for Syracuse, and it was only as an adopted citizen that he spent most of his life at Athens.

On the death of Agathokles tyrants sprang up in various cities. Akragas, under its king Phintias, won back for the moment somewhat of its old greatness. By a new depopulation of Gela, he founded the youngest of Sikeliot cities, Phintias, by the mouth of the southern Himera. And Hellas was cut short by the seizure of Messana by the disbanded Campanian mercenaries of Agathokles (c. 282). They slew the men, took the women as wives, and proclaimed themselves a new people in a new city by the name of Mamertines, children of Mamers or Mars. Messana became an Italian town; henceforth its formal name was "Mamertina civitas."

The Campanian occupation of Messana is the first of the chain of events which led to the Roman dominion in Sicily. As yet Rome has hardly been mentioned in Sicilian story, either for friendship or for enmity. The Mamertine settlement, the war with Pyrrhos, bring us on quickly. Pyrrhos came as the champion of the western Greeks, against all barbarians, whether Romans in Italy or Carthaginians in Sicily. His Sicilian war (278-276) was a mere interlude between the two acts of his war with Rome. As son-in-law of Agathokles, he claimed to be specially king of Sicily, and he held the Sicilian conquest of Korkyra as the dowry of Lanassa. With such a deliverer, deliverance meant submission. Pyrrhos is said to have dreamed of kingdoms of Sicily and of Italy for his two sons, the grandsons of Agathokles, and he himself reigned for two years in Sicily as a king who came to be no less hated than the tyrants. Still as Hellenic champion in Sicily he has no peer. As European champion he has none till Roger of Hauteville. Eryx was won from the Phoenician; Panormos first became a city of Europe; if he failed before Lilybaion, that fortress and Messana were all that was left in barbarian hands through the whole island.

All this was but for a moment. The Greek king, on his way back to fight for Tarentum against Rome, had to cut his way through Carthaginians and Mamertines in Roman alliance. His saying that he left Sicily as a wrestling-ground for Romans and Carthaginians was the very truth of the matter. Very soon came the first war

between Rome and Carthage, the war which is best marked by its other name of the War for Sicily. It mattered much, now that Sicily was to have a barbarian master, whether that master should be the kindred barbarian of Europe or the barbarian of Asia transplanted to the shore of Africa. That question was decided for Europe, that is for Rome, now beginning her long career as European champion. That strife too gave a large part of Sicily a last day of prosperity under a native ruler who was a king and not a tyrant.

Sicily in truth never had a more hopeful champion than the second Hieron of Syracuse. The established rule of Carthage in western Sicily was now something that could well be endured alongside of the robber commonwealth at Messana. The dominion of the freebooters was spreading. Besides the whole north-eastern corner of the island, it reached inland to Agrigion and Kentoripa. The Mamertines leagued with other Campanian freebooters who had forsaken the service of Rome to establish themselves at Rhegion. But a new Syracusan power was growing up to meet them. Hieron, claiming descent from Gelon, pressed the Mamertines hard. He all but drove them to the surrender of Messana; he even helped Rome to chastise her own rebels at Rhegion. The wrestling-ground was thus opened for the two barbarian commonwealths. Carthaginian troops held the Messanian citadel against Hieron, while another party in Messana craved the help of the head of Italy. Rome, chastiser of the freebooters of Rhegion, saw Italian brethren in the freebooters of Messana. The War for Sicily began (264).

The exploits of Hieron had already won him the kingly title (270) at Syracuse, and he was the representative of Hellenic life and independence throughout the island. Partly in this character, partly as direct sovereign, he was virtual ruler of a large part of eastern Sicily. But he could not aspire to the dominion of earlier Syracusan rulers. The advance of Rome after the retreat of Pyrrhos kept the new king from all hope of their Italian position. And presently the new kingdom exchanged independence for safety. When Rome entered Sicily as the ally of the Mamertines, Hieron became the ally of Carthage. But in the second year of the war (263) he found it needful to change sides. His alliance with Rome marks a great epoch in the history of the Greek nation. The kingdom of Hieron was the firstfruits out of Italy of the system by which alliance with Rome grew into subjection to Rome. He was the first of Rome's kingly vassals. His only burthen was to give help to the Roman side in war; within his kingdom he was free, and his dominions flourished as no part of Sicily had flourished since the days of Timoleon.

