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On some Libyan ethnics in *Johannis* of Corippus

One of the most interesting sources related to the ancient Libyans is, no doubt, the famous *Johannis seu de bellis Libycis* by Flavius Cresconius Corippus¹). The Latin poet praises in the poem which he wrote in 549 A.D., the exploits of Johannes Troglita, a Byzantine general, who in 546 A.D., defeated the Libyan rebel tribes in Africa and reestablished order and peace in the remote province of Justinian's Empire²). The rich and original list of names of Libyan peoples, places and persons as contained in the work of Corippus has been studied many times; in the first place by the learned editor of *Johannis* J. Partsch³), and by the English scholar O. Bates⁴). In spite of these studies, our knowledge of Corippus' Libyan onomastics is still inadequate. There are many Libyan names in *Johannis*, which have not been identified as yet, and some other words, the identification of which is wrong. In the present paper I intend to examine four Libyan ethnics as they are quoted by Corippus.

I. *Muctuniana manus*

The name of *Muctuniana manus* is found in *Johannis* II 116 only, but it is quite possible that the *Mutuniana manus*, which occurs in another verse of the same poem (II 200), refers to that

¹) Ed. J. Partsch in *Monum. Germ. Hist. Auct. Antiquissimi* vol. III 2 (Berolini 1879).

²) O. Bates, *The Eastern Libyans*, London 1914, p. 239 sq.

³) In the *Proemium* to his edition of *Johannis*.

⁴) *The Eastern Libyans*, *passim*, especially p. 66 sq.

ethnic too. The Latin term 'manus' which follows either form indicates that both are connected with a certain tribe⁵); 'manus' is also used by Corippus to form some other Libyan tribal names. We find, in fact, in *Johannis* also an *Urceliana manus* (II 390)⁶ and an *Aurasitana manus* (II 149)⁷.

Both passages in *Johannis* connect Muctuniana (Mutuniana manus) with some other ethnics of Tripolitania. In the first of them (II 116/7) Corippus refers to the Muctuniana manus as to the people living on the desert seacoast of the quoted country:

«Muctuniana manus calidis descendit ab oris
Quae Tripolis deserta colit.....»

The verses which follow this quotation contain some new details which seem to determine more precisely the location of that tribe. In fact with the lines just mentioned there begins a short list of five Libyan ethnics which seem to be quoted in a geographical order, and which stretch along the coast in an eastward direction, starting probably from a point situated to the East from the town Tripoli. The following names are: *Gadabis* (v. 117), *Digdiga* (v. 119), *Velanidei(s)* (v. 120) and *Barcae* (v. 123). This series of ethnics might be, I suppose, the key to the problem of identification of our Muctuniana manus.

I agree with J. Partsch (*Johannis*, Index), who suggests that Gadabis may be connected with the *Gadabitani* of Procopius (562/3 A.D.), *De aedif.* VI 4; they occupied in the same period a district lying in the close neighbourhood of Leptis Magna, the present Lebda⁸). The name Digdiga refers no doubt to the locality

⁵) For the Latin word see the important dictionary of Du Cange, *Glossarium mediae et infimae latinitatis*, Niort 1884, s. v.

⁶) This term corresponds most probably to the *Urciliani* of Vegetius, *Milit.* III 3, and to the ancient Berberian ethnic *Warglān* or *Wārglān* (Ouargla in the south of the department of Constantine). See on this locality Ibn Ḥaldūn, *Histoire des Berbères*, ed. de Slane, *passim*.

⁷) I. e. the inhabitants of the present Aures in the department of Constantine (Algiers). These mountains were called Αὐρασίος by Procopius (*passim*), and *Gabal Awrās* by the early Islamic geographers such as Ibn Hawkal, Bakrī and Idrīsī.

⁸) It is quite probable that the name of Gadabis (*Gadabitani*)

Dicdica, quoted in the *Itinerary of Antoninus* (IVth century⁹). According to this record, *Dicdica* was situated on the road which runs along the seacoast from Leptis Magna (Lebda) to the border of Cirenaica, five stations eastwards from Iscina, (at present Medina es-Soltan¹⁰). The situation of the tribe Velanideis is entirely hypothetical and it is difficult to identify this ethnic. It should be sought somewhere in the wet salty lands (*sebha*), which occupy the East-Syrtic regions East from the present Hudia (Yehudia), or perhaps eastward from the present Muktar¹¹). In fact, according to *Johannis* II 120, Corippus connects Velanidei(s) with a march country ('stagna') but provides no details to this effect. The Velanidei(s) are otherwise unknown since they have never been recorded by any other source¹²).

