

## THE TWELFTH-CENTURY DOCUMENTS OF ST. GEORGE'S OF TRÒCCOLI (SICILY)<sup>1</sup>

Vera von Falkenhausen,<sup>2</sup> Nadia Jamil<sup>3</sup> and Jeremy Johns<sup>4</sup>

*This article is dedicated to our dear friend and colleague, Marina Scarlata (11 September 1944 – 26 July 2014), who brought us together in 1981, and who passed away while our study was nearing completion.*

### Abstract

This study publishes for the first time six authentic and original documents from mid-twelfth-century Norman Sicily. Three are bilingual, written in Greek and Arabic, and three are Arabic. All were issued by the multilingual *dīwān* of King Roger de Hauteville, and relate to the lands and Muslim peasants held of the crown by the Greek monastery of St. George's of Tròccoli, near Caltabellotta. These documents are of particular interest in four principal ways. First, they permit the reconstruction in unusual detail of the internal administrative processes of the royal *dīwān*. Second, they preserve the toponymy and describe the topography of the lands of St. George's that lay in a district of Norman Sicily until now poorly documented. Third, they record the remarkable phenomenon of the immigration to Norman Sicily of Muslims, who apparently commended themselves into the service of a Christian monastery as villeins, in order to escape deprivation and famine in Ifrīqīya. And fourth they add to the small corpus of Arabic documents from Norman Sicily, contributing much new

- 
1. The authors are grateful to Sr. D. Juan Larios de la Rosa (former Archivist of the Fundación casa ducal de Medinaceli, Toledo) for his unfailing courtesy and assistance, to Dott. Nuccio and Dott.ssa Angela Scandaliato for sharing their knowledge of the history and topography of the territory of St. George's and for their warm hospitality, to Prof. Dr. Horst Enzensberger (University of Bamberg) who gave invaluable advice and help concerning the Latin and Sicilian notes on the documents, to Prof. Santo Luca (Università degli Studi di Roma – Tor Vergata) for advice on the palaeography of the Greek documents, and to Dr Alex Metcalfe (University of Lancaster) for comments on parallels between the names in Doc. 4 and in the Monreale *jarā'id* and on noun reduplication and other details in the boundary descriptions.
  2. Emeritus Professor, Università degli Studi di Roma – Tor Vergata. Email: verafalk@libero.it
  3. Senior Instructor in Arabic, The Oriental Institute, University of Oxford. Email: nadia.jamil@orinst.ox.ac.uk
  4. Director, The Khalili Research Centre, University of Oxford. Email: jeremy.johns@orinst.ox.ac.uk

evidence for their diplomatic form, language and palaeography.

*Key words:* Administration, Arabic documents, Berbers, Greek church, Greek documents, Norman Sicily

# 1. THE MONASTERY OF ST. GEORGE'S OF TRÒCCOLI

The Greek monastery of St. George's of Tròccoli lay at Sant'Anna, a suburban district of Caltabellotta, some fourteen kilometres northeast of the port of Sciacca on the southwest coast of Sicily (fig. 1). In the nineteenth century, the remains of the monastery were still standing, but they had disappeared before 1924.<sup>5</sup> The modern place-name Tròccoli<sup>6</sup> derives from medieval Greek *Tróklos* (Τρόκλος, also Τρώκλος), whence Arabic *Ṭuruqulish*(?),<sup>7</sup> and medieval Latin *Trocculi* or *Troculi*,<sup>8</sup> all said to be derived ultimately from the name of the ancient Sican city of *Triókala* (Τριόκαλα; Latin *Triocala*), which is generally accepted to have lain at or near Sant'Anna.<sup>9</sup>

- 
5. Scaturro 1924–1926, vol. 1, pp. 227–228: ‘Questo tempio di S. Giorgio di Triocala nel secolo scorso conservava ancora nel prospetto la porta ad arco ogivale di bellissimo stile normanno; nell’interno, senza il duplice ordine di colonne, di che il conte [Ruggero] l’aveva adornato, si ammirava la volta a botte e un fonte di acqua santa di stile bizantino; nel giardino alcuni colonanati del chiostro. Ora nulla più esiste; se ne indica soltanto il sito a pochi passi da S. Anna’. See also Scandaliato 2003, pp. 182–185, and Vaccaro 2014, pp. 16–19. In 2000, on the spot where the monastery was said to have stood, a dense scatter of masonry rubble, sherds of tile and domestic ceramics, and other occupational debris was clearly visible in the cultivated soil of an orchard on the northwest side of Via San Giorgio, on the northeast edge of Sant'Anna (Istituto Geografico Militare, Carta d'Italia 1:25,000, foglio no. 266 Caltabellotta, 4th ed., 1970, grid ref. 33SUB441584). A few tens of metres to the west, a small shrine dedicated to St. George was set into the wall of a dwelling on the south side of the same road.
  6. Still attested in 1970 at Molino Troccoli (IGM 266 I S.O. Caltabellotta, 33SUB465597).
  7. See discussion of the spelling and vocalisation in Appendix, Doc. 4, ‘Scripts’, p. 46.
  8. See the sources cited by, and the discussion in Caracausi 1993, vol. 2, p. 1657.
  9. Massa 1977–2013 with extensive bibliography. See also: Manni 1981, pp. 238–239; Sauer 2002–2010; Schirò 2014 (for the diocese of Triocala).

Three of the documents of King Roger studied in this article (Docs. 1–3 below) declare that St. George's was founded by his father, Count Roger I, in 6606 A.M. (1097–1098 A.D.). However, a persistent, but apparently baseless, local tradition maintains that St. George's had existed since before the time of Gregory the Great and, after it had been destroyed by the Muslims, was merely re-founded by Count Roger.<sup>10</sup> The

---

For what little archaeological exploration of Sant'Anna there has been to date, see Panvini 1992, and Vaccaro 2014.

10. Scaturro 1924–1926, vol. 1, pp. 68, 227, 228 n. 1, citing the *Letters* of Gregory the Great in the Italian translation (Holm 1896–1901, vol. 3, pp. 536–538, 552, 567) of Holm 1870–1898, vol. 1, p. 61, vol. 3, pp. 87, 117, 293 (who does not in fact mention St. George's), and Di Giovanni 1743, Diploma CXIV, p. 164 (= *Ep.* 5.12). In fact, Gregory only once refers to the bishop of Triocala (*Ep.* 5.12, Nov. 594: Gregory the Great 1982, vol. 1, p. 278; Martyn 2004, vol. 2, p. 331), but nowhere mentions St. George's of Triocala. The source of confusion appears to be Gregory's letter to Marinianus, abbot of the monastery of Praetoria in Palermo, which was attached to the dilapidated church of St. George's *ad sedem* (*Ep.* 9.7, Sep.–Oct. 598: Gregory the Great 1982, vol. 2, p. 569; Martyn 2004, vol. 2, p. 550). Scaturro (*op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 68, citing Di Giovanni, *op. cit.*, Diploma CCXXXI, p. 265 [= *Ep.* 9.7] and p. 437, para. XLVII) wrongly thought this to refer to St. George's of Triocala. In the latter note, Di Giovanni uses Gregory's reference to St. George's *ad sedem* to demonstrate the antiquity of the cult of St. George in Sicily, and also expresses the suspicion that St. George's might have been founded *ante Saracenos*. Although he gives Rocco Pirri as his authority, the passage cited (Pirri 1733, vol. 2, pp. 1008–1009) does not claim that the monastery was founded by Pope Gregory. However, in his note on the history of the church of Triocala, Pirri (*ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 490) writes: *Exstructa tum deinde ab incolis fuit Triocala, ac celebrem illam reddit insignis gloria, quam Rogerius Siciliae Comes fuis ibi Saracenis consequutus est; qua de caussa is D. Gregorio aedem duplici columnarum ordine sussultam statuit; Prioratum S. Georgii de Trocalis hodie vocant, qui Messanensis Archimandritatui adjunctus est*. Gregory himself seems to have founded the monastery of which Marinianus was abbot (*Ep.* 1.54, July 591: Gregory the Great 1982, vol. 1, p. 67; Martyn 2004 vol. 1, pp. 176–177; and *Ep.* 2.50, 592: Gregory the Great 1982, vol. 1, p. 144; Martyn 2004, vol. 1, p. 232). Gregory's letter to Victor, bishop of Palermo, implies that the monastery of *Praetoria* lay in that city (*Ep.* 9.18, Oct. 598: Gregory the Great 1982, vol. 2, p. 578; Martyn 2004, vol. 2, p. 556), and Marinianus is very probably identical to 'Martinianus, abbot of Palermo' (*Ep.*

Greek text of the authentic and original charter (*sigillion*) of King Roger, dated June 1141 (Doc. 2 below), states that Count Roger I had ‘built ... the aforesaid church of the saint and great martyr George in the district of Sciacca, and had established it as a monastery in memory of the Christians who had been killed there’ during the conquest of the island from the Muslims.<sup>11</sup> The date of the foundation is not given but, in 1141, King Roger was shown various *sigillia*, which now seem to be lost,<sup>12</sup> that had been issued by his father in the year 6606 A.M., Indiction VI (1097–1098 A.D.), endowing the monastery with lands and describing their boundaries. St. George’s must therefore have been founded in or before 1098.

Count Roger’s choice of St. George as the patron of his new monastery appears to have been deliberate and motivated by contemporary events. According to King Roger’s charter of June 1141, the *arenga* of his father’s *sigillion* of 1097–1098 included the general claim repeated in his early Greek charters that ‘he devoted no ordinary effort ... to the building of monasteries destroyed by the Godless Hagarenes’,<sup>13</sup> and added that Count Roger had ‘built ... the aforesaid

---

3.27: Apr. 593: Gregory the Great 1982, vol. 1, p. 172; Martyn 2004, vol. 1, p. 252–253). In short, there can be little doubt that the church of St. George’s *ad sedem* lay in Palermo, and not at Triocala. Nor is there any reason to link with Triocala the only other Sicilian monastery dedicated to St. George that is mentioned in the *Letters* — ‘the monastery of Saint George, which is situated in the domain called *Maratodis*’ — it, too, seems to have been a Palermitan foundation (*Ep.* 2.26, 19 May 592: Gregory the Great 1982, vol. 1, p. 112; Martyn 2004, vol. 1, p. 209). Cracco Ruggini 1977–1981, pp. 79 n.105, 82 n. 135 & 89 n. 184, argues that *Maratodis* also lay in or near Palermo. See also Vaccaro 2014, p. 12 and note 32.

11. Appendix, Doc. 2, ll. 9–10, p. 37 (trans. p. 6).

12. These must have included the Greek foundation charter, the Arabic *jarīda* listing the families of villeins with which the monastery was endowed (below, pp. 10, 12, 24, 29, 31, and Appendix, Doc. 2, ll. 32–33, p. 39), and possibly other unknown documents.

13. Becker 2013, *deperditum* no. 12, p. 308. Similar *arengae* are used by Roger I in two privileges in favour of the Sicilian monasteries of St. John’s of Messina and St. Mary’s of Mili (both December 1091: *ibid.*, nos. 18–19, pp. 98, 102), in a privilege for St. Saviour’s of Placa (December 1092: *ibid.* no. 28, p. 128), and in a privilege for the bishopric of Messina

church of the Saint and Great Martyr George in the district of Sciacca, and had established it as a monastery in memory of the Christians who had been killed there'.

That St. George's was founded in or shortly before 1098 — a year uniquely significant for the development of the cult of St. George amongst Norman knights — can scarcely be a coincidence. Writing in or about that year, Geoffrey Malaterra reported that St. George had led Count Roger's knights in the victorious charge at the battle of Cerami in 1063.<sup>14</sup> A letter written in January 1098 by the Greek and Latin bishops at the siege of Antioch claimed that George and his fellow warrior saints had already led the crusaders to victory in five battles against the Muslims.<sup>15</sup> A companion of Bohemond of Taranto famously recorded how, on 3 June 1098, St. George alongside St. Mercurius and St. Demetrius had aided the Christian defenders of Antioch — a tale repeated in almost every subsequent account of the First Crusade.<sup>16</sup> Contemporary accounts had already begun to associate the suffering and death undergone by knights in war against the Muslims with stories of the life and martyrdom of warrior-saints such as St. George,<sup>17</sup> and for at least a generation preachers had been using such stories to persuade knights to become monks.<sup>18</sup> What is more, George was a particular favourite of the de Hauteville kings and, together with other military saints, was repeatedly depicted in royal churches such as the Cappella Palatina, Cefalù and Monreale.<sup>19</sup> For all these reasons, the dedication to St. George of a new monastery, founded in memory of the knights killed in holy war against the Muslims in Sicily, should be seen to reflect the popularity of the cult of the warrior-saint amongst Count Roger and

---

(April 1096: *ibid.* no. 53, pp. 209–210.

14. Malaterra 1927–28, Book 2, Chapter 33, p. 44. Dehoux 2014, p. 74.

15. Hagenmayer 1901, pp. 69, 147, 271–272.

16. Hill 1962, p. 69. See also MacGregor 2004, pp. 324–332.

17. Cowdrey 1985, pp. 49–53.

18. For an Anglo-Norman preacher in the 1070s using the example of St. George and other warrior saints to persuade knights to become monks, see MacGregor 2003.

19. Brenk 2010, fig. 1297 (see also Johns 2010, *Atlante II*, figs. 627, 850, 913 and 105 and *Schede*, no. 627, pp. 587–589, and further discussion in Johns 2015 forthcoming); Kitzinger 2000, figs. 69, 104, 107; Brodbeck 2010, pp. 37, 38, 40, 43, 45, 108, 490–495.

those of his knights who survived the war of conquest.

Nothing is known of St. George's between its foundation in or shortly before 1098 and February 1133, when King Roger created the archimandrite of St. Saviour's of Messina.<sup>20</sup> Alone amongst the eighteen Sicilian *metochia* given by the king to the archimandrite, St. George's does not belong to the diocese of Messina. In the *Libellus de successione pontificum Agrigenti*, the following explanation is given for the transfer of the monastery to St. Saviour's from the authority of the bishop of Agrigento, to whose diocese St. George's had previously belonged: 'Below Caltabellotta, a monastery was founded at the place called Troccoli and endowed with many villeins in honour of St. George in memory of the hundred knights slain there by the Saracens during the conquest of those lands. The church of Agrigento held it for about sixty [*sic!*] years until it lost it through negligence when the procurator was unwilling to give hospitality to a visiting royal official and, by instigation of the Greek magnates, it was given to the archimandrite of Messina'.<sup>21</sup> St. George's is not mentioned in the *sigillion* of Roger II to the archimandrite, dated October 6653 A.M. (1144 A.D.), which describes the boundaries of the lands belonging to seven of its Sicilian *metochia*.<sup>22</sup> However, St George's is named in the charter of April 6655 A.M. (1147 A.D.), in which King Roger exempts from harbour customs, dues and taxes, all ships of the archimandrite carrying vittles between the

---

20. Scaduto 1982, pp. 125–126 (St. George's), 180–189 (St. Saviour's); von Falkenhausen 1994.

21. Collura 1961, p. 305: '*Subtus Calatabellottam fuit institutum quoddam monasterium loco qui dicitur Troccoli, dotatum villanis multis pro honore sancti Georgii pro centum militibus ibi a Sarracenis occisis in acquisitione terrarum, quod Agrigentina Ecclesia tenuit fere per annos .LX. quod ex levi perdidit dum procurator suscipere noluit in hospicio nuncium regis et instinctu Grecorum magnatum datum fuit archimandrite Messane*'.

22. Archivo General de la Fundación Casa Ducal de Medinaceli (Fondo Messina), Toledo (henceforth, ADM) 533, October 6653 A.M. (1144 A.D.), Caspar 1904, pp. 555–556, no. 174; Caspar 1999, p. 517, no. 174, describes the borders of only the following Sicilian *metochia*, presumably because they were all located in the diocese of Messina: St. Stephan's of Brica, St. John's of Psicro, St. Nicholas's of Pelleria, St. Barbarus's of Demenna, St. Parasceve's of Venello, and St. Anne's of Monteforte.

main monastery and its *metochia* in Sicily and Calabria.<sup>23</sup>

## 2. AN OVERVIEW OF THE TWELFTH-CENTURY DOCUMENTS OF ST. GEORGE'S OF TRÒCCOLI

This article discusses and provides the first edition of the six surviving twelfth-century documents of St. George's of Tròccoli, as follows:

- I. Doc. 1 (ADM 1104 *recto*. Figs. 2). An official chancery copy of an otherwise lost Greek charter (*sigillion*) and Arabic boundary description (*hadd*) of King Roger, dated June, 6649 A.M., 536 A.H., Indiction IV (1141 A.D.), confirming the lands, villeins and other privileges granted to St. George's.
- II. Doc. 2 (ADM 1120 *recto*. Fig. 4). An authentic, original Greek charter (*sigillion*) and Arabic boundary description (*hadd*), dated June, 6649 A.M., 536 A.H., Indiction IV (1141 A.D.), in which King Roger confirms the lands, villeins and other privileges granted to St. George's, including the record of the recent settlement of the boundary dispute between the monks of St. George's and William, son of Richard of Sciacca.
- III. Doc. 3 (ADM 1117 *recto*. Fig. 6). An official chancery copy of Doc. 2 above.
- IV. Doc. 4 (ADM 1119. Fig. 8). An Arabic register (*jarīda*) of the Muslim villeins of St. George's dated November, 536 A.H., Indiction V (1141 A.D.)
- V. Doc. 5 (ADM 1120 *verso*. Fig. 9). An authentic, original Arabic record, dated May 547 A.H., Indiction XV (1152 A.D.), issued by the royal *dīwān*, and authenticated by the King Roger's chancellor Maio of Bari and other officials, of the settlement of a dispute over the boundaries of St. George's between the monks and Herbert, lord of Calamonaci.
- VI. Doc. 6 (ADM 1117 *verso*. Fig. 10). An official chancery copy of

---

23. ADM 1260, April 6655 (1147): the following Sicilian metochia are named: St. George's of Tròccoli, St. John's of Lentini, St. John's of Psciro, St. Stephan's of Brica, St. Barbarus's of Demenna, St. Parasceve's of Venello, St.

Nicholas's and St. Anne's of Monteforte, and Salike.

Doc. 5 above.

All of these documents are now to be found in the Archivo General de la Fundación Casa Ducal de Medinaceli (Fondo Messina) in Toledo, whither they came by a circuitous route from the archive of the Greek archimandrite of St. Saviour's of Messina, having been confiscated by the Spanish viceroy of Sicily in January 1679.<sup>24</sup> As will become apparent from what follows, we think it likely that at least one of the documents — Doc. 1, and perhaps also Docs. 3 and 6 — remained at St. George's until the monastery was abandoned, at which point its archive would have been sent to St. Saviour's in Messina.<sup>25</sup>

All six documents, both originals and copies, were issued by the trilingual royal *dīwān* and offer much new information about its operation. They also cast new light upon the mechanics of the relationship between the archimandrite of St. Saviour's and its *metochion*. All are inedited, except for the Arabic *jarīda*.<sup>26</sup> In the late fifteenth-century *Capibrevio*, Giovanni Luca Barberi gives an account of the foundation of St. George's by Count Roger I, apparently on the basis of King Roger's confirmation, and reports that he knew of thirty-seven charters regarding St. George's.<sup>27</sup> There are two seventeenth-century copies of the Greek text only of King Roger's confirmation of June 1141 (Docs. 2 and/or 3, but not Doc. 1) in the Vatican library.<sup>28</sup> Rocco Pirri published two brief extracts from the latter in an inaccurate Latin translation.<sup>29</sup> The brief note of the act in the register of Erich Caspar is

---

24. Sánchez González 1994.

25. For the later history of St. George's, Scandaliato 2003.

26. Gálvez 1991; Gálvez 1995; Nef 2011, pp. 533–535 (transliteration after microfilm of original). See also Collura 1969–1970 for a seventeenth-century copy of an undated Latin translation of the *jarīda*. All contain so many errors that they are effectively unusable.

27. Silvestri 1888, pp. 37–40.

28. Cod. Vat. Lat. 8201, fol. 107r–109r (d), 137r–138r (e). In both copies, between the *datatio* and the royal signature, a note explains that the Arabic text was not copied (εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ ἕτερα κάτωθεν ἐν τῷ ἀντιγράφῳ ἅπερ ὑπάρχουσι κατὰ τὴν τῶν ἀρράβων φωνὴν γεγραμμένα· ἐγὼ δ' ἀγνοῶν ταῦτα, οὐκ ἀντέγραψα).

29. Pirri 1733, vol. 2, p. 1008: from a document of King Roger dated 6645 (*sic!*) he quotes *pariclas ... ad laborandum, et eius animalia sine quavis exactione pascentia in tenimento Saccensi...* From which it is clear that



based on the seventeenth-century manuscript and Rocco Pirri.<sup>30</sup> Small but serviceable photographs of Docs. 1–4, were published, together with brief but not wholly accurate summaries of the content of all six documents, by Monsignor Benedetto Rocco in the catalogue of the exhibition *Messina: Il Ritorno della Memoria*, held at the Palazzo Zanca in Messina in 1994.<sup>31</sup> Docs. 2–5 were included in a list of the Arabic and bilingual documents of King Roger published by the late Albrecht Noth.<sup>32</sup> The authors of the present study have also discussed the documents several times in print.<sup>33</sup>

### 3. KING ROGER'S CHRYSOBULL, JUNE 1141 (DOCS. 1–3)

Docs. 1–3 all relate to King Roger's confirmation, dated June 1141, of the lands, villeins and other privileges granted to St. George's. In all three, the Greek text includes a description of the lands granted, and is followed by an Arabic version of that boundary-description. Here, for the sake of clarity, we must anticipate our conclusions as to the relationship between the three versions. Because Doc. 1 lacks both the royal signature and any trace that a seal was once attached, and because it is described in a note on the *verso* as 'the copy of the chrysobull' (τὸ ἰσὼν τοῦ χρυσοβούλλου), there can be little doubt that it is indeed a copy. We believe that the original document, from which this copy was made, was either withdrawn very shortly after it was issued, or was never actually authenticated, because only after the Greek and Arabic texts had been written, did it emerge that a part of the boundary described therein was the subject of a dispute between the monks of St. George's and their

---

he must be referring to our document of 6649 (1141AD).

30. Caspar 1904, no. 138, p. 544; Caspar 1999, no. 138, p. 505.

31. Fallico, Spati, *et al.* 1994, cat. nos., 30–33, pp. 160–163. (The catalogue – cat. no. 35, pp. 164–5 – also describes and illustrates an Arabic-Greek decree of William II and Margaret, dated November 1166, ordering the archdeaconry of Messina to be granted to the archbishop of Messina: see now von Falkenhausen and Johns 2013, pp. 153–158.)

32. Noth 1983, letters M to P, pp. 199–200. See also the criticism of the original German version of the same list (Noth 1978, pp. 230–231) in the review by von Falkenhausen 1980, pp. 261–263.

33. See, in particular: Johns 2002, Appendix 1, nos. 15–18, 31–32, pp. 304–5 and 309; and von Falkenhausen 2013, pp. 667, 673–674.

neighbour, William, son of Richard of Sciacca,<sup>34</sup> a baron who held his lands of the king. It therefore became necessary to prepare a new version of the document, inserting a clause that recorded the settlement of that dispute. This clause does not appear in Doc. 1, but is found in the Greek and Arabic texts of both Doc. 2 and Doc. 3. Of these, only Doc. 2 bears the official chancery signature of King Roger, and once bore his golden seal, which is now missing. but is attested by the traces of the purple silk tie that still remain attached to the holes. Doc. 3 is furnished with a copy of the official signature, but had no seal; like Doc. 1, it has a note on the *verso* describing it as a copy.<sup>35</sup> In short, we believe that: Doc. 1 is an official copy of an earlier draft of King Roger's confirmation; Doc. 2 is the authentic, original chrysobull of that confirmation; and Doc. 3 is an official copy of it. The translation of the text of Doc. 2 is as follows:

[Greek, ll. 1–17]

+ *Roger, in Christ the God, the pious and mighty king* +++

+*In the month of June of the present fourth indiction, when my divinely inspired majesty made a circuit through Sicily and arrived at Sciacca, you, Lord Luke, the venerable archimandrite of our famous Monastery of the Saviour tou Akroteros<sup>36</sup> of Messina came to meet us, and showed us the sigillia that you hold belonging to the monastery of St. George of Tròccoli, and which my majesty's late and famous father made for it in the year 6606 of the 6<sup>th</sup> indiction, as is stated in the same sigillia. When we ordered them to be read in our presence, we discovered that their content was as follows: when our late father had conquered the whole island of Sicily with the aid and help of God, he devoted no ordinary effort to the construction of splendid, pious foundations or, better, to the building of monasteries destroyed by the Godless Hagarenes, and to the care and provision of the monks who were serving there, so that they might pray more fervently for the knights who had died on the island delivering the Christians, for general peace amongst the Christians, and for the remission of his sins. Wherefore, when he had built, along with*

---

34. See below p. 16.

35. See below p. 15 and Appendix, Doc. 1, p. 31: τὸ ἴσον τοῦ χρυσοβ(ου)λλ(ου) τοῦ ῥηγ(ός) Ῥογ(ε)ρ(ί)ου διὰ τ(ῆς) Τρόκκουλ(ας), and Doc. 3, p. 42 τὸ ἰσότυπ(ον) σιγιλλ(ίου) τ(ῶν) Τρώκλ(ων).

36. The archimandrite of St. Saviour's in *lingua phari* in Messina: von Falkenhausen 1994.

others, the aforesaid church of the Saint and Great Martyr George in the district of Sciacca, and had established it as a monastery in memory of the Christians who had been killed there, he endowed it with sufficient lands and described their boundaries. When we learned in detail about that, and about what was written in the sigillia one-by-one, we discovered that some of the lands recorded in the sigillia were not held by the monastery of St. George of Tròccoli but rather by some of our barons, and we also discovered that other lands held by the aforesaid monastery were not in the least recorded in your sigillia. But, because you, the aforesaid archimandrite, appealed to my majesty, and prayed us to order to be described the true boundaries of the lands which belong to the aforesaid monastery, and of your village called Rachal Elbbasal,<sup>37</sup> and that my majesty should make for you a written sigillion of these boundaries, my majesty yielded to your exhortation, wished not to disregard it, and sent the protonotary Philip, the judge Stephen Maleīnos and the epi tou sekretou,<sup>38</sup> the kait Perroun, John and Boualen, so that they should examine and record the true boundaries of the lands of the monastery of Tròccoli and of the aforesaid village of Rachal Elbbasal. After having gone there, having made thorough inquiries, and seen for themselves, they came to us, when we were at Agrigento, bringing the records of the boundaries of the aforesaid lands of the monastery and of the village.

[Greek boundary description, ll. 17–28]

They are as follows: from the two columns called Ochtein,<sup>39</sup> it runs

[Arabic boundary description, ll. 39–45]

Its boundary is north from al-Ukhtayn,<sup>39</sup> descending straight

37. Possibly to locate at Cozzo Galbasa, near modern Lucca Sicula: see below p. 21 and notes 131–134.

38. '[Those] in charge of the *sekretou*' (Latin, *secretum*; Arabic *al-dīwān*): Johns 2002, pp. 106, 193–194, 199.

39. Reading *ḥaddu-hā dabūr[an]* (see below note 181; see also Doc. 5, l. 6 and Doc. 6, l. 6, where *dabūran* is written with *tanwīn-alif*) *mīna l-ukhtayn*. It is possible that, in line with the majority of Greek boundary descriptions from Norman Sicily, the eastern boundary is described first: see Metcalfe 2012, especially pp. 50–51 and Tables 1 & 2. *Al-ukhtayn*, literally 'the two sisters'; the Greek text – ἀπὸ τῶν δύο κίωνων τῶν λεγομένων Ὀχτείν (Doc. 1, l. 18, Doc. 2, l. 17, Doc. 3, l. 17) – explains

---

that the Two Sisters is the name of two columns, but does not specify whether they were man-made columns, or two of the natural rocky outcrops which are typical of the landscape around Caltabellotta. (See also Doc 2, l. 43 and Doc. 3, l. 44).

down the river<sup>40</sup> on the right hand side, to the fig-tree called Gatsene,<sup>41</sup> and runs on down the same river to the cave called Gar Elloupene,<sup>42</sup> and goes up the ridge to the Kip[b]len Epen

along the wadi<sup>40</sup> on the right-hand side to the tree of Ghatsāna;<sup>41</sup> it runs down straight along the wadi to Ghār al-Lūbānī;<sup>42</sup> and it climbs straight along the ridge to the Qīblat Banī

- 
40. κατέρχεται τὸν ποταμ(ὸν) ποταμὸν / *yanzil al-wād al-wād*: for the reduplication of nouns (as here and throughout the boundary descriptions in Docs. 1–3 and 5–6), see Metcalfe 2014 forthcoming.
41. Possibly a personal name, but a problematic one. The word is fully pointed as *ghatshāna* only in Doc. 1, l. 39. The *ghayn* is clearly pointed in all three versions. In Doc. 2, l. 39 the *sīn* is unpointed and, in Doc. 3, l. 39, it is indicated by a caret; in Doc. 3 the scribe has added an unpointed letter between the *sīn* and the *alif* – presumably a mistake. One possible reading might be *shajarat ghatshāna* (or *ghatsāna*), ‘chestnut(?)’-tree’, on a pattern attested in the bilingual registers of S. Maria di Monreale where the Arabic place-name *Qaṣṭana* or *Qaṣṭana* is rendered into Greek as Κάστανε and into Latin as *Castane* (Cusa 1868–1882, pp. 151, 152, 197, 235, 266). Unsurprisingly, given the natural range of *Castanea sativa*, there seems to be no indigenous Arabic term for the chestnut, unless it is Abū Farwa, literally, ‘Father of Fur’, a popular Egyptian name referring to the spiny burr that contains the fruit; *shāhballūt* (*shāhanballūt*), literally ‘royal acorn’, comes from Persian, while the commonest terms, *shajarat al-qasṭal*, *sh. al-kastanā*, etc., all derive from a Greek root – κάστανος, καστανέα, καστανεία, etc. – attested since the 4th century B.C., which is the source of the name of the tree in virtually all European languages (Conedra, Krebs *et al.* 2004, p. 165, Table 3; Caracausi 1990, p. 274). However, the Greek text has εἰς τὴν συκὴν τὴν λεγομένην Γατσένε (Doc. 1, l. 18, Doc. 2, l. 17, Doc. 3, l. 18), and there is no obvious reason why a fig-tree should be called a chestnut. What may (or may not) be the same boundary-marker appears in Doc. 2, ll. 26 and 43 and Doc. 3, ll. 27 and 45 as a spring called ‘*Ayn Ghassāna* / ἡ πηγή ἡ λεγομένη Ἀτσένα: see below p. 40, note 257. (See also the discussion of the use of *shadda* in Doc. 4, below pp. 43–45.)
42. *Ghār al-Lūbānī*: literally, ‘the Cave of al-Lūbānī’ (a personal name?). Dozy 1881, vol. 2, p. 563, gives *lubān*, ‘incense’ or ‘euphorbia’; and *lūbānī*, ‘of the colour of incense’, i.e. ‘yellowish-white’.

Chamdoun,<sup>43</sup> and continues to the road, and follows the road to the lake called Gadir Epen Mansour,<sup>44</sup> and goes to St. Barbara which is further down,<sup>45</sup> and goes down to the which is further down, and goes down to the threshing-floor of the Son of Razoun,<sup>46</sup> and goes down to the stream called Elmonastir,<sup>47</sup> and continues a little to the Koudtiet

*Ḥamdūn,<sup>43</sup> until it comes to the main road; and it winds along with the road until it comes to Ghadīr Ibn Manṣūra,<sup>44</sup> to Santa Barbara the Lower,<sup>45</sup> to the threshing floor of Ibn al-Razūn.<sup>46</sup> Then it descends to Khandaq al-Munastīrī.<sup>47</sup> Then it goes a little towards Kudyat*

- 
43. *Qiblat Banī Ḥamdūn*, in Greek Κίπβλε ἐπεν χαμδοῦν (Doc. 1, l. 19, Doc. 2, l. 18, Doc. 3, l. 19): technically, the *qibla* is the direction of Mecca towards which a Muslim must direct himself when praying, but here it is apparently used in the colloquial sense of a place of prayer belonging to the family or tribe of Ḥamdūn. (For another hill-top, outdoor place of prayer, see the *petra alta in sumitate montis ... ibi adorant sarraceni*, a boundary marker on the nearby lands of Santa Maria delle Giummare: Scatturo 1921, p. 249.) The word *qibla* is also used, commonly in Sicilian boundary descriptions, to indicate the ‘south’, but such a meaning would neither fit the syntax of the Arabic, nor account for the transliteration of the word into Greek and, unless it is an error, must therefore be rejected.
44. *Ghadīr Ibn Manṣūra*, literally ‘the pool of the son of *Manṣūra*’: *Manṣūra*, the feminine form of the more usually masculine personal name *Manṣūr*, is unexpected, but is clearly indicated in Doc. 1, l. 38 and Doc. 2, l. 40. However, Doc. 3, l. 40 gives the masculine form, *Manṣūr*, and in all versions the Greek reads Γαδῆρ ἔπιν Μανσοῦρ, (Doc. 1, l. 20, Doc. 2, l. 19, Doc. 3, l. 19), without transliterating the *tā’ marbūṭa* which gives the feminine suffix.
45. Presumably a church; unidentified.
46. *Ibn al-Razūn* (or *Ruzūn*): the *rā’* carries no vowel, the *zāy* is not clearly indicated, and the whole word is written with a single fluid line from *lām* to *wāw*, but the *rā’* does bear a caret and the *zāy* a point. The tribal name *al-Ruzūn* does not seem to be attested for the Maghrib, so this is probably not to be read here. *Ruzūn* could be read as a plural (of *razn*) indicating, for example, an elevation with depressions that catch rainwater, or as one *maṣdar* (verbal noun) for the verb, *razuna*, ‘to be calm, grave and steady. The Greek reads Παζοῦν, however, a vocalisation that would indicate an

<p>Elzioummar,<sup>48</sup> and follows down the stream to the big road coming from Sciacca, and follows down the river to the spring called 'of the Pear-Tree',<sup>49</sup> and goes along the stream southwards to the head of the hippodrome called Ettachrike,<sup>50</sup> and goes down along the seasonal stream to the vineyard of the Son of</p>	<p><i>al-Jummār;<sup>48</sup> and runs straight down the valley until it arrives at the main road coming from Sciacca; and it runs straight down the wadi to 'Ayn al-Injāša;<sup>49</sup> and it runs straight up the valley to Ra's al-Taḥrika,<sup>50</sup> on the southern side. And it runs straight down the stream until it comes to the vineyards of Ibn</i></p>
--	---

---

intensive adjective (of the form *fa'ūl*) from the same verb. (Alex Metcalfe adds that the name occurs three times in the Monreale *jarīda* of 1178 (Cusa 1868–1882, pp. 137a, 144a and 172a), once in the lost and highly problematic renewal of 1145 A.D. to St. Michael the Archangel's of Mazara (Grégoire pp. 82–90; Johns 2002, p. 309), and that Razūn is a settlement in modern north-central Iran.)

47. *Khandaq al-Munastīrī* ('valley of the monastery'): while the Arabic *al-munastīrī* clearly derives ultimately from the Greek μοναστήρι, the Greek Ἐλμοναστήρι ('*Elmonastēr*') incorporates the Arabic definite article *al-* and is presumably a back-formation from the Arabic.
48. Lit. 'the Hill of the Dwarf Palm Trees'. In Doc. 2, l. 40, there is no point below the *jīm*, and no *ḍamma* above it, but in Doc. 1, l. 39 and Doc. 2, l. 41 the *jīm* is clearly pointed, and in Doc. 1, l. 39 it also carries a *ḍamma*. In all three versions, the Greek reads Κούδιετ ἐλζιουμμάρ (Doc. 1, l. 21, Doc. 2, l. 20, Doc. 3, l. 20) leaving no doubt that the second Arabic word is *al-Jummār* (and not *al-Ḥimār*, 'the donkey', or *al-Ḥammār*, 'the donkey-driver', as would be understood from Doc. 2 alone). *Al-jummār*, indicating the indigenous Dwarf Palm (*Chamaerops humilis*), is well attested in Sicily and gives rise to Sicilian *iummara* etc. (Caracausi 1983, pp. 256–257). The place-name survives in the vicinity, for example, at Contrade Giummarella and Giummarazza to the south east of Ribera, and in the church of Santa Maria delle Giummare in Sciacca.
49. Lit. 'the spring of the pear-tree': *al-injāša* from CA *al-ijjās* — for nasalisation in Sicilian, see Metcalfe 2003, pp. 171–172. (Not to be confused with the '*Ayn al-Injāša/Fons Pinerii*', a boundary-marker for the district of Corleone in the Monreale *jarīda* of 1182, which lay on the southeast flank of Rocca Busambra: Cusa 1868–1882, pp. 232 and 195.)
50. *ilā ra'si l-taḥrikati*, 'to the head of the *taḥrika*': a problematic boundary-marker. The Greek at this point expands upon the Arabic: ἄχρι τῆς

---

κεφαλ(ῆς) τοῦ ἵπποδρόμου τοῦ λεγομένου Ἑτταχρίκε, ‘to the top of the hippodrome called Ettachrike’ (Doc. 1, l. 22, Doc. 2., l. 21, Doc. 3, l. 22). *Tahrīk* is a *maṣdar* of *ḥarraka*, meaning ‘to put into motion or stir’ etc., and *tahrīka* would be a particularising feminine form. The fact that in Doc. 1, l. 40, the word is fully pointed, with a tiny subscript *ḥā* and a caret above the *rā*, may indicate that the scribe took pains to clarify an unfamiliar word. For *tahrīka*, Dozy 1881, vol. 1, p. 277a, gives ‘l’action de remuer la queue’, citing Pedro de Alcalá (Pezzi and Alcalá 1989, p. 572; see also Corriente 1997, p. 123a). If this is indeed to be linked to a racecourse, it may perhaps have to do with the act of spurring horses to race, perhaps here indicating a starting line. In a topographical description such as this, were it not for the Greek gloss, one would expect *tahrīka* to be somehow linked to *ḥārik*, a common term for ‘hill’, and a noun of the root form of the same verb, and perhaps to mean the place from which the *ḥārik* or ‘hill’ emanates.



