

ARAGONESE SICILY AS A MODEL OF LATE MEDIEVAL STATE BUILDING

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Abstract: This article illuminates the role played by Sicilian cities in state building in the late Middle Ages through their involvement in the intense process of negotiations between the king and his subjects. This study heads in the opposite direction of the interpretations that negate the existence of municipal freedom and allege the existence of an exclusively top-down model of power relationships between king and kingdom. The focus is on one of the main royal officials in local government—the *capitaneus* or captain, who was intended to be the king's instrument of control. The captain gradually came to represent the municipal will and his role was defined by decision-making interaction between the king and local governments. The dynamics surrounding the captaincy go well beyond the local sphere and will lead us to address the positive effects of the encounter of various political traditions in the Crown of Aragon. This in turn, made the establishment of new political balances possible, which had a crucial role in government building in Sicily.

Keywords: Sicily, Italian *Mezzogiorno*, Crown of Aragon, municipal freedom, captain, high justice, pactism, Martin I, Alphonso V, royal demesne, alienations.

INTRODUCTION

Late medieval Sicily has long been seen as the Italian backwater. The historiographic debate has been dominated by a standard interpretation maintaining that in the late Middle Ages the baronage was the only sector able to stand up to and act as a check on the Crown's activities so that it was impossible for the municipal sector to develop.¹ Recently it has been suggested again that the modern backwardness of the Italian *Mezzogiorno* or southern Italy dates back to medieval times and that beginning in the twelfth century, and more clearly in the following centuries under Aragonese rule (1282) onward, the establishment of a feudal monarchy rendered the population of the south mere subjects rather than citizens. The monarchy in the south put down any form of municipal participation.²

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¹ The origins of this theory, especially in relation to the role of the barons, can be retraced to an interpretation by Rosario Gregorio (1805) which was maintained in later studies. See R. Gregorio, *Considerazioni sopra la storia di Sicilia dai tempi normanni sino ai presenti*, 3 vols. (Palermo 1972). Among the most recent studies, I shall limit myself to H. Bresc, *Un monde méditerranéen: Économie et société en Sicilie 1300–1450*, 2 vols. (Rome-Palermo 1986). For a critical analysis of the development of this historiographic interpretation, see S. R. Epstein, *An island for itself. Economic development and social change in late medieval Sicily* (Cambridge 1992) 1–23; and for a more general analysis, *Rappresentazioni e immagini della Sicilia tra storia e storiografia. Atti del convegno di studi*, ed. F. Benigno and C. Torrissi (Caltanissetta 2003).

² R. D. Putnam, *Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy* (Princeton, 1993) 121–137, in particular, for the medieval period. For distinct analyses critical of Putnam's study, see G. Brucker, "Civic traditions in premodern Italy," *Patterns of social capital. Stability and change in historical perspective*, ed. R. I. Rotberg (Cambridge 2001) 19–40; and E. Muir, "The sources of civil society in Italy," *ibid.* 41–68. See also D. Abulafia, "Signorial Power in Aragonese Southern Italy," *Sociability and Its Discontents: Civil Society, Social Capital, and Their Alternatives in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. N. Eckstein and N. Terpstra (Turnhout 2009) 173–192. Brucker's study is traditional in regard to references *Viator* 44 No. 1 (2013) 217–250. 10.1484/J.VIATOR.1.103150

Attention must also be called to the rise of interpretative hypotheses diametrically opposed to the studies cited above.³ Stephan Epstein lucidly disproved the theory of the backwardness of the Sicilian economy and its subordination to northern economy in medieval times.⁴ In reference to Sicilian urban institutions and society, common elements shared with other lands of the Crown have been pointed out and a picture has been put together of the very broad degree of autonomy enjoyed by cities that were political subjects capable of interacting with the Crown and offsetting the power of the barons.⁵

In a recent wide-ranging synthesis, John Watts concludes that governmental and political growth in late medieval Europe underwent a process of political integration spurred by pressure from the bottom up and top down.⁶ Building on the revisionist view of Sicily's urban vitality and on Watts's model, this paper will illuminate the role played by cities in the state building process in the late Middle Ages through their involvement in the intense process of negotiations between the king and his subjects. The objective is to underscore the pivotal role of the urban environment in affairs of the kingdom. This central role is undeniably confirmed by a gradual increase in leeway accorded to undertakings of municipal governments, which paralleled a sometimes sizable restructuring of areas open to royal intervention. This study leads in the opposite direction of those interpretations negating the existence of municipal freedom and alleging the existence of an exclusively top-down model of power relationships between king and kingdom.

The focus will be on one of the main royal officials in local government—the *capitaneus* or captain. In order to delineate the boundaries and balances of power between king and local governments, the methods for appointing the captain and the areas under the purview of this official, who was intended to be the king's instrument of control, will be examined. We shall see that only at certain times was he a magistrate who constituted an effective restraint on the communities' constant efforts to advance their prerogatives and he limited municipal autonomy only in well-circumscribed instances. Indeed, the captain gradually came to represent the municipal will and the relative balance of alignments in local government, and his role was defined by decision-making interaction between the king and local governments rather than pressure from a higher level. It will be shown how royal intervention at the local level was not imposed from the top down but rather was negotiated in conjunction with forces and interests at a lower level. A total of 358 appointments to the captaincy in thirteen urban communi-

to Sicily; he stresses that surveillance was present in a republican reality, i.e., under the Medici rule of Florence, and the feudal government of Piedmont and Sicily.

³ For an important revision of the interpretation claiming that the Norman conquest did not allow self-governance in the cities, see P. Oldfield, *City and community in Norman Italy* (Cambridge 2009), who argues for the presence of civic consciousness and municipal participation under the Normans, focusing on Campania and Apulia.

⁴ Epstein, *Island* (n. 1 above).

⁵ F. Titone, *Governments of the universitates: Urban communities of Sicily in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries* (Turnhout 2009).

⁶ J. Watts, *The making of Politics: Europe, 1300–1500* (Cambridge 2009).

ties have been taken into consideration in this study which mainly involves a time span covering the reigns of Martin I (1392–1409) and Alphonso V (1416–1458).⁷

These two reigns are focused on for the following reasons. It was not until the 1360s that the captain became a local official in every community and, due to a significant lack of documentation for the 1370s and 1380s—which will be explained shortly—a solid body of primary sources regarding this office commences starting with the reign of Martin I. In addition, special attention is given to the reign of Alphonso V, because during his time the Crown of Aragon's policy of territorial conquest led to a considerable increase in the Crown's financial needs. Alphonso identified new sources of income in ceding property belonging to the royal demesne, including the captain's office. This strategy had important repercussions, giving the communities greater autonomy.

The dynamics surrounding the captaincy go well beyond the local sphere and will lead us to address the positive effects of the encounter of various political traditions in the Crown of Aragon. This in turn, made possible the establishment of new political balances having a crucial role in the high degree of municipal freedom and, more generally in government building in Sicily. The coronation of Peter III of Aragon as king of Sicily, which followed the revolt of the Vespers begun in Palermo on 31 March 1282, placed Sicily in a new international position and spurred an encounter with the other lands of the Crown of Aragon, bringing about a considerable exchange of diverse cultural traditions.⁸ The Principality of Catalonia is probably the land within the Crown of Aragon that most significantly exported its own cultural models, in particular, a relationship between the king and his subjects commonly defined as “pactism” in which not all decisions were made unilaterally.⁹ The term pactism indicates a contrac-

⁷ Agrigento, Catania, Corleone, Nicosia, Noto, Patti, Piazza, Polizzi, Randazzo, Salemi, Sciacca, Termini, and Trapani. Despite the fact that the captaincy serves as a fundamental interpretive framework for understanding the relative balance of power between the central government and urban communities, it has received little attention in historiographical debate. Only one study specific study has been made: P. Sardinia, “Il Capitanato di Agrigento dai Chiaromonte alla morte di Alfonso V (1355–1458),” *Bullettino dell'Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo* 109 (2007) 271–327. On the captain's role, see also B. Pasciuta, *In Regia Curia civiliter convenire: Giustizia e città nella Sicilia tardomedievale* (Turin 2003) 54–60, which draws general conclusions based on data related almost exclusively to the city of Palermo.

⁸ Before the conquest of Sicily, Mallorca and Valencia had been conquered in 1231 and 1238, respectively. On the Aragonese Crown, see J. N. Hillgarth, *The Spanish kingdoms 1250–1516*, 2 vols. (Oxford 1976–1978). See also the overview by T. N. Bisson, *The Medieval crown of Aragon: A Short History* (Oxford 1986). For the Vespers, see I. Peri, *La Sicilia dopo il Vespro: Uomini, città e campagne, 1282/1376* (Rome 1990) 1–16.

⁹ The pactist political system has stimulated contrasting interpretations. For an interpretation according to which pactism limited royal power, see J. Sobrequés Callicó, *El pactisme a Catalunya: Una praxi política en la història del país* (Barcelona 1982). See also Juan Vallet de Goytisolo, *Valor jurídico de las leyes paccionadas en el principato de Cataluña*, in *El pactismo en la historia de España*, Simposio del 24–26 aprile 1978 (Madrid 1980) 75–110; and L. M. Sánchez Aragonés, *Cortes, monarquía y ciudades en Aragón, durante el reinado de Alfonso el Magnánimo (1416–1458)* (Saragossa 1994) 20–31. J. L. Martín, *Economía y sociedad en los reinos hispánicos de la Baja Edad Media*, 2 vols. (Barcelona 1983) 1.239–245, sees pactist constitutionalism as originating from a phase of monarchical weakness and as a limitation of royal power. For Sicily, F. Benigno, “La questione della capitale: lotta politica e rappresentanza degli interessi nella Sicilia del Seicento,” *Società e Storia* 47 (1990) 27–29, maintains that the king was bound to the pacts and concessions granted. See also M. Caravale, “Potestà regia e giurisdizione feudale nella dottrina giuridica siciliana tra ‘500 e ‘600,” *Annali dell'Istituto Storico Italiano per l'Età Moderna e Contemporanea* 29–30 (1977–1978) 139–178. For a contrasting interpretation, according to which there was no limitation whatsoever of royal power, see J. A. Maravall, *Stato moderno e mentalità sociale* (Bologna 1991) 347–351;

tual type of relationship, the main feature of which is traditionally identified with parliamentary activity according a contribution (*donativum*) in exchange for the king's approval of parliamentary requests. Given that these contractual relations constituted a political procedure binding the king with respect to his concessions because they were the result of bargaining, parliament was not the only site where such procedures took place and similar arrangements took on differing forms in other settings.¹⁰ Politics based on negotiations had a decisive impact on the stabilization of royal power and royal coordination of the different lands under the Crown of Aragon where political unity was achieved through personal union rather than the incorporation of conquered territories.¹¹ The personal union consisted in the subordination of conquered lands under one king while each land retained its judicial autonomy.

The Sicilian kingdom is not a fully recognized case in point of pactism. Indeed, intense negotiations of an essentially pactist type can be identified in various stages of the transactions between the king and his subjects. A type of governance by the king based on shared decision-making rather than being one-sided is already discernible in the fourteenth century, especially during the reign of Frederick III (1296–1337), and was particularly evident during the first half of the fifteenth. The urban environment, which experienced a gradual expansion of the role played by cities of the royal demesne in the kingdom's internal power relations after 1282, provides a useful context for understanding this approach to governance.¹² The pivotal position of demesne cities is borne out by the complex organizational structures that existed for officials holding elective offices in local government, the ample leeway and autonomy of cities

and esp. A. Iglesia Ferreirós, *La creación del derecho: Una historia de la formación de un derecho estatal español*, 2 vols. (Madrid 1996) 2.67–130. See also A. Iglesia Ferreirós, "Del pactismo y de otra forma de escribir la historia," *Anuario de Historia del Derecho Español, Homenaje a Francisco Tomás y Valiente* 67 (1997) 643–659.

¹⁰ On the different medieval practices corresponding to a form of negotiation, see M. T. Ferrer Mallol et al., "Negociar en la edad media: Négocier au Moyen Âge," *Actas del Coloquio celebrado en Barcelona 14–16 octubre 2004, Actes du Colloque tenu à Barcelona 14–16 octobre 2004* (Barcelona 2005).

¹¹ With regard to the personal union, see L. G. de Valdeavellano, *Curso de historia de las instituciones políticas españolas de los orígenes al final de la Edad Media* (Madrid 1968) 412; and, in particular, C. Giardina, "Unione personale o unione reale fra Sicilia e Aragona e fra Sicilia e Napoli durante il regno di Alfonso il Magnanimo?" *Atti del congresso internazionale di studi sull'età aragonese* (Bari 1972) 191–225.

¹² Sicily was not always an integral part of the Crown of Aragon. In 1295, James II, king of Aragon and Sicily, fostered an agreement with the papacy that was to return Sicily to the Angevins. Frederick, in opposition to the policy of his brother, James II, was elected *rex Trinacriae* by the Parliament of Catania in 1296. Sicily thus acquired full autonomy from Barcelona which would however be lost: in 1409 Martin I, king of Sicily, died and the Sicilian throne passed to Martin, king of Aragon. Martin of Aragon died in 1410, and in 1412 Ferdinand I of the Castilian house of Trastámara was elected as king of Aragon. The election of Ferdinand resulted in a gradual institutional transformation of Sicily from kingdom to vice kingdom. With regard to the Ferdinand's election, see Hillgarth, *Spanish* (n. 8 above) 2.229–238. The election of Frederick III did not interrupt the dynastic ties with the reigning house of Barcelona, the Iberian nobility's economic concerns in Sicily, and the spread of the same political procedures. A statement of Blasco I Alagona, one of the main Iberian nobles in favour of the Sicilian conquest, is revealing in this regard. Blasco I hailed the coronation of Frederick III, claiming that through Frederick the Aragonese and Catalan institutions and customs would be transplanted in Sicily, and that his government therefore would favour the Iberian nobility. See V. D'Alessandro, *Politica e società nella Sicilia aragonese* (Palermo 1963) 51. Participating in the Catanese Parliament which proclaimed Frederick III king of Sicily were members of the new Aragonese and Catalan political class: this suggests that the election of 1296 did not sanction a break between the two reigns but rather maintained a dialogue. See S. Tramontana, *Il mezzogiorno medievale: Normanni, svevi, angioini, aragonesi nei secoli XI–XV* (Rome 2000) 106.

in local matters, and the impressive systems of rights and privileges they held as a result of the practice of negotiation between cities and the king. In this regard, municipal petitions, which ensured a direct confrontation between the cities and the king or his representative, furnish some of the most emblematic proof of the impact of negotiations in late medieval Sicily. Put differently, as will be illustrated through the analysis of the captain, cities became major participants in the process of consolidating or broadening the system of their rights and privileges.

FROM JUSTICIAR TO CAPTAIN: THE RISE OF A LOCAL MAGISTRACY

It is not easy to attempt an identification of the constants in a study of urban societies and institutions. There are so many variations that, along with those between individual localities, numerous temporal and spatial distinctions are also necessary. Likewise, it appears difficult to reconstruct a portrait of the captain whose prerogatives placed him in a prominent position in government. Generally speaking, he was an official present in the *universitates* (communities) who presided over a court (*Curia capitanei*) having original jurisdiction over criminal cases. Such a definition is valid for specific periods and susceptible to numerous refinements in conjunction with shifts in power relations between the cities of the kingdom after the Aragonese conquest in 1282 and, in particular, from the late 1300s onwards.¹³ The captain's operations were not initially limited to the urban level. He normally dealt with high justice but he sometimes acted in other fields as well or even had his duties curtailed. Lastly, the captain was normally appointed by the king but municipal governments often played a part in his selection during the reign of Alphonso V and sometimes even appointed him directly. It is for these reasons that, beginning in the second half of Alphonso's reign, the captain became an official with a composite nature: the position was normally a royal appointment but the captain was chosen in many instances on the basis of indications from local leaders or appointed directly by the cities themselves.¹⁴ Previously, the municipal governments were in charge of each area of the administration but were excluded from any influence on high justice. During the reign of Alphonso V the *universitates* extended their control even into this area, traditionally controlled solely by royal officials.¹⁵

Both the convergence of numerous interests and a growing state of tension surrounding the captaincy make it necessary to separate the analysis of the office into different stages. The role of the captain which emerges clearly during the reigns of Martin I and Alphonso V, i.e., the period under consideration in this study, is one which reflects an approach to relations between the king and his subjects that differed in many ways from what had taken place in previous years.

