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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.

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

bā'=b, tā'=t, thā'=th, jīm=j, hā'=h, khā'=kh, dāl=d, dhāl=dh, rā'=r, zāy=z, sīn=s, shīn=sh, šād=š, ḍād=ḍ, ṭā'=ṭ, ḡā'=ḡ, 'ayn=', ghayn=gh, fā'=f, qāf=q, kāf=k, lām=l, mīm=m, nūn=n, hā'=h, wāw=w, yā'=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 “\_l ('al)” before the sun letters (*ḥurūf shamsiyya*), and transliterate “'al” into “a#-” according to subsequent letters. I ignore other assimilations.

Ex.: Abū al-Qāsim, not Abū-l-Qāsim.

The abbreviation system is as follows:

AH = anno heziraē (the year of the Hegira).

BAS *testo arabo* = Michele Amari, ed., *Biblioteca arabo-sicula*, Leipzig 1857.

BAS *Appendice* = Michele Amari, ed., *Appendice alla biblioteca arabo-sicula*, Leipzig 1875.

BAS *versione italiana* = Michele Amari, ed. and trans., *Biblioteca arabo-sicula, versione italiana*, 2 vols., Rome/Turin 1880-1881.

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\* 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.

b. = *ibn* (meaning “a son” in Arabic). This is a customary abbreviation among Arabists. Abū al-Fidā’ = ‘Imād ad-Dīn Ismā‘īl Abū al-Fidā’, *Kitāb al-mukhtāṣar fī Akhbar al-Bashar*, 4 vols., Cairo AH 1325; in *BAS testo arabo*, pp. 404-423; in *BAS versione italiana*, vol. II, Capitolo XLVII, pp. 85-109.

“Cronica di Cambridge” = “Cronica di Cambridge” in *BAS testo arabo*, pp. 165-176; in *BAS versione italiana*, vol. I, Capitolo XXVII, pp. 277-293.

*El* = *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 1st ed., Leiden 1913-38.

*El*<sup>2</sup> = *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., Leiden 1960-.

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

Ibn ‘Adhārī = Ibn ‘Adhārī [‘Idhārī], *Kitāb al-Bayān al-Mughrib*, in *BAS testo arabo*, pp. 352-375 and *BAS Appendice*, pp. 5-6; in *BAS versione italiana*, vol. II, Capitolo XLIV, pp. 1-40.

Ibn al-Athīr = Abū al-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil fī at-Ta’rīkh*, ed. J. H. Tornberg, 12 vols., Leiden; in *BAS testo arabo*, pp. 214-316 and *BAS Appendice*, pp. 3-5; in *BAS versione italiana*, vol. I, Capitolo XXXV, pp. 353-507.

Ibn Khaldūn = ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān b. Khaldūn, *Kitāb al-‘Ibar*, 7 vols., Beirut 1959-1961; in *BAS testo arabo*, pp. 460-508 and *BAS Appendice*, pp. 7-11; in *BAS versione italiana*, vol. II, Capitolo L, pp. 163-243.

Nuwayrī = Aḥmad b. ‘Abd al-Waḥhāb an-Nuwayrī, *Nihāya al-Arab fī Funūn al-Adab*, 26 vols., Cairo 1954-85; in *BAS testo arabo*, pp. 423-459; in *BAS versione italiana*, II, Capitolo XLVIII, pp. 110-160.

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

*SMS* = Michele Amari, *Storia dei Musulmani di Sicilia*, 3 vols., 2nd ed., a cura di C. A. Nallino, Catania 1933-39.

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## 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 Fāṭimids (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 Shī‘ites and one of the founders of the Fāṭimid dynasty, had occupied Tunisia, the Muslims in Sicily imprisoned Aḥmad b. Abī al-Ḥusayn, last Aghlabid *wālī* (903-909), and re-elected the former *wālī* ‘Alī b. Muḥammad (903-903)<sup>1</sup> to be first Fāṭimid *wālī* (909-910) on 4 April 909. Fāṭimid rule in Sicily.

