

DE SARACENICO IN LATINUM TRANSFERRI:
CAUSES AND EFFECTS OF TRANSLATION IN THE
FISCAL ADMINISTRATION OF NORMAN SICILY

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Introduction

In 1061, an initially small group of knights under the leadership of Robert Guiscard (d. 1085) and Roger de Hauteville (d. 1101) began the piecemeal conquest of the island of Sicily with support from both Christian and Muslim factions. By the 1090s, the conquest process was effectively complete and the new ‘Norman’ rulers of the island began to grant privileges to supporting landlords. Concessions of villeins were recorded in registers known in Arabic as *jarā'id al-rijāl* (singular *jarīda*, literally ‘registers of men’) and two early examples from the mid-1090s still survive today.¹ By the 1130s a transition was made towards the use of boundary definitions called *jarā'id al-ḥudūd* (‘registers of boundaries’) to accompany the villein registers. A key motive for this change was to facilitate the administration of a population displaced by war and rebellion. During large-scale administrative reforms of the 1140s, many registers of men were recalled, reviewed and re-issued as confirmations.² Broadly speaking, by 1145 the general administration of crown lands in Sicily and Calabria, including the collection of taxes and duties, was overseen by the *Dīwān al-Ma'mūr*. By 1149, the office of the *Dīwān al-Taḥqīq al-Ma'mūr* supervised royal grants of land and organised inquests for establishing the confines of land.³ Occasional references found in boundary registers to record books (in Arabic *dafātir*; singular, *daftar*) show that the fiscal administration had its own in-house ledgers from which they could check confirmations or compile new registers. At boundary inquests, the names of trusted Christians and Muslims (*shuyūkh*, *boni homines*, *kaloι anthropoi*) who had helped to define the boundaries and witness proceedings were sometimes noted in the text of the register itself. Whenever Christian and Muslims were mentioned together, it was the Christians who were always named first.⁴ Such a preferential protocol, recorded in the fiscal administration’s own

registers, implicitly confirms the prestigious social standing this religious minority held, while presumably introducing a variation in practice from the Islamic period.

A characteristic of the fiscal administration under King Roger II (r.1130–1154) was the use of registers written in Arabic and Greek. When a translation of a register was required, many clerical terms, proper names, minor toponyms and geographical features came to be transliterated from one language to another.⁵ This practice contributed to a confluence of administrative styles and fostered the development of interchangeable terms, some of which are also attested in later Sicilian dialects.⁶

Of all the Sicilian registers, undoubtedly the most significant were those that recorded the enormous donation of lands and men to the church of Santa Maria Nuova in Monreale, six kilometres to the south-west of Palermo. A royal privilege was issued to the newly founded church on the 15 August 1176 by King William II in which it was granted more than 1,200 km² of the Val di Mazara with all its estates and men in perpetuity. Since the mid-ninth century, this part of western Sicily had been the densest zone of Muslim settlement. Indeed, it had remained so during the Norman period until the forced deportations of Muslims to Lucera on the Italian mainland in the mid-thirteenth century following the rebellions that began on William's death in 1189. In all, three registers were issued to Monreale between 1178 and 1183. Two were written in Arabic and Greek and recorded the names of the villeins who lived and worked on the donated estates. The third, issued on the 15 May 1182, was a register of boundaries written in Arabic and Latin.⁷ This comprised of 50 definitions including the *magnae divisae* of Jāṭū and Qurulūn with their internal estates and the boundaries of Baṭṭallārū and Qal'at al-Ṭrāzī.⁸

These registers are immensely important for a number of major subject areas as well as for several derivative specialist fields. Administratively, they offer explicit evidence for the organisation and management of royal lands and how the Normans came to impose 'feudal' rule over a largely Arabic-speaking Muslim population. The registers of men contain the full names of several thousand villeins and are essential for reconstructing the social history of the area on the eve of the Muslim revolt after more than a century of Christian rule. On the other hand, the Monreale register of boundaries is our most comprehensive extant source for peeling away the complex layers of

toponymy and micro-toponymy of western Sicily.⁹ In addition, careful examination of the registers' languages allows a precious insight into the dialects of medieval Sicilian Arabic and Greek, as well as the development of modern, Romance-based Sicilian dialects.¹⁰ In this latter respect, the 1182 *jarīdat al-ḥudūd* holds a special place in the evolution of the Norman Sicilian fiscal administration as it was Latin, not Greek, which accompanied the original Arabic text for the first time.

The register itself consists of seven sheets of stitched parchment, 5 metres 20 centimetres in length and between 60–70 centimetres in width, that contained 375 lines of Latin and Arabic texts of the same set of boundaries. The Latin precedes the Arabic even though the former was translated from the latter. In fact, it was standard practice for Arabic to appear at the bottom of royal bilingual or trilingual texts and inscriptions in which Latin and/or Greek had also been used. This order of languages conspicuously undervalued the importance of Arabic within the fiscal administration. Indeed, even as the main spoken language on the island during the twelfth century, Arabic is unlikely to have commanded the same prestige status as the Romance dialects of the new ruling elite and Latin Church.

The extent of Gallo-Romance influence in the translation

In spite of the obvious importance for both linguists and historians, little research has been conducted into understanding the relationships between the Latin and the Arabic. For example, the Arabic appears to be a seamless piece of text. However, some of the boundaries can be traced to older versions from which they were copied and so are unlikely to have been the work of the same scribe.¹¹ Furthermore, an examination of distinctive stylistic traits between different sections of the text has revealed the involvement of several hands.¹² These findings, combined with cross-references within the text, suggest that many of the boundaries had been defined in Arabic before the death of King Roger II in 1154.

As early as the days of the pioneering Sicilian Arabist Michele Amari, certain 'French' influences have been identified in both the calligraphy and the Latin translation of the Monreale register.¹³ Of particular note is the striking use of two Latin terms of specifically Gallo-Romance, as opposed to Italo-Romance, origin. These are *altera* < *hautiere*¹⁴ and *terterum* < *tertre*.¹⁵ To this, Girolamo Caracausi has

added a third, *dirroitum* < *dirruójitu*.¹⁶ It is a relatively simple task to establish the frequency distribution of these terms within the text and the results are given below. It should be noted that the distribution of these words depends to some extent on the description of the terrain over which the boundary ran. The Arabic equivalents of the words in question, the boundaries in which they are attested and line references within the Latin text are as follows:¹⁷

***hautiere* > *altera* = ‘hill’**

Iato (<i>magna divisa</i>):	7
Iato (internal estates):	30, 45, 93, 101, 111, 125
Corleone and estates:	–
Battallaro/Qal ^c at al-Ṭrāzī:	177, 178, 181, 183, 184, 191, 194, 195, 205, 209
Arabic:	<i>kudya</i> (‘hill’), <i>ḥārik</i> (‘hill’), <i>sharaf</i> (‘peak’), <i>rubwa</i> (‘hill’), <i>s.d.r</i> (?)
Latin synonyms:	<i>crista</i> , <i>serra</i> .

***tertre* > *terterum* = ‘hill’**

Iato (<i>magna divisa</i>):	–
Iato (internal estates):	34, 39, 41, 64, 68, 70, 71, 72, 75, 86, 88, 99, 100
Corleone and estates:	146, 155
Battallaro/Qal ^c at al-Ṭrāzī:	185
Arabic equivalent:	<i>ḥārik</i> , (‘hill’)
Latin synonyms:	<i>altera</i> , <i>mons</i> .

***dirruójitu* > *dirroitum*, *dirreytum*, *dirroiti*, *diroiti* = ‘soft ground’**

Iato (<i>magna divisa</i>):	–
Iato (internal estates):	80
Corleone and estates:	157
Battallaro/Qal ^c at al-Ṭrāzī:	182, 209
Arabic equivalents:	<i>al-sawwākha</i> and <i>al-sawwākh</i> (‘soft ground’) and <i>zalāzil</i> (literally, ‘earthquake’ or here perhaps ‘disrupted ground’ in the sense of <i>terra mota</i>). ¹⁸

It can be seen from the above data that these three distinctive Gallo-Romance terms occur throughout the Latin text such that every main boundary section contains at least one example out of the three.¹⁹ We might infer from this that whoever composed the Latin was a speaker of a Gallo-Romance dialect. What is far less clear is whether the Latin

translation was the product of a more than one scribe.

Who translated the Arabic?

There are a conspicuous number of variations within the Latin, both in its use of synonyms and in its treatment of the Arabic. However, the inconsistent handling of the same word yields inconclusive evidence for the authorship question, as it is clear that variations could occur even within the same sentence that must presumably have been the work of the same scribe. The following illustrate a typical selection of examples and line references to the manuscript are given for the Arabic and Latin respectively:

Hijār al-Shubāṭ (Raḥl Bū F.rīra) > *lapides sabat* (243/35); > *petra sabat* (245/40).

al-S.kāk (various boundaries) > *sekeki*; *sykeki*; *sykeke*; *sikkeki* (291-294/104-108).

‘Ayn al-Khurūq (al-Randa) > *fons uruc* (312/134); > *fons pannorum* (313/135).

Hārik al-Ballūt (Corleone: *magna divisa*) > *mons ballot* (327/156); > *terterum ballot* (327/155).

Bīr Ibn ‘Atīq (Qal‘at al-Ṭrāzī) > *puteus Beneatik* (365/203); > *puteus filii eatik* (365/203).

In addition, the alternatives of *vocatur* and *dicitur* are deployed in an intriguing way, for while *dicitur* is used predominantly in the first half of the text, *vocatur* appears mainly in the second half.²⁰ Also of note is the use of the synonyms *altera*, *crista* and *serra*, that might initially suggest a level of inconsistency over and above the variations made by a single scribe. The distribution of these terms show that all three occur throughout the boundaries of Iato and Corleone, but that *crista* is not attested at all in the definitions of Battallaro or Qal‘at al-Ṭrāzī (lines 175–213) and *altera* does not occur at all in Corleone.²¹ A similarly selective distribution can be seen with the use of *australis* and *meridies* both meaning ‘south’.²² But while this distribution of synonyms is both erratic and curious, such textual variations are insufficient to establish multiple authorship. Indeed, unless a way can be found of distinguishing between the vagaries of an inconsistent mind and the genuinely different wording of another scribe, then the argument from variation does not amount to much. Instead, we might observe a style characterised by a strong tendency towards variation and inconsistency.

Moreover, a fair argument can be made in favour of the notion that the Latin wording was actually the work of a single scribe. Of particular note is the Arabic of lines 374–5 which describes how William II's royal order was issued to the following effect:

‘that the aforesaid boundaries be written (*tuktib*) in Latin by the hand of the Latin scribe Alexander (*Al.ṣ.nd.r*) and in Arabic by the scribe Yūsuf at the *Dīwān al-Taḥqīq al-Ma‘mūr*. Then, that which had been issued with the high order (may God increase it in elevation and efficacy!) was obeyed and [the boundaries] were described (*shuriḥat*) in Latin from the Arabic by the hand of the aforesaid scribe Alexander and in Arabic by the hand of the aforesaid scribe Yūsuf from the registers (*dafātir*) of the *Dīwān al-Taḥqīq al-Ma‘mūr*.’

This clerical procedure was also echoed in the rubric of the Latin.²³ The naming of specific scribes in such a bilingual boundary register is quite unusual, and one of them, the *notarius* Alexander, was well known. From November 1174 to August 1189, he was the most prolific of William II's scribes being involved in the production of almost half of extant royal diplomas.²⁴ A period in which he was apparently unproductive was between June 1180 and May 1182 whereas in the following year, he produced a total of six charters.²⁵ It is tempting to associate such a break in production for the period immediately prior to the issuing of the Monreale register with the lengthy task of translating the Arabic and copying the Latin. Indeed, we might cautiously combine this observation with positive identification of Alexander's calligraphy and the regular choice from a specifically Gallo-Romance lexicon in the Latin translation to infer that the royal notary Alexander was both the Latin translator and copyist.

By contrast, we know that the Arabic had been composed at various times by different scribes and had been copied from the *Dīwān al-Taḥqīq al-Ma‘mūr*'s in-house records (*dafātir*) into the final register by the scribe called Yūsuf. We might also note that, given the obscurity of some of the Arabic vocabulary (see indexed items below), the translation work is unlikely to have been achieved without the aid of a native Arabic speaker. These conclusions allow us to proceed with greater certainty when considering the relationships between the two languages, and allow us to look for particular translation strategies which might account for why some Arabic toponyms were translated while others were transliterated.

My aim in this article is to examine the Arabic and Latin names of flora and fauna contained within the boundary register, but the intention is not to discuss them from a botanical or biological perspective. Nor is the aim to locate minor place names with accuracy on the ground or pursue items of micro-toponymy through later medieval documents and into the modern period. That task of detailed identification will be undertaken as part of the complete edition of all the Monreale registers now being prepared for publication.²⁶ Nor is it to find philological or phonological correspondences between the Arabic or Latin and Maltese or Andalusí and North African dialects, although relevant Sicilian forms are cited. Rather, the main aim here is to tease apart the Arabic-Latin names that refer to plants, animals and rivers and by doing so highlight some of the puzzling connections that hold between the two texts. Thus, while the article draws on information provided by language and toponymy, the conclusions reached essentially concern the operations of the late Norman Sicilian fiscal administration and their translation activities. However, in turn, these conclusions fundamentally affect the ways in which linguists and historians will approach the extraction and treatment of evidence from such fiscal registers that relate to the derivative fields of dialect studies and the toponymy of western Sicily.

A brief description of the environment of each place has been given to lend a sense of context and assist in understanding the type, size and importance of the entry cited. Indeed, it will become clear from this that some micro-toponyms were so remote as to have been known only to locals of the day. Boundaries in which each particular place was mentioned are given in brackets and line references to the manuscript are cited as Arabic/Latin.