¹³ Regarding changes made by the Aragonese in relations between the king and his subjects, see Benigno, "La questione della capitale" (n. 9 above) 27–64.

¹⁴ In examining the means used for selecting a municipal official, reference is made here to the notion of "composite" as traditionally used to indicate the existence of multiple subjects participating in the functioning and construction of the state. See J. H. Elliott, "A Europe of Composite Monarchies," *Past & Present* 137 (1992) 48–71; and M. Gentile, "Leviatano regionale o forma-stato composita? Sugli usi possibili di idee vecchie e nuove," *Società e Storia* 88 (2000) 91–103.

¹⁵ Titone, *Governments* (n. 5 above).

In the earlier Norman period, jurisdiction over criminal affairs was assigned to the justiciars of the two large districts which covered the entire island and were situated on either side of the Salso River.¹⁶ As early as 1282, however, they began to operate in smaller jurisdictions. Indeed, there were multiple justiciarates in both the eastern and western parts of the island as well as justiciars assigned, albeit sporadically, to municipalities, and these justiciars were also sometimes referred to as captains from this point onwards.¹⁷ Justiciarates were not immediately abandoned: they were phased out gradually by being broken up into increasingly circumscribed areas of jurisdiction. Four districts, not including the cities of Palermo and Messina, existed according to what Frederick III (1296–1337) stipulated in 1296.¹⁸ Within just a few years, a greater number of districts had already been recorded, some of which coincided with a demesne city—an overlap institutionalized by the dual title of captain and justiciar.¹⁹ Eventually, from the 1350s, the number was reduced until the districts ultimately corresponded to urban centers: jurisdictional authority at first instance in criminal matters passed entirely into the hands of captains whose sphere of activity specifically regarded the urban front (although the title of justiciar was still sometimes used).²⁰

The position was officially conferred by a grant of jurisdiction over criminal law. The duration of the term of office was not specified for the earliest appointments²¹ but it gradually came to be fixed for the length of an administrative year (*annum indictionis*) lasting from 1 September to 31 August. Taking office, according to a document from the 1400s, entailed passing the official symbol of office—the *virga* (rod)—from the outgoing magistrate to the newcomer.²²

¹⁶ See P. Colliva, *Ricerche sul principio di legalità nell'amministrazione del Regno di Sicilia al tempo di Federico II: gli organi centrali e regionali* (Milan 1964) 153; and T. Pedio, "I giustizierati provinciali nel regno di Sicilia in età federiciana," *Atti delle IV giornate federiciane Oria 29–30 ottobre 1977* (Bari 1980) 163–179.

¹⁷ Caro di Palmerio, justiciar of Palermo; Natale Ansalone, justiciar of the *vallo* di Castrogiovanni, Demone, and Milazzo; Bonifacio Camarano, justiciar of the val di Noto; Ruggero Mastrangelo, justiciar of the duchy of Geraci and the *partes* of Cefalù; Berardo Ferro, justiciar of the *vallo* di Agrigento; and Ugo Tallac, justiciar of the val di Mazara. See *De Rebus Regni Siciliane. Documenti inediti estratti dall'Archivio della Corona d'Aragona*, 2 vols. (1882; repr. Palermo 1982) (references will be to the repr.) 1.128–129, 1282. There may also have been captains in Palermo, *Assise e consuetudini della terra di Corleone*, ed. R. Starrabba and L. Tirrito (Palermo 1880) 130–131, 1282; in Messina, *De Rebus* 1.321, 1283; and in Taormina, *ibid.* 1.43, 1282. See also P. Corrao and V. D'Alessandro, "Geografia amministrativa e potere sul territorio nella Sicilia tardomedievale (secoli XIII–XIV)" *L'organizzazione del territorio in Italia e in Germania: secoli XIII–XIV*, ed. G. Chittolini and D. Willowet (Bologna 1994) 418–419.

¹⁸ *Capitula regni Siciliae*, cap. VII, ed. F. M. Testa, 2 vols. (Palermo 1741) 1.51.

¹⁹ Justiciar of Agrigento and the *partes* of Termini and Cefalù, justiciar and captain of Trapani; see *Acta Curie Felicis Urbis Panormi* 3, ed. L. Citarda (Palermo 1984) 25–26, 1323; and 124–125, 1326. A master justiciar, the highest-ranking official of the central judiciary, remained at the royal curia however; see Peri, *Sicilia* (n. 8 above) 25.

²⁰ Justiciar, or justiciar and captain, of Palermo; *Acta Curie Felicis Urbis Panormi* 8, ed. A. Massa and C. Bilello (Palermo 1993) 104, 357, 1349. Aside from any considerations related to the areas over which they held jurisdiction, a captain's powers were more restricted during the Aragonese period than those of the justiciars prior to the arrival of the Aragonese: besides jurisdiction over penal matters, earlier justiciars were charged with overseeing certain aspects of urban life and also had the task of collecting the *collette* (royal hearth taxes) and other royal taxes in their districts. For the Swabian period, see Pedio, "I giustizierati" (n. 16 above) 174–176.

²¹ For examples, see G. Cosentino, *Codice diplomatico di Federico III d'Aragona re di Sicilia* (Palermo 1866) 10, 1355 (Savoca, Caltanissetta, and Caltavuturo); 15, 1355 (Giuliana); 127, 1356 (Castiglione); 205, 1356 (Paternò); 251, 1356 (Randazzo).

²² R.C., vol. 80. fol. 103r, 1442 (Randazzo).

It must be pointed out that the scope of the captain's endeavors was not limited to jurisdiction over criminal matters. Records of cooperation between the captain and elected officials, *in primis* the *baiulus* and judges (officials charged with jurisdiction over civil justice and other administrative functions), exist from the earliest decades of Aragonese government and instances of collaboration between elected officials and the royal magistrate regarded mainly internal affairs, political conflict, the enactment of administrative measures,²³ and the procurement and distribution of foodstuffs.²⁴

It was during the reign of Frederick IV, king of Sicily (1355–1377) that the position's final collocation within the framework of local government was accomplished and the famous royal statement of 1363, according to which it was more highly valued to be the captain of a *terra* than justiciar of a province, indicates the definitive demise of the justiciarate system. Frederick IV declared, "our kingdom is in such a state that it is much more important and useful to be captain of a *terra* than justiciar of a province."²⁵ It should be remembered that communities referred to as *terra* was not episcopal seats as were those designated as *civitas*.²⁶ Frederick's affirmation finds ample corroboration later on as it was precisely the captain's position which, in light of its pivotal position in the local sphere, was sought after by seigniorial leaders or members of their entourage in order to gain control over metropolitan centers during the phase of utmost royal weakness, i.e., precisely the reign of Frederick IV.²⁷

ROYAL CONTROL AND THE CAPTAIN'S PREROGATIVES IN THE 1300S

In the second half of the 1300s, dramatic political, economic, and demographic transformations took place that had an impact on the degree, nature, and dislocation of the phenomenon of violence. The impressive demographic changes in particular can clarify these dynamics. Population figures plummeted by fifty or sixty percent following the Black Death²⁸ while noble income suffered a grievous decline. The economic crisis of seigniorial dynasties spurred their military expansion, to the detriment of royal assets, and spawned a crisis in the island's domestic trade as well as a crisis over the task of coordination which had been up to the king until the mid-1300s. In this regard, notarial documents from the 1340s to the 1360s portray the situation on the island in a

²³ Cosentino, *Codice* (n. 21 above) 14, 1355; 39, 1355; 78–79, 157–158, 187–188, 225–226, 284–285, 249–250, 1356.

²⁴ For the order for the captain, judges, and "universis hominibus civitatis Messane" to choose two syndics responsible for the victuals, see *De Rebus* (n. 17 above) 1.321, 1283. It was possible for officials alone, without *homines* of the community, to be listed for the same function. There were separate orders at different times to the judges and captain of Taormina; *ibid.* 1.43, 1282.

²⁵ "Lu regnu nostru e vinutu in tal partitu ki multu maiuri officiu et plui utili e esseri capitaneu di una terra ki justizeri di una provincia"; see D'Alessandro, *Politica* (n. 12 above) 322.

²⁶ The term *universitas* can be used in referring to either a *terra* or a *civitas*. In most cases in this study, I use the name of a community with the understanding that it is the *universitas* to which reference is being made; for example, a simple reference to Agrigento is used to indicate Agrigento's *universitas*.

²⁷ With regard to the role of the seigniorial leaders, such as those who have the jurisdictional power over the population in their lands, see E. Mazzaresse Fardella, "L'aristocrazia siciliana nel secolo XIV e i suoi rapporti con le città demaniali: alla ricerca del potere," *Aristocrazia cittadina e ceti popolari nel tardo Medioevo in Italia e in Germania*, ed. R. Elze and G. Fasoli (Bologna 1984) 186–189. With regard to the gradual positioning of seigniorial leaders over the cities from the second half of the 14th c., see also Bresc, *Monde* (n. 1 above) 2.719–725; and P. Corrao, *Governare un regno: Potere, società e istituzioni in Sicilia fra Trecento e Quattrocento* (Naples 1991) 46–54.

²⁸ Peri, *Sicilia* (n. 8 above) 246; and Epstein, *Island* (n. 2 above) 55–59.

few graphic words: clauses referring to the hypothetical occurrence of war with “the king’s enemies” and “violence perpetrated by powerful individuals” in the countryside and in the streets are indeed plentiful.²⁹

Along with the restoration of royal power, which will be discussed shortly, and the king’s reacquisition of control over most of the *universitates* at the end of the 1300s, the population in urban areas began to grow and would become stable during Alphonso’s reign. The resultant increase in urban violence was accompanied by an inevitable expansion of the captain’s responsibilities. As has been noted, “crime was overwhelmingly ... an urban phenomenon” in the mid-1400s.³⁰ An analysis of the power wielded by the captain at the end of the fourteenth century and the first half of the fifteenth makes it possible to outline both the confrontation between king and *universitates* and the degree of autonomy available to municipal governments.

In light of the preceding information regarding the captain’s office and seigniorial exponents, it is inappropriate to make reference merely to the royal or elective nature of the captaincy in order to identify the relationships of subordination to which it was subject. Instead, existing power relations must be verified to ascertain whether or not, and in what terms, they effectively represented royal intentions or, in the case of a magistrate chosen by an urban center, municipal intentions. Frederick’s affirmation on the one hand, and the interests of the seigniorial leaders on the other, make it possible to affirm that the position was valued in the second half of the 1300s for its prerogatives rather than its royal nature. It is significant, however, that when the Crown regained full authority, it vigorously reasserted its control over the captain as a royal official.

The fact that the office was valued for its prerogatives rather than its royal nature begins to become evident in examining the royal crisis at the death of Frederick IV when the exercise of royal power was suspended from 1377 to 1392 and the heads of the four leading seigniorial families—the *Vicarii* Artale I Alagona, Manfredi III Chiaramonte, Francesco II Ventimiglia, and Guglielmo Peralta—established a government. The island was divided into four territories each controlled by a different seigniorial “court.”³¹ During the period of the *Vicarii*, the prerogatives of the captain were expanded. No longer a representative of royal authority, he functioned as the supreme local magistrate representing seigniorial authority and, consistent with strongly centralized seigniorial governance, exerted authoritarian control in conflict with municipal liberties. The situation can be reconstructed by examining information pertinent to the subsequent monarchical restoration carried out by Martin I, because documentation for the period of the great magnates is almost nonexistent. The arrival on the island in 1392 of the duke of Montblanch (or Martin the Elder) and his son (Martin the Younger), who was married to the daughter of Frederick IV, Queen Maria, and became Martin I, king of Sicily, began a restoration and ended the period of the *Vicarii*. Martin I reigned from 1392 to 1409. Requests presented to the king by the cities in

²⁹ Peri, *Sicilia* (n. 8 above) 144.

³⁰ A. Ryder, “The incidence of crime in Sicily in the mid fifteenth century: the evidence from composition records,” in *Crime, Society and the Law in Renaissance Italy*, ed. T. Dean and K. J. P. Lowe (Cambridge 1994) 65.

³¹ D’Alessandro, *Politica* (n. 12 above) 91–126; Corrao, *Governare* (n. 27 above) 60–65.

concomitance with the restoration of the monarchy reflect a widespread demand for the full involvement of the elected ruling class in government. It should be noted, *en passant*, that the title of justiciar was sometimes retained as synonymous with captain.³² The captain was inevitably involved in all negotiations between *universitates* and king that concerned municipal autonomy. He was involved because of the pivotal role he played at a local level, the increase in his responsibilities caused by a gradual process of demographic reallocation and, lastly, the increase in his prerogatives which had come about during the period of the *Vicarii*.

Requests from diverse urban localities of differing population levels reveal, beginning in 1392, a generalized desire to circumscribe the role played by the captain or, rather, to avoid his intervention in areas normally under the purview of elected officials. By exploiting the royal policy of contractual relations, municipal governments set into motion a strategy of governance aimed at gradually redefining the captain's prerogatives.³³ Royal policy appears attentive to these petitions: many proposals put forth by urban communities received the king's approval. Moreover, the king involved various officials in carrying out these initiatives, thus promoting collaboration rather than a concentration of power in the hands of a single magistracy. Alongside jurats (*iurati*), from among the major elected officials involved in the administrative sphere, and judges, the captain played an important role in municipal government activity in this period, albeit more limited than in previous times. The prominent role played by these officials is evidenced by the numerous royal decrees addressing them as well as the pivotal functions they performed in negotiations with the king. Salemi and Agrigento constitute cases in point. In 1397, Martin of Aragon (that is, Martin the Elder who succeeded to the throne of Aragon in 1395) and Martin I proclaimed to the judges and jurats in Salemi the abrogation of a grant of the castle made to Count Antonio di Moncada, thus confirming the status of the *universitas* within the royal demesne.³⁴ That same year, Martin I announced to the captain, judges, and jurats in Agrigento his pardon of Enrico Chiaromonte's supporters.³⁵ In the first instance, the demesne status was meaningfully proclaimed only to the main elected officials whereas the captain was added for Agrigento, most likely to avoid persecution of anyone who had previously taken part in the rebellions. A 1398 royal decree, no doubt part of the process of a gradual redistribution of functions, accentuated the prerogatives of the jurats by assigning them jurisdiction, limited to *querelas et questiones* under the purview of the captain, over cases involving less than one *onza* and, since no distinction was made, over both low and high justice.³⁶

During reign of Martin I, and Alfonso V as well, there is confirmation that original jurisdiction over criminal justice remained under the purview of the captain who was charged with the investigation, trial, and sentencing of such diverse crimes as homi-

³² R. C., vol. 39, fol. 272r–v, 1402 (Salemi).

³³ R. C., vol. 33, fols. 120v–125v, 1399 (Trapani); *Capitoli inediti delle città demaniali di Sicilia*, ed. S. Giambruno and L. Genuardi (Palermo 1918) 248, 1401 (Agrigento); R. C., vol. 33, fol. 261r–v, 1401 (Piazza).

