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## Reframing the "Documentary Revolution" in Medieval Italy\*

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In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the clerics of the congregation of San Salvatore in Naples were preparing a petition, or maybe a legal defense, regarding their taxes. Someone from the congregation appears to have been delegated to research and to document their exemption from a tax called the *collecta*, or as historian Hiroshi Takayama termed it "the notorious *collecta*." Imposts identified with this fearsome appellation first appear under the

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\* This essay is dedicated to all the students who have explored "medieval Italy" with me in History 149b: *Italy in the Age of Dante*, especially Ethan Yee and Patrick Morgan. It is a slightly revised version of my presidential address given at the 98th Annual Meeting of the Medieval Academy of America on February 25, 2023 in Washington, DC. The research presented here was supported by a grant from the University of California Berkeley Department of History *alumnus* Carl "Chip" W. Robertson fund, a Mellon Foundation Research Project grant administered by the Division of Arts and Humanities at UC Berkeley, the Office of the Chancellor (Carol T. Christ), and Division of Social Sciences Dean Raka Ray. I am deeply grateful for the support of Mr. Robertson, the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, and my colleagues at UC Berkeley. This essay was significantly improved by suggestions and comments from Elizabeth A. R. Brown, Mary Harvey Doyno, Fiona Griffiths, Dale Kinney, Claudia Storti, Chris Wickham, the California Medieval History Seminar (hosted by UCLA's CMRS Center for Early Global Studies), the Department of History Colloquium at UC Berkeley.

twelfth-century Norman kings of southern Italy as infrequent, extraordinary levies. Frederick II, that *stupor mundi* of the thirteenth century, made them annual and developed both rates and systems of collection that even the papacy considered excessive.<sup>1</sup> The notes of our late nineteenth-century researcher on San Salvatore's exemptions from this tax survive today in a cardboard box at the Archivio Storico Diocesano in Naples.<sup>2</sup> They are certainly not notable as

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<sup>1</sup> Hiroshi Takayama, "Law and Monarchy in the South" in *Italy in the Central Middle Ages*, ed. David Abulafia, *The Short Oxford History of Italy 2* (Oxford, 2004), 58-81, here at 80; Kristjan Toomaspoeg, "Colletta," in *Enciclopedia fridericiana*, 3 vols. (Rome, 2005), 1: 351-52, and available online at [https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/colletta\\_\(Federiciana\)](https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/colletta_(Federiciana)). Ecclesiastical properties were subject to the *collecta* along with those of lay proprietors and this direct tax was remunerative enough that prelates developed their own versions.

<sup>2</sup> Naples, Archivio Storico Diocesano, Fondo Ebdomadari, fascio 50, fascicolo 959, 1334-1881, un-numbered piece dated "li 7. Marzo 1873" at top right and at top left "Amministrazione / dell'Insigne Collegio / De' RR. Oddomadari / della Metropolitana di Napoli." Our intrepid researcher located and copied out a 1213 privilege of Anselm, Archbishop of Naples (1191-1214), granting that the Cimilarcha Aegidius, his clergy, and their Congregation "be utterly and hereafter immune from every Collecta" (*ad omni Collecta exinimis et amodo censemus esse immune*). He also copied two confirmations of this immunity, the first granted in 1217 by the see's Archbishop-Elect, Peter of Sorrento (1217-1247), and the second a papal bull of Gregory IX. The latter is most likely a forgery since the dating clause has it redacted at Rieti 1 January 1236 when the pontiff was in Viterbo (from 7 November 1235 to 21 May 1236). The only January he was in Rieti was in 1232; documents were redacted here from 1 June 1231 to early May 1232. August Potthast, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum inde ab a. post Christum natum*

monuments to tax resistance, which had been developed into a fine art in the peninsula long before. But our nineteenth-century researcher's consultation of volumes containing copies of thirteenth- and fourteenth-century documents does merit notice. From his notes, it appears that these collections of the congregation's documents included sources from as early as the year 1213. For now, I want to call to your attention the fact that these volumes were drawn up in southern Italy; were created by an ecclesiastical institution; and were archived, conserved, and consulted until at least the closing decades of the nineteenth century. Sadly, like many historical sources for medieval southern Italy, they did not survive the Second World War.

The fact that ecclesiastical registers were being created in southern Italy from at least the early thirteenth century and archived for future use is significant because it undermines claims for the exceptionally innovative, even "revolutionary," documentary sophistication of the city-republics of northern Italy whose history dominates narratives of the Italian Middle Ages. There are two persistent obstacles to understanding the phenomenon of documentary change in medieval Italy. First, is the tendency for historians to focus either on secular institutions or on ecclesiastical institutions. The second is an even more deeply engrained tradition of writing the histories of southern Italy and of north-central Italy separately. Both these inherited conventions certainly support excellent and richly textured local studies. But they are inadequate for capturing and addressing complex, widely experienced historical transformations. Each generation of scholars, of course, innovates and contributes to the growth of knowledge within the frameworks and pressing issues of its era. This is at least one good reason for cross-generational dialogue.

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1198 *ad a.* 1304 (Berlin, 1874), 751-765, 858-863; these results were confirmed through searches in the online resource *Ut per litteras apostolicas*.

Luckily, many of us are privileged to have this kind of dialogue frequently. As I near the end of my teaching career, the many years of discussion that I have been having with my students are bearing particularly stimulating fruit in my research. Here, another obstructive academic convention surfaces, and that is the tendency to see research and teaching as separate, and competing, spheres. For most of my career, I have been better at sharing my research with my students than I have been at letting their questions influence it. Fortunately, repeating courses in a regular rotation allows some of their persistent queries to sink in, even if slowly. They have finally emboldened me to venture out of some of the academic frameworks that I inherited from an earlier generation of scholars.

## I. Questions

Let me begin, then, with those student questions and the background to their genesis. At the very dawn of my career, I dreamed of teaching what I considered to be my field: medieval Italy. For the first decade, it remained but a dream: my teaching life was dominated by sections of Western Civilization and a medieval survey. When I could offer a seminar, I was encouraged to focus on topics of broad interest (e.g. the crusades) which would ensure a decent enrollment in a small college of 1,600 students. Halfway through the second decade of my career, thanks to a great department chair—George Mason University's Jack Censer—I finally got the chance to teach an upper-division course on medieval Italy. As is probably common, I reproduced in the syllabus what I had encountered as "medieval Italy" in graduate school, where I studied with an eminent historian: my *Doktorvater*, David Herlihy. The medieval Italy he researched and taught

was northern Italy, the part of the peninsula that gave birth to the urban republics called communes and which is now the wealthiest region within it.<sup>3</sup>

Herlihy's motives for focusing on northern Italy were those of a social historian. A Byzantinist well into his doctorate, he was a late convert to the study of communal Italy. What appealed to him enough to change course was the voluminous documentation—the tens of thousands of notarial documents—that were produced and conserved in the cities of northern Italy. This copious documentation allowed him to write the kind of social history that illumined the lives of marginalized historical actors, particularly women.<sup>4</sup> He and other medievalists of his

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<sup>3</sup> David Herlihy (1930-1991) taught at four different institutions over his career—Bryn Mawr, the University of Wisconsin at Madison, Harvard University, and Brown University—and published over a dozen monographs, many of them field-changing. Known chiefly as a pioneer in applying computer-assisted analysis to the study of medieval and renaissance Italian documents, he collaborated with Christiane Klapisch-Zuber to code and analyze Europe's earliest surviving census record: David Herlihy and Christian Klapisch-Zuber, *Les Toscans et leurs familles: une étude du "catasto" florentin de 1427* (Paris, 1978), with an abridged English translation, *Tuscans and their families: a study of the Florentine catasto of 1427* (New Haven, 1985). I applied to study with him when he was at Harvard after being inspired by his early city studies, *Pisa in the early renaissance: a study of urban growth* (New Haven, 1958) and *Medieval and renaissance Pistoia: the social history of an Italian town, 1200-1430* (New Haven, 1967). These were the models for my dissertation and first book, *The formation of a medieval church: ecclesiastical change in Verona, 950-1150* (Ithaca, NY, 1993).

<sup>4</sup> David Herlihy, *Women in medieval society* (Houston, 1971); *Medieval households* (Cambridge, MA, 1985); *Opera muliebria: women and work in medieval Europe* (New York, 1990); and with

generation responded to the inequities then being challenged in their society, bringing new questions to long appreciated works and seeking new approaches, sources, and methods to undermine a very partial version of the Middle Ages. In the case of Italian studies, the allure of this bounty of sources for northern Italy during the Middle Ages certainly continues to be a factor in its dominance both in research and general narratives.

But there are also other factors behind historians' preoccupation with the northern half of the Italian peninsula. Over the nineteenth century, as Italy forged a nation state, the history of the northern city republics provided both a successful example of victory over external domination and a forum for debating alternatives to monarchy as a structure of governance. In contrast to southern Italy's continuous domination by foreigners from the twelfth into the nineteenth century, the northern city republics famously allied with one another and defeated Emperor Frederick Barbarossa in 1176. For nineteenth-century Italian historians, this made the autonomous city the 'ideal principle' (*principio ideale*) of Italian history and an intense focus of research.<sup>5</sup> Through analyses of communal political development, particularly across the thirteenth-century when elite dominance of the commune was contested, Italian historians also debated the merits of oligarchic and democratic governance. In these narratives, the northern city-republics provided monitory examples: they were failed experiments in democracy in which the passions of the masses inevitably led to tyranny.<sup>6</sup> As the discipline of history professionalized, the continuing salience of such debates and the rich documentation available to

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Anthony Molho, *Women, family, and society in medieval Europe: historical essays, 1978-1991* (Providence, 1995).

