

CENTRO DI STUDI MAGREBINI

STUDI MAGREBINI

VOLUME

XVIII

1986

ISTITUTO UNIVERSITARIO ORIENTALE

NAPOLI

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NAPOLI

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TUTTI I DIRITTI SONO RISERVATI

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PARVA AFRICANA

FRANCESCO VATTIONI
(Napoli)

1. *Dicdica*

In Cirenaica c'è una località che l'Itinerario Antonino¹ chiama *Digdica*, la tavola di Peutinger *Digdida Municipium Selorum*, Corippo, *Iohannis*, II, 129² *Digdida* (variante *Dicliga*), l'Anonimo di Ravenna *Dicdica*, Guido *Dicdica*.

La scelta della forma grafica è già stata fatta da W. Gesenius³ in base alla etimologia: *dqdq*⁴, *parvus* nella letteratura talmudica⁵. Il toponimo quindi significa «piccola», «minuta», come la polvere, se si deve considerare uno dei composti che si formano sulla stessa radice. Se la etimologia è esatta – e ne ha tutte le possibilità – si può creare una base per acquisire allo scarso lessico del fenicio e del punico una nuova voce che dovrebbe derivare, come già S. Bochart aveva stabilito, dalla radice *dwq/dq/dqq* e dovrebbe essere una forma raddoppiata.

¹ Per il momento, attingo dalle fonti raccolte da V. Purcaro Pagano, «Le rotte antiche tra la Grecia e la Cirenaica e gli itinerari marittimi e terrestri lungo le coste cirenaiche e della Grande Sirte», *QAL*, 8 (1976), 285–352, specialmente 334; A. M. Bisi Ingrassia, «Note ad alcuni toponimi punici e libici della Cirenaica», *QAL*, 9 (1977), 125–134, specialmente 132: radice libica *dg*, «erigere (una stele)».

² J. Patsch, «Corippi Africani Grammatici libri qui supersunt», *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, Auctores antiquissimi, III, 2, Berlino, 19. Uguale è la lettura nella recente edizione di T. Diggle, F. R. D. Goodyear, *Flavii Cresconii Corippi Iohannidos seu de bellis libycis libri VIII*, Cambridge 1970.

³ *Scripturae linguaeque phoeniciae monumenta quotquot supersunt*, Lipsia 1837, 422. P. Schroeder, *Die phoenizische Sprache*, Halle 1869 non prende in considerazione il toponimo.

⁴ Il raddoppiamento della radice è presente anche in altri toponimi dell'Africa settentrionale; basti pensare a Putput, Marmarica, etc.

⁵ Cfr. S. Bochart, *Geographia sacra*, Francoforte sul Meno, 1674, 396; M. Jastrow, *A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midraschic Literature*, New York 1950, 318. La radice è presente anche in siriano; cfr. R. Payne Smith, *Thesaurus syriacus*, Oxford 1868, 938.

Sempre se la etimologia è esatta, Dicdica potrebbe essere un ottimo indizio per la translitterazione in latino della lingua semitica. Mentre la dentale è praticamente conservata, la enfatica – qoph⁶ – è resa da *c*. Il fatto non sorprende perché si riscontra con una certa frequenza anche altrove.

2. Ausigda

Sempre in Cirenaica si incontra un altro toponimo⁷ che è presentato dallo *Stadiasmos maris magni* come Ναυσίδα/Ναυσιδος, da Tolomeo, IV, 4, 3, Stefano da Bisanzio⁸, Licofrone⁹, *Alessandra*, 885 Ἀδσίγδα. A queste forme si deve aggiungere quella offerta da alcuni manoscritti di Sinesio, *Epistola CXXII*¹⁰ dove all'Ἀξουκιδῶν di molti testimoni è da preferire la lezione Ἀδσίδιδῶν del Parisinus graecus 1039 (sec. XI) e del Parisinus graecus 1040 (anno 1345)¹¹: lezione molto vicina a quella di Tolomeo, di Stefano da Bisanzio e di Licofrone.

Purtroppo né S. Bochart, né W. Gesenius, né P. Schroeder hanno tentato l'etimologia; qualcuno ne ha attribuito una a F. C. Movers ma un controllo da me effettuato non ha trovato il debito riscontro.

Dovendo scegliere tra le varie forme del toponimo ho scelto Ἀδσίγδα per naturali motivi di etimologia che tento di mostrare con una certa serenità.

Il prefisso *Av* –, molto frequente nei toponimi e antroponomi dell'Africa

⁶ La translitterazione di tale suono semitico potrà creare difficoltà molto spesso per la ricerca della radice.

⁷ Anche per questo toponimo attingo in parte da V. Purcaro Pagano, *art. cit.*, 342; A. M. Bisi Ingrassia *art. cit.*, 127: dal libico che significa «essere elevato», «altura». Si aggiunga anche Pietschmann, «Ausigda», *PW*, II, 2, 2559. Per Tolomeo ricorro a C. Müller, *Claudi Ptolemaei Geographia*, Parigi 1901, 667; per lo *Stadiasmos maris magni* a C. Müller, *Geographi graeci minores*, Parigi 1855, I, 446.

⁸ A. Meineke, *Stephani Byzantii Ethnicorum quae supersunt*, Berlino 1849, 147: Ἀδσίγδα città della Libia. L'etnico Ἀδσίγδοι (variante ἀδσίγδοι).

⁹ E. Scheer, *Lycophronis Alexandra*, Berlino 1881.1908: I, 885 (Ἀδσίγδα, variante Ἀδσίδα), II, 286 (Ἀδσίγδα, Ἀδσίγδης). Vedi anche A. W. Mair, *Callimachus and Lycophron*, Londra 1921, 566.

¹⁰ A. Garzya, *Synesii Cyrenensis Epistolae*, Roma 1979, 209.

¹¹ J. Desanges, «Philologica quaedam necnon aethiopica», *Mélanges L. S. Senghor*, Dakar 1977, 107–120, specialmente 114–117. Vedere anche E. Catani, «Nota sinesiana: Epist. CXXII; Katast. III, 302B», *QAL*, 13 (1983), 105–110.

settentrionale antica, in molti casi è la translitterazione della radice 'bd con il significato di schiavo, servo¹². La parte centrale del toponimo in questione – σγδ – fa pensare alla radice *sgd*, prostrarsi, adorare, che è presente per l'aramaico in Turmasgada, *ṭwr msgd'*¹³, monte dell'adorazione o dell'altare, e in Tripolitania in un antroponimo, Segeddutis (Inscriptions of Roman Tripolitania, 217)¹⁴. La finale – *a* non è che l'aleph o la he o la t. Ἀδσίγδα si può rendere in punico come 'bdsgd', servo dell'altare o dell'adorazione. Se poi ci sia una divinità che porta questo nome sarà da dimostrare.

3. Cebar

Alcuni anni fa ho esaminato il toponimo Cebarsussim¹⁵ e l'altro Cebarades¹⁶ e ho individuato rispettivamente *kpr ssjm/swsjm*, villaggio dei cavalli, e *kpr ḥdš*, villaggio nuovo (quest'ultimo richiama Macomades, *mqm/mqwm ḥdš*, luogo nuovo).

Leggendo Corippo, *Iohannis*, IV, 41 ho incontrato di nuovo un toponimo chiamato Cebar e non ho avuta alcuna esitazione a pensare a *kpr*, villaggio.

Continuando la stessa indagine mi sono accorto che, mentre il latino mantiene una certa costanza nella vocalizzazione di *kpr*, il greco, d'altronde in conformità con altri casi della Siria, si differenzia abbastanza sensibilmente: Tolomeo, IV, 5.13 chiama Γάφαρα¹⁷ un villaggio nell'interno della Marmarica e uno sulla costa tripolitana tra Leptis Magna e Tripoli (il periplo di Scilace¹⁸ lo chiama Γραφαρα, Γραφάρων, lo *Stadiasmos maris magni* Ἀφορα, Plinio¹⁹, *Naturalis historia*, V, 1.58 Taphra). A queste attestazioni del toponimo con radice *kpr*, che è reso in greco Γαφαρ con una frequenza straordi-

¹² Si veda il caso di Auchusoris, 'bd kšr, in *SM*, 11 (1979), 53. Non sarebbe giusto tuttavia dimenticare che è stato spiegato con il berbero au-, figlio.

¹³ L'ultimo studio di E. Puech, «Note d'épigraphie latine palestinienne. Le dieu Turmasgada à Césarée maritime», *RB*, 89 (1982), 210–221.

¹⁴ *SM*, 11 (1979), 110.

¹⁵ *Latomus*, 37 (1978), 717s.

¹⁶ *SM*, 9 (1977), 1–2.

¹⁷ Dessau, «Gaphara», *PW*, VII, 1 (1910), 749.

¹⁸ A. Peretti, *Il periplo di Scilace*, Pisa 1979, 533.

¹⁹ J. Desanges, *Pline l'Ancien, Histoire naturelle*, Livre V, 1–46, Parigi 1980, 58. Vedere anche V. Purcaro, *art. cit.*, 336.

naria, si può aggiungere con una certa tranquillità anche Καπφαροδίτης dell'epistola VI di Sinesio.

4. Un antroponimo cirenaico

In una delle non poche iscrizioni cirenaiche greche, che attendono da tanto tempo un Corpus uguale a quello delle tripolitane, figura un antroponimo di grande interesse, Λαστρατος (SEG, XX, 7356, II, 35) che ha una replica in Grecia (SEG, XI, 275).

Per risolvere la etimologia di tale antroponimo mi sono servito di Giuseppe Flavio, *Contra Apionem*, I che al § 122 contiene tre antroponimi, Αβδαστρατος Μεθουσαστρατος, Λεαστρατου, mentre nel § 157 presenta Γεραστρατος e nei §§ 118.127 Αστартης.

Più del teonimo e degli altri teofori in questo caso interessa Λεαστρατου che ha come varianti nella versione latina Leastrati, Leatrati, Leastrati, nella cronaca di Eusebio Elaeastrati, Elastratos, in Giorgio Sincello Ελεασταρτου e nel manoscritto di J. A. Cramer Ελεσταρτος. Alla luce di queste varianti non è difficile pervenire alla etimologia di Λαστρατος, ciò che d'altronde avevo già proposto a più riprese²⁰. Si tratta di *l'strt*, teforo costruito con un *lamed* e il nome di una divinità, fatto non raro nell'epigrafia semitica, basti vedere in palmireno *lmlk'*, *lšmšw*, *lšmšj*²¹. Questa struttura potrebbe corrispondere in un certo senso ai teofori costruiti con il teonimo e il suffisso *-n* di appartenenza come per il biblico *šmšn*, Sansone, appartenente a Šamaš.

Un caso affine anche se non completamente identico voglio proporre per una iscrizione greca su erma di Tegea (Arcadia), pubblicata per la prima volta da K. Sabbopoulos²² senza molta precisione nel 1902. Pochi anni più tardi, nel 1906, A. S. Arvanitopoulos²³ faceva conoscere la fotografia e, ritenendo la grafia del II/I sec. a.C., leggeva

ΣΑΣΤΡΑ-
ΤΑ ΑΦΡΟ-
ΔΙΤΑΙ

²⁰ SM, 12 (1980), 52.54.55; *Studia papyrologica*, 20 (1981), 25-31.

²¹ J. K. Stark, *Personal Names in Palmyrene Inscriptions*, Oxford 1971, 29s.

²² *Athena*, 14 (1902), 506.

²³ *Ephemeris Archaeologike*, 1906, 42-43, nr. 9, fig. 1,3.

Mentre non aveva difficoltà a richiamare Σαστρατω di un'altra iscrizione di Tegea²⁴, pensava naturalmente a una corruzione di Σωστρατος come d'altronde aveva letto il primo editore.

Ma, guardando la fotografia dell'erma, non ci vuole molto a constatare che la prima lettera dell'erma non è un sigma, ma qualcosa di indistinto e di poco chiaro. Ho pensato allora di leggere

(Λ)αστρα
τα Αφροδιται

Si sarebbe di fronte a Λαστρατα, cioè a *l'strt*, ad Astarte, che viene identificata da Filone di Byblos, *Storia fenicia*²⁵, con Afrodite: «i Fenici poi dicono che Astarte è Afrodite».

5. I toponimi del catasto della Marmarica

Alcuni anni fa ho tentato²⁶ un prelievo di antroponimi del catasto della Marmarica contenuto nel papiro vaticano greco 11, pubblicato da M. Norsa e da G. Vitelli²⁷, del 190/191 d.C., quindi anteriore agli ostraca latini di Bu Njem.

Dovendo occuparmi di toponimi ho rivisto il testo del papiro e l'introduzione sapiente dei due editori e l'indice dei nomi geografici e topografici e ho ritenuto utile ripetere la lista, naturalmente abbreviata, che è stata posta alla p. 63 e di confrontarla sia con il papiro di Vienna²⁸ sia con il complesso dei toponimi raccolti recentemente²⁹ e di tentare talvolta l'etimologia.

A...οισμαλου IX, 17³⁰.

²⁴ AM, 4 (1879), 138s; BCH, 25 (1901), 269, nr. 6,11 = Collitz-Bechtel, 1248 = IG, V, 2, 31. La lettura è stata ripresa da A. J.-Reinach, REG, 20 (1907), 63 e, recentemente, dal *Lexicon iconographicum mytologiae classicae*, 2, 1, 1984, s.v. Aphrodite, 12, nr. 24.

²⁵ F. Jacoby, *Die Fragmente der Griechischen Historiker*, III, C, Leida 1958, nr. 790, 31.

²⁶ F. Vattioni, «Gli antroponimi del catasto della Marmarica e del periodo tolemaico», *Studia papyrologica*, 20 (1981), 25-31.

²⁷ *Il papiro vaticano greco 11, Studi e testi*, 53, Vaticano 1931, 49-70. Purtroppo non è data la fotografia completa del papiro e diventa difficile controllare la lettura.

²⁸ C. Wessely, «Ptolémée, Géographie, IV, 5, 24 et le papyrus Reiner, n° 259», REG, 32 (1919), 504-507; id., *Studien zur Palaeographie und Papyruskunde*, 20 (Lipsia).

²⁹ V. Purcaro Pagano, *art. cit.*

³⁰ Spero che non si tratti della vocalizzazione di *šmw'l*, sinistra, che si trova nelle Tavole Albertini, XXI, 7 (C. Courtois, L. Leschi, C. Perrat, C. Saumagne, *Tablettes Albertini. Actes privés de l'époque vandale* [Fin du v^e siècle], Parigi 1952, 278: *lismul*, a sinistra.

Αγωγή VI, 16.

Αναβολεως VII.8.11. Il prefisso Ανα³¹ ricorre anche nel toponimo Anabucis dell'itinerario di Antonino (tavola di Peutinger Anabucis Praesidium, Anonimo di Ravenna Anaucis/Anabucis, Guido Anabucis)³² e nello stesso catasto della Marmarica (IV, 12: Αναβουτος Μαζουσιος)³³.

Ανδρα IV, 33.

Αρχαιων VI, 37; VII, 8.18.23.42; cfr. Αρχαιων.

Αρδανειτων VIII, 29; Tolomeo, IV, 5, 2 (Αρδανις ακρα), Strabone, XVII, 3.20 (Αρδανις), Stadiasmus maris magni, 34.35 (Καρδαμις).

Αριμμαντος I, 4; Tolomeo, IV, 4.7 (Αριμμαντος); cfr. anche Callimaco, *Epigrammi*, 15 (Αριμμα)³⁴.

Απολλωδωρου II, 37; cfr. Tolomeo, IV, 4.3 (Απολλωνια)³⁵.

Απολλωνουτος VI, 1; vedi precedente.

Αρνιαπων V, 31.38; VI, 3.

Αρχαιων VI, 44; cfr. Αρχαιων.

Βαιου V, 45; cfr. il seguente.

Βαιων VII, 33.37; VIII, 10.29; nella tavola di Peutinger ad lapidem baium.

Βασσαχεως V, 24; Tolomeo, IV, 5.12 (Βασσαχίται); cfr. J. Desanges, *op. cit.*, 162.

Βασσαχι VI, 42; cfr. il precedente.

Βασσαχίται VI, 28; cfr. il precedente.

Βιγεριωνος VII, 18, 29.

Βουβαλων XI, 2; cfr. *Studia papyrologica*, 20 (1981), 29.

Βοξυλου V, 15.

Γαλατα II, 32³⁶.

Γαλδονις XI, 41; vedere Pomponio Mela, 3, 107 (Gilda).

Γαρεαθεως VI, 36; VII, 22; cfr. Gereatis dell'itinerario di Antonino³⁷.

Γαυσθιου VII, 43; vedere il seguente.

³¹ In A. Delatte, *Les portulans grecs*, Parigi 1947, 359, 20.22 trovo un toponimo Ava.

³² V. Purcaro Pagano, *art. cit.*, 326.

³³ Lo ha richiamato anche O. Masson, *AAf*, 10 (1976), 53 che ha ricordato un principe libico di Plutarco, *Moralia*, p. 257.

³⁴ V. Purcaro Pagano, *art. cit.*, 328s; O. Masson, *AAf*, 10 (1976), 56. Per il testo di Callimaco vedi A. W. Mair, *op. cit.*, Londra 1921, 146.

³⁵ Il nome di Apollo può nascondere quello di Resheph.

³⁶ In A. Delatte, *op. cit.*, 356, 20 Γαλάτα; 359, 17 Γαλετα; 355, 12 Γαλητα.

³⁷ V. Purcaro Pagano, *art. cit.*, 336.

Γαυσθιων VIII, 3; vedere il precedente.

Γεμπει^ε III, 32.

Δαμ.κοσμ. IV, 23.

Δοκκαθις IX, 2.

Ειμιν VIII, 10.

Εξακωπος V, 18.

Θαμακαθις VIII, 35.

Θανιαβρη VII, 33.

Θανικλιθις III, 15.

Θαραι XII, 14.

Θασονοφθις III, 3.

Θασωνειτων VII, 33.37.

Θασωφθις III, 3.

Θαναλα...τος X, 22.

Θεμελισθειτων IV, 2.2.

Θηκουννου VIII, 33.

Θηνεμβανας IX, 5.

Θητα VII, 23.

Θυλια III, 15.

Θυμια II, 38.

Ιοββαχ VI, 29; Tolomeo.

Ιοβακχοι; cfr. J. Desanges, *op. cit.*, 171.

Καθθειτων VI, 29.

Καινου II, 7.8: se si tratta di «nuovo», non è difficile trovare *ades* nella toponomastica africana (Karthada/Karthago, Macomades, Cebarades).

Καμεινου III, 5.9.10; Itinerario di Antonino, 66 (Chaminos). La presenza di questo toponimo richiama la etimologia che ho dato di Ιτ-θαννουρας³⁸ che è presente nel catasto della Marmarica più volte (I, 14.16; IV, 13.14; V, 25; cfr. IX, 35: Ιθανῶ). Vedere anche Λευκοκαμεινειτων in V, 26; VI, 25).

Κατακος IV, 30.

Καφφα^δ III, 9; vedi il seguente.

Καφφαδαρεως II, 34; III, 17.

Καφφακρας X, 16.

³⁸ F. Vattioni, «Antroponimi fenicio-punici nell'epigrafia greca e latina del Nordafrica», *Annali del seminario di studi del mondo classico*, Istituto universitario orientale, Napoli, 1 (1979), 153-191, specialmente 179 e nr. 75.

Καφαμορων XI, 43.
 Καχαβειβειτων VI, 25.
 Κεφαλων VII, 26; Stadiasmos maris Magni e Strabone Κεφαλαι³⁹; nell'onoma-
 stica nord-africana sono presenti e Kaput e rus.
 Κοθροντος V, 15⁴⁰.
 Κολλουθου V, 8.
 Κολυσοφ III, 32.
 Κουκωνος V, 38.
 Λασια/τηλασια? IX, 19.
 Λευκηναπ(η) II, 35.38.42; III, 10.13; Tolomeo, IV, 5.13 (Λευκη)⁴¹ e Λευκαι
 Ναπαι⁴². Il punico *labon* per l'idea di bianco è presente anche nella bo-
 tanica.
 Λευκοκαμεινειτων V, 26; VI, 25; Tolomeo IV, 5.13 (Λευκαι Καμινου)⁴³; vedere
 quanto è stato detto a proposito di Καμεινου.
 Ληκυθιν III, 34.
 Λιβυων IV, 13.
 Λωτων IX, 7; i Lotofagi sono conosciuti da Erodoto; cfr. J. Desanges, *op.*
cit., 103-105⁴⁴.
 Μαγδα^λ III, 10: non è difficile trovare la radice *gd*, essere grande, il sostanti-
 vo *mgdl*, torre, che è presente anche negli antroponimi. La presenza di
 Turris e di Πυργος può confermare la derivazione⁴⁵.
 Μαγδαλειτων IV, 12; cfr. il precedente.
 Μαγδαλις II, 35; III, 10. Viene richiamto Tolomeo, IV, 5.13 (Μασαδαλις)⁴⁶ non
 so con quale fondamento. Cfr. Μαγδα^λ.
 Μενελαου VII, 45; Tolomeo, IV, 5.13 (Μενελαος)⁴⁷.
 Μεταθρονα VI, 1: la prima parte è presente in Metagonium e, probabilmente,
 nei toponimi con Trans- (Transtagnensibus, Transducta/Traducta). Igno-
 ro se si debba richiamare anche Abaritana.

³⁹ V. Purcaro Pagano, *art. cit.*, 328.

⁴⁰ C'è qualcosa che richiama il Kothon?

⁴¹ V. Purcaro Pagano, *art. cit.*, 339.

⁴² V. Purcaro Pagano, *art. cit.*, 339.

⁴³ V. Purcaro Pagano, *art. cit.*, 339.

⁴⁴ Vedere anche A. Fantoli, *La Libia negli scritti degli antichi*, Roma 1933, 16.

⁴⁵ Per l'antroponimo Magdal cfr. F. Vattioni, *art. cit.*, 180.

⁴⁶ V. Purcaro Pagano, *art. cit.*, 340.

⁴⁷ V. Purcaro Pagano, *art. cit.*, 340.

Μιδρακ VII, 26.
 Μιννις VIII, 25.
 Μολγαιου VI, 32.
 Μονχου V, 26.
 Μορειας VI, 25.
 Μοχχυρει V, 5; Tolomeo, IV, 5.13 (Μοκχηρις)⁴⁸; papiro Reiner, 259, 3 (απο
 χωρας Μοχχυρ[ε]ως) vedi il seguente.
 Μοχχυριν V, 18; vedere il precedente.
 Νεαπολ(ις) IX, 24; X, 41; Ammiano Marcellino, XXII, 16.5 (Neapolis in sic-
 cione Libya); Tolomeo, IV, 4.7 (Νεαπολις)⁴⁹.
 Νεικ...ς? XI, 21.
 Νελφακτος VII, 18.
 Οικα IX, 13.
 Ολονυζη IV, 2.
 Παλαιονχωριον VI, 4.
 Παλιουρου IX, 7; Strabone, XVII, p. 834⁵⁰.
 Παν... VIII, 36.
 Παχυλλα VI, 11.
 Πολιου II, 40.
 Πυργος IV, 3. Vedere Stadiasmos mars Magni (Αντιπυργος)⁵¹ e Tolomeo, IV,
 4.2 (Ηρακλεους πυργος); cfr. Μαγδα^λ.
 Σαθρουθιον III, 14.
 Σαλατα III, 14: un toponimo affine in Tolomeo, IV, 1.2.
 Σαραπιωνος VI, 3; Stadiasmos maris magni ha Σεραπειον⁵².
 Σεπτουμιακης IV, 40; IX, 6; X, 1.
 Σιλιβου V, 29.
 Σιχχιεν V, 14: c'è una parentela con Sicca e Siccenses?
 Σκαφη/Σκαφης II, 41; III, 13.
 Σοαννημων XI, 37.
 Στοων II, 10.
 Συβαικης IV, 8.

⁴⁸ V. Purcaro Pagano, *art. cit.*, 341.

⁴⁹ V. Purcaro Pagano, *art. cit.*, 342.

⁵⁰ V. Purcaro Pagano, *art. cit.*, 343.

⁵¹ V. Purcaro Pagano, *art. cit.*, 327.

⁵² V. Purcaro Pagano, *art. cit.*, 346.

Συβιακης IV, 1.
 Συκης XI, 7; lo Stadiasmos maris magni ha Συκη⁵³.
 Ταρθαρων VI, 37.
 Φεινασσιων X, 25; XI, 35(?).
 Φοινικος IV, 26.30.36; la tavola di Peutinger ha Phenica⁵⁴.
 Χαραδων VI, 16.32; la tavola di Peutinger ha Cardu⁵⁵.
 Χαρακος XI, 29.
 Χερρο X, 20.29.
 Χερρονησου IX, 23.
 Χερρονησω IX, 37; X, 2; Tolomeo, IV, 5, 1 (Χερσονησος μεγαλη); Scilace Χερρο-
 νεσος⁵⁶.
 Χερσεως IV, 8; Stadiasmos maris magni (Χερσις); Tolomeo, IV, 4.3 (Χερσις
 κωμη)⁵⁷.
 Χωρσαγα VII, 25; Tolomeo, IV, 5.14 (Ταχορσα)⁵⁸. C'è qualcosa in comune?
 Ωκκαι.ων I, 3.

6. A proposito dei topi in Libia secondo Erodoto

Nell'epigrafia dell'Africa settentrionale ricorre con una certa frequenza l'antroponimo formato su *mus*, topo, e si incontra perfino la translitterazione del semitico *kbr* (Agbor, *CIL*, VIII, 1508=2671)⁵⁹. Erodoto, IV, 192⁶⁰ ha visto tre specie di topi, alcuni dei quali sono chiamati dipodi «e gli altri ζε-
 γεριες⁶¹ (e questo nome è libico e può essere secondo la lingua greca 'col-
 li')»⁶² e gli altri echinei, cioè «topi a pelo irto».

L'informazione di Erodoto ha un peso in quanto può fornire un lessema

⁵³ V. Purcaro Pagano, *art. cit.*, 347.

⁵⁴ V. Purcaro Pagano, *art. cit.*, 344; Anonimo di Ravenna *Phinica*, Guido *Plunica*; Tolomeo IV, 5.3 Φοινικους λιμεν.

⁵⁵ V. Purcaro Pagano, *art. cit.*, 332.

⁵⁶ V. Purcaro Pagano, *art. cit.*, 333.

⁵⁷ V. Purcaro Pagano, *art. cit.*, 332s.

⁵⁸ V. Purcaro Pagano, *art. cit.*, 347.

⁵⁹ F. Vattioni, *art. cit.*, 161.

⁶⁰ Per il testo cfr. A. D. Godley, *Herodotus*, II, Londra 1921, 359s; P.-E. Legrand, *Hérodote, Histories*. Livre IV, Parigi 1949, 194.

⁶¹ Variante ζευγεριες.

⁶² S. Bochart, *op. cit.*, 793 propone *Bouvinoti*, collinosi.

che sta alla base di molti toponimi. Si è discusso se il termine riferito da Erodoto sia libico o punico. Mentre S. Bochart⁶³ non si è preoccupato della questione, W. Gesenius⁶⁴ si è posto dal lato di Erodoto e P. Schroeder ha ignorato il problema. S. Gsell⁶⁵ ha invece rivendicato il carattere punico del termine perché in Dioscoride, *De materia medica* e nello Pseudo-Apuleio l'etnico *Afri* indica generalmente il nome dei Cartaginesi.

Così Dioscoride, *De materia medica*, IV, 123: «Bunion ... gli Africani γι-
 ζαρ (variante ζιγαρ)»⁶⁶.

Il nome del topo africano ha richiamato una serie di toponimi che con-
 tengono la stessa radice: si pensi a Timezegeri turris sulla riva meridionale
 del lago Tritone⁶⁷, ad Auzegerensis/Auzagerensis⁶⁸ della notizia del 484, a
 Ζουγαρ di Tolomeo, IV, 3.40 (civitas Zuccharitana di *CIL*, VIII,
 922=11199)⁶⁹, a Ζυγριται di Tolomeo, IV, 5.12, a Ζυγρις di Tolomeo, IV, 5.3,
 a Ζυγρεις di Stadiasmos maris magni, 27-29 e, infine, a Zegrenses/Zegrensi-
 um della *tabula banasitana* che trovano un corrispondente in Ζεγρηνησιοι di Tolo-
 meo, IV, 1.5⁷⁰. Quest'ultimo toponimo è stato messo in rapporto con Secu-
 ri⁷¹ di una bilingue latino-libica che a mio parere va spiegato meglio con
zkr/skr, ricordare (vedere il latino memor)⁷².

La spiegazione in base al berbero è stata data da F. Beguinot⁷³, che
 aveva richiamato anche il Gebel Zegrît dopo aver sostenuto il berbero *ze-
 ger*, da U. Paradisi⁷⁴, che ha sottolineato la presenza di *eqzer*, topo nel dialetto
 di Augila (berbero orientale) in un primo tempo e poi⁷⁵ che in Erodoto, IV,

⁶³ *Op. cit.*

⁶⁴ *Op. cit.*, 389.

⁶⁵ *Histoire ancienne de l'Afrique du Nord*, I, Parigi 1913, 313, n. 2; Id., *Hérodote*, Algeri 1916, 66; cfr. anche *Augustinianum*, 16 (1976), 519.

⁶⁶ *Augustinianum*, 16 (1976), 524.

⁶⁷ C. Tissot, *Géographie comparée de la province romaine d'Afrique*, Parigi 1884, I, 373s. *PW* e *Der Kleine Pauly* sembrano ignorare il toponimo.

⁶⁸ A. Audollent, «Auzagerensis», *Dictionnaire d'histoire et géographie ecclésiastiques*, V (1931), 980.

⁶⁹ M. Leglay, «Zucchar», *PW*, XA (1972), 856.

⁷⁰ J. Desanges, *op. cit.*, 40; M. Leglay, «Zegrensi», *PW*, XI (1968), 1363; M. Euzennat, «Les Zegrenses», *Mélanges W. Seston*, Parigi 1974, 175-186.

⁷¹ L. Galand, in *Inscriptions antiques du Maroc*, Parigi, I, 1966, 38.

⁷² F. Vattioni, *art. cit.*, 182.

⁷³ «A proposito di una voce libica citata da Erodoto», *L'Africa italiana*, (1924), 187-191.

⁷⁴ «Il berbero di Augila. Materiale lessicale», *RSO*, 35 (1960), 157-177.

⁷⁵ «Sul nome topo nel berbero di Augila e una voce libica citata da Erodoto», *La parola del passato*, 17 (1962), 201-205.

199 «colli» = *zagar* nel senso di «piano, terra, deserto, luogo fuori della città», e da M. Euzennat⁷⁶, che si è rifatto alla radice *zgr* del berbero che significa e pianura e bue.

Quanto poi alla lingua di appartenenza né in C. Brockelmann⁷⁷ né in R. Payne Smith⁷⁸ ho trovato se non un toponimo *zwgrn*⁷⁹ per la lingua siriana. Ho ricordato tuttavia il Zagrus mons di Plinio, *Naturalis historia*, VI, 131⁸⁰ e da ultimo anche la *ziqqurat* che talvolta si scrive anche *ziggurat*⁸¹ e sono giunto all'accadico *zaqāru* (herausragend sein, hochbauen)⁸² e a *zaqru* (hoch-, herausragend)⁸³. Lo scambio e la confusione tra *q* e *g* soprattutto nelle translitterazioni greche e latine diventa facile: basti pensare allo Zagrus di Plinio. La intuizione di S. Gsell che vedeva nel termine di Erodoto per una specie di topi libici il punico e non il libico era esatta.

⁷⁶ *Art. cit.*

⁷⁷ *Lexicon syriacum*, Halle 1928, 188.

⁷⁸ *Op. cit.*, 1081.

⁷⁹ J. Brun, *Dictionarium syriaco-latinum*, Beirut 1895, 122.

⁸⁰ H. Treidler, «Zagros», *PW*, IX (1967), 2283-2285.

⁸¹ A. Parrot, *Ziggurats et Tour de Babel*, Parigi, 1949, .17: *zaqaru*, être haut, élevé.

⁸² B. Meissner, W. von Soden, *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch*, Wiesbaden 1981, 1513.

⁸³ B. Meissner, W. von Soden, *op. cit.*, 1514. Non ho trovato nulla in C. H. Gordon, *Ugaritic Textbook*, Roma 1965. In R. Dussaud, *Topographie historique de la Syrie antique et médiévale*, Parigi 1927, 497s ho trovato *Zaguræ* [H. Treidler, «Zaguræ», *PW*, IXA, 1 (1967), 2288], tavola di Peutinger Zogorra. Vedere anche in J. Buxtorf, *Lexicon chaldaicum talmudicum et rabbinicum*, Lipsia 1835, s.v.: *z^qar*, salire, subsilire, resilire; cfr. R. Payne Smith, *op. cit.*, 1151.

COMMENTARY ON THE CHAPTERS ON EGYPT
OF *NUZHAT AL-MUSHTĀḲ* BY AL-SHARĪF AL-IDRĪSĪ

HUSEIN MONÉS

(Cairo)

The division of the articles of the commentary is made according to the same division of my edition of the text of Idrīsī on Egypt¹ and its english translation².

Under every paragraph I put the words which I judged that they need to be explained or commented on. I arranged them according to their place in the text.

The arabic words or phrases that occur in the commentary are all transliterated in the same time. The reader needs not know arabic to make use of the material contained here.

FOURTH SECTION FROM THE SECOND IḲLĪM

Paragraph 1

General observations

According to the method Idrīsī followed in writing his description of the earth, he dedicated this preliminary paragraph to give a general idea about the Section (*djuz'*) of the clime (*iḳlīm*) which he is going to describe in detail.

Roughly speaking, this fourth Section (*djuz'*) of the second *iḳlīm* contains the southern part of the western desert of Egypt, all Upper Egypt north of Aswan and the eastern desert together with the coast of the Red Sea and the peninsula of Sinai. It is the continuation to the east, of the third Section of the same third climate and the continuation northwards of the fourth Section of the first climate.

¹ *Opus Geographicum*, II, Neapoli-Romae, 1971, pp. 121-137₁₅.

² *Studi Magrebini*, XVI, Napoli 1984, pp. 1-53.

As far as the general framework of his book is concerned, Idrīsī followed the broad lines of the division of Ptolemy which he knew through the summary and adaptation made by Muḥammad ibn Mūsā al-Khawārizmī under the title of *Ṣūrat al-arḍ* (*Image of the earth*, edited in 1926 by H. V. Mzik). It is evident that Idrīsī did not follow the method of Ptolemy as it is, but managed to adapt it to his own way of understanding geography. In fact he followed a middle path between Ptolemy and the system of the *Masālik and Mamālik* which gives great importance to the description of the geographical features on the one hand and the human geography data on the other. This mixture of Ptolemy and *Masālik and Mamālik* is the main characteristic of Idrīsī the geographer. His description of Egypt is a vivid example of his method at its best.

أرض التاجويين = The land of the Tāgūs.

The widely different variants of the name of this land and people render it hazardous to settle with complete certainty on anyone of them. I preferred the form Tāgūyyīn to the other forms as Tāgūrīn or Tāgūnū because Idrīsī spoke on those same people in some details in Section 3 of the first *Iklīm*. There, the majority of the manuscripts give the form I preferred in this text.

In the third Section of the first *Iklīm* Idrīsī says that the Tāgūs are the people of Tāgūh who dwelt in the region that extended between the Kānim to the west and the Nubians to the east. To their north lived the Zaghāwa. They were heathens and Idrīsī considers them one of the black races. They had another town called Samna in their territory. He adds that this town was destroyed by the people of Būlāḳ which stands actually in the Khārga group of oases. At his time Būlāḳ pertained to the Nubians. These details may permit us to locate the land of the Tāgūs in the last of the Republic of Sudan, and more precisely in the historic region of Wādāī in the east of Dārfūr.

Among the negro tribes of Wādāī we find one called Dadje. This may be the Tāgūs or Tādjūs of Idrīsī (cf: Henri Charbon, *La région du Tchad et du Wadai*. Paris 1912. Publications de l'Ecole des Lettres d'Alger. XLVII et XLVIII).

I read this name Tāgūs. It is very possible that the better pronunciation is Tādjūs. This should not make any essential difference because the Arabic letter for g can be pronounced in both ways.

الجفار = al-Djifār.

According to al-Kuḍā'ī – cited by Maḳrīzī (*Khiṭaṭ*, ed. Gaston Wiet, vol. I, fasc. II, 310) – al-Djifār was a part of a *kūra* (= province) in the extreme east of the Delta called *kūrat* (= the province of) al-Farāmā wa 'l-'Arīsh wa 'l-Djifār والجفار والعريش والفراما. In another part of the *Khiṭaṭ* concerning أرض الجفار (chap. XXVIII, vol. III, 246–247) Maḳrīzī says that Djifār is the name given to five towns in the extreme east of the Delta, namely al-Farāmā, al-Baḳḳāra, al-Warrāda, al-'Arīsh and Rafaḥ. He says also that the region of the Djifār is sandy land and that it was given that name because of the difficulty of walking on it for people and beasts. In Arabic dictionaries we read that *djifār* is the plural of *djafr* which is a shallow well with little water in it. This explanation fits well in the nature of the region in question and its history, because Maḳrīzī says later on that the region was previously fertile and prosperous and that its soil yielded plentiful agricultural products. This is very possible on the assumption that in a certain time in the past the *djifār* were numerous and contained more water. Moreover, it is well known that in olden times the deserts of the Middle East and North Africa enjoyed abundant water and were consequently fertile and covered with plantation. The rock engravings abundant in all the desert are proofs to the gone-by prosperity. I spoke with more detail on that in my commentary on paragraph 6.

In the time of Maḳrīzī – and much before – all the southern part of the east of the Delta was a desert of drift sands that extended over all the Peninsula of Sinai. All this area became included in the *djifār*. The term meant in that time the areas of drift sands. The original meaning of the word *djifār* (= the shallow water wells) was overshadowed by the new concept of drift sands or liquid sands رمال سائلة as they are called in Arabic.

With that sense the *djifār* extended over Western Desert of Egypt as well. Here we find the vast sandy region called رمل الغرابي (= the western sands) which extended as far as the region of oases of the Western Desert of Egypt. This region of *raml al-gharābī* was inhabited by groups of bedouins of the Arab tribe of *Djudhām* according to Maḳrīzī.

Ibn Ḥawḳal (*Ṣūrat al-Arḍ*, ed. by J. H. Kramers, Leiden 1938, part I, 144) says the same thing concerning the barrennes of *al-djifār* and the dwelling of B. Djudhām in it.

It seems however that the word *al-djifār* is a dialectal pronunciation of *al-ḳifār* القفار, plural of قفر, that means the wilderness or the uninhabited region. The term has disappeared now as far as the desert of Egypt and the Peninsula of Sinai are concerned.

سنترية = Santariyya.

It is mentioned in this form by al-Bakrī in the part on North Africa from his *Masālik* published in 1857 by De Slane, p. 14, and defined as a locality in the vicinity of Awdjila. He says that its place is abundant of water sources. He considers it the communication centre from which to go to the valleys or the depressions where the oases are situated.

Santariyya is the old name of the oasis of Sīwā. Sīwā was the name of the tribe that occupied it in an unknown date in the Middle Ages (Maḳrīzī, *Khīṭaṭ*, Cairo, I, 380). The same author says in another place of his work that the real name of the tribe of Sīwā was Banū 'l-Waswā who were originally a Berber tribe that moved to Egypt and settled in the Munūfiyya province in the Delta. From there they went over to those oases and settled in them and gave them their name.

According to Ibn Ḥawḳal (I, 154) Santariyya was the first stage for the people of the Maghreb who headed for the oases of Egypt. After Santariyya they came to Bahnasat al-Wāḥāt which was one of the oases of the actual groups of the Baḥariyya.

We have little to add to the excellent article on Sīwā by E. Laoust in the first edition of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (IV, 482-485). It is now a part of the Maṭrūḥ Province which covers the northern part of the Western Desert of Egypt, the capital of which is Marsā Maṭrūḥ. Sīwā is 302 km. to the south west of Marsā Maṭrūḥ and 593 km. from Alexandria.

The route from Marsā Maṭrūḥ to Sīwā goes westwards until the outskirts of Sollūm. Near the aerodrome a special route to Sīwā branches out. It passes at first by Wādī (= the valley of) al-Rāmī, 15 km. far from Sollūm. The route to Sīwā passes then through Wādī 'l-Ḥarāyeḳ (40 km. from Sollūm) where we find a small area of cultivation and pasture. Then we reach Bīr al-Kanāyis (57 km.) where we find an old water-well and some Roman ruins and Bīr al-Gallāz (73 km.), this well is situated to the left of the route. The route passes then by Bīr (the well of) al-Ḥelw 86 km. to the right of the route. At 99 km. from Sollūm we come to an old well the digging

and construction of which goes back to Roman times called Bīr al-Iṣṭabl. After passing by Bīr Fu'ād we traverse a bad part of the route that ends at Bīr al-Nuṣṣ, that means the well that marks the middle of the route from Sollūm to Sīwā. In fact it is not situated at the middle because it stands 149 km. far from Sollūm.

