

## Arabic Sources for Sicily

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THE FOLLOWING BRIEF INTRODUCTION TO THE HISTORY OF SICILY 1025–1204 concentrates upon the less well-known and more complicated periods—the last years of Islamic Sicily, and the passage from Norman rule to the reign of the future Emperor Frederick II—and passes swiftly over the politically uncomplicated reign of the Norman kings, dwelling only upon the fate of the Muslims of Sicily under Christian rule and the unique corpus of Arabic documentary sources from Norman Sicily.

### THE KALBID DYNASTY (948–1052/3)

Byzantine Sicily was conquered by Arab and Berber forces sent by the Aghlabid emirs of Ifriqiyya (central North Africa, from Tripolitania to central Algeria) during the ninth and early tenth centuries. After the Fatimid caliphs ousted the Aghlabid dynasty in 909, the island was ruled by governors appointed by the Fatimids until the latter migrated to Egypt in 969–73. The Fatimids entrusted Ifriqiyya to the Berber Zirid dynasty (972–1148), and Sicily to the Arab Kalbid dynasty (948–1052/3). Although the Kalbid governor theoretically owed allegiance directly to the Fatimid caliph, the Zirid emir often acted as if he were the ruler of the island.

The Kalbids continued to prosecute the Holy War (*jihād*) in Calabria and, when attacked, in eastern Sicily. Nonetheless, under their rule, the island was transformed from a frontier province organised for war into a relatively peaceful centre of Islamic civilisation. The arts of peace were cultivated at and around the Kalbid court in Palermo, where Quranic and grammatical studies and poetry were especially favoured. Beyond Palermo and its hinterland, only the west and centre of Sicily, where the greatest number of Ifriqiyans had settled, was profoundly arabicised and islamised, the north and east of the island largely retained its Greek cultural orientation, especially the cities, towns and strongholds of the Ionian coast.

During the first half of the eleventh century, Islamic Sicily was riven by deep social divisions within the Muslim community—between the descendants of

original colonists and newcomers, between Arabs and Berbers. Such unrest first became endemic and then developed into civil war. The Kalbid governor Aḥmad ibn Abī'l-Futūḥ Yūsuf, known as al-Akḥal, 'the Dark' (1019–38) was challenged by one of his brothers, who appealed successfully to the Zirid emir for support. Al-Akḥal countered by appealing to the Byzantine emperor Michael IV (1034–41). Constantine Opos, the *katēpan* (governor) of Italy, crossed to Sicily and helped al-Akḥal to defeat a Zirid expedition in 1037. After the assassination of his ally, al-Akḥal, in 1038, Michael IV launched a major expedition, led by George Maniakes and intended to reconquer Sicily. Most of the strongholds of the east coast were taken, including the old Byzantine capital of Syracuse, before Maniakes was recalled to Constantinople in 1040. The expedition rapidly collapsed and, by 1042, all that Maniakes had won had been lost.

The Muslims of Sicily united around a brother of al-Akḥal, al-Ḥasan b. Abī'l-Futūḥ, who took—or was awarded by the Fatimid caliph—the title *Ṣamsām al-Dawla*, 'Sword of the State'. *Ṣamsām al-Dawla* is a shadowy figure, whose career can only be reconstructed with difficulty. A careful reading of the Arabic sources, apparently confirmed by two letters from the Cairo Genizah,<sup>1</sup> indicates that he may have ruled for more than a decade, until 1052–3, when he was expelled by the elders of Palermo.

### THE END OF ISLAMIC RULE (1052/3–1072)

*Ṣamsām al-Dawla* was the last Kalbid governor of Sicily and, on his fall, unitary Kalbid rule fragmented into a kaleidoscope of rival petty principalities. When Ibn al-Thumna, the ruler of Syracuse, was defeated by Ibn al-Ḥawwās, lord of Castrogiovanni (Enna), in 1060, he sought mercenary support from the leaders of the Normans, who were rapidly gaining control of southern Italy. Following two preliminary raids, Robert Guiscard, duke of Apulia, and his younger brother, Roger de Hauteville, count of Calabria, crossed to Sicily in May 1061 with a mercenary force in support of Ibn al-Thumna. After the latter was murdered by the Muslim commander of Entella in the summer of 1062, the Norman brothers pursued the conquest of Sicily.

In 1062, the new Zirid emir, Tamīm ibn al-Mu'izz (1062–1108) dispatched two of his sons, Ayyūb and 'Alī, at the head of a relief expedition to the island. Ayyūb landed at Palermo and soon established himself as master of the west, while 'Alī based himself at Agrigento, in order to support Ibn al-Ḥawwās against the Norman threat to Castrogiovanni. A joint force of Sicilian and Ifriqiyyan troops was heavily defeated at Cerami in June 1063.

<sup>1</sup> See further below and Ch. 14.

In the mid 1060s, Ayyūb withdrew from Palermo to Agrigento. The affection shown for him by the citizens excited the jealousy of Ibn al-Ḥawwās, who ordered them to expel Ayyūb and, when they refused, attacked. Ibn al-Ḥawwās was killed in the fighting, and Ayyūb proclaimed ruler. Subsequently, Ayyūb returned to Palermo, where fighting broke out between his men and the citizens. The Arabic sources blame this conflict for the decision of Ayyūb and 'Alī to abandon the island in the year 461 AH (31 October 1068–19 October 1069). But, if that date is correct, the immediate threat to the capital posed by the Norman victory at Misilmeri, in the spring or summer of 1068, is likely to have contributed to their decision.

Events in Palermo during the period between the withdrawal of Ayyūb and the Norman conquest of the city are particularly obscure. The Latin sources report only that the surrender of the capital to the Normans in January 1072 was negotiated by its leading citizens. It is therefore possible that, after the flight of Ayyūb, the city was governed by a council drawn from its most prominent men. However, it seems that, for at least some of this period, Ibn al-Ba'bā', a Muslim merchant who figures largely in the letters of the Cairo Genizah,<sup>2</sup> became the last ruler of Islamic Palermo. His fate is uncertain, but he may have escaped to Alexandria before the Norman siege closed around the city in July or August 1071.<sup>3</sup>

### NORMAN SICILY (1072–1189)

After the surrender of Islamic Palermo to Duke Robert and Count Roger in January 1072, the west of the island soon fell to the Normans, but the mountainous east held out far longer against their advance, and Noto, the last Islamic stronghold, surrendered only in 1091. Roger held the island as count of Sicily from his elder brother, Robert Guiscard, the duke of Apulia (1057–85), and then from Robert's son, Duke Roger Borsa (1085–1111). On Roger I's death in 1101, his infant son, Simon, ruled as count under the regency of his mother, Adelaide, until his death in 1105. He was succeeded by his nine year-old brother, also named Roger—Roger II—who ruled as count of Sicily with Adelaide until he came of age at the end of 1111. By then, his overlord, Duke Roger Borsa, had died and been succeeded by his son, William. After William's death in 1127, Roger II of Sicily assumed the

<sup>2</sup> See above, n. 1.