<sup>5</sup> Chris Wickham, *Sleepwalking into a new world: the emergence of Italian city communes in the twelfth century* (Princeton, 2015), 3-4.

fuel them established the dominance of research on the northern city republics within narratives of the Middle Ages, a pattern reinforced with the birth of the Italian Republic in 1946.<sup>7</sup> Thus, an emphasis on Italy's northern past was deeply rooted by the time I encountered the history of "medieval Italy" as a master's student in 1982. Looking back now, I realize that I never questioned this geographical discrimination: my enthusiasm for the socially and politically

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<sup>6</sup> Massimo Vallerani, "Il comune e la democrazia nella storiografia tra Ottocento e Novecento," in *Alle inizi della storiografia medievistica in Italia*, ed. Roberto Delle Donne, Scuola di Scienze Umane e Sociali Quaderni 5 (Naples, 2020), 383-410. Some early nineteenth-century histories of Italy—such as Carlo Botta's *Storia d'Italia dal 1789 al 1814*, 4 vols. ([Florence?], 1824)—were conceived as continuations of Francesco Guicciardini's *Storia d'Italia*. These treated the entire peninsula in the modern era, but chiefly as a battleground for European powers and the self-interested motives of ruling elites. More chronologically capacious understandings of the "history of Italy"—such as Cesare Balbo's *Storia d'Italia dalle origini fino ai nostri tempi* (Florence, 1856)—begin with the peninsula's "popoli primitivi," emphasize Greco-Roman antiquity, and then narrate a "barbarian age" (476-775), an age of "kings and emperors" (774-1073), then the "età dei comuni" (1073-1492). Popes and emperors (even Frederick II) appear, but the Normans, Angevins, and Aragonese are accorded only a few sentences. As Vallerani has noted elsewhere, "L'Italia medievale si trovava stretta fra un periodo longobardo e carolingio, - ancora ben dentro l'Europa barbarica - e una lunga e penosa età moderna occupata dalle "dominazioni straniere." Only the northern communes provided glimmerings of the independence and liberty that were the themes of national histories: Massimo Vallerani, "Comune e comuni: una dialettica non risolta," in *Sperimentazioni di governo nell'Italia centro-settentrionale nel processo storico dal primo comune alla signoria*, Atti del convegno di studio,



progressive agenda of David Herlihy's research propelled me headlong into northern Italy's archival riches.

But, my students asked, what about the south? There were myriad forms of this basic question raised across the two decades of teaching my survey of medieval Italy. Were there also communes in the south? Was there a commercial revolution in the south? Did the south have

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Bologna 3-4 settembre 2020, ed. Maria Consiglia De Matteis, Berardo Pio (Bologna, 2011), 9-34, here at 12.

<sup>7</sup> Over the second half of the twentieth century and into the twenty-first, the medieval history of northern Italy remained ascendant in the most widely-accessible general accounts. Although the history of the medieval south garnered more scholarly attention, and efforts have been made by leading historians to accord equitable coverage of the entire peninsula, the separate and unequal treatment of Italy's medieval past endures. Overviews of "communal Italy" are numerous, some examples being Luigi Salvatorelli, *Storia d'Italia, vol. 4: L'Italia comunale dal secolo XI alla metà del secolo XIV* (Milan, 1940); Antonio Viscardi and Gianluigi Barni, *L'Italia nell'età comunale* (Turin, 1966); Elisa Occhipinti, *L'Italia dei comuni: secoli XI-XIII* (Rome, 2000); Giuliano Milani, *I comuni italiani: secoli XII-XIV* (Rome, 2005); Mario Ascheri, *Le città-Stato* (Bologna, 2006). General histories of the medieval Mezzogiorno, however, are few and relatively recent. Early and important, of course, are Jules Gay, *L'Italie méridionale et l'Empire byzantin depuis l'avènement de Basile Ier jusqu'à la prise de Bari par les Normands (867-1071)* (Paris, 1904); Michele Amari, *Storia dei Musulmani di Sicilia*, 3 vols. (Florence, 1854); Nicola Cilento, *Italia meridionale longobarda* (Milan, 1966), but it was Giuseppe Galasso who contributed essential points of entry: *Dal Comune medievale all'Unità. Linee di storia meridionale* (Bari, 1969), *Medioevo Euro-Mediterraneo e Mezzogiorno d'Italia da Giustiniano a*

universities like Bologna and Padua? Was poetry written in the south's vernacular similar to Dante's *dolce stil nuovo*? These were all excellent questions that my doctoral training and previous research had not well prepared me to answer. And why were they asking? Mostly because many of them knew that they had Italian ancestors who had emigrated to the United

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*Federico II* (Rome, 2009), and his introductory volume, *L'Italia come problema storiografico* (Turin, 1979) to his thirty-one-volume *Storia d'Italia* published by UTET, and within this series, André Guillon, *Storia d'Italia, vol. 3: Il Mezzogiorno dai bizantini a Federico II* (Turin, 1983). The north's communes have so framed the Italian Middle Ages that leading historians of the south have felt compelled to address the region's urban history: Giuseppe Galasso, "Le città campane nell'alto medioevo" in idem, *Mezzogiorno medievale e moderno* (Turin, 1965), 61-135; Giovanni Vitolo, *Città e coscienza cittadina nel Mezzogiorno medievale (secc. IX-XIII)* (Salerno, 1990). There have been a few attempts to narrate the medieval history of both north and south together. The most innovative is Paolo Cammarosano's *Storia dell'Italia medievale Dal VI all'XI secolo* (Rome, 2001); more traditional, but highly successful in integrating developments north and south (chiefly by emphasizing antiquity and ecclesiastical themes) is Ovidio Capitano's *Storia dell'Italia medievale, 410-1216* (Rome, 1988), which achieved parity of treatment even while sketching "due diversi destini" for the two halves of the peninsula. Less successful is Giovanni Tabacco's *Egemonie sociali e strutture del potere nel Medioevo italiano*, which originated as a chapter in Einaudi's *Storia d'Italia, vol. 2: Dalla caduta dell'Impero romano al secolo XVIII, parte 1* (Turin, 1974), 6-274. This synthesis dedicated 181 pages to the north and 58 to the south, characterizing the latter's monarchy as "un potere regio peculiare," with a "concezione monarchica di forte ispirazione orientale" (in comparison to England's) "che

States and most of those forebearers did not come from the north. They came from the south.<sup>8</sup>

Over the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, millions of Italians emigrated to the United States, the great majority from impoverished villages throughout the south. From the unification of Italy in the 1860s to the beginning of the first World War in 1914, close to five million peasants, over a third of the south's population, left crushing poverty in their homeland to seek

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raggiunse forme di vero assolutismo monarchico" under Frederick, leading to tyranny

(*tirannide*). Tabacco's characterization of the south's political development, and the larger pattern

of privileging the political developments of the northern Italian cities, exemplify problems noted

by Chris Wickham in his historiographical critique, "Alto medioevo e identità nazionale,"

*Storica* 27 (2003): 7-26: although the "scientific" history now dominant has expunged overtly

nationalist rhetoric, the survival of some of the assumptions behind such rhetoric continues to

influence historical work both through the themes privileged and through the hypotheses

undergirding assessments of the "peculiar" and the "normal." Tabacco's history of medieval Italy

has exerted a much wider influence outside Italy than others since it was translated into English

for the Cambridge medieval textbooks series under the title *The struggle for power in medieval*

*Italy: structures of political rule*, trans. Rosalind Brown Jensen (Cambridge, 1989).

<sup>8</sup> Although California's earliest Italian immigrants came from both halves of the peninsula, the great wave of early twentieth-century immigration came from Puglia, Sicily, and Calabria. Post-

World War II emigration into the state from the east coast has also increased the proportion of

California Italian Americans tracing their roots to the south. The year 2000 US Census revealed

California as home to the third largest Italian American community after New York and New

Jersey: Kenneth Scambray, *Italian Immigration in the American West* (Reno, 2021), 230-82;

Luisa Del Giudice, "Italians in Los Angeles: Guide to a Diverse Community," *Italian Los*

work in North America.<sup>9</sup> Work they found, but also hostility. In the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century United States, southern Italians were considered undesirable immigrants. Although descendants of these Italian immigrants are today considered white, their first-generation forebearers were described as "swarthy," lazy, innately criminal, and "as bad as Negroes."<sup>10</sup>

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Angeles, April 4, 2016, consulted online January 16, 2022 at

<http://www.italianlosangeles.org/guide-to-a-diverse-community/>

<sup>9</sup> Frank J. Cavaoli, "Patterns of Italian Immigration to the United States," *The Catholic Social Sciences Review* 13 (2008): 213-229, especially 214-15; Francesco Cordasco, Michael Vaughn Cordasco, *The Italian Emigration to the United States, 1880-1930* (Fairview, 1990), xi, 1-2; Anna Maria Martellone, "Italian Mass Emigration to the United States, 1876-1930: A Historical Survey," *Perspectives in American History*, new ser. 1 (1984): 379-423.

<sup>10</sup> Matthew Frye Jacobson, *Whiteness of a different color: European immigrants and the alchemy of race* (Cambridge, MA, 1999), 56-58 [quotes 57]; see also *The 1891 New Orleans Lynching and U.S.-Italian Relations: A Look Back*, eds. Marco Rimaneli, Sheryl L. Postman (New York, 1992) and the *Times* more recent *pentimento* piece, Brent Staples, "How the Italians Became 'White': Vicious bigotry, reluctant acceptance: an American Story," *The New York Times*, October 12, 2019 - <https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2019/10/12/opinion/columbus-day-italian-american-racism.html> This case was not unique: between 1886 and 1910, at least 38 Italian immigrants were lynched in the US: Stefano Luconi, "Black dagoes? Italian immigrants' racial status in the United States: an ecological view," *Journal of Transatlantic Studies* 14/2 (2016): 118-99, here at 189, but for a more nuanced analysis see Thomas A. Guglielmo, "'NO COLOR BARRIER': Italians, race, and power in the United States," in eds. Jennifer Guglielmo

The prejudices southern Italians faced in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century America, however, were not new to them; many of their northern Italian fellow citizens also considered them barbarous savages. As early as the sixteenth-century, Counter-Reformation missionaries likened Calabrians to animals and dubbed the region "our Indies."<sup>11</sup> Modern positivism further essentialized a north-south polarity in Italy. A racialized opposition between an Aryan ethnicity in the peninsula's north—characterized by a northern physique, morality, and civic-mindedness—and a "barbarous" Mediterranean ethnicity in the south—marked by weakness and an inclination toward immorality and criminality—was widely disseminated in the late nineteenth century. In this period, national debates within Italy were dominated by a constellation of issues that come to be known as the "Southern Question" (*questione meridionale*)—that is, what were the causes of the south's "backwardness" and how might they be solved? Many different causes—economic, political, social, and cultural—occupied Italian intellectuals from the publication of Pasquale Villari's elucidation of the problem in his *Lettere meridionali* of 1875 and some of his concerns continue to be relevant.<sup>12</sup> Economic aspects of

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and Salvatore Salerno, *Are Italians White? How Race is Made in America* (New York, 2003), 29-43.