³⁴ R. C., vol. 31, fols. 69v–70v; *Rollus Rubeus officii spectabilium juratorum baronum regiarum secretiarum huius fidelis civitatis Salem*, ed. P. Cammarata (Palermo-Roma 1998) 1–5.

³⁵ R. C., vol. 28, fols. 210v–211r.

³⁶ *Capitula*, cap. VII (n. 18 above) 1.142.

cide, theft, rebellion, and high treason, as well as for illicit sexual relations and so forth. He would also be called on to carry out royal pardons.³⁷ The captains' sentences could be appealed to the *Magna Regia Curia*, or *Regia Gran Corte*, the supreme court of the kingdom. In addition to holding jurisdiction over criminal matters, the captain figures as one of the king's preferred contacts when he required that measures be carried out, even in cases that concerned more general peace keeping operations and the protection of royal rights rather than criminal affairs.³⁸

The important task of overseeing electoral proceedings also emerges as one of the captain's prerogatives. Indeed, he was present during the execution of elections, in the name of the king, as someone "over and above the parties." Forms of collaboration between the captain and elected officials can be further analyzed by examining the role played by the royal magistrate in election procedures. From the time of the reign of Peter III (1282–1285) on through the reign of Alphonso V, the captain was frequently the recipient of royal decrees regarding the execution of elections by scrutiny, i.e., the main municipal electoral procedure, or the captain was a member of the delegation of incumbent officials charged with presiding over these elections. Indications from Peter III regarding elections are addressed to the *universi homines* of the *universitas*³⁹ but are also destined for the captain in certain instances.⁴⁰ Royal decrees by Frederick IV stipulated that a drawing of candidates names should take place in the presence of the preeminent outgoing officials, i.e., the captain, *baiulus*, judges, and jurats, and the *probi homines*.⁴¹ Further evidence of this is provided by documentation pertinent to the first half of the 1400s. Catanian ordinances regarding the appointment of city officials in 1426 name the captain and vice-captain who are charged with over-

³⁷ It is worth noting Martin's measure concerning Corleone's *universitas* in 1400 which confirmed a rule that applied to the entire kingdom: the captain held jurisdiction over penal matters but was not to be involved in civil affairs under the purview of the judges; R. C., vol. 38, fol. 126r. Compare this to the 1401 petition, approved by the king, from the community of Piazza asking that the captain not exceed his jurisdiction; R.C., vol. 38, fol. 261rv. Several instances of a captain's undertakings during the reign of Alphonso V follow. Homicide: P. R., vol. 33, fol. 119v, 1433 (Piazza); R. C., vol. 74, fols. 426v–427r, 1439 (Noto). The captain carried out a royal court order in assuring the execution of a pardon granted to a convicted murderer: P. R., vol. 47, fols. 241v–242v, 1456 (Catania). Fraud and other thefts: P. R., vol. 25, fols. 42v–43r, 1422 (Trapani); R. C., vol. 79, fol. 89rv, 1443 (Palermo); R. C., vol. 79, fol. 111rv, 1443 (Randazzo); R. C., vol. 84, fols. 280v–282r, 1451 (Palermo); P. R., vol. 43, fols. 179v–180r, 1451 (Randazzo); P. R., vol. 47, fol. 382v, 1457 (Termini); P. R., vol. 50, fol. 242rv, 1458 (Noto). Illicit sexual relations: P. R., vol. 28, fol. 60rv, 1425 (Nicosia); P. R., vol. 31, fol. 63v, 1430 (Palermo); R. C., vol. 70, fol. 277rv, 1435 (Agrigento). Uprisings and high treason: P. R., vol. 34, fol. 84rv, 1438 (Salemi); P. R., vol. 48, fol. 134rv, 1456 (Sciaccia). Other crimes: P. R., vol. 31, fol. 51r, 1430 (Palermo); P. R., vol. 33, fols. 78v–79v, 1432 (Agrigento); P. R., vol. 33, fol. 121rv, 1433 (Sciaccia); R. C., vol. 70, fol. 56rv, 1434 (Catania); R. C., vol. 71, fols. 92v–93r, 1436 (Randazzo); P. R., vol. 48, fol. 397rv, 1457 (Catania).

³⁸ Concerning the role of the captain, see the royal notification sent to the captain of Randazzo regarding the restitution of goods and property to certain residents (R. C., vol. 27, fol. 34v, 1396); the royal notification ordering the captain, jurats, and the judges of Randazzo to make up for missing royal income since the tax on wine had brought in less than expected, R. C., vol. 27, fols. 27r–28r, 1396; and Martin I's mandate to the captain and jurats of Noto about times for the application of a tax he had decreed (R. C., vol. 41, fol. 235r, 1404).

³⁹ *De Rebus* (n. 17 above) 1.148, 1282. The same mandate was sent to the *notarium publicum* in Nicosia; *ibid.* 1.113–114, 1282.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.* 1.48–49, 1282 (Syracuse). The same measure was sent to various communities; *ibid.* 1.49, 71–72, 1282.

⁴¹ For example, Cosentino, *Codice* (n. 21 above) 227 and 229, 1356.

seeing the elections.⁴² In keeping with the royal nature of his office, the captain was responsible for presiding over the elections by scrutiny while respecting municipal autonomy and the elective nature of the designated positions. I have uncovered no further mention of the captain in the rare references to electoral procedures although he was very likely part of the group of officials present at elections by scrutiny, even when not specifically cited.⁴³ Precious information from the minutes of sessions of the town council—the main governing body responsible for local administration and economic policies in particular—corroborates this deduction. In 1461, Malta's council decided to prolong the Captain's term of office while awaiting royal confirmation of the elected officials.⁴⁴

Having examined areas of collaboration between the captain and elected officials, a basic characteristic of the period of Martin I can be pointed out: the captaincy was normally conferred on persons from outside the area or outside the sphere of municipal politics, and the selection of the official remained strictly a royal prerogative. The earliest requests to have the position assigned to local persons began to be put forward by local governments in this period but this did not alter the general picture even though such requests received royal assent.⁴⁵ Indeed, the situation was still far from equalling the strong local control that would stem from a widespread bestowal of the position on persons from the local area and appointments conferred on the basis of municipal recommendations. This is substantiated by an examination of the composition of the delegations entrusted with presenting the requests to the king: judges and/or jurats were frequently included among the ambassadors and, at other times, the ambassadorial delegations were made up entirely of jurats.⁴⁶ In contrast to what would come about during the Alphonsian period, the absence of the captain in these delegations was a constant feature. This is a basic difference in comparison to the period of Alphonso V of the Castilian house of Trastámara:⁴⁷ municipal autonomy at the end of the 1300s was still being reconstructed and its reconfiguration was more often entrusted to elected officials than to a royal official who was often not of local extraction.

Generally speaking, a political policy involving the presentation of petitions and the formation of ambassadorial delegations to confer with the king constitute clear evidence of pactist political policies in which bargaining served as a basis for a local institutional development that gradually involved the *universitates* in processes of royal decision making.

⁴² As recorded in Matteo Gaudioso's registers of the acts of the jurats of Catania at the Archivio Storico in Catania, vol. 2, quaternario 3–4, 371.

⁴³ For example, see P. R., vol. 33, fol. 112r, 1433 (Trapani).

⁴⁴ *Acta iuratorum et consilio civitatis et insulae Maltae*, ed. G. Wettinger (Palermo 1993) 180–181. On the town council in Sicilian communities, see Titone, *Governments* (n. 5 above) 77–91.

⁴⁵ R. C., vol. 33, fols. 120v–125v, 1399 (Trapani); Piazza obtained approval that all their royal officials be of local extraction; R. C., vol. 25, fols. 23r–24r, 1396.

⁴⁶ The praetor (as the *baiulus* was called in Palermo since 1311) and a jurat, P. R., vol. 5, fol. 352r–v, 1400 (Palermo). A jurat, R. C., vol. 46, fol. 270r–v, 1407 (Corleone) along with the *notarius* Matteo Cartoxio; other Cartoxios were elected in the same year: Rainerio as judge and Bartolomeo as judge, R. C., vol. 46, fol. 196v. Only jurats, R. C., vol. 38, fol. 261r–v, 1401 (Piazza); a judge R. C., vol. 46, fols. 302v–304r, 1407 (Noto).

⁴⁷ Alphonso V was the son of Ferdinand I; see n. 12 above.

MUNICIPAL CONTROL OVER THE OFFICE IN THE ALPHONSIAN PERIOD

The captaincy experienced significant innovations during the reign of Alphonso V as a consequence of the Crown of Aragon's policy of territorial conquest. Aragonese military expansion was a constant factor during the late Middle Ages and this obviously led to a considerable increase in the Crown's financial needs. Particularly during the first half of the 1400s, these needs intensified due to the realization of the *grande empresa*—the conquest of Naples by Alphonso V in 1442–1443. Alphonsian economic policy is characterized by the identification of new sources of income. These new sources of income were primarily the ceding of royal demesne property, including the captain's office.⁴⁸ This strategy had extremely important repercussions and makes it possible, among other things, to identify some basic features of Alphonso V's financial and fiscal policies. The king managed to intensify his economic demands and avoid open opposition from the subjects he taxed by significantly involving local administrations in the choices to be made regarding taxation⁴⁹ and secondly by managing to increase revenue without recourse to taxation as evidenced mainly by the sale of the captaincy.

It must be pointed out, first of all, that alienations were of limited duration and the captain acquired his post for a year in most cases, even when it was a group of purchasers who were involved. For these reasons, it cannot be maintained that there was true public venality during the Alphonsian period—the sort attributing fundamental economic importance to a position obtainable *in perpetuum* that could be passed on to one's heirs. A “patrimonialization” of the office was never achieved during the first half of the 1400s owing to the modalities and conditions of alienation procedures and to safeguards imposed by urban communities regarding, for example, the length of the concessions themselves. With these distinctions outlined, it can be said that during the reign of Alphonso V, a process was initiated which would eventually lead, in the early 1500s, to a “patrimonialization” of offices characteristic of governments in the Ancien Régime.⁵⁰

⁴⁸ For a comparison, on the salability of the offices in the early modern period, see V. Sciuti Russi, “Aspetti della venalità degli uffici in Sicilia (secoli XVII–XVIII),” *Rivista Storica Italiana* 88.1 (1976) 342–355. For Naples, see V. I. Comparato, *Uffici e società a Napoli (1600–1647). Aspetti dell'ideologia del magistrato nell'età moderna* (Florence 1974) 127–160. For France, see R. Mousnier, *La vénalité des offices sous Henri IV et Louis XI* (Rouen 1945; Paris 1971); and D. D. Bien, “Les offices, les corps et le crédit d'État: l'utilisation des privilèges sous l'ancien régime,” *Annales: économies, sociétés, civilisations* 43.2 (1988) 379–404. See also n. 50.

⁴⁹ Epstein, *Island* (n. 1 above) 355–357; and Titone, *Governments* (n. 5 above) 131–147.

⁵⁰ For a comparison with the Kingdom of Castile, see A. Domínguez Ortiz, “La venta de cargos y oficios públicos en Castilla y sus consecuencias económicas y sociales,” *Anuario de historia económica y social* 3 (1970) 105–137; and M. Fraga Iribarne and J. Beneyto Pérez, “La enajenación de oficios públicos en su perspectiva histórica y sociológica,” *Centenario de la Ley del notariado*, 2 vols. (Madrid 1964) 1.395–472, who insist on the practice of alienating magistracies as an inherent feature of the modern bureaucratic state. For Castile beginning with the late medieval period, see Francisco Tomás y Valiente, “Origen bajomedieval de la patrimonialización y la enajenación de oficios públicos en Castilla,” *Actas del I Symposium de Historia de la Administración* (Madrid 1970) 125–159, which already foreshadows the process in the second half of the 14th c., when kings granted positions as a means of establishing a network of loyal followers without, however, taking economic advantage of such transactions. The Trastámara rulers, in fact, did not resort to the sale of royal offices but the beneficiaries sometimes did—a practice opposed by the central government—and only in the 17th c. did the Crown carry out alienations; *ibid.* 129, 132–133, and 146. See also Joaquín Cerdá Ruiz Funes, “Hombres Buenos, jurados y regidores en los municipios castellanos de la Baja

With reference to the monetary value of the captaincy, the exact amount paid for its purchase cannot always be identified, both because the length of the concession was often not specified and because the payment cannot always be calculated on the basis of the cost of its redemption (which was often higher than what the original purchaser had paid). Although margins of uncertainty remain, the purchase price ranged between twelve *onze*, which was most often the case, and sixteen to twenty *onze* or even thirty-three *onze* annually.⁵¹ The captain's salary was lower, however, and could also be subject to change and not be the same in every *universitas* (just as for the elected officials):⁵² Nicosia's captain received ten *onze* annually⁵³ while the official in Castrogiovanni received four *onze* "tantum."⁵⁴ The wide discrepancy between the magistrates' salaries in Nicosia and Castrogiovanni was certainly not due to population differences in the two *universitates* given that significant differences in the populations of the two localities were not recorded for the first half of the 1400s.⁵⁵ This diversity should be attributed to a difference in the individual economic policies of local administrations which, for example, might favor a lower salary enhanced by fees to which the official was entitled from fines levied. Moreover, in addition to the compensation guaranteed by his administration of financial penalties,⁵⁶ the captain had ample opportunities at his disposal for increasing his earnings through managing events such as fairs that were not everyday occurrences.⁵⁷ A distinction was also made between the salaries of other royal officials, for example the castellans responsible for prisons and the

Edad Media," *Actas del I Symposium* 163–206; and J. Valdeón Baroque, "Las oligarquias urbanas," *Concejos y Ciudades en la Edad Media Hispánica, II Congreso de Estudios Medievales, León 25–29 septiembre 1989* (León 1990) 514–515. The latter connects the development of patrimonialism to the oligarchization of local political power. With reference to the Savoy dominion, see G. Castelnuovo, *Ufficiali e gentiluomini: La società politica sabauda nel tardo medioevo* (Milan 1994) esp. 137–147, and 257–261, who distinguishes between recourse to loans repaid through a grant of offices when "a systematic commerce of the offices considered to be the real property of the official" (ibid. 143), had not yet come into being during the 1400s, and what took place in the 1500s with an established tendency towards patrimonialism and the inheritance of administrative positions. Also for the Savoy dominion, see A. Barbero, "Reclutamento dei funzionari e venalità degli uffici nello stato sabaudo: l'esempio del vicariato di Torino (1360–1356)," *Studi Veneziani* 28 (1994) 17–44, according to which the magistracies took on a purely economic function in the 16th c.

⁵¹ With few exceptions, the price was normally about 12 *onze*, P. R., vol. 34, fol. 152r–v, 1438–1440 (Patti); R. C., vol. 78, fols. 287r–291v, 1442–1444 (Patti); P. R., vol. 44, fols. 335r–336r, 1446–1452 (Salemi); R. C., vol. 69, fols. 107r–108v, 110r–v, 1434–1441 (Sciacca). Also 16 to 20 *onze*, A. Barbato, *Per la storia di Nicosia nel medio evo: Documenti inediti (1267–1454)* (Nicosia 1919) 145–146, [1426–1431]; P. R., vol. 34, fols. 97v–98v, 1437–1439 (Nicosia); and 33 *onze*, Cancillería, vol. 2824, fols. 121r–122r, 1434–1437 (Piazza).

⁵² Messina obtained authorization to modify the officials' salaries; Cancillería, vol. 2819, fol. 130r, 1432.

⁵³ In 1433–1434 and 1435–1436; P. R., vol. 31, fols. 159r–160r.

