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<td>Takayama, Hiroshi</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:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{bā}\text{=}b, & \text{tā}\text{=}t, \text{thā}\text{=}\text{th}, \text{jīm}\text{=}j, \text{ḥā}\text{=}h, \text{khā}\text{=}kh, \text{dāl}\text{=}d, \text{dhāl}\text{=}dh, \text{rā}\text{=}r, \text{zāy}\text{=}z, \text{sin}\text{=}s, \\
\text{shīn}\text{=}sh, \text{ḍād}\text{=}s, \text{ṭā}\text{=}t, \text{ẓā}\text{=}zh, \text{‘ayn}\text{=}‘, \text{ghayn}\text{=}gh, \text{fā}\text{=}f, \text{qāf}\text{=}q, \text{kāf}\text{=}k, \text{lām}\text{=}l, \\
\text{mīm}\text{=}m, \text{nūn}\text{=}n, \text{ḥā}\text{=}h, \text{wāw}\text{=}w, \text{yā}\text{=}y, \text{hamza}\text{=}[‘]
\end{align*}
\]

* 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 “ٰٰ ح (‘al)” before the sun letters (\textit{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:

\[\text{AH} = \text{anno hezirae (the year of the Hegira).}\]
\[\text{BAS testo arabo} = \text{Michele Amari, ed., Biblioteca arabo-sicula, Leipzig 1857.}\]
\[\text{BAS Appendice} = \text{Michele Amari, ed., Appendice alla biblioteca arabo-sicula, Leipzig 1875.}\]
\[\text{BAS versione italiana} = \text{Michele Amari, ed. and trans., Biblioteca arabo-sicula, versione italiana, 2 vols., Rome/Turin 1880-1881.}\]

* 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 (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 ʿAbd Allah, a leader of the Shiʿites and one of the founders of the Fāṭimid dynasty, had occupied Tunisia, the Muslims in Sicily imprisoned Abū al-Ḥasan, last Aghlabid wālī (903-909), and re-elected the former wālī ʿAlī b. Muḥammad (903-903) to be first Fāṭimid wālī (909-910) on 4 April 909. Fāṭimid rule in Sicily.

ʿAlī b. Muḥammad was, however, deposed and replaced with Al-Ḥasan (910-12) by the first Fāṭimid caliph ʿUbayd Allāh al-Mahdī (909-934) in 910. This new wālī, Al-Ḥasan, appointed Ishaq 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 wālis 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 wāli Aḥmad b. Abī al-Ḥusayn and chose anew `Alī 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 (khaliṣa) 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-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 `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, fāṣl 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. `Alī b. `Umar al-Balawi (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 Khinzir. Nuwayrī in BAS testo arabo, p. 435, sana 297 (BAS versione italiana, II, p. 126, Anno 297); Ibn `Adhārī in BAS


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 ʿAbbāsid 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) [Nuwayrī, Ibn ʿAdhārī]. Nuwayrī in BAS testo arabo, pp. 435–6, sana 297, 304 (BAS versione italiana, II, pp. 126–7, Anno 297, 304); Ibn ʿAdhārī 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 Saʿīd Mūsā b. Aḥmad, aḏ-Ḍayf (916–917)

Abū Saʿīd 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 ʿAdhārī 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])


8. Ibn al-Kūfi (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 Fatimid wālī Ibn ‘Aṭṭāf. In order to handle this situation, the third Fatimid 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.3 In 953 Al-Ḥasan was called back to Mahdia by the new caliph Al-Mu‘izz (953-975) to attend the Fatimid 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‘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.\footnote{Amari, SMS, II, pp. 276, 330-1; Ahmad, A History of Islamic Sicily, pp. 30-31.}

The Kalbite dynasty was interrupted by the intervention of the Zirid amīr Al-Muʿizz 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-Ṣīmṣām, 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>
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<td>Struggles among powerful local rulers in Sicily</td>
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<td>(ca.1040-ca.1060)</td>
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<tr>
<th>Aṣ-Ṣīmṣām (1040-44)</th>
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<tr>
<td>‘Abd Allāh b. Mankūd (Mazara, Trapani, Sciacca, Marsala, etc.)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ibn al-Ḥāwwās (Castrogiovanni, Girgenti, Castronuovo, etc)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ibn Maklāt (Catania)</td>
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<tr>
<td>deposition</td>
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<tr>
<td>(1044)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ibn ath-Thumna (Syracuse)</td>
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<tr>
<td>defeat &amp; death</td>
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<td>defeat &lt;</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 qaʿid ‘Abd Allāh b. Mankūd (or Mankūt), the independent ruler of Trapani, Marsala, Mazara, Sciacca and the western plains; the qaʿid ‘Alī b. Niʿma, better known as Ibn al-Ḥāwwās, the powerful master of Castrogiovanni, Girgenti, Castronuovo, and their neighborhoods; the qaʿid Ibn Maklāt, the ruler of Catania; and the qaʿid Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. ath-Thumna, better known as Ibn ath-Thumna, the master of Syracuse.

