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.

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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, ṣād=ṣ, ḍād=ḍ, ṭā'=ṭ, ẓā'=ẓ, '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 "‌ال ('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 hezirae (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.

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 fi 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.

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

EI² = *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 fi 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-Wahhāb an-Nuwayrī, *Nihāya al-Arab fi 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 (*walīs*): 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 *walī* (903-909), and re-elected the former *walī* 'Alī b. Muḥammad (903-903)[1] to be first Fāṭimid *walī* (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 *walī*, Al-Ḥasan, appointed Isḥāq b. Abī al-Minhāl to be *qāḍī* of Sicily, who proclaimed Al-Mahdī's name in

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1   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.[2] Fāṭimid rule (909-947) of Sicily was then established religiously as well as politically. During this period most of the *walīs* 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 Shī'ites and founder of the Fāṭimid dynasty, had occupied Tunisia, the Muslims in Sicily imprisoned the *walī* Aḥmad b. Abī al-Ḥusayn and chose anew 'Alī b. Muḥammad (= I, No. 31) to be *walī* 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 *walī* 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 *walī* 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, aḍ-Ḍayf (916-917)

Abū Sa'īd was sent to Sicily as *walī* 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. Sālim b. Asad b. Rashīd (917-937 [†940])

Sālim was appointed *walī* 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. Isḥāq 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. Isḥāq b. Ward (937-941)

Abū al-'Abbās was appointed *walī* 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 'Adhāri 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-Kūfi (941-946?) and Abū al-Qāsim b. 'Aṭṭāf (941-948)

The *walī* Khalīl b. Isḥāq left his two deputies (*mutawalli*), Ibn al-Kūfi 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 *walī* 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 'Adhāri or Abū al-Fidā'.
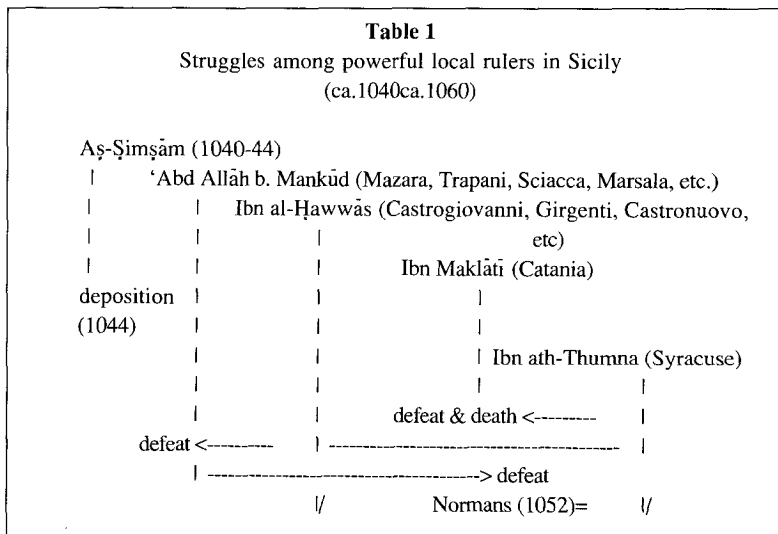
III. THE KALBITE RULERS (*walīs, amīrs*): 948-1044

On 25 April 947 the people in Palermo rose against the Fāṭimid *walī* Ibn 'Aṭṭāf. In order to handle this situation, the third Fāṭimid caliph Al-Manṣūr (946-953) appointed Al-Ḥasan (948-953) as *walī* 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 Aḥmad was appointed *walī* 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'ish. But soon disorder prevailed in Sicily, and Caliph Al-Mu'izz sent Abū al-

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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 *walī* of Sicily in 970. Thus, the Kalbite *walī* 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 *walī* Aḥmad al-Akḥal (1019-†1036) was killed during the war against the Zīrids, and the Zīrid prince 'Abd Allāh was elected *walī* 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 *walī* (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.1040ca.1060)

Aṣ-Ṣimṣām (1040-44)

| 'Abd Allāh b. Mankūd (Mazara, Trapani, Sciacca, Marsala, etc.)

| | Ibn al-Ḥawwās (Castrogiovanni, Girgenti, Castronuovo,

| | | etc)

| | | Ibn Maklātī (Catania)

deposition | | |

(1044) | | |

| | | | Ibn ath-Thumna (Syracuse)

| | | |

| | defeat & death <-------- |

defeat <-------- | --------------------------------------- |

| ---------------------------------------> defeat

|/   Normans (1052)= |/

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 *walī* 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 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.[5]

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

Al-Ḥasan was appointed *walī* 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 Novermber 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 *walī* 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

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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," *EI²*, III, p. 788; Umberto Rizzitano, "Ibn al-Thumna," *EI²*, 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 *walī* 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, Tāj ad-Dawla, Sayf al-Milla (998-1019)

Ja'far, son of Abū al-Futūḥ, succeeded his father as *walī* 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 *walī* 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 *walī* 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.