⁵⁴ In 1431, *Capitoli* (n. 33 above) 90.

⁵⁵ The population of the two localities ranged between 5,000 and 6,000 inhabitants; see Bresc, *Monde* (n. 1 above) 1.63, 65; and Epstein, *Island* (n. 1 above) 44–45. A difference in population, along with proximity to the king, does explain the salary of 100 *onze* for Palermo's captain in 1400, the royal *camerlengus*, Nicola de Abella; see Pasciuta, *In Regia* (n. 7 above) 56. In the 1430s, Palermo had about 12,000 inhabitants.

⁵⁶ For example: P. R., vol. 21, fol. 108v, 1420 (Piazza); Barbato, *Per la storia* (n. 51 above) 127, 1423; P. R., vol. 30, fol. 102r, 1429 (Piazza); Cancillería, vol. 2850, fol. 39r, 1445 (Patti).

⁵⁷ R. C., vol. 46, fol. 185r, 1406 (Patti); *Statuti ordinamenti e capitoli della città di Polizzi*, ed. A. Flan-dina (Palermo 1884) 264, 1407; P. R., vol. 48, fols. 504v–505r, 1456 (Catania).

vicesecreti charged with collecting royal taxes, which varied between eighteen and thirty *onze* in the first instance and twelve and thirty in the second.⁵⁸

The sale of the captaincy had extraordinarily important repercussions on municipal autonomy and the new power alignments it created within the *universitas* itself. Recourse to ceding the main local royal office resulted in a dramatic attenuation of the royal dimension of the position. The captaincy took on a more “composite” nature—a royal office filled on the basis of local recommendations. This particularly significant fact is proof of the decidedly broad sphere of autonomy administered by the *universitates* capable of directing the appointment of their captain. The inhabitants of the *universitates*, therefore, were subjects, to be sure; but they were also citizens capable of asserting their political interests.⁵⁹

Communities were sometimes able to exercise increasing control over the captaincy and the amount of time an incumbent remained in office as a consequence of the frequent recourse Alfonso V made to selling the position to an individual, a group of buyers, or even an entire community. In localities where repeated alienations took place, the practice of resorting to officials unfamiliar with the dynamics of the community ceased due to the rapid adaptation of the royal appointments to municipal requests and, thus, to the local balance of power. This is a very important factor in the new power relations between the central and local governments: *per viam emptionis* concessions often reveal that the grantor’s initiative was limited by a restricted number of potential buyers. In addition, once the position had been sold, the king had no more say in the matter for the duration of the concession and incumbent captains could even re-sell the office to a third party.⁶⁰ It must also be pointed out that even royal concessions not made *per viam emptionis* were the result of shifts in the balance of power generated by previous alienations: in many cases the central government had failed to observe existing municipal privileges, or rather certain aspects of the privileges, in selling the office and managed to appease municipal opposition by offering greater guarantees regarding the office, especially a rotation of control over its management and assurances regarding the origin of future incumbents.⁶¹ Such guarantees resulted from hard bargaining fostered by the cities through a significant increase in the number of municipal petitions presented to the king. The confrontation between city and king through the presentation of municipal petitions and the king or viceroy’s reply to these petitions represents one of the possible models of contractual relations conforming to pactist politics.

⁵⁸ For the castellan, 18 *onze* in Castronovo and Monte San Giuliano (P. R., vol. 21, fol. 105v, 1420; R. C., vol. 53, fol. 83r–v, 1425) but 30 *onze* in Termini (R. C., vol. 60, fol. 43v, 1427). For the *vicesecretus*, 12 *onze* in Piazza and Salemi (P. R., vol. 21, fols. 33r–v, 1419; P. R., vol. 21, fol. 52r–v, 1419), but 30 *onze* in Catania (P. R., vol. 25, fol. 132r, 1423).

⁵⁹ For a contrasting position see Putnam, *Making* (n. 2 above) 130: “In the north [of Italy] the people were citizens; in the south they were subjects.”

⁶⁰ R. C., vol. 81, fols. 300v–301r, 1444 (Agrigento); P. R., vol. 44, fols. 35v–36r, 1451 (Sciacca).

⁶¹ P. R., vol. 32, fols. 35v, 75v–76r, 1431 (Trapani); P. R., vol. 34, fols. 97v–98v, 1437 (Nicosia); R. C., vol. 78, fols. 262r–265r, 1442 (Noto).

The first purchases by private individuals began appearing in the mid-1420s,⁶² intensified after the 1430s, and continued even after the conquest of Naples as demonstrated by the fact that revenue from alienations became a regular item in royal financial policy. Especially at the end of the 1430s, sales of a new type were recorded, i.e., sales to groups of buyers who obtained the office for long periods of time, for example, from 1440 to 1455 in Nicosia, or from 1446 to 1454 in Salemi.⁶³ It should be remembered that, even in such instances, a purchaser rarely held the position continuously for over a year.⁶⁴

It should be stressed that the intensification of sales inevitably brought about a strong correlation between the captain and municipal society in general, and more specifically, the friction existing between rival urban factions tended to come to a head directly over the captaincy because of the prerogatives held by the captain.⁶⁵ As a rule, continual recourse to alienation could easily generate tension, oftentimes serious, between municipal sectors and any incumbent who frequently held the office. In this regard the king proved sympathetic to appeals as long as his own interests were safeguarded. He accepted Nicosia's complaint demanding the magistrate's removal and, in carrying out further alienations, did not go against him since other residents of Nicosia had come forward at the same time as new purchasers.⁶⁶ Instead, it seems that the *universitas* of Piazza's refusal of Archinbau Barresi as captain was unsuccessful in 1439 because they had not been able to offer the king a valid alternative.⁶⁷ Sicilian *universitates* could retain their impressive systems of rights and privileges only when they were not in conflict with the economic interests of the king and it was evidently up to municipal diplomacy to manage to find a point of common agreement. This did not always come about. In 1437, Alphonso V sold the castle, the land, the captaincy, and the *secretia* (the local royal revenues controlled by the *secretus* or *vicesecretus*) of Salemi to the councilor Bernardo de Requesens and his heirs *perpetuum cum strumento perpetue redimendi et quietandi graciae*. A number of privileges obstructed the sale in 1437 but later, in 1440, Alphonso reconfirmed the sale to Requesens and his heirs specifying that it was to be carried out despite privileges to the contrary.⁶⁸ As has been pointed out for another environment, the Savoy dominion, the time lag between

⁶² For example, P. R., vol. 26, fol. 43r, 1423 (Randazzo); P. R., vol. 24, fol. 174r, 1425 (Salemi); P. R., vol. 32, fols. 75v–76r, 1431 (Trapani).

⁶³ P. R., vol. 38, fols. 35r–41r (Nicosia); P. R., vol. 38, fol. 58r–v (Salemi); P. R., vol. 44, fols. 335r–336r (Salemi); R. C., vol. 89, fol. 365r–v (Salemi).

⁶⁴ The rare exceptions include the *miles*, Pietro Sabia of Nicosia, who bought the captaincy on 15 March 1446 for 115 *onze* for the years 1452–1453, 1453–1454, and 1454–1455; P. R., vol. 38, fols. 35r–41r. Antonio Desguanesch, captain of Malta from 1429 to 1452, constitutes an isolated case; Bresc, *Monde* (n. 1 above) 2.625, 764.

⁶⁵ *Capitoli* (n. 33 above) 298–299, 1433 (Agrigento); R. C., vol. 78, fols. 262r–265r, 1442; and Cancilleria, vol. 2882, fol. 109v, 1452 (Noto).

⁶⁶ P. R., vol. 34, fol. 91r–v; new purchasers obtained the position from 1437 to 1439, P. R., vol. 34, fols. 97v–98v.

⁶⁷ In 1434, Alphonso granted the captaincy of Piazza to Habus Barresi, Bernardo Barresi and Archinbau Barresi for the years 1434–1435, 1435–1436, and 1436–1437, respectively, for 100 *onze* despite municipal legal norms to the contrary; Cancilleria, vol. 2824, fols. 121r–122r. In July 1439, the *universitas* claimed, through the jurats, that Archinbau Barresi had appointed himself captain without a royal concession; R. C., vol. 74, fols. 595r–597r. Barresi, nevertheless, took over from Giovanni Liria *pro certo precio* in April 1440; R. C., vol. 75, fol. 293r.

⁶⁸ Cancilleria, vol. 2833, 167r–171r.

enacting legal norms and carrying out the procedures was partly a result of the progressive patrimonialism which inevitably befell the office when “the exponential growth of the financial needs of the prince and his administration finally led to using the castles as relief valves for the public debt.”⁶⁹

In the Catalan community of Cervera, municipal delegates set about frenetic negotiations with Alphonso V towards the 1430s in an effort to avert the community’s proposed alienation. Only in exchange for substantial economic concessions were they able to ward off the threat. In remembering the numerous negotiations that had taken place with the king in the 1430s, Cervera’s ambassador to the Magnanimous, Pere Boquet, affirmed in 1455 that “nothing could be done at the royal court in those days without money.”⁷⁰ This maxim was equally valid for municipal administrators of Sicilian *universitates*. The intense negotiations between king and local authorities in relation to the captaincy were characterized by a royal attitude alternating between indifference and an attention to municipal petitions. Cities had a real chance of obtaining what they requested only in cases where the economic needs of the Crown were met.

These distinctions having been made, a consolidation of the cities’ role in obtaining the captaincy is undeniable. This sometimes caused political strife, however, as manifested by the protests over the sale of the magistracy, the rejection of a captain of local extraction or an insistence that the privilege of having one be respected, and especially, an explicit request to exclude *cives* of a given rank from the office as well as accusations of clientelism in administering the office. An example that will shed light on these dynamics and also serve as a useful point of comparison with other localities comes from the *universitas* of Agrigento where, in December 1433, the syndics presented the king with a series of particularly important petitions, some of which had to do with the captaincy.⁷¹ A connection between the proponents of the requests and the small merchants can be argued on the basis of the drafters’ thorough knowledge of trade as well as common interests shared with that sector.⁷² The petitions they presented reveal a polarization of the conflict between the *magnifichi* (presumably wealthy merchants—a fact that can be deduced in light of Monteperto’s petition)⁷³ and persons linked to small-scale local trade who probably authored the petitions. They asked to redeem the office from the power of the brothers *Misseri* Antonio and Gaspare Monteperto, who held it for life. At the same time, they proposed a number of countermeasures for future concessions: that the *universitas* be allowed to elect four *cives* from among whom the king would select one to whom the position would then be granted, and finally, that the incumbent not be *magnificho*. The method proposed

⁶⁹ “La crescita esponenziale dei bisogni finanziari del principe e della sua amministrazione portava infine a usare le castellanie come valvole di sfogo del debito pubblico.” Castelnuovo, *Ufficiali* (n. 50 above) 142–146, 252–259, and 325–326, at 328–329.

⁷⁰ An episode highlighted by Pere Verdés Pijuan, “Car vuy en la Cort no s’i fa res sens diners: En torno a la negociación entre la villa de Cervera y el rey durante la baja edad media” *Negociar* (n. 12 above) 185–21; the ambassador’s statement appears on 210.

⁷¹ *Capitoli* (n. 33 above) 298–299.

⁷² These aspects are reconstructed in Titone, *Governments* (n. 5 above) 153–155.

⁷³ The Montepertos began to amass their fortune in the second half of the 13th c. thanks, in part, to strategic marriages; I. Peri, “Per una storia della vita cittadina e del commercio nel medioevo: Girgenti porto del sale e del grano,” *Studi in onore di Amintore Fanfani* (Milan 1962) 69–70; and E. I. Mineo, *Nobiltà di Stato. Famiglie e identità aristocratiche nel tardo medioevo. La Sicilia* (Roma 2001) 258.

for appointing the official was particularly innovative. A request was made to be granted the extraordinary privilege of electing the captain by scrutiny in a somewhat different manner from what took place for other elected officials. Indeed, in the scrutiny, several names were to be selected from among which the king would make his choice: “that the *universitas* elect four citizens by scrutiny every year ... the king will decide which of them to appoint as captain.”⁷⁴ The meaning of Alphonso V’s assent is not clear: he agreed as requested to bestow the post on persons from Agrigento, but it seems to me that he evaded the question of the election by scrutiny to which he only makes indirect reference “concedatur civibus Agrigenti cui ex eis dicte maiestati placebit.”⁷⁵ The vagueness of the reply is diminished in light of subsequent royal actions. Because the *universitas* had repaid the money to the Montepertos, the king declared them deposed from office and decreed that for the following ten years he would grant the office annually to a *cives*. This *placet* is an example of concession that was not actually put into practice, as demonstrated the following year by the royal sale of the office to ten purchasers.⁷⁶ However, the sale represents a compromise between royal financial needs and the *universitas*’ demands: although the election by scrutiny was not achieved, local exponents maintained control of the office through the sale.

The detailed stand taken against the Montapertos highlights the interests of a large sector of the citizenry who did not identify with the group of the *magnifici* of which the two brothers were prominent members. Moments of tension sometimes developed even within the confines of a single socio-professional group when the monopoly of a kinship group precluded a rotation of other persons, even those belonging to the same group, as office holders. This is what happened in Noto where the *gentili homini*, as the wealthy members of the municipal elite were called, gained radical control over the captaincy. The office was purchased for a long period of time (from 1439 to 1452) by the Salonia family⁷⁷ but the community of Noto managed to mitigate their monopoly by obtaining a guarantee of the privilege (which concerned all the offices, not only the captaincy) according to which the incumbent, after a year in office, would not be permitted to hold office again until two more years had passed.⁷⁸ The privilege followed several petitions containing particularly detailed requests that make it possible to understand what the real issue was, namely a rotation of control over the office by the *gentili homini* and an end to the Salonia family’s monopoly. Indeed, it was requested that the *ab antiquo* custom be reinstated whereby all of the community’s *gen-*

⁷⁴ “Ki la universitati omni annu digia eligiri per scrutiniu quattu chitatini ... di li quali lu dictu signuri indi facza capitano quillu ki plachira”; *Capitoli* (n. 33 above) 298–299.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.* 298–299.

⁷⁶ The *camerarius*, Dalmao Raiadell, held the office in 1433–1434; R. C., vol. 69, fol. 58r–v. That same year it was granted *via emptio* to a group of ten buyers, of which only five managed to serve for one year each: Giovanni Cachatu, Enrico Terrana, Antonio Silosi, Nicola Terrana, and the *missere*, Giovanni Mazara; R. C., vol. 76, fols. 371r–372r. The Crown again sold the position to the same Montaperto brothers in 1441; R. C., vol. 76, fols. 371r–372r, 418v–419r.

⁷⁷ The Salonia family represented the new 15th-c. oligarchy thanks, in part, to a number of substantial land acquisitions; Pietro Corrao, “Uomini e poteri sul territorio di Noto nel tardo medioevo,” *Contributi alla geografia storica dell’agro netino, Atti delle “Giornate di studio,” Noto 29–31 maggio 1998*, ed. F. Balsamo and V. La Rosa (Rosolini 2001) 153–154.