still survives in *Agdābiya*, a town in Cirenaica which has been mentioned in the mediaeval Arabic sources since the ninth century (e. g. in Ya'qūbī, 344, and Bakrī, 12). The town was probably found by Gadabitani in the times of Berberian wanderings which followed the Islamic conquest. Ya'qūbī (p. 545) quoted among the Berber tribes of Barca the Ḡ(a)dāna جدانة who settled down northwards from Agdābiya in Bernīk (= Bengazi). This form can easily be considered a misprint for *Ḡ(a)dāba جدابة equal to our Gadabis.

⁹) For this document see A. Berthelot, *L'Afrique saharienne et soudanaise*, Paris 1927, p. 417.

¹⁰) I find this identification in E. Minutilli, *La Tripolitania*, 2 ed., Torino 1912, p. 252; cf. also p. 254.

¹¹) See description of that part of Sirtica in Minutilli, *o. c.*, pp. 254—257.

¹²) Perhaps this name is involved in the *Balanagrae* of Pausanias, *In Corinthiacis*, which was a Libyan ethnic extant in Cirenaica. The early Islamic historians quoted a branch of Lawāta called *Banū B(a)lāyn* بنو بلان by Ibn Ḥaldūn, and *Banū B(a)lār* < **B(a)lān* بلان by Maḡrīzī; this tribe lived in the fourteenth and fifteenth century in the province of Behnesī (Egypt); see O. Bates, *o. c.* p. 69. They might be the same people as Velanidei(s). In fact, the frequency of *b*=*v* equivalents in Latin transcription of foreign names renders this identification possible. Also in modern Berberian dialects the labials *b* and *v* are equivalent (cf. Bates, *o. c.*, p. 76). The termination *-idei(s)* was also very often used in the Libyan tribal names (*ibid.*, p. 77).

The above mentioned list of five ethnics concludes with the tribe Barcaeī. With the latter name we gain much firmer ground. According to Bates' opinion the term was used to designate in Roman times various residues of native tribes surviving in the neighbourhood of the town *Barca* (to-day el-Merg) in Cirenaica¹³. Bates identifies them with the *Barcaeī* of Vergilius, *Aen.* IV 44 and with the *Barcitae* of Ptolemy IV 4, § 6. In Byzantine times they were as a rule referred to as a distinct Libyan people¹⁴. The Berberian tribe *Banū B(a)rkīn* بنو بركين, a branch of Lawāta, which lived in Egypt in the fifteenth century¹⁵ was probably also related to our Barcaeī.

We see now that the series of Libyan ethnics quoted in *Johannis* II 116–123 and following our Muctuniana manus forms a kind of chain, which stretches to the East along the coast from Lebda to the West-Cirenaica. Thus, it is most probable that the Muctuniana manus, with which the quoted list begins, must be considered as the westernmost tribe of this chain and must be sought somewhere towards the West of the territory of Leptis Magna i. e. the present Lebda.

This localisation is corroborated by the second quotation of Corippus referring to those people (*Johannis* II 219–220). In the quotation Mutuniana manus is mentioned between *Austur* and *Ilaguas*, i. e. names of two Libyan tribes who lived presumably from the fourth to the middle of the sixth century in the vicinity of Leptis Magna (Lebda). The first of these tribes is undoubtedly identical with the *Austuriani* of Ammianus Marcellinus XXVI 4, 5 and XXVIII 6, 2, a predatory people of the interior of Tripolitania, as well as with the *Ausuriani* of Priscus Panites, *F. H. Gr.* IV, p. 98¹⁶. The Ilaguas are

¹³ O. Bates, *o. c.* p. 66.

¹⁴ O. Bates, *l. c.*

¹⁵ See Maḳrīzī quoted by O. Bates, *o. c.*, p. 70. Cf. also *Fahs B(a)rkāna*, which is a point south of Aḡdābiya. See for this place Bakrī, *Kitāb al-Masālik wa 'l-mamālik*, ed. de Slane, p. 12.