<p>Iachleph,<sup>51</sup> and crosses the river and comes to the Koudtie Elalez<sup>52</sup> to the south, and goes to the hill called Koudtie Alie,<sup>53</sup> and goes down the hill to the spring called Ain Elmouchid,<sup>54</sup> and goes up the</p>	<p><i>Yukhlif.</i><sup>51</sup> <i>It crosses the wadi, and veers off to Kudyat al-al-A 'lāj,</i><sup>52</sup> <i>on the southern side; then to the high hill.</i><sup>53</sup> <i>It keeps straight along the hill to 'Ayn al-Mukhīd,</i><sup>54</sup> <i>and it climbs straight up the</i></p>
---	--

- 
51. Lit. 'the gardens of the son of Yukhlif', a personal name. Greek: ἄχρη τοῦ ἀμπελῶνο(ς) τοῦ υἱοῦ Ἰάχλεφ. In the bilingual boundary descriptions of Norman Sicily, the Arabic *janna*, lit. 'garden', is generally translated as 'vineyard' in Greek and Latin. *Yukhlif* is fully pointed in Doc. but the vocalisation is uncertain. It is presumably a deverbal personal name (*ism*), originally picked at random from the Qur'ān (for the practice see Schimmel 1997, pp. 25–26, and below note 377), where *yukhlifu*, literally 'he will break', occurs several times (e.g. 2:80, 3:9, 13:31, 22:47, 30.6, etc.) always of God and in the negative, e.g. Q.2:80 *fa-lan yukhlifa llāhu 'ahda-hu*, 'God will not break his covenant', etc. The name is attested in the Monreale registers: see Cusa 1868–1882, pp. 174a, 174b, 'Yukhlif al-Ifrīqī', 'Umar ibn Yukhlif'. See also De Simone 1979, pp. 45, 46, who suggests that it was particularly common amongst Berbers. The name is so widespread in space and time that, once picked from the Qur'ān, it clearly became popular and was passed on like any name.
52. Lit. 'the hill of the converts'. Dozy 1881, vol. 2, p. 159: 'Towards the end of the Middle Ages, this name was given to all those who had changed their religion, whether Muslims who had become Christians, or Christians who had embraced Islam'.
53. Arabic: *al-kudya al- 'āliya*. Greek: Κοῦδῦτιε Ἀλιε.
54. Lit., probably, 'the spring of the forder'.

<p>ridge to the Koules,<sup>55</sup> and goes down and crosses the road, and comes to the Koudtiet Elzioummar<sup>56</sup> which is between Gzennia<sup>57</sup> and Rachal Elbbasal,<sup>58</sup> and goes down to the edge of the Elbbasal, and goes down to the edge of the thicket to the tower of Elpbeiphere,<sup>59</sup> and ends. [But,<sup>60</sup> after these aforesaid boundaries had been established,</p>	<p>ridge, and comes to the summit,<sup>55</sup> and crosses the road so that it comes to Kudyat al-Jummār,<sup>56</sup> which is between al-Janīya<sup>57</sup> and Raḥl al-Baṣal,<sup>58</sup> and it descends to the to the edge of the thicket, to Burj al-Bīfarī.<sup>59</sup> And the boundary is completed. [Then, the monk (sic)<sup>61</sup> and</p>
--	--

- 
55. Arabic: *al-qulla*. Greek: Κούλλες. See Pellegrini 1961, pp. 185-186; Caracausi 1983, p. 265. The scribe of Doc. 1, l. 41 has taken pains to equip the word with a point and a *ḍamma* on the *maghribī qāf*, and a *shadda* and a *fatha* on the *lām*, so as to leave no doubt as to the reading. Nonetheless, the scribe of Doc. 3, l. 43 miscopied the word as *al-qibla*, ‘the south’.
56. Lit. ‘the Hill of the Dwarf Fan Palms’: see above note 48.
57. A place-name. The vocalisation is not certain, but probably should be read *al-Janīya* or *al-Junayya* (cf. Greek: Γζεννία), conceivably related to, or diminutive of, *janan* or *janīyun*, literally ‘harvested dates (i.e. fruit)’, but perhaps more likely to be an Arabicised indigenous toponym.
58. A place-name, lit. ‘the Estate of the Onions’: see below p. 21 and notes 131–134.
59. Lit. ‘the Tower of *al-Bīfarī*. The word is clearly pointed in Doc. 1, l. 41 and Doc. 2, l. 42 (but is without points in Doc. 3, l. 44). The Greek simply transliterates the Arabic Ἐλπέβιφερη (Doc. 1, l. 25, Doc. 2, l. 25, Doc. 3, l. 25), possibly reproducing the geminated initial *b-* characteristic of Sicilian dialect. *Al-Bīfarī* seems to be a personal name or *nisba*, presumably ultimately derived from Latin *bifer*, used of the variety of fig that fruits twice in one year. For the uninterrupted survival of this Latin term in Sicily, and for its arabicisation, see Caracausi 1993, vol. 1, pp. 151b–152a.
60. The text enclosed in square brackets is that added to the original *periorismos* and *ḥadd* as they appear in Doc. 1.
61. Doc. 3, l. 44 has, correctly, ‘the monks’, *al-ruhbān*.

William, the son of Richard of Sciacca,<sup>62</sup> agreed with the monks of Tròccoli that, because of their common dispute over the lands, there should be a new boundary-description, as set out below: from the two columns called Ochtein,<sup>63</sup> it goes along the top of the ridge which is above the aforesaid river and comes to the spring called Atsene,<sup>64</sup> and to the fig-tree which is in the spring and runs down with the water of the aforesaid spring, and comes to the river which flows down from the tower called Pourz Epen Askar,<sup>65</sup> and continues down the water, and comes to the big river, where the boundary between the lands of the monks and the tower called Pourz Epen Askar ends.<sup>66</sup>]

*William the son of Richard of Sciacca<sup>61</sup> agreed that the beginning of the boundary of the monastery is from al-Ukhtayn.<sup>62</sup> And it passes straight along the top overlooking the aforesaid wadi until it comes to the Spring of Ghassāna(?)<sup>63</sup> and the tree which is beside it, and it runs down the stream of the aforesaid spring until it comes to the wadi descending from Burj Ibn 'Askar,<sup>64</sup> and it runs straight down the water-course till it comes to the great wadi. And the beginning of the end of the boundary of the monastery is with Burj Ibn 'Askar.<sup>66</sup>]*<sup>67</sup>

[Greek, ll. 29–38]

*My majesty confirmed to them what was agreed, as stated and described above — except, as has already been stated, what you had agreed with William, son of Richard of Sciacca — and I confirmed and gave to the resplendent monastery of St. George of Tròccoli, which is under your rule, that which is to be cultivated by your own yokes of oxen, and by those of your villeins. Because your animals do not have pasture, I have*

62. See below p. 16.

63. See above note 39.

64. See above p. 7 note 41, and below p. 40 note 257.

65. Lit. 'the Tower of the son of 'Askar', a personal name: see below p. 21.

66. The equivalent phrase in Doc. 3, l. 46 would translate 'the beginning of the end of the boundary is the monastery with Burj Ibn 'Askar' — evidently an error: see below p. 43, note 304.

67. The text enclosed in square brackets is that added to the original *periorismos* and *hadd* as they appear in Doc. 1.

*confirmed and granted to you that, in the district of Sciacca, you may graze 1000 sheep and 200 cattle of your own, but no more, without any hindrance and without any payment, tithe, or extra charge. Moreover, I also confirm to you the fifteen paroikoi exographous<sup>68</sup> with all their possessions, whose names are inscribed in your plateia, which has just been copied and renewed, and which contains the katonoma of your other villeins whom you already possessed. All this that has been stated, I confirm and grant to the aforesaid holy monastery for the salvation of our soul, and of those of my parents, so that you shall own it from now until the end of time without any hindrance from me or from my heirs and successors, just as it was given and bestowed previously to this holy monastery by my majesty's famous father, as was stated in his sigillion, so that it should remain free and undisturbed by archbishops, bishops and every other ecclesiastical rank, and also by our officials, strategoi and all the others, from every synetheia and extra charges, from not so much as a single obolus. Nobody should dare to disturb or challenge the monastery concerning what is written above, nor should introduce any change [to it]. For if anybody should dare to do so, he will have to suffer more than a little of our rage for having disobeyed our command and, even more, for having obstructed our immutable gifts for [the salvation of] our soul. Therefore, and for further safety and security, the present sigillion of my majesty, written and sealed with a golden seal, has been issued to the venerable Lord Luke, the archimandrite of the Great Monastery, and to all his successors, in the aforesaid month and indiction in the year 6649. +*

[Arabic, ll. 44–45]

*[And al-Dīwān al-Ma'mūr approved of this agreement, and authorised it, and undersigned it. There is [to be] no opposition to it, and no [further] dispute from this day forth.]<sup>69</sup> It was written on the date of the month of*

---

68. These appear to have been recent immigrants from North Africa who had commended themselves into the service of St. George's: see below, pp. 23–29, 53. For discussion of the complex questions regarding freedom, servitude and villeinage in the Norman kingdom, see: Petralia 1998, Nef 2000, Johns 2002, pp. 145–151, De Simone 2004, Carocci 2007, Carocci 2009, and Nef 2011, pp. 479–515.

69. The text enclosed in square brackets appears only in the royal *sigillion*, Document 2, and is omitted from the official copy, Document 3: see the

*June in the year five-hundred-and-thirty-five,<sup>70</sup> in the fourth indiction. God is sufficient for us. How excellent a representative is He.*

[Greek signature, l. 46]

+ *Roger, in Christ the God, the pious and mighty king and helper of the Christians* +++

In the introduction to his *Typikon*, the archimandrite Luke recounts how, when he first took office, he visited the various monasteries entrusted by King Roger to his care and saw for himself the distressing condition into which many of them had sunk.<sup>71</sup> It may be that Luke's visit to St. George's was part of this tour of inspection but, if so, it was clearly timed also to coincide with the king's presence, for this is the only occasion upon which Roger can be shown to have visited the region. The royal gaze may have turned to the Agrigentino as early as February 1141, when the king gave his approval of the donation of three estates in the territories of Naro and Licata to the archbishop-elect of Palermo by Roger-Aḥmad, whose baptism had been sponsored by Roger I.<sup>72</sup> As will be seen from what follows, the king was in Sciacca in June 1141 and moved on to Agrigento in July, but he would seem to have returned to Palermo by October.<sup>73</sup>

The *sigillia* belonging to St. George's that Luke presented to the king at Sciacca in June 1141 no longer survive.<sup>74</sup> However, the *arenga* from his father's charter that is quoted in King Roger's introduction is used in

---

discussion of this below pp. 14–15.

70. 17 August 1140 to 5 August 1141.

71. Cozza-Luzi 1905, pp. 122–124. For the *Typikon*, see Re 1990 and Re 2000.

72. Cusa 1868–1882, doc. no. 59, pp. 16–19, 710; Caspar 1904, p. 543, no. 137; Caspar 1999, reg. no. 137, p. 505. See Johns 2002, pp. 237–238 and note 107. The gift was subsequently confirmed by Roger II in January 6652 (1144): Cusa 1868–1882, doc. no. 74, pp. 24–26, 715.

73. Simon, count of Paternò, Butera and Policastro, being in Palermo, with the permission of King Roger, grants the church of St. Mary's of Patrisanto to John, bishop-elect of Catania: Cusa 1868–1882, doc. no. 62, pp. 557–558, 711; Collura 1955, reg. no. 55, p. 583.

74. Very few authentic original documents of Roger I do survive, possibly because most seem to have been written on paper: Becker 2013, pp. 12–17.

other documents of Count Roger known from translations and copies,<sup>75</sup> and so would seem to have come from an authentic original, presumably the Greek foundation charter of St. George's. As will be argued below, it is also probable that the Arabic *jarīda* issued by Count Roger and renewed in July 1141 may have been amongst the *sigillia* presented by Luke to the king.<sup>76</sup>

After examining these documents, it was discovered that some of the lands granted by Count Roger to St. George's had been usurped by unnamed barons, and that other lands had been occupied by the monastery. Therefore the king ordered his officials to hold an inquest on the spot to determine the correct boundaries of St. George's own lands and those of its village of Raḥl al-Başal.<sup>77</sup>

Amongst these royal officials, this is the first known appearance of Philip the protonotary who, in March 1142, held another royal inquest to resolve a dispute over the boundaries of the estates of San Filippo di Agira and Regalbuto.<sup>78</sup> He would seem to have died before 1154 because, according to a charter of William I, King Roger had given a vineyard that had belonged to Phillip to the church of St. John's *dei Lebbrosi*.<sup>79</sup> His colleague, the judge Stephen Maleinos belonged to a Greek family, active as early as the Byzantine period on the Ionian coast of Calabria around Stilo and Rossano.<sup>80</sup> In December 1142, together with other royal officials, he established the boundaries of the estate of Phokeron for St. Bartholomew's of Patti.<sup>81</sup>

The other three royal officials (οἱ ἐπὶ τοῦ σεκρέτου) belonged to the trilingual royal administration. The *kait Perroun* (ὁ κάιτης Περρούν) was the *qā'id* Peter, the crypto-Muslim royal eunuch, known in Arabic as *Barrūn*. Both *Perroun* and *Barrūn*, respectively his Greek and Arabic

---

75. See above p. 2 and note 13.

76. See below pp. 24–26.

77. Appendix, Doc. 2, ll. 10–17, pp. 37–38.

78. Cusa 1868–1882, pp. 302–306, working from a copy, has *prōtonotários* in the text but, amongst the signatories, gives Philip the title of *notários*, while the original clearly reads *prōtonotários*: ADM 1319 (S 812).

79. Enzensberger 1996, no. 8, p. 25. See also von Falkenhausen 1979, p. 151, note 92.

80. von Falkenhausen 1977, p. 355. See also Mercati, Giannelli *et al.* 1980, pp. 277–278.

81. Cusa 1868–1882, p. 525.

names, seem to have derived from *Pierron*, the French diminutive form of his Latin name, *Petrus*. The *qā'id* Peter, who first appears in this document, was to have a long career under William I and during the regency of Margaret, before defecting to the Almohads in 1166.<sup>82</sup> John is

- 
82. Johns 2002, pp. 222–228; Takayama 1993, pp. 100–101, 103, 115–117, 125–126, 129. In a fragmentary trilingual inscription in the Museo Civico, Termini Imerese, Peter appears in the the Latin text as *Petrus servus palatii* and in the Arabic as *'abd al-ḥadra al-mālik(īya) ... al-fatā Barrūn* ('the servant of the most royal presence ... the eunuch Barrūn'); the surviving fragment of the Greek text does not mention Peter (Johns 2006). The Arabic text was first associated with the Greek-Latin inscription by Cusa (1858), but Amari (1875, no. VIII, pp. 47–49 and pl. V, figs. 2 and 3; Amari 1971, pp. 63–66), who is now followed by Nef (2011, pp. 335–336), believed that the Arabic inscription was not to be associated in any way with what he insisted was a separate, bilingual Greek-Latin inscription. Amari argued, first, that there was no connection between the Latin name *Petrus* and the Arabic *Barrūn*: the appearance of *Barrūn* as *Perroun* in the documents for St. George's now supplies the missing link. As *al-shaykh al-dīwān al-ma'mūr al-qā'id Barrūn*, he used his distinctive *'alāma* to sign a document of December 1149 (Johns and Metcalfe 1999 p. 245, ll. 18 & 20, with the reading of the *'alāma* in l. 20 as corrected in Johns 2002 pp. 222 & 251, and Jamil and Johns 2004, pp. 187–188), exactly the same *'alāma* that he used in Doc. 5 below, a document written on the *verso* of Doc. 2, which had been issued by ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ σεκρέτου ... ὁ κύριος Περρούν, leaving no reasonable doubt that *Barrūn* and *Perroun* are identical. Second, Amari doubted that the offices of Peter as *servus palatii eius* ('servant of his [i.e. King Roger's] palace') and of the eunuch Barrūn as *'abd al-ḥadra al-malakīya* ('servant of the most royal presence') were equivalent: in fact, the polite circumlocution whereby the king is not mentioned by name but rather as 'the most royal presence', fully accounts for the difference between the two styles. Peter is regularly referred to as *eunuchus regis* (Johns 2002, pp. 222–228), and *al-fatā Barrūn*, too, was a eunuch. What is more, while it is true that the fragmentary slab bearing the Arabic text does not actually fit together with that carrying the bilingual Greek-Latin text, Amari failed to note that the two are both made of the same type of limestone, and are of the same thickness, so that they most probably belong together. Note that *Petrus-Perroun* is not alone in appearing in Latin documents under the Latin form of his name, and in Greek documents under the French form: e.g. Geoffrey of Centuripe appears as *Gaufridus* in Latin texts, and as Ἰοσφρῆς in Greek (see von Falkenhausen 2005, pp. 390–391). Moreover, Geoffrey's name

a common name, but the most likely candidate is the royal administrator John who appears as *σεκρετικός* and *ἐπὶ τοῦ σεκρέτου* in 1142, 1158, 1163, 1166 and 1168 — assuming that all these indeed refer to a single individual.<sup>83</sup> Unlike his two colleagues, Abū ‘Alī (τὸν Βουάλην) is otherwise unknown.

All three versions of this confirmation — Docs. 1–3 above — describe how the officials brought a record of the boundaries that they had determined (the course of which will be discussed below) to King Roger at Agrigento, where the Arabic register (*jarīda*: Doc. 4 above) places him in July 1141. All three refer to that *jarīda* of the Muslim villeins of St. George’s, describing it as ‘the *plateia*, which has just been copied and renewed’.<sup>84</sup> Although the *jarīda* is dated November 536 A.H., Indiction V, equivalent to November 1141 A.D., while all three versions of the bilingual *sigillion* are dated June 6649 A.M. (1141 A.D.), Indiction IV, they were evidently written after the *jarīda*. This hypothesis is supported by the fact that the Arab scribe of Doc. 2 originally wrote the year as 536 A.H., which began on 6<sup>th</sup> August 1141, and only subsequently corrected the year to 535 A.H.,<sup>85</sup> that in which the *sigillion* was officially issued.<sup>86</sup> It is by no means unusual for a document to bear the date at which an administrative process began, even though several months may have passed before that process could be completed and the document actually be issued.<sup>87</sup>

In this case, however, there seems to have been a significant interval between the composition of Doc. 1, the text that we believe to be the first

---

in Arabic, *Jāfrāy*, follows the French not the Latin, as is also the case with *Barrūn-Perroun* (Cusa 1868–1882, pp. 81–83). Add reference to my note on the trilingual inscription if published online in time.

83. von Falkenhausen 2005, pp. 381–390.

84. Document 1, ll. 32–33: ὧν τὰ ὀνόματα ἐγρ(ά)φ(η) εἰς τὴν ἀρτί(ως) μεταγραφείσαν / καὶ ἀνακαινισθείσαν πλατεί(αν) ὑμῶν ἔνθα ἐστὶ τὸ κ(α)τόνομα τῶν ἐτέρ(ων) ὑμ(ῶν) ἀν(θρώπων) τῶν παλαι(ῶν).

85. 17 August 1140 – 5 August 1141.

86. See below Appendix, Doc. 2, p. 37 and l. 45, p. 41, note 268.

87. This occurs frequently in disputes before a court: e.g. Cusa 1868–1882, no. 38, pp. 471–472, 703–704, and no. 52, pp. 418–419, 708–709. See also a case concerning the lands of St. Saviour’s of Placa (near Castiglione di Sicilia), where the process is said to begin in December, Indiction IV, equivalent to 6679 (1170), and to end in the following year, given as 6680 (1171): von Falkenhausen 2010, pp. 308, 314–315.



version of Roger's confirmation to St. George's, and Doc. 2, the authentic and definitive version of that act. During that interval, the dispute between the monks of St. George's and William son of Richard of Sciacca over the precise course of the boundary between their lands, was both discovered and settled. In the words of the Greek text of Doc. 2, 'after these aforesaid boundaries had been established, William, the son of Richard of Sciacca, agreed with the monks of Troccoli that, because of their common dispute over the lands, there should be a new boundary-description, as set out below'. In this passage, the language of the Greek is awkward, clumsy, and unusual. The equivalent passage in the Arabic text of Doc. 2, follows immediately after the standard formula that marks the end of a boundary description: 'Then, the monk (*sic!*) and the son of Richard of Sciacca agreed that the beginning of the boundary of the monastery is from al-Ukhtayn ... etc.' This Arabic passage is so awkward that, were it not for the relatively clear Greek text, it would be difficult to imagine what circumstances could have necessitated its addition to the preceding boundary description. Both the Greek and the Arabic thus give the clear impression that the additional clause was hasty, ill planned and composed on the spur of the moment by flustered scribes or royal officials.

We have seen that all three versions of the bilingual *sigillion* must have been composed in or after November 1141, and that Doc. 1, the version that is missing the additional clause, must have been written before Docs. 2 and 3. But where were they written? At first reading, the text seems to imply, but does not state explicitly, that the *sigillion* was composed in Agrigento. It is unthinkable, however, that the king would have stayed in Agrigento from July until November or even later. Indeed, he seems to have been back in the capital by October and, as usual, to have remained there throughout the winter.<sup>88</sup> If so, then Docs. 1–3, and Doc. 4 (the *jarīda*), must all have been written in the trilingual royal *dīwān* in Palermo. In support of this, as will be shown below, both the Greek and the Arabic scripts of all four documents, are clearly products to the *duana regia*. What is more, they seem to be the work of seven distinct hands, three Greek and four Arab, surely too great a number of expert scribes to have accompanied the king on his circuit through the Agrigentino.

---

88. Collura 1955, p. 583; Caspar 1999, pp. 505–507.

If so, then the process of composition may be reconstructed as follows. In June 1141, the archimandrite Luke presented the ancient *sigillia* of St. George's to the king at Sciacca. Royal officials were dispatched to St. George's to determine the boundaries of the monastery's lands and to record them in writing. They brought the written boundary description to the king at Agrigento, probably in July 1141. According to the Arabic *jarīda*, it was at Agrigento, in that month, that an unnamed supplicant, presumably Luke himself, asked the king to inscribe the names of the heads of household of the newly commended villeins (*mul*s, the *exographoi* of the Greek *sigillion*) into the renewal of the *jarīda* of Triocala. Months later, in November 1141, after King Roger had returned to Palermo, the royal *dīwān* drew up and issued, first, the Arabic *jarīda* (Doc. 4) and, next, a Greek *sigillion* incorporating the Arabic *ḥadd*. The latter bilingual document no longer survives in the original, and its precise nature is uncertain, but an official copy of it was made, and survives as Doc. 1. Subsequently, the royal *dīwān* somehow learned that there was a dispute between the monks of St. George's and William, the son of Richard of Sciacca, over part of the boundary recorded in the *sigillion*. Once an agreement between the disputants had been reached, a new version of the bilingual *sigillion* was made, incorporating the awkward clauses that recorded the settlement of that dispute. The new *sigillion* (Doc. 2) was duly authenticated with the king's official signature and his golden seal, and finally a copy was made of it, Doc. 3.

There is, however, one difference between the Arabic texts of Doc. 2 and of the official copy made of it, Doc. 3. After the boundary description proper, Doc. 2 omits the phrase that, in the Greek texts of both the original *sigillion* and the copy, records the agreement over water rights between William of Sciacca and the monks of St. George's: 'And William and the monks agreed that the monks might draw as much water as they wished'. In place of this, Doc. 2 has an admonitory clause recording that the agreement between William and the monks over the boundaries between their lands had been authorised by the *dīwān* and was not to be broken. The admonitory clause is missing from the Arabic text of Doc. 3 which, instead, has a clause about the agreement over water rights that is almost identical to that in the Greek text:

[Doc. 2]

... the end of the boundary of the monastery is with Burj Ibn 'Askar. And *al-Dīwān al-Ma'mūr* approved of this agreement, and authorised it, and undersigned it. There is [to be] no opposition to it and no [further] dispute from this day forth. It was written on the date of the month of June in the year five-hundred-and-thirty-five, in the fourth indiction. God is sufficient for us. How excellent a representative is He.

[Doc. 3]

... the end of the boundary of the monastery is with Burj Ibn 'Askar. And they agreed that the monks could draw water from wherever they wished. And they came to terms on this. And it is finished. It was written on the date of the month of June in the year five-hundred-and-thirty-five, in the fourth indiction. God is sufficient for us. How excellent a representative is He.

We believe that the most plausible explanation for this difference lies in the process by which the document was compiled. As with other bilingual documents that combine a Greek *sigillion* and *periorismos* with an Arabic *ḥadd*, the two parts of the document do not carry equal weight. While the Greek text constituted a complete, independent and legally valid document, and could have been issued on its own without the Arabic *ḥadd*, the Arabic text comprised only the boundary description and a *datatio*, and so was completely dependent upon the preceding Greek *sigillion* for its legal authority. The Greek text of Doc. 2 was clearly the model for the copy (Doc. 3), but this was not necessarily so for the Arabic *ḥadd*, the original text of which may well have been entered into the *dīwān*'s register of boundaries (*daftar al-ḥudūd*) before the royal *sigillion* was compiled. If so, it would have been wise bureaucratic practice to copy the Arabic boundary descriptions for both the original confirmation (Doc. 2) and the official copy (Doc. 3) directly from the common and definitive source – the *daftar*. That this is precisely what did happen is supported by the fact that the original Arabic *ḥadd*, recording the boundary before the dispute between William of Sciacca and St. George's became known, is to all intents and purposes identical in all three versions (i.e. in Docs. 1–3). The record of the settlement of the dispute between William and the monks, complete with the details concerning water rights, would have been added to the *daftar* either before the original confirmation of which Doc. 1 is the copy was

written, or in the interval that separated the writing of that missing *sigillion* and the compilation of the confirmation that replaced it (Doc. 2). When the latter came to be written, the Arab scribe, either inadvertently or because he did not consider it to be appropriate or necessary, omitted the clause concerning water rights from the *ḥadd*, and added the admonitory clause making explicit the *dīwān*'s interest in the settlement of the dispute between the two parties. That clause was omitted when a different scribe made the official copy (Doc. 3). Like his colleague who drew up the original *sigillion* (Doc. 2), he too copied the Arabic *ḥadd* directly from the *daftar* but, unlike him, he included the detail about water rights. Because his model was the *daftar*, and not the confirmation, he omitted the admonitory clause.

The distribution of the three versions of the *sigillion* remains somewhat problematic. Presumably, Doc. 3 was made as an official copy of the authentic, original chrysobull (Doc. 2), so that both St. Saviour's and its *metochion* of St. George's could have a copy of the royal confirmation. And, presumably, that original, complete with the official chancery signature of the king and his golden seal, was lodged with the archimandrite in Messina, and not with the monks of St. George's. Only when St. George's was abandoned did Doc. 3 find its way into the archives of St. Saviour's, where the original and its copy remained until they were confiscated and transported to Spain. But why was Doc. 1 kept, and by whom? Was it perhaps, like Doc. 3, the copy of an authentic, original *sigillion*, and remained undisturbed and unnoticed in the archive of St. George's, after the discovery of the dispute with William, son of Richard of Sciacca, necessitated the recall and destruction of that original *sigillion*? We cannot be sure, but this hypothesis would seem best to account for the survival of what is apparently an official *dīwānī* copy of a *sigillion* that no longer exists and is clearly replaced by Doc. 2.

As to William, the son of Richard of Sciacca, he appears amongst the witnesses in the boundary inquest mentioned in the Arabic act of May 1152, the original of which (Doc. 5) is written on the *verso* of Doc. 2, with a copy (Doc. 6) on the *verso* of Doc. 3,<sup>89</sup> but he cannot otherwise be traced. However, in 1186, the castellan of Sciacca (*castellanus castelli*

---

89. See below p. 18 and note 105, and Appendix, Doc. 5, l. 3, p. 55 (trans. p. 16) and Doc. 6, l. 3, p. 57 (trans. p. 58).

*Sacce*) was a certain Richard, and William seems to have been the name of his eldest son, raising the strong suspicion that these may have been, respectively, the son and grandson of the first William.<sup>90</sup>

#### 4. THE DISPUTE OVER THE BOUNDARIES OF ST. GEORGE'S (DOCS. 5 AND 6)

The monks of St. George's continued to have difficulties with their neighbours, as is demonstrated by Docs 5 and 6 — the texts written on the *verso* of Docs. 2 and 3. Both are written only in Arabic, and there follows the translation of Doc. 5:

*When it was the date of May of Indiction 15, a sworn agreement was made between the monks of Tròccoli (Ṭr.qul.sh) and Herbert, lord of Calamonaci (Q.l.mūn.sh) concerning the boundary which is between them. And there was issued the high, to-be-obeyed order, may God increase it in elevation and efficacy, to the governor (ʿāmil) of Sciacca, who is a bailiff (b.jāly), and the landholders and the elders [who were] knowledgeable about the boundary, to demarcate the boundary between them. They were: William Foresterius(?); and Geoffrey Martorana; and Bartholomew, son of Haimun(?); and his brother, Matthew; and Tristan; and William, the lord of al-Jurf; and Robert Manfré the judge(?); and William, castellan of the castle of Sciacca; and Robert Alduin; and his son-in-law Arnold; and the sons of John Atria; and amongst the burghers: Nicola, son of Lando; and Albert son-in-law of John Atria; and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Fityān; and amongst the Muslims: Ṭāhir ibn ʿUmar; and the sons of al-Rūmīya; and Abū l-Futūḥ ibn ʿAmmār; and others. And the first part of the boundary which was to be demarcated, which is from ʿAyn al-Mukhīḍ, follows Kudā l-Dibs, along the tops of the hills, approaching the end of the aforesaid hills, and descends by way of the last hill,<sup>91</sup> approaching the stream at the foot of the hill, and it goes straight along the stream until it reaches the big valley, and it proceeds northwards, straight along the valley to the big river<sup>92</sup> known as Wādī*

90. Cusa 1868–1882 p. 670; Scaturro 1924–1926, vol. 1, p. 272.

91. Or 'of the other hill': Doc. 5 has *al-kudya al-akhīra*; Doc. 6, l. 6, *al-kudya al-ukhrā*.

92. The phrase 'and it proceeds northwards, straight along the ditch to the big river' is mistakenly repeated.

*Qal'at al-Ballūt. Here ends the demarcation of the boundary between Calamonaci and Tròccoli. It was written on the aforesaid date in the year five hundred and forty-seven. [Signatures and registration notes from left to right] [Greek] † It has been authenticated † [Arabic] God is sufficient for us. How excellent a representative is He. [Latin] † Wual(t)er. [Arabic: Peter's 'alāma] In God is my trust. /<sup>8</sup> [Latin] † I, Maio, Chancellor of the Lord King, have signed.*

In May 547 A.H., Indiction XV (1152 A.D.), the royal *dīwān* ordered 'the governor ('*āmil*) of Sciacca, who is "bailiff",<sup>93</sup> to hold an inquest in order to determine the course of the boundary between the lands of St. George's and those of Herbert, lord of *Qalamūnash*. The name of the '*āmil* is not given in the document, but he may possibly be the *Wualter* who appears amongst the signatories; if so, then he must have signed in his capacity as the royal official who presided over the inquest. Herbert is not otherwise known, but *Qalamūnash* is evidently the Arabic place name that has survived as Calamonaci, laying the east of the River Caltabellotta (modern Fiume Verdura), which also features in the boundary described in King Roger's chrysobull of June 1141.<sup>94</sup>

Doc. 5 is written only in Arabic, and is authenticated by a series of registration notes and signatures, including: the Latin autograph of the well-known Maio of Bari, here making his first appearance as chancellor;<sup>95</sup> the Arabic '*alāma* of the royal eunuch Peter-Barrūn, who was one of the officers of the royal *dīwān* responsible for determining the boundaries of the lands of St. George's for the royal chrysobull;<sup>96</sup> and *Wualter*, who may or may not be the royal governor of the district of Sciacca, and does not appear to be otherwise known. In contrast, Doc. 6 unsigned, and ends with the words 'And this fair copy is the copy of the original *dīwānī* charter, and this is its likeness in essence. God is sufficient for us. How excellent a representative is He' (*wa-hādhay l-mubayyaḍatu nuskhatu l-sijilli l-aṣlīyi l-dīwānīyi wa-hādhā mithālu-hu khāṣṣa-hu*). It is clear, therefore, that Doc. 5 is the authentic original act

93. Arabic *B(?)j(?)āly*, perhaps from late Latin *bājulus* or from French *bailli*. For the castle of Sciacca, see Maurici 2001, pp. 133–134.

94. For a discussion of the course of these boundaries, see below pp. 20–22 and map.

95. Pio 2006, p. 632. See also below, p. 55 note 518.

96. See below p. 55, note 516.

of May 1152, while Doc. 6 is an official copy of it. It would seem that the officers of the royal *dīwān* thought of this Arabic act as an amendment to the boundary description given in Doc. 2. Therefore, they recalled the original royal chrysobull from St. Saviour's to Palermo, and also brought Doc. 3, the official copy of it, from St. George's, and used the *verso* of each for the text of what is, in administrative terms, a distinct and new act, albeit in effect a mere amendment to the act of 1141. That the *verso* of Doc. 1 does not bear a copy of the act of May 1152 demonstrates that it was no longer considered to be a valid document, and indicates that it was not recalled from St. Georges with Doc. 3.

Doc. 5 thus appears to be the only authentic and official document to survive from Norman Sicily which is written on the *verso* of another earlier and completely distinct act that is no less authentic and official. The practice of using the empty *verso* of one document for the text of another requires more systematic investigation than can be undertaken here. While we are not aware of other cases from Norman Sicily, the practice is occasionally attested in Arabic diplomatics from, at the latest, the end of the thirteenth century,<sup>97</sup> and so may reflect the traditions in which the scribes and officers of the royal *dīwān* had been trained.

Doc. 5 lists the names of 'the landholders (*al-tarrārīya*)<sup>98</sup> and the elders [who were] knowledgeable about the boundary', and who were witnesses to the inquest held by the 'āmil of Sciacca on the orders of the royal *dīwān*. The first group is of names that appear to belong to the 'landholders' — presumably barons or feudatories, who held land from the king or another lord. William *Foresterius*(?) is otherwise unknown, but is likely to have been a royal forester.<sup>99</sup> Geoffrey Martorana may

97. For example, Richards 2011, doc. no. II, pp. 39–44: the *recto* bears an order from the central government to the military governor of the district in which St. Catherine's lay that the monastery be protected from the Bedouin, while the *verso* bears a decree issued by the military governor to his subordinates with more specific instructions.

98. From Latin *terrarii*: Cusa 1868–1882, pp. 127, 129, 246. See also Caracausi 1990, p. 564b, under τεppέρης.

99. *Ghulyālim Fr.st.ra* (perhaps equivalent to Latin *Guillelmus Forestarius*). The initial *fā* and the *tā* of *Fr.st.ra* are both pointed in Doc. 5; in Doc. 6, the word is without points, but the *ductus* is significantly easier to follow than in Doc. 5. *Fr.st.ra* is more likely to indicate that William held office

belong to the family famous in Palermo in the late twelfth-century and thereafter, from which the church of La Martorana takes its name.<sup>100</sup> Bartholomew, son of Aimone or Haimun, and his brother, Matthew, are not otherwise attested, but, were the proposed reconstruction of their father's name to be correct, might be of French or Lombard descent.<sup>101</sup> Nothing is known of Tristan, although his name may well reveal a Breton origin.<sup>102</sup> William, *ṣāhib* ('the lord of') *al-Jurf*, is not otherwise

---

as a royal forester, rather than to be his surname. See also Caracausi 1993, vol. 1, p. 634. The orthography (Arabic *فرسترة*) seems to rule out any possibility of an identification with the Forestal (Arabic *فرستال*, *Farastāl*) of *Jālisū*: Johns 2002, pp. 58, 127–128, 302, 307.

100. *Jafrāy Marthurān*. For *Jafrāy* see Cusa 1868–1882, pp. 81–82 (*Jāfrāy*), 499 (*Jafrāy*); and Caracausi 1993, vol. 1, 736a. He is mentioned, together with the *megas hetaireiarches* John, William of Pozzuoli, Geoffrey Malconvenant, the count Symeon and others, in a charter of Roger II for the inhabitants of San Marco and Naso in the case against Augur (Greek: *Alkerios*) of Ficarra (Collura 1955, no. 58, p. 585, edn. and commentary, doc. no. 4, pp. 609–614). The latter would appear to be the first appearance in Sicily of the family, which seems to have originated in Calabria: in a charter of May 1194, Aloysia, wife of *Goffridus de Marturana*, founding a nunnery in Palermo, includes amongst her gifts *Casale nomine Sancti Felicis, quod in Calabria ego Goffridus habeo cum villanis et iustis tenimentis, territoriis et pertinentiis suis, quod ex patrimonio Auberti patris mihi pervenit* (Garufi 1899, doc. no. 107, pp. 257–264). The family is well attested in Palermo in the 1180s and '90s, when Goffridus was *magister iusticiarius*: Enzensberger 1971, nos. 159–160, p. 135; Schlichte 2005, pp. 42, 44, 46, 202; (von Falkenhausen 2009, p. 191; Scarlata 2009, pp. 312, 326, 329). It is tempting to suggest that the Geoffrey in this document may be the grandfather of the famous *Goffridus de Marturana* who, with his wife Aloysia, founded the abbey of St. Mary *Marturana* in 1193 (Garufi 1899, doc. no. 106, pp. 255–257).
101. *Bart.l.māw ibn Hāmūn*: the reading of the last word relies heavily upon Doc. 6, l. 2, which is unpointed but with a clear *ductus*. The first three characters, and the last, are virtually certain; only the character read here as *wāw* is questionable, but none of the alternatives – *dāl*, *dhāl*, *rā* – and *zāy* – is more convincing: for Aimone/Haimun, see Caracausi 1993, vol. 1, p. 24b.
102. *Tristān*: the name derives from Celtic *drystan*, 'tumult', widespread as a personal name presumably because of the Tristan legend cycle. See also Caracausi 1993, vol. 2, p. 1656a-b.



known but was presumably one of the landholders (*al-tarrārīya*) or barons.<sup>103</sup> Robert Manfré *al-ḥākim* (i.e. “the judge”?) is again unknown.<sup>104</sup> William, castellan of the castle of Sciacca is probably the son of Richard of Sciacca mentioned in the chrysobull of June 1141.<sup>105</sup> Robert Alduin and his son-in-law Arnold, whose names may suggest Lombard ancestry, are not otherwise attested;<sup>106</sup> nor are the sons of John *Aṭria*.<sup>107</sup>

- 
103. *Al-Jurf*, the name of an estate derived from the Arabic *jurf*, ‘cliff’. The toponym is a common one (see Caracausi 1993, vol. 1, pp. 739b, 777b). The place-name of this particular *al-Jurf* may survive as one of the following, all of which are in the vicinity of St. George's: Contrada Gulfa di Supra (IGM 266 I S.O. Caltabellotta 33SUB510530; IGM 266 II N.O. Ribera 33SUB492508–505515) and Casa Gulfa di Sopra (IGM 266 I S.E. Cianciana 33SUB556542), and Molino di Gulfa (IGM 266 II N.O. Ribera 33SUB494506), all some two kilometres southeast of Calamonaci, on the right bank of the Fiume Magazzolo. The *feudi* of Gulfotta, Gulfa Grande and Gulfa Piccola, discussed by Scaturro (1924–1926, vol. 1, pp. 74, 721, vol. 2, pp. 234, 235, 416, 469), all lay to the east and southeast of modern Santa Margherita Belice (IGM 258 III S.O. Santa Margherita Belice, 266 IV N.O. Menfi and 266 IV N.E. Sambuca d Sicilia), some 20km as the crow flies from St. George's, and so were too far distant, perhaps, for the lord to have been familiar with the boundaries of Tròccoli.
104. *Rubart Manfrāy al-ḥākim*: for *Manfrāy*, see Caracausi 1993, vol. 2, p. 937. *Al-ḥākim*, literally ‘the one ruling’ or ‘governing’, is perhaps most likely here to indicate a judge, given that *āmil* is the Arabic term used for the royal governor of the district of Sciacca (see also the following note).
105. *Ghulyalim mustakhlaḥfu ruqqati l-shāqqati*: *mustakhlaḥf*, the passive participle of *istakhlaḥfa*, ‘to appoint as successor or vicar’, indicates a royal official, the representative of the king, in this case apparently the castellan of the castle (*ruqqa*) of Sciacca. (For the castle of Sciacca, see Maurici 2001, pp. 133–134.) See the famous meeting between the Spanish pilgrim Ibn Jubayr and the *mustakhlaḥf* of William II outside the royal palace in Palermo in December 1184 (Ibn Jubayr 1907, p. 330). See also Dozy 1881, vol. 1, pp. 398a (and under *mustakhlaḥf*, p. 316a); Corriente 1997, p. 164.
106. *Haldwīn*: presumably indicating the name Aldwin, Alduin, etc., see Caracausi 1993, vol. 1, 32b. Arnold: see Caracausi 1993, vol. 1, p. 77b; see also Cusa 1868–1882, p. 645 (*Arnād*).
107. *Juwān Aṭria*: *Juwān* is a well-attested Arabic form of the common personal name (Cusa 1868–1882, pp. 84, 645, 651, 669). See also Johns

Next come three ‘burghers’.<sup>108</sup> Although their precise legal status is unclear, the implication would seem to be that they dwelt and had property in a town, presumably Sciacca, where they were registered for fiscal purposes.<sup>109</sup> Nicola, son of Lando is again unknown.<sup>110</sup> Albert is the son-in-law of John Atria who is listed amongst the ‘landholders’. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Fityān is clearly an Arab (or Berber), and is presumably listed amongst the ‘burghers’, and not amongst the Muslims, because he is a Christian: the theophoric name ‘Abd al-Raḥmān, literally ‘Servant of the Merciful [God]’, could be equivalent to the Greek theophoric Christodoulos, literally ‘Servant of Christ’,<sup>111</sup> while Fityān (plural form of *fatā*, literally ‘youth’) has no obvious Greek equivalent, the name may conceivably refer to some connection with the crypto-Muslim eunuchs of the royal court.<sup>112</sup>

---

2003, where St. John’s of the Hermits appears in Arabic as *Ṣan Juwān*. For Atria, see Atria in Caracausi 1993, vol. 1, 85a–b, who derives it from the Latin women’s name *Hadria*; alternatively, in this context and noting the *tā*, the name may conceivably derive from an Arabic feminine *laqab*, *al-Ṭārīya* (pronounced *aṭ-Ṭārīya*), lit. ‘the newcomer’ or ‘the stranger’ (Johns 2002, p. 18 note 34).

