

The Twelfth-century documents of St. George's of Tròccoli (Sicily)¹

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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 Ifrīqiyya. And fourth, they add to the small corpus of Arabic documents from Norman Sicily, contributing much new 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

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 Scandalato 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 Lucà (Università degli Studi di Roma – Tor Vergata) for advice on the palaeography of the Greek documents; to Dr Alex Metcalfe (University of Lancaster) for comments on parallels between the names in Doc. 4 and in the Monreale *ġarā'id* and on noun reduplication and other details in the boundary descriptions; and to Don Angelo Chillura, Direttore della Biblioteca Luccesiana, Agrigento.

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coast of Sicily (fig. 1). In the nineteenth century, the remains of the monastery were still standing, but they had disappeared before 1924.⁵ The modern place-name Tròccoli⁶ derives from medieval Greek *Tróklos* (Τρόκλος, also Τρώκλος), whence Arabic *Turuqliš* (?),⁷ and medieval Latin *Trocculi* or *Troculi*,⁸ 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.⁹

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.¹⁰ The Greek text of the

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- 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 aqua santa di stile bizantino; nel giardino alcuni colonnati del chiostro. Ora nulla più esiste; se ne indica soltanto il sito a pochi passi da S. Anna’. See also Scandalìato 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. 47.
- 8 See the sources cited by, and the discussion in Caracausi 1993, vol. 2, p. 1657.
- 9 Massa 2012 with extensive bibliography. See also: Manni 1981, pp. 238–239; Sauer 2002–2010. 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 fuisit ibi Saracenis consequutus est; qua de causa 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

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.¹¹ The date of the foundation is not given but, in 1141, King Roger was shown various *sigillia*, which now seem to be lost,¹² 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',¹³ and added that Count Roger 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'.

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 1062.¹⁴ 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.¹⁵ 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.¹⁶ 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,¹⁷ and for at least a generation

very probably identical to 'Martinianus, abbot of Palermo' (*Ep.* 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 1980, 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. 38 (trans. p. 7).

12 These must have included the Greek foundation charter, the Arabic *ḡarīda* listing the families of villeins with which the monastery was endowed (below, pp. 11, 13, 26–27, and Appendix, Doc. 2, ll. 32–33, p. 40), 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 (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.

preachers had been using such stories to persuade knights to become monks.¹⁸ 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.¹⁹ 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 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.²⁰ 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'.²¹ 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*.²² However, in the charter of April 6655 A.M. (1147 A.D.), in which King Roger exempts, from harbour customs, dues and taxes, ships of the archimandrite carrying vittles between the main monastery and its *metochia* in Sicily and Calabria, St George's is named.²³

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, pp. 71–75); Kitzinger 2000, figs. 69, 104, 107; Brodbeck 2010, pp. 37, 38, 40, 43, 45, 108, 490–495.

20 Scaduto 1982, pp. 125–126 (St. George's), 180–189 (St. Saviour's); von Falkenhausen 1994, pp. 46–47.

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 abbreviated to 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 Pellerà, St. Barbarus's of Demenna, St. Parasceve's of Venello, and St. Anne's of Monteforte.

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 Psicro, 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.

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 (*ġarīda*) 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 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 1679.²⁴ 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.²⁵

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 *ġarīda*.²⁶ 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.²⁷ There are two seventeenth-century copies of the

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 *ġarīda* (Figs. 11–12). All contain so many errors that they are effectively unusable.

27 Silvestri 1888, pp. 37–40.

Greek text only of King Roger's confirmation of June 1141 (Docs. 2 and/or 3, but not Doc. 1) in the Vatican library.²⁸ Rocco Pirri published two brief extracts from the latter in an inaccurate Latin translation.²⁹ The brief note of the act in the register of Erich Caspar is based on the seventeenth-century manuscript and Rocco Pirri.³⁰ 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 1994.³¹ Docs. 2–5 were included in a list of the Arabic and bilingual documents of King Roger published by the late Albrecht Noth.³² The authors of the present study have also discussed the documents several times in print.³³

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 ἴσον 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 neighbour, William, son of Richard of Sciacca,³⁴ 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

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 κάτοθεν 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 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, Sparti, *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.

34 See below p. 17.

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.³⁵ 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 Akroteros³⁶ 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 6th 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 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,³⁷ 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 Maleinos and the epi tou sekretou,³⁸ 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*

35 See below p. 15-17 and Appendix, Doc. 1, p. 31: τὸ ἴσον τοῦ χρυσοβ(ου)λλ(ου) τοῦ ῥηγ(ὸς) Ῥογ(ε)-ρ(ί)ου διὰ τ(ᾶς) Τρόκκουλ(ας), and Doc. 3, p. 43 τὸ ἰσότυπ(ον) σιγίλλ(ίου) τ(ῶν) Τρώκλ(ῶν).

36 The archimandrite of St. Saviour's in *lingua phari* in Messina: von Falkenhausen 1994, p. 45.

37 Possibly to locate at Cozzo Galbasa, near modern Lucca Sicula: see below pp. 23-24 and notes 131–134.

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

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,³⁹ it runs down the river⁴⁰ on the right hand side, to the fig-tree called Gatsene,⁴¹ and runs on down the same river to the cave called Gar Elloupepe,⁴² and goes up the ridge to the Kip[b]len Epen Chamdoun,⁴³ and

[Arabic boundary description, ll. 39–45]

Its boundary is north from al-Uḥtayn,³⁹ descending straight along the wadi⁴⁰ on the right-hand side to the tree of Ġatsāna;⁴¹ it runs down straight along the wadi to Ġār al-Lūbānī;⁴² and it climbs straight along the ridge to the Qiblat

- 39 Reading *ḥaddu-hā dabūr[an]* (see below note 182; see also Doc. 5, l. 6 and Doc. 6, l. 6, where *dabūran* is written with *tanwīn-alif*) *mina l-uḥtayn*. 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-uḥtayn*, literally ‘the two sisters’; the Greek text—ὑπὸ τῶν δύο κίωνων τῶν λεγομένων Ὀχτεῖν (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).
- 40 κατέρχεται τὸν ποταμὸν / 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 2016 forthcoming.
- 41 Possibly a personal name, but a problematic one. The word is fully pointed as *gatsāna* only in Doc. 1, l. 39. The *ḡayn* 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 *šaḡarat ḡatsāna* (or *gatsāna*), ‘chestnut(?)-tree’, on a pattern attested in the bilingual registers of S. Maria di Monreale where the Arabic place-name *Qasṭana* or *Qasṭana* is rendered into Greek as Κάστανε and into Latin as *Castanea* (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; *šāhballūt* (*šāhanballūt*), literally ‘royal acorn’, comes from Persian, while the commonest terms, *šaḡarat al-qasṭal*, *š. 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 *ʿAyn Ġas-sāna* / ἡ πηγὴ ἢ λεγομένη Ἀτσένα: see below p. 42, note 259. (See also the discussion of the use of *šadda* in Doc. 4, below pp. 46–48.)
- 42 *Ġār 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’.
- 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.

continues to the road, and follows the road to the lake called Gadir Epen Mansour,⁴⁴ and goes to St. Barbara which is further down,⁴⁵ and goes down to the threshing-floor of the Son of Razoun,⁴⁶ and goes down to the stream called Elmonastir,⁴⁷ and continues a little to the Koudtiet Elzioummar,⁴⁸ 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',⁴⁹ and goes along the stream southwards to the head of the hippodrome called Ettachrike,⁵⁰ and goes

Banī Ḥamdūn,⁴³ until it comes to the main road; and it winds along with the road until it comes to Ġadīr Ibn Man-ṣūra,⁴⁴ to Santa Barbara the Lower,⁴⁵ to the threshing floor of Ibn al-Razūn.⁴⁶ Then it descends to Ḥandaq al-Munastīr.⁴⁷ Then it goes a little towards Kud-yat al-Ġummār,⁴⁸ 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-Inġāša,⁴⁹ and it runs straight up the valley to Ra's al-

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- 44 *Ġadīr 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'* *marbūta* 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 Maġrib, 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 intensive adjective (of the form *fa'ūl*) from the same verb. (Alex Metcalfe adds that the name occurs three times in the Monreale *ġarīda* of 1178 (Cusa 1868–1882, pp. 137a, 144a and 172a), and that Razūn is a settlement in modern north-central Iran.)
- 47 *Ḥandaq al-Munastīrī* ('valley of the monastery'): while the Arabic *al-munastīrī* clearly derives ultimately from the Greek μοναστήριον, the Greek Ἐλμοναστήρ ('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 *ġīm*, and no *ḍamma* above it, but in Doc. 1, l. 39 and Doc. 2, l. 41 the *ġīm* is clearly pointed, and in Doc. 1, l. 39 it also carries a *ḍamma*. In all three versions, the Greek reads Κούδιτιε ἐλζιουμμάρ (Doc. 1, l. 21, Doc. 2, l. 20, Doc. 3, l. 20) leaving no doubt that the second Arabic word is *al-Ġummār* (and not *al-Himār*, 'the donkey', or *al-Hammār*, 'the donkey-driver', as would be understood from Doc. 2 alone). *Al-ġummār*, 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-inġāša* from CA *al-iġġāš*—for nasalisation in Sicilian, see Metcalfe 2003, pp. 171–172. (Not to be confused with the 'Ayn al-Inġāša/*Fons Pirerii*, a boundary-marker for the district of Corleone in the Monreale *ġarīda* of 1182, which lay on the southeast flank of Rocca Busambra: Cusa 1868–1882, pp. 232 and 195.)
- 50 *ilā ra'si l-tahrīkati*, 'to the head of the *tahrīka*': a problematic boundary-marker. The Greek at this point expands upon the Arabic: ἄχρι τῆς κεφαλ(ῆς) τοῦ ἵπποδρόμου τοῦ λεγομένου Ἐτταχρίκε, '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 *hā'* 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.

down along the seasonal stream to the vineyard of the Son of Iachleph,⁵¹ and crosses the river and comes to the Koudtie Elalez⁵² to the south, and goes to the hill called Koudtie Alie,⁵³ and goes down the hill to the spring called Ain Elmouchid,⁵⁴ and goes up the ridge to the Koullles,⁵⁵ and goes down and crosses the road, and comes to the Koudtiet Elzioummar⁵⁶ which is between Gzennia⁵⁷ and Rachal Elbbasal,⁵⁸ and goes down to the edge of the Elbbasal, and goes down to the edge of the thicket to the tower of Elpbeiphere,⁵⁹ and ends. [But,⁶⁰ after these aforesaid boundaries

Tahrīka,⁵⁰ on the southern side. And it runs straight down the stream until it comes to the vineyards of Ibn Yuḥlif.⁵¹ It crosses the wadi, and veers off to Kudyat al-al-A'āğ,⁵² on the southern side; then to the high hill.⁵³ It keeps straight along the hill to 'Ayn al-Muḥīd,⁵⁴ and it climbs straight up the ridge, and comes to the summit,⁵⁵ and crosses the road so that it comes to Kudyat al-Ġummār,⁵⁶ which is between al-Ġaniyya⁵⁷ and Raḥl al-Baṣal;⁵⁸ and it descends to the edge of the thicket, to Burğ al-Bīfarī.⁵⁹

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.

- 51 Lit. 'the gardens of the son of Yuḥlif', a personal name. Greek: ἄγρι τοῦ ἀμπελῶνο(ς) τοῦ υἱοῦ Ἰάχλεφ. In the bilingual boundary descriptions of Norman Sicily, the Arabic *ġanna*, lit. 'garden', is generally translated as 'vineyard' in Greek and Latin. *Yuḥlif* is fully pointed in Doc. 1 but the vocalisation is uncertain. It is presumably a deverbal personal name (*ism*), originally picked at random from the Qurʾān (for the practice see Schimmel 1997, pp. 25–26, and below note 381), where *yuḥlifū*, 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 yuḥlifa 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, 'Yuḥlif al-Ifriqī', 'Umar ibn Yuḥlif'. 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 Qurʾān, 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: Κοῦδτιε Ἄλιε.
- 54 Lit., probably, 'the spring of the forder'.
- 55 Arabic: *al-qulla*. Greek: Κοῦλλεζ. 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 Maġribī *qāf*, and a *šadda* 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-Ġaniyya* or *al-Ġunayya* (cf. Greek: Γζεννιάζ), conceivably related to, or diminutive of, *ġanan* or *ġaniyyun*, literally 'harvested dates' (i.e. fruit'), but perhaps more likely to be an Arabised indigenous toponym.
- 58 A place-name, lit. 'the Estate of the Onions': see below pp. 23–24 and notes 132–135.
- 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 Ἐλπéβιφερη (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

had been established, William, the son of Richard of Sciacca,⁶² 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,⁶³ it goes along the top of the ridge which is above the aforesaid river and comes to the spring called Atsene,⁶⁴ 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,⁶⁵ 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.^{67]}

And the boundary is completed. [Then,⁶⁰ the monk (sic)⁶¹ and William the son of Richard of Sciacca⁶² agreed that the beginning of the boundary of the monastery is from al-Uḥtayn.⁶³ And it passes straight along the top overlooking the aforesaid wadi until it comes to the Spring of Ġassāna (?)⁶⁴ 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 Burġ Ibn 'Askar,⁶⁵ 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 Burġ Ibn 'Askar.>⁶⁶]⁶⁷

[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 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 exographoi⁶⁸ 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

appear in Doc. 1.

61 Doc. 3, l. 44 has, correctly, 'the monks', al-*ruhbān*.

62 See below p. 16.

63 See above note 39.

64 See above p. 7 note 42, and below p. 40 note 259.

65 Lit. 'the Tower of the son of 'Askar', a personal name: see below p. 23.

66 The equivalent phrase in Doc. 3, l. 46 would translate 'the beginning of the end of the boundary is the monastery with Burġ Ibn 'Askar'—evidently an error: see below p. 45, note 306.

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

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. 25-30, 60-61. 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.

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.

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[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.]⁶⁹ It was written on the date of the month of June in the year five-hundred-and-thirty-five,⁷⁰ 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.⁷¹ 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.⁷² 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.⁷³

The *sigillia* belonging to St. George's that Luke presented to the king at Sciacca in June

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 discussion of this below pp. 16–17.

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.

1141 no longer survive.⁷⁴ However, the *arenga* from his father's charter that is quoted in King Roger's introduction is used in other documents of Count Roger known from translations and copies,⁷⁵ 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 *ḡarīda* issued by Count Roger and renewed in July 1141 may have been amongst the *sigillia* presented by Luke to the king.⁷⁶

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 *Rahl al-Başal*.⁷⁷

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.⁷⁸ 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*.⁷⁹ 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.⁸⁰ In December 1142, together with other royal officials, he established the boundaries of the estate of Phokeron for St. Bartholomew's of Patti.⁸¹

The other three royal officials (οἱ ἐπὶ τοῦ σεκρέτου) belonged to the trilingual royal administration. The *kait Perroun* (ὁ κύριος 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 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 1166.⁸² John is a common name, but the most likely candidate is the royal

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.

75 See above p. 3 and note 13.

76 See below pp. 26–27.

77 Appendix, Doc. 2, ll. 10–17, pp. 38–39.

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 only *notários*, while *prōtonotários* can clearly be read in the original: 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. 526.

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-ḡaḍra al-mālik(iyya) ... 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*

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.⁸³ Unlike his two colleagues, Abū ‘Alī (τὸν Βουόλην) 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 (*ḡarīda*: Doc. 4 above) places him in July 1141. All three refer to that *ḡarīda* of the Muslim villeins of St. George’s, describing it as ‘the *plateia*, which has just been copied and renewed’.⁸⁴ Although the *ḡarīda* 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 *ḡarīda*. 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 6th August 1141, and only subsequently corrected the year to 535 A.H.,⁸⁵ that in which the *sigillion* was officially issued.⁸⁶ 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.⁸⁷

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 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

in the documents for St. George’s now supplies the missing link. As *al-ṣayḥ 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 κἀίτης 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-malakiyya* (‘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 both slabs are made of the same grey marble, and are of precisely the same height (62cm) and thickness (4cm), so that they undoubtedly form a pair. 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 in Arabic, *Ġāfrāy*, follows the French not the Latin, as is also the case with *Barrūn-Perroun* (Cusa 1868–1882, pp. 81–83).

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 πλατεῖ(αν) ὑμῶν ἐνθα ἐστὶ τὸ κ(α)τόνομα τῶν ἐτέρ(ων) ὑμ(ῶν) ἀν(θρῶπ)ων τῶν παλαι(ῶν).

85 17 August 1140 – 5 August 1141.

86 See below Appendix, Doc. 2, p. 37–38 and p. 42, l. 45 and note 270.

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.

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-Uḥtayn ... 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.⁸⁸ If so, then Docs. 1–3, and Doc. 4 (the *ḡarīda*), 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.

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 *ḡarīda*, 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 *ḡarīda* of Triocala. Months later, in November 1141, after King Roger had returned to Palermo, the royal *dīwān* drew up and issued, first, the Arabic *ḡarīda* (Doc. 4) and, next, a Greek *sigillion* incorporating the Arabic *ḡadd*. 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.

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

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 Burġ 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 Burġ 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 *hadd* 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. 3,⁸⁹ but he cannot otherwise be traced. However, in 1186, the castellan of Sciacca (*castellanus castelli 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.⁹⁰

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 ('āmil) of Sciacca, who is a bailiff (b.ġāly), 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;

⁸⁹ See below p. 20 and note 105, and Appendix, Doc. 5, l. 3, p. 62 (trans. p. 18) and Doc. 6, l. 3, p. 65 (trans. pp. 65-66).

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

and Tristan; and William, the lord of al-Ġurf; 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 ‘Abd al-Rahmān ibn Fityān; and amongst the Muslims: Tāhir ibn ‘Umar; and the sons of al-Rūmiyya; and Abū l-Futūḥ ibn ‘Ammār; and others. And the first part of the boundary which was to be demarcated, which is from ‘Ayn al-Muḥīd, 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,⁹¹ 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 river⁹² known as Wādī 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. [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”,⁹³ 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 *Qalamūnaš*. 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 *Qalamūnaš* 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 1141.⁹⁴

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;⁹⁵ 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;⁹⁶ 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-hāḍay l-mubayyadatu nuṣḥatu l-siġilli l-aṣliyyi l-dīwāniyyi wa-hādā miṭālu-hū ḥāṣṣa-hū*). It is clear, therefore, that Doc. 5 is the authentic original act 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. Sav-

91 Or ‘of the other hill’: Doc. 5 has *al-kudya al-aḥīra*; Doc. 6, l. 6, *al-kudya al-uḥrā*.

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

93 Arabic *b(?)-ġ(?)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. 21–24 and Fig. 1.

95 Pio 2006, p. 632. See also below, pp. 63–64 note 519.

96 See below p. 63, note 518.

our'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. George's 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,⁹⁷ 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-tarrāriyya*)⁹⁸ 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.⁹⁹ Geoffrey Martorana may belong to the family famous in Palermo in the late twelfth-century and thereafter, from which the church of La Martorana takes its name.¹⁰⁰ 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,

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 τερρέρης.

99 *Gūlyālim F.r.st.ra* (perhaps equivalent to Latin *Guillelmus Forestarius*). The initial *fā*' and the *tā*' of *F.r.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. *F.r.st.ra* is more likely to indicate that William held office 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 *Ġālisū*: Johns 2002, pp. 58, 127–128, 302, 307.

