Arabic-speakers in Norman Sicily

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The candidate confirms that the work submitted is his own and that appropriate credit has been given where reference has been made to the work of others.

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Abstract

The linguistic history of medieval Sicily is both intriguing and complex. From the classical Roman and Byzantine periods until the Arab invasions of 827, the majority of the island's population spoke either dialects of Greek or Latin or both. On the arrival of the Normans around 1060, Arabic was the dominant language but by 1250 prestigious Romance vernaculars could be heard almost everywhere. Of particular importance is the formative period of Norman rule (1061-1194), when the key transitions from an Arab-Muslim to a Latin-Christian island were made. During that time Romance dialects were spoken by many among the ruling elite but most of the indigenous population continued to communicate in Arabic except in the north-eastern corner of the island where Greek was still used.

The conventional wisdom is that, under Norman rule, Sicily became a social and linguistic 'melting pot'. My thesis challenges this idea by showing how the extant linguistic data does not always present an accurate picture of the wider language situation and by arguing that Norman Sicilian society was often highly fragmented and characterised by a good deal of local variation. To illustrate this, the thesis traces the distribution and shifting margins of the Arabic-speaking communities and the effects that social change and religious conversion had on these groups. These findings are integrated with sociolinguistic considerations that surround language, identity and bilingualism. From a purely linguistic perspective, the thesis has a significant technical component and examines the bilingual deeds (Arabic/Greek or Arabic/Latin) that were issued by the royal administration. Particular attention is given to the type, status and consistency of this unique data and the extent to which it accurately reflects elements of vernacular speech.

As such, the research makes a number of significant contributions to our understanding of the sources for medieval Arabic and the fate of Arabic-speakers in this region. It also adds to our knowledge of how a minority group of northern Europeans came to impose their control over a population of Arabic-speaking Muslims, Arabicised Christians, Greek-speakers, Berbers and Jews on the eve of the expansion that the Crusades would bring to the southern Mediterranean.

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Transliteration Schemes

Arabic:

ا	*alif*	ā
ب	*bāʾ*	b
ت	*tāʾ*	t
ث	*t̲āʾ*	t̲
ج	*ǧīm*	ǧ
ح	*ḥāʾ*	ḥ
خ	*khāʾ*	x
د	*dāl*	d
ذ	*d̲āl*	d̲
ر	*Ra*	r

ز	*zāy*	z
س	*sīn*	s
ش	*šīn*	š
ص	*ṣād*	ṣ
ض	*ḍād*	ḍ
ط	*ṭaʾ*	ṭ
ظ	*ẓāʾ*	ẓ
ع	*ʿayn*	ʿ
غ	*ġayn*	ġ
ف	*fāʾ*	f

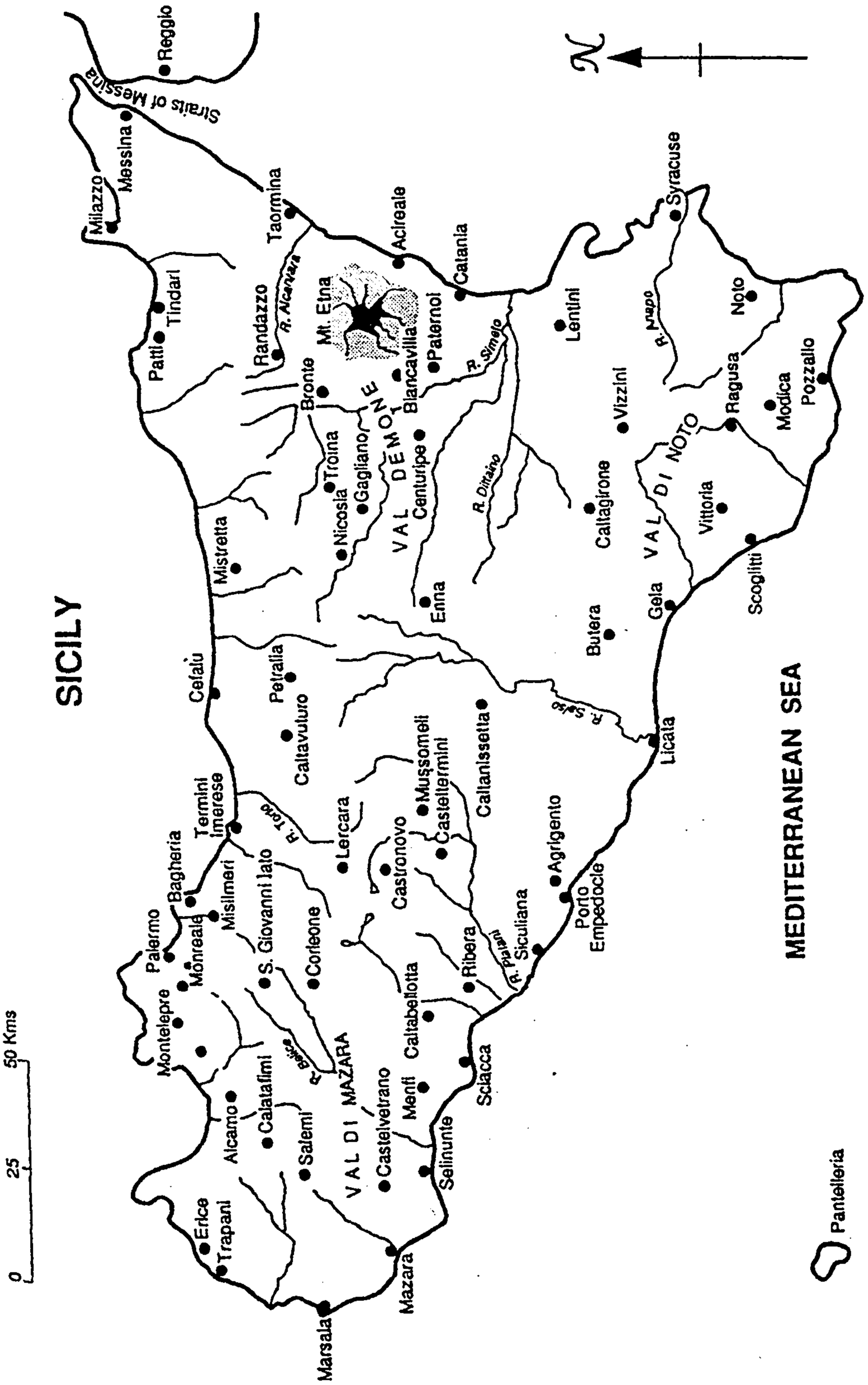
ق	*qāf*	q
ك	*kāf*	k
ل	*lam*	l
م	*mīm*	m
ن	*nūn*	n
ه	*hāʾ*	h
و	*wāw*	w/ū
ي	*yāʾ*	y/ī
ء	*hamza*	ʾ

Greek:

α	*alpha*	a
β	*beta*	v
γ	*gamma*	g/y
δ	*delta*	d̲
ε	*epsilon*	e
ζ	*zeta*	z
η	*eta*	i
θ	*theta*	th

ι	*iota*	i
κ	*kappa*	k
λ	*lambda*	l
μ	*mu*	m
ν	*nu*	n
ξ	*xu*	x
ο	*omicron*	o
π	*pi*	p

ρ	*rho*	r
σ	*sigma*	s
τ	*tau*	t
υ	*upsilon*	y
φ	*phi*	f
χ	*chi*	ch
ψ	*psi*	ps
ω	*omega*	o


SICILY
N
Reggio
Strait of Messina
Messina
Milazzo
Taormina
Tindari
Patti
Randazzo
R. Alcantara
Mt. Etna
Acireale
Catania
Bronte
Paternoi
Blancavilla
R. Simeto
Lentini
Syracuse
Noto
R. Anapo
Ragusa
Modica
Pozzallo
Vizzini
Troina
Nicosia
Gagliano
VAL DEMONE
Centuripe
R. Dittaino
Mistretta
Enna
Caltagirone
VAL DI NOTO
Vittoria
Gela
Scoglitti
Butera
Cefalù
Petralia
Caltavuturo
Termini Imerese
Bagheria
Palermo
Monreale
Misilmeri
S. Giovanni Iato
Corleone
Lercara
Castronovo
Mussomeli
Castellermini
Caltanissetta
Agrigento
Porto Empedocle
Licata
Ribera
R. Platani
Siciliana
Caltabellotta
Sciacca
Menfi
Alcamo
Calatafimi
Salemi
VAL DI MAZARA
Castelvetrano
Selinunte
Erice
Trapani
Marsala
Mazara
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MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Pantelleria

Introduction

One of the key issues of Norman Sicily (c.1061-c.1194) is how to account for the broad social and linguistic shift from an Arabic-speaking Muslim island to an essentially Latin-speaking Christian one within 200 years of the Normans' arrival. Indeed, there can be few major works on the history of Norman Sicily that do not address the language issue at some point. That said, not one tackles this fundamental question directly. The aim of this research is to fill that void, at least in part, with a debate about 'Arabic-speakers in Norman Sicily,' a title that not only allows an examination of the Muslim communities, but also embraces those of Arabic-speaking Christians. A natural extension to this inquiry is to study the possible varieties of Arabic spoken by such groups. Thus, the thesis comprises of two overlapping strands; one socio-historical, the other linguistic.

A range of source material is available for this study although not all provides the same quality or type of evidence. Unlike medieval Spain, no Sicilian Arabic poetry composed in the vernacular has survived and the few remaining literary works are all written in higher registers and/or strictly stylised forms. Some significant works survive as do several fragmentary pieces, but none yield anything of dialect forms. Furthermore, many 'Sicilian' authors actually hailed from Ifrīqiya, Spain or Egypt.[1] Other written media include a number of inscriptions in Arabic, but these are few, short and almost all were based on models of a high Arabic register.[2] However, social historians and linguists have inherited a unique and valuable legacy from the Norman period. After a prolonged period of conquest (c.1060-c.1092), the Normans began to issue fiscal records of lands *(ǧarāʾid al-ḥudūd* singular *ǧarīda)* and registers of men *(ǧarāʾid al-riǧāl)* that were conceded to landlords. Many of these and later registers were bilingual (Arabic-Greek or Arabic-Latin) as were almost all of

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[1] Almost all of these appear in two volumes, known as the *Biblioteca arabo-sicula,* a cura di U Rizzitano, Vols I-II. Palermo, 1987 (henceforth *BAS*). More recently has been the publication of Ibn Qalāqis' *al-Zahr al-Bāsim* cf Adalgisa De Simone, *Splendori e Misteri di Sicilia in un'opera di Ibn Qalāqis.* Messina. 1996.

[2] Amari, Michele. *Le Epigraphi Arabiche di Sicilia, trascritte, tradotte e illustrate.* 2nd ed., rev. F. Gabrieli. (Edizione nazionale delle opere di Michele Amari.) Palermo. 1971.

the villein registers issued by the royal Norman chancery after around 1140 which yield almost 6,000 transliterated names.

While these sources have been known to researchers for some time, they have received only sporadic and limited academic attention. They are of special interest because of the socio-historical, administrative and onomastic evidence they contain. For linguists their importance lies in what they can tell us about the phonology of Sicilian Arabic, the villeins' names being written first in Arabic (consonants only) after which a full transliteration was usually made in Greek. In addition to the bilingual registers, there were many privately-issued documents that deal mainly with sales, purchases, legal agreements, inquests, donations, foundations and claims[3], but few were ever written in more than one language and none among them can match the size and relative consistency of the chancery documents. Although passing references are made to the private and to non-fiscal chancery documents, it is the various discussions and analyses of the bilingual registers that form a central part of the thesis.

Although this field of study is still in its infancy, there is a limited range of pioneering works to consult and from which to draw inspiration. A modern starting point for most researchers is Adalgisa De Simone's *Spoglio antroponomico delle giaride arabo-greco dei diplomi editi da Salvatore Cusa* published in 1979 in which the main points raised by registers of lands and men from the Norman period in Sicily are summarised. Of particular interest to her were the bilingual Arabic-Greek registers of men that were written in Arabic and accompanied by a transcription made in Greek. Among De Simone's observations were names that suggested ethnic identity, tribal allegiance, immigration or professions. Also surveyed were names of women, translated terms, loan words formed by transliteration and modern Sicilian surnames that could be traced back to the registers. By examining how Arabic terms had been rendered in the Greek, she noted the ways in which these varied from standard forms. She also realised that by contrasting the Classical Arabic and Greek versions phonetically it might be possible to reveal aspects of a twelfth-century Sicilian Arabic dialect, although the work stopped short of such a technical analysis.

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[3] Not all of these are edited, let alone well-edited, but are now in the process of being properly produced in a new series with an accompanying English translations.

Since this pilot study the same bilingual fiscal registers of men (and also those of land boundaries- *ǧarā'id al-ḥudūd*) have attracted an increasing amount of scholarly attention from a number of perspectives. In 1983, Girolamo Caracausi elicited the first recorded instances of Arabic words that were subsequently attested in Greek, Latin or Sicilian dialects.[4] That work followed in the wake of the seminal two volume *Gli arabismi nelle lingue neolatine* by Giovan Battista Pellegrini published eleven years earlier. More recently Caracausi has produced his indispensable *Lessico Greco della Sicilia e dell'Italia Meridionale (secoli X-XIV)* and a *Dizionario Onomastico della Sicilia.* As Caracausi's *Arabismi* was going to press in 1983, Jeremy Johns, who was to become my joint supervisor, was preparing to submit his widely-read but unpublished thesis *The Muslims of Norman Sicily c.1060-c.1194.* A long-awaited and revised edition that concentrates on the administrative history of the Norman period is due to be published within the next year. Indeed, I have been fortunate enough to have had generous and unrestricted access to a draft version of what is set to become the standard work on the subject.[5]

Elsewhere in Europe, the highly influential and imaginative Henri Bresc saw in the fiscal registers the opportunity to outline settlement and immigration patterns in Sicily. Within the last year he and his protégée Annliese Nef attempted to argue that the villeins' names provide proof of the widespread existence of Sicilian 'Mozarab' communities- a term attested only in Muslim Spain- who had assimilated to Arab-Islamic customs on the island.[6] Nef has also analysed villeins' names from a socio-historical perspective[7] while an older article of Bercher, Courteaux and Mouton examined the impact of the Latin church of Monreale in western Sicily.[8]

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[4] Caracausi, Girolamo. *Arabismi medievali di Sicilia.* Centro di Studi Filologici e Liguistici Siciliani. Palermo. 1983.

[5] The work is probably to be called *Duana Regia* and is referred to as such in the thesis.

[6] Bresc, H., and Nef, A. 'Les Mozarabes de Sicile (1100-1300)', *Cavalieri all conquista del sud.* Studi sull'Italia normanna in memoria di Léon-Robert Ménager. Editori Laterza, 1998, pp134-156.

[7] Nef, A. 1996. 'Anthroponomie et *jarā'id* de Sicile: Une approche renouvelée de la structure sociale des communautés arabo-musulmanes de l'île sous les normands' *L'Anthroponomie: document et l'histoire sociale des mondes méditerranéans médiévaux.* Actes du colloque international organisé par l'Ecole francais di Rome (6-8 octobre 1994), recueillis par M. Bournin, J-M. Martin et F. Menant: 123-142.

[8] Bercher, H., Courteaux, A., Mouton, J. 1979. 'Une abbaye latine dans la société musulmane: Monreale au XIIe siècle' in *Annales ESC, XXXIV,* 1979: 525-547.

On the language side, Alberto Várvaro's wide-ranging *Lingua e storia in Sicilia* from 1981 articulated the idea that Sicily had become a social and linguistic 'melting pot' during the Norman period. In 1996 this view was taken a step further. In the most substantial linguistic work of its type to date, my other joint supervisor, Dionisius Agius ingeniously argued that the hybrid forms found in some Sicilian documents were evidence of a pidginised form of communication that blended elements of Arabic and Romance dialects. He combined evidence from Sicilian and Maltese dialects with data from the *ǧarāʾid,* private documents and the work of the grammarian Ibn Makkī[9] that dealt with the 'speech errors' of Arabic-speaking Sicilians and inferred that Maltese has a variety of Sicilian Arabic as one of its many sub-stratas.[10]

Naturally, it is not possible in a doctoral thesis to deal in detail with all the issues raised by the source and secondary material. For example, *laḥn al-ʿamma* literature, the elusive Berber question and the thriving Sicilian Jewish communities highlighted in the Geniza documents all regrettably fall outside even the extensive peripheries of the work in hand. Indeed, the numerous problems that surround the issue of Judeo-Arabic such as the wide diffusion of material, the difficulty of distinguishing between Sicilian and non-Sicilian forms, the absence of critical editions and a prerequisite knowledge of Hebrew make this study the preserve of specialists. Similarly, events in the wider Norman territories in North Africa and mainland Italy and the fascinating social and demographic changes that occurred during the Islamic and Swabian periods can only be touched upon in passing at this preliminary stage of academic apprenticeship. The thesis is therefore limited to the Arabic-speaking communities found in insular Sicily, between c.1090 and c.1190, but particularly after 1130.

Chapter one opens with the question of how widely known or used Arabic was among the ruling elite, the Norman kings and their administrative staff. This includes an assessment of the changing fate of Arabic as an instrument of the fiscal administration and thus provides an introduction to the case study in chapter two of the boundary definitions produced in the royal chancery that were issued to the newly-founded church of Monreale in 1182. These enormous bilingual (Arabic-Latin) registers of lands represent the longest and

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[9] The *Taṯqīf al-Lisān wa-Talqīḥ al-Ǧanān,* Cairo, 1956.

[10] Agius, Dionisius A. *Siculo Arabic,* 1996.

most important of all such similar documents and a detailed evaluation of them raises fundamental questions over the type and status of the linguistic forms and vocabulary items they contain. Chapters three and four continue in a similarly analytical vein, but deal instead with the production of bilingual chancery registers of villeins written in Arabic and Greek. These sections focus on the composition, format, consistency and status of data from the transcriptions of these names from Arabic to Greek and how best we might approach this evidence from a linguistic perspective. Chapters five and six deal with the Arabic-speaking communities themselves and the key issue of how changes to the social, religious and demographic base of the island affected its sociolinguistic composition. These closing chapters thus anchor the linguistic evidence to an appropriate historical context by examining the ways in which these groups had been absorbed into other ethnic or linguistic communities, or conversely, how Arabic-speaking communities had assimilated other groups. A series of studies from specific areas draws together evidence that serves to highlight significant contrasts between different communities and leads to the conclusion that Norman Sicilian was both socially and linguistically fragmented and could often be characterised by a high degree of local variation. This case against widespread uniformity mounts a significant challenge to the conventional wisdom that the island could have become a 'melting pot' during the period of Norman rule.

CHAPTER ONE:
Arabic as a language of the ruling elite

Early Arabic-speaking administrators and the changing fate of Arabic as an administrative language

It is essential for any investigation of the linguistic and historical evidence provided by the bilingual fiscal registers, that they should be understood in their appropriate administrative context. As such, the registers can be seen as the products of a disjointed administrative history in which Arabic-speakers played a more prominent role than the relatively small number of extant documents written in Arabic might suggest. Moreover, the status and fortune of Arabic as an administrative language changed significantly from the early conquest and consolidation period (c.1061-c.1130) to the end of William II's reign in 1189.

The earliest Norman fiscal records date from the mid-1090s when a number of villein registers documented the names of men granted to landlords. Only two such registers survive in their original format and in which names were recorded in Arabic.[1] Although at this stage much of the administrative fiscal structures of the post-1130 *regno* period had yet to be created, these villein registers *(ǧarāʾid al-riǧāl,* sing. *ǧarīda;* in Greek, *plateia)* bear some of the same characteristics of later confirmations. For example, the early registers tended to be written in a combination of Arabic and Greek although unlike many later confirmations the names in Arabic were not transcribed into Greek (see Appendix 2 for photograph). Also included on a bilingual register issued to the abbot of the church of Catania in 1095 was a clause in Greek stating that any villein cited on other lists of the Count's or of other feudatories should be handed over. That is to say, that such villeins would automatically revert to the possession of the De Hauteville (later the royal) demesne. This same clause, in Arabic, would appear on all post-1140 confirmations with the exception of the great concessions made to the church of S. Maria of Monreale from 1178-1183.

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[1] S. Cusa, 1868-82. *I diplomi greci ed arabi di Sicilia, pubblicati nel testo originale, tradotti ed illustrati.* Palermo. pp1-3 and 541-549. (Henceforth 'Cusa').

It is not clear how much of the administrative infrastructure from the Islamic period was intact for the Normans to inherit after the civil strife and conquest period. Certainly any early attempts to shape the island's fiscal administration were thwarted by rebellion and invasion soon after the death in 1101 of Count Roger I and in the name of Adelaide and/or Count Roger II only two documents in Arabic survive. Indeed, from 1111 till 1132 there are no extant documents containing Arabic and it is initially tempting to believe that Arabic may have been dropped as a written administrative language during this period. A possible explanation for this absence may be provided by Norman diplomata written in Greek. In the pre-*regno* period many Greek diplomata were written on paper and only one has survived.[2] Unlike parchment, paper is far less durable and the mandate issued on paper to S. Filippo di Fragalà in March 1109 had to re-drafted shortly afterwards under Adelaide and Count Roger II on parchment, thereby suggesting that the rate of original deterioration had been rapid. Paper documents were also used as standard in contemporary Islamic chanceries and in Sicily Ibn Ḥawqal had recalled in 973 how part of the papyrus supply in Palermo was reserved for the use of the sultan's administration.[3] Thus, we cannot rule out the possibility that documents written in Arabic for the period 1111-1132 have not survived because they were drafted on paper and not parchment. That said, no subsequent reference to *deperdita* survives either, which reinforces the case for a decline in the administrative status of Arabic during that period. Nonetheless, after the political unification of the mainland, the development of Palermo as a centre of administrative gravity in the late 1120s and the crowning of Roger II as king in the newly-built cathedral, documents written in Arabic did 're-emerge'. These royal diplomata were written in a 'new, elegant and highly professional *dīwānī* script,'[4] the first example being found in a bilingual Arabic-Greek boundary register dating from 1133.[5]

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[2] Cusa, p402. Cf also von Falkenhausen, 'I diplomi dei re Normanni' in *Documenti medievali greci e latini*. eds. D. de Gregorio and O. Kresten, 1995: pp275-6.

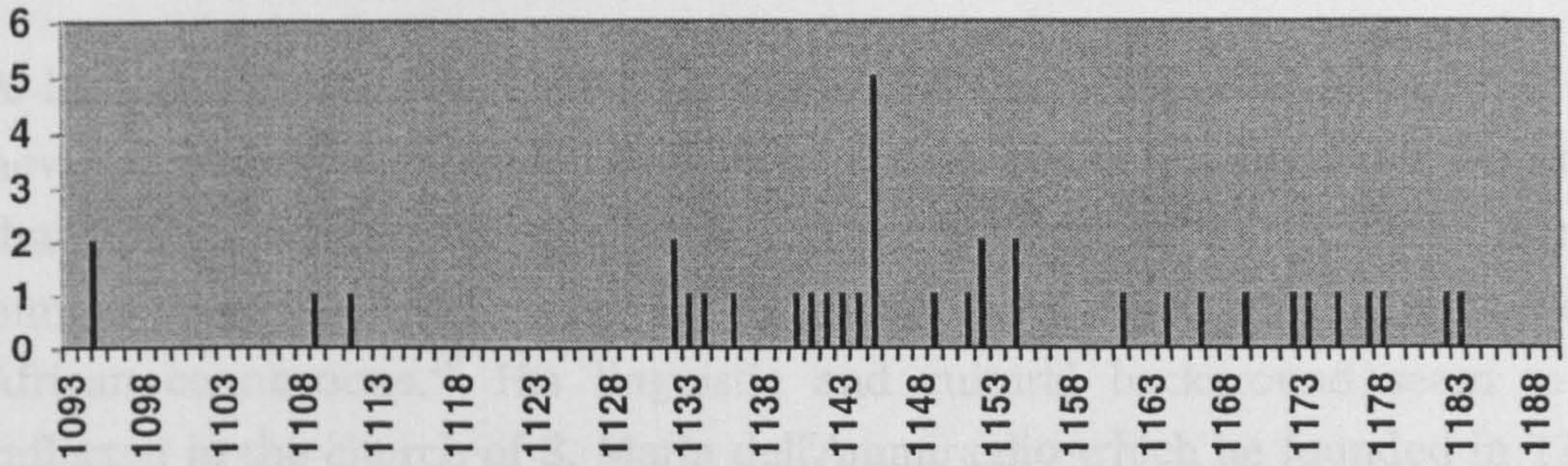
[3] Ibn Ḥawqal, *Kitāb Ṣurat al-'arḍ*, ed. J. Kramers, Leiden, 1938-1939, p119.

[4] J. Johns 'The Norman Kings of Sicily and the Fāṭimid Caliphate' in *Anglo-Norman Studies XV* 1992, p136-137.

[5] Cusa pp515-17. See appendix 2 for a photograph of a later register that also used the same *dīwānī* script.

The role of Arabic-speaking administrators under Adelaide/Count Roger II is only slightly less unclear than the fate of Arabic as an administrative language during the same period.

Frequency distribution showing the number of surviving documents written in Arabic and highlighting the bursts of activity in the 1090s and 1140s and the dearth of documents between 1111 and 1132



The principal historiographical source in any language is the Egyptian author al-Maqrīzī (1364-1441) whose work, known as the *Kitāb al-Muqaffā*, gives a brief biography for George of Antioch who was instrumental in the establishment of the kingdom in the 1130s and the administrative reforms in the 1140s.[6] Al-Maqrīzī noted how George had been in the employment of the Byzantine emperor in Constantinople before working for the Zirid sultan Tamīm bin al-Muᶜizz bin Bādīs (d. 1108). Tamīm's son, Yaḥyā, however, had ordered the strangling of George's adolescent brother, Samᶜān. Thus, shortly after Yaḥyā's accession, 'George wrote to the sultan ᶜAbd l-Raḥmān, the minister *(wazīr)* of King Roger, the son of Roger, King of the Franks known as Abū Tillīs[7], master *(ṣāḥib)* of the island of Sicily and bid him to send him a military vessel in which to escape'. Al-Maqrīzī continues to narrate that:

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[6] Al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Muqaffā*, Vol. III, pp18-20.
Cf also A. De Simone, 'Il Mezzogiorno normanno-svevo visto dall'Islam africano' (forthcoming) in *Tredicesimo Giornate di studi normanno-svevi sul teme 'il mezzogiorno normanno-svevo visto dal mondo mediterraneo.* (21st-24th October). Bari.

[7] 'Tillīs' or 'Tallīs' could refer to a type of sack (or even grain-sack?) used in the Maġrib and so may be refer to Roger metaphorically as a wheat-grower. However, it was also attested as a name of a twelfth-century Sicilian villein from Raḥl Mināwī (cf Cusa, p265) so is unlikely to denote a specific position or office.

ᶜAbd l-Raḥmān favoured them [George and his family] and put them in charge of the *dīwāns* in Sicily....and sent him as an emissary *(rasūl)* numerous times to Egypt. George kept discrediting *(lam yazal yasaʿī bi-l-sulṭān)* the sultan ᶜAbd l-Raḥmān until Roger arrested him, had him put in an iron cage and killed him. For his vizirate and as his chancery secretary *(kātib al-inšāʾ)* he appointed Abū l-Dawʾ, who was a man of letters[8] *(min ʾahl al-adab)* and so did not assume power. Rather, he put George in charge of the administration. He gathered revenues *(ǧamaʿa al-amwāl)*, organised the foundations of the realm *(qawāʿid al-mulk)*, hid Roger from his subjects and had him dress like Muslims....'

Al-Maqrīzī proceeds to observe George's titles (including *amīr al-umarāʾ*)[9] and how the Normans expanded into North Africa under his direction. We know that George preferred to sign his own name in Greek but Ibn Khaldūn records him as knowing Arabic well, as we might have expected given his North African connections.[10] His linguistic and cultural background seem to be reflected in the church of S. Maria dell'Ammiraglio which he founded in 1143. The church interior, enthusiastically described by Ibn Jubayr (a Muslim from Córboda) as the most beautiful building in the world, contains both Byzantine mosaics and a Greek hymn to the Virgin Mary translated into Arabic.[11] An Arabic inscription on a pillar does not seem incongruous in a church of such eclectic tastes and with a mosaic of King Roger labelled in Greek letters as 'Rogerios Rex'- a conspicuous mixture of Greek and Latin.[12] It may not be coincidental that George of Antioch appeared to embody the same cultural and linguistic blend as the reorganised administration of the 1140s over which he presided as it is quite probable that he was instrumental in its very reformation.

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[8] There may also be a sense that he was 'an artful type.'

[9] He was probably appointed *amiratus* by 1124 and was first attested as *Amir Ammiratorum* in February 1133 cf Ménager *Amiratus* App. II no.23.

[10] Ibn Khaldūn also records how George was a financial expert who had worked for the Zirid sultans, cf Amari *Biblioteca Arabo-Sicula*, Vol, II, p197. For further connections between Palermo and Cairo, particularly George of Antioch's see Johns *Duana Regia* (forthcoming).

[11] cf Amari, *Le epigrafi arabiche di Sicilia*, pp 109-116. Ibn Jubayr visited the Greek Orthodox church on Christmas Day 1184, 'there [in Palermo] we witnessed one of the most amazing things of the non-believers: the church known as the Antiochian church.... of the buildings we set eyes on, its appearance was impossible to describe. It is without doubt the most wonderfully decorated of the earth's constructions'. p231.

[12] 'Rex' also had the advantage of avoiding the Greek equivalent, 'Basileus', which was closely associated with the title of the Byzantine Emperor.

Quite clearly, a number of key administrators cited above in the immediate pre-*regno* period c.1108-c.1129 had Arabic names and were most probably Arabic-speakers. Apart from George of Antioch, very little is known, either of them, or of their activities. According to al-Idrīsī, the Christian sources called ʿAbd l-Raḥmān 'Kristūbūlūṣ' (Chrysopoullos? / Christodoulos?) but there is insufficient information to identify ʿAbd l-Raḥmān with the amir Christodoulos who was frequently mentioned in Greek and Latin documents until 1125.[13] However, according to al-Tiğānī, it was a certain ʿAbdalla al-Naṣrānī who gave George his post in Sicily while he was the *ṣāḥib al-ašġāl.*[14] As for the poet and scribe Abū l-Dawʾ, little direct information is known, but if he is to be identified with Abū l-Dawʾ al-Sirağ b. ʾAḥmad b. Rağāʾ, then some verses written by him and others dedicated to him survive.[15] The most significant of these from a historical perspective is a fragment that laments the death of one of King Roger's sons. Clearly, a number of unresolved difficulties remain with the precise identification of these characters and what functions they actually performed. Nonetheless, it is quite evident that Arabic-speakers (probably a mixture of Christians, converts and Muslims) were instrumental in the skeletal administration of the pre-*regno* period. However, as we shall see, the influence of this generation would soon be overhauled by that of Latin administrators, 'palace Saracens' and noblemen who were not natives of Sicily.

The establishment of the kingdom and the reforms of the 1140s

After the formal establishment of the kingdom in 1130 with the coronation of Roger II, there followed almost two decades of piecemeal administrative reform including the adoption of formulaic epithets in Arabic on royal deeds and coinage.[16] The source from which some of these reforms were inspired,

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[13] An identification made by Ménager, *Amiratus,* pp28-30. The name 'Christodoulos' means literally 'slave of Christ' and is relatively well-attested in Sicily, while not being so in mainland Calabria. The name may be a direct translation of 'ʿAbd l-Masīḥ' or an indirect translation of 'ʿAbdalla' and faintly suggests religious conversion. To add to the confusion, the amir Christodoulos is sometimes referred to as 'Christoforus' in Latin sources cf Takayama, *The Administration of the Norman Kingdom of Sicily* pp42-53 passim, although he does not take into account the Arabic sources.

[14] Al-Tiğānī, in Amari's *Biblioteca Arabo-Sicula,* p393. (Henceforth *'BAS'*).

[15] As quoted in al-ʾImād al-Isfahānī's *Kharīdat al-qaṣr wa-ğarīda al-ʿaṣr, Qism šuʿarāʾ al-Maġrib,* I, p273, Tunisi, 1973. For the Italian translation and appraisal cf De Simone, 'Alla corte di Ruggero II tra poesia e politica' in *Nella Sicilia 'araba' tra storia e filologia,* Palermo, 1999.

[16] Cf Johns, 'I titoli arabi dei sovrani normanni di Sicilia', *Bollettino di Numismatica,* VI-VII, 1986, pp1-54

including the *dīwānī* script used by the Arabic scribes and the name of chancery office in which many of them were employed, can be traced to Fāṭimid Egypt.[17] In the 1140s a decision was taken to call in all the previously issued villein registers for examination by the chancery. Registers were then re-issued as confirmations under the supervision of the newly-created *Dīwān al-taḥqīq al-maʿmūr,* which acted on the royal command.[18] The creation of this office, responsible for the compiling, issuing, inspecting and up-dating of fiscal registers of lands and men was by far the most significant change of these reforms. This innovation probably took place around 1144, but no later than 1149 from when we have the first document bearing its name. The *Dīwān al-taḥqīq al-maʿmūr* was the engine room of the kingdom's finances and provided the administrative cohesion that connected the king to his landlords, and the landlords to their villeins. This office seemed to have been staffed mainly by Arabic-speakers, but must have also employed scribes who knew Greek and Latin. Chapters Two to Four examine the operations and products of this office in detail, as well as significant evidence that its bilingual registers provide for the Sicilian Arabic question.

Registers that recorded names of men which were re-issued as confirmations by the Arabic *dīwān* in this period seem to reflect a well-organised and co-ordinated fiscal administration. However, this impression may be misleading. For example, the villeins confirmed in at least one register in the 1140s were the same villeins that had appeared in a register of the 1090s and many must have presumably died in the intervening years.[19] Thus, the bilingual fiscal registers with their elegant Arabic calligraphy and lengthy lists of dead villeins served to lend a sense of royal power to recorded concessions along with the style, if not the substance, of an efficient organisation. Moreover, the lack of any consistent use or order of languages on these registers- some were bilingual (Arabic-Greek) while others were monolingual (Arabic, Greek or Latin)- and the ambiguous relationship between two similar offices (the *Dīwān al-taḥqīq al-maʿmūr* and *Dīwān al-maʿmūr)* also suggests that these fiscal records may have been the product of an administration that was more experimental than systematic. The extent to which practicality was

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[17] See Johns, *Duana Regia* (forthcoming).

[18] Only in two registers (relating to villeins and lands in Triocalà and Chúrchuro in the 1150s) does the *Dīwān al-taḥqīq al-maʿmūr* apparently act without having previously received the order of the king.

[19] Issued and confirmed to the Abbot of Catania in 1093 and 1145. The confirmation precedes each name with the word 'awlād' or 'sons of'. Cf Cusa pp541-549 and pp586-595.

compromised by the propaganda value of a polyglot administration is a matter of conjecture, but some of the problems and oddities caused by this, both administratively and linguistically, will be dealt with in the coming chapters. Most of the confirmed registers written in Arabic in the 1140s were also accompanied by a transcription in Greek and the complex relationships between the two languages yields a significant amount of evidence for elements of the spoken languages of Sicily. However, the nature of these documents and how and why they came to be made has an important bearing on their status as evidence because much of their content was drawn from chancery formularies and lack the spontaneity of vernacular speech. Equally stylised were the scribes' methods of translation, transliteration and transcription from Arabic. Thus, a significant portion of the thesis is devoted to the type and status of this evidence and what it tells us about the language and scribes who wrote it- not all of whom were native Arabic-speakers.

Among the wider population of the kingdom there was certainly a great deal of linguistic diversity. In terms of spoken tongues one might have expected to hear dialects of Italo-Greek, Italo-Romance, Anglo-Norman, Gallo-Romance, Arabic, Berber and Lombard. Plurality of languages was probably as common among Sicily's ruling elite as it was anywhere in the kingdom. But in whatever way the numerous spoken dialects are counted, they can ultimately be resolved into three main written languages- Latin, Greek and Arabic. While Latinate dialects came to be dominant on the island by the mid-thirteenth century, under the Normans the majority of the population is presumed to have been Arabic-speaking. Given that the proportionately few speakers of Romance dialects tended to be 'Latin' immigrants, the aristocracy and the church hierarchy, it is fair to assume that Latin quickly assumed a prestige status. This may help to account for the adoption of Latin alongside Greek and Arabic within a trilingual administration that characterised Roger II's kingship and that could conveniently be incorporated as part of the ancient *Trinacria* topos. *Trinacria*, or 'three-cornered', was an ancient term for Sicily. Classical references to the 'Siculi trilingues' were picked up again in the late twelfth century by the poet Peter of Eboli.[20] Under Roger II, the palace contained a number of trilingual inscriptions and the awkward confluence of Arab-Islamic, Byzantine and Latin styles of the Cappella Palatina can be understood as a type

[20] Peter of Eboli, *Liber ad honorem augusti*, line 56, *'hactenus urbs felix populo dotata trilingui'.*

of artistic experiment in the same propagandist spirit.[21] It is also quite likely that rites in Latin, Greek and Arabic were held in the chapel, if not elsewhere in Sicily.[22]

Thus, the implementation of Arabic, Greek and Latin as administrative languages in the 1140s was a calculated ideology and shows the extent to which such a framework came to be imposed over a plurilingual society lacking in linguistic uniformity. In part, the three languages that the royal fiscal administration of Sicily embraced can be seen as the products of, and high-level responses to, the wider problem of effective and elegant rule over multi-lingual and ethnically diverse peoples. The factors that influenced language choice not only resulted from the luxury of deliberation and conscious arrangement, but also from more transient efforts to balance political concerns of the day with the availability and employment of individual ministers. What is not clear is whether Roger II and George of Antioch, as authors of the administrative reforms and royal image, were attempting to reflect or direct the languages of the people over whom they ruled. Alternatively, as evidence suggests that they may both have been trilingual themselves, whether the administrative languages and the re-adoption of the *Trinacria* topos to some extent reflected a projection of their own linguistic talents and their aspirations to control Greek and Arabic-speaking areas formerly held by the declining Byzantine and Fāṭimid empires.

The Norman kings and their languages

One of the points raised by the use of Arabic as an administrative language is that at least some of the key figures of the kingdom's ruling elite were themselves Arabic-speakers. Moreover, references compiled from different sources suggest that all the Norman kings were Arabic-speaking. According to Ibn Saʿīd al-Maġribī's *Kitāb al-Muġrib,* composed between 1135 and 1243, 'both King Uğğār the Frank [Roger II], then his son Ġ.līy.m [William I], ruled there

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[21] For the royal trilingual inscriptions of 'Grizand' and one relating to the construction of a palace 'water-clock', see Amari, *Le epigrafi arabiche di sicilia,* pp198-214 and pp29-38. For discussions of the royal Norman palaces, the seminal works are; Otto Demus' *The Mosaics of Norman Sicily,* 1977; Eve Borsook's *Messages in Mosaic. The Royal Programmes of Norman Sicily 1130-87,* 1990 and William Tronzo's *The Cultures of his Kingdom, Roger II and the Cappella Palatina in Palermo.* 1997.

[22] Johns, 'Palace Saracens: the court of Roger II and the conversion of Muslims in Norman Sicily' *Muslim communities under Christian rule in the medieval west: Spain and Sicily,* Oxford Centre for Islamic Studies, Oxford, 1997, (unpublished).

[in Sicily] and both of them spoke Arabic and resembled Muslims.'[23] Ibn al-Athīr similarly recalls how Roger rated the opinions of a learned Muslim more than priests or monks to the extent that it was even rumoured he was Muslim himself.[24] Finally, the Spanish Arab pilgrim Ibn Jubayr related that 'one of the amazing things said of him [William II] is that he reads and writes in Arabic.'[25] But if William II could read and write in Arabic, his grandfather Roger II certainly could not and was unable even to write his own name in any language. In 1117 Roger confirmed a privilege of his father's made in favour of the monastery of S. Filippo di Fragalà.[26] The Greek text translates as, 'I, Roger, Count of Calabria and Sicily and helper of the Christians, confirm and corroborate everything written and confirmed by my deceased father....I have made, in my own hand, the worthy cross present'. Clearly, Roger was illiterate in 1117 and thus, as Vera von Falkenhausen has inferred, the elaborate signatures that trace his name, although similar in appearance, were most likely the work of a professional scribe.[27]

While the Arabic sources are eager to propagate the idea that the kings were Arabicised and, in their view even 'Islamicised', Latin and Greek sources say nothing specific of the kings' languages. However, there is a vast body of circumstantial evidence to suggest that all the kings communicated with their barons, courtiers and churchmen in some common language- which was most likely to have been some form of Latinate dialect and certainly not Arabic. To this extent the Arabic sources perhaps give the misleading impression that the first language of the Norman kings was Arabic, when some form of Romance dialect was much more likely to have been their first choice. On the other hand, it is doubtful that the Norman kings were merely monolingual. Although the Greek chancery signatures of Roger II, himself the product of a Norman father and Lombard mother, show at least a benevolent disposition towards the language, evidence for his knowledge of Greek otherwise is hardly compelling. It seems that his early education was in Calabria (an area heavily influenced by old Byzantine traditions and Greek language) under the tutelage

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[23] Moritz, B. *Ibn Saʿid's Beschreibung von Sicilien,* in 'Centenario della nascita di Michele Amari' Palermo, 1910, p294.

[24] Ibn al-Athīr in Amari *BAS* I, p118.

[25] Ibn Jubayr, *Riḥla,* p226.

[26] Cusa, p385.

[27] Vera von Falkenhausen, 'I diplomi dei re Normanni', in *Documenti Medievali Greci e Latini,* 1995, pp284-286.

of his mother Adelaide,[28] yet there exists no explicit reference to his acquisition of the language.[29] Certainly, Roger would have been able to hear Greek in the Cappella Palatina where the Greek rite was used along with the Latin and possibly an Arabic rite too. This chapel of his own creation echoed with homilies delivered in the Byzantine Greek style by the orator Theophanes Kerameos, but this need not imply that Roger had any knowledge of Greek.[30]

In fact, we know rather more about the languages of the characters who surrounded the kings and, in particular, those who were entrusted with the kings' education. Such information comes exclusively from Latin sources which tended to ignore, be hostile to, or be less aware of, Greek and Arabic influences around the palace. For example, Roger's son King William I was tutored by Henry Aristippus, said by Falcandus to be as well-versed in Latin literature as Greek- *'tam latinis quam grecis litteris eruditum.'*[31] One of William II's Latin tutors was Peter of Blois, the belle-lettrist and royal *sigillarius.*[32] Peter had arrived in Sicily as part of Stephen of Perche's entourage of 37 'Franks' in 1166. His letters reveal a profound contempt for the Sicily's people, cuisine and climate *('Sicilia.. mihi odibilis',*[33] although he had avoided the worst of the anti-Franch sentiment as he was recuperating from malaria in Salerno during the riots of 1168. There is no doubt that Peter's Latin was of a high standard, however his interest in language did not extend to vernaculars other than his own, and he is not believed to have known Greek or Arabic. His spell in Sicily was followed by time spent in France and by 26 years in England as the Archdeacon of Bath (beginning in either 1175 or 1183) and later as Archdeacon of London (probably around 1202). During his time in England he admits that he had not learned the local parlance- *vigenti sex annis in Anglia*

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[28] *'dum adhuc puer sub matris tutela degeret',* Alexander of Telese, *Gesta Rogerii Regis Siciliae.* Bk I, Ch3.

[29] Hubert Houben, 'Possibilità e limiti tolleranza religiosa' in *Mezzogiorno Normanno-Svevo,* p222, '[Ruggero II] aveva una buona conoscenza della lingua e cultura greca, perché era nato e cresciuto in Calabria.'

[30] Filagato da Cerami, *Omelie per I vangeli domenicali e le feste di tutto l'anno,* ed. G. Rossi Taibi, 1, 1969, pp174-182.

[31] 'Hugo Falcandus' 1897. *Liber de Regno Sicilie e la Epistola ad Petrum panormitane ecclesie thesaurarium.* ed. Giovanni Battista Siragusa. (Fonti per la storia d'Italia, 22.) Istituto per il Medio Evo. Roma. p44. (Henceforth 'Falcandus').

[32] *Cum in Sicilia essem, sigillarius et doctor regis Guillelmi II, tunc pueri atque post reginam.* Ep. 131. William was no more than thirteen or fourteen at the time. Epistola 72, *recolo quantas insidias aemulorum in palatio regis Siculi Willemi secundi quandoque expertus sum.*

[33] Epistola 46.

peregrinans, linguam, quam non noveram, audivi. Heu mihi![34] It seems unlikely, therefore, that he would have been inclined to spend his two years in Sicily acquiring Arabic. However, given that William II's other tutor was Walter, the Archbishop of Palermo, it is safe to assume that the young king knew Latin besides at least some Arabic.[35] In February 1177 William married a tender 11 year old, Joanna. In spite of being the daughter of the English King Henry II, Joanna had been born and brought up at the newly founded Bendictine abbey of Fontevrault in France, and it was presumably in some type of early French or Latin vernacular that she and William communicated.[36]

We cannot be sure that either Roger or the two Williams knew Greek in addition to Arabic and Latin. However, there is good reason to believe that Tancred knew Greek although, as the illegitimate grandson of Roger II's, he was not directly of the royal line. A letter he apparently wrote in Greek to his wife attracted the scornful attention of a hostile Peter of Eboli: *accepto calamo finitur epistola paucis / exsul quam didicit littera graeca fuit.*[37] However, this couplet does not rule out that he had not first learned Greek in Sicily. The poorly documented evidence for the king's languages would seem to end here. The fragmented picture we have is that Norman kings are attested to have known *different* languages, but it is quite possible that all were trilingual and that at least Roger II and both William I and II knew Arabic.

Patronage and translations

The Norman kings and the island's elite were notable for their patronage of works composed in different languages and Sicily attracted literati and translators from around Europe and the Mediterranean. In Antioch, which had had a Pisan quarter since 1108, a Pisan called Stephen translated an Arabic medical work known as the *Liber Pantegni* or *Medicaminum omnium breviarum* in the late 1120s. This included a list of trilingual terms (Arabic-Greek-Latin) to which he added the comment that 'there were experts in Greek

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[34] Epistola 160.

[35] For Walter's background and name see Loewenthal, *For the biography of Walter Ophamil, archbishop of Palermo,* English Historical Review, (henceforth *EHR*) Vol. 87, 1972. pp75-82.

[36] When William died in 1189, Joanna (1165-99) married Raymond of Toulouse who had been to Palestine with her brother.

[37] Peter of Eboli, lines 867-868, the implication being that Tancred had learned Greek while in self-imposed exile in Byzantium where he had gone after the coup attempt of 1161.

and Arabic to be found in Sicily and Salerno, where one could especially find scholars in this discipline, whom anyone could consult who so desired.'[38]

Arabic-speakers also played a conspicuous role on the intellectual circuit, with Sicily completing the Arab-Islamic cultural triangle between there, Spain and Ifrīqiya. Several Arabic authors are attested as having at least visited the royal palaces, but little of their work has survived and is known to us only through fragments. The poet Ibn Qalāqis dedicated verses to William II, but was privately patronised by the island's leading Muslim, Abū l-Qāsim.[39] Ibn Jubayr noted how William II was keen to attract astrologers and doctors with economic incentives, but noticeably does not mention patronage of the arts.[40] Royal patronage of Arabic poets and writers continued under William I, but are less well attested under William II.[41] This may have been a reflection of the changing times, but could also be accounted for by adjustments in taste, or simply by a lack of extant references. We have seen that Abū l-Dāwʾ wrote an elegy on the death of Roger II's son and heir, Duke Roger, and a certain ʿAbd l-Raḥmān of Trapani described, in what appears to be a first-hand account, the beauty of the gardens of the Favara Palace.[42] But easily the most famous work commissioned by Roger II was a description of the limits of the kingdom and contingent parts of the Mediterranean by the Arab-Muslim geographer al-Idrīsī. The work, popularly called the *'Kitāb Ruğğār'* was completed in January 1154, a month before Roger's death, but remained unknown beyond the Arabic-speaking world.

Commissioning work was not a royal pursuit only. Maio, the Amir of Amirs from 1154-1160, submitted a request to Henry Aristippus to translate Diogenes' book on the lives, habits and doctrines of the philosphers from Greek into Latin. Aristippus, was not only William I's tutor, but also his personal

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[38] Berschin, *Greek Letters*, 1988, p226 quoting the translation of Rose, *Verzeichniss*, II/3, 1063.

[39] cf De Simone's 'Splendori e Misteri di Sicilia', 1996, for an Italian translation of Ibn Qalāqis' work the 'Al-Zahr al-Bāsim' and for the patronage of Abū l-Qāsim. Ibn Ẓafar's *Sulwān al-Mutāʿ* was also dedicated to Abū l-Qāsim.

[40] Ibn Jubayr, noted that, 'doctors and astrologers are taken great care of and are greatly desired to the extent that when someone mentions to him that a doctor or an astrologer is passing through the land he orders his detainment and showers him with such funds that he ceases to think of home.' *Riḥla* p226.

[41] Ibn Tifaši was attested at the court of William I, as was the poet and historian Ibn Šaddād. cf Siragusa *Il regno di Guglielmo II* p312.

[42] Amari, *BAS*, Vol. II, p257.

friend and was attested as Archdeacon of Catania from summer 1156. In November 1160 he replaced Maio as head of the administration on the day after his murder.[43] He was involved (it is not always clear how) in a number of translation works but also had a habit of abandoning or deferring works he had started. For example, he quit working on the translation of the *Opuscula* of Gregory of Nazianzenus which had been commissioned by William I as well as Diogenes' *Lives of the Philosophers* in order to concentrate his efforts on the considerably shorter work of Plato's *Meno.*[44] In 1158 Aristippus returned from a diplomatic mission to Byzantium with a copy of Ptolemy's *Megiste Syntaxis* as a gift from Emperor Manuel II to William I, but sought the help of another senior minister, Eugenius, to translate it. Eugenius 'tou kalou', who was also known in Arabic as Abū l-Ṭayyib is described in the introduction to the *Almagest* as being as expert at Greek as Arabic, and not unfamiliar with Latin either- *tam grece quam arabice linguae peritissimum, latine quoque non ignarum.*[45] An accompanying letter to a Latin translation of Plato's *Phaedo* overseen by Aristippus in 1156, speaks of William I, 'whose court is a school'.[46] While this odd comment probably alludes to Plato's Academy, the idea that the palace contained a school may also express a literal truth. Falcandus refers specifically to a schoolroom in the palace, if not actually a school. He relates how prisoners broke free from the palace dungeons and carried themselves off towards the palace's lower entrance in order to find the King's sons in the school. However, Walter, their tutor had already taken them off to the bell-tower.[47] But if the palace did contain a school, it is not known who attended or what academic activities took place there.

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[43] Falcandus p44.

[44] Kordeuter and Labowsky, *Plato latinus*, II: *Meno*, p6.

[45] Mineo-Paluello, *Phaedo*, p90.

[46] *cuius curia scola,* Minio-Paluello, *Phaedo interprete Henrico Aristippo*, p90. Of his commissions Aristippus states, 'by order of my Lord William, the glorious king of the Two Sicilies, I was working on the translation of the *Opuscula* of Gregory of Nazianzenus....and in addition I was preparing to translate into Latin, at the request of Maio, admiral of the Sicilian fleet, and Hugh, archbishop of Palermo, Diogenes' book on the lives, habits and doctrines of the philosophers.' Kordeuter and Labowsky, *Plato latinus*, II: *Meno*, p6.

[47] Falcandus p85. *'ad inferiorem ingressum palatii se transtulerunt...ut ibidem in scolis regis filios invenirent, quos eorum preceptor Gualterius, Cephaludensis archidiaconus, in campanarium...asportarat.'* Oddly, Kehr, *Urkunden*, p89 denies the existence of a school, whereas Enzensberger, *Il documento regio*, states that, 'non disponiamo purtroppo di indicazioni più precise,' p118 n73.

In contrast to the translation of administrative documents, the translation of cultural and academic works was almost always a one-way process; from Greek into Latin; from Arabic into Latin, or from Arabic to Greek and then into Latin. Important works did not tend to be translated against the flow of Latinisation into Greek or Arabic, although they were sometimes originally commissioned in those languages. Several such contemporary titles were never translated, perhaps in part because of the tendency to concentrate on ancient works. For example, al-Idrīsī's Arabic 'Book of Roger' and Nilus Doxopatris' politically sensitive work in Greek, the 'History of the Five Patriarchs', were both commissioned by Roger II but never made it into Latin. Once the transition into Latin had been established via translation, there remained little interest to review the original texts. The target language into which the translations were made (Latin) therefore held the status of prestige language, while the object languages (Arabic and Greek) were pirated and jettisoned. This doubtless contributed to the long-term trend towards the cultural and linguistic ascendancy of Latin over Arabic and Greek. But while Latin culture on the island flourished almost *ex nihilo* during the Norman period, there can be little doubt that the cultural elite of Arabic-speaking Sicily were depleted and demoralised, in spite of some royal patronage. The grammarian Ibn al-Qaṭṭāᶜ cited 170 Sicilian poets in the eleventh century, before he left the island for Egypt where he became tutor to, amongst others, Ibn Barrī and the sons of the Fāṭimid *wazīr* al-ᵓAfḍal bin Badr.[48] By contrast, relatively very few Sicilian poets can be cited from the twelfth.[49] While it would be unsafe to infer too much about the language of the sponsors from such conspicuous patronage of major works, it might also be noted that no work in Arabic is known to have been commissioned by a non-Arabic speaker.

The tendency for Sicilian rulers to be multilingual and speak Arabic seems to have re-emerged in the mid-thirteenth century. Although the central administration and plurilingual court of the Norman *regno* had dissolved quickly after 1190, as had 'French' influence at the expense of 'Italian' and 'German', there was a limited re-animation of court culture under Frederick II.

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[48] The former was a grammar specialist who worked in the Fāṭimid *Dīwān al-Inšāᵓ* and is thought to have died in Cairo in 1121. The latter was instrumental in the establishment of the Egyptian *Dīwān al-taḥqīq* in 1107-8. It is intriguing to imagine that Fāṭimid-Sicilian administrative influence might have been a two-way process.

[49] The anti-Norman poet, Ibn Ḥamdīs is perhaps the most notable. He was born in Syracuse around 1056 but spent most of his life at courts in Seville and Africa and died around 1135.

Contemporary sources record his flair for languages with a suspicious degree of reverence suggesting that such prowess had by then become part of a panegyric topos. When the astrologer Michael Scot donated a copy of his translation of Avicenna's *De Animalibus* to his patron Frederick II, he addressed an elegaic couplet to the king himself. The language of each word in the second line is signalled in the first, thus: *latinum arabicum sclavicum teutonicum arabicum / felix elmelic dober Friderich salemelich!*[50] 'Latin, Arabic, Slavic, German, Arabic / Blessed the glorious King Frederick, peace be upon you!' By implication, it would seem that Scot was quoting four languages known by Frederick. However, a fourteenth-century source, Giovanni Villani, gives an even more impressive account noting that the same king knew half-a-dozen tongues: *questo Federigo...seppe la lingua latina, e la nostra volgare, tedesco, e francesco, greco e saracinesco.*[51] But if there are doubts about Frederick's linguistic prowess, it is undeniable that Arabic sources recorded that the Norman kings knew Arabic to some extent.

Arabic-speakers among the ruling elite: The Palace Saracens

A significant group of Arabic-speaking staff employed in the royal palace were the so-called 'palace Saracens'.[52] These functionaries performed a variety of tasks and are attested from the early 1130s until the end of the Norman period. Many were employed as ancillary staff, while others were trained for managing the fiscal administration and even for military command. A great deal of mystery still surrounds these characters. It would seem that they were mainly drawn from Norman North Africa, although some are thought to have come from Sicily.[53] Some, if not all, may have received an education within the palace complex and all appear to have been eunuchs who had been converted to Christianity, with most of the higher ranking ones adopting Latin names.[54]

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[50] M-T D'Alverny, *L'Explicit du 'De Animalibus' d'Avicanne traduit par Michel Scot,* 1957, pp32-43.

[51] *Chronica di Giovanni Villani,* ed. F. Gherardi, Book VI, Ch1, Firenze, 1845. Presumably Villani's vernacular was a Florentine dialect.

[52] Falcandus refers to them generically as either *eunuchi* or *saraceni palatii.*

[53] George of Antioch may have brought the first retinue of pre-pubescent Saracen youths from the expedition against Mahdiyya 1123 to be converted into the palace eunuchs. By contrast, Robert of Calatabaino c.1162-1168 seems to have been a native of Sicily. He was accused of various crimes including the restoration of an ancient Muslim shrine in Sicily. He eventually died under interrogation in prison. Falcandus, pp85-6 and pp115-7.

[54] Philip of Mahdiyya is described in a marginal note to Romauld of Salermo's *Chronicon* (p18) as having been *a puero enutrieram ut catholicum;* cf the same author on Matthew of Salerno, not a eunuch, but also described as *in aula regia a puero enutritus* (p33). The many passing references in

However, it was an open secret that they continued to practise Islam and retained their political contacts and influence with Muslim communities.[55] This state of affairs was, by and large, allowed to continue with complicity at the highest levels. The top eunuchs were thus important political power brokers at court and essential to the smooth running of the administration and their position was predictably precarious.

The first, and perhaps most spectacular, attested demise of a palace Saracen was that of Philip of Mahdiyya who, in 1153, was burned alive either for apostasy or for unwarranted leniency towards the Muslim community of Būna whom he had defeated as admiral of the fleet.[56] In 1161 the palace complex was sacked, an attack in which many (presumably lower-order) eunuchs were killed.[57] The general massacre of Muslims in Palermo that ensued unveiled Muslim vulnerability but was avenged in part by the eunuch Qā'id Martin, who put many Christians on trial while William I was on the mainland putting down the rebels.[58] In 1163 the eunuch Ǧawhār was forced to drown having allegedly stolen the royal seals.[59] Perhaps the best-known palace Saracen was Qā'id Peter also known as Barūn and later attested as 'Aḥmad al-Ṣiqillī. From a language point of view he is noteworthy as he came from the island of Djerba and was from the Berber Sadġiyyān tribe, which according to Ibn Khaldūn were distrusted by the Arabs because they were Kharijites and spoke only Berber.[60] At least in his case, it is highly likely that he knew Arabic too, as he was involved in the production of Arabic documents from the *Dīwān al-taḥqīq al-maʿmūr* and later worked for the Almohads in North Africa.[61] He had a close

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different Latin and Arabic sources clearly suggest that the palace Saracens were castrated. For their political and administrative roles see Johns, *Duana Regia* (forthcoming).

[55] For alleged political dealings between the eunuchs and the Almohads over the African revolt, cf Falcandus p27 *'nam se [the Almohad King] litteras eunuchorum palatii nuperrime recepisse, quibus rei veritatem plenedidicerat.'* For their ambivalent religious status, also see Chapter Six on the conversion question.

[56] A long marginal note in Romauld (pp17-18) favours apostasy while Ibn Khaldūn, following Ibn al-Athīr claim it was due to their lenient treatment of the Muslim elite of Būna. Ibn al-Athīr Vol XI, p187.

[57] Falcandus p56, *eunuchorum vero quotquot inveniri potuerunt nullus evasit.*

[58] Falcandus p80. In 1161 Martin was attested as *Ṣāḥib dīwān al-taḥqīq al-maʿmūr* cf Cusa p622.

[59] Falcandus p77, *'quem [gaytum Iohar eunuchum] rex impositum lintri, deduci iussit in pelagus ibique submergi.'*

[60] Ibn Khaldūn in Amari's *BAS* pp 187 and 202. For the identification of Peter see also Johns, Jeremy. *The Muslims of Norman Sicily, c1060-c1194*, D.Phil. thesis, University of Oxford. *(unpublished).* 1983, pp99-100.

[61] Cf Johns and Metcalfe *BSOAS* 62/2, p231 n.24.

relationship with the Spanish Queen Margaret and also was put in charge of the fleet. Like Philip before him, his political weakness was exposed when he was outside Palermo and he eventually fled to the Maġrib following an unsuccessful naval assault on Mahdiyya in 1167.[62] That he finished his career in the service of the Almohads suggests that he had not forgotten his Arabic while at court in Sicily. A notable survivor among the palace Saracens was Qāʾid Richard (c.1166-1187) who witnessed a bilingual Latin-Arabic chancery document in Arabic and whose career we will examine shortly.[63]

There is precious little that directly relates to the language(s) of the palace Saracens and most of the evidence to be gleaned from their ethnic origins is circumstantial, but fits intuitively well with what we might have expected of them. That is to say, that they were from Arabic-speaking, Muslim backgrounds. But quite how the palace Saracens communicated around the palace with the non-Arabic members at court, such as some of the *familiares regis,* remains a mystery. As some were educated specifically to work in the Arabic *dīwān*, they may have been taught either Greek or Latin. Collaboration on bilingual documents suggests that at least some Arabic-speaking notaries may have known either Greek or Latin. For instance, the scribe Yūsuf is specifically stated to have worked on the translation of a boundary document from Arabic into Latin around 1182, however, the naming of individual scribes in such cases is rare.[64] How widespread this linguistic knowledge might have been is impossible to gauge. We can only surmise that palace Saracens such as Qāʾids Richard and Peter who served as *familiares regis* alongside colleagues from predominantly Latin and French backgrounds, must have been able to communicate in at least one of these languages or related dialects.[65] One solution to communication problems at court would have been the use of interpreters. The chief and fatal objection to this is that their existence is not

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[62] According to Falcandus p25-6 Peter's duplicity was the cause of the failure, although Arabic sources are more lenient. Al-Tiğani records that high winds separated the Sicilian fleet, cf Amari, *BAS* II p79-80.

