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

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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 Tróccoli\(^6\) derives from medieval Greek Τρóκλος (Τρόκλος, also Τρόκλος), whence Arabic ترعقلي (؟),\(^7\) and medieval Latin Troccoli or Troculi,\(^8\) all said to be derived ultimately from the name of the ancient Sican city of Τριώκαλα (Τριώκαλα; 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 660–662 A.M. (1097–1098 A.D.). However, a persistent, but apparently baseless, local tradition maintains that St. George’s was founded by Pope Gregory. However, in his note on the history of the church of Triocala, Pirri (1733, vol. 2, pp. 1008–1009) does not claim that St. George’s of Triocala was 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 diplice ordine di colonne, di che il conte [Ruggero] l’aveva adornato, si ammirava la volta a botte e un fonte di acqua santa di stile bizantino; nel giardino alcuni colonnati del chiostro. Ora nulla più esiste; se ne indica soltanto il sito a pochi passi da S. Anna’. See also Scandaliato 2003, pp. 182–185, and Vaccaro 2014, pp. 16–19. In 2000, on the spot where the monastery was said to have stood, a dense scatter of masonry rubble, sherds of tile and domestic ceramics, and other occupational debris was clearly visible in the cultivated soil of an orchard on the northwest side of Via San Giorgio, on the northeast edge of Sant’Anna (Istituto Geografico Militare, Carta d’Italia 1:25,000, foglio no. 266 Caltabellotta, 4th ed., 1970, grid ref. 33SUB41584). 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, 33SUB46597).

7 See discussion of the spelling and vocalisation in Appendix, Doc. 4, ‘Charts’, p. 47.


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.

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 sigilia, 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

12 These must have included the Greek foundation charter, the Arabic ġarīda 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 Becket 2013, deperditum no. 12, p. 308. Similar arenga 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).
15 Hagenmayer 1901, pp. 69, 147, 271–272.
17 Cowdrey 1985, pp. 49–53.
preachers had been using such stories to persuade knights to become monks.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{20} Alone amongst the eighteen Sicilian \textit{metochia} given by the king to the archimandrite, St. George’s does not belong to the diocese of Messina. In the \textit{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’.\textsuperscript{21} St. George’s is not mentioned in the \textit{sigillium} 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 \textit{metochia}.\textsuperscript{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 \textit{metochia} in Sicily and Calabria, St George’s is named.\textsuperscript{23}

\begin{thebibliography}{9}
\bibitem{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.
\bibitem{19} Brenk 2010, fig. 1297 (see also Johns 2010, \textit{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.
\bibitem{20} Scaduto 1982, pp. 125–126 (St. George’s), 180–189 (St. Saviour’s); von Falkenhausen 1994, pp. 46-47.
\bibitem{21} Collura 1961, p. 305: \textit{Subtus Calatabellottam fuit institutum quoddam monasterium loco qui dicitur Troculli, 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 instinxit Grecorum magnatum datum fuit archimandrite Messane.}
\bibitem{22} Archivo General de la Fundación Casa Ducal de Medinaceli (Fondo Messina), Toledo (henceforth abbreviated to ADM) 533, October 6655 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 \textit{metochia}, presumably because they were all located in the diocese of Messina: St. Stephan’s of Brica, St. John’s of Psicero, St. Nicholas’s of Pellera, St. Barbarus’s of Demenna, St. Parasceve’s of Venello, and St. Anne’s of Monteforte.
\bibitem{23} ADM 1260, April 6655 (1147): the following Sicilian \textit{metochia} are named: St. George’s of Tròccoli, St. John’s of Lentini, St. John’s of Psicero, 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.
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2. An overview of the twelfth-century documents of St. George’s of Tróccoli

This article discusses and provides the first edition of the six surviving twelfth-century documents of St. George’s of Tróccoli, 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 (ḥadd) 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 (ḥadd), 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 Sciacc.a

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 (ǧarīda) 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, whether 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 ǧarīda.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

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 ǧarīda (Figs. 11-12). All contain so many errors that they are effectively unusable.
Greek text only of King Roger’s confirmation of June 1141 (Docs. 2 and/or 3, but not Doc. 1) in the Vatican library. Rocco Pirri published two brief extracts from the latter in an inaccurate Latin translation. The brief note of the act in the register of Erich Caspar is based on the seventeenth-century manuscript and Rocco Pirri. 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. Docs. 2–5 were included in a list of the Arabic and bilingual documents of King Roger published by the late Albrecht Noth. The authors of the present study have also discussed the documents several times in print.

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 ἱσον 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, 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 (ισι ἐν και ἐκεῖ ὁμιλήηθήν ἐν τῷ ἀντιγράφῳ ὑπὲρ ὑπάρχειαν ἐνά τῶν ἀράβων φωνὴ γεγράμενα· ἐγὼ δ’ ἀγνὸν τάστα, οὐκ ἀντιγράψα).
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).
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. In short, we believe that: Doc. 1 is an official copy of an earlier draft of King Roger’s confirmation; Doc. 2 is the authentic, original chrysobull of that confirmation; and Doc. 3 is an official copy of it. The translation of the text of Doc. 2 is as follows:

[Greek, ll. 1–17]

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

In the month of June of the present fourth indiction, when my divinely inspired majesty made a circuit through Sicily and arrived at Sciacca, you, Lord Luke, the venerable archimandrite of our famous Monastery of the Saviour tou Akroteros 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, and that my majesty should make for you a written sigilion of these boundaries, my majesty yielded to your exhortation, wished not to disregard it, and sent the protonotary Philip, the judge Stephen Maleïnos and the epì tou sekretou, 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.

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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 Elloupenė,42 and goes up the ridge to the Kip[bl]en Epen Chamdoun,43 and

[Arabic boundary description, ll. 39–45] Its boundary is north from al-Uḥṭayn,39 descending straight along the wadi40 on the right-hand side to the tree of Gatsāna,42 it runs down straight along the wadi to Gār al-Lūbānī,42 and it climbs straight along the ridge to the Qiblat

39 Reading hadhū-ha dahābir[an] (see below note 182; see also Doc. 5, l. 6 and Doc. 6, l. 6, where dahāran is written with tawāw-ʿalif) mina ʿal-ḥṭayn. 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-ʿuṭayn, literally ‘the two sisters’; the Greek text—ἀντί τοῦ δῶν κατάντων τὸν ἕξυγμαν Ὀγράν (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 Castelbellota. (See also Doc 2, l. 43 and Doc 3, l. 44).

40 κατήρχων τοῦ ποταμοῦ ποταμοῦ / 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 qatāna only in Doc. 1, l. 39. The ḥayn is clearly pointed in all three versions. In Doc. 2, l. 1. 39 the sin 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 sin and the alif—presumably a mistake. One possible reading might be šaǧarat qatāna (or qatāna), ‘chestnut? ’-tree’, on a pattern attested in the bilingual registers of S. Maria di Monreale where the Arabic place-name Qastana or Qasṭana is rendered into Greek as Ktστανε and into Latin as Castane (Cusa 1868–1882, pp. 151, 152, 197, 235, 266). Unsurprisingly, given the natural range of Castanea sativa, there seems to be no indigenous Arabic term for the chestnut, unless it is Abā Ḍarwa, literally, ‘Father of Fur’, a popular Egyptian name referring to the spiny burs that contains the fruit; lāḥballūt (lāḥanballūt), literally ‘royal acorn’, comes from Persian, while the commonest terms, šaǧarat al-qastal, š. al-kastara, etc., all derive from a Greek root—καστανος, καστανε, καστανα, 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 eiç την σκευη την ἕξυγμαν Γυτσενη (Doc. 1, l. 18, Doc. 2, l. 17, Doc. 3, l. 18), and there is no obvious reason why a fig-tree should be called a chestnut. What may (or may not) be the same boundary-marker appears in Doc. 2, ll. 26 and 43 and Doc. 3, ll. 27 and 45 as a spring called ‘Ayn Gassāna / ἡ μηγή ἡ ἕξυγμαν Αέτσινα: see below p. 42, note 259. (See also the discussion of the use of ṣadda in Doc. 4, below pp. 46–48.)


43 Qiblat Bani Ḥamdūn, in Greek Κηφής ἐπὶ χαμόν (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 Hamdūn. (For another hill-top, outdoor place of prayer, see the petra alta in sumitate montis ... ibi adorant sarvaceini, a boundary marker on the nearby lands of Santa Maria delle Giannare: 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, and goes to St. Barbara which is further down, and goes down to the threshing-floor of the Son of Razoun, and goes down to the stream called Elmonastir, and continues a little to the Koudiet Elzioummar, 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’, and goes along the stream southwards to the head of the hippodrome called Ettachrike, and goes along the stream to the head of the stream southwards to the head of Sciacca, and follows down the river to the main road coming from St. Barbara the Lower, to the threshing floor of Ibn al-Razūn. Then it descends to Ḥandaq al-Munasīrī. Then it goes a little towards Kudayat al-Ǧummār, 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-Ingāṣa; and it runs straight up the valley to Ra’s al-

44 Gadir Ibn Mansūra, literally ‘the pool of the son of Mansūra’: Mansūra, the feminine form of the more usually masculine personal name Mansur, 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, Mansur, and in all versions the Greek reads Γαύγον ἐντρ Μυρνός (Doc. 1, l. 20, Doc. 2, l. 19, Doc. 3, l. 19), without transliterating the τα’ marūba which gives the feminine suffix.

45 Presumably a church; unidentified.

46 Ibn al-Razūn (or Razūn): the rā’ carries no vowel, the ṣāy 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 ṣāy a point. The tribal name al-Razūn does not seem to be attested for the Maġrib, so this is probably not to be read here. Razūn could be read as a plural (of ṭa’en) indicating, for example, an elevation with depressions that catch rainwater, or as one maṣdar (verbal noun) for the verb, razūna, ‘to be calm, grave and steady’. The Greek reads Παζοῦβ, 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 garīda of 1178 (Cusa 1868–1882, pp. 137a, 144a and 172a), and that Razūn is a settlement in modern north-central Iran.)

47 Ḥandaq al-Munasīrī (‘valley of the monastery’): while the Arabic al-munasīrī clearly derives ultimately from the Greek μοναστήριον, the Greek Εἰμοναστήρι (‘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 ḡīm, and no damma above it; but in Doc. 1, l. 39 and Doc. 2, l. 41 the ḡīm is clearly pointed, and in Doc. 1, l. 39 it also carries a damma. In all three versions, the Greek reads Κοσότυτρ ἐλζουμαύρ (Doc. 1, l. 21, Doc. 2, l. 20, Doc. 3, l. 20) leaving no doubt that the second Arabic word is al-Ǧummār (and not al-Ḥimār, ‘the donkey’, or al-Hammār, ‘the donkey-driver’, as would be understood from Doc. 2 alone). Al-Ǧummār, indicating the indigenous Dwarf Palm (Chamaerops humilis), is well attested in Sicily and gives rise to Sicilian immamara etc. (Caracciola 1983, pp. 256–257). The place-name survives in the vicinity, for example, at Contrade Giummarella and Giunmarrazza to the south east of Ribera, and in the church of Santa Maria delle Giunmare in Sciacca.

49 Lit. ‘the spring of the pear-tree’: al-ɪgqāṣa from CA al-ɪgqāṣ— for nasalisation in Sicilian, see Metcalfe 2003, pp. 171–172. (Not to be confused with the ‘Ayn al-Ingāṣa/Fons Perviri, a boundary-marker for the district of Corleone in the Monreale garīda of 1182, which lay on the southeast flank of Rocca Busambra: Cusa 1868–1882, pp. 232 and 195.)

50 lā ṭabːika, ‘to the head of the tabrika’ : a problematic boundary-marker. The Greek at this point expands upon the Arabic: ἕρχεται τὴν κυριαλήθη τοῦ ἑπόδρου τοῦ λεμούζου Ἑτταχρίκη, ‘to the top of the hippodrome called Ettachrike’ (Doc. 1, l. 22, Doc. 2, l. 21, Doc. 3, l. 22). Tabriki is a masdar of ḍarraka, meaning ‘to put into motion or stir’ etc., and tabrika would be a particularising feminine form. The fact that in Doc. 1, l. 40, the word is fully pointed, with a tiny subscript ḥā’ and a caret above the rā’, may indicate that the scribe took pains to clarify an unfamiliar word. For tabrika, Dozy 1881, vol. 1, p. 277a, gives ‘l’action de remuer la queue’, citing Pedro de Alcala (Pezzi and Alcalá 1989, p. 172. (Not to be confused with the 12th century Documents of St. George’s of Tròccoli (Sicily))
down along the seasonal stream to the vineyard of the Son of Iachleph,51 and crosses the river and comes to the Koudtie Elaže52 to the south, and goes to the hill called Koudtie Alie,53 and goes down the hill to the spring called Aïn Elmouchid,54 and goes up the ridge to the Koulles,55 and goes down and crosses the road, and comes to the Koudtië Elziümmar,56 which is between Gzennia57 and Rachal Elbbsal.58 and goes down to the edge of the Elbbsal, and goes down to the edge of the thicket to the tower of Elpeiphere,59 and ends. [But,60 after these aforesaid boundaries Taḥrīka,50 on the southern side. And it runs straight down the stream until it comes to the vineyards of Ibn Yuḥāf.51 It crosses the wadi, and veers off to Kudyatat al-al-ʔāyāf,52 on the southern side; then to the high hill.53 It keeps straight along the hill to ʿAyn al-Muḥāj,54 and it climbs straight up the ridge, and comes to the summit,55 and crosses the road so that it comes to Kudyatat al-Ǧummar,56 which is between al-Ǧaniyya57 and Raḥl al-Ǧasal,58 and it descends to the to the edge of the thicket, to Burğ al-Bīfārī.59

572; see also Corrènne 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 ṭahrīka to be somehow linked to hārik, 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 hārik or ‘hill’ emanates.

51 Lit. ‘the gardens of the son of Yuḥāf’, a personal name. Greek: δήμος τοῦ ἄνελον(ς) τοῦ υἱοῦ ‘Ηλία. In the bilingual boundary descriptions of Norman Sicily, the Arabic ḡanna, lit. ‘garden’, is generally translated as ‘vineyard’ in Greek and Latin. Yuḥāf 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 ḡāfī, 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 yadhīfa llāhu ‘aḍa-hu, ‘God will not break his covenant’, etc. The name is attested in the Monreale registers: see Cusa 1868–1882, pp. 174a, 174b, ‘Yuḥāf al-Ḥrīqīl’, ‘Umar ibn Yuḫīf. 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’. Doz 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-ʿāliya. Greek: Κοινότητα Ἀλή. 54 Lit., probably, ‘the spring of the forder’.

55 Arabic: al-qulla. Greek: Κοιλάλες. 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 ḍanma on the Mağribī qāf, and a ṣadda and a faṭha 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-qhiba, ‘the south’.

56 Lit. ‘the Hill of the Dwarf Fan Palms’: see above note 48.

57 A place-name, lit. ‘the Estate of the Onions’: see below pp. 23-24 and notes 132-135.

58 Lit. ‘the Tower of al-Bīfārī. 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 ʿAl-ṣaḥḥah (Doc. 1, l. 25, Doc. 2, l. 25, Doc. 3, l. 25), possibly reproducing the geminated initial ʾb- characteristic of Sicilian dialect. Al-Bīfārī seems to be a personal name or nisba, presumably ultimately derived from Latin hīfer, 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 hadd as they
had been established, William, the son of Richard of Sciacca,\textsuperscript{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,\textsuperscript{63} it goes along the top of the ridge which is above the aforesaid river and comes to the spring called Atsene,\textsuperscript{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 Askiar,\textsuperscript{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 Askiar ends.\textsuperscript{67}]

And the boundary is completed. [Then,\textsuperscript{60} the monk (sic)\textsuperscript{61} and William the son of Richard of Sciacca\textsuperscript{62} agreed that the beginning of the boundary of the monastery is from al-Uhtayn.\textsuperscript{63} And it passes straight along the top overlooking the aforesaid wadi until it comes to the Spring of Gassāna (?)\textsuperscript{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 Burg Ibn ḌAskar,\textsuperscript{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 Burg Ibn ḌAskar.> \textsuperscript{66}]

[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 exographoi\textsuperscript{68} 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 ḌAskar’, 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 Burg Ibn ḌAskar’—evidently an error: see below p. 45, note 306.
67 The text enclosed in square brackets is that added to the original periorismos and ḥadd as they appear in Doc. 1.
and bestowed previously to this holy monastery by my majesty’s famous father, as was stated in his sigillion, so that it should remain free and undisturbed by archbishops, bishops and every other ecclesiastical rank, and also by our officials, strategoi and all the others, from every synetheia and extra charges, from not so much as a single obolus. Nobody should dare to disturb or challenge the monastery concerning what is written above, nor should introduce any change [to it]. For if anybody should dare to do so, he will have to suffer more than a little of our rage for having disobeyed our command and, even more, for having obstructed our immutable gifts for [the salvation of] our soul. Therefore, and for further safety and security, the present sigillion of my majesty, written and sealed with a golden seal, has been issued to the venerable Lord Luke, the archimandrite of the Great Monastery, and to all his successors, in the aforesaid month and indiction in the year 6649.

