

Nadia Jamil and Jeremy Johns, “Chapter 16: The Swansong of the Multilingual Chancery: Obbertus Fallamonacha’s Latin-Arabic Charter of 1242” in Dirk Booms and Peter John Higgs (ed.), *Sicily: Heritage of the World* (British Museum Research Publications, 222), London: The British Museum Press, 2020: 142–163.

Final proofs

Chapter 15

The Swansong of the Multilingual Chancery: Obbertus Fallamonacha's Latin–Arabic Charter of 1242

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The branch of the trilingual chancery of the Norman kings of Sicily that was responsible for the production of documents in Arabic, including the Arabic texts of bilingual documents, grew from two principal roots. During the conquest, the Norman leaders recruited and employed for their own purposes some of the Arabic scribes who had worked in the administration of Sicily before the conquest. Within a generation, as these scribes reached the end of their working lives, the Norman administration ceased to issue documents in Arabic. For more than 20 years, from 1111 until 1132, no Arabic administrative documents survive. Immediately after the coronation of Roger II on Christmas Day 1130, his chief minister, George of Antioch, oversaw the revival of the Arabic *dīwān*. He did so principally by importing from the contemporary chancery of Fāṭimid Cairo scribes, who brought with them a new chancery script, new diplomatic forms and new bureaucratic offices. Some elements from the Arabic administration of Roger I and his widow, the regent Adelaide, were retained after 1130, and combined with the Fāṭimid imports to produce a distinctively Sicilian *dīwān* that developed independently over the next three generations.¹

The death of William II in 1189 precipitated a succession crisis and, in the absence of royal authority, elements of the Latin population attacked the Muslims of the island, who fled the cities and the plains and took to the mountains of western Sicily in open rebellion. The Arabic administrators and scribes of the royal *dīwān* were severely depleted. When the German emperor Henry VI occupied Palermo in 1194, he completely reorganised the central administration of the kingdom. The trilingual chancery was abolished and charters were issued only in Latin; none was Arabic, or Greek or bilingual. The death of Henry in 1197 left his widow, Constance, the daughter and heir of King Roger, sole monarch in her own right, and she immediately began to restore her father's multicultural kingdom. The *dīwān* required substantial renovation. With the Fāṭimids gone and Cairo in the hands of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, Constance and her officers could not turn to the Egyptian chancery for help, as her father and George of Antioch had done in the 1130s and 1140s. Indeed, the Arabic text of the one surviving bilingual document issued by Constance closely resembles a type of decree characteristic of the Almohad chancery called the *ḡahīr*. This indicates that al-Andalus and the Maghrib al-Aqṣā provided the models upon which Constance sought to restore the Sicilian *dīwān*.²

Her untimely death on 27 November 1198 brought to a sudden end her attempt to revive her father's multicultural kingdom. Thereafter, almost no trace survives of an Arabic administration in Sicily until, out of the blue, in January 1242, Obbertus Fallamonacha, head of the financial administration of Sicily for Emperor Frederick II, Constance's son, issued the bilingual Latin–Arabic charter that is the subject of this study (**Figs 1–2**).

Why, after more than 40 years during which only Latin documents had been issued, did Fallamonacha suddenly revive the use of Arabic? Upon what diplomatic and literary models was the Arabic text based? And what does our document reveal about Fallamonacha and his administration of Sicily under Frederick II?

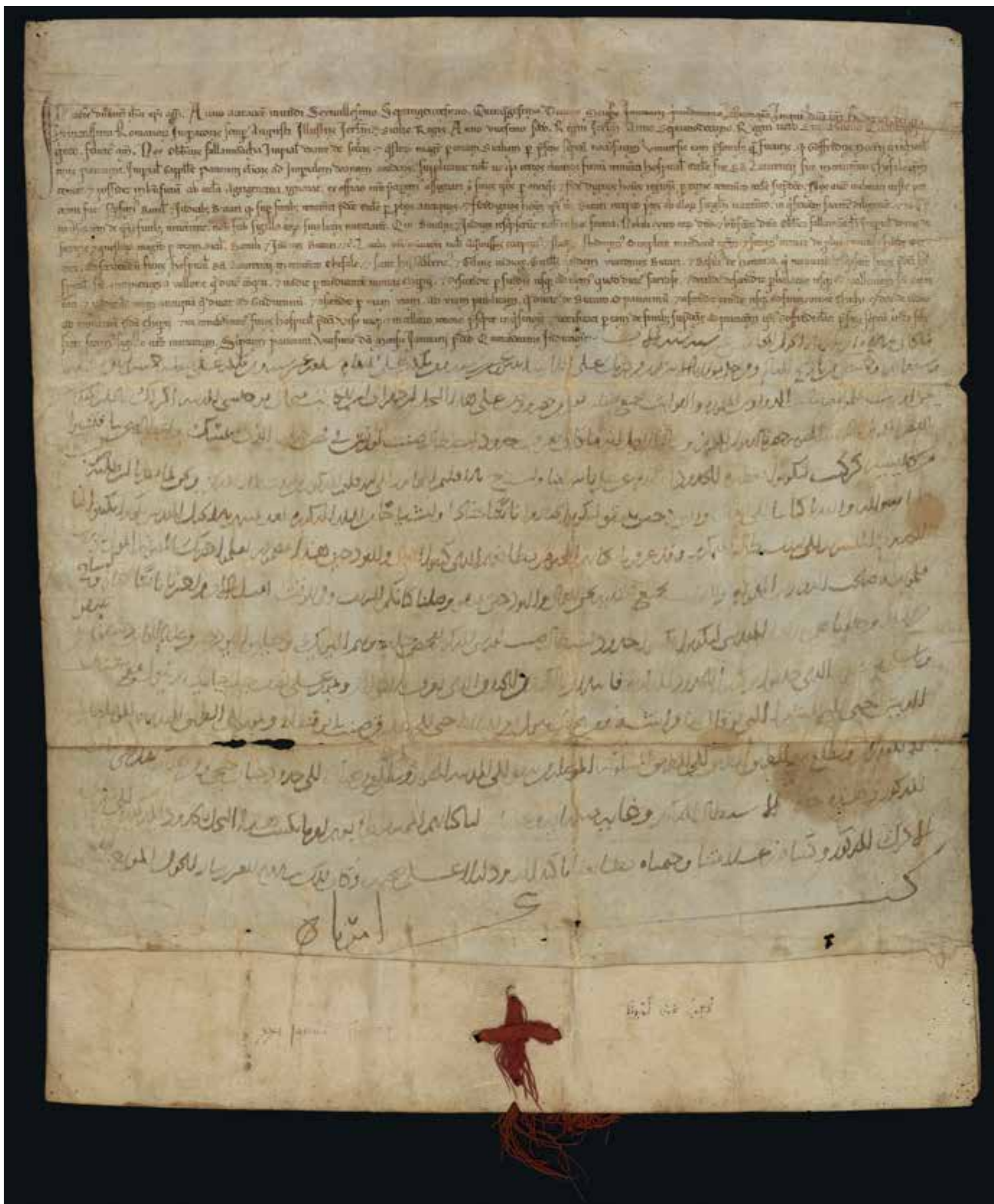


Figure 1 Latin–Arabic record of an inquest to determine the boundaries of the estate of the Hospital of St Laurence, Cefalà [Diana], in the district of Vicari, 10 January 6750 AM [AD 1242], Indiction 15, Palermo. Agrigento, Archivio storico del Capitolo della Cattedrale, Tabulario no. 21, recto (© Agrigento, Archivio storico del Capitolo della Cattedrale)

Geoffrey, son of the notary Michael, a citizen of Palermo, was a cleric of the chapel in the imperial palace in Palermo, better known as the Cappella Palatina.³ Geoffrey held the Hospital of St Laurence in the territory of Cefalà Diana, together with its land, as a benefice from the church of Agrigento (**Fig. 3**).⁴ Geoffrey did not know the boundaries surrounding his lands, and so went to the *duana de secretis* in

the palace, and petitioned its director, Fallamonacha, to hold an inquest to establish the boundaries and record them in writing. Fallamonacha agreed, and wrote to the bailiff and justices of Vicari, the chief town of the administrative district in which Cefalà lay, instructing them to hold an inquest among trustworthy elders in order to determine the boundaries, and to report to him in writing and under seal.

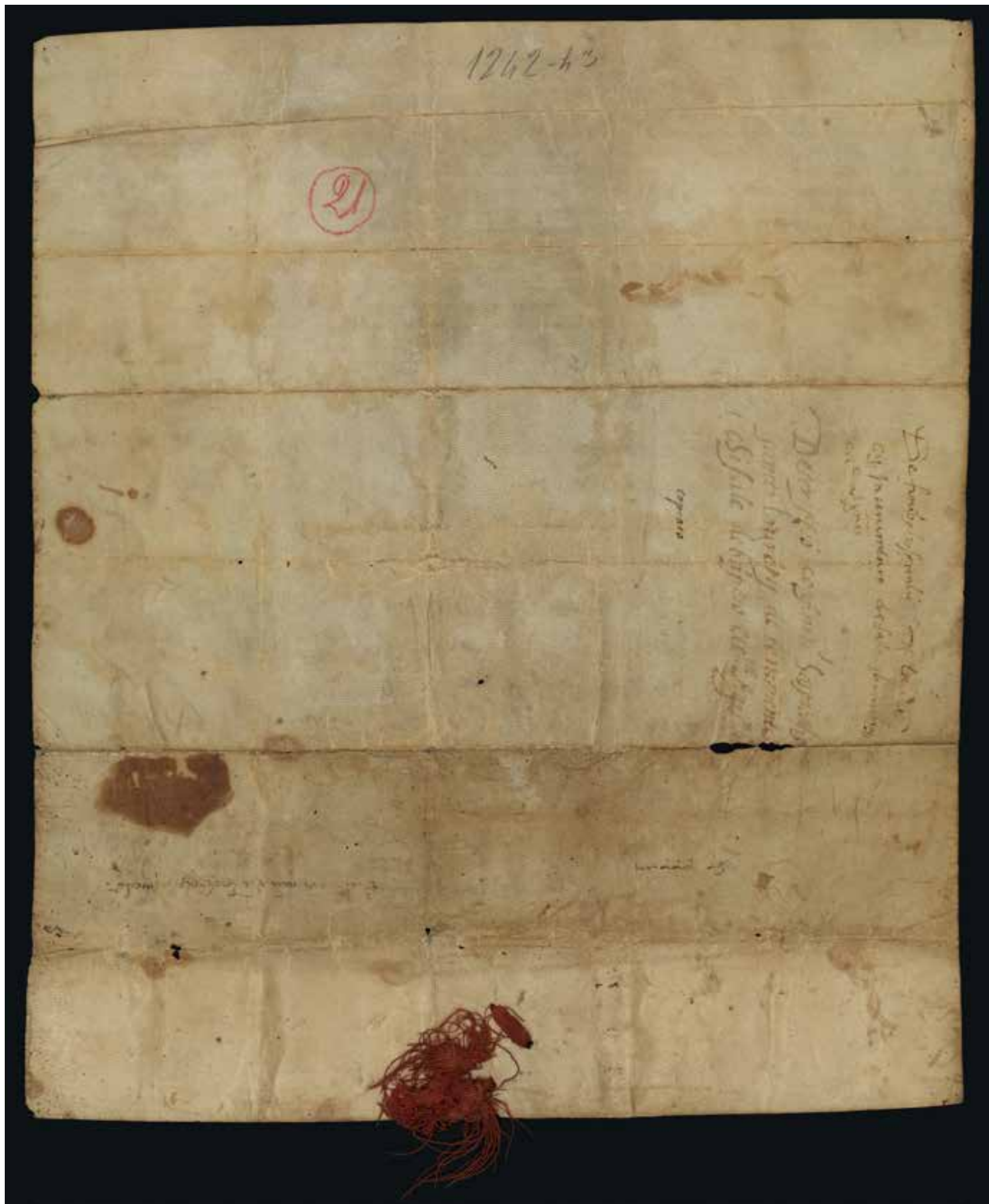


Figure 2 Latin–Arabic record of an inquest to determine the boundaries of the estate of the Hospital of St Laurence, Cefalà [Diana], in the district of Vicari, 10 January 6750 AM [AD 1242], Indiction 15, Palermo. Agrigento, Archivio storico del Capitolo della Cattedrale, Tabulario no. 21, verso (© Agrigento, Archivio storico del Capitolo della Cattedrale)

The bailiff and justices are not named, but they may perhaps be among the jurors who conducted the boundary inquest: the judges Alberic and Giles, William the former viscount of Vicari, and Basil the son of Honorius (lines 5, 6, 8–9; 17, 20–2). The first three are clearly Latins, while the last may be the son of a Greek mother and Latin father. The text of the first half of their report, including the boundary description,

is incorporated into the bilingual charter. After receiving their report, Fallamonacha ordered our bilingual charter to be composed, signed with his personal *‘alāma* (**Fig. 4**), sealed with his own seal (**Fig. 5**) and issued to Geoffrey.

Such inquests, typically provoked by a dispute between neighbours, had been the standard procedure for determining the boundaries of an estate since as early as 1095.⁵ The *duana*

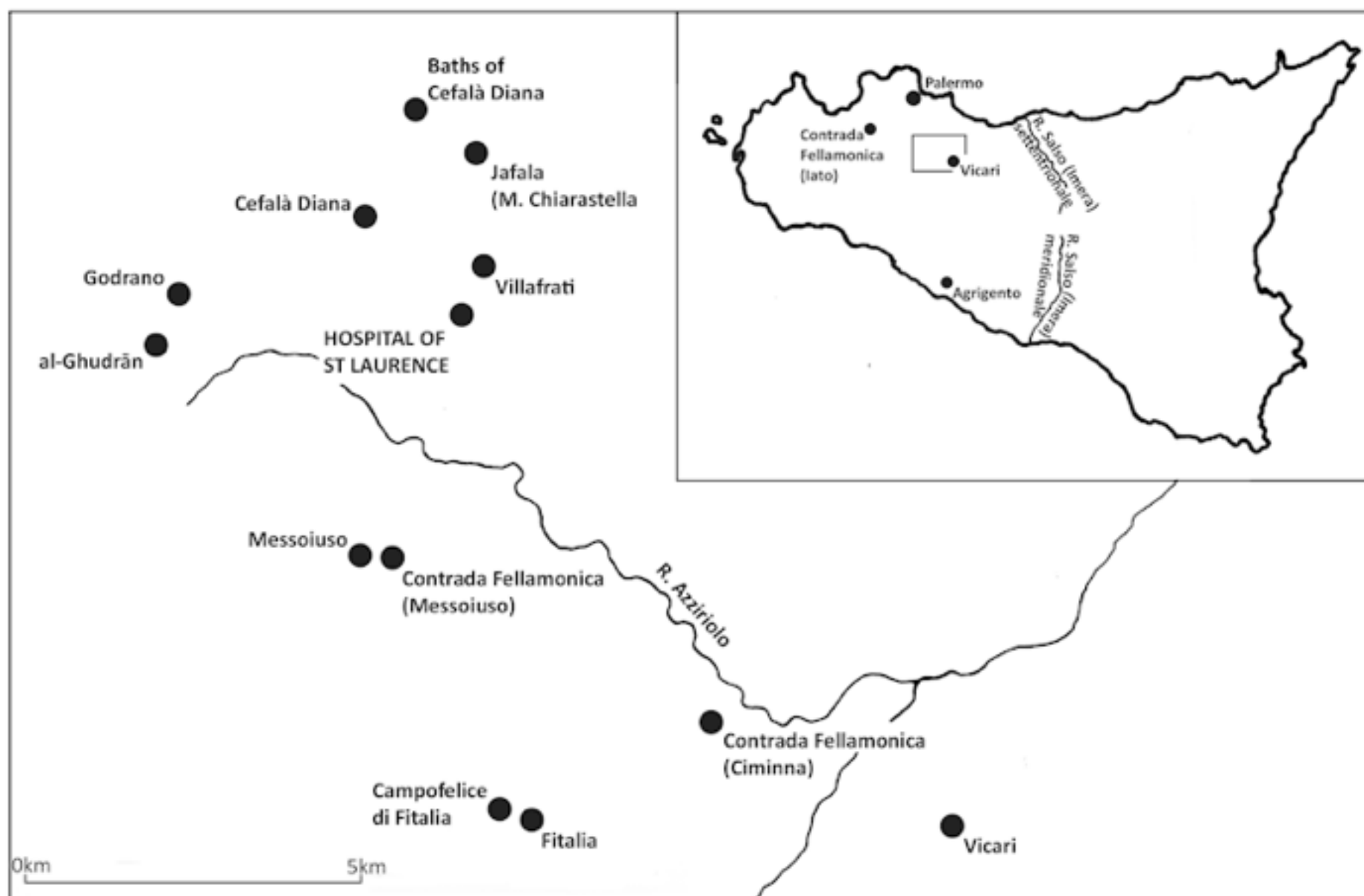


Figure 3 Map showing the principal places mentioned in the text (© Jeremy Johns 2017)

de secretis was the Latin name for the *dīwān al-tahqīq al-ma'mūr*, 'the royal bureau of verification', a supervisory office, originally introduced from Fāṭimid Egypt in the mid- to late 1140s in order to oversee the reorganisation of the administration of the possessions of the royal demesne in Sicily and Calabria.⁶ The *duana de secretis* maintained the *dafātir al-ḥudūd*, 'the registers of the boundaries', which, by the end of the reign of William I (1154–1166), listed the boundaries of all fiefs granted since the mid-1140s, and most of the lands of the royal demesne.⁷ Under the Norman kings, most, if not all, of the boundaries in the *dafātir* were recorded in Arabic – a point to which we shall return. The claim made in a writ of Frederick II, dated 1229, that 'the registers of the imperial *duana de secretis*' listed 'the boundaries of every city, castle, *terra* and *casale* in Sicily' is clearly an exaggeration – patently they did not contain the boundaries of Geoffrey's estates – but indicates at least the scope of the *dafātir al-ḥudūd*.⁸

In our document, the Latin text precedes the Arabic, and the contents of the two are almost identical. The document as a whole comprised three different texts, each with independent origins: the boundary description written on the testimony of the elders of Vicari, which is framed by their report to Fallamonacha, which is in turn framed by the bilingual document that he issued to Geoffrey. It will be helpful to discuss each of these in turn, beginning with the boundary description.