¹⁶ Bates, *o. c.*, p. 68. There are no reasons to connect this ethnic with the *Arzuges* of Orosius (fifth cent.) as suggested by O. Bates, *l. c.* The latter name is presumably a compound of the prefix *Ar-* and the stem *-zug-*, with a Latin suffix *-es*. *Ar* may be related to the modern Berberian *ara* 'sons',

identical with the *Ilaguaten* of Corippus¹⁷). The name seems to be an 'internal' Berberian plur. masc. of the original **Lagua* < *Lawā*¹⁸). It designates the great and ancient Eastern-Berber people who were called *Libyans* in classical sources, *Leuathae* (var. *Leucathae*) by Procopius (*De aedif.* VI 4; *De bello Vand.* II 21 sqq.; *Hist. Arc.*, 5), and *Lawāta* by the early Islamic authors¹⁹). O. Bates remarks (*o. c.*, p. 67) that these people were spread over a large part of Tripolitania in Byzantine times. Nevertheless on his map of Byzantine Libya (*o. c.*, p. 67, map X), they were shown in the vicinity of Leptis Magna (Lebda), because, as the English scholar reminds us, there is some explicit evidence of their having occupied the locality about 543 A. D. Thus, we see that in the passage of *Johannis* as well as in II 116—123, the term Muctuniana/Mutuniana which has just been analysed, is suitable for the neighbourhood of Lebda.

There are reasons to believe that the first of these parallel forms survived in early Islamic times in the place name of الجنتي *al-M. ġ. t. ny*. The name was applied by some Arabic geographers to a locality situated on the road running from Lebda to *al-Aṭrābulus* (Tripoli town) along the Mediterranean coast. We find this name quoted in an itinerary given by the oldest

as e. g. in the tribe name *Ara Amur*, which corresponds to the Arabic *Ulad Amur* (cf. A. de C. Motyliński, *Le Djebel Nefousa*, Paris 1898/9, p. 133 *sub v.* 'fils'). The stem *-zug-* points to an original **Zūġ*, an ancient Libyan ethnic, which appears also in Tripolitania under the name of the lake and town *Zuch(is)* in Strabo, XVII (now Bahiret el-Biban and Borg el-Biban at the frontier of Tunis; see Minutilli, *o. c.*, p. 172).

¹⁷) O. Bates, *o. c.*, p. 67.

¹⁸) The suffix *-s* in *Ilaguas* is, no doubt, a Latin one. For this type of forming masc. plurals in the modern Berberian cf. A. de C. Motyliński, *o. c.*, pp. 10—12. The Latin *gu* in the Corippus' form may be nothing but a transcription from the original Libyan sound *w*. This our opinion is supported by Corippus' rendering of the prefix *war* (*ar*) which begins some Libyan tribal names (as in early Berberian ethnics *Warfala*, *Wardāsa*, *Warsaṭifa*; cf. Ya'kūbī, 346) by a *guar-*, cf. e. g. *Guarizila* (*Johannis* IV 366: **War-Izil* = 'son of Izil' or 'son of the ostric'), *Guarsana* (*ibid.*, VIII 266), *Guaritas* (*ibid.*, IV 758) etc.

¹⁹) O. Bates, *o. c.*, p. 67.

Islamic geographer Ibn Ḥurdādbēh (about 232/846) in his *Kitāb al-masālik wa 'l-mamālik*, p. 86, transl. p. 62, and repeated after this source by Ḳudāma (tenth century), in *Kitāb al-ḥarāj*, p. 224, transl., p. 170, and Idrīsī (writes in 1154 A.D.) in *Kitāb nuzhat al-muštāk* (ed. Dozy—de Goeje, p. 122, transl., p. 143). The spelling of that place name as given by the existing MSS of the above Arabic works, varies in placing diacritical marks; none of the varieties in spelling have been vocalised, as far as I am concerned. I consider the form *al-M. ḡ. t. ny* the best; it is to be found in Idrīsī, *l. c.* The MSS of other quoted Arabic records have the mutilated term *المحتنى* *al-M. ḥ. t. ny*²⁰ or even, without dots, *المحسى*²¹). In the French translation of I. Ḥurdādbēh's work the word is spelt *al-Mohtanā*²²), and Dozy and de Goeje read *al-Maḡtanā*²³), but no great importance is to be attached to this vocalisation, which seems to be rather accidental. It does not help in explaining the quoted place-name. I suppose it would be better to complete both missing vowels (after the first and third consonant) with a *u*, and I tentatively vocalize the word *المحتنى* *al-M(u)ḡt(u)nī*. We can drop the initial *al-*, which is an Arabic definite article as well as the final element *ى < *ى — ī* which may indicate an Arabic *nisba*-ending, and we obtain *M(u)ḡt(u)n*. As we know, the Arabic character *ج ḡ* can also render an original sound *g*, which does not exist in the Arabic writing. I am eventually inclined to read the analysed form *M(u)ḡt(u)n*. The restored spelling seems to correspond perfectly to the Muctuniana of Corippus, the final element *-(i)ana* being, no doubt, a Latin adjectival suffix applied to the hypothetical Libyan ethnic *Muctun*. The only difference between the *Muctun* and *M(u)ḡt(u)n* of the early Islamic sources lies in the second consonant which is spelt *k(c)* by Corippus and *g(ḡ)* by the Arabs. This divergence can be explained in a double way: a) it may reflect upon some dialectical phenomenon of the Libyan language²⁴) or