108. Arabic *mina l-burjīsīn*, “amongst the burghers”, suggesting that *burjīsīn* is a sound plural in the oblique case formed from the singular *burjīs* (see Cusa 1868–1882, pp. 623, 625: Πογέριος Βουργίσι / Rujīr al-Burjīsī; Caracausi 1990, p. 117b, βουργίσις, etc.), presumably derived from Latin *burgensis*, if not from Old French *burgeis*.
109. See the traditional gloss of the term in Du Cange 1954, vol. 1, col. 783b: *Burgenses, Municipēs, burgorum seu villarum clausarum incolae, vel qui tenementa in iis possident. et ratione eorum Burgagium domino burgi pensitant*. See also the works cited in note 68 above.
110. *Niqūla ibn Landū*: the *nūn* in *Landū* is clearly pointed in Doc. 5, l. 3 (but unpointed in Doc. 6, l. 4); for the name, see Caracausi 1993, vol. 1, p. 832b.
111. See the famous emir Christodoulos, known in Arabic as ‘Abd al-Raḥmān (also ‘Abd Allāh a-Naṣrānī): von Falkenhausen 1985; Johns 2002, pp. 69–70. See also Christodoula, the daughter of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Naṣrānī: Palermo, Archivio di Stato, Sta. Maria della Grotta, no. 3; Cusa 1868–1882, no. 117, pp. 663–664, 726; Johns 2002, Appendix 2, no. 14, pp. 319–320.
112. Johns 2002, p. 213, 243 & 244, referring to William II’s palace servant, Yaḥyā b. Fityān al-Ṭarrāz: (Ibn Jubayr 1907, p. 325). For the name, De Simone 1979, p. 45. Alex Metcalfe adds that the name occurs once in the

The last group to be listed are the Muslims (*al-muslimīn*), none of whom are otherwise known: Tāhir ibn 'Umar; the sons of al-Rūmīya, literally perhaps 'the sons of the Greek (or Byzantine) woman',<sup>113</sup> Abū l-Futūḥ ibn 'Ammār; '...and the others', as if even the Arab scribe saw no point in recording yet more Arabic names.

Similar lists of the witnesses to inquests held by royal officers to determine the boundaries of estates are a standard part of the records issued by the royal *dīwān*.<sup>114</sup> Local elders (*gerontes*, *shuyūkh*, *veterani*), also known as the 'good' or 'trustworthy men' (*boni homines*, *probi homines*, *kaloī anthropoi*; *al-shuyūkh al-thiqāt*),<sup>115</sup> are likely to have assisted King Roger's officers in determining the boundaries of the lands of St. George's and of its village of Raḥl al-Baṣal for the Greek *periorismos* and Arabic *ḥadd* recorded in the chrysobull of June 1141.

## 5. THE LANDS OF ST. GEORGE'S (FIG. 1)

As is nearly always the case, the precise course of those boundaries cannot now be determined from the twelfth-century descriptions — too many of the markers were ephemeral features of the landscape, and too many of the place-names have now disappeared. No attempt will here be made to trace the precise course of the boundary.<sup>116</sup> Nonetheless, a few

---

Monreale *jarīda* of 1178 (Cusa 1868–1882, p. 166b, the son of a *ghulām/doulos*) and eight times in that of 1183 (ibid., pp. 249b, 252a, 258a, 265b, 268a, 277b, 281a and 284b — all, except p. 249b, amongst the newly commended villeins or *muls*), tending to reinforce the suspicion that the name was particularly favoured by Maghribīs or even Berbers. See also below p. 52 note 467.

113. De Simone 1992, p. 82: '*rūmiyyah*, soprannome dato dagli arabi di Spagna alle schiave cristiane convertite all'islamismo' (citing Dozy 1881, vol. 1, p. 573) 'indicava verosimilmente in ambito siciliano una "bizantina"'. Alex Metcalfe questions this interpretation and notes that, in the Monreale *jarā'id*, a feminine singular *nisba* may often refer to a group rather than to an individual, so that *awlād al-Rūmiyya* might refer not to the 'children of the Byzantine woman' but rather to members of a distinct social group.

114. Johns 2002, pp. 94–99; Nef 2011, pp. 464–470.

115. Johns and Metcalfe 1999, pp. 230–231.

116. The case is far from hopeless, and the most promising way forward lies in a combination of archaeological fieldwork and archival research in the

remarks upon the general situation of the lands demarcated may usefully be made.

Less than two kilometres northwest of St. George's, and some six hundred metres above it, lay Caltabellotta. According to al-Idrīsī, writing in *circa* 1154, despite its fertile and well-watered arable lands, its rare and varied products, and its many water-mills, Caltabellotta 'once had many people but, recently, they were transported to Sciacca, so that now only a few men remain in the fortress'.<sup>117</sup> Caltabellotta can not have been completely deserted, however, for the church of Agrigento had two benefices at Caltabellotta, 'one of the Latins, and the other of the Greeks',<sup>118</sup> and was paid an annual census of 'one roll of wax' by the church of St. Hippolytus 'outside Caltabellotta'.<sup>119</sup> On the outskirts of Sant'Anna, the church of St. Mary's of Montevergine appears to be no earlier than the thirteenth century, and the hypothesis of Rocco Pirri, that it was built by the Benedictine priory of St. Mary's at Adriano, founded by King Roger between 1142–1148 with hermits from Montevergine near Avellino in Campania, cannot be substantiated.<sup>120</sup> The Cistercian abbey of the Holy Trinity at Refesio, founded by refugees from the Latin East in 1188, held a grange near Caltabellotta, complete with lands, mills and other possessions.<sup>121</sup>

---

later medieval and early modern documents cited by Scandaliato 2003, many of which record the boundaries of lands in the vicinity.

117. al-Idrīsī 1970–1978, p. 600: *kāna bi-hā khalqun kathīrun tanaqqalū fī hādihā l-waqtī ilā l-Shāqqā wa-lam yabqa bi-l-hisni illā rijālun qalā'ilu*. An alternative sense of the verb *tanaqqalū*, indicating that the people of Caltabellotta 'removed themselves' to Sciacca, is certainly possible, but seems less likely. The suggestion by Scaturro (1917, pp. 3–12; see also Vaccaro 214, p. 29 and note 103) that this report might refer not to the mid twelfth century but to events at the time of the Muslim occupation of the region in the early ninth century, is not to be entertained.
118. Collura 1961, p. 305.
119. White 1938, Appendix, doc. no. 31, p. 274: *Ecclesia S. Hippolyti extra Caltabillotta [cere] rotul(um) i*.
120. Pirri 1733, vol. 2, pp. 755 and 1124; see also White 1938, p. 131.
121. White 1938, Appendix, doc. no. 47, p. 291: *Granciam que est iuxta Caltabellot cum terris, molendinis et omnibus pertinentiis suis*. The abbey itself may be identical with the twelfth-century church of St. Mary's of Rifessio, some 4km east of Burgio (IGM 266 I N.E. Bivona, 33SUB539638).

The River Caltabellotta (*Wādī Qal'at al-Ballūt*) lay on the boundary between the lands of St. George's and those of Herbert of Calamonaci. This 'great river' (*al-wādī al-kabīr*) can not be the little Vallone di Caltabellotta identified by the Istituto Geografico Militare,<sup>122</sup> and must rather be the Fiume Verdura, which rises to the south of Bisacquino and takes various names — Malotempo, Valentino, Sosio — until, as the Verdura, it flows east of Caltabellotta and Sant' Anna, past Ribera, to enter the sea near Torre Verdura.<sup>123</sup>

East of the river lay the lordship of Calamonaci, whose lands marched with those of St. George's. Calamonaci is not attested before 1152,<sup>124</sup> and next appears in 1287 when King James of Aragon granted the territory of Caltabellotta, together with the *feudum* and *casalium* of Calamonaci to his Valencian knight, Berenguer of Vilaragut.<sup>125</sup> The spelling of *Qalamūnash*, the Arabic name under which Calamonaci appears in the act of 1152, suggests that the etymology proposed by Scaturro (*Qal'at Munākh*, 'Fortezza di fermata o di sosta') should not be accepted,<sup>126</sup> and strengthens the case for derivation from the Greek *kalamiōn*, 'reed bed'.<sup>127</sup> The estate of *al-Jurf*, of which William, one of the witnesses in 1152, was lord, may have lain two kilometres southeast of

122. IGM 266 I S.O. Caltabellotta, 33SUB420530.

123. al-Idrīsī, 1970–1978, p. 623, seems to call it *Wādī Allabū* (or *Allibū*), presumably from its ancient name of Alba (Scaturro 1924–1926, vol. 1, 145).

124. Unless it is to be identified with the *Qal'at Mūn* that appears, completely out of place, in the map of Sicily in the early thirteenth-century copy of the *Kitāb Gharā'ib al-funūn wa-mulāḥ al-'uyūn*, known as *The Book of Curiosities* (Oxford, Bodleian MS Arab c.90, ff. 32b–33a: Rapoport and Savage-Smith 2014, pp. 137 [086], 138 [086], 464 [086] and note 69. Caltabellotta [065], Jurf [134] (a very common element in place-names, making the identification hazardous), and Sciacca [011] also appear in this map. See also Johns 2004, pp. 414–419 (for the map of Sicily), and 440 [011], 442 [065], 443 [086]. (For the reasons given later in this paragraph, in addition to the highly erratic transcriptions of place-names in the map, I now doubt the identification of *Qal'at Mūn* with *Qalamūnash* and am inclined to read *Qal'at [al-]Mawr[ū]*, modern Calatamauro).

125. Scaturro 1924–1926, vol. 1, pp. 196 and note 5 (with year 1282: an error?), 372–373, 389. Silvestri 1888, pp. 37–40.

126. Scaturro 1924–1926, vol. 1, p. 195, note 5.

127. Caracausi 1993, vol. 1, pp. 236–237.

Calamonaci.<sup>128</sup>

Two other neighbouring estates or villages are more difficult to place, but may also have lain east of the river, to the north of Calamonaci. *Burj Ibn 'Askar* (Greek Πούρζ Ἐπεν Ἀσκιάρ, *Pourz Épen Áskiar*) lay near the source of a stream which ran into the 'great river', presumably the *Wādī Qal'at al-Ballūt* (modern Fiume Verdura), and that stream marked the boundary between the two estates. *Burj*, meaning 'tower', is a common element in Arabic boundary-markers and place-names, but *Burj Ibn 'Askar* was an estate with its own boundaries and so it is tempting to speculate that it may have given its name to the modern town of Burgio, apparently first attested in 1283.<sup>129</sup> 'The wadi descending from *Burj Ibn 'Askar*' would therefore be either the Vallone Garella or the Vallone Madonna di Mortille, which flow directly south of Burgio and join together shortly before they enter the Verdura; it may be significant that the latter still marks the southern boundary of the *comune* of Burgio.<sup>130</sup> If so, then some of the lands of St. George's would have lain to the east of the Verdura and south of the Garella or Madonna di Mortille. In this vicinity, the town of Lucca Sicula, founded in 1620,<sup>131</sup> occupies a ridge at the western end of which is Cozzo Galbasa,<sup>132</sup> a place-name which it is tempting to derive from Arabic *Raḥl al-Baṣal* via a hypothetical Sicilian *(Re)galbasa(l)*.<sup>133</sup> This hypothesis is strengthened by a late medieval Sicilian note on the *verso* of the *sigillion* (Doc. 2), which appears to refer

128. See above, p. 18, note 103. For the castle of Burgio, see Maurici 2001, p. 110. The identification of Burgio with the *casale* of Billuchia, the boundaries of which are described in a forgery attributed to William II and dated 1172 [sic! = 1171], indiction V, regni VI (White 1938, Appendix doc. no. 269–270; Collura 1961, pp. 49–53), is not convincing.

129. Carini and Silvestri 1882, pp. 200, 287, 295.

130. See IGM 266 I N.O. The confluence with the Verdura is at IGM 266 I S.O. Caltabellotta, 33SUB464613.

131. Scaturro 1924–1926, vol. 2, pp. 243–244.

132. IGM 266 I S.O. Caltabellotta, 33SUB497599. Caracausi 1993, vol. 1, p. 668 tentatively suggested that 'forse è registrazione imperfetta di \**Garbazza*, disp[regiativo] da it[aliano] ant[ico] *garba* "campo incolto"', but in 1993 he would have been unaware that *Raḥl al-Baṣal* lay in the vicinity.

133. For the well-attested shift from Arabic *raḥl* to Sicilian *regal* as the first element in compound place-names, e.g. Regalbuto, Regaleali, Regalmici, etc., see Caracausi 1993, vol. 2, pp. 1342–1343

to *Rahl al-Başal* as *Chalba*.<sup>134</sup>

*Rahl al-Başal* was separated from the second neighbouring estate, *al-Janīya* (or *al-Junayya*: Greek Γζεννίας, *Gzennías*), by *Kudyat al-Jummār* (literally 'the hill of the dwarf fan palms'; Greek Κούδτιετ Ἐλζιουμμάρ, *Kóúdtiet Elzioummār*). If Cozzo Galbasa was indeed the site of *Rahl al-Başal*, then *al-Janīya* would presumably have lain to its east, although its site can not yet be identified with any confidence.<sup>135</sup>

The lands of the monastery lay to the west of the Verdura and were contiguous with *Rahl al-Başal* to the east of the river so that, in the boundary description of June 1141, both estates were enclosed within a single circuit. *Rahl al-Başal* lost its distinct identity at an early date, and documents of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries describe a single *feudum* of Troccoli extending on both banks of the river. In 1447, when St. Saviour's granted Troccoli in emphyteusis to Count Antonio de Luna Peralta, the surrounding *feudi* were named as follows: the *feudum Sancti Thomasi* on one side (presumably the south), the *territorium Giraffi* on the west, the *feudi Calamonaci* and the *feudum Salina* on the east, and the *terra et territoria* of Burgio and Caltabellotta to the north.<sup>136</sup> With the exception of St. Thomas, which seems to have disappeared, all the other *feudi* adjoining Troccoli in 1447 can still be traced: Contrade Le Giraffe on the west bank of the river opposite the town of Calamonaci;<sup>137</sup> on the east side of the river, Contrada Calamonaci and Contrada Salina on the southern slopes of Pizzo di Canalicchio;<sup>138</sup> and the towns of Burgio and Caltabellotta to the north. As to the western border of Troccoli, it is most unlikely to have extended beyond the stream running south from Caltabellotta, now known as the Vallone Giorgio di Piazza, because a series of substantial *feudi*, well-documented in the later medieval and early modern period, lay on its western bank, including Misilcassim

134. See below p. 35.

135. Scandaliato 2003, p. 168 and note 31 cites the record of an inquest held in 1304 to settle a dispute between Bishop Bertold of Agrigento and the Archimandite Barnabas over the boundary between the grange of St. George's and the estate of Gennia, presumably Arabic *al-Janīya*. It is possible that this document, ADM pergamenta 186 in Aldo Spati's checklist, might help locate the estate.

136. Scandaliato 2003, p. 171.

137. IGM 266 I S.O. Caltabellotta 33SUB450550.

138. IGM 266 I S.O. Caltabellotta 33SUB500570.

(from Arabic *Manzil Qāsim*), modern Contrada Cassaro.<sup>139</sup>

Our working hypothesis is that the lands of St. George's lay on the west side of the Verdura and stretched westwards for two or three kilometres to the Vallone Giorgio di Piazza; to the north, they were bounded by Cozzo Argione and the ridge on which Caltabellotta sits; to the south, by Contrada Le Giraffe. East of the Verdura, *Raḥl al-Baṣal* sat somewhere on or near Cozzo Galbasa, and its territory stretched from the Vallone Garella in the north, as far east as the *contrade* of Calamonaci and Salina, and, perhaps, as far south as the Vallone Tamburello. If this were to be broadly correct, then the total area of St. George's lands would have amounted to approximately thirty square kilometres (3,000 hectares; 7,400 acres), comprising for the most part well-watered arable lands in the alluvial valley of the Verdura.<sup>140</sup>

#### 6. THE VILLEINS OF ST. GEORGE'S (DOC. 4)

The *jarīda* or register of the names of the heads of households of villeins belonging to St. George's on its lands at Tròccoli and Raḥl al-Baṣal is edited and translated below. The reading, etymology and significance of each name is presented in the notes that accompany the translation, and the discussion that follows is based upon that detailed analysis.<sup>141</sup>

The *jarīda* is known from the authentic, original Arabic register (Doc. 4), and from a Latin translation of it copied in a manuscript attributed to Antonio Amico (1586–1641), now preserved in the Biblioteca Lucchiesiana, Agrigento.<sup>142</sup> While the translator, who was very possibly a Sicilian Jew living in the thirteenth century,<sup>143</sup> possessed a fair general knowledge of Arabic, his errors reveal that he was familiar neither with

139. Attested from 1293: IGM 266 I S.O. Caltabellotta 33SUB410560. Scandaliato 2003, vol. 1, pp. 388, 554. Caracausi 1993, vol. 2, p. 1040.

140. In the nineteenth century, these well-watered lands seem to have been malarial: Amico 1855–1859, vol. 1, p. 186 note 1.

141. To save space and for ease of reference, individual names will be cited by their order in the *jarīda*, e.g. 3a for line 3, column a, etc.

142. MS *Diplomi*, II, 1, 12, B, 41, ff. 34–35. The Latin translation was first published by the late Paolo Collura, Collura 1969–1970. For Amico, see Zapperi 1960.

143. For Sicilian Jews as translators of Arabic documents, see: Bresc 2001, pp. 46–47; Mandalà 2008; Mandalà 2013, pp. 463, 468.



the formulary and script of the Norman *dīwān*, nor with twelfth-century names of places and persons.<sup>144</sup> The Latin translation, in short, is of little help in establishing or interpreting the original Arabic. That is also true of the two editions of the *jarīda* published by Maria Eugenia Gálvez.<sup>145</sup> The copy of the Latin translation recently published by Annliese Nef, with a transcription of the Arabic names made from a microfilm of the original, corrects some of the errors made by Gálvez, but introduces fresh misreadings and misinterpretations.<sup>146</sup> The *jarīda* is in eight parts, as follows:

- I. A brief introduction (ll. 1–2): ‘A *jarīda* [which] confirms the names of the men of *Ṭuruqulish* (Tròccoli).<sup>147</sup> It was written in the month of November in the year five hundred and thirty six, in the fifth indiction [1141 A.D.]’.
- II. The fifty names of the ‘men of *Ṭuruqulish*’ (ll. 3–11).
- III. The fifty names of the ‘men of *Raḥl al-Baṣal*’ (ll. 11–20).
- IV. A note: ‘The total is a hundred men’.
- V. An explanation of the circumstances that led to the addition of the names of the newly commended villeins,<sup>147</sup> who were not listed in the original register, and the stipulation of the *shart* or condition upon which they were included (ll. 21–23):<sup>148</sup> ‘Then, when it was the date of the month of July, in

---

144. e.g. 1, *Tarnacollesi* for *Ṭuruqulish*; 9d, *filius Nibat* for *rabīb*; 11c, *filius Nibo Ramsam* for *rabīb Ramaḍān*; 21, *octobris* for *Iṣṭrīyūn*; 22, *parentum nostrorum vel proximorum* for *tarrārīyati-nā*. See also: 5f, 6c, 8b, 8f, 13a, 16e, 17f, 19d. All these errors can only have been made in transliterating from Arabic into Latin. The published text also contains other minor slips, mostly attributable to muddling minims, which can only have been made in copying the Latin: e.g. 25a, *Alafuchi* for *Alafrichi*; 24f, *Attrinesi* for *Attunesi*, etc.

145. Gálvez 1991; Gálvez 1995. The second corrects some of the errors of the first; the many errors remaining in the second are noted in our edition below. Neither contributes to the interpretation of the document.

146. Nef 2011, pp. 533–535.

147. For the *mul*s (the *paroikoi exografous* of the Greek text) see above note 68.

148. Johns 2002, pp. 139–140, and 107, 119, 120, 121, 123, 126, 127, 128, 142, 166.

Indiction 4 [1141 A.D.], you petitioned us, when we were in Agrigento – may God protect it! – concerning these named persons, registered in this document <sup>/22</sup> who were in your possession as newly commended villeins (*muls*). And we granted them to you on the condition that if any of them should appear in our *jarā'id* or in the *jarā'id* of our landholders (*tarrārīyati-nā*), he shall be taken from you. <sup>/23</sup> And these are their names:'

VI. The fifteen names of the *muls* (ll. 24–25).

VII. A note: 'The total is fifteen men *muls*' (l. 26).

VIII. The Greek monocondyllic signature of Roger II (l. 27).

The *jarīda* is the earliest document issued by the royal *dīwān* to survive that is written only in Arabic. Unlike all the other surviving royal *jarā'id*, the names in the register are written in Arabic alone, without the interlinear Greek transliteration of the names that became a standard feature of the Sicilian *jarā'id* from 1144–1145 onwards.<sup>149</sup> The terse introduction (ll. 1–3) and explanatory note (ll. 21–23) of this *jarīda* is much closer to the style of the comital registers of the 1090s and early 1100s than to the *jarā'id* issued by King Roger and his successors,<sup>150</sup> which may indicate that the *platea* of 1097–98 was taken as a model for the *jarīda* written 1141.

While the list of the *muls* or newly commended villeins was apparently compiled specially for this *jarīda*,<sup>151</sup> the source of the lists of the men of Tròccoli and *Rahl al-Baṣal* is less clear. It is possible that they are exact copies of the lists of the same populations in the *plateia* issued to St. George's by Count Roger in 1097–1098, in much the same way that the *jarā'id* renewed in 1145 for the church of Catania listed exactly the same individuals who had been named in the registers issued

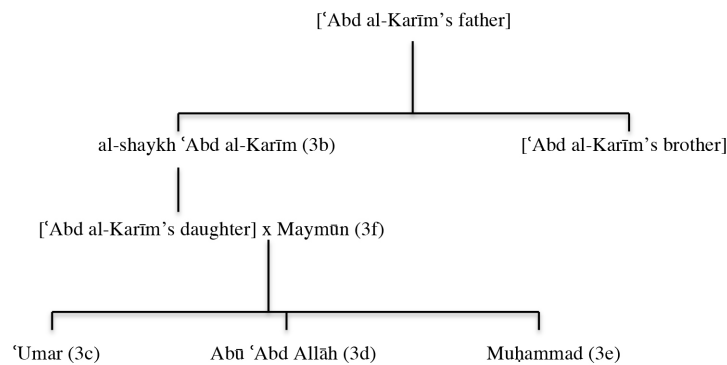
149. Johns 2002, pp. 115–143.

150. Cusa 1868–1882, no. 6, pp. 1–3, 695–696, 7, pp. 541–549, 696; Becker 2013, nos. 49–50, pp. 197–201; Guillou 1963, no. 3, pp. 51–55. Johns 2002, pp. 301–302, Appendix 1, nos. 1–6 and 8.

151. Appendix, Doc. 2, ll. 32–33, p. 38: 'Moreover, I also confirm to you the fifteen *paroikoi exographous* with all their possessions, whose names are inscribed in your *plateia*, which has just been copied and renewed, and which contains the *katonoma* of your other villeins whom you already possessed'.

by Count Roger in 1095.<sup>152</sup> Although the copy of a register of men, most of whom must have been dead, would have been useless to the monks of St. George's, from the perspective of the royal *dīwān*, the very existence of that copy might have to some extent dissuaded the monks from misappropriating other villeins belonging to the king or his barons.<sup>153</sup>

On the other hand, there are clear traces in the *jarīda* of 1141 that it was compiled from an earlier register, which may very well have been Count Roger's *plateia* of 1097–1098. The Sicilian *jarā'id* were periodically updated by noting the names of the heads of households newly formed out of the parent households listed in a previous register. The names of the heads of such new households, sometimes called *neogamoi* or *mutazawwijūn*, i.e. 'newly wedded', are distinguished in by the manner in which their relationship to their parent households is indicated. The name of the head of the parent household, or of his successor, is always given first, and the names of the *mutazawwijūn*



follow, together with an indication of their family relationship.<sup>154</sup> Thus, amongst the men of Tròccoli, *al-shaykh* 'Abd al-Karīm (3b) is the head of the parent household from which four new households have been formed, as in the diagram above.<sup>155</sup>

152. Johns 2002, pp. 119–21, 140–43.

153. Johns 2002, pp. 140–142.

154. Johns 2002, pp. 46–51, 57, 59, 108, 127–128, 141, 158.

155. Other *mutazawwijūn* include: Tròccoli, 4a, 4d, 5a, 6d, 7c, 8d, 9a, 9d, 10b; Raḥl al-Baṣal, 11b, 12b, 14c, 14e, 14f, 16f, 18c.

While it is not impossible that the entries for the *mutazawwijūn* households in Doc. 4 had simply been copied from Count Roger's *platea*, it is more likely that they instead record changes that had occurred within the community of villeins since 1097–1098, and that were officially registered by the royal *dīwān* for the first time in 1141. This might suggest that the monks of St. George's had themselves kept their registers of villeins up-to-date by using the *mutazawwij*-system. This possibility is more likely by the appearance of one *mutazawwij* household (24b) amongst the *mul*s, as if the monks had themselves kept a register of their newly commended villeins, even before they were officially registered as belonging to the monastery by the royal *dīwān*.

In his publication of the Latin translation of this register, Paolo Collura, building upon a hypothesis first raised by Carlo Alberto Garufi, and then reformulated by Mario Caravale, suggested that this *jarīda* demonstrated that the renewals of 1144–45 were the culmination of a process of reform that had begun in 1141.<sup>156</sup> His argument rested upon two foundations. First is the fact that the 1141 *jarīda*, like the *jarā'id* of 1145, is the updated renewal of an earlier register. This is undeniable, but the earliest surviving Sicilian *jarīda*, issued by Count Roger to the church of Palermo in February 1095, is similarly an updated renewal of an earlier register.<sup>157</sup> Indeed, the *mutazawwij*-system for updating registers of population inevitably meant that that each and every *jarīda* that was genuinely renewed (and not merely copied verbatim and reissued) was in effect also updated. The second foundation of Collura's argument is the similarity of the *shart* or conditional clause used in this *jarīda* — that if the name of any of the *mul*s listed was subsequently to be discovered in the king's registers or those of his barons he would be removed from St. George's (l. 22) — to the *shurūt* in the *jarā'id* of 1145. That there is such a resemblance is again undeniable, but it stems from the fact that both are modelled upon the conditional clauses used in Greek registers in south Italy and Sicily during the late eleventh and early twelfth century,<sup>158</sup> and not because the reforms of 1144–1145 began at St. George's. In fact, the 1141 *jarīda* displays none of the most

---

156. Garufi 1928, pp. 66–67; Caravale 1966, pp. 188–199; Collura 1969–1970, pp. 257–258.

157. Johns 2002, pp. 46–51.

158. Johns 2002, pp. 54, 60, 120, 121, 126, 128, 139–140; von Falkenhausen 2012, 545–548; von Falkenhausen 2013, pp. 59–61.

conspicuous features of the renewals of 1145 — the elaborate Arabic *narratio* and *dispositio*, and the interlinear transliteration of the Arabic names into Greek — and there is no reason to regard it as the first of a series of renewals that was to be completed in 1144–1145.

The detailed analysis of the names listed in the *jarīda* yields data that may be used to discuss the social and economic condition of the villeins of St. George's. To begin with demography, 115 households of villeins were registered upon the 30 km<sup>2</sup> held by St. George's at Tròccoli and *Rahl al-Başal*. The households registered may well have constituted the entire population of these estates. Assuming an average size of household of 4.5 persons,<sup>159</sup> the total population of the lands of St. George's in 1141 would have been about 520 inhabitants. The density of 17.3 inhabitants per km<sup>2</sup> is low for good agricultural land in the mid twelfth century and, at 26 ha per household, the average size of landholding is correspondingly high.<sup>160</sup>

The lands of St. George's are likely to have produced a significant surplus, as is demonstrated by the following calculations which, needless to say, are purely illustrative and not historically accurate. The average household of 4.5 persons would have consumed approximately 10,500 calories per day.<sup>161</sup> Perhaps as much as 25% of those would have come from *idām*, Latin *conpanagium*, that which was eaten with bread, in unknown proportions: vegetables, fruit, dairy products, oil, meat, preserved fish, and possibly wine. The remaining 75% of the household's daily calories (7,875) are likely to have come from bread and other farinaceous products, mostly derived from wheat.<sup>162</sup> Given that

---

159. Sakellariou 2012, pp. 100–101. Goitein calculated that the average size of the family of a breadwinner amongst the Rabbanite community of Fuṣṭāṭ was six persons Goitein 1967–1993, vol. 2, p. 140.

160. These figures may be compared to those that may be deduced from the Aragonese tax-return of 1277, in which Tròccoli is assessed at an allocation of 16 onze. It is conventional to assume an average quota of 6 tari per household (e.g. Bresc 1986 giving 80 households, 360 inhabitants, and density of 8.3 per km<sup>2</sup>. However, there are persuasive arguments that, instead, an average quota of 3 tari per household should be applied (Epstein 1992, pp. 36–55) which would give 160 households, 720 inhabitants, and a density of 16.6 per km<sup>2</sup>.

161. Foxhall and Forbes 1982, pp. 48, 49: a household of 6 consumes approximately 15,500 calories per day.

162. This ratio of bread to other foodstuffs is based upon ration scales for the

1kg of wheat produces approximately 3,000 calories,<sup>163</sup> each household would have consumed approximately 1 tonne of wheat per annum.<sup>164</sup> In twelfth-century Sicily, average wheat yields were probably in the range of 1 to 1.5 tonnes per hectare,<sup>165</sup> so that, allowing for a three-year crop rotation and after deducting seed and taxes, a household would have required less than 5 ha to provide its staple dietary needs. In other words, 20% of the lands of St. George's would have been more than sufficient for the subsistence needs of its villeins. The number of monks and dependents resident at St. George's is likely to have been too small to have had a significant impact upon the agricultural surplus produced from its lands.

Relatively few of the names in the *jarīda* derive from occupations or professions. While it cannot be automatically assumed that they indicate the bearer's current occupation, they may nonetheless evoke something of the communities' social and economic structure. Although most of the villeins must have been engaged in one form of agriculture or another, only two names refer to agricultural occupations: 'the goatherd' (15b) and 'the son of the donkey-driver' (17c). Crafts are better represented: three weavers (8c, 8e, 15d), *al-Ḥarīrī* being here, as in the other Sicilian *jarā'id*, the commonest professional *laqab*; a sawyer (3a, 4a), and possibly a blacksmith (13a) and a needle-maker (5b). There may have been an apothecary (6f) at Tröccoli, and both estates had at least one educated man — *al-mu'addib* — possibly to be understood as teachers of the Qur'ān (4f, 4e, 16c, 17c, 18a) — the manner in which two teachers are given the *laqab* as a title, coming before or instead of the *ism*, suggests that this really was their occupation (17c, 18a). 'The son of the muezzin' (14b) may indicate that there was a mosque at *Raḥl al-Baṣal*. That two individuals bearing the title of *al-shaykh*, 'the elder' (3b, 4c, 12c, 12e), are listed amongst the first few names registered at both Tröccoli and *Raḥl al-Baṣal* suggests that they may have played a special role, perhaps as the representatives of their respective communities.

---

Roman army from sixth-century papyri: Jones 1964, vol. 2, p. 629; vol. 3, pp. 119, 192. See also Goitein 1967–1993, vol. 4, pp. 244–253.

163. Foxhall and Forbes 1982; Braudel 1981, vol. 1, pp. 129, 133.

164. Goitein 1967–1993, vol. 4, p. 235: 'Twelve irdabbs [approx. 840kg] per year ... seem to have been the quantity of wheat needed for an average middle-class household'.

165. Estimate based on yields given by Bresc 1986, pp. 121–125.

Most, and very possibly all, of those named appear to have been Muslims. There are no explicitly Christian names,<sup>166</sup> and only one name might suggest descent from a Christian father.<sup>167</sup> All of the names could have been born by Muslims, and twenty-two names are theophoric.<sup>168</sup> Twenty-three individuals bear names referring to the Prophet Muḥammad and his family.<sup>169</sup> Three other names could have been given only by Muslims.<sup>170</sup> There is perhaps more than just a hint of Shī'ism: 'Alī is the most popular *ism*,<sup>171</sup> and the names *al-shaykh* Ja'far (4c) and 'Abd al-Muḥassin (or al-Muḥsin: 7f) are more likely to have been born by Shī'īs than Sunnīs. On the other hand, the popularity of the names of the early caliphs, conventionally avoided by Shī'īs, may attest to the presence of Sunnīs.<sup>172</sup>

The names in the register are particularly informative as to the geographical origins of their bearers. Only five individuals have *nisbas* that indicate a connection with other places in Sicily: the neighbouring estates of *al-Janīya* (15c) and *Burj al-Bīfarī* (15f), the nearby town of Caltabellotta (16e), the estate of Cianciana (6a) 20km to the east, and the relatively distant town of Cinisi (18f) on the northwest coast. In contrast, no less than thirty-eight names suggest that their bearers had a connection with North Africa. In the registers of Tròccoli and *Raḥl al-Baṣal* are found the *nisbas al-Miṣrātī* (9d, 12d), indicating a connection either with the town or district of Miṣrāta in northwest Libya, or with the Miṣrāta section of the Berber confederation of Hawwāra, and *al-Ṣanhājī* (9e) and *al-Hawwārī* (10c), both Berber confederations. In addition, approximately twenty of the other names, especially the *kunyas*, may

166. But see 16e and 24d for names that could have been borne by Christians or Muslims.

167. Ibn Raymūn (14a, 17e and 18b), all possibly referring to the same father, whose name is presumably Arabicised from Raimundus, Παῖμοῦνδος, Raymond, or similar.

168. 3b, 3d, 5b, 9b, 9f, 10d, 12c, 12d, 12f, 13b, 14b, 14d, 14e, 15b, 15e, 15b, 16e, 16f, 18c, 19c, 24b, and 24i. Other: 18c, 19c

169. 3a, 3e, 4a, 4c, 5c, 6c, 6f, 7f, 8e, 9c, 9d, 10a, 11b, 13a, 14c, 15a, 16e, 17f, 19b, 24a, 24e, 24f, and 24h.

170. 4b, 4f and 15d.

171. 3a, 4a, 6c, 6f, 10a, 13a, 15a and 24f; see also 9c. Also his sons, Hasan (8e, 14c, 16e and 24a) and Ḥusayn (11b and 19b).

172. Abū Bakr (5c, 5e, 6a, 7a, 10d, 25a), 'Umar (5f, 7e, 10c, 12e, 13d, 24c, 25b), and 'Uthmān (6e).

indicate that the bearers were Berbers.<sup>173</sup> *Maymūn al-Farṭās* (8b), literally ‘the Mangy’, whose *laqab* is formed from a Berber loanword, might suggest that Berber was actually spoken. Their North African origins are most evident for the newly commended villeins or *mul*s, amongst whom thirteen out of fifteen are identified as coming from Ifrīqīya: six with the *nisba* al-Ifrīqī, probably indicating a connection with the capital city of Ifrīqīya, al-Mahdīya, (24d, 24g, 25a, 25b, 25c, 25d) and remainder from Gabès (24e), Sfax (24a, 24b), Tripoli (24h, 24i), Tunis (24f) and Zuwāra (25e); in addition, the *ism* *Hilāl* (25f) possibly suggests a link with the Arab confederation of Banū Hilāl that spread throughout the Maghrib in the eleventh century.