The Latin boundaries are translated from the Arabic. Most of the boundary markers are transliterated more or less phonetically into Latin: *Mons Chiperi* < *ḡabal ḡ.ḡ.ḡ.ḡ*; *Farrase* < *Farāsha*; *balata* < *al-balāt*; and *vinea Chichi* < *ḡinān ḡ.ḡ.ḡ*. The place name *Vallones Conqui* is a literal translation of

Arabic *al-Aḥwād* (lines 10; 22), and refers to the shape of pools or troughs of water. Most telling of all, the Arabic words *sanad al-dīs*, a topographical description literally meaning 'the acclivity of [the grass called] *dis*' (lines 22–3), have been conflated into *sindis*, a meaningless word, apparently attested just this one time in the Sicilian lexicon.

In contrast, the report of the bailiff and judges of Vicari (lines 7–10; 19–22) was evidently translated from Latin into Arabic. The Latin names of the jurors are simply transliterated into Arabic: *Albericus et Gilius iudices* > *Albūrīk wa-ḡilīyū al-yūdījīn*;⁹ *Guillelmus quondam vicecomes Biccari* > *Ghulyāl.m al-kāyīn disqūmī bi-Bīqū*; and *Basilus de Honorio* > *Bāsīlī Dānuriyū* (lines 9; 21–2). The conflation of *de Honorio* into *Dānuriyū* suggests that the translator may have reproduced the sound of the Latin without fully appreciating its sense. The meaning of *quondam* may also have escaped him, for *al-kāyīn* seems to imply that William was the current viscount of Vicari (lines 9; 21). He may also have misunderstood the precise significance of the Latin phrases that effect the transition from the report to the boundary description proper for, instead of 'they recorded the boundaries of the aforesaid Hospital, thus: "Beginning from the valley . . ."', he translated 'they recorded the aforesaid boundaries. They began to record from the valley . . .' (lines 9–10; 22). However, he also uses a few standard Arabic forms, which demonstrate that he had received some training within the Sicilian administration. Fallamonacha is addressed as 'Your [God]-protected Presence (*ḡaḡra*), the Lord Sire Ūbart Fallamūnaqa', in place of the Latin 'To the Nobleman and Our Lord and Benefactor, Lord Obbert Fallamonacha' (lines 7; 19–20). In the Norman *dīwān*, the



Figure 4 The ‘*alāma*’ of Obertus Fallamonacha, detail from the Latin–Arabic boundary record of 10 January 6750 AM [AD 1242], Indiction 15, Palermo, Agrigento, Archivio storico del Capitolo della Cattedrale, Tabulario no. 21, recto. © Agrigento, Archivio storico del Capitolo della Cattedrale

title *al-ḥadra*, literally ‘the Presence’, had been reserved for the king himself,¹⁰ but had now been usurped by his minister. The honorific *Ṣīr*, presumably from the Old French *sire*, is not attested in the Norman *dīwān* and so may, perhaps, reflect the form of address used to high officials within the palace.¹¹ Another typically Arabic usage is ‘noble’ (*al-sharīf*) to qualify Fallamonacha’s writ: ‘your noble letter’, instead of the Latin ‘your lordship’s letters’ (lines 9; 20). *Disqūmī*, the term used in the Arabic text for the royal office that William had once held in Vicari, was not coined directly from Latin *vicecomes*, but was rather a standard term that had probably been coined in the Arabic *dīwān*, through the mediation of Greek, before or during the reign of William II (lines 9; 21). Again, while in the Latin text the officials at Vicari simply had the jurors swear, in the Arabic they did so ‘on the Holy Gospel’ (lines 8; 21), adapting a standard formula more commonly used by Muslims taking an oath on the Qur’ān.

The translator of the report presumably also composed the Arabic text of the bilingual document, a highly complex, composite text, in which, at one and the same time, the Latin and the Arabic part each follows its own linguistic traditions, and influences the other, so that both its language and its diplomatic form must be discussed.

To begin with language, certain passages in the *narratio* were clearly conceived in Latin and then translated into Arabic, often attempting a phonetic transliteration of technical terms. The Latin for ‘which he holds and possesses as a benefice’ becomes, in Arabic, ‘which he holds and was given as a *banāfṭsiyū*’ (lines 5; 16). Where Geoffrey is described in Latin as ‘a cleric of the imperial chapel’, in Arabic he is ‘*ikrīlik* of the holy *jaballa*’ (lines 4; 15); *clericus* is rendered elsewhere (line 26) with the article as *al-ikirik*, indicating the translator’s confusion over the position or role of the letter *lām* in the word. In those cases, the translator

seems simply not to have had the Arabic words that he needed. But, when faced with the term ‘a citizen (*civis*) of Palermo’ (line 3), the scribe was already familiar with *burgīsī* (line 15), a loanword well established in Sicilian Arabic since at least the 1140s. There may even be indications in a few personal names (e.g. *Goffredus* / *Jafrāy*: lines 3; 15) and other words (e.g. *cappella* / *jaballa*: lines 4; 15) that the orthography of the Arabic was influenced by the pronunciation of Latin in the francophone Norman palace.¹²

The diplomatic forms of both the Latin and the Arabic texts reflect the norms of the old trilingual chancery, but in such a way that sometimes the Latin, sometimes the Arabic, serves as the model for the other. The Latin text (*scriptum*), after the usual *invocatio* (line 1), moves straight into the *datatio* (lines 1–3). The only calendar year given, 6750 AM, is calculated from the creation according to the Byzantine reckoning, a highly unusual, if not unique, feature in a Latin royal document. Here, it presumably follows the practice of Greek–Arabic bilingual documents from the Norman chancery, most of which are dated *anno mundi* (with or without the year of the *hijra*) and never *anno domini* alone; even the Latin–Arabic register of the boundaries of the lands of Monreale gives the year AM, as well as AD.¹³ The absence of the year AH from the Arabic text is not unusual in documents of the Norman *dīwān*, but is nonetheless worth noting; the last product of the Norman *dīwān* to survive, the Latin–Arabic decree issued by Constance in November 1198, gave the year AD in the Latin, and AH in the Arabic.¹⁴

After the day and Julian month, comes the indictional year and an abbreviated version of Frederick’s titles followed, according to the normal practice of Frederick’s chancery, by his regnal years as emperor of Rome, king of Jerusalem, and king of Sicily. In a brief *inscriptio* (line 3), Fallamonacha introduces himself by name and titles. The

latter are attested in the Norman *dīwān*. The style *duana questorum* / *dīwān al-qawāyit*(?), ‘the bureau of the *questors* / *qāʾids*(?)’, is particularly interesting (lines 3; 15 – where the problem is fully discussed). The Arabic style first appears under King Tancred in 1190, and arguably hints at the existence of a whole tier of subordinate financial administrators, *questors* in Latin and *qāʾids* in Arabic, who are otherwise invisible. If so, it witnesses another coining of an Arabic word (see *disqūmī* above), in this case a variant spelling of the plural of *qāʾid*, not *quwwād* or even *qawāʾid*, but *qawāyit* (or *qawāʾit*) with a final *tāʾ*, perhaps reflecting the mediation of the Greek loanword *kāit* (κάιτ), *kāites* (κάϊτες): i.e. *qāʾid* > *kāit*, pl. *kāites* > *qawāʾit*. All this demonstrates the continuing influence of the trilingual Norman chancery.

The text then moves directly into the detailed *narratio* of the circumstances leading up to the boundary inquest (lines 3–7). The report of the bailiff and judges, including the translation of the boundary description, comes next (lines 7–12). Only the beginning of the report is quoted and immediately the boundaries have finished comes the compact *dispositio-corroboratio* in which Fallamonacha grants Geoffrey’s petition and orders the present document to be made and sealed. Finally, a brief *datum* (line 13) gives the place and date of issue.

The Arabic text is referred to as a *siḡill* (lines 15 and 25), an Egyptian term used regularly for the products of the Norman *dīwān*, but rarely attested in the Maghrib or al-Andalus.¹⁵ Following the standard practice of the *dīwān*, the Arabic has no *basmala* (*invocatio*) and opens abruptly with the *narratio* (lines 13–14), introduced by the usual formula *lammā kāna bi-tārīkh . . .* (‘When it was the date of . . .’: line 13). As usual, the dating formulae are incorporated into the *narratio*. As in the Latin, the calendar year is according to the Byzantine reckoning; this was by no means unusual in Arabic documents from the Norman *dīwān*, and it seems likely that in this, at least, the Latin text of our document has followed the lead of the Arabic. The use of numerical digits for the day of the month is rare, but not unprecedented in the Norman *dīwān* (line 13). The Arabic name of the month, *yanār*, is standard. In a startling departure from the trend in the Norman *dīwān*, Frederick’s royal titles are curtailed to the bare minimum (*mawlā-nā al-imbiraṭūr Fridirīk*, ‘our lord the emperor Frederick’). Indeed, in the Arabic, although not in the Latin, Fallamonacha’s titles are longer and more impressive than those of his master – we shall return to this below. The list of Frederick’s possessions differs from that in the Latin text, so that he is emperor of Germany (‘*alā allamāniya*’) not Rome, and king of Syria (‘*alā al-shām*’) not Jerusalem, following the model of his official Arabic title (see note to line 14 below).

Next, as in the Latin, Fallamonacha introduces himself in a brief *inscriptio* (line 15), directly followed by the detailed *narratio* (lines 15–19). In the latter, a few stock formulae attest to the author’s familiarity with the formulary of the Norman *dīwān*. The passive participle *al-maʿmūr*, meaning ‘the royal’ (literally ‘flourishing’) is used to qualify the imperial *dīwāns* and the palace in Palermo (lines 15, 16, 20). The passive participle *al-maṣūna* acknowledges that Palermo is protected by God, and takes the place of the longer augural formula (*duʿāʾ*) from the same Arabic root that was

used by the Norman *dīwān*–*ṣāna-hā llāh*, ‘May God preserve it!’ (line 16).

As in the Latin, the conclusion of the officials’ report is omitted from the Arabic, and the *dispositio-corroboratio* follows directly after the boundaries. The Arabic *corroboratio* is somewhat fuller than the Latin: ‘and I have written my *ʿalāma* on it [the document], and impressed it with my seal in confirmation of it and as a proof of its authenticity’. The final phrase was standard in the Norman *dīwān*, and borrowed a common Islamic chancery formula (see notes to line 26). The *datum* is followed immediately by Fallamonacha’s *ʿalāma* (**Fig. 4**), written with the same pen and ink as the text, and extended (*kashīda*) three-quarters of the way across the page, before it ends with the elaborate isolated form of the letter *hāʾ* that abbreviates the word, ‘it is finished’, another standard practice in the Norman *dīwān*. At the foot of the document is a *plica*, through which the scarlet silk tie that once held the seal is still attached. The seal itself was already detached in 1961, and now appears to be missing. It was a large (63mm) disc of green wax, bearing the image of a seated figure, surrounded by the name ‘Obertus Fallamonacha’, preceded by a cross (**Fig. 5**).¹⁶

The external features of the bilingual document indicate that it was produced in a well-organised, professional environment (**Fig. 1**). The parchment is fine, strong and regular in dimensions and thickness. The skin side was prepared for the text by whitening; the original, very pale, colour of the recto is preserved within the fold of the *plica*. Perforations were pricked through each fore-edge at intervals of 8mm, and horizontal lines ruled in dry point between each pair; each side was ruled with a vertical margin of 10mm. The scribe of the Latin text followed the lines and margins; the Arabic scribe respected the margins, but did not keep his text within the ruled lines and used them, rather, as a rough guide so that his lines are nonetheless evenly spaced. The first two full lines of the Arabic are horizontal for the full width of the folio, but the subsequent lines tend to sink towards the centre and rise towards the left-hand margin, with some vertical ‘stacking’ to finish the line (e.g. lines 17 and 19).

The Latin script is still the Carolingian minuscule used by the Norman chancery, generally compact and rather square, with relatively restrained use of capitals and decorative flourishes. The Arabic script, too, suggests some continuity with the Norman *dīwān*. Most importantly, it exhibits none of the characteristics of Maghribī rounded scripts to be seen in Almohad and Ḥafṣid documents. The pen was apparently trimmed in the Mashriqī fashion, with the nib cut flat and bevelled, as may be seen from the fact that the scribe was easily able to vary the thickness of his line. Neither a formal book hand, nor a casual script written by an untrained hand, this is an informal, unadorned, workaday cursive script, written at some speed by a competent and practised hand. Compared with most of the *dīwānī* scripts used under William II, and in the one bilingual document of Constance, this is plain, simple and unpretentious, and not an elaborate chancery hand with calligraphic flourishes designed to impress. The letters slant distinctly from right to left, a feature not seen in Norman *dīwānī* scripts, which are generally vertical. Both the Latin



Figure 5 The seal of Obertus Fallamonacha from the Latin–Arabic boundary record of 10 January 1242 (after Collura 1961, fig. 15b)

and the Arabic texts appear to use a brown-black ink, presumably based upon gall nut and iron, which has faded with time. The ink used for the Latin appears to be slightly redder, that for the Arabic slightly blacker; different scribes wrote the Latin and Arabic texts. There is a scattering of diacritical points throughout the text, placed for the most part without obvious reason, although Latin loanwords (e.g. *banāfitsiyū*: line 16) and personal names (*Albarīk wa-Jīlīyū*: line 21) generally have some, but never all, points. *Ihmāl* – the use of signs indicating the absence of diacritic points – is restricted to the occasional gratuitous caron over the letters *rā*’ (*ma’mūr*, line 20; *amr*, line 27) and *sīn* (e.g. *Lawrans* and *yumsik*, line 16; *sanad al-dīs*, lines 22–3). The text is unvocalised, except for three cases of *tanwīn-alif* (lines 18 *bis* and 20). The scribe uses a characteristic ligature for *lām-alif* that begins with the tip of the almost horizontal *alif*, which may run on from the preceding letter, forms a large elliptical loop, and ends with the *lām*, standing a little forward of vertical, with a small spur (lines 13, 14, 19, 25, 26).

Although the Arabic script is generally without calligraphic pretension, the opening words *lammā kāna* were written without lifting the pen, and so were those that follow, *bi-tārīkh*. This reproduces, if somewhat unskilfully, a standard flourish in Arabic documents from the Norman *dīwān*. Fallamonacha’s *‘alāma* is written with the same pen and ink as the text, raising the possibility that his own scribe, or possibly even he himself, wrote the Arabic text of our document.