[63] cf Cusa p85.

[64] Cusa p202 (Latin) and p244 (Arabic).

[65] Qāʾid Peter was a *familiaris* in 1162 with Richard Palmer (French and Latin) and the notary Matthew (Latin, Greek and Arabic, see below). Qāʾid Richard is named as being among the coalition of *familiares* in 1168. Of these, half were high-ranking clerics from the Latin church (Walter of Palermo, Gentile of Agrigento, John of Malta, Romauld of Salerno and Richard Palmer) with only a couple from the Norman nobility (Richard of Molise and Roger of Geraci). These were joined by the notary Matthew and, for a time, the Spaniard Rodrigo.

attested nor even alluded to and it remains quite unclear how different parties could have communicated around the palaces.

The Mustaxlaf *in the royal palace*

Certainly no interpreters were required when the Spanish Arab traveller Ibn Jubayr had a brief, but curious encounter with a *mustaxlaf* or 'deputy official'[66] in Palermo, to whom he, and at least one other companion, had been taken for questioning about his intentions and information. What happened is translated in full: 'then the *mustaxlaf* came out to us proceeding slowly between two servants on either side of him who lifted his flowing trail. We looked on an old man with a long white moustache- a man of splendour. Next he asked us about our purpose and about our country in fluent Arabic *(bi-kalām arabī layyin)*. We told him; he showed us sympathy and bid us leave having kindly wished us farewell. We were struck by his concerns; his first question to us had been about news of great Constantinople and what we knew of it, but we had nothing which we could tell him.'[67]

The meeting is intriguing because of the specific language reference it contains and the mystery that surrounds the identity of the high-ranking, Arabic-speaking official. The *mustaxlaf* clearly knew Arabic well and may indeed have been a native speaker. Evidently he was an old man in 1184, and he was also sufficiently senior to be concerned with matters of foreign affairs and almost certainly knew of the Sicilian attack on Constantinople planned for the following year. The most obvious Arabic-speaking candidate at that time would have been Qā'id Richard who was in the final years of a long stay in high office as one of the royal *familares,*[68] the *magister palacii*[69] and/or *magister regie duane de secretis.*[70] As one of the palace Saracens, we might infer that Richard was a eunuch, which is supported by an implication in Falcandus: *'gaytus quoque Richardus illi cum ceteris eunuchis infestissimus*

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[66] The precise meaning of the term is not clear and it is a highly uncommon word, but the general sense would indicate a meaning of 'deputising official.' Cf Lane p795.

[67] Ibn Jubayr p229.

[68] He rose to prominance as a *familiaris* under William II after Qā'id Peter had absconded in 1167 where he remained until the re-newal of the triumvirates in October 1170. For a tabulated version of the comings and goings of the *familiares* see Takayama p120-121.

[69] First attsted as Master Chamberlain of the royal palace in 1166, cf Takayama p219.

[70] First attested as in 1183. Takayama p219.

erat'.[71] We might also have expected him to fit the bill as a native Arabic speaker. However, the *mustaxlaf* Ibn Jubayr met had 'a long white moustache' which would seem intuitively incompatible with the effects of castration, although it is apparently not impossible depending on what age the operation is performed.

The other main candidate is Matthew of Salerno, also known as Matthew of Ajello, Matthew the notary and, possibly as Qāʾid Māṯāw.[72] In spite of the appellation 'Salerno' he was raised for office *in aula regia a puero enutritus*[73] and, in spite of his implication in his murder, he was groomed for office under Maio's direction.[74] Falcandus holds a predictably dismal view of Matthew but denies neither his ability nor his intelligence. On the contrary, he twice claimed that Matthew was the cleverest (or perhaps the most devious?) at court- *'ceteris omnibus astutia preminebat'*.[75] His astuteness is also supported by Romauld of Salerno who favourably referred to him as a *homo sapiens et discretus*.[76] In 1161 he replaced Aristippus as a *familiaris* after the baronial revolt and political shake-up that followed Maio's assassination.[77] During Margaret's regency he partnered Richard Palmer as a *familiaris* under the direction of Qāʾid Peter from May 1166 till the ascendancy of Stephen of Perche towards the end of that same year. After the defeat of the French factions, Matthew served almost continuously as a *familiaris* and/or as vice-chancellor from spring 1168 until December 1188 before assuming the position of chancellor from 1190-93.[78] His family also involved itself

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[71] Falcandus p119. 'Qāʾid Richard, along with the other eunuchs, was also most hostile to him [i.e. Stefan du Perche].' Falcandus never explicitly states that Richard was a eunuch, however his implication here is clear enough.

[72] Referred to as such in 1161 cf Cusa 622-4. Matthew's experience as a notary can be tentatively traced as far back as the Treaty of Benevento in 1156 which he helped to draw up cf Loud and Wiedermann, p251.

[73] Romauld, p33, who he also notes that Matthew was a *civis Salerni*. Falcandus, p81, confirms that Matthew was *ipse Salernitanus*. On his palace up-bringing, Romauld usually referred to the palace complex as a *palatio*, and so *aula regia* need not refer to the main royal palace itself.

[74] He is attested as *Magister notarius* from March 1164 and vice-chancellor from 1169. He was described by Falcandus as being a *familiaris Maionis* who had learned to apply Maio's political acumen- *'ad Maionis artes confugiens..rumores dispergit in populo'* having been *'in curia diutissime notarius extitisset, Maionisque semper adhesisset'*. Siragusa, pp28, 101 and 69.

[75] Falcuandus uses the same phrase twice cf pp101 and 145.

[76] Romauld p33.

[77] Siragusa p83.

[78] Falcandus, Siragusa p88, *'electum quoque Siracusanum, gaytum petrum, Matheum notarium, quos ipse sibi familiares elegerat'*. Matthew died in July 1193, Enzensberger, 1967, pp54-7.

successfully in the politico-religious scene of southern Italy over the same period.[79] We have little direct evidence relating to Matthew's languages, however his administrative, and by implication, his varied linguistic skills, were particularly in demand. Falcandus records the immediate administrative problems in the wake of the palace ransack. 'However, since neither the differences of lands and fiefs, nor the ways and institutions at court, nor the customs' books, which they call 'the *defetars*' were known to them [i.e. the other *familiares;* Richard Palmer, Count Silvester and Henry Aristippus] and could not be found after the capture of the palace, the king was happy (and it was seen as necessary), to bring Matthew the notary from prison and recall him to his old position...as he was thought able to compile new registers *[defetarii]* containing the same things as the previous ones.' [80] There can be little doubt from Falcandus' description that the registers were the fiscal registers of lands and men kept in by the Arabic *dīwān* in Arabic and Greek. To assess how damaged or incomplete these registers were, let alone to re-draft them, was a task for which knowledge of Arabic, Greek and Latin was a *sine qua non,* such that we might infer that Matthew was trilingual. By comparison, it is unlikely that any of the three *familiares* of the day knew Arabic. The apparent lack of other suitable candidates capable of performing such a multilingual task is also notable. By 1184 when Ibn Jubayr visited the palace, Matthew had risen to serve as vice-chancellor and must have been, at the very least, 50 years old. Although the evidence is ultimately insufficient to conclude the identity of the *mustaxlaf,* Matthew seems to fulfil the necessary requirements. However, non-native Arabic-speaking senior administrative officers in the palace were not common and George of Antioch, Eugene the Amir and Matthew of Salerno are the only three attested. Although few in number, their respective careers spanned the majority of the Norman period and they seem to have reflected a minor but steady demand for such valued skills. By contrast, the bulk of tasks requiring knowledge of Arabic seem to

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[79] For notes on Matthew's family see Loud and Wiedeman, pp81 and 217. His son Nicholas is attested as archbishop of Salerno (1182-1221) cf also Donald Matthew p218; another son became the Count of Ajello under Tancred; a brother of his was the abbot of the monastery of the Holy Trinity, Venosa (1157/9-67) cf also Houben pp158-9; another was Bishop of Catania (1168-9).

[80] Falcandus p69. *'cum autem eis terrarum feudorumque distinctiones, ususque et instituta curie prorsus essent incognita, neque libri consuetudinum, quos defetarios appellant, potuissent post captum palatium inveniri, placuit regi, visumque est necessarium, ut Matheum notarium eductum de carcere in pristinum officium revocaret...ut ad componendum novos defetarios, eadem prioribus continentes putaretur sufficere.'*

have been performed by the palace eunuchs. The most important of these were in the offices of the *dīwān*, however, there were many other permanent staff who were employed in lower-level vocations around the palace complexes.

Arabic-speaking ancillary staff in the royal palaces

One of those Ibn Jubayr met during his trip through Sicily was a certain ᶜAbd l-Masīḥ who is described as being one of the leading servants of the palace in Messina.[81] Part of the meeting took place in private and ᶜAbd l-Masīḥ was keen that no other servants should overhear their discussion, which revolved around news of Mecca and how Ibn Jubayr might regale him with some expensive souvenir bought from the holy city- which he obligingly did. Nothing else is known of this ᶜAbd l-Masīḥ outside this encounter. Besides the religious implications of this meeting, there are important language considerations too. Since Ibn Jubayr was an Arabic-speaker and the meeting took place in strict private, we can infer that ᶜAbd l-Masīḥ was also Arabic-speaking. Furthermore, the conversation they held would appear to have been in Arabic too. However, we can infer more than this alone. As ᶜAbd l-Masīḥ had dismissed the other servants in attendance because he did not want them to overhear this conversation, we can equally infer that these servants must have been able to understand Arabic in order to have posed a threat to their privacy. Thus, it would appear that at least some of the minor staff in the palace were Arabic-speakers. Given that the palace was located in Messina, a predominantly Greek and 'Latin' town with hardly any Arab-Muslim population, it shows the extent to which this royal retreat was culturally and linguistically incongruous with its surrounding environment.[82] This conclusion is supported by evidence from another servant Ibn Jubayr encountered in the Messina palace, Yaḥya bin Fityān al-Ṭarrāz. He (almost) correctly cited William's *ᶜalāma,* which suggests that his evidence was generally reliable. Rather more counter-intuitively he proceeded to state how the Frankish Christian women *(al-ifranǧiyya min al-naṣrāniyyāt)* of the palace had been converted to Islam by Muslim girls there.[83] It was this same source who related how William's religious tolerance extended to allowing freedom of worship during an earthquake and how the king could

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[81] Ibn Jubayr p226.

[82] Ibn Jubayr p224 describes Messina as 'a Christian trading centre....no Muslims have settled there.'

[83] Ibn Jubayr, p226.

read and write in Arabic.[84] The impression we receive is that the palace complex at Messina abounded in Arab-Muslim culture. Indeed, Ibn Jubayr precedes his description of the palace at Messina with a list of Islamic influences at court, including a Muslim head chef, a retinue of black Muslim slaves (from the Sudan?) and servants in fine clothing mounted on horses.[85] This last description is reminiscent of Alexander of Telese's description of the palace staff in Palermo at Roger II's coronation:[86] 'A vast number of horses also accompanied him [Roger II], advancing in order in either side, with saddles and reins adorned with gold or silver...there was not a servant there whose clothes were not decked with silk, to the extent that even the waiters were covered with silk tunics...' As Sicily was renowned for its silk industry, it is perhaps not surprising to find the palace staff dressed in silk. Indeed, these garments may even have been made within the royal palaces. The servant in Messina whom Ibn Jubayr met was himself an embroiderer and it is known that the Norman palace(s) had its own *ṭirāz*, or silk workshop[87] in the way of many Arab-Islamic courts since Umayyad times.

As Ibn Jubayr was leaving the palace in Palermo he had a brief and rather one-sided conversion with the guards at the palace gate.[88] He states that, 'one of the oddest and most charming things we saw was that one of the Christians who was sitting at the Palace gate said to us as we were leaving the aforementioned Palace, '[Muslim] pilgrims! Keep your things away from the Excise Officers *(al-ʿummāl al-mumsikūn)* in case they run into you!' He thought

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[84] Ibn Jubayr, p226, 'one of the amazing things said of him is that he [William II] reads and writes in Arabic'.

[85] Ibn Jubayr p225; 'William puts a lot of trust in his Muslims, relying on them in his important business matters to the extent that even the head chef is a Muslim. He also has a unit of black Muslim slaves whose commander is picked from among them. His servants are the ministers and equerries of whom a large group form his civil servants and are described as his elite who radiate the splendour of his kingdom with their magnificent clothes and horses, each having an entourage of servants and followers.'

[86] Alexander Telese, Book II Ch. 5-6, p26 (in De Nava) *'Immensus etiam equorum numerus ex parte altera ordinate procedens, sellis frenisque aureis vel argenteis decoratus, secum comitabantur...Servitor ibi nullus nisi quem serica tegeret vestis; adeo ut ipsi etiam parobsidum reportitores sericis operirentur indumentis...'*

[87] As stated in Arabic on Roger II's coronation mantle, now housed in Kunsthistorische Museum in Vienna.

[88] There seems to have been a permanent guard here, under the command of the palace castellan. In the late 1160s, palace security was in the charge of Ansaldus *(regii palatii castellanus)* who had an office on the gate and was a close advisor to Stefan du Perche, cf Falcandus pp85, 113 and 155-6.

we had goods that required customs duty. Then another of the Christians replied to him saying, 'What a strange thing to say!'[89] This exchange is remarkable for two reasons. First, Ibn Jubayr assumes that these guards are Christians, in spite of having been told that the staff were really Muslims. Secondly, they, like the others he had already met within the palaces, seem to have been speaking in Arabic. The tentative conclusion that presents itself from this evidence is that many, if not all, of the minor palace personnel may have been Arabic-speakers, but that they represented all shades of religious persuasion.

Non-Arabic speakers

If the examples of kings, administrative staff and ministers give the impression that bi- or trilingualism was standard in the royal palaces, then we might note that there were many others in key positions of power whose language knowledge was rather more restricted and who most probably were *not* Arabic-speakers.

Indeed, if Falcandus were our only source for the Norman palaces, then there would be no reason to believe that anything but some type of French or Latin was ever spoken there. In an explicit language reference, the Spanish knight Rodrigo when prompted to take over the chancellor's position, replied that 'he was ignorant of the language of the Franks, which was of the highest necessity in court.'[90] This certainly implies that some dialect of French or perhaps Latin predominated at court around that time. However, from 1166-68 the Sicilian court was dominated by a Frankish contingent who had arrived with Stephen of Perche who had subsequently assumed the position of chancellor and who, like Rodrigo, was a relative of the regent Margaret. Thus, while Falcandus' remark may be true for the *familiares regis* of that period, as we have seen, it could not have been representative of the wider language situation in the palace over the entire period of the *regno*.

Evidence for Arabic-speakers among the 'Latins' of the ruling elite is scarce and sometimes confusing. For example, if we were to be impressed that the Norman baron William Malcovenant wrote his name in Arabic, we should also

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[89] Ibn Jubayr pp229-230.

[90] Falcandus p127, *'ille Francorum se linguam ignorare, que maxime necessaria esset in curia respondebat.'*

note that his signature ran shakily from left to right, not right to left as Arabic is usually written.[91] Also debatable is the chief minister Maio's Latin signature that confirmed an Arabic-only diploma and that contained an administrative oversight made by the scribe. However, that the error was not noticed by Maio does not necessarily imply that he did not know Arabic.[92] Nor, for that matter, does the act of signing an Arabic document strongly imply that he knew Arabic either. Rather, in this case, his oversight suggests that he had simply not checked the text of the deed against the terms of the donation.[93] These examples also beg the question of what it is to know a language. When we are indirectly told that William II reads and writes Arabic, we can only guess at how accomplished he actually was. Indeed, the question of language competence among the chancery scribes who wrote Arabic decrees and registers and the Greek and Latin scribes who were employed to translate them forms an important part of the debate in the following chapters.

As for the attested presence of Arabic-speakers around the royal palaces, evidence drawn from a number of sources suggests that the Norman kings, the palace Saracens, many chancery scribes and perhaps all the minor ancillary staff seem to have been Arabic-speaking throughout the *regno* period. However, the palace and administration was also characterised by plurilingualism as there were also many Greek-speaking and Latin scribes of all ranks besides the *familiares regis* with their variety of Gallo- and Italo-Romance dialects. Levels of bilingualism are more difficult to assess, but there is more evidence for Arabic or Greek-speakers who knew other languages than for 'Latins' who knew Arabic or Greek. Finally, attested examples of trilinguals among the ruling elite are rare, but notably centre on the more senior administrative figures and the kings themselves.

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[91] Cf Johns, *Duana Regia* (forthcoming).

[92] The conclusion drawn by Donald Matthew in *The Norman Kingdom of Sicily*, 1992, p220.

[93] Johns and Metcalfe, *BSOAS* 62/2, 1999, p242 and passim.

CHAPTER TWO:

De saracenico in latinum transferri: the boundary register tradition and the estates of Monreale

Introduction and aims

In August 1176 a vast grant of 50 estates from the royal Norman demesne held in western Sicily was made to the newly-founded church of S. Maria Nuova in Monreale, 10km to the south of Palermo. Six years later a translation from Arabic to Latin of these estates' boundaries was completed. The Arabic copy and Latin translation are explicitly said to have been made from the chancery's administrative records that were kept in Arabic. These in-house records had apparently been destroyed when the royal palace was ransacked in 1161, after which they were re-compiled.[1] However, not only can some of these be shown to have survived, but the existence of other records from pre-1161 can also be inferred.

This chapter combines the debates that surround the composition, historical importance and language of the Monreale boundary registers. It is argued that the relationship between the highly stylised diction of the Arabic registers and the oral testimony of those who related the data at an inquest is likely to have been obfuscated by the very recording processes of the administrative tradition. For this reason it is difficult to assess the extent to which modes of expression and items of vocabulary found in such documents might genuinely have reflected elements of vernacular twelfth-century Sicilian Arabic speech. Nonetheless, a detailed analysis shows that certain distinctive stylistic traits give an objective hallmark to particular sets of boundaries. This can help to establish the complex genealogy of different boundary registers as the composition dates of some registers can be inferred from the known dates of others.

It will be argued that the need to produce accurately translated Greek and Latin versions from the Arabic chancery records gave rise to an interchangeable vocabulary ideally suited to the strictly stylised genre of boundary registers and one which could be used across all three administrative

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[1] Falcandus, *Historia*, p69.

languages. These trilingual formulae were established at an early stage and can be shown to have remained relatively unaltered throughout the Norman period until the first quarter of the thirteenth century. It will also be suggested that it was through extensive use of this highly artificial and often contrived genre that some, if not many, terms were transmitted into later dialects as the original diplomas came to be translated into Latin or Sicilian dialect from the thirteenth to the eighteenth centuries. The type, status and function of these forms are discussed and evaluated in detail. A Latin index of toponyms and translated expressions can be found in Appendix 1. The whole bilingual text is reproduced, although not always reliably, in Cusa's *Diplomi Greci ed Arabi* pp174-244 and more recently, though no less inaccurately in a work by Giocchino Nania.[2]

Defining the royal demesne: Arabic-speakers and Arabic boundary registers

By the late 1140s, if not earlier, the royal Norman *dīwān* was keeping information about grants of lands with records of their boundaries in ledgers that were known as *'dafātir'* in Arabic. The word ultimately comes from the ancient Greek *διφθέρα* meaning a piece of vellum, although the Greek is not attested in Sicily during the Norman period. On the other hand, the Arabic equivalent *daftar*[3] (singular) or *dafātir* (plural) was commonly used and seems to be the source from which the Latin loans *defetarii*[4] or *deptarii*[5] were derived. The *daftars* themselves had a short but colourful history. The earliest appearance of the term occurs somewhat late in April 1149 in the same document that first mentions the *Dīwān al-taḥqīq al-maʿmūr,* whose principal responsibility was to upkeep of *daftars* and to issue boundary registers *(ǧarāʾid al-ḥudūd)* to landlords.[6] However, in 1161, parts of the royal palace in Palermo

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[2] Nania, Giocchino. 1995. *Toponomastica e topographia storica nelle valli del Belice e dello Jato.* Palermo.

[3] cf Monreale 1182, line 154.

[4] Falcandus XXI, p69, ed. Siracusa, *'libri consuetudinum quos defetarios appellant.'*

[5] cf Boundary document of Monreale 1182, line 212 *'Has autem predictas divisas a deptariis nostris de saracenico in latinum transferri, ipsum que saracenicum, secundum quod in eisdem deptariis continetur'.* But occurrences in the Latin are rare relative to the abundant references in Arabic.

[6] Johns and Metcalfe, *'The Mystery at Chúrchuro- conspiracy or incompetence in twelfth-century century Sicily'* in BSOAS 62/2, 1999. Also cf Cusa p30. In this same document the term *'daftar'* occurs exceptionally in the singular, but in all other subsequent cases it is found in the plural. It is not clear whether the *Dīwān al-taḥqīq al-maʿmūr* had only a single *daftar* in April 1149 because it is also

were ransacked and burned following the murder of the chancellor Maio. Afterwards, the *daftars* could not be found and, as we saw in chapter one, the notary Matthew was entrusted with the task of re-compiling a new set.[7] We might therefore have expected all extant boundary registers to be based on versions found in the post-1161 *daftars*. But, as we shall see, at least some can be shown to pre-date this, suggesting that not all of the original *daftars* could have been destroyed in the riots. Although no *daftars* exist today, we do have several boundary registers that are known to have been based on the *daftar* records. These registers had been copied from the *daftars* before being issued, often with an accompanying translation in Greek or Latin. They served to confirm to landlords and churches territory that had been allotted to them as a reward after the initial conquest, or later as a royal favour. For their part, the Norman administration was keen to define the royal demesne as well as to limit the possessions and rights of barons or land-owning institutions and many registers also included a list of villeins assigned to the feudatory's land. The *daftars* were therefore an invaluable administrative tool and extant *ǧarā'id al-ḥudūd* copied from them are the most common documentary source in Arabic for Norman Sicily.

Whenever boundary inquests or disputes arose, these could usually be resolved by an examination of the relevant registers. However, in practice many cases were settled by reference to the testimony of trusted village elders *(boni homines, gerontoi* or *šuyūx)* who re-traced the actual confines for the inquiry. Even as late as 1182 the differing testimonies of the sheikhs of Iato and Al-Ablāṭ were written into a defining concession[8] and it is clear that many estates must still have been uncharted by the end of the Norman period. Indeed, it is quite possible that oral testimony from village elders was largely responsible for keeping the land boundary infrastructure in place by the self-supporting tensions such a social web may have created and sustained. Information recorded in the *daftars* shows the extent to which the administration had drawn on local knowledge from the indigenous population and the well-defined procedures involved in obtaining a boundary definition were often included as part of the register. For example, in 1149, 'the *Dīwān al-taḥqīq al-*

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presumed that the administration must have been kept some sort of boundary records prior to this date.

[7] Falcandus p69.

[8] Cusa p212.

maʿmūr ordered Abū l-Ṭayyib son of Sheikh Iṣṭ.fān, the administrative official of Iato, to go out personally and, accompanied by the trusted Christian and Muslim elders, to define for them [i.e. the new landlords] the *dīwān* lands in the region of Iato....[9]

Whenever Christian and Muslims were mentioned together, it was always the Christians who were named first. If this practice reflected priority given to their evidence, then it would have conferred a prestige status to this religious minority and presumably introduced a change of routine from the Islamic period. We might add at this juncture that, due to the lack of evidence, very little can be inferred about the extent to which the Norman fiscal structure or land distribution system was indebted to the practices of Islamic Sicily. Nonetheless, the majority of boundaries in the Norman period still seem to have been defined *secundum antiquas divisiones Sarracenorum,*[10] and in many areas information for these boundaries was gathered from *boni homines* with Arabic names and copied into the *dīwān's* own *daftars* in Arabic. We might also note a generally discernible relationship between document distribution and area such that the majority of extant *dīwānī* deeds in Arabic deal with lands west of the River Salso- widely accepted to have been 'the zone of densest Arab settlement.'[11] To this extent at least, Norman land registry practices had their roots in an Arabic-speaking tradition and these observations may account for the frequent use of Arabic in confirmations subsequently issued by the *Dīwān al-taḥqīq al-maʿmūr.*[12]

It is undeniable that there was a developed tradition of translating registers between languages, but the practical considerations surrounding the gathering and recording of such information cannot always be reconciled with the language choice of finalised registers. While the *daftars* may have been in Arabic, the languages in which royal confirmations were eventually issued

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[9] Johns and Metcalfe, op. cit. and also Cusa p35. There are many other references to these definition procedures. For example, Cusa p516 (1133) and Cusa p212 (1182).

[10] Pirro I p384, although the document is a twelfth-century forgery.

[11] 32 Arabic deeds relate to areas west of the Salso whereas 10 are to the east cf Johns *Duana Regia* p233. The River Salso may also have played the role of an administrative division in the Islamic period although this too is difficult to establish. cf Matthew, *The Norman Kingdom of Sicily,* pp229-230.

[12] According to Vera von Falkenhausen, 'Studi Medievali' Vol XXI, p263, language choice in such documents was made according to a 'utilità tecnico-amministrativa'.

varied. Some were composed only in Arabic,[13] but the majority of boundary registers from the 1140s were bilingual (Arabic-Greek) until 1182 when the extensive Monreale boundaries were recorded in Arabic with a Latin translation. However, if the language(s) in which royal *dīwānī* registers were eventually issued actually concurred with that of the recipient, then this was largely coincidental. The *dīwān* had seemingly few reservations about dispatching registers in Arabic or Arabic and Greek to beneficiaries who were unlikely to have been able to read either language.[14] Occasionally, this did create administrative problems, but greater emphasis was given to cosmetic concerns than to the production of user-friendly registers. Doubtless the elegant calligraphic script of the Arabic served to impress as well as to inform.[15]

From a linguistic point of view, the connection between the locals' oral testimony, the in-house written records from the *dīwān* and the end product plus translation, is by no means straightforward. In theory, the testimony of locals was recorded directly into the *daftars.* These in-house draft versions in Arabic were then copied verbatim into a finalised boundary register *(ǧarīda-* plural- *ǧarāʾid al-ḥudūd)*, often with a translation. This could then be issued to confirm a concession to a landlord. But even at first glance, it is evident that the *ǧarāʾid al-ḥudūd* tended to use the same particular modes of expression and choice of stylised vocabulary. Of course, there are only a limited number of ways any set of boundaries could ever be written, but the proximity of styles across all three administrative languages bears witness to the existence of an evolved boundary document genre.[16] Given this observation, it is highly probable that the administrative data-gathering and recording procedures altered the actual oral testimony of the Arabic-speakers' who had given it at boundary inquests. This affects the status of items of vocabulary that appear to be elements of vernacular speech and the issue of how we might understand

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[13] Triocalà and Chúrchuro.

[14] For example, in 1145 the Latin Norman baron Walter Forestal received a confimation in Arabic and Greek. The Greek monks of S. Nicolò lo Gúrguro (Chúrchuro) received two boundary documents (1149 and 1154) written only in Arabic. For the problems this caused see Johns and Metcalfe BSOAS 62/2, 1999.

[15] Cf H. Enzensberger, 'Il documento regio come strumento di potere' in *Potere, società e populo nell'età dei due Guglielmi,* Bari, 1981 pp103-138.

[16] Cf Cusa pp516-517 and the debate between Noth *Documenti Arabi,* pp190-191 and Johns *Duana Regia* (forthcoming) over whether the Greek was translated from the Arabic or vice-versa shows how indiscernibly close the languages could be.

the complex transmission of such terms will be investigated in full. To date, no detailed investigation of these relationships has been made and part of the following examination of the boundaries of Monreale aims to improve on this situation.[17]

The distinctive language of boundary registers

At first appearance, it would seem that the long series of boundaries describing the internal estates of Monreale translated from the Arabic into the Latin form two equivalent and seamless texts. This is also the impression given in the rubric of the register itself. The Arabic scribe Yūsuf states that 'the boundaries were written in Latin by the hand of the Latin scribe Alexander and in Arabic by the hand of the scribe Yūsuf at the *Dīwān al-taḥqīq al-maʿmūr* (line 266 Arabic). This sentiment is echoed by his senior Latin counterpart, the notarius Alexander, and both men explicitly state that the boundaries were taken from the *dafātir* (in the Latin, *deptarii)* or official boundary registers.[18] However, careful scratching beneath the surface of the text reveals a complex structure of compilation that suggests the Arabic of the *daftars* came from several sources at different times.

When duplicate deeds were required, the standard chancery practice was to copy verbatim from an original *daftar* source to produce a new document that could then be dispatched to the recipient of the grant. In some cases different translated versions in Latin exist of the same Arabic original and an assessment of content and style of different copies thus allows us to infer their relationship. However, the difficulty of assessing style, especially where translation is involved, is that it involves a subjective measure of quality in the comparison of the two texts. This problem of accuracy of comparison and stylistic objectivity is partially overcome by an examination of the way in which land deeds were composed. Here, the most striking feature of Arabic, Greek and Latin registers is the way in which certain words were often repeated consecutively. These are subsequently referred to as either 'word pairs' or examples of 'word doubling.' The use of such word pairs is significant

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[17] cf Adalgisa De Simone's pilot study from 1986, 'Su alcune corrispondenze lessicali in diplomi arabo-latini della Sicilia medievale', in *Gli interscambi culturali e socio-economici fra l'africa settentrionale e l'europa mediterranea.* Atti del Congresso Internazionale di Amalfi. (5th- 8th December 1983). Napoli.

[18] Alexander was an experienced scribe and held the position of notarius from 1174 till December 1188. cf. Takayama p214.

because their form, frequency of deployment and choice of vocabulary are distinctive and give a hallmark to each boundary description in which they appear. To some extent this allows them to be used quantitatively and with two beneficial effects. First, we can compare more objectively the style of scribes who wrote the deeds, and secondly it may allow us to say something about the relative dating of documents. Establishing chronology has an obvious historical importance, but also allows linguists to infer the origins and direction of stylistic influence, particularly with respect to the use and diffusion of Arabic loan words.

The origins of the word-doubling genre are somewhat obscure, but we do know that these characterised the earliest Norman Sicilian boundary documents and that these were made in either Greek or Arabic. The earliest royal Greek boundary document in insular Sicily with word pairs dates to 1092;[19] the earliest example from a privately-issued document is from 1100-1; the earliest (royal) pair in Arabic are attested in 1104[20] and the earliest example in Latin dates to 1108, although this was probably a translation itself.[21] These examples show that the genre was already part of an established written boundary document tradition before the use of Latin in such records that copy this style. This distinctive genre which occurs in both royal and private Sicilian deeds also illustrates the extent to which Sicily had developed its own administrative traditions by 1100. Examples of all the word pairs in the Monreale text with their Latin equivalents, meanings and the number of times they occur in the text are given below:

Table 1: Word pair frequencies, equivalents and meanings

Translation (from Arabic)	Total	No. of Times Attested	Latin		Arabic
river/valley	19	18	flumen flumen	<	*al-wādī l-wādī*
		1	riuus riuus	<	*al-wādī l-wādī*
peak	18	16	crista crista	<	*al-ṣulb al-ṣulb*
		1	altera altera	<	*al-ṣulb al-ṣulb*
		1	serra serra	<	*al-ṣulb al-ṣulb*
road	16	16	uia uia	<	*al-ṭarīq al-ṭarīq*

[19] Lynn White pp248-249 and Cusa p387.

[20] Medinaceli S796.

[21] Lynn White p250.

flow	13	4	riuus riuus	<	*al-maǧrā l-maǧrā*
		2	riuulus riuulus	<	*al-maǧrā l-maǧrā*
		3	fluctus fluctus	<	*al-maǧrā l-maǧrā*
		2	cursus cursus	<	*al-maǧrā l-maǧrā*
		1	aquaductus aquaductus	<	*al-maǧrā l-maǧrā*
		1	ductus ductus	<	*al-maǧrā l-maǧrā*
ditch, valley	11	10	uallo uallo	<	*al-xandaq al-xandaq*
		1	terterum terterum	<	*al-xandaq al-xandaq*
peak	5	4	serra serra	<	*al-minšār al-minšār*
		1	crista crista	<	*al-minšār al-minšār*
large hill	3	3	mons mons	<	*al-ǧabal al-ǧabal*
small hill	3	2	terterum terterum	<	*al-ḥārik al-ḥārik*
		1	mons mons	<	*al-ḥārik al-ḥārik*
road, highway	3	2	uia uia	<	*al-maḥaǧǧa l-maḥaǧǧa*
		1	publica publica	<	*al-maḥaǧǧa l-maḥaǧǧa*
peak	2	1	crista crista	<	*al-šaraf al-šaraf*
		1	serra serra	<	*al-šaraf al-šaraf*
water	2	2	aqua aqua	<	*al-mā' al-mā'*
wall	1	1	murus murus	<	*al-ḥā'iṭ al-ḥā'iṭ*
high ground	1	1	gibbus gibbus	<	*al-ḥadab al-ḥadab*
citadel/canes[22]	1	1	casba casba	<	*al-qaṣaba l-qaṣaba*
church	1	1	ecclesia. Et ipsa ecclesia	<	*al-kinīsya l-kinīsya*
al-Quṣārā or 'the farthest extent'	1	1	cassarus. Ipsum uero cassarus	<	*al-quṣārā l-quṣārā*
stopping place[23]	1	1	mandra, & mandra	<	*al-marḥala l-marḥala*
spring	1	1	fontem, & fons	<	*al-ʿayn wa-l-ʿayn*
the Safi estate	1	1	casale safi. et casale safi	<	*Raḥl al-Ṣāfī wa-Raḥl al-Ṣāfī*
foot of a hill	1	1	pedes montis pedes montis	<	*riǧl al-ǧabal riǧl al-ǧabal*

Some initial observations

The data in Table 1 shows that the word-doubling genre was strictly defined and only certain words tend to be paired. Some are repeated many times and all the pairs are nouns with the definite article which usually represent permanent features of the landscape, but not in such a way as to provide an adequate summary of the main boundaries if only they were read. Certain terms *(al-ṣulb, al-ṭarīq, al-wādī* and *al-maǧrā)* are inexplicably preferred over much less frequently occurring items. They are all invariably translated into

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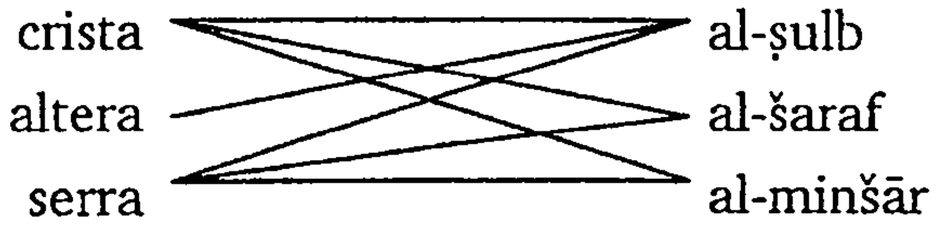
[22] Clearly there is a vast difference in meaning between these alternatives. However, the word seems to be used here to mean 'casba' or 'citadel'.

[23] 'Marḥala' was regularly translated as 'mandra' in Sicilian Latin. See the discussion below.

Latin where they also appear as a pair.[24] Other terms such as *al-mā'*, *al-ǧabal* and *al-šaraf* appear infrequently and, as we shall discover, only in limited parts of the document. There is some unevenness of use within both the Arabic and the Latin with regard to the vocabulary. Some words are used synonymously, although not consistently (see Table 1 and below) For example, the correspondences between the following Arabic and Latin equivalents are all used to mean 'peak':



However, there are some wide variations for other terms. For instance, *al-mağrā* becomes either *riuus, fluctus, riuulus, cursus, ductus* or *aquaductus.* There is also the occasional mistake e.g. it is unlikely that *terterum* could mean both 'a ditch/valley' *and* 'a small hill'. We can see that many terms are only used once, including *al-quṣārā* meaning 'the furthest extent'. Other pairs are split by a conjunction and again, occur very infrequently. We will see in the following discussion how the distribution of these variations coincides with particular boundaries- a useful tool in the analysis of how the whole boundary document was composed. That this genre was an enduring one that outlived the Normans is shown by a stylishly written Arabic-Latin document issued from the *Dīwān al-taḥqīq al-maʿmūr* in 1242.[25] This includes the solitary but significant appearance of الطريق الطريق *(al-ṭarīq al-ṭarīq)*, translated in the standard way as *uia uia.*

A typical example of the semantic and syntactic use of a standard word pair might be given as:

[26] الحد...يرجع غريبا مع الطريق المذكورة الطريق الطريق الى ان يصل الطريق الحاملة...

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[24] It may not be entirely true to say that the Latin scribe (Alexander) translated directly from the Arabic scribe (Yūsuf). Rather, the word pair patterns which occur in the *daftars* were copied verbatim, but independently, by both the scribes. This can be shown by a copying error Yūsuf seems to make at line 48 in the Arabic. There he has written *al-wādī l-ǧārī* which seems to be a mis-copying of *al-wādī l-wādī.* This is confirmed by the Latin which reads *flumen flumen.* If this is so, then it seems to show that the Latin scribe Alexander was copying/translating from a draft version and not from Yūsuf's copy. Thus, elements from the original draft document were transferred into both the copied Arabic and the translated Latin version.

[25] P.Collura, 1960. *Le più antiche carte dell'archivio capitolare di Agrigento (1092-1282),* (Documenti per servire all storia di Sicilia, Series I, XXV.) Palermo.

[26] Line 52, 1182 Monreale boundary document in the Arabic and line 77 in the Latin.

In the Latin this is rendered as, '*Diuisa....redit occidentalit[er] cu[m] uia p[re]dicta p[er] uia[m] uia[m] usq[ue] dum p[er]uenit ad uiam que ducit ad...*'. In this case, the subject of the sentence is still 'the boundary' with the rest of the sentence being the predicate. In this type of sentence, the Latin is translated with '*per*', and the whole sentence seems to mean (in either language) as '*the boundary....returns westwards with the aforementioned road and goes down that road until it meets the road leading to..*' This seems to identify an idiomatic usage in the Arabic that was not shared by the Latin, otherwise there would have been no need to insert the preposition '*per*' to clarify the sense.[27] Thus, the genre of word doubling is unlikely to have been a Latin innovation, rather it seems to have been adopted by the Latin scribes in response to the textual style of the original Arabic or Greek. This adoption may have possibly been continued in present day Sicilian dialect with such phrases as '*camminare riva riva.*'[28]

However, it would be wrong to assume that the sole function of word pairs was to render the sense of 'along' or 'down', as there are many examples that cannot be translated in this way in either Arabic or Greek. For instance from the 1182 Monreale document we have (translated literally):

line 25 يطلع مع الصلب الصلب 'rises with the ridge the ridge'

line 57 ينزل مع الطريق الطريق 'descends with the road the road'

line 69 متصل بالصلب الصلب 'reaching the ridge the ridge'

In this type of example, the doubling has the effect of re-enforcing the previous noun, but does not seem to add anything to the meaning of the sentence. It is also noticeable that whilst the Greek never precedes a word pair with a preposition, a preposition almost always appears as a prefix on the preceding verb e.g. *ἀναβέννη την ὁδὸν ὁδὸν*[29]- literally meaning 'going up along the road road'. In these examples in both languages we find both word pairs *and* prepositions. It is hard to consider word pairs as a type of literary short hand because a simple and obvious preposition can, and sometimes does, perform

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[27] A similar usage to the Arabic can sometimes be seen in the Greek too. For example (Cusa p433, dated to 1183), *ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν χωραφίων ῥουπερούνου τὴν χέτην χέτην ἑως... 'then from the boundaries of Ruperoun (along) the hill hill until...*'The Arabic does occasionally use *maʿ* ('with') before a word pair. This associative usage is odd as we would perhaps expect *ʿalā* or *fī* if the sense of the Latin 'per' was meant.

[28] cf G. Caracausi, 'Ancora sul tipo 'camminare riva riva'', *Bollettino del centro di studi filologici e linguistici siciliani,* XIII Palermo, 1975.

[29] Cusa p559. Also cf Cusa pp559-561.

the same semantic function as a word pair which would otherwise have been translated as 'along', and thus there is no need to have both in the same phrase. The fact that many such examples can be found with both word pairs and prepositions and without any apparent change in meaning suggests that some word pairs had a function over and above a purely emphatic usage.

The distance between word pairs offers tantalising evidence. Some of the gaps between occurrences are the same or near-multiples of the same proportion and the relative distance in the spacing between some pairs suggests that their distribution was not entirely random. The numbers of words which separate word pairs in the Arabic ranges from 3-208. This is clearly a wide spread and shows a large degree of variation. However, gaps of 11-20 words account for a third of all examples across the entire range. That is to say, a relatively large number of examples come from a relatively small source range.[30] We can see from the table below the type, frequency and distribution of word pairs boundary by boundary below:[31]

Table 2: Distribution of all word pairs with equivalents and references

	Divisa	Line	Arabic		Latin	Line
1	*Magna divisa* of		*al-ḥā'iṭ al-ḥā'iṭ*	>	p[er] mur[um] mur[um]	8
	Iato		*al-ṣulb al-ṣulb*	>	p[er] cristam cristam	10
			al-wādī l-wādī	>	-	
			Raḥl al-Ṣāfī wa-Raḥl al-Ṣāfī	>	casale safi. et casale safi	14
			al-ṭarīq al-ṭarīq	>	p[er] uia[m] uia[m]	15
			maʿ al-xandaq al-xandaq	>	cu[m] uallone uallone	15
			al-wādī l-wādī	>	p[er] flum[en] flum[en]	16
2	Maġnūğa		-		-	

[30] Apart from the major tendency for word pairs to appear every 11-20 words, we might also note a minor tendency to find gaps every 24-34 words which seems to reflect a doubling of the median of the 11-20 gap range (i.e. about 14-15 words between pairs). This suggests that the frequency distribution of gaps between pairs is not random, but follows a broad pattern. As an approximate guide for the Monreale boundaries which have word pairs, we might expect to find a pair occurring roughly every 20 words. If we fit this into our tentative *daftār* line length, it equates to a word pair about every other line.

[31] In the actual document the Arabic place names have been transliterated into Latin- often poorly. I have thus preferred to use the Arabic instead of the Latin even in cases where it is not always clear what the Arabic vowels should be, which accounts for the occasionally odd-looking place name where a full-stop has been used in preference to a guess at the missing Arabic vowel. Boundary sections are numbered in the order they appear in the actual document; thus, the first boundary, Iato, is number 1; Maġnūğa is number 2 and so on.

3	al-Duqqī	-		-	
4	al-B.lwīn	*al-minšār al-minšār*	>	p[er] serra[m] s[er]ram	33
5	Raḥl Būfurīra	*al-wādī l-wādī*	>	p[er] flumen flumen	36
		al-ṣulb al-ṣulb	>	p[er] cristam cristam	37
6	Raḥl al-Māya	-		-	
7	al-Maġaġī	-		-	
8	Sūminī	*al-ṣulb al-ṣulb*	>	p[er] cristam cristam	49
		al-ṣulb al-ṣulb	>	p[er] cristam cristam	50
		maʿ al-ṣulb al-ṣulb	>	p[er] cristam cristam	51
		maʿ al-maǧrā l-maǧrā	>	cu[m] riuulo riuulo	52
9	Malbīṭ	*maʿ al-ṣulb al-ṣulb*	>	p[er] crista[m] cristam	55
10	Q.rūbn.š	*al-maǧrā l-maǧrā*	>	p[er] riuu[m] riuu[m]	61
		al-wādī l-wādī	>	p[er] flum[en] flum[en]	62
11	Raḥl al-Kalāʿī	*al-maǧrā l-maǧrā*	>	p[er] riuu[m] riuu[m]	65
		al-minšār al-minšār	>	p[er] serra[m] serra[m]	66
12	Q.rūbn.š al-Suflā	*al-ṭarīq al-ṭarīq*	>	p[er] uia[m] uia[m]	68
		al-ḥārik al-ḥārik	>	p[er] terter[um] terter[um]	69
		al-minšār al-minšār	>	p[er] serra[m] serra[m]	69
13	Raḥl al-Waṭā	*al-ḥārik al-ḥārik*	>	p[er] terter[um] terter[um]	70
		maʿ al-maḥaǧǧa l-maḥaǧǧa	>	p[er] uia[m] uia[m]	70
14	al-ʾAndulsīn	*al-wādī l-ǧārī (sic)*	>	p[er] flum[en] flum[en]	72
15	Manzil Zarqūn	*al-ṭarīq al-ṭarīq* [32]	>	-	
16	Bū N.fāṭ	*al-maǧrā al-maǧrā*	>	p[er] riu[um] riu[um]	76
		al-ṭarīq al-ṭarīq	>	p[er] uia[m] uiam	77
		al-ṭarīq al-ṭarīq	>	p[er] uia[m] uia[m]	77
17	Raḥl ibn B.r.ka	*al-ṣulb al-ṣulb*	>	p[er] crista[m] crista[m]	80
		al-xandaq al-xandaq	>	p[er] uallone[m] uallone[m]	81
18	Raḥl Laqmūqa	*al-xandaq al-xandaq*	>	p[er] uallonem uallone[m]	82
		al-minšār al-minšār	>	p[er] crista[m] crista[m]	83
		maʿ al-ṭarīq al-ṭarīq	>	cu[m] uia uia	83
		al-wādī l-wādi	>	p[er] flum[en] flum[en]	84
19	Raḥl al-Ǧadīd	*maʿ al-xandaq al-xandaq*	>	p[er] terter[um] terter[um]	85
		al-maḥaǧǧa l-maḥaǧǧa	>	p[er] uia[m] uia[m]	86
		al-ṣulb al-ṣulb	>	p[er] crista[m] crista[m]	86
20	Raḥl ʿAmrūn	*maʿ al-xandaq al-xandaq*	>	p[er] uallone[m] uallonem	87
		al-ṣulb al-ṣulb	>	p[er] cristam cristam	87
		maʿ al-ṭarīq al-ṭarīq	>	p[er] uia[m] uia[m]	88
21	Raḥl al-Būqāl	-		-	
22	Raḥl al-Ġalīẓ	*al-ṣulb al-ṣulb*	>	ad caput criste[33]	94
		al-maǧrā l-maǧrā	>	p[er] fluctu[m] fluctu[m]	95
		al-maǧrā l-maǧrā	>	p[er] ductu[m] ductu[m]	95
		al-maǧrā l-maǧrā	>	p[er] fluctu[m] fluctu[m]	96
		al-maǧrā l-maǧrā	>	p[er] fluctu[m] fluctu[m]	97
23	Marāws	*al-ṣulb al-ṣulb*	>	p[er] crista[m] cristam	98
		bi-l-ṣulb al-ṣulb	>	cum crista crista	99

[32] A phrase in the Arabic *(ʾilā qalʿat fimī l-ṭarīq al-ṭarīq)* has not been translated in the Latin

[33] The Arabic is preceded by the word *raʾs*, here translated as *caput*.

24	Mārtū	*al-wādī l-wādī*	>	p[er] flum[en] *(sic)*	101
25	Raḥl al-Balāṭ	-		-	
26	Raḥl al-Mudd	-		-	
27	Raḥl al-Sikāk	-		-	
28	Dasīsa	-		-	
29	Manzil Zumūr	-		-	
30	Manzil K.r.štī	-		-	
31	Manzil ʿAbdullāh	*maʿ al-wādī l-wādī*	>	p[er] flum[en] flum[en]	117
32	Ġār Šaʔb	*maʿ al-ǧabal al-ǧabal*	>	p[er] monte[m] monte[m]	119
33	Raḥl ibn Sahl	-		-	
34	Ǧurf Bū Karīm	-		-	
35	Raḥl Biǧānū	-		-	
36	Manzil ʿAbd ʾl-Raḥmān	-		-	
37	al-Q.mīṭ	-		-	
38	Ǧaṭīna	-		-	
39	Ġār	-		-	
40	al-Randa	-		-	
41	Raḥl al-Ǧāwz	-		-	
42	al-Aqbāṭ	-		-	
43	Raḥl al-Wazzān	*al-maǧrā l-maǧrā*	>	p[er] cursum cursum	140
44	*Magna divisa* of Corleone	*al-wādī l-wādī*	>	p[er] flum[en] flum[en]	142
		al-kinīsya wa-l-kinīsya	>	eccl[es]ia. Et ip[sa] eccl[es]ia est	143
		al-wādī l-wādī	>	p[er] flum[en]	144
		maʿ al-wādī l-wādī	>	cu[m] flumine flumine	144
		al-wādī l-wādī	>	p[er] flum[en] flum[en]	145
		al-ǧabal al-ǧabal	>	p[er] monte[m] monte[m]	146
		al-qaṣārī wa-l-qaṣārī	>	cassar[um]. Ipsum u[ero] cassar[um] est	147
		al-ṭarīq al-ṭarīq	>	p[er] uiam uiam	148
		al-ṭarīq al-ṭarīq	>	p[er] uia[m] uia[m]	148
		al-maǧrā l-maǧrā	>	p[er] cursu[m] cursu[m]	149
		maʿ al-minšār al-minšār	>	p[er] serra[m] serra[m]	150
		al-ʿayn wa-l-ʿayn māʾ	>	fonte[m], & fons est	151
		al-ṭarīq al-ṭarīq	>	aque aqua *(sic)*	151
		al-ḥārik al-ḥārik	>	p[er] uia[m] uia[m]	153
			>	p[er] montem montem	154
45	Ḥaǧar al-Zanātī	*al-wādī l-wādī*	>	p[er] flum[en] flum[en]	156
		al-ṭarīq al-ṭarīq	>	p[er] uia[m] uia[m]	157
		al-ṭarīq al-ṭarīq	>	p[er] uia[m] uia[m]	158
		al-šaraf al-šaraf	>	p[er] serra[m] serra[m]	158
		al-šaraf al-šaraf	>	p[er] crista[m] crista[m]	158
		min al-marḥala al-marḥala	>	p[ro]pe mandra[m], & mandra est	160
		al-ǧabal al-ǧabal	>	p[er] monte[m] monte[m]	160
		al-wādī l-wādī	>	p[er] flum[en] flum[en]	160
		al-šaraf al-šaraf	>	p[er] crista[m] crista[m]	162
46	Ǧālišū	*riǧl al-ǧabal riǧl al-ǧabal*	>	p[er] pedem montis pedem	163

				montis	
47	Futāsina	*al-wādī l-wādī*	>	p[er] flum[en] flum[en]	165
		al-maḥağğa l-maḥağğa	>	p[er] publica[m] publica[m]	166
		al-mā' al-mā'	>	p[er] aqua[m] aqua[m]	166
		al-mā' al-mā'	>	p[er] aqua[m] aqua[m]	166
48	Santa Agnes	*al-xandaq al-xandaq*	>	uallone[m] *(sic)*	168
		maʿ al-ṣulb al-ṣulb	>	p[er] crista[m] crista[m]	170
		maʿ al-ṣulb al-ṣulb	>	p[er] crista[m] crista[m]	171
		maʿ al-ṭarīq al-ṭarīq	>	cu[m] uia uia	173
49	Battellaro	*al-ḥadab al-ḥadab*	>	p[er] gibbum gibbum	175
		al-ṣulb al-ṣulb	>	p[er] s[er]ra[m] s[er]ra[m]	175
		al-mağrā al-mağrā	>	p[er] riuulu[m] riuulu[m]	176
		al-qaṣba wa 'l-qaṣba	>	casba, & h[aec] casba	178
		maʿ al-wādī l-wādī	>	p[er] flum[en] flum[en]	178
		maʿ al-wādī al-wādī	>	p[er] flum[en] flum[en]	184
		al-mağrā al-mağrā	>	p[er] aqueductu[m] aqueductu[m]	188
		ʿilā al-xandaq al-raqīq [34]	>	p[er] uallone[m] uallone[m]	188
		maʿ al-ṣulb al-ṣulb	>	p[er] s[er]ra[m] s[er]ra[m]	190
		maʿ al-ṣulb al-ṣulb	>	subt[us] alt[er]a alt[er]a	190
		maʿ al-ṭarīq al-ṭarīq	>	p[er] uia[m] uia[m]	192
		al-ṣulb al-ṣulb	>	-	
		al-xandaq al-xandaq	>	p[er] uallonem uallone[m]	198
50	Calatrasi	*maʿ al-xandaq al-xandaq*	>	p[er] uallone[m] uallone[m]	200
		al-xandaq al-xandaq	>	ad uallone[m] *(sic)*	202
		maʿ al-xandaq al-xandaq	>	p[er] uallone[m] uallone[m]	203
		maʿ al-wādī l-wādī	>	p[er] flum[en] *(sic)*	206
		maʿ al-ṭarīq al-ṭarīq	>	p[er] uia[m] uia[m]	207
		maʿ al-ṭarīq al-ṭarīq	>	p[er] uia[m] uia[m]	208
		maʿal-mağrā l-mağrā	>	p[er] riu[um] riu[um]	210
		maʿ al-wādī l-wādī	>	p[er] flum[en] flum[en]	211

The boundary sections found in the document can be divided according to patterns of distribution to which can be added other distinguishing features, such as style and choice of vocabulary. These factors highlight regularities or dissimilarities between particular boundary sections. Boundary sections 1, 44, 45, 48, 49 and 50 show a tendency towards very large gaps (between 49-208 words) between pairs. We may also note that sections 44, 45, 46 and 49 contain some unusual choices in their word-pairs (see below), which distinguishes them from earlier sections. Large, contiguous sections of the document contain boundary definitions with no pairs at all. Relative to the others, these sections (2, 3, 6, 7, 21, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38,

[34] The Latin seems mistaken. The Arabic is introduced by *ʿilā* ('to') and is a self-contained descriptive phrase.

39, 40, 41 and 42) can be said to represent another distinct type. There remain a few boundary sections that typically have only one or two examples of pairs and thus provide insufficient data for us to classify them in the way we have with the others. The marked variations within certain sections of the text indicate degrees of stylistic difference that can be classified into types according to frequency distribution and choice of vocabulary used for pairs, thus:

Type A: contain only frequently attested word pairs and equivalents (see Tables 1 & 2)

Type B: contain examples that use a distinctive choice of vocabulary for some of their pairs (see Tables 1 & 2)

Type C: contain no examples of word pairs at all (see Table 2)

If we superimpose this classification onto the order of the boundary sections in the original document, we can illuminate certain inconsistencies between the treatment of some sections:

Table 3: Classification of word pairs according to type and distribution

Divisas according to position:

Position In document	Type	*Divisa*
1	B	Iato
2	C	Maġnūğa
3	C	al-Duqqī
4	A	al-B.lwīn
5	A	Raḥl Būfurīra
6	C	Raḥl al-Māya
7	C	al-Maġaġī
8	C	Sūminī
9	A	Malbīṭ
10	A	Q.rūbn.š
11	A	Raḥl al-Kalāʿī
12	A	Q.rūbn.š al-Suflā
13	C	Raḥl al-Waṭā
14	A	al-ʾAndulsīn
15	A	Manzil Zarqūn
16	A	Bū N.fāṭ
17	A	Raḥl ibn B.r.ka
18	A	Raḥl Laqmūqa
19	B	Raḥl al-Ğadīd
20	A	Raḥl ʿAmrūn
21	C	Raḥl al-Būqāl

Divisas according to type:

Position in document	Type	*Divisa*
10	A	Q.rūbn.š
16	A	Bū N.fāṭ
18	A	Raḥl Laqmūqa
20	A	Raḥl ʿAmrūn
22	A	Raḥl al-Ġalīẓ
23	A	Marāws
47	A	Fuṭāsina
4	A	al-B.lwīn
5	A	Raḥl Būfurīra
9	A	Malbīṭ
11	A	Raḥl al-Kalāʿī
12	A	Q.rūbn.š al-Suflā
14	A	al-ʾAndulsīn
15	A	Manzil Zarqūn
17	A	Raḥl ibn B.r.ka
24	A	Mārtū
31	A	Manzil ʿAbdullāh
32	A	Ġār Šaʿīb
43	A	Raḥl al-Wazzān
19	B	Raḥl al-Ğadīd
44	B	Corleone

22	A	Raḥl al-Ġalīẓ
23	A	Marāws
24	A	Mārtū
25	C	Raḥl al-Balāṭ
26	C	Raḥl al-Mudd
27	C	Raḥl al-Sikāk
28	C	Dasīsa
29	C	Manzil Zumūr
30	C	Manzil K.r.štī
31	A	Manzil ʿAbdullāh
32	A	Ġār Šaʿīb
33	C	Raḥl ibn Sahl
34	C	Ǧurf Bū Karīm
35	C	Raḥl Biǧānū
36	C	Manzil ʿAbd l-Raḥmān
37	C	al-Q.mīṭ
38	C	Ǧaṭīna
39	C	Ġār
40	C	al-Randa
41	C	Raḥl al-Ǧāwz
42	C	al-Aqbāṭ
43	A	Raḥl al-Wazzān
44	B	Corleone
45	B	Ḥaǧar al-Zanātī
46	B	Ǧālīṣū
47	A	Fuṭāsina
48	B	Santa Agnes
49	B	Battellaro
50	B	Calatrasi

45	B	Ḥaǧar al-Zanātī
48	B	Santa Agnes
49	B	Battellaro
50	B	Calatrasi
1	B	Iato
46	B	Ǧālīṣū
8	C	Sūminī
13	C	Raḥl al-Waṭā
2	C	Maġnūǧa
3	C	al-Duqqī
6	C	Raḥl al-Māya
7	C	al-Maġaǧī
21	C	Raḥl al-Būqāl
25	C	Raḥl al-Balāṭ
26	C	Raḥl al-Mudd
27	C	Raḥl al-Sikāk
28	C	Dasīsa
29	C	Manzil Zumūr
30	C	Manzil K.r.štī
33	C	Raḥl ibn Sahl
34	C	Ǧurf Bū Karīm
35	C	Raḥl Biǧānū
36	C	Manzil ʿAbd l-Raḥmān
37	C	al-Q.mīṭ
38	C	Ǧaṭīna
39	C	Ġār
40	C	al-Randa
41	C	Raḥl al-Ǧāwz
42	C	al-Aqbāṭ

Examining the word pairs to determine stylistic variation and therefore identify potentially different sources does provide a sense of objectivity but it remains a blunt linguistic tool. It does not allow us to gauge the objective of dividing up the text stylistically with any degree of certainty, however it does illuminate some broad, but significant differences. For example, we can note a division based on the type and distribution of word pairs between the *magnae divisae* of Iato, Corleone, Battellaro and the rest. It should not escape our attention that the stylistic divisions on which the above evaluation has been based also reflect the order in which the boundaries appear in the document itself. That is to say, some sections of the text that follow after one another also exhibit similar stylistic traits. This is further borne out by blank one line divisions in the manuscript after boundary 43 (line 99 in the Arabic) and before the *magna divisa* of Corleone and one before Battellaro (line 123). These originally served to divide up the sections of the manuscript but, as can

be seen from the table, also reflect some of the main stylistic divisions and differing uses of vocabulary. As it can be shown that at least some of these boundaries were copied verbatim from the *daftars*, then stylistic differences in extant boundary registers may reflect the actual draft versions from which they were taken.

The most obvious distinction can be seen between those boundaries that do not contain any word pairs at all and those that do. Those with no word pairs appear consecutively in the text from Raḥl al-Balāṭ to Al-Aqbāṭ (numbers 25 to 42) with the exception of Manzil ᶜAbdullāh and Ġār Šaᶜīb (31 and 32). Not only are these boundaries characterised by an absence of word pairs but also have a clipped and unembellished delivery. There are no connecting particles such as */fa/* ('so') or */tumma/* ('then'), nor is there any lengthy paraphrasing. The boundaries are also similar in their content as they all begin by defining the eastern boundary first, whereas most other boundaries in the register begin with either *'the first boundary is from'* or *'the boundary begins from.'* Thus, in terms of both style and content, all can be closely linked. Among these, the boundaries for Raḥl ibn Sahl ('Rahalbensehel' in Latin) are known to appear in a definition that was made by 1154. It was these very boundaries that featured in the *Dīwān al-taḥqīq al-maᶜmūr's* incorrectly amended confirmation to the monks of Chúrchuro.[35] Since Raḥl ibn Sahl can be positively dated to having been made before 1154, it is quite likely that the others may also have been recorded in the *daftars* around that same time.

