

de sa propre culture. Muhammad Arkûn, "Langues et religion dans le Maghreb indépendant" in *Les cahiers de confluences. Les cultures du Maghreb*, Maria-Angels Roque (dir.), préface de Paul Balta (Paris : Ed. l'Harmattan, 1996), 83-109.

⁷⁹ Cf. à ce propos notre travail de D.E.A, plus particulièrement le troisième chapitre intitulé « Domination réelle, domination illusoire », in *Quelques aspects mythique et historique dans la Risâla de Amhammad Atfayyash* (m. 1914), (dir.) P. Ph. Rey, (Université Paris-VIII, 1996), 57-66.

⁸⁰ Cette attitude a conduit le chef d'annexe de Ghardaïa à contraindre les familles et à exercer sur elles des pressions pour qu'elles envoient leurs enfants à l'école publique. Quant à ceux qui ont cédé aux pressions, ils ont limité la scolarisation de leurs enfants au niveau du Certificat d'Études primaires. Certains, pour échapper à la pression, ont fait remplacer leurs enfants par des enfants nomades.

⁸¹ Ismaël Hamet dit à ce propos que les Mozabites demeurent le seul groupe musulman réfractaire à toute pénétration européenne. I. Hamet, *Les Musulmans français du Nord de l'Afrique* (Paris : Ed. Armand Colin, 1906), 289.

⁸² Ce sont des conflits qui ont opposé principalement les coalitions de clans qui composent les cités mozabites dont l'origine est étroitement liée à leur structure tribalo-segmentaire.

⁸³ Cf. à ce sujet l'étude de Salah Bendrissou qui s'intitule : *Institut al-Hayât 1925-1962 : un exemple d'école réformiste ibadite au M'Zab*, (dir.) René Gallissot (D.E.A : Maghreb, histoire et sciences sociales, Université Paris-VIII, 1993/94).

⁸⁴ A. M. Goichon montre que Muḥammad Atfayyash (m. 1914) a lui-aussi rendu illicite la pratique de certaines fêtes et cérémonies d'origine berbère, une attitude qui s'explique probablement par le fantasme du converti atteint par l'obsession de pureté, qui oublie ce qu'il était en se dépouillant de sa propre histoire jusqu'à endosser l'identité du conquérant.

⁸⁵ Il existe à Ghardaïa deux *ḥalqa*, l'une est apparentée aux réformateurs, l'autre aux conservateurs.

⁸⁶ A ce sujet, on lira avec profit l'étude de Pesah Shinar consacrée au rapprochement éphémère intervenu entre ibādites réformateurs et mālikites, P. Shinar, « Ibādīyya and Orthodox Reformism in Modern Algéria », *Scripta Hierosolymitana*, no. 9 (1961) : 97-120.

THE IBĀDĪ PRESENCE IN MUSLIM SICILY

The Ibāḍī sect of Islam originated in Iraq during the first/seventh century, but missionaries soon travelled west to the Maghrib where many Berbers, who had already converted to Islam, became followers. The Ibāḍī missionary effort culminated with the establishment of an Ibāḍī Imamate by 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Rustam in about AH 160/AD 776. Many Berber tribes in North Africa became affiliated with this state while establishing good relations with the Aghlabids, who then ruled modern-day Tunisia and Tripolitania. When the Aghlabids launched their conquest of Sicily in 212/827, members of Ibāḍī Berber tribes were among the Muslim forces. With the establishment of Muslim rule on the island, Ibāḍī tribes from North Africa began to settle there. Arabic and Ibāḍī historical sources suggest that their communities in Sicily became part of the Ibāḍī trade network that flourished between sub-Saharan Africa and the Mediterranean. The rise of Ibāḍī commercial interests on the island may have led Ibāḍīs there into conflict with the new Fāṭimid state that replaced Aghlabid rule. It seems possible that some of the struggles between the Muslims of Sicily and the Fāṭimid central government in Ifrīqiya were due to Fāṭimid attempts to control the Ibāḍī trade network and to undermine the economic power of the Ibāḍī tribes on the island, much as they had done in North Africa.

The historiography of Muslim Sicily and the Berbers

THE PERIOD OF MUSLIM RULE IN SICILY began with the Aghlabid conquest of the island in AH 212/AD 827 and ended after the Normans, who had begun their assault on Sicily in 457/1061, finally compelled Noto to capitulate in 483/1090. Muslim communities remained active throughout the island for more than a century, however, and it was only when Frederick II Hohenstaufen (r. 1208-50) defeated their struggle for autonomy and then transferred their leaders to Lucera in southern Italy (644/1246) that the last vestige of these communities disappeared.¹

Despite its importance to Islamic history and especially the history of the medieval Maghrib, the study of Muslim rule in Sicily only began in

the nineteenth century, with the pioneering work of the Sicilian historian, Michele Amari (1806-89). Amari used local Sicilian documents from the Norman period and Arabic, Greek and Latin historical works known at the time to bring the island's history into the broader contexts of European and Islamic history. He began to write his groundbreaking three-volume work, *Storia dei Musulmani di Sicilia*, in 1854.² This detailed history, which took him eighteen years to complete (1872), not only covers the period of Muslim rule, but the subsequent Norman period as well. A new edition of Amari's *Storia*, revised by Carlo A. Nallino, appeared in 1939.³ Amari also published, under the title *Biblioteca arabosicula*,⁴ the Arabic texts that he had amassed while researching his book. This work remains, to the present day, the most important collection of Arabic sources on the subject. It is still in print in a revised Italian translation prepared by Umberto Rizzitano (1913-80), a professor of Arabic at the University of Palermo.⁵

Another significant work related to the history of Muslim Sicily was published by one of Amari's contemporaries, Salvatore Cusa (1822-93). Cusa went through the island's major Church archives and collected manuscripts in Arabic, Greek and Latin that went back to the Norman period. In 1868, he published a two-volume compilation of these documents, *I Diplomi Greci ed Arabi di Sicilia*,⁶ which contains a wealth of ethnic and demographic information about the Arab-Norman period. Amari used this work in order to write his *Storia* and it is still a valuable resource for modern historians.

Two of Amari's students, Celestino Schiaparelli (1841-1919) and Ignazio Guidi (1844-1935), inherited his passion for the history of Muslim Sicily and passed it on to their students in turn. By the middle of the twentieth century, this unbroken chain of transmission was represented by Francesco Gabrieli (1904-96)⁷ of the Oriental Institute at the University of Rome and Umberto Rizzitano, who established, in 1959, the University of Palermo's Chair of Lingua e Letteratura Araba (Arabic language and literature) as well as the Institute of Oriental Studies there. Rizzitano continued in Amari's footsteps by focusing upon Muslim Sicily in his work and teaching, and by drawing his students into the field. Both Rizzitano and one of his students, Adalgisa De Simone, recognized and mentioned the Berber presence on the island.⁸ Indeed, De Simone has occasionally used anthroponyms to identify the Berber tribes that settled in Sicily in her extensive works on the island's history, language and literature under Muslim and Norman rule.⁹ Separately, the Sicilian historian, Illuminato Peri, has written on Sicily's Berber settlements and the island's demography under the Muslims and the Normans.¹⁰

Of course, the history of Muslim Sicily has not been the exclusive preserve of modern Italian scholars. The late Ihsān 'Abbās published one of

the first books in Arabic devoted to the study of Muslim Sicily.¹¹ In it, he lists the ethnic groups that migrated to the island during and after the Aghlabid conquest and notes that many of the tribes involved were Berber.¹² He later compiled an anthology of the Siculo-Arab poets and learned men of the island, including some with Berber tribal names.¹³ The contemporary Tunisian historian, Mohamed Talbi, has gone further to recount the part played by Berbers in the conquest of the island and to address their impact on political developments under the Aghlabid dynasty (800-902) in Ifriqiya and Sicily.¹⁴ He has also used toponyms¹⁵ in his studies of the demographic history of the Maghrib¹⁶ and in his work on the Aghlabids in Ifriqiya, especially in relation to Sicily.¹⁷ Another Arabic work containing a general survey of Muslim Sicily is Taqī al-Dīn 'Arīf al-Dūrī's *siqilliya*, published in 1980.¹⁸