<sup>3</sup> This account of the career of Ṣaṣṣām al-Dawla and of the last years of Islamic Sicily differs significantly from the reconstruction of events given by Amari and by Gil (see below: Amari, *Storia*, vol. 2, 478–90; Gil, 'Sicily and its Jews', 546–62) and summarises the conclusions of a forthcoming study by the present author.

title of duke of Apulia. Then, on Christmas Day 1130, Roger II had himself crowned king of Sicily by the anti-Pope Anacletus II (1130–8). For the next sixty years, King Roger II (1130–54), his son William I (1154–1166), and his grandson William II (1166–1189) ruled the Norman kingdom of Sicily and presided over a period of greater peace and prosperity than the island had known since antiquity.

### **THE END OF NORMAN RULE (1189–94)**

When William II died in November 1189, he left no legitimate male heir, and the succession to the kingdom was contested by three candidates. The weakest was Roger, count of Andria, who had the support of the nobility but no claim to royal blood to match that of the rival Sicilian candidate, Tancred of Lecce, the illegitimate son of Roger II's eldest son, Roger, duke of Apulia (d. 1148). Tancred also had the populace of Palermo on his side, and commanded the support of the all-important palace faction. Early in 1190, he was crowned king of Sicily in Palermo. The third candidate was Constance, the only child of Roger II to survive William II. In 1184, she had married Henry, son and heir of Frederick Barbarossa, the Hohenstaufen emperor of Germany (1152–90). The mainland barons who supported Roger of Andria rose in rebellion against Tancred and, in May 1190, a German army invaded the kingdom, but Tancred succeeded in preventing his enemies from uniting against him: Roger of Andria was captured and executed, and the German army withdrew. After the death of Barbarossa in June 1190, Henry and Constance crossed the Alps and, in April 1191, were crowned emperor and empress in Rome by Pope Celestine III (1191–8). Henry promptly invaded the kingdom and encountered little opposition as he advanced, through Capua, Aversa and Salerno, to besiege Naples. There he halted and, threatened by Pope Celestine's support for Henry the Lion, his Welf rival for the imperial throne, turned back in August 1191, leaving the Empress Constance in Salerno and only weak imperial garrisons to secure his conquests. Constance fell into Tancred's hands and, at Gravina in June 1192, Celestine and Tancred came to an agreement. But Celestine persuaded Tancred to release Constance into his custody and, on the road to Rome, she was seized by imperial troops and restored to Henry.

Henry VI was prevented by the Welf opposition from resuming his campaign against Sicily throughout 1192 and, early in 1193, Tancred set the seal on a potentially important alliance with the Byzantine emperor Isaac Angelos (1185–95) by marrying his elder son, Roger duke of Apulia, to Isaac's daughter Irene. But Roger died before the end of the year, and Tancred followed him to the grave in February 1194.

**HENRY VI AND THE MINORITY OF FREDERICK II (1194–1208)**

Henry VI landed unopposed at Naples in August 1194 and, having encountered little significant resistance in Sicily, entered Palermo on 20 November. On Christmas Day, he was crowned king of Sicily in Palermo cathedral. Tancred's widow, Sibylla, and her three daughters were confined in the convent of Hohenburg in Alsace; the Byzantine Princess Irene was married to Henry's brother, Philip of Swabia; and Tancred's son, the young King William III was made to disappear. On the day after Henry's coronation in Palermo, Constance gave birth to his son, the future Emperor Frederick II, at Jesi near Ancona.

Early in 1195, Henry VI crossed to the mainland and marched north to secure the succession for the young Frederick, and to prepare for the crusade made opportune by the palace coup of Alexios Angelos (1195–1203). Constance, who was sent to Palermo to represent the German emperor, spent 1195–6 energetically seeking to reclaim the privileges of the Sicilian king that Tancred had ceded to the Pope. In March 1197, Henry returned to Sicily, where he survived a conspiracy that seems to have been suppressed with exemplary ferocity, before dying of dysentery on 28 September.

The young Frederick had already been elected as both successor to the German crown and king of the Romans, but the death of his father undid these careful preparations for the permanent union between the German empire and the kingdom of Sicily. On 8 May 1198, Henry's brother, Philip of Swabia, was formally elected king in Germany, while Constance had Frederick brought to Palermo, where he was crowned king of Sicily on 17 May. The late emperor's seneschal, Markwald of Anweiler, recognised Philip and, claiming that Henry's will had granted him the custody of Frederick and the kingdom of Sicily, threatened to invade. Constance fought hard to secure her son's rights and succeeded in gaining the support of the new Pope Innocent III (1198–1216), who published his grant of the Sicilian kingdom to Constance and Frederick on 19 November 1198. But, when Constance herself died on 28 November, Pope Innocent assumed control of the kingdom as its feudal overlord. In Sicily, both the palace faction and the clergy prepared to resist Innocent's claims, and the Pope was reduced to negotiating an agreement with Markwald. The latter reached Trapani in October 1199 and immediately began to defy papal authority. Innocent countered by allying himself with Sibylla's son-in-law, Walter of Brienne, and supporting his rule in southern Italy from 1201 to 1205. This apparent betrayal of the young Frederick, persuaded the palace faction in Palermo to join with Markwald, who gained control of Frederick in November 1201. Markwald had obtained effective authority over much of Sicily, and was about to take Messina and cross to the mainland, when he died after surgery in September 1202.

In Sicily, Markwald was replaced by another German, William Capparone, who seized control of the palace and the young Frederick, and assumed the title of Defender of the King and Grand Captain of Sicily. William was a mere usurper, for Philip of Swabia had appointed Conrad of Uerslingen as Markwald's successor as custodian of Sicily, and Pope Innocent restored his old enemy, Walter of Palear, as chancellor of the Kingdom, and appointed Cardinal Gerhard Allocingola to act as his legate to Sicily. The most faithful of Markwald's German allies, Dipold of Acerra, finally defeated and killed Walter of Brienne in June 1205. Walter's death opened the way for an agreement between the Pope and much of the nobility of the kingdom and, in the same year, Philip of Swabia and Innocent began negotiations. Dipold and his German associates, including William Capparone, were reconciled to Innocent, and Frederick was restored to the care of the papal legate. This unsteady balance of power in Sicily continued until 26 December 1208 when Frederick reached his majority and succeeded to the kingdom of Sicily, and when Pope Innocent gave up the regency. The reign of Frederick lies beyond the scope of this volume.