The magna divisa *of Corleone: language, genealogy and dating*

Another boundary known to have been recorded before the palace was ransacked in 1161 was the estate of Ḥağar al-Zanātī. This was defined in a (now lost) *ğarīda* issued in December 1154 under William I.[36] This is now known to us from Latin transumpts from 1258 and 1286. Besides this, the estate may have been mentioned as 'Raalginet' in a donation from 1155,[37] but no accompanying boundaries were given. However, Ḥağar al-Zanātī was one of the internal estates of the *magna divisa* of Corleone and was thus recorded in the 1182 Monreale register. This was copied in Arabic from the *dīwān's daftars* and was accompanied by a Latin translation. There are a number of contrasts

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[35] Johns and Metcalfe, *BSOAS*, 62/2. pp226-259.

[36] For the full deed see H. Enzensberger *Guillelmi I Regis Diplomata* no. 4, p13.

[37] Enzensberger, *op.cit.* no. 8.

in style, but not in content, between the Latin translation from 1182 and that of 1258 as can be seen in the table below:

Correspondence of word pairs between the 1258 and 1182 versions

Latin 1258	line ref.	Latin 1182	line ref.	Arabic 1182	line ref.
flumen flumen	1	flum[en] flum[en]	2	*al-wādī al-wādī*	1
viam viam	4	uia[m] uia[m]	5	*al-ṭarīq al-ṭarīq*	3
viam viam	5	uia[m] uia[m]	5	*al-ṭarīq al-ṭarīq*	3
cristam cristam	5	serra[m] serra[m]	6	*al-šaraf al-šaraf*	3
cristam cristam	6	crista[m] crista[m]	7	*al-šaraf al-šaraf*	4
ovile et hoc ovile	9	mandra[m] [et] mandra	10	*al-marḥala wa l-marḥala*	5
montem montem	10	montem montem	11	*al-ǧabal al-ǧabal*	5
flumen Salsum	11	flum[en] flum[en]	12	*al-wādī al-wādī*	6
cristam cristam	14	crista[m] crista[m]	15	*al-šaraf al-šaraf*	7

We can see an almost exact correspondence between the doubled words across the three versions, from which we can infer that all were closely related. This could not have happened without the documents being inter-related and it is no surprise to find they all three describe exactly the same boundaries.

In the translation from 1258 we are given '*ovile et hoc ovile*' in the place of '*mandra[m] & mandra*' as an equivalent meaning[38]. This is not only intended as a synonym, but in both cases reflects the exact phrasing of the Arabic where the word pair has been separated by '*and*'. This unusual reproduction of the interpolated Arabic */wa/* ('and') and its translation as either *'et hoc'* or '*et*' which separates the word pair suggests that the same Arabic source was used for both the 1258 and the 1182 documents. However, there are a number of discrepancies in style between the two Latin versions, largely concerning the use of synonyms and transliterations. This tentatively implies that the Latin versions were not derived from one another. Rather, both Latin versions were translated independently either from the 1182 Arabic or the (now lost) 1154

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[38] The Latin terms are near synonyms. '*Mandra*' refers to an area where any cattle are kept (there is a Greek equivalent term *μάνδρα*); '*ovile*' refers specifically to a place where sheep are kept. The Arabic uses a general term meaning '*stopping place*' but on the several occasions when it occurs in the Monreale document, it is translated as *'mandra'*. Either *marḥala* meant *mandra* in Sicily- in which case it is a new usage of the word, or else that the Latin scribe(s) has consistently mistranslated it. Also in the 1182 Arabic, *killat al-baqar* is used for *mandra uaccarum* (Cusa 239/194). *Killa* appeared in Greek in 1172 as κέλλα (Cusa pp81-2).

Arabic. However, if the 1258 Latin was taken from the bilingual 1182 Arabic-Latin text, it is strange to find so many minor divergences between the two Latin texts. This would tentatively suggest that while the 1182 Latin could have been taken from the either the 1182 Arabic or the 1154 Arabic, the 1258 Latin is more likely to have been based on the earlier 1154 Arabic version. The precise coincidence of word pairs in all three documents indicates that the extant 1182 Arabic is a verbatim copy of its lost 1154 predecessor.

There are some minor divergences in choice of vocabulary between the two Latin version, as shown below:

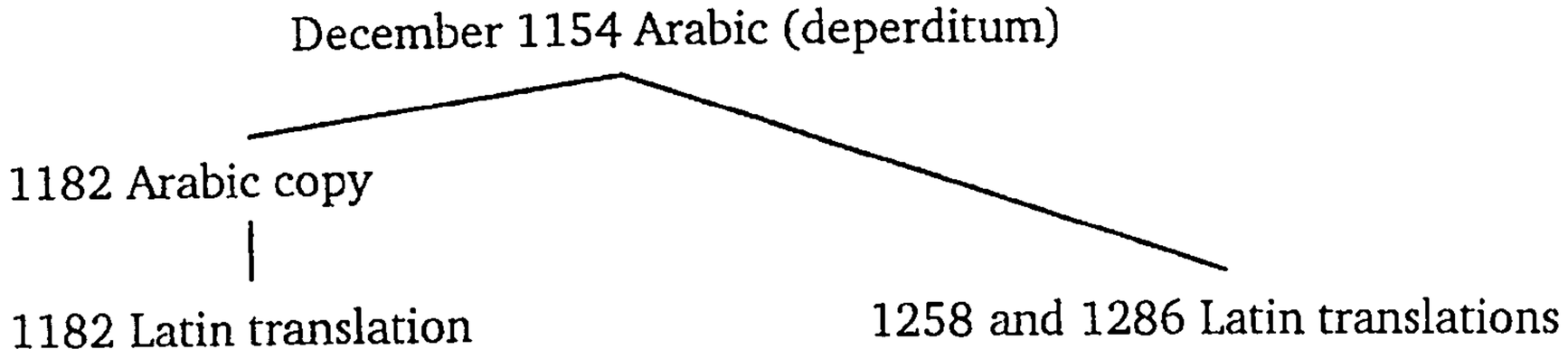
Latin 1258	line	Latin 1182	line	Arabic 1182	line
petra...nata	2	petra...plantata	3	*al-ḥağar...al-ṯābita*	2
Sylelis	2	syeli	3	*al-Siyālī*	2
vallem profundam	5	uallone[m] Garik/elgarik	5/6	*al-xandaq al-ġarīq*	3
Aynes kerasie	7	fonte[m] apii	7	*ʿayn al-karāfs (sic)*	4
Garnensis	9	benarauzi	10	*al-ġ.rn.zī*	5
Magarum	10	magagı	11	*al-m.ġāġī*	5
quod custodiat Deus	11	-	-	-	-
portam gructe filii Binzeydun	12	porta Gar filii zedun	13	*bāb Ġār ibn zaydūn*	6
Palatii	13	balate	14	*al-balāṭ*	7

However, such variations are largely superficial, being either synonyms (*nata* for *plantata; mandra* for *ovile; crista* for *serra);* close attempts at an Arabic name (*Palatii/balate; gructe/gar*[39]*; Magarum/magagı; Garensis/ benarauzi)*[40] or alternative translations or transliterations (*Aynes/fontem; profundam/ elgarik).* The Latin phrase '*quod custodiat Deus'* appears in only the 1258 Latin version. This would seem to be a epithet that may have followed the common Arabic phrase الله حماها ('May God protect it/her!'). Since the two Latin versions are stylistically dissimilar but the content of both matches that of the Arabic, then we might infer that the Arabic version was the parent of both the Latin versions. It is evident that they are all describing the same boundaries and, in fact, the 1258 Latin version is almost as good a translation of the 1182 Arabic

[39] Although *gructe filii Binzeydun* half suggests 'the cave of the sister of the sons of Ibn Zaydūn,' *'gructe'* may, more plausibly, be a corruption of *'grotta'.*

[40] The confusion in the 1182 Latin version could have been brought about by the Arabic preposition /bi/ which precedes it.

as the 1182 Latin version is. That is to say, if one were to back-translate both Latin versions, they would converge on the Arabic version thereby showing that the Arabic from 1182 has been copied verbatim from a (now lost) 1154 original. The relationship between the three can be expressed thus:



There are two ways in which the Ḥağar al-Zanātī boundaries can be linked to those of Corleone, in terms of style and date of composition. The Corleone boundary itself contains three word pairs separated by the Arabic */wa/* meaning '*and*'. This rather unusual treatment occurs almost exclusively within estates of the *magna divisa* of Corleone (see Table 2 above). Besides which, and in spite of the regularity in the translation of word pairs across the entire document, it is mainly the estates within the *magna divisa* of Corleone that notable exceptions are found (cf Table 2):

Word pair	Line references[41]	Divisa	boundary no.
al-ḥāʾiṭ al-ḥāʾiṭ	9/218	Iato	1
al-ǧabal al-ǧabal	119/298	Ġār Saʿīb	32
al-ǧabal al-ǧabal	146/314	Corleone	44
al-ǧabal al-ǧabal	160/324	Corleone	45
riǧl al-ǧabal riǧl al-ǧabal	163/326	Corleone	46
al-mā al-mā	166/329	Corleone	47
al-ḥadab al-ḥadab	174-5/335	Battellaro	49
al-qaṣaba l-qaṣaba	178/337	Battellaro	49

The boundary of Fuṭāsina, which was an estate within the *magna divisa* of Corleone, contains a manuscript error in the opening line (Arabic line 115) in which *al-ʿayn al-kabīr* ('the big well') has been struck through with a line. It is probably not coincidental that the opening line of the following boundary (that of Santa Agnes) contains the *same* phrase in the *same* position (Arabic line 117). That is to say, the scribe has copied out a small part from the wrong boundary; recognised his error and crossed it out. This copying error reveals

[41] The first number is the Latin reference, the second is the Arabic according to the manuscript.

that the *daftar* version probably also placed these boundaries together. The Fuṭāsina boundary is also unusual in that it contains the only reference in the document, apart from Corleone, to the word pair of *al-mā* meaning 'water'. These one-off instances and the interpolative use of */wa/* support the idea that the distinctive use of vocabulary was a particular characteristic of the recording of the boundaries within the *magna divisa* of Corleone. Indeed, it is possible that all the boundaries within Corleone were composed in *daftar* Arabic by the same person and probably at around the same time. This would seem to be supported by their clustered position in the *daftars,* and as we shall see, is not inconsistent with what is known of the history of Corleone's estates in this period. As we can date the Arabic of one of these boundaries (Ḥağar al-Zanātī) to pre-1154, then we might suppose that the 1182 Arabic version for many of these internal estates was also based on an earlier register made by 1154.

The fascinating case of the grant of lands to S. Nicolò lo Gurguro has been covered in detail recently by the author and Jeremy Johns in a long and jointly-written article and the lengthy and complex arguments will not be re-traced here.[42] Suffice to say that confirmations tell us that Raḥl al-Wazzān and Raḥl ibn Sahl were also defined by 1149 and 1154 respectively for the Greek monks of S. Nicolò in Chúrchuro. The apparent burst of administrative activity in defining estates of the royal demesne pre-1154 is intriguing. Such activity suggests that some areas within predominantly Muslim areas of western Sicily and around Corleone were being prepared to be parcelled out to landlords as concessions around this time, if they had not already been conceded. If so, this coincides with the period of Roger II's alleged illness, his withdrawal from administrative affairs, his rewarding of converts with donations, the crowning of William I as his successor and Roger's own death in February 1154. Although somewhat obscure, the history of some of the estates is known in part. It seems that before its granting to S. Maria Nuova in Monreale, some of Corleone's estates (like those of Calatrasi) were granted from the royal demesne to feudatories, only to be later restored to the demesne. For example, Turrus (Τούρρους /طرس، near Sciacca) and Fuṭāsina were granted to S. Maria Magdalena in 1151 but were both back in the demesne to be transfered to the possession of Monreale.[43] Ǧālišu was held by the Forestals from 1095(?) until

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[42] cf Johns and Metcalfe, 'The Mystery of Chúrchuro: conspiracy or incompetence in twelfth-century Sicily?' in *BSOAS,* 62/2, 1999, pp226-259.

[43] Cusa pp133, 263, 285.

at least 1145, but was also restored to the demesne by 1176.[44] We might also note the 'villeins of Roger' donated in 1178, the four villeins of the *qāʾid* Yūsuf and the eight who belonged to a certain Richard also in 1178.[45] Besides these, there are references to the otherwise unknown masters *(dominus/ṣāḥib)* of Malbīṭ, Corleone and Battallari.[46] As no royal concession is ever known to have been made to a practising Muslim, we might infer that some sections of western Sicily were already in the possession of Christian lords, some of whom may have been converts, well before the foundation of Monreale. This observation undermines the idea that Monreale had been founded to create a 'Muslim reservation' because, in some cases at least, all that altered was a transfer of rights from individual landlords to the church of Monreale itself.[47]

Attested twice in the boundaries of Hağar al-Zanātī and Santa Agnes within the *magna divisa* of Corleone is the apparently vernacular use of زوج *(zawğ),* meaning 'two'.[48] In fact, this is the only occurrence of the word in Sicily. In Classical Arabic *zawğ* and *zawğa* most commonly mean 'husband' and 'wife' but *zawğ* can also mean 'a couple'. The meaning here however, as in many modern Maġribi dialects, is more simply 'two'. For example, in Morocco the colloquial for 'two' is */ğūğ/* as opposed to the usual variants of *iṯnaym*. In Malta the word for 'two' is written as *żewġ*. [49] In contrast to this apparently Maġribī item of vocabulary, we find that the Arabic scribe in the Battellaro boundary uses the word بحري *(baḥrī)* to mean '*north*', when it literally means 'of the sea.'[50] In all other boundaries the words *al-šamāl* or *dabūrī* are the preferred terms for 'north'. *Baḥrī* is a term found only in Egypt and Sicily, but we might consider whether it makes more sense for *'baḥrī'* to mean 'north' on an island such as

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[44] Cusa pp127, 147.

45 Cusa pp143-150. The only attested Qāiʾd Yūsuf associated with the Monreale estates is the suspiciously Christian-sounding al-Qāʾid Yūsuf Qissīs (cf Cusa 265a and 266b).

[46] Monreale manuscript references lines 178, 58 and 12-13.

[47] According to Johns, 'The Greek Church', most of the Monreale estates were 'maintained as a Muslim reservation' before the foundation of Santa Maria di Monreale. *De facto*, they may well have been, but it unlikely that this could have been the reason behind the foundation.

[48] Cusa pp233 and 236 زوج حجار and زوج احجار

[49] All these variants are well attested in Greek have a distant relative in the C12th BC Homeric Greek word ζεύγω ('I yoke'). The Latin cognate noun *'iugum'* ('a yoke') gives rise to the English of the same meaning and to related words such as *Yugo-*. The Arabic *zawğ* means 'yoke' only metaphorically as in 'yoked in marriage' and the probable connection to its Indo-European cognates is via Syriac *zūgā*.

[50] Cusa pp239/199 and 240/200. The outline of the word *baḥrī* is similar in Arabic to *maġrā*, especially without the pointing cf بحرى and مجرى however, the sense of the examples here is clearly 'north' or 'northwards' and has also been translated as such in the Latin.

Sicily where every direction is necessarily 'sea-ward', compared to Egypt where the Nile runs south-north *to* the sea.[51] Thus, *baḥrī* seems a reasonable candidate for being an Egyptian lexical import. In fact, the word *baḥrī* occurs only three times in Sicilian documents- twice in the *magna divisa* of Battellaro and once in an act of sale of extremely vague date issued to a certain abbot *(al-ġ.m.n),* the son of the priest Abū Ġālib, Abbot of S. Matteo di Bardali.[52] But, we might also consider the toponym *Bagharia* (an Arab-Norman town whose name is ultimately derived from the same Arabic word- *baḥr*) which is situated on the coast and so could simply be taken to mean 'at the sea'.[53] Crucially, in as much as the Egyptian word *baḥrī* does not occur in the Maġrib, the Maġribi *zawğ* and its variants are not commonly used in the main dialects of modern Egypt, yet here we find an example of one in the Corleone boundaries and the other in the Battellaro description.

The development of administrative genres and the coining and transmission of loan words

The *divisa* of Q.rūbn.š (Corubnis Superioris in the Latin) merits particular attention in that it is known to have been defined before 1182 as it occurs in a fourteenth-century (1375) Latin translation of the (now lost) Greek-Arabic original that dated from 1173.[54] The Latin version of 1375 shows clear signs that parts of it had been taken from a Greek version.[55] Not only does this allow

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[51] Baḥri means *'de mer, appartenant à la mer; septentrion, pour les habitants de l'Egypt seulement'* K.I 89 Freytag and De Simone, 'Su alcune corrispondenze' p483 although her reference to an occurrence on page 215 seems mistaken.

[52] Cusa p505. This document is also notable for its apparently colloquial use of the *matāʿ* which occurs an unprecedented three times within a relatively short document. The Arabic term *al-ġ.m.n* is probably a loan transliteration of the Greek *ηγουμένος*.

[53] Bagharia is first mentioned as *βαχαρίας* in a document from 1134 (Cusa p14), although a different toponym is mentioned in 1095 (Cusa p367). Caracausi (*Dizionario Onomastico* Vol. I p99) shrewdly observes that the Greek fricative 'chi' excludes the possibility that the name might be derived from the Arabic *baqar* meaning 'cattle'.

[54] This boundary has been reproduced by Paolo Collura's article 'Frammenti di platee arabe dell'epoca normanna- un privilegio di Guglielmo II per il monastero di S. Maria de Latinis di Palermo', *Atti dell'Accademia di Scienze Lettere e Arti di Palermo*, Vol.XXX, Palermo, 1971.

[55] The later translators of this document were a Christian, John of Naso and a Jewish doctor (Gaudo of Palermo). While some parts of the document were clearly translated from Greek, the introductory formulae and boundary description look distinctly Arabic and can easily be back-translated as such from the Latin. Neither is the relationship between the three languages evident, nor how the original document would have appeared. I would tentatively suggest that the formulaic opening and the boundary definition were taken from the Arabic, whilst the villein names may have appeared in both Arabic *and* Greek, but with the translator chosing to base his transcription on the Greek rendition of

a study of document genealogy, but also facilitates a study of approaches to producing a Latin version from a bilingual Arabic and Greek text.

Amongst the villeins we meet on the 1375 register are *Vilmar uiù Iusuff* and *Filii Obichir.* In the first example, *uiù* seems to be a transliteration of the Greek 'uios' (υἱὸς) meaning 'son'. In the second example, the Greek definite article 'o' (ὁ) seems to have been agglutinated with the following Arabic name *(A)bu 'l-xāyr* producing the hybrid form *Obichir.* This type of agglutination is attested elsewhere in Latin transliterations of Greek deeds.[56] However, the boundary definitions towards the end of the document show no signs of having been translated from Greek and appear to have been taken directly from the Arabic of the *daftars.* Thus, the rubric explains how *'hii sunt fines eius sive divise, que claudunt ipsum casale et continent totum illud secundum quod est notatum in quaternis finium seu divisiarum'.*[57] There are some notable similarities and differences between the two Latin versions. Although the two Latin treatments of the boundaries themselves are similar, their transliteration of Arabic place names are occasionally at odds. In fact, the dilemma that faced the Latin scribe in the twelfth century as to whether to translate or to transliterate Arabic terms also faced his fourteenth-century counterpart. Some of the similarities and differences in their treatment of the Arabic can be seen in the table below, which cites the place names in both documents:

Latin from 1375	Latin from 1182	Arabic original
Aquile	Aquile	العقاب *ʾal-uqāb*
Heudus	Kcendur	كندور *k.ndūr*
Calatrasi	Kalatrasi	قلعة طرزي *qalʿat ṭarāzī*
Olgath	Garik	الغريق *ʾal-ġarīq*
Solonie	Sellem	سلامة *salāma*
Calatafimi	Kalatafimi	قلعة فمني *qalʿat fimī*
Furine	Forme	الفرما *ʾal-f.rmā*
Mashe	Mesca	المسقا *ʾal-m.sqā*

the names. This may account for the need of two translators- one a Greek from north-east Sicily, the other Jewish whose first language may well have been some type of Arabic.

[56] cf Johns and Metcalfe, 'Language, ethnicity and administration- a twelfth-century Latin villein register from Patti in Sicily' (forthcoming).

[57] '*And these are the limits of its boundaries which enclose and contain the whole estate according to what is recorded in the boundary division registers.*' *Quaterno* (also a C12th term) seems to be a translation of *daftar.* Both *quaderno* (Modern Italian) and *daftar* (Modern Arabic) usually mean 'exercise book' these days.

Gemaho	Gemaa	جماعة	*ğamāᶜa*
Medah	Medach	المدق	*ʾal-m.d.q*
vilustri	bulluchu[m]	بو اللقم	*bū-llaqmʔ*
muragium Ballele	pratu[m] kallele	مرج قلالة	*marğ qalāla*
Halene	Halime	حليمة	*ḥalīma*
Harab(i)	Arabis	العرابي	*ʾal-ᶜarābī*
maginam	megine[m]	الماجنة	*ʾal-māğina*
Crubrichi	Corubnis	قروبنش	*q.rūbn.š*
divisa	de syse	دسيسة	*Dasīsa*

That the same type of variations (whether to translate or to transliterate) were evident in the twelfth century and had continued to be variants two centuries later shows that no lasting solution was found to the problem of how to deal with the Arabic. As a result, alternative forms for terms continued to be quite common. This suggests that the boundary register genre, although strict in the use of its language, could never have become definitive. It also shows the unstable and changeable status for transliterated terms that coincided with Sicilian dialect words and implies that these did not become universally used. For instance, in the above examples we find مرج قلالة *marğ qalāla* translated in 1182 as *pratu[m] kallele,* but transliterated to *muragium Ballele (sic)* in 1375. What cannot be established in such cases is whether repeated use of such terms in the boundary document genre gave rise to Sicilian dialect words. Conversely, one might argue that since a dialect word already existed in the twelfth century that perhaps straddled Latin, Greek and Arabic, it was preferred as a transliteration as opposed to a translation. This predicament highlights a weakness in arguments that seek to establish the widespread or vernacular use of loan words, bi- or tri-lingual terms or pidginised forms in the Norman period. As the first attested use for these multilingual terms often appears in registers that may themselves have been responsible for their very creation and diffusion, it is not immediately obvious if these documents were using pre-existing Sicilian dialect words that had become comprehensible across all three main languages. Conversely, we cannot be sure whether 'dialect' words and usages merely resulted from a literal transliteration of Arabic terms. In the latter case, we would want to be reticent about referring to all such terms as genuine loan words. However, we can show with a degree of certainty that transliteration had come to be considered as a standard for scribes and continued to be used well past the Norman period. Indeed, the apparent confluence in all three administrative languages seems, at least in

part, to have been brought about by the widespread but strict use of equivalent and interchangeable phrases that reflected the linguistic style of the Arabic originals. An investigation of the mechanics of the transliteration process is likely to shed more light on the status of such loan words and the apparent impression of linguistic convergence in the spoken languages of Sicily they give.

The mechanics of the transliteration process

It is clear from the number of variations in the Latin version of the Monreale register that there can have been no fixed translation-transliteration system in place. Or rather, if there was such a scheme, it was subject to many variations. For example, the Arabic *kanīsa* ('a church') is first transliterated as *kinisia* (lines 12 and 13) in the Iato boundary, but in the al-Duqqī boundary is translated as *ecclesia* (lines 22 and 26). It is difficult to tell whether the large amount of naturally occurring variation in the orthography of the Latin generally was due to the inconsistency of a single scribe, or an indication of other hands at work on the same manuscript.[58] Despite the variations, we shall see that there are a number of consistencies that imply the work of like-thinking minds if not a single translator.

However, it would be quite wrong to suggest that the Latin treatment of the Arabic was completely unpredictable, as several conditioning factors can be identified which determine whether and how an Arabic word came to be translated or transliterated in Latin. This is significant because the transliteration process was one in which we can witness the birth of new items of vocabulary from the Arabic. When examining conditioning factors in the translation process, it is important not to take words under examination out of their lexical context. For instance, we might observe that the Arabic for 'Zizyphus trees' *ašǧār ǧuǧūw* becomes awkwardly transliterated as *esiar agiu* (line 122 Latin), whereas similar constructions are translated. Thus, *ʾašǧār* > *arbores; ʾaḥǧār* > *lapides* or *rupes* and so on (see index). However, if we consider that *esiar agiu* is preceded by *uocatur* 'is called' and that of the 70 examples of *uocatur*+noun or *dicitur*+noun, over 50 of them are transliterated, then it would seem that the presence of either of these two was

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[58] For example, *caput* alternates with *capud* (the former being used from the beginning of the document until line 48 and the latter occurring from line 80-197). Likewise *dicitur* is preferred in the first half of the translation but *vocatur* predominates in the second half.

sufficient, but not necessary, to introduce a transliteration. The same linguistic mechanism with equivalent phrasing is also apparent in Greek translations of Arabic where the words *ἐπονομαζομένος* ('named') or *λεγόμενος* ('called') often pre-empt a transliteration.[59] That we can identify these and other conditioning factors at work (see below) in an apparently causal process denies the charge that the translation scheme was unpredictable.

The rendition of *ǧabal al-maʿaz* as *mons caprarum* (lines 5 & 21 Latin) has aroused the interest of Jeremy Johns who noted that the survival of the Sicilian toponym Gibilmisi to the present day proves the Latin was a contrived form that could never have been used beyond administrative circles.[60] Indeed, *mons caprarum* is not attested outside the Monreale register. The same author has suggested that the translation of *ʿuqdat al-xinzayr* as *densitudines porcorum* (lines 165 Latin) is a scribal joke. More simply we might observe that all common animal names are translated in the Monreale document.[61] Thus, we find:

Latin	Line ref	Meaning	Arabic	Cusa ref
cauda arietis	80, 82	ram's tail	*ḏanab al-kabš*	216-7
densitudines porcorum	165	group of pigs	*ʿuqdat al-xinzīr*	235
fons caballi	149	nag spring	*ʿayn al-birḏawn*	231
lapidus/petra aquile	61, 64	eagle rock	*ḥaǧar al-ʿaqāb*	212
mandra vaccarum	132	cow pen	*marāḥil al-baqar*	228
mons caprarum	5, 21	goat hill	*ǧabal al-maʿaz*	203, 205
mons or *monticellus vulturum*	11, 38, 41, 131	vulture hill	*kudyat al-nusūr*	203, 208 (x2), 227
monticellus serpentum	11, 156	snake hill	*kudyat al-ḥanāš*	203, 232
petrae apium	130	bee rocks	*ḥaǧār al-naḥl*	228
putei serpentum	63	snake spring	*bīr al-ḥanāš*	212

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[59] cf the Greek-Arabic boundary document from 1133 (Cusa p516) in which the Greek has been translated from the Arabic we find *το πηγάδιον το λεγόμενον ἔπεν σελου* and later *τοῦ στενοῦ τοῦ ἐπωνομασομένου τζουνιέν.* 'The spring called Eben Selou' and 'of the straits named Tzounien'.

[60] Johns *Duana Regia* (forthcoming).

[61] An important exception to this is *Flumen Felu < Wādī l-Falūw* (literally 'the River Foal') at lines 78, 130 and 140. Perhaps *Felu* was too obscure a word for the Latin scribe to have known, or perhaps the river was important enough to have been commonly known by its Arabic name. Besides which, to a Latin ear perhaps Falūw sounded intuitively appropriate name for something that flowed.

Likewise, items of flora- no matter how obscure- were translated into Latin in the vast majority of cases, except when occurring in a compound or after *vocatur* or *dicitur*, as the following examples show:

Latin	Cusa ref	Meaning	Arabic	Cusa ref
fons mortille	181	myrtle spring	*ʿayn rayḥān*	205
lacus ciperi	183	cyperus lake	*ġadīr al-suʿdā*	208
petra edera	184	rock of ivy	*ḥağar al-ʾarāk*	209
vallo tamaricii	189	ditch of tamarisks	*xandaq al-ṭarfā*	219
campus frascineti	194	field of elms	*faḥṣ al-dardār*	230
porta dardarambrun	194	gate of ʿAmrūn's elm	*bāb dirdār ʿAmrūn*	230
fons apii	196	celery spring	*ʿayn al-karāfs*	233
arbores caprificus	197	wild fig trees	*ašğār ḏukkār*	235
frasceta	198	elm tree	*dardār*	237
campus fraxineti	200	field of elms	*faḥṣ al-dardār*	241
fons pomerii	200	apple spring	*ʿayn al-tuffāḥa*	240

Another determining factor in the translation mechanism is the use and order of languages in certain phrases. For example, if we return to the idea of viewing a word as part of a wider sense unit, we can see that in phrases with two elements (e.g. *mons errah, flumen fridigo, vallo elgaric* or *terterum turris)*, the first element is always Latin. On the other hand, the second element could either be a translation or a transliteration from the Arabic into Latin. This scheme holds true for virtually all cases. Examples of first element terms that are always translated are:

Latin 1st element		Arabic 1st element	Meaning
mons or *monticellus*	<	*ğabal*	hill
via	<	*ṭarīq*	road
porta	<	*bāb*	gate
crista	<	*ṣulb*	crest
terra	<	*rabʿ*	land
cultura	<	*ḥissa*	plot
divisa	<	*ḥadd*	boundary

Thus, the limited combinations are possible:

1st element		2nd element
Latin	>	Translation into Latin
Latin	>	Transliteration from Arabic

So as a general rule, we do not see transliteration+Latin combinations. For example, *ğabal caprarum, ṭarīq mazarie* or *bāb benkays* are impossible combinations and we would instead expect to find *mons caprarum, via mazarie* and *porta benkays.* Nor would we expect to see the combination of two untransliterated Arabic elements together, unless they were introduced by *uocatur* or *dicitur.* There is, however, an important group of names that form an exception to this rule where two Arabic elements were compounded to produce a single form in the Latin. These examples are relatively common, as seen below.

Examples of Arabic place-names compounded into a Latin transliteration:

Rahal- ('estate of')
Rahalabdella, 144
Rahalamrun, 86
Rahalbahari, 12, 13, 142
Rahalbalata, 103
Rahalbensehel, 120
rahalbukal, 89
Rahalfarrug,113
rahalgalid, 94
Rahalgidit, 85
Rahalieus, 137
Rahalygeus,137
rahalketeb ioseph,37
rahalmie, 29, 40, 42
rahalmud, 105, 107
rahaltauri, 144
Rahaltor, 143
Rahalumur, 15
Rahaluta, 69, 103
flumen rahaluta, 68, 135
Rahalzamur, 115

Ġar ('cave')-
Garbuierat, 152
Garchalef, 125, 128, 129
Garsuayb, 118, 121
garsuhayb, 203

Hağar ('stone')-
kalatamauru, 193, 195, 196
kalatarasi, 14, 210
kalatatrasi, 205, 211
flumen kalatatrasi, 206
kalatatrasi, 74, 76, 77, 88, 117, 200, 204, 206, 207, 209
kalatefim, 17
kalatrasi, 13, 61

Manzil- ('house of')
Menselgresti, 112, 113, 115
Menzel nusayr, 131
Menzelabdella, 116
Menzelcharres, 115
menzelhendun, 136
strictus menzelleuleu, 67
menzelsalah, 36
menzelsarcun, 73, 74, 75, 88, 107
menzelzamur, 112
mezelabdella, 204
Mezelabderramen, 126
Mezelamur, 112
mezelhendun, 6
Mezelzamur, 112
mezenkasem, 153
terra miselabdella, 59

ʿAbd al- ('servant of')
terterus benhamse, 34
flumen benhamut, 37
uinea benhamut, 37
benhuKcabe, 149
area benhuleye, 150
mandra beniabar, 36
beniarrak, 60
benkage, 134
benKaraha, 149
porta benkays, 38
benlarmel, 90
flumen benmuksen or benmuchsen, 118, 120, 123, 126
mons benrabaun, 72
uallo bensebbib, 153
Rahalbensehel, 120
bensyel, 117
flumen benzurra, 12, 142

(A)bu- ('father of')
buchaba, 130
flumen buchabid, 81, 83
uallo buchabid, 82
flumen buchabith, 19
bufurera, 37, 38, 43
spelunca buhafu, 163
bukcinene, 161
caput bulebede, 57

hagiarbucal, 91
haiar zeneti, 12, 142, 156, 158, 159
flumen haiar zeneti, 160
mons haiar zeneti, 161
haiarbucal, 123
haiarseneti, 44
aiarseneti 53

Qala't al- ('fort of')
kalatafimi, 17, 62, 68, 76
kalatafimo, 88
kalatafimus, 77, 94
Kalatahali, 181, 188, 191, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211

fons abdelckefi, 83
fons abdelkefi, 85
abdellale, 111
campus abdeluehet, 41
planicies abdeluehet, 39

Ibn- ('son of')
mons benarauzi, 160
benbark, 78, 109
silua bendicken, 82
benefati, 76
benefatum, 74
benfurire, 34
radix bengerrak, 59
altera benhamsa, 30

mons buliarrah, 139
mons buliarraha, 138
bulluchum, 62
bulmarru, 164
buluyn, 32
terterus Benmensur, 145
caput burrachu, 164
Busachinu[m], 177
busackini, 196
diuisis Busackini, 177
busackino, 198, 199
Busackinus, 174, 175, 176
Kala busamara, 155
uallo bussadaca, 126

Some of these names referred to well-known places and not local features of topography or obscure settlements. Thus, they were probably known by their Arabic names both locally and even by Latins. This is supported by modern Sicilian toponyms, many of which have been clearly derived from their Arabic forms via the influence of Latinate dialect. From the examples cited above, we might note the typically Latinate reduction of /nz/ to /z/ or /s/, cf *Manzil* > *Mezel* or *Misel*. In this case, modern Sicilian toponyms such as Mezzoiuso (< *Manzil Yūsuf)* and Misilmeri (< *Manzil al-ʾAmīr)* recall a Romance pronunciation of the Arabic and the scribe Alexander appears to have anticipated a usage that would later become standard.[62]

The phenomenon of transliteration in administrative documents between languages has almost certainly affected the orthography and/or pronunciation of other items of vocabulary, particularly toponyms and anthroponyms- but rarely in such a way that it provides reliable data for linguists who are researching phonological changes. An intriguing case is that of the modern Sicilian surname Cangemi and its variants.[63] The name is attested in both Sicily

[62] It is possible that a certain villein Muḥammad, who in Greek is called Bānzūl' and who appeared in a Arabic deed from 1117 was actually called 'Basil,' but had had his name hypercorrected to Bānzūl by the Arabic scribe, cf Guillou, *Les actes Grecs de Messina* pp52-55.

[63] Cangemi p272; Gangemi p678; Cancemi (also a toponym) p269; Gaggemi (a rarer variation) p664 and Cognemi p419. All references to Caracausi, *Dizionario Onomastico* Vol I.

and on the Italian mainland from as early as 1098.[64] It ultimately derives from the Arabic *ḥaǧǧām* meaning 'a cupper' or more probably 'a barber', although this in no way entails that anyone bearing that name in the twelfth century actually *was* a barber. The name was often rendered in Greek as *χαγγέμ* - literally 'chaggém'- and often added a Greek inflectional ending *-is.*[65] Thus, letter for letter, the two can be represented approximately as:

Arabic:	ḥaǧǧām	حجام
Greek:	chaggém-is	*χαγγέμης*

The Arabic contains a 'shaddated' or geminated letter *(ǧǧ)* which is semantically important because it indicates a profession. This was faithfully reproduced in the Greek as two gammas *(gg).* But therein lies the problem, for while the doubled letter in the Arabic is pronounced as /ǧǧ/, the combination of two gammas in Greek forms the sound /ŋg/. Thus, the Arabic and Greek differed in their pronunciation, even though one was a direct transliteration of the other. Phonologically, the two versions are thus:

Arabic: /ḥaǧǧa:m/
Greek: /haŋgemis/

The modern Italian surname 'Cangemi' has lost its inflectional suffix *(-s)*, and could only have derived from the Arabic via the medium of Greek. What is not clear in this case is whether the phonological change from /ǧǧ/ to /ŋg/ came about as a result of transliteration, or whether such nasalisation was an Italo-Greek innovation. This example may be rather unusual, but it serves to show the complex relationship between the Sicilian administrative languages and more modern forms.

As far as the transliteration of nouns was concerned, a common way of adapting Arabic to fit a Latin standard was to switch the gender from a masculine (in the Arabic) to a feminine (in the Latin), which enabled the noun to be modelled according to the Latin declension. Sounds that were not shared by the Latin were either levelled to an approximate equivalent or, more often than not, ignored completely. Examples of gender switching in loan words from the Monreale document include: *usq[ue] ad uiam que ducit ad babiam*

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[64] *Χαγγέμη* is attested from 1098 Mercati, Gianuelli, Giullou (St Jean-Théristès 1054-1264), 1980 p56 & 76.

[65] e.g. Cusa pp141a and 476b.

[et] transit ip[s]am uiam (9) from the masculine Arabic noun *bāb* 'door' or 'gate'. From the Arabic masculine *muḍīq* meaning 'where a stream becomes narrow' we find *uadit ad mudicam ubi stillat aqua (79); ascendit ad ductu[m] s[e]c[un]d[u]m usq[ue] ad mudica[m] (141); ascendit cu[m] uia publica usq[ue] ad mudica[m] sicalbe (146); ad orientem parte[m] mudica yad (150).* In a Latin-Sicilian transumpt from 1467 we find the phrase 'ex parte inferiori la *dachala dachala'.*[66] Again the Latin has been approximately transliterated from the Arabic *daġal* ('a thicket'), has switched genders with the addition of a Latin suffix and has been doubled to form a word pair.

However, there are considerable doubts as to the status of such 'loan words' and their likely relationship to genuinely dialect forms. The following examples of transliterated forms in the Monreale and other twelfth-century registers suggest that in many cases transliterated words were obscure and abstruse. One wonders whether sentences as *'uadit ad saaria[m] ad fontes zufei zefe ad mesita[m] berdi'* have ever made sense to anyone. It is doubtful that similar such Latin terms could have ever been used as loan words in everyday speech and barely even qualify as examples of meaningful code-switching between bilingual scribes. Among the many examples in the Monreale register, we find (line references in brackets):

Arabic		Latin	Line	Meaning
al-manāqiʿ	>	*descendit cum aqua usq[ue] ad menaka*	31	*the bogs*
al-ǧ.rīfa	>	*Ascendit c[um] flumine ad hurife*	34	*ledge?*
al-qar.būsiyya	>	*ad paru[u]m petra[m] que est sub carbusia*	48	*the bottom edge?* cf Greek *κρηπις*
al-māǧina	>	*uadit ad megine[m]*	63	*cistern*
al-x.b.q.ǐn	>	*descendit australit[er] ad hcapkalinos*	71	*two riding animals* (cf coll. Greek *καβαλλικατα*
tašuqq al-mustaǧilla	>	*que secat musticellam*	77	*??*
al-q.ǐʿa	>	*usq[ue] ad cap[ut] coleya*	80	*rugged crest*
al-q.ǐʿa	>	*usq[ue] ad culeia[m]*	82	*rugged crest*
min ʿ.lāb.quwā	>	*descendit de alebaccu*	124, 127	*??*
min ġānim ʾilā ʾan	>	*descendente[m] de*	125	*'soldat qui a l'usufruit*

[66] Caracausi, *Arabismi* p199.

yuḥāḏī balāṭ ġānim		*ganimoquousq[ue] opponit[ur] ad balata[m]*		*d'une terre'* Dozy II, p229
nāzilan ʾilā mālis	>	*descendit ad meles*	145	*apiary?* (cf. Greek *μελισαρεα*
min al-kamīn	>	*qui descendit a capite ghemi.. qui descendit de chemino*	187	*from the furnace?* (cf. Greek *καμινες*
yaṣil ʾilā dimna ǧarīda	>	*p[er]uenit ad fine[m] girrayde*	196	*it reaches the remains of a palm tree?*

It is quite clear from the obscure nature of the target vocabulary that these examples could not have been genuine loan words. Rather such code-switching through direct transliteration was an accepted method of dealing with awkward terms whose meanings were, and in some cases still are, unclear.

Arabic loan words and vernacular speech

Of Arabic terms transliterated into Latin in the Monreale register, only a handful has ever been attested in the modern dialects of southern Italy and/or Malta. Nonetheless, these few are particularly significant and, from the Monreale boundaries, include *xandaq, qāʾid, kinisia, marǧ, muḏīq* and *fawwāra.* In this catagory two nouns, *kinisia* and *fawwāra,* are of special interest. The latter, from the Arabic فوارة for 'a spring', became *favaria* in the Latin of the Monreale register (lines 8, 19, 156, 162 and 163 Latin). *Favaria,* or elsewhere *favara,* is quite likely to have been in general twelfth-century use as Roger II had built a palace called 'Favara.'[67] The word is also attested in Greek, which is phonetically closer to the Latin than the Arabic in spite of its Arabic origin, as shown below:[68]

Arabic		Greek		Latin
فوارة	>	*φαβάρα*	>	*favara* (or *favaria)*
/fawwāra/	>	/favára/	>	/favara/

Favara also occurs exceptionally as the first element in the phrase *favara tabri* (line 8), *favaria canneti* (line 163), and *favaria heraclii* (line 19). This suggests

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[67] cf Falcandus, XXV, p87 (ed. Siragusa), *'cogitans [William] ut quia pater eius Favariam, Minenium aliaque delectabilia loca fecerat, ipse quoque palatium construerat'.* Romauld of Salerno recalled that Roger II lived in the Favara palace in winter and especially at Lent because he had had the lakes well-stocked with fish.

[68] In 1133 Cusa p516, again apparently transliterated from an Arabic original*: κάκεῖθεν ὑποστρέφει ἕως την φαβάραν* 'and from there it turns up until the *favara...'*

it may have been a genuinely 'Sicilian' term that was considered sufficiently Latinate to appear in place of a Latin equivalent in a first element position. As mentioned, it was common for 'Sicilian' words formed from transliterations from Arabic to be attested in Greek before they were recorded in Latin. Indeed, an examination of the earliest attested forms of Arabic words which became 'Sicilian dialect' words reveals that more than twice the amount are first attested in Greek as opposed to Latin. This is all the more remarkable for the fact that there are over double the number of Latin examples cited to Greek ones.[69] By the same token, the lack of Greek elements in Maltese is a serious objection to the theory that a sub-strata of Maltese may have been derived from dialects of Sicilian Arabic.

A word that has a phonetically close Maltese relative and that also has an unstable status in the Monreale boundaries is *kinisia* (line 12-13 in the Latin), which ultimately derives from the Classical Arabic كنيسة *kanīsa* ('a church'). *Kinisia* is of interest because it is often attested in Sicilian Arabic documents as كنيسية *k.nīsya* or *k.nīsiya* instead of the standard Arabic كنيسة *kanīsa.*[70] It is also attested in Greek in a form that seems to bear out the deviant pronunciation of the Sicilian Arabic. Thus, **bāb al-kanīsya > τὸ πεπελκηνήσηα /pep elkinísia/.*[71] This form alternates in the same document with the Greek form *ἐκκλήσια /ekklísia/.* That the stress in the Greek falls on the medial *eta* of *kinísia* suggests that the corresponding Arabic was more likely to have been pronounced as /al-kanísya/ rather than /al-kanisíyya/. The Latin *kinisia* does not provide us with a stress accent and so is of no help here, however the modern Maltese for 'church' is *knisja* also pronounced as /knīsya/. This appears to reflect the Sicilian phonology and stress pattern, but may equally have been produced by a similar exposure of Arabic to Romance pronunciation. Indeed, the lack of evidence of the medieval Maġribī (particularly the Tunisian) pronunciation of this word cannot rule out a direct connection between North Africa and Malta.

As far as Malta is concerned, words of possible Sicilian origin are not attested there until much later in the medieval period and *kinisia* is typical in that it

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[69] Based on a survey of those recorded in Caracausi's *Arabismi medievali di Sicilia,* 1983.

[70] In royal documents cf Cusa pp28, 34, 84, 245 and 479.

[71] Cusa p616 (lines 4, 14 & 22). The document dates from 1145.

does not appear until 1554 when it is attested as *chnisie.*[72] Arguments that seek to establish linguistic contacts retrospectively over such a long period between Malta and Norman Sicily are thus never likely to be compelling. Moreover, the lack of equivalent evidence from North Africa does not allow us to take account of other possible causes and influences. There are, however, conspicuous similarities between the types of word attested in Sicilian Arabic deeds and those attested in early Maltese. For example, many terms of physical geography and administration are remarkably similar and it is possible that Malta and Sicily once had an equivalent land-registry tradition. This proposal of lexical correspondences would require further scrutiny that is, unfortunately, beyond the immediate scope of this research.

Nonetheless, a likely reason for the formation of so many loan words from transliterations in Sicily and the development of interchangeable administrative forms was the constant practice and continued necessity of translating between Latin, Greek and Arabic documents over an extended period of time. However, if examples such as *kinisia* and *favara* were probably used in wider speech, we have also seen that this cannot be said of many other more remote loan words formed from code-switching transliterations. A fascinating example of a term that *prima facie* appears to have been Latinised or Sicilianised by transliteration is found in lines 152/319 of the Monreale deed. Here the Arabic reads *ʿalā al-ḥağar al-ṯābita al-muxriza* which literally translates as 'and it [the boundary] passes over the established, drilled stone.' The Arabic adjective *muxriza* means 'bored' or 'drilled' and is not a particularly common word. The phrase has been rendered in the Latin as *'et uadit ad petra[m] plantata[m] que est quasi charassata'.* Here 'quasi' probably had the literal Latinate sense of 'as if' as opposed to the more modern Italian meaning 'almost', as it is unlikely that the translator had ever actually seen the stone in question. It seems then as if the Latin scribe, unsure as to the meaning of the Arabic, had decided to transliterate the term instead of attempting to translate it. Given that many similarly obscure Arabic nouns were treated in this way, it is surprising and unwarranted to find that such terms are commonly assigned the status of early Sicilian 'dialect' words.[73] On the contrary, rather than these terms being items of common usage, at least some, if not many, were little

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[72] Agius, *Siculo Arabic*, 1996, pp318-319.

[73] cf particularly the seminal works of Caracausi, *Arabismi,* 1983 and Pellegrini, *Gli arabismi nelle lingue neolatine*, 1972.

more than 'one-off' occurrences made by Latin scribes who were using transliteration as an accepted response to dealing with certain items of Arabic vocabulary. To regard such terms as having the status of medieval dialect words has to potential to mislead in two ways. First, it misunderstands the administrative origins of how some of these words came into being. Secondly, it gives the impression that these types of neologisms might have been part of a much wider linguistic process. This has, in turn, contributed significantly to the idea that the twelfth and thirteenth centuries saw the development of a regional pidgin language with elements of Arabic and Romance.[74] As we shall see in the later chapters, the patchy socio-historical evidence available suggests that the language situation in Sicily was characterised by fragmentation and local variation and, as such, is unlikely to have given rise to the high and sustained levels of social integration required for such sociolinguistic development. Thus, whilst odd linguistic forms are attested amongst the bilingual translators of the day, there is no compelling reason to extend this to the island's population as a whole, even if such a documentary genre was continued into the later medieval period.

As a postscript to the translation-transliteration debate, we might consider how texts based on Latin and Greek were reproduced in Arabic. Notable amongst these are three deeds dating from 1172, 1187(?) and 1242, all of which feature Latin loan words of an administrative type that were transliterated into Arabic.[75] The latter was the final product to be issued from the *dīwān* in Arabic. The main body of the text was written in Latin and was then translated into Arabic, but the boundaries themselves may have originally been in Arabic and were translated into Latin. The deed itself is rich in 'Sicilian Arabisms', although only a few were ever attested elsewhere. For example, some loan terms such as *yanār* ('January' line 1); *usbiṭāl* ('hospital' lines 7, 12 and 24); *kanīsya* ('church' line 8) and *burǧīsī* ('townsfolk' line 6) are relatively common in contemporary documents. But these are matched by a number of administrative neologisms created by rather poor and idiosyncratic transliterations from Latin into Arabic. As such they support similar conclusions about the role and status of transliterations that we have already seen from the Monreale concession made some 60 years previously- that they

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[74] An idea first articulated by Dionisius Agius in *Siculo Arabic*, 1996.

[75] Cusa pp80-83, 83-85 and 'Il diploma latino-arabo di Oberto Fallamonaca,' U Rizzitano, taken from 'Le più antiche carte dell'Archivio Capitolare di Agrigento', a cura di Paolo Collura, Palermo, n.d.

are a product of a purely administrative tradition. For example, we find in line 6: *ʾakrāk al-ǧ.b.la* ('the archbishops of the chapel') which sounds almost as close to *ǧabal* ('a mountain') as it does to 'chapel.' In lines 11, 13, 15 and 18 we meet the unlikely-sounding term *al-y.wdǧīn* (for *iudices* 'judges'). Here the *waw-dāl-ǧīm* combination is highly unusual and difficult to pronounce in Arabic. We might also note that while the use of an accusative ending here (in place of a nominative) does indicate colloquial influence, this does not entail that the word itself was colloquial too. *D.s.cūmā* for *vicecomes* in line 18 and *b.nāfisīw* line 8 for 'benificiaries' are also unusual, if not entirely unconvincing, transliterations. Likewise, as line 14 we find *sīr* (for 'Sire') where we might have expected either *mawlā-nā, ṣāḥib,* or perhaps *šayx.* The 1172 version also gives *d.s.cūmā* for *vicecomes*[76] as well as *al-l.ġūṯāt* for the Greek 'logothete'. The latter example hints at a Greek model for the translation and is supported by the fact that the dual texts are themselves in Greek and Arabic. Besides this, the name of the only signatory on the document, Sheikh Ǧāfrāy was in Greek. Nothing else is known about him outside his role in this text as *Ṣāḥib dīwān al-taḥqīq al-maʿmūr.* Finally, the Arabic version thought to date from 1187, which was based on a Latin translation, gives the examples of *al-ǧ.nt.r* ('chorister'), *al-ǧ.bla* ('chapel') and *ʾarš.ḏiyāq.n* ('archdeacon'). While these examples show the way in which the roles of the languages had become reversed with the Arabic scribe transliterating from Latin, not vice-versa, they also testify to the long-term ascendancy of Latin as the prestige administrative language by this time.

Trilingual vocabulary: variety and status

While many loan words are attested in any two of the three administrative languages, some terms were recorded in Arabic, Latin *and* Greek, as shown in the examples below.[77] These were all formed from transliterations, with or without inflectional interference. The following list has been compiled from all published Norman Sicilian documents, although many terms were attested in the Monreale registers. (See overleaf for table).

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[76] Cusa p82.

[77] Loans from Old French have been included in the wider class of 'Latin' words.

Table 5. Items of interchangeable administrative vocabulary attested in Latin, Greek and Arabic during the Norman period

amiratus (L)	<	*amīr* (A)	>	*ἀμηρᾶς*	admiral[78]
babia (L)	<	*bāb* (A)	>	*πέπ*	gate[79]
balata (L)	<	*balāṭa* (A)	>	*βαλάτα*	slab[80]
duana (L)	<	*dīwān* (A)	>	*δουάνα*	chancery[81]
favara (L)	<	*fawwāra* (A)	>	*φαβάρα*	spring[82]
kinisia (L)	<	*k.nisya* (A)	>	*κινίσια*	church[83]
cudyet (L)	<	*kudya* (A)	>	*κούδιε*	hillock[84]
margium (L)	<	*marǧ* (A)	>	*μάργιον*	meadow[85]
mudica (L)	<	*muḏīq* (A)	>	*μουδικ*	strid[86]
gaytus (L)	>	*qāʾid* (A)	>	*κάϊτος*	leader[87]
chandackerra (L)	<	*xandaq* (A)	>	*χάνδακ*	ditch[88]
chirba (L)	<	*xirba* (A)	>	*χήρπη*	ruin[89]
al-ġ.m.n (A)	<	*ηγουμένος* (Gk)	=	*ecumenus* (L)	abbot[90]
sardaġūs (A)	<	*στρατηγός* (Gk)	>	*stratigotus* (L)	strategot[91]
ʾaršdiyāq.n (A)	<	*archidiaconos* (L)	=	*αρχιδιάκονος*	archdeacon[92]
ʾarākina/ʾarš.fsk (A)	<	*archiepiscopi* (L)	=	*αρχιεπίσκοποι*	archbishop[93]
al-bārūniyya (A)	<	*baroni* (L)	>	*βαρουνοι*	barons[94]
b.nāfisīyūw (A)	<	*beneficium* (L)	>	*βενεφίκιον*	beneficiary[95]
ǧ.nsalīr (A)	<	*cancellarius* (L)	>	*καντζηλλάριος*	chancellor[96]
ǧ.bla (A)	<	*cappella* (L)	>	*καππέλλα*	chapel[97]

[78] Cusa p72 (G) & p362 (L) > modern Italian *ammiraglio.*

[79] Cusa p616 (G) & p180 (L).

[80] Cusa p116 (G) & p181 (L).

[81] Cusa p494 (G) & p83 (L).

[82] Cusa p516 (G) & p196 (L).

[83] Cusa p272 (G) & p180 (L).

[84] Cusa p203 (G) & p191 (L).

[85] Cusa p18 (G) & p193 (L).

[86] Cusa p275 (G) & p195 (L).

[87] Cusa p303 (G) & p488 (L) > *càjitu* 'capopopulo.' Note the Arabic plural with exceptional Romance voicing *al-qāwāyit,* Cusa p604.

[88] Cusa p660 (G) & p181 (L).

[89] Cusa p661 (G) & p(L) > *iri in scirbi scirbi* 'andare per luoghi scoscesi' Caracausi *Arabismi,* pp187-189.

[90] Cusa p505 (A).

[91] Cusa p488 (G), p325 (L) & p36 (A).

[92] Cusa p84 (A) & Trinchera p184 (G).

[93] Cusa p340 (G) & pp563 and 39-40(A).

[94] Cusa p307 (G) & p 245(A).

[95] Trinchera p419 in 1251 (G) & p604 (A).

[96] Cusa p81 (A) & Guillou, *Les actes Grecs* p90 (G).

[97] Cusa p84 & p340 (G).

al-q.ṣt.lānī (A)	<	*castellanus* (L)	>	*καστελλάνος*	castellan[98]
al-asāq.fa (A)	<	*episcopos* (L)	=	*επίσκοπος*	bishop[99]
ʾafrār (A)	<	*frère* (L)	>	*φρέρη*	friar[100]
ʾusb.ṭāl (A)	<	*hospitale* (L)	>	*οσπιτάλιον*	hospital[101]
n.ṭārī (A)	<	*notarius* (L)	>	*νοτάριος*	scribe[102]
al-abriyūr (A)	<	*prior* (L)	=	*προϊστωρ*	prior[103]
siğill (A)	=	*sigillum* (L)	=	*σιγίλλιον*	diploma[104]
sir, sīr or *al-qīr* (A)	<	*sire* (L)	=	*κῦρ*	sir[105]
al-t.rāriyya (A)	<	*terrarius* (L)	=	*τερρέρης*	feudatories[106]
disqūmī (A)	<	*vicecomes* (L)	>	*βεισκώμης*	viscount[107]

A relatively large number of interchangeable terms are missing from this list. These include the names for the calendar months and those words that also had a much wider sphere of borrowing, such as *funduq* or *burğ*. The list is also devoid of the many loan words that transmitted via personal names, such as *murabiṭ* (> morabito) or *ḥağğām* (> *changemis* > Cangemi). These two types have been discounted on the grounds that, although well attested in Sicily, their route into related dialects may not have been through vernacular Sicilian speech.

Nonetheless, there is a clear difference between loan words attested from Arabic and loan words deriving from Romance sources. The latter category deals largely with the Latin church, the Norman administration or the feudal system. As such, they clearly originated as the product of Norman administrative control and could not have existed in any form of Sicilian Arabic before the mid-eleventh century. Some of these terms *(arš.fs.q, ʾaršdiyāq.n, al-bārūniyya, ğ.nsalīr* and *ğ.bla* are closer phonetically to Old French than they are to Latin or Italo-Romance pronunciations, thereby suggesting a possible route of transmission into Arabic. By contrast, loan words from Arabic that are attested in Latin and Greek are terms that relate to either administration or

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[98] Cusa p600 (G) & p574 (A).

[99] Cusa p293 (G) & p127 (A).

[100] Trinchera p336 in 1199 (G) & p646 (A).

[101] Cusa p47 (A) & p361 (G).

[102] Cusa p81 (G) & p82, 576 (A).

[103] Trincherea p91 (G) & p645 (A).

[104] Cusa p512 (G) & p605 (A).

[105] Cusa p369 (G) & p81 (A).

[106] Cusa p533 (G) & p127 (A).

[107] Cusa p629 (G) & pp 82, 605 (A).

physical geography and are likely to have been coined and transmitted largely via transliteration in administrative documents.[108] Support for this comes from the relatively remote nature of many of these calques.

Summary and conclusions

With regard to the language of the administration, it can be shown that, via translations, Latin scribes adopted some of the administrative literary modes and language of their Arabic and Greek predecessors. However, it is difficult to establish which of these two languages exerted the most stylistic influence in the Latin or indeed, from where such literary administrative traits first evolved. However, the prominence of Arabic transliterated terms in the Greek but not vice-versa suggests that the Arabic may have been the stylistic driving force of early and pre-Norman documents, although the word-doubling genre may be traceable to a Calabrian Greek tradition. If this evidence could be corroborated, then later Latin documents that assimilated these styles represent a genuine fusion, as opposed to a confluence of these traditions.

Even by the early part of the twelfth century, transliterated loan words show that scribes had already risen to the challenge of finding easily translatable and comprehensible items of vocabulary which were tailored to meet the increasing need for translations to and from Greek, Arabic and Latin. One of the key features of this vocabulary was a tendency to transliterate terms that related to physical geography and administration, which reflects the type of documents produced in the chancery. The tendency to resort to code-switching became almost something of a standard for bilingual twelfth-century scribes and continued into the later medieval period.

The conditioning factors that helped to determine whether a word was translated or transliterated and the mechanisms of word creation through the practice of transliteration, are apparent in both Latin and Greek administrative documents throughout the Norman period. This seems to have been based on highly variable schemes. Nonetheless, the propensity to transliterate certain Arabic terms resulted partly in the development, unwitting or not, of an interchangeable vocabulary that could be understood at least by the scribes

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[108] Pellegrini identifies 55 different areas for Arabisms in Late Latin, some of which are tend to be very small. However, a very large number of these categories can be resolve into either administrative or geographical types. Other categories also tend to be very small.

who created and used the terms. In some examples, most probably pre-existing 'Sicilian' terms in common usage were used and reflected by the administration. Many other examples have no attested life outside administrative documents and it is suggested that they were actually coined by bilingual scribes via transliteration into Latin. In some cases terms may even have been transmitted only via the written word of the exclusive circles which coined them through copies and later transumpts.

We have seen how the modes of expression such as word pairs, neologisms created by transliteration from Arabic or interference from Latin or Greek were commonly used and were well-established in both royal and private charters. However, the textual and lexical unevenness in such documents combined with a literary genre that spanned all three administrative languages creates as many problems as it does solutions with regard to the relationship of Arabic-speakers and the wider Sicilian language question. It would certainly be unwarranted to assume that the creators of the documents on which much of our evidence for early examples of Sicilian toponymy and vocabulary is based were using language in the same way that the wider linguistic communities were. Caution must therefore be exercised when assigning vernacular status to 'Sicilian-isms' (particularly Arabic loan words) or related dialect words, since it is difficult to distinguish them from purely administrative terms created by code-switching.

It seems equally unlikely that apparently trilingual vocabulary resulted from a centralised and co-ordinated language planning policy- other than having three separate royal chanceries. Rather, whether a royal boundary documents was written in Greek, Arabic or Latin seems to have been made on a more *ad hoc* basis and depended on the language of those giving the oral testimony, those collating that testimony and the varying demand for translations of these originals. The long, Latin translation for the church of S. Maria Nuova in 1182 marked a change in administrative policy by its use of Arabic-Latin in favour of Arabic-Greek. On a general level, if a turning point was required, then 1182 may be regarded as one in the decline of both Greek and Arabic as the languages of administration in Sicily, although documents continued to be

produced and translated in these languages and in the same genre as the 1242 Fallomonaca text shows.[109]

In terms of the internal construction of the Monreale deed and the dating of its component parts, the boundaries of Ḥağar al-Zanātī and Raḥl ibn Sahl can be identified as having been defined by 1154. We can show the former to be linked stylistically to most of the boundaries of the *magna divisa* of Corleone, and the latter to long sections within the *magna divisa* of Iato. Of the remaining boundaries, some appear in other documents (Q.rūbn.š 1173 and Raḥl al-Wazzān 1149) but there is insufficient information to date the remainder. Nonetheless, it is evident from the style, use of vocabulary and textual cohesion that the Arabic of the *daftars* from which the Monreale register was drawn came from several sources spanning at least 43 years.