<sup>11</sup> Jennifer D. Selwyn, *A paradise inhabited by devils: the Jesuits' civilizing mission in early modern Naples* (Aldershot, 2004), 25-26 [quote on 26]; Adriano Prosperi, "'Otras Indias': Missionari della Controriforma tra contadini e selvaggi," in *Scienze, credenze, occulte, livelli di cultura: convegno internazionale di studi* (Florence, 1982), 205-34, here at 207.

<sup>12</sup> On the racialized opposition between north and south, see Tommaso Astarita, *Between salt water and holy water: a history of southern Italy* (New York, 2005), 299-310, and Mary Gibson, "Biology or Environment? Race and Southern 'Deviancy' in the Writings of Italian

Italy's Southern Question, in fact, remain urgent, particularly in the wake of the 2008 global recession: in 2019, the population of the south had a per capita income of only 56% of that of the northern and central parts of Italy. Sadly, not only economic aspects of the Southern Question remain relevant: northerners' racist views of southern Italians prominent among nineteenth-century intellectuals gained renewed political potency in the 1980s with the rise of the right-wing, originally separatist, *Lega Nord*—now discreetly rebranded as simply the *Lega*.<sup>13</sup>

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Criminologists, 1880-1920," in *Italy's "Southern Question": orientalism in one country*, ed. Jane Schneider (Oxford, 1998), 99-115; and on the influence of this new "science" on the US and its immigration policies, see Peter D'Agostino, "Craniums, criminals, and the 'cursed race': Italian anthropology in American racial thought, 1861-1924," *Comparative studies in society and history* 44/2 (2002): 319-43; Nelson J. Moe, *The view from Vesuvius: Italian culture and the Southern Question* (Berkeley, 2002), especially 156-83.

<sup>13</sup> Guido Pescosolido, "Italy's Southern Question: long-standing thorny issues and current problems," *Journal of Modern Italian Studies* 24/3 (2019): 441-455, especially 441-43, 447, DOI: 10.1080/1354571X.2019.1605726. Since Matteo Salvini became the League's party secretary in 2013, the "others" which it opposes are now immigrants. But during the preceding four decades, the "others" denigrated by the League were southern Italians. See Paolo Barcella, "Percorsi leghisti. Dall'antimeridionalismo alla xenofobia," *Meridiana* 91 (2018): 95-119, especially 102-106; Cecilia Biancalana, "Four Italian populisms," in eds. Paul Blokker and Manuel Anselmi *Multiple populisms: Italy as democracy's Mirror* (New York, 2020), 216-41, here at 216-22; Paolo Barcella, *La Lega: una storia* (Rome 2022), 34-45, on the anti-southern origins of the League, and 145-68, on the shifting focus of the League's racism from southerners

In the Middle Ages, however, the south was certainly neither poor nor backward. This is a major reason why so many other Europeans invaded it and dominated it, beginning with the Normans in the eleventh century and continuing with the Angevins, Aragonese, Spanish Hapsburgs, and Spanish Bourbons into the nineteenth century. Scholars have intensively explored and debated the impact of the south's medieval monarchs and their institutions on the later fortunes of the region's economy, and Frederick II's regularization and generalization of the *collecta* tax came under particular scrutiny.<sup>14</sup> But despite the continuing salience of the Southern

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to African immigrants that has made it a national, and right-wing nationalist, party.

<sup>14</sup> Sandro Carocci's massive 2014 study of lordship places the turning point in the south's economic fortunes after 1282: Sandro Carocci, *Signorie di Mezzogiorno: società rurali, poteri aristocratici e monarchia (XII-XIII secolo)* (Rome, 2014), 194, 530-33; English edition: Sandro Carocci, *Lordships of southern Italy: rural societies, aristocratic power and monarchy in the twelfth and thirteenth Centuries*, trans. Lucinda Byatt (Rome, 2018), 203-4, 553-56. Carocci also offers a brief historical overview of debates on the medieval origins of the south's decline (*Signorie*, 26-32; *Lordships*, 36-42), but more extended critical discussions are Stephan R. Epstein, who argued convincingly for a turning point in the seventeenth century, in *An island for itself: economic development and social change in late medieval Sicily* (Cambridge, 1992), 1-16; Giuseppe Galasso, "Considerazioni intorno alla storia del Mezzogiorno in Italia," in idem, *Mezzogiorno medievale e moderno* (Turin, 1975), 15-59, but especially 42-54 and also Eleni Sakellariou, *Southern Italy in the late Middle Ages: demographic, institutional, and economic change in the Kingdom of Naples, c. 1440-c. 1530* (Leiden: Brill, 2012).

Question in Italian politics, the history of the south remains under-represented in narrations of Italy's medieval history.

When my students asked their various versions of "what about the south," they prompted me to integrate the history of southern Italy into my course, which I have delighted in doing by slowly revising and incorporating the histories of Byzantine, Arab, and Norman-Hohenstaufen Italy into this upper-division survey. Their questions, indeed, have provided the analytical framework for the present version, which is a comparative history of north, south, and central—that is, papal—Italy interrogating both similarities and differences in the cultures and political institutions of these regions. It is a much better course now. I learned a lot in the process, and their questions also helped me begin to question the framework still applied to the medieval history of the Italian peninsula. Why are the histories of north and south treated separately? More important, why are they not treated equally? To give just one ready example, the volume of *The New Cambridge Medieval History* covering the thirteenth century devoted four chapters, totaling 85 pages, to northern Italy while southern Italy is covered in 24 pages.<sup>15</sup> It is certainly true that the historical experiences of north and south have been very different, that the quantity of surviving sources for the two regions is unequal, and that the linguistic demands of mastering the complete body of sources for much of the medieval south are greater. All these factors figure into the separate but unequal historical treatment of the peninsula's two halves. But studying the south and overcoming this imbalance also requires us to study the north in different ways.

## II. The *Révolution documentaire*

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<sup>15</sup> *Volume V c. 1198-c. 1300* (Cambridge, 1999), 419-96 (northern Italy), 497-521 (southern Italy).



In 2014 I began researching the changing material forms of Italian documents in the central Middle Ages, particularly what appears to be a leap from dependence upon single sheet parchments, also called notarial documents or charters, to the widespread use of what are called "registers." This capacious term is used to designate parchment booklets or books that varied considerably in form and content. In its earliest usage, a *regestum* or *registrum* was a collection of letters and memorials, but the registers of the thirteenth century can be collections of lists. While the earliest register of the see of Mantua, like some early communal registers, is comprised chiefly of lists of lands held in various locales, the first registers of the Benedictine monastic community at Cava de' Tirreni near Salerno are lists of incomes reckoned either in coin or measures of agriculture products.<sup>16</sup> Collected copies of documents, which in northern Europe

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<sup>16</sup> Mantua, Archivio Storico Diocesano, Mensa Vescovile, ser. Registri, I, which is comprised mainly of lists of the see's landholdings in different parts of the diocese and along with the names of those who held/worked them. On communal registers generally see Antonella Rovere, "I "*libri iurium*" dell'Italia comunale," in *Civiltà comunale: libro, scrittura, documento*, Atti del Convegno, Genova 1988, Atti della Società Ligure di Storia Patria, ns 29/2 (Genoa, 1989), 157-199; and on "governing by lists" see Giuliano Milani, "Il governo delle liste nel comune di Bologna. Premesse e genesi di un libro di proscrizione duecentesco," *Rivista storica italiana* 108 (1996): 149-229; Massimo Vallerani, "Logica della documentazione e logica dell'istituzione. Per una rilettura dei documenti in forma di lista nei comuni italiani della prima metà del XIII secolo," in *Notariato e medievistica. Per i cento anni di Studi e ricerche di diplomazia comunale di Pietro Torelli*, Atti delle giornate di studi, Mantova, Accademia Nazionale Virgiliana, 2-3 dicembre 2011, Istituto storico italiano per il medio evo, Nuovi studi storici 93 (Rome, 2015), 109-145; Maureen C. Miller, "Abbot Balsamon's book: the origins of administrative registers at

are usually called cartularies, are in Italy frequently identified and discussed as registers, such as the *Regestum farfense* compiled at the Abbey of Farfa at the end of the eleventh century. The *Libri iurium*, or books of rights, that emerged in the Italian city-states in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries were also collections of documents relating to the lands and rights claimed by these communal governments as well as the treaties they made with other communities and rulers.<sup>17</sup> Not all these collections, however, are entirely comprised of copies. Some begin with summaries or copies of earlier documents and then systematically add originals in chronological sequence, while others deftly intermingle both copies and originals.<sup>18</sup> Formats also vary widely: some registers are pocket-sized while others are gigantic. Some were bound as codices in the medieval period, while others survived as unbound parchment gatherings into the twentieth century. What all of them have in common is that they relate to lands, incomes, and rights, and assist in their defense, collection, or exercise. For this reason, they are also called administrative registers or codices. Materially, medieval Italian registers are systems of redacting data or documents in parchment notebooks, or gatherings, called *quaterni*, which are often bound into codices. What intrigued me about this change in the archives of ecclesiastical institutions was that the kinds of documents initially redacted didn't change: their single sheet parchments

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Cava dei Tirreni," *The Catholic Historical Review* 108 (2022): 1-43.

<sup>17</sup> Rovere, "I "*libri iurium*" dell'Italia comunale," 157-99; Cristina Carbonetti and Jean-Marie Martin, "Les cartulaires ecclésiastiques de l'Italie médiévale," *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome - Moyen Âge*, 127/2 (2015): 2-11.

<sup>18</sup> At Città di Castello, the canons' first register is an example of the former and the commune's "Libro Nero" an example of the latter: Maureen C. Miller, "The bishops' books of Città di Castello in context," *Traditio* 76 (2021): 215-246.

overwhelmingly record donations of property, exchanges of property, and leases of property and their early registers record the exact same types of transactions. So why change the form?

Looking to the secondary literature on this phenomenon of documentary change in Italy brought both frustration and clarity. Most oft-cited was an essay by a leading historian, Jean-Claude Maire Vigueur, who has made enormous contributions to the study of the Italian Middle Ages.<sup>19</sup> Entitled "Révolution documentaire et révolution scripturaire: le cas de l'Italie médiévale," the piece appeared in the venerable journal, *Bibliothèque de l'école de chartes* in 1995.<sup>20</sup> It argued that the change from administration via single-sheet parchments to administration via notebooks (*quaterni*) and codices constituted a "documentary revolution." Maire Vigueur's manifesto generally identified the revolution's makers as the leaders and notaries of the city-republics of northern Italy, but specifically those of the thirteenth-century movement

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<sup>19</sup> These are well captured in *I comuni di Jean-Claude Maire Vigueur: Percorsi storiografici*, eds. Maria Teresa Caciorgna, Sandro Carocci, Andrea Zorsi (Rome, 2014), but note particularly his outstanding monograph on the social and political impact of warfare in the communes—*Cavaliers et citoyens: guerre, conflits et société dans l'Italie communale, XIe-XIIIe siècles* (Paris, 2003)—and his monumental collaborative research initiative on the Podestà which yielded *I podestà dell'Italia comunale, Parte I: Reclutamento e circolazione degli uffici forestieri (fine XII sec.-metà XIV, 2 vols.* (Rome, 2000).