⁷⁸ R. C., vol. 78, fols. 262r–265r. The position was purchased by Antonio Salonia in 1439 for 200 *onze* to which Pietro Salvatore and Galcerando Salonia added 50 *onze* in 1442. The *universitas* redeemed it in 1452; R. C., vol. 75, fols. 173r–175r; R. C., vol. 78, fols. 262r–265r; Cancilleria, vol. 2882, fol. 109v.

tili homini could compete for the office. They had been denied that possibility since Pietro Salonia had taken office. Salonia was not regarded as extraneous to the group of *gentili homini* in this case. The protest regarded, instead, the fact that not all the members of this socio-professional status group were allowed to hold the office as they had in the past. It is an item revealing the privileged relationship between the members of this group and the captain's post in Noto.⁷⁹

AN OFFICIAL WITH A COMPOSITE NATURE

The situation in Agrigento clearly reveals the connection between the captainship and municipal factions there, and the attempt of the *universitas* to present itself *per viam emptionis* as owning the magistracy. A key element for understanding the model of power relations between the king and urban communities was the loosening of royal control over the captaincy while, at the same time, the community, posing as purchaser, managed to obtain the office and decide to whom it should then be assigned. These circumstances can be further explored by examining other urban environments because Agrigento's 1433 proposal did not represent isolated circumstances. For example, in 1443 the *universitas* of Polizzi gained effective control over the captaincy which became an elective office managed locally.⁸⁰ The *universitas* retained the privilege until 1448 when it decided, of its own accord, to renounce it and presented a series of petitions requesting an assurance that the captain would be an outsider with no links to the community from that time onward.⁸¹ Nevertheless, opening up the office to outsiders could constitute a means by which seigniorial elements might obtain the position and this was an possibility foreseen by the *universitas*. The same corpus of petitions that forbade the captaincy to persons from the local area—no one of local extraction, not a relative of local persons up to the second degree of kinship, always an outsider—also granted that the office could never be put up for “sale to a powerful person who was a knight or a person of higher rank including barons, their retainers, or attendants present in a baron's household.”⁸²

Another important phenomenon can be noted in an incident involving Polizzi. The *universitas* continued to be involved in the captaincy and managed to impose certain conditions for future concessions even when they chose not to retain possession of the office. It was an indirect form of control and the result of a gradual process that, precisely through the practice of alienation, consolidated an administration which, in most cases at least, benefited local persons.

Categorical requests for an outsider, in contrast to what had been previously attained, could only have been motivated by a partisan administration of the office. In support of this hypothesis, the situation in Piazza can be cited because of the various

⁷⁹ Cancillería, vol. 2882, fol. 109v.

⁸⁰ R. C., vol. 80, fols. 273v–275v; Cancillería, vol. 2822, fol. 21r–v.

⁸¹ P. R., vol. 39, fols. 205r–206r, 13 June 1448. A few months earlier, in February 1448, Viceroy Lop Ximen de Urrea had granted the position to the *miles*, Antonio Sicilia, for that year (P. R., vol. 40, fols. 25v–26r): the repeal of the privilege, which would be institutionalized in June, was evidently already in force.

⁸² “Titulo alienationis a persona potenti videlicet di cavalieri in susu inclusive necnon a nullu baruni ne alloru servitori et domestilii abitanti et commoranti in casa di li dicti baruni”; P. R., vol. 39, fols. 205r–206r.

requests made for assurances that the captain would have no connections whatsoever with the urban environment. The 1448 petition approved by the king states that

no one who is a resident of the *terra* or who is a relative or has relations with anyone who is a recent or long-time resident or who has ties to any lay or religious person can ever hold the office. In the event His Royal Majesty should inadvertently make stipulations different from what is established in this petition it will not be carried out and His Majesty will declare null and void what was stipulated so that the terms of the petition will be respected.⁸³

The pressure for a locally administered captaincy was sometimes followed by equally insistent petitions demanding exactly the opposite. Such demands stemmed from strictly local disputes and royal control over the captaincy appeared increasingly distant. This finds indirect confirmation in the appointment of the *camerarius*, Orlando Amato, who received a lifetime grant of Polizzi's captaincy from the king in 1451–1452. The king stipulated that the concession was in derogation of the existing privileges but was not to be taken as a precedent to be repeated.⁸⁴ As evidence of the importance of urban power relations in selecting a captain, the means by which Orlando Amato again held the office in the year 1455–1456 is enlightening. The concession of the office for that year stated that the king had previously granted the position to him for life but Amato had refused the grant because a lifetime concession conflicted with municipal norms. He obtained the magistracy again only subsequent to a decision by Polizzi's town council: he could hold the office for as long as a majority of the men and municipal officials allowed it.⁸⁵

The urban community's control over the captaincy could be achieved through a more indirect means, and in this regard attention must be drawn specifically to the royal dignitaries—the *familiares et domestici regis*. First of all, the nature of the “dignity” attributed to them must be understood. Concessions of *familiaritas* began to be commonplace during the reign of Martin I.⁸⁶ Such concessions were formalized by an appointment conferring numerous fiscal and judicial rights, the most important of which were the right to arm themselves, and above all, immunity from the jurisdiction of all courts except that of the royal official of the central government such as the *siniscalcus* or the judges of the *domus regia* for both civil and criminal suits—a prerogative underlining the direct link between the dignitaries and the Crown.⁸⁷

⁸³ “Non le potendo per cosa alcuna capere iamai in lo detto officio homo ne persona alcuna habitatore de la dicta terra ne che ci habia parentella alcuna ne affinitate tanto habitatore antique della terra quanto de novo habitatore tanto havendo parentella oy affinitate cum persona laica quanto cum ecclesiastica et religiosa persona, et si per caso la prefata Mayesta per inadvertenza oy comodounque incontrarium ne disponesse contra la forma di li presenti capituli et che eo casu siano nulli et ad nullum valorem ducantur como si mai non fosero state facte et ex nunc pro tunc la prefata Mayesta tale provisione annulla et cassa et vole lo presente capitulo sia inviolabiliter observato iuxta sua continentia et tenore”; *Consuetudines terre Platee*, Piazza Armerina, Biblioteca comunale, fols. 45v–46r. A *vacatio* of six years before a new grant could be awarded was also stipulated.

⁸⁴ R. C., vol. 84, fols. 258v–259r; P. R., vol. 43, fols. 201v–202r.

⁸⁵ P. R., vol. 48, fol. 431v.

⁸⁶ R. C., vol. 18, fol. 46v, 1393; R. C., vol. 20, fol. 38r, 1392; R. C., vol. 25, fols. 172v–173r, 1397; R. C., vol. 27, fol. 28v, 1396.

⁸⁷ Cancilleria, vol. 2806, fols. 27v–30r, 1422; Cancilleria, vol. 2806, fols. 80v–81r, 1422; P. R., vol. 47, fols. 149v–150v, 1456.

The part played by royal dignitaries expanded during Martin I's restoration of the monarchy that began in 1392. This was a period in which the king aimed to considerably expand the network of persons loyal to him. The obvious political importance of the bestowal of "dignity," i.e., the assurance of an ample network of trusted followers in urban environments, became fully evident in 1398 when this privilege was bestowed on all the exiles from Alcamo who had fought for the royal cause.⁸⁸ The strategy pursued by Martin I was further developed by Alphonso V. He resorted regularly to concessions of "dignity" and the beneficiaries were usually of local extraction and represented a clear cross section of every social and political sector.⁸⁹ At the same time Alphonso V welcomed many instances of mediation on behalf of local members made by the *familiares et domestici regis*: a further element negating a top-down model of power relationship between king and subjects. With regard to the captaincy, the numerous concessions made on their intercession during the Alphonsonian period further reduce the significance of appointments made autonomously by the king.⁹⁰ The mediation of the *familiares et domestici regis* in royal grants of the captaincy, both in metropolitan centers and in less populous communities, is further evidence of a selection of the magistrate which was guided at a local level.

The data considered thus far reveals why a clear-cut distinction between magistrates appointed by the king and those chosen by municipal administrations cannot be relied on in describing the organizational structure of urban government, at least during the second half of Alphonso's reign. In reigns prior to that of Alphonso V, the captain, who was the main local royal official, constitutes the most emblematic evidence of the dichotomy existing in the relative balance of power between royal representatives and local government. The developments which took place in Sicily during the Alphonsonian period put an end to this dichotomy and similar counterparts and prec-

⁸⁸ *Capitoli gabelle e privilegi della città di Alcamo*, ed. V. Di Giovanni (Palermo 1876) 44 and 48.

⁸⁹ Some examples of *familiares et domestici regis* include the brothers Giovanni and Pietro Bonfilio, owners of a feudal estate in Noto from which they exported victuals and lumber; Cancillería, vol. 2806, fols. 12v–13r 1422. The *mercator*, Thabía Campo, of Syracuse (P. R., vol. 30, fols. 36r–37r 1428) was originally from Pisa; G. Petralia, *Banchieri e famiglie mercantili nel Mediterraneo aragonese* (Pisa 1989) 351. Benedetto Patrimoni was *Secretus* in Catania; Cancillería, vol. 2814, fol. 93r, 1427. The *magister*, Pino Salvo (P. R., vol. 26, fol. 122v, 1424), the *magister*, Pietro Turturichio, *bombardarius* (P. R., vol. 28, fols. 37v–38r 1425), and the *aurifice*, Giacomo Sanoguerra (P. R., vol. 51, fols. 33r–34r 1457) were all three from Palermo. So was the *miles*, Simonis Andree or Mastrantonio: see Bresc, *Monde* (n. 1 above) 2.911; P. R., vol. 47, fols. 149r–150v 1456 (Palermo).

⁹⁰ For example, on the intercession of *familiares et domestici regis*, Sanchio Dehirre was captain of Corleone in 1453–1454; R. C., vol. 90, fol. 214r. The *miles*, *Nobilis* Matteo Calandrino, was captain of Salemi for the year 1453–1454 and "de inde certo tempore habere et exercere" following the sale of the quota Francesco Maciocta and sons had purchased from the Crown and Calandrino was allowed, pursuant to a plea by *familiares et domestici regis*, to choose a substitute during his own absence; R. C., vol. 89, fol. 365rv. Iaimo Martines da (F)lena was captain of Sciacca for 1456–1457 on the intercession of *familiares et domestici regis* and in accordance with the expressed wishes of Pietro Bondilmunti (Buondelmonte) who held the office "nullo preiudicio dicto Petro generato annis futuris"; P. R., v. 47, fol. 110r. The *familiaris*, Giacomo Vaccario, became Captain of Termini in 1446–1447 on the intercession of *familiares et domestici regis* and Giovanni Valencia was to be captain during his absence; P. R., vol. 38, fols. 102v–103v. Giovanni Podio of Catania was captain of Piazza on the intercession of *familiares et domestici regis* for the year 1449–1450; P. R., vol. 41, fols. 168v–170r.

edents can be found in other cities in the Crown of Aragon, for example, in Barcelona.⁹¹

Widespread municipal control over the captaincy could take on different forms and inevitably involve this magistracy in what was the principal manifestation of political conflict in Sicilian cities—attempts to ban certain groups from holding public office. Depending on the nature of the existing political conflicts, these attempts were sometimes directed at the captaincy. For example, the 1443 request that, for Caltagirone, the position be conferred only on *gentiluomini* from outside the area can be attributed to opposition between groups within the municipal oligarchy—the Landolina and Modica families.⁹² The motivations were of a completely different sort when, in 1444, Milazzo requested that the officials come from the local community. In this case, the dispute concerned power relations with the adjacent metropolitan center of Messina. Milazzo was trying to reduce Messina's strong control by opposing the increasing introduction of citizens from Messina who were once *habitatores* of Milazzo. Their exclusion from offices in the local government, including the captaincy, was requested because these persons were no longer interested in defending the rights of their own "hometown."⁹³

The cases examined here point out the marked diversity characteristic of urban circumstances and also demonstrate how the widespread bestowal of the captaincy on individuals from the local environment was strongly balanced by a continuation of royal concessions to outsiders and numerous municipal requests for grants to persons who were not of local origin. On this matter, an analysis of the captainship in Sicily would not be complete without also analysing the effects of concessions to both persons who held offices in the royal curia and to officials who transferred from one community to another. Appointments to the captaincy of officials from the royal curia—*algozarius*, *uxer d'arms*, and *camerarius* who were evidently chosen for their close ties to the king—fostered the circulation of knowledge and provided the *universitates* with a bargaining tool to facilitate their negotiations with the king.⁹⁴ Moreover,

⁹¹ Sicilian urban communities were not isolated cases. Earlier, for example, a development began in Barcelona in the first half of the 1300s that was similar in many ways. In the early 14th c., royal officials were chosen exclusively by the king but, by the mid-1300s, the *consellers* (elected officials) provided the king with a list of three names from which he would select the *batlle*, a royal official previously chosen by the king alone. Furthermore, between 1330 and 1340, the members of the *Consell de Cent*, the main municipal government body, were elected by the *consellers* together with the *veguer*, a royal representative. Then, after 1340, the *consellers* made the selection on their own without the participation of the *veguer*. See C. Batlle Gallart, "El Llibre del consell, font de coneixement del municipi i de la societat de Barcelona del segle XIV," *El "Llibre del Consell" de la ciutat de Barcelona. Segle XIV: les eleccions municipals*, ed. Carmen Batlle Gallart et al. (Barcelona 2005) 11–47, esp. 28–29.

⁹² For a reconstruction of these events, see G. Pace, *Il governo dei gentiluomini: Ceti dirigenti e magistrature a Caltagirone tra medioevo ed età moderna* (Rome 1996) 130–133.

⁹³ Viceroy Ximen de Urrea assented but made reference only to the captaincy and did not mention other magistracies; R. C., vol. 81, fols. 266v–267r.

⁹⁴ The year of the conferment of the captaincy is indicated. *Algozarius* Consalvo Munios, P. R., vol. 40, fol. 188v, 1448–1449 (Agrigento); *algozarius* Giorgio Santo Stefano, R. C., vol. 79, fols. 139v–140r, 1443–1444 (Trapani); *algozarius*, Enrico Romano, P. R., vol. 34, fol. 152rv, 1438–1440 (Patti). *Uxer d'arms* Giovanni Lolino, P. R., vol. 48, fol. 95rv, 1456–1457 (Trapani); *uxer d'arms* Pietro Castello, P. R., vol. 24, fols. 26r–27r; fols. 96v–97r, 1421–1422 (Catania); *uxer d'arms* Giovanni Ferrera, R. C., vol. 74, fols. 277v–278v, 1440–1441 (Noto). *Camerarius* Dalmao Raiadell, R. C., vol. 69, fol. 58rv, 1433–1434 (Agrigento); *camerarius* Giovanni Torella, R. C., vol. 80, fol. 258v, 1442–1443 (Trapani), *camerarius* Orlando Amato,

as shown above, alienations of the magistracy provoked repeated conflicts, at times over the appointment of persons of local origin, at others over appointments to outsiders—a diversification of concessions which led to a persistent circulation of these officials among different communities. The movement had very important consequences: it assured a political turnover and became a means for spreading information from one city to another, particularly for the governmental sphere under the captain's purview, i.e., the administration of criminal justice. It is for this reason that reference was made *in primis* to judicial matters when *universitates* were attempting to obtain the same privileges as those held by other localities.⁹⁵ Captains were not necessarily professional magistrates. There were captains who held office in more than one *universitas*, just as there were “foreign” captains who filled the office in only one locality and brought with them a background of knowledge either from previous activities as elected government officials or because their family members were captains.

Captains who were not of local extraction were appointed in numerous instances throughout the reign of Alphonso V. Palermo clearly emerges as the largest exporter of its citizens (to Agrigento, Corleone, Piazza, and Salemi), followed by Messina (to Patti, Noto, Randazzo, and, as has been seen here, to Milazzo), and Catania (to Patti, Piazza, Nicosia, and Randazzo).⁹⁶ It is noteworthy that persons in Patti came not only

R. C., vol. 84, fols. 258v–259r; P. R., vol. 43, fols. 201v–202r, 1451–1452 (Polizzi). Regarding the functions of these royal officials, see Corrao, *Governare* (n. 27 above) 310, 317–319.