Although North African and Berber names are scattered throughout the other Sicilian *jarā'id*, none has such a conspicuous concentration of Maghribī names. The reasons for this are likely to have been complex. As has already been seen, the households registered at Tròccoli and *Raḥl al-Başal* were probably the descendants of the villeins granted to St. George’s by Count Roger in 1097–98. Their origins must therefore be traced back to the period of Islamic rule, when large numbers of North Africans and Berbers settled along the southwest coast of Sicily, from Marsala to Licata. In contrast, the fifteen families of *mul*s had recently arrived and had been newly commended by St. George’s as villeins. That they appear to have been unknown to the royal *dīwān* before 1141 indicates that they were neither slaves nor prisoners of war, but rather free immigrants who had chosen to cross the Sicilian Canal and place themselves in the service of a Christian monastery. It is tempting to link their emigration to the severe famine that is said to have decimated the population of Ifrīqīya from 1141–1142 that reached its peak with an outbreak of plague during the winter of 1147–1148. Although Arabic sources cite this disaster as the cause of mass emigration to Sicily, the *mul*s of St. George’s are unlikely to have been amongst the *sharīfs* and educated urban elite who are said to have been the emigrants, and they must have arrived earlier than November 1141, before the famine struck.<sup>174</sup> While Muslims would not have voluntarily crossed to Sicily

---

173. 4b, 5b, 5f, 6b, 7a, 8b, 8f, 9a, 9c, 9f, 10a, 12a, 12b, 12f, 13a, 14d, 16a, 19b, 20a and 20b.

174. Idris 1962, vol. 1, p. 355 and the sources there cited in note 291. See also al-Maqrīzī 1991, vol. 3, p. 20: ‘When high prices and civil disorders fell upon the Maghrib, there emigrated to him [i.e. to Roger] a vast galaxy of



and bound themselves in service to a Christian monastery had not conditions in Ifrīqīya been particularly harsh, they must also have been attracted by the prospect of a better life on the lands of St. George's which, as has been shown, were sparsely settled and underexploited.

## APPENDIX: THE DOCUMENTS

### DOCUMENT 1

Sciacca. June, 6649 A.M., 536 A.H., Indiction IV (1141 A.D.)

Figs. 2–3

Original: Toledo, Hospital de S. Juan Bautista (Tavera), Calle Vega Baia, Archivo General de la Fundación Casa Ducal de Medinaceli, Fondo Messina, no. 1104 (S 796) *recto*.

Copies: Doc. 2 (below) the final, official, and authenticated original of the document. Doc. 3 (below) an official, *dīwānī* copy of Doc. 2.

Editions: inedited.

Bibliography: Benedetto Rocco in Fallico *et al.* 1994, pp. 160, 161, doc. and fig. 30. Johns 2002, pp. 58, 102–106, 107, 181, 208, 222, 276, 304–305. Nef 2011, p. 642.

Maximum dimensions: height 730mm (left), 765mm (right); width 504mm (top), 711mm (bottom edge, cut at an angle).

Notes on *verso*: Top left corner; pencil; 20<sup>th</sup> century: *S. 776*. Top left corner (a little to the right of the last note); pencil; 20<sup>th</sup> century: *S. 776*. Top, towards left-hand side; brown ink; unknown date: *K*. Centre, towards top, left side; brown ink, very faded and faint; 17<sup>th</sup> century?: *scripture sup(er) feudo / de Troccoli*. Centre (vertically; very faint and legible only with the Wood lamp): τὰ σίνορα τ(ὸν) Τρόκλ(ων). Centre (upside down); dark brown ink; (14th century ?): τὸ ἴσον τοῦ χριστοβ(ου)λλ(ου) τοῦ ῥηγ(ὸς) Πογ(ε)ρ(ί)ου διὰ τ(ὰς) Τρόκκουλ(ας). Centre (upside down), immediately below Greek; pale brown ink, now

---

emirs, judges, lawyers, men of letters and poets'.

very faint and legible only under the Wood's lamp; 14th century?: ... *[sigi]lli aur(ei) Reg(is) Roger(ii) pro Trocc(u)li*. Superimposed on previous note; dark brown ink; 17th century?: *sine bulla*. Centre (upside down), immediately below previous note; black ink, extremely rude hand, angular, tremulous letters; late 17<sup>th</sup> century?: *di sancti iorgi di trocculi*. Lower left corner; black ink; 20th century: 1104. Lower left, to right of previous note; black ink; 20th century: 1104. Lower left corner, on white adhesive label; black ink: 30.

Documents mentioned: (1) *Sigillia*, 6606 A.M. (1097–1098 A.D.) *Deperditum*. After having conquered Sicily from the Hagarenes, in memory of the Christians who died in the war, Roger I founds the monastery of St. George's near Sciacca, and endows it with lands, the boundaries of which are described. (2) *Plateia*, [November 536 A.H., Indiction V (1141 A.D.)] = Doc. 4 (below).

Condition: Fine, thin parchment; often too thin and slightly perished, with holes and tears especially on the folds (now repaired). No trace of seal. There is one large tear in the Arabic text, at the right hand half of ll. 38–39 (repaired). For storage, the document was folded into half width-wise twice, then length-wise twice, and finally the bottom flap was folded over.

Scripts: To prepare the parchment for writing, the two side margins were formed by folding; these are respected by the Greek scribe, but the Arabic text observes only the right-hand margin and continues up to the left-hand edge of the parchment. The Greek script is written in the 'style of Reggio' by a professional scribe,<sup>175</sup> but not the same as wrote Doc. No. 2 or Doc. No. 3; he may possibly the same who wrote the fragmentary charter of Roger II, Indiction VI [1142 A.D.], in Patti (Archivio capitolare, no. 15: Collura 1955, p. 584, no. 58, pp. 609–614, and pl. after p. 624). The scribe used a fine reed with a rich, dark brown to black ink that has scarcely faded but does show some signs of wear. There are few abbreviations and very few grammatical and orthographical errors. The Arabic script is an unusually plain copy-hand, with vertical *hastae*, no short vowels, and few points; whenever the *fā'* and *qāf* are pointed, it is in the *maghribī* style. The script is without calligraphic flourishes, except only at the end of the last line (l. 41) —

---

175. Degni 2002; Re 2005.

note the extended tail of the terminal *qāf* of *ghuliqa*, and the elaborate trefoil *hā'* of *[inta]h[ā]* conventionally used to signal the end of a text. The Arabic is written with a wider reed than is used for the Greek, and with a distinctly different, soft, fawny brown ink that has faded heavily, leaving a darker edge to the lines that can be seen even with the naked eye but more clearly when magnified. There are two interlinear interpolations: one, at the end of l. 38, is written with the same reed and in the same ink as the Arabic text; the other, towards the middle of l. 39, is written with a fine reed and in a dark brown ink, that are so close to those used by the Greek scribe as to suggest that the two scribes may have collaborated very closely in the production of the bilingual document.

+Ρογέριος ἐν Χ(ριστ)ῳ τῷ Θ(ε)ῳ εὐσεβὴς κραταιὸς ῥήξ + /<sup>2</sup>

+ Τοῦ ἐνθέου κράτους μου κ(α)τὰ τὸν Ἰούνιον μῆνα τῆς ἐνεστώσης τετάρτης ἱνδικτιῶνος τὴν γύραν παρὰ τὴν Σικελίαν ποιούμενου καὶ εἰς τὴν λεγομένη(ν) /<sup>3</sup> Σιάκκαν καταντήσαντος, ὑπῆντησας ἡμῖν σὺ ὁ τῆς ἡμετέρ(ας) μεγάλης (καὶ) περιβλέπτου μονῆς τοῦ Σ(ωτῆ)ρ(ο)ς τοῦ Ἀκρωτῆρος Μεσήν(ης) τιμῷτατο(ς) ἀρχιμανδρ(ί)τ(ης) κύρ Λουκάς ὑποδει=/<sup>4</sup> κνύων ἡμῖν τὰ διὰ χειρῶν σου σιγίλλια τῆς τοῦ Ἀγίου Γεωργίου τῶν Τρόκλων μονῆς, ἅπερ εἰς αὐτὴν ὁ μακαριώτ(α)τ(ος) (καὶ) ἀοιδιμο(ς) τοῦ κράτους μου π(α)τῆρ ἐποίησεν ἐν ἔτει ὡς ἐν αὐτοῖς /<sup>5</sup> τοῖς σιγίλλιοις γέγραπται ,ςχς' ἱνδικτιῶνος) ς'. Ἄπερ ἐνώπιον ἡμῶν ἀναγνωσθῆναι κελεύσαντες εὖρομεν οὕτω διαλαμβάνοντα· ὡς ἤδη τὴν νῆσον τῆς Σικελίας /<sup>6</sup> Θ(εο)ῦ συμμαχία καὶ βοήθεια ἅπασαν ὑποτάξας ὁ μακαριώτ(α)τ(ος) δηλονότι π(α)τῆρ μου οὐ τὴν τυχοῦσαν φροντίδα ἐνέθετο περὶ τῆς τῶν εὐαγῶ[ν] (καὶ) ἀγί(ων) οἴκων ἀνοικοδομῆς τὲ καὶ /<sup>7</sup> ἀνεγέρσεως μᾶλλον δὲ μοναστηρίων τῶν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀθέων σαθρωθέντων Ἀγαρηνῶν καὶ περὶ τ(ῆς) τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς ὑπηρετούντων[ν ἀδελφ]ῶν προνοίας (καὶ) διοικήσεως, /<sup>8</sup> ὡς ἂν ἐκτενέστερον ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐ[ν αὐτῇ] τῇ νήσῳ τελευτησάντων στρατιωτῶν ἐπὶ ἀναρρύσει τῶν Χριστιαν(ῶν) ὑπερεύχωνται ἔτι (καὶ) καθο[λικῆς εἰρήνης] Χριστιανῶν, πρὸ(ς) δὲ (καὶ) ὑπὲρ τῶν [αὐτοῦ] /<sup>9</sup> ἀφέσε(ως) ἀμαρτιῶν. Ὅθεν μετὰ τῶν ἄλλ(ων) καὶ εἰς τὴν τῆς Σιάκκ(ας) περίοικον τὸν προρηθέντ(α) τοῦ ἀγίου μεγαλ(ο)μάρτ(υ)ρ(ος) Γεωργ(ίου) ἀνοικοδομήσ(ας) νεῶν καὶ εἰς μοναστήριον κ(α)ταστήσ(ας) αὐτ(ὸν) /<sup>10</sup> ὑπὲρ μνήμης τῶν ἐκεῖσε ἀναιρεθέντων Χριστιαν(ῶν), ἐδωρήσατο ἐν αὐτῷ τὰ ἀρκοῦντα χωράφια, δηλώσας ἐν αὐτοῖς (καὶ) τῶν τούτ(ων) περιορισμόν. Ἡμεῖς οὖν τούτ(ων) ἀκούσαντ(ες) /<sup>11</sup> ἀκριβῶς καὶ τῶν καθέξῃς ἐγγεγραμμέν(ων) εἰς τὰ

177. The  $\delta$  is written above the  $\tau$ . In Sicilian Greek,  $\delta$  is generally used to transliterate Arabic *dāl* but  $\tau$  is frequently used instead (Caracausi 1983, p. 58); the use of both may indicate gemination as Arabic *kudya* was transformed into Sicilian *cúddia*, *cúddia*, etc. (*ibid.*, pp. 59–60, 263–264).

ποταμ(όν) εἰς τὴν πηγὴν τὴν λεγομ(έ)ν(ην) τ(ῆς) Ἀπιδί(ας), (καὶ) ἀνέρχεται τὸ ρυάκιν ρυάκιν ἄχρι τῆς κεφαλ(ῆς) τοῦ ἵπποδρόμ(ου) τοῦ λεγομ(έ)ν(ου) Ἑτταχρίκε κ(α)τὰ νότον, (καὶ) κ(α)τέρχ(ε)τ(αι) τὸν χείμαρρ(ον) χείμαρρ(ον) <sup>/23</sup> ἄχρι τοῦ ἀμπέ(λου) τοῦ υἱοῦ Ἰάχλεφ καὶ περὰ τὸν ποταμ(όν) (καὶ) ἀποδίδει εἰς τ(ῆν) Κοῦδτιε<sup>178</sup> Ἐλάλεζ κ(α)τὰ τὸ μέρος) τοῦ νότου, (καὶ) ἀπέρχεται εἰς τ(ὸ) βουνακάριν τὸ λεγόμενον Κοῦτιε Ἄλιε, καὶ ἀπέρχεται <sup>/24</sup> τὰ βουνακάρια βουνακάρια ἄχρι τῆς πηγῆς τ(ῆς) λεγομέν(ης) Ἄϊν Ἐλμουχίδ (καὶ) ἀνέρχεται τὴν χέτην χέτην ἄχρι τῆς κούλλες, καὶ κατέρχεται (καὶ) περὰ τὴν ὁδὸν (καὶ) ἀποδίδει εἰς τ(ῆν) Κοῦδτιε<sup>179</sup> <sup>/25</sup> Ἐλζιουμμάρ, ὃ ἐστὶ μετὰξὺ τ(ῆς) Γζεννίας (καὶ) τοῦ Ῥάχαλ Ἐλβάσαλ, (καὶ) κατέρχεται εἰς τὸ ἄκρος τοῦ ὄρους ἄχρι τοῦ πύργου τοῦ Ἐλβείφερη<sup>180</sup> (καὶ) συγκλείει. Ταῦτα τοίνυν καθὼς ἀνωτ(έ)ρ(ω) <sup>/26</sup> εἴρηται (καὶ) περιορίζεται ἔστερξα (καὶ) ἐδωρησάμην εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν τοῦ Ἀγ(ίου) Γεωργίου Τρόκλ(ων) μονὴν τὴν ὑπὸ σὲ πρὸς γεωργίαν τῶν τὲ οἰκείων ὑμῶν ζευγαρί(ων) (καὶ) τῶν τῶν ὑμετέρ(ων) ἀν(θρώπ)ων. <sup>/27</sup> Διὰ δὲ τὸ μὴ ἔχειν νομὴν τὰ ὑμέτερα ζῶα, ἔστερξα ὑμῖν (καὶ) ἐπεβραβευσάμην ὅπως ἀκωλύτ(ως) καὶ ἀνεμποδίστ(ως) (καὶ) ἀναργύρ(ως) (καὶ) πάσης δεκατίας ἐκτὸς (καὶ) λοιπ(ῆς) πάσ(ης) ἐπιηρίας <sup>/28</sup> νέμονται εἰς τὴν τ(ῆς) Σιάκκ(ας) διακράτησιν ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκείων ὑμῶν πρόβατα χίλια καὶ ἀγελάδια διακόσια (καὶ) μόνον. Ἐπὶ τούτοις δὲ στέργω ὑμῖν καὶ τοὺς δεκαπέντε παροί=<sup>/29</sup> κους τοὺς ἐξογράφους [σὺν πᾶσι τοῖς πρ]οσοῦσιν αὐτοῖς, ὧν τὰ ὀνόματα ἐγράφησαν εἰς τὴν ἀρτίως μεταγραφείσαν (καὶ) ἀνακαιν[ισθεῖσαν] πλατεῖαν ὑμῶν ἐνθα ἐστὶ τὸ κα=<sup>/30</sup> τόνομα τῶν ἐτέρων ὑμῶν [ἀνθρώπων τῶν παλαιῶν]. Ταῦτα τοίνυν οὕτως ὡς εἴρηται στέργω καὶ ἐπιβρα[βεύομαι τῇ εἰρημένη ἁγία μονῇ ὑπὲρ ψυχικῆς ἡμῶν σωτηρίας καὶ τῶν γεννη=] <sup>/31</sup> τῶρων ἡμ(ῶν) τοῦ ἔχειν αὐτὰ ἀπὸ γε καὶ εἰς τὸ ἐφεξῆς μέχρι τερμάτ(ων) αἰώνων ἀκωλύτ(ως) (καὶ) ἀνεμποδίστ(ως) παρ' ἐμοῦ καὶ τῶν ἐμῶν κληρονόμ[ων] (καὶ) διαδόχ(ων) ὡς προδεδωρημένα <sup>/32</sup> καὶ προαφιερωθέντα εἰς τὴν τοιαύτην ἁγίαν μονὴν παρὰ τοῦ ἀοιδίμ(ου) π(ατ)ρ(ὸς) τοῦ κράτους μου, μένειν τὲ ταύτην μετὰ τῶν ἀνωτ(έ)ρ(ω) πάντων ἐν πάσῃ γαλ[ήνῃ] (καὶ) ἐλευθερία καθὼς αὐτὴν ἐτυπώσατ(ο) <sup>/33</sup> διὰ τοῦ σιγῖλλ(ίου) αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τε ἀρχ(ι)επισκ(ό)π(ων), ἐπισκ(ό)π(ων) (καὶ) παντὸς ἱερατ(ι)κ(οῦ) κ(α)ταλόγου ἔτι τὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρχόντων ἡμ(ῶν), στρατηγῶν τὲ καὶ λοιπ(ῶν) ἄλλων πάντων ἐκ πάσ(ης) συνηθείας

178. The δ is written above the τ. See note 177 above.

179. The δ is written above the τ. See note 177 above.

180. The β is written above the π. See note 176 above.

/<sup>34</sup> ἢ ἐπηρείας τινὸς ἄχρις ἐνὸς ὀβολοῦ, μηδενὸς τολμῶντος ὄχλησιν τινὰ ἢ ἐναντίωσιν αὐτῇ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀνωτ(έ)ρ(ω) γραφέντ(ων) ἢ κενотоμίαν ποιήσασθαι. Εἰ γάρ τις τοῦτο τολμήσειε /<sup>35</sup> δράσαι οὐ μικρὰν τὴν παρὰ τοῦ κράτους μου ὑποστήσεται ἀγανάκτησιν καὶ τὸν κίνδυνον ὥς παραβάτης τῆς ἡμετέρας κελεύσεως καὶ μᾶλλον ἐναντιούμενος τῶν ψυχικῶν /<sup>36</sup> (καὶ) ἀμεταθέτ(ων) ἡμ(ῶν) δωρημάτ(ων). Διὸ (καὶ) πρὸς(ς) περισσωτ(έ)ρ(αν) πίστ(ω)σιν(ιν) (καὶ) ἀσφάλει(αν) τὸ παρ(ὸν) σιγῆλλ(ιον) τοῦ κράτ(ους) ἡμ(ῶν) γραφέν καὶ τῇ διὰ χρυσοῦ βούλλῃ ἡμ(ῶν) σφραγισθ(έν) ἐπεδόθη σοι τῷ τιμῶτάτῳ καὶ /<sup>37</sup> ὀσιωτάτῳ κ(ῦρ) Λουκᾶ τῷ τῆς περιβλέπτου μεγάλης μον(ῆς) ἀρχιμανδρίτη (καὶ) πᾶσι τοῖς μετέπειτα κ(α)τὰ διαδοχὴν ἐν μη(νὶ) (καὶ) ἰν(δικτιῶνι) τοῖς (προ)γεγραμμένοις ἐν ἔτει ,ζχμθ' /<sup>38</sup>

حدها دبور<sup>181</sup> من الاختين ينزل الواد الواد<sup>182</sup> على الايمن الى شجرة غتشانة<sup>183</sup>  
وينزل الواد الواد<sup>184</sup> الى غار اللوباني ويطلع الحارك الحارك الى قبله<sup>185</sup> بني<sup>186</sup>  
حمدون حتى يصل الى المحجة ويحنى<sup>187</sup> مع المحجة المحجة حتى يصل الى غدير  
بن<sup>188</sup> منصور<sup>189</sup> الى صنت بريارة السفلانية<sup>190</sup> الى اندر بن<sup>191</sup> الررون<sup>192</sup> ثم ينزل

181. Classical Arabic (henceforth CA) دبورا. See Hopkins 1984, pp. 160–162, paras. 165–166 and notes, on the frequency of the absence of *tanwīn alif* in other non-CA varieties of Arabic. See below, note 195.
182. CA الوادي الوادي. On the absence of final *-yā'* on such definite forms, against CA, see Blau 1965, pp. 198–199, para. 100.3 and notes.
183. The word is fully pointed, with a *shīn*: compare Doc. 2, l. 39 and Doc. 3, l. 39, and see above p. 7 note 61 and below pp. 39–40 note 257.
184. CA الوادي الوادي. See above note 182.
185. The *qāf* is indicated by only one point above the loop, in the maghribī style.
186. CA بني.
187. CA يحنى.
188. CA ابن.
189. منصور is written above the line in the same ink by the same hand.
190. The *fā'* is indicated by one point below the loop, in the maghribī style. See the literature cited in Blau 1965, p. 231, para. 123 for comparanda and notes on the *nisba* ending *-ānī*, which is much more frequently attested in vernacular forms of the language than CA.
191. CA ابن, as Doc. 2, l. 41.
192. *Sic.* Read al-Razūn: see Doc. 2, ll. 19 and 40, Doc. 3, ll. 20, and above p. 8 note 46.

الى خندق<sup>193</sup> المنستيري ثم يمر<sup>194</sup> قليل<sup>195</sup> الى كدية الجمار<sup>196</sup> وينزل الخندق<sup>197</sup>  
 الخندق<sup>198</sup> حتى يصل الى المحجة الكبيرة الحاملة من الشاقة وينزل الواد<sup>199</sup>  
 الى عين<sup>40</sup>/ الانجاسة<sup>200</sup> ويطلع الخندق الخندق الى ر[ا]س<sup>201</sup> التحريكة<sup>202</sup> من  
 جهة القبلة<sup>203</sup> وينزل المجرى المجرى حتى يصل الى<sup>204</sup> جنان بن<sup>205</sup> يخلف<sup>206</sup>  
 يعدى<sup>207</sup> الواد<sup>208</sup> ويخرج الى كدية الاعلاج من جهة القبلة<sup>209</sup> ثم الى الكدية العالية  
 يتمادا<sup>210</sup> الكدية الكدية<sup>41</sup>/ الى عين المخيض<sup>211</sup> ويطلع الحارك الحارك ويصل الى  
 القلّة<sup>212</sup> وينزل ويعدى<sup>213</sup> المحجة الى ان يصل الى كدية الجمار<sup>214</sup> التي بين الجنية

- 
193. The *qāf* is indicated in the *maghribī* style.  
 194. The word يمر is written above the line in a darker ink, possibly written with a finer pen, perhaps indicating that it had been omitted from the first draft and subsequently added.  
 195. CA قليلاً. See note 181 above.  
 196. The *jīm* is clearly pointed and the *ḍamma* supplied. Compare Doc. 2, ll. 20 and 40 and Doc. 3, ll. 20 and 41, and see above p. 8 note 48.  
 197. The *qāf* is indicated in the *maghribī* style.  
 198. The *qāf* is indicated in the *maghribī* style.  
 199. CA الوادي الوادي. See above note 182.  
 200. *Sic*, but see Doc. 2, l. 41 and Doc. 3, l. 41.  
 201. There is hole in the parchment.  
 202. Fully pointed, with a tiny subscript *ḥā'* and a caret above the *rā'*.  
 203. The *qāf* is indicated in the *maghribī* style.  
 204. There is hole in the parchment.  
 205. CA ابن.  
 206. The *fā'* is indicated in the *maghribī* style.  
 207. CA يُعَدِّي.  
 208. CA الوادي. See above note 182.  
 209. The *qāf* is indicated in the *maghribī* style.  
 210. CA يتمادى. On such a case of *alif maqṣūra bi-ṣūrat al-yā'*, represented by *alif*, see Blau 1965, pp. 81–82, para. 10.1 and citations.  
 211. The word is fully pointed.  
 212. The *qāf* is indicated in the *maghribī* style.  
 213. CA يُعَدِّي.  
 214. Unpointed: see above note 196.

ورحل<sup>215</sup> البصل وينزل الى طرف<sup>216</sup> الشعرا<sup>217</sup> الى برج البيفرى<sup>218</sup> وغلق الحد<sup>219</sup> هـ

## DOCUMENT 2

Sciacca. June, 6649 A.M., 536 A.H., Indiction IV (1141 A.D.)  
Figs. 4–5

Original: Toledo, Hospital de S. Juan Bautista (Tavera), Calle Vega Baia, Archivo General de la Fundación Casa Ducal de Medinaceli, Fondo Messina, no. 1120 (S 2002) *recto*.

Copies: Doc. 3 (below), an official, *dīwānī* copy. Two seventeenth-century copies of the Greek text, the second made from the first: Rome, Bibl. Vat., Cod. Lat. 8201, ff. 107a–109a and ff. 137a–138a; in both, between the *datatio* and the royal signature, is the following note: εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ ἕτερα κάτωθεν ἐν τῷ ἀντιγράφῳ ἅπερ ὑπάρχουσι κατὰ τὴν τῶν ἀρράβων φωνὴν γεγραμμένα· ἐγὼ δ' ἀγνοῶν ταῦτα, οὐκ ἀντέγραψα.

Editions: inedited.

Bibliography: Pirri 1733, vol. 2, p. 1008 (brief mention, from which it is not clear which of Docs. 1–3 is intended, with two short extracts in poor Latin translation). Caspar 1904, p. 544, no. 138 (Caspar 1999, p. 505, no. 138 — brief register entry based on seventeenth-century copies, from which it is not clear which of Docs. 1–3 is intended). Noth 1978, p. 230, 'M'. Noth 1983, p. 199, 'M'. Benedetto Rocco in Fallico *et al.* 1994, pp. 160–161, doc. and fig. 31. Johns 2002, pp. 58, 102–106, 107, 181, 208, 222, 276, 305. Nef 2011, p. 642.

215. The *ḥā* is indicated by a subscript miniature letter.

216. The *fā* is indicated in the *maghribī* style.

217. CA الشعراء. On this spelling, see Blau 1965, p. 89C. Dozy 1881, vol. 1, p. 763, gives شعري as an abbreviation of شعراء, meaning 'bois, lieu planté d'arbres'. On such 'abbreviations', see Blau 1965, p. 90, para. 11.3.6.2.

218. Clearly pointed, as in Doc. 2, l. 42, while in Doc. 3, l. 44 it is without points. The Greek transliterates Ἐλεβίφερη (Doc. 1, l. 25, Doc. 2, l. 25, Doc. 3, l. 25). See above p. 9, note 59 (also below p. 51 note 445).

219. Abbreviation of *[inta]h[ā]*, 'it is finished': the standard *dīwānī* symbol marking the end of a given text (Johns 2002, pp. 280, 310; von Falkenhausen and Johns 2013, p. 166).



Maximum dimensions: height 819mm (left), 821mm (right); width 516mm (top), 533mm (bottom edge, cut at an angle).

Notes on *verso*: [Six lines of Arabic text, signatures and chancery notes in Arabic and Greek, recording the settlement of a boundary conflict between the monks of St. George's and Hubert, lord of Calamonaci, 547 (1152 A.D.): see Doc. 5 below.] Below which: Right-hand side; pencil; 20<sup>th</sup> century: *B S. 2002*. Centre (upside down); light brown ink; 14<sup>th</sup> or 15<sup>th</sup> century?: *Lu privilegiu de Re Rugerii p(er) sanctu / Georgiu di Trocculi cum li confini territoriali(?) et / cum uno casali chiamata(?) Chalba / Chalba*.<sup>220</sup> Below previous note; dark brown ink; 14<sup>th</sup> century?: *προβελέγι(ον) ἁγίου Γεωργ(ίου) τῶν Τρώκλων*. Below previous note; light brown ink; 18<sup>th</sup> century?: *no. 6*. Below previous note, towards left-hand side; brown ink; unknown date: *J*. Centre, below previous note; light brown ink; 14<sup>th</sup> or 15<sup>th</sup> century?: *Questu e lu privilegiu per s(anc)tu G(eor)gi / d(e) Trocculi*. Lower left corner; black ink; 20<sup>th</sup> century: *1104*.

Documents mentioned: as for Doc. 1 above.

Condition: Fine, thin parchment; often too thin and slightly perished, with holes and tears especially on the folds (now repaired). The seal is missing but a tuft of purple silk is still attached to the plica. For storage, the document was folded into half length-wise twice, then width-wise twice.

Scripts: To prepare the parchment for writing, the two side margins were formed by folding; these are respected by both the Greek and the Arab scribes, except in the final line of the Arabic. The Greek script is written in the 'style of Reggio' by a professional scribe,<sup>221</sup> but not the same who wrote Doc. 1 or Doc. 3. The scribe used a fine reed with a medium brown ink. There are few abbreviations and very few grammatical and orthographical errors. The Arabic text is written in a hand very close to that of Doc. 4, with a fine reed and a rich, dark brown ink that has preserved its colour well. The scribe performed a number of calligraphic flourishes and took pains to show how rarely he needed to lift the pen

220. The note occurs on a fold in the parchment, between two holes, and is very faint and difficult to read, even with the Wood lamp. The letters *Chalba* are clear enough in both lines — presumably from Sicilianised from Arabic *[ra]ḥal [al-]ba[ṣal]*.

221. See above note 175.

from the page. He used no short vowels, but many points; where indicated, *fā* and *qāf* are never pointed in the *maghribī* style. In l. 43, he wrote *al-rāhib* ('the monk') in the singular, whereas in Doc. 3 and in the Greek texts of Docs. 2 and 3 they are plural. He also used what seems to be the Romance spoken form *Ghulyālmū*, instead of the normal written form *Ghulyālim*, suggesting that he was following dictation.<sup>222</sup> In l. 45, the year has been corrected from 536 to 535, possibly indicating that, although the document bears a date equivalent to June 1141 the scribe was actually writing after 6<sup>th</sup> August 1141.<sup>223</sup>

+Ρογέριος ἐν Χ(ριστ)ῶ τῷ Θ(ε)ῶ εὐσεβῆς κραταιὸς ῥήξ +++ /<sup>2</sup>

+ Τοῦ ἐνθέου κράτους μου κατὰ τὸν Ἰούνιον μῆνα τῆς ἐνεστώσης τετάρτης ἰνδικτιῶνος τὴν γύραν παρα τὴν Σικελίαν ποιούμενου, (καὶ) εἰς τὴν λεγομένην Σιάκκαν /<sup>3</sup> καταντήσαντος, ὑπήντησας ἡμῖν σὺ ὁ τῆς ἡμετέρας μεγάλης καὶ περιβλέπτου μον(ῆς) τοῦ Σ(ωτῆ)ρ(ο)ς τοῦ Ἀκροτῆρο(ς) Μεσήνης τιμιώτατο(ς) ἀρχιμανδρ(ί)τ(ης) κύρ Λουκάς ὑποδει=<sup>4</sup> κνύων ἡμῖν τὰ διὰ χειρ(ῶν) σου σιγίλλια τῆς τοῦ Ἀγίου Γεωργίου τῶν Τρόκλ(ων) μον(ῆς), ἅπερ εἰς αὐτὴν ὁ μακαριώτατο(ς) (καὶ) ἀοίδιμο(ς) τοῦ κράτ(ους) μου π(ατ)ήρ ἐποίησεν ἐν ἔτει ὡς ἐν αὐτοῖς /<sup>5</sup> τοῖς σιγίλλιοις ἐγγέγραπται ,ςχς' ἰν(δικτιῶνος) ζ'. Ἄπερ ἐνώπιον ἡμ(ῶν) ἀναγνωσθῆναι κελεύσαντες, εὖρομεν οὕτω(ς) διαλαμβάνοντα· ὡς ἤδη τὴν νῆσον τῆς Σικελί(ας) Θ(εο)ῦ /<sup>6</sup> συμμαχία καὶ βοήθεια ἅπασαν ὑποτάξας ὁ μακαριώτατο(ς) δηλονότι π(ατ)ήρ μου οὐ τὴν τυχοῦσαν φροντίδα ἐνέθετο περὶ τ(ῆς) τῶν εὐαγ(ῶν) (καὶ) ἀγί(ων) οἰκ(ων) ἀνοικοδομῆς τὲ (καὶ) /<sup>7</sup> ἀνεγέρσεως μᾶλλον δὲ μοναστηρί(ων) τῶν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀθέων σαθρωθέντων Ἀγαρην(ῶν) καὶ περὶ τ(ῆς) τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς ὑπηρετούντ(ων) ἀδελφ(ῶν) προνοί(ας) (καὶ) διοικήσεως, ὡς ἂν /<sup>8</sup> ἐκτενέστερον ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ νήσῳ τελευτησάντων στρατιωτῶν ἐπὶ ἀναρρύσει τῶν Χριστιανῶν ὑπερεύχωνται ἔτι (καὶ) καθολικ(ῆς) εἰρήνης Χριστιαν(ῶν), πρὸ(ς) δὲ (καὶ) ὑπὲρ /<sup>9</sup> τῶν αὐτοῦ ἀφέσεως ἀμαρτι(ῶν). Ὅθεν μετὰ τῶν ἄλλ(ων) (καὶ) εἰς τὴν τῆς Σιάκκ(ας) περίοικον τὸν προρηθ(έν)τ(α) τοῦ ἀγίου μεγ(α)λ(ο)μάρτ(υ)ρ(ο)ς Γεωργίου ἀνοικοδομήσ(ας) νεῶν καὶ εἰς μοναστήριον κ(α)ταστήσ(ας) αὐτὸν ὑπὲρ /<sup>10</sup> μνήμ(ης) τῶν ἐκεῖσε ἀναιρεθέντ(ων) Χριστιαν(ῶν), ἐδωρήσατο ἐν αὐτῷ τὰ ἀρκοῦντα χωράφια, δηλώσας ἐν αὐτοῖς καὶ τ(ὸν) τούτ(ων) περιορισμόν. Ἡμεῖς οὖν τούτ(ων) ἀκούσαντες ἀκριβ(ῶς) καὶ /<sup>11</sup> τ(ῶν) καθεξῆς ἐγγεγραμμένων εἰς τὰ σιγίλλια, εὖρομεν ἐκ τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς γεγραμμέν(ων) χωραφί(ων) τινὰ μὴ κρατούμενα ὑπὸ τῆς εἰρημένης μον(ῆς) τοῦ Ἀγίου Γεωργίου τ(ῶν) Τρόκλ(ων), ἄλλ' ὑπὸ τινῶ(ν) /<sup>12</sup> βαρουνίων ἡμ(ῶν)· εὖρομεν δὲ πάλιν ὑπ' αὐτῆς τῆς ῥηθείσης μονῆς

222. This would seem to confirm our hypothesis on p. 15 above.

223. See above pp. 12–13.

κρατούμενα χωράφια ἄλλα τινὰ μὴ τοῖς σιγῖλλί(οις) ὑμ(ῶν) ἐγγεγραμμ(έν)α τὸ σύνολον. Σὺ δὲ ὁ προγραφεῖς ἀρχιμανδρίτης /<sup>13</sup> παρεκάλεσ(ας) τὸ κράτος μου (καὶ) ἱκέτευσ(ας), ἵνα τὰ ἀρμόζοντα (καὶ) ἰδιάζοντα (καὶ) ἀρκοῦντα τῇ εἰρημένῃ ἀγία μονῇ τῶν Τρόκλ(ων) χωράφια (καὶ) τὰ τοῦ χωρίου ὑμῶν τοῦ λεγομ(έν)ου Ῥάχαλ Ἐλββάσαλ<sup>224</sup> κ(α)τὰ δίκαιον /<sup>14</sup> περιορίσαι κελεύσωμεν, (καὶ) ὑπὲρ τ(ῶν) τοιοῦτ(ων) περιορισμ(ῶν) ποιήσαιτο<sup>225</sup> τὸ κράτος μου πρὸς ὑμ(ᾶς) σιγῖλλιον ἐγγραφον. Τὸ δὲ κράτος μου τῇ παρακλήσει σου εἴξαν (καὶ) ταύτην παριδεῖν μὴ θελήσαν, ἀπέ=<sup>15</sup> στείλει τὸν τε Φί(λι)ππ(ον) τὸν (πρωτο)νοτ(ά)ρ(ιον) (καὶ) Στέφα(νον) Μαλεῖν(ον) τὸν (καὶ) κριτὴν, καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ σεκρέτου, τὸν τε Κάιτ(ην) Περρουν (καὶ) Ἰω(άννη)ν (καὶ) τὸν Βουάλην, ὅπ(ως) ἴδωσι (καὶ) γράψωσι τὸν δίκαιον περιορισμ(όν) τῶν χωραφί(ων) τῆς τε /<sup>16</sup> μον(ῆς) τ(ῶν) Τρόκλ(ων) (καὶ) τ(ῶν) τοῦ εἰρημ(έν)ου χωρίου Ῥαχαλ Ἐλββάσαλ. Οἱ δὲ ἀπελθόντες (καὶ) ἀκριβ(ῶς) ἐξαίτασαντες (καὶ) ἰδόντες, ἦλθον πρὸς ἡμ(ᾶς) ὄντας εἰς τὸ Γεργ(έν)τ(ιον) ἐπιφερόμενοι τὰ τῶν περιορισμ(ῶν) ἐγγραφα τῶν εἰρημ(έν)ων χωραφί(ων) /<sup>17</sup> τῆς τε μονῆς (καὶ) τοῦ χωρίου. Ὑπάρχουσι δὲ οὗτ(ως)· ἀπὸ τ(ῶν) δύο κιωνί(ων) τ(ῶν) λεγομ(έν)ων Ὀχτεῖν (καὶ) κ(α)τέρχεται τὸν ποταμ(όν) ποταμ(όν) δεξιῶθεν εἰς τὴν συκὴν τὴν λεγομένην Γατσένε (καὶ) κ(α)τέρχεται τὸν αὐτ(όν) /<sup>18</sup> ποταμ(όν) ἄχρι τοῦ σπηλαίου τοῦ λεγομένου Γάρ Ἐλλουπένη (καὶ) ἀνέρχ(ε)τ(αι) τὴν χέτην χέτην εἰς τὴν Κίπ[β]λεν Ἐπεν Χαμδούν, (καὶ) ἀποδίδει ἄχρι τ(ῆς) ὁδοῦ καὶ ἀπέρχ(ε)τ(αι) τὴν ὁδὸν ὁδὸν ἄχρι τ(ῆς) λίμνης τῆς λε=<sup>19</sup> γομένης Γαδῖρ Ἐπεν Μανσούρ καὶ ἀποδίδει εἰς τὴν Ἀγίαν Βαρβάραν τὴν οὖσαν κά[τω], (καὶ) ἀπέρχ(ε)τ(αι) εἰς τὸ ἁλώνιον τοῦ υἱοῦ Ῥαζούν, καὶ κατέρχεται εἰς τὸν ρύακα τὸν λεγόμενον Ἐλ=<sup>20</sup> μοναστήρ, καὶ ἀπέρχ(ε)τ(αι) ὀλίγον εἰς τὴν Κούδτιε<sup>226</sup> Ἐλζιουμμάρ, καὶ κατέρχ(ε)τ(αι) τὸν ρύακα [ρύ]ακα ἄχρι τ(ῆς) μεγάλης ὁδοῦ τ(ῆς) κ(α)τέρχομ(έν)ης ἐκ τ(ῆς) Σιάκκ(ας), (καὶ) κ(α)τέρχ(ε)τ(αι) τὸν ποτ(α)μ(όν) ποταμ(όν) εἰς τὴν πηγὴν τὴν λεγομένην /<sup>21</sup> τῆς Ἀπιδί(ας), (καὶ) ἀνέρχεται τὸ ρυάκιν ρυάκ(ιν) ἄχρι τ(ῆς) κεφαλ(ῆς) τοῦ ἵπποδρόμο(υ) τοῦ λεγομ(έν)ου Ἐτταχρίκε κ(α)τὰ νότον, (καὶ) κατέρχ(ε)τ(αι) τὸν χεῖμαρρον χεῖμαρρ(ον) ἄχρι τοῦ ἀμπελῶνο(ς) τοῦ υἱοῦ Ἰάχλεφ καὶ περᾶ τὸν /<sup>22</sup> ποταμ(όν) (καὶ) ἀποδίδει εἰς τὴν Κούδτιε Ἐλάλεζ κ(α)τὰ τὸ μέρος τοῦ νότου, (καὶ) ἀπέρχ(ε)τ(αι) εἰς τὸ βουνακάριν τὸ λεγόμενον Κούδτιε<sup>227</sup> Ἄλιε, (καὶ) ἀπέρχ(ε)τ(αι) τὰ βουνακάρια βουνακάρια ἄχρι τ(ῆς) πηγ(ῆς) τ(ῆς) λεγομένης Ἀῖν Ἐλμουχίδ /<sup>23</sup> (καὶ) ἀνέρχεται τὴν χέτην χέτην ἄχρι τ(ῆς) κούλλεζ, (καὶ) κατέρχ(ε)τ(αι) (καὶ) περᾶ τὴν ὁδὸν (καὶ) ἀποδίδει εἰς τὴν Κούδτιε Ἐλζιουμμάρ, ὃ ἐστὶν ἀναμεταξὺ τῆς Γζεννίας (καὶ) τοῦ Ῥάχαλ Ἐλββάσαλ, καὶ /<sup>24</sup> κατέρχ(ε)τ(αι) εἰς τὸ ἄκρος τοῦ ὄρους ἄχρι τοῦ πύργου τοῦ

