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The Omani *siyar* as a Literary Genre and its Role in the Political Evolution and Doctrinal Development of Eastern Ibāḍism, with Special Reference To the Epistles of Khwārizm, Khurāsān and Manṣūra

By
Abdulrahman Al-Salmi

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The Faculty of Social Sciences
University of Durham

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Abstract

During the last three decades, a number of valuable Ibādite and Omani texts, which were previously unavailable, have come to light. The discovery of these texts has changed our view of the course of Omani history. They provide us with a clearer picture of the intellectual world of Oman and Ibāḍism somewhat different to the previous picture, which had been based almost entirely on hostile sources. From this perspective, the present work has emerged in order to study the literature of these 'Omani *siyar*'. There have thus far been few and limited studies that have shown interest in this area, despite the fact that this literature is a reflection of the progress of both the socio-politics of Omani history, and the style of Omani and Eastern Ibāḍite writers.

This work has been written with two types of readers in mind. Primarily, for general readers with an interest in Islamic and Arabic Classical literature, and secondly, for my Omani and Ibāḍite colleagues. The study is intended to be a contribution to three distinct areas of investigation; firstly, the identification of the Omani *siyar* literature, secondly, analysis of the role of this literature in Omani socio-political history, and finally the development of a system for examining these texts methodically. Each is an area regarding about which a certain amount of literature has been written in recent years, and it is intended that the present work cover the 10^{th} and 11^{th} centuries of Omani relationship with central Asia. This work involved a study of documentation and a number of issues that marked Oman's history. It examines with a different approach manuscripts for both Omani and Ibāḍites works through the collection of Omani *siyar*.

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Dedication
My late father Sulaymān and my
Uncle ʻAbdullah bin Muhammad al-Sālimī

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A Note On Transliteration

Fully transliterated from the Arabic are the following: technical terms and proper names occurring both within the body of the text and the bibliography. Oriental proper names and words, if found in English dictionaries, are so used.

The transliteration scheme used is as follows:

ء	’	ز	z	ق	q
ب	B	س	s	ك	k
ت	t	ش	sh	ل	l
ث	th	ص	s̲	م	m
ج	J	ض	d̲	ن	n
ح	h̲	ط	t̲	هـ	h
خ	kh	ظ	ż	و	w
د	d	ع	‘	ي	y
ذ	dh	غ	gh		
ر	r	ف	f		

a ـَ	i ـِ	u ـُ

ا ā	ي ī	و ū	

أي ay	أو aw

Abbreviations and Conventions

The following are used with proper names:

A. = Abū/Abī (father of)

b. = Ibn/bin (son of)

K. =*Kitāb* (book of)

siyar= plural of *sīra*

EI2= Encyclopaedia of Islam (second edition)

M.N.H.C =Ministry of National Heritage and Culture, Oman

Part I

Chapter 1

Identifying the Omani *siyar*

As soon as a researcher starts reading through Omani historical sources, it is apparent that the primary historical sources of Oman are the Omani *siyar*. These *siyar*, which were written down at different times by various writers, constitute a unique source of historical data unparalleled in any other country. These documents reflect the political and social situation in Oman as well as the topography and the scholars' ideology. They also prompt us to look with greater interest at the geography of Oman, which has shaped the history of the country. These aspects have influenced the Omani personality and scholarship and have given this part of the Arabian Peninsula a unique character throughout history. The primary object of the present chapter is to investigate the origins of this genre in classical Arabic literature, and to explore its historical origins, where and when this genre originated, and what form each *sīra* takes, from the point of view of subject and chronology.

I- Omani *siyar*: History Origins and description

The *sīra* has become the basic fundamental source in classical Arabic literature particularly when it is connected with the life of the Prophet Muḥammad.[1] In Arabic the word *siyar* (biographies) has various meanings. Firstly it is derived from the verb that means walked or travelled, thus, having the sense of narrating stories of travelling, hence journey through life. It also means the *sunna* which itself means a way of living. The Arabs say: *sāra sīra ḥasana* which translates as 'He managed their affairs well" and this is said of a certain ruler because he leads the people in a proper way. It is also connected to the idea of origin. This sense is found in the Koranic verse in *sūrat Ṭāhā* in which Allah says: *sanu'īduhā sīrataha al-'ūlā* "We will restore it to its first state"[2] in which the word *sīra* is used to mean appearance. The meaning of the verse is that we (Allāh) shall retain its original nature. The word has another meaning denoting narration of tales of the older generations. Conventionally, the word has been used to mean going to battles *al-Maghāzī*.[3] The study of *siyar* "biographies" tells us that the meaning of the word '*sīra*' approaches the sense of conduct, and a manner of living. This is a natural

al-'ūlā

development of the word from the root s-y-r which means to "follow a certain way", to "live" in the meaning of "manner of being".[4]

Basically, the Omani *siyar*, which are political-religious correspondence, usually contain around twenty to thirty pages[5] and are considered to be among the most important historical and intellectual sources for both Omani political history and Ibāḍite theological thought. This is for four main reasons: Firstly, they represent a specific intellectual topic, i.e. the point of view of the *'ulamā'*, religious scholars, who wrote it. Secondly, they represent an exchange between several parties about certain issues, theological and social, which arose at that time and needed to be discussed. Thirdly, they usually represent a jurisprudential edict or *fatwā,* which by itself reveals prevailing attitudes or ideas about a specific policy. Fourthly, they are biographies written about famous people [*Imams or 'ulamā*]. On the origins of the Omani *siyar* Crone and Zimmermann have written: "Most *sīras* in the Omani sense of doctrinal epistles are pulpit manifesto (much as St Paul's epistles will have been), i.e. they are letters written to a congregation setting out what we should or should not believe or do, to be read aloud by a preacher. The sermons with which such *sīras* begin, often quite long, reflect their original *Sitz im Leben*. The name under which they came to be known in Oman has its roots in the later Umayyad period, when *sīra* seems to have been used in the sense of 'doctrinal position' or 'stance'.[6]

They also developed the *sīra's* traditional Arabic sense according to: "Oh Hind, listen to me, our *sīra* is that we worship God without giving him a partner. We suspend judgement on things when they are doubtful",[7] the Murji'ite poet Thābit Quṭna (d.110/728) said in a famous poem setting out the basic tenets of Murji'ism: *sīra* here means 'doctrinal position'.[8] Also when the Murji'ite rebel al-Ḥārith b. Surayj was fighting against Naṣr b. Sayyār in Khurāsān, he ordered his secretary Jahm b. Ṣafwān publicly to read *kitāban sayyar lahu* [*bihi?*] *sīrat* al-Ḥārith, "a tract in which he put/propagated the *sīra* of al-Ḥārith". Al-Ḥārith wrote his *sīra* and it was read aloud in the streets and mosques of Marw, as another version has it. He ordered Jahm to read aloud to people his *sīra* and what he was calling to.[9] Again Crone and Zimmermann set out al-Ḥārith's position in implicit or explicit contrast with that of the governor Naṣr. The tract in which the *sīra* was recorded was composed for delivery to the public in a mosque.[10]

The term *sīra*, although invoking a shared understanding when used by Omani Ibāḍites to refer to a particular genre, has a different meaning and function when used by other Ibāḍite groups such as those in North Africa. Example of these non Omani *siyar* are *al-Siyar wa akhbār al-a'imma* which is known as *Tārīkh Abū Zakariyā* by A. Zakariyā Yaḥya b. A. Bakr (d. perhaps 471/1078);[11] *Siyar Mashāyikh Jabal Nafūsa* by Muqrain b. Muḥammad al-Baghṭūrī (6th/12th);[12] *Siyar al-Wisyānī* by A. al-Rabī' Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Salām al-Wisyānī (6th/12th);[13] *K. Ṭabaqāt al-Mashā'ikh* by A.'l-'Abbās Aḥmad b. Sa'īd al-Darjīnī (d. probably 670/1271);[14] *K. al-Jawāhir al-Muntaqā fī mā akhalla bihi kitāb al-Ṭabaqāt* by A. al-Qāsim al-Barrādī (d. second half 8th/14th),[15] and finally *K. al-Siyar* by Aḥmad b. Sa'īd al-Shammākhī (d.928/1522).[16] All these writers use the *sīra* as biography or biographical dictionaries. Al-Barrādī, however, gives a list[17] of Ibāḍite *Mashāriqa* books which included some of the Omani *siyar*. Thereafter Ennami (1970) gives a description of some early Ibāḍite correspondence, which was similar to early Omani *siyar*.[18]

Michael Cook, however, tries to give distinctive features to the mainstream of religious epistles in Arabic literature,[19] and he has proposed a method which might help to reduce the dimensions of this genre. Therefore, he gives the point of view from the early Ibāḍite tradition that: " the Ibāḍites seem to have left Iraq before Arabic literature was seriously affected by what one might loosely describe as onset of *belles lettres*. The Ibāḍī tradition is thus a relatively unembroidered one. The proliferation of worthless correspondence from 'Umar II to all and sundry which we find in the Sunni tradition is not paralleled in the Ibāḍī record figures of equivalent stature. But by the same token, Ibāḍī archaism carries its cost for us. It is here that the tradition of religious epistle stayed alive longest with the implication that the art of epistolary forgery probably did so too".[20]

The question arises of when these *siyar* started to be collected in volumes as a genre and who adopted and collected them. Sālim al-Ḥārithī argues that A. al-Ḥasan 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan al-Bisyāwī (the end of 4th/10th and the beginning of 5th/11th century) was the first one to collect the *siyar*.[21] On the other hand, Kāshif claims that they were collected by A. Bakr Aḥmad b. 'Abdullāh b. Mūsā al-Kindī (d. probably 557/1161) who wrote *K. al-'ihtidā'* and *K. al-Jawhar al-Muqtaṣar* and made use of several *siyar*.[22] It could be argued in relation to the *siyar* that were collected after 3rd/9th century that these were ordered by the Rustāq school since both al-Bisyāwī and al-Kindī were acolytes of this

school. Nevertheless, the other possibility is that Abū al-Ḥawārī started to collect them at the beginning of the 4th/10th century since we found a certain *sīra* by Abū al-Mū'thir had been examined by Abū al-Ḥawāri.[23] This would be a premature conclusion since a detailed inspection of the *siyar* shows that many of them were written before 3rd/9th century and before the formation of the Rustāq School. In addition to this some *siyar* were written up to the 11th /17th century.

In general, before we clarify the Omani *siyar* it is preferable that we determine the specific period to show *siyar* development and connect it with Ibāḍī thought in Oman. The period that we will be concerned with is the 1st /7th -11th/17th centuries, for the following reasons:

1- The seminal biography of the Imam Nāṣir b. Murshid al-Ya'rubī, the Imam of Oman (1034/1624-1059/1649), written by 'Abdullāh b. Khalfān b. Qayṣar[24] did not exist until the 11th /17th century. This *sīra* is considered to be the first biography in the Omani literature and developed the idea of a *sīra* as a biography.
2- The style of Omani history compilations at that time had begun to develop in new directions.
3- The development of the *siyar* was complete after this period and much of the work composed thereafter adds little more than embellishment and elaboration on the same themes. In addition to this, Omani historical works have ceased to use the *sīra* form because it rarely suited their purposes.

In the 19th century Ḥumayd b. Muḥammad b. Ruzayq [d.1291/1873] wrote the biography of the Sultan Sa'īd b. Sulṭān (1804-1856) entitled *"Al-Badr al-tamām fī sīrat al-Sayyid al-Humām Sa'īd b. Sulṭān"*. He included it in his book a*l-Fatḥ al-mubīn fī sīrat al-Sāddah al-Bu Sa'īdiyīn*[25] which is divided into three sections: the first section deals with the clan of *Azd*[26] and their genealogy until al-Bū Sa'īdiyīn. Secondly, he recorded some of the biographical details about the Imams of Oman. Thirdly, a narrative of al-Bu Sa'īdiyīn from 1741 until 1856. A. Muḥammad 'Abdullāh b. Ḥumayd al-Sālimī (1866-1913) has written the biography of his teacher Sāliḥ b. 'Alī al-Ḥārithī *"al-ḥaqq al-jalī fī sīrat al-Shaikh Sālih b. 'Alī"*.[27] Like Ibn Ruzayq he used the *sīra* as a historical basis in his book *Tuḥfat al-A'yān bi sīrat ahl 'Umān* in which he says "the influence of the Prophet and his Companions in Oman can be seen more than in any other country. My soul longed for writing which could tell of the history of prominent leaders so that their history is known to the ignorant and that young scholars may see

these as leaders, despite the lack of material in this area".[28] Because of the variety of Ibāḍī thought in Oman he also says: "As a result you do not normally find an integrated biography or comprehensive history about them. He said that he searched what he could in the books of history and wrote what he could about the history of Oman".[29] From this we can conclude that the earliest biography written in Oman is thought to have been written in the 11th/17th century. However, the first *sīra*, which recorded the imams and *'ulamā* of Oman with their history and their death, was in fact written in the early 9th/15th century by Muḥammad b. 'Abdullāh b. Maddād. This *sīra* is considered a milestone in the development of the *sīra* in Oman and is a remarkable biography.

II-The *siyar* Literature

All the old and modern historians depend on the Omani *siyar* in their works. For instance; *al-Ansāb* (5th/11th century) by A. al-Mundhir al-'Awtabī,[30] *Kashf al-Ghummah: al-Jāmi' li akhbār al-umma* (11th/17th) attributed to Sirḥān b. Sa'īd al-Izkāwī[31], *al-Shu'ā' al-Shā'i' bi 'l-lum'ān fī dhikr a'immat 'Umān*[32] 1875 by Humayd b. Muḥammad b. Ruzayq and *Tuḥfat al-A'yān bi sīrat ahl 'Umān* (1866-1913) by 'Abdullāh al-Sālimī.

The modern historians of Oman showed great interest in studying and analysing these sources so we can refer to four important studies by them about the Omani *siyar*. Firstly, J.C. Wilkinson in his article "The Omani Manuscript collection at Muscat".[33] The writer discusses some of the *fiqh* works with particular reference to the light they throw on five subjects of particular interest for the early history of the Ibāḍī Imamate in Oman (down to the 6th/12th century). He discusses the 29 *siyar*, which are contained in one manuscript based in the Ministry of National Heritage and Culture's library in Muscat. By distinguishing these studies the author proposed dividing them chronologically and subjectively. He also gives his own views about the *siyar*. Additionally he included them in the Ibāḍite juridical *fiqh* work because in this article he did not analyse or discuss all the *siyar*. Despite this fact Wilkinson's article is an essential reference for chronology and logical sequence. Wilkinson also analysed three Omani *siyar* in his article "Omani and Ibādī background to the Kilwah *sīra*: the demise of Oman as a political and religious force in the Indian Ocean in the 6th/12th century".[34] He proposed to investigate the Ibāḍite thought in the *siyar* and its influence on Omani historical background in East Africa in the 6th /12th century.

The following essays have a similar perspective on the *siyar*'s conception since they have undifferentiated views of the *siyar*. The first investigation came by Fārūq 'Umar in his book "*Muqaddima fī Maṣādir al-Tārīkh al-'Umāni*: Introduction to the Sources of Omani History".[35] The distinguishing features of this book are that the author separates the *siyar* from genealogical and biographical books on the sources of Omani history. He considered them the first sources of Omani History. In his work he attempted to illustrate three *siyar*: the *sīra* of Shabīb b. 'Aṭiyya, the *sīra* of Abī al-Mū'thir al-Salt b. Khamīs and the *sīra* of A. al-Hasan Al-Bisyānī [Bisyāwī]. The author quoted all of the above in *al-Harakah al-Ibādiyyah fī al-Mashriq al-'Arabī* (The Ibāḍī movement in the Arabian East).[36] Obviously his research into the Omani *siyar* was not particularly wide ranging. However, what is distinctive about his work is that it shows the *siyar* to be a unique genre.

The third examination of the *siyar* was carried out by 'Ubaydaly in his introduction to *Kashf al Ghummah: al-Jāmi' li akhbār al-umma*.[37] Here he writes an introduction to Omani historical sources and includes the *siyar* amongst them. He tried to focus on the meaning of these *siyar* by introducing their main ideas. The fourth examination was 'Iṣām al-Rawās who wrote another introduction to Omani historical sources[38] and mentioned the *siyar* in the introduction.

III- Introductory Remarks about the context of the Omani *siyar*

Before identifying the *siyar* we must take into account several factors:

1- The Omani *siyar* were issued as individual manuscripts in Oman; there was no collection or collation of them until the 11th/17th century, which witnessed the first of the Omani *siyar* collections in a book, entitled *K. al-Siyar al-'Umāniyyah* or *al-Siyar al-Ibādiyyah*. Some of these *siyar* are still in manuscripts, which were recorded in different times and places.

2- These books with collections of Omani *siyar* were made at various times.

3- Some of the *siyar* which have been included in these differently dated collections are not Omani or Ibāḍī but general Islamic literature for example; *sīra of al-Nabī ilā Al'alā b. al-Hadramī* or *risālat Abī Bakr ilā 'Umar b. al-Khattāb*.

4- Usually most of the *siyar* included clear aims and they were similar to what we might now refer to as monographs. Generally, these *siyar* falls into four main categories

designated by; firstly, name of the author, for example; *sīra* of Sālim b. Dhakwān (2nd/8th century), *sīra* of Khalaf b. Ziyād al-Baḥrānī (2nd/8th century). Secondly, by the name of the writer and the people who receive the letter, for example; *sīra* of Imam Muhannā b. Jayfar (226-841/237-851) to Mu'ādh b. Harb, *sīra* of Muḥammad b. Maḥbūb to A. Ziyād Khalaf b. 'Udhra. Thirdly, designated by the specific subject they are concerned with: for example; *sīra* of A. al-Mundhir Bashīr b. Muḥammad b. Maḥbūb (3rd/9th) *fī al-ḥadath al-wāqi' bi 'Umān* about the events that happened in Oman, *sīrat al-sū'āl* by A. al-Hasan 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Bisyāwī (late 4th/10th and the beginning of the 5th/11th century). Fourthly, those *siyar* given topical titles as books for example; *K. al-Aḥdāth wa 'l sifāt* and *K. al-Muwāzana.*

5- Some *siyar* contain more than one topic and if so these second topics are sometimes added by other copiers.[39] In other words, copyist writers thought it useful to add their own comments about some subject that is dealt with in the *sīra*. An example can be found in the *sīra* of A. al-Mū'thir al-Salt b. Khamīs.

While evaluating the collection of materials of Omani *siyar*, the researcher found manuscripts, some of which have been collected into volumes. The following is a list of the books that contained these *siyar* and these books will be studied to reveal the *siyar* contained in them. They include the following;

1-The copy from the Ministry of National Heritage and Culture in Muscat. This copy was written in 1299/1881 and collected in three volumes. (Ms. 1).

2-The copy from the al-Sālimī's library in Biddyah. This copy was written in 1120/1708 and collected in one volume, entitled *K. al-Siyar* (Ms.2).

3-The copy from the collected manuscripts of Aḥmad b. Nāṣir al-Sayfī in Nizwā. This copy was written in 1141/1728 and collected in three volumes, entitled *al-Siyar al-Ibāḍiyya.* (Ms.3).

4- *K. Taqyīd* by Abū. Muḥammad 'Abdullāh b. Baraka (4th/10th) century. Kept in the al-Sālimī library in Biddyah. This book was written in 972/1564. (Ms.4).

5- *Al-Sīra al-Kalawiyya.* Two manuscript copies belonging to M.N.H.C. The acquisition numbers of these two manuscripts are 138 and 1409. (Ms.5).

6- Microfilm manuscript of *al-Siyar* in Cambridge University, Or.1402. Manuscript date unknown.[40] (Mc1).

7- Microfilm manuscript of *al-Siyar* in the Wilkinson Archive at Exeter University Library. However, this microfilm originally is belonged to the University of Lwow and was used in the Encyclopaedia of Islam.[41] (Mc.2)

Published Work consulted:

1- *K. al-Siyar wa al-Jawābāt*; edited by Sayyida Kāshif Ismā'īl. 1984. This is a manuscript in the library of M.N.H.C and was written on 7th of Jumādā I 1009 (13th of November 1600 (Pub. 1).[42]

2- *Tuḥfat al-A'yān bi sīrat āhl 'Umān* by 'Abdullāh b. Ḥumayd al-Sālimī (1284-1332/1875-1913), (Pub.2).

3- *Itḥāf al-A'yān fī Tārīkh ba'ḍ 'Ulamā 'Umān* by Sayf b. Ḥumūd b. Ḥāmid al-Baṭāshī(Pub.3).[43]

4- *K. Fawākih al-'ulūm fī ṭā'at al-Ḥayy al-Qayyūm* by Sa'īd b. Aḥmad al-Kharāssīnī (in the earliest of 11th/17th century and the beginning 12th/18th) (Pub4).[44]

For convenience of studying the Omani *siyar* I will attempt to divide them along these lines:

I- Chronology

II- Subject

III-What form does each *sīra* take?

The researcher also will try to explore and develop the background debates concerning the authenticity of the *siyar* through a detailed examination of their contents.

IV- Chronology and Subject of *siyar*

The first period

This period extends from the earliest Islam until the first Imamate in Oman. It is divided into six stages:

1A) The first stage covers *siyar* that were written by neither Ibāḍī nor Omani writers, consisting in fact in letters from the Prophet or his companions. Only the Omani writers have collated them as *siyar*, possibly because there are parallels and similarities between these *siyar* and those penned by Omani writers. They appear under the rubric *siyar* only in the collection of Al-Sayfī in the city of Nizwā (Ms, 3), and are arranged under the following topics:

i- A *sīra* from al-Nabī (the Prophet Muḥammad) to Al'alā b. al-Ḥaḍramī; the latter was appointed governor of Bahrain by the Prophet. Sources reckon that this *sīra* was written in the year 4 /625.[45]

ii- A *sīra* in the form of a letter from the Caliph Abū Bakr to ‘Alī b. Abū Ṯālib.[46]

iii- A *sīra* in the form of a letter from ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb to ‘Alī b. A. Ṯālib.[47]

iv- A *sīra* in the form of a letter from ‘Alī b. Abū Ṯālib to Abū ‘Ubayda ‘Āmir b. al-Jarrāḥ.[48]

v- A *sīra* in the form of a sermon given by ‘Alī b. A. Ṯālib on the day that Abū Bakr died.[49]

vi- A *sīra* in the form of a statement by Abū Bakr, addressed to ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb.[50]

1B) The second stage covers *siyar* that reflect the important events occurring after the crisis of the Caliph ‘Uthmān b. ‘Affān’s assassination. The following *siyar* deal with the events of the period 35/656-45/665:

vii- A summary of the accomplishments of ‘Uthmān b. ‘Affān during his Caliphate known as *Mukhtaṣar min kitāb ṣifāt aḥdāth ‘Uthmān b. ‘Affān*. Unknown writer. Al-Barrādā includes it among the first of the Eastern Ibāḍī compilations that were written in the 2nd/8th century.[51]

viii- A letter from ‘Alī b. A. Ṯālib to the people of Nahrawān.[52]

ix- A letter from the Muslims of Nahrawān to ‘Alī b. A. Ṯālib.[53]

x- A *sīra* in the form of a debate between the Muslims of Nahrawān and ‘Abdullāh b. al-‘Abbās.[54]

xi- A letter from ‘Alī b. A. Ṯālib to ‘Abdullāh b. ‘Abbās, on the occasion when the latter took some money from Basra and went to Ḥijāz.[55]

xii- A *sīra* which includes letters written by ‘Alī b. Abū Ṯālib to ‘Abdullāh b. ‘Abbās.[56]

xiii- A *sīra* known as *sīra fī al-radd ‘alā ahl al-shakk*. The writer is unknown. This *sīra* was composed in response to those who harboured doubts about the people of Nahrawān, and attempts to explain why the latter had rejected the arbitration between ‘Alī and Mu‘āwiya.[57]

1C) The third stage is a collection of *siyar* which reflect the organization of the Ibāḍite movement and the communications between its centre in Basra and several other groups of Ibāḍites. It also illustrates political, theological and legal issues among Islamic sects. The third stage includes the following *siyar*:

xiv- A *sīra* from ‘Abdullāh b. Ibāḍ (the eponym of the Ibāḍiyyah) to ‘Abd al-Malik b. Marwān.[58] The first of two letters from Ibn Ibāḍ to ‘Abd al-Malik, this *sīra* is specifically about ‘Uthmān and Mu‘āwīya. As such, it is a well-known correspondence

and is considered to be one of the first Ibāḍite works that clarifies Ibāḍite thought as it stood in the 1st/7th century.[59]

xv- A *sīra* by Jābir b. Zayd (c.18-93).[60] Jābir is considered to be the first Ibāḍite leader in Basra. This *sīra* is mentioned only by the author of *Jāmi' ibn Ja'far* and has not yet been found.[61]

xvi- A *sīra* which records the sayings of Jābir b. Zayd. This *sīra* is known only from a quotation in the aforementioned *Jāmi' b. Ja'far*.[62]

xvii- A *sīra* by Abū 'Ubayda Muslim b. A. Karīma (d. probably 150s/765-775)[63] and Abū Ayyūb Wā'il b. Ayyūb al-Ḥaḍramī.[64] Abū 'Ubayda was the second Ibāḍite Imam who organized the Ibāḍite movement in Basra in *"al-Dawḥa"* after Jābir b. Zayd (21/641-93/711). Abū 'Ubayda and Abū Ayyūb, who was originally from Ḥaḍramawt, were regarded as third and fourth generation Ibāḍites respectively. This *sīra* talks about the nature of those human beings who insist on committing sins; as such it is considered to be the first Ibāḍite theological tract. The *sīra* explains the concept of the reward and punishment earned by human actions, pointing out that while the achievement of good deeds leads to paradise, people who insist on committing sins will reside permanently in the fires of Hell.[65]

xviii- A *sīra* by Abū 'Ubayda Muslim b. Abū Karīma and Abū Mawdūd Ḥājib b. Mawdūd al-Ṭa'āī to al-Faḍl b. Kaṯhīr. Abū Mawdūd died in Basra between 136/753 and 148?/765?, and certainly before Abū 'Ubayda in the 150s/760s.[66] He was also regarded as a second-generation Ibāḍite and one of the political organizers of the movement in Basra. This *sīra* discusses the Ibāḍite opinions on the theological issues of freewill and predestination.[67]

xix- A *sīra* by Abū 'Ubayda Muslim b. A. Karīma. This *sīra* consists of advice given to the followers of the Ibāḍite sect, encouraging them to continue their work and activities in a more discreet way.[68]

xx- A *sīra* in the form of a letter from Abū Mawdūd to Abū al-Ḥurr b. al-Ḥusayn. Abū al-Ḥurr, regarded as second generation, was a member of the Ibāḍite delegation that went to the Caliph 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz (99/717-101/720). This *sīra* throws light on the events which caused its author to leave Basra. He also recorded the problems that he encountered, such as fear and expulsion.[69]

xxi- A *sīra* by the Imam 'Abdullāh b. Yaḥyā (Ṭālib al-Ḥaqq) d.131/748. Ṭālib al-Ḥaq was the Ibāḍī leader of Yemen and Ḥaḍramawt who revolted against the Umayyad state in 129/746. This *sīra* has been mentioned by al-Barrādi, but has not yet come to light.[70] It is, perhaps, the sermon given by Ṭālib al-Ḥaqq when he occupied Yemen.[71]

xxii- A *sīra* from Maḥbūb b. al-Raḥīl[72] to the Imam 'Abdullāh b. Yaḥyā (Ṭālib al-Ḥaq). This *sīra* was written when Ṭālib al-Ḥaqq rebelled in Yemen. This *sīra* is recorded by al-Darjīnī.[73]

xxiii- A *sīra* by Abū Mawdūd Ḥājib b. Abū Mawdūd al-Ṭā'ī. This *sīra* is in the form of an invitation to the Ibāḍite people to organize themselves for *jihād* and revolution in order to establish the Imamate. As such it illustrates the fundamental Ibāḍite political thought: equality between the people and the principle of consultation or *shūrā.*[74]

xxiv- A *sīra* by Abū Ayyūb Wā'il b. Ayyūb al-Ḥaḍramī. This *sīra*, for which the author has chosen the title *Nasab al-Islām* ('The Genealogy of Islam'), is a summary of the main Islamic teachings. It also illustrates the Ibāḍite position on the doctrine of Divine Unity or *tawḥīd*. The *sīra* also refutes both anthropomorphism and the notion of the vision of Allah at the resurrection, but supports the idea that Islam combines both faith and deeds.[75]

xxv- A *sīra* by Sālim b. Dhakwān al-Hilālī. Ibn Dhakwān was also a member of the Ibāḍī delegation who went to the Caliph 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz (99/717-101/720). This *sīra* is considered to be the most important Ibāḍite document of the first half of the 2nd/8th century. Cook argues that it could be dated between 72/680 and 73/681.[76] This *sīra* discusses several ways in which Ibāḍite beliefs might be maintained. Additionally, it clarifies the differences in theological opinion between the Ibāḍites and other Islamic sects, specifically the Murji'ites. The *sīra* rejects all Khārijite opinions such as those of the Azāriqa, the Najdiyya and the Ṣufriyya and also their followers 'Aṭiyya b. 'Āmir, Abū Dāwūd and Abū Fudayk. It also expresses opinions on the issue of predestination, Divine decree and determining, and freewill.[77]

xxvi- A *sīra* from Abū 'Ubayda and Abū Mawdūd Ḥājib to the people of Maghrib [North Africa]. This is in the form of a letter to the Ibāḍite people of Tripoli [Libya], advising them to remain united and to eschew division and sectarianism.[78] A secondary aim of this *sīra* was to interpret three fundamental principles of the Islamic theology (*uṣūl al-dīn)* held by the Ibāḍites, namely: association (*wilāya*), dissociation (*barā'a*) and suspended judgement (*wuqūf*). The author advises the Ibāḍites to use the principle of *wuqūf* in the issue of the aforementioned murder.[79]

xxvii- A *sīra* in the form of a letter from Abū 'Ubayda Muslim b. Abū Karīma and Abū Mawdūd Ḥājib al-Ṭā'ī to the people of Oman. The date is unknown. This *sīra* was written and sent in order to quell the sedition in Oman caused by Qutayba b. Dirham and Sadūs b. Yūsuf, who had been responsible for buying a free man from Thābit b. Juhrī and enslaving him. This led the Ibāḍite *'ulamā'* to proclaim "dissociation" *barā'a*

from what they had done. This crisis demonstrated a lack of control in the internal affairs of Oman on the part of the authorities, and also led to confusion among the Ibāḍite scholars and certain tribes at that time. Internal evidence in the *sīra* points to its having been penned after the Imamate of al-Julandā b. Mas'ūd 134/750.[80]

xxviii- A *sīra* from Abū 'Ubayda to the Imam 'Abd al-Wahhāb b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān, the second Rustamid Imam of Tāhart (168/784-208/823), whose accession to power sparked off the Nukkar schism. This letter, which concerned the Imam's election, should be treated cautiously: if genuine, it provides a new *terminus a quo* for Abū 'Ubayda's death.[81] At the end of the document there are several passages on Koranic exegesis. In fact it is well-known that Abū 'Ubayda Muslim's death was in the 150s/770s, hence the doubts concerning the *sīra*'s authenticity. In this regard, compare the *sīra* from al-Rabī' b. Ḥabīb to the people of Maghrib (xxxiii).[82]

xxix- A *sīra* by Hilāl b. 'Aṭiyya al-Khurāsānī (d.134/751). Hilāl was a judge in the service of Imam al-Julandā b. Mas'ūd (132/749-134/751), hailing originally from Khurāsān. This *sīra* has yet to be found.[83]

xxx- A *sīra* by Khalaf b. Ziyād al-Baḥrānī ($2^{nd}/8^{th}$). Khalaf was among the companions of the Imam al-Julandā b. Mas'ūd (132/749-134/751). He was originally from Bahrain before coming to Oman and joining *al-Shūrā*, this word referring to the people who follow the idea of "selling" oneself in Allah's cause. He later became one of the leaders of *al-Shurāt*. His *sīra* outlines the underlying structure of *al-Shurāt* and illustrates Ibāḍite political and theological thought as it stood in the first half of $2^{nd}/8^{th}$ century. The particular issue discussed in this *sīra* is the unity of words and deeds. It also includes a response to the Khārijites, whom the author considers dissenters on account of the fact that they arrogated to themselves the authority to kill and take the properties of any Muslim who disagreed with their ideas.[84]

xxxi- A *sīra* by Shabīb b. 'Aṭiyya al-Khurāsānī. Shabīb was one of the army commanders of Imam al-Julandā bin Mas'ūd during the latter's fight against the Abbasids in 134/750. He was among the migrants from Khurāsān, although Ibn Baraka identifies him as an Omani.[85] He later lived in Oman, where he was known as a bursar or *Muḥtasib*, and where he collected taxes. He continued this work after the death of al-Julandā and up until shortly before the establishment of the Imamate of Muḥammad b. 'Abdullāh b. Abī 'Affān (177/793-179/795). Shabīb wrote this *sīra* after the death of Imam al-Julandā; we could consider this *sīra* to stem from the period 140/756-165/781. The *sīra* talks about a very important issue, namely that the faith includes a combination of both words and deeds. The writer also calls for *jihād* in order to affect a revolution

designed to re-stabilize the principles of early Islam, namely justice, equality and *shūrā*.[86]

xxxii- A *sīra* by Shabīb b. 'Aṭiyya to 'Abd al-Salām, a replication of *al-Shakkāk min al-Murji'a* [those who had doubted the righteousness of the people of Nahrawān people]. This *sīra* was written in the 160s/780s because Shabīb died before the establishment of Imam Muḥammad b. 'Abdullāh b. Abī 'Affān in 177/793.[87] The *sīra* shows the different theological positions obtaining in debates on Islamic issues at that time among the various Islamic sects. This *sīra* is a response to the Murji'ite stance on the issue of combining words and deeds. It also includes a reply to the *al-Shakkāk*, who claimed that 'Uthmān, 'Alī b. Abū Ṭālib and Mu'āwiya had made mistakes.[88]

xxxiii- A *sīra* from Rabī' b. Ḥabīb [75/694-175/792][89] to the *Maghrib* (North African) people. This *sīra* came in the form of a letter from the Imam al-Rabī' to the Ibāḍites of Tāhart, in southern Algeria, after they fell into disagreement and schism over the Imam 'Abd al-Wahhāb b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Rustam [171-208/788-824], the second Rustamid Imam. Al-Rabī' had supported the Imamate of 'Abd al-Wahhāb. However, at that time a conflict arose among the Ibāḍites, spearheaded by Yazīd b. Fandīn and his followers, who were known as al-Nukkār 'the deniers' as a result of their rejection of the Imam 'Abd al-Wahhāb.[90] Van Ess, however, does not accept that al-Rabī' had a role in this schism.[91]

xxxiv- A *sīra* by Mūsā b. Abī Jābir (d.181/797). He was one of four people who were *ḥamalat al-'ilm* (missionaries) from Basra to Oman; he was also one of the most influential people in the Imamate of Muḥammad b. 'Abdullāh b. Abī 'Affān al-Yaḥmadī (177-179/793-795) in Oman. Mūsā was *muftī* of Oman after Imam al-Julandā b. Mas'ūd until Imam Ghassān b. 'Abdullāh al-Fajḥī (192/808-207/823). This *sīra* is a political statement explaining the reasons behind the removal of the Imam Muḥammad b. 'Abdullāh b. Abī 'Affān from the Imamate. One of these reasons was his severity in running the country's affairs.[92]

1D) The fourth stage covers the *siyar* that were written during the Imamate of Ghassān b. 'Abdullāh al-Fajḥī (192-207/808-823) and 'Abd al-Malik b. Ḥumayd (208/823-226/841). The Imamate in Oman during their time was stronger because the Omanis succeeded in restoring the Imamate.

xxxv- The *sīra* of Abū Mawdūd Ḥabīb b. Ḥafṣ al-Hilālī. He is considered to have been an Ibāḍite scholar operating in Oman in the 2nd/8th century. This *sīra* is in the form of a letter of advice to the Imam Ghassān b. 'Abdullāh al-Fajḥī upon the latter's accession to

the Imamate. The author recommends that the Imam strengthen the Imamate in Oman by promoting justice and equality between the people.[93]

xxxvi- A *sīra* from Munīr b. Al-Nayyir al-Riyāmī al-Ja'lānī[94] to Imam Ghassān b. 'Abdullāh. Munīr was one of the aforementioned quartets of missionaries (*ḥamalat al-'ilm*) sent from Basra to Oman to help in the establishment of the Imamate in Oman after Imam al-Julandā was overthrown. This *sīra* is similar to the preceding one in that it advises its recipient by mentioning the righteousness of the Imams and the Ibāḍite *'ulamā'* who preceded him. The author also informs the Imam about a band of pirates who were attacking ships in the Gulf and the Indian Ocean. The pirates' latest atrocity was the slaughter of more than fifty people in the region between Basra and western Oman; no-one had been able to capture them. Consequently the Imam built the first fleet in Oman to destroy them a mission that was completed successfully during the Imamate of 'Abd al-Malik b. Ḥumayd (208/823-226/841). This in turn led to the expansion of the Imamate outside the Indian Ocean and helped to spread Ibāḍite thought in Asia and East Africa. As such, this is an extremely significant event in the history of Oman, signalling, as it does, approval of the independence of Oman from the Abbasid State.[95]

xxxvii- A *sīra* from Hāshim b. Ghaylān al-Sījānī to the Imam 'Abd al-Malik b. Ḥumayd (208/823-226/841). Hāshim was a powerful member of the *'ulamā'* during the Imamate of 'Abd al-Malik. In this *sīra* he answers some questions posed by the Imam about the battle of Ṣiffīn, but also about 'Alī, Mu'āwiya and the people of Nahrawān.[96]

xxxviii- A *sīra* from Hāshim b. Ghaylān al-Sigānī to Imam 'Abd al-Malik b. Ḥumayd. This *sīra* concerns the Qadriyya and the Murji'a sects, whose missionaries had established footholds in the cities of Sohar and Tuwām.[97] At this time the theological debates between the various Islamic sects was on the increase. Oman had become a main centre for the influx of new theological ideas since it was in close contact with the state capital, Baghdad. Ibāḍite thought comes into greater focus after the establishment of the Imamate in Oman and its independence from the Abbasid State.[98]

xxxix- A *sīra* addressed to Imam 'Abd al-Malik b. Ḥumayd from Hāshim b. Ghaylān, Muḥammad b. Mūsā, al-Azhar b. 'Alī, al-'Abbās b. al-Azhar, Mūsā b. Muḥammad, Mūsā and Muḥammad Ibnay, (the sons of) 'Alī and Sa'īd b. Ja'far. All of these scholars hailed from Izkī[99] in the 3rd/9th century. This *sīra* is in the form of a letter of advice to the Imam concerning some of the people around him.[100]

xxxx- A *sīra* addressed to Imam 'Abd al-Malik b. Ḥumayd from Mūsā b. 'Alī and Hāshim b. Ghaylān and the people of Izkī. In general, this *sīra* is very similar to the

preceding one, consisting as it does of advice to the Imam on the necessity of adherence to Islamic jurisprudence.[101]

xxxxi- A *sīra* from Mūsā b. 'Alī b. 'Uzra [177/784-230/845] to Imam 'Abd al-Malik b. Humayd. This *sīra* is a reply to the Imam concerning the issue of *jihād*. Mūsā was the grandson of Mūsā b. Abī Jābir and a student of Hāshim b. Ghaylān. He was a powerful figure in Oman at the end of the Imamate of 'Abd al-Malik b. Humayd, whom some of the Ibādite scholars wanted to remove from the Imamate because of his failure to run the affairs of the country successfully, and on account of his advancing years. Mūsā, however, was against the idea of isolating the Imam. His role increasing in importance during the Imamate of Muhannā b. Jayfar al-Fajhī [226/841-237/851] because he was considered among the *ahl al-hall wa'l-'aqd* 'those who lose and bind'.[102]

xxxxii- A *sīra* from Mūsā b. 'Alī to 'Abd al-Malik b. Humayd. In this *sīra*, Musā advises the Imam not to appoint certain men to the Imam's government. As such, this *sīra* demonstrates the role of the *'ulama'* in the first Imamate of Oman.[103]

xxxxiii- A *sīra* from Mūsā b. 'Alī to the *'ulamā'* and *al-shurāt*. This *sīra* consists in a statement addressed to Ibādī scholars from the *mufti*. It divides the people into three groups: unbelievers; Muslims; and ingrates *kuffar al-ni'am*. The relationship between the Ibādites and the non-Ibādites is clarified, and the concepts of *wilāya* and *barā'a*, which are a branch of *usūl al-dīn*, are discussed.[104]

1E) The fifth stage covers the *siyar* which appeared during the Imamate of Muhannā b. Jayfar al-Fajhī [226/841-237/851]. The Ibādī movement had at this point succeeded in extending the Islamic state. However, the Imamate of the Rustamids in North Africa was in a stronger position, especially after having established trade routes through the Sahara. They also exchanged opinions on theological issues such as the creation of the Koran. The *siyar* of this stage are:

xxxxiv- A *sīra* from Imam Muhannā b. Jayfar [226/841-237/851] to Mu'ādh b. Harb. Originally this was a letter from the Imam designed as a response to some *fatwās*. Ibn Ja'far notes that this *sīra* was written by the judge to the Imam Abū 'Alī Mūsā b. 'Alī (d. 237/851).[105] The Imam discusses issues related to various theological and legal positions held by the Ibādites. All of the responses outlined in this document reflect the basic differences which existed then between the Ibādites and the other Sunnites, and which still exist to this day. These differences are: rejection of the notion of Allah as a corporeal entity or 'thing'; opposition to the idea of man's ability to see Allah on the day of resurrection; rejection of the practice of raising the hands when commencing

prayer and clasping the hands over the abdomen during prayer, a phenomenon known as *sadal* or *isbāl*; and rejection of the idea that the name of Allah in the chapter known as *al-Fātiḥa* is not a part of it. There are also opinions included related to the *qunūt* during the prayer and the issue of truncated prayers during a journey. The Imam also was advised according to Ibāḍite ethics to forbid slavery. The only reason to allow slavery, it was claimed, was to invite the slave to Islam; otherwise slavery was prohibited.[106]

xxxxv- A *sīra* from Abū Sufyān Maḥbūb b. al-Raḥīl to Imam Muhannā b. Jayfar about Hārūn b. al-Yamān.[107] The author was the last Ibāḍī leader in Basra, and died at the beginning of the third century.

xxxxvi- A *sīra* from Abū Sufyān Maḥbūb b. al-Raḥīl to the people of Ḥaḍramawt concerning Hārūn b. al-Yamān.[108]

xxxxvii- A *sīra* from Hārūn b. al-Yamān to the Imam Muhannā b. Jayfar regarding Maḥbūb b. al-Raḥīl.[109]

The three *siyar* cited above help to explain in part Ibāḍite thought on Islamic theological issues such as anthropomorphism, the vision of Allah on the day of resurrection, and the doctrine which holds that the faith of Islam combines both words and deeds. These *siyar* are of great importance to those studying the dynamics and interaction of the various Islamic sects. The author of *Tuḥfat al-A'yān*[110] gives more information on these issues, stating that the people of Oman and Ḥaḍramawt followed Maḥbūb b. al-Raḥīl while the people of Yemen followed Hārūn b. al-Yamān, who was also a figure of al-Shu'aybiyya.[111]

xxxxviii- The *sīra* of *Da'wa*. The author is unknown and the *sīra* is known only from a quotation in Ibn Ja'far's *Jāmi'*.[112] It is possible to argue that the *sīra* was written at the end of 3rd/9th century, since it mentions the issue of Maḥbūb and Hārūn.

1F) The sixth stage covers those *siyar* dating from the Imamate of al-Ṣalt b. Mālik al-Kharūṣi [237/851-272/886]. At this time, Muḥammad b. Maḥbūb [260/874], son of the aforementioned Maḥbūb b. al-Raḥīl, had arrived in Oman. The centre of Ibāḍite thought in Iraq had come to an end, causing the Ibāḍites in general to split into two schools: the *Mashāriqa* or eastern Ibāḍites [in Oman, Yemen and East Africa] and the *Maghāriba* or North African Ibāḍites [in Libya, Tunis and Algeria]. The *siyar* of this stage are:

xxxxix- A *sīra* from Muḥammad b. Maḥbūb to Abū Ziyād Khalaf b. 'Udhra. This is in the form of a jurisprudential *fatwā*, based on Ibāḍite opinions concerning 'Uthmān, 'Alī and Mu'āwiya and the Nahrawān issue.[113]

l- A *sīra* from Imam al-Salt b. Mālik and Muḥammad b. Maḥbūb to Aḥmad b. Sulaymān, the Imam of Ḥaḍramawt [South of Yemen]. This *sīra* was addressed to the Ibāḍite people of Ḥaḍramawt who had fallen into dissent and schism, resulting in opposition on the part of some of them to the rule of the Imam. From this letter it appears that the root cause of the problem was the fact that the Imam of Ḥaḍramawt had abandoned *jihād*, the Friday prayer, and had sold some army equipment.[114]

li- A *sīra* from Muḥammad b. Maḥbūb to the people of *Maghrib* [North Africa]. Muḥammad wrote this *sīra* in response to questions posed by the North Africans concerning *zaka* [the fourth pillar in Islam], in particular with regard to whether *zaka* should be paid to a government which offered them no protection. Muḥammad advised them not to pay *zaka* to any government or person unless the conditions of protection were fulfilled. This *sīra* was intended only for the Ibāḍite people of Tripoli (Libya) because at that time the Imamate of the Rustamids was established in [171/788-297/909] in Tāhart [southern Algeria]. Not without justification can this *sīra* be considered tantamount to an invitation to the people to rise up in rebellion against the central state. The *sīra* also outlines reasons for rejecting belief in anthropomorphism.[115]

lii- A *sīra* from the people of *Maghrib* to Imam al-Salt b. Mālik. This is in the form of a letter defining the relationship of the Ibāḍites with other Islamic sects and with non-Muslims as well, especially with regard to the concepts of association (*wilāya*), dissociation (*barā'a)* and suspended judgement (*wuqūf*).[116]

liii- A *sīra* by Imam al-Salt b. Mālik. Others, however, attribute authorship of this *sīra* to Muḥammad bin Maḥbūb.[117] This *sīra* is in the form of a proclamation to the Omani army, despatched to the island of Socotra to wage a *jihād* against the Ethiopian Christians who had occupied it in the 3rd/9th century. The *sīra* outlines the Ibāḍite ethics of *jihād*. The Imam writes on correct conduct in warfare, and advises his army on how they should treat others, regardless of whether they are Muslim or Christian. In addition, this *sīra* documents the powerful role of the Imamate of Oman in the Indian Ocean.[118]

liv- A *sīra* from Imam al-Salt b. Mālik to Ghassān b. Khulayd, advising the latter, who was governor of the city of Rustāq, on certain points of state policy. It also includes guidelines on how Ibaḍites should treat non-Ibāḍite Muslims, the People of the Book, and non-Muslims.[119]

lv- A *sīra* by 'Azzān b. al-Saqar al-Yaḥmadī [d.268/882] on the creation of the Koran. 'Azzān was considered to be the first Ibāḍite scholar (*'ālim*) from the Banī Kharūṣ, and was among the students of Muḥammad b. Maḥbūb. This *sīra* is arguably the oldest surviving Islamic theological monograph dealing with the issue of the created or

uncreated nature of the Koran, written in refutation of those who held that the Koran was created in time. This led to a long debate among the *Mashāriqa* Ibaḍites, who, in the 8th/14th century, eventually adopted the belief that the Koran was created.[120] The Ibāḍite scholars of the *Maghrib* had already reached this conclusion. In principle, the Ibāḍite creed believes neither in anthropomorphism nor that the Koran was uncreated, holding that to believe that the Koran is uncreated is to accept another entity as co-eternal with Allah. It is the belief of al-Sālimī, however, that when this issue arrived in Oman during the reign of Imam Muhannā b. Jayfar, the Ibāḍī scholars took the position they did because they were afraid that the opinions of the Jahmites on this issue would cause unnecessary conflict among them. Compare this issue with the *sīra* (xxxviii).[121]

lvi- A *sīra* from Imam A. al-Yaqżān Muḥammad b. Aflaḥ, the fourth Rustamid Imam in Tāhart [208/823-258/871], to the people of Oman. This *sīra* includes an interpretation of the creation of the Koran question, with the Imam attempting to settle the issue among the *Maghrib* school once and for all; it also illustrates the exchange of knowledge between Ibāḍite schools. In particular this *sīra* formalizes the opinions of Ibāḍite theological thought on Divine Unity. This issue caused a schism among the Islamic sects known as the *fitnat khalq al-Qur'ān* between 198/813 and 232/847.[122]

lvii- A *sīra* known as *K. al-Radif wa Ḥudūth al-'ālam* by Abū al-Mundhir Bashīr b. Muḥammad b. Maḥbūb [273/887]. He studied with his father, Muḥammad b. Maḥbūb. The author has been considered to be among the earliest Ibāḍite scholars who wrote on the fundamentals of Islamic Jurisprudence (*uṣūl al-fiqh*). Some scholars call this *sīrat al-Mustā'naf* and it resembles a monograph on Islamic theology. It is worth noting that this *sīra* survives as the oldest Omani compilation of its type. It includes a complete account of *Mashāriqa* Ibāḍite theological opinions on divine unity. There are seven chapters: a discussion on creation and causality; Divine Unity; the rules of the Koran; the Divine names and attributes; the *Sunnah*; the duty to establish the Imamate; and the concepts of *dār al-islām* and *dār al-ḥarb*[123] and their rules.[124]

lviii- A *sīra* entitled *K. al-Muḥāraba* (Book of Warfare) by Abū al-Mundhir Bashīr b. Muḥammad b. Maḥbūb. This is also a monograph on the defensive war of *jihād*, and includes three chapters: the kinds of people who have the obligation to fight; a discussion of the concept of commanding good and prohibiting evil; and a discussion of the fight against oppressors. This *sīra* reveals two things about Omani history. Firstly it clarifies the relationship between the central power of the Ibāḍites in Oman with other Muslims and non-Muslims; and secondly, it shows a change towards greater sophistication on the part of the *sīra* writers when dealing with the state.[125]

The Second Period

The second period of Omani *siyar* contains those documents composed during the civil war. In 272/886, Imam al-Salt b. Mālik was removed from the Imamate, and Rāshid b. al-Nażar al-Fajhī installed in his place [272/886-277/890], with support from Mūsā b. Mūsā (the son of Mūsā b. 'Alī) and al-Fadl b. al-Hawārī. This episode destroyed the monolithic structure of the Omani community and the Ibādite movement after the end of the second and third generation of Ibādite scholars. This is seen by historians as something of a disaster in Omani history, with three main after-effects. First came the overthrow of Rāshid bin al-Nażar and the appointment of 'Azzān b. Tamīm al-Kharūsī to the Imamate [277/890-280/893]. This led to a civil war between the Arab clans of *Nazār* and *Qahtān*, bringing in its wake five major battles and the death of Mūsā b. Mūsā, al-Fadl b. al-Hawārī and Rāshid b. al-Nażar. Secondly, the first Imamate in Oman was destroyed by Muhammad b. Nūr [Ibn Būr or Thūr?], Abbasid governor of Bahrain, when he killed the Imam 'Azzān b. Tamīm in 280/893. Consequently, the Abbasids had gained dominance over Oman, followed by the Carmathians and then the Buyids. This heralded the start of a long period of foreign involvement in the internal affairs of the country. Thirdly, a schism occurred amongst the Omani Ibādite scholars, causing them to split along political and theological lines, resulting eventually in the foundation of three schools of political thought:

1- The *Rustāq* School. This faction supported Imam al-Salt b. Mālik and attacked those revolutionaries who were the root cause of Imam al-Salt b. Mālik being overthrown from the Imamate. Additionally, they were involved in fundamental discussions of the nature of the Ibādite Imamate. This school had a more active role in the Second Imamate of Oman.

2- The *Nizwā* School. This faction dissociated itself from the confrontation between the Imam al-Salt and the opposition. Scholars of this school tried to achieve a balance between all the different opinions on this issue in an attempt to reconcile all of the conflicting ideas.

3- The 'revolutionary' faction, whose views were expressed in arguments forwarded by individuals such as Mūsā b. Mūsā and al-Fadl b. al-Hawārī to oppose the Imam al-Salt.

This stage heralds a new approach in the style and method adopted by the writers of the *siyar* and other works. Obviously, during this stage the designation *siyar* was still used

although some of these works carried individual titles. In addition, the formats of the *siyar* in this stage were basically four-fold: letters between scholars; monographs; statements or proclamations; and *fatwās*. The later *siyar* display the conflicting arguments among all three parties about the aftermath of the overthrow of the Imam al-Ṣalt b. Mālik. These *siyar* cannot be limited only to the second Imamate of Oman, because they were continued by scholars who wrote, investigated and verified the opinions until the 7th/13th century. The *siyar* are also divided into three groups.[126]

2A) The Rustāq School

lix- *K. al-'āḥdāth wa al-ṣifāt* by Abū al-Mū'thir al-Ṣalt b. Khamīs al-Kharūṣī (d.278/891) who had been a student of Muḥammad b. Maḥbūb, and became a powerful figure who established the Rustāq school. This document is one of the earliest examples of the development of the *sīra* style towards the monograph format. In it, the author attempts to reply to those opposed to Imam al-Ṣalt by refuting opinions about the defects of the Imam. The importance of this *sīra* is that it provides a comprehensive outline of the Imamate system and the essential qualities which an Imam ought to have.[127]

lx- *K. al-bayān wa al-burhān fī al-radd 'alā man qāla bi al-Shāhidayn* by Abū al-Mū'thir al-Ṣalt b. Khamīs al-Kharūṣī. It is clear that the author wrote this *sīra* after *K. al-āḥdāth wa 'l-ṣifāt* because of the references he makes to it. This *sīra* deals with the defects and mistakes of the opposition, and the fundamental error they are deemed to have made in championing Rāshid b. al-Naẓar as future Imam. He discusses only one argument of those witnesses (*shāhidayn*) who elected the Imam. The author lists the points of his opponents and refutes them in turn. In this *sīra* the polemic dogma of Ibāḍī theology shows that it is consonant with the theology and politics of general Islamic thought.[128]

lxi- A *sīra* by Abū al-Mū'thir al-Ṣalt b. Khamīs al-Kharūṣī. This *sīra*, which was written in the early part of the second half of 3rd/9th century; includes Ibāḍite opinions on various Islamic theological issues and insights into the Ibāḍite stance on other Islamic sects. It also reveals to the reader the opinions of the *Mashāriqa* Ibāḍites. It comprises twelve chapters, discussing the theological issues among Islamic sects then current as follows: a discussion on the Jahmites and the Jabrites; a discussion on the Qadarites; a chapter on Divine Unity; a chapter on the concept of Divine Decree and Determining (*qaḍā wa qadar*); a chapter on the unity of the Divine names and attributes; a discussion

on the issue of fighting dissenters; a chapter on the diversity of the Prophet's companions; a discussion of the Islamic sects, the Imams among the Prophet's companions and those who came after them; a chapter on obedience to those in authority and the unlawfulness of disobedience; and a discussion on association and dissociation. This *sīra* contains in addition the opinions of Abū Mālik Ghassān b. al-Khadar, who succeeded Abū al-Mū'thir in the same school. One should perhaps exercise caution when citing them, for many writers have added the opinions of other scholars, resulting in some confusion between their identities and opinions.[129]

lxii- A *sīra* in the form of a letter from Abū al-Mū'thir al-Salt b. Khamīs to Abū Jābir Muhammad b. Ja'far [3rd/9th], a powerful figure in the Nizwā school. Both of them were taught by Muhammad b. Mahbūb. In this missive, Abū al-Mū'thir castigates his friend for supporting the opposition and advises him to eschew dissent. From this *sīra*, the influence of Omani political thought among the scholarly class during the aftermath of the overthrow of Imam al-Salt appears very clearly.[130]

lxiii- A *sīra* by Abū al-Mundhir Bashīr b. Muhammad b. Mahbūb [273/887] entitled *fi al-hadath al-wāqi' bi 'Umān*. Bashīr was the son of Muhammad b. Mahbūb and also contributed to the field of fundamentals of Islamic jurisprudence (*usūl al-fiqh*) with works such as *al-Bustān, al-Raddaf wa hudūth al-'alām* (on Divine Unity, lvii) and *K. al-Khuzāna*, in 70 volumes. Abū al-Mundhir was somewhat less fanatically in disagreement with the opposition than Abū al-Mū'thir. In this *sīra* he attempts to respond to the arguments and opinions of the revolutionary faction. The writer also endeavours to evaluate the causes of the civil war in Oman.[131]

lxiv- A *sīra* by Abū al-Mundhir Bashīr b. Muhammad b. Mahbūb. This *sīra* is a short *fatwā* encapsulating his opinion on the civil war.[132]

lxv- A *sīra* by Abū al-Mundhir Bashīr b. Muhammad b. Mahbūb, consisting of an abridgement of a book of his that remains otherwise unknown. The *sīra* is in the form of a *fatwā* produced in response to questions concerning the downfall of Imam al-Salt. The *sīra* adopts a narrative style, outlining the story of the Imam's fall from power, and the accession of his replacement, Rāshid b. al-Nażar. Bashīr was able to adopt a comfortable, credible narrative style on account of the fact that he was a contemporary of those who deposed Imam al-Salt.[133]

lxvi- A *sīra* by Abū Qahtān Khālid b. Qahtān. Abū Qahtān was considered one of the Ibādite scholars operating in the first half of 4th/10th century. He wrote *Jāmi' Abū Qahtān*, most of which has been lost. This *sīra* has numerous references to the Omani history of that time. The author, after rejecting the opinions of the opposition, and

especially those of Mūsā b. Mūsā, introduces two topics. Firstly, he deals with the internal conflicts in Oman after the civil war and the invasion of Muḥammad b. Nūr. Secondly, he looks at the Imams who took power during the confrontation in Oman, concentrating in particular on the rule of the Carmathians. The *sīra* also includes a quotation from a letter written by Imam al-Ṣalt b. Mālik to Muḥammad b. Sinjah explaining in it the opposition's plans to depose him from the Imamate.[134]

lxvii- A *sīra* in the form of a letter from Abū Qaḥtān Khālid b. Qaḥtān to al-Azhar b. Muḥammad b. Ja'far, who succeeded his father in the Nīzwā School. This *sīra* was a missive from the leader of one dogmatic school in the early 4th/10th century to another, and as such is similar in style and format to *sīra* [lxii]. It differs, however, in that Abū Qaḥtān gives the opinions of some scholars of the Rustāq school in addition to those of his father.[135]

lxviii- A *sīra* in the form of a letter from Mālik b. Ghassān b. Khulayd to Abū 'Abdullāh Muḥammad b. Rawḥ [first half of 4th/10th]. In it, the author records some of the opinions of Omani scholars on the subject of the civil war. He also repeats the news of the civil war and the aftermath of the overthrow of Imam al-Ṣalt. It is clear from the information proffered in this *sīra* that Abū al-Ḥawārī al-Faḍl b. al-Ḥawārī supported Rāshid b. al-Naẓar and Mūsā b. Mūsā and died in battle against Imam 'Azzān b. Tamīm, although this *sīra* reveals different opinions to those of Abū al-Ḥawārī, which are very similar to those of the Rustāq school.[136]

lxix- A *sīra* by Abū Muḥammad 'Abdullāh b. Baraka [4th/10th]. Ibn Baraka was one of the famous jurists and exponents of the fundamentals of Islamic law, and his book *Jāmi' Ibn Baraka* is considered one of the earliest books of import on this subject in the *Mashāriqa* school.[137] His teachers were the Imam Sa'īd b. 'Abdullāh b. Muḥammad b. Maḥbūb and Abū Mālik Ghassān b. al-Khaḍar. This school had a greater role in the Second Imamate of Oman. Ibn Baraka also authored many other works, including *al-Taqyīd, al-Ta'āruf, al-Mubtadā' and al-Aqlyīd.*[138] During Ibn Baraka's time, Abū Sa'īd Muḥammad b. Sa'īd al-Kudamī [305-355/917-966] appeared from the Nizwā school and was called by Eastern Omani scholars *Imām al-Maḍhhab*. Although both men were jurists of equal standing, they disagreed about the ousting of Imam al-Ṣalt, and both founded schools and sought logical evidence with which to refute other rival schools. Abū Sa'īd al-Kudamī also attempted to reconcile opinions on this issue and he had a greater success in his book *K. al-Istiqāma* in finding a solution to satisfy all those parties considering this problem. This *sīra* was a reply to an anonymous petitioner who had asked for advice on this issue. The author in this *sīra* confirms the logical evidence

for rejecting the Nizwā school. This *sīra* shows that Ibn Baraka sent to his friend to refute Abū Sa'īd's opinions.[139]

lxx- A *sīra* entitled *K. al-Muwāzana* (Equilibrium) by Ibn Baraka. This *sīra* is in the form of a monograph in which the author has tried to balance all the points on this issue – hence the title – but in which he is unable to hide the fanaticism inherent in his party. The distinctive thing about this *sīra* is that it illustrates the author's excellence in the fundamentals of jurisprudence.[140]

lxxi- A *sīra* by Ibn Baraka. This *sīra* is a *fatwā* which reveals the scholarly opinions of his teacher, Abū Mālik Ghassān b. al-Khadar, about Imam al-Salt.[141]

lxxii- A *sīra* entitled *al-sū'āl fī al-hadath al-wāqi' bi 'Umān* or, alternatively, *sīra hijjaha 'ala man ābtala al-sū'āl fī al-hadath al-wāqi' bi 'Uman* by Abū al-Hasan 'Alī b. al-Hasan al-Bisyāwī (al-Bisyāni) [the end of the 4th/10th]. Abū al-Hasan was a student of Ibn Baraka and was greatly influenced by the opinions of his teacher. He wrote many books, the most famous being *Jāmi' Abū al-Hasan al-Bisyāwī*, summarised as *Mukhtasar* (summary) *al-Bisyāwī*.[142] The author considers the critical approach to be the basic principle of studying the creed; only then should one attempt to seek the truth. This is because the truth does not come without searching for it and linking it to his analytical endeavours.[143]

lxxiii- A *sīra* by Abū Hasan al-Bisyāwī in the form of a reply to one Muhammad b. Sa'īd - most probably Abū Sa'īd Muhammad b. Sa'īd al-Kudamī [4th/10th]. It would appear that this *sīra* was written on the order of his teacher Ibn Baraka because of the rivalry and conflict among the schools.[144]

lxxiv- A *sīra* by an anonymous author, written in the form of a letter to one Abū 'Alī. Internal evidence suggests that it was written after the *sīra* of Abū al-Hasan al-Bisyāwī and at the end of 5th/11th century. The recipient would appear to be Abū 'Alī al-Hasan b. Ahmad al-Hijārī [d.502/1108]. The author of the *sīra* advised Abū 'Alī to retain his allegiance to his school and stay firm in his opinions on the issue.[145]

lxxv- A *sīra* in the form of a *fatwā*; both author and recipient(s) are unknown. The edict was written in response to questions submitted concerning the opinions and views of the Rustāq school.[146]

2B): Nizwā School

lxxvi- A *sīra* by al-Azhar b. Muhammad b. Ja'far [the end of 3rd/9th and the beginning 4th/10th]. Al-Azhar was the son of Ibn Ja'far, author of the seminal jurisprudential work, *Jāmi' Ibn Ja'far*, one of the earliest compilations to reach us from the school of the

Mashāriqa Ibāḍites. Ibn Ja'far was among the scholars who established the Nizwā school, and he became the most powerful figure in it. Al-Azhar succeeded his father in the Nizwā School. This *sīra* is a statement issued by al-Azhar advising the Omani people to remain calm and to stay neutral with regard to the debate concerning the removal from the Imamate of Imam al-Ṣalt b. Mālik. The beginning of the *sīra* includes the opinions on this issue of Omani scholars such as the author's father and Abū al-Mū'thir.[147]

lxxvii- A *sīra* in the form of a letter from Abū 'Abdullāh Muhammad b. Rawḥ b. 'Arabī [the end of 3rd/9th] to Abū Muḥammad 'Abdullāh b. Muḥammad b. Maḥbūb (a member of the Rustāq school and father of the Imam Sa'īd b. 'Abdullāh). Both author and recipient were considered first generation scholars of their respective schools. This *sīra* was written after the death in battle of the Imam 'Azzān b. Tamīm 280/893 and describes the reaction of the powerful figures to the Imam's demise. This *sīra* is of some significance because Ibn Rawḥ has collected the opinions of all the people who participated in the discussions and sought a reasonable explanation for the Imam's overthrow.[148]

lxxviii- A *sīra* from A. 'Abdullāh b. Muḥammad b. Rawḥ to 'Umar b. Muḥammad b. 'Umar. This document is a *fatwā* dealing with the concepts of association (*wilāya*) and dissociation (*barā'a*).[149]

lxxix- A *sīra* by Abū 'Abdullāh b. Muḥammad b. Rawḥ. This is a *fatwā* on the removal from office of Imam al-Ṣalt. Ibn Rawḥ stresses the idea that the root of the creed must be based on knowledge, which is the only way to the truth.[150]

lxxx- A *sīra* from A. al-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. Abī al-Ḥasan to Muḥammad b. Sinjah [the end of 3rd/9th]. This *sīra* was a *fatwā*, so A. al-Ḥasan has explained in his *sīra* that removing Imam al-Ṣalt should not be considered a theological matter but mainly a matter of public opinion.[151]

2C- The 'revolutionary faction', namely those in support of Imam Rāshid b. al-Nażar and Mūsā b. Mūsā:

lxxxi- A *sīra* attributed to al-Faḍl b. al-Ḥawārī [3rd/9th] who is considered to be one of the scholars who caused the civil war in Oman. In addition he was also a member of the great influential *'ulama'*, the *ahl al-ḥall wa al-'aqad*. In this *sīra* he expresses his ideas about supporting the Imamate of Rāshid b. al-Nażar, and the reasons for removing Imam al-Ṣalt b. Mālik and opposing Imam 'Azzān b. Tamīm.[152]

lxxxii- A *sīra* in letter form from al-Fadl b. al-Hawārī to Rāshid b. al-Nażar. This *sīra* attempts to prove that the recipient was elected to the Imamate through the proper procedures. It also documents the reasons for ousting Imam al-Salt b. Mālik.[153]

The Third Period

The third period of the Omani *siyar*, includes those texts which were written between the years 320/923 to 549/1154 during the period of the second Imamate of Oman. The distinctive characteristics of this period of Omani history are illustrated in the following:

1- The interference of foreign forces in Oman. The first example of this was the Abbasid State (280/893-320/922), followed by the Carmathians, who attempted on three occasions to seize and occupy Oman by sending three invading armed expeditions. The first invasion, headed by Abū Sa'īd al-Jinābī, came in 294/905-906, the second in 305/917, and the third and largest campaign, spearheaded by Abū Tāhir al-Jinābī, occurred in 318/930; this occupation continued until 375/985. During the 57 years of the third Carmathian occupation, the Buyids also sent three expeditions: the first in 354/965, the second a year later, and the third in 363/973 after the revolution and election of the new Imam in Oman. The final foreign invasion was that of the Saljūqs in the 5th/11th century; they remained in Oman almost 80 years. However, these foreign invasions gained only partial control over Oman until the end 4th/10th century.

2- The navy in Oman grew and merchants flourished. The Omani cities thrived and consequently attracted even more commercial trade. Sohar (Suhār) was described at that time in the following terms: "The capital is Sohar which is on the sea; here reside many sea merchants who trade in ships with other countries. It is the most popular and wealthy town in Oman and it is not possible to find on the shore of the Persian Sea nor in all the land of Islam a city more rich in fine buildings and foreign wares than Sohar".[154] Oman produced several commodities which played a significant role in traditional Asian trade: dates and dried fruits; horses; copper from the mountains; and ambergris from the seashore. Sohar's importance stemmed principally from its part in the trade of luxuries and spices between the Far East and India on the one hand and the Near East and Europe on the other.[155] Other ports of the Omani coast such as Damā,[156] Sur and Qalhāt[157] had a special role to play in this

trade. Certainly, the trade influenced Omani community life through the interaction with the outside world and other civilizations overseas.