Finally, although we cannot be certain who the scribes were, it is likely that the notary Alexander was probably responsible for a large amount of the compilation and translation work into Latin from the Arabic *daftars.* On the other hand, the Arabic scribe Yūsuf was certainly a copyist but may also have collaborated with the translation. He is not mentioned in any other document of the twelfth century. Towards the end of the document Alexander claims that '*de saracenico in latinum transferri.*' Therein lies an ambiguity which expresses a certain wider truth about the compilation of this document because *transferri* can not only mean 'transfer' or 'copy' but could also mean 'translate', which comes from the same verb. The very notion of 'writing Arabic in Latin' embodies the ambiguity of whether to translate or to transliterate. Indeed, the blend of both styles not only characterises the language of Norman Sicilian boundary registers, but also lent itself to the creation of many loan words of varying status via the process of code-switching and transliteration.

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[109] There is only one extant document in Arabic under Frederick II, which although important, shows a sharp decline in the number of Arabic scribes working in the *dīwān.*

CHAPTER THREE:
The Arabic of the villein registers: composition, style and status

The art of the dīwānī *translator*

In the previous chapters, we looked at the land defining operations of the *Dīwān al-taḥqīq al-maʿmūr* and examined the relationships between the Arabic and Latin of the Monreale 1182 boundary document. Particular attention was paid to the way in which scribes translated or transliterated terms from one language to another and it was argued that many loans words were effectively coined and transmitted via the commonly-used processes of code-switching and transliteration. However, the Arabic *dīwān* was not only responsible for the issuing and upkeep of boundary registers, but also produced list of villeins who lived within the defined estates. In Arabic these lists were known as the *ǧarāʾid al-riǧāl*. The primary administrative purpose of these documents was to serve as a fiscal record of concessions made to landlords from the royal demesne.[1] Names of house-hold heads were noted, sometimes according to religion, sometimes to location and sometimes to both. The early registers were made in either in Arabic and/or in Greek, but by the early 1140s old registers were recalled and re-issued in Arabic accompanied by a Greek transcription. In these re-issued deeds, it is widely thought that the Greek scribes' treatment of the Arabic names repeatedly reflects sounds that deviate from the phonology of Classical Arabic. The historical and linguistic importance of the *ǧarāʾid al-riǧāl* has not gone unnoticed, however a systematic study of the type and status of the linguistic evidence they yield has not been undertaken.

The extent of collaboration between scribes

Prima facie the orthography of different Greek transcriptions of Arabic names appears to be relatively consistent. This consistency is all the more remarkable

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[1] It may have been important for tax purposes to list Christians separately as Muslims and Jews are believed to have paid the *ǧizya* and thus were taxed at a premium rate. However, the term *ǧizya* is used only once in Norman Sicilian documents (Cusa p111), but it may have been paid under a different name. For a full and up-to-date discussion see Johns 'Taxing the rough with the smooth: Muslims villeins in Norman Sicily' (forthcoming).

given that the manuscripts were produced over three to five generations of scribes from 1095-1183. Not only is the orthography comparable, but the Greek was usually copied from the Arabic. Nonetheless, our understanding and interpretation of this data depends largely on a number of assumptions made about the relationship between the languages. For example, the order of writing the Greek and the Arabic was not always the same. Exceptionally, in the S. Maria Maddalena of Corleone register of 1151, the Greek had been written *first* and the Arabic added afterwards in the limited space around it. Quite how the Greek equates to the Arabic begs wider questions about how the scribes came to compose the registers. No treatise exists- perhaps none was ever written- that outlined chancery practice in Sicily. Although similar works do exist elsewhere, the uniqueness of the Norman Sicilian administration issuing bilingual villein registers in Arabic and Greek does not allow accurate analogies with other contemporary administrations such as that of Fāṭimid Egypt or with teams of translators in Spain. Indeed, small disparities in any analogy are sufficient to undermine precisely the matters of detail such a comparison tries to establish.

There is a sense in which all documents are the result of collaboration between scribes. There was, at least, a line of communication which spanned from the king (at least in theory), through to the *datarii* of the upper strata of the administration, down to the scribes who actually put pen to parchment. Finally, documents were returned to be signed and sealed to show ratification and authorisation. As far as the language question is concerned, it is the collaboration between the unnamed scribes who were involved in the writing stages of production that is of relevance, since it was they who executed the translation and transliterations from one language to another. The difficulty of the task surrounding the composition and copying of *dīwānī* deeds is no better shown than by the series of registers relating to villeins from the from the areas of Cefalù and Collesano (see map).

The copying process

In 1136 the monks of the church of Cefalù brought to Palermo a *ǧarīda* which was written in Latin.[2] This contained the names of men from Collesano and Rocella, who were the property of the churches of S. Giovanni and S. Cosma

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[2] The Arabic clearly states that there was a single Latin list- واحضروا ايضا جريدة مكتوبة بالاطيني 'they also brought a register written in Latin,' but it seems to have been divided into two parts.

and had been donated by Abbot David of S. Trinità at Mileto to the church of S. Salvatore's in Cefalù in January 1136.[3] This register is of exceptional interest to both linguists and historians because there is also an Arabic-Greek copy of the same list which was made for the church of Cefalù in 1145.[4] The majority of the names on the list are Arabic names, although some are Greek. The two Latin lists were combined and transliterated into a single Arabic-Greek list. This was then appended to the register of villeins in the Cefalù area that had been presented to the *Dīwān al-maʿmūr* in Palermo to be confirmed and re-issued in January 1145.[5] A comparison of all three languages graphically demonstrates the relationships between them:

From Latin to Arabic to Greek: the Collesano and Rocella villein registers

	Collesano 1136 Latin	Cefalù 1145 Arabic	Cefalù 1145 Greek
1	Nicholaus de lo Mocheti[6]	Niqūlah Numuṯātī	Νικόλ[αος] νομοθέτης
2	Ioseph filius Ianuarii	Yūsuf bin Yanār	ἰωσήφ υἱὸς γενν̀αρ
3	Nicholaus filius Leontis	Niqūlah bin Lāw	Νικόλ[αος] υἱὸς λέο
4	Philippus filius Buseit	Fīlīb bin Bū l-Sayyid	φίλιππ[ος] υἱὸς νουσσίτ
5	Philippus filius Calochuri	Fīlīb bin Qaluğūrī	φίλιππος υἱὸς καλοκύρου
6	Abdelcherin filius Yse	ʿAbd l-Karīm bin ʿIsā	ἀυδελκερὴμ ἐπ᾽ ἴσε

[3] Both S. Trinità in Mileto and Cefalù were Latin churches.

[4] For both documents- PAS, Cefalù nos. 2 and 20; ed Garufi, *Documenti inediti*, 173-74; White, *Latin Monasticism, 194;* Cusa 479-80 and all lists reproduced, although not directly from the manuscripts, in De Simone, *Spoglio antroponomico,* pp34-38.

[5] According to Johns, *Byzantinische Forschungen 1995,* 'the compilers of the 1145 register appear to have had an earlier Arabic register of the villeins of S. Cosma which they were able to copy, [but] they seem to have relied upon the Latin register of 1136, in which eight out of a total of 19 names are irretrievably garbled in transliteration, for those of S. Giovanni.' The argument here is that some of the names in the Arabic-Greek 1145 register are incomplete due to the scribes being unable to decipher those same garbled names in the 1136 Latin registers. Thus, a garbled name in the Latin which does not appear in full in the Arabic-Greek register suggests that the latter was based on the former. Whilst this may be so, there is nothing in the language of the Latin register to suggest that it was based on an Arabic original. If anything, it was more likely to have had a Greek predecessor. This is also supported by linguistic evidence (see below). That the Rocella list is pock-marked with gaps in the transcription compared to the Collesano list tentatively suggests that the Greek original for Collesano may still have been extant in 1145. Alternatively, both lists were reconstructed from Latin into Arabic, the Arabic scribes having found the Collesano list (with more Arabic names) easier to manage than that from Rocella.

[6] This is most probably a Latinised version of the Arabic name *Maqāṭiʿ* (plural of *Maqṭaʿ* and which survives as the modern surname Mocata). The 1145 scribes seem to have guessed incorrectly at its derivation. Besides which *nomothetis* in Greek means 'lawgiver'- an unlikely name for a villein and unattested elsewhere in Sicily.

7	Hamor filius Abdelcherin	ᶜUmar bin ᶜAbd l-Karīm	ὅμουρ ἐπ᾽ ἀυδελκερὴμ
8	Sidi filius eiusdem Abdelcherin	Sayyidhum bin ᶜAbd l-Karīm	σήδουχουμ ἐπ᾽ ἀυδελκερὴμ
9	Mehib filius Abdelcherin	Mahīb bin ᶜAbd l-Karīm	μουχὴπ ἐπ᾽ ἀυδελκερὴμ
10	Machalub filius Abdelcherin	Maxlūf bin ᶜAbd l-Karīm	μουχλοὺφ ἐπ᾽ ἀυδελκερὴμ
11	Samuehl filius Yse frater Abdelcherin	Šamawāl bin ʿIsā axū ᶜAbd l-Karīm	σεμουέλ ἐπ᾽ ἴσε ἀδελφὸς ἀυδελκερὴμ
12	Moyses filius Ali	Mūsā bin ᶜAlī	μούσες ἀδελφὸς (sic) ἄλη
13	Hasen filius Moysi	Ḥasan bin Mūsā	χάσεν ἐπ᾽ μούσε
14	Hali filius Moysi	ᶜAlī bin Mūsā	ἄλη ἐπ᾽ μούσε
15	Hasen filius Hamut et frater suus	Ḥasan bin Ḥammūd w-axū-hu	χάσεν ἐπ᾽ χαμμοὺτ καὶ ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ
16	Hali strambus filius Ioseph	ᶜAlī al-Isṭranbū bin Yūsuf	ἄλη στράμβου υἱὸς ἰωσήφ
17	Hali Loiel	ᶜAlī	ἄλη
18	Abdella stultus	ᶜAbdallāh al-Mağnūn	ἀυδελλα ἐλμετζνούν
19	Bucher filius Rhooabdel(?)	Abū Bakr bin Bū ᶜAbdallāh	υούγκερ ἐπ᾽ βουαυδέλλα
	Rocella 1136 Latin	Cefalù 1145 Arabic	Cefalù 1145 Greek
20	Teodorus filius Gafuri	Ṯawdur	θέο[δωρος]
21	Basilius filius Leontis	Bāsīlī bin Lāw	υασίλιος υἱὸς λέοντος
22	Basilius filius Babe	Bāsīlī bin	υασίλιος
23	Iafar filius Capre	Ǧaᶜfar bin	τζάφαρ
24	Robertus filius Guarini	R.b.rt	ῥομβερτ
25	Ali filius Grisopolli	ᶜAlī bin	ἄλη
26	Moyses frater eius	Mūsā axū-hu	Μούσες ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ
27	Abdesseit filius eius	ᶜAbd l-Sayyid	ἀυδεσσεῖτ
28	Othoman filius Busen	ᶜUṯmān bin	ὀθμάν
29	Bucher frater eius	Abū Bakr axū-hu	υούγκερ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ
30	Hamor frater eius	ᶜUmar axū-humā	ὅμουρ ἀδελφὸς αὐτῶν
31	Zaydon filius Casey	Zaydūn bin Qāsim	ζεϊδοὺν ἐπ᾽ κάσημ
32	Hasen filius Boson	Ḥasan bin	χάσεν
33	Hamuth frater eius	Ḥammūd axū-hu	χαμμοὺτ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ
34	Abdelchamith	ᶜAbd l-Ḥamīd	ἀυδελχαμήτ
35	Muchuluf	Maxlūf	μαχλούφ
36	Hamor et fratres eius filii Marturine	ᶜUmar w-ixwatu-hu	ὅμουρ καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ αὐτοῦ

There is a hint in the Arabic rubric of the 1145 document that the original register may not have been made in Latin. The rubric states that the Latin register had been compiled by the 'the translators and monks of the monastery

of Saint Angelo in Mileto.[7] It is not clear why a Latin church would require language specialists (other than a literate scribe) to compile a register in Latin, but a closer inspection of the 1136 Latin list reveals that it may have been transcribed from a Greek original. Evidence for this is not compelling but comes from the way in which some names came to be written in the Latin. For example, the Arabic name *Mūsā* was usually written as *μούσε* in Greek, but in many cases (there are at least ten examples in other *ǧarā'id*) a Greek inflectional ending was added to it, giving *μούσες*. It is this version that seems to have been transliterated into Latin as *Moyses* (numbers 12 and 26) where the Greek upsilon has become a Latin 'y' and we find an inflection ending '-es' which was commonly found in Greek but was more rarely used in Latin.[8] We might cautiously infer that the first stage of production was the transliteration from Greek into Latin:

1) source to target language transcription
   ?Greek (by 1136) > (Latin 1136)

It is also possible that, of the Greek and Arabic scribes who produced the later copy, only the Arabic scribe had actually consulted the Latin *ǧarīda*, while the Greek scribe had made his version from the Arabic. Some of the names on the list were Greek names in origin but were left blank in the later copy (cf nos.17, 20, 22-25, 28, 30, 32 and 36). Given that some of these would have been comparatively simple for a Greek scribe to derive but were not attempted, suggests that the Greek scribe transliterated the names directly from the Arabic into Greek without recourse to the Latin document. Had the Greek scribe consulted the Latin, he might have recognised that *Grisopolli* was the Greek name *χρυσοπούλλη*.[9] That the Greek scribe copied his version only from the Arabic is further supported by the fact that the Greek gives slightly fewer details about the names than the Arabic version does (cf nos. 22, 23, 25, 28, 30 and 32). This gives us stages 2 and 3 of the process, namely:

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[7] جريدة مكتوبة بالاطيني من قبل اللغون والرهبان متاع دير صنت انجلوا بمليطو

[8] Other circumstantial evidence could also be cited here, particularly the possible mis-readings of a Greek *mu* for *nu* (nos. 6-11 Abdelcheri*n* for Abdelcheri*m*) and also *phi* for *beta* (10 Machalu*b* for Machalu*f*), which may have arisen from the calligraphy of twelfth-century Greek. We might also note the unusual combination in Latin of 'Rh' in 'Rhooabdel' (19), which seems to reflect the Greek letter *rho*.

[9] Also attested as a villein name in Catania cf Cusa 547b and 591b. The Greek scribe might also have tentatively guessed that *Babe* (22) came from the Greek surname *Πάπα*?

2) source to target language reconstruction by transliteration
Latin (1136) > Arabic (1145)

3) source to target language transliteration directly from the manuscript
Arabic (1145) > Greek (1145)

The entire tripartite process can be summed up as:
?Greek (by 1136) > Latin (1136) > Arabic (1145) > Greek (1145).

During these transfers from Greek to Greek, information concerning 10 villeins (almost a third of the total) was lost in translation. As if to acknowledge that the Arabic version was somehow incomplete, the Arabic scribe had left sufficient space for the full name and surname to be written in the Cefalù register but reproduced only those parts of the name he could fathom. In other words he had access to a full text, but did not fully reproduce it. This also shows that the *Dīwān al-maʿmūr* mentioned in the rubric of the 1145 Cefalù register could not have had their own copy of this particular document, but were relying entirely on the register brought by the monks. It also shows that, at least in this case, they were prepared to confirm a list they had not apparently seen before.

Not all the registers have such colourful histories or were compiled in this way. The bilingual Arabic-Greek *ǧarīda* from 1178 that records villeins who belonged to the church of Monreale is exceptional in that it contains a number of lacunae in the text where the Greek has been left unwritten. This would seem to confound a theory of close collaboration since two scribes working on the same document would have been more likely to notice such gaps or have been able to consult over the text. Some of these omissions are surprising. At Cusa p152a/b an entire line of five names is missing. However, these names occur beneath the final line of an Arabic introduction and, at a quick glance, may have appeared to belong to it. This might especially be the case for a Greek scribe who could not read the Arabic script so well. A tantalising trade-off between the two languages occurs with apparent amendment in the Greek of a mistake made in the Arabic.[10] The Arabic reads بو الخير الحباط *Bū l-xayr al-Ḥabbāṭ* for the more likely form of بو الخير الحطاب *(Bū l-xayr al-Ḥaṭṭāb)*. The

[10] Cusa p146a.

Greek reads *βουλχαήρελχατάπ (voulchaïrelchatap).* In spite of the correctness of the Greek, the error in the Arabic went uncorrected. It is impossible to know in this case whether this was a genuine correction, or whether the Greek scribe, perhaps copying from a draft, never noticed the errant Arabic of the finalised manuscript. When we consider that the Greek scribe had missed far more obvious errors in his own work, it seems less plausible that he had identified and corrected the mistake in the Arabic on his own, but this is far from clear. Either way, the Arabic remained unaltered and the relationship between the two languages is ambiguous. Also found in the Monreale 1178 register is the rubric above a short list of nine villeins states that these are the *Raḥāl Ruǧīr* (رحال رجير) meaning 'the villages of Roger'. It is likely that this is a manuscript error for *Riǧāl Ruǧīr* (رجال رجير) meaning 'the villeins of Roger'.[11] The 'villeins of Roger' makes perfect sense in the context of a villein register whereas 'the villages of Roger' are completely unknown. This type of mistake may well be explained in terms of the careless copying that characterises this register, as opposed to the inability of the Greek scribe to read the Arabic.

The other Arabic-Greek register that confirmed names of villeins to Monreale, made a few years later in 1183, contains a number of errors and corrections, although no lacunae. The names given first have been struck through with a line and substituted with a corrected version, thereby suggesting that the transcription had at least been checked. One such error sheds light on the construction process. At Cusa p257b ἄλης ἔπιν ἄτζμη has been written for ὁ χάτζ ἄλης τοῦ χωριοῦ οὔτα, where the former has been erroneously copied from the same names in the line *below* (see Appendix 2 for photograph). This indicates that the Greek was mis-copied from a draft version and could not have been copied from the manuscript since the scribe was working down the page and thus could not yet have reached the line below from which to make his error.

The identification of more than one method of composition for the bilingual Sicilian registers, in part depending on the records and resources available to scribes alters the way in which we might want to view that the relationship

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[11] Cusa p143 on the top two lines. This has lead Alberto Várvaro, in support of Henri Bresc who makes the same error, to state, *'L'osservazione di Bresc riceve conferma da un lato dalla circostanza che alcuni di questi nomi sono probabilmente posteriori alla riconquista normanna, come i 'raḥāl Ruǧīr' i casale di Ruggero....'*

between the languages in different registers. The effect of this inconsistency is that it is not always possible to understand different *ǧarāʾid* as offering the same evidence linguistically. In the following sections we shall see how these variations manifest themselves in differences in transliteration and transcription styles and also why this creates difficulties in making generalised judgements on the language employed in the *ǧarāʾid.* We shall also see that while the style of transcription and orthography within manuscripts is sufficiently consistent for a limited linguistic survey, a number of qualifications need to be made before this can be undertaken.

Salvatore Cusa's 'Diplomi Greci ed Arabi'

Problems for both historians and linguists are compounded by the ways in which the text from the manuscripts differs from that in the edition produced by Salvatore Cusa, which remains the main published source for Arabic documents from this period.[12] Divergences between Cusa and the manuscript material have regularly produced problems for researchers and dependence on his work has often lead to unwittingly inaccurate results. Linguistically, the situation is worse than the occasional error, although Cusa does mention in the preface to the *Diplomi* that he has made some arbitrary adjustments to the original text. However, there are over 1,300 variations between Cusa's edition and the actual manuscripts not including differences in formatting changes or accentuation, which would account for at least another couple of thousand adjustments. Cusa's edition contains three main error types, namely mis-readings, typographical mistakes and hypercorrections. When subdivided, we find deletions, substitutions, inversions, typographical mistakes, re-alignments of the text, the free-style restoration of some abbreviations as well as the classicisation of the Greek accent system and orthography of some medieval Greek alternatives. To highlight some of these mis-readings and to give an idea of how serious some of these are, we may consider the following examples. These are not intended to be exhaustive so much as illustrative.

We often find Cusa's inexplicable reduction of double consonants to a single one or vice-versa. Thus:

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[12] *I diplomi greci ed arabi di Sicilia* (1868-82).

MS		Cusa	Cusa reference
ἀζζούζ	>	ἀζούζ	569a, 569b, 573b, 576b, 578a, 473a
τεμμέμ	>	τεμέμ	574b
ἠλχαμμέλ	>	ἠλχαμέλ	574a
ἐζζεουέρηκη	>	ἐζεουέρηκη	575b
ἐλσουμμέτι	>	ἐλσουμέτι	141b
κερέριμ	>	κερρέριμ	246b
μελέκ	>	μελλέκ	578a

We sometimes find an inversion of two letters of a group of letters;

MS		Cusa	Cusa reference
εἰκνήζη	>	ἰεκνήζη	568a
βουρρομέν	>	βουρομμέν	581b
ἰραχχάμ	>	ἰρραχάμ	593a

Some letters become substituted for others, although it is not clear whether this could be classed as a species of typographical error. Thus;

MS		Cusa	Cusa reference
χάτζκ	>	κάτζκ	144b
καλλέλ	>	χαλλέλ	136b
القساطي	>	القصاطي	144a, 145b, 162a, 162b
ἄλι	>	ἄλη	157b and passim
κερράμς	>	χερράμς	261a
κάσιμ	>	χάσιμ	253b
κασήρ	>	χασήρ	254a

Of miscellaneous typographical errors there are *inter alia*;

MS		Cusa	Cusa reference
ἐβραχήμ	>	ἐβαχήμ	569a
العجوز	>	العجور	582b
τζάφαρ	>	τξάφαρ	592b
χουσέιν	>	χυυσέιν	589b
الموش	>	الموس	160b
يوسف	>	يوسق	144b

Of what appear to be straightforward manuscript error readings, there are, amongst many;

MS		Cusa	Cusa reference
χαμμόυδ	>	χαμμόυτ	564b
γτελλούλ	>	τζελλούλ	565b
ἰωσήφ	>	ἰωσήρ	567a
χάμζε	>	χάμσε	569b
κασίς	>	κασσίς	266b
χασάρ	>	χασσάρ	265a
φιττάχ	>	φυττάχ	282b
βουρδονάνι	>	βουρδονάρος	285a
الموذن	>	المودن	270a
المودن	>	الموذن	275a
المودن	>	المودب	281a
حمو	>	حمود	566a
حييم	>	حيين	584b
الاسفاقسي	>	الاسفقسي	264a

However, by far the most serious error types are the restoration of abbreviated Greek forms to a full name, where Cusa often based his reconstruction on precedents that were not uniformly used in the documents. For example, where the Greek scribe has written simply an apostrophe such as χ΄ for the Arabic *Ḥasan*, Cusa has expanded the Greek to χάσεν, based on the transcription of *some* other examples in the *ǧarāʾid*. But *Ḥasan* is also commonly transcribed by the Greek scribes as either χάσαν or χάσα΄ (which, in the latter case, Cusa also gives as χάσεν!) Particularly common in this section are the restorations of short (often final) vowels, medial position diphthongs and medial and final syllables. We also find blank spaces where he was unable to read the Arabic.[13] Among the many hundreds of exempla of such gratuitous editing, some typical ones are;

MS		Cusa	Cusa reference
χαμμού	>	χαμμούτ	566a
ἰχ΄	>	ἰχιές	262a, 264a and passim
χ΄	>	χάσεν	589a and passim
χά	>	χάσεν	476b and passim
νουλκά } βουλκ΄ } βουλκά }	>	βουλκάσιμ	168a, 171b, 171b and passim

[13] cf the gaps on page 547 of Cusa.

τζάγφαρ΄ς	>	τζάγφαρης	173b
ἀὺδ	>	ἀοὺδ	168b
μακάπ΄λ	>	μακάπελ	168b
τζανγγ΄ς	>	τζανγγάρης	247a
τζέπλ	>	τζέπελ	280a
μουχούμτ	>	μουχούμμουτ	144b and passim with many similar variations
ἀυδερραχμ΄	>	ἀβδερραχμέν	131a and passim
μειμ΄	>	μειμοὺν	583b and passim

Cusa also had a habit of hypercorrecting actual readings to versions that he perhaps considered more classical or even more 'authentic'. Very commonly we find that Cusa has replaced an upsilon with a beta, so that *ʿabd* > *ἀβδ* or *ἀυδ* (in the manuscripts), but exclusively > *ἀβδ* (in Cusa). As early as the first century BC, writers of Greek had used alternative spellings with these two letters that almost certainly reflected some phonetic confusion between them.[14] In spite of this, classicists have tended to prefer Athenian fifth century BC spellings (with upsilon used as a vowel, not as a consonant), and Cusa has often imposed this scheme on twelfth-century Sicilian Greek. In the rubric at the foot of page 548 we find Cusa has restored a torn manuscript reading with the fifth century BC form *προστάττομεν-* whereas, seventeen hundred years later, the Sicilian Greek should have read *προστάσσομεν*. We might also note that an extremely high percentage of the accents in the Greek have been adopted to fit a classical system of acutes, graves and circumflexes. In fact, the medieval Sicilian scribes used a simpler system in name-writing where the primary stress was most usually marked with an acute or grave accent. Mercifully, the all-important position of the accents where the stress falls is the same in both Cusa and the manuscript versions. Examples of hypercorrected forms include;

MS		Cusa	Cusa reference
ῥεζκούν	>	ζεζκούν	582a (for *zarqūn!*)
σολειμέν	>	σουλειμέν	584a and passim
ουρρου	>	ουέρου	572a (for *wāruw*)

[14] The medieval confusion is borne out by the fact that in Modern Greek *β* and *υ* now have the same value /v/, whereas in 5th century Attic Greek *β* was /b/ and *υ* /u/. Cf Browning, *Medieval and Modern Greek* p3.

ζάτζητ	>	ζεύτζητ	593a and passim (for *zawğa*)
ἀβράμος	>	ἀβράμιος	159b
κάυσιρι	>	κάουσιρι	277a
ουθμά	>	ουθμὲν	139b and passim
δαχμά	>	δαχμέν	158a and passim
الكنيسية	>	الكنيسة	272a
القمجي	>	القمحي	152a
غزوز	>	عزوز	142b

The grim, but inescapable conclusion for linguists (and to a lesser extent, historians) is that, until a sorely needed re-edition of these registers is published, accurate data can only be derived from the manuscripts themselves. For the remainder of this thesis, the correct manuscript reading will be given but, in order to facilitate practical use, it will be cited with a reference to where the name occurs in Cusa.

The villein registers and their contents: the Forestal confirmation of 1145

An excellent example of a royal concession of villeins to a landlord dates from March 1145 when a certain 'Walter' Forestal received a confirmation of a previous register issued to his father. In terms of format, language and purpose, this register is a typical and relatively short example of its genre and the points made here serve to illustrate its wider administrative and linguistic contexts.[15] From a language perspective, there are a number of 'Middle Arabic' features in this and other documents. While these have received some attention from researchers, very little has been said concerning the type and status of the Arabic found in these deeds.[16] Particularly important are the genres in which scribes perceived themselves to be writing and the extent to which their Arabic was formulaic or a product of a freer composition. The full text of the Forestal deed as read from the manuscript is transcribed overleaf. (See Appendix 2 for photograph):

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[15] Original: Palermo, Biblioteca Nazionale, Monreale Tabulario no. 4. Edition: Cusa *I Diplomi*, no. 82 pp127-9. Registers: Noth, *Diplomi e Cancelleria di Ruggero II*, H; Caspar, *Roger II* p193.

[16] The most recent study is that of Dionisius Agius's *Siculo Arabic*, 1996, especially chapters 5-8.

(1) لمّا كان بتاريخ الرابع وعشرين من مارسو[19] الاندقتس[18] الثامن سنة تسع وثلاثين وخمسماية[17] ومن تاريخ العالم

(2) ستة الاف وستماية وثلثة وخمسين سنة حضر بالمدينة[24] حماها الله الاراكنة[23] والاساقفة[22] والقمامسة[21] والترارية[20]

(3) وغيرهم من سايرصقلية صانها الله لتجديد جرايدهم لاجل تمحيصها واندراسها وحضرت انت

(4) يا غرتيل فرستَال[26] واحضرت جريدة كان كتبت بامر السلطان الكبير[25] قدس الله روحه ونور ضريحه

(5) الى رجر فرستَال والدك فيها ذكر ما اقطعه من الرجال من جريدة جالصو وليسهم مكتوبين في

(6) جريدة قرلون فطولع المجلس السامى رفع الله سمك مجده بذلك فخرج الامر العالى المطاع

(7) الملكى المعظمى القديسي الرجارى زاده الله علا ومضا بتجديدها واثبات من بها من الرجال

(8) وَهُـــــــــــم

(9)	χαλὴλ	ἀλλοῦν	ἴσε	ἰσμαὴλ	ζειδοῦν
(9a)	خليل	علّوُن	عيسى	اسماعيل	زيدون
(10)	υουδδίκερ	ἀυδερρίδα	ὁ χάκκησ	βούγκερισ	οὔμουρ
(10a)	ابو الذكر	عبد الرضى	الحاج	ابو بكر	عمر
(11)	ἀυδέλλα	χάσεν	ἀυδέλλα	χιλέλ	ἰουσέφ
(11a)	عبد الله	حسن	عبد الله	هلال	يوسف
(12)	χαμμούτ	ἀλήσ	γιούαδ	υράχιμοσ	μουκάτελ
(12a)	حمّوُد	على	عوض	ابرهيم	مقاتَل
(13)	υουδδίκερ	ἀυδερραχμὰ	χαμμούτ	ἄχμετ	μειμοῦν
(13a)	ابو الذكر	عبد الرحمن	حَمّود	احمد	ميمون
(14)	ἀυδελλ΄ ἐ̈ ἐλπεκκέϊε	χιλέλ	μούσε	υουάλη	βουλκάσημ
(14a)	عبد الله البكاية	هلال	موسى	ابو على	ابو القسم
(15)	الجملة ثلاثين اسما[27]				† ὁμοῦ ἄνδρ[ες] λ΄

[17] *Sic* for *xamsumi'atin* i.e. *hamza* resloved into *yā'*. 539 AH is 1145 AD.

[18] Loan translation from Greek *ἰνδικτιων*. See below.

[19] Loan translation from Greek *μάρτιος*. See below.

[20] Transliteration probably derived from the Latin *terra* 'Feudatories'.

[21] Transliteration probably adapted from the Latin *comes* (> Arabic singular *qummus)* or 'Count'.

[22] Loan translation from the Greek *ἐπίσκοπος* 'Bishop'.

[23] Loan translation from the Greek *ἄρχων* 'Archon or Archbishop'.

[24] Al-Madīna was the Arabic for Palermo.

[25] The Great Sultan was Roger I (1085-1111).

[26] For his possible identification, see commentary below.

[27] *Sic* for *ṯalāṯūna 'sman*.

(16) ووجد في الجريدة القديمة التي نسخت منها هذه الجريدة اسما المتزوجين من اولاد الرجال المثبوتين في هذه الجريدة

(17) وهـــــــــــــــــــــــم

(18)	οἱ παίδ[ες] χάκκη νουλφουτούχ κ[αὶ] ἄχμετ	ῥαπὴπ ῥάτζηλα γάζη	ἴχι ἀδελ[φος] ἐ$^{\pi}$ παρρ$^{\alpha}$	μειμοῦν ἐ$^{\pi}$ ἀλή	νουλχού ἐ$^{\pi}$ παρρ$^{\alpha}$
(18a)	اولاد الحاج بو الفتوح واحمد	ربيب راجلة غازى	يحيى اخو برًا	ميمون بن على	ابو الحسين بن برًا

(19) الجملة خمسة اسما † ὁμοῦ ἄνδρ[ες] ε΄

(20) وقد كتبت الاسما التي في الجريدة على شريطة انك مستحق بهم وان المتزوجين من الاولاد

(21) هم اولاد المثبوتين في هذه الجريدة من الرجال ومتى ظهر احد منهم في جرايد الديوان المعمور او في جرايد التراية اتلفته كتبت في رق رابع

(22)

(23) † Ῥογέριος ἐν Χ[ριστ]ῶ τῶ θ[ε]ῶ ἐυσεβὴς κραταιὸς ῥὴξ καὶ τῶν χριστ[ια]ν[ῶν] βοηθός[28]

Verso

(i) top left: غرتيل فرستال

(ii) bottom left of seal holes: جريدة لعرتيل فرستال

(iii) over the seam:

(iv) bottom right: xiii (struck through)

(v) bottom left: 23

(vi) D° + MCC q[uod] tenuit Adam Ferestal

(vii) slighty above seal holes to the right: ·R·

(viii) bottom right (C18th hand): ·1144· / Rogerius Rex inumerat incolas feudi nunsupati Gialisa/ Tab. I n.4

(ix) bottom right: nomi di villani dati at Real/ Mon[aste]rio.....(??)

(x) bottom left: C9 jungo (??)

Translation

(1) When the date was the 24th March, the 8th Indiction, in the year 539 [1145 AD], and 6653 years from the date of the world,

[28] 'Helper of the Christians'-the Greek epithet has an Arabic equivalent in *al-nāṣir lil-milla al-naṣrāniyya* 'helper to the Christian faith' cf Cusa pp37, 134, 243 & 245 and Brühl, *Diplomi e cancelleria* p57. The earliest appearance in Arabic was a little later in 1109 (cf Johns 'Titoli' cat. nos. 36, 38, 47-8, 50, 52-3).

(2) there came to al-Madīna [Palermo] (may God protect it!) the Archbishops, Bishops, Counts, Feudatories

(3) and others from all of Sicily (may God guard it!) to renew their registers on account of their examination and cancellation. You,

(4) O Ġ.rtīl F.r.stāl, came and brought a register written on the order of the Great Sultan [Roger I] (may God sanctify his spirit and illuminate his grave!)

(5) to R.ğ.r F.r.stāl, your father, which related what he had granted him from the men of the Ǧālišū register, and not those written on

(6) the Corleone register. So the Sublime Court was informed (may God raise the roof of its glory so!) and there issued the high, to-be-obeyed,

(7) great, royal, holy, Rogerian order (may God increase it in elevation and efficacy!) to renew it and to record which of the men were on it.

(8) They are:

(9a)	Zaydūn	Ismāʿīl	Aīsā	ʿAllūn	Xalīl
(10a)	ʿUmar	Abū Bakr	al-Ḥāğğ	ʿAbd l-Riḍā	Abū l-Ḏikr
(11a)	Yūsuf	Hilāl	ʿAbdallā	Ḥasan	ʿAbdallā
(12a)	Muqātil	Ibrāhīm	ʿIwaḍ	ʿAlī	Ḥammūd
(13a)	Maymūn	ʾAḥmad	Ḥammūd	ʿAbd l-Raḥmān	Abū l-Ḏikr
(14a)	Abū l-Qāsim	Abū ʿAlī	Mūsā	Hilāl	ʿAbdallā al-Bakāya

(15) In all 30 men [Greek] The total: 30 names

(16) [Arabic] There was in the old register, from which this register was copied, the names of married men among the sons of the men recorded in this register

(17) and they are:

(18a)	Abū l-Ḥusayn son of Barra	Maymūn son of ʿAlī	Yaḥyā brother of Barrā	the stepson of the maid Gāzī	The sons of al-Ḥāğğ Bū l-Futūḥ and ʾAḥmad

(19) [Greek] In all 5 men [Arabic] The total: 5 names

(20) The names that are in this register were written on the grounds that you are entitled to them and that the married men among the sons

(21) are the sons of those recorded in this villein register. Whenever one of them appears in the registers of the *Dīwān*

(22) *al-maʿmūr* or in the feudatories' registers, hand him over. Written on a fourth sheet (or 'on fine sheets').

(22) [Greek] Roger in Christ the Lord a holy, mighty king and helper of the Christians.

Historical notes on the Forestal register

The confirmation raises a number of questions over its content. For example, to which villeins Forestal could actually lay claim. The text of lines 20 and 21 clearly intend that he was entitled only to the men named in the concession, while all others not mentioned in feudatories' lists were automatically property of the crown. We are told that the original donation was made by Roger I to Forestal's father (line 4-5). This may well have been made in the 1090s when other surviving registers from that early period date. The latest the original concession could conceivably have been made was on Roger I's deathbed in 1101. Given that the original register included villeins' sons who had subsequently got married (line 16), that is, had now become new (and presumably taxable) heads of households, then both registers each contained villeins who spanned across at least two generations.[29] One generation was old enough to be married (20-25 years old?) by 1101 *at the latest.* The older generation were their parents (40-50 years old in 1101?), but even includes a man known only as 'al-Ḥaǧǧ' meaning 'the pilgrim (to Mecca)'. This term is equally commonly applied as a respectful title given to elder members of a Muslim community, irrespective of whether they have been to Mecca. So, by 1145 the first generation would have been, *at the very youngest,* 85-100 years old, while their children were, *at the very youngest,* 65-70 years old when the confirmation was made. In fact, it is reasonable to assume that most, if not all, of the villeins named in the confirmation were dead by 1145.

It is not easy to explain this administrative oddity, although it was by no means unusual in post-1140s Sicily. It is not clear why an administration would take the trouble of issuing elaborate confirmations that were not worth the parchment they were written on. Nor is it clear why such deeds should have been acceptable to the landlords who were the paying recipients of such royal favours. Two points can be made here. First, is that while the crown was eager

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[29] Both Caspar p561 and Johns *Duana Regia* (forthcoming) suggest that the names of the wedded sons were added in 1145 and therefore the confirmation was an *update* of the original, not a straight copy of it. However, in the Arabic of line 16, the phrase 'found in the old register are' has as its object 'the names of the married sons of the men recorded in this [1145] register', the rest of the sentence being a subordinate clause.

to define and hence limit the grants it made, it was unfeasible for the newly-reformed administration of the 1140s to re-check each individual villein conceded from the royal demesnes. To prevent landlords exceeding their allotted manpower or usurping the crown's there was a bias deliberately built into the system that always favoured the crown. By checking actual villeins' names against the names in the register, any inquest would find a number of discrepancies- especially if the villeins named on the original concession were largely dead. The crown could thus deprive a landlord of his villeins by claiming that they were not the ones named in the administration's registers and were therefore royal and not private property. Landlords, on the other hand, were willing to accept such 'empty' re-confirmations as it perpetuated their theoretical rights until further notice. Indeed, as most confirmations were copies of the originals, landlords could continue their estates' management and revenue-raising unmolested, provided they did not lay claim to more villeins than they were entitled to, or otherwise fall out of royal favour. We might also note that the bilingual lists re-confirmed to the Bishop of Catania and Aci in 1145 had also been originally defined 50 years previously, and contained exactly the same villeins as the 1095 register. Few of these men could still have been alive in the mid-1140s. Another 'empty' re-confirmation is the (Greek-only) grant of 30 villeins from Nicótera to Roger Fesca, Palermo's Archbishop elect in 1145 (re-newed from 1093).[30] From a socio-historical point of view, it is important to note that in these cases, extant records from the 1140s give a glimpse of names from the previous generation not the mid-twelfth century. This has important consequences for the examination of non-Arabic influences in these names and determining the extent to which such communities contained ethnic minorities.

Fāṭimid influences and language of formulae

The language and format of royal Sicilian documents were indebted to other administrative genres, particularly those from Fāṭimid Egypt. It is now accepted that the Sicilian *Dīwān al-taḥqīq al-maʿmūr* was an idea imported from Cairo as were certain terms of diplomatic reference.[31] For example, *al-*

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[30] Cusa pp26-8. Little is known of Roger Fesca, although he is mentioned in a fragmentary register from 1144 (Cusa pp614-15), which has now apparently disappeared.

[31] A theory first articulated by Jeremy Johns. *The Muslims of Norman Sicily, c1060-c1194*, Vols I-II. D.Phil. thesis, University of Oxford. 1983 *(unpublished).*

maǧlis al-sāmiy (line 6), a term which also occurs in the Cefalù *ǧarīda,*[32] was also attested in Fāṭimid Egypt.[33] Its first appearance in Sicily occurs in the Forestal diploma, although it is unclear whether this refers to Roger's throne or his court more generally.[34] Besides which, the Arabic calligraphy employed in Forestal confirmation and in all post-1133 royal *ǧarāʾid*, bears a close resemblance to the *dīwānī* script used by twelfth-century Fāṭimid Egyptian scribes. Examples can be found in the handful of such extant documents stored in the library of Saint Catherine's Monastery in the Sinai.[35]

However, for this study, greater interest lies in the formulaic language, rather than the non-linguistic attributes of the deed itself, although the two are not unrelated. The inflated language of longer royal formulae, such as *l-amru l-ʿāliyyu, l-muṭāʿu, l-malikiyyu, l-muʿaẓẓamiyyu, l-qiddīsiyyu, l-Ruǧāriyyu* (lines 6-7) were also adapted from Fāṭimid models and were a standard feature in all post-1140 registers.[36] There is good reason to believe that similarities between the two chanceries were not coincidental as a number of Sicilian-Egyptian diplomatic contacts are attested at the highest levels. As we have seen, these include Roger II's right-hand man George of Antioch who was one-time ambassador to Cairo, economic advisor to the Zirids and the probable author of the administrative reforms of the 1140s. We might also note an exchange of letters and gifts between the Fāṭimid Caliph al-Ḥāfiz and Roger II written around 1137-8.[37]

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[32] Cusa p473.

[33] Al-Qalqashandi *Subḥ* v. 141-3, 503-4 cf also Johns *Duana Regia* 194-5 and Noth, *Documenti Arabi* p213.

[34] A footnote in De Simone's *Splendori e misteri di Sicilia* (p95 n.172, Palermo 1996) points to a Latin translation made in 1291 of an Arabic deperditum that reads *'exinde Curie excellenti cuius laudis altitudinem Deus exaltet sacrum mandatum excelsum magnificum regium Rogerii.*[34]' Whilst the Latin is obviously close to the Arabic and *al-maǧlis* is rendered as *Curia*, it begs the question of the translator, 'how did *he* know what *al-maǧlis* meant, as late as 1291?'

[35] For the Fāṭimid documents from the Sinai see Stern *Fatimid Decrees.* For a full and up to date discussion of the administrative and cultural imports from Fāṭimid sources and particularly of the association of Sicilian and Egyptian scripts, royal formulae, document format, the Sicilian royal image and the origins of the *Dīwān al-maʿmūr* see Johns *Duana Regia* (forthcoming).

[36] The only exceptions being the confirmations issued to the Greek monks of S. Nicolò lo Gúrguro in 1154 and the Greek monastery of S. Giorgio di Triocolà near Caltabellotta in May 1152. For Sicilian formulae in general cf Noth, *Documenti arabi*; Stern *Fatimid Decrees* and Johns *Duana Regia* (forthcoming). Oddly, although it may be of no relevance, these Greek monasteries located in western Sicily were the only recipients of documents written solely in Arabic.

[37] Johns *Duana Regia* (forthcoming).

Formulaic epithets of praise *(adʿiya-* sing. *duʿāʾ*, listed below) found in the text are not traceable to having originated in any specific administration as they were 'characteristic of western Mediterranean titulature',[38] especially in Arab-Muslim culture and are found outside royal documents in Sicily.[39] The language of the Forestal concession is typical in its use of such epithets and the following are used:

al-Madīna (Palermo):	*ḥamā-hā llāhu* 'God protect it!'(line 2)
Sicily:	*ṣāna-hā llāhu* 'God guard it!' (line 3)
Roger I:	*qaddasa llāhu rūḥa-hu wa-nawwara ḍarīḥa-hu* 'God sanctify his spirit and illuminate his grave!' (line 4)
The Sublime Court:	*rafaʿa llāhu samka mağdi-hi* 'God raise the roof of its glory!' (line 6)
Roger II's royal command:	*zāda-hu llāhu ʿalāʾan wa-maḍāʾan* 'God increase it in elevation and efficacy!' (line 7).

Christian influences in Sicilian dīwānī *Arabic*

The Christian-Arabic content of Roger I's epithet ('may God sanctify his spirit and illuminate his grave' line 4) is noteworthy and distinguishes it from a purely Arabic-Muslim tradition. The verb *q-d-s* ('to be holy') in Arabic is particularly associated with Christianity with derived nouns such as *qiddīs* 'a priest' or 'saint' and *quds al-aqdās* 'the Holy of Holies'. Elsewhere, we find references to the Norman kings in explicitly Christian terms, for example as *muʿizz imām Rūmiyya*[40] 'the *imam* (i.e. the Pope) of Rome' and 'defender of the Christian religion.' This raises the possibility that not only were Arabic scribes in Sicily strongly influenced by the language and format of Fāṭimid Egyptian practice, but that they may have been Christian.

We might add to this debate, a tantalising sentence of Ibn al-Jawzī's 'Among the events of that [year] (533/1138-39) were that the Jewish and Christian scribes were expelled from the *Dīwān* and *Maxzan* [in Cairo], then also re-instated within the month.'[41] Naturally, had these non-Muslim Fāṭimid scribes wished to put their administrative and calligraphic skills to use in Christian-friendly Palermo, they would have arrived in time for the *Dīwān's*

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[38] C E Bosworth, 'Lakab' *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. 5. p627.

[39] cf Cusa p61 and p101.

[40] Cusa pp37, 134, & 225. For the wider context see Johns, 'Titoli' *passim*.

[41] Ibn al-Jawzī, *Muntaẓam* X, 78.

administrative reforms of the 1140s. It should be added, that there is no corroborating evidence to suggest that such a transfer did take place. Nonetheless, it raises important questions about how we should regard the type of Arabic found in royal Norman Sicilian documents.

If the Arabic-speaking scribes were Christians, working within a Christian administration, then their attitude to the writing of Arabic need not have been made with reference to Classical Arabic models based on the Arabic of the Qurʾān. This raises the problem of how to classify the Arabic of such texts, as it is not clear whether the scribes were aiming to adhere to the grammar of in Classical Arabic, but at times failed. Alternatively, this may have been an end at which they never had intended to aim. In either case, the frequent use of passive formations of a *fuʿila* type, the inflated, literary language of formulae and a marked preference for verb-subject-object syntax leaves no doubt that much of the Arabic used was of a high register and, as such, is unlikely to have been representative of Sicilian Arabic vernacular.

Middle Arabic of Sicily

In spite of their debt to stylised forms and formats, the royal deeds exhibit a number of broadly 'Middle Arabic' features where elements, some of which may have been of vernacular speech, had crept into Arabic of an otherwise formal register. What is remarkable about these interferences in royal Sicilian documents is that much of the language in such documents was of a formulaic type and most probably copied from standard forms. In the few lines that the scribe was likely to have been composing in a freer way, many soon made errors either influenced by the local dialect or through ignorance of the more 'standard' form.

But those hoping that the Arabic of royal and private documents can substantially further our knowledge of the development of the Arabic language face only disappointment. For instance, there are no examples of present tense markers such as /bi-/, nor any characteristically Maġribī verb forms in any Sicilian Arabic document and only occasionally are Arabic words vocalised. Besides which, Cusa's readings have lead to the identification of some phantom vernacular elements.[42] But even without a well-edited set of texts, it is

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[42] e.g. the apparent use of a present tense prefix /bi-/ cf Cusa's reading p651 *laysa la-hu daxl b.taʿīs bi-hi ruhbān al-dayr* for *laysa la-hu daxl yataʿīš bi-hi al-ruhbān alladī fi-hi.* There are several poor readings

generally accepted that these documents do not reveal anything about Arabic more generally or the development of Arabic dialects that has not already been noted from richer sources elsewhere. For this reason, it is not my intention here to comment in any detail on those aspects that have already been researched, other than to outline some of the main characteristics of Sicilian Middle Arabic and to update and correct some of the errors found in previous works. The following examples are of grammatical note[43]:

1. The occasional use of the analytic genitive construction *m.tāᶜ* and the avoidance of a double *iḍāfa* by using a preposition *min* to create a genitive of an analytic construction.[44]
2. The use of the masculine accusative plural for the nominative e.g. *ᶜalā mā ḥadda-hu...al-šuyūx al-muslimīn* 'according to what the Muslim elders had defined'.[45]
3. The use of a plural verb for the singular with a plural subject in VSO word order e.g. *tumma šāhidū ʾağmᶜūn* for *šāhid ʾağmᶜūn* 'then they all testified'.[46]
4. Very frequently, we find 'incorrect' use of the numbers, the dual and slightly irregular deployment of prepositions- both of which were very common in Middle Arabic forms generally. Likewise, and almost as equally common, is to find the plural used for the dual e.g. *min-hum iṯnayn ḥurš wa-l-ṯalāṯa muls.*[47]
5. The Arabic of the Forestal register contains the vocative particle *'yā* which translates, somewhat archaically, as 'O' in the phrase *wa-ḥaḍart anta yā Ġ.rtīl F.r.stāl wa-aḥḍart ğarīdata* (lines 3-4). This is unattested elsewhere in Sicily, although in the Moorish *Poema del Cid* we find 'Ya Campeador, en buena ora cinxiestes espada!'[48]. This type of vocative construction has been

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in this version of Cusa's which were corrected by Albrecht Noth in *Guillelmi I Regis Diplomata*, no. 32, p87, although this updated version is itself inadequate in a host of equally spectacular ways.

[43] The following observations are based on some of the findings summarised in Dionisius Agius's *Siculo Arabic*, pp401-403.

[44] Cusa p505 for repeated use of *m.tāᶜ*; cf also Cusa p217. For the use of */min/* see line 21 of the Forestal confirmation.

[45] Johns and Metcalfe, p245 line 17.

[46] Cusa p613.

[47] Johns and Metcalfe, pp243. although this example probably tells us more about the words *muls* and *ḥurš* than it does about Arabic grammar.

[48] Lapesa, *Historia de la lengua española*, Madrid, 1942, pp101-2.

attested in both later Sicilian and Maltese dialects, but no connection has been with this twelfth-century example.[49]

6. Occasionally, non-human plurals are found in agreement with plural adjectives e.g. *wa-l-raḥāʾil al-maḏkurīn* for *wa-l-raḥāʾil al-maḏkura* 'and the aforesaid villages.'[50]
7. The Arabic rubric in the *ǧarāʾid al-riǧāl* sometimes contains a small number of 'non-standard' variations from the grammatical norm. These include the non-agreement of a noun-adjective phrase *al-kanīsa al-kabīra al-ǧāmiᶜ*; ('the great congregational church') instead of *al-kanīsa al-kabīra al-ǧāmiᶜa*. This is possibly due either to carelessness, or to a negligible difference in the spoken forms of /al-ǧāmiᶜ/ and /al-ǧāmiᶜa/.[51]
8. Several examples of hypercorrections are also attested in Sicilan Arabic. For example, in the Cefalù confirmation, we find *min qibla al-luġūn* 'by the translators' for *min qibla al-luġīn* which is presumably a type of hypercorrection where the nominative has been incorrectly used in preference to the genitive case following a preposition.[52] Probably to be classed in the same category of hypercorrection is the substitution of *nūn* for *alif* in the 3rd person masculine plural of the *muḍāriᶜ* found in a very rough version of a loan agreement.[53]
9. In terms of orthography, the Arabic letter *hamza* was either not written, or came to be resolved into a long vowel, possibly reflecting vernacular influence. Items in which *alif maqṣūra* (ā) could become a diphthong (ay) with the addition of a suffix were often written with a *yāʾ* in place of the *alif maqṣūra.* Thus, we commonly find على ('on') written as علي , because /ᶜalā/ > /ᶜala*y*-ka/ and so on. However, this would not account for the name /Mūsā/ (Moses) being spelled /Mūsī/ although the Greek transcription *Μούσε* suggests that the Arabic orthography may have been

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[49] Salvatore Sgroi. *Interferenze fonologiche morfo-sintattiche e lessicali fra l'arabo e il siciliano,* Palermo, 1986 pp26-28, claims that examples of vocative forms include *Osara!* (Sicilian < Arabic *yā ḥasra!*) and *ya ħmar* (Maltese < Arabic *yā ḥimār!*). However, Sgroi's example of *Ejja mamà!* probably derives from the Arabic *hayyā!* not *yā!*

[50] Cusa p243, although the example is not unprecedented in Classical Arabic.

[51] Cefalù 1145 Cusa p473. An alternative explanation for this is that it has been borrowed wholesale from the Muslim phrase *al-masǧid al-ǧamiᶜ* ('the congregational mosque') which is always masculine in Arabic, and applied to a Christian phrase without any grammatical change to its gender, as 'church' is feminine and so 'congregational' should agree with it.

[52] Cusa p479.

[53] Cusa p503 and Johns 'A sea-loan from twelfth-century Sicily,' (forthcoming).

swayed by the local pronunciation.[54] Also to be noted, although of negligible importance, was the tendency to interchange *alif* and *alif maqṣūra*.[55]

Some minor aspects of Sicilian Middle Arabic have yet to be fully explored in detail. One promising route would be to note the position of the stress accent in the Greek transcriptions of Arabic names. Although it may be possible to identify Maġribī (or non-Maġribī) patterns, this research can be carried out only after a properly edited set of texts has been published. One indication of the possible result can perhaps be seen in the use of transitives and Forms II verbs. In this respect royal documents show a marked preference for Form II /faʿʿal(a)/, rather than Form IV /ʾafʿal(a)/ verbs to express a transitive sense. For example, /xallad(a) ayyāma-hā/ 'perpetuate (make eternal) his days' for the semantically equivalent /ʾaxlad(a) ayyāma-hā/. An avoidance of Form IV verbs rouses the suspicion that an oxytonic stress position in disyllabic words in the spoken dialect may have weakened, or caused the loss of, the initial *hamza-fatḥa* combination that distinguishes Form IV from Form I verbs. If this were the case, then the semantic burden of Form IV verbs may have been transferred to Form II.

[54] Cusa p473.
[55] *maġrā* Cusa p231.

CHAPTER FOUR:
Arabic-speaking Greeks

Greek inflections

Linguistically, one of the most notable features of villein registers is the way in which the Arabic names came to be written into Greek. In the Forestal document, Greek inflectional suffixes (*-is, -hs* > *-is*) were appended to the transcription of three Arabic names; *βούγκεριϲ, ὁ χάκκηϲ* and *ἀλήϲ* > /Boúgker-is/, /o Chákk-is/ and /Al-ís/ (lines 10 and 12). In the same way that Latin scribes Latinised Arabic names and place-names, it was equally common for Greek scribes to Hellenicise Arabic items of vocabulary. This could involve the addition of a Greek inflectional case-ending to an Arabic name (as above); the adaption of an Arabic loan word to fit a Greek pattern (e.g. *ὁ κάϊτος* < *al-qaʾid);* the substitution of the Arabic definite article *(al-)* with the Greek article *(ὁ),* or the wholesale translation of an Arabic term into Greek.

This practice of adding Greek inflections extended to both first names and 'surnames' (*ism, kunya* and *laqab*), but was more prevalent in toponymic surnames and certain first names. The addition of Greek inflections to toponymic names can be understood quite simply in terms of producing Hellenicised forms. Thus, ὁ πούνης < البوني (275a, 263b); ὁ φέσης < الفاسي (263a); ὁ γαύτισης < الغودسي (276a). However, some Arabic first names were more liable to take Greek suffixes than others and cannot be explained in quite the same way as Hellenicising interferences in toponyms. For example, some Arabic first names *(ism)* underwent Greek interference. There were a number of different ways in which this could be realised. Typically, some added the Greek letter *sigma* (σ, ϛ) to achieve forms that resemble masculine nominatives in Greek. Thus:

Arabic		Greek	Greek transliteration
ᶜAbdullāh	>	ἀβδέλλας	Abd̲ellas
ᶜIsā	>	ἴσες	Ises
Mūsā	>	μούσες	Mouses
Niᶜma	>	νίγμες	Nigmes
ᶜAlī	>	ἄλις	Alis
Hamza	>	χάμσες	Chamses
Yaḥyā	>	ἴχιες	Ichies

An explanation for this phenomenon might be that all the above examples in Arabic terminate in /a/, /ā/, or /ī/ which would have sounded feminine to a Greek ear, even though all the examples are of Arabic men's names.[1] In this respect it is probably not coincidental that the overwhelming majority of names that were fitted with inflections, ended with a termination in Arabic which appeared feminine in Greek.

Since there are a number of 'one-off' inflections e.g. *ο γίτζιλις < al-ᶜağil,* several target names have been isolated for study in order to show the general trends within the registers. These names are *ᶜUmar, Mūsā, ᶜIsā* and *ᶜAlī.* These names occur with regularity across the lists and were popular over all areas and at all times. Indeed, none of the target names can be said to be obscure Arabic names and have the advantage of being straightforward to transliterate from a Greek point of view.

ᶜAlī

>ἄλι >ἄλη	>ἄλις >ἄλης >ἄλ΄ς	*ğarīda*	totals	% inflected
58	0	Catania 1145	58	0 %
23	0	Aci 1145	23	0 %
16	3	Cefalù 1145	19	16 %
29	47	Monreale '78	76	62 %
0	48	Monreale '83	48	100 %
6	7	Others	13	54 %
132	102		237	

Mūsā

>μουσ΄ >μουσα >μουσε	>μουσης >μουσες	*ğarīda*	totals	% inflected
11	0	Catania 1145	11	0 %
3	0	Aci 1145	3	0 %
3	3	Cefalù 1145	6	50 %
12	1	Monreale '78	13	8 %
6	6	Monreale '83	12	50 %
1	0	Others	1	0 %
36	10		46	

[1] The terminations and genders of Greek personal names are /os/, /is/ and /as/ for men and /a/ or /e/ for women.

ʿIsā

>ἴσε	>ἴσες	*ğarīda*	totals	% inflected
6	0	Catania 1145	6	0 %
2	0	Aci 1145	2	0 %
9	3	Cefalù 1145	12	8 %
6	0	Monreale '78	6	0 %
3	11	Monreale '83	14	79 %
3	1	Others	4	25 %
29	15		44	

ʿUmar

>οὐμὰρ >οὐμο΄ >ὀμούρ >οὐμούρ	>οὐμούρ΄ς >οὐμούρης >οὐμόρης >οὐμόρ΄ς	*ğarīda*	totals	% inflected
38	0	Catania 1145	38	0
19	0	Aci 1145	19	0
14	0	Cefalù 1145	14	0
50	5	Monreale '78	55	9
11	11	Monreale '83	22	50
7	0	Others	7	0
139	16		155	

Several points emerge from this data. There is, for example, no change to the style of transliteration over time. Names that show inflection do so at any point from 1095 until the last *ğarīda* in 1183. Thus, *ἴσες* (for Arabic ʿīsā) occurs in the Palermo list dated 1095, the Cefalù list of 1145 and also in the same form at Monreale in 1183. Thus, not only did the main types of inflectional case-ending suffixes continue to appear throughout the twelfth-century, but that they were also attested in the eleventh-century suggests they formed part of an on-going tradition. In addition, inflectional interferences in Arabic names from Greek are also quite well attested in privately-issued documents in both Sicily and Calabria. Given the wide-spread and long-established nature of this written practice, it may also have been that such interferences reflected a manner of speaking among bilingual Greeks, although we might also note that most Arabic names were not inflected in Greek.

The inflected Greek version *ἀλις* of the Arabic name *ʿAlī* occurs almost as many times as the uninflected form from 1095-1183.[2] Therefore, in spite of changes

[2] Inflected as either *ἄλης* or *ἄλις* etc we have a total of 105 occurrences. Other non-inflected forms total 133 instances over all bilingual registers.

in script, document format or administrative reforms, there would seem to have been no significant change in the way Arabic names were Hellenicised during the Norman period. Moreover, it would seem that this type of transcription was already established by the mid-1090s. Conversely, as the Greeks seemed accustomed to using their own inflectional interferences before any large-scale immigration of Latins (who adopted similar practices), it would appear that the Latins were taking their lead from the Greeks with respect to the treatment of Arabic names and vocabulary. We may also recall that the majority of Arabisms recorded in 'Sicilian' were attested first in Greek documents.

But not every inflectional interference was in the form of a single letter suffix to a final vowel. In some rare examples, we see the addition of *eta* and *sigma* (-ες) to a consonant termination as well as an infix of an extra vowel or diphthong. For instance:

Arabic		Greek	Greek transliteration
ʿUṯmān	>	οὐμένης	Outhmenis[3]
ʿUṯmān	>	οὐθούμενης	Othoumenis[4]

The case of Greek infixes in Arabic names is unusual but significant because it also disrupted the stress pattern of the original to a form that probably appeared almost unrecognisable to an native Arabic speaker. From ʿUṯmān > *οὐθούμενης* involves a radical restructuring of syllables with a shift from cvccv:'c > vv:cvv:'cvcvc. The Greek adds two extra syllables in the medial and final positions and shifts the oxytonic stress of the Arabic to proparoxytonic in the Greek. It is difficult to account for this, especially as Greek does have a consonant cluster of theta-mu e.g. /rythmós/. Its rare and somewhat quirky form suggests that it is a *hapax legomenon* or one-off occurrence. It does, however, show the extent to which scribes were prepared to alter the structure of Arabic names and therefore how potentially misleading this type of data can be from the perspective of inferring the pronunciation of Arabic via the medium of Greek.

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[3] e.g. Cusa 144b.

[4] e.g Cusa 132a.