During the twenty-three years of the First Punic War (264-241) the rest of the island suffered greatly. The War for Sicily was fought in and round Sicily, and the Sicilian cities were taken and retaken by the contending powers. Akragas, held by Carthage, stood a Roman siege (262); the Punic garrison escaped; the inhabitants were sold into slavery. Seven years later the re-peopled city was taken and burned and its walls destroyed by a Carthaginian army. Selinous was utterly destroyed, when, towards the end of the war, Carthage gathered her whole strength again in a few points in the west. Greek Selinous and Elymian Eryx alike gave way to the new fortress of Drepanon, which, along with Lilybaion, held out till the end of the war. Segesta, subject to Carthage, still remembered its old traditions, and the sons of Æneas were welcomed as deliverers by the Trojan city. Kamarina and inland Henna passed to and fro between the two powers. But the great exploit of Rome was the second winning of Panormos for Europe, and its brilliant defence against the Semitic enemy. The highest calling of the Greek had

now, in the Western lands, passed to the Roman. By the 276-210 B.C. treaty which ended the war Carthage ceded to Rome all her possessions in Sicily. As that part of the island which kept a national Greek government became the first kingdom dependent on Rome, so the share of Carthage became the first Roman province. One point alone did not come under either of those heads. Messana, *Mamertina civitas*, remained an Italian ally of Rome on Sicilian soil.

We have no picture of Sicily in the first period of Roman rule. One hundred and seventy years later, several towns within the original province enjoyed various degrees of freedom, which they had doubtless kept from the beginning. Besides the old ally Messana, Panormos, Segesta, with Kentoripa, Halesa, and Halikye, once Sikel but now Hellenized, kept the position of free cities (*liberæ et immunes*, Cic., *Verr.*, iii. 6). The rest paid tithes to the Roman people as landlord. The province was ruled by a prætor sent yearly from Rome. Within the Roman province the new state of things called forth much discontent; but Hieron remained the faithful ally of Rome through a long life. On his death (215) and the accession of his grandson Hieronymos, his dynasty was swept away by the last revolution of Greek Syracuse. The result was revolt against Rome, the great siege by Marcellus, the taking of the city, the addition of Hieron's kingdom to the Roman province. Two towns only, which had taken the Roman side, Tauromenion and Netos, were admitted to the full privileges of Roman alliance (cf. Diod. Fr., Hoerschl., lib. xxiii. p. 18; Cic., *Verr.*, iii. 6, v. 22). Tauromenion indeed was more highly favoured than the children of Mamers. Rome had a right to demand ships of Messana, but not of Tauromenion. Some towns were destroyed; the people of Henna were massacred. Akragas, again held for Carthage, was for four years (214-210) the centre of an active campaign. The story of Akragas ended in plunder, slaughter, and slavery; three years later, the story of Agrigentum began.

The reign of Hieron was the last time of independent Greek culture in Sicily. His great works belong to the special history of Syracuse; but his time marks the growth of a new form of local Sicilian genius. The spread of Hellenic culture among the Sikels had in return made a Greek home for many Sikel beliefs, traditions, and customs. Bucolic poetry is the native growth of Sicily; in the hands of Theokritos it grew out of the germs supplied by Epicharmos and Sophron into a distinct and finished form of the art. The poet, himself of Syracuse, went to and fro between the courts of Hieron and Ptolemy Philadelphos; but his poetry is essentially Sicilian. So is that of his successors, both the Syracusan Moschos and Bion of Smyrna, who came to Sicily as to his natural school. The most renowned Sicilian name of this time, that of Archimedes, is hardly distinctively Sicilian. A great name in the history of science, a great name in the local history of Syracuse, he had not, like the earlier philosophers and the bucolic poets, any direct bearing on the general political or intellectual development of the island.

With the incorporation of the kingdom of Hieron into the Roman province independent Sicilian history comes to an end for many ages. Of the state of Sicily under the Roman commonwealth our chief source of knowledge is the pleading of Cicero against the worst Roman oppressor of Sicily, Gaius Verres. Next in importance to this come those fragments of Diodoros which describe the two insurrections of the slaves. Between those insurrections came the legislation of Rupilius which settled the Roman system of administration in Sicily. Cicero's description comes later than all these; but the general relations between Rome and Sicily seem to have been much the same from the first occupation till the beginning of the empire. In one part of the island