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

<sup>1</sup> He had been deposed by the Aghlabid *amīr* in 903. Nuwayrī 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.<sup>2</sup> Fāṭimid rule (909-947) of Sicily was then established religiously as well as politically. During this period most of the *wālīs* were appointed by the caliphs and maintained close ties with the Fāṭimid court in Tunisia, but enjoyed political independence.

### 1. ‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. Abī al-Fawāris (909-910)

When the news arrived in Sicily that Abū ‘Abd Allāh, a leader of the Shi‘ites and founder of the Fāṭimid dynasty, had occupied Tunisia, the Muslims in Sicily imprisoned the *wālī* Aḥmad b. Abī al-Ḥusayn and chose anew ‘Alī b. Muḥammad (= I, No. 31) to be *wālī* 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-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 ‘Adhārī, Ibn Khaldūn, Abū al-Fidā’ and Ibn al-Athīr.

### 2. Al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad b. Abī Khinzīr (910-912)

Al-Ḥasan was appointed *wālī* 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 ‘Alī 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 Khaldūn in *BAS testo arabo*, *faṣl* 8, p. 476 (*BAS versione italiana*, II, § 8, p. 189); Abū al-Fidā’ 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. ‘Alī b. ‘Umar al-Balawī (912-913)

‘Alī 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, ‘Alī was a brother of Al-Ḥasan and son of Aḥmad b. Abī Khinzīr. Nuwayrī in *BAS testo arabo*, p. 435, *sana* 297 (*BAS versione italiana*, II, p. 126, Anno 297); Ibn ‘Adhārī in *BAS*

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2 Ibn al-Athīr, VIII, p. 38, or 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 Khaldūn in *BAS testo arabo*, *faṣl* 8, p. 476 (*BAS versione italiana*, II, § 8, pp. 188-9); Abū al-Fidā’ 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.

*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); Ibn al-Athīr in *BAS testo arabo*, p. 251, *sana* 296 (*BAS versione italiana*, I, p. 408, Anno 296). No mention in Abū al-Fidā' and "Cronica di Cambridge."

**4. Aḥmad b. Ziyāda Allāh b. Qurhub (913-†916)**

Aḥmad was elected *wālī* by the Muslims of Sicily on 17 January of AM 6421 (27 Jan 913) ["Cronica di Cambridge"], and confirmed by the 'Abbāsid 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 Muḥarram of AH 304 (July 916), and was killed in the same year (5 Jul 916-23 Jun 917) [Nuwayrī, Ibn 'Adhārī]. Nuwayrī in *BAS testo arabo*, pp. 435-6, *sana* 297, 304 (*BAS versione italiana*, II, pp. 126-7, Anno 297, 304); Ibn 'Adhārī in *BAS testo arabo*, pp. 364, 366, *sana* 300, 304 (*BAS versione italiana*, II, pp. 23, 25-26, Anno 300, 304); Ibn Khaldūn in *BAS testo arabo*, *faṣl* 8, pp. 476-7 (*BAS versione italiana*, II, §8, pp. 189, 190); Ibn al-Athīr 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 Abū al-Fidā'.

**5. Abū Sa'īd Mūsā b. Aḥmad, aq-Ḍayf (916-917)**

Abū Sa'īd was sent to Sicily as *wālī* with a large force by the Fāṭimid caliph Al-Mahdī in AH 304 (5 Jul 916-23 Jun 917) [Nuwayrī]. 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"]. Nuwayrī in *BAS testo arabo*, p. 436, *sana* 304 (*BAS versione italiana*, II, p. 127, Anno 304); Ibn 'Adhārī in *BAS testo arabo*, p. 366, *sana* 304 (*BAS versione italiana*, II, p. 26, Anno 304); Ibn Khaldūn in *BAS testo arabo*, *faṣl* 8, p. 477 (*BAS versione italiana*, II, §8, pp. 190-191); Ibn al-Athīr 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 Abū al-Fidā'.

