CHAPTER 27

SICILY AND AL-ANDALUS UNDER MUSLIM RULE

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BY THE beginning of the tenth century Muslim expansion had come to an end in most areas of the Mediterranean world. On the south-eastern frontiers of the Byzantine empire the border was firmly established in the Anti-Taurus mountains, leaving the Muslims in control of the plains, the Byzantines of the uplands. The weakened ʿAbbāsid caliphate was no longer in a position to mount major expeditions using the resources of the entire Islamic near east as it had a century before. Malatya, the Cilician plain and Antioch still remained in Muslim hands but they would be lost to Islam in the next century.

The eastern Mediterranean saw the gradual resurgence of Byzantine sea-power. Until 905 the Tulunid rulers of Egypt had controlled most of the eastern coast and had maintained a fleet in Tarsus, but the ʿAbbāsid reconquest of Egypt in that year seems to have put an end to this. In 969 the Fatimids moved east from Tunisia to Egypt and attempted to regain the initiative at sea, but by this time Tarsus and the other northern ports had been lost and the Fatimids were forced to make do with Tripoli and Acre, much further to the south. The loss of Crete to the Byzantines in 961 marked another important step in this process.

In the western Mediterranean, Sicily, the Balearic Islands and much of the Iberian peninsula remained firmly in Muslim hands. It was in these areas that the Muslims were able to set up strong and effective states and the tenth century was in many ways the golden age of al-Andalus. Even in these areas, however, expansion had virtually ceased. Raids were still made on Christian communities in Italy and Spain, but the age of conquest was over, and the age of bureaucracy had arrived.

MUSLIM SPAIN, 912–1031

In October 912 ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad, the aged and depressive Umayyad amir of Córdoba, died, nominating his grandson, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān as his suc-

cessor. The inheritance he left was not an impressive one. In the time of his grandfather, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II (822–52) the power of the amirs had been extended from the heartlands of the amirate around Córdoba, to include all the main centres of power in the more distant provinces, including Merida, Toledo, Zaragoza and Valencia. The half-century which followed his death saw this power gradually being dissipated under the rule of Muḥammad (852–86), al-Mundhir (886–8) and finally ʿAbd Allāh himself. The causes of this collapse went beyond the personal failings of the rulers. One underlying reason was the strong separatist tendencies found among the Muslim elites in the provinces, tendencies which had been barely controlled by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II even at the height of his power. To these were now added tensions at the centre caused by the very success of Islam itself. As the number of native converts (*muwallad*s) to the new religion increased, they began to demand equality of political and fiscal status with old-established elite groups of Arab and Berber descent. These disputes not only undermined the effectiveness of the Cordovan government but also poisoned relations with provincial magnates, many of whom came from *muwallad* backgrounds.

The power that ʿAbd al-Raḥmān inherited barely extended beyond Córdoba and the fertile Campiña around it. The army was a small and unimpressive force which subsisted mainly on pillaging the nearby areas, while the bureaucracy had shrunk with the diminishing resources of the state. In the provinces, local magnates enjoyed undisputed control: Badajoz and much of the western part of al-Andalus was ruled by the descendants of a *muwallad* chief, Ibn Marwān al-Jillīqī (*d. c.* 889), whose family had been important in the area for a century while Merida and the pastoral plains to the north and east were dominated by a Berber chief, Masʿūd b. Tajīt. Toledo had a long tradition of autonomy under *muwallad* leadership which had been only temporarily interrupted in the time of ʿAbd al-Raḥman II. Zaragoza was ruled by the Tujībī family, a dynasty claiming Arab descent which also had branches in Calatayud and Daroca and had by this time almost completely supplanted the *muwallad* Banū Qāsī in the Ebro valley. The highlands to the east and south-east of Toledo were largely populated by Berber tribes. From the late ninth century the leading family among them had been the Banū Zannūn (Arabised to Banūʾl-Dhūʾl-Nūn), whose influence extended as far as the plains around Valencia where many of the transhumant Berbers wintered.

Local autonomy in the centre and north of al-Andalus had long been a feature of the political life of Muslim Spain. More immediately challenging to the power of Córdoba was dissidence in the south, traditionally the centre of the power of the amirs. Seville itself, probably the second city of *al-Andalus*, had been taken over by a local Arab family, the Banūʾl-Ḥajjāj and most of the smaller centres of the south-west had their own local lords. Even more serious

was widespread revolt led by a *muwallad* landowner, ʿUmar b. Ḥafṣūn. This had begun in the reign of the amir Muḥammad and had gathered recruits from *muwallad*s and *mozarab*s (native Christians under Muslim rule) throughout the southern mountains from Almeria in the east to Medina Sidonia in the west, though it was concentrated around ʿUmar's mountain stronghold of Bobastro in the Serrania de Ronda. Ibn Ḥafṣūn's movement was violently opposed by local Arab leaders, especially in the area of Elvira (a now deserted site to the north of Granada) but the attempts of the Amir ʿAbd Allāh to pacify the region were spasmodic and ineffective.

From the first year of his reign, the young ʿAbd al-Raḥmān began a systematic extension of his power by using both his limited army and his diplomatic skills. He enjoyed the rock solid support of leading families among the Umayyad *mawālī* (the descendants of freedmen of the early Umayyads who formed an elite group in Córdoba), notably the Banū Abī ʿAbda who had played an important military role under ʿAbd Allāh, the Banū Shuhayd and others. In the beginning he could also count on the support of experienced members of his own family, notably his paternal uncles, Abān and al-ʿĀṣī b. ʿAbd Allāh. In relying on these groups, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān was following the example of his predecessors but he also began to look for military support from outside *al-Andalus* altogether. He greatly increased the practice of buying white slaves, mostly Slavs originally captured in wars on the eastern frontiers of the Ottonian Reich and brought south by slave-traders. These men (known as *ghulām* or *fatā*, both words meaning page) were then used to form the core of his new model army, becoming, in the process, increasingly influential in the military hierarchy and eventually in the Umayyad state in general. In this way he created an effective military machine responsible directly to him and independent of pressures from native Arabs and *muwallad*s alike. Along with this went a vast expansion of the bureaucracy, new titles and positions being created partly to service the new professional army but partly, no doubt, to provide lucrative positions for the elite of Cordovan political society.

None of this would have been possible on the very restricted resource base ʿAbd al-Raḥmān took over in 912. Campaigns were launched in the first winter of his reign (912–13) showing the urgency with which he regarded his task and the next summer he was leading his troops on an extensive royal progress around the edge of the Sierra Nevada. His technique was always to offer terms to local war-lords, who were encouraged to hand over their castles peacefully. He was aided in this by the fact that his major rival in the south, Ibn Ḥafṣūn, had by this time reverted to his ancestral religion of Christianity and most Muslims preferred to accept the overlordship of a Muslim amir to an apostate rebel, even if it meant paying more taxes. A further stroke of luck occurred in 913 when the cunning old ruler of Seville, Ibn al-Ḥajjāj, died;

while his family disputed his inheritance, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān's troops took over the city.

By 914 ʿAbd al-Raḥmān had regained control over the richest and most populous areas of *al-Andalus*, but the final reduction of Ibn Ḥafṣūn's rebellion in its mountain strongholds proved a more lengthy task. The rebel leader himself died in his bed in 917, but the struggle was continued by his sons until the last one surrendered on terms in 928, bringing to an end half a century of dogged resistance to Cordovan authority in the southern mountains.

Well before this, however, the amir had begun to extend his influence outside the confines of *al-Andalus*. His vehicle for doing this was the ṣāʾifah, the summer raid against the Christian north which was an important symbol of the amir's role as leader of the Muslim community. ʿAbd Allāh had allowed this duty to lapse; ʿAbd al-Raḥmān revived it as one of the most effective instruments of his policy: for example in 924 he led his army up the east coast (probably the first time a reigning amir had ever visited the area) and then to the Ebro valley whence he led the Muslims in the sack of Pamplona. Such a campaign not only affirmed his status as leader of the whole Muslim community of *al-Andalus*, it also brought him into direct contact with such local magnates as the Tujībīs of Zaragoza and the Dhū'l-Nūnids, who were duty bound to serve in his armies.

In 929 he felt confident enough to arrange that he should be proclaimed as caliph and to take the official title of al-Nāṣir ('the Victorious') on the model of ʿAbbāsid caliphs. There were a number of reasons for this move. The Umayyads of *al-Andalus* were of course the descendants of caliphs, indeed they were sometimes referred to as 'Sons of caliphs' before they took the title for themselves: no one could call them upstarts and no one else in *al-Andalus* could claim the same status. But there were also more immediate reasons; the Islamic ideal of one caliph for the whole community was already in ruins. During the early tenth century the ʿAbbāsid caliphate of Baghdad slipped into chaos, paralysed by political and economic problems which left the caliph himself as an impotent figurehead. At the same time the Fatimids had set up a rival caliphate in Tunisia in 909. The Fatimids claimed descent from the Prophet's daughter, Fāṭima (hence the name) and his son-in-law ʿAlī and they proclaimed their intention of assuming the leadership of the entire Muslim world. Not only did this mean that there were already two rival caliphs but their pretensions posed a particular danger to the Umayyads of *al-Andalus* since they claimed authority over the Maghreb and Spain. The dangers that this could pose were made clear when Ibn Ḥafṣūn at one stage accepted them as his overlords.

All these factors meant that the assumption of the title of caliph, with its claims to religious as well as secular leadership, was a logical step. Along with it went the decision to mint a gold coinage, as the Fatimids had done. In part this

reflected the increased prosperity noticeable in the country at the time, but it certainly had a symbolic importance as well.