²⁰) Cf. I. Ḥurdādbēh, *o. c.*, p. 86, MS. A.

²¹) I. Ḥurdādbēh, *l. c.*, MS. B, and Ḳudāma, *o. c.*, p.

²²) *O. c.*, transl., p. 62. ²³) *O. c.*, transl., p. 143.

²⁴) For the equivalence of these velars in ancient Libyan place name see O. Bates, *o. c.*, p. 78 (e. g. in the terms *Magru* = *Macri* and *Tingis* = *Tinci*) and H. Mercier, *La langue libyenne*,

b) it can be considered a misspelling by Corippus, who, like many other Greek and Latin authors, read the original Libyan sound *g* as a *c(k)*²⁵).

According to the reports of I. Ḥurdābbeh and Kudāma, the station al-M(u)ḡt(u)nī/al-M(u)gt(u)nī was situated 44 miles eastwards from the town Tripoli which is our unassailable point²⁶. As this distance is no doubt expressed in Arabic miles which we have to reckon circa 1.975 km pro a mile²⁷, it would be equal to about 86.9 km (roughly 53.9 English miles). The distance measured on a modern map, along the present road Tripoli-Lebda, would indicate the position of a ruined locality, situated near the village and small port now called Sidi Abd al-Aati²⁸, but the actual spot on which our locality was situated is still uncertain. Its name does not correspond to the present toponymy of that country. The location of al-M(u)ḡt(u)nī/al-M(u)gt(u)nī westwards from Lebda which I have established above, agrees with the rank afforded to the Muctuniana manus in the quoted list of Libyan tribes in *Johannis* II 116—123; in this list the Muctuniana preceded Gadabis and therefore is to be applied to the tribe that lived towards the west of the territory of Leptis Magna (Lebda), which was occupied by Gadabis/Gadabitani. Thus, there is no objection from the geographer's point of view in believing that the Libyan people **Mugtun*, who were called Muctuniana manus by Corippus, settled in this country in the sixth century, and that a trace of them survived in the early Islamic epoch in the place name al-M(u)ḡt(u)nī/al-M(u)gt(u)nī which was found on the same spot of the Tripolitan seacoast about three hundred years later²⁹.

Journal Asiatique 1924, p. 242. The same equivalence of sounds exists also in the modern Berber dialects see O. Bates, *o. c.*, p. 75.

²⁵) Cf. e. g. the above mentioned *Urceliana* = *Wārglān* of the early Islamic geographers.

²⁶) As quoted in *K. al-masālik*, p. 86 and *K. al-ḥarāḡ*, p. 224.

²⁷) Nallino (*Il valore metrico del grado di meridiano secondo i geografi arabi. Raccolta di scritti editi e inediti*, vol. V, Roma 1944, p. 457) reckons the Arabic mile at about 1973.2 m., but the actual length was about 1975 m.

²⁸) For this locality see Minutilli, *o. c.*, p. 183.

²⁹) I am inclined to connect also with the ethnic **Mugtun*

The ethnic Muctuniana/Mugtun is otherwise unknown, but the parallel form *Mutuniana manus* (cfr. *Johannis* II 219) can be attached to some other similar Libyan tribal names, which were quoted in Greek and Latin ancient sources. This variant points most probably to an hypothetical Libyan **Mutun* or perhaps even **Mutun*³⁰). The latter restoration opens new horizons, for I strongly suspect that the Mutun are the same people whose name was read (according to the rules of Greek and Latin spelling of Libyan words to which a Greek or Latin ending was attached) *Mussini* by Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* V. 4, *Musuni* by Ptolemy IV. 3 and *Musunei* by Julius Honorius, p. 54. The only difference between Mutun(iana) of Corippus, and Musun(i) etc. of the above quoted classical authors can be explained with sufficient reliability as being due to different renderings of the original Libyan *t*-sound, which is represented by the ancient authors by *s*, and in *Johannis*, a few hundred years later, by *t*³¹).