The language of the Arabic text of our document is unprecedented in the products of the Norman *dīwān* in that the entire text, not merely the boundary description but also the translation of the report from Vicari, and Fallamonacha’s framing text, reflects the vernacular register of so-called ‘Middle Arabic’. All such features are noted in our edition of the document, but one case deserves particular attention because, uniquely, it includes features that are diagnostically characteristic of the dialect of Ifrīqīya

or the wider Maghrib. There are four instances of the use of the imperfect of the verb ‘to be’ (*yakūn*) in order to signal a change of mood before a second imperfect verb:¹⁷ *li-nakūnū nu’tiyū-hu*, ‘that we might set down for him’ (line 17); *li-yakūnū yakhtārū*, ‘that they might choose’ (line 18); *yakūnū yaktubū* (without the introductory particle *li-*), ‘who can/might write’ (line 18); and *li-yakūnū yaktubū*, ‘that they might write’ (line 21).¹⁸ Of these, the first is the most extraordinary in that it preserves, both in its elements and in written form, an entirely vernacular Ifrīqī or Maghribī form of the first person plural imperfect, which retains the terminal *yā*’ of a defective root (i.e. of a verb with a weak final radical) before the final vowel of the conjugation, a *wāw* pronounced as the long vowel *-ū*, giving *li-nakūnū nu’tiyū-hu*. When written as *لنكونوا نعطيوه* this vernacular form screams out from the page. This particular construction could not exist in Classical Arabic (CA), in which the imperfect subjunctive of the two verbs would, in any case, be respectively *nakūna* and *nu’tiya*. This hyperpluralised feature is repeated with *nu’limū*, ‘we inform’ (line 19: CA *nu’limu*). Both the use of a hyperpluralised form of the first person plural, and the retention of the defective terminal *yā*’ to merge with the final vowel of the conjugation *-ū*, are distinctly Maghribī features well attested in the modern dialects of Tunisia and Morocco.¹⁹ They are also attested in the medieval period.

The anonymous compiler of *Al-Ḥumāna fī izālat al-raṭāna* (‘The pearl for the elimination of gibberish’), which opens a window onto aspects of Maghribī and Andalusian vernacular of the late 14th to early 15th centuries, makes the following indignant protest against the common use in the Islamic West of this hyperpluralised ‘we’ form:

to the imperfect verb, [already] prefixed by *nūn*, [they add] the suffix *wāw* when they mean more than one, such as when they say: ‘we go out’ [*nakhrujū*], and ‘we strike’ [*nadribū*], and the like; when the correct thing to do is omit that [suffixed *wāw*] and say: ‘we strike [*nadribū*] . . . and ‘we go out [*nakhruju*] . . . because this [prefixed] *nūn* already indicates more than one, so that there is no need for the [suffixed] *wāw* [to indicate] the plural.²⁰

The presence of such hyperpluralisation in our document proves that it was current before the mid-13th century, and attests to the antiquity of a Maghribī retention of *yā*’ in the first person plural of the imperfect of certain defective verbs and, presumably, also in the third person masculine plural.

In our document, the only other instance of first person plural imperfect is rendered as *nu’limū – naḥnu Ūbart Fallamūniqa . . . nu’limu man . . .*, literally ‘we, Obbert Fallamonacha, inform those who . . .’ (line 15). While the *pluralis majestatis* may be intended, as in the equivalent phrase in the Latin text (*Nos Obbertus Fallamonacha . . . facimus . . .*: line 3), the contrast between *nu’limu* here and *nakūnū nu’tiyū* in line 17 may also reflect Maghribī vernacular usage, where the standard form of the first person plural imperfect verb implies that the subject is singular, while the hyperpluralised form indicates that ‘we’ refers to more than one.²¹

The preceding discussion of various features of our document, and the notes to the edition of the text in the Appendix below, lead to the conclusion that it is an anomalous product. The external features, diplomatic form, language and content of the Arabic text all reveal clear

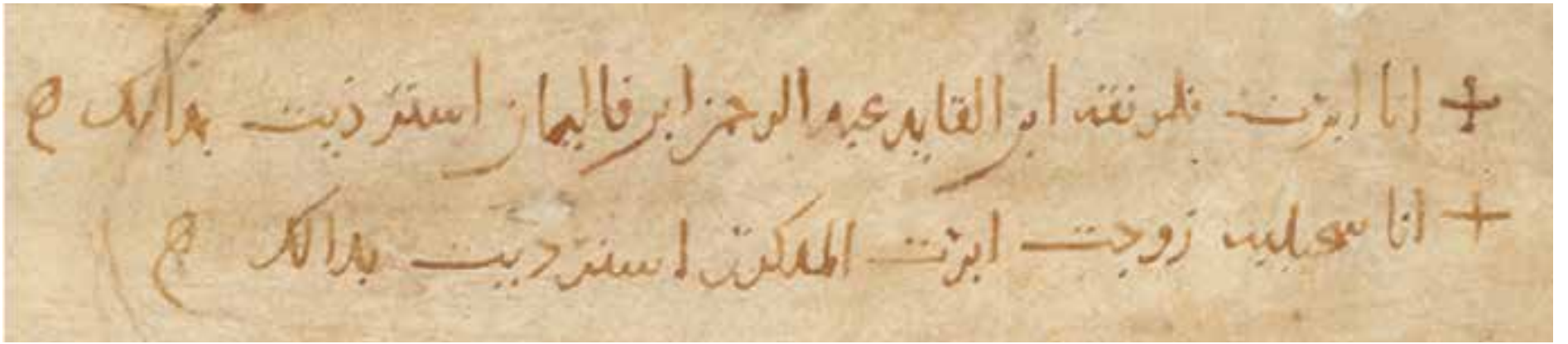


Figure 6 The superscriptions of Obertus Fallamonacha and his wife Suḥayliba, April 1238 AD. Detail from Palermo, Archivio di Stato, Tabulario di S. Maria della Grotta, no. 13, recto (© Archivio di Stato, Palermo)

traces of its descent from the products of the Norman *dīwān*. At the same time, its uncertain command of particular *dīwānī* forms and practices, its script that is not the Norman *dīwānī* last used in 1198 and, above all, the ubiquitous use of the vernacular register, peppered with diagnostically Ifrīqī or Maghribī features, all show how distant our document is, and how widely it has travelled, from its *dīwānī* origins. This serves to focus our attention upon the official responsible for its issue, Obbertus Fallamonacha.

Fallamonacha's origins are complex and perplexing.²² He was the son of 'Abd al-Raḥmān, the *qā'id* of Palermo, who died before 1238 (**Figs 6–7**).²³ 'Abd al-Raḥmān means, literally, 'Servant of the Merciful [God]', and was a name used by Arab Christians in Sicily.²⁴ Fallamonacha's father is not otherwise known.²⁵ He was the son of Fālīmān (?), a name probably derived from the Greek personal name Φιλομένης, Philoménus.²⁶ If so, then Fallamonacha's ancestors were Arabic-speaking Christians of the Greek rite, and must have been Palermitans since the days of the Norman kings.²⁷

Despite his impeccable Palermitan pedigree, Obbertus Fallamonacha was closely connected to Genoa, and his name and surname were both characteristically Genoese. The surname is first attested in 1104 as Futi Monacha; as late as 1166, the first Futi Monacha's daughter still bore her father's surname. But what may seem to be a rather nice distinction between the vulgar Futi Monacha ('screw-a-nun') and the more refined Falla Monacha ('do-the-nun') clearly mattered in Genoa,²⁸ so that when her son became a councillor of the commune in 1157, it was with the surname Fallamonica.²⁹ Thereafter, Fallamonica (and variants) is well attested.³⁰

Two documents establish beyond all doubt Fallamonacha's connections with Genoa. First, in 1253, Fallamonacha wrote to two of his agents in Genoa listing the various sums that the following Genoese merchants had from him *in accomenda*: Ogerio Falamonica, £170; Origo de Auria, 10 ounces of gold; and Ansaldus Falamonica (no sum is recorded).³¹ Second, and still more important, a clause in the treaty between Manfred, regent of Sicily, and Genoa, dated 8 July 1257, guarantees that he will release Fallamonacha and his family, and restore his property to him.³² Clearly, Fallamonacha was of some importance not just to his Genoese family, but also to the commune as a whole.

When Fallamonacha first appears in April 1238, he is married, with children already above the age of consent;³³ it follows that he is likely to have been born a little before 1200, but not too long before, because he was still active as late as 1274, when he appeared as a witness before an inquiry held

to establish the rights of the Cappella Palatina.³⁴ Thus, his childhood coincided with the period of political and social chaos that followed the death of William II in 1189. During these difficult years, his father, 'Abd al-Raḥmān, might have been provoked to remove either himself, or his family, from Palermo by any one of a series of crises: the massacre of the Saracens and outbreak of the Muslim revolts in 1189–90, Henry VI's persecution of the remnants of Tancred's administration in December 1194, the war between Markward of Anweiler and Walter of Palear in 1199–1200, or many other trials and tribulations. 'Abd al-Raḥmān could well have had his own reasons for choosing Genoa, but that cosmopolitan city, so well connected to Palermo by commerce and trade, might, in any case, have seemed an attractive place of refuge. As a former leading official from the Sicilian capital, he might easily have found a willing sponsor, either for himself or for his infant son, among the Falamonica, one of the less important families of the Genoese elite. And, had Fallamonacha grown up in Genoa, perhaps even in his sponsor's household, he might well have followed Frederick back to Palermo after 1221, in order not only to pick up his roots, but also to further the interests of his adoptive family. Of course, this is mere unsubstantiated speculation, but does illustrate one possible manner in which Fallamonacha's dual citizenship, both Palermitan and Genoese, could have come about.

In 1220, when Frederick returned to Sicily from Germany, he was no longer willing to grant Genoa the special treatment that the commune had enjoyed since 1200, and that he had little choice but to confirm on his way north in 1212. At Capua, in December 1220, Genoa lost all commercial and trading privileges throughout the kingdom. Despite this setback, Genoese merchants continued to trade in Sicily throughout the 1220s. Only in the 1230s did Genoese trade in Sicily significantly decline. In 1238 the Genoese first refused to renew their fealty to Frederick, and then allied with the Pope and Venice against the empire.³⁵ In Genoa two factions emerged, one anti- and the other pro-imperial. Families belonging to the former continued to dominate the government and administration, while pro-imperial families were excluded from high office. A few individuals, such as Nicola Spinola and, later, Ansaldo da Mari,³⁶ chose to enter Frederick's service, and, until Fallamonacha's Palermitan pedigree was fully understood, he was often assumed to have been among those pro-imperial Genoese who had defected to Sicily after 1238.³⁷ But in April of that year, Fallamonacha and his family were well established in Palermo and had begun to accumulate

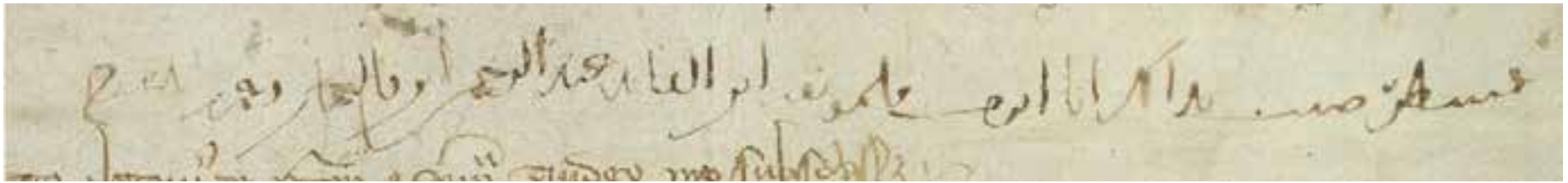


Figure 7 The signature of Obertus Fallamonacha, 20 September 1266. Detail from Palermo, Archivio di Stato, Tabulario della Martorana, no. 33, recto (© Archivio di Stato, Palermo)

property; clearly they had not stepped fresh off the boat from Genoa. What is more, he does not seem to have been over eager to assist his Genoese compatriots: in December 1239 Frederick II had to remind Fallamonacha in writing to carry out his order to supply wheat to the Genoese merchants Enrico de Nigro and Ansaldo da Mari.³⁸

There is no space here to follow Fallamonacha's administrative and political career in Sicily in any detail.³⁹ In any case, the sources provide such detail only for a few months in 1239–40, and are randomly episodic, when not silent, about the last five of his seven years in office.⁴⁰ The main landmarks of his career can be quickly summarised. At this time, the administration of the island of Sicily was shared between two *secreti*, one in Palermo and the other in Messina, whose competencies divided along a line from Pollina on the north coast to Licata on the south, following the course of the River Salso (or Imera meridionale).⁴¹ Shortly before 13 October 1239, Fallamonacha was promoted from 'master portulan of Sicily west of the River Salso' to *secretus* of Palermo.⁴² His activities, particularly in 1239–40, suggest that, as *secretus*, he was expected to be omniscient, much like the 'palace Saracens' of the Norman kings, but that his fundamental duty was the financial administration of the royal demesne, feudal lands and the *iura regalia*, comprising all other customs, rights and taxes claimed by the crown.⁴³ Importantly for what follows, the *secretus* was the supervisor of the *qā'id* of Palermo (*gaytus Panormi*) and, by extension, of the other *qā'ids* of the financial administration.⁴⁴

On 3 May 1240, Frederick united the duties previously performed by the two *secreti* into one office, and made Fallamonacha *secretus* for the whole island:

In order that the administration of the officers of our realm should not be confused through lack of clarity about their duties, obstructing the interests of our fisc, and even causing harm to our faithful subjects, after deep consideration, Our Majesty has decreed that there should be one sole *secretus* for all Sicily from the Strait of Messina, who shall administer with the greatest care all the rights of our *curia*, diligently carry out all our commands, and administer justice to our faithful subjects according to his competency. Moreover, confident in the prudence and loyalty of our faithful Obbertus Fallamonacha, we have nominated him master of the bureaux of the *secreti* and of the *questores* for all Sicily from the Strait of Messina, so that henceforward he shall faithfully perform that office and everything involved in it.⁴⁵

In our document, this office appears as *imperialis doane de secretis et questorum magister per totam Siciliam* / *ṣāhib al-dawāwīn al-ma'mūra wa-l-qawāyit(?) bi-jamī' ṣiqillīya* (lines 3; 15). While the office of *magister duana de secretis* / *ṣāhib dīwān al-ma'mūr* may be traced back to the 1140s,⁴⁶ the *dīwān al-qawāyit(?)* first appears in September 1190.⁴⁷ Fallamonacha held office until at least August 1245.⁴⁸ Fallamonacha was perhaps not the

first to hold this office with responsibility for the whole island – John de Romania, who was based at Messina, appears with the same Latin title (*imperialis doane de secretis et questorum magister*) in 1229, and signs simply 'the *secretus* of Sicily'⁴⁹ – but, when he left office, he was apparently replaced by two master chamberlains, each with responsibility for half the island.⁵⁰

The clause regarding Fallamonacha in Manfred's treaty with Genoa of 1257 reveals that he and his family had been imprisoned, and their possessions seized, apparently on suspicion of peculation:

We shall also set free Ubertus Falamonaca and all his family, restoring to them their houses and possessions, his two sons having been given to us as hostages until he shall deposit a reckoning (*ratio*) of the offices that he exercised, of which he did not deposit any reckoning, nor give a satisfactory final account (*apodisia*).⁵¹

Fallamonacha himself had carried out a similar audit of the accounts of Raymond, a predecessor as *secretus Panormi*. On that occasion, Frederick wrote to the castellan of Palermo instructing him to make available to Fallamonacha 'the account books, reckoning, and other written records of the former *secretus*, Raymond';⁵² Fallamonacha was to make copies and return them to the castellan, to compile lists of sums owed by and to Raymond, and to forward everything to the emperor.⁵³ Fallamonacha's accounts of his far more extensive administration would seem to have been less accessible to the imperial administration than those of Raymond.

Among his other duties, Fallamonacha also served as Frederick's ambassador to Islamic courts: in 1240 to the Ḥafṣid sultan in Tunis,⁵⁴ possibly to Morocco in 1241,⁵⁵ and in 1244 to an unnamed ruler in 'Spanish parts', possibly Muḥammad I, the first Naṣrid ruler of Granada.⁵⁶ On each occasion, Fallamonacha would have seen an Arabic administration at work, and it is tempting to assume that, like George of Antioch who having gone 'many times' to the Fāṭimid court in Cairo thence brought back to Sicily the scribes who reformed King Roger's *dīwān*, Fallamonacha returned with one or more professional scribes. While this remains possible, we have already seen that our document exhibits no feature that reveals the hand of a Maghribī, still less an Andalusī, scribe; its script, diplomatic format and formulary all confirm that its antecedents lay in the Norman chancery.

