

Sardinia in Arabic Sources*

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The purpose of this paper is to examine Arabic sources, which I have already used in three previous articles published in 2001 and 2002¹, with the aim to discover:

- A) if there is a connection with the results of the studies on Sardinia and
- B) to discover sources of Arab authors.

A) Researchers on Sardinia during the last century have produced important historical, archaeological, anthropological, genetic and linguistic studies related to ancient, medieval and modern periods; among them I must quote at least the names of Giovanni Lilliu and Ercole Contu (Nuragic Archaeology), Sabatino Moscati (Phoenician studies), Vittorio Lanternari and Mario Atzori (Anthropology), Pietro Meloni and Attilio Mastino (Roman History, Epigraphy and Archaeology), Max Leopold Wagner, Massimo Pittau and Giulio Paulis (Linguistics), Cavalli Sforza and Vona (Genetics), Turtas (History of the Church), Francesco Cesare Casula, Giuseppe Meloni and Angelo Castellaccio (Medieval History)².

One of the aspects which cuts across my analysis and the work of previous professors who have taught and some of whom still teach at the Universities of Cagliari and of Sassari, is the research on the waves of the peoples who have inhabited Sardinia; this subject is one of the themes which I shall try to examine through Arabic sources.

To organize the research I have used historical and geographical Arabic sources written by Muslim authors between the 9th/3rd century and the 15th/9th century, Ibn Ḥaldūn being the last one among those who, as Francesco Gabrieli stated, had elaborated an original thought in Arabic³, before the Ottomans and the Turkish language established their dominion over the Arabic World.

From ancient times to the period of the Phoenician presence in coastal Sardinian towns (from about 1000 BC), researchers have indicated different areas of origin for the peoples who started inhabiting Sardinia: Liguria and Tuscany in Italy, the Iberian Peninsula, North Africa, the Caucasus Region and the Middle East. In the 6th Century the Island was under Punic control and influence and in 238 BC became a Roman Province. Some authors, such as

Gardiner, have proposed identification of the Šrdn, one of the so called "Peoples of the Sea", whose presence is registered in Egypt and the Middle East around 1200 BC, together with Plst (Philistines), Libw (Berbers -Lybians), Trš (Etruscans), Šklš (Siculi/Sicilians) and other peoples. In 1997 Prof. Garbini proposed the identification of Sardinians with a group of the tribe of Zabulon who had Sared as eponym and who had established themselves in the Northern territory of the Philistines⁴. In 1996 I pointed out that a mark of the passage of those ancient peoples seemed to me to appear in a passage of the *Tārḥ* of Ibn Ḥaldūn when he talks about the area of origin and diffusion of the Berbers. Of Palestine origin, the Berbers left their land, after the death of Ġalūt/Goliath and after being defeated in Egypt fought wars against the Afāriqa and Ifrangġ and finally established themselves in Northern Africa, the Iberian Peninsula and the Great Islands of the Mediterranean Sea. The origin of the Berbers from Ġalūt is also given both by Idrīsī and Ibn Ḥawqal: Idrīsī indicates Ġalūt's father Naḡgaw as the ancestor of Nafzāwa, a Berber tribe present in Ifrīqiya around Tuzer; in the same source (The *Nuzḥa*) Idrīsī refers to the Mount of Ġalūt al-Barbarī in Egypt, where Goliath and his cavalry took shelter, after he had been defeated by David⁵.

Garbini attributed to Philistines the foundation of urban sites in Sardinia, during the same time as their presence in Palestine⁶; the only sign which I can indicate as a correspondence between the old Plst (Philistines) and Sardinians is the effigy of Sardus Pater, reproduced in a coin struck by Romans about the year 38 BC, two centuries after their occupation of Sardinia; the eponymous god of Sardinians wears a headgear with feathers, similar to the plumed helmet we see in Plst heads in the Egyptian documents⁷.