Armed with these new claims to authority, al-Nāṣir immediately set about extending his authority in the centre and north of *al-Andalus*. In the summer of 929 he reduced the Lower March including Badajoz and the Algarve to obedience. The local leaders were leniently treated but they were obliged to settle in Córdoba while Umayyad garrisons were installed in their erstwhile strongholds. In 930 it was the turn of Toledo. This proved a more difficult problem and it took a two-year siege to reduce the city to obedience. His next objective was to assert control over the lands of the Dhū'l-Nūnids and Zaragoza and the Ebro valley, held by the Tujībīs and other powerful local lords. Al-Nāṣir struggled to subdue this area for much of the 930s but it proved beyond his resources. Recalcitrant lords could be forced to make terms but they seldom kept to them and al-Nāṣir could find no substitute for Dhū'l-Nūnid or Tujībī power. Even serving in the *ṣā'ifah* was something they did reluctantly since it meant serving under his orders in lands they considered their own and, perhaps worse, serving with and under upstart slave soldiers. It was these tensions which finally led to disaster. In 939 al-Nāṣir led an expedition to the middle Duero region where, caught in broken and difficult terrain, he was decisively defeated at an unidentified site the Arabs called al-Khandaq (the Trench) by the Leonese army, at least in part because of the desertion of Fortūn b. Muḥammad, lord of Huesca, at the height of the battle. The caliph left the battle-field in ignominious flight.

The defeat marked a major turning point in al-Nāṣir's fortunes and seems to have destroyed both his ambition and his self-confidence. He never ventured on campaign again and seldom left Córdoba. Activity on the frontier was confined to small-scale expeditions mounted by local leaders. The lords of the upper march and the Berber chiefs of the eastern highlands (where the old established Banū Dhū'l-Nūn were joined by the up and coming Banū Razīn of Albarracin) continued to exercise power undisturbed.

Al-Nāṣir's reign also saw Córdoba taking a more active role in North Africa. The area of modern Morocco, known to the inhabitants of *al-Andalus* as al-'Udwa (literally 'the other side'), was very much less developed than Muslim Spain. Apart from Fes, there were few towns and little Arab settlement and it remained essentially a land of Berber tribes. The Idrisids, a dynasty which like the Fatimids claimed descent from the Prophet himself, exercised a feeble and intermittent leadership but real power lay with tribal chiefs and local dynasts. The Umayyads of Córdoba had shown little interest in this poor and intractable land beyond establishing friendly relations with some of the nearest dynasts, like the Banū Ṣāliḥ of Nakūr on the Mediterranean coast. The coming of the Fatimids, however, meant that this hands-off policy was no longer ade-

quate and al-Nāṣir became concerned, not to rule the area directly, but to prevent the Fatimids from taking it over and using it as a base for attacks on *al-Andalus*. This he achieved by finding allies among the local Berbers. The Fatimids sent major expeditions in 922, when Fes and the southern trading outpost of Sijilmassā were taken, and in 935 and 953 but each time they found that they were unable to control the areas they had taken and local tribal leaders, sustained by Umayyad support, were able to reclaim their independence. The threat reached the coast of Spain itself and in 955 a Fatimid fleet burned Almeria. In order to monitor events in North Africa more closely, al-Nāṣir took over the ports of Melilla (927), Ceuta (931) and Tangier (951) and established a permanent but limited presence on the African littoral. One result of this was the increasing recruitment of Berbers, originally known as *ṭanjiyyūn* (men of Tangier), for the Umayyad armies, a trend which was to have a major impact on the Umayyad state.

In the years after 939, the caliph seems to have remained near Córdoba, consoling himself perhaps with the construction of a new palace city at Madīnat al-Zahrā outside the town, where the wealth and sophistication of the court was employed to dazzle a whole range of local people and foreign ambassadors, including John of Gorze from Otto I some time between 953 and 956 and the monk Nicholas from Byzantium in 951. It was in this increasingly large and ornate palace complex that he died in 961.

There was no problem about the succession. His chosen successor al-Ḥakam al-Mustanṣir, born in 915, was already experienced in administration and warfare. His reign is marked by a broad continuity with his father's and he seems to have continued the largely stationary court life of al-Nāṣir's later years. Madīnat al-Zahrā became a sort of Andalusi Versailles where potentially disruptive local magnates like the Tujībīs of Zaragoza or Berber chiefs from Morocco were encouraged to settle in luxurious idleness. Increasingly government functioned by people coming to the ruler rather than by the ruler travelling to lead armies or solve problems. Al-Ḥakam was a man of great culture, both as patron of writers and bibliophile, but his style of government certainly contributed to later problems.

His relaxed style of government meant that great influence was acquired by a small number of powerful individuals connected with the palace. Foremost among these was Ghālib b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān. He was a slave soldier who had been elevated by al-Nāṣir to the highest military commands. He had also established a territorial base at Medinaceli at a crucial point on the Christian–Muslim frontier and the main road from Córdoba to the Ebro valley, where he and his Slav followers were established. He also seems to have enjoyed authority over the other lords of the middle march. He served al-Ḥakam well on the frontier and in North Africa and further honours were showered on him.

His opposite number in the civil administration came from an equally obscure background. Jaʿfar b. ʿUthmān al-Muṣḥafī seems to have been the son of a teacher of Berber origin from the Valencia area who had been appointed as tutor to the young al-Ḥakam. Jaʿfar and the young prince became friends, and on the latter's accession, Jaʿfar became his secretary. He was skilled not only at preparing formal legal documents but also at arranging the elaborate ceremonies which were such an important part of life at Madīnat al-Zahrā. Although Jaʿfar had no personal power-base his nephew Hishām b. Muḥammad was an important figure in the military, being in command of the family's home base of Valencia. Relations between Ghālib and al-Muṣḥafī were close and cordial.

The main outside preoccupation of al-Ḥakam's administration seems to have been with North African affairs. In 969 there was a radical change in the balance of forces when the Fatimids conquered Egypt. Soon after, they abandoned Tunisia as their seat of government, leaving a Berber chief, Zīrī b. Manād as their agent. This removed the threat of an invasion of *al-Andalus* and al-Ḥakam seems to have attempted to conquer the area. He was opposed by many, including an Idrisid prince, al-Ḥasan b. Qannūn. Al-Ḥakam sent a major expeditionary force under the command of Ghālib but progress was slow and very expensive and it was not until 973 that he was finally defeated. Even then, Córdoba found it was too demanding to rule the country directly and appointed an adventurer known as Ibn al-Andalusī to organise the country in their interest. The results of this long and costly campaigning could only confirm the wisdom of al-Nāṣir's policy of minimum intervention. However, the efforts to find reliable allies in Morocco did lead to intensive diplomatic and personal contacts between officials at Córdoba and Berber leaders.

In this rather closed, even claustrophobic, political society where access to the ruler was tightly controlled, it was easy for a few individuals to wield enormous power quite unrelated to their origins or their wider political support. The most successful of these political operators in the later years of al-Ḥakam's reign was Muḥammad b. Abī ʿĀmir. He claimed Arab origin and, indeed, that one of his ancestors had participated in the original conquest of *al-Andalus* in 711, meaning, amongst other things, that his family could claim to have been in *al-Andalus* longer than the Umayyads themselves. They settled in Algeciras where they maintained a modest and undistinguished prosperity, ignored by the chroniclers, until the time of the young Muḥammad, born in 938. According to the Arab sources, he determined early on to make himself the most powerful figure in *al-Andalus*, and since opportunities for Arabs in the military were very limited he went to Córdoba and acquired a firm grounding in religious law.[1] In

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[1] Lévi-Provençal (1951), pp. 201–2.

circumstances which are not entirely clear, he established close relations with members of al-Ḥakam's harem, notably Ṣubḥ, a Basque who was mother of the heir apparent Hishām; he became manager of her considerable wealth and that of the young prince. This patronage led to further promotion and in 973 he was appointed as *qāḍī* (judge) of the areas of Morocco which the Umayyads held, in effect to act as a political officer alongside the military commander Ghālib and his successors. Ibn Abī ʿĀmir became the main link between the Berber chiefs of the area and Córdoba.

He returned from this posting just before the death of al-Ḥakam in October, 976. Hishām, the heir apparent, was still a boy and some senior officers in the Slav military tried to push the claims of one of al-Ḥakam's brothers, but they were outmanoeuvred by Ibn Abī ʿĀmir and al-Muṣḥafī, working in close cooperation, and a group of Berber troops, newly arrived from North Africa. The new caliph was duly proclaimed and given the title of al-Muʿayyad but real power lay with his guardians Ibn Abī ʿĀmir and al-Muṣḥafī. From this moment, Ibn Abī ʿĀmir worked with cold and systematic cunning to remove his partners. His first move was to dismiss all those leaders of the Slav military who had opposed him. In 978, with the support of the veteran warrior Ghālib, still based at Medinaceli on the frontier, he had al-Muṣḥafī put in prison where he later died. By 981 Ibn Abī ʿĀmir felt himself strong enough for a showdown with Ghālib, now an old man. He marched north to meet him on his home ground. Against Ghālib's frontier troops and his Castilian allies, Ibn Abī ʿĀmir could rely on the support of the Berber troops led by Ibn al-Andalusī and the troops of the upper march led, as usual, by the Tujībī family with whom he had established good relations in his North African days. In July 981 a major engagement was fought near Atienza, during which Ghālib was accidentally killed and his forces dispersed.

This victory meant that Ibn Abī ʿĀmir's power was now unrivalled and, to celebrate this, he took a regnal title, that of al-Manṣūr ('the Victorious'), a title which had been held by one of the greatest of the ʿAbbāsid caliphs. For the next twenty years he was to be undisputed ruler of *al-Andalus*, a period which in some ways saw the apogee of Muslim Spain in terms of territorial security and internal peace and prosperity. He was careful to maintain the fiction that he was only acting as a regent for the young Umayyad Hishām, and when the prince reached his majority it was given out that he wished to devote himself to religion and had entrusted al-Manṣūr with running the state. He was rigorously confined to the Alcazar at Córdoba, whose fortifications were strengthened to prevent anyone entering or leaving without express permission. Al-Manṣūr himself founded a new centre of government, which he called Madīnat al-Zāhirah, just to the east of Córdoba and transferred thither all the offices of the state.