Fallamonacha also accumulated property. Already in 1238 he held at least three small estates in Palermo.⁵⁷ On 13 September 1244 he purchased from Archbishop Berardo the large estate of Barca, which lay along the shore to the north of Palermo, between the city and Monte Pellegrino.⁵⁸ Outside of the city, two *contrade* still bear what appears to be his name.

One lay at modern Contrada Fellamonica, on the right bank of the River Iato, where the stream turns from west to north, about 5km west of S. Giuseppe Iato, to the east of the southern end of modern Lago Poma (**Fig. 3**).⁵⁹ In the 16th century ‘Fallamonicha’ extended over more than 900ha (418 *salme*), and was so well watered that an attempt was made to grow rice. This land had been part of the royal demesne until William II granted it to Monreale, as part of his vast donation to the abbey. In the boundary register of 1182 the area lies firmly within the Monreale lands, in the south of Raḥl Ibn Barka, with Raḥl Laqamūqa to the west and Jaṭīna to the east.⁶⁰ How and when these lands took the name Fellamonica is unknown, but it is intriguing to find our Fallamonacha in 1239 both taking the vacant see of Monreale into administration, and recovering land for the royal demesne that had been given away by Archbishop Caro (d. 1233?).⁶¹

The other *contrada* to bear the name Fellamonica lies about 4km east-north-east of modern Campofelice di Fitalia (**Fig. 3**).⁶² During the mid-1230s or thereabouts, Fitalia, and two other *casalia* in the district of Vicari, were administered by our Fallamonacha on behalf of his grandson, Obertino de Calvelli.⁶³ All three seem to have lain on the western side of the valley of the Azziriolo, between modern Mezzoiuso and Campofelice and Vicari, 5km to 10km as the crow flies from the Hospital of St Laurence.⁶⁴ In other words, the estate whose boundaries Fallamonacha ordered to be defined and recorded for the cleric Geoffrey in 1242 was a close neighbour of, even if it did not actually adjoin, the lands he administered on behalf of his grandson Obertino.

In conclusion, the external features of our document, its formulary and its content all reveal that it was profoundly influenced by the traditions of the Norman *dīwān*, even though more than 40 years separate it from the last surviving Arabic document issued by Constance in 1198. And yet, there does not seem to have been an Arabic chancery in Palermo during this long interval. In December 1239, when the emperor needed a slave to be taught to read and write Arabic, he sent him to the colony of Muslims transported from Sicily to Apulia at Lucera, not to Palermo.⁶⁵ Although our document demonstrates that the administration in Palermo could issue an Arabic document, it apparently preferred not to do so, as is suggested by a Latin charter of September 1244. Thomas, the prior of St Mary’s in Ustica, held on behalf of his church from the imperial demesne four shops in Palermo for which he had owed 24 gold *tari* annually as recorded ‘in the account books of the bureau of the shops’ (*in quaterniones doane apothecarum*). After a reassessment, the rent had been increased to 32 *tari*. Prior Thomas complained that he was unable to pay so much, and consequently he and his church were granted exemption in perpetuity. The charter recording that exemption was written in Latin – *scriptum doane in Latino*, says the text, stressing the point that it was not written in Arabic – by Mathew Grillus, a public notary specially recruited by Fallamonacha, because the scribes of the *dīwān* were too busy to write it themselves.⁶⁶ This suggests that the financial *dīwāns* kept their internal records in Arabic, were overworked or understaffed or both, and had sometimes to make special arrangements when they needed to issue a document in Latin.

As we have seen, in 1229 it was claimed that ‘the registers (*quaterni*) of the imperial *duana de secretis*’ listed ‘the boundaries of every city, castle, *terra* and *casale* in Sicily’. As late as 1182, these registers (*dafātīr*, Latin *deptariū*) were kept in Arabic, at least for the lands of the royal demesne that were granted to the abbey of Monreale. The inhabitants of those lands, which had been the heart of the Muslim reservation of western Sicily, were predominantly Arabic-speaking Muslims.⁶⁷ It is likely, although it has not yet been proven, that the Norman *dīwān* also kept registers of boundaries in Greek and Latin for those lands whose inhabitants were Greek- or Latin-speakers. The boundary description in our document was composed in Arabic, presumably upon the testimony of local, Arabic-speaking jurors, and would have been entered into the *dafātīr*. All this follows the practice standard since the 1140s. But what is remarkable is that the record issued to Geoffrey was bilingual, in Latin and Arabic, after an interval of more than 40 years from which there survives no Arabic or bilingual document produced by the *dīwān*.

The Arabic used to record boundary descriptions, which were composed in the field by local officials on the testimony of jurors personally familiar with the boundaries, often preserves traces of the rustic vernacular spoken by the witnesses, even when inserted into the polished documents issued by the royal *dīwān*. But the whole of the Arabic text of our document, not just the boundary description, reflects the vernacular register of ‘Middle Arabic’ and includes features that are characteristic of Ifrīqī or Maghribī dialect. This awkward and distinctly *baladī* Arabic, both native and uncivilised, is clearly not the product of a routine, well-practised procedure, and indicates that our document cannot be the sole survivor of a putative series of official Arabic or bilingual boundary records from the first 40 years of Frederick’s reign that have since disappeared without trace.

Why, then, did Fallamonacha order this unique document to be made? There is nothing about the recipient, Geoffrey the son of Michael, a citizen of Palermo, and a priest in the Cappella Palatina, that would seem to indicate that he required a bilingual record. As to the donor, while Fallamonacha did administer neighbouring lands on behalf of his nephew, and so may have had a particular interest in the boundaries of the Hospital of St Laurence, this does not explain why he should have chosen to issue a bilingual boundary record to Geoffrey. The explanation, therefore, seems to lie within the *dīwān*.

This may be the first time that Fallamonacha was requested to order a boundary inquest since he assumed the direction of the *duana de secretis* in May 1239. The manner in which the external features and formulary of the Arabic text of our document constantly hark back to the boundary records of the Norman *dīwān* not only demonstrates how keenly Fallamonacha was aware of that tradition, but also suggests that he may have been attempting to revive it. The resources available to him were strictly limited. His administration, as the document of 1244 shows, was overworked and understaffed. Although internal records continued to be kept in Arabic, there was no living tradition of issuing Arabic documents to external recipients. Fallamonacha clearly had no professional secretaries trained

in the composition of official documents, and had to rely upon a poorly educated scribe whose grasp of the written language was far from perfect. And so it is not surprising that there is no evidence that this unique experiment was ever repeated.

If Fallamonacha was indeed attempting to revive the *ḍiḡwān*, was he acting upon his own initiative or with the approval, even at the suggestion, of the emperor? After his return from Germany in 1220, Frederick had visited Palermo for brief stays only six times in the 1220s, and on one final occasion in 1233; he had left Sicily for the last time in 1234, and was to return only as a corpse for burial in the cathedral. It is unlikely that, in 1242, he would have been up to date with the internal business of the *ḍiḡwāns* in his palace in Palermo. Since October 1239, his policy towards the remaining Muslims of Sicily seems to have been to encourage them to leave their rural *casalia*, which lay dangerously close to the hilltop refuges that had been occupied by the Muslim rebels until 1223, and to concentrate in the Seralcadi, the Muslim quarter of Palermo.⁶⁸ Thence, it would seem, they were to be transported to the Muslim colony at Lucera in Apulia.⁶⁹ There would have been little point, in 1242, in encouraging Fallamonacha's experiment to revive the practice of issuing documents in Arabic if the decision had already been taken, in 1239, to transport the last Muslims of Sicily to Apulia. In short, if Fallamonacha really was attempting to revive the Arabic chancery, then it seems unlikely that he did do so at Frederick's command, or even with his encouragement. This is confirmed by the document itself: it was issued by Fallamonacha, and not even in the name of Frederick; Frederick's reign as king of Sicily is miscalculated; and Fallamonacha's titles are longer and more impressive than those of the emperor, which are reduced to a bare minimum.

In the event, Fallamonacha's experiment came to nothing, and our document was the swansong of the multilingual chancery. In 1243 the Muslims returned to rebellion and reoccupied the mountain refuges of Iato and Entella, and three years later the last of the Muslim rebels were expelled to Lucera.⁷⁰ In 1245 Fallamonacha himself lost office, apparently accused of peculation. He was replaced in Palermo by the master chamberlain Philip of Catania,⁷¹ and neither he, nor any of his successors, can be shown to have exhibited the slightest interest in reviving the multilingual Norman chancery.

Appendix

Latin–Arabic record of an inquest to determine the boundaries of the estate of the hospital of the church of St Laurence, Cefalà [Diana], in the district of Vicari, 10 January 6750 AM [AD 1242], Indiction 15. Palermo.

Obbertus Fallamonacha, master of the imperial *duana de secretis* and master of the *questors* for all Sicily, accedes to the petition of Geoffrey, son of Michael, a citizen of Palermo and a cleric in the imperial chapel in Palermo, that he be issued with a written description of the boundaries of the lands of the hospital of the church of St Laurence, which he holds as a benefice from the church of Agrigento, in the territory of Cefalà [Diana], in the administrative district of Vicari. Fallamonacha writes to the bailiff and judges of Vicari, ordering them to select jurors from

among the worthy elders of Vicari, to swear them in, and to produce a written record of the boundaries. The officials do as commanded, and report to Fallamonacha under seal, listing the names of four jurors – the judges Albericus and Gilius, William the one-time viscount of Vicari, and Basil the son of Honorius – and enclosing the boundary description. Having considered the report from Vicari, Fallamonacha ordered this document (*scriptum; sijill*) to be drawn up, signed with his personal Arabic signature (*ʿalāma*), sealed with his seal and issued to Geoffrey.

Original: Agrigento, Archivio storico del Capitolo della Cattedrale, Tabulario no. 21.

Editions: Pirri 1733, I, 764b, Latin text only. Picone 1866, *Documenti*, CXL–CXLIII, Latin text and Michele Amari's translation of the Arabic. Cusa 1982, no. 190, 602–5. Collura 1961, no. 63, 120–6, plates VIII and XVa, Latin text, and Arabic text edited by Umberto Rizzitano, with Amari's translation after Picone 1866.

Registers: Huillard-Bréholles 1852–61, 6/1, 20. Cusa 1982, no. 190, 743–4. RI, V, 2, 4, no. 13402, in: *Regesta Imperii Online*, http://www.regesta-imperii.de/id/1242-01-10_1_0_5_2_4_3420_13402 (accessed 9 August 2017).

Support: parchment, both sides originally whitened, but the recto has now darkened with age (inside the *plica*, the recto is still pale). Maximum dimensions: 392mm + *plica* 53mm = 445mm x 334mm. Margin of approx. 10mm ruled on both sides. Both left and right pricked and ruled with dry point to give lines of 8mm, which only the Latin scribe respects.

Seal: Now apparently missing, only the red silk tie remains, attached through four holes and a slot cut through the *plica*. Collura (1961, 120: see also n. 16 above) describes the 'sigillo pendente da filo serico rosso, oggi conservato a parte. Si tratta di un bellissimo sigillo *maiestatis*, di cera verde, del diametro di mm. 63, incassato in una teca lignea del diametro mm. 75. Al centro, su di un sfondo delimitato da un triangolo equilatero (lato mm. 20), sta una figura seduta, reggente – pare – un globo (Federico?); attorno vi è disposta la leggenda: + OBERTUS FALLAMONACHA (cf. tav. XVa = **Fig. 5** above)'. See also n. 16 above.

Notes: On the reverse of the *plica*: to the left of the tie, in 14th-century chancery hand .XXI. *ianuar(ii) presentatum*; to the right of the tie, Fallamonacha's 'alāma is transcribed with a modern steel-nib pen, by a rather shaky, 19th-century(?) hand, with full vocalisation and points كُتِبَ عَنْ أَمْرِنَا. On the verso: 14th century(?) *Pri(vilegium.) co(n)finiu(m.) s(an)c(t)i Lau(r) encii Chiphale*; an illegible 14th-century(?) note; 16th century(?) *De finib(us) hospitalis s(an)c(t)i Laure(n-) / ciü, in tentimento Cefala, beneficiu(m) / ecc(lesie) Ag(ri)g(e)nt(ine)*; 17th century(?) *Descriptio confini(um) hospitalis / sancti Laurentii de tenimento / Chifale de b(e) n(e)fficio ecc(lesie) Agri(gentine)*; 19th century *copiato*; 20th century, red crayon, within a circle, 21; 20th century, pencil, 1242–43.

In no(m)i(ne) d(omi)ni n(ost)ri Ih(es)u Ch(rist)i am(en). Anno a creatio(n)e mundi Sexmillesimo, Septingentesimo, Quinq(ua) gesimo, Decimo mensis Ianuarii, q(ui)ntedecime Indictio(n)is, Imp(er)ii d(omi)ni n(ost)ri Friderici, Dei gr(ati)a /² Invictissimi Romanor(um) Imp(er)atoris semp(er) augusti, Illustris Ier(usa) l(e)m, (et) Sicilie Regis, Anno vicesimo s(e)c(un)d(o), Regni Ier(usa)l(e)m anno septimodecimo, Regni vero Sicilie anno quadrages(im)o /³ q(ui)nto, felicit(er) am(en). Nos Obb(er)tus Fallamo(n)acha, Imperial(is) doane de sec(r)etis et q(ue)sto(rum) mag(iste)r p(er) totam Siciliam, p(er) p(re)sens sc(ri)ptu(m)

notu(m) facim(us) universis tam p(re)sentib(us) q(uam) futuris,
q(uod) Goffredus not(a)rii Michael(is), /⁴ civis Panormi,
Imperialis Capp(e)lle Panormi cl(er)icus, ad Imp(er)ialem
doanam accedens, supplicavit nob(is) ut, q(ui)a certos t(er)minos
finiu(m) tenim(en)ti Hospital(is) Eccl(esi)e sue S(an)c(t)i
Laurentii site in tenim(en)to Chiphale q(ua)m /⁵ tenet (et)
possidet in b(e)n(e)ficiu(m) ab Eccl(esi)a Agrigentina, ignorat, ex
officio n(ost)ro p(re)cip(er)em(us) assignari s(ib)i fines ip(s)os p(er)
antiq(u)os (et) fide dignos ho(m)i(n)es regio(n)is p(ro)xime
tenim(en)to eccl(esi)e sup(ra)d(i)c(t)e. Nos aut(em) inclinati iuste
peti- /⁶ cioni sue, sc(ri)psimus baiul(o) (et) iudicibus Biccari q(ui)
sup(er) finib(us) tenim(en)ti p(re)d(i)c(t)e eccl(esi)e p(er) p(ro)bos
et antiquos (et) fidedignos ho(m)i(n)es ip(s)i(us) t(er)re Biccari
recepto p(ri)us ab illo(rum) sing(u)lis iuram(en)to, inq(ui)sitio(n)
em facere(n)t diligente(m), (et) ea q(ue) p(er) /⁷ inq(ui)sicio(n)em
de ip(s)is finib(us) inve(n)irent, nob(is) sub sigillo eo(rum) suis
litt(er)is nuntiare(n)t. Qui Baiulus (et) Iudices resc(ri)pseru(n)t
nob(is) in hac forma: Nobili viro eo(rum) d(omi)no (et) b(e)n(e)
f(a)c(t)ori d(omin)o Obb(er)to Fallamo(n)ach(a), Imp(er)ial(i)
doane de /⁸ secretis (et) questo(rum) mag(ist)ro p(er) totam
Sicil(iam), Baiuli (et) Iudices Biccari, (et) c(etera). Lict(er)as v(est)
re d(omi)natio(n)is nob(is) t(ra)nsmissas recepim(us) (et) statim
studuim(us) adimplere mandatu(m) v(est)r(u)m (et) fecim(us)
iurare de p(ro)bis (et) antiq(ui)s ho(min)ib(us) Bic- /⁹ cari, ad
scribendu(m) fines Hospitalis S(an)c(t)i Laurencii in tenim(en)to
Chifale, (et) sunt hii: Alberic(us), et Gilius iudices, Guill(elmus)
q(uo)ndam vicecomes Biccari, (et) Basili(us) de Honorio, q(ui)
iuraver(un)t (et) sc(ri)pser(un)t fines p(re)d(i)c(t)i ho- /¹⁰ spital(is)
sic: incipientes a vallone q(ui) dicit(ur) Co(n)qui, et vadit p(er)
medietate(m) montis Chip(er)ii, (et) descendit p(er) sindis usq(ue)
ad nem(us) quod dicit(ur) Farrase, (et) deinde descendit p(er)
balatas usque ad vallonem S(an)c(t)i Bran- /¹¹ cati, (et) vadit ad
viam antiqua(m) q(ue) ducit ad Guduranu(m), (et) ascendit p(er)
viam viam, ad viam publicam, q(ue) ducit de Biccario ad
Panormu(m), (et) ascendit exinde usq(ue) ad fines vinee Chichi,
(et) deinde vadit /¹² ad montana(m) p(re)d(i)c(t)i Chip(er)ii, (et) ita
concludunt(ur) fines hospital(is) p(re)d(i)c(t)i. Viso itaq(ue) (et)
intellecto, tenore p(re)sc(ri)pte inq(ui)sitio(n)is (et) certificati p(er)
eam de finib(us) sup(ra)d(i)c(t)is, ad peticio(n)em ipsi(us)
Goffredi cl(er)ici p(re)sens sc(ri)ptu(m) inde sibi /¹³ fieri fecim(us)
sigillo n(ost)ro munitum. Scriptum Panormi, vicesimo d(i)c(t)i
mensis Ianuarii p(re)d(i)c(t)e Quintedecime Indictionis.

