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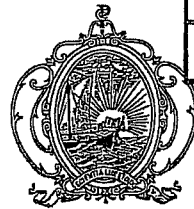
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## CONTACTS AND INTERACTION

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MADDE YAYIMLANDIKTAN  
SONRA GELEN DOKÜMAN

## MUSNAD AL-İMÂM AL-RABÎ: PRELIMINARY REMARKS ABOUT ITS AUTHENTICITY

AGOSTINO CILARDO  
Naples

### Introduction

Jābir b. Zayd (d. 93/711), a Successor, a disciple of Ibn 'Abbās, highly esteemed both by his followers and the Sunni community, was considered one of the greatest scholars of Baṣra, well-versed in the science of the Quran, besides the *fiqh* and *ḥadīth*.<sup>1</sup> Jābir appears to be as "the real founder of the sect in the Ibāḍī literature".<sup>2</sup> Abū 'Ubayda (d. 158/775) and al-Rabī b. Ḥabīb (d. between 180/796 and 190/806) were amongst his pupils.

The earliest source among the early works and documents dealing with Jābir's learning is *Rasā'il al-īmām Jābir b. Zayd al-Azdī*.<sup>3</sup> It is Jābir's correspondence including 18 letters containing his replies to questions addressed to him by his followers. The work of Qatāda (d. 118/736),<sup>4</sup> a Successor, is another valuable source for the knowledge of the doctrine of Jābir. It is a collection of legal *responsa* and traditions including reports from Jābir.

Jābir's doctrine was also transmitted by al-Rabī in his *Min Jawābāt al-īmām Jābir b. Zayd*<sup>5</sup> and *al-Jāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ*, *Musnad al-Imām al-Rabī* b.

<sup>1</sup> IBN HAJAR, *Kitāb Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, 12 vols., Ḥaydarābād, 1325–27/1907–09 (reprint Beirut, 1968), II, pp. 38–39, no. 61.

<sup>2</sup> J. C. WILKINSON, The Early Development of the Ibāḍī Movement in Baṣra, in G. H. A. JUVINBOLL (ed.), *Studies on the First Century of Islamic Society*, Carbondale–Edwardsville, IL, 1982, p. 133.

<sup>3</sup> Edited under this title by Faraḥāt b. 'Alī al-Ja'bīrī, 'Umān, 1434/2013. The MS is entitled *Jawābāt al-īmām Jābir b. Zayd, al-Bārūniyya, Fiḥḥ Ibāḍī*, no. 1, fols. 64–91; cf. 'A. Kh. ENNAMI, A Description of New Ibāḍī Manuscripts from North Africa, *Journal of Semitic Studies* 15 (1970), pp. 65–66.

<sup>4</sup> *Aqwāl Qatāda, MS al-Bārūniyya, Fiḥḥ Ibāḍī* (not numbered), fols. 1–140. Copyist: Ṣāliḥ al-Sidrīnī, the 15th of Shawwāl 1191/the 17th of November 1777.

<sup>5</sup> Ed. Sa'īd b. Khalaf AL-KHARŪṢĪ, 'Umān, 1404/1984.

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## 5.3 Ibāḍite Theologians

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Burghūth and Yaḥyā b. Aṣḥab were, rather surprisingly, included in a list of Khārijites by Shahrastānī.<sup>1</sup> This was probably merely an error,<sup>2</sup> but it is true that among the Khārijites the Ibāḍiyya at least moved closer to Najjār’s school during the third century. This development may have had older roots. We have seen that the Ibāḍite ‘Abdallāh b. Yazīd anticipated a number of Najjār’s ideas.<sup>3</sup> While he lived in Kufa, the majority of Ibāḍites was at home in Basra, where Najjār, too, had spent some time. Some questions transmitted from an Ibāḍite environment were already attributed to Abū Shamir;<sup>4</sup> on the other hand, Najjār, too, was part of the Basran Murji’ite tradition. Still, it can only surprise us quite how closely even his model of the theory of actions was reflected in the summary of Ibāḍite theology provided by Ash‘arī.<sup>5</sup> We also find ourselves confronting a problem of source criticism. The correspondences are so close down to details and language usage that we must assume that Ash‘arī or one of his sources compared the positions by collating a catalogue. Differences of terminology or intellectual tradition may have become blurred as a consequence, but there can be no fundamental doubt of the similarity, as it goes far beyond this point. Ibāḍite theologians did not only presume, as Najjār did, that God’s will was eternal,<sup>6</sup> but they also used Ḍirār’s theory of bodies as a starting point, subsequently turning towards atomism like Najjār.<sup>7</sup> In addition they were – like him, and like the Mu‘tazilites – bitter enemies to the ‘anthropomorphists’, regarding them as apostates and believing that they might be killed and enslaved, like Abū Bakr had done with the apostatised Muslims in the Ridda.<sup>8</sup> During the *miḥna* people rather liked the sound of this. There was also complete agreement in the question of the *khalq al-Qur’ān*.<sup>9</sup>