Index of Arabic-Latin toponyms containing names of flora and fauna

ʿAfw, see *Ghār Bū ʿAfw*

ʿAyn al-ʿUllayqa²⁷ ‘The spring of the brambles’

The name is attested in three different boundaries, although all probably refer to the same spring. (Raḥl al-Būqāl) > *fons rubeti* (283 twice/94 twice) where the eastern boundary of Raḥl al-Būqāl was defined as being from the top of a hill to the west of the spring which joined to the water below it. (Corleone: *magna divisa*) > *fons Ullica* (325/152) where there was a ditch into which the water of ʿAyn al-

‘*Ullayqa* descended. The nearby hill was known as *Ḥaddādīn B.riyāqa* (‘The B.riyāqa blacksmiths’). Finally, (Baṭṭallārū) > *fons rubbet* (346/176) where the boundary descended right along the stream of the spring westwards until it came to the ditch descending from Bū Zakī (modern Bisacquino).

‘*Ayn al-Ashjār* ‘The spring of the trees’. (J.ṭīna) > *fons Elisiar* (311/132)

The western part of this boundary ran from *Wādī al-Falūw* to *Bū Ḥabba* and then to ‘*Ayn al-Ashjār*.

‘*Ayn al-Birdhawn*²⁸ ‘The spring of the nag or mule. (Corleone: *magna divisa*) > *fons caballi* (323/150)

Here the boundary passed along the *Dhrīyāna* road to the end of a stream descending from ‘*Ayn al-Birdhawn* before rising to the spring itself. From there, it extended to the mill of *Husayn bin al-Qar‘a*.

‘*Ayn al-Injāša* ‘The spring of the pear orchard’. (Corleone: *magna divisa*) > *fons pīrerii* (327/154)

The spring was located on the road from al-Madīna (Palermo) to B.riyāqa (Imbriaca). On the form of the noun *injāša*, see *al-injāša*.

‘*Ayn al-Karāfs*²⁹ ‘The spring of the celery’. (Ḥajar al-Zanāṭī) > *fons apii* (330/159)

An alternative name was also cited as ‘*Ayn al-Mintina* (‘Stagnant Spring’) > *fons fetidus* (330/159). Thus, the boundary ran *ad fontem apii qui etiam vocatur fons fetidus* (line 159). In a later Latin translation from 1258 based on the original Arabic version of 1154, the spring was transliterated as ‘*Aynes kerasie, qui vocatur fons fetidus*’. The long vowel in the given form *karāfs* appears to have been a Sicilian variant for the standard form *karāfs*.

‘*Ayn al-Mintina*, see ‘*Ayn al-Karāfs*

‘*Ayn al-Nusūr*³⁰ ‘The spring of the vultures’. (J.ṭīna) > *fons vulturum* (311/132)

Formed a part of the boundary from the top of a mountain known as *al-Maršūš*³¹ to ‘*Ayn al-Nusūr* until it returned to the Palermo road. Cf. also *Kudyat al-Nusūr*.

‘*Ayn al-Samār*³² ‘The spring of the juncus reed.’ (Baṭṭallārū) > *fons simar* (358 twice/193 twice)

Cusa (pp239-240) reads *al-Shamār* ‘the fennel’ but the pointing is not marked as such in the manuscript. The stream of ‘*Ayn al-Samār* formed part of the rising boundary as it split from the Baṭṭallārū-Entella road. See also *al-samār* / *al-shamār*.

‘*Ayn al-Tuffāha*³³ ‘The spring of the apple’. (Baṭṭallārū) > *fons pomerii* (362/199)

The boundary passed the spring on the way down *Hārik al-Rīh* (‘hill of the wind’) to *Khandaq al-Tīn*.

*al-‘ullayq*³⁴ ‘the brambles’. (Baṭṭallārū) > *rubus* (358/193)

The brambles were located on ploughland near ‘*Ayn al-Samār*.

al-‘Ullayqa, see ‘*Ayn al-‘Ullayqa*

al-‘uqāb, see *ḥajar al-‘uqāb*

‘*Uqāba*, see *ribā‘ Ibn ‘Uqāba*

‘*uqdat al-khinzīr*³⁵ Literally, ‘knot of the pig’. (Fuṭāšina) > *densitudinem porcorum* (336/166)

This strange reference is unlikely to have been the name of a permanent feature of the landscape, although many pig or wild boar toponyms are attested, particularly in eastern Sicily.³⁶ Similarly, there are several local dialect forms derived from the Arabic and some professional names.³⁷

‘*Uyūn al-Rayḥān*³⁸ ‘The springs of the myrtle’. (Iato: *magna divisa*) > *fontes mortille* (231/18)

Springs that formed part of the *magna divisa* of Iato between *Khandaq al-Rūmī* (‘The ditch of the Greek/Christian’) and the small settlement(?) of *al-Anṣālīya*.

agiu, flumen esiar, see *Wādī Ashjār Jajjūw*

apii, fons, see ‘*Ayn al-Karāfs*

apium, petrae, see *ḥijār al-naḥl*

aquile, lapidus and *petra*, see *ḥajar al-‘uqāb*

al-arāk, see *ḥajar al-arāk*

arbores caprificus veteres, see *ashjār dhukkār qidam*

arbores ficulnee, arbores ficulneas, see *ashjār al-tīn*

arbores sabuci, see *ashjār sabbūq*

arbustorum, arbustis, see *sh.t.b* and *al-khulūf*

arietis, cauda, see *Dhanab al-Kabsh*

*ashjār*³⁹ ‘trees’. (Usbiṭāl Shantaghni) > *arbores* (341/174)

Three trees of an unknown type planted on an unnamed hillside. The singular *shajar* (Baṭṭallārū 360/196) is given first as *ficus* ‘fig’, then in the same line as *arbor* ‘tree’. See also *Bāb al-Dhukkāra*.

*ashjār dhukkār qidam*⁴⁰(?) ‘old wild fig trees’. (Usbiṭāl Shantaghni) > *arbores caprificus veteres*

The two references within the same boundary possibly refer to the same group of trees. If not, then one set (339/171) were found on the

crest of *Ḥijār Yāq.nu* ('Yāq.nū's rocks'). Opposite these rocks where the figs were and to the east of them was a *marḥala* ('cow-shed') called *marqad al-zīyāt*. The other group (342/174) was located at a *marḥala* called *Ḥijār Ya^cqūb* ('Jacob's rocks').

ashjār jajjūw 'juncus reed trees(?)' (Manzil K.r.sh.nī) > *lapides (sic) Iulu* (299/115)

The Arabic *jajjūw* probably comes from the Latin *juncus* (and/or the Greek γιοῦγκος) meaning a 'reed' or 'rush' of the same name, hence the Sicilian *iuncio*, *iungetto*.⁴¹ Cf. also ***Wādī Ashjār Jajjūw*** (modern Vallone di Pernice) which almost certainly derived its name from these trees. They were sited on the eastern boundary that ran from the head of the river descending from the trees to a bridge (*qanṭara*). The similar outline and/or sound of the Arabic for 'trees' (*ashjār* اشجار) and 'stones' (*ahjār* احجار) probably accounts for the mis-translation in the Latin.

ashjār al-tīn⁴² 'the fig trees'. (Baṭṭallārū) > *arbores ficulnee, arbores ficulneas* (350-351/184)

A pass (*bāb*) is recorded as being between the two cliffs (*jurfayn*) on one of which the trees were located.

ashjār sabbūq⁴³ 'elder trees'. (al-Duqqī) > *arbores sabuci* (237/28)

The boundary passed eastwards along the al-Duqqī to al-Madīna (Palermo) road to some ruins where the elder trees were.

al-Ashjār, see ***°Ayn al-Ashjār***

B.ln.bū, see ***Khandaq B.ln.bū***

Bāb⁴⁴ Dardār °Amrūn 'The pass of °Amrūn's ash tree'. (Corleone: *magna divisa*) > *porta dardar Ambrun* (320/145)

Part of the boundary leading from the plain of the ash trees (***fahṣ al-dardār***) and the settlement of Raḥl °Abdalla. See also ***al-dardār***.

Bāb al-Dhukkāra 'The pass of the wild fig tree'. (Baṭṭallārū) > *porta caprificus* (360/195).

Spanning the road through the pass where there was both a fig tree (*shajar* > *ficus*) and a wild fig tree (*dhukkāra* > *caprificus*). The wild fig tree to the left of the road was within the boundary of Baṭṭallārū whereas the fig tree on the right was said to be in the boundary of Qal°at Mawrū. See also ***al-dhukkāra***.

backie, spelunca, see ***Ghār Baqqa***

ballot & ballota, terterum and mons, see ***Ḥārik al-Ballūṭ***

al-Ballūṭ & al-Ballūṭa, see ***Ḥārik al-Ballūṭ***

al-baqar⁴⁵ see also ***marāḥil al-baqar*** and ***Dār al-Baqar al-Qadīma***

*dār al-baqar al-qadīma*⁴⁶ ‘The old cattle shed’. (Ḥadd al-rab^c bi-yad Ruḥbān Kanīsyat al-Hurhur) > *mandra vaccarum veteris* (316/141)

The points of reference in the text are unclear. The Arabic of lines 316-317 states, ‘the flow of water descends right down the stream to *Dār al-Baqar al-Qadīma* known as *Wādī al-Falūw*.⁴⁷ However, it is curious that *Wādī al-Falūw* (modern Vallone Desisa) should have also have the name of an old cow-house. An Arabic register of the same boundary also exists from 1149 and the wording for both versions, including this odd phrase, is virtually the same.⁴⁸

Baqqa, see *Ghār Baqqa*

barcoc, flumen, see *Wādī Barqūq*

benhuKcabe, terra, see *ribā^c Ibn ^cUqāba*

al-Birdhawn, see *^cAyn al-Birdhawn*

buhafu, spelunca, see *Ghār Bū ^cAfw*

caballi, fons, see *^cAyn al-Birdhawn*

caccabei, see *al-q.q.bāw*

campum frascineti and campum fraxineti, see *fahṣ al-dardār*

cannabi, vadum, see *majāz al-Qunnab*

cannarum, vallones, see *Khandaq al-Qaşab*

cannes, divisio, see *ḥadd Qannash*

caprarum, mons, see *Raḥl al-Ma^caz*

capres, flumen, see *Wādī Q.b.r.sh*

caprificus veteres, arbores, see *ashjār dhukkār qidam*

caprificus, portam, see *Bāb al-Dhukkāra* and *al-dhukkāra*

caput fossati vinee, see *ra^s sīyāj al-jinān*

caput vinee, see *raqaba al-jinān*

cauda arietis, see *Dhanab al-Kabsh*

chapkalini, see *al-Kh.b.lqīn*

ciperi, lacus, see *Ghadīr al-Su^cdī*

cultura narcissa, see *ḥiṣṣat al-N.rjīsa*

cutunie, monticulus, see *al-Quṭnīya*

*Dhanab al-Kabsh*⁴⁹ ‘ram’s tail’. (Raḥl Ibn B.r.ka) > *cauda arietis* (274/81). (Laq.mūqa) > *cauda arietis* (275/83)

Mentioned twice in definitions of the above estates which shared a contiguous boundary. Both boundaries ran from the river *Wādī Bū Khabīth* to *Khandaq al-Ḥ.nāwīya* and along a ridge beneath which was *Dhanab al-Kabsh*. From there the boundaries passed some yellow ground (*al-arḍ al-ṣafrā*), woodland belonging to Ibn Dukn (*al-sha^crā*

m.tā^c *Ibn Dukn*) and to the top of *al-Q.lī*^c*a*. In neither case is it clear to what *Dhanab al-Kabsh* refers although the Latin twice states in addition to the Arabic that it was the name of a ‘place’ (*locum*) i.e. as opposed to a settlement. See also *Hijār Dūr al-Akbāsh*.

dhukkār, see *ashjār dhukkār qidam*(?)

*al-dhukkāra*⁵⁰ ‘wild fig tree.’ (Baṭṭallārū) > *caprificus* (360/196)

Located in the eponymous pass, see *Bāb al-Dhukkāra*.

*al-dardār*⁵¹ ‘ash trees’ (Baṭṭallārū) > *frasceta* (346/176).

Located in a low or flat field (*al-walaja al-marj*). See also *faḥṣ al-dardār* and *Bāb Dardār* ^c*Amrūn*.

Dardār ^c*Amrūn*, see *Bāb Dardār* ^c*Amrūn*

darjat Mārtū, see *Mārtū*

densitudinem porcorum, see ^c*uqdat al-khinzīr*

al-Dīs, see *Ruqqat al-Dīs*

divisis cannes, see *ḥadd Qannash*

Eddis, *rocca*, see *Ruqqat al-Dīs*

edere, *petra*, see *ḥajar al-arāk*

Elislar, *fons*, see ^c*Ayn al-Ashjār*

esiar agiu, *flumen*, see *Wādī Ashjār Jajjūw*

faḥṣ al-dardār ‘The plain of the ash tree’. (Corleone: *magna divisa*) > *campum frascineti* (320/145)

Where the boundary passed southwards from *Kudyat al-Sallāba* (‘hill of the robbers’) to ^c*Uyūn* ^c*Ayyāsh* (‘breadmakers’ springs), to *faḥṣ al-dardār* to the estate of Raḥl ^c*Abdalla* and finally *Bāb Dardār* ^c*Amrūn*. In the Baṭṭallārū definition > *campum fraxineti* (363/200), where the boundary descended to a stream linking three streams of water and descended from there to a meadow (*al-marj*) and to *faḥṣ al-dardār*. It is possible that the two refer to the same field.

al-Falūw, see *Wādī al-Falūw*

al-Farrūj, *Raḥl*, see *Raḥl al-Farrūj*

favaria canneti, see *Fawwārat al-Qaṣaba*

*Fawwārat al-Qaṣaba*⁵² ‘The spring of the canes’. (Jāliṣu) > *favaria canneti* (333/164)

From here the boundary passed to *Ghār Bū* ^c*Afw*. The term ‘favaria’ has survived in Sicilian dialects with the same meaning.⁵³

*Fawwārat al-Ṭabrī*⁵⁴ ‘The spring of the tuberose(?)’ (Iato: *magna divisa*) > *favara tabri* (224/8)

There is a faint chance that the form *ṭabrī* derives from the Latin *taurus* meaning ‘bull’.⁵⁵ The unrelated form *ṭabar* means ‘hatchet, axe

or battle-axe' reveals a third possibility.⁵⁶

felu, flumen, see **Wādī al-Falūw**

ficulnea, see **shajar al-tīn**

ficulneas, arbores, see **ashjār al-tīn**

ficus, see **shajar**

ficus, vallones, see **Khandaq al-Tīn**

flumen barcoc, see **Wādī Barqūq**

flumen capres, see **Wādī Q.b.r.sh**

flumen esiar agiu, see **Wādī Ashjār Jajjūw**

flumen felu, see **Wādī al-Falūw**

fons apii, see **°Ayn al-Karāfs**

fons caballi, see **°Ayn al-Birdhawn**

fons Elisiar, see **°Ayn al-Ashjār**

fons pিরerii, see **°Ayn al-Injāša**

fons pomerii, see **°Ayn al-Tuffāha**

fons rubbet, see **°Ayn al-°Ullayqa**

fons rubeti, see **°Ayn al-°Ullayqa**

fons simar, see **°Ayn al-Samār**

fons Ullica, see **°Ayn al-°Ullayqa**

fons vulturum, see **°Ayn al-Nusūr**

fontes mortille, see **°Uyūn al-Rayhān**

frasceta, see **al-dardār**

frascineti campum and *fraxineti campum*, see **fahṣ al-dardār**

Ghār Baqqa⁵⁷ 'Cave of the elm tree' (Corleone: *magna divisa*) > *spelunca backie* (322/148)

Located on **Kudyat al-Lubūb** ('Hill of the Kernels').