**6. Sālīm b. Asad b. Rashīd (917-937 [†940])**

Sālīm was appointed *wālī* in place of Abū Sa'īd Mūsā by Al-Mahdī in AH 305 (24 Jun 917-13 Jun 918), and was replaced with Khalīl b. Ishāq in AH 325 (19 Nov 936-7 Nov 937) [Nuwayrī]. He died in AM 6448 (1 Sep 939-31 Aug 940) ["Cronica di Cambridge"]. Nuwayrī in *BAS testo arabo*, pp. 436-7, *sana* 304, 325 (*BAS versione italiana*, II, p. 127, 128-129, Anno 304, 325); Ibn 'Adhārī in *BAS testo arabo*, p. 366, *sana* 304 (*BAS versione italiana*, II, p. 26, Anno 304); Ibn Khaldūn in *BAS testo arabo*, *faṣl* 8, p. 477 (*BAS versione italiana*, II, §8, p. 191); Ibn al-Athīr in *BAS testo arabo*, pp. 253, 255, *sana* 313, 325 (*BAS versione italiana*, I, pp. 411, 413, Anno 313, 325); "Cronica di Cambridge" in *BAS testo arabo*, pp. 169, 173, *sana* 6426, 6446 (*BAS versione italiana*, I, p. 282, 288, Anno 6426, 6646 [*sic*]). No mention in Abū al-Fidā'.

### 7. Abū al-‘Abbās Khalīl b. Ishāq b. Ward (937-941)

Abū al-‘Abbās was appointed *wālī* by the Fāṭimid caliph Al-Qā’im (934-946) in AH 325 (19 Nov 936-7 Nov 937). He entered Palermo on 23 October of AM 6446 (23 Oct 937) [“Cronica di Cambridge”], and left for Africa on 11 September of AM 6450 (11 Sep 941) [“Cronica di Cambridge”], in the month of Dhū al-hijja of AH 329 (27 Aug-25 Sep 941) [Nuwayrī, Ibn al-Athīr]. Nuwayrī in *BAS testo arabo*, p. 437, *sana* 325 (*BAS versione italiana*, II, p. 129, Anno 325); Ibn ‘Adhārī in *BAS testo arabo*, pp. 368-9, *sana* 325 (*BAS versione italiana*, II, p. 29, Anno 325); Ibn Khaldūn in *BAS testo arabo*, *faṣl* 2, p. 463, *faṣl* 8, p. 478 (*BAS versione italiana*, II, §2, p. 168; §8, pp. 192-3); Ibn al-Athīr in *BAS testo arabo*, pp. 255-6, *sana* 325 (*BAS versione italiana*, I, pp. 413-415, Anno 325); “Cronica di Cambridge” in *BAS testo arabo*, pp. 172-3, *sana* 6446, 6450 (*BAS versione italiana*, I, pp. 287, 289, Anno 6446, 6450). No mention in Abū al-Fidā’.

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

The *wālī* Khalīl b. Ishāq left his two deputies (*mutawallī*), Ibn al-Kūfī and Ibn ‘Aṭṭāf, in Sicily and returned to Africa on 11 Sep of AM 6450 (11 Sep 941) [“Cronica di Cambridge”], in the month of Dhū al-hijja of AH 329 (27 Aug-25 Sep 941) [Nuwayrī]. According to Nuwayrī, Muḥammad b. al-Ash‘ath was the *wālī* in AH 334 (13 Aug 945-1 Aug 946), but Ibn ‘Aṭṭāf assumed the state affairs (*istaqalla* ‘Aṭṭāf *bi-l-amri*) until AH 336 (23 Jul 947-10 Jul 948). Nuwayrī in *BAS testo arabo*, p. 435, *sana* 325 (*BAS versione italiana*, II, p. 129, Anno 325); Ibn Khaldūn in *BAS testo arabo*, *faṣl* 8, p. 479 (*BAS versione italiana*, II, §8, p. 193); Ibn al-Athīr in *BAS testo arabo*, p. 257, *sana* 336 (*BAS versione italiana*, I, p. 416, Anno 336); “Cronica di Cambridge” in *BAS testo arabo*, p. 173, *sana* 6450 (*BAS versione italiana*, I, p. 289, Anno 6450). No mention in Ibn ‘Adhārī or Abū al-Fidā’.