⁹⁵ Cancillería, vol. 2813, fol. 41r, 1426 (Catania); A. E. Risino, *Il regesto del libro rosso dell'università netina* (Noto 2003) 101–102, 108; P. R., vol. 25, fol. 165r, 1423 (Trapani); Cancillería, vol. 2843, fol. 180v, 1444 (Sciacca); Cancillería, vol. 2838, fol. 127r–v, 1441 (Palermo); Cancillería, vol. 2843, fol. 180v, 1444 (Polizzi).

⁹⁶ For the following, and in subsequent notes, dates are given for concessions of the captaincy only in those cases for which a grant was made during the year in which the magistrate was required to take office and in these cases his activity regarded only a portion of the administrative year (1 September to 31 August). In all other instances, the date of the concession is not given because the concession had been granted previously (to go into effect at the onset of the administrative year indicated), or at the beginning of an administrative year (the administrative year is always given) in which case the captain held the office for the entire year. Simone Columba of Palermo was Captain of Corleone in 1416–1417 “in forma absque clausula videlicet de non recedendo absque licentia”; R. C., vol. 51, fol. 251r. The *civis Panormi*, Bartolomeo Columba, was Captain of Corleone in 1426–1427 and 1428–1429; P. R., vol. 27, fol. 23rv. The *civis Panormi*, Iaimo Paruta was Captain of Agrigento in 1428–1429; R. C., vol. 59, fol. 19v. Giacomo Lombardo of Palermo was Captain of Salemi in 1434–35; Cancillería, vol. 2820; fols. 136v–137r. Paolo Gallo of Palermo was appointed captain of Corleone in October 1437 for the year 1437–1438 “si alteri non est concessum”; P. R., vol. 34, fols. 36r, 42rv; R. C., vol. 71, fol. 72r. The king granted the position in Polizzi for 1450–51, the current administrative year, to Nicola Bologna the “panormita” who, instead, resigned the post on 5 September 1450 in favor of Giovanni di Amato “capitaneo in presenciarum dicte terre”; R. C., vol. 84, fol. 39rv. On the intercession of *familiares et domestici regis*, the *nobilis*, Pietro Mayneri, of Palermo, was captain of Piazza in 1458–1459; P. R., vol. 51, fols. 340v 341v; P. R., vol. 34, fol. 84r. Antonio Patti of Messina was captain of Noto in 1422–1423; P. R., vol. 25, fol. 120v. Guglielmo Spatafora of Messina was captain of Randazzo in 1432–1433 and 1434–1435; P. R., vol. 31, fols. 149v–150r. Having given the Crown 20 *onze*, the *algozirius*, Enrico Romano of Messina, held the captaincy in Patti in 1438–1439 and 1439–1440 (P. R., vol. 34, fol. 152rv), then, with a further payment of 25 *onze* on 27 April 1442, he or his heirs obtained the magistracy for two years more (specific indications of the years are not given); in R. C., vol. 78 fols. 287r–291v; and G. C. Sciacca, *Patti e l'amministrazione del comune nel medioevo* (Palermo 1907) 323–334. On the intercession of *familiares et domestici regis*, the *nobilis*, Giovanni Guglielmo di Patti of Messina was captain of Patti in 1454–1455 “nisi prius alteri per nos concessum fuerit”; R. C., vol. 90, fols. 61r–62r. In February 1434, the *miles*, Giovanni Basilico was suspended from his position as Randazzo's captain, which was given to the *civis Catanie*, Nicola Paternione (Paternò) who, although it is not specified, was probably to hold the office until 31 August; Cancillería, vol. 2825, fol. 63rv. In Catania other members of the Paternò family, Antonio and Vinchiguerra, were captains in 1428–1429 and 1438–1439, respectively; R. C., vol. 59,

from the large nearby city of Messina but also from smaller towns like Milazzo and Taormina bordering on Patti.⁹⁷ The officials came from medium-sized *universitates* as well as from localities with smaller populations: from Licata to Agrigento, from Salemi and Polizzi to Corleone, from Agrigento to Termini, from Caltabellotta to Marsala and Trapani, from Montalbano to Catania, from Patti to Piazza, from Noto to Nicosia, and from Trapani to Salemi and Sciacca.⁹⁸ Records of transfers have been singled out here as mere examples and are not intended as a complete listing: broadening the analysis to include other *universitates* would expand such a list.

Although there is not a chronological correspondence, it is difficult to avoid considering whether or not a parallel might be suggested between the roles of the captain and the *podestà* in communes, particularly because the captain's mobility recalls the circumstances of the *podestà*. It is not actually possible to compare the two, however: the *podestà* was, in effect, an itinerant official whose role was profoundly different from that of the captain's in Sicily. As it is well known, the *podestà* was an elected official, the head and coordinator of the communes' institutions.⁹⁹

About forty percent of the captains did not exit the political arena once their mandate ended. Captains were sometimes appointed more than once in the same locality, on an average twice, and occasionally more than that.¹⁰⁰ Moreover, a comparison of

fol. 19r; R. C., vol. 74, fol. 58v. The *miles*, Pietro Pistibus (Pesci) of Catania was captain of Nicosia in 1438–1439; P. R. v. 34, fol. 84r. Matteo Chitari of Catania was captain of Patti in 1438–1439; R. C., vol. 73, fol. 61rv. On the intercession of *familiares et domestici regis*, Giovanni Podio of Catania was captain of Piazza in 1457–1458; P. R., vol. 49, fols. 388v–389r.

⁹⁷ Guglielmo Zumbo was captain of Patti in 1445–1446 but, because he was unable to fulfil his duties, the position was delegated to Giovanni Thunmino of Taormina; P. R., vol. 37, fols. 75v–76r. Bartolomeo Marchesio of Milazzo was captain of Patti in 1446–1447; P. R., vol. 38, fol. 89r.

⁹⁸ Calogero Cali of Licata was captain of Agrigento in 1448–1449; P. R., vol. 39, fol. 186rv. Michele Arino of Salemi, upon a letter from the *Infante* Peter, was captain of Corleone in 1435–1436; R. C., vol. 70, fol. 37v. Michele Arino (Aritio) was captain of Salemi in 1432–1433, P. R., vol. 33, fol. 94rv. Francesco Denti of Polizzi was captain of Corleone in 1413–1414 and 1414–1415 in exchange for the captaincy in Polizzi; P. R., vol. 22, fol. 263v. The Denti family had a particularly important role in the Polizzi government; see F. Titone, *I magistrati cittadini: gli ufficiali scrutinati in Sicilia da Martino I ad Alfonso V* (Caltanissetta-Roma 2008) 263–274. Raniero Traversa of Agrigento was captain of Termini in 1419–1420; P. R., vol. 21, fol. 50r. *Magnificus* Antonio Doperno, count of Caltabellotta, was captain of Trapani and Marsala presumably in 1423–1424; R. C., vol. 55, fol. 52rv. The *nobilis*, Giovanni Romano, baron of Montalbano “*consiliarius regius et fidelis regius*” was captain of Catania in 1422–1423; the incumbent, Pietro Riczari, ceded the position to him on 6 December 1422; P. R., vol. 25, fol. 86v. Giovanni Romano was reappointed captain of Catania for the years 1435–1436 and 1436–1437 in April 1435; R. C., vol. 70, fols. 36r–37r. On the intercession of *familiares et domestici regis*, Masio Renda of Patti was captain of Piazza “*dum tamen alteri per nos prius concessum fuerit*” in 1454–1455; P. R., vol. 45, fols. 107v–108v; R. C., vol. 90, fol. 111r. Nicola Vassallo of Noto was Captain of Nicosia in 1429–1430; P. R., vol. 30, fol. 65rv. Enrico Crispo of Trapani was captain of Sciacca in 1413–1414; P. R., vol. 22, fol. 263r. Filippo Sieri (Sigerio) of Trapani was captain of Salemi in 1421–1422; P. R., vol. 24, fols. 28v–29r. In Trapani, another member of Sigerio family, Francesco, was captain in 1421–1422, 1425–1426, and 1437–1438; P. R., vol. 24, fols. 38v–39r; P. R., vol. 27, fol. 128r; P. R., vol. 34, fol. 62rv; R. C., vol. 71, fol. 73v.

⁹⁹ The phenomenon of the movement of officials from one urban centre to another has been amply dealt with in communal settings; see *I podestà dell'Italia comunale: Parte I—reclutamento e circolazione degli ufficiali forestieri (fine XII sec.–metà XIV sec.)*, ed. J. C. Maire Vigueur, 2 vols. (Rome 2000). See also F. Leverotti, “Gli Ufficiali negli Stati italiani del Quattrocento,” *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa* 4.1 (1999) ix–xx.

¹⁰⁰ Some examples of repeated appointments of a captain: *Dominus* Antonio Bonito in 1419–1420 and 1426–147; P. R., vol. 21, fol. 23r; P. R., vol. 28, fol. 24v (Agrigento). The *miles*, Gispert Desfar, in 1421–1422 and 1431–1432; P. R., vol. 24, fol. 20rv; P. R., vol. 32, fol. 59rv (Agrigento). The *civis Panormi*, Bartolomeo Columba, in 1426–1427, 1428–1429, 1430–1431, and 1432–1433; P. R., vol. 27, fol. 23rv; P. R.,

the names of individuals assigned to the captaincy with those of officials elected in Sicily between 1392 and 1458 reveals that a significant number of captains who were from the local area were also elected to positions in municipal government either before or after carrying out their mandates. They were more likely to be elected to the most important municipal offices, primarily as jurats, but a substantial percentage were also judges.¹⁰¹ Individuals are normally listed as elected officials only a few times but there are instances of persons who held numerous elected positions.¹⁰² Election to municipal government did not involve the majority of outsiders (captains who did not come from the locality where they held office) whose names never appear on the rosters of elected officials in the *universitas* where they carried out their mandates as captains. Lastly, the prosopographic study reveals that most captains were Sicilians although a small percentage came from the Iberian peninsula.

DEVELOPMENTS IN RELATION TO ELECTED OFFICIALS AND EXPERIMENTAL FEATURES OF THE CAPTAINCY

The cases of collaboration between the royal magistrate and elected municipal officials over the course of the 1300s become more conspicuous during Alphonso's reign within a political framework in which the captain does not appear to constitute an element with origins or interests different from those of the elected officials. It is possible to speak of widespread collaboration: in Malta decisions regarding municipal lev-

vol. 30, fol. 135rv (Corleone). The *miles*, Manuele Giuxeres (Guxeres), in 1425–1426, 1427–1428, 1429–1430, and 1431–141432; P. R., v. 24, fol. 248v; P. R., vol. 31, fol. 157v (Patti). Giovanni Santo Angelo in 1433–34 and 1437–38; Cancillería, vol. 2818, fol. 150r; Cancillería, vol. 2821, fol. 82r; R. C., vol. 74, fol. 70r (Randazzo). Arnao Sanczo in 1450–1451 and 1456–1457: P. R., vol. 42, fol. 101rv; P. R., vol. 47, fol. 106rv; P.R., vol. 48, fols. 388r, 474r (Termini). The *miles*, Giovanni Ferro, in 1444–1445 and 1458–1459: R. C., vol. 82, fol. 82v; P. R., vol. 51, fols. 204v–205v (Trapani).

¹⁰¹ As stated earlier jurats and judges were among the major elected officials. The jurats had broad, substantial administrative duties, judges had jurisdiction over civil justice and other administrative functions.

¹⁰² The percentage of captains also listed as elected officials in the government (albeit never during their captaincy) varies from one locality to another and, on an average, is probably somewhere around 50% but must be considered lower for the *universitates* of Polizzi and Corleone, for example. Several examples follow and the elective offices indicated here are taken from Titone, *Magistrati* (n. 98 above) where the sources are noted. Tomaso Vento was captain in Trapani in 1435–36 and 1439–1440: R. C., vol. 70, fol. 35v; R. C., vol. 74, fol. 60v. He was elected as jurat in 1421–1422, 1424–1425, and 1438–1439. Guglielmo Crapanzano was captain in Trapani in 1446–1447: P. R., vol. 38, fol. 89v. He was elected jurat in 1430–1431 and 1440–1441. Antonio Paternò (Patrimone) was captain in Catania beginning in June 1428 for the year 1428–1429: R. C., vol. 59, fol. 19r. He was elected catapan (*acatapanus* who was responsible for overseeing markets) in 1412–1413 and 1413–1414 and he was elected jurat in 1423–1424, 1430–1431, and 1456–1457. Enrico Tudisco was captain in Catania in 1429–30: R. C., vol. 59, fol. 19r. He was elected jurat in 1423–1424. The *miles*, Antonio Charamidaro (Chiramidali), was captain in Nicosia in 1432–1433: P. R., vol. 31, fols. 81v–82r. He was elected jurat in 1403–1404. The *maior regius*, Giovanni Landolina, was captain in Noto in 1423–1424: R. C., vol. 55, fol. 48v. He was elected *patricius* (one of the highest municipal positions, the *baiulus* was called *patricius* in Noto) in 1419–1420. Francesco di Santo Onofrio was captain in Patti in 1441–1442: R.C. vol. 77, fol. 66v. He was elected *notarius actorum* for the jurats' curia in 1428–1429, *notarius actorum* for the judges' curia in 1430–1431, and jurat in 1443–1444 and 1456–1457. Antonio Naro was captain in Piazza in 1455–1456: R. C., vol. 99, fol. 41r. He was elected judge in 1442–1443. Matteo Panormo was captain in Randazzo nel 1431–1432: P. R., vol. 31, fol. 57v. He was elected jurat in 1436–1437 and 1441–1442. The *miles*, Giovanni Basilico, was captain in Randazzo in 1432–1433: Cancillería, vol. 2818, fol. 150r; Cancillería, vol. 2821, fol. 82r. He was elected catapan in 1448–1449. Nicola la Farina was captain in Termini in 1449–1450: P. R., vol. 41, fol. 61v. He was elected judge in 1426–1427, 1429–1430, and 1456–1457, and catapan in 1431–1432 *ex gratia* and 1447–1448.

ies and the sale and duration of tax farms were the province of the council as long as the jurats and the captain voted in the sessions.¹⁰³ In 1449, Polizzi's town council made up of "the men and inhabitants of the *terra*" in the presence of the captain, judges, and jurats, decided to obtain provisions that were especially to aid the poor and destitute so that they would not starve.¹⁰⁴ Still regarding the economic sphere, even for officials' routine duties and activities based on council directives, details of the tasks entrusted to the jurats, which normally involved the captain and the judges as well, can be gleaned from royal formulas of address to civic officials, the only parts of those formulas being considered here. These magistrates were called on, for example, to authorize the import and export of wheat and subsequently to enact related decisions or negotiate on the matter with the Crown.¹⁰⁵ Similar patterns also recur in other areas of financial policy, although the jurats may have exercised a preponderant role among the officials.¹⁰⁶

When offices were granted or royal notification was made of the conferment of an office that previously had been alienated, it was not always clear to whom the king or his representative was addressing the announcement of the alienation or the new appointments. There was obviously no one specific local intermediary even when the references were general ones;¹⁰⁷ this aspect is also confirmed by the numerous decrees in which officials are indicated in the royal formulas of address: the civil curia and the jurats were always named, often the captain, and in some cases, the rest of the community.¹⁰⁸ When announcing the sale of an office, the king addressed the civil curia

¹⁰³ *Acta iuratorum* (n. 44 above) 82–83, 1453; 104–105, 1454.

¹⁰⁴ P. R., vol. 41, fol. 22r.