Ghār Bū °Afw⁵⁸ 'The cave of the owner of the young donkey'. (Jāliṣu) > *spelunca buhafu* (333/164)

The boundary ran to the cave from **Fawwāra al-Qaṣaba** after which it went out to the road leading to the village of Rāya.

Ghār Bū Jarād⁵⁹ 'The cave abounding in locusts'. (Corleone: *magna divisa*) > *Garbuierat* (325/153)

The cave is difficult to place due to the vagueness of the surrounding boundary description, but we are told that it was below a large rock.

Jabal al-Ma°az⁶⁰ 'The mountain of the goats'. (Iato: *magna divisa*) > *mons caprarum* (233/21)

The *magna divisa* of Iato begins from the estate of **Raḥl al-Ma°az** (222/5) and ends at the mountain **Jabal al-Ma°az**, both of which are given in the Latin as *mons caprarum*. The modern toponym of Monte

Gibilmesi clearly derives from the Arabic, not the Latin.

Ghadīr al-Su‘dī⁶¹ ‘Lake of the sedge or bulrushes.’ Both (Raḥl Bū F.rīra) > *lacus ciperi* (244/38) and (Raḥl al-Māya) > *lacus ciperi* (246/40) shared part of the same boundary from *Ghadīr al-Su‘dī* to the top of the hill, then to ***Kudyat al-Nusūr*** after which it descended to ***Khuṭūṭ Raqlī***.

jajjūw, see ***ashjār jajjūw***. See also ***Wādī Ashjār Jajjūw***

Jarād, see ***Ghār Bū Jarād***

al-Jidyān, see ***marj al-Jidyān***

al-jinān⁶² ‘orchard, vineyard’ > *vinea* (329 twice/158-159, 333/163, 366/205). The term *al-jinān* presents some difficulties as it usually refers to a garden. However, in the Monreale register it is always translated as ‘vinea’ or a vineyard. De Simone notes that distinctions made by al-Idrīsī between *karm*, *bustān* and *jinān* may have been ambiguous and that the Latin *vinea* was also used as a synonym of *hortus*.⁶³ Hence she tentatively suggests an area with a mixed type of cultivation that perhaps included vines, hence the general translation here of ‘orchard’. The derived professional name *al-jannān* or *al-jannānī* (‘the fruit-gardener?’) was commonly attested, especially among twelfth-century Sicilian villeins and appears to contrast with the more specific term *al-karrām* or *al-karrāmī* (‘the vine-grower’).⁶⁴ Elsewhere, the definition of the estate of Ḥajar Zanātī included an ‘aforesaid orchard’ when no orchard had been mentioned in either that boundary or the previous boundary of the *magna divisa* of Corleone. This may have been due to a copying error, as the term also appears later in the same line. Alternatively, the boundary of Ḥajar Zanātī may have been preceded by another definition in the *dīwān*’s *daftars*. If this was the case, we might note the similarity in content of part of the Qal‘at al-Ṭrāzī boundary which, like Ḥajar Zanātī, included a mill (*maṭḥana*), some marshy ground (*sawwākh*) and an orchard all in the same vicinity (cf. lines 329 and 369).

Two unnamed ‘orchards’ are also cited in the text: *ra’s sīyāj al-jinān* (Qal‘at al-Ṭrāzī) > *caput fossati vinee* (366/205) and *raqabat al-jinān* (Ḥajar al-Zanātī) > *caput vinee* (329/158).

jinān ‘Arab ‘Arabs’ orchard’. (al-Aqbāt) > *vinea arab* (315/139).

The orchard formed the terminus of the southern boundary.

jinān bin Ḥammūd ‘The orchard of Ibn Ḥammūd’. (Raḥl Bū F.rīra) > *vinea benhamut* (244/37)

The orchard was probably named after the river of Wādī bin

Ḥammūd near to which it was located.

jinān bin Kināna ‘The orchard of Ibn Kināna’. (Raḥl Bū F.rīra/Raḥl al-Māya) > *no equivalent* (245/40)

The Arabic of line 245 states, ‘The boundary [of Raḥl Bū F.rīra] is closed, but within it is Raḥl al-Māya, which is the orchard of Ibn Kināna’. This information is omitted in the Latin.

jinān al-kātib Lāw ‘The orchard of Leo the scribe’. (Jāliṣu) > *vinea notarii Leonis* (333/164)

The start of the eastern boundary of Jāliṣu ran from *Ra’s Arnū*, went out to an unnamed orchard and turned back at Jāliṣu northwards along the foot of Qal°at Jāliṣu above the orchard of the scribe Lāw. As the Latin suggests, the name Lāw is probably the Arabicised form of the name ‘Leo’.

jinān Qal°at °Alī ‘The orchard of Qal°at °Alī’. (Qal°at al-Ṭrāzī) > *vinea kalatahali* (369/209)

The boundary descended to a stream, rose along the stream to a point below the orchard of Qal°at °Alī where there was a road.⁶⁵

al-Ghurāb, see **nāṭūr al-Ghurāb**

Garbuierat, see **Ghār Bū Jarād**

Gindar, vallo, see **al-Khandaq al-K.ndūr**

al-Ḥ.nāwīya, see **Khandaq al-Ḥ.nāwīya**

Bū Ḥabba⁶⁶ ‘plentiful grain or seed’, literally ‘father of grain’. (J.ṭīna) > *buchaben* (311/131). It is not clear to what this refers. We know only that it lay between **Wādī al-Falūw** and **°Ayn al-Ashjūr**.

Ḥārik Bīr al-Ḥināsh ‘The hill of the well of the snakes’. (Q.rub.n.sh) > *terterum putei serpentum* (261/64)

Here the boundary rose along the ditch to the hill of *Ibn Q.lāla*, descended from the hill to the meadow of *Q.lāla*, crossed to the hill of *Bīr al-Ḥināsh*, turned westwards and descended to *Ghadīr Ḥalīma* (‘Ḥalīma lake’). See also **al-ḥināsh** and **Kūdyat al-Ḥināsh**.

Ḥārik al-Ballūṭ⁶⁷ ‘hill of the oak’. (Corleone: *magna divisa*) > *mons ballot* and *terterum ballot* (327 twice/155-156)

Close, or adjacent, to *Jabal Z.rāra* (Mount Z.rāra). Also see **Ḥārik al-Ballūṭa** below.

Ḥārik al-Ballūṭa ‘hill of the oak tree’. (Between Raḥl Marāwis and Bū Kināna) > *terterum ballota* (288/100)

As this boundary began at the foot *Jabal Z.rāra* (Mount Z.rāra) before reaching ‘the hill known as *al-Ballūta*’ it is likely that **Ḥārik al-Ballūṭ** and **Ḥārik al-Ballūṭa** were one and the same.

ḥadd Qannash ‘the boundary of Qannash’. (Baṭṭallārū) > *divisis cannes* (352/185)

Qannash was an internal, undefined and unidentified boundary within the *magna divisa* of Baṭṭallārū. The Arabic appears to have been derived from the Latin (*canna*) or Greek (κάννα) meaning ‘cane’. The Monreale register of villeins from 1183 cites four house-hold heads from this village.⁶⁸

ḥajar al-‘uqāb⁶⁹ ‘rock of the eagle’. (Q.rub.n.sh) > *petra aquile* (260/62) and > *lapidus aquile* (262/65)

The rock was an important boundary marker for the estate of Q.rub.n.sh with which the definition begins and ends. The Latin synonyms *petra* and *lapidus* appear as equivalents throughout the text.

ḥajar al-arāk⁷⁰ ‘rock of the ivy’. (al-Maghāghī) > *petra edere* (248/43)

The text gives little indication where this rock was located, other than that it appears to have been at, or near, the top of an unnamed mountain.

ḥijār al-naḥl⁷¹ ‘rocks of the bees’. (J.ṭīna) > *petrae apium* (310/131) and (al-Ghār) > *petrae apium* (312/132)

These rocks formed part of the eastern boundary of J.ṭīna between al-‘Ayn al-Kabīr and ‘Ayn al-Ḥaṣā and the contiguous part of western boundary of al-Ghār.

al-ḥināsh⁷² ‘the snake(s)’. See also **Ḥārik Bīr al-Ḥināsh** and **Kūdyat al-Ḥināsh**. *Al-ḥināsh* was also used as a rather unusual name (*kunya*) or nickname (*laqab*) and is attested among villeins around the Cefalù area. Thus, in the Cefalù register of villeins, dating from 1145, we find ‘*Abd al-Rahmān bin al-Ḥināsh* and ‘*Alī al-Ḥināsh*’.⁷³ In the Rollus Rubeus, a register that probably dates from the twelfth century and that also relates to the possessions of the church of Cefalù, we find the Latinised names *Abderrahmen Hanes*, *Ioseph ben Hanes* and *Hise cognatus Hanes*. The reading of *al-Ḥināsh* poses a problem in that it was usually transliterated as *hanes* or χάνες,⁷⁴ so it is possible that the Sicilian Arabic was written as *ḥināsh*, but pronounced with *tafkhīm* as *ḥanāsh*.

ḥiṣṣat al-nīlaj⁷⁵ ‘the allotment of indigo/Nīlaj’ > *cultura nilig* (252/50)

While *nīlaj* is the Arabic for ‘indigo’, it is also attested in Sicily as a personal name. In a Greek document of sale from 1173, one of the witnesses was Martinos, son of Nīleg, supporting the strong possibility

that, in this case, *Nīlaj* was the name of a person.⁷⁶

ḥiṣṣat al-n.rjisīya⁷⁷ ‘allotment of Narcissus(?)’. (Malbīt) > *cultura narcissia* (255/54)

Both ***ḥiṣṣat al-n.rjisīya*** and ***ḥiṣṣat al-nīlaj*** are similarly ambiguous in that it is not clear whether reference is being made to a plant or a person. This ambiguity also occurs in other comparable cases in the register, e.g. *ḥiṣṣat awlād al-Fatīla* > *culture filiorum phitile* (223/7); *ḥiṣṣat al-^cArābī* > *culture arabis* (261/64); *ḥiṣṣat Ibn al-Randī* > *culture filii Randi* (273/80). However, we also find *ḥiṣṣat al-F.w.y.rīya* (?) > *culture helcarcubie*⁷⁸ (251/48-49) and *ḥiṣṣat al-taballuj*⁷⁹ (Malbīt) > *culturam teblengi* (257/58).

hanneuye, vallones, see ***Khandaq al-Ḥ.nāwīya***

hcapkalinos, see ***al-Kh.b.lqīn***

hedorum, pratium, see ***marj al-Jidyān***

al-Ḥum.r, Raḥl, see ***Raḥl al-Ḥum.r***

humur, casali, see ***Raḥl al-Ḥum.r***

al-injāša⁸⁰ ‘pear orchard’. (Raḥl Ibn B.r.ka) > *pirerium* (273/80) and (Mārtū) > *pirerium* (289/101)⁸¹

The form of the noun *injāša* is a dialect variant for the standard Arabic *ijjāša*.⁸² See also ‘*Ayn al-Injāša*’.

Iulu, lapides, see ***ashjār jajjūw***

al-K.ndār, see ***al-Khandaq al-K.ndār***

al-Kabsh, Dhanab, see ***Dhanab al-Kabsh*** and ***Ḥijār Dūr al-Akbāsh***

al-Karāfs, see ‘*Ayn al-Karāfs*’

al-kh.b.l.qīn ‘riding animals’(?) (*al-Andulsīn*) > *chapakalini* (268/72) and > *hcapkalinos* (268/72)

The literal meaning of the Arabic is unclear and the Latin transliteration is of little help. However, the Arabic may be a loan transliteration from the Latin *cavalcata* via the colloquial Greek *καβαλλικάτα*, the latter of which is attested in Sicily in 1334.⁸³ Both the Arabic and Latin texts explain that *al-kh.b.l.qīn* were names of large rocks. They were probably situated on *Jabal al-Kurūshīn*.

Khandaq B.ln.bū ‘dove or pigeon ditch’ or ‘Palumbu’s ditch’(?) (Corleone: *magna divisa*) > *vallones palumbu* (322/147)

The Arabic appears to have been derived from the Latin. However, Palumbu and its variant forms are also well attested as surnames from the eleventh century to the modern period and it is likely in this case that Palumbu was a personal name.⁸⁴ The modern toponym of Monte

Colomba between Chiusa Sclafani and Prizzi perhaps suggests the locality of the ditch.

Khandaq al-Ḥ.nāwīya⁸⁵ ‘ditch of the henna-dyer(?)’ (Raḥl Laq.mūqa) > *vallones hanneuye* (276/85)

al-Khandaq al-K.ndār⁸⁶ ‘ditch of the frankincense seller’(?) (Usbiṭāl Shantaghni) > *vallo Gindar* (337/169)

The meaning of the unusual Latin form *Gindar* is unknown and it is to be presumed that it is a transliterated form of *K.ndār* with voicing of the /k/.