The above references to anthroponyms and toponyms indicate the importance of linguistic studies in finding clues to the Berber presence in Muslim Sicily. Numerous works have appeared on the subject. For example, Dionisius Agius of the University of Leeds has written a landmark study on Siculo-Arabic (the Arabic spoken on the island during the Muslim period) in which he acknowledges that Berber tribes populated the island and the influence of Berber on the Arabic spoken there.¹⁹ The noted Sicilian linguist, Alberto Varvaro, has also considered the question of the language—or, rather, languages—in use on the island when writing about the Berber settlement of Sicily and its possible impact.²⁰

More recently, Alex Metcalfe has written a wonderful volume on language in Norman Sicily entitled *Muslims and Christians in Norman Sicily*.²¹ In the book, he states that "there is no shortage of indirect evidence for 'Berber' presence generally with a number of toponyms that are reminiscent of Berber tribal names, observations which were first made by Michele Amari." He goes on to say that "[a] continued Berber presence in the Norman period is supported by anthroponymic evidence, where many tens of references from villein registers, witnesses and signatories record the foremost Berber tribes." Metcalfe correctly observes that Berber was purely a spoken language which did not "challenge Latin, Greek or Arabic," all of which were used in record-keeping.²²

Research conducted by Luigi Serra, the Italian specialist on Berber (including Ibādī) dialects at the Istituto Orientale in Naples, has shed light on Berber settlement in southern Italy and the words that Berbers contributed to local Italian dialects.²³ Serra indicates that Berbers not only settled in southern Italy's small and short-lived Emirates (such as the one at Bari²⁴), but also that some Berbers moved to southern Italy directly from Muslim Sicily.²⁵ Serra does not, unfortunately, discuss the Berber presence in Sicily in any great detail or consider a possible Ibādī presence there; nor does he specify which Berber words may have passed into

Sicilian. Indeed, as the archaeologist and historian, Ferdinando Maurici, has observed, the impact of Berber on Sicilian has hardly been explored.²⁶ The major sources documenting the Arabic words—and, to a lesser extent, the Berber ones—that have left traces in Sicilian and Italian dialects are the works of Girolamo Caracausi²⁷ and Giovan Battista Pellegrini.²⁸

The study of Muslim Sicily entered a new phase as historians and, of course, archaeologists began to supplement data found in literary sources with physical evidence. The French historian, Henri Bresc, has contributed numerous articles on the history of Sicily during the Arab-Norman period and beyond. He has used toponyms to identify the tribes and individuals who founded settlements during the island's Muslim period and has also noted striking similarities between traditional North African structures and Sicilian ones discovered during archaeological excavations. His writings attest to a significant Berber presence on the island after the Aghlabid conquest.²⁹ Annie Courteaux and Jean Mouton have also written on Arab and Berber settlement, using toponyms and anthroponyms to document this settlement and the population's commercial activities.³⁰ Jeremy Johns has done extensive archaeological work on Norman Sicily and has written many articles on his finds, especially around Monreale,³¹ as well as an historical analysis of the adoption of Sicily's earlier Fāṭimid administration by the Normans.³²

Excavations and published works by such Sicilian and Italian archaeologists as Ferdinando Maurici,³³ Franco D'Angelo,³⁴ Giuseppe Castellana³⁵ and others³⁶ have revealed further evidence of a Berber presence in Sicily.³⁷ Their research not only strengthens the case for Berber elements in the toponyms of Sicily's various towns and villages, but also points to Berber influence in the ceramic works produced during the period.³⁸ After studying these ceramics, D'Angelo has reported that, in most cases, there is no difference between ceramics from Sicily and North Africa, primarily Tunisia, and that the only method of distinguishing them is by chemical analysis of the clay.³⁹ Other excavations have shed light on the Berber use of troglodytic dwellings, which was their traditional practice in southern Tunisia and Tripolitania. Ferdinando Maurici's book on Muslim Sicily⁴⁰ and his other groundbreaking works⁴¹ confirm the settlement of a large number of Berber immigrants and their use, in particular, of troglodytic dwellings, a point also addressed by Henri Bresc. Bresc notes as well that the fortified villages in Sicily, and especially their use of silos (*ghurfa* in North Africa and Sicilian *urfa*⁴²) are like those of the Berbers in North Africa.⁴³ Excavations of burial sites have often revealed that the inhabitants of various towns were buried with their heads pointed towards Mecca, while their skeletal remains

reveal physical characteristics that confirm the presence of Berbers, as well as Arabs.⁴⁴

Evidence for an Ibādī presence in Muslim Sicily

None of the afore-mentioned scholars has ever discussed or recognized an Ibādī presence in Muslim Sicily. The first reference to Ibādīs in Sicily was made by the Polish historian and specialist on Ibādī history, Tadeusz Lewicki in an entry entitled "Ibādiyya," published in the second edition of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*.⁴⁵ Lewicki based his assertions about Muslim Sicily on Abū al-Rabī Sulaymān al-Wisyanī's still unpublished biography of Ibādī *shaykhs*, *Kitāb al-siyar*,⁴⁶ which has also been a major source for the present article. I have added to this evidence by searching Ibādī literature and medieval Sicilian documents for additional information on toponyms, anthroponyms and the history of the Ibādīs in North Africa and Sicily. To the best of my knowledge, the only other scholars who have used *Kitāb al-Siyar* have been Maḥmūd Ismā'īl, who cites the book to support his claim that Ibādī groups migrated to the island after the fall of Tāhart,⁴⁷ and the Ibādī historian, Sulaymān Bāshā al-Bārūnī.⁴⁸

The Arab conquest of Sicily began in 212/827, when the Aghlabid dynasty in Ifriqiya (encompassing modern-day Tunisia and western Tripolitania in Libya) launched an expedition against the island at the request of the rebellious Byzantine naval commander, Euphemius (d. 214/829), who sought their help in taking it from his former masters.⁴⁹ The expedition's military forces, which were accompanied by Muslim religious leaders and others,⁵⁰ were composed of Arabs, Persians, Andalusians and Berbers. Members of all of these groups settled on the island.

The Arab chronicler, Ibn 'Idhārī (fl. seventh/thirteenth century), confirms that members of the indigenous population of North Africa, known in the Middle Ages and today as the Berbers, were among the warriors who took part in the conquest of Sicily.⁵¹ (The Berbers prefer to call themselves *imazighan*, that is, 'noble or free men'.⁵²) Some historical writings also mention their settlement. The geographer and historian, al-Mas'ūdī (d. ca. 346/957),⁵³ and the Moroccan historian, Abū al-Qāsim ibn Ahmad ibn Ibrāhīm al-Zayyānī (d. 1249/1833), who wrote his general history of Islam, *Al-Turjumān al-mughrib 'an duwal al-Mashriq wal-Maghrib*, much later, both say that Berbers migrated to the island and settled throughout it.⁵⁴ A clear indication of Berber settlement can also be found in the work of the Mālikī legal scholar, Abū Ja'far Ahmad ibn Naṣr al-Dāwūdī (d. 402/1011), who mentions, in *Kitāb al-amwāl*, his commentary on the status of the lands occupied by Muslims during their conquest of Sicily, that Berber groups or tribes took part in the conquest

of Sicily and then settled on its lands.⁵⁵ As in the case of Spain, the invading warriors arrived in Sicily as members of organized tribal groups.⁵⁶

After the initial conquest, a steady stream of immigrants arrived from North Africa, fleeing the famines, civil wars and religious strife that afflicted the region from the fourth/ninth to the late sixth/twelfth centuries.⁵⁷ Preliminary studies indicate that these settlers arrived in large numbers, attracted by the fertility of the island's soil, which was well-known and excellent for the production of the same crops grown in North Africa, especially wheat, barley, olives, grapes and figs.⁵⁸ Vacant land was readily available for the previous century had seen the economic decline and depopulation of Sicily owing to a series of plagues that had struck down many of the island's inhabitants from 541 to 752. One study of these plagues speculates that they caused Sicily's major urban centres to fall into decay.⁵⁹ Settlers were also attracted by the island's relatively greater water supply, which made it less susceptible to periods of severe drought and kept its pasturage lush for the raising of livestock.⁶⁰

Some scholars indicate that these North African settlers to Sicily included refugees and 'economic' migrants from Tunisia and western Tripolitania. Malegni and Guglielmino both suggest that a sizeable number of the inhabitants of Ifriqiya fled to Sicily⁶¹ during the famines and upheavals that afflicted North Africa from 246/860 to 537/1142.⁶² Large migrations to Sicily are recorded during the great famine of 395/1004-05, when rich and poor, urban and rural abandoned their homes for the island.⁶³ A similar influx occurred when the Arab tribe of Banū Hilāl entered Ifriqiya in 451/1059.⁶⁴ Even during the period of Norman rule (465/1072-591/1194), many from Ifriqiya escaped to Sicily when threatened by severe famines (537/1142-43 and 543/1148-49).⁶⁵ As we have already seen, some Arabic sources specifically tell us that Berbers were among the migrants from Ifriqiya.⁶⁶