100 *Ġafrāy Marturān*. For *Ġafrāy* see Cusa 1868–1882, pp. 81–82 (*Ġāfrāy*), 499 (*Ġafrāy*); and Caracausi 1993, vol. 1, 736a. He is mentioned, together with the *meġas hetaireiarches* John, William of Pozzuoli, Geoffrey Malconvent, the count Symeon and others, in a charter of Roger II for the inhabitants of San Marco and Naso in the case against Alcherius (Greek: *Alkerios*) of Ficarra (Collura 1955, no. 58, p. 584, 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).

might be of French or Lombard descent.¹⁰¹ Nothing is known of Tristan, although his name may well reveal a Breton origin.¹⁰² William, *ṣāhib* ('the lord of') *al-Ġurf*, is not otherwise known but was presumably one of the landholders (*al-tarrāriyya*) or barons.¹⁰³ Robert Manfré *al-hākīm* (i.e. "the judge"?) is again unknown.¹⁰⁴ William, castellan of the castle of Sciacca is probably the son of Richard of Sciacca mentioned in the chrysobull of June 1141.¹⁰⁵ Robert Alduin and his son-in-law Arnold, whose names may suggest Lombard ancestry, are not otherwise attested,¹⁰⁶ nor are the sons of John *Atria*.¹⁰⁷

Next come three 'burghers'.¹⁰⁸ 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.¹⁰⁹ Nicola, son of Lando is again un-

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- 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*, *qāl*, *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.
- 103 *Al-Ġurf*, the name of an estate derived from the Arabic *ġurf*, 'cliff'. The toponym is a common one (see Caracausi 1993, vol. 1, pp. 739b, 777b). The place-name of this particular *al-Ġurf* 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-hākīm*: for *Manfrāy*, see Caracausi 1993, vol. 2, p. 937. *Al-hākīm*, literally 'the one ruling' or 'governing', is perhaps most likely here to indicate a judge, given that *ʿamil* is the Arabic term used for the royal governor of the district of Sciacca (see also the following note).
- 105 *Ġulyalim mustahlafu ruqqati l-ṣāqqati: mustahlaf*, the passive participle of *istahlaf*, '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 Ġubayr and the *mustahlaf* of William II outside the royal palace in Palermo in December 1184 (Ibn Ġubayr 1907, p. 330). See also Dozy 1881, vol. 1, pp. 398a (and under *mustahlaf*, 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 *Ġuwān Atria*: *Ġuwān* is a well-attested Arabic form of the common personal name (Cusa 1868–1882, pp. 84, 645, 651, 669). See also Johns 2003, where St. John's of the Hermits appears in Arabic as *Ṣan Ġuwān*. 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 *fā*, the name may conceivably derive from an Arabic feminine *laqab*, *al-Ṭāriyya* (pronounced *aṭ-Ṭāriyya*), lit. 'the newcomer' or 'the stranger' (Johns 2002, p. 18 note 34).
- 108 Arabic *mina l-burġīsīn*, "amongst the burghers", suggesting that *burġīsīn* is a sound plural in the oblique case formed from the singular *burġīs* (see Cusa 1868–1882, pp. 623, 625: Ρογέριος Βουρῆσι / Ruġīr al-Burġīsī; Caracausi 1990, p. 117b, βουρῆσις, 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, Municipipes, burgorum seu villarum clausarum incolæ, vel qui tenementa in iis possident. et ratione eorum Bur-*

known.¹¹⁰ 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',¹¹¹ 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.¹¹²

The last group to be listed are the Muslims (*al-muslimīn*), none of whom are otherwise known: Ṭāhir ibn 'Umar; the sons of al-Rūmiyya, literally perhaps 'the sons of the Greek (or Byzantine) woman';¹¹³ 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 of such inquests issued by the royal *dī-wān*.¹¹⁴ It is highly likely that a similar panel of local elders (*gerontes*, *šuyūḥ*, *veterani*), also known as the 'good' or 'trustworthy men' (*boni homines*, *probi homines*, *kaloι anthropoi*; *al-šuyūḥ al-tiqāt*),¹¹⁵ would 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 boundary descriptions—too many of the boundary markers were ephemeral features of the landscape, and too many of the twelfth-century place-names have now disappeared. No attempt will here be made to trace the precise course of the

gagium 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 al-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 Ḡubayr 1907, p. 325). For the name, De Simone 1979, p. 45. Alex Metcalfe adds that the name occurs once in the Monreale *ḡarīda* of 1178 (Cusa 1868–1882, p. 166b, the son of a *ḡulām/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 Maḡribīs or even Berbers. See also below p. 59 note 469.

113 De Simone 1992, p. 82: '*rūmiyyah*, soprannome dato dagli arabi di Spagna alle schiave cristiane convertite all'islamiso' (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 *ḡarā'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.

boundary.¹¹⁶ Nonetheless, a few remarks upon the general situation of the lands demarcated may usefully be made.

Less than two kilometres to the 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'.¹¹⁷ 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',¹¹⁸ and was paid an annual census of 'one roll of wax' by the church of St. Hippolytus 'outside Caltabellotta'.¹¹⁹ 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.¹²⁰ 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.¹²¹

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,¹²² and must rather be the Fiume Verdura, which rises to the south of Bisacchino 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.¹²³

East of the river lay the lordship of Calamonaci, whose lands marched with those of St. George's. Calamonaci is not attested before 1152,¹²⁴ and is known from no other twelfth-

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 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 ḥalqun kaḥīrun tanaqqalū fī hādā l-waḳti ilā l-Šāqqa wa-lam yabqa bi-l-hisni illā riḡālun 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 Riflesio, some 4km east of Burgio (IGM 266 I N.E. Bivona, 33SUB539638).

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 Ġarā'ib al-funūn wa-mulaḥ 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], Ġurf [134] (a very common element in place-names, making the identification hazardous), and Sciacca [011] also appear in

century source. It 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.¹²⁵ The spelling of *Qalamūnaš*, the Arabic name under which Calamonaci appears in the act of 1152, suggests that the etymology proposed by Scaturro (*Qal'at Munāḥ*, 'Fortezza di fermata o di sosta') should not be accepted,¹²⁶ and strengthens the case for derivation from the Greek *kalamiōn*, 'reed bed'.¹²⁷ The estate of *al-Ġurf*, of which William, one of the witnesses in 1152, was lord, may have lain two kilometres southeast of Calamonaci.¹²⁸

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. *Burğ 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-Ballūṭ* (modern Fiume Verdura), and that stream marked the boundary between the two estates. *Burğ*, meaning 'tower', is a common element in Arabic boundary-markers and place-names, but *Burğ 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 1283.¹²⁹ 'The wadi descending from *Burğ 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.¹³⁰ 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 1620,¹³¹ occupies a ridge at the western end of which is Cozzo Galbasa,¹³² a place-name which it is tempting to derive from Arabic *Rahl al-Baṣal* via a hypothetical Sicilian (*Re*)*galbasa(l)*.¹³³ This hypothesis is strengthened by a late medieval Sicilian note on the *verso* of the *sigillion*

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 *Qalamūnaš* 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.

128 See above, p. 20, 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 *Rahl al-Baṣal* lay in the vicinity.

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

(Doc. 2), which appears to refer to *Rahl al-Başal* as Chalba.¹³⁴

Rahl al-Başal was separated from the second neighbouring estate, *al-Ġaniyya* (or *al-Ġunayya*: Greek Γζεννιάς, *Gzennías*), by *Kudyat al-Ġummār* (literally ‘the hill of the dwarf fan palms’; Greek Κούδιτιτ Ἐλζιουμμάρ, *Kóúdtiēt Elzioummār*). If Cozzo Galbasa was indeed the site of *Rahl al-Başal*, then *al-Ġaniyya* would presumably have lain to its east, although its site can not yet be identified with any confidence.¹³⁵

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* seems to have lost its distinct identity at an early date, and documents of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries describe a single *feudum* of Trocculi extending on both banks of the river. In 1447, when St. Saviour’s granted Trocculi in emphyteusis to Count Antonio de Luna Peralta, the names of the surrounding *feudi* were given 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.¹³⁶ With the exception of St. Thomas, which seems to have disappeared, all the other *feudi* adjoining Trocculi in 1447 can still be traced: Contrade Le Giraffe on the west bank of the river opposite the town of Calamonaci;¹³⁷ on the east side of the river, Contrada Calamonaci and Contrada Salina on the southern slopes of Pizzo di Canalicchio;¹³⁸ and the towns of Burgio and Caltabellotta to the north. As to the western border of Trocculi, 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 (from Arabic *Manzil Qāsīm*), modern Contrada Cassaro.¹³⁹

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, *Rahl al-Başal* 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.¹⁴⁰

134 See below p. 37.

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-Ġaniyya*. It is possible that this document, ADM pergamena 186 in Aldo Sparti’s check-list, 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.

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,

6. The villeins of St. George's (Doc. 4)

The *ġarīda* 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.¹⁴¹

The *ġarīda* 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 Lucchiana, Agrigento (Figs. 11-12).¹⁴² While the translator, who was very possibly a Sicilian Jew living in the thirteenth century,¹⁴³ possessed a fair general knowledge of Arabic, his errors reveal that he was familiar neither with the formulary and script of the Norman *dīwān*, nor with twelfth-century names of places and persons.¹⁴⁴ 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 *ġarīda* published by Maria Eugenia Gálvez.¹⁴⁵ 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.¹⁴⁶ The *ġarīda* is in eight parts, as follows:

- I. A brief introduction (ll. 1–2): ‘A *ġarīda* [which] confirms the names of the men of *Ṭuruquliš* (Tròccoli).¹⁴⁷ 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 *Ṭuruquliš*’ (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,¹⁴⁷ who were not listed in the original register, and the stipulation of the *šarṭ* or condition upon which they were included (ll. 21–23).¹⁴⁸ ‘Then, when it was the date of the month of July, in Indiction 4 [1141 A.D.], you pe-

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 *ġarīda*, 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.

144 e.g. 1, *Tarnacollesi* for *Ṭuruquliš*; 9d, *filius Nibat* for *rabīb*; 11c, *filius Nibo Ramsam* for *rabīb Ramaḍān*; 21, *octobris* for *Iṣṭriyyūn*; 22, *parentum nostrorum vel proximorum* for *tarrāriyyati-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 exographoi* 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.

tioned us, when we were in Agrigento—may God protect it!—concerning these named persons, registered in this document /²² 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 *ġarāʿid* or in the *ġarāʿid* of our landholders (*tarrāriyyati-nā*), he shall be taken from you. /²³ 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 monocondylic signature of Roger II (l. 27).

The *ġarīda* is the earliest document issued by the royal *dīwān* to survive that is written only in Arabic. Unlike all the other surviving royal *ġarāʿid*, 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 *ġarāʿid* from 1144–1145 onwards.¹⁴⁹ The terse introduction (ll. 1–3) and explanatory note (ll. 21–23) of this *ġarīda* is much closer to the style of the comital registers of the 1090s and early 1100s than to the *ġarāʿid* issued by King Roger and his successors,¹⁵⁰ which may indicate that the *plateia* of 1097–98 was taken as a model for the *ġarīda* written 1141.

While the list of the *muls* or newly commended villeins was apparently compiled specially for this *ġarīda*,¹⁵¹ 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 *ġarāʿid* renewed in 1145 for the church of Catania listed exactly the same individuals who had been named in the registers issued by Count Roger in 1095.¹⁵² 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.¹⁵³

On the other hand, there are clear traces in the *ġarīda* 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 *ġarāʿid* were periodically updated by noting the names of households newly formed out of the parent households listed in a previous register. The names of the heads of such newly formed households, sometimes called *neogamoi* or *mutazawwiġūn*, i.e. ‘newly wedded’, are distinguished in the *ġarāʿid* 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 *mutazawwiġūn* follow, together with an indication of their family relationship.¹⁵⁴ For example, amongst the men of

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.

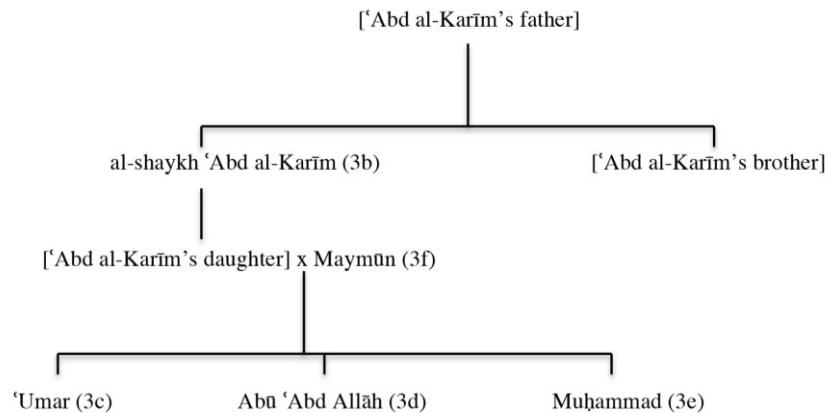
151 Appendix, Doc. 2, ll. 32–33, p. 40: ‘Moreover, I also confirm to you the fifteen *paroikoi exographoi* with all their possessions, whose names are inscribed in your *plateia*, which has just been copied and renewed, and which contains the *katonoma* of your other villeins whom you already possessed’.

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.

Tròccoli, *al-šayḥ* 'Abd al-Karīm (3b) is the head of the parent household from which four new households have been formed, as shown in the diagram (p. 27).¹⁵⁵



While it is not impossible that the entries for the *mutazawwiḡūn* 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 *mutazawwiḡ*-system. This possibility is made more likely by the appearance of one *mutazawwiḡ* 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 *ḡarīda* demonstrated that the renewals of 1144–45 were the culmination of a process of reform that had begun in 1141.¹⁵⁶ His argument rested upon two foundations. First is the fact that the 1141 *ḡarīda*, like the *ḡarā'id* of 1145, is the updated renewal of an earlier register. This is undeniable, but the earliest surviving Sicilian *ḡarīda*, issued by Count Roger to the church of Palermo in February 1095, is similarly an updated renewal of an earlier register.¹⁵⁷ Indeed, the *mutazawwiḡ*-system for updating registers of population inevitably meant that each and every *ḡarīda* 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 *šarṭ* or conditional clause used in this *ḡarīda*—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 *šurūṭ* in the *ḡarā'id* of 1145. That there is such a resemblance is again undeniable, but it stems from

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

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

157 Johns 2002, pp. 46–51.

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,¹⁵⁸ and not because the reforms of 1144–1145 began at St. George's. In fact, the 1141 *ġarīda* displays none of the most 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 *ġarīda* 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 km² held by St. George's at Tröccoli and *Raħl al-Baṣal*. The households registered may well have constituted the entire population of these estates. Assuming an average size of household of 4.5 persons,¹⁵⁹ 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 km² 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.¹⁶⁰

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.¹⁶¹ 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.¹⁶² Given that 1 kg of wheat produces approximately 3,000 calories,¹⁶³ each household would have consumed approximately 1 tonne of wheat per annum.¹⁶⁴ In twelfth-century Sicily, average wheat yields were probably in the range of 1 to 1.5 tonnes per hectare,¹⁶⁵ 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

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

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 Tröccoli 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 km². 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 km².

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 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.

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 *ġarīda* 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-Harīrī being here, as in the other Sicilian *ġarā'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 Tròccoli, 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-šayḥ*, 'the elder' (3b, 4c, 12c, 12e), are listed amongst the first few names registered at both Tròccoli and *Raḥl al-Baṣal* suggests that they may have played a special role, perhaps as the representatives of their respective communities.

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

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-Ġaniyya* (15c) and *Burġ 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 connec-

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. See also below note 436.

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 Husayn (11b and 19b).

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

tion either with the town or district of Miṣrāta in northwest Libya, or with the Miṣrāta section of the Berber confederation of Hawwāra, and *al-Ṣanhāḡī* (9e) and *al-Hawwārī* (10c), both Berber confederations. In addition, approximately twenty of the other names, especially the *kunyas*, may indicate that the bearers were Berbers.¹⁷³ *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 Ifrīqiyya: six with the *nisba* al-Ifrīqī, probably indicating a connection with the capital city of Ifrīqiyya, al-Mahdiyya, (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 Maḡrib in the eleventh century.

Although North African and Berber names are scattered throughout the other Sicilian *ḡarāʿid*, none has such a conspicuous concentration of Maḡribī names. The reasons for this are likely to have been complex. As has already been seen, the households registered at Tròccoli and *Rahl al-Baṣal* 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 Ifrīqiyya 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 *ṣarīfs* 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.¹⁷⁴ While Muslims would not have voluntarily crossed to Sicily and bound themselves in service to a Christian monastery had not conditions in Ifrīqiyya 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

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 Maḡrib, there emigrated to him [i.e. to Roger] a vast galaxy of emirs, judges, lawyers, men of letters and poets’.

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; 20th century: *S. 776*. Top left corner (a little to the right of the last note); pencil; 20th century: *S. 776*. Top, towards left-hand side; brown ink; unknown date: *K*. Centre, towards top, left side; brown ink, very faded and faint; 17th century?: *scripture sup(er) feudo / de Troccoli*. Centre (vertically; very faint and legible only with the Wood lamp): τὰ σίνορα τ(ὸν) Τρόκκλ(ων). Centre (upside down); dark brown ink; (14th century ?): τὸ ἴσον τοῦ χρῖσοβοῦλλου τοῦ ῥηγ(ὸς) Ρογ(ε)ρ(ί)ου διὰ τ(ὰς) Τρόκκουλ(ας). Centre (upside down), immediately below Greek; pale brown ink, now very faint and legible only under the Wood's lamp; 14th century?: ... [sigilli] *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 17th century?: *di sancti iorgi di troccoli*. 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,¹⁷⁵ but not the same as wrote Doc. No. 2 or Doc. No. 3; he may possibly be 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

175 Degni 2002; Re 2005.

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.¹⁷⁶ 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 Magribī style. The script is without calligraphic flourishes, except only at the end of the last line (l. 41)—note the extended tail of the terminal *qāf* of *gūliqa*, 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)ῶ τῶ Θ(ε)ῶ εὐσεβῆς κραταιὸς ῥήξ +²

+ Τοῦ ἐνθέου κράτους μου κ(α)τὰ τὸν Ἰούνιον μῆνα τῆς ἐνεστῶσης τετάρτης ἰνδικτιῶνος τὴν γύραν παρὰ τὴν Σικελίαν ποιουμένου καὶ εἰς τὴν λεγομένη(ν) /³ Σιάκκαν καταντήσαντος, ὑπήντησας ἡμῖν σὺ ὁ τῆς ἡμετέρ(ας) μεγάλης (καὶ) περιβλέπτου μονῆς τοῦ Σ(ωτῆ)ρ(ο)ς τοῦ Ἀκροτῆρος Μεσήν(ης) τιμῳτάτο(ς) ἀρχιμανδρ(ι)τ(ης) κύρ Λουκᾶς ὑποδει=⁴ κνύων ἡμῖν τὰ διὰ χειρῶν σου σιγίλλια τῆς τοῦ Ἁγίου Γεωργίου τῶν Τρόκλων μονῆς, ἅπερ εἰς αὐτὴν ὁ μακαριώτ(α)τ(ος) (καὶ) αἰοίδιμο(ς) τοῦ κράτους μου π(ατ)ήρ ἐποίησεν ἐν ἔτει ὡς ἐν αὐτοῖς /⁵ τοῖς σιγίλλιοις γέγραπται ,ςχς' ἰνδικτιῶνος) ς'. Ἄπερ ἐνώπιον ἡμῶν ἀναγνωσθῆναι κελεύσαντες εὐρομεν οὕτω διαλαμβάνοντα· ὡς ἤδη τὴν νῆσον τῆς Σικελίας /⁶ Θ(εο)ῦ συμμαχία καὶ βοήθεια ἅπασαν ὑποτάξας ὁ μακαριώτ(α)τ(ος) δηλονότι π(ατ)ήρ μου οὐ τὴν τυχοῦσαν φροντίδα ἐπέθετο περὶ τῆς τῶν εὐαγῶ[v] (καὶ) ἀγί(ων) οἴκων ἀνοικοδομῆς τὲ καὶ /⁷ ἀνεγέρσεως μᾶλλον δὲ μοναστηρίων τῶν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀθέων σαθρωθέντων Ἀγαρηνῶν καὶ περὶ τ(ῆς) τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς ὑπηρετούντων [ἀδελφ]ῶν προνοίας (καὶ) διοικήσεως, /⁸ ὡς ἂν ἐκτενέστερον ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐ[v αὐτῆ] τῆ νήσω τελευτησάντων στρατιωτῶν ἐπὶ ἀναρρῦσει τῶν Χριστιαν(ῶν) ὑπερέχωνται ἔτι (καὶ) καθο[λικῆς] εἰρήνης] Χριστιαν(ῶν), πρὸ(ς) δὲ (καὶ) ὑπὲρ τῶν [αὐτοῦ] /⁹ ἀφέσε(ως) ἀμαρτιῶν. Ὅθεν

176 In the Greek text, the scribe occasionally places a diaeresis together with a breathing on an initial iota, a common but apparently indiscriminate practice in Greek documents from Italy and Sicily. The limitations of Unicode support for polytonic Greek orthography mean that, while an initial capital iota can be shown with diaeresis and breathing (e.g. τὸν Ἰούνιον, l. 2), an initial lower case iota cannot be shown with both diaeresis and breathing. This affects the following words, all of which are written with diaeresis on the initial iota — ἰνδικτιῶνος (l. 2), ἰκετεύσας (l. 13), ἰδιάζοντα (l. 13), ἰῶσι (ll. 15/16), ἰδόντες (l. 16), ἰπποδρόμ(ου) (l. 22), ἰερατ(ι)κ(οῦ) (l. 33).