Khandaq al-Lubb ‘ditch of the seed or wolf’(?) (Iato: *magna divisa*) > *vallones lupi* (232/19)

The ditch was on the road leading from al-M.ljā to the fig trees (***al-shajar al-tīn***) which were below *Fawwāra Raqla* (‘Herakles Spring’).

Here the Arabic *lubb* ‘seed’ is at variance with the Latin *lupi* meaning ‘wolf’ although ‘Lupo’ was, and still is, commonly used as a Sicilian surname.⁸⁷ However, the Arabic does not include the final vowel of the Latin and it may have been the case that the translator had deliberately Latinised an Arabic placename. We might also note a κούδιε τοῦ λοῦπ < (Arabic)**kudyat al-lubb* from a boundary description in Greek from 1190 which appears to have been transliterated from the Arabic and which indirectly argues for the priority and authenticity of the Arabic over the Latin. A plural form, ***Kudyat al-Lubūb***, also appears at line 322 of the Monreale register which appears to have been Latinised as *monticulus luporum*. On the other hand, the plural form *lpup* meaning ‘wolves’ in Maltese levels the balance by suggesting that it could have been a Romance term that had been adopted into the local Arabic.

khandaq Mārtū, see *Mārtū*

Khandaq al-Qaşab⁸⁸ ‘ditch of the canes’. (Raḥl °Amrūn) > *vallones cannarum* (279/89); ***Khandaq al-Qaşab*** (Qal°at al-Ṭrāzī) > *vallones cannarum* (363/201) where the ditch indicated the start of the boundary of Qal°at al-Ṭrāzī to the west of a church close to *Wādī Qurulūn*; (Qal°at al-Ṭrāzī) > *vallones cannarum* (365/203) where it ran below a plain (*walaja*); (Qal°at al-Ṭrāzī) > *vallones cannarum* (372/213) where the ditch marked the closing of the boundary.

Khandaq al-Ṭarfū⁸⁹ ‘ditch of the tamarisks’. (Raḥl al-Ghalīz) > *vallones tamarici* (285/96)

The ditch was irrigated by a stream from the well of Ibn Yūsuf (*Bīr Ibn Yūsuf*).

Khandaq al-Tīn ‘ditch of the figs’. (Baṭṭallārū) > *vallones ficus* (362/199)

Here the boundary descended from the top of the *Ḥārik al-Rīḥ* (‘Hill of the Wind’) to ‘*Ayn al-Tuffāḥa*, from where it descended to a stream and then to *Khandaq al-Tīn*. The ditch appears to have joined to the road leading from Bisacquino (*Bū Zākī*) to *al-Rudaynī*. *Khandaq al-Tīn* is not to be confused with the well-known modern town and surname of Canicattī (< *Khandaq al-Tīn* ‘ditch of the mud’).⁸⁹ See also *al-tīn*.

al-khinzīr, see ‘*uqdat al-khinzīr*

al-khulūf⁹⁰ ‘wooded area’(?). (Baṭṭallārū) > *arbustorum, arbustis* (358-359/194)

There are doubts over the reading and meaning of *al-khulūf*. Cusa reads *al-ḥallūf*, a Maghribī term for a wild boar. However, the *khā*’ is clearly pointed in the manuscript. Besides which, *ḥallūf* this makes no sense in the context and does not semantically match the Latin translation, which clearly refers to trees.⁹¹ Elsewhere in the register, *arbustus* corresponds to both *al-khulūf* and *shāṭab*.

Khuṭūṭ (al-)Raqlī ‘Herakleos’ wild bull’(?) or ‘the tracks of Herakleos’(?). (Raḥl al-Māya and Raḥl Bū F.rīra) > *gressus herculis* (245-246/38 & 41)

The Latin *gressus* meaning ‘course’ would support the translation ‘tracks’ for the Arabic *khuṭūṭ*.⁹² However, Herakles’ seventh labour for Eurystheus, the King of Argos, was to bring him a mad bull that had been causing havoc on Crete.⁹³ *Khuṭūṭ al-Raqlī* lay between ***Kudyat al-Nusūr*** and the top of the plain of ‘*Abd al-Wāḥid*.

Kudyat al-Ḥināsh ‘hill of the snakes’. (Iato: *magna divisa*) > *monticellum serpentum* (226/11); (Corleone: *magna divisa*) > *monticulus serpentum* (328/157). Also given in the same boundary as ***Kūdyat (sic) al-Ḥināsh*** > *monticulus serpentum* (319/143)

The hill began and closed the *magna divisa* of Corleone and was also a boundary marker in the *magna divisa* of Iato. The ditch was also mentioned in as *χάνδακα ελχάνεζ* in a Greek register dated to 1122.⁹⁴ Cf. the modern toponym of Monte Guṣina due west of Godrano meaning snake.⁹⁵ See also *al-ḥināsh* and ***Ḥārik Bīr al-Ḥināsh***.

Kudyat al-Lubūb ‘hill of the seeds, kernels, or wolves’. (Corleone: *magna divisa*) > *monticulus luporum* (322/148)

For the debate over the forms *al-lubb* and *al-lubūb* see ***Khandaq al-Lubb***.

Kudyat al-Nusūr ‘hill of the vultures’. (Iato: *magna divisa*) > *monticellus vulturum* (226/11); (Raḥl Bū F.rīra) > *monticellus vulturum* (244/38); (Raḥl al-Māya) > *monticulus vulturum* (246/41); (Raḥl al-Ghalīz) > *monticulus vulturum* (285/97)

The hill was clearly important in the definitions of four separate boundaries, although little other information is given about it in the text. It appears to have joined **Kudyat al-Ḥināsh** (226) and been located between **Khuṣūṭ Raqlī** and **Ghadīr al-Su‘dī** (246). A stream also descended from its slopes (285).

lacus ciperi, see **Ghadīr al-Su‘dī**

lapides lulu, see **ashjār jajjūw**

lapidus aquile, see **ḥajar al-‘uqāb**

al-Lubb, see **Khandaq al-Lubb**

lupi, vallones, see **Khandaq al-Lubb**

al-Ma‘az, see **Jabal al-Ma‘az**

majāz al-Qunnab ‘The crossing of the hemp’. (al-Raḥl al-Jadīd) > *vadum cannabi* (277/86)

The boundary runs from **Khandaq al-Qatīl** (‘the ditch of the fallen one’) to a main road, to the **majāz al-Qunnab** to **Khandaq al-Dālīya** (‘the ditch of water-wheel’) and then to ‘Ayn ‘Abd al-Kāfi’ (‘the spring of ‘Abd al-Kāfi’). It is not clear from this description where the crossing is relative to the other points of reference or what it traverses.

mandra vaccarum veterem, see **Dār al-Baqar al-Qadīma**

mandra vaccarum, see **marāḥil al-baqar**

marāḥil al-baqar ‘The cow-sheds’. (al-Ghār) > *mandre vaccarum* (312/133)

Marḥala literally means ‘a stopping place’ but is consistently translated as *mandra* in the Latin, indicating an area where cattle are kept. The **marāḥil** in question were located on the top of an unnamed mountain perhaps close to **Ḥijār al-Naḥl** (‘hill of the bees’) which were also mentioned as forming part of the western boundary of al-Ghār.

marj al-jidyān⁹⁶ ‘the meadow of the goat kids’. (Malbīt) > *pratium hedorum* (255/55)

The meadow lay between **Ḥajar al-Barmīlī** (‘the barrel-maker’s rock’) and the **marḥala al-Ṣiqillī** (‘the Sicilian’s cow-shed’). **Marj** is well-attested as a loan word in Sicilian dialects.⁹⁷

Mārtū ‘myrtle’ (Iato-*magna divisa*) > *mertu* (232/20); (Mārtū) > *mertu* (288/100)

The mountain, river, road, ditch and estate of Mārtū near modern

Partinico have taken their names from the Greek μύρτος meaning ‘myrtle’. In the Monreale register these include, *khandaq Mārtū* > *vallones mertu* (289/101), *Wādī Mārtū* (289/102), *darja Mārtū* > *scala mertu* (289/101) and *tarīq Mārtū* > *via mertu* (311/132) which is cited in the boundary of J.ṭīna. The term itself is probably pre-Islamic and has been borrowed by the Arabic. A number of modern toponyms are attested based around the Italianised version of *Mirto*.⁹⁸

massat, terra, see **Rab^c al-Mishāṭ**

al-Mishāṭ, Rab^c, see **Rab^c al-Mishāṭ**

mons ballot, see **Ḥārik al-Ballūṭ**

mons caprarum, see **Jabal al-Ma^caz**

monticellus serpentum, see **Kudyat al-Ḥināsh**

monticellus vulturum, see **Kudyat al-Nusūr**

monticulus serpentum, see **Kūdyat al-Ḥināsh**

monticulus vulturum, see **Kudyat al-Nusūr**

mortille, fontes, see **‘Uyūn al-Rayḥān**

al-Muntina, ‘Ayn, see **‘Ayn al-Karāfs**

al-N.rjīsa, see **ḥiṣṣat al-N.rjīsa**

nāzūr al-ghurāb⁹⁹ ‘the crow’s nest/lookout’.¹⁰⁰ (Corleone: *magna divisa*) > *nadur elgurab* (327/155)

Located between *Ḥajar Ibn Liyāna* (‘the rock of Ibn Liyāna’) and **Ḥārik al-Ballūṭ**.

It is unclear precisely what the phrase refers to. The Arabic *al-naṭūr* (*sic*) occurs in the boundary of al-Q.mīṭ (line 310), although there is nothing in the text to suppose that the two refer to the same object.

nadur elgurab, see **nāṭūr al-Ghurāb**

al-naḥl see **ḥijār al-naḥl**

narcissa, cultura, see **ḥiṣṣat al-N.rjīsīya**

nemus, see **al-sha^cra**

al-nīlaj, see **ḥiṣṣat al-nīlaj**

al-Nusūr, see **‘Ayn al-Nusūr** and **Kudyat al-Nusūr**

palumbu, vallones, see **Khandaq B.ln.bū**

petra aquile, see **ḥajar al-‘uqāb**

petra edere, see **ḥajar al-arāk**

petrae apium, see **ḥijār al-naḥl**

pirerii, fons, see **‘Ayn al-Injāša**

pirerium, see **al-injāša**

pomerii, fons, see **‘Ayn al-Tuffāḥa**

porcorum, densitudinem, see **‘uqdat al-khinzīr**

porta dardar Ambrun, see **Bāb Dardār °Amrūn**

portam caprificus, see **Bāb al-Dhukkāra**

pratium hedorum, see **marj al-Jidyān**

Q.b.r.sh, see **Wādī Q.b.r.sh**

al-q.q.bāw (Raḥl °Amrūn) > *caccabei* (279/88)

Possibly formed from the late Greek κάκκαβος referring to the name of a tree cf. ‘bagolaro, pianta’ and from where the toponym Caccamo derives.¹⁰¹

Qannash, see **ḥadd Qannash**

al-Qaşab, see **Khandaq al-Qaşab**

al-Qaşaba, see **fawwāra al-Qaşaba**

al-Qunnab, see **majāz al-Qunnab**

al-kudya al-ma°rūfa bi-l-Quṭniya¹⁰² ‘The hill known as ‘the pulses’/cotton’. (Raḥl al-Ghalīz) > *monticulus qui vocatur cutunie* (285/95)

The hill was accessible from the road leading to the town of Qal°at Fīmī. The boundary followed a stream that ran down from the hill to a threshing floor and then to **Khandaq al-Ṭarfā**.

Rab° al-Mishāṭ¹⁰³ ‘land of the combs/teasels(?)’ (Q.rub.n.sh) > *terra massat* (265/70) and (Raḥl al-Waṭā) > *terra massat* (267/72)

This plot of land was located near the River Q.rub.n.sh.

Raḥl al-Farrūj¹⁰⁴ ‘estate of the chick’. (Manzil Zumūr) > *Rahalfarrug* (298/114)

This village was located towards the top of the mountain overlooking the town of Q.rūb.n.sh.

Raḥl al-Ḥum.r ‘estate of the red (rocks)/donkeys(?)’ (Iato) > *Rahalumur* (229/15) & (Raḥl al-Ghalīz) > *casali humur* (286/98)

There is considerable difficulty in understanding the name of this estate. *Ḥumur* is one of several possible plural forms of *ḥimār* meaning a ‘donkey’.¹⁰⁵ On the other hand, *ḥumr* is also the plural form favoured by the scribe for the adjective ‘red’. Line 284 of the Arabic reads: *ibtidā l-ḥadd al-sharqī min-hu min ḥadd Ḥijār al-Rā°ī min al-ḥijār al-ḥumr...*¹⁰⁶ Clearly, *Hijār al-Rā°ī* (‘The rocks of the shepherd’) is an estate, but *al-ḥijār al-ḥumr* (‘the red rocks’) appear to be merely a physical description of a locality. However, in line 286, the Arabic reads: *aḥad-humā* [of two rivers] *al-nāzil min Raḥl al-Ḥum.r w-al-thānī al-nāzil min Aḥjār al-Rā°ī wa-yaṭlu° al-majrī al-majrī ilā al-ḥijār al-kibār al-ladhī bi-dabūr Raḥl al-Rā°ī ilā al-ḥijār al-ḥumr.*¹⁰⁷ Note the use of an *iḏāfa* for *Aḥjār al-Rā°ī* which was almost certainly

the same estate as *Hijār al-Rāʿī* cited as an estate in line 284, compared to the noun-adjective phrase for *al-hijār al-ḥumr*. Again, the phrase ‘the red rocks’ appears to be a description. *Aḥjār al-Rāʿī* does not appear to be the same estate as *Raḥl al-Rāʿī*, but the two were clearly close to one another and may have had an eponymous relationship. The estate of *Raḥl al-Ḥumr* was close to ‘the red rocks’ and to both *Aḥjār al-Rāʿī* (‘the rocks of the shepherd’) and *Raḥl al-Rāʿī* (‘the estate of the shepherd’). Based on the connections between *Aḥjār al-Rāʿī* (‘the rocks of the shepherd’) and *Raḥl al-Rāʿī* (‘the estate of the shepherd’), we might infer that the same, probably eponymous relationship, held between the estate of *Raḥl al-Ḥumr* and the red rocks nearby after which it took an abbreviated name.