In 1044 the wāli Aṣ-Ṣīmṣām 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-Ḥāwwās 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 Maklāt, the ruler of Catania, and then defeated ‘Abd Allāh b. Mankūd and took all his territory in the western part of Sicily.
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-Ḥāwwāṣ’ sister, led to a conflict between himself and Ibn al-Ḥāwwāṣ. Ibn ath-Thumna, defeated by Ibn al-Ḥāwwāṣ, 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) [Nuywayrī, Abū al-Fidā’] and in AM 6456 (1 Sep 947-31 Aug 948) (“Cronica di Cambride”). 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-Ṭhir]. According to “Cronica di Cambride,” 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 Cambride”) 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-Ṭhir in BAS testo arabo, pp. 256-7, 262, sana 336, 340 (BAS versione italiana, I, pp. 415-6, 423, Anno 336, 340); “Cronica di Cambride” 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 Aḥmād b. al-Ḥasan (954-969)

Aḥmād, 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 Cambride,” Aḥmād 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. 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

3. Ya’ish (969-970)

Ya’ish, a freedman of Al-Hasan, was entrusted with Sicily by Ahmad 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. Nuwayrī in BAS testo arabo, p. 442, sana 358 (BAS versione italiana, II, p. 136, 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.”


5. Jābir b. Abū al-Qāsim (982-983)


Jaʿfar, a Kalbīte, was appointed amīr by the caliph Al-ʿAzīz 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. Abû al-Futûḥ Yûsuf b. ‘Abd Allâh, Ṭiqat ad-Dawla (989-998)

Abû al-Futûḥ, son of ‘Abd Allâh, became wâlî immediately after his father’s death (Ramadân of AH 379 [3 Dec 989-1 Jan 990]), and was confirmed by the caliph Al-‘Azîz. He fell seriously ill and was succeeded by his son Ja’far in AH 388 (3 Jan-22 Dec 998) [Nuwayrî]. Nuwayrî in BAS testo arabo, p. 442, sana 379 (BAS versione italiana, II, p. 137, Anno 379); Ibn ‘Adhârî in BAS testo arabo, p. 369, sana 379 (BAS versione italiana, II, p. 31, Anno 379); Ibn Khalûn in BAS testo arabo, faṣîl 8, p. 483 (BAS versione italiana, II, §8, p. 199); Abû al-Fidâ’ in BAS testo arabo, pp. 410, 413, sana 336, 484 (BAS versione italiana, II, pp. 93, 96, Anno 336, 484); Ibn al-Athîr in BAS testo arabo, p. 273, sana 484 (BAS versione italiana, I, p. 442, Anno 484).


Ja’far, son of Abû al-Futûḥ, succeeded his father as wâlî when the latter became seriously ill in AH 388 (3 Jan-22 Dec 998). But the Muslims in Palermo rose against him and chose Abûmûd al-Akhal, brother of Ja’far, as wâlî in place of him on the sixth day of the month of Al-Mu‘ârram of AH 410 (14 May 1019) [Nuwayrî]. Nuwayrî in BAS testo arabo, pp. 442, 444, sana 379, 410 (BAS versione italiana, II, pp. 137, 139, Anno 379, 410); Ibn Khalûn in BAS testo arabo, faṣîl 8, p. 484, (BAS versione italiana, II, §8, p. 199); Abû al-Fidâ’ in BAS testo arabo, pp. 411, 413, sana 336, 484 (BAS versione italiana, II, pp. 94, 97, Anno 386, 484); Ibn al-Athîr in BAS testo arabo, p. 274, sana 484 (BAS versione italiana, I, pp. 442-3, Anno 484). No mention in Ibn ‘Adhârî.

10. Abûmûd al-Akhal b. Abû al-Futûḥ, Ṭâyîd ad-Dawla (1019-1036)

Abûmûd, son of Abû al-Futûḥ and brother of Ja’far, was chosen wâlî on the sixth day of the month of Al-Mu‘ârram of AH 410 (14 May 1019), confirmed later by the Fâṭîmîd caliph Al-Ḥâkim. He died in AH 427 (5 Nov 1035-24 Oct 1036) [Nuwayrî, Abû al-Fidâ’]. Nuwayrî in BAS testo arabo, p. 444, sana 410, 410 (BAS versione italiana, II, p. 139, 141, Anno 410, 410); Ibn Khalûn in BAS testo arabo, faṣîl 8, p. 484 (BAS versione italiana, II, §8, p. 200); Abû al-Fidâ’ in BAS testo arabo, pp. 411, 413, sana 336, 484 (BAS versione italiana, II, pp. 94, 97, Anno 336, 484); Ibn al-Athîr in BAS testo arabo, p. 274, sana 484 (BAS versione italiana, I, pp. 443-4, Anno 484). No mention in Ibn ‘Adhârî.
11. ‘Abd Allâh b. al-Mu‘izz b. Bâdis (1036-1040?)


12. Al-Ḥasan aš-Шimšâm ad-Dawla (1040?-1044)

Al-Ḥasan aš-Шimšâm, 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, pp. 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.