μετὰ τῶν ἄλλ(ων) καὶ εἰς τὴν τῆς Σιάκκ(ας) περίοικον τὸν προρηθέντ(α) τοῦ ἁγίου μεγαλ(ο)μάρτ(υ)ρ(ος) Γεωργ(ίου) ἀνοικοδομήσ(ας) νεῶν καὶ εἰς μοναστήριον κ(α)τα-
στήσ(ας) αὐτ(ὸν) /¹⁰ 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) /¹¹ ἀκριβῶς καὶ τῶν καθέξῃς ἐγγεγραμμέν(ων) εἰς τὰ σιγίλλια,
εὔρομεν ἐκ τῶν χωραφίων τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς γεγραμμέν(ων) τινὰ μὴ κρατούμενα ὑπὸ τ(ῆς)
εἰρημένης μον(ῆς) τοῦ Ἁγ(ίου) Γεωργ(ίου) Τρόκλων, ἄλλ' ὕ= /¹² πό τινων βαρουνίων
ἡμῶν· εὔρομεν δὲ πάλιν ὑπ' αὐτ(ῆς) τῆς ῥηθείσης μονῆς κρατούμενα χωράφια ἄλλα τινὰ
μὴ τοῖς σιγίλλιοις ὑμ(ῶν) ἐγγεγραμμένα τὸ σύνολον. Σὺ δὲ ὁ προγραφ(εῖς) /¹³ ἀρχι-
μανδρ(ί)τ(ης) παρεκάλεσας τὸ κράτος μου (καὶ) ἰκετεύσας, ἵνα τὰ ἀρμόζοντα (καὶ)
ιδιάζοντα (καὶ) ἀρκοῦντα τῇ εἰρημένη ἁγία μονῇ τῶν Τρόκλ(ων) χωράφια (καὶ) τὰ τοῦ
χωρίου ὑμῶν τοῦ λεγομ(έ)ν(ου) Ῥάχαλ /¹⁴ Ἐλβάσαλ κατὰ δίκαιον περιορίσαι κελεύσασαιμεν,
(καὶ) ὑπὲρ τ(ῶν) τοιοῦτ(ων) περιορισμ(ῶν) ποιήσασαι τὸ κράτος μου πρὸς ὑμᾶς σιγίλλιον
ἐγγραφον. Τὸ δὲ κράτος μου τῇ παρακλήσει σου /¹⁵ εἶξαν καὶ ταύτην παριδεῖν μὴ θελήσαν,
ἀπέστειλε τὸν τε Φίλιππ(ον) τὸν (πρωτο)νοτ(ά)ρ(ιον) (καὶ) Στέφανον Μαλεῖνον τὸν κριτὴν,
(καὶ) τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ σεκρέτου, τὸν τε Κάιτ(ην) Περρουν (καὶ) Ἰω(άννην) (καὶ) τὸν Βουάλην,
ὄπ(ως) ἴδω= /¹⁶ σι (καὶ) γράψωσι τὸν δίκαιον περιορισμ(ὸν) τῶν χωραφί(ων) τῆς τε μονῆς
Τρόκλων καὶ τῶν τοῦ εἰρημ(έ)ν(ου) χωρίου Ῥαχαλ Ἐλβάσαλ. Οἱ δὲ ἀπέλθοντες (καὶ)
ἀκριβ(ῶς) ἐξετάσαντες καὶ ἰδόντες, /¹⁷ ἦλθον πρὸς(ς) ἡμᾶς ὄντας εἰς τὸ Γεργέντιον
ἐπιφερόμενοι τὰ τῶν περιορισμ(ῶν) ἐγγραφα τῶν εἰρημένων χωραφί(ων) τ(ῆς) τε μον(ῆς)
(καὶ) τοῦ χωρίου. Ὑπάρχουσι δὲ οὐτ(ως)· ἀπὸ τῶν δύο /¹⁸ κίωνίων τῶν λεγομένων Ὀχτεῖν
(καὶ) κατέρχεται τὸν ποταμ(ὸν) ποταμὸν δεξιῶθεν [εἰς] τὴν συκὴν τὴν λεγομένην Γατσένη
(καὶ) κα[τέρχεται] τὸν αὐτὸν ποταμ(ὸν) ἄχρι τοῦ σπηλαίου /¹⁹ τοῦ λεγομένου Γὰρ
Ἐλλουπβένη, καὶ ἀνέρχεται τὴν χέτην χέτην εἰς τὴν Κίπβλεν /¹⁷⁷ Επεν Χαμδοῦν, καὶ
ἀποδίδει ἄχρι τῆς ὁδοῦ (καὶ) ἀπ[έρχεται] τὴν ὁδὸν ὁδὸν ἄχρι τ(ῆς) λίμν(ης) τῆς /²⁰
λεγομένης Γαδῆρ Ἐπιν Μανσοῦρ (καὶ) ἀποδίδει εἰς τὴν Ἁγίαν Βαρβάραν τὴν οὖσαν κάτω,
καὶ ἀπέρχεται εἰς τὸ ἁλώνιν τοῦ υἱοῦ [Ραζοῦν], καὶ κατέρχεται(αι) εἰς τὸν ρύακα τὸν /²¹
λεγομένον Ἐλμοναστήρ, καὶ ἀπέρχεται(αι) ὀλίγον εἰς τ(ὴν) Κούτδιετ /¹⁷⁸ Ἐλζιουμμάρ, καὶ
κατέρχεται(αι) τὸν ρύακα ρύακα ἄχρι τ(ῆς) μεγάλης ὁδοῦ τ(ῆς) κ(α)τέρχομ(έ)ν(ης) ἐκ τ(ῆς)
Σιάκκας, καὶ κα= /²² τέρχεται τὸν ποταμ(ὸν) ποταμ(ὸν) εἰς τὴν πηγὴν τὴν λεγομ(έ)ν(ην)
τ(ῆς) Ἀπιδί(ας), (καὶ) ἀνέρχεται τὸ ρύακιν ρύακιν ἄχρι τῆς κεφαλ(ῆς) τοῦ ἵπποδρόμου
τοῦ λεγομ(έ)ν(ου) Ἐτταχρίκε κ(α)τὰ νότον, (καὶ) κ(α)τέρχ(ε)τ(αι) τὸν χεῖμαρρ(ον)
χεῖμαρρ(ον) /²³ ἄχρι τοῦ ἀμπέ(λου) τοῦ υἱοῦ Ἰάγλεφ καὶ περᾶ τὸν ποταμ(ὸν) (καὶ) ἀποδίδει

177 The β is written above the π. In Sicilian Greek, either β or π may transliterate Arabic *bā'* (Caracausi 1983, pp. 57–58); the use of both may indicate gemination.

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

εἰς τ(ῆν) Κουῶδιε¹⁷⁹ Ἐλάλεζ κ(α)τὰ τὸ μέρος) τοῦ νότου, (καὶ) ἀπέρχεται εἰς τ(ὸ) βουνακάριν τὸ λεγόμενον Κούτιε Ἄλιε, καὶ ἀπέρχετ(αι) /²⁴ τὰ βουνακάρια βουνακάρια ἄχρι τῆς πηγῆς τ(ῆς) λεγομένης) Ἄϊν Ἐλμουχίδ (καὶ) ἀνέρχεται τὴν χέτην χέτην ἄχρι τῆς Κούλλες, καὶ κατέρχεται(αι) (καὶ) περᾶ τὴν ὁδὸν (καὶ) ἀποδίδει εἰς τ(ῆν) Κουῶδιε¹⁸⁰ /²⁵ Ἐλζιουμμάρ, ὃ ἐστὶ μετὰξὺ τ(ῆς) Γζεννίας (καὶ) τοῦ Ῥάχαλ Ἐλβάσαλ, (καὶ) κατέρχεται εἰς τὸ ἄκρος τοῦ ὄρους ἄχρι τοῦ πύργου τοῦ Ἐλπεϊφερη¹⁸¹ (καὶ) συγκλείει. Ταῦτα τοῖνον καθὼς ἀνωτ(έ)ρ(ω) /²⁶ εἴρηται (καὶ) περιορίζεται ἔστερξα (καὶ) ἐδωρησάμην εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν τοῦ Ἁγ(ίου) Γεωργίου Τρόκλ(ων) μονὴν τὴν ὑπὸ σὲ πρὸς γεωργίαν τῶν τῶν οἰκείων ὑμῶν ζευγαρί(ων) (καὶ) τῶν τῶν ὑμετέρ(ων) ἀν(θρώπ)ων. /²⁷ 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) ἐπηρείας /²⁸ 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=²⁹ κους τοὺς ἐξογράφους [σὺν πᾶσι τοῖς πρ]οσοῦσιν αὐτοῖς, ὧν τὰ ὀνόματα ἐγράφησαν εἰς τὴν ἀρτίως μεταγραφείσαν (καὶ) ἀνακαίν[ισθείσαν] πλατείαν ὑμῶν ἔνθα ἐστὶ τὸ κα=³⁰ τόνομα τῶν ἐτέρων ὑμῶν [ἀνθρώπων τῶν παλαιῶν]. Ταῦτα τοῖνον οὕτως ὡς εἴρηται στέργω καὶ ἐπιβρα[βεύομαι τῇ εἰρημένη ἁγία μονῇ ὑπὲρ ψυχικῆς ἡμῶν σωτηρίας καὶ τῶν γεννη=] /³¹ τῶν ἡμ(ῶν) τοῦ ἔχειν αὐτὰ ἀπὸ γε καὶ εἰς τὸ ἐφεξῆς μέχρι τερμάτ(ων) αἰῶνων ἀκωλύτ(ως) (καὶ) ἀνεμποδίστ(ως) παρ' ἐμοῦ καὶ τῶν ἐμῶν κληρονόμ[ων] (καὶ) διαδόχ(ων) ὡς προδεδωρημένα /³² καὶ προαφιερωθέντα εἰς τὴν τοιαύτην ἁγίαν μονὴν παρὰ τοῦ αὐιδίμ(ου) π(α)τ(ρ)ὸς τοῦ κράτους μου, μένειν τὲ ταύτην μετὰ τῶν ἀνωτ(έ)ρ(ω) πάντων ἐν πάση γαλ[ήνη] (καὶ) ἐλευθερία καθὼς αὐτὴν ἐτυπώσατ(ο) /³³ διὰ τοῦ σιγίλλ(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 /³⁴ ἢ ἐπηρείας τινὸς ἄχρις ἐνὸς ὀβολοῦ, μηδενὸς τολμῶντος ὄχλησιν τινὰ ἢ ἐναντίωσιν αὐτῇ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀνωτ(έ)ρ(ω) γραφέντ(ων) ἢ κενωτομίαν ποιήσασθαι. Εἰ γὰρ τις τοῦτο τολμήσειε /³⁵ δράσαι οὐ μικρὰν τὴν παρὰ τοῦ κράτους μου ὑποστήσεται ἀγανάκτησιν καὶ τὸν κίνδυνον ὡς παραβάτης τῆς ἡμετέρας κελεύσεως καὶ μᾶλλον ἐναντιούμενος τῶν ψυχικῶν /³⁶ (καὶ) ἀμεταθέτ(ων) ἡμ(ῶν) δωρημάτ(ων). Διὸ (καὶ) πρὸς) περισσωτ(έ)ρ(αν) πίστω(σιν) (καὶ) ἀσφάλει(αν) τὸ παρ(ὸν) σιγίλλ(ιον) τοῦ κράτ(ους) ἡμ(ῶν) γραφέν καὶ τῇ διὰ χρυσοῦ βούλλη ἡμ(ῶν) σφραγισθ(έν) ἐπεδόθη σοι τῷ τιμῶτάτω καὶ /³⁷ ὀσιωτάτω κ(ῦρ) Λουκᾶ τῷ τῆς περιβλέπτου μεγάλης μον(ῆς) ἀρχιμανδρίτη (καὶ) πᾶσι τοῖς μετέπειτα κ(α)τὰ διαδοχὴν ἐν μη(νι) (καὶ) ἰν(δικτιῶνι) τοῖς (προ)γεγρα(μμένους) ἐν ἔτει ,ςχμθ' /³⁸

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

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

181 The β is written above the π. See note 177 above.

حدها دبور¹⁸² من الاختين ينزل الواد¹⁸³ على اليمين الى شجرة غتشانة¹⁸⁴ وينزل الواد¹⁸⁵ الى غار اللوباني ويطلع الحارك الحارك الى قبلة¹⁸⁶ بنى¹⁸⁷ حمدون حتى يصل الى المحجة ويحني¹⁸⁸ مع المحجة المحجة حتى يصل الى غدير بن¹⁸⁹ منصور¹⁹⁰ /³⁹ الى صنت بربارة السفلانية¹⁹¹ الى اندر بن¹⁹² الروون¹⁹³ ثم ينزل الى خندق¹⁹⁴ المنستيري ثم يمّر¹⁹⁵ قليلا¹⁹⁶ الى كدية الجمار¹⁹⁷ وينزل الخندق¹⁹⁸ الخندق¹⁹⁹ حتى يصل الى المحجة الكبيرة الحاملة من الشاقة وينزل الواد²⁰⁰ الى عين⁴⁰ الانحاصة²⁰¹ ويطلع الخندق الخندق الى ر||س²⁰² التحريكة²⁰³ من جهة القبلة²⁰⁴ وينزل المجرى المجرى حتى يصل الى²⁰⁵ جنان بن²⁰⁶ يخلف²⁰⁷ يعدى²⁰⁸ الواد²⁰⁹ ويخرج الى كدية الاعلاج من جهة القبلة²¹⁰ ثم الى الكدية العالية يتمادا²¹¹ الكدية

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- 182 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 196.
- 183 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.
- 184 The word is fully pointed, with a *šim*: compare Doc. 2, l. 39 and Doc. 3, l. 39, and see above p. 8 note 41 and below p. 42 note 259.
- 185 CA الوادي الوادي . See above note 183.
- 186 The *qāf* is indicated by only one point above the loop, in the Maḡribī style.
- 187 CA بني .
- 188 CA يحيي .
- 189 CA ابن .
- 190 منصور is written above the line in the same ink by the same hand.
- 191 The *fā'* is indicated by one point below the loop, in the Maḡribī 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.
- 192 CA ابن , as Doc. 2, l. 41.
- 193 Sic. Read al-Razūn: see Doc. 2, ll. 19 and 40, Doc. 3, ll. 20, and above p. 9 note 46.
- 194 The *qāf* is indicated in the Maḡribī style.
- 195 The word يمّر 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.
- 196 CA قليلا . See note 182 above.
- 197 The *ḡīm* 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. 9, note 48.
- 198 The *qāf* is indicated in the Maḡribī style.
- 199 The *qāf* is indicated in the Maḡribī style.
- 200 CA الوادي الوادي . See above note 183.
- 201 Sic, but see Doc. 2, l. 41 and Doc. 3, l. 41.
- 202 There is a hole in the parchment.
- 203 The word is fully pointed, with a tiny subscript *hā'* and a caret above the *rā'*.
- 204 The *qāf* is indicated in the Maḡribī style.
- 205 There is hole in the parchment.
- 206 CA ابن .
- 207 The *fā'* is indicated in the Maḡribī style.
- 208 CA يُعدّي .
- 209 CA الوادي . See above note 183.

الكدية⁴¹/الى عين المخيض²¹² ويطلع الحارك الحارك ويصل الى القلّة²¹³ وينزل ويعدى²¹⁴ المحجة الى ان يصل الى كدية الجمار²¹⁵ التي بين الجنية ورحل²¹⁶ البصل وينزل الى طرف²¹⁷ الشعرا²¹⁸ الى برج البيفرى²¹⁹ وغلق الحد²²⁰

Document 2

Siacca. 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 17th-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: εἰσι δὲ καὶ ἕτερα κάτωθεν ἐν τῷ ἀντιγράφῳ ἄπερ 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 17th-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.

Maximum dimensions: height 819mm (left), 821mm (right); width 516mm (top),

210 The *qāf* is indicated in the Magribī style.

211 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.

212 The word is fully pointed.

213 The *qāf* is indicated in the Magribī style.

214 CA يُعَدِّي .

215 Unpointed: see above note 197.

216 The *hā* is indicated by a subscript miniature letter.

217 The *fā* is indicated in the Magribī style.

218 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.

219 The word is clearly pointed, as it is 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 pp. 10–11, note 59 (also below p. 58, note 447).

220 Abbreviation from *[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).

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; 20th century: *B S. 2002*. Centre (upside down); light brown ink; 14th or 15th century?: *Lu privilegiu de Re Rugerii p(er) sanctu / Georgiu di Trocculi cum li confini territoriali(?) et / cum uno casali chiamata(?) Chalba / Chalba*.²²¹ Below previous note; dark brown ink; 14th century?: προβελέγι(ον) ἀγίου Γεωργ(ίου) τῶν Τρώκλων. Below previous note; light brown ink; 18th century?: no. 6. Below previous note, towards left-hand side; brown ink; unknown date: J. Centre, below previous note; light brown ink; 14th or 15th century?: *Questu e lu privilegiu per s(anc)tu G(eor)gi / d(e) Trocculi*. Lower left corner; black ink; 20th 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,²²² 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.²²³ 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 from the page. He used no short vowels, but many points; where indicated, *fā'* and *qāf* are never pointed in the Mağribī 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 *Ġulyālmū*, instead of the normal written form *Ġulyālim*, suggesting that he was following dictation.²²⁴ 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

221 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 Sicilianised from Arabic *[ra]hl [al-]ba[ʃal]*.

222 See above note 175.

223 In the Greek text, the scribe occasionally places a diaeresis together with a breathing on an initial iota, a common but apparently indiscriminate practice in Greek documents from Italy and Sicily. The limitations of Unicode support for polytonic Greek orthography mean that, while an initial capital iota can be shown with diaeresis and breathing (e.g. τὸν Ἰούνιον, l. 2), an initial lower case iota cannot be shown with both diaeresis and breathing. This affects the following words, all of which are written with diaeresis on the initial iota—ἰνδικτιῶνος (l. 2), ἰκετεύσας (l. 13), ἰδιάζοντα (l. 13), ἰδῶσι (l. 15), ἰδόντες (l. 16), ἰπποδρόμ(ου) (l. 21), ἰνα (ll. 25 and 28), and ἰερατ(ι)κ(οῦ) (l. 36).