Raḥl al-Maʿaz, see ***Jabal al-Maʿaz***

Raḥl al-T_awr¹⁰⁸ ‘estate of the bull’. (Corleone: *magna divisa*) > *Rahaltor* (320/144)

An estate in the boundary of Corleone through which the eponymous river *Wādī Raḥl al-Thawr* > *flumen rahaltauri* (320/144-145) ran.

Rahaltor, see ***Raḥl al-Thawr***

al-Rayḥān, see ***ʿUyūn al-Rayḥān***

ribāʿ Ibn ʿUqāba¹⁰⁹ ‘The lands of Ibn ʿUqāba (‘son of the eagle’)’. (Corleone: *magna divisa*) > *terra benhukcabe (sic)* (324/150)

We are told that the boundary crossed a plain, then went straight to a dry pass (*maḍīq*) which was in the lands of Ibn ʿUqāba.

rubbet, fons, see ***ʿAyn al-ʿUllayqa***

rubeti, fons, see ***ʿAyn al-ʿUllayqa***

rubus, see ***al-ʿullayq***

Ruqqat al-Dīs¹¹⁰ ‘Fortified village of the diss’ (al-Ghār) > *rocca Eddis* (311/133)

shaṭab¹¹¹ ‘wooded area(?)’. (Baṭṭallārū) > *arbustorum* (345/176)

This was located off the road from Corleone to Bū Zākī. The noun *shaṭab* presents some difficulties as none of the standard meanings corresponds to the Latin. The root of the verb *shaṭaba* means ‘to cut into slices or strips’ and similarly the noun *shaṭb* (‘a slash’ or ‘incision’). Alternatively, a noun of the same form *shaṭb* means ‘palm-branches’, but semantically this still lies some distance away from the Latin. *Arbustus* was also the Latin translation for equally problematic ***al-khulūf***.

al-shaʿīr, see ***walaja al-shaʿīr***

al-shaʿra ‘the woods’. > *silva* (262/65, 263/66, 268/74, 278/87)

It is not clear what type of wood these referred to. On two occasions, the rough size of the wood is mentioned. The boundary of Raḥl °Amrun, for example, could be sown with 150 *mudd* of which that for ploughing was 50 *mudd* within which the woods are said to have formed an insignificant part (278). However, the register states of the estate of al-Andulsīn that its woods were immeasurable¹¹².

sha°rā Ibn Dukn ‘the wood of Ibn Dukn’. (Raḥl Ibn B.r.ka) > *silve filii dikcen* (273/81).

The wood appears to have been located between two yellow pieces of ground and the unidentified *al-Q.lī°a* which may have been an undefined settlement. In the boundary of Raḥl Laq.mūqa we read that the woods explicitly belong to the unknown Ibn Dukn, rather than simply being the bearer of his name cf. *al-sha°rā m.tā°c Ibn Dukn* (> *silva bendicken* 275/83). The colloquial use of *m.tā°c* as an analytical genitive construction is rare but attested elsewhere in Sicily.¹¹³

al-sha°rā¹¹⁴ ‘woods’ (Corleone: *magna divisa*) > *nemus* (321/146)

al-sha°rīya¹¹⁵ (?) (Corleone: *magna divisa*) > *saaria* (321/147)

al-Şafşāf¹¹⁶ ‘the willow’. (Iato: *magna divisa*) > *mons safsaf* (233/20) and (Mārtū) > *salices* (289/101)

In the boundary of Iato, the text specifically states that *al-Şafşāf* was the name of a place on the mountain that overlooked the estate of Mārtū. The definition of Mārtū, however, is extremely vague, omitting even the mention of a mountain.

shajar see **ashjār**

al-shajar al-tīn ‘fig trees’. (Iato: *magna divisa*) > *ficulnea* (232/19)
cf. also

Those in the Iato boundary were in, or close to, **Khandaq al-Lubb** beneath *Fawwāra Raqla* (‘Herakles’ Spring’). cf. a lone fig-tree *shajra al-tīn* mentioned in the *magna divisa* of Corleone (326/153) > *ficulnea*, located at, or near, *Ḥajar Ibn °Ajīna* (‘Rock of Ibn °Ajīna’).

al-shawk¹¹⁷ ‘thorns’. (Raḥl al-Būqāl) > *spine* (282/93)

The boundary is given only as ‘to the hill (*rubwa*) where the thorns grow.’ In the context, *shawk* may refer to some type of brambles.

sābūq, see **ashjār sābūq**

saaria, see **al-sha°rīya**

sabuci, *arbores*, see **ashjār sābūq**

safsaf, see **al-Şafşāf**

salices, see **al-Şafşāf**

al-samār¹¹⁸ ‘juncus reeds’. (Qal° at al-Ṭrāzī) > *symar* (367/206)

The boundary descended along a plain to a field which had tamarisks as well as the reeds. Cf. also what appears to be an unusual plural form *al-s.mārāt* (Qal°at al-Ṭrāzī) > *simarat* (364/202) and *symarat* (364/202), which were located in a small ditch on the western side of *Burj al-Marāʿ* ('The Woman's Tower'). The form of *al-s.mārāt* is unknown to me but is probably related to *samār* and not *sumarāt* meaning gum trees (*acacia* or *mimosa gummifera*). See also °*Ayn al-Samār*.

scala mertu, see *Mārtū*

serpentum, monticellus, see *Kudyat al-Ḥināsh*

silva bendicken, see *al-sha°rā m.tā° Ibn Dukn*

silva, see *al-sha°rā*

silve filii dikcen, see *sha°rā Ibn Dukn*

simar, fons, see °*Ayn al-Samār*

spelunca backie, see *Ghār Baqqa*

spelunca buhafu, see *Ghār Bū °Afw*

spine, see *al-shawk*

al-Su°dī, see *Ghadīr al-Su°dī*

symar, see *al-samār*

tabri, favara, see *Fawwāra al-Ṭabrī*

al-Ṭabrī, Fawwāra see *Fawwāra al-Ṭabrī*

*al-ṭarfā*¹¹⁹ 'tamarisk trees'. (Baṭṭallārū) > *tamarisces* (355/190) and (Qal°at al-Ṭrāzī) > *tamariscus* (367/206)

The Baṭṭallārū tamarisks were located in the plain (*walaja*) next to the river *Wādī Rabī°*. The Qal°at al-Ṭrāzī tamarisks were located near a plain (*walaja*) and in a field (*marj*) with some juncus reeds (*al-samār*). Next to the field 'was the land (*al-rab°*) which used to belong to Salmūn the priest.' See also *Khandaq al-Ṭarfā*.

al-Thawr, see *Rahl al-Thawr*

Ṭūṭ, see *Wādī Ṭūṭ*

tamarici, vallones, see *Khandaq al-Ṭarfā*

tamariscus, see *al-ṭarfā*(°)

tariq Mārtū®, see *Mārtū*

terra benhuKcabe, see *ribā° Ibn °Uqāba*

terterum ballot, see *Ḥārik al-Ballūṭ*

terterum ballota, see *Ḥārik al-Ballūṭa*

terterum putei serpentum, see *Ḥārik Bīr al-Ḥināsh*

*al-tīn*¹²⁰ 'fig tree,' see also *ashjār al-tīn, Khandaq al-Tīn* and *shajar al-tīn*

al-Tuffāḥa, see *°Ayn al-Tuffāḥa*
ulizeseyr, see *walaja al-sha°ir*
°Uqāba, ribā° Ibn, see *ribā° Ibn °Uqāba*
Ullica, fons, see *°Ayn al-°Ullayqa*
vaccarum, mandra, see *marāḥil al-baqar*
vadum cannabi, see *majūz al-Qunnab*
vallo Gindar, see *al-Khandaq al-K.ndār*
vallones cannarum, see *Khandaq al-Qaşab*
vallones ficus, see *Khandaq al-Tīn*
vallones hanneuye, see *Khandaq al-Ḥ.nāwīya*
vallones lupi, see *Khandaq al-Lubb*
vallones mertu, see *Mārtū*
vallones palumbu, see *Khandaq B.In.bū*
vallones tamarici, see *Khandaq al-Ṭarfū*
via mertū, see *Mārtū*
vinea arab, see *jinān °Arab*
vinea benhamut, see *jinān bin Ḥammūd*
vinea kalatahali, see *jinān Qal°at °Alī*
vinea notarii Leonis, see *jinān al-kātib Lāw*
vinea, see *al-jinān*
vinee, caput fossati, see *ra°s sīyāj al-jinān*
vinee, caput, see *raqaba al-jinān*
vulturum, fons, see *°Ayn al-Nusūr*
vulturum, monticellus, see *Kudyat al-Nusūr*

Wādī Ashjār Jajjūw ‘river of the reed trees(?)’ (Raḥl Ibn Sahl) > *flumen esiar agiu* (305/122)

The northern boundary ran along a stream which descended to a bridge before joining *Wādī Ashjār Jajjūw*. Located at the site of the modern Vallone di Pernice. Cf. also *ashjār jajjūw* > *lapides (sic) Iulu* (299/115).

Wādī Barqūq¹²¹ ‘apricot river’. (Iato: *magna divisa*) > *flumen barcoc* (230/16-17) and (Raḥl °Amrūn) > *flumen barcoc* (279/89)

Cited as being where the boundary of Jāṭū separated from the boundary of Qal°at Fīmī and extended along *Wādī Barqūq* to the road leading from *Qal°at Fīmī*. The Latin scribe has transliterated the term as opposed to translating it. This was a standard treatment in this text for names of rivers (see discussion below.)

Wādī al-Falūw¹²² ‘foal river’. (Daṣīsa) > *flumen felu* (295/109) and > *flumen felu* (297/112), (J.ṭīna) > *flumen felu* (310/131) and

(Raḥl Ibn B.r.ka) > *flumen felu* (272/79)

Identified as the modern Vallone Desisa. The eastern boundary of Dasīsa began at the crossing of *Wādī al-Falūw* on the Mazara road while its southern boundary returned along the Mazara way until it joined the river again. The western part of the estate of J.ṭīna ran from *Wādī al-Falūw* to **Bū Ḥabba** and then to **‘Ayn al-Ashjār**. Finally, the boundary of Raḥl Ibn B.r.ka began from the meeting of *Wādī al-Falūw* and *Wādī al-Wazzān* at the edge of *Khandaq al-B.trā* where there were some storehouses (*makhāzin*).

Wādī Mārtū, see **Mārtū**

Wādī Q.b.r.sh ‘goats’ river(?). (Baṭṭallārū) > *flumen capres* (354/188)

The boundary passed along the road leading from *S.nūrī* (> *Senurium*) to the top of **‘Aqabat al-Ṭafl** (‘Potter’s Clay Mountain’) before descending along it to *Wādī Q.b.r.sh*. The form *Q.b.r.sh* does not precisely correspond to any Arabic term (although cf. *Qubrus* < Cyprus) and so may have been genuinely derived from the Latin *capres*, raising the possibility that the river had retained its name from the pre-Islamic period.

Wādī Raḥl al-T_awr, see **Raḥl al-T_awr**

Wādī Ṭūṭ¹²³ ‘river mulberry(?)’. (Baṭṭallārū) > *flumen thut* (352/185)

A tributary of the *Wādī Rabīc* itself a tributary of the modern Belice Sinistro.

walaja al-sha‘īr¹²⁴ ‘plain of the barley’. (Iato: *magna divisa*) > *ulizeseyr* (231/19)

The name of a crossing (*majāz*) near to *Khandaq al-Balāṭ* (‘ditch of the slabs’).

Names of rivers

For the contrast in the treatment in the Latin between toponyms containing names of flora or fauna and rivers, see the discussion below.

Wādī ‘Ayn Jamā‘a al-Kabīra (Q.rub.n.sh) > *flumen fontis gemaa magnum* (261/63)

Wādī Anṭalla (Qal‘at al-Ṭrāzī) > *flumen hentalla* (348/180) > *flumen Hantalla* (371/212)

Wādī al-Bārid (Iato: *magna divisa*) > *flumen frigidum* (229-230/15-16), > *flumen frigido* (279/89)

Wādī Barqūq (Iato: *magna divisa*) > *flumen barcoc* (230/16-17)

- and (Raḥl °Amrūn) > *flumen barcoc* (279/89)
Wādī bin Ḥammūd (Raḥl Bū F.rīra) > *flumen benhamut* (244/37)
Wādī Bū Khabīth (Iato: *magna divisa*) > *flumen buchabith* (231/19) and (Raḥl Ibn B.r.ka & Laq.mūqa) > *flumen buchabid* (274-276/82-84)
Wādī al-Darja (al-Ghār) > *flumen darge* (311/132-133)
Wādī al-Falūw (Raḥl Ibn B.r.ka) > *flumen felu* (272/79), (Dasīsa) > *flumen felu* (295/109), (Dasīsa) > *flumen felu* (297/112) and (J.ṭīna) > *flumen felu* (310/131)
Wādī al-J.wb.rīya (Manzil °Abdalla) > *flumen Iuberie* (302/117-118)
Wādī al-J.wbārīya (Raḥl B.jānū) > *flumen iuberie* (307/126)
Wādī al-Ḥijār (Iato: *magna divisa*) > *flumen hagem* (224/8)
Wādī Ḥajar al-Zanātī (Ḥajar al-Zanātī) > *flumen haiar zeneti* (331/161)
Wādī Ḥajjāj (Manzil Zarqūn) > *fluvius chagi* (269/75)
Wādī Ibn Muḥsin (Manzil °Abd al-Raḥmān) > *flumen benmuksen* (308/127), (Manzil °Abdalla) > *flumen belmuhusen* (300/117), (Ghār Sha°ṭb) > (303-304/), (Ghār Sha°ṭb) > *flumen benmuksen* (304/121) and (Jurf Bū Karīm) > *flumen benmuchsēn* (306/124)
Wādī Ibn Zurra (Iato: *magna divisa*) > *flumen benzurra* (227/12) and (Corleone: *magna divisa*) > *flumen benzurra* (319/143)
al-Wādī l-Kabīr (al-Q.mīt) > *flumen magnum* (308-309/130), (Corleone: *magna divisa*) > *magnum flumen* (321/146), (Baṭṭallārū) > *fluviūm magnum* (347/179) and (Qal°at al-Ṭrāzī) > *flumen magnum* (366/204).
Wādī Mārtū (Mārtū) > *fluvius mertu* (289/102)
Wādī Maghnūja (al-Q.mīt) > *flumen Magnuge* (308-309/128)
Wādī Malbīṭ (Ghār Sha°ṭb) > *flumen malviti* (303/120), (Jurf Bū Karīm) > *flumen malviti* (306/124)
Wādī Mu°min (Raḥl al-Jawz) > *flumen mumen* (313-314/136)
Wādī N.jfūr (Manzil Zarqūn) > *flumen nichifori* (269/75)
Wādī Q.b.r.sh (Baṭṭallārū) > *flumen capres* (354/188)
Wādī Q.rūb.n.sh (Q.rūb.nsh al-Suflā) > *flumen corubnis* (265/69-70), (al-Andulsīn) > *flumen corubnis* (267/72)
Wādī Qal°at Ṭrazī (Iato: *magna divisa*) > *flumen kalatrasi* (228/13), (Qal°at al-Ṭrāzī) > *flumen kalatarasi* (368/207)
Wādī al-Qaṣṣār (Iato: *magna divisa*) > *flumen fullonis* (233/21) and (al-Randa) > *flumen fullonis* (313/135)