3- The Imamate in Oman was weakened by the confrontation inside the country and was not able to regain the strength enjoyed by the previous Imamate. Consequently most of the Imams employed the policy of *difā'* (defence) rather than *żuhūr* (open manifestation).

Significantly, there was also flexibility with regard to the community as a whole. *Masālik al-Dīn*, or the ways or stages of religion, referred to the four possible relationships between the Ibāḍites, the rest of the Islamic lands and the world as a whole. These were allowed to exist under virtually any circumstances. These were: *żuhūr*, open manifestation of the Imamate; *difa'*, militarily defensive and restricted Imamate; *shirā*, literally "selling" oneself in Allah's cause, namely in open opposition to tyranny; and *kitmān*; concealment, or lapse of the Imamate under impossible conditions.

The *siyar* documented below show that the Rustāq and Nizwā schools continued in the same style among the Omani scholars during this time. The Rustāq School had greater influence in appointing the Imams. At times, the rival schools appointed different Imams at the same time, causing conflicts and occasional wars between the Imams and scholars. The following *siyar* are divided according to certain periods.

3A- The period between the Imamate of Abū al-Qāsim Sa'īd b. 'Abdullāh [320/932-328/940] and the Imamate of al-Khalīl b. Shādhān [407/1016-425/1033].

lxxxiii- A *sīra* from Abū Ibrāhīm Muḥammad b. Sa'īd b. Abū Bakr al-Azkāwī to al-Ḥawārī b. 'Uthmān. I have not found a biography for the author but al-Ḥawārī was a figure of the Omani *'ulamā'* at the end of 3rd/9th and the beginning of 4th/10th century.[158]

lxxxiv- A *sīra* in letter form from Abū al-Ḥawārī Muḥammad b. al-Ḥawārī b. 'Uthmān [the end of 3rd/9th century to the beginning of 4th/10th century] to Abū 'Abdullāh, Abū 'Āmir, Abū Yūsuf Muḥammad b. 'Abdullāh, Aḥmad b. Sulaymān, Muḥammad b. 'Umar and Abd al-Raḥmān b. Yūsuf, and the people of Ḥadramawt. Abū al-Ḥawārī was regarded as one of the most famous Omani authors at the end of the 3rd/9th century. He wrote *Tafsīr khamsa mi'at Ayah,* an exegesis of five hundred legal verses from the Koran, and *Jāmi 'Abū al-Ḥawārī*. This *sīra* was a response to questions asked about the Julandānis [the Royal family in Oman until 83/702][159] who revolted against Imam 'Abd

al-Malik b. Humayd and Imam al-Muhannā b. Jayfar in order to seize power. Questions were also asked about the wealth of oppressors.[160]

lxxxv- A *sīra* from Abū 'Abdullāh Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan to Abū al-Qāsim 'Umar b. al-Qāsim b. al-Yamān. Ibn Ja'far preserves it in part. The *sīra* appears to be a legal edict, written in response to questions posed by Abū al-Qāsim.[161]

lxxxvi- A *sīra* in letter form from Imam Abū al-Qāsim Sa'īd b. 'Abdullāh [320/931-328/940], grandson of Muḥammad b. Maḥbūb, to Yūsuf b. Wajīh, the Emir of Oman. In it, the Imam writes about the war ethics of the Ibāḍite. When the Imam gained a victory in Nizwā, a soldier looted the padlock on Yūsuf b. Wajīh's door. The Imam had the soldier arrested and forced him to return the padlock to Ibn Wajīh, on the grounds that it is prohibited to take any Muslim property.[162]

lxxxvii- A *sīra* from Abū 'Abdullāh Muḥammad b. Zā'ida (or Ziyād?) [the first half of 4th/10th century] to Abū Ibrāhīm Muḥammad b. Sa'īd b. Abū Bakr al-Azkāwī. The author was among those scholars who elected the Imam Abū al-Qāsim Sa'īd b. 'Abdullāh.[163]

lxxxviii- A *sīra* of Abū al-Ḥasan al-Bisyāwī concerning Imam Ḥafṣ b. Rāshid's war with al-Muṭahir b. 'Abdullāh. Al-Muṭahir was the leader of a Buyid military campaign to Oman, which, according to Ibn al-Athir, had been sent by 'Uḍad al-Dawlah in the year 363/974.[164] Imam Ḥafṣ b. Rāshid [455/1063-472/1079] is not mentioned in the Omani sources of the time [165]; according to al-Sālimī, it is possible that the Imam Ḥafṣ b. Rāshid was perhaps a son of the Imam Rāshid b. Sa'īd [425/1033-455/1063]. This *sīra* looks at three points. Firstly, Imam Ḥafṣ b. Rāshid came to the Imamate after Imam Rāshid b. al-Walīd [328/940-342/954] and also added a new Imam of Oman to the record because Abū al-Ḥasan al-Bisyāwī appears in the 5th/11th century while Imam Ḥafṣ appears in the 4th/10th. Secondly, the Imam was appointed to the Imamate twice, and Abū al-Ḥasan seems to doubt Ḥafṣ b. Rāshid's first Imamate. The third point was that the revolution in Oman against the Buyids took place because the Omanis wanted independence. This *sīra* is valuable because it recorded the period between Imam Rāshid b. al-Walīd and Imam al-Khalīl b. Shāḍhān [407/1016-425/1033].[166]

lxxxix- A *sīra* entitled *fī al-Tawḥīd wa al-Imāma kayf hiya* (On Divine Unity and the Imamate: a commentary) by Abū al-Ḥasan al-Bisyāwī at the end of 4th/10th century. This *sīra* is a treatise on the creeds and dogmas of the various Islamic sects. It also alludes to the differences between the Ibāḍite creed and other creeds of Islam such as the Khārijites, Murji'a, Qadariyya and Mushabihite (anthropomorphists).[167]

xc- A *sīra* from Abū al-Ḥasan al-Bisyāwī to an unknown missionary in Ḥaḍramawt. In it, Abū al-Ḥasan offers his opinion to the people of Ḥaḍramawt concerning their enquiry about pawning property. It also reveals that the Imamate in Ḥaḍramawt was in the state of Imamate known as *difā'* (defence).[168]

3B) In 407/1016 the Imamate of *żuhūr* (manifest Imamate) had appeared in Oman after the accession of al-Khalīl b. Shādhān, who was the grandson of Imam al-Ṣalt b. Mālik. The Imamate was powerful, expanding overseas because of the thriving maritime commerce of Oman at that time. These improvements in fortune had spread to other Ibāḍite groups, especially those in East Africa, on the Indian coastline, in the Ḥaḍramawt and in Yemen. This became obvious during the Imamate of Rāshid b. Sa'īd al-Yaḥmadī.

xci - A *sīra* from Mūsā b. Aḥmad, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad, al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad, 'Umar b. Muḥammad and Rāshid b. Muḥammad to Abū 'Abdullāh Muḥammad b. Ṣulhām [the Minister of Imam al-Khalīl b. Shādhān]. In this *sīra*, a group of Omani scholars complain to the Minister about the corruption of some of the Imam's governors, who do not appear by name.[169]

xcii- A *sīra* in the form of a letter written by Abū al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad [judge to Imam al-Khalīl b. Shādhān] addressed to an unknown person. Internal evidence suggests that the judge penned this *sīra* in response to the above letter of complaint (xci).[170]

xciii- A *sīra* to the people of Khwārizm. This *sīra*, written in 4th/10th century, was a letter from the people of Oman to their co-religionists in Khwārizm, explaining the Omani opinions on certain theological issues, especially those of (*wilāya*) association and (*barā'a*) dissociation. [171]

xciv- A *sīra* to the people of Khurāsān. This is a letter written by a group of Omani scholars in 4th/10th -5th/11th century, including an exposition of the general principles of the Islamic faith.[172]

xcv- A *sīra* by Abū al-Mundhir Salma b. Muslim al-'Awtabī [late 5th/11th to early 6th/12th century]. Salma has been considered primarily an Omani historian, although he also wrote the 24-volume *al-Diyā* on Islamic jurisprudence, *al-Ansāb* on genealogy, and *al-'Ibāna* on the Arabic language. This *sīra* constitutes a commentary on *Takālīf al-Sharī'a.*[173]

xcvi- A *sīra* from Abū al-Mundhir Salma b. Muslim al-'Awtabī to 'Alī b. 'Alī and his brother, al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī, after the conflict between them in Kilwa [a city on the East

African coast] had escalated. This *sīra* throws some light on the role of Omani scholars in East Africa.[174]

xcvii- A *sīra* bearing the title *al-sū'āl fī al-wilāya wa al-barā'ā* [Questions Concerning Association and Dissociation] by an unknown writer. This *sīra* was probably written in 5th/11th century, and appears in some sources as *K. al-Salh*. The *sīra* reviews opinions concerning the Caliph 'Uthmān b. 'Affān, Mu'āwīya b. A. Sufyān and Yazīd b. Mu'āwīya, among others. It also discusses the causes of dissociation (*barā'ā*) in Islam.[175]

xcviii- A *sīra* by an unknown writer with no title. Based on the style and tenor of the *sīra*, it seems to have been written in the 5th/11th century, most likely by an author from the Rustāq school. The significance of the *sīra* lies in its coverage of the events of the civil war, and its lucid attempt to define the concepts of association and dissociation.[176]

xcix- A *sīra* entitled *al-Wilāya wa al-barā'a* (association and dissociation). This treatise was written in 512/1118 by Yūsuf b. Sa'īd b. Yūsuf al-'Umānī, probably for the Nizwā School. In the *sīra* the author calls for unity and harmony among them and to avoid the kind of disputes which led to the civil war.[177]

c- A *sīra* by Imam Rāshid b. Sa'īd al-Yahmadī concerning Imam al-Salt b. Mālik, Mūsā b. Mūsā and Rāshid b. al-Nażar. This *sīra* comes in the form of a manifesto, issued by the Imam and a group of influential people after they had convened in Sūny [at present al-'Awābī] village on Thursday 14th of Shawwal 443 (17th of March 1052). This *sīra* is an expression of the most important attempt to find a solution to the splits and differences of opinion responsible causing the civil war. Unanimously, the signatories to the manifesto declare in no uncertain terms that the absolute blame for the civil war must lie with Mūsā b. Mūsā, who supported the overthrow of al-Salt b. Mālik. The scholars who put their signatures to this document are listed as: Abū 'Alī Mūsā b. Ahmad b. Muhammad b. 'Alī; Abū Al-Hasan 'Alī b. 'Umar; Abū Bakr Ahmad b. Muhammad; Abū 'Abdullāh Muhammad b. Khālid; Abū 'Alī al-Hasan b. Sa'īd b. Quraysh; Abū Hamza al-Mukhtār b. 'Isā; Abū 'Abdullāh Muhammad b. Tamām and Abū al-Nażar Rāshid b. al-Qāsim.[178]

ci- A collection of three *siyar*[179] from Imam Rāshid b. Sa'īd to his governors:

1) Abū al-Ma'ālī Muhammad b. Qahtān b. al-Qāsim, on his election to the post of governor of Sohar.

2) Abū Muhammad 'Abdullāh b. Sa'īd, on his election to the post of governor of Manah.

3) Mūsā b. Nijād, on his election to the post of governor of Manah, Adam and Sināw.

These *siyar* were basically statements outlining the administrative policy of the Imamate, including the Imam's own special orders to his governors to always be on their best behaviour, to foster equality among the people under their jurisdiction, and to refrain from injustice and cruelty. These documents are, therefore, predominantly ethical in tone and tenor.

cii- A *sīra* from Imam Rāshid b. Sa'īd al-Yaḥmadī to the people of Manṣūra, the capital of Sind, written to enlighten its recipients with regard to Ibāḍite opinions on various issues of Islamic theology. This *sīra* mentions the Ibāḍī scholars Abū al-'Abbās b. Murayj, al-Muhnnad b. Sadhā and Abū 'Abdullāh b. Muḥammad b. Barūzān in this region. This *sīra* is of value because it adds to our information on the evolution of Ibāḍite thought in South Asia. It also throws light on the role of the Second Omani Imamate in the Indian Ocean.[180]

ciii- A *sīra* entitled *Tawba* [Repentance] for the Imam Rāshid b. 'Alī [471/1078-513/1119] written by his judge A. 'Alī al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad b. Naṣr al-Hijārī [472/1079]. This *sīra* was written on 11th of Rabī' II 472 (10th of October 1079). In it, the Imam expresses remorse and shows penitence for the behaviour of his governor, Mūsā b. Nijād al-Manaḥī. The *sīra* carries the signatures of the following witnesses: Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. 'Umar b. Abū Jābir; Abū Jābir Muḥammad b. 'Umar; 'Alī b. Dāwūd and 'Abdullāh b. Isḥāq al-Minqalī.[181]

civ- A *sīra* from Abū 'Abdullāh Muḥammad b. 'Isā al-Sarrī to Imam Rāshid b. 'Alī. In this *sīra*, Abū 'Abdullāh replies to the Imam after being asked about his repentance in 501/1107. In principle this work discusses exhaustively the link between repentance and the right way, followed by the need for consistency between repentance and deeds.[182]

cv- A *sīra* composed by Abū 'Abdullāh Muḥammad b. 'Isā al-Sarrī for the Imam Rāshid b. 'Alī. This *sīra* advises the Imam about various issues in Islamic ethics, including: the duties and responsibilities of the Imam: the relationship between the Imam and those whom he rules based on *shūrā*; and the circumstances in which the Imam is justified in resorting to military action inside the country.[183]

cvi- A *sīra* entitled *fī al-farq bayn al-Imām al-'ālim wa ghayr al-'ālim* (The differences between the learned Imam and the unlearned Imam) by Abū 'Abdullāh Muḥammad b. 'Isā al-Sarrī [d.472/1079]. It appears that this *sīra* was written after the appearance of Imams who were intellectually weaker than their predecessors. However, the document has an overtly political flavour, being for the most part a set of guidelines for potential governors in the Islamic state. Three main topics are addressed: the status of the Imam if

in doubt or suspicion; the characteristics required of an Imam; and the manner in which an Imam ought to discharge his judicial or legislative duties.[184]

cvii- A *sīra* from Abū Zakariyā Yaḥyā b. Sa'īd b. Quraysh al-Hijārī [d.502/1108] to 'Abdullāh b. Muḥammad b. Ṭālūt. Abū Zakariyā has been regarded amongst the most famous Ibāḍite scholars and writers of the 5th/11th century. His *magnum opus* was the 5-volume work of jurisprudence, *K. al-Īḍāḥ fī al-aḥkām*, although he also wrote *K. al-Imāma* on the office of the Imamate. This *sīra* refutes Ibn Ṭālūt's criticisms of the Imamate. It is not clear in the *sīra* who the Imam was, although it was possibly written during the Imamate of either Ḥafṣ b. Rāshid [455/1054-472/1079] or of Rāshid b. 'Alī [472/1079-513/1119]. The end of the *sīra* is missing.[185]

cviii- A *sīra* from Abū Zakariyā Yaḥyā b. Sa'īd b. Aḥmad [d.472/1079] to Abū 'Abdullāh Muḥammad and Abū Bakr Aḥmad Ibny, the sons of al-Na'mān b. Muḥammad, and the people of Ḥaḍramawt. This *sīra* is a response to their opinions concerning various issues in Ḥaḍramawt. From the contents of the *sīra* it is apparent that the people of Ḥaḍramawt had encountered certain problems with other sects at the end of 5th/11th century, when Ibāḍite thought in Ḥaḍramawt had started to decline. The Ibāḍites of Ḥaḍramawt thus wanted advice on how to save their sect. The significance of this particular *sīra* lies in the fact that the author counsels the people of Ḥaḍramawt to have recourse to dissimulation (*taqiya*) whenever they are afraid for their sect – a remarkable piece of advice given the fact that the practice of dissimulation had never hitherto been particularly encouraged in Ibāḍite thought.[186]

cix- A *sīra* of Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. 'Umar al-Manaḥī [d. 496/1103]. This *sīra* is a *fatwā* concerning the issue of election to the Imamate. Its main thrust is that if a candidate for leadership enjoys the informal acceptance and support of the people already, he does not need to be elected formally to the Imamate. In all of the collections, this *sīra* is found immediately after the *sīra* (lxxxviii). Al-Sālimī is of the opinion that this *fatwā* pertains to the election to the Imamate of Ḥafṣ b. Rāshid.[187]

cx- A *sīra* by Nijād b. Mūsā b. Nijād al-Manaḥī[d.513/1119] who was the son of Mūsā b. Nijād and the grandfather of Imam Mūsā b. Abū al-Ma'ālī b. Mūsā b. Nijād [594/1197-597/1200]. This family played a prominent role in the Rustāq school. Mūsā wrote *K. al-'akilla fi ḥaqā'iq al-ādila*. The *sīra* is a theological monograph written to refute the *Risālat al-isti'dād fī mā lā yasa' al-mukalaf jahlahu* by Ibn al-Tāj, a treatise of Ash'arite dogma. The Ibāḍite scholars were concerned at the time with the theological debates taking place among the various Islamic sects.[188]

cxi- A *sīra* in the form of an *āṯhar* [tradition] and letters from the spokesman of the people of Nizwā, Abū Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Walīd [6th/12th]. The Nizwān provenance of this *sīra* seems assured since all the *fatwās* included are from the Nizwā school, most of these being extracts and citations from other *siyar* such as the *sīra* of Muḥammad b. Rawḥ.[189]

cxii- A *sīra* entitled *K. al-Takhṣīṣ* by Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. 'Abdullāh b. Mūsā al-Kindī [d.557/1162]. It goes without saying that Abū Bakr al-Kindī was considered a famous Omani writer of the 6th/12th century. He wrote *al-Mūṣānnaf* , an encyclopaedic work of Islamic jurisprudence in 42 volumes; *Jawhar al-Muqtaṣar* on the elements; *al-'Ihitdā'*; *al-Dhakhīra* on theology, and various other books.[190] Al-Kindī's family produced many other scholars and writers especially in the 5th-6th/ 11th-12th centuries, including Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Kindī, author of the 72-volume *Bayān al-Shar'*; and Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Kindī, who wrote *al-Kifāya* in 51 volumes. Abū Bakr was from the Rustāq school which appeared in the 5th and 6th centuries. In this *sīra* the author attempts to expound the concepts of *wilāya* and *barā'a*. Attributed to him is the method of interpreting Koranic verses through logical analogy in order to derive both particular and universal proofs.[191]

cxiii- A *sīra* entitled *fi īdā' al-mutawalī li al-wilāiya* on the concepts of *wilāya* and *barā'a*. This dates from the 6th/12th century, but the writer, who is clearly affiliated to the Nizwā school, is unknown. This *sīra* seems to be an excerpt of a longer work and is without either introduction or conclusion.[192]

cxiv- A *sīra* from Imam Muḥammad b. Abī Ghassān to the people of al-'Aqar to advise them.[193] The Omani writers regarded this *sīra* as an epic because as far as the contents are concerned, it is more of an artistic and literary work than a religious treatise. Initially, it appeared from our study of the sources that this *sīra* was actually written in 576/1181 by Muḥammad b. Mālik[194] to advise Imam Mūsā b. Abī al-Ma'ālī b. Mūsā b. Nijād before war broke out in 579/1184. However, the history of this period is too chaotic for us to be able to state with any certainty who originally wrote it.[195]

cxv- A *sīra* from Muḥammad b. Mālik b. Shādhān [the prince or the Imam mentioned above?] to Sa'īd b. Rāshid b. 'Alī, who was probably the son of the Imam Rāshid b. 'Alī [in the first half 6th/12th]. The writer of the *sīra* threatens its recipient with regard to the latter's deeds, describing him as mendacious. Such invective reflects the divisions existing in the feudal system of Oman at that time between the princes and the Imams.[196]

cxvi- A *sīra* by Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Sāliḥ [546/1151]. The scholars of Abū Bakr's family had significant influence in the Nizwā school; he himself was the teacher of the author of *al-Mūsānnaf*. This *sīra* reflects the author's opinions about Imam Muḥammad b. Abī Ghassān, who had fought his way into the Nizwān village of al-'Aqar when the villagers opposed him. Here the author opposes the Imam's action. This *sīra* includes some quotations from the *sīra* of Abū al-Ḥawārī, the *sīra* of Abū 'Abdullāh al-Sarrī and the discourse of Abū Ḥamza al-Shārī.[197]

cxvii- A *sīra* by Abū Bakr 'Abdullāh b. Mūsā al-Kindī, written to refute his teacher's *sīra* [cxvi]. The author rejected his teacher's opinions about the Imam's fight against the people of al-'Aqar and castigated him for writing the above *sīra*. On the whole this *sīra* reflects the Ibādite stance on the Islamic jurisprudence covering *jihād* and warfare.[198]

cxviii- A *sīra* in the form of a statement issued by the people of al-Bāṭina [a region in the North East of Oman] in support of the preceding the *sīra*. In it, the Imam's actions are confirmed and his approach praised.[199]

cxix- A *sīra* from Abū 'Abdullāh Muḥammad b. Khālid to the people of Manaḥ [a town in the interior of Oman]. This *sīra* is in the form of a *fatwā* on the civil war and the opposition of Mūsā b. Mūsā and Rāshid b. al-Nażar. The author appears to be an affiliate of the Rustāq school since he includes quotations from Rustāq scholars about the issue.[200]

cxx- A *sīra* by an unknown writer, addressed to the people of Ḥaḍramawt. It was written in the 7th/13th century and includes some of Ibn al-Nażar's poetry. The author is clearly from the Rustāq school. The anonymous author discusses various topics and advises his readers to be more objective and responsible to the Imamate.[201]

cxxi- A *sīra* which discusses the concepts of *wilāya* and *barā'a* and their classifications. The author is unknown, as is the date, although the writer appears to be aware of the Nizwā school.[202]

cxxii- A *sīra* by Abū al-Ma'ālī Kahlān b. Mūsā b. Nijād [the first half of 6th /12th] century. Kahlān was the father of Imam Mūsā b. Abī al-Ma'ālī [594/1197-597/1200]. The object of this *sīra* is repentance.[203]

The Fourth Period

4A) The fourth period of Omani *siyar* covers the Nabhānī state [549/1154-1034/1624]. There is general consensus among historians that this state spanned five centuries in Oman, with the dynasty's rule divided into two distinct stages. The first stage is known as the 'Early Nabhanis', whose rule began after the death of Imam Abū Jābir Mūsā bin

Abū al-Ma'ālī in 549/1154 and ended after Sulaymān b. Sulaymān al-Nabhānī was expelled in 906/1500. The second stage, known as the 'Later Nabhānis', continued from 906/1500 to 1034/1624[204] and was witness to the Portuguese invasion of the eastern coast of the Arabian Peninsula. Another distinguishing characteristic of this period is the atmosphere of conflict between scholars and governors on political issues. However, the period as a whole remains largely unexplored by scholars, and it is the task of Omani historians to discover the reasons for the collapse of both Omani overseas trade and Oman as an important maritime power. The *siyar* from this period are:

cxxiii- A *sīra* entitled *Al-Sīra al-Kalawiyya* by Abū Sa'īd Muḥammad b. Sa'īd al-Qalhātī [late 6th/12th to early 7th /13th century]. Al-Qalhātī was considered among the most famous Omani writers of his time, noted for his distinguished prose style in works such as *al-Kashf wa'l-bayān*, a treatise on Islamic sects and dogmas. This particular *sīra* reflects the beginning of a new stage in the art of *siyar* composition, for now we see the appearance of *siyar* in the form of *maqāma*. In this *sīra*, the author tells the story of his journey to Kilwa in East Africa. He travelled there in order to confront a Hashwite missionary who had been engaged in proselytising the Prince of Kilwa, who was an Ibadite, and other Ibādites of East Africa, in attempt to uproot Ibādism and convert them to his own creed. The formalized art of *maqāma* represents a turning point in the writing of the Omani *sīra*. This *sīra* was glossed by Rāshid b. 'Umar b. Aḥmad b. Abī al-Ḥasan b. 'Abdullāh b. Aḥmad b. al-Nażar towards the end of 7th /13th century. [205]

cxxiv- A *sīra* from Ward b. Aḥmad to Imam A. al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Khamīs b. 'Āmir [839/1436-846/1443]. This *sīra* is a letter from Ward to the Imam advising him to remain firm and to endeavour not to be overthrown from the Imamate following the rebellion of Banī al-Ṣalt al-Kharūṣī.[206]

cxxv- A *sīra* by Abū 'Abdullāh Muḥammad b. Sulaymān b. Aḥmad b. Muffarraj, judge and *mufti* to the Imam. This *sīra* is a legal declaration, ordered by the Imam 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb al-Kharūṣī [885-894/1480-1488] and issued in order to confiscate the property of the Nabhānī family. The *sīra* was written on 7th of Jumādā II 887 (23rd of July 1482). The declaration closes with a statement of approval signed by the judicial committee.[207]

cxxvi- A *sīra* by the Imam Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl [906/1500-924/1518]. This *sīra* is also a legal edict issued by the Imam in 909/1503. Again, the edict was issued in order to confiscate property – this time belonging to the Banī Rawāḥa, who had given help and support to the sultan Sulaymān b. Sulaymān al-Nabhānī.[208]

cxxvii- A *sīra* by the Imam Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl [906/1500-924/1518]. This *sīra* comprises a legal ruling issued by the Imam for the confiscation of the property of the Nabhānis family on a Friday in 917/1511. The document ends with the signatures of the judicial committee.[209]

cxxviii- A *sīra* by Muḥammad b. 'Abdullāh b. Maddād [917/1511]. The Maddād family enjoyed considerable influence with the Muffarraj family at the end of the Nabhānī State. This was the first Omani *sīra* to be written about the Omani Imams and *'ulamā'* that went into such depth and detail concerning their lives and works. It is at this stage, then, that the Omani *siyar* begin to expand their coverage to include biography and bibliography.[210]

cxxix- A *sīra* by Imam Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl in the form of a statement concerning the practice of optional sale (*baī' al-khiyār*). It is dated Wednesday 6th of Jumādā II 918 (18th of August 1512). The Omani scholars unanimously supported the resolution to prohibit the practice of optional sale and to consider it usurious.[211]

cxxx- A *sīra* by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Maddād concerning the Imam Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl [906/1500-924/1518] and his son Barakāt b. Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl. In this *sīra* Ibn Maddād proclaims dissociation from the Imam and his son. This was to be expected since the Imams were collecting the *zakah* from the people without protecting them.[212]

cxxxi- A *sīra* by 'Abdullāh b. 'Umar b. Zyād b. Aḥmad [980s/1570s], a contemporary of the Imam Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl and his son Barakāt. The *sīra* seems to have been written in 950s/1540s for the Imam Barakāt when he was about to prepare the *falaj* [irrigation channel][213] of Mayṯhā in the city of Bahlā. This *sīra* discusses the construction of the aforementioned channel.[214]

4B) This period of *siyar* starts at the beginning of the Ya'āribate period 1034/1624. This marks the beginning of modern Oman: power had shifted from the dynasty to the imams and the state of Oman had begun to flourish. It is possible to argue that the writer should consider only those *siyar* which were written in the first Imamate of Ya'āriba until the death of the Imam Nāṣir b. Murshid in 1059/1649. We believe that this period should be extended until the end of first half of the 11th/17th century when 'Abdullāh b. Khalfān b. Sulaymān, who was known as Ibn Qayṣar, wrote the first biography in the Omani literature, the *sīra* of the Imam Nāṣir b. Murshid. The style of writing demonstrated in the Omani *siyar* of this period exhibits clearly the dominant style of writing common among the Arabs in general at this period. It is a style replete with rhetorical devices, embellishment and ornamentation. The *siyar* from this period are:

cxxxii- A *sīra* from an unknown writer among the people of Nafūsa [a region in Libya]. In essence, this *sīra* is a monograph on the Divinity, translated from the original Berber; however, it is unclear whether it was translated in Oman or in Nafūsa before the Ibāḍites sent it to Oman. The *sīra* was basically written to teach the fundamentals of Islamic faith and Ibāḍite dogma to the Berber people[215].

cxxxiii- A *sīra* attributed to Sulaymān b. al-Qāsim al-Maghribī, written to the people of *Mashāriqa* [Eastern but specially for Oman]. This *sīra* was probably written prior to or at the beginning of the Imamate of Nāṣir b. Murshid [1034/1624-1059/1649], because the writer mentions scholars but does not name the Imam Nāṣir. The *sīra* throws some light on the situation of the Ibāḍites in the *Maghrib* (North Africa), especially concerning the problems between the people of Nafūsa and Mazab[216].

cxxxiv- A *sīra* from Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Kharāssīnī to Sulaymān b. Abū al-Qāsim and the people of Maghrib and Nafūsa. This *sīra* was a reply to the preceding one, written at the behest of Imam Naṣir b. Murshid. The Imam invites those addressed by the document to unite with others and to be more pragmatic about their problems.[217]

cxxxv- A *sīra* from Khamīs b. Sa'īd al-Shaqṣī to the Banī Muṣ'ab, a region in South Algeria. Khamīs b. Sa'īd was the powerful figure behind the appointment of the Imam Nāṣir, who was his son-in-law. He is also the author of one of the most famous books of this period in Oman on Islamic jurisprudence, the popular *Manhaj al-Ṭālibiyn*. This *sīra* also was written on the orders of Imam Nāṣir b. Murshid. It appears that the Imam attempted to use his prestige in Oman to encourage the Ibādites of North Africa to settle their differences and live in harmony.[218]

cxxxvi- A *sīra* by Sa'īd b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Kharāssīnī. This *sīra* is a monograph, similar in style and contents to the *Risālat al-Diyānāt* of 'Āmir b. 'Alī al-Shammākhī [792/1389].[219] In it, the author gives a brief description of the Ibāḍite movement and its creed. An point worth noting in this *sīra* is that the author includes a whole chapter on *taqlīd* (emulation) and those sects which allowed it. The last chapter in *sīra* is a biographical index of Ibāḍite and Omani scholars.[220]

The final four *siyar*[221] come in the form of orders and counsels of advice from Imam Nāṣir to his governors concerning the correct way of conducting political affairs:

cxxxvii- A *sīra* to Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Aḥmad b. 'Uthmān, governor of Liwā, Ḥatā, Diyār al-Ḥidān, al-Jaw, Najirān and Dimā, written in Dhī 'l-Ḥijja 1050/April 1641.

cxxxviii- A *sīra* to Ṣāliḥ b. Sa'īd al-Ma'amarī, governor of Sur and Ibrā in eastern Oman.

cxxxix- A *sīra* to Abū 'Abdullāh Sulaymān b. Rāshid b. 'Abdullāh al-Kindī, governor of al-Sīr [it was also known as Gulfar or present-day Rā's al-Khima].

cxxxx- A *sīra* to Sulṭān b. Sayf al-Ya'rubī, written after the latter had excused himself from the duties of Imamate.

Conclusions

I have tried to examine the Omani *siyar* as a cultural and intellectual phenomenon in classical Arabic literature, rather than merely as a large number of epistles and letters scattered through different Omani compilations. As such, they form an archive of twelve hundred years of Oman and form one of the primary types of source of Omani history. This point allows us to consider the following. Firstly, all the Omani *siyar* are variant expressions of one single genre. Secondly, the appearance of one sub-division of Omani *siyar* can be related to the progressive development of the Ibāḍite intellectual movement in the East and the internal events of Omani history up to the 11th/17th century. So, it is clear to see that the *siyar* first appeared from the Ibāḍite center in Basra and were written by the Ibāḍite leaders. Later writers were Omanis, who adopted this kind of writing style. On a constructive level, this approach permitted me to draw the conclusion that the Omani *siyar* have been shaped by three influences. Firstly, all the *siyar* expressed and are formed by the Ibāḍite ideology. In the beginning as Wilkinson says about the *siyar* "Ibāḍite theological literature really came into existence when personal communication was difficult. At one level we thus have what is little more than fragmentary correspondence, inter-scholarly and inter-community opinions and advice offered individually or collectively to imams and other *'ulamā'*".[222] Therefore, is it easy for one to use the *siyar* to study the Ibāḍite intellectual and theological opinions and their development in the Ibāḍite movement. Afterward the *siyar* changed to express the ideology of the Ibāḍite *Mashāriqa* Eastern School in Oman. Secondly, the *siyar* are connected especially with Oman as the origin of these historical sources and of the collection known as the Omani *siyar* to historians and literary scholars. Thirdly, the variation and development in Omani policy prompted the recording and writing of the *siyar*. On the other hand it is necessary when we divide Omani history into periods to see that these correspond to similar stages or periods of the *siyar* writers.

Moreover, the needs of Omani writers of the *siyar* genre meant that in the first period most of the *siyar* were epistles containing the Ibāḍite scholars' opinions. In the second period they exchanged letters as a challenge between the Rustāq and Nizwā schools

especially on their chief concern, the nature of the Imamate. During this period the *siyar* started to take Omani form more than Ibāḍite. It can be said that this period has shaped the style of Omani writers. In the third period most of the *siyar* were monographs and *fatwās*, which dealt with internal politics of Oman rather than Ibāḍite ideological opinions. In the third period it is seen also that the Omani writers were influenced in Omani style by the Arabic literature outside Oman, for example, the *sīra* of Nijād b. Mūsā al-Manaḥī to refute the *risālat al-istai'dād fī mā lā yasa' al-mukalaf jahlahu* by Ibn al-Tāj, and the *sīra* of the Imam Muḥammad b. Abī Ghassān to the people of al-'Aqar which is regarded as an epic. In the fourth period it can be seen that a *Maqāma* and a judgment manifesto could be considered part of the *sīra* genre. In the beginning of the Ya'āriba State it was fashionable to use rhymed prose in their writings. This development took a clear line of greater specialization, reflecting the consciousness of Omani communities. *Sīra* has developed into an extremely adaptable and flexible form.

To sum up, this genre adapted by the Ibāḍite *'ulamā'* was at first restricted to doctrinal polemics then used for wider concerns by Ibāḍite *'ulamā'* in Oman. One cannot find writers of *siyar* who could be specifically described as being Omani poets like Ibn Durayd, al-Sitālī or al-Kidhāwī, or writers who adopted the Ibāḍite ideology like al-Khalīl b. Aḥmad[223] and A. 'Ubayda Mu'ammar b. al-Muthnā.[224] The subject in these *siyar* is merely concerned with the doctrine of Ibāḍīsm. This point leads us to conclude that although the formulation of these *siyar* is based on the framework of the (*'aqida*) creed form, they are significant as historical doctrine and literature. However, as a consequence of the previous comment, the recording of Omani history was greatly influenced by Omani *siyar*, which were recorded by the religious scholars followed in their turn by other religious scholars. Some researchers[225] considered that probably some events in Omani history may have been ignored because the *'ulamā'* focused mainly on writing about their own ideology and considered other literature as merely the evil state *Jabābira*. The 'ulamā' have tended, therefore, to overlook the history and other people in Oman not relevant to their ideology during the different periods such as the rule of Banī Makram and Banī Wajīh and Nabhānis who were Omanis or foreign powers such as Carmathians or Buyids. However, we have to discuss this point; firstly, all the Omani historical compilations which have come down to us were written after $12^{th}/17^{th}$ and their compilers wrote about Oman as an independent state, whereas it appeared that Oman was a sub-independent state in the early days of Islam, and became an independent state only after the establishment of the Imamate of al-Julandā b.

Mas'ūd 132/749. This could be the reason why the Omani historians looked at the other states as imperialistic foreigner states, and why they ignored these other states in Oman. For example Yāqūt 7th /13th said about Sohar city; "the greatest city in the Chinese sea" and Sohar was well known under the Imamate role and yet Omani historians did not record anything about it. Secondly, the Omani writers did not record their history and that is why we ignored other non-Ibāḍite people, and Oman's history is largely Ibāḍite history. Thirdly, Wilkinson clarified this point; "a complete study of the background to this period (the early Imamate history) must involve use of the external as well as the internal sources because without them the general historical framework can not be reconstructed".[226]

Overall, the Omani *siyar* can be described as a comprehensive phenomenon that is the archive of the early history of Oman and is an extra dimension characteristic of Omani historical sources as compared with other Arabic historical literature.

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[1] EI2; art. sīra.
[2] The Koran, *Ṭāha*, (xx), 18.
[3] Martin Hinds, 'Maghāzī and Sīra in Early Islamic Scholarship', in *La vie du Prophete Mahomet*, (Colloque de Strasbourg (1980), Paris (1983), (ed. Toufiq Fahd), p. 57-66.
[4] Muḥammad b. Manżūr, *Līsān al-'Arab* (Beirut, 1955), v. 4, p. 384; Ismā'īl b. Ḥamād Al-Jawāhrī, *Al-Ṣiḥāḥ fī al-Ugha* (Cairo, 1957), (ed. Aḥmad 'Abd al-Ghafūr 'Atār), v. 2, p. 691; Maḥmūd b. 'Umar Zamakhsharī, *Asās al-Balāgha*, (Cairo, 1953), (ed. 'Abd al-Rahīm Maḥmūd), p. 226; al-Fīrūzābādī, al-Qāmūs al-Muḥīṭ (Cairo, 1911), v. 2, p.54.
[5] Fārūq 'Umar, *Muqddima fī maṣādir al-tārīkh al-'Umānī* (Baghdad, 1979), p. 55.
[6] Patricia Crone and Fritz Zimmermann, *The Epistle of Sālim b. Dhakwān* (forthcoming Oxford University Press), Draft, ch. 1, p. 9,.
[7] Abū Faraj al-Isbahānī, *Al-Aghānī* (Cairo, 1927-79), v. 14, p. 270.
[8] Crone and Zimmermann, *The Epistle of Sālim b. Dhakwān*, ch. 1, p. 9.
[9] Ibn Khaldūn, *Tārīkh* (Beirut, n.d), v. 3, p. 248.
[10] Crone and Zimmermann, *The Epistle of Sālim b. Dhakwān*, ch. 1, p. 9.
[11] Abū Zakariyā Yaḥyā b. Abū Bakr al-Warjlānī, *al-Siyar wa akhbār al-a'imma* (Algeria, 1979), (ed. al-'Arabī Ismā'īl). Translated by E. Masqueray, *Chronique d'Abou Zakaria* (Alger, 1878); French translation by R. Le Tourneau, 'La chronique'd' Abū Zakriyya' al-Warjlani', in *Revue Africaine*, civ, (1960), p. 99-176, p. 322-90.
[12] Tadeusez Lewicki, 'La Repartition Geographique Des Groupements Ibādites', in *Rocznik Orientalistyczny*, v. 21 (1957), p. 309-343; 'A, Ennāmī, ' A description of New Ibādī Manuscript from North Africa' in *Journal of Semitic Studies*, v. 15 (1970), p. 63-87.
[13] Ennāmī, ' A description of New Ibādī Manuscript from North Africa', p. 85.
[14] Al-Darjīnī, *Kitāb Ṭabaqāt al-Mashā'ikh* (Constantine, 1979), (ed. by Ṭalay Ibrāhīm).
[15] Abū al-Qāsim al-Barrādī, *K. al-Jawāhir al-Muntaqā fī mā akhalla bihi kitāb al-Ṭabaqāt* (Cairo, 1302/1885); Roberto Rubinacci, 'Kitāb al-Gawāhir di al-Barrādī', in *Annali Istituto Orientale di Napoli*, v. 4 (1952), p. 95-110.

[16] Aḥmad b. Sa'īd al-Shammākhī, *al-Siyar* (1st edition Cairo, 1301/1884 & 2nd edition Muscat, 1984).
[17] Abū Qāsim Al-Barrādī, *Risāla fi taqyīd kutubi Ashabinā: Dirāsa fī Tārīkh al-Ibādiyyah*, (Cairo, 1994), (ed. by 'Azab, M and 'Uad). Based as a Manuscript at *Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya* number 21791. B, Cairo.
[18] Ennāmī, ' A description of new Ibādī manuscripts from North Africa', in *Journal of Semitic Studies*, v. 15, p. 65.
[19] For further details see Michael Cook, *Early Muslim Dogma* (Cambridge University Press, 1981), p. 52.
[20] *ibid.*, p. 52.
[21] Sālim al-Hārithī, *al-'Uqūd al-fiddiyah fī Tārīkh al-Ibādiyyah* (Beirut, 1974), p. 145.
[22] *Al-Siyar wa al-Jawābāt* (Muscat, 1984), (ed. Sayyida Kāshif Ismā'īl), v. 1, p. 9.
[23] *Siyar wa al-Jawābāt*, v. 1, p. 149.
[24] Ibn Qayṣar, *Sīrat al-Imām Nāṣir b. Murshid* (Muscat,1977), (ed. 'Abd al-Majīd al-Qaysī).
[25] Humayd b. Muḥammad b. Ruzayq, *Al-Fatḥ al-mubīn fi sīrat al-Sāddah al-Bu Sa'īdyīn* (Muscat, 1977). Translated by Rev G. P. Badger as Salīl Ibn Ruzayq, *History of the Imams and Seyyids of Oman* (Hakluyt Society, 1871).
[26] Al-Azd are of three types; Azd Shnū'a, Azd al-Surāt and Azd 'Uman. See details in al-'Awtabī, *Al-Ansab*, v. 1, p. 43; Abū al-'Abbās al-Qalaqshāndī, *Nihāīt alāir'ab fi Ma'rifat ansāb al-'Arab* (undated), p. 90; EI2; art. Azd.
[27] Including with Sālih b. 'Alī al-Hārithī, *'Aīn al-Maṣālih fi jawābāt al-shaīkh al-Sālih*, (Damascus, n.d).
[28] Al-Sālimī, 'Abdullāh. *Tuhfat al-A'yān bi sīrat ahl 'Uman* (Cairo, 1380/1961 'many printings': work completed in 1913: First published 1927), (ed. A. Ishāq Aṭfayyish).
[29] *ibid.*, v. 1, p. 4.
[30] Salma b. Muslim Al-'Awtabī, *Ansāb al-'Arab* (Muscat, v. 1 in1981 & v. 2 in 1984).
[31] Translated by E. C. Ross under the title "Annals of Oman" in *The Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1874.
[32] Humayd b. Muḥammad b. Ruzayq, *Al-Shu'ā' a l-Shā'i' bi ' l-lum'ān fī dhikr a'immat 'Umān*, (Muscat, 1978). Based on Ms in Cambridge University Library: 184 *bayts* (lines) on the Imams preceding the Al-Bū Sa'īd.
[33] J.C. Wilkinson, 'The *fiqh* and other early manuscripts in Muscat collection' in *Arabian Studies*, v. 4 (1978), p. 191-209.Wilkinson also has written about Omani historical sources; see: 'Bio-bibliographical background to the crisis period in the Ibādī Imamate of Oman' in *Arabian Studies*, v. 3 (1978), p. 137-164; also 'Sources for the early history of Oman' in *Studies in the History of Arabia*, I, pt (Riyadh University Press, 1979), p. 89-95.
[34] John. C. Wilkinson, 'Omani and Ibādī background to the Kilwah Sīra: the demise of Oman as a political and religious force in the Indian Ocean in the 6th/12th century' in *Miscellany of Middle Eastern articles in Memoriam Thomas Muir Johnstone 1924-1983* (London, 1989), (ed. Serjeant, R. B and Smith, R. A), p. 131-147; 'Oman and East Africa. New light of early Kilwan history from the Omani sources' in *International Journal of African Historical Studies*, v. 6 (1981), p. 272-305.
[35] Fārūq 'Umar, *Muqaddima fī Dirāsāt Maṣādir al-Tārīkh al-'Umānī*. He also published essays about Omani historical sources; 'Maṣādir al-Tārīkh al-Maḥalī li-iqlīm 'Umān' in *Studies in the History of Arabia* (Riyadh University, 1979) v. 2, p. 105-113; 'Bibliography Tārīkh 'Umān', in *Al-Mawrad* (1975), p. 277.
[36] Mahdī Tālib, *Al-Harakah al-Ibādiyyah fi al-Mashriq al-'Arabī* (Baghdad, 1977).
[37] Aḥmad 'Ubaydaly, (An edition of) *Kashf al-Ghummah al-Jāmi' li akhbār al-umma* (Nicosia, 1987), p. 25.
[38] 'Isām al-Rawās, *Maṣādir al-Tārīkh al-'Umānī* (Muscat, 1994).
[39] Wilkinson suggests the comments on the problems of identifying the Omani primary sources as:

> First, the conventions followed by *'ulamā'* when citing sources. The following basic rules seem to apply:
> (a) they usually quote sources when opinions or attitudes are involved ;
> (b) they frequently quote a source when it contributes something of special importance;
> (c) they quote when their source is not generally known by scholars or it is questionable;
> (d) conversely, when the material seems to be generally accepted, the sources are not normally given. This, therefore, leaves a major area of unsupported statement, which can probably never be identified.
> Secondly, there is a problem of identifying the shorthand of the quote's source, e.g. "A. Sa'īd says" or "in the *Mūsānnaf* I have found. This is relatively easy to overcome if the student is prepared to immerse himself in the scholarly tradition of the Ibādī *'ulamā'*. Thus, one soon learns that A. Sa'īd is inevitably (A. Sa'īd) Muḥammad b. Sa'īd al-Kudamī and could never confuse with Muḥammad b. Sa'īd al-Qalhātī has done.
> Thirdly, there is the bibliographical problem of establishing the work an author wrote, what survived and until when, and whether a direct quotation is in fact from an original preserved in

some other work. John Wilkinson, 'Bio-bibliographical background to the crisis period in the Ibādī Imamate of Oman' in *Arabian studies*, v.3 p. 139.

[40] This microfilm used by Michael Cook, *Early Muslim Dogma*; Crone and Zimmermann, *The Epistle of Sālim b. Dhakwān*, ch. 1.

[41] EI2: art. Ibādiyyah, v. 3, p. 648-660.

[42] *Al-Siyar wa al-Jawābāt* (Muscat, 1984), (ed. by Kāshif Ismā'īl), v. 1, p. 17.

[43] Sayf Al-Baṯāshī, *Iṯhāf al-A'yān fī Tārīkh ba'ḏ 'ulamā' 'Umān* (Muscat, 1992).

[44] Sa'īd Al- Kharāssīnī, *Fawākih al-'ulūm fī ṭa'āt al-Ḥayy al-Qayyūm* (Muscat, 1996).

[45] Ms1, Ms2, Ms3, Mc1, Mc2. In fact there are some comments which doubt the authenticity of this *sīra* because the Prophet began to send his missionaries in 8th/629. The end of the *sīra* says 'stamped by the ring of Prophet', whereas the Prophet used the ring only the year after 6th/627. Moreover, the *sīra* mentions the witnesses who were Mu'āwiya b. Abū Sufyān, although he only embraced Islam in 8th/629. We can also find this *sīra* in the Ibāḏī tradition of North Africa by al-Jiṭālī (6th/12th), *Qanāṭir al-Khaiyrāt* (Muscat, 1989), v. 3, p. 296. Wilkinson added that according to the text this *sīra* could have been quoted by Abū Isḥāq al-Ḥaḍramī, in *The Imamate Tradition of Oman* (Cambridge University Press, 1987), p. 167, 342; Abū Bakr al-Kindī, *Al-'Ihtidā* (Muscat, 1986), (ed. S. Kāshif Ismā'īl), p. 240-249.

[46] Ms3.

[47] Ms3.

[48] Ms3.

[49] Ms3.

[50] Ms3. Ibn al-Aṯhīr, *al-Kāmil*, v. 1, p. 8.

[51] Ms3, Mc1. Al-Barrādī mentions this *sīra*. *Risāla*, p. 53. This *sīra* raises the question of its authenticity. Corne and Zimmermann comment as follows: "It cites information from the Kufan Shiite al-A'mash (d.148/765) and gives verbatim extracts from Ibn Isḥāq (d. about 150/767), mostly without acknowledgement, though it does name him on one occasion. The work is unlikely to been written much before the 150s/770s", *The Epistle of Sālim bin Dhakwān*, ch. 4, p. 3.

[52] Ms3. See also Ibn al-Aṯhīr, *al-Kāmil*, v. 3, p. 171.

[53] Ms3, Mc2.

[54] Ms2, Ms3, Mc1. Cf; M. Kfafi, 'The rise of Khārijism according to Abū Sa'īd al-Azdi al-Qalhāti' in *Bulletin of Faculty of Art* (Cairo), v. 14 (1952), p. 29-48.

[55] Ms3, Mc1. See Ibn Khaldūn, *Tārīkh*, v. 2, p. 1131.

[56] Ms3, Mc1.

[57] Ms3, Mc1.

[58] Ms1, Ms2, Ms3, Mc1, Mc2, Pub1, v. 2, p. 325.

[59] Michael Cook devotes a chapter discussing the authentic letters of 'Abdullāh b. Ibāḏ's to 'Abd al-Malik b. Marawān. Ibn Ibāḏ. Ibn Ibāḏ wrote the first letter about 'Uṯhmān and Mu'āwīya and the second one concerns 'Alī and his son al-Ḥasan. Cook believes that we cannot accept the first letter as a genuine one; nor was it sent by Ibn Ibāḏ. It is probably a copy from a letter from Jābir b. Zayd to some of his students at the end of the 2nd/8th century. He added that if we adopt the hypothesis of the authentic letter we would consider that the letter is actually from Jābir b. Zayd to 'Abd al-Malik b. al-Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufra. He states that the form of the first letter is that of the end of the Umayyad State. Nevertheless, Cook tries in his arguments to cast some doubts on the existence of Ibn Ibāḏ. Cook, *Early Muslim Dogma*, p. 51-67. See further about this case Carl Brockleman, *Geschichte der Arabischen literatur (supplement)* (Lieden, 1937-42), I, p. 104; L. Sachau, 'Über die religiösen Anschauungen der Ibādītischen Muhammed nar in Oman und Ostafrika' in *Mittheilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen* (Berlin, 1898), iv, p. 61-82; Josef Van Ess, *Anfänge Muslimischer Theologie* (Beirut, 1977), p. 7, 12, 151; R. Rubinacci, 'II califfo 'Abd al-Mailk b. Marwān egli Ibādite', in *Annali dell' Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli*, v. 5 (1953), p. 106-121; Van Ess, *Theologie und Gesellschaft* (Berlin and New York. 1992-97), v.2, p.187-190.

[60] EI2; art. Djābir b. Zayd; Van Ess, *TG*, v. 2, p.190.

[61] Ibn Ja'far, *Jāmi'*, v. 1, p. 158.

[62] Ibn Ja'far, *Jāmi'*, v. 1, p. 93.

[63] EI2; art. Ibādiyyah; Van Ess, *TG*, v. 2, p. 193. Abū 'Ubayda seems to have died after 150/760, because Abū 'Ubayda ordered to kill Ma'an b. Zā'da al-Shaybānī after Ma'an killed Zājir al-Ḥaḍramī. Thus Ma'an was killed in Sistān in 150/760. Al-Shammākhī, *Al-Siyar*, v. 1, p. 107.

[64] Al-Darjīnī, *Ṭabaqāt*, v. 2, p. 278.

[65] Ms3, Mc1.

[66] Van Ess, *TG*, v. 2, p. 196.

[67] Ms3.

[68] Ms3, Mc1.

[69] Ms3.

[70] Al-Barrādī, *Risāla*, p. 61.
[71] Isbahānī, *Al-Aghānī*, v. 23, p. 236.
[72] EI2; art. Maḥbūb b. al-Raḥīl; Van Ess, *TG*, v.2, p. 201.
[73] Al-Darjīnī, *Ṭabaqāt*, v2, p279; Al-Barrādī, *Risāla*, p. 56.
[74] Ms2, Ms3, Mc1.
[75] Ms1, Ms2, Ms3, Mc2, Pub, v. 2, p. 46.
[76] Cook, *Early Muslim Dogma*, p. 20, 89 &103.
[77] Ms2, Ms3, Mc1. This *sīra* is translated and studied by Crone and Zimmermann in *The Epistle of Sālim b. Dhakwān*. It is also studied by Cook in *Early Muslim Dogma*. Also see 'A. K. Ennāmi, *Studies in Ibādīsm* (Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Cambridge, 1971); Van Ess, *TG*, v. 1, p. 174; v. 2, p. 661.
[78] The year 132/748 had witnessed the murder of al-Ḥārith b. Talīd al-Ḥaḍramī and 'Abd al-Jabbār b. Qays al-Murādī. The people had found the corpses of 'Abd al-Jabbār and al-Ḥārith, each with the other's sword in his body. Some blamed their deaths on 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥabīb, who was the Abbasid governor (*wāli*) of North Africa, claiming that he murdered them because he was afraid of the gradual extension of Ibāḍite influence into North Africa The murders were not connected with the attempt to establish the first Ibāḍite Imamate in North Africa (140/758-144/762) by Abū al-Khaṭṭāb 'Abd al-A'alā b. al-Samḥ al-Ma'āfrī. Cf. Muḥammad Khalīfāt, *Nashāt al-ḥarakah al-Ibāḍiyyah* (Amman, 1978), p. 139-142; Werner Schwartz, *Die Anfänge Der Ibadin in NordAfrika* (Kommission bei Verlag Otto Harassowitz. Wiesbaden, 1983), p. 129-136; Ulrich Rebstock, *Die Ibāditen im Magrib (2/8-4/10)* (Klaus Schwarz. Berlin, 1983), p. 53.
[79] Ms3.
[80] Ms3.
[81] Wilkinson, 'The *fiqh* and other early manuscripts in Muscat collection', in *Arabian Studies*, v. 4 (1978), p. 191-207. However, al-Bārūni claimed that this *sīra* was a letter from A. 'Ubayda Muslim to the Imam 'Abd al-Wahhāb. See Sulaymān al-Bārūnī, *Al-Azhār al-Riāḍiyyah* (Cairo, 1324/1905), v. 2, p. 611. On the other hand 'Alī Dabbūz argued that this *sīra* could be attributed to A. 'Ubayda 'Abd al-Ḥamīd al-Jināwnī (EI2: art. Djanāwanī; al-Darjīnī, *Ṭabaqāt*, v. 2, p. 291) who was a scholar from Jabal Nafūsa at the end of 2nd/8th century. 'Alī Dabbūz, *Tārīkh al-Maghrib al-Kabīr* (Cairo, 1963), v. 3, p. 181.
[82] Ms1, Mc2, Pub1, v. 2, p. 320.
[83] Pub1, v. 1, p. 300; Pub4, v. 3, p. 241.
[84] Ms2, Ms3, Mc1.
[85] Pub1, v. 2, p. 313.
[86] Ms1, Ms2, Ms3, Mc1, Mc2, Pub1, v. 2, p. 346. See also the comments on this *sīra* by Cook, *Early Muslim Dogma*, p. 57 & 179.
[87] Al-Sālimī, *Tuhfa*, v. 1, p. 111.
[88] Ms3, Mc1. Al-Barrādī mentions it as among the early Eastern Ibāḍī's compositions. *Risāla*, p. 54.
[89] Cook suggests that Rabī' died after 200 A.H. See further, *Early Muslim Dogma*, p. 56 & 179.
[90] Ms1.
[91] Van Ess, *TG*, v. 2, p. 198.
[92] Ms3, Mc1.
[93] Ms3, Mc1.
[94] Al- Baṭāshī gives an account of his genealogy Munīr b. Al-Nayyir b. 'Abd al-Malik b. Wassār b. Wahab b. 'Ubayd b. Salt b. Yaḥyā b. Ḥaḍramī b. Riyām al-Riyāmī, Pub3, v. 1, p. 171. However, there is a debate on the date of his death or whether they were one or two persons because he has been mentioned twice. Firstly, that he was among the *ḥamalat al-'ilm* from Basra to Oman. (al-Sālimī, *Lum'a*, p. 12). Secondly, that he was killed in 280/893 at Damā. (al-Sālimī, *Tuhfa*, v. 1, p. 260) thus his existence is unclear. Cf; Crone and Zimmermann, *The Epistle of Sālim b. Dhakwān*, Bibliography, p. 7.
[95] Ms1, Ms2, Ms3, Mc1, Pub1, v. 1, p. 229.
[96] Ms2, Ms3, Mc1, Pub, v. 1, p. 36.
[97] Shams al-Dīn al-Maqdisī, *Aḥsan al-Taqāsīm fī ma'rifat al-aqālīm* (Leiden, 1906), (ed. M.J. de Goeje), p. 93. Tuwām is the present Buraīmī.
[98] Ms1, Ms2, Ms3.
[99] Local tradition says Izki (Pre-Islamic it was called Jurnān from the name of the idol worshipped there) is the oldest settlement in Oman, preceding Nizwā by fifty years. See J. Wilkinson, 'The origins of the *Aflaj* of Oman' in *Journal of Oman Studies*, v. 6 (1978), p. 177-194.
[100] Ms3, Mc1.
[101] Ms3, Mc1, Mc2.
[102] Ms3, Mc1.
[103] Ms3.
[104] Ms3.
[105] Ibn Ja'far, *Jāmi'*, v. 2, p. 46.

[106] Ms3, Mc1.
[107] Ms1, Ms2, Ms3, Mc2, Pub1, v. 1, p. 273.
[108] Ms1, Ms2, Ms3, Mc2, Pub1, v. 1, p. 305.
[109] Ms1, Ms2, Ms3, Mc2, Pub1, v. 1, p. 323.
[110] Al-Sālimī, *Tuhfa*, v. 1, p. 157-158.
[111] Abū Isḥāq Aṭfayyish (the editor of the *Tuḥfat al-A'yan*) says that the founder of this sect (al-Shu'aybiyya) was Shu'ayb b. Muḥammad who followed the 'Ajārida of the Khārijites. This sub-sect had similar views to the Qadarites in their opinions on fatalism. *Tuhfa*, v. 1, p.157-158; Sa'īd Al-Qalhātī, *Al-Kashf wa al-Bayān* (Muscat, 1980), (ed. S. Kāshif Ismā'īl, v. 2, p. 233. Al-Shihrstānī, *Al-Milal wa al-Niḥal*, v. 1, p. 204.
[112] Ibn Ja'far, *Jāmi'*, v. 1, p. 226.
[113] Ms3.
[114] Ms2, Ms3.
[115] Ms1, Ms2, Ms3.
[116] Ms1, Ms2, Mc2.
[117] Al-Faḍl bin al-Ḥawārī, *Jāmi'*(Muscat, 1985), v. 3, p. 207.
[118] Ms2, Pub2, v. 1, p.168.
[119] Pub2, v. 1, p.184.
[120]Cf; Al-Sālimī, *Tuhfa*, v. 1, p. 156; Nūr al-Dīn al-Sālimī, *Rawḍ al-bayān 'alā fayḍ al-Manān fī al-radd 'alā man 'ad'ā qidam al-Qur'ān* (Muscat, 1994), (ed. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Sālimī.
[121] Ms2, Ms3.
[122] Ms3.
[123] Referring to three elements: place of Muslims, place of *kuffar* and place of mediation. See E12: art; Dār al-Islām; Dār al-Ḥarb; Dār al-'Ahd.
[124] Ms2.
[125] Ms1, Ms2, Mc2.
[126] These schools are described in more detail al-Kudamī, *Al-Istiqāma* (Muscat, 1984); Abū Bakr Al-Kindī, *Al- 'Ihitdā'*; Al-Sālimī, *Tuhfa*, v. 1, p. 197; Wilkinson, *The Imamate Tradition of Oman*, p. 166.
[127] Ms1, Ms2, Ms3, Mc2, Pub1, v. 1,p. 21.
[128] Ms1, Ms2, Ms3, Mc2, Pub1, v. 1, p. 149.
[129] Ms1, Ms2, Ms3, Pub1, v. 2, p. 269-317.
[130] Ms1, Ms2, Ms3, Mc2, Pub1. v. 1, p. 251-272.
[131] Ms1, Ms2, Ms3, Mc2.
[132] Ms3, Mc2.
[133] Ms3.
[134] Ms1, Ms2, Ms3, Pub1, v. 1, p. 81-148.
[135] Ms2.
[136] Ms3.
[137] EI2: art. Ibn Baraka.
[138] Al-Sālimī, *Lum'a*, p. 23.
[139] Ms1, Ms2, Ms3, Mc2.
[140] Ms1, Ms2, Ms3, Mc1, Mc2.
[141] Ms3, Pub1, v. 2, p. 384.
[142] Al-Sālimī, *Lum'a,* p. 28.
[143] Ms1, Ms2, Ms3, Mc2, Pub1, v. 2, p. 62.
[144] Ms1, Ms2, Mc2.
[145] Ms1, Ms3.
[146] Ms1, Pub1, v. 1, p. 373.
[147] Ms3.
[148] Ms2, Ms3.
[149] Ms2.
[150] Ms2.
[151] Ms2, Ms3.
[152] Ms2.
[153] Ms2.
[154] Andrew Williamson, *Sohar and Omani seafaring in the Indian Ocean* (London, 1973). p. 3.
[155] *ibid.*, p. 3.
[156] Damā was the main centre on the lower Bāṭina in medieval Islamic times, and was a pre-Islamic *suq al-'Arab*, today represented by Seeb city. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, v. 3, p. 461.
[157] EI2; art. Kalhāt.
[158] Ibn Ja'far, *Jāmi'*, v. 1, p. 177.

[159] John.C. Wilkinson, 'The Julandā of Oman' in *Journal of Oman Studies*, v. i (1975), p. 97-108.
[160] Ms1, Ms2, Ms3, Mc2.
[161] Ibn Ja'far, *Jāmi'*, v. 1, p. 206.
[162] Pub2, v. 1, p. 289.
[163] I have not found or read it yet but it is mentioned in Pu1, v. 1, p. 380; Pub3, v. 1, p.435.
[164] Ibn al-Aṯhīr, *Al-Kāmil*, v. 7, p. 57.
[165] Al-Sālimī, *Tuhfa*, v. 1, p. 315.
[166] Ms1, Ms2, Ms3, Mc2, Pub1, v. 2, p. 5-9.
[167] Ms2.
[168] Ms2.
[169] Pub2, v. 1, p. 300.
[170] Pub2, v. 1, p. 302.
[171] Ms4.
[172] Ms4.
[173] Ms2, Mc2, Pub1, v. 2, p. 39.
[174] Ms5.
[175] Ms1, Ms2, Mc2, Pub1, v. 1, p. 373-380.
[176] Ms2, Pub1, v. 1, p. 393.
[177] Ms2, Mc2.
[178] Pub2, v. 1, p. 312.
[179] Pub2, v. 1, p. 308-312.
[180] Ms1, Ms2, Ms3, Mc2.
[181] Ms1, Ms2, Mc2, Pub1, v. 1, p. 423.
[182] Ms1, Ms2, Mc2, Pub1, v. 1, p. 427.
[183] Ms1, Ms2, Ms3, Mc2, Pub1, v. 1, p. 413.
[184] Ms1, Ms3, Mc2, Pub1, v. 1, p. 399.
[185] Ms1, Ms2, Ms3, Mc2, Pub, v. 2, p. 30.
[186] Ms2, Ms3.
[187] Ms2, Ms3, Mc2; Al-Sālimī, *Tuhfa*, v. 1, p. 315-317.
[188] Ms1.
[189] Ms2.
[190] Al-Sālimī, *Lum'a*, p. 20.
[191] Ms2.
[192] Ms2, Pub1, v. 2, p. 113.
[193] Ms1, Mc2.
[194] Ms2, Pub2, v. 1, p.343.
[195] For more detail; Pub3, v. 1, p. 298.
[196] Pub3, v. 1, p. 296; Al-Kindī, *al-'Ihtidā'*ī, p. 187-189.
[197] Ms2, Ms3. Al-Kindī, *al-'Ihtidā'*, p. 190-195.
[198] Ms1, Ms2, Ms3, Mc2. Al-Kindī, *al-'Ihtidā*, p. 195-234.
[199] Ms2, Pub2, v. 1, p.339.
[200] Ms2.
[201] Ms2.
[202] Ms2.
[203] Ms2, Mc2.
[204] *Oman in History* (London, 1995), p. 165.
[205] Ms5.
[206] Pub3, v. 2, p. 119.
[207] Pub2, v. 1, p. 372; Pub3, v. 2, p. 13.
[208] Pub2, v. 1, p.379; Pub3, v. 2, p. 71.
[209] Pub2, v. 1, p. 373; Pub3, v. 2, p. 16.
[210] Ms3, Mc2.
[211] Pub2, v. 1, p. 381; Pub3, v. 2, p. 74.
[212] Ms1, Mc2, Pub2, v. 1, p. 384; Pub3, v. 2, p. 78.
[213] Cf. Wilkinson, *Water and Settlement in South Arabia: A study of the Aflāj of Oman* (Oxford, 1977).
[214] Pub3, v. 2, p. 198.
[215] Pub4, v. 1, p. 189-197.
[216] Pub4, v. 1, p. 198-202.
[217] Pub4, v. 1, p. 203-212.
[218] Pub4, v. 1, p. 213-219.
[219] Ennami, *Studies in Ibādism*, p. 249.
[220] Pub4, v. 1, p. 220-248.

[221]Pub3, v. 2, p. 24-34; Pub4, v. 1, p. 256-265.
[222] John. C. Wilkinson, 'Ibādi Theological Literature' in *Religion, Learning and Science in the 'Abbasid Period* (Cambridge University Press, 1992), (ed. Young, M. Latham, J. Serjent, R), v. 2, p. 35.
[223] Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-Udabā* (Cairo, n.d), v. 11, p. 72.
[224] *ibid.*, v. 19, p. 156.
[225] See; Fārūq, *Muqaddima fī maṣādir*, p. 16; *Oman in History*, p. 265.
[226] Wilkinson, *Sources for the early history of Oman*, p. 91.

PAGE NUMBERING AS ORIGINAL

Chapter 2

Themes of Omani *siyar*

As the subject of this chapter is broad, I have to explain my approach and its limitations from the start. I have chosen to treat the subject extensively, aiming to give a wide overview of the theme rather than limiting the chapter only to a few more narrowly defined questions. The approach of this chapter is based only on personal views of what the *siyar* reflect and I hope this approach will be a promising starting point for dialogue: it is to be considered as a foundation for further researches. I am aware that it is impossible to do justice to huge documentary texts in a small-scale work such as this. So far Wilkinson has made the only attempt to produce a theory on this subject, although he includes the *siyar* literature among the Ibāḍite *fiqh* works.[1] Apart from Wilkinson's opinions on Omani *fiqh*, he has provided the background to the *siyar* themes and useful insights into the constitution of the Ibāḍite community, its political history, socio-economic history and disputes on dogma.[2] In the current chapter, I intend to make a detailed study of theological aspects of the *siyar* while allowing discussions of the dogmatic dispute between the Nizwā and Rustāq schools to lead to the second theme: the interaction of the socio-politic history in Oman. The present treatment will refer back to the first chapter and will proceed to layout the following aspects:

I-Theological Aspects of the *siyar*

The *siyar* reveal interesting conventions of early theological discussions by Ibāḍite imāms in Basra. To understand the theological position of the Ibāḍites in the *siyar* works, it is necessary to analyse the compilations that have produced these Ibāḍite doctrinal views from two angles: the comparative theological views in Islamic doctrine and the epistles substantiating arguments of the Ibāḍite scholars.