I have already indicated (1996) a few common elements I found between Berbers and Sardinians: i.e. two anthroponyms: the Berber tribe Kusīn (in Arabic sources), the Cusin of Latin classical sources located near Sorabile (the area of the actual Village of Fonni - Nuoro) and the surname Cusinu/Gusinu which can both be found in Central Sardinia and the other Berber tribe Kazūla which has a Sardinian correspondent in the surname of Casula/Catzula-Catzulo⁸. Another mark of a probably very similar way of life and beliefs between Sardinians and Berbers is to be found in some rituals still present both in Central Sardinia and among Berbers in Carnival performances when groups of men cover their faces with animal masks and move in a dance similar- as one researcher has pointed

out - to the rhythmic movement of the Salii in early Roman times⁹.

Relations and exchanges between Sardinia and North Africa, especially the area where Berbers have lived up until the present, seem to be characterized by continuity since ancient times up to, at least, the Arab-Islamic occupation of Northern Africa. The map of historical times we can draw from shows an original Sardinian Civilization, known as Nuragic Civilization, born in about the XV century BC. This Nuragic Civilization coincides with the presence of “the Peoples of the Sea” in the Middle East, and remained up to the Roman Occupation of the Island. In the VIII century BC the Phoenicians were well established in Sardinia for we find archaeological evidences for their presence including the famous *stèle* on which they gave for the first time their denomination of Sardinia, the Semitic root ŠRDN (Šrdn), the same one which Egyptian and Akkadic sources used (1400-1220 BC) for the name of one of the Sea Peoples¹⁰. Greek and Latin Sources give credit to the idea that armed groups and mercenaries of Lybian origin came to Sardinia with the Phoenicians, both from Iberia and North Africa and mixed with the Nuragic population, becoming in time elements of resistance to the Carthaginian conquest and to the Roman occupation later on. The Greeks transmitted a myth to us according to which Iolaos, son of Hercules, moved from Greece to Lybia, where with his family and several warriors he entered and inhabited Sardinia. Diodorus Siculus narrates to the same myth adding that after the interruption of contacts with Motherland Greece the descendants of Iolaos became barbarians¹¹. A sign of the Libyan-Berbers presence in Sardinia, as mentioned by Latin and Greek sources, is found in some of the names of the inhabitants of the Island such as Balari (Lybian mercenaries who came from the Balearic Islands) or Mauri, who came with the Vandals after their occupation of the Island in the 5th century establishing themselves in the mountains not so far from Karalis/ Kalaris (Cagliari) the capital of the region: a trace of this event is the name of the inhabitants of the south-west area of Sardinia still called *Maurreddinos* (Little Mauris). Another clear mark of the presence of these armed Berber groups in the Island is represented by the word *zèrda* which survives in Central Sardinia up to today and which in my village Sarule (Nuoro) was up to the 1960s the denomination of the flank of a cart, made of wood sticks intertwined with willow-tree branches, verbascum and other shrubs. A proposed origin of the word is the Latin *caetra*, the shield of Lybian mercenaries made by leather, wood and iron, which became *cèrda* in the southern Sardinian language and *zèrda* in the North, as Wagner wrote. The word *zèrda* is present also in Arabic and in Berber with the meaning of ‘fraternal agape’

and under the root ZRD we find in Dozy's *Supplément*: *armer avec de mailles, mailler, cuirasser, nouer, treilleser*; the *zèrda* of Sardinian language evokes times when the mountains of Central Sardinia represented a shelter for rebellious groups in Carthaginian and Roman times¹².

In Medieval Islamic times as well we can still find a clear and enduring sign of the continuity of this interchange between Sardinia and Northern Africa which shared with Europe the same Roman civilization. The Arab-Islamic army in Ifrīqiya led many North Africans to leave their land and large groups of them found protection in Sardinia. Muslim attacks against Sardinia, formally Byzantine after a short Vandalic domination, started with the expedition of Mūsà Ibn Nuṣayr (711-712) and continued up to the invasion of Muğāhid al-Āmirī (1015-1016), which is the only brief Muslim conquest of the Island registered both in Western and Arabic sources. Thus Sardinia, like many other European territories in the Mediterranean Sea, suffered because of the conditions of war. In this period Christian Sardinians emigrated to Ifrīqiya, in a sort of movement of returning home, and established themselves in Sardāniya, a town which had the same Arabic name as the island, their land of origin. Regarding this Ifrīqyan Sardāniya I have collected some information in Ibn al-Atīr and in Ibn Ḥaldūn *Histories* which has been published in my articles which have appeared in the last two years¹³. This town was located between Ġalūla and Qayrawān and the Sardinians accepted the *dimma* and paid the *ğizīya* living in alliance with the Botr, a branch of the Nafzāwa Berbers, who were distributed in the Tuzer villages. Sardāniya, which already existed in 972, at the time when the Fatimide al-Muʿizz stopped there for four months to prepare his final trip to Egypt, was a flourishing town of fruits and oranges between the XI and XII centuries ("laysa bi-Ifrīqiya mawdiʿ aḡmal minhu" - as al-Bakrī wrote) and had the same name in the XIV century, at the time in which Ibn Ḥaldūn remembered it. Later on it changed its name to Sbikha in present-day Tunisia¹⁴.