### MUSLIMS IN CHRISTIAN SICILY

After the Norman conquest of Sicily in the late eleventh century, the majority of the population of the island, especially in the west and centre, remained Muslim and Arabic-speaking throughout the twelfth century. The Muslims of Sicily were incorporated under Norman rule according to an adaptation of the Islamic law and practice whereby communities of Christians and Jews were incorporated into the Islamic state. Thus, Muslim communities that surrendered to the Normans were permitted to retain freedom for their persons and property and to follow their own customs, laws and religious practices, and were afforded protected status (*dhimma*) by the Norman ruler, on the condition that they paid the *jizya*, a tax levied upon each Muslim household that was part tribute, part penal religious charge. Throughout the twelfth century, Muslims probably constituted the majority of the population in Palermo and the other cities and towns of the west and centre of the island, including Trapani, Agrigento, Corleone and Sciacca, while sizeable Muslim minorities survived in Catania, Syracuse and other eastern towns. In the countryside, a vast area of inland western Sicily, where Muslim settlement was heaviest, was annexed to the de Hauteville demesne and farmed as a Muslim reservation, from which Latin settlers and the Latin church was largely excluded until the mid 1170s.

But the protected status in law of the Muslims of Sicily was effective only when and where the Norman ruler was able to enforce it. In practice, when-

ever and wherever his authority failed, the growing numbers of Latin immigrants from the mainland took the opportunity to drive the Muslims from their houses and their lands, and to massacre them. Such pogroms occurred during the minority and early rule of Count Roger II (1105–11), during the baronial rebellion against William I in 1161–2, and—most disastrously—on the death of William II in November 1189. As news of the king's death spread through the city, the Latin citizens began to massacre the Muslims of Palermo, and to loot their property. The Muslims sought to escape by fleeing to the hills of the Muslim reservation, where resistance to persecution gradually hardened into open rebellion. For much of the half century from 1189 until 1246, inland western Sicily was controlled by an independent rebel Islamic state, ruled by its own leaders, from a chain of hill-top castles, where they minted their own coins bearing the Islamic profession of faith, and from where they sought to obtain the assistance of the Muslim rulers of the Mediterranean and beyond. It was largely the support of Muslim rebels that permitted Markwald of Anweiler to seize control of Sicily in 1201 and the Emperor Frederick II was obliged to launch two concerted campaigns against the Muslim rebels, in 1221–3 and again in 1245–6, before warfare, massacre, compulsory transportation to the mainland, forced conversion, and immigration effectively destroyed the Muslim community of Sicily.

### **THE ARABIC SOURCES FOR SICILY: THE DOCUMENTARY MATERIAL**

The Arabic sources for Sicily 1025–1204 may be divided into two: literary sources (including histories, geographies and travelogues, anthologies of poetry, and biographical dictionaries); and documentary sources (including Arabic and bilingual documents issued by the Norman administration of the island, private documents prepared for the Muslims of Sicily, Judaeo-Arabic letters relating to Sicily from the Cairo Genizah, and inscriptions). The Arabic literary sources for Sicily are not significantly different from those for the rest of the Islamic world, discussed by Carole Hillenbrand in the preceding chapter, and require no special comment here. However, the survival of a substantial corpus of Arabic documents from Christian Sicily is an important exception to the general rule that Arabic administrative documents do not survive before the later medieval period, and thus requires a few words of explanation.

During the conquest of the island, the Norman leaders seem to have systematically preserved some written records of the Islamic administration and to have made use of the officials of the Islamic administration to keep records of the subsequent division of lands and populations amongst their followers.

At this early stage, rather than issuing documents that described the boundaries of a piece of land to be granted, it was easier to list the names of the heads of household that inhabited it, and to grant them with all their property. Thus, from as early as 1093, Count Roger I issued Arabic and bilingual (Arabic–Greek) registers (*jarā'id*, sing. *jarīda*) of the populations granted to the Latin churches that he founded in Sicily, such as Palermo cathedral or the abbey of St Agatha at Catania, or to his barons, such as Roger Forestal or Julian of Labourzi. The young Roger II and the regent Adelaide also issued bilingual Arabic–Greek decrees, addressed to their Arabic- and Greek-speaking officials. But, within a generation or so of the conquest, as the pre-conquest officials employed by the Norman regime came to the end of their careers and were increasingly replaced by Greek administrators, Arabic gradually ceased to be a language in which documents were issued by the central administration. For a period of twenty years from 1111 to 1130, no Arabic document has survived, and none is known to have been issued.

After his coronation on Christmas Day 1130, Roger II and his leading ministers, especially George of Antioch, a probably Cilician Armenian who had been trained in Byzantine Syria, and had subsequently defected first to Zirid Ifriqiyya and then to Norman Sicily, set about creating the Sicilian monarchy *de novo* by importing wholesale the essential accoutrements and symbols of kingship from Byzantium, the courts of the Islamic Mediterranean, and the Latin west. Among the imports from Fatimid Cairo, which George of Antioch had visited many times as Roger's ambassador and where he cultivated close friendships with leading officials amongst the Cilician Armenian diaspora, were scribes, diplomatic forms and practices, and bureaucratic structures drawn from the Fatimid administration. Immediately after Roger's coronation, his reformed Arabic administration (*dīwān*) began to issue a series of Arabic and bilingual documents which continued until the reign of Constance and which Frederick II attempted, unsuccessfully, to revive. The primary purpose of royal *dīwān* was not administrative efficiency but the projection of the image of the multicultural Norman monarchy. None of the internal records of the royal *dīwān* are preserved, but only the Arabic and bilingual documents that it issued to baronial and—especially—ecclesiastical beneficiaries. Most are grants of lands, men and other privileges from the royal demesne, including registers (*jarā'id*) of the names of the men and descriptions of the boundaries of the lands (*ḥudūd*) granted. With the exception of one or two documents that were preserved in private family archives, most were preserved by the Christian churches of the island.

The ecclesiastical archives of Sicily also preserved most of the private Arabic documents prepared according to Islamic law and practice for Muslims under Norman rule. Some were transferred to ecclesiastical archives when the property to which they relate passed to the church, others were

apparently acquired and retained in complete ignorance of their content but in the hope that they might be used by the church to support a future claim to property or rights. The majority relate to property transactions, and reflect the forms and organisation of comparable documents from the medieval Islamic world, such as the Arabic papyri from Egypt and the Arabic documents from the Cairo Genizah.