There is scant linguistic evidence for a large Berber presence in Muslim Sicily, but this is unsurprising due to the scholarly focus upon Arabic usage there, as well as the fact that few academics have attempted to bring any aspect of Berber studies to the Sicilian context. The assumption that there are no Berber words in Sicilian and the scarcity of Berber place-names derived from tribal appellations has led some scholars to conclude that there were no purely Berber-speaking population centres on the island during the Muslim period.⁶⁷ Such a conclusion is problematic, however, since the majority of North Africa's population spoke Berber until the latter part of the 5th/11th century, with Arabic serving largely as a written language, as well as a lingua franca.⁶⁸ Until the Arab tribes of Hilāl and Sulaym migrated to North Africa in 444/1052, the Arab population of Ifriqiya probably numbered in the thousands, with

Berber-speakers forming the majority along with a mixed Arabized and Romanized Berber population (Arab sources call them *Afāriqa*) that was largely restricted to urban centres.⁶⁹ It is quite possible, moreover, that Muslim Sicily's socio-political organization at the local level—and especially in the southern portion of the island—was tribal in nature and relatively uninfluenced by urban norms or the use of the Arabic language. This would explain the extreme rarity of written records from the period in southern Sicily.

Berberisms do exist in Sicilian. Indeed, Luigi Serra has found traces of the Berber language in some southern Italian dialects,⁷⁰ even though Berber settlement in southern Italy was less extensive than it was in Sicily. My own cursory research on Berberisms in Sicilian reveals, for instance, that the Berber word *shushsh*, which is used in the Jabal Nafūsa region of Tripolitania and means 'to excite' or 'to provoke',⁷¹ is very similar to the Sicilian *sciuscīari*, 'to incite', if the Latin verbal ending (*ari*) is omitted.⁷² The Sicilian *zzaaghja* or 'needle'⁷³ appears to be based upon the Berber word *zaghāya*, which means the point of a lance or dagger.⁷⁴ Similarly, the Berber word for 'he goat,' *zimmr*,⁷⁵ is virtually identical to the Sicilian *zzimmuru*, which has the same meaning.⁷⁶ Granted, these examples are few, but it seems clear that there are traces of Berber in Sicilian and that a comprehensive linguistic survey of the various Sicilian dialects will not only provide evidence for a Berber presence on the island, but also help to pinpoint exactly where that presence was greatest.

Some of the Berber groups that settled in Sicily belonged to the Ibādī Muslim sect, a main branch of the Khārījī movement that arose in the early days of Islam.⁷⁷ The first Ibādīs to arrive in Sicily were members of the invading Aghlabid forces. A large part of the Aghlabid's North African contingent was composed of members of the Ḥawwāra tribe, one of the largest and most influential Berber groups in North Africa during the second/eighth to the fourth/tenth century.⁷⁸ They were also among the staunchest followers of the Ibādī doctrine.⁷⁹ According to Ibn Khaldūn, Ḥawwāra support for the Aghlabids began in 196/811, when a tribal rebellion against Aghlabid rule in Ifriqiya failed and the tribe asked the leader (*imām*) of the Ibādī Rustamid state, 'Abd al-Wahhāb ibn Rustam (171/788-208/824), to negotiate a truce. Under the terms of the truce, the Ḥawwāra ended their rebellion and became, for a time, supporters of the Aghlabid regime, much like other Ibādī Berber tribes, such as the Zanāta.⁸⁰ One of the leading commanders of the invasion of Sicily, Zawāwa ibn Ni'ma al-Khalaf (fl. third/ninth century), was a member of the Ḥawwāra.⁸¹

An Ibādī source tells us that Berbers lived in cities and towns on the coast of Sicily, as well as in the interior, for example, in the region of

Enna.⁸² Berber settlement was greatest, however, in the western part of the island.⁸³ They also inhabited Sicily's capital, Palermo, which was the seat of Arab power. The Arab traveller, Ibn Ḥawqal (fl. 332/943-367/977), who visited the island in 362/972, mentions that members of the Berber Barqajāna tribe, which sources suggest was Ibādī, made up a sizeable part of Palermo's population⁸⁴ and observes that even the educated among them spoke an ungrammatical Arabic.⁸⁵

A glance at the names of Sicilian towns and villages from this period reveals that a large number of them derive from members of Berber tribes adhering to the Ibādī sect or from the tribes themselves. Space prohibits mentioning every relevant toponym, but only a few are needed to make the point. The now extinct village of Cumia, for example, which was located near Messina,⁸⁶ carried the name of the Kumīya tribe, a branch of the Nafzāwa.⁸⁷ The medieval town of Karkūd or Qarqūd,⁸⁸ which may correspond to the present town of Sommatino, was most likely named after the Karkūda tribe, a branch of the Ḥawwāra.⁸⁹ The village of Raḥl Maghāghī,⁹⁰ which once stood near the modern town of Monreale, was surely named after the Lawāta sub-tribe of the Maghāgha.⁹¹ Until the last century, traces of an abandoned village called Micchinisi⁹² were still detectable near the present village of Acquaviva (near Mussomeli): Micchinisi was most likely named for the Miknāsa tribe, a branch of the Zanāta inhabiting northern Morocco during the fourth/tenth century.⁹³ Manzil Zammūr,⁹⁴ also located near Monreale, obviously obtained its name from the Berber Zammūr tribe, which inhabited the major Ibādī centre of Jabal Nafūsa in Tripolitania⁹⁵ and was a branch of the Banū Nafūsa, a prominent supporter of the Ibādī sect.⁹⁶

The sixth/twelfth-century geographer of Sicily at the court of Roger II, Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Idrīsī, referred to the town of Caltagirone as Ḥiṣn al-Janūn,⁹⁷ which is a common personal name among Ibādī Berbers in the region of Jabal Nafūsa.⁹⁸ A river in western Sicily, passing near the town of Selinunte, was called Modiuni until the seventeenth century. It is believed that the name originated with the Lawāta tribe of Madyūna, which was related to the Kūmiya, an Ibādī tribe found throughout North Africa.⁹⁹ One of the most important Ibādī tribes in North Africa, the Lamāya, which was also related to the Kūmiya and the Madyūna, probably gave its name to the towns of Raḥl al-Māya, near Corleone, and Lamia, near Mineo. This tribe's centre in Tripolitania was also called Al-Māya.¹⁰⁰

The names of individuals appearing in Norman registers of the sixth/twelfth century also reveal the presence of Ibādī Berber tribes. The *nisbas* (adjectival names taken from a town, tribe, or profession) of people such as al-Righī, al-Maklāti, al-Masallāti and al-Misrāti¹⁰¹ may be found alongside the many references to Ḥawwāris, Zanātis, Lawātis,

Nafzāwis and Wardinis.¹⁰² The Righa was a tribe of central Algeria¹⁰³ and the Maklāta, a Lawāta branch of the Nafzāwa,¹⁰⁴ inhabited the Ibādī stronghold in southern Ifriqiya. The Masallāta and the Misrāta were important Ibādī tribes belonging to branches of the Ḥawwāra, which inhabited much of Tripolitania.¹⁰⁵ All of the tribes mentioned above are known to have professed Ibādism from the eighth to the middle of the eleventh century.¹⁰⁶

Berber tribes adhering to Ibādism are also reflected in the names of some of the *qā'id*s who divided up the island and established their own principalities after the central government in Palermo lost power in 433/1045. Qā'id 'Abd Allāh ibn Mankūt controlled the western region of Sicily, including the coastal cities of Mazara, Trapani, Sciacca and Marsala, while Qā'id Ibn Maklāti held Catania and its environs. Their names clearly indicate that they belonged to Ibādī tribes or that their ancestors were members of the Ibādī contingent of the conquering Aghlabid forces. Mankūt, also spelled Matkūt, Madkūd, Matkūd and Maskūd, due to differences in Berber dialects,¹⁰⁷ is the name of a tribe belonging to the Ḥawwāra group of Berbers¹⁰⁸ and one commonly found among the leaders of Ibādī communities in the Jabal Nafūsa region of Tripolitania.¹⁰⁹ Ibn Maklāti bore the name of a Berber tribe belonging to the Nafzāwa group, which was also related to the Ḥawwāra.¹¹⁰ The Nafzāwa was a branch of the Lawāta, according to Ibn Khaldūn, which had played a major part in advancing the cause of the Ibādī Rustamid state in southern Tunisia.¹¹¹ During the third/ninth and fourth/tenth centuries, the Nafzāwa region of southern Tunisia, known as the Jarid, was an Ibādī stronghold.¹¹² The Maklāta were allies to the Aghlabids and fought against Fāṭimid rule along with the Lawāta and the Ḥawwāra.¹¹³