The Musuni of Ptolemy must be sought for somewhere in the neighbourhood of Suk al-Arba, towards the present borderline between Tunisia and the departement of Constantine³²). As, however, the Mutuniana manus of Corippus appears to have occupied the scanty space on the middle coast of Tripolitania, we must assume the fact of a migration of these people towards the East, which perhaps took place between the fourth and the sixth centuries i. e. in the period of the great Libyan wanderings³³).

the mysterious Berberian tribe *مجتا* *M. h. n. hā* mentioned by Yaḥṣūbī, and placed by this geographer eastwards of Tawārga (the present Tauorga) in the territory of *Surt* (Sirtica); cf. *Kitāb al-ḥildān*, p. 344. In fact the name could be considered as a mistake for an original *مجتا* *M. ḡ. t. nā*, read M(u)ḡt(u)nā/M(u)gt(u)nā.

³⁰) The change of *Mutun* into *Mugtun* points perhaps to some purely Libyan dialectical differences.

³¹) For this problem see G. Mercier, *La langue libyenne*, p. 243. The sounds *t*, *ṭ*, and *s* are often identical in modern Berberian dialects: cf. O. Bates, *o. c.*, p. 75.

³²) O. Bates, *o. c.*, p. 58 and 64; Berthelot, *L'Afrique berbérienne et soudanaise*, p. 341.

³³) For these migrations, which changed considerably the ethnology of the Eastern zone of Berberia; see O. Bates, *o. c.*, *passim*, especially p. 237 (migrations of the Austuriani at the end of the fourth century) and p. 238 sq. (the great migration of the tribe

We come now to the following conclusions regarding the Muctuniana/Mutuniana manus of Corippus:

1. The name of the tribe appears in Corippus in two parallel forms a) *Muctun-/Mugtun-* which survived in the place-name called *al-M(u)gt(u)nī/al-M(u)gt(u)nī* (< **Mugtun*) in early Islamic records, and b) *Mutun/Mutun*, the latter pointing to the same Libyan ethnic which has been misspelt *Mussini*, *Musuni* or *Musunei* by some classical authors.

2. The Libyan tribe *Mugtun/Mutun*, which most probably come from the present North-West Tunisia, settled down in the Byzantine times on the seacoast of Tripolitania, between the present town Tripoli and Lebda. Their name still survived in the ninth century Arabic geographical nomenclature as the above-quoted place-name *al-M(u)gt(u)nī/al-M(u)gt(u)nī*, which was situated on the seashore circa 53.9 English miles to the East of the Tripoli town.

II. *Ifurac*

This Libyan tribe is recorded only in *Johannis* (II 115, III 412, IV 641, VIII 490 and 648), and does not occur in any other ancient source. The *Ifuraces/Ifurac* were, according to the quoted verses, a part of the considerable agglomeration of Marmaridae, a Libyan group, which occupied principally Marmarica, but a part of whom spread out westwards as far as the Great Syrtis and southwards as far as the present oasis of Siwa³⁴). Hence we realize why the *Ifurac*, perhaps a south-western branch of Marmaridae, are called *populus Sirticus* 'the Syrtic people'³⁵).

I cannot agree with the opinion of Bates, *o. c.* p. 67.

Leuathae, Lawāta, after 543 A.D.). Perhaps the attacks of Mazices and Austuriani on Cirenaica about 491 A.D. (cf. O. Bates, *o. c.* p. 238) were connected with the pressure of the more western Libyan peoples against Tripolitania.

³⁴) The extension of the Marmaridae as far as to the Syrtis Major is given by Scylax (circa 320 B.C.) and by Pliny. For the location and the story of Marmaridae see Bates, *o. c.* pp. 54, 56, 56, and 66.

³⁵) J. Partsch ed. *Johannis*, index s. v. and *Proemium*, p. XIII. According to *Johannis* VI 143 the prince of *Ifurac* called Carcasan was the chief of all Marmaridae.

who localizes the Ifurac in the interior of Tripolitania and suggests that they were identical ('with a fair degree of sureness') with the Berberian tribe, called *Banu Ifren*, very well known to the mediaeval Islamic authors. In fact, our Ifurac are, according to what has been said above, closely connected with the Syrtic regions, which occupy the eastern coast of the present Tripolitania. On the other hand the Tripolitan branch of B. Ifren lived, during the early Islamic period in the homonymous *Ġabal* (mountains), eastwards from the *Ġabal Nafūsa*, and southwards from the town Tripoli, where there exists still a small district called after them³⁶). Also the changing of the final *c* in the word *Ifurac* into an *n* is hardly admissible in the Libyan and Berberian language.