224. The second β is written here above the first one, but not in l. 23, nor in Doc. 3.

225. In Doc. 3: ποιῆσαι τὸ κράτος μου ...

226. The δ is written above the τ. See note 177 above.

227. The δ is written above the τ. See note 177 above.

Ἐλπεῖφερη<sup>228</sup> καὶ συγκλ[εῖ]ει. Μετὰ δὲ τὸ γενέσθ(αι) τοὺς ἀνωτ(έρω) διαχωρισμοὺς συν[ε]βιβάσθη ὁ Γουλιάλμ(ος) ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Ῥικάρδου<sup>229</sup> τῆς Σιάκκ(ας) μετὰ τῶν μοναχ(ῶν) τῶν Τρόκλ(ων) ἵνα διὰ τὴν ἀμφιβολὴν τῶν χωραφί(ων) τῶν μεταξὺ αὐτῶν ἔσται πάλιν ὁδιαχωρισμὸς ὡς κατωτέρω ῥηθήσεται(αι)· ἀπὸ τῶν δύο κιωνί(ων) τῶν λεγομέ(νων) Ὀχτέιν<sup>226</sup> (καὶ) ἀπέρχεται τὸ ὕψος ὕψος τῆς χέτης τῆς οὐς(ης) ἐπάνω τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ λεγομ(έν)ου,<sup>229</sup> (καὶ) ἀποσώζει εἰς τὴν πηγὴν τὴν λεγομένην Ἀτσένε καὶ εἰς τὴν ἐν αὐτῇ συκὴν, (καὶ) κατέρχεται(αι) τὸ ὕδωρ τ(ῆς) εἰρημένης<sup>227</sup> πηγ(ῆς) καὶ ἀποσώζει εἰς τὸν ποταμ(όν) τὸν κ(α)τερχόμενον ἀπὸ τοῦ πύργου τοῦ λεγομ(έν)ου Πούρζ Ἐπεν Ἀσκιαρ, καὶ κατέρχεται τὸ ὕδωρ ὕδωρ καὶ ἀποδίδει εἰς τ(ὸν) ποταμ(όν) τὸν μέγα ἔνθα συγκλείεται<sup>228</sup> ὁ περιορισμὸς(ς) ὁ μεταξὺ τῶν χωραφί(ων) τῶν μοναχ(ῶν) (καὶ) τοῦ πύργου τοῦ λεγομ(έν)ου Πούρζ Ἐπεν Ἀσκιαρ· καὶ συνεφώνησαν(αν) ὃ τε Γουλιάλμ(ος) (καὶ) οἱ μοναχοὶ μεταξὺ αὐτ(ῶν) ἵνα οἱ μοναχοὶ ἐκβάλωσι τὸ ὕδωρ ὅθεν θελήσου(σιν)·<sup>229</sup> (καὶ) ταῦτα οὕτω καθὼς συνεβιβάσθησαν ἔστερξεν αὐτοῖς τὸ κράτος μου. Ταῦτα τοίνυν καθὼς εἴρηται ἀνωτ(έρω) (καὶ) περιορίζεται, πλὴν ἐξ ὧν - ὡς εἴρηται<sup>230</sup> - συνεβιβάσθητε μετὰ τοῦ Γουλιάλμ(ου) υἱοῦ Ῥικάρδ(ου) τ(ῆς) Σιάκκ(ας), ἔστερξα<sup>230</sup> (καὶ) ἐδωρησάμην εἰς τὴν εὐαγεστάτην τοῦ Αγ(ίου) Γεωργ(ίου) τ(ῶν) Τρόκλ(ων) μονὴν τὴν ὑπὸ σὲ πρὸς(ς) γεωργίαν τῶν τὲ οἰκεί(ων) ὑμῶν ζευγαρί(ων) (καὶ) τῶν τῶν ὑμετέρ(ων) ἀν(θρώπων)ων. Διὰ δὲ τὸ μὴ ἔχειν νομὴν τὰ ὑμέτερα ζῶα, ἔστερξα ὑμῖν<sup>231</sup> (καὶ) ἐπεβραβευσάμην ὅπ(ως) ἀκωλύτ(ως) καὶ ἀνεμποδίστ(ως) καὶ ἀναργύρως (καὶ) πάσης δεκατί(ας) ἐκτὸς (καὶ) λοιπ(ῆς) πάσης ἐπιρρείας νέμονται εἰς τὴν τ(ῆς) Σιάκκ(ας) διακράτησιν ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκείων ὑμῶν<sup>232</sup> πρόβατα χίλια (καὶ) ἀγέλαδια διακόσια (καὶ) μόνον. Ἐπὶ τούτοις δὲ στέργω ὑμῖν (καὶ) τοὺς δεκαπέντε παροίκους τοὺς ἐξογράφ(ους) σὺν πᾶσι τοῖς προσοῦσιν αὐτοῖς ὧν τὰ ὀνόματα ἐγρ(ά)φ(η) εἰς τὴν ἀρτί(ως) μεταγραφείσαν<sup>233</sup> καὶ ἀνακαινισθείσαν πλατεί(αν) ὑμῶν ἔνθα ἐστὶ τὸ κ(α)τόνομα τῶν ἐτέρ(ων) ὑμ(ῶν) ἀν(θρώπων)ων τῶν παλαι(ῶν). Ταῦτα δὲ οὕτ(ως) ὡς εἴρηται(αι) στέργω καὶ ἐπιβραβεύομαι τῇ εἰρημ(έ)ν(η) ἀγία μονῇ ὑπὲρ ψυχικ(ῆς) ἡμ(ῶν) σ(ωτη)ρίας<sup>234</sup> (καὶ) τῶν γεννητόρ(ων) ἡμ(ῶν) τοῦ ἔχειν αὐτὰ ἀπὸ γε (καὶ) εἰς τὸ ἐφεξῆς μέχρι τερμάτ(ων) αἰώνων ἀκωλύτ(ως) (καὶ) ἀνεμποδίστ(ως) παρ' ἐμοῦ καὶ τῶν ἐμ(ῶν) κληρονόμ(ων) (καὶ) δι[ια]δόχ(ων) ὡς προδεδωρημένα καὶ προα=/<sup>235</sup> φῆρωθέντα εἰς τὴν τοιαύτην ἀγίαν μονὴν παρὰ τοῦ ἀοιδίμ(ου) π(ατ)ρ(ὸς) τοῦ κράτους μου μένειν τὲ ταύτην μετὰ τῶν ἀνωτ(έρω) πάντ(ων) ἐν πάσῃ γαλήνῃ (καὶ) ἐλευθ(ε)ρ(ίᾳ) καθὼς αὐτ(ήν) ἐτυπώσατο διὰ τοῦ σιγῦλλ(ίου) αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τε ἀρχ(ι)επισκ(ό)π(ων), ἐπισκόπων<sup>236</sup> (καὶ) παντὸς ἱερατικ(οῦ) κ(α)ταλόγου ἔτι τὲ (καὶ) ἀπὸ τ(ῶν) ἀρχ(όν)τ(ων) ἡμ(ῶν), στρατηγ(ῶν) τὲ (καὶ) λοιπ(ῶν) ἄλλ(ων) πάντ(ων) ἐκ πάσ(ης) συνηθεί(ας) ἢ ἐπηρεί(ας) τινὸς ἄχρις ἐνὸς(ς) ὀβολοῦ,

228. The β is written above the π. See note 176 above.

229. Doc. 3 has λελεγμένου.

230. ὡς εἴρηται(αι): interlinear correction by the scribe.

μηδενὸς) τολμῶντο(ς) ὁχλησ(ιν) τινὰ ἢ ἐναντίωσ(ιν) αὐτῇ ὑπὲρ τ(ῶν)  
 ἄνωτ(έ)ρ(ω) γραφέντ(ων) ἢ κενотоμίαν ποιήσασθαι. /<sup>37</sup> Εἰ γάρ τις τοῦτ(ο)  
 τολμήσειε δράσαι οὐ μικρ(άν) τ(ήν) παρ' ἐμοῦ ὑποστήσεται ἀγανάκτησιν ὡς  
 παραβάτ(ης) τ(ῆς) ἡμετέρ(ας) κελεύσε(ως) (καὶ) μᾶλλον ἐναντιούμενο(ς) τ(ῶν)  
 ψυχικ(ῶν) (καὶ) ἀμεταθέτ(ων) ἡμ(ῶν) δωρε(ῶν). Διὸ (καὶ) πρὸς(ς)  
 περισσωτ(έ)ρ(αν) πίστωσιν (καὶ) ἀσφάλειαν τὸ παρὸν /<sup>38</sup> σιγῖλλον τοῦ κράτους  
 ἡμ(ῶν) γραφέν (καὶ) τῇ διὰ χρυσοῦ βούλλῃ ἡμ(ῶν) σφραγισθ(έν) ἐπεδόθ(η) σοι  
 τῷ τιμιωτ(ά)τ(ω) κύρ Λουκ(ᾶ) τῷ τ(ῆς) μεγ(ά)λ(ης) μον(ῆς) ἀρχ(ι)μανδρ(ί)τ(η)  
 κ(αὶ) πᾶ(σιν) τοῖς μετέπειτα κ(α)τὰ διαδοχ(ήν) ἐν μη(νὶ) (καὶ) ἰν(δικτιῶνι) τοῖς  
 (προ)γεγρα(μμένοις) ἐν ἔτει ,ζχμθ' + /<sup>39</sup>

حدها دبور<sup>231</sup> من الاختين ينزل الوادي الوادي<sup>232</sup> على الايمن الى شجرة غتسانة<sup>233</sup>  
 وينزل الوادي الوادي<sup>234</sup> الى غار اللوباني ويطلع الحارك الحارك الى قبلة بني  
 حمدون حتى يصل الى المحجة ويحني<sup>235</sup> مع المحجة المحجة /<sup>40</sup> حتى يصير الى  
 غدير ابن منصور الى صنت بربارة السفلانية الى اندر ابن الرزون<sup>236</sup> ثم ينزل الى  
 خندق المنستيرى ثم<sup>237</sup> يمر قليل<sup>238</sup> الى كدية الحمار<sup>239</sup> وينزل الخندق الخندق حتى  
 يصل الى المحجة الكبيرة الحاملة من الشاقة وينزل /<sup>41</sup> الوادي الوادي<sup>240</sup> الى عين  
 النجاسة<sup>241</sup> ويطلع الخندق الخندق الى راس التحريكة<sup>242</sup> من جهة القبلة وينزل

231. CA دبوراً. See note 181 above.

232. The *yā'* of the first الوادي is pointed, but not that of the second: CA الوادي .

233. The *sīn* is unpointed: compare Doc. 1, l. 38 and Doc. 3, l. 39, and see above p. 7 note 41 and below pp. 39–40, note 257.

234. CA الوادي الوادي .

235. CA يحني .

236. The whole word is written with a single fluid line from *lām* to *wāw*, but the *rā'* bears a caret and the *zāy* a point, so there can be little doubt of the reading: see above p. 8 note 46 and p. 34 note 192.

237. The word has been rewritten and the *thā'* appears to be pointed as a *tā'*, unless the points belong to the *yā'* of the following verb.

238. CA قليلاً. See note 181 above.

239. *Sic*. There is no point below the *jīm*, but read *al-jummār*: see Doc. 1, ll. 21 and 39, Doc. 2, l. 20, Doc. 3, ll. 20 and 41, and above p. 8 note 48.

240. CA الوادي الوادي .

241. *Sic*, as in Doc. 3, l. 41, but see Doc. 1, l. 40. On such a loss of initial *hamza* after the definite article, and the disappearance of initial *alif*, see Blau 1965, p. 103B, and Hopkins 1984, pp. 30–31, para. 27c.

242. Only the *tā'* is pointed: see Doc. 1, l. 40 (التحريكة) with a tiny subscript *hā'*

المجرى المجرى حتى يصل الى جنان ابن يخلف يعدى<sup>243</sup> الواد<sup>244</sup> ويخرج الى كودية<sup>245</sup> الاعلاج من جهة القبلة ثم الى<sup>246</sup> الكدية العالية /<sup>42</sup> يتماذى الكدية الكدية الى عين المخيص<sup>247</sup> ويطلع الحارك الحارك ويصل الى القلة ويعدى<sup>248</sup> المحجة الى ان يصل الى كدية الجمار<sup>249</sup> التى بين الجنية ورحل البصل وينزل الى طرف الشعرا<sup>250</sup> الى برج البيفري<sup>251</sup> وغلق الحد<sup>252</sup> /<sup>43</sup> ثم اتفق الراهب<sup>253</sup> وغليالموا<sup>254</sup> بن رجرى من الشاقة على ان بدو<sup>255</sup> حد الدير من الاختين ويمر مع الشرف الشرف المطل على الوادى<sup>256</sup> المذكور حتى يصل الى عين غسانة<sup>257</sup> والشجرة التى بها

and a caret above the *rā* ) and Doc. 3, l. 42 (unpointed).

243. CA يُعَدِّي .

244. CA الوادي . See above note 182.

245. *Sic*, with *wāw*, *kūd.ya* (elsewhere regularly كـدـية), possibly reflecting spoken form, see Greek κοῦδία (Caracausi 1990, p. 308), Sicilian *cúddia* (Caracausi 1983, pp. 263–264). On the use of *wāw* to represent short -u-, see Blau 1965, p. 73, para. 8.6, and Hopkins 1984, p. 7, para. 4c.

246. The word الى (CA الى) is written above the line in the same ink and by the same hand.

247. *Sic*, with *ṣād*, but read *al-mukhīd*: see Doc. 1, ll. 24 and 41, Doc. 3, ll. 23 and 43.

248. CA يُعَدِّي .

249. The *jīm* is pointed: see above note 239.

250. CA الشعراء : see above note 217.

251. The word is clearly pointed, as it is in Doc. 1, l. 41, while in Doc. 3, l. 44 it is without points. See above note 219.

252. Doc. 1 ends at this point and the remaining Arabic text is found exclusively in Doc. 2 and Doc. 3.

253. *Sic*, in the singular, but see Doc. 2, l. 24 and Doc. 3, ll. 25 and 44.

254. *Sic*, reading *Ghulyalmū*, presumably reflecting the Romance spoken form. Compare Doc. 3, l. 44. On the use of *alif fāṣila* following *wāw* at the end of proper names, see Hopkins 1984, p. 52, para. 50a.ii and citations.

255. On this spelling, see Hopkins 1984, pp. 21–22, para. 20b and citations.

256. CA الوادي .

257. *Sic*? The word has been damaged by a hole in the parchment that has been restored, so that it is not securely legible. It is unpointed in Doc. 3, l. 45, and the shape of the word is slightly different (see below note 298). It is not written in the same manner as غتسانة in l. 39 above (see also note

وينزل مجرى العين المذكورة /<sup>44</sup> حتى يصل الى الوادى<sup>258</sup> النازل من برج بن<sup>259</sup>  
 عسكر وينزل مع الماء<sup>260</sup> الى ان<sup>261</sup> يصل الى الوادى<sup>262</sup> الكبير ويدو<sup>263</sup> اخر حد  
 الدير مع برج بن<sup>264</sup> عسكر واتفقوا على ان الرهبان يخرجوا الماء من اين يريدوا<sup>265</sup>  
 >وقد رضى /<sup>45</sup> الديوان المعمور بهذا الاتفاق وجوزه وامضاه ولا قيام فيه ولا كلام

233). Here, the pointed *ghayn* is clearly legible, there is no *tā'*; next come a *sīn* bearing a *shadda*, an *alif*, and then an uncertain letter before the *tā'* *marbūṭa*. The Greek transliteration Ἀτσένα, *Atsena* (not Γατσένε, *Gat-séne*, as in Doc. 2, l. 17 above; cf. Doc. 1, l. 18 and Doc. 3, l. 18) suggests that the illegible letter must be a *nūn*. The Greek translator appears to have thought this boundary-marker to be different from that in Doc. 2, l. 39 above: he no longer insists that the fig-tree is called Γατσένε; now it is the spring that is known as Ἀτσένα, while the fig-tree is beside the spring: εἰς τὴν πηγὴν τὴν λεγομένην Ἀτσένα καὶ εἰς τὴν ἐν αὐτῇ συκὴν, 'to the spring called Atsena, and to the fig-tree which is in the spring' (Doc. 2, l. 26 and Doc. 3, l. 27; compare with Doc. 1, l. 18, Doc. 2, l. 17, and Doc. 3, l. 18). It is now unclear whether there were two springs each with an identifying tree and with similar but different names, or a single spring the name of which was either *Ghats/shāna* or *Ghassāna*. See also above p. 7 note 41, and the discussion of the use of *shadda* in Doc. 4, below pp. 43–45.)

258. CA الوادى .

259. CA ابن .

260. CA الماء الماء . On the extremely common disappearance of *hamza* following a final long vowel, see Hopkins 1984, p. 22, para. 21c and citations.

261. Doc. 3, l. 46 omits ان .

262. CA الوادى .

263. See above note 255.

264. CA ابن .

265. CA يخرجوا الماء من اين يريدوا : this clause does not follow CA norms. On the indifferent use of imperfect suffix *-ū* in all syntactic environments, see Hopkins 1984, pp. 134–135, para. 138a.i and citations.

بعد اليوم<sup>266</sup> وكتب بتاريخ شهر برطيون<sup>267</sup> من سنة خمس<sup>268</sup> وثلاث وخمسمائة<sup>269</sup>  
الاندقتس الرابع وحسبنا الله ونعم الوكيل

/<sup>46</sup> + Ῥογέριος ἐν Χριστῷ τῷ Θεῷ εὐσεβῆς κραταιὸς ῥῆξ καὶ τῶν  
χριστιανῶν βοηθός +++.

On the line following the signature, to the right-hand side of the document, in a fourteenth-century hand: *Presentatum Mess(an)e apud acta Magne Regie Cur(ie) octavo augosti decime indic(tion)s*.<sup>270</sup>

A translation of Doc. 2 is given above pp. 6–10.

### DOCUMENT 3

Sciacca. June, 6649 A.M., 536 A.H., Indiction IV (1141 A.D.)

Figs. 6–7

Original: Toledo, Hospital de S. Juan Bautista (Tavera), Calle Vega Baia, Archivo General de la Fundación Casa Ducal de Medinaceli, Fondo Messina, no. 1117 (S 2003) *recto*.

Copies: The official, *dīwānī* copy of the original royal *sigillion* (Doc. no. 2).

Editions: inedited.

Bibliography: Noth 1978, p. 230, ‘N’. Noth 1983, p. 199, ‘N’. Benedetto

266. The phrase enclosed in angular brackets is found only in Doc. 2. Doc. 3, ll. 46–47 has instead: وقد تراضوا بذلك / وكان ذلك, immediately followed by the dating formula.

267. *Bruṭuyūn*, i.e. from πρωτοῦόνης, ‘first June’, cf. Caracausi 1986, p.16; Caracausi 1990, p. 485. See also: De Simone 1988, pp. 73–74, Johns 2001, and below p. 52 note 472.

268. In Doc. 2 only, the year is corrected to خمس from ست.

269. خمسمائة CA.

270. Similar notes occur on Norman and later documents which were presented as evidence in court cases: e.g. Enzensberger 1996, doc. no. 29, pp. 78–79. Many cases involving the lands of St. George’s were held during the early fourteenth century: Scandaliato 2003, pp. 168–169.



Rocco in Fallico *et al.* 1994, pp. 162, doc. and fig. 32. Johns 2002, pp. 58, 102–106, 107, 181, 208, 222, 276, 305. Nef 2011, p. 642.

Maximum dimensions: height 822mm (left), 836mm (right); width 528mm (top), 536mm (bottom edge, cut at an angle).

Notes on *verso*: [Eight lines of Arabic text, recording the settlement of a boundary conflict between the monks of St. George's and Hubert, lord of Calamonaci, 547 (1152 A.D.): see Doc. 6 below.] Below which: Centre; pencil; 20<sup>th</sup> century: *A S. 2003*. Upper centre; light brown ink; 14<sup>th</sup> or 15<sup>th</sup> century?: + / *Per li terri di chi avi lu monisteriu a la terra di Xacca / chi su di lu Priolatu di s(anc)ti Iorgi di Trocculi*. Centre right, towards bottom (written vertically); medium brown ink; 13<sup>th</sup> century?: + τὸ ἰσότηπ(ον) σιγίλλ(ίου) τ(ῶν) Τρόκλ(ῶν). Immediately to the left of the previous note; rich brown ink; 12<sup>th</sup> century?: ...χ(...) ἀπὸς χαρτία τῆς Σᾶκας. Immediately to the left of the previous note; medium brown ink; 13<sup>th</sup> century?: τῶν Τροκλῶν. Immediately to the left of the previous note; rich brown ink; 18<sup>th</sup> century?: *K*. Lower left corner; black ink; 20<sup>th</sup> century: *1117*. Lower left corner, on white adhesive label; black ink: 32.

Documents mentioned: as for Doc. 1 above.

Condition: Parchment of medium weight. There are two large holes (now restored) in the centre left of the document. There is no trace of a seal. For storage, the document was folded into half width-wise twice, and then length-wise twice.

Scripts: To prepare the parchment for writing, the two side margins were formed by folding; these are respected by both the Greek and the Arab scribes. The Greek script is written in the 'style of Reggio' by a professional scribe,<sup>271</sup> but not the same who wrote Doc. 1 or Doc. 2. The scribe used a fine reed with a light purplish-brown ink. There are few abbreviations and very few grammatical and orthographical errors. The Greek text was written first, then the Arabic: the Greek ends halfway through l. 39, and the first words of the Arabic text occupy the rest of the line; in l. 40, the Arabic word *al-mahajja* has been carefully positioned to avoid the line crossing the tail-flourish of the subscript *keraiā* indicating the numeral for 6,000 in 6649 (,ζχμθ' ) in the previous line. The Arabic text is written in a clear, but inelegant copy-hand, in a dark,

---

271. See above note 175.

purplish brown ink. The *hastae* are vertical, there are very few points or other orthographic marks, and no short vowels.

No edition is given of the Greek text of this document because it is an almost precise copy of the Greek of Doc. 2, except only in l. 26, where this document has τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ λελεγμένου, while Doc. 2, l. 26 has τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ λεγομένου.

حدها دبور<sup>272</sup> من الاختين ينزل الوادي الوادي على الايمن الى شجرة غتسانة<sup>273</sup>  
وينزل<sup>40</sup> الوادي الوادي<sup>274</sup> الى غار اللوباني ويطلع الحارك الحارك الى قبلة بني<sup>275</sup>  
حمدون حتى يصل الى المحجة الكبيرة ويحني<sup>276</sup> مع المحجة<sup>277</sup> المحجة حتى يصل  
الى غدير بن<sup>278</sup> منصور<sup>279</sup> الى صنت بربارة السفلاية الى اندر بن<sup>280</sup> الررون<sup>41/281</sup> ثم  
ينزل الى خندق المنستيري ثم يمر قليل<sup>282</sup> الى كدية الجمار وينزل الخندق الخندق  
حتى يصل الى المحجة الكبيرة الحاملة من الشاقة وينزل الوادي الوادي<sup>283</sup> الى  
عين النجاسة<sup>284</sup> ويطلع الخندق<sup>42</sup> الخندق الى راس التحريكة من جهة القبلة

272. CA دبوراً. See note 181above.

273. Sic. What is presumably intended to be a *sīn* is indicated by a caret. See above p.7 note 41 and pp. 39–40 note 257, and the discussion of the use of *shadda* below pp. 44–45.

274. CA الوادي الوادي .

275. CA بني .

276. CA يحني .

277. The word has been carefully positioned to avoid the line crossing the tail-flourish of the subscript *keraiā* indicating the numeral for 6,000 in 6649 (ϷϷμθ') in the last line of the Greek text.

278. CA اين .

279. Doc. 1, l. 38 & Doc. 2, l. 40: منصوره .

280. CA اين .

281. Sic. Read *al-Razūn*: see Doc. 1, l. 39, Doc. 2, ll. 19 and 40, Doc. 3, l. 20, and above p. 8 note 46.

282. CA قليلاً . See note 181above.

283. CA الوادي الوادي .

284. Sic, as in Doc. 2, l. 41, but see Doc. 1, l. 40. See above note 241.

وينزل المجرى المجرى حتى يصل الى جنان بن<sup>285</sup> يخلف يعدى<sup>286</sup> الواد<sup>287</sup> ويخرج الى كدية الاعلاج من جهة القبلة ثم<sup>43/</sup> الى الكدية العالية يتمادى الكدية الكدية الى عين المحيص<sup>288</sup> ويطلع الحارك الحارك ويصل الى القبلة<sup>289</sup> ويعدى<sup>290</sup> المحجة الى ان يصل الى كدية الحمار<sup>291</sup> التي<sup>292</sup> بين الجنية<sup>44/</sup> ورحل البصل وينزل الى طرف الشعرا<sup>293</sup> الى برج البيفرى وغلق الحد<sup>294</sup> ثم اتفق الرهبان وغيلالم بن رجرض من الشاقة على ان يدو<sup>295</sup> حد الدير من الاختين<sup>45/</sup> ويمر مع الشرف الشرف المطل على الوادى<sup>296</sup> المذكور حتى يصل الى عين عساة<sup>297</sup> والشجرة التي بها وينزل مجرى العين المذكورة حتى يصل الى الوادى<sup>298</sup> النازل من<sup>46/</sup> برج بن<sup>299</sup> عسكر وينزل مع الماء<sup>300</sup> الى [ان]<sup>301</sup> يصل الى الوادى<sup>302</sup> الكبير وبدو<sup>303</sup> اخر الحد الدير<sup>304</sup> مع برج بن<sup>305</sup> عسكر واتفقوا على ان الرهبان يخرجوا الماء من اين يريدوا<sup>306</sup>

285. CA ابن , as Doc. 2, l. 41.

286. CA يُعَدِّي .

287. CA الوادي . See above note 182.

288. The word is unpointed, but read *al-mukhīd*: see Doc. 1, ll. 24 and 41, Doc. 2, ll. 22 and 42 and Doc. 3, l. 23.

289. *Sic*. The word is unpointed but the scribe has clearly not written *الْقُلَّة* , *al-qulla*, 'the summit', as in Doc. 1, l. 41 and Doc. 2, l. 42.

290. CA يُعَدِّي .

291. Unpointed, but read *al-jummār*: see above p. 8 note 48.

292. CA التي .

293. CA الشعراء : see above note 217.

294. Doc. 1 ends at this point, and the remaining Arabic text is found exclusively in Doc.2 and Doc. 3.

295. See above note 255.

296. CA الوادي .

297. Unpointed. See above p. 7 note 41 and pp. 39–40 note 257.

298. CA الوادي .

299. CA ابن .

300. CA الماء الماء .

301. ان is omitted in error.

302. CA الوادي .

303. See above note 255.

304. *Sic*. Doc. 2, l. 44 has correctly وبدو اخر حد الدير .

305. CA ابن .

وقد تراضوا بذلك / وكان ذلك<sup>307</sup> بتاريخ شهر برطيون<sup>308</sup> سنة خمس وثلاثين  
 وخمسماية<sup>309</sup> بالاندقتس الرابع وحسبنا الله ونعم الوكيل

## DOCUMENT 4

[Palermo] November, 536 A.H., Indiction V (1141 A.D.)

Fig. 8

Original: Toledo, Hospital de S. Juan Bautista (Tavera), Calle Vega Baia, Archivo General de la Fundación Casa Ducal de Medinaceli, Fondo Messina, no. 1119 (S 2001) *recto*.

Copies: Agrigento, Biblioteca Lucchesiana, MS Diplomi II.1.12.B.41, ff.34–35 (seventeenth-century copy, possibly made by Antonio Amico, of an earlier Latin translation).

Editions: All with many errors: Gálvez 1991; Gálvez 1995 = G; Nef 2011, pp. 533–535 (transliteration after microfilm of original) = N.

Bibliography: Noth 1978, p. 230–1, ‘O’. Noth 1983, p. 199, ‘O’. Benedetto Rocco in Fallico *et al.* 1994, pp. 162–163, doc. and fig. 33. Johns 2002, pp. 58–59, 77 note 106, 102, 107–108, 111, 130 note 47, 148, 208, 305. Nef 2011, p. 544, 548, 558–560, 562, 641.

Maximum dimensions: height 899mm (left), 892mm (right); width 462mm (top), 439mm.

Notes on *verso*: Upper left corner, on white adhesive label; black ink: 33.Top, centre, top; pencil; 20<sup>th</sup> century: *S. 2001*. Centre (vertically); light brown ink; 14<sup>th</sup> or 15<sup>th</sup> century?: *privilegiu(m) muriscu(m)*. Immediately below previous note: a letter or sign resembling a letter Δ, comparable to the capital letters J, K, etc. written, in rich brown ink, on

306. يخرجوا المامن اين يريدوا : this clause does not follow CA norms. See above note 265.

307. In Doc. 2, ll. 44–45, the phrase here enclosed in angular brackets is omitted and the passage reads instead الاتفاق وجوزه وقد رضي / الديوان المعمور بهذا الاتفاق وجوزه وامضاه ولا قيام فيه ولا كلام بعد اليوم وكتب

308. See above note 267.

309. خمسمائة CA.

the *versos* of the other documents. Immediately to the right of previous; brown ink; 13<sup>th</sup> century ? : + τὸ κ(α)τόνομ(α) τῶν βελλ(άνων) τῶν Τροκλ(ων) σαρακινιστὶ δι(ὰ) χρυσοβούλλ(ου). Lower left corner; black ink; 20<sup>th</sup> century: 1119.

Condition: Thick, heavy, cream coloured parchment, with two large, circular holes towards the top of the sheet. The three holes and plica for the seal are clearly apparent, but the seal itself is missing. For storage, the document was folded twice into half length-wise, and then thrice width-wise.

Scripts: There is no trace that the parchment was prepared for the text with margins or lines. The scribe, whose hand is very close to, if not the same as, that which wrote the Arabic text of the royal *sigillion* (Doc. 2) used a thick reed with a rich, dark brown ink, which has preserved its colour very well. Given the limitations of a mere list of names, the scribe manages to incorporate as many calligraphic flourishes as possible; the document as a whole is remarkably bold, elegant and imposing. He used many points and other orthographic signs, but very few short vowels. King Roger's official Greek signature is written with a fine reed and in a much paler ink than was used for the Arabic text.

The scribe's use of the symbol usually called the *shadda* or *tashdīd* in this document is remarkable and requires detailed comment. Elsewhere in the Arabic documents of Norman Sicily, the symbol is generally used for two purposes. First, to indicate that the letter that bears it is doubled (e.g. مُحَمَّد, *Muḥammad*). Otherwise, it can be used to indicate that the bearer letter is a *sīn*, not a *shīn*, in exactly the same manner that a miniature superscript 'ayn indicates that the bearer is not a *ghayn*, a superscript *ha* that the bearer is neither a *jīm* nor a *khā*, etc. The table below summarises the use of *shadda* in this document. In all, the symbol is used twenty times. In seven cases, the symbol appears clearly to indicate the doubling of a medial letter in the regular manner.<sup>310</sup> In two further cases, the symbol may indicate the letter *sīn*, or the doubling of the letter *sīn*, or both: (vii) al-Muḥsin, or al-Muḥassin; and (viii) *Ḥasan*, or *Ḥass[ā]n* written without the *alif* in *scripta defectiva*. The symbol appears seven times on the so-called sun-letters (*al-ḥurūf al-*

---

310. Table nos. ii, iv, vi, ix, xi, xv, xvii. The case of no. xi is discussed in full below note 422.

*shamsiyya*):<sup>311</sup> when a word to which the definite article is attached begins with one of these, the *lām* of the article changes on pronunciation into the letter in question, in effect doubling the letter — e.g. *shaykh* becomes *ash-shaykh*, conventionally carrying the *shadda*, الشَّيْخ. However, it is most peculiar that in this document this occurs with none of the fourteen sun-letters except for *sīn* (seven times) and *shīn* (four times).<sup>312</sup> This suggests that, in these instances, the symbol is employed to indicate something in addition to, or even instead of, the doubling of the sun-letters. This may be associated with the so-called ‘neutralisation’ of the difference between the hissing sibilant *sīn* and the hushing sibilant *shīn* in certain registers of non-Classical Arabic.<sup>313</sup> There are three strong indications that this phenomenon may explain the use of *shadda* on *sīn* and *shīn* throughout this document (including the doubling of medial letters and the sun-letters discussed above: no. xviii *sa’alta-nā* (سَالَتْنَا), no. xix *khamṣata* (خَمْسَةَ), and no. xx *‘ashara* (عَشْرَ), because in none of these can the *shadda* possibly indicate the doubling of a letter, and in the last two, a single compound number, it is borne by both *sīn* and *shīn*, and so here is patently not employed to distinguish between the two. It is striking that in Sicilian Greek both *sīn* and *shīn* are regularly transliterated with the *sigma*, whereas in Latin and Sicilian *sīn* is always *s* but *shīn* may be rendered by a wide variety of graphemes (*s*, *sh*, *x*, *xh*, *ch*, *yh*, *j* [and *i*], *sc[i]*). If it is accepted that Sicilian Greek is more likely to reflect the insular dialect, and Latin and Sicilian the influence of a variety of Romance imports, then the use of *sigma* for both *sīn* and *shīn* also suggests a coalescence of the two forms in Sicilian Arabic dialect.<sup>314</sup> The phenomenon is also attested, albeit scantily, in Ibn Makkī’s account of Sicilian Arabic.<sup>315</sup>

The final use of the ‘*shadda*’ to be discussed is that most pertinent to the main subject of this article. Line 1 refers to ‘the names of the men of Tròccoli’ in Arabic as *اسما رجال طرقلش* with the *shadda* and a *damma* written before the *ṭā* of the place-name. There is no possibility that they belong to the *lām* of *rijāl* and, if not a simple scribal error, their position seems to indicate that they are

311. Table nos. iii, v, x, xii, xiii, xiv, xvi.

312. See 4a, 9e, 14b, 14e, 15a, 17b, 18c, 24f.

313. Hopkins 1984, p. 37, para. 37, and citations.

314. Caracausi 1983, pp. 67–68, paras. 38–39.

315. Ibn Makkī, 1966, pp. 75, 76, 79, discussed in Agius 1996, pp. 183–188 (especially paras 5.11.1 and 5.12.0).

indeed borne by the *tā'* and not by the *rā'* or the *qāf* that follow. This might suggest that the scribe was seeking to convey the pronunciation in this phrase of the outlandish place-name as something like *asmā['] rijāli ṭṭuruqulish*, indicating that stress fell on the *tā'*. This is probably related to the well-known phenomenon of the gemination of initial consonants in Southern Italian and Sicilian dialects.<sup>316</sup>

	Word	Line	Shadda	Sun-letter	Sīn	Prob.	Comments
i	رجال طرقلش	1	?	×	×	✓	<i>shadda</i> and <i>ḍamma</i> written before the <i>tā'</i>
ii	ست	2	✓	×	×	×	
iii	[ال] شيج	3b	✓	✓	×	×	
iv	محـ[مد]	3e	✓	×	×	×	
	Word	Line	Shadda	Sun-letter	Sīn	Prob.	Comments
v	الشيخ	4c	✓	✓	×	×	
vi	لبار	5b	✓	×	×	×	
vii	عبد المحسن	7f	✓	×	×	×	read المحسن al-Muḥsin or المحسن al-Muḥassin?
viii	حسن	8e	?	×	✓	×	read حسان Ḥassān?
ix	بو كف	8f	✓	×	×	×	looks more like two adjacent carons than a single joined up symbol
x	عبد السلام	9b	✓	✓	✓	×	very indistinct
xi	بو خلط	12a	✓	×	×	×	
xii	الشيخ	12e	✓	✓	×	×	
xii	الشيخ	12e	✓	✓	×	×	
xiii	عبد السلام	14d	✓	✓	✓	×	
xiv	عبد السلم المعاز	15b	✓	✓	✓	×	read السلام al-Salām?
xv	عبد السلم المعاز	15b	✓	×	×	×	
xvi	عبد السيد	16e	✓	✓	✓	×	
xvii	بكتاد	20b	✓	×	×	×	

316. Rohlfs 1966–1969, vol. 1, 193–234; Caracausi 1983, pp. 58–59 and notes 95–96

xviii	سَالَتْنَا	21	×	×	✓	✓	not doubled ( <i>mushadda</i> )
xix	خَمْسَةَ عَشْرَ	26	×	×	✓	✓	not doubled ( <i>mushadda</i> )
xx	خَمْسَةَ عَشْرَ	26	×	×	×	✓	not doubled ( <i>mushadda</i> )

*Note to the edition: Textual notes and variants are supplied to the Arabic text, while discussion of the content is given in the notes to the translation.*

- <sup>1/</sup> جريدة تشهد على اسم<sup>317</sup> رجال طرقلش<sup>318</sup>
- <sup>2/</sup> كتبت بتاريخ شهر نومبره من سنة ست وثلاثين وخمسمائة بالاندقتس الخامس
- <sup>3/</sup> (a) علي النشار<sup>319</sup> (b) [الـ] شَيْخ<sup>320</sup> عبد الكريم (c) عمر بن اخيه (d) ابو عبد الله بن اخيه (e) محمّد<sup>321</sup> بن اخيه<sup>322</sup> (f) ميمون صهر عبد الكريم
- <sup>4/</sup> (a) علي صهر النشار (b) ياسين بن ينبت<sup>323</sup> (c) الشّيع جعفر (d) عمر ولده (e) [...] ية<sup>324</sup> (f) عتيق المودب
- <sup>5/</sup> (a) رجا اخوه (b) عبد العليم بن لَبَّار<sup>325</sup> (c) ابو بكر بن ابي القسم (d) يوسف بن هشمون (e) ابو بكر بن المودب (f) عمر بو سليو<sup>326</sup>
- <sup>6/</sup> (a) ابو بكر بن الجنجاني (b) عمار خنافوا<sup>327</sup> (c) على بن حمام<sup>328</sup> (d) اخوه (e) عثمان بن عبود (f) علي العقار

317. أسماء CA.