the Roman people stepped into the position of Carthage, in another part into that of King Hieron. The allied cities kept their several terms of alliance; the free cities kept their freedom; elsewhere the land paid to the Roman people, according to the law of Hieron, the tithe which it had paid to Hieron. But, as the tithe was let out to publicans, oppression was easy. The prætor, after the occupation of Syracuse, dwelled there in the palace of Hieron, as in the capital of the island. But, as a survival of the earlier state of things, one of his two quæstors was quartered at Lilybaion. Under the supreme dominion of Rome even the unprivileged cities kept their own laws, magistrates, and assemblies, provision being made for suits between Romans and Sicilians and between Sicilians of different cities (*Verr.*, ii. 16). In Latin the one name Siculi takes in all the inhabitants of the island; no distinction is drawn between Greek and Sikel, or even between Greek and Phœnician cities. It is assumed that all Siculi are Greeks (*Verr.*, ii. 3, 29, 49, 52, 65; iii. 37, 40, 73). Even in Greek, *Σικελοί* is now sometimes used instead of *Σικελῶται*. All the persons spoken of by Cicero came to have Greek names save—a most speaking exception—Gaius Heius of *Mamertina civitas*. Inscriptions too from Sikel and Phœnician cities are commonly Greek, even when they commemorate men with Phœnician names, coupled perhaps with Greek surnames (*C. I. G.*, iii. 597, cf. 628). The process of Hellenization which had been so long going on had at last made Sicily thoroughly Greek. Roman conquest itself, which everywhere carried a Greek element with it, would help this result. The corn of the fertile island was said even then to feed the Roman people. It was this character of Sicily which led to its one frightful piece of local history. The evils of slavery and the slave-trade in their worst form—the slavery of men who are their masters' equals in all but luck—reached their height in the 2d century B.C. The wars of Rome, and the systematic piracy and kidnapping that followed them, filled the Mediterranean lands with slaves of all nations. Sicily stood out before the rest as the first land to be filled by slave-gangs, on the estates both of rich natives and of Roman settlers. The free population naturally degenerated and died out. The slaves were most harshly treated, and even encouraged by their masters to rob. The land was full of disorder, and the prætors shrank from enforcing the law against offenders, many of whom, as Roman knights, might be their own judges. Of these causes came the two great slave-revolts of the second half of the 2d century B.C. They did not stand alone in the world, but no others reached the same extent. The first outbreak was stained by some excesses, but after that we are struck with the orderly course of the rebellion. It is regular warfare. Sicily had neither native militia nor Roman army; the slaves therefore, strengthened by the poorer freemen, occupied the whole land save only the great cities; they chose kings and founded them a capital. The chosen king of one district submits to the other for the general good. They form armies which could defeat Roman generals, and they are subdued only by efforts on the same scale as the conquest of a kingdom. For most of the slaves were men used to freedom and to arms, not a few of them Sicilian pirates. The fact that in the first war a slave named Achaïos—like Davus, Geta, or Syrus—plays a chief part also tells us a good deal. The Syrian element was large, and the movement was mixed up with much of Syrian religion. But the native deities of Sicily and the holy place of the Palikoi were not forgotten. The first slave war lasted from 135 to 132, the time of Tiberius Gracchus and the fall of Numantia. The second lasted from 102 to 99, the time of the Cimbric invasion. At other times the power of Rome might have quelled the revolt more speedily.

Slave revolts

The slave wars were not the only scourge that fell on Sicily. The pirates troubled the coast, and all other evils were outdone by the three years' government of Verres (73-70 B.C.). Besides the light which the great impeachment throws on the state of the island, his administration seems really to have dealt a lasting blow to its prosperity. The slave wars had not directly touched the great cities. Verres plundered and impoverished everywhere. Another blow was the occupation of Messina by Sextus Pompeius in 42 B.C. He was master of Sicily for six years, and Strabo (vi. 2, 4) attributes to this war the decayed state of several cities. To undo this mischief Augustus planted Roman colonies at Syracuse, Tauromenion, Thermae, Tyn daris, and Katana. The island thus received another Italian infusion; but, as elsewhere, Latin in no way displaced Greek; it was simply set up alongside of it for certain purposes. Roman tastes now came in; Roman buildings, especially amphitheatres, arose. But Sicily never became Roman like Gaul and Spain. The dictator Cæsar designed the Roman, and Marcus Antonius the Latin, franchise for all Sicily; but neither plan was carried out. Sicily remained a province, a province of the senate and people, not of the prince. Particular cities were promoted to higher privileges, and that was all. The Mamertines were Romans in Pliny's day; two free cities, Kentoripa and Segesta, had become Latin; still later, Phœnician Lilybaion received a Roman colony. All these were steps in the progress by which, in Sicily as elsewhere, political distinctions were broken down, till the edict of Antoninus bestowed at least the Roman name—no small gift—on all Roman allies and subjects. Sicily was now part of *Romania*, but it was one of its Greek members.