B) The other theme which I am interested in is the source from which Arabic authors gathered their information on Sardinia and, as a starting point of my analysis, I refer to the page on Sardinia written by Idrīsī in his *Nuzḥa*¹⁵.

B.1 Mentioned towns. Idrīsī is the only one, among Medieval Arabic authors of whom we know up to now, to have given three names of Sardinian towns; Nuwayrī also wrote that the main towns existing in Sardinia were three,

without giving us their names, however; Ibn Ġubayr mentioned the existence of a town, the residence of the Prince, not far from Qaw Samarka, St. Mark's cape nearby the town of Oristano on the Central West Coast of the Island; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa spent a couple of nights in a towered Sardinian town, identified as Cagliari by Dunn¹⁶. The names of the towns in Idrīsī's *Nuḏḥa* are: Qallara, as a final interpretation proposed by Amari¹⁷ and correspondent to Cagliari (Karalis & Kalaris in Latin & Greek), place-name which has about 9 interpretations in the manuscripts; al-Fisana with other 15 interpretations is for Amari Fausania, which corresponds to the Latin and Greek name of Olbia whose Arabic pronunciation, or better calque, corresponded to the Greek Fausiane; the third town, Q.stala, with more than 9 interpretations, has been identified as Galtelli by Schiaparelli and as Castelsardo by Amari: in my opinion, as I wrote in the article published in 2002, Galtelli had a certain importance (being an episcopal seat) only after 1250; if Arabic Qastala is a calque of a Sardinian place-name the only similar one I found in Medieval Sardinian documents is Castili in the Central area of the Kingdom of Torres (Northern Sardinia). As for Qastala = Castelsardo, proposed by Amari, we see that it is a village with a tower and a fortress built in 1102 by the Dorias with the name of Castelgenovese (which became Castellaragonese in 1516 and Castelsardo in 1767). However medieval Sardinian documents and contemporary studies never give particular importance to this fortress. The main town in the Northern part of Sardinia in 1154, when Idrīsī started writing his *Nuḏḥa* for Roger the Norman, was still Torres (Porto Torres), the capital of the Kingdom of Torres. Some elements lead us to think that probably the name Qastala, which we find in Idrīsī, refers to this town. The origin of its name could be seen because it was a Nuragic tower from which the Romans started organizing their important colony of Turrus Libisonis, or because it was a castle/fortified walls which surrounded the town, or finally because of its famous aqueduct built by the Romans. The Arabic *qastal*, which Dozy translated *tuyau de briques, fontaine, conduit d'eau, chateau d'eau*, is a calque, through Aramaic, of the Latin *Castellum* = aqueduct, which suggests that Qastala could be identified with Torres.

B.2 Two other place-names Ġazīrat Umm al-Ḥimār (lit. "The mother of the donkeys") and Ġazīrat aṭ-ṭurfaniyya are identified by Amari with the islands of Asinara and of the Archipelago of La Maddalena. The words Amari wrote on ṭurfaniyya¹⁸ still remain as a the work of a Master of Arabic and philological

studies, whose research work on Sicily and Italy in Arabic sources everybody must still refer to even though his *Biblioteca Arabo-Sicula* and his *Storia dei Musulmani di Sicilia* were published a century and a half ago¹⁹.