This effective usurpation did not go entirely unchallenged. In 989 there was an abortive conspiracy led by a descendant of al-Ḥakam I called ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, known as al-Ḥajar ('the stone', because of his avarice) and one of al-Manṣūr's sons ʿAbd Allāh with the support of García Fernandez, count of Castile, but it failed, and al-Manṣūr ordered his son's execution. In 996 Hishām's mother Ṣubḥ attempted to secure his liberation but her attempts were immediately uncovered by al-Manṣūr's agents. Apart from this, there was little internal dissidence and the Umayyad family were obliged to accept their effective exclusion from power. Elsewhere some local magnates managed to retain their influence. As usual, this was particularly marked in the upper march, where the Tujībīs managed to maintain their power even though individuals sometimes fell foul of al-Manṣūr. We hear less about such Berber chiefs as the Banū'l-Dhū'l-Nūn and the Banū Razīn, but their influence continued undiminished into the eleventh century.

The new regime undoubtedly enjoyed some popular support, partly because of the prosperity and stability it brought but also because of a strong commitment to rigorist Islam. Al-Manṣūr himself made his personal devotion clear, copying the Qurʿān by hand and building a massive final extension to the mosque in Córdoba, an austere contrast to the luxuriant decoration of al-Ḥakam II's work in the same building. He also took strong measures against any sign of heterodoxy, purging al-Ḥakam's great library of any works which might upset orthodox opinion and publicly crucifying a scholar accused of Muʿtazilite thought.

The most important part of this populist commitment to Islam, however, was his systematic pursuit of the *jihād* (Holy War) against the Christians. Previous rulers, notably ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II and al-Nāṣir in the first part of his reign, had used leadership of the Holy War to legitimise their rule and keep them in touch with outlying areas of *al-Andalus* but no one had developed this as a policy to the same extent as al-Manṣūr. The Arabic sources mention more than fifty raids, from small-scale expeditions to major campaigns like the 985 sack of Barcelona and the 997 sack of Santiago de Compostella.[2] Despite the fact that he seems to have had no military background or training, his expeditions were usually successful, suggesting that he was a competent organiser and had a good relationship with the military. Very striking is the way in which al-Manṣūr made certain that news of his triumphs, real, exaggerated or imagined, was spread in Córdoba. The most notable example of this came after the fall of Santiago when the bells of the cathedral were carried south to Córdoba by prisoners of war.

The propaganda effect of these triumphs was immense, both inside *al-*

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[2] See Lévi-Provençal (1951), pp. 233–59, for details.

Andalus and among the Christians of the north where the constant raids and continuous destruction caused real fear. In the end, however, they achieved little in military terms. Christian resistance was strong and remained so right up to the end of al-Manṣūr's life when in the summer of 1000 Sancho García, count of Castile inflicted major losses on the Muslims and nearly clinched a remarkable victory. Cities were sacked but, apart from a brief and abortive attempt to establish a Muslim garrison at Zamora in 999, no effort seems to have been made to advance the frontiers of Muslim settlement. Paradoxically, this policy of aggression went along with the development of kinship ties across the frontier. As has already been noted, Ṣubḥ, mother of the titular caliph Hishām, was a Basque, and al-Manṣūr continued the connection by marrying ʿAbda, daughter of King Sancho Abarca of Navarre, who was the mother of his son ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, known as Sanchuelo, born around 983. In 993 he is said to have taken a daughter of King Vermudo II of León as a concubine whom he subsequently liberated and married.

Al-Manṣūr also pursued an active policy in North Africa. As before, Cordovan policy was concerned with finding local tribal leaders who would be strong enough to defend Cordovan interests and yet be prepared to accept its overall authority. There was no longer any third power, like the Fatimids in the time of al-Nāṣir, seeking to exploit the situation; but this did not make it easier to find reliable allies. From 988 the head of the Maghrāwa tribal confederation, Zīrī b. ʿAṭīya, seemed the best agent Córdoba could find and he founded a new centre at Wajda to base himself in. He was invited to the capital and established in a luxurious palace but the Berber chiefs always seem to have found this sumptuous environment constraining and he was soon back on his native territory. In 997 he rejected the authority of al-Manṣūr who then decided on a more active policy. Up to this point, Cordovan forces had only occupied Ceuta but in 998 al-Manṣūr sent his leading Slav commander, Wāḍiḥ, who had taken over Ghālib's role and position at Medinaceli, with a large force. Fes was occupied and an Andalusi administration installed which survived until al-Manṣūr's death.

The expense was considerable and the conquests ephemeral but the most important legacy in *al-Andalus* was the large number of new Berber troops. These new troops were usually recruited not as individuals but in tribal groups under their own chiefs who continued to command and lead them. This meant that they retained much of their tribal group spirit (the *ʿaṣabiyyah* of the Arabic sources). Combined with the fact that few of them spoke Arabic and that they were wholly unused to an urban environment such as the great city of Córdoba, it meant that they remained a very alien presence, uncomprehending and uncomprehended at the heart of Andalusi society. The most important group came not from Morocco but from Zirid Tunisia. The authority of the

Zirid ruler Bādīs was challenged by two of his great uncles, Maksān and Zāwī, and when their attempt to overthrow him failed, they and their followers were invited to Córdoba by al-Manṣūr where they were established as a new section of his growing army.

Al-Manṣūr's reign was in many ways a culmination of trends which had been evident in *al-Andalus* throughout the tenth century, especially the growing professionalisation of military and civil hierarchies and the concentration of military power in the hands of non-native groups. At the same time there were a number of new factors, not all of them beneficial. Al-Manṣūr had significantly undermined the prestige of the Umayyad dynasty which had been the focus of unity in Muslim Spain for so long. Not only was the caliph a feeble recluse but other members of the family were completely excluded from power and influence. He had systematically destroyed the authority of anyone who could command a following in the state, and his subordinates were often people of little independent standing. While he remained in charge the system worked, despite the cruelty it exhibited at the highest level: under less competent management, its future was less assured.

Al-Manṣūr was succeeded by his adult son, ʿAbd al-Malik al-Muẓaffar, who had extensive experience of frontier warfare and of managing the military, and he stepped into his father's shoes to become effective ruler of *al-Andalus* from 1002 to 1008. For Ibn Ḥayyān, writing in Córdoba after the collapse of the caliphate, and the writers who depended on him, the reign was a sort of Edwardian summer, when al-Andalus was peaceful, strong and prosperous, in marked contrast to the chaos of the years which followed. Reading between the lines, it is clear that things were not quite so settled and discontent surfaced repeatedly. Part of the problem was the personality of the ruler himself. ʿAbd al-Malik was a competent soldier but he had little time or enthusiasm for day-to-day administration, a problem which was aggravated by the fact that he drank wine, heavily and often. This in turn meant that ambitious and unscrupulous men could take advantage of the situation to assume absolute power in the administration. In addition, the government was generally unpopular among the people of Córdoba, who resented high taxation and the pretensions of the ʿAmirids and their followers.

The new generation of leaders who had risen in al-Manṣūr's years had now reached political maturity and had acquired followings and ambitions of their own. This was particularly apparent among the Slavs. They had been left largely leaderless by al-Manṣūr's purges but now a new cohort of leaders had emerged, Ṭarafa, Mujāhid and above all Wāḍiḥ, who had taken over Ghālib's position at Medinaceli. These new men now formed a powerful bloc opposed to the Berber tribal chiefs.

Two senior officials attempted to use their position to take control of the

government into their own hands. The first of these was the Slav Ṭarafa, who in 1003 was denounced, arrested and executed after having been entrusted with the most important offices. In 1006 it was the turn of the chief *wazīr*, ʿĪsā b. Saʿīd al-Yaḥṣubī. Although himself of modest origins, al-Muẓaffar's negligence in ordinary administrative affairs had allowed ʿĪsā to assume almost absolute authority and he had developed close links with old established families in the civil administration. He planned a coup to restore the Umayyads to real power, under his tutelage of course, but the plan was denounced and both ʿĪsā and his candidate for the throne, a grandson of al-Nāṣir, were put to death. It is said that after this al-Muẓaffar determined to take a serious interest in administration but he died before this could bear any fruit. Both incidents showed serious instability among the ruling elite.

Al-Muẓaffar's way of dealing with, and perhaps escaping from, these problems, was to devote himself to the Holy War and he launched annual raids against the Christians. Here again the Arab chroniclers portray this as a stream of victories but in truth the results were pretty meagre and amounted to the sack of a few frontier forts. Unusually, al-Muẓaffar did try to encourage settlement of a castle near Lleida by offering fiscal inducements to anyone who would live there, but it is not clear that this came to anything. Disturbingly for the future, Christian resistance was fierce and Count Sancho García of Castile, especially, showed himself to be an opponent who could take on the Muslims on equal terms. The most noticeable feature of these campaigns was the care with which al-Muẓaffar, like his father, publicised his achievements in Córdoba, writing letters which were to be read out in the mosque at Friday prayers (letters which may form the basis of our chronicle accounts), and organising victory parades. But even then, people complained that he did not send as many new slaves as his father had done. Only against the background of subsequent disaster did al-Muẓaffar's reign acquire a golden glow. In reality, the instability of the ʿAmirid state was increasingly apparent.