Wādī Qurulūn (Baṭṭallārū) (348/180) (Qal°at al-Ṭrāzī) > *flumen corilionis* (364/201)

Wādī Rabī° (Baṭṭallārū) > *flumen rahabi* (352/185), > *flumen rahabi* (355/189-190) and > *flumen rahabi* (355/190)

Wādī Raḥl al-Thawr (Corleone: *magna divisa*) > *flumen rahaltauri* (320/144-145)

Wādī Raḥl al-Waṭā (Q.rūb.nsh al-Suflā) > *flumen rahaluta* (265/69)

Wādī Sh.nt.ghnī (Corleone) > *flumen sanctagani* (319/143)

Wādī Ashjār Jajjūw (Raḥl Ibn Sahl) > *flumen esiar agiu* (305/122)

Wādī Sabāya (Corleone: *magna divisa*) > *flumen Sabei* (319/144)

Wādī Salla (Corleone: *magna divisa*) > *flumen sulle* (327/155)

Wādī Ṭūṭ (Baṭṭallārū) > *flumen thut* (352/185)

Wādī al-Wazzān (Raḥl Ibn B.r.ka) > *flumen uzen* (272/79), (Ḥadd al-rab° bi-yad Ruḥbān K.nīsyā al-H.rh.r) > *flumen uzen* (317/141-142)

Observations arising from the indexed entries

The data above presents a series of conclusions regarding the use of flora and fauna in placenames and the languages in which they have been passed down to us. Evident from the number of index entries is that the use of plants and animal names was a common feature of western Sicilian Arabic toponymy. In the case of animal names, a marked preference was shown for plural forms. However, the names mentioned on the Monreale estates should not necessarily be taken as an accurate cross-section of the flora and fauna found there. For example, there is a conspicuous absence of references to grain production, olive trees and the citrus fruits. Boundary descriptions necessarily describe the peripheries of settlements and, in the case of western Sicily, these often ran along mountain ridges and riverbeds and not around the centres of settlement, which may account for the flora and fauna presented in the register. Also of note are how some names could equally well have referred to the shape of a place as to its residents, for example, *ḥajar al-°uqāb* ('rock of the eagle').

The estates contain a handful of Arabicised placenames derived from Latin or Greek that had probably survived from pre-Islamic times. These include *B.lunbu*, *jajjūw*, *al-kh.b.l.qīn*, (*Raḥl*) *al-Thawr*, *Qannash* and *Mārtū* and in the case of the latter, the related modern toponym has been re-Romanised to *Mirto*. Similarly attested are a few more modern Sicilian dialect forms derived from the Arabic: *dārdanu*

(< *dardār*), *duccara* (< *dhukkār*), *dudda* (< *tūt(?)*) and *bbarcocu* (< *barqūq*). Only in the latter case does the Latin transliteration provide the twelfth-century cognate of the modern Sicilian. Either the Sicilian dialect equivalents were not known to the scribe Alexander, as perhaps they were not yet in wider currency, or they did not yet exist or he had simply chosen not to use them. In some instances, it is difficult to know whether the attested Arabicised forms referred to older or contemporary people or places i.e. *Khandaq B.ln.bū* > *vallones palumbu*; *ḥiṣṣat al-nīlaj* > *cultura nilig*; *ḥiṣṣat al-n.rjisīya* > *cultura narcisia* and *Wādī Q.b.r.sh* > *flumen capres*. On the other hand, both *Khandaq al-Lubb* > *vallones lupi* and *Kudyat al-Lubūb* > *monticulus luporum* appear to have been over-enthusiastically Latinised.

De saracenicis in latinum transferri: *the mechanics of the translation process*

More significantly, the data yields a number of important conclusions regarding the translation/transliteration debate and the abstruse relationships between the Latin and the Arabic texts. First, we might recall the conclusions made earlier in the article concerning the question of authorship that, from the regular use of Gallo-Romance vocabulary and the calligraphic style, the translation was almost certainly the work of a single Latin translator. This was very likely the royal *notarius* Alexander whose involvement in the work is mentioned in the rubric of the register and who probably collaborated closely with his Arabic-speaking colleague(s) to produce the final translation. However, as the indexed items above show, the Latin renditions of the Arabic were subject to variations, such that some words were translated while others were transliterated. Yet, in spite of a somewhat quirky approach, the Latin was not the product of a capricious mind as Alexander can be shown to have employed a particular translation/transliteration strategy. For example, the rivers that ran through the church's estates all followed the same form. First, the term *wādī* was translated as *flumen* or *fluvius*, then the name of the river itself was almost always rendered as a transliteration. The two exceptions to this featured the common adjectives, *bārid* ('cold' > *frigidus*) and *kabīr* ('big' > *magnus*). This stands in direct contrast to the high level of consistency in the Latin treatment of items of flora and fauna which were most usually translated, not transliterated. (See table below). Only occasionally were flora and fauna toponyms ever transliterated. Indeed,

this scheme was applied even if the Arabic vocabulary was sometimes remote and difficult to translate.

- Results for rivers:

Total number of toponyms	= 55
Toponyms of unsure or non-Arabic origin	= 7
Total of translated items	= 19% (9/48)
Total of transliterated items	= 81% (39/48)

- Results for flora and fauna:

Total number of toponyms	= 134
Toponyms of unsure or non-Arabic origin	= 15
Total of translated items	= 78% (93/119)
Total of transliterated items	= 22% (26/119)

This Latinisation of Arabic placenames was carried out irrespective of the names that local Arabic-speaking Muslim majority of western Sicily must have actually been using on a daily basis. It would thus be justified to regard this Latinising practice with some suspicion given that Arabic-speaking sheikhs who lived on the royal estates had been instrumental in helping the *Dīwān* to define its boundaries. This is indicated several times in the register itself.¹²⁵ Indeed, it was precisely in virtue of their detailed knowledge of the local environment that the sheikhs were routinely called upon by royal inquests to settle boundary disputes. Such investigations were organised by the *Dīwān al-Taḥqīq al-Ma^cmūr*, the very office in which the register was prepared. In this light, it is barely conceivable that Alexander and his colleagues could have been unaware of the problems that translating placenames might cause in the identification of certain localities. Moreover, at royal inquests, we have seen how priority was given to the Christian elders, especially the Latin-Christians, over their Muslim counterparts who had all testified to the course of the boundaries. Similarly, it was the accepted practice for the royal administration that Arabic, which was often the language of the original text, was always to be placed beneath the text of any other languages, as if to underline its inferiority.

The effect, if not the intention, of this translation policy was to propagate the use of certain Latinised placenames at the expense of Arabic-based ones. In this respect, the Monreale register hailed a significant break with tradition for the royal fiscal administration. Not only was this register the first to be accompanied by a Latin, not a

Greek, translation, but the translation strategy also stood in marked contrast to the old Arabic-Greek registers. Whereas previously, micro-toponyms had tended to be transliterated from one language to the other, many were now translated into Latin. Thus, *Bāb al-Rīh* became ελβεπερικ in the Greek of a royal register of 1172, but *porta venti* in the Latin of the Monreale version ten years later.¹²⁶ Both versions were made in the *Dīwān al-Taḥqīq al-Ma‘mūr*. Other placenames mentioned in both the Monreale register and in royal Greek charters bear out the same conclusion. That is to say, the Arabic tended to be transliterated into Greek, but translated into Latin. Thus, we find: ‘*Ayn al-Hinās* > άην ελχάνας (Cusa, p. 318 in 1154) > *putei serpentum* (Monreale lines 261/64); *darja* > δάρτζε (Cusa, p. 248 in 1183) > *scala* (289/101); ‘*Ayn al-Mintina* > ύδωρ μίντενε (Cusa, p. 116 in 1143) > *fons fetidus* (330/159); *al-ṣafṣāf* > του σαφσάφ (Cusa pp. 516-517 in 1133) > *mons safsaf* (233/20), but then > *salices* (289/101).

These combined observations unveil an intriguing possibility. The effect of the translation scheme was undoubtedly to Latinise Arabic placenames, but was it also the intention to propagate these new Latin names? By doing so, was the *dīwān* consciously facilitating the authority of a prestigious Latin-Christian minority over the Arabic-speaking Muslim majority of the Monreale estates by deliberately turning Arabic placenames into Latin? Although we know that many Arabic toponyms in Sicily did become Latinised in and after the Norman period, it would be hasty to overstate this idea since the translation system was not universally applied. Nonetheless, in the wider context of increasing Latin political ascendancy and large-scale immigration from mainland Europe, the *dīwān*'s pro-Latin translation scheme can be considered as a part of the late-twelfth-century shift towards Latinisation through its strategic promotion of the language at the expense of the island's Arab-Islamic and Greek precedents.

Finally, it is not surprising to find that the translation scheme had some peculiar effects. Some places that have to this day retained their original Arabic names, even after the extinction of the island's Arabic-speaking communities, became Latinised in the Monreale register. The most striking example is ‘the mountain of the goats,’ or in the original Arabic, *Jabal al-Ma‘az* (line 233). Subject to the translation scheme, this became *mons caprarum* (line 21), but the new ‘official’ Latin appellation is unlikely ever to have been in wider use, as the hill is known today as ‘Gibilmesi’. Likewise, the modern locality of Beberf a

has remained tied to its Arabic roots (*Bāb al-Rīḥ* ‘gate of the wind’) and the Greek transliterated equivalent (ἐλπεπερική) rather than derived from the *porta venti* of the Monreale Latin. Indeed, these are illustrative of many similar Latinised formations that must have been virtually impossible to identify even in the twelfth century. So, if the *dīwān*’s ploy had been to hasten the Latinisation of western Sicily’s toponymy, it could not have met with unlimited success.

Summary of Flora

apples	°Ayn al-Tuffāḥa
apricot	Wādī Barqūq
ash tree	al-dardār
ash tree	Bāb Dardār °Amrūn
ash tree	faḥṣ al-dardār
barley	walaja al-sha°īr
barley(?)	al-sha°rīya
brambles	°Ayn al-°Ullayqa
brambles	al-°ullayq
canes	Fawwāra al-Qaṣaba
canes	ḥadd Qannash
canes	Khandaq al-Qaṣab
celery	°Ayn al-Karāfs
diss	Ruqqat al-Dīs
elder tree	ashjār sābūq
elm tree	Ghār Baqqa
wild fig trees	al-dhukkāra
wild fig trees	ashjār dhukkār
wild fig trees	Bāb al-Dhukkāra
fig trees	al-shajar al-tīn
fig trees	ashjār al-tīn
figs	Khandaq al-Tīn
frankincense(?)	al-Khandaq al-K.ndār
hemp	majāz al-Qunnab
henna(?)	Khandaq al-Ḥ.nāwīya
indigo	ḥiṣṣat al-nīlaj
ivy	ḥajar al-arāk
juncus(?) reeds	(Wādī) ashjār jajjūw
juncus reeds	°Ayn al-Samār
juncus reeds	al-samār

kernels/seeds	<i>Kudyat al-Lubūb</i>
mulberry(?)	<i>Wādī Ṭūṭ</i>
myrtle	<i>°Uyūn al-Rayḥān</i>
myrtle	<i>Mārtū</i>
narcissus	<i>ḥiṣṣat al-N.rjisīya</i>
oak tree	<i>Ḥārik al-Ballūṭ/Ballūṭa</i>
orchard/vineyard	<i>al-jinān</i>
orchard/vineyard	<i>jinān °Arab</i>
orchard/vineyard	<i>jinān al-kātib Lāw</i>
orchard/vineyard	<i>jinān bin Ḥammūd</i>
orchard/vineyard	<i>jinān bin Kināna</i>
orchard/vineyard	<i>jinān Qal°at °Alī</i>
pear orchard	<i>°Ayn al-Injāsa</i>
pear orchard	<i>al-injāsa</i>
pulses	<i>kudyat al-Quṭnīya</i>
sedge, bulrushes	<i>Ghadīr al-Su°dī</i>
seed (general)	<i>Khandaq al-Lubb</i>
seed (general)	<i>Bū Ḥabba</i>
tamarisk trees	<i>al-ṭarfā(°)</i>
tamarisk trees	<i>Khandaq al-Ṭarfā.</i>
teasels(?)	<i>Rab° al-Mishāṭ</i>
thorns	<i>al-shawk</i>
trees	<i>°Ayn al-Ashjār</i>
trees	<i>ashjār</i>
tree/plant(?)	<i>al-q.q.bāw</i>
tuberose(?)	<i>Fawwārat al-Ṭabrī</i>
willow tree	<i>al-ṣaṣāf</i>
wooded area	<i>al-khulūf</i>
wooded area	<i>shaṭab</i>
woods	<i>al-sha°ra</i>

Summary of Fauna

bees	<i>ḥijār al-naḥl</i>
bull	<i>(Wādī) Raḥl al-Thawr</i>
wild bull(?)	<i>Khuṭūṭ al-Raqli</i>
chicks	<i>Raḥl al-Farrūj</i>
cows	<i>dār al-baqar al-qadīma</i>
cows	<i>marāḥil al-baqar</i>
crow	<i>nāṭūr al-Ghurāb</i>

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young donkey	<i>Ghār Bū °Afw</i>
dove/pigeon	<i>Khandaq B.ln.bū</i>
eagle	<i>ḥajar al-°uqāb</i>
eagle	<i>ribā° Ibn °Uqāba</i>
foal	<i>Wādī al-Falūw</i>
goat kids	<i>marj al-jidyān</i>
goats	<i>Jabal al-Ma°az</i>
goats	<i>Raḥl al-Ma°az</i>
goats(?)	<i>Wādī Q.b.r.sh</i>
locusts	<i>Ghār Bū Jarād</i>
nag or mule	<i>°Ayn al-Birdhawn</i>
pig	<i>°uqdat al-khinzīr</i>
ram	<i>Dhanab al-Kabsh</i>
riding animals	<i>al-kh.b.l.qīn</i>
snakes	<i>Ḥārik Bīr al-Ḥināsh</i>
snakes	<i>Kudyat al-Ḥināsh</i>
vultures	<i>°Ayn al-Nusūr</i>
vultures	<i>Kudyat al-Nusūr</i>
wolf(?)	<i>Khandaq al-Lubb</i>
wolves(?)	<i>Kudyat al-Lubūb</i>

¹ Around 1095, Count Roger donated 95 villein families to the church of S. Maria in Palermo cf. Salvatore Cusa, *I Diplomi greci ed arabi di Sicilia* (1868–1882), Palermo, pp. 1-3. (Henceforth, ‘Cusa’). In 1095, Count Roger also granted 398 villein families to the Bishop of Catania. The register was renewed in 1145 cf. Cusa, pp. 541–549 and pp. 586–595.