<sup>20</sup> Jean-Claude Maire Vigueur, "Révolution documentaire et révolution scripturaire: le cas de l'Italie médiévale," *Bibliothèque de l'école de chartes* 153/1 (1995):177-85. On the intellectual context of this manifesto and responses to it see Giampaolo Francesconi, "Potere della scrittura e scrittura del potere. Vent'anni dopo la *Révolution documentaire* di J.-C. Maire Vigueur," in *I comuni di Jean-Claude Maire Vigueur*, 135-55.

within these city-states known as the Popolo. This movement called the Popolo hardly represented all the people, although in cities where the social status of its leadership can be known to any degree, it was somewhat less aristocratic than the consular elite that had solidified its power over the early decades of the commune's existence.<sup>21</sup> These Popolo movements did pursue more equitable policies of tax assessment and collection and they also undertook public works projects like the construction of aqueducts to bring fresh water to the urban center, of infrastructure for grain provisioning, of public plazas and roads, and of cathedrals.<sup>22</sup> Maire Vigueur insisted that even if some innovations in documentary forms were fostered over the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries by the early hyper-elite commune and its temporary chief executives known as Podestà, the term "revolution" was only justified in describing the more

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<sup>21</sup> Giuliano Milani, "Contro il comune dei *milites*. Trent'anni di dibattiti sui regimi di Popolo," in *I comuni di Jean-Claude Maire Vigueur*, 235-58; Alma Poloni, "Fisionomia sociale e identità politica dei gruppi dirigenti popolari nella seconda metà del Duecento. Spunti di riflessione su una tema classico della storiografia comunistica italiana," *Società e storia* 110 (2005): 799-821; Massimo Vallerani, "Comune e comuni: una dialettica non risolta," in *Sperimentazioni di governo nell'Italia centro-settentrionale nel processo storico dal primo comune alla signoria*, Atti del convegno di studio, Bologna 3-4 settembre 2020, ed.s Maria Consiglia De Matteis, Berardo Pio (Bologna, 2011), 9-34, esp. 12-17.

<sup>22</sup> Enrico Guidoni, *Firenze nei secoli XIII e XIV*, Atlante Storico delle città della Toscana 10 (Rome, 2002), 10-12; Dennis Romano, *Markets and Marketplaces in Medieval Italy c. 100 to c. 1440* (New Haven, 2015), 43-58, 63-68, 127-51; William M. Bowsky, *A medieval Italian commune: Siena under the Nine, 1287-1355* (Berkeley, 1981), 191-224, 273-74, 285-86, 294-98; Philip Jones, *The Italian city-state from commune to signoria* (Oxford, 1997), 499-516.

"rapid and radical" documentary changes "which accompanied the second great mutation of the communal regime, in which the Popolo substituted itself for the nobility in the principal functions of government."<sup>23</sup>

Unsurprisingly, historians of the communes welcomed the notion of a "documentary revolution"; it further burnished their research specialization and underwrote a plethora of codicological studies and source editions.<sup>24</sup> But some remained unconvinced by Maire Vigueur's narrow attribution of the revolution to the Popolo. Paolo Cammarosano, for example, took a much broader view. In his book *Italia medievale*, Cammarosano had sketched a long period of ecclesiastical hegemony in documentary production and conservation extending from late antiquity to the eleventh century and then, from the twelfth to the fourteenth centuries, a quantitative explosion in the number of documents produced and a rapid multiplication of new typologies and forms of documentation as the Norman-Hohenstaufen kingdom developed in the south and the communes emerged in the north. These two new systems of power broke ecclesiastical archival dominance and initiated fundamental changes in the production and conservation of documents. Cammarosano himself acknowledged and discussed at length the continuing role of ecclesiastical institutions in documentary production and innovation, underscoring that "the change of the twelfth to fifteenth centuries was general, affecting the forms of private texts and of public documents, those of historical narrative and the same

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<sup>23</sup> Maire Vigueur, "Révolution documentaire," 183 (on changes under the Podestà) and 184 (on the Popolo as the initiator of revolutionary documentary changes).

<sup>24</sup> Francesconi, "Potere della scrittura e scritture del potere," (above, n. 20), 137-54.

traditional forms of ecclesiastical institutions.”<sup>25</sup> Despite the admirable breadth of Cammarosano's study—note that it treated both north and south as well as both temporal and ecclesiastical institutions—work since Maire Vigueur's manifesto focused on the documentation of the communes. This scholarship has undermined Maire Vigueur's sharp distinction between early thirteenth-century registers (like the *libri iurium*, or books of rights) which served chiefly to

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<sup>25</sup> Paolo Cammarosano, *Italia medievale: Struttura e geografia delle fonti scritte* (Rome, 1991), 205: “Il mutamento dei secoli XII–XV fu generale: investì le forme delle scritture private e della documentazione diplomatistica, quelle della narrazione storica, e le stesse forme di tradizione degli enti ecclesiastici.” Cammarosano's foundational *manuale* inspires my own interest in this topic. He devoted several sections in chapter three (210-265) to the evolution of ecclesiastical documentation, highlighting generally the proliferation of new churches, of lay and clerical confraternities, and of new orders, as well as the processes of centralization within the Church and the increasing authority of Rome. Detailed discussions are devoted to the documents of the Holy See, of the secular Church (primarily chapters and bishops), of religious orders, and of confraternities and hospitals. One should note that in Italy monastic cartularies — common in France, for example, from the eleventh century — appear later and the pre-twelfth-century examples are more typically chronicles with key documents copied into them. See Cammarosano, *Italia medievale*, 91–92; Maire-Vigueur reviewed *Italia medievale* in the article in which he declared the revolution and proffered his own view of its origins in contrast to Cammarosano's portrayal. Another voice problematizing the concentration on the northern communes to the exclusion of the south is Isabella Lazzarini, “De la 'revolution scripturaire' du Duecento à la fin du Moyen Âge: pratiques documentaires et analyses historiographiques en Italie,” in *L'écriture pragmatique. Un concept d'histoire médiévale à l'échelle européenne*,

collect and safe-guard documents, and later thirteenth-century registers (such as those containing the deliberations of councils or the ongoing records of judicial and fiscal administration) which he contended more directly enacted governance. The innovative character and governing force of some pre-Popolo registers has now been broadly recognized through detailed studies of the documentation of individual communes and of common genres such as the *Libri finium* or "boundary books" which enumerated, measured, and delimited public and private properties in the urban center and in its surrounding countryside. Particularly influential evidence for the novelty of pre-Popolo administrative registers has been published by Hagen Keller's project on "Pragmatische Schriftlichkeit," especially the findings of his volume on the redaction of communal statutes from the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries.<sup>26</sup>

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CEHTL 5 (Paris, 2012), 72-101, especially 85-88.

<sup>26</sup> *Statutencodices des 13. Jahrhunderts als Zeugen pragmatischer Schriftlichkeit. Die Handschriften von Como, Lodi, Novara, Pavia und Voghera*, eds. Hagen Keller, Jörg W. Busch (Munich, 1991); Hagen Keller, "Gli statuti dell'Italia settentrionale come testimonianza e fonte per il processo di affermazione della scrittura nei secoli XII e XIII," in *Le scritture del comune. Amministrazione e memoria nelle città dei secoli XII e XIII*, ed. G. Albin (Turin, 1998), 61-94; Cristina Carbonetti Vendittelli, *Documenti su libro: L'Attività documentaria del comune di Viterbo nel Duecento* (Rome, 1996), especially on p. 183; Laura Baietto, "Elaborazione di sistemi documentari e trasformazioni politiche nei comuni piemontesi (sec. XIII): una relazione di circolarità," *Società e storia* 98 (2002): 645-79; Giampaolo Francesconi and Francesco Salvestrini, "La scrittura del confine nell'Italia comunale: modelli e funzioni," in *Frontiers in the Middle Ages. Proceedings of the third European congress of Medieval studies. (Jyväskylä, 10-14 June 2003)* (Turnhout, 2006), 197-221; Gian Maria Varanini, "Public written records," in *The*

But was the "documentary revolution" in medieval Italy just a development within these temporal governments? Already two decades ago, Italian scholars had documented and studied some ecclesiastical registers.<sup>27</sup> A few of these registers—such as the series of administrative codices compiled for the bishops of Trent from 1205, or those from the see of Mantua commencing in 1214—originated quite early in the thirteenth century, well before the first

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*Italian renaissance state*, eds. Andrea Gamberini, Isabella Lazzarini (Cambridge, 2012), 385-405, especially 387-88 where he describes "fiscal and judicial sources, *libri iurium* and statutes" as all part of the "documentary revolution"; Antonella Ghignoli, "Il codice e i testi. Per una fenomenologia del codice statutario a Pisa fra XIII e XIV secolo," in *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome - Moyen Âge* 126.2 (2014), published online 27 April 2014 and consulted 26 September 2021 DOI: <https://doi.org/10.4000/mefrm.2095>. More generally on the re-evaluation of the sophistication of the early consular commune see Paolo Grillo, "La frattura inesistente. L'età del comune consolare nella recente storiografia," *Archivio Storico Italiano* 167/4 (2009): 673-700.

<sup>27</sup> A key early collection of studies is *I Registri vescovili dell'Italia settentrionale (secoli XII-XV). Atti del convegno di studi (Monselice, 24-25 novembre 2000)*, eds. Attilio Bartoli Langeli, Antonio Rigon, *Italia Sacra - Studi e documenti di storia ecclesiastica* 72 (Rome, 2003).



volumes surviving for many communes.<sup>28</sup> Might the church have been the earliest revolutionary?