On the death of al-Muẓaffar, his brother ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, known as Sanchuelo ('little Sancho', after his maternal grandfather, Sancho Abarca of Navarre), succeeded to his position. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān had been his brother's right-hand man but his extensive experience did not bring political wisdom. He immediately decided to break with the policies of his father and his brother in two distinct ways. In November 1008 he obliged the Caliph Hishām to appoint him heir apparent: both the two previous ʿAmirids had been careful to maintain a screen of constitutional legality but this was now swept away. Despite the circulation of prophecies and alleged traditions of the Prophet, nothing could disguise the fact that the ʿAmirids were not members of the Prophet's tribe of Quraysh, a qualification which almost all Muslims agreed was necessary to become caliph. In making this arrangement, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān completely

alienated the numerous members of the Umayyad family, who realised that
their remaining status would be destroyed.

His second move was to demonstrate openly his reliance on the Berbers,
most obviously by ordering his court to appear on 13 January 1009 dressed in
turbans, a typically Berber headgear. Al-Manṣūr's system had depended on bal-
ancing different elements within the military, notably the Slavs and the Berbers,
but also the Arabs from the upper march led by the Tujībīs. By relying on one
group, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān inevitably alienated the others.

He attempted to surmount the obvious opposition in the traditional ʿAmirid
way and, even though it was midwinter, he immediately set out on an expedi-
tion against the Christians, hoping to win a victory and justify his title. The
opposition realised that his absence gave them their opportunity and as soon as
they knew he had entered Christian territory, they struck. The leadership seems
to have come from the Umayyad family, headed by Muḥammad b. Hishām b.
ʿAbd al-Jabbār b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Nāṣir. His father had been executed by al-
Manṣūr for conspiring with ʿIsā b. Saʿīd in 1006 and he himself had led a fugi-
tive existence since. At the same time, he had attracted a considerable following
among the people of Córdoba.

The news of Sanchuelo's entering Christian lands arrived on 15 February
and the conspirators struck that night, attacking first the Alcazar, where they
obliged the Caliph Hishām to abdicate in favour of Muḥammad, and then
Madīnat al-Zāhirah, the ʿAmirid stronghold, which was thoroughly pillaged.
The new caliph took the title of al-Mahdī to announce his role as a restorer of
legitimate Muslim government. His first appointments showed that he
intended the Umayyad family to play a major role and he appointed his cousins
as both *ḥājib* (chief minister) and the *ṣāḥib al-shurṭa* (commander of the security
police). He also began to recruit a militia from the people of Córdoba. It was a
deliberate attempt to break the stranglehold of Berbers and Slavs over the mil-
itary and to arm the people of the city. The chroniclers tend to be very disap-
proving of this, criticising him for employing tradesmen and the riff-raff of the
market place in his army,[3] but in fact it was a bold move to develop a new
power-base.

The new regime may have been popular in the streets of the capital, but it
faced formidable problems. The least of these was Sanchuelo who, despite all
advice, determined to return immediately. His troops melted away and he was
arrested and executed at a monastery near Córdoba where he had stopped for
the night, his only companion the Christian count, García Gomez of Carrion.
He was the last of the ʿAmirids and no attempt was subsequently made to
revive their fortunes.

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[3] Ibn Idhārī al-Marrakushi, *Kitāb al-Bayan al-Mughrib*, III, ed. Lévi-Provençal, pp. 49–51.

More serious was the fact that the established military groups rightly saw al-Mahdī and his new army as a threat to their position. The Slav leader Wāḍiḥ at Medinaceli threw in his lot with the new regime, which he no doubt preferred to a Berber-dominated government, but many of the Slavs left Córdoba and established themselves in the Levante, so depriving al-Mahdī of a military force to balance the Berbers. The Berbers themselves were not so accommodating. Hostility between them and the citizens of Córdoba was a continuous problem which ran through all the chaotic events of the period. The Berbers were dependent on having a friendly government in Córdoba without which they could not survive, but al-Mahdī had his own constituency to satisfy and they demanded the humiliation of these alien soldiers. He introduced a series of measures like forbidding them to carry arms in the city, which left them vulnerable to any attack. Zāwī b. Zīrī, the most prominent leader, was refused access to the palace, and the quarter where most of them had their homes was pillaged. This humiliation culminated in their expulsion from the city after an abortive coup attempt.

In order to press their claims, the Berbers adopted a member of the Umayyad family, Sulaymān b. al-Ḥakam, as their candidate for the throne. They moved north, where their advances were rejected by the Slav commander Wāḍiḥ at Medinaceli but where they negotiated the support of Sancho García of Castile. Then the joint Berber-Castilian army attacked the capital. The hostile accounts we have of the Cordovan army show clearly that this was a town militia of tradesmen with little equipment and less experience in warfare. Not surprisingly, they were severely defeated by their professional opponents. In November 1009, Sulaymān entered the city and was proclaimed caliph with the title of al-Mustaʿīn. Amid a sullen populace he was acclaimed by the Berbers and gave his ally Sancho García a formal reception.

Inevitably there was a reaction. Al-Mahdī escaped to Toledo and Wāḍiḥ obtained Christian support from the counts of Barcelona and Urgell. This time the Berbers were defeated in May 1010, and once more al-Mahdī was accepted as caliph in Córdoba. Now, however, his regime was based on the support of the Slav soldiers led by Wāḍiḥ rather than the populace and they tired of him rapidly. In July 1010 he was murdered and replaced by the useless Hishām II once again. These events took place against the background of a siege by the Berbers which lasted from 1010 to 1013 and resulted in terrible hardship among the inhabitants. Within the city Wāḍiḥ attempted to assume the role of his erstwhile master al-Manṣūr, but this aroused the apprehensions of the Cordovans and, in October 1011, he too was murdered. By May 1013 the citizens had had enough and they asked for terms. Although a safe conduct was granted, the Berber troops were unrestrained in their pillage and destruction of the city. In many ways, the sack of Córdoba in 1013 marks the end of its role as

a capital; from this time on it was an important city but it had lost the dominance which it had enjoyed in the tenth century. From 1013 other centres of power in *al-Andalus* were possible.

Attempts to restore central authority continued to be made. The most sustained of these was made not by the Umayyads but by the Ḥammūdī brothers, Berbers who claimed Arab descent. The Ḥammūdīs were late arrivals on the Andalusi scene. It was not until the second reign of Sulaymān from 1013 that ʿAlī was given the governorate of Ceuta, and his brother al-Qāsim received Algeciras and Tangier. The family did have one advantage over other Berber leaders, their ancestry. Much of the original success of the Umayyads in establishing themselves in *al-Andalus* had been due to their descent from the caliphs of Damascus and their consequent prestige and ability to stand apart from and above local feuds and jealousies and so attract loyalty from a wide cross-section of society. The Ḥammūdīs were Idrisids and so ultimately descended from the fourth caliph, ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, and belonged to the house of the Prophet himself. They were of Quraysh descent and they had more chance of attracting widespread support than even the most powerful Berber chiefs.

In 1016 ʿAlī b. Ḥammūd took advantage of growing Berber disenchantment with their Caliph Sulaymān and, claiming to be the legitimate heir and avenger of Ḥishām II, he marched on Córdoba. For a while he made a serious attempt to build up a broad-based coalition of Cordovan people and Berbers, but their mutual hostility meant that he had more and more to depend on Berber military force and in 1018 he was assassinated by some domestic slaves.

His disconcerted supporters then sent for his brother al-Qāsim who was, for a time, more successful. He conciliated the Cordovans and had good relations with the Slav leaders, confirming Khayrān in Almeria and Zuhayr in Jaen. In an attempt to free himself from total dependence on the Berbers, he began to build up a bodyguard of Negro troops. As always, the Berbers felt their position threatened and joined ʿAlī's son Yaḥyā in rebellion in 1021 in Malaga; the resulting civil war destroyed the Ḥammūdid attempt. Its fate serves to illustrate the almost insuperable problems faced by anyone who tried to restore a state which would be acceptable to all Andalusis, rather than be dominated by Berbers, Slavs or any other group.

Other Umayyads were chosen by the Cordovans to occupy the Alcazar of their ancestors but none of them was able to sustain his power, having neither reliable troops nor a regular income to call upon. For most of *al-Andalus*, the caliphate was now an irrelevance. In 1031 a leading local notable, Abūʾl-Ḥazm b. Jahwar, persuaded the Cordovans that it was more trouble than it was worth, and the Umayyad caliphate of *al-Andalus* was definitively and finally abolished. So bitter had the experience of the last quarter of a century been that no serious effort was made to revive it.

The abolition of the caliphate in 1031 had little impact beyond Córdoba itself. The real change had come much earlier, during the long siege of the capital between 1010 and 1013 when central government had been paralysed. This period saw a clear change of attitude among some of the Berber chiefs. The Zirid leaders of the Ṣanhāja Berbers established themselves in the Granada area, apparently on the invitation of the local inhabitants who wanted protectors in these uncertain times. By 1013, the Zirids already had effective power there and their priorities had shifted: they no longer wished to control the central government in the interests of the Berbers but rather sought to keep it weak so that their rule in their own area would not be challenged.

A similar process occurred in other areas of *al-Andalus*. Sometimes it was other groups of Berber soldiers who established local power-bases, like the Banū Birzāl in Carmona. As noted, the Slav leaders tended to gravitate towards the Levante and the east coast, and from Tortosa in the north to Almeria in the south the cities were ruled either by Slav leaders or, like Valencia after 1021, by scions of the ʿAmirid dynasty, in this case a son of Sanchuelo. The preference of the Slavs and ʿAmirids for this area probably reflects the fact that the Levante had no well-established Islamic elite to challenge them. Until the tenth century, the area seems to have been very sparsely populated and much of it was used as winter pasture by transhumant Berbers from the eastern Meseta. In the tenth and eleventh centuries, however, the area was won over for settled agriculture and became one of the richest parts of Muslim Spain.