At 211 km. we pass by a bifurcation because here strats a side route that goes to the oases of Gāra. The route to Sīwā turns right and descends slowly the depression that leads to Sīwā. At 231 km. we pass by the starting point of a side route that goes to Marsā 'l-Ḳaṭrānī. At 202 km. we pass by a cross of roads that go to different oases. At 280 km. we encounter the aerodrome of Sīwā. At 292 km. we enter in the region of Sīwā proper and first thing that meets us after so much desolation is the exuberant palmgrove o Naḳb Magāhiz. To the west our attention is attracted by a lonely hill that stands amidst the plain. Its name is Djabal Khemīssa. To the south we see the chain of dark stone mountains called Djabal Dakrūn.

Sīwā is a charming oasis. It is relatively a big one and the abundance of water there is striking. The wells are numerous and the water of some of them is so plentiful that it forms lakes. The canals traverse the oases everywhere. There we encounter frequently the traditional water-wheel (*Sāḳiya*) of Egypt and its sound echoes everywhere. The chief plantations of Sīwā are palm trees and olives. Nearly 90% of the local olives consumed in Egypt come from Sīwā. The oasis is also famous for its fruit trees, its orchards and vineyards. The poultry and sheep of Sīwā are excellent but the product is limited.

The people of Sīwā are typical for the population of the Western Desert of Egypt. They are Egyptian of Berber origins. They speak Arabic and their special Berber dialect. The actual population ascends to some 20.000 but it is rising rapidly. A plant for processing dates is already installed and its production is known for its excellence. Sīwā produces some 17 varieties of dates the most important of which is *balaḥ sīwī*. Its main characteristics are the big size of the fruit, the richness of its flesh and the high percentage of its sugar. Until a very short time these dates were the staple food there. Now wheat and corn are extending rapidly. Sīwā provides Marsā Maṭrūḥ, Sollūm and many oases of the region with the necessary wheat. There is also a soap fabric and lately a station for the production of healthy breed of sheep, poultry and cows has been installed.

But all the type of life and even all the conditions of Sīwā may alter completely during the coming few years: oil prospection is promising good yields in the Western Desert and already some wells are being exploited near Sīdī 'Abd al-Raḥmān. Oil is also discovered at Sīwā and its product is promising to be abundant.

In the antiquity Sīwā was famous for its temple of the god Amon which was considered an important oracle in Egypt. It became world famous after the amazing trip that Alexander the Great made to it to pay homage to its oracle. The Ptolemies renewed the construction of its temple many times and the Amon Temple became one of the most frequented sanctuaries in the world. In Roman times it became known under the name of the temple of Jupiter Amon. It continued to attract people until the expansion of Christianity which announced its ruin and sealed its fate.

جبل جالوت البربري = Djabal Djālūt al-Barbarī

There is no relation between this Djālūt and Goliath. This is Djālūt father of all the Berbers according to some genealogists (cf. for example Ibn Ḥawḳal, I, 100). I could not identify this mountain, but it is certainly one of the many continuations of the Tibesti Mountains in the direction of the plateau of Gilf el-Kebīr. Can it be al-'Uwaynāt? I found among the localities of this Western Desert of Egypt an oasis called Giálo to the east Agedábia (cf.: *Italia in Africa* by Elio Migliorini and others, Roma 1955, I, 108). It can be a far echo of the name of that legendary Djālūt.

أهريت وشرونة وبياض = Ahrīt, Sharūna, Bayāḍ

These three localities occur together also in Ibn Ḥawḳal (p. 157). Geographers of Mediaeval Egypt do not agree on their exact location but Ibn Ḥawḳal in the *Masālik*, Maḳrīzī in his *Khīṭaṭ* and Ibn Duḳmāḳ in *Kitāb al-Intiṣār* agree that they were on the eastern side of the Nile opposite to al-Ḳós in the Bahnāsawiyya province. Ibn al-Djay'ān in *al-Tuḥfa 'l-Saniyya* also mentions Ahrīt among localities of that province. M. Ramzī identified it with the village called al-Shaykh Faḍl on the eastern side of the Nile opposite to the actual Banī Mazār in the province of Minyā. It is known under this name since the Ottoman period after the name of its saint; 'Alī Mu-bārak mentioned it in *al-Khīṭaṭ al-Tawfīkiyya* (V, 63) under the name Kafr Ahrīt in the Bahnāsawiyya *بالهنساوية*. Henri Gauthier mentions in

the *Dictionnaires des Noms Géographiques dans les Textes Hiéroglyphiques* (Le Caire 1925) a town named Ehrīt or Arit and says that H. Brugsch said in his *History of Egypt* that this locality existed between Thimonepsi and Hipponen, but Gauthier does not agree to that. Amélineau (*Géographie de l'Égypte à l'Époque Copte*, Paris 1893, 159) mentioned a village called Ehrīt in the region of Bahnasā. We could not identify it because it disappeared (Ramzī, I, 133–134 and part II vol. III, 213–214).

As for شرونة Sharūna it is called now شارونة Shārūna, a small village in the district (مركز) of Maghāgha مغاغة, province of Minyā. It is situated on the eastern side of the Nile. Ibn Mammātī and Ibn al-Djay'ān mentioned it and said that it pertained to the province of al-Bahnasāwiyya *من أعمال البهنساوية*. It appears in the Survey of 1230/1815 under its actual name (Ramzī, part II, vol. III, 248).

Bayāḍ بياض is actually Bayāḍ al-Naṣārā *بياض النصارى* in the district of Banī Suēf, province of Banī Suēf. It was mentioned under this name by Maḳrīzī and Ibn al-Djay'ān. I do not think that Bayāḍ mentioned here could be the same locality with the same name mentioned by Yāḳūt and Ibn al-Djay'ān in the province of al-Fayyūm: *بياض من كفور سيلا بالأعمال الفيومية*. Idrīsī will write its name later on with *tā marbūta* (Bayāḍa). I left it in that form for accuracy sake.

بلي وجهينة وصفارة = Balī, Djuhayna and Ṣufāra

The existence of branches of the Arab tribes of Balī and Djuhayna in this part of Upper Egypt (i.e. the province of al-Bahnasāwiyya which corresponds roughly to the actual two provinces of Banī Suēf and Minyā) is attested by Arab historians (cf.: Maḳrīzī, *al-Bayān wa 'l-I'rāb*, 36–37; al-'Umarī, *Masālik al-Abṣār*, I, 58; and Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arib fī Ma'rifat Ansāb al-'Arab*, Cairo 1959, 180, 222). But the problem is that of صفارة because there is no Arab tribe with that name. I think it should be read Sawāda because *سواده* because Maḳrīzī, *Bayān* ..., 36–37, Ibn Khaldūn, *Ibar*, II, 247 and Nuwayrī, *Ansāb*, mention *بنو سواده* among the branches of Balī in upper Egypt.

العلاقي = al-'Allāqī

Actually is a small town on the eastern side of the Nile in the district of al-Dirr *الدر* in the province of Aswān. It is situated in the entrance of a dry

valley called وادي العلاقي which goes south-eastwards and ends in the eastern heights of Eastern Desert. This valley carries water sometimes and was in the remote times an important tributary of the Nile. Gold existed in some parts of the valley and its mines were exploited by the Pharaons. Relics of these mines are to be found till now. No gold is dug actually there because the costs of its excavation are much higher than the value of the metal obtained. In the olden times the land around the valley was not as barren as it is now. It was inhabited and it was still habitable until the time of Mas'ūdī (*Murūdj*, III, 32-34) who says that some of the Arabs settled in the region of the mines of gold and the land of the 'Allākī and intermarried with the Budja and were followed by other Arabs of Rabī'a

وسكن جماعة من المسلمين معدن الذهب وبلاد العلاقي وعيذاب ، وسكن في تلك الديار خلق من العرب من ربيعة بن ربيعة بن معد بن عدنان ، فاشتدت شوكتهم ، وتدوجوا من البجة ، فقويت البجة ، ثم صاهرها قوم من ربيعة ، فقويت ربيعة على من ناوأها وجاورها من قحطان وغيرهم ... الخ

Mas'ūdī adds that the owner of the mines صاحب المعدن in his time (332/943-944) was Bishr ibn Marwān ibn Ishāq ibn Rabī'a. He describes him as a powerful chief commanding 3.000 horsemen of the Arabs and 30.000 spearmen of the Budja. He then says a little later that al-'Allākī is the land of the gold mines and the distance between those mines and the Nile was fifteen days-march:

العلاقي وهو معدن الذهب ، وبين العلاقي والنيل ١٥ مرحلة ... وأقرب العمارة إليه مدينة اسوان.

Gaston Wiet commenting his excellent edition of the *Khīṭaṭ* of Maḳrīzī (vol. III, 278, note 2) lists the important modern work which gives information about those gold mines. He reproduces a citation from نشر الجمان communicated to him by R. Quest which indicates that gold and silver were no more mined there in 711/1311 because of the aggressive nature of the beduins of the region and also because the cost of excavation proved to be more than the gold obtained.

التييم والنجوم والقبط = al-Taym, al-Nudjūm and al-Ḳibṭ

The first two names are problematic. Dozy and De Goeje in their french translation of this part of Idrīsī say: "... des Taim, des Bodjoum et

des Coptes" (p. 49) which seems to me hardly plausible because we read nowhere that any of the Arab tribes named Taym settled in southern Egypt, the Sūdān or the deserts of the west of Egypt and the rest of Africa in substantial numbers, and no where either do we find mention of a race called the Bodjūm. All the variants which the mss. give of this last name lead nowhere. Most probably both words are badly altered by the copist. I would suggest to read: al-Kānim and al-Tundjūr الكانم والتنجور; the Tundjūr are a well known branch of the Kānim. I thought that the Bodjūm might be a form of the Budja, but I could not confirm such suggestion.

Paragraph 2

There is nothing to comment on here.

Paragraph 3

الواحات الخارجة = the Khārdja Oases

All the mss. write it in this form except the basic one (P. 2221) which writes *al-dākhla*. This last is obviously erroneous because the context shows that it is the *khārdja* that is wanted here. This group of oases is near to Nubia and the Nile Valley than the *Dākhla* group.

The Khārdja group oases stands in a narrow depression in the desert that extends some 150 km. from north to the south parallel to the Nile. Its furthest spot at north is nearly opposite to Nag' Hammādī and the southernmost is opposite Luxor. The Valley is situated at 25°26' latitude and 33°30' longitude east. The width of the Valley from east to west oscillates between 20 and 50 km. All the oases of the group extend at a row from north to south. The actual population is around 20.000, but this number is rising rapidly since the creation of the province of al-Wādī 'l-Djadīd محافظة الوادي الجديد which comprises the southern half of the Western Desert of Egypt. This province brings together the groups of oases of Khārdja, Dākhla, al-Farāfra as well as all the lands which are being reclaimed on the desert. The area of a cultivable land of this province will increase considerably once the Higher Aswān Dam is completed. The capital of that vast

province is the oasis of Khārdja which was till only some years ago an insignificant village, but it is a rising town now.

The access to the Khārdja group can be made by three ways. The first is a desert car-route that starts at Asyūṭ. This route is 240 km. long but it is a rough one. The second way is by a narrow gauge railway. This line starts 11 km. to the south of al-Balyanā. The station is called مواصلة الواحات (= the Oases Junction) and is situated 262 km. to the south of Cairo. The line to Khārdja is 194 km. long in a W.S.W. direction. The line covers rapidly the 6 km. of cultivated land adjoining the Nile and then disappears behind the dunes and hillocks of the desert. The train ascends slowly a plateau and passes through the beautiful Wādī Samhūd. From that wādī onwards the land is only dreary gravel and rock until the train reaches the end of the desert table-land and begins to descend towards the depression until it reaches the level of the valley itself at the village of Maḥārīḳ محاريق 172 km. from the Junction. From this place onwards the vegetation appears and the railway line takes a completely southern direction. After nearly six hours of journey we arrive at Khārdja, 195 km. far from the Junction.

Al-Khārdja is an ancient town. Its ancient Egyptian name is Hibis which is supposed to be a form of Ibis. The people there make it el-Ḥībe الحيبة which is often used for Khārdja. I think that it was pronounced in the middle ages al-Ḥībat الحيت or إحييت a form that gave Bīkhīṭ بيخيط which we read in Ibn Ḥawḳal (I, 154) and other Arab writers.

Al-Khārdja is currently named there المدينة el-Medīna, but in fact the old town is a small village of huts and narrow lanes.

Two and a half km. to the S. of the town we find the beautiful temple called Hibis. It was restored between 1908 and 1911 by the Egyptian Service of Antiquities and a mission from the Metropolitan Museum of New York. Further to the S. we find another ancient temple like that of al-Naḍūra at 2 km. to the S. E. of Hibis. This was a Roman edifice. To the N. of the temple we encounter the ancient town of Naḍūra which is ruins now. But more important than the ruin of Naḍūra is its cemetery that still lies to its north. This cemetery was used as refuge for the persecuted Christians of Egypt during the Bizantine period. There the faithful refugees transformed the tombs into tiny nice chapels each of which is composed of a small room surmounted by a dome and an abscess in one of the walls. The abscess which resembles an islamic *mihrāb* is very often decorated in the interior by religious

paintings. One of them that represents Daniel in the lions' pit is remarkably beautiful.

At a kilometer to the N. of this necropolis stands an impressive convent called Ḳaṣr 'Ayn Mustafā Kāshif. This man was one of the Mamlukes who fled the French and the ire of Muḥammad 'Alī and took refuge in that place. Mustafā Kāshif built a fortress for himself surrounded by huge brick walls and fortified it by a wide *donjon*. The convent remains still standing near it. The rows of the small cells of the monks are impressive.

Some 30 km. to the N. of this convent we come over to another remarkable building of the Khārdja region: a Roman fortress with round towers called al-Dayr.

Following the route to the S. we come at some 25 km. from al-Khārdja to a small village called al-Djanna (= the Paradise) near which we find an old Pharaonic temple called Ḳaṣr al-Djuhayṭa قصر الجهيطة. This temple was dedicated to the gods Amon, Mout and Khunsū. It was restored by Ptolemy Eurgetes (the fifth). It carries also inscriptions by his father Ptolemy Philopater and of Ptolemy Lathyre.

Another egyptian temple stands 5 km. further to the south. It is dedicated to the god Amenebis (Amon-Neph). It was restored in the 3^d century A.D. by Antonine. It is called locally Ḳaṣr 'Ayn al-Zayyān.

At 36 km. to S. of al-Khārdja we come to Belāḳ or Būlāḳ, a famous village in this group of oases that had in the past intensive commerce with Cairo. The colony of Būlāḳ merchants gave their name to Būlāḳ, the famous river port which stood in the Middle Ages far off to the N.W. of Cairo. Now it is in the heart of the town. The form Būlāḳ goes back to the Ottoman times.

At 70 km. to the south we find the last of the important villages of the Khārdja group. This is the big oasis of Bārīs باريس which was also written Bīrīs بيريس. It is an old village which boasts of a temple dedicated to the goddess Isis and god Serapis. It carries inscriptions of Domitian and Antonine. The original name of this locality was Cyris as it appears in a greek inscription on a pylon erected in the 19th year of the reign of Trajan.

Bārīs is famous in our mediaeval geographic literature under the name of Bīrīs. Ibn Ḥawḳal gives us the most detailed account on the group of al-Khārdja as well as all the other groups of oases of the Western Desert.

His data (I, 153–155) are exceptionally important both from the geographic and the historic points of view.

The Khārdja group is not as rich as that of Sīwā. According to Ibn Ḥawḳal it was richer and more important in the past. He praises highly the family of Banū 'Abdūn who dominated all the three groups of oases of al-Khārdja, al-Dākhla and al-Farāfra which was called al-Farfarūn at the time.

Actually the whole region of the Western Oases (with the exception of Sīwā) depends to the new province of al-Wādī 'l-Djadīd *محافظة الوادي الجديد*. Scores of wells are dug in all the area. A canal to bring water from the Nile is dug and vast areas of land are being reclaimed on the desert and transformed into cultivated fields. But the real purport of this grand scale operation will be seen only after the termination and the functioning of the Higher Dam of Aswān.

جبل علساني = Djabal 'Alsānī.

This is the reading of P. Dozy and De Goeje read *علساني*. None of the two versions is sure. A reads *غلساني* Ghalsānī. The difference helps little, neither do the other variants because in all this area there is no mountain with a name near to this form. I think however that this mountain can be identified with Djabal Ghenēma *جبل غنيمه* that stands 30 km. to the N. of the town of al-Khārdja. This mountain dominates all the plain of Khārdja and the desert around. It can also be Djabal al-Ḳarn *جبل القرن* which stands on the western side of the Depression.

الدهاس = al-Dihās.

The word is used here in the plural. The singular – according to the glossary of the French translation of this part of Idrīsī by Dozy and De Goeje, p. 300 – is *dahs* *دهس*. The word is Arabic and means according to Zamakhsharī the soft sand in which the feet sink. I wonder if the Spanish word *dehesa* which means pasture land were not the same Arabic *dahas* or *dihās* slightly modified into a Spanish form. The Spanish dictionaries say that the word is derived from the Latin *defesa* or *defensa* which is not very convincing.

The *thu'bān* *ثعبان* described in this paragraph is rather a sand cobra than the ordinary small sand or rattle snake.

Paragraph 4

النيلج (al-nīladj) = indigo.

Some of our mss. write *al-balah* *البلح* (= dates) which is also plausible but sure incorrect here. Many oases in the Western Desert of Egypt and that of Libya cultivate that *indigo tinctoria* from which a blue dyeing material is extracted. Some times it is called *al-nīl* instead of *nīlag*. Al-Bakrī for instance says in page 10 of his description of North Africa: “the people of Sabāb (the actual Sabha in the region of Fezzān in Libya) cultivate the plant from which the dye called *al-nīl* is extracted”. This dye is called in Egypt *nīla* and is widely used by the peasants to colour their garments blue.

حمير صفار ملمعة بسواد في بياض = “small donkeys striped black and white”.

These are obviously zebras. Its name in Arabic is *حمار الوحش* (= the wild donkey). Ibn Ḥawḳal however describes these donkeys not striped but he says that their skin is marked with patches as the skin of the cows. He says that their skin is yellow or grey but in both cases it is adorned with small round patches that resemble the *dīnār*. These cannot be zebras but a variety of the donkey family that disappeared now. See p. 162–163 of vol. I of Ibn Ḥawḳal on the variety of donkeys in Egypt.

الجفار والبحرين = al-Djifār wa 'l-Baḥrayn.

Names of two towns in the Western Desert of Egypt according to Idrīsī. As for the first I could not identify it in this part of Egypt and most probably the name is very deformed. The second *مدينة البحرين* still exists, not as a town but as a small oasis on the desert route from the oases of Sīwā to those of al-Baḥariyya *الواحات البحرية*. It stands to the south of the depression of Ḳaṭṭāra and has chances to be important if the project of the Ḳaṭṭāra Depression were realized one day. We cannot however exclude the possibility that al-Baḥrayn be a deformation of al-Baḥariyya. In this case the name can be identified with exactitude.

The oases *الواح* mentioned in the next lines are obviously the groups of Dākhla, Khārdja, Baḥariyya and al-Farāfra *الفرافرة* which Ibn Ḥawḳal

calls al-Farfarūn الفرفرون. His paragraph on the oases of Egypt (I, 153–156) is most useful. Idrīsī did not make good use of it.

It is worthwhile to notice that the word *al-wāḥ* or *al-wāḥāt* is not used here as a term with the meaning of oasis but rather as a proper name for the oases of the Western Desert of Egypt. This is natural because this word is borrowed from the ancient Egyptian *ouhāt* which meant the oasis. As for the term used by Arab geographers for the oasis it was *djazīra* جزيرة, pl. جزائر or *djazāyir al-Saḥrā'* جزائر الصحراء. Only the Egyptian oases were called *wāḥāt* or *wāḥ*.

Paragraph 5

سنترية = Santariyya.

I have already made a commentary on that name and identified it with the group of oases of Sīwā. As we have seen, the data of Idrīsī on Sīwā are extremely short. He could not make good use of the material with which Ibn Ḥawḳal provided him. We have to take in consideration here the rich data that Maḳrīzī brings in the *Khīṭaṭ* (Cairo ed. 1334, I, 379). Here is a translation of a most important paragraph of it: "Santariyya is a small place inhabited by some 600 persons of the Berbers. They are called the Sīwā and their language is al-Sīwiyya which resembles the language of Zanāta. It has palm-tree groves and olive trees. It has also figs and other species of trees. Vineyards are abundant there. It has actually around 20 water-wells that furnish fresh water. The distance between it and Alexandria is eleven day's march and it can be reached from Giza in 14 days.

لكة الماحلية = Lakka on the Sea.

It is the same Lakka I identified previously.

جبل قلمري = Djabal Ḳalamrī.

Dozy and De Goeje read here Calmarā. Both my reading and theirs are beautiful. There is no mountain with this name in the region. However, there exists actually near Sīwā a mountain called Khmés خميس. It is possible that this is the one Idrīsī wants.

جبل بريم الأحمر = Djabal Barīm al-Aḥmar.

Dozy and De Goeje read بديم Badīm and put Barīm between brackets (p. 52). G and A give مريم. It seems that بريم is the correct reading, because Maḳrīzī, speaking on the two obelisks which Idrīsī will speak now, says that they were hewn from the Red Mountain of Berīm to the south of Aswān من جبل بريم الأحمر قبل أسوان. Gaston Wiet (*Khīṭaṭ*, III, 133 and n. 1) suggests that we read مريم (Maryam) instead of Barīm بريم. He supports his suggestion by reproducing a line from *Kitāb al-Intiṣār* by Ibn Duḳmāḳ that says with regards to the two obelisks of Alexandria: "... it is said that they are hewn from Djabal (= the mountain of) Maryam which stands to the west of the Pyramids". We do not know a mountain west of the Pyramids with the name of Maryam, but we do have actually a town in the district of al-Dirr, province of Aswān with the name of Ibrīm or Abrīm. This can very possibly be the Barīm or Brīm wanted here. The part looking on it of the mountain range that goes parallel to the river course is called Djabal Abrīm.

Paragraph 6

مدينة القيس = the town of al-Ḳēs.

From here onwards Idrīsī resumes the description of the Egyptian towns that he began in his chapter on the first *Iḳlīm*. There his description stopped at Aswān. But instead of going upwards systematically, he makes a wide jump and talks about al-Ḳēs which is a town in the province of Minyā in the northern part of Upper Egypt. In fact Idrīsī's description of Upper Egypt is descriptive as a whole. He neither follows the line of towns systematically, nor does he speak of the important towns only as it is the custom with the majority of Arab geographers, but he rather makes a synopsis of sorts. Sometimes he brings excellent data and in others he says insignificant things.

There are two reasons for this lack of system and cohesion. The first is that Idrīsī did not visit Upper Egypt. The second is that he relied in this part on Ibn Ḥawḳal whose part on Upper Egypt also lacks cohesion and unity. Ibn Ḥawḳal did not describe Upper Egypt as he did with Lower Egypt but he gave the impressions of a traveller, and the details he gives in that part are taken mainly from other works.

Apart from these remarks the material that Idrīsī gives us on many places and geographical phenomena is most useful. Every item by itself is an example of Idrīsī's talent as an authentic geographer who knows the limits and requisites of his trade.

Going back to the locality of al-Ḳēs القيس we should say that its name should be read in that way and not al-Ḳays القيس as Arabic mediaeval geographers suggest. Yāḳūt says in his *Mu'djam* that it was given that name after that of Ḳays ibn al-Ḥārith al-Murādī who annexed it in the course of the first Arab conquest of the country under 'Amr ibn al-'Āṣ. Yāḳūt says that on the authority of Abū Sa'īd ibn Yūnus, one of the earliest founders of the Egyptian school of historians. Maḳrīzī too says the same thing in the *Khīṭaṭ* attributed to the same Sa'īd ibn Yūnus. All this is not true and the name of al-Ḳēs has nothing to do with this arabic officer, because the town was known under this name long before the Arabs. Gauthier mentioned it in his *Dictionnaire* and said that its ecclesiastic name was Hordit which means "Horus is here". Its civil name was Saka which was corrupted to Kasa. In the Coptic texts it was mentioned under different forms: Keis, Kais, Kouis and Koeis. It was the capital of the XVII division of Upper Egypt. Amélineau says that it is mentioned in the list of bishoprics under the name *Kino-ano-kais* (the town of Kays). It is also mentioned in his *Géographie* under the name of Qis. Al-Kēs is mentioned in all Arab geographies together with its famous woolens. Ibn Mammātī and Ibn Djay'ān mentioned it among the dependancies of the Bahnasāwiyya province من أعمال البهنساوية. Maḳrīzī says that it was near al-Bahnasā and that the people used to say currently al-Ḳēs wa 'l-Bahnasā القيس والبهنسا (*Khīṭaṭ*, III, 309-310). Now it is a town in the *markaz* (administrative district) of Banī Mazār (corruption of Banī Nizār) in the province of Minyā (cf.: Ramzī, part II, vol. III, 214-215).

دهروط = Dahrūt.

Mentioned also by Yāḳūt as a small town on the western side of the Nile near al-Bahnasā. Ibn Mammātī and Ibn al-Djay'ān say that it pertained to the province of al-Bahnasāwiyya. Al-Zabīdī in *Tādj al-'Arūs* mentions it under the name of Dahrūt al-Ashraf الدهروط الاشراف. In the Testament of al-Sulṭān al-Ghūrī (written in 911/1505-1506) we read: "Dahrūt which is known as al-Hawīsha بالهويشة". In the survey of

1230: Dahrūt al-Bakriyya الدهروط البكرية. In the survey of 1275/1761-62: الدهروط only. The people of Dahrūt say that they descend from Abū Bakr, and that is why the town is called الدهروط الاشراف and الدهروط البكرية. The claim is confirmed by Ḳalḳashandī (*Subh*, I, 354). Dahrūt is now a small town in the district (*markaz*) of Maghāgha مغاغة, province of Minyā (Ramzī, part II.).

Paragraph 7

منية ابن الحصيب = Munyat ibn al-Khaṣīb.

This is the well known town of Minyā المنيا capital of the province with the same name in Upper Egypt. Scholars are not sure if this town is the same locality of "Mnat Khoufou" mentioned by Gauthier in his *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques dans les textes hiéroglyphiques* (Le Caire 1925). Maspéro could identify this Mnat Khoufou with the village of العنبجة (he writes it El-Anbage) in the same province of Minyā. He said that this العنبجة was the abode of the nobles of the Middle Empire who were buried in the tombs of Banī Ḥassān on the eastern side of the Nile opposite to the actual town of Abū Ḳurḳāṣ ابو قرقاص. Maspéro says that the Pharaonic town of "Mnat Khoufou" has nothing to do with the actual المنيا, the mediaeval مينة ابن الحصيب. Amélineau says in his *Géographie de l'Égypte à l'époque copte* (Paris, 1893) that the actual Minyā was called in the coptic times "Temoni" or "Timone Khoufou" but he did not say if it existed in the same place. He cited H. Brugsch who said that al-Minyā was called in the pharaonic times "Der Mema". Maspéro refuses the suggestion of Amélineau, Brugsch and Gauthier and sustains the theory that مينة ابن الحصيب was founded in the islamic times.

It is clear that our al-Minyā has nothing to do with the Pharaonic "Mnat Khoufou", but it is very possible that the Coptic "Temoni" existed when the Arab governor al-Khaṣīb chose its site to create a *munya* of his own there, and that the new name eclipsed the old one. The *Munya* was founded by al-Khaṣīb ibn 'Abd al-Ḥamīd who is said to have been a financial administrator of Egypt صاحب الخراج under Harūn al-Rashīd. The fact is mentioned by many of our geographical and literary sources although I did not find his name among the holders of this post under this caliph. He may

have been an assistant of the official financial administrator or a rich Arab chieftain dwelling in Egypt. In confirmation of my doubts I allude to the fact that the name occurs in different ways: منية الحصيب, منية ابن الحصيب and منية بنى الحصيب. In the old Register of the Roznāmeḥ we read منية الحصيب المعروفة بالمنية. In the survey of 1230/1815 we read المنيا الحائط. On the colloquial of the region it is said very often منية ابن خصيم. Sometimes the name of Ibn al-Khaṭīb is substituted by that of 'Alī al-Fūlī, the saint of the town: منية الفولى.

Munya was the word used by the Arabs for what the Romans called *villa*, a country-house with gardens and plantations, that means a land estate. If the land of the *munya* was big enough, it became easily a village or a group of villages or even a town bearing the name of the founder: *munyat* so and so. Sometimes the name of the founder is dropped for abbreviation and the people said: *almunya*. In the current use in Egypt *munya* was pronounced *minyat* if it is attached to a proper name; for example Minyat el-Naṣāra, Minyat el-Sīrig and so on. Sometimes it became *mīt*, for instance: Mīt Ghamr, Mīt Bera and so on. If the word *Munya* stood alone it becomes *el-minya* as in the case of our al-Minya here.

Al-Minya as a capital of a province goes back to the nineteenth century A.D. In the same time it gave its name to the region north and south of it extending from al-Fachn to Dayrūṭ. In the Pharaonic times this region, together with a part of the province of Banī Suēf and another of the province of Assiūṭ was a nome called Bamazīt. In the Ptolemaic period it was called Oxyrinchos after the name of its capital. In the Roman times the province took the name of Arcadia with Oxyrinchos as its capital. The Arabs adopted the Roman division of Egypt with a slight modification: instead of the 66 administrative districts of the Romans they made 80 small *kūra* during the first three centuries of Muslim Egypt. Upper Egypt, which was called al-*Ṣa'īd* الصعيد was divided into 30 *kūra* among which we find *kūrat* al-Bahnasā which corresponded to the town of Oxyrinchos and some villages around it. In the days of the Fatimid caliph al-Mustanṣir a great change was introduced in the administrative division of Egypt. The small *kūra* were merged together to create new bigger ones. The 80 *kūra* became 22 called كور كبار of which 10 were in Upper Egypt. Thus appeared the basic administrative division which continued, with some slight modifications to our day. The *kūra* of al-Bahnasā was enlarged: it extended from the actual vill-

age of Iṭwāb إطواب (district of al-Wuṣṭā الوسطى, province of Banī Suēf) in the north, till the town of Ḳalūṣnā قلوصنا (district of Samālūṭ district of Samālūṭ, province of Minyā), some 140 kilometers from north to south. In 715/1315-16 al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Ḳalāwūn the Mamlūk Sulṭān made the famous survey of Egypt known as الدوك الناصرى according to which Upper Egypt was divided into 9 divisions each of which was called *'amal* عمل instead of *kūra*. The two *kūra* of al-Būṣiriyya كورة البوصيرية and al-Bahnasāwiyya were merged together under the name of *'Amal* or *A'māl* al-Bahnasāwiyya أعمال البهنساوية which corresponds roughly to the present province of Minyā. Under the Ottoman Turks the *'amal* was called *wilāya* ولاية. Upper Egypt was divided into six *wilāya* among which we find *Wilāyat* al-Bahnasāwiyya. The *wilāya* was governed by a *wālī* or *kāshif*, and hence the *wilāya* was also called *kushūfiyya* كشوفية. During the long Ottoman domination some change was introduced in the division and their names. When the French invaded Egypt in 1798 they registered in their *Description d'Egypte* 8 regions in Upper Egypt among which we find la "Région de Menia" which extended from the town of al-Ḳūṣiyya القوصية (now depending to the district of Manfalūṭ منفلوط province of Asyūt) to the town of Iṭṣā إطسا (district of Samālūṭ, province of Minyā). In 1236/1821 Muḥammad 'Alī revised the administrative division of Egypt. *Wilāyat* al-Bahnasā was divided into 4 parts أقسام among which appears المنيا قسم. In 1241/1826 he abolished the term *wilāya* and substituted that of *ma'mūriyya* مأمورية for it and thus *قسم المنيا* became a part of مأمورية البهنسا. The *ḳism* was also called مركز (markaz = administrative section). Later on the *markaz* was reserved to the capitals of the sections, while, the *ḳism* became the term for their police stations. This terminology stands up to our day. In 1249/1833 the term *ma'mūriyya* was changed for that of *mudīriyya* مديرية. The old *Wilāyat* al-Bahnasāwiyya was called in 1830 *Ma'mūriyyat al-Aḳālīm al-Wuṣṭā* مأمورية الأقاليم الوسطى with the town of al-Minya as its capital مركز. Thus disappeared al-Bahnasāwiyya as a name of a province. Three years later, in 1249/1833 it was called مأمورية المنيا and in 1836: مديرية المنيا. Whith the same limits of today. As for the town of al-Minya it was divided in 1920, owing to its rapid growth, into two administrative units: madīnat al-Minya مدينة المنيا and Markaz al-Minya مركز المنيا. Together they were called generally Bandar al-Minya بندر المنيا. In 1960 the *mudīriyyāt* were called محافظة المنيا and thus we have actually محافظة المنيا with its capital مدينة المنيا.

The town of Minyā lies on the western side of the Nile. To its west runs the canal of Ibrāhīmiyya with a small dam-bridge on it. Thanks to this bridge the town is extending constantly westwards. It lies on the main railway of Upper Egypt. It is 246 km. by railway from Cairo. Its population now is ca. 110.000. The population of the whole *muḥāfaẓa* in 1960 was 1.560.000. It is to be noticed that Idrīsī says that Munyat ibn al-Khaṣīb stands on the eastern side of the Nile while it is in reality on the western side.

Cf.: Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, III, 312 and n. 5. Abū 'l-Maḥāsīn, *Nudjūm*, IX, 39 and n. I, Ḳalkashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, III, 393. Ramzī, *Ḳāmūs*, part II, vol. III, p. 196-198.

Paragraph 8

الأشمونين = al-Ashmūnīn.

Our ms. as well as G and I write it al-Ashmūnī *الأشموني* which is an obvious corruption of the name. In the Pharaonic times its region was a *hespō* (= administrative division) under the name Khmounou. Its symbol was the hare and sometimes it was called the Principality of the Hare. It had a lunar deity represented by the god Thot or Hermès. It was assisted by four couples of sacred Ibises or apes. Hence came its name of Khmounou which means "the eight". During the Ptolemaic and Roman times it was a nome called Hermopolis. The town is one of the oldest ones in Egypt and the ancient legends tell that here appeared the first human being. Its region is loaded with temples and cemeteries of almost every period of the ancient history of Egypt. During the first three centuries of the history of Moslem Egypt the region of al-Ashmūnīn was divided into three small *kūra*: al-Ashmūnīn proper, Anṣīnā *انصنا* and Shuṭb *شطب*. When the Fatimids under al-Mustanṣir rearranged the administrative division of Egypt, they abolished the small *kūra* and created the big ones instead. The area of the *kūra* of al-Ashmūnīn was extending by adding the *kūra* of Taḥa al-Madīna to it and the name of al-Ashmūnīn was given to the new *kūra*. The Mamluks called it *A'māl* al-Ashmūnīn and the Turks *Wilāyat* al-Ashmūnīn. In 1830 the administration of Muḥammad 'Alī gave it the name of *Ma'mūriyyat* al-Ashmūnīn and a year later it was fused in the *ma'mūriyya*

of Asyūṭ. This was the end of al-Ashmūnīn as a province. Its name was restricted to the actual village of al-Ashmūnīn in the district of Mallawī, province of Asyūṭ. It is a little town 6 kilometers to the S.W. of al-Rōḍā that stands on the main railway line from Cairo to Aswān. Rōḍā is 287 km. far from Cairo. The actual town is relatively rich because of the big number of tourists, egyptologists and archaeologists who flock to it every year. Some archaeological missions have permanent posts there. 12 km. to its west there is the impressive cemetery of the sacred Ibis birds. They are immense subterranean corridors that extend several hundreds of meters. The embalmed Ibis birds were put on shelves and in niches on both sides of the Necropolis. This is the famous Tūna al-Djabal cemetery discovered by Sāmī Gabra. Nearly opposite to al-Ashmūnīn and in the eastern side of the Nile there are the tombs of Banī Ḥassān and al-Berska. A little to the south of these we find the ruins of Tall al-'Amarna. This richness of the region with antiquities gave birth to the endless cicle of legendary tales that we encounter in Arabic sources about the ancient history of al-Ashmūnīn. Maḳrīzī gives us some charming specimens of them and says that the town was built by a man called Ashmūn ibn Miṣr ibn Bayṣar ibn Ḥām ibn Nūḥ.

Cf.: Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ* (Cairo 1906) I, 385; see also the index of the four volumes of *al-Khiṭaṭ* edited by G. Wiet; Abū 'l-Maḥāsīn, *al-Nudjūm*, IX, 40 and n. 1 by Muḥammad Ramzī; Ḳalkashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, III, 394-395; Marcelle Band and Magdelaine Parisot, *Egypte*, coll. *Les Guides Bleus*. Paris, Hachette 1956, 253-256.

Paragraph 9

بوصير = Būṣīr.

One of many localities with this name in the ancient and mediaeval geography of Egypt. Amélineau gave in his *Géographie...* (p. 7) a list of these places. The most important of Būṣīr that survived till now are three: Būṣīr al-Ashmūnīn *بوصير الأشمونين* (subject of this commentary), Abū Ṣīr al-Iskandariyya *أبو صير الاسكندرية* which we have already mentioned and Būṣīr Ḳuṭṭ *بوصير قفط* (near the town of Ḳuṭṭ, some 293 km. to the south of Cairo in the district of Ḳūṣ, province of Ḳīnā. It is called now *Nadj' Kūm al-Kuffār* *نجع كوم الكفار*).

All these places are often written and pronounced Abū Ṣīr *أبو سيرة* which suggests an Arabic origin. The correct form is Būṣīr because these places were originally called after the name of the god Osiris.

Our Būṣīr is that of al-Ashmūnīn. It stood at the foot of range of mountains longing the western bank of the Nile. It was situated some 14 km. to the N.W. of al-Ashmūnīn in the district of Mallawī *مركز ملوى*, province of Asyūṭ.

Cf.: M. Ramzī, *Qāmūs*, part 2, vol. III, 180-181

Paragraph 10

أنصنا = Anṣinā.

In this form the Arabs pronounced and wrote the name of an ancient town, extinct now, founded by the Roman Emperor Hadrian to commemorate the name of his friend Antinoos who was drowned in the Nile near its place. It was called Antinoē and occurs in the texts also in the forms of Antino, Antinow and Antinopolis. It stood on the ruins of an olden town called Bēsa which 'Alī Mubārak mentioned in his *Khīṭaṭ* in the form of *بين* Bīz. This last was given that name after that of the god Bēs and it formed a part of the Hermopolite nome. Antinoē was also called Ensēnē and Ancinā. Hence came the Arabic form Anṣinā. Towards the end of the Roman period Antinoē was made a province of Upper Egypt. Diocletian made the town of Antinoē capital of all the Thebaid. During the Christian period Antinoē was the capital of a bishopric and attained the height of its growth and splendour during the V and VI centuries A.D. Beside its churches, it preserved still a good number of its Pharaonic, Ptolemaic and Roman temples.

During the first four centuries of the islamic times Anṣinā was one of the 80 small *kūra* of Egypt. Under the Fatimid caliph al-Mustanṣir, it was merged with the *kūra* of al-Ashmūnīn and Shuṭb to form one of the 24 big *kūra* of Egypt. The new *kūra* bore the name of *كورة الأشمونين وأنصنا وشطب* (Kūrat al-Ashmūnīn wa Anṣinā wa Shuṭb). Al-Kuḍā'ī mentions that *kūra* as the eleventh of the 20 *kūra* of Upper Egypt *أعلى الارض* according to his division (see *Ṣubḥ*, III, 378). This *kūra* persisted with the same name after the redivision of Egypt by al-Nāṣir Ḳalāwūn and the reduction of the number

of *kūra* to 21. It was however called *عمل* instead of *كورة*. Later on the name was changed to *عمل الأشمونين*, thus dropping altogether the name of Anṣinā from the list of the administrative division of Egypt. The town seems to have been dwindled and even abandoned in the following years, because Yāḳūt who gives us the most detailed material on it, says – on the authority of Ibn al-Faḳīh – that it was a village which became almost ruins and mentions it among the *birbā*. He says also that Abū Ḥanīfa al-Dīnawarī said that it produced the best lebbekh trees (*لبخ*, a variety of acacia) ever known (Yāḳūt, I, 359). These data are confirmed by Maḳrīzī (*Khīṭaṭ*, III, 307-308) whose article on it is a description of its ancient monuments, among which the roman theatre (*المعبد*) was the most important. On the authority of Abū 'Ubayd al-Bakrī, he says that Māriyya, the egyptian wife of the Prophet *مارية القبطية* was from a village of the *kūra* of Anṣinā called *حفن* Ḥafn. He adds also that Anṣinā had an old rampart which was removed by Saladin (see the valuable notes added by G. Wiet on the article of Maḳrīzī, vol. III of his edition of the *Khīṭaṭ* – Cairo 1922 – p. 307).