The outstanding feature of the earlier compilations appears to be the growth of separate dogmatic views of Islamic tradition with its accompanying literature. The arbitration settlement following the battle of Ṣiffīn between 'Alī and Mu'āwiya had displeased all the groups involved, especially Mu'āwiya, and had been a focal point of attention for years. The factors that provoked the battle of Ṣiffīn had existed before the murder of the

Caliph 'Uthmān b. 'Affān (vii).[3] According to Abū al-Mū'thir's *sīra* (lxi), people were divided into three parties: the 'Uthmānis (the supporters of Uthmān), the anti-'Uthmānis and people who were called *al-Shukkāk* (who neither supported nor opposed).[4] The development of separate dogmas in Islam happened after the Siffīn arbitration, after which 'Alī's supporters themselves were divided into two groups: the Shiites and Khārijites. From these two parties Abū al-Mū'thir argues that the various Islamic sects are apparently different but still have many beliefs in common.[5] The interesting point of this continuity, however, is that the *siyar* have preserved the Ibādite arguments on the Siffīn affair and show the views of the opposition on this battle. The *siyar* records about the Siffīn affair were reported in al-Qalhātī's book *al-Kashf wa al-bayān*[6] ($7^{th}/13^{th}$). These arguments are also given in the *sīra* of Sālim b. Dhakwān (xxv) and 'Abdullāh Ibn Ibād's letter to 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān (xiv). Both the disputes concerning 'Uthmān's actions (*aḥdāth*) and the arbitration between 'Alī and Mu'āwīya have been utilised as examples in the discussion of the concept of sin.[7] When we try to investigate the connection between sin and acts from Abū 'Ubayda's and Abī Mawdūd's epistles, we can find interesting accounts dealing with their points of view throughout early discussions of the conception of sin. Abū 'Ubayda and Abī Mawdūd (xviii) both hold that self-will is a strong motivation that pushes a man to sin: the doctrine of deliberate sin.[8] Watt, while tracing the beginning of the doctrine of predestination in Islam, found that the Khārijite outlook was seen to be fatalistic and predestined. As Watt asserts, the development of Khārijite doctrine about predestination is shown through the conception of the righteous God. The conception of "God who demands righteousness from His creatures" led by an irresistible logic to the doctrine of human responsibility with its corollary doctrine of predestination while man has the power to perform the duties imposed on him.[9] But the early Ibādites themselves had a schism after Hārith al-Ibādī affirmed the *al-qawl bi-'l-qadar* "the doctrine of determination".[10]

Nevertheless, some Ibādites have agreed with Abū al-Hudhīl of the Mu'tazilites while the rest of the Ibādites considered his view to be that 'the capacity precedes the act'.[11] This subject also was considered by Hajāj b. Yūsuf (the governor of Iraq), who asked Jābir b. Zayd to define this topic. Jābir's reply referred him to the verse of the Koran: "whom God doth guide there can be none to lead astray and for whom God rejects from His guidance, there can be no guide". Al-Ash'arī describes the early Ibādite parties in terms of the doctrine of *qadar*[12] and shows that their materials indicate early contact between the Ibādites and Qadariyya, whereas Hamza al-Kūfī according to Abū 'Ubayda

shows that there was an arrangement with Ghaylān al-Dimashqī.[13] This arrangement between the Ibāḍites and Qadariyya perhaps came at the end of the 1st/8th century when al-Ḥārith al-Ibāḍī founded his doctrine outside the Ibāḍite traditional school in an attempt to link his doctrine with 'Abdullāh b. Ibāḍ.[14] As Van Ess suggests the Ibāḍites were not opposed to Qadariyya but determinism won out under Abū 'Ubayda during the reign of al-Manṣūr [754-775].[15] Further to this, Crone and Zimmermann report Ibn Ḥazm's claim about Ibn Ibāḍ that he converted Tha'ālibite to Khārijism, thus Ibn Ibāḍ may have been remembered as an adherent of a Qadariyya system.[16] It is important to note the origin of the split among Abī 'Ubayda's pupils was the issue of *qadar* and those whose views resembled *qadar* views were: Shu'ayb b. al-Ma'rūf, 'Abdullāh b. Yazīd and Hārūn b. al-Yamān.[17]

At the beginning of 3rd/9th century there was an Ibāḍite debate between Hārūn b. al-Yamān and Maḥbūb b. al-Raḥīl, according to al-Sālimī who asserted that Hārūn's scholars were al-Shu'aybiyya[18] with whom the early Khārijites discussed the issue of *qadar*.[19]At this point it is worth examining the definition of Shu'aybiyya since it can be seen in several Ibāḍite works. I believe there is confusion in the heresiography between the Shu'aybiyya and Sha'biyya, since many scholars misunderstand the differences between the stances of both these sub-sects. My suggestion is that the Shu'aybiyya is a sub-sect of the 'Ajārida, and that the discussion between Shu'ayb and Maymūn regarding the topic of predestination led to the schism among the 'Ajāridites in the last quarter of the 1st/7th century.[20] However, confrontation between the Ibāḍites and the 'Ajaridites has been recorded regarding this issue.

As for the Sha'biyya, I believe it was an Ibāḍite sub-sect which was formed gradually at the end of 2nd/8th century and the beginning of 3rd/9th century by 'Abdullāh b. Yazīd al-Fuzārī, Shu'ayb b. al-Ma'rūf, Ayyūb al-Sawāf and Abī al-Mū'raj, then later by Hārūn b. al-Yamān.[21] Subsequently, this development of Ibāḍism expanded in two ways. Politically, development occurred during the election to the Imamate of 'Abd al-Wahhāb in Tāhart, and the leaders of the Sha'biyya in this regard supported the Nukkārites against 'Abd al-Wahhāb. Theologically, the expansion was during the debate between Maḥbūb and Hārūn. Thus we face at this point a new sub-sect of Ibāḍism, though we do not know what motivated the Sha'biyya's conception and for whom it was an eponym. As I have mentioned, al-Bisyāwī refuted the Sha'biyya opinions as anti-Ibāḍite and listed the Ibāḍite scholars who were the proponents of

Sha'biyya.[22] Further, al- Bisyāwī notes that there were two Ibāḍite sub-sects at the end of 2nd/8th century: the Ṭurayfiyya or Ṭarfiyya? (eponym of 'Abdullāh bin Ṭurayf in Yemen) and the Sha'biyya.[23] Supporting my suggestion there is a letter by al-Rabī' concerning the leaders of Sha'biyya who were 'Abdullāh bin 'Abd al-'Azīz, Abū al-Mū'raj and Shu'ayb bin al-Ma'rūf.[24] In contrast, Abī Ghānim al-Khurāsānī, despite being one of their pupils who recorded Ibāḍite traditions from them in Basra, did not support the Sha'biyya.[25]

Imam al-Muhannā's epistle (xxxxiv) to Mu'āḍh b. Ḥarb indicates a change in the conception of *qadar* in Oman. His discussion of *qadar* caused a division in Omani society: one side is called 'Qadariyya' and claims that Allah did not create or form the action of men. The other side believes that Allah has created faith (i.e. good) and disbelief (i.e. bad), and is responsible for people's actions". The conflict between Qadariyya and their opponents surfaced in Oman during the Imamate of 'Abd al-Malik b. Ḥumayd when some Qadariyya began to settle and flourish in the cities of Sohar and Tuwām. These suggestions from the *siyar* material are confirmed when we considered the contribution of their role to discussion of *qadar*.

In principle, the present study maintains the recognition of the concept of *qadar* according to recent Ibāḍite materials. There is one significant piece of evidence: Abū 'Ubayda, an anti-Qadariyya, endeavoured to pursue the logic of his teacher Suḥār b. al-'Abbās and to introduce the concept to anti-Qadariyya,[26] that is, knowledge equals fate.[27] Abū 'Ubayda informs his followers that the arguments of predestination "...reflect the Koran, as much of it is about the virtue of knowledge and accomplishment of *qadar*". Abū 'Ubayda (xviii) argued that "if He (God) did not predestine, His knowledge is still evident and stable, though if He predestined, this knowledge can not be said to have shifted into predestination". But Abū 'Ubayda continues; "...He (God) began with the creation. He started by creating knowledge, as He laid down in the Psalms and what was gathered in revelation and in creation; later commands are according to what was confirmed by His knowledge and His command as is decreed". This indicates that Abū 'Ubayda attributes the term of *qadar* to the knowledge of God by following his teacher Suḥār b. al-'Abbās al-'Abdī's commentary. So historically the development of the concept of *qadar* became an issue in Oman. Imam al-Muhannā's epistle asserts that the action and destiny of people emanate from God's knowledge. According to the commentary on this concept, the Ibāḍites define

qadar as the knowledge of Allah. This concept has been defined as far as to say that the knowledge of Allah and determination of Allah are two inseparable things. The same applies to knowledge of Allah, which is not a barrier between the servant and his deeds. Allah requires his servants to do what He ordered them to do according to their capacity, not what they wish to do. The essential function of the doctrine of *qadar* was the portrayal of the ideal relationship between man and creator. The discussion began among the early Ibāḍites whether the origin of actions could be attributed to Allah or to the people. Though Ḥamza al-Qadarī asked Ḥājib: do you accept the saying that the good is from Allah and the evil is from people? Ḥājib replied, "we accept the statement from people but from you, we don't".[28] This attitude can be seen also in al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī when he affirmed that God creates only good, and that men's evil acts come from themselves or from Satan; but he allowed that God's guidance of men contained an element of 'succour' or 'grace' *tawfīq*.[29] It is interesting to note that the *siyar* show that 'Imrān b. 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Nidābī who was the Imam of Nidābs'[30] mosque in Basra said to Rabī' b. Ḥabīb: I cannot claim that Allah in his wisdom and justice asked his servants to do things which they are not able to do. Al-Rabī' asked him; "Is the guidance of God to Abū Bakr and 'Umar similar to His guidance to Abū Jahl?" 'Imrān said "no". Although 'Imrān insisted on his opinion this did him no harm within Ibāḍite circles.

Muḥammad b. Maḥbūb also reported about the discussion of *qadar* in Ibāḍite *ḥalqas* including Qadariyya scholars in Basra and an Ibāḍite called al-Ghazzāl who came from Sohar to debate with them. Al-Ghazzāl said to a man from the predestinarian group, "which is good, the action of Allah or the action of people? " He replied, "it is Allah's action that is good". Then Al-Ghazzāl asked: "Is prayer part of God's action or part of the servant's action?" He replied, "it is part of the servant's action". Then al-Ghazzāl asked, "Is sleep part of Allah's action or part of the servant's action?" he replied "It is part of Allah's action". Al-Ghazzāl then said "so the servant's action is better than Allah's action".[31]

So the Ibāḍite views created yet another subject for discussion, claiming that Allah did not force any one of his creatures to obey or disobey Him, and they also called the orthodoxy (i.e. the majority who favoured fatalism) 'Jabrites' since the majority view says that Allah forces his servant to do sins, and Muḥammad b. Maḥbūb comments that whoever does good or bad is just executing Allah's knowledge. Abū 'Ubayda used to say that Allah commanded obedience and made it obligatory and whoever did so, this is

Allah's knowledge. From this belief we find that the debate on *qadar* is about whoever creates the action or whether Allah force people to do good or bad. Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān asked Abū 'Ubayda "Does Allah force anyone to obey?" Abū 'Ubayda said "I did not learn that Allah forced anyone either to obey or disobey. But you say that Allah forced the people of piety to be pious when he showed them its reward. Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān said people flocked to the sins they committed in Allah's knowledge. Abū 'Ubayda said "by Allah it is not like that but their souls tempted them and Satan lured them to do these sins". He provides as evidence the words of Allah, who says: "…. Satan it was that tempted them".[32] He argues that God made us able to obey for the sake of reward and prohibited us to disobey in fear of punishment and thus He diverted the servant with this power to what He preferred and chose. So the servant is choosing without any coercion from the side of God. As a result, he is either praised or dispraised for his actions.

For the following centuries, the development of this subject gave rise to discussion about God's will. Abū al-Mū'thir al-Salt b. Khamīs (lxi) tried to give a different interpretation of the concept of *qadar*. Accordingly, he stated that the creation is equivalent to the *'qaḍā'* or more specifically it is the creation itself. Thus, Abū al-Mū'thir unanswerably refuted the attack of both the Qadariyya and Jabriyya when he explored Ibāḍite thought on this theological matter. In the middle of 4th/10th century Abū al-Ḥasan al-Bisyāwī (lxxxix) asserted that *qadar* is ability (*istiṭā'a*) and his view reflected the repudiation of the Mu'tazilite view that the specified ability comes before action or with action. In contrast, al-Bisyāwī's teacher Ibn Baraka's own view argues that (*Istiṭā'a*) ability and power have the same meaning and have no independent existence and are created in the servant who is given the ability and power at the point of acting and is thus made free to choose. But some Ibāḍite scholars suggested that ability is created simultaneously with the action and not before or after it, and it is not one type of ability but more than one, for each action has its own ability associated with the action. Thus al-Bisyāwī justifies it: if the ability were before action there would be no motivation either to sin or to obedience, so if he were able he would act. With respect to the notion of acquisition (*kasb*) it is every act that takes place with the ability to do that act. Whoever did an act with an already existing ability? Therefore, the subject of ability meant that servants were accountable under God's will (*mashī'a*). The following view of Ibn Baraka states that "the servant is not accountable on the side of Allah's creation and ability, rather he is accountable on his committing sins and

disobeying the orders of Allah".[33] So the destiny issue can be laid aside until someone commits actions. Accordingly the early Ibāḍites in general recognise that determination and intention imply the same meaning. One of them is the intention in what God revealed to his Prophets and in his guidance and the second is the intention of God in his creation by His knowledge.

From this brief chronology of Ibāḍite authorities it is possible to remark that *qadar* was the subject of heated debate until the 3rd/10th century in order to define the conception of destiny. Previously the *siyar* proved a trustworthy guide to the Ibāḍite contribution to the dogmatic destiny of Islam. Similar discussions defined the concept of movement (*ḥaraka*), where it is considered that *ḥaraka* is God's creation in the person at the time of doing the action. In tracing this material for the formative period of Ibāḍism, Ibn Baraka has linked the essence of God into this matter since determination (*irādah*) is one of the attributes of God because he is always determining.

We may observe here through tracing this material that the position of the Ibāḍites shows that they formed their own opinions and took up a position midway between the Qadariyya and fatalism. Of course we cannot deny that the influence of the Qadariyya was stronger than the orthodoxy on the Ibāḍite school, whereas for the Ibāḍites in the centre of Basra the topic of destiny until the end of 2nd /8th century was under consideration and only a minority of Ibāḍite scholars was influenced by the Mu'tazilite.

The other subject of these *siyar* addresses the theme of sin and its connection with belief. We have no proof as yet whether this dogma was originally influenced by Christianity or not.[34] To understand the term sin, we will give examples of its use in order to indicate how this term was used throughout Ibāḍite thought. We may start first with 'Abdullāh b. Ibāḍ's letter to 'Abd al-Malik. In this epistle Ibn Ibāḍ clarifies the differences regarding the conception of sin between the Khārijites and Ibāḍites, explains his own view and introduces a refinement by distinguishing between the terms of *mushrik* and *kāfir*.[35] Throughout his reply, however, he has employed the term *kuffar al-ni'am*, which means that he equalises sin and *kuffār* since sin is against the belief.[36] We do not need to repeat the subject of the connection between sin and disbelief, because Wensinck has already shown where this matter was originally founded in Prophetic tradition.[37] Abū 'Ubayda and Abī Mawdūd (xviii) investigated the topic to find out how sin leads to disbelief. They distinguished two types: first is that which is committed

intentionally despite the knowledge of the sinner; and second is that which is committed unintentionally as a result of ignorance. This matter addresses the innovation known as (*bid'a*), of which there are two types: one which involves polytheism and ascribing partners to God; and the other which involves innovation in religion by monotheists.

The issue of sin had been under discussion among the Ibāḍites in Basra at the beginning of the 3rd/9th century. Perhaps the outstanding example of this process is the debate in which both Ibāḍite leaders, Maḥbūb and Hārūn, attempted to classify the concept of sin. According to Hārūn, sin can be classified into three types: the first is the sin which implies its perpetrator is a disbeliever; the second is the sin in which it is irrelevant whether the perpetrator is a disbeliever or not; the third is the sin which God forgives. In short, these types of sin as Hārūn classifies them are respectively the big sin, the small sin and the sin of suspended-judgement (*mauqūfun 'anhā*). It seems that Hārūn's idea was to link between the conception of sin itself and the attitude of the grave sinner, and to deduce this from the conception of 'intermediate position' (*manzila bayn al-manzilatayn*) in Mu'tazilite terms. Perhaps he attempted to connect this case with the doctrines of association (*wilāya*), disassociation (*barā'a*) and suspended-judgment *wuqūf*.[38] We should clarify that the essence of the doctrines of association and disassociation has no connection with eschatological judgements and concerns only the present world.

It will perhaps now be obvious in this case that Imam al-Muhannā b. Jayfar (xxxxiv) was determined to indicate the concept of sin. He equalises sin with *kuffār* (disbelief). Thus he investigated the actions which lead to sin and divided the sin into two types: the first is disbelief of denial and it is a disbelief in the revelation. The second is disbelief of disobedience and it is the error in interpretation.

The second principle of theological discussion is that of Godly matters (*al-ilāhiyāt*), often referred to as the "belief in God's attributes". This subject naturally has developed into a deep investigation on the part of the doctrinal scholars. And the doctrine of anthropomorphisation (*tajsīm*) was, in part at any rate, the reason for doctrinal review of interpretation of the Koranic texts. Certainly, the metaphorical expressions have encouraged a diversity of theological opinions, and all these developed out of discussion of the Koran. For this development, Watt assumes it is more likely that it began at the end of the 1st/7th century, and he connected it with the concept of *qadar* since there were

vigorous arguments about the Koran and these arose from questions on the meaning of God's speech.[39]

Accordingly, the practices of Ibāḍite views began with Abū 'Ubayda in the first part of the 2nd/8th century. It was indicated by Maḥbūb that: it was said to Abū 'Ubayda that Muqātil b. Sulaymān used to say that God created Adam in His own form. Abū 'Ubayda said: Muqātil was wrong.[40] Yet, in the contexts of Maḥbūb and Hārūn, they both emphasised the metaphorical interpretation of the Koranic texts. Therefore they proposed to deduce the interpretation of Koranic metaphors as they emerged, since they adhered to the principle of unity (*tawḥīd*) which implies the unity of God. The controversial theological issues that were under discussion were: God's attributes; the vision of God on the day of Resurrection; the revelation by God on the night of 15th of Sha'bān; and sitting on the throne (*istiwā'*), yet there were disagreements between these two masters. The central question was: were the people who made a mistake about God's attributes to be considered unbelievers or polytheists.

For the Ibāḍites, however, God's attributes were seen in a similar way to the Mu'tazilite view. By introducing an element of multiplicity into the unity of God's nature or essence, they were asserting that these attributes did not have a kind of independent existence, but rather emerged from the unity of God's being. For example as God knew, he knew by himself or by his essence, and not by any knowledge.[41] In addition the Ibāḍite view is that the speech of God does not change. What changes is only its reading and recitations.

In this way God's attributes became significant political issues causing crises during the "*miḥna*"[42] when a debate developed on the Koran's nature and whether the speech or word of God is created or not.[43] Historically, the discussion on creation of the Koran arrived in Oman during the period of Imam al-Muhannā after the death of Maḥbūb, but the Imam himself did not join this debate.[44] For the Ibāḍites in Iraq, however, it is necessary to give Ibn Baraka's outline of this attitude. The Omanis at the end of 2nd/ 8th century asked Abī Sufra 'Abd al-Malik b. Abī Sufra who replied; "I understood your letter but I have not heard any of our scholars mention that the Koran is created. What they say is that it is the speech of Allah". Ibn Baraka reported that he met an Ibāḍite scholar in Baghdad called Ibn 'Amrūsh who made contact with Rabī''s contemporaries. Ibn 'Amrūsh states that he had not heard anything of this topic and was among the

Ibāḏites but he added that he preferred people not to dissociate from those who said that the Koran is created. In addition Abū 'Abdullāh Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd al-Baḥrānī reported that he had been informed that Hayf b. Yaḥyā and 'Adl b. Yazīd discussed this topic.[45] From these outlines it is possible to suggest that the discussion on the creation of the Koran arrived in Oman before Muhannā's time and probably the crisis was mainly started during the time of strong influence from Baghdad.

The *siyar* collections preserve two epistles dealing with the present matter during the middle of the 3rd/9th centuries.[46] The first one was by the Rustamid Imam Abū al-Iaqżān Aflaḥ b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb to the Omanis (lv) where the Ibāḏite Imam of Northern Africa adopted the view that the Koran is created. The second epistle was by 'Azzān b. al-Ṣaqar (lv) who adopted a similar view to the Ash'ariyya. Yet, it may be supposed that this dogma would never have come to the fore without influence from elsewhere. As regards these views, we shall consider the influences on both sides. In order to understand the origins of the debate on the creation of the Koran in Oman, al-Sālimī deals with the doctrines of the Jahmiyya and Qadariyya where they existed in Sohar and says the Jahmiyya had even more beliefs about God's attributes.[47] For this theological problem the early debate was between Muḥammad b. Maḥbūb and Hāshim b. Ghaylān and the Omani scholars who concluded that 'God created all things and without God nothing was created', perhaps this position was ended by Imam Muhannā. However, Muḥammad b. Maḥbūb might have brought his view from Basra where he grew up. 'Abdullāh b. 'Abd al-'Azīz was the first Ibāḏite to discuss this subject when he said he believed that the Koran was created.[48] Muḥammad b. Maḥbūb's view of the Koran as recorded by his pupils before he came to Sohar was: "do not say the Koran is created nor is it uncreated. Do not say that the Koran is Allah or not Allah. But say it is the speech of Allah".

Even as the basis of the theological position of the Ibāḏites, the view that the Koran was created assumed by the *Mashāriqa* school has not been given wide attention since it had not been noted and recorded for almost a century. This could be understood from their own materials.

II- The dynamics of socio-political history in Oman

The relationship of the Islamic institution of *'ulamā'*, or religious scholars, and governments is not confined only to Ibāḍism but it is an aspect of other Islamic groups and doctrines as well. The concept used in identifying the imamate's position among Islamic groups actually goes back beyond the early stages of Islam.[49] Since the views emanated from the relation between the state and *sharī'a* we must examine the *siyar* carefully for evidence rather than merely theorising.[50] In order to grasp the function of Islamic doctrine, we may address this question: what was the contribution of each Islamic sect to Islamic society and the state throughout history?

In Oman the socio-political structure that has supported the imamate until the twentieth century has interested several scholars.[51] This interest has covered different perspectives such as Oman's religious learning, social structure, political history and the Imamate which itself became part of Oman's culture.[52] In this section we will try to bring into perspective the relation between these factors via a study of *siyar* materials. This study will be based on the chronology we have identified of events examined in the first chapter. We intend to discuss the relation between religion and state from the socio-political perspective, which implies both historical and social aspects. Though we will consider that the state rulers in this period of Omani history have been described in the *siyar* we have examined.[53]

In the century which followed the end of the Umayyad state, the Ibāḍites had succeeded in establishing the *imamate* of *żuhūr* in Oman, Yemen and afterward some ten years later in North Africa.[54] The activity of the Ibāḍites in Basra had influenced these regions through their pupils (carriers of knowledge)[55] under their master Abū 'Ubayda.[56] Though the *siyar* did not preserve any exchange of letters between the proponents of Ibāḍism and their students, al-Kudamī presented the role of these students in Oman thus: "We have no doubt that the Omanis were not included in the true religion (*dīn al-istiqāma*), otherwise they would have followed the Ṣufriyya. However, in course of time the scholars and learned men had gone to Basra to obtain the knowledge from Iraq, and they came back to teach the people what they did not already know of religion".[57] The Omanis elected al-Julandā b. Mas'ūd as the first Imam, who brought to an end the rule of the Julandānis dynasty, despite being himself a member of the family.[58]

The institution of *'ulamā'* and the imamate as political organisation in Oman had been imposed by force. We can see this because firstly, the ousted Julandāni dynasty revolted against their relative, the new Imam al-Julandā,[59] and secondly, the Omanis wanted independence from the 'Abbasid State. The masters of Basra sent to Oman a group under the leadership of Hilāl b. 'Aṭiyya al-Khurāsānī (xxix) trying to discourage tribalism in case it caused revolt against the Imam. When the Imamate had been established, Imam al-Julandā subsequently sent Abī 'Ubayda and Ḥājib to make contact with Basra.[60] When the Imamate of Julandā had been defeated by the Abbasids, Shabīb b. 'Aṭiyya (xxxi) took the political role of *al-muḥtasib* under his responsibility. This was due to his willingness to fill the gap that followed the Imam Julandā so as to mediate with the centre of Ibāḍism in Basra. On the other hand Shabīb had asked for *zaka* on Omani villages but in the event, ceded his rule to the Sultan's deputies when they came.[61] Shabīb's *sīra* had directed all people towards a revolution to gain an independent state by reviving the political spirit of early Ibāḍism within the people.

Therefore, the relations with Ibāḍite regions continued in Basra regardless, as can be seen in the case of Thābit and Dirham in Oman (xxvii). More precisely the authority in Basra was over all the Ibāḍite parties. This can be seen in 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Julandāni's case, since the *shurāt* in Oman killed him after the Imamate of al-Julandā was defeated, although the Julandānis submitted their case to the imams of Basra when they could not be judges in their own case in Oman.[62] So both Julandānis and Ibāḍites were willing to take independence from the Abbasids.

Having traced the growth of the role of the Ibāḍite spirit itself and its existence as a doctrine in Oman, we proceed to consider the position of the 'carriers of knowledge'. When the latter returned to Oman, their awareness of the need for moral strength was behind the resistance. Originally, all missionaries trained in Basra, but as the Imamate became established *'ulamā'* developed their own centres locally, perhaps influenced by tribalism. Mūsā b. Abī Jābir, the head of the carriers of knowledge, appeared again during this interregnum since he was among the people who elected al-Julandā to the Imamate, but afterwards he became one of the missionaries. The new pupils who arrived from Basra wanted to take authority from the former missionaries. Al-Sālimī notes that there was a kind of confusion in the relation between Mūsā and Shabīb.[63] According to al-Barrādī, during this interregnum and before the Imamate of al-Wārith, the Omanis revolted against the Abbasids under al-Kulndā b. al-Julandā until he was

killed. Al-Kulndā seems to be from the Julandānis, though his revolution was trying to occupy Yemen as well as Oman.[64]

Upon re-establishing the Imamate of Muḥammad b. Abī 'Affān in 177/793-179/795 it is necessary to briefly mention the structure of Oman's state. Since the connection between the Ibāḍite and Azd's clan has been continued in Basra,[65] occasionally this relationship has appeared to shape the distinction in early Arabic states between local politics of the place, tribe and dogma. To explain this form in Oman the state should consist of three pillars: the tribe of Azd, Ibāḍism and the internal politics of Oman and these have formed and shaped the historical pyramid of Oman. So the Ibāḍite ideology helped to close the gap that originally existed between the Arabs and other inhabitants of the land whose previous rulers fell with the coming of Islam, and in doing so put a stop to the economic decline of the Julandā period.[66] Accordingly, Wilkinson added that the Ibāḍite ideology has, in part, determined the form of Omani political unity, but it is the physical rather than cultural factors which have allowed an independent Omani state to survive in some form for nearly 1200 years.[67] We should note that the structure of the Imamate traditional system in Oman was distributed among various authorities, as follows: the executive authority, which is the Imamate; the legislative authority, which is represented by religious scholars (*'ulamā'*); and military authority, which belonged to the *shurāt*.

Following in the latter part of 2nd/8th century, the scholars living in the Imamate's authority became what can be called *arbāb ahl al-ḥall wa al-'aqd* and the scholars were able to unite Omani tribal leaders to elect Muḥammad b. Abī 'Affān to the Imamate. Mūsā b. Abī Jābir was worried about having as imam one of the Omani tribal leaders because he expected a problem, as the scholars would not have any influence on elections to the Imamate. Moreover, it would raise tribal pride among the Omanis themselves.[68] Approximately two years later Mūsā b. Abī Jābir discharged Muḥammad b. Abī 'Affān from his office and his statement (xxxiv) explains the reasons which led to his dismissal for his excessive severity. Abū al-Mū'thir records that the scholars who elected Muḥammad b. Abī 'Affān were themselves the ones who dismissed him. Mūsā b. Abī Jābir dismissed Muḥammad b. Abī 'Affān from the Imamate for the reason that he had given his allegiance to al-Wārith b. Ka'b [179/796-192/808].[69] He may also have been dismissed because he was from the *shurāt* of Basra and not actually from Oman.[70] Abī al-Ḥasan al-Bisyāwī (lxxi) justifies his dismissal for yet another reason that the

'ulamā' used him either as an imam of defence until the war ended or merely as commander of an army. The biggest success of the *'ulamā'* was in transferring the capital from Sohar to Nizwā so they could preserve the Imamate and the connection between the coast and interior of Oman. Nizwā ever since this period has been known as *bayḍat al-Islām*. Indeed, it was these situations that naturally allowed the *'ulamā'* to become an active political organisation in Omani history rather than remote religious scholars.[71] The remarkable achievement of the *'ulamā'* administration was that when al-Wārith died, they selected his successor before the assembly of tribal leaders in order not to lose their role.[72]

The *siyar* which have been written throughout the Imamate of Ghassān b. 'Abdullāh [192/808-207/823] would, therefore, seem to be the most useful method of disseminating legislative rulings when the *'ulamā'* existed as *muftis*, counsellors and ministers for the Imams. Although executive authority may have been understandably reluctant to accept the character of Munīr b. al-Nayyir's *sīra* to the Imam Ghassān b. 'Abdullāh when it directed the Imamate of Oman to look outside the Imamate territory in an endeavour to expand the Imamate's authority until it reached *Arḍ al-Hind*. When the Imam tried to protect the merchant traders of the Gulf he had to establish an Omani navy to form a force against Indian pirates (*bawārij al-Hind*).[73]

Involvement in ruling the Gulf's trading was itself a major reason for the emergence of Oman as a state.[74] The interesting thing we have to point out is that after Imam Ghassān's death in 207/823 his successor was not recognised until 208/824. This reveals the fact that the state was in an interregnum and the ruling of the state was under *'ulamā'* control.[75] Nevertheless, Wilkinson suspects that Imam Ghassān may have died in 208/824 or his successor was elected in 207/823.[76]

When 'Abd al-Malik b. Humayd [208/824-226/841] succeeded to the Imamate and was formally appointed by the *'ulamā'*, Hāshim b. Ghaylān (xxxviii) indicated to him that he should keep an eye on the Qadariyya and Murji'a groups whose missionaries had established their ideologies in Sohar and Tuwām. The flourishing state of Omani cities perhaps was the main factor that attracted the doctrinal refugees, either Ibāḍites or others. For instance, the most important account is the *sīra* of Mūsā b. 'Alī (xxxxii) when the *'ulamā'* agreed to dismiss the Imam 'Abd al-Malik b. Humayd from office, as his age had made him unable to control the country's affairs;[77] Abū Qaḥtān adds that his

mind was malfunctioning. This affair showed, therefore, the inability of the *'ulamā'* to deal effectively with claims against high and powerful officials of state. The *'ulamā'* discussed the idea of dismissing him but Mūsā b. 'Alī suggested that the scholars should control the army and run the state (lxvi). Thereafter, Oman had sub-independence with complete autonomy over military and naval power. Since the arrival of Maḥbūb b. al-Raḥīl in Oman, his son Muḥammad b. Maḥbūb became a judge of Sohar then was succeeded by another member of his family.[78] In the light of these considerations it is obvious that the development of families who had acquired religious knowledge in Oman, such as Maḥbūb's (Rahīlī) family and Mūsā b. 'Alī's (Sāma) family became powerful authorities and continued to influence Oman's political atmosphere.[79]

The election to the Imamate of al-Muhannā b. Jayfar (226/841-237/851) brought prosperity since he was a scholar and Imam at the same time and this distinguished him from the previous Imams.[80] This can be indicated obviously from his *sīra* to Mu'ādh b. Ḥarb (xxxxiv), which discussed the Ibāḍite theological and jurisprudential ideas. During his reign, he restructured the Imamate's administration and reformed the military forces: a standing army replaced the militia (*shurāt*), thus strengthening the executive power. Al-Sālimī gives a description of the Imamate's army: the navy had three hundred ships, and the army had between one thousand three hundred and nine thousand horses and camels, and also ten thousand foot soldiers, as well as a standing force composed of several ethnic minorities including Indians.[81] Obviously, these developments had affected the constitutional structure of the state since the endeavour of the Imam was to weaken the legislative power in political affairs of the state. With these measures some of the *'ulamā'* were dissatisfied and they decided to dismiss him. Mūsā b. 'Alī who was *rā's ahl al-ḥall wa al-'aqd* (who had most influence) went to discharge him from the Imamate office. The Imam Muhannā told him: "O Abū 'Alī (Mūsā) you are coming to me I swear with Allah if you obey the Omanis in what they wish, no imam would stay with them even for a year; go back! I did not allow you to come and you have not got a permission to come".[82] Abū Qaḥtān in the *sīra* recognized that Muḥammad b. Maḥbūb and Bashīr bin al-Mundhir knew that the conduct of al-Muhannā was incompatible with the retention of the Imamate, and as a consequence they secretly renounced him.[83]

The first Imamate in Oman was during the golden ages that ended with the Imamate of al-Salt b. Mālik (237/851-272/886).[84] Yet the Islamic constitution in general had no solution for the aged and invalid imam, and whether it was permissible to depose him

from his office or not. This issue is similar to that faced in the Caliphate of 'Uthmān, and now, the Omanis had to face the same situation.

The illustration of this relationship shows that all Omani Imams in the first Imamate more or less were targeted for dismissal from the Imamate beginning with Julandā until the last who was either Rāshid b. al-Nażar or 'Azzān b. Tamīm; the only exception was Ghassān b. 'Abdullāh.[85] The real importance of this relationship in the first Imamate is that it consolidates Oman as a state.[86]

Before summing up this section, we shall present the role of the *shurāt* in the *siyar*, as it was mentioned that an armed force of Ibādites was sent from Basra to establish the Imamate of Julandā b. Mas'ūd. The *shurāt* reappeared strongly during the interregnum period after the Imamate of Julandā. However, when Muhammad b. Abī 'Affān held office as an imam, the *shurāt* were perhaps joined and backed by the young Omani tribesmen. The *shurāt* was becoming a voluntary army inspired by Ibādite ideology. Abī al-Hawārī's *sīra* (lxxxiv) describes the events and the actions of Sa'īd b. Ziyād, the head of the *shurāt* during the Imamate of Muhammad b. Abī 'Affān, when he burnt the property of opposition tribes. The case of Sa'īd b. Ziyād's behaviour was debated among the *'ulamā* in Oman and Basra.[87] According to Ibn Baraka, he states that Ibn Ziyād was exiled to Bahrain and later returned to Oman by the permission of Ghassān b. 'Abdullāh.[88] The Imam Muhammad b. Abī 'Affān himself was among the *shurāt* and was dismissed from the office of imamate as a result of his behaviour. The *shurāt* system, however, went much further than the irregular and voluntary non-professional army of the old system; it entirely revolutionised the basic concept of army. The early Imams were faced with a particular problem. It was essential to have a new system of *shurāt* organisation after the *shurāt* ignored the Imam al-Wārith's orders and broke into prison at Sohar to kill the Abbasid general 'Isā b. Ja'far (in Dhū al-Hijja 189/November 805), who was a close relative to the Caliph, after the Abbasid army sent to Oman was defeated.[89] It had become necessary to bring the *shurāt* under state authority. By the latter part of the Imamate of Ghassān b. 'Abdullāh, *shurāt* members attacked and killed al-Saqar b. Muhammad b. Zā'da al-Julandānī, even though he was under the protection of the Imam's governor in Smā'īl; Abū al-Waddāh and Mūsā b. 'Alī were neither able to protect him nor stop them because they were both afraid of the *shurāt*.[90]

The *sīra* of Munīr b. al-Nayyir to Imam Ghassān b. 'Abdullāh (xxxvi) is considered to be one of the most important documents that described the early *shurāt* as he said;

"their opinions united on the strength of truth and the ruling of the religion to recruit a force of three to four hundred *shurāt* leaders. We have been informed that some of these *shurāt* leaders were extremely pious people to the extent that they would return the surplus *Dirhams* or the two *Dirhams* of their spending to the treasury". He comments on the changing of the *shurāt* **"after this first generation others came later claiming to follow the path of the *shurāt* but they left the call of religion and proclaimed tribalism and adopted fanaticism amongst themselves. At the same time the scholars were reluctant to oppose this trend perhaps of fear of them. Moreover, the *shurāt* used people themselves without any Imam's permissions".**

The above statements show the transformation of the *shurāt*'s affairs and how criticism and disapproval caused the change in the *shurāt*. One practical effect seen in these accounts is the influence of the *shurāt* on the Imamate's authority, and how in the course of time fanaticism and dogmatism had appeared, especially when Imam al-Salt was dismissed from the Imamate. Imam al-Salt describes the events by saying that (lxvi) he commanded the *shurāt* and all those concerned, such as the soldiers, to fight, but they refused, and then he ordered them to proceed. They lagged behind and discipline became weak to such an extent that al-Salt became afraid of the potential for violence between the soldiers and the people and consequently war and blood shedding. He adds this was the reason that he had to move to his son's house without leaving the Imamate. Wilkinson's hypothesis of the *shurāt* and military power of the Imamate may be correct. Since in theory the Imam and his community are indissolubly bonded by a divine contract to support one another, it is the duty of the Muslims to obey their leader in the call to arms. Because the military potential of the community is always at the Imam's disposal he has no need of a standing army; indeed, he is not permitted to have one.[91]

In 272/885 Oman had gone through a period of turmoil that led to a collapse of the Imamate after the deposing, removal, dismissal or retirement of Imam al-Salt from the imamate (lxxxi). Outlining the reasons that led to the collapse of the Omani Imamate State Abū Qahtān's statement (lxvi) says: "In this state, people and youths with no piety, outwardly showing faith but concealing the love of life, existed and they display their religion for the sake of their life". The Omani tribal solidarity (*'asabiyya*) was subsequently involved in the issue, turned into tribal schism and dogmatism then into five civil wars until they themselves caused the downfall of their state, since the northern tribes were backed by the Abbasid governor in Bahrain, Muhammad b. Nūr (Thūr or Būr?). The war and the Imamate ended when the Imam 'Azzān b. Tamīm was

killed in 280/885.[92] The *'ulamā'* (legislative authority) found themselves losing control without being aware that they were actually being manipulated by tribal fanatics. Thus the relationship between *'ulamā'* and tribal leaders had been transformed. Al-Fadl b. al-Hawārī was the most prominent scholar backed by al-Huddān and northern tribes. Al-Fadl (lxxxi) supported 'Abdullāh b. al-Hawārī against Mūsā b. Mūsā who had deposed the Imam Rāshid b. al-Nażar. Furthermore, Mūsā b. Mūsā's policy was accepted by neither Imam Rāshid b. al-Nażar nor Imam 'Azzān b. Tamīm and therefore failed. The civil war ended with the killing of the *'ulamā'* al-Fadl b. al-Hawārī and Mūsā and was a real conflict between imams and *'ulamā'* in spite of all the Imams of that period being controlled by the *'ulamā'* and the tribal leaders.

As a consequence of this *fitna*, however, the attitudes of the *'ulamā'* showed a theoretical schism over the physical nature of the Imamate. The disagreement with regard to deposing Imam al-Salt b. Mālik emerged as an extreme division between the moderate Nizwā and the extreme Rustāq schools. Nizwā sought reconciliation over issues that had led to the crisis in the Imamate at the end of the 3rd/ 9th century. The Rustāq school sought legitimisation of the Yahmad Imamate by excommunicating the party which deposed Imam al-Salt in 272/885. Yet, in the main contemporary records of the Nizwā school the outlines of the disputes are in the *sīra* of al-Āzhar b. Muhammad b. Ja'far (lxxvi); the contemporary comments from the *sīra* of Abū 'Abdullāh Muhammad b. Rawh (lxxvii); the main neutralist position is given by the *sīra* of Abū 'Abdullāh Nabhān b. 'Uthmān, who tried to sponsor the Imamate of A. al-Qāsim Sa'īd b. 'Abdullāh. The full doctrinaire dogmatic development points out that the views of both schools came from the second generation who were Abī Muhammad b. Baraka and his pupil Abū al-Hasan al-Bisyāwī for the Rustāqīs and A. Sa'īd al-Kudamī for the Nizwānīs. In the field of Ibādite technical legislation the masters of both schools (Ibn Baraka and al-Kudamī) consolidated and improved the Ibādite *Mashāriqa* school by reforming its constitution.[93]

Yet, al-Istakhrī and Ibn Hawqal report that after the Abbasids destroyed the Omani state the Omani Ibādites had moved towards the interior of Oman where they elected their own Imam in Nizwā.[94] The *'ulamā'*s significance was to preserve the Ibādite ideology and to become pragmatic rather than dogmatic since they transformed the Imamate from *żuhūr* into *difā'* (defence). However, the alliance between both schools was to prevent any possible foreign intervention and to re-establish the Imamate. Abū al-Hawārī

(lxxxiv) recounts that Omanis revolted in the interior where they were able to kill the deputy of Muḥammad b. Nūr, Buḥīra. Moreover, Abū Qaḥṭān (lxvi) and Abū 'Abdullāh Muḥammad b. Rawḥ (lxxvii) gave a list of Imams who were elected during this forty years interregnum: "The (*'ulamā'*) elected to the Imamate: Rāshid b. al-Nażr twice, 'Azzān b. Tamīm, al-Salt b. al-Qāsim al-Kharūṣī twice, and al-Ḥawārī b. 'Abdullāh, 'Abdullāh b. Muḥammad al-Ḥuddānī [known as Abū Sa'īd al-Qurmaṭī]. Therefore, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Kharūṣī was elected as *shārī* imam in 280/893 but soon he abdicated and resigned from the Imamate, then al-Ḥawārī b. Muṭraf al-Ḥuddānī twice, 'Umar b. Muḥammad b. Muṭraf al-Ḥuddānī, Muḥammad b. Yazīd, al-Ḥakam b. al-Milā twice and 'Azzān a. al-Huzzabr". Unfortunately, they did not name them in chronological order. Muḥammad b. Rawḥ states that: "The Omani elected eight Imams after the Imam Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan, though they have elected some of them as a *shirā* and some as a *difā*'".[95]

Abū al-Mū'thir (lix) does not know whether those imams mentioned in the abovementioned list were just or tyrannical imams. Nor is there any evidence concerning those Imams who had backing from either the Rustāq or Nizwā schools. They were perhaps more likely supported by the Nizwā school rather than the Rustāq since all the Rustāq *siyar* fail to list or recommend them. Abū al-Mū'thir's *sīra* (lxii) to Muḥammad b. Ja'far asked him why he allowed Imam 'Azzān b. al-Huzzabar to choose whether or not to fight since he was an imam of *shirā* and should have fought. In the reflection of this interregnum in the Imamate, the consequent adoption by the Imam 'Abdullāh b. Muḥammad al-Ḥuddānī (Abū Sa'īd al-Qurmatī) of the Carmathian heresy was regarded by the *'ulamā'* as a good cause for removing him.[96]

Up to 320/939 the Omanis were united under the Imam Abī al-Qāsim Sa'īd b. 'Abdullāh. Both schools were satisfied with his reign and at that time they had an alliance. Naturally, the restoration of the Imamate had put great pressure on the Rustāq school to change their conceptions of the Imamate, hence they aligned themselves with the Nizwā school and this resulted in their preference for the pattern of elective Imamate in both Ibāḍite schools. With respect to the *'ulamā'* in Oman, however, the election for the Imamate of Abī al-Qāsim Sa'īd b. 'Abdullāh had brought back the Ibāḍite ideology in Oman.

So even though the *'ulamā'* had developed the concept of *jabābira* (tyrant rulers) to describe outside influences or the opposing foreign powers, these concepts had given shape to feelings of Omani nationalism.[97] The *'ulamā'* represented the Imamate as a vehicle for the unity of the people throughout this period. Abū al-Mū'thir ordered that houses belonging to followers of the Carmathians should be burnt down so they could not return.[98]

The predomination of the Nizwā School is attested by Abī al-Hasan al-Bisyāwī's account (lxxxviii) of Imam Hafs b. Rāshid's war against al-Muṭahir b. 'Abdullāh after he was elected the second to the Imamate. Al-Sālimī concludes on this matter that it is possible that this Imam had a negative attitude towards them (Rustāq school), with its extreme dogmatism on Mūsā b. Mūsā and Rāshid b. al-Nażr.[99] If this statement was true, then the Imam's authority would still need the recognition of the *'ulamā* and their legislation on the constitution. Occasionally, they produced *siyar* which were written similarly to *masā'il* or *fatwā*, which contain the comments and refutations through their discussion of the nature of the obligations of the Imamate, for example in the *sīra* by Abī Bakr Ahmad b. 'Umar al-Manahī.[100]

In 407/1016 the Omanis were able to restore the Imamate of *żuhūr*. However, there is a sharp contrast between the first and second Imamate of Oman in the sense that they could not re-establish the power of the first Imamate due to its lack of substantial resources. The essential role of the *'ulamā'* had made them aware that the state required them to integrate with the tribal leaders even if these leaders had committed sins. Abū 'Isā al-Sarrī justified this by arguing that the Imamate needs someone who has power and wealth even if he is known to be a great sinner. In that case scholars should bring the sinner forward and ask him to repent and if he does then they may elect him as Imam. Abū 'Isā provides proof of this by showing how the *'ulamā'* did when they elected al-Khalīl b. Shādhān. But regarding the necessity of integrating a new state, Imam Rāshid b. Sa'īd produced his manifesto in order to end the conflict between the Rustāq and Nizwā schools.

So far, it is obvious from the *siyar* and through literature mentioned in the new stage of the Imamate that the *'ulamā'* attempted to reconstruct the policy of the Imamate and to legislate on the constitution of the Imamate. This is evident in the following *siyar*; *fī al-Tawhīd wa al-imāma kayf hiya, fī al-farq bayna al-imām al- 'ālim wa ghayr al-'ālim*

and *K. al-Imāma*; the finest example of this planned legislation can be seen in *al-Muṣannaf* by Abū Bakr 'Abdullāh b. Mūsā al-Kindī.[101] It cannot be denied that all of the authors of these works were scholars of the Rustāq school. Some *siyar* show that the imam's policy and legislation had to be recommended by the *'ulamā'* throughout the Imamate of Rāshid b. Sa'īd, as the *'ulamā'* had to appear to control the state.[102]

The relationship between imams and *'ulamā'* in the following period of the second Imamate seemed to suffer a breakdown. Evidence of this can be found for example:

1-In the *sīra* by Imam Rāshid b. 'Alī (cii) when he submitted his repentance (which was more like a manifesto) for the manner in which he excommunicated the judge Nijād b. Mūsā for his behaviour without the *'ulamā*'s prior approval. This *sīra* also included the *'ulamā*'s acceptance of the repentance but also their approval of the excommunication.

This piece of evidence could indicate that instability recurred within the *'ulamā'* in controlling the Imamate policy, as some of the *'ulamā'* opposed the Imam. Al-Sālimī comments regarding this matter that "the Rustāq's party revolted against the Imam Rāshid b. 'Alī, and also they made an effort to depose him from the Imamate office. The heads of this party were Mūsā b. Nijād and Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. Abī Jābir, who started the mutiny from Rustāq city".[103] So increasingly the clash within the *'ulamā'* developed into two rival factions of *'ulamā'*: the *'ulamā'* of *Jawf* (the interior of Oman), who tried to select their own imam; and the *'ulamā'* who were in alliance with the Imam Rāshid b. 'Alī. Eventually, the Imam fought Mūsā b. Nijād who was killed in 496/1119.[104] This account of the event shows that the scholar was murdered, and the killer was an imam, reminding us of the great *fitna* in Oman during 275-280.

2- Upon investigation of the time period of the *siyar*, it can be shown that there were several imams who existed at the same time in the *miṣr*, and that they controlled different regions of the country. Abī al-Ḥasan al-Bisyāwī discussed the case whereby there are two imams in one *miṣr*, for instance, one imam in Tuwām and the other in Sohar.[105] Thus the Ibāḍite theory of state, namely that there should be one Imam in each *miṣr*, began to change.[106]

3- The election was dependent on whether the imam belonged to a certain school. This is represented in the *sīra* of al-Ḥasan al-Bisyāwī about Ḥafṣ b. Rāshid and the *sīra* of Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. 'Umar. A third example is the debate in the *sīra* of Aḥmad b.

Muḥammad b. Sālih al-Nizwānī and his pupil Abū Bakr al-Kindī (cxvii), when the people of Nizwā refused to acknowledge the advice of the Rustāqi Imam Muḥammad b. Abī 'Affān's *sīra* (cxiv). Another example is the local support of Ghaṭafān in Bāṭina submitted their pledge to back up the imam in his office (cxviii). Some of the *'ulamā'* during this period seemed to be leaders of tribes and therefore strong forces in the general infrastructure of the Imamate. This can be seen clearly in Nijād b. Mūsā's family. If we examine the *siyar* closely we can see also that there was interference between the tribal elements and the school, perhaps as result of the manner in which the imam was elected. In any case, during this period the Imam Rāshid b. 'Alī's conduct led to the split of the Rustāq party, but it would seem that other Imams might have been present at the same stage. We may hypothesise that one of these Imams was possibly Muḥammad b. Abī Ghassān.

Such situations had led to the final clash at the end of this stage in 579/1183 between the Imam Mūsā b. Abī al-Ma'ālī and Muḥammad b. Mālik b. Shādhān (who was the leader of Yaḥmad). This caused the Imamate and school to split and be divided between the tribal leaders (cxiv). Wilkinson and al-Baṭāshī suggest that Muḥammad b. Mālik might have been an Imam, and probably the last Imam of this stage.[107] If this suggestion is correct it is difficult to accept that both imams had fought when Oman developed into a feudal system controlled by Imams and tribal leaders, and the second Imamate State came to an end. To sum up, we can observe from this struggle between the imams and *'ulamā'*, first between Rāshid bin 'Alī and Nijād bin Mūsā and later between Abī al-Ma'ālī Mūsā and Muḥammad bin Mālik, and also see that the Yaḥmad tribes perhaps would unite under Banī Kharūṣ for forming a state of alliance. However, at the same time the Azd of 'Atīk became prominent. Thus, it can be seen that there was a transferral of the tribal leadership from Azd of Yaḥmad to Azd of 'Atīk. This was the first major change since the previous era began with the challenge to the authority of Julandā, and this heralded the appearance of the Nabhānī dynasty. We have found no date yet to show when this state happened. This dynasty perhaps came into being with the feudal system in the latter half of the 5th/11th century and developed gradually.[108]

For the next five centuries Oman was to be controlled by the Nabhānī dynasty.[109] However, we should realize that, as stated by Wilkinson, there was more than one Nabhānī family involved in the early history. There is a lacuna of at least 250 years in which we do not have evidence that they ruled in Oman. Also there seems to be no

continuity between early and later Nabhānī history.[110] Nevertheless, this stage has a certain pattern of conduct in the relationship between rulers and religious scholars, now that the *'ulamā* faced a dynasty which was both Omani and Ibāḍite. The *'ulamā'* had not faced such a situation since the end of the Julandānis.

Tracing the historical development of Oman throughout this period is something of a puzzle. Miles gives an account of the end of the 6th/12th and beginning of the 7th/13th centuries. For forty years we hear of no rivalry between the Nabhānis and Ibāḍites.[111] For approximately two and a half centuries, the *'ulamā'* seem to have had no ability to elect an imam. Historical sources do not show any imams between 579/1183-809/1406. It was only in 809/1406-832/1429 that the *'ulamā'* appointed the Imam Mālik b. al-Ḥawārī (or al-Ḥawārī b. Mālik?).[112] The Nabhānis perhaps had become a feudal dynasty. Occasionally the *'ulamā'* succeeded in electing several imams and controlling the interior of Oman.[113]

From this historical background, we shall now clarify the relationship between the *'ulamā'* and the Imamate states. Up until this stage the subject matter of the *siyar* was based on the political crisis. For example Abū Muḥammad b. Sulaymān b. Muffarraj produced a *sīra* in 887/1482 to confiscate the property of the Nabhāni family, since they were considered as tyrants and they occupied properties of people forcibly. Following this situation in 917/1511 the Imam Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl gave his own approval for confiscating the properties of the Nabhānis. Furthermore, the crisis had extended to include confiscating the properties of the Rawāḥī tribe, since they had backed the Nabhānī leaders Sulaymān b. Sulaymān and Mużaffar b. Sulaymān in their war against the Imam in 909/1503.[114]

Thus the *siyar* have preserved valuable information, namely that the relationship was not merely between *'ulamā'* and rulers, but rather it had even extended to tribes. This can be seen for example in *sīra* (cxxiv), which supports the Imam A. al-Ḥasan b. Khamīs b. 'Āmir 839/1436-846/1443 against the tribe of Yaḥmad. What is interesting is that there were also schisms within the *'ulamā'*, especially when Ibn Maddād produced his *sīra* in excommunicating Imam Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl (906/1500-942/1535) and his son Imam Barakāt (942/1535). Some of the *'ulamā'* at this time wrote against this above *sīra* to support the Imam and his son. The origin of this abovementioned schism among the *'ulamā'* themselves was the issue of selecting an imam for each group. This can be

seen in the war of Bahlā castle between the Imam Barakāt and the Imam ‘Abdullāh b. Muḥammad b. al-Qarn in 967/1560.

At the beginning of the 11th/17th century, a new era in Oman started, and a new union appeared in Oman as a national reaction to the political unrest, when the settled groups of central Oman united under the Imam Nāṣir b. Murshid al-Ya‘rubī. It is apparent that the Nizwā school had sustained its moderate nature and was able to eliminate the restrictive nature of the Rustāq school, and flourish in Rustāq city itself. What is really distinct in this series of events is the strong desire of the *‘ulamā’* to construct and formulate an Islamic constitution and to form a society based on an Islamic ideology.

III- The collaboration among the Ibādites in different areas

This section is meant as a picture of the Ibāḍite collaboration involved in the disputes among the Ibāḍite-ruled areas that the *siyar* have recorded. We intend to provide a discussion of the early Ibāḍite relationships and their development, and also to outline this collaboration already covered in part through examining the *siyar* literatures. Wilkinson has made an extensive study of local *siyar* sources to highlight the early development of Omani Ibāḍites in East Africa.[115] The present thesis has adopted a functional attitude to examine the Ibāḍites in Asia. We intend to discuss the contents of the *siyar* to a similar end and to extract the relevant views among the Ibāḍite relations in different areas. We attempt to consider the *siyar* from three aspects: firstly, we shall look at the areas in which the Ibāḍites were present, such as Iraq, North Africa, Yemen and Ḥaḍramawt; secondly, we will highlight the nature and relevance of Ibāḍism to the issues that have been discussed; and finally, we will trace the development of the Ibāḍite ideology in each area where the *siyar* documents and materials existed.

A-Iraq

The Ibāḍites originated in Basra after they split from the extremist Khārijites. As a result of the emergence of Ibāḍite doctrines, the political organisation of this new grouping had contributed to the fragmentation of their communities. According to Ennami’s list, it is clear that during this stage the Ibāḍite scholar Jābir b. Zayd had produced and exchanged several letters and epistles with other early Ibāḍite scholars.[116] Significantly, Ibn Ja‘far reports in his *Jāmi‘* two epistles by Jābir (xv, xvi): the first is attributed to Jābir himself, and the other records his *fiqh* views. These were perhaps

written by his pupils, and both seem to have been used in Oman in the early 3rd/9th century by the *ḥamalat al-'ilm*.

The Ibāḍite strategy in Basra was to use the epistolary technique to communicate with the missionary network about their policies or doctrines. In order to manage policy and doctrine requirements, gatherings were organized during Abū 'Ubayda's time. On investigating the epistles in Basra, it can be seen that Abū 'Ubayda advised his followers to continue their activities secretly (xix); these activities seem to be directed towards the local people of Basra. Some of the early Ibāḍite leaders emigrated to Basra (xx). These *siyar* reflect the fact that a more flexible policy existed throughout the *kitmān* or secret period. Nonetheless, during the revolutions in Arabia towards the end of the 120s/740s, the Ibāḍite requirements outside Mesopotamia had prompted Abū Mawdūd Ḥājib b. Mawdūd (xxiii) to order the Ibāḍites to organize themselves. (i.e. 'Abdullāh b. Yaḥyā al-Kindī "Ṭālib al-Ḥaq" 129/746-131/748 produced his epistle during the revolution he led in Arabia). The exact location of this epistle is at present unknown but perhaps may be in the Yemeni capital Sanaa, as he did not go to Ḥijāz. However, the religious committee of Basra was still controlling the revolution when Maḥbūb b. Raḥīl sent his epistle to "Ṭālib al-Ḥaqq".[117] Muḥammad b. Maḥbūb mentioned that earlier revolutions of the Imamate occurred in Yemen, led by 'Abdullāh b. Yaḥyā; in North Africa, led by Abū al-Khaṭṭāb and later by 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Rustam; and in Oman, led by al-Julandā. All these revolutions were organized by Abū 'Ubayda.[118] The investigations of the epistles above were considered as new and detailed documentation of what was arranged in Basra when the Imamate was in abeyance, *kitmān*. These arrangements are interesting, for we see that the later Ibāḍite history transformed their ideology in the *kitmān* and used the *'izāba* in North Africa.[119]

As the subject of the development of early Ibāḍite doctrine has already been mentioned,[120] we shall now shed some light on how the early epistles of Basra were tailored to the different Ibāḍite areas. We can see that the proto-Ibāḍite policy makers of Basra shaped their relationship with the Ibāḍite communities into two kinds of dominance:

1-The orientation dominance focuses on the need to find a suitable response for dealing with events that rise unexpectedly. For example, Abū 'Ubayda and Abū Mawdūd's letter (xxvi) to the people of *Maghrib* (North Africa) concerning the murder of al-Ḥārith b. Tulīd and 'Abd al-Jabbār. The interesting thing about this letter is that orders came

from the masters to enforce the concept of suspended judgement (*wuqūf*) concerning their status between association (*wilāya*) and dissociation (*barā'a*).

Omani scholars (xxvii) had perhaps been involved in the tribal crisis after the Imamate of al-Julandā b. Mas'ūd had ended, since their authority had been destroyed. The masters of Basra were involved in the community when they issued an order for the excommunication of the two tribal leaders, Qutayba b. Dirham and Sadūs b. Yūsuf, who worked in slave trading. For the Ibāḍites of Northern Africa, although their state was founded by 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Rustam, the question arose as to who should succeed him. At this time, the master of Basra was Rabī' (xxxiii), who supported the succession of his son 'Abd al-Wahhāb against his rivals. The authenticity of this epistle is debated, and Van Ess doubts that Rabī' intervened in this matter.[121] The Northern African scholars indicated that the recommendation of 'Abd al-Wahhāb for the Imamate came when Abū 'Ubayda al-Janāwnī sent his letter to the Imam (xxviii). Regarding Van Ess's point one perhaps could agree with him since Rabī' himself was a scholar rather than a politician. On the other hand, the Omani scholars needed a *fatwā* from Basra about Sa'īd b. Ziyād, who was their head, when he burnt the property of opposition tribes. Despite the fact that Mūsā b. Abi Jābir was alive and was the leader of Omani scholars, the *fatwā* had come from Abū Ayyūb Wā'il b. Ayyūb, who considered Sa'īd b. Ziyād to be a tyrant.[122] It is obvious from these *siyar* that they were written usually to clarify the Ibāḍite opinions on reinvigorated issues; the Ibāḍite parties had been remotely dispersed, but they were still controlled by the centre of Basra. Occasionally the Baṣranis sent their letters along with a delegation responsible for producing a solution to the controversial issues, as can be seen in their letter to the Omanis (xxvii).

2- The imperative dominance. From reflection of the early *siyar*, we see that this concept must have been used at the time of Abū 'Ubayda and Abū Mawdūd Ḥājib. These *siyar* are meant to illustrate the duty of each party. These epistles were usually written in a hortatory style, and to instruct the general followers. They were directed at specific people who were the *arbāb āhl al-ḥall wa al-'aqad*. Yet we do not know whether the masters of the Ibāḍites in Basra directed their theological epistles to their destination as a matter of policy, or whether merely towards their pupils. This attitude also represents the *shurāt* system of the early Ibāḍites by Khalaf b. Ziyād al-Baḥrānī when he was producing his manifesto (xxx). It is necessary to indicate that among the early Ibāḍites, policy did not develop through the 'carriers of knowledge' solely but also

by the *shurāt,* who were the soldiers of God. This can be noticed in the early revolutions in Yemen and Ḥaḍramawt, as well as in Oman.[123] The policy of these early Ibāḍites was perhaps to develop their doctrine outside Basra in two ways; first by *shurāt,* who were responsible for political organization, and also by the 'carriers of knowledge' who were responsible for holding and propagating the doctrinal teaching. Proto-Ibāḍite leaders always ordered *shurāt* to be a vehicle behind the earliest revolutions.[124] Conversely, regarding their policy in North Africa, it seems to have been subject to the control of the 'carriers of knowledge' while the *shurāt,* on the other hand, had tended to appear in Arabia and Eastern Mesopotamia.

From a study of all these interesting documents, therefore, it becomes clear that a wide debate was held in Arabia at the end of the 2nd/8th and the beginning of the 3rd/9th centuries among the leading Ibāḍites in Basra. This debate concerned the relationship between the centre and outer areas and adjustments needed when the balance later changed to favour the outer areas rather than the centre in Basra. Both masters of Basra, Maḥbūb b. al-Raḥīl and Hārūn b. al-Yamān, had submitted the judgements of their theological debate to the Omani Imam al-Muhannā b. Jayfar. This debate had divided the Ibāḍite followers in Arabia between Yemen on the one side, and Oman together with Ḥaḍramawt on the other side:[125] and Maḥbūb's on a third side, leaving Basra to Oman where the *Mashāriqa* or Eastern Ibāḍite School was formed.[126] Thereby, they succeeded in basing the Imamate in Oman and North Africa.

B- Yemen and Hadramawt

Yemen and Ḥaḍramawt adopted the Ibāḍite doctrine and it was perhaps already flourishing as early as the 1st/7th century. There is little or no evidence of this in the *siyar* documents, neither in early works such as the *sīra* of 'Abdullāh b. Yaḥyā Ṭālib al-Ḥaqq (xxi), nor in their records of early missionaries. The Ibāḍites were apparently never able to restore the Imamate of *żuhūr* after the great Arabian revolution at the end of the Umayyad period; surely the Imamate must have been destroyed with the revolution. Later the Ibāḍites of Ḥaḍramawt probably founded the Imamate in the valley (*wādī*) of Da'wān to where they spread later on.[127] After the Imamate was transformed from *żuhūr* to *difā'*, Ibāḍite revolutions happened occasionally under the first 'Abbasids, when the Ibāḍites were attacked by Ma'an b. Zā'da (the governor of Yemen).[128] There was also an imam, Sa'īd bin 'Abdullāh, who succeeded Ṭālib al-Ḥaqq in Yemen and

Hadramawt, but the Ibādites dismissed him and chose instead Khanbash in the Imamate. Thus Sa'īd bin 'Abdullāh's case was under consideration in Basra and likewise the affair of the Imamate of Muḥammad bin Abī 'Affān in Oman. Probably both of them were unacceptable to the Ibādites in both places because they may have been replaced by the leaders of Basra, and they were not elected by the people of Oman or Yemen and Hadramawt.[129] Wilkinson proposes that the Ibādite community of Yemen and Hadramawt was divided from the Ibādite centre of Basra by an initial 'schism' dating back to Tālib al-Haq's time.[130] I agree with Wilkinson's suggestion as to the account of the schism among the Ibādites in Basra (i.e. Hārūn and Maḥbūb's affair). When Abū al-Mū'raj retreated from his Sha'biyya stance, the proto-Ibādite leaders were not satisfied with him. He had to go to Yemen and ask the Ibādite people to abandon the Sha'biyya doctrines and readopt Ibādism. Unfortunately, Abū al-Mū'raj died before arriving in Qidam.[131] The Hadramis perhaps collaborated with the Omani Imamate during the dispute rather than the Yemenis. This hypothesis is supported by al-Kulandā b. al-Julandā's revolution. Whether he tried to support the Ibādites, or just to occupy Yemen, is unknown.[132]

Later, the Omani scholar Munīr b. al-Nayyir informed Imam Ghassān b. 'Abdullāh [192/808-207/823] about the Ibādites of Khurāsān and Yemen.[133] This leads us to suppose that the Omani Imamate had gradually encouraged the Eastern Ibādites to submit to their authority. Furthermore, Wilkinson's opinion of this attitude is that possibly the Hadramis opted for *difā'* rather than *shirā*, and that this policy of the Hadramis shifted them to a state of greater affinity with the Omani Imamate.[134] We may assume that this alliance appeared when the Ibādites of Basra had been engaged in their theological polemics, ultimately splitting the Ibādites of Yemen and Hadramawt at the beginning of the 3rd/9th century. This was the beginning of a continuing trend of the Hadramis to follow the Omanis.[135] The Imamate of Oman tried occasionally to expand its authority into Southern Arabia ever since the Omanis had founded the Imamate of al-Julandā b. Mas'ūd, who made a treaty with the inhabitants of Socotra Island.[136] Additionally, they brought the Mahra[137] territory under Omani control, and took possession of Socotra (liii). When Maḥbūb's family moved from Basra and settled in Oman, so the Ibādite groups who followed his theological dogmas were drawn in turn to Oman, and abandoned Basra. Wilkinson's hypothesis, therefore, may well be correct since it links the concept of the state (*miṣr*) with the Ibādite circumstances in Hadramawt, though the state in Islamic legislation should ideally be the *Dār al-Islām*

itself. Since there was no geographical obstacle, such as the sea, between Oman and Ḥaḍramawt, they were regarded as separate in one *miṣr*. This is also because as al-Mas'ūdī points out, the majority of people in Ḥaḍramawt in 332/943 were Ibāḍites.[138] Indeed Ibāḍites still existed in Yemen and Ḥaḍramawt until the 9th/15th century.[139] The first *shāri* Imam in Ḥaḍramawt was, in the 5th/11th century, A. Isḥāq al-Ḥaḍramī. He tried to revolt against the Sulayḥids. This was the last recorded revolution by the Ibāḍites in Ḥaḍramawt.[140] As al-Ḥāmid notes, the Sulayḥids had occupied Yemen and Ḥaḍramawt, their occupation destroyed Ibāḍism, and consequently, the Ibāḍites in Ḥaḍramawt were dispersed.[141]

Some details were given in the interesting letter sent by the Ḥaḍramis to the Imam al-Salt b. Mālik [237/851-272/886] and Maḥbūb b. al-Raḥīl as a response to the emergence of a schism with their Imam of *difā'*, Aḥmad b. Sulaymān. They desired to depose their Imam (*sīra*, l), so they submitted their case to the Omani Imam and *'ulamā'*. Abū 'Abdullāh Muḥammad b. Maḥbūb replied, blaming the Ḥaḍramis themselves, and advising them to follow the Omanis' policy regarding the Imamate. According to Abī al-Mū'thir's *sīra*, there was an imam of Ḥaḍramawt named Sulaymān bin 'Abd al-'Azīz, who was possibly a father of Aḥmad bin Sulaymān.[142]

In the following period, during the 4th/10th century, when the Omanis were in interregnum, the Ibāḍite leaders of Ḥaḍramawt sent a message to Abū al-Ḥawārī (lxxxiv) in order to persuade him to approve the murders of Julandā's family during the first Imamate.[143] The Julandānis brought up a debate not just among the Omanis but also among the Ḥaḍramis. Tribal fanaticism was perhaps a subject of discussion with both Omanis and Ḥaḍramis, since the Julandānis were originally a Yemeni tribe;[144] the Ḥaḍramīs were still concerned about their destiny. But from the middle of 4th/10th century onwards, the balance of power changed in the Ḥaḍramawt due to the situation in Oman. This led to a number of issues developing, three of which were addressed by Abū al-Ḥasan al-Bisyāwī, namely: taking gifts from tyrant rulers; the fact that most of the Omani leaders were oppressors in his days; and finally legislation concerning the Ḥaḍramis' enquiries about the issue of pawning. Recent documents reveal interesting aspects of the Ibāḍites' standing in Ḥaḍramawt at the end of the 5th/11th century, which was given by Abū Zakariyā Yaḥyā b. Sa'īd [d.472/1079] in response to the need for an up-to-date policy for the people. Let us now look at Abū Zakariyā's epistle (cviii) to discover the functional points of view as he determined them:

" your message has mentioned 1- your experience of oppression and tyranny; 2- the dominion of the people of doubters over the people of certainty; 3- the rulers are tyrants and they demand fees on the property of the orphans".

