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<td>Citation</td>
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The Fatimid and Kalbite Governors in Sicily:
909-1044
[Islamic Sicily II]*

Hiroshi TAKAYAMA

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:

- bâ=b, tâ=t, thâ=th, jîm=j, hâ=h, khâ=kh, dâl=d, dhâl=dh, râ=r, zâ=z, sin=s, shin=sh, sâd=s, dâd=d, tâ=t, zâ=z, ayn=‘, ghayn=gh, fâ=f, qâf=q, kâf=k, lâm=l, mim=m, nûn=n, hâ=h, wâ=w, yâ=y, hamza=[‘]

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

Ex.: [sh/m/sh].

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

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

Ex.: Abû al-Qâsim, not Abu-l-Qâsim.

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.
II. THE FATIMID GOVERNORS (wâlîs): 909-948

Aghlabid rule of Sicily came to an end in 909 when the Aghlabid dynasty in Tunisia was replaced by the Fatimids (909-1171), and thus the history of Islamic Sicily entered the second phase. As soon as the news arrived in Sicily that Abd `Abd Allah, a leader of the Shi`ites and one of the founders of the Fatimid dynasty, had occupied Tunisia, the Muslims in Sicily imprisoned Ahmad b. Abi al-Izqasayn, last Aghlabid wali (903-909), and re-elected the former wali `Ali b. Muhammad (903-903) to be first Fatimid wali (909-910) on 4 April 909. Fatimid rule in Sicily.

`Ali b. Mu`ammad was, however, deposed and replaced with Al-Hasan (910-12) by the first Fatimid caliph `Ubayd Allâh al-Mahdî (909-934) in 910. This new wali, Al-Hasan, appointed Ishâq b. Abî al-Minhâl to be qâdî of Sicily, who proclaimed Al-Mahdî’s name in

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1 He had been deposed by the Aghlabid amir in 903. Nuwayrí in BAS testo arabo, p. 434, sana 255 (BAS versione italiana, II, p. 124, Anno 255); “Cronica di Cambridge,” in BAS testo arabo, p. 168, sana 6417 (BAS versione italiana, pp. 280-1).
the Friday sermon at Palermo.² Fātimid rule (909-947) of Sicily was then established religiously as well as politically. During this period most of the wāliš were appointed by the caliphs and maintained close ties with the Fātimid court in Tunisia, but enjoyed political independence.

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

When the news arrived in Sicily that Abū ʿAbd Allāh, a leader of the Shiʿites and founder of the Fātimid dynasty, had occupied Tunisia, the Muslims in Sicily imprisoned the wāliʿ Abū al-Ḥusayn and chose anew ʿĀli b. Muḥammad (= I, No. 31) to be wāliʿ on the tenth day of the month of Rajab of AH 296 (4 April 909) [Nuwayrī]. He was confirmed by Abū ʿAbd Allāh in the same year, but deposed by the first Fātimid caliph (khaliṣa) Al-Mahdī ʿUbayd-Allāh (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 ʿAdhārī, Ibn Khaldūn, Abū al-Fidaʿ and Ibn al-Athīr.

2. Al-Ḥasan b. Abī Khinzir (910-912)

Al-Ḥasan was appointed wāliʿ 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 ʿAdhārī, however, he was expelled from Sicily with ʿĀli in AH 300. Nuwayrī in BAS testo arabo, p. 435, sana 297 (BAS versione italiana, II, pp. 125, 126, Anno 297); Ibn ʿAdhārī in BAS testo arabo, p. 364, sana 300 (BAS versione italiana, II, p. 23, Anno 300); Ibn Khaldūn in BAS testo arabo, faṣl 8, p. 476 (BAS versione italiana, II, §8, p. 189); Abū al-Fidaʿ 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. ʿĀli b. ʿUmar al-Balawi (912-913)

ʿĀli 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 ʿAdhārī, however, ʿĀli was a brother of Al-Ḥasan and son of Abī Khinzir. Nuwayrī in BAS testo arabo, p. 435, sana 297 (BAS versione italiana, II, p. 126, Anno 297); Ibn ʿAdhārī in BAS

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Ahmad was elected wâli by the Muslims of Sicily on 17 January of AH 6421 (27 Jan 913) ("Cronica di Cambridge"); and confirmed by the ‘Abbasid 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 AH 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 ‘Adhairî]. Nuwayrî in BAS testo arabo, pp. 435-6, sana 297, 304 (BAS versione italiana, II, pp. 126-7, Anno 297, 304); Ibn ‘Adhairî in BAS testo arabo, pp. 364, 366, sana 300, 304 (BAS versione italiana, II, pp. 23, 25-26, Anno 300, 304); Ibn Khalûdîn 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 Abu al-Fidâ’.