The site of Anṣinā (Antinoē) is called now *الشيخ عبادة* al-Shēkh 'Abāda on the right bank of the Nile near a small village called *ساقية موسى* Sāḳiyyat Mūsā at about 284 km. to the south of Cairo. It is in the district of Mallawī, province of Asyūṭ. The ruins of a temple are still to be seen there. Important remains of the imperial town founded by Hadrian were still existing in the beginnings of the XXth century. Muḥammad 'Alī destroyed them and used their stones for the building of a sugar mill in Rōḍā, some 6 kilometers to the south of al-Shēkh 'Abāda.

Cf. in addition to the sources mentioned in the article, Ramzī, I, 131-132; *L'Egypte (Guides Bleus*, 1956), p. 279.

Paragraph 11

النجاشية = al-Nadjāshiyya.

Our ms. gives *النجاشية* and C and I give *النحاسية*. Ramzī reads *النجاشية*, which is more plausible because its site is called now *كوم انجاشة* Kūm And-jāsha, a small village in the district of Dayrūṭ, province of Asyūṭ.

منساوة = Mansāwa.

I am not sure of my vocalisation here. O and I give منسناوة and C gives نساوة, without any vocalisation. Ramzī (I, 120) supposed that it is the actual village of Mashāra مشارة in the district of Dayrūt, province of Asyūt, a suggestion which is confirmed by the form نساوة given by C.

Paragraph 12

طحا = Ṭaḥā.

Our basic ms. and some others wrote it erroneously طخا; only C renders the correct form طحا. The town is well known till now by this name and also طحا ذات العمودين, طحا العمودين, طحا الأعمدة, Ṭaḥā of the columns, or طحا أم عمودين: Ṭaḥā of the two columns. Gauthier mentioned it in his *Géographie...* and said that it was called Tydr in the ancient Egyptian times and Touho by the Copts.

Amélineau says that the Greeks called it Theodosiopolis. Ṭaḥā actually is a small town depending to the district of Samālūt سمالوط. It stands on the right side of the Nile some 3 km. to the south of Samālūt and 225 km. of Cairo.

In the Roman times Ṭaḥā was an administrative district with the name of Touho. The Arabs made Ṭaḥā a *kūra* called الطحاوية which was also called كورة طحا وجير شنوده. Al-Kuḏā'ī (*Ṣubḥ*, III, 377) mentioned it with this last name and considered it the 9th *kūrā* of Upper Egypt. Under the reign of al-Mustanṣir this *kūrā* was abolished. Its northern part was added to the enlarged *kūrā* of al-Bahnasāwiyya, while its southern part was added to the *kūrā* of al-Ashmūnīn. Thus Ṭaḥā and al-Taḥāwiyya disappeared as an administrative division of Egypt.

See also: Maḳrīzī, *Khīṭaṭ*, III, 3,5. Yāqūt, VI, 30. Abū 'l-Maḥāsīn, *Nudjūm*, IX, 40 and note 1.

Paragraph 13

المراعة = al-Marrāgha.

All the mss. mention this town here. It is undoubtedly an error. It is confused with the somewhat similar name of the town of مغاغة Maghāgha which does exist there, especially that Idrīsī himself says that the distance between Anṣīnā and the supposed al-Marrāgha which he mentions is five miles, because the real al-Marrāgha is a small town dependent to Sūhādī capital of the province of Ḳīnā, some 164 km. further to the south. That is why I believe that the locality wanted here is Maghāgha مغاغة.

Maghāgha is the center of a district مركز with the same name in the province of Minyā. It lies on the main railroad from Cairo to Aswān on the western side of the Nile. It is an extremely beautiful town because a part of it stands on the mainland and the rest on a small island opposite to it in the Nile. The part on the mainland is called Nimwī نموي and the island is called Djazīrat al-Ḥadjar جزيرة الحجر. This last name applies also to a part of the coast opposite to it together with some small islands around the main one. Ibn Mammātī in his *Ḳawānīn al-Dawāwīn* and the anonymous author of *Tuḥfat al-Irshād* mentioned both parts: Djazīrat al-Ḥadjar under the letter ج and Nimwī under the ن and said that both are in the district of al-Bahnasāwiyya الأعمال البهنساوية. Ibn al-Djay'ān said in *al-Tuḥfa al-Saniyya*: Nimwī and Djazīrat al-Ḥadjar two groups of the well known localities نموي وجزيرة الحجر ، مجموعتان من الأعمال المذكورة.

Towards the end of the epoch of the Circasian Mamluks the two localities were called together مغاغة Maghāgha, after the name of a branch of the Berber tribe of Luwātah لواته called the Banū Maghāgha بنو مغاغة who dwelt there (see *Ṣubḥ*, I, 365). Under this name the locality is mentioned in the *wakf* testament of the Sulṭān al-Ghūrī made in 922/1516. Since at least 1260/1844 Maghāgha was known with this name. On march 24, 1890 a fifth administrative district was established under the name of Maghāgha in the province of Minyā (see Ramzī, part 2, vol. III, 249-250).

Paragraph 14

تزمنت = Tizmant.

An old town depending to the district of Banī Su'f in the province with the same name in Upper Egypt on the western side of the Nile. Under this name it is mentioned in Yāqūt (II, 386) as a village in the province of al-Bahnasā عمل البهنسا. Ibn Mammātī, the anonymous author of *Tuḥfat al-Irshād* and Ibn al-Djay'ān as well as the authors of the survey of 1230/1815 write it تزمنت الزاوية, Tizmant al-Zāwiya. In the survey of 1273/1856-57 write it تزمنت الزوايا, Tizmant al-Zawāyā. In 1929 this locality was divided into two villages تزمنت الشرقية, Tizmant al-Sharḳiyya, which is the old Tizmant, and Tizmant al-Gharbiyya تزمنت الغربية, which is its new extention to the west.

Cf.: Ramzī, part 2, vol. III, p. 159.

Paragraph 15

صول = Ṣōl.

An old village mentioned with this name by Ibn Ḥawḳal (I, 157); Yāqūt (IV, 399) vocalizes it Ṣawl صول, which may be the original pronunciation. He says that it is a village on the Nile in the beginning of the Ṣa'id. Ibn Mammātī, *Tuḥfat al-Irshād* and Ibn al-Djay'ān mentioned it among the localities of the province of al-Itfīḥiyya من أعمال الإطفيحية. It is now a village on the eastern side of the Nile depending to the district of al-Ṣaff مركز الصف, province of al-Djīza.

Cf.: Ramzī, part 2, vol. III, p. 33.

خليج المنهى = Khalīdj al-Manhā.

We shall speak on it in detail later on.

Paragraph 16

أخميم = Akhmīm.

One of the most famous towns of Upper Egypt in the ancient and mediaeval times. It still preserves some of its old importance as the centre of an administrative district carrying the same name. It stands on the eastern bank of the Nile opposite to the town of Sūhādj capital of the province of Djirdjā جرجا. A modern bridge is erected between the two towns. Its distance from Cairo is around 532 km. Its name in the ancient Egyptian times was Apon or Khimmin which the Greeks wrote Khemmis. They called it also Panapolis. It was the centre of the worship of the god Mīn from whom it got its name. The temple of that god was famous in antiquity. It is mentioned and described by Herodotus, Strabo and Pliny. Its remains are still standing up to now. This is the famous Berbā of which we shall speak in the following commentary. It was considered the centre of the ancient Egyptian magic and its magicians suffered much on the hands of the early patriarchs of Egypt and Alexandria. Both Athanasius and Chenoudi had much to do with its fanatic priests. It is supposed that Chenoudi was born in it. In spite of that Akhmīm became later on one of the chief centres of Christianity in Egypt. Its Copts suffered much during the long religious schisms during the fourth and fifth centuries of the Christian era. A good number of the Egyptian martyrs were from Akhmīm (cf.: Amélineau, *Géographie...*, p. 19).

During those ancient and early mediaeval times Ikhmīm was a capital of an administrative district: the Nome of Kheminou (then Panapolitis). The Arabs adopted that and made Akhmīm a *kūra* under the name of كورة أخميم or كورة الأخميمية. Under the Fatimid caliph al-Mustansir it was made one of the large *kūra*. In 715/1315 this *kūra* was called الأعمال الأخميمية and in 934/1527 the term of that *'amal* was changed to that of *Wilāyat* Djirdjā ولاية جرجا. Thus the name of Akhmīm as a province of Egypt disappeared, and was substituted with that of Djirdjā. That province was called in 1241/1826 مأمورية جرجا and in 1249/1833 مديرية جرجا with Sūhādj سوهاج as its capital. In 1960 it became محافظة جرجا with the same capital and limits.

البلينا = al-Balyanā.

This is the actual pronunciation of this town which is the centre of an administrative district مركز in the province of Djirdjā. Both Yāqūt (II, 283) and Ibn Ḥawqal (I, 159) vocalize it البلينا al-Bulyanā. Maḡrīzī (*Khiṭaṭ*, III, 304) drops the vocalization altogether. I adopted the vocalization current actually in Egypt.

Al-Balyanā is mentioned in the coptic texts under the name of T'pou-rané. I think this was its ancient Egyptian name. The brief notice of Maḡrīzī shows that it depended in Arab times to the province of Ḳūṣ and that it was a very rich town. Evetts says in his book on the *Coptic Churches* (p. 19) that its church was one of the important Christian sanctuaries in Upper Egypt. Now it is the seat of a district (*markaz*) in the province of Djirdjā. It stands on the main railroad from Cairo to Aswān at 17 km. to the south of Djirdjā and 578 km. to the south of Cairo on the western side of the Nile. It is famous for its picturesque pigeon towers. Balyanā is the starting point for the tourists who wish to visit the temple of Abydos.

Paragraph 17

بربا = Birbā.

This word is used by Arab writers for the ruins of large ancient Egyptian temples: Birbā Manf, Birbā Akhmīm, Birbā al-Uḡsur (Luxor) etc.

The most famous of these *birbā* during the Middle Ages was that of Akhmīm. It is supposed that its ruins were the first to be called *birbā* and then the use of the term became general.

The origin of the word is Coptic and it means a temple. Arab writers regarded the *birbā* with deep awe and furnish us with long legendary details about their history. The most extensive account we dispose of is that of Maḡrīzī in his *Khiṭaṭ* (ed. Gaston Wiet, I, fasc. 1, pp. 162-175). All such details go back to Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam who says in *Futūḥ Miṣr* that the first *birbā* was built by a famous female magician called Tadūra by the order of Dalūka daughter of Zabbā qeen of Egypt after the drowing of Pharaoh and his host in the Red Sea. Here Idrīsī ascribes the construction of the Birbā of Akhmīm to Hermes al-Akbar (= the Great) who is supposed to be the

prophet Idrīsī mentioned in the *Ḳur'ān* or Khnoukh or Akhnoukh mentioned in the *Bible* (see Hermes or Irmis and his relation to Egypt: al-Mubashshir ibn Fātik, *Mukhtār al-Ḥikam* (ed. by Abdurrahman Badawī, pubbl. of the Instituto de Estudios Islámicos en Madrid, 1958, p. 7 sgg.). The story told here by Idrīsī occurs also in Ibn Ḥawqal (I, 159) without the mention of Hermes. Al-Bakrī (*Masālik*, ms. of Rabat n. 488) p. 20 says that the famous *bīrbā* (*barābī*) are those of al-Ṣa'īd, Ikhmīm and Samannoud. The details he gives are very similar to those of Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, Mas'ūdī, Ibn Ḥawqal and Maḡrīzī.

The Birbā of Ikhmīm mentioned by Idrīsī and all these authors is the necropolis of which the remains stand still 10 km. to the N.E. of that town near the village called al-Hawāysha الهوايشة or al-Hēsha الهيشه in the district of Ṭimā مركز طما, province of Djirdjā. It was G. Maspéro who discovered this huge necropolis in 1884. It has long underground galleries that served as a burial place for the embalmed bodies. The necropolis goes back to several epochs of the history of ancient Egypt from the sixth dynasty till the Greco-Roman times. There had been also discovered stelae and sarcophages of the period of the Antonines.

To the north of the necropolis open the mountain gorge of Wādī al-'Ēn وادي العين called also Wādī al-Shēkh Shakūr وادي الشيخ شكور where we find numerous caves full of inscriptions in Hieratic, Aramaic and Greek. There is also a well called Bīr al-'Ēn بئر العين which is said to have magical powers as bestowing fecondity on barren women. Mespéro suggested that this Shēkh Shakūr is nothing but the god Mīn in Moslem guise.

It is possible also that Birbā Ikhmīm is the continuation of the group of temples of Abydos called now al-'Arrāba al-Madfūna العرابة المدفونة some 12 km. to the S.W. of al-Balyanā. We have to remember that all this region was called by the Arabs Kūrat Ikhmīm (= the province of Ikhmīm) or al-Ikhmīmiyya. It was natural that the complex of temples and tombs of Abydos impress the Arab writers so deeply. It can be compared in dimensions and beauty to the group of temples of al-Karnak.

The description of the Birbā of Ikhmīm as given by al-Maḡrīzī corresponds very well to the ruins of the temples of Seti I and Ramses II still standing in Abydos. Maḡrīzī attributes to queen Dalūka the building of the walls that would preserve the knowledge in clay and stone at the same time. Idrīsī as we have seen attributes it to Hermes.

بربا إسنا = the Birbā of Isnā (very often written Esnah).

It can hardly be the Roman temple of which the ruins still stand in Isnā. I am inclined to think that the ruins mentioned here are those of al-Kāb, 9 km. to the south of Isnā on the opposite side of the Nile, that means the eastern side. There we find a vast complex of temples and a necropolis. These are the remains of a large religious town which was dedicated to the worship of the goddess Nekhabit. Its construction began even before the dynasties and continued until the time of Ramses II. There we find ruins of temples, hypostyles, cryptes, pylons and tombs from the kind that attracted the attention of Mediaeval writers and impressed them.

Isnā is a *markaz* in the province of Kinā, 64 km. to the south of Luxor.

بربا دندرة = the Birbā of Dandara.

This is the well-known group of ancient Egyptian temples, the greatest of which is that of Hator which goes back to the Ptolemaic period. To its south stands a small temple of the goddess Isis. To its west there is an impressive sacred lake and to the north Roman constructions.

Dandara (very often Dendérah) is the ancient Egyptian town Tounit Tentōre called Tentyris by the Greeks. It is actually a small town depending to the *markaz* of Kinā in the province of Kinā. It stands 258 km. to the south of Asyūt and 665 south of Cairo. It is on the main railroad to Aswān.

It is to be noticed that Idrīsī says that the Birbā of Ikhmīm stands in the center of the town. This shows that the old town stood some 10 km. W.S.W. of the actual one.

Paragraph 18

زماخر = Zamākhir.

Here we have example of the confusion of the description of Egypt by Idrīsī. We have seen how he jumped from Tizmant in the province of Banī Suēf to Akhmīm in the province of Djirdjā some 500 km. to the south. That is why he mistook al-Marrāgha for Maghāgha. From Akhmīm he goes back

northwards to this village which existed either in the north of Upper Egypt or in the south of the Delta. He followed here Ibn Ḥawqal and al-Bakrī in their books of *Masālik* forgetting that the first of these did not intend to make a systematic geographical description of Egypt but rather a geographical miscellany speaking of places and things as he pleases. The second, al-Bakrī, was attracted in the first place by curiosities especially in this part on Egypt of his *Masālik*. Ibn Ḥawqal permitted himself to follow this way because he made an excellent map of every country he described. This map was intended for those who were interested in locating the places in their geographical order. It seems to me that Idrīsī did not see this map because he could have taken notice of his own confusion if he did. As a result of that, Idrīsī's maps of Egypt are among the weakest of his atlas.

Zamākhir does not exist now. Yāqūt (IV, 399) writes it زماخير Zamākhir and says that it was a village on the western side of the Nile at the north of Upper Egypt depending to Akhmīm قرية على غربي النيل بالصعيد الأدنى من عمل أخميم while Ramzī says that Djamāl al-Dīn ibn al-Waṭwāṭ mentioned it in his book called *Mabāhidj al-Fikar* and said that it existed in Ḥawf Ramsīs, that means in the actual province of Beḥīra. Ramzī – no doubt influenced by this – suggest that Zamākhir corresponds to a small town there that was called Tamākharbit تماخربت. It exists to our day under the name of Kharbitā in the *markaz* of Kōm Ḥamāda, province of Baḥīra. The suggestion is not convincing because all the dependencies of the district of Kōm Ḥamāda are apparently far from the south of the Delta. Maḳrīzī (*Khiṭaṭ*, G. Wiet's edition, vol. I, 135) mentions a mountain with that name جبل زماخير among the wonders of Egypt in which there was a putting edge, in a spot to which no man can reach, where we can read clearly the words: In thy name, God باسمك اللهم. This same mountain of Zamākhir is mentioned by al-Ḳalkashandī (*Subḥ*, III, 285), among the mountains of Egypt. The same author mentions a mountain near al-Marrāghāt المراغات (actually المراغة which we mentioned already) and adds: وأظنه جبل زماخير الساحرة المتقدمة الذكر في عجائب الديار المصرية

Paragraph 19

جبل الطيلمون = Djabal al-Ṭaylamūn.

Ḳalkāshandī (*Ṣubḥ*, III, 305) says that this mountain overlooks the Nile opposite Munyat Banī Khaṣīb in the province of al-Ashmūnīn, and then adds that it is the same mountain called Djabal al-Ṭayr جبل الطير which Idrīsī mentions in the next paragraph under the name of Djabal Tānsif. Ibn Saʿīd (*Basṭ*, 63) mentions Djabal al-Ṭaylamūn and does not confuse it with Djabal al-Ṭayr.

The description of this mountain by Idrīsī, which occurs also in Ibn Saʿīd (*Basṭ*, 63) shows that it is a reference to the great double bend of the Nile to the north of Asyūṭ. The first bend – the southern – proceeds westwards and then eastwards; the second follows a contrary course. In both bends the Nile has formed islands and the course narrows in such a way that the current becomes violent especially in the second bend (the northern one). Here the stream becomes rapid and menacing and it gives the impression of a cataract. The island of the second bend is not totally a formation of the river but it was originally a granite block that the water could not wear. Its surface is high and at times it looks like a mountain and could have been called something like al-Ṭaylamūn in question here. I should say however that this mountain is hard to identify or locate there.

Paragraph 20

جبل تانسف = Djabal Tānsif.

This mountain is mentioned in the majority of four sources under the name of Djabal al-Ṭayr جبل الطير (= Mountain of the Birds). Maḳrīzī (I, 136) calls it Shiʿb al-Būḳīrāt (= the small mountain of the birds of Abūḳīr and says: شعب البوقيرات بناحية أشمون من أرض الصعيد. This means that he locates it at Ashmūn. This is a clear error because there is no town in Upper Egypt with the name of Ashmūn. No doubt he wants to say al-Ashmūnīn which fits right well here. Djabal al-Ṭayr is well known by this name till now. It stands 260 km. to the south of Cairo and one km. to the S.E. of Samālūṭ مركز سمالوط province of Minyā (Maḳrīzī, *Khīṭaṭ*, I, 136 note 3). The bird called here بوقير and sometimes أبوقير is described by Yāḳūt (III,

49) as a white bird صنف من الطير أبيض. In *Ṣubḥ* (III, 284) we read جنس البواقير من الطير ، وهو المعروف بالبح. The *baḥḥ* is a species of ducks known in Egypt by its voracity and it is generally black in colour. In the glossary of Idrīsī by Dozy (p. 275) we read: a species of aquatic birds. It is still known in Egypt under this name, and it is white; Wiet in his commentary on the *Khīṭaṭ* (I, 136, note 3) says: «Le būquīr est le héron garde-boeuf», and adds the following reflexion of Maspéro (*Histoire ancienne des Peuples de l'Orient classique*, I, 10, n. 1): «Ce récit rappelle de loin la tradition antique de la *Fonte*, situé près d'Abydos, et par laquelle les âmes, oiseaux a tête humaine, devaient passer pour gagner l'autre monde».

Paragraph 21

أسيوط = Asyūṭ.

The origin of its name is ancient Egyptian: Siaout. It was the capital of the Principality of the Terebinth before the Dynasties and during the period of chaos that prevailed in Egypt after the VIth dynasty. In later times its region was divided into two administrative districts with the town of Siaout as the capital of one of them. This was the XIII province of Upper Egypt. Its local divinity and symbol was a jackal called Oupouat which was said to be the guide of the routes. Under the Ptolemies this jackal was regarded by the Greeks as a wolf and they called the town that of the wolf: Lycopolis. In spite of its excellent geographical position and the riches of its region Asyūṭ was never able to play a major part in the history of ancient Egypt. Its princes and chiefs were never able to compete with those of Thebes, Memphis, Henensouten (Heracleopolis Magna = Ihnasia al-Madina), Fayyūm and other capitals that governed the country in the Pharaonic times. It was a centre of learning during the Byzantine period and it was the birthplace of Plotin the III^d century philosopher and founder of the Neoplatonic philosophy. During the centuries of Christian Egypt, it was the seat of a bishopric.

The real importance of Asyūṭ began with the Arab conquest as a result of fixing the capital of the country at the head of the Delta: Asyūṭ became the most important centre of communication and commerce between Fuṣṭāṭ – or Cairo – and Aswān. At the beginning the Arabs made it the capital of one of the small *kūra*. Under the Fatimid caliph al-Mustanṣir it was made

the seat of one of the 22 big *kūra* of Egypt which was called الأعمال السيوطيه al-A'māl al-Suyūṭiyya and extended southwards as far as Akhmīm; but in 1721 this province was abolished and annexed to that of Djirdjā. In 1826 the province of Asyūṭ was restored under the name of *Ma'mūriyyat* Asyūṭ مامورية أسيوط which was enlarged in 1831 by adding the two previous provinces of al-Akhmūnēn and Manfalūṭ to it. In 1833 it was called *Mudīriyyat* Asyūṭ. مديرية أسيوط (= Province of Asyūṭ) and in 1960 محافظة أسيوط Muḥāfazat (= Governorate of Asyūṭ).

Asyūṭ, the capital of the province, is a big town at 375 km. to the south of Cairo. The old town and the greater part of the new one stands on the western bank of the Nile on the main railroad from Cairo to Aswān. The new extension of Asyūṭ is taking place on the eastern bank where the town has a second railway station for a second railroad that goes northwards to Abnūb and proceeds southwards till Aswān. In fact the main railroad goes from Asyūṭ downwards on the eastern bank because almost all the big towns stand on that eastern bank from Asyūṭ downwards. The two parts of the town are united by the Nile Barrage which regulates the passage of the Nile water and serves as a bridge as well.

The centre of the old town is the mosque which is a nice piece of Arabic architecture. It stands in a small place from which start the small streets that form the famous bazaar of Asyūṭ which came next only to Khān al-Khalīlī in Cairo. The centre of the modern town lies to the south with the residence of the governor and offices of the government in the middle. There is a plenty of gardens and residential sectors here. A series of rich villas extends on the Nile corniche and add to its beauty. This corniche of modern construction is adorned by an impressive array of gaudy sycamore and acacia trees. As a good part of the population of Asyūṭ is Christian Copts the churches are numerous here and the skyline of the town is really charming with mingling of minarets and church towers.

The town itself had a population of 150.000 inhabitants in 1965. Together with its numerous suburbs it counted 340.000. Its university, the fifth of Egypt, is an important center of learning and scholarship. It was founded in 1950 but started to work only in 1956. It is a complete university the laboratories and workshops of which are among the finest in Egypt. The University gave the town a strong push forwards. Asyūṭ also boasts of a religious higher institute depending to the Azhar University, an old and well de-

veloped industrial school, a good number of nice mosques, churches and monasteries and a famous Museum of Islamic fine arts founded by Saïd Khashaba. There is also the house of the American Mission known to all the tourists.

Cf.: *Ṣubḥ*, III, 378, 395; *Nudjūm*, IX, 39 and note 3; Ibn Sa'īd's *Baṣṭ*, 73; Bakrī, *Masālik*, 71; Ibn Ḥawḳal, 175; *Guide Bleu*, 258-259.

Paragraph 22

قفط = Ḳuṭṭ.

The name of this town is generally written, in European languages, Kouft. In Arabic it is often pronounced Ḳifṭ and Ḳaft. This is one of the ancient towns of Egypt. It is so old that it is said that it gave the whole country its name in Greek and all the European languages. According to that theory Egypt should be derived from *Καπτός*. There is no doubt about the remoteness of the origin of the town because the places all around it are literally strewn with ruins of old buildings. Its importance in ancient and Mediaeval times was based on the fact that it stands at the spot of the Nile nearest to the Red Sea. The distance between it and the Sea is barely 150 km. Opposite to it on the Sea stands the small old haven of al-Ḳoṣṣēr القصير. Between the two there is a natural route that goes through a dried-up branch of the Nile. We should suppose that in the times when the town was created this branch still carried water and served as a water way from the Nile to the Sea. These are the prehistoric origins of the Ḳoft al-Ḳoṣṣēr route that brought to Egypt and the Mediterranean a good part of the products of Arabia Felix, Abyssinia, India and the rest of Asia. Strabo says that there was a canal between the two towns which is very possible. We are not going to extend here on the ancient history of Ḳofṭ. From the beginnings of the Dynasties to the reign of the Roman Emperor Diocletian the town was active and prosperous. Scores of ruined temples tell the story of that prosperity. It was Emperor Diocletian who put an end to its glorious ancient past. This emperor, in his rage against the Christians of Egypt committed atrocities against the land and its people. The Column of the Martyrs in Alexandria and the ruins of Ḳofṭ testify for the tragic fate of the Country under Diocletian.

In spite of this severe blow Ẓoḥḥ knew better fortunes once the definite triumph of Christianity was assured. It regained its commercial importance and became an important center of the Christian faith in the south of Egypt. Only some years before the Arab conquest of Egypt Ẓoḥḥ was already a flourishing town with plenty of churches and monasteries. Its port – al-Ḳoṣṣēr – was an important link between the Churches of Egypt, Nubia and Abyssinia. Its bishop Pistentios who lived a little before the Arab conquest is one of the salient figures in the history of Christian Egypt.

Still better fortunes had the town under the Arabs. The maritime route: Djuda – or Yanbu' – al-Ḳoṣṣēr gained much importance and the land-route al-Ḳoṣṣēr – Ẓoḥḥ bustled with activity. The region was not so utterly barren as it is today. It was dotted by oases as it followed the bed of the dried-up Nile tributary. Ẓoḥḥ became a big and flourishing town with busy bazaars. It was a *kūra* by itself in the first Arabic division of Egypt and then, under al-Mustansir it was made a part of the big *kūra* of Ḳūṣ. In modern times it was always a *markaz* of the province of Ḳinā (Kēnē).

Ẓoḥḥ actually is a small handsome town on the eastern bank of the Nile. It is on the main railroad from Cairo to Aswān. It is 631 km. from Cairo and only 19 km. from Ḳinā the capital of the province. Only 43 km. separate it from Luxor. Bakrī dedicates to it some interesting lines in his *Maṣālik*. As the ms. is not yet published I reproduce them here (p. 71):

وهي مدينة متوسطة المقدار بينها وبين النيل ٣ أميال ، عليها سور ولها جامع وسوق ،
وبينها وبين مدينة قوص ٤ أميال ولها برابا وبغربيها شعراء كثيفة ليس بها شبيء إلا شجر
السنط الذي هو حطب مصر. ومن مدينة قفط إلى مدينة أخميم ٣ أيام.

«It is a middle sized town situated at 3 miles from the Nile. It is surrounded by a rampart and has mosque and a market. Between it and the town of Ḳūṣ there is a distance of 4 miles. It has a Birbā and to its west there is a thick forest the trees of which are exclusively *sanṭ* trees (*acacia nilotica*). This tree provides the fire wood for Egypt. Between Ẓoḥḥ and Akhmīm there is a distance of 3 days' march».

Yāḳūt (VII, 138–139) says that the town was in his days unalienable property of the Alids since the days of 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭalīb. The explanation of this phenomenon is the statement of Idrīsī about the Shī'ism of its people. Muḳaddasī (p. 202), speaking about the religious side of the life of

Egypt says that only the upper part of the capital and Ṣandafa are shī'ite. He says also that the prevalent legislation in Egypt was the shī'ite one which was the official legislation applied by the Fatimides. Yāḳūt expands on the commercial prosperity of the town and the wealth of its merchants.

But Ẓoḥḥ was an important center of knowledge as well. It was famous for its scholars and centres of learning famous all over the Arab world. From that point of view Ẓoḥḥ and Ḳūṣ come next only to Fustāṭ and Cairo. Nearly seventy per cent of the scholars of Upper Egypt mentioned by Kamāl al-Dīn ibn Ibrāhīm al-Idfuwī in his *al-Tāli' al-sa'īd al-djāmī' li-asmā' al-fuḍalā' wa 'l-ruwāt bi-a'lā 'l-Sa'īd* are from Ẓoḥḥ which he writes Ḳiḥḥ. Its most famous scholar is Djamāl al-Dīn al-Ḳiḥḥī author of *Tārīkh al-ḥukamā'* (History of the Philosophers and wise men).

Paragraph 23

قوص = Ḳūṣ.

To the valuable article by J. H. Kramers in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (II, 1223^a, 1224^b) on that town, I add the following: Ḳūṣ was not a capital of province with the same name in Moslim Egypt till the Fatimid epoch. Owing to the special attention the caliphs of that dynasty paid to financial and commercial matters, they made this commercially important town the capital of a vast province which included all the small *kūra* which existed south of Akhmīm till Aswān at the time. It was called *عمل القوصية* and supplanted the small *kūra* of Huw, Dandara, Ḳinā, Ẓoḥḥ, Luxor, Isnā, Armant and Aswān (*Subh*, III, 378–380, 376–397). In 1315 this vast *kūra* was called al-A'māl al-Ḳūṣiyya. In 1527 the province was abolished and replaced by that of Djirdjā. The town of Ḳūṣ and its surroundings became a district of that province. Later on it was separated from Djirdjā and attached to the province of Ḳinā under the name of *قسم قوص* (the administrative sector of Ḳūṣ). From 1890 it was made a *markaz* of the province of Ḳinā (cf.: *Nudjūm*, IX, 40 and note 7 by Ramzī). See also *Bast*, p. 63–64.

Ḳūṣ is on the main railroad from Cairo to Aswān at 641 km. south from Cairo in the eastern bank of the Nile.

Paragraph 24

دماويل = Damāmīl or دمايل = Damāmīl.

Is now a small village called *المرجية* al-Mufarradjiyya depending to *markaz* Ḳūṣ in the province of Ḳinā.

Yāḳūt (IV, 70) mentioned it under the name of Damāmīn and says that it was a big village in Upper Egypt on the shore of the eastern side of the Nile to the north of Ḳūṣ. He adds that it had gardens and palm-tree groves.

Paragraph 25

قمولة = Ḳamūla.

It is described by Yāḳūt (VII) as a small village in Upper Egypt on the western bank of the Nile known for its palm-trees and plantations.

Paragraph 26

جبل بران = Djabal Barrān.

I could not identify this mountain. Ḳalkāshandī did not mention it among the mountains of Egypt known to him.

As for the treasure of Ashmūn son of Miṣrāyim, see Maḳrīzī, III, 31-32.

Paragraph 27

إسنا = Isnā (often Esnēh).

The most important town of Egypt immediately before Aswān. It stands on the western side of the Nile at 737 km. to the south of Cairo. The main railroad runs on the eastern bank. There is a barrage on the Nile at Isnā. It serves as a bridge as well and to reach the town the traveller has to cross the Nile on it. Isnā is a *markaz* in the province of Ḳinā and stands at 125

km. far from it to the south. It is a prosperous town of about 60.000 inhabitants.

Isnā is an ancient town. Its name in ancient Egyptian is Te-Snēt and in Coptic Snē. The Greeks called it Latopolis after the name of the *latos* fish that was venerated in the region. The Greek name took the place of the old name of the region which was the Principality of the two Feathers. It was the third name of Upper Egypt and attained a special importance during the Ptolemaic and Roman periods perhaps because of its active commerce with Central Africa. It was throughout the ancient and mediaeval times the terminal stations of the caravan route that lead to Sennār in the Central Sudan.

The Ptolemies and Romans endowed the town with a number of splendid temples, one of which is that of the god Chnum which remained up to our times. The temple, which was most probably built and reformed and enlarged by many Pharaohes, was rebuilt by Philometer and Eurgetes II. Later on Roman emperors as Trajan and Marcus Aurelius added to it and inscribed their names on its walls which resemble a register loaded by writings, paintings and inscriptions.

Isnā was an important town during the Coptic period. It still keeps in the town itself and around it a good number of the most revered churches and monasteries. The monastery of Manaos, 5 km. to the south of Isnā, is quite famous. So also is that of Chenūdī at some 9 km. to the north of the town and that of Anbā Mattā, one kilometer to the west of that last. Near Anbā Mattā we encounter an underground church with paintings from the age of the catacombs.

The fortunes of Isnā were still better under Islām. Commercial and industrial towns were always luckier than the pure agricultural ones in those times. Until the middle of the Fatimid period Isnā was one of the 80 small *kūra* of Egypt, then its *kūra* was abolished and included in the big *kūra* of Ḳūsiyya *عمل القوصية*. When the Ottoman Turks reorganized Egypt and created the *Wilāyat* Isnā, Ḳūṣ was included in the *Wilāyat* (province of) Djirdjā *ولاية جرجا*. Muḥammad 'Alī made a *ma'mūriyya* *مأمورية* (= fiscal division) which was sometimes fused with the *Ma'mūriyya* of Ḳinā to create a big *mudriyya* (province) which was called *مديرية نصف ثانى قبلى* (= the Province of the second half of Upper Egypt). This province was a little later on a little modified and called *مديرية عموم قنا وإسنا* (= Province of all Ḳinā and Isnā). In 1868 it was severed from that province and was made a province

of its own: مديرية إسنا (= Province of Isnā) which comprised the districts of Isnā, Idfū (Edfū) إدفو, al-Kunūz الكنوز and Ḥalfā حلفا.

In april 1888 and as a consequence of the Maḥdī rising in the Sudan, this frontier province was abolished and the town of Isnā was attached again to the province of Ḳinā. The other three districts which formed the *Mudiriyya* of Isnā were joined together to form a new province called that of the Frontiers مديرية الحدود which is actually the governorate of Aswān. Since then Isnā is a *markaz* of the province of Ḳinā (cf.: *Nudjūm*, VI, 360 and note 1 by M. Ramzī).

Paragraph 28

أرمنت = Armant.

Actually a small town depending to the *Markaz* of Luxor, province of Ḳinā. In the early periods of the ancient Egyptian history Armant was capital of a nome called the Southern Ōn which is the region of Thebes. Armant was its capital. The Greeks called it Hermonthis. Hence its name of Armant. It was the capital of an administrative district with the same name. In the early Arab times it was made a part of the *kūra* (province) of Isnā and Armant; later on it was included in the big province of al-Kūṣiyya (*Ṣubḥ*, III, 380). See also Yāḳūt, I, 202.

Armant stands on the eastern side of the Nile on the main railroad to Aswān at 754 km. south of Cairo.

Paragraph 29

خليج المنهى = Khalīdj al-Manhā.

This is the well-known canal or branch of the Nile called today Baḥr Yūsuf which branches out of the western side of the Nile at Dayrūt and runs northwards nearly parallel to the course of the river then turns to the N.W. through the region of Fayyūm to join Lake Fayyūm which is called Lake Ḳārūn. The best study of the history of this branch was made by Omar Toussoun in his excellent work: *Mémoire sur l'histoire du Nil* (Mémoires présentées à l'Institut d'Égypte) tome VIII, Le Caire 1925, pp. 174-176.

In this work Omar Toussoun gives a French translation of the paragraph on al-Manhā together with all the passages of the other Arab writers that refer to it.

In the translation I translated the word *khalīdj* by «branch» although we are not sure if Baḥr Yūsuf was originally a canal or a natural branch of the Nile. Omar Toussoun thinks that it was originally a canal that became over the years a branch. This theory cannot be sustained all the way because the course of Baḥr Yūsuf is in general higher than the land level of the Nile there. A canal dug out of a river will be never made to pass through a higher level because the water of the river will not flow into it.

The contrary is more plausible: the water course of Baḥr Yūsuf came from the land table of Lake Ḳārūn and flowed till it met the Nile. Sanford and Arkell proved that during the Miocene there was a series of water streams that flowed from the Fayyūm region eastwards. The courses of some of them still exist (the river of Djabal al-Rūs, the river of Wādī al-Lāhūn, the river of Djabal al-Na'ālōn ... etc.). Al-Manhā was the continuation of Nahr (river of) Wādī al-Lāhūn eastwards.

We should remember that in those times the Fayyūm region was separated from the lowlands of the Nile Valley at the east and the north by the range of heights that was formed around blocks of pliocenic rocks. In the same way was formed the edge of the gigantic basin of Lake Ḳārūn that was called in the antiquity Lake Moeris. The cone was much bigger than it is today. All the cultivated areas in the Fayyūm region were included in it. Heavy rains filled the cone and the water pierced the rim of the cone in many points and flowed eastwards. Al-Manhā was the channel that the water that flowed at the site of the actual al-Lāhūn pierced in its way towards the river Nile. It should have continued to flow for a long time to be able to make such a long channel.

When the rains dwindled to sporadic showers over the years evaporation told over the vast lake: its level began to fall and its area began to shrink more and more areas of the actual plain of Fayyūm dried up but water streams ran still from the shrinking lake to the edge of the cone. Al-Lāhūn was one of them, but could no more pierce the rim and fall in the course of al-Manhā. Beside that the land of the plain of Fayyūm was savany and difficult to exploit.

The great engineering work that was done by the Pharaohes and their

engineers consisted in making a technical junction that permits the water of al-Lāhūn pass over to the Manhā and regulate it. The realization of this project lead at the same time to canalize the surplus water of the cone to al-Manhā. This was the engineering work that Idrīsī tried to describe here. Naturally it was not executed in that legendary work neither the Prophet Yūsuf had anything to do in it. We have an excellent summary of the history of the realization of this admirable work by the Pharaohes in the *Guide Bleu, Egypte* (1956, p. 241-247).

The name al-Manhā is given by Idrīsī and all the Arab geographers to the actual Baḥr Yūsuf while in fact it should apply only to its part that extends from the Nile to the Lāhūn junction. The rest is the Lāhūn river (Wādī al-Lāhūn).

The level of the water of Lake Ḳārūn was once as high as Djabal al-Rūs, that means 150 m. above the sea level. Now it is 44 m. below it. The lake measures now 50 km. long and 10 km. in the widest part of its width.

Bibliography: beside the sources cited in the text see J. Bell, *Contributions to the geography of Egypt* (Cairo 1939); Beadnell N. J. L., *Topography and Geology of the Fayoum province of Egypt* (Cairo 1905); G. Caton-Thompson, E. W. Garden and S. Ahmad Ḥuzayyin, *Lake Noeris, reinvestigation and some comments*, in «Bulletin de l'Institut d'Égypte», XIX, 1936-1937, pp. 243-303; Youssuf Abū 'l-Ḥaggāg, *Munkhaḡaḡ al-Fayyūm* (in Arabic all through) *The depression of Fayyūm, a study in geomorphological*, in «Annals of the Faculty of Arts», Ain Shams University, vol. X, 1967, pp. 69-116 of the Arabic section. Moreover, plate XII of the above mentioned work of Omar Toussoun is particularly instructive because it shows Baḥr Yūsuf running nearly parallel to the Nile until the town of al-Lāhūn. From there it turns N.W. and is called on the map Baḥr al-Fayyūm until it pours the Lake passing by فتحة اللاهون وهواره (= the opening of al-Lāhūn and Hawwāra).

An interesting passage of *al-Rawḡ al-Mi'ār* of Ibn 'Abd al-Mun'im al-Ḥimyarī quoted by Ḳalkashandī (*Ṣubḡ*, III, 297) speaks of a complicated work of engineering to elevate the water from level to level to irrigate three levels of land. Ibn 'Abd al-Mun'im al-Ḥimyarī resumes al-Idrīsī unsuccessfully. It is strange that Ḳalkashandī, who was an important man in the administration of Egypt at his time, did not bother to make the short trip to Fayyūm to see what he describes as a wonder. So bookish was knowledge in those days that this gentleman preferred to quote a Moroccan who summarises the work of another Moroccan - Andalusian about something that lies only some miles from his house at Cairo

البهنسا = al-Bahnasā.

The village of al-Bahnasā mentioned here is actually known as البهنسا الغربية (Western Bahnasā) to distinguish it from al-Bahnasā al-

Sharḳiyya البهنسا الشرقية (= the Eastern Bahnasā) which is called now Ṣandafā صندفا, a town depending to the District of Banī Mazār مركز بني مزار, province of Minyā.