The value of the Judaeo-Arabic letters of Jewish traders preserved in the Cairo Genizah is discussed in Chapter 14 of this volume. Here it is necessary to stress only that they are of especial importance for the history of Islamic Sicily. Given the relative paucity of narrative sources for the history of the island, and the absolute absence of other documentary records before the Norman conquest, the 138 Genizah letters relating to Islamic Sicily constitute a unique source not just for the social history of the Jewish community of the island, but also for the commercial, economic and social history of Islamic Sicily as a whole—they even throw light into some of the more obscure corners of the island's political history. The Genizah correspondence relating to Sicily ceases circa 1070 and only resumes in 1123. This gap of approximately half a century could reflect nothing more significant than the chance survival of the Genizah materials. However, it is unlikely to be mere coincidence that the Sicilian letters stop on the eve of the Norman conquest of Palermo and resume at almost precisely the moment when there is the earliest evidence of direct contact between Roger II and the Fatimid caliph al-Ḥāfiẓ bi'llāh. It is therefore tempting to suggest that the Norman conquest of Palermo interrupted the trade of the Genizah merchants with Ifriqiyya and Egypt, and that, fifty years later, the rapprochement between the Normans and the Fatimids reopened the ports of Sicily to the Genizah merchants.

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Indispensable and immensely convenient compendium of extracts from Arabic primary sources (not documents) relating to Sicily, Italy and the crusading activities of Sicilians. Includes: geographers and travellers (al-Idrīsī, Ibn Jubayr, Yāqūt, etc.); historians (Ibn al-Athīr; Ibn 'Idhārī al-Marrākushī, Ibn Khaldūn, etc.); poets and anthologists (Ibn Ḥamdīs, 'Imād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī, etc.); and biographers (Ibn Khallikān, al-Dhahabī, al-Ṣafadī, etc.). Brief biographical and bibliographical notes on sources (trans., 1st edn., vol. 1, xxii–lxxxiii; 2nd edn., vol. 1, xix–lxxxviii). New edition (very rare outside Italy) corrects many of Amari's misreadings and mistranslations, and updates bibliography, but infuriatingly does not introduce sources or versions unknown to Amari. Good indices to 1st edn., but those of 2nd edn. (text and trans.) are poor and unreliable. (Only those sources unknown to Amari and of particular importance for this volume are listed individually below under Primary Sources.)

- M. Amari, *Storia dei musulmani di Sicilia*, 2nd edn. rev. C.A. Nallino, 3 vols. (Catania, 1933–9; various reprints, most recently Edumond Le Monnier, Milan, 2002)

Inevitably out of date but still indispensable introduction to the history of the Muslims of Sicily from the first Arab raids to the late thirteenth century. (The first edition—Florence, 1854–72—lacking Nallino's revision, is of purely historiographical interest.) Complements *Biblioteca arabo-sicula*. Vol. 1 from rise of Islam to conquest of Syracuse in 878; vol. 2, 875–1060; vol. 3, 1060–1265. Useful analytical table of primary sources (vol. 1, 37–104) is preferable to notes on sources in *Biblioteca arabo-sicula*. Good indices to all three volumes at end of vol. 3 (separate index of personal names).

- E. Besta and others, eds., *Centenario della nascita di Michele Amari: scritti di filologia e storia araba; di geografia, storia, diritto della Sicilia medievale; studi bizantini e giudaici relativi all'Italia meridionale nel Medio Evo; documenti sulle relazioni fra gli stati italiani ed il Levante*, 2 vols. (Palermo, 1910)

First concerted attempt to celebrate and update Amari's achievement. Includes extracts relating to Sicily of Arabic primary sources unknown to Amari.

- Testimonianze degli arabi in Italia (Roma, 10 dicembre 1987)* Giornata di studio, Fondazione Leone Caetani, Accademia nazionale dei Lincei (Rome, 1988)

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- La Sicile à l'époque islamique. Questions de méthode et renouvellement récent des problématiques*, Mélanges de l'École française de Rome. Moyen Âge 116.1 (Rome, 2004)

Acts of three recent conferences bringing study of Islamic Sicily more or less up to date. Include further newly discovered Arabic primary sources and/or important bibliography.

- G. Caracausi, *Dizionario onomastico della Sicilia. Repertorio storico-etimologico di nomi di famiglia e di luogo. Repertorio storico-etimologico di nomi di famiglia e di luogo*, Centro di studi filologici e linguistici siciliani, Lessici siciliani 7, 2 vols. (Palermo, 1993)

Etymological and historical dictionary of Sicilian personal names (and toponyms). May be used together with G. Caracausi, *Lessico greco della Sicilia e dell'Italia meridionale (secoli X–XIV)*, Centro di studi filologici e linguistici sicil-

iani, *Lessici siciliani* 6 (Palermo, 1990)—to which there is regrettably no Arabic equivalent—to search for first occurrence of Sicilian personal names, including many derived from Arabic. (See below for other onomastic studies.)

## PRIMARY SOURCES

### Literary Sources

Only those sources unknown to Amari and of particular importance for this volume are listed individually below (see above under Amari, *Biblioteca arabo-sicula*).

al-Ḥimyarī, *Kitāb Rawḍ al-mi'tār fī khabar al-aqtār* (*The Scented Garden of Information about Foreign Lands*)

Historical and geographical dictionary compiled by Andalusian scholar Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Mun'im al-Ḥimyarī (d. 1326/7). Sole source for naval battle between Sicilian Muslims and Byzantines off Pantelleria, c.1050. Biography of Sicilian Muslim jurist the *imām* Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn 'Alī al-Māzarī (d. 1141). Important source for career of Muḥammad ibn 'Abbād, leader of Muslim rebels of Sicily against Frederick II. Remarkable accounts of Palermo and Rome.

*Editions:*

I. 'Abbās, ed., *Kitāb Rawḍ al-mi'tār fī khabar al-aqtār. A Geographical Dictionary* (Beirut, 1975)

Standard critical edition.

*Translations:*

A. De Simone, *La descrizione dell'Italia nel Rawḍ al-mi'tār di al-Ḥimyarī*, Quaderni de Corso «al-Imām al-Māzarī» 7 (Mazara del Vallo, 1984)

Accurate translation of entries relating to Italy and Sicily, with excellent introduction and notes. Virtually unobtainable outside Sicily.

Ibn Qalāqīs, *al-Zahr al-bāsim wa'l-'arf al-nāsim fī madīḥ al-ajall Abi'l-Qāsim* (*Smiling Flowers and Redolent Perfume in Praise of the Sublime Abu'l-Qāsim*)

Remarkable autobiographical *roman à lettres* describing visit of Abu'l-Futūḥ Naṣr ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Qalāqīs al-Lakhmī al-Iskandarī (b. 1137, d. 1172), the versatile Alexandrian poet, to Sicily in 1168–9, under patronage of hereditary leader of the Muslims of Sicily, Abu'l-Qāsim Muḥammad ibn Ḥammūd (fl. 1162–85). Important source for Norman court during minority of William II and regency of Margaret of Navarre, for the life of Abu'l-Qāsim and his circle, and for the condition of Sicilian Muslims under Norman rule.

*Editions:*

'Abd al-'Azīz ibn Nāṣir al-Mānī, ed., *al-Zahr al-bāsim wa'l-'arf al-nāsim fī madīḥ al-ajall Abi'l-Qāsim* (Riyāḍ, 1984)

Adequate, uncritical edition with minimal apparatus.