Sadly Ash‘arī is quite economical when attributing views to particular theologians. The Ibāḍiyya was not centre stage. We learn which line the Basran community followed as a whole, but schools such as within the Mu‘tazila are not discernible. As for the passage in which Ash‘arī made the kinship with

1 *Milal* 103, 4 and 7/253, 5, and 254, 1.

2 The other theologians mentioned in this place are all Murji’ites.

3 See p. 173 above.

4 Cf. vol. II 205f. above.

5 Text 61. Cf. *a* there with Text 30, *a*; *c* with 24, *a*, and 30, *d*; *d* with 31, *a*; *e* with 34, *b*; *f* with 30, *f*; *g* with 34, *a*; *h* with 30, *i*; *l–m* with 11, *a–b*. Also Watt, *Free Will* 129.

6 *Maq.* 124, 5ff.; cf. p. 178f. above.

7 *Ibid.* 109, 5ff.

8 *Ibid.* 109, 11ff.

9 *Ibid.* 109, 14. Similarity in the problems discussed is also apparent when comparing *Maq.* 107, 11f. with Text 21 and 55.

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heathen polytheists *mushrikân*, which lived on in the terminology in the juxtaposition of *shirk* and *tawhîd*. Later Ibâdite theological terminology described all non-Muslims as polytheists, including those who were in actual fact monotheists. In addition, sin was understood as “ingratitude”, i.e. as **deliberate** contempt of a divine blessing; on this premise a Christian who had never heard of Islam had to be called *muslim*, as Abū ‘Ubayda had done. This resulted in, as we have seen elsewhere,<sup>56</sup> the quarrel over the God’s “argument”. Is monotheism a given, a priori mindset, from which not even God can exempt anyone – similar to the anthropologist Wilhelm Schmidt’s idea of primitive monotheism – or does it emerge as a consequence of “information”, i.e. revelation?<sup>57</sup> Is every kind of denial of God (*jaḥd*) equal to “polytheism”, or is it really necessary to assign a second God?<sup>58</sup> And what about the Christians who say of themselves that they are monotheists: should one say that they are in fact polytheists in their hearts, or should one believe their protestations?<sup>59</sup> And what about the Jews? Are they not in fact better than the anthropomorphists, whom one may kill and take prisoner because they disregard *tawhîd* so brazenly?<sup>60</sup> In this way a certain

Ḥafṣ b. Abī l-Miqdām

arrived at the idea of postulating a special status for those non-Muslims whose faith included a monotheistic creed as well as a prophet and the scripture revealed through him.<sup>61</sup> It does not seem, however, that he arrived at a fourfold arrangement, as he included Muslims who “have murdered someone or who consider fornication and incest to be permitted”, i.e. who are mortal sinners, to still “profess God’s oneness”.<sup>62</sup> He was clearly using *tawhîd* instead of *nifāq*; indeed, he may have been the one to introduce the term in addition to *kufr ni‘ma*. His view did not prevail.<sup>63</sup>

56 Vol. I 483ff.

57 *Maq.* 106, 5ff. = Nashwān, *Hūr* 174, 2ff. (after Ka‘bī?) > Baghdādī, *Farq* 85, –4ff./106, 14f.

58 Regarding this dissension cf. *Maq.* 107, 8ff.; regarding *jaḥada* cf. sura 29:47, 41:28. Regarding the juxtaposition of *kufr jaḥd* – *kufr ni‘ma* cf. also Ibn ‘Aqīl, *Funūn* § 420.

59 *Maq.* 106, 16f. = Nashwān 174, 12f. Cf. ‘Isā b. ‘Umayr’s liberal doctrine (vol. I 486).

60 *Maq.* 109, 10ff. > *Farq* 86, ult. ff./107, 14ff.; abbreviated Nashwān, *Hūr* 174, pu. f. People wondered whether penitence was even possible in case of *tashbih* (cf. the anecdote told by Abū Zakariyā’, transl. *Revue Afr.* 105/1961/366).

61 Text VIII 4 with commentary.

62 *Ibid.*, b.

63 *Ibid.*, d.