B.3 Among the measurements of the Island Idrīsī gives its length (280 miles) and its breadth (180 miles), the same measurements which we find in Nuwayrī; the length was 220 miles for Strabon, 188 for Plinius, and 134 for Tolomeus. Other Arabic sources report the circumference of the island: 300 miles (Ibn Rusteh) and 500 miles (Ibn Ğubayr, which is the same measure as Strabon; Plinius gives 562 miles and others 660). In the opinion of prof. Bausani, who accepts the measurement of 1, 9732 km of Arabic miles proposed by Nallino and based on Eratostene's measurements, the only oriental measurement (about 1300 km) correspondent to the contemporary measurement of the circumference of the island is the one we find in Piri Reis *Kitāb-i Baḥriyye* of the 1520²⁰. The island ('kaṭīrat'-l-quṭr' in Idrīsī) has a large surface for Yāqūt ('Ġazīra ... kabīra laysa hunāk ba'd al-Andalus WA Saqalliya WA Iqrītis akbar minha'); smaller than Sicily and Crete according to Ibn al-Aṭīr and Abū'l-Mahāsīn. The portion of the Mediterranean Sea where it is located is called Baḥr aš-Šām (Idrīsī), Baḥr al-Mağrib (Yāqūt) and Baḥr ar-Rūm (Ibn al-Aṭīr and Ibn Rusteh)²¹.

B.4 '...Wa ahl Ġazīrat Sardāniya fī aṣl Rūm Afāriqa mutabarbirūn mutawaḥḥiṣūn min aḡnās ar-Rūm wa hum ahl nağida wa hazm lā yufariqūn as-silāh', wrote Idrīsī .

The inhabitants of Sardinia are considered 'Qawm min al-Ifrānğ' by an-Nuwayrī and of the same race as the Berbers by Ibn Ḥaldūn.

The passage in Idrīsī is interesting because it confirms a Northern African origin of the Sardinians which is present in the myth reported by Timeus and also in other historical Greek and Latin sources. At the same time 'ahl Sardāniya' are 'Afāriq' (inhabitants of Ifrīqiya?) and Rūm, a word which means 'Latin, Roman and also Byzantin or sometimes it is used in Medieval Arabic sources as synonymous for Ifrānğ/Ifranğ). The term 'mutabarbirūn' was translated 'berberizzanti' (berberisant) by Amari-Schiaparelli and in Jaubert's French translation of the *Nuzḥa*, published by Nef in 1999, is translated 'ils sont devenus des barbars'²².

The first Latin document we know in which there is the expression

"Civitatates Barbariae" (ence the place-name Barbagia in Central Sardinia) is a dedicatory epigraph of the I Century AD, found in the Central Area of Sardinia (Fordongianus < Forum Traiani, Oristano), considered a sort of document of forced pacification of this area and a sort of armistice between the Emperor Tiberius and the central Sardinian population. Barbagia can also be considered the etymological derivation of the verb 'ekbarbaroustai' (ἐκβαρβαρουσται) used in the same period by Diodorus Siculus for Sardinia. In the 6th century Procopius wrote about the presence in Sardinia of two groups of 'Barbarikinoi': the first one in the mountains near Cagliari (a group of about 3000 Mauris with their families condemned to deportation to Sardinia by the Vandals when they occupied the Island and North Africa) called 'maurousi barbarikinoi' (μαυροῦσοι βαρβαρικῖνοι) the other group was that of Barbaricins of the Island-νῆσος ('Barbarikinoi nesotai' βαρβαρικῖνοι νῆσοται). Procopius wrote that the Barbaricins 'nesotai' (νῆσοται) felt free to do what they wanted. The first reference in Latin sources is a letter written by Gregorius Magnus to Hospiton 'dux Barbaricorum' in the 6th century. Besides the term has survived as Barbagia we find another place-name in central Sardinia called 'iskina varvagos' (the hill of the Barbaricins), a country area near the village of Sarule (Nuoro)²³. The inhabitants of southern Sardinia call their northern fellow countrymen 'cabillus', which seems a calque of the Arabic 'qabīla/qabāil' (>Cabilia, Cabylie), a term used by the Arabs in the Magrib for the Berbers. The participle 'mutarbarbirūn', which Idrīsī was to refer to all the inhabitants of Sardinia, can be translated "they became barbars" if the source he read was Timeos or Diodorus Siculus (the myth of a Nuragic civilization of Greek origin and barbarization of the Nuragic population when isolated), or "Barbaricins" which from the 5/6th Century became the name used by Byzantins to distinguish the inhabitants of the Barbaria from those of the civilized Latin area of Sardinia called Romania²⁴, which I prefer.