¹⁰⁵ Examples include: "capitaneo iudicibus iuratis ... ad quos spectabit," P. R., vol. 41, fol. 22r, 1449 (Polizzi); "nobilibus capitaneo iudicibus et iuratis ceterisque officialibus," P. R., vol. 47, fol. 112r–v, 1456 (Agrigento); "capitaneo iudicibus iuratis et aliis officialibus ... et presertim portulanotis eiusdem terre," P. R., vol. 47, fol. 133r, 1456 (Termini).

¹⁰⁶ Authorization for the "pretori iudicibus iuratis et aliis officialibus ad quos spectet" to sell the future *gabelle*; R. C., vol. 54, fols. 98v–99r, 1422 (Palermo). A mandate to the captain, judges, and jurats of Agrigento who "cogant seu cogi faciant" 15 *tari* to be used by the notary of the civil curia for restoring the archives and the seat of the curia; P. R., vol. 24, fol. 221v, 1425. Permission granted to the jurats and the *universitas* of Agrigento to levy a wine tax; P. R., vol. 24, fols. 220v–221r, 1425. An announcement sent to the "capitaneo patricio iudicibus iuratis ceterisque officialibus et universitati terre" confirming Rainaldo Xurtino's ownership of the salt works called La Ribecca; R. C., vol. 79, fols. 140r–142r, 1443 (Noto). Authorization for the captain, judges, jurats, and other officials of Polizzi to demand that the Denti family turn over the funds they had collected beyond what had been stipulated in the contract for the *gabelle*; Cancilleria, 2875, fols. 89v–90r, 1454. Subsequently, however, in ordering that the municipal *gabelle* be used to pay the ambassador, the formula of address refers only to the jurats of Randazzo; P. R., vol. 47, fols. 103r–104r, 1456. In this last document, the initial reference is to the jurats of Randazzo, then Piazza, but because the syndic was Simone Pullichinu, it clearly deals with the community of Randazzo where he served; P. R., vol. 47, fols. 122r–125r, 1456. A request to "capitaneo patricio iudicibus iuratis et aliis officialibus terre Nothi" not to have the "dilectu regiu Franchiscu Dedato de officio regie cancellerie" contribute to the *colletta* because he was a royal official; P. R., vol. 47, fols. 198v–199r, 1457.

¹⁰⁷ "Universis et singulis officialibus"; P. R., vol. 26, fols. 123v–124r, 1424 (Termini). "Officialibus et universitati hominum"; R. C., vol. 76, fols. 418v–419r, 1441 (Agrigento). "Universis et singulis officialibus"; P. R., vol. 38, fol. 58r–v, 1446 (Salemi). "Universis et singulis officialibus"; P. R., vol. 38, fols. 111v–115r, 1446 (Sciacca). "Officialibus universitati ac habitatoribus"; P. R., vol. 38, fols. 35r–41r, 1446 (Nicosia).

¹⁰⁸ "Capitaneo iudicibus iuratis et aliis officialibus," R. C., vol. 54, fol. 321v, 1423 (Randazzo), whereas the *baiulus* is later included: "capitaneo baiulo iudicibus curie civilis et aliis officialibus universitati et singulis personis"; P. R., vol. 40, fols. 161r–163v, 1448 (Randazzo). "Iudicibus iuratis et aliis officialibus ac habitatoribus," R. C., vol. 69, fols. 107r–108v, 1434 (Sciacca). "Patricio, iudicibus iuratis et universitati," R.

and the jurats' curia as well as the royal official who would be ceding his post. The same patterns recur for the Crown's announcements of royal positions granted and *ex gratia* appointments to office.¹⁰⁹ These facts clearly indicate a distribution of power, not a concentration favoring one specific institution.

Collaboration did not mean a confusion of roles, particularly in this new political phase when captains acted more and more often in favor of certain interests. In this regard, it will be useful to note the institutional conflict which came about in Trapani in 1447. Briefly, Guglielmo Crapanzano, captain of Trapani, and the jurat, Giurato Giovanni Abrignano, presented the king with a detailed set of petitions on behalf of the community that received royal assent on 29 December 1447.¹¹⁰ It was normal procedure for the council to draft petitions: the following month, the king replied to a letter from the councilors of Trapani who repudiated Crapanzano's mandate. The letter argued that they had never given him any authorization and, by virtue of this reasoning, they obtained a reinstatement of the conditions existing prior to the Captain's mission.¹¹¹ This episode demonstrates the importance of the municipal council, an extensive governing body and expression of a political policy of the times, that was widely inclusive both in its internal make up and in its relations with the king. The council debates played a decisive role in urban politics and the council, which represented diverse socio-professional groups, was the body authorized to bargain with the king.¹¹² Moreover, this renunciation of the captain's undertaking was an unequivocal political warning against encroachments on municipal autonomy.

The occurrence in Trapani can be compared to what was recorded for Piazza when impeachment proceedings against Captains Bartolomeo Amoro and Ruggero Crapanzano—the principle accusation was patronage in government activity—created a highly tense state of affairs at the end of the 1440s. The community presented the

C., vol. 75, fols. 173r–175r, 1439 (Noto). “Capitaneo baiulo iudicibus iuratis et aliis officialibus universitatis et singularibus personis terre Salem ceterisque ad quos spectet.” P. R., vol. 44, fols. 335r–336r, 1452.

¹⁰⁹ “Capitaneo iudicibus iuratis”; P. R., vol. 25, fol. 34r, 1422 (Agrigento). “Capitaneo et aliis officialibus”; P. R., vol. 25, fol. 34r–v, 1422 (Castrogiovanni). “Pretori iudicibus iuratis”; P. R., vol. 25, fol. 27v, 1422 (Palermo). “Pretori iudicibus iuratis ceterisque officialibus”; P. R., vol. 25, fol. 55r–v, 1422 (Palermo). “Universis et singulis officialibus”; P. R., vol. 28, fol. 25r, 1425 (Salemi). “Capitaneo iudicibus iuratis”; Cancillería, vol. 2823, fol. 134r–v, 1434 (Agrigento). “Capitaneo baiulo iudicibus iuratis et aliis officialibus”; R. C., vol. 84, fol. 252r–v, 1451 (Agrigento). “Capitaneo iudicibus iuratis secreto et ceteris officialibus”; P. R., vol. 47, fol. 149r, 1456 (Palermo). “Capitaneo iudicibus iuratis et aliis officialibus,” P. R., vol. 47, fol. 106r–v, 1456 (Termini).

¹¹⁰ Cancillería, vol. 2858, fols. 152v–154r.

¹¹¹ Cancillería, vol. 2860, fol. 92v, 29 January 1449. There is a step in this reconstruction which is based on an assumption that the December 1448 petitions were those mentioned by the king in his reply to the councilors' letter inasmuch as Crapanzano figures in both the petitions and the letter. One aspect, however, does not coincide because the petitions were also presented by a jurat named Abrignano who was not cited in the letter. The deduction is nevertheless plausible. In fact, in the king's mention of the ambassadors made in approving the petitions, Crapanzano had greater authority than Abrignano whose position was not even specified; Cancillería, vol. 2858, fol. 152v. For a comparison, see E. Martí Sentañes, “Els memorials o instruccions per als síndics a Corts de la ciutat de Lleida durant el Regnat d'Alfons el Magnànim,” *Actes del 53è Congrés de la comissió internacional per a l'estudi de la història de les institucions representatives i parlamentàries*, 3–6 setembre 2003, 2 vols. (Barcelona 2003) 2.1073–1091, which, for the Catalan city of Lerida, analyses the instructions given by local governments to the syndics representing them in the Cortes. See also Verdés Pijuan, “Car vuy” (n. 70 above) 188–191.

¹¹² For a study specifically on the council, see F. Titone, “Note preliminari sul consilium civium di Palermo, 1448–1458,” *Dentro e fuori la Sicilia: Studi di storia per Vincenzo D'Alessandro*, ed. P. Corrao and E. I. Mineo (Roma 2009) 251–265.

king with a series of petitions including an accusation that the captains had forbidden the town council to assemble.¹¹³ This denunciation makes it possible to see that the royal magistracy had some responsibility, albeit incorrectly administered, over council activity and to glimpse once again a complex combination of common interests shared by the captain and certain local factions.

As far as references to simultaneous captainships are concerned, it is difficult to determine whether they were instances of dual concessions or a vague reference to officials who took over the office from each other. The possibility that a grant of the magistracy was made to two officials at the same time, even though it cannot be completely excluded,¹¹⁴ was a rare occurrence and not always clearly supported by documentation. An examination of the names of the officeholders in different *universitates* (appointments in thirteen localities are dealt with in this study)¹¹⁵ demonstrates that what appears to be the appointment of two captains operating concomitantly often turn out to be registrations of appointments made at different times. Normally, therefore, rather than two captains holding office simultaneously, a new concession had been made due to the fact that the conditions underlying the previous grant were no longer in force. It was possible, furthermore, that the two captains were not active at the same time but had both purchased the position and alternated in office. For example, in 1448 Guglielmo La Monaca and Giacomo Terri purchased the position in Castrogiovanni for fifty-five *onze*, taking over from the previous officeholder *medietatis capitaniam* for the same amount. They were to alternate as incumbents every three months.¹¹⁶

Having established that the possibility of having two captains active simultaneously was rare indeed, this was nevertheless a magistracy exhibiting experimental features. These included the possibility that a magistrate could hold office in two localities (Trapani and Marsala) or in a number of larger centers, especially in a *universitas* (Agrigento, Messina, or Patti) and in the territory (*districtus*) to which it belonged, therefore partially recovering the functions of the justiciar from the end of the 1200s.¹¹⁷

Experimentation was evident both in an expansion of the captain's role and, due evidently to pressure exerted by local governments, its reduction: jurisdiction over criminal matters was not always the exclusive province of the captain. As noted above, Martin I decreed in 1398 that all cases involving amounts of less than one *onza* falling under the purview of the captaincy were incumbent upon the jurats and authorized the jurats' curia to initiate legal proceedings, while for cases involving more than one *onza*, the jurats were to merely register the lawsuit.¹¹⁸ Martin's decree turns up again at a later date. On the basis of one of its *observancia et consuetudo*, the *universitas* of

¹¹³ *Consuetudines terre Platee* (n. 83 above), fols. 46r–47v, fol. 57r–v.

¹¹⁴ Two captains are registered as holding office in Trapani in August 1444: the *miles*, Giorgio di Santo Stefano (R. C. v. 82 fol. 86r, 17 August) and the *miles*, Giovanni di Ferro (R. C. v. 82, fol. 96rv, 28 August).

¹¹⁵ See n. 7 above.

¹¹⁶ P. R., vol. 40, fol. 193v.

¹¹⁷ For Trapani and Marsala, R. C., vol. 55, fol. 52rv, presumably in 1423–1424; for Agrigento, R. C., vol. 75, fols. 279v–280r, 1440–1441; for Messina, Cancillería, vol. 2844, fol. 108r, 1443; for Patti, P. R., vol. 39, fol. 105rv, 1447–1448.

¹¹⁸ *Capitula*, cap. VII (n. 18 above) 1.142.

Salemi asked in 1423 that the jurats be assigned jurisdiction over suits dealing with both lesser and greater amounts—a clear allusion to the limits set by Martin I. It is clear that Martin's decree had been expanded in Salemi in favor of the jurats. Viceroy Nicola Speciale confirmed Martin's decree but doesn't grant further power to the jurats: the jurats were to continue operating as before in every case involving less than one *onza*.¹¹⁹ This expansion of the functions of the jurat's curia to the detriment of those of the captain's office, constituted a premise for requesting control over the royal official. The practice of monitoring the activities of the captain at the end of his mandate was established procedure and did not always include a provision referring to the limit of one *onza*. In 1426, Calascibetta proposed that the jurats should monitor the captain's activity without any limits set and Viceroy Nicola Speciale accepted the petition while recalling that provisions for such an operation already existed.¹²⁰ Jurats in Randazzo were accorded the function of monitoring the captain's administration of low justice in 1456.¹²¹

Investigations of the captain's activity came about, I believe, as a result of a consolidation of the process that gradually led this official responsible for criminal affairs to reflect urban political power relations. As an immediate effect of these power relations, captains often became the focus of accusations of favoritism or, worse yet, members of real municipal factions (*parcialitates*) or perpetrators of clientelism.¹²² During the second half of Alphonso's reign, municipal requests became more numerous for the king to send an official from the royal curia, usually a commissioner, to carry out the necessary investigations of undertakings by captains who were always less committed to the general welfare. Royal decrees frequently followed accusations by municipal groups or individuals against a captain guilty of meting out summary or partial justice. Likewise, whether or not a commissioner was sent, the Crown did not hesitate to take a stand against a captain's mismanagement or avoid a degeneration of political clashes between factions.¹²³

These considerations make it easier to comprehend what took place in Polizzi 1442. It was necessary to reestablish institutional order there after a period when the community had been held in fief. The *universitas* proposed that the captain's curia swear before the jurats' curia to respect the privileges and customary statutes of the locality. The king approved their request to respect the privileges without making provisions for an oath.¹²⁴ Later, in 1448, following the presentation of other petitions

¹¹⁹ P. R., vol. 26, fol. 72v.

¹²⁰ *Capitoli* (n. 33 above) 35. The jurats in Caltagirone obtained the same prerogatives (ibid. 53, 1420 and 56, 1432) and also the jurats in Castrogiovanni as well (ibid. 84, 1420–1421).

¹²¹ P. R., vol. 47, fols. 123v–124r.

¹²² For political clientelism, which is based on informal personal relations entailing dependence and reciprocity, see the entry "Clientélisme," *Dictionnaire du vote*, ed. P. Perrineau and D. Reynié (Paris 2001) 197–200. See also V. E. Parsi, "La clientela: Per una tipologia dei legami personali in politica," *Filosofia Politica* 2 (1988) 411–434, which considers protection to be an essential, although not exclusive, feature of clientelism.

¹²³ P. R., vol. 50, fols. 371r–372r, 1458 (Randazzo). R. C., vol. 89, fol. 244r–v, 1453 (Trapani). R. C., vol. 89, fols. 119v–120r, 1453 (Patti). R. C., vol. 84, fol. 325r–v, 1451 (Polizzi). On the role of commissioner, compare the situation in the Florentine State, see W. J. Connell, "Istituzioni giudiziarie e aspetti della criminalità nella Firenze tardo medievale," *Ricerche Storiche* 3 (1988) 591–617, at 604–608, 614–617.

¹²⁴ Cancilleria, vol. 2822, fol. 23v.

ensuing from the community's difficult relations with the captaincy, the oath was formally sanctioned.¹²⁵

THE CAPTAIN AND THE CAPTAIN'S JUDGE: TWO DIFFERENT LEVELS OF GOVERNMENT
The cases examined, particularly those in Agrigento and Noto, have clearly revealed that those who held the captain's office were mostly leaders of the most affluent socio-professional group made up of important landowners and large-scale merchants. Not unique to Agrigento and Noto, this situation was actually fairly widespread throughout the *universitates* as confirmed indirectly by two important elements. The first concerns the high percentage of captains' names appearing as jurats elected prior to or following their mandates as captain: the jurats were mostly merchants and/or landowners. The second indirect confirmation is furnished by the system of alienations: a person able to furnish conspicuous sums of money could become captain. Occasionally, seigniorial leaders or persons close to them, could also be captains.¹²⁶

Additionally, *milites* were often captains. A correlation, but not a direct correspondence, with the seigniorial environment in the 1300s can be established for the *milites* as demonstrated by the numerous royal decrees prohibiting them from holding local government offices.¹²⁷ There might have been some connection with the seigniorial environment but it should be remembered that the royal dignity of the *militia* cannot be linked to any specifically identifiable social status and could be conferred by the king on persons of different social extractions without its bestowal giving rise to a subsequent status of knighthood.¹²⁸ In the period following Martin I's restoration of the monarchy and, even more so during the reign of Alphonso V when there was a profound weakening of the seigniorial front, the *milites* were no longer the prime figures linked to the aristocratic environment. They were more generally leading figures in the local community, often members of families with other *milites* among their ranks in a privileged relationship with the Crown, which explains the king's frequent concessions on their behalf.¹²⁹ Concessions were frequently made to *milites* but not

¹²⁵ P. R., vol. 39, fol. 205v.