Thus, the Ifurac of Corippus are to be distinguished from the B. Ifren of the Arabic mediaeval authors. We would rather suggest that the form used by Corippus points to an original **Ifurak* or even **Ifurag*, the final sound *c/k* being perhaps misread in Latin for the original *g*³⁷). If we apply the rules of the Berberian language to the Libyan term we must conclude that **Ifurak/Ifurag* is no doubt a so-called Berberian 'internal' plur. masc., and is formed from the hypothetical singular form **Faruk/Farug* or **Ferek/Fareg*³⁸). The restored form is curious as it is probably identical with the name of the locality called الفاروج *al-Fārūġ* which was quoted by some early Islamic geographers in their descriptions of the road which stretches along the sea-shore from the town Agdabiya in Cirenaica westwards to the town of Surt (nowadays Medina es-Soltan)³⁹). This locality has been mentioned in the words of Ya'qūbī (*o. c.*, p. 344), Bakrī (*o. c.*, p. 12) and Ḥarīsī (*o. c.*, p. 135, transl. 161). The latter repeats most probably

³⁶) For this Berberian tribe see Ibn Ḥaldūn, *Histoire des Berbères*, trad. de Slane, *passim*.

³⁷) We tried to show (*supra*, p. 120) that the Greek and Latin ancient authors very often misread the voiced consonant *g* for a voiceless *c/k*.

³⁸) Cf. e. g. in the dialect of *Ġabal Nafusa* the masc. plur. forms *izulaġ* and *ikuṭṭas*, formed from the sing. *zaleġ* 'buck' and *kattus* 'cat' (A. de C. Motyliński, *Le Djebel Nefousa*, p. 10).

³⁹) I find this identification in Minutilli, *o. c.*, p. 252, who in another passage of his work also refers it to the ancient *Isirina* (v. *supra*).

the data given by Ya'kūbī⁴⁰). According to the value of the *ǧ*-sound in Arabic spelling of Libyan words (see above p. 120), we may read the name *al-Fārūg*. If we drop the Arabic definite article *al-*, we obtain a form restored to **Farug* which is equal to the restored singular form of the Corippus plural masc. Ifurac i. e. **Farug*⁴¹).

According to some passages in the quoted Islamic geographers, al-Fārūg/al-Fārūg was an important point on the Tripolitan shore where the roads running from Aǧdābiya to the Surt (Medina es-Soltan) and from Aǧdābiya to the oasis Zalhā (today Sella in the interior of Tripolitania) were forked. In fact, Ya'kūbī, *l. c.*, locates it at one day's journey (Arabic *marḥala*) westwards from Aǧdābiya and four days eastwards from Surt⁴²). As we know that the length of one *marḥala* is equal to 18—36 Arabic miles⁴³) (which is about 35·55—69·3 km), we should seek al-Fārūg/al-Fārūg between the present Marsa Namarese and Marsa el-Brega, near the sea-coast. On the other hand, according to Bakrī, 12, this place was situated at the end of the great desert-road which united the oasis of Zalhā (Sella) with the coast stretching south-west of Aǧdābiya. This indication seems to indicate more precisely the spot in which al-Fārūg/al-Fārūg was located: the point where the caravan-road from Sella meets the ways running to Aǧdābiya and to Medina es-Soltan lies in the vicinity of the present el-Gtafia, and we shall therefore localize, without any doubt, our al-Fārūg/al-Fārūg between the latter locality and the seashore, i. e. in the elbow of the Syrtis Maior. Some maps of Tripolitania show in this part of the Cirenean-Tripolitan borderland the mouth of the great wadi called W. Fareg, the lower bed of which is

⁴⁰) In their edition of Idrisī Dozy and de Goeje adopted (p. 135, transl. 161) the wrongly dotted reading *الْفَارُوق* *al-Fārūq*.

⁴¹) The marks of length in this restored form refer to the Arabic *scriptio plena* in the transcription of the analysed term and do not render any divergence in its pronunciation.

⁴²) Bakrī, *l. c.*, gives the latter distance five *marḥalas* long.

