

Thus at Messina, where we hear nothing of Saracens, we hear much of the disputes between Greeks and Lombards. The Lombards had hardly a distinct language to bring with them. At the time of the conquest, it was already found out that French had become a distinct speech from Latin; Italian hardly was such. The Lombard element, during the Norman reign, shows itself, not in whole documents or inscriptions, but in occasional words and forms as in some of the mosaics at Monreale. And, if any element, Latin or akin to Latin, had lingered on through Byzantine and Saracen rule, it would of course be attracted to the new Latin element, and would help to strengthen it. It was this Lombard element that had the future before it. Greek and Arabic were antiquated, or at least isolated, in a land which Norman conquest had made part of Western Europe and Latin Christendom. They could grow only within the island; they could gain no strength from outside. Even the French element was in some sort isolated, and later events made it more so. But the Lombard element was constantly strengthened by settlement from outside. In the older Latin conquest, the Latin carried Greek with him, and the Greek element absorbed the Latin. Latin now held in western Europe the place which Greek had held there. Thus, in the face of Italian, both Greek and Arabic died out. Step by step, Christian Sicily became Latin in speech and in worship. But this was not till the Norman reigns were over. Till the end of the 12th century Sicily was the one land where men of divers creeds and tongues could live side by side, each in his own way.

Hence came both the short-lived brilliancy of Sicily and its later decay. In Sicily there were many nations all protected by the Sicilian king; but there was no Sicilian nation. Greek, Saracen, Norman, Lombard, and Jew could not be fused into one people; it was the boast of Sicily that each kept his laws and tongue undisturbed. Such a state of things could live on only under an enlightened despotism; the discordant elements could not join to work out really free and national institutions. Sicily had parliaments, and some constitutional principles were well understood. But they were assemblies of barons, or at most of barons and citizens; they could only have represented the Latin elements, Norman and Lombard, in the island. The elder races, Greek and Saracen, stand outside the relations between the Latin king and his Latin subjects. Still, as long as Greek and Saracen were protected and favoured, so long was Sicily the most brilliant of European kingdoms. But its greatness had no groundwork of national life; for lack of it the most brilliant of kingdoms presently sank below the level of other lands.

Four generations only span the time from the birth of Count Roger, about 1030, to the death of the emperor Frederick the Second in 1250. Roger, great count of Sicily, was, at his death in 1101, succeeded by his young son Simon, and he in 1105 by the second Roger, the first king. He inherited all Sicily, save half Palermo—the other half had been given up—and part of Calabria. The rest of Palermo was soon granted; the Semitic capital became the abiding head of Sicily. On the death of Duke William of Apulia, Roger gradually founded (1127-40) a great Italian dominion. To the Apulian duchy he added (1136) the Norman principality of Capua, Naples (1138), the last dependency of the Eastern empire in Italy, and (1140) the Abruzzi, an undoubted land of the Western empire. He thus formed a dominion which has been divided, united, and handed over from one prince to another, oftener than any other state in Europe, but whose frontier has hardly changed at all. In 1130 Roger was crowned at Palermo, by authority of the antipope Anacletus, taking the strange title of "king of Sicily and Italy." This, on his recon-

ciliation with Pope Innocent the Second, he exchanged for "king of Sicily and of the duchy of Apulia and of the principality of Capua." By virtue of the old relations between the popes and the Normans of Apulia, he held his kingdom in fief of the Holy See, a position which on the whole strengthened the royal power. But his power, like that of Dionysios and Agathokles, was felt in more distant regions. His admiral George of Antioch, Greek by birth and creed, warred against the Eastern empire, won Corfu (Korypho; the name of Korkyra is forgotten) for a season, and carried off the silk-workers from Thebes and Peloponnesos to Sicily. But Manuel Komnenos (Comnenus) ruled in the East, and, if Roger threatened Constantinople, Manuel threatened Sicily. In Africa the work of Agathokles was more than renewed; Mahadia and other points were won and kept as long as Roger lived. These exploits won him the name of the terror of Greeks and Saracens. To the Greeks, and still more to the Saracens, of his own island he was a protector and something more.