Indications of an Ibādī presence on the island add a new element to the study of Muslim Sicily. After the Fāṭimids conquered the Rustamid state at Tāhart in 296/909, we know that the Ibādī community in North Africa dispersed and established small semi-independent enclaves throughout North Africa—and, it seems, Sicily as well.¹¹⁴ An appendix to al-Shammākhī's *Kitāb al-siyar* mentions that Ibādīs dwelt in regions spanning the North African coast all the way across the sea to the city of Qaṣr Yanni (Enna).¹¹⁵ An Ibādī source states that his community prospered on the island¹¹⁶ and benefited from confessional ties to North Africa, especially with the island of Djerba, which was the Ibādī spiritual centre.¹¹⁷ Hence, although their presence in Sicily originated with a military expedition, it seems that the Ibādī tribes that settled there also sought to benefit economically by establishing a new outpost in the trade network between North Africa, Europe and the Arab East. Besides commerce, Ibādī groups may also have been motivated by the desire to find a region, as they had in North Africa, where they could freely practice

their religion in autonomous or semi-autonomous communities. There is a strong possibility that some of the refugees from the Rustamid capital, Tāhart, settled in the region of Noto, where records from the Angevin period mention a settlement called Tahartina or 'Little Tāhart'.¹¹⁸ Using al-Wisyāni as a source, Maḥmūd Ismā'īl also mentions this migration in his book, *Al-Khawārij fi al-Maghrib al-Islāmī*, which asserts that some migrated to Sicily after Tāhart fell to the Fāṭimids in 297/909.¹¹⁹

After the fall of the Rustamid Imāmate, dispersed Ibāḍī communities in North Africa resorted to a state of secrecy (*kitmān*) in order to develop and maintain self-governing institutions that were independent or semi-independent of the Fāṭimids or whoever held central authority in the regions in which they dwelt.¹²⁰ It seems likely that the Ibāḍīs of Sicily mirrored this quest for independence—in their case, from the government at Palermo—and attempted to establish semi-autonomous communities in various parts of the island. At the same time, however, Ibāḍīs practicing *kitmān* would have been eligible to hold central government positions as military officials, *qāḍīs*, teachers, or other members of the Islamic religious establishment, even though they secretly opposed the regime and its ruler.¹²¹ The total silence of medieval Arabic, Greek and Latin sources concerning events in the region of Enna and southern Sicily suggests that these parts of the island avoided the larger political struggles that gripped Palermo and Agrigento in particular. This raises the possibility, alluded to above, that this region was an Ibāḍī stronghold that enjoyed some autonomy and escaped political strife with the central government. Interestingly, the sources' silence concerning events in the region south of Enna, such as Caltagirone (Ḥiṣn al-Janūn), continued after the division of the island among the *qāḍīs*.

Tracing the activities of one of Sicily's little-known Ibāḍī tribes, the Barqajāna, may give us some notion of the Ibāḍī impact on the island. Ibn Ḥawqal reports that the inhabitants of Palermo included members of the Barqajāna and *mawālī* ('clients', that is, indigenous converts to Islam) claiming a connection with those who had conquered the island.¹²² According to al-Ya'qūbī, the Barqajāna were a Berber tribe which originally migrated west from the region of Barqa in Libya after the Arab advance into North Africa. The tribe first moved to Qayrawān and then further west to Tāhart and beyond.¹²³

Arabic sources place the Barqajāna in many of the major commercial centres of North Africa at the time, especially along trade routes monopolized by Ibāḍī tribesmen.¹²⁴ Members of the tribe were found in the West African trade centre of Awdaghust, along with other groups from Ifriqiya, namely, the Nafūsa, Lawāta, Zanāta and Nafzāwa, which were all well-known Ibāḍī tribes active in the trans-Saharan gold and slave trade.¹²⁵ The Barqajāna also inhabited towns and cities on the major trade

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routes from West Africa to Qayrawān, such as Fez, Tāhart and Tobna.¹²⁶ Arabic sources indicate that members of the Barqajāna were at Awdaghust, Tajanna and Palermo at approximately the same time, that is, around 360/970,¹²⁷ but reports of their presence in Fez, Tāhart and Tobna refer to an earlier period.¹²⁸ At the beginning of the third/ninth century, tribesmen are mentioned as owning part of the land that would become the Idrisid city of Fez in Morocco.¹²⁹ They were also found near the coastal towns north of Tāhart, at Ighzar,¹³⁰ the environs of the Banu Jallidāsan,¹³¹ and possibly at Warglan.¹³² In the second/eighth century, when 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Rustam (d. 171/788) established his capital in the new city of Tāhart (144/761), the Barqajāna tribe was already established in the fortified town of Old Tāhart, called Ḥiṣn li-Barqajāna¹³³ and also known as Qal'at Ḥawwāra.¹³⁴ There is no reason to believe that the Barqajāna did not participate in commerce in the new city of Tāhart.¹³⁵ If they did, they may have moved to other trading centres, much like other Ibāḍī tribes in the area, once Tāhart fell to the Fāṭimids.

The presence of the Barqajāna in cities and towns along the major North African trade routes strongly indicates that they participated in the trans-Saharan trade network of the Ibāḍīs. Their presence in Sicily hints at the possibility that this network extended to Sicily. Ibn Ḥawqal, for example, tells us that Palermo was full of merchants,¹³⁶ and other sources, such as the later Geniza records, indicate that it was, in fact, a major trading hub.¹³⁷ As part of an influential and extensive commercial network that stretched from Morocco to Tripolitania and from sub-Saharan Africa to the Mediterranean coast,¹³⁸ the Barqajāna and other Ibāḍī tribesmen would naturally have linked Sicily's economy to established markets to the south. Here, it is important to recall that the Ibāḍī trade network was 'confessional' as well as tribal.¹³⁹

Another piece of evidence is the prominent role of Ibāḍī tribes in the trans-Saharan gold and slave trade, and the fact that Sicily was a major transit point for these commodities.¹⁴⁰ Ibāḍī merchants were also heavily involved in trade in foodstuffs, such as wheat, olives and olive oil.¹⁴¹ Sicily was a major importer of oil and a major producer and exporter of wheat and barley. We know that Sicilian Ibāḍīs raised grain because al-Wisyāni mentions them, in *Kitāb al-siyar*, as asking questions concerning the collection of *zakāt* (alms for the poor mandated by *sharī'a* law).¹⁴² Perhaps Ibāḍī merchants trading in grain in Ifriqiya, which was a main importer of Sicilian wheat, were selling the produce of Sicilian Ibāḍīs.

The sale of wheat, black and white slaves,¹⁴³ and other products and merchandise to North Africa allowed the island to acquire the gold needed for coinage, such as the quarter dinar or *rubā'ī*, which became, by the end of the fifth/eleventh century, the main currency used in trade not only in Sicily, but in southern Italy as well.¹⁴⁴

If the Ibāḍīs played an influential role in Sicily's commercial activities, this may have led to political conflict with the Fāṭimid regime, such as Ibāḍī involvement in the rebellion to remove by force the Fāṭimid governor of the island, Ibn 'Aṭṭāf al-Azdī (329/941-337/948).¹⁴⁵ It is reported that, in 335/947, some influential merchant families of Palermo, the Banū al-Ṭabarī, the Banū Maḍūḍ or Mazūz and the Banū Jāna, overthrew the governor.¹⁴⁶ The Fāṭimid caliph, al-Manṣūr (334/946-341/953), accused these rebels of seizing a government-owned ship and its cargo.¹⁴⁷ Although there is no specific mention in the sources concerning the ethnicity or sect of the rebels, one or more of these families may have had ties to the Ibāḍīs. The rebellion coincided with an Ibāḍī revolt in North Africa led by a certain Abū Yazīd: one of his apparent goals was to halt Fāṭimid attempts to control the trans-Saharan trade network.¹⁴⁸ It is, therefore, possible that there was some cooperation between the Sicilian and North African Ibāḍī communities to resist Fāṭimid encroachments on their lucrative commercial network. One indication that the two revolts may have been connected is that, after the death of Abū Yazīd and his son, Abū Yazīd's body was paraded through the streets of the old capital city of Ifriqiya, Qayrawān, before Caliph al-Manṣūr ordered that the remains of the two men be shipped to Sicily. The gruesome cargo, however, never made it to the island because the ship carrying their bodies sank soon after sailing.¹⁴⁹