Till this change was made, Sicily could not be in any sense incorporated with Italy. In the division of Constantine, when the word *province* had lost its meaning, when Italy itself was mapped out into provinces, Sicily became one of these last. Along with Africa, Rætia (Rætia), and western Illyricum, it became part of the Italian præfecture; along with the islands of Sardinia and Corsica, it became part of the Italian diocese. It was now ruled by a corrector (see the letter of Constantine, which stands first in the *Codex Diplomaticus Siciliæ* of Johannes), afterwards by a consular under the authority of the vicar of the Roman city (*Not. Imp.*, 14, 5). Few emperors visited Sicily; Hadrian was there, as everywhere, and Julian also (*C.D.*, 10). In its provincial state Sicily fell back more than some other provinces. Ausonius could still reckon Catina and fourfold Syracuse ("quadruplices Syracusas") among noble cities; but Sicily is not, like Gaul, rich in relics of later Roman life, and it is now Egypt rather than Sicily that feeds Rome. The island has no internal history beyond a very characteristic fact, a third slave war in the days of Gallienus. External history there could be none in the central island, with no frontier open to Germans or Persians. Sicilian history begins again when the wandering of the nations planted new powers, not on the frontier of the empire, but at its heart.

The powers between which Sicily now passes to and fro are Teutonic powers. The earlier stages of Teutonic advance could not touch Sicily. Alaric thought of a Sicilian expedition, but a storm hindered him. Sicily was to be reached only by a Teutonic power which made its way through Gaul, Spain, and Africa. The Vandal now dwells at Carthage instead of the Canaanite. Gaiseric (429-477) subdued the great islands for which Roman and Phœnician had striven. Along with Sardinia, Corsica, and the Balearic Isles, Sicily is again a possession of a naval power at Carthage. Gaiseric, at Rome more than a Hannibal, makes a treaty with Odowakar (Odoacer) almost like that which ended the First Punic War. He gave up (Victor

Vitensis, i. 4) the island on condition of a tribute, which was hardly paid by Theodoric. Sicily was now ruled by a Gothic count, and the Goths claimed to have treated the land with special tenderness (Procopius, *Bell. Goth.*, iii. 16). The island, like the rest of Theodoric's dominions, was certainly well looked after by the great king and his minister; yet we hear darkly of disaffection to Gothic rule (*Cass. Var.*, i. 3). Theodoric gave back Lilybaion to the Vandal king Thrasamund as the dowry of his sister Analafrida (*Proc. Bell. Vand.*, i. 8). Yet Lilybaion was a Gothic possession when Belisarius, conqueror of Africa, demanded it in vain as part of the Vandal possessions (*Proc. Bell. Vand.*, ii. 5; *Bell. Goth.*, i. 3). In the Gothic war Sicily was the first land to be recovered for the empire, and that with the good will of its people (535). Panormus alone was stoutly defended by its Gothic garrison. In 550 Totila took some fortresses, but the great cities all withstood him, and the Goths were driven out the next year.

Sicily was thus won back to the Roman dominion, but the seat of the Roman dominion was now at Constantinople. Belisarius was Pyrrhos and Marcellus in one. For 430 years some part of Sicily, for 282 years the whole of it, again remained a Roman province. To the Gothic count again succeeded, under Justinian, a Roman prætor, in Greek *σπαρτηγός*. That was the official title; we often hear of a *patrician* of Sicily, but patrician was in strictness a personal rank. In the later mapping out of the empire into purely military divisions, the *theme* (*θέμα*) of Sicily took in both the island and the nearest peninsula of the mainland, the oldest Italy. The island itself was divided for financial purposes, almost as in the older times, into the two divisions of Syracuse and Lilybaion. The revolutions of Italy hardly touched a land which looked steadily to the eastern Rome as its head. The Lombard and Frankish masters of the peninsula never fixed themselves in the island. When the Frank took the imperial crown of the West, Sicily still kept its allegiance to the Augustus who reigned at Constantinople, and was only torn away piecemeal from the empire by the next race of conquerors.