*Translations:*

A. De Simone, *Splendori e misteri di Sicilia in un'opera di Ibn Qalāqīs* (Messina, 1996)

Generally reliable Italian translation of whole work with useful introduction and notes. Index.

*Secondary Literature:*

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- J. Johns, *Arabic Administration in Norman Sicily: the royal dīwān* (Cambridge, 2002), 35, 133, 212, 233–4, 235–6, 237, 239–41

With her introduction to the translation, De Simone's three studies provide a comprehensive account of Ibn Qalāqis's visit to Sicily (with a few additional notes by Johns).

*Ibn Qalāqis, Dīwān (Collected Poems)*

Poems dedicated to many of the leading Muslim rulers and ministers of his day, including the Ayyubid sultan Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (Saladin, 1169–93), the Almohad caliph 'Abd al-Mu'min ibn 'Alī (1130–63), and the last Fatimid caliph al-'Aqīd li-dīn Allāh (1160–71). Dedictees include: Sicilian regent Margaret and young King William II; their Muslim eunuch chamberlain and familiar, Richard; the hereditary leader of the Muslim community of Sicily, Abu'l-Qāsim ibn Ḥammūd; his rival al-Ṣadīd Hibat Allāh ibn al-Ḥusrī (*fl.* 1167–9); and other members of the Sicilian Muslim élite.

*Editions:*

Sihām 'Abd al-Wahhāb Furayḥ, ed., *Dīwān Ibn Qalāqis* (Kuwayt, 1988)

Adequate edition. Uncritical. Minimal apparatus (unreliable).

*Translations:*

Many of the most important poems dedicated to Sicilian subjects are either reproduced in the *Zahr al-bāsim* and translated by De Simone in *Splendori e misteri di Sicilia* or translated in her articles (see above).

*Secondary Literature:*

Johns, *Arabic Administration*, 233–4

Discussion of ode dedicated to eunuch Richard.

*Ibn Qalāqis, Tarassul (Letters)*

Includes letters to at least three Sicilians: Ghārāt ibn Jawshan, a royal familiar, Ibn Fātiḥ—neither of whom are otherwise known—and al-Ṣadīd Hibat Allāh ibn al-Ḥusrī (see above).

*Editions:*

'Abd al-'Azīz ibn Nāṣir al-Māni', ed., *Tarassul Ibn Qalāqis al-Iskandarī* (Riyāḍ, 1984)

Adequate, uncritical edition with minimal apparatus.

Ibn al-Qaṭṭā', *al-Durra al-khaṭīra wa'l-mukhtār min shu'arā' al-jazīra* (*The Precious Pearl, or The Anthology of the Poets of the Island*)

Anthology of one hundred and seventy Sicilian poets made by leading Sicilian scholar, Abu'l-Qāsim 'Alī ibn Ja'far ibn 'Alī Ibn al-Qaṭṭā' (b. Sicily 1041, d. Egypt 1121), who migrated to Cairo after Norman conquest.

*Editions:*

B. al-Bakkūsh, ed., *al-Durra al-khaṭīra fī shu'arā' al-jazīra: jazīrat Ṣiqillīya* (Beirut, 1995)

al-Qāḍī 'Iyāḍ, *Tarīb al-madārik* (*The Descent of Reason*)

Biographical dictionary devoted to jurists belonging to the Mālikite school by al-Qāḍī Abu'l-Faḍl 'Iyāḍ ibn Mūsā ibn 'Iyāḍ al-Yaḥṣubī (d. 1149). Contains twenty-nine lives of Muslim jurists linked to Sicily, eighteen from the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

*Editions:*

E. Griffini, 'Nuovi testi arabo-siculi: I. Estratti dal «Tartīb al-madārik» del qāḍī 'Iyāḍ', in Besta, ed., *Centenario della nascita di Michele Amari*, vol. 1, 365–84  
Edition of extracts relevant to Sicily.

al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Ta'rīkh al-kabīr al-muqaffā li-miṣr* (*The Great History Limited to Egypt*)

Biographical dictionary of Muslims of Egypt by late medieval polymath Aḥmad ibn 'Alī al-Maqrīzī (b. 1358, d. 1442). In addition to the notices of Sicilians extracted by Amari, *Biblioteca arabo-sicula*, see the unique life of King Roger II's vizier, George of Antioch, b. c. 1061, d. 1151 (vol. 3, 18–20).

*Editions:*

Muḥammad al-Ya'lāwī, ed., *Kitāb al-Muqaffā al-kabīr*, 8 vols. (Beirut, 1991)

*Secondary Literature:*

Johns, *Arabic Administration*, 80–90, 261–4, 282–3, 326–8

Translation and analysis of life of George of Antioch.

al-Ṣafadī, *Kitāb al-Wāfī bi'l-wafayāt* (*The Supplement to the Necrologies*)

Massive biographical dictionary, intended to supplement that of Ibn Khallikān, by punctilious Syrian scholar, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Khalīl ibn Aybak al-Ṣafadī, (b. 1297, d. 1363). To the extracts on Sicilian subjects—Roger II, George of Antioch, the poet Ibn Ḥamdīs, the scholar Ibn Zafar, etc.—published by Amari, *Biblioteca arabo-sicula*, much could now be added, including the important account of flight to and reception by Roger I of Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh, great-grandson of Idrīs II al-'Ālī (Ḥammūdīd prince of Málaga, 1043–6, 1054–5), and father of the geographer al-Idrīsī (vol. 8, 324–6).

*Editions:*

Hellmut Ritter and others, eds., *Das biographische Lexikon des Ṣalāḥaddīn Ḥalīl ibn Aibak aṣ-Ṣafadī*, Bibliotheca Islamica 6a–zc, 29 vols. (all published by various houses in Istanbul and Beirut on commission from a succession of publishers in Berlin, Leipzig, Stuttgart, and Wiesbaden, 1931–2004)  
Standard critical edition.

Aḥmad al-Arnā'ut and Turkī Muṣṭafā, eds., *Kitāb al-Wāfī bi-l-wafayāt*, 29 vols. (Beirut, 2000)

Uncritical facsimile edition.

*Secondary Literature:*

- A. Amara, and A. Nef, 'Al-Idrīsī et les Ḥammūdides de Sicile: nouvelles données biographiques sur l'auteur du *Livre de Roger*', *Arabica* 48 (2001), 121–7  
Presents newly discovered information from al-Ṣafadī concerning Ḥammūdids in Sicily (but see also Johns, *Arabic Administration*, 236, n. 101).