Roger's son William, surnamed the Bad, was crowned in his father's lifetime in 1151. Roger died in 1154, and William's sole reign lasted till 1166. It was a time of domestic rebellions, chiefly against the king's unpopular ministers, and it is further marked by the loss of Roger's African conquests. After William the Bad came (1166-1189) his son William the Good. Unlike as were the two men in themselves, in their foreign policy they are hardly to be distinguished. The Bad William has a short quarrel with the pope; otherwise Bad and Good alike appear as zealous supporters of Alexander the Third, and as enemies of both empires. The Eastern warfare of the Good is stained by the frightful sack of Thessalonica; it is marked also by the formation of an Eastern state under Sicilian supremacy (1186). Corfu, the possession of Agathokles and Roger, with Durazzo, Cephalonia, and Zante, was granted by William to his admiral Margarito with the strange title of king of the Epeiros. He founded a dynasty, though not of kings, in Cephalonia and Zante. Corfu and Durazzo were to be more closely connected with the Sicilian crown.

The brightest days of Sicily ended with William the Good. His marriage with Joanna, daughter of Henry of Anjou and England, was childless, and William tried to procure the succession of his aunt Constance and her husband, King Henry the Sixth of Germany, son of the emperor Frederick the First. But the prospect of German rule was unpopular, and on William's death the crown passed to Tancred, an illegitimate grandson of King Roger, who figures in English histories in the story of Richard's crusade. In 1191 Henry, now emperor, asserted his claims; but, while Tancred lived, he did little, in Sicily nothing, to enforce them. On the death of Tancred (1194) and the accession of his young son William the Third, the emperor came and conquered Sicily and the Italian possessions, with an amount of cruelty which outdid any earlier war or revolution. First of four Western emperors who wore the Sicilian crown, Henry died in 1197, leaving the kingdom to his young son Frederick, heir of the Norman kings through his mother.

The great days of the Norman conquest and the Norman reigns have been worthily recorded by contemporary historians. For few times have we richer materials. The oldest is Aimé or Amato of Monte Cassino, who exists only in an Old-French translation. We have also for the Norman conquest the halting hexameters of William of Apulia, and for the German conquest the lively and partial verses of Peter of Eboli. Of prose writers we have Geoffrey Malaterra, Alexander abbot of Telesia, Romuald archbishop of Salerno, Falco of Benevento, above all Hugo Falcandus, one of the very foremost of mediæval writer

Not one of these Latin writers was a native of the island, and we have no record from any native Greek. Occasional notices we of course have in the Byzantine writers, and Archbishop Eustathios's account of the taking of Thessalonica is more than occasional. And the close connexion between Sicily and England leads to many occasional references to Sicilian matters in English writers.

The relations between the various races of the islands are most instructive. The strong rule of Roger kept all in order. He called himself the defender of Christians; others, on account of his favour to the Saracens, spoke of him as a pagan. He certainly encouraged Saracen art and literature in every shape. His court was full of eunuchs, of whom we hear still more under William the Bad. Under William the Good the Saracens, without any actual oppression, seem to be losing their position. Hitherto they had been one element in the land, keeping their own civilization alongside of others. By a general outbreak on the death of William the Good, the Saracens, especially those of Palermo, were driven to take shelter in the mountains, where they sank into a wild people, sometimes holding points of the island against all rulers, sometimes taking military service under them. The Jews too begin to sink into bondmen. Sicily is ceasing to be the land of many nations living side by side on equal terms.