This connexion of Sicily with the eastern division of the empire no doubt largely helped to keep up Greek life in the island. This was of course strengthened by union with a power which had already a Greek side, and where the Greek side soon became dominant. Still the connexion with Italy was close, especially the ecclesiastical connexion. Some things tend to make Sicily look less Greek than it really was. The great source of our knowledge of Sicily in the century which followed the reconquest by Belisarius is the *Letters* of Pope Gregory the Great, and they naturally show the most Latin side of things. The merely official use of Latin was, it must be remembered, common to Sicily with Constantinople. Gregory's *Letters* are largely occupied with the affairs of the great Sicilian estates held by the Roman Church, as by the churches of Milan and Ravenna. But they deal with many other matters (see the collection in Johannes, *C.D.*, where the letters bearing on Sicily are brought together, or the usual collection of his letters). Saint Paul's visit to Syracuse naturally gave rise to many legends; but the Christian Church undoubtedly took early root in Sicily. We hear of Manichæans (*C.D.*, 163); Jews were plentiful, and Gregory causes compensation to be made for the unlawful destruction of synagogues. Of paganism we find no trace, save that pagan slaves, doubtless not natives of the island, were held by Jews (*C.D.*, 127). Herein is a contrast between Sicily and Sardinia, where, according to a letter from Gregory to the empress Constantina, wife of Maurice (594-595), praying for a lightening of taxation in both islands, paganism still lingered (*C.D.*, 121). Sicily belonged to the Latin patriarchate; but we already

Sicily under the Eastern empire.

Ecclesiastical relations with Italy.

(*C.D.*, 103) see glimmerings of the coming disputes between 477-829 the Eastern and Western Churches. Things were changed when, in the early days of the iconoclast controversy, Leo the Isaurian confiscated the Sicilian and Calabrian estates of the Roman Church (*Theoph.*, i. 631).

In the 9th, 10th, and 11th centuries the old drama of Sicily was acted again. The island is again disputed between Europe and Asia, transplanted to Africa between Greek and Semitic dwellers on her own soil. Panormus and Syracuse are again the headquarters of races and creeds, of creeds yet more than of races. The older religious differences—not small certainly when the choice lay between Zeus and Moloch—were small compared with the strife for life and death between Christendom and Islam. Gregory and Mahomet were contemporaries, and, though Saracen occupation did not begin in Sicily till more than two centuries after Gregory's death, Saracen roads began much sooner. In 655 (*Theoph.*, i. 532) part of Sicily was plundered, and its inhabitants carried to Damascus. Then came the strange episode of the visit of Constans the Second (641-668), the first emperor, it would seem, who had set foot in Sicily since Julian. After a war with the Lombards, after twelve days' plunder of Rome, he came on to Syracuse, where his oppressions led to his murder in 668. Sicily now saw for the first time the setting up of a tyrant in the later sense. Meketios, commander of the Eastern army of Constans, revolted, but Sicily and Roman Italy kept their allegiance to the new emperor Constantine Pogonatos, who came in person to destroy him. Then came another Saracen inroad from Alexandria, in which Syracuse was sacked (*Paul. Diac.*, v. 13). Others followed, but there was as yet no lasting settlement. Towards the end of the 8th century, though Sicily itself was untouched, its patricians and their forces play a part in the affairs of southern Italy as enemies of the Frankish power. Charles himself was believed (*Theoph.*, i. 736) to have designs on Sicily; but, when it came to Saracen invasion, the sympathies of both pope and Cæsar lay with the invaded Christian land (*Mon. Ger.*, 323, 328).

In 813 a peace for ten years was made between the Saracens and the patrician Gregory. A few years after it expired Saracen settlement in the island begins. This was a special time of Saracen inroad on the islands belonging to the Eastern empire. Almost at the same moment Crete was seized by a band of adventurers from Spain. But the first Saracen settlers in Sicily were the African neighbours of Sicily, and they were called to the work by a home treason. The story has been tricked out with many romantic details (*Chron. Salern.*, 60, ap. Pertz, iii. 498; *Theoph. Cont.*, ii. 272; George Kedrenos, ii. 97); but it seems plain that Euphemios or Euthymios of Syracuse, supported by his own citizens, revolted against Michael the Stammerer (820-829), and, when defeated by an imperial army, asked help of Ziyâdet Allah, the Aglabite prince of Kairawân, and offered to hold the island of him. The struggle of 138 years now began. Euphemios, a puppet emperor, was led about by his Saracen allies much as earlier puppet emperors had been led about by Alaric and Ataulf, till he was slain in one of the many sieges. The second Semitic conquest of Sicily began in 827 at Mazzara on the old border of Greek and Phœnician. But the land had a brave defender in the patrician Theodotos, and the invaders met with a stout resistance both in the island and from armies both from Constantinople and from Byzantine Italy. The advance of the invaders was slow. In two years all that was done was to occupy Mazzara and Mineum—the old Menai of Douketios—strange points certainly to begin with, and seemingly to destroy Agrigentum, well used to destruction. Attacks on Syracuse failed; so did

Early Saracen inroads.