¹²⁶ The *nobilis*, Giovanni Romano, Baron of Montalbano was captain of Catania, see n. 98 above.

¹²⁷ *Capitula*, cap. LVII (n. 18 above) 1.75, 1296; *Felicitis et fidelissimae Urbis Panormitanae selecta aliquot privilegia*, ed. Michael De Vio (1760–1768; repr. Palermo 1990) 152, 1339.

¹²⁸ Mineo, *Nobiltà* (n. 73 above) 175–212. For the *milites*, see also A. Baviera Albanese, "Studio introduttivo," *Acta Curie felicitis urbis Panormi*: 3 (n. 19 above) xxi–xxix.

¹²⁹ Examples for Agrigento include the *miles*, Gispert Desfar, Captain in 1421–22, and the *nobilis miles*, Dalmacio Desfar, captain in 1422–1423; P. R., vol. 24, fol. 20rv and P. R., vol. 25, fol. 31v. For Corleone, the *nobilis miles*, Giovanni Caltagirone was captain in 1423–1424; P. R., vol. 26, fol. 24r and R. C., vol. 55, fol. 44r. The *nobilis* Giovanni Valguarnera *miles*, was captain in 1427–1428 and 1429–1430; P. R., vol. 27, fol. 131r. For Trapani, the *miles*, Pietro Graffeo was captain in 1416–1417; R. C., vol. 51, fol. 189r. The *miles*, Giovanni Crapanzano was captain in 1441–1442; R. C., vol. 77, fol. 63v. After the death of Crapanzano, the *miles*, Giorgio di Santo Stefano, obtained the position (in February) for the rest of the year; R. C., vol. 77, fol. 65r. On the basis of a report by the *miles et nobilis*, Antonio Sin, the king appointed the *miles*, Francesco Sieri, as captain for the following indiction of 1442–1443; R. C., vol. 77, fol. 64v, September 1441. The *miles*, Nicola Militano, or Antonio Amoro as his substitute, was captain of Piazza in 1426–1427; P. R., vol. 27, fol. 143r. The *miles*, Antonio Charamidaro, was captain of Nicosia in 1432–1433; P. R., vol. 31, fols. 81v–82r. As Procurator, Battista Platamone sold the captaincy of Nicosia to the *miles*, Pietro Sabia, Giovanni Caldarerà, Giovanni Xaxa of Nicosia, and their heirs for four years, from 1440–1441 to 1443–1444, for 65 *onze*. Then, for the seventh indiction (1443–1444), the same buyers, Pietro Sabia and Giovanni Sciacca (Xaxa), purchased the position for themselves and their heirs for two more years, 1444–

exclusively since captains often came from the ranks of the large-scale merchants and members of influential municipal groups because of the role they played in the dynamics of local affairs. Such persons were generally deemed by the community to be influential because of their ties to the royal curia and/or because of an economic potential great enough to be of benefit to the locality.

I believe these elements can explain why the *universitates* did not consider it important to have their captain be an expert in legal matters (*legum doctor*) as was instead the case with judges responsible for low justice.¹³⁰ It should be borne in mind that the captain presided over a court made up of royally appointed *notarii actorum*¹³¹ charged with registering the acts, and an assessor (or captain's judge)¹³² who was normally a royal appointee although the position was sometimes elective.¹³³ In addition, the captain was aided in handling financial matters such as revenues and fines by a treasurer and in keeping the peace by a *comitiva* made up of *monterii*.

In the case of the judge, there appears to have been a certain amount of interest that he be somewhat versed in law as demonstrated by the fact that *notarii* were often appointed as captain's judges.¹³⁴ In this respect, it should be noted that *curiales* were of-

1445 and 1445–46, for 20 *onze* more. Due to further economic burdens, the Crown carried out still another sale on 20 August 1444, for six years from 1446–1447 to 1451–1452, which would go into effect after the ninth indiction at the end of the previous sale. The position was granted to Aloisio la Via and Giovanni Sciacca for 100 *onze*. The *miles*, Pietro Sabia, of Nicosia purchased the position for the years 1452–1453, 1453–54, and 1454–1455 for a payment of 115 *onze* on 15 March 1446; P. R., vol. 38, fols. 35r–41r. The *miles*, Giovanni Amico, was appointed captain of Patti in 1437–1438 by the *infante*; R. C., vol. 71, fol. 75rv. The *miles*, Antonio Sicilia, captain of Polizzi, was granted his position on February 1448 until the end of the administrative year (31 August 1448), on the intercession of Lop Ximen de Urrea; P. R., vol. 40, fols. 25v–26r. The *miles*, Giorgio Lombardo, a member of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem was captain of Randazzo in 1438–1439; R. C., vol. 74, fols. 59r. The *miles*, Francesco Busquet, was captain of Randazzo in 1439–1440; R. C., vol. 74, fols. 501r–502v.

¹³⁰ Regarding the growing number of persons who received study grants from Sicilian *universitates* and earned their law degrees, mainly at Bologna, as well as the role of the jurists, see A. Romano, *Legum doctores e cultura giuridica nella Sicilia aragonese: Tendenze, opere, ruoli* (Milan 1984). See also A. L. Trombetti Budriesi, "Andrea Barbazza: la carriera di un giurista messinese a Bologna," *Atti e Memorie della Deputazione di storia patria per le province di Romagna* 35 (1984) 121–161. On the roles of judges and notaries in the administration, compare the situation in Bologna; M. Vallerani "Gli ufficiali forestieri a Bologna (1200–1326)," *I podestà* (n. 99 above) 302–305.

¹³¹ The municipal election of Antonio de Nicoloso as *notarius capitanei* in Corleone in 1429–1430 was a rare exception; see Titone, *Magistrati* (n. 98 above) 86. In [1401] the *universitas* of Trapani contested the royal appointment of the captain's notary claiming that a privilege had been granted making it an elective position. In reply to the petition, it was asked that the concession of the privilege be presented; R. C., vol. 38, fol. 105rv. The final part of the document is damaged so the precise date cannot be ascertained and it is not known whether it was Martin I who responded to the petition. At any rate, the official continued to be appointed by the royal court, for example in the years 1419–1420 and 1425–1426; P. R., vol. 21, fol. 25r; P. R., vol. 28, fol. 22r.

¹³² Instead of judge or assessor, the title *luogotenente* is sometimes found; see *Capitula*, cap. VII (n. 18 above) 1.142, 1398.

¹³³ The position of captain's judge could also be sold although this happened less frequently than with the captaincy: P. R., vol. 24, fols. 203r–204v, 1425 (Randazzo); Cancillería, vol. 2882, fols. 109v–110r, 1452 (Noto); R. C., vol. 89, fol. 235r–v, 1453 (Nicosia). Regarding the members of the captain's curia and the electivity of positions in the judiciary in some localities, see Titone, *Governments* (n. 5 above) 101–103.

¹³⁴ Examples of appointments of *notarii* include (the year of the conferment is given): R. C., vol. 55, fol. 44v, 1423–1424 (Agrigento); R. C., vol. 73, fol. 69r, 1438–1439 (Agrigento); P. R., vol. 29, fol. 106r 1427–1428 (Corleone); R. C., vol. 73, fol. 69r, 1437–1438 (Corleone); P. R., vol. 21, fol. 25v, 1419–1420 (Patti); R. C., vol. 61, fol. 42v, 1429–1430 (Patti); P. R., vol. 34, fol. 157r, 1438–1439 (Patti); R. C., vol. 59, fol. 25r, 1427–1428 (Piazza); P. R., vol. 32, fol. 75r, 1432–1433 (Piazza). Regarding Sicilian notaries, see Henri

ten candidates for the office of captain's judge or were the ones deemed most suitable for the position.¹³⁵ The appellation of *curialis* could be used to indicate persons who were familiar with the law: the *curiales* often bore the title of *Notarius*, as in Nicosia and Gozo.¹³⁶ In 1453, Gozo put forward a petition to the king from which the possibility of a correspondence between *curialis*, the office of the captain's judge, and the possible use of the title of *notarius* for members of this group can be inferred.¹³⁷ An important distinction must be made in this regard: a certain familiarity with the law can be claimed for *notarii*, but not specific knowledge as was the case for *legum doctores*. A particularly significant detail, which emerged during the final decade of Alphonso's reign, is the cities' need to favor persons with law degrees as captain's assessors. A request to that end was presented to the king and received his royal assent in Parliament in 1451:

It is the kingdom's will that in all the cities and *terre* of the kingdom where there is a sufficient number of *doctores*, only *doctores*, and not *notarii* or *iusperiti*, can be judges or assessors on penalty of removal from office and perpetual disgrace. *Placet regie maiestati, quod in terris et civitatibus in quibus sunt doctores vel graduati in iure notarii non possint esse Iudices.*¹³⁸

The royal assent approves a measure that was already common practice: prior to 1451 law graduates were frequently captain's judges in localities where they were present in conspicuous numbers.¹³⁹ The petition presented to parliament was obviously the result of pressure from a sizable group of persons within the *universitates* who held law degrees and were anxious to affirm and expand their political influence. Their presence in municipal government as judges (elected officials) was already widespread and then, precisely because of their legal knowledge and if the number of favorable law graduates in the *universitas* made it possible, they obtained a formalization of their right to be appointed by the king as assistants to the captain. This provides further evidence of the way in which the *universitates* played a leading role in the bargaining procedures and balance of political power in the kingdom. The 1451 measure in favor of the *legum doctores* was cited by Viceroy Lope Ximen de Urrea in order to confirm the correctness of Francesco Calandrino's appointment for the year 1458–1459 in Agrigento. Francesco Calandrino was appointed because he was a law graduate and only *legum doctores*, and not *notarii* or *iusperiti*, could be judges or captain's assessors.¹⁴⁰

Bresc, "Il notariato nella società siciliana medievale," *Per una storia del notariato meridionale* 6 (Rome 1982) 191–220; A. Leone, "Sul notariato siciliano alla fine del Duecento," *Per una storia* 181–189; and Alfonso Leone, "Il notaio nella società meridionale nel Quattrocento," *Per una storia* 222–297; and B. Pasciuta, *I notai a Palermo nel XIV secolo: Uno studio prosopografico* (Messina 1995) 5–75.

¹³⁵ P. R., vol. 24, fols. 203r–204v, 1425 (Randazzo); R. C., vol. 70, fol. 82r, 1434 (Polizzi); *Capitoli* (n. 33 above) 102, 1446 (Castrogiovanni).

¹³⁶ R. C., vol. 89, fols. 235r–v, 1453 and *Capitoli* (n. 33 above) 337, 1453, respectively.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.* 337.

¹³⁸ "Item supplica lo dicto regno, che in tucti chitati et terri de lo dicto regno in li quali sonno docturi in numero sufficiente non poczano esseri Iudichi oi Assessori, notarii ne iurisperiti ma li docturi sub poena privacionis officii et perpetuae infamiae"; *Capitula*, cap. CDXII (n. 18 above), 1.362.

¹³⁹ In Catania, for example, (the year of the conferment is given): P. R., vol. 21 fol. 26r, 1424–1425; R. C., vol. 59, fol. 25r, 1427–1428; P. R., vol. 30, fol. 143v, 1429–1430; R. C., vol. 76, fol. 66r, 1440–1441.

¹⁴⁰ P. R., vol. 50, fol. 497rv, 29 August 1458.

The generalized need to have a *legum doctor* as an authoritative member of the captain's curia bears witness to the desire of local governments, and the king himself, to assure the presence of persons in the captain's curia able to perform their professional duties properly. It is not by chance that such assurances focused on the captain's judicature which was a magistracy with little involvement in the alienations. During the phase when concessions per *viam emptiois* were intensifying, a distinction appears to come about—the captain took on a political role and the judge, an administrative one.¹⁴¹

CONCLUSION

Continual references to the captaincy characterize the documentation regarding Sicilian *universitates* in the late Middle Ages. This office played a central role in local power relations. The significant turnover of persons holding the office and their movement from one urban community to another, as well as a bestowal of the position on officials who were members of royal curia, brought about a marked dissemination and exchange of knowledge by means of the captaincy. He became an agent for the transmission of communications between cities, thus promoting a diffusion of privileges concerning judicial affairs which were initially held by only a limited number of metropolitan centers.

No attempts by municipal governments to direct appointments of the captain are recorded for the 1300s. In this regard, a basic difference emerges between the reigns of Martin I and Alphonso V: the selection of the official remained strictly a royal prerogative under Martin I. The process of “localizing” the magistracy, meaning both its conferment on persons of local origin and appointments made on the basis of municipal recommendations, dates back only to the first half of the 1420s. During the reign of Alphonso V, alienating the captaincy gave rise to an important transformation that brought about a significant evolution in power relations between the central government and urban communities: royal control over the magistracy was substantially reduced. A change can already be noted in the fact that even though the choice of the official and the length of his term in office were indeed determined by the Crown, this was done on the basis of local requests so that the appointment of an incumbent was actually directed at a municipal level.

To conclude the interests surrounding this magistracy reveal dynamics beyond the local sphere that strictly connect king and country; at the same time, the thesis advanced in this paper suggests how crucial it is to study Sicilian cities per se. It is worth mentioning again the statement by a prominent Iberian nobleman, Blasco I Alagona, who hailed the coronation of Frederick III in 1296 claiming through Frederick III the spread of Aragonese and Catalan political customs in Sicily.¹⁴² In specific terms, the political procedure of pactism represents an impressive synthesis between a primarily Catalan political model and the Sicilian needs and context, and it is a key element in understanding how government developed. The dynamics pertaining to the captaincy

¹⁴¹ In 1446 Patti's *universitas* complained that the captain's judge had gone away and delegated another person as his substitute: the judge's presence was considered necessary for the correct administration of justice; P. R., vol. 37, fol. 148v.

¹⁴² See n. 12 above.

bring to light a top-down and bottom-up model of confrontation between king and *universitates* revealing a political vitality of the *universitates* that unequivocally contradicts any assertion of the nonexistence of municipal freedom or the inability of the *cives/habitatores* to come up with autonomous political choices. These aspects clearly reveal that if the economic backwardness of southern Italy is tied to restricted municipal freedom, its origins are evidently not to be found in the medieval period.

Though these balances of power have been traced through a look at a single magistracy, it is important to stress that the captaincy does not represent an exception, as clearly demonstrated by broad research on local institutions and societies.¹⁴³ Thus any analyses of cities and more generally state building in Sicily must consider the intense negotiations between the king and his subjects. On the contrary, research proposing a traditional historiographic paradigm has ignored any governance following shared decision-making, because said research is characterized by an approach more intent on highlighting the distinctions from other realities, i.e., the communes, than in identifying the context and characteristics of the Sicilian cities.

The traditional historiographic paradigm about Sicily has old roots;¹⁴⁴ however, the richness of sources negating the main thesis of this paradigm makes it particularly surprising how long it has endured. Quite possibly, in my opinion, the main reason for its longevity is to be found in the simplicity of the paradigm itself. By oversimplifying the political frame, i.e., by reducing the number of political factors and subjects, it has been possible to suggest a message that is easily understood and in line with present-day stereotypes about Sicily, though wrong. It is time to move past these interpretations.

¹⁴³ Titone, *Governments* (n. 5 above).

¹⁴⁴ See nn. 1 and 2 above for the reference bibliography.