Elsewhere, power was seized by people of local origin. In Seville the Banū'l-Ḥajjāj who were ruling in 912 disappeared during the course of the tenth century, but they were replaced by another long-established elite family of Arab origin, the Banū ʿAbbād. On the collapse of Cordovan government, Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbbād used his position as *qāḍī* to become effective ruler of the city. The centres of the lower and middle marches (Badajoz and Toledo) were in a slightly different position. The conquests of al-Nāṣir in 929–30 had largely destroyed the power of the local elites, and in the period of the crisis at Córdoba we find Badajoz taken over by a Slav commander and Toledo, like Seville, by the local *qāḍī*. Neither was able to sustain himself for long. Badajoz and the lower march were seized by a Berber dynasty called the Banū'l-Aftas. This had long been a Berber-dominated area and it seems that the Aftasids were old-established pastoral Berbers, not newly arrived mercenaries. Toledo, too, was soon taken over by a Berber dynasty based in the surrounding countryside, the Banū'l-Dhū'l-Nūn.

In contrast to the lower and middle marches, the upper march, together with the mountainous areas of the eastern Meseta, had not been effectively brought under control by al-Nāṣir and traditional local power structures survived here almost unaltered. The Dhū'l-Nūnids effectively dominated the Huete and

Ucles areas from the ninth century and they made their peace with al-Nāṣir. We do not hear of them in the period of al-Manṣūr and al-Muẓaffar, but the fact that they reappear as local magnates with the collapse of the caliphate strongly suggests continuity. The Banū Razīn at Albarracin too had survived unscathed and there was one curious survival from the very earliest days of *al-Andalus*: the little town of Alpuente was ruled by a member of the Fihrī family, who had challenged the Umayyads for power in *al-Andalus* in the eighth century and who had long had contacts among the local Berbers.

Zaragoza and the upper march continued to be ruled by the Tujībīs as they had been for well over a century. Al-Manṣūr had favoured Maʿn b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Tujībī, described as *fāris al-ʿarab* ('the knight of the Arabs'), as the leading Arab commander in his army. When ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Mutarrif al-Tujībī, increasingly apprehensive about his position and feeling himself the one important figure in the state not liquidated by al-Manṣūr, joined the abortive rebellion of al-Manṣūr's son and was executed, he was replaced in Zaragoza by his nephew: al-Manṣūr could execute individual members of the family but he was not powerful enough to remove the whole dynasty from its seat of power.

In some cases, like the settlement of the Berbers in the south, new elements in Andalusi society consciously broke with the centralised regime which had nurtured them because they felt more secure in charge of their own sources of income. In many other areas, the passing of the caliphate allowed well-established local powers to become independent rulers in their own right. The break up of the caliphate into Taifa kingdoms cannot really be understood without remembering that *al-Andalus* had usually been a land of *taifas*; it was central control from Córdoba that was the exception.

By 1025, *al-Andalus* had broken up beyond repair and already the Christians were taking advantage, as when Sancho García paraded his men in triumph through the streets of Córdoba in 1010. However, at this stage they were content with payment, loot and the new-found domestic security they enjoyed; it was not until the second half of the eleventh century that the Christian powers began to make territorial gains at Muslim expense.

SICILY

In the tenth and early eleventh centuries, Sicily was an integral part of the Islamic world and was becoming increasingly populous and prosperous as time went on. The court of the amirs in Palermo was a cultural centre of some importance and both jurists and poets found patronage there. It is all the more frustrating, therefore, that the Muslims of the time did not leave more extensive records. Apart from the brief and uninspired chronicle, known, rather

bizarrely, as the *Cronica di Cambridge*, they left no surviving histories.[4] Other contemporary Muslim sources are not much more helpful and the only first-hand account we have is the geographer Ibn Ḥawqāl's record of his visit in the mid-tenth century, full of incidental detail and acerbic comment but too short to give a full picture.[5] Nor is the archaeological evidence much more substantial, and there are no surviving buildings on the island which can be reliably attributed to this period. Instead we are obliged to depend on late compilers, Ibn al-Athīr (*d.* 1234), Ibn Idhārī (*fl.* 1300), al-Nuwayrī (*d.* 1332) and Ibn Khaldūn (*d.* 1406). All were conscientious and careful historians but their material is naturally abbreviated and lacking in depth.

An interesting problem is posed by the evidence from the Norman period, some of it in Arabic. This tells us a good deal about the administration but it is by no means clear that it can be projected back into the tenth and early eleventh centuries; Arabic administrative practice may well have been further developed under Norman rule. An example is posed by the well-known division of the island into Val di Mazara, Val di Noto and Val Demone. While the word Val represents the Arabic *wilāyah*, meaning a district, the usage is first attested in Norman times; does the division represent the administrative arrangements of the Muslim period or a terminology devised by Arabic clerks working for the Norman kings? It is impossible to tell.

The result of this paucity of sources is that the history of Muslim Sicily 900–1025 amounts to little more than a thin chronicle of the comings and goings of rulers and raids on the Byzantine mainland. It is difficult to give a rounded picture of what must have been one of the more complex and advanced societies in the tenth-century Mediterranean world.

At the beginning of the tenth century, Sicily was ruled by governors who were more or less under the control of the Aghlabid rulers of Ifrīqiyyah (the Arab province corresponding approximately to modern Tunisia). Sicily was close to the centre of Aghlabid power but it was by no means a docile province. The history of the island since the Muslim conquest in the previous century had been troubled by repeated tensions, as governors, often with the support of the Muslim population of Sicily, attempted to establish their independence from the Aghlabids. Muslim Sicily remained very much a conquest state. The last Christian outpost on the island itself, at Taormina, fell in 902, but it is clear from tenth-century history that many Christian areas, especially in the western half of the island, continued to enjoy considerable autonomy in practice. Raids on the Italian mainland were still an important feature of military activity and probably an important source of revenue as well, and they had reached a new

[4] For the *Cambridge Chronicle*, which exists in both Arabic and Greek versions, see Vasiliev (1935), pp. 342–6 and (1950), pp. 99–106.   [5] Ibn Ḥawqāl, *Ṣūrat al-arḍ*, pp. 118–31.

intensity at the turn of the century under the leadership of the Aghlabid amir Ibrāhīm who was killed in 902 besieging Cosenza.

Perhaps because of this concentration on the *jihād*, Muslim Sicily remained a brigand polity and does not seem to have developed very much in the way of government institutions. Political activity seems to have been confined to Palermo, where the *jund* (military of North African origin) dominated the scene. There is little mention in the brief annals of this period of provincial governors, fiscal administration or native Sicilian converts.

The immediate reaction of the Sicilian Muslims to the Fatimid takeover of Qayrawān, capital of Ifrīqiyyah, in 909, was to expel the Aghlabid governor and install a man of their own choice, Ibn Abī'l-Fawāris to represent the new dynasty. This display of local autonomy tinged with submission did not, however, please the new masters of Ifrīqiyyah, and when the governor went to receive his investiture in the capital he was detained and a prominent supporter of the Fatimids, al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad, known strangely as Ibn Abī Khanzīr ('son of the father of the pig') was appointed. On his arrival, he appointed his brother as governor (*ʿāmil*) of Agrigento, which emerges at this time as the second city of Muslim Sicily. He also appointed an official called the *ṣaḥib al-khums*, who effectively functioned as deputy governor. The *khums* was the name given to the fifth part of the booty captured in wars against the infidels which was reserved for the ruler. This may suggest that booty was still an important source of state revenue but may also mean that the management of these revenues was becoming more formalised. Interestingly, the office has no parallel elsewhere in Islamic administrative practice and seems to be distinctively Sicilian.

This high-handed treatment of local feelings provoked a major uprising in the late summer of 913. Not only did the Sicilian Muslims revolt and appoint a scion of the dispossessed Aghlabid family as their governor, but the Christians in the Taormina area refused to pay the *jizyah* (poll-tax), thus rejecting Muslim rule. A further element was soon added to the chaos when the largely Berber Muslim population of Agrigento rejected the Aghlabid governor, who was captured and sent to Ifrīqiyyah, where he was executed.

These disturbances were suppressed by a full-scale invasion by Fatimid troops in 916. These were led by Abū Saʿīd Mūsā b. Aḥmad al-Ḍayf and were largely composed of Kutāmah Berbers, a tribe whose members formed the backbone of the Fatimid army both in North Africa and later in Egypt. They crushed the resistance of the Sicilian Muslims, destroying the walls of Palermo and disarming its inhabitants. When Abū Saʿīd returned to Ifrīqiyyah in 917 he left a large garrison of Kutāmah and a Kutāmī governor, Sālim b. Rashīd behind him.

The invasion of 916–17 saw the effective imposition of Fatimid rule in the

island. This was characterised by a reliance on a garrison of outside troops (the Kutāmah in this case), the disarming of the local Muslim populace and the imposition of more regular taxes to pay for this new military presence. As was so often the case in the Islamic world, this led to the development of a new and separate official quarter in Palermo, where the governor and his military forces could live a separate life from the rest of the population and defend themselves if necessary; in 937 Sālim's successor, Khalīl b. Isḥāq began the development of the Khāliṣah quarter (whose position and name are commemorated in the Piazza della Kalza in Palermo). These changes have many parallels in the medieval Muslim world, but perhaps most strikingly in Muslim Spain in the reign of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III (912–61). Like his Spanish contemporary, Sālim made a point of distinguishing himself in the *jihād* in Calabria, winning both booty and prestige.