Saracens conquer

attacks on Henna—*Castrum Enna*, now changing into *Castrum Johannis* (perhaps *Καττογιάννη*), Castrogiovanni. The actual gain was small; but the invaders took seizin alike of the coast and of the island.

A far greater conquest followed when new invaders came from Spain and when Theodotos was killed in 830. The next year Panormus passed away for ever from Roman, for 230 years from Christian, rule. Syracuse was for fifty years, not only, as of old, the bulwark of Europe, but the bulwark of Christendom. By the conquest of Panormus the Saracens were firmly rooted in the island. We hear dimly of treasonable dealings with them on the part of the *strategos* Alexios, son-in-law of the emperor Theophilus; but we see more clearly that Saracen advance was largely hindered by dissensions between the African and the Spanish settlers. In the end the Moslem conquests in Sicily became an Aghlabite principality owning at best a formal superiority in the princes of Kairawan. With the Saracen occupation begins a new division of the island, which becomes convenient in tracing the progress of Saracen conquest. This is into three valleys, known in later forms of language as Val di Mazzara or Mazza in the north-west, Val di Noto in the south-east, and Val Demone (a name of uncertain origin) in the north-east (see Amari, *Musulmani in Sicilia*, i. 465). The first Saracen settlement of Val di Mazzara answers roughly to the old Carthaginian possessions. From Panormus the emir or lord of Sicily, Mohammed ibn Abdallah, sent forth his plunderers throughout Sicily and even into southern Italy. There, though they made no lasting settlements, they often occupied particular points. A consul or duke of Naples in 836 even asked for Saracen help against the Lombards, which he is said to have repaid by help against his fellow-subjects in Sicily (Johan. Diac., 57; Amari, i. 314).

The chief work of the next ten years was the conquest of the Val di Noto, but the first great advance was made elsewhere. In 843 the Saracens won the Mamertine city, Messana, and thus stood in the path between Italy and Sicily. Then the work of conquest, as described by the Arabic writers, went on, but slowly. At last, in 859, the very centre of the island, the stronghold of Henna, was taken, and the main part of Val di Noto followed. But the divisions among the Moslems helped the Christians; they won back several towns, and beat off all attacks on Syracuse and Tauromenium. It is strange that the reign of Basil the Macedonian (867), a time of such renewed vigour in the empire, was the time of the greatest of all losses in Sicily. In Italy the imperial frontier largely advanced; in Sicily imperial fleets threatened Panormus. But in 875 the accession of Ibrahim ibn Ahmed in Africa changed the face of things. The emir in Sicily, Ja'far ibn Ahmed, received strict orders to act vigorously against the eastern towns. In 877 began the only successful Semitic siege of Syracuse. The next year the city, which for 1600 years had been the seat of Greek, Roman, and Christian life, passed for the first time under the yoke of strangers to the fellowship of Europe.

Thus in fifty-one years the imperial and Christian territory in Sicily was cut down to a few points on or near the eastern coast, to the Val Demone in short without Messana. But between Moslem dissension and Christian valour the struggle had still to be waged for eighty-seven years. Henna had been the chief centre of Christian resistance a generation earlier; its place was now taken by the small fort of Rametta not far from Messana. The Moslems of Sicily were busy in civil wars; Arabs fought against Berbers, both against the African overlord. In 900 Panormus had to be won by a son of Ibrahim from Moslem rebels provoked by his father's cruelty. But when Ibrahim himself came into Sicily, renewed efforts

against the Christians led to the first taking of Tauromenium (908), of Rametta, and of other points. The civil war that followed his death, the endless revolutions of Agrigentum, where the weaker side did not scruple to call in Christian help, hindered any real Saracen occupation of eastern Sicily. The emperors never gave up their claims to Sicily or their hopes of recovering it. Besides the struggle with the Christians in the island, there was often direct warfare between the empire and the Saracens; but such warfare was more active in Italy than in Sicily. In 956 a peace or truce was made by the emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus. A few years later, Otho the Great, the restorer of the Western empire, looked to Sicily as a land to be won back for Christendom. It had not yet wholly passed away; but the day soon came. Strange to say, as Syracuse fell in the reign of Basil the Macedonian, the Saracen occupation was completed in the reign of Nikephoros Phokas (Nicephorus Phocas), the deliverer of Crete. In the very year of his accession (963) Tauromenium was taken for the second time, and became for a hundred years a Mohammedan possession. Rametta alone held out. A fleet and army from Constantinople went in vain to its help; the last stronghold of Christendom was taken (965), and for a season all was over.