Since the sources say nothing about the ethnicity of the three merchant families involved in the Palermo rebellion, we can only speculate on this point by considering their names: Banū al-Ṭabarī, Banū Maḍūḍ (or Mazūz) and Banū Jāna. The *nisba* of the Banū al-Ṭabarī indicates someone from Ṭabaristān, in northern Persia, so they appear to have been of Persian origin. This family or clan may have been part of the Khurāsānī contingent of the *jund* that established or maintained Aghlabid rule in Sicily or it may have been involved in the Rustamid government of Tāhart, which was composed of Persians.¹⁵⁰ As for the Banū Maḍūḍ, the name may be a copyist's error since there is no reference in the Arabic sources to a clan or tribe named Maḍūḍ. Later in the same century as the rebellion, a poet in the Kalbid court in Sicily was named Abū Ḥafṣ 'Amr ibn Mazūz ibn Jalil al-Lawāṭī,¹⁵¹ but little is known of him except that he or his ancestors were members of the Mazūz branch of the Lawāṭa Berber tribe, which had a presence on the island.¹⁵²

As for the Banū Jāna, this name is synonymous with the Zanāta, 'Jāna' being associated in traditional Berber genealogy with the founder of the Zanāta Berbers and a name commonly used by members of that tribal group.¹⁵³ 'Jāna' is often used by Ibāḍī Berbers of Zanāta origin as well.¹⁵⁴ However, this fact is obviously insufficient to confirm any connection between the Sicilian revolt and the Ibāḍīs and we can only speculate

about their relationship until more information on the revolt is found.

A remnant of the Ibāḍī population may have remained in Sicily until the thirteenth century, perhaps under some form of autonomous rule. The biographer of North Africa and Spain's renowned poets, Ibn Sa'īd al-Maghribī (610/1214-685/1286), notes in his work, *Unwān al-murqisāt wal-muṭribāt*, that the Sicilian poet, Ibrāhīm ibn Maḥbūb (fl. 13th century), was secretary (*kātib*) to Ibn Rustamī, the *ṣāhib* or 'master' of Sicily.¹⁵⁵ The *nisba* 'al-Rustamī,' which stems from the Persian name 'Rustam' is usually associated, in nearby North Africa, with the Ibāḍī dynasty and state established in Tāhart,¹⁵⁶ which lasted from 144/762 until the Fāṭimid conquest and the expulsion of its leaders in 295/909. It was at that time that the Ibāḍī tribes dispersed, some going south to Warglan, others to Jabal Nafūsa (Tripolitania) and still others to the islands of Djerba and, perhaps, Sicily.¹⁵⁷ The name of a Muslim ruler in seventh/thirteenth century Sicily raises new questions on the Ibāḍī presence on the island and begs further research. It is also noteworthy that, during this period, when the Muslims of Sicily were in revolt against Frederick II, the Sicilian fleet was sent to attack the Ibāḍī stronghold, the island of Djerba, which had been the spiritual centre of the Ibāḍīs of Sicily in previous centuries.¹⁵⁸ It is said that the king took action against Djerba because its inhabitants were aiding the Muslim rebels in Sicily.¹⁵⁹

Firm proof of an Ibāḍī presence in Sicily would bring a significant new factor to studies of the political and economic history of Muslim Sicily and the Maghrib. The indications that we have of their presence and activities on the island not only provoke historians to consider their possible impact on Sicily, but also force them to take a closer look at the interaction between the island and North Africa. Scholars know from the Geniza records that Sicily held a central position in the Mediterranean trade network of the fifth/eleventh and sixth/twelfth centuries, according to Jewish merchants, but the Ibāḍī presence suggests closer economic, social and political ties between the island and Ibāḍī Muslims on the African continent as well. It also recognizes that Muslim Sicily reflected the religious diversity found in the rest of the Islamic world at the time, while simultaneously pointing to Sicily's multi-sectarian religious heritage. Although this is only a preliminary study, it shows that the Muslim period was a significant time in Sicily's long history and one that deserves closer study.

NOTES

¹ See Julie Taylor, *Muslims in Medieval Italy: The Colony at Lucera* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2003).

² The first edition was published in Florence between 1854 and 1872.

- ³ Michele Amari, *Storia dei Musulmani di Sicilia*, revised, edited and annotated by Carlo A. Nallino, 3 vols. (Catania: Prampolini, 1933-39).
- ⁴ Excerpts from the Arabic sources were first published in Leipzig in 1857. An Italian translation in two volumes was published in Turin by Ermanno Loescher in 1881 with an Appendix added in 1889.
- ⁵ Michele Amari, *Biblioteca arabo-sicula*, 2d. ed., revised by Umberto Rizzitano, 3 vols. (Palermo: Accademia Nazionale di Scienze Lettere e Arti, 1998).
- ⁶ Salvatore Cusa, ed., *I Diplomi Greci ed Arabi di Sicilia*, 2 vols. [continuous pagination] (Palermo: D. Lao, 1868).
- ⁷ Francesco Gabrieli wrote many articles on the Muslims in Sicily and Italy as well as editing, along with Umberto Scerrato, the monumental *Gli Arabi in Italia* (Milan: Garzanti-Scheiwiller, 1979). See Francesco Gabrieli, *La storiografia arabo-islamica in Italia* (Naples: Guida, 1975).
- ⁸ See Umberto Rizzitano, *Storia e Cultura nella Sicilia Saracena* (Palermo: S. F. Flaccovio, 1975); see, also, his article, "Vicende della Lingua Araba in Sicilia dal secolo IX al XV," in *Atti della Settimana Internazionale di Studi Mediterranei Medioevali e Moderni* (Milano: A. Giuffrè, 1980), 80-87.
- ⁹ Among those of Adalgisa De Simone's works mentioning the Berber tribes and anthroponyms, see her "La Kunya negli antroponomi arabi di Sicilia tra metafora e ambiguità," in *Studi Linguistici e Filologici offerti a Girolamo Caracausi* (Palermo: Centro di Studi Filologici e Linguistici Siciliani, 1992), 77-98; *Spoglio antroponomico delle Giaride (Gara'id) Arabo-greche dei diplomi editi da Salvatore Cusa* (Rome: Onomasticon Arabicum, 1979), 18-66; *Nella Sicilia "araba" tra storia e filologia* (Palermo: Università di Palermo, 1999).
- ¹⁰ Illuminato Peri, *Città e campagna in Sicilia*, 2 vols. (Palermo: Accademia di Scienze, Lettere e Arti di Palermo, 1953); Illuminato Peri, *Uomini, Città e Campagne in Sicilia dall' XI al XIII secolo* (Bari: Laterza, 1978).
- ¹¹ Ihsān 'Abbās, *Al-'Arab fi Şiqilliya* (Cairo: Dār al-Ma'ārif, 1959).
- ¹² *Ibid.*, 64-68.
- ¹³ Ihsān 'Abbās, *Muġam al-'ulamā' wal-shu'arā' al-Şiqilliyyin* (Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 1994).
- ¹⁴ Mohamed Talbi, *L'Emirat aghlabide* (Paris: Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1966).
- ¹⁵ The use of toponyms to trace the settlement of Arabs and Berbers has often been utilized by scholars conducting research on Spain as well as Sicily. See, for example, Miguel Barceló, "Loquella barbarica (I)," *Faventia* 19 (1997) : 141-47.
- ¹⁶ Mohamed Talbi, "Enfoudrement demographique au Maghreb du XIe au XVe siècle," *Cahiers de Tunisie* 25 (1977) : 51-60.
- ¹⁷ Talbi, *L'Emirat aghlabide*, 119-20, 469.
- ¹⁸ Taqī al-Dīn 'Arif al-Dūri, *Şiqilliya* (Baghdad: Wazārat al-Thaqāfa, 1980).
- ¹⁹ Especially Agius' book, *Siculo Arabic* (London: Kegan Paul International, 1996).
- ²⁰ Alberto Varvaro, *Lingua e storia in Sicilia*, 2 vols. (Palermo: Sellerio, 1981), 83-92.
- ²¹ Alex Metcalfe, *Muslims and Christians in Norman Sicily* (London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003).
- ²² *Ibid.*, 63.
- ²³ Luigi Serra, *Soprevvivenze lessicali arabe e berbere in un' area dell' Italia meridionale: La Basilicata* (Naples: Istituto Universitario Orientale, 1983); Luigi Serra, "Concordanze dialettali italiane con voci arabe e berbere e voci italiane in un dialetto berbero Tripolitano," *Bollettino dell' Atlante linguistico mediterraneo* 13-15 (1971-73) : 433-48.
- ²⁴ Giosuè Musca, *L'Emirato di Bari, 847-871* (Bari: Dedalo Libri, 1978).
- ²⁵ Serra, *Soprevvivenze lessicali arabe*, 1-17.
- ²⁶ Ferdinando Maurici, *Breve storia degli Arabi in Sicilia* (Palermo: Flaccovio, 1995), 66.
- ²⁷ See the following three studies by Girolamo Caracausi: "Onomastica araba in