We should distinguish here between the Region of al-Bahnasā إقليم البهنسا and the town with the same name. Both the region and the town are very old. The first was the Principality of the Sceptre in the days of the Pharaohs and it had the name of Wapū. Its deity was the god Seth, the enemy of Osiris. It was incarnated in the body of the sacred fish called the oxyrincho. That is why the Ptolemies called the principality the Nome of oxyrinchos. In the Christian times it was the seat of a bishopric. It had then a plenty of churches and monasteries. Its capital in all these periods was Piniāzū which was also written Pimāzīt. The Greeks used for the capital the name of Oxyrrichos. In Coptic it was written Pomdjè.

During the Islamic times it was first called Kūrat al-Bahnasā كورة البهنسا. From the middle of the Fatimid period the word *kūra* was changed to 'amal and under the Turks it was called wilāya ولاية and the Bahnasā stayed as a province all through.

In 1133/1721 its capital was transferred from the town of Bahnasā to that of al-Fashn الفشن because Bahnasā stands on the western bank of Baḥr Yūsuf way-out of the main route of communications which was the Nile. Under Muḥammad 'Alī this province persisted. It comprised all the actual province of Banī Su'f and the districts of al-Fashn, Maghāgha, Banī Mazār and the northern half of the district of Samalūt. All these last districts are now dependants of the province of Minyā. It was among the large provinces of the country.

Its limits and area suffered many changes in the administrative reorganization and shuffling of the last century; for instance in 1245/1829 a part of the then existing province of al-Ashmūnīn مأمورية الأشمونين was added to it to create a new large province which was called مأمورية الأقاليم الوسطى (Ma'mūriyyat al-aḡālīm al-wuṣṭā = Province of the Middle Regions) which seems to be an unconscious return to the big section of Egypt called under the Ptolemies Middle Egypt. There were then other two sections: Upper Egypt and Lower Egypt.

This province of the Middle Regions was short lived, but it put an end to Bahnasā as a province of Egypt. Later on it was divided into the actual two provinces of Banī Su'f and Minyā.

The old province stood in the richest part of all Upper Egypt. There the Nile attains its utmost width and so its valley. The width of this last is 17 km. and the soil is most productive.

As for the town of Bahnasā it still exists till now the western bank of Baḥr Yūsuf. It stands 10 or 12 km. to the east of Banī Mazār which stands on the main railroad from Cairo, at 198 km. to the south. It depends to the district of Banī Mazār, province of Minyā. This wayward position has a bad effect on the town. It limited it both in size and possibilities of growth. What we see now is a part of the old Bahnasā of Idrīsī with its prosperous textile industry. It is called al-Bahnasā al-Gharbiyya (Western Bahnasā) because its other half that stands on the eastern bank of Baḥr Yūsuf was made an independant town called *Ṣandafā* صندفا.

Bahnasā is mentioned by nearly all our geographers without useful details. Some times it occurs البهنسي or البهنسة. Both sound the same. It looks now poor and ungainly especially that it is surrounded by shabby hills of earth. It was thought that these contain ancient treasures but nothing of value was found in them. In fact these mounds are the earth that earlier invaders of tombs and antiquities had already excavated and heaped during their work.

طراز ج طرز = *tirāz*, pl. *turuz*.

Idrīsī uses this word as equivalent to weaving factory whether it was governmental or private. This use is not alluded to in the long article on the subject by A. Grohmann in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (IV, 825^b sgg.).

ستور ج ستور = *sitr*, pl. *sutūr*.

It seems to me that Idrīsī does not mean here the usual sense of the word: curtain, but the long spreads of cloth.

Paragraph 30

إهناس = *Ihnās*.

Actually called إهناسية المدينة *Ihnāsya al-Madīna* a small town depending to the *markaz* of Banī Suēf in the province with that name. It is an old village on the western side of the Nile to the south of Banī Suēf. Gauthier mentioned different forms of its name in the ancient Egyptian times: Hat-non-nsout, Henen-nsout, Nen-nsou and Nenensou and said that it was the capital of the 20th nome of Upper Egypt. The Greeks called it Heracléopolis Magna. Amélineau said that its Coptic name was Henis or Ehnis, hence its Arabic name. In the list of bishoprics it was called Heracleon = Ehnas. Ibn Khurdadhaba wrote its name *Ihnās*. Ya'qūbī wrote it إهناس *Ahnās* and said that it was a *kūra* (cf.: Wiet's translation, p. 186) and it was really one of the small *kūra* of the early Moslem period (*Ṣubḥ*, III, 377) and later on under the Fatimids the *kūra* was abolished and included in the big عمل (province of al-Bahnasā). The town itself was called *Ihnās al-Madīna* to distinguish it from its *kūra*. The modification of its name to *Ihnāsya al-Madīna* occurred under the Ottomans. The first document which mentions this new form of the name is the Survey of 1230/1815.

The new town does not stand exactly on the site of the ancient one whose ruins are still to be seen near by. It stands 16 kilometers to the west of Banī Suēf that stands at 121 km. from Cairo on the main railroad to Aswān.

There is also a village near it called إهناسيا الخضراء *Ihnāsya al-Khaḍrā'* (= the green *Ihnāsya*). This is mentioned by Yāqūt as إهناسيا الصغرى *Ihnāsya al-Ṣughrā'* (= the smaller *Ihnāsya*). We find it under this name in *al-Tuḥfa al-Saniyya*, *Tuḥfat al-Irshād* and the list of Ibn al-Djay'ān.

Cf.: M. Ramzī, *Ḳāmūs*, 2, vol. III, 153-154.

Paragraph 31

اللاهون = al-Lāhūn.

On the main railroad from Cairo to Aswān there is a town called Būsh at 112 km. south of Cairo in the district and province of Banī Suēf. From there starts an automobile route to Fayyūm. Al-Lāhūn is the main town on that route. It stands at 20 km. from Būsh, exactly half way to the town of Fayyūm. It is a big and important communication centre famous for two things: the well known pyramid attributed to it (at 1.5 km. N.W. of it) and the new barrage built now to regulate the water movement in and out of the region of al-Fayyūm through Baḥr Yūsuf. This barrage replaced the ancient one of which we spoke above.

Al-Lāhūn actually depends to the district of Madīnat al-Fayyūm in the province of Fayyūm. There is a short cut of 12 km. between the two. It is a very ancient locality and sure it was more important in the Pharaonic and Ptolemaic times than it is today. There is a great diversion of opinion between scholars as regards its ancient name: Flinders Petrie says that it was Lahone in ancient Egyptian and that this word means a dam. Gauthier says that the Pharaonic name was Rahent while it was called Lahoune in Coptic. Amélineau says that it was called in ancient Egyptian Rahmount, meaning the bridge. He says also that its Coptic name was Lahoun. Under the Ptolemies it was called Ptolemaïs Hormos or Ptolemaïs only. 'Alī Mubārak in *al-Khiṭaṭ al-Tawfīqiyya* says that it was called بطليموسة Baṭlaymūsa in the ancient times. Yāqūt (VII, 316) writes it لاهون Lāhūn without the article and says that it was a town in Upper Egypt where stands the mosque of Yūsuf and the dam which Yūsuf the truthful had built to turn the water to Fayyūm ... به مسجد يوسف والسكر الذي بناه يوسف الصديق لرد الماء إلى الفيوم Fayyūm This notice seems to us of a special importance because here we have two Yūsuf: the truthful Prophet and an another Yūsuf who built a mosque. They cannot be one and the same because the Prophet Yūsuf could not have built a mosque anyway. The first might well be the man who gave the rivulet its name in the Moslem times because the name Baḥr Yūsuf appeared only in the Islamic times. So also the legend of the Prophet Yūsuf as the creator of the engineering work of al-Lāhūn.

Beside the sources cited above see Ramzī, part I, vol, III, 97.

Paragraph 32

دلاص = Dalāṣ.

Actually a village in the *markaz* (district) of Banī Suēf in the province with the same name. It is to be noted that Idrīsī puts it on the eastern side of the Nile while it is situated in fact on the western.

Dalāṣ is an ancient locality that was an important town under the ancient Egyptians. Gauthier says that its name was Hapi while Amélineau says in his *Géographie* that the name was Tilodj. This last says that its name occurs in the list of bishoprics under the form of Nilou-Tilodj which is pronounced Tilos. Quatremaire identified it with Nilopolis which Ptolemy lists to the north of Ihnāsya al-Madīna. Ramzī says that the Greek called it Nilopolis because it was originally right on the river shore. It stands now some kilometers far from it because the river changed its course to the east over the years.

In the early Arab times Dalāṣ, together with Būṣīr was a *kūra* كورة دلاص وبوصير (*Ṣubḥ*, III, 376). Maḥrīzī considers them two *kūra* but lists them under one administrative section كورتا دلاص وبوصير (Kūratā – the two Kūra of – Dalāṣ and Būṣīr). It is evident from the list of *kūra* he gives (I, 307) that this *kūra* was one of the smallest because it contained only six villages. The list of al-Ḥuḍā'ī (*apud* Maḥrīzī, I, 310) mentions them also together: كورتا دلاص وبوصير. Later on, in the Fatimid reorganization and shift from the small *kūra* to the big ones, these two small *kūra* were included in the province of al-Bahnasā (*Ṣubḥ*, III, 394). Yāqūt, on the contrary, says that Dalāṣ was a vast *kūra* which contained villages and had a vast area, and that it was included in the *kūra* of al-Bahnasā (IV, 66):

دلاص : كورة بصعيد مصر على غربي النيل ، أخذت من البر ، تشتمل على قرى وولاية واسعة ، ودلاص مدينتها (= its capital) معدودة في كورة البهنسا.

What Idrīsī says about its fame with the manufacture of iron bridles is attested by Abū Ṣaliḥ al-Armanī who says in his work about the monasteries كتاب الديورة that in Dalāṣ there were 300 blacksmiths dedicated to the making of bridles; that is why it was mentioned in the Survey of 1230/1815 under the name of دلاص اللجم but in the Survey of 1260/1844 it is mentioned with its actual name of Dalāṣ. It was dependance of the *markaz* of al-Waṣṭā

الواسطي (province of Asyūt). In 1936 it was separated from it and attached to Banī Suēf because it is nearer to it (Ramzī, part 2, vol. III, 159-160).

Paragraph 33

ترفة وسمسطا = Tarfa and Sumuṣṭā.

I could not vocalize the name of Tarfa because I could not find the vocalization anywhere. The first of these two is called now سمسطا السلطاني Sumuṣṭā al-Sulṭānī; the second سمسطا الوقف Sumuṣṭā al-Waḳf; both are villages depending to the markaz of Bibā مركز ببا in the province of Banī Suēf.

Ibn Ḥawḳal (I, 133) and Yāḳūt (V, 126) mention it with that name. Yāḳūt, however, says that some pronounce it سمسطا Samasṭā. Ibn al-Djay'ān writes it شمسطا Shumuṣṭā. All of them say that it depended to the province of al-Bahnasāwiyya.

Ramzī (part 2, vol. III, 139) says that the two villages of Sumuṣṭā and Tarfa were so near to each other that they were fused in one in the ninth century of the Hidjra under the name of سمسطا وغيط وقف الاسياد Sumuṣṭā and Ghēt Waḳf al-Asyād. Under this name they appeared in the *Waḳf Document of the Sulṭān Bārsbāy* written in 841/1437-8. In the Survey of 1230/1815 Ghēt Waḳf al-Asyād was separated from Sumuṣṭā under the name of سمسطا الوقف Sumuṣṭā al-Waḳf, while Sumuṣṭā itself was called سمسطا السلطاني.

(to be continued)

NAZHŪN BINT AL-QILĀ'Ī

ALFONSO ALI BEN MOHAMED
(Napoli)

Ibn Sa'īd al-Mağribī, nel suo *Rāyāt al-mubarrizīn*¹, afferma che alla città di Granada venne gran lustro dall'opera di una triade di celebri poetesse che ivi ebbero dimora: Ḥaḥṣa bint al-Ḥāğğ, Nazhūn e Zaynab al-Wādī Āšiyya. La prima di queste è stata oggetto di disamina da parte di L. Di Giacomo² e di Zaynab, purtroppo, non ci sono pervenuti che tre versi³. Noi qui parleremo di Nazhūn bint al-Qilā'ī⁴, figura quant'altre mai interessante nel pur luminoso panorama della letteratura femminile andalusa. Figlia di un qādī⁵, ella visse nel XII secolo in ambiente letterario assai elevato che non poco contribuì all'affinamento delle sue innate doti poetiche. Celebrata fu dalla critica araba coeva e posteriore.

Al-Ḥiğārī, nel *Mushib*⁶, dice che era dotata di spirito (*ḥiffat al-rūh*) e assai bella. Ottima era la sua conoscenza della poesia e dei proverbi⁷.

¹ *Rāyāt al-mubarrizīn wa gāyāt al-mumayyizīn: El libro de las banderas de los campeones*, ed. e trad. di E. García Gómez, Madrid 1942, p. 61.

² *Une poétesse andalouse du temps des Almohades: Ḥaḥṣa bint al-Ḥāğğ ar-Rukūniyya*, in «Hesperis», XXXIV, 1947, pp. 9-101.

³ Cfr. al-Maqqarī, *Analectes sur l'histoire et la littérature des Arabes de l'Espagne*, testo arabo, ed. Dozy, Dugat, Krehl, Wright., II, Leida 1861, p. 147.

⁴ In *Analectes*, II, p. 636, è detta al-Qulā'iyya; Ibn al-Ḥaṭīb la cita nelle forme al-Qilā'ī, al-Qulay'iyya e al-Qulay'ī; cfr. *al-Iḥāta fī aḥbār Ġarnāṭa*, ed. 'Inān, Cairo, I, 1973, p. 424, II, 1974, p. 504, III, 1976, p. 344.

⁵ Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Ḥalaf ibn 'Abd al-Malik ibn Ġālib al-Ġassānī; su di lui si veda *Iḥāta*, III, pp. 158-159, 344.

⁶ *Al-Mushib fī ġarā'ib al-Mağrib* (in *GAL*, S I, p. 576: *al-Mushib fī faḍā'il al-Mağrib*) di Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh ibn Ibrāhīm al-Ḥiğārī al-Ṣanhāğī. Iniziata nel 1135 e proseguita dai due figli di 'Abd al-Malik ibn Sa'īd, Aḥmad e Muḥammad e dal figlio di questo, Mūsā, tale opera fu completata nel 1243 da 'Alī ibn Mūsā ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Malik ibn Sa'īd al-Mağribī che le diede il definitivo titolo di *al-Muğrib fī ḥulā' l-Mağrib*.

⁷ *Analectes*, II, p. 635.

Ibn al-Ḥaṭīb asserisce che aveva la risposta pronta ed era altresì arguta e faceta (*sarī'at al-ḡawāb, ṣāhibat fukāha wa du'āba*)⁸.

Al-Maqqarī, per contro, la reputa libertina (*māḡina*)⁹.

Il severo giudizio del letterato di Tlemcen è originato dall'aver Nazhūn fatto mostra, in più di una occasione, di condotta libera e linguaggio ardito. D'altra parte non fu, questo, caso unico fra le poetesse andaluse. Più noti esempi furono Wallāda, figlia del califfo al-Mustakfī, e la sua amica Muḡa le cui affinità non si esaurirono certo nel comune gusto per la poesia visto che tra loro intercorsero non mai celati rapporti saffici¹⁰.

Proprio di Nazhūn fu un *hiḡā'* feroce che non risparmiò alcuno. Dotata di forte personalità e temperamento aggressivo, ella, così come Wallāda, rivelò una «emancipation quasi totale vis-à-vis du sex fort»¹¹ che le permise di tener testa, senza punto sentirsi intimorita, ai celebri letterati che frequentavano la corte granadina. Ibn Sa'īd fa menzione di un contrasto che ella ebbe con il noto *zaḡḡāl* Ibn Quzmān. In quella occasione la lingua mordace di Nazhūn accostò il poeta, che vestiva di giallo ed era di conformazione massiccia, alla vacca degli Ebrei (*baqarat Banī Isrā'īl*)¹². Ibn Quzmān, con la mente obnubilata dai fumi dell'alcool, avrebbe violentemente reagito se i presenti, intervenendo, non lo avessero spinto in uno stagno lì vicino. Egli allora, rivolgendosi all'intendente delle finanze (*ṣāhib al-a'māl*) Ibn Sa'īd, declamò per rivalsa i seguenti versi:

O Abū Bakr, non ho forza per oppormi a dignitari, farabutti
e a una donna d'ampia vulva e grondante umori come grondano acqua le
mie vesti.

Signore, mi hai immerso nell'acqua; ora ripara annegandomi nell'oro¹³.

⁸ *Iḥāṭa*, III, p. 344. Era dotata anche d'ampia capacità di improvvisazione. Si veda, al riguardo, l'episodio riferito in *Analectes*, II, p. 637; *Rāyāt al-mubarrizīn*, p. 60; *Iḥāṭa*, III, pp. 344-345; al-Suyūṭī, *Nuzhat al-ḡulasā' fī aṣ'ār al-nisā'*, ed. al-Munaḡḡid, Beirut 1958, p. 100; A. J. Arberry, *Moorish Poetry*, Cambridge 1953, p. 92.

⁹ *Analectes*, II, p. 637; così la definisce anche Ibn Sa'īd in *al-Muḡrib fī ḥulā' l-Maḡrib*, ed. Ḍayf, I, Cairo s.d., p. 121.

¹⁰ Cfr. H. Pérès, *La poésie andalouse en arabe classique au XI^e siècle. Ses aspects généraux et sa valeur documentaire*, Parigi 1953, p. 428.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² *Analectes*, II, p. 636; *Muḡrib*, I, p. 121; *Iḥāṭa*, II, p. 504; *Nuzhat al-ḡulasā'*, p. 100. Allusione a Cor. II, 69.

¹³ Metro *sarī'*. *Analectes*, II, p. 636; *Iḥāṭa*, II, p. 505.

Non improntato a cordialità fu l'incontro con il cieco poeta di *al-Ḥiṣn al-Mudawwar*¹⁴, al-Maḡzūmī¹⁵, del quale divenne poi allieva. A uno sgarbo della focosa Nazhūn, l'irascibile *haḡḡā'* andaluso rispose gratificandola di «baldracca in calore della cui vulva gli effluvi si avvertono a una parasang» (*qaḥba muḥtariqa tuṣamm rawā'iḥ hanihā 'alā farsaḥ*)¹⁶ alla quale «Iddio non ha fatto sentir che bene e non ha fatto veder che pene» (*lā asma'ahā Allāh illā ḥayr wa lā arāhā illā ayr*)¹⁷. Né li ebbero fine certe «affettuosità» che son poi tipiche della poesia licenziosa. Una volta il *Baṣṣār al-Andalus*¹⁸ le si rivolse in questo modo:

Sul viso di Nazhūn v'è un accenno di bellezza ma sotto gli abiti, se si potesse scorgere, la vergogna sarebbe evidente¹⁹.

Nel volgersi a Nazhūn si abbandonano le altre: chi va al mare trova piccoli i ruscelli²⁰.

Pronta fu la replica della poetessa:

Di' a quell'abietta persona un dire che venga ripetuto fino al giorno del giudizio: In al-Mudawwar nascesti — e lo sterco è certo più odoroso — dove i beduini continuano, nel loro incedere²¹, ad andar fieri.

Perciò sei diventato amante²² di ogni cosa tonda²³.

¹⁴ Oggi Almodóvar del Rio, situata a circa venti chilometri da Granada, con roccaforte e rovine di epoca islamica; cfr. E. Lévi-Provençal, *La péninsule ibérique au moyen-âge d'après le Kitāb ar-rawḍ al-mi'tār fī ḥabar al-aḡṣār d'Ibn 'Abd al-Mun'im al-Ḥimyarī*, Leida 1938, p. 73 nota 2; Yāqūt vocalizza *al-Madūr*, cfr. *Kitāb mu'ḡam al-buldān*, ed. Wüstenfeld, IV, Lipsia 1869, p. 450.

¹⁵ Abū Bakr Muḡammad al-Maḡzūmī, autore di caustici versi satirici. Nel *Mushib* è paragonato a Baṣṣār ibn Burd. Su di lui si vedano *Analectes*, I, 117-119; *Muḡrib*, II, pp. 223-227; *Iḥāṭa*, I, pp. 424-427.

¹⁶ *Analectes*, I, 1855, p. 118; *Iḥāṭa*, I, 426.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* Nell'ed. 'Inān dell'*Iḥāṭa* la parola *ayr* è volutamente omessa.

¹⁸ Tale definizione di al-Maḡzūmī è riportata in *Muḡrib*, II, p. 223.

¹⁹ Varianti del secondo emistichio (*wa taḥta 'l-ḥiyābi 'l-'āru law kāna bādyā*) sono in *Analectes*, I, p. 118 (*wa in kāna qad aḏḥā min al-daw'ī 'āryā*) e al-Balafīqī, *al-Muḡtaḏab min kitāb tuḥfat al-qāḏim li-Abī 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Abbār*, ed. al-Bustānī, in «al-Maṣriq», XLI, n. 4, ott.-dic. 1947, p. 504 (*wa in kāna qad aḏḥā min al-ṣawni 'āryā*).

²⁰ Metro *ḡawīl*. *Analectes*, II, p. 635; *Nuzhat al-ḡulasā'*, p. 98. I due versi sono ispirati, nell'ordine, a Ḍū 'l-Rumma e a al-Mutanabbī, cfr. *The Diwān of Ghailān ibn 'Uqbah known as Dhu 'r-Rumma*. Edited by Carlyle Henry Hayes Macartney, Cambridge 1919, p. 675; *Ṣarḥ diwān al-Mutanabbī*, ed. al-Barqūqī, IV, Cairo 1938, p. 536.

²¹ *Fī maṣyihā*; in *Muḡrib*: *fī ahlihā*.

²² *Ṣabb^{an}*; in *Muḡrib*: *tahwā*.

²³ *Bi-kulli ṣay^{an} mudawwar*; in *Muḡrib*: *ḥulūla kulli mudawwar*.

Cieco (*a'mà*) nascesti ma perdi la testa per chi è ben fornito (*a'war*)²⁴.
Ho ricambiato poesia con poesia²⁵ e, per la mia vita²⁶, di': chi è miglior poeta?

Seppur io nacqui femmina è maschio il mio poetare²⁷.

Il contrasto femmina-maschio dell'ultimo verso in cui al secondo termine viene dato valore positivo, potrebbe, a qualche malizioso, presentare il destro di scorgere in Nazhūn una tendenza all'omoerotismo (si noti anche che nella variante di cui alla nota 26, *lu'intā* «che tu sia maledetto», il verbo è espresso alla seconda persona maschile). Ma sarebbe, questa, incauta osservazione ché vorrebbe dire aver dimenticato che la poetessa si muoveva, sola donna, in una corte di uomini. Volendo ella pienamente inserirsi, e in maniera niente affatto subordinata, in questa realtà oggettiva, doveva di continuo rivendicare una parità, quanto meno intellettuale, con i suoi antagonisti. L'uso di certe espressioni era quindi conforme al suo intendimento. D'altronde, taluni versi che ancora seguiranno dovrebbero rimuovere ogni possibile dubbio sulla femminilità della poetessa.

Ritornando all'altercazione con al-Maḥzūmī, ad altro *hiḡā'* di questo così rispose Nazhūn:

Se ciò che dici riguardasse invero parte di un nobile impegno²⁸
il solo menzionarmi diverrebbe biasimevole, rapportabile a ogni bassezza.
E diverrei la cosa più repellente nell'immagine di al-Maḥzūmī²⁹.

Al che il cieco poeta la rimbeccò:

Chiedi a Nazhūn perché mai con alterigia trascini lo strascico
se poi quando vede un glande³⁰ – e a ciò mi ha abituato – è pronta ad alzarsi
la veste³¹.

Lesta nel saettar ingiurie, Nazhūn attacca in maniera diretta, esplicita,

²⁴ Contrasto fra *a'mà* (cieco) e *a'war* (guercio). Nel verso questo ultimo termine è adoperato in accezione lubrica.

²⁵ *Ġāzaytu šī'r^{an} bi-šī'rⁱⁿ*; in *Muḡrib*: *ḡāwabu haḡw^{an} bi-haḡwⁱⁿ*.

²⁶ *La-'amrī*; in *Muḡrib*: *lu'intā*.

²⁷ Metro *muḡtatt*. *Analectes* I, p. 118; *Muḡrib*, II, p. 223; *Iḡāṭa*, I, p. 426.

²⁸ *Min ba'di 'ahdⁱⁿ karīmi*; in *Muqtaḡab*: *min naqṣi 'ahdⁱⁿ karīmi*; in *Nuzhat al-ḡulasā'*: *min naqḡi 'ahdⁱⁿ karīmi*.

²⁹ Metro *muḡtatt*. *Analectes*, II, p. 635; *Muqtaḡab*, p. 584; *Nuzhat al-ḡulasā'*, p. 99.

³⁰ *Fayṣat^{an}*; in *Iḡāṭa*: *Bašṣat^{an}*.

³¹ Metro *mutaqārib*. *Analectes*, I, p. 118; *Muḡrib*, II, p. 223; *Iḡāṭa*, I, p. 427.

mirando a non offrire possibilità di replica all'avversario. Più d'uno, che non fosse stato un Maḥzūmī, dovette uscir malconco da simili duelli in versi. Dagli esempi riportati parrebbe, inoltre, che fra le classi elevate della società granadina il linguaggio scurrile non dovesse essere inusitato, probabile riflesso questo dell'ampia libertà di costumi che a quell'epoca vigeva in Andalusia. Secondo E. Lévi-Provençal «la société andalouse, dès le IX^e siècle et aux siècles suivants, n'a rien eu à envier, pour ses moeurs dissolues, à la société bagdadienne de la même époque»³². Nella Granada del XIV secolo, poi, assai diffusi saranno pratiche omosessuali e consumo di *ḡašīṣ*³³. I membri della *ḡāṣṣa*, possedevano varie concubine che si contendevano il privilegio di appagare le esigenze sessuali dei loro signori. Dalle donne sposate di condizione agiata il più della giornata era consacrato alla cura della propria bellezza. Sola occasione di svago era il recarsi al *ḡammām* dove avevano modo di riunirsi con le amiche³⁴.

Nazhūn, lo si è visto, non incarnò affatto questo tipo di musulmana docile e remissiva. Ossequiente non fu ai precetti coranici che raccomandano alle donne di tener gli occhi bassi e di restarsene quiete nelle loro case (XXIV, 31; XXXIII, 33). La poetessa ebbe carattere fiero e indipendente e nel suo agire fu spregiudicata. Intellettualmente stimolante³⁵, era anche bella, di quella bellezza per la quale le donne della «Damasco d'Andalusia» (*Dimašq bilād al-Andalus*)³⁶ erano rinomate³⁷. Non poteva, quindi, non ac-

³² *Histoire de l'Espagne musulmane*, III, Parigi 1953, p. 444.

³³ Cfr. A. Arjona Castro, *La sexualidad en la España musulmana*, Cordova 1985, pp. 93-94. Sul consumo di *ḡašīṣ* in epoca nasride si vedano inoltre: R. Arié, *L'Espagne musulmane au temps des Naṣrides (1232-1492)*, Parigi 1973, p. 413; Aḡmad Mujtār al-'Abbādī, *El Reino de Granada en la época de Muḡammad V*, Madrid 1973, pp. 155-157; Idem, *Muḡammad V, Al-ḡānī Bi-llāh, Rey de Granada*, in *RIEI*, XIII, 1965-66, pp. 77-78.

³⁴ Cfr. A. Arjona Castro, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

³⁵ Molte furono le granadine fornite di solida cultura. Ibn Sa'īd (*Analectes*, II, p. 631) riferisce che «le donne di Granada famose per nobiltà di origine e lustro son dette 'le Arabe' per aver esse serbato la retorica araba» (*yuḡāl li-niṣā' ḡārnāṭa al-mašhūrāt bi 'l-ḡasab wa 'l-ḡalāla al-'arabiyyāt li-muḡāfaṣṣatihinna 'alā 'l-ma'ānī 'l-'arabiyya*).

³⁶ Così è definita Granada in *Analectes*, II, p. 147; in *Muḡrib*, II, p. 102, si afferma che essa era più bella di Damasco (*aḡsan min Dimašq*).

³⁷ Ibn al-ḡaṭīb (*Iḡāṭa*, I, p. 139), ne dà la seguente descrizione: «le loro donne sono belle, si distinguono per il fascino, il corpo levigato, la chioma fluente, la bocca pura e l'alito profumato nonché per i movimenti aggraziati, il nobile eloquio e la conversazione gradevole» (*wa ḡarīmuḡum ḡarīm ḡamīl mawṣūf bi 'l-siḡr wa tana'um al-ḡusūm wa 'stirsāl al-ṣu'ūr wa naqā' al-tuḡūr wa ṣīb al-naṣr wa ḡiffat al-ḡarakāt wa nubl al-kalām wa ḡusn al-muḡāwara*).

cedere le passioni di quanti l'avvicinavano. Nazhūn, conscia del notevole potere di seduzione che la sua persona sprigionava, dovette giovare con dovizia, pronta nel contempo a mostrarsi distaccata e altera con quelli che non le risultassero graditi. Con brutale schiettezza replicò a uno spasimante il quale aveva affermato che nulla sarebbero stati cinquecento colpi di frusta per chi avesse potuto mangiare con lei:

Un miserabile, al vedermi, espresse il desiderio di bruciar con me nel fuoco delle percorse.

Gli dissi: Mangialo con buona salute. Io fui creata sol per bere e indossar vesti di seta³⁸.

Pur non ritenendo noi di doverla definire etèra³⁹ o paragonarla a una Sempronina (*lubido sic accensa, ut saepius peteret viros quam peteretur*), di certo molto dovette amare e non secondo i canoni del *ḥubb 'udrī*. La sua esuberante vitalità male avrebbe armonizzato con la *Frau Minne* di un Gottfried von Strassburg o con la *fin'amors* della lirica provenzale che proprio allora andava formandosi al di là dei Pirenei, Il *ṣāḥib al-a'māl* Abū Bakr ibn Sa'īd, che di lei era invaghito, così la rimproverò:

O tu che mille hai tra amanti e amici⁴⁰,
vedo che sul cammino hai lasciato una casa per la gente⁴¹.

La poetessa rispose:

Tu occupi, o Abū Bakr, un posto che ad altri ho interdetto e può quello ch'io non amo⁴² possedere il mio cuore?

Quand'anche io avessi molti amanti, la gente della verità [i musulmani] predilige l'amore⁴³ per Abū Bakr⁴⁴.

³⁸ Metro *ṭawīl*. *Analectes*, II, p. 636; *Nuzhat al-ḡulasā'*, p. 99; altri tre versi in metro *mutaqārib* di argomento simile sono riportati in al-Ḍabbī, *Buḡyat al-multamis fī tāriḥ riḡāl al-Andalus*, ed. Codera e Ribera, Madrid 1884, p. 530 n. 1588 e in *Muqtaḍab*, p. 584.

³⁹ Tale è invece l'opinione di L. Di Giacomo, *art. cit.*, p. 17 nota 8.

⁴⁰ *Ṣadīqī*; in *Muqtaḍab* e *Iḥāta*: 'aṣīqī.

⁴¹ Metro *muḡtatt*. *Analectes*, II, p. 635; *Muqtaḍab*, p. 583; *Iḥāta*, III, p. 345; *Nuzhat al-ḡulasā'*, p. 97; A. J. Arberry, *op. cit.*, p. 93; varianti del secondo emistichio del secondo verso (*manzil^m fī 'l-ṭarīqī*) sono in *Muqtaḍab* e *Iḥāta* (*sadda dāka 'l-ṭarīqī*) nonché in *Nuzhat al-ḡulasā'* (*madda dāka 'l-ṭarīqī*).

⁴² *Ḡayru 'l-ḥabībī*; in *Iḥāta*: *ḡayru 'l-raḡī*.

⁴³ *Ḥubba*; in *Muqtaḍab*, *Iḥāta* e *Nuzhat al-ḡulasā'*: *ṣaḍla*.

⁴⁴ Metro *ṭawīl*. *Analectes*, II, p. 635; *Rāyāt al-mubarrizīn*, p. 60; *Muqtaḍab*, p. 584; *Iḥāta*, III, p. 345; *Nuzhat al-ḡulasā'*, p. 98; A. J. Arberry, *op. cit.*, p. 93. Il secondo verso è un complimento per Abū Bakr basato sull'omonimia di questo con il primo dei califfi *rāṣidūn*.

Ma fu qui Nazhūn sincera? Forse, *sed mulier cupido quod dicit amanti...* Più probabile è che la poetessa, scaltritasi nella continua pratica di un ambiente pregno di ipocrisia, finzioni e simulazioni di sentimenti, avesse appreso a districarsi con abilità nel sottile gioco delle passioni amorose di corte, sviluppando con maestria i mezzi per piacere ed esaltare il proprio fascino sensuale. Frutto di ciò dovette quindi essere la sua lusinghevole risposta. Né, poi, le scarse notizie a noi consegnate dagli storici andalusi consentono di scandagliare le pieghe più segrete del suo animo per farne emergere aspetti più umanamente delicati. Solo nei versi che seguono, vero e proprio *unicum*, sembrò lasciarsi andare a un inconsueto quanto sincero slancio romantico:

Per Dio, che notti preziose, incantevoli! E come è più incantevole la notte della domenica!

Se tu fossi stato con noi, quando l'occhio sonnacchioso del guardiano⁴⁵ non osserva nessuno,

avresti visto il sole del mattino nelle braccia della luna⁴⁶ anzi, la bianca antilope di Ḥāzima⁴⁷ fra le branche di un leone⁴⁸.

Abbiamo già riferito che Nazhūn non fu sola fra le poetesse andaluse a far proprio un lessico da suburra. Wallāda, ad esempio, nel corso dei suoi accessi rapporti con Ibn Zaydūn, non esitò ad apostrofar questi coi termini più crudi. In due versi concisi così definì il suo amante:

Fosti soprannominato esagono (*al-musaddas*) ed è un epiteto che, abbandonandoti la vita, non ti lascerà.

Sodomita, invertito, fornicatore, becco, cornuto e ladro⁴⁹.

In altra occasione asserì:

O Aṣḥāḥī, rallegrati! Quanto favore ti è venuto dal generoso sovrano!

⁴⁵ *Raqīb*. Sui vari significati che questo termine assume nella letteratura andalusa si veda H. Pérès, *op. cit.*, pp. 418-419.

⁴⁶ *Fī sā'iday qamari*; in *Muqtaḍab*: *fī 'ātiqay qamari*. È da tener presente che in arabo luna è di genere maschile, e sole, viceversa, è di genere femminile.

⁴⁷ in *Muqtaḍab*: *maḡhalat^m*.

⁴⁸ Metro *baṣī*. *Analectes*, II, p. 637; *Muqtaḍab*, p. 584.

⁴⁹ Metro *wāfir*. *Analectes*, II, p. 563.

Con l'ano di tuo figlio hai ottenuto ciò che non conseguì con la vulva di Bū-rān⁵⁰ suo padre al-Ḥasan⁵¹.

W. Hoenerbach, trattando di Wallāda e chiedendosi se a tale linguaggio debba far necessariamente riscontro una non irreprensibile condotta, così risponde: «Das entehrende Wort Fällt – in der Literatur – auf die Ehre des Sprechers nicht zürck, denn Literatur ist Kunst, die sich hierin wie in andern Dingen, von der Wirklichkeit unterscheidet»⁵². Simile affermazione ci trova senz'altro concordi ma pure non crediamo che la nostra poetessa, il cui stile di vita non fu austero, sia per ciò da valutare negativamente. Fu Nazhūn, a nostro avviso, donna spiritualmente e materialmente emancipata. Ebbe il coraggio di rifiutarsi di vivere in funzione degli altri reprimendo così affetti e passioni. Non volle fare della propria esistenza un continuo sacrificio e avvertì imperioso il diritto di svilupparsi in armonia con se stessa senza dover quindi rinunciare all'amore nelle sue molteplici manifestazioni, in opposizione con la mentalità che avrebbe voluto privare la donna di molte libertà. È per questi motivi che ella suscita la nostra simpatia e poco o nulla importa che non avrebbe potuto affermare come Marziale: *Lubrica est nobis pagina, vita proba*.

⁵⁰ Ḥadīġa bint al-Ḥasan ibn Sahl, moglie del califfo al-Ma'mūn. Suo padre, al-Ḥasan ibn Sahl, fratello del visir al-Faql ibn Sahl, fu segretario e governatore dello stesso califfo. Su di lui si veda D. Sourdel, *Le visirat 'abbāsīde de 749 à 936*, I, Damasco 1959, pp. 215-218.

⁵¹ Metro *sarī*. *Analectes*, II, p. 564.

⁵² *Zür Charakteristik Wallādas, der Geliebten Ibn Zaidūns*, in «Die Welt des Islam», XIII, 1971, pp. 20-25; l'articolo è apparso anche in traduzione spagnola: *Notas para una caracterización de Wallāda*, in «al-Andalus», XXXVI, 1971, pp. 467-473.

LA SPEDIZIONE DI NAPOLI CONTRO TRIPOLI D'OCCIDENTE SECONDO IL CRONISTA TRIPOLINO ḤASAN AL-FAQIḤ ḤASAN

Traduzione e osservazioni linguistiche *

GIOIA CHIAUZZI
(Napoli)

PARTE II

INDICE ITALIANO DELLE VOCI CONSIDERATE NELLE SCHEDE LESSICALI

Si dà l'indice italiano delle voci considerate nelle *Schede lessicali* di cui alle pp. [47]-[208]. Per ciascuna voce sono indicati il corrispondente termine arabo e il numero d'ordine della scheda, o quelli del corrispondente rinvio. Sono dati al plurale i termini che nel testo considerato compaiono solo come tali.

L'* indica che alcune voci compariranno in sezioni a venire dello studio, relative ad antroponimi, toponimi, termini marinareschi etc., come si è detto a p. [5] e in *Avvertenza* a p. [14], punto 5.

