The Fatimid and Kalbite Governors in Sicily: 909-1044
[Islamic Sicily II]*

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This is the second part of my investigation on the Muslim governors (or rulers) in Sicily.

*I transliterate Arabic letters based on the following rule with vowels added:

- bá'=b, tá'=t, thá'=th, jí=m=j, há'=h, khá'=kh, dá'=d, dhál=dh, rá'=r, zá'=z, sín=s, shín=sh, šá=d=š, džá=d, žá'=z, ‘aýn=‘, ghayn=gh, fá'=f, qáf=q, káf=k, lám=l, mím=m, nú=k=n, há=ḥ, wá=w, yá=y, hamza=[‘]

- If there is a problem in determining vowels I show only consonants with dashes in [ ].

- Ex.: [š/m/š].

- I usually do not transliterate hamza. If necessary I use “‘” to indicate hamza.

- I show the assimilation of the definite article “‘ll (‘al)” before the sun letters (ḥurúf shamsiya), and transliterate “‘al” into “a#.” according to subsequent letters. I ignore other assimilations.

- Ex.: Abú al-Qásim, not Abu-l-Qásim.

The abbreviation system is as follows:

- AH = anno hezirae (the year of the Hegira).

* This is the latter part of my study on Islamic Sicily, which originates from an appendix (Appendix 3: Islamic Sicily) to my Ph.D. dissertation entitled Medieval Kingdom of Mystery: The Norman Kingdom of Sicily and Its Administration (Yale University, New Haven, Conn. 1990). The former part of Islamic Sicily is scheduled to appear in Annals of Japan Association for Middle East Studies, VII (1992), with the title of “The Aghlabid Governors in Sicily: 827-909 [Islamic Sicily I].” I should like to thank Dr. Jonathan Rotondo-MacCord of Xavier University of Louisiana for his help.


EI² = *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., Leiden 1960-.

*faṣl* is an Arabic word, meaning “section” here. This is not an abbreviation.


*sana* is an Arabic word, meaning “year.” This is not an abbreviation.


II. THE FATIMID GOVERNORS (*wālīs*): 909-948

Aghlabid rule of Sicily came to an end in 909 when the Aghlabid dynasty in Tunisia was replaced by the Fāṭimid dynasty (909-1171), and thus the history of Islamic Sicily entered the second phase. As soon as the news arrived in Sicily that Abū ‘Abd Allāh, a leader of the Shi’ites and one of the founders of the Fāṭimid dynasty, had occupied Tunisia, the Muslims in Sicily imprisoned Abū Ḥusayn, last Aghlabid *wālī* (903-909), and re-elected the former *wālī* ‘Alī b. Muḥammad (903-903)¹ to be first Fāṭimid *wālī* (909-910) on 4 April 909. Fāṭimid rule in Sicily.

‘Alī b. Muḥammad was, however, deposed and replaced with Abū Ḥasan (910-12) by the first Fāṭimid caliph ‘Ubayd Allāh al-Mahdī (909-934) in 910. This new *wālī*, Abū Ḥasan, appointed Ishāq b. Abī al-Minhāl to be *qāḍī* of Sicily, who proclaimed Al-Mahdī’s name in

the Friday sermon at Palermo.\(^2\) Fāṭimid rule (909-947) of Sicily was then established religiously as well as politically. During this period most of the wāliis were appointed by the caliphs and maintained close ties with the Fāṭimid court in Tunisia, but enjoyed political independence.