**Arabic and Bilingual Documents from Norman Sicily**

Approximately eighty Arabic and bilingual documents (Arabic–Greek and Arabic–Latin) are known from Norman and Hohenstaufen Sicily before 1204, and constitute an important source for the economic and social history of the Muslims of Norman Sicily, and for the prosopography of the ruling élite of all three communities—Arab, Greek and Latin. Of the forty-six issued by the Norman *dīwān* or Arabic administration, thirty-three survive as originals, and thirteen are known from official translations into Latin or Sicilian or are lost but are mentioned in other documents. The originals include grants of lands, men and other privileges and rights from the demesne of the Norman ruling family. Fifteen are registers (*jarā'id*, sing. *jarīda*), listing hundreds of names of heads of households granted to feudatories by the Norman rulers. Most of the individuals recorded in the registers appear only once, and cannot be linked to any other family or individual. The majority are Muslims, but some Arab Christians are included. Of the private documents, eighteen are original documents written in Arabic or containing substantial Arabic text, or translations of Arabic originals; the remainder are Greek or Latin documents with one or more Arabic signatures. Most are deeds of sale of property, but the following are also represented: exchange of irrigation rights; exchange of houses; contracts of sea-exchange (*cambium maritimum*); re-commendation of Muslim villeins to a Christian lord; letters patent; donations to ecclesiastical institutions. Most of the documents are published, but an important group from the archive of the archimandera of San Salvatore di Messina (the institution responsible for the administration of the Greek church in Norman Sicily) relating to the Greek monastery of San Giorgio di Triocala, remain unedited. Only the Greek and Latin texts are published of two original bilingual documents: an Arabic–Greek decree of William II and the regent Margaret dated November 1166 concerning the archdeaconry of Messina; and a Latin–Arabic decree of Constance, dated November 1198, concerning the governing of Malta. A catalogue of Arabic and bilingual documents issued by the Arabic administration (*dīwān*) and a provisional catalogue of private documents—neither more than substantially complete—are published in Johns, *Arabic Administration*, 301–25. A new edition of the whole corpus is in preparation by the present author, with Vera von Falkenhausen, Nadia Jamil, Alex Metcalfe, and others.

*Editions and Translations:*

- S. Cusa, ed., *I diplomi greci ed arabi di Sicilia pubblicati nel testo originale, tradotti ed illustrati*, 2 vols., 1 only published in 2 parts (Palermo, 1868–82; repr. Cologne and Vienna, 1982)  
Uncritical edition of most of the corpus. Commentary and translation never published. A major achievement, despite many errors and complete lack of scholarly apparatus. Useful chronological summary of documents. Indices poor and incomplete.

- G. Trovato, *Sopravvivenze arabe in Sicilia* (Monreale, 1949; repr. in F.G. Arezzo, *Sicilia. Miscellanea di studi storici, giuridici ed economici sulla Sicilia, glossario di voci siciliane derivate dal greco, latino, arabo, spagnolo, francese, tedesco, etc.*, Palermo, 1950)

Unreliable, unscholarly Italian translations of many of the Arabic documents published in Cusa, *Diplomi*.

The most important editions and translations of individual documents since publication of Cusa's *Diplomi* are cited below in the chronological order of the date of the documents.

- G. La Mantia, *Il primo documento in carta (Contessa Adelaide, 1109) esistente in Sicilia e rimasto sinora sconosciuto* (Palermo, 1908)  
 March 1109. Bilingual decree of Adelaide and young Roger II in favour of San Filippo di Fragalà, with Italian trans. Cusa, *Diplomi*, no. 23, 402–3. Johns, *Arabic Administration*, 302, no. 7.
- A. Guillou, *Les actes grecs de S. Maria di Messina: enquête sur les populations grecques d'Italie du sud et de Sicile (XI<sup>e</sup>–XIV<sup>e</sup> s.)*, Istituto siciliano di studi bizantini e neoellenici (Palermo, 1963), no. 3, 51–5  
 May 1111. Arabic–Greek register (*jarīda*) confirming grant (by Roger I) of eight families and their lands to the knight Julian, with French trans. (In the Arabic, for *Ḥalīq* read *Julīyan*.) Not in Cusa, *Diplomi*. Johns, *Arabic Administration*, 302, no. 8.
- J. Johns, 'Arabic contracts of sea-exchange from Norman Sicily', in P. Xuereb, ed., *Karissime Gotfride. Historical essays presented to Godfrey Wettinger on his seventieth birthday* (Malta, 1999), 55–78  
 Circa 1130 to circa 1160. Rough drafts of three Arabic contracts of sea-exchange in which a Latin investor, Ser Ghulyalim (William) lends various sums in silver pounds to Sicilian Muslims to be repaid in gold *tari* (Sicilian quarter-dinars). Critical edition of Arabic text, English translation, commentary and analysis. Cusa, *Diplomi*, 502–4, no. 90 (transcription of *recto* only). Johns, *Arabic Administration*, 317–18, no. 8.
- L.-R. Ménager, *Amiratus—'Αμνηρᾶς. L'émirat et les origines de l'amirauté (XI<sup>e</sup>–XIII<sup>e</sup> siècles)* (Paris, 1960), Appendix 2, no. 24, 200–2  
 February 1133. Chancery copy of Greek donation (*sigillion*), incorporating Arabic boundary description, of donation of land and men granted by Rainald Avenal to Bishop John of Lipari-Patti. French translation. Cusa, *Diplomi*, no. 45, 515–17. Johns, *Arabic Administration*, 303–4, no. 12.
- M.E. Gálvez, 'Noticia sobre los documentos árabes de Sicilia del Archivo Ducal de Medinaceli', in Scarcia Amoretti, ed., *Del nuovo sulla Sicilia normanna*, 167–82  
 November 1141. Renewal by Roger II of register (*jarīda*) of Muslims held by San Giorgio di Triocala. Defective and unreliable edition and Spanish translation. Not in Cusa. Johns, *Arabic Administration*, 305, no. 18.
- H. Grégoire, 'Diplômes de Mazara (Sicile)', *Annuaire de l'Institut de philologie et d'histoire orientales de l'université de Bruxelles* (1932–3), 79–107  
 November 1145. Renewal of Greek donation (*sigillion*), with Arabic *jarīda* issued by Roger II to San Michele Arcangelo di Mazara. Diplomatic status uncertain; probably a thirteenth-century forgery. Not in Cusa, *Diplomi*. Johns, *Arabic Administration*, 302–3, no. 9 and 308, no. 27.