* Continua dai voll. XV-1983, pp. 75-153; XVI-1984, pp. 91-178 e XVII-1985, pp. 57-96.

abbandonare: cfr. venire meno a (abbandonare) || *hdel* 182
 abbattere: cfr. fare cadere, abbattere || *ṭāyeh* 371
 abbisognevole di || *maḥṣūṣ* 232
 abile: cfr. fante, uomo adulto e abile, uomo forte da fatica || *terrās* 360
 abitanti: cfr. gente, quelli di, [abitanti] || 'arāb, cfr. s.v. 'arbi 421
 — || *ahl* 3
 — di el-Menšiyya || 'arāb el-Menšiyya, cfr. s.v. 'arbi - 422
 — di es-Sāḥel || 'arāb es-Sāḥel, cfr. s.v. 'arbi - 423
 abitata: cfr. [parte] abitata della cittadella, [l'abitato] || *el-ḥiṣār el-ma'mūr* 170
 abitato: cfr. [parte] abitata della cittadella, [l'abitato] || *el-ḥiṣār ǧl-ma'mūr* 170
 — : cfr. paese, l'abitato (città e villaggi) || *bēlād* 38
 accadere, aver luogo, esserci || *ṣār* 343
 — || *úga'* 382
 — (sost.), il verificarsi, l'esserci || *ugú'* 383
 accorrere, precipitarsi || *háddem* 151
 acqua || *mē, mā* 244
 addetti: cfr. gente, quelli di, addetti a, [equipaggio] || 'arāb, cfr. s.v. 'arbi 421
 — || *ahl* 3
 addetto: cfr. schiavo nero addetto a *, attendente di colore || *uṣif** 391
 adulto: cfr. fante, uomo adulto e abile, uomo forte da fatica || *terrās* 360
 adunata: cfr. far venire, chiamare all'adunata [i militari] || *āḥḍār* 5

affinché || *li-āzil* 224
 affittare, pagare [per un'operazione] || *krē* 204
 affitto: cfr. prendere in affitto, noleggiare || *krē, ikrē* 209
 affondare: cfr. fare affondare, fare colare a picco || *ǧārreg* 148
 affusto: cfr. veicolo [con ruote], carrello, [affusto] || 'araba 419
 Āga antroponimo || *Āga* 2
 agente: cfr. guardia, agente || *šāṭar* 321
 aggiustato: cfr. pronto, aggiustato || *maḥdūm* 231
 aiuto: cfr. fare venire in aiuto, chiamare in aiuto || *fēzza'* 101
 —: cfr. venire in aiuto || *fza'* 110
 albanese * || *ārnaǧūt** 17
 albero di nave || *šārī* 344
 alcuno, nessuno || *āḥād* 4
 algerino || *dzērī, zzērī* 76
 alimento: cfr. riso [alimento] || *rūz* 298
 allora || *sa'āt-hā* 304
 allorché: cfr. come, allorché, appena || *kif* 201
 — : cfr. quando, allorché || *lamma* 219
 altomare: cfr. fuori, al largo [in altomare] || *bārra* 29
 alzarsi, sollevarsi || *nāḍ* 269
 amen, così sia || *amīn* 11
 americano || *mrikān* 255
 ammainare: cfr. far scendere, ammainare || *nēzzel* 272
 amministrativo: cfr. capo [amministrativo] || *šēḥ* 326
 ammontare || *gadr* 112
 ancora: cfr. gettare [l'ancora], ancorarsi || *rmē* 295

—: cfr. aventi lanciato [l'ancora], ancorati || *rāmiyīn*: cfr. s.v. *rāmī* 279
 ancorarsi: cfr. gettare [l'ancora], ancorarsi || *rmē* 295
 ancorati: cfr. aventi lanciato [l'ancora], ancorati || *rāmiyīn*, cfr. s.v. *rāmī* 279
 andare || *mšē* 259
 —, l'— || *mašyān* 241
 animo || *rōḥ* 296
 —: cfr. avere in animo, stando [stante] per || *mḥāḍḍar fī rōḥ* 248
 —: cfr. avere in animo, prepararsi a, stare per || *ḥāḍḍer* 160
 annientare: cfr. distruggere, annientare || *hlak* 157
 annua: cfr. annualità, [imposta] annua || *snawīyya* 314
 annualità, [imposta] annua || *snawīyya* 314
 antistate (direttore della preghiera) || *imām* 190
 appalto || *lázma* 221
 apparire: cfr. comparire, apparire [all'orizzonte] || *bān* 24
 —: cfr. uscire fuori, apparire || *ṭla'* 374
 appassionarsi, essere patito di || *twállā'* 366
 appena: cfr. come, allorché, appena || *kif* 201
 apprestare: cfr. preparare, apprestare, tenere pronto || *wátta* 396
 approntare || *ḥdam* 180
 Arabia: cfr. el-Medīna [d'Arabia] || el-Medīna 245
 argilla || *ṭīn* 372
 —: cfr. estrazione dell'argilla || *tāḍhīr eṭ-ṭīn* 350
 armare: cfr. sovvenzionare, armare una nave || 'ámmar 418

armarsi || *tsállāḥ* 363
 armi || *slāḥ* 313
 arrivare || *uṣāl* 390
 —: cfr. stando per venire, per arrivare || *gāḍem* 111
 —: cfr. venire, arrivare || *zē* 136
 —, giungere || *uréd* 389
 arrivo (sost.) || *uṣūl* 393
 articolo determinativo * (il, lo, la, i, gli, le) || *el-*, al-*, l-** 86
 artigliere || *būnbāzi* 56
 — * || *ṭóbzi** 377
 —: cfr. maestro [come maestro artigliere] || *uṣṭa* 392
 artiglieri (?) || *būna (?)* 54
 artiglieria* || *ṭobziyya**, cfr. s.v. *ṭóbzi* 377
 assieme: cfr. insieme (sost.), l'assieme || *žúmla* 140
 attaccare: cfr. cominciare [le ostilità], attaccare || *bdē* 36
 attacco [di guerra] || *ṭrād* 379
 attendente: cfr. schiavo nero addetto a, attendente di colore* || *uṣif** 391
 attrezzatura: cfr. cucchiai [attrezzatura militare] || *kwāšīk*, cfr. s.v. *kašīk* 195
 —: cfr. piatti (attrezzatura di guerra) || *šanžāt* cfr. *šanža* 342
 — di guerra* || *ālāt el-ḥārb** 9
 auspicio: cfr. buon auspicio, di — || *mabrūk* 226 || *mūbārek* 260
 avente in animo, stando [stante] per || *mḥāḍḍar fī rōḥ* 248
 aventi lanciato [l'ancora], ancorati || *rāmiyīn*, cfr. s.v. *rāmī* 279
 avere: cfr. accadere, aver luogo, esserci || *ṣār* 343
 —: cfr. accadere, avere luogo, esserci || *úga'* 382

—: cfr. bene, avere || *rezg* 286
 —: cfr. dare bottino a, fare avere bottino || *gənnem* 147
 — in animo, prepararsi a, stare per || *ħāddər* 160
 averi: cfr. cose, averi, beni || *ħwāyēž*, cfr. s.v. *ħāža* 163
 avvicinarsi, giungere || *gdam* 121
 azione: cfr. preposizione rafforzativa dell'azione, « in » || *fī* 102
 Bāb*, in toponimo (« Porta ») || *bāb** 21
 bāklāwa: cfr. dolce locale || *bāklāwa* 23
 balcone: cfr. terrazzo, balcone con belvedere || *galāliyya* 116
 baluardi: cfr. barricate, bastioni, baluardi || *mtārez*, cfr. s.v. *mētrāz* 247
 bambino || *šgīr* 345
 — || *uléd* 386
 banchina || *sgāla* 307
 banda: cfr. suono della banda del tamburo (*tobl*) || *tobbāla*. cfr. s.v. *tobbāl* 376
 — del tamburo (*tobl*) || *tobbāla*, cfr. s.v. *tobbāl* 376
 bandiera || *bandēra* 25
 —, vessillo || *sānzag* 302
 bandire || *nēbbeh*, *nēbber* 270, 271
 bando || *tanbīh* 355
 barca*, scialuppa || *flūka** 105
 bārkū*, tipo di imbarcazione || *bārkū** 27
 barrānī*: cfr. straniero, da fuori, *barrānī*: nome di vento || *barrānī** 30
 barricate, bastioni, baluardi || *mtārez*, cfr. s.v. *mētrāz* 247
 bastioni: cfr. barricate, bastioni, baluardi || *mtārez*, cfr. s.v. *mētrāz* 247
 battenti, vano della porta || *fumm el-bāb* 109

battere || *drāb* 83
 battitori della cassaforma [« della porta »] || *dārrābat el-bāb*, cfr. s.v. *dārrāb el-bāb* 80
 battitura della cassaforma [« della porta »] || *dārb el-bāb* 78
 beduini || 'arabān 420
 bézi*, corpo militare || *bézi** 37
 belvedere: cfr. terrazzo, balcone con belvedere || *galāliyya* 116
 bene || *zēna* 403
 —, avere || *rezg* 286
 beni: cfr. cose, averi, beni || *ħwāyēž*, cfr. s.v. *ħāža* 163
 bersaglio || *nīšān* 273
 —: cfr. colpire, centrare [un bersaglio] || *nāš* 268
 Bêt el-Mâl*, Moħammed (antroponimo) || Bêt el-Mâl*
 bevanda: cfr. caffè [bevanda] || *gāhwa* 114
 bey || *bey* 39
 bħar* (« mare »), in toponimo || *bħar** 42
 bianco: cfr. schiavo [bianco], posseduto || *mamlūk* 236
 bidone || *birmil* 44
 bidoni || *btāt*, cfr. s.v. *btātī* 51
 bisogno: cfr. cosa, bisogno || *ħāža* 163
 Blādīyya: cfr. hōmet Blādīyya (« quartiere del Municipio ») || *hōmet Blādīyya*
 bomba/e || *būnba* 55
 bomba: cfr. *kūnbur*, tipo di bomba a mitraglia || *kūnbur* 212
 —: cfr. pezzo, scheggia [di bomba, mortaio] || *tārf* 370
 bombardare, sparare || *rmē* 295
 bombardiera*, tipo di imbarcazione || *būnbārda** 57
 bombe: cfr. mortaio [da bomba] || *mahrāz* 229

bordeggiare || *tābbōrd-žār* 349
 bottino: cfr. dare bottino a, fare avere bottino || *gənnem* 147
 —: cfr. preda, bottino || *gnīma* 150
 braccio || *īd*, *yed* 187
 brigantino* *brāgānti** 46
 brik*, tipo di imbarcazione || *brik** 47
 — imperiale*, tipo di imbarcazione || *brik inbriyāl** 48
 buon auspicio, di — || *mübārek*, *mabrūk* 260, 226
 Burž* (« Torre »), in toponimo || *burž** 58
 cadere || *tāh* 367
 —: cfr. fare cadere, abbattere || *tāiyeh* 371
 cadi: cfr. *šēh* [il notevole] il cadi, lo — || *eš-šēh el-gādī* 328
 caffè [bevanda] || *gāhwa* 114
 calafatare || *gālfāt* 117
 calare: cfr. gettare [a mare], calare [un'imbarcazione] || *rmē* 295
 calce || *žīr* 137
 cannocchiale da navi || *mrāyet mrākēb* 253
 cannonata || *mādfa*' 228
 cannonate: cfr. saluti [cannonate di saluto] || *sālūtī* 300
 cannone || *mādfa*' 228
 —: cfr. palla (di cannone) || *kūra* 213
 —: cfr. palle [di cannone incatenate], doppie — || *dūbli* 72
 capitano [di mare] || *gobān* 124
 capo || *kēbīr*, *kbīr* 198
 — [amministrativo] || *šēh* 326
 —: cfr. supremo [comandante, capo] della flotta || *el-āli 'aškar* 415
 —, comandante || *āga* 2
 — || *gāyēd* 120
 —, comandante [di mare, di porto] || *rāyēš* 281

— [dotto-religioso] || *šēh* 326
 — [di squadra navale], comandante [di mare] || *kēbīr*, *kbīr*, 198
 — del paese [sindaco, capo-quartiere] || *šēh el-āblād* 327
 — [priorità nelle cariche] || *bāš-* 32
 capo-quartiere || *šēh eš-šāra*' 329
 —: cfr. capo del paese [sindaco, capo-quartiere] || *šēh l-āblād* 327
 carica: cfr. Signor nostro [pascià in carica] || *Sīd-nā* 311
 caricato, carico di || *mtsūg* 249
 cariche: cfr. capo- [priorità nelle cariche] || *bāš-* 32
 carico: cfr. caricato, carico di || *mtsūg* 249
 carrello: cfr. veicolo [con ruote], carrello, [affusto] || 'araba 419
 casa || *ħōš* 172
 —: cfr. gente della casa, familiari, famiglia || *ħōš* 172
 cascame, di scarto || *šāgāt* 341
 cassaforma: cfr. battitori della cassaforma [« della porta »] || *dārrābat el-bāb*, cfr. s.v. *dārrāb el-bāb* 80
 —: cfr. battitura della cassaforma [« della porta »] || *dārb el-bāb* 78
 — [per costruzioni], « porta » || *bāb* 21
 cassettiere || *šikmāžāt*, cfr. s.v. *šikmāža* 335
 cavalcare || *rkab*, *rkeb* 293
 cavalieri, cavalleria || *sbīb* 305
 cavalleria: cfr. cavalieri, cavalleria || *sbīb* 305
 centrare: cfr. colpire, centrare [un bersaglio] || *nāš* 268
 [centro di] Mercato (toponimo) || *Sūg* —
 cessare, finire, non esserci più || *btāl* 52

che*: cfr. pronome relativo (che, il/la quale, i/le quali, colui/ei che) || *ělládt** 87
 chiamare: cfr. fare venire, chiamare al l'adunata [i militari] || *ăĥđár* 5
 —: cfr. fare venire in aiuto, chiamare in aiuto || *fézza'* 101
 chiesa || *knísa* 203
 chiosco: cfr. padiglione, chiosco || *kúšk*, *kôšk* 216
 chiudere [sprangando] || *šlah* 346
 circa (?) || *ťahkír* (?) 353
 circondario di Tripoli || 'amált *Tráblēs* - città [el-medína: Tripoli] || *el-medína* 245
 —: cfr. fuori [città] || *bárra* 29
 —: cfr. paese, l'abitato (città e villaggi) || *bělád* 38
 cittadella || *gál'a* 118 || *ĥiřár* 169
 —: cfr. [parte] abitata della cittadella, [l'abitato] || *el-ĥiřár el-ma'múr* 170
 colare: cfr. fare affondare, fare colare a picco || *gàrreg* 148
 colei*: cfr. pronome relativo (che, il/la quale, i/le quali, colui/ei che) || *ělládt** 87
 colore: cfr. schiavo nero addetto a, attendente di colore* || *uříf** 391
 colpire || *đráb* 83
 —, centrare [un bersaglio] || *nāř* 268
 —: cfr. prendere su, colpire || *rfa'* 287
 colui*: cfr. pronome relativo (che, il/la quale, i/le quali, colui/ei che) || *ělládt** 87
 comandante: cfr. capo, comandante || *ága* 2
 — || *gáyěd* 120
 —: cfr. capo, comandante [di mare, di porto] || *ráyeř* 281
 —: cfr. capo [di squadra navale], comandante [di mare] || *kěbir*, *kbir* 198

—: cfr. supremo [comandante, capo] della flotta || *el-'áli 'ářkar* 415
 — [di mare] || *kúmándánt* 211
 comandare, ordinare || *amár* 10
 come, allorché, appena || *kif* 201
 cominciare [le ostilità], attaccare || *bdě* 36
 commercianti || *težžár*, cfr. s.v. *tážěr* 351
 comparire, apparire [all'orizzonte] || *bān* 24
 —: cfr. uscire fuori, comparire || *đhār* 81
 compenso, mancia || *ăĥsān* 7
 computo || *tazmím* 358
 comunità || *žamā'a* 134
 con || *ma'ā-* 265
 — || *m'a*, *ma'* 264
 confraternita*, anche toponimo (*záwya*, *záwyet*) || *záwya** 401
 consegna, contratto a- || *msállem* 258
 console* || *gónřol** 126
 contare || *zamm* 400
 continuare: cfr. rimanere, continuare a || *bgě* 40
 — || *mā zāl* 243
 contratto: cfr. consegna, contratto a || *msállem* 258
 controllore: cfr. orologiaio [controllore del tempo] || *mwágget* 263
 corpo: cfr. *běži**, corpo militare || *běži** 37
 —: cfr. neri dei regolari, i —, corpo militare || 'abéd *el-anzām*, cfr. s.v. 'abd 409
 —: cfr. presidio, corpo degli *užák** || 'ářkar *el-užák** 428
 —: cfr. turchi, corpo militare || *atrák* cfr. s.v. *túrki* 364
 —: cfr. turchi*, corpo militare || *atrák** 20

—: cfr. *uzák**, corpo militare (? sorta di giannizzeri) || *užák** 385
 —: cfr. *zwáwa**, corpo militare || *zwáwa**, cfr. s.v. *zwáwi* 406
 corsa: cfr. passaporto, patente di corsa || *bāřbórt* 34
 —, (da corsa, in corsa) || *gorřān* 128
 corteo, parata || *māukeb* 242
 corvetta* || *gorbêta** 127
 cosa, bisogno || *ĥāža* 163
 cose, averi, beni || *ĥwāyěž*, cfr. s.v. *ĥāža* 163
 così sia: cfr. amen, così sia || *amín* 11
 costieri: cfr. territori costieri || *řtút*, cfr. s.v. *řátť* 322
 costruire, [ri]costruire, riparare || *bnā* 45
 —: cfr. fare, costruire, fabbricare || 'amál 417
 costruzioni: cfr. cassaforma [per costruzioni], lett. « porta » || *bāb* 21
 cristiani || *nřāra* 275
 cucchiai [attrezzatura militare] || *kwāřik*, cfr. s.v. *kařik* 195
 da sola || *b-rôĥ-hā* 50
 da solo || *b-rôĥ-a* 49
*dagíza**, tipo di imbarcazione || *dagíza** 61
 danneggiare || *đárř* 79
 danno: cfr. male, danno || *sū* 316
 Dār*: cfr. *Ĥāzen Dār*, antroponimo || *Dār** 178
 dare || 'aťá 430
 —: cfr. informare dare notizia || *ăĥbár* 8
 — bottino a, fare avere bottino || *gěnnem* 146
 — disposizione adán || *adán* 1
 data || *tariĥ* 356
đěbla, dolce locale || *đěbla* 69
 decime [sui prodotti della terra] || 'ařūr, cfr. s.v. 'ařr 426

denaro, soldi || *drāĥm*, cfr. s.v. *đerĥem* 68
 deposito, magazzino || *māĥzen* 233
 —, stiva || *fóndug* 107
 designare || 'áyyan 432
 determinativo: cfr. articolo determinativo* (il, lo, la, i, gli, le) || *el-**, *al-**, *l-** 86
 di (specificazione e possesso) || *enta'*, *ànta'*, *nta'* 93
 dieci, suffisso per — || —*āř*, —*āř* 19
 dimora della guerra || *dār ež-žihád* 66
 dire || *gāl* 115
 — (sost.), discorso || *gól* 125
 direttore: cfr. antistate (direttore della preghiera) || *imām* 190
 dirigersi, rivolgersi, indirizzarsi || *twāžžeh* 365
 discorso || *klām* 202
 —: cfr. dire (sost.), discorso || *gól* 125
 disposizione: cfr. dare disposizione || *adán* 1
 distaccare [imbarcazioni] || *ĥall* 168
 distribuire: cfr. dividere fra, ripartire, distribuire || *fárreg*, *fěrreg* 97
 —: cfr. ripartire, distribuire || *kětteb* 200
 distruggere, annientare || *ĥlak* 157
 —: cfr. mettere a fuoco [distruggere col fuoco] || *ĥrag* 174
 dividere fra, ripartire, distribuire || *fárreg*, *fěrreg* 97
 divisione: cfr. gruppo, divisione, unità || *tākem* 354
 dolce: cfr. *đěbla*, dolce locale || *đěbla* 69
 —: cfr. *gārayiba*, dolce locale || *gārayiba* 144
 —: cfr. *magrúđ*, dolce locale || *magrúđ* 227
 — locale, *bāklāwa* || *bāklāwa* 23
 domenica || *el-ăĥád* 4
 — || *el-ĥáđđ* (*yōm-*) 159

—: cfr. giorno di domenica || *yōm l-āḥād* —
 donna: cfr. signora, Donna || *lēlla, llā* 223
 donne || *ḥāramāt*, cfr. s.v. *ḥāram* 166
 dono || *ḥadīyya* 154
 dopo: cfr. poi, dopo di che || *b'ād-a* 59
 doppie: cfr. palle [di cannone incatenate],
 doppie — || *dūbli* 72
 dotto: cfr. capo [dotto-religioso] || *šēḥ*
 326
douro: cfr. *dūrō** [*douro*, moneta] || *dūrō**
 73
 due || *el-ētnīn* 94
 —: cfr. paio, due || *zōz* 404
 durante: cfr. in esso [giorno], [durante
 tal giorno] || *fi-h* 103
 —: cfr. in essa [notte], [durante tale
 notte] || *fi-hā* 104
 durare || *dām* 63
*dūrō** [*douro*, moneta] || *dūrō** 73
 ebrei || *ihūd*, cfr. s.v. *ihūdī* 188
 ecco che: cfr. guardalo, eccolo, ecco che
 || *rā-h* 278
 eccolo: cfr. guardalo, eccolo, ecco che ||
rā-h 278
 eccomi || *hā-nī* 155
 edificio: cfr. piano [di edificio] || *kāt* 196
 el-Henšīr || el-Henšīr —
 elenco, lista || *tašrīda* 352
 entrare || *dḥal* 70
 equipaggiamento [di guerra] || *muhimmāt*
 261
 equipaggio: cfr. gente, quelli di, addetti
 a [equipaggio] || *'arāb*, cfr. s.v. *'arbi*
 421
 —: cfr. marinai, equipaggio || *baḥrīyya*
 cfr. s.v. *bāḥrī* 22
 —: cfr. quelli di, addetti a [equipaggio]

—: cfr. quelli di, addetti a [equipaggio] ||
ahl 3
 —: cfr. vuoto, vuoto [privo di equi-
 paggio] || *fārēg* 96
 esattamente: cfr. fare esattamente || *zbāt*
 402
 esercito: cfr. regolari* [dell'esercito] ||
 || *anzām** 13
 —: cfr. ufficiale (dell'esercito) || *fesyān* 100
 —, truppe || *'aškar*, cfr. s.v. *'aškari* 429
 esplodere || *ēnflēg*, *tēfālleg* 91, 359
 essa: cfr. in essa [notte], [durante tal
 notte] || *fi-hā* 104
 esserci: cfr. accadere, aver luogo, es-
 serci || *šār* 343
 —: cfr. accadere, avere luogo, || *ūga'* 382
 —: cfr. accadere (sost.), il verificarsi,
 l'esserci || *ugū'* 383
 —: cfr. cessare, finire, non esserci più ||
btāl 52
 essere: cfr. appassionarsi, essere patito
 di || *twālla'* 366
 — ferito, venire ferito || *ēnžārḥ* 92
 esso: cfr. in esso [giorno], [durante tal
 giorno] || *fi-h* 103
 estrarre: cfr. fare uscire, tirare fuori,
 estrarre || *dāḥḥar* 77
 estrazione dell'argilla || *tādhīr et-tīn* 350
 fabbricare: cfr. fare, costruire, fabbri-
 care || *'amāl* 417
 famiglia: cfr. gente della casa, fami-
 liari, famiglia || *ḥōš* 172
 famigliari: cfr. gente della casa, fami-
 liari, famiglia || *ḥōš* 172
 —: cfr. moglie (lett «familiari») ||
'eyāl. cfr. s.v. *'āyyel* 433
 fante, uomo adulto e abile, uomo forte
 da fatica || *terrās* 360

fanteria || *trīs*, cfr. s.v. *terrās* 360
 fare || *dār (idīr)* 64
 — || *ž'al* 142
 —: cfr. dare, bottino a, fare avere bot-
 tino || *gānnem* 147
 —: cfr. vespro, il far della sera || *'ašīyya*
 425
 —, costruire, fabbricare || *'amāl* 417
 — affondare, fare colare a picco || *gārreg*
 148
 — cadere, abbattere || *tāyeh* 371
 — esattamente || *zbāt* 402
 — incagliare || *šḥāṭṭ* 333
 — scendere, ammainare || *nézzel* 272
 — uscire, portare fuori || *ḥārrež* 177
 — uscire, tirare fuori, estrarre || *dāḥḥar*
 77
 — venire, chiamare all'adunata [i mi-
 litari] || *āḥḍār* 5
 — venire in aiuto, chiamare in aiuto ||
fēzza' 101
 fatica: cfr. fante, uomo adulto e abile,
 uomo forte da fatica || *terrās* 360
 —: cfr. uomini di fatica || *ḥammāla*,
 cfr. s.v. *ḥammāl* 165
 fatto: cfr. poiché, perché, per il fatto
 che || *li-āžl* 224
 febbre || *ḥamma* 164
 felucca* || *flūka** 105
 — grande*, tipo di imbarcazione || *flūka*
*kēbīra** 106
 ferito: cfr. essere ferito, venire ferito
 || *ēnžārḥ* 92
 feritoia || *bānžara* 26
 figlio || *uléd* 386
 — di*, *uléd* (in antroponimi) || *uléd** 386
 finire: cfr. cessare, finire, non esserci
 più || *btāl* 52
 —: cfr. smettere di, finire di || *bāṭṭal* 35

flauto: cfr. *gīta*, specie di flauto || *gīta*
 149
 flotta *ḍunānma*, *ḍonānma* 84
 —* || *armāda** 16
 —: cfr. supremo [comandante, capo della
 flotta] || *el-'ālī 'aškar* 415
 —: cfr. supremo [comandante, capo]
 della flotta || *el-'ālī 'aškar* 415
 fondaco, anche in toponimo (*fóndug*) ||
fóndug 107
Fóndug, in toponimo («Fondaco») ||
Fóndug 107
 Forno, in toponimo (cfr. *Kūša*, *Kūšet*)
 || *Kūša*, *Kūšet* 215
 forte: cfr. fante, uomo adulto e abile,
 uomo forte da fatica || *terrās* 360
 fossato, trincea || *ḥāndeg* 176
 fregata*, tipo di imbarcazione || *fregāṭa**
 108
 —: cfr. piccola fregata*, tipo di im-
 barcazione || *fērgāṭīna** 99
 frittella locale, *sfez* || *sfez* 306
 fucilata || *mākḥala* 234
 fucile || *mākḥala* 234
 fuggire || *hrab* 158
 fuoco: cfr. mettere a fuoco [distruggere
 col fuoco] || *ḥrag* 174
 fuori, al largo [in altomare] || *bārra* 29
 —: cfr. fare uscire, portare fuori || *ḥārrež*
 177
 —: cfr. fare uscire, tirare fuori, estrarre
 || *dāḥḥar* 77
 —: cfr. straniero, da fuori, *barrāni*:
 nome di vento* || *barrāni** 30
 —: cfr. uscire fuori, apparire || *ṭla'*
 374
 —: cfr. uscire fuori, comparire || *ḍḥār*
 81
 — [città] || *bārra* 29

gamba || *rižl* 292
ğarayiba, dolce locale || *ğarayiba* 144
 Ğaryân* || Ğaryân* 146
 —: cfr. *hōmet Ğaryân* (« quartiere di Ğaryân ») || *hōmet Ğaryân* —
 gendarme: cfr. *šwâš** (sorta di gendarme, tipo maresciallo) || *šwâš* 338
 gente [abitanti], quelli di || *'arâb*, cfr. s.v. *'arbi* 421
 — || *ahl* 3
 —, quelli di, addetti a [equipaggio] || *'arâb*, cfr. s.v. *'arbi* 421
 — della casa, famigliari, famiglia || *hōš* 172
 — di palazzo || *mâhazniyya*, cfr. s.v. *mâhâznî* 230
 gettare [a mare], calare [un'imbarcazione] || *rmē* 295
 — [l'ancora], ancorarsi || *rmē* 295
 —, lanciare || *rmē* 295
 giannizzeri: cfr. *užâk**, corpo militare (? sorta di giannizzeri) || *užâk** 385
 Giardino, anche in toponimo (*Sânya*, *Sânyet*) || *Sânya*, *Sânyet* 301
 giorno || *yōm* 398
 —: cfr. in esso a [giorno], [durante tal giorno] || *fi-h* 103
 — di domenica || *yōm l-âhâd* 4
 — di mercoledì || *yōm -ârbâh* 14
 girare, girarsi || *dâr (idûr)* 65
 girarsi: cfr. girare, girarsi || *dâr (idûr)* 65
ğîta, specie di flauto || *ğîta* 149
 giungere: cfr. arrivare, giungere || *úred* 389
 —: cfr. avvicinarsi, giungere || *gdam* 121
 gli*: cfr. articolo determinativo (il, lo, la, i, gli, le) || *el-**, *al-**, *l-** 86
 goletta* || *ğalyûta** 143
 governativo || *bilik* 43

grande || *kēbîr*, *kbîr* 198
 —: cfr. felucca grande*, tipo di imbarcazione || *flûka kbîra** 106
 —: cfr. legno [nave] grande* || *šgaf kbîr** 331
 grosse: cfr. vassoi, grosse teglie || *šâfrât*, cfr. s.v. *sâfra* 340
 gruppo, divisione, unità || *tâkem* 354
 guardalo, eccolo, ecco che || *râ-h* 278
 guardia, agente || *šâtar* 321
 —, pattuglia || *kērgâl* 199
 —, vigilanza, pattuglia || *'assa* 424
 guerra || *ğerra* 122
 — || *harb* 167
 —: cfr. attacco [di guerra] || *trâd* 379
 —: cfr. attrezzatura di guerra* || *âlât el-hârb** 9
 —: cfr. dimora della guerra || *dâr ež-žihâd* 66
 —: cfr. equipaggiamento [di guerra] || *muhimmât* 261
 —: cfr. piatti (attrezzatura di guerra) || *šânžât*, cfr. *šânža* 342
 Ğûrna, el- (Livorno) || el-Ğûrna —
*hârka**, piccola imbarcazione || *hârka** 156
 Hâzen Dâr, antropónimo || Hâzen Dâr 178
 hōmet Blādīyya (« quartiere del Municipio ») || hōmet Blādīyya —
 hōmet Ğaryân (« quartiere di Ğaryân ») || hōmet Ğaryân —
 i*: cfr. articolo determinativo (il, lo, la, i, gli, le) || *el-**, *al-**, *l-** 86
 idolatri || *'abbât el-utân*, cfr. s.v. *'ab-âd-* 407
 idoli || *utân*, cfr. s.v. *uâten* 381

il*: cfr. articolo determinativo (il, lo, la, i, gli, le) || *el-**, *al-**, *l-** 86
 imbarcare: cfr. montare, issare, imbarcare || *rēkkeb* 284
 imbarcarsi || *rkab*, *rkeb* 293
 — (l'-) || *rkûb* 294
 imbarcazione: cfr. *bârkû**, tipo di imbarcazione || *bârkû** 27
 —: cfr. bombardiera*, tipo di imbarcazione || *bûnbârda** 57
 —: cfr. brik*, tipo di imbarcazione || *brik** 47
 —: cfr. brik imperiale*, tipo di imbarcazione || *brik inbriyâl** 48
 —: cfr. *dagîza**, tipo di imbarcazione || *dagîza** 61
 —: cfr. felucca grande*, tipo di imbarcazione || *flûka kbîra** 106
 —: cfr. fregata*, tipo di imbarcazione || *fregâta** 108
 —: cfr. gettare [a mare], calare un'imbarcazione || *rmē* 295
 —: cfr. *hârka**, piccola imbarcazione || *hârka* 156
 —: cfr. *martagâwa**, *murtagâwa*, tipo di imbarcazione || *martagâwa** 240
 —: cfr. piccola fregata*, tipo di imbarcazione || *fērgâfîna** 99
 —: cfr. sciabecco*, tipo di imbarcazione || *šbâk** 324
 imbarcazioni: cfr. distaccare [imbarcazioni] || *hâll* 168
 imbattersi in || *êltgê* 90
 imperiale* || *inbriyâl** 191
 —: cfr. *brik imperiale**, tipo di imbarcazione || *brik inbriyâl** 48
 importo: cfr. prezzo, importo || *hagg* 162
 imposta: cfr. annualità, [imposta] annua || *snawīyya* 314

in: cfr. preposizione rafforzativa dell'azione, « in » || *fi* 102
 in essa [notte], [durante tale notte] || *fi-hâ* 104
 in esso [giorno], [durante tale giorno] || *fi-h* 103
 inalberare: cfr. rizzare, inalberare || *nšâb* 274
 incagliare: cfr. fare incagliare || *šhâtt* 333
 incaricato: cfr. sovrintendente, incaricato a || *wâgef* 394
 —, sovrintendente || *wakîl*, *ukêl* 395
 incartamento: cfr. lettera, incartamento || *uōrga* 388
 incatenate: cfr. palle [di cannone incatenate], doppie — || *dâbli* 72
 incontrarsi || *tlâgâ* 361
 incrociare, tagliare la strada || *tlâggâ* 362
 indirizzarsi: cfr. dirigersi, rivolgersi, indirizzarsi || *twâžžeh* 365
 informare || *hâbbar* 175
 — || *'állam* 416
 —, dare notizia || *âhbâr* 8
 informarsi || *stâhbar* 315
 inglese || *inklîz* 192
 ingresso: cfr. porta (anche toponimo), ingresso || *bâb* 21
 insieme (sost.), l'assieme || *žûmla* 140
 intrattenersi || *gšâr* 129
 inviare || *ârsâl* 18
 —, mandare || *b'at* 60
 invitare [a fare] || *adân* 1
 isole || *duzr*, cfr. s.v. *dzêra* 75
 issare || *gâm* 119
 —: cfr. montare, issare, marcare || *rēkkeb* 284
 — trasportare, spostare trasportando || *rfa'* 287
 junior || *šgîr* 345

kúnbur, tipo di bomba a mitraglia ||
kúnbur 212
Kûša, Kûšet, in toponimo (« Forno »,
« Forno di ») || Kûša, Kûšet 215
Kûšet es-Šâffâr», toponimo || Kûšet
es-Šâffâr*

la*: cfr. articolo determinativo (il, lo,
la, i, gli, le) || *el-**, *al-**, *l-** 86
lanciare: cfr. gettare, lanciare || *rmē* 295
lanciato: cfr. aventi lanciato [l'ancora]
ancorati || *rāmiyîn*, cfr. s.v. *rāmt* 279
lancio || *rāmyân* 280
lancione* || *anšân** 12
largo: cfr. fuori [in altomare], al
largo || *bárra* 29
—: cfr. mettere [in mare], prendere
[il largo] || *žbed* 135
lavorare: cfr. servire, lavorare di (con
scambio di) || *hdam* 180
—, prestare servizio || *hdam* 180
le*: cfr. articolo determinativo (il, lo, la,
i, gli, le) || *el-**, *al-**, *l-** 86
legno (?) || *krista* 205
—: cfr. tavole [di legno] || *lōh* 225
— [nave] grande* || *šgaf kbîr** 331
— [nave]* || *šgaf** 330
— [nave] piccolo* || *šgaf šgîr** 332
lettera || *kārîta* 194
—: cfr. risposta, lettera || *žwāb* 141
—, incartamento || *uōrga* 388
levante || *šarg* 319
—: cfr. vento di levante || *šarg* 319
levarsi [del sole], il — || *zrūg* 405
lista: cfr. elenco, lista || *tažrîda* 352
livornese || *garnîz* 145
Livorno || *el-Gūrna* —
lo*: cfr. articolo determinativo (il, lo, la,
i, gli, le) || *el-**, *al-**, *l-** 86

locale: cfr. *dēbla*, dolce locale || *dēbla* 69
—: cfr. dolce locale, *bāklāwa* || *bāklāwa*
23
—: cfr. *gārayiba*, dolce locale || *gā-*
rayiba 144
—: cfr. *mağrûd*, dolce locale || *mağrûd*
227
—: cfr. frittella locale, *sfenz* || *sfenz* 306
lunghezza || *īl* 380
—: cfr. palmo [lunghezza] || *šebr* 325
luogo: cfr. accadere, aver luogo, esserci ||
šār 343
—: cfr. accadere, avere luogo, esserci
|| *úga'* 382
—: cfr. deposito, luogo di raccolta,
santabarbara || *házna* 179
maestro [come maestro artigliere] || *úšta*
392
magazzino: cfr. deposito, magazzino ||
máħzen 233
mağrûd, dolce locale || *mağrûd* 227
Mâl*: cfr. Bēt el-Mâl, Moħammed (an-
troponimo) || Mâl* —
malato || *mriđ* 254
male, danno || *sū* 316
—: cfr. piccolo male, maluccio || *sūiya*
317
maledetto* —? pl. || *la'yîn** 222
maluccio: cfr. piccolo male, maluccio ||
sūiya 317
Mamlûk, antropónimo || Mamlûk 236
mancia: cfr. compenso, mancia || *āhsân* 7
mandare: cfr. inviare, mandare || *b'at* 60
Mandrîk* || Mandrîk* —
mano (per — di, tramite) || *id*, *yed* 187
Marabutti: cfr. *Sî** (Signor mio, per ma-
rabutti, anche in antropónimo e to-
ponimi) || *Sî** 309

—: cfr. *Sîdî* (Signor mio, per marabutti,
anche toponimo) || *Sîdî* 310
marabutto: cfr. *Šēh** [marabutto], anche
in antropónimo e toponimi || *Šēh** 326
mare*, anche in toponimo (*bħar*) || *bħar**
42
mare*, anche in toponimo (*bħar*) || *bħar**
42
—: cfr. capitano [di mare] || *gobīân*
124
—: cfr. capo, comandante [di mare, di
porto] || *rāyeş* 281
—: cfr. capo [di squadra navale], co-
mandante [di mare] || *kēbîr*, *kbîr* 198
—: cfr. comandante [di mare] || *kū-*
māndánt 211
—: cfr. gettare [a mare], calare un'im-
barcazione || *rmē* 295
—: cfr. mettere [in mare], prendere
[il largo] || *žbed* 135
—: cfr. spingere, mettere [in mare] ||
dezz 67
maresciallo: cfr. *šwāš** (sorta di gen-
darmerie, tipo maresciallo) || *šwāš** 338
marinai, equipaggio || *bahriyya*, cfr. s.v.
bāħri 22
marmitta || *kazân* 197
*martagâwa**, *murtagâwa*, tipo di imbar-
cazione || *martagâwa** 240
medicazione: cfr. medicina, medicazione,
rimedio || *dwā* 74
medicina, medicazione, rimedio || *dwā* 74
Medîna (el-): cfr. el-Medîna [d'Arabia] ||
el-Medîna —
— || el-Medîna 245
meno: cfr. tranne, a meno che, senza che
|| *illā*, *u illā* 189
—: cfr. venire meno a, (abbandonare) ||
ħdel 182

el-Menšîyya || *el-Menšîyya*
—: cfr. abitanti di el-Menšîyya || 'arbi
el-Menšîyya, cfr. s.v. 'arbi- 422
mercanti || *markānîta* 237
Mercato: cfr. [centro] di Mercato (to-
ponimo, Sūg) || Sūg —
mercoledì || *l-ārbāħ* (*yōm*), *al-ārba'ā'*
(*yōm*) 14
— || *al-ārba'* (*yōm*) 15
—: cfr. giorno di mercoledì || *yōm l-*
ārbāħ —
mescolarsi || *ħlāť* 184
mettere: cfr. spingere, mettere [in mare]
|| *dezz* 67
— [in mare], prendere [il largo] || *žbed*
135
— a fuoco [distruggere col fuoco] || *ħrag*
174
mezzogiorno || *mizāžurnū* 250
—, [preghiera del mezzogiorno] || *đohr* 82
militare: cfr. *bēzi**, corpo militare ||
*bēzi** 37
—: cfr. cucchiali [attrezzatura] || *kwāšîk*,
cfr. s.v. *kašîk* 195
—: cfr. neri dei regolari, i —, corpo
militare || 'abēd *el-anzām*, cfr. s.v.
'abēd — 409
—: cfr. turchi (corpo militare) || *atrāk*,
cfr. s.v. *tūrki* 364
—: cfr. turchi*, corpo militare || *atrāk** 20
—: cfr. *uzāk**, corpo militare (? sorta
di giannizzeri) || *uzāk** 385
—: cfr. *zwāwa**, corpo militare || *zwāwa**,
cfr. s.v. *zwāwî* 406
militari: cfr. far venire, chiamare al-
l'adunata [i militari] || *āħđār* 5
ministro: cfr. tesoriere (ministro del te-
soro) (antropónimo), Ĥāzen Dār* ||
Ĥāzen Dār* 178

miscredenti || *koffâr*, cfr. s.v. *kâfer* 193
 mitraglia: cfr. *kûnbur*, tipo di bomba a mitraglia || *kûnbur* 212
 moglie (lett. «famigliari») || *'eyâl*, cfr. s.v. *'âyyel* 433
 Moḥammed*: cfr. Bêt el-Mâl, Moḥammed (antroponimo) || Moḥâmmad Bêt el-Mâl* -
 moltissimo: cfr. parecchio, moltissimo || *mkâtter* 251
 moltissimo: cfr. parecchio, moltissimo || — || *mustâktar* 262
 molto: cfr. parecchio, molto || *maktûr* 235
 —, parecchio || *ktîr* 208
 moneta: cfr. *dûrô** [douro, moneta] || *dûrô** 73
 —: cfr. piastra (moneta), *riyâl**, *rîâl* || *riyâl**, *rîâl* 289
 montaggio: cfr. montare (il-), montaggio || *tarkîb* 357
 montare || *rkab*, *rkeb* 293
 — (il —), montaggio || *tarkîb* 357
 —, issare, imbarcare || *rékkeb* 284
 mortaio: cfr. pezzo, scheggia [di bomba, mortaio] || *târf* 370
 — [da bombe] || *mahrâz* 229
 moschea*, anche in toponimi (*žâma'*) || *žâma'** 133
mtâred (tipo di recipienti con piedistallo) || *mtâred*, cfr. s.v. *métrad* 246
 Municipio: cfr. ḥômet Blâdíyya («quartiere del Municipio») || ḥômet Blâdíyya -
murtagâwa: cfr. *martagâwa*, *murtagâwa*, tipo di imbarcazione || *murtagâwa** 240
 napoletano* || *nâbletân** 266
 navale: cfr. capo [di squadra navale] comandante [di mare] || *këbir*, *kbîr* 198

nave* || *mârkeb** 238
 —*: cfr. legno [nave] || *šgaf** 330
 —: cfr. albero di nave || *šârî* 344
 —: cfr. legno [nave] grande* || *šgaf kbîr** 331
 —: cfr. legno [nave] piccolo* || *šgaf šgîr** 332
 —: cfr. sovvenzionare, armare una nave || *'âmmar* 418
 navi: cfr. cannocchiale da navi || *mrâyet mrâkëb* 253
 negazione: cfr. non (negazione del verbo) || —*ši*, —*ši* 334
 —: cfr. non (negazione di verbo) || *lan* 220
 negro || *'abd* 408
 nemici || *'adâ*, cfr. s.v. *'adû* 411
 neri dei regolari, i —, corpo militare || *'abêd el-anzâm*, cfr. s.v. *'abd* — 409
 nero: cfr. schiavo nero addetto a*, attendente di colore || *ušîf** 391
 nessuno: cfr. alcuno, nessuno || *âḥâd* 4
 en-Nöfliyyîn || en-Nöfliyyîn -
 noi || *âhnë* 6
 — || *nâhna*, *nâhnu* 267
 —: cfr. qui, da noi || *'alê-nâ* 414
 noleggiare: cfr. prendere in affitto, noleggiare || *ktre*, *ëktre* 209
 nome: cfr. straniero, da fuori, *barrânî*: nome di vento* || *barrânî** 30
 non (negazione del verbo) || —*ši*, —*ši* 334
 — || *lan* 220
 nostro: cfr. Signor nostro [pascià in carica] || *Sid-nâ* 311
 notevole: cfr. *šêḥ* [il notevole] il cadì, lo- || *eš-šêḥ el-gâdî* 328
 notizia: cfr. informare, dare notizia || *âḥbâr* 8

notte: cfr. in essa [notte], [durante tale notte] || *fi-hâ* 104
 —: cfr. pernottare, trascorrere la notte || *bât* 33
 numero || *'âdad*, *'âded* 410

ogni: cfr. tutto, ogni || *kull* 210
 olandese || *fâlâménk* 95
 operazione: cfr. affittare, pagare [per un'operazione] || *krê* 204
 ora (sost.) || *sâ'a* 303
 ordinare: cfr. comandare, ordinare || *amâr* 10
 orientali: cfr. [territori] orientali || *šrûg*, cfr. s.v. *šarg* 319
 orizzonte: cfr. comparire, apparire [all'orizzonte] || *bân* 24
 orologio [controllore del tempo] || *mwâgget* 263
 orologio || *sâ'a* 303
 ospitalità || *dyâfa* 85
 ostilità: cfr. cominciare [le ostilità], attaccare || *bdë* 36

pace, riconciliazione || *šulḥ* 348
 padiglione, chiosco || *kūšk*, *kōšk* 216
 paese: cfr. capo del paese [sindaco, capoluogo] || *šêḥ l-âblâd* 327
 —, l'abitato (città e villaggi) || *bêlâd* 38
 pagare: cfr. affittare, pagare [per un'operazione] || *krê* 204
 paghe, prezzo || *drâhm*, cfr. s.v. *dêrhem* 68
 —: cfr. spettanze, paghe || *'awâyd*, cfr. s.v. *'âyda* 431
 paio, due || *zōz* 404
 palanchino: cfr. sella [palanchino?] || *kûrsî* 214
 palazzo: cfr. gente di palazzo || *mâ-ḥaznîyya*, cfr. s.v. *maḥâznî* 230

palla (di cannone) || *kûra* 213
 palle [di cannone incatenate], doppie — || *dûbli* 72
 palmo [lunghezza] || *šebr* 325
 panatica: cfr. pane, panatica || *ḥôbza* 185
 pane, panatica || *ḥôbza* 185
 parata: cfr. corteo, parata || *mâûkeb* 242
 parecchio, molto || *maktûr* 235
 —: cfr. molto, parecchio || *ktîr* 208
 —, moltissimo || *mkâtter* 251
 — || *mustâktar* 262
 parte abitata della cittadella, [l'abitato] || *el-ḥișâr el-ma'mûr* 170
 partente, in partenza per || *mšâfer* 256
 partenza: cfr. partente, in partenza per || *mšâfer* 256
 partire || *šâfer* 339
 pascià: cfr. Signor nostro [pascià in carica] || *Sid-nâ* 311
 passaporto, patente di corsa || *bâšbört* 34
 passare in sfilata || *ḥîâm* 186
 patente: cfr. passaporto, patente di corsa || *bâšbört* 34
 patito: cfr. appassionarsi, essere patito di || *twâlla'* 366
 pattuglia: cfr. guardia, pattuglia || *kêrgûl* 199
 —: cfr. guardia, vigilanza, pattuglia || *'âssa* 424
 perché: cfr. poiché, perché, per il fatto che || *li-âžl* 224
 — (interr.), il perché || *'alâš* 413
 percussione: cfr. suonare [a percussione] || *qrâb* 83
 pernottare, trascorrere la notte || *bât* 33
 pezzo, scheggia [di bomba, mortaio] || *târf* 370
 piano [di edificio] || *kâṭ* 196

piastra (moneta), *riyâl**, *rîâl* || *riyâl**, *rîâl* 289
 piatti (attrezzatura di guerra) || *šanžât*, cfr. s.v. *šanža* 342
 picco: cfr. fare affondare, fare colare a picco || *ğârreg* 148
 piccola: cfr. *hârka**, piccola imbarcazione || *hârka** 156
 — fregata*, tipo di imbarcazione piccolo || *fërgāfina** 99
 piccolo || *šgîr* 345
 —: cfr. legno [nave] piccolo* || *šgaf šgîr** 332
 — male, maluccio || *sūiya* 317
 piedistallo: cfr. *mtâred* (tipo di recipienti con piedistallo) || *mtâred*, cfr. *métrad* 246
 poi, dopo di che || *b'ād-a* 59
 poiché, perché, per il fatto che || *li-āžl* 224
 polvere da sparo, sparatoria || *bârûd* 31
 porta* (anche in toponimi: *bāb*), ingresso || *Bāb** 21
 porta: cfr. battenti, vano della porta || porta *fumm el-bāb* 109
 —: cfr. battitori della cassaforma [« della porta »] || *dârrâbat el-bāb*, cfr. s.v. *dârrâb el-bāb* 80
 —: cfr. battitura della cassaforma, [« della porta »] || *dârb el-bāb* 78
 —: cfr. cassaforma [per costruzioni], lett. « porta » || *bāb* 21
 portare || *žāb* 131
 —: cfr. fare uscire, portare fuori || *hârrež* 177
 —: cfr. prendere su, portare con sé || *rfa'* 287
 porto || *mârša* 239
 —: cfr. capo, comandante [di mare, di porto] || *rāyeš* 281