[Arabic, ll. 44–45]

[And al-Dīwān al-Maʿmūr 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.


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 garīda issued by Count Roger and renewed in July 1141 may have been amongst the sigilla 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-Basal. 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 Lebbrost. 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 ἐκ τοῦ σειρήνος) belonged to the trilingual royal administration. The kait Perroun (ὁ κάτοικος Περροῦν) was the qāʿid 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 qāʿid 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

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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.
⁷⁸ Cusa 1868–1882, pp. 302–306, working from a copy, has πρότονοτάριοι in the text but, amongst the signatories, gives Philip the title of only notários, while πρότονοτάριοι 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.
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 ʿabd al-ḥadra al-mālīk(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. Unlike his two colleagues, Abū ‘Āli (τὸν Βούάλην) 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 (γαρίδα: Doc. 4 above) places him in July 1141. All three refer to that γαρίδα of the Muslim villeins of St. George’s, describing it as ‘the plateía, which has just been copied and renewed’. Although the γαρίδα 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 γαρίδα. This hypothesis is supported by the fact that the Arab scribe of Doc. 2 originally wrote the year as 536 A.H., only subsequently corrected the year to 535 A.H., in that which the sigillion was officially issued. 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.

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-šayḫ al-dīwān al-ma’mūr al-qāšid Barrūn, he used his distinctive ʿalāma to sign a document of December 1149 (Johns and Metcalfe 1999 p. 245, ll. 18 & 20, with the reading of the ʿalāma in l. 20 as corrected in Johns 2002 pp. 222 & 251, and Jamil and Johns 2004, pp. 187–188), exactly the same ʿalāma that he used in Doc. 5 below, a document written on the verso of Doc. 2, which had been issued by ʿd al-ʿāfrāy al-ḫāṣṣ.μ(α, 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 ʿabd al-hadra 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 Gaufrīdus in Latin texts, and as Γαύφριος in Greek (see von Falkenhausen 2005, pp. 390–391). Moreover, Geoffrey’s name in Arabic, Gāfrūy, follows the French not the Latin, as is also the case with Barrūn-Perroun (Cusa 1868–1882, pp. 81–83.


86 Document 1, ll. 32–33: ἀν τὰ ἱδρυματα θράκα (φι) εἰς τὴν ἀρτήριον μεταγεφείσαν καὶ ἄνακτους ἀνθρώπους ἀναπτύσσαν πλατεία (εν) ἑλθα ἑστι τὸ κατάγωμα τῶν ἑτέρων ὑμάν (ἀνθρώπων τῶν παλαι) (δινών).

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.

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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-Uḥṭayn ... 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 ḥarīda), 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 sigilla 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 ḥarīda, 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 (muls, the exographoi of the Greek sigillion) into the renewal of the ḥarīda of Triocala. Months later, in November 1141, after King Roger had returned to Palermo, the royal dīwān drew up and issued, first, the Arabic ḥarīda (Doc. 4) and, next, a Greek sigillion incorporating the Arabic hadd. The latter bilingual document no longer survives in the original, and its precise nature is uncertain, but an official copy of it was made, and survives as Doc. 1. Subsequently, the royal dīwān somehow learned that there was a dispute between the monks of St. George’s and William, the son of Richard of Sciacca, over part of the boundary recorded in the sigillion. Once an agreement between the disputants had been reached, a new version of the bilingual sigillion was made, incorporating the awkward clauses that recorded the settlement of that dispute. The new sigillion (Doc. 2) was duly authenticated with the king’s official signature and his golden seal, and finally a copy was made of it, Doc. 3.

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

[Doc. 2]

... the end of the boundary of the monastery is with 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 sigilllon and periorismos with an Arabic ḥadd, the two parts of the document do not carry equal weight. While the Greek text constituted a complete, independent and legally valid document, and could have been issued on its own without the Arabic ḥadd, the Arabic text comprised only the boundary description and a datatio, and so was completely dependent upon the preceding Greek sigillion for its legal authority. The Greek text of Doc. 2 was clearly the model for the copy (Doc. 3), but this was not necessarily so for the Arabic ḥadd, the original text of which may well have been entered into the dīwān’s register of boundaries (daftar al-ḥudūd) before the royal sigillion was compiled. If so, it would have been wise bureaucratic practice to copy the Arabic boundary descriptions for both the original confirmation (Doc. 2) and the official copy (Doc. 3) directly from the common and definitive source—the daftar. That this is precisely what did happen is supported by the fact that the original Arabic ḥadd, recording the boundary before the dispute between William of Sciacca and St. George’s became known, is to all intents and purposes identical in all three versions (i.e. in Docs. 1–3). The record of the settlement of the dispute between William and the monks, complete with the details concerning water rights, would have been added to the daftar either before the original confirmation of which Doc. 1 is the copy was written, or in the interval that separated the writing of that missing sigillion and the compilation of the confirmation that replaced it (Doc. 2). When the latter came to be written, the Arab scribe, either inadvertently or because he did not consider it to be appropriate or necessary, omitted the clause concerning water rights from the ḥadd, and added the admonitory clause.
making explicit the dīwān’s interest in the settlement of the dispute between the two parties. That clause was omitted when a different scribe made the official copy (Doc. 3). Like his colleague who drew up the original sigillion (Doc. 2), he too copied the Arabic ḥadd directly from the daftar but, unlike him, he included the detail about water rights. Because his model was the daftar, and not the confirmation, he omitted the admonitory clause.

The distribution of the three versions of the sigillion remains somewhat problematic. Presumably, Doc. 3 was made as an official copy of the authentic, original chrysobull (Doc. 2), so that both St. Saviour’s and its metochion of St. George’s could have a copy of the royal confirmation. And, presumably, that original, complete with the official chancery signature of the king and his golden seal, was lodged with the archimandrite in Messina, and not with the monks of St. George’s. Only when St. George’s was abandoned did Doc. 3 find its way into the archives of St. Saviour’s, where the original and its copy remained until they were confiscated and transported to Spain. But why was Doc. 1 kept, and by whom? Was it perhaps, like Doc. 3, the copy of an authentic, original sigillion, and remained undisturbed and unnoticed in the archive of St. George’s, after the discovery of the dispute with William, son of Richard of Sciaccia, 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 Sciaccia, 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, but he cannot otherwise be traced. However, in 1186, the castellan of Sciaccia (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.

4. The dispute over the boundaries of St. George’s (Docs. 5 and 6)

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

When it was the date of May of Indiction 15, a sworn agreement was made between the monks of Tròccoli (Ṭr.qul.sh) and Herbert, lord of Calamonaci (Q.l.mūn.sh) concerning the boundary which is between them. And there was issued the high, to-be-obeyed order, may God increase it in elevation and efficacy, to the governor (ʿāmil) of Sciaccia, who is a bailiff (b.ḡāly), and the landholders and the elders [who were] knowledgeable about the boundary, to demarcate the boundary between them. They were: William Foresterius(?); and Geoffrey Martorana; and Bartholomew, son of Haimun (?); and his brother, Matthew;

and Tristan; and William, the lord of al-Ǧurf; and Robert Manfrè 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 burgheers: Nicola, son of Lando; and Albert son-in-law of John Atria; and 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Fītyān; and amongst the Muslims: Tāhir ibn ʿUmar; and the sons of al-Rāmiyya; and Abū l-Futūḥ ibn ʿAmrāʾ; and others. And the first part of the boundary which was to be demarcated, which is from ʿAyn 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 river,92 known as Wāḍī Qalʿat al-Ballīṭ. 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 (ʿāmil) 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 ʿāmil 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 ʿalāma 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-hādāy l-mubayyadatu nushatu l-sīḡīlī l-aṣliyyī l-dīwānīyyī wa-hādā mīṭalū-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 The phrase ‘and it proceeds northwards, straight along the ditch to the big river’ is mistakenly repeated.
92 Arabic b(?).g(‘)ālī, perhaps from late Latin būjulas or from French bailli. For the castle of Sciacca, see Maurici 2001, pp. 133–134.
93 For a discussion of the course of these boundaries, see below pp. 21–24 and Fig. 1.
94 Pio 2006, p. 632. See also below, pp. 63–64 note 519.
95 See below p. 63, note 518.
The 12th-century Documents of St. George’s of Tròccoli (Sicily)

...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-tarrārīyya)98 and the elders [who were] knowledgeable about the boundary’, and who were witnesses to the inquest held by the ʾāmil 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,

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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.
99 Gulyālim F.r.st.ṛa (perhaps equivalent to Latin Guillelmuus Forestarius). The initial fāʾ and the tāʾ of F.r.st.ṛa 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.ṛa 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 لفرسترة) seems to rule out any possibility of an identification with the Forestal (Arabic لفرسترة) of Gālisū: Johns 2002, pp. 58, 127–128, 302, 307.
100 Gafrdy Marprān. For Gafrdy see Cusa 1868–1882, pp. 81–82 (Gafrdy), 499 (Gafrdy); and Caracausi 1993, vol. 1, 736a. He is mentioned, together with the megas hetaireiarches John, William of Pozzuoli, Geoffroy Malconvenant, the count Symeon and others, in a charter of Roger II for the inhabitants of San Marco and Naso in the case against Alkerios (Greek: Alkerios) of Ficarra (Collura 1955, no. 55, 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 Martorana, founding a nunery in Palermo, includes amongst her gifts Casale nomine Sancti Felixis, 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 Martorana who, with his wife Aloysia, founded the abbey of St. Mary Martorana in 1193 (Garufi 1899, doc. no. 106, pp. 255–257).
might be of French or Lombard descent.\textsuperscript{101} Nothing is known of Tristan, although his name may well reveal a Breton origin.\textsuperscript{102} William, ṣāḥib (‘the lord of’) al-Ǧurf, is not otherwise known but was presumably one of the landholders (al-tarrāriyya) or barons.\textsuperscript{103} Robert Manfrè al-ḥākīm (i.e. “the judge”) is again unknown.\textsuperscript{104} William, castellan of the castle of Sciacca is probably the son of Richard of Sciacca mentioned in the chrysobull of June 1141.\textsuperscript{105} Robert Alduin and his son-in-law Arnold, whose names may suggest Lombard ancestry, are not otherwise attested;\textsuperscript{106} nor are the sons of John Atrīa.\textsuperscript{107}

Next come three ‘burghers’.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{109} Nicola, son of Lando is again un-

\textsuperscript{101} Bart.lmāw Ḯbn Ḫāmūn: 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 ḥdw is questionable, but none of the alternatives—dāl, ḏḥl, ṭā’ and ḏā— is more convincing: for Ḯmōn, Ḯmūn, Ḯmū, Ḯmūn, see Caracausi 1993, vol. 1, p. 24b.

\textsuperscript{102} Tristān: the name derives from Celtic drystan, ‘turnult’, widespread as a personal name presumably because of the Tristan legend cycle. See also Caracausi 1993, vol. 2, p. 1656a-b.

\textsuperscript{103} Al-Ǧurf, the name of an estate derived from the Arabic ḡurf, ‘cliff’. The toponym is a common one (see Caracausi 1993, vol. 1, pp. 739b, 777b). The place-name of this particular al-Ǧurf may survive as one of the following, all of which are in the vicinity of St. George’s: Contraida Gulfa di Supra (IGM 266 I S.O. Calatabelotta 33SUB510530; IGM 266 II N.O. Ribera 33SUB492508–505515) and Casa Gulfa di Supra (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 Maguzzolo. The feudi of Gulfofta, Gulfa Grande and Gulfa Piccola, discussed by Scaturo (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.

\textsuperscript{104} Ribart Manfrāy al-ḥākīm: for Manfrāy, see Caracausi 1993, vol. 2, p. 937. Al-ḥākīm, literally ‘the one ruling’ or ‘governing’, is perhaps most likely here to indicate a judge, given that Ḯmil is the Arabic term used for the royal governor of the district of Sciacca (see also the following note).

\textsuperscript{105} Gulyāmīl mustaṭḥafa ṣuqqatī l-ḥāqāqi: mustaṭḥaf, the passive participle of istaṭḥafa, ‘to appoint as successor or vicar’, indicates a royal official, the representative of the king, in this case apparently the castellan of the castle (raqqat) of Sciacca. (For the castle of Sciacca, see Maurici 2001, pp. 133–134.) See the famous meeting between the Spanish pilgrim Ibn Ḫubayr and the mustaṭḥaf of William II outside the royal palace in Palermo in December 1184 (Ibn Ḫubayr 1907, p. 330). See also Dozy 1881, vol. 1, pp. 398a (and under mustaṭḥaf, p. 316a); Corriente 1997, p. 164.

\textsuperscript{106} Ḯldīnīn: 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 (Arnīd).

\textsuperscript{107} Ḯwān Atrīa: Ḯwān 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 Ḯwān. for Atrīa, see Atrīa in Caracausi 1993, vol. 1, 85a–b, who derives it from the Latin women’s name Hadria; alternatively, in this context and noting the ṭā’, the name may conceivably derive from an Arabic feminine laqāb, al-Ṭāriyya (pronounced at-Ṭāriyya), lit. ‘the newcomer’ or ‘the stranger’ (Johns 2002, p. 18 note 34).

\textsuperscript{108} Arabic mina l-burgūšīn, ‘amongst the burghers’, suggesting that burgūšīn is a sound plural in the oblique case formed from the singular burgūsh (see Cusa 1868–1882, pp. 623, 625: Ḯrūṣīn, Ḯrūṣīn, etc.), presumably derived from Latin burgen-sis, if not from Old French burgeis.

\textsuperscript{109} See the traditional gloss of the term in Du Cange 1954, vol. 1, col. 783b: Burgenses, Municipes, burgorum seu villarum clausurarum incolae, vel qui tenentia in is possident. et ratione eorum Bur-
known. Albert is the son-in-law of John Atria who is listed amongst the ‘landholders’. ‘Abd al-Rahmān 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-Rahmān, literally ‘Servant of the Merciful [God]’, could be equivalent to the Greek theophoric Christodoulos, literally ‘Servant of Christ’. While Fityān (plural form of faṭā, literally ‘youth’) has no obvious Greek equivalent, the name may conceivably refer to some connection with the crypto-Muslim eunuchs of the royal court. The last group to be listed are the Muslims (al-muslimīn), none of whom are otherwise known: Tāhir ibn Umar; the sons of al-Rūmiyya, literally perhaps ‘the sons of the Greek (or Byzantine) woman’; Abū l-Futūh 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 diwān. 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, kaloi anthropoi; al-šuyūḥ al-ṭāqāt), would have assisted King Roger’s officers in determining the boundaries of the lands of St. George’s and of its village of Rahl al-Basal for the Greek periorismos and Arabic hadd 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

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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.
112 Johns 2002, p. 213, 243 & 244, referring to William II’s palace servant, Yahyā b. Fityān al-Tarrāz: (Ibn Gūbayr 1907, p. 325). For the name, De Simone 1979, p. 45. Alex Metcalfe adds that the name occurs once in the Monreale garūda of 1178 (Cusa 1868–1882, p. 166b, the son of a guḏūm/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 Mağribīs 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 converte all’islamismo’ (citing Dozy 1881, vol. 1, p. 573) ‘indicava verosimilmente in ambito siciliano una “bizantina”’. Alex Metcalfe questions this interpretation and notes that, in the Monreale garūdā, a feminine singular nisha 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.
boundary. 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-Idrīṣī, 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’. 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’, and was paid an annual census of ‘one roll of wax’ by the church of St. Hippolytus ‘outside Caltabellotta’. 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 Adrian, founded by King Roger between 1142–1148 with hermits from Montevergine near Avellino in Campania, cannot be substantiated. The Cistercian abbey of the Holy Trinity at Rifesio, founded by refugees from the Latin East in 1188, held a grange near Caltabellotta, complete with lands, mills and other possessions.