Indeed, major dioceses in the peninsula did produce at least some registers before the millennium. The papacy had been keeping registers of correspondence, at least sporadically, from 354. We have Gregory the Great's late sixth- to early seventh-century register thanks to its survival on papyrus until the 880s when it was copied onto parchment. Some letters from

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<sup>28</sup> Emanuele Curzel and Gian Maria Varanini, eds., *La documentazione dei vescovi di Trento (XI secolo - 1218)* (Bologna, 2011); Emanuele Curzel, "Registri vescovili trentini (fino al 1360), in *I Registri vescovili*, 189-98; *Codex Wangianus: I cartulari della chiesa trentina (secoli XIII-XIV)*, 2 vols., Fondazione Bruno Kessler - Annali dell'Istituto storico italo-germanico in Trento, Fonti 5, eds. Emanuele Curzel, Gian Maria Varanini (Bologna, 2007); *Il Codice Vanga: un principe vescovo e il suo governo: Torre Vanga, Museo Diocesano Tridentino, 23 novembre 2007-2 marzo 2008. Catalogo della mostra tenuta a Trento*, ed. Emanuele Curzel (Trent, 2007); Giuseppe Gardoni, "I registri della chiesa vescovile di Mantova nel secolo XIII," in *I Registri vescovili*, 141-87; *Mantova e l'Episcopato mantovano nella prima metà del Duecento: Registro della Mensa Vescovile 1215-1233*, ed. Galeazzo Nosari (Reggiolo, 2004); Giuseppe Gardoni, "Notai e scritture vescovili a Mantova fra XII e XIV secolo: una ricerca in corso," in *Chiese e notai (secoli XII-XV)*, Quaderni di storia religiosa 11 (Verona, 2004), 51-85; Giuseppe Gardoni, *Governo della chiesa e vita religiosa a Mantova nel secolo XIII* (Verona, 2008); the series of episcopal registers for Mantua continues down to 1807: Giancarlo Manzoli, ed., with Donatella Martelli, Franco Negrini, and Galeazzo Nosari, *Archivio Storico Diocesano di Mantova, Archivio della Mensa Vescovile: Inventario* (Mantua, 1979) [unpublished inventory consulted at the archive], Sezione Seconda - Archivio della Mensa Vescovile, 1-157.

Honorius I's seventh-century register were copied into the eleventh-century canonical collection of Cardinal Deusdedit and other compilations of canons reference papal letters. But survival is sparse enough that one might wonder, as Veronika Unger has, whether the keeping of papal registers was continuous before Innocent III (r. 1198-1216). It bears noting that between Gregory the Great (r. 590-604) and Innocent III, only the last six years (876-882) of Pope John VIII's register survive and, of course, the famous register of Gregory VII (1073-1085).<sup>29</sup> Moreover, while the papacy was distinctive among ecclesiastical institutions in producing registers of correspondence, as early as the tenth century the see of Ravenna was creating registers of documents akin to those deemed revolutionary in the early thirteenth-century northern Italian city republics. Thirty-six papyrus folios survive of the *Breviarium ecclesiae Ravennatis*, compiled in 960-983, and the work was clearly more extensive. Organized topographically it comprised registrations of charters relating to the see's properties and rights: it is a *liber iurium* produced over two centuries before a commune compiled one. Moreover, the survival within the archiepiscopal archive of two other eleventh-century parchment fragments,

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<sup>29</sup> Thomas Frenz, *Papsturkunden des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit* (Stuttgart, 2000), 59-61, or in the 2nd Italian edition, ed. Sergio Pagano, *I Documenti Pontifici nel Medioevo e nell'Età Moderna* (Città del Vaticano, 1998), 52-54; Veronika Unger, *Päpstliche Schriftlichkeit im 9. Jahrhundert - Archiv, Register, Kanzlei* (Vienna, 2018), 40-60, 138, 292; for a parallel critique of the *Liber Censuum*, see Benedict G. E. Wiedemann, "The character of papal finance at the turn of the twelfth century," *English Historical Review* 133/562 (2018): 503-32, here especially at 509, 516, 519-22.

each labeled a *breviarium* and containing registrations in the same format as the tenth-century papyrus *breviarium*, suggest that such registers were being at least sporadically produced.<sup>30</sup>

Indeed, if we look more closely at northern Italian cities where registers survive for ecclesiastical institutions as well as for communal governments, the earliest innovators were churches. In Orvieto, for example, the key leap from administration using single-leaf parchments to administration via registers occurred first in the bishop's court in 1211, next in the cathedral chapter in 1215, and finally in the urban communal government in 1220. In Città di Castello the cathedral chapter initiated registers first in 1192, the episcopal see in 1207, and finally the commune in 1221.<sup>31</sup> Whether at the level of the papacy or of a tiny Umbrian diocese

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<sup>30</sup> *Breviarium ecclesiae Ravennatis (codice bavaro), secoli VII-X*, ed. Giuseppe Rabotti (Rome, 1985), xxxi-lxv, especially xlvi (lx for it as a *liber iurium*) and 230-36 (App. III, nos. 20-21). I thank Veronica West-Harling for calling my attention to this important source. In the eleventh and early twelfth centuries, two central Italian monasteries (Subiaco and Farfa) also created hybrid "chartulary chronicles" that integrated copies of privileges and other charters into a narration of the abbey's history: Leone Allodi and Guido Levi, eds., *Il regesto sublacense dell'undicesimo secolo*, (Rome, 1885), v-xi; Gregory of Catino, *Il Chronicon farfense di Gregorio di Catino; precedono la Constructio farfensis e gli scritti di Ugo di Farfa*, 2 vols., *Fonti per la storia d'Italia* 33-34 (Rome, 1903); Graeme Dunphy, "Cartulary chronicles and legal texts," in *Encyclopedia of the Medieval Chronicle*, eds. Graeme Dunphy, Cristian Bratu, consulted online on 21 July 2022 <[http://dx.doi.org.libproxy.berkeley.edu/10.1163/2213-2139\\_emc\\_SIM\\_01668](http://dx.doi.org.libproxy.berkeley.edu/10.1163/2213-2139_emc_SIM_01668)>.

<sup>31</sup> Maureen C. Miller, "The Bishops of Orvieto and their Culture," in eds. Laura Andreani, Agostino Paravicini Bagliani, *Il «Corpus Domini». Teologia, antropologia e politica* (Florence,

like Città di Castello, the chronology of changing documentary forms sketches a broadly shared pattern: the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries mark a watershed. It may be a watershed only in the survival of registers, but it is definitely when both ecclesiastical and communal institutions seem to be not only producing but *conserving* registers. This is when relatively continuous series of administrative registers survive for both a wealthy see like Rome and a much poorer see like Città di Castello. The latter diocese continued to produce *quaterni* from 1207 into the fifteenth century that were later bound in ten huge volumes, and the cathedral chapter also continued to create registers after innovating its 1192 volume: the canons produced eleven more volumes over the thirteenth century and another dozen over the fourteenth.<sup>32</sup> Even more impressive continuity is evident at Mantua where the series of episcopal registers is continuous from 1214 into the early nineteenth century.<sup>33</sup>

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2015), 273-91, here at 285; Lucio Ricetti, "La cronaca di Ranerio vescovo di Orvieto (1228-1248). Una prima ricognizione," *Rivista di storia della Chiesa in Italia* 43/2 (1989): 480-509; Lucio Ricetti, "Il laboratorio orvietano: I vescovi Giovanni (1211-1212) e Ranerio (1223-1248) e i loro notai," in *Quaderni di storia religiosa* 11 (2004), 87-115, here at 90; "The bishops' books of Città di Castello in context," above n. 18.

<sup>32</sup> Città di Castello, Archivio Storico Diocesano, Archivio Vescovile Cancelleria, Reg. 1-10 and Archivio Capitolare, n. 132-146, 148-149, 155; Giovanna Casagrande, *Chiesa e conventi degli ordini mendicanti in Umbria nei secoli XIII-XIV: Inventario delle fonti archivistiche e catalogo delle informazioni documentarie: Gli archivi ecclesiastici di Città di Castello*, Archivi dell'Umbria 14 (Perugia, 1984), xxviii-xxix, 1-92, 119-131.

<sup>33</sup> Giuseppe Gardoni, "I registri della chiesa vescovile di Mantova nel secolo XIII," in *I Registri Vescovili*, 141-48, gives an overview of registers surviving from before 1500, but for the

So, if this change from relying on single-sheet parchments to compiling registers was a "documentary revolution," it was not a revolution made by one political movement within the northern communes, nor was it even limited to the communes. Lots of institutions were making and archiving registers, and ecclesiastical ones appear to have been doing it first. I was tempted, at this point in my research, to write a short book establishing this point. But my students' classroom queries kept coming to mind: what about the south?

### III. Going South

I set out to try to find out. Did a "documentary revolution" occur only in northern Italy or did the south have one too? Southern Italy is very different from the north, particularly from the ninth century on. The entire peninsula, of course, was deeply Romanized in antiquity, but the entrance of the Germanic peoples called the Lombards in 568 was a first major political and cultural rupture: they established a Lombard kingdom in the north and two duchies further south, one centered at Spoleto and the other at Benevento. The Carolingian conquest of northern and central Italy in 774 was a second rupture and a third was the Arab conquest of Byzantine Sicily by the Aghlabid emirs of Ifriqiya (827-902). In sum, by roughly 850, northern and most of central Italy had been incorporated into the Carolingian empire, while southern Italy was divided into regions of Lombard, Byzantine, and Islamic rule.<sup>34</sup> This political fragmentation was

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complete series see above n. 28.

<sup>34</sup> Astarita, *Between salt water and holy water*, 11-21; Walter Pohl, "Invasions and ethnic identity" in ed. Cristina La Rocca, *Italy in the Early Middle Ages* (Oxford, 2002), 11-33; Barbara M. Kreutz, *Before the Normans: Southern Italy in the ninth and tenth centuries* (Philadelphia, 1991); Chris Wickham, *Early medieval Italy: central power and local society 400-1000* (Totowa,

gradually overcome by the Norman conquest of the southern mainland and Sicily over the eleventh and early twelfth centuries. The conquest created the kingdom that comes to be called that of the "Two Sicilies" or simply the *regno*.<sup>35</sup>

These differences are no reason not to consider the south when assessing documentary traditions in Italy.<sup>36</sup> When the south is taken into consideration, the surviving evidence is clear: from the early Middle Ages, parts of southern Italy (namely, the deep south, Sicily and Calabria) were being administered by their Byzantine rulers using registers and by the Arab successors of those Byzantine rulers in Sicily using *dafātir*, administrative codices. The Islamic administration of Sicily likely maintained registers until the civil wars of the late Kalbid era of the 1040s, as Jeremy Johns has argued, and some land registers and lists of inhabitants did survive the

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NJ, 1981), 9-27, 146-67. For Islamic Sicily, Alex Metcalfe, *The Muslims of medieval Italy* (Edinburgh, 2009) is essential.