The changes drastically reduced the privileged position of the existing Muslim inhabitants and led to open rebellion in Agrigento in 937. The immediate cause of the uprising is said to have been that the inhabitants were obliged to cut wood for the fleet, but there was more general resentment about taxation and loss of status. There may have also been religious factors at work: the overwhelming majority of the Muslims of Sicily were Sunnis and regarded the claims of the Shiʾite Fatimid caliphs to divinely inspired leadership of the whole Muslim world with incredulity or contempt. This would have been especially true of the Kharijites, who opposed all of the established caliphates. In 909 the Fatimids had destroyed the Kharijite community at Tahart and some of its members seem to have come to Sicily, settling in mountainous Enna and other areas of the island. The revolt rapidly spread to Palermo and soon the whole island was involved, leaving the governor powerless.

The Fatimid caliph al-Qāʾim responded by sending a large army led by Khalīl b. Isḥāq b. Ward, who set about putting down the rebellion with great brutality, ravaging the country and leaving famine in his wake. Despite help from the Byzantines, to whom the insurgents appealed, resistance was finally crushed in 939, when Agrigento was forced to surrender. Khalīl left the island in 941 since his services were required to combat the revolt in North Africa of Abū Yazīd, 'the man on the donkey', which threatened the very existence of the Fatimid caliphate. He left behind him a ruined country, but one in which the bulk of the Muslim population was subjected. It was on these foundations that his successors were able to create the prosperous, stable and comparatively peaceful Muslim Sicily of the late tenth and early eleventh centuries.

The departure of Khalīl was followed by a period of anarchy while the Fatimids were preoccupied with the North African revolt. The notables of Palermo attempted to regain their lost status. It was not until 948 that the caliph was able once more to spare any resources to re-establish order. In this year the

Caliph al-Manṣūr appointed al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī al-Kalbī as governor, whose family were to rule the island for the next century. Al-Ḥasan claimed descent from the Arab tribe of Kalb, powerful in the Syrian desert at the time of the first Muslim conquests, but his most loyal supporters were not Arabs but the Kuāmah Berbers. He himself had become important as a leader of the Fatimid forces in the struggle against the rebellion of Abū Yazīd and he was therefore a natural choice to send to troublesome Sicily.

Having first overcome the opposition of the established Palermo elite, al-Ḥasan played an important part in wider Mediterranean rivalries as the Fatimids struggled with the Byzantines and the Umayyads of Córdoba for mastery. Fatimid–Umayyad rivalries were mostly played out in the western Maghreb (Morocco and western Algeria), where each side attempted to control the area through its clients among the Berber tribes, but there was also a maritime dimension to the conflict. In 953 the Fatimids made a treaty with the traditional enemy, the Byzantines of Calabria, and in 954 open warfare with *al-Andalus* broke out when a Sicilian merchant ship was captured. Al-Ḥasan led the Sicilian fleet to burn Almeria and in 955 ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III responded by making an alliance with the Byzantines. This resulted in sporadic and inconclusive naval warfare off the coasts of Calabria and Sicily as well as raids by the Muslims into Calabria. The events are interesting as an example of long-distance diplomacy and strategic thinking in the tenth century but had few lasting results.

In 960 the Caliph al-Muʿizz recalled al-Ḥasan. The caliph's eyes were now firmly turned on Egypt and he wanted the Kalbīs to lead his fleet. He also needed peace in Sicily so that he would not be distracted by events on the island, so he was prepared to allow al-Ḥasan's son Aḥmad to succeed to his father's office. There was certainly no intention at this stage to make the Kalbīs hereditary rulers of Sicily but this was in effect what happened. When Aḥmad in turn was recalled in 969 to lead the Fatimid navy to Egypt there was an immediate uprising against the Fatimids and their Kutāmah military. The caliph was obliged to send Aḥmad's brother Abūʾl-Qāsim (970–82) to restore order, thus effectively confirming the family's position. After the conquest of Egypt in 969, Fatimid priorities changed completely: Egypt, Syria, Byzantium and even Iraq were the objects of their concern and North Africa and Sicily were relegated to the backburner. They were happy to allow the Zirids in Ifrīqiyyah and the Kalbīs in Sicily to enjoy hereditary governorships, as long as they accepted the nominal overlordship of Cairo, looked to the caliphs for formal investiture and had the caliph's name inscribed on their coins and pronounced in the *khuṭba* (the sermon in the mosque at Friday prayers).

The period of Fatimid rule saw a greatly increased rate of conversion to Islam. The sources do not give us clear evidence about this but it is likely that at

the beginning of the tenth century only a small fraction of the population of the island were Muslims and that most of these were concentrated in Palermo and the Val di Mazara in the south and west of the island. It is probable that the percentage increased significantly in the course of the next hundred years, and by the early eleventh century it is possible that around half the total population of the island was Muslim. Although churches and a few monasteries still survived, it seems that the ecclesiastical hierarchy was no longer functioning. Conversion, however, was very unevenly distributed and areas in the Val Demona and the western half of the island were still largely Christian, though under Muslim political control.

This process was partly the result of government action. The Fatimids claimed to be the rightful leaders of the Muslim community and it was natural that they should encourage the spread of the religion to enhance their claims. In 962 al-Muʿizz sent vast amounts of money and fine robes as presents for 14,000 Sicilian boys who were circumcised at the same time. He also wrote to the governor ordering him to build a mosque and a *minbar* (pulpit) in each of the fourteen administrative districts (*iqlīm*) into which the island was divided, which shows the caliph's concern for the spread of Islam but also that there were areas, which had previously had no mosque to speak of. The Kalbīs also put an end to the semi-independent Christian communities which survived in the Taormina and Rametta areas, and in 963, despite Byzantine military help, Rametta fell to Muslims. The continuing *jihād* in Calabria must have sharpened religious differences on the island and made the Christian population suspect among many Muslims.

The pace of conversion in Sicily was increased by further waves of immigration from North Africa, especially after the famines of 1004 and 1015, while some Christians continued to emigrate to Calabria. As in all early Muslim states, conversion to Islam was encouraged by the imposition of the *jizyah* on non-Muslims, which meant that there were fiscal advantages in becoming a Muslim. This naturally decreased state revenues and it may have been as a result of this that the Amir Jaʿfar b. Yūsuf al-Kalbī (998–1019) and his *wazīr*, al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Baghāyī imposed the tithe (*ʿushr*) as a compulsory levy on agricultural produce. Even though this was standard practice in other Muslim countries, it caused great resentment among the Sicilian Muslims and a revolution which cost the *wazīr* his life.

Along with the Islamisation of Sicily went the continuing *jihād* in southern Italy. This enthusiasm stemmed partly from the desire to legitimise Kalbid rule and partly, no doubt, from the desire for booty. No effort seems to have been made to expand Muslim rule into southern Italy on a permanent basis but the raids were far reaching. The most aggressive of the Kalbī amirs was Abūʾl-Qāsim (970–82). In 976 he drove out a Byzantine force which had occupied

Messina and went on to attack Cosenza, Taranto and Otranto, all of which paid tribute. He raided southern Italy again in 978 and 981. He faced his biggest challenge when the Emperor Otto II invaded Calabria in 982. In July Abū'l-Qāsim confronted him at Capo Cotrone. At first the German forces had the upper hand but the Muslims counter-attacked and defeated them. It was a fitting end to his career that Abū'l-Qāsim himself was killed in this battle, a martyr for Islam. Raids did not cease with his death and Muslim expeditions continued to invade Calabria and places further afield: in 994 Matera was taken, and Bari, the capital of Byzantine Italy, was threatened in 988, 1003 and 1023. The early eleventh century saw a diminution in this aggressive activity and the shape of things to come was clearly demonstrated when a Pisan fleet appeared in the straits of Messina in 1005–6 and defeated the Sicilian navy. At the beginning of the eleventh century, too, the Kalbid state, as far as we can judge, had ceased to be a conquest polity, dependent on booty and raiding; the amirs now lived a sedentary life in luxurious palaces in Palermo, and they and their military elite were maintained by a tax-collecting bureaucracy.
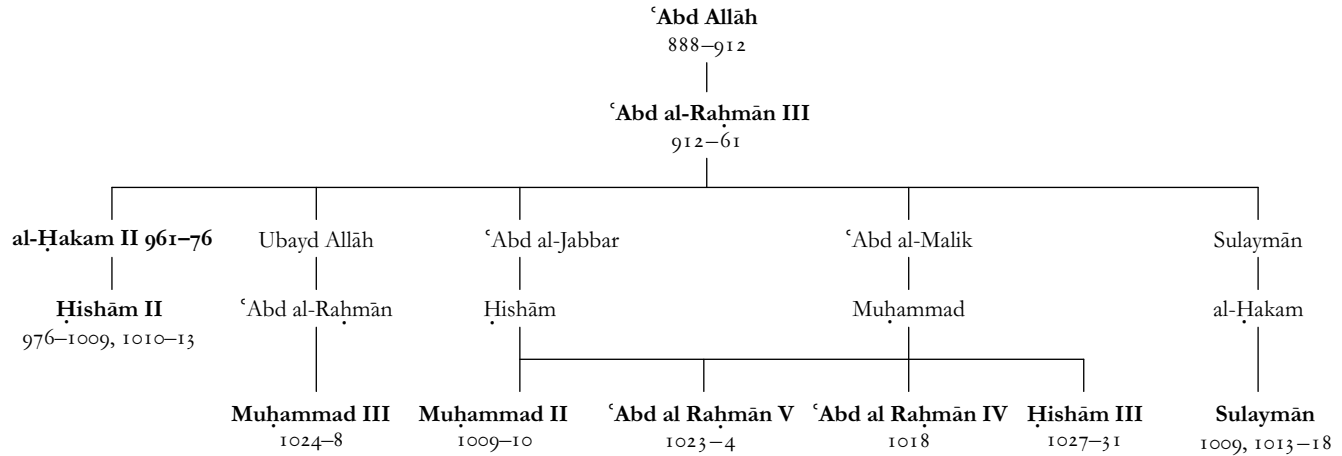
The second half of the tenth and the early eleventh century seem to have been a period of growing prosperity and increasing population. Palermo itself became a very large city with a population of perhaps 100,000 and new settlements seem to have spread in rural areas. This prosperity was partly based on the introduction of new crops, citrus fruit, sugar cane and cotton among them. It also seems that the great grain producing latifundia of late Roman times were broken up into smaller, more intensively cultivated areas, where irrigation was practised. Crops like cotton and mulberries fed a thriving textile industry. International trade developed and Sicily benefited from being a centre of exchange between Amalfi and other Italian cities and the Fatimids. Trade with Ifrīqiyyah was especially important, with the Sicilians sending agricultural products in exchange for slaves and gold. Throughout the Fatimid period, the rulers of Muslim Sicily minted the *rubaʿi*, the distinctive gold quarter-dinar which the Italians imitated and called the *tari*.