⁴³) Cf. Amari—Schiapparelli, *L'Italia descritta nel Libro del re Ruggero*, Roma 1883, p. XIII. Abū 'l-Fidā' (XIVth cent.) gives the length of one day's journey as being equal to 8 *farsah* i. e. 24 Arabic miles (47·4 km); cf. *Géographie d'Aboulféda*, ed. Reinaud, Paris 1840, p. 72.

abundant in swamps and wells⁴⁴). This character of the estuary of W. Fareg seems to concord with the location of our al-Fārūg/al-Fārūg; al-Fārūg was actually situated, according to the description of Bakrī, in the middle of the salt-wet land, as well as in the neighbourhood of wells. Unfortunately a more accurate localization of the place in question is at present impossible. I am inclined to believe that both names, i. e. al-Fārūg/al-Fārūg as well as the singular form of Corippus' Ifurac, i. e. **Faruk*, *Farek* etc. are still in existence in the present name W. Fareg. In fact, the latter name is identical with the hypothetical Libyan term **Fareg*, which is probably a parallel form to **Farug*⁴⁵).

Hence, most probably, the Ifurac lived in the Byzantine times and, perhaps also, in the early Islamic epoch, on the lower W. Fareg, and near to the Great Syrte, being the westernmost branch of the Marmaridae. They could be traced from the ninth to the eleventh century by the name of al-Fārūg/al-Fārūg which was an important station at the border between the Cirenaica and Sirtica, with a *ḥaṣr* (castle) already ruined in the times of Bakrī (the XIth century⁴⁶).

III. *Gadaiaie*

The name, which is quoted only in *Johannis* VI 285, is given in the Latin accus. plur. form *Gadaias*:

„..... Siccas superare Gadaias”

Corippus gives no clue to the identification of that ethnic. Mazzuchelli, the first editor of *Johannis* suggests that the word is a mistake, and presumes that *Gadabitani* (v. *supra*, p. 115) is the right form⁴⁷). This explanation sounds unsatisfactory, and so does the interpretation of *Gadaiaie* as *Ġāt* (an oasis in the South-Western Tripolitania), introduced by the French scholar Tauxier⁴⁸). The latter identification is absolutely impossible. In

⁴⁴) The interesting description of W. Fareg is given in Minutilli, *o. c.*, 257, 301.

⁴⁵) See above, p. 124.

⁴⁶) *Kitāb al-masālik*, p. 12.

⁴⁷) Quoted in Partsch, p. XXX.

⁴⁸) *ibid.*

fact, we must remember that the name Ghat is a modern one and does not occur in any early Islamic source before the fifteenth century or so. The Gadaiaie are otherwise unknown. All we can say about them is that they belonged, no doubt, to the group of Libyan peoples who appear in the scene of Johannes Troglita exploits, i. e. in the modern Tunisia and Tripolitania.

If we insist on a Tripolitanian origin of that name (according to the supposition of Mazzuchelli and Tauxier), we may envisage *Ġado* (pronounce *Žado*, cf. Beguinot, *Il berbero parlato di Nefusa*, passim), the ancient political centre of Ġabal Nafūsa, which was spelt جادو or جادوا *Ġādū* in some early Islamic records. It is impossible to say whether *Ġado/Ġādū* was extant in Corippus' times. But we know that this locality existed already in the ninth century, i. e. some three hundred years later. It was quoted very often in the sacred books of the ḥārijite sect Ibāḍiyya, as e. g. in the famous *Kitāb al-siyar* of Šammāḥi (XVIth century⁴⁹) and by many Arabic mediaeval geographers, as e. g. in Bakrī, *o. c.*, p. 9, who in his report on *Ġādū* emphasises the importance of this town. At first sight, the names *Gadai(as)* and *Ġādū* seem to be of different origin; but there are some indications that the former may have turned into the latter. The name as quoted by Corippus points in fact to *Gadai-* which would be but a Latin reading for an ancient hypothetical Libyan term *Ġaday/Žaday*, the letter *g* rendering sometimes in Greek or Latin sources the strange *ġ*-sound⁵⁰). I suppose there is no difficulty in bridging the *Gadai-/Ġaday* with *Ġādū*, except for the suffixes, which are different in both analysed terms: *-ay* in the reconstructed Corippus' form, and *-ū/-o* in the Islamic record name of the metropolis of the Eastern Ġabal Nafūsa. The divergence is perhaps due to a dialectical formation of the Libyan language, but it is also possible that we have to face a mistake in Corippus who misspelt *Gadaias* for **Gadoias*.