- J. Johns and A. Metcalfe, 'The mystery at Chùrchuro: conspiracy or incompetence in twelfth-century Sicily?', *BSOAS* 62 (1999), 226–59  
 December 1149. Chancery copy of Arabic privilege of Roger II granting lands and men to Greek monastery of San Nicolò di Chùrchuro. June 1154. Second chancery copy of same privilege, granting same men but—mistakenly—different lands. Cusa, *Diplomi*, 28–30, no. 89 and 34–6, no. 93. Johns, *Arabic Administration*, 308, nos. 28–9 and 309–10, no. 33. See also J. Johns, 'Arabic "June" (*bruṭuyūn*) and "July" (*isṭiriyūn*) in Norman Sicily', *BSOAS* 64 (2001), 98–100, for interesting example of Greek influence upon Sicilian Arabic.
- S. Simonsohn, *The Jews in Sicily. Volume 1: 383—1300* (Leiden, New York and Cologne, 1997), pp. 418–21, no. 185  
 January 1161. Greek–Arabic deed of sale recording purchase from royal administration (*dīwān*), by Jew Ya'qūb ibn Ṣāliḥ of an estate near Palermo. Greek text and English trans. of Arabic (after Cusa, *Diplomi*, 622–6, no. 101). Johns, *Arabic Administration*, 310–11, no. 35.
- H. Enzensberger, *Guillelmi I regis diplomata*, Codex diplomaticus Regni Siciliae: 1st ser., *Diplomata regum et principum e gente Normannorum*, vol. 3 (Cologne, Weimar and Vienna, 1996), 85–7, no. 32  
 September 1164. Greek–Arabic privilege in which William I grants land to Santa Maria la Gadera, near Polizzi. Disastrous edition of Greek, and inadequate edition of Arabic. Cusa, *Diplomi*, 650–2, no. 49 (wrongly assigned to Roger II). Johns, *Arabic Administration*, 311, no. 36.
- L.-R. Ménager, *Amiratus*—'Ἀμυρᾶς, 215–24  
 October 1172. Greek–Arabic record of a boundary inquest, critical edition of Greek and Arabic texts with French translation. Cusa, *Diplomi*, no. 119, 80–3. Johns, *Arabic Administration*, 312, no. 39.
- J. Johns, 'The boys from Mezzoiuso: Muslim *jizya*-payers in Christian Sicily', in R. Hoyland and P. Kennedy, eds., *Islamic Reflections, Arabic Musings: studies in honour of Professor Alan Jones* (Oxford, 2003), 243–56. (English version of J. Johns, 'Sulla condizione dei musulmani di Corleone sotto il dominio normanno nel XII° secolo', in *Byzantino-Sicula IV: Atti del I Congresso internazionale di archeologia della Sicilia bizantina* (Palermo, 2002), 275–94)  
 August 1177–9. Copy of a contract in which three Arab Muslim brothers acknowledge themselves to be *rijāl al-jarā'id* ('men of the registers') belonging to San Giovanni degli Eremiti, and agree to return to their lands, from which they had fled, and to obey their lord, the Abbot Donatus, paying the *jizya* ('poll-tax') and *qāmūn* ('land-tax'). Critical edition, English translation, commentary and analysis. Cusa, *Diplomi*, 111–12, no. 129 (with many crucial errors). Johns, *Arabic Administration*, 320, no. 16.
- J. Wansbrough, 'A Judaeo-Arabic document from Sicily', *BSOAS* 30 (1967), 305–13  
 Christmas 1187. Judaeo-Arabic letter patent recording the agreement between the Jewish community of Syracuse and the bishop of Cefalù regarding the lease of a piece of land belonging to the priory of Santa Lucia of Syracuse which adjoined the Jewish cemetery. Critical edition, English translation, commentary and analysis. Cusa, *Diplomi*, 495–6, no. 156. Johns, *Arabic Administration*, 322–3, no. 25.

*Secondary Literature:*

- L. Genuardi, 'I defetari normanni', in E. Besta, *Centenario della nascita di Michele Amari*, vol. 1, 159–64  
Unreliable, but historiographically interesting, discussion of the Sicilian registers (*jarā'id*).
- D. Clementi, 'Notes on Norman Sicilian surveys', in V.H. Galbraith, ed., *The Making of Domesday Book* (Oxford, 1961), 55–8  
Historiographically interesting attempt to compare Sicilian registers (*jarā'id*) of lands and men to Domesday Book.
- A. D'Emilia, 'Diplomi arabi siciliani di compravendita del secolo VI Egira e loro raffronto con documenti egiziani dei secoli III–V Egira', *Annali dell'Istituto universitario orientale di Napoli* 14 (1964), 83–109  
Important study demonstrating the close parallels between Sicilian Arabic deeds of sale and comparable documents from Islamic Egypt.
- A. Noth, 'I documenti arabi di Ruggero II', in C. Brühl, *Diplomi e cancelleria di Ruggero II* (Palermo, 1983), 189–222 (rev. Italian version of A. Noth, 'Die arabischen Dokumente Roger II', in C. Brühl, *Urkunden und Kanzlei König Rogers II von Sizilien*, Studien zu den normannisch-staufischen Herrscherurkunden Siziliens, vol. 1 [Cologne and Vienna, 1978], 217–61)  
Important preliminary study of the Arabic and bilingual documents of Roger II preparatory to the edition of the documents themselves, which Noth was regrettably unable to complete before his untimely death. Firmly relocates the Arabic administration of Norman Sicily in an Islamic context.
- J. Wansbrough, 'Diplomatica siciliana', *BSOAS* 47 (1984), 10–21  
Generally slight review, with occasional startling insights.
- G. Caracausi, 'I documenti medievali siciliani in lingua araba', in G. Brincat, ed., *Incontri siculo-maltese. Atti del II Convegno su Malta–Sicilia: contiguità e continuità linguistica e culturale (Malta, 4–6 aprile, 1986)* (Malta, 1986), 13–26  
Rich study of the language of Sicilian Arabic documents from the perspective of a classical philologist.
- A. De Simone, 'I diplomi arabi di Sicilia', in *Testimonianze degli arabi in Italia*, 57–75  
Important and useful general overview of Sicilian Arabic documents.
- O.R. Constable, 'Cross-cultural contacts: sales of land between Christians and Muslims in 12th-century Palermo', *Studia Islamica* 85 (1997), 67–83  
Potentially interesting attempt to use Sicilian Arabic deeds of sale as a source for status of Muslim community of Palermo under Norman rule. Marred by errors of detail (often Cusa's) and by general unfamiliarity with Sicilian context.
- J. Johns, *Arabic Administration* (Cambridge, 2002)  
Comprehensive study of the Arabic and bilingual documents issued by the Norman administration (*dīwān*).
- A. Metcalfe, *Muslims and Christians in Norman Sicily. Arabic speakers and the end of Islam* (London and New York, 2003)  
Important study of Sicilian Arabic language and its uses in Norman Sicily.

*Secondary Literature (Onomastics of Sicilian Arabic Documents):*

In the absence of a definitive study of all the Sicilian Arabic documents, especially of the registers of men (*jarā'id*), the following studies constitute an important source for the prosopography of the communities that they describe.