After the move of the Fatimids to Egypt in 969 the political history of the island was fairly uneventful. The martyred Abū'l-Qāsim was succeeded by three short-lived amirs from his family and then from 990 to 998 by Yūsuf b. ʿAbd Allāh, who was given the title of Thiqat al-Dawla by the Fatimids and whose reign saw the high point of Kalbid power and prosperity, the court becoming a centre for poetry and intellectual activity. The Kalbids continued to rule as vassals of the Fatimids and the family was closely involved with politics in Cairo. When the Caliph al-Ḥākim was proclaimed in 996, the Kuṭāmah troops in Cairo insisted that al-Ḥasan b. ʿAmmār al-Kalbī should be appointed *wāṣitah* (essentially, prime minister) to support their interests against those of their Turkish rivals.

Yūsuf's successor, Jaʿfar b. Yūsuf (998–1019), continued in his father's ways but towards the end of his reign the internal peace of the island was shattered by a series of upheavals whose causes are not entirely clear. In 1015 the Kutāmah and black slaves of the army, led by the amir's brother ʿAlī, revolted. They were defeated, and after their rout Jaʿfar ordered that all the Kutāmah, who had been the mainstay of family power for so long, should leave the island. Three years later, in 1019, there was the further uprising in protest against taxation mentioned above. Jaʿfar went into exile in Cairo and was succeeded by his son Aḥmad (1019–36), known as al-Akḥal (the man who blackens his eye with *koḥl* or antimony), whose reign saw increasing internal disorder, especially when the amir's son was perceived to be favouring new immigrants from Ifrīqiyyah over native Sicilian Muslims. In 1035 al-Akḥal made a treaty with the Byzantines and received the Byzantine honorific of *magister*, which again sharply divided Muslim opinion in the island. The amir's opponents invited in al-Muʿizz b. Bādīs, the Zirid ruler of Ifrīqiyyah, who defeated and killed al-Akḥal in 1036. Though another member of the family, Ṣamṣām b. Yūsuf (1040–1053), was able to claim the title, internal division and renewed Byzantine invasions in the 1040s prevented a real revival of Kalbid power, and Muslim Sicily was laid fatally exposed to outside invasion.

Table 30 Caliphs of Córdoba

ʿAbd Allāh
888–912

ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III
912–61

al-Ḥakam II 961–76 Ubayd Allāh ʿAbd al-Jabbar ʿAbd al-Malik Sulaymān

Ḥishām II ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ḥishām Muḥammad al-Hakam
976–1009, 1010–13

Muḥammad III **Muḥammad II** **ʿAbd al Raḥmān V** **ʿAbd al Raḥmān IV** **Ḥishām III** **Sulaymān**
1024–8 1009–10 1023–4 1018 1027–31 1009, 1013–18

ABBREVIATIONS

AASS	*Acta Sanctorum quotquot toto orbe coluntur*, ed. J. Bollandus *et al.*, Antwerp and Brussels (1634–)
Adalbert, *Reginonis Continuatio*	Adalbert of St Maximin, *Reginonis Continuatio*, ed. F. Kurze, Regino of Prüm, *Chronicon*, pp. 154–79
Adam of Bremen, *Gesta*	Adam of Bremen, *Gesta Hammaburgensis ecclesiae pontificum*, ed. B. Schmeidler, *MGH SRG* 11, Hanover (1917)
Adhémar, *Chronicon*	Adhémar of Chabannes, *Chronicon*, ed. J. Chavanon, *Adémar de Chabannes, Chronique publiée d'après les manuscrits*, Paris (1897)
AfD	*Archiv für Diplomatik*
AHP	*Archivum historiae pontificae*
AHR	*American Historical Review*
AKG	*Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*
An. Boll.	*Analecta Bollandiana*
Annales ESC	*Annales: Economies, Sociétés, Civilisations*
AQ	*Ausgewählte Quellen zur deutschen Geschichte des Mittelalters (Freiherr-von-Stein-Gedächtnis-Ausgabe)*
ASC	*Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, trans. Whitelock, *EHD*, pp. 145–245
ASE	*Anglo-Saxon England*
BAR	British Archaeological Reports
BEC	*Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes*
BHL	*Bibliotheca hagiographica latina, subsidia hagiographica* VI, Brussels (1898–1901), *Supplementum, subsidia hagiographica* XII, Brussels (1911); *Novum supplementum, subsidia hagiographica* LXX, Brussels (1986)

Bib. Mun.	Bibliothèque Municipale
BL MS	London, British Library manuscript
BMGS	*Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*
BN lat., BN n.a. lat.	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, manuscrit latin; nouvelles acquisitions latines
BSl	*Byzantinoslavica*
Byz	*Byzantion*
Byzbulg	*Byzantinobulgarica*
BZ	*Byzantinische Zeitschrift*
CBA	Council for British Archaeology
CCCM	Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio mediavalis, Turnhout (1966–)
CCM	Corpus consuetudinem monasticarum, ed. K. Hallinger, Siegburg (1963–)
CCSL	Corpus Christianorum, series latina, Turnhout, (1952–)
CFHB	Corpus fontium historiae Byzantinae
Clm	Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Codex Latinus Monacensis
D(D)	Diploma(ta), cited by number in the following editions:
D B I	Berengar I, king of Italy, *Diplomata*, ed. L. Schiaparelli, *I diplomi di Berengario I (sec. IX–X)* (Fonti per la storia d'Italia 35), Rome (1903)
D C I	Conrad I, king of east Francia, *Diplomata*, ed. T. Sickel, *Die Urkunden Konrad I., Heinrich I. und Otto I.* (MGH Dip. regum I), Hanover (1879–84)
D C II	Conrad II, emperor, *Diplomata*, ed. H. Bresslau, *Die Urkunden Konrads II.* (MGH Dip. regum IV) Berlin (1909)
D Ch S	Charles the Simple, king of west Francia, *Acta*, ed. P. Lauer, *Recueil des actes de Charles III le Simple, roi de France, 893–923,* Paris (1949)
D H I	Henry I, king of east Francia, *Diplomata*, ed. T. Sickel, *Die Urkunden Konrad I., Heinrich I. und Otto I.* (MGH Dip. regum I), Hanover (1879–84)
D H II	Henry II, king of east Francia and emperor, *Diplomata*, ed. H. Bresslau, H. Bloch,

	R. Holtzmann, M. Meyer and H. Wibel, (MGH Dip. regum III), Hanover (1900–3)
D Hugh	Hugh, king of Italy, *Diplomata*, ed. L. Schiaparelli, *I diplomi di Ugo e di Lotario, di Berengario II e di Adalberto (secolo X)* (Fonti per la storia d'Italia 38), Rome (1924)
D L IV	Louis IV, king of west Francia, *Acta*, ed. P. Lauer, *Recueil des actes de Louis IV, roi de France (936–954),* Paris (1914)
D L C	Louis the Child, king of east Francia, *Diplomata*, ed. T. Schieffer, *Die Urkunden Zwentibolds und Ludwigs des Kindes* (MGH Dip. Germ. iv), Berlin (1960)
D L G	Louis (the German), king of east Francia, *Diplomata*, ed. P. Kehr, *Ludwig des Deutschen, Karlmanns und Ludwigs des Jüngeren Die Urkunden* (MGH Dip. Germ. i), Berlin (1932–4)
D Lo	Lothar, king of west Francia, *Acta*, ed. L. Halphen and F. Lot, *Recueil des actes de Lothaire et Louis V, rois de France (954–987),* Paris (1908)
D Lothar	Lothar, king of Italy, *Diplomata*, ed. L. Schiaparelli, *I diplomi di Ugo e di Lotario, di Berengario II e di Adalberto (secolo X)* (Fonti per la storia d'Italia 38), Rome (1924)
D O I	Otto I, king of east Francia, *Diplomata*, ed. T. Sickel, *Die Urkunden Konrad I., Heinrich I., und Otto I.* (MGH Dip. regum i), 2 vols., Hanover (1879– 84)
D O II	Otto II, *Diplomata*, ed. T. Sickel, *Die Urkunden Otto des II.* (MGH Dip. regum ii.1), Hanover (1888)
D O III	Otto III, *Diplomata*, ed. T. Sickel, *Die Urkunden Otto des III.* (MGH Dip. regum ii.2), Hanover (1893)
D Ra	Radulf (Raoul), king of west Francia, *Acta*, ed. R.-H. Bautier and J. Dufour, *Recueil des actes de Robert Ier et de Raoul, rois de France, 922–936,* Paris (1978)
D Ro I	Robert I, king of west Francia, *Acta*, ed.