لما كان بتاريخ ١٠ من شهر ينار الحول الخامس عشر سنة ستة الاف /¹⁴ وسبعماية
وخمسين من تاريخ العالم ومن حكم مولانا الانبرطور فردريك على اللمانية اثنتين
وعشرين سنة ومن ملكه على الشام سبعة عشر سنة ومن ملكه على صقلية خمسة
واربعين سنة /¹⁵ نحن اوبرت فلمونقة صاحب الدواوين المعمورة والقوايت (?) بجميع
صقلية نعلم من حضر ووقف على هذا السجل ان جفراى ابن الكاتب ميخال برجيسى
المدينة اكر لك الجبل المقدسة /¹⁶ بالقصر المعمور بالمدينة المصونة حضر بالديوان
المعمور وسالنا لاجل انه ما كان يعرف حدود اسبطل صنت لورنس فى فحص
جفلة الذى يمسلك واعطاله عن بنافتسيوا /¹⁷ من كنيسة كركنت لنكونوا نعطيوه
الحدود المذكورة عن علم ناس امنا واشياخ بالاقليم المجاور الى الاقليم المذكور من
الاسبطل المذكور ونحن لما نظرنا ان طلبه صواب /¹⁸ قبلنا سواه وانفدنا كتابنا الى
العمال واليودجين ببيقو ليكونوا يختاروا ناساً جياداً واشياخاً من البلد المذكورة بعد
يمينهم بالانجيل المقدس يكونوا يكتبوا لنا /¹⁹ الحدود المنسوبة الى الاسبطل المذكور
وقد عرفونا بكتابهم المختوم بطابعهم الذى كتبوا العمال واليودجين وهذا مضمونه
نعلموا حضر تك المصونة المولى سير اوبرت /²⁰ فلمونقة صاحب الدواوين المعمورة
والقوايت (?) بجميع صقلية نحن العمال واليودجين ببيقو وصلنا كتابكم الشريف وفى
الوقت امتثلنا الامر واخترنا ناساً جياداً واشياخ /²¹ من البلد وحلفناهم بالانجيل المقدس
ليكونوا يكتبوا حدود اسبطل صنت لورنس المذكور بفحص جفلة وهم البيريك وجيليو
اليودجين وغليالم الكاين دسقومى ببيقو /²² وباسيلي دانريو الذى حلفوا وكتبوا الحدود
المذكورة فابتدوا بالكتابة من الخندق الذى يعرف بالاحواض ويمور على نصف جبل
جباري وينزل مع سند /²³ النيس حتى الى الشعرا التى يوقال لها فراشة ومن هناك
ينزل مع البلاط حتى الى خندق صنت ابر انقاطو ويمور الى الطريق القديمة الموصلة
منه /²⁴ الى الغدران ويطلع مع الطريق الى الطريق المسلوكة الموصلة من
بيقو الى المدينة المصونة ويطلع من هناك الى حدود جنان جيى ومن هناك يصل الى

جبل جباري /²⁵ المذكور وهذه حدود الاسبطل المذكور وغاية منتهايه وعندما صح
لنا كتابهم المختوم بطابعهم امرنا بكتبت هذا السجل للحدود المذكورة الى جفراى /²⁶
الاكر ك المذكور وكتبنا فيه علامتنا وختمناه بطابعنا تاكيدا له ودليلا على صحته وكان
ذلك بتاريخ العشرين ينار الحول المورخ هـ /²⁷ كتب عن امرنا هـ

[Latin] /¹ In the name of Our Lord Jesus Christ. Amen. In the
year of the creation of the world six-thousand-seven-hundred-
and-fifty, on the tenth of the month of January, in the fifteenth
indiction, in the twenty-second year of the auspicious empire of
our Lord Frederick, through the grace of God, /² the invincible
and forever august emperor of the Romans, illustrious king of
Jerusalem and Sicily, in the seventeenth year of the kingdom of
Jerusalem [and,] indeed, the forty- /³ fifth year of the kingdom
of Sicily. Amen. We, Obbertus Fallamonacha, master of the
imperial *duana de secretis* and of the quaestors for the whole of
Sicily, by the present charter (*scriptum*) give notice to all those
present and yet to come, that Godfrey, son the the notary
Michael, /⁴ a citizen of Palermo, a cleric of the imperial chapel
in Palermo, coming to the imperial *duana*, did implore us that,
because he was ignorant of certain borders of the boundary of
the holding of his church of the Hospital of St Laurence, sited in
the territory of Cefalà, /⁵ which he holds and possesses as a
benefice from the Agrigentan church, we should command
from our office to mark out to him those same boundaries by
ancient and trustworthy men from the region near to the estate
of the aforesaid church. And so, we, favourably inclined
towards his reasonable petition, /⁶ wrote to the bailiff and
justices of Vicari, who held a careful inquest into the
boundaries of the holding of the aforesaid church among
honest, elderly and trustworthy men of the same district of
Vicari, having first received an oath from each of them, and
that which they discovered by /⁷ the inquest about the same
boundaries, they reported to us in writing and under seal. The
bailiff and the justices wrote to us in this manner: ‘To the noble
lord and benefactor, Lord Obbert Fallamonacha, master of the
imperial *duana de* /⁸ *secretis* and the quaestors for the whole of
Sicily, from the bailiff and justices of Vicari, *et cetera*. We
received the letters sent by your lordship to us and immediately
took pains to fulfil your command. We swore in honest and
elderly men from Vicari /⁹ to write down the boundaries of the
Hospital of St Laurence in the territory of Cefalà, and they are:
the justices Alberic and Giles, William the former viscount of
Vicari, and Basil [the son] of Honorius, who swore and wrote
down the boundaries of the aforesaid /¹⁰ Hospital, thus:
‘Beginning from the valley that is called Conqui, it goes
through the middle of Mount Chiperi, and descends through
the *sindis* until the wood that is called Farrase. Then goes down
through the rock-outcrops, to the valley of San Brancato. /¹¹ It
goes to the old road that leads to Godrano, and climbs straight
along the road to the public highway that leads from Vicari to
Palermo, and it goes up from there to the boundary of the
Vineyard of Chichi. And then it goes /¹² to the aforesaid Mount
Chiperi, and there end the boundaries of the aforesaid
Hospital.’ Having seen and understood the tenor of the
aforesaid inquest, and having established by means of it the
aforesaid boundaries, on the petition of the same clerk Godfrey
[we ordered] the present document to be made for him and
furnished with our seal. /¹³ Written in Palermo, on the twentieth
of the month of January, in the aforesaid fifteenth indiction.
[Arabic] When it was the date of the 10th of the month of
January in the fifteenth indiction of the year six thousand- /¹⁴
and-seven-hundred-and-fifty from the date of the [creation of
the] world, and of the twenty-second year of the dominion of
our lord the emperor Frederick over Germany, and of the
seventeenth year of his reign over Syria, and of the forty-fifth
year of his reign over Sicily, /¹⁵ I, Übart Fallamūnaqa, master of
the royal *dīwāns* and of the *qāʾids*(?) of all Sicily, inform whoever

will be present and will read this document that Geoffrey, son of the scribe Michael, a burgher of the capital, a cleric of the holy chapel /¹⁶ in the royal palace of the [God-]protected capital, presented himself at the royal *dīwān* and, because he did not know the boundaries of the Hospital of St Laurence in the territory of Cefalà, which he holds and which was granted to him as a benefice /¹⁷ by the church of Agrigento, he asked us to set down for him the aforesaid boundaries, according to the knowledge of the trustworthy men and elders of the district adjacent to the aforesaid territory of the aforesaid Hospital. And, when we saw that his petition was just, /¹⁸ we acceded to his request and dispatched our writ (*kitāb*) to the governor and judges of Vicari, that they should select good men and elders from the aforesaid town who, after swearing on the Holy Gospel, should write out for us /¹⁹ the boundaries pertaining to the aforesaid Hospital. And they apprised us by their letter (*kitāb*), impressed with their seal, of that which the governor and judges recorded; and this is its purport. ‘We, the governor and judges of Vicari, inform your [God-]protected worship, the Lord Sir Ūbart /²⁰ Fallamūnaqa, master of the royal *dīwāns* and the *qāʿids*(?) of all Sicily, that your noble letter reached us, and we immediately complied with your order and selected good men and elders /²¹ from the town and had them swear on the Holy Gospel that they would record the boundaries of the aforesaid Hospital of St Laurence in the territory of Cefalà. They are: Alberic and Giles, the judges; William, being viscount of Vicari; /²² and Basil [the son] of Honorius. They swore [accordingly] and recorded the aforesaid boundaries. They began to record from the valley known as *al-Aḥwād* (‘the basins’), and it runs through the middle of *Jabal Ḥ.bārī*, and descends with *Sanad* /²³ *al-Dīs* (‘the acclivity of dis’) as far as the thicket which is called *Farāsha*. And from here it descends with the rock outcrop until it reaches the valley of San Brancato. And it passes on to the old road leading to *al-Ghudrān*. It climbs straight along the road to the highroad leading from Vicari to the [God-]protected capital. And it climbs from here to the boundary of the vineyard of *Ḥyīl*, and from here it reaches the aforesaid *Jabal Ḥ.bārī*. /²⁵ And these are the boundaries of the aforesaid hospital, and its full extent.’ And once I was convinced of the veracity of their written record (*kitāb*), impressed with their seal, I ordered this document (*ṣijill*) of the aforesaid boundaries to be drawn up for the aforesaid Godfrey /²⁶ the Clerk, and I have written in it my *ʿalāma* and impressed it with my seal in confirmation and as a proof of its authenticity. And that was on the date of the twentieth of January of the above-dated indiction. /²⁷ Written on my order.

Notes to text

Latin

Line 1

- *Anno a creatione mundi sexmillesimo, septingentesimo, quinquagesimo, decimo*: That the only year given is from the creation of the world according to the Byzantine reckoning is extremely unusual in a Latin chancery document, although another Latin document issued by Fallamonacha in September 1244 is dated both *anno a creatione mundi* and *anno ab incarnatione domini*: Winkelmann 1880, 1, no. 707, 561–2.

Lines 2–3

- *Regni vero Sicilie anno quadragesimo q(ui)nto*: Frederick was crowned king of Sicily in Palermo on 17 May 1198, so that January 6750 AM (AD 1242) fell during the 44th year of Frederick’s reign. The error is translated into Arabic (line 14).

Line 3

- *Nos Obbertus Fallamonacha, Imperialis doane de secretis et questorum magister per totam Siciliam*: for Fallamonacha’s name and offices, see note to line 15 below.

Lines 3–4

- *Goffredus notarii Michaelis, / civis Panormi, Imperialis Cappelle Panormi clericus*: see above, p. 143 and n. 3.

Line 4

- *Tenimentum Hospitalis Ecclesie . . . Sancti Laurentii site in tenimento Chiphale*: the Hospital of St Laurence (**Fig. 3**) lay a kilometre or so to the south-west of modern Villafrati, at or near the late 18th-century church of Santa Maria in San Lorenzo (37.900857, 13.479915): see above, p. 143 and n. 4. In the 12th century the castle and settlement of *Chiphale* / *Ḥ.fala* was located on modern Monte or Pizzo Chiarastella (37.924, 13.483); the place name *Ḥ.fala* derives from Greek Κεφαλάς, perhaps referring to the skull-like profile on Monte Chiarastella (*pace* Bagnera and Nef 2007, 306, and Bagnera and Nef 2018, 20–5): see Maurici 2016, 311–13 and works there cited.

Line 6

- *Biccari*: Arabic *Bīqū*, modern Vicari: see also lines 8, 9, 11; 18, 20, 21, 24. For medieval Vicari, see Maurici 1998, 106; Zorić 2001.

Line 9

- *Albericus et Gilius iudices*: for Arabic, see line 21 below. *Albericus*, originally from Old High German, attested in Italy from the 9th century: Caracausi 1993, 1, 29b; *Gilius*, perhaps originally from Latin *Egidius*, via French *Gilles*: *ibid.*, 1, 725a.
- *Guillelmus quondam vicecomes Biccari*: for Arabic, see line 21 below. *Guillelmus*, originally from Old High German **Willi-helm*, needs no comment in Norman Sicily. *Vicecomes*, ‘viscount’, is a Latin term (also *baiulus*, ‘bailiff’) for the royal official in charge of an administrative district. In this case, William seems to have retired from office: see note to line 21 below.
- *Basili(us) de Honorio*: for Arabic, see line 22 below. *Basilius* is likely to derive directly from the Greek personal name Βασίλης, whereas *de Honorio*, ‘[the son] of Honorius’, may indicate that his father was Latin and therefore, perhaps, that his mother was Greek.

Line 10

- *a vallone qui dicitur Conqui*: *Conqui* is said to be a Sicilian form of *Conche*, from Latin *concha* (Greek κόγχη), ‘a shell-like cavity’ (Collura 1961, 125, n. 3; Caracausi 1993, 1, 431b). Here, it seems to describe the form of the man-made pools, troughs or other receptacles for water, or of the places in which water collects or is collected, called in Arabic *al-aḥwād*, sing. *ḥawḍ* (see note to line 22 below). Felicitously, Lane (1984, 1, 670b) quotes the Arabic saying: ‘He filled the *concha* (*ḥawḍ*) of his ear with the abundance of his speech’. The meanings of modern Sicilian *conca* include all these, as well as ‘low ground between mountains’ (Piccitto 1977, 1, 759b).
- *per medietatem montis Chiperii*: see also line 12. Caracausi (1993, vol. 1, p. 402b) seeks to derive *Chiperii* from Greek κύπερος, via Latin *cyperus*, but it is more likely to be a phonetic transliteration of the Arabic *Ḥ.bārī* (see note to line 22 below).

- *per sindis*: the Arabic words *sanad al-dīs* (lines 22–3), literally ‘the acclivity of dis’, have been conflated into *sindis*, as if it were a geographical term or toponym. See note to line 22 below.
- *nemus quod dicitur Farrase*: Arabic *al-sha‘rā allatī yūqāl la-hā Farāsha* (line 23). *Farrase* is a phonetic transliteration of Arabic *Farāsha*, for which see note to line 23 below.
- *per balatas*: Arabic *ma‘a al-balāt* (line 23), ‘with the rocky-outcrop’. Arabic *balāt* was borrowed by Greek and Latin in Sicily during the 12th century, and is well established in medieval and modern Sicilian: Caracausi 1983, no. 29, 116–18.

Lines 10–11

- *ad vallonem Sancti Brancati*: unidentified, but note modern Casa Brancato (37.902, 13.460), 1.75km west of the site of the Hospital of St Laurence: Maurici 2016, 316–17.

Line 11

- *ad Guduranum*: Arabic, *al-Ghudrān* (line 24); modern Godrano: Caracausi 1993, 1, 742b. Medieval *Guduranum* / *al-Ghudrān* is said to have stood about 0.8km south-west of the modern town, around the old railway station (37.897, 13.424): see Maurici 1998, 83.
- *ad fines vinee Chichi* (Arabic *ilā ḥudūd jinān jījī*: line 24): *Chichi* is a personal name, a phonetic transliteration of the Arabic *jījī*: see note to line 24 below.