318. طرقلش G.

319. علي النشار [...]: G.

320. Large hole in the parchment.

321. Large hole in the parchment.

322. محمّد [...] بن اخيه G.

323. G & N: *Nībat*.

324. Large hole in the parchment.

325. G: عبد الحليم بن لَبَّان. N: *‘Abd al-Khalīm b. Labān*.

326. G: بو سليق. N: *Bū Salīq*.

327. G: حتافو. N: *Hatafū*.

328. G: حمام (but transliterates *Ḥammām*). N: *Ḥamān*.



- 7/ (a) ابو بكر بو خروبة (b) غازى (c) تمام<sup>329</sup> ولده (d) نعمة (e) عمر بن شرف (f) عبد المحسن<sup>330</sup>
- 8/ (a) حميد (b) ميمون الفرطاس<sup>331</sup> (c) ايوب الحريري (d) حمود صهره (e) حسن الحريري (f) ابو الفتوح بن بو كف<sup>332</sup>
- 9/ (a) اخوه مقاتل (b) عبد المنعم بن عبد السلام<sup>333</sup> (c) علوش<sup>334</sup> (d) احمد ربيب<sup>335</sup> المصراتي (e) بو الفتوح الصنهاجي (f) عبد السلم بن زنطره<sup>336</sup>
- 10/ (a) على بن عليو<sup>337</sup> (b) يوسف صهره (c) عمر الهواري (d) ابو بكر بن عبد الكريم (e) خليل العباسي (f) يوسف
- 11/ (a) حواس<sup>338</sup> (b) حسين ربيب<sup>339</sup> رمضان اسما<sup>340</sup> رجال رحل البصل
- 12/ (a) عمار بو خلط<sup>341</sup> (b) ولده حسين (c) الشيخ عبد المومن (d) ابو عبد الله<sup>342</sup> المصراتي (e) الشيخ عمر<sup>343</sup> (f) عوض بن عبد الله
- 13/ (a) على بو حداد (b) عبد الباقي (c) عمران بن حليلة (d) عمر بن العرجة (e) مسافر<sup>344</sup> (f) هاشم
- 14/ (a) رضوان بن ريمون (b) عبد الرحمن بن الموذن (c) حسن اخوه (d) عبد

329. G: تمان .

330. G: عبد الحسن . N: 'Abd al-Ḥasan.

331. G: الفرطاس . N: al-Qarṭṭās.

332. G: بو كف .

333. G: عبد المعمم عبد السلام (but transliterates 'Abd al-Mu'nim). N: 'Abd al-mu'amim or ('Abd al-m. 'm. 'm.?)

334. G: علوي . N: 'Alwī (or 'Alūn).

335. G: أحمد بن بنت . N: Aḥmad b. bint.

336. G: بن نظرة . N: b. Naṣra.

337. G: علي بن علي . N: 'Alī b. 'Alī.

338. G: حداس . N: Ḥaddās.

339. G: حسين بن بنت . N: Ḥusayn b. bint.

340. CA أسماء .

341. N: 'Umar b. Khalaṭ. See below note 422.

342. G: أبو بكر عبد الله .

343. N: al-shaykh 'Umar.

344. G omits.

السَّلام بلالة (e) عبد النور ولده (f) عمران صهره  
<sup>15/</sup> (a) علي الطالعة (b) عبد السَّلم المغَّاز<sup>345</sup> (c) الجناني (d) رمضان الحريري  
 (e) عبد الواحد (f) خليل بن البيفرى<sup>346</sup>  
<sup>16/</sup> (a) حسين بن بو رقيق<sup>347</sup> (b) عبد الغفار (c) يوسف المودب (d) مزعاش<sup>348</sup>  
 (e) عبد السَّيد بن البلوطى<sup>349</sup> (f) عبد الغفار اخوه  
<sup>17/</sup> (a) ابو بكر بن عمران (b) ابراهيم<sup>350</sup> الطويل (c) المودب بن الحمار (d) صمود  
 (e) يعقوت بن ريمون (f) محمد بن الفلو<sup>351</sup>  
<sup>18/</sup> (a) المودب عبد الله (b) ميمون بن ريمون<sup>352</sup> (c) عبد الرضى صهره (d) طاهر  
 (e) قائد (f) الجنشى  
<sup>19/</sup> (a) بو الخير (b) حسين العندوش (c) عبد المغيث (d) فتيان بن عوض  
 (e) ابراهيم الاشقر (f) صدقة  
<sup>20/</sup> (a) دحمان<sup>353</sup> (b) بكَّاد<sup>354</sup> الجملة<sup>355</sup> مائة<sup>356</sup> رجل  
<sup>21/</sup> ثم لما كان بتاريخ شهر اسطريون<sup>357</sup> بالاندقتس الرابع<sup>358</sup> سألنا ونحن بكركت  
 حماها الله فى هاولا الاسما الذين يثبتوا<sup>359</sup> فى هذا السجل

345. G: المغاز. The 'ayn is indicated by a miniature subscript letter.

346. G: البيقرى. N: *al-Bayqarī*.

347. G: رقيقو.

348. G: مزعلش. N: '?' and comments 'L'arabe n'est d'aucune aide'. The scribe has mistaken the *alif* for a *lām*; see below note 449.

349. G: عبد السلم البلوطي. N: 'Abd al-Salam b. al-Ballūṭī.

350. G: ابراهيم.

351. G: صمود يعقوب محمد بن الغلو (but transliterates *Ṣamūd Ya'qūb b. Raymūn / Muḥammad al-Falū*).

352. G: ميمون بن ميمون.

353. G: رحمان.

354. G: بكار. N: *Bakkār*.

355. G: الكلمة.

356. CA مائة.

357. G: 'أسطريير (sic)'. See below note 472.

358. G: الربع.

359. G: هاولا الاسما الذين يثبتوا: this clause does not follow CA norms. On the different orthography of the demonstrative, see Blau 1965, pp. 136–138, espe-

22/ الذين وجدوا عندك<sup>360</sup> ملساً فسلمناهم لك على شريطة انه [مـ]تى<sup>361</sup> ما ظهر  
منهم فى جرايدنا وجرايد<sup>362</sup> تراريتنا<sup>363</sup> احداً<sup>364</sup> يوخد منك<sup>365</sup>  
وهذه اسماهم

24/ (a) حسن السفاقسى (b) عبد المولى اخوه (c) عمر بن القلانسى (d) عيسى  
الافريقى (e) ابو القسم القابسى (f) على التونسى (g) ميمون الافريقى (h) احمد  
الاطرابلسى<sup>366</sup> (i) عبد العظيم الاطرابلسى<sup>367</sup>  
25/ (a) ابو بكر شيخى<sup>368</sup> الافريقى (b) عمر بوشفة الافريقى (c) غربى (?)  
نزور (?)<sup>369</sup> الافريقى (d) موسى الافريقى (e) الزوارى (f) هلال<sup>370</sup>  
26/ الجملة خمسة عشر رجلاً ملس<sup>371</sup>

27/ + Πογέριος ἐν Χριστῷ τῷ Θεῷ εὐσεβῆς κραταιὸς ρῆξ καὶ τῶν  
χριστιανῶν βοηθός +++

#### Translation

A *jarīda* [which] confirms the names of the men of Triocala. <sup>/2</sup> It was written in the month of November in the year in the year five hundred and thirty six, in the fifth indiction. <sup>/3</sup> [3a] *Alī al-Nashshār*.<sup>372</sup> [3b] [*al-*

cially para. 32.5. On plural agreement, where CA require feminine singular, see Hopkins 1984, pp. 145–146, para. 145b and citations, but here *asmā* ('names') is clearly conceived as a masculine collective. On the invariable ending -ū for the masculine third person plural imperfect, see Hopkins 1984, pp. 134–135, para. 138a.i.

360. G: عبك .

361. Hole in the parchment.

362. CA جرائدنا وجرائد .

363. G: قراييننا .

364. CA "احداً" On "احداً" against CA, Blau 1965, pp. 327–328, para. 223.1.

365. CA أسماؤهم .

366. G: الطرابلسى . N: *Aḥmad al-Ṭarābulusī*.

367. G: الطرابلسى . N: 'Abd al-'Alīm al-Ṭarābulusī.

368. G: شيفى . N: *Shayfī*.

369. G: غزنى ترود . N: *Ghaznī? tarūd? al-Ifriqī*.

370. G: الزوارى هلال .

371. CA ملساً .

372. C: *Alī Annassuar*. 'Alī is the *ism* or personal name; it may commemorate

*ShJaykh* ‘*Abd al-Karīm*.<sup>373</sup> [3c] ‘*Umar ibn akhī-hi*.<sup>374</sup> [3d] *Abū* ‘*Abd Allāh ibn akhī-hi*.<sup>375</sup> [3e] *Muḥammad* *ibn akhī-hi*.<sup>376</sup> [3f] *Maymūn ṣihr* ‘*Abd al-Karīm*.<sup>377</sup> /<sup>4</sup> [4a] ‘*Alī ṣihr al-Nashshār*.<sup>378</sup> [4b] *Yāsīn ibn Yunbit*.<sup>379</sup>

---

the Prophet’s cousin and son-in-law, the fourth caliph ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib (r. 656–661). *Al-nashshār* (‘the Sawyer’) is a professional *laqab*.

373. C: *senioris. Abdilcarim. Al-shaykh*, literally ‘the elder’, is an honorific title and need not indicate that the holder was of advanced age. ‘*Abd al-Karīm*’ is a theophoric name, literally ‘the servant of the Generous’ (Qur’ān 27.40).
374. ‘‘U. the son of his [i.e. 3b’s] brother’). C: *Oman* [corr. *Omar*], *filius fratris ilius*. The *ism* may commemorate the second of the Rashidūn caliphs, ‘Umar ibn al-Khattāb (r. 634–44).
375. ‘‘*Abū Abd Allāh*, the son of his [i.e. 3b’s] brother’). C: *Abuabdalla, filius fratris ilius. Abū* ‘*Abd Allāh*, literally ‘the father of ‘*Abd Allāh*’, is the *kunya* or agnomen honorifically designating the holder as a father; in this case, his *ism* or personal name is not given. ‘*Abd Allāh*’ is the commonest theophoric name used by Muslims, literally ‘the servant of God’. The Prophet’s *kunya* was *Abū* ‘*Abd Allāh*.
376. ‘‘M. the son of his [i.e. 3b’s] brother’). C: *Mahamad, filius fratris ilius*. The *ism* Muḥammad, lit. ‘the most highly praised’, commemorates the Prophet.
377. ‘‘M. the son-in-law (or, less probably, brother-in-law) of ‘*Abd al-Karīm* [i.e. 3b]’. C: *Maimun, cognatus Abdilcarim. Maymūn*, literally ‘blessed’, ‘fortunate’, etc.
378. ‘‘A. the son-in-law (or, less probably, brother-in-law) of al-Nashshār [i.e. 3a]’. C: *Ali, cognatus Annasiccar*. For ‘*Alī*’, see 3a above.
379. C: *Jasin, filius Nibat*. G & N: *Yāsīn b. Nibat*. Both elements are taken from the Qur’ān. The *ism* Yāsīn derives from *Sūra Yā Sīn*, the 36th chapter of the Qur’ān, so called from the two isolated letters (*al-ḥurūf al-muqaṭṭa* ‘a’) with which this chapter begins. Yāsīn is also widely believed to have been one of the names of the Prophet. *Yunbit* is fully pointed, and the taller *kursī* of the second letter indicates that this is the *nūn*, but the vocalisation is uncertain. It is presumably a deverbal name, meaning literally ‘he causes to grow’, picked at random from the Qur’ān (for the practice, Schimmel 1997, pp. 25–26, and above note 51), where the word occurs only once in Q.16:11: *yunbitu la-kum bi-hi l-zar’a*, ‘With it (i.e. the rain), He causes the crops to grow for you’.

[4c] *al-Shaykh Ja'far*.<sup>380</sup> [4d] *'Umar waladu-hu*.<sup>381</sup> [4e] [...] *ya*.<sup>382</sup> [4f] *'Atīq al-Mu'addib*.<sup>383</sup> /<sup>5</sup> [5a] *Rajā' akhū-hu*.<sup>384</sup> [5b] *'Abd al-'Alīm ibn Labbār*.<sup>385</sup> [5c] *Abū Bakr ibn Abī l-Qasim*.<sup>386</sup> [5d] *Yūsuf ibn Hashmūn*.<sup>387</sup>

- 
380. C: *senior Giaafar*. For *al-shaykh*, see 3b above. The *ism* Ja'far may commemorate a homonymous member of the Prophet's family, e.g. Ja'far ibn Abī Tālib or Ja'far al-Šādiq, and thus indicate that the bearer was Shī'ī.
381. 'U. his [i.e. 4c's] son'. C: *Omar filius ilius*. For 'Umar, see 3c above.
382. The name is illegible because of a hole in the parchment
383. 'A. the [Qur'ānic?] Teacher'. C: *Atic Almanahbed* [sic! presumably mis-transcribed by C]. G: *'Anīq al-Mu'addib*. 'Atīq, here apparently used as an *ism*, is probably an abbreviation of the *laqab* 'Atīq Allāh, literally 'freed by God [i.e. from damnation]'. It was used by the early convert, and first caliph, Abū Bakr (reg. 632–34). The *laqab al-Mu'addib* probably indicates that the bearer was a teacher, even a teacher in a Qur'ānic school; less plausibly, reading *al-Mu'addab*, it could mean 'well-educated', 'well-mannered' etc.
384. 'R. his [i.e. 4f's] brother'. C: *Rogia frater ilius*. The *ism* Rajā', literally 'hope', may be an abbreviation of a theophoric name such as Rajā' al-Karīm, 'hope of the generous'
385. C: *Abdullalim, filius Labban*. G: *'Abd al-Ḥalīm b. Labbān*. N: *'Abd al-Khalīm b. Labān*. 'Abd al-'Alīm is a theophoric name, literally 'the servant of the Omniscient' (Qur'ān 2.158 etc.). The first letter after the article is not clearly written, and could also be read as *hā'*, i.e. 'Abd al-Ḥalīm, literally 'the servant of the Clement' (Qur'ān 2.235, etc.), another theophoric name. *Labbār*, literally 'needle-maker' (Corriente 1997, p. 474: from Classical Arabic *al-abbār* illustrating assimilation of the definite article) is an *ism* and family name widely attested online in the Maghrib and the diaspora, e.g. the Moroccan musician Kamal Lebbar and the Orchestre Kamal Lebbar.
386. C: *Abubacher, filius Abilcassem*. *Abū Bakr* is here almost certainly used as an *ism* and not a *kunya*. It may commemorate the first of the Rashidūn caliphs (reg. 632–34), the father-in-law of the Prophet. *Abū l-Qasim* [corr. *Abū l-Qāsīm*], 'the father of *Qāsīm* (literally 'the one who distributes')', was the Prophet's *kunya* and here, again, may be used as an *ism*; it is conventionally avoided for a man named Muḥammad out of respect for the Prophet.
387. C: *Jiuseph, filius Asemun*. *Yūsuf* presumably commemorates the prophet Yūsuf (Joseph). The name *Hashmūn*, Frenchified as *Hachmoune*, is a common Maghribī surname, well-attested online.

[5e] *Abū Bakr ibn al-Mu'addib*.<sup>388</sup> [5f] *'Umar Bū Saliyū*.<sup>389</sup> /<sup>6</sup> [6a] *Abū Bakr ibn al-Janjānī*.<sup>390</sup> [6b] *'Ammār Khanāfū*.<sup>391</sup> [6c] *'Alī ibn Ḥumām*.<sup>392</sup>

- 
388. 'A. B. son of the (Qur'ānic?) Teacher'. C: *Abubacher, filius Almuaddeb*. For Abū Bakr, see 5c above. He appears to be the son of 4f above
389. C: *Omar, filius Jalin* [sic! presumably an error by the transliterator, not by C.] G & N: *'Umar Bū Salīq*. For 'Umar, see 3c above. The Maghribī *kunya* *Bū Saliyū*, usually transliterated Bousseliou, is well-attested online especially in Algeria and in the Algerian diaspora in France, e.g. Kamāl Bū Saliyū (Kamel Bousseliou), the Franco-Algerian goalkeeper coach of Paris F.C.
390. C: *Abubacher, filius Algiangiani*. For Abū Bakr, see 5c above. *Al-Janjānī* is a *nisba* formed from the Arabic place-name for modern Cianciana (AG), a commune 20 km east of Caltabellotta. The place-name is said to originate as the *latifondio* of an ancient proprietor named *Cincius* or *Cintius*: see Caracausi 1993, vol. 1, p. 386, with further references to the disputed etymology
391. C: *Omar Hhtacū*. G: *'Ammār Ḥattāfū*. N: *'Umar Ḥatafū* ('Umar ils sont morts' sic!). 'Ammār, literally 'one who has been granted long life'. The Maghribī family name *Khanāfū* (variously transliterated as Khenaffou, Knafo, Knafo, Qnafo, etc.) is extremely well-attested online. The name is said to be derived from the word *khanīf* (also *khanīfa*, *akhnīf*), a goat- or sheep-skin, also a cloak of the same material, perhaps derived from Berber (Dozy 1881, vol. 1, p. 409a). The name *Khanāfū* is often, but by no means exclusively, born by Jews (Corriente 1997, p. 168b), and is attested as the name of a Jewish clan (*'ā'ila*) from the coastal town of Āsfī (Safi) in western Morocco, who claim to have immigrated before the Islamic conquest and to have intermixed with the Amāzīgh Berbers. The name is also attested on Jarba where, for example, one Šāliḥ Khanāfū from the town of Ajīm, was killed during the Tunisian revolution on 14 January 2011 (Bū Ṭār 2011).
392. C: *Alī, filius Ahamsā* [sic! presumably an error by the transliterator, not by C.] G: *'Alī b. Ḥammām* [sic!]. N: *'Alī b. Ḥamān akhū-hu* ('Alī fils de ? son frère'). For 'Alī, see 3a above. *Ḥumām*, an ancient Arabic name, perhaps meaning 'a noble chief' or 'lord' (Lane 1863–1893, p. 637a), used with and without the article, e.g. from al-Ḥumām, the pre-Islamic idol of 'Udhra and the early Arabic poet of the Dhubyān, Ḥusayn b. al-Ḥumām, to the contemporary Tunisian sportsmen: Hmam (Ḥumām) Adem (table-tennis), H. Helmi (football), and H. Wissem (handball).

[6d] *Akhū-hu*.<sup>393</sup> [6e] *‘Uthmān ibn ‘Abbūd*.<sup>394</sup> [6f] *‘Alī al-‘Aqqār*.<sup>395</sup> /  
[7a] *Abū Bakr Bū Kharūba*.<sup>396</sup> [7b] *Ghāzī*.<sup>397</sup> [7c] *Tamām waladu-hu*.<sup>398</sup>  
[7d] *Ni‘ma*.<sup>399</sup> [7e] *‘Umar ibn Sharaf*.<sup>400</sup> [7f] *‘Abd al-Muḥassin*.<sup>401</sup> /<sup>8</sup> [8a]

393. ‘His [i.e. 6c’s] brother’. C: *frater ilius*.

394. C: *Othman, filius Abud*. G & N: *‘Uthmān ibn ‘Abūd*. His *ism* may commemorate of the third of the Rashidūn caliphs, ‘Uthmān ibn ‘Affān (r. 644–56). *‘Abbūd*, literally ‘devoted [i.e. to God]’.

395. ‘A. the Druggist’. C: *Alī Alacar*. For *‘Alī*, see 3a above. *Al-‘Aqqār*, literally ‘the druggist’, is a professional *laqab*.

396. C: *Abubacher, filius Charuba*. G: *Abū Bakr Bū Kharrūba*. For *Abū Bakr*, see 5c. *Bū Kharūba*, transliterated Boukharouba, is a Maghribī *kunya* well attested online in Algeria and in the Algerian diaspora, e.g. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm Bū Kharūba, a.k.a. Hawārī Bū Madiyan (Mohammed Ben Brahim Boukharouba, Houari Boumedienne), the second president of Algeria (d. 1978). The *kunya* is probably an honorific meaning literally ‘father of a clan’, derived from *kharūba* (from Berber *akher-rub*), the clan or ward of Kabylie Berber villages, composed of several agnatic families (Abrous 2004).

397. C: *Gazi*. Literally ‘fighter for the faith’.

398. ‘T. his [i.e. 7b’s] son’. C: *Taman [Jaman?]*. G: *Tamān*. Literally ‘perfection’.

399. C: *Neema*. Literally ‘blessing’, perhaps abbreviated from the theophoric name piously given to a much desired son, Ni‘mat Allāh, ‘the blessing of God’.

400. C: *Omar, filius Schiaraf*. For ‘Umar, see 3c above. *Sharaf*, literally ‘nobility’, ‘honour’, ‘glory’ etc., is perhaps abbreviated from a compound *laqab* such as *Sharaf al-Dīn*, ‘glory of the faith’.

401. C: *Abdulcassem* [sic!]. G & N: *‘Abd al-Hasan*. A miniature superscript *sīn* above the letter *sīn* of the second word may indicate doubling of the letter (*tashdīd*), or confirm that the letter, written as a straight line without teeth, is indeed a *sīn*, or both (see above pp. 43–44). The name may thus be read either as *‘Abd al-Muḥassin* (lit. ‘servant of the Beautifier’) or *al-Muḥsin* (lit. ‘of the Benefactor’, cf. Cusa 1858, p. 475a, transliterated as ὁβδελμουχσέν). In either case, the name carries a particular Shī‘ī significance because, according to a tradition denied by the Sunnīs, *al-Muḥassin* (today usually abbreviated to *al-Muḥsin*) was the third son of ‘Alī and Fāṭima. The form of the name is theophoric, but neither *al-muḥassin* nor *al-muḥsin* is one of the canonical names of God. However, some Shī‘ī extremists espoused the divinity of Muḥammad, ‘Alī, Fāṭima, al-Hasan, and al-Ḥusayn, amongst whom the Mukhammisa are said to have had a particular devotion to al-Muḥassin (see Massignon 1991).

*Ḥamīd*.<sup>402</sup> [8b] *Maymūn al-Farṭās*.<sup>403</sup> [8c] *Ayyūb al-Ḥarīrī*.<sup>404</sup> [8d]  
*Ḥammūd šihru-hu*.<sup>405</sup> [8e] *Ḥasan al-Ḥarīrī*.<sup>406</sup> [8f] *Abū l-Futūḥ ibn Bū*

- 
402. C: *Hhamid*. N: *Hāmīd*. Literally, ‘praiseworthy’, possibly to be read as the diminutive *Humayd*.
403. ‘M. the Mangy’. C: *Maymun Alcartasi*. G: *Maymūn al-Qirṭās*. N: *Maymūn al-qarṭṭās* (‘M. le fabricant de papier’?). For *Maymūn*, see 3f above. The first letter of the *laqab* is unpointed, but should almost certain be read as *fā*’ (not *qāf*). *Al-Farṭās* is a Berber loanword (Dozy 1881, vol. 2, p. 256a; De Simone 1979, p. 48; Caracausi 1983, p. 48, n. 56; De Simone 1988, p. 69; Caracausi 1990, p. 595a; Corriente 1997, p. 395b). The name is also attested in the *jarā’id* of Catania and Monreale, where the name is transliterated into Greek as ἐλφαρτάς (Cusa 1868–1882, pp. 176a, 279b, 578b). It also occurs in the Maghrib as an element in place-names, e.g. the famous neolithic site, Grotte du Djebel Fartas (*Jabal al-Farṭās*), in the Massif Mestaoua, near Bātna in Algeria.
404. ‘A. the weaver’. C: *Ayyub Alhariry*. His *ism* presumably commemorates the prophet Ayyūb (Job). *Al-Ḥarīrī*, meaning ‘the weaver’ (literally ‘the silky’), is a professional *laqab* in the form of a *nisba* — the commonest professional agnomen in the Sicilian *jarā’id* (e.g. Cusa 1868–1882, pp. 137b, 145b, 148b, 155a, 155b, 156a, 159a, 160a, 171a, 174b, 175a, 175b, 178a, 251a, 254a, 255a, 256a, 258a, 262a, 269a tris, 271a, 275a, 277b, 279a, 282a, 285a bis, 285b, 542a, 545b, 547a, 567a tris, 567b bis, 573b, 575b, 578b, 582a, 582b, 583b). While *al-ḥarīrī* must have originally denoted the weaver of silk, in medieval Sicilian dialect *caréri* etc. was used for the weaver of any material: Varvaro 1986, vol. 1, p. 169.
405. ‘H. his [i.e. 8c’s] son-in-law (or, less probably, brother-in-law)’. C: *Hhammad, cognatus ilius*. *Ḥammūd*, literally ‘praiseworthy’, derives from the same root *ḥ.m.d* as both the divine names al-Maḥmūd and al-Ḥamīd (lit. ‘the Praised’) and such names of the Prophet as Muḥammad (see 3e above), and Aḥmad (see 9d above).
406. ‘Ḥ. the weaver’. C: *Hhasa Alharyry*. His *ism* may commemorate the grandson of the Prophet, al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī (d. 669). Above the *sīn* is written a sign (see 7f above) that may be read either as a *shadda*, presumably indicating that the letter is to be stressed in pronunciation — i.e. *Ḥassan* or *Ḥassān* — or simply as a miniature *sīn* to indicate that the letter which is written without teeth is indeed a *sīn*. For *al-Ḥarīrī*, see 8c above.



*Kaff*.<sup>407</sup> /<sup>9</sup> [9a] *Akhū-hu*.<sup>408</sup> [9b] *ʿAbd al-Munʿim ibn ʿAbd al-Salām*.<sup>409</sup>  
[9c] *ʿAllūsh*.<sup>410</sup> [9d] *Aḥmad rabīb al-Miṣrātī*.<sup>411</sup> [9e] *Bū l-Futūḥ al-*

- 
407. C: *Abulphotuh, filius Lucoph*. G: *Abū l-Futūḥ bū Khaqq*. N: *Abū-l-Futūḥ b. Bū K.f. Abū l-Futūḥ*, literally ‘father of victories’, is a common metaphorical *kunya*. *Bū Kaff*, written with what is probably a *shadda* above the *fā*, is a Maghribī *kunya* (usually transliterated Boukaf) well attested online throughout the Maghrib and in the diaspora. The name is presumably derived from the Arabic *kunya* *Abū l-Kaff*, literally ‘father of the palm’, a professional agnomen used by modern chiromancers; cf. *ilm* or *qirāʾat al-kaff*, ‘palmistry’.
408. ‘His brother M.’ C: *Mocatel*. Literally ‘fighter’
409. C: *Abdulmonem, filius Abdissalām*. G: *عبد المععم* [sic!] / *ʿAbd al-Muʿmin* [sic!] *ʿAbd al-Salām*. N: *ʿAbd al-muʿamim* or (*ʿAbd al-m.ʿm.ʿm.?*) *b. ʿAbd al-Salām*. The scribe has corrected a slip of the pen, thereby superimposing the final *mīm* of *al-Munʿim* over the following *ibn*. Both names are theophoric but while the father’s, ‘the servant of Peace’, is Qurʾānic (59.23), the son’s, ‘the servant of the Benefactor’, is not.
410. C: *Alluse*. G: *ʿAlawī* [sic!]. N: *ʿAlwī* (or *ʿAlūn?*). According to Schimmel 1997, p. 69, a hypocoristic form of ʿAlī (see 3a above), also attested in the 1178 Monreale *jarīda*: *ʿAllūsh* / γαλλους (Cusa 1868–1882, p. 176b). However, it is also claimed that the Jewish family name *al-ʿallūsh* attested in 17th century Fez, Morocco, is derived from the Arabo-Berber word for ‘lamb’: Zafrani 1998, p. 245; see also Kossmann 2013, p. 155. See also: De Simone 1979, 46 (*ʿAllīs*); De Simone 1988, p. 69.
411. ‘A. the foster-son (or step-son) of al-M.’ C: *Aḥmad filius Nibat* [sic! the transliterator’s error, not the transcriber’s] *Almesrati*. G & N: *Aḥmad b. bint* [sic!] *al-Miṣrātī* (‘Aḥmad fils de la fille du Miṣrātī’). *Aḥmad*, meaning either ‘most praiseworthy’ or ‘one who praises [God] more than others’, is held to be the Prophet’s eternal and heavenly name, used by ʿĪsā (Jesus) to announce the advent of Muḥammad to the Children of Israel in Qurʾān 61.6. The word *rabīb*, misread by C, G and N, is clearly pointed (see also 11b below). *al-Miṣrātī* is a *nisba* indicating a connection either with the town or district of Miṣrāta in northwest Libya, or with the Miṣrāta section of the Berber confederation of Hawwāra.

Ṣanhājī.<sup>412</sup> [9f] ‘Abd al-Salam ibn Zanṭara.<sup>413</sup> /<sup>10</sup> [10a] ‘Alī ibn ‘Aliyū.<sup>414</sup> [10b] Yūsuf ṣihru-hu.<sup>415</sup> [10c] ‘Umar al-Hawwārī.<sup>416</sup> [10d] Abū Bakr ibn

- 
412. C: *Abulphotuth Assan hāgi* [sic! the transcriber’s error, not the transliterator’s]. For *Bū l-Futūh*, see 8f above. The *nisba al-Ṣanhājī* indicates a connection with the Berber confederation of Ṣanhāja.
413. C: *Abdussalam, filius Natuvayho*. G: ‘*Abd al-Salām b. Nuṣra*. N: ‘*Abd al-Salam b. Naṣra*. For ‘*Abd al-Salam* (corr. ‘*Abd al-Salām*), see 9b above. *Zanṭara*, literally ‘strong man’: the scribe has written the initial *zāy* below the rest of the word, tucking it into the loop of the *nūn* of *ibn*, presumably in order to restrict the width of the name (see also 11b, 17e and, with *wāw*, 14e). Words of the root *z.n.ṭ.r* seem to be rare, except in al-Andalus, where *zanṭara* is ‘to make vigorous or strong’ (Dozy 1881, vol. 1, 607; and Corriente 1997, p. 235, implausibly suggesting derivation from Persian *zende dār*, ‘watchful’, a term linked to a military context.). See also the early Arabic proverb, ‘May your hand never wither, O Ibn Abī Zanṭara’ (*Lā shallat yadu-ka, yā bna Abī Zanṭara*), forming a metaphoric *kunya*, ‘son of the father of strength’. The name ‘*Alī al-Z.n.ṭ.r(?)*’ occurs amongst the *mul*s from Dasīsa in the Monreale *jarīda* of 1183 (Cusa 1868–1882, p. 259a).
414. C: *Ali, filius Ali*. G & N: ‘*Alī b. ‘Alī*. For ‘*Alī*, see 3a above. Although C, G and N all give the father’s name as ‘*Alī*, the letter *wāw* can clearly be read after the pointed *yā*, reading ‘*Aliyū* — apparently a hypocoristic form of ‘*Alī*. The name today is attested online sporadically throughout the Arabic-speaking world, but its particular popularity amongst Muslims in sub-Saharan Africa may indicate that its presence in Sicily was due to the agency of a Tuareg or even a Chadic language.
415. ‘Y. his [i.e. 10a’s] son-in-law (or, less probably, brother-in-law)’. C: *Joseph, cognatus ilius*. For Yūsuf, see 5d above.
416. C: *Omar, Alhauāri*. G: ‘*Umar al-Hawwārī*. For ‘*Umar*, see 3c above. His *nisba al-Hawwārī* indicates a connection with the Berber confederation of Hawwāra (Gast 2000).

'*Abd al-Karīm*'.<sup>417</sup> [10e] *Khalīl al-'Abbāsī*.<sup>418</sup> [10f] *Yūsuf*.<sup>419</sup> /<sup>11</sup> [11a] *Ḥawwās*.<sup>420</sup> [11b] *Husayn rabīb Ramaḍān*.<sup>421</sup> The names of the men of Raḥl al-Baṣal. /<sup>12</sup> [12a] '*Ammār Bū Khallaṭ*'.<sup>422</sup> [12b] *waladu-hu*

- 
417. C: *Abubacher, filius Abdilcarim*. For *Abū Bakr*, see 5e above. For '*Abd al-Karīm*', see 3c above.
418. C: *Chalil Alabassi. Khalīl*, literally 'friend', is perhaps an abbreviation of *Khalīl Allāh*, 'the friend of God', the *laqab* of the prophet Ibrāhīm (Abraham). His *nisba* may indicate that he claimed a connection with the descendants of al-'Abbās ibn 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib (d. 662), the uncle of the Prophet, from whom the 'Abbāsīd caliphs were descended. For other instances in Norman Sicily, see Cusa 1868–1882, p. 256, and De Simone 1992, p. 46.
419. C: *Juseph*. For *Yūsuf*, see 5d above.
420. C: *Hhanaa*. G & N: *Ḥaddās*. An uncertain reading; the second letter is not a *nūn*, and looks more like a *wāw* than a *dāl* or a *rā*'. Of the possible roots, *h.w.s.*, 'to wander to and fro', offers the most plausible derivation; *ḥawwās*, 'traveller', but also 'robber', 'lone wolf', etc. (Dozy 1881, vol. 1, p. 336); alternatively, from *h.s.s.*, reading *Ḥawāss*, 'feelings', 'sensations', etc.
421. '*Ḥ*. the foster-son (or step-son) of R.' C: *Hosaym, filius Nibo Ramsam* [sic! the transliterator's error, not the transcriber's]. G & N: *Husayn b. bint Ramaḍān*. The *ism* may commemorate the grandson of the Prophet. For the reading *rabīb* (instead of *ibn bint*) see 9d above. *Ramaḍān* is an *ism* conventionally given to a son born in the month of fasting. Note that, presumably in order to restrict the width of the name, the scribe has written the initial *rā*' of *Ramaḍān* below the rest of the word (see also: the *rā*' in *rabīb*, in this name and in 9d; the *zāy* in *Zanṭara* 9f; the *rā*' in *rijāl* in l. 11).
422. C: *Aman* [sic. corr. *Amar*?] *filius Chalāt*. G: '*Ammār bū Khall[ā]ṭ*'. N: '*Umar* [sic!] b. *Khalāṭ*'. For '*Ammār*', see 6b above. The reading of the *kunya* is problematic and depends upon the placement of the *shadda*. If it is assumed that the *lām* bears the *shadda*, then the name could be read as *Bū Khallaṭ* (or *Bū Khallāṭ* assuming *scripta defectiva*). Frenchified as *Boukhallat*, it is attested online, particularly in Algeria and in the diaspora. However, if the initial *khā*' bears the *shadda* — and that is indeed how it is written, with the *shadda* in front of the *lām* — then it may rather indicate that, when pronounced, the long vowel of *Bū* was shortened and the stress fell on the *khā*'. In which case, the name might have been pronounced *bukhkhālṭ*: the Frenchified name *Boukhalt* is also attested online. (See the discussion of the use of *shadda* in this document below pp. 44–45.) The name is presumably derived from the root *kh.l.ṭ* denoting 'mix-

*Ḥusayn*.<sup>423</sup> [12c] *al-Shaykh ‘Abd al-Mu’min*.<sup>424</sup> [12d] *Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Miṣrātī*.<sup>425</sup> [12e] *al-Shaykh ‘Umar*.<sup>426</sup> [12f] *‘Awḍ ibn ‘Abd Allāh*.<sup>427</sup> /<sup>13</sup> [13a] *‘Alī Bū Ḥaddād*.<sup>428</sup> [13b] *‘Abd al-Bāqī*.<sup>429</sup> [13c] *‘Imrān ibn*

ture’ or ‘confusion’ —Dozy 1881, vol. 1, p. 394, gives *khallāt*, ‘brouillon politique’, ‘intrigant’, ‘malveillant’ — and might mean something like ‘father of intrigue’ and be the nickname of a trouble-maker; alternatively, the name could indicate that its bearer was of mixed race.

423. ‘His [i.e. 12a’s] son Ḥ.’. C: *Filius ilius Hasayn*. For *Ḥusayn*, see 11b above.
424. ‘The elder ‘A.’. C: *senior Abdulummen*. For *al-shaykh*, see 3b above. ‘*Abd al-Mu’min*’ is a theophoric name, literally ‘the servant of the Faithful’ (Qur’ān 59.23).
425. C: *Abdu Addalla Almesrati*. G: *Abū Bakr ‘Abd Allāh al-Miṣrātī*. For *Abū ‘Abd Allāh*, see 3d above. For *al-Miṣrātī*, see 9d above.
426. ‘The elder ‘U.’. C: *senior Oman* [sic. corr. *Omar*]. N: *al-shaykh ‘Uthmān*. For *al-shaykh*, see 3b above. For ‘*Umar*’, see 3 c above.
427. C: *Audo, filius Abdilla*. ‘*Awḍ*’ (classical Arabic ‘*Iwāḍ*’), literally ‘substitute’, is a name typically given to the child born next after the death of a son (Marty 1936, p. 375. For ‘*Abd Allāh*’, see 3d above.
428. C: *Ali, filius* [sic! the transliterator’s error, not the transcriber’s] *Haddab*. For ‘*Alī*’, see 3a. *Bū Ḥaddād*, literally ‘father of a blacksmith’, presumably originated as a metaphorical *kunya* celebrating the bearer’s professional skill, but is now widespread in the Maghrib and the diaspora as a family name (Frenchified as Bouheddad).
429. C: omits. A theophoric name, literally ‘the servant of the Eternal’ (Qur’ān 59.23).