Abū Zakariyā's response suggested that their policy should use *taqiya*, and described its legislation and types; obligatory, permissible and impermissible. He also recommended the use of metaphorical language (*wa 'alaykum bi-ma'āriḍ al-kalām*), for rhetorical purposes. We should remember that this document was historically a letter, written during the time of Abū Isḥāq al-Ḥaḍramī's revolution in Ḥaḍramawt.[145] This brings us to the end of their situation in Ḥaḍramawt and Yemen because their revolution was broken up by the Sulayḥids. Returning to this *sīra*, we find the recipients were al-Na'mān's brothers Aḥmad and Muḥammad, who were probably al-Da'ār princes in the city of Shibām.[146] That is, if we link Aḥmad b. al-Na'mān and the last Da'ār prince Rāshid b. al- Na'mān who was killed in 605/1231; possibly Aḥmad was the grandfather of Rāshid. On the other hand, Abū Isḥāq Aṭfiyyash comments that the Ibāḍites in Yemen, after the debate of Maḥbūb and Hārūn, perhaps gradually began to follow the Zaiydiyya,[147] but the end of the Ibāḍites in Ḥaḍramawt is still obscure. The correlation with the Yemenis seems to be indistinct since they had lost contact. But the Omani Imams thus far had used Yemen as a base throughout their conflict starting from the first half of the 2nd/8th century when al-Julandā b. al-Kulandā fought against Abbasid.[148] Ibn al-Aṯhīr further notes regarding the second Imamate that Ibn Rāshid, in his war with the Buyids, fled to Yemen.[149]

North Africa

From this brief discussion it may be seen that the significant relationship between Northern Africa and Oman began after Maḥbūb had left Basra and after the Imamate of *żuhūr* in Oman and North Africa. The essential aspect of this era of Ibāḍism had inspired the new schools, which have since been known as the *Mashāriqa* Eastern (Oman and Ḥaḍramawt) and *Maghāriba* Western (North Africa) schools, either in *fiqh* or theology. Gradually, an altercation between the two new Ibāḍite factions was initiated by Rustamid Imam Aflaḥ b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb [208/823-258/871] regarding the issue of the creation of the Koran. This matter was perhaps brought up among the Ibāḍite schools after the *Miḥna* or inquisition concerning the creation of the Koran.[150] Imam Aflaḥ (lvi) adopted the Mu'tazilite view, and sent his monograph to Oman in order to refute the other party's view. Although the case of whether the Koran was created or not was at its early stages of dispute in Oman, no specific agreement had been formulated to adopt it as doctrine. Both the Imamates of Oman and North Africa

existed contemporarily, but interestingly when we investigate this letter, we find that the Rustamid Imam did not send it straight to the Imam Muhannā in Oman, but rather intended to make his theological discourse available to all Omanis. This material has not preserved any exchange between those Imams before the ending of both Imamates at the end of 3rd/9th century.

Abī 'Abdullāh Muḥammad b. Maḥbūb, on behalf of Imam al-Ṣalt b. Mālik replied to North Africa (li) on their question about Imamate policy. This important document can be considered as the real development of Ibāḍite political views after the centre at Basra dispersed. Abī 'Abdullāh Muḥammad b. Maḥbūb had influenced the legislation policy of the Imamate since he had been involved in its foundation. The epistle replied to four questions concerning the Imamate: the Imam's authority, the state's boundary, election to the Imamate, and lastly whether or not the people should have the right to elect an imam if they themselves were a minority.

Let us now look at the issue of collaboration from this text. At first sight, it may seem that the Imamate of the Rustamids still existed, though the sender was perhaps from Jabal Nafūsa or Tripoli rather than Tāhart. We might ask here why those people did not try to contact the Rustamid Imams or the scholars. But there were several divisions in Jabal Nafūsa, namely, the Nukkāriyya, the Nafāṯhiyya and the Khalafiyya,[151] who were unsure as to whether or not they should follow the Rustamid Imams. Furthermore, Abū 'Abdullāh uses the state boundary to determine paying tax and alms, whereas had been advised that the *zakah* should not be collected until the authority dominates all the people and is able to protect them from oppression and aggression. If the state does not satisfy these conditions, the people should revolt because the rulers would be considered tyrants.

The other relevant text here is the *sīra* to the Imam al-Ṣalt and the people of Oman. Its purpose was mainly to call the people of Oman to assembly. Internal evidence shows that it was written approximately at the beginning of the dispute concerning the dismissal of the Imam al-Ṣalt from his office. It also reminds them of the 'deniers' (*nukkār*) who rejected the Imamate of 'Abd al-Wahhāb. It compared them with the Julandānis, their competitors in the state. Also, the letter has preserved interesting records about the end of the Ibāḍite schism in Basra which was led by 'Abdullāh b. 'Abd al-'Azīz, Shu'ayb b. al-Ma'rūf and 'Abdullāh b. Yazīd al-Fuzārī.

Both Ibāḍite Imamates collapsed at the end of the 3rd/9th century, so this led naturally to the reform of the Imamate institution. It becomes necessary to indicate that in this era their policies became dissimilar. The Omani policy frequently attempted to restore the Imamate. In contrast, Northern Africa adopted the 'secret' (*kitmān*) policy.[152] The inference from this general outline is that the birth of the Ibāḍite schools of *Mashāriq* and *Maghārib* were both influenced by Maḥbūb b. al-Raḥīl. During the formative period of those Ibāḍite schools, the *siyar* material did not provide the network necessary to propound their respective doctrinal systems, either in theology or legal practice of *fiqh*.[153] The various Islamic schools of law, in which such diversity of doctrine was crystallized, are different but inseparable aspects of the same unity. In this respect, the Ibāḍite schools' endeavour was not to confine themselves to their particular local areas, but rather to expand extensively in legal practice. We may assert that the emergence of these different constitutional policies in local Ibāḍite areas is significant enough to make a distinction, since the *Mashāriqa* gave *fatwās* based on "*rāī*"[154] and adopted closely the *rāī*'s school, and their productions are brimming over with their own opinions (*āṯhār*), whilst the *Maghāriba* structured their own school by '*rāī*' in the *fiqh* tradition.

The Northern African lists have named the *Mashāriqa* compilations, which included Omani *siyar*.[155] According to these we can see that the influence of the Rustāq school was more firmly connected to the Northern African school than to Nizwā. This state of affairs started from the time of Ibn Baraka, al-Bisyāwī, al-'Awtabī, Abū Bakr al-Kindī and Ibn al-Naẓr. This chronological chain does not reflect the chain of transmission or *isnād* to this tradition or the authenticity of their compilations in Northern Africa but is merely to illustrate their doctrinal affiliation in theology and legal practice.

From the 7th/13th century onwards for four centuries during the dark ages of the Nabhānis, the effect of the relationship on both sides was quite obscure, and is not reflected in the *siyar* literature. Much more significant in this doctrinal collaboration is the change of the *siyar* outlook at the beginning of the 11th/17th to reveal a direct relationship between both schools. So far the conflict among the Ibāḍites of Northern Africa that is, between the Nafūsians and the Banī Muṣ'ab (the 'Mīzabites), had led them to refer to the Ibāḍites in Oman.[156] At the same time the Omanis were able to restore the Imamate of the Ya'āribate dynasty and they advised the North Africans that they ought to follow their example and re-establish their Imamate. It seems certain that the Ibāḍites of the Northern African community had scattered widely along the northern

border of the Sahara Desert in isolated pockets. Thus, the case of both parties in Northern Africa was that they had submitted their experiences to the Omanis, who had developed the institution of the Imamate and become the centre of the Ibāḍites. The birth of the Ya'āribites drove the foreign Arab dynasties out of Oman, and the Portuguese out from the Omani and East African coasts, and started the modern history of the Imamate.

Summary

We have looked at the history of the Ibāḍite schools going back to perhaps the early second/eighth century when the movement from Basra by Abū Sha'thā Jābir b. Zayd started, through Abī 'Ubayda until Maḥbūb. With respect to transmitting the knowledge from Basra to Oman, this developed gradually, starting with the Ibāḍite leaders themselves, then the *shurāt* and finally the 'carriers of knowledge'. Al-Kharāssīnī's accounts are correct in that the stages of Ibāḍite doctrine developed according to the Rāsibītes ('Abdullāh b. Wahab al-Rāsibī), the Ibāḍites ('Abdullāh b. Ibāḍ) and the Maḥbūbites (Maḥbūb b. al-Rahīl).[157] After the decline of Basra's centre, the Omanis developed political relations with the Yemenis and the Ḥaḍramis, and tried to expand the role of the Imamate and its influence under the conception of *miṣr* in order to form the ideal state. The doctrine of Ibāḍite teachings developed in Oman and North Africa and continued through collaboration and the doctrinal works, which were exchanged between both sides to form a unique Islamic school.

[1] Wilkinson, 'The Omani Manuscript Collection at Muscat Part II' in *Arabian Studies*, v. 6 (1978), p. 199.
[2] *ibid.*, p. 199-207.
[3] A. J. Wensinck, *The Muslim Creed* (Cambridge, 1936), p. 36. See further about Siffīn arbitration; Martin Hinds, 'The Siffīn Arbitration Agreement' in *Journal of Semitic Studies*, v. 17 (1972).
[4] For this development we could find a similar traditional view with 'Abdullāh b. Muḥammad al-Nāshī' 'l-Akbar see ; J. Van Ess, *Frühe Mu'tazilitische Häresiographie* (Beirut, 1971), p. 16, 17 & 19.
[5] *Siyar wa al-Jawābāt*, v. 2, p. 309.
[6] See M. Kfafi, 'The rise of Khārijism according to Abū Sa'īd Muḥammad Sa'īd al-Azdi al-Qalhati', in *Bulletin of Faculty of Arts* 'Cairo', v. 14 (1952), p. 29-48.
[7] See further in the first chapter of the, "*Kitāb fīhi aḥdāth 'Uthmān*" *sīra* (vii); al-Barrādi, *Risāla*, p. 53; al-Barrādī, *Al-Jawāhir al-Muntaqā*, p. 219; Martin Hinds, 'The Murder of the Caliph 'Uthmān' in *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, v. 3, (1972); Marin Hinds, 'Kûfan Political Alignments and their Background in the Seventh Century AD' in *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, v.2, (1971).
[8] Wensinck, *The Muslim Creed*, p. 42.
[9] Montgomery Watt, *Free Will and Predestination in Early Islam* (London, 1948), p. 46
[10] Van Ess, *TG*, v. 2, p. 204.
[11] Al-Ash'arī, *Maqālāt al-Islāmiyīn*, p. 20.
[12] Al-Ash'arī, *Maqālāt*, p. 20. Useful views in this case are given by Van Ess, *TG*, v. 2, p. 202 and p. 268.
[13] Van Ess, *Anfänge Muslimischer Theologie* (Beirut, 1977), p. 230; EI2: art. Ghaylān b. Muslim Al-Dimashkī.
[14] Van Ess assumes that al-Ḥārith was alive in c. 800? and hence may have been a contemporary of Abū Sufyān Maḥbūb bin al-Raḥīl. *TG*, v. 2, p. 212.
[15] Van Ess, *TG*, v. 2, p. 189, 202.
[16] Crone and Zimmermann, *The Epistle of Sālim bin Dhakwān*, ch. 5, p. 4; Ibn Ḥazm, *al-Faṣl fī al-Milal wa al-Ahwā' wa al-Niḥal*, v. 4, p. 191.
[17] *Siyar wa al-Jawābāt,* v. 1, p. 204.
[18] Al-Sālimī, *Tuhfa*, v. 1, p. 158.
[19] Watt, *Free Will and Predestination in Early Islam*, p. 32.
[20] Al-Ash'arī, *Maqālāt*, p. 14.
[21] *Siyar wa al-Jawābāt*, v. 1, p. 204.
[22] *Siyar wa al-Jawābāt*, v. 2, p. 139.
[23] *Siyar wa al-Jawābāt*, v. 1, p. 204; v2, 139. The opinions for both schools; *Siyar wa al-Jawābāt*, v. 2, p. 73, 86, 94, 138 & 139.
[24] Ennami, *Studies in Ibādism*, p. 10.
[25] Ennami, *Studies in Ibādism*, p. 155.
[26] Al-Shammākhī, *Al-Siyar*, v. 2, p. 233.
[27] Van Ess, *Anfänge*, p. 38; Cook, *Early Muslim Dogma*, p. 142.
[28] *Siyar wa al-Jawābāt*, v. 1, p. 386.
[29] W. Montgomery Watt, *Islamic Philosophy and Theology* (Edinburgh, 1985), p. 27.
[30] A sub-Azdi and Omani tribe; al-'Awtabī, *Al-Ansāb*, v. 2, p. 243.
[31] Ibn Baraka, *Taqyīd*, Ms, p. 55.
[32] Koran; 47: 25; Ibn Baraka, *Taqyīd*, Ms, p. 58.
[33] Ibn Baraka, *Taqyīd*, Ms, p. 56.
[34] See further; Wensinck, *The Muslim Creed*, p. 68; also Cook's discussion about Jacob of Edessa. *Early Muslim Dogma*, p. 145.
[35] W. Montgomery Watt, *The Formative Period of Islamic Thought* (Edinburgh, 1969), p. 29.
[36] Frahāt al-Ja'bīri, *Al-Bu'ad al-ḥaḍārī li al-'aqīda al-Ibāḍiyyah* (Muscat, 1987), p. 508.
[37] Wensinck, *The Muslim Creed*, p. 39.
[38] See the development of the conception of *wuqūf*; Ignaz Goldziher, *Die Richtungen der islamischen Koransauslegung*. (Leiden, 1920), p. 178; J. Van Ess, 'Skepticism in Islamic religious thought' in *Al-Abhath*, v.21 (1968); Watt, *The Formative Period of Islamic Thought*, p. 30; Cook, *Early Muslim Dogma*, p. 44.
[39] Watt, *Islamic Philosophy and Theology*, p. 49.
[40] *Siyar wa al-Jawābāt*, v. 1, p. 299.
[41] Watt, *Islamic Philosophy and Theology*, p. 49.
[42] EI2; art. Mihna.
[43] W. Madelung, 'The Controversy on the Creation of the Koran' in *Orientalia Hispanica* (Leiden, 1974), (ed) J.M, Barral, v. 1, p. 504-525.
[44] Al-Sālimī, *Rawḍ al-Bayān 'alā fayḍ al-Manān fi al-Rad 'alā man id'ā qidam al-Qur'ān*; Al-Sālimī. *Tuhfa*, v. 1, p. 155.

[45] Ibn Baraka, *Taqyīd*, Ms, p. 25.
[46] As Ennami records that al-Barrādī has showed there were three different opinions in Oman about the creation of the Koran;
1- the view of those who maintained that the Koran is the word of God and it is not a quality of God, nor essence of God and this view was held by A. Alī Mūsā b. 'Alī (d.230A.H). 2- those who did not come to any conclusion on the question but held that the Koran is the word of God and His revelation to Muḫammad and were concerned that this issue may remain uniform (*mimmā yasa'u jahluhu*) this view was held by Muḫammad b. Maḫbūb. 3- those who rejected the view that the Koran is created and took the attitude of reservation (*wuqūf*). Ennami, *Studies in Ibādism*, p. 357.
[47] Al-Sālimī, *Tuḫfa*, v. 1, p. 140.
[48] Al-Ja'bīrī, *Al-Bu'd al-Ḫaḍārī*, p. 350.
[49] I owe this section to Patricia Crone and Martin Hinds, *God's Caliph: Religious authority in the first century of Islam* (Cambridge, 1986); I. Lapidus, 'The Separation of the state and Religion in the Development of Early Islamic Society' in *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, v. 6 (1975), p. 363-385.
[50] Hamilton. A. H. Gibb's view is that there is no Arabic word for "state" as a general concept. Even for Ibn Khaldūn the word "*dawla*" often explicitly means and always implies membership of the ruling family. Similarly, *mamlaka* combines the concept of the kingship and kingdom for example, the interest of the state meant the interest of the Umayyad family. See further 'The Evolution of Government in Early Islam' in *Journal of Islamic Studies*, v. 4 (1955), p. 1-17.
[51]Laura Veccia Vaglieri, 'L' Imamate Ibāditeta dell' 'Omân ' in *Annali Istituto Orientale di Napoli*, v. 3 (1949), p. 245-282; Wilkinson, *Water and Tribal Settlement in South-East Arabia*, p. 138.
[52]Dale Eickelman, 'Religious Knowledge in Inner Oman' in *Journal of Oman Studies*, v. 6 (1983), p. 163-172; J. C. Wilkinson, *The Origins of the Omani State*, p. 67-88; J. E. Peterson, 'Oman's Odyssey: From Imamate to Sultanate' in *Oman: Economic, Social and Strategic Development* (Croom Helm, 1987), (ed. B. R. Pridham, p. 1-16; Thomas Bierschenck, 'Religion and Political structure: Remarks on Ibādite in Oman and the Mazb (Algeria)' in *Journal of Islamic Studies*, v. 68, (1988), p. 107-127; J. B. Kelly, *Sultanate and Imamate in Oman,* (Oxford, 1959).
[53]According to Wilkinson's theory (1987) that the Imamate of Oman is a social and tribal order rather than a legislation pattern, he tries to narrow this relationship between imams and *'ulamā'* and considers it was formed merely by tribal and Omani geography, see: *The Imamate Tradition of Oman*, p. 205-212.
[54] EI2; art. Ibādiyyah.
[55] We have a surviving list of *ḫamalat al-'ilm ilā 'Umān* (carriers of knowledge) which includes; Mūsā b. Abī Jābir (c.87-181/706-797), Abī al-Mundhir Bashīr b. al-Mundhir (d.178-794), Munīr b. al-Nayyir al-Ja'alānī (c.170-280?/786-893?) and Muḫammad b. al-Mu'alā al-Kindī, see; al-'Awtabī, *Al-Ansāb*, v. 2, p. 229; Abī Ghānim al-Khurāsānī, *Mudawwana*, v. 2, p. 306.
[56]Cf. Khalifāt, *Nashāt al-ḫarakah*, p. 103-115; Ennami, *Studies in Ibādism*, p. 122; EI2: art. Ibādiyyah; Wilkinson, 'The Early Development of the Ibāḍite Movement in Basra' in *Studies on the First century of Islamic Society* (Carbondale, 1982), (ed. G. H. A. Juynboll), p. 125-148.
[57]Abū Sa'īd al-Kudamī, *Al-Istiqāma*, v. 2, p. 91.
[58] J. C. Wilkinson, 'The Julandā of Oman', in *Journal of Oman Studies*, v. i (1976), p. 97-108.
[59]Al-Sālimī, *Tuḫfa*, v. 1, p. 93.
[60]Maḫbūb reflects this development of the Ibāḍite movement in the beginning of the 2nd/8th century in his *sīra. Siyar wa al-Jawābāt*, v. 1, p. 281.
[61]Al-Sālimī, *Tuḫfa*, v. 1, p. 106.
[62]Al-Sālimī, *Tuḫfa*, v1, p. 102.
[63]Many scholars did not understand Shabīb's statutes according to the *sīra* of Qaḥtān that Mūsā b. Abī Jābir disassociated Shabīb. Al-Sālimī, *Tuḫfa*, v. 1,p. 105; Al-Barrādī also notes that Shabīb was from Sufriyya, see; *Risāla*, p. 54.
[64]Al-Barrādī, *Al-Jawāhir al-Muntaqā*, p. 170.
[65]Wilkinson, *The Early development of the Ibādite movement in Basra*, p. 140.
[66]Wilkinson, *Water and Tribal Settlement in South-East Arabia*, p. 142.
[67]Wilkinson, *The Origins of the Omani State*, p. 69.
[68] Abū Qaḥtān's *sīra*; *Siyar wa al-Jawābāt*, v. 1, p. 115.
[69] *Siyar wa* al-*Jawābāt*, v. 1, p. 65.
[70]Al-Sālimī, *Tuḫfa*, v. 1, p. 111.
[71] See Wilkinson, *Water and Tribal Settlement in South-East Arabia*, p. 143.
[72] Al-Sālimī, *Tuḫfa*, v. 1, p. 111.
[73] Al-Sālimī, *Tuḫfa*, v. 1, p. 123; al-Mas'ūdī, *Al-Tanbīh wa 'l-Ischrāf* (Leiden, 1967), (ed. M. J. DE Goeje), p. 355.
[74] Wilkinson, *The Origins*, p. 77.

[75] Al-Sālimī, *Tuḥafa*, v. 1, p. 122.
[76] Wilkinson, *The Imamate Tradition of Oman*, p. 10.
[77] *Siyar wa al-Jawābāt*, v. 1, p. 116.
[78] Crone and Zimmerman, *The Epistle of Sālim b. Dhakwān*, Appendices, p. 8 & 9.
[79] Wilkinson, *The Imamate Tradition of Oman*, p. 125,174.
[80] Al-Sālimī, *Tuḥfa*, v. 1, p. 107; Wilkinson, *The Imamate Tradition of Oman*, p. 153 & 159.
[81] Al-Sālimī, *Tuḥfa*, v. 1, p. 107.
[82] *ibid.*, v. 1, p. 151.
[83] *Siyar wa al-Jawābāt*, v. 1, p. 117; al-Sālimī, *Tuḥfa*, v. 1, p. 158-159.
[84] Wilkinson, *The Early Sources of Omani History*, p. 54.
[85] Cf. al-Sālimī, *Tuhfa*; Julandā b. Mas'ūd (v. 1, p. 93), Muḥammad bin Abī 'Affān (v. 1, p. 111), 'Abd al-Malik b. Ḥumayd (v. 1, p. 134), al-Muhannā b. Jayfar (v. 1, p. 151) and al-Ṣalt b. Mālik (v. 1, p. 195), also about the Imamate of Rāshid bin al- Naẓr and 'Azzān bin Tamīm.
[86] Wilkinson, *The Origins*, p. 54.
[87] Abī al-Ḥawārī's *sīra*; *Siyar wa al-Jawābāt*, v. 1, p. 341.
[88] Ibn Baraka, *Taqyīd*, p. 67.
[89] *The History of al-Ṭabarī* (Albany: New York, 1985-1999), xxx, p. 256; l-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-Buldān*, p. 356; Al-Sālimī, *Tuhfa*, v. 1, p. 119; Sirhan, *Annals of Oman*, p. 14; Wilkinson, *The Imamate Tradition of Oman*, p. 185.
[90] Sirhan, *Annals of Oman*, p. 16; al-Sālimī, on the other hand, justifies why the Imam did not condemn the killing; the Imam might have either secretly instructed the *shurāt* to kill the man in order to avoid publicising the involvement of the Imam in this incident, or the murderer might have committed this killing because he knew he had the right to do so, see: *Tuḥfa*, v. 1, p. 124.
[91] Wilkinson, *Water and Tribal Settlement in South- East Arabia*, p. 140.
[92] *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, xxxviii, p. 10; Ibn Ḥawqal, *Ṣūrat al-Ard*, p. 38; al-Iṣtakhrī, *Al-Masālik wa al-Mamālik*, p. 26; Ibn al-Mujāwir, *Tārīkh al-Mustabṣir*, v. 2, p. 281; al-Sālimī, *Tuḥfa*, v. 1, p. 257. The analysis of tribal affairs in the physical geography of Omani community structure, Cf. Wilkinson, *Water and Tribal Settlement in South-East*, p. 137 & 188.
[93] See their books list; al-Sālimī, *Lum'a al-Marḍiya* (Muscat, 1983).
[94] Ibn Ḥawqal, *Sūrāt* al-*Arḍ*, p. 38; al-Iṣtakhrī, *Al-Masālik wa al-Mamālik*, p. 26.
[95] Sirhan reports that: "My own opinion is, that none of the Imams mentioned after al-Ṣalt b. Mālik were universally recognised by the people of 'Oman, and that their rule did not extend over the entire country. They were recognised in certain districts and not in others, by some of the tribes only, and not by all of them. For after the dissension which had arisen amongst them, the people of Oman had ceased to act in unison, and could not agree in the choice of an Imam". Sirhan, *Annals of Oman*, p. 25.
[96] See his details in al-Sālimī, *Tuhfa*, v. 1, p. 266; Sirhan, *Annals*, p. 23; Ibn Ruzayq, *History of Imams and Seyyids*, p. 26. This Imam (Abū Sa'īd) followed the Carmathians, so al-Sālimī clarified the statute of this imam "Their [*'ulamā'*] elected him to the Imamate before they discovered that he had left the Muslim call and had followed the Qarāmita (Carmathian) heresy. The *'ulamā'* then elected al-Ṣalt b. al-Qāsim to the Imamate". Al-Sālimī, *Tuhfa*, v. 1, p. 266. See also *sīra* of Abī al-Ḥawārī when recognised about Abū Sa'īd al-Qurmaṭī: "We disassociate ourselves from Abī Sa'īd al-Qurmaṭī, also from his associates, those who suspended judgement on him and those who doubt his allegiance". Al-Sālimī, *Tuhfa*, v. 1, p. 269.
[97] Wilkinson, *Water and Tribal Settlement in South-East Arabia*, p. 139.
[98] *Siyar wa al-Jawābāt*, v. 1, p. 360.
[99] Al-Sālimī, *Tuḥfa*, v. 1, p. 317.
[100] Cf; the first chapter in the third period of the *Siyar*.
[101] Wilkinson presents the point of view of the *K. Kanz al-'ādīb wa sulāfat al-labīb* (a work probably of the second half of 11th/ 18th century) by Sālim b. Sa'īd al-Sāi'ghī. The Ms, Cambridge University Library (add 2896), see; J. C. Wilkinson, ' *Ibādite Imams* ', in *BSOAS*, v. 39 (1976), p. 534-551.
[102] Al-Sālimī, *Tuḥfa*, v. 1, p. 312.
[103] Al-Sālimī, *Tuḥfa*, v. 1, p. 321.
[104] Al-Sālimī, *Tuḥfa*, v. 1, p. 322.
[105] *Siyar wa al-Jawābāt*, v. 2, p. 191.
[106] Al-Sālimī, *Tuḥfa*, v. 1, p. 336; Al-Sālimī lists three Imams of the second Imamate who were non-recognised, they were: 'Āmir b. Rāshid b. al-Walīd al-Kharūṣī who was elected to the Imamate in 476/1083. Secondly, the Imam Rāshid b. 'Alī. Muḥammad b. Ghassān al-Kharūṣī remained in the Imamate for eight and a half years. The third was al-Khalīl b. 'Abdullāh b. 'Umar b. Muḥammad b. al-Khalīl b. Shādhān, see: *Tuhfa*, v. 1, p. 336.
[107] Wilkinson, 'The Omani and Ibādite background to the Kilwa sīra: the demise of Oman as a political and religious force in the Indian Ocean in 6th/12th centuries '; Al-Baṭāshī, *Ithāf*, v. 1, p. 277.
[108] See al-Baṭāshī, *Ithāf*, v. 1, p. 390.
[109] See further about the Nabhānī dynasty; Wilkinson, *The Imamate Tradition of Oman*, p. 212-218.

[110] Wilkinson, *The Imamate Tradition of Oman*, p. 213. Wilkinson's allusion of this age: "the Ibādite dark ages began"; Wilkinson, 'Bio-bibliographical Background to the Crisis period' in *Arabian Studies*, v. 3, (1976), p. 155.
[111] S. B. Miles, *The Countries and Tribes of the Persian Gulf*, p. 135.
[112] Al-Sālimī, *Tuḥaf*, v. 1, p. 369; Sirhan, *Annals of Oman*, p. 31.
[113] See the list of Omani Imams in *Tuhaf*, v. 1, p. 274; Sirhan, *Annals of Oman*, p. 24; Ibn Ruzayq, *The History of Imams and Seyyids of Oman*, p. cxxv.
[114] See further on these *siyar* in the first chapter in the fourth period of *siyar*; also al-Sālimī, *Tuhfa*, v. 1, p. 373.
[115] Wilkinson, 'Oman and East Africa. New light of early Kilwan history from the Omani sources' in *International Journal of African Historical Studies*, vi (1981), p. 272-305; 'The Omani and Ibādī background to the Kilwa sīra: the demise of Oman as a political and religious force in the Indian Ocean in 6th/12th centuries', in the Memorial volume for Professor T. M. Johnstone.
[116] Ennami, 'Description of New Ibādite Manuscripts from North Africa ' in *Journal of Semitic Studies*, v. 15, (1970), p. 63. There are also seventeen letters by Jābir b. Zayd to his pupils belonging to the Ministry of National Heritage and Cultural, Muscat (on chronological numbers; 9188-9204).
[117] See the comment on this epistle by Crone and Zimmermann, *The Epistle of Sālim bin Dhakwān*, appendices, p. 8 & 9.
[118] *Siyar wa al-Jawābāt*, v. 2, p. 265.
[119] EI2; art. Halqa.
[120] Ennami, *Studies in Ibādism*, p. 126; Khalīfāt. *Nashāt al-Ḥaraka* (Amman, 1978).
[121] Van Ess, *TG*, v. 2, p. 199.
[122] Ibn Baraka, *Taqyīd*, p. 99.
[123] See the *Shurāt*'s role in Wilkinson, *The Imamate Tradition of Oman*, p. 184.
[124] For this case see the accounts that the Basra masters sent back to the Ḥaḍramawt and Yemen's revolution Abū Ḥamza al-Mukhtār b. 'Awf and Balaj b. 'Uqba, whether it is true or not that Imam al-Julandā joined the revolution of Ṭālib al-Ḥaq in Yemen. They also sent to Oman a group of *shurāt* to base the first Imamate of al-Julandā b. Mas'ūd. Moreover, in the first Imamate of *żuhūr* in North Africa when 'Abū 'Ubayda recommended to the Imamate Abū al-Khaṭṭāb 'Abd al-'Alā b. al-Samḥ who was from Yemen.
[125] Al-Sālimī, *Tuḥfa*, v. 1, p. 158.
[126] There are two claims regarding Maḥbūb's immigration to Oman. Firstly, that he joined his father-in-law al-Rabī' when he left Basra (Al-Kharāssīnī, *Fawākih*, v. 1, p. 242). Secondly, that he immigrated later, after his debate with Hārūn. The second claim is more accepted, however, since the debate between the Ibāḍite leaders was in Basra at Imam al-Muhannā's time (226/841-237/851). Most likely he went to Oman with al-Rabī', and then returned to Basra, where he lived until the debate with Hārūn.
[127] Wilkinson, *The Imamate Tradition of Oman*, p. 151.
[128] 'Abd al-Bāqī ibn 'Abd al-Majīd states that Ma'an arrived in Yemen in 140/757 (or 142/759?), and he killed more than fifteen thousand from Ḥaḍramawt since many Ibāḍite still remained after battle of Qudīd (132/749), see: *Bahjat al-Zaman fī Tārikh al-Yaman* (Beirut, 1966), (ed. Muṣtafā Hijāzī), p. 20.
[129] Al-Shammākhī, *al-Siyar*, v. 1, p. 83; Al-Sālimī, *Tuhfa*, v. 1, p. 112. I assume that there were two imams named Sa'īd bin 'Abdullāh and both of them were elected as the *difā' imams* in Ḥaḍramawt. The first one was killed after defeating the Ṭālib al- Ḥaqq's revolution in Ḥaḍramawt. The second was the one whose case was under discussion by the leaders of Basra.
[130] Wilkinson, *The Imamate Tradition of Oman*, p. 151.
[131] *Siyar wa al-Jawābāt*, v. 2, p. 25; Qidam is a place in Yemen, see: 'Abdullāh b. 'Abd al-Azīz Al-Bakrī. *Mu'jam mā ista'jam* (Cairo. 1368/1949), (ed. Mustafā al-Saqā), v. 3, p. 1052.
[132] Al-Barrādī, *al-Jawāhir al-Muntaqā*, p. 170.
[133] *Siyar wa al-Jawābāt*, v. 1, p. 247.
[134] Wilkinson, *The Imamate Tradition of Oman*, p. 157.
[135] Al-Sālimī, *Tuḥfa*, v. 1, p. 158.
[136] Al-Kindī, *Al-Muṣannaf*, v. 11, p. 145.
[137] EI2; art. Mahra.
[138] Mas'ūdi, *Murūj*, v. 6, p. 67.
[139] Al-Ḥāmid, *Tārikh Ḥaḍramawt* (Jedah, n.d), v. 1, p.272.
[140] Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhim b. Qays al-Ḥaḍramī, *Mukhtaṣr al-Khiṣāl* (Muscat, 1984); *Dīwān Sayf al-Naqqād*, (Kuwait, n.d).
[141] Al-Ḥāmid, *Tārīkh Ḥaḍramawt*, v. 2, p. 403.
[142] *Siyar wa al-Jawābāt*, v. 1, p. 50.
[143] *Siyar wa al-Jawābāt*, v. 1, p. 343.

Part II

Chapter 3

The *sīra* to the people of Khwārizm

I- Authenticity

The *sīra* to the people of Khwārizm is contained in two leaves interpolated between pages 135 and 136 in the manuscript *K. Taqyīd*. This shows that the text is treated like a quotation from a book. It would appear that the epistle is a record of a discourse of a group of Ibāḍite *'ulamā'*, including one Abū Yazīd al-Khwārizmī. Reference to him appears at the beginning of the *sīra*; there is also mention of another scholar, Ja'far Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān. The style employed throughout is one known as *naql bi samā'* or narrative style.[1] From the discourse it would seem that this epistle might have been the written record of a study circle (*ḥalaqat al-'ilm*) which included in its midst a number of missionaries (*ḥamalat al-'ilm*). The document is overtly didactic in nature, beginning with questions posed by the missionaries. Abū Yazīd then advises them to fear God *bi al-waṣiyya bi taqwā*, a formulaic piece of advice which is usually used as an introduction. Also the text carries the kind of concluding remarks which might have been used at the end of a study circle or class. In this text we can see the sequence of development of Ibāḍism since the text has preserved four generations of Ibāḍite scholars. This sequence begins in Basra and continues in Khwārizm. Those scholars identified are as follows:

The first is Abū 'Ubayda Muslim b. Karīma, the second Ibāḍite Imam in Basra. The next in the chain is Abū Yazīd al-Khwārizmī, named after his place of birth, Khwārizm; he is a student of Abū 'Ubayda Muslim. Abū Yazīd is known in the Ibāḍite *fiqh* school and its sources as an *'ālim* (scholar) and *faqīh* (jurist); one of his contemporaries says about him, "I do not know who analysed the question of blood issues (in Islamic jurisprudence) at this time, either 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Rustum[2] in the *Maghrib* (North Africa), or Abū Yazīd al-Khwārizmī in the *Mashriq*".[3] On this point we should consider that Abū Yazīd might have come to Basra as a missionary student from Khwārizm in the first half of the 2nd/8th century and remained in Basra until the end of the century. The third generation scholars mentioned in the text are Abū Sulaymān, Ṣāliḥ, brother of Naṣr, and Abū 'Abdullāh, who were students of Abū Yazīd. These could well have been Ibāḍite missionaries to Khwārizm at the beginning of the 3rd/9th

century. The fourth generation scholar mentioned in the text is Ja'far Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān. He could have been a contemporary or a pupil of the second Ibāḍite generation of Khwārizm. Such is our attempt to try to deduce from the text more about the Ibāḍite missionaries and scholars named therein. This document confirms for us the various generations of Ibāḍite scholars in Khwārizm until the 4th/10th century.

II- The Text

The *sīra* of Khwārizm contains the Ibāḍite theological opinions on divine unity and uses polemic doctrinal language, for example: *fa'akhbirūnā, fa'in za'amtum, wa za'amtum fahādhā khilāf.* These words were used in a dialectic style by the theological polemicists in the classical literature of Islam. One of the main topics of debate in early Muslim theology among the scholars of Basra was the issue of the sins of prophets. Maḥbūb's debate with Hārūn during the Imamate of al-Muhannā b. Jayfar (226/841-237/851) recounts that the jurists endeavoured to prevent the theologians from answering people on the issue of the sins of prophets: when asked about this, they replied that the prophets had been granted goodness from Allah in advance.[4] The interesting point to note here is that the topic of the prophet as sinner might have been a subject of debate in Basra in the 2nd/8th century.[5] The Azāriqa sub-sect, the Bid'iyya, argued that Allah will punish whosoever has a sin, even if he be a prophet.[6] Ibn Ḥazm says that the Karāmiyya and al-Bāqilānī from among the Ash'ariyya agree that a prophet is capable of sin. However, the subject here is whether the prophet would be punished in the hereafter if he had sinned?[7] According to the belief prevalent among the Turayfiyya, prophets may be sinners; if they repent from their sins, they are not considered unbelievers. Thus they claim that the prophets who sinned even for a short while would be considered unbelievers for the duration of the sin.[8] Theologically, the debate on sin had become broader and here tends to reflect the Khārijite, Ibāḍite and Mu'tazilite ideas on the subject.

The main source used by the *sīra* is the Koran, as it can be seen that the discussion and the proofs offered throughout draw heavily upon Koranic verses. It is possible to say that until the beginning of the third century, Ibāḍism did not make use of the *Ḥadīth* to back up theological opinions, even though the Ibaḍites had a complete collection of the *ḥadīth* in the *Musnad* of al-Rabī' b. Ḥabīb (d.180s/790s). The second source is Koranic exegesis, especially the commentary on the story of Moses. The third source is the *āthār*

or opinions of the earliest Ibāḍite Imams and scholars, since Abū Yazīd uses the formula "A. 'Ubayda related to us that…".

III-The Editing

According to the manuscript into which the *sīra* of Khwārizm has been bound, there is only one incomplete copy of this text, and no other text source supplies the missing portion. This text is thus a faithful copy from an incomplete original. As a result the editor has had to interpolate to improve the accuracy of the text. Secondly, he has supplied vocalisation (*tashkīl*) and punctuation since the original was for the most part without either. The signs and abbreviations used in the editing, and laid out below, are intended to clarify the text.

Signs and abbreviations

Text

[P:1] This refers to the page in accordance with the manuscript.

(…..) Indicates that another manuscript adds further to the text.

"…." Refers to the quotation in the text.

Footnotes

O The original text in al-Sālimī's manuscript

\+ This sign indicates that the manuscript has been added to by using other manuscripts.

_ This sign indicates that a piece of the text is missing.

Koran: 00;00 designates the number of the *sūra* (chapter) and *āya* (verse) in the Koran.

Translation

Quotations from the Koran follow Arberry's translation (*The Koran Interpreted*).

IV- The Text

هذا إلى مَنْ كتبَ(من[1]) أصحابُنا (من[2]) أهل خوارزم:

--- قالَ جعفرُ أبو عبدِ الرحمنِ: إنَّ أصحابنا- أبا سليمانَ- منهم صالحُ أخو نصرٍ (و) أبو عبدِاللهِ و غيرهُ جماعةٍ منهم، أتوا[3] أبا يزيد فسألوه عن هذهِ المسائِل، فأجابهم[4] عنها[5].

- سألناهُ: عن الذينَ[6] سبقتْ لهمْ في علمِ اللهِ السعادةُ و همُ اليومَ مقيمون على الشـــركِ، هل عليهمُ[7] الغضبُ و اللعنةُ منَ اللهِ؟ و هلْ يُدفَعُ[8] ذلكَ عنهمْ بالتوبةِ[9]؟

فقالَ[10]: نعمُ. و تبيانُ ذلك في كتابِ اللهِ عزَّ وجلَّ في قولهِ في آل عمران: " كيف يهدي[11] اللهُ قوماً كفروا بعد إيمانهم و شهدوا أنَّ الرسولَ حقُّ و جاءَهمْ بالبينات" إلى قولهِ: "لا يُخففُ عنهمُ العذابُ و لا همْ ينظرونَ إلا الذين تابوا"[12]. نزلت في الحارثِ[13] بن سويدٍ.

- و أوصيكمْ بتقوى الذي لم يزلْ عالماً لم يعزبْ[14] عنه شيُّ و لا يَحْـدُثُ من[15] شيءٍ إلا و قـــد كانَ بهِ عالما. قبلَ أن يخلــقَ[16] الخلقَ يَعْلَمهُ فيهم. و خلقَ الملائكةَ و النبيـــينَ و المؤمنينَ الذينَ[17] ولدوا و نشأوا[18] على الإيمانِ وعليهِ ماتوا، فهولاءِ كانوا في ولايةِ اللهِ قبلَ أن يخلقَهمْ و لم تنقطعْ تلك الولايةُ عنهم.

- فاخبرونا عن أمرِ الله و الدين هل يتغير،أم[19] هو قائمُ على حالٍ واحدةٍ؟

فإن زعمتمُ أنه قائمُ على حالٍ واحدةٍ لا يتغير[20] فقد أمر اللهُ موسى أن يأمرَ قومَه أن يقتلوا[21] أنفسهم حين ظلموا أنفسهم (ب)[22]اتخاذِهمُ العجلَ، فقتلَ بعضهم[23] بعضاً حتى بلغ[24] قتلاهم سبعينَ ألفاً، ثم رفع عنهم القتلَ و تابَ عليهم. و أمرَ اللهُ محمد صلى

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[1] -O
[2] -O
[3] اتو ;O
[4] فاحايهم ;O
[5] بها ;O
[6] الدين ;O
[7] علهم ;O
[8] ينفع;O
[9] بالتوبة ;O
[10] فقال ;O
[11] يهدى ;O
[12] Quoted from Koranic verses: 3;86-89
[13] الحرث ;O
[14] يعرب ;O
[15] له changed to; من ;O
[16] يحلق ;O
[17] الدين ;O
[18] نشوا ;O
[19] لو changed to; أم ;O

الله عليه و سلم أن ينهى أمته أن يقتلوا أنفسهم، فقال:"يا أيها[25] الذينَ أمنوا لا تأكلوا أموالكم بينكم بالباطلِ إلا أن تكونَ[26] تجارة [27] عن تراضٍ منكم و لا تقتلوا أنفسكم إن اللهَ كانَ بكم رحيما[28] و من يفعلْ ذلك عدوانا و ظلما[29] فسوفَ نصليهِ ناراً و كان ذلكَ على اللهِ يسيراً". فهذا خلافُ[30] لمنْ زعمَ أنَ ولايةَ اللهِ للملائكةِ و النبيينِ و المقيمين[31] على الشركِ الذين سبقت[32] لهمْ في علمِ اللهِ السعادةُ واحدة ، و كيفَ يكونُ في ولايةِ اللهِ مَنْ أَمَر اللهُ نبيَهُ عليه السلامُ أَنْ يقاتلَهم و يبرأَ منهمُ! و قد قال: " فسيحوا في الأرضِ أربعةَ أَشهرٍ..." إلى "....أنَّ اللهَ بريءُ مِنَ المشركينَ و رسولهُ فإن تُبتمُ فهُو خيرُ لكُم"[33]. وزَعمتُم مَنْ لَعنَهُ اللهُ لا يتولاه أبداً، و قد قالَ اللهُ في الذين قذفوا عائشةَ و صفوان [34]:"إن الذينَ[35] جآءُوا بالإفكِ عُصبَةُ منكم...." إلى قوله " ..و لولا فضلُ[36] اللهِ عليكُم ورحمتُهُ مَا زَكـــــى مِنكُم مِن أحدٍ أبداً"[37]. ثم قال: " و لا يــأتلِ أُولُوا الفضلِ مِنكُم و السَعَةِ أَن يُؤتُوآ أولي القُــربَى و المَسَاكينَ و المُهَاجِرينَ في سَبِــيلِ اللهِ و ليَعفُوا و ليَصفَحُوا ألا تُحبُونَ أن يَغفِــرَ[38] اللهُ لكُم و اللهُ غفورُ رحِيمُ"[39]. و قال:" إنَّ الذينَ يرمــُونَ المُحصَنَاتِ الغَافِلاتِ المُؤمِنَاتِ لُعِنُوا في الدُنيَا والآخِرةِ و لَهُم عذابُ عَظيمُ[40،41].

– فأخبرونا، هل كان حسانُ بن ثابتٍ الأنصاري، و مِسْطحَ[42] قريبُ أبي بكرٍ، و حَمْنَةُ[43] بنت جحشٍ، فيمن رموا عائشةَ؟ و هل تابوا فَقبل منهم النبيُ صلى اللهُ عليهِ و سلمَ توبتَهم[44] و المؤمنونَ أمْ لَمْ يقبلوا منهم؟ و قولُ اللهِ تعالى:" و[45] الذينَ يرمُونَ المُحْصَنَاتِ

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[20] O; تتعير
[21] O; يقلوا
[22] O; و
[23] O; بعصهم
[24] O; بلعت
[25] O; ايها
[26] O; تكون
[27] O; تحارة
[28] O; رحما
[29] O; طلما
[30] O; حلاف
[31] O; المتقين
[32] O; سبق
[33] Quoted from the Koranic verses: 9;2-3
[34] +in O; فقال erased from the text
[35] O; الدين
[36] O: فصل
[37] Quoted from the Koranic verses: 24;11-21
[38] O: يعفر
[39] Koran: 24;22
[40] O; عطيم
[41] Koran: 9;23
[42] O;مصيطح See Ibn Hisham, *Sirat al-Nabī*, vol. 3, p. 347, (ed) Muḥammad Muḥyī al-Dīn ʻAbd al-Ḥamīd, Cairo, 1937.
[43] O; حمية See Ibn Hisham, *Sirat al-Nabī*, vol. 3, p. 347.
[44] O; توبهم
[45] + O; إن erased from the text

ثُمَّ لَم يَأتُوا بأربَعةِ[46] شُهَدآءَ فَاجلِدُوهُم ثَمانينَ جلدةً و لا تقبلُواْ[47] لَهُم شَهَادةً أبداً و أُولئك هُمُ الفَاسِقُونَ إلا الذينَ تابُوا مِن بعدِ ذلِكَ و أصلحُوا فَإن اللهَ غفورٌ رَحيمٌ"[48].

– وزعمتم أنه لا يتوب و لا يرحم إلا من كان[49] لهُ أصل ولايــةٍ عندَ اللهِ و ليستْ عليهِ مِن اللهِ اللعنةُ، وَقَد لَعَن اللهُ قوماً غَضِبَ عليهم في كتابهِ ثُمَّ تابَ عليهم،(ك) قولِ اللهِ في سورةِ النحلِ:" مَن كَــــفَرَ باللهِ مِن بعدِ[50] إيمانِهِ إلا مَنْ أُكرِهَ و قَلبُهُ مُطمَئنٌّ بالإيمانِ و لكن مَن شَــرَحَ بالكفــــرِ صدراً فَعَليهِم غَضَبٌ مِنَ اللهِ و لَهُم عذابٌ عظيمٌ" إلى قوله: "لا جَرَمَ أنَّهُم في الآخرةِ هُمُ الخَاسِــرُونَ، ثُمَ إنَّ رَبَكَ للذينَ هَاجَــرُوا مِن بعدِ ما فُتِنوا ثُمَ جَاهدُوا و صَبرُوا إنَّ ربَّكَ مِن بعدِها لغفورٌ رحيمٌ"[51]. فاتقوا[52] اللهَ و لا تجعلوا المشركينَ أولياءَ حتى يتوبوا و يرجــعوا عن شِركِهِم، فإنَّ الله قد بريء منهم و رسوله و المؤمنون حيث يقول:" و أذانٌ مِنَ اللهِ و رسولِهِ إلى الناسِ يومَ[53] الحجِ الأكبَرِ أنَّ اللهَ بريءٌ مِنَ المُشرِكِين ورَسُوُلهُ فإن تُبتُم فَهُو خَيرٌ لكُم و إن تَوَلَّيتُم" إلى قوله: "فإنْ تابُوا و أقامُوا الصلاةَ و أتوُا الزكاةَ فخلُّوا سَبِيلهُم[54]".[55]

– قالَ: و حدثنا أبوعبيدة سُئِلَ قيلَ: هل يتولى[56] اللهُ المشركَ الذي شق[57] في علمهِ لهُ السعادةُ؟

قال: لا حتى يُخــــرِجُه[58] من الشركِ و كان يقرأ هذه الآية:" إنَّ الذينَ أمنُوا ثُمَّ كَــــفَرُوا ثُمَّ أمنُوا ثُمَّ كَــفَرُوا ثُمَّ ازدَادُوا كُــــــفرًا لَّم يَكُنِ اللهُ لِيَغفِرَ لَهُم و لا لِيَهدِيَهُم سَبيلاً ". إلى قوله:" إنَّ المُنَافِقِينَ في الدَّركِ الأسفلِ مِنَ النارِ وَ لَن تَجِدَ[59] لَهُم نَصِيرًا إلا الذينَ تَابُوا"[60]. فلا تأخذوا بقولِ المستحدثين[61] و لا برأيُهم فإنهم أعدا الأديانِ و السننِ، يقول الله :"ومن أضل ممن اتبع هواه بغير هدى من الله إن الله لا يهدي القوم الظالمين"[62].

– فنحنُ نتخوفُ عليكم، وَ نَسأَلُ اللهَ البارَ الرَحيمَ أنْ يوفقنا ويلمَّ شَعْثَنا، و يرُّد علينا إلفْتَنا، وَ لا يُفرِّقَ جمعنا في الدُّنيَا و لا في الآخرةِ، فإنه وليُ ما بنا و بكم و السلامُ عليكمُ.

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[46] O; باربعة
[47] O; تقبلوا
[48] Koran:24;4
[49] 2 كانت" في اللغة العربية دائما هنالك توافق في الجنس، تذكيرا و تأنيثا"
[50] O; بعد
[51] Quoted from the Koranic verses: 16;106-110
[52] O; فاتقوا
[53] O; يوم
[54] O; فإخوانكم في الدين
[55] 4 XRWGTURP the Koranic verses: 9; 3-5
[56] O; يتولا
[57] Perhaps سبق
[58] O; يحرحه
[59] O; تحد
[60] 4 XRWGTURP the Koranic verses:4;137-146
[61] المستحدثين: المبتدعين according to the prophet's *Hadīth*: "كل محدثة بدعة"
[62] Koran:28; 50

V- Translation of the Text

This is to our brothers (*Ashābinā*[9]) in Khwārizm;

1- Ja'far Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān says that the brothers (*Ashābinā*) who are Abā Sulaymān, Sālih the brother of Nasr and Abū 'Abdullāh and their group came to Abū Yazīd and asked him some questions and he answered them.

2- We asked him about those who have already acquired happiness through enlightenment, but who today are pagans (polytheists). Are they cursed and afflicted with Allah's anger and condemnation? And does this help them to be forgiven?

He answered 'Yes', and this can be proved from the Holy Book[10] in *sūra* of al-'Imrān: "*...how shall God guide a people who have disbelieved after they believe, and bore witness that the Messenger is true, and the clear signs came to them?*' And these: "*...the chastisement shall not be lightened for them; no respite shall be given them. But those who repent thereafter*" (Here reference is made to al-Hārith b. Suwayd).

3- I advise you to devote yourself to Allah and fear Him who knows all things, for nothing is hidden from Him. He has prior knowledge of everything which could happen before its creation. He created angels, prophets and believers who were born and brought up in the faith and who died with it. Their faith is predestined and they are in the association of Allah even before their creation; this association will never cease.

4- Inform us about the order of Allah and religion; will this order change? Or is it based on one state with no other forms? If you claim it is basically an unchangeable order, you are wrong. (For instance), Allah instructed Moses to order his people to annihilate themselves when they committed an outrageous deed by worshipping the calf. They killed each other and the aggregate number killed was seventy thousand. Allah, then, lifted His order and forgave them. He also commanded Muhammad (Peace be with him) to instruct his people not to kill (destroy or do away with) themselves when He says: "*O believers, consume not your goods between you in vanity, except there be trading, by your agreeing together. And kill not one another. Surely God is compassionate to you. But whosoever does that in transgression and wrongfully, him We shall certainly roast at a Fire; and that for God is an easy matter*".

The verse (*āya)* above contradicts the claim that Allah allows association to angels, prophets and believers who in Allah's knowledge have had felicity although they were in a state of foreordained polytheism. In this case, how could we explain Allah's association with His prophet (Peace be upon him) when He commanded him to fight them (pagans or polytheists)? Also, to dissociate himself from them when He says: "*Journey freely in the land for four months*"... until ... *"God is quit, and His Messenger, of the idolaters. So if you repent, that will be better for you*".

The person who was cursed by Allah was never exiled from Allah. As for those who made false accusations against 'Ā'isha[11] and Safwān,[12] He says: *"Those who came with slander are a band of you*", until.. "*But for God's bounty to you and His mercy not one of you would have been pure ever*". Then He says: " *Let not those of you who possess bounty and plenty swear off giving to kinsmen and the poor and those who emigrate in the way of God; but let them pardon and forgive. Do you not wish that God should forgive you? God is All-forgiving, All-compassionate*". And then: "*Surely those who cast it up on women in wedlock that are heedless but believing shall be accursed in the present world and the world to come; and there awaits them a mighty chastisement*".

5- Tell us isn't it true that Hassān b. Thābit al-Ansārī, Misttah Abī Bakr's relative, and Humnah b. Jahsh, were amongst those who slandered 'A'isha? Did they repent? And did the Prophet (peace be with him) and the believers forgive them? Allah says: "*And those who cast it up on women in wedlock, and then bring not four witnesses, scourge them with eighty stripes, and do not accept any testimony of theirs ever; those they are the ungodly, save such as repent thereafter and make amends; surely God is All-forgiving, All-compassionate*".

6- Furthermore, you claim Allah forgives only those associated to Him and they are not at all cursed by Him. This is not true, for He cursed in His Book the people who angered Him, then later He forgave them. In the Chapter (*sūra*) of Nahl, He says: "*...who so disbelieves in God after he has believed been excepting him who has compelled, and his heart is still at rest in his belief but whosoever's breast is expanded in unbelief, upon them shall rest anger from God, and there awaits them a mighty chastisement...*". Till He says: "*...without a doubt, in the world to come they will be the losers. Then, surely thy Lord, unto those who have emigrated after persecution, then*

struggled and were patient, surely thy Lord thereafter is forgiving, All-compassionate…".

You should fear Allah when taking unbelievers as friends unless they repent and leave polytheism, for Allah and His Apostle have dissolved treaty obligations with pagans. Allah says; "*A proclamation from God and His Messenger unto mankind on the day of the greater Pilgrimage: God is quit, and His Messenger, of the idolaters. So if you repent, that will be better for you; but if you turn your backs*". And: "*Yet if they repent, and perform the prayer, and pay the alms, then they are your brothers in religion*".

7- He[13] said that Abū 'Ubayda[14] asked: does Allah sustain care for the pagan whose felicity had been preordained. Abū 'Ubayda said: "No, not until He pulls him, the polytheist, out of his polytheism". To support his view Abū 'Ubayda read the following verse from the Koran: "*Those who believe, and then disbelieve, and then believe, and then disbelieve, and then increase in unbelief God is not likely to forgive them, neither to guide them on any way*", and: "*…surely the hypocrites will be in the lowest reach of the Fire; thou wilt not find for them any helper*". So, they do not accept the views or opinions of innovators because they are the enemies of religion and the *Sunna*. In this matter Allah says: "*…and who is further astray than he who follows his caprice without guidance from God? Surely God guides not the people of the evildoers*".

8- We fear for your safety and ask the Kind and Merciful Allah to bestow prosperity on us, unite us, bring about felicity and embrace us here and in the life hereafter. He is our sustainer and peace be upon you.

[1] Cf. Daniel Beaumont 'Hard Boiled: Narrative Discourse in the Early Muslim Tradition', in *Journal of Islamic Studies*, v. 83 (1996), p. 5-30.
[2] EI2: art. Rustamid.
[3] Al-Darjīnī, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, v. 2, p. 244.
[4] *Siyar wa al-Jawabāt*, v. 1, p. 319.
[5] Ibn Ḥazm, *Al-Faṣl fī al-Milal wa al-Ahwā' wa al-Niḥal* (Cairo. 1320/ 1902), v. 4, p. 2.
[6] Josef Van Ess, *Frühe Mu'tazilitische Häresiogrphie* (Beirut. 1971), p. 69.
[7] Ibn Ḥazm, *Al-Faṣl*, v. 4, p. 2-32.
[8] *Siyar wa al-Jawābāt*, v. 1, p. 138.
[9] This concept is used in the Ibāḍite compilations of what we called the Ibāḍite followers. The opposite word is *Qawm,* what we would call non-Ibāḍite Muslims.
[10] The Koran.
[11] 'Ā'isha b. Abī Bakr was one of the Prophet's wives. She died in 57/676. EI2; art. 'Ā'isha bint Abī Bakr.
[12] The particular incident here referred to occurred on the return from the expedition to the Banī Muṣṭaliq, 5/624-6/625. When the march was ordered, 'Ā'isha was not in her tent, having gone to search for a valuable necklace she had dropped. As her litter was curtained, it was not noticed that she was not in it, until the army reached the next halt. Meanwhile, finding the camp had gone, she sat down to rest, hoping that some one would come back to fetch her when her absence was noticed. It was night, and she fell a sleep. Next morning she found Ṣafwān, who put her on his camel and brought her, leading the camel on foot. This gave occasion to enemies to raise a malicious scandal. The ringleader among them was the chief of the Medina Hypocrites, Abdullāh Ibn Ubayy, who is referred to in the last clause of this verse." Cf. Ibn Hishām, *Sīrat al-Nabī* (Cairo. 1937) (ed. Muḥammad Muḥyī al-Dīn 'Abd al-Ḥamīd, v. 3, p. 345.
[13] Abū Yazīd.
[14] Abū 'Ubayda Muslim b. Abī Karīma.

Chapter 4

The *sīra* to The People of Khurāsān

We will discuss firstly the authenticity of the epistle; secondly its chief points, which centre largely on early doctrine and sermons; and thirdly the sources used by the text.

I-Authenticity

Upon investigation, it appears that this epistle is composed of two parts, which differ somewhat in both style and content. This raises the issue of the epistle's authenticity. The first portion consists of a *fatwā* concerning the subject of *wilāya* and *barā'a* (association and dissociation) with regard to some of the Prophet's companions. This *fatwā* might possibly have been a reply to questions from the people of Khurāsān about the doctrine of association and dissociation. Basically, the author uses a polemical style, which included a long section in which he explains the fundamentals of the religion (*uṣūl al-dīn*). This style was employed in order to refute opposing views on the subject.

The second section comprises a tract entitled 'The Genealogy of Islam' (*Dhikr Nasab al-Islām*). The main subject here deals with the Ibāḍite point of view on various issues of Islamic jurisprudence and theology. It also provides a general elucidation of the Islamic faith, including: manners of worship; laws which deal with human affairs; and legislation concerning various corporal and capital punishments. In fact, this epistle has many characteristics that can also be found in the *sīra* of Wā'il b. Ayyūb al-Ḥaḍramī, both contextually and stylistically. It is worth noting that the title of the *sīra* is also similar to that of Wā'il b. Ayyūb, which carries the rubric '*nasab al-Islām*'. The problem is that Wā'il b. Ayyūb al-Ḥaḍramī was an Ibāḍite scholar who lived in the 2nd/8th century,[1] while this letter was sent at the beginning of the 4th/10th century. Therefore we are justified in considering that the author of the epistle to the people of Khurāsān probably used and quoted from the *sīra* of Wā'il b. Ayyūb al-Ḥaḍramī and combined two *sīras* into one, with an introduction, main body and conclusion. According to the *Jāmi'* of Ibn Ja'far (3rd/9th century) we find a quotation from the *sīra* of *Dhikr Nasab al-Islām* by Wā'il b. Ayyūb al-Ḥaḍramī.[2] Al-Sālimī, in dealing with

the explanation of the Ibāḍite creed in Oman (*'aqīdat ahl 'Umān*) quotes extensively from the text of *Nasab al-Islām*.[3]

II-Overall Discussion

At first glance, it is clear that the *sīra* comes in the form of a letter passed between two groups. The authors were almost without doubt a group of Omani *'ulamā'*, because they say: "We are writing to you out of kindness", while the recipients are a group of Ibāḍites in Khurāsān, for the epistle states: "For those who have written to us from among the people of Khurāsān". The epistle has no specific addressee and probably never had one, since it is really a letter to all of the Ibāḍites of Khurāsān.

At the beginning of the epistle there is no *basmala* (In the name of Allah). One cannot be sure whether or not this was a mistake made by the copier or whether the omission was merely a convention; some of the copiers of *siyar* generally did not use the *basmala* to begin their copies. Thus the copier might have neglected it on the grounds that the *siyar* are considered a single, self-contained corpus of literature. In that case, to mention the *basmala* at the beginning of each epistle would be superfluous. The *batrā* genre of literature, namely that which starts without the *basmala*, began in the Umayyad period, when letters or sermons appeared without this usual ritual prolegomenon.[4] The text in question starts with the obligatory *taḥmīd*, which later continues with a *waṣiyya bi taqwā* or exhortation to piety. This was a common feature of early doctrinal epistles and speeches, originating in Iraq or within the Iraqi sphere of influence.[5] Throughout the epistle, the author uses the connectors (*wa*)و and (*aw*)أو sparingly, as well as attached personal pronouns to evoke an oratory style. This could be due to the fact that the speech was noted down by way of dictation; when this is the case the copier has to employ a style replete with *wa* and *aw* in order to give the final text literary cohesion. This *sīra* has been taken as a model and has influenced many of the features found in latter Ibāḍite epistles, dating from the 6th century through to the 10th century. Examples include the *Risālat al-Diyānāt* by al-Shammākhī,[6] and works by al-Kindī[7]and al-Kharāssīnī.[8] This style of writing has also been adopted by the likes of Ibn Qudama al-Ḥanbalī in treatises on the Ḥanbalite creed.[9]

With reference to the terminology and expressions used in the text, we can highlight two salient terms, the first being "*nasab al-Islām*". This is mentioned in several *siyar*

texts, including the *sīra* of Abū Ayyūb. The basic meaning of this term has been alluded to by Khalaf b. Ziyād al-Baḥrānī (the first half of 2nd /8th century) when he says in his *sīra*: "we shall remind you of Allah, and of Islam which is the religion that is attributed to Him (*al-Islām alladhī nusiba lahu*).[10] This is also used by Hāshim b. Ghaylān in his *sīra* to Imam 'Abd al-Malik b. Ḥumayd (207/823-226/841). This was a text he was commanded to write in order to educate the masses. This text contains the following: "you should elucidate for them '*nasab al-Islām*' and educate them in what they should perform, namely that which is good, and in what they should eschew, namely that which is evil" (*wa 'āżhirū lahum nasab al-Islām*).[11] To illustrate the use of this term in a later period, we see in the *sīra* of 'Abdullah Muḥammad b. 'Isā al-Sarrī (second half 5th/11th) entitled *Fī al-farq bayn al-imām al-'ālim wa ghayr al-'ālim* (On the Difference between a Learned Imam and an Unlearned Imam) that the author described the possibility of appointing someone to the imamate even if he is known to commit sins. In such a case, the scholars will ask him to repent; if he does, and, in addition to that, accepts the creed contained in *nasab al-Islām,*[12] then his imamate is acceptable. Furthermore, we find this terminology used in the *sīra* used to invite people to Ibāḍism. This epistle says: "you should elucidate for him '*nasab al-Islām*' only then it is possible to accept him".[13] As all the expressions above are referred to as *nasab al-Islām,* this would imply that the usage of the term as employed by Abū Ayyūb in his epistle would appear to be based upon the usage at that time of the Ibāḍites in Basra. The text was used to educate the Ibāḍite followers about Islam. Another possible interpretation is that the people should learn the knowledge and the means by which they came by the knowledge (i.e. the chain of transmission or *isnād*) concomitantly. In so doing the Ibāḍite would be sure in his belief, and in the way in which he acquired his belief. Both of these postulates highlight for us two important points. The first is that we can see the early creed or belief structure of the nascent Ibāḍite community in Basra; secondly, we become aware of the technical language used within religious texts that issued subsequently from Basra.

Juxtaposed with the first term, *nasab al-Islām* is the second expression *manzila bayn al-manzilatayn* (literally, a position between two positions), which refers to the position of the grave sinner in Mu'tazilite terminology. This intermediate position is one of the defining characteristics of Mu'tazilite theology. At the beginning of the 3rd/9th century, Maḥbūb b. al-Raḥīl and Hārūn b. al-Yamān, two Ibāḍite leaders in

Basra, engaged in an extensive theological debate concerning the nature of sin. Hārūn classified sin into three specific categories. The first is the kind of sin which makes its perpetrator a disbeliever. The second is the sin which, when committed, renders any judgement of belief or disbelief impossible. The third is the kind of sin which Allah forgives. Hārūn, in order to justify his own particular view, referred to the case of the Prophet's behaviour with regard to his wife, 'Ā'isha, after the battle of Banū Mustaliq. The Prophet abstained from expressing an opinion until the Koran acquitted 'A'isha of the calumny that was brought against her. Hārūn held that she was in a 'position between two positions'. However, the real issue is in understanding the precise nature of the Ibāḍite belief with regard to this concept of the intermediate position. According to al-Janāwnī, the Ibāḍites both believe and do not believe in the 'intermediate position'. With respect to the latter stance, the Ibāḍite belief is that they do not accept any position distinguishing between belief (*al-īmān*) and disbelief *(al-kufr*). With respect to the former stance, they do believe in 'the intermediate position' since they regard the grave sinner to be in a state of *kufr al- ni'ma*; conversely, the Mu'tazilites regard a grave sinner as a *fāsiq* (open sinner).[14] This concept may have a basis in the very early days of Ibāḍism. We can see in 'Abdullāh b. Ibāḍ's letter to 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān that the early Ibāḍites split from the Khārijites because the latter considered Muslims who committed grave sins to be polytheists.[15] Abū Sākin 'Āmir al-Shammākhī (d.792/1389) states in his epistle, *Risālat al-Diyānāt* that:

"We hold that the state of hypocrisy is the intermediate position between faith and polytheism. We hold that hypocrites are neither believers nor polytheists. We hold that the polytheists are neither believers nor hypocrites. We believe that the believers are neither hypocrites nor polytheists. We hold that there is no intermediate position between faith and disbelief. We hold that he is an infidel-ingrate ".[16]

Al-Muṣ'abī (d.1188/1774) on the other hand notes that the Ibāḍite *Weltanschauung* and that of the Mu'tazilites with regard to the grave sinner are similar doctrinally, but differ in the expressions (*lafẓ*) employed. The Mu'tazilites refused to indict the Muslim of his *kufr,* even if he was a grave sinner.[17] This can be seen in the accounts from the time of Wāṣil b. 'Aṭā', a period that everyone holds to be the birth of Mu'tazilism. Wāṣil stated during the course of a lecture delivered by his teacher al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī that the grave sinner was neither a believer nor disbeliever; rather, he or she occupied an intermediate position.[18] To conclude this assessment, it is possible

that the Ibāḍites of Basra might have been influenced by the Mu'tazilites during the 2nd/8th century. In the course of the mutual polemic between the two parties, ideas must have been exchanged and either adopted in full or modified.[19]

III-Sources

The most important source for the epistle is the Koran. The epistle quotes Koranic verses liberally, which are usually prefixed by expressions such as: *qāla Allāh*, *wa qāla ta'ālā*. Sometimes the verses are interwoven into the text of the epistle to convey the same meaning that the writer is trying to emphasise. Fragments of Prophetic *ḥadīth* are also present in the epistle. Use of Tradition can often be found in the Ibāḍite epistles of the first period, examples being: the *sīra* of Sālim b. Dhakwān, the *sīra* of Shabīb b. 'Aṭiyya and the *sīra* of Abī 'Ubayda and Abī Mawdūd Ḥājib.[20]

IV-The manuscript

The manuscript belongs to al-Sālimī's library in Biddyah. This copy can be found within the contents of the book *Kitāb al-Taqyīd*,[21] which means that the recorder of the book was Abī Muḥammad b. Baraka, who composed the book as a record of the notes that he had taken down during sessions with his teachers, Imam Sa'īd b. Abdullāh (d.328/939) and Abī Mālik Ghassān b. Muḥammad b. al-Khaḍar. The importance of this manuscript is that it includes the earliest Ibāḍite opinions and citations from works in Basra, some of which are considered lost, such as *K. Abī Nūḥ Sāliḥ b. al-Dahhān*, *K. 'Abd al-Malik b. Abī Ṣufra*, *K. Abī Al-Ḥurr*. On the title page, there appears the name of the owner of the manuscript, 'Abdullāh b. 'Umar b. Ziyād b. Aḥmad, who states that he bought the book for two thousand four hundred Dinārs in the form of loose pages on Sunday, the last night of Muḥarram 963/December 1555. However, there is a problem concerning the copier's date. On the third page before the end, the copier's date is recorded as the 7th Jumādā I 963 (18th March 1556) in Bahla city. The manuscript is written in the same clear and fluid *naskh* hand throughout and consists of 433 pages. However, there are many interpolations in the manuscript: for example, the hand is different from page 316 to the end of the book, and there are also inserts of many independent monographs attributed to different authors. In addition to this, the numbers of lines on the page differ after page 316. Before this, the pages were a uniform 22 lines each; after page 316, they average

between 21 and 26 lines. The manuscript leaf size is 28.4cm x 19 cm. The *sīra* to the people of Khurāsān can be found between pages 88-98, while the *sīra* to the people of Khwārizm lies between pages 135-136. The original was in fact written on Wednesday 6th Rajab 625 (10th June 1228) and the copier of the manuscript was Abdullāh b. 'Umar b. Ziyād b. Aḥmad b. Rāshid b. 'Umar is apparently the same man who bought the *K. Taqyīd*.