224 This would seem to confirm our hypothesis on pp. 16-17 above.

actually writing after 6th August 1141.²²⁵

+Ρογέριος ἐν Χ(ριστ)ῶ τῶ Θ(ε)ῶ εὐσεβῆς κραταιὸς ρήξ +++ /²

+ Τοῦ ἐνθέου κράτους μου κατὰ τὸν Ἰούνιον μῆνα τῆς ἐνεστῶσης τετάρτης ἰνδικτιῶνος τὴν γύραν παρα τὴν Σικελίαν ποιουμένου, (καὶ) εἰς τὴν λεγομένην Σιάκκαν /³ 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(ι)τ(ης) κύρ Λουκάς ὑποδει=⁴ κνύων ἡμῖν τὰ διὰ χειρ(ῶν) σου σιγίλλια τῆς τοῦ Ἁγίου Γεωργίου τῶν Τρόκλ(ων) μον(ῆς), ἅπερ εἰς αὐτὴν ὁ μακαριώτατο(ς) (καὶ) αἰοίδιμο(ς) τοῦ κράτ(ου)ς μου π(ατ)ῆρ ἐποίησεν ἐν ἔτει ὡς ἐν αὐτοῖς /⁵ τοῖς σιγίλλιοις ἐγγέγραπται ,ςχς´ ἰν(δικτιῶνος) ς´. Ἄπερ ἐνώπιον ἡμ(ῶν) ἀναγνωσθῆναι κελεύσαντες, εὔρομεν οὕτω(ς) διαλαμβάνοντα ὡς ἤδη τὴν νῆσον τῆς Σικελί(ας) Θ(εο)ῦ /⁶ συμμαχία καὶ βοήθεια ἄσασαν ὑποτάξας ὁ μακαριώτατο(ς) δηλονότι π(ατ)ῆρ μου οὐ τὴν τυχοῦσαν φροντίδα ἐνέθετο περὶ τ(ῆς) τῶν εὐαγ(ῶν) (καὶ) ἀγί(ων) οἰκ(ων) ἀνοικοδομῆς τὲ (καὶ) /⁷ 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 /⁸ ἐκτενέστερον ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ νήσῳ τελευτησάντων στρατιωτῶν ἐπὶ ἀναρρῦσει τῶν Χριστιανῶν ὑπερεύχονται ἔτι (καὶ) καθολικ(ῆς) εἰρήνης Χριστιαν(ῶν), πρὸ(ς) δὲ (καὶ) ὑπὲρ /⁹ τῶν αὐτοῦ ἀφέσεως ἀμαρτι(ῶν). Ὅθεν μετὰ τῶν ἄλλ(ων) (καὶ) εἰς τὴν τῆς Σιάκκ(ας) περιοικον 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 /¹⁰ 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 /¹¹ τ(ῶν) καθεξῆς ἐγγεγραμμένων εἰς τὰ σιγίλλια, εὔρομεν ἐκ τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς γεγραμμέν(ων) χωραφί(ων) τινὰ μὴ κρατούμενα ὑπὸ τῆς εἰρημένης μον(ῆς) τοῦ Ἁγίου Γεωργίου τ(ῶν) Τρόκλ(ων), ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τινῶ(ν) /¹² βαρουνίων ἡμ(ῶν)· εὔρομεν δὲ πάλιν ὑπ' αὐτῆς τῆς ρηθείσης μονῆς κρατούμενα χωράφια ἄλλα τινὰ μὴ τοῖς σιγίλλι(οις) ὑμ(ῶν) ἐγγεγραμμ(έν)α τὸ σύνολον. Σὺ δὲ ὁ προγραφεῖς ἀρχιμανδρίτης /¹³ παρεκάλεσ(ας) τὸ κράτος μου (καὶ) ἰκετεύσ(ας), ἵνα τὰ ἀρμόζοντα (καὶ) ἰδιάζοντα (καὶ) ἀρκοῦντα τῇ εἰρημένη ἁγία μονῇ τῶν Τρόκλ(ων) χωράφια (καὶ) τὰ τοῦ χωρίου ὑμῶν τοῦ λεγομ(έν)ου Ῥάχαλ Ἐλββάσαλ²²⁶ κ(α)τὰ δίκαιον /¹⁴ περιορίσαι κελεύσωμεν, (καὶ) ὑπὲρ τ(ῶν) τοιούτ(ων) περιορισμ(ῶν) ποιήσαιο²²⁷ τὸ κράτος μου πρὸ(ς) ὑμ(ᾶς) σῆγίλλιον ἔγγραφον. Τὸ δὲ κράτος μου τῇ παρακλήσει σου εἴξαν (καὶ) ταύτην παριδεῖν μὴ θελήσαν, ἀπέ=¹⁵ στείλε τὸν τε Φί(λι)ππ(ον) τὸν (πρωτο)νοτ(ά)ρ(ιον) (καὶ) Στέφα(νον) Μαλέιν(ον) τὸν (καὶ) κριτῆν, καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ σεκρέτου, τὸν τε κάιτ(ην)

225 See above p. 14.

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

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

Περρούν (καὶ) Ἰω(άννην) (καὶ) τὸν Βουάλην, ὅπ(ως) ἴδωσι (καὶ) γράψωσι τὸν δίκαιον περιορισμ(όν) τῶν χωραφί(ων) τῆς τὲ /¹⁶ μον(ῆς) τ(ῶν) Τρόκλ(ων) (καὶ) τ(ῶν) τοῦ εἰρημ(έν)ου χωρίου Ῥαχαλ Ἐλββάσαλ. Οἱ δὲ ἀπελθόντες (καὶ) ἀκριβ(ῶς) ἐξαιτάσαντες (καὶ) ἰδόντες, ἦλθον πρὸς) ἡμ(ᾶς) ὄντας εἰς τὸ Γεργ(έν)τ(ιον) ἐπιφερόμενοι τὰ τῶν περιορισμ(ῶν) ἔγγραφα τῶν εἰρημ(έν)ων χωραφί(ων) /¹⁷ τῆς τὲ μονῆς (καὶ) τοῦ χωρίου. Ὑπάρχουσι δὲ οὐτ(ως)· ἀπὸ τ(ῶν) δύο κωνί(ων) τ(ῶν) λεγομέν(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) /¹⁸ ποταμ(όν) ἄχρι τοῦ σπηλαίου τοῦ λεγομένου Γὰρ Ἐλλουπένη, (καὶ) ἀνέρχ(ε)τ(αι) τὴν χέτην χέτην εἰς τὴν Κίπ[β]λεν Ἐπεν Χαμοδοῦν, (καὶ) ἀποδίδει ἄχρι τ(ῆς) ὁδοῦ καὶ ἀπέρχ(ε)τ(αι) τὴν ὁδὸν ὁδὸν ἄχρι τ(ῆς) λίμνης τῆς λε=¹⁹ γομένης Γαδῖρ Ἐπεν Μανσοῦρ καὶ ἀποδίδει εἰς τὴν Ἀγίαν Βαρβάραν τὴν οὔσαν κά[τω], (καὶ) ἀπέρχεται εἰς τὸ ἀλώνιν τοῦ υἱοῦ Ῥαζοῦν, καὶ κατέρχεται εἰς τὸν ρύακα τὸν λεγόμενον Ἐλ=²⁰ μοναστήρ, καὶ ἀπέρχεται ολίγον εἰς τὴν Κουδτίετ²²⁸ Ἐλζιουμμάρ, καὶ κατέρχεται τὸν ρύακα [ρύ]ακα ἄχρι τ(ῆς) μεγάλης ὁδοῦ τ(ῆς) κ(α)τέρχομένης) ἐκ τ(ῆς) Σιάκκ(ας), (καὶ) κ(α)τέρχεται τὸν ποτ(α)μ(όν) ποταμ(όν) εἰς τὴν πηγὴν τὴν λεγομένην /²¹ τῆς Ἀπιδί(ας), (καὶ) ἀνέρχεται τὸ ρυάκιν ρυάκ(ιν) ἄχρι τ(ῆς) κεφαλ(ῆς) τοῦ ἱπποδρόμου τοῦ λεγομέν(ου) Ἐτταχρίκε κ(α)τὰ νότον, (καὶ) κατέρχεται τὸν χεῖμαρρον χεῖμαρρον) ἄχρι τοῦ ἀμπελῶνο(ς) τοῦ υἱοῦ Ἰάχλεφ καὶ περᾶ τὸν /²² ποταμ(όν) (καὶ) ἀποδίδει εἰς τὴν Κουδτίε Ἐλάλεζ κ(α)τὰ τὸ μέρος) τοῦ νότου, (καὶ) ἀπέρχεται εἰς τὸ βουνακάριν τὸ λεγόμενον) Κουδτίε²²⁹ Ἄλιε, (καὶ) ἀπέρχεται τὰ βουνακάρια βουνακάρια ἄχρι τ(ῆς) πηγ(ῆς) τ(ῆς) λεγομένης) Ἄϊν Ἐλμουχίδ /²³ (καὶ) ἀνέρχεται τὴν χέτην χέτην ἄχρι τ(ῆς) Κούλλε, (καὶ) κατέρχεται (καὶ) περᾶ τὴν ὁδὸν (καὶ) ἀποδίδει εἰς τὴν Κουδτίετ Ἐλζιουμμάρ, ὃ ἐστὶν ἀναμεταξὺ τῆς Γζεννίας (καὶ) τοῦ Ῥάχαλ Ἐλββάσαλ, καὶ /²⁴ κατέρχεται εἰς τὸ ἄκρος τοῦ ὄρους ἄχρι τοῦ πύργου τοῦ Ἐλββείφερη²³⁰ καὶ συγκλ[ε]ίει. Μετὰ δὲ τὸ γενέσθ(αι) τοὺς ἀνωτ(έρω) διαχωρισμοὺς συν[ε]βιβάσθη ὁ Γουλιάλμ(ος) ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Ῥικάρδου /²⁵ τῆς Σιάκκ(ας) μετὰ τῶν μοναχ(ῶν) τῶν Τρόκλ(ων) ἵνα διὰ τὴν ἀμφιβολὴν τῶν χωραφί(ων) τῶν μεταξὺ αὐτῶν ἔσται πάλιν ὁ διαχωρισμὸς ὡς κατωτέρω ρηθήσεται) ἀπὸ τῶν δύο κωνί(ων) τῶν λεγομέν(ων) Ὀχτεῖν /²⁶ (καὶ) ἀπέρχεται τὸ ὕψος ὕψος τῆς χέτης τῆς οὔσ(ης) ἐπάνω τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ λεγομέν(ου),²³¹ (καὶ) ἀποσώζει εἰς τὴν πηγὴν τὴν λεγομένην Ἀτσένε καὶ εἰς τὴν ἐν αὐτῇ συκὴν, (καὶ) κατέρχεται τὸ ὕδωρ τ(ῆς) εἰρημένης /²⁷ πηγ(ῆς) καὶ ἀποσώζει εἰς τὸν ποταμ(όν) τὸν κ(α)τερχόμενον ἀπὸ τοῦ πύργου τοῦ λεγομέν(ου) Πούρζ Ἐπεν Ἄσκιαρ, καὶ κατέρχεται τὸ ὕδωρ ὕδωρ καὶ ἀποδίδει εἰς τ(όν) ποταμ(όν) τὸν μέγα ἔνθα συγκλείεται /²⁸ ὁ περιορισμὸς) ὁ μεταξὺ τῶν χωραφί(ων) τῶν μοναχ(ῶν) (καὶ) τοῦ πύργου τοῦ λεγομέν(ου) Πούρζ Ἐπεν

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

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

230 The β is written above the π. See note 177 above.

231 Doc. 3 has λελεγμένου.

Ἄσκιαρ· καὶ συνεφώνησ(αν) ὁ τε Γουλιιάμ(ος) (καὶ) οἱ μοναχοὶ μεταξύ αὐτ(ῶν) ἵνα οἱ μοναχοὶ ἐκβάλωσι τὸ ὕδωρ ὅθεν θελήσου(σιν)· ^{/29} (καὶ) ταῦτα οὕτω καθὼς συνεβιάσθησαν ἕστερξεν αὐτοῖς τὸ κράτος μου. Ταῦτα τοίνυν καθὼς εἴρηται ἀνωτ(έ)ρ(ω) (καὶ) περιορίζεται, πλὴν ἐξ ὧν – ὡς εἴρητ(αι)²³² – συνεβιάσθητε μετὰ τοῦ Γουλιιάμ(ου) υἱοῦ Ῥικάρδ(ου) τ(ῆς) Σιάκκ(ας), ἕστερξα ^{/30} (καὶ) ἐδωρησάμην εἰς τὴν εὐαγεστάτην τοῦ Ἀγ(ίου) Γεωργ(ίου) τ(ῶν) Τρόκλ(ων) μονὴν τὴν ὑπὸ σὲ πρὸς γεωργίαν τῶν τὲ οἰκεί(ων) ὑμῶν ζευγαρί(ων) (καὶ) τῶν τῶν ὑμετέρ(ων) ἀν(θρώπ)ων. Διὰ δὲ τὸ μὴ ἔχειν νομὴν τὰ ὑμέτερα ζῶα, ἕστερξα ὑμῖν ^{/31} (καὶ) ἐπεβραβευσάμην ὄπ(ως) ἀκωλύτ(ως) καὶ ἀνεμποδίστ(ως) καὶ ἀναργύρως (καὶ) πάσης δεκατί(ας) ἐκτὸς (καὶ) λοιπ(ῆς) πάσης ἐπιηρίας νέμωνται εἰς τὴν τ(ῆς) Σιάκκ(ας) διακράτησιν ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκείων ὑμῶν ^{/32} πρόβατα χίλια (καὶ) ἀγελάδια 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 ^{/33} καὶ ἀνακαινισθείσαν πλατεῖ(αν) ὑμῶν ἔνθα ἐστὶ τὸ κ(α)τόνομα τῶν ἐτέρ(ων) ὑμ(ῶν) ἀν(θρώπ)ων τῶν παλαι(ῶν). Ταῦτα δὲ οὕτω ὡς εἴρητ(αι) στέργω καὶ ἐπιβραβεύομαι τῇ εἰρημ(έ)ν(η) ἀγία μονῇ ὑπὲρ ψυχικ(ῆς) ἡμ(ῶν) σ(ωτη)ρίας ^{/34} (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) δ[ια]δόχ(ων) ὡς προοδεωρημένα καὶ προα=^{/35} φῆρωθέντα εἰς τὴν τοιαύτην ἀγίαν μονὴν παρὰ τοῦ ἀοιδίμ(ου) π(ατ)ρ(ὸ)ς τοῦ κράτους μου, μένειν τὲ ταύτην μετὰ τῶν ἀνωτ(έ)ρ(ω) πάντ(ων) ἐν πάσῃ γαλήνῃ (καὶ) ἐλευθ(ε)ρ(ί)ᾳ καθὼς αὐτ(ὴν) ἐτυπώσατο διὰ τοῦ σιγῖλλ(ίου) αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τε ἀρχ(ι)επισκ(ό)π(ων), ἐπισκόπων ^{/36} (καὶ) παντὸς ἱερατ(ι)κ(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 πάσης) συνηθεί(ας) ἢ ἐπιηρεί(ας) τινὸς ἄχρις ἐνδ(ς) ὀβολοῦ, μηδενὸς) τολμῶντος) ὄχλησ(ιν) τινὰ ἢ ἐναντίωσ(ιν) αὐτῇ ὑπὲρ τ(ῶν) ἀνωτ(έ)ρ(ω) γραφέντ(ων) ἢ κενοτομίαν ποιήσασθαι. ^{/37} Εἰ γάρ τις τοῦτ(ο) τολμήσειε δράσαι οὐ μικρ(άν) τ(ὴν) παρ' ἐμοῦ ὑποστήσεται ἀγανάκτησιν ὡς παραβάτ(ης) τ(ῆς) ἡμετέρ(ας) κελεύσει(ως) (καὶ) μᾶλλον ἐναντιούμενος) τ(ῶν) ψυχικ(ῶν) (καὶ) ἀμεταθέτ(ων) ἡμ(ῶν) δωρε(ῶν). Διὸ (καὶ) πρὸς) περισσωτ(έ)ρ(αν) πίστωσιν (καὶ) ἀσφάλειαν τὸ παρὸν ^{/38} σιγῖλλιον τοῦ κράτους ἡμ(ῶν) γραφέν (καὶ) τῇ διὰ χρυσοῦ βούλλῃ ἡμ(ῶν) σφραγισθ(έν) ἐπεδόθη) σοι τῷ τιμωτ(ά)τ(ω) κὺρ 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(ὴν) ἐν μη(νὶ) (καὶ) ἰν(δικτιῶνι) τοῖς (προ)γεγρα(μμένοις) ἐν ἔτει ,ςχμθ' + ^{/39}

حدها دبور²³³ من الاخنتين ينزل الوادي الوادي²³⁴ على اليمين الى شجرة غتسانة²³⁵ وينزل الوادي

232 ὡς εἴρητ(αι): interlinear correction by the scribe.

233 CA دبور . See note 182 above.

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

الوادي²³⁶ الى غار اللوباني ويطلع الحارك الحارك الى قبلة بنى حمدون حتى يصل الى المحجة ويحني²³⁷ مع المحجة المحجة⁴⁰ حتى يصير الى غددير ابن منصور الى صنت بريارة السفلانية الى اندر ابن الرزون²³⁸ ثم ينزل الى خندق المنستيرى ثم²³⁹ يمر قليل²⁴⁰ الى كدية الحمار²⁴¹ وينزل الخندق الخندق حتى يصل الى المحجة الكبيرة الحاملة من الشاقة وينزل⁴¹ الوادي الوادي²⁴² الى عين النجاسة²⁴³ ويطلع الخندق الخندق الى راس التحريكة²⁴⁴ من جهة القبلة وينزل المجرى المجرى حتى يصل الى جنان ابن يخلف يعدى²⁴⁵ الواد²⁴⁶ ويخرج الى كودية²⁴⁷ الاعلاج من جهة القبلة ثم الى²⁴⁸ الكدية العالية⁴² يتمادى الكدية الكدية الى عين المخيص²⁴⁹ ويطلع الحارك الحارك ويصل الى القلة ويعدى²⁵⁰ المحجة الى ان يصل الى كدية الحمار²⁵¹ التي بين الجنية ورحل البصل وينزل الى طرف الشعرا²⁵² الى برج البيغري²⁵³ وغلق الحد²⁵⁴ /⁴³ ثم اتفق الراهب²⁵⁵

- 235 The *sīn* is unpointed: compare Doc. 1, l. 38 and Doc. 3, l. 39, and see above p. 8, note 41 and below pp. 42, note 259.
- 236 CA الوادي الوادي .
- 237 CA يحني .
- 238 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. 9, note 46 and p. 35, note 193.
- 239 The word has been rewritten and the *tā'* appears to be pointed as a *tā'*, unless the points belong to the *yā'* of the following verb.
- 240 CA قليلا . See note 182 above.
- 241 *Sic*. There is no point below the *gīm*, but read *al-ḡummār*: see Doc. 1, ll. 21 and 39, Doc. 2, l. 20, Doc. 3, ll. 20 and 41, and above p. 9, note 48.
- 242 CA الوادي الوادي .
- 243 *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.
- 244 Only the *tā'* is pointed: see Doc. 1, l. 40 (التحريكة) with a tiny subscript *hā'* and a caret above the *rā'* and Doc. 3, l. 42 (unpointed).
- 245 CA يُعَدِّي .
- 246 CA الوادي . See above note 183.
- 247 *Sic*, with *wāw*, *kūd.ya* (elsewhere regularly كدية), possibly reflecting spoken form, see Greek *κοῦδιε* (Caracausi 1990, p. 308), Sicilian *cūddia* (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.
- 248 The word الوادي (CA الى) is written above the line in the same ink and by the same hand.
- 249 *Sic*, with *ṣād*, but read *al-muḥīd*: see Doc. 1, ll. 24 and 41, Doc. 3, ll. 23 and 43.
- 250 CA يُعَدِّي .
- 251 The *gīm* is pointed: see above note 241.
- 252 CA الشعراء : see above note 218.
- 253 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.
- 254 Doc. 1 ends at this point and the remaining Arabic text is found exclusively in Doc. 2 and Doc. 3.
- 255 *Sic*, in the singular, but see Doc. 2, l. 24 and Doc. 3, ll. 25 and 44.

وغلبالموا²⁵⁶ بن رجرض من الشاقة على ان بدو²⁵⁷ حد الدير من الاختين ويمر مع الشرف الشرف المطل على الوادي²⁵⁸ المذكور حتى يصل الى عين غسّانة²⁵⁹ والشجرة التي بها وينزل مجرى العين المذكورة/ ⁴⁴ حتى يصل الى الوادي²⁶⁰ النازل من برج بن²⁶¹ عسكر وينزل مع الماء²⁶² الى ان²⁶³ يصل الى الوادي²⁶⁴ الكبير وبدو²⁶⁵ اخر حد الدير مع برج بن²⁶⁶ عسكر واتفقوا على ان الرهبان يخرجوا الماء من اين يريدوا²⁶⁷ > وقد رضي⁴⁵ الديوان المعمور بهذا الاتفاق وجوزه وامضاه ولا قيام فيه ولا كلام بعد اليوم²⁶⁸ < وكتب بتاريخ شهر برطيون²⁶⁹ من سنة خمس²⁷⁰ وثلاث وخمسمائة²⁷¹ الاندقتس الرابع وحسبنا الله ونعم الوكيل

⁴⁶ + Ῥογέριος ἐν Χ(ριστ)ῶ τῷ Θ(ε)ῶ εὐσεβῆς κραταιὸς ῥῆξ καὶ τῶν χριστ(ια)ν(ῶν) βοηθός +++.