1. `Afi b. Muḥammad b. Abī al-Fawāris (909-910)

When the news arrived in Sicily that Abū `Abd Allāh, a leader of the Shi`ītes and founder of the Fāṭimid dynasty, had occupied Tunisia, the Muslims in Sicily imprisoned the wāli Aḥmad b. Abī-Ḥusayn and chose anew `Afi b. Muḥammad (= I, No. 31) to be wāli on the tenth day of the month of Rajab of AH 296 (4 April 909) [Nuwayrī]. He was confirmed by Abū `Abd Allāh in the same year, but deposed by the first Fāṭimid caliph (khalīfa) Al-Mahdī ‘Ubayd-Allah (909-934) in AH 297 (20 Sep 909-8 Sep 910) [Nuwayrī]. He is described as Ibn Abī al-Fawāris in “Cronica di Cambridge” Nuwayrī in BAS testo arabo, pp. 434-5, sana 296, 297 (BAS versione italiana, II, p. 125, Anno 296, 297); “Cronica di Cambridge” in BAS testo arabo, p. 168, sana 6417 (BAS versione italiana, I, p. 280-1, Anno 6417). No mention in Ibn ‘Adhārī, Ibn Khaldūn, Abū al-Fīḍā’ and Ibn al-Athīr.


Al-Ḥasan was appointed wāli by the caliph Al-Mahdī, and arrived in Sicily on the tenth day of the month of Dhū al-ḥijja of AH 297 (20 Aug 910) [Ibn al-Athīr]. He was deposed by the caliph in AH 299 [Nuwayrī]. According to Ibn ‘Adhārī, however, he was expelled from Sicily with ‘Afi in AH 300. Nuwayrī in BAS testo arabo, p. 435, sana 297 (BAS versione italiana, II, pp. 125, 126, Anno 297); Ibn ‘Adhārī in BAS testo arabo, p. 364, sana 300 (BAS versione italiana, II, p. 23, Anno 300); Ibn Khalīdūn in BAS testo arabo, faṣl 8, p. 476 (BAS versione italiana, II, § 8, p. 189); Abū al-Fīḍā’ in BAS testo arabo, p. 406, sana 296 (BAS versione italiana, II, p. 88, Anno 296); Ibn al-Athīr in BAS testo arabo, pp. 250-1, sana 296 (BAS versione italiana, I, p. 408, Anno 296). No mention in “Cronica di Cambridge.”

3. ‘Afi b. ‘Umar al-Balawi (912-913)

‘Afi was appointed by the caliph Al-Mahdī, and arrived in Sicily on the tenth day of the month of Dhū al-ḥijja of AH 299 (15 Aug 912) [Nuwayrī], or on the last day of the same month (17 Aug 912) [Ibn al-Athīr]. But the Muslims in Sicily were not satisfied with him because he was old and weak, and abandoned him in AH 300 (18 Aug 912-6 Aug 913) [Nuwayrī]. According to Ibn ‘Adhārī, however, ‘Afi was a brother of Al-Ḥasan and son of Aḥmad b Abī Khinzir. Nuwayrī in BAS testo arabo, p. 435, sana 297 (BAS versione italiana, II, p. 126, Anno 297); Ibn ‘Adhārī in BAS testo arabo, pp. 250-1, sana 296 (BAS versione italiana, I, p. 408, Anno 296); An-Nuwayrī in BAS testo arabo, pp. 434-435, sana 255, 296, 297 (BAS versione italiana, II, pp. 124-126, sana 255, 296, 297); Ibn Khalīdūn in BAS testo arabo, faṣl 8, p. 476 (BAS versione italiana, II, § 8, p. 188-9); Abū al-Fīḍā’ in BAS testo arabo, p. 406, sana 296 (BAS versione italiana, II, p. 88, Anno 296); “Cronica di Cambridge,” in BAS testo arabo, p. 168, sana 6417 (BAS versione italiana, I, pp. 280-1, Anno 6417). Cf. Ahmad, A History of Islamic Sicily, p. 25.
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testo arabo, p. 364, sana 300 (BAS versione italiana, I, p. 23, Anno 300); Ibn Khaldûn in BAS testo arabo, faṣl 8, p. 476 (BAS versione italiana, II, §8, p. 189); Ibn al-Athîr in BAS testo arabo, p. 251, sana 296 (BAS versione italiana, I, p. 408, Anno 296). No mention in Abû al-Fida’ and “Cronica di Cambridge.”