The River Caltabellotta (Wādī Qal’at al-Ballūṭ) 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, and must rather be the Fiume Verdura, which rises to the south of Bisaquino 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.

East of the river lay the lordship of Calamonaci, whose lands marched with those of St. George’s. Calamonaci is not attested before 1116, and is known from no other twelfth-

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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.

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 (*Qalʿat Munāḥ, ‘Fortezza di fermata o di sosta’*) should not be accepted,\(^{126}\) and strengthens the case for derivation from the Greek *kalamión*, ‘reed bed’.\(^{127}\) The estate of *al-Ǧurf*, 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. *Burǧ Ibn ʿAskar* (Greek *Πούρζ Επέν Ἀσκιαρ, *Poúrz Épen Áskiar*) lay near the source of a stream which ran into the ‘great river’, presumably the *Wādī Qalʿat al-Ballūṭ* (modern Fiume Verdura), and that stream marked the boundary between the two estates. *Burǧ*, meaning ‘tower’, is a common element in Arabic boundary-markers and place-names, but *Burǧ Ibn ʿAskar* 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 *Burǧ Ibn ʿAskar*’ 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 *Raḥl 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 *Qalʿat Munāḥ with Qalamūnaš* and am inclined to read *Qalʿat [al-]Mawrū*, modern Calatamauro).  

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\(^{128}\) 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 1888, 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.  
\(^{133}\) For the well-attested shift from Arabic *raḥl* to Sicilian *regal* as the first element in compound place-names, e.g. Regalbuto, Regaleali, Regalmici, etc., see Caracausi 1993, vol. 2, pp. 1342–1343.  

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RAHL AL-BAṢAL was separated from the second neighbouring estate, al-Ǧaniyya (or al-Gunayya: Greek Γζεννιας, Gzennias), by Kudyat al-Ǧummār (literally ‘the hill of the dwarf fan palms’; Greek Κούδιττε Ελζιουμμάρ, Κουδιττέ Ελζιουμμάρ). If Cozzo Galbasa was indeed the site of Rahl al-BAṣal, then al-Ǧaniyya 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-BAṣal 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-BAṣal seems to have lost its distinct identity at an early date, and documents of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries describe a single feudum of Troccoli extending on both banks of the river. In 1447, when St. Saviour’s granted Troccoli in emphyteusis to Count Antonio de Luna Peralta, the 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 Troccoli in 1447 can still be traced: Contrada 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 Troccoli, it is most unlikely to have extended beyond the stream running south from Caltabellotta, now known as the Vallone Giorgio di Piazza, because a series of substantial feudi, well-documented in the later medieval and early modern period, lay on its western bank, including Misilcassim (from Arabic Manzil Qāsim), 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-BAṣal sat somewhere on or near Cozzo Galbasa, and its territory stretched from the Vallone Garella in the north, as far east as the contrade of Calamonaci and Salina, and, perhaps, as far south as the Vallone Tamburello. If this were to be broadly correct, then the total area of St. George’s lands would have amounted to approximately thirty square kilometres (3,000 hectares; 7,400 acres), comprising for the most part well-watered arable lands in the alluvial valley of the Verdura.140

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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-Ǧaniyya. It is possible that this document, ADM pergamina 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.
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 ḡarīda 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.\(^1\)

The ḡarīda 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 Lucchesiana, Agrigento (Figs. 11-12).\(^2\) While the translator, who was very possibly a Sicilian Jew living in the thirteenth century,\(^3\) 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.\(^4\) 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 ḡarīda published by Maria Eugenia Gálvez.\(^5\) 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.\(^6\) The ḡarīda is in eight parts, as follows:

I. A brief introduction (ll. 1–2): ‘A ḡarīda [which] confirms the names of the men of Ṭuruquliš (Tròccoli). 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,\(^7\) who were not listed in the original register, and the stipulation of the šart or condition upon which they were included (ll. 21–23):

‘Then, when it was the date of the month of July, in Indiction 4 [1141 A.D.], you pe-

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\(^{1}\) To save space and for ease of reference, individual names will be cited by their order in the ḡarīda, e.g. 3a for line 3, column a, etc.

\(^{2}\) 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.

\(^{13}\) For Sicilian Jews as translators of Arabic documents, see: Bresc 2001, pp. 46–47; Mandalà 2008; Mandalà 2013, pp. 463, 468.

\(^{14}\) e.g. 1, Tarnacollesi for Ṭuruquliš; 9d, filius Nibat for rabīb; 11c, filius Nibo Ramsam for rabīb Ramādīn; 21, octobris for ḩriyyūn; 22, parentum nostrorum vel proximorum for tarrāriyyati-nā. See also: 5f, 6c, 8b, 8f, 13a, 16c, 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, Aläfuchi for Aläfrichi; 24f, Attunesi for Aṭtunesi, etc.

\(^{14}\) For the muls (the paroikoi exographoi of the Greek text) see above note 68.

\(^{16}\) 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 garāʾid or in the garāʾid of our landholders (tarrāiy-yatīnā), 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 monocondyllic signature of Roger II (l. 27).

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

While the list of the muls or newly commended villeins was apparently compiled specially for this garīda, 151 the source of the lists of the men of Tròccoli and Raḥl al-Basāl 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 garāʾid 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 garīda of 1141 that it was compiled from an earlier register, which may very well have been Count Roger’s plateia of 1097–98. The Sicilian garāʾid were periodically updated by noting the names of the heads of households newly formed out of the parent households listed in a previous register. The names of the heads of such newly formed households, sometimes called neogamoi or mutazawwiǧūn, i.e. ‘newly wedded’, are distinguished in the garāʾid 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 mutazawwiǧūn follow, together with an indication of their family relationship. 154 For example, amongst the men of

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149 Johns 2002, pp. 115–143.
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’.
Tròccoli, al-šayḫ ʿAbd 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).

While it is not impossible that the entries for the mutazawwiǧūn 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 mutazawwiǧ-system. This possibility is made more likely by the appearance of one mutazawwiǧ household (24b) amongst the muls, 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 ġarīda demonstrated that the renewals of 1144–45 were the culmination of a process of reform that had begun in 1141. His argument rested upon two foundations. First is the fact that the 1141 ġarīda, like the ġarāʾid of 1145, is the updated renewal of an earlier register. This is undeniable, but the earliest surviving Sicilian ġarīda, issued by Count Roger to the church of Palermo in February 1095, is similarly an updated renewal of an earlier register. Indeed, the mutazawwiǧ-system for updating registers of population inevitably meant that each and every ġarīda 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 sār or conditional clause used in this ġarīda—that if the name of any of the muls 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 śurūṭ in the ġarāʾid of 1145. That there is such a resemblance is again undeniable, but it stems from

155 Other mutazawwiǧūn include: Tròccoli, 4a, 4d, 5a, 6d, 7c, 8d, 9a, 9d, 10b; Rahl al-Baṣal, 11b, 12b, 14c, 14e, 14f, 16f, 18c.
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, and not because the reforms of 1144–1145 began at St. George’s. In fact, the 1141 garīda 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 garīda 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 Tròccoli and Rahl al-Basal. The households registered may well have constituted the entire population of these estates. Assuming an average size of household of 4.5 persons, 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.

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. Perhaps as much as 25% of those would have come from idām, Latin companagium, 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. Given that 1 kg of wheat produces approximately 3,000 calories, each household would have consumed approximately 1 tonne of wheat per annum. In twelfth-century Sicily, average wheat yields were probably in the range of 1 to 1.5 tonnes per hectare, 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

160 These figures may be compared to those that may be deduced from the Aragonese tax-return of 1277, in which Tròccoli is assessed at an allocation of 16 onze. It is conventional to assume an average quota of 6 tarì 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 tarì 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.
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 garīda 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 (8e, 8e, 15d), al-Harīrī being here, as in the other Sicilian garīda, 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-sayḥ, ‘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, and only one name might suggest descent from a Christian father. All of the names could have been born by Muslims, and twenty-two names are theophoric. Twenty-three individuals bear names referring to the Prophet Muhammad and his family. Three other names could have been given only by Muslims. There is perhaps more than just a hint of Shi‘ism: ‘Aff is the most popular ism,71 and the names al-sayḥ Ga‘far (4c) and ‘Abd al-Muḥassin (or al-Muhsin: 7f) are more likely to have been born by Shi‘is than Sunnīs. On the other hand, the popularity of the names of the early caliphs, conventionally avoided by Shi‘is, may attest to the presence of Sunnīs.72

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-Ǧaniyya (15c) and Burğ al-Bīfar (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 connc-

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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, PaḥmuṇṢūṭ, 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 24d. Other: 18c, 19e
169 3a, 3e, 4a, 4c, 5c, 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, 24e, 25b), and ‘Uṯmān (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-Ṣanḥāqūṭī (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. Maymūn al-Farṭās (8b), literally ‘the Mangy’, whose ḱaqab 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 muls, amongst whom thirteen out of fifteen are identified as coming from Ifrīqiyya: six with the nisba al-Ifrīqi, probably indicating a connection with the capital city of Ifrīqiyya, al-Mahdiyya, (24d, 24g, 25a, 25b, 25c, 25d) and remainder from Gabēs (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 Maġrib in the eleventh century.

Although North African and Berber names are scattered throughout the other Sicilian garāʾid, none has such a conspicuous concentration of Maġribī names. The reasons for this are likely to have been complex. As has already been seen, the households registered at Tròccoli and Rahl al-Basal 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 muls 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 muls of St. George’s are unlikely to have been amongst the ẓarifs 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. 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, 5h, 5f, 6b, 7a, 8b, 8f, 9a, 9e, 9f, 10a, 12a, 12b, 12f, 13a, 14d, 16a, 19b, 20a and 20b.
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.

Editons: inedited.


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(e)r feudo / de Troccoli. Centre (vertically; very faint and legible only with the Wood lamp): τὰ σινορα τ(ον) Τρόκλ(ον). Centre (upside down); dark brown ink; (14th century?): τὸ ιον τοῦ χρισοβούλου τοῦ ῥηγ(ῶς) Ρογ(ε)ρ(ίου διὰ τ(ῶς) Τρόκκουλ(ας). Centre (upside down), immediately below Greek; pale brown ink, now very faint and legible only under the Wood’s lamp: 14th century?: ... [sicilli aur(ei) Reg(is) Roger(ii) pro Troc(u)lli. 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) Sigilla, 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 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.\textsuperscript{176} The Arabic script is an unusually plain copy-hand, with vertical \textit{hastae}, no short vowels, and few points; whenever the \textit{fā'} and \textit{qāf} are pointed, it is in the Maghribi 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 \textit{qāf} of \textit{gūlāq}, and the elaborate trefoil \textit{ḥā'} of \textit{[intāj]}\textit{ḥā'} 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.

\textsuperscript{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 cannot be shown with diaeresis and breathing (e.g. \textit{τῶν \ Ιούνιον, l. 1.2}, 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 — \textit{ινδικτιόνος} (l. 2), \textit{ικτετός} (l. 13), \textit{ιδίωστα} (l. 13), \textit{ιδίος} (ll. 15/16), \textit{ιδίοντες} (l. 16), \textit{ιπποδρόμου} (l. 22), \textit{ισπερτ(ι)κ(ο)ῦ} (l. 33).
μετά τῶν ἄλλων καὶ εἰς τὴν τῆς Σιάκκας περίοικον τὸν προφητεύεται τοῦ ἄγιον 
μεγάλου(ο)μάρτυρ(υ)ος(ος) Γεωργίου ἰσοδισμήσας(ας) νεόν καὶ εἰς 
μοναστηρίον κατα- 
στήσεις(ας) αὐτ(ον). 10 ὑπὲρ μνήμης τῶν ἐκείτων ἀναφερθέντων Χριστιαν(ον), ἐδοξήσατο ἐν 
αὐτῷ τὰ ἀρκοῦντα χωρᾶσα, διηλώσας εἰς αὐτοῖς (καὶ) τοῦ τούτων περιορισμῶν. Ἡμεῖς 
όν τοὺς(ον) ἀκούουσι(ες). 11 ἀκριβῶς καὶ τῶν καθέξις ἐγγεγραμμένον(ον) εἰς τὰ στίγμα 
εὕρομεν ἐκ τῶν χωραφίων τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς γεγραμμένον(ον) τινὰ μὴ κρατοῦμεν ὑπὸ τῆς 
εἰρήμενης μονῆς τοῦ Αγίου Γεωργίου Τρόκλου, ἀλλὰ ὑπὸ τοὺς τεμπελικούς ἡμῶν· εὕρομεν δὲ πάλιν ὑπ’ αὐτῆς τῆς ἱσταντος μονῆς κρατοῦμεν χωρᾶσα ἄλλα τινὰ 
μὴ τοῖς στίγμαις ὑμῶν ἐγγεγραμμένον τὸ σύνολον. Σὺ δὲ ὁ προγραφε(ις) 13 ἀρχη-
μανόρι(της) παρεκάλεσάς το τράπετο μου (καὶ) ἱκτενείας, ἢν τὰ ἀρμόδιον (καὶ) 
διάζωσαν (καὶ) ἀρκοῦντα περὶ ἑιρημένη ἀγία μονὴ τὸν Τρόκλου(νος) χωρᾶσα (καὶ) τοῦ 
τοῦ χωρίου ἡμῶν τοῦ λεγομέν(ον) Ράχαλ. 14 Ἐλβάσαλ κατὰ δίκαιον περιορίσεις κελεύσαμεν, 
(καὶ) ὑπὲρ τ(οῦ) του(τοῦ) περιορισμ(ον) ποιήσατο τὸ κράτος μου πρὸς ἡμᾶς στίγμαις 
ἐγγραφον. Τὸ δὲ κράτος μου τῇ παρακλησίας σου, 15 ἔξαν καὶ ταύτην παραδείξεις μὲ 
τοῦτο τὸν Φίλιππον τοῦ (προτο)νοτ(υρί)ον(ον) (καὶ) Στέφανον Μαλέινον τὸν κράτησθι, 
(καὶ) τοῖς ἐπὶ τοῦ σκεφτότα, τὸν τε κάθητις Πηρρον (καὶ) Ιωάννης (καὶ) τὸν Βουλήν, 
διὰ(ος) ὑπὸ 16 σι (καὶ) γράφωσι τὸν δίκαιον περιορισμ(όν) τῶν χωραφίων(ον) τῆς 
τῆς τοῦ μονῆς Τρόκλου καὶ τοῦ τοῦ εἰρήμεν(ον) χωρίου Ράχαλ. Ἐλβάσαλ. ὁ δὲ ἀπελθὼν (καὶ) 
ἀκριβῶς(ες) ἔζητασαντες καὶ ἰδούν. 17 ἡμῶν πρὸς(ς) ἡμᾶς δόντας εἰς τὸ Γερμάνιον 
ἐπιερήμουμεν τὰ τοῦ περιορισμ(όν) ἐγγραφά τοῦ εἰρήμενοι χωραφίων(ον) τῆς 
καὶ τῶν χωρίων. Ὑπάρχουσι δὲ ὑπ(ο)τ(ο.Executor-2) ἀπὸ τῶν δύο 18 κινιῶν τῶν 
λεγομένων Οχτάν (καὶ) κατέρχεται τὸν ποταμον(ον) ποταμῶν δεξιόθης [εἰς] τὴν 
σινθῆν τὴν λεγομένην Γατένε (καὶ) κατέρχεται τοῦ αὐτόν ποταμόν(ον) ἄρχῃ 
τοῦ πολείου 19 τοῦ λεγομένου Γαρ 
Ἑλλουπένη, καὶ ἄνερχεται τὴν 
χέτην ἐς τὴν Κίπβλεν. 177 Επεὶ Χαιμόδων, καὶ 
ἀποδίδει ἄρχῃ τῆς ὁδοῦ (καὶ) ἀπέρχεσθαι τὴν ὁδὸν ὁδὸν ἄρχῃ τῆς ἰμν(ης) τῆς 20 
λεγομένης Γαθηρ Ἐπεὶ Μανσούρ (καὶ) ἀποδίδει eἰς τὴν Ἀγίαν Βαρθάραλ τὴν 
ἐσθαν κάτο, καὶ ἄνερχεται eἰς τὸ ἁλόν τοῦ νεὰρ [Ραζόν], καὶ κατέρχεται(α) eἰς τῶν ῥώσκα τῶν 21 
λεγομένον Ἐλμναστήρ, καὶ ἄπερχεται(α) ὅλην eἰς την(ης) Κουτάδ. 178 Ελκουμίραι, καὶ 
κατέρχεται(α) τῶν ῥώσκα ἄρχῃ τη(ς) μεγάλης ὁδοῦ τη(ς) κατέρχομεν(ης) ἐκ τη(ς) 
Σιάκκας, καὶ κα(ς) 22 τέρχεται τὸν ποταμον(ον) ποταμον(ον) eἰς τὴν πηγήν τὴν 
λεγομένην(ην) τη(ς) Ῥπατο(ας), (καὶ) ἁνέρχεται τὸ ρώσκα ρώσκα ἄρχῃ της 
κεφάλης(ας) τοῦ ὑποδρομου(ον) τοῦ λεγομένου(ον) Ἐσταρχάκη κατά νότον, (καὶ) κατάρχη(ται) 
τοῦ χείμαρρον(ον) χείμαρρον(ον) 23 ἄρχῃ τῆς ἀμπελίου(ου) τοῦ νεὰρ Ἰάχελ ἔφοβο 
καὶ περά τὸν ποταμόν(ον) (καὶ) ἀποδίδει