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

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

258 CA الوادي .

259 *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 297). It is not written in the same manner as غسّانة in l. 39 above (see also note 235). Here, the pointed *ḡayn* is clearly legible, there is no *tā*²; next come a *sīn* bearing a *šadda*, an *alif*, and then an uncertain letter before the *tā' marbūṭa*. The Greek transliteration Ἀτσένα, *Atsena* (not Γατσένε, *Gatséne*), 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 *Ḡats/šāna* or *Ḡassāna*. See also above p. 8, note 41, and the discussion of the use of *šadda* in Doc. 4, below pp. 46–48.)

260 CA الوادي .

261 CA ابن .

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

263 Doc. 3, l. 46 omits ان .

264 CA الوادي .

265 See above note 257.

266 CA ابن .

267 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.

268 The phrase enclosed in angular brackets is found only in Doc. 2. Doc. 3, ll. 46–47 has instead: وقد تراضوا بذلك⁴⁷ وكان ذلك

269 *Brutuyūn*, i.e. from πρωτοῦνῆς, 'first June', cf. Caracausi 1986, p.16; Caracausi 1990, p. 485. See also: De Simone 1988, pp. 73–74, Johns 2001, and below p. 60 note 474.

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

271 CA خمسمائة .

On the line following the signature, to the right-hand side of the document, in a 14th-century hand: *Presentatum Mess(an)e apud acta Magne Regie Cur(ie) octavo augusti decime indic(tion)s.*²⁷²

A translation of Doc. 2 is given above pp. 7–12.

Document 3

Sciaccia. 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 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; 20th century: *A S. 2003*. Upper centre; light brown ink; 14th or 15th 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; 13th century?: + τὸ ἰσότυπ(ον) σιγίλλ(ιου) τ(ῶν) Τρόκλ(ῶν). Immediately to the left of the previous note; rich brown ink; 12th century?: ...χ(...) ἀπός χαρτία τῆς Σσῆκας. Immediately to the left of the previous note; medium brown ink; 13th century?: τῶν Τρόκλων. Immediately to the left of the previous note; rich brown ink; 18th century?: *K*. Lower left corner; black ink; 20th 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 fold-

272 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: Scandalio 2003, pp. 168–169.

ing; 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,²⁷³ 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-maḥaḡḡa* has been carefully positioned to avoid the line crossing the tail-flourish of the subscript *keraiā* indicating the numeral for 6,000 in 6649 (Ϸϫμθ') in the previous line. The Arabic text is written in a clear, but inelegant copy-hand, in a dark, 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 دبور²⁷⁴ من الاختين ينزل الوادي الوادي على الايمن الى شجرة غتسانة²⁷⁵ وينزل⁴⁰ الوادي الوادي²⁷⁶ الى غار اللوباني ويطلع الحارك الحارك الى قبلة بني²⁷⁷ حمدون حتى يصل الى المحجة الكبيرة ويحني²⁷⁸ مع المحجة²⁷⁹ المحجة حتى يصل الى غدير بن²⁸⁰ منصور²⁸¹ الى صنت بربرة السفلانية الى اندر بن²⁸² الزرون²⁸³ ثم ينزل الى خندق المنستيري ثم يمر قليلا²⁸⁴ الى كدية الجمار وينزل الخندق الخندق حتى يصل الى المحجة الكبيرة الحاملة من الشاقة وينزل الوادي الوادي²⁸⁵ الى عين النجاصة²⁸⁶ ويطلع الخندق⁴² الخندق الى راس التحريكة من جهة القبلة وينزل المجرى المجرى حتى يصل الى جنان بن²⁸⁷ يخلف يعدي²⁸⁸ الوادي²⁸⁹ ويخرج الى

273 See above note 175.

274 CA دبورا . See note 182 above.

275 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 259, and the discussion of the use of *šadda* below pp. 44–45.

276 CA الوادي الوادي .

277 CA بني .

278 CA يحني .

279 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 (Ϸϫμθ') in the last line of the Greek text.

280 CA ابن .

281 Doc. 1, l. 38 & Doc. 2, l. 40: منصور .

282 CA ابن .

283 Sic. Read *al-Razūn*: see Doc. 1, l. 39, Doc. 2, ll. 19 and 40, Doc. 3, l. 20, and above p. 9 note 46.

284 CA قليلا . See note 182 above.

285 CA الوادي الوادي .

286 Sic, as in Doc. 2, l. 41, but see Doc. 1, l. 40. See above note 243.

287 CA ابن , as Doc. 2, l. 41.

288 CA يُعدي .

289 CA الوادي . See above note 183.

كديبة الاعلاج من جهة القبلة ثم /⁴³ الى الكديبة العالية يتمادى الكديبة الكديبة الى عين الحيص²⁹⁰ ويطلع الحارك الحارك ويصل الى القبلة²⁹¹ ويعدى²⁹² المحجة الى ان يصل الى كديبة الحمار²⁹³ التي²⁹⁴ بين الجنينة /⁴⁴ ورحل البصل وينزل الى طرف الشعرا²⁹⁵ الى برج البيفرى وعلق الحد²⁹⁶ ثم اتفق الرهبان وغليلا لم بن رجرض من الشاققة على ان بدو²⁹⁷ حد الدير من الاختين /⁴⁵ ويمر مع الشرف الشرف المطل على الوادى²⁹⁸ المذكور حتى يصل الى عين عسانة²⁹⁹ والشجرة التي بها وينزل مجرى العين المذكورة حتى يصل الى الوادى³⁰⁰ النازل من /⁴⁶ برج بن³⁰¹ عسكر وينزل مع الماء³⁰² الى [ان]³⁰³ يصل الى الوادى³⁰⁴ الكبير و بدو³⁰⁵ اخر الحد الدير³⁰⁶ مع برج بن³⁰⁷ عسكر واتفقوا على ان الرهبان يخرجوا الماء من اين يريدوا³⁰⁸ >وقد تراضوا بذلك /⁴⁷ وكان ذلك<³⁰⁹ بتاريخ شهر برطيون³¹⁰ سنة خمس وثلاثين وخمسائة³¹¹ بالاندقتس الرابع وحسبنا الله ونعم الوكيل

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- 290 The word is unpointed, but read *al-muḥīd*: see Doc. 1, ll. 24 and 41, Doc. 2, ll. 22 and 42 and Doc. 3, l. 23.
- 291 *Sic.* The word is unpointed but the scribe has clearly not written الثَّلَّة , *al-qulla*, 'the summit', as in Doc. 1, l. 41 and Doc. 2, l. 42.
- 292 CA يُعَدِّي .
- 293 Unpointed, but read *al-ḡummār*: see above p. 9, note 48.
- 294 CA التي .
- 295 CA الشعراء : see above note 218.
- 296 Doc. 1 ends at this point, and the remaining Arabic text is found exclusively in Doc.2 and Doc. 3.
- 297 See above note 257.
- 298 CA الوادي .
- 299 Unpointed. See above p. 8, note 41 and p. 42, note 259.
- 300 CA الوادي .
- 301 CA ابن .
- 302 CA الماء الماء .
- 303 is omitted in error.
- 304 CA الوادي .
- 305 See above note 257.
- 306 *Sic.* Doc. 2, l. 44 has correctly الدير حد الدير .
- 307 CA ابن .
- 308 this clause does not follow CA norms. See above note 267.
- 309 In Doc. 2, ll. 44–45, the phrase here enclosed in angular brackets is omitted and the passage reads . وقد رضي⁴⁵ الديوان المعمور بهذا الاتفاق وجوزه وامضاه ولا قيام فيه ولا كلام بعد اليوم .
- 310 See above note 269.
- 311 CA خمسمائة .

Document 4

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

Figs. 8 and 11-12.

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 (17th-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; 20th century: *S. 2001*. Centre (vertically); light brown ink; 14th or 15th 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 the *versos* of the other documents. Immediately to the right of previous; brown ink; 13th century?: + τὸ κ(α)τόνομ(α) τῶν βελλ(άνων) τῶν Τροκλ(ων) σαρακινιστῶν δι(ὰ) χρυσοβούλλ(ου). Lower left corner; black ink; 20th 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 *šadda* or *tašdīd* 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. محمد , *Muhammad*). Otherwise, it can be used to indicate that the bearer letter is a *sīn*, not a *šīn*, in exactly the same manner that a miniature superscript *‘ayn* indicates that the bearer is not a *ḡayn*, a superscript *hā’* that the bearer is neither a *ḡīm* nor a *hā’*, etc. The table below summarises the use of *šadda* 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.³¹² 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 *Hass[ā]n* written without the *alif* in *scripta defectiva*. The symbol appears seven times on the so-called sun-letters (*al-ḥurūf al-šamsiyya*):³¹³ 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. *šayḥ* becomes *aš-šayḥ*, conventionally carrying the *šadda*, 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 *šīn* (four times).³¹⁴ 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 *šīn* in certain registers of non-Classical Arabic.³¹⁵ There are three strong indications that this phenomenon may explain the use of *šadda* on *sīn* and *šīn* throughout this document (including the doubling of medial letters and the sun-letters discussed above: no. xviii *sa'alta-nā* (سَأَلْتَنَا), no. xix *ḥamsata* (خَمْسَةَ), and no. xx *'ašara* (عَشْرَ), because in none of these can the *šadda* possibly indicate the doubling of a letter, and in the last two, a single compound number, it is borne by both *sīn* and *šīn*, and so here is patently not employed to distinguish between the two. It is striking that in Sicilian Greek both *sīn* and *šīn* are regularly transliterated with the *sigma*, whereas in Latin and Sicilian *sīn* is always *s* but *šīn* 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 *šīn* also suggests a coalescence of the two forms in Sicilian Arabic dialect.³¹⁶ The phenomenon is also attested, albeit scantily, in Ibn Makkī's account of Sicilian Arabic.³¹⁷

The final use of the ‘*šadda*’ 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 *šadda* and a *ḍamma* written before the *ṭā'* of the place-name. There is no possibility that they belong to the *lām* of *riḡāl* and, if not a simple scribal error, their position seems to indicate that they are indeed borne by the *ṭā'* 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['] riḡāli ṭṭuruquliš*, indicating that stress fell on the *ṭā'*. This is probably related to the well-known phenomenon of the gemination of initial consonants in Southern Italian and Sicilian dialects.³¹⁸

312 Table nos. ii, iv, vi, ix, xi, xv, xvii. The case of no. xi is discussed in full below note 424.

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

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

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

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

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

318 Rohlf's 1966–1969, vol. 1, 193–234; Caracausi 1983, pp. 58–59 and notes 95–96. See also Σσάκκας on the *verso* of Doc. 3, above p. 43, and fig. 11.

	Word	Line	Šadda	Sun-letter	Šin	Prob.	Comments
i	رجالٌ طرقلش	1	?	×	×	✓	šadda and damma written before the tā'
ii	سبّ	2	✓	×	×	×	
iii	[ال]شّيج	3b	✓	✓	×	×	
iv	[مح]مد	3e	✓	×	×	×	
v	الشّيح	4c	✓	✓	×	×	
vi	لبار	5b	✓	×	×	×	
vii	عبد المحسن	7f	✓	×	×	×	read المحسن <i>al-Muhsin</i> or المحسن <i>al-Muhsin</i> ?
viii	حسن	8e	?	×	✓	×	read حسن <i>Hassān</i> ?
ix	بو كف	8f	✓	×	×	×	looks more like two adjacent carets than a single joined up symbol
x	عبد السلام	9b	✓	✓	✓	×	very indistinct
xi	بو خلط	12a	✓	×	×	×	
xii	الشّيح	12e	✓	✓	×	×	
xiii	عبد السلام	14d	✓	✓	✓	×	
xiv	عبد السّلم المعاز	15b	✓	✓	✓	×	read السلام <i>as-Salām</i> ?
xv	عبد السّلم المعاز	15b	✓	×	×	×	
xvi	عبد السّيد	16e	✓	✓	✓	×	
xvii	بکاد	20b	✓	×	×	×	
xviii	سّالتنا	21	×	×	✓	✓	not doubled (<i>mušadda</i>)
xix	خمسة عشر	26	×	×	✓	✓	not doubled (<i>mušadda</i>)
xx	خمسة عشر	26	×	×	×	✓	not doubled (<i>mušadda</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.

- 1/ جريدة تشهد على اسما³¹⁹ رجال³²⁰ طرقلش³²⁰
- 2/ كتبت بتاريخ شهر نومبره من سنة سب وثلثين وخمسمائة بالاندقتس الخامس
- 3/ (a) علي النشار³²¹ (b) [الشيخ³²² عبد الكريم (c) عمر بن اخيه (d) ابو عبد الله بن اخيه (e) محمّد³²³] بن اخيه³²⁴ (f) ميمون صهر عبد الكريم
- 4/ (a) على صهر النشار (b) ياسين بن ينبت³²⁵ (c) الشيخ جعفر (d) عمر ولده (e) [...] ³²⁶ عتيق المودب (f)
- 5/ (a) رجا اخوه (b) عبد العليم بن لبار³²⁷ (c) ابو بكر بن ابي القسم (d) يوسف بن هشمون (e) ابو بكر بن المودب (f) عمر بو سليو³²⁸
- 6/ (a) ابو بكر بن الجنجاني (b) عمار خنافوا³²⁹ (c) على بن حمام³³⁰ (d) اخوه (e) عثمان بن عبود (f) علي العقار
- 7/ (a) ابو بكر بو خروبة (b) غازى (c) تمام³³¹ ولده (d) نعمة (e) عمر بن شرف (f) عبد المحسن³³²
- 8/ (a) حميد (b) ميمون الفرطاس³³³ (c) ايوب الحريري (d) حمود صهره (e) حسن الحريري (f) ابو الفتوح بن بو كف³³⁴

319 CA . اسماء .

320 G: طرقلش .

321 G: [علي النشار [...]] .

322 Large hole in the parchment.

323 Large hole in the parchment.

324 G: محمّد [...] ابن اخيه .

325 G & N: *Nībat*.

326 Large hole in the parchment.

327 G: عبد الخليم بن لبان . N: *ʿAbd al-Ḥalīm b. Labān*.

328 G: بو سليق . N: *Bū Salīq*.

329 G: حنافو . N: *Ḥatafū*.

330 G: حمان (but transliterates *Ḥammām*). N: *Ḥamān*.

331 G: تمان .

332 G: عبد الحسن . N: *ʿAbd al-Ḥasan*.

333 G: الفرطاس . N: *al-Qarṭās*.

334 G: بو كق .

- 9/ (a) اخوه مقاتل (b) عبد المنعم بن عبد السلام³³⁵ (c) علوش³³⁶ (d) احمد ريب³³⁷ المصراقي
(e) بو الفتوح الصنهاجي (f) عبد السلم بن زنطره³³⁸
- 10/ (a) على بن عليو³³⁹ (b) يوسف صهره (c) عمر الهواري (d) ابو بكر بن عبد الكرم
(e) خليل العباسي (f) يوسف
- 11/ (a) حواس³⁴⁰ (b) حسين ريب³⁴¹ رمضان³⁴² اسماء³⁴² رجال رجل البصل
- 12/ (a) عمار بو خلط³⁴³ (b) ولده حسين (c) الشيخ عبد المومن (d) ابو عبد الله³⁴⁴ المصراقي
(e) الشيخ عمر³⁴⁵ (f) عوض بن عبد الله
- 13/ (a) على بو حداد (b) عبد الباقي (c) عمران بن حليلة (d) عمر بن العرجة
(e) مسافر³⁴⁶ (f) هاشم
- 14/ (a) رضوان بن ريمون (b) عبد الرحمن بن الموذن (c) حسن اخوه (d) عبد السلام بلالة
(e) عبد النور ولده (f) عمران صهره
- 15/ (a) علي الطالعة (b) عبد السلم المغاز³⁴⁷ (c) الجنياي (d) رمضان الحريري (e) عبد الواحد
(f) خليل بن البيقرى³⁴⁸
- 16/ (a) حسين بن بو رقيق³⁴⁹ (b) عبد الغفار (c) يوسف المودب (d) مزعاش³⁵⁰ (e) عبد السيد

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

336 G: علوي . N: 'Alwī (or 'Alīn).

337 G: احمد بن بنت . N: 'Aḥmad b. bint.

338 G: بن نظرة . N: b. Naṣra.

339 G: علي بن علي . N: 'Alī b. 'Alī.

340 G: حداس . N: Ḥaddās.

341 G: حسين بن بنت . N: Husayn b. bint.

342 CA اسماء .

343 N: 'Umar b. Ḥalaṭ. See below note 424.

344 G: ابو بكر عبد الله .

345 N: al-Ṣayḥ 'Umar.

346 G omits.

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

348 G: البيقرى . N: al-Bayqarī.

349 G: رقيق .

350 G: مزعلش . N: '?' and comments 'L'arabe n'est d'aucune aide'. The scribe has mistaken the *alif* for a *lām*: see below note 451.

- بن البلوطى³⁵¹ (f) عبد الغفار اخوه
- 17/ (a) ابو بكر بن عمران (b) ابراهيم³⁵² الطويل (c) المودب بن الحمار (d) صمود
(e) يعقوت بن ريمون (f) محمد بن الغلو³⁵³
- 18/ (a) المودب عبد الله (b) ميمون بن ريمون³⁵⁴ (c) عبد الرضى صهره (d) طاهر (e) قاند
(f) الجنشى
- 19/ (a) بو الخير (b) حسين العندوش (c) عبد المغيث (d) فتيان بن عوض (e) ابراهيم الاشقر
(f) صدقة
- 20/ (a) دحمان³⁵⁵ (b) بكا³⁵⁶ الجملة³⁵⁷ مائة³⁵⁸ رجل
- 21/ ثم لما كان بتاريخ شهر اسطيون³⁵⁹ بالاندقتس الرابع³⁶⁰ سألنا ونحن بكركت حماها الله في هاولا
الاسما الذين يثبتوا³⁶¹ في هذا السجل
- 22/ الذين وجدوا عندك³⁶² ملسا فسلمناهم لك على شريطة انه [م]تى³⁶³ ما ظهر منهم في جرايدنا
وجرايد³⁶⁴ تاريتنا³⁶⁵ احدا³⁶⁶ يوخذ منك
- 23/ وهذه اسماهم³⁶⁷

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

352 G: ابراهيم .

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

354 G: ميمون بن ميمون .

355 G: رحمان .

356 G: بكار . N: *Bakkār*.

357 G: الكلمة .

358 CA مائة .

359 G: 'اسطير (sic)'. See below note 474.

360 G: الربيع .

361 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, especially 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 -ī for the masculine third person plural imperfect, see Hopkins 1984, pp. 134–135, para. 138a.i.

362 G: عبدك .

363 Hole in the parchment.

364 CA جرائدنا وجرائد .

365 G: قرايننا .

366 CA احد . On احداً against CA, Blau 1965, pp. 327–328, para. 223.1.

367 CA اسماءهم .

- 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 (i) عبد العظيم الاطرابلسى³⁶⁸
- 25/ (a) ابو بكر شيخى³⁷⁰ الافريقى (b) عمر بو شفة الافريقى (c) غزى (؟) نزور (؟)³⁷¹ الافريقى (d) موسى الافريقى (e) الزوارى (f) هلال³⁷²
- 26/ الجملة خمسة عشر رجلا ملس³⁷³

²⁷ + Πογέριος ἐν Χ(ριστ)ῶ τῶ Θ(ε)ῶ εὐσεβῆς κραταιὸς ῥήξ καὶ τῶν χριστ(ια)ν(ῶν) βοηθός +++

Translation

A *ġarīda* [which] confirms the names of the men of Triocala. ² It was written in the month of November in the year in the year five hundred and thirty six, in the fifth indiction. ³ [3a] *Alī al-Naššār*.³⁷⁴ [3b] [*al-Šayḥ* *‘Abd al-Karīm*].³⁷⁵ [3c] *Umar ibn aḥī-hi*.³⁷⁶ [3d] *Abū ‘Abd Allāh ibn aḥī-hi*.³⁷⁷ [3e] *Muḥ[ammad] ibn aḥī-hi*.³⁷⁸ [3f] *Maymūn šihr ‘Abd al-Karīm*.³⁷⁹ ⁴ [4a] *Alī šihr al-Naššār*.³⁸⁰ [4b] *Yāsīn ibn Yunbit*.³⁸¹ [4c] *al-Šayḥ Ġaḥar*.³⁸² [4d] *Umar*

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

369 G: الطرابلسى . N: *‘Abd al-‘Alīm al-Ṭarābulusī*.

370 G: شينى . N: *Šayfī*.

371 G: غزى تروود . N: *Ġaznī ? l’Ifriqien*.

372 G: الزوارى هلال .

373 CA ملسا .

374 C: *Alī Annassar*. *Alī* is the *ism* or personal name; it may commemorate the Prophet’s cousin and son-in-law, the fourth caliph ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib (r. 656–661). *Al-naššār* (‘the Sawyer’) is a professional *laqab*.