4. Âḥmâd b. Ziyâḍa Allâh b. Qurhub (913 -†916)
Âḥmâd was elected wâlî by the Muslims of Sicily on 17 January of AM 6421 (27 Jan 913) (“Cronica di Cambridge”), and confirmed by the `Abbâsîd caliph al-Muqtadir (908-932) in AH 300 (18 Aug 912-6 Aug 913). He was deposed by the Muslims in Sicily on 14 July of AM 6424 (14 Jul 916) (“Cronica di Cambridge”), sent back to Africa in the month of Muharram of AH 304 (July 916), and was killed in the same year (5 Jul 916-23 Jun 917) [Nuwayrî, Ibn ‘Adhârî]. Nuwayrî in BAS testo arabo, pp. 435-6, sana 297, 304 (BAS versione italiana, II, pp. 126-7, Anno 297, 304); Ibn ‘Adhârî in BAS testo arabo, pp. 364, 366, sana 300, 304 (BAS versione italiana, II, pp. 23, 25-26, Anno 300, 304); Ibn Khâlûd in BAS testo arabo, faṣl 8, pp. 476-7 (BAS versione italiana, II, §8, pp. 189, 190); Ibn al-Athîr in BAS testo arabo, p. 251, sana 300 (BAS versione italiana, I, pp. 409-10, Anno 300); “Cronica di Cambridge” in BAS testo arabo, pp. 168-9, sana 6421, 6424 (BAS versione italiana, I, pp. 281-2, Anno 6421, 6424). No mention in Abû al-Fida’.

5. Abû Saʿîd Mûṣâ b. Âḥmâd, aḍ-Ḍayf (916-917)

6. Sâlim b. Asad b. Rashîd (917-937 [†940])


8. Ibn al-Kūfī (941-946?) and Abū al-Qāsim b. ʿAtṭāf (941-948)


III. THE KALBITE RULERS (wālīs, amīrs): 948-1044

On 25 April 947 the people in Palermo rose against the Fāṭimid wālī Ibn ʿAtṭāf. In order to handle this situation, the third Fāṭimid caliph Al-Ḥasan (948-953) appointed Al-Ḥasan (948-953) as wālī and sent him to Sicily. This was the beginning of the Kalbite dynasty, which ruled the island for over ninety years (948-1044), and marks the third phase of the Islamic history of Sicily.3 In 953 Al-Ḥasan was called back to Mahdia by the new caliph Al-Muʿizz (953-975) to attend the Fāṭimid court, and his son ʿAlī was appointed wālī of Sicily. ʿAlī Ḥāmac’s governorship continued for more than sixteen years until he was also recalled to Africa in 969. The government of Sicily was entrusted to Al-Ḥasan’s freedman Yaʾish. But soon disorder prevailed in Sicily, and Caliph Al-Muʿizz sent Abū al-

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Qāsim ‘Alī b. al-Ḥasan, brother of Aḥmad, to the island as the latter’s deputy. Aḥmad died a few months later and Abū al-Qāsim was confirmed as wālī of Sicily in 970. Thus, the Kalbite wālī of Sicily became hereditary and the Kalbite dynasty was established.\(^4\)

The Kalbite dynasty was interrupted by the intervention of the Zirid amīr Al-Muʾizz in Africa, who sent his son ‘Abd Allāh with his army to Sicily in 1036. The Kalbite wālī Aḥmad al-Akḥal (1019–1036) was killed during the war against the Zirids, and the Zirid prince ‘Abd Allāh was elected wālī in the same year. In 1040, however, Al-Ḥasan aṣ-Ṣimṣām, brother of Aḥmad al-Akḥal, defeated ‘Abd-Allāh, who fled to Africa, and became wālī (1040-44). Thus the Kalbite dynasty was revived, but its authority no longer extended over the whole island.