⁴⁹) This work, which is based on many ancient Ibāḍiyya records and which contains many details of great interest on Ġabal Nafūsa, was edited in Bulāk, 1301 H. For *Ġado/Ġādū* see also A. de C. Motyliński, *Le Djebel Nefousa*, Paris 1898/99, p. 89.

⁵⁰) As for the transcription see G. Mercier, *o. c.*, p. 244.

IV. *Gallica*

This name, which has not been identified as yet, seems to designate a Libyan locality or country. It was mentioned twice only: in *Johannis* II 77 and VI 486, where it seems to refer to a desert land; no accurate data, however, have been furnished. As a matter of fact, I feel certain *Gallica* should be sought for in the present Tripolitania. I am tempted to connect it with some other peoples or names of places sounding **Gal-* or *Gall-* and located in that part of Berberia by early Greek or Latin authors. There is e. g. a mysterious Garamantic town *Galla* or *Galsa* which Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* V 5) registered in his famous list of peoples and towns conquered by L. Cornelius Balbus (19 B.C.⁵¹) and which is perhaps nothing else but the form parallel to Corippus' *Gallica*⁵²). The same element *Gal-* seems to be involved in *Galyba* of Ptolemy, a town placed by this geographer in the interior of Tripolitania. The clue to the location of our *Gal-* is given by Victor de Vita (about 486 A.D.) who mentioned the locality called *Gales* as a point belonging to Ammonia, i. e. to the present oasis of Siwa (*Hist. pers. Afr. pr.*, I, 1). The name *Gales* does not correspond to the present toponymy of Siwa or to its close vicinity, but we find its trace in the modern *Ġalo*, the most important oasis of the group of Augila. We know that as early as in the times of Herodotus (fifth century B.C.) Augila (in the classical sources Augila) was connected by a road with the oasis of Ammon, and belonged to a chain of oases beginning from the present-day Siwa and stretching towards the West⁵³). Victor de Vita localizing *Gales* in Ammonia has perhaps in view the ancient literary tradition of Herodotus.

Thus, I am tempted to admit the identity of the Greek and Latin **Gal-* with the present *Ġalo*. The latter was called by Ya'kūbī *Ġālāw*⁵⁴). If we drop the ending *-aw* in this name (which

⁵¹) Berthelot, *o. c.*, pp. 274—278.

⁵²) Galla and Gallica seem to be mistaken for **Gal(a)* and **Gal(ica)*. The mistake is due to a confusion of those ethnics with the well-known name of Galli/Gallia in Europe.

⁵³) Herodotus, IV 181 and 182; A. Berthelot, *o. c.*, pp. 154—158.

⁵⁴) See G. Wiet, *Ya'kūbī, Les pays*. Le Caire 1937, p. 204.

we incidentally consider as being a later development of the Libyan suffix *-yb(a)* *-ywa* of Ptolemy's *Galyb(a)* we obtain **Gal-*, which seems to be closely related to the term *Gal-* of the ancient sources. Both the forms point to an original **Gal* (or perhaps **Žal*, with a sound which has been transcribed *ǧ* by the Arabs, while the ancient Greek and Romans heard it *g*, as in the case of *Gadaia* which has been considered above). Even if the Berberian term *Ġālāw/Ġalo* is not identical with the *Gallica* of Corippus, it may have preserved as well as the latter, a trace of the same Libyan ancient tribal name **Gal* which referred to the people living in the deserts of Tripolitania or to the West of Egyptian oases⁵⁰.

According to Ya'kūbī, *l. c.*, *Ġālāw* is a desert town situated in the middle of palms, in the neighbourhood of *Augila* and *Waddān*. These details would indicate only the present *Ġalo*. I am inclined to connect also with the ethnic *Gallica* the name of *Augila* [**aw-Gil(a)* 'son of *Gil(a)*'] as well as the name of a mountain in the Libyan desert called *Ġebel Ġālūt* (cf. *Idrisī*, trad. *Jaubert*, I 131). *I. Haldūn*, *o. c.*, passim, quotes *Ġālūt* among the ancestors of the Berberian people.

⁵⁰) I wish to express my gratitude to my learned friends, *A. Kunst*, Ph. D., lecturer at the School of Oriental and African Studies and *A. Wlekliński*, M. A., to whom I am greatly indebted for the help received during my work in this article.