375 C: *senioris. Abdilcarim. Al-Šayḥ*, 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).

376 ‘U. the son of his [i.e. 3b’s] brother’. C: *Oman* [corr. *Omar*], *filii fratris ilius*. The *ism* may commemorate the second of the Rašidūn caliphs, ‘Umar ibn al-Ḥattāb (r. 634–44).

377 ‘Abū ‘Abd Allāh, the son of his [i.e. 3b’s] brother’. C: *Abuabdalla, filii 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.

378 ‘M., the son of his [i.e. 3b’s] brother’. C: *Mahamad, filii fratris ilius*. The *ism* Muḥammad, lit. ‘the most highly praised’, commemorates the Prophet.

379 ‘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.

380 ‘A. the son-in-law (or, less probably, brother-in-law) of al-Naššār [i.e. 3a]’. C: *Alī, cognatus An-nasiccār*. For *Alī*, see note 374 above.

381 C: *Jasin, filii Nibat*. G & N: *Yāsīn b. Nibat*. Both elements are taken from the Qur’ān. The *ism* *Yāsīn* derives from *Sūrat Yā Sīn*, the 36th chapter of the Qur’ān, so called from the two isolated letters (*al-ḥurūf al-muqatta‘a*) with which this chapter begins. *Yāsīn* is also widely believed to have been one of

waladu-hu.³⁸³ [4e] [...] ya.³⁸⁴ [4f] 'Atīq al-Mu'addib.³⁸⁵ /⁵ [5a] Raġā' aḥū-hu.³⁸⁶ [5b] 'Abd al-'Alīm ibn Labbār.³⁸⁷ [5c] Abū Bakr ibn Abī l-Qasim.³⁸⁸ [5d] Yūsuf ibn Hašmūn.³⁸⁹ [5e] Abū Bakr ibn al-Mu'addib.³⁹⁰ [5f] 'Umar Bū Saliyū.³⁹¹ /⁶ [6a] Abū Bakr ibn al-Ġanġānī.³⁹² [6b] 'Ammār Ġanāfū.³⁹³ [6c] 'Alī ibn Ḥumām.³⁹⁴ [6d] Aḥū-hu.³⁹⁵ [6e] Uymān

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'.

- 382 C: *senior Giaafar*. For *al-šayḥ*, see note 375 above. The *ism* Ġā'far may commemorate a homonymous member of the Prophet's family, e.g. Ġā'far ibn Abī Ṭālib or Ġā'far al-Šādiq, and thus indicate that the bearer was Šī'.
- 383 'U. his [i.e. 4c's] son'. C: *Omar filius ilius*. For 'Umar, see note 376 above.
- 384 The name is illegible because of a hole in the parchment.
- 385 'A. the [Qur'ānic?] Teacher'. C: *Atic Almanahbed* [*sic!*] presumably mistranscribed 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.
- 386 'R. his [i.e. 4f's] brother'. C: *Rogia frater ilius*. The *ism* Raġā', literally 'hope', may be an abbreviation of a theophoric name such as Raġā' al-Karīm, 'hope of the Generous'.
- 387 C: *Abdullalim, filius Labban*. G: 'Abd al-Ḥalīm b. Labbān. N: 'Abd al-Ḥalīm 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 Maġrib and the diaspora, e.g. the Moroccan musician Kamal Lebbar and the Orchestre Kamal Lebbar.
- 388 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 Rašidūn caliphs (reg. 632–34), the father-in-law of the Prophet. *Abū l-Qasim* [corr. *Abū l-Qāsim*], 'the father of Qāsim (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.
- 389 C: *Jiuseph, filius Asemun*. *Yūsuf* presumably commemorates the prophet Yūsuf (Joseph). The name *Hašmūn*, Frenchified as Hachmoune, is a common Maġribī surname, well-attested online.
- 390 'A. B. son of the (Qur'ānic?) Teacher'. C: *Abubacher, filius Almuaddeb*. For Abū Bakr, see note 388 above. He appears to be the son of 4f above.
- 391 C: *Omar, filius Jalin* [*sic!*] presumably an error by the transliterator, not by C.] G & N: 'Umar Bū Saliyū. For 'Umar, see note 376 above. The Maġribī *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.
- 392 C: *Abubacher, filius Algiangiani*. For Abū Bakr, see note 388 above. *Al-Ġanġānī* 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.
- 393 C: *Omar Hhtacū*. G: 'Ammār Ḥattāfū. N: 'Umar Ḥatafū ('Umar ils sont morts' *sic!*). 'Ammār, literally 'one who has been granted long life'. The Maġribī family name *Ḥanāfū* (variously transliterated as Khenaffou, Knafo, Knafou, Qnafo, etc.) is extremely well-attested online. The name is said to be derived from the word *ḥanīf* (also *ḥanīfa*, *aḥnīf*), a goat- or sheep-skin, also a cloak of the same material, perhaps derived from Berber (Dozy 1881, vol. 1, p. 409a). The name *Ḥanāfū* is often, but by no

*ibn ‘Abbūd.*³⁹⁶ [6f] *‘Alī al-‘Aqqār.*³⁹⁷ /⁷ [7a] *Abū Bakr Bū Ḥarūba.*³⁹⁸ [7b] *Ġāzī.*³⁹⁹
 [7c] *Tamām waladu-hu.*⁴⁰⁰ [7d] *Ni‘ma.*⁴⁰¹ [7e] *‘Umar ibn Šaraf.*⁴⁰² [7f] *‘Abd al-Muḥassin.*⁴⁰³
 /⁸ [8a] *Ḥamīd.*⁴⁰⁴ [8b] *Maymūn al-Farṭās.*⁴⁰⁵ [8c] *Ayyūb al-Ḥarīrī.*⁴⁰⁶ [8d] *Ḥammūd šihru-*

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 Ġarba where, for example, one Šāliḥ Ḥanāfū from the town of Aġīm, was killed during the Tunisian revolution on 14 January 2011 (Bū Ṭār 2011).

- 394 C: *Alī, filius Ahamsā* [*sic!* presumably an error by the transliterator, not by C.] G: *‘Alī b. Hammām* [*sic!*]. N: *‘Alī b. Ḥamān aḥū-hu* (‘Alī fils de ? son frère’). For *‘Alī*, see note 374 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 ‘Udra and the early Arabic poet of the Ḍubayān, Ḥusayn b. al-Ḥumām, to the contemporary Tunisian sportsmen: Hmam (Ḥumām) Adem (table-tennis), H. Helmi (football), and H. Wissem (handball).
- 395 ‘His [i.e. 6c’s] brother’. C: *frater ilius*.
- 396 C: *Othman, filius Abud*. G & N: *‘Uthmān ibn ‘Abūd*. His *ism* may commemorate the third of the Rāšidūn caliphs, ‘Uthmān ibn ‘Affān (r. 644–56). *‘Abbūd*, literally ‘devoted [i.e. to God]’.
- 397 ‘A. the Druggist’. C: *Alī Alacar*. For *‘Alī*, see note 374 above. *Al-‘Aqqār*, literally ‘the druggist’, is a professional *laqab*.
- 398 C: *Abubacher, filius Charuba*. G: *Abū Bakr Bū Ḥarrūba*. For *Abū Bakr*, see note 388. *Bū Ḥarūba*, transliterated Boukharouba, is a Maġribī *kunya* well attested online in Algeria and in the Algerian diaspora, e.g. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm Bū Ḥarūba, 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 *ḥarūba* (from Berber *akherrub*), the clan or ward of Kabylie Berber villages, composed of several agnatic families (Abrous 2004).
- 399 C: *Gazī*. Literally ‘fighter for the faith’.
- 400 ‘T. his [i.e. 7b’s] son’. C: *Taman* [*Ġaman?*]. G: *Tamān*. Literally ‘perfection’.
- 401 C: *Neema*. Literally ‘blessing’, perhaps abbreviated from the theophoric name piously given to a much desired son, Ni‘mat Allāh, ‘the blessing of God’.
- 402 C: *Omar, filius Schiaraf*. For *‘Umar*, see note 376 above. *Šaraf*, literally ‘nobility’, ‘honour’, ‘glory’ etc., is perhaps abbreviated from a compound *laqab* such as *Šaraf al-Dīn*, ‘glory of the faith’.
- 403 C: *Abdulcassem* [*sic!*]. G & N: *‘Abd al-Ḥasan*. A miniature superscript *šīn* is written above the letter *šīn* of the second word, which may indicate doubling of the letter (*tašdīd*), or confirm that the letter, which is written as a straight line without teeth, is indeed a *šīn*, or both (see above pp. 46–48). The name may thus be read either as *‘Abd al-Muḥassin* (lit. ‘servant of the Beautifier’) or *‘Abd al-Muḥsin* (lit. ‘servant of the Benefactor’, cf. Cusa 1858, p. 475a, transliterated as ἀβδελμουχσέν). 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 Šī‘ī extremists espoused the divinity of Muḥammad, ‘Alī, Fāṭima, al-Ḥasan, and al-Ḥusayn, amongst whom the Muḥammisa are said to have had a particular devotion to al-Muḥassin (see Massignon 1991).
- 404 C: *Hhamid*. N: *Ḥāmid*. Literally, ‘praiseworthy’, possibly to be read as the diminutive *Ḥumayd*.
- 405 ‘M. the Mangy’. C: *Maymun Alcartasi*. G: *Maymūn al-Qirtās*. N: *Maymūn al-qarṭās* (‘M. le fabricant de papier?’). For *Maymūn*, see note 379 above. The first letter of the *laqab* is unpointed, but should almost certainly 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 *ġarā’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 Maġrib as an element in place-names, e.g. the famous neolithic site, Grotte du Djebel Fartas (*Ġabal al-Farṭās*), in the Massif Mestaoua, near Bātna in Algeria.

hu.⁴⁰⁷ [8e] *Ḥasan al-Ḥarīrī*.⁴⁰⁸ [8f] *Abū l-Futūḥ ibn Bū Kaff*.⁴⁰⁹ /⁹ [9a] *Aḥū-hu*.⁴¹⁰ [9b] *ʿAbd al-Munʿim ibn ʿAbd al-Salām*.⁴¹¹ [9c] *ʿAllūs*.⁴¹² [9d] *Aḥmad rabīb al-Miṣrātī*.⁴¹³ [9e] *Bū l-Futūḥ al-Ṣanhāḡī*.⁴¹⁴ [9f] *ʿAbd al-Salam ibn Zanṭara*.⁴¹⁵ /¹⁰ [10a] *ʿAlī ibn ʿAliyū*.⁴¹⁶

- 406 ‘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 *ḡarāʿid* (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.
- 407 ‘H. his [i.e. 8c’s] son-in-law (or, less probably, brother-in-law)’. C: *Hammad, cognatus ilius. Hammūd*, 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 note 378 above), and Aḥmad (see note 413 below).
- 408 ‘Ḥ. the weaver’. C: *Hhasa Alharyry*. His *ism* may commemorate the grandson of the Prophet, al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī (d. 669). Above the *sīn* is written a sign (see 7f above) that may be read either as a *šadda*, 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 note 406 above.
- 409 C: *Abulphotuh, filius Lucoph*. G: *Abū l-Futūḥ b. Ḥaqq*. 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 *šadda* above the *fāʿ*, is a Magribī *kunya* (usually transliterated Boukaf) well attested online throughout the Magrib 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. *ʿilm* or *qirāʿat al-kaff*, ‘palmistry’.
- 410 ‘His brother M.’ C: *Mocatel*. Literally ‘fighter’.
- 411 C: *Abdulmonem, filius Abdissalām*. G: *عبد المعمم* [sic!] / *ʿAbd al-Muʿmin* [sic!] *ʿAbd al-Salām*. N: *ʿAbd al-muʿamim* or (*ʿAbd al-m.ʿm.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.
- 412 C: *Alluse*. G: *ʿAlawī* [sic!]. N: *ʿAlwī* (or *ʿAlūn?*). According to Schimmel 1997, p. 69, a hypocoristic form of *ʿAlī* (see note 374 above), also attested in the 1178 Monreale *ḡarāʿida*: *ʿAllūs / γαλλους* (Cusa 1868–1882, p. 176b). However, it is also claimed that the Jewish family name *al-allūs* 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.
- 413 ‘A. the foster-son (or step-son) of al-M.’ C: *Ahmad 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.
- 414 C: *Abulphotuth Assan ḡāgi* [sic! the transcriber’s error, not the transliterator’s]. For *Bū l-Futūḥ*, see note 409 above. The *nisba* *al-Ṣanhāḡī* indicates a connection with the Berber confederation of Ṣanhāḡa.
- 415 C: *Abdussalam, filius Natuvayho*. G: *ʿAbd al-Salām b. Nuṣra*. N: *ʿAbd al-Salam b. Naṣra*. For *ʿAbd al-Salam* (corr. *ʿAbd al-Salām*), see note 411 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

[10b] *Yūsuf šihru-hu*.⁴¹⁷ [10c] *ʿUmar al-Hawwārī*.⁴¹⁸ [10d] *Abū Bakr ibn ʿAbd al-Karīm*.⁴¹⁹
 [10e] *Ḥalīl al-ʿAbbāsī*.⁴²⁰ [10f] *Yūsuf*.⁴²¹ /¹¹ [11a] *Hawwās*.⁴²² [11b] *Ḥusayn rabīb Ramaḍān*.⁴²³ The names of the men of *Raḥl al-Baṣal*. /¹² [12a] *ʿAmmār Bū Khallaṭ*.⁴²⁴

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 šallat yadu-ka, yā bna Abī Zanṭara*), forming a metaphorical *kunya*, ‘son of the father of strength’. The name *ʿAlī al-Z.n.ṭ.r(?)* occurs amongst the *mul*s from Dasīsa in the Monreale *ḡarīda* of 1183 (Cusa 1868–1882, p. 259a).

- 416 C: *Alī, filius Ali*. G & N: *ʿAlī b. ʿAlī*. For *ʿAlī*, see note 374 above. Although C, G and N all give the father’s name as *ʿAlī*, the letter *wāw* can clearly be read after the pointed *yā*, reading *ʿAliyū*—apparently a hypocoristic form of *ʿAlī*. 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.
- 417 ‘Y. his [i.e. 10a’s] son-in-law (or, less probably, brother-in-law)’. C: *Joseph, cognatus ilius*. For *Yūsuf*, see note 389 above.
- 418 C: *Omar, Alhauāri*. G: *ʿUmar al-Hawwārī*. For *ʿUmar*, see note 376 above. His *nisba al-Hawwārī* indicates a connection with the Berber confederation of Hawwāra (Gast 2000).
- 419 C: *Abubacher, filius Abdilcarim*. For *Abū Bakr*, see note 388 above. For *ʿAbd al-Karīm*, see note 375 above.
- 420 C: *Chalil Alabassi*. *Ḥalīl*, literally ‘friend’, is perhaps an abbreviation of *Ḥalīl 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-ʿAbbās ibn ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib (d. 662), the uncle of the Prophet, from whom the ʿAbbāsīd caliphs were descended. For other instances in Norman Sicily, see Cusa 1868–1882, p. 256, and De Simone 1992, p. 46.
- 421 C: *Juseph*. For *Yūsuf*, see note 389 above.
- 422 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, *ḥ.w.s.*, ‘to wander to and fro’, offers the most plausible derivation; *hawwās*, ‘traveller’, but also ‘robber’, ‘lone wolf’, etc. (Dozy 1881, vol. 1, p. 336); alternatively, from *ḥ.s.s.*, reading *Hawwās*, ‘feelings’, ‘sensations’, etc.
- 423 ‘H. the foster-son (or step-son) of R.’ C: *Hosaym, filius Nibo Ramsam* [*sic!* the transliterator’s error, not the transcriber’s]. G & N: *Ḥusayn b. bint Ramaḍān*. The *ism* may commemorate the grandson of the Prophet. For the reading *rabīb* (instead of *ibn bint*), see note 413 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 *riḡāl* in l. 11).
- 424 C: *Aman* [*sic. corr. Amar ?*] *filius Chalat*. G: *ʿAmmār bū Ḥall[ā]ṭ*. N: *ʿUmar* [*sic!*] *b. Ḥalaṭ*. For *ʿAmmār*, see note 393 above. The reading of the *kunya* is problematic and depends upon the placement of the *šadda*. If it is assumed that the *lām* bears the *šadda*, then the name could be read as *Bū Ḥallaṭ* (or *Bū Ḥallāṭ* assuming *scripta defectiva*). Frenchified as *Boukhallat*, it is attested online, particularly in Algeria and in the diaspora. However, if the initial *ḥā* bears the *šadda*—and that is indeed how it is written, with the *šadda* 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 *ḥā*. In which case, the name might have been pronounced *buhḥalt*: the Frenchified name *Boukhalt* is also attested online. (See the discussion of the use of *šadda* in this document below pp. 46–48.) The name is presumably derived from the root *ḥ.l.ṭ* denoting ‘mixture’ or ‘confusion’—Dozy 1881, vol. 1, p. 394, gives *ḥallāṭ*, ‘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.

[12b] *waladu-hu Husayn*.⁴²⁵ [12c] *al-Šayḥ ‘Abd al-Mu‘min*.⁴²⁶ [12d] *Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Miṣrātī*.⁴²⁷ [12e] *al-Šayḥ Umar*.⁴²⁸ [12f] *‘Awd ibn ‘Abd Allāh*.⁴²⁹ /¹³ [13a] *‘Alī Bū Ḥaddād*.⁴³⁰ [13b] *‘Abd al-Bāqī*.⁴³¹ [13c] *Imrān ibn Ḥalīma*.⁴³² [13d] *Umar ibn al-‘Arġa*.⁴³³ [13e] *Mu-sāfir*.⁴³⁴ [13f] *Hāšim*.⁴³⁵ /¹⁴ [14a] *Riḍwān ibn Raymūn*.⁴³⁶ [14b] *‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn al-Mu‘aḍḍin*.⁴³⁷ [14c] *Ḥasan aḥū-hu*.⁴³⁸ [14d] *‘Abd al-Salām Bilāla*.⁴³⁹ [14e] *‘Abd al-Nūr waladu-hu*.⁴⁴⁰ [14f] *Imrān šihru-hu*.⁴⁴¹ /¹⁵ [15a] *‘Alī al-Ṭālī‘a*.⁴⁴² [15b] *‘Abd al-Salam al-*

425 ‘His [i.e. 12a’s] son Ḥ.’. C: *Filius ilius Hasayn*. For *Husayn*, see note 423 above.

426 ‘The elder ‘A.’. C: *senior Abdulummen*. For *al-šayḥ*, see note 375 above. *‘Abd al-Mu‘min* is a theophoric name, literally ‘the servant of the Faithful’ (Qur’ān 59.23).

427 C: *Abdu Addalla Almesrati*. G: *Abū Bakr ‘Abd Allāh al-Miṣrātī*. For *Abū ‘Abd Allāh*, see note 377 above. For *al-Miṣrātī*, see note 413 above.

428 ‘The elder ‘U.’. C: *senior Oman* [sic. corr. *Omar*]. N: *al-šayḥ ‘Uthmān*. For *al-šayḥ*, see note 375 above. For *Umar*, see note 376 above.

429 C: *Audo, filius Abdilla*. *‘Awd* (classical Arabic *‘Iwaḍ*), 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 note 377 above.

430 C: *Ali, filius* [sic! the transliterator’s error, not the transcriber’s] *Haddab*. For *‘Alī*, see note 374. *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 Maġrib and the diaspora as a family name (Frenchified as Bouheddad).

431 C: omits. A theophoric name, literally ‘the servant of the Eternal’ (Qur’ān 59.23).

432 C: *Emram, filius Halyma*. *Imrān* may commemorate one of two scriptural figures, either the father of Mūsā (Moses), or the father of Maryam (Mary), the mother of ‘Īsā (Jesus). *Ḥalīma*, lit. ‘patience’, is a woman’s name, born by the daughter of the Ġassānid king al-Ḥārith ibn Ġabala, legendary for her beauty, and by the Prophet’s foster-mother, Ḥalīma bint Abī Du‘ayb.