The Germans who helped Henry to win the Sicilian crown did not become a new element in the island, but only a source of confusion during the minority of his son. Frederick—presently to be the renowned emperor Frederick the Second, "Fridericus stupor mundi et immutator mirabilis"—was crowned at Palermo in 1198; but the child, deprived of both parents, was held to be under the protection of his lord Pope Innocent the Third. During his minority the land was torn in pieces by turbulent nobles, revolted Saracens, German captains seeking settlements, the maritime cities of Italy, and professed French deliverers. In 1210 the emperor Otho the Fourth, who had overrun the continental dominions, threatened the island. In 1212, just when Frederick was reaching an age to be of use in his own kingdom, he was called away to dispute the crown of Germany and Rome with Otho. Eight years more of disorder followed; in 1220 the emperor-king came back. He brought the Saracens of the mountains back again to a life in plains and cities, and presently planted a colony of them on the mainland at Nocera, when they became his most trusty soldiers. His necessary absences from Sicily led to revolts. He came back in 1233 from his crusade to suppress a revolt of the eastern cities, which seem, like those of Italy, to have been aiming at republican independence. A Saracen revolt in 1243 is said to have been followed by a removal of the whole remnant to Nocera. Some however certainly stayed or came back; but their day was over.

Under Frederick the Italian or Lombard element finally prevailed in Sicily. Of all his kingdoms Sicily was the best-beloved. He spoke all its tongues; he protected, as far as circumstances would allow, all its races. He legislated for all in the spirit of an enlightened and equal despotism, jealous of all special privileges, whether of nobles, churches, or cities. The heretic alone was persecuted; he was the domestic rebel of the church; Saracen and Jew were entitled to the rights of foreigners. Yet Frederick, patron of Arabic learning, suspected even of Moslem belief, fails to check the decline of the Saracen element in Sicily. The Greek element has no such forces brought against it. It is still a chief tongue of the island, in which Frederick's laws are put forth as well as in Latin. But it is clearly a declining element. Greek and Saracen were both becoming survivals in an island which was but one of the many kingdoms of its king. No wonder that the Italian element

advanced at the cost of all others. Frederick chose it as the court speech of Sicily, and he made it more than a court speech, the speech of a new-born literature. Sicily, strangely enough, became the cradle of Italian song.

Two emperors had now held the Sicilian crown. On Frederick's death in 1250 the crown passed to his son Conrad, not emperor indeed, but king of the Romans. He was nominally succeeded by his son Conradin. The real ruler under both was Frederick's natural son Manfred. In 1258, on a false rumour of the death of Conradin, Manfred was himself crowned king at Palermo. He had to found the kingdom afresh. Pope Innocent the Fourth had crossed into Sicily, to take advantage of the general discontent. The cities, whose growing liberties had been checked by Frederick's legislation, strove for practical, if not formal, independence, sometimes for dominion over their fellows. The 5th century B.C. seemed to have come back. Messina laid waste the lands of Taormina, because Taormina would not obey the bidding of Messina. Yet, among these and other elements of confusion, Manfred succeeded in setting up again the kingly power, first for his kinsmen and then for himself. His reign continued that of his father, so far as a mere king could continue the reign of such an emperor. The king of Sicily was the first potentate of Italy, and came nearer than any prince since Louis the Second to the union of Italy under Italian rule. He sought dominion too beyond Hadria; Corfu, Durazzo, and a strip of the Albanian coast became Sicilian possessions as the dowry of Manfred's Greek wife. But papal enmity was too much for him. His overlord claimed to dispose of his crown, and hawked it about among the princes of the West. Edmund of England bore the Sicilian title for a moment. More came of the grant of Urban the Fourth (1264) to Charles, count of Anjou, and through his wife sovereign count of Provence. Charles, crowned by the pope in 1266, marched to take possession of his lord's grant. Manfred was defeated and slain at Benevento. The whole Sicilian kingdom became the spoil of a stranger who was no deliverer to any class of its people. The island sank yet lower. Naples, not Palermo, was the head of the new power; Sicily was again a province. But a province Sicily had no mind to be. In the continental lands Charles founded a dynasty; the island he lost after sixteen years. His rule was not merely the rule of a stranger king surrounded by stranger followers; the degradation of the island was aggravated by gross oppression, grosser than in the continental lands. The continental lands submitted, with a few slight efforts at resistance. The final result of the Angevin conquest of Sicily was its separation from the mainland.