Devoicing from Arabic to Greek and Latin

Some Arabic names were written in Greek in a way that was not graphemically equivalent to the Arabic. That is to say, some letters of the Arabic were not transcribed into the corresponding Greek letter, even though the Greek alphabet contained such letters. For example, in lines 12 and 13 of the Forestal conformation we find the Arabic name *Ḥammūd* > *Chammout (cammoút)* where the Greek scribe could have written *Chammoud (cammoúd). Prima facie*, it would appear that the difference between these two renditions reveals the remaining trace of a dialect pronunciation. What is not clear is whether this reflects the speech of Sicilian Arabic-speakers or rather Arabic-speaking Greek scribes. Fascinating supporting evidence for the latter comes from the unlikely quarter of Cyprus where a dialect of Arabic, brought across by Maronites from the ninth- to twelfth-centuries, is still spoken in the north-western village of Kormakiti.[5] The Arabic of this dialect includes many interferences from Cypriot Greek grammar and pronunciation, including characteristically Greek tendencies of voicing and devoicing in certain phonetic environments. An example of the heady mix of Greek and Arabic can be seen below with devoicing of /b/ to /p/ *(p-pint < al-bint, payt < bayt*); a part Arabic, part Greek condition and result clause *(an...tóte);* and the use of a loan word directly from Greek *(príka <* προικα 'dowry'):[6]

/an p-pint u l-éxl piriúx, tóte š-šípp kyítlop príka mix páyt xkáli u flús/
'If the daughter and the parents want him, then the youth requests a dowry, such as a house, land and money.'

In the Sicilian villein registers, bilabial and alveolar plosives in the Arabic, could be written in ways that suggest devoicing from /b/ to /p/ and from /d/ to /t/. Figures for the latter are given in tabulature form below:

dāl>δ	Mon 78	Mon 83	Catania	Aci	Cefalù	Other
initial	19/19	21/23	1/2	4/4	1/3	0/0
medial	323/343	175/200	152/196	37/48	43/50	39/43
final	62/206	4/83	2/165	0/35	2/39	4/21

[5] cf Alexander Borg's *Cypriot Arabic*, Stuttgart, 1985.
[6] Reproduced from Borg p165 via Versteegh, *The Arabic Language* p213.

dāl>τ	Mon 78	Mon 83	Catania	Aci	Cefalù	Other
initial	0/19	2/23	1/2	0/4	2/3	0/0
medial	20/343	25/200	35/196	11/48	7/50	4/43
final	144/206	79/83	132/165	28/35	36/39	17/21

dāl>τδ	Mon 78	Mon 83	Catania	Aci	Cefalù	Other
initial	0/19	0/23	0/2	0/4	0/3	0/0
medial	0/343	0/200	7/196	0/48	0/50	0/43
final	0/206	0/83	31/165	7/35	1/39	0/21

It is immediately evident from this that different scribes favoured different renditions of the Arabic letter *dāl*. Nonetheless, there is a significantly stronger overall tendency for *dāl*-s to be written as *tau* in the Greek in word final positions. Expressed as percentages this gives:

dāl>δ	Mon 78	Mon 83	Catania	Aci	Cefalù	Other
Initial	100	91	50[7]	100	33	-
Medial	94	88	78	77	86	91
Final	30	5	1	0	5	19

dāl>τ	Mon 78	Mon 83	Catania	Aci	Cefalù	Other
Initial	0	9	50[8]	0	67	-
Medial	6	13	18	23	14	9
Final	70	95	80	80	92	81

dāl>τδ	Mon 78	Mon 83	Catania	Aci	Cefalù	Other
Initial	0	0	0	0	0	0
Medial	0	0	4	0	0	0
Final	0	0	19	0	3	0

Overall figures and percentage showing tendency of *dāl*>τ or τδ:

Initial	5/51=	10%
Medial	109/880=	12%
Final	475/549=	87%

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[7] NB small sample size.

[8] NB small sample size.

However, what is not clear in such cases and what is vital to a linguistic analysis, is whether the apparent devoicing of a /d/ to a /t/ in the pronunciation of *Ḥammūt* was a phenomenon present in Sicilian-Arabic speakers. Alternatively, whether this phenomenon was the rendition of Arabic-speaking Greeks. We might also note a similar devoicing happens to bilabial plosives too, such that bāʾ > pi or pi+beta. Evidence to support the idea that some Sicilian-Arabic speakers may have devoiced in the same way as Greek or Romance speakers is slight. Nonetheless, the form of *qāwāyit* (for *qāwāʾid*) occurring in a chancery document from 1242 perhaps anticipated phonological changes to come, if it did not in fact reflect the local accent of the day. It is, however, an exceptional example and insufficient to establish anything but an intriguing case. Mention might also be made at this point of the general devoicing from /d/ to /t/ in Sicilian dialect words such as *càjitu* (for *qāʾid)*, but this type of formation is unattested in the Norman period outside Latin or Greek documents. One can only assume that such forms came about when the remaining Arabic-speakers in Sicily (who were presumably Christian by then- at least nominally) began to adopt Romance dialects. Given the relative paucity and concentrations of the speakers of prestige Romance dialects in Normano-Swabian times, such changes are unlikely to have occurred until much later in the medieval period. Unfortunately, the later periods can match neither the quantity nor the quality of the linguistic evidence of the Norman Sicilian documents. Nonetheless, this type of devoicing in Arabic dialects is highly unusual and the examples of Cypriot and the Arabic of Sicilian Greeks suggest that Greek or Romance phonetic influence was the likely cause. Notably, the only other dialect of Arabic that devoices in a similar way is Maltese where final position /b/ and /d/ become /p/ and /t/ if followed by another voiced consonant e.g. (Maltese) *trit* < *turīd* (Classical Arabic) and (Maltese) *biep* < *bāb* (Classical Arabic). The latter example does not necessarily imply causality between Greek/Arabic from Sicily and Maltese, but does record a parallel phonological change. Having said this, to establish a Greek element in Maltese would substantially strengthen the idea that Maltese has a sub-strata of Sicilian Arabic.

The translation or transliteration of Arabic names in Greek

Besides Greek influences and interferences, there are a number of vocabulary items that were translated from the Arabic to the Greek. These can be seen in the tables on the following pages:

The distribution and treatment of names indicating professions

Monreale 1178	Monreale 1183	Catania 1145	Aci 1145?	Cefalù 1145	Others 1095-1169
al-ᶜağūz[9] ἀτζοὺζ 178a	al-ᶜağūz	al-ᶜağūz ἐλαγζοὺζ 582b ἐλαγζοὺζ 582b ἐλαγζοὺζ 582b	al-ᶜağūz ἡ γραὶα 594b	al-ᶜağūz	al-ᶜağūz ἀγζοὺζ 38a
al-ᶜawn[10]	al-ᶜawn ὁ πλάτζ 262a	al-ᶜawn	al-ᶜawn	al-ᶜawn	al-ᶜawn
al-bannā[11] ὁ κτήστος 155b ἐλπίννε 179a	al-bannā πέννε 251a	al-bannā ἠλβέννε 574a ἠλβέννε 580a	al-bannā	al-bannā	al-bannā
al-bayyāᶜah[12]	al-bayyāᶜah	al-bayyāᶜah ἐλπβεϊάα 581b	al-bayyāᶜah πράτρεα 594b	al-bayyāᶜah	al-bayyāᶜah

[9] 'Old woman'. This may have had a more specific meaning such as 'servant' cf *al-ᶜağūz bi-dār l-xayyāṭ* (582b), although the Greek ἡ γραὶα also means 'old woman'.

[10] 'The servant'.

[11] 'The builder'. The paroxytonic stress position of the Greek does not correspond with the Arabic nor with the modern Sicilian surname 'Bannò'. The Greek ending of 'Pénne' shows evidence of *imāla* or palatisation, whereas 'Bannò' is produced by velarisation cf De Simone 'Gli antroponimi arabo-greci,' 1992 p61.

[12] 'The saleswoman'.

al-farrān[13] φουρναρνος 138 φουρναρνος 178	al-farrān	al-farrān	al-farrān	al-farrān	al-farrān
al-fāṣid[14]	al-fāṣid φλεβωτ[ό]μ[ος] 285a	al-fāṣid	al-fāṣid	al-fāṣid	al-fāṣid
ġulām[15] ὁ δοῦλος 174b δοῦλος 166b ὁ δοῦλος 167b δοῦλος 178a	ġulām	ġulām γουλὲμ 583a γουλὲμ 583b γουλὲμ 583a γουλὲμ 583a	ġulām	ġulām	ġulām
al-ḥaddād[16] χὰλκευς 142b χαδὲδ 150b ἐλχαδὲδ 152b ἐλχαδὲδ 153b ἐλχαδὲδ 160b	al-ḥaddād χαδδὲδ 259b	al-ḥaddād ἐλχατδὲτ 566b ἐλχατδὲτ 567a ἐλχατδὲτ 567b ἐλχατδὲτ 569b ἠλχατδὲτ 572b	al-ḥaddād	al-ḥaddād	al-ḥaddād

[13] 'The baker'.

[14] 'The phlebotomist or cupper'. Most researchers these days translate the common surname 'Ḥaǧǧām' as 'cupper', but given here that a different word is specifically translated in the Greek as 'cupper', then it casts doubt on whether 'ḥaǧǧām' really meant 'cupper' or something else, such as 'barber.'

[15] 'The servant'.

[16] 'The smith'.

χαδὲδ 160b ἐλχαδὲδ 172b ἐλχαδὲδ 178b		ἠλχατδὲτ 572b ἐλχατδὲτ 575b ἐλχατδὲτ 576a ἐλχατδὲτ 576a ἠλχατδὲτ 576b ἐλχατδὲτ 582a ἐλχατδὲτ 584a ἐλχατδὲτ 585a			
al-ḥammār[17] ὀνολάτης 152a χαμὰρ 160b al-b.rād.nī ἐλπερέδινη 155a	al-ḥammār χαμμὰρ 264a βουρδονάνι 285a al-burdunānī βουρδονάνι 273a βουρδονάνι 275b	al-ḥammār ἐλχαμμὰρ 577b ἐλχαμμὰρ 581b al-burdunānī βορδονάνι 578b	al-ḥammār al-burdunānī	al-ḥammār al-burdunānī	al-ḥammār al-burdunānī
al-kātib[18] νοτάριος 160a	al-kātib	al-kātib ἐλκέτηπ 565a ἐλκέτιπ 572b	al-kātib	al-kātib	al-kātib
al-madīnī[19] πανόρμ[ου] 154a	al-madīniyya μιδινίε 258a	al-madīna	al-madīnī ἐλμιτίνι 594b	al-madīna	al-madīna

[17] 'The donkey-man'. Bourdonaros is the Greek equivalent.

[18] 'The scribe'.

[19] 'The Palermitan'. Many town names were Hellenicised or, in this case, given the Greek name.

	μιδινίε 274a μιδινίε 277a				
al-muᶜwaǧǧ[20]	al-muᶜwaǧg τραχλώς 247a	al-muᶜwaǧg	al-muᶜwaǧg	al-muᶜwaǧg	al-muᶜwaǧg
al-naṣārī[21] ὁ χριστιανός 146bb	al-naṣārī	al-naṣārī	al-naṣārī	al-naṣārī	al-naṣārī
al-qaṣīr[22] ὁ κονδ[ος] 146bb	al-qaṣīr κασὴρ 254a	al-qaṣīr ἐλκασὴρ 572a ἐλκασὴρ 583b	al-qaṣīr	al-qaṣīr	al-qaṣīra ἐλκασήρα ? 614a
rāǧil[23] ἄνθρωπος 139a ἄνθρωπος 161a ἄνθρωπος 163b ἄνθρωπος 169b	rāǧil ἄνθρωπος 266b δουλευτὴς 266b	rāǧil	rāǧil	rāǧil	rāǧila ῥάτζελα 129a
al-raḥḥāl[24]	al-raḥḥāl	al-raḥḥāl	al-raḥḥāla	al-raḥḥāl	al-raḥḥāl

[20] 'The hunchback'.

[21] 'The Christian'.

[22] 'The short'.

[23] Literally 'man', but the Greek δουλευτὴς suggests 'servant'. In other contexts it has the sense of 'villein', but clearly all the men in the registers were villeins. Rāǧil is a dialect variation of standard Arabic 'raǧul'.

ἐλραχὰλ 138b ἐλραχὰλ 145a ἐλραχὰλ 157b ἐλραχὰλ 161a ἐλραχὰλ 168b ἐλραχὰλ 172a	ὁ ζαμπατι“ 247b ὁ ραχχὰλ 261b ραχχὰλ 268a ραχὰλ 271b		ἠῤραχάλε 593a		
al-rāhib[26] ἐλράχιπ 148a ἐλράχιπ 148a ῥάχιπ 148b ἐλράχεπ 151a ὁ καλόγερος 163b	al-rāhib	al-rāhib	al-rāhib	qalğarū? καλοκύρου 479a	al-rāhib
al-ṣağīr[27]	al-ṣağīr	al-ṣağīr	al-ṣağīr	al-ṣağīr	al-ṣağīr ὁ μικρος 69b
al-šayx[28] ἐλσίχ 136b ὁ γέρων 139a	al-šayx ὁ γέρον 252b ὁ γέρον 252a	al-šayx σὶχ 571a	al-šayx ὁ σὴχ 586b ἠσσήχ 586a	al-šayx ὁ γέρων 473b ὁ γέρων 473b	al-šayx γέρων? 614a

[24] 'The traveller'.

[25] Ultimately from διαβάτης > *ζαβάτης meaning 'the traveller' cf Caracausi *Hapax* p 14. It is apparently not attested in any Modern Greek dialect.

[26] 'The monk'.

[27] 'The small'.

[28] 'The elder' or 'sheikh'.

ἐλσήχ 163b ὁ γέρων 165b ἐλσίχ 166a ἐλσίχ 166a ἐλσήχ 168a ὁ γέρων 172a	ὁ γέρον 254b ὁ γέρων 259b ὁ γέρον 260a ὁ γέρων 261a ὁ γέρον 261a ὁ γέρον 264a σὶχ 268b ὁ γέρων 274b ὁ γέρων 279a ὁ γέρων 281b ὁ γέρων 283a			ὁ γέρων 473b ὁ γέρων 476.1	
al-tāğir[29] ὁ πραγματεύτης 166a ἐλτέτζηρ 177b	al-tāğir	al-tāğir	al-tāğir ἠττέτζηρ 592a	al-tāğir ἠττέτζηρ 478a ἠττέτζηρ 478a	al-tāğir
al-ṭaḥḥān[30] ὁ μυλαῖος 168a	al-ṭaḥḥān ὁ ττακχὰν 265a	al-ṭaḥḥān ἠλταχχὰν 566a ἐτταχὰν 575b ἐτταχὰν 575a ἐτταχὰν 576a ἐτταχὰν 577a	al-ṭaḥḥān ἠτταχχὰν 591a ταχχὰν 591b	al-ṭaḥḥān ἐτταχάν 475a	al-ṭaḥḥān

[29] 'The merchant'.

[30] 'The miller'.

ṭawīl[31] ταουὲλ 138a al-ṭawīl μάκρ[η]ς 153a al-šāṭṭ ὁ μάκρ[η]ς 170b	ṭawīl al-ṭawīl μάκρι 274b	ṭawīl ταουὲλ 565a al-ṭawīl ἐτταουιλ 571b ταυὲλ 584b	ṭawīl al-ṭawīl	ṭawīl al-ṭawīl	ṭawīl al-ṭawīl
al-ṭurūš[32] ἐλταρούς 139b ἐλτουρούς 164a	al-ṭurūš ὁ κοφός 250b τορός 263a ὁ κοφώς 263a	al-ṭurūš	al-ṭurūš ἠττουροῦς 587b τουροῦς 588b	al-ṭurūš	al-ṭurūš
al-waqīl[33] (sic) ὁ κουράτωρ 146b	al-wakīl ουκὶλ 247b ὁ κουράτορος 266b ὁ̣ κουράτορος 267a ουκὶλ 275b	al-wakīl	al-wakīl	al-wakīl ἐλουακὲλ 479b	al-wakīl
al-xanzārī[34] ὁ χοιροβόσκ[ος] 146b	al-xanzārī	al-xanzārī	al-xanzārī	al-xanzārī	al-xanzārī

[31] 'The tall'. Al-šāṭṭ means 'The active'.

[32] 'The deaf'.

[33] 'The agent'.

[34] 'The pig-man'.

ὁ χοιροβόσκ[ος] 146b ὁ κοιροβόσκο[ς] 152a ἐλχαντζέρι 173b					
al-xayyāṭ[35] ὁ ῥάπτ[ης] 155b χαϊὰτ 164b ὁ ῥάπτ[ης] 173b ῥάπτ[ης] 178b	al-xayyāṭ ῥάπτ[ης] 247a ῥάπτ[ης] 251a ὁ ῥάπτ[ης] 254b χαϊὰτ 261a ὁ ῥαπτης 263b ῥάπτ[ης] 265a ῥάπτ[ης] 276a ὁ ῥάπτ[ης] 284a ὁ ῥάπτ[ης] 285a	al-xayyāṭ ἐλχαϊὰτ 572b ἐλχαϊὰτ 573b χαϊὰτ 578a ἐλχαϊὰτ 582b	al-xayyāṭ	al-xayyāṭ	al-xayyāṭ
yatīm[36] ὠρφανον 267a					

[35] 'The tailor'.

[36] 'The orphan'.

However, as can be seen from the tables above, these were by no means evenly spread across different registers and thus show a lack of uniform approach to the task of preparing a Greek version of the Arabic. A statistical summary of the tables shown on the following pages are as follows: Occurrences of translated elements within villein names (excluding family terms):

Monreale 1178	Monreale 1183	Catania 1145	Aci 1145?	Cefalù 1145	Others 1095-1169
31/1194 = 2.5%	31/729 = 4%	3/675 = 0.4%	2/266 = 0.75%	5/225 = 2%	2/171 = 1.2%

The examples cited above show the minor tendency (a little over 2%) for scribes to translate some items from Arabic into Greek. Many items such as family terms (e.g. *ibn, walad, bint, zawǧ* or *rabīb);* names with Greek inflections (e.g. *ὁ ἀβδέλλας, ὁ μοῦσες* etc) or Hellenicised transliterations (e.g. *al-baradiʾī > βαρδάρης* 279a) have not been included in this list for the reason that they occur commonly and the tendencies they exhibit are much the same as less frequently translated items (see discussion below). Almost all the translated terms given refer to professional names such as 'the tailor' or 'the smith' and so on. However, it is not clear whether these appellations served as surnames in the modern sense or whether these men actually did the tasks that their names suggest. Naturally, this creates an insurmountable difficulty for those who believe that it is possible to reconstruct the socio-economic life of twelfth-century Sicily from this data.[37]

The minor tendency to translate is nonetheless important for a number of reasons. First, the presence of translated items in all the longer registers supports the idea that there was a certain level of bilingualism among the Greek scribes. However, the decision to translate in preference to transliterating was one which is considerably more pronounced in some lists than others. For example, there is a clear distinction between the lists of

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[37] According to Nef in 'Anthroponomie et *jarāʾid* de Sicile', 1996, p141; *'Les éléments qui composent le nom arabe rendent possible une analyse sociale pousée si l'on donne une valeur effective aux informations qu'ils fournissent. En effet, les noms de métier permettent, avec les éléments honorifiques, de retracer une hiérarchie sociale qui démontre la vigueur et la diverité interne de ces communautés'.* For serious reservations about both the qualitative and quantitative aspects of the data see De Simone, 'La kunya negli antroponimi arabi di Sicilia- tra metafora e ambiguità,' 1992 and Johns *The Muslims of Norman Sicily* (D. Phil thesis 1983), Chapter 5 *passim.*

Monreale and those from Aci or Catania, such that a name from the Monreale 1183 was, on average, 12 times more likely to have been translated than the same name from Catania. In all cases, the Greek was added by scribes from the *Dīwān al-taḥqīq al-maʿmūr* in Palermo, so these variations cannot be said to reflect regional variations across Sicily, rather they are the result of choices made by particular, and anonymous, scribes. Given this, there is no reason to extend conclusions made here concerning the practices of scribes in the Arabic *dīwān* to determine the wider linguistic scene in Sicily. However, these stylistic variations do allow us to assess the scribes' consistency of treatment and approach to writing Arabic names in Greek which also allows us to divide up the lists on a linguistic basis. We will see how scribes who tended to translate also tended to Hellenicise terms, drop the definite article and append Greek inflectional endings to Arabic names. Naturally, these significant differences in treatment across the *ǧarāʾid l-riǧāl* do not allow us to assess them as being linguistically equivalent as we are not comparing like with like. Although translated forms have been noted before, giving alternative forms within each *ǧarīda* allows us to observe how consistent particular scribes were.[38]. This is essential to any linguistic inquiry since it is important to know whether we are observing a one-off translation or a wider trend and we shall see how modern researchers have been mislead over these very points and have produced conclusions which are demonstrably errant.

Tendencies and variations

It is clear from the table of translated and transliterated terms above that no scribe was completely consistent over his treatment of names. Some terms (cf *al-šayx*) vacillate capriciously between translation and transliteration. Other names (e.g. *al-bannā al-ḥaddād, al-ḥammār, al-rāhib* or *al-ṭuruš)* are initially translated in some lists, but later re-appear transliterated or vice-versa. The scribes would seem not to have adopted any particular translation scheme and have thus produced unpredictable results. This inconsistency within the registers raises the point that the Greek may have been the product of more than one hand. In response to this, we might note that inconsistencies often occur within a very short space of text and, in some cases, in almost consecutive names (e.g. *ἄνθρωπος* followed by *δουλευτὴς* both for *rāgil* 266b).

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[38] All the key pilot works in this field e.g. De Simone's, *Spoglio antroponomico*; Pellegrini's *Gli arabismi nelle lingue neolatine*; Caracausi's *Arabismi medievali di Sicilia* and Agius's *Siculo Arabic*, tend to cite examples indiscriminately to illustrate particular linguistic points.

We might combine this with the observation that variations of orthography that occur in the Greek itself (cf *γέρον/γέρων* under *al-šayx* in the table) were standard practice and within the convention of twelfth-century Sicilian scribes. It is therefore difficult to argue that such variations in detail or execution within a register entail the work of more than one translator. Rather, the tendency towards sporadic translation, or its counter-tendency of almost always transliterating, are upheld consistently throughout each list. This would not support the conclusion that each register was the work of several translators. We may explain the erratic and unpredictable approach to translation as being within accepted chancery practice for this type of document.

The Arabic-Greek villein registers: different scribes, different results

The most strikingly different approaches to the task of writing Arabic names in Greek are shown in two of the longest *ǧarāʾid l-riǧāl* namely Monreale 1183 and Catania 1145. We may recall that the Catania register of 1145 was a confirmation of a previous list written in Arabic in 1095. The bilingual (Arabic-Greek) register from Monreale was compiled, *ab initio,* around 1182 to record the villeins attached to lands recently conceded from the royal demesne to the powerful church of S. Maria di Monreale.

The stylistic contrasts between the two are that the scribe of the Catania document has chosen to transliterate throughout the entire document, whereas the Monreale scribe has translated over 30 items of Arabic into Greek. The transliterative style of the Catania scribe even extends generally to family terms (*umm > οὖμ; bint > πεντ; banāt > πενέτ; zawǧa > ζατζητ*[39]) as well as even short descriptive Arabic phrases (*al-ʿaǧūz bi-dār l-xayyāṭ > ἐλαγζοὺζ πετάρ ἐλχαϊάτ* 582b). On rare occasions, the Catania scribe shows a certain willingness to translate and a couple of Arabic terms appear in Greek-*bint > θυγάτηρ 579a*). However, given that bilingualism was probably the minimum requirement for a *dīwānī* translator, the scribe's general reluctance to translate should not be seen as an inability to do so, rather than a conscious choice not to. By contrast, the compiler of the Monreale 1183 manuscript seemed eager to translate, albeit in a haphazard fashion. As with translations in other registers, he does not follow a particular plan, but does translate some quite obscure

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[39] cf Cusa esp. pp579-582 and pp593-594.

terms such as *al-muʿwaǧǧ* > *τραχλώς* ('the hunchback') and *al-ṭuruš* > *ὁ κοφός* ('the deaf'). Even if the scribe did not translate these on his own, but received help it shows that, at the very least, there were some scribes in the *Dīwān* whose Arabic-Greek vocabulary extended far enough to cover the remote language of disabilities. Alternatively, the Greek scribe of the Monreale document was taking the occasional opportunity to display his breadth of knowledge of Arabic. Whichever was the case, we might cautiously infer that there was little in the way of Greek and Arabic that could not be translated in the *dīwān.*

The *ǧarāʾid l-riǧāl* from Monreale 1178 and Cefalù 1145 show a similar ratio of translated words (2.5% and 2% respectively). These represent about half the proportion of the Monreale 1182 document but at least six times that of Catania. The Cefalù scribe is also noteworthy for his translation of family terms (*bint* > *θυγάτηρ* on all 10 occasions), but in both documents translations occur at unpredictable intervals and without any apparent reference to other renditions which were made before or since.

The *ǧarāʾid l-riǧāl* from Aci 1145(?) contains only two non-family items of translation (*al-ʿaǧūz al-bayyāʿa* > ἡ γραὶα πράτρεα 594b) both of which occur in the same phrase. In spite of the strikingly similar preference for a pure style of transliteration only, the translators and the copyists were different for both the Catania and Aci documents. Not only are the Arabic and Greek hands markedly different, but the Greek scribe who translated the Catania manuscript favoured the unique transcription of the Arabic letter *ǧīm (ǧ)* as *γζ*. In clear contrast, the Aci transcriber (with a single exception) preferred the more standard rendition of *τζ*.

Several other manuscripts are very short and thus do not provide a great deal of evidence. Translations occur infrequently and perhaps the most significant feature of translated items is that the earliest occurred in 1095 and that this practice continued, albeit sporadically, throughout the Norman period.

The choice to transliterate blindly may seem an odd one, but we might also bear in mind the ambiguity of the phrase 'to write Arabic in' another language. Clearly, the straightforward transliterative style found in the Catania document did not always render the meaning of the Arabic for the benefit of Greek

speakers. In that sense, it would have been of greater administrative expediency to have translated, and not transliterated, *al-ʿağūz bi-dār l-xayyāṭ* as 'the old woman at the household of the tailor'. However, old as she was in 1095, she was 50 years older in 1145 when the register was confirmed verbatim.

That such variations in execution were allowed to continue within the *Dīwān* suggests the scribes did not apparently solve this problem which was transferred to other generations of scribes as the Greek renditions came to be transliterated or translated into Latin documents. This permissive approach to translation can only have facilitated the spread of linguistic interferences, the liberal use and transmission of loan words and the continuation of literary fashions which were already well established within the scribal culture of the Arabic *Dīwān.*

Variations in treatment of the Arabic definite article in Greek

It is evident from the table of translations (see above) that the scribes' treatment of the definite article, in both Greek *(ó)* and Arabic *(al-),* varies.[40] In Greek, the definite article appears before personal name when referred to in the third person. This usage is shared by formal, and particularly northern, Italian, but it is not shared by Arabic, nor any Arabic dialect. The grammatical mis-match between Greek and Arabic may go some way to accounting for the variations in treatment of the Arabic definite article by the Greek scribes. In this respect, there are four possibilities:

1. Deletion of the Greek definite article
2. Substitution of the Arabic definite article with the Greek article
3. Omission of both Greek and Arabic definite articles
4. Transliteration of the Arabic article into Greek

By way of an example, using the common surname *al-ḥağğām* the attested possibilities are as cited overleaf:

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[40] The differing treatments of the definite article in Greek has been noted by G. Caracausi 'Un *hapax*' medievale p10-11, 1990. He cites a few examples, but gives little in the way of commentary other than to observe the phenomen.

1.	deletion-	χατζέμ	<	الحجام al-ḥaǧǧām
2.	substitution-	ὁ χατζέμ	<	الحجام al-ḥaǧǧām
3.	omission-	χατζέμ	<	حجام ḥaǧǧām
4.	transliteration-	ἐλχατζὲμ	<	الحجام al-ḥaǧǧām

In the examples cited below we can see how these differences are broadly aligned with the registers and how combinations appear in some lists, but not others, according to the particular style of the scribes. Five of the most common villein surnames (*al-ḥaǧǧām, al-ḥarīrī, al-naǧǧār, al-qaṭṭān* and *al-mu'addib*) have been selected to illustrate the possible variations, their frequency of occurrence and their distribution. The sample of over 140 names is not exhaustive but serves to illustrate particular trends clearly and typically.

Various treatments of the definite article in Arabic and Greek

Cusa ref.	Greek	Arabic	Cusa ref.	Greek	Arabic
	Catania 1145	*'The barber'*		Catania 1145	*'The carpenter'*
567a	ἀβδελχαγζέμ	ʿabd l-ḥaǧǧām[41]	577a	ἐβεννιτζὰρ	abū al-naǧǧār
571b	χαγγὲμ	al-ḥaǧǧām	571b	νιγζὰρ	al-naǧǧār
573a	ἐλχαγζέμ	al-ḥaǧǧām	582b	ἐλνιγζὰρ	al-naǧǧār
573b	ἐλχαγζὲμ	al-ḥaǧǧām			
574a	ἠλχαγζέμ	al-ḥaǧǧām		Cefalù 1145	
581a	ἐλχαγζὲμ	al-ḥaǧǧām	474a	νητζὰρ	al-naǧǧār
			474a	ἠννητζὰρ	al-naǧǧār
	Cefalù 1145				
475a	ἐλχατζὲμ	al-ḥaǧǧām		Aci 1145?	
476b	χαγγὲμ	al-ḥaǧǧām	592a	ἠννητζὰρ	al-naǧǧār
476b	χαγγὲμς	al-ḥaǧǧām			
477a	χαγγὲμ	al-ḥaǧǧām		Monreale 1178	
			153a	ἐλνετζὰρ	al-naǧǧār
	Aci 1145?		156a	νιτζὰρ	al-naǧǧār
586b	χαγγὲμ	al-ḥaǧǧām	160b	ἐλνετζὰρ	al-naǧǧār
			173b	ἐλνετζὰρ	al-naǧǧār
	Monreale 1178		178b	ἐλνετζὰρ	al-naǧǧār
141a	ὁ χατζὲμις	al-ḥaǧǧām			
148a	ἐλχατζὲμ	al-ḥaǧǧām		Monreale 1183	
150a	χατζὲμ	al-ḥaǧǧām	250b	νιτζὰρ	al-naǧǧār
150b	ὁ χατζὲμ	al-ḥaǧǧām	257b	νιτζὰρ	al-naǧǧār

[41] An peculiar name since *Ḥaǧǧām* is not one of the Islamic names of God.

159a	χατζὲμ	al-ḥaǧǧām	270b	νιτζὰρ	al-naǧǧār
161b	χατζὲμ	al-ḥaǧǧām			
166b	ἐλχατζὲμ	al-ḥaǧǧām		Patti 1132[42]	
174a	ἐλχατζὲμ	al-ḥaǧǧām	514a	νιτζὰρ	al-naǧǧār*
	Monreale 1183			Catania 1145	*'The cotton-man'*
252b	χατζὲμ	al-ḥaǧǧām	566a	ἐλκατανι	al-qaṭṭānī
256a	χαντζὲμ	al-ḥaǧǧām	567a	ἐλκαττὰν	al-qaṭṭān
277b	χατζὲμ	al-ḥaǧǧām	567b	ἐλκαττὰν	al-qaṭṭān
285a	χατζὲμ	al-ḥaǧǧām	573a	ἐλκαττὰν	al-qaṭṭān
			574b	ἐλκαττὰν	al-qaṭṭān
	Catania 1145	*'The silk-worker'*	580a	ἐλκαττὰν	al-qaṭṭān
564a	ἐλχαρηρ	al-ḥarīrī	581b	ἐλκαττὰν	al-qaṭṭān
567a	ἐλχαρὲρη	al-ḥarīrī			
567a	ἐλχαρὲρ	al-ḥarīrī		Monreale 1178	
567b	ἠλχαρὲρ	al-ḥarīrī	137b	χαττὰνης	al-qaṭṭān
567a	ἐλχαρὲρ	al-ḥarīrī	138a	καττὰνης	al-qaṭṭān
567b	ἠλχαρὲρ	al-ḥarīrī	155b	ἐλκαταν	al-qaṭṭān
572a	ἐλχαρὲρ	al-ḥarīrī	178b	ἐλκατ[ταν]	al-qaṭṭān
573b	ἐλχαρηρ	al-ḥarīrī	178a	ἐλκατ[ταν]	al-qaṭṭān
575b	ἠλχαρὲρη	al-ḥarīrī			
575b	ἐλχαρὲρη	al-ḥarīrī		Monreale 1183	
578b	ἐλχαρὲρ	al-ḥarīrī	247a	καττὰν	al-qaṭṭān
582a	ἐλχαρὲρ	al-ḥarīrī	253a	καττὰν	al-qaṭṭān
582b	ἐλχαρὲρη	al-ḥarīrī	260b	καττὰν	al-qaṭṭān
583a	ἐλχαρὲρ	al-ḥarīrī	262b	καττὰν	al-qaṭṭān
583b	ἐλχαρὲρ	al-ḥarīrī	271a	καττὰν	al-qaṭṭān
			277a	καττὰν	al-qaṭṭān
	Cefalù 1145		284a	καττὰν	al-qaṭṭān
478b	χαρὲρη	al-ḥarīrī	284b	καττὰν	al-qaṭṭān
			259b	καττὰν	qaṭṭān
	Aci 1145?				
586b	χαρὲρη	al-ḥarīrī		Catania 1145	*'Learned'*
589a	ἠλχαρηρη	al-ḥarīrī	570a	ἠλμοόδεπ	al-mu'addib
593b	ἠλχαρηρ	al-ḥarīrī	571b	ἠλμοότδεπ	al-mu'addib
			571b	ἠλμουότδεπ	al-mu'addib
	Monreale 1178		584a	ἐλμουόδδεπ	al-mu'addib
137b	χαρὲρ	al-ḥarīrī			
145b	ἐλχαριρι	al-ḥarīrī		Corleone 1151	
148b	ἠλχαριρι	al-ḥarīrī	131a	ἐλμουούττηπ	al-mu'addib
155a	χαρὲρ'ς	al-ḥarīrī			
155b	χαριρη	al-ḥarīrī		Aci 1145?	
156a	ἐλχαριρη	al-ḥarīrī	592b	ἠλμουούτδεπ	al-mu'addib

[42] The document from Patti 1132 is written in Greek only, so the Arabic is a reconstructed form. None of the surnames of similar construction in the Patti list has reproduced the Arabic definite article, if indeed there was one.

159a	ἐλχαριρη	al-ḥarīrī			
160a	χαριρη	al-ḥarīrī		Monreale 1178	
171a	ἐλχαριρι	al-ḥarīrī	138a	μούτηπο[ς]	al-mu'addib
174b	χαριρη	al-ḥarīrī	147a	μουούτηπ	al-mu'addib
175a	ἐλχαριρη	al-ḥarīrī	156b	ἐλμουούδεπ	al-mu'addib
175b	χαρὲρας	al-ḥarīrī	157a	ἐλμουούτυπ	al-mu'addib
178a	χαριρ᾽ς	al-ḥarīrī	158b	ἐλμουούδεπ	al-mu'addib
			166a	μουούτηπ	al-mu'addib
	Monreale 1183		173a	μουούτεπ	al-mu'addib
251a	χαρὶρης	al-ḥarīrī	175a	ἐλμουούτεπ	al-mu'addib
254a	ὁ χαρὶρες	al-ḥarīrī			
255b	χαρὶρι	al-ḥarīrī		Monreale 1183	
256a	χαρὲρη	al-ḥarīrī	248b	μουεδδεπ	al-mu'addib
258b	χαρὶρ᾽ς	al-ḥarīrī	249a	μουούνδδεπ	al-mu'addib
262a	χαρὴρ᾽ς	al-ḥarīrī	249b	μουούνδδεπ	al-mu'addib
266b	χαρὶρ᾽ς	al-ḥarīrī	251a	μουεδδεπ	al-mu'addib
266b	χαρὶρης	ḥarīrī	259b	μοούναπ ?	mu'addib
269a	ὁ χαρὲρης	al-ḥarīrī	262b	μοούνδιπο[ς]	al-mu'addib
269a	χαρὲρη	al-ḥarīrī	262b	μοούνδιπ	al-mu'addib
269a	χαρὲρ᾽ς	al-ḥarīrī	263b	μοούνδπ	al-mu'addib
271a	χαρὲρη	al-ḥarīrī	268b	μοούνδιπο[ς]	mu'addib
272b	χαρὲρ᾽ς	al-ḥarīrī	272b	μοούνδπ	al-mu'addib
273a	χαρὲρ᾽ς	al-ḥarīrī	273a	μοούνδιπ	al-mu'addib
275b	ὁ χαρὲρης	al-ḥarīrī	275a	μοούνδεπ	al-mu'addib
277b	χαριρη	al-ḥarīrī	275a	μοούνδεπ	al-mu'addib
279a	χαρὲρη	al-ḥarīrī	276a	μοούνδεπ	al-mu'addib
282b	χαρὲρες	al-ḥarīrī	276b	μοούνδπ	mu'addib
285a	χαρὲρη	al-ḥarīrī	284b	μουεδδεπ	al-mu'addib
285a	χαρὲρη	al-ḥarīrī	285b	μοούνδεπ	al-mu'addib
285a	χαρὲρη	al-ḥarīrī	285a	μοούνδιπος	al-mu'addib
285b	ὁ χαρὲρης	al-ḥarīrī			

To summarise the patterns and forms found in the above table we find the variations distributed as follows:

Arabic article	>	no Greek article		Deletion:	no of egs	%
al-	>	ø	✓	Catania 1145	1/33	3
al-	>	ø	✓	Cefalù 1145	5/7	71
al-	>	ø	✓	Aci 1145	2/6	30
al-	>	ø	✓	Monreale '78	17/39	44
al-	>	ø	✓	Monreale '83	44/55	80

Arabic article	>	Greek article	Substitution:	no of egs	%
al-	>	ὁ	Catania 1145	0/33	0
al-	>	ὁ	Cefalù 1145	0/7	0

al-	>	*ó*		Aci 1145	0/6	0
al-	>	*ó*	✓	Monreale '78	2/39	5
al-	>	*ó*	✓	Monreale '83	4/55	7

no Arabic article	>	no Greek article		Omission:	no of egs	%
ø	>	ø		Catania 1145	0/33	0
ø	>	ø		Cefalù 1145	0/7	0
ø	>	ø		Aci 1145	0/6	0
ø	>	ø		Monreale '78	0/39	0
ø	>	ø	✓	Monreale '83	6/55	11

Arabic article	>	no Greek article		Transliteration:	no of egs	%
al-	>	*el or ēl*	✓	Catania 1145	32/33	97
al-	>	*el or ē*	✓	Cefalù 1145	2/7	29
al-	>	*el or ēl*	✓	Aci 1145	4/6	67
al-	>	*el or ēl*	✓	Monreale '78	20/39	51
al-	>	*el-*		Monreale '83	0/55	0

The results from the sample study show sharp divergences in the treatment of the Arabic and Greek definite articles. Once again we find the documents from Catania and Monreale 1183 defining opposite trends of almost total transliteration or alternatively, of resolving the Arabic definite article into a Greek one or eliding it completely.

Transcriptions, transliterations and the assimilation of the Arabic definite article

In both dialect and standard forms of Arabic the definite article is assimilated before a 'sun letter'[43]. For example, السلام is written as *al-salām* but pronounced as /as-salām/ in spite of its spelling. In the *ǧarāʾid*, we can see two different approaches to dealing with this assimilation. The name *ʿAbd l-Raḥmān* has been chosen as an example to illustrate the various manifestations of its equivalent in Greek for the reason that was it a common name and therefore appears frequently across all the main villein registers. Besides which, it was an easy name for Greeks to pronounce since it did not contain any sounds that were greatly divergent from those in the Greek phonemic inventory.

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[43] Of the 29 characters in the Arabic alphabet, the 'sun letters' are s, ṣ, t, ṯ, ṭ, d, ḏ, ḍ, z, ẓ, r, l and ṯ. All others are 'moon letters'.

On the one hand, some Greek scribes wrote *ἀβδερ̣ρ̣αχμὲν* or *ἀυδερ̣ρ̣αχμὲν (avderraḥmen)* apparently assimilating the Arabic article from *al-* to *ar-*, while others retained the article and produced *ἀβδελραχμὲν* or *ἀυδελραχμὲν (avdelraḥmen)*. Caracausi has explained these variations phonetically by suggesting that this shows the Arabic definite article was partially assimilated in Sicilian Arabic, '...the registers of the Norman period, the Greek forms of which quite accurately reflect the actual sound of the corresponding Arabic forms, may show that in twelfth-century Sicily the phenomenon [of assimilation] was not in an advanced stage of development. Indeed, they read, for example, *ἐλδούπ* (168) and *ἐττουπβ* (475) for *al-dubb*, *ἀβδελνοὺρ* (156) and *ἀβδιννοὺρ* (246) for *ʿabd al-nūr* and countless other similar pairs.'[44] However, a more convincing explanation presents itself when we match the variations with the registers. These are shown below:

Assimiliation of the Arabic definite article

Cusa ref	*ǧarīda*	Greek	Arabic	Cusa ref	*ǧarīda*	Greek	Arabic
3b	Palermo 1095?	*ἀβδερ̣ρ̣αχμὲν*	ʿAbd l-Raḥmān*	266a	Monreale 1183	*ἀυδερ̣ρ̣αχμ΄*	ʿAbd l-Raḥmān
38b	Palermo 1169	*ἀυδερ̣ρ̣αχμὲν*	ʿAbd l-Raḥmān	273b	Monreale 1183	*ἀυδερ̣ρ̣αχμ΄*	ʿAbd l-Raḥmān
68a	Palermo 1143	*ἀβδερ̣ρ̣αχμὲν*	ʿAbd l-Raḥmān	274b	Monreale 1183	*ἀυδερ̣ρ̣αχμ΄*	ʿAbd l-Raḥmān
128b	Forestal 45	*ἀυδερ̣ρ̣αχμὰ*	ʿAbd l-Raḥmān				
131a	Corleone 1151	*ἀυδερ̣ρ̣αχμ΄*	ʿAbd l-Raḥmān	473a	Cefalu 1145	*ἀυδερ̣ρ̣αχμ΄*	ʿAbd l-Raḥmān
132a	Corleone 1151	*ἀβδερ̣ρ̣αχμὲν*	ʿAbd l-Raḥmān	474a	Cefalu 1145	*ἀβδερ̣ρ̣αχμὲν*	ʿAbd l-Raḥmān
132b	Corleone 1151	*ἀυδερ̣ρ̣αχμὲν*	ʿAbd l-Raḥmān	474a	Cefalu 1145	*ἀυδερ̣ρ̣αχμὲν*	ʿAbd l-Raḥmān
				474a	Cefalu 1145	*ἀβδερ̣ρ̣αχμὲν*	ʿAbd l-Raḥmān
140b	Monreale 1178	*ἀυδελραχμὴν*	ʿAbd l-Raḥīm	474a	Cefalu 1145	*ἀυδερ̣ρ̣αχμὲν*	ʿAbd l-Raḥmān
144a	Monreale 1178	*ἀυδελραχμὰν*	ʿAbd l-Raḥmān	476b	Cefalu 1145	*ἀυδερ̣ρ̣αχμ΄*	ʿAbd l-Raḥmān
152b	Monreale 1178	*ἀυδελραχμὲν*	ʿAbd l-Raḥmān	477a	Cefalu 1145	*ἀυδερ̣ρ̣αχμὲν*	ʿAbd l-Raḥmān
156a	Monreale 1178	*ἀυδερ̣ρ̣αχμὰν*	ʿAbd l-Raḥmān	479a	Cefalu 1145	*ἀβδερ̣ρ̣αχμ΄*	ʿAbd l-Raḥmān

[44] Translated from Caracausi, 'I documenti medievali siciliani in lingua araba', in *Incontri siculo-maltesi*, Journal of Maltese Studies, 1987-88, pp17-8. He repeats this assertion almost verbatim in *Arabismi medievali di Sicilia*, p50, n. 67.

156b	Monreale 1178	*ἀνδελραχμὰν*	ʿAbd l-Raḥmān				
157a	Monreale 1178	*ἀνδελραχμὰν*	ʿAbd l-Raḥmān	513b	Patti 1132	*ἀβδερράχμὲν*	ʿAbd l-Raḥmān*
157a	Monreale 1178	*ἀβδελραχμὲν*	ʿAbd l-Raḥmān	513a	Patti 1132	*ἀβδερράχμὲν*	ʿAbd l-Raḥmān*
162b	Monreale 1178	*ἀνδελραχμὰν*	ʿAbd l-Raḥmān	514b	Patti 1132	*ἀβδερράχμὲν*	ʿAbd l-Raḥmān*
162b	Monreale 1178	*ἀνδελραχμὰν*	ʿAbd l-Raḥmān	514a	Patti 1132	*ἀβδερράχμὲν*	ʿAbd l-Raḥmān*
164b	Monreale 1178	*ἀνδελραχμὰν*	ʿAbd l-Raḥmān				
164a	Monreale 1178	*ἀνδερράχμὰν*	ʿAbd l-Raḥmān	564b	Catania 1145	*ἀβδερράχμὲν*	ʿAbd l-Raḥmān
164a	Monreale 1178	*ἀνδελραχμὰν*	ʿAbd l-Raḥmān	564b	Catania 1145	*ἀβδερράχμὲν*	ʿAbd l-Raḥmān
164a	Monreale 1178	*ἀνδελραχμὰν*	ʿAbd l-Raḥmān	565b	Catania 1145	*ἀβδερράχμὲν*	ʿAbd l-Raḥmān
165a	Monreale 1178	*ἀνδελραχμὰν*	ʿAbd l-Raḥmān	565a	Catania 1145	*ἀβδερράχμὲν*	ʿAbd l-Raḥmān
166b	Monreale 1178	*ἀνδελραχμὰν*	ʿAbd l-Raḥmān	566a	Catania 1145	*ἀβδερράχμὲν*	ʿAbd l-Raḥmān
167b	Monreale 1178	*ἀνδελραχμὰν*	ʿAbd l-Raḥmān	566a	Catania 1145	*ἀβδερράχμὲν*	ʿAbd l-Raḥmān
169a	Monreale 1178	*ἀνδλραχμὰν*	ʿAbd l-Raḥmān	567a	Catania 1145	*ἀβδερράχμ΄*	ʿAbd l-Raḥmān
169a	Monreale 1178	*ἀνδλραχμὰν*	ʿAbd l-Raḥmān	567b	Catania 1145	*ἀβδερράχμ΄*	ʿAbd l-Raḥmān
170a	Monreale 1178	*ἀνδλραχμὰν*	ʿAbd l-Raḥmān	567a	Catania 1145	*ἀβδερράχμὲν*	ʿAbd l-Raḥmān
170b	Monreale 1178	*ἀνδλραχμὰν*	ʿAbd l-Raḥmān	567a	Catania 1145	*ἀβδερράχμ΄*	ʿAbd l-Raḥmān
171a	Monreale 1178	*ἀνδλραχμὰν*	ʿAbd l-Raḥmān	568a	Catania 1145	*ἀβδερράχμὲν*	ʿAbd l-Raḥmān
172b	Monreale 1178	*ἀνδλραχμὰν*	ʿAbd l-Raḥmān	570a	Catania 1145	*ἀβδερράχμὲν*	ʿAbd l-Raḥmān
174b	Monreale 1178	*ἀνδλραχιμ*	ʿAbd l-Raḥmān	570a	Catania 1145	*ἀβδερράχμ΄*	ʿAbd l-Raḥmān
				571a	Catania 1145	*ἀβδερράχμ΄*	ʿAbd l-Raḥmān
247a	Monreale 1183	*ἀνδερράχμ΄*	ʿAbd l-Raḥmān	572a	Catania 1145	*ἀβδερράχμ΄*	ʿAbd l-Raḥmān
248b	Monreale 1183	*ἀνδερράχμ΄*	ʿAbd l-Raḥmān	572b	Catania 1145	*ἀβδερράχμὲν*	ʿAbd l-Raḥmān
248b	Monreale 1183	*ἀνδερράχμ΄*	ʿAbd l-Raḥmān	579b	Catania 1145	*ἀβδερράχμὲν*	ʿAbd l-Raḥmān
248b	Monreale 1183	*ἀνδερράχμ΄*	ʿAbd l-Raḥmān	581a	Catania 1145	*ἀβδερράχμὲν*	ʿAbd l-Raḥmān
249b	Monreale 1183	*ἀνδερράχμ΄*	ʿAbd l-Raḥmān				
251a	Monreale 1183	*ἀνδερράχμὰν*	ʿAbd l-Raḥmān	586a	Aci 1145?	*ἀβδερράχμὰν*	ʿAbd l-Raḥmān
253a	Monreale 1183	*ἀνδερράχμ΄*	ʿAbd l-Raḥmān	587b	Aci 1145?	*ἀνδερράχμ΄*	ʿAbd l-Raḥmān
253a	Monreale 1183	*ἀνδερράχμ΄*	ʿAbd l-Raḥmān	588b	Aci 1145?	*ἀβδερράχμὰν*	ʿAbd l-Raḥmān

262b	Monreale 1183	*ἀβδιῤῥαχμὲν*	ᶜAbd l-Raḥmān	590b	Aci 1145?	*ἀνδερῥαχμ΄*	ᶜAbd l-Raḥmān
262a	Monreale 1183	*ἀβδιῤῥαχμὲν*	ᶜAbd l-Raḥmān	590a	Aci 1145?	*ἀβδερῥαχμὲν*	ᶜAbd l-Raḥmān
262b	Monreale 1183	*ἀνδιῤῥαχμ΄*	ᶜAbd l-Raḥmān	590a	Aci 1145?	*ἀνδερῥαχμὲν*	ᶜAbd l-Raḥmān
262a	Monreale 1183	*ἀβδιῤῥαχμ΄*	ᶜAbd l-Raḥmān	591b	Aci 1145?	*ἀνδερῥαχμ΄*	ᶜAbd l-Raḥmān
264b	Monreale 1183	*ἀνδερῥαχμ΄*	ᶜAbd l-Raḥmān	592b	Aci 1145?	*ἀνδερῥαχμὲν*	ᶜAbd l-Raḥmān
265b	Monreale 1183	*ἀνδερῥαχμ΄*	ᶜAbd l-Raḥmān	592a	Aci 1145?	*ἀνδερῥαχμὲν*	ᶜAbd l-Raḥmān
265b	Monreale 1183	*ἀνδερῥαχμὴμ*	ᶜAbd l-Raḥmān				

This data can be summarised as follows:

Arabic >	Greek		Assimilation:	no of egs	%
al-r >	*-ερῥ-*	✓	Catania 1145	18/18	100
al-r >	*-ερῥ-*	✓	Cefalù 1145	8/8	100
al-r >	*-ερῥ-*	✓	Aci 1145	9/9	100
al-r >	*-ερῥ-*	✓	Monreale 1178	2/23	9
al-r >	*-ερῥ-*	✓	Monreale 1183	25/25	100
al-r >	*-ερῥ-*	✓	Others	11/11	100

Arabic >	Greek		Non-assimilation:	no of egs	%
al-r >	*-ελῥ-*		Catania 1145	0/18	0
al-r >	*-ελῥ-*		Cefalù 1145	0/8	0
al-r >	*-ελῥ-*		Aci 1145	0/9	0
al-r >	*-ελῥ-*	✓	Monreale 1178	21/23	91
al-r >	*-ελῥ-*		Monreale 1183	0/25	0
al-r >	*-ελῥ-*		Others	0/11	0

The results could not be clearer, and suggest that the writing of the Arabic definite article as assimilated or not, was purely a matter of scribal convention. These results are supported by other similar forms. For instance, to use Caracausi's own example, it is clear that he has dealt somewhat eclectically with the evidence for non- or partial assimilation taking it only from one particular register, while ignoring the rest. Thus, for renditions of *ᶜAbd l-Nūr* we have:

Cusa	*ğarīda*	*Greek*		Arabic	
140b	Monreale 1178	*ἀυδελνούρ*	<	ᶜAbd l-Nūr	not assimilated
156a	Monreale 1178	*ἀυδελνούρ*	<	ᶜAbd l-Nūr	not assimilated
165a	Monreale 1178	*ἀυδελνούρ*	<	ᶜAbd l-Nūr	not assimilated
170a	Monreale 1178	*ἀβδελνούρ*	<	ᶜAbd l-Nūr	not assimilated
170a	Monreale 1178	*ἀυδλνούρ*	<	ᶜAbd l-Nūr	not assimilated
246a	Monreale 1183	*ἀυδιννούρ*	<	ᶜAbd l-Nūr	assilimated
260b	Monreale 1183	*ἀυδεννούρ*	<	ᶜAbd l-Nūr	assilimated
564b	Catania 1145	*ἀβδεννούρ*	<	ᶜAbd l-Nūr	assilimated
568b	Catania 1145	*ἀβδεννούρ*	<	ᶜAbd l-Nūr	assilimated
581a	Catania 1145	*ἀβδεννούρ*	<	ᶜAbd l-Nūr	assilimated
614b	Palermo 1144	*ἀβδεννούρ ?*	<	ᶜAbd l-Nūr	assilimated

The variations in the Greek suggest that the scribe of the Monreale 1178 document was, with respect to the Arabic definite article, often producing a *transliteration* of the Arabic, that is to say, a letter for letter correspondence, while the other Greek scribes were producing *transcriptions* or spellings with reference to the sound of the Arabic. This observation is of fundamental importance in our understanding of the relationship between graphemic correspondences and the assigning of phonetic values inferred from them. We shall see more of this crucial relationship, after fully assessing the influence and effect of viewing the Arabic through the medium of Greek.

The agglutination of the Arabic definite article

It is clear from the examples cited below that, not only was the agglutination of the Arabic definite article before certain sounds widespread across most of the Arabic-Greek *ğarāʾid al-riğāl,* but it was also attested from the time of the earliest Norman administrative documents and continued to appear throughout the twelfth century.

The Arabic definite article agglutinated in the Greek transcription

	Aci 1145?			Cefalu 1145	
589a	λιτζέτ᾽	*al-lağātī*	475b	*λεπβέτ*	*al-labbād*
589a	λιτζέτ᾽	*al-lağātī*	479a	*λέσκαρ*	*al-ašqar*
591b	λητήμ	*al-yatīm*			

591b	λαφήφ	*al-ʿarīf*		Corleone 1151	
			132a	*λεσφάνε*	al-ṣafāna ?
	Catania 1145		132b	*λεσφάνε*	al-ṣafāna ?
565b	*λάραγζ*	al-aʿrağ			
568a	*λελλούσε*	al-lūšah ?		Monreale 1178	
575a	*λενδοὺλσι*	al-andalusī	147b	*λιδέην*	al-yadayn
575a	*λήσκαρ*	al-ašqar			
576b	*λήσκαρ*	al-ašqar		Monreale 1183	
577a	*λιμοάφε*	al-muʿāfa	248b	*λιφρίκ*	al-ifrīqī
578b	*λάχτεπ*	al-aḥdab	252a	*λίσκαρ*	al-ašqar
579a	*λελλούσε*	al-lūšah ?	252a	*λινδούλς*	al-andulusī
580a	*λερράίς*	al-rāyiš ?	258b	*λίσκαρ*	al-ašqar
580a	*λεντούλσι*	al-andalusī	259b	*λεμίμ*	al-amīn
582b	*λησάσκαρ*	al-ʿaskar	271a	*λιφρίκ*	al-ifrīqī
			277b	*λούππε*	al-lūbbah
	Palermo 1095?		279b	*λάμε*	al-aʿmā
3a	*λίσκαρ*	al-ʿaskār[45]	281a	*λίφρωμ*	al-afr.m

From the 31 examples above, the Arabic definite article is agglutinated 29 times when occurring before a sun letter, *hamza, ʿayn* or short vowel. Such agglutination is a characteristic of modern Maġribi dialects and forms such as *Lasker* (cf *al-ʿaskār, λίσκαρ*) and *Landoulsi* (cf *al-ʾandalūsī, λινδούλς, λεντούλσι* and *λενδούλσι* see above) are attested as Tunisian surnames today.[46] The latter example is accompanied by the loss of initial and medial vowels causing the reduction of five syllables to three, such that /al-andalūsī/ > /l.ndūlsi/ (vc-vccvcv:'cv: > cvccv:'ccv). Relative to the syllables within the name, the stress remains paroxytonic, although some restructuring of the internal vowels is required to maintain this. These examples are important in historical-linguistic terms because they show that the Greek scribes had recorded complex phonetic changes in the Arabic that were not apparent in the Arabic script. As some of these linguistic features are attested in later dialects, it

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[45] The Arabic has been reconstructed from the Greek.

[46] A M Schimmel, *Islamic Names*, 1989, p11 and p37.

would seem that, at least in some cases, the Greek transcription seems to bear witness to elements of the twelfth-century Sicilian Arabic vernacular. In terms of verifiable historical-linguistic evidence, it would be hard to find better examples of transcriptions than these.

Transcription, transliteration and evidence for imāla *in Arabic*

Whilst some names have been transcribed, others, such as names written with unassimilated sun letters, seem to have been transliterated. Unfortunately for the linguist, individual scribes were not always consistent in their approach and often provide conflicting evidence. For instance, the Arabic name ʿUṯmān is rendered as either *ὀθμὰν* or *ὀθμὲν*, or minor variations thereon. Roughly transcribed, the Greek generally gives either 'othm*a*n' and 'othm*e*n', but while the first example reflects the 'standard' Arabic pronunciation, the second version seems to show *imāla* or the shading in pronunciation of a *alif* towards a *yāʾ* (or elsewhere, a *fatḥa* towards a *kasra)*. Phonetically, this can be can be represented approximately as /a/ or /ɛ:/ gravitating towards an /e / or /ɛə/. The distribution of these forms throughout the *ǧarāʾid* is somewhat irregular and illustrates the dual tendencies of transcription and transliteration, even within the same list and sometimes even the same name:

ʿUtman

> ὀθμὰν *> ὀθμὰν* *> οὐθμάν*	*> ὀθμὲν* *> ὀθούμεν* *> ὀθουμένης* *> οὐθημέν* *> ὠθμέν*	Source
0	24	Catania 1145
5	7	Aci 1145
3	9	Cefalù 1145
16	13	Monreale 1178
14	18	Monreale 1183
0	5	Corleone 1151
0	1	Palermo 1095(?)
0	1	Palermo 1143
2	0	Palermo 1169
40	78	

We see from this the above examples that, while there is plenty of evidence for *imāla,* the evidence is not always uniform. It also shows that scribes neither

consistently transcribed nor consistently transliterated Arabic names into Greek and therefore, when assessing the phonological data, we are forced to make value judgements about its quality before we can say what it shows linguistically. Clearly, whilst quantity of data is important to describe the spread and variety of attested forms over time and in the work of different scribes, we are left with the awkward evaluation of which of these forms is linguistically significant and which is not. In the case of *imāla,* the evidence forwarded above is sufficiently well-attested and widespread to suppose that it *was* a feature of Sicilian Arabic. Methodologically however, it is insufficient simply to record the occurrence of linguistic phenomena without an accompanying or preceding discussion about the type, quality and consistency of the data from which such observations are based.

The definite article, linguistic interference and translation

Thus far, we have observed the diversity of treatment of the Arabic definite article in both Arabic and Greek and have drawn some conclusions about its possible uses and forms. The debate, which also raised some points of methodology, can now proceed to examine how the coincidence of a substituted Arabic article for a Greek one often introduced or followed a translated or inflected form. All such examples from the *ǧarā'id al-riǧāl* have been cited below and show the relationships between the Greek article where it stands in place of an Arabic article, linguistic interferences in the form of Greek inflections (usually suffixes) or the use of translation in favour of transliteration.