- Sicilia," *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie* 109 (1993) : 349-80; *Arabismi medievali di Sicilia* (Palermo: Centro di Studi Filologici e Linguistici Siciliani, 1983); and *Dizionario onomastico della Sicilia*, 2 vols. (Palermo: L' Epos Società Editrice, 1994).
- ²⁸ Giovan Battista Pellegrini, *Gli arabismi nelle lingue neo-latine con speciale riguardo all'Italia*, 2 vols. (Brescia: Paideia, 1972).
- ²⁹ Henri Bresc, "Féodalité coloniale en terre d' Islam: La Sicile (1070-1240)," in *Structures féodales et féodalisme dans l'occident méditerranéen (Xe-XIIIe siècles)* (Rome: École Française de Rome, 1980), 631-47; see, also, his "Spazio e potere nella Palermo medievale," *Schede medievali: Rassegna dell' Officina di studi medievale* 30-31 (2001) : 7-18; "Terre e Castelli: Le Fortificazioni nella Sicilia Araba e Normanna," in *Castelli, Storia e Archeologia* (Cuneo: Archaeologia Medievale, 1983), edited by R. Comba and A. A. Settia, 73-85; "L'habitat rupestre dans la Sicile médiévale," *Studi dedicati a Carmelo Trasselli* (Soveria Manelli: Rubbettino, 1983), edited by Giovanna Motta, 128-35.
- ³⁰ Henri Bercher, Annie Courteaux, and Jean Mouton, "Une abbaye latine dans la société musulmane: Monreale au XIIe siècle," *Annales: Economies, Sociétés, Civilisations* 24 (1979) : 525-47.
- ³¹ Jeremy Johns, "The Monreale Survey: Indigenes and Invaders in Medieval West Sicily," in *Papers in Italian Archaeology, Pt. 4* (Oxford: B.A.R., 1985), edited by Caroline Malone and Simon Stoddart, 215-23; Jeremy Johns, "Monreale Survey: Innesamento medievale in Sicilia occidentale: Premesse, metodi, problemi e alcuni risultati preliminari," in *Castrum 2: Structures de l'habitat et occupation du sol dans les pays méditerranéens: Les méthodes et l'apport de l'archéologie extensive* (Rome/Madrid: École Française de Rome, 1988), edited by Ghislaine Noyé, 73-84.
- ³² Jeremy Johns, *Arabic Administration in Norman Sicily* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).
- ³³ See the following works by Ferdinando Maurici: "Per una storia dell' insediamento nella Sicilia Federiciana," in *Federico e la Sicilia della terra della corona: Archeologia e architettura*, 2 vols. [continuous pagination] (Palermo: Ediprint, 1995), edited by Carmela Angela Di Stefano and Antonio Cadei, 3-10; *L'insediamento medievale nel territorio della Provincia di Palermo* (Palermo: Regione Siciliana, Assessorato dei Beni Culturali e Ambientali e della Pubblica Istruzione, 1998); *Medioevo trapanese* (Palermo: Regione Siciliana Assessorato dei Beni Culturali, Ambientali e della Pubblica Istruzione, 2002); *Castelli medievali in Sicilia* (Palermo: Sellerio, 1992).
- ³⁴ Franco D' Angelo, "La ceramica," in *Storia di Palermo* (Palermo: L' Epos Società Editrice, 1999), edited by Rosario La Duca, 2:62-78. See, also, Franco D' Angelo, "La céramique islamique décorée en Sicile," *Colloque international d'archéologie islamique* (Institut français d'archéologie orientale, Cairo) 36 (1998) : 1-12; and Franco D' Angelo, "Ceramiche della seconda metà del XII secolo fino alla prima metà del XIII secolo di produzione locale e d' importazione," *Colloque international d'archéologie islamique* 36 (1998) : 255-63.
- ³⁵ Giuseppe Castellana, "Il casale di Caliatà presso Montevago," in *Dagli Scavi di Montevago e di Rocca di Entella: Un contributo di conoscenze per la Storia dei Musulmani della Valle del Belice dal X al XIII secolo* (Montevago: Soprintendenza ai Beni Culturali ed Ambientali di Agrigento, 1992), edited by Giuseppe Castellana, 35-50; Giuseppe Castellana, "La necropoli di rito musulmano di Caliatà presso Montevago," in *Castellana, Dagli Scavi di Montevago e di Rocca di Entella*, 223-29.
- ³⁶ Rosaria Di Salvo and Franco Germanà, "I Musulmani di Castello S. Pietro (PA) (Antropologia e Paleopatologia)," in *Castellana, Dagli Scavi di Montevago e di Rocca di Entella*, 265-80; Pier Francesco Fabbri, "Resti umani rinvenuti nelle necropoli musulmane di Entella (PA) e di Caliatà (AG): Osservazioni antropologiche," in *Castellana, Dagli Scavi di Montevago e di Rocca di Entella*, 249-56; Alessandra Molinari, *Segesta II: Castello e la Moschea (Scavi 1989-1995)* (Palermo: Flaccovio, 1997).
- ³⁷ Di Salvo and Germanà, "I Musulmani di Castello S. Pietro (PA) (Antropologia e