Thus in 138 years the Arab did what the Canaanite had never done. The whole island was a Semitic, that is now a Mohammedan, possession. The Greek-speaking Roman of Sicily was a bondman in his own land, like the Latin-speaking Roman of Spain. Yet the complete Saracen possession of Sicily may seem a thing of a moment. Its first and longest period lasted only 73 years. In that time Mohammedan Sicily was threatened by a Western emperor; the Arabic writers claim the Saracen army by which Otho the Second was beaten back in 982 as a Sicilian army. A mightier enemy was threatening in the East. Basil the Second planned the recovery of Sicily in good earnest. In 1027 he sent a great army; but his death stopped their progress before they reached the island. But the great conqueror had left behind him men trained in his school, and eleven years later the eagles of the new Rome again marched to Sicilian victories. The ravages of the Sicilian Saracens in the Greek islands were more frightful than ever, and George Maniakes, the first captain of his time, was sent to win back the lost land. He too was helped by Saracen dissensions. The emir Abul-afar became a Roman vassal, and, like Alaric of old, became *magister militum* in the Roman army. His brother and rival Abuhafas brought help from Africa; and finally all joined against the Christians. Four years of Christian victory (1038-1042) followed. In the host of Maniakes were men of all races,—Normans, who had already begun to show themselves in south Italy, and the Warangian guard, the best soldiers of the empire, among whom Harold Hardrada himself is said to have held a place. Town after town was delivered, first Messana, then Syracuse, then a crowd of others. The exact extent of the reconquest is uncertain; Byzantine writers claim the deliverance of the whole island; but it is certain that the Saracens never lost Panormus. But court influence spoiled everything: Maniakes was recalled; under his successor Stephen, brother-in-law of the emperor Michael, the Saracens won back what they had lost. Messana alone held out, for how long a time is uncertain. But it could not have been again under the yoke for many years when a conqueror came who had no empresses to thwart him. The second Saracen occupation of all Sicily was short indeed. In 1060 began the thirty years' work of the first Roger.

Thus for 263 years the Christian people of some part or other of Sicily were in subjection to Moslem masters. But that subjection differed widely in different times and

Recon-  
quest by  
Eastern  
empire.

Sicily  
under  
Saracen  
rule.

places. The land was won bit by bit. One town was taken by storm; another submitted on terms harsher or more favourable. The condition of the Christians varied from that of personal slaves to that of communities left free on the payment of tribute. The great mass were in the intermediate state usual among the non-Mohammedan subjects of a Mohammedan power. The *dhimmi* of Sicily were in essentially the same case as the *rayahs* of the Turk. While the conquest was going on, the towns that remained unconquered gained in point of local freedom. They became allies rather than subjects of the distant emperor. So did the tributary districts, as long as the original terms were kept. But, as ever, the condition of the subject race grew worse. After the complete conquest of the island, while the mere slaves had turned Mohammedans, there is nothing more heard of tributary districts. At the coming of the Normans the whole Christian population was in the state of *rayahs*. Still Christianity and the Greek tongue never died out; churches and monasteries received and held property; there still are saints and men of learning. Panormus was specially Saracen; yet a Christian religious guild could be founded there in 1048 (*Tabularium Regie Cap. Panorm.*, p. 1). We have its Greek foundation deed. It would be rash to deny that traces of other dialects may not have lingered on; but Greek and Arabic were the two written tongues of Sicily when the Normans came. The Sicilian Saracens were hindered by their internal feuds from ever becoming a great power; but they stood high among Mohammedan nations. Their advance in civilization is shown by their position under the Normans, and above all by their admirable style of architecture (see PALERMO). Saracens are always called in for any special work of building or engineering. They had a literature which Norman kings studied and promoted. The Normans in short came into the inheritance of the two most civilized nations of the time, and they allowed the two to flourish side by side.