433 C: *Omar, filius Alargia*. N: *Umar b. al-‘Arġa*. For *‘Umar*, see note 376. The vocalisation of the *laqab* is uncertain: *al-‘Urġa* might indicate that the bearer suffered from ‘lameness’ (Lane 1863, p. 1996c–1997a, under *‘araġum* and *a‘raġu*), but the same name amongst the men of Corleone in the 1178 Monreale *ġarīda* (Cusa 1868–1882, p. 138b) is transliterated into Greek as ἔπι[iv] ἑλᾶρτζε, perhaps indicating that the Arabic should be read *al-‘Arġa*, 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 *‘urġatun*).

434 C: *Mosapheer*. G: omits. Literally ‘traveller’, ‘visitor’, ‘guest’ etc.

435 C: *Hasūem*. The name of Prophet’s grandfather, after whom is called the large Meccan clan of Banū Hāšim, i.e. the Hashemites.

436 C: *Reduan filius Raymun*. *Riḍwān*, literally ‘[God’s] acceptance [of man’s submission]’. His father’s name is perhaps Arabicised from *Raimundus*, Παῖμοῦνδος, *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).

437 C: *Abdurrahman, filius Almnaddem* [sic. corr. *Almuaddem*]. *‘Abd al-Raḥmān* is a theophoric name, literally ‘the servant of the Merciful’. *Al-Mu‘aḍḍin*, literally ‘the muezzin’, is presumably a professional *laqab*.

438 ‘H. his (i.e. 14b’s) brother]. C: *Hasan, frater ilius*. For *Ḥasan*, see note 408.

439 C: *Abdussalam Belala*. G: *‘Abd al-Salām Bilāla*. For *‘Abd al-Salām*, see note 411 above. *Bilāla* may be a *cognomen toponomasticum* derived from, for example, the village of the same name 3 km east of Miṣrāta, Libya, or the small town of al-Bilāla (El Belala), in Umm al-Buwāqī (Oum El Bouaghi) province, eastern Algeria.

440 ‘A. his (i.e. 14d’s) son’. C: *Abdunnur, filius ilius*. A theophoric name, literally ‘the servant of the Light’ (Qur’ān 24.35).

Ma^{‘āz}.⁴⁴³ [15c] *al-Ġaniyānī*.⁴⁴⁴ [15d] *Ramaḍān al-Ḥarīrī*.⁴⁴⁵ [15e] *‘Abd al-Wāḥid*.⁴⁴⁶
 [15f] *Ḥalīl al-Bīfarī*.⁴⁴⁷ /¹⁶ [16a] *Ḥusayn ibn Bū Raqīq*.⁴⁴⁸ [16b] *‘Abd al-Ġaffār*.⁴⁴⁹
 [16c] *Yūsuf al-Mu‘addib*.⁴⁵⁰ [16d] *Maz‘āsh*.⁴⁵¹ [16e] *‘Abd al-Sayyid ibn al-Ballūṭī*.⁴⁵²
 [16f] *‘Abd al-Ġaffār aḥū-hu*.⁴⁵³ /¹⁷ [17a] *Abū Bakr ibn Imrān*.⁴⁵⁴ [17b] *Ibrāhīm al-Ṭawīl*.⁴⁵⁵
 [17c] *al-Mu‘addib ibn al-Ḥammār*.⁴⁵⁶ [17d] *Ṣammūd*.⁴⁵⁷ [17e] *Ya‘qūb ibn Raymūn*.⁴⁵⁸

- 441 ‘I. his (i.e. 14d’s) son-in-law (or, less probably, brother-in-law)’. C: *Emran*. For *Imrān*, see note 432 above.
- 442 C: *Alex* [*sic!* the transcriber’s error?] *Attalea*. N: *‘Alī al-Ṭāla‘a*. For *‘Alī*, see note 374 above. *Al-Ṭāli‘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).
- 443 ‘A. the goatherd’. C: *Abdussalam Almaaz*. For *‘Abd al-Sal[ā]m*, see note 411 above. Although *al-ma‘āz* is written with particular care, with *tašdīd* above and miniature *‘ayn* under the *‘ayn* to show that it is indeed unpointed, the final letter looks more like a *dāl* than a *zāy*.
- 444 C: *Almachiani* [*sic.* the transliterator’s error]. N: *al-Ġinyānī*. A *nisba* indicating a connection with the neighbouring estate of al-Ġaniyya: see above p. 10 note 57, p. 24 and note 135. G (p. 175, n. 13) states that this *nisba* is a variant of *al-Ġangānī* (see 6a above), but the two places and their names are completely distinct.
- 445 C: *Ramadan Alhariri*. For *Ramaḍān*, see note 423 above. For *al-Ḥarīrī*, see note 406 above.
- 446 C: *Abduuahad*. Literally ‘the servant of the One’, is a theophoric name (Qur’ān 2.163, etc.).
- 447 C: *Chalil filius Albaycari*. G: *Ḥalīl al-Bīqarī*. N: *Ḥalīl al-Bayqarī*. For *Ḥalīl*, see note 420 above. *Al-Bīqarī* is a *nisba* presumably derived from the neighbouring estate of Burġ al-Bīfarī (cf. above, p. 10–11, note 59). C, G and N presumably assume that the word derives from the town now known as Vi-cari, 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).
- 448 C: *Hasan filius Burchie* [*sic.* the transliterator’s error?]. G: *Hasan bū Ruqyū* [*sic!*]. For *Ḥusayn*, see note 423. *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 Maġrib 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.
- 449 C: *Abdulgaphpher*. A theophoric name, literally ‘the servant of the Pardoner’ (Qur’ān 20.82, etc.).
- 450 ‘Y. the (Qur’ānic?) Teacher’. C: *Juseph Almuaddeb*. For *Yūsuf*, see note 389 above. For *al-Mu‘addib*, see note 385 above.
- 451 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’.
- 452 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 oak’, is a *nisba* indicating connection with Qal‘at al-Ballūṭ, literally ‘Stronghold of the Oaks’, modern Caltabellotta.
- 453 ‘A. his [i.e. 16e’s] brother’. C: *Abdulgaphpher*, *filius ilius*. For *‘Abd al-Ġaffār*, see note 449 above.
- 454 C: *Abubacher*, *filius Emram*. For *Abū Bakr*, see note 388 above. For *Imrān*, see note 432 above.
- 455 ‘I. the tall’. C: *Abrahim Ettauyt*. G: *Ibrāhīm*. The *ism*, here written without (pace G) the *alif*, may commemorate the prophet Ibrāhīm (Abraham). *Al-Ṭawīl*, literally ‘the tall’.
- 456 ‘The [Qur’ānic?] teacher, son of the Donkey-driver’. C: *Almuaddeb* [*sic.* corr. *Almuaddeb*], *filius*

[17f] *Muḥammad ibn al-Faluww*.⁴⁵⁹ /¹⁸ [18a] *al-Mu'addib 'Abd Allāh*.⁴⁶⁰ [18b] *Maymūn ibn Raymūn*.⁴⁶¹ [18c] *'Abd al-Riḍā ṣihru-hu*.⁴⁶² [18d] *Ṭāhir*.⁴⁶³ [18e] *Qā'id*.⁴⁶⁴ [18f] *al-Ġinniṣī*.⁴⁶⁵ /¹⁹ [19a] *Bū l-Ḥayr*.⁴⁶⁶ [19b] *Ḥusayn al-Ġandūš*.⁴⁶⁷ [19c] *'Abd al-Muġīl*.⁴⁶⁸ [19d] *Fityān ibn 'Awd*.⁴⁶⁹ [19e] *Ibrahīm al-Ašqar*.⁴⁷⁰ [19f] *Ṣadaqa*.⁴⁷¹ [20a] *Dahmān*.⁴⁷²

Alchamar. For *al-Mu'addib*, see note 385 above. The *laqab* should probably be read as the professional agnomen *al-ḥammār*, 'the donkey driver', but the absence of *tašdīd* 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'.

- 457 C: *Samudo*. G: *Šamūd Ya'qūb Muḥammad ibn al-Ġalū* (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 *ġarā'id*, always written with *šadda* on the *mīm* (Cusa 1868–1882, pp. 135b [Σαμοῦτ], 144b [Σαμοῦδ], and 273b [Σαμμοῦτ]; also in the 1145 Cefalū *ġarā'ida*, p. 475b, *Šammūd/Σαμμο[ῦ]τ*). See also Caracausi 1993, vol. 2, p. 729a under Zambuto.
- 458 C: *Jaacub, filius Raymun*. G: *Ya'qūb b. Maymūn*. The *ism* may commemorate the prophet Ya'qūb (Jacob). For *Raymūn*, cf. note 436.
- 459 C: *Mahamad, filius Alcalū* [*sic!* the transliterator's error]. N: *Muḥammad b. al-Ghalū?* For *Muḥammad*, see note 378 above. His father's *laqab*, *al-Faluww*, means literally 'the colt' or 'foal' (also, 'ass', 'donkey', 'jenny', etc.: Dozy 1881, vol. 2, 290).
- 460 'The [Qur'ānic?] Teacher' 'A.'. C: *Almnadedd* [*sic!* corr. *Almuaddeb*] Abdalla. For *al-Mu'addib*, see note 385 above. For *'Abd Allāh*, see note 377 above.
- 461 C: *Maymun, filius Raymun*. G: *Maymūn ibn Maymūn*. For *Maymūn*, see note 379 above. For *Raymūn*, see note 436 above.
- 462 'A. his (i.e. 18b's) son-in law (or, less probably, brother-in-law)'. C: *Abdurradī, cognatus ililus*. G: *'Abd al-Rāḍī ṣihru-hu*. N: *'Abd al-Raḍī. 'Abd al-Riḍā*, literally 'the servant of He who is contented [with man's submission]', a non-Qur'ānic theophoric name (see Bosworth 1995).
- 463 C: *Jhaher* [*sic!* the transcriber's error?]. Literally, 'pure'.
- 464 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 *ġarā'id*: Cusa 1868–1882, pp. 132b, 139b and 174b.
- 465 C: *Algianasci*. G: *Al-Ġanšī*. N: *al-ġ.n.šī*. A *nisba* presumably indicating connection with *Ġinniš*, modern *Cinisi* (al-Idrīsī 1970–1978, p. 622; Caracausi 1993, vol. 1, p. 400a); De Simone 1979, p. 20. *Al-Ġinnišī* (without *šadda*) occurs amongst the *maḥallāt* of Manzil Krištī in the 1183 Monreale *ġarā'ida* (Cusa 1868–1882, p. 255b [ὁ Τζίνισης]).
- 466 C: *Abulcayer*. Literally 'father of the good', a metaphorical *kunya*.
- 467 C: *Hosayn Alanduse*. G: *Ḥusayn al-'Andūš* or *al-Ġandūš*. N: *Ḥusayn al-Ḥandūš* (= '?'). For *Ḥusayn*, see note 423 above. *Al-Ġandūš*, Frenchified as *Gandouche*, *Gendouche*. *Qandouche*, *Qendouche* etc., is a Berber(?) surname occasionally attested online in Tunisia, e.g. at M'saken (Masākin) near Sousse.
- 468 C: *Abdulmaghit*. G: *'Abd al-Muġīl*. 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).
- 469 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-Raḥmān 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 note 429 above.
- 470 C: *Ebrahim Alasecar*. For *Ibr[ā]hīm*, see note 455 above. His *laqab* suggests that he was 'fair-skinned' or 'blond'.
- 471 C: *Sadaca*. G: *Ṣadqa*. Literally 'charity'.
- 472 C: *Dahhaman*. G: *Raḥmān*. An *ism* apparently once particular to the Kabylie, now spreading throughout the Maġrib and in the diaspora. The scribe has taken pains to write the initial letter as an unmissable *dāl*, and Collura 1969–1970, p. 260 has *Dahhaman*, but Gálvez 1995, pp. 175, 177, nonetheless

[20b] *Bakkād*.⁴⁷³ The total is a hundred men. ⁴⁷¹ Then, when it was the date of the month of July,⁴⁷⁴ in Indiction 4, you petitioned us, when we were in Agrigento—may God protect it!—concerning these named persons, registered in this document, ⁴⁷² 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 *ġarā'id* or in the *ġarā'id* of our landholders (*tarrāriyyati-nā*), he shall be taken from you. ⁴⁷³ And these are their names. ⁴⁷⁴ [24a] *Ḥasan al-Safāqsi*.⁴⁷⁵ [24b] *ʿAbd al-Mawlā aḥū-hu*.⁴⁷⁶ [24c] *ʿUmar ibn al-Qalānsī*.⁴⁷⁷ [24d] *ʿĪsā al-Ifriqī*.⁴⁷⁸ [24e] *Abū l-Qasim al-Qābisī*.⁴⁷⁹ [24f] *ʿAlī al-Tūnisī*.⁴⁸⁰ [24g] *Maymūn al-Ifriqī*.⁴⁸¹ [24h] *Aḥmad al-Itarābulusī*.⁴⁸² [24i] *ʿAbd al-ʿAzīm al-Itarābulusī*.⁴⁸³ ⁴⁸⁵ [25a] *Abū Bakr Šayḥī al-Ifriqī*.⁴⁸⁴ [25b] *ʿUmar Bū Šafa al-Ifriqī*.⁴⁸⁵ [25c] *Ġarbī(?) Nazūr(?) al-Ifriqī*.⁴⁸⁶ [25d] *Mūsā*

less hyper-corrects to *Raḥmān*.

- 473 C: *Baccar*. G & N: *Bakkār*. An uncertain reading. While the Berber(?) family name *Bakkād* is occasionally attested in the Maġrib—e.g. the football coach Muḥammad Bakkād (Mohammed Bekad), whose departure in March 2010 from Oujda City (Farīq Maulūdiya Waġda) 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 *rāʾ*, it could be a mere slip of the pen (see 15b above where final *dāl* is read as a *zāy*).
- 474 *Iṣṭriyyūn*, i.e. from ὕστεροῦννης, ‘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 *iṣṭriyyūn* 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 qalāʾilun wa hiya muddata šahri iṣṭriyyūn wa-šahri awsū*, ‘the days when it can be sailed upon are few, and they are seen during the month of July (*iṣṭriyyūn*) and the month of August’: al-Idrīsī 1970–1978, p. 859, ll. 15–16. See also: De Simone 1988, pp. 73–74; Johns 2001.
- 475 C: *Ahaan Assaphachesi*. For *Ḥasan*, see note 408. His *nisba* indicates a connection with Šafāqus (Sfax), in Tunisia; the misspelling with initial *šin* in place of *šād* is not unusual.
- 476 ‘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 Qurʾān 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.
- 477 C: *Omar, filius Alcalesi*. N: *ʿUmar b. al-Qalānsī*. For *ʿUmar*, see note 376 above. *Al-Qalānsī*, 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.
- 478 C: *Jsà Alaphuchi* [*sic.* corr. *Alaphrichi*]. The *ism* may commemorate the prophet ʿĪsā (Jesus). His *nisba* probably indicates a connection with *Madīnat al-Ifriqiyya*, i.e. the capital of Zīrid Ifriqiyya, al-Mahdiyya (Mahdia), Tunisia.
- 479 C: *Abulcasem Alcabesi*. For *Abū l-Q[ā]sim*, see note 388 above. His *nisba* indicates a connection Qābis (Gabès), Tunisia.
- 480 C: *Ali Attrinesi* [*sic.* corr. *Attunesi*, the transcriber’s error]. For *ʿAlī*, see note 374 above. His *nisba* indicates a connection with Tūnis (Tunis), Tunisia.
- 481 C: *Maymun Alafrichi*. For *Maymūn*, see note 379 above. For *al-Ifriqī*, see note 478 above.
- 482 C: *Aḥmad Alatrabelesi*. N: *Aḥmad al-Ṭarābulusī*. For *Aḥmad*, see note 413 above. His *nisba* indicates a connection with al-Itarābulus (Tripoli), Libya.
- 483 C: *Abduladīm Alatrabelesi*. N: *ʿAbd al-ʿAlīm* [*sic!*] *al-Ṭarābulusī*. *ʿAbd al-ʿAzīm*, literally ‘the servant of the Magnificent’, is a theophoric name (Qurʾān 2.255 etc.). For *al-Itarābulusī*, see note 482 above.
- 484 C: *Abubacher Sciaychi Alafuchi* [*sic.* corr. *Alafrichi*, the transcriber’s error]. G & N: *Abū Bakr Šayḥī* [*sic!*] *al-Ifriqī*. For *Abū Bakr*, see note 388 above. The reading *Šayḥī* is uncertain. *Al-Šayḥī* and *Šayḥī*, with and without the definite article, is today commonly used in the Maġrib as a family name, but the

al-Ifrīqī.⁴⁸⁷ [25e] *az-Zuwārī*.⁴⁸⁸ [25f] *Hilāl*.⁴⁸⁹ /²⁶ The total is fifteen men *muls*.

/²⁷ [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.

use here of *Šayhī* apparently as an *ism* is unexpected. The reading preferred by G & N—*šayfī*—is palaeographically improbable, and makes no better sense. For *al-Ifrīqī*, see note 478 above.

485 C: *Omar Luscea* [*sic!*] *Alafrichi*. N: 'Umar šaffa? *al-Ifrīqī*. For 'Umar, see note 376 above. *Bū Šafa*, 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, Boucheffa) in Algeria and the diaspora, suggests that it has long been a family name: e.g. the Kabylie singer Massa Bouchafa. For *al-Ifrīqī*, see note 478 above.

486 C: *Gasli Jamr* [*sic!*] *Alafrichi*. G (176, 178, & 181 n. 86): *Ġaznī/Ġusnī/Ġuṣnī Tarūd al-Ifrīqī*. N: *Ġaznī? l'Ifrīqiyen*. 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. *Ġaznī*, 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 *Ġarbī*, 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 *Ġamr* 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-Ifrīqī*, see note 478 above.

487 C: *Musa Alafrichi*. The *ism* may commemorate the prophet Mūsā (Moses). For *al-Ifrīqī*, see note 478 above.

488 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 Ġabal Nafūsa, western Libya.

489 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 Maġrib in the eleventh century.

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 *dīwānī* script, with abundant points and other orthographic signs, but very few short vowels. The *hastae* are vertical, and there are a few, 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.⁴⁹⁰ 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 الحو[ل] 491 ٥ 492 وقع حلف بين رهبان طرقلش وهربرت صاحب قلمونش في 493
الحد الذى بينهم فخرج الامر 494 العالى المطاع زاده الله علوا ومضا 495 الى عامل الشاقة وهو بجالي 496 /
والترارية والشيوخ العارفين بالحد 497 بفصل الحد الذى بينهم وهم غليلا لم فرسترة وجفراي مرثران وبرتلماو بن
هامون واخوه ماثاو وترستان وغليلا لم صاحب الجرف 3 / وهربرت منفراي الحاكم وغليلا لم مستخلف رقة
الشاقة وهربرت هلدوين وصهره ارندل واولاد جوان اطرية ومن البرجيسين نقولة بن لندو والبرت صهر جوان
اطرية وعبد الرحمن 4 / بن فتیان ومن المسلمين طاهر بن عمر واولاد الرومية وابو الفتوح بن عمار وغيرهم
واول الحد الذي وقع عليه الانفصال وهو من عين المخيض يتمادي 498 مع كدا 499 الدبس روس الكدا

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

491 Hole in the parchment.

492 See p. 64 and note 520 below.

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

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

495 CA مضا. Doc. 6 omits the phrase زاده الله علوا ومضا .

496 See above p. 18 and note 93.

497 A miniature letter *hā* is written beneath the *hā* of *al-ḥadd*.

498 CA يتمادي .

499 Presumably the plural of *kudya*, ‘a hill’, a very common geographical term in the Sicilian *ḥudūd*, see Pellegrini 1961, p.176; Caracausi 1983, no.154, pp. 263-264.