*Ḥalīma*.<sup>430</sup> [13d] *ʿUmar ibn al-ʿArja*.<sup>431</sup> [13e] *Musāfir*.<sup>432</sup> [13f] *Hāshim*.<sup>433</sup> /<sup>14</sup> [14a] *Riḍwān ibn Raymūn*.<sup>434</sup> [14b] *ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn al-Muʿadhdhin*.<sup>435</sup> [14c] *Ḥasan akhū-hu*.<sup>436</sup> [14d] *ʿAbd al-Salām Bilāla*.<sup>437</sup> [14e] *ʿAbd al-Nūr waladu-hu*.<sup>438</sup> [14f] *ʿImrān ṣihru-hu*.<sup>439</sup> /<sup>15</sup> [15a] *ʿAlī*

- 
430. C: *Emram, filius Halyma*. *ʿImrān* may commemorate one of two scriptural figures: the father of Mūsā (Moses), or the father of Maryam (Mary), mother of ʿĪsā (Jesus). *Ḥalīma*, lit. ‘patience’, is a woman’s name, born by the daughter of the Ghassānid king al-Ḥārith ibn Jabala, legendary for her beauty, and by the Prophet’s foster-mother, Ḥalīma bint Abī Dhuʿayb.
431. C: *Omar, filius Alargia*. N: *ʿUmar b. al-ʿArja*. For *ʿUmar*, see 3c. The vocalisation of the *laqab* is uncertain: *al-ʿUrja* might indicate that the bearer suffered from ‘lameness’ (Lane 1863, p. 1996c–1997a, under *ʿarajun* and *a ʿraju*), but the same name amongst the men of Corleone in the 1178 Monreale *jarīda* (Cusa 1868–1882, p. 138b) is transliterated into Greek as ἐπ[iv] ἑλᾱρτζε, perhaps indicating that the Arabic should be read *al-ʿArja*, a word also derived from the root indicating lameness, but possibly with the particular meaning that its bearer was unable or unwilling to depart (Lane 1863, p. 1996c under *ʿurjatun*).
432. C: *Mosapheer*. G: omits. Literally ‘traveller’, ‘visitor’, ‘guest’ etc.
433. C: *Hasūem*. The name of Prophet’s grandfather, after whom is called the large Meccan clan of Banū Hāshim, i.e. the Hashemites.
434. C: *Reduan filius Raymun*. *Riḍwān*, literally ‘[God’s] acceptance [of man’s submission]’. His father’s name is perhaps Arabicised from *Raimundus*, Ραῖμοῦνδος, *Raymond*, or similar. Today, *Raymūn* has a certain currency amongst francophile Arabs, perhaps as a sort of compromise between French *Raymond* and Arabic *Raḥmān*. Note also the assonance and orthographic similarities between *Maymūn* and *Raymūn* (especially conspicuous in 18b below).
435. C: Abdurrahman, filius Almnaddem [*sic. corr. Almuaddem*]. For *ʿAbd al-Raḥmān*, see 9b above. *Al-Muʿadhdhin*, literally ‘the muezzin’, is presumably a professional *laqab*.
436. *Ḥ*. his (i.e. 14b’s) brother]. C: *Hasan, frater ilius*. For *Ḥasan*, see 8e.
437. C: Abdussalam Belala. G: *ʿAbd al-Salām Bilāla*. For *ʿAbd al-Salām*, see 9b above. *Bilāla* may be a *cognomen toponomasticum* derived from, for example, the village of the same name 3km east of Miṣrāta, Libya, or the small town of al-Bilāla (El Belala), in Umm al-Buwāqī (Oum El Bouaghi) province, eastern Algeria.
438. *ʿA*. his (i.e. 14d’s) son’. C: *Abdunnur, filius ilius*. A theophoric name, literally ‘the servant of the Light’ (Qurʾān 24.35)
439. *ʿI*. his (i.e. 14d’s) son-in-law (or, less probably, brother-in-law). C: *Emran*. For *ʿImrān*, see 14c above.

*al-Ṭālī* 'a.<sup>440</sup> [15b] 'Abd al-Salam al-Ma'āz.<sup>441</sup> [15c] *al-Janiyānī*.<sup>442</sup> [15d] *Ramaḍān al-Ḥarīrī*.<sup>443</sup> [15e] 'Abd al-Wāḥid.<sup>444</sup> [15f] *Khalīl al-Bīfarī*.<sup>445</sup> /<sup>16</sup> [16a] *Husayn ibn Bū Raqīq*.<sup>446</sup> [16b] 'Abd al-Ghaḥfār.<sup>447</sup> [16c] *Yūsuf*

- 
440. C: *Alex* [sic! the transcriber's error?] *Attalea*. N: 'Alī al-Ṭāla'a. For 'Alī, see 3a above. *Al-Ṭālī* 'a, literally 'the beginning', but here with the more specialised meaning of 'lookout', 'watchman', etc. (Dozy 1881, vol. 1, p. 55; see also Latham 1993; for Sicilian dialect, Caracausi 1983, pp. 364–65).
441. 'A. the goatherd'. C: *Abdussalam Almaaz*. For 'Abd al-Sal[ā]m, see 9b above. Although *al-ma'āz* is written with particular care, with *tashdīd* above and miniature 'ayn under the 'ayn to show that it is indeed unpointed, the final letter looks more like a *dhāl* than a *zāy*.
442. C: *Almachiani* [sic. the transliterator's error]. N: *al-Jinyānī*. A *nisba* indicating a connection with the neighbouring estate of al-Janīya: see above p. 9 note 57, p. 21 and p. 22 note 135. G (p. 175, n. 13) states that this *nisba* is a variant of *al-Janjānī* (see 6a above), but the two places and their names are completely distinct.
443. C: *Ramadan Alhariri*. For *Ramaḍān*, see 11b above. For *al-Ḥarīrī*, see 8c above.
444. C: *Abduluahad*. Literally 'the servant of the One', is a theophoric name (Qur'ān 2.163, etc.).
445. C: *Chalil filius Albaycari*. G: *Khalīl al-Bīqarī*. N: *Khalīl al-Bayqarī*. For *Khalīl*, see 10e above. *Al-Bīfarī* is a *nisba* presumably derived from the neighbouring estate of Burj al-Bīfarī (cf. above, p. 9 note 59). C, G and N presumably assume that the word derives from the town now known as Vicari, but its Arabic name was *Bīqū*, not *al-Bīqarī* (al-Idrīsī 1970–1978, pp. 604, 606, 618; Cusa 1868–1882, pp. 208, 605; see also Caracausi 1993, vol. 2, 1703b–1704a).
446. C: *Hasan filius Burchie* [sic. the transliterator's error?]. G: *Ḥasan bū Ruqyū* [sic!]. For *Husayn*, see 11b. *Bū Raqīq* is probably a metaphorical *kunya* in some way referring to his servility (literally, 'father of a slave'). The *kunya* is well-attested online as a surname in the Maghrib and the diaspora. Note that, in *Raqīq*, the two points of the terminal *qāf* can just be seen with the naked eye in a crease in the parchment and are clearly visible with the Wood lamp.
447. C: *Abdulgaphpher*. A theophoric name, literally 'the servant of the Pardoner' (Qur'ān 20.82, etc.).

*al-Mu'addib*.<sup>448</sup> [16d] *Maz 'āsh*.<sup>449</sup> [16e] '*Abd al-Sayyid ibn al-Ballūṭī*'.<sup>450</sup>  
[16f] '*Abd al-Ghaffār akhū-hu*'.<sup>451</sup> /<sup>17</sup> [17a] *Abū Bakr ibn 'Imrān*.<sup>452</sup> [17b]  
*Ibrāhīm al-Ṭawīl*.<sup>453</sup> [17c] *al-Mu'addib ibn al-Ḥammār*.<sup>454</sup>

- 
448. 'Y. the (Qur'ānic?) Teacher'. C: *Juseph Almuadeb*. For *Yūsuf*, see 5d above. For *al-Mu'addib*, see 4f above.
449. C: *Mazallesi*. G: *Miz'alish*. N: ? A Berber (Taqbaylit, Kabylie) family name widespread online in Algeria, France and throughout the Algerian diaspora, and transliterated variously as Mezaache, Mezaâche, Mzaach, etc., e.g. Anthony Mezaache, the European lightweight boxing champion 2009. The scribe must have been unfamiliar with the Berber name, for he mistook the *alif* in the original for a *lām*, leading astray C and G, whereas N remarks 'L'arabe n'est d'aucune aide'.
450. C: *Abdalla* [sic! the transliterator's error] *filius Alballuti*. G: '*Abd al-Salām* [sic!]. N: '*Abd al-Salam b. al-Ballūṭī*. '*Abd al-Sayyid*, literally 'the servant of the Lord', has the form of a theophoric name, but *al-sayyid* is not one of the Qur'ānic names of God and is generally used by Muslims only of humans, such as the descendants of the Prophet, saints, or temporal rulers. The name is used by Sunnīs and Shī'īs alike, and also by Arabic-speaking Christians for whom Jesus is *al-sayyid al-masīh*. *Al-Ballūṭī*, literally 'the oaky', is a *nisba* indicating connection with Qal' at al-Ballūṭ, literally 'Stronghold of the Oaks', modern Caltabellotta.
451. 'A. his [i.e. 16e's] brother'. C: *Abdulgaphphar, filius ilius*. For 'Abd al-Ghaffār, see 16b above.
452. C: Abubacher, filius Emram. For Abū Bakr, see 5c above. For 'Imrān, see 13c above.
453. 'I. the tall'. C: *Abrahīm Ettauyt*. G: *Ibrāhīm*. The *ism*, here written without (pace G) the *alif*, may commemorate the prophet Ibrāhīm (Abraham). *Al-Ṭawīl*, literally 'the tall'.
454. 'The [Qur'ānic?] teacher, son of the Donkey-driver'. C: *Almnaddeb* [sic. corr. *Almuaddeb*], *filius Alchamar*. For *al-Mu'addib*, see 4f above. The *laqab* should probably be read as the professional agnomen *al-ḥammār*, 'the donkey driver', but the absence of *tashdīd* suggests that the scribe playfully decided not to rule out the possibility that the father's name would be read as the injurious nickname *al-ḥimār*, 'the donkey'.

[17d] *Šammūd*.<sup>455</sup> [17e] *Ya ‘qūb ibn Raymūn*.<sup>456</sup> [17f] *Muḥammad ibn al-Falūw*.<sup>457</sup> /<sup>18</sup> [18a] *al-Mu‘addib ‘Abd Allāh*.<sup>458</sup> [18b] *Maymūn ibn Raymūn*.<sup>459</sup> [18c] *‘Abd al-Riḍā ṣihru-hu*.<sup>460</sup> [18d] *Tāhir*.<sup>461</sup> [18e] *Qā’id*.<sup>462</sup> [18f] *al-Jinnishī*.<sup>463</sup> /<sup>19</sup> [19a] *Bū l-Khayr*.<sup>464</sup> [19b] *Ḥusayn al-Ghandūsh*.<sup>465</sup>

- 
455. C: Samudo. G: *Šamūd Ya ‘qūb Muḥammad ibn al-Ghalū* (but transliterates *Šamūd Ya ‘qūb b. Raymūn / Muḥammad al-Falū*). N: *Šamūd. Šammūd*, literally ‘steadfast’, also ‘taciturn’. Alex Metcalfe notes that the name appears three times in the Monreale *jarā’id*, always written with *shadda* on the *mīm* (Cusa 1868–1882, pp. 135b [Σαμοῦτ], 144b [Σαμοῦδ], and 273b [Σαμμοῦτ]; also in the 1145 Cefalù *jarīda*, p. 475b, *Šammūd/Σαμμο[ῦ]τ*). See also Caracausi 1993, vol. 2, p. 729a under *Zambuto*.
456. C: *Jaacub, filius Raymun*. G: *Ya ‘qūb b. Maymūn*. The *ism* may commemorate the prophet *Ya ‘qūb* (Jacob). For *Raymūn*, cf. 14 (a).
457. C: *Mahamad, filius Alcalū* [sic! the transliterator’s error]. N: *Muḥammad b. al-Ghalū?* For *Muḥammad*, see 3e above. His father’s *laqab*, *al-Falūw*, means literally ‘the colt’ or ‘foal’ (also, ‘ass’, ‘donkey’, ‘jenny’, etc.: Dozy 1881, vol. 2, 290).
458. ‘The [Qur’ānic?] Teacher’) ‘A.’. C: *Almnadded* [sic! corr. *Almuaddeb*] *Abdalla*. For *al-Mu‘addib*, see 4f above. For *‘Abd Allāh*, see 3d above.
459. C: *Maymun, filius Raymun*. G: *Maymūn ibn Maymūn*. For *Maymūn*, see 3f above. For *Raymūn*, see 14a above.
460. ‘A. his (i.e. 18b’s) son-in law (or, less probably, brother-in-law)’. C: *Abdurradi, cognatus ililus*. G: *‘Abd al-Rāḍī ṣihru-hu*. N: *‘Abd al-Rāḍī. ‘Abd al-Riḍā*, literally ‘the servant of He who is contented [with man’s submission]’, a non-Qur’ānic theophoric name (see Bosworth 1995).
461. C: *Jhaheer* [sic! the transcriber’s error?]. Literally, ‘pure’.
462. C: *Cayed*. G: *Qāyid*. Literally ‘leader’, usually preceded by the definite article and used as a title, but apparently also sometimes used as an *ism* in the Sicilian *jarā’id*: Cusa 1868–1882, pp. 132b, 139b and 174b.
463. C: *Algianasci*. G: *Al-Janshī*. N: *al-j.n.shī*. A *nisba* presumably indicating connection with *Jinnish*, modern Cinisi, (al-Idrīsī 1970–1978, p. 622; Caracausi 1993, vol. 1, p. 400a); De Simone 1979, p. 20. *Al-Jinishī* (without *shadda*) occurs amongst the *maḥallāt* of Manzil Krishtī in the 1183 Monreale *jarīda* (Cusa 1868–1882, p. 255b [ὁ Τζίνισης]).
464. C: *Abulcayer*. Literally ‘father of the good’, a metaphorical *kunya*.
465. C: *Hosayn Alanduse*. G: *Ḥusayn al-‘Andūsh* or *al-Ghandūsh*. N: *Ḥusayn al-Ḥandūsh* (=‘?’). For *Ḥusayn*, see 11b above. *Al-Ghandūsh*, Frenchified as *Gandouche*, *Gendouche*. *Qandouche*, *Qendouche* etc., is a Berber(?) surname occasionally attested online in Tunisia, e.g. at M’saken (Masākin) near Sousse.



[19c] *'Abd al-Mughīth*.<sup>466</sup> [19d] *Fityān ibn 'Awd*.<sup>467</sup> [19e] *Ibrahīm al-Ashqar*.<sup>468</sup> [19f] *Ṣadaqa*.<sup>469</sup> [20a] *Dahmān*.<sup>470</sup> [20b] *Bakkād*.<sup>471</sup> The total is a hundred men. /<sup>21</sup> Then, when it was the date of the month of July,<sup>472</sup> in Indiction 4, you petitioned us, when we were in Agrigento – may God protect it! – concerning these named persons, registered in this document, /<sup>22</sup> who were in your possession as newly commended villeins

- 
466. C: *Abdulmaghit*. G: *'Abd al-Mughīth*. Literally, 'the servant of the Raingiver', a non-canonical theophoric name (but see Qur'ān 31.34, 42.28), sometimes said (wrongly) to be a variant of *al-Muqīt*, 'the Nourisher' (Qur'ān 4.85).
467. C: *Cainan* [*sic!* the transliterator's error], *filius Aud*. G: *Fanyān* [*sic!*] *b. 'Awd*. *Fityān*, literally 'youths', plural of *fatā*, is occasionally used as a proper name (e.g. 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn Fityān in the documents of 1152 for St. George's: see above p. 16 and p. 19 note 112). The fact that the scribe has carefully placed all of the points may suggest that he was unfamiliar with the usage. For *'Awd*, see 12f above.
468. C: *Ebrahim Alasecar*. For *Ibr[ā]hīm*, see 17b above. His *laqab* suggests that he was 'fair-skinned' or 'blond'.
469. C: *Sadaca*. G: *Ṣadqa*. Literally 'charity'.
470. C: *Dahhaman*. G: *Rahmān*. An *ism* apparently once particular to the Kabylie, now spreading throughout the Maghrib and in the diaspora. The scribe has taken pains to write the initial letter as an unmistakable *dāl*, and Collura 1969–1970, p. 260 has *Dahhaman*, but Gálvez 1995, pp. 175, 177, nonetheless hyper-corrects to *Rahmān*.
471. C: *Baccar*. G & N: *Bakkār*. An uncertain reading. While the Berber(?) family name *Bakkād* is occasionally attested in the Maghrib — e.g. the football coach Muḥammad Bakkād (Mohammed Bekad), whose departure in March 2010 from Oujda City (Farīq Maulūdiya Wajda) in eastern Morocco caused a brief storm of protest online — the Arabic *ism* *Bakkār* is relatively common online, e.g. in Egypt. While the final letter is written as a *dāl*, and not as a *rā*, it could be a mere slip of the pen (see 15b above where final *dhāl* is read as a *zāy*).
472. *Iṣṭrīyūn*, i.e. from ὅστεροιοῦνης, 'second June', cf. Caracausi 1986, p.16; Caracausi 1990, p.590. Caracausi's hypothesis is, in large part, confirmed by al-Idrīsī's use of *iṣṭrīyūn* in a context where it is clear that it means the month preceding August. Writing of the English Channel in the 6th Clime, Section 1, he comments *wa-ayyāmu safari-him fī-hu ayyāmun qalā'ilun wa hiya muddata shahri iṣṭrīyūn wa-shahri awsū*, 'the days when it can be sailed upon are few, and they are seen during the month of July (*iṣṭrīyūn*) and the month of August': al-Idrīsī 1970–1978, p. 859, ll. 15–16. See also: De Simone 1988, pp. 73–74; Johns 2001.

(*muls*). And we granted them to you on the condition that if any of them should appear in our *jarā'id* or in the *jarā'id* of our landholders (*tarrārīyati-nā*), he shall be taken from you. /<sup>23</sup> And these are their names. /<sup>24</sup> [24a] *Ḥasan al-Safāqsī*.<sup>473</sup> [24b] *ʿAbd al-Mawlā akhū-hu*.<sup>474</sup> [24c] *ʿUmar ibn al-Qalānisī*.<sup>475</sup> [24d] *ʿIsā al-Ifriqī*.<sup>476</sup> [24e] *Abū l-Qasim al-Qābisī*.<sup>477</sup> [24f] *ʿAlī al-Tūnisī*.<sup>478</sup> [24g] *Maymūn al-Ifriqī*.<sup>479</sup> [24h] *Aḥmad al-Ifṛābulusī*.<sup>480</sup> [24i] *ʿAbd al-ʿAzīm al-Ifṛābulusī*.<sup>481</sup> /<sup>25</sup> [25a] *Abū*

- 
473. C: *Ahaan Assaphachesi*. For *Ḥasan*, see 8e. His *nisba* indicates a connection with *Ṣafāqus* (Sfax), in Tunisia; the misspelling with initial *sīn* in place of *šād* is not unusual.
474. 'A. his (i.e. 24a's) brother'. C: *Abdulmanlā* [sic. corr. *Abdulmaulā*] *frater ilius*. Literally 'the servant of the Protector', a common theophoric name (see Qur'ān 2.286 etc.), although *al-mawlā* is not amongst the canonical 'most beautiful names' of God, perhaps because *al-mawlā* is also commonly used by temporal lords and rulers
475. C: *Omar, filius Alcalesi*. N: *ʿUmar b. al-Qalānsī*. For *ʿUmar*, see 3c above. *Al-Qalānisī*, literally 'the hatter' (see Björkman 1927, is presumably a professional *laqab* (De Simone 1979, p. 26), but could also be a *nisba*, e.g. from the town of Qalansuwa in Palestine.
476. C: *Jsā Alaphuchi* [sic. corr. *Alaphrichi*]. The *ism* may commemorate the prophet ʿIsā (Jesus). His *nisba* probably indicates a connection with *Madīnat al-Ifriqīya*, i.e. the capital of Zīrid Ifriqīya, al-Mahdiyya (Mahdia), Tunisia.
477. C: *Abulcasem Alcabesi*. For *Abū l-Q[ā]sim*, see 5e above. His *nisba* indicates a connection Qābis (Gabès), Tunisia.
478. C: *Ali Attrinesi* [sic. corr. *Attunesi*, the transcriber's error]. For *ʿAlī*, see 3a above. His *nisba* indicates a connection with Tūnis (Tunis), Tunisia.
479. C: *Maymun Alafrichi*. For *Maymūn*, see 3f above. For *al-Ifriqī*, see 24d above.
480. C: *Aḥmad Alatrabelesi*. N: *Aḥmad al-Ṭarābulusī*. For *Aḥmad*, see 9d above. His *nisba* indicates a connection with al-Ifṛābulus (Tripoli), Libya.
481. C: *Abduladim Alatrabelesi*. N: *ʿAbd al-ʿAlīm* [sic!] *al-Ṭarābulusī*. *ʿAbd al-ʿAzīm*, literally 'the servant of the Magnificent', is a theophoric name (Qur'ān 2.255 etc.). For *al-Ifṛābulusī*, see 24h above.

*Bakr Shaykhī al-Ifriqī*.<sup>482</sup> [25b] *Umar Bū Shafa al-Ifriqī*.<sup>483</sup> [25c]  
*Gharbī(?) Nazūr(?) al-Ifriqī*.<sup>484</sup> [25d] *Mūsā al-Ifriqī*.<sup>485</sup> [25e] *al-*

- 
482. C: *Abubacher Sciaychi Alafuchi* [sic. corr. *Alafrichi*, the transcriber's error]. G & N: *Abū Bakr Shayfī* [sic!] *al-Ifriqī*. For *Abū Bakr*, see 4f above. The reading *Shaykhī* is uncertain. *Al-Shaykhī*, with the definite article, is today commonly used as a *laqab*, but the use of *shaykhī* (literally 'my elder'), where an *ism* might be expected, is perplexing. The reading preferred by G & N — *shayfī* — is palaeographically improbable, and makes no better sense. For *al-Ifriqī* see 24d above.
483. C: *Omar Luscea* [sic] *Alafrichi*. N: *Umar shaffa? al-Ifriqī*. For 'Umar, see 3c above. *Bū Shafa*, literally 'father of a lip', is probably not a simple metaphorical *laqab* presumably relating to the bearer's physical appearance, for the widespread use of the *kunya* (Frenchified as Bouchafa, Bouchefa) in Algeria and the diaspora, suggests that it has long been a family name: e.g. the Kabylie singer Massa Bouchafa. For *al-Ifriqī* see 24d above.
484. C: *Gasli Jamr* [sic] *Alafrichi*. G (176, 178, & 181 n. 86): *Ghaznī/Ghusnī/Ghuṣnī Tarūd al-Ifriqī*. N: *Ghaznī? tarūd? al-Ifriqī*. A very problematic name in three parts, of which only the *nisba* may be read with certainty. C's transcription of the Latin transliteration of the first part as *Gasli* ignores the clear point above the second and below the third letter. *Ghaznī*, apparently the one reading of the first part that G (and N) really intended, is the name of a medieval city in modern Afghanistan, and was never used as a personal name. Were the word certainly Arabic (rather than Berber), a possible reading would be *Gharbī*, literally 'a westerner' (Frenchified as Gherbi), an extremely common family name, both with and without the definite article. But, while it might be argued that orthography and context both support this reading, the word is not generally used as an *ism*. As to the second part, C's *Jamr* bears no relation to the name written; G and N's *Tarūd* is not attested as a name. It could be read as *Nazūr*, an Arabic word meaning literally something or someone 'small' or 'insignificant' and thence, of speech, 'taciturn'; alternatively, it could be read as *Tarūr*, occasionally attested online as a surname in Morocco. For the *nisba al-Ifriqī*, see 24d above.
485. C: *Musa Alafrichi*. The *ism* may commemorate the prophet Mūsā (Moses). For *al-Ifriqī* see 24d above.

Zuwārī.<sup>486</sup> [25f] Hilāl.<sup>487</sup> /<sup>26</sup> The total is fifteen men *mul*s.

/<sup>27</sup> [Greek monocondyllic signature] + *Roger, in Christ the God, the pious and mighty king and helper of the Christians* +++

## DOCUMENT 5

[Palermo] May, 547 A.H., Indiction XV (1152 A.D.)

Fig. 9

Original: Toledo, Hospital de S. Juan Bautista (Tavera), Calle Vega Baia, Archivo General de la Fundación Casa Ducal de Medinaceli, Fondo Messina, no. 1120 (S 2001) *verso*.

Copy: Doc. 6.

Editions: Unedited.

Bibliography: Noth 1978, p. 231, 'P'. Noth 1983, p. 199–200, 'P'. Benedetto Rocco in Fallico *et al.* 1994, p. 161, doc. 31. Johns 2002, pp. 77 note 105, 130 note 47, 135, 136 note 74, 187 note 56, 197, 198, 200, 201, 209, 222 and note 39, 251 note 197, 279 and note 122, and 309.

Notes: see under Doc. 2 above.

Condition: see under Doc. 2 above.

Script: There is no trace that the parchment was prepared for the text with margins or lines, but the text keeps within a neat margin on the right hand side only. The scribe used a thin reed with a soft, medium brown ink, which is now extremely faint and patchy, especially on the left hand side of the sheet. The hand is a clear but inelegant version of the royal *d̥wānī* script, with abundant points and other orthographic signs, but very few short vowels. The *hastae* are vertical, and there are a few,

---

486. C: *Azsauari*. A *nisba* indicating a connection with the Berber tribe of the same name, from the vicinity of the modern town of Zuwāra in the Jabal Nafūsa, western Libya.

487. C: *Helado* [sic]. Literally 'new moon', a common *ism* but one which, in this context, may perhaps indicate a connection with the Arab confederation of Banū Hilāl who spread throughout the Maghrib in the eleventh century.

relatively restrained calligraphic flourishes. Of particular note is the 'Palermitan form' of the Hindu-Arabic symbol for '5' used to indicate 'Indiction 15' in line 1 (also in Doc. 6, l. 1), which resembles a capital 'B'; in this case, but not in Doc. 6, the '15' is enclosed between two horizontal lines.<sup>488</sup> Amongst the chancery registration marks and signatures: Peter's *alāma* is written in a thick, black ink; the *hasbala* appears to be written in a different hand as the text, although in much the same ink; the Greek marks and signatures, and the Latin signatures, all use a light brown ink close to that used for the text.

لما كان بتاريخ مايو الحول<sup>489</sup> ١٥<sup>490</sup> وقع حلف بين رهبان طرقلش وهربرت صاحب قلمونش في<sup>491</sup> الحد الذي بينهم فخرج الامر<sup>492</sup> العالى المطاع زاده الله علوا ومضا<sup>493</sup> الى عامل الشاقة وهو بجالي<sup>494</sup> والترارية والشيوخ العارفين بالحد<sup>495</sup> بفصل الحد الذي بينهم وهم غليالم فرسترة وجفراي مرثران وبرتلماو بن هامون واخوه ماثاو وترستان وغليالم صاحب الجرف<sup>496</sup> / وبرت منفراي الحاكم وغليالم مستخلف رقة الشاقة وبرت هلدوين وصهره ارنلد واولاد جوان اطرية ومن البرجيسين نقولة بن لندو والبرت صهر جوان اطرية وعبد الرحمن<sup>497</sup> / بن فتيان ومن المسلمين طاهر بن عمر واولاد الرومية وابو الفتوح بن عمار وغيرهم واول الحد الذي وقع عليه الانفصال وهو من عين المخيض يتماذي<sup>496</sup> مع كدا<sup>497</sup> الدبس روس

488. Discussed in Burnett 2002 (reprinted Burnett 2010), pp. 243–245, 266 Table II Arabic b–c and Latin, pls. 5–8.

489. Hole in the parchment.

490. See pp. 90–91 and note ?? above.

491. The tail of the *fā* is looped to the right and upwards so that it flows into the initial *alif* of the following word.

492. The word begins with an over-complicated ligature in which four *hastae* may be counted.

493. CA زاده الله علوا ومضا .

494. See above p. 16 and p. 17 note 93.

495. A miniature letter *hā* is written beneath the *hā* of *al-hadd*.

496. CA يتماذي .

497. Presumably the plural of *kudya*, 'a hill', a very common geographical term in the Sicilian *hudūd*, see {Pellegrini, 1961 #676}, p.176; Caracausi 1983, no.154, pp. 263–264.

الكدا متقرب<sup>498</sup> /<sup>5</sup> الى اخر الكدا المذكورة وينزل من الكدية الاخيرة<sup>499</sup> متقرب<sup>500</sup>  
الى المجري<sup>501</sup> في [رجل]<sup>502</sup> الكدية وينزل مع المجري المجري<sup>503</sup> الى<sup>504</sup> ان يجتمع  
بالخندق الكبير ويمر مع الخندق الخندق دبورا<sup>6</sup> الى الوادي<sup>505</sup> الكبير > ويمر مع  
الخندق الخندق دبورا الى<sup>506</sup> الوادي<sup>507</sup> الكبير < المعروف بوادي قلعة البلوط  
وانفصل الحد<sup>509</sup> بين قلمونش وطرقش كتب بالتاريخ المتقدم من<sup>510</sup> سنة سبع<sup>511</sup>  
واربعين وخمسائة<sup>512</sup>

a. + Εκυρωθ(η) +<sup>513</sup>

498. CA متقرباً .

499. Doc. 6, l. 6: الكدية الاخرى .

500. CA متقرباً .

501. CA المجري .

502. A hole in the parchment has been repaired, erasing the word, which is supplied from Doc. 6, l. 6. Although it is there unpointed, *rijl* is preferred to *rahl*.

503. CA المجري المجري .

504. CA الى .

505. CA الوادي .

506. CA الى .

507. CA الوادي .

508. The phrase enclosed in angled brackets — < الخندق الخندق دبورا الى > — is repeated in error, but not in the copy (Doc. 6).

509. A miniature letter *hā* ' is written beneath the *hā* ' of *al-hadd*.

510. The tail of the *nūn* is looped upwards to the right so that it flows into the *sīn* of the following word.

511. The tail of the *ʿayn* is looped round and to the left so that it flows into the *wāw* of the following word.

512. Doc. 6, ll. 7–8 adds the clause وهذا السجل الاصيلي الديواني وهذا مثاله خاصه

513. Registration marks, such as καταστρώθη εἰς τὸ σέκρετον or similar, are often written on the verso of Byzantine imperial documents: see Dölger and Karayannopoulos 1968, pp. 37, 53, n.5, 84, n.3, 98, n. 10, 112, n. 2, 119, 153, 160, fig. 22. For the use of ἐκυρωθῆ in the Norman *dīwān*, see Johns 2002, pp. 119, 120, 123, 127, 129, 153, 280.

- b. <sup>514</sup> وحسبنا الله ونعم الوكيل
- c. + Wual(t)er(?)<sup>515</sup>
- d. <sup>516</sup> على الله توكلني

/<sup>8</sup>+ Maio d[omi]ni Regis Cancell(a)ri(us) s(ubscrip)s(i)<sup>517</sup>

The translation of Doc. 5 is given above pp. 16–17.

## DOCUMENT 6

[Palermo] May, 547 A.H., Indiction XV (1152 A.D.)  
Fig. 10

- 
- 514. Johns 2002, pp. 279–280.
  - 515. Possibly the royal governor of the district of Sciacca, see above p. 17; otherwise unknown?
  - 516. See Johns 2002, pp. 222–228, 251; Jamil and Johns 2004, pp. 187–190.
  - 517. This is the only known occurrence of this form of Maio's signature. He appears to have been appointed chancellor immediately on the death of Robert of Selby, presumed to have occurred in 1151–1152: Pio 2006, p. 632. All of the other documents in which Maio appears with the title of *cancellarius* are spurious: November 1141 (Brühl 1987, Appendix 1, doc. no. VI, pp. 251–251), April 1154 (Enzensberger 1996, doc. no. 1, pp. 3–6), and April 1154 *deperditum* (*ibid.*, doc. no. 35, pp. 97–98). Under William I, Maio always used the style *magnus ammiratus ammiratorum* (*ibid.*, pp. 8, 19; 34, 54, 23, 26, 35, 41, 46, 48, 62, 67, 70, 74, 79); he first did so in an Arabic charter for St. Nicholas's of Chùrchuro, dated June 549 A.H. (1154 A.D.), which bears his signature (see Johns 2002, *Dīwānī* no. 33, pp. 309–310). There are few points for comparison between the two styles, but his name, and particularly the initial 'M', does seem to be by the same hand (compare the signature to Document 5 with that on Palermo, Archivio diocesano, no. 16; we have not seen Montecassino, Archivio dell'Abbazia, Aula, caps. CXXXVI, fasc. 6, n. 63, ed. Enzensberger 1996, doc. no. 6, pp. 16–19). That Maio was still signing as *cancellarius regis* in May 1152, suggests that he adopted the style *magnus ammiratus ammiratorum* only after the death of Roger II on 26 February 1154, and not after the death of the previous holder of this office, George of Antioch, in 546 A.H. (20 April 1151 – 7 April 1152).

Original: Toledo, Hospital de S. Juan Bautista (Tavera), Calle Vega Baia, Archivo General de la Fundación Casa Ducal de Medinaceli, Fondo Messina, no. 1117 (S 2003) *verso*.

Editions: Unedited.

Bibliography: Benedetto Rocco in Fallico *et al.* 1994, p. 162, doc. 32. Johns 2002, pp. 77 note 105, 130 note 47, 135, 136 note 74, 200, 201, 209, 279 and note 122, and 309.

Notes: see under Doc. 2 above.

Condition: see under Doc. 2 above.

Script: There is no trace that the parchment was prepared for the text with margins or lines. The scribe used a thin reed with a soft, medium brown ink, which is now faint and patchy. The Arabic text is written in a clear, but inelegant copy-hand, close but not the same as that of Doc. 3 above. There are no conspicuous calligraphic flourishes, except for the concluding *ḥasbala*. The *hastae* are vertical. There are almost no points, other orthographic marks, and short vowels, except at the end of l. 7 and beginning of l. 8. where the phrase recording the diplomatic status of the document is heavily pointed and introduced by the words *wa-ḥādhay (sic)* with three *fathas*, almost as if the scribe was using orthography to draw attention to this clause.

لما كان بتاريخ مايو الحول ١٥<sup>518</sup> وقع حلف بين رهبان طرقلش وهربرت صاحب قلمونش في<sup>519</sup> الحد الذي بينهم فخرج الامر العالى المطاع الى عامل الشاقة وهو بحالي<sup>2</sup> والترارية والشيخ العارفين بالحد بفصل الحد الذي بينهم وهم غليلم ملسيرة وجفراي مرثران وبرثلماو بن هامون واخوه مئاو وترستان<sup>3</sup> وغليلم صاحب الجرف وهربرت منفراي الحاكم وغليلم مستخلف رقة الشاقة وهربرت هلدوين وصهره ارندل واولاد جوان اطرية<sup>4</sup> ومن البرجيسين نقولة بن لندو والبرت صهر جوان اطرية

518. The symbol for '5' is most irregular: it begins with a short vertical *hasta* and then zigzags downwards in a series of six hairpin bends (left, right, left, right, left, right) before tailing off horizontally. See pp. 90–91 and note 288 above.

519. Because the Arabic in this document is written completely without points (or short vowels), except only for the final clause, only certain orthographic variants from CA will be noted.



وعبد الرحمن بن فتيان ومن المسلمين طاهر بن عمر واولاد الرومية /<sup>520</sup> وابو الفتوح  
 بن عمار وغيرهم واول الحد الذي وقع عليه الانفصال و<sup>520</sup> هو من عين المخيض  
 يتمادى مع كد [أ] الدبس روس الكدا متقرب<sup>521</sup> /<sup>6</sup> الى اخر الكدا المذكورة وينزل  
 من الكدية الاخرى<sup>522</sup> م[ت] اقرب<sup>523</sup> الى المجرى في رحل الكد (ية) وينزل مع  
 المجرى المجرى الى ان يصل الى الخندق الكبير ويمر مع الخندق الخندق دبوراً  
 الى /<sup>7</sup> الواد<sup>524</sup> الكبير المعروف بواد<sup>525</sup> قلعة البلوط وانفصل الحد بين قلمونش  
 وطرقش كتب بالتاريخ المتقدم من سنة سبع واربعين وخمسماية وهذ<sup>526</sup>ي المبيضة  
 نسخة /<sup>8</sup> السجل<sup>527</sup> الاصلي الديواني وهذا مثاله خاصه وحسبنا الله ونعم الوكيل

#### Translation

When it was the date of May of Indiction 15, a sworn agreement was made between the monks of Tròccoli and Herbert,<sup>528</sup> lord of Calamonaci concerning the boundary that is between them. And there was issued the high, to-be-obeyed order to the governor (*āmil*) of Sciacca, who is a bailiff (*b.jāly*),<sup>529</sup> /<sup>2</sup> and the landholders and elders [who were] knowledgeable about the boundary, to demarcate the boundary between them. They were: William *Foresterius*(?);<sup>530</sup> and Geoffrey Martorana;<sup>531</sup> and Bartholomew, son of Haimun;<sup>532</sup> and his brother, Matthew,<sup>533</sup> and

520. The use of *wāw* here is redundant: compare Hopkins 1984, p. 223, para. 260c.

521. CA متقرباً .

522. Doc. 5, l. 5: الكدية الاخيرة .

523. CA متقرباً .

524. CA الوادي .

525. CA بوادي .

526. CA هذه .

527. The letter *sīn* in the words *nuskha* and *sijill* is furnished with a caron to distinguish it (here, needlessly) from a *shīn*.

528. *H.r.b.r.t šāḥib Q.l.mūn.sh*: see above p. 17.

529. See above p. 16 and p. 17 note 93.

530. *Gh.ly.l.m Fr.st.ra*: see above p. 18, note 99.

531. *J.fr.āy M.r.t/th.rān*: see above p. 18 note 100.

532. *B.r.th.l.m.w ibn Hāmūn*: see above p. 18, note 101.

533. *M.thāw*.

