

the mistress of the whole kingdom” (*Panormum urbem regiam totius regni dominam ... tradiderunt*)<sup>61</sup>.

It also appears significant that the *Cronica*’s only piece of hexameter verse refers to Robert Guiscard as a “model of probity” (*exemplum probitatis*)<sup>62</sup>. This phrase was used in Innocent II’s (sed. 1130–1143) papal bull which confirmed King Roger II as king of Sicily, duke of Apulia and prince of Capua:

Robert Guiscard, duke of Apulia, your predecessor, manfully destroyed the great and powerful enemies of the church, and left to his posterity a name worthy of remembrance, and a model of probity (*exemplum probitatis*) to be emulated<sup>63</sup>.

This document had been drafted by Sicilian and papal scribes at Mignano on 27 July 1139. Innocent’s bull also used the adjectives strenuous (*strenuus*), and manly (*virilis*), and described Guiscard as

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61) V fol. 295v col. I. For a general overview of *laudes civitatum*, see Elisa OCCHIPINTI, Immagini di città: le laudes civitatum e la rappresentazione dei centri urbani nell’Italia settentrionale, *Società e storia* 14 (1991) p. 23–52; Paul OLDFIELD, Urban Panegyric and the Transformation of the Medieval City, 1100–1300 (2019). For praises of Muslim Palermo, Mirella CASSARINO, Islamic Palermo Experienced and Imagined, in: *A Companion to Medieval Palermo* (as n. 54) p. 89–132.

62) V fol. 292r col. II. The use of the phrase *exemplum probitatis* is relatively rare in twelfth century chronicles. It is frequently connected to descriptions of martial prowess and wise rulership. For example, an anonymous eleventh century English poem uses *exemplum probitatis* to describe King Harold Godwinson (r. as king of England 1066) and his pledge of loyalty to King Edward (r. as king of England 1042–1066): *Principibus reliquis sit in exemplum probitatis. / Istud idem cunctis imitantibus Anglicus orbis, / gaudet in Eduardo festivus rege decoro. / Pax antiqua suos rediens sic visitat Anglos, / aufugiunt rixae, discedunt bella, furorque / omnis frigescit, tellus pontusque quiescit, / ac passim laetis celebrantur festa choreis*, cited in: Henry SUMMERSON, Tudor antiquaries and the *Vita Edwardi regis*, *Anglo-Saxon England* 38 (2010) p. 157–184, at p. 171f. Geoffrey of Monmouth (d. 1155) placed the phrase in the mouth of the Roman commander Lucius Hiberius before his battle with Arthur. Geoffrey of Monmouth, *The History of the Kings of Britain: An edition and translation of the De gestis Britonum (Historia Regum Britanniae)*, ed. and trans. by Michael D. REEVE (2007) p. 239.

63) *Robertus Biscardus, predecessor tuus dux Apulie, magnificos et potentes hostes ecclesie viriliter expugnavit et posteritati sue dignum memoria nomen et imitabile probitatis exemplum reliquit* (Hartmut HOFFMANN, Langobarden, Normannen, Päpste. Zum Legitimationsproblem in Unteritalien, *QFIAB* 58 [1978] p. 137–180, at p. 177f.). The full document has been translated into English in: Graham A. LOUD, Roger II and the Making of the Kingdom of Sicily. Selected sources translated and annotated (Manchester Medieval Sources, 2012) p. 310–312.