متقرب^{500/5} الى اخر الكدا المذكورة وينزل من الكدية الاخيرة⁵⁰¹ متقرب⁵⁰² الى المجري⁵⁰³ في [رجل]⁵⁰⁴
الكدية وينزل مع المجري⁵⁰⁵ الى⁵⁰⁶ ان يجتمع بالخندق الكبير وبمر مع الخندق الخندق دبوراً⁶ الى
الوادي⁵⁰⁷ الكبير > وبمر مع الخندق الخندق دبوراً الى⁵⁰⁸ الوادي⁵⁰⁹ الكبير <⁵¹⁰ المعروف بوادي قلعة
البلوط وانفصل الحد⁵¹¹ بين قلمونش وطرقش كتب بالتاريخ المتقدم من⁵¹² سنة سبع⁵¹³ واربعين
وخمسمائة⁵¹⁴

- a. + Εκυρώθ(η) +⁵¹⁵
b. وحسبنا الله ونعم الوكيل⁵¹⁶
c. + Wual(t)er(?)⁵¹⁷
d. على الله توكلي⁵¹⁸

/⁸ + Maio d[omi]ni Regis Cancell(a)ri(us) s(ubscrip)s(i)⁵¹⁹

500 CA متقرباً .

501 Doc. 6, l. 6: الكدية الاخرى .

502 CA متقرباً .

503 CA المجري .

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

505 CA المجري المجري .

506 CA الى .

507 CA الوادي .

508 CA الى .

509 CA الوادي .

510 The phrase enclosed in angled brackets—>وبمر مع الخندق الخندق دبوراً الخندق الى الوادي الكبير<—is repeated in error, but not in the copy (Doc. 6).

511 A miniature letter *hā'* is written beneath the *hā'* of *al-ḥadd*.

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

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

514 Doc. 6, ll. 7–8 adds the clause . وهذي المبيضة نسخة / السجل الاصيلي الديواني وهذا مثاله خاصه

515 Registration marks, such as *καταστροφή εις τὸ σέκρητον* 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 *ἐκυρώθη* in the Norman *dīwān*, see Johns 2002, pp. 119, 120, 123, 127, 129, 153, 280.

516 Johns 2002, pp. 279–280.

517 Possibly the royal governor of the district of Sciacca, see above p. 18; otherwise unknown?

518 See Johns 2002, pp. 222–228, 251; Jamil and Johns 2004, pp. 187–190.

519 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).

The translation of Doc. 5 is given above, pp. 17-18.

Document 6

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

Fig. 10

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-ḥādāy (sic!)* with three *fathas*, almost as if the scribe was using orthography to draw attention to this clause.

لما كان بتاريخ مايو الحول ٥١٥⁵²⁰ وقع حلف بين رهبان طرقلش وهربرت صاحب قلمونش في ٥٢١⁵²¹ الحد

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 Chürchuro, 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).

520 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. 62 and note 492 above.

521 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.

الذى بينهم فخرج الامر العالى المطاع الى عامل الشاقة وهو بحالي² والترارية والشيوخ العارفين بالحد بفصل الحد الذى بينهم وهم غليلم فرستره وحفراي مرثران وبرثلماو بن هامون واخوه مئاو وترستان³ وغليلم صاحب الجرف وربرت منفراي الحاكم وغليلم مستخلف رقة الشاقة وربرت هلدوين وصهره ارندل واولاد جوان اطرية⁴ ومن البرجيسين نقولة بن لندو والبرت صهر جوان اطرية وعبد الرحمن بن فتيان ومن المسلمين طاهر بن عمر واولاد الرومية⁵ وابو الفتوح بن عمار وغيرهم واول الحد الذى وقع عليه الانفصال⁵²² هو من عين المخيض يتمادى مع كد[[الدبس روس الكدا متقرب⁵²³ /⁶ الى اخر الكدا المذكورة وينزل من الكدية الاخرى⁵²⁴ م[ت]تقرب⁵²⁵ الى المجرى في رحل الكد(ية) وينزل مع المجرى المجرى الى ان يصل الى الخندق الكبير ويمر مع الخندق الخندق دبورا الى⁷ الواد⁵²⁶ الكبير المعروف بواد⁵²⁷ قلعة البلوط وانفصل الحد بين قلمونش وطرقلش كتب بالتاريخ المتقدم من سنة سبع واربعين وخمسمائة وَهَدَى⁵²⁸ المبيضة نسخة⁸ / السجل⁵²⁹ الاصلى 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,⁵³⁰ 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. gāly*),⁵³¹ /² and the landholders and elders [who were] knowledgeable about the boundary, to demarcate the boundary between them. They were: William *Foresterius* (?);⁵³² and Geoffrey Martorana,⁵³³ and Bartholomew, son of Haimun,⁵³⁴ and his brother, Matthew;⁵³⁵ and Tristan;⁵³⁶ /³ William, lord of al-Ġurf;⁵³⁷ and Robert Man-

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

523 CA متقربا .

524 Doc. 5, l. 5: الكدية الاخرية .

525 CA متقربا .

526 CA الوادي .

527 CA بوادي .

528 CA هذه .

529 The letter *sīn* in the words *nusha* and *siġill* is furnished with a caret to distinguish it (here, needlessly) from a *šīn*.

530 *H.r.b.r.t šāḥīb Q.l.mūn.š*: see above pp. 17 and 18.

531 See above p. 18 and note 93.

532 *Ġ.l.y.l.m F.r.st.ra*: see above p. 19, note 99.

533 *Ġ.f.rāy M.r.t.ṭ.rān*: see above p. 19, note 100.

534 *B.r.ṭ.l.m.w ibn Hāmūn*: see above pp. 19-20, note 101.

535 *M.ṭāw*.

536 *T.r.s.tān*: see above p. 20 note 102.

fré, the judge (*al-ḥākim*);⁵³⁸ and William, castellan (*mustaḥlaf*) of the castle of Sciacca;⁵³⁹ and Robert Alduin;⁵⁴⁰ and his son-in-law Arnold;⁵⁴¹ and the sons of John Atria;⁵⁴² /⁴ and amongst the burghers: Nicola, son of Lando;⁵⁴³ and Albert, son-in-law of John Atria;⁵⁴⁴ ‘Abd al-Raḥman ibn Fityān;⁵⁴⁵ and amongst the Muslims: Ṭāhir ibn ‘Umar; the sons of al-Rūmiyya; /⁵ Abū l-Futūḥ ibn ‘Ammār; and others. And the first part of the boundary which was to be demarcated, which is from ‘Ayn al-Muḥīd. It follows Kudā l-Dibs, along the tops of the hills, approaching /⁶ the end of the aforesaid hills, and descends by way of the last hill, /⁶ 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 /⁷ the big river known as Wād Qal‘at al-Ballūṭ. 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 /⁸ 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.

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537 *Ġ.l.y.l.m šāḥib l-Ġurf*: see above p. 20, note 103.

538 *R.b.r.t M.n.f.rāy al-ḥākim*: see above p. 20, note 104.

539 *Ġ.l.y.l.m mustaḥlafu ruqqati l-Šaqqa*: see above p. 20, note 105.

540 *R.b.r.t H.l.dwīn*: see above p. 20, note 106.

541 *Ar.n.l.d.*

542 *Ġ.wān Aṭ.r.ya*: see above p. 20, note 107.

543 *N.qūla ibn L.n.d.w*: see above p. 21, note 110.

544 *Al.b.r.t šihṛ Ġ.wān Aṭ.r.ya*.

545 See above p. 21 and note 112, p. 59, note 469.

546 Or ‘of the other hill’: Doc. 5 has *al-kudya al-aḥīra*; Doc. 6, l. 6, *al-kudya al-uḥrā*.

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Appendices: Figs. 1-12

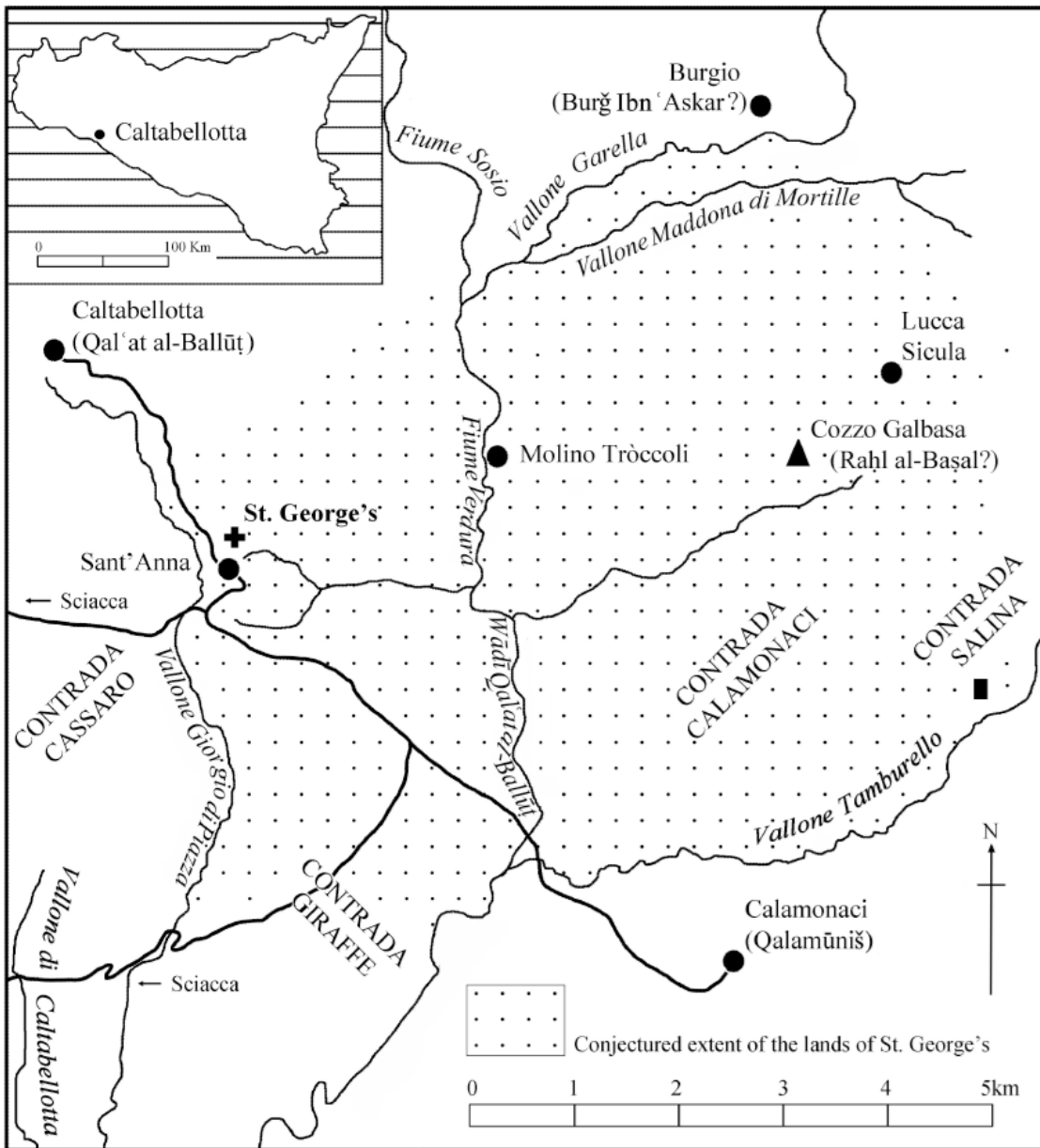


Fig. 1: Map (© Jeremy Johns)



Fig. 3: ADM 1104 verso (© Jeremy Johns)

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Handwritten text in Arabic script, likely a legal or administrative document, covering the top half of the page. The text is arranged in several columns and includes various names and titles. A prominent signature or name is visible in the lower right quadrant of the text area.

Handwritten text in Latin script, including the phrase "O Mio Dni Regis Cancelli".

Fig. 5: ADM 1120 verso (© Jeremy Johns)
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[Handwritten title in Greek: ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ ΕΝΟΣ ΤΩΝ ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑΣΤΩΝ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΟΝ ΚΑΤΑ ΤΩΝ ΕΝΑΝΤΙΩΝ...

[Main body of the document, a long handwritten letter in Greek, containing theological or pastoral instructions.]

[Arabic text at the bottom of the page, likely a translation or continuation of the Greek text.]

لا كان صالح ما هو الجواب ومع حلف من همار طرابلس وهو رب صالح
 والبرية والسبح العارف من الحد فصل الحد الذي يسمونه وهم علماء امدية
 وعلمه صاحب الحروف ودرر من همار الحاكم وعلمه مسير
 ومن الجحشس لغو بلدو والذوب صهر حوران اطرية
 واسو الفصح من همار وعسبره واول الحد الذي وضعه
 الى الجوانك الملائكة ويدل من الكوفة الاسوي معرب الى المحوى في حبل النور
 البراد الكبر المعروف براد لغة النبط واعمال الحد من بلهوس
 التجمل الاصل في الدبور في هذا مثال خاصه حاسد بن الزاهر

2003

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Fig. 7: ADM 1117 verso (© Jeremy Johns)
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حسين بن علي بن ابي طالب

كتب في الكعبة المشرفة سنة ١١١٩ هـ

علي النشار	محمد بن ابي	عبد الله بن	عبد الله بن	عبد الله بن
علي بن النشار	عبد الله بن	عبد الله بن	عبد الله بن	عبد الله بن
جلاهوه	عبد الله بن	عبد الله بن	عبد الله بن	عبد الله بن
ابو بكر بن	عبد الله بن	عبد الله بن	عبد الله بن	عبد الله بن
ابو بكر بن	عبد الله بن	عبد الله بن	عبد الله بن	عبد الله بن
حميد	عبد الله بن	عبد الله بن	عبد الله بن	عبد الله بن
انور مقلد	عبد الله بن	عبد الله بن	عبد الله بن	عبد الله بن

الرجال

علي بن علي	عبد الله بن	عبد الله بن	عبد الله بن	عبد الله بن
عبد الله بن	عبد الله بن	عبد الله بن	عبد الله بن	عبد الله بن
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عبد الله بن	عبد الله بن	عبد الله بن	عبد الله بن	عبد الله بن

الكلمة

هذا الكتاب...
 في بيان...
 من...
 في...
 من...
 في...
 من...
 في...
 من...
 في...
 من...

Fig. 8: Document 4: ADM 1119 recto (© Jeremy Johns)
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Handwritten text in Arabic script, likely a document or letter, showing several lines of text. The text is written on aged, yellowed paper. The script is cursive and dense. On the left side, there are handwritten letters 'F' and 'O' above 'Dino' and 'Sm'. Below these, the word 'Kassis' is written in a larger, bolder script. Further down, the word 'Cancelli' is written in a similar bolder script. At the bottom left, there is a circled letter 'E' and a signature 'W. W. W. W.' followed by a large, stylized initial 'H'. The paper shows signs of wear, including creases and discoloration.

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

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لاكار يملكه صانوا الحرفي وقع صلح بين هشارط باين و هشارط صاحب المونس في الحد الذي بينهم فتح الامر له الى العظمى العالم السامه و هو حاكم
والمرارة والسروج العرفي الحد الذي بينهم و هو علمه و حرمي سر ران و مرطاه و هلمون واحرامنا و برستار
وعلمه صنف الحروف و ربرت و هراي الجانم و علمه مسماه و له السامه و ربرت هلمون و صعه و اربار و اولاد حوران اطربه
و هو الجحتمس لعله من ليدو و اللوب صهر حوران اطربه و عند التجرن برصال و من المسلمن طاهر من عمر و اولاد الروصه
و ابو السروج و حوران و صبه و اولاد الحد الذي و هو من عن الحص سلاك مع كذا لاس و من الاكبر سمع
الى الحد الذي المذكور المعروف الى الحرفي في حد الاكبر و من مع الحد و الحد و من الى
الاراد الاكبر المعروف و اذ و لعله ان ليط و ان هذا الحد من لم يرس و لم يرك و اما في المده و من مع و لم يعرف حرام و في حد في المبيضة شجرة
السنجل الاضلي الذي يربح في زامناه خاصه و حاسا لاسو بالهل

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

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6

Papirium continent nomina Virorum Carnocollens

Scriptum mense Nouembus anno quingentesimo trigesimo sexto quinto Registro.

Abel Annasuar Senioris Abdilcarim, Omar filius fratris illius, Abuabdalla filius fratris illius Mahamad filius fratris illius Maimun cognatus Abdilcarim Ali cognatus Annasuar. Jasim filius Nibat Senior Graafer Omar filius illius Atzi Almnadab Rogia frater illius Abdulrahim filius Sahar Abubacher filius Abdilcarim Joseph filius Hase- mon Abubacher filius Almuadab Omar filius Jasim Abubacher filius Algiangia- ni Omar Hkaraiu Ali filius Ahamsa frater illius عثمان filius Abud Ali Alcaar. Abubacher filius Charuba Gazi Tamam filius illius Acema Omar filius Sciaraf Abdulmohafon Hhamid Maymun Alcarati Ayyub Alharyry Hhammad cognatus illius Hhasan Alharyry Abulphoruh filius Luozh frater illius Mocatel Abdulmonero filius Abdussalam Alluse Ahhmad filius Nibat Almesrati Abulphoruh Anan hagi Abdussalam filius Naruvayho Aly filius Alie Joseph cognatus illius Omar Alha- uari Abubacher filius Abdilcarim Chalil Alabassi Joseph Hhasan Hosaym filius Nibo Damsan.

Nomina Virorum Rakulbasal.

Aman filius Chalae filius illius Hosayn Senior Abdulummen Abnaddalla Almot- rari Senior Omar Audo filius Abdilla Ali filius Hhaddab Abdubachi Emran filius Hhalyma Omar filius Margia Mosaffer Hasiem Reduan filius Raymun Abdurrahman filius Almnadab Hasan frater illius Abdussalam Belala Abdunnur filius illius Emran cognatus illius Alghatalea Abdus- salam Almaaz Alchabiani Ramadan Alhariri Abduluahad Chalil filius Abayari Hhasan filius Burchiu Abdulgaffhar Joseph Almuadab Ma- Zallen Abdalla filius Alballuti Abdulgaffhar frater illius Abubacher filius Emran Ibrahim Attayyl Almnadab filius Alchamar Samudo Jaacob filius Raymun Mahamad filius Alcalu Almnadab Abdalla May- mun filius Raymun Abdurradi cognatus illius Thaher Cayed Agia- nazi Abulcayr Hhosayn Alanduse Abdumaghut Cainan filius Au Ibrahim Alcaar Sadaca Dahhaman Baucar

Omnes sunt Centum Somines.

Postea quando fuit computum mensis Octobris Registro quarto percuratus est nobis (cum essemus in Carcanta quam Deus defendat) de istis nominibus confirmatis in hoc instrumento que reperta sunt apud te simpliciter et sui dedimus

Fig. 11: Document 4: Latin translation and transliteration, Agrigento, Biblioteca Lucchesiana, MS Diplomi, II, 1, 12, B, 41, f. 34 (© Jeremy Johns)

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ca tibi isto pacto si casu reperirentur aliqua ex illis in nostris Papijs et in Papijs
Parentum nostrorum uel Proximorum ea nomina tunc sumantur ate.

Et haec sunt nomina eorum

Ahasan Anaphachesi Abdulmanla frater illius Omar filius Alcalasi. Isa Alafichi
Abulcalem Alcabeti. Aly Attrinesi. Maymun Alafichi. Ahmad Alatrabeles.
Abduladim Alatrabeles. Abubacher Sciaychi Alafichi Omar Lusea Alafichi
Galli Tamr Alafichi Musa Alafichi. Az Sauari. Helalo.

Omnes sunt quindecim homines simpliuser.

Nomina uirtutum

Amman filius Chale. Abdulmanla filius Omar. Omar filius Alcalasi. Isa Alafichi.
Abulcalem Alcabeti. Aly Attrinesi. Maymun Alafichi. Ahmad Alatrabeles.
Abduladim Alatrabeles. Abubacher Sciaychi Alafichi Omar Lusea Alafichi.
Galli Tamr Alafichi Musa Alafichi. Az Sauari. Helalo.

Omnes sunt quindecim homines

Amman filius Chale. Abdulmanla filius Omar. Omar filius Alcalasi. Isa Alafichi.
Abulcalem Alcabeti. Aly Attrinesi. Maymun Alafichi. Ahmad Alatrabeles.
Abduladim Alatrabeles. Abubacher Sciaychi Alafichi Omar Lusea Alafichi.
Galli Tamr Alafichi Musa Alafichi. Az Sauari. Helalo.

Fig. 12: Document 4. Latin translation and transliteration, Agrigento, Biblioteca Lucchesiana, MS Diplom. II, 1, 12, B, 41, f. 35 (© Jeremy Johns)
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