	R.-H. Bautier and J. Dufour, *Recueil des actes de Robert Ier et de Raoul, rois de France, 922–936,* Paris (1978)
D Ro II	Robert II, king of west Francia, *Acta*, ed. W. M. Newman, *Catalogue des actes de Robert II, roi de France*, Paris (1937)
DA	*Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters*
DAI	Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, *De administrando imperio*, ed. and trans. G. Moravcsik and R. J. H. Jenkins (CFHB 1 = Dumbarton Oaks Texts 1), Washington, DC (1967)
DC	Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, *De cerimoniis aulae byzantinae*, ed. I. I. Reiske, 2 vols., Bonn (1829).
DOP	Dumbarton Oaks Papers
DOT	Dumbarton Oaks Texts
EHD	Dorothy Whitelock (ed.), *English Historical Documents 1, c. 500–1042*, 2nd edn (London, 1979)
EHR	*English Historical Review*
EME	*Early Medieval Europe*
ep(p).	*epistola(e)*
Eparch	*The Book of The Eparch*, ed. and trans. J. Koder, *Das Eparchenbuch Leons des Weisen* (CFHB 33, Series Vindobonensis), Vienna (1991)
Flodoard, *Annales*	Flodoard, *Annales*, ed. P. Lauer, *Les annales de Flodoard publiées d'après les manuscrits*, Paris (1905)
Flodoard, *HRE*	Flodoard, *Historia Remensis ecclesiae*, ed. M. Stratmann, *MGH SS* xxxvi, Hanover (1998),
FmaSt	*Frühmittelalterliche Studien*
fol.	folio
FSI	Fonti per la storia d'Italia (Instituto storico per il medio evo) (1887–)
Fulbert, *Ep(p).*	*The Letters and Poems of Fulbert of Chartres*, ed. and trans. F. Behrends, Oxford (1976)
Gerbert, *Ep(p).*	Gerbert of Aurillac, *Epistolae*, ed. F. Weigle, *Die Briefsammlung Gerberts von Reims* (*MGH Die*

	Briefe der deutschen Kaiserzeit II), Weimar (1966)
HJb	*Historisches Jahrbuch*
HZ	*Historische Zeitschrift*
JEccH	*Journal of Ecclesiastical History*
JL	P. Jaffé, *Regesta pontificum romanorum*, 2nd edn, ed. S. Loewenfeld, with F. Kaltenbrunner and P. Ewald, Leipzig (1885–8)
JMH	*Journal of Medieval History*
Liudprand, *Antapodosis*	Liudprand of Cremona, *Antapodosis*, ed. J. Becker, *Liudprandi opera* (*MGH SRG* XLI), Hanover (1915), pp. 1–158
Liudprand, *Historia*	Liudprand of Cremona, *Liber de rebus gestis Ottonis Magni imperatoris*, ed. J. Becker, *Liudprandi opera* (*MGH SRG* XLI), Hanover (1915), pp. 159–75
Liudprand, *Relatio*	Liudprand of Cremona, *Relatio de legatione Constantinopolitana*, ed. J. Becker, *Liudprandi opera* (*MGH SRG* XLI), Hanover (1915), pp. 175–212
MA	*Le Moyen Age*
Mansi	J. D. Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, Florence and Venice (1757–98)
MGH	*Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, with subseries:
AA	*Auctores antiquissimi*, 15 vols., Berlin (1877–1919)
Cap.	*Capitularia. Legum sectio* II, *Capitularia regum Francorum*, ed. A. Boretius and V. Krause, 2 vols., Hanover (1883–97)
Cap. episc.	*Capitula episcoporum*, ed. P. Brommer, Hanover (1984)
Conc.	*Concilia. Legum sectio* III, *Concilia*, II, ed. A. Werminghoff, Hanover (1906–8); III, ed. W. Hartmann, Hanover (1984); IV, ed. W. Hartmann, Hanover (1998)
Const.	*Constitutiones et acta publica imperatorum et regum inde ab a.* DCCCCXI *usque ad a.* MCXCCVII *(911–1197)*, ed. L. Weiland, Hanover (1893)
Dip. Germ.	*Diplomata regum Germaniae ex stirpe Karolinorum: Die Urkunden der deutschen Karolinger* I, ed.

MGH (cont.)	P. Kehr, Berlin (1932–4); II, ed. P. Kehr, Berlin (1936–7); III, ed. P. Kehr, Berlin (1956); IV, ed. T. Schieffer, Berlin 1960)
Dip. Kar.	*Diplomata Karolinorum: Die Urkunden der Karolinger* I and III, ed. E. Mühlbacher and T. Schieffer, Hanover (1893–1908)
Dip. regum	*Diplomata regum et imperatorum Germaniae: Die Urkunden der deutschen Könige und Kaiser* I, ed. T. Sickel, Hanover (1879–84); II.1, ed. T. Sickel, Hanover (1888); II.2, ed. T. Sickel, Hanover (1893); III, ed. H. Bresslau, H. Bloch and R. Holtzmann, Hanover (1900–3); IV, ed. H. Bresslau, Berlin (1909)
Epp.	*Epistolae* III–VIII (= *Epistolae Merovingici et Karolini aevi*, Hanover (1892–1939)
Epp. sel.	*Epistolae selectae in usum scholarum*, 5 vols., Hanover (1887–91)
Fontes	*Fontes iuris Germanici antiqui in usum scholarum ex Monumentis Germaniae Historicis separatim editi*, 13 vols., Hanover (1909–86)
Form.	*Formulae Merowingici et Karolini aevi*, ed. K. Zeumer, *Legum sectio* V, Hanover (1886)
Leges nat. Germ.	*Leges nationum Germanicarum*, ed. K. Zeumer (*Lex Visigothorum*); L. R. de Salis (*Leges Burgundionum*); F. Beyerle and R. Buchner (*Lex Ribuaria*); K. A. Eckhardt (*Pactus legis Salicae* and *Lex Salica*); E. von Schwind (*Lex Baiwariorum*), 6 vols. in 11 parts, Hanover (1892–1969)
Lib. mem.	*Libri memoriales*, and *Libri memoriales et Necrologia nova series*, Hanover (1979–)
Nec. Germ.	*Necrologia Germaniae*, 5 vols. and Suppl. Hanover (1886–1920)
Poet.	*Poetae Latini aevi Carolini*, ed. E. Dümmler, L. Traube, P. von Winterfeld and K. Strecker, 4 vols., Hanover (1881–99)
SRG	*Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum separatim editi*, 63 vols., Hanover (1871–1987)
SRL	*Scriptores rerum Langobardicarum et Italicarum saec. VI–IX*, ed. G. Waitz, Hanover (1878)
SRM	*Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum*, ed. B. Krusch

MGH (cont.)	and W. Levison, 7 vols., Hanover (1885–1920)
SS	*Scriptores* (in Folio), 30 vols., Hanover (1824–1924)
MIÖG	*Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung* (1922–1944, *Mitteilungen des Österreichischen Instituts für Geschichtsforschung*)
EB	*MIÖG, Ergänzungsband*
MMS	Münstersche Mittelalterschriften
MS	Manuscript
NA	*Neues Archiv der Geselleschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde*, continued as *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters*
N.F.	Neue Folge
n.s.	nova series, new series
PG	*Patrologiae cursus completus, series graeca*, ed. J.-P. Migne, 161 vols. (Paris, 1857–66)
PL	*Patrologiae cursus completus, series latina*, ed. J.-P. Migne, 221 vols., Paris (1841–64)
QFIAB	*Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken*
Radulf Glaber*, Historiae*	Radulf Glaber, *Historiarum libri quinque*, ed. with English trans. J. France, Oxford (1989)
RB	*Revue Bénédictine*
Regino, *Chronicon*	Regino of Prüm, *Chronicon*, ed. F. Kurze, *Reginonis abbatis Prumiensis Chronicon cum continuatione Treverensi*, *MGH SRG* L, Hanover (1890)
RHEF	*Revue d'Histoire de l'Eglise de France*
RHF	*Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*, series in folio, eds. M. Bouquet and M.-J.-J. Brial, revised by L. Delisle, 19 vols., Paris (1869–80)
RhVjb	*Rheinische Vierteljahrsblätter*
Richer, *Historiae*	Richer, *Historiae*, ed. and trans. R. Latouche, Richer, *Histoire de France (888–995)* (Classiques de l'histoire de France au moyen âge), 2 vols., Paris (1930, 1937; repr. 1960, 1964)
RISS	*Rerum italicarum scriptores*, ed. L. A. Muratori, 25 vols., Milan (1723–51); new edn, G. Carducci and V. Fiorini, Città di Castello and Bologna (1900–)

s.a.	*sub anno*
Sawyer	P. H. Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Charters: A Handlist*, London (1968)
Settimane	*Settimane di Studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'alto medioevo* (Spoleto 1955–)
Skylitzes, *Synopsis*	John Skylitzes, *Synopsis historiarum*, ed. I. Thurn (CFHB 5, Series Berolinensis), Berlin and New York (1973)
SM	*Studi Mediaevali*
StMGBO	*Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Benediktiner-Ordens und seiner Zweige*
Thietmar, *Chronicon*	Thietmar of Merseburg, *Chronicon*, ed. R. Holtzmann (*MGH SRG N.S.* IX, Berlin (1935)
TRHS	*Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*
Vat. (lat.; pal. lat.; reg. lat.)	Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, MS (latinus; palatinus latinus; reginensis latinus)
VSWG	*Vierteljahresschrift für Wirtschaftsgeschichte*
VuF	Vorträge und Forschungen, herausgegeben vom Konstanzer Arbeitskreis für mittelalterliche Geschichte
Widukind, *Res gestae Saxonicae*	*Widukindi monachi Corbeiensis rerum gestarum Saxonicarum libri III*, ed. P. Hirsch and H.-E. Lohmann (*MGH SRG* LX, Hanover (1935)
Wipo, *Gesta*	Wipo, *Gesta Chuonradi,* ed. H. Bresslau, *Wiponis opera* (*MGH SRG* LXI), Hanover (1915), pp. 3–62
ZRG	*Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte*
GA	*Germanistische Abteilung*
KA	*Kanonistische Abteilung*

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