- Paleopatologia),” 272-74; Francesco Mallegni, “Problemi di popolamento musulmano in Sicilia,” in Castellana, *Dagli Scavi di Montevago e di Rocca di Entella*, 241-48; Molinar, *Segesta II: Castello e la Moschea (Scavi 1989-1995)*, 23-32.
- ³⁸ D’Angelo, “La céramique islamique décorée en Sicile,” 4.
- ³⁹ Ibid.
- ⁴⁰ Maurici, *Breve storia degli Arabi in Sicilia*, 87.
- ⁴¹ See note 33.
- ⁴² Giorgio Piccitto, *Vocabolario Siciliano*, 5 vols. (Palermo: Centro di Studi Filologico e Linguistici Siciliani, 1977-2002), 5:927.
- ⁴³ Bresc, “L’habitat rupestre dans la Sicile médiévale,” 132-33.
- ⁴⁴ Riccardo Guglielmino, “La necropolis islamica di Entella,” in Di Stefano and Cadei, *Federico e la Sicilia della terra della corona*, 1:111-18; Francesca Spatafora, “Calatrasi, L’Eta medievale a Monte Maranfusa,” in Di Stefano and Cadei, *Federico e la Sicilia della terra della corona*, 163-67; Di Salvo and Germanà, “I Musulmani di Castella S. Pietro (PA) (Antropologia e Paleopatologia),” in Castellana, *Dagli Scavi di Montevago e di Rocca di Entella*, 272-74; Mallegni, “Problemi di popolamento musulmano in Sicilia,” in Castellana, *Dagli Scavi di Montevago e di Rocca di Entella*, 241-61.
- ⁴⁵ Tadeusz Lewicki, “Ibādiyya,” in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2d ed. (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1960-), 3:657.
- ⁴⁶ Abū al-Rabī Sulaymān al-Wisayāni, “Kitāb al-siyar,” MS no. H9112 (Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya), folio 59 ro.
- ⁴⁷ Maḥmūd Ismā‘il, *Al-Khawārīj fī al-Maghrib al-Islāmī* (Beirut: Dār al-‘Awdā, 1976), 176.
- ⁴⁸ Sulaymān Bāshā al-Bārūni, *Al-Azhār al-riyādiyya fī a‘immat wa-mulūk al-Ibādiyya*, edited by Muḥammad ‘Alī al-Ṣalībī, 2 vols. (Muscat, Oman: Wazārat al-Turāth al-Qawmī wal-Thaqāfa, 1987).
- ⁴⁹ Abū al-Bakr ‘Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad al-Mālikī, *Kitāb riyād al-nufūs*, edited by Bāshir al-Bakkūsh and Muḥammad al-‘Arūsī al-Maṭwī, 2 vols. (Beirut: Dār al-Ḥarb al-Islāmī, 1994), 1:270.
- ⁵⁰ Ibn ‘Idhārī, *Kitāb al-bayān al-mughrib*, edited by G. S. Colin and E. Levi-Provençal, 2 vols. (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1948), 1:102.
- ⁵¹ Ibid.
- ⁵² Michael Brett and Elizabeth Fentress, *The Berbers* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1996), 6.
- ⁵³ Abū ‘Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn ‘Alī al-Mas‘ūdī, *Murūj al-dhahab/Les prairies d’or*, text and translation by C. Barbier de Meynard and Panet de Courteille, 3 vols. (Paris: L’Imprimerie imperiale, 1861-64), 3:242; see, also, Abū ‘Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn ‘Alī al-Mas‘ūdī, *Murūj al-dhahab*, edited by Yūsuf As‘ad Dāghir, 4 vols. (Beirut: Dār al-Andalus, 1965-66), 2:95.
- ⁵⁴ Abū al-Qāsim ibn Aḥmad al-Zayyāni, “Al-Turjumān al-mughrib ‘an duwal al-Mashriq wal-Maghrib,” MS no. D658, Rabat National Library, folios 14 vo and 16 ro.
- ⁵⁵ Al-Dāwūdī uses the Arabic word *qawm*, that is, ‘tribe’, to describe the Berbers who were among the conquering forces. Abū Ja‘far Aḥmad ibn Naṣr al-Dāwūdī, “Le régime foncier en Sicile au Moyen Age (IXe et Xe Siècles),” *Kitāb al-Amwāl d’al-Dāwūdī*, edited and translated by H. H. Abdul Wahab and F. Dachraoui, in *Études d’Orientalisme dédiées à la mémoire de Levi-Provençal*, 2 vols. (Paris: G. P. Maisonneuve, 1967), 2:409, 429; Abū Ja‘far Aḥmad ibn Naṣr al-Dāwūdī, *Kitāb al-amwāl*, edited by Riḍā Muḥammad Sālim Shihāda (Rabat: Markaz Iḥyā’ al-Thurāth al-Maghribi, 1988), 71.
- ⁵⁶ Al-Dāwūdī, “Le régime foncier en Sicile,” 2:409, 429; Thomas F. Glick, *Islamic and Christian Spain in the Early Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979), 137-44.
- ⁵⁷ Al-Dāwūdī, “Le régime foncier en Sicile,” 2:401-44; al-Zayyāni, “Al-Turjumān al-
- mughrib,” folios 14 vo and 16 ro. See, also, Bercher, Courteaux and Mouton, “Une abbaye latine dans la société musulmane,” 532.
- ⁵⁸ Studies indicating the large number of North African immigrants who settled in Sicily during this period include: Francesco Mallegni, “Problemi di popolamento musulmano in Sicilia,” in Castellana, *Dagli Scavi di Montevago e di Rocca di Entella*, 243-47; Riccardo Guglielmino, “La Nicropoli musulmana di Entella,” in Castellana, *Dagli Scavi di Montevago e di Rocca di Entella*, 239.
- ⁵⁹ Robert S. Gottfried, *The Black Death* (New York: Free Press, 1983), 11-12; André Guillou, “L’Italia Bizantina dall’ invazione Longobarda alla Caduta di Ravenna,” in *Longobardi e Bizantini* (Turin: UTET, 1980), edited by Paolo Delogu et al., 311; Gina Fasoli, “Le Città siciliane dall’ istituzione del tema bizantino alla conquista normanna,” *Archivio Storico Siracusano* 2 (1956): 68-70.
- ⁶⁰ Claudio Vita-Finzi, *The Mediterranean Valleys* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), 117-20; Luna B. Leopold and Claudio Vita-Finzi, “Valley Changes in the Mediterranean and America and Their Effects on Humans,” *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 142 (1998): 9-16; Abū al-Qāsim Muḥammad ibn Hawqal, *Ṣiḥab sūrat al-ard*, (Beirut: Manshūrāt Dār Maktabat al-Ḥayat, 1979), 72-73, 85, 92-93; also in *Islam from the Prophet Muhammad to the Capture of Constantinople*, 2 vols. (London: Macmillan Press, Ltd., 1974), edited and translated by Bernard Lewis, 2:90-91, 100.
- ⁶¹ See Mallegni, “Problemi di popolamento musulmano in Sicilia,” 243-47; Guglielmino, “La Nicropoli musulmana di Entella,” 239.
- ⁶² Al-Dāwūdī, “Le régime foncier en Sicile,” 2:401-44. Famines hit the Maghrib in 246/860, 260/874, 285/898, 303/916, 307/919, 339/950, 377/988, 379/990, 395/1005 (large migration to Sicily), 411/1020, 413/1023, 425/1033-1034, 430/1039, 432/1040, 434/1043, 447/1056, 469/1077, 483/1091, 491/1098, 512/1119, 535/1141, 536/1142 and 537/1143 (large migration to Sicily). See Allaoua Amara, “Retour à la problématique du déclin économique du monde musulman médiéval: Le cas du Maghreb Hammadide (XI-XIIe siècles),” *Maghreb Review* 28 (2003): 9; Abū al-Fath al-Sāmīri al-Danafi, *The Continuatio of the Samaritan Chronicle of Abu l-Fath al-Samiri al-Danafi*, translated and annotated by Milka Levy-Rubin (Princeton: Darwin Press, Inc., 2002), 97; Aḥmad ibn Khālīd al-Salawī “Kitāb al-istiḥṣā li-akhbār duwal al-Maghrib al-aqṣā,” *Archives marocaines* 31 (1925): 48, 49, 62-63, 65, 80; Ibn ‘Idhārī, *Kitāb al-bayān al-mughrib*, 1:12-13, 116; ‘Izz al-Dīn ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil fī al-tārīkh*, edited by C. J. Tomberg, 12 vols., (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1853-67; reprint, Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, n.d.), 9:329, 494; ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Dabbāgh, *Ma‘ālim al-imān fī ma‘rifat ahl al-Qayrawān*, edited by Ibrāhīm Shabbūh, 4 vols. (Cairo: Maktabat al-Khanjī, 1968), 3:160; ‘Alī ibn ‘Abd Allāh ibn Abī Zar‘, *Rawḍ al-qirtās*, translated by Ambrosie Huici Miranda, 2 vols. (Valencia: J. Nacher, 1964), 1:186-87, 218, 223.
- ⁶³ Al-Dabbāgh, *Ma‘ālim al-imān fī ma‘rifat ahl al-Qayrawān*, 3:160.
- ⁶⁴ ‘Abd al-Wāḥid al-Marrakūshī, *History of the Almohads*, edited by Reinhart P. A. Dozy (Amsterdam: Oriental Press, 1968), 259; Amara, “Retour à la problématique du déclin économique du monde musulman médiéval,” 15.
- ⁶⁵ ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Khaldūn, *Kitāb al-ibar fī ayyām al-‘Arab wal-‘Ajam*, 14 vols. (Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-Lubnāni, 1983-86) 5:433; Amara, “Retour à la problématique du déclin économique du monde musulman médiéval,” 9.
- ⁶⁶ Al-Zayyāni, “Al-Turjumān al-mughrib,” folios 14 vo and 16 ro.
- ⁶⁷ Brett and Fentress, *The Berbers*, 122; Metcalfe, *Muslims and Christians in Norman Sicily*, 176.
- ⁶⁸ M. Talbi, “The Independence of the Maghrib,” in *General History of Africa*, Volume 3: *Africa from the Seventh to the Eleventh Century*, edited by M. El Fasi (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), 266.
- ⁶⁹ Ibid., 269.
- ⁷⁰ Serra, *Sopravvivenze lessicali arabe*, 1-8.