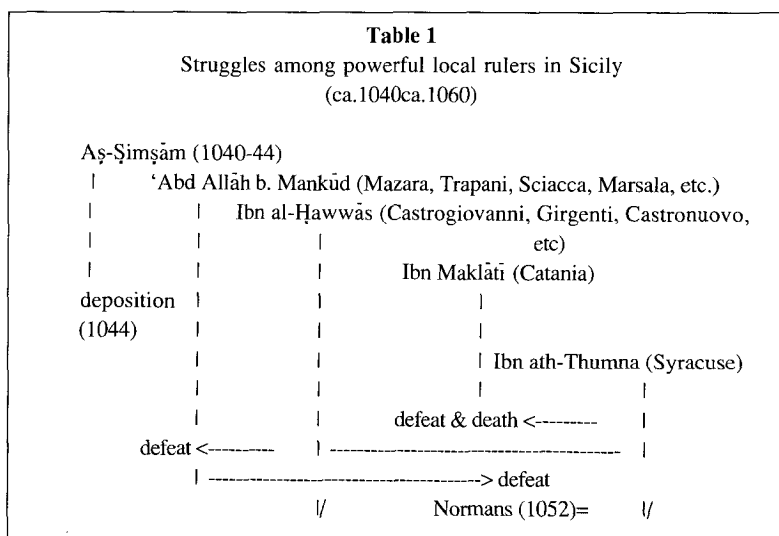
## III. THE KALBITE RULERS (*wālīs*, *amīrs*): 948-1044

On 25 April 947 the people in Palermo rose against the Fāṭimid *wālī* Ibn ‘Aṭṭāf. In order to handle this situation, the third Fāṭimid caliph Al-Mansūr (946-953) 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.<sup>3</sup> 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 Aḥmad was appointed *wālī* of Sicily. Aḥmad’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‘īsh. But soon disorder prevailed in Sicily, and Caliph Al-Mu‘izz sent Abū al-

3 Nuwayrī in *BAS testo arabo*, p. 435, *sana* 325 (*BAS versione italiana*, II, pp. 129-130, Anno 325); Ibn Khaldūn 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).

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.<sup>4</sup>

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 *wālī* Aḥmad al-Akḥal (1019-†1036) was killed during the war against the Zīrids, and the Zīrid 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.



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

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 billāh*. 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.<sup>5</sup>

### 1. Al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Abī al-Ḥusayn al-Kalbī (948-953)

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 Dhū al-Qa'da 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 Khaldūn 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, p. 129-130, 135, Anno 325, 358); Ibn Khaldūn in *BAS testo arabo*, *faṣl* 2, p. 464, *faṣl* 8, p. 481 (*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

5 Ibn al-Athīr, X, pp. 131-2 or in *BAS testo arabo*, p. 275, *sana* 484 (*BAS versione italiana*, I, p. 275, Anno 484); An-Nuwayrī in *BAS testo arabo*, pp. 444-449, *sana* 410, 440 (*BAS versione italiana*, II, pp. 140-146, Anno 410, 440); Abū al-Fidā' in *BAS testo arabo*, pp. 413-4, *sana* 484 (*BAS versione italiana*, II, pp. 96-99); Ibn Khaldūn, IV, pp. 207-8 or in *BAS testo arabo*, *faṣl* 8, p. 484 (*BAS versione italiana*, II, § 8, pp. 200-203); Aimé, *L'Ystoire de li Normant*, V, chap. 8; Gaufridus a Malaterra, *De rebus gestis Rogerii Calabriae et Siciliae Comitis et Roberti Guiscardi Ducis* (Bologna 1927), II, chap. 3. Cf. Francesco Gabrieli, "Storia e cultura della Sicilia araba," *Libia*, I/4 (1953), p. 5; Umberto Rizzitano, "Ibn al-Hawwās," *ET*<sup>2</sup>, III, p. 788; Umberto Rizzitano, "Ibn al-Thumna," *ET*<sup>2</sup>, III, p. 956; Ahmad, *A History of Islamic Sicily*, pp. 36-37.