### Table 1

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<th>Struggles among powerful local rulers in Sicily (ca.1040-ca.1060)</th>
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<td>Aṣ-Ṣimṣām (1040-44)</td>
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<td>‘Abd Allāh b. Mankūd (Mazara, Trapani, Sciacca, Marsala, etc.)</td>
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<td>Ibn al-Ḥawwās (Castrogiovanni, Girgenti, Castronuovo, etc.)</td>
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<th>defeat &amp; death &lt;--------</th>
<th>Ibn ath-Thumna (Syracuse)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>defeat</td>
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<td>Normans (1052)</td>
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Local governors and leaders of the army gained more power and independence. Among them four powerful local rulers emerged: the qaʾid ‘Abd Allāh b. Mankūd (or Mankūt), the independent ruler of Trapani, Marsala, Mazara, Sciacca and the western plains; the qaʾid ‘Alī b. Niʿma, better known as Ibn al-Ḥawwās, the powerful master of Castrogiovanni, Girgenti, Castronuovo, and their neighborhoods; the qaʾid Ibn Maklātī, the ruler of Catania; and the qaʾid Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. ath-Thumna, better known as Ibn ath-Thumna, the master of Syracuse.

In 1044 the wālī Aṣ-Ṣimṣām was deposed and the Kalbite dynasty came to an end. The government of Palermo was put in the hands of its nobles. Now, Ibn al-Ḥawwās became the most powerful local ruler. But the balance of power among local rulers was changed by Ibn ath-Thumna, who first attacked and killed Ibn Maklātī, the ruler of Catania, and then defeated ‘Abd Allāh b. Mankūd and took all his territory in the western part of Sicily.

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4 Amari, SMS, II, pp. 276, 330-1; Ahmad, A History of Islamic Sicily, pp. 30-31.
Thus, Ibn ath-Thumna became the most powerful ruler in Sicily. His name was proclaimed in the Friday sermon in Palermo, and he was called al-Qādir billah. However, a domestic conflict between Ibn ath-Thumna and his wife Maymūna, Ibn al-Ḥawwās’ sister, led to a conflict between himself and Ibn al-Ḥawwās. Ibn ath-Thumna, defeated by Ibn al-Ḥawwās, asked for help from the Normans, offering the island in return. This enabled the Norman conquest of Sicily.5


Al-Ḥasan was appointed wālī by the caliph Al-Manṣūr, and arrived in Sicily from Africa in AH 336 (23 Jul 947-10 Jul 948) [Nuwayrī, Abū al-Fidā’] and in AM 6456 (1 Sep 947-31 Aug 948) [“Cronica di Cambridge”]. He was recalled to Mahdia in AH 342 (18 May 953-6 May 954) after having spent two years and some months in Sicily [Abū al-Fidā’], or in AH 341 (29 May 952-17 May 953) [Ibn al-Athīr]. According to “Cronica di Cambridge,” Al-Ḥasan went back to Africa in AM 6469 (1 Sep 960-31 Aug 961), but returned to Palermo in AM 6473 (1 Sep 964-31 Aug 965), and died there in November of the same year (964) [“Cronica di Cambridge”] or in the month of Dhu al-Qa’dā of AH 353 (9 Nov-8 Dec 964) [Abū al-Fidā’]. Nuwayrī in BAS testo arabo, p. 435, sana 325 (BAS versione italiana, II, pp. 129-130, Anno 325); Ibn Khalduṅ in BAS testo arabo, faṣl 2, p. 463, faṣl 8, pp. 479-80 (BAS versione italiana, II, §2, p. 168; §8, pp. 193-4); Abū al-Fidā’ in BAS testo arabo, pp. 407-9, sana 336 (BAS versione italiana, II, pp. 89, 91, Anno 336); Ibn al-Athīr in BAS testo arabo, pp. 256-7, 262, sana 336, 340 (BAS versione italiana, I, pp. 415-6, 423, Anno 336, 340); “Cronica di Cambridge” in BAS testo arabo, pp. 173-6, sana 6456, 6469, 6473 (BAS versione italiana, I, pp. 289, 292-3, Anno 6456, 6469, 6473). No mention in Ibn ‘Adhārī.