Relationships between the substitution of the Arabic definite article for the Greek definite article and the occurrence of translations or Greek inflections in the Arabic

Greek		Arabic	Cusa reference
ὁ γίτζιλις	<	العجل	136b
ἀλῆς ὁ καλλέλ	<	علي القلال	136b
ὁ γαλλούνης	<	الغلوني	137b
ὁ βαρτίλις	<	البارطيلي	137b
ἀλὶς ὁ σάκις	<	علي الشاقي	138b
ὁ μουκάτελ'ς	<	مقاتل	138a
οὐμούρ'ς ὁ γέρων	<	عمر الشيخ	139a
ἐβούβκερ ὁ τζαγγάρης	<	ابو بكر الجزار	139a

ὁ βέρβερης	<	البربري	139a
ὁ χατζέμις	<	الحجام	141a
ὁ βίκηρης	<	البكري	141b
ὁ μουστέουης	<	المزتاوي	142a
ὁ σουμέτης	<	السماتي	142a
ὁ σαδίκας	<	صدقة	142a
ὁ γάτζιμις	<	العجمي	142a
ὁ φικέρινης	<	الفكارني	142a
ἀλὶς ὁ θέρμ'ς	<	علي الثرمي	142b
ἀυδάλλα ὁ γαρήφης	<	عبد الله الغريف	142b
ὁ φικής	<	الفقيه	142b
ἄλι ὁ χάτζις	<	علي الحاج	144b
ὁ ρεφφέσης	<	الرفاش	145b
ὁ χαφούρης	<	الحافوري	146a
ἀλὶς ἀδελφὸς τοῦ τζάληση	<	علي اخو الجالصي	151b
ἀβράμιος μακρ'ς	<	ابرهيم الطويل	153a
ἀλὶς χαρέρ'ς	<	علي الحريرت	155a
ὁ ἀδελφὸς τοῦ κτήστου	<	اخو البنا	155b
ὁ μούσες ραμμέκ'ς	<	موسى الرماكي	157b
ἰωσὴφ ὁ καλφάτ'ς	<	يوسف القلفاط	161b
χουσέην ἄνθρωπος τοῦ καλογέρου	<	حسين رجل الرهاب	163b
ὁ βούβκερ ὁ μυλαῖος	<	ابو بكر الطحان	168a
ὁ φουρνάνι ἀλὶς	<	الفرناني علي	169b
ὁ γέρων χαλλούφης ὁ θεῖος αὐτῶν	<	الشيخ خلوف عمهم	172a
Οὐθμὰ ἀνεψιὸς τζάχφαρ'ς	<	عثمان بن اخته جعفط	173b
ὁ συνγενὴς βουλκά'μου	<	سلفه ابو القسم	176b
ἀλὴς ὁ υἱὸς ῥάπτου	<	علي بن الخياط	247a
ἴχιες ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτῶν	<	يحيى اخوهم	247b
οὐθμέν'ς ὁ υἱὸς οὐκ'λ ἰωσήφ	<	عثمان بن الوكيل يوسف	247b
ἴσες ὁ ἀδελφὸς αυτοῦ	<	عيسى اخوه	247b
ἀζοὺζ ὁ μέζηρης	<	عزوز المازرت	248a
Βουλκ'μ υἱὸς τοῦ κοφοῦ	<	بلقسم بن الطروس	250b
ἄχμετ ὁ παλλούτ'ς	<	احمد البلوطي	250b
ἀμμὰρ υἱὸς ῥάπτου	<	عمار بن الخياط	251b
ἀυδελαλης ὁ συγγενὴς αὐτοῦ	<	عبد العالي صهره	251b
οὔμορ'ς υἱὸς ῥάπτοῦ	<	عمر بن الخياط	254b
ὁ χὰτζ ἀλὴς τοῦ χωρίου οὔτα	<	الحاج برحل الوطا	257b
ἀλὴς ἀνεψιὸς ἀράπ	<	علي بن تخت العربي	257a
ὁ χὰτζ μούσες	<	الحاج موسب	257b
οὐθμὲν ὁ πούνης	<	عثمان البوني	259a
ἀλὴς ὁ χάνφ'ς	<	علي الخنفي	260a
ἴσες ὁ μάλτ'ς	<	عيسى المالطي	260a

ὁ γέρον σελλ΄μ ὁ κερράμ΄ς	<	الشيخ سلام الكرامي	261a
ὁ μουάλιμ ἀτίες	<	المعلم عطية	262a
ἀλὴς ὁ ἀφρικ΄ν΄	<	علي الافريقي	262b
ἴσες τοῦ μινζιλκόρτ	<	عيسى بمنزل قرط	262b
χουσέι΄ ὁ φέσης	<	حسين الفاسي	263a
ἀλ΄ς ὁ μεχδούνης	<	علي المهدوت	263a
ὁ μούνδ΄π ἴσες ὁ υἱὸς μούσε	<	المودب عيسى بن موسب	263b
ἀλὴς ὁ πούνης	<	علي البوني	263b
ἀλ΄ς ὁ ῥάπτης	<	علي الخياط	263b
ὁ γέρον σελλέμ΄ς	<	الشيخ سلام	264a
ἀλὴς ὁ πικρέκ	<	علي البكراك	265b
ἀλὴς ὁ συγγενὴς ἀυδερραχμὴμ	<	علي صهر عبد الرحيم	265b
φεττὰχ ὁ ἀνθρωπὸς τοῦ κουράτορος	<	فتاح راجل الوكيل	266b
ὁ βουννιτ΄ τὸ ὥρφανον τοῦ κουράτορος	<	بو النجا يتيم الوكيل	267a
οὔμορ΄ς ὁ φιχ΄ς	<	عمر الفقيه	268b
χάσεν ὁ χαρέρης	<	حسن الحريري	269a
ἀυδιλπέρ΄ς ὁ μερμούρ΄ς	<	عبد الباري المرموري	273b
ἰωσὴφ ὁ υἱὸς μακρί	<	يوسف بن الطويل	274b
ὁ γέρων ἀβδέλλας	<	الشيخ عبد الله	274b
ὁ πούν΄ς	<	البوني	275a
ἴσες ὁ χαρέρης	<	عيسى الحريري	275b
νίμες ὁ γαύτισης	<	نعمة الغودسي	276a
βουλφάρατ΄ ὁ υἱὸς ῥαπτοῦ	<	بلفرج بن الخياط	276b
ὁ χάτ΄ ἀλὴς	<	الحاج علي	281a
οὐθμὰ ὁ ῥάπτης	<	عثمان الخياط	285a
μαιμ΄ν ὁ υἱὸς φλεβωτ΄μ	<	ميمون بن الفاصد	285a
ὁ μούνδιπος χίλφες	<	المودب خلفة	285a
ἀλὴς πρόγονος τοῦ οὐαχαράνη	<	علي ربيب الواهراني	285a
ἀλὴς ὁ ῥογουσ΄ς ὁ χαρέρης	<	علي الرغوس الحريري	285b

As is evident from the examples above, the features of Greek definite article, interferences in the form of Greek inflections and translations tend to appear together or in combinations. Whilst the substitution of the Arabic article for a Greek one often seems to introduce an inflection or translation, this is not always the case and there are no compelling grounds for connecting these features together. However, it is worth observing that the presence of one or more of these traits seems to act as a conditioning factor in determining the transcription process. While there can be no compelling evidence to suggest that bilingual Greeks incorporated these interferences into their vernacular speech, it was nonetheless an important characteristic of later, related dialects

which often merged Romance elements with Arabic, or (less frequently) Greek terms. This practice is a characteristic of many Greek documents and particularly of later Latin translations of Arabic. However, as far as the evidence will allow us to trace the origins of this genre, we can only say that it appears to have been already established in Greek by the beginning of the twelfth century and was continued by the Latin tradition into the fourteenth. It may, of course, have been perfectly possible for the Latin tradition to have developed this genre without reference to the Greek precedent and this prevents us from establishing causality between the two, but it seems quite likely that the flow of stylistic influence was originally from Greek to Latin. A table summarising the main linguistic tendencies across the villein registers is given overleaf.

Several conclusions about the type and status of the evidence can be elicited from these observations. First, that the treatment of Arabic names by different Greek scribes varied between registers and therefore the *ǧarāʾid al-riǧāl* do not present a consistent set of linguistic data with which to work. Secondly, when certain linguistic features appear, then they tend to appear together.

For example, registers in which the scribe had translated some Arabic elements instead of transliterating them, also tend to contain the Greek definite article in place of the Arabic article. These same scribes also occasionally added Greek inflections to Arabic names and places, thereby Hellenicising them. It would seem that the appearance of these phenomena were not coincidental as all commonly feature the tendency to import Greek elements into the Arabic. It may also be noted that a distinguishing characteristic of more modern, related dialects of the area combine Romance elements with Arabic in a similar way. Greek linguistic interferences in Arabic can be shown to have been established by the early stages of the Norman Sicilian administration and continued throughout the twelfth century. In terms of stylistic influence, the flow seems to have been from Greek to Latin, as many of these linguistic traits were adopted by Latin scribes and survived, at least as a part of the administrative tradition, into the later medieval period. It could be tentatively suggested that, since the practice of appending a Greek inflection to an Arabic term was both widespread and long-lasting, it may also have been a feature of the speech of the bilingual Greek *Dīwānī* scribes'.

Summary table of the main linguistic tendencies from the Arabic-Greek *ğarā'id al-riğāl* 1095-1183:

ğarīda	Translation of some Arabic elements into Greek	Greek inflections in Arabic names	Deletion of the Arabic article *al-* > *ø*	Substitution of Arabic with Greek article *al-* > *ó*	Omission of both definite articles *ø* > *ø*	Transliteration of the Arabic definite article *al-* > *ἐλ*	Assimilation of Arabic sun-letters *al-r* > *ἀρρ*
Catania 1145						✓	✓
Aci 1145(?)						✓	✓
Cefalù 1145	✓	✓	✓			✓	✓
Monreale 1178	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	
Monreale 1183	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓
Others 1095-1169	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓

As for the Greek scribes' treatment of the Arabic, certain common features such as the assimilation of the definite article suggest that they were transcribing the Arabic with at least some reference to its sound. Well-attested traces of Arabic dialect such as *imāla* in the registers also suggest that the scribes were reproducing a local variety of Arabic. In others cases scribes were simply transliterating letter-for-letter, but all used an unpredictable mixture of the two styles.

Deriving correspondences between Arabic and Greek

Due to the medium of the Greek with its tendency to import elements of Greek into the Arabic, the linguistic data that the bilingual registers yield cannot provide direct evidence for a dialect of native Arabic-speakers. Rather, it may represent some elements of vernacular Arabic as recorded through a veil of Greek. Naturally, it is relatively easy to elicit graphemic correspondences between the Greek and the Arabic, but the interdependence of the two languages, neither of certain value, does not appear to allow the inference of phonetic values from these correspondences. In short, if the reply to the question 'how can we know what the Arabic sounded like' is the answer 'it can be derived from the Greek,' then this only begs the further question 'but what did the Greek sound like?'

However, there is a partial escape from this circularity, which in some cases theoretically allows us to infer the possible phonetic value of the Arabic from the probable value of the Greek. This escape route is afforded us because we are not always trying to measure two relative values that are entirely unknown. The following example illustrates the necessary points of methodology and the further problems it spawns.

In Arabic the combination of *fatḥa+yā'* can be realised in one of two ways, both of which occur in dialects of the modern Maġrib. The first is as diphthong /ay/. The second is as a single articulation /i:/. The villein registers yield a number of examples of the name Abū l-X*ayr*, which contains precisely this *fatḥa+yā'* combination. Not only was this a relatively common name, but 'xayr' may also have been used in speech to mean 'good' or 'fine'. The Greek phonemic inventory, whatever the dialect, has always had contained sounds that can approximate to both of the possible renditions in Arabic. In the villeins registers, the name appears in one of several ways:

Cusa ref	Boundary	Greek	Cusa ref	Boundary	Greek
132a	Corleone 1151	*ουυλχαρ*	260a	Monreale 1183	*βουλχρ*
132a	Corleone 1151	*ουυλχαρ*	262a	Monreale 1183	*βουλχρ*
145a	Monreale 1178	*εβου ελχαηρ*	277a	Monreale 1183	*βουλχαρ*
146a	Monreale 1178	*βουελχαηρ*	285b	Monreale 1183	*βουλχαρ*
147a	Monreale 1178	*βουλχαηρ*	285a	Monreale 1183	*βουλχαρ*
159a	Monreale 1178	*βουελκαηρ*	473a	Cefalu 1145	*βουλχ*
159a	Monreale 1178	*ουουελκαηρ*	474a	Cefalu 1145	*ουυλχερ*
162b	Monreale 1178	*βουελχαηρ*	477b	Cefalu 1145	*ελχαηρ*
162b	Monreale 1178	*ουουελχαηρ*	477a	Cefalu 1145	*ελχαιρ*
162b	Monreale 1178	*εμελκαηρ*	570b	Catania 1145	*βουλχειρ*
166b	Monreale 1178	*βουελχαηρ*	578b	Catania 1145	*ελχ*
175b	Monreale 1178	*εβου ελχαηρ*	582b	Catania 1145	*ελχαηρ*
247a	Monreale 1183	*βουλχαηρ*	587b	Aci 1145?	*ουυλχαηρ*
			589b	Aci 1145?	*βουλχαηρ*

Slight variations can be observed between different scribes, but when abbreviated forms are discounted, the remainder can be resolved into four patterns:

(Ar) xayr >

1) *χαρ*
2) *χαηρ*
3) *χερ*
4) *χειρ*

The first of these patterns does not approximate to either of the Arabic possibilities, but is closer phonetically to /ay/ than /i:/. Patterns two and three the xer or xeir attested only once each, but phonetically lie somewhere between the two Arabic forms. Thus, none of these patterns is especially helpful. However, by far the most common rendition in Greek, and one produced by several different scribes, is *χαηρ*. In Greek, *alpha* and *eta* have never been combined to produce a single articulation and closely correspond to the diphthong alternative in Arabic. Conversely, we might note that we do not find *fatḥa+yā'* represented as only *iota* or *eta* in any of the above examples. Thus, without making any assumptions about the precise phonetic value of the Greek, we can infer that the rendition of *χαηρ* for the Arabic xayr was an attempt to reflect a double articulation in the Arabic. It follows from the graphemic correspondences that the inferred phonetic value of the *fatḥa+yā'* in Sicilian Arabic was as a diphthong approximating to /ay/. This

shows that, at least in theory, it is possible to infer the phonetic value of the Arabic from its graphemic correspondence with the Greek without previously knowing the phonetic value of either. While this shows how such a model could work, evidence for the same *fatḥa+yā'* combination from the word 'al-šayx' meaning 'chief' or 'elder' casts serious doubt on whether such a process to derive correspondences could ever be applied validly to the available evidence. The exhaustive Greek renditions of 'al-šayx' from the villein registers are as follows:

Cusa ref	Boundary	Greek	Cusa ref	Boundary	Greek
163b	Monreale 1178	*ελσηχ*	586a	Aci 1145?	*ησσηχ*
168a	Monreale 1178	*ελσηχ*	586b	Aci 1145?	*σεχ*
136b	Monreale 1178	*ελσιχ*	268b	Monreale 1183	*σιχ*
166a	Monreale 1178	*ελσιχ*	571a	Catania 1145	*σιχ*
166a	Monreale 1178	*ελσιχ*			

The consistent use of *iota, eta* or *epsilon* in all the above examples at the expense of an alpha-eta combination would, according to the same model, lead us to the conclusion that *fatḥa+yā'* in Arabic was realised as /i:/ due to its phonetic proximity to the Greek letters *iota, eta* or *epsilon.* Indeed, the conclusion drawn by Adalgisa De Simone in the standard article on the subject is that the diphthong /ay/ was quite well preserved in Sicilian Arabic, but that some forms seem to show it as monotonic.[47]

In practice, the methodology is flawed because it only works if we presuppose that a *transcription* of the Arabic was always intended. As we have seen, every bilingual register used a mix of transcriptions and transliteration from the Arabic into Greek. Sometimes this occurred even within the same name. In the above example of *xayr*, had a letter-for-letter *transliteration* been intended, the scribe might still have written the Greek one of two ways that would still have produced the same conclusion. That is to say, even if the Greek scribe had no intention of reproducing the sound of the Arabic, he may have given exactly the same version in the Greek by writing a Greek letter for every consonant and vowel of the Arabic. For example, *xayr* (Ar)> *χαηρ* or *χαερ*. On the other hand, had he transliterated only the Arabic consonants that appeared in the

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[47] 'Il dittongo /ay/ sembra abbastanza ben conservato nell'arabo di Sicilia...alcune forme sembrano invece attestare monottongazione in [i].' De Simone, 'Gli antroponimi arabo-greco', in *Studi Orientali*, Vol XII, pp86-87, Roma 1992.

text and ignored the short vowel, he would have produced only a single letter (probably an *iota* or *eta*) as the corresponding medial vowel in Greek for example *š.yx* (Ar)> *sich*. The examples of *šayx* and *xayr* show that there can be no way of testing the validity of phonetic values assigned to literal correspondences, even when a theoretical model for determining such values can be constructed. Thus, in practice, our inability to be certain whether a scribe was transcribing or transliterating, makes such results a matter of pure conjecture.

CHAPTER FIVE:

At the margins of the Arabic-speaking communities

The *Siculi trilingues*

The geographical location of Sicily, poised between Italy and the Maġrib, has been considered to account for much of the island's early ethnic and sociolinguistic composition. The greater part of its early recorded history saw successive waves of Greeks, Romans and North Africans ebb and flow over its shores with the early linguistic history of Sicily being marked by a tendency towards a multilingualism that reflected the island's changing social and political influences. However, the little evidence we have suggests that the island's population was not entirely transformed with each successive invading wave.

An inscription carved in a mix of Libyan and Greek letters dating from the fourth century BC testifies to precisely such a blend of language and cultures.[1] Six hundred years later, Apuleius spoke of the *Siculi trilingues* by which he presumably meant that there were three linguistic communities in Sicily, rather than that all Sicilians were trilingual.[2] During the later classical period, Greek had retained its status as the island's main spoken medium but since the granting of Latin rights early in the first century AD, Latin had become increasingly prominent, at least as an administrative language. Even then, Sicily was not regarded as the best place to learn Greek- *'si letteras Graecas Athenis non Lilybaei, Latinas Romae non in Sicilia didicisses',* as it seemed to Cicero.[3] Nonetheless, it is thought likely that some degree of Latin-Greek bilingualism may have been necessary for a career in Roman Sicily.[4] These two languages were accompanied by a third, Neo-Punic for which corroborating

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[1] The $10cm^2$ terracotta tablet from Montagna dei Cavalli near Prizzi, is in the Museo Archeologico in Palermo, although is not on display to the public.

[2] *Metamorphoses* 11.5.2. Apuleius claimed that he was 'half Numidian, half Gaetulian' (cf *Apologia* 24.1. Both were Berber tribes cf Brett and Fentress, *The Berbers*, p42) and compares himself to Cyrus who was 'half Mede, half Persian.' To most classical authors the latter were effectively synonymous. Given his North African connections, it is possible that Apuleius was overplaying the part of Punic in Greco-Roman Sicily.

[3] Cicero, *In Q. Caecilium*, 12, p39.

[4] Wilson, R. *Roman Sicily*, 1990, p312ff.

evidence is scarce and no inscription post-dates the first century BC. Even so, it is claimed that some form of Punic may have been spoken in hinterland areas, persisting perhaps until as late as the sixth century AD.[5]

The Byzantine period (AD 535-827) saw the return to prominence for Greek as both the administrative and spoken language of Sicily and southern Italy, which was then still called *Magna Graecia.* The enduring and conservative strength of Greek is shown by the identification of ancient Doric elements in the modern Greek-based Bovese dialect of southern Calabria and the link between ancient and modern dialects testifies to the unbroken continuity of Greek speech in this region.[6] This remarkable dialectal persistence perhaps has a lesser equivalent in the unverifiable example of Qafṣa, a North African town that apparently continued to use Latin as late as the twelfth century.[7] Although we lack many details concerning the language situation in the medieval Maġrib, it is clear that even if a Latinate dialect was spoken in twelfth-century Qafṣa, it was probably exceptional and must have stood in stark contrast to the Berber and Arabic dialects used by almost everyone else. As for Sicily, the general consensus is that it was predominantly Greek-speaking on the eve of the Arab-led invasions, while in-coming North African settlers are presumed to have used either Berber or Arabic dialects. What is far less clear is the extent to which these three communities intermingled during the Islamic period, and in language terms, what the sociolinguistic base of the island was when the Normans arrived.[8]

At the heart of the language question is how Sicily underwent the broad transition from an Arabic-speaking Islamic island in the mid-eleventh century to a Latin Christian island 200 years later, while retaining its Greek-speaking minorities throughout. Clearly, the period of Norman control from around 1060-1190 formed a central and pivotal period of change and various theories have been forwarded to account for this fundamental transformation in the religious and linguistic base of the island. Broadly speaking, two contrasting

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[5] Wilson, R. *Roman Sicily,* p316.

[6] The theory of Gerhard Rohlfs expounded in his *Scavi linguistici nella Magna Graecia,* Halle-Roma. 1933.

[7] Al-Idrīsī speaks of *al-Laṭīnī al-Ifrīqī* in ancient Capsa, in southern Tunisia. Cf T. Lewicki, 'Une langue romaine oubliée de l'Afrique du Nord', in *Rocznik Oriental,* 17, 1953, p430.

[8] For the existence of 'Greek' communities in the north-eastern Val Demone and Palermo see Vera von Falkenhausen's, 'Il monachismo greco in Sicilia' in *La Sicilia rupestre* 135-174.

arguments define the extremes of any account. First is the idea that emigration and deportation left the Muslim areas de-populated. Evidence from demographic and archaeological studies suggests that these areas were gradually filled by Latin settlers- a process that began under the Normans.[9] Complementing this is the idea that the Muslim population was assimilated by way of conversion. Neither view disputes that there were conversions in Sicily, but the principal debates revolve around how widespread that conversion actually was, the role played by language and ethnicity and how best to trace the distribution and shifting margins of the Arabic-speaking communities. While the following chapter deals with language, conversion and ethnicity, this section seeks to identify the underlying social composition and location of the Arabic-speaking communities. Particular attention is paid to the identification of minority groups and changes to the island's sociolinguistic base in the early period of Norman control.

Unlike medieval Spain, there is considerably less evidence to hand for Sicily in almost every respect. However, the extensive registers of villeins kept as fiscal records by the Norman chancery and private landlords provide an important tool for understanding and comparing the relative social and religious compositions of such communities on which inferences about language and ethnicity are based.[10] While outlining the general distribution and composition of Arabic-speaking communities is a relatively straightforward task, the real difficulties lie in defining the margins of such communities.

The 'Muša'miḏūn'

While the underlying language situation leading up to the Arab colonisation in the mid-ninth century is relatively clear-cut, the same cannot be said of the period leading up to the Norman invasion of the mid-eleventh century. The demographic movements of this period are not well documented, but it is tempting to believe that the Greeks who largely occupied the north-eastern Val

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[9] cf Bresc, 'La formazione del populo Siciliano' *Tre millenni di storia linguistic della Sicilia.* Atti del Convengo della Società italiana di Glottologia (Palermo 1983), 1985, p256. Lombard settlement was particularly strong in the towns of Novara, S. Fratello, Nicosia, Sperlinga, Aidone and Piazza Armerina where traces of a 'Lombard' dialect is still claimed to be spoken.

[10] In the light of recent publications it should be added that, in sociolinguistics terms, the limited amount and quality of evidence does not allow us to theorise about levels of diglossia or the spoken varieties of dialect without speculation because lack of relevant data does not permit us to test the hypotheses on which such theories rest.

Demone did so because the invading North African forces had pushed them back towards Calabria from their south-western points of entry. Although the life of the Greek Orthodox Saint Saba records how he and his entire village of Collesano up-rooted and fled east to Calabria in the mid-tenth-century, there remains no evidence for an *en masse* movement of Greeks to mainland Italy during the Islamic period.[11] Thus, it is not clear whether some, many, or indeed any Greeks chose to stay in the areas outside the Val Demone. Nor is it clear what proportion of Sicily's inhabitants could be considered as 'Latins' (here in the sense of Romance dialect speakers) at this time. Opinion remains divided, but they are not believed to have constituted more than a fraction of the total population.[12] A single sentence the tenth-century Muslim geographer Ibn Ḥawqal's *Ṣurat al-Arḍ* gives us cause to treat the pre-Norman situation with the utmost caution. Ibn Ḥawqal, whose primary concern was with the Sicilian Muslims, made the following claim in 973:

'most people from the [Sicilian] forts, the remoter parts and the villages are *muša'miḏūn* and think that marriage to Christians is [allowed] provided that their male child follows the father by being *muša'miḏ,* and that a female [child] becomes a Christian with her mother. They neither pray, nor do they perform [ritual] ablutions, nor do they pay the alms tax, nor do they perform the pilgrimage [to Mecca]. Among them are some who fast during the month of Ramadan and perform the major ritual ablution [i.e. wash the whole body] when they are fasting'. [13]

Although some doubts remain over the reading and meaning of the word *muša'miḏūn,* there can be no doubt that Ibn Ḥawqal chose to portray these

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[11] *Vita di S. S. Sabae et Macarii*, ed. G. Cozza-Luzi. Rome, 1893. cf also the view of Guillou (*Les Actes Grecs de S. Maria di Messina*, p28-29) that 'la populazione greca non è emigrata né prima, né allora' [i.e. in the 30 years of the Norman invasion].

[12] Peri, I. *Città e campagne in Sicilia*, 1953-56, p150. Johns *(The Muslims of Norman Sicily- D.Phil Thesis*, p13) estimated that the total of 'Normans' in Sicily before 1100 could not have been more than 0.5%, although it is not clear how this type of reckoning can ever be reliably made. Attempts made to identify 'archaic' elements of a 'paleo-Romance' stratum in modern Sicilian dialect have been largely dismissed since the 1930s as imported from the mainland (cf Peri, 'Sull'elemento latino nella Sicilia normanna,' *Bollettino di centro di studi filologici e linguistici Sicilani*, II, 1954).

[13] Ibn Ḥawqal, p129.

people as occupying a socio-religious twilight zone.[14] Nor was he impressed by their speech and did not even consider them as proper Arabic-speakers. He states that '[Sicily's] peasants are like those of the non-Arabic speaking islands- deaf mutes *(al-ṣumm al-bukum)*, and its inhabitants, who are not classified in any books [or Scriptures], are beyond absolute brutishness in their minds and in negligence of rights and duties in their dealings....'[15] So according to Ibn Ḥawqal, the same people who neglected their duties were the same types who did not pray, married Christians and spoke unintelligibly- and these were the *muša'miḏūn*.

The above passages could be interpreted as referring to North African Muslim settlers (perhaps Berbers) who had found themselves influenced by the indigenous Greek culture and had developed the habit of marrying local Greek Christian girls. But given that the *muša'miḏūn* were said to be the majority in such areas, they would have presumably retained the greater part of whatever language they had formerly used- which Ibn Ḥawqal might have recognised as either Berber or known as Arabic. More plausibly, though hardly any more compelling, is the idea that the *muša'miḏūn* were local Greek Christians who had converted to Islam and were slowly and imperfectly assimilating to Arab-Islamic norms but who had continued to marry Greek Christian women. In this case, if Islam had had only superficial effects on such Greek communities, it is unlikely that they would have adopted Arabic speech by that stage based on general assumptions held about the relative diffusion rates of Islam and Arabic. Nonetheless, both scenarios presuppose that there were Christians converting to Islam in the pre-Norman era.

The alleged existence of such *muša'miḏūn* less than a century before the Norman invasion raises intriguing points of ethnicity, religion, social integration, language and sources. Indeed, Michele Amari's conclusion that the zones of Muslim colonisation were 'full of Greeks who had converted to Islam' still attracts much sympathy, if only little debate.[16] Corroborating evidence from the Islamic period is hard to come by, but the occasional hint comes from

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[14] Kramers and Wiet, 1964, p128 following Gabrieli translate the term as 'bâtards from the Italian 'bastardi'. Cf Gabrieli, *Ibn Ḥawqal e gli Arabi di Sicilia*, Rivista degli studi orientali, 36, 1961, p249. The translation in English seems to lie somewhere between 'mongrels, half-castes, buffoons and imposters.'

[15] Ibn Ḥawqal. p130.

[16] Amari, *Storia degli Musulmani di Sicilia*, Vol I, p627 and Vol II, p458 ff. A sentiment echoed by Vera von Falkenhausen, 'I gruppi etnici,' 1980, p137.

the time of the Norman conquest. For example, when the Normans were besieging Troina in January 1063, Malaterra not only noted that the Muslims fought alongside the Greeks but also that the Muslim guards were so drunk that they had fallen asleep, thus allowing the Normans to take the city.[17]

But it is difficult to reconcile even this rare and highly flavoured description with that of Ibn Ḥawqal's, whose evidence remains tantalising. On the one hand, his account is forthright and explicit and his qualifications to comment are supported still further by his claim to have composed another work devoted entirely to Sicily- the *'Kitāb Ṣiqilliyya'*. But if this piece ever did exist, it remains to be discovered. Besides which, Ibn Ḥawqal makes no attempt to conceal his open hostility to the Sunni Sicilian Muslims he scornfully regarded as having degenerated to an advanced state of moral and religious decay relative to his Fāṭimid Shiʿite ideals. While many of his comments, particularly on urban Sicilian life, ring true and may have an accurate historical basis, he was also given to exaggeration and trivia.[18]

If such *muša'miḏūn* communities had existed in the Islamic period, it is hard to imagine that they could have been anything other than on the periphery of Greek and/or Muslim society, in spite of Ibn Ḥawqal's claim that they were the rural majority. More significantly, their ambivalent ethnicity and religious indifference might have made them prime targets for change under the socio-religious reinforcements that seem to have occurred in later half of the tenth-century. Following the battle at Rametta in 966-967, it is thought that there was a systematic attempt to strengthen and Islamicise the island with the building of forts and mosques.[19] If so, then Ibn Ḥawqal's visit to the island in April 973 came at the very moment when the island was undergoing a period of reform with the presumed intention of bringing it closer to an Arab-Islamic model. The social effects of this could barely have had time to take effect in the intervening years before Ibn Ḥawqal's arrival. So it is quite plausible that, due to the effects of these reforms, any *muša'miḏūn* could only have become ever more exiguous with time and indeed, they receive no other specific mention as such in any subsequent source.

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[17] Malaterra, Bk II, 29-30.

[18] His figure of 'just less than 200 butcher's shops' in Palermo seems a little high (p119), although most scholars are prepared to take his figure of 300 mosques at face value. Cf also his lengthy digression on the Sicilian fondness for onions (pp123-124).

[19] Bresc, 'La formazione del popolo siciliano' pp244-46.

Twelfth-century terms of reference

To judge by the range of terms given in other sources to different communities, then it seems that it was not only Ibn Ḥawqal who had his own ideas of describing ethnic and religious groups. There is no sense in which different terms came to be standardised with time and their scattered attested uses depend almost entirely on the source in which the name was applied. The plurality of terms that could cover Arabic-speakers (Saracens, Sicilians, Africans, Arabs, Hagarenes and Muslims) across three languages is remarkable in that, whatever the particular authors' intended referents, only a handful of broad distinctions were ever made and none was intended to demarcate Arabic-speakers specifically. While authors of each language all made a common and general distinction between 'Muslims' and 'Christians', no clear pattern of reference emerges. In fact, it is often far from clear whether a geographical, religious or an ethnic term was intended. This confusion and variation largely undermines efforts to draw out consistent ideas on how twelfth-century sources viewed either themselves or one another. But the farrago of terms is itself notable for two reasons. First, although some terms are more commonly used than others, the lack of any consistent usage indicates that there were several conflicting ways of describing ethnic groups at the time. Even taking the unevenness of available evidence into account, there is a sense in which terms of reference tended to identify particular groups by contrast with one another, as opposed to attributing any specific defining characteristics to each. This is most noticeable in Latin sources which rarely defined 'non-Latins' in anything but generic terms of antithesis. More significant, however, is what the source material does *not* tell us. In spite of the abundance of different terms, some groups seem to have been under-represented, subsumed or omitted altogether. The absence of any attested term that distinguished Arabic-speaking Christians from Arabic-speaking Muslims apart from simply a 'Christian: Muslim' division supports the notion that such marginal groups were likely to have been neither dynamic nor conspicuous. Unlike the Mozarabs or Mudejars of medieval Spain, the people of Norman Sicily did not apparently develop any equivalent general terms. Also missing is any equivalent word for Ibn Ḥawqal's idiomatic *muša'miṭūn*. Berbers too were hardly ever referred to generically, let alone by tribal confederation. However, the lack of relevant twelfth-century terms neither entails that such peoples did not exist nor that they had ceased to exist as distinct ethnic groups. As far as languages are concerned, the generality of

names applied also bear out the idea that divisions were also made along broad lines. All such references occur in the context of written languages, but again the lack of specific terms for, say, Berber or Romance dialects does not necessarily imply that these could not be heard in Sicily.

North African contingents

More modern enquiries reveal a number of Arabic names from the Norman villein registers that indicate Maġribī features, thus implying some connection between Sicily and Africa. Establishing this provides an important context for the varieties of Arabic they brought with them and that formed a basis for Sicilian Arabic varieties. The most precise indications of Maġribī-Sicilian connections are made at an onomastic level. A large number of *nisba*-s or relative adjectives are found in the villein registers and many of these suggest a place of origin outside of Sicily. These have not escaped the attention of scholars from different fields[20] and the indications are that immigration could have come largely from anywhere between Spain and Egypt and at almost anytime from the mid-ninth to the mid-twelfth century. However, there are doubts over the quality and status of this type of evidence. For while some of these immigrants may have arrived recently in Sicily, others may have been established for many generations but had retained the toponymic element to their name by way of family identity. That we cannot be sure when, or even if, these people had arrived from the places their names suggest is a serious impediment to the use of such data to establish immigration patterns.

Migration to Sicily was undoubtedly cosmopolitan, but it was not as far-flung as settlers' names sometimes suggest. It has been claimed that Indians, Persians and Copts were all to be found around Sicily.[21] But it should also be noted that the name 'Hind' is a common girls' name and in no way indicates immigration from India; *ʿağamī* need not refer to Persians and *Raḥl al-Aqbāṭ* need not imply that 'the Copts' estate' was ever populated by Copts. Nonetheless, some villeins' names suggest 'non-Latin' migration from as far as the areas now called Spain, Syria and Sudan. Both qualitative and quantitative reservations about this type of onomastic evidence are compounded by the tendency for individuals from a

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[20] Notably De Simone *Spoglio antroponimico* and Bresc and Nef 'Les Mozarabes de Sicilie (1100-1300)' *passim*.

[21] Henri Bresc, 'La formazione' pp248 & 259. Bresc recently repeated his conjecture about immigration of Copts in 'Les Mozarabes de Sicile (1100-1300)', p136 in 1998.

distant corner of the Mediterranean to be distinguished precisely in virtue of their exotic place of origin. Naturally, we have little idea about the silent majority whose home-towns were so unremarkably local that they would not have thought to include a reference to them as part of their identity. Thus, the evidence viewed quantitatively may even yield inversely proportional results. Nonetheless, it is widely accepted that most Arabic-speaking immigrants to Sicily came from the Tunisian end of the Maġrib, with the greatest concentration coming from the narrower area roughly bounded by Būna to the north and the island of Djerba to the south. Indeed, population movements to and from these areas were at times busy. In 1153-4 after the revolt in Djerba, its population was deported to Palermo but within three years (1157) William I had settled Christians there.[22] Muslim immigrants were not necessarily deterred by life under 'infidel' Christian rule in Sicily and, presumably, would not have emigrated had they not considered it preferable to their lives in North Africa. The hardships brought by plagues across the Maġrib in the mid-twelfth century provide sufficient reason for such a move, but according to Ibn al-Athīr those in the Maġrib who had fled from plagues in 1142-3 were badly received when they reached Sicily.[23]

A number of Sicilian anthroponyms are reminiscent of North African forms, for example the address form and name *Sayyid* corresponding to modern colloquial North African *Sīdī.* Others attested among Sicilian villeins include the forms *Allīš, Bādīs, Bullukīn, Dūnās, Lallūša, Ṣaġrūna, Samūğa, al-Tarākut, Tazūniš* and *Wārū.*[24] However, it is difficult to reconcile these examples with anything more specific than the broad term 'Maġribī' because similar such examples could have been found almost anywhere between al-Andalūs and Egypt. Likewise, the agglutination of the article to the following noun gives rise to distinctive names such as 'Landoulsi', which recurs as a surname in modern Tunisia, is a phonological change commonly attested across the Maġrib.[25] Equally widespread is the characteristic Maġribi reduction of the

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[22] Sigeberto of Gembloux, p454, *Chronica, Continuatio Praemonstratensis,* ed. L C Bethman, in Monumenta Germaniae Historica 6, Hanover, 1844. For a similar, but earlier settlement from Malta and Gozo cf Malaterra, IV, 16, p95.

[23] Ibn al-Athīr in Amari, *BAS,* p119.

[24] De Simone, Spoglio Antroponimico, p46.

[25] Schimmel, *Islamic Names,* p11. cf Cusa pp579a & 580a *λεντουλσι* and p252a *λινδουλσ[ι]* both *for al-Andulūsī.*

patronymic followed by the definite article *Abu+al > Bul.*[26] Similarly, names ending in *-ūn* were also attested in the twelfth-century as far east as Egypt but are thought to have originated in the Levantine area.[27]

As we have noted it is virtually impossible to discern from a toponymic surname alone when that person entered Sicily. A possible exception to this is perhaps found in the unpublished monolingual Arabic register of villeins issued to S. Giorgio di Triocalà made in 1141 in which almost all of the 15 names of the 'smooth men' or *muls* indicate North African origins.[28] Such a cluster of Maġribī names, all assigned the status of *muls*, as new-comers to an area would most probably have been, suggests that this group were first generation immigrants in 1141 and may perhaps have been escaping the grain shortages in the Maġrib.

The Berber Question

One key ethnic and sociolinguistic group hardly featured in twelfth-century sources were the 'Berbers'. In the case of Sicily, the Berbers might be regarded as of originally indigenous North African stock and able to be contrasted with 'Arabs' in virtue of their respective languages.[29] There seems little doubt that many Berbers migrated with the Arab armies in the Islamic period and subsequent waves of immigrants must also have included large contingents. While Berber settlement in Sicily is both intriguing and largely undocumented, the focus of attention in this thesis concentrates solely on the extent to which

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[26] Schimmel, p7.

[27] Schimmel, pp69 and 75. These forms seem to have resulted from the *ḍamma tanwīn* ending */un/* that has been lengthened to */ūn/*, perhaps for emphatic effect or due to an oxytonic stress pattern. It has also been suggested by Dozy (Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes, 1881) that this termination gave rise to the aggrandising suffix */one/* in Italian. If this connection could be corroborated, it suggests that *ḍamma tanwīn* had lost its grammatical function but had taken on a new semantic one of emphasis.

[28] References from the MS. (line 24): Ḥasan al-Saqāqī, ʿAbd l-Mawlā his brother, ʿUmar bin al-Qalābisī, ʿIsa..?, Abū l-Qasim al-Qābisī, ʿAlī al-Tūnisī, Muḥammad bin al-Ifrīqī, ʾAḥmad al-ʾAṭrābulsī, ʿAbd l-ʿAẓīm al-ʾAṭrābulsī. (line 25): Abū Bakr.. al-Ifrīqī, ʿUmar..? al-Ifrīqī, Ġazalī ? al-Ifrīqī, ..? al-Ifrīqī, al-Naʿādī?, Hilāl.

[29] A contrast often made by Malaterra for whom the *Sicilienses* were the Sicilian Muslims, but the term perhaps also referred to Arab-Christians cf II, xxxiii at the siege of Cerami 1063 where he states, *'videntes autem nostros tantam condensitatem inimicorum paganorum ac Siciliensium'*. Also at III, xx *Sicilienses* exceptionally refers to Sicilian villeins and used in opposition to Calabrians. The same sense is found in Amato *sicilien* and William of Puglia's *siculus* (cf Várvaro, *Lingua e storia* p130 and Peri, *Uomini, città e campagne,* p63).

Berbers formed part of the wider Arabic-speaking community. For this there is very little explicit evidence, but the conventional wisdom is that 'in such a society [as Aghlabid Sicily] it is not only likely that for most people Islam was the badge of the citizen, but that Arabic, the language of the conquerors, their religion and administration, was the *lingua franca* which rapidly turned into a mother tongue... although Berbers played an important part in the conquest of Sicily, Arabic was the chief and ultimately the only language of the colony'.[30] If this was true for the Islamic period, subsequent events suggest no reason to assume any change to the status quo by Norman times.

Evidence for the use of Berber is never likely to be in abundance as its main use has been almost exclusively oral and thus Berbers dialects were never in a position to challenge Latin, Greek or Arabic as the written languages of the Norman kingdom's official expression. Nonetheless, there is no shortage of indirect evidence for Berber presence with a number of toponyms that are reminiscent of Berber tribal names. For example: the Sanagia spring (in the Mazaro river) < Ṣanhāğa tribe; Mesisino hill (near Castelvetrano) < Mezīza tribe; Maġāğī estate (near Iato) < Maghāgha tribe; Guddemi (between Mezzoiuso and Corleone) < Kutāma tribe; the Karkūd estate < Karkūda tribe; the River Modione (near Selinunte) < Madyūna tribe; the Andrani canal (between Sciacca and Agrigento) < Andāra tribe; Ḥağar al-Zanātī and Raḥl al-Zanātī (near Corleone) < Zanāta tribe.[31] These place-names come from a relatively restricted area with only two toponyms falling outside the southern part of Val di Mazara from Mazara to Licata, namely Cúmia (< Kūmīya tribe) near Messina and Melilli (< Malīla tribe) north of Siracusa. We might add to this that the Berber revolts of 887 and 937 centred around Agrigento, which supports the idea that this was, at least at one time, a region of relatively more dense Berber settlement.

A continued Berber presence in the Norman period is supported by ample anthroponymic evidence where many tens of references from villein registers and signatories record the foremost Berber tribes.[32] Around 70 identifiably Berber names can be rounded up from names found in the villein registers

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[30] Brett and Fentress, *The Berbers*, p122, 1996.

[31] Amari, *Storia dei musulmani di Sicilia*, II, p52.

[32] Ibn Ḥawqal's remark that most people in Sicily were Barġawāṭa Berbers is supported by only two references from the Norman period. Cusa p567b and p577a records two names as al-Barġawāṭiyya in 1095.

alone. This reckoning can be taken as a very approximate indication of Berber distribution based on a generally inclusive counting of all tribal names (e.g. al-Sanhāǧī), names suggesting Berber forms (e.g. Yabqā) and Berber personal names (e.g. Tazūniš). Naturally, it cannot take account of the unknown numbers who may have been Berber but whose names do not suggest that they were. Nor do the figures include the many Maġribī toponyms or ethnic tags that hint at Berber-isms such as 'al-Ifrīqī.' Nonetheless, the figures are as follows:

Approximate numbers of villeins whose names contain Berber elements

Catania and Aci (1095)	27/1020	= 2.6%
Other registers (1095-1169)	6/396	= 1.5%
Monreale estates (1178-83)	36/1921	= 1.8%

Taking into account the relatively small sample size available and leaving a generous margin for error and variation, the results show a thin but fairly even distribution across the island. The toponyms in the Agrigento area to the south of the Monreale estates may have once indicated an area of stronger Berber settlement, but this is not borne out by what the anthroponymic data seems to show. The few names from the Arabic register of Triocalà show no great variation from the distributions recorded above, but the cluster of Maġribī names among the *muls* of that list shows how Agrigento may have been the first port of call for many North African immigrants generally. In turn, this may account for the disproportionately high numbers of toponyms of Berber derivation in this southern area that had perhaps originated from a much earlier period.

However, while both the toponymic and the anthroponymic evidence supports the presence of settlers of Berber stock thinly spread across the island, this alone is insufficient to establish the use of Berber dialects in place of, or alongside, Arabic. We might note that only on one occasion is a place-name attested that may show an item of Berber vocabulary as opposed to a Berber tribal name. Yaqūt's *Muʿǧam al-Buldān* records the Sicilian town called *S.m.nṭār,* which he claims 'in the language of the people of the Maġrib' means 'golden'.[33] A small but potentially significant amount of linguistic evidence

[33] In Amari, *BAS* I, p49.

comes from loan words attested in Italian and apparently derived from Berber. A tiny collection of these (and Arabic words) was made in 1935 by the aptly named D G Barbera.[34] Unfortunately, his work is not exhaustive nor is it devoid of errors, nor does it make use of phonetic transcription. Instead, Berber terms are transliterated into received Italian pronunciation. Of only a handful of examples, he notes how the verb 'to piss' has apparently filtered into English via Berber, given by Barbera as *'bascia'* (for */bašša/?*), Italian (*pisciare*) and French (*pisser*). Also recorded are; the Italian *uggia* < *tagiait* or *ugii* meaning 'privation of light' or figuratively as 'boredom' and *imbacuccare* < *bkmbk* 'to wrap up warmly'.[35] This last example is subject to an equally unconvincing counter-claim that it comes from the Arabic *barqūq*.[36] Such controversial derivations do not make a reassuring case for the widespread use of spoken Berber in the Norman period. On the other hand, the very existence of such examples in Sicilian dialect does imply that Berber was spoken in Sicily, and a detailed comparative study of Berber-Sicilian words may yet reveal results. Still, the real issue remains the extent to which Berber was used as a first language or whether Berbers formed part of the wider Arabic-speaking community. For this, the paltry evidence available is insufficient to establish a strong case that Berber was widely spoken in place of Arabic. However, given the evidence, we cannot rule out the possibility that some Berber was used alongside the main spoken language of Arabic during the Islamic and Norman periods.

Arabic and the Jewish communities

An important religious minority who were Arabic-speaking but receive only passing references in Norman documentary sources, were Sicily's urban Jewish communities. It has been estimated that these comprised no more than 5% of the whole of southern Italy's population.[37] The wandering Benjamin of Tudela (c.1170) cited numbers of Jews resident in cities throughout this region and noted that preferred professions were dyers, craftsmen and doctors.[38] From the thirteenth century until the end of the fifteenth, Jews played an increasingly important role as translators since they are believed to have continued to use

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[34] D. G. M. Barbera, *Arabo e berbero nel linguaggio italo-siculo*, Beirut, 1935.

[35] Barbara pp60 and 78.

[36] Pellegrini, *Gli arabismi nelle lingue neolatine*, Vol II, p483-84.

[37] Milano, A, *Storia degli ebrei in Italia*, Torino, 1963, p105ff.

[38] Asher, A, *The Itinerary of Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela*, I, London-Berlin, pp41-45, 159-161.

Arabic unlike the other Arabic-speaking communities. Most of what is known about the Arabic used in this community comes from documentary and archaeological sources written in Judeo-Arabic, or Arabic written with Hebrew consonants and characterised by the use of Hebrew loan words.[39] This is usually regarded as a specialist study area in its own right and regrettably falls beyond the immediate scope of this thesis. Nonetheless, the Arabic-speaking community can thus be divided into four main groups according to religion or ethnicity, namely; Muslims, Christians, Berbers and Jews. However, this defines only the basic groups and does not take account of those on the shifting margins of the Arabic-speaking communities, nor does it adequately address the question of bilingualism. To piece together how these peripheral communities were composed we must first make a series of defining contrasts in the distribution of the principal ethnic and linguistic groups.

Defining contrasts: ethnicity and geography

As Vera von Falkenhausen has demonstrated, when each ethnic group in Sicily is viewed in turn, none offers any sense of homogeneity.[40] She points out that a quarter of all 'Normans' were not strictly 'Norman'; that the Lombards had long since been assimilated into the southern Italian ethnic groups and that some Greeks had intermarried with all of the above as well as with Arabs and Berbers. In all the above cases, individual instances can be cited to show that the margins of these groups were often raggedly indistinct. Yet there remains a sense in which meaningful contrasts can be made between these groups and which presuppose that there were tangible differences in both their relationships and their outlook. One need only recall that the vast majority of 'Greeks' in the Val Demone had traditionally Greek names, were thought to be mainly Greek Orthodox Christians and lived in towns and estates with toponyms predominantly derived from Greek. Besides this, they composed a good deal of their private deeds in Greek and until this century some had continued to speak Greek-based dialects. But Greek settlement in the twelfth century did not seem to have extended much beyond the Val Demone area and there seems to have been no Greek communities in the west of the island bar

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[39] The undisputed starting point for Judeo-Arabic in general is Blau, J. *The Emergence and Linguistic Background of Judeo-Arabic: a Study of the Origins of Middle-Arabic*, London, 1965. Bucaria, N. *Sicilia Judaica*, Palermo, 1996, provides a summary of source material for the Jewish communities of Sicily. cf also Simonsohn's *The Jews in Sicily*, 1997.

[40] Falkenhausen, V. von, 'I gruppi etnici', Bari, 1980, p135.

monastic communities or professional specialists such as scribes and craftsmen.[41] While there was probably sufficient building work in Palermo of Greek inspiration to have sustained a band of skilled artisans, there is some debate as to whether these were drafted in from Byzantium or were native Sicilian craftsmen.[42]

Rough but telling Arabic-Greek demographic divisions can be reckoned from the distribution of toponyms. Amari recorded that, of 328 place-names of Arabic derivation, only 19 (6%) were located in the north-eastern Val Demone, while 209 (64%) were in the south-western Val di Mazara and 100 (30%) in the south-eastern Val di Noto.[43] Of 241 toponyms beginning with *Raḥl, Manzil, Qal'a, Burǧ* and their Latinised variants, Henri Bresc notes similar proportions; a mere 25 (10%) in the Val Demone, 161 (67%) in the Val di Mazara and 55 (23%) in the Val di Noto.[44]

Messina and Agrigento: Greek Christians and Arab-Muslims

The social, religious and linguistic divisions between the north-east and the south-west of the island are no more starkly contrasted than in two brief accounts relating to the port cities of Messina and Agrigento. The strength of Greek and/or Latin, or rather, a lack of Arabic culture can be seen from Ibn Jubayr's account of the prosperous port of Messina that faced towards mainland Italy and seemed to have been home to an almost exclusively Christian population in the early 1180s. Ibn Jubayr recalls how Messina was 'a Christian trading centre and a destination for ships from all quarters with many there for its low prices. No Muslims have settled there; it is grim with godlessness and crammed with Christians choking its inhabitants and almost squeezing the life out of them. It is full of smells and squalor, a cold place in which the stranger will find no friendly atmosphere. You can spend your day and night in safety here even if your ways, appearance and language are unfamiliar.'[45] To judge by his account, Arabic was barely understood in an otherwise bustling, wealthy and Christian Messina of the 1180s. Clearly,

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[41] Peri, *Città e Campagne*, pp80, 114, 133 & 140. Guillou, *Les Actes Grecs de Messina*, pp24 & 29.

[42] Otto Demus, *The Mosaics of Norman Sicily*, p76 argues that although the elements of architectural form of the Cappella Palatine in Palermo were essentially Byzantine, 'it does not follow that the workmen who built the church were Byzantine'.

[43] Amari, *Storia di musulmani*, II, p499.

[44] Bresc, *L'habitat médiéval en Sicile (1140-1450)*, 1976, p189.

[45] Ibn Jubayr p224.

Messina had undergone some considerable degree of social and linguistic change since the days of Roger and Robert Guiscard who defeated the local Muslims there to take the city in 1061.

By contrast, to the south-west of Messina lay the African-facing port of Agrigento, which seems to have had few Christians until at least 1189; *pauci Christiani [in Agrigento erant] usque ad mortem regis Guillelmi secundi.*[46] So while both the 'Greeks' and 'Latins' of the north-east and the 'Arabs' of the south-west were socially and linguistically diverse, there is an obvious way in which, whatever the ethnicity of these groups was, it was not the same. Thus, in attempting to trace the margins of where one group merged with another, it is important not to lose sight of some of the more fundamental social divisions that shape our views on ethnic and linguistic heterogeneity.

Defining the margins of the Arabic-speaking communities

Identifying the margins of the Arabic-speaking communities is made more complex by the fact that there is very little direct evidence to hand. The working assumption most usually adopted seeks to identify areas of Arab-Muslim settlement with the areas of Arabic-speakers. As a general principle, this is useful for defining the main distributions and contrasts, and it guides us to the clearest linguistic division on the island found between the island's north-eastern tip in contrast to the areas of the south-west. Yet this general assessment cannot take account of the many degrees of local variation, which in Sicily could be considerable. Nor does the available evidence allow us to present anything but a disjointed picture. For example, although the inland areas of Sicily were probably more densely populated in the twelfth century than at anytime from the classical time to post-1860, the most important towns in Sicily had and have always been coastal.[47] Yet most available information about social composition from the Norman period relates to rural inland estates and small towns that were conceded to landlords from the de Hauteville's possessions and later from the crown demesne. Under other circumstances, we might have expected such isolated rural communities to have been relatively unaffected by wider political events beyond their control.

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[46] 'Libellus de successione pontificium Agrigenti,' ed. P. Collura, *Le più antiche carte dell'archivio capitolare di Agrigento,* (Documenti per servire alla storia di Sicilia, 1st series, XXV, Palermo, 1960), p307.

[47] Illuminatio Peri, *Uomini Città e Campagne in Sicila dall' XI al XIII Secolo*, p6.

Left to their own devices, villagers might well have continued to lead traditional, conservative lifestyles on such estates. If this were the case, then giving a good general account of the linguistic composition of rural Sicilian villeinage would have been a lot simpler. As it is, some of these communities had been severely disrupted by conflict or contained villeins who had, or had been, re-settled from other parts of the island or even from abroad.[48]

Demographic mobility: the villeins around Cefalù

An excellent example of the lack of demographic uniformity comes from around the area of Cefalù on Sicily's northern coast roughly a quarter of the way from Palermo to Messina. The town of Cefalù itself was probably quite sparsely populated with Muslims by the later part of the twelfth century. Ibn Jubayr, who arrived on a Wednesday evening in 1184 and left at midnight the same day recorded only that 'a group *(ṭā'ifa)* of Muslims live there.'[49] Some fifty years earlier in 1136, 37 local villeins from nearby Collesano and Rocella were granted to the Augustinian monastery of San Salvatore in Cefalù five years after its royal foundation. We have deeds that record not only their names, but also the names of 188 other villeins also held by church in 1145, and a further 83 men from an undated fiscal register of the church's.[50] Even at a quick glance, it is quite evident that there are significant differences between the structures of the villeins' names. For example, only a tiny fraction (less than 3%) of the 188 villeins belonging to the church at Cefalù had names with non-Arabic influence and not all these are beyond doubt (see below):

473a	φραγκου	Frankish 'Frank, free'	*ʾAbd l-Raḥmān bin Ifranqū(ā)*
475b	ελκουρτηλ	Frankish 'garden, courtyard'	*Ramaḍan al-Q.rṭīl*
475a	ελβαμβακ	Greek 'cotton'	*Ibrahīm al-B.nb.q*
478b	ηττερουκουτ	?Latin 'terracotta'	*ʾAlī bin al-Tār.kūt*
478a	μαρια	Greek/Latin form given in the Arabic	*Māriyya*

By contrast almost a third of the 37 villeins donated to the church from Rocella and Collesano had names that were clearly derived from Greek, Latin or Frankish origins:

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[48] For example, Malaterra (II, 36) recorded that in 1064 Robert Guiscard transported the inhabitants of Bugamo (near Agrigento) to Val di Crati in Calabria.

[49] Ibn Jubayr p227.

[50] Cusa p472-480 and Mirto, C. 1972. Rollus Rubeus Priviligia ecclesiae Cephaleditane, pp39-41.

Non-Arabic names of the villeins from Rocella and Collesano

479a	Greek personal name	*Niqūla*
479a	Latin *Ianuarius* 'January'	*Yūsuf bin Y.nār*
479a	Greek personal names	*Niqūla bin Lāw*
479a	Greek personal name	*Fīlīb bin (A)bū Sayyid*
479a	Greek *kalogeros* 'monk'	*Fīlīb bin Q.lğūrī*
479b	Greek/Latin *stra(m)bus* 'twisted'	*ʾAlī al-Isṭr.nbū bin Yūsuf*
480a	Frankish personal name 'Robert'	*R.b.rt*
480a	Greek personal name	*Ṯāwd.r*
480a	Greek personal name	*Bāsīlī bin Lāw*
480a	Greek personal name	*Bāsīlī bin*

A third register, although of an unknown date, shares a number of similarities with the names of the 1145 register.[51] This suggests that although some villeins had recently joined the church's flock from Collesano and Rocella, others appear to have had relatives in the same Cefalù area, implying that they had been settled there for some time. The resemblance between the two sets of names are cited below:

Villein families and continuity of settlement in the Cefalù area

Rollus Rubeus -Latin, date unknown	Cefalù- Arabic & Greek 1145	Cusa
Abdelmulu ben Rays	*al-Šayx ʿAbd l-Māwlā*	473b
Omoz ben Meib	*ʿUmar bin Muhīb*	478a
Abderrahamen Hanes	*ʿAbd l-Raḥmān bin al-Ḥanaš*	474a
Ioseph ben Hanes	*ʿAlī al-Ḥanaš*	476a
Hise cognatus Hanes		
Sidilza el Bambaca	*Ibrahīm al-B.nb.q (Gk name)*	475a
Hamet ben Maadile	*ʿIsā bin Muʿadila*	478a
	Abū Ğumaʿa brother of ʿIsā	478a
Abdesseid Bulbul	*Zāwğa B.lb.l*	477b
	Bu Hağar B.lb.l	474b
Othimen Malti	*ʿAlī al-M.lāṭī*	475a
Ioseph ben Elgidir Osein el Gidir	*Ḥasan al-Ğ.dr (tzidir in Greek)*	476a
Casmus ben Elgidir		

[51] The register appears to have been made directly in Latin, and not transliterated from Greek or Arabic. It contains some 7% of names of Latin derivation, but this includes the following professional names that may have been deliberately translated by the scribe, and so distort the data. *Abdellzefi Faber, Abdesseid Carpentarius, Bulcasem Carpentarius, Mule Furnarius.* This would not account for *Hamet Lupus, Mohumet Barisarius,* or *Sidilza el Bambaca.*

Sidilza Bovac	*Māymūn bin al-Bāwwāq*	477b
Othimen Lascar	*Ḥusāyn al-ʾAšqar*	479a

It is difficult to assess what effect such apparent variation in an area might have had linguistically. The critical and generally unknowable conditioning factor is the relative density of settlement in which they lived and the extent to which this reinforced or reduced the heterogeneity of the existing ethnic and linguistic communities there. For this reason, explaining the demographic question is never likely to solve the language question on its own, but it can highlight Sicily's irregular ethnic mixes and consequently their potential for linguistic variety. Nor can demography tell us about key issues such as bilingualism as there were a number of areas where neither the inhabitants' ethnic blends, let alone their languages, are clear and others where we can detect a shift in the underlying social base. Here, at the margins of different ethnic groups, our working assumptions about settlement and language soon begin to break down. Such areas merit individual attention and call into question the key debate over changes to the linguistic, religious and ethnic base of the island. A key factor in determining these variations is the role played by religion, conversion and ethnicity, all of which have a significant bearing on the language question. However, the snap-shots of different communities afforded us by the preservation of names in villein registers do at least allow a comparison of the onomastic structures of one community with another. As in the example of Cefalù above, this can help to highlight shades of ethnicity within and across particular communities. While adhering to a number of general principles of operation, the peculiarities of Sicilian settlement require an equal number of caveats and the pitfalls will become increasingly evident as the data is elicited.

Naming and ethnicity

It is generally recognised that Arab-Muslim communities tend towards the use of names associated with the founders of Islam or that express a relationship between the bearer of the name and God. Thus, favoured Muslim names include the name of the Prophet, Muḥammad ('praised'), ʾAḥmad ('most praised'), ʿAbdalla ('slave of Allah') and ʿAlī (the Prophet Muḥammad's son-in-law). Sunni Muslims frequently use the names of the three 'Orthodox' Caliphs, Abū Bakr, ʿUmar and ʿUṯmān. Conversely, Shīʿa Muslims have a strong aversion

to these names.[52] By contrast, Arab-Christian communities normally avoid any such Islamic references, preferring instead more 'religiously neutral' Arabic names as Abū l-Ṭayyib (literally, 'father of goodness'), Saʿīd ('happy'), Maymūn ('fortunate') as well as more traditionally Christian names such as Arabicised versions of the Twelve Apostles. Naturally there is some overlap between the two besides a number of names shared by both the Biblical and Quranic traditions. These, such as Jesus (ʿIsā), Joseph (Yūsuf), Abraham (Ibrahīm) and Soloman (Sulaymān) cannot be considered as specifically Islamic and fall into what might be termed a 'non-Islamic Semitic' category. Greek communities can be contrasted with both of the above by their use of names referring to the above Christian icons. Greek Orthodox communities also traditionally have a strong preference for names of their own saints at the expense of classical 'pagan' names.

Comparison of names is not intended as a sure-fire way of measuring the proportions of minorities within different communities, but it does provide a type of index that can be used to highlight contrasts and similarities between registers pertaining to different areas over time. However, this method of assessment does not come without its own difficulties. For example, it does not defeat the problem of names recorded more than once in a list because they had come to be used as a family name. Such cases are not the norm and the distorting effect they might have is greatly limited by the large source samples from which they are drawn. Besides which, it is often far from obvious where a particular name derived, especially when it had passed through more than one language. More seriously, and as we have already discussed, some terms of reference, particularly names of professions or equivalent toponyms, were sometimes translated in bilingual registers.[53] Wherever possible these should be discounted as they do reflect a genuine sense of outside influence in a community's names.

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[52] The twenty most popular names from the Sicilian villein registers, in order, are: ʿAlī, ʿUmar, Muḥammad, Abū Bakr, ʿUṯmān, Ḥasan, ʿAbdalla, Maymūn, ʿAbd l-Raḥmān, Yūsuf, ʾAḥmad, Ibrahīm, Ḥusayn, Maxlūf, Abū l-Qasim, Ḥammūd, Abū l-Futūḥ, ʿIsā, Mūsā and Sulaymān.