Another problem with this manuscript is that there are many lacunae in the pages. Furthermore, most of the leaves are corroded and worn away. A further problem is that no other copies of this manuscript can be found. Possibly because this particular copy was so expensive, the purchaser sought to prevent his original from being copied subsequently by other copyists. Furthermore, this manuscript is not mentioned in the standard Ibādite/Omani works, and it may have been neglected, as have many other similar works. Accordingly, neither Omani historical nor jurisprudential sources mention these two *sīras*. Moreover, the collection of the *Siyar wa al-Jawābāt*, as well as the other collections of Omani *siyar*, do not include these two *sīras*. Finally, no attempt has previously been made to publish or edit either of these *sīras*.

V- Editing of the work

The al-Sālimī library contains the only original manuscript. It is easier to read than to understand, and one can often tell what the letters are, or could be, but sometimes they do not make sense. For this reason, the edited manuscript quotes other Ibāḍite epistles by way of elucidation, including the *sīra* of Abī Ayyūb Wā'il b. Ayyūb. The latter text was used in the editing of *Nasab al-Islām*, the second part of the epistle being used as a reference text. The first copy of the *sīra* of Abī Ayyūb is used in *Siyar wa al-Jawābāt*[22] and the second copy is used in the Nizwa copy.[23] However, neither of them was used or considered as the original text but, rather, was utilised for correction and comparison purposes to complete the original text, i.e. the al-Sālimī copy extant today. In its completed form, the comparisons between these three copies indicate that the final text is incomplete. A number of gaps leave the final text patchy in some places; this is inevitable due to the insufficiency of the original text. As a result of this an editor sometimes has to interpolate in order to clarify the text and convey a meaning that is as accurate as possible. Following on from that, he will also punctuate

and vocalise the text, seeing that almost all of the text lacks vocalisation (*tashkīl)*. I have also broken the text into paragraphs, and added punctuation to promote the sense and to enable the reader to follow the flow of the text more easily.

Signs and abbreviations

Text

[P:1]	This refers to the page in accordance with the manuscript
(.....)	Indicates that another manuscript adds further to the text
"...."	Refers to the quotation in the text
[ ]	Supplied by editor
{ }	Not understood by the editor

Footnotes

O	Original manuscript
A	Al-Sayfī's manuscript
S	*al-Siyar wa al-Jawābāt*
+	The manuscript has previously been added to by using the other manuscripts.
_	A piece of the text is missing.
Koran: 00;00	designates the number of the *sura* (chapter) and *āya* (verse) in the Koran.

إلى من كتب إلينا من إخواننا من أهل خرا سان:

-- سلامُ عليكمُ، فإنا نحمدُ إليكـــم[1] اللهَ، لاَ الهَ إلا هو عادلٌ في فضلهِ، متفضلٌ في عَـــدْلهِ، حكيمٌ في فِعْلهِ، لَهُ أحسنُ الأسماءِ، و أسرفُ[2] المدحِ، و أحكمُ الأفعالِ، و أتقنُ التدبيرِ،" بيدِهِ[3] الخيرُ، و هو على كُلِ شيءٍ قديرٌ".

– و إنا نوصيكم بتقوى اللهِ، الذي[4] نهاكمْ عنِ العملِ بأعمالِ[5] أهلِ النفاقِ، و أخذَ عليكُم العهدَ و الميثاقَ، على الوفاءِ له بأوامرِهِ و زواجرِهِ [التي] ابتلاكم [6] بهـــا[7] و اختبركم[8] [فيها]. فاتقوا اللهَ، و استقيموا كما أمَرَكمُ اللهُ، و اذكروا الموتَ و القبورَ، والبعثَ منها و النشوَر و الوقوفَ، حيث" تبرّأ الذّينَ اتُبِعُوا مِنَ الّذِينَ اتّبَعُوا"[9]، و يعضُ[10] الظالِمونَ على أيديهم أسفًا على مَا صنعوُا، و يُعَادي الخليلُ خليلَه[11] إلا المتقون.

– كتبنا إليكمُ بُرَآ[12] مِنا لكُم، و إجلالاً لقدرِكُمُ، و تعظيماً لحقِكُمُ. و نحنُ و مَنْ قِبَلنَا مِن المسلمينَ في سترٍ مِن اللهِ و رغبةٍ في إلفتكم، و أهل ذلك[13] انتمُ مِنا. أتمَ اللهُ نِعمتهُ، و رَادفهَا معكُم، و نحنُ و مَنْ قِبَلنَا مِنْ المسلمينَ في سترٍ مِن اللهِ، و الحمدُ للهِ ربِ العالمينَ و صلى اللهُ على رسولهِ و سلَّمَ.

– إنْ ســـألَ ســـائلٌ[14] فقالَ: أخبروني عمّنْ كانَ في ولايةِ المسلمينَ إلى أنْ غابَ عنهُم أو ماتَ، ثمَّ شَهِدَ عليهِ مِن المسلمينَ بعدَ موتهِ شاهِدا عدلٍ من أهلِ دعوتِهـــم، ممّنْ تَبَصَّر[في] الولايةِ و البراءةِ انّه احدثَ حدثاً كَفَـــرَ بهِ ثمَّ أقامَ على كُـــفرِهِ حتى ماتَ و لَمْ نَعْلَم انه تابَ مِنْهُ. هلْ يَقبلِ[15] المسلمونَ ذلك منهمْ على وَلَيّهم[16] بعد موتهِ لقولِ مَنْ قالَ أنَّ مَنْ ماتَ فقدْ مَاتَتْ حِجَّتهُ؟.

– فأنـــا نقـــولُ في ذلك و لا قوةَ إلا باللهِ: أما إنْ كان المشهودُ[17] عليه إماماً مِن الأئمةِ الذينَ[18] اختارَهَم[19] فقهاءُ المسلمينَ للقيامِ بدوَلتِهم، فبايعوهم[20] على طاعةِ ربهم و سلموا إليه أمرَهم و دانوا بولايتهِ، أو كانَ إمامًا مِنْ أئمةِ الدينِ الذينَ شُهِـــرَ فَضْلُهم مع المسلمينَ و اجمعوا على[21] ولايتهم. مثلُ عُمر بنِ الخطابِ، و عـــبدِاللهِ بنِ مسعودٍ، و جابرِ بنِ زيدٍ، و الجلندى بنِ مسعودٍ، والربيعِ بنِ حبيبٍ، و محبوبِ بنِ الرحيلِ، و موسى بنِ علي، و محمدِ بنِ محبوبٍ، و مَنْ كانَ

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[1] O; الكم

[2] Perhaps أشرف

[3] O; بيده

[4] O; الدى

[5] O; باعمال

[6] O; بلاكم

[7] O; بها

[8] O; احتيركم

[9] Quotation from the Koran:2; 166

[10] O; يعص

[11] O; حليله

[12] O; يرا

[13] O; دلك

[14] O; سايل

[15] O; يقبل

[16] O; ولهم

[17] O; المسهود

[18] O; الدين

[19] O; احتارهم

[20] O; فبايعوه

[21] O; علي

مثـــلهم ممن لَمْ نَذْكُر اسمَه معهم، فهولاءِ لوْ شَهِدَ[22] عليهم أو على أحدٍ منهم جماعةٌ مِنْ الشهودِ[23] و لو كـــثُرَ عَـــدَدُهم مِن بعدِ موتهِ، أنهُ كانَ أحدثَ حدثاً قبلَ موتـــهِ كَـــــفَر بهِ ثُم لَمْ يَتُبْ مِنهُ حتى ماتَ لَمْ يقبل[24] ذلك[25] المسلمون عليه. و كان في الحقِ الواجبِ عليهم أن يبرءوا مِنْ الشهودِ ثُم يستتيبوهم[26]، فإن تابوا رجعـــوا إلى منزلتهم التي كانوا عليها، و إن أثموا[27] على شهادتهمْ ثَمْ المسلمونَ على البراءةِ منهم. و لو كانوا إنما شَهِدوا على واحدٍ مِنْ هولا الذينَ سميناهم معَ المسلمينَ في حياتهِ [لَمْ] يقبلْ ذلك المسلمونَ عليه، و برؤا مِنْه ثُم استتابوه، فإنْ تابَ قبلوا منه، و إن أبى تمَّ المسلمون على البراءةِ مِنْه.

– و كذلكَ أئمةُ[28] الضلالِ الذينَ[29] شَهُرتَ أحداثُهم مع المسلمينَ، و أجمعوا على البراءةِ مِنهم، مثلُ عثمانَ بن[30] عفانَ، و معاويةِ بن أبي سفيانَ ، و عليِ بنِ أبي طالـــبِ، ومـــنْ كانَ مثلهم ممنْ لَمْ نذكرِ اسمَهُ معهم. فأولئكَ لو شَهِدَ لكلِ واحدٍ منهم مائةُ شاهدٍ[31] اقل أو اكثر مع المسلمينَ أنه تابَ قبلَ موتهِ مِنْ حَدَثِه، و أقلعَ عنه، و أنَّ المسلمينَ رجعوا إلى ولايتهِ، لَمْ يقبلْ[32] ذلك المسلمون منهم. و كانَ في الحقِ الواجبِ عليهم، أن يبرؤا ممن شَهِدَ بهذهِ الشهادةِ أو أحد منهم أن[33] يستتيبوهم، فإن تابواَ رجعوا إلى منزلتهُم التي كانوا عليها معهم، و إنْ ثموا[34] على شهادتهم تمَّ المسلمون على البراءةِ ممن سميناهم من هولا الأئمةِ[35] المحدثين.

– و الولايـــةُ لَمَنْ ذكرنا من أئمةِ الدينِ شيء أرَّثَهُ[36] الأولُ للأخرِ، و هو معروفٌ مع المسلمينَ شاهـــــرٌ، قد فرقَ أمُرهم فيه، و يدعوا بعضهُم بعضاً إليهِ. و إنمـــا لَمْ تُقبلِ الشهادةُ في هذينِ الوجهينِ[37] خاصةً[38]، لأنَّ في ذلك تكذيباً لمن تقدَّمَ فليسَ لأحدٍ مِنْ ذلكَ تكذيبُ لمنْ بعدِهِ مِنْ أئمتكمْ، و إبطالُ[39] لِدَعوتِكمُ التي دَعُوتمْ إليها، و برئتمْ[40] مِمنْ خالفكمْ عليها. فليسَ لأحدٍ أنْ يأتيَ بخلافِ[41] ما همْ عليه.

– <و أمـــا مَـــنْ كـــان من تسايره[42] له، و لا يقع أحدُ منَ المسلمينَ إلى أنْ غابَ أو مات>، ثمَّ شَهِدَ عليهِ شاهدا عدلٍ مِنْ أهلِ الدعوةِ مِمنْ تَبصَّر[43] [في] الولايـــةِ و الـــبراءةِ في غيبـــتهِ أو مِنْ بعدِ موتهِ، انَّهُ أحْدَثَ حدثاً كفَر بهِ[44] ثمَّ[45] أقام عليهِ، و لَمْ يُعلمْ أنه تابَ منهُ إلى أنْ ماتَ. كانَ في الحقِ الواجبِ على[46] مَنْ يتوَلاهُ أنْ [لا] يُقْبلَ شَهادتَهمُا[47] عليه[48]، [و] يبرأ[49] منه.

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[22] O; سهد

[23] O; السهود

[24] O; يقبل

[25] O; دلك

[26] O; تستتيبوهم

[27] O; تموا

[28] O; ايمة

[29] O; الدين

[30] O; بن

[31] + O; و erased from the text

[32] O; تقبل

[33] O; ثم changed to أن

[34] O; أتموا

[35] O; الايمه

[36] O; اثره

[37] O; الوحهين

[38] O; حاصه

[39] O; ابطال

[40] O; بريتم

[41] O; بحلاف

[42] O; تسايرهم

[43] O; تبصر

[44] O; به

ولـــو كـــانَ كلُ مَنْ ماتَ لمْ يقبلِ[50] المسلمونَ شهادةَ مَنْ شَهِدَ عليهِ بإحداثِهِ التي كفَر بها مِنْ بعدِ موتِهِ، ولمْ يبرءوا منه عليها إذا كانَ يجبُ[51] عليهم أنْ يعذروا[52] كـــلُ مَـــنْ نشاءُ مِنْ أهلِ دعوتكم مِنْ بعدِ[53] موتِ عثمانَ و معاويةَ و عليٍ بولايتهِم، لأنهم قالوا لكم:– قد أجمعتم أنتم و مَنْ خالفكمْ على انهم كانوا في الأصلِ أولياءً، فنحنُ نتولاهمْ على الأصلِ الذي أجمعتمْ عليه، و إنْ أنتمُ أقمتم[54] عليهم[55] الحُجَّةَ[56] بإحداثِهِم، قالوا: لا نقبلُ منكمْ لأنهمُ[57] قدْ ماتوا أو ماتتْ حُجَجهُم. فـــإنْ أنتمْ عذرتُموهم بولايَتِهِمْ[58] إياهمُ بعدَ[59] قيامِ الحجةِ[60] عليهِمْ[61] بإحداثهم، اتسعَ عليكم الفِتْقُ و بَطُلَتْ[62] دعوتكُمُ التي فُرِقْتُمُ بها[63] عَنْ[64] مَنْ قَدْ ضَلَّ عَنْهَا مِنَ الخَلقِ[65]، فإنْ ضَيَّقتُمْ ذلكَ عليهمْ و برِئتُمْ[66] مِنْهُمْ فقدْ نقضتمْ قولَكُم، أنَّ مَنْ ماتَ لَمْ تُقبلْ عليه شهادةُ الشهودِ بعدَ[67] موتِهِ لحدثٍ كَفَر به. و قَدْ سمعتُ مَنْ يقولُ مِنْ المسلمينَ[68]: قالَ عزانُ بنُ الصقرِ: لو أنَّ رجلاً نشأَ في العراقِ فسَمِعَ بفضائلِ عليِ بنِ أبي طالبٍ و لمْ يسمعْ[69] بإحداثِهِ كانَ لهُ أنْ يتولاه. فإن شَهِدَ معه شـــاهِدٌ بإحداثه كانَ عليهِ أنْ يتبرأَ مِنْ الشاهدِ، فإن شهد معَهُ شاهدانِ بإحداثِهِ كانَ عليهِ أنْ يتبرأَ منه . و هذا دليلٌ على أنَّهُ قدْ وجب[70] على مَنْ قدْ قامتْ عليهِ الحُجَّةُ بإحداث عليٍ بعدَ موتِهِ البراءة. و كانَ عزانُ بن الصقرِ منْ فقهاءِ أهلِ عمُانَ، و هذا الذي[71] نذهبُ إليهِ و نعتمدُ[72] عليهِ.

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[45] O; ثم

[46] O;علي

[47] O; سهادتهما

[48] O; عله

[49] O;يربوا

[50] O; يقبل

[51] O; كانت تجب

[52] O; يعذروا

[53] O; بعد

[54] O; اقمتم

[55] O; عليهم

[56] O;الحجة

[57] O;لانهم

[58] O;بولايهم

[59] O;بعد

[60] O; الحجة

[61] O;عليهم

[62] O; بطلت

[63] O; بها

[64] O;عن

[65] O; الحلق

[66] O; بريتم

[67] O; بعد

[68] O; المسلمن

[69] O; سمع

[70] O; أوجب

[71] O; الدى

[72] O; نعتمد

– ذكْرُ نَسبِ الإسلامِ: اللهُ ربنا، و محمدٌ نبينا، و القرانُ[73] إمامنا، و بيتُ[74] اللهِ الحرامِ قِبلتُنا[75]، و الإسلامُ ديننا، و هوَ مِن الإيمانِ و الإيمانُ[76] مِن الإسلامِ، و الـتقوى[77] مِـن الإيمانِ، و البرُ و الوفاءُ مِن الإيمانِ، بعضُ ذلك مِن بعضٍ على استكمالِ[78] الإيمانِ بما فيهِ، و إقامةِ حدودهِ و العملِ بحقوقهِ. و لا يثبتُ الإيمانُ بانتقاضِ[79] فرائضِ[80] اللهِ، و لا بالمقامِ على حرامِ اللهِ.

Ž-- و الإيمـانُ هـو شهادةُ[81] أنْ لا الهَ إلا اللهُ و حدُهُ لا شريكَ لَهُ و أنّ محمدًا رسولُ اللهِ، و أنّ حقاً ما جاءَ بهِ عنِ اللهِ، و الإيمانِ باللهِ، و اليومِ الأخرِ، و الملائكةِ، و الكتابِ، و النبيينَ، و الجنةِ، و النارِ، و أنّ الساعةَ آتيةٌ لا ريبَ فيها، و أنّ اللهَ يبعثُ مَنْ في القبورِ. و الأمرُ بالمعروفِ و إتيانهُ و النهيُ عن المنكرِ و اجتنابهُ حيثُ أمرَ اللهُ[82] و نهىَ[83] كما بيّنَ في كتابهِ و أمرَ مِنْ <عَدلَ ذلك و حقه>.

—– و أقامَ الصلاةَ بمواقيتها في الليلِ و النهارِ[84]، بتمامِ ركوعِها و سجودِها[85]، و إحكامِ طهورِها، و ما يُقالُ بهِ[86] فيها مِنْ لَدُنِ إحرامِها إلى إحلالِها بخشوع [87] و وَقَـارَ[88]. و الشَّـهادةِ[89] لهـا في الجماعةِ[90]، و لا يقنتْ و لا يؤمّنْ فيها، و لا يمسحْ على الخفينِ عند الطهارةِ لها، و قصرِها في السفرِ؛ و الجمعُ في السفرِ جائـزٌ[91] لمنْ أرادهَ. و الجمعةُ في الأمصارِ الممصرةِ، و عنَد أئمةِ العدلِ في غيرِ الأمصارِ تجبُ على كلِ[92] بالغٍ مقيمٍ من رجالٍ أحرارٍ. و صلاةُ الفطرِ و النحرُ[93]، و الصلاةُ على موتى أهلِ القبلةِ مِن بعدِ غسلهمْ و تكفينهمْ، ثم دفنهمُ في حفرقمْ. و لا صلاةَ بعَد[94] صلاةِ الغَداةَ حتى تطلعِ الشمسُ، و لا صلاةَ بعَد صلاةِ العصرِ حتى تغربِ[95] الشمسُ، إلا الناسي أو صلاةُ على ميتٍ.

—- و إيـتاءُ الزكاةِ[96] مما أوجبها اللهُ فيه مِنْ تلكَ الأصنافِ المعروفةِ[97]، توتى على فريضةِ اللهِ[98] وسنةِ نبيهِ[99] لوقتٍ و منتهى و حفظٍ و إحصاءٍ، و أدائها[100] إلى أهلِهـا القـائمينَ بحـقِ[101] اللهِ الحاكمينَ بعدْلِهِ، الذينَ يقسمونَ بالسويةِ و يعدلونَ على الرعيةِ، و لا يحيفونَ في اللهِ و لا في حكمهِ، فأولئك[102] أهلُها و ولاةُ

~73 O; القران

~74 O;بيت

~75 O; قبلتنا

~76 O; الايمان

~77 O; التقوي

~78 O; اسكمال

~79 O; انتقاص

~80 O; فرايص

~81 O; سهاده

~82 +O;به erased from the text

~83 +O; عنه erased from the text

~84 O; النهار

~85 - in A and S

~86 - in A and S

~87 +O; ذلك erased from the text

~88 O; وفاره

~89 O; السهاده

~90 O; الحماعه

~91 O; حايز

~92 - in A and S

~93 O; الحر

~94 O; بعد

~95 O; تعرب

~96 O; الركوة

قِسْـمَتِها[103]. إلا مَنْ أخَذَها بغيرِ[104] حَقها أو وَضَعَها في غيرِ أهْلِهَا، و عَمَلَ فيها بغيرِ قسمِ اللهِ و عدلِه، و أستأثرَ بها لنفسهِ و أهلِه[105]، و جعلَها ملاعباً لفرجهِ و بطـنهِ، و في أهـلِ طاعتهِ و مودتهِ، الذينَ[106] لمْ يجعلِ[107] اللهُ لهمْ فيها[108] قِسْماً، و لمْ يفرِضْ لهمْ فيها سهماً. فإذا[109] لمْ يكنْ[110] إمامُ عدلٍ أو كانَ في حيزِ أهلِ الجورِ، فعلى كلّ مَنْ لزمتهُ الزكاةُ في مالهِ أدائها إلى أهلِها المستحقَين لها.

-- و صـيامُ شهرِ رمضانَ و إقامةِ سنتهِ، و ما أستحفظهُ[111] اللهُ من عفافٍ و حلمٍ و ورعٍ و تزهٍ. و أداءُ زكاةِ الأبدانِ عن [كل] إنسانٍ صغيرٍ و كبيرٍ، حرٍ و عبدٍ، أنثى و ذكرٍ، صاعاً[112] مما يأكل. و حجُ البيتِ الحرامِ مَنِ استطاعَ إليه سبيلاً.

و الـبرُ بالوالدينِ، و صلةُ مَنْ أمَر اللهُ بصلتِهِ مَنْ ذي رَحمٍ، و جارٍ، و صاحبٍ، و ابنِ السبيلِ، و ما ملكتِ اليمينُ، و منْ جعلَ اللهُ لهُ حقاً مؤدى[113] في دينهِ، و إنزالِهِمْ منازِلَهُمْ(...) [114] مِن الخيرِ و الشرِ و الفراقِ لهمْ و الولايةِ على ذلك. لا إدلالُ[115] لأحدٍ في ذلكَ و لا موادةُ، و لا موادةُ لغيرِ[116] تقوى حتى يؤمنوا باللهِ و يعملوا بطاعتهِ، و تلك السنةُ فيمن[117] عصى اللهَ، و لنْ تجدَ[118] لسنةِ اللهِ تبديلا.

-- و غـضُ البصرِ[119] عنِ الحرامِ، و حِفظُ الفروجِ عنِ الحرامِ، و عما نزّه اللهُ المؤمنينَ و برئهم[120] منهُ. و سترُ الزينةِ التي أمَر اللهُ بسترها، فيما أمَر عبادَهُ و أدّهـمْ به، الرجال منهم. و قد أمَر اللهُ النساءَ في بعضِ ذلكَ[121] بما لمْ يأمرْ بهِ الرجالَ من السترِ، و أنْ يقِرْنَ في بيوتهنَ، و يضربنَ[122] بخُمُرِهنَ على جيوبهنَ، و لا يضـربنَ[123] بأرجلهنَ لِيُعْلَمَ ما يخفينَ[124] من زينتهنَ، إلا ما ظهرَ مِنْ ذلكَ مما لا حرامَ فيهِ و لا عيبَ به، من كُحْلٍ في عينيها أو خاتمٍ[125] في يدها. فأيما[126] امرأةُ

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[97] + in A and S

[98] O; أخر and corrected by A and S

[99] O; وصية بينه and corrected by A and S

[100] O; ادايها

[101] + in A and S

[102] O; فاوليك

[103] in A and S قسمها

[104] O; بعير

[105] in O; لاهله and corrected by A and S

[106] O; الدين

[107] O; نحعل

[108] O; فها

[109] A; و أذا

[110] O; يكن

[111] A and S; أستحفظ الله منه

[112] O; صاع

[113] O; قبادي and the corrected by A and S

[114] There is a gap in O but in A and S this gap disappears.

[115] A and S; إذلال

[116] A; هوادة بغير

[117] A and S; فمن

[118] O; تحد

[119] A and S; النظر

[120] O; يراهم

[121] - in A and S

[122] O; يصربن

[123] O; يصربن

[124] O; يحفين

أبـدتْ سِـوارَها بمعصمِها، أو قِـرطها بأُذنِها، أو خلخالاً[127] بقدميها، أو شيئاً مِنْ سائرِ بدنِها سوى وجهَهَا و كفيها لغيرِ ذي مَحْرَمٍ مِن الرجالِ لها فهي عاصيةٌ لـربها حـتى تتوبَ من ذَنبِها[128]. و لا يَشِمْنَ و لا يُوشمَ لَهُنَّ، و لا يَفْلِجْنَ أسنَانَهُنَّ، و لا يَصِلنَ و لا يوصلَ لهنَّ، و لا يدعينَ بالويلِ عندَ مصابِهنَ، و لا يلطمنَ خدودهـنَ، و لا يَخمشـنَ وجوههنَ، و لا ينحنَ[129] و لا يناحَ لهنَ، و لا يسمعنَ[130] النواحَ[131] تلذذاً به منهنَ،[132] و لا يسفرنَ إلا[133] عندَ غيرِ ذي مَحرمٍ مِن الرجالِ لهنَ، و لا يتجردنَ[134] إلا عنَد أزواجهَن[135]. و اتقاءَ الحيضِ؛ و اعتزالُ[136] النساءِ حتى يتطهرنَ[137]، و الاغتسالُ من الجنابةِ.

-- و الاسـتئذانُ في البـيوتِ، و ذِكـرُ اسمِ اللهِ على الذبيحةِ، ولا تأكلوا[138] مما لَمْ يُذْكَرِ اسمُ اللهِ عليهِ فذلكَ[139] حرامٌ، و كلُ مُسْكرٍ حرامٌ. و النِكاحُ بالفريضـةِ و البيـنةِ[140] و إذنُ الولي و رضى المرأةِ، و مجانبةُ نكاح من حرَّمَ اللهُ نكاحَهُ منْ أهلِ تلكَ المنازلِ التي بّينها[141] اللهُ في كتابِه. و الطلاقُ بالشهودِ، و العدةُ على سنةِ الطلاقِ، و لا تتخذوا آياتِ اللهِ هزواً، و الميراثُ بفرائضِ القرانِ، و لا يتوارَثَ[142] أهلُ ملّتينِ.

-- و اجتـنابُ الكـذبَ[143] و قولَ الزورِ و توابعِه من القولِ الذي لا يغني القائلَ به فان ذلك من حسنِ إسلامِ المرءِ. و التوبة إلى اللهِ من جميعِ الذنوبِ و الخطايـا، و الإقلاعُ عن ذلك، و الندامة عليه، و التّبَدُلَ بهِ إحساناً و معروفاً. و الشهادةُ على من ضلَ بضلالتِه، و الخلعُ له، و البراءةُ[144] منه، و البغضاءُ له، و العـداوةُ إلا ما وسعَ اللهُ في ذلك من التقيةِ في غيرِ إظهارٍ بالدعوةِ. و الولايةُ لأهلِ الطاعةِ على الطاعةِ، و الحبُ لهمْ، و الحفظُ لغيبتهم بما حَفِظَ اللهُ، و العونُ لهم على البرِ و التقوى كما أمرَ اللهُ "و لا تَعَاوَنُوا على الإثمِ و العُدَوانِ"[145]، و اتقوا اللهَ فيما أمَر اللهُ به ونهى عنهُ، و مراقبتُهُ في سرِ ذلك و جهرِه. و أعلموا أنَّ اللهَ يعلمُ[146] مَا في أنفسكُم فاحذَروه.

~125 O; حاتم

~126 A and S; و أيما

~127 O; خلخال

~128 O; دنبها

~129 O; يحن

~130 O; سمعن

~131 O; النوح

~132 + O; و لا يسفرن erased from the text

~133 + A

~134 O; جردن

~135 O; ازواحهن

~136 O; اعترال

~137 A and S; يطهرن

~138 A; يأكلوا

~139 O; فدلك

~140 A; السنة

~141 O; بينها

~142 O; ~ تتوارث and corrected by A and S

~143 O; المنكر

~144 O; اليراة

~145 This is a quotation from the Koran: 5;2

~146 O; يعلم

و تطهـــيرُ القلوبِ منْ حقدِها و حسدِها، و تزيهُ[147] الألسنِ عن مكروهِها، و عصيانُ النفسِ في شرِ[148] ما تأمرُ بهِ، و صدّها عن سبيلِ هواها و مَا فيه رداها، و ذيادهـــا عـــنْ مراتعِ هواها، و تنبيهها عنْ غفلتِها و سهوِها[149]، و رفعِها عنْ ذلك إلى معالِ[150] الإسلامِ و مكارمهِ. و منازلُ العالمين[151] بالمغالبةِ، و الغلبةُ حبُّ اللهِ[152]، و فيه يُبَاحُ[153] بنعمتهِ لاجتماعِ[154] فيها على طاعتِهِ.

-- و إقامةُ الحقِ و القولُ بهِ للهِ لا لغيرهِ بما أمكَن من ذلكَ و استطاعَ السبيلَ إليه، و لزومُ سُنَنِ العدلِ و آثارِ أئمةِ الهُدىَ، الذينَ أيدهمُ اللهُ بعزهِ و جعلَهم في حـــرزهِ و هداهم بالنورِ. و وطءُ[155] العلمِ المأثورِ [عندهم]، و الولايةُ لهم، و الكينونةُ على سبيلِهم، و معرفة فَضلِهم الذي[156] فضّلهُم اللهُ بهِ، و تضليلُ من ســـواهمْ من أئمةِ الضلالِ و قادة الفتنةِ، و الفراقُ لهم على معصيةِ اللهِ. و النصيحةُ للهِ في عبادهِ فيما جهلوا فيهِ و عموا و أزاغوا عنهُ و ضّلوا من سبيلِ رشادٍ و قـــولِ سدادٍ. و التذكيرُ لهمْ و التحذيرُ بتذكير(هم) اللهَ و تحذيره و الذي جاءت بهِ رُسلُ اللهِ عذراً و نذراً. و النصيحةُ لعامةِ المسلمينَ بالحكمةِ و الموعظةِ الحسنةِ يدعونَ من أدبرَ و يقبلون ممن اقبلَ. و قتالُ من كذبَ بيومِ الدينِ و بغى على أهلِ الدينِ من بعَدِ بلوغِ الدعوةِ إليه[157] (و اتخاذ الحجة عليه)[158].

-- لا نهايـــة لقـــتالِ أهـــلِ التكذيبِ حتى يؤمنوا باللهِ، و لا[159] لأهلِ البغي حتى يفيئوا إلى أمرِ اللهِ. و تغييرِ آثارِ الظلمةِ و ما أحدثوا من منكرٍ و ابتدعوا و ســـنوا[160] من ضلال، و شرعوا خِلافاً عنْ أمرِ اللهِ، و كذباً على اللهِ. و الرد على من قال لا قدرَ و نازعَ اللهَ في سُلطانهِ، و أنّ الأمورَ مفوضةٌ إلى العبادِ. و على مـــن ادّعـــى[161] الإيمـــانَ بالقولِ دونَ العملِ[162]، و على مَنْ سمّى أهلَ التوحيدِ و الإقرارِ المشركينَ، و على أهلِ التشبيهِ و التحديدِ، و على مَنْ قال بالرؤيةِ و أبطـــلَ[163] الوعـــيدِ، و عـــلى مَنْ زَعَمَ أنّ أهلَ المعاصي[164] مِنْ أهلِ الإقرارِ يدخلونَ الجنةَ مِنْ بعدِ مصيرهمْ إلى النارِ، فكل[165] هذا عندَ اللهِ حوبٌ كبيرٌ و ظلالُ لأهلهِ[166] و تخسيرُ.

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[147] O; تنزه

[148] A; سؤ

[149] A and S; شهوتها

[150] A and S; معالي

[151] O; العالمن

[152] A and S; المغالبة في حب الله

[153] A and S; يتاح

[154] O; لاحتماع

[155] O; وطي

[156] O; الدى

[157] O; عليه

[158] +in S

[159] - in S

[160] A; نصبوا

[161] O;ادعا

[162] A and S; الفعل

[163] O; ابطال and corrected by A and S

[164] -in S

[165] O; وكل and corrected by A and S

[166] A and S; باهله

—– و الحـيطةُ مِـن وراءِ الإسلامِ و الذبُ عنهُ بما الزمَ و كلفَ اللهُ فيهِ أهلَ النظرِ و قامَ بهِ للهِ كما يعلم[167]، و النصرُ حتى تكونَ[168] كلمةُ اللهِ هي العاليةَ و أحكامـهُ الجاريـةْ. و الصبرُ على مكارمِ[169] الأمورِ(التي أمرَ)[170] اللهُ بها، و القيامُ للهِ بالقسطِ[171] و الشهادةِ على القريبِ و البعيدِ، ولا(يأبى)[172] الشهداءُ إذا ما دعـوا، و الحكـمُ بينَ الناسِ بالعدلِ، و الوفاءُ بالعهدِ على الطاعةِ، ولا طاعةَ لمنْ عَصَى اللهَ، و لا وفاءَ بنذرٍ في معصيةِ اللهِ، و لا حكمَ لمنْ حكمَ بغيرِ[173] مَا انزلَ اللهُ، و مَـنْ لمْ يحكم بغيرِ مَا انزلَ اللهُ مِن ولاةِ الأمرِ فأولئك همُ الكافرونَ و الظالمونَ و الفاسقونَ. و العدلُ في الوزنِ و الوفاءِ في الكيلِ، و تحليلُ البيعِ و تحريمُ الـربا، و المحافظـةُ على الحدودِ كلها، و المحارمِ التي حرمَها اللهُ مِنْ الأموالِ و الأنفسِ[174] إلا مَا اَحَل اللهُ[175] ذلك بحقهِ و حِلهِ مما قَدَ بينهُ في كتابهِ من المناكحِ و المطـاعمِ و المشـاربِ. و التشديدُ في ذلكَ و التعظيمُ له كما عظَّمهُ اللهُ، فمنِ[176] ابتغى وراءَ ذلك و تعداه عدواناً و ظلماً كان له ما أوعَـدهُ اللهُ مِنْ النكالِ و الجزاءِ في العاجلِ، و العذابِ في الآخرةِ.

ž – و تحـريمُ[177] الربا أضعافاً مضاعفةً، و تركُ ما يرتابُ فيهِ من ذلكَ[178] مما لا سنةَ فيهِ و لا أثرُ. و أوحشُ الأمورِ مما لا شاهِدُ له مَن اللهِ و لا في كتابهِ و لا في سُـنةِ نبـيهِ و لا أثرُ مِنْ أفاضلِ الصحابةِ. و أوحشُ البيعِ مالا اجرُ[179] في ثوابهِ، و الوقوفُ عندَ الشُبُهَاتِ، و الأخذُ بالبيناتِ[180] النيراتِ، و طلبُ علمِ ما لا عذرَ لهُ بجهالتهِ[181]، و العلمُ و العملُ بما علّمَ اللهُ و اتباعُ مَا هدى اللهُ[182] له، و الاتساعُ بما وَسّعَ اللهُ في دينهِ و الأ(خذُ)[183] بتيسيرهِ و ما منَّ اللهُ بهِ مِن رحمتهِ فيما أرادَ لعـبادهِ باليسـرِ[184] و ما جعلَ لهمْ فيه العذرَ و إظهارُ[185] النعمةِ[186] و الثناءُ على اللهِ بها[187] و الشكرُ عليها. و تركُ الخيلاءِ و وضعُ الفخرِ[188] والكبرِ و مجانـبةُ أخـلاقِ الكفـرِ في العلانـيةِ و السرِ، و النزولُ عندَ العلومِ[189] على اللهِ و على أهلِ دينهِ[190] و الاستكانةُ لهُ و التواضعُ و حسنُ السمةِ و التخشعُ و

~167 + in S; أهل العلم والبصر

~168 O; تكون

~169 O; مكاره

~170There is a gap and this is completed by S, and in A; التي عزم

~171 O; القسط

~172 There is a gap in the copy O and completed by A and S; يأبى الشهداء

~173 O; بعير

~174 O; الانفس

~175+ in S and in A; من

~176 O; فمن

~177 O; تحريم

~178+in A and S

~179 A and S; جزاء

~180 O; النيات and corrected by A and S

~181A and S; ما لا علم بجهالته

~182+in A and S

~183There is a gap in O and this is completed by A and S.

~184 O; البشر and corrected by A and S.

~185~O; اطهار

~186~O; النعمه

~187+in A and S; و المعرفة لها

~188 O; الغجر and corrected by A and S

~189A and S; الغلو

~190 O; أهل نبيه, and corrected by A and S. Usually the Ibāḍite ideology holds the أهل البيت (Holy Home) to point to all Muslims rather than Shiite ideology which consider أهل البيت to be mainly the Prophet's relatives especially those of his grandsons al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn. For this case in detail; Al-Sālimī, *Mashāriq anwār al-'uqūl,* p. 41, Damascus, 1995.

إظهـــارُ[191] الرغبةِ إليه بالتضرعِ، و التعظيمُ للقولِ على اللهِ بغيرِ الحقِ و بما لا يعلمونَ. و لا يُسفَكُ دمٌ بغيرِ حلهِ و لا يُقتلُ مؤمنٌ و لا يُعانُ على قتلهِ" و مَنْ قَتلَ مؤمناً متعمداً فجزاؤهُ[192] جهنمَ خالداً فيها و غَضِبَ اللهُ عليهِ و لعَنهُ و أعـــدَّ لهُ عذاباً عظيماً[193]".

و فـــرقُ الرأسِ و قصُ الشاربِ و السواكُ و المضمضةُ و الاستنشاقُ و نتفُ الإبطِ و قصُ الأظافرِ و حلقُ العانةِ و الختانُ و الاستنجاءُ من اثرِ البولِ و الغائطِ. و تحـــريمُ[194] مَـــا حرمَ اللهُ في حرمهِ، و على المؤمنينَ من حجِ[195] بيتهِ في حينِ ذلك و وقته إلى منتهى[196] الإحلال عنه، و اجتنابُ ما نهاهُ اللهُ عنهُ هُنَالك مِنْ الرفثِ والفســـوقِ و الجـــدالِ في الحـــجِ[197]، في مباشـــرةِ و حسنِ هديٍ و ذكرِ اللهِ كثيرًا، و الانتهاءُ عن لمزِ المؤمنينَ و الطعنِ عليهم و الغيبةِ لهمْ و سوءِ الظنِ بِهم و التجسسِ لعوراتِهمْ و الأذى لهمْ بغيرِ[198] ما اكتسبوا، ذلك الذي[199] يُحبطُ[200] اللهُ بهِ الأعمالَ، و يحتملُ به الأثامَ و البهتانَ، و يصيرُ بأهلهِ إلى الخسرانِ. و تأديةُ حقوقِ المؤمنينَ إليهم[201] من الحفظِ و المودةِ و الاستغفارِ لهمْ في المحيا و الممات، و بذلك فضّلَ بينَ المؤمنينَ و عليهِ[202] ألّفَ بينَ قُلُوبِهم.

– – و تحـــريمُ ولايةِ أهلِ المعصيةِ و استبراءِ القلوبِ مِنْ محبتهمِ و الاستغفارِ لهمْ و مَا حرَّمَ اللهُ بهِ المؤمنينَ مِنْ القولِ في التقيةِ (حيثُ يقولُ)[203]: "إلا أنْ تتقوا منهم تقاةً"[204] وقال:"إلا مَنْ أُكرِهَ و قَلبُهُ مُطمَئنٌ بالإيمانِ".[205] فأما الفعلُ فلا يجوزُ[206]. و الفراقُ لهمْ و العداوةُ و المحاربةُ و القتالُ لأصنافِ أهلِ المعاصي الذينَ أمَـــرَ اللهُ فـــيهمْ بالمحاربـــةِ[207] بذلكَ مِنْ أهلِ الشركِ و أهلِ الأحداثِ في الإقرارِ مِنْ(أهلِ القبلةِ)[208]، و تسميتُهم بأسمائِهمْ و مللِهِمْ التي سماهمُ اللهُ بها و نسبَهمُ إلـــيها[209] و فرقَ فيما بينهمْ، و إنفاذُ حكمِ اللهِ فيهمْ، و إقامةُ حدود اللهِ عليهمْ لأنها[210] دونَ ذلك. و لا تعطيلُ لحدٍ وجبَ على أهلهِ حرامٌ على[211] ولاةِ الأمرِ تعطـــيلُه، وحـــقٌ على معرفةِ أهلِ الحقِ القائمينَ به إقامتهُ على مَنْ وجبَ عليهمْ مِنْ أنفسِهم و أعوانِهم< في شدة تغبط إليهم> و منابذةِ لهم كما أمَرَ اللهُ فيهم، فمـــن رضيَ بحكمِ المسلمينَ و أقرَ بدينهِ و تابَ قُبِلَتْ توبَتهُ و لمْ تبطلِ التوبةُ عنه حدَّ مَا وجبَ[212] عليهِ، و وسعَ المسلمينَ مجامعته[213]، فإن أصرَ و استكبرَ أقمتمْ

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[191] O; اطهار

[192] O; فحزواه

[193] A and S; جهنم و سات مصيرا

[194] O; تحريم

[195] O; حاج

[196] O;مثلها and corrected by A and S

[197] O; الحح

[198] O; بعير

[199] O; الدى

[200] O; يحبط

[201] O; الهم

[202]+A and S

[203]There is a gap and this is completed by A and S

[204]Koran: 3;28

[205]Koran:16; 106

[206] O; حوز

[207]+A

[208]There is a gap and this is completed by A and S.

[209] O ; الها

[210] A and S; لانهاية

[211] A and S; و لا

[212] S; ركب

[213] O; مخامعته and corrected by A

علـــيه حدَ ما ركبَ لا يُتعدى عليه غيرَ[214] ذلك[215] و بريءَ المسلمونَ منه على حدثهِ و امتناعهِ و إصرارهِ ما كانَ على ذلك. و مَنْ عَطَّلَ حداً أو قَصَّرَ عنهُ بعدَ القُـــدرةِ و السبيلِ إلى إقامتهِ و العمل بهِ كفَرهُ[216] تعطيلُ مَا عطلَ من الحدودِ[217] التي[218] أمَر اللهُ ولاةَ الأمرِ بإقامتِها على مَنْ أقـــرَّ بها و وجبتْ عليهِ، وَ أعْقَبَهُ اللهُ ذلاً و كـــانَ لذلـــك أهلاً و جعلَ اللهُ عليهِ السلطانَ و لَمْ يكنْ لهُ مِنْ دُونِ اللهِ وليّ و لا نَصيرٍ[219]، حتى يرجعَ إلى إقامةِ مَا كانَ[220] أكفَرهُ تعطيلهُ. و قالَ:" لا تَـــتَّخِذُوا الكَافِرِينَ أَولِيآءَ مِنْ دُونِ المُؤمِنِينَ أتُرِيدُونَ[221] أن تجعَلُوا للهِ عَلَيكُم سُلطاناً مُبِيناً".[222] و ذلك حقٌ[223] للهِ أمرَ أنْ يُعملَ[224] بهِ في عبادهِ، لا تركُ لذلكَ و لا خـــلافُ على اللهِ[225] فيهِ، لأن اللهَ اثبتَ الولايةَ و الاستغفارَ و المودةَ لأهلِ الطاعةِ، و حرمَ أموالَهم و دمائَهم و أعراضَهم و جعلَ ذلكَ عندهُ عظيما ، و ذلك مِنْ حقوقِهمُ الذي عليهِ و الذي أدوا إليهِ مِنْ حقهِ[226].

– و حرَمَ ولايةَ المنافقينَ و الاستغفارَ لهمْ و مودتهم، و أحلَ منهمُ النكاحَ و أثبتَ المواريثَ و الحدودَ و الأحكامَ عليهِمْ[227] بإقرارهمْ. و إنما يثبتُ الإيمانَ و الولايةَ لِمَنْ صدقَ في إقرارهِ و عملَ بما أقرَ بهِ، و حرمَ على المسلمينَ قتالهمْ ماداموا مظهرينَ[228] لهمُ الرضى بحكمهمْ و عدلِهم، و حقٌ على من أقَر بحقٍ أن يؤديَهُ [و] عـــلى من دانَ بتحريمِ أنْ يتقيَهُ. و لنْ يحولَهمْ إقرارُهُمْ إلى الإيمانِ و لا ثوابَ أهلهِ[229]، لأنهمْ دخلوا في الإيمانِ بغيرِ[230] صدقِ أهلهِ، فهم يمشونَ[231] في ضوئهِ و يعيشـــونَ في كـــنفهِ بغـــيرِ صدقٍ و لا رغبةٍ، فهمْ خاسرونَ بمخادعتِهُم اللهَ و أولياءهُ، و مظاهرتِهمْ[232] على اللهِ مَنْ عصاهُ، و ما يخدعونَ إلا أنفُسَهم و ما يشعرون[233]. فإنِ امتنعوا بحقِ اللهِ بعدَ إقرارِهمْ بهِ طُلِبَ إليهم ذلك الحقُ أنْ يُعطُوه ، فإذا امتنعوا[234] و بغوا على المسلمينَ قُوتِلوا على أمرِ اللهِ، لأنَ اللهَ أمرَ بقتالِ أهـــلِ البغيِ و أنزلَ في ذلكَ قرآنا فقالَ:" وَ إِنَ طَآئِفتَانِ مِنَ المُؤمِنِينَ اقتَتَلُوا فَأَصلِحُوا بَينَهُمَا فإن بَغَت إِحدَاهُمَا على الأُخرَى[235] فَقَاتِلُوا[236] الَّتِي تَبغِي حَتَّى تَفِيءَ إِلَـــى أَمـــرِ اللهِ فإن فَاءَت فَأَصلِحُوا بَينَهُمَا".[237] و هي أنْ ترجعَ[238] إلى مَا طُلِبَ إليها فامتنعتْ [239] أن تعطيَه فصاروا بالامتناعِ عما[240] قبلهم[241] مِنْ الحقِ بُغاةً حلالُ دمائُهم بما استحلوا مِنْ دماءِ المسلمينَ، و قتالُهم و انتقضَ الإيمانُ عنهمْ و الناكثُ على نفسهِ نَكَثَ و المغيّرُ نِعَمَتهُ مُغَيّرٌ و الماكرُ بنفسهِ مَكَرَ.

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[214] O; عبر

[215] O; دلك

[216] O; اكفره

[217] O; الحد

[218] O; الذي

[219] O; نصر

[220] +in A and S

[221] O; اتريدو

[222] Koran: 4;144

[223] +in O; على الله erased from the text

[224] O; يعمل

[225] +in A and S

[226] - in S and A; من حقوقهم للذي عليه أدوا إليه من حقه

[227] O; الحدود عليهم و الاحكام

[228] O; مطهرين

[229] O; و أن يحق لهم إقرارهم الإيمان and corrected by A

[230] O; بعير

[231] O; مشون

[232] O; مطاهرتهم

[233] O; شعرون

[234] +in O; به erased from the text

[235] O; الاحرى

[236] O; فقاتلوا

[237] Koran:49; 9

[238] O; ترحع

– و بلغـــنا أنّ ذلـــكَ القتالَ[242] الذي ذَكَرهُ اللهُ كانَ بالأيدي و البغالِ[243] لا بالسلاحِ [244]، فعظّم[245] اللهُ ذلكَ و بَلَغ بهم ما تسمعون[246] و سمّاهُمْ باغينَ بامتناعِهِمْ بما قبلهم مِنَ الحقِ، و احلَ قتالَهم فيهِ حتى يرجعوا إلى أمرِ اللهِ الذي كانوا مقّرينَ[247] به في بادىءِ[248] أمرِهم. فكيفَ مَنْ سَفَكَ الدماءَ عدواناً و ظلماً، و انتهكَ[249] المحارمَ، و سعى في الأرضِ فساداً، و اغتصبَ أموالَ الناسِ[250] ، و تبرأ ممن[251] تولاهم[252]! فَعلَ[253] ذلك و سماهم مؤمنينَ، و عابَ مَنْ قادهم[254] و بـــريءَ منهمْ و عادَاهم للهِ مطيعاً بذلكَ للهِ مُحتَسِبًا بدعوَتِه.[255] وَ هُمْ بذلكَ بَعْضُهُم[256] مِن بعضِ العاملُ بالمعصيةِ المقيمُ[257] عليها، و الراضي بها، و المعينُ عليها، و الموالي بذلك عليها بما اجتمعوا عليهِ[258] مِن معصيةِ اللهِ، و همْ في الآخرةِ[259] في العذابِ مشتركونَ. فمن رضي بمعصيةِ اللهِ أوْ أعانَ عليها غيرهُ[260] من بلاءها، و شـــاركَ العـــاملَ[261] في حَرامِها، و مَن تولى كِبَرَ ذلك فلهُ عذابُ اليمُ[262]. ومن جَهِلَ الحقَ لَمْ يزددْ بجهلهِ إلا جهلاً، و مَنْ حِمْلِهِ إلا ثقلاً، و من مواطنتهِ إلا وَجلاً[263]، و من كانَ في هذهِ أعمى فهو في الآخرةِ أعمى و أضلُ سبيلا.

– و كانت سيرةِ نبيِ اللهِ[264] صلى اللهُ عليهِ و سلمَ في البغاةِ أن يُقَاتلوا على مَا أحدثوا مِنْ بغيِهم، و أقاموا عليهِ مِنْ جورِهِم حتى يرجعوا إلى الحقِ فيعطوه و لا يـــتعدى بهم ذلك إلى غيرهِ[265]. و كانت سيرتهُ في اليهودِ و النصارى والمجوسِ أنْ دعاهم إلى الذي يجدونهُ في كتابِ اللهِ، مِنْ كلمةِ العدلِ ألا[266] يعبدوا إلا اللهَ و لا يشركوا به شيئًا و يجتنِبوا مَا نهاهم[267] اللهُ عنهُ مِنْ الرجسِ و المنكرِ و القولِ بالزورِ و أنْ يضعَ[268] عنهمُ[269] الأغلالَ التي كانتْ عليهمْ و الأصفادَ[270] و لا

~239 + O; به
~240 S; بما
~241 O; قلهم
~242 - in S
~243 S; النعال
~244 + in O; كان
~245 O; فعطم
~246 A; يتنغمون
247 O; معزين and corrected by A and S
~248 O and A; يدي and corrected by S
~249 O; انهك
~250 O; الناس أموالهم
~251 O; لمن
~252 O; ولاهم
~253 O; فعلى
~254 O; فادمهم
~255 O; بدعونه
~256 O; يعصهم
~257 A and S; مقيما
~258 A; على معصية
~259 O; الاحره
~260 O; عيره
~261 + in A and S
~262 A and S; عظيم
~263 O; وحلا and corrected by A and S
~264 + A and S
~265 A and S; ولا تعدى لهم إلى غير
~266 A; أن لا
~267 A and S; نهى
~268 O; نصع

يدعــونَ مــعَ اللهِ إلهاً أخرَ، ثم قال: "فإنْ أسلموا فقدِ اهتدوا".[271] "و إنْ تولوا فإنما همْ في شقاقٍ فسيكفيكَهُم اللهُ و هو السميعُ العليمُ".[272] فمنِ استجابَ لَهُ منهمْ وَجَبَ لهُ مَا وَجَبَ للمسلمينِ وحلَ لهُ مَا حلَ لهمْ، ومَنْ كَرِهَ الإسلامَ أمَرهُ بقتالِهمْ حتى يعطوا[273] الجزيةَ[274] عن يدٍ وهمْ صاغرونَ.

فمــنْ أَقــرَ مِنْهمْ[275] بالجزيةِ اقرَّهُ[276] على دينهِ و أحلَّ اللهُ مِنْ أهلِ الكتابِ مِنَ اليهودِ والنصارى أكلَ ذبائحهم[277] و نكاحَ المحصناتِ مِنْ نسائهمِ و حرَّمَ على المسلمينَ ذبائحَ[278] المجوسِ و نكاحَ[279] نسائهمِ. و إنما احلَّ اللهُ من الكتابيّنَ الذبائح و النساءَ ما لم يكونوا حرباً، فإذا كانوا حرباً حرَّمَ ذلك كلّه منهم و أحلت على المناصبةِ دمائُهم و غنيمةُ[280] أموالِهم، و سبيُ نسائِهم و ذراريهمُ الذينَ وُلِدوا في محاربَتِهم.

– و مَــنْ كانَ من مشركي العربِ فإنَّ اللهَ احلَ دِمائَهم و أموالَهم و إستعراضَهم و صدَّهُم عنِ المسجدِ الحرامِ، و حرمَ[281] موارَثَتَهمْ وَ مناكَحَتَهْم و أكلَ ذبــائِحِهِمْ. و أمَــر أنْ لا[282] يقروا على دينهِم و لا تُقبلَ مِنهم فديةُ[283] و لا جزيةُ إلا الدخولَ في الإسلامِ أو ضربُ أعناقِهم. فهذهِ سيرةُ نبي[284] اللهِ صلى اللهُ علــيهِ و ســلم (في هــذهِ الأديــانِ)[285] و سارَ بها أئمةُ العدلِ بعدَهُ[286]، سنةُ تامةُ ماضيةُ ثابتةُ في الدينِ يعملُ[287] بها خلفاءُ اللهِ في أرضهِ القائمونَ بحقهِ[288]، لا ينقصونَها[289] و لا يتعدونَها و لنْ تجدَ لسنةِ اللهِ تبديلاً. و كلُ العبادِ قدْ أعذروا[290] للهِ إليهِ و أقامَ حجتَهُ[291] عليهِ بالذي أتاهمْ بهِ [مِنَ] البيانِ و الهدى والفرقانِ و الــنورِ و الــبرهانِ على السنِ رُسلِهِ و الهداةِ مِنْ عبادِهِ، و لا ريبَ في ذلك و لا جهلَ و لا لبسَ على ذي عقلٍ قد فَصلهُ اللهُ تفصيلاً و جعلَ[292] على كلِ شيءٍ

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[269] O; عهم

[270] A and S; الآصار

[271] Koran:4;20

[272] Koran: 3; 137

[273] O; يعطوا

[274] O; الحزيه

[275] +in A and S

[276] O; افره

[277] O; ذباحهم

[278] O; ذباح

[279] + in A and S

[280] + in A and S

[281] O; حرام and corrected by A and S

[282] + in A and S

[283] O; فديه

[284] O; ني

[285] +in A

[286] + in A and S

[287] O; يعمل

[288] O; حقه

[289] A; ينقضونها

[290] O; اعدروا

[291] O; حجته

[292] O; حعل

منهُ دليلا[293]. فمنْ أسلمَ وَجْهَهُ مُحتسِباً و اقبلَ إلى ربهِ مُنيباً بريأً مِنْ ذنبهِ[294] استوجبَ اجَرَهُ عِندَ ربهِ و سُمّيَ بالذي سمى و كانتَ لهُ حُرمةُ[295] ذلك و حقهِ في إخاءِ الإسلامِ و حقوقهِ[296] التي أجراها اللهُ بينَ[297] أهلِهِ.

– و لـــيسَ الإسلامُ لمنْ تسمى بهِ و انتحَلهُ بغيرِ[298] صدقِ أهلهِ، و لكنه من حافظَ عليهِ و استكملَه و كانَ منهُ على طرائقِهِ[299] المستقيمةِ بأخلاقهِ العظيمةِ على مراتبهِ الكريمةِ المبلغ بها إليهِ للوصولِ بها لديهِ، معْ مُجانبةِ الخيانةِ و أداءِ الأمانةِ و رفضِ الأشرارِ مِنْ البطانةِ، ومَا يضيعُ[300] العبدَ بإضاعتهِ[301] أمانتهِ و طاعةِ أهـــلِ الخـــيانةِ مِن بطانتهِ،[حيثُ] يستدرجُ العبدَ مِنْ حيَثُ لا يَعلَمَ و يُحشرَ في غيبِ ذلك و يندمُ و يُحبطُ عنهُ[302] العملُ، و يربحُ منهُ في المنقلبِ العللُ < مَا اثبـــتَ العدلُ> و يحلُ[303] بهِ المقتُ الكبيرُ ويصيرُ بها إلى (أهلِ)[304] التخسيرِ فساءَ قبيلا[305] و بئسَ للظالمينَ بدلا، مَنْ اسرَ خِلافَ مَا اظهرَ و انتقضَ[306] مِنْ حَقِّ اللهِ مَا بهِ على نفسهِ اقر، كلُ ذلك بعلمِ اللهِ و معرفتهِ و الأمرُ بتمامهِ و عاقبتهِ.

– و الـــناسُ في إقـــرارهِم بدينِ اللهِ على منازلَ تختلفُ في (عدلِ)[307] اللهِ مِن ولايةٍ و براءةٍ و وقفٍ لا يجاوزُ ذلك فيهم، و هو العدلُ في دينِ اللهِ، و عليه الحقُ واجبُ على مَن[308] قامَ بأمرِ اللهِ في عبادهِ أنْ يترُكُمْ بحيثِ أنزلتهم[309] أعمالُهم، و يسميهمْ بأسمائهمُ و تجري[310] عليهمْ أحكامُهم على قدرِ منازِلَهم. فإنَّ مَنْ أثبـــتَ في الناسِ إسماً أو أجرى عليهمْ حكماً قبلَ[311] أن يعرفَ منازِلَهمْ فيتبينها <أخطأ و اعتدى>، و مِنْ أنزلَهم منزلةَ مَنْ لَمْ يقولوا قولَه و يعصوا فعله جَارَ و ظـــلمَ، ذلك أمرُهم في الدنيا و كذلك في[312] الآخرةِ عِندَ اللهِ لكلِ درجاتُ مما عَمِلوا و همْ لا يظلمونَ[313]. قالَ اللهُ:" فأعقَبَهُمْ نِفَاقاً في قلوبِهِمْ إلى يومَ يلقونَهُ بما أخلفوا اللهَ مَا وَعَدُوهُ و بما كانوا يَكْذِبونَ".[314] فسماهمُ اللهُ بذلك منافقينَ، و بالفسوقِ عن أمرهِ سماهم فاسقينَ. و الكفرُ يجمعُ أهلَ الشركِ[315] و أهلَ الأحداثِ في الإقـــرارِ مِـــنْ أهلِ القبلةِ، و هما كُفرانِ كُفر شركٍ قد لَحِقَهُم[316] فيهِ حكمُ المشركينَ، و كفرُ بالأعمالِ وَهُمْ منافقونَ دَخلوا بالإقرارِ مِن[317] البابِ الأعظمِ و

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[293] O; دليلا

[294] O; دينه and corrected by A and S also + in O; و erased from the text.

[295] S; خدمة

[296] O; حقوقه

[297] O; بين

[298] O; بعير

[299] O; أمر الله and corrected by A and S

[300] O; يناع

[301] +in A and S

[302] O; فيه and A and S; منه

[303] O; تحل

[304] +in A and S

[305] A and S; مثلا

[306] O; انفض

[307] There is a gap and this is completed by A and S.

[308] O; ما and corrected by A and S.

[309] O; انرالهم

[310] O; يحري

[311] O; قبل

[312] A and S; ومن أنزلهم منازلهم منزلة الآخرة

[313] O; يطلمون

[314] Koran:9; 77

[315] O; السرك

[316] O; لحقهم

[317] O; في

خرجوا مِنْ النفقِ الأصغرِ بتضييعِ مَا أمرهُم اللهُ بهِ مِنْ طاعتهِ و افترضَ[318] عليهمْ من حقهِ و مواقعةِ مَا حرمَ اللهُ عليهم[319] مِنْ معصيةٍ و ركوبِ مَا نهاهمُ اللهُ عنهُ مِنْ حُرماتِهِ، فهذا كُفرَ أهلِ الإقرارِ معِ الحكمِ بغيرِ مَا أنزلَ اللهُ و توليهم عن أمرِ اللهِ، قال[320] اللهُ لهُ الحمدُ:" وَ إذَا دُعُوا إلَىَ اللهِ وَ رَسُولِهِ لِيَحْكُمَ بَيْنَهُمْ إذَا فَرِيقٌ مِنهُمْ مُعرِضونَ. و إنْ يَكُن لَهُمُ الحَقُ يَأتُوا إليهِ مُذعِنِينَ. أفِي قُلُوبِهِم مَّرَضٌ أمِ ارتَابُوا أم يَخَافُونَ أن يَحِيفَ اللهُ عَلَيهِم وَ رَسُولُهُ بَل أُولئكَ هُمُ الظَّالمونَ. إنَّمَا كَانَ قَولَ المُؤمِنِينَ إذَا دُعُوا إلى اللهِ و رسولهِ لِيَحْكُمَ بَيْنَهُم أن يَقُولُوا سَمِعنَا وَ أَطَعْنَا وَ أُولَئكَ هُمُ المُفلِحُونَ[321]"[322] . فبالكفرِ دخلَ أهلُ النارِ النارَ و بالإيمانِ دخلَ أهلُ الجنةِ الجنةَ.

– و الإسلامُ[323] مِنْ الإيمانِ، و الإيمانُ مِنْ الإسلامِ، و التقوى مِنْ الإيمانِ، و بعضُ ذلكَ مِن بعضُ على استكمالِ الإيمانِ بما[324] فيهِ و إتيان حقوقهِ و الوقوفِ على حدودهِ. ولا يثبتُ الإيمانُ[325] بانتقاصِ فرائضِ اللهِ، و لا بالمقامِ[326] على حرامِ اللهِ، هيهاتَ هيهاتَ مِن ذلكَ، و الكافرونَ هُم الظالمونَ و الفاسقونَ. و كفى بالعملِ شاهدا على أهلهِ، فبحُسنهِ يحسنُ الثناءُ و يصلحُ، و بقبيحهِ[327] يسوءُ الثناءُ و يقبحُ، و هو الذي يحكمُ[328] اللهُ به للعبدِ، و عليهِ و بهِ يعرفُ و ينسبُ إليهِ، و عليهِ يوالى ويعادى، و ذلك مِن أوثقِ عُرى الإسلامِ و اثبت أركانهِ الولايةُ في اللهِ و العداوةُ في اللهِ. و اللهُ[329] أولُ مَنْ برئ مِنْ أهلِ المعصيةِ و عاداهم عليها، ثم أمضى ذلك و أمرَ بهِ فيهم سنةً تامةً عندَ اللهِ معمولُ بها لله. و إنما ولينا[330] مَنْ أوفى بمَا عاهدَ عليهِ اللهَ[331] في كلِ ما الزمَ فيهِ طاعتَه و[332] حقٍ أوجبَ على العبادِ تأديتَهُ، مِن تقوى [333]اللهِ و ورعٍ عن حرماتهِ. و عَدوًنا الناكثُ بميولهِ إلى هواه و شهوتهِ و غيهِ و فتنتهِ، المستحلُ لِمَا حرمَ اللهُ، الآتي مَا نهاهُ اللهُ عنه استخفافاً بما أوعَدهُ و نقضاً لما عاهدَ عليهِ اللهَ، فأولئكَ حلالُ خُلْعُهُمْ و البراءةُ منهمُ بما استحلوا الحرامَ و ركبوا مِنْ[334] الأثامِ و مَا ربك بظلامٍ للعبيدِ.

ž – أهلُ المنزلةِ بين المنزلتينَ[335] دخلوا في الإسلامِ فأقروا بحقوقهِ و اظهروا للمسلمينَ الرضى[336] فإذا غابوا[337] أتى عنهم الذي[338] [هو] عايبُ في دينهمْ و ناقضُ لولايتهم، مِنْ أعمالٍ يتخالفون إليها حَرَّمَ اللهُ استحلالها فإذا عوتبوا اعتذروا و إذا استتيبوا استغفروا، يظهرونَ الكراهيةَ للعيوبِ و التوبةَ مِن الذنوبِ ثم

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[318] O;افترص

[319] O; عليهم

[320] O; قال

[321] O; الفلحون

[322]Koran: 24;48-51

[323] A and S; الجنة

[324] A and S; ما

[325] O; الايمان

[326] A and S; القيام

[327]S; تقبيحه

[328] O; يحكم

[329] O; هو

[330] A; قولنا and corrected by A and S

[331] O; قلبه and corrected by A and S

[332]- in S

[333]+in O; من erased from the text

[334]+in A

[335] In the text he highlighted those people whose deeds are sinful or hypocritical. However, this terminology is used to describe the Mu'tazilites who were the first to develop this terminology.

[336]+S

[337] S; غلبوا

[338] O; الدى

يـــرجعونَ بعـــدَ ذلـــكَ إلى الذي اعتذروا و تابوا[339] منه، كذلكَ أمرهم في[340] المماتِ. فأولئك يُدعونَ إذا أدبروا، و يُقبلُ منهم إذا اقبلوا، و يسع المسلمونَ مجامعتهم إذا تابوا. فمن ختمَ عملهُ منهم[341] بتوبةٍ مُناصِحاً فيها كانَ في جماعةِ[342] المسلمين ولايتهم، ومن ختمَ عمله بإصرارٍ على المكفرةِ كانَ للبراءةِ منه أهلاً و انتقضـــتْ ولايـــتُهُ. فإن املكَ أمورِ العبادِ هي خواتمها، و كلُ له ما اظهرَ[343] من معروفٍ أو منكرٍ يجب له العداوةُ و البغضاءُ و الولايةُ و الرضىَ، و للهِ الحجةُ عـــلى مـــن عصاهُ وله المنةُ و النعمةُ[344] على مَنْ اتقاه بالذي بُصرَ مِن الرشدِ و هدى لهُ مِن المزيدِ[345]، و يزيدُ اللهُ الذينَ اهتدوا هدىً و لا يزيدُ[346] الظالمينَ إلا خَسَارا.

نســـألَ اللهَ لنا و لكمْ عونا على طاعتهِ، و عصمةً مِنْ[347] معصيته، و توفيقاً لسنةِ الهُدى التي فضّلَ بها من هداه عليها في معافاةٍ و سرورٍ و كفايةٍ لكل محذورٍ. و نســـأله مـــن فضـــلهِ العظيمِ[348] إن عليهِ يسيرٌ وهو على كل شي قديرٌ، و السلامُ علينا ورحمةُ اللهِ، و صلى اللهُ[349] على محمدٍ كما هو[350] أهلُه و الحمدُ للهِ حقَ حمدِهِ.

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[339] O; تابوا

[340] S; إلى

[341] O; منهم

[342] O; حماعة

[343] O; اطهر

[344]- A and S

[345] A and S; الرشد

[346] O; يزبد

[347] O; عن and corrected by A and S

[348] O; العطم

[349]+ A and S

[350]+A and S

VII-The Translation of the Text

To those who have written to us from the people of Khurāsān

1- Peace be upon you, we praise Allah for you, there is no God but Allah. He is fair in His bounty, kind in His justice, and wise in His acts. He has the most beautiful names, the highest praise, the most wise acts, and the perfection in directing affairs are all attributed to Him. In His hand is the good; He is powerful over everything.

2- We advise you to fear Allah who forbade you from having the characteristics of the hypocrites. He took a covenant from you to obey His commandments and avoid His prohibitions, testing and examining you thereby. You have to fear Allah and stand upright as He has commanded you. You should remember death, the resurrection and the day of judgement. A day when those who were followed disown their followers and the evildoers bite their hands in grief for what they have done. They will be enemies to erstwhile friends, with the exception of those who feared Allah.