3.1.4.1.2 *The Ibāḍiyya*

The Ibāḍite community in Khorasan would in due course vanish together with the other Khārijites in Iran; consequently even Ibāḍite sources know only little about it.<sup>1</sup> One author from the Maghreb described Khwārazm as a “village in the east”, Iran clearly being terra incognita to him.<sup>2</sup> It is only by coincidence that we hear of quarrels in Herat,<sup>3</sup> but the earlier significance of the region still shines through. Şuḥār al-‘Abdī, a contemporary of Jābir b. Zayd, came from there.<sup>4</sup> Sālīm b. Dhakwān may have composed his *Sīra* there,<sup>5</sup> and there may well have been some Ibāḍites among the Azdites who followed Yazīd b. Muhallab to Iran. At the time of Abū ‘Ubayda al-Tamīmī a generation later the contacts with Basra are clearly visible.<sup>6</sup> The link was a certain Hilāl b. ‘Aṭīyya al-Khurāsānī, one of the *ḥamalāt al-‘ilm*.<sup>7</sup> The third point of reference in this network was Oman where Hilāl fell in a battle against the Abbasid general Khāzīm b. Khuzayma when the latter (who also came from Khorasan) put an end to the rule of the “imam” Julandā b. Mas‘ūd in 134/752.<sup>8</sup> Fragments of his *Sīra* were quoted in texts composed in that region.<sup>9</sup> His brother Shabīb b. ‘Aṭīyya bore the *nisba* al-‘Umānī<sup>10</sup> as he was actively involved in local politics.<sup>11</sup>

When Abū l-Mu‘arrij fell out with Abū ‘Ubayda during the latter’s later years, he seems to have moved to Persia.<sup>12</sup> The same thing happened when the jurists’ quarrel intensified under Rabī‘ b. Ḥabīb; Ḥātim b. Manşūr, one of his opponents, bore the *nisba* al-Khurāsānī.<sup>13</sup> However, Rabī‘ also had followers in Khorasan:

1 Concerning the following cf. also Madelung, *Religious Trends* 74ff.

2 *Kitāb Ibn Sallām* 114, 11.

3 Apparently concerning the issue of *qadar* (cf. Schwartz, *Anfänge der Ibāḍiten* 52), but it will be necessary to establish whether this did not in fact refer to the town of Harāt in Fars (cf. Krawulsky, *Iran* 180). In this place, on the border with Kerman, Malaṭī located a Khārijite community apparently made up out of Ibāḍites who turned to the Mu‘tazila during his lifetime, at the beginning of the second half of the fourth century (*Tanbīh* 43, 6ff./53, ult. ff.; transl. in Madelung 76).

4 Khamīs b. Sa‘īd, *Manhaj al-ṭālibīn* I 627, apu. f.

5 See vol. I 199 above. The text contains a heresiographical overview in which the Azraqites, who were well-known in Iran at the time, play an important part (Cook, *Dogma* 89ff.).

6 Shammākhī, *Sīyar* 87, –5ff.; 116, 13ff.

7 Ibid. 119, 10. This does not necessarily imply that he was the first missionary in Iraq, as Lewicki states in EI<sup>2</sup> III 653a.

8 *Kashf al-ghumma*, ed. ‘Ubaydilī 250, 5ff. and earlier.

9 Nazwānī, *Ihtidā’* 51, –5ff.

10 Khamīs b. Sa‘īd 620, 13.

11 *Kashf al-ghumma* 249, n. 2; cf. vol. I 476 above.

12 See p. 240 above.

13 Regarding him cf. Ibn Khalfūn, *Ajwiba* 111; Rebstock, *Ibāḍiten im Maḡrib* 179 and 181.

## 5.2 Counter-Trends. The Ibādiyya

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There had been counter-forces from the very first. From the governorship of 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Marwān (66/685–85/704), who governed the country on behalf of his brother 'Abd al-Malik, onwards the Umayyads had tried to keep the Southern Arabs in check by settling Qaysites in Egypt; these newcomers spread mainly in the countryside.<sup>1</sup> Abū Sālim al-Jayshānī, a contemporary of Abū Zur'ā al-Ḥaḍramī's and a Shī'ite, too, lamented the fact that most Egyptians were 'Uthmānites;<sup>2</sup> he circulated a hadith in which the prophet warned that the "settlers" (*ahl al-ḥaḍar*) might "devour" the Copts.<sup>3</sup> Yazīd b. Abī Ḥabīb (d. 128/745), a Nubian from Dongola, reported that he had to talk his parents, who worshipped 'Alī, out of these beliefs,<sup>4</sup> boasting furthermore of having converted the entire country – which had been 'Alid in his youth – to the 'Uthmāniyya.<sup>5</sup> He narrated a fantastic story of an apple given to the prophet in paradise from which a houri emerged claiming to be destined for the "martyr" 'Uthmān.<sup>6</sup> Yazīd was an influential man. He was said to have been the first to introduce the study of legal traditions, the knowledge of "permitted and prohibited" in Egypt.<sup>7</sup> He was also a historian; Ibn Ishāq was one of his pupils.<sup>8</sup> The jurist Layth b. Sa'd (94/713–175/791), who also studied under him, continued the 'Uthmānite campaign.<sup>9</sup> We would, however, like to know for how long, because when he was in his late thirties the Umayyads abdicated, and 'Uthmānite slogans were not suited to win their authors any laurels, or indeed favour with the authorities.