Sicilian feeling was first shown in the support given to the luckless expedition of Conradin in 1268. Frightful executions in the island followed his fall. The rights of the Swabian house were now held to pass to Peter (Pedro), king of Aragon, husband of Manfred's daughter Constance. The connexion with Spain, which has so deeply affected the whole later history of Sicily, now begins. Charles held the Greek possessions of Manfred and had designs both on Epeiros and on Constantinople. The emperor Michael Palaiologos and Peter of Aragon became allies against Charles; the famous John of Procida acted as an agent between them; the costs of Charles's Eastern warfare caused great discontent, especially in an island where some might still look to the Greek emperor as a natural deliverer. Peter and Michael were doubtless watching the turn of things in Sicily; but the tale of a long-hidden conspiracy between them and the whole Sicilian people has been set aside by Amari. The actual outbreak of 1282, the famous Sicilian Vespers, was stirred up by the wrongs of the moment. A gross case of insult offered by a Frenchman

to a Sicilian woman led to the massacre at Palermo, and the like scenes followed elsewhere. The strangers were cut off; Sicily was left to its own people. The towns and districts left without a ruler by no means designed to throw off the authority of the overlord; they sought the good will of Pope Martin. But papal interests were on the side of Charles; and he went forth with the blessing of the church to win back his lost kingdom.

Angevin oppression had brought together all Sicily in a common cause. There was at last a Sicilian nation, a nation for a while capable of great deeds. Sicily now stands out as a main centre of European politics. But the land has lost its character; it is becoming the plaything of powers, instead of the meeting-place of nations. The tale, true or false, that Frenchmen and Provençals were known from the natives by being unable to frame the Italian sound of *c* shows how thoroughly the Lombard tongue had overcome the other tongues of the island. In Palermo, once city of threefold speech, a Greek, a Saracen, a Norman, who clave to his own tongue must have died with the strangers.

Charles was now besieging Messina; Sicily seems to have put on some approach to the form of a federal commonwealth. Meanwhile Peter of Aragon was watching and preparing. He now declared himself. To all, except the citizens of the great cities, a king would be acceptable; Peter was chosen with little opposition in a parliament at Palermo, and a struggle of twenty-one years began, of which Charles and Peter saw only the first stage. In fact, after Peter had helped the Sicilians to relieve Messina, he was very little in Sicily; he had to defend his kingdom of Aragon, which Pope Martin had granted to another French Charles. He was represented by Queen Constance, and his great admiral Roger de Loria kept the war away from Sicily, waging it wholly in Italy, and making Charles, the son of King Charles, prisoner. In 1285 both the rival kings died. Charles had before his death been driven to make large legislative concessions to his subjects to stop the tendency shown, especially in Naples, to join the revolted Sicilians. By Peter's death Aragon and Sicily were separated; his eldest son Alphonso took Aragon, and his second son James took Sicily, which was to pass to the third son Frederick, if James died childless. James was crowned, and held his reforming parliament also. With the popes no terms could be made. Charles, released in 1288 under a deceptive negotiation, was crowned king of Sicily by Honorius; but he had much ado to defend his continental dominions against James and Roger. In 1291 James succeeded Alphonso in the kingdom of Aragon, and left Frederick not king, according to the entail, but only his lieutenant in Sicily.