3- We wrote to you out of kindness, for the exaltation of your honour and the increase of your righteousness. We and the Muslims around us are all under the protection of Allah. Our desire is to give you the harmony that you indeed deserve. We ask Allah to complete and increase His favours upon you. We and the Muslims are all under the protection of Allah. All praise is for Allah, the Lord of all beings and may the praise of Allah be upon Muḥammad.

4- If someone asks, tell me who was under the bond of Muslim association until he disappeared or died. The person, who is fair among the Muslims, their doctrine and who also has knowledge of association and dissociation, witnessed that he had sinned against the faith and insisted on his sins till he died. We did not know if he had repented or not. However, do Muslims accept what has been said against their companion after his death? According to what has been said, if someone dies then his argument dies with him.

5- We say that power comes only from Allah: if the candidate was one of the Imams chosen by Muslim scholars to govern the state, or if he was one of the religious imams who were famous for their kindness to Muslims, and who consented to his

association, the scholars gave him a pledge to obey Allah and give him the responsibility to govern them and their affairs and agree on his legitimate ruling such as 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, 'Abdullāh b. Mas'ūd, Jābir b. Zayd, Julandā b. Mas'ūd, Rabī' b. Ḥabīb, Maḥbūb b. al- Ruḥīl, Mūsā b. 'Alī, Muḥammad b. Maḥbūb as well as those who were like them but not mentioned.

If someone witnessed against those people or against someone among them, even if the number of witnesses increased after he was against the faith and insisted on it and did not recant till he died, Muslims would not accept that. In this case, Muslims should dissociate from the witnesses and ask them to repent for what they have said. If the witnesses repent, they have the right to return to their previous position in the Muslim community, but if they insist on what they have witnessed before, then the Muslims would continue dissociating from them. If there is one witness against the imams who are mentioned above, Muslims should not accept his testimony and therefore they should dissociate from him and ask him to repent. If he repents, Muslims may accept him, but if he insists on not repenting, they should continue their dissociation from him.

6- As regards to the evildoing imams, whose sins were notorious within the Muslim community, the Muslims consented to dissociate from them. Individuals such as: 'Uthmān b. 'Affān, Mu'āwiya b. Abī Sufyān and 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib as well as others who are like those but not mentioned. If each of those people was witnessed by more or less one hundred people that they had repented before death and renounced their evil deeds, then Muslims would not associate with them again. However, they must not accept their testimony and dissociate from those who have witnessed and asked them to repent. If they repented, then they would be accepted back into the Muslim community, but if they insisted on their testimony then the Muslims should dissociate from them as well as from those who were heretic imams.

7- The association of those mentioned by the religious Imams is something customarily inherited and is famous among Muslims. It is an issue that has already been debated among Muslims and they have agreed to it.

Concerning the witnesses case, the testimony was not accepted on two counts. The first was because there is an accusation of lying against those scholars who came before. So the scholar cannot be accused of being a liar and dishonest by anyone. Therefore, this leads to a decline in your allegation, and you were against your opponents. No one could bring something different from what they have said.

8- Suppose one who is considered in association with the Muslim community until he disappeared or died, then two people whose opinions have a great influence in our community witnessed against him, either when he was away or after he died, that he committed something against the faith and insisted on it and no one knew whether he had repented until his death. The people who accepted him must accept the testimony against him.

The testimony of those who died have not had their testimony accepted by the Muslims who witnessed the sins that they have committed while they were alive and so dissociated from their witness. However, in this case they should forgive all the people who are from your community and associated with ‘Uthmān, Mu‘āwiya and ‘Alī after their death. This is because they will say to you: you and your opponents consented that in fact they were under the obedience of Allah, so we associate with them because you have consented to that. On the other hand, if you prove that they have committed sins, they would say: we do not accept your proof because they are already dead or their evidence died with them. Likewise, if you forgive them on accepting them after establishing the proof against them, the affair which has caused division among the people who went astray with sinners, has gone wider than the scope of your claim. If you have overcome their arguments and dissociated from them, then you will break your claim that the witness' testimony against the one who died was not accepted after his death.

I have heard from one of Muslims that ‘Azzān b. Saqar said "if a man was living in Iraq and had heard of ‘Alī b. Abī Tālib's kindness, but not his sins, he would have been likely to accept him. If another man has witnessed that ‘Alī b. Abī Tālib committed sins, then he has to dissociate from the witness. But, if there were two witnesses, he would have had to dissociate from ‘Alī b. Abī Tālib". This is evidence for any person who has established the argument against ‘Ali to dissociate from him

after his death. ʻAzzān b. Saqar was an Omani scholar and we depend on him for this issue.

9- **On the Genealogy of Islam.** Allah is our lord, Muhammad is our prophet, The Koran is our guidance, the sacred house is our direction for prayer and Islam is our religion. Islam is faith and faith is Islam. Righteousness and piety is from the faith and fealty is from the faith. All these parts are complementary with faith, which establishes its limits just as good deeds establish its rightness. Faith is not achieved either when Allah's commands are disobeyed or they continue to do what Allah has forbidden.

10- Faith is the confession that there is no God but Allah, and Muhammad is his Prophet. His revelations received from Allah are true. Faith is in Allah, the day of resurrection, the angels, the books, the apostles, the paradise and the fire, and the establishment of the final hour, there can be no doubt about it, or about (the fact) that Allah will raise up all who are in their graves. Do goodness and command it, avoid the bad and prohibit it, in accordance with Allah's commands and prohibitions that are laid out clearly in His book.

11- Faith is to perform regular prayer on time, day and night. The prayer consists of complete ablution, bowing and purification. The start of the prayer is signified by the raising of the hands in the *takbīr* of prohibition i.e. *takbīrat al-iḥrām*[24] and the end of the prayer is known as the salutation (*taslīm*).[25] All this is done with submissiveness and acquiescence. It is also necessary to perform the prayer in congregation *Jamāʻa*. It is prohibited when praying to supplicate *qunūt*,[26] saying amen *amīn*.[27] Nor may one merely wipe the tops of the covered feet instead of washing the feet in the *Wuḍūʼ*. It is permissible while on a journey to be excused from performing the full prayer and travellers who wish to combine the prayers are allowed to do so. The Friday *Jumʻa* prayer has to be done in the *miṣr mumaṣar*[28] with the Imams of justice. The prayer can be performed in other places rather than a *miṣr*.[29] This prayer is a duty upon all people who have attained puberty, as well as free people who are residents. All this includes the prayer of *fiṭr*,[30] *al-aḍḥā*[31] prayer and the one of the burial service of the people of the *Qibla* (i.e. Muslims) after washing their bodies, wrapping them in shrouds and burying them. There is no prayer after dawn, until the sun rises and there

is no prayer after the afternoon one until the sun is down, except for the burial prayer or the prayer of redemption.

12- Faith also necessitates the giving of regular alms: *Zakāh* from the various kinds of known properties specified[32] by Allah. These kinds of *Zakāh* have to be given according to our duties towards Allah and *Sunna* of His Prophet on the subject of time, the taxable property and the precise rules prescribed.

According to the *Zakāh* procedure, it should be given to the people of authority who establish and judge according to Allah's justice, the people who are equitable and fair, and not against the justice of Allah and His judgement. These are the people who have the authority and the right to distribute *Zakāh*. But people who don't have this right, put *Zakāh* in the hands of the unrighteous and divide it unfairly, the one who is not a man of justice and uses the *Zakāh* for himself, or his relatives, or to achieve his private desires or used it for his next of kin who does not have an allocated share of the *Zakāh* by Allah. Then the people who are eligible to pay the *Zakāh* should give it themselves to the specified people who need it.

13- Besides *Zakāh*, fasting throughout the month of Ramaḏān is also part of the faith. It means establishing all the other essential duties of fasting, and the things by which Allah is remembered, such as self-denial, piety and godliness. *Zakāt al-'abdān* (the alms of body) [33], that is one *Ṣā'*[34] of what is used for food by each person in the family, young or old, free or slave and man or woman, is also a duty. Pilgrimage to the Sacred House, for those who are able, is also part of the faith.

Faith also means to treat parents well, to keep in contact with people whom Allah has commanded to be brought together: kinfolk, neighbours, companions, and wayfarers, in addition to what your right hands possess and give what is due to the people to whom Allah gives rights in the faith. People are ranked according to their good and evil behaviour; to their dissociation and association. However, in such a case, do not become friends or give loyalty except to those fearing Allah and obedient to Him. This is the practice (approved) for those who disobeyed Allah, and 'thou shalt find no changing the wont of Allah'.

14- It requires lowering of the gaze, protection of the private parts, a removal of the self from what is forbidden by Allah, and disavowal from such things. Moreover, it includes covering what Allah commands His servants to cover; bearing in mind that Allah commands women to cover differently from men. Allah commands women to remain in their homes and to draw their veils over their ornaments, not stamping their feet to attract attention to their hidden ornaments, with the exception of that which appears naturally thereof, things whose appearance is not forbidden or shameful. Such things include: applying kohl to the eyes or wearing a ring on the finger. Any woman who displays a bracelet on her arm, an earring in her ear, an anklet on her ankle or any other (prohibited) body part, except her face and her hands, without an attendant *Mahram*:[35] then she is disobedient to her Lord until she repents from her sin.

Women should not tattoo others, or be tattooed themselves; they should refrain from separating their teeth (for reasons of beautification); they should not wear false hair or attach false hair to others. Women should not (overly) mourn at their misfortunes, slap their cheeks, scratch their faces, lament or be lamented for; for some that hear such lamenting derive pleasure from it. Women should not travel except in the company of a *Mahram*, or be naked, except to their husbands. Women should not be approached during their monthly courses until they are purified by means of *Ghusal,* or ritual bathing, thus ending their state of ritual impurity.

15- It does not behove a Muslim to enter the houses of other people without first asking for permission. The name of Allah should be invoked when offering a sacrifice, and meat that has been sacrificed without the mention of Allah's name, should not be eaten. That is forbidden. All fermented or intoxicating drinks are also forbidden. Marriage should be undertaken with a dowry, a witness, permission of the guardian, and the consent of the woman. Men should keep away from marrying women who are forbidden by Allah in His book. Divorce should be in the presence of witnesses and includes the *'idda*.[36] With regards to inheritance, it should be executed as explained in the verses of the Koran. The law of inheritance states that there is no inheritance between different religions. With all of the above, it should be borne in mind that Allah's verses should not be taken in jest.

16- It is faithful to avoid lies, false testimony and similar words and sayings that are of no benefit for the speaker, all this is considered to be the excellence of an individual's Islam. The repentance from all sins and shortcomings should be sincere repentance to Allah. Sincere repentance necessitates that the repentant one not return to the sin committed; that he regrets having committed the sin, and that he follows up his sin with a better state of being and goodness. It is the duty of every Muslim to bear testimony against the people who stray from the right path; to exclude them from the community, to dissociate from them and to bear enmity and hatred for them. However, in certain circumstances, it may be possible to tolerate the one who strays, as Allah allows, by not making apparent his misguidance.

One should associate with the people of obedience, loving them, and being faithful to Allah, grateful to them, protecting their family and property during their absence as Allah would guard them, in accordance with the Koranic command: "do not help each other to sin and enmity." Help them to fear Allah and follow His commands. Fear Allah in the things He commands you or prohibits you; be respectful to that in private or public and know that Allah knows what is in your hearts, so be fearful of Him. Also purify the heart from envy and rancour and your tongues from false words. Moreover, disobey the commands of the sinful soul and divert it from desire and lusts that cause it to perish. Keep the soul away from the places of lust, remind it not to be heedless and neglectful, raise it to the morals and ethics of Islam. The ranking of people is by their striving to love Allah and therefore it is necessary to join together in goodness by His grace.

17- Establish the truth and deliver it to Allah but not to the pagans, by whatever means possible. Follow the ordinances of justice and the footsteps of the guiding Imams whom Allah strengthened with a power from Himself, protecting and guiding them with his light. People should seek existing knowledge, associated with scholars, follow their path and know the bounty that Allah has bestowed them. Conversely, avoid the other imams of error and the leaders of sedition; keep clear of them in their disobedience to Allah. Faith is to advise people to recover from their ignorance and blindness, and to give up their wrongs and straying from the path of right and from appropriate speech. You have to remind people and warn them to fear Allah with the teachings of His apostles, whether these teachings were a justification for punishment

or of a warning of the impending doom. Recommend the Muslims to wisdom and sincere preaching, calling and inviting whoever turned back or who returned and accepted.

18- You have to oppose him who denies the Day of Judgement and transgresses against the faithful after he has heard the message of Islam, and you must argue against him. Continue fighting the unbelievers until they believe in Allah, and the transgressors until they comply with the commands of Allah. The actions of the evildoers should be changed in order to undo whatever evils they have created, what heretical doctrines they have advocated, and what errors they have introduced other than Allah's commands and false deeds.

You should refute the people who said there is no destiny and who dispute with Allah in His power, ascribing their acquisition of their power to the actions of men. Reply also to the people who assert that faith is in words rather than deeds. Oppose the Group of Unity who label other Muslims polytheists, people who assert anthropomorphism. The people who believe in the visibility of Allah and dismiss His threats and the people who claim that the people of *iqrār,* who commit sins, will eventually enter Paradise after they enter Hell. Indeed, Allah considers all of these great sinners, and for sinners there is naught but error and loss.

19- Faith is also to protect and guard the sanctity of Islam, according to necessity and ability. This duty is an order from Allah to the people of insight, to be take upon oneself and is well known amongst the people of knowledge. The fighting should be until the word of Allah is exalted above all others and His command is executed. Faith is executing noble actions that Allah has commanded. However, it also means standing out firmly for justice, it includes the bearing of testimony between people, whether they be distant or near. The witnesses should not refuse when they are asked to give evidence and to testify. A fair judgement between one man and another is a fulfilment of goodness. In contrast, there is no obedience to those who disobey Allah, nor should any vows be taken which entail disobedience to Allah. No authority should be given to any judge who does not rule according to what Allah has sent down. Such people are unbelievers, wrong doers and rebels.

Establish the weight with justice, fill up the measure, permit trade and forbid usury. Keep all of Allah's bounds and his forbiddances with regard to that which Allah has forbidden from the self and possessions except for the things that Allah allows in marriage, nourishment and quenching ones thirst. Hold on to these ordinances tenaciously, however, those aforementioned people of desires exceed the set limits in transgression and wrongdoing. Allah has promised them a swift penalty and fetters in this life and punishment on the last day.

20- Forbidden usury multiplied, leaving the doubtful things that have no basis in either the *sunna* or *athār*. Obscure things which have neither been attested to by Allah in his book or in the *sunna* of His Prophet and the excellent Companions. Such trade is not self-rewarding.

Faith includes the avoidance of suspicions, taking hold of clear signs, seeking science without making pretexts to ignore learning. Deeds should be executed following the guidance of Allah. Be enlarged as Allah has width in his religion; make use of His bounties, which are from His mercy to His servants in the easiness and simplicity that he proffers to you. Worship and thank Allah. Muslims should avoid bad manners, arrogance and being vainglorious and haughty in their behaviour. They should not adopt the behaviour of the disbelievers in revealing and concealing.

Muslims should assent in the knowledge of Allah and the people of religion. They should submit to him, be humble, honourable, and modest. Honour Allah by not saying anything without prior knowledge. Do not indulge in false suspicion and futile knowledge.

Do not shed blood, for injustice, killing a believer or helping and supporting his killing is prohibited: "...and whoever slays a believer wilfully, his recompense is Gehanama (Hell), therein dwelling forever, and God will deal with him and curse him, and prepare for him a mighty chastisement".

Faith is combing the hair, clipping the moustache, cleaning the teeth, rinsing the mouth, snuffing water up the nose (*istinshāq),* removing the hair under the armpit,

trimming the nails, shaving the pubic hair, circumcision, doing ablution with *istinjā'* by cleaning oneself from the impurities of urine and excrement.

Moreover, faith should avoid what Allah has prohibited in His Sacred House. From the beginning till the end of pilgrimage, the pilgrim has to shun what Allah has prohibited such as obscenity, wickedness and wrangling. The pilgrim has to do the sacrifice as well as mention and remember Allah throughout the performance of his pilgrimage. As a pilgrim, he should avoid winking at the believers, defaming them, backbiting them, thinking ill of them, spying on their private affairs, and hurting them without any cause. Such deeds lead to failure in good works and carry the burden of a manifest sin and lead the people who do such acts to a real and evident loss. In addition, faith fulfils the rights of believers, offering them love and asking Allah to pardon and forgive them. As a result of this, Allah distinguishes between the believers and brings their hearts together.

21- Faith forbids association with the sinful, rather, hearts should be disassociated and no love or requests for pardon should be offered. The exception in the things that Allah has forbidden for the believers is in his sayings of precaution. He says, "unless you have a fear of them" and says, "excepting him who has been compelled, and his heart is still at rest in his belief". Acts are not considered good deeds in cases of precaution. The sinful, whom Allah has ordered to fight, should be separated. Therefore, fight the unbelievers and the sinful among the Muslims. They are known by the names and doctrines that Allah has called them. They are divided among themselves; execute Allah's judgement and punishment upon them.

It is not permissible for the people of authority to abandon the execution of Allah's law. This is the right of truth, that people who have authority when they know about Allah's punishments, should establish them, seeking aid with their helpers, absolving themselves from those who oppose them.

The repentance of people who are satisfied with the Muslim judgement and acknowledge their religion and feel repentance, is accepted. However, who will accept his repentance though it is not false the punishment for him and capability of Muslims to associate with him. If the man is obstinate and arrogant, the punishment

should be executed on him according to what he has wrongly done. The Muslims disassociate him with regard to his manner, obstinacy and arrogance.

Anyone who has authority can execute or arrest another for the nonfeasance of his judgement. From this point of view, the authority is an ingrate according to the state of Allah's punishment which He orders to the people of authority to execute. In this regard, Allah will be as a consequent abasement and he could give more power to the people who do not have any authority, apart from Allah. He is neither protected nor helped until he re-establishes and executes what he has hindered. Allah says; " O believers, take not the unbelievers as friends instead of the believers; or do you desire to give God over you a clear authority". However Allah's right for His servants, no one will leave it or doubt Allah about it accordingly. Thus Allah has asserted for the obedient those associated, asking the pardon, nearest them in love for them. On the other hand, Allah has prohibited their wealth, blood and kinship as they are regarded as an enormity. These are their rights which Allah has given them regarding what they restore to His right.

22- Allah prohibited hypocrites to be associated, asking pardon or seeking friendship and love. He has asserted for them; inheritance, punishments and judgement according to their acknowledgement (*lā ilāh illā Allāh*).

Faith and association are proven in the Muslim who truly acknowledges the existence of Allah and who does what he believes in. However, it is forbidden for Muslims to kill or fight others as long as they appear to be satisfied by their authority and their judgement. Indeed, the one who acknowledges the thing should do it, and the one who believes in the thing prohibited should avoid it. Despite their acknowledgement, the hypocrites will not be accepted because they embrace the faith untruthfully. However, they are under the light of the faith and living under his protection though untruthfully and dishonestly. In addition, they are not genuine and true in their belief as they trick Allah and His obedience, as well as helping the people who rebel against Allah, unaware of their deception. Those people if they refused what they have acknowledged in terms of belief in Allah and the rights, which they have contributed. They transgress against the Muslims but they should fight them according to Allah's order that urges Muslims to fight the transgressing people as revealed in the Koran.

He says; "...if two parties of the believers fight, put things right between them; then, if one of them is insolent against the other, fight the insolent one till it reverts to God's commandment. If it reverts, set things right between them". The verse *āya* refers to their becoming wrong doers by refraining from doing what is right. Hence convicted with the death sentence for shedding Muslims' blood and fighting them, they are no longer faithful. They brought this upon themselves by becoming disloyal, capricious and treacherous.

23- We are informed that in this fighting, approved by Allah, fists and mules were used but no weapons. As you know they were destroyed for not abiding by doing right before their acknowledgement. It serves them right to be punished until they revert to what Allah commands so that they could be close to Him as they had been before. How could any one call them faithful when they aggressively shed blood for no reason, profane the inviolable, spread mischief through the earth, and usurp people's property? Shame on those who led them! And praised are those who reject them for their obedience and love for Allah. Those who approve the wrong doers' deeds, help them, took part in the offences and turned their backs in arrogance to the right, they will share the wrong doer's torture in the hereafter. Whoever is ignorant of the right will acquire nothing but more ignorance. His burden will be much heavier and will be in fear for what he committed. The blind will be blinder and go astray in the hereafter.

24- The Prophet (Peace be with him) was keen on fighting the oppressors for their horrible deeds until they returned to the right path and never infringed with somebody's rights. The Prophet continuously called the Jews, the Christians and the Magus to embrace what is in the Book of Allah, honour His Word, never worship but Allah and never associate with Him anything. He urged them to avoid abomination, perjury and bad deeds, which Allah forbade us to do. He also urged them to free themselves of the shackles of believing in any god and just believe in Allah, and not call besides Allah, on another God. Then He says: "And if they believe in the like of that you believe in, then they are truly guided; but if they turn away, then they are clearly in schism; God will suffice you for them: He is the All-hearing, the All-knowing".

Those who listen to his call are just as safe as any Muslim. However, Allah commands the Prophet to fight the unbelievers who abhor Islam and force them to pay *Jizya*[37] alms submissively. When they consent to the alms payment they are free to practice their own religion. Allah ordains eating the cattle slaughtered by the people of the Book (Jews and Christians) and also marrying their believing women. He, however, forbids eating the Magus slaughtered cattle and forbids marrying their women. But when at war with the people of the Book, Muslims are forbidden to marry their women or eat their slaughtered cattle. If they antagonise Muslims in wartime, it is allowed to fight and kill them, to plunder their possessions and to take captive their women and the children born during war.

26- Allah makes it lawful to spill the blood of Arab unbelievers, and to confiscate their money for shunning the Holy Mosque. He also forbids to bequeath them, to marry one of them or to eat from their slaughtered cattle. Further, He commands not to approve their religion, not to accept ransom or alms from them, and they have no alternative but to enter Islam or be slaughtered. This is the perfect tradition of the Prophet (peace be upon him) in relation to the other religions. The just imams (leaders) behave similarly and so do the caliphs (successors) of Allah on earth. They maintain unequivocal and firm *sunna* without diminishing or exceeding; and thou shalt find no changing the will of Allah.

All worshipers have confidence in him (the Prophet) because he enlightened them with the Revelation, the Guidance, the Distinguisher, the Light and the Evidence expounded by the messengers and the guides. For such a sensible person there is no doubt or ambiguity; and Allah clarified and provided us with evidence in detail. So, whoever believes sincerely and seeks alleviation from Allah, will be rewarded and named by the One who names, and Allah will bestow upon him the fraternity of Islam as well as his rights so that he can get on with his people.

27- Insincere Muslims are not Muslims; they are only Muslims by name. True Muslims are those who adhere to the rules of Islam and achieve its aims through following the straight way of great ethics, which would take them to the highest degree of fulfilment. Then, a Muslim will be able to avoid betrayal, stay perpetually honest, reject villainous company, keep aloof from what pulls a person towards

dishonesty and resist the luring enticements of betrayal. When a person is unaware of the entanglement of temptation, he repents, fails, and becomes deeply depressed. Damned are the wrongful (persons) who conceal their true abominable characters and abolish their oath with Allah. Allah certainly knows the exact matter as well as the incontrovertible outcome.

28- Allah rewards people justly according to the grades of their faith and deeds. It is the justice of Allah's religion where the believers' bestowal of honour is bound to be categorised according to their degree of faith. He calls them by their names and makes His judgement. In this life, when someone judges people without evidence he commits a grave mistake by being unjust. Nevertheless, they are justly categorised according to their deeds and no justice can be done for them. Allah says: "So as a consequence He put hypocrisy into their hearts, until the day they meet him, for that they failed God in that they promised Him and they were liars".

So Allah calls them hypocrites and profligates. In this respect, Allah, the Great, made this decision (judgement) because they converted into Islam (i.e. through the confession of the existence of Almighty and the prophecy of Muhammad) but they are not Muslims any more since they left the commands and obedience of Allah. This is the outcome of overlooking His commands. It is His right that they should not practice the unlawful and the forbidden. This is how the people of arbitration (decision) are considered infidel, that is, when their judgement is adverse to what Allah revealed and rejects His commands. Allah says: "When they are called to God and His Messenger, that he may judge between them, is that they say, 'We hear, and we obey'; those are the prosperous". Therefore, with wrongful deeds the people of hell go to hell; and with faith the people of Heaven are sent to Heaven.

29- Islam is faith and faith is in Islam. Piety is also from faith. Each (concept) complements faith, fulfils its rights and realises its measures. However, it is beyond the boundaries of possibility for faith to be realised if the religious ordinance (of Allah) is not maintained, or if what Allah forbids is practised. Surely, the unbelievers are the wrongdoers and the profligates. Your deeds speak for you: When you do well you are judged positively, and when you do erroneously, you are deemed unsatisfactory. Allah judges according to how we behave. Your behaviour (deed) is

indicative of your character. Your deed incites either support or animosity. Certainly, this strengthens the bonds of Islam and establishes the firm pillars of association with or enmity to Allah. Allah is the first to absolve from the people of sin and He showed enmity towards them. We follow the perfect tradition as well as Allah's commands when we act hostilely towards them (the people of sin). We entrust the ones who pledge loyalty to Allah, are committed to His obedience and commands and those who are devout and reject what He forbids. Our enemy is the perfidious one who is driven by his fancy, desire, enticement, infatuation, and the one who deems permissible what Allah forbids and becomes therefore a sinner. Thy Lord wrongs not His servants.

30- The hypocrites entered Islam, acknowledged its duties and rights. They pretended to be content before Muslims. Yet, behind the Muslims' backs they marred their religion and contradicted what Allah commands not to do. When they are reproved, they apologise. Nevertheless, when they are forgiven, they ask Allah's forgiveness. They pretend to abhor mistakes and that they repent sins. However, they go back to what they apologised for and to the same sins they repented from. (This is the case in death). They are called back when they turn away, and they are gladly received when they return. Muslims can socialise (deal) with them if they repent. He, who seals his deeds with true repentance, is associated with Muslims. But the one, who insists on being an unbeliever, will not be associated with Muslims, and disassociating from him is a must. The worshiper's ends are extremely reliable: either association with or approval of grace, or hatred and abomination for enormity. Allah has strong arguments against the disobedient, but blessed are the rightly guided who are enlightened with Allah's guidance. And Allah shall increase those who were guided in guidance and the unbelievers He increases not except in loss.

We ask Allah for help in His obedience, protection from sin, and success in following His Guidance. The privileged are granted such Guidance, and they enjoy felicity besides Allah's care. We ask prosperity from Him. Such a matter is easy for the Omnipotent. Peace and blessing of Allah be on us, and His prayer upon Muḥammad and true thanks to Allah.

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[1] See for further detail Crone and Zimmermann, *The Epistle of Sālim b. Dhakwān,* Appendices, p. 5 & 6.

[2] Ibn Ja'far, *Jāmi* ', v. 1, p. 115.

[3] Al-Sālimī, *Tuhfa*, v. 1, p. 84-85.
[4] Al-Jaḥiż, *al-Bayān wa al-Tabyīn* (Cairo, 1948) (ed. Muḥammad 'Abd al-Salām Hārūn), v. 2, p. 6.
[5] Al-Jaḥiż, *al-Bayān wa al-Tabyīn*, v. 1, p. 118.
[6] Ennami, *Studies in Ibādism*, p. 249.
[7] Al-Kindī, *al-'Ihtidā*, p. 235-239.
[8] Al-Kharāssīnī, *Fawākih*, v. 1, p. 189-197.
[9] Hans Dabir, 'The Creed ('Aqīda) of the Hanbalite Ibn Qudāma al-Maqdisī' in *Studia Arabica et Islamica: Festschrift for Ihsān 'Abbās* (American University of Beruit, 1981), (ed. by Wadād al-Qādi, p. 105-125.
[10] First Chapter, *sīra* (xxx).
[11] *Siyar wa al-Jawābāt*, v. 2, p. 37.
[12] *Siyar wa al-Jawābāt*, v. 1, p. 406.
[13] *Siyar wa al-Jawābāt*, v. 1, p. 389.
[14] Abu Zakariyā Yaḥyā al-Janāwnī, *Kitāb al-Waḍa'* (Muscat, 1977), p. 14.
[15] Cook, *Early Muslim Dogma*, p. 65.
[16] Ennami, *Studies in Ibādism*, p. 251.
[17] Al-Ja'bīrī, *al-Bu'ad al-Ḥaḍārī*, p. 522.
[18] EI2; art. Mu'tazila; Watt, Montgomery, *The Formative Period of Islamic Thought*, p. 209.
[19] Nallino, C. A, 'Rapporti fra la dogmatica Mu'tazilita e qulla degli Ibāditi dell Africa Settentrional' in *R.O.S*, v. 7 (1916-1918) p. 455-460.
[20] Cf; The chapter 1 about these *siyar*; (xxv), (xxxi), (xviii).
[21] Al-Barrādī, *Al-Jawāhir al-Muntaqā*, p. 218.
[22] *Siyar wa al-Jawābāt*, v. 2, p. 46-61. The topic of this epistle is; this is the *sīra* by Wā'il b. Ayyūb, *Nasab al-Islām*. The editor of the book said that she used the copy owned by the M.N.H.C. and this copy was written on Thursday 7th Jumādā I, 1009/13th Nov1600.
[23] See the detail of the manuscript in the page. The *sīra* of Wā'il b. Ayyūb and the topic is *Nasab al-Islām*. The *sīra* is in the 1st volume in 8 pages, pp182-189.
[24] It means a prayer of prohibition, consecration, because it prohibits the worshipper from saying or doing anything extraneous in the prayer. The beginning of the prayer says; *Allah Akbar* (Allah is most great). Cf. EI2; art. Takbīr.
[25] At the end of prayer says; *al-Salām 'alīkum wa raḥmat Allāh* (peace be on you and the Mercy of Allah). EI2; art. Salām.
[26] *qunūt* at the end of the prayer service the worshipper raises his hand as high as his chest, with palms towards heaven and offers a supplication. In these supplications, the worshipper may use his own words and is not bound by certain prescribed forms. The Ibāḍites do not consider the *qunūt* part of the prayer because the man used not included in the formed prayer. EI2; art. Kunūt.
[27] Usually this word is said after reading *Surat al-Fātiḥa*. The Ibāḍite opinion forbids the mention of this word in the prayer because it is a human word, not from Allah. EI2; art. Amīn.
[28] There were seven towns which were known as the capital cities of the Islamic State. They were chosen by 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb after Islam spread beyond Arabia, these city were: Mecca, Medina, Basra, Damascus, Kūfa, Yemen, Egypt and Sohar. Abī al-Ḥasan al-Bisyāwī, *Jāmi'* (Muscat, 1404/1984), v. 2, p. 149.
[29] It may not be performed in the open air, in tents or outside the town, but in a mosque inside the town or a decent prayer house.
[30] The first day of Shawwāl.
[31] The 10th of Dhū al-Hija.
[32] The *Zakāh* of various kinds of property is to be on the following: 1) Animals; which are camels, bovines (oxen, cows, buffaloes), sheep and goats. 2) A tenth from the fruits of the field. 3) Money, gold, and silver. 4) 2.5% of merchandise should be appraised 5) Minerals and buried treasures. EI2; art. Zāka.
[33] The distributing of alms at the feast of Fiṭr (and of the fast of Ramaḍān) on the first day of Shawwāl is obligatory on every Muslim.
[34] Kind of measure and weight. EI2; art. Sā'.
[35] A person who is illegal for the woman to marry. EI2; art. Muhrim.
[36] The *'idda* is the period of probation and designates the number of days a divorced or a widowed woman has to wait before she is allowed to remarry. EI2; art. 'idda.
[37] Capitation-tax because it is a compensation of the life or the unbeliever. EI2; art. Djizya.

Chapter 5

The *sīra* of Imam Rāshid b. Sa'īd To The People of Mansūra

I-The Epistle

The significance of this *sīra* is that it helped the spread of Ibādite ideas in Asia as well as improving the historical Omani relationship with the Sind region or *Arḍ al-Hind* and is one of the few documents showing this. Several scholars have showed interest in text documentation. Al-Sālimī describes the probability of contact between Oman and the Sind region in the 5th/11th century at the time of Imam Rāshid b. Sa'īd who communicated the Ibādite doctrine to the people of this region.[1] In Lewicki's survey, the doctrine of Ibādism had been spread to India and China, Lewicki cited this epistle as proof of this possibility.[2] Thus he suggests that this *sīra* might be a political correspondence concerning whether or not the Ibādites were able to obtain political independence.[3] Wilkinson too talks about using this *sīra* to argue that the second Imamate of Oman tried to restore the role of the first Imamate in the Indian Ocean.[4]

Apart from the scholars mentioned above, most workers on Omani history generally do not mention this *sīra* or other jurisprudence *fiqh*. The *sīra* has so far only been found in three of the collections of Omani *siyar*. Further, the collection of *al-Siyar wa al-Jawābāt* does not include the *sīra* of Mansūra. No previous attempt has been made to publish or edit this *sīra*. Thus this *sīra* could open up new information about Ibādism in Asia even though the Ibādite settlements there were destroyed. '

II- The Imam Rāshid bin Sa'īd

Imam Rāshid bin Sa'īd al-Yaḥmadī is listed by Muḥammad al-Sālimī (d. 1985) in his *Nahḍat al-A'yān* as being the twenty-fourth Omani Imam (according to the chronological Omani imams) and the sixteenth (according to the chronological Banī Kharūṣ imams).[5] The Omani historical sources include no biographical details such as place and date of birth or where he grew up. This makes research very time-consuming.

According to the Omani historical sources, the Imam Rāshid bin Sa'īd is descended from Yaḥmad.[6] The eponymous progenitor of the Yaḥmad tribes is identified with the Yaḥmad b. Ḥumā b. 'Abdullāh b. Nizār b. Zahrān b. Ka'b b. 'Abdullāh b. Mālik b. Naṣr b. Al-Azd b. al-Quṯha who is Ya'rubī and from Qaḥṯānī tribe.[7] The important work of the classical Omani book *K. al-Ansāb* mentioned a Yaḥmadī among the companions of Mālik b. Fahm,[8] and the Yaḥmad immigrated together with Azdite since Mālik b. Fahm took Oman from the Persians.[9] This immigration to Oman started after the Mārib dam burst in the 2nd century AD.[10] This particular branch of the Yaḥmad tribe has a prominent role and became influential in Oman political life in the second half of the 2nd/8th century after the death of the Imam Julandā b. Mas'ūd in 134/751. Therefore, the tribe's authority has risen in Oman since the election to the Imamate of Yaḥmadite Muḥammad b. Abī 'Affān in 177-179. Although imam was dismissed from the Imamate most of the Omani Imams who succeeded him in the first Imamate were also from Yaḥmad.

Omani sources agree that the author was elected to the Imamate after the imam al-Khalīl b. Shādḥān who restored the second Imamate in Oman. From this election we will try to obtain further details of his life. From his *sīra* manifesto, which is about the schism between the Rustāq and Nizwā schools over Imam al-Ṣalt b. Mālik and his opponents,[11] it is possible to argue that the Imam was born in Sūny village that can be identified today as al-'Awābī, some 120km to the NW of Muscat. This *sīra* was written in the Imam's house in this village located in the mouth of the valley of Banī Kharūṣ. This tribe is not distant from the Yaḥmad clan[12] and it seems probable that he was born in this valley. Though his date of birth is still obscure, he was elected to the Imamate at the beginning of 425/1034.[13] The Imam's birth, therefore, likely to fall in the last quarter of the 4th/10th century. We may assume he was more likely born between 390-395 since his name has not mentioned before the beginning of 4th/10th century.

In order to achieve further information about his life, we are going to shed some light on al-Sālimī's attempt to study the poetry of his contemporary the Ibāḍite leader Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm b. Qays al-Ḥaḍramī.[14] According to al-Sālimī, Abū Isḥāq says that the Imam Rāshid's kin name is Abū Ghassān and he adopted Nizwā to be the capital of the Imamate.[15] Al-Sālimī also tried to study Imam Rāshid's Imamate period from the known date of the previous Imam al-Khalīl b. Shādḥān's death.[16] We know that the

Imam Rāshid b. Sa'īd died in Muḥarram 445/April 1053 and he ruled the Imamate for twenty years, and was buried in Nizwā.[17]

The Imam Rāshid displayed characteristics of a poet that is rarely found in other Omani Imams. He was considered both as imam and *shārī*[18] when he was elected to the Imamate. There is a text similar to that of the people who wanted to follow the Imam elected in the *shirā*: "you the Imam Rāshid b. Sa'īd swear to obey Allah and his messenger (Muḥammad) and join the good and forbid the evil and conduct the Jihad in his cause as well as you have to do as other friends of *shirā*".[19] Though, he restructured voluntary army of the *shurāt* system aiming to asist the revolution aginst the foreigner occupations.

Ibn al-Aṯhīr also described the events of 442/1050 when the Omanis reoccupied the city of Oman,[20] and fled with the prince of Abū al-Muṭahir. They were led by a certain Ibn Rāshid.[21] This may have been Imam Rāshid b. Sa'īd b. Rāshid. Moreover, Ibn al-Aṯhīr believed the Imam Rāshid was named Ibn Rāshid after his grandfather. Throughout the revolution, the Imam Rāshid was able to withhold tax from the Buyids when his authority expanded over the Omani coast and the Buyids temporarily lost control during 1050/1-3.[22] Nevertheless, the Imam's attempt to expand his authority over the desert as well as the coast led him to turned towards southern Oman in Ḥaḍramawt support the Ibāḍite people there and their leader Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhim b. Qays al-Ḥaḍramī against al-Sulayḥids. In this way the Imam under his authority fought the other tribes opposing him, that is the 'Aqīl and Nahd tribes in Laḥsā.[23]

III-The Mansūra City

Classical Arabic literature gives a clear picture of the city of Manṣūra in the Sind region.[24] It describes the root of its name and its golden years when it flourished as a trading market for all around the Islamic States from 3rd/9th -6th/12th centuries. The city was regarded as the capital of the Sind (*'āṣimat al-miṣr*) and in this way it resembles Damascus in Syria and was perhaps the greatest city in Sind.[25] This city still exists and has kept its name. It can be found in Pakistan in the Sind region but the city is consequently no longer linked to the Arabian Peninsula as it had been historically. Al-Maqdisī states that it was at the border of the Islamic State, and it can be seen that the city has declined greatly from its past glory.[26]

Mansūra's geography and history are sources of debate and contention between many historians. It is argued that the conception of Mansūra originated from the Arabic language deriving from the word *nasr* (victory).[27] Al-Bīrūnī claims that it refers to al-Qāsim b. Muhammad b. al-Munabah al-Thaqafī who entered the city and said "*nusirtu*" which means 'I am victorious'. This was during the time when al-Hajāj b. Yūsuf al-Thaqafī took over al-Sind and for this reason al-Baīrūnī argues it was called al-Mansūra.[28] However, al-Mas'ūdī argues that the name originated from one of the founders " ...Mansūra refers to Mansūr b. Jamhūr al-Kalbī the deputy of the Umayyad".[29] Al-Hasan b. Ahmad al-Muhallabī disagreed, and said: "It was named al-Mansūra because it was built by 'Āmir b. Hafs al-Huzmrād al-Muhallabī during the rule of al-Mansūr of the Abbasids".[30] Thus, al-Baīrūnī explains the etymology of the word before it was known as Mansūra city. He says that it was referred to as "Bamnhūr" and the Persians used to call it "Bāhmnaz."[31] In *Zaīj al-Arkand* it was known as "Barhamnābād".[32] An al-Istakhrī note that the name was used in the Sind is Bāmīrāmān.[33] It could be argued that the name of Mansūra emerged in the Islamic period. Therefore it can be seen that al-Mansūra is a source of contention and to add to this debate one could argue that because of changing etymology it was established before Islam. However, Mansūr b. Jamhūr al-Kalbī developed the city and it was re-named for him.

It could be argued that the city was relocated by Mansūr b. Jamhūr al-Kalbī the deputy of the Sind in the end of Umayyad period,[34] because most of the geographical writers argue that the location of Bamnhūr is al-Mansūra. For its location according to the geographical works, Mansūra was considered to be in the third province by Yāqūt,[35] on the other hand, al-Baīrūnī considers it to be in the second province.[36] The cities, belonging to the same (second) province, were al-Daybul, Zindrg, Qadār, Mābile and Tanbliy.[37] Al-Maqdisī says Al-Mansūra is six leagues (*marhala*)[38] from Daybul, twelve leagues from al-Multān and fifteen leagues from Tawrān.[39] Mansūra was among the most remote Islamic cities,[40] and is located in a hot and rainy province.[41]

The city is situated along the Gulf of Mahrān River[42] and it is referred to as a Peninsula though the river provides the possibility to expand the city.[43] The architecture of the city is planned like other classical Islamic cities. It had a wall with four gates; *bāb al-Bahr* (Gate of the sea), *bāb Tawrān*, *bāb Sindān* and *bāb al-Multān*[44], and it was built with wood and clay.[45] These architectural features distinguish Mansūra from other cities.

The mosque was built with rocks and baked brick and is similar to Omani Mosque (probably in Suḥār city) in the sense that it has many pillars made of Indian oak.[46] The city grew, as it was a trading point between the Islamic State and India during the medieval centuries. The river contributed to the development of agricultural export, mostly sugarcane, and a fruit, similar in size to an apple with a very sour taste and referred to as "al-Bahlawiya" is also grown.[47]

The people of the city are described as intelligent, courageous, righteous, religious and trustworthy merchants.[48] They possess a great knowledge of Islam as can be seen by the fact that a great number of scholars originate from there.[49] Ibn Ḥawqal, who deals with their tradition, mentioned that they used money called Qundahāriyāt; each Dirham was roughly five Qundahāriy, and they also used the Dinār as business or trading currency. They dress like Iraqis, though their kings dress like Indian kings.[50]

IV- The Text

The Imam Rāshid b. Sa'īd's epistle consists of four parts (referred to as 1, 2, 3, 4) which we may label enjoinder to piety, history, polemics and doctrinal stance. The first part is a preliminary to the main business of the epistle and consists largely of stylistic remarks and some doctrine. The second and third parts consist of quotations from other *siyar* which often appear in works on theology and jurisprudence and which attempt to develop and define the epistle against other doctrines.

Part 1

The epistle is not so much a letter for the people of the whole Manṣūra area, but rather a manifesto, which occasionally addresses its readers or listeners directly. As mentioned at the end of the epistle: "Listener! Definitely, you have the true knowledge about life and you have unveiled authentic enlightenment"; "truly, you know better after you have seen with your own eyes, and have heard with your own ears". This style makes use of the regular format used by the Omanis in *siyar* when corresponding with other regions; Abū 'Ubayda, Imam Muhannā to Mu'āḍh b. Ḥarb, and Imam Ṣalt b. Mālik to the *Maghrib* people of North Africa, all use a similar style. The *sīra* uses firstly, the imperative verb (*fi'l al-amr*) you should, you have to, you should be ... etc. *alā' fa'fhamū, fa'qilū, fa taqarabū* ... etc. In the beginning of the epistle we read *fa innī āmirkum* (I command you). This form is used at least in such texts 29 times always at

the beginning of each paragraph. All these beginnings are imperative and are known as *waṣiyya bi taqwā*. Through the use of this form the Imam tried to proclaim his ideas of Ibāḍite dogma by addressing some theological issues.

Secondly, the epistle warned the recipients or audience not to make the same mistakes. For example: 'I shall warn you', 'I shall also tell you', and 'we remind you what we have mentioned'. It is clear the Imam was in a position to influence the Sind region. Some authors limit themselves to the mere phrase *nūṣīkum bi taqwā/ittaqū Allāh* (you have to obey Allah), but others enlarge upon this theme, and in the *sīra* of Manṣūra the development takes up no less than four pages. The theme of these four pages is concerned with sin and the consequence of sin.

Thirdly, the imam employed a style used in sermons in the introduction and conclusion; the same style is used in the Friday prayer *Jum'a*.[51] The medieval Arabic is skilfully designed to fill the listener and reader with a longing desire. The author in his introduction ignored *ammā b'ad* which normally comes directly after *taḥmīd* and is used especially in correspondence and speech. The author used this style of introduction, as can be seen in a letter to his governor of Manaḥ.[52] This style is similarly used in the introductions to other Omani *siyar*, for example the *sīra* of Muḥammad b. Maḥbūb to the people of Oman regarding Hārūn b. al-Yamān in his quotation: "*fa innī aḥmad ilaykum Allāh*";[53] likewise the *sīra* of A. Qaḥtān Khālid b. Qaḥtān,[54] and the *sīra* of Abū al-Ḥasan al-Bisyāwī.[55] These *siyar* are historically earlier than this epistle. The second point to be considered is that the author does not use the *Ṣalat 'alā al-Nabī* the Prophet after *taḥmīd*, but only mentions this in the conclusion. Some dwell on the theme at much greater length than others do. Some limit themselves to remarks about Muḥammad the Prophet and his successors; some start to clarify Allah's revelation of the religion and messenger. This same style is used by Ibāḍite writers to show the main tenets of other faiths and also how the rule of Ibāḍism was established after the death of the Prophet. The genealogy of the Ibāḍite people is also described.

Part 2

The most important source quoted in Imam Rāshid's epistle is the Koran. He quotes from it liberally indeed more than seventy times, these verses prefaced by different expressions such as *qāla Allāh*, *wa qāla ta'alā*, *wa qāla fī muḥkam kitābih.* The

quotations from the Koran are used in several different ways. Occasionally the quotations support the author's arguments, for example, to show that Allah has not forgiven the obstinate people *al-muṣirrūna 'alā al-dhunūb* if they persist in sinful behaviour. In this section the author is attacking other doctrines, especially those of the Hashawiyya and Ash'ariyya: Each quotation from the Koran has only a short interpretation or investigation; this may not however give full and comprehensive support to his argument, as can be seen in the *ayah* verse (*al-An'ām vi;158).* Secondly, the author replied to the other doctrines by illustrating and comparing the opinions of the people who were saying that even if they persisted in sinning, Allah would forgive them on Judgement day. He called this is an idea of sinful Muslims who claim that Allah will forgive their sins just because they have faith. This idea, the author argued, came from the ideology of Jews and Christians, and is obviously untrue as can be seen from the verse in the Koran where Allah said: "Nay, ye are but men, of the men He hath created: He forgiveth whom He pleaseth, and punisheth whom He pleaseth." [56] Also in other verses about the Jews: "Have ye taken a promise from Allah, for He never breaks His promise? Or is it that ye say of Allah, what ye do not know?[57] Thirdly, he used classical Arabic throughout, for quotations both from the Koran and from other literary sources. He carefully distinguishes between his own text and his sources.

The second source quoted in his arguments is the *Sunna* of the Prophet, which he mentions comparatively rarely. However, the epistle does include three *Hadīths* by the Prophet. The first is used as evidence against the doctrine of persistence in sin, and the second and third are used in explaining the jurisprudential opinions. Clearly, he felt it necessary to show that in the Omani *siyar* they did use the *Hadīth,* but it is also apparent that Omani *siyar* rarely use the *Hadīth,* preferring to use the Koran.

The third source of quotation is classical Arab poetry used in the manner of *shawāhid*: a quotation serving as textual evidence in language. All these poets are from the *Jāhilī*[58] period, for example 'Antara b. Shaddād and Tarafa b. al-'Abd. It seems that the first and second periods of the Omani *siyar* do not quote poetry in their *siyar*. In the third period of the Omani *siyar* this changes and poetry begins to be used. For example the *sīra* of the Muhammad b. Mālik, also known as the *sīra* from the Bāṭinah people, uses poetry to support the Imam Muhammad b. Abī Ghassān.

Fourthly, the Imam used the expressive style of Ibāḍite speech, as did Abū Ḥamza al-Shārī in Mecca: " We are from the people and the people are from us except three kinds of people....".[59] Likewise the similar classification for the people used by Munīr b. al-Nayyir in his epistle to the Imam Ghassān bin 'Abdullāh.[60]

Part 3

The terminology and meaning used by the Imam is continued in Ibāḍite theological compilations. The epistle's message is of the conventional type and is used to give the audience a vision and sense of identity through discussing their creed and faith. In the epistle, the imam tries to classify people into Muslims versus non-Muslims and Ibāḍite versus non-Ibāḍite. Muslims are referred to as *ahl al-iqrār* or *ahl al-Qiblah* which translate respectively as people of confession and people of *Qiblah*. They are people of direction because they direct their prayer to Mecca and they are people of confession because they have to say *lā ilah illā Allāh Muḥammad rasūl Allāh.* Sometimes non-Ibāḍite Muslims are also referred to as *qawm* meaning "the people". The Imam also distinguished between what people say and what they do. Sinful believers are referred to as *kuffār al-ni'am* the ingrates or *al-munāfiq min ahl al-iqrār* the hypocrites among the Muslims. These words are usually found in Ibāḍite compilations.

Part 4

The author uses rhythmical prose in his introduction and conclusion and between these is advice on leaving material life and pleasures.

There are three themes, the first is that Allah does not forgive the persistently sinful; this is linked to the second theme which argues that these people will dwell in the Hell Fire forever. He goes on to argue in the third section that both Tyrant leaders and those who obey them are sinful. This was introduced in order to benefit the people so that they could join the good *ma'rūf* and avoid the evil *Munkar.* This forms one theme, the doctrine of the people and belongs to that part of Islamic theology especially devised for human relation.

V- The manuscripts[61]

This study will use three copies of the *sīra*, as follows:

1- The al-Sālimī Library copy in Biddyah. This copy is in a collection of Omani *siyar* although unfortunately, the front of the book is torn and some of the leaves are

missing. This manuscript was completed on 9th Wednesday night of Safar 1122 [8th April 1710], in the castle of Ibrā village[62] at the time of Imam Sayf b. Sulṭan al-Ya'rubī [1692-1711],[63] by Sālim b. Khamīs b. Sālim b. Nijād al-Maḥīlawī. The copier said at the end of the book: "he wrote this book to himself". The manuscript leaf size is 14x23.5 cm and has 26 lines. The manuscript is contained in one volume of 653 pages and included 75 *siyar* with an index of the *siyar* at the beginning. The book was written in *Naskh* hand. The *sīra* of Manṣūra is number 44 in this collection and contains ten pages, which are p375 to p384. The title of the *sīra* is written in red and states that, "this is the revelatory *sīra* of Imam Rāshid b. Sa'īd to the Manṣūra people of the Sind region" and the main body of the text is written in black ink. The difficulty of this copy is that sometimes the Arabic alphabet is used without dots and there are occasional spelling mistakes.

2- The Nizwā copy, made by Aḥmad b. Nāṣir al-Sayfī in Nizwā city as a private manuscript. This is a collection of Omani *siyar* and the collection is entitled *Kitāb al-Siyar al-Ibāḍiyyah*; the book was finished on Wednesday 29th Dhū al-Qu'da 1114 (15th April 1703) but does not mention the copier's name nor where it was written. This manuscript is bound in two volumes; the first volume includes 47 *siyar* and the second 29 *siyar*, each volume has an index of the complete collection in it. The *sīra* of Manṣūra is the 22nd *sīra* in the second volume. This *sīra* has 12 pages and each page has 27 lines; the page size is19x29 cm. This copy was written in the *naskh* hand and black ink is used throughout.

3- The copy belonging to the Ministry of National Heritage and Culture in Muscat. This collection in three volumes entitled "this is the book of *siyar* of the Maḥbūbite[64] Ibāḍite *'Ulamā" hadhā kitāb siyar 'ulamā' al-Ibāḍiyyah al-Maḥbūbiyyah*. The first volume consists of 195 pages, the second volume of 191 pages and the third one of 186 pages. The *sīra* of Manṣūra is in the third volume, pages 85 to 98. This copy was written in the *naskh* hand and in black ink. The page size is 17.5x29cm and there are 24 lines of each page. The copy was written on the Sunday of Muḥram1299/December1881, the copier is Ḥamad b. 'Alī b. Musalam al-Khamīsī and he says on the final page that: "some of his student friends were taught by Muḥammad b. Suliyyam al-Ghārbī". This was written to the Sultan Barghash b. Sa'īd b. Sulṭān al-Būsa'iydī the Sultan of Zanzibar. This copy is clearer than the

Sa'īd b. Sulṭān al-Būsa'iydī the Sultan of Zanzibar. This copy is clearer than the other manuscripts above, but it has many incorrect words, both mistakes in the original manuscript and mistakes made by the copier.

VI- Editing of the work

Firstly, correction and comparisons are made between the three copies. The Nizwā earliest, copy is used as the primary text. Secondly, the researcher has punctuated the text. Thirdly, all the copies lacked vocalisation *Tashkīl* in most of the text but the researcher has added them later. Fourthly, other sources will be used to help in the editing process, especially the Koran.

Signs and abbreviations

The Text:

[P:A1]	This refers to the page in accordance with the manuscript
(.....)	Indicates that another manuscript adds further to the text
"...."	Refers to the quotation in the text

Footnotes

A	Al-Sālimī's manuscript
B	Al-Sayfī's manuscript
C	M.N.H.C's manuscript
T	*Tuhfat al-A 'iyān*
+	This sign indicates that the manuscript has been added to by using the other manuscripts
_	This sign indicates that a piece of the text is missing
Koran: 00;00	designates the number of the *sūra* (chapter) and *āya* (verse) in the Koran

Translation

1- Quotations from the Koran follow Arberry's translation (The Koran Interpreted), with occasional adjustments.

2- Quotations from the poets follow Arberry's translation of (The seven odes).

بسمِ اللهِ الرحمنِ الرحيم

-- مِـــن الإمامِ راشدِ بن سعيدٍ إلى أبي العباسِ بن مريجٍ[1]، و المهندِ[2] بن سدهى[3]، و أبي عبداللهِ[4] بن محمدِ بن بروزانَ:ّسلامُ اللهِ عليكم[5]، فإني أحمدُ إليكم اللهَ، و آمركم بطاعتهِ، و أوصيكمْ و أنهاكمْ عن معصيةِ القادرِ عليكم، فاتقوا اللهَ فيما ساءكم أو سَركمْ أو نفعكمْ أو ضركمْ ، و كونوا للهِ شاكرينَ، ولدينهِ[6] ناصرينَ، ولأهلِ[7] طاعتهِ مؤازرينَ، و بالمعروفِ عاملينَ آمرينَ[8]، وعن المنكرِ منتهينَ و زاجرينَ، ولطاعةِ اللهِ مبادرينَ، و على ما أصابكم فيها صابرينَ، تحمدوا عاقبةَ ذلك[9] يـــومَ[10] تفـــتقرونَ إلى صالحِ أعمالكم، وتستغنونَ[11] عنْ أهلكمْ و أموالكم، و تنقطعونَ[12] عن حيلكمْ و آمالكمْ، وما التوفيقُ[13] إلا باللهِ، و على اللهِ فليتوكلِ[14] المؤمنونَ.

– ثم إني[15] أحذركـــم مِن مكائدِ[16] الشيطانَ، وممن[17] يوازرهُ[18] على ذلكم من الأعوانِ، منهمْ أنفسكمْ و هواكمْ وشهواتكمْ و دنياكمْ،[19] وقد قالَ اللهُ تعالى: "إنَّ الـــنفسَ لأمـــارةُ بالسوءِ إلا ما رَحِمَ رَبي إنَّ ربي[20] غفورُ رحيمُ[21،22]. و قال : "أفرئيتَ[23] مَن اتخذَ إلهَهُ هواهُ و أضلَّه اللهُ على علمٍ وختمَ على سمْعِهِ وقلبهِ و جعلَ على بَصرِهِ غشاوةُ فمنْ يهديهِ[24] مِنْ بعدِ[25] اللهِ أفلا تذكرونَ"[26]. وقال[27]:" ويريدُ الذينَ يتبعونَ الشهواتِ أنْ تميلوا[28] ميلاً عظيما"[29]. وقال: " أنَمَا الحَيَاةُ

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[1]C and B;مريح , and the in T; مريج

[2]C; المهتد

[3]C;شدها

[4]C;عبدالله

[5]B; سلام عليكم

[6]A: لديه

[7]A and B; لاهل

[8]A and B; آمرين

[9]A, B and C;ذلكم

[10]A;يوم

[11]A; يسغنون

[12]A;يقطعون

[13]A; التوفق

[14]A; فلوكل

[15]A; انى

[16]C;مكايد

[17]A and C;من

[18]A;بوازره and in C;وممن يوازي على ذلك

[19]A; دناكم

[20]A; ربي

[21]A; رحم

[22]Koran:12;53

[23]A;افريت and in B افرايت

[24]A; يهديه

[25]A; بعد

[26]Koran: 45;23

[27]-C

[28]A; تملوا

الدُنـــيَا لَعِبٌ و لهوٌ و زِينَةٌ وتَفَاخُرٌ بَينَكُم[30] و تَكَاثُرٌ فِي الأمَوالِ و الأولادِ كَمَثلِ غَيثٍ أعجَبَ الكُفَّارَ نَبَاتُهُ ثُمَّ يَهِيجُ فَتَرَاهُ[31] مُصفَراً ثمّ [P:A2] يكونُ[32] حُطاماً وفِي الآخرةِ عذابٌ شديدٌ[33] ومغفِرةٌ مِنَ اللهِ و رِضوانٌ وما الحَياةُ الدُنيَا إلا مَتَاعُ الغُرُورِ". [34]

– وبعـــدُ هذا فتقربوا إلى اللهِ بمحبةِ أوليائهِ[35]، و تباعدوا عن سخطهِ ببغضِ أعدائهِ، فإنَّ اللهَ يقولُ في محكمِ كتابهِ الذي[36] لا يأتيهِ[P:B2] الباطلُ منْ بينِ[37] يديـــهِ و لا منْ [P:C2] خلفهِ[38]:" وَ لاَ تَركَنُواْ إلَى الَّذِينَ ظَلَمُوا فَتَمَسَّكُمُ النارُ و مَالَكُم مِن دُونِ اللهِ مِن أولِيَاءَ ثُمَّ لا تُنصَرُونَ".[39] ألا فافهموا عن الرحيمِ الـــرحمنِ، وتدبروا في آياتِ القرانِ، فإن اللهَ قدْ أمرَ بذلك إذ يقولُ:"كتابٌ أنزلناهُ إليكَ مباركٌ ليدبروا آياتهِ و ليتذكرَ[40] أولوا الألبابِ"[41]، و إنما هلكَ في الناسِ رجلان: رجلٌ أشركَ بالرحمنِ، ورجلٌ تجاهلَ على اللهِ بعدَ العُرفانِ[42]، و أخذَ[43] بفتنةِ الشيطانِ، و هو معْ ذلك يرى[44] أنه من أهلِ الإحسانِ. وقد قالَ اللهُ تعالى في ذلك:" أَفَمَنْ زُيِنَ لهُ سُوءُ عَمَلِهِ فَرَءَاهُ حَسَنًا فإنَّ اللهَ يُضِلُّ[45] مَن يَشَاءُ ويَهدِي مَن يَشَاءُ[46] فَلا تَذهَب نَفسُكَ عَلَيهِم[47] حَسَرَاتٍ إنَّ اللهَ عَلِيمٌ بِمَا يَصنَعُونَ".[48] و قـــال: "أَفَرَءَيتَ مَنِ اتَّخَذَ إلَهَهُ هَوَاهُ وَ أَضَلَّهُ اللهُ عَلَى[49] عِلمٍ وخَتَمَ عَلَى سَمعِهِ وَ قَلبِهِ و جَعَلَ عَلَى بَصَرِهِ غِشَاوَةً فَمَن يَهدِيهِ مِن بعدِ اللهِ أفَلا تَذَكَّرُونَ[50]".[51] وقـــالَ تعالى في الشركِ:"إنَّ اللهَ لا يَغفِرُ أَن يُشرَكَ بِهِ وَ يَغفِرُ مَا دوُنَ ذَلِكَ لِمَن يَشَاءُ وَمَن يُشرِك باللهِ فَقَد ضَلَّ ضَلَالاً بَعِيداً[52]".[53] و إنما "يغفرُ مَا دونَ ذلك لمنْ يشاءُ" يعني: يغفرُ ما دونَ ذلك من الذنوبِ مع التوبةِ منها و الإقلاعِ عنها، أنه قدْ بينَ ذلك و أخبرَ بهِ في محكمِ كتابهِ، حيثُ يقولُ:"و إني لغفارٌ لمنْ تابَ و آمنَ

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[29]Koran:4;27

[30]A; بيكم

[31]A; فراه

[32]A;يكون

[33]A; سديد

[34]Koran: 57; 20

[35]A; اوليايه

[36]A; الدى

[37]A; بين

[38]+C;و قال erased from the text

[39]Koran: 11;113

[40]A; ليتدكر

[41]Koran: 38; 29

[42]C; الامر

[43]C; فان اخذ

[44]B; برى in C برئ

[45]A; يصل

[46]A;يسا

[47]C; عنهم

[48]Koran: 35;8

[49]C; علي

[50]A; تدكرون

[51]Koran: 45; 23

[52]-C;فقد ضل ضلالا بعيدا

[53]Koran: 4; 116

و عمـــلَ صالحًا ثم اهتدى"[54]. ودليلُ ذلك قولُهُ للمشركينَ مِنْ أهلِ الكتابِ و همُ اليهود و النصارى إذ قالوا:"نحنُ أبناءُ اللهِ و أحِباؤهُ".[55] قالَ اللهُ: قلْ (يا محمد) "فَلِمَ يُعذِبُكُم بِذُنوبِكُم بَل أَنتُم بَشَرٌ مِمَّن خَلَقَ، يَغفِرُ لِمَن يَشَاءُ و يُعذِبُ مَن يَشَاءُ[56]".[57] و قد عَلِم أولوا الألبابِ أنَّ اللهَ تعالى إنما يغفرُ لليهودِ و النصارى عِندَ[58] تركهم لليهوديةِ و النصرانيةِ و دخولهم في[59] الإسلامِ، و توبتهم مما كانوا عليه من الشركِ الحرامِ، لأنَّ اللهَ قد بينَ بقولهِ[60] :" وَ مَن يَبتغِ[61] غَيرَ[62] الإسلامِ دِينًا فَلَن يُقـــبَلَ مِـــنهُ وهُـــوَ في الآخِرَةِ مِنَ الخَاسِرِينَ"[63]. و كذلك إنما يغفرُ لأهلِ المعاصي و الكبائرِ[64] مِن أهلِ الإقرارِ معْ تركهم لذلك و رجوعهم عنهُ بالتوبةِ و الندمِ والاســـتغفارِ، و لـــن[65] يغفرَ اللهُ لهم ذلك معِ الإصرارِ، لأنهُ تعالى يقولُ:" ولم يُصروا على ما فعلوا وهمْ يعلمون".[66] و قالَ رسولهُ[67] –صلى الله عليه و سلم– :"هَلكَ المصرون قدماً إلى[68] النارِ". و قد أخبرَ اللهُ تعالى عنْ ولدِ آدمَ –صلى[69] الله عليه و سلم– حيثُ يقولُ لأخيهِ وقدْ قربا قرباناً فتُقبلَ من أحدِهما ولمْ يُتقبلْ مِن الأخرِ، فقال لهُ عندَ ذلك:– "لأقتلنكَ". قال لهُ أخوهُ مجيبًا[70] له:" إنما يتقبلُ اللهُ مِنَ المتقينَ".[71] ففي[72] هذا بيانُ لمن كانَ لهُ قلبٌ أو ألقى السمعَ وهو شهيد، إن اللهَ لا يقبلُ الطاعةُ مِن العاصينَ و إنما يتقبلها[73] من المتقينَ، لأنهُ لمْ يتقبلَ مِن ولدِ آدمَ وهو عاصٍ لهُ قربانهُ الذي تقربَ بهِ إليهِ[74] و تقبل معْ ذلكَ قربانَ أخيه.[P:B3]. فمـــن زعـــمَ أنَ اللهَ تعالى يتقبلُ الطاعةَ مِنَ العاصينَ و يغفرُ الذنوبَ للمصرين، كذّبهُ القرانُ و أعجزَهُ البرهانُ، لأنَّ اللهَ يقولُ: "إنما التوبةُ على اللهِ للذين يعملونَ السوءَ بجهالةٍ ثم يتوبون من قريبٍ فأولئك[75] يتوب اللهُ عليهم و كانَ اللهُ عليماً حكيماً".[76] ثم قال:"وليستِ التوبةُ للذين[77] يعملونَ السيئاتِ حتى

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[54]Koran: 20;82

[55]Koran: 5;18

[56]A; يسا

[57]Koran: 5;18

[58]A, B and C; مع

[59]-C

[60]C; لقوله

[61]C; يتبع

[62]A; عير

[63]Koran: 3;85

[64]A and B; الكباير

[65]A; لن

[66]Koran: 5;17

[67]C; رسول الله

[68]B;الي

[69]B;صلي

[70]A; مخيبا

[71]Koran: 5;27

[72]A; في

[73]A; يقبلها

[74]A; اليك

[75]B; اوليك

[76]Koran: 4;17

[77]A; للدين

إذا حضـــرَ أحدَهـــمُ الموتُ قالَ إني تبتُ الآن و لا الذينَ يموتونَ وهم كفارٌ أولئكَ[78] أعتدنا لهمْ عذاباً أليمًا". [79] أفما تراهُ تعالى ذَكَرَ الذينَ يعملونَ السيئاتِ ثم نفَـــى[80] التوبةَ عنهمْ إذا أقاموا على[81] سيئاتهم حتى [P:3C] إذا حضَرَهُم[82] الموتُ، كما قالَ تعالى[83] :" حتى إذا حضرَ أحَدهم الموتُ".يعني: إذا عاينَ ملكَ الموتِ قال: إني تبتُ الآنَ و[84] لا الذينَ يموتونَ[85] وهم كفارٌ". يعني: مشركينَ، فجمعَ بينهم[86] و قالَ:"أعتدنا لهم عذاباً[87] اليماً". يعني : وجيعاً. وقال[88] أيضًا[89] في سورةٍ أخرى:"هَل يَنظرُونَ إلا أنْ تَأتيَهُمُ المَلائكَةُ[90] أو يَأتيَ[91] رَبُّكَ أو يَأتي بَعضُ آيَاتِ رَبِكَ، يَومَ يَأتي بعضُ آيَاتِ رَبّكَ لا يَنفعُ نَفسًا إيَمانُهَا لَمْ تَكُن ءَامَنَتْ مِن قَبلُ أو كَسَبَت في إيَمانِهَا خَيرًا"[92]. يعني: لَمْ تكن[93] صدقتَ من قبلِ الآياتِ[94] بالإيمانِ وهي النفسُ المشركةُ، ثم قالَ في[95] النفسُ المصدقةِ بالإيمانِ:"أو كسبتْ في إيمانِها خيرًا". يعني[96] في تصديقها عملاً صالحاً.

– وقد رُوي أن الحسنَ بن أبي[97] الحسنِ البصري دخلَ على جابرِ بن زيدٍ –رحمه اللهُ[98]– وهو يجودُ[99] بنفسهِ للموتِ: فقالَ لهُ: يا أبا[100] الشعثاءِ قُل: لا الهَ إلا اللهُ [P:A3] فسكتَ جابرٌ: فأعادَ عليهِ القولَ: فقالَ: يا أبا الشعثاء، قُل: لا الهَ إلا اللهُ فلمْ يُجِب.[101] فقالَ الحسنُ :– لا حولَ ولا قوةَ إلا باللهِ رجلٌ مثلُ جابرِ بن زيدٍ[102] لَمْ يُرزقَ[103] عندَ موتهِ شهادةُ أنْ لا إلهَ إلا اللهُ! ثم أعادَ عليهِ القولَ ثالثةً[104] فقالَ لهُ: يا أبا الشعثاءِ قُل لا الهَ إلا اللهُ، فقالَ جابرٌ: قدْ طالَ مَا

~78C; اوليك

~79Koran: 4;18

~80B; نفي

~81A, B and C; في

~82C; حصرهم

~83+C

~84+B; قال

~85A; يوتون and in B; يمون

~86A; بنهم

~87B;عدابا

~88A; فقال

~89-A

~90C; الملايكه

~91A; ياتى

~92Koran: 6;158

~93A;~ لكن and C;يكن

~94-A

~95A; فى

~96A; يعنى

~97-C

~98-A

~99A; يحول

~100B; با

~101 C; يجبه

~102A; رىد

~103A; يررق

~104-A

قُلــناها إنْ تُقبلــتْ ثم تلا هذه الآيةَ :" هَل يَنظرُونَ إلا أنْ تَأتيَهُمُ المَلائكَةُ[105] أو يَأتيَ رَبُّكَ [106]أو يَأتي بَعضُ آيَاتِ رَبِكَ، يَومَ يَأتي بعضُ آيَاتِ رَبّكَ لا يَنفعُ نَفسًا إيَمانُهَا لَمْ تَكُن ءَامَنَتْ مِن قَبلُ أو كَسَبَت في إيَمانِهَا خَيرًا، قُلِ انتظِرواْ إنَا مُنتَظِرُونَ"[107]، فقالَ الحسنُ :- عالمُ وربُ الكعبةِ!