2. Abū al-Ḥusayn Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan (954–969)

Aḥmad, son of Al-Ḥasan, was appointed wālī by the caliph Al-Manṣūr in AH 343 (7 May 954-26 Apr 955), but recalled to Africa at the end of AH 358 (23 Nov 968-13 Nov 969) after having governed Sicily for six years and nine months [Abū al-Fidā’]. According to “Cronica di Cambridge,” Aḥmad returned to Africa in August of AM 6471 (Aug 963). Nuwayrī in BAS testo arabo, p. 435, sana 325, 358 (BAS versione italiana, II, §2, p. 169, §8, p. 196); Abū al-Fidā’ in BAS testo arabo, pp. 407-9, sana 336 (BAS versione italiana, II, pp. 89-91, Anno 336).

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3. Ya‘ish (969-970)

Ya‘ish, a freedman of Al-Ḥasan, was entrusted with Sicily by Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan in AH 358 (23 Nov 968-13 Nov 969) [Nuwayrī, Abū al-Fidā’] or in AH 359 (14 Nov 969-3 Nov 970) [Ibn al-Athīr], but soon recalled to Africa. Nuwayrī in BAS testo arabo, p. 442, sana 358 (BAS versione italiana, II, p. 135, Anno 358); Ibn Khaldūn in BAS testo arabo, faṣl 8, p. 482 (BAS versione italiana, II, §8, p. 197); Abū al-Fidā’ in BAS testo arabo, p. 409, sana 336 (BAS versione italiana, II, p. 91, Anno 336); Ibn al-Athīr in BAS testo arabo, p. 266, sana 359 (BAS versione italiana, I, p. 429, Anno 359). No mention in Ibn ‘Adhārī and “Cronica di Cambridge.”

4. Abū al-Qāsim ‘Aṭī b. al-Ḥasan (970-982)

Abū al-Qāsim, son of Al-Ḥasan and brother of Aḥmad, arrived in Sicily as deputy of Aḥmad on the 15th day of the month of Sha‘bān of AH 359 (23 Jun 970) [Nuwayrī, Abū al-Fidā’]. In the same year, Aḥmad having died, Abū al-Qāsim received a diploma from the caliph Al-Mu‘izz and his promotion to amīr was confirmed. He died in the month of Muḥarram of AH 372 (26 Jun-25 Jul 982) [Nuwayrī, Abū al-Fidā’]. Nuwayrī in BAS testo arabo, p. 442, sana 359 (BAS versione italiana, II, p. 136, Anno 359); Ibn ‘Adhārī in BAS testo arabo, p. 369, sana 372 (BAS versione italiana, II, p. 30, Anno 372); Ibn Khaldūn in BAS testo arabo, faṣl 8, p. 482 (BAS versione italiana, II, §8, p. 197); Abū al-Fidā’ in BAS testo arabo, pp. 409-10, sana 336 (BAS versione italiana, II, pp. 91, 92, Anno 336); Ibn al-Athīr in BAS testo arabo, pp. 267, 269-70, sana 359, 371 (BAS versione italiana, I, p. 429, 434, Anno 359, 371).

5. Jābir b. Abū al-Qāsim (982-983)


Ja’far, a Kalbite, was appointed amīr by the caliph Al-‘Azīz and arrived in Sicily in AH 373 (15 Jun 983-3 Jun 984). He died in AH 375 (24 May 985-12 May 986, Nuwayrī, Abū al-Fidā’, Ibn Khaldūn). Nuwayrī in BAS testo arabo, p. 442, sana 359 (BAS versione italiana, II, p. 136, Anno 359); Ibn Khaldūn in BAS testo arabo, faṣl 8, p. 482 (BAS versione italiana, II, §8, pp. 198, 199); Abū al-Fidā’ in BAS testo arabo,