<sup>35</sup> Astarita, *Between salt water and holy water*, 22-53, 60; the historiography of the Norman south is vast, and recent developments may best be followed in the *Atti* of the annual conferences organized since 1975 by the *Centro di studi normanno-svevi* at the Università degli Studi di Bari. Accessible starting places have been provided by the extensive research and scholarship of G. A. Loud, especially his *The age of Robert Guiscard: southern Italy and the norman conquest* (Harlow, 2000), his outstanding collection of essays edited with Alex Metcalfe, *The society of Norman Italy* (Leiden, 2002), his *Latin church in Norman Italy* (Cambridge, 2007), as well as his translations of key sources.

<sup>36</sup> Cammarosano, *Italia medievale*, 114-25, 193-95; see above n. 25.

conquest to be used by the Norman conquerors of the island in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries.<sup>37</sup>

Given this early medieval evidence for administration using registers in the south, one might object that there was no documentary revolution in Italy at all, just a huge developmental lag between the ancient civilizational continuity in Italy's Mediterranean south and the "dark ages" that descended on the northern and central portions of the Italian peninsula with the arrival of the Lombards. Research on administration in southern Italy, however, reveals some significant continuities at the level of royal fiscal documentation in Calabria and Sicily, but also indicates important discontinuities. Further, at the local level, monasteries and some dioceses appear to begin producing registers in the early twelfth century, some similar in form to those created in northern ecclesiastical institutions but others quite different. In sum, the administrative sophistication that registers represent did exist significantly earlier in southern Italy than in the north but there are also widespread changes occurring in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries that are comparable to those heralded as revolutionary in the north.

At the level of royal government, the evidence is quite fragmentary and complex, but some general observations are possible. First, there is no compelling evidence for the survival of Byzantine administration either in the Lombard duchies or in the Byzantine theme of Longobardia (which had a predominantly Latinate population).<sup>38</sup> There is evidence that in

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<sup>37</sup> See the more detailed discussion of the evidence below and its citations.

<sup>38</sup> Jean-Marie Martin, "L'empreinte de Byzance dans l'Italie normande: occupation du sol et institutions" *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 60/4 (2005): 733-65, at 750-51, and most convincingly by Vera von Falkenhausen, "Amministrazione fiscale nell'Italia meridionale bizantina (secoli IX-XI," in *L'Heritage byzantin en Italie (VIIIe-XIIe siècle), I: La fabrique*

Calabria, where Greek-speakers were in the majority, the Normans found existing Byzantine cadastral registers upon their arrival and used them, as well as the Greek personnel in charge of them, to draw up writs of transfer bestowing lands on their followers and allies. But Vera von Falkenhausen, has concluded, "that this system was neither regularly updated nor remained efficaciously functional."<sup>39</sup> Second, as the Normans conquered Arab Sicily, they similarly

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*documentaire*, eds. Jean-Marie Martin, Annick Peters-Custot, Vivien Prigent, Collection de l'École française de Rome, 449 (Rome, 2011) 2: 533-556, especially 534-35. Falkenhausen's mastery of Southern Italy's Byzantine Greek documentation, particularly that of the imperial state, is unquestioned, and her expertise extends to this crucial period of transition in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. See her "La tecnica dei notai italo-greci" in *La cultura scientifica e tecnica nell'Italia meridionale bizantina*, eds. Filippo Burgarella, Anna Maria Ieraci Bio (Catanzaro, 2006), 9-58; "I funzionari greci nel regno normanno," *Byzantino-sicula* 5 (2009), 185-202, and "Greek and Latin in Byzantine Italy (6th-11th Century)," in *A Companion to Byzantine Italy*, Brill's companions to the Byzantine world 8 (Leiden, 2021), 541-81. A 1087 donation of Count Roger Borsa to Cava mentioning *quaterni fiscali*, cited by Mario Caravale, is now considered a late thirteenth-century forgery: Mario Caravale, "Gli uffici finanziari nel Regno di Sicilia durante il periodo normanno," *Annali di storia del diritto* 8 (1964), 177-223, here at 187; Graham Loud, *The social world of the Abbey of Cava, c. 1020-1300*, 122 and n. 54.

<sup>39</sup> Falkenhausen, "Amministrazione fiscale," 536-48, quote on 548: "Possiamo comunque presumere che tale sistema non fosse regolarmente aggiornato e non sempre efficacemente funzionante" [English translation mine]; Vera von Falkenhausen, "The Graeco-Byzantine Heritage in the Norman Kingdom of Sicily," in eds. Stefan Burkhardt, Thomas Foerster, *Norman Tradition and transcultural heritage: exchange of cultures in the 'Norman' peripheries of*



availed themselves of the Arabic registers both of land boundaries and of villeins belonging to lands; their Arabic-proficient allies or servants referenced these registers and copied portions of them into the writs of transfer. Once the distribution of spoils was over, however, there is no evidence over the next two decades of Norman continuation of the Arabic system. There are no Arabic documents surviving from 1111 to 1130 and no evidence that any were issued.<sup>40</sup> After *medieval Europe* (Farnham, 2013), 57-77, especially 62, and her *La dominazione bizantina nell'Italia meridionale dal IX all'XI secolo* (Bari, 1978); Hiroshi Takayama, *The administration of the Norman Kingdom of Sicily* (Leiden, 1993), 39. Annick Peters-Custot suggests the possibility of greater continuity, but with rather indirect evidence: "Plateae et anthrôpoi, peut-on trouver des origines byzantines à l'organisation normande de la paysannerie de la Calabre méridionale?" in *L'héritage byzantin en Italie (VIIIe-XIIIe siècle), IV: Habitat et structures agraire*, eds. Jean-Marie Martin, Annick Peters-Custot, Vivien Prigent (Rome, 2017), 202-18. Long ago, Genuardi asserted that the initial Arabic registers of Sicily were translations of existing Byzantine *registri catastali*, but Johns concluded that "the extent to which the Muslim fiscal administration of Sicily was derived from, or made up of, the Byzantine fiscal institutions existing on the island at the time of the conquest remains problematic because so little is yet known of the administration of Byzantine Sicily." L. Genuardi, "I defetari Normani," in *Centenario della nascita di Michele Amari*, 2 vols. (Palermo, 1910), 1:159-64, here at 159; Jeremy Johns, *Arabic administration in Norman Sicily: the royal Dīwān* (Cambridge, 2002), 22-23.

<sup>40</sup> Johns, *Arabic Administration*, 45-51, 63; Jeremy Johns, "Arabic Sources for Sicily," *Proceedings of the British Academy* 132 (2007), 341-360, here at 347-48; Alex Metcalfe has called into question the existence of pre-Norman Arabic registers, but his argument is largely *ex*

his coronation as king in 1130, as Johns has demonstrated, Roger II re-established, *de novo*, an Arabic writing office, or *dīwān*, importing from Fatimid Cairo "scribes, diplomatic forms and practices, and bureaucratic structures drawn from Fatimid administration."<sup>41</sup> Johns concludes, however, that "the primary purpose of the royal *dīwān* was not administrative efficiency but the production of the image of the multicultural Norman monarchy."<sup>42</sup> Most compelling is the evidence that recipients of documents, with inaccuracies dire enough to render them administratively useless, were perfectly content with them. The monks of Chùrchuro (southwest of Palermo), for example, refused to accept one version of a *dīwān* document containing a land grant and its boundaries (in Arabic) because it had no royal seal, but once they received a document with the seal and signature of royal chancellor Maio of Bari, they were content—even

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*silentio*: Alex Metcalfe, "Language and the written record: loss, survival and revival in early Norman Sicily," in *Multilingual and multigraphic documents and manuscripts of east and west*, eds. Giuseppe Mandalà, Immaculada Pérez Martín (Piscataway, NJ, 2018), 3-31.

<sup>41</sup> Johns, "Arabic Sources," 348; Johns, *Arabic Administration*, 63, 78-186, 257-81, and most succinctly in his "The Norman kings of Sicily and the Fatimid Caliphate," *Anglo-Norman Studies* 15 (1992), 133-59, at 136; Anliese Nef, *Conquérir et gouverner la Sicile islamique aux XIe et XIIe siècles*, Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome 346 (Rome, 2011), 83-94, 263-69 confirms Johns' conclusions.

<sup>42</sup> Johns, "Arabic Sources," 348 and *Arabic Administration*, 285; Nef, while acknowledging the importance of Arabic in promoting a multicultural image of royal sovereignty, still sees practical administrative purposes in its use: *Conquérir et gouverner*, 84-90.

though this version's identification of lands (in Arabic) was different from the first version's, and erroneous.<sup>43</sup>

Two observations are worth making at this point. First, it is easier to use a surviving register or even to draw up one for a single purpose, than to come up with, and decide to allocate regularly, the resources, both human and financial, to produce and maintain a series, a system, of registers. Several ancient systems of governance—from Sumer, to Egypt, Greece, and Rome—made and archived serial records: particularly those essential to collecting revenues.<sup>44</sup> This capability of ancient bureaucracies and their more sophisticated heirs survived long enough in southern Italy to be encountered and used by its Norman conquerors. But it appears doubtful that even Roger II invested deeply and broadly enough to maintain an efficacious system. He, and institutions like the monastery at Chùrchuro, invested in performance pieces: individual documents and registers that projected the appearance of majestic power and royal (seemingly bureaucratic) authority. This performative use of administrative codices, evident in the

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<sup>43</sup> Jeremy Johns and Alex Metcalf, "The Mystery at Chùrchuro: conspiracy or incompetence in twelfth-century Sicily?" *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 62 (1999): 226-259.

<sup>44</sup> Ernst Posner, *Archives in the Ancient World* (Cambridge, MA, 1972), 29-35, 71-85, 91-95, 118-28, 136-52, 160-66, 186-210; Eva Jakab, "Introduction: Archives in the Roman Empire," in ed. Michele Faraguna, *Archives and archival documents in ancient societies, Trieste 30 September-1 October 2011*, *Legal Documents in Ancient Societies* 4 (Trieste, 2013), 269-72; James Tan, "The Fiscality of Foreign Relations in the Roman Republic (241-146 BCE)," in Jonathan Valk, Irene Soto Marín, *Ancient taxation: the mechanics of extraction in comparative perspective* (New York, 2021), 262-89.

scholarship on administration in southern Italy, merits consideration in relation to the evidence from northern Italy.