A final consideration to confirm the influence of Byzantine sources chez les Arabes: the name of the island which is Sardūs in al-Ḥuwārizmī (if we accept how Nallino read sarḥūs), Sardīniya in some authors such as Ibn Saʿīd, Sardāniya in the majority of the Arabic authors and Sartāniya in Qudāma ibn Ġaʿfar²⁵. The denomination Sardāniya has probably passed into Arabic from Byzantine Greek because the Island became a Byzantine province of Africa under Justinian (527-565) called the Province of Sardania (ἐπαρχία Σαρδανίας) as mentioned in Sinecdemos, name present also in an epigraph of the X Century of an Arkón of

Sardania (Ἀρχόν Σαρδανίας) studied by Taramelli. But probably the transition into Arabic of the name Sardinia is also due to Byzantine sources, because a Byzantine author, like Procopius, noted the change in the name of the island from Sardò (Σαρδῶ) to Sardinia²⁶.

Notes

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¹ cf. 'Arabismi nel sardo', in *Annali* della Facoltà di Lingue e Letterature Straniere (*AnnalSS*), 0, Sassari 2001: 247-282 (Contu 2001a); 'Annotazioni relative alla Sardegna nelle fonti arabe', in *Storie di viaggio e di viaggiatori. Incontri nel Mediterraneo*, (ISPRUM, *Quaderni Mediterranei*, 9), Cagliari (2001): 37-48 (Contu 2001b); 'La Sardegna nelle fonti arabe dei secoli X-XV', in *La civiltà giudicale in Sardegna nei secoli XI-XIII*, (Ed. Associazione "Condaghe S.Pietro in Silki"), Sassari 2002 (Contu 2002): 537-549. Cf. also Contu, 'Ġazīrat Sardīniya fī-l-maṣādir al-ʿArabiyya', in *AnnalSS* 2002/2005: 296-290 (Contu 2002/2005).

² For information about Mastino, Turtas, Castellaccio, Atzori and Giuseppe Meloni cf. [http://www.uniss.it/anagrafe della ricerca](http://www.uniss.it/anagrafe_della_ricerca) and *Anagrafe della Ricerca 2001*, Università degli Studi di Sassari, Sassari 2002. Mastino organized various Congresses for Africa Romana with the Institut du Patrimoine de Tunis (see [http://www.uniss.it/Convegni/XV Congresso de l'Africa Romana](http://www.uniss.it/Convegni/XV_Congresso_de_l'Africa_Romana)) and received, in the occasion of the 15th Congress held in Tunis in December 2002, the 'Wisām al-Mu'arriḥ al-ʿArabī' given by the 'Ittiḥād al-Mu'arriḥīn al-ʿArabī'. Turtas published in Rome in 1999 his *Storia della Chiesa in Sardegna dalle Origini al 2000*. Paulis, who is the editor in Italian of the main studies of Max Leopold Wagner, edited in 2002 the Pietro Casu *Vocabolario Sardo Logudorese - Italiano*, ISRE-ILISSO, Nuoro; for Paulis publications see the web of Dipartimento di Filologia Classica, Glottologia e Scienze Storiche dell'Antichità e del Medioevo, Università di Cagliari (in preparation, see <http://www.unica.it/>). For Pittau cf. <http://www.pittau.it>. The last work of Sabatino Moscati (*Civiltà del Mare*) is mentioned by his student Piero Bartoloni who is now Professor of Phoenician-Punic Archaeology (University of Sassari) in the presentation of *L'Africa Romana* 14, Carocci, Roma 2002. For references in genetics see an example in Cappello, N., Rendine, S., Griffio, R., Mamelì, G.E., Succa, V., Vona, G. and Piazza, A., "Genetic analysis of Sardinia: I. Data on 12 polymorphisms in 21 linguistic domains", *Ann.Hum.Genet.*, 60, 1996 (Great Britain): 125-141; the last work by Francesco Cesare Casula is *Dizionario Storico Sardo*, Carlo Delfino, Sassari 2001. I have quoted further studies by the previous authors in my articles Contu 2001a, Contu 2001b, Contu 2002.