[53] Cf Caracausi 'Un *hapax* medievale greco in veste arabo-sicula', *Centro di studi filologici e linguistici siciliani,* 16, 1990, p9 for Arabic names showing Greek influence. There also remains a problem of how to count or discount such names. Previously, it has been common to cite translated terms and toponyms as signs of Greek influence. (cf Caracausi, 'Un hapax' pp109-110). In fact, these need not show anything of the sort. The forms *al-Batrālī* > *tis Petralias* (Cusa p145a) is most probably due to a Greek scribe who has Hellenicised the Arabic place-name and tells us nothing of the man whose name it was.

Ethnic minorities among villeins: Catania and Aci 1095

Two registers made in Arabic in 1095 recorded the concession of almost 1000 villeins in eastern Sicily to the Abbot of Catania. These same lists were then copied with the addition of a Greek transliteration when the concession was re-confirmed in 1145. The vast majority of villeins recorded on these lists bear names of Arab-Islamic origin, but a small minority show signs of assimilation or intermarriage with Greeks. The few villeins with mixed names include:

Villeins with Greek and Arabic names from Catania and Aci 1095

Cusa	Greek	Arabic	Derivation
565a	*βαρραου*	*Mufarağ bin B.rāw*	?Rāw often used in Arabic to represent the variants on the Frankish name 'Ray'.
565b	*ετδοκες*	*Ğalūl al-D.kās*	Greek *doukas* or ?French *Duc*
566a	*ελγορδο*	*Abū Bakr al-Ġ.ṛṭū*	Latin *gurdus* 'fool'
567b	*ελκανδου*	*Muḥammad al-Q.ndū*	Greek personal name *Kandos* or *kondos* 'short'
567b	*περιγουν*	*al-B.riyūn*	?Greek 'land, earth'
568a	*βαρνεκεζ*	*Mūsā bin B.rn.kāš*	Greek *παγκ-* or *παγγεραστος*??
569a	*γζοργζιε*	*Maxlūf Ğ.rğiyya*	Greek *George* or *Gregory*
569b	*καλφατι*	*al-Q.l.fāṭī*	Greek *kalafatis* 'caulker'
571a	*ελκοντδο*	*Ḥasan al-Q.ndū*	Greek personal name *Kandos* or *kondos* 'short'
571b	*νικολαου*	*Niqūla al-Ḥağğām*	Greek personal name 'Nikolaos'
574b	*ελ-καστελλανι*	*Ḥasan al-Q.ṣṭ.lānī*	Latin *castellanus* 'castellian'
575b	*εζεουερηκη*	*ʾUmar al-Zawārkī*	Greek *zoarchikos* 'creator of life'
576b	*νοταρι*	*Ibrahīm bin N.ṭārī*	Latin *notarius* 'notary'
578a	*ανασταση*	*Ḥasan bin al-N.ṣtāsī*	Greek *anastasis* 'resurrection'
578b	*βορδονανι*	*ʾAīša zawğ al-B.rd.nānī*	Greek 'ox-driver'
579a	*γζοργζισε*	*Ğ.rğīsa*	?Greek personal name 'Giorgis'
581a	*ερρομιε*	*Umm Ğamīʿa al-Rūmiyya*	Greek 'Roman, Byzantine'
581a	*ελκανδου*	*Zawğa bin al-Q.ndū*	Greek personal name *Kandos* or *kondos* 'short'
581b	*ετδογκες*	*Umm al-D.kās*	?French *Duc*

From the Aci register we find:

543a	-	Latin *cattus* 'cat'	*Ibrahīm bin al-Qaṭūs*
543b	-	Greek/Latin personal name 'I(oh)annis'	*Yānī al-Maṣāṣ*
586a	*μουσκουε*	?Latin/Greek *muscus* 'moss'	*M.skū(ā) bin Abū Bakr*
587b	*ηλβειφαρε*	Latin 'bifera fruit' or toponym 'Bifara'?	*Muḥammad bin al-Bayf.ra*
589a	*ηλκαττους*	Latin *cattus* 'cat'	*Yūsuf bin al-Qaṭūs*
589a	*ρουμε*	Greek 'Roman, Byzantine'	*ʾAḥmad bin Rūma*

589a	παστάλλα	Greek *pastillos* 'pastille'	*Tamām bin al-Baṣṭala*
589a	ηλπαστάλλα	Greek *pastillos* 'pastille'	*M.h.lh.l bin al-Baṣṭala*
589b	ηλκαττους	Latin *cattus* 'cat'	*Ḥammūd bin al-Qaṭūs*
589b	ηλπαστάλλα	Greek *pastillos* 'pastille'	*Abū Qasim bin al-Baṣṭala*
590a	μεσειτου	?Greek *mesitis* 'mediator'	*Ibn Māšītū*
590a	σεντηρ	?French	*Ḥusayn bin al-Š.ntīr*
591b	χρυσοπουλλη	Greek personal name *Chrysopoullos*	*ʾUmar bin al-Xr.sbūlī*
591b	ηλκαπρι	Greek 'boar'(*kapros*) or Latin 'goat' (*caper*)	*ʾAlī bin al-Q.brī*
592a	πετρου	Greek form of the personal name 'Peter'.	*Bātrū al-Šabbūṭī*[54]
594a	καλη	Greek personal name *Kali*	*Qālī*

These names, as a proportion of the total number of villeins can be expressed as follows; that of the 675 villeins in the Catania register of 1095/1145, 19 have names with non-Arabic elements, representing 2.8% of the total. Of the 345 villeins in the Aci register of 1095, 17 names with non-Arabic elements can be identified, representing 4.9% of the total. Given the relatively low percentages in both cases, it is not expedient to read too much into the slightly higher proportions of non-Arabic names in the Aci register. The combined totals reveal that of 1020 villeins, 36 had names with non-Arabic elements, giving an average of 3.5%.[55] The data cannot be taken as an accurate gauge of ethnicity within these villeins, but nonetheless does suggest a degree of cultural assimilation or intermarriage at some unknowable point in these particular communities' history. Also noteworthy is that the structure of the above names largely consists of an Arabic first name with a Greek-based second name. This re-affirms the idea that such individuals had, for some time, been assimilated into an Arabic-Islamic background culture. Given the very small proportions of this minority, we might infer that it would be unlikely to have contained any non-Arabic speakers within these particular communities.

Of course, we have no evidence for those whose names belied their ethnicity, for example, Greek-speakers who had entirely Arabic names and vice-versa. Given the lack of explicit evidence in either case, it is proposed that, where necessary, these unknown values be regarded as both constant and equivalent. Support for this assumption comes from the fact that the process of

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[54] Al-Šabbūṭī is a Syrian name for a fish found in the Tigris or Euphrates. He may have had a servant called 'Fāṭima' cf Cusa p594a.

[55] We might also take into account that the figures above do not include a small number of names that have not yet been unidentified, but which do not seem to be Arabic.

assimilation was not simply a one-way flow, nor is there evidence that it involved particularly large numbers. For while ostensibly Arab-Muslim communities had absorbed some local Greeks, equivalent onomastic evidence suggests that indigenous Greek communities had also assimilated settlers from North Africa. We have very little evidence for this from this early period due to the lack of villein registers elsewhere in eastern Sicily or Calabria. However, the recording of a Leone Chamoutos and Iohannes Berberes in Calabria as early as 1050 can be regarded as a sign of social intercourse on the peripheries of two ethnic groups.[56]

Arabic and Greek names from Nicótera 1093

Evidence that is contemporary with the Catania and Aci lists, comes from a Greek register relating to villeins who lived a short distance away on the Italian mainland. In March 1145 a monolingual Greek confirmation was issued to Roger Fesca, the Archbishop elect of the church of Palermo, confirming a grant of villeins first made in 1093.[57] The names of 39 men were copied from the original donation and relate to villeins from Nicótera in Calabria. The vast majority of these men had names of purely Greek origin, but five of the 39 villeins had names derived from Arabic, representing a minority of around 13% in this particular case. In these five examples, the Arabic names were non-Islamic and almost all were mixed with Greek elements, thus:

Greek	First name		Second name
Μουλε Πιτζιλεων	Ar. p.n. *Mawlā* 'Lord'	-	Gk 'little lion'
Μουλε ο Βρουπτολος	Ar. p.n. *Mawlā* 'Lord'	the	?Greek epithet
Ιοαννις του Ζαμμαρι	Gk. p.n. *Iohannis*	son of	Ar. *Zammārī* 'piper'
Δαβις του Ζαμμαρι	Ar. epith. *Dabiš* 'fat'	son of	Ar. *Zammārī* 'piper'
Βασιλιος τις χαγγεμας	Gk. p.n. *Basilios*	son of	Ar. *Ḥaǧǧām* 'cupper'

It should be noted that although these names ultimately derive from Arabic, some of them, for instance *Mawlā, Ḥaǧǧām* and their variants, were quite commonly attested among the repertoire of Greek names by this period. This casts serious doubts as to how 'Arabic' these Arabic-named villeins actually were. Given the relative strength of the background Greek culture in this area

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[56] Guillou, 'Le Brébion de la métropole byzantine de Règion (vers 1050)',*Corpus des actes grecs d'Italie du sud et de Sicile. Recerches d'histoire et de géographie',* 4, Città del Vaticano, pp177, 180.

[57] Cusa pp26-27. Nothing is known of Roger Fesca, but his name appears on a fragmentary villein register perhaps dating from the same period (Cusa pp614-5), but that has now been lost.

of Calabria, there is little reason to believe that this minority of 'Arabs' were either Arabic-speaking or Muslim. Rather, perhaps their only remaining trace of 'Arabness' may have been a one-time Arabic name. Also notable from the point of view of assimilation is the way in which two apparently related villeins who shared the same Arabic second name *(al-Zammārī)* had different first names- one derived from Greek, the other being Arabic.

Names showing signs of cross-cultural assimilation represent only a tiny percentage of extant eleventh-century names. The limited evidence from this early period does not allow us to comment further on changes to their religion or language without knowing the extent or timing of this assimilation. However, it is tempting to believe that if there was a steady trickle of cases, then such small groups were unlikely to have maintained their native language for long without also leaving any clearer signs of their historical ethnicity. While it is possible that some were bilingual, it is equally probable that the strength of the background culture into which they were, or their forefathers had been, immersed would have overwhelmed their native tongues within the space of a few generations.

Patti: Saracens, 'Greeks' and 'men of the Latin tongue'

The examples from around Catania and Nicótera show minorities of names within villein communities of otherwise Arab-Muslim and Greek names respectively. However, the satellite estates around the town of Patti highlight how naming in such communities could be subject to wide degrees of local variation even within a small area. Furthermore, given the specific information relating to the ethnicity, religion and language of the settlers around Patti, we can begin to add to our understanding of these complex inter-relationships.

The estates around the north-eastern town coastal of Patti that belonged to the Benedictine church of S. Bartolomeo of Lípari-Patti yield a total of 377 individuals from a single villein register. But while the villeins of Catania presented predominantly Arab-Islamic names with a few of Greek origin, names from the Patti area suggest that the ethnic balance there was very different. Aspects of the naming mix around Patti closely resemble that of Nicótera, but other elements stand in sharp contrast. The register from Patti is

arguably the most important of the period and a badly edited version can be found in Garufi.[58] A new edition should be published shortly.[59]

In 1094 Count Roger founded the church of S. Salvatore in Patti which was then amalgamated with the church of S. Bartolomeo on the nearby island of Lípari. The favoured church of S. Bartolomeo of Lípari-Patti was to become richly endowed with villeins and estates donated from the de Hauteville demesnes. The church already held the barren Lípari and other Aeolian islands to which it tried to attract settlers with liberal terms of tenure. In 1094 it was also granted the fertile area of Patti 'free of all service' in addition to an extra 100 families, the *castellum* of Fitalie, the estate of Panagia and half the *castellum* at Naso. Before the death of Adelaide, who was buried in the church of S. Salvatore, Lípari-Patti had acquired the estate of nearby Librizzi (by 1117), Focerò (granted in 1118, but transferred in 1142 and Raḥl Ǧawhār (granted in 1118, but not actually transferred until 1132).[60] Some of the registers of lands and men that recorded the church's property have survived. The villeins' names they contain suggest that the ethnic and linguistic mix of villeins and settlers was distributed differently in different areas.

In the 1090s, settlement of the town of Patti was declared open only to 'men of the Latin tongue, whoever they might be' *(homines quicumque sint Latine lingue).*[61] This remarkable proviso was designed to exclude Greek-speakers as well as Arabic-speakers irrespective of their religion and shows explicitly, at least in this one case, how language was used as a measure of ethnicity.[62] Latin presence in the town was boosted by settlers from the Italian mainland, who seem to have maintained their prestige Latinate dialect(s) that had secured their rights to settlement there. Although terms were not as generous as the less popular Lípari, they were successfully defended in a dispute from 1133 when the original conditions were read out and explained to the Latins of Patti

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[58] Garufi, *I documenti inediti* no. XV, pp38-41.

[59] By Johns and Metcalfe under the probable title '*Language, ethnicity and administration- a twelfth-century Latin villein register from Patti in Sicily.*'

[60] Johns and Metcalfe, *Patti* (forthcoming).

[61] Brühl, 1987, no.23, pp64-66.

[62] Falkenhausen, 'Il popolamento: etnie, fedi, insediamenti' in *Terra e uomini* pp47ff suggests that this may have followed an influx of Greek Christians from Calabria into the area around this time.

in the vernacular.[63] However, an extensive list of Greek and Arabic-named villeins from the satellite estates of Naso, Fitalia, Librizzi and Panagia suggests there was a clear contrast between them and the folk of Patti with their Romance dialects.

The composition of the register itself raises all sorts of difficulties. For while the rubric on the deed is in Latin and the names have been recorded in Latin script, it is evident from the frequent interference of Greek forms that the names on the extant document had been transliterated from a Greek original. This has left many of the names garbled although almost all can be understood if not entirely able to be reconstructed to their original form. The register bears no date and cannot be dated with any certainty from the information it contains. Nor can the names of villeins it mentions be convincingly matched to other, dateable, deeds. However, it is certainly plausible that a register of men would have been required when the two churches were combined in 1094 and received their initial endowments. The mid 1090s was also a key period for the re-distribution and re-structuring of the de Hauteville's Sicilian possessions and we have four other villein registers dating from this time.[64]

Support for an early date also comes from the mention in the rubric of an unidentified *comes Rogerius* who had given the church two Greek-named villeins that had subsequently been exchanged for two Muslims. Evidently, it was so obvious to the register's authors who the *comes* in question was, that no further qualification was deemed necessary. There are two most likely candidates for *comes Rogerius.* First is Count Roger I who was the prime mover behind the creation and endowment of S. Bartolomeo and S. Salvatore. Assuming the involvement of Count Roger and noting his death in 1101, suggests a *terminus a quo* for the original Greek register of between 1094, with the unification of the two churches, to his death in 1101. The extant register is a Latin re-draft and up-date of the (now-lost) Greek original and was made when sufficient time had passed for at least a fifth of its Muslim villeins to have died, as interlinear notes above the text record. The most intuitive date for such a re-draft was around 1133-34 when the church was

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[63] *'Audita tandem memoratorii continentia et vulgariter exposita, Pactenses consilium habuerunt.'* Brühl, 1987, no.23, p65.

[64] Relating to Catania, Aci, Nicótera and Palermo. Cusa pp1-3, 563-595, 26-27. Two of these registers included names that were written in Greek.

involved in a series of legal disputes over rights and usurpation. In January 1133, the Latin folk of Patti had fought and won their case against Bishop John of Lípari-Patti, in which the terms and conditions of their settlement were explained to them *vulgariter*. Two months later, the same Bishop John withdrew the generous terms given to the settlers on Lípari and the following year he was involved in a dispute with a local Norman landlord accusing him of usurping the church's rights. There is thus sufficient motive to cautiously suggest a re-drafting of the register around 1133-34, almost 40 years after the original record had been drawn up and when around a fifth of the villeins had died.

On the other hand, the second, and no less obvious candidate, for *comes Rogerius* is Count Roger II, before he became king. This would give a different slant to the dating. Roger became *comes* in September 1105 and began issuing documents in his own right in 1114, thus giving a later *terminus a quo*. This provides a slightly different context for the document and recalls the Latin villein register from 1111, issued jointly in Adelaide and Roger's names, that granted ten villeins from to S. Bartolomeo's.[65] That register begins tersely (*hec sunt nomina hominum qui..*) in the same way as the Patti register. A later document from 1117 (in Greek) recorded how the 'people' *(laos)* of Librizzi had had their obligations redefined.[66] Among the villeins nominated to oversee the work was 'Nikiforos Charzanitis' reminiscent of a 'Nikiforos Garszanitis' on the Patti register. Neither part of the name is unusual, but the combination of both is unattested outside these two documents. We might also note the other donations (Raḥl Ǧawhār and Focerò) that were being made around the same time (1118). But whether the most obvious candidate for *comes Rogerius* was Count Roger I or II, the dating theories point to the Patti register being the product of the early twelfth century. If so, then it records the same generation of villeins as the Nicótera and Catania registers, if not a slightly older one.

The list itself seems to have been made as an in-house record of the church's villeins and is certainly not related to the format of post-1130 royal chancery register. It contains the names of 377 household heads and is divided into five sections according to the estates of Naso, Fitalia, Panagia and Librizzi, but also includes a section devoted to 'Saracens'. Interlinear notes were added that up-

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[65] Cusa p511.

[66] Cusa p512-13.

dated some of the villeins' whereabouts, particularly those of the 'Saracens'. Almost every one of the 86 'Saracens' had either Arabic or Arab-Islamic names and it can be taken that these were Muslims.[67] By implication, all those in the non-Saracen sections can be inferred to be Christian. This is strongly supported by their names that predominantly derive from Greek. Among these apparently Greek Christian villeins are found a handful of names based on Latin or Frankish forms and with around 10% of names being derived from Arabic. None of these names can be considered as 'Islamic', suggesting that the estates of Naso, Fitalia, Panagia and Librizzi contained about a 10% minority of 'Arab-Christians' within otherwise largely Greek communities. Nonetheless, the relative frequency of such names was spread fairly evenly across the four estates and can be compared with results from other areas. Some typical examples are cited below:

Names of Greek Christian villeins showing Arabic influence around the area of Patti

Reference	Latin	< Arabic	Reference	Latin	< Arabic
12B	Bucheris	*Abū Bakr*	48E, 52D	morabitos	*al-Murābiṭ*
16E	chareris	*al-Ḥarīrī*	36F	mugulufi	*Maxlūf*
22B	fartasis	*al-Farṭās*	32D	marsatinos	*Marsā l-Ṭīn*
49F	fauellis	*al-Fawwāl*	25C	uardaris	*al-Bardāʿī*
50B	gaitanis	*al-Qāʾid*	22E	uonichis	*Abū l-Naǧā*
5D	kalidos	*Xālid*	47D	uulcharis	*Abū l-Xayr*
11A	kammaratos	*al-Qammaratī*	4B, 9B, 41D	maimunis	*Maymūn*
3E, 11C, 7B, 8A	cafiris	*al-Kāfir*	5C, 46C, 28A, 33A	changemis	*al-Ḥaǧǧām*
16B, 20F, 6D, 53E, 37D, 28B	mules	*Mawlā*			

The figures relating to the composition of names in the register are given in the table overleaf:

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[67] The only exception being 'Mugulufis tu asuestari', which can be restored to an original of *Maxlūf (Arabic), son of Asvestaris (Greek).

Estate	Number of villeins	Number of names	% Greek, Latin or Frankish names	% Arabic &/or Islamic names
Naso:	103	157	88	12
Fitalia:	61	95	93	7
Panagie:	69	116	91	9
Librizzi:	58	110	92	8
'Saracens':	86	102	1	99

Given that privileged settlement in the town of Patti was restricted only to 'men of the Latin tongue', by exclusion it seems reasonable to assume that the Greek-named villeins from the estates of Naso, Fitalia, Panagia and Librizzi spoke some dialect of Greek.

The interlinear notes added in order to up-date the Muslim section are noteworthy for the lack of local knowledge shown about them. Comments on individual Muslims include, *ignoratur* (59E, 61D, 64D), *nescitur* (56E), *nescimus* (59C), *nescimus qui sit* (58C). Between the time the original list had been compiled and the up-dates added, it is also clear that some, if not many, had died and in two cases (60E and 62B) their sons had fled the area. The manuscript does not tell us where on the church's lands the Muslims had settled, but the apparent ignorance of where or even who they were suggests that they lived as a separate Arab-Muslim community, distinct from their Greek and Latin neighbours. This community's social and ethnic isolation is confirmed by their marked preference for exclusively Arab-Islamic names and it is quite possible that they maintained and reinforced their religious identity by the use of Arabic.[68] There is no evidence at all to suggest that any of this Arab-Muslim community had recently converted to Christianity and thus there is no reason to import this idea into the data.[69]

Considerable doubts remain over the language and ethnicity of the 10% of those Christians with names of non-Islamic Arabic origin who were listed among families inferred to be mainly Greek-speaking and who lived apart from the Muslims reckoned to have been Arabic-speaking. The case of two brothers

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[68] These were not the only Muslims to be held by the church. In 1132 a Greek deed records the boundaries of *Ραχαλτζουχαρ* (< Raḥl Ǧawhār) and the names of 30 men granted to it from the royal demesnes (Cusa pp513-15). Raḥl Ǧawhār lies much further to the south of Patti and all 30 of its villeins bore Arab-Islamic names.

[69] A view held by the influential Alberto Várvaro in *Lingua e storia in Sicilia*, pp156-157.

with Arabic names (*Omuris* and *Bucheris* < *ʿUmar* and *Abū Bakr*) from Naso also shows how Arabic names may have run in families. This strengthens the idea that such families may have retained a distinctive identity that could be contrasted with their Greek-named neighbours. We could certainly conclude that the communities around Patti were unlikely to have presented a homogeneous ethnic or linguistic front.

The area of the Val Demone had seen a good deal of fighting in the early period and had added to the increasing problem of displaced villeins. In c.1094, Count Roger declared his intention to re-settle all such unclaimed or illegally-held villeins around the newly-built watch-tower at Focerò.[70] However, the problem of displaced villeins was not permanently solved as Focerò was destroyed and re-built three times between 1101 and 1142 as part of a barely documented, but serious and sustained baronial opposition, that broke out on the death of Roger I.[71] The continued level of social and demographic disruption in the Patti area during this period suggests that the social composition of its villein communities might have been equally fractured. However, the relative proportions of villeins with Arabic names to villeins with Greek or Latinate names from different estates in the church's possession are remarkably uniform. This suggests that, whatever the levels of social displacement had been from the 1090s to the 1140s, the ethnic balance of these communities was already well-established before the troubles began. The relative uniformity shown by the proportions of Arabic to Greek names (about 1:10 in each of the four estates) indicates that these estates may have supported similar and long-standing minorities of Arabic-speaking Christians or Arabic-Greek bilingual Christians. If this suggestion is not accepted then we must concede the less likely scenario that the close similarity of naming patterns across these four communities was purely coincidental.

Patti and its surrounding estates can be split into at least four contrasting communities based on their religion, their names or their language. Patti itself contained a range of settlers who were all considered by the church as 'men of the Latin tongue'. The outlying estates of Naso, Fitalia, Panagia and Librizzi each contained similar proportions of Greek-named villeins (c.90%) to Arabic-

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[70] The site of Focerò has yet to be discovered, but it is thought to lie to the west of Patti near Sant'Angelo di Brolo.

[71] Fully explored in Johns and Metcalfe, *Patti* (forthcoming).

named villeins (c.10%), all of whom were Christian. The former figure includes a tiny proportion of names suggesting Frankish or Latin origins. Clearly, the main background culture in these estates was Greek as was presumably the main language. However, a 10% minority of Arabic-named Christians is sufficiently large to suppose that some may have continued to speak Arabic, but may have known Greek too. The Muslims in the area are thought to have lived separately which would have facilitated the use of Arabic and their names give no reason to assume that they were anything but Arabic-speaking Muslims.

The examples from the estates of Patti serve to illustrate how fragmented the language situation could be and how defining variations could occur within a relatively small physical area. It also shows how religion and the use of language were bound up with the issue of ethnicity and thus highlights the difficulty of divorcing one from the other when inferring the distribution of linguistic communities. Unfortunately, the evidence is marred by the uncertainty surrounding the dating of the document. Nonetheless, it seems reasonably sure that it relates to the first half of the twelfth-century and so can be taken as being within a generation, if not recording the same generation, as the Catania, Aci and Nicótera registers.

The extent of local variation: an early register from western Sicily

The concentration of evidence discussed for the early period comes from the east and to the north-east of Sicily. However, a villein register from the 1090s recorded 75 villeins from the south-westerly estates of Iato, Corleone and Limõn.[72] In this case, none of their names nor any of the 20 newly-weds also recorded, give us any reason to doubt that they belonged to exclusively Arab-Muslim communities.[73] In this respect, they form a clear contrast with the villein names from the Patti, Catania and Nicótera. As we shall see, evidence from twelfth-century registers suggests that other communities in western Sicily did contain minorities, and probably had done for some time.

Scant as the evidence may be, the indications are that some assimilation and counter-assimilation had taken place during the pre- and/or early Norman period. This probably occurred at wherever the margins of Greek and Arabic

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[72] Cusa pp1-3.

[73] The derivation of a certain *Ḥammūd al-B.ṭrīsa* (Cusa 3b) is uncertain.

communities happened to be at that time, evidence for which comes mainly from the eastern sector of the island. It cannot be established whether this region was, or had been, one of the main sites of such cross-cultures. It is equally probable that a similar integration process had, say, spread across the island from the south-west but had been brought to a halt when the Muslims could advance no further due to the relative strength and density of Greek settlement on the fringes of the Val Demone. Nonetheless, the conclusion that the margins of Greek and Arab-Muslim communities had been frayed for some time before the Norman kingdom was properly established appears relatively in tact as does the idea that Sicily's ethnic and linguistic mix was fragmented and localised. So far as Ibn Ḥawqal's claim of intermarriage in the 970s is concerned, it is partially corroborated by this later onomastic evidence. However, the same evidence cannot support his idea that this practice was particularly common. Or more accurately, that if such a claim were true in 973, then only shreds of evidence support it from the pre-*regno* period. However, these early villein registers from Catania, Nicótera, Patti and Palermo also raise the important issues of naming, religious conversion and changes to the socio-ethnic base of the island that became increasingly apparent in the latter part of the twelfth century.

CHAPTER SIX:
Language, conversion and ethnicity

The idea of Sicily as a social and linguistic 'melting pot'

On the formation of modern dialects of the area, Alberto Várvaro's idea that post-Norman Sicily was a linguistic 'melting pot' falls some way short of the conclusion that creolised forms had ever developed from the Sicilian vernaculars.[1] But the results of a sociolinguistic 'melting pot' have also been interpreted to signal a degree of pidginisation in Sicily, to which hybrid forms provided by the linguistic data testify.[2] We have seen how many such forms came from loan words found in bilingual or translated chancery documents but it was also argued that such terms can only be taken as providing reliable evidence for wider vernacular speech with the greatest caution.

This is not to deny that Sicily, or parts of Sicily, could have been a linguistic 'melting pot' as well as having a richly varied and localised linguistic base. If the former were the case, then it would require a high degree of social integration to provide the conditions for meeting the sociolinguistic convergence criteria necessary for such a linguistic melange. The idea is indeed a tempting one, especially when we consider the number of Arabic loan words in otherwise Romance-based Sicilian dialects or the mixed forms found in modern Maltese with its vocabulary split between two-thirds Semitic and one-third Romance.[3] But was Sicilian society ever sufficiently integrated in the Norman period to have produced such a language situation? A key factor in this respect is the question of religious conversion. This was, without doubt, the main obstacle that stood in the way of social intercourse, fraternisation and inter-marriage between the different communities in Sicily.

Overall, a reasonable starting-point is to assume that in the mid-twelfth century Muslims constituted the major part of the Arabic-speaking

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[1] Alberto Várvaro, *Lingua e storia in Sicila* pp 138 and 219, 'To speak of creolisation would be excessive however much it recalls what happened in medieval Andalusia.'

[2] The theory expounded by Dionisius Agius in *Siculo Arabic*, 1996.

[3] G Hull, *The Malta Language Question*, 1993 p201. For the comparative phonology of Sicilian and Maltese from a historical perspective see Agius, *Siculo Arabic* especially chapters 4-7.

community.[4] But as we have seen, neither Muslims nor Arabic-speakers were spread uniformly across the island. Sicily also contained minorities of Arabic-speaking Christians and Greek speakers who had converted to Islam and who may, at least in theory, have been capable of bridging the religious and/or linguistic gap between Arabic-speaking Muslims and their Christian counterparts. Naturally, the breakdown of any religious barrier fundamentally affects the way in which we would describe the sociolinguistic composition of the island, so the questions of language, ethnicity and religious conversion are interwoven.

Arabic and Islam

In Islam there are a number of restraints designed to deter the faithful from abandoning their religion. For while conversion to Islam is a relatively straightforward matter, conversion from Islam is altogether much harder.[5] The Qurʾān may be interpreted as decreeing that apostasy (*irtidād* or *ridda*) incurs the 'wrath of God,' 'except if one has done it under compulsion and one's heart is steadfast in belief'- an important proviso for those forced to change their faith.[6] Besides this, some sayings of the Prophet Muḥammad even encourage the death penalty[7] and Muslim tradition leaves no doubt that turning away from Islam is not to be undertaken lightly.

This point serves to make the language and conversion question in Norman Sicily all the more intriguing given the close relationship between Arabic and

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[4] Summarised by Várvaro in 'Problematica dei normannismi dei siciliano' in *Atti del Congresso Internazionale di Studi sulla Sicilia Normanna,* Palermo, 1973, p360: 'As is well-known, opinion varies greatly on the linguistic situation that the Normans found in Sicily: no one any longer doubts that a large part of the population, the administration and cultural milieux used Arabic, nor is the survival of Greek (at least in the north-eastern area) a matter of controversy.'

[5] There is no equivalent ritual in Islam that corresponds to the defining moment of a Christian baptism. It is suggested that this might have affected perceptions and attitudes towards subsequent conversions away from Islam. cf Richard Bulliet, *Conversion to Islam in the Medieval period,* Cambridge, Mass. 1979, pp33-34.

[6] The Qurʾān XVI, 108-9. Echoed elsewhere cf The Qurʾān III, 80-84; IV, 136; V, 59 and IX, 67. Ibn Jubayr invokes this clause to legitimise the conversion of Ibn Zurʿa. For the general topic of apostasy see *murtadd* by W. Heffening in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam* Vol. VII, pp635-636.

[7] According to the traditions of Ibn ʿAbbās and ʿAīša, the Prophet Muḥammad was said to have allowed blood to be shed of any man who 'abandons his religion and separates himself from the community.' (cf. Al-Bukhāñ, *Diyāt,* chapter 6). On another occasion he is alleged to have remarked, 'behead him who changes his religion.' (cf Al-Bukhārī, *Istitābat al-murtaddīn,* chapter 2).

Islam. Arabic was the language chosen by God for the revelations recited by the Archangel Gabriel to Muḥammad and there are several references to its status as such in the Qurʾān.[8] In contrast to Christianity, which has historically encouraged the propagation of the Bible through translation, Islam has maintained Arabic as its sole language in an attempt to preserve the meaning of the original message. In turn, this goes some way to explaining the importance Muslim thinkers have attached to grammar and the 'correct' use of Arabic derived from Quranic exempla. Similarly, the bonds that hold between Arabic and Islam have generally been much tighter than between Christianity and any of its languages.

Changes to the religious base of the island cannot be traced with ease by reference to the limited available evidence. Take for instance the account of the Muslim pilgrim, Ibn Jubayr, who visited Sicily for 14 weeks around Christmas 1184 and who commented in some detail about Christian-Muslim relations on the island. Although, he was occasionally impressed by the levels of tolerance shown by the Christians towards the Muslim communities, he considered his co-religionists to live in a state of 'misery' *(maskana)* and 'humiliation' *(dull)* under Christian rule.[9] He cited two examples of conversion within the ruling elite noting a degree of royal leniency towards Muslims and how the palace servants and administrative officials were nominally Christian, but actually continued to profess Islam.[10] Finally, he heard of the apparent dissolution of families whose sons and daughters had thrown themselves into church following family disputes.[11] Clearly, Ibn Jubayr intended these examples to illustrate a wider picture of social change. What is not so clear is whether his well-chosen examples were typical, or conversely, whether they were singular instances recorded precisely in virtue of their exceptional nature.

The condition of Muslim villeins

Although Ibn Jubayr bemoans the miserable condition of the Sicilian Muslims, by and large they had succumbed to life under 'infidel' Norman rule relatively peaceably and found themselves with defined rights and responsibilities.

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[8] The Qurʾān, Sūra XII, v.2, 'Indeed, we have revealed it, a reading in Arabic that you may understand!' cf sūras XXXIX, v.28; XLII, v.7; XLIII, v.3; XLVI, v.12.

[9] Ibn Jubayr, p235.

[10] Ibn Jubayr, p226.

[11] Ibn Jubayr, p236.

Unfortunately, precious little is known of the condition and structures of Muslim communities and even less is known about their legal or fiscal status. The tax burden of Muslims and Jews may have higher than Christians, as it is reasonably certain that non-Christian communities paid the *ğizya*, a type of religious poll tax, based on an Islamic precedent.[12] Yet it is far from clear how collection of this could have been consistently effective. Terms of service for Muslim villeins were not necessarily worse than for the other communities, but were subject to wide degrees of local variation of which we know very little.

The legal status of Muslims is equally obscure, but it seems as if Islamic *sharī'a* law was used to decide matters of custom or civil dispute that arose within Muslim communities.[13] However, it is not known who presided over these cases, or how much power was in the hands of local sheikhs or magistrates.[14] For many Muslims daily life under Norman rule seems to have continued without substantial change to their social customs. Ibn Jubayr recalls the sound of the *muezzin* calling the faithful to prayer outside Palermo[15] and marvels at the Christians' tolerance of a conspicuously noisy religious procession in Trapani.[16] The evidence is not overwhelming, but it seems that the creation of fiscal and legal divisions according to religion combined with the lack of legislation relating to religious customs had indirectly, and perhaps unwittingly, helped to preserve the Muslims' sense of religious identity.

The sketchy details the evidence affords us about the conditions of Muslim villeins does not put us in a good position to know whether their circumstances were so poor that they had a great deal to gain from conversion in socio-economic terms. However, it is unlikely that the taxes or terms required from

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[12] See Johns *Duana Regia* (forthcoming) for a full discussion on the tax burden of Sicilian Muslim communities.

[13] Scraps of evidence suggest that *sharīa'* law and Islamic legal tradition continued to be respected. References to *sharia'* law occur in two Palermitan house sale agreements drafted in Arabic from 1190 and 1196. Cusa pp44-46 & 499-501 respectively. In 1177, the three runaway Muslims villeins who paid the *ğizya* also swore on the Qur'ān that they would 'neither disdain, nor desert their lord, nor would they ever dissent from the church's obedience.'

[14] Following the earthquake there in 1168 allowed *Latini, Graeci, Judei, et Saraceni, unusquisque iuxta suam legem iudicetur.* (De Grossis, *Catana Sacra*, Catania, 1654, p89). In addition, Malaterra records how a treaty was drawn up for the Muslims of Malta *more legis suae.* (Johns *Duana Regis*-forthcoming), but the extent to which this was considered normal practice it not clear.

[15] Ibn Jubayr in Qaṣr Ṣa'd p345.

[16] Ibn Jubayr p357.

them were either unbearably oppressive or substantially worse than those offered to other communities. Apart from the possible payment of the *ğizya* or religious poll tax, there seems to have been little incentive for Muslim villeins to convert on the grounds of economic expediency alone.

Early Conversions

Even before the Norman invasion, Sicilian Muslim society had been highly fragmented and two generations of civil strife between local feuding emirs had not resulted in the ascendancy of any one particular party. The Normans, in spite of being numerically disadvantaged, held the balance of power through their military capability and their willingness to make *ad hoc* alliances with complicit Muslim factions on the island. Thus, the inclusion of members of the Muslim elite in military alliances and the political decision-making process generally can be seen as a practical response to the need to attain and maintain political ascendancy. Not surprisingly, there was a great deal of ambivalence and uncertainty over the relationship between the Normans and their subject peoples from the outset.

Well-attested alliances with leading Sicilian Muslims, such as Ibn al-Ṯumna, and the inclusion of Sicilian Muslims in the Norman army[17] strongly suggest that the early Normans could not have had an overtly religious agenda when they first entered the island in spite of claims to the contrary by Latin historiographers. In such authors an accurate portrayal of events was thus often subordinated to propaganda directed against the soft-target of a distant and foreign enemy. It is not surprising to find that the indigenous Arab-Muslims of Sicily were not highly rated in these sources. William of Apulia described Palermo as 'a city hostile to God...enslaved by demons'.[18] He also mentions how Count Roger ordered churches to be built throughout Sicily, but evidently this did not happen, even if Pope Gregory had encouraged Roger by letter 'to spread the culture of the Christian name among the pagans'.[19] The fact that Sicily was largely Muslim may have provided all the more excuse for an invasion, but it makes an unconvincing reason for action on its own given

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[17] Malaterra, IV, 17, pp96, 100 and 104.

[18] William of Apulia, *Geste*, III, lines 178-179.

[19] Whether the letter was personal or not see the debate in Kedar, *Crusade and Mission*, p50.

that the zeal with which the Normans had already annexed Christian territories in southern Italy.

Evidently, some notable Muslims did convert in this early period. But even with explicit accounts, it is very difficult to know the extent to which they converted because they were required to or whether they were also happy to benefit from the material gains that conversion offered. These could be considerable. In 1141, a Greek confirmation records how 'Roger, who was once called ʾAḥmad in the religion of the Hagarenes' donated three estates to the Archbishop elect of the church of Palermo.[20] These had been given to him by his godfather, Count Roger. ʾAḥmad/Roger had clearly remained in high company as the deed also notes how he turned up in King Roger II's presence in the royal palace in Palermo. The assumption in this case is that since mention is made of ʾAḥmad/Roger's conversion in the same breath as the donation of lands, that he had received these lands precisely because he had converted. However, if the connection between conversion and material reward is not explicit here, there were other cases in which it was.

At the capture of Castrogiovanni (modern Enna) in 1087, Malaterra relates how a certain al-Qāsim bin Ḥammūd converted and moved to Calabria where he received lands, although he had perhaps been persuaded to convert by the capture of his wife and children.[21] Again, Count Roger had acted as the convert's godfather. The precise significance of this conversion is unclear. The Ḥammūdīds were a notable power-broking force in North Africa and Islamic Spain and could even trace their blood-line to the Prophet's Muḥammad's favoured son-in-law, ʿAlī. In Norman Sicily a number of Ḥammūdīds with Frankish or Latin first names are attested throughout the twelfth century prompting the conclusion that many must have converted around the same time and perhaps en masse.[22] If a large-scale conversion did take place, it could not have included all the Sicilian Ḥammūdīds, because at least one famous leading Muslim, similarly called Abū l-Qāsim al-Ḥammūdī, is well-attested later in the century and certainly did *not* convert. Given that the Ḥammūdīds had such widespread interests and represented an ill-defined social force, it is not

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[20] Cusa p16.

[21] Malaterra, IV, 6, p88.

[22] cf Bresc, *Società e politica in Sicilia nei secoli XIV e XV*, 1974, pp267-304. In support of this, there is a Roger Chamuti from 1163 and a royal justiciar called Rogerius Hamutus from 1189 and 1193. In 1216 a Roger Hammutis is recorded again in Castrogiovanni cf White, *Latin Monasticism* pp282-283.

surprising to find only a small handful of conversion candidates amongst them. Besides which, the most common Latinised or Greek versions of the name often confuse a 'Ḥammūdīd' with someone called 'Ḥammūd,' making it impossible to confirm or deny even a limited claim of related conversions. A decisive blow to the conversion theory is dealt by Leone Chammoutos, who we have already met in Calabria in 1050, attested at least a generation before the conversion at Castrogiovanni in 1087. Nonetheless, the attested conversion of Muslim community leaders and their acceptance of material rewards set an important precedent and showed the potential for wider conversion without the involvement of the church, nor with any great effort on behalf of the Norman ruling elite. Yet there remains little evidence to support a policy of widespread conversion in the early conquest period. On the contrary, Malaterra noted that Muslims were to keep not only their faith, but also their culture after the capture of Palermo in 1072.[23] Likewise, conversion was not a pre-requisite for power and in many cases the Muslim leadership are assumed to have retained their old political positions.[24]

In some exceptional cases, conversion seems to have been actively discouraged. Muslim soldiers who served under Count Roger were apparently not permitted to convert to Christianity. According to his Anselm's biographer, Eadmer, many Muslim soldiers would have freely given up their beliefs and submitted to Christianity had they not dreaded Roger's harsh cruelty towards them in reprisal.[25] Eadmer's account rouses suspicion because it is not clear why so many Muslims serving in the military should have been motivated to convert at this early juncture and it has recently been claimed that 'Eadmer's story is clearly a pious fiction'.[26] But even if Eadmer or Anselm had

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[23] Malaterra II, 45, p53.

[24] At municipal level, Ibn al-Ṯumna did not convert, but still retained his position in Messina under the Normans, while a certain Gaitus Maimuni held sway over Petralia. In the entourage of the ruling elite, we have already discussed the highly-ranked ʿAbd l-Raḥmān and Abū Dawʾ in the pre-*regno* years (cf Chapter 1), while the Muslim leader Abū l-Qāsim retained positions of influence at court for some thirty years until the early 1180s.

[25] *nam eorum multa milia in ipsam expeditionem secum adduxerat quorum etiam plurimi velut comperimus se libenter eius doctrinae instruendos summisisent ac Christianae fidei iugo sua per eum colla iniecissent, si crudelitatem comitis sui pro hoc in se sevituram non formidassent. Nam revera nullam eorum pati volebat Christianum impune fieri.* Eadmer, Vita Anselmi, ed. and translated R W Southern, 1962, II, xxxiii, pp110-112.

[26] Johns, 1995. 'The Greek Church and the conversion of Muslims in Norman Sicily' in *Byzantinische Forschungen XXI*, p137.

overestimated the potential for baptism among Muslim soldiers, the comments on Count Roger I's conversion restrictions make strikingly original and peculiar propaganda if they are not true.

The 'Palace Saracens' and religious ambiguity

The period from c.1130-1154 under Roger II saw the co-ordinated development of a royal image which further widened the disparity between pious Norman propaganda and a rather more pragmatic and permissive reality. The Normans' description of themselves in epithets and formulae consistently maintained a pro-Christian stance and never presented relations between the two ideologies as anything but adversarial. A Latin donation made by Count Roger I in 1092 records how by the grace and power of God had won back the island from the insolent hand of the Muslims.[27] His wife and regent, Countess Adelaide, was described in Arabic in 1109 as 'the defender of the Christian faith.'[28] In 1117, as a young Count, Roger II described himself as 'agent of the Christians and slave of Jesus Christ'[29] and from an early stage, the Greek chancery signatures of him as king described him as, 'in Christ the Lord a holy, mighty King and helper of the Christians.'[30] After around 1130, Arabic chancery sources began to celebrate the Norman's royal order as officially 'strengthened by God, supported by His power and victorious by His force.' Each king was thereafter considered the 'defender of the Pope at Rome' and 'protector of the Christian faith.'[31] By the 1140s these formulae had become standard royal epithets as had the confident and routine association of God, violence and victory. The choice of such Christian formulae expressed primarily in Arabic was a calculated ideology, and one that simultaneously presented the Normans as heirs to an Arab-Islamic inheritance while introducing themselves as the champions of Christianity. The formulae in question, some imported from contemporary Islamic chanceries, appeared in their unabridged forms in Arabic, thereby revealing at least one direction in which the message was aimed.

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[27] *'..ex omnipotentis Dei gratia in Sicilie partibus convincendo per fidos venientes, et insulam ab insolenti saracena manu minuendo et annihilando, recuperantes per Dei potentiam..'* Garufi, pp3-4.

[28] *'al-nāṣir l-dīn al-naṣrānīyya'* Cusa p403.

[29] Cusa p385, *'εκδικτης των χριστιανων και δουλος ιησου χριστου'*

[30] The standard version being *'Ρογέριος ἐν Χ[ριστ]ῶ τῶ θ[ε]ῶ ἐυσεβὴς κραταιὸς ῥὴξ καὶ τῶν χριστ[ια]ν[ῶν] βοηθός.*

[31] Cusa p134 in 1178.

If the royal image had been carefully refined to present a pious model of Christian power, it was oddly inconsistent with their employment of specially-trained functionaries who were known collectively in Latin sources as 'the palace Saracens.' These converts were key players in the administration and internal palace affairs after c.1130. As we have seen most, if not all, appear to have been bi- or trilingual eunuchs picked from various regions, some being from the Norman territories in North Africa, while others were from Sicily itself. It seems that most had adopted Latin or Frankish baptismal names on conversion to Christianity. Among others helping to run the royal chancery we find Martin, Peter, Richard and Robert- all converts from Islam. After mid-1148, provision had even been made for all the palace staff to be buried in a Benedictine monastery between the royal palace and the church of Saint George of Kemonia.[32]

As we have seen, it was an open secret that the palace Saracens were only nominally Christian and continued to practise Islam. In their capacity as magistrates and even as military commanders, they are reported to have taken advantage of their office by favouring Muslims or articulating the views of their co-religionists with whom most apparently identified. A marginal note in Romauld's *Chronicon* referring to Philip of Mahdiyya- a eunuch of the 1150s- commented that 'he appeared to be Christian, but in mind and deed he was completely Muslim, a sentiment even echoed by contemporary Arabic sources.[33] Hugo Falcandus remarked that Qā'id Peter-a eunuch of the 1160s- 'was Christian in appearance and name only, but in spirit was Muslim just like all the palace eunuchs.'[34] In the 1180s, Ibn Jubayr recalled many palace staff, including some of William II's ministers, were covertly Muslim.

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[32] Brühl, *Rogerii II Diplomata Regis*, no. 76, pp217-223: *iuxta sacrum nostrum Panormi palatium in loco qui dicitur Kemonia, prope ecclesiam Sancti Georgii duximus dedicandum, ut sicut ad substentationem corporalis vitae sub titolo regiae dignitatis nos pro conservanda quiete divina providentia in ipso nostro palatio temporaliter collocavit.*

[33] *se esse Christianum ostenderet, totus erat mente et opere Sarracenus* (p17 ed. Del Re). Ibn al-Athīr comments similarly about Philip and his servants.

[34] p25 *isque [Qaid Peter], sicut et omnes eunuchi palatii, nomine tantum habituque christianus erat, animo saracenus.* The claim may be exaggerated. Qā'id Richard for one seems to have been accepted as a genuine convert.

Of particular interest to the conversion question is the very trial and execution of Philip in December 1153 for which we have accounts from both Latin and Arabic sources. A lengthy marginal note, apparently from the twelfth or thirteenth century, which appears in Romauld of Salerno's work, recounts how Philip was brought up personally from childhood by Roger II. The discovery that Philip had sent oil to Medina for lanterns at the tomb of Muḥammad and had ingratiated himself with the *imam* there, so outraged Roger that Philip was ordered to be dragged around by wild horses and burned alive outside the palace. The less dramatic Arabic version of events is provided by a twelfth-century Arabic source, Ibn al-Athīr who tells how Philip had leniently treated Muslims during the siege and capture of the North African town of Būna which had resulted in Philip's downfall on return to Palermo. He also adds that Philip's death was 'the first blow dealt to the Muslims.' Although the Latin and Arabic sources disagree about the reasons behind Philip's arrest, neither source doubts that it involved a religious matter. However, it was not just Philip who was punished in this incident. The marginal note in Romauld states that, 'other accomplices and associates in his wickedness suffered a capital sentence.' It is not immediately obvious who these were, but the most likely candidates are other palace Saracens and servants associated with Philip and who are mentioned by Ibn al-Athīr. Between the two texts, there is thus the faintest of suggestions that there may have been a wider purge of palace Saracens around Philip in late 1153.

The timing of Philip's death is of special concern because it occurred only months before Roger II's own death at the end of February 1154. Romauld of Salerno records how towards the end of his life Roger had given up secular affairs and worked in every way to convert Muslims and Jews whom he richly rewarded with gifts.[35] The two actions are presented as sequentially connected. Thus, if we know when Roger retired from secular affairs, we might also infer a terminus date for his alleged conversion policy. The most likely dates for his retirement strongly converge on the years 1152-3, when his inexperienced son William had been successfully installed as joint-ruler a year or so earlier; the new chancery head, Maio, was exercising an exceptional degree of independence within the administration and Roger himself is

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[35] Romauld, *Chronicon*, p235; *circa finem autem vitae suae secularibus negotiis aliquantulum postpositis et omissis, Iudaeos et Sarracenos ad fidem Christi convertere modis omnibus laborabat, et conversis necessaria et dona plurima conferebat.*

attested in both Latin and Arabic sources as suffering from ill health.[36] A proposed retirement date for Roger of 1152-3 would provide an illuminating context for the death of Philip given that he was executed in December 1153 only three months before Roger's own death.

It is initially tempting to regard Philip's execution and the possible purge of the palace Saracens as victims of Roger's alleged conversion drive. Indeed, if we combine this conclusion with Ibn al-Athīr's remark that Philip's death was 'the first blow dealt to the Muslims', then the incident might also be regarded as a significant turning-point in wider Muslim-Christian relations on the island. The problem is that it is difficult to reconcile this episode with a genuine change of direction in royal policy. There is, for example, no other explicit evidence from this period relating to converts who, according to Romauld, had been so richly bestowed with gifts. Besides which, later eye-witness evidence already cited from Falcandus and Ibn Jubayr strongly suggests that, the Saracens' covert religious conduct within the royal palace had continued unchanged from the 1150s until at least the mid 1180s. Thus, in spite of changing political circumstances, there remained at least a certain consistency over the treatment and ambivalent status of the palace Saracens. Their dubious and precarious religious position had continued, or more precisely, *had been allowed to continue*, largely uninterrupted from Roger II's time to his grandson William's without any fundamental adjustments to royal policy. In this case, an apparent lack of clear royal directive may have been less irresolute than deliberately ambiguous and had probably emerged from the same continued need to rely on Arab-Muslim experience in the management of the island.

The significance of the palace Saracens extends further than merely examples of conversion because their behaviour had made religious ambivalence an acceptable if compromised response to the problem of how to react under rule by an infidel Christian force. The long-standing royal policy of ambiguity and qualified tolerance towards the majority of them as only nominally Christian also highlights the emergence of a conspicuous group whose dubious religious status was permitted to hover somewhere between Christian and Muslim. And

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[36] Ibn al-Athīr, Vol. XI, p187, records that Roger died of angina- a sign of heart disease. On the other hand, Falcandus, p7, suggests his cause of death as 'senility and an unhealthy devotion to sex,' *tum immensis attritus laboribus, tum ultra quam bona corporis exigeret valetudo rebus assuetus veneriis, immatura senectute consumptus, cessit in fata.*

there was much to be gained by this ploy, especially for those happy to subordinate their religious beliefs to their career prospects.

The Case of Ibn Zurʿa

Ibn Jubayr recalled how a certain jurist called Ibn Zurʿa was persuaded to convert by officials *(al-ʿummāl),* after which he was to give opinions *(istifā)*, perhaps exceptionally, in legal cases for both Muslims and Christians.[37] It is not clear why a convert was required for this, but there may have been a dearth of judiciaries capable of presiding over Arabic-speaking Christian courts. On the other hand, Islamic law schools had always provided a rich source of such scholars.

Of particular note in this case is that Ibn Zurʿa owned a mosque opposite his house which he converted to a church.[38] Presumably Ibn Zurʿa's church, which need not have been a grand structure, still resembled a mosque, but no mention is made of the congregation it now attracted. Nor was this the only religious building in Sicily that had undergone such a change as there are several other examples where mosques had become churches. As early as 973, Ibn Ḥawqal recorded how the great congregational mosque in Palermo had once been a Greek church.[39] William of Apulia then tells us that exactly a century later, Robert Guiscard destroyed and converted the main mosque to a church devoted to the Virgin Mother- 'where there was once the seat of Muḥammad and his demons, he set the throne of God'.[40] Attached to the royal palace in Palermo was the church of S. Giovanni degli Eremiti, a powerful and well-supported royal foundation built in 1142. The abbot was confessor to the king and its location next to the royal palace signifies its importance, but it too

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[37] Ibn Jubayr p235.

[38] *'He had a mosque opposite his house which he turned into a church- we seek protection from Allāh from the effects of misery (al-šaqāwa) and the results of error (al-ḍalāla). However, we heard that he hides his faith and maybe he comes under the [Quranic] phrase, 'save him who is forced thereto and whose heart is still content with the Faith.'* Ibn Jubayr, pp235-236.

[39] Ibn Ḥawqal explains; *'there [in Palermo] is the great congregational mosque which was a Greek [Rūm] church before its conquest [of Sicily] where there is a great temple (haykāl). Some thinkers say that a Greek philosopher, that is Aristotle, is in a wooden coffin fixed in the shrine which the Muslims had converted into a mosque, and they say that the Christians used to revere his tomb, and sought cures from it since they had seen the importance and esteem the [ancient?] Greeks (al-Yūnān) had attached to it.* Ibn Ḥawqal p118.

[40] *Geste*, III, pp182-183.

had been built on the site of an earlier mosque of which traces can be seen in the south transept.[41] Of other Arabic sources, Ibn Ḥamdīs poetically recalled in the late eleventh century that the Christians had 'changed mosques into churches'.[42] This is partly corroborated by the conversion of a Muslim fort to a church (S. Giovanni dei Lebbrosi) in 1071. Finally, in 1179, Bishop Robert of Catania is known to have converted a mosque into a church dedicated to Thomas Beckett.[43] However, if these mosques became churches, there were very many more that must have remained as mosques at least into the 1180s. Ibn Jubayr recalled mosques in Termini, Qasr Saᶜd (Solento castle), Palermo, Alcamo and Trapani. Indeed, when staying in a mosque at Qasr Saᶜd, he recalled how he had enjoyed listening to the prayer call, having been so long without hearing it.[44] Given that he had already visited Messina and Cefalù (both with small Muslim populations), we might tentatively infer that he had not heard *muezzin* there because there were no *muezzin* to be heard in these towns. When he reached Palermo, Ibn Jubayr noticed 'countless' *masǧid-s,* but only one congregational mosque *(ǧāmiᶜ)* in which the Friday sermon *(xuṭba)* had been banned.[45]

Somewhat counter-intuitively, the role of the church and the process of church building may have little bearing on the conversion question. As the examples of the palace Saracens and some of the Muslim elite show, conversion was more of a political process than a religious one. Indeed, the role of the Latin Church was conspicuously absent in the examples we know of. Although at least fifty Latin monasteries had been founded by the end of the Norman period, their location was predominantly towards the east and north-eastern parts of the island and were made partly according to existing supply and demand. As such, they were poorly placed for missionary activity, prompting the conclusion that Latin monasteries 'were not intended as agents of Latinisation.'[46]

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[41] John Julius Norwich, *The Normans in Sicily* p449.

[42] Amari, *BAS* II, p353.

[43] De Grossi, *Catana Sacra*, p85 *'mischitam olim Saracenorum ad honorem Dei et Beati martyris Thomae Cantuariensis archiepiscopi in ecclesiam transferre.'*

[44] Ibn Jubayr, p228.

[45] Ibn Jubayr p230.

[46] White, *Latin Monasticism*, pp59-60.

The example of Ibn Zurʿa and his mosque conversion show how much of the spiritual welfare of Muslim religious communities may have been in the hands of private individuals. It also provides an insight behind the possible reasons for conversion of the Muslim social elite in that it could have provided useful leverage further down the social scale. Throughout the Norman period, there are examples of similar types of conversions amongst the Muslim elite or community leaders. We cannot be sure whether the policy of constantly pruning back the already depleted Muslim leadership was designed to cause a trickle-down conversion effect, but again this raises the key question of how widespread conversion actually was. There is a hint in Ibn Jubayr that conversion of Muslim community leaders may have set in motion a wider trend. On the standing of the Muslim figure-head Abū l-Qāsim in the 1180s, he says that the Christians reckon that if he had converted then every other Muslim on the island would have followed him too.[47] But in this case Ibn Jubayr seemed to have overestimated the importance and influence of Abū l-Qāsim as Falcandus mentions that he was at least rivalled by another Muslim called Sedictus in Latin (for the Arabic Ṣadīq?) and of whom we know virtually nothing.[48]

While there is sufficient evidence to suggest that the Normans did deliberately target the higher social groups for conversion, it is doubtful that this policy could have been applied very far down the social scale. A preliminary survey of the names of local village sheikhs, magistrates and their families that appear on villein registers reveals only one individual who might conceivably have been Christian.[49] At the same local level of authority, there is evidence that the testimony of Christians may have been valued more than that of Muslims. If this were not the case, then we have still to explain why Christians were always mentioned before Muslims on deeds recording inquest proceedings. At local administrative level, there is very little evidence to hand that relates simultaneously to officials' names and religious persuasion. However, the *strategot* of Iato in the late 1140s was called Abū l-Ṭayyib, the son of Iṣṭ.fān, whose name has a certain ring of Arab-Christianity about it, although he need not have been a local originally, nor Christian. Generally however, there is

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[47] Ibn Jubayr, p237.

[48] A house of a certain 'Sedictus' is mentioned in [Falcandus] Letter to Peter the treasurer of the church of Palermo cf Siragusa's edition of Falcandus p182.

[49] The suspiciously Christian-sounding Qāʾid Yūsuf Qissīs- 'Joseph Priest' (Cusa p265a).

insufficient evidence to suggest that the conversion policy aimed at the Muslim leadership was systematic or far-reaching. On the other hand, there are scraps of evidence to suggest that some estates in western Sicily that were not part of the royal demesnes were in the hands of individual Christian landlords before the creation of Monreale. Some of these landlords seem have been Arab-Christians while others were Frankish. We have already noted in chapter two the possessions held by the Malcovenants, Geoffrey of Battellaro and the Forestals to which we might add the following 'unknowns': a Qāʾid Yūsuf who possessed a handful of villeins around Corleone as did a certain Richard in the 1180s.[50] Besides this we might note land near Qalʿat al-Ṭarāzī formerly held by the unknown priest *al-qissīs Salmūn* and a nearby estate held around the same time by *Bāyān D.ġ.rğ* identified as Paganus de Gorges whose family, originally from France, was attested around the Agrigento area until the late 1120s.[51] We might add that Gentile the Bishop of Agrigento is attested as having bought up the lands of Muslim *qāʾids 'quando fuerunt expulsi de Sicilia'*.[52]

Onomastic data as evidence for conversion

In recent years attempts have been made to reconcile the onomastic data from the villein registers with evidence for conversion. This is achieved primarily by inferring a community's religious outlook from the names of its inhabitants. For the early Norman period, we used this method to contrast the composition of some groups with others, based on the majority of their names. As we have already seen, there are some reservations about the significance of some Arabic names in Greek communities and vice-versa, and names that suggest the presence of an ethnic minority cannot also establish whether that minority was actual or nominal. These considerations will again come under close scrutiny in the debate over how best to make sense of evidence relating to language, religion and ethnicity. A test case example of name changes, unusual for the fact that we have evidence that spans three generations, comes from the area

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[50] Cusa p143.

[51] Cusa p242 and Ménager, 'Inventaire des familles normandes et franques émigrées en Italie méridionale et en Sicile (Xie-XII siècles)', in *Hommes et institutions de l'Italie normande*, London, 1982, pp315-6.

[52] Collura, *Le più antiche carte*, n.17, p45 and n.25, p61. The reference itself may be anachronistic and refer to the deportation of Muslims to Lucera in 1246 under Frederick II. The dates for Gentile as Bishop of Agrigento however are from 1154-1171.

15kms to the south of Cefalù and which, *prima facie,* seems to support the conversion thesis.

Abandoning Arabic names: the villeins of Collesano

In 1140, Roger II's niece, Adelicia of Collesano, granted to the Bishop of Cefalù property and six villeins.[53] Their names are given as Lia, Costa, Iohannes, Theodorus, Joseph and Georgius. Then in January 1181, a certain Robert of San Giovanni, having illegally taken the lands and men granted by Adelicia in 1140, returned what he had taken.[54] This included five villeins whose names were also given as Costa, Iohannes, Helias, Theodorus, and Georgius and we might assume that these were the some, if not all, of the same villeins mentioned in the original 1140 donation.[55] Additionally, in the 1181 donation, we are also given these villeins fathers' and grandfathers' names, thus:

Table 1. Related villeins of unknown religion from the Collesano area[56]

1st generation (fl. c. 1080?)		2nd generation (fl. c. 1110?)	3rd generation (fl. 1140-81?)
Eliaihar[57]	>	*Abraam*	*Costa*
Muheres[58]	>	*Filippus*	*Iohannis*
Bussid[59]	>	*Abdesseid*[60]	*Helias*
Essaba[61]	>	*Seytun*[62]	*Theodorus*
-		-	*Georgius*

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[53] Garufi, p39. But according to Byzantinische article p144 four villeins (Abraham eben Eliayhir, Filippus eben Muheres, Abisseid eben Bussid, Seidun eben elsaba eben ettauil) were donated. These names are slightly different to those in Garufi's 1181 version.