177 The β is written above the π. In Sicilian Greek, either β or π may transiterate Arabic bîl (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 transiterate Arabic dîl but τ is frequently used instead (Caracausi 1983, p. 58); the use of both may indicate gemination as Arabic kudâw was transformed into Sicilian cûdâ, cûdâ, etc. (ibid., pp. 59–60, 263–264).
ei've τ(ήν) Κοδώτη.⁷ִ  Ἐλάλεις κ(α)τά τό μέρος(ς) τό νότου, (καί) ἀπέρχεται εἰς τ(ό) βουνοκάριο τό λεύγμενον Κούττε Ἄλει, καί ἀπέρχεται(αί).²⁴ τά βουνοκάρια βουνοκάρια ἔχει τής της τῆς λευκογονῆς(ν) Ἀλλ' Ἐλμοιοῦ(καί) καί ἀνέρχεται τήν χέριν ἄρχει τής Κούττες, καί κατέρχεται(αί) καί περά τήν ὅδον (καί) ἀποδίδει εἰς τ(ήν) Κοδώτη.¹⁸⁰ /²⁵ Ἐλκζουμμάρ, ὁ δέ ἐστι μετάξυ τής Γέζεννας (καί) τοῦ Ῥάγαλ-Ελβάσαλ, (καί) κατέρχεται εἰς τό ἄρκος τοῦ ὅρους ἄρχει τοῦ πύργου τοῦ Ἐλβέβδερης¹⁸¹ (καί) συγκλείει. Ταῦτα τοῖνος καθός ἁνοι(ή)(α)²⁶ εἵρθα (καί) περιορίζεται ἐστερζα (καί) ἐδορμημαγην εἰς τήν ἄγιαν τοῦ Ἀγ(ίου) Γεωργίου Τρόκλεθνον μονὴν τήν ὑπὸ σὲ πρός γεωργιέαν τῶν τῶν οἰκείων ὠμῶν ζευγαρι(ων) (καί) τόν τῶν ὑμετέρων(ν) ἀν(θρώπων).²⁷ Διὰ δὲ τό μὴ ἦλθαν νομὴν τά ὑμετέρα ζώα, ἐστερζα ὠμῖν (καί) ἐπιβραβευσάμην ὑπὸς ἀκαλλυτ(ας) καί ἀνεμοποιεῖται(ας) (καί) ἀναγρού(ος) (καί) πάσης δεκατίας ἐκτός (καί) λοιπῆς(ας) πάσης(ης) ἐπηρεας(ιας)²⁸ νέμονται εἰς τήν τῆς Σάκκας(ας) διακράτησιν ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκείων ὠμῶν προβάτα λύχα καί ἀγελάδια διάκοσια καί μοὺν. Επι τούτοις δὲ τήρα τούτως ὠμῖν καί τοῖς δικαπέντε παροί/ας²⁹ καί τούς ἐξογράφους [σὸν πάσα τοῖς προσοῦν αὐτοῖς, δό τά ὁνύματα εὔρηκαν εἰς τήν ἀρτίος μεταγραφέον (καί) ἀνακατε[θήναν] πλατείαν ὠμῶν ἐνθά έστι τό κασιαίας τόν ὑμῶν [ἀνθρώπων τῶν παλαιῶν]. Ταῦτα τοῖνος οὐσίας ὡς εἵρθα τήρα καί ἐπιβραβευσαμήνα τῇ εἰρημένην ἄγια μονὴ ὑπὲρ ψυχικῆς ὠμῶν συνήρα (καί) τῶν γεννήτων) ³¹ πάντων ἡμ(εν) τοῦ ἦλθαν αὐτὰ ἀπὸ γε καί εἰς τό ἄρεττης μή μέχρη τερμάτων(ν) αἰανὸν ἀκαλλυτ(ας) (καί) ἀνεμοποιεῖται(ας) παρ' ἐμοῦ καί τῶν ἐμῶν κληρονομήν[ον] (καί) διαδόχην(ν) ὡς προβληθημένα ³² καί προοφερθήναε εἰς τήν τοιαύτην ἄγιαν μονὴν παρά τοῦ αὐδίμου(ο) πατρά(ν) τοῦ κράτους μου, μένειν τά ταῦτα μετά τῶν ἁνοι(ή)(ω) πάντων εἰς πάση γαλάζην (καί) ἐλευθερία καθάς αὐτὴν ἐπιτεφασι(α) ³³ διὰ τοῦ σταγουλισίου(ν) αὐτῶν ἀπὸ τά ἀρχικε(πεισκότ(ο)πο)πον, ἐπισκότ(ο)πο(ον) (καί) παντός ἱερατικ(ο)σκο(ος) καιταλύγου ἔτε τά καί ἀπὸ τῶν ἄρχοντων ἡμ(εν), στρατηγοῦν τά καί ἄλλο(ν) ἄλλων πάντων ἐκ πάσης(ιας) συνθήκας (καί) ἐπηρεας(ιας) τῶν ἄρχων ἐνδό οἰκόπολα, μηδενώς τολμῶντος διέρχεσθαι τῶν οὗ ἐναντίων αὐτή ὑπὲρ τῶν ἁνοι(ή)(ω) γραφέντων(ο) ἢ καταφέροντα. Εἰ γάρ τις τοῦτο τολμήσει ³⁵ δρᾶσια οὐ μικρὰν τήν παρὰ τῷ κράτους μου ὑποστήρησα ἀγανάκτησθαι καί τόν κυνόνον ὡς παραβήσεις τῆς ἡμετέρας κελευσίας καί μᾶλλον ἐναντίον μος τῶν ψυχικῶν /³⁶ (καί) ἁμεταβάλτει(ν) ἡμ(εν) δορμημάτα(ν). Διό (καί) πρό(ξ) περισσοτε.(ή)(ν) πίστε(οιν) (καί) ἁσφάλει(αν) τό παρ(ον) συγκάλε(αν) τοῦ κράτους(ν) ἡμ(εν) γραφεν καί τή διά χροσοῦ βουλή ἡμ(ον) συρραγηθ(εν) ἐπεδόθη σοι τῷ τιμίωτατο καὶ ἐσπατώκ(ι)κ(ρ) Λουκά τῆς τῆς περιβλέπου μεγάλης μονῆς(ας) ἁρμανάρθη(καί) πάντα τοῖς μετέτειχε κ(α)τα διαδοχὴν ἐν μη(ν) (καί) ἰν(δικτιων) τοῖς (προ)γεγαρ(μενος) ἐν ἔτει. ³χθ/β/ 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.

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The 12th-century Documents of St. George’s of Tròccoli (Sicily)

حدها دبور 182 من الاعتقان ينزل الواد 183 على البين إلى شجرة خشناء 184 وينزل الواد 185 إلى غار
اللوبيان ويطلع الحارث الحارث إلى قبيلة 186 بين 187 حمدون حتى يصل إلى الحمجة ويمنع 188 مع الحمجة الحمجة
حتى يصل إلى حديبة بن منصورة 189 إلى صنبر بزواة السفليانة 190 إلى نادر بن 191 الرون 192 ثم ينزل
إلى خندق 193 المسمى ثوبي 194 إلى كدية الجمار 195 ويوقع الحمجة الحمجة إلى
المجمة الكبيرة الحالية من الشاقة وينزل الواد 200 إلى عين 40 الإخاصة 201 ويوقع الحمجة الحمجة إلى
رائس 202 التحريكة 203 من جهة القبلة 204 وينزل الآخر من جهة القبلة 205 إلى جنان بن 206 يعرف
بعدَه 208 الواد 209 ويخرج إلى كدية الإعلاء من جهة القبلة 210 ثم إلى القدبة العالية ينحدا 1122

182 Classical Arabic (henceforth CA) . See Hopkins 1984, pp. 160–162, paras. 165–166 and notes, on
the frequency of the absence of tanwin alif in other non-CA varieties of Arabic. See below, note 196.
183 CA الوادي الوادي . On the absence of final yaʿ 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 ṣūr: 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 qäf is indicated by only one point above the loop, in the Maġribī style.
187 CA غ .
188 CA يني .
189 CA ابن .
190 مصوره is written above the line in the same ink by the same hand.
191 The fāʿ is indicated by one point below the loop, in the Maġribī 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 fre-
quently attested in vernacular forms of the language than CA.
192 CA درب , 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 qäf is indicated in the Maġribī style.
195 The word ʾz is written above the line in a darker ink, possibly written with a finer pen, perhaps indi-
cating that it had been omitted from the first draft and subsequently added.
196 CA غ . See note 182 above.
197 The gīm is clearly pointed and the damma supplied. Compare Doc. 2. ll. 20 and 40 and Doc. 3. ll. 20
and 41, and see above p. 9, note 48.
198 The qäf is indicated in the Mađirī style.
199 The qäf is indicated in the Mađirī 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 ḥāʾ and a caret above the rāʾ.
204 The qäf is indicated in the Mađirī style.
205 There is hole in the parchment.
206 CA غ .
207 The ṭāʾ is indicated in the Mađirī style.
208 CA يُمّ .
209 CA الوادي . See above note 183.

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Document 2

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

Figs. 4–5

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

Copies: Doc. 3 (below), an official, dīwānī copy. Two 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: εἰς δὲ καὶ ἑτέρα κάτωθι ἐν τῷ ἀντίγραφῳ ἀπερ ὑπάρχοντας κατὰ τὴν τῶν ἁγίων φωνῆς γεγραμμένα: ἐγὼ δὲ ἐγνώκα τά δικαίως, οὐκ ἀντέγραψα.

Editions: inedited.


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

210 The qāf is indicated in the Maġribī style.
211 CA 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 Maġribī style.
214 CA
215 Unpointed: see above note 197.
216 The bā‘ is indicated by a subscript miniature letter.
217 The fā‘ is indicated in the Maġribī style.
218 CA On this spelling, see Blau 1965, p. 89C. Dozy 1881, vol. 1, p. 763, gives شَعْرِي as an abbreviation of شَعْرِي, 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 Εξετασθηκέν (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 [iναυ][ħ][ά], ‘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).
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?: Προβελγία (ον) ἅγιου Γεωργίου 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?: Κατοικεῖ αὐτόν ἢ Τρώκλων. Below previous note; dark brown ink; 14th century: Φράγματα διακοσμήσεως και λεπτομεροτήτων τε Κυρίων της Μητρόπολος Ιεράς Κοινότητος της Ιεροσολύμων. Below previous note; light brown ink; 18th century?: προβελγία (ον) ἅγιου Γεωργίου τῶν Τρώκλων. Below previous note; light brown ink; 14th century: Προβελγία (ον) ἅγιου Γεωργίου τῶν Τρώκλων.

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, but not the same who wrote Doc. 1 or Doc. 3. The scribe used a fine reed with a medium brown ink. There are few abbreviations and very few grammatical and orthographical errors. The Arabic text is written in a hand very close to that of Doc. 4, with a fine reed and a rich, dark brown ink that has preserved its colour well. The scribe performed a number of calligraphic flourishes and took pains to show how rarely he needed to lift the pen from the page. He used no short vowels, but many points; where indicated, fāʾ and qāf are never pointed in the Maġribī style. In l. 43, he wrote al-rāḥib (‘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 Gulyāmū, instead of the normal written form Gulyālim, suggesting that he was following dictation. 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 [rajħṭ] [al-]ba[ṣal].

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. τοῦ Ἰούσου, 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—Ἰούστιπόνος (l. 2), ἰστῳπόνος (l. 13), ἰστῳπόντα (l. 13), ἰστῳπόν (l. 15), ἰστῳπός (l. 16), ἰπτῳπόστομο (l. 21), ἰπο (ll. 25 and 28), and ἰπροτοχοῖς (l. 36).

224 This would seem to confirm our hypothesis on pp. 16-17 above.
+Πογέριος ἐν Χριστῷ δό τῷ Θεῷ δό εὐσέβεις κραταιοὶ ῥῆς *** /25

+ Τοῦ ἐνθέου κράτους μου κατὰ τὸν Ἰουνίου μῆνα τῆς ἑνεστώσες τεταρτῆς ἱδικτιῶνος
tὴν γύρων παρὰ τὴν Σικέλιαν ποιουμένου, (καὶ) εἰς τὴν λεγομένην Σίακκαν /3 καταντήσαντος,
ubyte;πάντης ἤμιν ἃν τῇ ἑμετέρᾳ μεγάλῃ καὶ περιβλέποντα μονῆς τοῦ
Σ(ωτ)ῆρος τοῦ Ἀκροτήριο(ς) Μεσηνίας 
ἀρχιμαζάτ(ς) κύριος λουκᾶς
ὑπόδεικνὸς ἃν τὰ διὰ χειρ(ον) σου συγγλία τῆς τῆς Λύγου Γεωργίου τῶν
Türkiye(ν) μονῆς, ἀπερ εἰς αὐτὴν ὁ μακαριστάτο(ς) (καὶ) ἀοδίμο(ς) τοῦ κράτ(ους) μου
π(ατο)ρ ἐποίησαν ἐν ἔτει ὡς ἐν αὐτοῖς /3 τοῖς συγγλίοις ἐγέρθησατ· ᾧ·
ubyte;πάντῃς ἄναγγελόθηναι κελεύσαντες, εὐρομὲν ὁστοί(ς) διαλαμβάνοντας ὡς ἡ ἡ τὴν νήσον 
tῆς Σικέλιας (Θεο)δ συμμαχία καὶ βοήθεια ἀπεαν ὑποτάξας ὁ
μακαριστάτο(ς) δηλῶν ὁ π(ατο)ρ μου οὐ τὴν τυχόνθα ροντείδα ἐνέθετο ἐπὶ τῇ(ς) τῶν
ἐναγ(ον) (καὶ) ἀγή(ον) οἶκ(ον) ἀνοικοδομῆς τῇ (καὶ) /3 ἀναγέρσως μᾶλλον δὲ
μοναστηρ(ία) τῶν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀθέων σαβρεθέντων Αγαρην(ον) καὶ περὶ τη(ς) τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς
ὑπηρετοῦν(τον) ἀδελφ(ον) προνοῖν(ας) (καὶ) διοικήσας, ὡς ἀν /3 ἐκτενεύστερον ὑπὲρ τῶν
ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ νήσῳ 
τελευτησάντων στρατιωτῶν ἐπὶ ἀναφροζεῖ τῶν Χριστιανῶν ὑπερεχόντα
ἐτὶ (καὶ) καθολικῆς εἰρήνης Χριστιαν(ῶν), προ(ς) (δὲ) καὶ ὑπὲρ /3 τῶν αὐτῶς ἀφέσως
ἀμαρτί(ων). ὅθεν μετὰ τῶν ἄλλ(ον) (καὶ) εἰς τὴν τῆς Σιάκκ(άς) περιούκον τὸν
προφηθ(έν)τα(ς) τοῦ Ἀγίου μεγ(αλο)μάρτυρ(ος Θεο)ργίου ἀνοικοδομήσακ(ες) νεὼν καὶ εἰς
μοναστήριοι καταστήσα(ς) αὐτὸν ὑπὲρ /10 μη(μής) τῶν ἔκεισα ἀναιρεθέντων(ον)
Χριστιαν(ῶν), ἐδορθησάτο εἰς αὐτό τὰ ἀρκεοῦντα χοράφια, δηλώσας ἐν αὐτοῖς καὶ τ(ο)ν
τοῦ(ον) περιορισμοῖς. Ἡμεῖς οὖν τοῦ(ον) ἀκούσαντες ἀκριβῶς καὶ /11 τ(ον) καθεξῆς
ἐγγεγραμμένοι εἰς τὰ συγγλία, εὐρομέν ἐκ τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς γεγραμμέν(ον) χοραφι(ον)
tī 
μὴ κρατοῦμεν ὑπὸ τῆς εἰρήμενης μονῆς τοῦ Ἀγίου Γεωργίου τ(ον) Türkiye(ν), ἄλλ' ὑπὸ
tίνο(ν) /12 ἐβαροῦντο ἤμι(ον) εὐρομέν ὑπὸ πάλιν ὑπ’ αὐτῆς τῆς ῥηθέσεως μονῆς κρατοῦμενα
χοράφια ἄλλα τίνα μὴ τοῖς συγγλί(οις ωμί(ον) ἐγγεγραμμένα) τὸ σύνολον. Σο δὲ ὁ
προγορασίς ἀρχιμαζάτ(ης) /13 παρεκάλεσ(ας) τὸ κράτος μου (καὶ) ἱκετεύ(ας), ἰνα τὰ
ἀρμόζοντα (καὶ) ἱδαξε(ας) (καὶ) ἀρκοῦντα τῇ εἰρήμενῃ ἁγία μονῇ τῶν Türkiye(ν) χοράφια
(καὶ) τὰ τὸ χοριοῦ ὑμὸν τοῦ λεγομέν(ον) Ράχαλ Ἐλββάσαλ. 226 κ(α)τὰ δίκαιον /14
περιορίσει κελεύσωμεν (καὶ) ὑπὲρ τ(ον) τουτ(ον) περιορισμ(ον) ποιησάτο /227 τὸ κράτος
μου πρὸ(ς) ὑμ(ις) συγγλίων ἐγγραφον. Τὸ δὲ κράτος μου τῇ παρακλήσει σου ἔξερα (καὶ)
tαύτην παρίσευ μὴ θελήσαν, ἀπε= /15 στείλε τὸν τὸ Φιλιππ(ον) τὸν (πρωτο)νοτ(ήρ)ον(αν)
(καὶ) Στέφαν(ον) Μαλεί(νον) τὸν (καὶ) κριτὴν, καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ σεκρέτου, τὸν τὸ καύτ(ην)