³ cf. Gabrieli, F., *La letteratura araba*, Sansoni, Firenze, 1967: 14-15.

⁴ cf. Garbini, G., *I Filistei*, Rusconi, Milano, 1997: *passim*, Contu 2001b/ 37-38 and 41-45; Contu 2002: 537 and 546-547.

⁵ cf. Contu 2001b: 41 and Contu 2002: 546-48.

⁶ cf. Garbini, G., *I Filistei*: 112-117.

⁷ The coin of the Sardus Pater is reproduced in Piras, E., *Le monete della Sardegna dal IV secolo a.C. al 1842*, Fondazione Banco di Sardegna, Sassari 1996: 64-65; For Philistine pictures cf. Gardiner, A.H., *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica*, Oxford University Press, 1968: 203, and Bresciani, E., Donadoni, S., Guidotti, M.C., Leospo, E., *L'antico Egitto di Ippolito Rossellini*, De Agosini,

Novara 1993: 55 (plate CXXXI). In this plate Philistines are represented together with Sherden; for Sherden see also *ibidem*: 103 (plate CI).

⁸ cf. Contu 2001b: 44.

⁹ cf. Lupinu, G., “Riti agrari in Roma antica e nella Barbagia attuale: i Sali ed i Mammuthone”, in *Quaderni Bolotanesi*, 20, 1994: 319-333. Masks similar to those which we can still find in Central Sardinia are present in North Africa, the Middle East and Central Asia, cf. Ettinghausen, R., “The Dance with Zoomorphic Masks and Other Forms of Entertainment Seen in Islamic Art”, in *Arabic and Islamic Studies in Honor of Sir Hamilton A.R. Gibb*, (Ed. Makdisi, G.), Brill, Leiden 1965: 211-224 +plates; Paulis, G., “La scimmia maimone in Sardegna e nella cultura marinaresca del Mediterraneo. Aspetti dell’influsso egiziano in età tardoantica”, in *Quaderni di Semantica*, XII, 1, 1991: 53-79; Silvi Antonini, Ch., “Terrifico e orrido in Asia Centrale: qualche considerazione”, in *Orientalia Josephi Tucci memoriae dicata*, (Ed. Gnoli, G. e Lanciotti, L.), ISMEO, Roma 1988: 1329-1352 + plates. In a meeting with Lupinu which I organized in my village Sarule (9 February 2003) we both added last results of our research to the argument “Origin and Meaning of Central Sardinian Masks”, cf. our web hypertexts (Contu G. ed.) in [www.comunesarule.it/Karrasekare_sarulesu/Convegno su ‘Origine e Significato di maschere della Sardegna Centrale’/Relazioni del Convegno \(a cura di Giuseppe Contu\): this my last note will not be produced without the indication at our UEAI Congress in Palermo of the Ettinghausen article from the colleague D.S.Richards whom I thank again](http://www.comunesarule.it/Karrasekare_sarulesu/Convegno_su_‘Origine_e_Significato_di_maschere_della_Sardegna_Centrale’/Relazioni_del_Convegno_(a_cura_di_Giuseppe_Contu):_this_my_last_note_will_not_be_produced_without_the_indication_at_our_UEAI_Congress_in_Palermo_of_the_Ettinghausen_article_from_the_colleague_D.S.Richards_whom_I_thank_again_).

¹⁰ The stele is reproduced in Piras, E. (above note 5): 18 and, recently, but in the opposite position, in Didu, I., *I Greci e la Sardegna*, Scuola Sarda Editrice, 2002: 31.

¹¹ For Greek and Latin sources on Sardinia cf. Perra, M., *ΣΟΔΩ Σardinia Sardegna*, 3 vols., S’Alvure, Oristano, 1997 and Didu (quoted above).