Regarding Layth b. Sa'd cf. GAS 1/520, and EI<sup>2</sup> v 711f. with further references; also Ḥusayn, *Adabunā l-'arabī* 47ff., Makki in: RIEIM 5/1957/174ff., and Boiko 95ff. Ibn Ḥajar wrote a monograph about him (*Majmū'at al-rasā'il al-Muniriyya* III 40ff.). He was of Iranian origin. His controversy with Mālik b. Anas is of particular interest. Mālik had emphasised the Medinan claim to leadership in the field of law in a letter; Layth rejected this and stressed his own independence. The oldest source for this we have so far is Fasawī I 687ff.; Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya adopted the correspondence

1 Yūsuf Faḍl Ḥasan, *The Arabs and the Sudan* 33f.

2 Dhahabī, *Ta'rikh* III 318, 6f. Regarding him cf. Dawlābī, *Kunā* I 184, ult., and Fasawī II 464, 1.

3 Dawlābī I 185, 11ff.

4 Dhahabī, *Ta'rikh* v 184, apu.; TH 129, –4ff.

5 Maqrīzī, *Khitaṭ* II 334, 23ff.

6 Suyūṭī, *La'ālī* I 312, –7ff., and 314, 10ff.; cf. also p. 430, n. 33 above.

7 *Khitaṭ* II 332, –10f.; Dhahabī, *Ta'rikh* v 185, 3f.

8 Cf. GAS 1/341f.; Khoury in: *La vie du Prophète* 14f.

9 TB XIII 7, 12f.

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2.2.5 *The Ibādīyya*

The Ibādīte community in Basra has only recently emerged from the obscurity of history. For a long time Tadeusz Lewicki was the only one to advance this development;<sup>1</sup> in recent decades English, French and German dissertations have been added.<sup>2</sup> The marginal existence into which the Ibādītes were pushed over the centuries had led to original sources being hardly ever accessible; manuscripts were kept in remote places and the lithographs of the Bārūniyya Press in Cairo and of Algerian publishing houses were difficult to find. If this state of affairs is slowly changing due to new editions, and to Ibādīte scholars being included in international research, we must not forget in our delight at the accessibility of a new body of sources that these offer only a one-sided image, especially as regards Basra. Ibādīte historians composed their works in the Maghreb or in Oman; Basra was barely more than an ideal past. Consequently what information there was has only been repeated through the centuries; there were no new traditions, and for ideological reasons non-Ibādīte works of history as well as heresiography would not have been adduced. The result was the fiction of a straightforward, "orthodox" development, which only took limited notice of what happened around it.

## 2.2.5.1 The Case of 'Abdallāh b. Ibād

Tradition did not follow this concept entirely. Some reports that were not brought into line have survived, and lacunae that were already extant in ancient material could not be camouflaged later, either. This is particularly noticeable in the case of the sect's *heros eponymos*, 'Abdallāh b. Ibād. Ibādīte historiography knows barely anything about him; according to Ibn Ḥazm he was completely unknown among his Spanish followers (Nukkār?).<sup>1</sup> This problem went back a long way, for what Ṭabarī reported about him in the context of the events of the year 64 with reference to Abū Mikhnaf's *K. al-Azāriqa* was,

1 Cf. in summary his article *Ibādīyya* in EI<sup>2</sup> III 648ff., and his essay *The Ibādītes in Arabia and Africa* in: *Cahiers d'Histoire Mondiale* 13/1971/51ff. A bibliography of his works may be found in FO 11/1969/7ff.

2 The indispensable study is A. Kh. Ennami (al-Nāmī), *Studies in Ibadism*, PhD Cambridge 1971. Other important studies are by Cuperly, Rebstock and Schwartz, also Twaḍ Khulayfāt (A. M. Khleifat), *Nash'at al-ḥaraka al-Ibādīyya* (Amman 1978). See below for more details.