But first, score one for the south, particularly the Byzantine Greek and Muslim south! The documentary sophistication trumpeted as revolutionary in the communes of northern Italy existed in Byzantine Calabria and Arab Sicily three centuries earlier. If one considers north and south together, the north appears underdeveloped. It may be worth noting at this point that studies of administration in southern Italy were ignited in the late nineteenth century by the theory of a Norman "genius" for administration. Medievalists' interest in the Norman achievement in England was what drew their attention to the Normans in southern Italy. Their initial hypothesis was that the *gens normanorum*—whether in Normandy, England, or southern Italy—had some special gift for administrative governance that put Europe on the road to the modern state.<sup>45</sup> As we have seen, that was not the case. At least in southern Italy, we can say that the Normans were savvy enough conquerors that they were suitably impressed by the administrative sophistication of the more ancient Byzantine and Muslim cultures they encountered. And some memory of how a centralized fiscal system functioned survived their initial encounter. But it seems that Sicily was so wealthy that even the more primitive methods of indirect taxation and extortion of tribute, with which the Normans were quite accustomed, made them sufficiently rich that they could live luxuriously and merely invest in some of the external visual props of bureaucratic rule to project their authority.

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<sup>45</sup> Takayama, *Administration*, 9-14 and the bibliography cited there, as well as the more complete historiographical account and critique of Mario Caravale, "Gli uffici finaziari," particularly 178-85.

At a local level, however, evidence of the production of administrative registers in southern Italy looks similar to that in the north. Production starts earlier, but certainly quickens in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. The earliest are two southern monastic "cartulary chronicles," one attributed to the monk John of San Vincenzo al Volturno, begun before 1119-1124, and another, the *Liber preceptorum* or *Chronicon* of the Beneventan monastery of Santa Sofia, completed by August 1119.<sup>46</sup> This genre of the cartulary chronicle, a historical narrative incorporating numerous complete copies of documents, flourished in late eleventh-century central Italy and the extensively studied example of Farfa's *Chronicon* (1107-1119) confirms that compilation of a codex containing documentation of the institution's rights and properties, in this case the *Regestum farfense*, was the prelude to producing a chronicle.<sup>47</sup> .

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<sup>46</sup> Vincenzo Federici ed., *Chronicon Vulturnense del monaco Giovanni*, 3 vols., *Fonti per la Storia d'Italia* 58-60 (Rome, 1925-1937); Alessandro Pratesi, "Il *Chronicon Vulturnense* del monaco Giovanni," in *Una grande abbazia altomedievale nel Molise: San Vincenzo al Volturno*, ed. Faustino Avagliano, *Miscellanea Cassinese* 51 (Montecassino, 1985) 221-31, here at 224; Jean-Marie Martin with Giulia Orofino, eds., *Chronicon Sanctae Sophiae: cod. Vat. Lat. 4939*, 2 vols., *Fonti per la Storia dell'Italia medievale - Rerum Italicarum Scriptores* 3\* and 3\*\* (Rome, 2000), 1:1; Ottaviano Bertolini, "I documenti trascritti nel «*Liber preceptorum beneventani monasterii S. Sophia* («*Chronicon S. Sophiae*»)» in *Studi di storia napoletana in onore di Michelangelo Schipa* (Naples, 1926), 11-47. They are followed by Montecassino's *Registrum*, compiled by Peter the Deacon in 1131-1133: Jean-Marie Martin with Giulia Orofino, eds., *Registrum Petri Diaconi* (*Montecassino, Archivio dell'abbazia, reg. 3*), 4 vols. (Rome, 2015).

<sup>47</sup> On Montecassino and Volturno, see G. A. Loud, *Church and society in the Norman principality of Capua, 1058-1197* (Oxford, 1985), 172-76, 181-82, 183 n. 62. On Italian

Howsoever we categorize these cartulary chronicles, southern Italian ecclesiastical institutions were definitely creating administrative registers from the early twelfth century. Several monasteries affiliated with Montecassino—San Lorenzo in Capua, the nunnery of San Biago in Aversa, San Matteo on Monte Castello, and San Lorenzo in Aversa—produced cartularies in the 1140s and 1150s, in addition to Sant'Angelo in Formis at Capua.<sup>48</sup> At the end of the twelfth century the see of Salerno created a register of all the properties belonging to its episcopal *mensa*, and in the early thirteenth century the Sicilian see of Agrigento compiled the codex of privileges it christened its *Tabularium*. Around the same time this diocese produced a separate register of the properties supporting the cathedral's prebends.<sup>49</sup> Several other registers were created at Montecassino in the thirteenth century, and churches in the Abruzzo started

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cartularies generally see Cammarosano, *Italia medievale*, 91-2; Graeme Dunphy, "Cartulary chronicles and legal texts," in Graeme Dunphy, Cristian Bratu, eds., *Encyclopedia of the Medieval Chronicle*, consulted online 10 September 2020

<[http://ds.coi.org.libproxy.berkeley.edu/10.1163/2213-2139\\_emc\\_SIM\\_01668](http://ds.coi.org.libproxy.berkeley.edu/10.1163/2213-2139_emc_SIM_01668)> [Brill, 2016]; Cristina Carbonetti and Jean-Marie Martin, "Les cartulaires ecclésiastiques de l'Italie médiévale" in *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome - Moyen Âge* 127/2 (2015): 2-11. Carbonetti now leads an *équipe* working to produce a repertory of Italian ecclesiastical cartularies compiled or copied before 1500 and this project is part of a larger, European-wide undertaking, *MECA - Medieval European Cartularies*, coordinated by Paul Bertrand, François Bougard, and Jean-Marie Martin: <https://www.efrome.it/en/meca>

<sup>48</sup> Alessandro Pratesi, "Considerazioni paleografiche (e non) sul regesto di Sant'Angelo in Formis," *Segno e testo* 7 (2009): 91-141; Loud, *Church and society*, 183 n. 62; *Regesto dell'antica Badia di S. Matteo de Castello o servorum Dei* (Montecassino, 1914).

producing them at the end of the century.<sup>50</sup> The best-preserved series of ecclesiastical registers in southern Italy, however, was produced at the monastery of Cava de' Tirreni, just north of Salerno. This Benedictine community founded in the eleventh century began producing registers c. 1221. The earliest manuscript contains two gatherings of a register listing revenues paid directly to the abbatial *mensa*, plus folios from a register of revenues paid to the monastery's treasurer and from another containing acts of the abbot issued as he traveled among the community's dependencies and properties (letters, receipts and payment of sums, appointments to churches). Three other relatively complete registers survive from the thirteenth century and eight more volumes were created across the fourteenth century.<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>49</sup> Alessandro Di Muro, *Signori e contadini nel Mezzogiorno normanno: Il Codice Solothurn (fine sec. XII)* (Bari, 2013); Paolo Collura, *Le più antiche carte dell'Archivio capitolare di Agrigento (1092-1282)* (Palermo, 1961), ix-x [describing the thirteenth-century "Libellus de successione pontificum Agrigenti"].

<sup>50</sup> *Regesto di Tommaso decano; o, Cartolario del convento cassinese (1178-1280)* (Montecassino, 1915); Anselmus Mariae Caplet, ed., *Regesti Bernardi I [1266-1275] Abbatis Casinensis fragmenta ex archivio casinensi sanctissimi domini nostri Leonis XIII Pontificis Maximi munificentia nunc primum edita* (Rome, 1890); Tersilio Leggio, "'Cum eodem Frederico sublato de medio.' I registri di chiese delle diocesi abruzzesi ai confini del Regno nella seconda metà del Duecento e nel primo Trecento," *Bulletino della Deputazione abruzzese di storia patria* 102 (2011): 5-33.

<sup>51</sup> Miller, "Abbot Balsamon's book," 1-43; Cava dei Tirreni, Biblioteca Statale del Monumento Nazionale Badia di Cava, Archivio Cavensis [hereafter, AC], Armarium X, Ms. 1; Giovanni Vitolo, "Il registro di Balsamo, decimo abate di Cava (1208-1232)," *Benedictina* 21 (1974): 79-

Once these ecclesiastical institutions in the *regno* began creating their own registers, did the south's monarchs revolutionize their own record-keeping? One Norman royal register, the *quaternus magne expeditionis* (or *Catalogus Baronum*) was drawn up c. 1150 recording an extraordinary levy to defend the kingdom from joint attack by the forces of both Conrad III of Germany and the Byzantine emperor Manuel Comnenus, and there is evidence that it was partially updated in 1167-1168.<sup>52</sup> But the last decade of the twelfth century and the opening decades of the thirteenth in the kingdom are obscured by the violent and chaotic transition from the Norman dynasty to the Hohenstaufen. When the last Norman monarch, William II, died without heirs in 1189, the kingdom plunged into an extended period of political uncertainty and

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129. The thirteenth century registers are AC, Armarium X, Mss. 2-4; see Maria Castellano, *Per la storia dell'organizzazione amministrativa della Badia della SS. Trinità di Cava dei Tirreni: gli inventari dei secoli XIII-XV* (Naples, 1994); Pietro Ebner, "I rapporti economico-sociali della Badia di Cava nel XIII secolo attraverso il suo più antico codice cartaceo," *Ricerche di storia sociale e religiosa* 1 (1972): 31-85; Bruno Figliuolo, "Un inedito registro Cavense di prestazioni d'opera della fine del XIII secolo," *Archivio storico per le provincie napoletane*, ser. 3, 21 (1982): 75-100. The fourteenth-century registers are AC, Armarium X, Mss. 5-12: Giancarlo Bova, "Il 1o Regestrum domini abbatis Maynerii (1341-1366) conservato presso l'Archivio Cavense," *Benedictina* 24 (1977): 251-83; Giancarlo Bova, "Il IVo Regestrum domini Maynerii abbatis (1341-1366) conservato nell'Archivio Cavense," *Benedictina* 27 (1980): 619-61; Carmine Carleo, ed., *Inventarium abbatis Maynerii*, 2 vols. (Badia di Cava, 2019); Giancarlo Bova, "Il regesto dell'abate Golferio 1368," *Benedictina* 23/1 (1976): 15-63.