Tristan;<sup>534</sup> / <sup>3</sup> William, lord of *al-Jurf*;<sup>535</sup> and Robert Manfré, the judge (*al-ḥākim*);<sup>536</sup> and William, castellan (*mustakhlaḥ*) of the castle of Sciacca;<sup>537</sup> and Robert Alduin;<sup>538</sup> and his son-in-law Arnold;<sup>539</sup> and the sons of John Atria;<sup>540</sup> / <sup>4</sup> and amongst the burghers: Nicola, son of Lando;<sup>541</sup> and Albert, son-in-law of John Atria;<sup>542</sup> ‘Abd al-Raḥman ibn Fityān;<sup>543</sup> and amongst the Muslims: Tāhir ibn ‘Umar; the sons of al-Rūmīya; / <sup>5</sup> Abū l-Futūḥ ibn ‘Ammār; and others. And the first part of the boundary which was to be demarcated, which is from ‘*Ayn al-Mukhād*’, It follows *Kudā l-Dibs*, along the tops of the hills, approaching / <sup>6</sup> the end of the aforesaid hills, and descends by way of the last hill,<sup>544</sup> approaching the stream at the foot [of the hill], and it goes straight along the stream until it reaches the big valley, and it proceeds northwards, straight along the valley to / <sup>7</sup> the big river known as *Wād Qal‘at al-Ballūt*. Here ends the demarcation of the boundary between Calamonaci and Tròccoli. It was written on the aforesaid date in the year five-hundred-and-forty-seven and this fair copy is the copy / <sup>8</sup> of the original *dīwānī* record, and this is a reproduction of it in essence. God is sufficient for us. How excellent a representative is He.

---

534. *T.r.s.tān*: see above p. 18 note 102.

535. *Gh.ly.l.m ṣāḥib l-Jurf*: see above p. 18 note 103.

536. *R.b.r.t M.n.f.rāy al-ḥākim*: see above p. 18 note 104.

537. *Gh.ly.l.m mustakhlaḥ ruqqati l-Shaqqa*: see above p. 18 note 105.

538. *R.b.r.t H.l.dwīn*: see above p. 18 note 106.

539. *Ar.n.l.d.*

540. *J.wān Aṭ.r.ya*: see above p. 19 note 107.

541. *N.qūla ibn L.n.d.w*: see above p. 19 note 110.

542. *Al.b.r.t ṣihr J.wān Aṭ.r.ya*.

543. See above p. 16, p. 19 note 112, p. 52 note 467.

544. Or ‘of the other hill’: Doc. 5 has *al-kudya al-akhīra*; Doc. 6, l. 6, *al-kudya al-ukhrā*.

### Bibliography

- Abrous 2004. Dahbia Abrous, 'Kabylie: Anthropologie sociale', in Gabriel Camps and Salem Chaker (eds.), *Encyclopédie berbère*, Aix-en-Provence, 2004, vol. 26, pp. 4027–4033.
- Agius 1996. Dionisius A. Agius, *Siculo Arabic*, London, 1996.
- Amari 1971. Michele Amari, *Le epigrafi arabiche di Sicilia, trascritte, tradotte e illustrate*, 2nd ed., rev. Francesco Gabrieli, Palermo, 1971.
- Amari 1875. Michele Amari, *Le epigrafi arabiche di Sicilia, trascritte, tradotte e illustrate. Parte prima: Iscrizioni edili*, Palermo, 1875.
- Amari 1988. Michele Amari, *Bibliotheca arabo-sicula, ossia raccolta di testi Arabici che toccano la geografia, la storia, le biografie e la bibliografia della Sicilia*, Edizione nazionale delle opere di Michele Amari: prima serie (arabistica), 2 vols., Palermo, 1988.
- Amico 1855–1859. Vito M. Amico, *Dizionario topografico della Sicilia, tradotto dal latino e continuato sino ai nostri giorni per Gioacchino Di Marzo*, 2 vols., Palermo, 1855–1859.
- Becker 2013. Julia Becker (ed.), *Documenti latini e greci del conte Ruggero I di Calabria e Sicilia*, Ricerche dell'Istituto Storico Germanico di Roma, 9, Rome, 2013.
- Björkman 1927. Walther Björkman, 'Kalansuwa', in Martijn Theodoor Houtsma, Arent Jan Wensinck, *et al.* (eds.), *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 1st edn., Leiden and London, vol. 2, cols. 677a–678a.
- Blau 1965. Joshua Blau, *The Emergence and Linguistic Background of Judaeo-Arabic. A Study of the Origins of Middle Arabic*, Oxford, 1965.
- Bosworth 1995. Clifford Edmund Bosworth, 'Riḍā', in C. E. Bosworth, Emeri J. van Donzel, *et al.* (eds.), *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*, Leiden and New York, vol. 8, cols. 509a–509b.
- Braudel 1981. Fernand Braudel, *Civilization and capitalism, 15th–18th century*, 3 vols., London, 1981.
- Brenk 2010. Beat Brenk (ed.), *La Cappella Palatina in Palermo, Mirabilia Italiae*, no. 17, 4 vols., Modena, 2010.
- Bresc 1986. Henri Bresc, *Un monde méditerranéen: économie et société en Sicile 1300-1450*, 2 vols, Palermo and Rome, 1986.
- Bresc 2001. Henri Bresc, *Arabes de langue, Juifs de religion: L'évolution du judaïsme sicilien dans l'environnement latin, XIIe–XVe siècles*, Paris, 2001.
- Brodbeck 2010. Sulamith Brodbeck, *Les saints de la Cathédrale de*

- Monreale en Sicilie: iconographie, hagiographie et pouvoir royal à la fin du XIIe siècle*, Rome, 2010.
- Brühl 1987. Carlrichard Brühl, *Roger II, regis, diplomata latina*, Codex diplomaticus Regni Siciliae: ser.1, Diplomata regum et principum e gente normannorum, vol. 2, Cologne, 1987.
- Bū Ṭār 2011. 'Adil Bū Ṭār, 'Shahīd Jarba Ṣāliḥ Khanāfū', *al-Shurūq*, 7 February 2011.
- Burnett 2002. Charles Burnett, 'Indian Numerals in the Mediterranean Basin in the Twelfth Century, with Special Reference to the "Eastern Forms"', in Yvonne Dold-Samplonius, Joseph W. Dauben, *et. al.* (eds.), *From China to Paris: 2000 Years' Transmission of Mathematical Ideas*, Stuttgart, 2002, pp. 237–288.
- Burnett 2010. Charles Burnett, *Numerals and Arithmetic in the Middle Ages*, Variorum Collected Studies Series, Farnham, 2010.
- Caracausi 1983. Girolamo Caracausi, *Arabismi medievali di Sicilia*, Centro di studi filologici e linguistici siciliani. Supplementi al *Bollettino del Centro di studi filologici e linguistici siciliani*, no. 5, Palermo, 1983.
- Caracausi 1986. Girolamo Caracausi, 'I documenti medievali siciliani in lingua araba', in Giuseppe Brincat (ed.), *Incontri siculo-maltese. Atti del II Convegno su Malta-Sicilia: Contiguità e continuità linguistica e culturale (Malta, 4–6 aprile, 1986)*, Malta, 1986, pp. 13–26.
- Caracausi 1990. Girolamo Caracausi, *Lessico greco della Sicilia e dell'Italia meridionale (secoli X–XIV)*, Centro di studi filologici e linguistici siciliani, Lessici siciliani, no. 6, Palermo, 1990.
- Caracausi 1993. Girolamo Caracausi, *Dizionario onomastico della Sicilia. Repertorio storico-etimologico di nomi di famiglia e di luogo*, Centro di studi filologici e linguistici siciliani. Lessici siciliani, nos. 7–8, 2 vols, Palermo, 1993.
- Caravale 1966. Mario Caravale, *Il regno normanno di Sicilia*, Rome, 1966.
- Carini and Silvestri 1882. Isidoro Carini and Giuseppe Silvestri (eds.), *De rebus regni Siciliae (9 settembre 1282 – 26 agosto 1283): documenti inediti estratti dall'Archivio della Corona d'Aragona e pubblicati dalla Sovrintendenza agli archivi della Sicilia*, Documenti per servire alla storia di Sicilia, 1st. ser., Diplomatica, vol. 5, Palermo, 1882.
- Carocci 2007. Sandro Carocci, 'Le libertà dei servi: reinterpretare il villanaggio meridionale', *Storica* 13/37 (2007) pp. 51–94.

- Carocci 2009. Sandro Carocci, 'Angararii e franci. Il villanaggio meridionale', in Enrico Cuozzo e Jean-Marie Martin (eds.), *Studi in margine all'edizione della platea di Luca arcivescovo di Cosenza (1203-1227)*, Avellino, 2009, pp. 205–241.
- Caspar 1904. Erich Caspar, *Roger II. (1101-1154) und die Gründung der normannisch-sicilischen Monarchie*, Innsbruck, 1904.
- Caspar 1999. Erich Caspar, *Ruggero II (1101–1154) e la fondazione della monarchia di Sicilia*, Rome and Bari, 1999 (slightly augmented and revised Italian translation of Caspar 1904).
- Collura 1955. Paolo Collura, 'Appendice al regesto dei diplomi di re Ruggero compilato da Erich Caspar', in Società Siciliana di Storia Patria, Palermo, *VIII centenario della morte di Ruggero II. Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi ruggeriani (Palermo, 21–25 aprile 1954)*, 2 vols., Palermo, 1955, vol. 2, pp. 545–625.
- Collura 1961. Paolo Collura (ed.), *Le più antiche carte dell'Archivio Capitolare di Agrigento (1092–1282)*, Società Siciliana di storia patria. Documenti per servire alla storia della Sicilia, 1st. ser., Diplomatica, vol. 25, Palermo, 1961.
- Collura 1969–1970. Paolo Collura, 'Frammenti di platee arabe dell'epoca normanna', *Atti dell'Accademia di scienze, lettere ed arti di Palermo*, 4th ser., 30/2 (1969–1970) pp. 255–260.
- Conedra, Krebs, et. al., 2004. Marco Conedra, Patrik Krebs, Willy Tinner, Marco Pradella and Damiano Torriani, 'The Cultivation of *Castanea sativa* (Mill.) in Europe, from its origin to its diffusion on a continental scale', *Vegetation History and Archaeobotany* 13 (2004) pp. 161–179.
- Corriente 1997. Federico Corriente, *A Dictionary of Andalusī Arabic*, Handbuch der Orientalistik. Erste Abteilung, Nahe und der Mittlere Osten, Band 29, Leiden, 1997.
- Cowdrey 1985. H.E. John Cowdrey, 'Martyrdom and the First Crusade', in Peter Edbury (ed.), *Crusade and Settlement. Papers read at the first conference of the Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East and presented to R.C. Smail*, Cardiff, 1985, pp. 46–56.
- Cozza-Luzi 1905. Giuseppe Cozza-Luzi (ed.), *De Typico monasterii proemium S.P.N. Lucae primi archimandriti*, Novae Patrum Bibliothecae 10/2, Rome, 1905.
- Cracco Ruggini 1977–1981. Lellia Cracco Ruggini, 'La Sicilia fra Roma e Bisanzio', in Rosario Romeo (ed.), *Storia della Sicilia*, 10 vols., Naples, 1977–1981, vol. 3, pp. 3–96.

- Cusa 1858. Salvatore Cusa, *Su di una iscrizione araba del museo di Termini: lettera a s. e. il duca di Serradifalco*, Palermo, 1858.
- Cusa 1868–1882. Salvatore Cusa, *I diplomi greci ed arabi di Sicilia pubblicati nel testo originale, tradotti ed illustrati*, 2 vols: 1 only published in 2 parts, Palermo, 1868–1882.
- De Simone 1979. Adalgisa De Simone, *Spoglio antroponomico delle giaride (ḡarā'id) arabo-greche dei diplomi editi da Salvatore Cusa*, Rome, 1979.
- De Simone 1988. Adalgisa De Simone, 'I diplomi arabi di Sicilia', in Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, *Testimonianze degli Arabi in Italia (Roma, 10 dicembre 1987)*, Fondazione Leone Caetani, Giornata di studio, no. 22, Rome, 1988, pp. 57–75.
- De Simone 1992. Adalgisa De Simone, *La kunyah negli antroponimi arabi di Sicilia tra metafora e ambiguità*, Palermo, 1992.
- De Simone 2004. Adalgisa De Simone, 'Ancora sui "villani" di Sicilia: alcuni osservazioni lessicali', *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome (Moyen Âge)* 116/1 (2004) pp. 471–500.
- Degni 2002. Paola Degni, 'Sullo stile di Reggio: l'apporto delle testimonianze documentarie', *Archivio storico per la Calabria e la Lucania* 69 (2002) pp. 57–81.
- Dehoux 2014. Esther Dehoux, *Saints guerriers. Georges, Guillaume, Maurice et Michel dans la France médiévale (XIe–XIIIe siècles)*, Rennes, 2014.
- Di Giovanni, 1743. Giovanni Di Giovanni, *Codex diplomaticus Siciliae, complectens documenta a primo christianæ religionis sæculo ad nostram usque ætatem*, Palermo, 1743.
- Dölger and Karayannopulos 1968. Franz Dölger and Johannes Karayannopulos, *Byzantinische Urkundenlehre: Abschnitt I, Die Kaiserurkunden*, Byzantinisches Handbuch, Teil 3, Band 1: Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft, Abteilung 12, Munich, 1968.
- Dozy 1881. Reinhart P.A. Dozy, , *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes*, 2 vols, Leiden, 1881.
- Du Cange 1954. Charles du Fresne Du Cange, *Glossarium mediae et infimae Latinitatis*, 10 vols. in 5, Graz, 1954.
- Enzensberger 1971. Horst Enzensberger, *Beiträge zum Kanzlei- und Urkundenwesen der normannischen Herrscher Unteritaliens und Siziliens*, Kallmünz, 1971.
- Enzensberger 1996. Horst Enzensberger (ed.), *Guillelmi I. regis diplomata*, Codex diplomaticus Regni Siciliae. Series prima,

- Diplomata regum et principum e gente Normannorum, vol. 3, Cologne, Weimar and Vienna, 1996.
- Epstein 1992. Stephan R. Epstein, *An island for itself. Economic development and social change in late medieval Sicily*, Cambridge, 1992.
- von Falkenhausen 1977. Vera von Falkenhausen, 'I ceti dirigenti prenormanni al tempo della costituzione degli stati normanni nell'Italia meridionale e in Sicilia', in Gabriella Rossetti (ed.), *Forme di potere e struttura sociale in Italia nel medioevo*, Problemi e prospettive: Serie di storia. Istituzioni e società nella storia d'Italia, Bologna, 1977, pp. 321–377.
- von Falkenhausen 1979. Vera von Falkenhausen, 'Gruppi etnici nel regno di Ruggero II e la loro partecipazione al potere', in Centro di studi normanno-svevi, Università degli Studi di Bari, *Società, potere e popolo nell'età di Ruggero II. Atti delle terze giornate normanno-sveve, Bari, 23-25 maggio 1977*, Bari, 1979, pp. 133–156.
- von Falkenhausen 1980. Vera von Falkenhausen, '[Review of] Carlrichard Brühl, *Urkunden und Kanzlei König Rogers II. von Sizilien*, Cologne and Vienna, 1978', *Studi Medievali* 21 (1980) pp. 256–263.
- von Falkenhausen 1985. Vera von Falkenhausen, 'Cristodulo', *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, vol. 31, 1985, pp. 49–51.
- von Falkenhausen 1994. Vera von Falkenhausen, 'L'Archimandritato del S. Salvatore in lingua phari di Messina e il monachesimo italo-greco nel regno normanno-svevo (secoli XI–XIII)', in Grazia Fallico, Aldo Spati and Umberto Balisteri (eds.), *Messina: il ritorno della memoria. Messina, Palazzo Zanca, dal 1 marzo – 28 aprile 1994*, Palermo, 1994, pp. 41–52.
- von Falkenhausen 2005. Vera von Falkenhausen, 'Griechische Beamte der "duana de secretis" von Palermo. Eine prosopographische Untersuchung', in Lars Martin Hoffmann and Anuscha Monchizadeh (eds.), *Zwischen Polis, Provinz und Peripherie. Beiträge zur byzantinischen Geschichte und Kultur*, Wiesbaden, pp. 381–412.
- von Falkenhausen 2009. Vera von Falkenhausen, 'I funzionari greci nel regno normanno', in Mario Re and Cristina Rognoni (eds.), *Byzantino-Sicula V. Giorgio di Antiochia. L'arte della politica in Sicilia nel XII secolo tra Bisanzio e l'Islam. Atti del Convegno Internazionale (Palermo, 19–20 Aprile 2007)*, Quaderni dell'Istituto siciliano di studi bizantini e neoellenici "Bruno Lavagnini", no. 17,

- Palermo, 2009, pp. 185–202.
- von Falkenhausen 2010. Vera von Falkenhausen, ‘Zum griechischen Kloster S. Salvatore di Placa’, *Néa Pómy: Néa Rhóme: rivista di ricerche bizantinistiche* 7 (2010) pp. 297–316.
- von Falkenhausen 2012. Vera von Falkenhausen, ‘Amministrazione fiscale nell'Italia meridionale bizantina (secoli IX–XI)’, in Jean-Marie Martin, Annick Peters-Custot and Vivien Prigent, *L'héritage byzantin en Italie (VIIIe–XIIe siècle). II. Les cadres juridiques et sociaux et les institutions publiques*, Collection de l'École Française de Rome, no. 461, Rome, 2012, pp. 533–556.
- von Falkenhausen 2012. Vera von Falkenhausen, ‘Ancora sul monastero greco di S. Nicola dei Drosi (prov. Vibo Valentia). Edizione degli atti pubblici (secoli XI–XII)’, *Archivio storico per la Calabria e la Lucania* 79 (2013) pp. 37–79.
- von Falkenhausen 2013. Vera von Falkenhausen, ‘I documenti greci del fondo Messina dell'Archivo General de la Fundación Casa Ducal de Medinaceli (Toledo). Progetto di edizione’, in Antonio Rigo, Andrea Babuin and Marco Trizio (eds.), *Vie per Bisanzio. Atti del VII Congresso dell'Associazione Italiana di Studi Bizantini (Venezia 25–28 novembre 2009)*, 2 vols., Bari, 2013, pp. 665–687.
- von Falkenhausen and Johns 2013. Vera von Falkenhausen, and Jeremy Johns, ‘An Arabic-Greek Charter for Archbishop Nicholas of Messina (November 1166)’, *Néa Pómy: Néa Rhóme: rivista di ricerche bizantinistiche* 8 (2013) pp. 153–168.
- Fallico, Sparti *et al.*, 1994. Grazia Fallico, Aldo Sparti and Umberto Balisteri (eds.), *Messina: il ritorno della memoria. Messina, Palazzo Zanca, dall marzo – 28 aprile 1994*, Palermo, 1994.
- Foxhall and Forbes 1982. Lin Foxhall and Hamish A. Forbes, ‘*Sitomtreia*: the role of grain as a staple food in Classical Antiquity’, *Chiron* 12, 1982, pp. 41–90.
- Gálvez 1991. Maria Eugenia Gálvez, ‘Fragmento de *yarida* del Archivo Ducal de Medinaceli de Sevilla’, *Historia, instituciones y documentos (Publicaciones de la Universidad de Sevilla)*, 16 (1991) pp. 1–14.
- Gálvez 1995. Maria Eugenia Gálvez, ‘Noticia sobre los documentos árabes de Sicilia del Archivo Ducal de Medinaceli’, in Biancamaria Scarcia Amoretti (ed.), *Del nuovo sulla Sicilia normanna (Roma, 3 maggio 1993)*, Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei: Fondazione Leone Caetani, Giornata di studio, no. 26, Rome, 1995, pp. 167–182.
- Garufi 1899. Carlo Alberto Garufi, *I documenti inediti dell'epoca*



- normanna in Sicilia*, Società Siciliana di storia patria. Documenti per servire alla storia della Sicilia, 1st. ser., Diplomatica, vol. 18, Palermo, 1899.
- Garufi 1928. Carlo Alberto Garufi, 'Censimento et catasto della popolazione servile. Nuovi studi e ricerche sull'ordinamento amministrativo dei Normanni in Sicilia nei secoli XI-XII', *Archivio storico siciliano* 49 (1928) pp. 1–101.
- Gast 2000. Marceau Gast, 'Huwwâra, Houuara, Houara, Hawwâra', in Gabriel Camps and Salem Chaker (eds.), *Encyclopédie berbère*, Aix-en-Provence, 2000, vol. 23, pp. 3513–3521.
- Goitein 1967–1993. Shlomo Dov Goitein, *A Mediterranean society. The Jewish communities of the Arab world as portrayed in the documents of the Cairo Geniza.*, 6 vols., Berkeley, Los Angeles, London, 1967–1993.
- Grégoire 1932. Henri Grégoire, 'Diplômes de Mazara (Sicile)', *Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire orientales de l'Université de Bruxelles pour l'1932–1933*, pp. 79–107.
- Gregory the Great 1982. Gregory the Great, *S. Gregorii Magni Registrum epistularum*, 2, Corpus Christianorum Series Latina 140–140A, Turnhout, 1982.
- Guillou 1963. André Guillou, *Les actes grecs de S. Maria di Messina: enquête sur les populations grecques d'Italie du Sud et de Sicile (XI<sup>e</sup>–XIV<sup>e</sup> s.)*, Palermo, 1963.
- Hagenmayer 1901. Heinrich Hagenmayer (ed.), *Epistulae et chartae ad historiam primi belli sacri spectantes. Die Kreuzzugsbriefe aus den Jahren 1088–1100*, Innsbruck, 1901.
- Hill 1962. Rosalind M.T. Hill (ed.), *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolymitanorum. The deeds of the Franks and the other pilgrims to Jerusalem*, Medieval texts series, London, 1962.
- Holm 1870–1898. Adolf Holm, *Geschichte Siciliens im Alterthum*, 3 vols., Leipzig, 1870–1898.
- Holm 1896–1901. Rosalind M.T. Holm, *Storia della Sicilia nell'antichità, tradotta sulla ed[izione] tedesca dai professori G[iuseppe] B. Dal Lago e Vitt[orio] Graziadei. Riv[ista], corretta e aumentata dall'autore*, 3 vols, Turin, 1896–1901.
- Hopkins 1984. Simon A. Hopkins, *Studies in the grammar of early Arabic based upon papyri datable to before 300AH/912AD*, Oxford, 1984.
- Ibn Jubayr 1907. Abū l-Ḥusayn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Jubayr al-

- Kinānī, *Riḥlat al-Kinānī*, Oxford, 1907.
- Ibn Makkī 1966. ‘Umar b. Khalaf Ibn Makkī, *Tathqīf al-lisān wa-talqīh al-jinān*, ed. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz Maṭar, Cairo, 1966.
- Idris 1962. Hady Roger Idris, *La Berbérie orientale sous les Zîrides, X<sup>e</sup>–XII<sup>e</sup> siècles*, 2 vols., Paris, 1962.
- al-Idrīsī 1970–1978. Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd Allāh ibn Idrīs al-Ḥammūdī al-Ḥasanī al-Idrīsī, *Opus Geographicum sive “Liber ad eorum delectationem qui terras peragrarare studeant”*, 9 fascicules, Naples and Rome, 1970–1978.
- Jamil and Johns 2004. Nadia Jamil and Jeremy Johns, ‘Signs of the Times: Arabic Signatures as a Measure of Acculturation in Norman Sicily’, *Muqarnas (Essays in Honor of Michael Rogers)* 21 (2004) pp. 181–192.
- Johns 2001. Jeremy Johns, ‘Arabic “June” (*bruṭuyūn*) and “July” (*iṣṭiriyūn*) in Norman Sicily’, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 64/1 (2001) pp. 98–100.
- Johns 2002. Jeremy Johns, *Arabic Administration in Norman Sicily: The Royal Dīwān.*, Cambridge, 2002.
- Johns 2003. Jeremy Johns, ‘The boys from Mezzoiuso: Muslim *jizya*-payers in Christian Sicily’, in Robert Hoyland and Philip Kennedy (eds.), *Islamic Reflections, Arabic Musings: Studies in Honour of Professor Alan Jones*, Oxford, 2003, pp. 243–255.
- Johns 2004. Jeremy Johns, ‘Una nuova fonte per la geografia e la storia della Sicilia nell’XI secolo: il *Kitāb Ḡarā’ib al-funūn wa-mulaḥ al-‘uyūn*’, *Mélanges de l’École Française de Rome (Moyen Âge)* 116/1 (2004) pp. 409–449.
- Johns 2006. Jeremy Johns, ‘Lastra con iscrizione trilingue di Pietro (Barrūn) il Gaito, eunuco alla corte di Ruggero II’, in Maria Andaloro (ed.), *Nobiles Officinae: perle, filigrane e trame di seta dal Palazzo Reale di Palermo*, 2 vols., Catania, 2006, vol. 1, pp. 510–511.
- Johns 2010. Jeremy Johns, ‘Le pitture del soffitto della Cappella Palatina’ in Beat Brenk (ed.), *La Cappella Palatina in Palermo*, *Mirabilia Italiae*, no. 17, 4 vols., Modena, 2010, *Atlante I*, figs. 158–194, pp. 133–147, figs. 369–384, pp. 286–303, *Atlante II*, figs. 473–1220, pp. 384–823, *Saggi*, pp. 353–407, *Schede*, pp. 429–456, 487–510, 540–665.
- Johns 2015 forthcoming. Jeremy Johns, ‘Muslim Artists and Christian Models in the Painted Ceilings of the Cappella Palatina’, in Rosa Bacile and John McNeil (eds.), *Romanesque and the Eastern*

- Mediterranean: British Archaeological Association, International Romanesque Conference, Palermo, 16–18 April 2012*, London, 2015 forthcoming.
- Johns and Metcalfe 1999. Jeremy Johns and Alex Metcalfe, 'The mystery at Chùrchuro: conspiracy or incompetence in twelfth-century Sicily', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 62/2 (1999) pp. 226–259.
- Jones 1964. Arnold H.M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire 284–602. A social, economic, and administrative survey*, 3 vols. and atlas, Oxford, 1964.
- Kitzinger 2000. Ernst Kitzinger, *I Mosaici del periodo normanno in Sicilia. VI. La Cattedrale di Cefalù, la Cattedrale di Palermo e il Museo Diocesano: Mosaici profani*, Text and loose plates, Palermo, 2000.
- Kossmann 2013. Maarten Kossmann, *The Arabic Influence on Northern Berber*, Leiden, 2013.
- Lane 1863–1893. Edward William Lane, *An Arabic-English lexicon etc.*, 1 in 8 parts, London, 1863–1893.
- Latham 1993. John Derek Latham, '[al-]Nāẓūr', in Clifford Edmund Bosworth, Emeri van Donzel *et al.* (eds.), *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*, Leiden and New York, vol. 7, cols. 1056a–1057b.
- MacGregor 2003. James B. MacGregor, 'The ministry of Gerold d'Avranches: warrior-saints and knightly piety on the eve of the First Crusade', *Journal of Medieval History* 29/3 (2003) pp. 219–237.
- MacGregor 2004. James B. MacGregor, 'Negotiating Knightly Piety: The Cult of the Warrior-Saints in the West, ca. 1070–ca. 1200', *Church History* 73/2 (2004) pp. 317–345.
- Malaterra 1927–28. Geoffrey Malaterra, *De rebus gestis Rogerii Calabriae et Siciliae Comitis et Roberti Guiscardi Ducis fratris eius*, ed. Ernesto Pontieri, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, 2nd ser., vol. 2, Bologna, 1927–1928.
- Mandalà 2008. Giuseppe Mandalà, 'Aḥīṭuv ben Yiṣḥaq da Palermo, medico, filosofo e traduttore del secolo XIII', *Materia Giudaica* 13/1–2 (2008) pp. 35–61.
- Mandalà 2013. Giuseppe Mandalà, 'The Jews of Palermo from Late Antiquity to the Expulsion (598–1492–93)', in Annliese Nef (ed.), *A Companion to Medieval Palermo: the history of a Mediterranean city from 600–1500*, Leiden, 2013, pp. 437–488.
- Manni 1981. Eugenio Manni, *Geografia fisica e politica dela Sicilia*

- antica*, Rome, 1981.
- al-Maqrīzī 1991. Aḥmad b. ‘Alī al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-muqaffā al-kabīr*, 8 vols., Beirut, 1991.
- Marty 1936. Paul Marty, ‘Folklore Tunisien: l’onomastique des noms propres de personne’, *Revue des études islamiques* 10 (1936) pp. 363–434.
- Martyn 2004. John R.C. Martyn (ed.), *The letters of Gregory the Great*, 3 vols., Mediaeval sources in translation, no. 40, Toronto, 2004.
- Massa 1977–2013. Morella Massa, ‘Triocala’, in Giuseppe Nenci and Georges Vallet (eds.), *Bibliografia topografica della colonizzazione greca in Italia e nelle isole tirreniche*, 21 vols., Pisa, 1977–2013, vol. 21, pp. 191–202.
- Massignon 1991. Louis Massignon, ‘al-Muḥassin b. ‘Alī’, in Clifford Edmund Bosworth, Emeri van Donzel et. al. (eds.), *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*, Leiden and New York, vol. 7, col. 468b.
- Maurici 2001. Ferdinando Maurici, *Castelli medievali di Sicilia, Guida agli itinerari castellani dell’isola*, Palermo, 2001.
- Mercati, Giannelli and Guillou 1980. Silvio G. Mercati, Ciro Giannelli and André Guillou (eds.), *Saint-Jean-Théristès (1054-1264)*, Corpus des actes grecs d’Italie du sud et de Sicile, no. 5, Città del Vaticano, 1980.
- Metcalf 2003. Alex Metcalfe, *Muslims and Christians in Norman Sicily: Arabic speakers and the end of Islam*, London and New York, 2003.
- Metcalf 2012. Alex Metcalfe, ‘Orientation in three spheres: Medieval Mediterranean boundary clauses in Latin, Greek and Arabic’, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 22 (2012) 37–55.
- Metcalf 2014 forthcoming. Alex Metcalfe, ‘Language and the written record: loss, survival and revival in early Norman Sicily’, in Giuseppe Mandalà and Inmaculada Pérez Martín (eds.), *Multilingual and multigraphic manuscripts and documents of East and West*, Piscataway (NJ), 2014 forthcoming.
- Nef 2000. Annliese Nef, ‘Conquêtes et reconquêtes médiévales: la Sicile normande est-elle une terre de réduction en servitude généralisée?’, *Mélanges de l’École Française de Rome (Moyen Âge)* 112 (2000) pp. 579–607.
- Nef 2011. Annliese Nef, *Conquérir et gouverner la Sicile islamique aux XIe et XIIe siècles*, Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d’Athènes et de Rome, fasc. 346, Rome, 2011.

- Noth 1978. Albrecht Noth, 'Die arabischen Dokumente Roger II', in Carlrichard Brühl, *Urkunden und Kanzlei König Rogers II von Sizilien*, Studien zu den normannisch-staufischen Herrscherurkunden Siziliens, vol. 1, Cologne and Vienna, 1978, pp. 217–261.
- Noth 1983. Albrecht Noth, 'I documenti arabi di Ruggero II', in Carlrichard Brühl, *Diplomi e cancelleria di Ruggero II*, Palermo, 1983, pp. 189–222.
- Panvini 1992. Rosalba Panvini, 'Presenze archeologiche di età arabo-normanna e sveva nel territorio di Caltabellotta', in Giuseppe Castellana (ed.), *Dagli scavi di Montevago e di Rocca di Entella un contributo di conoscenze per la Storia dei Musulmani della Valle del Belice dal X al XIII secolo*, Agrigento, 1992, pp. 163–178.
- Pellegrini 1961. Giovan Battista Pellegrini, 'Terminologia Geografica Araba in Sicilia', *Annali dell'Istituto Orientale di Napoli* 3 (1961) pp. 109–201.
- Petralia 1998. Giuseppe Petralia, 'La "signoria" nella Sicilia normanna e sveva: verso nuovi scenari', in Cinzio Violante and Maria Luisa Ceccarelli Lemut (eds.), *La signoria rurale in Italia nel medioevo. Atti del II Convegno di Studi, Pisa, 6-7 novembre 1998*, Pisa, 1998, pp. 233–272.
- Pezzi 1989. Elena Pezzi (ed.), *El vocabulario de Pedro de Alcalá*, Almeria, 1989.
- Pio 2006. Berardo Pio, 'Maione di Bari', *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, vol. 67, 2006, pp. 632–635.
- Pirri 1733. Rocco Pirri, *Sicilia sacra disquisitionibus et notitiis illustrata*, ed. Vito Maria Amico, 2 vols., Palermo, 1733.
- Rapoport and Savage-Smith 2014. Yossef Rapoport and Emile Savage-Smith (eds.), *An Eleventh-Century Egyptian Guide to the Universe. The Book of Curiosities*, Islamic Philosophy, Theology and Science. Text and Studies, no. 87, Leiden and Boston, 2014.
- Re 1990. Mario Re, 'Il copista, la datazione e la genesi del Messan. gr. 115 (Typikon di Messina)', *Bollettino della badia greca di Grottaferrata* n.s. 44 (1990) pp. 145–156.
- Re 2000. Mario Re, 'Il typikon del S. Salvatore *de lingua phari* come fonte per la storia della biblioteca del monastero', in *Byzantino-sicula 3: Miscellanea di scritti in memoria di Bruno Lavagnini*, Quaderni dell'Istituto siciliano di studi bizantini e neoellenici "Bruno Lavagnini", no. 14, Palermo, 2000, pp. 249–278.
- Re 2005. Mario Re, 'Considerazioni sullo stile di Reggio', *Néa Rhóme*:

- rivista di ricerche bizantinistiche* 2 (2005) pp. 303–312.
- Richards 2011. Donald S. Richards, *Mamluk Administrative Documents from St Catherine's Monastery*, Leuven, 2011.
- Rohlf 1966–1969. Gerhard Rohlf, *Grammatica storica della lingua italiana e dei suoi dialetti*, 3 vols., Turin, 1966.
- Sakellariou 2012. Eleni Sakellariou, *Southern Italy in the Late Middle Ages, Demographic, Institutional and Economic Change in the Kingdom of Naples, c. 1440 – c.1530*, *Medieval Mediterranean*, no. 94, Leiden, 2012.
- Sánchez González, 1994. Antonio Sánchez González, 'De Messina a Sevilla. El largo peregrinar de un archivo siciliano por tierras españolas', in Grazia Fallico, Aldo Spati and Umberto Balisteri (eds.), *Messina: il ritorno della memoria. Messina, Palazzo Zanca, dall marzo – 28 aprile 1994*, Palermo, 1994, pp. 129–142.
- Sauer 2002–2010. Werner Sauer, 'Triocala', in Hubert Cancik and Helmuth Schneider (eds.), *Brill's New Pauly: Encyclopaedia of the Ancient World*, 16 vols., Leiden, 2002–2010, vol. 14, col. 928.
- Scaduto 1982. Mario Scaduto, *Il monachismo basiliano nella Sicilia medievale. Rinascita e decadenza secc. XI–XIV*, *Storia e letteratura*, no.18, Rome, 1982.
- Scandaliato 2003. Angela Scandaliato, 'Il monastero greco di S. Giorgio e il feudo di Troccoli: dal medioevo all'età moderno, dal casale arabo alle nuove terre', *Schede Medievali* 41 (2003) pp. 163–189.
- Scarlata 2009. Marina Scarlata, 'Lo spazio del potere civile e religioso nella Palermo normanna. S. Maria dell'Ammiraglio, S. Maria del Cancelliere, S. Maria Nuova e dei Marturano', in Mario Re and Cristina Rognoni (eds.), *Byzantino-Sicula V. Giorgio di Antiochia. L'arte della politica in Sicilia nel XII secolo tra Bisanzio e l'Islam. Atti del Convegno Internazionale (Palermo, 19–20 Aprile 2007)*, Quaderni dell'Istituto siciliano di studi bizantini e neoellenici "Bruno Lavagnini", no. 17, Palermo, 309–340.
- Scaturro 1917. Ignazio Scaturro, 'Del Vescovado Triocalitano e Croniense', *Archivio Storico Siciliano* 41 (1917) pp. 3–42.
- Scaturro 1921. Ignazio Scaturro, 'La contessa normanna Giulietta di Sciacca', *Archivio Storico Siciliano* 43 (1921) pp. 243–250.
- Scaturro 1924–1926. Ignazio Scaturro, *Storia della città di Sciacca e dei comuni della contrada saccense fra il Belice e il Platani con aggiunzioni circa il dialetto e i nomi propri greci e arabi*, 2 vols, Naples, 1924–1926.

- Schimmel 1997. Annemarie Schimmel, *Islamic Names*, Edinburgh, 1997.
- Schirò 2014. Giuseppina Schirò, *Ecclesia Agrigenti. Note di storia e archeologia urbana*, Quaderni Digitali di Archeologia Postclassica, 3, (Dipartimento Culture e Società, Università degli Studi di Palermo), Palermo, 2014 <<http://www.antipodes.it/prodotti/scheda-prodotto.asp?id=66>>
- Schlichte 2005. Annkristin Schlichte, *Der "gute" König. Wilhelm II. von Sizilien (1166-1189)*, Bibliothek des Deutschen historischen Instituts in Rom, no. 110, Tübingen, 2005.
- Silvestri 1888. Giuseppe Silvestri, (ed.), *I Capibrevi di Giovanni Luca Barberi ora per la prima volta pubblicati. Vol. III: I feudi del Val di Mazzara*, Documenti per servire alla storia di Sicilia, 1st ser., Diplomatica, vol. 13, Palermo, 1888.
- Takayama 1993. Hiroshi Takayama, *The administration of the Norman kingdom of Sicily*, Leiden, 1993.
- Vaccaro 2014. Fortunatina Vaccaro, *Cenni sull'antica diocesi di Triocala e i fenomeni insediativi nel territorio di Caltabellotta fra tardo antico e alto medioevo*, Quaderni Digitali di Archeologia Postclassica, 4 (Dipartimento Culture e Società, Università degli Studi di Palermo), 2014 <<http://www.antipodes.it/prodotti/scheda-prodotto.asp?id=61>>
- Varvaro 1986. Alberto Varvaro, *Vocabolario etimologico siciliano. Volume I (A-L)*, Palermo, 1986.
- White 1938. Lynn Townsend White Jr., *Latin monasticism in Norman Sicily*, Cambridge, Mass., 1938.
- Zafrani 1998. Haïm Zafrani, *Juifs d'Andalousie et du Maghreb*, Paris, 1998.
- Zapperi 1960. Roberto Zapperi, 'Antonino Amico', *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 2, 1960, pp. 789–790.

#### Captions for figures

- Fig. 1: Map (© Jeremy Johns).
- Fig. 2: Document 1: ADM 1104 *recto* (© Jeremy Johns).
- Fig. 3: ADM 1104 *verso* (© Jeremy Johns).
- Fig. 4: Document 2: ADM 1120 *recto* (© Jeremy Johns).
- Fig. 5: ADM 1120 *verso* (© Jeremy Johns).

Fig. 6: Document 3: ADM 1117 *recto* (© Jeremy Johns).

Fig. 7: ADM 1117 *verso* (© Jeremy Johns).

Fig. 8: Document 4: ADM 1119 *recto* (© Jeremy Johns).

Fig. 9: Document 5: detail of ADM 1120 *verso* (© Jeremy Johns).

Fig. 10: Document 6: detail of ADM 1117 *verso* (© Jeremy Johns).