[54] Garufi, p173-74.

[55] By 1181 they were presumably old men, had they also been around in 1140.

[56] Abraam was the son of Eliaihar etc. However, it is not possible, from the text of the donation, to match up which sons belonged to which fathers between the second and third generations, although we are told that the relationship between all was father and son.

[57] < Elia?

[58] < Arabic *Mukhriz*

[59] < Arabic *Abū Sayyid?*

[60] < Arabic *ʿAbd l-Saʿid?*

[61] < Arabic *al-Sabuʿ?*

[62] < Arabic *Zaydūn* or *Zaytūn*.

The first generation all had identifiably semitic names, however, while three of their offspring continued to have semitic names, one of them (Philip) had a Greek name. As such, he has been tentatively identified as a first-generation convert.[63] By contrast, the names of the third generation villeins clearly contrast with their parents' and grandparents' generation in that they were all known by common Greek first names. The conclusion that has been drawn from this is that over the period of two generations of Norman rule, these villeins had converted from Islam to Christianity. Finally, in November 1183, a second donation was made to the church of Cefalù by the same Robert of Collesano.[64] Of the ten villeins donated, three are specifically said to be Christians and the remainder Muslims, namely:

Table 2. Related villeins of whom the 2nd generation are known to be Christian (Collesano 1183)

1st generation	2nd generation	Reconstructed names
Delegandj	*Iohannes*	John son of al-Ġanī(?)
Bulfadar	*Philippus*	Philip son of Abū l-Faḍl(?)
Abdesseid	*Basilius*	Basil son of ᶜAbd l-Saʿīd

By contrast to the Christians, the names of the living Muslims had continued to use Arabic and/or Islamic names across the generation gap:

Table 3. Villeins of the same generation and area known to be Muslims (Collesano 1183)

1st generation	2nd generation	Reconstructed names
Themen	*Hasem*	Ḥasan son of ᶜUṯmān
Dahamen	*Omor*	ᶜUmar son of Daḥmān
Bufel	*Osein*	Ḥusayn son of Abū Fill[65]
-	*Omrach*	ᶜUmar(?) nephew of Ḥusayn (above)
-	*Bulfadal Sale*	Abū l-Faḍl Salām(?)[66]

[63] Johns, 'The Conversion of Muslims', p145.

[64] Garufi, p186-188.

[65] cf Cusa p280a.

-	*Abdesseid*	ᶜAbd l-Saʿid
Tuluctet	*Omor*	ᶜUmar son of Talūta(?)[67]

The conclusion of conversion in Tables 1 and 2 presupposes that these villeins were once Muslims, but for which there is no explicit evidence. Another difficulty concerns whether the younger generation with Greek names were given these names at birth or whether they adopted these names themselves. Naturally, there is no evidence to corroborate either view and speculation is to a large extent pointless as there is no way of knowing in which generation this took place.[68] These problems, however, arise from the assumption that the villeins in Table 2 were converts. In fact, we are told nothing of whether the villeins in Tables 1 and 2 were converts or not and, there is nothing in the Arabic names of their fathers to suggest an Islamic connection. Thus, an assumption of conversion only imports a new relationship into the data. Indeed, there is no reason to assume that these villeins had been anything but Christians in the first instance. This too relies on an assumption, but it is an assumption of continuity not an assumption of change.

However, there is an alternative explanation for this data and one that stays safely within the bounds of the evidence. We certainly know that in Tables 1 and 2 the later generations had Greek-based names at the expense of Arabic ones. Thus, rather than inferring changes to the religious base of part of this community, the evidence allows us only to speak in terms of changes to the way in which villeins were named. This known change implies a social re-alignment that can be interpreted as an attempt to identify more closely with western Christian communities by adopting names from Greek repertoires. However, this change did not affect the entire community as some villeins, known to be Muslims, continued with their tradition of giving Arabic names to

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[66] Or perhaps from the Latin 'sal' as in the modern Sicilian name 'Sale'? Three other (unnamed) Muslims from the first generation had died, but three of their living sons were named i.e. *Bulfadal Sale, Abdesseid* and *Omor eben Tuluctet.*

[67] cf Cusa p580b.

[68] Johns, 'The Conversion of Muslims' (p145) identifies Philip son of Muxriz as a possible convert. If either of them had converted, it is equally likely that it was Muxriz who consequently gave his son a Greek-based name. While it is known that almost all the palace Saracens *adopted* Christian names on conversion, there is no evidence that villeins did the same. Given the presence of Arabic-named Christian villeins elsewhere in Sicily, it is unsafe to assumed that non-Arabic names were adopted on conversion to Christianity.

their sons. This analysis associates naming and ethnicity, rather than naming and religion and makes no assumptions about conversion.

Assessing mixed names

Apart from the several thousand villeins' names in twelfth-century Sicilian documents there are also many witness signatures appended to deeds of sales and miscellaneous agreements. Although a comprehensive onomastic study has yet to be made of these names, it is doubtful that more than one percent overall are names of mixed origin. We have very little other information relating to these signatories and, unlike the villein registers, they are too limited to provide a reliable body of data to compare regional or community-based differences. It is notable that some wealthy enough to be involved in some act of commerce such as buying or selling a house also had a very minor tendency towards names of mixed ethnicity. The most explicit and extreme example being that of a Palermitan house sale in 1169, which involved a certain Christodoulos, the son of Abū l-Sayyid.[69] The case is cited in full below.

However, there are serious reservations about what this type of onomastic data actually tells us. In this respect there are two issues. First, there are other examples that apparently show the very opposite to the conversion phenomenon. That is to say, there are cases, albeit relatively few, of individuals who have Arabic first names while their parents had Greek or Romance-based names. These include:

1132	ʿAbdella son of George	Cusa p32
1149	Abū l-Ṭayyib son of Stephen	Cusa p28
1185	ʿAbd l-ʿAzīz son of Iohannis Endoulsi and Christodoula	Cusa p669

Worse still, some people had alternative names. An Arabic deed from 1117 recorded a villein as 'Muḥammad, who in Greek is called Bānzūl.'[70] At the other end of the social scale, the palace Saracen Qāʾid Peter was also known by the Frankish slave name Barūn. In 1167 he fled back to North Africa where he took the name ʾAḥmad al-Siqillī. The trilingual Greek Amir Eugenios 'tou kalou'

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[69] Cusa p76.

[70] Guillou, *Les actes Grecs di Messina*, p55.

or literally 'of the good,' was also known by his Arabic cognate, Abū l-Ṭayyib.[71] Indeed, there are a number of names that may have been considered equivalents such as Christodoulos and ᶜAbdalla, although it is rare to find examples explicitly said to be equivalents. The very idea of alternative names raises the point that this type of evidence tells us more about traditions of naming than about religious conversion. We might note for example, that the surnames Mauros and Changemis, both of, or of implied Arabic origin, were already quite popular in Calabrian Greek communities by 1100 and had probably long since lost their Arabic connotations.[72] This raises the likelihood that other names, ultimately of Arabic origin, had ceased to be considered the exclusive preserve of Arab-Muslim communities even before the Normans' arrival. Rather, many mixed names are attested in Arab-Christian circles and some Arab-Christian names were also used among the Greek communities. Particular favourites in the latter case were Arabic names that could easily be resolved to fit Greek syllabic patterns or that consisted of sounds shared by the two languages. Many such names attested in documents were commonly Hellenicised or Romanticised with the addition of Greek or Latin inflectional endings. Given this practice and the existence of Arab-Christian communities in Sicily, we might regard the identification of Arabic names with Muslims as not only unwarranted, but also see an association between Arabic names and Greek Christian communities.

Since the onomastic data can be understood as involving merely a change of name without a corresponding change of religion, this allows us to offer a re-assessment of previously held views concerning the onomastic evidence and the apparent conversion of Muslim villeins. It has been suggested that it was not only the villeins at Collesano who had converted, but also the Arabic-named villeins from the Patti register (of unknown date, discussed in the previous chapter).[73] But these arguments have as their starting point the weak premise that someone with an Arabic name can be assumed to be a Muslim. This association between naming and religion can be shown to be unjustified, and in most cases, unable to be tested. Moreover, since it was relatively common for Greek Christians to have traditionally Arabic names, there is no

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[71] As recorded in a Latin translation from 1258 of a Greek-Arabic original from August 1175. Cf Spata, Pergamene greche, 2nd series, no.9, pp451-456.

[72] Bershin, *Greek Letters*, p211.

[73] Várvaro, *Lingua e storia*, pp156-157.

reason to believe that any of the villeins at Collesano or Patti had converted at all because they may well have been Christians in the first place. A more reasonable alternative account for these villeins is that the first generation contained a minority of Arab-Christians who were either living or had lived side-by-side with the Greeks in the area. Some of these had non-Islamic names of Arabic derivation in line with the long-established tradition within similar Greek-based communities of north-eastern Sicily. The tendency to adopt Greek names at the expense of Arabic ones as the Norman period progressed could be interpreted as an attempt to harmonise with the background Greek ethnicity of that community- perhaps the attempt of a minority to avoid a negative association between Arabic-sounding names and Islam? According to the revised reading of the evidence, this need not tell us anything about conversion at all, rather it may add to our understanding of shifts in social alignment with regard to naming, identity and ethnicity.

The well-attested practice of adopting and adapting Arabic names by non-Muslim communities might easily account for names of Greek and Arabic origin that sometimes occur within the same generation of a family, without any apparent inconsistency or contradiction. For example, among related witnesses and signatories we find: Cristodoula daughter of Abderrahman Akpe (< ᶜAbd l-Raḥmān; Akpe < ?ᶜUqba) with their sons Simeon and Bussit (< Abū l-Sayyid).[74] Also attested is Chousoun (< ?Ḥassūn) whose sons were Maimun (< Maymūn) and Iohannis[75] and in 1164 a certain Sitelkioul (< ?Sitt al-kull) the daughter of Qāᵓid Seout (< ?Saᶜīd) and her son Nikolaos.[76]

The lack of a consistent and linear relationship between Arabic-named fathers and their Greek-named sons indicates more complex processes at work than straightforward religious conversion manifested by name changes in the direction of the new-found faith. Unsurprisingly, we find a number of individuals whose ethnicity we would not be able to infer simply from their names. Perhaps the most confused and confusing example comes from a Greek document of 1169 concerning a house sale by Christodoulos who was the son of Abū l-Sayyid. Christodoulos's wife was called by an Arabic name, Sitt al-Ḥusūn. She was the daughter of Peter who came from Castronuovo and who

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[74] Cusa p663 in 1172.

[75] Cusa p123 in 1191.

[76] Cusa p118.

signed his name in Latin. Among the other witnesses to the deal were Simeon, son of Andrea al-Raḥḥām who signs in Arabic as well as a certain Theodore, the son of Leo al-Xanzārī (the Arabic for pig-farmer) who signs in Greek.[77] It is important to add that such an eclectic mix of names was by no means representative of the norm.

Non-Arabic names from the Monreale villeins in 1178

The two long villein registers from 1178 and 1183 that relate to the estates of Monreale allow us to compare the names they contain with those from around Sicily. Unlike the registers from Catania and Aci, the Monreale registers were not confirmations of previous lists, but were probably compiled from scratch in the late 1170s or early 1180s. But like the Catania registers from the 1090s, the Monreale lists contain also give the clear impression that its estates were predominantly populated by Arab-Muslim communities. However, a small percentage of names are derived from non-Arabic sources suggesting that these communities were not purely Arab-Muslim, but had absorbed Greeks, Latins and Frankish villeins (see below). In the latter cases, assimilation of Latin and Frankish settlers is unlikely to have pre-dated the first Norman incursions. It is also likely that these numbers were relatively small and it is unclear why these settlers would have been attracted to such Arab-Muslim estates. There is nothing to suggest that they had received more favourable terms, although it is possible that they had a higher social status as the names of Christians testifying to local boundaries at royal inquests were always recorded before those of Arab-Muslims in chancery documents. We can but guess at how they might have reacted to their new linguistic environment, but it seems unlikely that their numbers were large enough at this time to have maintained their native dialects without also coming to understand some Arabic. On the other hand, their linguistic impact on Arabic-speaking communities must have been

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[77] Cusa p76. There are several references to pigs and most occur in the context of panage rights attached to churches, which in part may account for why there are few references from south-west Sicily. The modern towns of Ganzirri (< Arabic *xanzārī*) near Messina and S. Michele di Ganzaría (near Caltagirone) are both well away from the densest zones of Muslim settlement. Some anthroponyms among villeins suggest that they were pig-farmers (Cusa pp146, 152 and 566), two of whom are stated to be Christians (cf Cusa p146b) but the rest occur in lists thought to contain names of Muslims. There are, however, no restrictions on Muslims *tending* pigs, as long as they do not consume the meat itself. Old Sicilian dialect has the word 'ganzaría' ('pig-sty'). Oddly, both Sicily and Malta share the tradition of apologising when mentioning a pig (Sicily: *scusa lu porcu.* Malta: *skużi l-ħanżir).*

negligible in this period. The assimilation of 'Greeks' is more problematic as such absorption could theoretically have taken place at any time from the Arab invasions until the register was compiled. However, as can be seen from the figures and examples below, the overall percentage of even Greek names is very small, and we might expect their linguistic influence to have been correspondingly slight.

Even if not all the derivations below are accepted, there is no doubt that a very small proportion of names amongst these otherwise Arab-Islamic estates were derived from non-Arabic sources. The details for Monreale 1178 (less the Corleone Christians) are as follows:

1141 villeins, 39 with non-Arabic elements = 3.4% (39/1141)
2067 names, 39 names with non-Arabic elements = 1.9% (39/2067)

For Monreale 1183, the figures reflect a lower proportion, thus:

729 villeins, 6 with non-Arabic elements = 0.8% (6/729)
1225 names, 6 with non-Arabic elements = 0.5% (6/1225)

Villeins from the Monreale estates with non-Arabic names in 1178 (excluding the Corleone Christians)

Cusa ref.	Greek	Derivation	Full Arabic
135a	*ελκενουνη*	Greek *kanon* 'land tax'	*Ibn al-Kanūniyya*
135b	*ελρουμιε*	Greek 'Roman, Byzantine'	*Ibn al-Rūmiyya*
137b	*ο γαλλουνη*	French *Gallon* 'fat chicken'	*Al-Ġ.lūnī*
137b	*βαρτιλις*	Greek *barti* 'rose'	*Al-Bārṭīlī*
138a	*ελμουνδου*	Latin *mundus* 'clean' or diminutive of 'Raymond'?	*Al-M.ndū*
138b	*ελδεμουν*	Greek *daimwn* 'devil' or '(Val) Demone'	*ʿAlī bin al-Dāmūn*
139a	*δουκκες*	?French 'Duc'	*D.kās*
140a	*ελζουγουνδε*	Latin *iucundus* 'delightful'	*Abū Bakr bin al-Zuġundī*
141b	*ελδεμουν*	Greek *daimwn* 'devil' or '(Val) Demone'	*Ibn al-Dāmūn*
141b	*ελδεμουν*	Greek *daimwn* 'devil' or '(Val) Demone'	*Ibn al-Dāmūn*
141b	*ελζουγουνδε*	Latin *iucundus* 'delightful'	*Ibn al-Zuġundī*
144b	*ελδεμουν*	Greek *daimwn* 'devil' or '(Val) Demone'	*Hilāl bin ʿAlī bin al-Dāmūn*
144b	*ελμουνδου*	Latin *mundus* 'clean' or diminutive of 'Raymond'?	*Sayyid ʾahli bin al-Mundū*
144b	*δουκι*	?French *Duc*	*ʿUṯmān bin Abī Dūqa*

144b	ελδεμουν	Greek *daimwn* 'devil' or '(Val) Demone'	*al-Dāmūn*
147a	ρουμε	Greek 'Roman, Byzantine'	*ʿAlī bin Rūma*
147b	γηρμεν	Personal name 'German'	*Yarmān bin Killa*
148a	ελπεσκελι	?Greek *Paschalis* 'Easter'	*ʿUmar bin B.škālī*
149a	γιρμαν	Personal name 'German'	*Yarmān bin Bū Riğl*
149b	κουρζα	??Latin/Greek *Kourt-* 'Court' cf kourtzillos	*Ḥammūd bin Q.rza*
150a	ρουμε	Greek 'Roman, Byzantine'	*Ibrahīm bin ʿAlī bin Rūma (see above)*
150b	δειλου	?Latin 'of Leo?'	*ʿAlī bin Dīlū*
155a	τζερδεν	?Latin name Jordanus or Arabic *ğarṯān* 'large rat'?	*Muḥmmad bin Ǧ.rdān*
155a	ελμαγουλη	Greek 'chubby'	*Ḥasan bin al-Maġūlī*
155a	ελπερεδινη	Greek 'ox-driver'	*ʿAlī al-Burādanī*
156a	τζερδεν	?Latin name Jordanus or Arabic *ğarṯān* 'large rat'?	*Abū Bakr bin Ǧ.rdān*
156b	ελτζινιτ	Zanati or Latin? Janitor 'doorman'	*Abū al-Ḥasan bin al-Ǧ.n.ṭū*
159b	ελμαγουλη	Greek 'chubby'	*Abū Bakr bin al-Maġūlī*
160b	γιδμεν	personal name 'German'	*Yarmān bin al-Mūs*
161b	ο χαλφατης	Greek 'caulker'	*Yūsuf al-Q.lfāṭ*
162b	κοσμαν	Greek personal name 'Kosmas'	*Saʿīd rabīb Q.zmān*
163b	μαγουλ	Greek 'chubby'	*ʿAzzūz sihr M.ġūlī*
167a	μαρια	Greek version given in Arabic	*Ǧawhār bin Mariyya*
167b	τζενζουλ	??French gentil cf Greek *tzenthl*	*Ǧ.nğūla*
169a	μοσκαττου	Latin/Greek 'muscus' 'moss'	*ʿAbd l-Raḥmān M.sq.ṭū*
170a	σουφιε	?Greek personal name 'Sofia'	*Ḥasan Sūfiyya*
170a	σουφιε	?Greek personal name 'Sofia'	*ʿAbd l-Sallām Sūfiyya*
171a	ελβατζιλερ	French? 'batchelor'	*ʿAlī al-Bağilawr*
173b	ελτζελλερη	Latin *cellarius* 'steward, butler'	*Xalaf al-Ǧ.llārī*

Villeins from the Monreale estates with non-Arabic names in 1183

258a	στριβλε	Greek streblos 'twisted'	*Ḥammūd al-Istrīb.la*
271b	χαμφουρ	?Latin campus *foranus cf Greek kampouthj (muls)	*X.mfūr*
271a	βισκαρτ	French personal name 'Biscard' (muls)	*B.šk.rd*
276b	κουνουτη	Greek personal name (muls)	*al-K.nūdī*
273a	βουρδονανι	Greek 'ox-driver' (not muls)	*Xalīfa bin al-B.rd.nānī*
275b	βουρδονανι	Greek 'ox-driver' (muls)	*Mūsā bin al-B.rd.nānī*

Cases of uncertain origin include:

278a	*ο μιδερουιλ*	?not Arabic	*Mūsā al-M.drūl*
253a	*διπανου*	?Latinate De ?	*ʾAḥmad D.bānū*
269a	*ταοις*	?	*Ṭāw.s*
272b	*πισερι*	?Greek/Latin fisherman Arabic bašr etc	*Rabīb al-B.šārī*

The Christians of Corleone

If Greek and Latin names were seldom found in the Monreale estates, the same cannot be said of the Corleone Christians. Among the villeins of the 1178 register, 51 are recorded separately under the rubric of 'the Christians of Corleone' and 'the newly-weds among the Christians children'.[78] A high proportion of these (over one third) of these had names with non-Arabic elements, as follows:

The Christians of Corleone with Greek names (1178)

145a	Greek personal name *Philippos*	*Filīb*
145a	Greek personal name *Theophilos*	*Maymūn bin Ṯawf.l*
145a	Greek personal name *Nikiforos*	*N.ǧfūr bin Maxūna*
146a	Greek personal name *Kali*	*Ibn Qālī*
146a	Greek personal name *Herakles*	*Axū Raqlī*
146a	Greek personal name *Herakles*	*Maymūn rabīb Raqlī*
146b	Greek personal name *Pangkratios*	*B.r.nqāṭ*
146b	Greek personal name *Kosmas*	*Q.zmān*
146b	Greek personal name *Nikolaos*	*Niqūla al-Qasīr*
146b	Greek personal name *Theodoros*	*Ṯawdūr al-Waqīl*
146b	Frankish name *Baron*	*Xilfa bin Bārūn*
146b	Greek personal name *Basilios*	*Ibn Bāsīlī*
	Newly-weds	
146a	Greek personal name *Theophilos*	*Xilfa axū Maymūn bin Ṯawf.l*
146a	Greek personal name *Nikiforos*	*Xilfa bin N.ǧfūr bin Maxūna*
147a	Greek personal name *Nikiforos*	*Abū Ġālib bin N.ǧfūr ibn Maxūna*
147a	Greek personal name *Magis*	*Yūsuf axū Bū l-Xayr bin Maġa*
147b	Greek personal name *Basilios*	*Ǧaʿfar axū bin Bāsīlī*

[78] Cusa, pp145-147.

The list also contains two pig-farmers (Abū Ġālib al-Xinzīr and Sulaymān al-Xinzīr,[79]) and a villein called Sabuᶜ al-Naṣrānī whose name also signals his religion.[80]

The names of the Corleone Christians are remarkable in three respects. First is the frequent use of Greek names, as outlined above. Even though these were common, there is a tendency to prefer Arabicised forms e.g. N.ğfūr (Ar) < Nikiforos (Gk); Raqlī (Ar) < Herakles (Gk) and B.r.nqāṭ (Ar) < Pankratios (Gk).[81] This contributes positively to the suggestion that Christian families with Greek names were well-assimilated into the background Arab-Islamic culture of western Sicily. Thus, there is a strong likelihood that none of these Christians spoke Greek, but rather that they were all Arabic-speaking.

Second, is the mix of Greek and Arabic names within families. In this respect, the only pattern of naming that emerges is one of diversity. For example, Maxūna had a son Nikiforos, who in turn had sons called Xilfa and Abū Ġālib. Maġa had a son called Abū l-Xayr and another son (or nephew) called Yūsuf. Ibn Bāsīlī and Ğaᶜfar were brothers, while Theofilos had a brother called Xilfa and a son, Maymūn. Finally, several 'Islamic' names can be found among this community too.

The Christians of Corleone with traditionally 'Islamic' names

145b	*ʾAbdalla bin Abī Xubza*
145b	*Ḥammūd bin Abī Ḥağar*
147b	*ʾAḥmad bin Ḥammūd bin Abī Ḥağar*
145b	*Muḥammad al-Ğannān*
145b	*Muḥammad al-Ḥarīrī*
146a	*ʾAlī bin M.sla*

In these above examples, it is impossible to know whether using traditionally Muslim names was an accepted way of naming in that particular community or whether it was a symptom of some religious switch. In spite of the insufficiency of the evidence, this has again led to unwarranted conclusions

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[79] Cusa p146b.

[80] Cusa pp146b.

[81] As an Arabicised form of a Greek name which also occurs in Malta, 'Brincat' is of particular interest as evidence of links between the two islands, cf Agius (work in progress).

about religious change, a recent claim being that 'it stands to reason that many of [these], all serfs of the abbey of Monreale, were converts to Christianity.'[82] In fact, the exact opposite could be argued in cases where assuming conversion goes beyond the evidence. For instance, the example of Abū Ḥağar, who had a son called Ḥammūd, who subsequently had a son called ʾAḥmad, shows a tendency to retain traditionally Islamic names within a Christian family, whereas we might have expected converts at some point to have adopted or been given conspicuously *non*-Islamic names. An alternative explanation for the use of Islamic names is that it could be understood as a defensive attempt of a small religious community to harmonise with the Muslim culture that surrounded them. Given the relative strength of Muslim communities in the area, conversion from them into a religious minority seems somewhat counter-intuitive. Supporting and explicit evidence for Christians with Muslim names is hard to come by. However, one donation of note is that of eight villeins made by Count Roger II in May 1111 to a certain knight of Labourzi in which the final name on the list is that of ʿAbdalla, whose father is a Christian.'[83]

Distinguishing Arab-Muslims from Arab-Christians

Apart from the Christians of Corleone (and the Jews of Catania), it has been universally presumed that all others listed in the villeins registers were Muslims. At first glance, this seems a reasonable supposition given that the vast majority of them had Arabic or Arab-Islamic names. Yet this assumption presents some difficulties because a few names on the register suggest Arab-Christians were also registered alongside the Muslims. These include:

Names of villeins presumed to be Muslims (various areas and dates)

Cusa ref.	Derivation	Full Arabic
148a	Arabic 'monk'	*ʿAbd l-Kaṯīr al-Rāhib*
148a	Arabic 'monk'	*Ḥusāyn bin al-Rāhib*
148b	Arabic 'monk'	*Ḥasan bin al-Rāhib*
148b	Arabic 'monk'	*Muhīb axū Ḥasan bin al-Rāhib*
151a	Arabic 'monk'	*ʿAlī bin al-Rāhib*
479a	Greek *kalogeros* 'monk'	*Fīlīb bin Q.lğūrī*
163b	Arabic 'the monk's servant'	*Ḥusāyn rağul al-Rāhib*

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[82] Kedar, *Crusade anad Mission*, p51.

[83] Guillou, *Les actes Grecs de Messina*, pp51-55.

163a	Arabic 'priest'	*Abū l-Faḍl bin al-Qissīs*
265a	Arabic 'priest'	*al-Qāʾid Yūsuf Qissīs*
266b	Arabic 'priest'	*Ḥammūd bin uxt Yūsuf al-Qissīs*
163b	Arabic 'of the cross, Christian'	*Abū l-Salīb*
578a	Greek *anastasis* 'resurrection'	*Ḥasan bin al-Nasṭāsī*
169a	Arabic 'Maronite'	*al-Maranāwiyya*
140a	Christian connotation?	*zawğa ibn Mixāyīl*
166a	Christian connotation?	*Mixāyīl*
167a	Christian connotation?	*Mariyya*
478b	Christian connotation?	*Māriyya*

Again, not all of the above candidates need be accepted to argue that the registers contained Christians as well as Muslims. Clearly, names that have only a Christian connotation are unconvincing on their own, although the combination of two Greek names *(Fīlīb bin Q.lğūrī)* is more persuasive. There also remains the problem of how 'monks' *(al-Rāhib* or *Q.lğūrı)* could come to have children, but perhaps implies that they were of the Greek Orthodox tradition in which priests can marry, than the Catholic one in which they cannot. Alternatively, even if these *rāhib*-s were 'monks' only figuratively, it remains an odd choice of name for Muslims. Likewise, *qissīs* or 'priest' could have been simply a name that does not entail a vocation. In support of this, we might note the modern Sicilian *cognome* 'Casisa' which has given rise to the toponym 'Casisi'.[84] But again, the point can be made that if these names did not belong to Christians, then they are particularly strange Muslim names. To clinch the case for the registers containing a mix of Muslims and Christians come two Latin registers dating from 1136 that positively identify eleven villeins as being Christian.[85] When these lists came to be re-issued as a confirmation in Arabic and Greek by the royal chancery nine years later, this information was not included. Thus, the royally confirmed deed mixed the Christians and the Muslims together indiscriminately.

The possibility that one could find Christians called Muḥammad living besides Muslims with Greek names serves to compound our inability to distinguish Arab-Christians from Arab-Muslims in the villein registers. While this threatens to undermine socio-historical evaluations that consider (or have considered) these communities as exclusively Muslim, it adds to our understanding of the

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[84] Caracausi, *Dizionario Onomastico* Vol. I, p328.

[85] Garufi, *Documenti Inediti*, pp25-26.

cultural and linguistic proximity of Arab-Christians to Arab-Muslims as ethnically and religiously diverse constituents within primarily Arabic-speaking communities.

Arab-Christians: the social and linguistic link between Arab-Muslims and Latin Christianity?

Although Norman Sicilian society appears to have been fragmented and highly localised, the changing approaches to naming from the northern and north-eastern areas around Patti and Collesano form a clear but general contrast with the predominantly Muslim parts of south-western Sicily. In both cases, Arab-Christian communities may have played both a binding and intercessionary role. On the one hand, they were connected to their Muslim and Jewish neighbours via the same language and many aspects of a shared cultural heritage. At the same time, Arab-Christians were related to all other Christian communities on the island by their common bond of a shared faith in its various forms. The difficulties in making sense of these uneasy relationships of ethnicity, identity, language and conversion are considerable. Nonetheless, some problems are clearer than others. For example, if Arab-Muslims or Jews were to convert to Christianity by directly joining either ostensibly Greek or Latin communities, it is clear that they would have faced some momentous difficulties. First, if 'Greek' communities existed independently at all in western Sicily, then they must have been tiny. On the other hand, the new-found Latin communities of immigrant Lombards from northern Italy were the Muslims' principal enemy and relations between the two parties were often bitterly hostile. Falcandus records that in the riots of Palermo in 1161:

'the Lombards...massacred those who lived in amongst *(permixti)* the Christians in various towns as well as those living separately who had their own houses...the number of people who died were innumerable and the few who either secretly slipped away in flight or by assuming the guise of Christians, *(Christianorum assumentes habitum)* fled to less dangerous Muslim towns in the southern parts of Sicily. Even now they abhor the Lombards so much that not only do they refuse to live in that part of Sicily, but even avoid going there at all.'[86]

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[86] Falcandus, p70.

Falcandus also notes how the attacks in Palermo were followed by disturbances on the other side of the island in Syracuse and Catania. Under these circumstances, even the most determined would have found it hard to overcome the considerable social and political differences, let alone the significant barrier of learning a completely alien language. So when Arab-Muslims or Jews did convert, their most obvious social counterpart would have been the Arabic-speaking Christians with whom they shared both the Arabic language and a familiar culture and whose small but growing communities were attested across Sicily.

The Arab-Christian women of Palermo

The cultural proximity of Muslims and Arab-Christians is shown in an extraordinary piece of explicit eye-witness evidence. In Palermo at Christmas 1184, young Arabic-speaking Christian women caught the lusty eye of Ibn Jubayr as they passed by him on their way to the Greek Orthodox church of S. Maria dell'Ammiraglio, founded by George of Antioch in 1143. He vividly recalled that 'the Christian women's dress in this city [Palermo] is the dress of Muslims; they are eloquent speakers of Arabic *(faṣīḥāt al-alsan)* and cover themselves with veils. They go out at this aforementioned festival [Christmas] clothed in golden silk, covered in shining wraps, colourful veils and with light gilded sandals. They appear at their churches bearing all the finery of Muslim women in their attire, henna and perfume. It reminded us, by way of a literary quip, of the poet's saying, 'He who enters church one day, will find therein most tempting prey!" [literally 'antelope and gazelle'].[87] We might note that, in spite of these similarities, Muslims appear to have lived apart from the Christians in Palermo. According to Ibn Jubayr 'the Muslims have their own suburbs in which they live separately from the Christians.[88]

Clearly though, there were great similarities between some Arab-Christian and Arab-Muslim communities with regard to their culture, language and appearance. Churches, some of which used to be mosques and probably still looked like them, may have even performed a rite in Arabic.[89] Certainly, when the need arose, Muslims in western Sicily could convincingly pass for Arab-

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[87] Ibn Jubayr p231.

[88] Ibn Jubayr p230.

[89] See Johns, *Duana Regia*, (forthcoming).

Christians as confirmed by Falcandus when he described how Muslims fled Palermo for the safety of the south by pretending to be Christians during the riots of 1161. And if Muslims were deliberately blurring the margins of their ethnicity then, as we have seen, they had the high-ranking and dissembling precedents of the palace Saracens and conspicuous members of the Muslim elite to emulate.

It is possible that the narrowing of the gap between the fringes of the different religious and ethnic communities in western Sicily was perhaps also happening in eastern areas too, creating something of an elongated social spectrum. While some Arab-Muslims in western Sicily were willing and able to pass themselves off as Arab-Christians, correspondingly, the minority Arab-Christian population who lived in the largely Greek villages of the north-east seem to have re-aligned themselves in a more harmonious way with the background Greek culture of their area by adopting Greek names instead of Arabic ones. This initially superficial shift in ethnicity seems to have pre-empted later more fundamental changes in a similar direction and can partially account for the hazy transition from an Arab-Muslim culture to a Christian-based blend within two centuries with very little direct or explicit evidence for conversion. Thus, rather than a straightforward picture of religious change, a more complex and blurred spectrum of shifting ethnicity emerges as the fringes of some Arab-Muslim communities indistinguishably merged with their Arab-Christian counterparts, while at the other end of the island, Arab-Christians gravitated towards their Greek neighbours.

In concluding, it would be misleading to suggest that we have any firm idea about how widespread the socio-religious transition might have been during the Norman period. There is a sense in which the very nature of such change was designed to deceive and to obfuscate the defining margins of ethnicity and thereby take advantage of the protection that offered. Moreover, evidence suggests that large numbers of Muslims in south-western Sicily continued in relatively uninterrupted lives on estates under the auspices of the Latin Christian church. Although Christians lived alongside them, it is quite likely that all formed part of a wider Arabic-speaking community.

In many urban and village areas of north-eastern Sicily, Muslims seem to have lived separately from Christians, thus facilitating a lifestyle of independent

existence. In such cases, it is likely that Arabic-speaking Muslims became linguistically isolated, although in some cases such as the estates around Patti it is possible that there were also Arabic-speaking Christians in the area too. But while Norman Sicily saw some erosion of the boundaries between religious groups, the same social pressures may have lead to a degree of polarisation and the creation of a hard-core of Muslims in the south-west. Indeed, it was probably these disaffected groups who were the most inclined to rise in rebellion on the death of William II in 1189 and whose defeated offspring would be deported to Lucera on the Italian mainland in the mid-thirteenth century, thus contributing significantly to the demise of Arabic on the island. By contrast, Sicilian Greek communities manage to survive until the modern period, although in increasingly exiguous numbers. These shifts in social outlook are important for the language situation because they seem anticipate later changes to the linguistic base of the island as the Arabic-speaking communities began to take on Latin manners and speech in post-Norman period of the thirteenth century.

Finally, although no vestiges of specifically Islamic culture survive, there remain to this day many traces of Arabic influence principally in Sicilian dialects, toponyms and to a much lesser degree in the fields of customs, cookery and architecture. There also exists a large number of modern Italian surnames derived from Arabic. It is most probable that these were passed down via the Arab-Christian families who stayed in Sicily and who later adopted Latin manners and speech, rather than from the Arab-Muslims who, by 1250, formed only an unhappy minority of the population whose low prestige tongue had been eclipsed by the Romance dialects of post-1050 immigrant communities.

Conclusion

The thesis opens with an examination of the language situation within the royal palaces and the ruling elite. This has been, and largely remains, difficult to establish as the role of Arabic and Arabic-speakers was not only complex and varied but was also subject to change with time. In addition, the extant evidence is somewhat patchy. Nonetheless, a survey of the key figures around the Norman rulers reveals the constant presence of high-ranking Arabic-speaking officials within the palaces and fiscal administration. Fiscal records of lands and men that were written in Arabic and conceded to landlords attest to significance of Arabic as an administrative tool from the early conquest period until the end of William II's rule. Even in the conquest period and time of Adelaide's regency, supervision of embryonic administrative offices appears to have been under the control of Arabic-speakers, such as Abū l-Daw', who is also known to us via his poetry, and a certain ʿAbd l-Raḥmān sometimes identified with the emir Christodoulos. Although very little is known of these administrators, they can be shown to have been instrumental in the establishment of the kingdom and later in the management of royal affairs. Undoubtedly, the most significant of these Arabic-speaking administrators (although not a native speaker) was George of Antioch who is attested as having worked for the Byzantine Emperor, the Zirids and, in Sicily, as an emissary to Fātimid Egypt and as Emir of Emirs. He was also considered to have been the principal architect behind the establishment and calculated public presentation of the early kingdom under Roger II as a harmony of Latin, Greek and Arabic influences.

However, apart from the 'palace Saracens' and other administrative and ancillary staff, it is unlikely that Arabic was used as the main communicative medium among the wider ruling elite at court. Indeed, Arabic could only have been one of several tongues used around the palaces, the others being vernaculars of Latin, Greek and 'French'. Among the ruling elite, there was probably more linguistic variety to be found than in the whole of the rest of the kingdom, but circumstantial evidence suggests that Arabic was not likely to have been well understood by the majority of the immigrant Norman and Italian aristocracy. This complicated and changeable linguistic grouping begs questions of the kings' languages themselves, evidence for which is meagre and inconclusive, but all three of the Norman kings are attested as having known

Arabic in some form. Although we can only speculate as to the chosen first language of the kings, it is unlikely that this was Arabic given the strength of circumstantial evidence in favour of some type of Latinate or Romance-based dialect. In the light of references to the linguistic background of some of the kings' tutors and royal patronage of works in Latin, Greek and Arabic, it is tentatively suggested that all three of the Norman kings may have been in some sense 'trilingual'.

The kings and ruling elite provide a connection to the wider language situation on the island because the royal administration issued documents in all three of Sicily's written languages- Arabic, Latin and Greek. These documents help to illuminate aspects of the involved transition from an essentially Arabic-speaking Muslim island to a Latin Christian one of which very little is known from a linguistic perspective. One of the central issues is the extent of bilingualism on the island and the effects that Arabic, Latin and Greek-speakers had on each other's languages. The conventional wisdom is that the large numbers of loan words (to and from Latin, Greek and Arabic) found in the bilingual registers of royally-conceded lands and men attest to the linguistic melange that Sicily had become under the Normans. In this respect one of the longest and most important registers is the enormous boundary definition of fifty estates conceded from the royal demesne to the newly-founded church of S. Maria in Monreale which is the subject of a detailed case-study. According to the rubric in the text, the Latin had been translated from the Arabic by co-operation between two scribes (one Arabic, one Latin) and at first appearance there is no reason to suppose that the text forms anything but a seamless single piece of writing. However, a more detailed study of some characteristic features of style within the document reveals the work of several hands involved in the original composition of the Arabic and shows that some of the boundaries had been copied verbatim from older texts. Nonetheless, a rough scheme of translation and transliteration can be seen to have been applied to transform the Arabic text to a Latin one and this played an instrumental role in the coining of new vocabulary. Indeed, the numerous neologisms in the areas of administrative terms, toponyms, anthroponyms, and features of physical geography have, for some time, attracted the attention of linguists. However, it is argued that this very process of transliteration- often of highly obscure items of Arabic vocabulary- contributed to the development of a wider trilingual administrative genre that had itself grown to meet the increasing need to

produce accurately transcribed versions between the island's three administrative languages. It is also argued that if a developed administrative genre was responsible for the coining, transmission and diffusion of some Arabic loan words in Latin and Greek, then this in turn affects the status of such terms as genuine 'dialect' words. For instance, many examples from the later medieval period of 'Arabisms' in Sicilian, Neo-Latin and Maltese dialects can be traced back to precisely these contrived administrative forms as they often resulted from transcriptions of much older documents. Due to the administrative habit of code-switching as a part of the translation process in the Norman period, there remain doubts as to whether many such transliterated terms can be taken to represent genuine loan words that had any wider currency outside the administration at the time. While it is quite probable that some loan words were in use in certain quarters, many others can be inferred to have been purely fictitious. As such, it is argued that this peculiar administrative genre has had a distorting effect on the evidence for vernacular speech in Norman Sicily. This conclusion lessens the perceived impact that linguistic interference and transmission of Arabic loan words may have played on early Sicilian dialects. In addition, it undermines the data as evidence for extensive bilingualism implied *prima facie* by the evidence since such terms, often quite artificially concocted, were unlikely to have ever formed a significant part of wider vernacular speech.

While the bilingual boundary registers yield a large body of data relating to toponyms, loan words and physical geography, the registers of villeins reveal anthroponyms, places of origin and professional positions for the scrutiny of both the social historian and the linguist. In the latter case, these registers are of unique interest because of the ways in which thousands of villeins' names were recorded in Arabic and then transcribed into Greek. The general consensus is that a careful study of the relationship between the two languages can reveal something of the dialect of Sicilian Arabic, but that, due to the relative obscurity of these languages, only pilot studies have been made in this field to date. Quite clearly such a relationship begs a number of fundamental questions, not least of which concerns how chancery scribes came to produce such bilingual polyptychs. In this respect, details of their composition and types of manuscript error highlight a number of methods used in the construction and copying of the deeds from Arabic to Greek. Some scribes can be seen to have worked from draft versions while we can infer that others worked from

the text of the actual manuscript to make their copies. There is some evidence to suggest that the Greek translators were also the copyists and that in some cases they could not have collaborated with their Arabic colleagues. The translation of some obscure vocabulary items from Arabic into Greek also suggests that at least some of the Greek scribes in the royal chancery were proficient in Arabic. The Arabic rubric of the registers can be shown to have followed formulaic patterns, some of which were imported from Fāṭimid Egyptian chancery practice. As such, the Arabic of these documents tends to reveal more of contemporary chancery practices than it does about Middle or Sicilian Arabic. Nonetheless, when a translation from Arabic into Greek was required, scribes faced the same decisions over whether foreign terms were to be translated or transliterated. Their responses to this were not consistently executed, so that while some scribes preferred to translate professional terms, others erred towards transliteration and none can be seen to have uniformly applied or adopted any consistent approach. Moreover, it can be shown that Greek scribes who tended to translate also tended to append Greek inflexional endings or the Greek definite article to otherwise Arabic names. In doing so, they have added to the obfuscation of already complex evidence that has been further compounded by a misleading and inaccurate nineteenth-century edition of the manuscripts on which most researchers to this day rely.

With regard to the derivation of phonetic correspondences between the two languages, it is not always clear whether the Greek scribe was transliterating the Arabic (i.e. making a letter for letter copy) or transcribing it (i.e. making a copy made with reference to the *sound* of the Arabic). Thus, contrary to previous hopes, it is argued that it is not a reliable procedure to assign phonetic values to the Arabic from its inferred relationship with the Greek because we cannot be sure whether that relationship was a phonetic one or was purely graphemic. The irregular and uncertain nature of this data and the different results produced by different scribes somewhat reduces the status and quality of the phonological evidence. An equally unresolved difficulty is how we might distinguish between features of Sicilian Arabic and pronunciations of Sicilian Arabic by Arabic-speaking Greek scribes. This point serves to highlight the way in which the phonology of the Arabic is obscured by assumptions we are constantly forced to make about the Greek. In addition, the lack of equivalent data from both the Maġrib and Malta dashes all but speculative hopes of accurately connecting vernacular elements in Sicilian documents with

their wider Mediterranean context. Yet, in spite of a number of limiting reservations about the type and status of this evidence, the study of these unique documents is still in its infancy, but now has a clearer idea of the problems and restrictions posed by the complexity of the data.

The final two chapters trace the shifting margins of the Arabic-speaking communities and examine the questions of religious conversion and relative levels of integration between the island's different social and linguistic groups. The orthodox stance is to argue that while there may have been little underlying social uniformity during the earlier part of the Islamic period, by the mid-eleventh century, Sicily had a largely Arabic-speaking Muslim population and a minority of Greek Christians who lived in the north-eastern corner of the island. A rough survey of Berber villein names indicates a thin spread across the island whereas Berber place-names tend to be concentrated in a narrow area of south-west of the island suggests that Sicilian toponomy may not accurately correspond to historical patterns of immigration. Indeed, it is doubtful whether a study of anthroponyms that suggest a place of origin can yield reliable data about immigration given no obvious way to test the quantitative nature of the evidence or its accuracy. Nonetheless, it is widely accepted that there were tangible social differences between the Greek-dominated Val Demone in the north-east and the areas of denser Arab-Muslim settlement in the Val di Mazara in the south-west. More debatable is the truth of the received wisdom that the island was a social and linguistic 'melting pot'. Rather, a study of names from different parts of the island suggests a somewhat different picture. Naturally, there are reservations about what this type of anthroponymic evidence actually tells us and there are obvious dangers about inferring religious persuasion, language or social alignment simply from names. However, a series of cautious studies assess the possible approaches to this type of evidence and particular attention is paid to individuals with part-Arabic part-Greek names or to communities in which changes to names can be traced across different generations. In doing so, the data elicited can be shown to be even more complex than previously thought with men known to have been Christians but who had traditionally Muslim names, such as Muḥammad or ʾAḥmad, families who had members with mixed names and individuals who had alternative names or who had changed their names. It is argued that the inability to distinguish Arab-Christians from Muslims especially in western Sicily is a serious impediment to our understanding of the changes to the

social, demographic and religious base of the island that had already occurred, were underway or were still to take place. Nonetheless, the large body of names provided by the Norman villein registers does at least allow a comparative study of sorts to be made and in some cases these can be supported by documentary evidence to highlight likely scenarios. Some registers, for example, indicated not only where the villeins lived but also their religion. An examination of the villeins around the area of Collesano and Cefalù shows a difference between the Christians (some of whom tended to have Greek personal names) and their Muslim neighbours with more traditionally Arab-Muslim names. A survey of registers from around the island shows different degrees of variation in the names. For example, the registers from Catania and Aci compiled in the 1090s, indicate a small minority of names derived from Latin or Greek amongst villeins with names of otherwise traditionally Arab-Muslim origins. By contrast, a register of villeins compiled around the same time but relating to men in Calabria, reveals men with predominantly Greek names and only a small minority with Arabic names. The detailed case-study of the area around Patti illustrates the extent of variation in at least some parts of the island. In the town of Patti itself, only 'men of the Latin tongue' were allowed to settle- 'whoever they were'. Yet names from the registers of men who lived on the outlying estates were largely of Greek origin while the 'Saracens', who are inferred to have lived nearby but separately from these, bore almost exclusively Arab-Islamic names. So, if a diversity of names with supporting evidence can be considered as an indicator of social, religious and linguistic variation, then the evidence from the villein registers shows a fragmented sociolinguistic situation characterised by a good deal of local variation. Clearly then there was not social or linguistic uniformity in all areas and the contrasts that can be seen to mount a serious challenge to the conventional wisdom that Sicily had become a social and linguistic melting pot in the Norman period.

The final sections of the thesis deal with the relative status and changes to the wider Arabic-speaking communities by examining the condition of Sicilian Muslims and those who had joined the ranks of Arabic-speaking Christians via religious conversion. It is argued that the socio-economic condition of the Muslim communities was *per se* unlikely to have been sufficient to warrant large-scale religious conversion. On the other hand, it is suggested that a number of attested conversions within the upper echelons of Muslim society

may have prompted others to follow their lead. In particular, the high-profile 'palace Saracens' who were widely known to have been Christian in name only may have contributed to the idea that religious ambiguity was an acceptable response to the problem of how to live under infidel Christian rule. Indeed, Muslims fleeing the 1161 riots in Palermo are even attested as having disguised themselves as Christians. We might also note the eye witness account of the Arabic-speaking Christian women of Palermo and their proximity to Muslims in their dress and manners. But if the palace Saracens and some converts among the Muslim elite were happy to compromise their religious persuasion and others to feign conversion, many others were not. Indeed, it is argued that this may have stretched an already indistinct social spectrum within the Arabic-speaking communities with Christians and converts at one end and a hard-core of increasingly disaffected Muslims at the other. This variegated social scale also embraced those who concealed their religious identity besides those who had perhaps never been strongly committed to Islam and may have themselves converted *from* Christianity in the Islamic period.

Thus, in response to the relative dearth of large-scale research projects in this field, this thesis makes a contribution to our understanding of the evidence for the social and linguistic changes that affected the main Arabic-speaking communities during the Norman period. It also assesses in detail the type and status of the most significant source of linguistic evidence and as such it qualifies much of previously held opinions. Nevertheless, the thesis lays foundations for more ambitious projects that might include an assessment of the wider language situation thereby embracing the Jewish, Greek and 'Latin' communities. This current research, however, is the result of three years study and thus is restricted to the examination of a rather more limited scope. It is hoped that the future may present research opportunities to continue work in this and similarly related fields.

Appendix 1: Latin index of the Monreale estates

-G

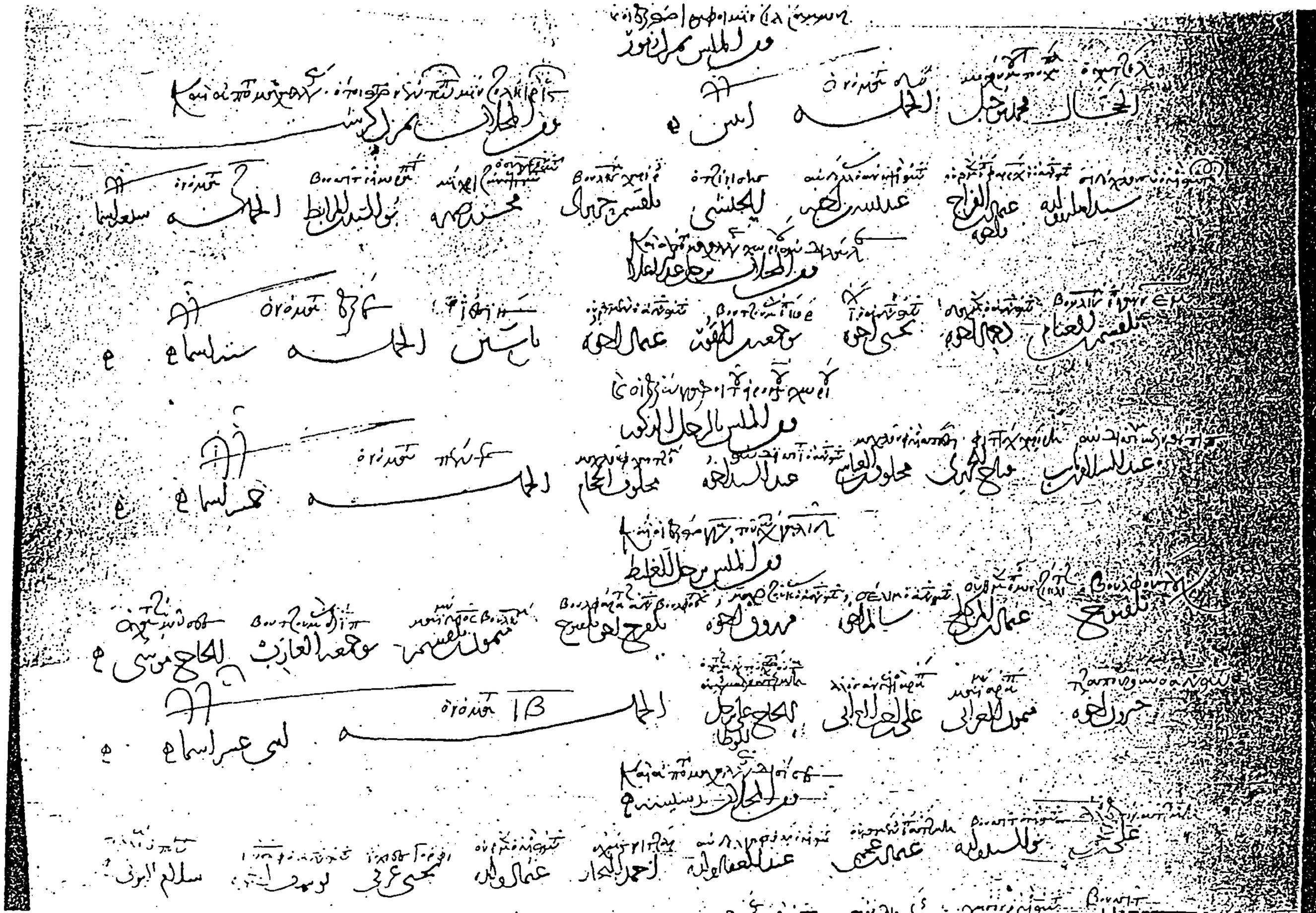
-G

-N-

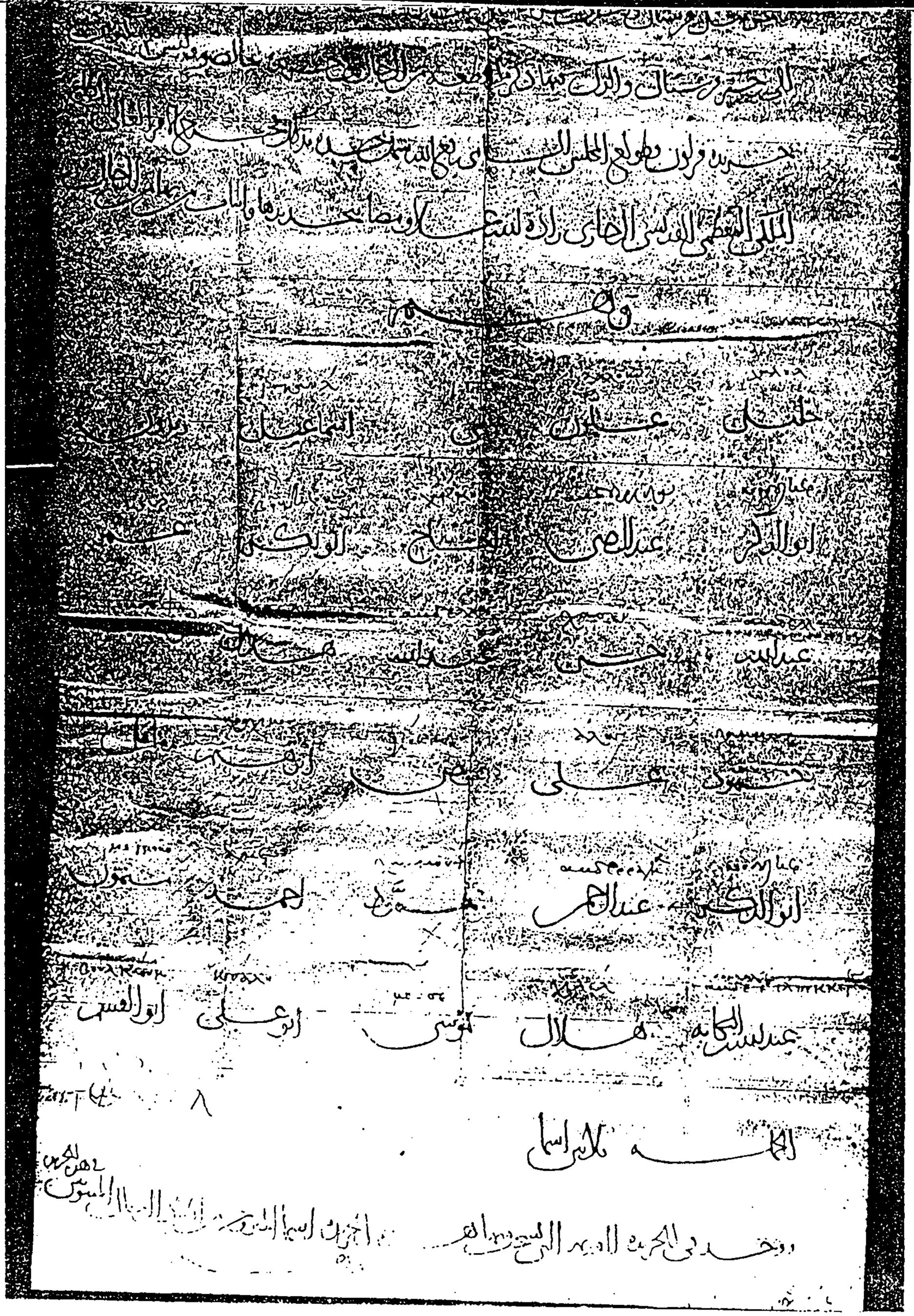
Appendix 2: Part of an early villein register from 1095

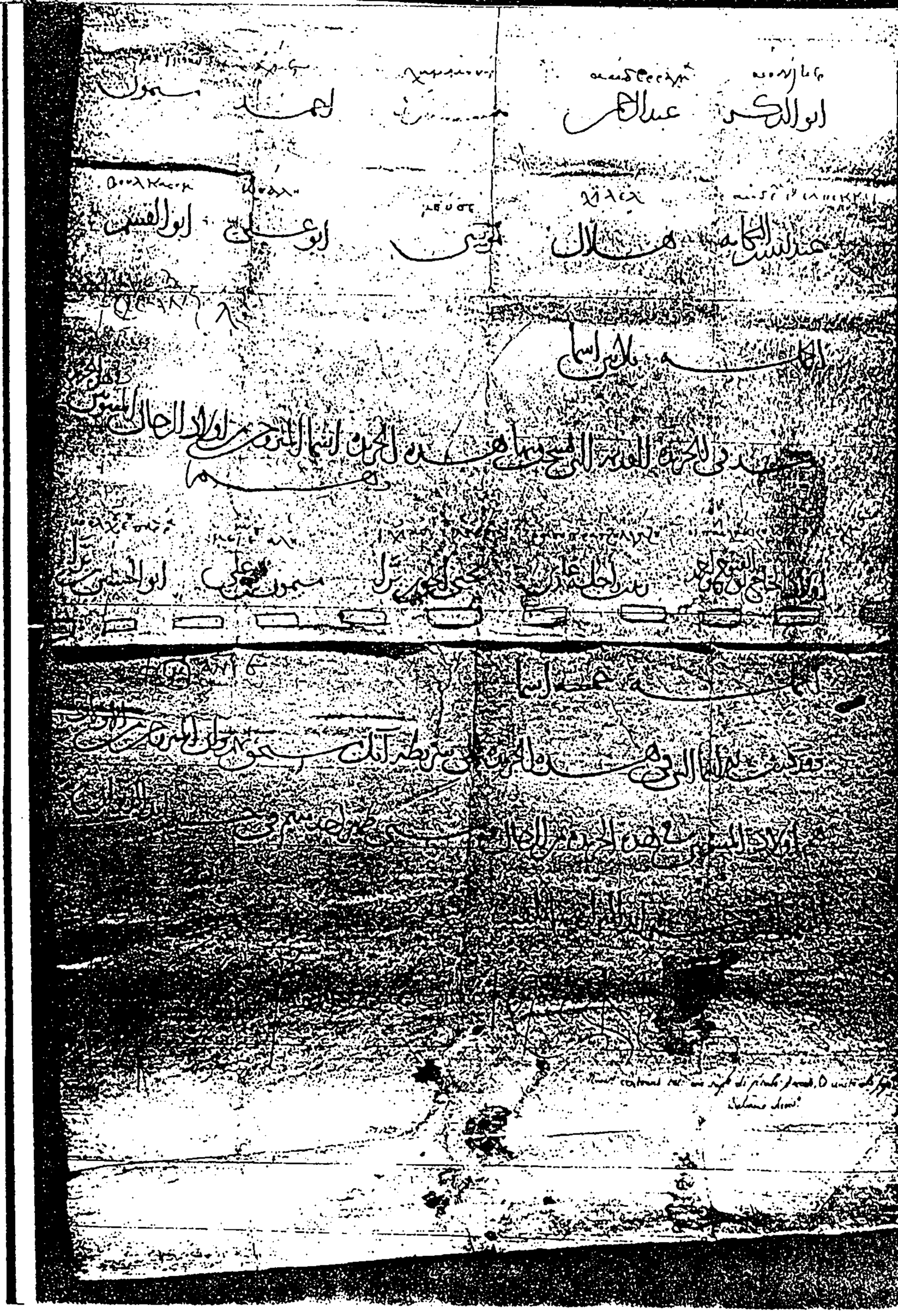

... ور | لميمه ميمون | عمر بن هاسم | عمار بن هاسم | مهلهل العرب
... الظاهري | عبد الرحمن المعتزي | يوسف بن الفارو | حلفه بن عمر | جابر بن عبيد
... الخرسبلي | محمد بن حبيب | علي بن ابو العسول | ابو القاسم القرعه | علي
محمد بن التاجر | جعفر العربي | علي البرقي | عبد الرحمن المودب | محمد بن عمر الحلول
ابو الحسن بن عبد المطلب | عمار البارو | محمد الجباصلي | ... السبوطي | محمد بن ابرهيم
يحيى بن ميمم | ابو بكر العلي | الباس | عمر بن محمد | عبد الرحمن النجا
ابو القاسم بن زيد | مخلوف بن العاصليه | عمار بن جابر | ابرهيم بن حسن | يوسف بن الحصره
... مخلوف | ابو القاسم بن مختبر | اسما الارامل | اخت ابون وابنها | ... واولادها
... واولادها | بنت الرجاج وابنها | الزوج كنه وابنها | بنت البرنسه وابنها | طاهره وابنها
بنت العواله وابنها | امنت زعدير واولادها | بنت النابت واولادها | بنت عيسو واولادها | حكمه واولادها
اختها وابنها | بنت بن ميمون وابنها | بنت غالب واولادها | ميمونه اختها واولادها | زوجة الدمان واولادها
... وابنها | بنت خلوا وابنها | ركنه وابنها | لباب واولادها | ابو محمد ...

Two manuscript errors from the Monreale 1183 register



The royal confirmation of villeins issued to 'Walter Forestal' in 1143





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