- فــإنْ زعمَ أحدٌ ان اللهَ لا يُخلدُ في النارِ أحداً من أهلِ الإقرارِ و تأولَ في ذلك قولَ اللهِ تعالى:" فَأمَا الذِينَ شَقُوا ففي النارِ لَهُم فِيهَا زَفِيرٌ وَشَهِيقٌ خَالِدِينَ[108] فِــيهَا مَــا دَامَتِ السَّمواتُ و الأرضُ إلا مَا شَاءَ رَبُّكَ"[109]. فقالَ : إنَّ اللهَ قد[110] استثنى مِن فعلهِ حينَ[111] أخبرَ[112] بخلودهم في النارِ و لا بدَ للاستثناءِ أنْ يقعَ على[113] شئ أو يهدمَ[114] شيئاً في الإخبارِ و الإقرارِ، و لا يجوزُ[115] ذلك الاستثناءُ مِن اللهِ كلاماً فارغاً لا معنى[116] فيهِ ولا فائدة[117] لديه. قُلنا:- إنَّ اللهَ تعالى[118] أن[119] يكونَ كلامهُ فارغاً مِن المعنى و الفائدةِ[120] و الحكمةِ البالغةِ وغيرِ ذلكَ، غيرَ أنك[121] جَهِلتَ عدلَ التنزيلِ و[122] أخطأتَ في التأويلِ. لأنَّ الاستثناءَ هاهنا لَمْ يقــعْ عــلى مَــا توهَّمتهُ و اعتمدتَ عليهِ وذهبتَ في تأويلكَ إليهِ،[P:C4] و إنما وقعَ على ما مضي مِن ساعاتِ يومِ الفصلِ التي لَمْ يدخلِ[123] النارَ فيها أهلُ العذابِ، لما[124] علمَ اللهُ تعالى من اشتغالهم في تلكَ الساعاتِ مِنْ أولِ يومهم بما لا بدَّ لهم[125] من السؤالِ والجوابِ ومناقشةِ الحسابِ. و بيانُ[126] ذلكَ قولُهُ تعالى في أولِ الخطــابِ: "ذلــكَ يومٌ مَّجمُوعٌ لهُ النَّاسُ وذَلِكَ يَومٌ[127] مَّشهُودٌ ومَا نُؤخِرُهُ[128] إلا لأجلٍ معدُودٍ"[129]، ثم قالَ:"يومَ يأتِ"، معنى[130] ذلك للأجل : "لا

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[105]A; المليكه and C; الملايكه

[106]+ C; أو يأتي أمر ربك

[107]Koran: 6;158

[108]A; حالدين

[109]Koran: 11;106-107

[110]-A

[111]+A, B and C; فان

[112]A; اجبر

[113]C; علي

[114]A; يهدم

[115]A; يحوز

[116]C; معني

[117]C; فايده

[118]C; تعالي

[119]+B; لا يكون

[120]B; الفايده

[121]-A

[122]A; او

[123]A; يدحل

[124]C; بما

[125]A; يدلهم and C; بدله

[126]A; بان

[127]A; يوم

[128]C; يوخره

[129]Koran: 11; 103-104

[130]C;يعني

تَكلّمُ[131] نَفسٌ إلا بِأذنِهِ فَمِنهُمْ شَقِيٌّ وَسَعِيدٌ"[132]، ثم أخبرَ فقالَ : "فَأمّا الذِينَ شَقُوا ففي النّارِ لَهُم فِيهَا زَفِيرٌ وشَهِيقٌ خَالِدينَ[133] فِيهَا مَا دَامَتِ السَّمَوَاتِ والأرضُ إلا مَـا شَـاءَ رَبُّـكَ"[134]، يعـني[135] : ما شاءَ مِن ذلكَ اليومِ العظيمِ على [P:B4] ما فسرهُ أهلُ العلمِ، لاشتغالهم في أولِ يومهمْ بشأنِ يومِ القيامةِ مِن المسـائلةِ[136] والمحاسبةِ، لأنه تعالى لو لَمْ يستثنِ ذلكَ بعدَ أنْ أخبرَ بدخولهم في النارِ و خلودهم[137] فيها إذا جاءَ اليومُ الذي ذكره، لوجبَ أن يُدْخِلَهم في النارِ و يخلدهـم في[138] العذابِ مِنْ أولِ يومِ الحسابِ، و دليلُ الحقِ المبينِ[139] في صحةِ هذا التفسيرِ قولهُ:" إلا مَا شَاءَ رَبُّكَ". يعني[140]: مِنْ ذلكَ اليومِ العظيمِ و لم يقلْ: مَـن شَاءَ رَبُّك، فيخصَ بعضَ[141] أصحابِ الجحيمِ. فافهموا ذلك و اعلموا أنَّ اللهَ تعالى لم يقلْ في كلامه: خالدينَ فيها ما دامتِ السمواتُ و الأرضُ[142] إلا ما شاءَ ربكَ من أهلِ الإقرارِ.

– فـبأي دليلٍ زعمَ صاحبُ ذلكَ التأويلِ أنهمْ مخصوصونَ بالخروجِ[143] دونَ الكفارِ! فإن قالَ لأنَّ اللهَ تعالى[144] يقولُ:"إن اللهَ لا يغفرُ أنْ يُشركَ بهِ و يغفرُ[145] ما دونَ ذلك لمن يشاء". فدل ذلك أنه لا يغفرُ للكفارِ و إنما يغفرُ لأهلِ الإقرارِ، قُلنا لهُ: و قدْ قالَ اللهُ للمشركينَ[146] وهمُ اليهودُ[147] و النصارى[148] مثل ذلكَ حيثُ يقول:"بل أنتم بشرٌ مِمَّن خَلَقَ يَغفِرُ[149] لِمَن[150] يَشَاءُ و يُعَذِبُ مَن يَشَاءُ".[151] فقد بطلتْ حجتك في ذلكَ عليكَ[152] و صحَ ما بيناه من فسادِ دعاويك.

– فـإنِ أحتجَ بقولِ اللهِ تعالى:"وَ إِن مِنكُمْ إلا[153] وارِدُهَا كَانَ عَلَى رَبِكَ حَتمًا مَّقضِيًا، ثُمَّ نُنَجِّى الذِينَ اتَّقَوا و نَذَرُ الظَّالِمينَ[154] فِيهَا جِثيًا".[155] قلنا: ليسَ في هـذهِ الآيـةِ حجـةٌ لـك على ما تدّعيه، لانَّ الورودَ إليها ليسَ بدخولٍ فيها[156]،[ألا ترى إلى قولِ اللهِ تعالى:" وَلَمَّا وَرَدَ ماءَ مَدْيَنَ وَجَدَ عَلَيهِ أُمَّةً مِن النَّاسِ

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[131] A;تكلم

[132] Koran: 11; 105

[133] A; خالدين

[134] Koran: 11; 106-107

[135] +C

[136] A,B and C;مسايله

[137] A and B;دخولهم

[138] A; فى

[139] A;المبين

[140] +C

[141] C; بعد

[142] -C

[143] A; الخروح

[144] +C

[145] -C

[146] A; المسركين

[147] A; اليهود

[148] C; النصاري

[149] A; يعفر

[150] A; لمن

[151] Koran: 5;18

[152] +B

يَسقُونَ".[157] و إنما ورودهُ بوصولهِ إليه ليسَ بدخولهِ فيهِ][158]، وقد يقولُ القائلُ[159] لغيرهِ: قد وردَ ألي كتابُكَ، و وردَ عليّ أمرُكَ و خطابُكَ. و ليس نعني أنّ كتابه دخلَ فيه، بل يريدُ انهُ أتاهُ و وقفَ عليهِ. و لعمري لقدْ كذبَ على اللهِ فخالفَ[160] ما نطقَ بهِ كتابُ اللهِ، مَنْ زَعَمَ أنّ اللهَ يُخرِجُ[161] قوماً منَ الجحيمِ[162] وَ يُدْخِلَهمْ في جناتِ النعيمِ قدْ، أكذبه اللهُ بقوله في بيناتِ آياته: "بَلَى مَن كَسَبَ سَيِئةً وَ أَحَاطَت بهِ خَطِيَئتُهُ".[163] يعني : أصرَ على السيئةِ التي اكتسبها حتى ماتَ عليها فأولئكَ[164] أصحابُ النارِ همْ فيها خالدونَ. و قال أيضاً في المنافقِ من أهلِ الإقرارِ و المشركِ من الكفارِ:" وَعَدَ اللهُ المُنَافِقِينَ و المُنَافِقَاتُ و الكُفَّارَ نَارَ جَهَنَم خَـالِدِينَ فِيهَا هي حَسبُهُم وَ لَعَنَهُمُ اللهُ و لَهُم عَذَابٌ مُقِيمٌ".[165] فما بعدُ هذا مِن الإيضاحِ و البيانِ لِمنْ شفاهُ اللهُ بآياتِ[166][P:A4] القرانِ. فانْ قالَ: إنّ القرانَ ناسخٌ و منسوخٌ، و قدْ يجوزُ[167] ان يكونَ قولُ اللهِ تعالى:" بلى من كسبَ سيئةً و أحاطتْ بهِ خطيئتهُ فأولئك[168] أصحابُ النارِ هم فيها خالدونَ"[169] منسوخا بقوله:" فَأمَّا الذينَ شَقُوا فَفي[170] النارِ لَهُم فِيهَا زَفيرٌ و شَهِيقٌ خَالِدينَ[171] فِيهَا مَادَامَتِ السَّمَوَاتِ و الأرضُ إلا مَا شَاءَ ربُّكَ"[172] لأنه قد استثنى في هذه الآيةِ، قُلنا لهُ: قدْ مضى جوابنا لك و احتجاجنا عليكَ في تفسيرِ هذهِ الآيةِ.

– وقـدْ قـالَ بعـضُ أهلِ العلمِ أيضاً إنّ اللهَ يعزمُ على[173] الشيءِ ثم يستثني فيه، كقولهِ تعالى:"لَتَدخُلُنَّ المَسجِدَ الحَرَامَ إن شَاءَ اللهُ آمِنِينَ مُحَلِّقِينَ رُءُوسَكُم وَ مُقَصِّـرِينَ".[174] فـلم يردْ[175] بهذا الاستثناء هدمَ ما أرادهُ مِن دخولِهم المسجد الحرام، بل قدْ دخلوا آمنينَ محلّقينَ رؤسهم و مقصّرينَ كما وعَدهُم ربَ العالمين.

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[153] A;لا

[154] A; الظالمن

[155] Koran: 19;71-72

[156] A; فيه

[157] Koran:28;23

[158] -A and C

[159] A and C; القايل

[160] C; و خالف

[161] A; يحرح

[162] A; الححيم

[163] Koran: 2;81

[164] B and C; فاوليك

[165] Koran: 9; 68

[166] A; بايات

[167] A; يحوز

[168] A; فاوليك

[169] Koran: 1; 81

[170] A; ففى

[171] A; حالدين

[172] Koran: 11; 106

[173] B; علي

[174] Koran: 48;27

[175] A; يرى

ومزاعمُ[176] ذلك فإن النسخَ لا يكونُ في الخبرِ و لا في الوعيدِ و الوعدِ و إنما يكونُ في الأمرِ و النهيِ، لأنَّ صادقَ الخبرِ لا يخبرُ بشيٍ ثم ينقضُ خبرهُ ذلك بضدِهِ. لأنَّ مَـنْ اخـبرَ عن[177] شيٍ ثم نقضَ خَبرهُ بخلافهِ كان كاذباً في نقضِ خبرهِ، و كذلكَ[178] لا يخلو أمرُ[179] من وعدَ شراً يفعلهُ أو وعدَ خيرا ثم لم يفعلْ ذلك أن يكـونَ كاذباً في نقضِ قولهِ، أو يبدو له بدءُ[180] و أن يمنعه من فعله لما يرى[181] بعدَ ذلك من الصلاحِ في تركهِ، فهذهِ صفةُ تعالى اللهُ عنها و هو بريءُ منها[182]، لأنها[183] قاضيةُ على صاحبها بالكذبِ و البدءِ[184] و [P:B5] الجهلِ. فلما كانَ هذا هكذا[185]، صحَ أن جميعَ ما اخبرَ بهِ اللهُ (معْ ما ذَكَرَهُ)[186] من وعيدهِ و وعـدهِ لا ينسـخه شيُ مِنْ بعدهِ ، و قدْ قالَ اللهُ تعالى: "بلَى منَ كَسَبَ سيّئةً و أحاطتْ به خطيئتهُ فأولئكَ أصحابُ النارِ همْ فيها خالدونَ".[187] و أخبرَ أيضاً بخلودهـمْ في الـنارِ، و أخبارُ اللهِ تعالى لا تكونَ إلا صحيحةً و لا يجوزُ أن تكونَ[188] منسوخةً. و قالَ أيضاً: "وَعَدَ اللهُ المُنافِقِينَ و المُنافِقَاتُ و الكُفَّارَ نَارَ جَهَنَّم خَـالِدِينَ فِيهَا هي حَسبُهُم وَ لَعَنَهُمُ اللهُ و لَهُم عَذَابُ مُقِيمُ" .[189] فلم يقل: زائل[190]. وقدْ قُلنا أنَّ وعيدَ اللهِ و وعده لا يجوزُ أن ينسخَهُ شيُ[191] بعَدهُ. والعجبُ مـن قولِهـم[192] ! يسمعونَ اللهَ يقولُ: "أولئكَ أصحابُ النارِ همْ فيها خالدونَ". ثم يقولون همْ [P:C6] مع ذلكَ: أنَّ أصحابَ النارِ همْ منها خارجون. و يقـولُ اللهُ: "وَعَـدَ اللهُ المنافقينَ و المنافقاتِ و الكفارَ نارَ جهنمَ خالدين فيها"، و يقولون هم: إنَّ المنافقينَ يخرجونَ منها. ويقولُ الله تعالى:"و لهمْ عذابُ مَقيمُ" و يقولـونَ هُم: أنَّهُ زائلُ. أليسَ هذا مناقضةُ لكتابِ اللهِ و مضاددة لأخبارهِ! وقدْ قالَ اللهُ تعالى:"و قالوا لَنْ تَمَسَّنَا النَّارُ إلا أيَّامًا مَّعدُودةً قُل أتَّخذتُم عِندَ اللهِ عَهدًا فَلَـن يُخلِفَ اللهُ عَهدَهُ أم تَقُولُون عَلَى اللهِ مَا لا تَعلَمُونَ".[193] قَدْ ذَمَّ[194] اللهُ قوماً قالوا بهذهِ المقالةِ لنْ[195] يقتدي بهمْ أحدُ منْ هذهِ الأمةِ. فَلمْ ينفعهمْ ذلكَ لِمَا سَبَقَ في علمِ اللهِ لهمْ مِنَ الفتنةِ.

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[176]A; مزامع

[177]B; غير

[178]C; كذا

[179]+C

[180]A; بد

[181] C; يري

[182]A;فهي تري فيها

[183]A and C; بانها

[184]C; البدوان

[185]A and C; هكذي and B; هذي

[186]- A and C

[187]Koran:2;81

[188]C; يكون

[189]Koran:9;68

[190]A and B;زايل

[191]C; بشي

[192]C; قوم

[193]Koran:2;80

[194]A;قدم

[195]C;لان

– و أعجـــبَ مـــن هولاءِ قومًا يسمعونَ منهُم[196] الأقاويلَ الفاحشةَ و الأمانيَ الكاذبةَ التي يخالفونَ بها كتابَ اللهِ و يفترونَ الكذبَ بها على اللهِ، ثم يقولونَ[197] ذلكَ من إفكِهِمْ و يتركونَ[198] ما نَطَقَ به كتابُ[199] ربِهم، و يجعلونَهُ[200] في كذبِهم قدوةً، و يتخذونَ بِدْعَتَهمْ نِحْلَةَ[201]. فهمْ كما قالَ اللهُ:"و إذا قيلَ لهمُ اتّبعوا مَا أنزلَ اللهُ قالوا بلْ نتّبعُ مَا ألفينا عليهِ آباءنا أولوا[202] كانَ آباؤهمْ لا يعقلونَ شيئاً و لا يهتدونَ".[203] قاتلهمُ اللهُ أنى يؤفكونَ! و اللهُ يشهدُ انهم لكاذبون.[204] نعوذُ باللهِ مِن فتنةِ الشيطانِ و مِن الضلالةِ بعد البيانِ، فافهموا ما ذكرتهُ لكمْ مِن ذلكَ، و تفكّروا فيهِ، و تفصّحوا معانِيَهُ.

ž–– و أعـــلموا أنّ الـــناسَ ثلاثةُ[205] مؤمنُ صادقُ و مشركُ و منافقُ. فالمؤمنُ مَنْ آمنَ باللهِ و رسولهِ و جميعِ ما جاءَ عن اللهِ بهِ و عملَ بطاعةِ ربهِ، و لمْ يُبطَل بمعصـــيةِ اللهِ صالحَ عملهِ. و المنافقُ مَنْ دخلَ في الإيمانِ بلسانهِ و خرجَ مِنْهُ بفسقهِ و عصيانهِ. و قدْ يُسمى[206] المنافقُ كافراً، لأنّ الكفرَ كفرانِ: كفرُ نعمةٍ و كفرُ شركٍ، و النفاقُ نفاقان: نفاقُ قلبٍ و نفاقُ عملٍ. و ليسَ كلُ كافرٍ مشركُ، لأنّ الكفرَ بالشيءِ قدْ يكونُ جحُودُ لهُ بالكفرِ ، و قدْ يكونُ مخالفةُ لهُ[207] بالعصيانِ دونَ الجحـــودِ[208] و النكرانِ[209]. و تبيانُ[210] ذلكَ ما أخبرَ اللهُ بهِ من قولِ إبراهيمَ –عليهِ السلامُ– و الذينَ مَعهُ إذْ قالوا لقومهم:" إنّا بُرَءَؤُا مِنكُم ومِمّا تَعبُدُونَ مِن دُونِ اللهِ كَفَرنَا بِكُم".[211] و بداءً فلمْ يكفر [P:A5] إبراهيمَ و من مَعَهُ بقومهم جحوداً[212] بهمْ انهمْ[213] ليسوا بقومهمْ بل كانَ ذلكَ على وجهِ المخالفةِ لهـــمْ في فعلهم. و كذلكَ قولُ اللهِ تعالى[214]:"فمنْ يَكفُر بالطاغوتِ و يؤمنْ باللهِ فَقَدَ استَمسَكَ بالعروةِ الوُثقَى".[215] فلم يُردِ اللهُ تعالى أنْ يكونَ الكفرُ بالطاغوتِ جحوداً لها أنها ليستْ بطاغوتٍ بل هي طاغوتُ، إذ محالُ أن يكونَ الطاغوتُ ليسَ بطاغوتٍ بل هي طاغوتُ، ولكنْ أرادَ اللهُ أنْ يكونَ الكفرُ بها مخالفةً لعملها. و كذلك كفارُ[216] أهلِ الإقرارِ مِنْ أهلِ القبلةِ إنما يخرجُ معناه على[217] مثلِ هذهِ الصفةِ. و ليسَ كفرهم [P:B6] جحوداً لما أقروا به من الجملةِ بلْ هو مخالفةُ لما

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[196]C; هذه

[197]A; يقلون and C; يقبلون

[198]A; يتركون

[199]C; بهم

[200]B; يجعلونهم

[201]C; نخله

[202]B; اولو

[203] Koran:2;170

[204] Quoted in the Koran:63;11

[205]A;ثلثه

[206]A; سمي and C; يسمي

[207]-C

[208]A; الححود

[209]C; النكرات

[210]C; شان

[211]Koran: 60;4

[212]B; ححودا

[213]B and C; لهم

[214]B; تعالي

[215]Koran2; 256

[216]B; كفر

دَخَلَــوا[218] فــيهِ مِنَ الإيمانِ بالطاعةِ [P:C7] ، فلذلك جمعناهمْ و أهلَ الشركِ جميعاً في[219] هذا الاسمِ و فرقَنا بينهمْ في الحكمِ. لأنّا نحكمُ علىَ المشركينَ إذا حاربــنَاهم بغنــيمةِ أموالهمْ و سبيِ[220] حريمهمْ و أطفالهمْ[221]، و نستحلُ[222] مع ذلكَ قتلَ مدبرِهمْ و جريحهم معْ زوالِ الخوفِ مِن معاداتِهم[223] و حربِهم، و لا نوارِثُهم كانوا حرباً أم سلماً. و لا يُستَحل نساء[224] المشركينَ مِنْ أهلِ الكتابِ بالتزويجِ إذا كانوا حرباً[225]، ما[226] لا يحلُ تزويجَ امرأةٍ لواحدٍ بكتابِ اللهِ و يحلُ ســبيُها[227] لأخرَ بكتابِ اللهِ، فبذلكَ فيجمعُ[228] في امرأةٍ واحدةٍ حُكمانِ مختلفانِ تزويجُ و غنيمةُ في حالٍ واحدةٍ كلاهما بكتابِ اللهِ، فبذلكَ حرمنا تزويجهنَ في الحــالِ الــتي أحللنا فيها سباءهن. ثم أنا لا نحكُمُ بشيءِ[229] مِنْ ذلكَ في أهلِ القبلةِ ما تمسكوا بالإقرارِ[230] في الجملةِ[231]، لأنا لا نَجْمَعَهُمْ و أهلَ الشركِ في حكمٍ يفــترقونَ لديهِ كما لا نفرقَهم في أسمٍ يجتمعونَ فيهِ لما جَمعهم أهل الكفر على ما فسرناهُ في أولِ الذكرِ؛ دخلوا جميعًا من أشركَ و نافقَ في قولِ اللهِ تعالى:"و الّذينَ كَفَروا لَهُم نَارُ جَهَنَّم لا يُقضَى عَلَيهِمْ فَيَمُوتُوا[232] و لا يُخَفَّفَ عَنْهُم من عَذَابِهَا كَذَلِكَ نَجزِي[233] كُلَّ كَفُورٍ".[234] فكلا الفريقينِ كفورٌ مَنْ أشركَ بإنكارهِ و نافقَ في إقرارهِ. فأفهموا ذلك.

—— و أعــلموا أنَ المؤمنَ [235]هو وليُ اللهِ لا[236] يرضى بعداوةِ[237] أوليائِه، و أنَ المشركَ و المنافقَ هما عدوا اللهِ و أنَ اللهَ لا يرضى بولايةِ أعدائِه، و المنافقُ أخُ للمشركِ و المشركُ أخُ للمنافقِ، و تصديقُ ذلك في كتابِ اللهِ حيث يقولُ:" أَلَم تَرَ إِلَى الذِينَ نَافَقُوا يَقُولُونَ لإِخْوَانِهِمُ الذِينَ[238] كَفَرُوا مِنْ أَهلِ الكِتَابِ لَئِن[239]

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[217]B; انما

[218]B; دعوا

[219]A; فى

[220]C; سبا

[221]B; اطفالهم

[222]C; يستحل

[223]C; مهاودتهم

[224]C; سبا

[225]A; جربا

[226]-A and C

[227]B and C; سباها

[228]A; فيجمع

[229]A; بسى

[230]A; الإقرار

[231]B;الحمله

[232]A; فيموتوا

[233]A; نحرى

[234]Koran: 35; 36

[235]+C; من هو

[236]-B

[237]C; بعدادت

[238]A; الدين

[239]B; لين

أُخرِجتُم[240] لَنَخرُجَنَّ[241] مَعَكُم وَ لا نُطِيعُ فِيكُم أَحداً أَبداً و إن قُوتِلتُم لَنَنصُرَنَّكُم و اللهُ يَشهدُ إنَّهُم لَكَاذِبُونَ".[242] و قد نهى اللهُ تعالى عن ولايةِ أعدائه بقولهِ في محكمِ كتابهِ:" يا أيّها[243] الذِينَ أمنوُا لا تَتَولّوا قوماً غَضِبَ اللهُ عَلَيهِم قَد يَئِسُوا مِن الآخِرَةِ كَمَا يَئِسَ الكفارُ من أصحابِ القبورِ".[244]

-- ألا فاعقِلوا عِنِ اللهِ في خطابهِ و اذكروا حُجَجَهُ عليكم في كتابِهِ و أحذروا من أليمِ عقابهِ، أنْ توالوا[245] أهلْ عداوتهِ و تعادوا أهلَ ولايتهِ، أو تُحلوا حرامَهُ أو تحــرِمُوا حلالَهُ. فإنكم تركبونَ منْ ذلكَ مَعْصِيَتَه التي نهاكم عن ركوبِها، أو تتركونَ[246] في ذلك طاعتَه التي أمرَكم بفعلها، و للهِ الحجةُ[247] البالغةُ على من فعلَ ذلك، فانه من مُضلاتِ الجهالةِ و موبقاتِ الضلالةِ. ثم أني أُعلِمكُم أنَّ اللهَ شرعَ ديناً قيماً فمنْ سَلَكهُ كانَ حنيفًا مسلمًا، و من تَرَكَهُ كان كافراً مجرماً. ثمْ لمْ يعذرِ[248] المكلفَ من عبادهِ في تركِ ما أمَرهمْ بفعلِهِ أو فِعْلِ مَا أمرَهم بتركِهِ، فمنْ خالفَ أمرهُ بتركِ طاعتهِ أو ركوبِ معصيتهِ متعمداً أو جاهلاً في مخالفتهِ لمْ يعذرهُ اللهُ تعــالى بجهلــهِ مــن بعــدِ ما بينه مِن الأحكامِ[P:C8] و ميزهُ من الحلالِ و الحرامِ. و لمْ يكفرْ[249] من كفَر مِنْ أهلِ الإسلامِ إلا بعدولِهم عن العدلِ و ركوبهــم[250] لمعصــيةِ اللهِ في العمدِ و الجهلِ. و لا تجاهلوا على اللهِ بعدَ أنْ أرْسَلَ إليكمْ رسولاً مبيناً و أنزل عليكمْ كتاباً مستبيناً و قالَ :"وَ لَقَدْ جئناهمْ بكتابٍ فصــلناهُ عــلى علمٍ هدىً و رحمةً لقومٍ يؤمنونَ".[251] و قالَ تعالى:"كَمَا أرسَلنَا فِيكُم رَسُولاً مِنكُم يَتلُوا عَلَيكُم ءَايَاتِنَا و يُزَكّيكُم و يُعَلّمُكُمُ الكِتابَ وَ الحِكمةَ و يُعَلّمُكُــم ما لَم تَكُونُوا[252] تَعلَمُونَ".[253] فالّى[254] لكمُ العذرُ في التجاهلِ بعدَ التبيينِ[P:B7] و كمالِ الدينِا فاستقيموا للهِ على السبيلِ الذي دعاكمْ إليهِ و حــثكمْ علــيهِ، و لا تتفرقوا[255] فيه فإنَّ الدينَ واحدٌ و الحقُ واحدٌ، وقد قالَ اللهُ[256] تعالى:"شَرَعَ لكمْ مِن الدينِ ما وصّى[257] بهِ نوحاً و الذي أوحينا إليكَ و ما وصينا بهِ إبراهيمَ و موسىَ و عيسىَ أن أقيموا الدينَ ولا تتفرقوا[258] فيه".[259] و قالَ أيضاً:" إنَّ هذهِ أُمّتكمْ أُمّةً واحدةً و أنَا رَبُّكُم فاعبُدُونِ".[260] و قد تعلمونَ ما

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[240] B; اخرختم

[241] A; لنحرحن

[242] Koran: 59;11

[243] B; ياعيها

[244] Koran: 60; 13

[245] A and B; تولوا

[246] B; يتركون

[247] A; الححه

[248] B; يعذره

[249] A; يكفر

[250] A; ركوبهم

[251] Koran: 7;52

[252] A; تكونوا

[253] Koran: 2;151

[254] B; فاني

[255] A; تتفرقوا

[256] +C

[257] A and B; وصي

[258] A; تفرقوا

[259] Koran: 42;13

[260] Koran: 21;92

وَقَعَ[261] بينَ أهلِ القبلةِ من التنازعِ و الاختلافِ الواسعِ، حتى[262] صاروا أعداءً يتحاربونَ و أحزاباً[263] يتلاعنونَ، كلٌ حزبٍ بما لديهم فرحون. فعَلِمنَا عندَ ذلكَ انهـــم لا يفترقونَ و لا يصيبونَ العدل جميعاً، و هم مختلفونَ[264] متباينونَ يتلاعنون في ذلك و يتحاربون، و ليسَ يجوزُ أن يُصيبَ الحقَ منهم إلا حزبٌ[265] واحد، (لأنَ الحقَ فردٌ واحدٌ)[266]، إلا في الفروعِ التي يجوزُ الاختلافُ فيها و لا تَقَعُ الفرقةُ عليها، و قالَ اللهُ تعالى:" فماذا بعدَ الحقِ إلا الضلالُ فأنى تصرفون".[267]

-- ففـــي واجـــبِ الحقِ و برهانِ الصدقِ أنْ ترجعَ[268] و يرجعونَ فيما همْ فيهِ يختلفون إلى كتابِ اللهِ المنزلِ و سنةِ نبيهِ المُرسلِ--صلى اللهُ عليهِ و سلمَ--، فنهتدي[269] بعدلِهما و نقتدي من اقتدى بهما امتثالا في ذلكَ لما أمرَ اللهُ به في عدلِهِ، فأنزلَ في كتابهِ حيثُ يقول:" فإن تَنَازعتُمْ في شَيءٍ فَردُوهُ إلى اللهِ والرَّسولِ إن كُنتُم تُؤمِنُونَ باللهِ و اليومِ الأخرِ ذلِكَ خيرٌ و احسَنُ تَأويلاً"[270]. فلا تتبعوا سبيلَ مضلاتِ الغلطِ و تأويلاتِ الخطأ و السقطِ، فانَ اللهَ تعالى[271] يقولُ: " و أنَ هَـــذَا صِرَا طِي مُستَقِيماً فَاتَبِعُوهُ و لا تَتَّبِعُوا السُّبُلَ فَتَفَرَّقَ بِكُم عَن سَبِيلِهِ ذَلِكُم وَصَّاكُم بِهِ لعَلَّكُم تَتَّقُونَ".[272] و سبيلُ اللهِ الذي شَرَعَهُ لعبادهِ وارتضاهُ لنفسِهِ و أمـــرَ باتـــباعهِ، هو الإيمانُ باللهِ و رُسلهِ[273] و ما جاءوا [274]عنَ اللهِ بهِ، والتصديقُ بكتابهِ المبينِ الذي أنزلهُ على رسولهِ الأمينِ، و نفيِ الأشباهِ و الأضدادِ عنِ اللهِ بجملـــتها. و أقام الصلاةِ بطهورها و ركُوعِها و سجودها[275]، و ما تتمُ إلا بهِ من فرائضها و سُننِها و حدودِها، و استقبالِ القبلةِ لها[276]. و إيتاءُ الزكاةِ[277] على واجـــبِ فرضِها و دفعِها إلى أهلِها. وحجُ البيتِ الحرامِ معْ وجودِ الزادِ و الراحلةِ و زوالِ الموانعِ الحائلةِ[278]، و اجتنابُ ما نَهى اللهُ عنه من الرفثِ و الفسوقِ و [P:C9] المجادلـــةِ. و صـــيامُ شهرِ[279] رمضانَ بالعفافِ و السترِ حتى يكملَ طرفا الشهرِ. و الجهادُ في سبيلِ اللهِ معْ وجوبِ[280] ذلك بكمالِ عددِ الرجالِ و إمكـــانِ العـــدلِ للقـــتالِ. و الأمرُ بالمعروفِ و النهيُ عن المنكرِ. و إقامةُ حدودِ اللهِ على الضعيفِ و القوي و العدوِ و الوليِ، و ولايةُ مَنْ وافقَ الحقَ في القولِ و

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[261] B and C; و قال فلما وقع

[262] B; و

[263] A; اخزاء

[264] A; محتلفون

[265] A; فردا

[266] +C

[267] Koran: 10;32

[268] A; ترحع

[269] B; فيهتدي

[270] Koran: 4;59

[271] +C

[272] Koran: 6;153

[273] C; رسوله

[274] +B; به

[275] -A

[276] A, B and C; بها

[277] C; الزكوة

[278] A and B; الحايله

[279] A; سهر

[280] A; وجود

العمـــلِ، و اجتنب ركوب الكبائر[281]، وَ لَمْ يُصرَ على الصغائرِ، و عداوةُ من خالفَ دينَ المسلمينَ و عصى[282] ربَ العالمينَ حتى يرجعَ[283] إلى ربهِ و يتوبَ من مخالفَتِهِ و ذنبِهِ[284].

—— و يدينُ للهِ بما وجبَ عليهِ من حقٍ في مالهِ و نفسهِ، و قسمٌ المواريثَ على عدلِ الكتابِ و السنةِ. و التسميةُ باللهِ[285] على الذبيحةِ[286]. و الختانُ، و سترُ العورةِ، و حلقُ العانةِ، و غسلُ النجاسةِ، و الاغتسالُ من الجنابةِ و الحيضِ، و تقليمُ الأضافرِ[287]، و فرقُ الشعورِ، و غسلُ الأمواتِ و تكفينهم و الصلاةُ عليهم و[P:B9] دفـــنهم. و أداءُ الشـــهادةِ و الأمانةِ، وتركُ الكذبِ و الخيانةِ و الخروجِ من حقِ الوالدينِ كانا بارينِ[288] أو فاجرينِ من عم ولاية لهما في معصيةِ ربهما، و صلةُ الرحمِ، و بُر الجارِ، و حسنُ الصحبةِ للصاحبِ، و غضُ الأبصارِ عن العوراتِ، و حفظُ الفروجِ من المحرماتِ، و الاستئذانُ في البيوتِ المسكونات.

—— و مـــا أمـــرَ اللهُ بـــه المؤمناتِ من غضِ أبصارهنَ، و حفظِ فروجهنَ و لا يبدينَ زينتهنَ إلا ما ظَهَرَ منها و ليضربنَ[289] بخمرهنَ على جيوبهنَ ولا يبدينَ[290] زينـــتهنَ إلا لبعولـــتهنَ أو آبائهنَ أو آباءِ بعولتهنَ أو أبنائهنَ أو أبناءِ بعولتهنَ أو إخوانهنَ أو بني إخوانهنَ أو بني أخواتهنَ أو نسائهنَ أو ما ملكتْ أيمانُهنَ[291] أو الـــتابعينَ غيرِ أولي الإربةِ من الرجالِ أو الطّفلِ الذينَ لم يظهروا[292] على[293] عوراتِ النساءِ، و لا يضربنَ بأرجلهنَ ليُعلمَ ما يخفينَ من زينتهنَ[294] و لا ينحنَ في مصائبهن.

—— و تحـــريمُ الدمـــاءِ كلها و الأموالِ إلا ما أبيحَ في ذلك من الحلالِ، و تحريمُ البخسِ في الميزانِ و المكيالِ، و الغشِ في سائرِ[295] الأموالِ، و تحريمُ الربا[296]، و أكلِ أموالِ اليتامى بالظلمِ، و أموالِ الناسِ بالباطلِ و الإثمِ، و تحريمُ غلولِ[297] الغنيمةِ، و قذفِ المحصنِ و المحصنةِ، و تزويجِ [P:A7] المتعةِ، والنكاحِ في العدةِ،

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[281] A; الكباير

[282] B; عصي

[283] A; يرجع

[284] A; دينه

[285] +C

[286] A; الدبيحه

[287] A; الاضافير

[288] B and C; برين

[289] A; ليصربن

[290] A; يدين

[291] A; ايمانهن

[292] A; يطهروا

[293] B; علي

[294] Quoted in the Koran: 24;31

[295] A;ساير

[296] B; الربوا

[297] C; علول

و الطلاقِ لغيرِ السنةِ[298]، والمراجعةِ بلا إشهادٍ[299] على الرجعة، و الوطيءِ في الدبرِ و النفاسِ و الحيضِ، و وطي سبي[300] المشركينَ وما يشترى من إماءِ المسلمينَ حتى يحضنَ إن كنَ حوائلا أو يضعنَ إن كنَ حوا ملا.

—– و تحريمُ نساءِ الأيامى على أبنائهمْ و الأبناءِ على آبائهمْ، و ما حرمَ اللهُ من أمّهاتكمْ، و أخواتكمْ، و عمّاتكمْ، و خالاتكمْ، و بناتِ الأخِ، و بناتِ الأختِ، و أمّهاتكمُ اللاتى أرضعنكمْ، و أخواتِكم مِن الرّضاعَةِ[301]، و أمّهاتِ نسائكم، وربائبكمُ اللاتيّ في حجورِكمْ من نّسائِكمْ اللاتيّ دخلتمْ بِهِنّ، فإن لم تكونوا دخلتمْ بِهِـــنّ فلا جُنَاحَ عليكمْ و حَلائل أبنائِكمُ الذينَ مِنْ أصلابكم [P:C10]، و أنْ تجمعوا بينَ الأختينِ إلا ما قَدْ سلفَ[302] في النكاحِ، مع ما حرمَ اللهُ تعالى من الســـفاحِ و ما حرمَ رسولُ اللهِ –صلى اللهُ عليه و سلمَ– من تزويجِ المرأةِ على عمتها و خالتها لأنهما[303] بمنزلةِ والدتها، ألا ترى إلى[304] قولِ اللهِ تعالى: " و رفعَ أبويهِ على العرشِ".[305] فسمى الخالة أماً[306] ، أما قول رسولُ اللهِ[307] –صلى الله عليه و سلم –: "ردوا عليّ العباسَ أبي" فسماهُ أباً و كان عما.

—– و تحريمُ الميتةِ و الدمِ ولحمِ الخنزيرِ[308]، و ذواتِ المخالبِ من السباعِ و الطيرِ، و شُربِ ما حرم من المسكرِ و الخمورِ، و ما حرمَ رسولِ الله –صلى اللهُ عليهِ و ســـلم – مـــن المـــزاميرِ و ضرب المعازفِ و الطنابيرِ، و تحريمُ ما أُهلّ لغيرِ اللهِ بهِ من الذبيحةِ[309] و الموقودةِ و المتردية[310] و النطيحة و ما أكلَ السبعُ إلا ما ذكيـــتم، و مـــا ذُبِحَ[311] على النصبِ، و أن تستقسموا بالأزلامِ،[312] و تحريمُ الحرامِ كلّه و استحلالُ الحلالِ[313] من حِلِهِ. ثمّ العدلُ على الناسِ عامةً، قويهم و ضـــعيفِهم، و وضـــيعِهم و شـــريفِهم، و بغيضِهم و حبيبِهم، و بعيدِهم و قريبِهم،لأن اللهَ يقولُ:"يا أيها الذينَ أمنُوا كُونُوا قَوّامِينَ بالقسطِ شُهدَا للهِ و لو عَلَى أنفُسِكُم أو الوالِدَينِ و الأقربِينَ إن يَكُن غَنِيًا أو فَقيراً فاللهُ أولَى بِهمَا فلا تَتّبِعُوا الهَوَى أن تَعدِلُوا و إن [P:B10] تلووا أو تُعرِضُوا فإنّ اللهَ كانَ بِمَا تَعمَلُونَ خَـــبِيراً".[314] فلـــيس في دينِ المسلمينَ حيفُ لمسلمٍ من اجلِ حبهِ و ولايتهِ، و لا ظلمُ لفاجرٍ من اصلِ بغضهِ و عداوتهِ، حاشى المسلمينَ من ذلكَ! فإنهم[315] أهلُ

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[298] A and C; البينه

[299] C; شهادة

[300] A; سبا and B; نساء

[301] A; االرصاعه

[302] Quoted in the Koran: 4;23

[303] A, B and C; لأنها

[304] +C

[305] Koran:12;100

[306] In A and C; فهي الخاله

[307] A; رسوله

[308] A; الحنرير

[309] A; الدبيحه

[310] A; المرديه

[311] A; دبح

[312] Quoted in the Koran: 5;3

[313] C; الحل

[314] Koran: 4;135

العدلِ و أصحابُ الفضلِ. فهذا هو دينُ اللهِ و سبيلُ المسلمينَ الذي أوعدَ اللهُ من يتبعْ غيره من الفاسقينَ نارَ[316] جهنمَ و بئسَ مثوى الظالمين، فقالَ تعالى في ذلك :" وَ مَن يُشَاقِقِ الرَّسولَ مِن بعدِ مَا تَبَيَّنَ لهُ الهُدَى وَ يَتَّبِع غَيرَ سَبِيلِ المُؤمِنِينَ نُوَلِهِ مَا تَوَلَّى و نُصلِهِ جَهَنَّم و سَاءَت مَصِيرًا".[317] فليتقِ اللهَ مَنْ رَغِبَ عن سبيلهم أو قالَ بخلافِ أقاويلهِمْ، فإنهمْ كانوا ابلغَ علماً، و اغزرَ فهماً، و اكثرَ فقهًا، و احفظَ كائنٍ[318] بعدلِ السنةِ، و أصدق حبا للهِ، و أحرصَ على رضائه[319]، و أعرفَ بـــأهلِ ولايتهِ و أعدائهِ. فلا يرغبنَ[320] عن سبيلهمْ مَنْ رَغِبَ عنهم، و لا يفسقّهمْ مَنْ هُوَ أولى بالفسوقِ منهم، فإنهمُ الحجةُ على عبادِهِ و القوامُ بحقهِ في بلادهِ. و هُم الذينَ ابصروا[321] المُنكرَ حينَ ظهرَ من أهلِهِ ففارقوهم عليهِ و حاربوهم لديه، و عرفوا المعروفَ حينَ استترَ عن غيرهمْ فتبينوا فيهِ و دعوا مَنْ تَرَكَهُ إليه. و لم يفارقِ المسلمونَ أحداً إلا على مكفرةٍ ولم يعيبوه[322] إلا بمعصية، لأنهم لا ينقمونَ على أحدٍ شيئًا من أفعاله إلا أن يعرفوا في ذلك صِحَّةَ ضلالِهِ، ثم يامرونَهُ عندَ ذلـــكَ بأعدلِ مما أتى به. و كذلك في الحقِ الواجبِ أن لا يقضوا[323] على أحدٍ شيئا عرفوه إلا بما هو مِنَ الطاعةِ اعدل منه،[P:C11] و إنما نقم المسلمون على الناسِ ما خالفوا فيهِ كتابَ ربهمْ و سُنةَ نبيهمْ في اتباعِ الشهواتِ و تزيينِ الضلالاتِ.

—— ثمَّ إنا نذكركم أنَّا مِنَ الناسِ و الناسُ منا إلا مشركٌ جاحدٌ[324]، أو جبارٌ للهِ معاندٌ، أو شاكٌ فيه قَدْ عرفَ كُفرهُ بعصيانهِ، أو معينٌ لهُ في ظلمهِ و عداونهِ، أو مخالفٌ لدينِ اللهِ الذي نحنُ عليهِ، أو شاكٌ[325] فيه، أو مصرٌ على معاصيهِ. قاتلَ اللهُ قوماً دانوا بطاعةِ الجبابرةِ من اجلِ أنسابهمْ[326] و سلطانهمْ، ولم ينظروا مَعْ ذلك إلى فسادِ أديانِهِمْ في تعمدهم للجورِ[327] و ركونهمْ[328] للمنكرِ، و تعطيلهمْ للحدودِ عمنْ يحبونَ، و تعديهم فيها على مَنْ يبغضون[329]، و أخذهم الأموالَ من غيرِ أهـــلها و وضعِهم لها في غيرِ أهلها، و سفكِهم الدماءَ الحرامَ، و إقامتهم على الفواحشِ العظامِ، و استعمالهم لمن يعرفونهم بالفسادِ و ظلمِ العبادِ. و هم على ذلك ينسبونهم[330] أمراءَ المؤمنينَ و يجعلونهم[331] خلفاءَ على المسلمينَ، لا يمنعونهمُ عن ظلمهم و لا يمتنعون[332] عن طاعتهم، و يشدون أعضادهم في باطلِهم، و يتولونهم و يتولونَ لهم، و يمتثلون في معصيةِ اللهِ أمرهم. حتى إذا خرجَ عليهم ظالمُ مثلهم فاغتصبَ منهم [P:A8] ملكهم رجعوا إليهِ، و عولوا إليهِ في أمورهم عليه، و

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[315]C; فافهم

[316]C; ماواه

[317]Koran: 4; 115

[318]A;كاين and B; كانوا

[319]B; رضايه

[320]B; يرعبن

[321]A; ابصروا

[322]C; يعيبونه

[323]A; يعصوا

[324]A; حاحدا

[325]B; ساكا

[326]A;نسانهم

[327]C; للحق

[328]A; ركونهم

[329]C; يعصون

[330]A; يسمونهم

[331]A; يحعلونهم

[332]A and B; يمنعون

اتخـــذوهُ إماماً فيهم، و جعلوه أميراً عليهم، عبيدا[333] لِمَنْ غَلَبَهُمْ، اتباعاً لِمَنْ قَهَرهم، لا يميزونَ[334] صلاحاً من فسادٍ، و لا يعرفونَ ضلالاً مِنْ رَشَاد. شَبَّ[335] عـــلى ذلك صَغِيرُهم، و ماتَ عليه كَبِيُرهم، و أعرّب[336] فيهم أعجمهم. يوطنونَ أنفسهمْ على طَاعَةَ من مَلَكَهم، يقتدونَ في ذلكَ بِقُرائهمُ[337]، و يقتفونَ[338] فيه أثارَ علمائهم، علماءَ السوءِ [P:B11]، أعداءَ القرانِ، الجهلةِ بحقِ التزيلِ، العماتِ عن عدلِ التأويلِ. يلبسونَ على غواةِ الناسِ و طغامِهمْ و ضعفائِهِمْ و عوامِهم، ممّنْ لا يضرُ لهمْ في حَسَنٍ و لا قبيحٍ، و لا تمييزٍ معهُ بينَ فاسدٍ و صحيحٍ، فيضلونَهُمُ بما يحتجونَ به لهمْ من الرواياتِ الكاذباتِ و متشابهِ الآياتِ، لقولِ اللهِ تعالى:" يا أيها الذينَ أمنوا أطيعوا اللهَ و أطيعوا الرسولَ و أولي الأمرِ منكم".[339] قلنا لَهُمْ: إنْ كانَ ذلكَ في قولِكِمْ عموماً فليسَ[340] هو بعموم. فقد خصَ اللهُ أهـــلَ الظـــلمِ مِـــنْ جُمْلَـــةِ[341] مَـــنْ أمرَ بِطَاعَتِهِ منْ ولاةِ الأمرِ بقولهِ تعالى:" و لا تَرْكَنوا إلى الذينَ ظلموا فتمسكمُ النارُ و مالكم من دونِ اللهِ مِنْ أولياءَ ثمَّ لا تنصرون".[342] فهذا مِنْ قولِ اللهِ خصوصٌ و الأولُ مِنْ قولهِ عمومٌ، و الخصوصُ يعترضُ على العمومِ و لا يعترضُ بالعمومِ على الخصوصِ، في قول أئمةِ[343] الدينِ و أصحابِ الحقِ المبينِ. فهذا، ثم أن اللفظَ قد يكون خاصاً و يَرِدُ[344] في الظاهرِ عاماً، كقولِ اللهِ تعالى:"لّقد رضيَ اللهُ عن المؤمنينَ إذ يبايعونكَ تحتَ الشجرةِ".[345] فظاهـــرُ هـــذا الكلامِ يقعُ على جماعتِهم فهو خاصٌ للبعضِ من جملتِهم، و همُ الذينَ علم ما في قلوبهم مما هو رضاءٌ لهُ و ليسَ همُ الذين علمَ ما في قلوبهم مما هو سخطٌ لهُ و رضيَ عنهمْ فيهِ. و لأنَّ اللهَ لا يرضى بمعصيتِهِ، فإذا كانَ أهلُ الشجرةِ منهم مَنْ خَطَّأ صاحِبَهُ و ضّللهُ و سفَكَ مع ذلك دَمَهُ قاصداً لذلك متعمداً عليه. فيحتارُ[346] لقصدهِ [P:C12] فيهِ، فلا يجوزُ أن يكونَ القاتلُ على حقٍ و الذي قُتِلَ على حقٍ، والمضللُ لغيرهِ على حقٍ و الغيرُ الذي ظللهُ على حق، ذلـــك مـــا لا يجوزُ أبداً، و لا يكون القولُ بهِ رشدا. لأنَّ هولاءِ أضدادُ و الأضدادُ متنافيةُ، و لا يجمعها حالُ واحدُ، وَ قَدْ قالَ اللهُ:"أفنجعلُ المسلمينَ كالمجرمينَ مالكم كيفَ تحكمون".[347] فإنْ قالَ: إن[348] هولا جميعًا مسلمونَ. قلنا له: إن أردتَ بهِ الاسمَ دونَ غيرهِ فهوَ كذلك، وَ ليسَ كلُ مَنْ سُمي مسلمًا كانَ عِندَ اللهِ مؤمـــناً، الا تـــرى إلى قولِ اللهِ تعالى[349]:" قَالتِ الأعرَابُ آمنَّا قُل لَمْ تُؤمِنُوا و لكن قُولُوا أسلَمنَا و لَمَّا يَدخُلِ الإيَمانُ في قُلُوبِكُم".[350] فاما انْ أردتَ بهِ إسلاماً

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[333] A and C; عتيدا

[334] A and C; يمترون

[335] A; بينت and C; نبت

[336] A; اعرف

[337] A; بقرانهم

[338] B; يفتون

[339] Koran: 4;59

[340] C; و ليس

[341] A; حمله

[342] Koran: 11; 113

[343] C; ايمة

[344] A; يرد

[345] Koran: 48;18

[346] C; مختارا

[347] Koran: 68; 35-36

[348] -C

[349] C; تعالي

[350] Koran: 49;14

يكون عِندَ اللهِ إيماناً، فقدْ مضى الجوابُ في ذلك ما فيه كفايةُ لِمَنْ كانَ لهُ عقلُ و هداية. و قَدْ قالَ اللهُ تعالى[351]:"وَ مَا يَستَوي الأعْمَى وَ البَصِيرُ و الذينَ آمَنُوا وَ عَمِلوا الصَّالِحاتِ و لا المُسِيءُ قليلاً مَّا تَتَذكرُونَ[352]". [353]

--- و ممـــا يـــدلُّ أيضًا أن الكلامَ قد يكونُ معناه خاصاً[354] و يردُ ظاهرُهُ عاماً كقولِ اللهِ تعالى في ريحِ عاد:" تدمّرُ كلَّ شيءٍ بأمرِ[355] ربها"[356]. و معلومٌ أنها لم تدمّرِ الشمسَ و القمرَ و السماءَ و الأرضَ والجبالَ[357] والبحرَ[358]، وقدْ قال اللهُ[359] تعالى:" تدمّرُ كلَّ شيءٍ".[360] و هذهِ أشياءُ كُلها، فَلَمْ تدمرها ريحُ عادٍ، فإنما المعـــنى أنهـــا تدمـــرُ كلَّ شيءٍ أتتْ عليهِ و وَقَعَ تدميرُها فيه. و قولهُ تعالى في قصةِ بلقيسَ:"و أوتيتْ مِن كُلِّ شيءٍ وَ لَهَا عَرشٌ عَظِيمٌ".[361] و لَمْ تؤتَ بلقيسُ مُلكَ سـليمانَ -عليـهِ السلامُ- و لا غيرَ ذلك من أشياءٍ[362] كثيرةٍ، مثلَ النجومِ الهاويةِ[363] [P:B12] و الرياحِ الجاريةِ و السحابِ[364] الساريةِ. و ظاهرُ هذا الكلامِ عامٌ و هو في الحقيقةِ خاصٌ و اللغةُ قد تنطقُ بهذا كُلِه، و مِن ذلك قولُ عنترة[365] بن شدادٍ العبسي[366]:

جَادَتْ[367] عَلَيهِ كلُّ بِكْرٍ حُرَّةٍ ..... فَتَرَكْنَ كلَّ قَرَارَةٍ كالدرهَمِ[368]

و لَمْ تكن[369] كلَّ سحابةٍ بكرٍ و هي التي لَمْ يفتقها المطرُ قبلَ ذلك تجودُ[370] على ذلك البيتِ الذي وَصَفَهُ. وهذا مثلُ قولِ طرفة البكري:

يقولونَ إني بالغٌ كلَّ مأربٍ.....وَ إني و إنْ غَمَّ النجومَ لمهتدى[371]

و معلومٌ انه لا يبلغ كلَّ مأربَهُ كما وَصَفَهُ أصحابُهُ، و كيفَ يكون ذلك وهو يقولُ:

لَخِوْلَةَ[372] أطلالٌ ببُرقَةِ ثَهْمَدِ[373] .....تَلُوحُ كبَاقي الوَشْمِ في ظاهِرِ اليدِ [374]

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[351] C; تعالي

[352] C;تذكرون

[353] Koran:40;58

[354] C; حاضرا

[355] -B

[356] Koran:46;25

[357] A; الحبال

[358] A; الشجر

[359] -B

[360] Koran: 46;25

[361] Koran: 27;23

[362] A and C; الأشياء

[363] A; الهاويه

[364] B;السحايب

[365] A; عنرة

[366] +B

[367] A; حارت

[368] 'Antra b. Shadād. Mu'allaqa, the line; 21

[369] C; يكن

[370] A; بحول

[371] This line is attributed to the poet although unattested in his anthology

فَرَوْضَةِ[375] دُعمي[376] فأكنافِ حائلٍ.....وَقَفتُ[377] بها ابكي و ابكي إلى الغدِ[378]

فدل من ذلك قوله انه كانَ من إربِهِ أن تكونَ أطلالُ خولةَ بها عامرةً فأمست منها خاليةً حتى أبكاهُ ذلك، و لا يحزنه و يبكيهِ إلا ما لا يرغبُ[379] فيهِ، و قولهُ

أيضا:

[P:A9]فمالي أراَني و ابنَ عَمِّي مالكاً .....مَتَى أدنُ مِنهُ يَنأَ[380] عَنِّي و يَبعُدِ[381]

فكان من رأيه أن يكون من ابن عمه دانيا فاصبح عنه بعيدا نائيا[382]. و قول عنترة أيضا:

وَأعلَمُ ما في اليومِ وَ الأمسِ قبلَهُ.....وَ لكنَّني عنْ علمِ مَا في غَدٍ عَمِ[383]

و معلومٌ انه لا يعلمُ جميعَ ما في اليومِ و الأمسِ و إنما أرادَ انه يعلمُ ما قَدْ علمه دونَ ما قدْ خَفيَ عليهِ و جَهِله، و مثلُ هذا كثيرٌ في لغةِ العربِ و أشعارِهم و إنما أُنزلَ القرانُ على لُغتهم. فقول اللهِ تعالى:"يا أيها الذينَ[P:C13] أمنوا أطيعوا اللهَ و أطيعوا الرسولَ و أولى الأمرِ منكم".[384] إنما هو خاصٌ لأهلِ طاعتهِ دونَ الفساقِ منْ أهلِ معصيته، لأنَّ اللهَ تعالى لا يأمرُ بأمرٍ ثمَّ يعذبُ على فعلِهِ، و قدْ قالَ جلَّ مِنْ قائلٍ[385]:"و لا تركنوا إلى الذينَ ظلموا فتمسكُمُ النارُ".[386] وَلَوْ أمرَ بطاعتهمْ لَمْ يعذبْ على الركونِ إليهمْ، و قالَ أيضًا لنبيهِ–صلى عليه و سلم–:"و لا تُطِعْ مَنْ أغفلنا قلبهُ عَنْ ذكرنا[387] و اتَّبعَ هَوَاهُ وَكَانَ أمرُهُ فُرُطا".[388] [389] و قــالَ تعالى:"و لا تُطِعْ مِنهُم أثِماً أو كَفُوراً".[390] و نحنُ[391] داخلونَ مَعْ رسولِ اللهِ –صلى عليه و سلمَ– في كلِّ مَا أمرهُ اللهُ بهِ إلا ما صحَ انه مخصوصٌ بفعلهِ. فــإذا كانَ ذلكَ كذلكَ فليسَ لنا و لا لكمْ أنْ نطيعَ أثماً و لا كفوراً، و الجبارُ كفورٌ و أثمٌ، و كلا الاسمينِ لهُ لازمٌ، و قالَ رسولُ اللهِ –صلى عليه و سلم–: "لا

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[372]A; لحوله

[373]C; شمل

[374]Tarfa b. al-'Abd. Mu'allaqa, the line; 1

[375]A, B & C; فَردَ صفَّة دعمّي

[376]Rawda Di'mai is the name of a mountain in Bilad 'Qial. See; Yāqūt, *Mu'gam al-Buldān*, vol. 3, p. 89.

[377]A, B & C; ضللت

[378]*Diwan Tarfa bin al-'Abd bi shiarh̲ al-Shantmri*, edited by Drya al-Khatib and Latfi al-Saqal, p. 148, Damascus, 1975.

[379]A; ترغب

[380]A and B & C; ينوءُ

[381]Tarfa b. al-'Abd. Mu'allaqa, the line;70

[382]C; نانبا

[383] This line is attributed incorrectly to 'Antra, however, it is a line of Zuhair b. Abi Salma's Mu 'allqa line; 47.

[384]Koran:4;59

[385]A; قايل

[386]Koran: 11;113

[387]A; دكرنا

[388]Koran: 18;28

[389]The Verse is – in C

[390]Koran: 76;24

[391]A; كونوا

تطـــيعوا مَـــنْ أَمَرَكُمْ بمعصيةِ اللهِ خَالِقكُمْ". و قدْ قالَ اللهِ لخليلهِ إبراهيمَ –صلواتُ اللهِ عليهِ و سلامهُ–[392]:"أني جاعِلُك للناسِ إماماً"[393]. قالَ إبراهيمُ:"و مِن ذريـــتي" إمامـــاً للـــناسِ. فقالَ اللهُ[394]:"لا يَنَالُ عَهدِي الظَّالِمِينَ".[395] فنفى[396] انَ يكونَ الظالمُ إماماً، فاعلمه بذلكَ إعلاما. فليتقِ[397] اللهَ مَنْ يخالِفُ عَدلَ[398] الكتابِ و يقولُ بغيرِ الحقِ و الصوابِ، و يحرفَ الكلمَ عن مواضعِهِ اتباعاً للمتشابهِ، إنه كما اخبرَ اللهُ في كتابهِ، (إذ يقولُ الله)[399] تعالى:" هو الذي أنزلَ عليكمُ الكـــتابَ منه آياتٌ محكماتٌ هُنَّ أمُ الكتابِ [P:B13] و أخرَ متشابهاتٌ فأما الذينَ في قلوبهم زيغٌ[400] فيتبعونَ ما تشابهَ منه ابتغاءَ الفتنةِ و ابتغاءَ تأويله وما يعلمُ تأويلهُ إلا اللهُ". ثم قالَ:" و الراسخونَ في العلمِ يقولونَ أمنا بهِ كلُ من عندِ ربنا و ما يذكرُ إلا أولوا الألبابِ".[401]

ž – ألا فاطلـــبوا الســـلامة لأنفسكم، و أحذروا من الزللِ في دينكم، فإنَّ الزللَ في الدينِ يفضي[402] إلى العذابِ المهينِ. و لا يفتنكم من تَبِعَ[403] هواهُ و باعَ أخـــرَتَهُ بدنـــياه،فإن الدنيا غدارةُ لذويها[404]، فتانةُ لمن مَكَنَ[405] إليها، غرارَةُ بطلابِها[406]، قتالةُ لأصحابِها، ظاهرُها سرورُ و باطنها غرورُ، و حلالُها حساب و حرامُها عقاب، و كثيرُها قليلُ، و عزيزها ذليلُ، و جَامِعُها سليبُ، و ساكنُها غريبُ، و أولُها أمالُ و ظنونُ، و أخرُها أجالُ و منونُ[407].

– – أجل أيها السامعُ! لقد عرفتَ منها ذلك حقَ العرفانِ، و بانَ لك عنها كلُ البيانِ.(و كيف لا يعرف ذلك)[408]! بعد أن نظرتَهُ بعينيكَ، و سمعتَهُ بأذنيكَ، و وعيـــتَهُ بجنانكَ، و شكوتَهُ[409] بلسانكَ. إذ تمشي مفجوعاً بأبيكَ، و تصبحُ معزاً في أخيكَ، و تعدو مفارقاً لجدك[410]، و ترجعُ صائحاً على ابنكَ، وتضلُ محزوناً على مالكَ، و تبيتُ مدفوعاً إلى بلبالكَ، مشتغلا بسقمكَ و أوجالك. ثم تفيقُ من سكرةِ ذلكَ فتصبحُ في ضلالك غادياً، و بمالكَ لاهياً، و لِمَا قدْ أصابك ناسيا.

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[392]-C

[393]Koran: 2;124

[394]-C

[395]Koran: 2;124

[396]C; فنهى

[397]A; فاليتق

[398]C; عذل

[399]+C

[400]B;ريع

[401]Koran: 3;7

[402]B;تقضي and -C

[403]C; يتبع

[404]C; لدونها

[405]C; يكون

[406]A; بطلانها

[407]B; فنون

[408]-A

[409]C; سكوته

[410]A; لخدنك

[P:C14] فقــدْ شــغلك يومُك عن غدكَ، و مالك عن نفسكَ، و دنياك عن دينكَ، فأغفلكَ حرصُكَ[411] عن شغلك، و داركَ عن قبركَ، و كأن لم تعظك نوائــبُ[412] الــزمانِ لمن رزئتَ[413] بفقدهِ من الإخوانِ. و كأن لم تكن عالماً بأنك عن نعمتكَ منقولُ، و على نعشك محمولُ، و في لحدِ ضريحكَ مدخولُ، و عن عملــك مسئولُ. فلم تزلْ لاهياً بنهيكَ و أمركَ، غافلا عن ذنبكَ[414] و وزركَ، ذاهلاً عن موتكَ و نشركَ. حتى إذا انقضتْ أيامُكَ، و نزلَ بك حمامك، و رشحَ بالعــرقِ جبيــنكَ، و هدأ من الشدةِ أنينكَ. أعجزكَ الخلاصُ و أعوزكَ المناصُ، ضلت متحيرا في نفسكَ و أمورك، نادما على تفريطكَ و تقصيركَ، لا تعذر[415] فتنتصــرَ و لا تقالُ فتعتذر. فعندَ ذلك حلَّ[416] حزنُكَ و عظمتْ حسرتُكَ، و اشتدَ بلاؤك، و انقطعَ رجاؤك. فحصلتَ أسيراً في جهلكَ بسوءِ فعلكَ، صائراً إلى عذابِ الجحيم ، خاسراً الحنانَ النعيم.

– فــتوبوا إلى اللهِ! توبوا إليه من ذنوبكم[417]، و جدوا في خلاصِ[418] نفوسكم قبل نزولِ الأجلِ و فوتَ العملِ و انقطاعِ الحيلةِ و الأملِ. و فقنا اللهُ و إياكم لطاعتهِ،[419] و مّن علينا و عليكم رحمته،[420]. إنهُ غفورٌ[421] رحيمٌ، و على ما يشاءُ قديرٌ، و الحمدُ لله ربِ العالمين. و صلى اللهُ على محمدٍ و اله الطاهرين، و على جميعِ النبيينَ و المرسلينَ، و على الملائكةِ[422] المقربينَ، و على عبادهِ الصالحينَ، من أهل السماواتِ و الأراضين،(و سلم عليهم أجمعين)[423] و سلم تسليما.

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[411]C;عرصك

[412]A, B and C; نوايب

[413]C; رزيت

[414]C; دينك

[415]B; تعدر

[416]B; حلت

[417]B; دنوبكم

[418]B; حلاص

[419]C; الطاعه

[420]A; رحمه

[421]A, B and C; عفور

[422]B and C; الملايكه

[423]+C

VIII- Translation of the Text

In the Name of Allah, The Most Gracious, The Most Merciful

1- From the Imam Rāshid bin Sa'īd to Abī al-'Abbās b. Murayj, al-Muḥannad b. Sadhā and Abī 'Abdullāh bin Muḥammad bin Barūzān. Peace be upon you. Praise be to Allah. I command you to be obedient to Allah and forbid you to disobey the one who has power over you. Fear Allah in things that upset you or please you and things that benefit you or harm you. Be grateful to Allah and be His religious supporters and be also in support of His worshipers. Do goodness and command it, avoid the bad and prohibit it. To Allah's obedience take the initiative. Be patient with the misfortunes of your life. You will praise the consequence of this when you lack your good deeds and when you give up your kinship and wealth. At that time, your hopes and tricks will be worthless. All success is from Allah only and it is He whom people must trust in as the Protector of the faithful.

2- I shall warn you against the evil acts of Satan himself or the temptation of his fellow supporters: your souls, your desires, your wants and your life. Allah says: "Yet I claim not that my soul was innocent; surely the soul of man incites to evil except inasmuch as my Lord had mercy; truly my Lord is all-forgiving, all-compassionate". And says: "Hast thou seen him who has taken his caprice to be his god, and God has led him astray out of a knowledge, and a seal upon his hearing and his heart, and laid a covering on his eyes? Who shall guide him after God? What, will you not remember?" And says: "those who follow their lusts desire you to swerve away mightily". And says: "Know that the present life is but a sport and diversion, an adornment and a cause for boasting among you, and a rivalry in wealth and children. It is as a rain whose vegetation pleases the unbelievers; then it withers, and thou seest it turning yellow, then it becomes broken orts. And in the world to come there is a terrible chastisement, and forgiveness from God and good pleasure; and the present life is but the joy of delusion".

3- Therefore, you must seek closeness to Allah by liking His sincere and close servants. Avoid His discontent by disliking His enemies. Allah has said in His perfect book that no falsehood can approach it, from before or behind it: " And lean

not on the evildoers, so that the Fire touches you - you have no protectors apart from God –and then you will not?".

You should learn from the most Gracious, the most Merciful and you have to reflect on the Koranic verses. Allah has so commanded about that: "A Book We have sent down to thee, Blessed, that men possessed of minds may ponder its signs and so remember". Two types of people will inevitably perish: the first is the person who took partners beside Allah. The second is the one who ignored Allah after recognising him and followed the temptations of Satan and yet he still believes himself to be among the righteous people. Allah has said about that: "And what of him, the evil of whose deeds has been decked out fair to him, so that he thinks it is good? God leads astray whomsoever He will and He guides; so let not thy soul be wasted in regrets for them; God has knowledge of the things they work". And says: "Hast thou seen him who has taken his caprice to be his god, and God has led him astray out of a knowledge, and a seal upon his hearing and his heart, and laid a covering on his eyes? Who shall guide him after God? What, will you not remember". Allah has said about those who are involved in a partnership with Him: "God forgives not that aught should be with Him associated; less than that He forgives whomsoever He will. Whoso associates anything with God has gone astray into far error". 'He forgives whomsoever He will' means: He forgives all sins except holding partnership in worship. Allah forgives whatever sins are committed if there is repentance on the part of the individual and if this repentance is accompanied by complete avoidance of these sins. Allah made this clear in his perfect book: "Yet I am All-forgiving to him who repents and believes, and does righteousness, and at last is guided". Allah has demonstrated that for the People of the Book (the Jews and the Christians), where they said: "We are sons of God, and His beloved ones". Allah said to Muḥammad: tell them: "Why then does He chastise you for your sins? No, you are mortals of His creating; He forgives whom He will and He chastises whom He will".