² Registers written in Greek and Arabic, including the royal registers, are reproduced in Cusa’s *Diplomi*, albeit somewhat carelessly.

³ For a detailed discussion of these complex events and the subsequent development of the fiscal administration’s offices see J. Johns, *The Muslims of Norman Sicily c.1060–c.1194*, D.Phil thesis (unpublished), 1983, Oxford, and J. Johns, *Duana Regia (forthcoming)*. Also H. Takayama, *The Administration of the Norman kingdom of Sicily*, 1993, Leiden.

⁴ For example, see the explicit Greek-Arabic register of 1133, Cusa, p. 516. Also, for an Arabic register of 1149 cf. J. Johns and A. Metcalfe ‘The Mystery at Chūrchuro: conspiracy or incompetence in

twelfth-century Sicily?’ in *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 62 (1999), pp. 244–5. Also, see Cusa, p. 82 for a Greek-Arabic definition made by the *Dīwān al-Taḥqīq al-Ma‘mūr* in 1172. All were products of the royal fiscal administration. Elsewhere, see Cusa, p. 303 in 1142 and Cusa, pp. 317–319 in 1154. To my knowledge, there is no example of Muslim sheikhs who were named before Christians in such registers.

⁵ For example, the bilingual (Arabic-Greek) boundary definition of Mārtū in 1133. Cusa, pp. 515–517.

⁶ See A. Metcalfe, *Arabic-speakers in Norman Sicily*, PhD thesis (unpublished), 1999, University of Leeds, chapter 2 *passim*.

⁷ Pegamene no. 31 of the Monreale Tabulario in the Biblioteca Centrale, Palermo. For an edition of the 1178 register see Cusa, pp. 134–179; the 1182 register of boundaries Cusa, pp. 179–244 and the 1183 register of villeins, see Cusa, pp. 245–286.

⁸ Around the modern localities of S. Giuseppe Iato, Corleone, Case Battellaro di Sopra and Monte Maranfusa.

⁹ Key secondary sources for the toponymy of western Sicily include: V. Di Giovanni, ‘I casali esistenti nel secolo XII nel territorio della chiesa di Monreale’ *ASS NS* 17 (1892): 438–496; G. La Corte, ‘Appunti di toponomastica nel territorio della chiesa di Monreale nel secolo XII’ *ASS NS* 27 (1902): 336–345; White, *Latin Monasticism*, pp. 132–145; F. D’Angelo, ‘I casali di Santa Maria la Nuova di Monreale nei secoli XII–XIV’ *Bollettino del Centro di Studi filologici e linguistici siciliani* 12 (1973): 333–339; H. Bercher, A. Courteaux and J. Mouton, ‘Une abbaye latine dans la société musulmane: Monreale au XIIIe siècle’ *Annales ESC* 34 (1979): 525–547; J. Johns, ‘The Muslims of Norman Sicily’, (1983) i.186–230; J. Johns, ‘The Monreale Survey: Indigenes and Invaders in Medieval West Sicily’, in C. Malone and S. Stoddart (eds), *Papers in Italian Archaeology IV. The Cambridge Conference*, 4 vols (BAR International Series 246, Oxford, 1985), iv.215–223; J. Johns, ‘La Monreale Survey. Insediamento medievale in Sicilia occidentale: premesse, metodi, problemi e alcuni risultati preliminari’, in G. Noyé (ed.) *Structures de l’habitat et occupation du sol dans les pays méditerranéens: les méthodes et l’apport de l’archéologie extensive*. (Castrum 2. Rome and Madrid, 1988), pp. 73–84; J. Johns ‘Alla ricerca di Entella’ a cura di G Nenci, Pisa, 1993, pp. 61–93; F. Spatafora, ‘Monte Maranfusa di terra in terra. Nuove scoperte archeologiche nella Provincia di Palermo’, Palermo, 1993, pp. 1–26.

¹⁰ The key works in this respect are; G. B. Pellegrini, *Gli arabismi nelle lingue neolatine*, vols I–II, (1972), Brescia. A. De Simone, *Spoglio antroponomico delle giaride arabo-greche dei diplomi editi da Salvatore Cusa*, (1979), Roma and ‘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. (5–8 December 1983), (1986), Napoli. G. Caracausi, *Arabismi medievali di Sicilia*. Centro di Studi Filologici e Linguistici Siciliani, (1983), Palermo. Salvatore C. Sgroi, *Interferenze fonologiche, morfo-sintattiche e lessicali fra l’arabo e il siciliano*, Centro di Studi filologici e linguistici Siciliani, (1986), Palermo and Dionisius A. Agius, *Siculo Arabic* (1996), London and New York.

¹¹ The boundary of Hajar al-Zanātī in the *magna divisa* of Corleone was defined in a (now lost) *jarīda* issued in December 1154 under William I. This is now known to us from Latin transumptus from 1258 and 1286. See H. Enzensberger, *Guillelmi I Regis Diplomata*. (*Codex Diplomaticus Regni Siciliae*, first series, *Diplomata regum et principum e gente Normannorum*, vol III.) Cologne, Weimar and Vienna, (1996), no. 4, p. 13. The boundaries of Raḥl al-Wazzān and Raḥl ibn Sahl in the *magna divisa* of Iato first appeared in 1149 and 1154. See Johns and Metcalfe, ‘The Mystery of Chūrchuro’. In all three cases, the wording of the definitions resemble those of the Monreale register in almost every respect.

¹² Metcalfe, *Arabic-speakers in Norman Sicily*, chapter 2 *passim*.

¹³ M Amari, *Storia dei musulmani di Sicilia*. Vols I–III, edited and revised by Carlo Alfonso Nallino, Catania, (1933–1939) III, p. 504 and III, p. 898. A conclusion supported by Horst Enzensberger, *Beiträge Kanzlei und Urkundenwesen der normannischen Herrscher Unteritaliens und Siziliens*, (1971), p. 64 and repeated in Pellegrini, *Gli Arabismi II*, p. 477.

¹⁴ ‘hauteur, éminence’. F. Godefroy, *Dictionnaire de l’ancienne langue française et de tous ses dialectes*, Paris, (1880–1902) IV, p. 442.

¹⁵ ‘éminence de terre dans une plaine et terminée par une plain-forme’. Godefroy (1880–1902), IX p. 758.

¹⁶ G. Caracausi, ‘L’elemento bizantino ed arabo’, *Tre Millenni di storia linguistica della Sicilia*. Atti del Convegno della Società italiana di Glottologia (25–27 March 1983). Palermo. p. 87.

According to G Rohlfs, *Nuovo Dizionario dialettale della Calabria*. 1977, Ravenna, *dirruójitu* = ‘disastro, grande rovina’.

¹⁷ The *magna divisa* of Iato occupies lines 5–21 of the text; the internal estates, lines 21–142; Corleone and internal estates, lines 143–175; Battallaro and Qal^cat al-Ṭrāzī lines 175–213.

¹⁸ ‘une terre molle dans laquelle s’enforcent les pieds’ Dozy, I, p. 698 cf. also Caracausi, *L’Elemento bizantino ed arabo* p. 87, n76.

¹⁹ None of these particular ‘French’ words occurs in the Latin diplomata of either Roger II or William I. Of Arabic deeds that contain borrowed Latinate terms based on Francophone transliterations, none predates 1172. See Cusa, pp. 80–85 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, 1961 and Metcalfe, *Arabic-speakers* pp. 64–66.

²⁰ *dicitur*: 10, 15, 18–23, 26, 38, 40, 50, 54, 60–61, 71–72, 79, 81–83, 99, 111, 130, 197.

vocatur: 31, 41, 95, 99–100, 109, 111, 117–118, 120, 122, 127–128, 132, 136, 139, 152, 159, 161–162, 168–169, 171, 174–175, 177, 185, 195, 207, 212.

²¹ *crista*: (Iato): 10, 28, 38, 39, 45, 49, 50, 51, 55, 57, 65, 80, 81, 83, 84, 87, 88, 95, 99, 100, 114, 129, 142. (Corleone): 159, 163, 170, 171, 172, 174. (Battallaro & Qal^cat al-Ṭrāzī): no egs. *serra*: (Iato): 33, 46, 67, 70. (Corleone): 151, 159. (Battallaro): 176, 190, 191, 194. (Qal^cat al-Ṭrāzī): no egs. *altera*: (Iato): 7, 30, 45, 93, 101, 111, 125. (Corleone): no egs. (Battallaro): 177, 178, 181, 183, 184, 191, 194, 195. (Qal^cat al-Ṭrāzī): 205, 209.

²² *auster, australis, australiter*: Iato: 6, 28, 38, 52, 55, 56, 57, 62, 67, 72, 74, 76, 87, 90, 96, 104, 108, 112, 120, 123, 125, 127, 133, 135, 136. Corleone: 145, 157, 161, 166, 167, 172. Battallaro & Qal^cat al-Ṭrāzī: no examples. *meridianus, meridies, meridionaliter*: Iato: 22, 24, 27, 30, 35, 50, 52, 54, 57, 139. Corleone: no examples. Battallaro: 176, 177, 186, 192. Qal^cat al-Ṭrāzī: 205.

²³ *has aut[em] p[re]dictas diuisas a deptariis n[os]tris de saracenicis in latinu[m] transf[er]ri, ip[su]m q[ue] saracenicu[m], s[e]c[un]d[u]m q[uo]d in eisde[m] deptariis continet[ur], sub latino scribi p[re]cepim[us]...p[er] man[us] Alex[andri] n[os]tri notarii scribi fecim[us]*. (Lines 213–214).

²⁴ Enzensberger, *Beiträge Kanzlei*, pp. 63–67.

²⁵ Enzensberger, ‘Utilitas Regia. Note di storia amministrativa e giuridica e di propaganda politica nell’età dei due Guglielmi’, in *Atti*

del Congresso Internazionale sulle Fonti documentare e narrative per la Storia della Sicilia normanna, Palermo, (1981–82), pp. 30–31.

²⁶ A full critical edition with translations and historical commentary is currently being prepared by J. Johns and A. Metcalfe (forthcoming).

²⁷ *‘ullayq*, to which the form *‘ullayqa* would appear to be related, means ‘the common bramble’ E. Lane, *An English-Arabic Lexicon*, Cambridge: Islamic Texts Society, (1866–67), III, p. 2137.

²⁸ *al-birdhawn* = ‘work-horse, jade, nag’, H. Wehr, *A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic (Arabic-English)*, Wiesbaden, 1980, p. 52. In this article, Hans Wehr, has been used to provide references for well-known or everyday terms, the meanings of which are quite uncontroversial. The precise botanical and biological meanings of terms are of secondary importance for this article. The form *barduínu* (*bbaruídu*) is attested in Sicilian dialect meaning, ‘voce bassa che vale asino’ Pellegrini, *Gli Arabismi* p. 197. Cf. also Várvaro *Vocabulario etimológico* pp109–112 < Latin *burdo* = mule. The *mulo albardón* is attested in old Spanish, R Dozy, and W H Engelmann, *Glossaire des mots espagnols et portugais dérivés de l’arabe*, Leyde-Paris. (1869), p. 67. For a list of botanical and animal names, which are derived from Arabic and attested in later Latinate dialects, see Pellegrini, *Gli Arabismi*, pp. 184–202.

²⁹ *karafs* = ‘celery, *apium graveolens*’ Wehr, p. 821.

³⁰ *nasr* = ‘eagle, vulture’ Wehr, p. 961.

³¹ ‘a building having its several parts stuck together’. Lane, II, p. 1092.

³² *samār* = ‘a variety of rush used for plaiting mats. *Juncus spinosus*.’ Wehr, p. 429.

³³ *tuffāḥ* = ‘apples’ Wehr, p. 95.

³⁴ *‘ullayq* = ‘twining and creeping plants or shrubs (of various kinds); the lesser bindweed (*Convolvulus arvensis*); common English blackberry; bramble (*Rubus fruticosus*)’ Wehr, p. 634.

³⁵ *khinzīr* = ‘swine, pig, hog’ Wehr, p. 263. The vocalisation of *kh.nzīr* is not marked in the manuscript, but transcriptions from twelfth-century Sicilian Greek as *χανζήρ* or *χανζέρης* suggest that it was pronounced with *tafkhīm* as *khanzīr* (like later Sicilian dialect forms and modern Maltese) as opposed to the standard form of *khinzīr*. For the Sicilian Greek transliterations of the Arabic cf. Cusa, pp77, 555 and 566.