226 The second β is written here above the first one, but not in 1. 23, nor in Doc. 3.
227 In Doc. 3: ποιησέ τὸ κράτος μου ...
Περρούν (καὶ) Ἰο(άννην) (καὶ) τὸν Βουάλην, δὶς(ως) ἰδοσὶ (καὶ) γράφοστο τὸν δίκαιον περιορισμὸν τὸν χωραφι(ον) τῆς τε /16 μονῆς (τὸν) Τρόκλου(ον) (καὶ) τὸν τοῦ εἰρήμη(ον) χωρίου Ραχαλ Ἐλβάσαλ. Οἱ δὲ ἀπελθόντες (καὶ) ἀκριβ(ος) ἐξαιτάντες (καὶ) ἰδόντες, ἥδην πρὸς(η) ἡμι(άς) ὄντας εἰς τὸ Γεργ(έν)το(ον) ἐπιφερόμενοι τὰ τὸν περιορισμὸν ἐγκράπα τὸν εἰρήμη(ον) χωραφι(ον) /17 τῆς τε μονῆς (καὶ) τοῦ χωρίου. Ἡ πάρχουσι δὲ ὀστ(ως) ἀπὸ τὸν δῶ κιον(ως) τὸν χωρομένων Ὀσχέν (καὶ) κ(α)τέρχεται τὸν ποταμ(ον) ποταμ(ον) δεδίζοθεν εἰς τὴν συκὴ τὴν λεγομένην Γαστέν (καὶ) κ(α)τέρχεται τὸν στό(ον) /18 ποταμ(ον) ἄχρι τοῦ σπηλαίου τὸν λεγομένον Γάρ Ελλουπένη, (καὶ) ἀνέρχεται(α) τὴν ψέπτην εἰς τὴν Κιρ[β]λεν ᾿Επεν Χαμοῦν, (καὶ) ἀποδίδει ἄχρι τῇς ὄδοι καὶ ἀπέρχεται(α) τὴν ὄδον ὄδον ἄχρι τῇς ὄδοις λίμνης τῆς λεοντο/19 γομένης Γαδίρ ᾿Επεν Μανσουρ καὶ ἀποδίδει εἰς τὴν Λγίαν Βαρμάραν τὴν οὖνο κάτοιου, (καὶ) ἀπέρχεται(α) εἰς τὸ αὐλόν τοῦ υιοῦ Ραζοῦ, καὶ κατέρχεται εἰς τὸν ρύσκα τὸν λεγομένον Ἐλ.20 ὑπομήνι, καὶ ἀπέρχεται(α) ὅλον εἰς τὴν Κοῦρτετ 228 Ἐλξιουμμάρ, καὶ κατέρχεται(α) τὸν ρύσκα [ῥύσκα ἄχρι τῇς] μεγάλης ὀδοῦ τῇς κ(α)τέρχομενής ἐκ τῇς Σίακκας, (καὶ) κ(α)τέρχεται(α) τὸν ποταμ(ον) ποταμ(ον) εἰς τὴν σηκὴν τὴν λεγομένην /21 τῆς Απποδίας, (καὶ) ἀνέρχεται τὸ ρύσκα ρύσκα(ν) ἄχρι τῇς κ(α)τεράλθης τοῦ ἀποδρόμου(ον) τοῦ λεγομένου ᾿Επάγρικε(κα)τά νότον, (καὶ) κατέρχεται(α) τὸν χιομαρρόν χειμάρρον(ον) ἄχρι τοῦ ἀμπελόνο(ο) τοῦ υιοῦ Ἱάχλερ καὶ περά τοῦ ποταμ(ον) (καὶ) ἀποδίδει εἰς τὴν Κοῦρτετ ᾿Ελάζες κ(α)τά τὸ μέρος(ν) τοῦ νότον, (καὶ) ἀπέρχεται(α) εἰς τὸ βουνακάρια τὸ λεγόμενον Κοῦρτετ 229 Ἀλε, (καὶ) ἀπέρχεται(α) τὰ βουνακάρια βουνακάρια ἄχρι τῇς πηγής(ης) τῇς λεγομένης Αἴν Ἐλμουχίκ /23 καὶ ἀνέρχεται τὴν ψέπτην ἄχρι τῇς Κοῦλλες, (καὶ) κατέρχεται(α) (καὶ) περὰ τὴν ὄδον (καὶ) ἀποδίδει εἰς τὴν Κοῦρτετ Ἐλξιουμμάρ, ὁ εὐτεν ἀναμεταχῇ τῆς Γεζηνίας (καὶ) τοῦ Ῥάχαλ. Ελβάσαλ, καὶ /24 κατέρχεται(α) εἰς τὸ ἀκρός τοῦ ὅρους ἄχρι τοῦ πύργου τοῦ Ἐλβάσεφερ 230 καὶ συγκληθεῖ. Μετὰ δὲ τὸ γενέσθαι(α) τοὺς ἄνοσον(ον) διαχρησμοῦσι συν(ε)βεβάσθη ὁ Γουλαλμ(ος) ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Ρακάρου /25 τῆς Σίακκας(ον) μετὰ τῶν μοναξιῶν(ον) τῶν Ῥόκλου(ον) ἵνα διὰ τὴν ἀμφύβλητον τὸν χωραφι(ον) τῶν μεταξὶ αὐτῶν ἔσται πάλιν ὁ διαχρησμὸς ως κατοτέρα(ν) ἐρήμηται(α) ἀπὸ τῶν δῶ κιον(ως) τῶν λεγομένων(ον) Ὀσχέν 226 (καὶ) ἀπέρχεται τὸ ὅρος ὅψις τῆς ψέπτης τῆς σύν(ης) ἐπάνω τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ λεγομένου,231 (καὶ) ἀποσώζεται εἰς τὴν πηγὴν τὴν λεγομένην Ἀτσάνε καὶ εἰς τὴν ἐν αὐτῇ συκή, (καὶ) κατέρχεται(α) τὸ ὅρο τῇς εἰρήμην /27 πηγὴς(ης) καὶ ἀποσώζεται εἰς τὸν ποταμ(ον) τοῦ κατερχόμενον ἀπὸ τοῦ πύργου τοῦ λεγομένου Πούρζ ᾿Επέν Ἀσκαρ, καὶ κατέρχεται τὸ ὅρο τῇς ἀποδίδει(α) τὸν ποταμ(ον) τὸν μέγα ἔνθα συγκλείεται /28 ὁ περιορισμό(ο) ὁ μεταξὺ τῶν χωραφίων(ον) τῶν μοναχῶν (καὶ) τοῦ πύργου τοῦ λεγομένου Πούρζ ᾿Επεν...

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 τ. See note 177 above.
231 Doc. 3 has λελεγμένων.
'Ασκαρι καὶ συνεφόνθεσαν(αν) δι τε Γουλαιμο(ος) (και) οἱ μοναχοὶ μεταξύ αὐτῶν ἴνα οἱ μοναχοὶ ἔβαλον τὸ δόορ ὅθεν θηλήσουσιν(αν) ἣν(α) ταύτα ὁικός συνεβαλθήσαν ἢστερείσαν αὐτοῖς τὸ κράτος του. Ταύτα τοῖνοι καθὼς εὑρίσκαν ἄνωτ(α)ρ(ο)ν (και) περιποίεται, πλὴν ἐξ ὧν — ὡς εὐρή(α) — 323 — συνεβαλθήσετε μετα τοῦ Γουλαῖμο(ο)ν υἱὸ Ρικάρδο(ο)ν Τ(ής) Σάκκα(ας), ἢστερεά ἢν(α) ἐδοιοφόρουσαν εἰς τὴν εὐαγγελισμον τοῦ Αγ(ου)ν Γεωργ(ου)ν τ(ῶν) στροφήλα ὑμῶν τὴν ὑπὸ σε πρό(α) γεωργίαν τῶν τέ οἰκεῖ(ον)ν ὑμῶν ἠγαρί(ον)ν (και) τῶν τῶν ἔμπερ(ον)ν ἀν(θρώπων). Οὕτω τὸ δὲ τοῦ μὴ ἔχειν νομὴν τὰ ὑμέτερα ζῶα, ἢστερεά ὑμῖν ἢ(α) (και) ἐπιβασενουντίμαν δὴ(ας) ἀκολούθ(ος)και ἀνεμοποίήσε(τος)και καὶ ἀνάργυρος(ας)και πάσης δεκατ(ας)κείματος και(ας) λου(ης)πάσης ἐπηρείας νέμονται εἰς τὴν τ(ής) Σάκκα(ας) διακράτησιν ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκείων υμῶν ἢ(α) πρόβατα χῦλα (και) ἄγελαδια διακόσια (και) μονὸν. Ἔπι τούτος δὲ στέργο ὑμῖν (και) τοὺς δεκαπεντα-παραίκους τοὺς ἕξωγράφ(ον)ον σὸν πάσι τοῖς προσοδοῦν αὐτοῖς. ἄν τα ὀνόματα ἐγρ(α)φ(η)ι εἰς τὴν ἀρτικ(ο)ν μεταγραφεῖσαν ἢ(α) καὶ ἀνακαπνισθεὶσαν πλατείου(ν) υμῶν ἐνθα ἐστὶ τὸ κ(α)τόνομα τῶν ἑτέρ(ον)ν υμῶν ἁν(θρώπων) τῶν παλαι(ον). Ταύτα δὲ οὐτ(ος)κας εὑρίσκαι στάργον καὶ ἐπιβασενουμαι τῇ εὑρή(ν)ῃ ἐξίσα μονὴ ὑπὲρ ψυχῆς ἡμ(ῶν) βο(ποσ)ηρίας ἢ(α) τοῦ γεννητ(ον)ν ἡμ(ῶν) τοῦ έχειν αὐτά ἀπὸ γε(και) εἰς τὸ ἔφεξης μέχρι τερμάτ(ον)ν αἰώνων ἀκολούθ(ος)καὶ ἀνεμοποίησε(τος) παρ’ ἐμοὶ καὶ τῶν ἐμ’(ον)ν κληρονόμ(ον)ν (και) δι(α)βοῦσ(ον)ν ὡς προδιδομενα καὶ προε(ον)ν φιερβαθεναι εἰς τὴν τοιαύτην ἅγαν μονὴν παρὰ τὸ οἰκοδ(ομ)ον πα(τρ)ος τοῦ κράτους μου, μένειν τα ταύτην μετά τῶν ἄνωτ(α)ρ(ο)ν πάντ(ον)ν ἐν πάσῃ γαλήνῃ (και) ἐλευθ(ε)ρ(ο)ις καθὼς αὐτ(ην) έστυποντο διὰ τοῦ σύγλ(ιον)ν αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τὸ ἐργ(α)τ(ο)σπισκ(ο)σ(ον), ἐπισκόπον (και) παντὸς ἱστατ(ο)κ(ο)σ(ον) καὶ ταλλοῦν ὑπὸ τε (και) απὸ τ(ῶν)ν ἐργ(ον)ν(ον) υμ(ῶν)ν, στρατη(γον)ν τέ (και) λοιπ(ον)ν ἄλλ(ον)ν πάντ(ον)ν ἐκ πάσας(ος)ς συνθητῇ(ας) ἢ ἐπηρεία(ας) τῶν ἅγων ἐνό(ς) ὁμολογοῦν, μηδενὸς(ο)ς τομημένος(ο)ς δύση(ς) τινὰ ἢ ἐναντίον(ν)ν αὐτὴ ὑπὲρ τ(ῶν)ν ἄνωτ(α)ρ(ο)ν γραφ(ε)ντ(ον)ν ἢ κενοτομὴν ποιήσασθαι. 323 Εἰ γάρ τοὺς τούτ(ο)τος τολμήσεις δρᾶσαι οὐ μικρ(αν) τ(ην)ν παρ’ ἐμὸν ὑποστήσεται ἀγανάκτησιν ὡς παραβάτη(σας) τη(ς) καὶ(οι) μᾶλλον ἐναντιομενο(ς) τ(ῶν)ν ψυχη(ῶν)ν (και) ἀμεταθετ(ον)ν υμ(ῶ)ν δορ(ε)ν. Διὸ(και) πρὸς(και) περισσοτ(ε)ρ(ος) πίπτοντον (και) ἀσφαλέον τὸ παρὸν 328 στηλλὸν τοῦ κράτους ἡμ(ῶ)ν γραφὲν (και) τῇ διὰ χρυσοῦ βούλης ἡμ(ῶ)ν σφαγες(εν) ἔπεαδ(ῆ)ν σοὶ τὸ τιμωτ(η)τ(η)τοῦ(ν) καὶ Λουκ(αν) τὸ τ(ης) μεγ(άλης)ς μον(ῆς)ς ἀργ(η)ς-μανῶρ(ι)τῆτι(ης) κ(αὶ) πά(σας) τοῖς μετέπειπτα κ(αὶ)τα διάδοχην ἐν μη(ι)ν(ι)ν(ι)ν(ου)ν(οι) τοῖς πρὸ(γερα(μένον)ν) ἐν ἐπεις, „χρῖθη“ + 329

323 ὡς εὐρή(α)τα: interlinear correction by the scribe.
324 CA.Diw. See note 182 above.
328 The γα’ of the first CA. The ya’ of the first is pointed, but not that of the second: CA. ...
The wādī إلى the غار الويحان، ويطلع الحارك الخاكر إلى قبلة بن جمود. حتى يصل إلى المختصة ويجيء
بالمختصة المختصة 1/49 حتى يصير إلى غدير ابن منصور بالنصبة. إلى اندر ابن الزهراء. ثم
يبنزو إلى الحديقة المختصة. ثم 239 يمر قبل 240 إلى كدية الجمارة 241 وينزل الخندق الحديقة. حتى يصل إلى
المختصة الكبيره المنصة. وينزل إلى العين الخاكر. 242 ويطلع الحديقة الخاكر إلى رأس التحريكة 243
من جهة القبلة وفيزلم الحديقة الخاكر حتى يصل إلى حنان ابن مخلوف بعد 244 الواد. ويخرج إلى كودية 245
الإعجال من جهة القبلة. ثم 246 الكدية العالية. 247 ينتمي إلى الكدية الكدية إلى القبلة. ويطلع الحارك
الخاكر ويصل إلى القبلة. ويعد إلى كدية الجمرة 250 المختصة 248 ويطلع الحارك الخاكر إلى فحول
الخاكر والمشيئة. ويصل إلى طرف الشعر 251 إلى برج البقرة. 252 وغلم الحديقة 253 ثم النف الفراهم 254

235 The 250 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 يحي.
238 The whole word is written with a single flow line from ٌلحم to ٍوال, but the ٍوال bears a caret and the
ٌزن 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 ٍوال appears to be pointed as a ٍوال, unless the points belong to the
ٌنف of the following verb.
240 CA قبله. See note 182 above.
241 Sic. There is no point below the ٌالم, but read al-gummār: 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 ٍوال is pointed: see Doc. 1, l. 40 (the تحريكة with a tiny subscript ٌمام and a caret above the ٍوال) and Doc. 3, l. 42 (unpointed).
245 CA يُلمع. See above note 183.
246 CA الوادي. See above note 183.
247 Sic, with ٍوال, كُدْيٌ (elsewhere regularly كُدْيٌ), possibly reflecting spoken form, see Greek κοσπού. (Caracausi 1990, p. 308), Sicilian cuddia (Caracausi 1983, pp. 263–264). On the use of ٍوال to represent short -ع-، see Blau 1965, p. 73, para. 8.6, and Hopkins 1984, p. 7, para. 4e.
248 The word (ٌلم (CA لئ) is written above the line in the same ink and by the same hand.
249 Sic, with ٌداد, but read al-muhāf: see Doc. 1, ll. 24 and 41, Doc. 3, l. 23 and 43.
250 CA يُلمع. See above note 241.
251 The ٌالم is pointed: see above note 241.
252 CA الشعرا: 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.
and Gatsène. On this spelling, see Hopkins 1984, p. 21.