The most brilliant time for Sicily as a power in the world begins with the coming of the Normans. Never before or after was the island so united or so independent. Some of the old tyrants had ruled out of Sicily; none had ruled over all Sicily. The Normans held all Sicily as the centre of a dominion which stretched far beyond it. The conquest was the work of one man, Count Roger of the house of Hauteville brother of the more famous Robert Wiscard (Guiscard). That it took him thirty years was doubtless owing to his being often called off to help his brother in Italy and beyond Hadria. The conquests of the Normans in Italy and Sicily form part of one enterprise; but they altogether differ in character. In Italy they overthrew the Byzantine dominion; their own rule was perhaps not worse, but they were not deliverers. In Sicily they were everywhere welcomed by the Christians as deliverers from infidel bondage.

As in the Saracen conquest of Sicily, as in the Byzantine recovery, so in the Norman conquest, the immediate occasion was given by a home traitor. Count Roger had already made a plundering attack, when Becumen of Catania, driven out by his brother, urged him to serious invasion. Messana was taken in 1060, and became for a while the Norman capital. The Christians everywhere welcomed the conqueror. But at Traina they presently changed their minds, and joined with the Saracens to besiege the count in their citadel. At Catania Becumen was set up again as Roger's vassal, and he did good service till he was killed. Roger soon began to fix his eye on the Saracen capital. Against that city he had Pisan help, as the inscription on the Pisan *duomo* witnesses (cf. Geoff. Mal., ii. 34). But Palermo was not taken until 1071, and then only by the help of Duke Robert, who kept the prize to himself.

Still its capture was the turning-point in the struggle. Taormina (Tauromenium) was won in 1078. Syracuse, under its emir Benarvet, held out stoutly. He won back Catania by the help of a Saracen to whom Roger had trusted the city, and whom he himself punished. Catania was won back by the count's son Jordan. But progress was delayed by Jordan's rebellion and by the absence of Roger in his brother's wars. At last, in 1085, Syracuse was won. Next year followed Girgenti and Castrogiovanni, whose chief became a Christian. Noto, the Saracen Rametta, held out till 1090. Then the whole island was won, and Roger completed his conquest by a successful expedition to Malta.

Like the condition of the Greeks under the Saracens, so the condition of the Saracens under the Normans differed in different places according to the circumstances of each conquest. The Mohammedan religion was everywhere tolerated, in many places much more. But it would seem that, just as under the Moslem rule, conversions from Christianity to Islam were forbidden. On the other hand, conversions from Islam to Christianity were not always encouraged; Saracen troops were employed from the beginning, and Count Roger seems to have thought them more trustworthy when unconverted. At Palermo the capitulation secured to the Saracens the full enjoyment of their own laws; Girgenti was long mainly Saracen; in Val di Noto the Saracens kept towns and castles of their own. On the other hand, at Messina there were few or none, and we hear of both Saracen and Greek villains, the latter doubtless abiding as they were in Saracen times. But men of both races were trusted and favoured according to their deserts. The ecclesiastical relations between Greeks and Latins are harder to trace. At the taking of Palermo the Greek bishop was restored; but his successors were Latins, and Latin prelates were placed in the bishoprics which Count Roger founded. Urban the Second visited Sicily to promote the union of the church, and he granted to the count those special ecclesiastical powers held by the counts and kings of Sicily as hereditary legates of the Holy See which grew into the famous Sicilian monarchy (Geoff. Mal., iv. 29). But Greek worship went on; at Messina it lingered till the 14th and 15th centuries (Pirro, *Sicilia Sacra*, i. 420, 431, 449), as it has been since brought back by the Albanian colonists. But the Greeks of Sicily have long been united Greeks, admitting the authority of the see of Rome.

In its results the Norman conquest of Sicily was a Latin conquest far more thorough than that which had been made by the Roman commonwealth. The Norman princes protected all the races, creeds, and tongues of the island, Greek, Saracen, and Jew. But new races came to settle alongside of them, all of whom were Latin as far as their official speech was concerned. The Normans brought the French tongue with them; it remained the court speech during the 12th century, and Sicily was thrown open to all speakers of French, many of whom came from England. There was constant intercourse between the two great islands, both ruled by Norman kings, and many natives of England filled high places in Sicily. But French was only a language of society, not of business or literature. The languages of inscriptions and documents are Greek, Arabic, and Latin, in private writings sometimes Hebrew. The kings understood Greek and Arabic, and their deeds and works were commemorated in both tongues. Hence comes the fact, at first sight so strange, that Greek, Arabic, and French have all given way to a dialect of Italian. But the cause is not far to seek. The Norman conquest opened Sicily to settlers from Italy, above all from the Norman possessions in Italy. Under the name of Lombards, they became an important, in some parts a dominant, element.