Arabic

Line 13

- *لما كان بتاريخ*: *lammā kāna bi-tārīkh*, ‘when it was the date of’. A standard opening for the Arabic documents of the Norman *dīwān* since the 1140s, see Johns 2002, 107, 120, 122, 123, 126, 127, 128, 130.
- *١٠ من شهر يناير*: *10 min yanār*, ‘the 10th of January’. The use of digits for the day of the month was rare but not unknown in the Norman *dīwān*: see von Falkenhausen, Jamil and Johns 2016, 62 n. 490, and 64. *Yanār*, ‘January’, was standard in the Norman *dīwān* from at latest 1134 onwards: Johns 2002, *Dīwānī* docs 13, 21 and 35, 304, 306, 310; also Private doc. 23, 322.
- *الحول الخامس عشر*: *al-ḥawl al-khāmis ‘aṣhar*, ‘the fifteenth indiction’. The use of *al-ḥawl* for the indictional year, instead of the more common *al-indīqtus*, is attested in the Norman *dīwān*: Johns 2002, 166; von Falkenhausen, Jamil and Johns 2016, 62, 64.

Lines 13–14

- *سنة ستة الاف وسبعماية وخمسين من تاريخ العالم*: *sanat sittat ālāf wa-sab‘miya wa-khamsīn min tārīkh al-‘ālam*, ‘in the year six-thousand-and-seven-hundred-and-fifty according to the date of the world’. For the use of the Byzantine year from the creation of the world, see the note to line 1 above.

Line 14

- *سبعماية*: *sab‘miya*, ‘seven-hundred’. The document has *سبعماية*, for Classical Arabic (CA) *sab‘imi’a*. In line with vernacular practice, this document indicates an unequivocal ‘lightening’ of CA *hamza* in all positions, primary, medial and final, either leaving *hamza* entirely unspecified, as here, or occasionally pointing it as *yā’*. Throughout our edition, we have therefore pointed the *yā’* where medial *kursī yā’* is indicated. In these notes we remark only those instances where the scribe himself has

pointed the *yā’*. On the phenomenon of ‘lightened’ *hamza*, see Hopkins 1984, 19–33, paras 19–28, and the literature cited. As to the phonological implications for the loss of *hamza* in different positions, Ibn Makkī (1410/1990, chapter 11, 122–4) comments on those omissions and insertions of *hamza* in the spoken register with which he was familiar, as well as on the commonplace of primary and medial *hamza* replaced by *wāw* and *yā’* in speech (ibid., pp. 47–8).

- *مولانا الانبرطور فرديريك*: *mawlā-nā al-imbirātūr Fridirīk*, ‘Our lord the Emperor Frederick’. The savage truncation of Frederick’s full Arabic title is conspicuous and remarkable. The Latin is more generous: *dominus noster Fridericus, Dei gratia invictissimus Romanorum imperator semper augustus, Illustris Ierusalem, et Sicilie Rex* (see lines 1–2). In Arabic we might expect something along the lines of *al-qayṣar al-mu‘azzam imbirātūr rūmīya fridirīk al-manṣūr bi-llāh mālik almāniya wa-lumbardiya wa-tusqāna wa-ītāliya wa-ankabardha wa-qalūriya wa-ṣiqilliya wa-mamlakat al-shām al-quḍsiya mu‘izz imām rūmīya al-nāṣir li-l-milla al-masīhiya*, reconstructed from Frederick’s Arabic inscription of AD 1229 from Jaffa in Palestine: see Sharon and Schrager 2012. See also the still grander Arabic titles of Constance and the young Frederick from their Latin–Arabic decree of November 1198: Jamil and Johns 2016, 122–3 and 146, lines 16–17.
- *من ملكه على الشام*: *min mulki-h ‘alā al-shām*, ‘of his rule over Syria’. Presumably abbreviated from the full Arabic title of the kingdom of Jerusalem, as in Frederick’s inscription from Jaffa, cited above.
- *اثنتين وعشرين سنة ... سبعة عشر سنة ... خمسة واربعين سنة*: Feminine اثنتين for ‘two’ conforms to CA, but CA سبع *sab‘* and *خمس واربعين سنة*. In common with other ‘Middle Arabic’ and vernacular varieties of Arabic, the deviation from CA usage shown here is conspicuous. On the syntactical deviations of the numerals in non-CA varieties, see Hopkins 1984, 187–204. On the regular use of *ithnayn* with the feminine, see ibid., 196–7, para. 199, and notes; Blau 1966, 374, para. 252, and n. 28.
- *من ملكه على صقلية خمسة واربعين سنة*: *min mulki-h ‘alā ṣiqilliya khamṣa wa-arba‘īn sana*, ‘of his rule over Sicily forty-five years’. See note to line 2 above.

Line 15

- *صاحب الدواوين المعمورة والقوايت (?) بجميع صقلية او برت*: *ṣāhib al-dawāwīn al-ma‘mūra wa-l-qawāyit(?) bi-jamī‘ ṣiqilliya*, Latin *Imperialis doane de secretis et questorum magister per totam Siciliam* (line 3). For further discussion of Fallamonacha’s name and offices, see above, pp. 149–52. The office of *magister duana de secretis* / *ṣāhib dīwān al-ma‘mūr* may be traced back to the 1140s: Johns 2002, 193–203. An Arabic document of September 1190 (Palermo, Archivio storico diocesano, Tabulario, diploma no. 27; Cusa 1982, 44–6) is the earliest appearance of the title here read as *dīwān al-qawāyit(?)*. Johns (2002, 204–5 and n. 56, and Private doc. 26, 323), before he had seen our document, and under the misapprehension that Garufi’s photograph of the document showed the word to be pointed with a *fā’* originally read ‘the *dīwān* of the revenues’, *dīwān al-fawā‘id*, from *fawā‘id*, the plural of *fā‘ida*, meaning ‘profit’, ‘advantage’ and ‘benefit’, spiritual

and material, what is received and what is given. In fact, both in our document and in the document of 1190, the initial letter is written without points, and so can be read either as a *fā'* or a *qāf*. However, in our bilingual document, the juxtaposition of Latin *doana questorum* with Arabic *dīwān al-qawāyit(?)* clearly implies that both are terms for the bureau of the officials who had charge of public revenue and expenditure, and who were known in Latin as *questores* and in Arabic as *qawāyit*, i.e. the *qā'id*s of the Arabic administration (for whom see Johns 2002, 212–56 *et passim*). There remains only the slightest doubt that *qawāyit* is an irregular plural in place of CA *quwwād*, *qāda*, etc. A similar form is attested in the Arabic *Life of St Gregorius*: the irregular plural القووات, presumably voiced as *quwwāt*, meaning ‘commanders’, in place of CA القواد *quwwād* (Marr 1906, 188). Blau (1966, 106, 12.2) regards the latter as evidence of devoiced final *dāl*, but Hopkins (1984, 33, para. 30b) finds no such instance in Arabic texts, only in Greek transliteration. In our case, too, the interference of Greek and even Latin may play a part. The addition of a *yā'* to the written form – القوايت, *al-qawāyit* – suggests that we may see the mediation of the Siculo-Greek loanword *kāit* (κάϊτ), pl. *kāites* (κάϊτες) – i.e. *qā'id* > *kāit*, pl. *kāites* > *qawā'it* – or even the Sicilian loanword *gaytus* (see Caracausi 1983, 238–40) – i.e. *qā'id* > *gaytus*, pl. *gayti* > *qawāyit*. Further evidence may yet be forthcoming and so, for the moment, we have preferred to indicate the slight doubt remaining as to the reading by qualifying it with a question mark – القوايت(?), *al-qawāyit(?)*.

- الدواوين المعمورة: see also lines 16 and 20 below. For the use of *al-ma'mūr* /a in the Norman *dīwān*, see Johns 2002, 195.
- القوايت: note that the *yā'* (indicating a lightening of the *hamza* – see notes to line 14 above) and the *tā'* are clearly pointed, although the *qāf* is unpointed. See also line 20 below.
- نحن . . . نعلم: see above, p. 148 and n. 20.
- السجل, *sijill*: see Jamil and Johns 2016, 124, and above, p. 147 and n. 15.
- برجيسى المدينة: *burjīsī al-madīna*, ‘a burgess of the capital’, Latin *civis Panormi* (line 4). *Burgīsī*, presumably from Old French *burgeis* rather than from Latin *burgensis*, was well established in the Norman *dīwān* from at least the early 1140s: see von Falkenhausen, Jamil and Johns 2016, 20, n. 108.
- اكرلك: *ikrīlik*, Latin *clericus* (lines 4, 12). Compare اكرلك *al-ikrīk* in line 26 below: both attempt the phonetic translation of Latin *clericus*, but the scribe seems uncertain of the position and role of the letter *lām*.
- الجبلية المقدسة: *al-jaballa al-muqaddasa*, Latin *Imperialis Cappelle* (line 4), the Cappella Palatina in the Royal Palace in Palermo. The transformation of Latin *cappella* into Arabic *jaballa* may be the sole occurrence in our document of a hard *jīm*, similar to Egyptian *gīm*, a phenomenon attested for Sicily by the grammarians – Ibn Makkī (1990, 54) notes the transformation of *jīm* into *qāf* and *kāf* (but also of *jīm* into *shīm*): see also ‘Abd al-Wahhāb (1953, 26) for *jīm* into *qāf* – although extremely rare in documentary sources (Caracausi 1983, 61–2). However, the alternative is also worth considering. Latin initial *c-*, which at first sight we would expect

to have been pronounced hard, as in English *cat*, is rendered into Arabic as *jīm*, usually pronounced soft, as something like English *gem*. Elsewhere in our document, initial *jīm* regularly transforms into Latin *ch-* (Eng. *chip*): *ḡ.fala* > *Chifale* (lines 4, 9; 16, 21); *ḡ.bārī* > *Chiperi* (lines 10, 12; 22, 24); and *ḡ.jī* > *Chichi* (lines 11; 24), which also transforms into Greek Τζίτζι (see note to line 24). (Note also medial *-ce-* > *jīm* in *iudices* > *al-yūdiyy.n*: lines 7, 8, 9; 18, 22.) While we cannot, of course, know the precise phonetic pronunciation of Arabic *jīm-* / Latin *chi-*, it is clear that it was some type of palato-alveolar consonant (Eng. *ship*, *genre*, *chip*, *job*, etc., respectively IPA ʃ-, ʒ-, tʃ-, dʒ- etc.). This was also so for the Latin personal names in our document that are rendered into Arabic with initial *jīm*; not just *Gilius* > *ḡ.iliyū*, both voiced palato-alveolar sibilant fricatives (ʒ-), but also *Goffredus* > *ḡ.frāy*. The latter is particularly revealing because, had *Goffredus* been pronounced as it is written, then the initial consonant would have been a voiced velar stop, as in English *Godfrey*, while the Arabic *ḡ.frāy* strongly suggests that it corresponds to English *Geoffrey*. This raises the possibility that *cappella*, too, may have been written in the standard Latin form, but pronounced with an initial palato-alveolar consonant that transformed readily into Arabic *jaballa*. The phrase *al-jaballa al-muqaddasa* also appears in a Latin–Arabic *instrumentum* / *kitāb* of 1187 (Tabulario della Cappella Palatina, no. 19; Cusa 1982, no. 155, 83–5; Johns 2002, Private doc. 23, 322), in which the following transformations of Latin initial *ca-* to Arabic *ja/ā-* occur: *al-jaballa* (lines 12, 14); *al-jant.r*, for Latin *cantor* (lines 12, 14); and *al-jānūniya*, ‘the canons’ (line 12). See also *al-jānūniyā*, ‘the canons’, (and *Sant Alūjiyah* < Latin? *Santa Lucia*) in a Judaeo-Arabic document from Syracuse dated 1187 (Palermo, Archivio di Stato, Tabulario di Cefalù, no. 25, lines 6 and 9; edited by Wansbrough 1967, and corrected by Golb 1973, 108, n. 26. A bilingual Greek–Arabic ἔγραφοι / *sijill* of 1172 (Tabulario della Cappella Palatina, no. 16; edited in Ménager 1960, Appendix 2, no. 33, 214–24; Johns 2002, *Dīwānī* doc. 39, 312) adds the transformation of Greek καγκε- to Arabic *jansi-* (ὁ [ἀντι-]καγκελλάριος > *al-jansilīr*: line 2). In Old French all of these words began with a voiceless palato-alveolar sibilant fricative consonant (ʃ- or tʃ-), which would have readily transformed into Arabic *jīm*: *chapele*, *chantré*, *chanoine* and *chancelier* (as already noted by De Simone 1988, 74). While it is no surprise to find such French pronunciation of Latin terms in the Norman palace in the 1170s and 1180s, the possibility that this practice may have continued until as late as 1242 is unexpected. (See also our comments on *sīr* in the notes to lines 19–20 below.)

Line 16

- القصر المعمور: *al-qaṣr al-ma'mūr*, see notes to lines 15 above and 20 below.
- المدينة المصونة: The passive participle *al-maṣūna* acknowledges that Palermo is protected by God, and takes the place of the longer augural formula (*du'ā'*) from the same Arabic root that was used by the Norman *dīwān* – *ṣāna-hā llāh*, ‘May God preserve it!': see Johns 2002, 138.
- اسبital صنت لورنس: *usbiṭāl Ṣant Lūrans*, Latin *Hospital* . . .

Sancti Laurentii (line 4). The word *usbiṭāl* is used in the Arabic text of the Monreale boundary register of 1182 (*Ribā‘ Usbiṭāl Shantaghnī / Divisa terrarum Hospitalis Sancte Agnes*: Biblioteca centrale per la Regione Siciliana, Tabulario di Monreale, no. 32, lines 332/168: Cusa 1982, 235 / 197). For the location of the Hospital of St Laurence, see note to line 4 above.

- *في فحص جفلة*: *fī fahṣ ʔ.fala*, ‘in the territory of *ʔ.fala*’. For the location of *ʔ.fala / Chif/phale* in the 12th century, see note to line 4 above.
- *الذي يمسكه*: *alladhī y.ms.k*, ‘which he holds’. CA *الذي يمسكه*, *alladhī yumsiku-hu*. One of two occurrences of a missing accusative *ʔid* in a relative clause (see also line 19 below). Compare Hopkins 1984, 244–5, para. 297.
- *اعطا*: An unorthodox rendition (*uʔāʔ*) of CA passive *أُعْطِيَ* *uʔiya*, ‘he was given’; a phenomenon, also attested elsewhere, which has been related to both ancient and modern varieties of Arabic dialect: see Blau 1966, 191–2, para. 92, and the literature cited in n. 218; Hopkins 1984, 84, para. 82b and the literature cited in n. 6.
- *الذي يمسك واعطاه عن بنافيتسيو*: *alladhī y.ms.k wa-uʔā la-hu* ‘an *banāfitsiyū*, ‘which he holds and possesses as a benefice’. The translator has struggled with the technical Latin terminology *quam tenet et possidet in beneficium* (lines 4–5). Note in particular the rendition of *beneficium* as *>banāfitsiyū*, which may indicate the mediation of Sicilian *bbenifizziu*, etc. (Piccitto 1977, vol. 1, 408). See also above, pp. 146 and 148.

Line 17

- *كنيسة*: *kanīsīya*, ‘church’: a common Sicilian variant of CA *كنيسة*, *kanīsa*, see Caracausi 1983, 185–7.
- *لنكونوا نعطيوه*: *li-nakūnū nuʔiyū-h*, ‘that we might set down for him’: for this distinctly *Ifriqī* dialectal usage, see above, pp. 148–9 and n. 20.
- *أمانا*: CA *أماناء*, *umanāʔ*.

Line 18

- *سؤاله*: CA *سؤاله*, *suʔāla-hu*.
- *اليودجين*: *al-yūdij.y.n*, ‘the (two?) judges’ from Latin *iudices* (lines 7, 8, 9). It is unclear whether *al-yūdij.y.n* (‘the judges’), here and in line 21, is conceived as an ‘all-purpose’ plural ending *-in*, *al-yūdijīn* or as a dual ending in *-ayn*, *al-yūdijayn*. On the phenomenon of the dual either being superseded by, or alternating with, the plural, see Hopkins 1984, 94, para. 84a and notes; Blau 1966, 209–13, para. 106 and notes.
- *ليكونوا يختاروا*: see above, pp. 148–9 and n. 20.
- *البلد المذكورة*: A feminine adjective, *al-madhkūra*, appears to accompany a usually masculine noun, *al-balad*. This may exemplify *scripta defectiva*, with the loss of medial *ā* from *al-bilād*, which would certainly command a feminine adjective: see Hopkins 1984, 11–12, para. 10, and the literature cited there.
- *ليكونوا يكتبوا لنا*: *yakūnū* (without the introductory particle *li-*) *yaktubū la-nā*, ‘who can/might write for us’: see above, pp. 148–9 and n. 20. Compare Hopkins 1984, 215, para. 241, noting an unusual use of *yakūn* as an ‘index’ before another imperfect.