In Doc. 2 only, the year is corrected to 270, and χάσματα 271.

CA

260 CA

261 CA

262 CA

: 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 ا .

264 CA

265 See above note 257.

266 CA

267 CA

: this clause does not follow CA norms. On the indifferent use of imperfect suffix -ι 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: κατά τον χρόνον, '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 270, and χάσματα 271.

256 Sic, reading Gulyalmâ, presumably reflecting the Romance spoken form. Compare Doc. 3, l. 44. On the use of alfā fāṣila 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.

CA

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 خسارة in l. 39 above (see also note 235). Here, the pointed guayn is clearly legible, there is no tāʾ next come a sīn bearing a šadda, an alfī, and then an uncertain letter before the tāʾ marbūta. The Greek transliteration Ἀστήνα, Atsena (not Γατσένα, Gatsène), 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 nān. 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 Ἀστήνα; now it is the spring that is known as Ἀστήνα, while the fig-tree is beside the spring: εἰς τὴν πηγὴν τὴν λεγομένην Ἀστήνα καὶ εἰς τὴν ἐν αὐτῇ σπέρμα, '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 Gātsēna or Gassāna. See also above p. 8, note 41, and the discussion of the use of šadda in Doc. 4, below pp. 46–48.)
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 augosti decim(tion)is.*

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

**Document 3**

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

**Figs. 6–7**

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

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

**Editions:** inedited.


**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 Troccoli.* Centre right, towards bottom (written vertically); medium brown ink; 13th century ?: + τὸ ἰσότυπον (οὐ) σημη(λί)κ(ιον) τ(ῶν) Τρόκλ(ῶν). Immediately to the left of the previous note; rich brown ink; 12th century ?: ..χ(...). Immediately to the left of the previous note; medium brown ink; 18th century ?: τὸν 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-

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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: Scandaliato 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, 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-mahağqa has been carefully positioned to avoid the line crossing the tail-flourish of the subscript keraia indicating the numeral for 6,000 in 6649 (σχμθ') 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 λελεγμένου.

...
كدية الاعمال من جهة القبلة ثم 290 او إلى الكدية العالية يمدح الكدية الكدية الى عين المحبس 290 ويطلع
الحارث الحارث ويصل الى القبلة 291 ويعدى المجهدة الى ان يصل الى كدية الحمار 292 تذكيرًا بين الجنبية 44.
ورحل البصل ويزل الى طرف الشعراء 293 الى برج البيرق وغلق الجهد 294 ثم الفنق الرفان وغلبة لم يكن رحبا من
الشاقة على ان يبدو 297 حد الدير من الاختين 45 ومر مع الشعر النعوم المطل على الوادى 298 المذكور حتى
يصل الى عين عمانة 299 والشجرة التي بما ينزل مجرى العين المذكورة حتى يصل الى الوادى 300 النزل من 46
ببرج بن عسكر ويزل مع الماء الماء 302 الى ان 303 يصل الى الوادى الكبير وبدو 305 آخر الحد الدير مع
ببرج بن عسكر واقفا على ان الديرون يخرجوا الماء من ابن يبودا 308 وقعد تراضا بذلك 46 وكان
ذلك 309 بتاريخ شهر بطيون 310 سنة خمس وثلاثين وخمسة 311 بالنقدس الرابع وحسينا الله ونعم
الوكيل.

290 The word is unpointed, but read al-muhštâ: see Doc. 1, l. 24 and 41, Doc. 2, ll. 22 and 42 and Doc. 3, 1. 23.
291 Sic. The word is unpointed but the scribe has clearly not written الفينة al-qulla, 'the summit', as in
Doc. 1, l. 41 and Doc. 2, 1. 42.
292 CA  يُذكَر.
293 Unpointed, but read al-gummâr: see above p. 9, note 48.
294 CA  إن
295 CA  العشيرة: 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  الودى.
299 Unpointed. See above p. 8, note 41 and p. 42, note 259.
300 CA  الودى.
301 CA  ان.
302 CA  لب، لب
303 CA  ان
304 CA  الودي.
305 See above note 257.
306 Sic. Doc. 2, l. 44 has correctly 44 و دبو اخر حد الدير 44.
307 CA  اب، ابن
308 In Doc. 2, ll. 44-45, the phrase here enclosed in angular brackets is omitted and the passage reads
instead 41 40 «فَخَرجُوا لَنَا مِنْ ابْنِ يَبْوَدَ».
309 And this clause does not follow CA norms. See above note 267.
310 See above note 269.
311 CA خمسة.
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.


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


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?: + τό κ(α)τόνομ(α) τῶν βελλ(άνων) τῶν Τροκλ(ων) σαρακινιστὶ δι(ά) 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. مهَ́م, 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 ʿayn indicates that the bearer is not a gayn, a superscript ḥāʾ that the bearer is neither a ǧīm nor a ẖāʾ, 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. In two further cases, the symbol may indicate the letter šīn, or the doubling of the letter šīn, or both: (vii) al-Muḥsīn, or al-Muḥassīn; and (viii) Ḥasan, or Ḥassān written without the alif in scripta defectiva. The symbol appears seven times on the so-called sun-letters (al-ḥurūf al-šamsīyya): 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. šayh becomes aš-šayh, conventionally carrying the šadda, the شخ. However, it is most peculiar that in this document this occurs with none of the fourteen sun-letters except for šīn (seven times) and šin (four times). 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 šīn and the hushing sibilant šin in certain registers of non-Classical Arabic. There are three strong indications that this phenomenon may explain the use of šadda on šīn and šin throughout this document (including the doubling of medial letters and the sun-letters discussed above: no. xviii saʿal-nā (سالنث), no. xix ḥamsata (خمستن), and no. xx ʿasara (عشرة), 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 šīn and šin, and so here is patently not employed to distinguish between the two. It is striking that in Sicilian Greek both šīn and šin are regularly transliterated with the sigma, whereas in Latin and Sicilian šīn is always s but šin may be rendered by a wide variety of graphemes (s, sh, x, ḥx, ch, yh, j [and h], sc[j]). 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 šīn and šin also suggests a coalescence of the two forms in Sicilian Arabic dialect. The phenomenon is also attested, albeit scantily, in Ibn Makkī’s account of Sicilian Arabic.

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 اسماء رجال طرقشن with the šadda and a damma written before the āʾ 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 āʾ and not by the rāʾ 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 asmāʾī ẓirāl ṭṭurquliš, indicating that stress fell on the āʾ. This is probably related to the well-known phenomenon of the gemination of initial consonants in Southern Italian and Sicilian dialects.

312 Table nos. ii, iv, vi, ix, xi, xv, xvii. The case of no. xii 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.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Line</th>
<th>Sham</th>
<th>Sun-letter</th>
<th>Sin</th>
<th>Prob.</th>
<th>Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>رجال طرقش</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>šadda and damma written before the fā’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ii</td>
<td>سب</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iii</td>
<td>[ال]مَشْجُ</td>
<td>3b</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iv</td>
<td>محمد</td>
<td>3e</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v</td>
<td>الشيخ</td>
<td>4c</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vi</td>
<td>لَبْرِ</td>
<td>5b</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vii</td>
<td>عبد اَحفْسِن</td>
<td>7f</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>viii</td>
<td>حسن</td>
<td>8e</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>read حسْن</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ix</td>
<td>بَكْف</td>
<td>8f</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>looks more like two adjacent caret than a single joined up symbol</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x</td>
<td>عبد السلام</td>
<td>9b</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>very indistinct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xi</td>
<td>بو حَلَّط</td>
<td>12a</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xii</td>
<td>النَّيُعُبِيد</td>
<td>12e</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xiii</td>
<td>عبد السلام</td>
<td>14d</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xiv</td>
<td>عبد الله المَقَازِر</td>
<td>15b</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>read السلام as-Salām?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xv</td>
<td>عبد الله المَقَازِر</td>
<td>15b</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xvi</td>
<td>عبد السيد</td>
<td>16e</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xvii</td>
<td>بكَتَب</td>
<td>20b</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xviii</td>
<td>مَالْتْنَا</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>not doubled (mušadda)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xix</td>
<td>خمسة عشر</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>not doubled (mušadda)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xx</td>
<td>خمسة عشر</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>not doubled (mušadda)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**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 اسمه 319 رجل طرقش.

2/ كتب بتاريخ شهر نومبر من سنة سبب وثلاثين ومسمة بالاندفاس الخامس

320 على النشار (d) (النشار) 321 عمير بن اخيه (c) (عمر بن اخيه).

322 (d) (النشار) 323 عمير بن اخيه (c) (عمر بن اخيه).

324 (f) (ميمون) صهر عبد الكريم.

325 (d) (النشار) (b) (يامين بن بنيت) (c) (النشار) جعفر (d) (عمر ولهة).

326 عتيق المودب.

327 (a) رجا اوهو (b) (عبد العليم بن اثار) (c) (يامين بن هشمون) (d) (يوسف بن هشمون).

328 (a) (ب) (عمر بو سليم) (e) (عبود) (f) (علي العقار).

329 (a) (ب) عمر بن الجنحاي (c) (عثمان بن اخوه) (d) (عثمان بن اخوه).

330 (e) (عثمان بن اخوه) (f) (علي العقار).

331 (c) حماد (b) (حايى) (c) (شام) ولهة (d) (عمر بن شرف) (e) (عمر بن شرف).

332 المحسن.

333 (c) ميمون الفرطاس (b) (عمر الحريزي) (d) (حمود صهره) (e) (حمود صهره).

334 (a) (د) (عمر) (f) (ب) (الفتح بن بو كف).

319 CA اسماء
320 G: طرقش
321 G: [... على النشار]
322 Large hole in the parchment.
323 Large hole in the parchment.
324 G: [ع] ابن اخيه
325 G & N: Nībat
326 Large hole in the parchment.
331 G: كف.
334 G: بكف.
Vera von Falkenhausen, Nadia Jamil, Jeremy Johns

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9/ اخوه مقاتل (b) عبد المنعم بن عبد السلام (c) علوي (d) علوي (e) عبد الفتوح الصهماجي (f) عبد السلام بن زنطرة

10/ على بن علوى (b) يوسف صهور (c) عمر الهواري (d) أبو يكر بن عبد الكريم (e) خليل العباسي (f) يوسف

11/ حواس (b) حسن ربيب 341 رمضان (c) السيد بن مون (d) أبو عبد الله (e) أبو محمد بن نصر الصملى (f) عوض بن عبد الله

12/ على أبو حداد (b) عبد الباقي (c) عمر بن حليمة (d) عمر بن عبد السلام (e) هاشم

13/ مسافر (f) مسافر

14/ رمضان بن يمون (b) عبد الرحمن بن الموذن (c) حسن اخوه (d) عبد السلام بلالة (e) عبد النور ولده (f) عمران صهور

15/ على الطالعة (b) عبد السلام الغزاز (c) الجنيبي (d) رمضان الحريزي (e) عبد الواحد (f) حلي بن البقرى 348

16/ حسين بن يو رقيق (b) يوسف المودب (c) عبد الباقي (d) مزاعم (e) عبد السيد (f) مزاعم

335 G: عبد المنعم عبد السلام (but transliterates 'Abd al-Mu’nim). N: ‘Abd al-mu’amin or (‘Abd al-m.’m.’m.?)


342 CA أُبا وعَيْن .


344 G: أبو يكر عبد الله .

345 N: al-Sayḥ 'Umar.

346 G: المغز .

347 G: المغز. The ‘āyn is indicated by a miniature subscript letter.


349 G: يو .

350 G: مزاعم . N: ‘? ‘ and comments ‘L’arabe n’est d’aucune aide’. The scribe has mistaken the alif for a lām: see below note 451.
The 12th-century Documents of St. George’s of Tròccoli (Sicily) • JAIS • 16 (2016): 1–84

(17) بن البلوطي (f) عبد الغفار اخوه
(18) (a) أبو بكر بن عمران (b) ابراهيم الطويل (c) المودب بن الحمار (d) صمود (e) يعقوب بن ريمون (f) محمد بن الفلو
(19) (a) الله بن الحير (b) حسين العدوش (c) عبد الرحمن بن عوض (d) ابراهيم الاشقر (f) الجنشي

(20) دحمان (1) بكر (b) الرملة (c) وحب (f)

(21) ثم لما كان بتاريخ شهر اسطريون بالاندفاف الرابع 360 سنة ونحن بذاتك حماها الله في هاولا

(22) الذين وجدوا عندك 362 ملسا فسلمناهم لك على شريطة أنه مثبت ما ظهر منهم في جرايدنا

(23) وهذه اسماتهم 367
Translation

A *garîda* [which] confirms the names of the men of Triocala. It was written in the month of November in the year in the year five hundred and thirty six, in the fifth indiction.  

---

24/ ḥusn al-suffaṣi (b) Ḥusn al-suffaṣi (c) Ḥusn al-suffaṣi (d) Ḥusn al-suffaṣi (e) Ḥusn al-suffaṣi (f) Ḥusn al-suffaṣi (g) Ḥusn al-suffaṣi (h) Ḥusn al-suffaṣi

---

The names were written in the month of November in the year five hundred and thirty six, in the fifth indiction.  

---


---

26/ Ḥalāl (f) Ḥalāl (f) Ḥalāl (f) Ḥalāl (f) Ḥalāl (f)

---

[which] confirms the names of the men of Triocala. It was written in the month of November in the year five hundred and thirty six, in the fifth indiction.

the names of the Prophet. Yunbit is fully pointed, and the tall kurrāl of the second letter indicates that this is the nīn, but the vocalisation is uncertain. It is presumably a deverbal name, meaning literally 'he causes to grow', picked at random from the Qurʾān (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 ʿl-zarʿu, 'With it (i.e. the rain), He causes the crops to grow for you'.

382 C: senior Giaafar. For al-sāyūḥ, see note 375 above. The ism Gaʿfar may commemorate a homonymous member of the Prophet’s family, e.g. Gaʿfar ibn Abī Ṭālib or Gaʿfar al-Sādiq, and thus indicate that the bearer was ʿṢīḥ.

383 ʿU. his [i.e. ʿ4fʾ] son. C: ʿ Omar filius ilius. For ʿUmar, see note 376 above.

384 The name is illegible because of a hole in the parchment.

385 ‘A. the [Qurʾānic?] Teacher’. C: Atīc Almahābed [sic!] presumably mistranscribed by C]. G: ʿArīq al-Muʿaddīb. ʿArīq, here apparently used as an ism, is probably an abbreviation of the laqab ʿArīq 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-Muʿaddīb probably indicates that the bearer was a teacher, even a teacher in a Qurʾānic school; less plausibly, reading al-Muʿaddab, it could mean 'well-educated', 'well-mannered' etc.

386 ‘R. his [i.e. ʿ4fʾ] brother’. C: Rosia frater ilius. The ism Raḏāʾ, literally 'hope', may be an abbreviation of a theophoric name such as Raḏāʾ al-Karīm, 'hope of the Generous'.