Frederick was the real restorer of Sicilian independence. He had come to the island so young that he felt as a native. He defended the land stoutly, even against his brother. For James presently played Sicily false. In 1295 he was reconciled to the church and released from all French claims on Aragon, and he bound himself to restore Sicily to Charles. But the Sicilians, with Frederick at their head, disowned the agreement, and in 1296 Frederick was crowned king. He had to defend Sicily against his brother and Roger de Loria, who forsook the cause, as did John of Procida. Hitherto the war had been waged on the mainland; now it was transferred to Sicily. King James besieged Syracuse as admiral of the Roman Church; Charles sent his son Robert in 1299 as his lieutenant in Sicily, where he gained some successes. But in the same year the one great land battle of the war, that of Falconaria, was won for Sicily. The war, chiefly marked by another great siege of Messina, went on till 1302, when both sides were thoroughly weakened and eager for peace. By a

treaty, confirmed by Pope Boniface the next year, Frederick was acknowledged as king of Trinacria for life. He was to marry the daughter of the king of Sicily, to whom the island kingdom was to revert at his death. The terms were never meant to be carried out. Frederick again took up the title of king of Sicily, and at his death in 1337 he was succeeded by his son Peter. There were thus two Sicilian kingdoms and two kings of Sicily. The king of the mainland is often spoken of for convenience as king of Naples, but that description was never borne as a formal title save in the 16th century by Philip, king of England and Naples, and in the 19th by Joseph Buonaparte and Joachim Murat. The strict distinction was between Sicily on this side the Pharos (of Messina) and Sicily beyond it.

Thus the great island of the Mediterranean again became an independent power. And, as far as legislation could make it, Sicily became one of the freest countries in Europe. By the laws of Frederick parliaments were to be regularly held, and without their consent the king could not make war, peace, or alliance. The treaty of 1302 was not confirmed by parliament, and in 1337 parliament called Peter to the crown. But Sicily never rose to the greatness of its Greek or its Norman days, and its old character had passed away. Of Greeks and Saracens we now hear only as a degraded remnant, to be won over, if it may be, to the Western Church. The kingdom had no foreign possessions; yet faint survivals of the days of Agathokles and Roger lingered on. The isle of Gerba off the African coast was held for a short time, and traces of the connexion with Greece went on in various shapes. If the kings of Sicily on this side the Pharos kept Corfu down to 1386, those beyond the Pharos became in 1311 overlords of Athens, when that duchy was seized by Catalan adventurers, disbanded after the wars of Sicily. In 1530 the Sicilian island of Malta became the shelter of the Knights of Saint John driven by the Turk from Rhodes, and Sicily has received several colonies of Christian Albanians, who have replaced Greek and Arabic by yet another tongue.

There is no need to dwell at length on the Sicilian history of the last five hundred years. The descendants of Frederick did not form a great dynasty. Under him and after him Sicily played a part in Italian affairs, invading and being invaded on behalf of the Ghibelline cause. But it was torn by dissensions between Spanish and Italian factions, and handed to and fro between one Spanish king and another. At last Ferdinand the Catholic (1479-1515), king by inheritance of Aragon and of Sicily beyond the pharos, conquered the continental Sicily, and called himself king of the Two Sicilies. Both were now ruled by Spanish viceroys. In Charles the First (1516-1555)—Charles of Anjou is not reckoned—Sicily had a third imperial king, and once more became the starting-point for African warfare. Philip, already king of Naples, became king of the Two Sicilies at the abdication of his father, and the two crowns passed along with Castile and Aragon till the division of the Spanish dominions. Under the foreign rule the old laws were trampled under foot. Three risings took place, that of Messina in 1672, with pretended French help, which led to deeper subjection. At the death of Charles the Second in 1700, Sicily acknowledged the French claimant Philip; but the peace of Utrecht made it the kingdom of Victor Amadeus of Savoy (1713-1720). He was crowned at Palermo; but he had to withstand Spanish invasion, and to exchange Sicily for the other insular crown of Sardinia. Both Sicilies now passed to the emperor Charles the Sixth, the fourth imperial king, who also is passed by in Sicilian reckoning. Charles the Third is the Spanish prince of the house of Bourbon who won both Sicilies from the Austrian, and who was the last king crowned at Palermo (1735).