- A. De Simone, 'L'*Onomasticon arabicum* e gli antroponomi arabo-greco nei *Diplomi* di S. Cusa', *Atti dell'Accademia di scienze lettere e arti di Palermo*, 4th ser., 35 (1975–6), 261–6
- *Spoglio antroponomico delle giaride (ğarā'id) arabo-greche dei Diplomi editi da Salvatore Cusa* (Rome, 1979)
- 'Gli antroponomi arabo-greci ed il vocalismo dell'arabo di Sicilia', in *Onomastica e trasmissione del sapere nell'Islam medievale*, Studi orientali, vol. 12 (Rome, 1992), 59–90
- 'La *kunyah* negli antroponomi arabi di Sicilia tra metafora e ambiguità', in *Studi linguistici offerti a Girolamo Caracausi* (Palermo, 1992), 77–98
- G. Caracausi, 'Onomastica araba in Sicilia', *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie* 109 (1993), 348–80
- A. Nef, 'Anthroponymie et *jarā'id* de Sicile: une approche renouvelée de la structure sociale des communautés arabo-musulmanes de l'île sous les normandes', in M. Bourin and others, eds., *L'anthroponymie: document de l'histoire sociale des mondes méditerranéens médiévaux. Actes du colloque international organisé par l'École française de Rome avec le concours du GDR 955 du C.N.R.S. «Genèse médiévale de l'anthroponymie moderne»* (Rome, 6–8 octobre 1994), Collection de l'École française de Rome 226 (Rome, 1996), 123–42

### The Letters of the Cairo Genizah

Highly important source for impact of Norman conquest of Sicily and—to a lesser extent—of the crusades upon maritime commerce between Egypt, North Africa and Sicily.

#### *Editions:*

- M. Ben-Sasson and others, eds., *The Jews of Sicily, 825–1068: documents and sources* (Heb.) (Jerusalem, 1991)  
Edition of most of the Genizah letters relating to Sicily before 1068. Hebrew critical apparatus etc. Historical judgement, especially regarding date, tends to be sounder than Gil's.
- M. Gil, *In the Kingdom of Ishmael during the Gaonic Period* (Heb.), 3 vols. (Jerusalem, 1997)  
Includes most of the Genizah letters relating to Sicily. Hebrew critical apparatus and translation. Bombastic approach conceals frequently poor historical judgement, especially bizarre conclusions based on misdating documents (e.g. Norman conquest of Sicily began in 1056).

#### *Translations:*

- S. Simonsohn, *The Jews in Sicily. Volume 1: 383–1300* (Leiden, New York, Cologne, 1997)  
Immensely useful but slapdash English translation of all Genizah letters relating to Sicily. Dates assigned to documents and other critical apparatus not reliable.

#### *Secondary Literature:*

A selection of the most relevant material in English. Goitein alone is unaffected by Gil's misdating of individual documents and consequent bizarre historical conclusions. The present author is preparing a study of the last years of Islamic Sicily and the Norman conquest (c. 1040–95), which addresses the problem.

- S.D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society. The Jewish communities of the Arab world as portrayed in the documents of the Cairo Geniza*, 5 vols. and index (by P. Saunders) (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London, 1967–93)
- ‘Sicily and Southern Italy in the Cairo Geniza documents’, *Archivio storico per la Sicilia orientale* 67 (1971) 9–33
- M. Gil, ‘The Jews in Sicily under Muslim rule, in the light of the Geniza documents’, in *Italia Judaica I. Atti del I Convegno internazionale, Bari 18–22 maggio, 1981* (Rome, 1983), 87–134
- ‘Sicily 827–1072 in light of the Geniza documents and parallel sources’, in *Gli ebrei in Sicilia sino all’espulsione del 1492: atti del V Convegno internazionale, Palermo, 15–19 giugno 1992* (Rome, 1995), 96–171
- N. Zeldes and M. Frankel, ‘The Sicilian trade—Jewish merchants in the Mediterranean in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries’, in N. Bucaria, ed., *Gli Ebrei in Sicilia dal tardoantico al Medioevo. Studi in onore di mons. Benedetto Rocco* (Palermo, 1998), 243–56
- M. Gil, ‘Institutions and events of the eleventh century mirrored in Geniza letters (Part I)’, *BSOAS* 67 (2004), 151–67
- ‘Institutions and events of the eleventh century mirrored in Geniza letters (Part II)’, *BSOAS* 67 (2004), 168–84
- ‘Sicily and its Jews, 827–1072, in the light of the Geniza documents and parallel sources’, in M. Gil, *Jews in Islamic Countries in the Middle Ages* (Leiden and Boston, 2004), 535–93 (Eng. tr. by D. Strassler of Hebrew original by M. Gil, Tel Aviv, 1997)

### Arabic Inscriptions from Sicily

In addition to personal epitaphs of Sicilian Muslims, these include: Arabic hymn to the Virgin from George of Antioch’s church, St Mary’s of the Admiral; trilingual—Arabic, Greek, and Latin—inscription from Roger II’s water-clock; trilingual foundation inscription in name of King Roger II’s eunuch Peter; quadrilingual—Arabic, Greek, Judaeo-Arabic and Latin—and trilingual epitaphs for Anna and Drogo, mother and father of royal priest Grisantus.

M. Amari, ed. and trans., *Le epigrafi arabiche di Sicilia, trascritte, tradotte e illustrate. Parte prima: iscrizioni edili* (Palermo, 1875); *Parte seconda: iscrizioni sepolcrali*, Società siciliana per la storia patria, Documenti per servire alla storia di Sicilia, 3rd ser., vol. 1 (Palermo, 1879); *Parte terza: iscrizioni domestici*, Società siciliana per la storia patria, Documenti per servire alla storia di Sicilia, 3rd ser., vol. 2 (Palermo, 1885)

Indispensable first edition of most of the Arabic inscriptions of Sicily. The so-called second edition—F. Gabrieli, ed., *Le epigrafi arabiche di Sicilia, trascritte, tradotte e illustrate* (Palermo, 1971)—contains very few of the original plates, makes few significant revisions, and gives only some up-dated bibliography.

#### Secondary Literature:

J. Johns, ‘Die arabischen Inschriften der Normannenkönige Siziliens: eine Neuinterpretation’, in W. Seipel, ed., *Nobiles officinae: die königlichen Hofwerkstätten zu Palermo zur Zeit der Normannen und Staufer in 12. und 13. Jahrhundert: Kunsthistorisches Museum, 31. März bis 13. Juni 2004: Palermo, Palazzo dei*

*Normanni, 17. Dezember 2003 bis 10. März 2004* (Milan, 2004), 37–59. English and Italian versions of catalogue, including much material not in the German catalogue, forthcoming: M. Fontana, ed., *Nobiles officinae: perle, filigrane e trame di seta dal Palazzo Reale di Palermo* (Catania, 2006)

Includes up-to-date bibliography for original inscriptions and secondary literature.