387 C: Abdullālim, filius Labbān. G: ʿAbd al-Ḥalīm b. Labbān. N: ʿAbd al-Ḥalīm b. Labbān. ʿAbd al-ʿĀlim is a theophoric name, literally 'the servant of the Omniscient' (Qurʾān 2.158 etc.). The first letter after the article is not clearly written, and could also be read as ḥāʾ; i.e. ʿAbd al-Ḥalīm, literally 'the servant of the Clement' (Qurʾān 2.235, etc.), another theophoric name. Labbār, literally 'needle-maker' (Corrente 1997, p. 474: from Classical Arabic al-ḥabbūr illustrating assimilation of the definite article) is an ism and family name widely attested online in the Maqīr and the diaspora, e.g. the Moroccan musician Kamal Lebbar and the Orchestre Kamal Lebbar.

388 C: Abūbacher, filius Abīcassem. Abū Bakr is here almost certainly used as an ism and not a kunya. It may commemorate the first of the Raṣīdūn caliphs (reg. 632–34), the father-in-law of the Prophet. Abū Ḥaṣāmin [corr. Abī l-Qāṣīm], '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 Muhammad out of respect for the Prophet.

389 C: Jouseph, filius Asemun. Yusuf presumably commemorates the prophet Yūsuf (Joseph). The name Hašmūn, Frenchified as Hachmoune, is a common Maqūribi surname, well-attested online.

390 ‘A. B. son of the (Qurʾānic?) Teacher’. C: Abūbacher, filius Almuaaddeh. For Abū Bakr, see note 388 above. He appears to be the son of ʿ4fʾ above.

391 C: Omar, filius Jalin [sic!] presumably an error by the transliterator, not by C]. G & N: ʿUmar Bū Salīyū. For ʿUmar, see note 376 above. The Maqūribi kunya Bū Salīyū, usually transliterated Boussellou, is well-attested online especially in Algeria and in the Algerian diaspora in France, e.g. Kamīl Bū Salīyū (Kamel Boussellou), the Franco-Algerian goalkeeper coach of Paris F.C.

392 C: Abūbacher, filius Algīangian. For Abū Bakr, see note 388 above. Al-Gānḡānī 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 latīfondio 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 Hhīcu. G: ʿAmmār ʿHattāfū. N: ʿUmar Hatafu. ʿAmmār, literally 'one who has been granted long life'. The Maqūribi family name Ḥanāfū (variously transliterated as Kenafou, Knafa, Knafou, Oqafa, etc.) is extremely well-attested online. The name is said to be derived from the word ḥanīf (also ḥanīfī, ṣallīfī), 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
means exclusively, born by Jews (Corriente 1997, p. 168b), and is attested as the name of a Jewish clan (ḥāla) from the coastal town of Ḡifl (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 Garba where, for example, one Ẓāliḥ Ḥanāfī from the town of ʿĀgin, was killed during the Tunisian revolution on 14 January 2011 (Bū Tūr 2011).

C: Ali, filius Ahansā [sic!] presumably an error by the transliterator, not by C.] G: ‘Ali b. Ḥammām [sic!]. N: ‘Ali b. Ḥamān aṭ-ḥu (‘All fils de ? son frère’). For ‘Ali, see note 374 above. Ḥamām, 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-Ḥamām, the pre-Islamic idol of Ῥd and the early Arabic poet of the Ḥubayn, Ḥusayn b. al-Ḥamām, to the contemporary Tunisian sportsmen: Ḥmān (Ḥamām) Adem (table-tennis), H. Helmi (football), and H. Wissem (handball).

'His [i.e. 6c’s] brother’. C: frater ilius.

C: Abubacher, filius Charuba. G: Abū Bakr Bū Ḥarrāb. For Abū Bakr, see note 388. Bū Ḥarrāb, transliterated Boukharouba, is a Maġribī kunya well attested online in Algeria and in the Algerian diaspora, e.g. Muḥammad b. ʿIbrāhīm Bū Ḥarūba, the second president of Algeria (d. 1978). The kunya is probably an honorific meaning literally ‘father of a clan’, derived from Ḥarūba (from Berber akharrub), the clan or ward of Kabylie Berber villages, composed of several agnatic families (Abrous 2004).

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

'T. his [i.e. 7a’s] son’. C: Taman [Gaman?]. G: Tāmān. Literally ‘perfection’.

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

C: Omar, filius Schiaraf. For ‘Umār, see note 376 above. Saraf, literally ‘nobility’, ‘honour’, ‘glory’ etc., is perhaps abbreviated from a compound laqab such as Saraf al-Dīn, ‘glory of the faith’.

C: Abdulcassem [sic!]. G & N: ‘Abd al-Ḥassān. A miniature superscript sīn is written above the letter sīn of the second word, which may indicate doubling of the letter (taiṣīd), or confirm that the letter, which is written as a straight line without teeth, is indeed a sīn, 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 ἀβδέσσωμένος. In either case, the name carries a particular Shī‘i significance because, according to a tradition denied by the Sunnīs, al-Muḥassān (today usually abbreviated to al-Muḥsin) was the third son of ‘Abī 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 Shi‘i extremists espoused the divinity of Muḥammad, ‘Abī, Fāṭima, ‘Abū Bakr al-Ḥassān, and al-Ḥusayn, amongst whom the Muḥammads are said to have had a particular devotion to al-Muḥassān (see Massignon 1991).


M. the Mangy’. C: Maymun Alcartasi. G: Maymūn al-Qartās. N: Maymūn al-qartās (‘M. le fabricant de papier’). For Maymūn, see note 379 above. The first letter of the laqab is unpointed, but should almost certain be read as ḥā‘ (not qāf). Al-Fartās 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 gurārid of Catania and Monreale, where the name is transliterated into Greek as ἀβδέσσωμεν (Cusa 1868–1882, pp. 176a, 279b, 578b). It also occurs in the Maġrib as an element in place-names, e.g. the famous neonitic site, Grotte du Djebel Fartas (Gabal al-Fartās), in the Massif Mestaoua, near Bātna in Algeria.

406 ‘A. the weaver’. C: Ayyūb al-Harīrīy. His ism presumably commemorates the prophet Ayyūb (Job). Al-Harrirī, meaning ‘the weaver’ (literally ‘the silky’), is a professional laqab in the form of a nisba— the commonest professional agnomen in the Sicilian ḍarād (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-Harrīrī must have originally denoted the weaver of silk, in medieval Sicilian dialect carērī 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: Hhammad, cognatus ilius. Hammad, literally ‘praiseworthy’, derives from the same root h.m.d as both the divine names al-Muhammūd and al-Ḥamūd (lît. ‘the Praised’) and such names of the Prophet as Muhammad (see note 378 above), and Ahmad (see note 413 below).

408 ‘H. the weaver’. C: Ḥhasa Alhariry. His ism may commemorate the grandson of the Prophet, al-Ḥasan b. ‘Ali (d. 669). Above the sīn is written a sign (see 7f above) that may be read either as a sadda, presumably indicating that the letter is to be stressed in pronunciation—i.e. Ḥassān or Ḥassān—or simply as a miniature sīn to indicate that the letter which is written without teeth is indeed a sīn. For al-Harrīrī, see note 406 above.

409 C: Abūlphotuh, filius Lucoph. G: Abū l-Futūḥ bū Ḥaqq. N: Abū l-Futūḥ b. Bū K. Abū l-Futūḥ, literally ‘father of victories’, is a common metaphorical kunya. Bū Kaff, written with what is probably a sadda above the ḍā‘ī, is a Magribī kunya (usually transliterated Boukaï) well attested online throughout the Magribi 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. ʿīm or qirā ʿūl al-kaff, ‘palmistry’.

410 ‘His brother M.’. C: Mocatel. Literally ‘fighter’.

411 C: Abūd almunem, filius Abūsalmām. G: عبد المعم [sic!]. ‘ʿAbd al-Mu‘ūn [sic!]’ Abūd al-Salām. N: ‘ʿAbd al-mu‘ūn’ or (‘ʿAbd al-m.’ m.m.? ) b. ‘Abūd al-Salām. The scribe has corrected a slip of the pen, thereby superimposing the final nūn of al-Mun‘īm over the following ibn. Both names are theophoric but while the father’s, ‘the servant of Peace’, is Qur’ānīc (59.23), the son’s, ‘the servant of the Bene-factor’, is not.

412 C: Allūse. G: ‘Alawi [sic!].’ N: ‘Alwī (or ‘Alūṭ?). According to Schimmel 1997, p. 69, a hypocoristic form of ‘Alī (see note 374 above), also attested in the 178 Monreale ʿarārā: ‘Allūs / γαλλους (Cusa 1868–1882, p. 176b). However, it is also claimed that the Jewish family name al-ʿalliūṭ attested in 17th-century Fez, Morocco, is derived from the Arabic-Berber word for ‘lamb’: Zafrani 1998, p. 245; see also Kossmann 2013, p. 155. See also: De Simone 1979, 46 (‘Allūs); De Simone 1988, p. 69.

413 ‘A. the foster-son (or step-son) of al-M’. C: Abūhadman filius Nībat [sic! the transliterator’s error, not the transcriber’s] Almarāt. G & N: Abūhad b. hūta [sic!] al-Misrāt (‘Abūhad filis de la fille du Misrāt’). Abūhad, 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 Isā (Jesus) to announce the advent of Muhammad to the Children of Israel in Qur’ān 61.6. The word rāḥūb, misread by C, G and N, is clearly pointed (see also 11b below). Al-Misrātī is a nisba indicating a connection either with the town or district of Misrātā in northwest Libya, or with the Misrātā section of the Berber confederation of Hawwāra.

414 C: Abūlphotuh Assan hāgī [sic! the transliterator’s error, not the transliterator’s]. For Bū l-Futūḥ, see note 409 above. The nīsba al-Sanḥāgī indicates a connection with the Berber confederation of Sanḥāga.

415 C: Abūdussalām, fiilis Natvoayho. G: Abūd al-Salām b. Nazz. N: ‘Abd al-Salām b. Naṣr. For Abūd al-Salām (corr. ‘Abdu al-Salām), see note 411 above. Ṣanṭara, literally ‘strong man’: the scribe has written the initial ẓāy below the rest of the word, tucking it into the loop of the nūn of ibn, presumably in
order to restrict the width of the name (see also 11b, 17e and, with wāw, 14e). Words of the root z.n.t seem to be rare, except in al-Andalus, where zanṭara is ‘to make vigorous or strong’ (Dozy 1881, vol. 1, 607; and Corrente 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 kallat yadū-ka, yā bna Abī Zanṭara), forming a metaphorical kunya, ‘son of the father of strength’. The name ‘All al-Z.n.t.z.t occurs amongst the muls from Dasfīa in the Monreale garīda of 1183 (Cusa 1868–1882, p. 259a).

416 C: All, filius Allī. G & N: ‘All b. Allī. For ‘Allī see note 374 above. Although C, G and N all give the father’s name as ‘Allī, the letter wāw can clearly be read after the pointed yā’, reading ‘Allīyā—apparently a hypocoristic form of ‘Allī. 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 Yāsūf, see note 389 above.


419 C: Abubacher, filius Abdicarīm. For Abū Bakr, see note 388 above. For ‘Abd al-Karīm, see note 375 above.

420 C: Chālīl Alabassi. Hallū, literally ‘friend’, is perhaps an abbreviation of Hallū Allāh, ‘the friend of God’, the laqab of the prophet Ibrāhīm (Abraham). His nisba may indicate that he claimed a connection with the descendants of al-Abbās ibn ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib (d. 662), the uncle of the Prophet, from whom the ‘Abbāsīd caliphs were descended. For other instances in Norman Sicily, see Cusa 1868–1882, p. 256, and De Simone 1992, p. 46.

421 C: Joseph. For Yāsūf, see note 389 above.

422 C: Hhanan. G & N: Haddās. An uncertain reading; the second letter is not a nūn, and looks more like a wāw than a dāl or a rā’. Of the possible roots, h.w.s, ‘to wander to and fro’, offers the most plausible derivation; ḥaḍās, ‘traveller’, but also ‘robber’, ‘lone wolf’, etc. (Dozy 1881, vol. 1, p. 336); alternatively, from h.s.s, reading ḥawwās, ‘feelings’, ‘sensations’, etc.

423 ‘Ḥ. the foster-son (or step-son) of R.’ C: Hosaym, filius Nibo Ramsam [sic] the transliterator’s error, not the transcriber’s]. G & N: Husayn b. Ḥint Ramadān. The ism may commemorate the grandson of the Prophet. For the reading ḥintīb (instead of ibn Ḥint), see note 413 above. Ramadān 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 Ramadān below the rest of the word (see also: the rā’ in ṭibīb, in this name and in 9d; the ṭāʾ in ḥanṭara 9f, the ṭāʾ in riḡād l. 11).

424 C: Aman [sic. corr. Amar ?] filius Chalat. G: ‘Ammār bū Ḥallāf. N: ‘Umar [sic.] b. Ḥalat. For ‘Ammār, see note 393 above. The reading of the kunya is problematic and depends upon the placement of the sādā. If it is assumed that the lām bears the sādā, then the name could be read as Bū Ḥallāt (or Bū Ḥallāt assuming scripta defectiva). Frenchified as Boukhallat, it is attested online, particularly in Algeria and in the diaspora. However, if the initial hā’ bears the sādā—and that is indeed how it is written, with the sādā 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 hā’. In which case, the name might have been pronounced baḥḥal: the Frenchified name Boukhallat is also attested online.

(See the discussion of the use of sādā in this document below pp. 46–48.) The name is presumably derived from the root ḥ.t.t denoting ‘mixture’ or ‘confusion’—Dozy 1881, vol. 1, p. 394, gives ḥallāt, ‘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.

425 ‘Hīs [i.e. 12a’s] son Ḥ. ’: C: Filius iliis Ḥusayn. For Ḥusayn, see note 423 above.
426 ‘The elder ‘A’. : C: senior Abdalāmmen. For al-šayh, see note 375 above. ‘Abd al-Mu‘min is a theo-

above. For al-Miṣrātī, see note 413 above.
above. For ‘Ūmar, see note 376 above.
429 C: Audo, filius Abīlālī. ‘Āwd (classical Arabic ‘Iwad), 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: al-‘Ilī filius [sic! the transliterator’s error, not the transcriber’s] Ḥaddād. 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 Magrib and the diaspora as a family name
(Frenchified as Boughedda.)
431 C: omits. A theophoronic name, literally ‘the servant of the Eternal’ ( Qur‘ān 59.23).
432 C: Enoram, filius Ḥalūmā. Imrān may commemorate one of two scriptural figures, either the father of
Mūsā (Moses), or the father of Maymūn (Mary), the mother of ‘Īsā (Jesus). Ḥalūmā, lit. ‘patience’, is a
woman’s name, born by the daughter of the Gessimīd king al-Ḫārīth ibn Ḥabala, legendary for her
beauty, and by the Prophet’s foster-mother, Ḥalūmā bint Abī Ḫayyāb.
433 C: Ḫmrātī, filius Alargia. N: ‘Umar b. al-‘Arḡa. For ‘Ūmar, see note 376. The vocalisation of the laqāb
is uncertain: al-‘Urgha might indicate that the bearer suffered from ‘lameness’ (Lane 1863, p. 1996c–1997a, under ‘aṟaḡun and ‘aṟaḡe), but the same name amongst the men of Corleone in the 1178 Mon-

435 C: Ḥasūm. The name of Prophet’s grandfather, after whom is called the large Meccan clan of Banū Ḥāṣim, i.e. the Hashemites.
436 C: Reduam filius Raymūn. Riḍwān, literally [‘God’s] acceptance [of man’s submission]. His father’s
name is perhaps Arabised from Raivismānus, Paquoūvōc, Raymond, or similar. Today, Ṣaymūn has a
certain currency amongst francophile Arabs, perhaps as a sort of compromise between French Ray-

437 C: Abduraham, filius Almaddem [sic. corr. Almaddem]. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān is a theophoronic name, literally
‘the servant of the Merciful’. Al-Mu‘āḍān, literally ‘the mezzine’, is presumably a professional
laqāb.
438 ‘H. his (i.e. 14b’s) brother’. C: Ḥasan, frater ilius. For Ḥasan, see note 408.
be a cognomen tonomasticoe derived from, for example, the village of the same name 3 km east of
Mṣrātā, Libya, or the small town of al-Bīlāla (El Bélala), in Umm al-Buwāqī (Oum El Bouaghi) prov-
ince, eastern Algeria.
440 ‘ ‘A. his (i.e. 14d’s) son’. C: Abdu’nur, filius ilius. A theophoronic name, literally ‘the servant of the
Light’ ( Qur‘ān 24.35).