³⁶ Modern toponyms include Ganzirri (coastal town north of Messina) and S. Michele di Ganzaria (north of Caltagirone) formerly

known as *Qalʿat al-Kh.nzirīya*, (al-Idrīsī in M Amari, *Biblioteca arabo-sicula*, 2nd edition riveduta da U. Rizzitano, Vols I–II, *Accademia Nazionale di Scienze Lettere e Arti*, Palermo, (1988), pp. 60–62. Henceforth referred to as *BAS*. Also, al-ʿUmarī *BAS* p. 176 and *Anf al-Kh.nzīr* = modern *Murro di Porco*, between Syracuse and Avola (al-Idrīsī *BAS* p. 55 line 2). See also Caracausi, *Dizionario Onomastico* I, pp. 280, 283, 579 and 679.

³⁷ Caracausi, *Arabismi* p. 249.

³⁸ Normally, *al-rayhān* refers to the common sweet basil (*ocimum basilicum*) cf. Lane, II, p. 1181. However, in the Maghrib it means ‘myrtle’ cf. R. Dozy, *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes*, Leyde, (1881) I, p. 567.

³⁹ *ashjār* = ‘trees, shrubs, bushes’ Wehr, p. 455.

⁴⁰ *dhukkār* = (*caprificus*). ‘Figuier sauvage, caprifiguier’ Dozy, I p. 487.

⁴¹ G Caracausi, *Dizionario Onomastico della Sicilia. Repertorio storico-etimologico di nomi di famiglia e di luogo*. Centro di Studi Filologici e Linguistici Siciliani, Lessici Siciliani, 7–8), 2 vols, Palermo, (1993), I, p. 814.

⁴² *tīn* = ‘the common fig’, Lane, I, p. 325 (*figus carica*).

⁴³ *sābūq* derives from the Latin *sambuco* cf. Italian *sabuco*.

⁴⁴ *bāb* = ‘porta, passo’ Pellegrini, *Arabismi* p. 288. ‘Défile (passage étroit)’ Dozy, I, p. 124.

⁴⁵ *baqar* = ‘bovines, cattle’ Wehr, p. 68.

⁴⁶ Cusa, reads *killat al-baqar al-qadīma*.

⁴⁷ (line 316) *maṣabb al-māʾ nāzil al-majrī l-majrī ilā dār al-Baqar al-Qadīma al-maʿrūfa* (line 317) *bi-Wādi l-Falūw*.

⁴⁸ For a comparison of the two registers see Johns and Metcalfe, ‘The Mystery of Chūrchuro’ *passim*.

⁴⁹ *kabsh* = ‘ram’ Wehr, p. 811.

⁵⁰ *dhukkār* = (*caprificus*). ‘Figuier sauvage, caprifiguier’ Dozy, I p. 487. Attested in Sicilian dialect as *duccara* cf. Pellegrini, *Gli Arabismi* pp190 & 261 ‘fico selvatico, caprifico’. Cf. also the toponyms Ticchiara and La Dochara in Caracausi, *Arabismi* p. 216.

⁵¹ *dardār* = ‘l’orme, mais aussi le frêne’, Dozy, I, p. 432 (*fraxinus ornus*). In the Latin, the translation is always ‘ash’ not ‘elm’. Attested in Sicilian dialect as *dardaru* and *dárdanu* cf. Pellegrini *Gli Arabismi* pp74, 190, 260.

⁵² *fawwāra* = ‘jet d’eau’ Dozy, II, p. 289.

⁵³ Caracausi, *Arabismi*, p. 224.

⁵⁴ *al-ṭabrī* = ‘tuberosa’ Dozy, II, p. 20.

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- ⁵⁵ Caracausi, *Dizionario Onomastico*, I, p. 1605.
- ⁵⁶ Wehr, p. 551.
- ⁵⁷ *baqqa* = ‘l’orme’, Dozy, I, p. 102, ‘elm tree’ Lane, I, p. 233.
- ⁵⁸ *‘afw* = ‘young donkey’, Wehr, p. 625.
- ⁵⁹ *jarad* = ‘locusts’, Wehr, p. 119.
- ⁶⁰ *ma’z* and *ma’az* = ‘goats’, Wehr, p. 915.
- ⁶¹ *su’c* = *cyperus complanatus*, Lane, II, pp. 1361–2.
- ⁶² *jinān* = ‘garden containing palm-trees or grape-vines.’ Lane, I, p. 463 cf. also Dozy, I, p. 220.
- ⁶³ De Simone ‘Su alcune corrispondenze lessicali’ pp. 482–483.
- ⁶⁴ For *al-jannān* see Cusa, pp. 139, 160, 171, 250, 264, 574 and 588. For *al-karrām* and *al-karrāmī*, see Cusa, pp. 162, 242 & 261. For Sicilian viticulture, see Cherubini, Giovanni. 1987. ‘I prodotti della terra: olio e vino’ in *Terra e uomini nel Mezzogiorno normanno-svevo*. (Atti delle settime giornate normanno-svevo, Bari, 15–17 October 1985), Bari, pp. 187–234.
- ⁶⁵ The location of Qal’at ‘Alī is unsure but the modern toponym Cautalí is still attested. For the identification of Qal’at ‘Alī with Pizzo di Gallo, see J Johns, ‘Alla ricerca di Entella’, a cura di G. Nenci. Pisa, (1993), p. 80.
- ⁶⁶ *habba* = ‘grain, granule, seed, kernels, pill, pastille, berry etc.’ Wehr, p. 152. For Sicilian terms derived from the verb *habba* see Caracausi *Gli Arabismi* pp. 274–275.
- ⁶⁷ *ballūt* = ‘oak, acorn’, Wehr, p. 72.
- ⁶⁸ Cusa, p. 284.
- ⁶⁹ *‘uqāb* = ‘eagle’, or the constellation ‘Aquila’, Wehr, p. 626.
- ⁷⁰ *arāk* = ‘edera’, Dozy, I, p. 18.
- ⁷¹ *naḥl* = ‘bee’, Wehr, p. 947.
- ⁷² *ḥanash* = ‘snake’, Wehr, p. 210.
- ⁷³ Cusa, pp. 474 and 476 respectively.
- ⁷⁴ Cusa, p. 415.
- ⁷⁵ *nīlaj* = ‘indigo’, Wehr, p. 1015.
- ⁷⁶ Cusa, p. 654. The name *Nileg* appears in the manuscript as $\nu\lambda\epsilon\gamma^o$ i.e. it is an abbreviated form, but it is not known of what.
- ⁷⁷ *al-n.rjisīya* < *narcissus*?
- ⁷⁸ Possibly derived from *qirqab*, plural *qarāqib* meaning ‘galoches du bois’ Dozy, II, p. 335.
- ⁷⁹ ‘dawn’.
- ⁸⁰ *Ijjāṣa* = ‘prune. Au Maghrib ce mote qu’on y prononce *injāṣ* signifie constantment ‘poire’’, Dozy, I, p. 10. cf. also *al-Ijjāṣa* = Marina di Fiumedinisi in *BAS* (al-Idrīsī) p. 56.

⁸¹ Cusa reads '*al-Inḥāṣa*'.

⁸² In Sicily, this form may have derived from the Maghribī version of the word. Alternatively, the nasalisation may have resulted from, or been supported by, interference from Greek pronunciation where *jj* in Arabic was sometimes transcribed as γγ or νγ in Greek and Latin e.g. the surname *al-Ḥajjām* > Χαγγέμης. This nasalised form has survived in a number of modern Sicilian surnames see Caracausi, *Dizionario Onomastico* I, p. 272.

⁸³ *Codex Messanensis Graecus 105*, a cura di R. Cantarella, Palermo, (1937), p. 132.

⁸⁴ *Palumbu* and *palummu* are both Sicilian dialect versions of the same word, cf. Caracausi *Dizionario Onomastico* II, p. 1154.

⁸⁵ Possibly derived from *ḥanā'* meaning 'henna' (*lawsonia inermis*) cf. Lane, I, p. 654. *Ḥanwa* also means 'hypericum' or 'ground-pine' (*hypericon*) cf. Dozy, I, p. 333.

⁸⁶ *al-K.ndār* is possibly related to the Arabic *kundur* meaning 'frankincense' cf. Lane, IV, p. 2633.

⁸⁷ Caracausi *Dizionario Onomastico* I, pp. 889–890.

⁸⁸ *Qaşab* = *arundo donax* cf. Dozy, II, p. 352.

⁸⁹ Caracausi *Dizionario Onomastico* I, p. 273.

⁹⁰ *khulf*, plural *khulūf* = 'a well-known type of tree...a species of the *şafsāf*', Lane, I, p. 797.

⁹¹ The Arabic of line 359 reads [*al-ḥadd*] *ilā ākhir al-khulūf ilā al-kudya al-latī bi-hā ḥijār biḍ nābita fī khulūf*. '[The boundary runs] to the end of the trees(?) (*al-khulūf*), to the hill on which there are white stones planted there in amongst the trees(?) (*al-khulūf*).'

⁹² Cf. Pellegrini, *Gli Arabismi* p. 306, 'striscia, solco, confine'.

⁹³ *khulūf* = 'wild bull' Lane, I, p. 760.

⁹⁴ Cusa, p. 415.

⁹⁵ According to Caracausi *Dizionario Onomastico* p. 777, the Sicilian *guḥsina* (with many variant forms) = 'natrice, biscia d'aqua, serpente acquatico dei colubridi' and derives from the Greco-Latin roots.

⁹⁶ *jidy* = 'kid, young billy goat' Wehr, p. 115.

⁹⁷ For the Sicilian *margiu*, cf. Caracausi *Arabismi* pp. 281–282.

⁹⁸ Caracausi, *Dizionario Onomastico*, II, p. 1038.

⁹⁹ *al-ghurāb* = 'crow' Wehr, p. 668.

¹⁰⁰ Cusa reads '*nāṭūr al-ghurāb*', but the *zā'* is clearly pointed.

¹⁰¹ Caracausi, *Lessico greco della Sicilia*, p. 252.

¹⁰² *al-qṭnīya* = 'pulse, legumes (peas, beans, lentils)' Wehr, p. 779.

¹⁰³ Cf. Dozy, II, p. 602 for an unclear reference as a plant of the genus *Dipsacus*. Also, more commonly *mishāt* = ‘combs’ Wehr, p. 910.

¹⁰⁴ *al-farrūj* = ‘chick, young chicken, pullet’ Wehr, p. 702.

¹⁰⁵ Wehr, p. 205.

¹⁰⁶ ‘The start of its eastern boundary is from the boundary of Ḥijār al-Rāʾī, from the red rocks (*al-ḥijār al-ḥumr*)...’

¹⁰⁷ ‘One of them descends from Raḥl al-Ḥumr; the other descends from *Aḥjār al-Rāʾī* (‘the rocks of the shepherd’). [The boundary] rises right along the *wādī* to the large rocks which are to the north of Raḥl al-Rāʾī, to the red rocks’.

¹⁰⁸ *thawr* = ‘bull, steer, ox’ Wehr, p. 109.

¹⁰⁹ *ʿuqāba* = ‘eagle’ Lane, III, p. 2102.

¹¹⁰ *dīs* = diss (*ampelodesma tenax*) Wehr, p. 305. Cf. Sicilian *ddisa*.

¹¹¹ ‘palm-branches’ Lane, II, p. 1549. Nb the meaning of ‘plante, arbriseau, arbuste’ given by Dozy, has been inferred from Sicilian documents.

¹¹² *wa-la-hu min al-shaʿā mā yuḥṣa-hu* (lines 268–269).

¹¹³ Cusa, p. 505.

¹¹⁴ ‘Plants and trees’, Lane, II, p. 1560. ‘Bois, lieu planté d’arbres’, Dozy, I, p. 763.

¹¹⁵ Possibly derived from *shaʿīr* meaning ‘barley’. Cf. also *shaʿīrī* ‘barley-seller’, Lane, II, p. 1561. *Shaʿrīya* is also attested as a type of balance, Dozy, I, p. 763. Pellegrini, *Gli Arabismi*, however, suggests ‘grata’ or ‘graticcio’ p. 167.

¹¹⁶ *ṣafṣāf* = *salix aegyptia*.

¹¹⁷ *shawk* = ‘thorn, spikes, pricks, prickles, spines, fishbone, forks’ Wehr, p. 494.

¹¹⁸ *samār* = ‘a species of rush, growing in the deserts of Lower and Upper Egypt of which mats are made for covering the floors of rooms; the *juncus spinosus*.’ Lane, II, p. 1425. Nb also *sammār* which means ‘au Maghrib marechal, artisan qui ferre les chevaux.’ Dozy, I, p. 682.

¹¹⁹ *al-ṭarfāʾ* = ‘tamarisk’, Wehr, p. 558.

¹²⁰ *tīn* = ‘the common fig’, Lane, I, p. 325 (*ficus carica*).

¹²¹ *barqūq* = ‘plum’, Wehr, p. 54. However, in the Maghrib, it means only ‘apricot’ Dozy, I, p. 75. The Sicilian dialect variants, *varcocu* and *bbarcocu*, are also attested, cf. Pellegrini, *Gli Arabismi*, I, p. 195.

¹²² *falūw* = ‘colt, foal’ Wehr, p. 727.

¹²³ The form *Tūt* is possibly a hypercorrected form of *tūt* meaning ‘white mulberry’ (*morus alba*) Lane, I, p. 321. If so, then it is related to the Sicilian dialect form *dudda* or *duda*, cf. Pellegrini I, p. 190. Nb also that papyrus cotton ‘le *quṭun al-bardī* porte aussi ce nom’ i.e. of *tūt*. Dozy, II, p. 68.

¹²⁴ *sha^cīr* = ‘barley, barleycorn’, Wehr, p. 474.

¹²⁵ The register mentions a number of local people who were actively involved in disputes or the establishing of the Monreale boundaries. These included the sheikhs (*veterani*) of Iato (lines 230/17, 251/48, 259/60), Trapani (230/17) and Corleone (256/56); the inhabitants (*ahl/homines*) of Iato (235–6/25), Malbīt (256/56–7, 258/59), Corleone (258/59), al-Aqbāt (259/61); the villeins (*rijāl/homines*) of the *Dīwān al-Taḥqīq al-Ma^cmūr* (258/59) and a certain *qā^ʿid* Yaḥyā (259/61).

¹²⁶ Cusa, p. 81 and Monreale 1182 lines 321/146.