1 *Fiṣal* IV 191, 10ff.

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# Transregional and Regional Elites – Connecting the Early Islamic Empire

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Cyrille Aillet

## Connecting the Ibādī Network in North Africa with the Empire (2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup>/8<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> Centuries)

**Abstract:** At first sight, North African Ibādism emerged during the Berber uprisings against Umayyad and 'Abbāsīd rule and stayed at the margins of the empire. The imamate of Tāhart even stood, in the posthumous memory of the school, as an ideal counter-model of the caliphate. In fact, during the 8<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> centuries western Ibādism remained under the influence of its eastern strongholds, in particular Baṣra where the sectarian elite was well integrated into 'Abbāsīd culture. Intense scholarly exchange linked west and east thanks to intermediary meeting points like Mecca and Fuṣṭāṭ. The Ibādī political opposition of 'Berber' and 'Arab' ethnicity certainly worked against the imperial discourse, but the Persian *shu'ūbiyya* shaped it. The Rustamid imamate came to be the symbol of a Persian state in a Berber milieu and its capital and state apparatus underwent a gradual orientalizing. Trade also played a key role in connecting the Ibādī network with the empire. Baṣra was a notorious emporium and Ibādī merchants circulated widely between the 'Abbāsīd realm and its western fringes. The Maghribīs owned stores in Fuṣṭāṭ and traveled as far as Baghdad and Sāmarrā'. Trans-Saharan trade, including slaves and gold, also presumably saw its first development thanks to imperial demand.

**Keywords:** Ibādism; North Africa; Rustamid state; *shu'ūbiyya*; cultural contacts; trading networks

### Introduction

The Ibādī cluster in North Africa emerged in the global revolutionary context that characterized the last decade of the Umayyads. The first uprisings were mostly led by Ṣūfī leaders;<sup>1</sup> the Ibādīs did not engage in the struggle for the domination of Tripolitania before 131 H/748 CE. They formally declared their first imamate in asserting leadership over the Warfajūma rival confederation in 141 H/

1 Scholars such as Lewinstein 1992 have wondered what *ṣūfīyya* really meant. In North Africa, Sunni and Ibādī writers used this word to designate the *khārījī* hard line, in contrast with the Ibādī openness to sectarian coexistence.

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report on the events in Kūfa after the arbitration of Şiffin, which Ṭabarī traces back through him, is free of any Khārijite assessments.<sup>10</sup> He probably died before the middle of the century.<sup>11</sup> – Approximately a half century younger was

Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥakam b. Marwān al-Ḍarīr;

Ibn Ḥanbal studied with him. He too, as is already clear from this connection, was regarded as respectable. In the course of time he moved to Baghdād; possibly there one did not realize that behind the pious and presumably rather puritanical man was concealed a Khārijite.<sup>12</sup> That he was a Bayhasite is only mentioned in Ash'arī. There we also learn that in Kūfa he gained followers through a special doctrine: he wanted testimony concerning a capital offense to be proven by more detailed proceedings before one came to a legally binding conviction.<sup>13</sup> That he took slander to be a great danger can be concluded from a *ḥadīth* which he circulated.<sup>14</sup> The other Bayhasites found his demand somewhat pedantic; they dubbed those who followed him *aṣḥāb al-tafsīr*.<sup>15</sup>

The Kūfan Khārijite Muslim b. Ja'd whom Malaṭī even makes into the founder of a school (*Tarbiḥ* 138, l. 1/180, last l.) cannot be further identified and is not mentioned anywhere else.

#### 2.1.4.1 The Ibāḍite Community in Kūfa

If we have some further information about the Ibāḍites who lived in Kūfa, it is only because there is an Ibāḍite literature; they did not attract attention as

10 1, 3362, ll. 18 ff.

11 Azmī, *Studies* 142. On him IS VI, 241, ll. 11 f.; Bukhārī 1, 356, no. 1124; IAH 1, 171 f., no. 579; 'Uqaylī 1, 78 f., no. 85 > *Mizān* no. 2198.

12 TB VIII 225 f., no. 4337; *Mizān* no. 2198.

13 *Maq.* 117, ll. 8 ff.; briefly and without mentioning names also Shahrastānī 94, ll. 10 ff./222, ll. 3 f.

14 TB VIII, 226, ll. 3 ff.

15 The "commentary" in this case probably consisted in making clear the circumstances under which the crime had taken place, not as Gimaret believes (*Libre des Religions* 389, fn. 21) in knowledge of the juridical prescriptions. He demanded circumstantial evidence.