<sup>52</sup> Evelyn Jamison, ed., *Catalogus Baronum*, *Fonti per la Storia d'Italia* 101 (Rome, 1972); Carocci, *Signorie*, 135-47; *Lordships*, 141-54.



warfare. The Hohenstaufen prince, Henry VI of Germany, son of Emperor Frederick Barbarossa, successfully asserted his wife Constance's claim to the kingdom (as daughter of Roger II) and was crowned king in 1190. But his death in 1197, followed by Constance's in 1198, left a four-year-old heir, Frederick II, in the care of Pope Innocent III, Sicily's distant overlord. Roughly a decade of noble seizures of royal lands decimated Frederick II's inheritance and it took another decade after he began active rulership in 1209 to reconstitute some semblance of a royal demesne in the *regno* and to claim both his ancestral Swabian lands and the German crown. Only in 1220, when Frederick triumphantly returned to his southern kingdom after his imperial coronation in Rome, did he systematically set about repairing the damage to royal rights, property, and power wrought by the preceding anarchic period.<sup>53</sup>

Once Frederick II re-established the architecture and leading officials of Norman administration, royal uses of written instruments appear to be very different from those of his Norman predecessors. First, Arabic has disappeared altogether. Although some key official

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<sup>53</sup> Wolfgang Stürner, *Friedrich II, Teil 1: Die Königsherrschaft in Sizilien und Deutschland 1194-1220* (Darmstadt, 1992), 34-66, 114-21, 141-44, 246-50 [Italian translation: *Federico II e l'apogeo dell'impero*, trans. Andrea Antonio Verardi (Rome, 2009), 95-133, 189-98, 220-23, 344-52]; Norbert Kamp, "Federico II di Svevia, imperatore, re di Sicilia e di Gerusalemme, re dei Romani," in Alberto Maria Ghisalberti, ed., *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, 100 vols., (Rome, 1960-2023) 45: 743-58, here 743-44; a good, brief English account of the crisis in the realm is Astarita, *Between salt water and holy water*, 39-41. Some other southern monasteries, such as Montecassino, endured crises earlier in the twelfth century as Roger II established his dominion on the mainland, but their losses worsened after 1189: Loud, *Church and society*, 200-203.

promulgations like the *Liber Augustalis* law code were translated into Greek, Frederick administered his realm in Latin.<sup>54</sup> Second, Frederick II's administration was register-intensive. In addition to registers of royal correspondence, we have evidence that royal justiciars kept registers of their acts, not all of which were judicial, and that royal castellans had inventories drawn up as registers. There were registers of accounts, of land boundaries, of customs receipts, of demesne and escheat holdings. The beautiful surviving *Quaternus excadenciarum capitana*, a 1249 register of lands that devolved to the royal fisc either through confiscation or an absence of heirs, gives us just a glimpse of what appears to have been a very rich royal archive.<sup>55</sup> The emperor's

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<sup>54</sup> Vera von Falkenhausen, "The Graeco-Byzantine Heritage in the Norman Kingdom of Sicily," in Stefan Burkhardt and Thomas Foerster, eds., *Norman Tradition and Transcultural Heritage: Exchange of Cultures in the 'Norman' Peripheries of Medieval Europe* (Farnham, 2013), 57-77, especially 74-75; Ortensio Zecchino, "Liber Constitutionum," in *Enciclopedia fridericana* (see above n. 1) 2: 149-73; Vera von Falkenhausen, "Friedrich II. und die Griechen im Königreich Sizilien," in Arnold Esch and Norbert Kamp, eds., *Friedrich II. Tagung des Deutschen Historischen Instituts in Rom im Gedenkjahr 1994* (Tübingen, 1996), 235-62, especially 247-62; see also James M. Powell, "Frederick II's Knowledge of Greek," *Speculum* 38/3 (1963): 481-82.

<sup>55</sup> Cristina Carbonetti Vendittelli, *Il Registro della Cancelleria di Federico II del 1239-1240*, 2 vols., *Fonti per la Storia dell'Italia medievale*, 19\*-19\*\* (Rome, 2002), 256 (no. 257), 446 (no. 463) [royal justiciars]; 261 (no. 259), 581 (no. 615), 665 (no. 745) [registers of accounts]; 274 (no. 265), 446 (no. 463) [fiefs]; 285 (no. 270), 288-89 (no. 272), 290 (no. 275) [customs receipts]; 565 (no. 598), 727 (no. 813), 737 (no. 820), 753-4 (no.842) [castellan inventories]; Giuseppe de Troia, *Foggia e la Capitanata nel Quaternus Excadenciarum di Federico II di Svevia* (Foggia, 1994), 48.

correspondence, moreover, reveals him frequently ordering copies to be made of registers, or specific portions of them.<sup>56</sup> This was not a performative production of records; it was an effective system, particularly in the extraction of wealth to fund the emperor's military campaigns. Finally, note that this intensive and highly sophisticated use of registers in Frederick's administration of his southern realm is contemporaneous with the intensification of written administration through registers in the northern city republics. And Frederick II's accomplishment was continued, as well as expanded, by his Angevin successors.<sup>57</sup>

#### IV. Conclusions

The value of considering north and south together is, I hope, obvious at this point. But let me specify the gains I see as most important. First, looking at all of Italy rather than a part of it, allows a redefinition of the "documentary revolution." It was not just a great leap forward in

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<sup>56</sup> Carbonetti Vendittelli, *Il Registro della Cancelleria*, 133-3 (entry nos. 147-148).

<sup>57</sup> The *Excerpta Massiliensia*, an Angevin administrative compendium of c. 1300, attests to the enduring influence of Frederick II's fiscal system: Eduard Winkelmann, ed., *Acta imperii inedita seculi XIII. Urkunden und Briefe zur Geschichte des Kaiserreichs und des Königreichs sicilien in den Jahren 1198 bis 1273*, 2 vols. (Innsbruck, 1880), 1: 599-720); Léon Cadier, *Essai sur l'administration de Royaume de Sicile sous Charles Ier et Charles II d'Anjou*, Bibliothèque Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome 59 (Paris, 1891), 4, 7-34; Andreas Kiesewetter, "La cancelleria angioina," and Stefano Palmieri "L'Archivio della Regia Zecca: formazione, perdite documentarie e ricostruzione," both in *L'État angevin. Pouvoir, culture et société entre XIIIe et XIVe siècle. Actes du colloque internationale de Rome-Naples (7-11 novembre 1995)*, Publications de l'École Française de Rome 245 (Rome, 1998), 361-415, 417-45.

governing sophistication within the communes. Rather, it was a much broader set of changes that was more widely experienced by various social groups. Presently, I would define the documentary revolution in medieval Italy as the widespread initiation over the twelfth and thirteenth centuries of new documentary and archiving systems relying primarily upon multi-folio gatherings (*quaterni*) and codices. The change occurred in both secular and ecclesiastical institutions; in both wealthy elite institutions and in those of much more modest means; and in both monarchical and representative forms of governance. Its significance lies not in the novelty of the documentary forms; after all, as we have seen in southern Italy, earlier Byzantine and Arab governments created systems of administrative codices. Rather, it is the breadth of the change—across different kinds of institutions with varied aims—and the *sustained* resource investments these series of registers represent that are significant.

Second, what constellation of developments or conditions led to the level of investment in administrative tools necessary to create and maintain these kinds of serial records? There is nothing "natural" about an institution suddenly hiring notaries and purchasing massive amounts of parchment in order to make copies of existing documents or to compile previously unwritten lists. Yet studies of individual registers routinely ignore the issue of causation. Addressing it is both a research *desideratum* and an exciting opportunity for exactly the kind of localized research that is a venerable tradition in Italian medieval studies. It requires linking the material and textual evidence of early registers—what they are recording, in what order and format—to the challenges individual institutions in particular communities were confronting. Old, in this case ecclesiastical, institutions merit concerted attention: why, for example, were the collections of single sheet parchments held by a venerable monastery, cathedral chapter, or diocese suddenly insufficient either to collect the rents that supported the community or to defend property

ownership or rights? What did *quaterni* or codices allow these institutions to do that individual parchments could not accomplish? Contextualized case studies of early registers focused on the forces driving innovation could help correlate varied register forms and content with uses as well as develop clearer typologies. One tantalizing hypothesis to explore is the impact of the revived study of Roman law and jurisprudence on local judicial practices as well as on the monarchical (papal and royal/imperial) fora of appeal. Was it the need for new kinds of proof to defend rights and property that drove investment in new administrative tools and systems?

Third, embracing the challenge of writing a geographically inclusive history of medieval Italy provides opportunities for the kinds of collaborative and comparative research that is both a tradition in Italian medieval studies and a rewarding model for building intellectual community. Choose any theme in Italian medieval art, literature, music, science, religion, economy, or politics and commit to seeking out and inviting the contributions of scholars working in all of Italy's diverse regions throughout its south, center, and north.<sup>58</sup> The professional vehicles already exist— in the conference, the recurrent conference thread/sessions, and the edited volume— to accomplish this work of intellectual inclusivity. What is needed is the intentionality and sense of adventure to realize a broader and more complex understanding of the medieval past.

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<sup>58</sup> Two recent examples of the fruitfulness of this approach are Giuseppe Galasso, ed., *Alle origini del dualismo italiano: Regno di Sicilia e Italia centro-settentrionale dagli Altavilla agli Angiò (1100-1350)* (Ariano Irpino, 2021) and Patrizia Mainoni and Nicola Lorenzo Barile, eds., *Comparing Two Italies: Civic Tradition, Trade Networks, Family Relationships between the Italy of Communes and the Kingdom of Sicily* (Turhout, 2022). I thank Chris Wickham for alerting me to these two collections of essays.

Finally, I have highlighted the role my students and teaching have played in my intellectual growth partly because teaching and learning can, perversely, be undervalued in academic societies. But my experience over the last three years in the Academy's leadership also motivated this focus. It has been a great honor and pleasure to work with so many brilliant and dedicated Academy members, not only my fellow presidents and members of Council, but all the talented volunteers on dozens of committees who lend their prodigious expertise and precious time to the support of medieval studies. I have learned the most, however, from the Academy's student and early-career members. Their vision, energy, and creativity, as well as their success at building new kinds of supportive intellectual communities, have given me hope and inspiration. They are, indeed, a very different generation from my own, not only in the resources and opportunities open to them but also in their goals, needs, and desires. What they want in a professional academic society is, in some crucial ways, different from what met my needs as a member of the Medieval Academy. We need, I conclude, to attend better to their needs, which starts with listening and learning. Their questions are certainly less easily answered than those of my undergraduates in History 149b. But, in sum, if we are to co-create the vibrant future we want for the many disciplines of medieval studies and for the Medieval Academy of America, not only cross-generational dialogue is essential, but also listening to and learning from our students.