

these efforts, royal administrators also endeavoured to conceptualise Roger's authority in a standardised series of Latin, Greek, and Arabic titles⁸⁸. However, in doing so, a vexed question concerned the geographical extent of Roger's rulership.

In September 1130, and in the aftermath of Roger II's conquests in Apulia, the anti-Pope Anacletus II (sed. 1130–1138) granted Roger the "crown of Sicily, Calabria, Apulia and all [his] lands" (*coronam regni Sicilie, et Calabriae, et Apulie, et universe terre*)⁸⁹. It was perhaps with an eye to Roger's claim to kingship "in all his lands" that in a letter dated to 1137–1138 the Fāṭimid caliph al-Ḥāfīz (r. 1132–1149) addressed Roger as: "the king of the island of Sicily, Lombardy, Italy, Calabria, Salerno, Amalfi, and that which is attached to them"⁹⁰. Alexander of Teleso (d. > 1143) had also expressed a similar opinion a year earlier when he noted that the brother of Roger II's mother Adelaide, Henry del Vasto (d. > 1141), had suggested that the kingdom should not only be "restored" around Palermo, but also extended to the other regions under Roger's control⁹¹.

However, a Sicilian kingship *sine termino* was not only inflammatory to the rival-pope Innocent II (and the independently minded cities of the Sorrento Peninsula), but also to the German and Byzantine emperors who both possessed claims to the *regnum Italicum*. Thus, Roger II was compelled to spend much of the 1130s quelling mainland rebellion and was confronted with a German invasion in 1137⁹². In the

dopo l'istituzione del Regno, in: *L'heritage byzantin en Italie (VIII^e–XII^e siècle) 2: Les cadres juridiques et sociaux et les institutions publiques. Études réunies par Jean-Marie Martin / Annick Peters-Custot / Vivien Prigent (Collection de l'École française de Rome 461, 2012) p. 11–21.*

88) JOHNS, *Arabic Administration* (as n. 84) p. 268–274.

89) HOFFMANN, *Langobarden, Normannen* (as n. 63) p. 174.

90) *Al-malik bi-jazīrat Ṣiqillīya wa-nkūrīyāta [Ankabardata] wa-ṅṭaliyya [Italiyya] wa-Qalawriyya wa-s.t.r.lū [Salārnū] wa-Malfa wa-mā inḍāfa ilā dbālika*, cited in: Jeremy JOHNS, *The Arabic Inscriptions of the Norman Kings of Sicily: A Reinterpretation*, in: *Nobiles Officinae: perle, filigrane e trame di seta dal Palazzo Reale di Palermo 2*, a cura di Maria Andaloro (2006) p. 324–337, at p. 325.

91) *regnum ipsum non solum ibi modo restitatur, sed in ceteras etiam regiones, quibus iam dominari cernitur, dilatari debeat* (Alexandri Telesini abbatis ystoria Rogerii regis Sicilie Calabriae atque Apulie, testo a cura di Ludovica DE NAVA / commento storico a cura di Dione CLEMENTI [Fonti 112, 1991] II,2 p. 23–25, at p. 25). The *Annales Palidenses* also refer to Roger II as *Rex Apuliae*, *Annales Palidenses auctore Theodoro monacho*, ed. Georg H. PERTZ (MGH SS 16, 1859, p. 48–98), at p. 79 (§ 12), p. 88 (§ 3).

92) For contemporary criticism of Roger II, see the analysis given in Helene WIERUSZOWSKI, *Roger II of Sicily, Rex-Tyrannus*, in *Twelfth-Century Political*