8. Abū al-Futūḥ Yūsuf b. ‘Abbād Allāh, Thiqat ad-Dawla (989-998)
   Abū al-Futūḥ, son of ‘Abbād Allāh, became wālī immediately after his father’s death (Ramadān of AH 379 [3 Dec 989-1 Jan 990]), and was confirmed by the caliph Al-‘Azīz. He fell seriously ill and was succeeded by his son Ja’far in AH 388 (3 Jan-22 Dec 998) [Nuwayrī]. Nuwayrī in BAS testo arabo, p. 442, sana 379 (BAS versione italiana, II, p. 137, Anno 379); Ibn ‘Adhārī in BAS testo arabo, p. 369, sana 379 (BAS versione italiana, II, p. 31, Anno 379); Ibn Khaldūn in BAS testo arabo, faṣl 8, p. 483 (BAS versione italiana, II, §8, p. 199); Abū al-Fīdā’ in BAS testo arabo, pp. 410, 413, sana 336, 484 (BAS versione italiana, II, pp. 93, 96, Anno 336, 484); Ibn al-Athīr in BAS testo arabo, p. 273, sana 484 (BAS versione italiana, I, p. 442, Anno 484).

   Ja’far, son of Abū al-Futūḥ, succeeded his father as wālī when the latter became seriously ill in AH 388 (3 Jan-22 Dec 998). But the Muslims in Palermo rose against him and chose Aḥmad al-Akhal, brother of Ja’far, as wālī in place of him on the sixth day of the month of Al-Muḥarram of AH 410 (14 May 1019) [Nuwayrī]. Nuwayrī in BAS testo arabo, pp. 442, 444, sana 379, 410 (BAS versione italiana, II, pp. 137, 139, Anno 379, 410); Ibn Khaldūn in BAS testo arabo, faṣl 8, p. 484, (BAS versione italiana, II, §8, p. 199); Abū al-Fīdā’ in BAS testo arabo, pp. 411, 413, sana 336, 484 (BAS versione italiana, II, pp. 94, 97, Anno 386, 484); Ibn al-Athīr in BAS testo arabo, p. 274, sana 484 (BAS versione italiana, I, pp. 442-3, Anno 484). No mention in Ibn ‘Adhārī.

10. Aḥmad al-Akhal b. Abī al-Futūḥ, Tāyd ad-Dawla (1019–1036)
   Aḥmad, son of Abū al-Futūḥ and brother of Ja’far, was chosen wālī on the sixth day of the month of Al-Muḥarram of AH 410 (14 May 1019), confirmed later by the Fāṭimid caliph Al-Ḥākīm. He died in AH 427 (5 Nov 1035-24 Oct 1036) [Nuwayrī, Abū al-Fīdā’]. Nuwayrī in BAS testo arabo, p. 444, sana 410, 410 (BAS versione italiana, II, p. 139, 141, Anno 410, 410); Ibn Khaldūn in BAS testo arabo, faṣl 8, p. 484 (BAS versione italiana, II, §8, p. 200); Abū al-Fīdā’ in BAS testo arabo, pp. 411, 413, sana 336, 484 (BAS versione italiana, II, pp. 94, 97, Anno 336, 484); Ibn al-Athīr in BAS testo arabo, p. 274, sana 484 (BAS versione italiana, I, pp. 443-4, Anno 484). No mention in Ibn ‘Adhārī.
11. ‘Abd Allâh b. al-Mu‘izz b. Bâdîs (1036-1040?)


12. Al-Ḥasan aṣ-Ṣîmshâm ad-Dawla (1040?-1044)

Al-Ḥasan aṣ-Ṣîmshâm, son of Abû al-Futûḥ and brother of Ja‘far and Aḥmad, was chosen wâlî by the Muslims of Sicily, but was expelled. Nuwayrî in BAS testo arabo, p. 445, sana 410 (BAS versione italiana, II, p. 141-142, Anno 410); Ibn Khaldûn in BAS testo arabo, fašl 8, p. 484 (BAS versione italiana, II, §8, p. 200); Abû al-Fidâ’ in BAS testo arabo, pp. 411, 414, sana 336, 484 (BAS versione italiana, II, pp. 94, 98, Anno 336, 484); Ibn al-Athîr in BAS testo arabo, p. 275, sana 484 (BAS versione italiana, I, p. 445, Anno 484). No mention in Ibn ‘Adhârî.