5. Abû Sa’îd Mûsâ b. Ahmad, aḍ-Ḍayf (916-917)

Abû Sa’îd was sent to Sicily as wâli with a large force by the Fâṭimid caliph Al-Mahdî in AH 304 (5 Jul 916-23 Jun 917) [Nuwayrî]. He arrived in Palermo on 28 September of AM 6425 (28 Sep 916) ("Cronica di Cambridge"). He went back to Africa with his army in September of AM 6426 (Sep 917) ("Cronica di Cambridge"). Nuwayrî in BAS testo arabo, p. 436, sana 304 (BAS versione italiana, II, p. 127, Anno 304); Ibn ‘Adhairî in BAS testo arabo, p. 366, sana 304 (BAS versione italiana, II, p. 26, Anno 304); Ibn Khalûdîn in BAS testo arabo, faṣl 8, p. 477 (BAS versione italiana, II, §8, pp. 190-191); Ibn al-Athîr in BAS testo arabo, p. 253, sana 300 (BAS versione italiana, I, p. 410, Anno 300); "Cronica di Cambridge" in BAS testo arabo, p. 169, sana 6424, 6426 (BAS versione italiana, I, p. 282, Anno 6424, 6426). No mention in Abû al-Fidâ’.

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


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


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

On 25 April 947 the people in Palermo rose against the Fāṭimid wālí Ibn ‘Aṭṭāf. In order to handle this situation, the third Fāṭimid caliph Al-Mansūr (946-953) appointed Al-Ḥasan (948-953) as wālí 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-Mu‘izz (953-975) to attend the Fāṭimid court, and his son Āḥmad was appointed wālí of Sicily. Āḥmad’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 Ya‘ish. But soon disorder prevailed in Sicily, and Caliph Al-Mu‘izz 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 wāli of Sicily in 970. Thus, the Kalbite wāli of Sicily became hereditary and the Kalbite dynasty was established.4

The Kalbite dynasty was interrupted by the intervention of the Zirid amīr Al-Mu‘izz in Africa, who sent his son ‘Abd Allāh with his army to Sicily in 1036. The Kalbite wāli Aḥmad al-Akḥal (1019–1036) was killed during the war against the Zirids, and the Zirid prince ‘Abd Allāh was elected wāli 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 wāli (1040-44). Thus the Kalbite dynasty was revived, but its authority no longer extended over the whole island.

Table 1
Struggles among powerful local rulers in Sicily
(ca.1040–ca.1060)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aṣ-Ṣimṣām (1040-44)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘Abd Allāh b. Mankūd (Mazara, Trapani, Sciacca, Marsala, etc.)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ibn al-Ḥawwās (Castrogiovanni, Girgenti, Castronuovo, etc.)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ibn Maklātī (Catania)</td>
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deposition (1044)

<table>
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<tr>
<th>defeat &amp; death &lt;--------</th>
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<tr>
<td>Ibn ath-Thumna (Syracuse)</td>
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</table>

Local governors and leaders of the army gained more power and independence. Among them four powerful local rulers emerged: the qa‘id ‘Abd Allāh b. Mankūd (or Mankūt), the independent ruler of Trapani, Marsala, Mazara, Sciacca and the western plains; the qa‘id ‘Alī b. Ni‘ma, better known as Ibn al-Ḥawwās, the powerful master of Castrogiovanni, Girgenti, Castronuovo, and their neighborhoods; the qa‘id Ibn Maklātī, the ruler of Catania; and the qa‘id Muḥammad b. Ibrahim b. ath-Thumna, better known as Ibn ath-Thumna, the master of Syracuse.

In 1044 the wāli 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


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


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3. Ya'îsh (969-970)
Ya'îsh, a freedman of Al-Hasan, was entrusted with Sicily by Aḥmad b. al-Hasan in AH 358 (23 Nov 968-13 Nov 969) [Nuwayri, Abū al-Fidā’] or in AH 359 (14 Nov 969-3 Nov 970) [Ibn al-Athīr], but soon recalled to Africa. Nuwayri 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 ‘Adhârī and “Cronica di Cambridge.”

Abū al-Qāṣim, 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) [Nuwayri, Abū al-Fidā’]. In the same year, Aḥmad having died, Abū al-Qāṣim received a diploma from the caliph Al-Mu’izz and his promotion to amīr was confirmed. He died in the month of Muharram of AH 372 (26 Jun-25 Jul 982) [Nuwayri, Abū al-Fidā’]. Nuwayri in BAS testo arabo, p. 442, sana 359 (BAS versione italiana, II, p. 136, Anno 359); Ibn ‘Adhârī 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, p. 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. Abī al-Qāṣim (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, Nuwayri, Abū al-Fidā’, Ibn Khaldūn). Nuwayri 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. ‘Abd Allāh, Thiqat ad-Dawla (989-998)

Abū al-Futūḥ, son of ‘Abd Allāh, became wālī immediately after his father’s death (Ramadan 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-Fidā’ 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-Mu‘arram 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-Fidā’ 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, Ėdī 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-Mu‘arram of AH 410 (14 May 1019), confirmed later by the Fatimid caliph Al-Ḥākim. He died in AH 427 (5 Nov 1035-24 Oct 1036) [Nuwayrī, Abū al-Fidā’]. 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-Fidā’ 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. Bâdis (1036-1040?)


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

Al-Ḥasan aṣ-Ṣimšām, son of Abû al-Futûḥ and brother of Ja‘far and Ahmâd, 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, faqîl 8, p. 484 (BAS versione italiana, II, §8, p. 200); Abû al-Fid‘â’ 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.