Line 19

- *بطابعهم الذي كتبه*: CA *بطابعهم الذي كتبوا*. Another occurrence of a missing accusative *ʔid* in a relative clause (see also

line 16 above) where, in addition, a plural verb is used before the subjects – an example of so-called *lughat akalū-nī al-barāghīth*, ‘the language of the gnats ate me’: see Hopkins 1984, 138, para. 139, and the literature cited.

- *اليودجين*: see notes to line 18 above.
- *نعلموا*: *nuʔimū*, ‘we inform’. For this distinctly *Ifriqī* dialectal usage, see above, pp. 148–9 and n. 20.

Lines 19–20

- *المولى سير اوبرت فلمونقة صاحب الدواوين المعمورة والقوايت (?)*: *al-mawlā sīr Ūbart Fallamūniqa ṣāhib al-dawāwīn al-maʔmūra wa-l-qawāyit(?) bi-jamīʔ ṣiqillīya*, ‘Your [God]-protected Presence, the Lord Sire Ūbart Fallamūnaqa’, Latin ‘Nobili viro eorum domino et benefactori domino Obberto Fallamonacha, Imperiali doane de secretis et questorum magistro per totam Siciliam’ (line 7). *Sīr*, presumably from Old French *sire*, appears only in the Arabic and perhaps reproduces an honorific form of address used to leading officials within the administration and the palace. For further discussion of Fallamonacha’s name and titles, see above, pp. 149–50.

Line 20

- *كتابكم الشريف*: *kitābu-kum al-sharīf*, ‘your noble letter’. For the significance of the formula, see above, p. 146.
- *ناسا جيادا واشياخ*: *nāsan jiyādan wa-ashyākh*, ‘trustworthy people and elders’, Latin *de probis et antiquis hominibus*. The phrase is clumsy and the translator does not seem to be aware of the concise formula *al-shuyūkh al-thiqāt*, ‘trustworthy elders’, employed by the Norman *dīwān* (Johns and Metcalfe 1999, 230–1). In the same phrase in line 18 (*ناسا جيادا واشياخ*, *nāsan jiyādan wa-ashyākhan*) *ashyākhan* bears a *tanwīn alif* to indicate that it is the direct object, conforming to CA practice and suggesting, perhaps, a desire to signal a certain formulaic gravity. Here, *ashyākh* appears without *tanwīn alif*. On the contemporaneous presence and absence of *tanwīn alif*, see Hopkins 1984, 162; Blau 1966, 324, para. 221.2.

Line 21

- *ليكونوا يكتبوا*: *li-yakūnū yaktubū*, ‘that they might write’, see above, pp. 148–9 and n. 20.
- *البيريك وجيليو*: *Albīrīk wa-ʔīlīyū*: see note to line 9 above.
- *اليودجين*: see note to line 18 above.
- *غليالم الكاين دسقومى ببيقو*: *Ghulyāl.m al-kāyīn disqūmī bi-Bīqū*. Latin *Guillelmus quondam vicecomes Biccari*, ‘William the former viscount of Vicari’. The ‘viscount’ was a royal official appointed in charge of an administrative district (see note to line 9 above). *Ghulyāl.m* is the standard Arabic form in Sicilian documents for Latin *Guillelmus*, compare Greek Γουλιάλμος, Γουλιέλμος. *Al-kāyīn* (CA *al-kāʔīn*) seems to imply that William was ‘the existing’ viscount of Vicari, whereas the Latin *quondam* can only mean that he was ‘the former’ viscount. Blau 1960, 439, para. 324, gives examples of *kāyīn* denoting the imminent future, which might suggest that its temporal force could depend upon context; indeed, even *quondam* could be used poetically to mean ‘one day’ or ‘some day’ (e.g. Horace, *Satires*, 2.2, 82; *Aeneid* 6: 877), although here this cannot be the case. Arabic *Disqūmī* (Latin *vicecomes*: line 9) is attested in the Arabic text of the Greek–Arabic document of 1172 (see note to line 15 above: edited in Ménager 1960, 216, line 17; 217, line 7): Βουττάϊπος ὁ ποτὲ βεσκόμης, ‘Abū l-Ṭayyib

the former viscount’ / *Abū l-Ṭayyib alladhī kāna disqūmī*, ‘Abū l-Ṭayyib who was viscount’, another retired royal official serving as a juror on a boundary inquest. *Disqūmī* seems to have been an established form, which came from Latin *vicecomes* through the mediation of Greek, for δισκόμης is attested as early as 1166: Caracausi 1990, 166. See notes to line 9 above, and pp. 145–6.

Line 22

- باسيلي دانريو: *Bāsīlī Dānuriyū*, ‘Basil [the son] of Honorius’, see note to line 9 above and p. 145.
- الذى: CA الذين, *alladhīna*. The use of the invariable relative pronoun, *alladhī*, is well-attested in ‘Middle Arabic’ and vernacular usage: see Hopkins 1984, 240, para. 289, and notes.
- فابتدأوا or فابتدأوا: CA فابتدأوا. For the absence of *alif fāṣila* against CA, in the third person plural of verbs, see Hopkins 1984, 52, para. 50b–c.
- الخندق الذى يعرف بالاحواض: *al-khandaq alladhī yu‘raf bi-l-aḥwād*; Latin *a vallone qui dicitur Conqui* (see note to line 10 above). *Aḥwād*, plural of *ḥawḍ*: in the singular, most commonly used to refer to the *Ḥawḍ al-Rasūl*, ‘the Pool of the Messenger [of God]’ from which the blessed will drink at their resurrection; here, most probably referring to man-made pools, troughs or other receptacles for water, or to places in which water collects or is collected (see Sicilian *conca* in note to line 10 above): Lane 1984, 1, 670b–c. See also the note فراشة: *Farāsha* to line 24 below.
- جبل جبارى: *Jabal ḡ. bārī*; Latin *mons Chiperii* (lines 10, 12). *ḡ. bārī* (see also line 24) is written without *fatha* and *shadda*, but it is almost irresistible to read *ḡabbārī*. It may, of course, be the Arabisation of an unknown ancient place name, but the Arabic word could suggest something that is ‘high’, ‘mighty’, ‘proud’ etc.; *al-ḡabbār* is one of the names of God, and *ḡabbār* is a common *ism*, which would give the *nisba* *ḡabbārī*: Lane 1984, 373b–375b.
- يمور: CA يَمُرّ, i.e. long *wāw* for short vowel *ḍamma*, ostensibly *y.mūr* for *yamurr* (see also line 23): see Hopkins 1984, 6–7, para. 4 and literature cited, ‘It is difficult, if not impossible, to make a neat distinction between those cases which attest to a genuine phonetic process and those which simply exhibit a peculiarity in the orthography’.

Lines 22–3

- سند الديس: *sanad al-dīs* ‘the acclivity of dis’. Dis is a grass of the genus *Ampelodesmos*, which is gathered and used for weaving baskets, mats, etc. For the Latin *sindis*, see note to line 10 above.

Line 23

- الشعرا: *al-sha‘rā*, CA الشعراء, *al-sha‘rā*, ‘the thicket’, Latin *nemus* (line 10). See von Falkenhausen, Jamil and Johns 2016, 36, n. 218.
- فراشة: *Farāsha* (Latin, *Farrase*: line 10) is the name given to a wood (*nemus*; *al-sha‘rā*); an Arabic geographical term denoting a muddy or swampy area of land, or the small amount of water left in a basin after the rest has evaporated: see Yāqūt 1866–73, 3, 863. The entry for *al-farāsha* in *Taj al-‘arūs* 2011 (s.v. *f-r-sh*) is particularly suggestive in the context of this document: ‘a small quantity of water remaining in pools (*al-ghudrān*: cf. line 24), beyond which can be seen the earth of the basin (*ard al-ḥawḍ*: cf. *al-aḥwād* in line 22). Al-Idrīsī (1975, 604)

describes the ‘gushing waters and abundant pools’ (*miyāhu-hā mutadaffiqatun wa-ghudrānu-hā mughdawdiqatun*) in the territory of Cefalà.

- يوقال: CA يُقال, i.e. long *wāw* for short vowel *ḍamma*: see note to line 22 above.
- يمور: CA يَمُرّ: see note to line 22 above.

Line 24

- الى الغدران: *al-Ghudrān* (Latin *ad Guduranum*: line 11); modern Godrano: see Caracausi 1993, 1, 742b.
- الطريق الطريق: For such reduplication of nouns, see Metcalfe 2018, 16–23.
- جنان جيجى: *jinān ḡjī*, Latin *vinea Chichi* (line 11). *ḡjī* / *Chichi* is a personal name, possibly derived from the Latin *cicer* (Italian *cece*) ‘chickpea’: compare Greek Τζίτζι, the name of a villein granted by Roger I to the Greek monastery of St Mary’s of Vicari in October 1097 (Becker 2013, Doc. 59, 230, line 4 from foot of page). See also Caracausi 1990, 598b; Caracausi 1993, 1, 394a.

Line 25

- منتهاه: *muntahāy.h* (CA منتهاه, *muntahā-hu*). This insertion of *yā*, displacing the pronominal suffix *-hu*, and causing the elision of intervocalic *hā*, is an unequivocal sign of phonetic process, surely related to vernacular practice. Compare Hopkins 1984, 44, para. 46b, and the literature cited there.

Line 26

- الاكرك: Compare with اكرك in line 15 above.
- تاكيدا له ودليلا على صحته: *ta’kīdan la-hu wa-dalīlan ‘alā ṣiḥḥati-hi*, ‘in confirmation of it and as a proof of its authenticity’, a standard formula in the Norman *dīwān*: Johns 2002, 100 and n. 25, 166–7 n. 44.
- هـ: The text ends with the letter *hā* in the shape of a poorly drawn trefoil, an abbreviation for *[inta]h[ā]*, ‘it is finished’, a standard symbol used in the Norman *dīwān* and other medieval Islamic chanceries to mark the end of a given text: see Johns 2002, 280, 310.

Line 27

- كتب عن امرنا هـ: *kutiba ‘an amri-nā [inta]h[ā]*, ‘Written on my order. [It is finis]h[ed]’, Fallamonacha’s *‘alāma*.

Notes

- 1 Johns 2002, passim.
- 2 Jamil and Johns 2016, passim.
- 3 Geis 2014, no. 117, 475–6. He is known only from our document.
- 4 Ferdinando Maurici (2016) has recently reviewed all the evidence and confirmed beyond any reasonable doubt that the Hospital of San Lorenzo lay a kilometre or so to the south-west of modern Villafrati, at or near the late 18th-century church of Santa Maria in San Lorenzo (37.900857, 13.479915: unless otherwise specified all geographical coordinates are given in decimal degrees), roughly 40km by road south-south-east of Palermo, and 17km by road north-east of Vicari (*pace* Bagnera and Nef 2007, 301, and now *pace* the in most respects definitive and in any case indispensable study of the baths of Cefalà Diana by Bagnera and Nef 2018, 11–58 and especially 20–5, the Hospital of San Lorenzo cannot be identified with the Baths of Cefalà Diana, which lie north-north-west of the site of the Hospital, 3.3km as the crow flies and 5.5km by road).
- 5 Johns 2002, 170–86.
- 6 Ibid., 193–203.
- 7 Ibid., 172–86.

- 8 Genuardi 1909, doc. 2, 238–43, esp. 242.
- 9 Note also the coining of *al-yūd.j.y.n* from *iudices*: see notes to lines 18 and 21 above. *Disqūmī*, in contrast, was not coined *directly* from *vicecomes* in our document, and had come into Arabic through the mediation of Greek before 1172: see notes to line 21 above.
- 10 Johns 2002, 134–7, 268, 270–3, 287.
- 11 For another possible example indicating the survival of French within the royal palace (*Šīr* < *sire*), see note to lines 19–20, p. 157 above.
- 12 See especially the note on *al-jaballa al-muqaddasa* to line 15, pp. 155–6 above.
- 13 A Latin document issued by Fallamonacha in September 1244, and signed with his *‘alāma* (*signo nostro Saracenco*), is dated both *Anno a creatione mundi* and *anno ab incarnatione domini*: Winkelmann 1880–5, 1, no. 707, 561–2.
- 14 Jamil and Johns 2016.
- 15 Ibid., 124.
- 16 See p. 148. Collura’s assumption that the seated figure represents a ruler *maiestatis* may well be correct, but the eye familiar with Islamic art sees the figure in the standard pose of the ruler or his *nadīm* (boon-companion), seated with wine-cup in hand, a pose more appropriate for Fallamonacha.
- 17 As is often the case with non-CA varieties of Arabic, one cannot here detect explicit signs of mood-change in the imperfect verbs: see Hopkins 1984, 134–5, para. 138a, 138a.i, and the literature cited. The *Ḥumāna* (‘Abd al-Wahhāb 1953, 33) comments on the absence of the *nūn* of the imperfect, noting, for example, invariable *yaqūmū* and *yaqūmā*. Ibn Makkī (1990) does not mention anything like this in his chapters on non-classical variations of verbs and sundry deviations from standard practice.
- 18 Compare Blau 1966, 436–7, para. 321.1.
- 19 See, for example, Chekili 1982, 38–9, 61; and Ennaji *et al.* 2004, 36.
- 20 ‘Abd al-Wahhāb 1953, 30–1: *wa-min dhālika ilhāqu-humu l-fi’la l-mabdū’a bi-nūni l-muḍāri’i wāwan idhā arādū l-mushāarakata ka-qawlihim: naḥnu nakhrujū wa-naḍribū wa-naḥwa-hu, wa-l-ṣawābu ḥadhfu-hā fa-yuqāla: naḥnu nadribu zaydan wa-nakhruju ghadan li-anna hādhihi l-nūna tadullu ‘alā l-mushāarakati fa-lā ḥājata ilā wāwi l-jam’i*. The editor (page 31, n. 1) underlines the distinct Maghribī nature of this hyperplural, and suggests that it may date to the 4th century of the *hijra* (11th century AD), and be common not just to Ifrīqīya but to al-Andalus and to Mediterranean islands such as Sicily, Malta and Pantelleria.
- 21 The compiler of the *Ḥumāna* notes both the acceptable use of standard first person plural for ‘the magnified singular’, *al-wāḥid al-mu’azzam* (‘Abd al-Wahhāb 1953, 31), and the unorthodox feature of prefix *-nūn* for the first person singular in the dialects of Tunis and al-Andalus of his time (ibid., 40): *wa-min dhālika qawlu l-mutakallimi waḥda-hu: anā na’kul wa-naḍrib zaydan wa-naḥwa dhālika fa-yada’ūna mā li-l-jamā’ati fi mawḍi’i l-afrādi wa-l-ṣawābu an yaqūla l-mutakallimu idhā kāna munfaridan anā af’alu wa-akhruju wa-mā ashbaha-hu bi-l-hamzati lā bi-l-nūni*, ‘and among this category [i.e. of elements inappropriately placed] is when a person says: ‘I we-eat’ [with *nūn*-prefix], and ‘we-strike [with *nūn*-prefix] Zayd’, and such like, thus using an indicator of the many in the place of the individual, when the correct thing is for a speaker to say, if he is alone: ‘I I-do, and I-go out’, and the like, with [the prefix] *hamza*, not *nūn*’. For this phenomenon in late 12th-century Sicilian Judaeo-Arabic, see also Wansbrough 1967, 309 n. 7, and the literature there cited.
- 22 What follows revises and expands Johns 2002, 245–7, and corrects those errors of which we are now aware.
- 23 A Greek document, with Arabic superscriptions and Latin signatories, of April 6746 AM, Indiction XI (AD 1238), in which Fallamonacha, with the consent of his wife and sons, exchanges two pieces of arable land at St Maria, which he had previously exchanged with Athanasius, abbot of the Greek monastery of S. Maria della Grotta, for a third in San Drogone (unlocated). Original: Palermo, Archivio di Stato, Tabulario di S. Maria della Grotta, no. 13; edited in Cusa 1982, no. 188, 676–8; Johns 2002, Private doc. 31, 324. The superscriptions (**Fig. 6**) are as follows: (sic!) انا ابرت فلمونقة ابن القايد عبد الرحمن ابن فاليمان استرذيت (sic!) بذلك (sic!) + هـ / + انا سحيلية زوجت (sic!) ابرت المذكور استرذيت (sic!) بذلك (sic!) هـ, + *anā Ūbart Fallamūnaqa ibn al-qā’id ‘Abd al-Raḥm[ā]n ibn Fālīmān usturdhītu* (sic! corr. *usturdītu*) *bi-dhālika [inta]h[ā]/ + anā Suḥayliba zawjat Ūbart al-madhkūr usturdhītu* (sic! corr. *usturdītu*, compare below) *bi-dhālika [inta]h[ā]*, ‘+ I, Ūbart Fallamūnaqa, son of *al-qā’id* ‘Abd al-Raḥm[ā]n son of Fālīmān approve that. [It is finis]h[ed]’ / + I Suḥayliba, wife of Ūbart Fallamūnaqa, approve that. [It is finis]h[ed]’. In the Greek text, Fallamonacha appears as ὁπρորη θεijsΡομπέρτοςΦαλλαμόνακαοὐιὸςτοῦμακαρίτουγέροντοςκυρ ίουἈβδερράχμἐνκαϊκάϊτουτῆςθεοφρουρίτουμεγάληςπώλεωςΠ ανόρμου, ‘the most illustrious *Rombertos Phallamonaka* the son of the late elder Lord *Abderrachmen*, *qā’id* of the God-protected great city of Palermo’ (lines 5–6); Suḥayliba’s name does not appear in the Greek text. Compare his signature on 20 September 1266 (Ūbart) – اسطر ضيت (sic!) بذلك (sic!) انا ابرت فلمونقة ابن القايد عبد الرحمن ابن فاليمان رحمه المسيح *usturdītu* (sic! corr. *usturdītu*, compare above) *bi-dhālika* (sic!) *anā Ūbart Fallamūnaqa ibn al-qā’id ‘Abd al-Raḥm[ā]n ibn Fālīmān raḥimahu al-masīḥ*, ‘I approve that, Ūbart Fallamūnaqa, son of *al-qā’id* ‘Abd al-Raḥm[ā]n son of Fālīmān – May the Messiah have mercy on him! – as witness to a Latin charter in which his son, Perrinus Fallamonacha, a canon of Palermo Cathedral, with the consent of the archbishop and the other canons, grants to Master Martin, *aulae regiae advocatus*, in exchange for services rendered, the lower part of a ruined house on the *Platea Marmorea* in Palermo, for 8 *tari per annum* (Palermo, Archivio di Stato, Tabulario della Martorana, no. 33). The errors in these three signatures illustrate their author’s shaky command of the written language. For Perrinus, who appears only in this document, Geis 2014, 486, 501; for Martin, Trasselli 1965.
- 24 For example, Cusa 1982, 663, 664, 666; Mongitore 1721, 40–1.
- 25 There is no study of the office of the *qā’id* of Palermo in Christian Sicily. The *qā’id* was distinct from the *secretus* of Palermo: see Frederick II’s reply, dated 1 December 1239, to the complaints of Fallamonacha, then *secretus Panormi*, against the *gaytus Panormi*: Carbonetti Vendittelli 2002, 1, 224. For the *secretus Panormi*: Kamp 1974; Friedl 2005, 72–89, 510–12.
- 26 For Φιλομένης, see Caracausi 1990, 599–600. *Fālīmān* and *Fallamūnaqa* / *Fallamonacha* are presumably in some way connected, but precisely how remains unclear.
- 27 Bresc 1989, 336 argued that, on the contrary, Fallamonacha was a recent convert, who took his name and surname from his Genoese godfather. See below for an alternative solution to the enigma.
- 28 See Desimoni 1858, 150: ‘Nei Signori Genovesi abbondano . . . dei sopranomi viziosi [e] ridicoli: *embriachi, cacalasagne, merdenpè, porco, pedegola, papaciccia, roça, futimonica* poi *fallamonicaeccc.*, segno di maggiore mitezza ed anche un poco del carattere genovese’.
- 29 Belgrano 1862, 328–9, 392. Olivieri 1858, 298.
- 30 For example: Del Borgo 1765, 232; Canale 1845, 283–4; Poggi 1900, 41, 53, 58, 68, 92, 114; Ferretto 1906, 36; Day 1963, 158; Polonio 1982, 438; Nocera *et al.* 1986, 80, 81; not to mention the poet