336); Ibn al-Athīr in *BAS testo arabo*, p. 262, *sana* 340 (*BAS versione italiana*, I, p. 423, Anno 340); "Cronica di Cambridge" in *BAS testo arabo*, pp. 175-6, *sana* 6470, 6471 (*BAS versione italiana*, I, p. 292, 293, Anno 6470, 6471). No mention in Ibn 'Adhārī.

### 3. Ya'īsh (969-970)

Ya'īsh, 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 'Alī 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. Abī al-Qāsim (982-983)

Jābir, son of Abū al-Qāsim, was elected *amīr* by the nobles of Sicily after the death of Abū al-Qāsim (Muḥarram of AH 372 [26 Jun-25 Jul 982]), and confirmed by the Faṭimid caliph Al-'Azīz (975-996) in Egypt, but deposed by the caliph in AH 373 (15 Jun 983-3 Jun 984) [Nuwayrī, Ibn Khaldūn]. 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. 198); Abū al-Fidā' in *BAS testo arabo*, p. 410, *sana* 336 (*BAS versione italiana*, II, p. 92, Anno 336); Ibn al-Athīr in *BAS testo arabo*, p. 270, *sana* 371 (*BAS versione italiana*, I, p. 434, Anno 371).

### 6. Ja'far b. Muhammad b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Abī al-Ḥusayn (983-†985)

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*,

p. 410, *sana* 336 (*BAS versione italiana*, II, p. 93, Anno 336). No mention in Ibn ‘Adhārī and Ibn al-Athīr.

**7. ‘Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī b. Abī al-Ḥusayn (985-†989)**

‘Abd Allāh, brother of Ja‘far, succeeded Ja‘far as *amīr* in AH 375 (24 May 985-12 May 986), but died in the month of Ramadān of AH 379 (3 Dec 989-1 Jan 990) [Nuwayrī]. 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* 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*, p. 410, *sana* 336 (*BAS versione italiana*, II, p. 93, Anno 336). No mention in Ibn al-Athīr.

**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 (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-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).

**9. Ja‘far b. Abī al-Futūḥ, Ṭāj ad-Dawla, Sayf al-Milla (998-1019)**

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-Akḥal, 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-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-Akḥal b. Abī al-Futūḥ, Tāyid 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-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 Allāh b. al-Mu‘izz b. Bādīs (1036-1040?)**

‘Abd Allāh, son of the Zīrid *amīr* Al-Mu‘izz b. Bādīs, arrived in Sicily with his army from Africa in AH 427 (5 Nov 1035-24 Oct 1036) [Nuwayrī, Abū al-Fidā’]. He returned to Africa. Nuwayrī in *BAS testo arabo*, p. 445, *sana* 410 (*BAS versione italiana*, II, p. 141, Anno 410); Ibn Khaldūn in *BAS testo arabo*, *faṣl* 8, pp. 483-4 (*BAS versione italiana*, II, §8, p. 200); Abū al-Fidā’ in *BAS testo arabo*, p. 213, *sana* 484 (*BAS versione italiana*, II, p. 97, Anno 484); Ibn al-Athīr in *BAS testo arabo*, p. 275, *sana* 484 (*BAS versione italiana*, I, p. 445, Anno 484). No mention in Ibn ‘Adhārī.

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

Al-Ḥasan aṣ-Ṣimṣām, son of Abū al-Futūḥ and brother of Ja‘far and Aḥmad, was chosen *wālī* by the Muslims of Sicily, but was expelled. Nuwayrī in *BAS testo arabo*, p. 445, *sana* 410 (*BAS versione italiana*, II, p. 141-142, Anno 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, 414, *sana* 336, 484 (*BAS versione italiana*, II, pp. 94, 98, Anno 336, 484); Ibn al-Athīr in *BAS testo arabo*, p. 275, *sana* 484 (*BAS versione italiana*, I, p. 445, Anno 484). No mention in Ibn ‘Adhārī.