—: cfr. stretto, porto || *būgâz* 53
 posseduto: cfr. schiavo [bianco], posseduto || *mamlūk* 236
 possesso: cfr. « di » (specificazione e possesso) || *entâ'*, *ântâ'*, *ntâ'* 93
 precipitarsi: cfr. accorrere, precipitarsi || *hâddem* 151
 preda, bottino || *gnîma* 150
 preghiera: cfr. antistate (direttore della preghiera) || *imâm* 190
 —: cfr. mezzogiorno, [preghiera del mezzogiorno] || *đchr* 82
 prendere || *hdē* 181
 —: cfr. mettere [in mare], prendere [il largo] || *žbed* 135
 — in affitto, noleggiare || *ktrē*, *ēktrē* 209
 — su, colpire || *rfa'* 287
 — su, portare con sé || *rfa'* 287
 preparare, apprestare, tenere pronto || *wâtta* 396
 prepararsi: cfr. avere in animo, prepararsi a, stare per || *hâđđar* 160
 preposizione rafforzativa dell'azione, « in » || *fi* 102
 presidio, corpo degli *užâk** || *'aşkar el-užâk** 428
 prestare: cfr. lavorare, prestare servizio || *hdam* 180
 prestigio || *žāh* 132
 prezzo: cfr. paghe, prezzo || *drāhm*, cfr. s.v. *dérhem* 68
 —, importo || *hagg* 162
 priorità: cfr. capo- [priorità nelle cariche] || *bāš-* 32
 privo: cfr. vuoto, vuoto [privo di equipaggio] || *fârēg* 96
 prodotti: cfr. decime [sui prodotti della terra] || *'ašûr* e *'ušûr*, cfr. s.v. *'ašr* 426
 proiettile (?) || *'araba* 419

pronome relativo* (che, il/la quale, i/le quali, colui/ei che) || *ëllâdi** 87
 — (i quali) || *ëllâdin* 88
 — (le quali) || *ëllâtî* 89
 pronto || *hâđar* 161
 —, aggiustato || *mahdûm* 231
 —: cfr. preparare, apprestare, tenere pronto || *wâtta* 396
 pulire || *msah* 257
 quale*: cfr. pronome relativo (che, il/la quale, i/le quali, colui/ei che) || *ëllâdi** 87
 quali*: cfr. pronome relativo che, il/la quale, i/le quali, colui/ei che) || *ëllâdi* 87
 —: cfr. pronome relativo (i quali) || *ëllâdin* 88
 —: cfr. pronome relativo (le quali) || *ëllâtî* 89
 quando, allorché || *lamma* 219
 quartiere, anche in toponimo (*hōma*, *hōmet*) || *hōma*, *hōmet* 171
 —: cfr. capo del paese [sindaco, capo-quartiere] || *šēh l-əblâd* 327
 —: cfr. capo-quartiere || *šēh eš-šâra'* 329
 —, rione || *šâra'* 318
 — di: cfr. *hōmet Blâdiyya* (« quartiere del Municipio ») || *hōmet* —
 — di: cfr. *hōmet Ġaryân* (« quartiere di Ġaryân ») || *hōmet Ġaryân* —
 quelli: cfr. gente, quelli di, addetti a [equipaggio] || *'arâb*, cfr. s.v. *'arbi* 421
 — di, addetti a [equipaggio] || *ahl* 3
 — di: cfr. gente [abitanti], quelli di || *'arâb*, cfr. s.v. *'arbi* 421
 — || *ahl* 3
 questa || *hâdi* 152
 — || *hâdihî* 153
 qui, da noi || *'alē-nā* 414

raccogliere, radunare || *lamm*, *lemm* 218
 raccolta: cfr. deposito, luogo di raccolta, santabarbara || *hâzna* 179
 radunare: cfr. raccogliere, radunare || *lamm*, *lemm* 218
 radunarsi || *žtâma'*, *ëžtâma'* 139
 rafforzativa: cfr. preposizione rafforzativa dell'azione, « in » || *fi* 102
 ragione, raziocinio || *'âgâl* 412
 Rámlet ez-Zegrâr* (« Sabbie di ez-Zegrâr »), toponimo || Rámlet ez-Zegrâr* —
 raso, specie di — || *lalâža* 217
 Râyeš, antroponimo || Râyeš 281
 raziocinio: cfr. ragione, raziocinio || *'âgal* 412
 re || *rey* 285
 recarsi || *rhal* 291
 recipienti: cfr. *mtâred* (tipo di recipienti con piedistallo) || *mtâred*, cfr. s.v. *métrad* 246
 regioni: cfr. territori, regioni territoriali || *uđân* e *âuđân*, cfr. s.v. *wođn* 397
 registrare: cfr. scrivere, registrare || *kreb* 207
 regolari* [dell'esercito] || *anzâm** 13
 —: cfr. neri dei regolari, i-, corpo militare || *'abêd el-anzâm*, cfr. s.v. *'abd* — 409
 relativo: cfr. pronome relativo (i quali) || *ëllâdin* 88
 —: cfr. pronome relativo (le quali) || *ëllâtî* 89
 —: cfr. pronome relativo* (che, il/la quale, i/le quali, colui/ei che) || *ëllâdi** 87
 religioso: cfr. capo [dotto-religioso] || *šēh* 326
 rematori || *gâžikî* 113

— (?) || *dāli fārās* 62
 restituire, rispondere || *redd* 283
 retroterra || *barr* 28
rial: cfr. piastra (moneta), *riyāl**, *rīāl* ||
 || *riyāl**, *rīāl* 289
 riconciliazione: cfr. pace, riconciliazione ||
ṣulḥ 348
 ricostruire: cfr. costruire, [ri]costruire,
 riparare || *bnā* 45
 riempire || *mlē* 252
 rimanere, continuare a || *bgē* 40
 —, stare, starsene a || *g'ad* 130
 rimedio: cfr. medicina, medicazione, ri-
 medio || *dwā* 74
 rione: cfr. quartiere, rione || *šāra'* 318
 riparare: cfr. costruire, [ri]costruire, ri-
 parare || *bnā* 45
 riparato || *ḥāḍar* 161
 ripartire: cfr. dividere fra, ripartire, di-
 stribuire || *fārreg*, *fērreg* 97
 —, distribuire || *kéteb* 200
 riscossione || *hlāš* 183
 riso [alimento] || *rūz* 298
 rispondere: cfr. restituire, rispondere ||
redd 283
 risposta, lettera || *žwāb* 141
 riva, spiaggia || *šāṭṭ* 322
 rivestire, cfr. vestire, rivestire || *ksē* 206
 rivolgersi: cfr. dirigersi, rivolgersi, indi-
 rizzarsi || *twāžžeh* 365
*riyāl**: cfr. piastra (moneta), *riyāl*, *rial*
 || *riyāl* * 289
 rizzare, inalberare || *nšāb* 274
 rotonda (sost.) || *dōra* 71
 ruote: cfr. veicolo [con ruote], carrello,
 [affusto] || *'araba* 419

Sâhel: cfr. abitanti di es-Sâhel || *es-Sâhel*
 —

Sâhel || *'arab es-Sâhel*, cfr. s.v. *'arbi* — 423
 salute || *sālām* 299
 saluti [cannonate di saluto] || *sālūtī* 300
 santabarbara: cfr. deposito, luogo di
 raccolta, santabarbara || || *hāzna* 179
sānya, *sānyet* anche in toponimi (« Giar-
 dino ») || *sānya*, *sānyet* 301
šarn: cfr. vento di *šarn* || *šarn* 320
 sbarcare: cfr. scendere, sbarcare || *nzal*
 276
 scambio: cfr. servire, lavorare di (con
 scambio di) || *ḥdam* 180
 scarto: cfr. cascame, di scarto || *šāgāṭ*
 341
 scendere, sbarcare || *nzal* 276
 scheggia: cfr. pezzo, scheggia [di bomba,
 mortaio] || *tārf* 370
 schiavo, servo || *'abd* 408
 — [bianco], posseduto || *mamlūk* 236
 — nero addetto a*, attendente di colore
 || *uṣīf** 391
 sciabecco*, tipo di imbarcazione || *šbāk**
 324
 scialuppa*: cfr. barca, scialuppa || *flūka**
 105
 sciogliere [le vele] || *ḥall* 168
 scooner* || *skūna** 312
 scrivere, registrare || *kṭeb* 207
 secco: cfr. tirare [a secco] || *žbed* 135
*Šēḥ** [marabutto], anche in antroponimi
 e toponimi || *Šēḥ** 326
šēḥ [il notevole] il cadī, || *eš-šēḥ el-gādī*
 328
 sella [palanchino?] || *kūrī* 214
 senza: cfr. tranne, a meno che, senza che
 || *illā*, *u illā* 189
 sepolcro*, anche toponimo (*tórba** —
 sera: cfr. vespro, il far della sera ||
'ašlyya 425

servire, lavorare di (con scambio di)
 || *ḥdam* 180
 servizio: cfr. lavorare, prestare servizio
 || *ḥdam* 180
 servo: cfr. schiavo, servo || *'abd* 408
šfenz: cfr. dolce locale, *šfenz* || *šfenz* 306
 sfilata: cfr. passare in sfilata || *ḥṭām*
 186
*Si** (Signor mio, per marabutti, anche
 in antroponimi e toponimi) || *Si**
 309
 sia: cfr. amen, così sia || *amīn* 11
Sīdī (Signor mio, per marabutti, anche
 antroponimo e toponimo) || *Sīdī* 310
 signor mio, signore || *sī*, *sīdī* 309, 310
 Signor nostro [pascià in carica] || *Sīd-nā*
 311
 signora, Donna || *lélla*, *llā* 223
 signore, sor: cfr. signor mio, signore ||
sī 309
 sindaco: cfr. capo del paese [sindaco,
 capo-quartiere] || *šēḥ l-əblād* 327
 smettere || *fekk*, *zāl* 98, 399
 — di, finire di || *bāṭṭal* 35
 sola: cfr. da sola || *b-rôḥ-hā* 50
 soldati || *'ašākēṛ*, cfr. s.v. *'aškarī* 429
 soldi: cfr. denaro, soldi || *drāhm*, cfr. s.v.
dérhēm 68
 sole: cfr. levarsi [del sole], il — || *zrūg*
 405
 sollevarsi: cfr. alzarsi, sollevarsi || *nāḍ*
 269
 solo: cfr. da solo || *b-rôḥ-a* 49
 sor: cfr. signor mio, signore || *Si* 309
eš-Šórfa || *eš-Šórfa* 336
 sorta: cfr. *šwāš** (sorta di gendarme,
 tipo maresciallo) || *šwāš** 338
 —: cfr. *uzāk**, corpo militare(? sorta di
 giannizzeri) || *uzāk** 385

—: cfr. incaricato, sovrintendente ||
wakil, *ukêl* 395
 — || *wāgeṫ* 394
 sovvenzionare, armare una nave || *'ammar*
 418
 sparare || *ḍrāb* 83
 — || *tālg* 373
 —: cfr. bombardare, sparare || *rmē*
 295
 —: cfr. sparo, sparare (lo —) || *ṭlūg* 375
 sparatoria: cfr. polvere da sparo, spa-
 ratoria || *bārūd* 31
 sparo: cfr. polvere da sparo, sparatoria ||
bārūd 31
 —, sparare (lo —) || *ṭlūg* 375
 specie: cfr. *gīṭa*, specie di flauto || *gīṭa* 149
 —: cfr. raso, specie di — || *lalāža* 217
 specificazione: cfr. di (specificazione e
 possesso || *entā'*, *əntā'*, *ntā'* 93
 spettanze, paghe || *'awāyd*, cfr. s.v. *'āyda*
 431
 spiaggia: cfr. riva, spiaggia || *šāṭṭ* 322
 —, mettere [in mare] || *dezz* 67
 spostamento || *rfū'* 288
 spostare: cfr. issare, trasportare, spostare
 trasportando || *rfa'* 287
 —, trasferire, traslocare || *ḥōūwel* 173
 spostarsi, trasferirsi || *ḥōūwel* 173
 sprangando: cfr. chiudere [sprangando]
 || *šlah* 346
 squadra: cfr. capo [di squadra navale],
 comandante [di mare] || *kēbīr*, *kbīr* 198
 stando: cfr. avente in animo, stando
 [stante] per || *mḥāḍḍar fī rōḥ* 248
 — per venire, per arrivare || *gādem* 111
 stante: cfr. avente in animo, stando
 [stante] per || *mḥāḍḍar fī rōḥ* 248
 stare: cfr. avere in animo, prepararsi a,
 stare per || *ḥāḍḍar* 160

—: cfr. rimanere, stare, starsene a || *g'ad* 130
 stiva: cfr. deposito, stiva || *fóndug* 107
 strada || *šára'* 318
 —: cfr. incrociare, tagliare la strada || *tlággā* 362
 straniero, da fuori, *barrāni'*: nome di vento* || *barrāni'** 30
 stretto, porto || *būgāz* 53
 suffisso: cfr. dieci, suffisso per — || *-ās, -ās* 19
 Sūg, in toponimo (« Mercato ») || *Sūg* —
 Sūg ez-Žúma'* , toponimo (« Mercato del venerdì ») || *Sūg ez-Žúma'** —
 suonare [a percussione] || *drāb* 83
 suonatori: cfr. tamburini, suonatori di *ṭobl* || *ṭobbāla*, cfr. s.v. *ṭobbāl* 376
 suono della banda del tamburo (*ṭobl*) || *ṭobbāla*, cfr. s.v. *ṭobbāl* 376
 supremo [comandante, capo] della flotta || *el-āli 'aškar* 415
 šwās* (sorta di gendarme, tipo maresciallo) || *šwās** 338
 Šāffār, in toponimo: cfr. Kūšet eš-Šāffār* || Kūšet es-Šāffār* —
 tagliare: cfr. incrociare, tagliare la strada || *tlággā* 362
 tale: cfr. in essa [notte], [durante tal notte] || *fī-hā* 104
 —: cfr. in esso [giorno], [durante tal giorno] || *fī-h* 103
 tamburini, suonatori di *ṭobl* || *ṭobbāla*, cfr. s.v. *ṭobbāl* 376
 tamburo || *ṭānbūr* 368
 — || *ṭobl* 378
 —: cfr. banda del tamburo (*ṭobl*) || *ṭobbāla*, cfr. s.v. *ṭobbāl* 376
 —: cfr. suono della banda del tamburo (*ṭobl*) || *ṭobbāl* 376

tavole [di legno] || *lōh* 225
 teglie: cfr. vassoi, grosse teglie || *šāfrāt*, cfr. s.v. *šāfra* 340
 tempo || *ūōgt* 387
 —: cfr. orologio [controllore del tempo] || *mwággēt* 263
 tenere: cfr. preparare, apprestare, tenere pronto || *wátta* 396
 terra: cfr. decime [sui prodotti della terra] || *'ašūr* e *'ušūr*, cfr. s.v. *'ašr* 426
 —, terraferma || *barr* 28
 terraferma: cfr. terra, terraferma || *barr* 28
 terrazzo, balcone con belvedere || *galālyya* 116
 territori orientali || *šrūg*, cfr. s.v. *šarg* 319
 —, regioni territoriali || *uṭān* e *āuṭān*, cfr. s.v. *woṭn* 397
 — costieri || *šṭūt*, cfr. s.v. *šāṭṭ* 322
 territoriali: cfr. territori, regioni territoriali || *uṭān* e *āuṭān*, cfr. s.v. *woṭn* 397
 tesoriere [ministro del tesoro], antropónimo (Ḥāzen Dār) || Ḥāzen Dār* 178
 tesoro: cfr. tesoriere [ministro del tesoro], Ḥāzen Dār* (antropónimo) || Ḥāzen Dār* 178
 tipo: cfr. *bārkū**, tipo di imbarcazione || *bārkū** 27
 —: cfr. bombardiere*, tipo di imbarcazione || *būnbārda** 57
 —: cfr. *brik**, tipo di imbarcazione || 47
 —: cfr. *brik imperiale**, tipo di imbarcazione || *brik inbriyāl** 48
 —: cfr. *dagīsa**, tipo di imbarcazione || *dagīza** 61
 —: cfr. felucca grande*, tipo di imbarcazione || *flūka kēbīra** 106
 —: cfr. fregata* tipo di imbarcazione || *fregāṭa* * 108

—: cfr. *kūnbur*, tipo di bomba a mitraglia || *kūnbur* 212
 —: cfr. *martagāwa**, *murtagāwa*, tipo di imbarcazione || *martagāwa* * 240
 —: cfr. *mtāred* (tipo di recipienti con piedistallo) *mtāred*, cfr. s.v. *métrad* 246
 —: cfr. piccola fregata*, tipo di imbarcazione || *fērgāṭna** 99
 —: cfr. sciabecco*, tipo di imbarcazione || *šbāk** 324
 —: cfr. *šwās** (sorta di gendarme, tipo maresciallo) || *šwās** 338
 tirare [a secco] || *žbed* 135
 —: cfr. fare uscire, tirare fuori, estrarre || *dāhhār* 77
ṭobl: cfr. banda del tamburo (*ṭobl*) || *ṭobbāla*, cfr. s.v. *ṭobbāl* 376
 —: cfr. suono della banda del tamburo (*ṭobl*) || *ṭobbāla*, cfr. s.v. *ṭobbāl* 376
 —: cfr. tamburini, suonatori di *ṭobl* || *ṭobbāla*, cfr. s.v. *ṭobbāl* 376
 tornare || *rža'* 290 — || *roūwah* 297
 torre*, anche in toponimi (*burž*) || *burž** 58
 tramite: cfr. mano (per — di, tramite) || *id, yed* 187
 tranne, a meno che, senza che || *illā, u illā* 189
 trascorrere: cfr. pernottare, trascorrere la notte || *bāt* 33
 —: cfr. spostare, trasferire, traslocare || *ḥōūwel* 173
 trasferirsi: cfr. spostarsi, trasferirsi || *ḥōūwel* 173
 traslocare: cfr. spostare, trasferire, traslocare || *ḥōūwel* 173
 trasportando: cfr. issare, trasportare, spostare trasportando || *rfa'* 287

trasportare: cfr. issare, trasportare, spostare trasportando || *rfa'* 287
 trincea: cfr. fossato, trincea || *ḥāndeg* 176
 Tripoli: cfr. circondario di Tripoli || *'amālt Trāblēs* —
 —: cfr. città [*el-medīna*: Tripoli] || *el-medīna* 245
 trovare || *užād* 384
 truppe: cfr. esercito, truppe || *'aškar*, cfr. s.v. *'aškari* 429
 turchi*, corpo militare || *atrāk**, cfr. anche s.v. *tūrki* 20, 364
 turco || *tūrki* 364
 Tūrki*, antropónimo || Tūrki* 364
 tutta/e/i/o quanta/e/i/o || *žmi'* 138
 tutto, ogni || *kull* 210
 tutto quanto || *žmi'* 138
 ufficiale dell'esercito || *fesyān* 100
 uléd*: cfr. figlio di —, uléd (in antropónimo) || *uléd** 386
 unità: cfr. gruppo, divisione, unità || *tākēm* 354
 uno (pron.) || *ḥādd* 159
 uomini di fatica || *ḥammāla*, cfr. s.v. *ḥammāl* 165
 uomo || *rāžel* 277
 —: cfr. fante, uomo adulto e abile, uomo forte da fatica || *terrās* 360
 —: cfr. fare uscire, portare fuori || *ḥārrež* 177
 —: cfr. fare uscire, tirare fuori, estrarre || *dāhhār* 77
 — fuori, apparire || *ṭla'* 374
 —, comparire || *ḍhār* 81
 užāk*, corpo militare (? sorta di gannizzeri) || *užāk** 385
 —: cfr. presidio, corpo degli užāk* || *'aškar el-užāk** 428

vano: cfr. battenti, vano della porta ||
fumm el-bâb 109
 vassoi, grosse teglie || *šâfrât*, cfr. s.v.
šâfra 340
 vedere || *rē* 282
 — || *šbaḥ* 323
 vegliare || *šar* 308
 veicolo [con ruote], carrello, [affusto] ||
‘âraba 419
 vele || *âglâ*, cfr. s.v. *glâ* 123
 — || *šwâra*, cfr. s.v. *šrâ* 337
 —: cfr. sciogliere [le vele] || *ḥall* 168
 venire, arrivare || *zē* 136
 —: cfr. essere ferito, venire ferito ||
ēnžārḥ 92
 —: cfr. fare venire, chiamare all'adunata
 [i militari] || *âḥdâr* 5
 —: cfr. fare venire in aiuto, chiamare
 in aiuto || *fezza* 101
 —: cfr. stando per venire, per arrivare
 || *gâdem* 111
 — in aiuto || *fza* 110
 — meno a, (abbandonare) || *ḥdel* 182
 venti (num.) *‘ašrân* 427
 vento: cfr. straniero, da fuori, *barrâni*:
 nome di vento* || *barrâni** 30
 — di levante || *šarg* 319
 — di *šarn* || *šarn* 320
 verbo: cfr. non (negazione del verbo) ||
-ši, *-šī* 334

—: cfr. non (negazione di verbo) || *lan*
 220
 verificarsi: cfr. accadere (sost.), il —,
 l'esserci || *ugû* 383
 vespro, il far della sera || *‘ašīyya* 425
 vessillo: cfr. bandiera, vessillo || *sânzag* 302
 vestire, rivestire || *ksē* 206
 vigilanza: cfr. guardia, vigilanza, pat-
 tiglia || *‘assa* 424
 villaggi: cfr. paese, l'abitato (città e
 villaggi) || *bēlâd* 38
 volare || *ṭār* 369
 volere || *bġē* 41
 vuoto, vuoto [privo di equipaggio] ||
fârēġ 96
 Wakîl, antropónimo*(?) || *Wakîl**, *Ukêl*
 395
*žâma***, in toponimo (« moschea ») ||
*žâma** 133
*zâwya**: cfr. confraternita, anche topo-
 nimo *zâwya*, *zâwyet* || *zâwya** 401
*Zegrâr**: cfr. Rámlet ez-Zegrâr ||
*Zegrâr** -
 zucchero || *šúkkar* 347
*Žúma**: cfr. Sûg ez-Žúma' || *ež-Žúma**-
 —*, in toponimo (« venerdì ») || *žúma** -
 ‘Abd*, in antropónimo (« schiavo ») ||
 ‘Abd 408

(continua)

ANTROPONIMIA ARABA IN TUNISIA *

GABRIELLA LAINO
 (Napoli)

La prima parte di questo studio sull'antroponomia araba contemporanea in Tunisia è stata pubblicata in « Studi Magrebini » volume XVII, 1985, pp. 103-173; comprende una introduzione, nella quale sono esposti i criteri ispiratori della ricerca e un Elenco alfabetico dei nomi arabi in caratteri arabi, in trascrizione e in traslitterazione con l'indicazione della frequenza.

Questa seconda parte comprende l'Elenco dei nomi arabi maschili (1076), l'Elenco dei nomi arabi femminili (302), secondo l'ordine decrescente dell'indice di frequenza, l'Elenco dei nomi arabi ambivalenti (10) e la Distribuzione dei nomi arabi secondo la lettera iniziale ed il numero delle persone contate. Lo studio termina con una copiosa Bibliografia ragionata sull'argomento.

* Si veda « Studi Magrebini », Vol. XVII, Napoli, Istituto Universitario Orientale, 1985, pp. 103-173.

ELENCO DEI NOMI ARABI MASCHILI *

%	FREQUENZA	NOMI
11,744	2717	محمد ، امحمد 1
3,734	864	علي 2
3,51	812	احمد 3
2,78	643	هادي 4
		الهادي
2,343	542	حبيب 5
		الحيب
1,954	452	بشير 6
		البشير
1,815	420	محمود 7
1,75	405	منصف 8
		المنصف
1,742	403	طاهر 9
		الطاهر
1,73	400	مصطفى 10
1,707	395	حسن 11
1,655	383	عبد العزيز 12
1,54	356	صالح 13
1,452	336	عبد الحميد 14
1,396	323	عمر 15
1,38	319	صادق 16
		الصادق
1,335	309	نور الدين 17
1,29	298	شاذلي (شاذلي) 18
		الشاذلي
1,253	290	مختار 19
		المختار
1,201	278	ابراهيم ، براهيم 20

* Secondo l'ordine decrescente dell'indice di frequenza. I nomi con lo stesso indice di frequenza si susseguono in ordine alfabetico.

%	FREQUENZA	NOMI
1,124	260	توفيق 21
		التوفيق
1,093	253	عبد المجيد 22
1,03	238	محمد هادي 23
		محمد الهادي
0,994	230	عبد الرزاق 24
	230	محمد صالح 25
		محمد الصالح
0,942	218	عبد الرحمان 26
0,92	213	سالم 27
		طيب 28
		الطيب
0,903	209	صلاح الدين 29
0,89	206	عبد القادر 30
0,864	200	يوسف 31
0,812	188	رضاء ، رضا 32
0,81	187	عز الدين 33
0,795	184	منجي 34
0,79	183	المنجي
		رشيد 35
0,782	181	حسين ، حسين 36
0,752	174	الحسين
		حمادي 37
0,747	173	الحمادي
		عبد السلام 38
0,743	172	محسن 39
	172	محمد علي 40
0,691	160	فتحي 41
0,66	153	خميس 42
0,652	151	عبد الله 43
0,63	146	محمد حبيب 44
0,622	144	محمد الحبيب
		محمد حبيب
		عثمان 45
0,553	128	عربي 46
0,55	127	العربي
		عبد الوهاب 47
0,523	121	سعيد 48
0,518	120	السعيد
	120	عبد اللطيف 49

%	FREQUENZA	NOMI
0,514	119	محمد منصف 50
0,493	114	محمد المنصف 51
0,49	113	ناصر الناصر 52
0,454	105	بلقاسم ، بلقاسم 52
0,44	102	محمد طاهر 53
0,402	93	محمد الطاهر 54
0,372	86	عبد الكريم 54
0,34	78	خالد 55
	78	كمال 56
0,324	75	هاشمي 57
0,315	73	الهاشمي 58
0,307	71	تيجاني ، تيجاني 58
0,302	71	التيجاني ، التيجاني 58
0,285	66	عمار 59
0,281	65	خليفة 60
0,276	64	ابو بكر 61
0,272	63	بو بكر 61
0,268	62	عبد الستار 62
0,263	62	فرج 63
0,26	61	عبد الجليل 64
0,25	59	بلحسن 65
0,246	57	سليمان 66
0,237	55	محمد ناصر 67
	63	محمد الناصر 68
	62	محمد العربي 68
	62	العروسي 69
	61	العروسي 69
	61	محمد رضا 70
	60	حميدة 71
	60	نجيب 72
	60	حمدة 73
	60	يونس 74
	60	حمودة 75
	60	قاسم ، قاسم 76
	59	القاسم 76
	59	مبروك 77
	57	المبروك 77
	57	مولدي 78
	55	المولدي 78
	55	عامر 79

%	FREQUENZA	NOMI
0,23	53	سليم 80
0,224	52	اسماعيل 81
	52	حامد 82
	52	منصور 83
0,216	50	حسنوة 84
0,212	49	محي الدين (محيي الدين sic per) 85
0,207	48	جمال الدين 86
	48	جيلاني 87
	48	الجيلاني 87
0,2	46	حطاب 88
	46	الخطاب 88
	46	محمد صادق 89
	46	محمد الصادق 89
0,194	45	عبد الرؤوف 90
	45	منذر 91
	45	المنذر 91
	45	منوبي 92
	45	المنوبي 92
0,19	44	عبد الحفيظ 93
	44	لطفي 94
0,186	43	محمد بشير 95
	43	محمد البشير 95
0,181	42	رؤوف 96
	42	مسعود 97
0,177	41	محرز 98
0,173	40	شريف 99
	40	الشريف 99
0,16	37	فوزي 100
	37	محمد طيب 101
	37	محمد الطيب 101
	37	منير 102
0,155	36	مكي 103
	36	المكي 103
0,151	35	عزوز 104
0,147	34	امين 105
	34	الامين 105
	34	لمين 105
0,142	33	رمضان 106
	33	سمير 107
	33	عبد الفتاح 108
0,138	32	عمارة 109

%	FREQUENZA	NOMI
0,138	32	محمد نجيب 110
0,134	31	رجب 111
0,13	30	رفيق 112
	30	زهير 113
	30	فيصل 114
	30	محمد فتحي 115
	30	محمد منجي 116
		محمد المنجي
0,125	29	جمعة 117
	29	فاروق 118
0,121	28	انور 119
	28	فريد 120
	28	محمد الهاشمي 121
0,117	27	رشاد 122
	27	فرحات 123
	27	محمد شاذلي 124
		محمد الشاذلي (شاذلي)
	27	محمد كمال 125
	27	محمد مختار 126
		محمد المختار
	27	هشام ، هشام 127
0,112	26	عزيز 128
		العزیز
	26	محمد امين 129
		محمد الامين
		محمد مين
	26	نوري 130
		النوري
0,108	25	تهامي ، توهامي 131
		التهامي ، التوهامي
	25	زين العابدين 132
	25	علالة 133
	25	عمران 134
0,103	24	رايح 135
	24	عادل 136
		العادل
	24	محمد توفيق 137
		محمد التوفيق
	24	ناجي 138
		الناجي
0,1	23	شعبان 139

%	FREQUENZA	NOMI
0,095	22	الاسعد 140
		لسعد
	22	محمد مولدي 141
		محمد المولدي
0,09	21	الازهر 142
		لزهر
	21	ساسبي 143
		الساسبي
	21	عياد 144
0,086	20	جلال 145
	20	فؤاد 146
	20	محمد رؤوف 147
0,082	19	بوراي 148
	19	جلول 149
0,078	18	الاخضر 150
		نحضر
	18	بدر الدين 151
	18	حافظ 152
	18	محمد رشاد 153
0,073	17	فرجاني 154
		الفرجاني
	17	محمد الازهر 155
		محمد زهر
	17	محمد الاسعد 156
		محمد لسعد
	17	محمد فوزي 157
0,07	16	جمال 158
	16	فاضل 159
		الفاضل
	16	محمد صغير 160
		محمد الصغير
0,065	15	خير الدين (خير الدين) 161
	15	صحيبي 162
		الصحيبي
	15	محمد رشيد 163
	15	— نور الدين 164
	15	نبيل 165
	15	يحيى (يحيى sic per) 166
0,06	14	رياض 167
	14	زبير 168

%	FREQUENZA	NOMI
0,06	14	عباس 169
	14	عجبي 170
	14	العجبي
	14	عيسى 171
	14	محبوب 172
	14	محمد سعيد 173
	14	محمد السعيد
	14	محمد شريف 174
	14	محمد الشريف
	14	محمد العروسي 175
	14	محمد لعروسي
	14	محمد العيد 176
0,056	13	حمدان 177
	13	حمزة 178
	13	رضوان 179
	13	طارق 180
	13	عبد الباقي 181
	13	محفوظ 182
	13	مراد 183
	13	مهني 184
0,052	12	جميل 185
	12	خليل 186
	12	سامي 187
	12	عاشور 188
	12	عبد الحكيم 189
	12	— الواحد 190
0,047	11	بو جمعة 191
	11	حاتم 192
	11	زين 193
	11	الزين
	11	سعد 194
	11	عبد الحق 195
	11	— الملك 196
	11	— المنعم 197
	11	قدور 198
	11	كيلاي 199
	11	الكيلاي
	11	محمد الاخضر 200
	11	محمد خضر
	11	محمد عزيز 201
	11	محمد العزيز

%	FREQUENZA	NOMI
0,047	11	محمد فاضل 202
	11	محمد الفاضل
	11	موسى 203
	11	ياسين 204
0,043	10	صلاح 205
	10	مبارك 206
	10	مجيد 207
	10	محمد احمد 208
	10	— بلحسن 209
	10	محمد تيجاني (تجاني) 210
	10	محمد التيجاني
	10	محمد لطفي 211
	10	نصر الدين 212
0,039	9	راضي 213
	9	الراضي
	9	كمال الدين 214
	9	محمد انور 215
	9	محمد الانور
	9	محمد محسن 216
	9	مقداد 217
	9	المقداد
0,034	8	جلال الدين 218
	8	عبد الجبار 219
	8	معاوية 220
	8	ميلاد 221
	8	ادريس 222
0,03	7	الياس ، لياس 223
	7	داود 224
	7	رحومة 225
	7	سيف الله 226
	7	شاكور 227
	7	عدنان 228
	7	العيد 229
	7	ماهر 230
	7	محمد الامجد 231
	7	محمد لجد
	7	محمد جمال الدين 232
	7	محمد جيلاني (جلاني) 233
	7	محمد الجيلاني
	7	محمد عادل 234
	7	محمد العادل

%	FREQUENZA	NOMI
0,03	7	محمد فريد 235
	7	ميلود ، ملود 236
0,026	6	اسحاق 237
	6	الامجد 238
		لمجد
	6	باجي 239
		الباجي
	6	بحري 240
		البحري
	6	بكار 241
	6	بنور 242
	6	بو عيش 243
	6	جعفر 244
	6	الصغير 245
	6	العابد 246
	6	عبد الرحيم 247
	6	— الغني 248
	6	العبيدي 249
		لعبيدي
	6	عفيف 250
		العفيف
		لعفيف
	6	فتح الله 251
	6	كامل 252
		الكامل
	6	محمد جلال 253
	6	محمد حسن 254
		محمد الحسن
	6	محمد حسين (حوسين) 255
		محمد الحسين
	6	محمد عبد الوهاب 256
	6	— عز الدين 257
	6	معمر 258
	6	مهدي 259
		المهدي
	6	ميمون 260
	6	نجم الدين 261
	6	نعمان 262
	6	وناس 263
0,021	5	ابو لباة 264
		بو لباة

%	FREQUENZA	NOMI
0,021	5	احمد التيجاني 265
	5	— رضا 266
	5	اسكندر 267
	5	برني 268
		البرني
	5	تومي 269
		التومي
	5	حسناوي 270
	5	سيد 271
		السيد
	5	عصام 272
	5	غازي 273
	5	مالك 274
	5	محمد حمودة 275
	5	— عبد الله 276
	5	— عمر 277
	5	— الكيلاني (كلاني) 278
	5	محمد مامون 279
		محمد المامون
	5	مفتاح 280
	5	نصر 281
	5	نظفي 282
		النظفي
	5	هاشم 283
		الهاشم
0,017	4	بوزيد 284
	4	جابر 285
	4	حسان 286
	4	حفيظ 287
	4	حمدي 288
	4	راشد 289
	4	شكيب 290
	4	شمس الدين 291
	4	شوشان 292
	4	عبد الجواد 293
	4	— الخي 294
	4	عيادي 295
		العيادي
	4	عياض 296
	4	فتوح 297
	4	فخر الدين 298

%	FREQUENZA	NOMI
0,017	4	محمد حمدة 299
	4	— الراضي 300
	4	— ساسي 301
	4	محمد صحبي 302
		محمد الصحبي
	4	محمد صلاح الدين 303
	4	— عامر 304
	4	— عبد العزيز 305
	4	— فاروق 306
	4	محمد كامل 307
		محمد الكامل
	4	محمد محرز 308
	4	— مصطفى 309
	4	— منذر 310
	4	محمد منوبي 311
		محمد المنوبي
	4	محمد ناجي 312
		محمد الناجي
	4	محمد يوسف 313
	4	مروان 314
	4	مصطفى كمال 315
	4	مهذب 316
	4	وحيد 317
0,013	3	ابو القاسم 318
	3	اديب 319
		الأديب
	3	أنيس 320
	3	برهان 321
	3	بن عيسى ، بنعيسى 322
	3	بو راوية 323
	3	— زيان 324
	3	حسني 325
	3	حميد 326
	3	زياد 327
	3	سعد الله 328
	3	سلام 329
	3	شبيب 330
	3	شرف الدين 331
	3	عاطف 332
	3	عبد الصمد 333
	3	— العالي 334