- the dates of the journeys, see Devisse, "La question d'Audagust," 109-15.
- ¹²⁸ Al-Bakri, *Description de l'Afrique*, 139; al-Bakri, *Al-Mughrib fi dhikr bilād Ifriqiya*, 67; Aḥmad ibn Abi al-Ya'qūbi, *Kitāb al-buldān* (Beirut: Dār Ihyā' al-Turāth al-'Arabi, 1988), 113; Ibn Ḥawqal, *Ṣūrat al-arḍ*, 85.
- ¹²⁹ Ibn Abi Zar', *Rawḍ al-qirtās*, 1:39-91, 186-87, 218, 223; al-Ya'qūbi, *Kitāb al-buldān*, 113.
- ¹³⁰ A fort near the city of Ténès belonging to the Barqajāna; see Ibn 'Idhāri, *Kitāb al-bayān*, 1:193.
- ¹³¹ Al-Bakri, *Description de l'Afrique*, 141; al-Bakri, *Al-Mughrib fi dhikr bilād Ifriqiya*, 69.
- ¹³² Yāqūt ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥamawī, *Muḥam al-buldān*, 5 vols. (Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 1955-57), 5:371. The text has Majāna, which most likely should be Barqajāna. See *Corpus of Early Arabic Sources*, edited by N. Levtzion and J. F. P. Hopkins, translated by J. F. P. Hopkins (Princeton: Markus Wiener, 2000), 175.
- ¹³³ Al-Bakri, *Description de l'Afrique*, 139; al-Bakri, *Al-Mughrib fi dhikr bilād Ifriqiya*, 66; Ibn 'Idhāri, *Kitāb al-bayān*, 1:155.
- ¹³⁴ *Kitāb al-istiḥṣār fi 'ajā'ib al-amṣār*, 178; al-Bakri, *Description de l'Afrique*, 139; al-Bakri, *Al-Mughrib fi dhikr bilād Ifriqiya*, 66; Ibn 'Idhāri, *Kitāb al-bayān*, 1:155.
- ¹³⁵ Ibn Ṣaghīr said that the tribe controlling the *sūq* was a group of "ajim" known today as "min Majāna," which Motylinski translated into French as "Marmajānah." However, Majāna and Marmajāna are both the names of towns and I am not convinced that an unidentified tribe from Majāna could control the *sūq* of Tāhart. It appears to me, although I have not been able to see a copy of the original text, that there was a misreading or an orthographic mistake in the text and the sentence should be read as "Barqajāna" rather than "min Majāna." See Ibn Ṣaghīr, "Chronique d'Ibn Ṣaghīr sur les imams Rustamides de Tahert," edited by A. De Motylinski, in *Actes du XIVe congrès international des orientalistes*, 3 vols. (Paris: E. Leroux, 1906-08), Arabic text, 1:27. French translation, 1:86.
- ¹³⁶ Ibn Ḥawqal, *Ṣūrat al-arḍ*, 113; Lewis, *Islam from the Prophet Muḥammad*, 2:87.
- ¹³⁷ Shlomo D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society*, 6 vols. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967-93), 1:212.
- ¹³⁸ Tadeusz Lewicki, "The Role of the Sahara and Saharans in Relationships between North and South," in *General History of Africa*, Volume 3: *Africa from the Seventh to the Eleventh Century*, 276-313, esp. 299; Devisse, "La question d'Audagust," 25-28, 129, 139; Lewicki, "Ibadis in Arabia," 83-129; I. Hrbek, "The Emergence of the Fatimids," in *General History of Africa*, Volume 3: *Africa from the Seventh to the Eleventh Century*, 322-24.
- ¹³⁹ Michael Brett, "The Arab Conquest and the Rise of Islam in North Africa," in *The Cambridge History of Africa*, Vol. 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), edited by J. D. Fage, 595.
- ¹⁴⁰ Sa'd Zaghāl 'Abd al-Majīd, "Hāshim 'alā maṣādir tārikh al-Ibādiyya fi al-Maghrib," in *Actes du premier congrès d'histoire et de la civilisation du Maghreb*, 2 vols. (Tunis: Université de Tunis, 1979), 2:69-71; al-Ḥabīb al-Jānhāni, *Al-Maghrib al-Islāmi* (Tunis: Al-Dār al-Tūnisiyya lil-Nashr, 1978), 17, 61; Goitein, *Mediterranean Society*, 1:42-44, 256, 301.
- ¹⁴¹ 'Abd al-Majīd, "Hāshim 'alā maṣādir tārikh," 2:69-71.
- ¹⁴² Al-Wisyanī, "Kitāb al-siyar," folio 59 ro.
- ¹⁴³ 'Abd al-Majīd, "Hāshim 'alā maṣādir tārikh," 70. Lombard slaves from Italy were most often sent to Sicily via Naples and Amalfi; see Maurice Lombard, *Golden Age of Islam*, translated by John Spencer (New York: American Elsevier, 1975), 201. Dalmatians (*Croatorum Sclavorum*) were brought to the island by the Venetians; see W. Heyd, *Histoire du commerce de Levant au moyen-âge* (Amsterdam: Adolf M. Hakkert, 1959), 1:110. Ethnic Greeks from Calabria were sold to the Arabs of Sicily by the Byzantines of southern Italy; see *Erchempert's Historia Langobardorum Beneventorum*, edited by G. H. Pertz and G. Waitz, in *Scriptores Rerum Langobardicarum et Italicarum* Saec. VI-IX, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* (Hanover: Bibliopolii Hahniani, 1878), 264.
- ¹⁴⁴ Lucia Travaini, *La monetazione nell'Italia Normanna* (Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo, 1995), 20; Armando O. Citarella, "Merchants, Markets and Merchandise in Southern Italy in the High Middle Ages," in *Mercati e mercanti nell'alto medioevo: L'Area Euroasiatica e l'area Mediterranea*, 2 vols. (Spoleto: Presso la Sede del Centro, 1993), 1:255; Armand O. Citarella, "Patterns in Medieval Trade: The Commerce of Amalfi before the Crusades," *Journal of Economic History* 28 (1968) : 553.
- ¹⁴⁵ Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil fi al-tārikh*, 8:471; Abū 'Alī Maṣṣūr al-Judhārī, *Vie de l'ustadh Judhar*, translated by Marius Canard (Algiers: J. Carbonel, 1958), 103.
- ¹⁴⁶ Ibn Khaldūn, *Kitāb al-ibar*, 7:444; al-Judhārī, *Vie de l'ustadh Judhar*, 102.
- ¹⁴⁷ Ibid.
- ¹⁴⁸ J. Devisse, "Trade and Trade Routes in West Africa," in *General History of Africa*, Volume 3: *Africa from the Seventh to the Eleventh Century*, 387-400.
- ¹⁴⁹ Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn 'Alī ibn Ḥammād, *Histoire des rois 'obaidides (Les califes fatimides)*, edited and translated by M. Vonderheyden (Algiers: Jules Carbonel, 1927), 59.
- ¹⁵⁰ M. Talbi, "Rustamids," *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2d ed., 638-40.
- ¹⁵¹ 'Abbās, *Muḥam al-'ulamā' wal-shu'arā' al-Ṣiqilliyin*, 156; 'Alī ibn Ja'far ibn al-Qattā', *Al-Durra al-khafira min shu'arā' al-Jazira*, edited by Bashir Bakkūsh (Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmi, 1995), 154.
- ¹⁵² Iyād ibn Mūsā, *Tartīb al-madārik wa-taqrib al-masālik*, edited by A. B. Maḥmūd, 3 vols. (Beirut: Dār Maktabat al-Ḥayāt, 1967) 3:773.
- ¹⁵³ See Ibn Khaldūn, *Histoire des berbères*, 3:189-98, 285, 294-300. See, also, Lewicki, "Les noms propres berbères," 7-8.
- ¹⁵⁴ Ibid.
- ¹⁵⁵ Ibn Sa'id al-Maghribi, *Unwān al-murqīṣāt wal-muṭribāt*, edited by Maḥdād Abdelkāder (Algiers: Carbonel, 1949), 49.
- ¹⁵⁶ *Muḥam a'lām al-Ibādiyya*, edited by Muḥammad ibn Mūsā Babā 'Ammī et al., 2 vols. (Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmi, 2000), 1:218-19; Talbi, "Rustamids," 8: 638-40.
- ¹⁵⁷ Ismā'il, *Al-Khawārij fi al-Maghrib al-Islāmi*, 176.
- ¹⁵⁸ Al-Wisyanī, "Kitāb al-siyar," folio 59 ro.
- ¹⁵⁹ Thomas Curtis Van Cleave, *The Emperor Frederick II of Hohenstaufen* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), 153.