

most notably the restoration of the house in Mecca that was reputed to have been where the Prophet was born, and turning it into a mosque. Some estimates of her annual income put it at 160,000,000 *dirhams*, or the equivalent of half the tax revenue of the entire caliphate (Kennedy, 185). She died in 179/789 and was buried in al-Ruṣāfa, eastern Baghdad, in the cemetery named after her, which became the final resting place of future ‘Abbāsīd rulers.

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Kitmān

Kitmān, meaning “secrecy” or “concealment,” is one of the four stages of religion (*masālik al-dīn*) in which the Ibādī community might find itself living. Unlike the stages of manifestation (*zuhūr*), defence (*difā‘a*), or sacrificing to accomplish God’s aims (*shirā‘a*), it is the stage that requires

Ibādīs to hide many of the practices of Ibādism in order to preserve it from enemies who might threaten or suppress it. Under such circumstances, *kitmān* becomes an obligation with important ramifications for how the Ibādī community conducts its affairs. Notably, the imāmate and the exercise of the Qur’ānically stipulated legal punishments (*ḥudūd*) go into abeyance (though Ibādīs do select leaders to perform tasks such as collecting and distributing the *zakāt*, or alms tax), as does the obligation to openly practise *walāya* (“association”) with fellow Ibādīs and *barā‘a* (“dissociation”) from non-Ibādīs (Ennāmī, 284; al-Salīmī and Madelung, 152). As the stage of *kitmān* involved living under non-Ibādī rulers, many of the legal discussions about the stage of *kitmān* revolve around the extent to which Ibādīs can serve “tyrants” (*jabābira*), the term often used to designate non-Ibādī rulers (Ennāmī, 287–8). The stage of *kitmān* in North Africa, which began with the Fāṭimid caliphate’s (297–567/909–1171) defeat of Ibādī rebels at the battle of Bāghāy in 358/969 and continues to the present, gave rise to the institution of the *‘azzāba*: councils of notables who ruled North African Ibādī communities, collectively exercising the full authority of the *imām*. No comparable institution appeared in Oman, where Ibādīs periodically established imāmates between intervals of *kitmān*.

Medieval Ibādī scholars found precedent for the practice of *kitmān* in the example of the prophet Muḥammad, who initially practiced Islam in secret during his time in Mecca (Ennāmī, 284). They also traced the concept back to the early Ibādīyya, who emerged as a secretive group among the quietist Shurāt (early Khārījī) circles of Basra (Gaiser, *Origin*, 67–73). Against the militant Azāriqa (Azraqī Khārījīs) and