%	FREQUENZA	NOMI
0,013	3	عبد الله محمد 335
	3	— المول 336
	3	— المؤمن 337
	3	— الهادي 338
	3	عميد 339
	3	علي رضا 340
	3	عمر الفاروق 341
	3	عياشي 342
	3	الغربي ، القربي 343
	3	فتوري ، فيتوري 344
	3	محمد بدر الدين 345
	3	— بو راوي (براوي) 346
	3	محمد حطاب 347
		محمد الحطاب
	3	محمد حفناوي 348
		محمد الحفناوي
	3	محمد رضوان 349
	3	— رفيق 350
	3	— سالم 351
	3	— السيد 352
	3	— شعبان 353
	3	— الصغير 354
	3	— عاشور 355
	3	عبد الرؤوف 356
	3	عبد القادر 357
	3	عبد اللطيف 358
	3	— عمار 359
	3	— عياد 360
	3	— فرج 361
	3	— فيصل 362
	3	— الكناني 363
	3	— محمود 364
	3	محمد مرتضى 365
		محمد المرتضى
	3	محمد النفطي 366
	3	محمد نوري 367
		محمد النوري
	3	محمد هشام 368
	3	— وحيد 369
	3	محمود توفيق 370
	3	مقطوف 371

%	FREQUENZA	NOMI
0,013	3	مليك 372
	3	منتصر 373
	3	المنتصر
	3	منعم 374
	3	منور 375
0,008	2	احمد < توفيق > 376
	2	احمد سعيد 377
	2	احمد صغير 378
	2	احمد الصغير
	2	احمد الطيب 379
	2	احمد العروسي 380
	2	احمد لعروسي
	2	احمد فؤاد 381
	2	— محمد 382
	2	— نور الدين 383
	2	— الهادي 384
	2	اقبال 385
	2	امان الله 386
	2	باشا 387
	2	بلخير ، بلخير 388
	2	بريك 389
	2	بلال 390
	2	بلقاسم خضر 391
	2	بو عكازين ، بو عكازين 392
	2	تاج الدين 393
	2	تونسي 394
	2	التونسي
	2	جاب الله ، جابا لله 395
	2	جديدي 396
	2	الجديدي
	2	حفناوي 397
	2	الحفناوي
	2	حكيم 398
	2	حليم 399
	2	خضار 400
	2	دالي 401
	2	الدالي
	2	رباح 402
	2	زيد 403
	2	السبتي 404
	2	سلطان 405

%	FREQUENZA	NOMI
0,008	2	سنوسي 406
	2	السنوسي
	2	سويح ، صويح 407
	2	سييف الدين 408
	2	شافعي 409
	2	الشافعي
	2	شكري 410
	2	شهير 411
	2	صالح ابراهيم 412
	2	صديق 413
	2	الصديق
	2	طلال 414
	2	طه 415
	2	عارف 416
	2	العارف
	2	عبد الحسن 417
	2	— الخائق 418
	2	— الناصر 419
	2	عبودة 420
	2	عجيمي 421
	2	العجيمي
	2	علوان 422
	2	علي احمد 423
	2	— توفيق 424
	2	عماد الدين 425
	2	عمر بشير 426
	2	عمر البشير
	2	فاتح 427
	2	فرح 428
	2	فهري 429
	2	الفهري
	2	قويدر ، قويدر 430
	2	لطيف 431
	2	اللطيف
	2	لقمان 432
	2	ماجد 433
	2	مازري 434
	2	مامي 435
	2	محمد ابراهيم 436
	2	— باشا 437
	2	— البحري 438

%	FREQUENZA	NOMI
0,008	2	محمد بديع 439
	2	برهان — 440
	2	بكار — 441
	2	بلقاسم < — 442
	2	بو عبيد — 443
	2	التنومي — 444
	2	جعفر — 445
	2	جمعة — 446
	2	حسني — 447
	2	محمد حكيم 448
		محمد الحكيم
	2	محمد حمادي 449
	2	حمدان — 450
	2	رياض — 451
	2	محمد زين 452
		محمد الزين
	2	محمد سليم 453
	2	سمير — 454
	2	شاكور — 455
	2	طارق — 456
	2	عباس — 457
	2	عثمان — 458
	2	العجمي — 459
	2	العايشي — 460
	2	فؤاد — 461
	2	كيمام (الامام؟ sic per) — 462
	2	مجيد — 463
	2	محيي الدين — 464
	2	منصور — 465
	2	منير — 466
	2	المهدي — 467
	2	محمد مؤمن 468
		محمد المؤمن
	2	مستاري ، مصطاري 469
	2	مصباح 470
	2	مصطفى صادق 471
	2	الميداني 472
	2	ميزوني 473
	2	ناجح 474
		الناجح

%	FREQUENZA	NOMI
0,008	2	ناوي 475
		الناوي
	2	نبيه 476
	2	نزار ، نيزار 477
	2	نزيل 478
	2	نزيه 479
	2	هذيلي 480
	2	وسيم 481
	2	وليد 482
		الوليد
	2	يوسف محمود 483
0,004	1	ابراهيم بو جمعة 484
	1	— <شريف> 485
	1	— <فوزي> 486
	1	— <مصطفى> 487
	1	ابن خلدون 488
	1	ابو العلاء 489
	1	ابو القاسم محمد 490
	1	احسان 491
	1	احمد أمين 492
	1	جمال — 493
	1	جمعة — 494
	1	حبيب — 495
	1	حسن — 496
	1	رفيق — 497
	1	الزين — 498
	1	سليم — 499
	1	سليمان — 500
	1	— <السنوسي> 501
	1	الشريف — 502
	1	الصادق — 503
	1	الصغير — 504
	1	الظاهر — 505
	1	عبد الرؤوف — 506
	1	عبد السلام — 507
	1	عبد العزيز — 508
	1	عبد الوهاب — 509
	1	<احمد> عز الدين 510
	1	احمد علي 511
	1	كمال — 512
	1	لطفي — 513

%	FREQUENZA	NOMI
0,004	1	احمد محمد بشير 514
	1	محمد <نصر> 515
	1	محمود 516
	1	منصف 517
	1	المهدي 518
	1	نجيب 519
	1	<نصر> 520
	1	الاخضر عبيد 521
	1	محمد 522
	1	اذري 523
	1	ارحيم <محمد> 524
	1	ارسلان 525
	1	الازهر القروي 526
	1	اسامة 527
	1	اسماعيل <محيي الدين> 528
	1	الاسمر 529
	1	افات 530
	1	الافي (اللافي؟ sic per) 531
	1	امير 532
	1	آنس 533
	1	انور <حسين> 534
	1	الباجي حسونة 535
	1	باسم 536
	1	بالخي 537
	1	بالتاصر 538
	1	بديع 539
	1	الزمان 540
	1	برهان الدين 541
	1	بسيس 542
	1	بشار 543
	1	فوزي 544
	1	بشير سالم 545
	1	الظاهر 546
	1	<عمر> 547
	1	البشير محمد 548
	1	بكار حسن 549
	1	البكري 550
	1	بليل 551
	1	بلحسن الهاشمي 552
	1	بلعيد 553
	1	بلقاسم <حامد> 554

%	FREQUENZA	NOMI
0,004	1	<بلقاسم> فرحات 555
	1	بن حسن ابراهيم 556
	1	صالح 557
	1	محمد 558
	1	يحيي (يحيي sic per) 559
	1	بهيج 560
	1	بو بال 561
	1	بو بكر حسين 562
	1	بو تفاحة 563
	1	جعفر 564
	1	شهوة 565
	1	صحيح 566
	1	عبدلي 567
	1	علام 568
	1	علي 569
	1	غانم 570
	1	فارس 571
	1	بيبان 572
	1	تاج 573
	1	تاجر 574
	1	*تراس 575
	1	التركي 576
	1	التليلي 577
	1	التواتي 578
	1	توفيق حسين 579
	1	الطيب 580
	1	جاد المولى 581
	1	جبارة 582
	1	الجبور (الجبوري؟ sic per) 583
	1	جبوري <احمد> 584
	1	جرير 585
	1	جلال حافظ 586
	1	جلولي 587
	1	جمعاوي 588
	1	جمعة عمر 589
	1	جمعي 590
	1	جميل 591
	1	الجميل 592
	1	الجوادي حسن 593
	1	جويني 594
	1	حامد الصادق 595

%	FREQUENZA	NOMI
0,004	1	حبرون 596
	1	حبيب <ابراهيم> 597
	1	حسين - 598
	1	زيدان - 599
	1	ظاهر - 600
	1	لسعد - 601
	1	الحبيب محمد 602
	1	حبيب <هاشمي> 603
	1	حتور <حبيب> 604
	1	حجاء المنصف 605
	1	حجوجي 606
	1	حسام الدين 607
	1	حسن الطيب 608
	1	عبد الواسع - 609
	1	عيسى - 610
	1	كامل - 611
	1	- <الماجري> 612
	1	حسني 613
	1	الحسومي 614
	1	حسوني 615
	1	حسين الشتاوي 616
	1	- <علي> 617
	1	حفصي 618
	1	حفاوي محمد 619
	1	حفيز 620
	1	حمادي خالد 621
	1	- الهادي 622
	1	حمداني 623
	1	- احمد 624
	1	حمدة التيجاني 625
	1	حمودة غانم 626
	1	حميدي 627
	1	حنين 628
	1	حواني 629
	1	حوري 630
	1	*حيسون 631
	1	خالد ابراهيم 632
	1	- <منجي> 633
	1	خريف 634
	1	خلف الله 635
	1	خليفة احمد 636

%	FREQUENZA	NOMI
0,004	1	حليقة عمر 637
	1	خموس 638
	1	المحموسي 639
	1	خميس 640
	1	خيران 641
	1	خيري 642
	1	درويش 643
	1	دربد 644
	1	رافع 645
	1	- الدين 646
	1	رافق 647
	1	رائد 648
	1	ربحي <نافع (9)> 649
	1	رحمان 650
	1	رحماني <احمد> 651
	1	رحيم 652
	1	- الهادي 653
	1	رزق 654
	1	رشاد <عزيز> 655
	1	رضا سليم 656
	1	- الله 657
	1	- محمد 658
	1	رفيع 659
	1	رمضان <تيجاني> 660
	1	- الهادي 661
	1	الرياضي 662
	1	زاهر 663
	1	زايد 664
	1	زكرياء 665
	1	الزهار 666
	1	زهروني 667
	1	زيد الاول 668
	1	زين الدين 669
	1	الزين عمار 670
	1	سالم <شريف> 671
	1	سبوعي 672
	1	سعد الدين 673
	1	سعد الدين <الهاشمي> 674
	1	سعدان 675
	1	سعداني 676
	1	سعود 677

%	FREQUENZA	NOMI	
0,004	1	سعيد عبد الرحمان	678
	1	— <عبد اللطيف>	679
	1	عمار —	680
	1	عمر —	681
	1	محمد —	682
	1	ناصر —	683
	1	سفيان	684
	1	سكندر سعيد	685
	1	سلامة	686
	1	سلمان	687
	1	سهيل رشاد	688
	1	سوهيل (سهيل؟ sic per)	689
	1	<السيد> تيجاني	690
	1	الشابي	691
	1	الشاذلي <بكار>	692
	1	الشارف	693
	1	شافعي صالح	694
	1	شايب	695
	1	الشايبي	696
	1	الشملي <احمد>	697
	1	شتاوي	698
	1	شريف محمد	699
	1	— الهادي	700
	1	شعيب	701
	1	شفيق	702
	1	شلمي	703
	1	شهاب	704
	1	شهر الدين	705
	1	شواشي محمد	706
	1	شوقي	707
	1	الصادق الامين	708
	1	صادق <حبيب>	709
	1	الصادق حسن	710
	1	<صادق> السنوسي	711
	1	الصادق <عمر>	712
	1	الصادق فتحي	713
	1	صادقي (صادقي؟ sic per)	714
	1	الصافي	715
	1	صالح الامين	716
	1	— خالد	717
	1	— علالة	718

%	FREQUENZA	NOMI	
0,004	1	صحراوي	719
	1	صحيبي	720
	1	صغير	721
	1	الصغير خليل	722
	1	صفر	723
	1	الصباح	724
	1	صياد	725
	1	الضاوي	726
	1	طارق الشريف	727
	1	طاهر بلحسن	728
	1	— <حسن>	729
	1	— سعيد	730
	1	الظاهر <العباسي>	731
	1	— عثمان	732
	1	المختار	733
	1	— مصطفي	734
	1	— الناوي	735
	1	طلعت	736
	1	طه حسن	737
	1	— طاهر	738
	1	— علي	739
	1	الطيب <محمد>	740
	1	ظافر	741
	1	العارف خليفة	742
	1	العالي	743
	1	عايش	744
	1	العباسي	745
	1	عبد البار	746
	1	— الباري (الباري sic per)	747
	1	— الباسط	748
	1	— الخليم	749
	1	— الدائم	750
	1	— الرحيم <علي>	751
	1	— الرفيع	752
	1	— السنار حسن	753
	1	— السلام <حيلاني>	754
	1	— القفور	755
	1	— القادر <رضا>	756
	1	— الكبير	757
	1	— الله الامين	758
	1	— الله علية	759

%	FREQUENZA	NOMI
0,004	1	عبد المالك 760
	1	المطلب - 761
	1	النبي - 762
	1	الودود - 763
	1	الوهاب <عياشي> 764
	1	عبدو 765
	1	عميد سعيد 766
	1	*العبيدي <ابراهيم> 767
	1	عتيق 768
	1	عثمان <رشيد> 769
	1	عربي خليفة 770
	1	عروة 771
	1	عزاز 772
	1	عزام 773
	1	عطية 774
	1	عقبة 775
	1	عقيل 776
	1	العكرمي 777
	1	العكري 778
	1	علام 779
	1	العلمي 780
	1	علي بشير 781
	1	جعفر - 782
	1	<حسن> - 783
	1	حسين - 784
	1	حمدة - 785
	1	راج - 786
	1	<سلطان> - 787
	1	الشادلي - 788
	1	<صالح> - 789
	1	عثمان - 790
	1	العربي - 791
	1	عسيلة - 792
	1	<علي> عائلة 793
	1	علي فوزي 794
	1	كمال - 795
	1	الكيلاني - 796
	1	لزعز (sic per الازعر) - 797
	1	ميروك - 798
	1	محسن - 799
	1	المختار - 800

%	FREQUENZA	NOMI
0,004	1	علي <مدني> 801
	1	<علي> المقطوف 802
	1	علي نور الدين 803
	1	- <الهادي> 804
	1	عمارة علي 805
	1	*العماري 806
	1	عمر بكار 807
	1	- توفيق 808
	1	- سليمان 809
	1	- الصادق 810
	1	- صالح 811
	1	- <ميروك> 812
	1	- المختار 813
	1	عميرة 814
	1	العودي 815
	1	عون 816
	1	عويج 817
	1	العويدي (sic!) 818
	1	عيار مجيد 819
	1	عياري 820
	1	عياش 821
	1	عيدي 822
	1	العيساوي 823
	1	العيقي 824
	1	غازي حسن 825
	1	الغاوي 826
	1	غشان (sic per غسان) 827
	1	غلام 828
	1	غومة 829
	1	فارج 830
	1	فارس 831
	1	فاكر 832
	1	فالج 833
	1	فايد هاني 834
	1	فائز 835
	1	فتحي رضا 836
	1	فتيح 837
	1	فخري 838
	1	فرح كمال 839
	1	فرحات <محمد> 840
	1	فيصل ابراهيم 841

%	FREQUENZA	NOMI	
0,004	1	فيصل زيدان	842
	1	قادة الطيب	843
	1	القادري	844
	1	قاروس	845
	1	قاسم أمين	846
	1	— <الطيب>	847
	1	— <عبد الرزاق>	848
	1	عبد الله	849
	1	— العربي	850
	1	قدير	851
	1	قهرى	852
	1	القندول	853
	1	قيس	854
	1	— سليم	855
	1	قادر	856
	1	قدور <عبد القادر>	857
	1	كارم	858
	1	كاظم	859
	1	الكافي	860
	1	كاهل فزع	861
	1	كريم	862
	1	كمال رؤوف	863
	1	— السنوسي	864
	1	الكوني	865
	1	حسن	866
	1	لطفى عبد الرحمان	867
	1	ماجري	868
	1	مازوز (معزوز؟ sic per	869
	1	ماسو	870
	1	مال مافات	871
	1	مالك <الامين>	872
	1	المالكي	873
	1	مامور	874
	1	ماهر سعيد	875
	1	ميروك بوبكر	876
	1	مبوراخ	877
	1	مجدوب	878
	1	مح	879
	1	محبوب محمد	880
	1	محسن فرج	881
	1	محمد ادريس	882

%	FREQUENZA	NOMI	
0,004	1	محمد الاديب	883
	1	— الازغب	884
	1	— الأزهر عبد الحميد	885
	1	— الأشهب	886
	1	— الأصغر	887
	1	— الاكحل	888
	1	— اكرم	889
	1	— الياس	890
	1	— الباهي	891
	1	— بدر	892
	1	— البرني	893
	1	— بن الجيلاني	894
	1	— بو عزيز	895
	1	— تاج الدين	896
	1	— التوهامي	897
	1	— ثابت	898
	1	— جرمي	899
	1	— جلول	900
	1	— جميل	901
	1	— محمد <جنيدي>	902
	1	— محمد الحاج أحمد	903
	1	— حاج حسن	904
	1	— حافظ	905
	1	— حراث	906
	1	— الحساوي	907
	1	— الحفصي	908
	1	— حفطي	909
	1	— <حلمي؟>	910
	1	— حمدي	911
	1	— حمزة	912
	1	— <حنفي>	913
	1	— خالد	914
	1	— الخالقي	915
	1	— خير	916
	1	— خديري	917
	1	— خليفة	918
	1	— <الحميس>	919
	1	— دراجي	920
	1	— راج	921
	1	— راشد	922
	1	— رجاء	923

%	FREQUENZA	NOMI
0,004	1	محمد <زاوي؟> 924
	1	الزبير - 925
	1	زياد - 926
	1	زين العابدين - 927
	1	سعد الدين - 928
	1	سعدي - 929
	1	سلطان - 930
	1	سليمانى - 931
	1	<شاوش> - 932
	1	شفيق - 933
	1	<شكري> - 934
	1	شمس الدين - 935
	1	شهاب الدين - 936
	1	شهر الدين - 937
	1	الصاحب - 938
	1	صافي - 939
	1	صفا (صفا؟) (sic per) - 940
	1	عبد الجليل - 941
	1	عبد الحق - 942
	1	عبد الحميد - 943
	1	<عبد الرزاق> - 944
	1	عبد السلام - 945
	1	عبد الكريم - 946
	1	عبد المانع - 947
	1	<عبد النبي> - 948
	1	<عبد الوناس> - 949
	1	العبدلي - 950
	1	*عبد - 951
	1	عبيد - 952
	1	العبيدي - 953
	1	عسكري - 954
	1	العشيري - 955
	1	عصام - 956
	1	علافة - 957
	1	<عميرة> - 958
	1	العوني - 959
	1	<العيادي> - 960
	1	عياش - 961
	1	عياض - 962
	1	غازي - 963
	1	<الغربي> - 964

%	FREQUENZA	NOMI
0,004	1	محمد الغزالي 965
	1	الفتاح - 966
	1	فاهد - 967
	1	الفتاح - 968
	1	فخر الدين - 969
	1	الفرجاني - 970
	1	فرحات - 971
	1	<محمد> الفهري 972
	1	محمد قاسم 973
	1	<محمد> الكافي 974
	1	محمد حول 975
	1	المازري - 976
	1	ماهر - 977
	1	<المحيي> - 978
	1	مراد - 979
	1	المرزوقي - 980
	1	المرحف - 981
	1	المسعود - 982
	1	المعتمد - 983
	1	<معمري> - 984
	1	مفتاح - 985
	1	المكي - 986
	1	المنتصر - 987
	1	النور - 988
	1	ميزوني - 989
	1	ميلود - 990
	1	الناجح - 991
	1	الناصر - 992
	1	نبيل - 993
	1	نجا - 994
	1	<نذير؟> - 995
	1	<الهديلي> - 996
	1	الوردي - 997
	1	محمود بو راوي 998
	1	رضا - 999
	1	<صلاح> - 1000
	1	العادل - 1001
	1	<منصور> - 1002
	1	<مختار> طبيب 1003
	1	مخلوف 1004
	1	المدني 1005

%	FREQUENZA	NOMI
0,004	1	مدين 1006
	1	مراد <الحيب> 1007
	1	مرتضى 1008
	1	مرزوق 1009
	1	مرشد 1010
	1	مزيان 1011
	1	مسعود <صالح> 1012
	1	مسعودي <سعيد> 1013
	1	مسلم 1014
	1	المشهور 1015
	1	مصباح رمضان 1016
	1	مصطفى سليمان 1017
	1	الطيب - 1018
	1	العربي - 1019
	1	كامل - 1020
	1	المعتصم 1021
	1	معتوق 1022
	1	مقداد <حمادي> 1023
	1	مقطوف مختار 1024
	1	مكي علي 1025
	1	مليح 1026
	1	مناني 1027
	1	منجي الصبحي 1028
	1	المنجي الناصر 1029
	1	مندوج 1030
	1	منذر محمد 1031
	1	المنصف <خليفة> 1032
	1	منصف الهادي 1033
	1	منصور سالم 1034
	1	المهتدي 1035
	1	مهدي هند 1036
	1	مهدي 1037
	1	مهر 1038
	1	مولدي <خميس> 1039
	1	مؤمن 1040
	1	ميحوب 1041
	1	الشريف - 1042
	1	الناجم 1043
	1	نادر 1044
	1	ناصر الشريف 1045
	1	الناصر علي 1046

%	FREQUENZA	NOMI
0,004	1	نافيتي 1047
	1	نايف 1048
	1	- عبيد 1049
	1	نهباني احمد 1050
	1	النذير 1051
	1	نصر العربي 1052
	1	نصرات 1053
	1	نيسان 1054
	1	نوفل 1055
	1	الهادي <ابراهيم> 1056
	1	- <الاشهب> 1057
	1	الشريف - 1058
	1	عبد السلام - 1059
	1	هادي محمد 1060
	1	الهادي مختار 1061
	1	- مولدي 1062
	1	هارون 1063
	1	هاني 1064
	1	- البال 1065
	1	هلال 1066
	1	هون 1067
	1	هيثم 1068
	1	وايل 1069
	1	اوائل جمال 1070
	1	وجدي 1071
	1	*الوصيف 1072
	1	وليد محمد 1073
	1	يزيد 1074
	1	يوسف الحسناوي 1075
	1	يونس عبد الله 1076

ELENCO DEI NOMI ARABI FEMMINILI *

%	FREQUENZA	NOMI
5,86	156	فاطمة 1
3,64	97	سيدة 2
		السيدة
3,23	86	زهرة 3
		الزهرة
2,7	72	سعاد 4
2,33	62	جميلة 5
	62	نجاة 6
2,22	59	حبيبة 7
2,18	58	زينب 8
2,03	54	خديجة 9
1,65	44	لطيفة 10
1,58	42	عائشة 11
		عايشة
		عيشة
1,5	40	فوزية 12
	40	ناحية 13
1,46	39	شاذلية (شاذلية) 14
1,43	38	منوية 15
	38	نزيهة 16
1,4	37	علية 17
1,35	36	راضية 18
	36	ليل ، ليلا ، ليلة 19
	36	منجحة 20
1,28	34	آسيا ، آسية ، اسية 21
	34	حياة 22
	34	زكية 23
	34	عزيزة 24
	34	نبيهة 25
1,2	32	دليلة 26
	32	نعمة 27
1,13	30	شريفة 28

* In ordine decrescente dell'indice di frequenza.

%	FREQUENZA	NOMI
1,09	29	بيبة 29
	29	سميرة 30
1,05	28	منيرة 31
	28	وسيلة 32
1,01	27	هادية 33
		الهادية
0,97	26	سلوى 34
0,9	24	قمر 35
0,86	23	آمنة ، امنة 36
0,83	22	جليلة 37
	22	عربية 38
	22	فريدة 39
0,8	21	صفية 40
0,75	20	ليلى 41
0,71	19	آمال ، امال 42
	19	محبوبة 43
	19	نايلة ، نائلة 44
0,67	18	فتحية 45
	18	مريم 46
	18	نجيبة 47
	18	نقيسة 48
0,64	17	رشيدة 49
	17	محرزية 50
0,56	15	حليمة 51
	15	رفيقة 52
	15	فايزة ، فايضة 53
	15	فضيلة 54
0,52	14	سوفية ، صوفية 55
	14	مليقة 56
0,5	13	زينة 57
	13	كلثوم 58
	13	مفيدة 59
0,45	12	رفيعة 60
	12	روضة 61
	12	مبروكة 62
0,41	11	بخنة 63
	11	سعيدة 64
0,37	10	سعيدية 65
0,34	9	بهيجة 66
	9	خيرة 67

%	FREQUENZA	NOMI
0,34	9	دوجة 68
	9	رقية 69
	9	زبيدة 70
	9	سهام 71
	9	ضوء 72
	9	فطومة 73
	9	منية 74
	9	بمينة 75
0,3	8	تركية 76
	8	جنات 77
	8	حسنة 78
	8	دلندة 79
	8	صالحة 80
	8	صبيحة 81
	8	هنية 82
0,26	7	صلوحة 83
	7	مامية ، ممية 84
0,22	6	جودة 85
	6	حلومة 86
	6	سارة 87
	6	عروسية 88
	6	نجوى 89
	6	هدى 90
0,19	5	توحيدة 91
	5	حسنا 92
	5	حنيفة 93
	5	درة 94
	5	ربح 95
	5	ربعة 96
	5	سكينة 97
	5	صافية 98
	5	عويشة 99
	5	فطيمة 100
	5	مناة 101
	5	نادرة 102
	5	نادية 103
	5	نورة 104
	5	هندة 105
0,15	4	اسماء 106
	4	خدوجة 107

%	FREQUENZA	NOMI
0,15	4	ساسية 108
	4	سلمى ، سلمة 109
	4	شافية 110
	4	عائدة 111
	4	عقيفة 112
	4	فرجانية 113
	4	منا ، منى 114
	4	نبيلة 115
	4	هاجر 116
	4	هالة 117
	4	هناني 118
	4	وحيدة 119
0,11	3	بديعة 120
	3	بهية 121
	3	حبارة 122
	3	حسيبة 123
	3	حورية 124
	3	رحمين ، راحمين 125
	3	ريم 126
	3	زليخة 127
	3	زليخة 128
	3	سالة 129
	3	سامية 130
	3	سلمية 131
	3	شادية 132
	3	عبادة 133
	3	فريال ، فريال 134
	3	قمر ، قمر 135
	3	مباركة 136
	3	محسنة 137
	3	هند 138
	3	وريدة 139
	3	باسمينة ، بسمينة 140
0,07	2	ام الخير 141
	2	الزين - 142
	2	بشنة 143
	2	تاجة 144
	2	ثريا ، ثورية 145
	2	جنينة 146
	2	جويده 147
	2	حسنية 148

%	FREQUENZA	NOMI
0,07	2	حسينة 149
	2	خالدة 150
	2	خميسة 151
	2	خيرية 152
	2	زهيرة 153
	2	زيتونة 154
	2	سندس 155
	2	سيمة 156
	2	شامة 157
	2	شليبية 158
	2	شهلة 159
	2	علجية 160
	2	عواطف 161
	2	عين الحياة 162
	2	فرحة 163
	2	كريمة 164
	2	كميلة ، كاميلة 165
	2	مهية ، موهية 166
	2	مولدية 167
	2	نجمة 168
	2	نور الهدى 169
	2	هانم 170
	2	هنا (هنا؟ sic per) 171
	2	وجيبة 172
	2	وداد 173
0,04	1	ابتسام 174
	1	اسمهان 175
	1	الهام 176
	1	أم رزقي 177
	1	— الصاعد 178
	1	— العز 179
	1	— كلثوم 180
	1	— هاني 181
	1	أمينة 182
	1	انصاف 183
	1	أنيسة 184
	1	باهية 185
	1	بحرية 186
	1	بدره نزيهة 187
	1	البشره (sic!) 188
	1	بشرى 189

%	FREQUENZA	NOMI
0,04	1	تاج البهاء 190
	1	تبر 191
	1	تيرة 192
	1	تفاحة 193
	1	تفيدة 194
	1	تونس 195
	1	جماعة 196
	1	جمنية 197
	1	جوهره 198
	1	حيورية 199
	1	حدي 200
	1	حسن <الوجود> 201
	1	حسنية 202
	1	حفصية 203
	1	حفظة 204
	1	حكيمه 205
	1	حنيفة دلندة 206
	1	حواء 207
	1	حويته 208
	1	خطوية 209
	1	خميرة 210
	1	درعية <شرف الدين> 211
	1	دلال 212
	1	دلولة 213
	1	دنياناصر 214
	1	دنية 215
	1	ذهبية 216
	1	رابعة 217
	1	رافلة 218
	1	راوية 219
	1	رجاح 220
	1	رحيل 221
	1	رمضانة 222
	1	رملة 223
	1	رهيفة 224
	1	زايرة 225
	1	زعره (زعره؟ sic per) 226
	1	زغودة 227
	1	الزهراء 228
	1	زهرة <فانزة> 229
	1	سرية 230

%	FREQUENZA	NOMI
0,04	1	سهارة 231
	1	سهيلة 232
	1	سوسن 233
	1	شاكرا 234
	1	شعلة 235
	1	شقرة (شقراء؟) (sic per) 236
	1	شكرية 237
	1	شهرزاد 238
	1	شهيرة 239
	1	شويخة 240
	1	شيحة 241
	1	صبرة 242
	1	صحبية 243
	1	صديقة < فريدة 244
	1	صغيرة 245
	1	صليحة 246
	1	ضامنة* 247
	1	ضحى 248
	1	طاوس (طاووس) (sic per) 249
	1	ظريفة* 250
	1	عاتكة 251
	1	عائشة < درة 252
	1	عجلة 253
	1	عنيقة 254
	1	عسيلة 255
	1	عفاف 256
	1	عليا 257
	1	علياء 258
	1	عيشوشة 259
	1	غزالة 260
	1	فاطمة خديجة 261
	1	الزهراء — 262
	1	< منجية 263
	1	< منيرة 264
	1	فجرة 265
	1	فرتونة 266
	1	*فرجية 267
	1	فردوس 268
	1	فرهود (فرهودة) (sic per) 269
	1	فونة 270
	1	فيروزة 271

%	FREQUENZA	NOMI
0,04	1	قرفة 272
	1	قدانة 273
	1	كسيرة 274
	1	لؤي (لؤي؟) (sic per) 275
	1	ماحدة 276
	1	مجيدة 277
	1	محبوبة 278
	1	مدلة 279
	1	مسعودة 280
	1	مكية 281
	1	ممي (ميمي؟) (sic per) 282
	1	منتهة 283
	1	منسية حبيبة 284
	1	ميري (ميرة؟) (sic per) 285
	1	نافعة 286
	1	نبوية 287
	1	*نربمان (ناريمان) 288
	1	نزعة 289
	1	نسرية 290
	1	نسيمة 291
	1	نصاف 292
	1	نصرة 293
	1	نضيرة 294
	1	نهيدة 295
	1	نهيلة 296
	1	نوار 297
	1	الهدبة 298
	1	*وجدان 299
	1	وفا (وفاء؟) (sic per) 300
	1	وهيبة 301
	1	يامنة 302

ELENCO DEI NOMI ARABI AMBIVALENTI *

%	FREQUENZA	NOMI	
55,2	16	رجاء ، رجا	1
10,34	3	عزة	2
6,9	2	صباح محمود	3
	2	يسر (?)**	4
3,44	1	جهاد	5
	1	حكمة	6
	1	رجاء رؤوف	7
	1	عصمت	8
	1	مدحت	9
	1	نعناع (?)**	10

* In ordine decrescente dell'indice di frequenza.

** C'è incertezza nell'appartenenza del nome a questa categoria.

DISTRIBUZIONE DEI NOMI ARABI *

	PERSONE	NOMI			
		M.	F.	A.	
الف	1561	82	17		
ب	842	61	11		
ت	401	14	9		
ث	2		1		
ج	334	26	9	1	
ح	1892	60	22	1	
خ	434	17	8		
د	70	4	9		
ذ	1		1		
ر	764	32	18	2	
ز	308	14	14		
س	881	37	21		
ش	499	29	15		
ص	990	26	10	1	
ض	12	1	3		
ط	644	19	1		
ظ	2	1	1		
ع	5065	159	21	2	
غ	14	7	1		
ف	764	30	22		
ق	114	16	3		
ك	3	2	1		
ل	145	12	4		
م	151	5	4		
ن	7823	357	27	1	
هـ	910	30	27	1	
و	842	18	11		
ي	61	9	8		
	295	8	3	1	
Totale:		25824	1076	302	10

* Secondo il numero delle persone contate e la lettera iniziale.

BIBLIOGRAFIA

Abdul-Wahab, H. H., *Coup d'oeil général sur les apports ethniques étrangers en Tunisie*, in « Les Cahiers de Tunisie », XVIII, 69-70, [1970], pp. 150-169.

L'autore ripercorre le varie fasi della storia della Tunisia, dal periodo antico a quello della dominazione turca. Egli ha così modo di dare un quadro abbastanza completo dei molteplici apporti etnici stranieri in questo Paese, a seguito delle immigrazioni o invasioni verificatesi nel corso dei secoli.

Anonimo, *Notes sur les tribus de la Régence*, in « Revue Tunisienne », 1902, pp. 1-23; 185-194; 277-282.

Articolo che presenta una classificazione per regioni delle tribù della « Reggenza », con indicazioni relative ai loro costumi, al loro genere di vita, alla loro origine, alla formazione dei vari gruppi che le costituiscono e ai caratteri peculiari dei loro diversi elementi. I nomi delle varie tribù sono riportati in trascrizione di tipo francese.

Beaussier, Marcelin, *Dictionnaire pratique arabe-français*, Alger, Librairie Adolphe Jourdan, 1887, pp. 764 + 8.

Tale dizionario contiene: « Tous les mots employés dans l'arabe parlé en Algérie et en Tunisie, ainsi que dans le style épistolaire, les pièces usuelles et les actes judiciaires ». Vi sono riportati anche molti nomi propri di persona.

Ben Achour, Mohamed el Aziz, *Quelques notes sur l'onomastique tunisienne à l'époque husaynite pré-coloniale (XVIII^e-XIX^e siècles)*, in « Cahiers d'Onomastique Arabe », Paris, (CNRS), 1979, pp. 21-36.

Tale articolo contiene: a) uno studio sui caratteri generali dei nomi propri utilizzati nella composta società tunisina dei secoli XVIII e XIX; b) l'analisi di 233 biografie di 'ulamā' di Tunisi nell'ambito della realtà storico-sociale degli anni 1750-1840, con la formazione di una casta di famiglie di 'ulamā' e la grande importanza via via assunta dai cognomi; c) le designazioni degli 'ulamā' nel linguaggio parlato della città e nelle cronache.

Borrmans, Maurice, *Prénoms arabes et changement social en Tunisie*, in « IBLA », anno 31, n. 121, 1968, pp. 97-112.

Articolo che offre una precisa classificazione dei nomi, maschili e femminili, rilevati dall'autore nel corso di un'indagine svolta esaminando: 1) la lista dei « lauréats du Baccalauréat »* della sessione di giugno 1966 (indagine compiuta su un totale di 2.799 nomi maschili e 866 nomi femminili riferentisi a ragazzi e ragazze fra i 17 e i 20 anni d'età, in genere); 2) i nomi degli alunni delle scuole primarie di Ras-Djebel, capoluogo di una Delegazione del Sahel di Biserta: 1.255

* I « lauréats du Baccalauréat » sono coloro che hanno conseguito il diploma di scuola media superiore.

nomi maschili e 1.123 nomi femminili, in rappresentanza dei ragazzi di ambiente rurale (tradizionale) di età compresa pressappoco fra i 6 e i 16 anni; 3) i nomi degli studenti iscritti a Istituti primari privati di Tunisi: 512 nomi maschili e 1.076 nomi femminili riferentisi a ragazzi fra i 5 e i 15 anni, provenienti da famiglie della classe media o lavoratrice; 4) i nomi maschili (590) e femminili (635) scelti per i bambini da giovani famiglie di Biserta, appartenenti alla classe media o agiata. I vari nomi (107 maschili e 105 femminili), riportati in trascrizione, sono presentati dall'autore in quattro tavole, con indicazione della cifra assoluta totale e la percentuale rilevate per ognuno di essi in ciascuno dei quattro gruppi considerati. Dopo un'analisi comparata dei nomi appartenenti ai quattro suddetti gruppi, e dei loro coefficienti di frequenza, l'autore trae alcune conclusioni: i nomi maschili tradizionali o di origine religiosa, generalmente, tendono con gli anni, soprattutto negli ambienti urbani e più giovani, ad essere meno diffusi, sostituiti sempre più da nomi « arabi moderni », a testimonianza, quindi, di una certa « secolarizzazione » dell'onomastica. Per quanto riguarda i nomi femminili, l'autore rileva nella loro scelta i segni di un'evoluzione verso la ricerca di nomi « poetici », cioè dotati di notevole potenza evocatrice.

Cahiers d'onomastique arabe. Editions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris.

Sono usciti soltanto due numeri: il 1979 e il 1981.

Cuisenier, Jean, *Structures parentales et structures vicinales en Tunisie*, in « IBLA » anno 23, n. 92, 1960, pp. 401-426.

Vi si trovano nomi di tribù e anche nomi di persona. È uno studio sul « canton » del Djebel El-Ansarine, nel Nord della Tunisia, « canton » tipico degli « cheikhat » rurali della Tunisia. L'autore mostra, attraverso un'indagine sulle genealogie di tre gruppi tribali del suddetto « cheikhat », come alla circoscrizione amministrativa denominata « cheikhat del Djebel El-Ansarine » corrisponda un'unità sociale reale, derivante dal fatto che si tratta di piccoli gruppi, in relazione sia di parentela sia di vicinanza, che osservano tutti le stesse regole per quanto riguarda il matrimonio. Cioè, in tale « cheikhat » si ha l'accoppiamento di due regole contraddittorie per quanto concerne il matrimonio: la prima, che raccomanda il matrimonio all'interno dello stesso gruppo tribale; la seconda, che raccomanda il matrimonio al di fuori di esso. È annessa all'articolo la genealogia del gruppo dei « Ghouel » (quattro tabelle di nomi).

Desparmet, J., *Coutumes, Institutions, Croyances des Indigènes de l'Algérie*, trad. H. Pérès e G. H. Bouquet, tomo 1, pp. 22-23, Alger, Carbonel, 1939.

Le pagine 22-23 di tale libro danno alcune informazioni sui criteri che guidano i musulmani d'Algeria nella scelta dei nomi da dare ai neonati. I nomi riportati sono 48, con indicazione delle preferenze dei vari gruppi etnici per questo o quel nome e delle varianti fonetiche assunte, a volte, da uno stesso nome.

Djait, Hichem, *Influences ottomanes sur les institutions, la civilisation et la culture tunisiennes du XVI^e au XIX^e siècle*, in « Revue d'histoire maghrébine » 6, 1976, pp. 150-156.

L'autore esamina vari aspetti della vita tunisina durante i tre secoli (1574-1881) di presenza turca nel Paese. Molti sono i nomi di personalità dell'epoca citati.

Doutté, Edmond, *Notes sur l'Islam maghribin: Les marabouts*, in « Revue de l'histoire des religions » tomo XLI, 1900, pp. 22-66.

L'autore esamina i diversi titoli onorifici riservati ai « saints » locali nella società musulmana del Maghreb. Vi si trovano, quindi, molti nomi di personaggi che in tale società godono di una certa considerazione e venerazione.

Elenchi di «'Ulamā'» in appendice all'articolo:

Green, Arnold H., *On identifying and delimiting the corps of Tunisi 'ulama*, in «Revue d'histoire maghrébine» nn. 7-8, 1977, pp. 150-164.

I Elenco: pp. 160-161, «Mudarrisun at the Zaytuna Mosque, 1873-1915».

Si tratta di due liste di «mudarrisūn» della moschea Zaytūna, sia ḥanafiti che malikiti, dal 1873 al 1915. Per compilare tali liste ci si è serviti di fonti biografiche, documenti d'archivio, e di due almanacchi: «al-Nuzha al-Khayriya» (1875-1899) e «al-Ruznāma al-tūnisīya» (1900-1917). Nella 1ª lista si trovano i nomi di 49 «mudarrisūn» ḥanafiti e nella 2ª i nomi di 51 «mudarrisūn» malikiti, riportati tutti in traslitterazione.

II Elenco: pag. 162, «The Sharia majlis of Tunis, 1873-1915».

La 1ª lista comprende i nomi di 18 «shaykhs» ḥanafiti e la 2ª i nomi di 19 «shaykhs» malikiti (tutti in traslitterazione).

III Elenco: pp. 163-164, «Imams of the major mosques of Tunis, 1873-1915».

Si tratta di un elenco degli «imams» delle maggiori moschee di Tunisi, dal 1873 al 1915. Comprende 64 nomi (tutti in traslitterazione).