441 ‘I. his (i.e. 14d’s) son-in-law (or, less probably, brother-in-law’). C: Emeran. For Ṣimrân, see note 432 above.
442 C: Alex [sic! the transcriber’s error?] Attelea. N: ‘Alî al-Tâlî’a. For ‘Alî, see note 374 above. Al-
Tâlî’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: Abûhassalâm Almuaz. For ‘Abd al-Salâtâm, see note 411 above. Although al-
ma‘âz is written with particular care, with tashdîd above and miniature ‘ayn under the ‘ayn to show that
it is indeed unpointed, the final letter looks more like a qal than a zarî.
444 C: Almahâni [sic: the transliterator’s error]. N: al-Gûyânî. A nisba indicating a connection with the
neighbouring estate of al-Ǧaniyya: 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-Ǧangânî (see 6a above), but the two places and their names are com-
pletely distinct.
445 C: Ramadân Alharirî. For Ramadân, see note 423 above. For al-Ḥarîrî, see note 406 above.
446 C: Abûbllahad. Literally ‘the servant of the One’, is a theophoric name (Qur’ân 2.163, etc.).
447 C: Chalîl filius Albaçarî. G: Ḥalîl al-Bîqarî. N: Ḥalîl al-Baqarî. For Ḥalîl, see note 420 above. Al-
Bîqarî is a nisba presumably derived from the neighbouring estate of Buğ al-Bîqarî (cf. above, p. 10-
11, note 59). C, G and N presumably assume that the word derives from the town now known as Vî-
carî, but its Arabic name was Bîqû, not al-Bîqarî (al-Idrîsî 1970–1978, pp. 604, 606, 618; Cusa 1868–
448 C: Hasan filius Burchie [sic: the transliterator’s error?]. G: Ḥasan bû Raqûâ [sic!]. For Ḥusayn, see
note 423. Bû Raqîq 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 Magrib and the diaspora.
Note that, in Raqîq, the two points of the terminal qâf can just be seen with the naked eye in a crease
in the parchment and are clearly visible with the Wood lamp.
449 C: Abdalgographph. A theophoric name, literally ‘the servant of the Pardoner’ (Qur’ân 20.82, etc.).
450 ‘Y. the (Qur’ân?) Teacher’. C: Joseph Almuddeh. For Yûsuf, see note 389 above. For al-Mu’addib,
see note 385 above.
451 C: Mazallesi. G: Miz’alish. N: ? A Berber (Taqqaylit, 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 lam, leading astray C and G, whereas N remarks ‘L’arabe n’est d’aucune aide’.
452 C: Abdella [sic! the transliterator’s error] filius Albullaîî. G: ‘Abd al-Salâm [sic!]. N: ‘Abd al-
Salâm b. al-Ballûḥ. ‘Abd al-Sayyîd, literally ‘the servant of the Lord’, has the form of a theophoric name, but
al-sayyîd is not one of the Qur’ânic 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 Sunnis and
speaking Christians for whom Jesus is
453 ‘A. his [i.e. 16e’s] brother’). C: Abdalgographph, filius illius. For ‘Abd al-Gaʃfār, see note 449 above.
454 C: Abubacker, filius Emeran. For Abû Bakr, see note 388 above. For Ṣimrân, see note 432 above.
455 ‘I. the tall’. C: Aḥâsim Ettawûl. G: Ibrâhîm. The ism, here written without (pace G) the alif, may
memorate the prophet Ibrâhîm (Abraham). Al-Tawîl, literally ‘the tall’.
456 ‘The [Qur’ânic?] teacher, son of the Donkey-driver’. C: Almuaddeh [sic. corr. Almuaddeh], filius

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Alchamar. For Al-Mu'addib, see note 385 above. The laqab should probably be read as the professional agnome al-hammār, ‘the donkey driver’, but the absence of tashdīd suggests that the scribe playfully decided not to rule out the possibility that the father’s name would be read as the injurious nickname al-himār, ‘the donkey’.

457 C: Muḥammad ibn al-Faḍlūw. For Muḥammad ibn al-Falūw, see note 385 above. For Muḥammad, see note 387 above. His father’s laqab, al-Faḍlūw, means literally ‘the colt’ or ‘foal’ (also, ‘as’, ‘donkey’, ‘jenny’, etc.: Dozy 1881, vol. 2, 290).

458 C: Hayyān, filius Raymūn. G: Ya’qūb b. Maymūn. The ism may commemorate the prophet Ya’qūb (Jacob). For Raymūn, see note 436 above.


461 C: Muḥammad, filius Raymūn. G: Muḥammad ibn Maymūn. For Muḥammad, 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: Abdarrādī, cognatus illūs. G: ‘Abd al-Raḍī, al-Raḍī, literally ‘the servant of He who is contented [with man’s submission]’, a non-Qur’ānic theophoric name (see Bosworth 1995).

463 C: Jhaheer [sic! the transliterator’s error?]. Literally, ‘pure’.

464 C: Caved. G: Qayīd. Literally ‘leader’, usually preceded by the definite article and used as a title, but apparently also sometimes used as an ism in the Sicilian garā’id. Cusa 1868–1882, pp. 132b, 139b and 174b.


466 C: Abdulmāght. G: ‘Abd al-Magīṯ. 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-Maḏīṯ, ‘the Nourisher’ (Qur’ān 4.85).

467 C: Cānūn [sic! the transliterator’s error], filius Aud. G: Fanyūn [sic!]. B: Awd. Fīyān, literally ‘youths’, plural of fātā, is occasionally used as a proper name (e.g. ‘Abd al-Rahmān ibn Fīyān 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.

468 C: Ebrāhim Alasacar. For Ibřāḥīm, see note 455 above. His laqab suggests that he was ‘fair-skinned’ or ‘blond’.


470 C: Daḥhaman. G: Raḥmān. An ism apparently once particular to the Kabylie, now spreading throughout the Magrib and in the diaspora. The scribe has taken pains to write the initial letter as an unmistakable dāl, and Collura 1969–1970, p. 260 has Daḥhaman, but Gálvez 1995, pp. 175, 177, nonethe-
The total is a hundred men. Then, when it was the date of the month of July, in Indiction 4, you petitioned us, when we were in Agrigento—may God protect it!—concerning these named persons, registered in this document, 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 ġurar in or in the ġurar of our landholders (tarrāriyyat-nā), he shall be taken from you. And these are their names. [24a] Hasan al-Saftaşı. [24b] ’Abd al-Mawla al-Idrīsī. [24c] ’Umar ibn al-Qalānısı. [24d] Ḥasan al-İfrīqī. [24e] Abū l-Qasım al-Qābisı. [24f] ‘Alī al-Tūnisı. [24g] Maymūn al-İfrīqī. [24h] Ahmad al-İfrābulusı. [24i] ‘Abd al-İfrābulusı. [24j] Aba Bakr Şayḫî al-İfrīqî. [24k] Abu Baha Şafâ al-İfrīqî. [24l] Garbi(?) Nazâr(?) al-İfrīqî. [24m] Muḥammad Bakkād (Mohammed Bekad), whose departure in March 2010 from Oujda City (Farīq Maulūdiya Waṣṣa), in Tunisia; the misspelling with initial ṣīn 2.255 etc.), although the reading ṣīn 2.255 is relatively common online, e.g. in Egypt. While the final letter is written as a dāl, and not as a rā, it could be a mere slip of the pen (see 15b above where final dāl is read as a rā). Istiyyûn, i.e. from ṣīrtoypoioyn, ‘second June’, cf. Caracausi 1986, p.16; Caracausi 1990, p.590. Caracausi’s hypothesis is, in large part, confirmed by al-Idrīsî’s use of istiyyûn 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-a-yámuu safarî-him fi-hu ayyâmun qaład-šan wa hiya muvdatta sahir istiyyûn wâ-sahri awwâ, ‘the days when it can be sailed upon are few, and they are seen during the month of July (istiyyûn) and the month of August’: al-Idrīsî 1970–1978, p. 859, ll. 15–16. See also: De Simone 1988, pp. 73–74; Johns 2001.

For Hasan, see note 408. His nisba indicates a connection with Şafqas (Sfax), in Tunisia; the misspelling with initial șīn in place of of šīd is not unusual.

‘A. his (i.e. 24a’s) brother. C. Abūlmanı (sic. corr. Abūlmaunı) frater ilius. Literally ‘the servant of the Protector’, a common theophoric name (see Qur’an 2.286 etc.), although al-mawla is not amongst the canonical ‘most beautiful names’ of God, perhaps because al-mawla is also commonly used by temporal lords and rulers.

For ’Umar, see note 376 above. Al-Qalānısı, literally ‘the hatter’ (see Björkman 1927, is presumably a professional iqab (De Simone 1979, p. 26), but could also be a nisba, e.g. from the town of Qalansuwa in Palestine.

For Abū l-Qa[į]sim, see note 388 above. His nisba indicates a connection Qābis (Gabès), Tunisia.

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*al-Ifrīqi*.\(^{487}\) [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.


\(^{485}\) C: Omar Luscea [sic!] Alafrichi. N: ‘Umar Šaffa? al-Ifrīqi. 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, Bouchefa) in Algeria and the diaspora, suggests that it has long been a family name: e.g. the Kabylie singer Massa Bouchafa. For *al-Ifrīqi*, see note 478 above.

\(^{486}\) C: Musa Alafrichi. The *ism* may commemorate the prophet Mūsā (Moses). For *al-Ifrīqi*, see note 478 above.

\(^{487}\) C: Gasli Jamr [sic!] Alafrichi. G (176, 178, & 181 n. 86): Gaznī/Gazni/Gasni Tarūd al-Ifrīqi. N: Gaznī? 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. Gaznī, 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 Garbī, 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 *Gams* 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-Ifrīqi*, see note 478 above.

\(^{488}\) C: Asa'uri. A nisba indicating a connection with the Berber tribe of the same name, from the vicinity of the modern town of Zuwārā in the Šāqal Nafšā, 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 divānī 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. Amongst the chancery registration marks and signatures: Peter’s ālāma is written in a thick, black ink; the hashala 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 مابي الحو[ل]... 490/5... 492/5... 493 وقع حلف بين رهبان طرفقش وهربرت صاحب قلزمونش في الحد الذي بينهم فخرج الأمر 494/5... 494 إلى عامل الشاقة وهو صحابية والترابية والشيوخ العارفين بالحد 495، يفصل الحد الذي بينهم وهم غليا لم فرسته وجفري ميرمان وبريمارو بن هامون واحدو ماثان وبرم stanza and صاحب الحرف 496/5... 497 وبربرت منفري الحاكم غليا لم مستخف رقة الشاقة وبربرت هندوين وصهر ارند واماد جوان اطرية ومن الريجيسين نفسه ين لندو وبربرت صهر جوان اطرية وعبيد الرحمن 498/5... 498 فتبيان ومن المسلمين طاهر بن عمر واماد الرومية وابو الفتوح بن عمار وغيرهم واماد الحد الذي وقع عليه الاكفال وهو من عين المختصر ينماذج 499/5 مع كذا... 499. الدبس روس الكا...
larius pointed chancellor immediately on the death of Robert of Selby, presumed to have occurred in 1151
Registration marks, such as καταστρώθη ε
Doc. 6, ll. 7
Although it is there unpointed,
A hole in the parchment has been repaired, erasing the word, which is supplied from Doc. 6, l. 6.
A miniature letter ḫāʾ is written beneath the ḫāʾ of al-hadd.
The tail of the ḥāʾ is looped upwards to the right so that it flows into the ʾāyn of the following word.
The tail of the ʿayn is looped round and to the left so that it flows into the ʿaww of the following word.
These marks, such as ξαραξαραξός εἶς τῶν ἐκατέρων or similar, are often written on the verso of Byzantine imperial documents: see Dölger and Karayannopulos 1968, pp. 37, 53, n.5, 84, n.3, 98, n. 10, 112, n. 2, 119, 153, 160, fig. 22. For the use of ἐκατοβόθ in the Norman dīwān, see Johns 2002, pp. 119, 120, 123, 127, 129, 153, 280.
Possibly the royal governor of the district of Sciacca, see above p. 18; otherwise unknown?
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 I, 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).

\[\text{Maio d\{omi\}ni Regis Cancell(a)ri(us) s\{ubscript\})s\{i\\}}\]
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 Baía, Archivo General de la Fundación Casa Ducal de Medinaceli, Fondo Messina, no. 1117 (S 2003) verso.

Editions: Unedited.


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

ما كان بتاريخ مايو الحمل 520 وقع حلف بين رهبان طرقلاش وهربت صاحب فلمونش في الأخد

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 Churchuro, dated June 549 A.H. (1154 A.D.), which bears his signature (see Johns 2002, Dīwān 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).

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.

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.
The 12th-century Documents of St. George’s of Tròccoli (Sicily)

Translation

When it was the date of May of Indiction 15, a sworn agreement was made between the monks of Tròccoli and Herbert, 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), and the landholders and elders [who were] knowledgeable about the boundary, to demarcate the boundary between them. They were: William Foresterius (?), Geoffrey Martorana; and Bartholomew, son of Haimun; and his brother, Matthew; and Tristan; William, lord of al-Ǧurf; and Robert Man-

522 The use of wāw here is redundant: compare Hopkins 1984, p. 223, para. 260c.
523 CA مَتْنِيَّا.
524 Doc. 5, l. 5: الكلدية الإخوة.
525 CA مَتْنِيَّا.
526 CA بَلادِي.
527 CA مَتْنِيَّا.
528 CA هَذِه.
529 The letter sīn in the words nusṭa and sīgill is furnished with a caret to distinguish it (here, needlessly) from a sīn.
530 H.r.b.r.t šāhīb Q.I.mun.: see above pp. 17 and 18.
531 See above p. 18 and note 93.
532 G.l.y.l.m F.r.s.tr.: see above p. 19, note 99.
533 G.r.f.d.l M.r.t.r.d.: see above p. 19, note 100.
534 B.r.l.m.w ibn Hāmūn: see above pp. 19-20, note 101.
535 M.tāw.
536 T.r.s.tān: see above p. 20 note 102.
fré, the judge (al-ḥākim); 538 and William, castellan (mustaḥlafl) of the castle of Sciaccà; 539 and Robert Alduin; 540 and his son-in-law Arnold; 541 and the sons of John Atria; 542 / and amongst the burgheers: Nicola, son of Lando; 543 and Albert, son-in-law of John Atria; 544 ‘Abd al-Rahman ibn Fityān; 545 and amongst the Muslims: Ṭāhir ibn ‘Umar; the sons of al-Rūmīyya; 546 Abū l-Futūḥ ibn ‘Ammār; and others. And the first part of the boundary which was to be demarcated, which is from ‘Ayn al-Muḫīḍ. It follows Kudā l-Dibs, along the tops of the hills, approaching / and the end of the aforesaid hills, and descends by way of the last hill, 547 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 548 the big river known as Wād Qalʿat 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 / 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.

Bibliography


537 G.l.y.Lm šāḥib l-Gurf; see above p. 20, note 103.
538 R.b.r.t M.n.f.ṛāy al-ḥākim; see above p. 20, note 104.
539 G.l.y.Lm mustaḥlafl 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 G.wān At.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 sīh G.wān At.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-āḥīra; Doc. 6, 1, 6, al-kudya al-āhrā.


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(slightly augmented and revised Italian translation of Caspar 1904).


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Appendices: Figs. 1-12

Fig. 1: Map (© Jeremy Johns)
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Fig. 2: Document 1: ADM 1104 recto (© Jeremy Johns)

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

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Fig. 5: ADM 1120 verso (© Jeremy Johns)

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Fig. 6: Document 3: ADM 1117 recto (© Jeremy Johns)
Fig. 7: ADM 1117 verso (© Jeremy Johns)

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Fig. 8: Document 4: ADM 1119 recto (© Jeremy Johns)
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Fig. 9: Document 5: detail of ADM 1120 verso (© Jeremy Johns)

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The 12th-century Documents of St. George’s of Tròccoli (Sicily)
Fig. 11: Document 4: Latin translation and transliteration, Agrigento, Biblioteca Lucchesiana, MS Diplomi, II, 12, B, 41, f. 34 (© Jeremy Johns)

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

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