- Bartolomeo Fallamonica Gentile (c. 1450–c. 1515), author of a journey through the afterlife inspired by Dante but guided by Raymund Llull: Foà 1994.
- 31 Genova, Biblioteca Civica Berio, m.r.III.4.7, f. 517r: *Foliatium Notariorum Genuensium*, an 18th-century manuscript (first cited by Nuti 1994). I am immensely grateful to dott.ssa Emanuela Ferro of the Biblioteca Civica Berio for her generous assistance, not least in supplying me with an image of this folio. Ansaldo and Ogerio were the most prominent members of the Fallamonica in the mid-13th century, but Origo/Orrico de Auria (i.e. Doria) does not seem to be otherwise attested. For Ansaldo, *consiliarius Ianue*: Puncuh 1996, no. 373, 282 (28 August 1225), no. 448, 476 (16 September 1233); Dellacasa 1998, no. 717, 158 (19 February 1251), no. 720, 172 (18 February 1251), no. 727, 209 (13 September 1251), no. 745, 251 (4 March 1250), no. 748, 270 (5 June 1252), no. 760, 348 (8 June 1251), no. 763, 362 (20 October 1251); Madia 1999, no. 824, 15 (8 July 1267), no. 904, 202 (21 September 1263); Bibolini 2000, no. 1056, 220 (17 November 1256), no. 1058 224 (17 November 1256). For Ogerio, *consiliarius Ianue*: Puncuh 1996, no. 368, 264 (8 October 1224), nos 424–6, 422, 424, 425 (22–23 May 1218), no. 429, 430–1 (12 July 1218), no. 437, 454 (22–23 May 1218); Dellacasa 1998, no. 717, 158 (19 February 1251), Bibolini 2000, no. 1031, 171 (20 November 1054); *iudex*: Madia 1999, no. 822, 6 (19 July 1267).
- 32 Genoese renewal of 17 September 1259: Dellacasa 1998, no. 742, 237–42, esp. 242; also Brantl 1994, no. 193, 301–2. See also p. 150 and n. 51.
- 33 See the document of April 1238, cited in n. 23 above.
- 34 The record of the inquest survives only as a transumpt: Garofalo 1835, doc. 58, 76–87, especially 80, line 9, to 83, line 4.
- 35 Powell 1966; Petti Balbi 2001; Macconi 2002, 127–37.
- 36 Nicola Spinola: Petti Balbi 2005–8; Ansaldo De Mari: Cancellieri 1990.
- 37 Vitale 1951, 272, 285. Mazzaresse Fardella 1986, 121–2; Nuti 1994; Patti Balbi 2001, 82.
- 38 Carbonetti Vendittelli 2002, 1, no. 232, 224.
- 39 The best and most up-to-date summary is provided by Friedl 2005, 490, 496–500, 502, 510–11 and 516; see also index (620).
- 40 See Carbonetti Vendittelli 2002, 1, Introduzione.
- 41 Carbonetti Vendittelli 2002.
- 42 Ibid., 1, no. 99, 80: *magister portulanus Sicilie ultra flumen Salsum et nunc secretus Panormi*. He remained *magister portulanus* until 15 December 1239: *ibid.*, 1, no. 259, 259. Kamp 1974, 92. Friedl 2005, 510–11.
- 43 For his activities 1239–40, see Carbonetti Vendittelli 2002, indices, and pp. 150–1. For the ‘palace Saracens’, see Johns 2002, 212–56. For the *secretus Panormi*, see Kamp 1974, 55–6.
- 44 Carbonetti Vendittelli 2002, 2, nos 743–5, 743–665, especially no. 744, 664.
- 45 Ibid., 2, no. 1037, 904: *statuimus te doane de secretis et questorum a Faro per totam Siciliam magistrum*. Fallamonacha seems to have also fulfilled the duties of *secretus Panormi*, for that office apparently stood vacant until August 1251: Kamp 1974, 91.
- 46 Johns 202, 193–203.
- 47 See note to line 15 above and the works there cited.
- 48 Original: Palermo, Archivio di Stato, Tabulario di San Filippo di Demenna, no. 29; edited in Cusa 1982, no. 192, 452–6: τὸ ἐνδοξοτάτος ἄρχον καὶ μέγας σεκρετικός κύριος Ῥομβέρτος Φαλλαμόνακα, ‘of the lord archon and the great *sekreitikos*, lord Rombert Fallamonaca’, a Greek version of his Arabic and Latin titles.
- 49 Genuardi 1909, doc. 2, 238–43.
- 50 Kamp 1974, 90, 91.
- 51 Friedl 2013, DD M. 33, 74, ll. 32–5; renewed March 1259, Friedl 2013, DD M.64, 149, ll. 17–20; DD M. 65, 153, ll. 27–27-3: *Liberamus etiam Ubertum Falamonacam et familiam eius totam, restituentes eis domos et possessiones suas, datis nobis duobus filiis suis obsidibus, donec posuerit rationem de officiis que exercuit, de quibus rationem non posuit nec habet ydoneam apodisiam*. There is no reason to believe that he was condemned for having played some role, with Genoese associates, in the Muslim rebellion of 1243–6, *pace* Bresc 1974, 273 and Luttrell 1980, 292–7. When they wrote, he was still assumed to have been a convert from Islam, and not, as has since been shown, an Arabic-speaking Christian. For the Muslim rebellion, see Maurici 1987, 48–9.
- 52 *Quaterniones et rationes alias scriptas quondam Raymundi secreti*: Carbonetti Vendittelli 2002, 1, no. 260, 262.
- 53 Carbonetti Vendittelli 2002, 1, no. 259, 259.
- 54 Ibid., 1, nos 539–42, 512–15. Sciascia 1989, 1176 and nn. 9–10.
- 55 *Annales Siculi* 1928, 118, s.a. 1241: *Obertus de Fallamonaca de mandato domini imperatoris iuit apud Maroccum*. It is possible that the *Annales Siculi* is here referring to the embassy to Tunis in the previous year.
- 56 Winkelmann 1880, 1, no. 707, 561–2. See also Collura 1951, 17–18. The document states that Follamonacha had just returned *de Hispaniae partibus* where he had been sent as ambassador to the *rex Emyr Ilmumin*. This cannot refer to the Almohad caliph (*pace* Johns 2002, 246), who by this time was confined to Morocco, but no Spanish ruler at this time used the caliphal title *amīr al-muʿminīn*. The first Naṣrid, Muḥammad I, used the style *amīr al-muslimīn*, for which the Latin is presumably an error. (I am most grateful to my D.Phil. student, Mr Péter Nagy, for pointing this out to me.)
- 57 See above, n. 23.
- 58 Di Matteo 2013, 340–1.
- 59 Modern Masseria Casa Fellamonica: 37.9666, 13.1256.
- 60 Nania 1995, 102–3, 218–32. See also Alfano and Sacco 2014, 20.
- 61 Carbonetti Vendittelli 2002, 1, no. 63, 64, no. 181, 164, no. 259, 259.
- 62 IGM Ciminna 259 IV S.O. (1970) places ‘Contrada Fella Monica’ at 700890, just west of the SS.121 at km 218, north of the scarp of rock (37.839785, 13.527842). ‘Fellamonaco’ is marked here on von Schmettau’s map of 1720–1: Dufour 1995. Santagati 2006, 1, 31, claims that von Schmettau erroneously reports a dialectal form of the correct toponym ‘Feudo della Monaca’, but the claim is baseless; the place name ‘Fallamonica’ is attested since at least the early 19th century (Gattuso 1975, 41). There is also a Contrada Fellamonica in the *comune* of Mezzoiuso (e.g. it is the address of Mezzoiuso Carburanti in via Stazzone, 37.864400, 13.467142).
- 63 Original: 6 March 1276, Indiction IV: Palermo, Archivio Storico Diocesano, Tabulario, no. 62, lines 39, 42; ed. Mortillaro 1843, no. 62, 226–3. See also Gattuso 1975, 7 n. 12, citing the 17th-century collection of ‘Privilegi della famiglia Calvello’, Palermo, Biblioteca Comunale, MS. Qq E 56, f. 50, and Bresc 2001, paras. 26–27. What claims to be the renewal by Frederick II in 1229 to Mattheus de Calvellis of a Greek molybdo-bull of King Roger granting these *casalia* to Goffridus of Palermo, son of Goffridus the Seneschal and grandfather of Mattheus (ed. Winkelmann 1880, 1, no. 306, 275, from a copy of notarial record dated 1339 in the same manuscript) is of dubious diplomatic status and looks suspiciously like an attempt to create an ancient Norman pedigree for the Calvelli. That said, the *Goffridus Senescalcus* who first appears amongst the witnesses to a Greek–Latin privilege of Roger I dated June 1090 and renewed and confirmed by Roger II in May 1117 (original, Palermo, Archivio di Stato, Tabulario dei monasteri di San Filippo

- di Fragalà e di Santa Maria di Maniaci, no. 1, line 35; ed. Becker 2013, no. 13, 78–81), and then as a witness (*Goffridus Senescallus*) to what seems to be an authentic and contemporary copy of a Latin privilege of Roger I dated 1094 (Patti, Archivio storico diocesano, Capitolo Cattedrale di Patti, Carpettazza no. 2B, lines 23–4; ed. Becker 2013, no. 40, 165–8), could well have had a greatgrandson still living in 1229. It may even be worth noting that the family name *Calvellus* (presumably a diminutive form of Latin *calvus*, ‘bald’ — and thus scarcely a distinctive epithet) is well attested north of the Alps before the Norman conquest of Sicily, e.g. in 11th-century Anjou where Gerald *Calvellus* was a regular member of the *comitatus* of the counts of Anjou *circa* 1020–60: Bertrand de Broussillon 1903, 1: 3, 79, 88, 95, 162, 209, 222, 305, 420 and 2: 11. The Calvelli seem to have eventually inherited Fallamonacha’s lands, including his estate at Barca: Marrone 2006, 82, 107, 108, 463.
- 64 Fitalia, probably modern Masseria Fitalia, west of modern Campofelice di Fitalia (37.827599, 13.492298); Barmasse, also Bramasa, unidentified; Mizilcharez, also Rahalkerames, etc., possibly Cozzo s. Nicola, 5km south of Campofelice (37.781, 13.483): Maurici 1998, no. 97, 81, no. 31, 68, and no. 200, 98.
- 65 For the case of ‘Abd Allāh, sent to John the Moor at Lucera, see Carbonetti Vendittelli 2002, 1, no. 300, 308; ‘Abd Allāh was a common name and so he is unlikely to be the embroiderer (*Abdalla servus noster tarrasiator*) at Lucera in April 1240 (ibid., 2, no. 907, 801). For John the Moor see: Taylor 2003, 127–30; Houben 2016, 15–16.
- 66 Winkelmann 1880, 1, no. 707, 561–2: *Ad huius ergo rei memoriam et imperialis curie cautelam hoc presens scriptum doane in Latino tantum sibi et suis successoribus exinde fieri iussimus per manus notarii Mathei Grilli, ad scribendum instrumenta ipsa a nobis statuti et iurati, cum propter multitudinem aliorum serviciorum curie alii notarii doane non sufficerent ad scribendum signo nostro Saracenico et sigillo fecimus communari.*
- 67 Johns 2002, 186–92.
- 68 Huillard-Bréholles 1852, 5, part 1, 427: *De Saracenis vero qui Panormum de casalibus advenientes in Sarracado suum non roborant incolatum, ut scribis, volumus et mandamus ut eos ad veniendum Panormum et firmandas mansiones suas ibidem per bona verba inducas et moneas, ipsis favorem et gratiam promisorus.*
- 69 Ibid., 626: *Quia beneplaciti nostri est ut omnes Sarraceni quos dudum venire mandavimus de Sicilie partibus, in Luceriam reducantur:* in this mandate of 25 December 1239, although *dudum* is certainly imprecise, it cannot refer to the deportations of the early 1220s, and a far more recent exodus must be intended. See Maurici 1987, 47–8.
- 70 July 1243: *Annales Siculi* 1928, 118: *omnes Saraceni de Sicilia tamquam rebelles ascenderunt in montana et ceperunt Jatum et Alicatam (corr. Antellam).* Autumn 1246: Huillard-Bréholles 1852, 6, part 1, 471–2; Taylor 2003, 17–19.
- 71 Friedl 2005, 494–5.

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