Epalza, Miguel de, *Moriscos et Andalous en Tunisie au XVII^e siècle*, in *Recueil d'études sur les moriscos andalous en Tunisie*, a cura di Miguel de Epalza e Ramón Petit, Dirección General de Relaciones Culturales, Madrid, 1973, pp. 150-186.

Titolo originale: *Moriscos y Andalusies en Túnez en el siglo XVII*, in «Al-Andalus» XXXIV, 1969, pp. 247-327.

Questo articolo dà notizie concrete sui «Moriscos» andalusi in Tunisia nel XVII secolo. Tali notizie sono tratte dagli archivi del Consolato francese a Tunisi, più precisamente da 246 documenti riguardanti i «Moriscos», trovati dall'autore negli otto volumi pubblicati da P. Grandchamp (*La France en Tunisie au XVIII^e siècle, 1920-1930*), contenenti gli estratti di migliaia di documenti concernenti ogni sorta di affari, principalmente atti giuridico-commerciali riguardanti gli stranieri, conservati negli archivi del Consolato francese a Tunisi. Tali documenti forniscono molte informazioni sull'insediamento dei «Moriscos» in Tunisia e sulla loro partecipazione alle attività del Paese. Si tratta principalmente di documenti riguardanti debiti contratti in Europa, o operazioni commerciali con Paesi europei. Molti i nomi propri di Andalusi che vi si trovano: nomi tipicamente spagnoli e molti nomi doppi, riportati in trascrizione. Parecchi documenti riguardano le operazioni di riscatto di schiavi e i contratti con i commercianti europei. I suddetti documenti forniscono, anche se in modo frammentario, qualche indicazione sull'arrivo a Tunisi dei «Moriscos» spagnoli, sui loro luoghi d'origine, i luoghi del loro inserimento in Tunisia, i mestieri da loro svolti, i titoli uniti a molti dei nomi propri di persona che ricorrono nei documenti esaminati. L'articolo si conclude con una rassegna di notizie su alcune importanti personalità della comunità andalusa tunisina.

Gabrieli, Giuseppe, *Il nome proprio arabo-musulmano*, Roma, Tipografia della Casa Editrice Italiana, 1915, pp. 266.

Libro fondamentale per chi vuole intraprendere lo studio dell'onomastica arabo-musulmana. Il nome proprio arabo-musulmano, con i suoi svariati elementi, è analizzato da un punto di vista storico e filologico.

Grandchamp, Pierre, *Arbre généalogique de la famille hassinite (1705-1944)*, in «Les Cahiers de Tunisie» anno 13, nn. 49-50-51-52, 1965, pp. fuori-testo, dépliant pag. 133.

Albero genealogico della famiglia «hassinite» (1705-1944), con indicazione delle date di inizio e fine del regno dei bey «hassinites». I nomi sono riportati in trascrizione (di tipo francese). Vi sono i nomi di 19 bey, oltre ai nomi dei loro rispettivi discendenti.

Latham, John D., *Contribution à l'étude des immigrations andalouses et leur place dans l'histoire de la Tunisie*, in *Recueil d'études sur les moriscos andalous en Tunisie*, a cura di Miguel de Epalza e Ramón Petit, Dirección General de Relaciones Culturales, Madrid, 1973, pp. 21-63.

Titolo originale: *Towards a study of Andalusian Immigration and its place in Tunisian History*, in «Les Cahiers de Tunisie» anno V, nn. 19-20, 1957, pp. 203-249.

È un articolo che dà molte informazioni riguardanti l'immigrazione degli Andalusi in Tunisia, nelle sue varie fasi, dal XIII al XVII secolo. Si tratta di notizie relative alla portata di tali immigrazioni, alle città e regioni della Tunisia in cui è principalmente avvertita la presenza andalusa, ai settori dell'economia che risentono notevolmente della presenza e del contributo «moriscos»: in primo luogo, l'agricoltura, poi l'industria e il commercio. L'autore mette in evidenza come tali immigrazioni costituiscano un fattore di evoluzione per la Tunisia. Egli accenna anche alla presenza dell'influenza spagnola in alcuni nomi propri di persona. È messa in rilievo la notevole impronta lasciata dagli Andalusi nel campo architettonico e nelle piante di molti centri urbani. L'articolo offre inoltre informazioni sull'organizzazione interna delle comunità andaluse, sui loro rapporti con la popolazione indigena. Ampio spazio è dedicato ad esponenti del gruppo andaluso (di cui sono riportati i nomi, in trascrizione) che hanno avuto un ruolo di primo piano nella vita politica ed amministrativa della Tunisia.

Lewicki, Tadeusz, *À propos d'une liste de tribus berbères d'Ibn Ḥawḳal*, in «Folia Orientalia» I, 1959, pp. 128-135.

L'autore apporta alcune correzioni ad una lista di più di duecento nomi di tribù berbere compilata da «Ibn Ḥawḳal» dopo la partenza del califfo fatimida «Abū Tamīm» dal «Maḡrib» in Egitto (giugno 973). Le tribù berbere menzionate nella lista di «Ibn Ḥawḳal» sono divise in due gruppi, di cui uno comprende le tribù appartenenti ai «Ṣanhāḡa» e l'altro le tribù facenti parte di «Zanāta». L'autore procede (in quest'articolo) ad una serie di correzioni ed identificazioni riguardanti i nomi di tribù menzionati nel suddetto documento, pubblicato dall'editore J. H. Kramers senza quelle rettifiche che secondo il Lewicki sarebbero state giustificate data la grafia erronea di molti dei nomi citati.

Marty, Paul, *Folklore tunisien. L'onomastique des noms propres de personne*, in «Revue des Études Islamiques» 10, 1936, pp. 363-434.

È uno studio sui nomi propri di persona e i cognomi in uso nella società musulmana. L'autore mette in evidenza come il fondo tradizionale, arabo e musulmano, esso stesso in parte erede del passato ebraico e cristiano, si sia arricchito in seguito a numerosi apporti. In primo luogo, sussistenza di alcune denominazioni anteriori alla conquista araba e all'islamizzazione del Paese; poi, introduzione di nomi nuovi, dovuta soprattutto all'influenza straniera, particolarmente europea e in special modo italo-spagnola. Sono presentate varie categorie di nomi, raggruppati in base alla loro origine. In primo luogo, nomi tratti da caratteristiche fisiche, poi, nomi tratti da fenomeni ed elementi della natura. Quindi, nomi tratti dal mondo animale o vegetale; nomi tratti da metalli o oggetti preziosi; soprannomi o nomignoli derivati dalle cause più diverse. E ancora, nomi di origine religiosa; etnici (cioè nomi di gruppi e luoghi); nomi di origine straniera: berbera, turca, a volte latina. L'autore si sofferma anche sui criteri che guidano i musulmani

tunisini nella scelta del nome da dare ai neonati. Ampiamente trattati anche i cognomi (con i problemi relativi alla loro origine), esaminati nella loro ripartizione regionale. I vari nomi sono riportati in trascrizione (di tipo francese), seguita, il più delle volte, dalla traduzione francese.

Marzūqi, M., *Dimā' 'ala-al-ḥudūd* (Sangue sulle frontiere), Tunisi, 1976, pp. 406.

È un testo in arabo tunisino. Si divide in varie parti, di cui una tratta dei nomi propri. La citazione bibliografica è stata trovata in M. G. Stasolla, *Bibliografia linguistica tunisina II*, in «Studi Magrebini» IX, 1977, pp. 27-193. Il libro è introvabile nelle nostre biblioteche.

Nicolas, Alfred, *Dictionnaire français-arabe (idiome tunisien)*, Tunis (Saliba), s.d., pp. 384.

In appendice a questo dizionario si trovano due liste di nomi propri maschili e femminili, in caratteri arabi, con accanto la trascrizione di tipo francese. La 1ª lista («Quelques noms d'hommes») comprende 114 nomi; la 2ª («Quelques noms de femmes») ne comprende 74.

Pavone, Cesare, *Alla radice dei nostri cognomi*, in «Selezione dal Reader's Digest» 432, settembre 1984.

Il sottotitolo di questo articolo è abbastanza eloquente: «Il quando, il come e il perché di quell'etichetta che, aggiunta al nome, serve a distinguerci e identificarci». L'autore presenta varie categorie di cognomi italiani: a) cognomi derivati da nomi personali di varia origine; b) cognomi derivati da soprannomi relativi al mestiere di chi li portò originariamente; c) patronimici e matronimici; d) cognomi che riflettono l'aspetto fisico di chi li portò in origine; e) cognomi che mettono in evidenza un particolare dell'aspetto o rivelano il carattere della persona. E ancora, f) cognomi derivati da etnici o toponimi; g) cognomi che rispecchiano la carica, il titolo, la condizione civile, militare o religiosa degli individui.

Pèrès, Henri-Mangion, Paul, *Vocabulaire de base de l'arabe dialectal algérien et saharien ou Mille et un mots d'usage courant chez les Arabophones de l'Algérie et du Sahara*, Alger, La Maison des Livres, 1961.

Le pagine 38-48 sono dedicate ai nomi propri maschili e femminili d'uso frequente. Sono elencati 223 nomi, in caratteri arabi, con accanto la trascrizione di tipo francese.

Pianel, Georges, *Sobriquets marocains*, in «Hespéris», tomo XXXVII, 1950, 3ª e 4ª trim., pp. 442-459.

Articolo che offre molti esempi di «sobriquets» patronimici marocchini di diversa origine, con la spiegazione (nei limiti del possibile) delle circostanze che li hanno determinati. Sono così presentati, ad esempio, «sobriquets» derivati da particolarità fisiche, disgrazie, infermità; da particolarità morali, da titoli di dignità. E ancora, «sobriquets» tratti dal regno animale e vegetale; da elementi dell'abbigliamento e del vestiario; «sobriquets» derivati da utensili, strumenti, oggetti di vario tipo, da nomi di cifre o di numeri, da fenomeni naturali. Infine, l'autore esamina alcune denominazioni derivate dal francese e dallo spagnolo. I termini sono dati tutti in trascrizione (di tipo fonetico) con la traduzione francese.

Quéméneur, Jean, *La Tunisie dans l'encyclopédie de l'Islam*, in «IBLA» anno 27, n. 108, 1964, pp. 369-380.

Articolo che ha origine dallo spoglio, fatto dall'autore, del I volume (lettere A e B) dell'*Encyclopédie de l'Islam* (2ª edizione). Tale estratto è diviso in tre sezioni, in due delle quali, dal titolo: 1) «Gens et choses de Tunisie»; 2) «Personnages intéressants l'histoire de Tunisie» si trovano anche nomi propri di persona, riportati in traslitterazione.

Quéméneur, Jean, *Autour des problèmes de graphie des noms arabes*, Études Sociales Nord-Africaines, in «Cahiers Nord-Africains» n. 99, nov. - dic. 1963, pp. 57-73.

L'articolo si divide in due parti principali: la 1ª, «Patronymes et prénoms arabes», è la riproduzione di un supplemento ai «Cahiers Nord-Africains», E.S.N.A., n. 25, luglio-settembre 1952, pp. 7. In essa, sono riportati molti nomi, suddivisi in varie categorie, secondo la fonte da cui derivano. La 2ª parte, «Une difficile question: la graphie française des noms arabes», tratta dei problemi relativi alla trascrizione in francese dei nomi arabi. Segue una lista di nomi maschili e femminili, in ordine alfabetico francese. In essa, alcuni nomi figurano anche con le loro varianti. I nomi, comprese tali varianti, sono: 228 maschili e 146 femminili.

Raymond, André, *Une liste des deys de Tunis de 1590 à 1832*, in «Les Cahiers de Tunisie» anno 8, n. 32, 1960, pp. 129-136.

Si tratta di un elenco comprendente i nomi dei 49 dey di Tunisi dal 1590 al 1832. L'elenco è tratto da due pagine di una raccolta di documenti arabi, che si trovano alla Biblioteca Nazionale di Algeri (sotto il numero 1618 dell'inventario di E. Fagnan). Queste due pagine sono un «fragment du carnet (Kunnâš) du Cheikh Ḥasan ibn Muṣṭafā al Turjumān». Le due pagine, il cui manoscritto risale al 1260 H (1844/5), contengono, oltre a un racconto della presa della Goulette nel 976 H, un elenco dei Bey, Dey e Pascià di Tunisi dal XVI al XIX secolo. L'elenco presentato qui dal Raymond è completato e precisato da notizie tratte da altre fonti. I nomi sono riportati in trascrizione (di tipo francese). Accanto ad ogni nome sono riportate le date relative all'inizio e alla fine del regno di ciascun dey.

Mie osservazioni sui nomi dell'elenco:

- 4 Dey portano come nome *Ibrāhīm*, nome seguito però da un 2º elemento, diverso nei 4 casi (ad es.: *Ibrāhīm Dey*, *Ibrāhīm Ḥūja*).
- *Al Ḥājj* precede ben 11 nomi, diversi negli altri elementi costitutivi.
- 10 Dey hanno come elemento costitutivo del nome (unito ad altri) *Muḥammad*.
- Nei nomi di 4 Dey è presente l'elemento *Aḥmad*.
- 2 volte ricorre *Maḥmūd*.
- 7 nomi terminano con l'elemento *Ḥūja*, ultimo elemento di nomi composti da due o tre elementi.
- Nei nomi di 3 Dey compare l'elemento *Lāz*.
- 4 Dey hanno come elemento del nome *Muṣṭafā*.
- 4 volte ricorre il nome *Qāra*.

Sebag, Paul, *Les Juifs de Tunisie au XIXº siècle d'après J.-J. Benjamin II*, in «Les Cahiers de Tunisie» anno 7, n. 28, 1959, pp. 489-492.

Articolo sulla vita e l'opera di Joseph Israël, un ebreo rumeno, che nel 1859 pubblicò un libro in inglese dal titolo *Eight years in Asia and Africa from 1846 to 1855*, con lo pseudonimo: J.-J. Benjamin II. Tale libro contiene un capitolo sulla Tunisia, capitolo riportato, immediatamente dopo l'articolo di Sebag, in traduzione francese, pp. 493-510. In tale capitolo, si trovano le testimonianze fornite dall'autore sulle comunità ebraiche della Tunisia. Sono riportati dati, cifre sulla ripartizione territoriale della popolazione ebraica. Il capitolo contiene informazioni sul posto occupato dagli ebrei nel commercio, nell'artigianato, nell'agricoltura, sulla loro situazione socio-economica, sull'organizzazione interna delle comunità ebraiche (sono indicati anche nomi di rabbini, giudici, capi).

Soualah, Mohammed, *La société indigène de l'Afrique du Nord*, 2ª parte, pp. 146-148 e 156, Alger, Carbonel, 1946.

Le pagine 146-148 di tale libro danno alcune informazioni sull'attribuzione del nome ai neonati e sulle cerimonie ad essa connesse. Vi sono menzionati 59 nomi maschili, suddivisi in base alla fonte da cui derivano: storica, religiosa, ecc. A pag. 156 si trovano 14 nomi femminili, derivati dai nomi di donne celebri dell'Islām, oppure da virtù e qualità.

Vroonen, Eugène, *Les noms des personnes dans le monde*, Bruxelles 4, Éditions de la Librairie Encyclopédique, 1967, pp. 495.

« Antroponimia universale comparata » è il sottotitolo di questo libro, che comprende due parti principali: 1) Nozioni generali di Antroponimia; 2) Analisi dei principali sistemi antroponimici. Vi troviamo, quindi, un'infinità di nomi, suddivisi in varie categorie. Per ognuna di queste categorie sono riportati, in genere, i nomi che in essa rientrano nei diversi sistemi linguistici del mondo. Per quanto riguarda l'antroponimia araba in particolare, le pagine 309-314 sono dedicate ai nomi musulmani, mentre le pagine 324-326 trattano dei nomi d'ispirazione profana.

Zbiss, Slimane-Mustafa, *Présence espagnole à Tunis*, in *Recueil d'études sur les moriscos andalous en Tunisie*, a cura di Miguel de Epalza e Ramón Petit, Dirección General de Relaciones Culturales, Madrid, 1973, pp. 267-270.

È una parte del discorso tenuto da Slimane-Mustafa Zbiss, archeologo, in occasione del gemellaggio Tunisi-Barcellona, il 27 marzo 1969. In essa, S. M. Zbiss mette in evidenza l'importanza della presenza dei « Moriscos » andalusi (stabilitisi in vari quartieri di Tunisi) nel campo artigianale, agricolo, industriale e commerciale. È anche messa in rilievo la presenza dell'influenza andalusa nell'antroponimia tunisina e soprattutto nel campo architettonico, nei monumenti.

RECENSIONI

S. Ribichini, *Poenus advena*. Gli dèi fenici e l'interpretazione classica, Istituto per la civiltà fenicia e punica, Consiglio nazionale delle ricerche, Roma 1985, pp. 145.

Sui Fenici e sui loro eredi nel Mediterraneo occidentale, i Punici o i Cartaginesi, la bibliografia è immensa sia per le fonti classiche, da cui si ottiene la conoscenza storica di quei popoli, sia per le fonti epigrafiche, quelle soprattutto in fenicio-punico, latino-punico, greco-punico, dalle quali si riesce a raccogliere un complesso di dati ma notizie non eccessive per la ricostruzione della vita e dei Fenici e dei Punici. E il motivo è evidente: le varie migliaia di testi in fenicio-punico sono in massima parte di una monotonia esasperante e servono soprattutto alla antroponimia, forniscono qualche toponimo e alcuni aspetti della vita e, in maniera particolare, della religione di quei popoli. E come i Fenici sono giunti a Cartagine e hanno superato le colonne d'Ercole, non hanno avuto difficoltà a raggiungere l'Asia minore, la Mesopotamia, l'Iran, la Tessalia, la Grecia, l'Egeo, Rodi, Cipro, Delo, Renea, Malta, la Sicilia, Pozzuoli, Roma, la Sardegna, le Baleari e magari la Britannia, etc. E il loro arrivo nelle diverse località del mondo antico, non escluso l'Egitto, ha una motivazione non sempre uguale: nel Mediterraneo occidentale sono certamente giunti come navigatori e commercianti, in Mesopotamia e in Iran probabilmente anche come prigionieri di guerra, se non come mercanti, in Britannia forse come militari, a Pozzuoli come uomini di affari, etc.

Di Fenici e di Cartaginesi le fonti classiche, greche e latine, sono ripiene e tracciano le linee più importanti della storia di quei popoli e sia i trattati di storia greca e romana come quelli della civiltà mediterranea vi fondano le loro analisi e sintesi. Ma lo sfruttamento degli elementi classici sui Fenici ha un lontano precursore in S. Bochart, molto prima che W. Gesenius e P. Schroeder iniziassero i loro tentativi.

Gli accostamenti alla cultura fenicio-punica provengono da diverse angolazioni e ciò non sorprende se si pensa che le città della Fenicia fanno la loro apparizione nei testi di Ebla: dal III millennio a.C. sino all'avvento dell'Islam la marina, il commercio, l'industria (porpora, vetro), il diritto (Beirut), la religione sono oggetto di attenzione e chi volesse sapere quanto produce la Fenicia basterebbe che leggesse la *Expositio totius mundi* o la *Chorographia* di Pomponio Mela.

L'aspetto religione dei Fenici e dei Cartaginesi non è il meno interessante: vi si è inserito l'autore del libro in esame, già noto perché ha già affrontato il problema di Adonide, una delle divinità più importanti del pantheon antico, qualunque sia l'atteggiamento verso la scuola scandinava.

Il titolo del libro (*Poenus advena*) è suggestivo sia perché richiama qualche studio sull'uso di Poenus come sull'immagine del Poenus nel mondo antico. Il sottotitolo (Gli dèi fenici e l'interpretazione classica) specifica l'angolazione precisa del libro, composto oltre che dalla prefazione e dall'elenco delle abbreviazioni, da sei capitoli: il primo - la soglia del mito (pp. 17-40) - tratta il problema delle fonti sulla religione fenicia; il secondo - l'eroe divino (pp. 41-73) - studia Melqart, Adonide, Eshmun; il terzo - un astro del cielo (pp. 75-92) - è dedicato ad Astarte; il quarto - il segretario di Kronos (pp. 93-112) - mette in luce Hermes; il quinto - la pietra potente (pp. 113-125) - prende in esame Abaddir; il sesto - l'altra dimensione (pp. 126-145) - si aggira intorno al concetto di interpretazione.

Difficile presentare il riassunto dei singoli capitoli: mi accontento perciò di qualche annotazione sparsa. Per ora voglio sottolineare la onestà e una certa completezza della bibliografia.

Il primo capitolo si interessa in grande parte delle fonti sulla religione fenicia che sono costituite soprattutto da frammenti, malgrado nell'antichità molti autori abbiano scritto o compilato opere sui vari luoghi o sulla intera storia della Fenicia. I frammenti più cospicui sono stati trasmessi da Eusebio di Cesarea dalla traduzione di Filone di Byblos della Teologia fenicia di Sancuniaton, nome molto fenicio (*skn jtn*, il dio Sakon ha dato). I testi di Ras Shamra-Ugarit hanno fornito qualche conferma a quest'opera che aveva suscitato non pochi sospetti e dubbi e sull'autenticità e sulla consistenza del lavoro. Da lodare l'autore per avere tradotto alcuni brani e da incitare perché prepari una versione completa di tutti i frammenti: ai lavori di L. Troiani e di Ebach è da preferire il libro di Baumgarten che ha presentato tutti i frammenti. I Kabei-roi di p. 92 richiamano la radici *kbr*, grande (la radice è usata anche dall'aramaico per indicare una divinità femminile). Surmubelos è una spia che tradisce il grado di conoscenza del fenicio *b'l* che viene di solito trascritto *bal* (la trascrizione *bel* proviene o dall'accadico o dall'aramaico). Quanto a Thuro due sono le possibilità e ambedue provengono dall'area aramaica: *šwr* - l'etimologia è nota anche a Plutarco - e *ṭwr*, monte (si vedano i papiri di Nessana). Alle pp. 94-95 sono passati in rassegna gli autori che costituiscono le fonti per la storia dei Fenici. Su Menandro di Efeso si potrà ora consultare anche L. Troiani, « Osservazioni sopra l'opera storiografica di Menandro di Efeso », *Studi E. Bresciani*, Pisa, 198, 521-528. A p. 29 è letto il brano di Porfirio dove tre nomi destano da anni la mia curiosità: Hierombal (il greco ha Ἱερομβάλ), Ieuo (il greco Ἰεὺο) e Abibalos. Su quest'ultimo, il cui nome appare anche nei frammenti di Menandro, le difficoltà sono minori: deriva o da *'ibb'l* o da *'abb'l*. Il secondo è di meno arduo accostamento: si tratta della trascrizione di *jh'w'*, futuro di *hwj*, vivere, non si ha difficoltà in questo caso nel vedere la forma semplice (vive, viva, vivrà), è un nome abbreviato (si conosce *jh'ln*, vive, viva, vivrà dio) come d'altronde è nota la forma femminile (*th'w'*). Quando si è tentata l'etimologia del dio nazionale ebraico, qualcuno ha suggerito la radice *hw'*: Ieuo ne sarebbe la prova? Quanto poi a Hierombal si è pensato sempre a Jerubbal del periodo dei Giudici, ma scorrendo le varie grafie di Hirom mi sono chiesto se qui Ierom non sia una delle tante varianti di Hirom. Nell'antroponimia fenicio-punica, a memoria, segnalo *hrmmk* in una iscrizione di Cartagine.

A Mocho si dedica molto spazio e a ragione: lodevole il completamento delle fonti (Sesto Empirico, M, IX, 363; Lucio Ampelio, *Liber memorialis*). Quanto al secondo, non sarà da dimenticare che in Epifanio da Salamina (*PG*, 41, 252) al Zygon greco viene data la corrispondenza semitica Mōzanē. Importante il fatto che a questo Mocho vengano attribuita la teoria degli atomi e che Talete venga considerato fenicio: sono infatti convinto da molti anni che la cosiddetta filosofia ionica sia in gran parte frutto di pensatori orientali e che il famoso libretto tascabile *Before philosophy*, riduzione di un'opera che affrontava l'avventura spirituale dell'uomo antico, sia da rivedere. Quando si pubblicarono i miti di Kumarbi, si affrontò il problema della trasmissione della cultura orientale e si cercavano i vari vettori: mi sembra che si debba studiare ancora il punto di partenza di questa cultura.

A p. 34 è tradotto un brano di Mocho riferito da Damascio: vi figurano Chusoros e Ulomos; il primo è *kšr*, non raro nell'antroponimia nordafricana (vedere *Augustinianum*, 13, 1973, 136-140), il secondo è *'lm* che richiamano l'*antiquus dierum* di Daniele e il *senex* nordafricano. Né è da trascurare il fatto che già nell'*Enuma eliš* si parla di due principi, l'acqua salata e l'acqua dolce.

Quanto a Ferecide di Siro (p. 36) i frammenti si potranno vedere anche in P. Tozzi, « Ferecide di Siro », *RANL*, 1967, 206-234. Mi è noto anche F.L. Lisi, « La teologia de Ferecides de Siro », *Helmantica*, 36 (1985), 251-275.

Quanto a Eshmun (p. 55), Eliun (p. 60) B. Hemmerdinger « Trois notes », *REG*, 79 (1966), 698-703 ha costatato la loro presenza in Beozia: Elium come Elieus (Plutarco, *Quaestiones Graecae*), Eshmun come Ismenos (Euripide, *Supplici*, 1214).

A proposito del toponimo fenicio « Faccia di Dio » (p. 79) vedere J.T. Milik, « Origines des Nabatéens », in A. Hadidi, *Studies in the History and Archaeology of Jordan*, I, Amman 1982, 261-265.

L'analisi potrebbe continuare a lungo e potrei diventare noioso: concludo con una osservazione a quanto si afferma a p. 123, n. 32: « Si osservi però che *'bn* in fenicio è femminile... ». È fuori dubbio che in

alcuni testi nordafricani il femminile è evidente e risulta dal femminile del verbo. Si può dire la stessa cosa di tanti altri casi in cui appare *'bn?* di altre lingue?

Finisco riportando un'altra testimonianza su Mocho. La riprendo da G. Nenci, *Hecataei Milesii Fragmenta*, Firenze 1954, 19, XLIII. *Freculpius Lexoviensis, Chronicorum libri duo* 1,26 = *PL*, 106,000: *Manethon, qui descriptionem fecit Aegyptiorum et Berossus qui Chaldaica defloravit, et Mochus et Aetius adhaec et Hieronymus Aegyptius, qui Phoenicam disposuit, concordant cum eis dictis. Hesiodus quoque et Agatheus et Hellanicus et Acusivavus.*

Si impone perciò la necessità di leggere anche Eusebio, *Praeparatio evangelica*, IX,13.5 (*GCS*, 43,1,499) dove Mocho subisce una leggera corruzione: « E danno testimonianza al mio discorso tutti coloro che presso Greci e barbari hanno composto le antichità. Infatti Manethos che ha fatto la composizione degli Egiziani e Molos (= Mochos) ed Estiaios e oltre questi l'egiziano Hieronimo che hanno scritto le Phoinikica concordano con le cose da me dette ».

Per la storia del testo di Giuseppe Flavio, *Antichità giudaiche*, I,107 serve anche la lettura di Giorgio Cadreno (I. Bekker, *Georgius Cadrenus*, Bonn, I,1838,23: « e compositori delle cose egiziane e caldee questi, Manethos che ha fatto la composizione delle cose egiziane, Berossos che ha raccolto le cose caldee, e Mocho e anche Estiaio, e oltre questi Hieronimo egiziano, e coloro che hanno composto cose fenicie ed Esiodo ed Ecateo, Ellanico e Acusilao ed Eforo e Nicolao ».

Il testo della versione latina di Giuseppe Flavio, *Antichità giudaiche*, I,107 (F. Blatt, *The Latin Josephus*, I, Copenaghen 1958, 137) sarà molto istruttivo: *testes autem dicti mei sunt omnes qui antiquitatem apud Graecos et barbaros conscribere maluerunt, nam et Manethon, qui descriptionem fecit Aegyptiorum, et Berossus qui Chaldaica defloravit, et Mochus et Estius, ad haec et Hieronymus Aegyptius qui Phoenica(m) disposuerunt concordant cum meis dictis.*

FRANCESCO VATTIONI

Zēineb Benzina Ben Abdallah, *Catalogue des inscriptions païennes du Musée du Bardo*, Collection de l'école française de Rome, 92, Institut national d'archéologie et d'art de Tunis, Ecole française de Rome, Palais Farnese, Roma 1986, XVIII+300.

L'École française di Roma mantiene alto e incontrastato e indiscusso il livello, tradizionale ormai, della sua collezione che con il volume in recensione giunge al nr. 92, stampando le ricerche di archeologia africana pubblicate dall'Istituto nazionale di archeologia e arte di Tunisi.

Per coloro che, come chi scrive, hanno visitato il museo del Bardo, alias museo Alaoui, era necessario che i tesori di questa istituzione, conosciuti attraverso pubblicazioni sparse qua e là, trovassero una edizione sistematica che costituisca uno strumento di lavoro sicuro, corredato da una buona fotografia, da un esame serio, da una bibliografia se non esauriente almeno orientativa. Un grande passo è compiuto con questo volume in esame ed è da augurarsi che la stessa felice sorte capiti, e quanto prima, ai testi punici e neopunici che il museo del Bardo ospita e che sono già apparsi in varie pubblicazioni.

L'opera della signora Ben Abdallah merita un plauso sia per la mole di testi che ha saputo raccogliere (532+110=632), per l'analisi precisa che ne ha fatto - anche se non troverà sempre il consenso di chi scrive - per i riferimenti esatti al luogo di provenienza, alla data, alle pubblicazioni anteriori e alla bibliografia, per le concordanze e indici di antroponimi e toponimi e si impone come base di ulteriore ricerca sia per coloro che si interessano di storia romana e africana sia per coloro che si spingono oltre e risalgono al punico e alle istituzioni di Cartagine e quindi si sforzano di cercare elementi di ricostruzione di una civiltà più antica.

Le fotografie delle epigrafi sono poste fuori testo a differenza di qualche altra opera della stessa collezione: se offrono il vantaggio di una maggiore chiarezza da una parte, dall'altra nel posto in cui si trovano

sono meno comode per la consultazione e per il controllo della lettura di quelle poste ai singoli testi e quindi più facilmente controllabili.

Una lettura a volo d'uccello cercherà di sottolineare gli aspetti che possono interessare uno studioso di lingue semitiche perché, se i testi neopunici sono relativamente pochi, tuttavia quelli in latino sono immersi in ambiente punico, sebbene Cartagine sia caduta da qualche tempo (i testi vanno dal tempo di Cesare a quello dei Vandali).

Sono innanzitutto da ricordare i toponimi e gli etnici: Gightenses (9.484), Meningitani (19), centenarium Tibubuci...provinciae Tripolitanae (21, cfr. 96), Biensis (24) Beguensis, Casensi, Musulamiorum (26), Achollitanus (27), Capse (28), Amma[eda]rensis (36), Thunusida (43), Carthagini (419, vedere 49 e 408, qui il toponimo è scritto con una consonante diversa), Segermes (73), Tal(enses) (153), Suturnuc(ensis) (160), Tuzritano (163, Thysdritano in 165, cfr. 489), Thunigabensis (164), Udensi (165), Ma[]rensi (167), Thig(nicae) (178), Sululos (189), Thinissut (190: mantiene il -t finale a differenza di Simittu), Hipp(onis) Diarr(hiti) ...Carpitanae (198), Sicilibbensis (199.201), Avitta (211), Simittu (219; 473 Simitthus), Fossa Regia (220), Thugg(a) (227), Cirta Nova (23à), [B]ullensium Regiorum (239, cfr. 236), Numidia (245; Numidarum prima mulierum in 368), Balcaranesi (292: *b'l qrn*, signore del corno?), Tapp (323), [Thubu]rbo Maius (356; cfr. 326.340), Canopitanae (340), Siccensium et Veneris (366), Cirthensibus Siccensibus (367), inter Iulium Regillum et Aunobaritanos (369), Abbirit (371), civitas Siagitana (378, cfr. 379.522), Mappalia Siga (380), [Ut]hina (398), Biracsaccarensium (408), ab Avitnis (411: *'b m'*, padre del fico?), Puppit (416, cfr. 418), Palmensi Aquensi (422), Api [senses] (431), Utik(ae) (437: non si sfugge alla suggestione di ricorrere all'etimologia *'tj'q'* = antica), Muxsi, Gususi, Zeugei (440), Thabborenses et Timisu[enses] (463), Tacapa (480), Oeae (468), Ululen[sens], Uccunn[sens], Vazaritan[i], Zamenses Zufocenses (A 23), Tuleses (320), Thisitanus (181).

Nemmeno la serie degli antroponimi è da sottovalutare: alcuni, e non pochi, sono la trascrizione del punico e cioè Baricis, genitivo di Baric, punico *brk*, benedetto (99), Donatus qui et Muthunos (157: Punico *mtn*, donato come in latino e non dono; è l'unico antroponimo trascritto che ha una corrispondenza, come per l'aramaico *b'ljhb*), Muthumbal (181: *mtnb'l*, donato di Ba'al, vedere...umbal di 326 e Muthunibal di 362), Baliathonis (181) *b'ljtm*, Ba'al ha dato), Bonchor (185: *bdmlqrt*, per mezzo di Melqart, Barigbal per Barigbal (206: *brkb'l*, benedetto di Ba'al, vedere 208), Aris (206.207.319, genitivo Arinis in 326: *'rs*, desiderato, sposo), Nampamone (320: *n'm p'm*, buon piede, traduzione già data da Agostino), Imilcone (320: *hmlk*, fratello del re), Cittinis (344, cfr. Cuttinus in 413 dove prendo in considerazione la suggestione *qtn*, piccolo), Namptoiuius (357, dove è evidente *n'm*, buono nella prima parte), ...*sthar* (362: *od'strt*, per mezzo di Astarte), Bardae (362: *brd'* da *brd*, grandine), Asdrubal (362: *'zrb'l*, ha aiutato Ba'al), Iddibal (362: *'dnb'l*, signore è Ba'al), Anno (362: *hn'*, ha avuto pietà, e non *'nn*, come vuole l'autrice), Sapote (362: *špt*, giudicò, nome abbreviato che presuppone sottinteso il nome di una divinità che in questo caso potrebbe essere Ba'al), Chubur (362: *kbr*, grande), Rucem (362: la radice *rqm*, donde ricamo?), Malc[hus] (372: *mlk*, re), Annobalis, genitivo di Annobal (380: *hnb'l*, ha avuto pietà Ba'al), Bercbal (409: *brktb'l*, benedetta di Ba'al, femminile di Baricbal), Safsula per Salsula, vezzeggiativo di Salsa (A 45: *šls'*, tertia), [M]uttunim (a 86: plurale di Muttun, donato), Zabullus (253: *zbl*, principe), Zabulliga per Zabollica (285). Arest (206: femminile di *'rs*, anche se è più comune Arisut). Più difficilmente spiegabili Sulgia (60), Innulae (61), Figel (76), Saganis (99: la radice *sgn*, governatore?), Fa[]jir (107), Calmasa (108), Naboris (151: forma passiva di *'br*, passare?), Ziommoris (168: *z' 'mr*, questo agnello? Si ricordi omor nelle stele di N'Gaus/Nicivibus), Nargaus (206), Sirimbatis (206), Nagud (206: *ngd*, annunciare), Oricufonis (206), Acidonis (206), Thinobae (224), Nimlil (226), Cituitia (257), Zaba (273), Mosina (271), Sicchuris (280: l'autrice preferisce Sicc... Huris), Nebto (304), Puttapus (305), Nyptanis (320), Samsera (321), Mian, Miane (362), Thaddac (362), Sider (362), Audasso (362), Mindig (362), ...echo (362), ...aco (362), Cuzole (362), Mazica (385), Birzilis (380), Bellenus (399), Variccalae (425), Rhyter (452), Zobbori (466), Vezrunianus (498), Appaei (499), Mitalci (503), Morinis (514), Sannacrio (A 47), Iuala (A 67). Non privi di interesse i numerosi participi passivi latini che formano

gli antroponimi e ai quali soggiace una radice punica: Speratus (95), Sedatus (117), Aquesita (122), Fortunata (123), Optata (141), Privata (142), Adventus... Donatus (145), Extricatus (151), Exorata (156), Fausta (161), Rogatus (162), Rogata (212), Optatus (219), Donata (262), Dubitata (263), Renatus (273), Estricata (330), Aptus (330), Honoratus (334), Restitutus (351), Concessa (415), Reposta (454), Successa (457), Benedictus (485), Ampliatus (A 64), etc.

Il culto è documentato con una certa abbondanza, in primo luogo quello di Saturno, quello di Apollo poi e di tanti altri dei. Per Saturno si pensa al Ba'al Hammon punico, al Kronos greco. Per Apollo si può sospettare che copra una divinità punica: Resheph.

Il culto di Saturno appare in 30.31.32.33.116.168.169.170.171.172.173.174.176.186.192.209.210.292.293.295.342.343.344.346 (primo di sette divinità), 374 (secondo dopo Giove in un gruppo di sei), 381.413.417.422.494.500.527.528. A 3.4. Ha sacerdoti (168.169.170.171.173.209.295.342) e non sarebbe stato male ricordare G. C. Picard, « Les sacerdotés de Saturne et les sacrifices humains dans l'Afrique romaine », *RSAC*, 66 (1948), 117-123.

Anche Apollo ottiene la sua parte: 1.98 (qui sacerdotum Apollinis primus erit), 235.236.237, etc. Ugualmente Caelastis con i suoi sacerdoti. Si vedano 100 (sacerdos Caelestis), 326.327.328.329.330.332.333. Tra i termini del culto appaiono aedes (1.240), templum (167.A 7.338), ara (238) e sacerdos, qualunque sia il valore del termine: 25.320 (attribuito a donne), 32.100.120.181 (sacerdos Adonis), 334.338.341.381.425. A 7 (sacerdos perpetuus). A 84, sacratus (55.100.228.322) e somnio iussus (32), dealbavit petram/s Saturni (116), intravit sub iugu (209), vestigium = impronta dei piedi (210), viso admonitus (292). Tra gli epiteti che si attribuiscono a Saturno dominus, corrispondente del punico *'dn*, frequentissimo nei testi punici e neopunici dell'Africa settentrionale (176), sanctus, corrispondente del punico *qds*, santo (293). Anche la lista degli animali (403).

Dei non facilmente reperibili sono Macurtam Macurgum Vihinam (oppure: e Hinam?), Bonchor, Varsissima, Iunam.

Se si passa alla lista dei mestieri non si fatterà a incontrare il corpus (punico *gw*) fullonum (99) e l'antroponimo Fullonius (381), il sufes (224.319), traslitterazione del punico *špt*, participio della forma semplice, gli structores (320), Mantis (326), Manciane cultor (324), obstetrix (385). Storacis (206) richiama il commercio dei profumi.

Non mancano altre curiosità come Bovis (254) che può richiamare il punto *'lp*, la cui traslitterazione è conosciuta da Dioscoride, Cattula (272) che potrebbe far pensare a *bqr*, armento, Quarta (300.320), che fa pensare ad *'rb'j*, Arbai; Tertia (313), che conduce a *šls'*; Have (354) che rimanda all'imperativo di *hwj*, vivi.

Un ultimo rilievo: in 15 delle due righe di iscrizione neopunica leggibile a prima vista le tre ultime lettere della prima linea: *dr'* per [n] *dr'*, ha promesso, perfetto della forma semplice terza persona singolare femminile, che si riscontra qualche volta anche a Constantina (Cirta).

18. Bilingue neopunico-latina: *hmlk bn špt hnb'l/šsb'* (da notare la grafia diversa dei due h)//Lupercus. La vocalizzazione latina di *špt* non è quella indicata dall'autrice (non si tratta di un participio - in ogni caso non sarebbe quella la sua vocalizzazione - ma di un perfetto): si veda Sapote (ILT, 632=362), Safotis (CIL, VIII, 23997), cfr. F. Vattioni, « Antroponimi fenicio-punici nell'epigrafia greca e latina del Nordafrica », *Annali del seminario di studi del mondo classico*, 1 (Napoli 1979), 153-191, specialmente 186, 227.

85. Contro i violatori di tombe (91.92.104). Interessante anche 100.320. Purtroppo la fotografia non permette di spingersi nell'interpretazione e nella lettura del testo neopunico della bilingue oltre il tentativo di C. Clermont-Ganneau.

INDICE

FRANCESCO VATTIONI, <i>Parva africana</i>	1
HUSEIN MONÉS, Commentary on the Chapter on Egypt of <i>Nuzhat al-Mushtāq</i> by al-Sharīf al-Idrīsī	13
ALFONSO ALI BEN MOHAMED, <i>Nazhūn bint al-Qila'ī</i>	61
GIOIA CHIAUZZI, La spedizione di Napoli contro Tripoli d'Occidente secondo il cronista tripolino Ḥasan al-Faqīḥ Ḥasan (Parte seconda)	69
GABRIELLA LAINO, Antroponimia araba in Tunisia (cont. e fine)	91
<i>Recensioni</i>	139