¹² cf. Wagner, M.L., *La vita rustica*, (Paulis, G. ed.), Ilisso, Nuoro, 1996: 86,128, 186,188; Dozy, R., *Supplément aux Dictionnaires Arabes*, Brill & Maisonneuve et Larose, Leyde & Paris, 1967, I: 584-585; Traini, R., *Vocabolario arabo-italiano*, Istituto per l’Oriente, Roma 1966: 512; Dallet, J.-M., *Dictionnaire Kabyle-Français*, SELAF, Paris 1982: 956; words in Syriac, Turkish and Persian have similar meanings to the Arabic ones derived from ZRD: cf. Al-Sayyid ‘Addi Shir, *A Dictionary of Persian Loan-Words in the Arabic Language*, Librairie du Liban, Beirut 1990: 77-78.

¹³ cf. note 1.

¹⁴ cf. Contu 2001b and Contu 2002, also Contu 2002/2005.

¹⁵ cf. Idrīsī, *Opus Geographicum*, IUO & ISMEO, Napoli & Roma, 1982-84: 584.

¹⁶ cf. Contu 2001a: 251-252.

¹⁷ cf. Amari, M., *Biblioteca arabo-sicula*, I, Forni 1981: 46-47 and Contu 2002: 539-540.

¹⁸ cf. Amari, M., *Biblioteca arabo-sicula*, I, 44, note 2 and Contu 2002: 540.

¹⁹ the *Biblioteca* in Arabic published in Lipsia in 1857 and in Italian in 1878; the *Storia* in 1854, 1858 and 1872.

²⁰ cf. Bausani, A., “La Sardegna nel *Kitāb-i Baḥriyye* di Piri Reis”, *Geografia*, III, 1980:71-79

²¹ cf. Contu 2001b: 40, Contu 2002: 546 and Idrīsī, *Opus Geographicum*: 584, Yāqūt, *Muḡam al-Bulḏān*, III, Dār Ṣādir, Beirut, 1995: 209, Ibn Rusteh, *al-Aḥq an-nafisa*, Dār at-Turāṭ al-‘Arabi Beirut, 1988: 84.

²² cf. Contu 2001b: 41; Idrīsī, *La première géographie de l'Occident*, Bresc, H. & Nef, A. eds., Flammarion, Paris: 302. The complete French translation of Idrīsī's notes on the Sardinians is: "Les habitants de la Sardaigne sont d'origine latine africaine, mais ils sont devenus des barbares, et vivent à part des autres Latins ; ils sont braves, entreprenants et ne quittent jamais leurs armes".

²³ Barbara, Varvara in Sardinian, is an important Saint venerated in some villages such as Olzai, etc.

²⁴ I have discussed the question of 'Civitates Barbariae' and 'Barbarikinoi' on the occasion of a meeting organized in Ollolai (Nuoro) the 30th of August 2002 ('Barbagia storia e cultura') with my friends and colleagues of the University of Sassari Attilio Mastino, Massimo Pittau and Raimondo Turtas and recently with Emilio Galvagno who gave me the reference "Le grec barbarisé", *Ktema*, 17,1992: 249 and also showed me some notes he wrote in a paper prepared for a Conference held in Lanusei (Nuoro) the 29th December 1998; I take here the opportunity to thank them all. For Greek and Latin sources my main reference is Perra, M., *Σαρδῶν Sardinia Sardegna*, quoted in note 11. The origin of the Greek word 'Barbaros' has been studied by Prof. D.Silvestri (Istituto Universitario Orientale - Naples) and found by him in the Sumeric 'bar' ('foreign'): cf. "Identità, varietà, alterità linguistiche nel mondo antico", in *Atti del Convegno della Società Italiana di Glottologia*, Roma 1998: 84-85.

²⁵ Qudāma ibn Ġaʿfar, *Nabḍ min Kitāb al-Ḥarāğ wa Ṣarʿat al-kitāba*, Dār at-Turāt al-ʿArabī, Beirut, 1988: 50.

²⁶ cf. Contu 2002: 548-549.