The people of understanding have known that Allah will only forgive the Jews and the Christians when they leave their religions and embrace Islam. Also, they must repent from what they have been doing before in their polytheism. Allah has made that clear: "Whoso desires another religion than Islam, it shall not be accepted of him. In the next world he shall be among the losers".

Therefore, Allah will grant pardon for the Muslims who have done wrong only when they leave these errant deeds with repentance, and remorse and when they ask Allah's atonement. Allah will never forgive them if they persist. Allah has said: "And do not persevere in the things they did and that wittingly".

The Prophet Muhammad has said: "whoever persists in doing wrong deeds will race to the Hell-Fire". Allah has told the story about the sons of Adam: They each presented a sacrifice (to Allah): It was accepted from one but not from the other. Said the latter: "I will surely slay thee". Said the former: "God accepts only of the god fearing".

This is a declaration for anyone who has a heart and reason or who gives ear and earnestly witnesses (the truth). Allah never accepts worship from errant people but He accepts only from those who fear Allah. He did not accept the son of Adam's present because he was disobedient to Him whereas Allah accepted his brother's present.

Anyone who claims that Allah has accepted worship from the disobedient people and He has forgiven the obstinate people, the Koran shall belie him. He shall fall short of evidence. Allah has said: "God shall turn only towards those who do evil in ignorance, then soon repent". Allah also says: "But God shall not turn towards those who do evil deeds until, when one of them is visited by death, he says, Indeed now I repent, neither to those who die disbelieving. For them We have prepared a painful chastisement".

Have not you reflected on Allah's verses when He mentioned the people who have done evil? He denies them repentance if they continue to do evil until death. Allah has said about that: "Until, when one of them is visited by death". This means: until the nearest angel of death is seen. Allah said that this man will say: "Indeed now I repent". The verse continues "neither to those who die disbelieving". This means that Allah has addressed both the polytheists and the obstinate together in one verse. Allah says: "For them We have prepared a painful chastisement." Allah has said in another chapter: "those who turn away from our signs with an evil chastisement for their turning away. What, do they look for the angels to come to them, nothing less, or that thy Lord's signs should come? On the day that one of thy Lord's signs comes

it shall not profit a soul to believe what was never believed before, or earned good in his belief". The verses show that there are two souls: One did not have faith and it was a polytheist soul. Then Allah talks about the second soul, which is the faithful soul. He said: "never believed before, or earned good in his belief", which means; that it did not practise its faith.

4- It has been narrated that al-Ḥasan b. Abī al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī visited Jābir bin Zayd at his deathbed. Al-Ḥasan told Jābir: Oh! Abū al-Sha'thā', "say: *Lā ilāh illā Allāh*"- (There is no God but Allah) But Jābir was silent. Then al-Ḥasan repeated: Oh! Abū al-Sha'thā', say: *La ilāh illā Allāh*). Jābir had no answer. Then al-Ḥasan said: *Lā ḥaula wa-lā qūwata illā bi-llāh* (There is no power and strength save from Allah), a man like Jābir did not have the bliss of saying *la ilāh illā Allāh* at the time of his death. Then al-Ḥasan repeated for a third time: Oh! Abū al-Sha'thā', say *la ilāh illā Allāh*, then Jābir said: We have been saying it for as long as it was accepted, then he recited this verse: "those who turn away from Our signs with an evil chastisement for their turning away. What, do they look for the angels to come to them, nothing less, or that thy Lord's signs should come? On the day that one of thy Lord's signs comes it shall not profit a soul to believe that never believed before, or earned good in his belief, say: watched and wait; we too are waiting". Then al-Ḥasan said: by God this is the learned *faqīh*.

5- If anyone claims that no Muslim from the *'ahl al-iqrār'* will abide eternally in the Fire then he has misinterpreted the verse: "As for the wretched, they shall be in the Fire, wherein there shall be for them moaning and sighing, therein dwelling forever, so long as the heavens and the earth abide, save as thy Lord accomplishes what He desires". He then claims that Allah has exempted a period of time from the verse. If Allah forced them to be eternal in the fire, then there must be an exception applicable to some things or destruction for other thing in declaration or statement. It is not at all permissible to postulate that this exception in the verse does not make sense, is meaningless, and useless. We say to him: if you think that the saying of Allah is void of meaning, wisdom and benefit; then you have misunderstood the just revelation or you were wrong in your interpretation. This is because the exception here does not conform to what you thought and relied upon in your interpretation. The exception applies, however, to the hours in the Day of Judgement in which the people of the Fire have not yet entered into it due to the knowledge of the Almighty Allah that they

are busy in those very hours of the day with dissuasion and the reckoning of their deeds. This is clear from the verse: "That is a day for mankind are to be gathered to, a day to witness, and We shall not postpone it, save to a term reckoned". And He said: "The day it comes", that day being the appointed day: "No soul speak save by His leave; some of them shall be wretched and some happy". And He tells that: "As for the wretched, they shall be in the Fire, wherein there shall be for them moaning and sighing, therein dwelling forever, so long as the heavens and the earth abide, save as thy Lord accomplishes what He desires". Which means that the exception applies to what Allah wills concerning the time of that day. This has been so explained by the people of knowledge. The people that day will be busy in their first day by the Resurrection and judgement in terms of question and reckoning. If Allah did not make that exception after stating that the Hell Fire would be the designation of those people, then it would have been obligatory that those people would enter the Fire and be eternal in the chastisement right from the first day of Judgement. The evidence of the firm truth of this interpretation is Allah's verse: "save as thy Lord will", meaning: From that glorious Day. Allah did not say: "save as those whom thy Lord willeth". In which case the specifications of some of the people in the Hell-Fire apply. So understand and know that the Almighty Allah did not say: "therein dwelling forever, so long as the heavens and the earth abide, save as thy Lord accomplishes what He desires willed from the *ahl al-iqrār*".[65]

6- What is the evidence then which made the interpreter postulate such an argument that the errant Muslims are specified here to be not eternal in the Fire, which is not the case for non-believers? If he alleged Allah has said: "God forgives not aught should be with Him associated; less than that He forgives to whomsoever He will. Whoso associates with God anything, has gone astray into far error".

This proves that Allah does not forgive the polytheist but he forgives *ahl al-iqrār*. We will say to him in response to this argument that Allah has said to the Jews and the Christians a similar thing in the verse: No you are mortals, of His creating; He forgives whom He will and He chastises whom He will. Now your argument is without support and evidently what we have shown of the falsehood of your argument is right.

7- If he argues that Allah said in the verse: "Not one of you there is, but he shall go down to it; that for thy Lord is a thing decreed, determined. Then We shall deliver those that were god fearing; and the evildoers We shall leave there", we would say to him there is no proof in the verse of your argument. That "shall go down to it" does not mean to enter into it. Do not you see what Allah says about Moses: "When he came to the water of Medina, he found a company of the people, drawing water", although he went beside the water he did not enter into it. For example, it can be said that your letter has been passed to me or your command and letter have been passed to me. This does not mean that the letter has entered inside him but the meaning is that his letter has arrived for me and I have seen it. I swear that this person has made lies and violated what Allah's book has explained, when he argued that Allah will release some people from the Hell-Fire and bring them into Paradise. Allah has revealed his lies in the verse: "Not so; who so earns evil, and is encompassed by his transgression". This means that whoever has been persistent in his wrongdoing until he died in that situation, they are the dwellers of the Fire therein shall they abide (Forever). Also He says about the hypocrites from the *ahl al-iqrār* and polytheists: "God has promised the hypocrites, men and women, and unbelievers, the fire of Gehenna, therein to dwell forever. That is enough for them; God has cursed them; and there awaits them a lasting chastisement".

What else then is required after this clarification as a cure to those who seek remedy in the verses of the Koran? If he said that: the Koran is both abrogating and abrogated, and that what Allah says in the verse: "Not so; who so earns evil, and is encompassed by his transgression- those are inhabitants of the Fire; there they shall dwell forever", might be abrogated by this verse: "As for the wretched, they shall be in the Fire, wherein there shall be for them moaning and sighing, therein dwelling forever, so long as the heavens and the earth abide, save as thy Lord accomplishes what He desires", because Allah has made exception in this verse. We shall say to him: We have already given you our answer and argument regarding your enquiry on the interpretation of this verse.

8- The people of understanding also say that Allah may decide something, then He can make an exception later on, as is the case in the verse: "You shall enter the Holy Mosque, if God wills, in security, your heads shaved, your hair cut short". Allah the Almighty does not mean in this exception to decline what He has already stated

regarding the Muslims' entering the Holy Mosque. In fact, they did enter the Holy Mosque as He promised in security, heads shaved and hair cut short. The claim is that the abrogation has not been in the statement or the threat and promise. The abrogating has been in the command and interdiction. The true statement does not say such of something then destroy it in a contradictory manner. Whoever states something and then states its contradiction is considered a liar. Also, whoever has promised good or evil and did not fulfil it, he will be a liar in contradicting his statement. Or he might find new things on which he will change his mind. Then this testifies that the person who says this is a liar, ignorant and erring, and these are attributes which Allah transcends. As all that is said by this person is nonsense, all things that Allah says are the truth. Also, what He mentioned about threat and promise can never be abrogated. Allah has said: "Not so; whoso earns evil, and is encompassed by his transgression- those are inhabitants of the Fire; there they shall dwell forever".

Allah has also spoken about their dwelling in the Hell-Fire. Allah's statements are always truthful. They cannot be abrogated. He also says: "God has promised the hypocrites, men and women, and the unbelievers, the Fire of Gehenna, therein to dwell forever". The verse does not say the punishment has an end. We have already said that Allah's promise and threat are impossible for anyone to abrogate. Oh, how surprising in that they say that they listen to Allah speak: "Those shall be the inhabitants of the Fire, therein dwelling forever". Yet they say that: the people of the Fire can exit from it.

Allah says: "God has promised the hypocrites, men and women, and the unbelievers, the Fire of Gehenna, therein to dwell forever". And they say: The hypocrites; men and women can exit from it. Allah says: "Those shall be the inhabitants of the Fire, therein dwelling forever". And they say: It is. Is not this a contradiction to Allah's book and opposition to His statements? Allah says: "And they say: the Fire shall not touch us save a number of days. Say: Have you taken with God a covenant? God will not fail in His covenant; Or say you things against God of which you know nothing?" Allah has rebuked the people who said such as this statement, so that no one of this *ummah* (nation) will follow them. Their claim did not benefit them because it has been ordained in Allah's knowledge that they will go astray.

9- Some of the people of *ahl al-iqrār* listen to these appalling claims and false hopes by which they contradict the Holy Book and make lies to Allah and then they say that as a slander and leave what the Book of their Lord has stated and make in their lies examples and produce sects from their innovation. They are as Allah has described: "And when it is said to them: 'Follow what God has sent down' they say, 'No; but we will follow such things as we found our fathers doing.' What? And if their fathers had no understanding of anything, and if they were not guided? " The curse of Allah be on them! How they were deluded! And Allah bears witness that they are indeed liars. We seek refuge in Allah from Satan's seduction and from straying after guidance. You should, therefore, understand what I have mentioned to you, reflect on it and ponder on its sense.

10- You should also understand that people are of three types: faithful, polytheist and hypocrite. The faithful is the one who believes in Allah, His prophet and all the teaching he has brought from Allah. He is also obedient and never distorts his deeds by disobeying Allah. The hypocrite is the one who embraces Islam in his words but he still does wrong deeds, and he is still disobedient and sinful. The hypocrite can be regarded as a disbeliever, because disbelieving is of two types: Ungratefulness and polytheism. There are two types of Hypocrisy as well: that of the heart and that of the deeds. Not all disbelievers are polytheists because disbelieving an entity might be by denying it or it might be violating its principles by disobedience without necessarily declining or disbelieving. The evidence for this statement is what Allah says of Abraham and those with him when they said to their people: "We are leaving you and those you serve, apart from God. We disbelieve in you". Abraham and his followers have not disbelieved in their community as a denial of their affinity to them but so as to distinguish themselves from the rest of their community as far as their conduct is concerned. Allah also says: "Whosoever disbelieves in idols and believes in God, has laid hold of the most firm handle". Allah did not want in the verse to say that disbelieving in idols is disbelieving in their existence because it is impossible to say that an idol is not an idol. Certainly it is an idol. Allah wanted the disbelievers of this idol (*Tāghūt*) to change from its principles. The meaning of disbelieving should only be interpreted as thus in terms of the disbeliever who is amongst the Muslims,. This disbelieving is not a form of denial of what they have ratified *al-Jumlah* [*la ilah illā Allāh*][66]. It is, however, their doing of certain actions which are not in accordance with their entering the faith of obedience. We combined

them together with the polytheists and we differentiated between them in judgement, because we, if we fight with the polytheists, make it lawful to plunder their wealth and take as prisoners their women and children.

Similarly, we make lawful the killing of their deserters and wounded even if the threat of their fighting has ceased. We do not allow them to inherit either in peace or in war. The women of the people of the Book are not permitted to marry them if there is a war between them and us. It is illegal to marry a woman to a person by Allah's Book while this very woman is a spoil of war by Allah's Book. Then there will be for the same woman two different judgements; marriage and spoil and both of these conditions are legislated by Allah's Book. This is why we said that it is illegal for this woman to be a wife while at the same time we allow her to be a spoil of war with any of the above judgements. We also do not judge the Muslims when they adhere to the *al-Jumlah*; we do not combine them with polytheists in one judgement in which they are different. Similarly, we do not separate them by a label under which they can be grouped, due to the generality of the term 'disbelieving' which we have explained above. The hypocrites and the polytheists are both addressed in the following verse: "As for the unbelievers, theirs shall be the fire of Gehenna; they shall neither be done with and die, nor shall its chastisement be lightened for them. Even so We recompense every ungrateful one". Both groups are disbelieving; those who became polytheists by virtue of their denial and those who became hypocrites by virtue of their commitments to the *al-jumla*.

11- You understand all that and know that the faithful is Allah's friend and Allah does not accept enmity to his friends, and that the hypocrite and the polytheist are the enemies of Allah, and Allah does not accept the association with his enemy. The hypocrite is the brother of the polytheist and the polytheist is the brother of the hypocrite, the evidence of that is in Allah's Book: "Hast thou not regarded the hypocrites, saying to their brothers of the people of the Book who disbelieve, 'If you are expelled, we will go forth with you, and we will never obey anyone in regard to you. If you are fought against, we will help you.' And God bears witness that they are truly liars". Allah has prohibited the association with his enemies. He says in His perfect Book: "O believers, take not for friends a people against whom God is wrathful, and who have despaired of the world to come, even as the unbelievers have despaired of the inhabitants of the tombs".

12- You should be wise and reflect on Allah's speech. You should remember his arguments to you in His Book; also you should be aware of His grievous penalty that you may associate with His enemies and disassociate from His friends or you will allow what He has prohibited and prohibit what He has allowed. In this case you are committing disobedience from which he has prohibited you, or you leave His obedience to which He has commanded you. Allah has the most eloquent argument against whoever does that. These are the dark ravines of ignorance.

I should also tell you that Allah has established for you a religion of truth. Whoever takes this path, will be a Muslim, true in faith. Anyone who leaves it will be a criminal and a disbeliever. Allah has not excused the nature of His servants to leave anything He has commanded or to do anything He has prohibited. Whoever transgresses Allah's command by relinquishing or committing wrong deeds intentionally or unintentionally, Allah will not give him excuse for his ignorance after He made clear His rules, and distinguished between what is lawful and what is unlawful. A Muslim will not be regarded as a disbeliever except if he refrains from Allah's judgement and commits wrong doings whether intentionally or unintentionally. Do not claim ignorance to Allah after He sent to you a clarifying Prophet and revealed to you a clear book. Allah says: "And We have brought to them a Book that We have well distinguished, resting on knowledge, a guidance and mercy unto a people that believe". He says: "As also We have sent among you, of yourselves, a Messenger, to recite Our signs to you and purify you, and to teach you the Book and wisdom, and to teach you that you knew not". What is your excuse then in claiming ignorance to Allah after the exposition and completion of the religion?

You should stand straight on the path to which Allah has called you and to which He has encouraged you. You should make no divisions in religion because there is only one religion and one truth. Allah says: "He has laid down for you as religion that He charged Noah with, and that We have revealed to thee, and that We charged Abraham, Moses and Jesus with: Perform the religion, and scatter not regarding it". And says: "Surely this community of yours is one community, and I am your Lord; so serve Me".

You may know the kind of disputes and vast differences which happened among the People of *Qibla* (*ahl al-Qibla*) to the extent that they became enemies fighting each other and parties cursing one another; each party rejoicing in that view which is held within itself. We have known thus that they could not divide and that all of them will never reach justice while disagreeing, cursing and fighting. It is impossible that all of these parties shall reach the truth; rather, that one party only will reach the truth. This is because truth is only one. Diversity is allowed only in the branches, which allow different interpretations, and these do not lead to a division or split. Allah says: "What is there, after truth, but error? Then how are you turned about"?

13- In reality and truth, you have to go back to the Book of Allah and the *Sunna* of the Prophet whenever there is any dispute. In that case we will be following their guidance and taking those who followed them as our examples. We do that as a kind of obedience to Allah's commands and to His judgement in His book in which He says: "If you should quarrel on anything, refer it to God and His Messenger, If you believe in God and the Last Day. That is better, and fairer in the issue". You should not follow the path of mischief and draw wrong interpretations. Allah says: "And that this is My path, straight; so do you follow it, and follow not diverse paths lest they scatter you from His path. That then He charged you with; haply you will be god fearing". Allah's Path, which He has established for His servants and accepted it for Himself, and commanded us to follow. That is, believing in Allah and His apostles and what these apostles brought from Him. Also, believing in His clear Book which He sent down to His trustworthy apostle and rejecting any parallels and opposites to Allah. This path of Allah also means that you establish regular prayer with its ablution, bowing, prostrating and all other essential duties of prayer, like the supplements and limits and direction of the *Qibla*[67]. It also means giving regular alms according to the way it is prescribed and pay it to the needy. Similarly, it means to perform the pilgrimage to the Sacred House provided that food, and means of transport are all available and no other obstruction is present on the journey. It also means that during the period of pilgrimage you avoid the obscenity, wickedness and wrangling prohibited by Allah. It also means that you fast in the month of Ramadan and refrain until the end of the month, to do Jihad in the cause of Allah. This is mandatory only with complete preparation of men and matter for fighting. You should also command good and prevent evil, establish the rules set by Allah for the weak as well as those for the strong, and those rules pertaining to the enemy as well

as to the friend. Be the patron of those who show justice, avoid the most heinous deeds and never persist in small wrongdoings.

You have to be an enemy of anyone who has tried to change the religion of the Muslims and disobey the Creator and Sustainer of the Worlds until he returns and asks for forgiveness from Allah for his disobedience.

14- In addition, one has to do all his duties towards Allah with either his wealth or himself. Also one must divide the inheritance by the judgement of the Book[68] and the *Sunna*[69]. Additionally, you have to mention the name of Allah for a sacrifice, carry out circumcision, cover the private parts, shave pubic hair, wash (*Ghusl*)[70]any impurity including menstruation and sexual intercourse; cut the nails, comb hair, wash the body of the deceased and wrap him with sheets, praying for him and burying him. You must also give the right testimony required from you at any time and place your trust in those to whom it is due, stop telling lies and being disloyal, and not disobey your parents whether they are righteous people or wicked even if they are associated in disobedience to Allah. You also have to maintain good relations with your relatives, to be kind to your neighbours, and maintain good ties of friendship. It means also you have to cast down your eye (*'awrāt*)[71], guard your private parts and protect yourself from what is forbidden by Allah[72] and ask for permission when entering the houses of others.

15- You have to remember Allah's command to the believing women, that they cast down their eyes and guard their private parts, and reveal not their adornment save as is outwardly manifest, and let them cast their veils over their bosoms, and not reveal their adornment save to their husbands, or their fathers, or their husbands' fathers, or their sons, or their husbands' sons, or their brothers, or their brothers' sons, or their sisters' sons, or their women, or what their right hands own, or such men as attend them, not having sexual desire, or children who have not yet attained knowledge of women, nor stamp their feet, so that their hidden ornament may be known, and they do not mourn in their misfortunes. It is necessary that you should know what is forbidden with regard to blood and property, what is allowed and lawful, and that which is unlawful. Also not to diminish in the measure and the balance, and not to be dishonest in regard to property. You should also refrain from usury and unlawful

consumption of the property of the orphans and the property of any other people. You are prohibited from thieving plunder.

You may not accuse a chaste man or woman of unchaste deeds, temporary marriage (*mut'a*)[73], sexual intercourse during *'Idda,* prescribed periods[74] before second marriage for women, divorcing via proofs or evidence, reuniting without witnesses, anal sex, post-birth and menstruation periods. Also you may not have any sex with a female unbeliever captive or those whom you buy from Muslims. There should be no sexual intercourse with a pregnant women until she gives birth, nor with one who is not pregnant until she menstruates once. Also it is forbidden for concubines to have relations with fathers and sons.

16- Allah prohibits you from marrying your mothers, and daughters, your sisters, your aunts paternal and maternal, your brother's daughters, your sister's daughters, your mothers who have reared you, your suckling sisters, your wives' mothers, your stepdaughters who are in your care, being born of your wives you have been into but if you have not yet been in to them, it is no fault in you –and the spouses of your sons who are of your loins, and that you should take to you two sisters together, unless it be a thing of the past. Allah and his Prophet prohibit men to have relations with a woman and her paternal and maternal aunts, and as Allah says; "And he lifted his father and mother upon the throne". What is well known from the Prophet is that he called his uncle, al-'Abbās, his father. He informed some of his companions saying "bring to me my father, al-'Abbās." He called him a father although in reality he was his uncle.

17- Moreover, forbidden to you is the eating of carrion, blood, and the flesh of swine, as well as animals and birds that have claws. Also, you should not drink any fermented or intoxicating drink. The Prophet forbids the playing of instruments, wind as well as stringed and tambourines. Additionally, the forbidden foods include animals that are slaughtered in the name of any one other than Allah, animals strangled or beaten to death, those that fall and die, those killed by goring with horns or mangled by wild beasts, those which you slaughter and those sacrificed on the stones set up [for idols]. Forbidden also is the division (of meat) by raffling with arrows[75]. It is necessary to leave all that is forbidden and to strive to implement all that has been prescribed.

However, you should establish justice between people whether they are strong or weak, humble or noble, hateful or preferable to you and the distant or the nearest. Allah says: "O believers, be you securers of justice, witnesses for God, even though it be against yourselves, or your parents or your kinsmen, whether the man be rich or poor; God stands closest to either. Then follow not caprice, so as to swerve; for if you twist or turn, God is aware of the things you do".

In the religion of Muslims there is no injustice to a Muslim on account of liking and affinity, nor is there injustice to an errant on account of disliking and disassociation. The Muslims refrain from these deeds. They are the people of justice and attainment. Therefore, this is Allah's religion and the Muslims' path. Allah promises that the followers of other paths will be in the Hell-Fire and it is the most evil home for the wrong doers! Allah says: "Whoso makes a breach with the Messenger after guidance has become clear to him, and follows a way other than the believers, him We shall roast in Gehenna, an evil homecoming".

Therefore, let him fear Allah whosoever diverged from His path[76] or declared something different than what He said. The Muslims were the most knowledgeable and they were more understanding and more perceptive to the justice of the *Sunna*. They were more honest in their love to Allah and more careful to please Him. They knew His friends and enemies best. Let not anyone divert from their path because he did not like them and allow not any profanation on their part by people who are actually more profane than them. They were Allah's proof of his servants, His vice-regents on this earth. They also contained the abomination committed [77] by innovators. They left them in this situation and fought them over this innovation. They recognised the goodness when it was concealed from others. They realised it fully and called to it those who left it. No Muslim[78] will be deemed to abstain except if he insists on a major sin and no Muslim will be condemned except of a sin. This is because they do not judge any one on the basis of their deeds unless they are certain about his deviation. Then they command him to take a middle stand. Rightly they are also obliged not to categorise any person's act except for an average position of obedience. The reason the Muslims have revolted against people is that they breached the Book of their Lord and the *Sunna* of their Prophet when they followed desires and encouraged heresies.

18- Moreover, we remind you of what we have mentioned, that we are of the people and the people are of us, except a denying idolater or a tyrant opposing Allah's will or someone who is doubtful about Him and whose disobedience is known, or a breacher of the religion of Allah which we adhere to. Also, the one who is sceptical about the religion and persists in his sins.

Allah's curse be on the people who submit to the will of the tyrants in order to obtain women and authority and they do not consider the corruption in their religion as a result of deliberately committing oppression and as a result of inclining to evil, nullifying the penalties on whom they like and implementing them on those whom they hate. Also, taking money from people without just reason and giving it to people who do not deserve it. Similarly, their shedding of unlawful blood and continuing to commit major sins. They appoint those who are well-known for their corruption and savage oppression of the people. They, in spite of all of this, call them the leaders of the faithful and make them rulers of the Muslims. They do not prevent them from any oppression and do not prevent the people from their obedience. They foster the wrong doings of those people and they themselves support them and ask the people to support them also. They obey them even in that which Allah forbids. When a transgressor like them raids against them and plunders their property they would turn back to him and rely on him in their affairs and appoint him leader and ruler. They tend to support whoever overcomes them and to be followers of whoever defeats them. They cannot discriminate between good and bad and cannot distinguish between guidance which is right and that which is wrong. Their young have grown up with this habit and their old have died with this habit too. Even the non-Arabs among them have been Arabised with the same views. They establish themselves via obedience to their rulers. In this they take the example from their reciters and they follow the footsteps of their scholars, the scholars of evil, the enemies of the Koran, those ignorant of the value of the revelation and those blind to the justice of interpretation. They delude the mass and the populace and the weak among the people who do not give any attention to value, be it good or bad, and cannot distinguish between what is right or what is wrong. They deceive them by the evidence they show them from the fabricated traditions and from the verses that read: "O believers, obey God, and obey the Messenger and those in authority amongst you".

I say to them, if you think that there is generality in the verse here, I say it is not general because it is specified by Allah in another verse the destination of those who obey the rulers who transgress. Allah says: "And lean not on the evildoers, so that the Fire touches you-you have no protectors apart from God-and then you will not be helped".

This verse is more specific than the previous one. In the principles of interpretation and legislation, the particularity is proof against generality whereas the generality is not proof against particularity. This is the opinion of the religious leaders[79] (*'ulamā'*) and the people of the truth. Furthermore, the word can be particular whilst on the surface it is general, as in the verse in which Allah says: "God was well pleased with the believers when they were swearing fealty to thee under the tree".

Superficially, the speech in the verse is common to all the believers but of course, the people in the verse are those special people of whom Allah knew what was in their hearts, and He sent down tranquillity to them; and He rewarded them with a speedy victory. This good pleasure was not for the people of whom Allah knew that what was in their hearts was displeasing to Him. Allah does not like the actions of evil things. The people of the Tree[80], however, were of different types. Some of them faulted and misdirected one another, then they also intentionally shed the blood of one another. Confusion then arises regarding the intention of each as it is impossible to hold that both the killer and the victim were right. Similarly, it is baseless to say that the deceiver and the deceived are both right. This is simply impossible and this saying is never rational because these are contradictory terms that cannot be grouped into one homogenous situation. Allah says: "What, shall we make of those who have surrendered like to the sinners? What ails you then, how you judge?" If someone says: All of these were Muslims, we will reply to him that we agree with you only if you intend the meaning of Islam to be the name and nothing else. Not everyone called a Muslim is faithful in Allah's regard. Don't you see what Allah says in this regard? "The Bedouins say, "We believe". Say: 'You do not believe'; rather say, "We surrender"; for belief has not yet entered your hearts".

However, if you intend the meaning of Islam to be faith in Allah's regard then our answer to this has been made clear in this outline to those who have intellect and

guidance. Allah says: "Not equal are the blind and seeing man, those who believe and do deeds of righteousness, and the wrongdoer. Little do you reflect".

19- This proves that speech, though it is particular, may look general, as in the verse in which Allah says about 'Ād's[81] wind: "destroying everything by the commandment of its Lord". Of course, the wind did not destroy the sun, the moon, the sky, the earth, the mountains and the tresses. Allah says: "destroying everything", though all of these were things and they were not destroyed by 'Ād's wind. However, the meaning of this word is: 'Ād's wind destroyed everything it came across. Likewise, Allah says in the story of Bilqīs[82]: "She has been given of everything, and she possesses a mighty throne". Bilqaīs was not given Solomon's kingdom or other things such as falling stars, the roaming winds and the touring clouds. Externally, this speech is general but in fact it is particular. Language can express this all. For example 'Antara bin Shaddād al-'Absī[83] says: "Visited by every virgin rain cloud bountiful are showers that have left every puddle gleaming like a silver dirham".[84] 'Antara did not know every cloud that was impregnated with rain. Likewise, Tarafa bin al-'Abd al-Bakrī[85] says: "They say I reach all that I hope, and when the stars disappear I will always have a clue". It is well known that he would not reach all his hopes, as his friends described him. How could that be when he said: "There are traces yet of Khawla in the stony trace of Thahmad apparent like the tattoo-marks seen on the back of the hand".[86] "At Rawdat Di'may and Hā'il's surrounding, I have cried and cried for along". This indicates that what he wanted was that the remains of Khawla would be full of life. However, it became empty of any aspect of life. He also said: "How is it with me, that I observe my cousin Mālik, whenever I approach him, sheering off and keeping his distance".[87] Tarafa wishes that his cousin were more approachable. In contrast, he became distant from him. Also, 'Antara said: "I know what is happening today and what passed yesterday, but as for knowing what tomorrow will bring, there I'm utterly blind".[88]

It is well-known that 'Antara did not know all the things of today and yesterday. On the other hand, he wanted the things that only he himself knew and not all the other things which were unknown to him. Examples of this type are numerous in the language of the Arabs and their poetry. The Koran was revealed in their language. Allah says: "O believers, Obey God, and obey the Messenger and those in authority among you".

So this verse is specific to righteous people and not those who stray, whose deeds are evil. Allah does not command an order and then institute punishment on doing that particular deed. Allah says: "And lean not on the evildoers, so that the Fire touches you-you have no protectors apart from God-and then you will not be helped". If Allah commanded us to obey them, of course he would not punish us for relying on them. Also, He says to His Messenger: "and obey not him whose heart We have made neglectful of Our remembrance so that he follows his own lust, and his affairs have become all excess". Also Allah says: "And obey not one of them, sinner or unbeliever". That you have to follow the Prophet's way, in what Allah has ordered apart from what has been proved to relate to him only. If it was the case that the act is peculiar to him then there is no excuse for you and us to obey any one who has gone astray. The tyrant is a denier and errs. Both attributes are associated with him. The Prophet says: "do not obey anyone who commands you to do evil, Allah created all of you". Allah says to his friend Abraham: "I will make you a leader for the people". Abraham said: "And of my seed?" Allah said: My covenant shall not reach the evildoers". Allah rejected the evildoer as leader. And Allah informed Abraham and made sure that he knew that perfectly. Anyone violating the justice of the Book,[89] should fear Allah when saying untruthful things, not correct sayings, and twists the words from their normal reference following the ambiguous. There are, as Allah said about them in his Book: "It is He who sent down upon thee the Book, wherein are clear verses that are the Essence of the Book, and others ambiguous. As for those in whose hearts is swearing, they follow the ambiguous part, desiring dissension, and desiring its interpretation, save only God. And those firmly rooted in knowledge say, We believe in it; all is from our Lord; yet none remembers, but men possessed of minds".

20- You should seek safety for yourself and beware of slipping into religious misjudgement which leads to humiliating torture. Do not be lured by libertines who sell the hereafter for life in this earth. Surely, life in this earth deceives and infatuates its seekers. Moreover, it is vicious to its followers as well as deceitful to those who ask for more. It is so destructive to those who want to possess *dunyā* (life on earth), because it appears to be pleasure but in reality it is vainglory. What is allowed (*Halāl*) is bent, and forbidden is punishment. What seems to you abundant is meagre,

and what is honourable is humiliating. The accumulators are plundered. Life's inhabitants are strangers. The beginning seems to be plunder, but the end is death.

21- Listener! Definitely, you have true knowledge about life and you have unveiled the authentic enlightenment. Truly, how you do not know that after you have seen it with your own eyes, heard it with your own ears, perceived it with your own heart, and complain it with your own tongue! When you are affected by your father's death, stricken by the loss of your brother, deprived of your grandfather or crying for your son's bereavement.

You keep on grieving over the loss of your property and remaining confused and worried about your ailments. Even when disillusioned, you go astray, immersed in running your monetary affairs and forgetful about what once marred your life. Today's business makes you unaware of what is awaiting you tomorrow. What you possess pressurizes you to be inattentive to yourself. Worldly existence is the cause for negligence of religious duties. Immaculate deliberation does not draw your attention to your duty as though the house you live in makes you forget past adversities such as the loss of brothers. How come you are unaware of the fact that one day you will be taken away from comfort carried in a coffin? You will be placed in a grave and, then, you will be responsible for your deeds. In spite of all this, you are still so absorbed to the degree that you completely forget your sin, death and resurrection. When your days are over, you are all of a sweat, and when you are so frail and too feeble to moan, you become bewildered and overwhelmed. You, then, are repentant of your unforgivable folly and misjudgement. Consequently, your sorrow is augmented and you reach a hopeless end when you become confined to your ignorance by your erroneous judgment. You are doomed to suffer in hell and lose the felicity of paradise.

22- Finally, ask forgiveness from Allah for your sins. Make a strenuous effort for the salvation of your soul before death and cessation of toil and hope. Having said that, may Allah almighty help you and us to obey Him, and bestow on you and us His blessing. He is forgiving, compassionate and capable of doing what He likes. Thanks be to Allah; Lord of all beings and may He send His blessing on Muḥammad and his chaste family as well as on all prophets, messengers, high ranking angels and His pious worshipers, the inhabitants of Heaven and Earth. Peace be upon them all.

[1] Al-Sālimī, *Tuḥfa,* v. 1, p. 308; al-Sālimī, *Lum*'a, p. 12.
[2] EI2, v. 3, p. 653.
[3] EI2, v. 3, p. 653.
[4] Wilkinson, *The Omani and Ibādī background to the Kilwah sīrah: the demise of Oman as a political and religious force in the Indian Ocean in the 6th/12th century*, p. 131-147.
[5] Muḥammad Al-Sālimī, *Nahḍat al-A'yān bi Ḥurrīyat ahl 'Umān* (n.d), p. 63.
[6] Al-Sālimī, *Tuhfa*, v. 1, p. 303; Ibn Ruzayq, *History of Imam and Seyyids of Oman*, p. 35; Sirhan, *Annals of Oman*, p. 30.
[7] Al- 'Awtabī, *al-Ansāb*, v. 1, p. 242; Ibn Durayd, *Al-Ishitiqāq* (Göttingen, 1854), (ed. by Ferdinand Wüstenfeld), v. 1, p. 296.
[8] Al-'Awtabī, *al-Ansāb*, v. 1, p. 242.
[9] Sirhan, *Annals of Oman*, p. 7.
[10] Miles, *The country and tribes of the Persian Gulf*, p. 22; EI2:art. Mā'rib.
[11] Al-Sālimī, *Tuhfa*, v. 1, p. 308.
[12] Ibn Durayd, *al-Ishitiqāq,* v. 1, p. 298.
[13] Al-Sālimī, *Tuhfa*, v. 1, p. 303 &304.
[14] See in more detail Abū Isḥāq Al-Ḥaḍramī, *Sayf al-Naqqād*,
[15] This is regarding to Abū Isḥāq's poetry where it praises the Imam Rāshid: there is an imam in Nizwā who has been elected. Al-Sālimī, *Tuhfa*, v. 1, p. 304 & 307.
[16] *ibid.*, v. 1, p. 303.
[17] *ibid.*, v. 1, p. 307.
[18] Cf. of this case (*Shāri* imam). Wilkinson, *The Imamate Tradition of Oman*, p. 155.
[19] Al-Sālimī, *Tuhfa*, v. 1, p. 304.
[20] Ibn Al-Aṯhīr may be he means that the Omanis occupied Sohar as it was known as *Qaṣabat* (Capital) *'Umān*, see: Yāqūt, *Mu'gam,* v. 3, p. 393.
[21] Ibn Al-Aṯhīr, *Al-Kāmil*, v. 6, p. 292.
[22] R. D. Bathurst, 'Maritime trade and Imamate government: Two principal themes in the history of Oman to 1728', in *The Arabian Peninsula; Society and Politic* (London, 1972), (ed. by D. Hopwood), p. 89.
[23] Al-Sālimī, *Tuhfa*, v. 1, p. 305. Al-Sālmī says that these tribes lived in Lahsā' [the eastern region of Saudi Arabia opposite the Persian/Arab Gulf].
[24] Yāqūt. *Mu'gam*, v. 4, p. 211; Ibn Khurdādhdhāba, *Al-Masālik wa al-Mamalik*, p. 477; Yāqūt, *al-Mushtrak wadh'an wa al-Muftaraq saf'an*, p. 405; al-Maqdisī, *Al-Masālik wa al-Mamālik*, p. 479; Al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj al-Dhahab,* v. 3, p. 379.
[25] Al-Maqdisī, *Al-Masālik wa al-Mamālik*, p. 479.
[26] Al-Maqdisī, *Al-Masālik wa al-Mamālik*, p. 479.
[27] Al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj,* v. 3, p. 379.
[28] Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Al-Bīrūnī, *Al-Qanlun al-Mas'ūdī* (Delhi, 1991), (ed. by Zeki Validi Togan), p. 72.
[29] Al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, v. 3, p. 379.
[30] Yāqūt, *Mu'gam al-Buldān*, v. 4, p. 211.
[31] Al-Bīrūnī, *al-Qanlūn*, p. 72.
[32] Al-Bīrūnī, *al-Qanlun*, p. 72.
[33] Al-Istakhrī, *al-Masālik wa al-Mamālik*, p. 173.
[34] Yāqūt, *Al- Mushtrak wadh'an*, p. 405.
[35] Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, v. 4, p. 211.
[36] Al-Bīrūnī, *al-Qanlun*, p. 72.
[37] Al-Maqdisī, *Al-Masālik wa al-Mamālik*, p. 479.
[38] EI2; art. Marḥala.
[39] Al-Maqdisī, *Al-Masālik wa al-Mamālik*, p. 479.
[40] Al-Maqdisī, *Al-Masālik wa al-Mamālik*, p. 479.
[41] Al- Maqdisī, *Aḥsan al-Taqāsīm*, p. 477.
[42] Mahrān River is the Sind River see; Al- Maqdisī, *Aḥsan al-Taqāsīm*, p. 477; al-Istakhrī, *Al-Masālik wa al-Mamālik*, p. 173.
[43] Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, v. 4, p. 211.
[44] Al- Maqdisī, *Aḥsan al-Taqāsīm*, p. 477.
[45] Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, v. 4, p. 211.
[46] Al- Maqdisī, *Aḥsan al-Taqāsīm*, p. 477.
[47] Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, v. 4, p. 211.
[48] Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, v. 4, p. 211.
[49] Al- Maqdisī, *Aḥsan al-Taqāsīm*, p. 477.
[50] Ibn Ḥawqal, *Sūrat al-Arḍ*, p. 321.

[51] Norman Calder, 'Friday Prayer and The Juristic Theory of Government: Sarakhsī, Shīrāzī, Māwardī', in *BSOAS*, v. 49, (1986), p. 36.
[52] Al-Kindī, *Bayān al-Shar'*, (Ms, al-Salimī Library), v. 38.
[53] *Siyar wa al-Jawābāt*, v. 1, p. 273.
[54] *Siyar wa al-Jawābāt*, v. 1, p. 81.
[55] *Siyar wa al-Jawābāt*, v. 2, p. 62.
[56] Koran: V;18.
[57] Koran: II; 81.
[58] EI2:art. Djāhilī.
[59] Al-Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, v. 23, p. 241-243.
[60] *Siyar wa al-Jawābāt*, v. 1, p. 299.
[61] The researcher found three copies of this *sīra,* all in Oman and also included in the microfilm a copy of Omani *Siyar* in Cambridge University Library. However, Lewicki recorded that there were other manuscripts of Omani *Siyar* and mentioned a copy of the *sīra* of Manṣūra in the University of Lwow.
[62] Ibrā is a district in Eastern Oman.
[63] See his details; Al-Sālimī, *Tuḥfa*, v. 2, p. 41; Ibn Ruzayq. *History of the Imams and Seyyids of Oman*, p. 92; Sirhan, *Annals of Oman*, p. 56.
[64] This is regarding to Maḥbūb b. al-Ruḥīl who was the last Ibāḍite leader in Basra.
[65] *Ahl al-iqrār* means anyone from the Muslim people who rationally speaks the *Jumla*; *Lā ilāh illā Allāh.* Therefore, they are called the *ahl al-Qibla*, meaning the people who face the same direction in their prayers along with the rest of the Muslims.
1- According to the Sunni doctrine he is still a believer, but impious.
2- According to the Ibādite an ingrate (*Kāfir ni'ma*).
3- According to the Mu'tazilite a hypocrite.
4- According to the Khārijite an infidel.
[66] *Al-Jumla*; This technical term uses among the theological Islamic scholars to point to *lā ilĀh illā Allāh.*
[67] *Qibla*; Direction of prayer towards the Ka'ba in Mecca. This indicated in a mosque by *miḥrāb.* Originally, the direction of prayer was towards Jerusalem but was change towards Mecca after the Hijra. This change is recorded in Koran: II; 142-150; EI2: art. Kibla
[68] The holy Koran.
[69] Sunna; literally, this word means 'trodden path'. It developed from meaning 'customary practice' to indicating the specific action and saying of Prophet Muhammad himself. EI2; art. Sunna.
[70] Ghusl; Major ritual washing of the whole body parts to achieve a state of purity. EI2: art. Ghusl.
[71] The *'awra* word in a Islamic sense has a different meaning to that of private practice. It is meant that parts of the human body are forbidden to appear in public; for men their *'awra* from tummy to their knee, and for women all her body except her hand and face.
[72] That means avoiding adultery.
[73] This is permitted by the law of the Ithnā 'Ashariyya of Shiite but not sanctioned elsewhere in Islam. However the Ibāḍite *fiqh* does not allow this marriage but there are opinions by al-Rabī' bin Ḥabīb and Abū Ṣufra 'Abd al-Malik bin Abī Ṣufra allowed such a marriage in 2nd/8th century. See; Al-Sālimī, *Sharḥ al-Jāmi' al-Saḥīḥ Musnad al-Imām al-Rabī' bin Ḥabīb* (Damascus, 1963), (ed. 'Iz al-Dīn al-Tanūkhī, v. 3, p. 25.
[74] *'Idda*, in low the duration of widowhood, or the legal period of abstention from sexual relations imposed on widows or divorced women, or women whose have been annulled, providing the marriage was consummated, before remarriage. However, The rules in *fiqh* governing *'idda* are complex but basically derive from Koran, see; *sura* II and LXV. EI2: art. 'Idda.
[75] Arrows, a sort of lottery or raffle practised by Arabs prior to Islam via the casting of lots.
[76] He mentioned to the early Muslims. Those well known among the Muslim orthodox prefer the early three centuries after the Prophet, they called for them 'excellence centuries'. The author maybe pointing to the early Ibāḍite, that we can see in this sentence below.
[77]Pointing to the Battle of Ṣuffīn, the Muḥakimma rejected the attribution between 'Alī and Mu'āwiya.
[78] Muslim here points to the Ibāḍite, to show their behaviours. However writers like these in the mid-ages usually used their skill to show the characters for their dogmas and sects.
[79] The religion which is meant in the text is Islam.
[80] The people of tree which the Prophet Companions who swore Fealty to thee under the Tree in *Ḥudaybiyah* [far than Mecca 60 km] in 7th/630, hence the name of this *bay'at al-Riḍwān*
[81] 'Ād; The tribe of Arabs were pre-Islamic South Arabian in al-Aḥqāf region, giants who built monuments on mountains tops.
[82] Pre-Islamic Queen of Sheba (a place spelled in a variety of ways in Arabic) contemporary of Solomon King. She is mentioned by name in the Koran but the exegetes identify her with the queen in the Koran:27; 23.
[83] Jāhilī poet, and died about the year 615 A.D.

[84] Arthur John Arberry, *The Seven Odes* (London, 1957), p. 180.
[85] Tarafa was the Arabic Jāhilī poet.
[86] Arberry, *The Seven Odes*, p. 83.
[87] ibid., p. 87.
[88] ibid., p. 118.
[89] It means the Koran.

Chapter 6

The Epistles: Contents and Structure

So far in previous chapters I have dealt with each *sīra* separately. In this chapter however I attempt to examine the context of these *siyar* by treating them as related items in a corpus. I shall now present a structural analysis of various aspects of these *siyar*. The aim is to examine the *siyar's* context in order to shed more light on the development of Ibāḍism. In comparing the texts of the three *siyar* I use the following notation to refer to them:

- K (= the *sīra* to Khurāsān),
- M (= the *sīra* to Mansūra),
- Z (=the *sīra* to Khwārizm).

This study attempts to explore the patterns of relationship occurring in this group of *siyar*. In this chapter I shall address a number of issues related to the structural analysis of these *siyar*.[1] These are:

a. the structural continuity of the texts;
b. how readers are addressed;
c. how the text falls into clear sections;
d. how co-ordination, subordination, opening and closure are used to provide connectivity and continuity in the texts;
e. how the sources and quotations are used in the *siyar* to form the arguments.

Each of the *siyar* is addressed to a different social group in the Ibāḍite community. We find expressions in K such as *salām 'alaykum* (peace be upon you), *innā nūṣīkum* (we advise you), *katabnā ilaykum* (we have written to you), which are typical of a group-to-group exchange.

In M we see expressions such as *min al-imām Rāshid ...ilā....., innī uḥadhdhirukum* (I shall remind you), which typically appear when one person addresses a group.

In Z we see: *wa uwaṣṣīkum bi taqwā Allāh* (I advise you to have fear of God); in this last case no group is implied.

All of the above phrases obviously address the Ibāḍite community. The use of pronouns (*ḍamā'ir*) makes the relationship between the sender and recipients explicit. Both K & M expressly mention the senders, but in Z there seems to be no sender: it merely begins

(*istiftāḥ*) by adopting a narrative form and addressing its readers as would be done in a study circle (*ḥalqat al-'ilm*) by means of words such as *al-waṣiyya bi taqwā Allāh*. The exchange of letters between groups was an old Ibāḍite tradition which started when Abū 'Ubayda b. Abī Karīma and Abū Mawdūd Ḥājib were leading the administration of *Qa'ada*, and such letters were sent to Oman, Yemen and North Africa.[2]

The counselling and advice which are given by the writers deal with the fear of Allah and are connected in K with a warning (*taḥdhīr*) against hypocrisy in people. On the other hand, M starts with a warning against the evil acts of Satan and his temptations. Following this advice, it claims, will lead to salvation (*najāt*) on the Day of Resurrection. Therefore, these warnings have eschatological significance. The texts differ in the way the warnings are formulated. K, for example, starts by telling the readers to avoid the acquisition (*iktisāb*) of evil acts. M, on the other hand, begins with the advice to acquire ability (*istiṭā'a)* in order to resist Satan and his temptations. Conversely, Z adopts the view that it is intrinsic in human nature (*fiṭra*) to avoid sin. All these texts insist on the necessity of fearing Allāh (*taqwā*) and avoiding sins by adopting (*akhdha*) what Allāh's covenant (*'ahd*) has embraced, and avoiding what Allāh has forbidden (*nahā*). These terms remind us of the theological principle of *al-kasb wa al-ikhtiyār*.[3] It is interesting to remember that the early Ibāḍites of Basra had discussed this topic in the epistle of Abū 'Ubayda and Abū Mawdūd on *qadar* (predestination).[4]

Next we compare the introductory words of the epistles. Both M and K begin with *taslīm* and *taḥmīd* which also feature in the Friday sermon.[5] Z, on the other hand, starts with narrative (*khabar*) and does not include *taslīm* and *taḥmīd* either in the introduction to the epistle or in body of the text. Returning to the introductory remarks in M and K, these are presented in rhyming prose to grasp the audience's attention. Some parallelism is also employed for the same reason. Such rhyming is remembered better by those of the audience who cannot read or write, and the parallelism is used as an aid to their memory to store the key part of the *sīra*. Z's text, however, seems to be an extract from a book rather than an epistle and we believe that it might have been originally designed as a book before it arrived in Oman as a *sīra*. K starts with parallelism: *faḍlah*, *'adlah*, *fi'lah*, so arranged as to influence both listener and reader by means of rhyme and syllabic division. The introduction is rounded off by a device known in poetics and literary studies as *radd al-'ajz 'alā al-ṣadr*.[6] The text compels us

to reflect about the Day of Resurrection by means of the linguistic and poetic features of rhyme and ellipsis, which provide resonance and echoing. This is further intensified by the choice of words used to express the advice. Words such as *mawt* (death), *qabr* (grave), *ba'th* (resurrection), *nushūr* (raising up from the grave) and *wuqūf* (standing before Allāh) signify the importance of establishing the fear of Allah, which is the subject of the introductory section of these *siyar*. This hortatory style aims at attracting people to listen and remember and then develop the fear of Allah as a result. The text relates human daily life to the events of the hereafter and presents them in a ceremonial linguistic form in order to encourage its listeners to fulfil their duties toward Allāh.

If we take this ceremonial use of language into consideration, it will shed light on how the phrases and sentences correlate within the formulaic system.[7] The text ends with the expression 'peace to the prophet' but does not distinguish between the introduction and the body of the *sīra* with the formulaic expression *ammā ba'd* which roughly means 'to continue'. M's introduction is written in rhymed prose (*saj'*). According to Dayf the use of *saj'* in hortatory prose literature started during Umayyad times with Al-Awzā'ī, Khālid b. Sufwān al-Ahtamī and Abū Bakr al-Hudhalī. It was used to influence the listeners through what we can call rhythmic influence.[8] Al-Jāhiż explains that *saj'* is easy to memorize and the ears are ready to listen.[9] Significantly, we find here that the writer relies on imperative verbs to construct his epistle as a sermon rather than as a conversation. The main purpose is to mark the shift in focus from the introductory matter, generally a greeting, to the main subject of the *sīra*. Note also that the shift in the verb form reflects the shift in the balance of power relations, a clear example of the content of the text influencing its form. The epistle is written by an authority, in this case an Imam, and addressed to his followers; the imperative form of the verb is therefore required. The power relations are also indicated from another angle. The Imam takes his authority from the authoritative sources of Islam, i.e. the Koran and *Sunnah*. The imperative form of the verb is normal for the purpose of instruction. The shift from the level of general speech to the level of hortatory speech is aimed at directing the audience's attention to the importance of the contents. Ellipsis is also adopted in the text in order to enhance its effect on the listeners. The writer also makes the readers aware of the day of resurrection by invoking Allah in different ways: *taftaqirūn*, *tastaghnūn*, *tanqaṭi'ūn*. These words carry the warning that on the Day of Resurrection judgement will be based on both faith and deeds. The writer illustrates his points with experiences from daily life. We finally conclude that the introductions in both M and K

are written in an elevated style, and that the selection of words seems to be motivated by a preference for alliteration and for repetition to present arguments.

We now come to consider the significance of the physical transmission of the *siyar*. I will also consider the personalities involved in forming Ibāḍite society in Asia. The following table shows the progress of the three letters from their origin to their destination;

A. The places

1- Z was sent from Basra → Khurāsān → Khwārizm

2- K was sent from Basra → Oman → Khurāsān

3- M was sent from Oman→ Manṣūra

B. This table shows the personalities involved in the composition and transmission of the *siyar*

1- Z = Abū 'Ubayda → Abū Yazīd → Ṣāliḥ (brother of Naṣr) and Abū 'Abdullāh → Ja'far Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān.

2- K = Wā'il b. Ayyūb → 'Azzān b. al-Ṣaqar → Omani *'ulamā'* → Khurāsānis.

3- M = Imam Rāshid b. Sa'īd → the people of Manṣūra.

From table A above it can be seen that the contribution of Basra lay in the creation of a centre of Ibāḍite thought and the organisation of separate offshoots of this school. We may compare the texts of Z and K to find evidence for this. The key to understanding text Z is the *isnād*. As mentioned in the text, Abū 'Ubayda was a well-known Ibāḍite Imam in Basra who died during the rule of al-Manṣūr.[10] Next in the chain, scholars agree, comes Abū Yazīd. Unfortunately, the Ibāḍite tradition has not preserved his name or his father's name and he was known only by his nickname (*kunya*). We know from the information we have that he was considered to belong to the third Ibāḍite generation in Basra.[11] He also used to record the sayings of Abū 'Ubayda and was a contemporary of 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Rustum. His chief claim to fame, however, was as a legal scholar or jurist (*faqīh*) rather than as a theologian.[12] Al-Darjīni also lists Abū Yazīd among the third Ibāḍite generation, considering him as a contemporary to Abū 'Ubayda Muslim.[13] This suggestion is difficult to accept even if Abū Yazīd transmitted the *Ḥadīṯ* from Mujāhid,[14] since al-Rabī' also transmitted the *Ḥadīṯ* from Jābir b. Zayd (d.93/711). However, we can see in the text of Z that Abū Yazīd said: *Ḥaddaṯanā* Abū 'Ubayda. This passage from the text suggests to us that Abū Yazīd was a pupil of Abū 'Ubayda rather than his academic peer. This suggestion leads us to conclude that both Abū

Yazīd and al-Rabī‘ were actually of the fourth Ibāḍite generation and died at the end of the 2nd/8th century.

Furthermore, we have to look at the fourth chapter, which is a later addition, of the *Jāmi‘* by al-Rabī‘ b. Ḥabīb.[15] There are two chains of transmission (*isnād*) which have been recorded by Abū Yazīd al-Khwārizmī as follows:

1- Abū Yazīd→ Ḥātim bin Manṣūr →Abī Ghānim al-Khurāsānī→ Aflaḥ bin ‘Abd- al-Wahhāb (third Rustamid Imam).
2- Mujāhid→ Abū Yazīd→ Ḥātim bin Manṣūr →Abī Ghānim al-Khurāsānī→ Aflaḥ bin ‘Abd al-Wahhāb (third Rustamid Imam).

Also in this fourth chapter there are quotations from a book of *siyar* attributed to Abū Yazīd al-Khwārizmī. This work might have been used in the *hadīṯh* compilations since Abū Yazīd transmitted *Ḥadīṯh mursal*. Yet the question arises as to whether Abī Ghānim actually met Abū Yazīd, or whether he simply received Abū Yazīd's work through Ḥātim b. Manṣūr. My view assumes that Abī Ghānim did not meet Abū Yazīd, nor did Abū Yazīd transmit his work to Abī Ghānim, because Abī Ghānim did not mention Abū Yazīd al-Khwārizmī as being his teacher in the *Mudawwana*. According to Ḥātim bin Manṣūr he himself met Abū Yazīd without mentioning where, although most probably their meeting took place in Basra since Ḥātim might have been among the *ḥamalat al-‘ilm* that used to live in Basra. It is also possible that Ḥātim's meeting with Abū Yazīd might have occurred at the end of 2nd/8th century. From this brief discussion it is interesting to see the transformation of the Ibāḍite tradition in Khurāsān and North Africa.

Was Abū Yazīd living in Basra or Khurāsān at the time of meeting? When did the Ibāḍite group come to him? Since the text does not name any Basra-resident Ibāḍite scholar, can we say that Abū Yazīd lived his life in Khurāsān, and does the distinctly pedagogical style of the text imply that he had a school? Another clue comes possibly at the end of the text where Abū Yazīd warns his readers: "do not accept the innovators' views nor their opinions because they are the enemies of religion and tradition". The innovators (*al-mustaḥdaṯhīn*) here are perhaps the inventors of new doctrines, and so one may conclude that he was afraid that people would be drifting away to follow the heretics.

Turning to investigate Sālih and Abū 'Abdullāh, who are the key figures in helping us to understand the situation, we see that we are left in the dark because of a lack of information. An attempt to identify them was made through their nicknames (*kunya*) which are preserved in the Ibādite tradition. According to the text, Sālih was identified as the brother of Nasr. Ibādite tradition has recorded for us one man named Nasr from this region who we think is Nasr b. Sulaymān, who lived during the time of Mahbūb.[16] Abū 'Abdullāh may be identified as Abū 'Abdullāh Hāshim b. 'Abdullāh al-Khurāsānī who in Omani tradition is also known as al-Khwārizmī.[17] According to al-Sālimī he was a pupil of Rabī' b. Habīb and a missionary to Khurāsān.[18] The only thing we know about Ja'far Abū 'Abd al-Rahmān is that he was the final recipient and recorded for his fellow pupils what was taught to his class.

If we accept these suggestions, they may clarify either the relation between Basra and Khurāsān or between Khurāsān and Oman. Both Nasr and Abū 'Abdullāh were known to Omani tradition. In particular, we may consider whether both Z and K were passed either towards or away from Khurāsān. Was Khurāsān in fact a centre used to control the Ibādite communities in central Asia? We have seen in Z and K that Khurāsān was one of the routes by which Ibādite epistles were transmitted. We have also shown that Z was sent from Basra at the end of 3rd/9th century and K from Oman in the 4th/10th century.

It is quite clear that the arguments of these texts are polemical in style and expression and their arguments show characteristic features of the classical theological debate. Let us look at their style of argument.

In Z we read: *sa'ālnāhu* (we asked him), *fa' akhbirūnā* (tell us), *fa'in za'amtum* (if you claimed), *fahādhā khilāf li-man za'ama* (this contradicts the claim), *wa za'amtum* (you claimed), *fa' akhbirūnā* (tell us). All these passages start with a claim that leads to debates held between two groups, in this case between Abū Yazīd and a fictional opponent. Abū Yazīd utilises a form of a dialogue in which he makes the Ibādite group, who had come to seek advice, spokesmen for the arguments he intends to demolish. He might have already been considering both sides of the arguments before the Ibādite group came to discuss them.

In K we can see in the first section phrases such as: *in sa'ala sā'il* (if the one asked), *akhbirūnī* (tell me), *fa' innā naqūl* (we will say), *fahādhā khilāf* (this is opposite). These passages are in a different style, suited to situations in which the writer supposed that two individuals would debate doctrine.

In M, Imam Rāshid continues his debate in theological style, first against someone claiming that a sinner can enter Paradise. He starts with the following phrases: *faman za'ama* (who claimed), *fa'in za'ama aḥad* (if one claimed), *fa'in iḥtajja* (if he replied), *fa bi-ayy dalīl za'ama*. The Imam goes on directly to demolish this proposition. It is possible that he had received a letter from the people of Manṣūra asking him about these particular topics of theology.

With respect to the form of the texts under investigation, we can see that Imam Rāshid's epistle illustrates both arguments with a range of proofs. In contrast, K and Z do not include the opposite arguments; in M, Imam Rāshid displays his knowledge and skill in analysing theological teaching and refuting arguments. As Van Ess argues, it is structured as a manual for discussion by illustrating a fictitious dialogue with an opponent, which proceeds by alternatives and inference.[19]

In this kind of style, which started in the first century with theological debates, there seems to be no treatise on any particular theological subject in the modern sense of the term, but rather theology in the form of a dialogue with an adversary.[20] According to Wolfson's suggestion we may use what may be called the hypothetico-deductive method of text interpretation, or simply the method of conjecture and verification, to try to establish the origin and structural diversity of the problems dealt with in *kalām*.[21] Moreover, he states that this method is analogous to the scientific method of experiments using control groups.[22] This pattern can also be seen to occur in the earliest *siyar* literatures, for example in the *sīra* of Sālim b. Dhakwān against *Irjā* and the Khārijites.[23] This polemical style was used by anti-religious as well as religious thinkers and became an integral part of theological discourse in Islam.[24] Nearly all of the major theologians who were active at this time were known to have participated in debates or to have written in this style.[25] Many sects arose in Islam and indeed almost as many differences of opinion as members of sects.[26]

We must now discuss the relationship between the author and the recipient. As we have already seen the Imam Rāshid's epistle M uses the imperative verb *fi'l al-amr* frequently. He may have intended to keep a distance between him and the group, akin to that between the ruler and the ruled (*al-hākim wa al-mahkūm*) and make his discourse formal. This is borne out by his use of verbal phrases such as *'alā fa'fahamū* (you should learn), *'alā fa'qilū* (you should understand) and *fa'fahamū dhālik wa i'ilamū* (so understand and know).

This form of discourse cannot be directed to any particular scholar or learned man, because the words *fahima*, *'lima* and *'aqala* are considered inappropriate words to address intellectual equals. Moreover, he uses the *tanbīh* (warning) particle, the *istifhām* (interrogative) particle or the *ta'ajjub* (interjection) particle, all suitable for texts giving instruction. The style is certainly designed to warn; likewise, use of the imperatives 'do' or 'do not do'. Consequently, the relation between the sender and receiver becomes clear. The discourse is more formal and the relationship seems to be between a scholar and the public rather than scholar and pupils, though we must realize that the people of Mansūra did not have any learned man (*'ālim*) in their midst. In short, the audience were not scholars. Perhaps they were traders and local people, or scholars who had not reached the level of *ijtihād* ; hence the Imam was able to exercise his power over them. We see that the Imam begins the letter by identifying himself while the recipients have only names without indication of their status or position (*makānah*).

Z and K, however, clearly indicate their connections with the recipients. These can be found in the titles of the text: K identifies the people of Khurāsān as *ikhwānanā* (our brothers); similarly, Z identifies the people of Khwārizm as 'our brothers or friends' (*ashābinā*). Both texts suggest that senders and recipients were of equal status.

Let us turn now to other features of the discourse form in Z. Abū Yazīd frequently advises his pupils: *fa'ttaqū Allāh, wa lā taj'alū al-mushrikīn awliyā'* (fear Allah and do not take the unbelievers as friends). We would ask, does he consider that these claims under discussion had been brought or influenced by non-Muslims? A few lines later, he also says: *falā ta'khudhū bi qawl al-mustahdathīna wa lā bi ra'yihim* (do not accept the views or opinions of heretics); here he gives another piece of advice about heresies. So

could this statement have been in order to warn them about heresies which could have been acquired from non-Muslims?

K mentions: "if a man grew up in Iraq and heard of 'Alī b. Abī Ṯālib's saintly character..." The distinctiveness of this passage lies in the fact that at first sight it apparently shows some kind of confrontation with the Shiites. Does this example reveal the circumstances of the Ibāḍites during that period in Iraq, taking into account the *fatwā* by 'Azzān b. al-Ṣaqar delivered during the mid 3rd/9th century?[27] This *fatwā* was probably included in a *sīra* since Ibn Ja'far cited in his *Jāmi'* the *sīra* of Abū Mu'āwiya[28] who was identified in the Omani tradition as Azzān b. al-Ṣaqar. This *fatwā* was mentioned again in the Khurāsān *sīra* at the beginning of the 4th/10th century, presumably in response to the same Ibāḍite circumstances in Khurāsān. Also the structure of the K text extensively uses coordinative particles to link the text passages. It is more like a creed attributed to a certain scholar than an expression of ideas. The text is in the question and answer format and its aim is to educate the people in proper behaviour. The rhetorical style (*uslūb al-khiṭābī*) presupposes certain principles of teaching which are non-negotiable or cannot be discussed.

What I would like to show here is that there are several phases of denunciatory polemic produced by the Ibāḍites. The first was at the beginning of 3rd/9th century when Abū Yazīd attacked the heresies. The second one was in the 4th/10th century when K was written to attract the attention of Shiites. The third and final is shown by Imam Rāshid b. Sa'īd's epistle [d.445/1053] which could have been written to denounce Ash'arite dogma. This polemic perhaps was an attempt to distinguish the characteristics of Ibāḍism from other doctrines.

Another feature of the textual structure of the *siyar* showing the differences of Islamic dogma at the end of the 2nd/8th century can also be seen in K. This, as already mentioned, uses an authoritative and elevated style to distinguish between the Ibāḍites and other sects regarding the issues of *al-mashy 'alā al-khuffayn*, *qaṣr al-ṣalāt*, *qunūt*, naming particularly the school called *ahl al-Ḥadīth*. Also from a theological aspect it tried to establish the individuality of the Ibāḍites as distinct from other doctrines such as those of anthropomorphists, predestinationists, Murji'ites and Khārijites. Likewise, it prescribes the proper behaviour between Ibāḍites and either *buqāt* Muslims or non-Muslims who are the People of the Book or the pagans. K can be said to have originated from the *sīra* of Wā'il b. Ayyūb. With regard to Wā'il's life, we know that

he came with his father to Basra during the time of al-Mansūr[29] (136/754-158/775) from Hadramawt after their mutiny was put down by Ma'an b. Zā'da.[30] Wā'il had been taught by Abū 'Ubayda (d. 150s) and he himself died at the end of the 2nd/8th century. From these points we can see that Ibādite theology and law were already developed to the point that their dogma was distinguishable from that of other sects and groupings. This also reminds us of the epistle of Muhannā b. Jayfar to Mu'ādh b. Harb;[31] again the writer tried to distinguish between erroneous imams and truthful imams. This was shown by 'Abdullāh b. Ibād's letter to 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān.[32] It seems that this ideology had developed in Ibādite teaching during the development of the political legislation. On the other hand, Z can be seen to have been informed by both didactic and narrative styles,[33] and is similar to both what was recorded by Abī Ghānim al-Khurāsānī in his *Mudawwana* and the earliest Ibādite monographs.[34]

Turning to the structure of the arguments themselves, it is evident that this same dedication of approach is sustained throughout. This raises the question of the sources from which each text obtained its information. Characteristically, the structure of the arguments in the texts, when we compare them, contains several types of source. In Z, Abū Yazīd explains at some length that he is replying to direct questions (*yastaftī*). The argument begins with *jā'ū* (came to), *sa'alūh* (asked him), *fa 'ajābahum* (he answered them). Gradually in the narrative section of the text, however, the writer develops in his argument the skill he learned in discussion groups or *halqa*. The interesting point of this record is how Abū Yazīd tries to develop his discourse by logical arguments to reach a conclusion. Despite the fact that his arguments were intellectually presented, they seem to have sometimes unintentionally reinforced the opposing position.[35] Also, those recording the *halqa* discussion when referring to the Koran gave chapter and verses rather than quote the whole passage. As an extra feature of his argument he mentions the occasions or causes of revelation (*asbāb al-nuzūl*).[36]

The arguments in K, however, have different structural patterns. Firstly, we observe that passages from the Koran are quoted in full in the context.[37] The writer also gives proofs by *hadīth* (Prophetic Tradition) in the context in order to shape but not actually to prove the arguments of K.[38] So here we can see a development of the style of the Ibādite epistles that relates to the *hadīth*. The text emphasises the substantial basis of Ibādite teaching tradition. Three points are emphasised by the writer. The first point is: "The association with those religious Imams whom we have mentioned is something

inherited as a traditional custom and it is well-known among the Muslims". The second point is 'Azzān b. al-Saqar's opinion: "this is what we are depending on". The third one says: "leaving doubtful things which are without support from either the *Sunnah* or *athār*". This tradition of *āthār* had been developed by the Ibādite school of law in Basra since they had participated in recording tradition, legislation and legal opinions for example; *Mudawwanat Abī Ghānim al-Khurāsānī*, *Kitāb Damām* and *Jāmi' Abī Sufra*.[39] These *āthār* had perhaps been transmitted to Oman by the *hamalat al-'ilm* and had influenced Omani authors and scholars. Abū 'Ubayda was informed that the Omanis used the *ra'y* in their *fatwās* rather than the tradition of *hadīth* but did not object to this practice.[40] It used to appear either in traditional legislation or scholarly works. These requirements of forming the *āthār* in Oman may have been based on *K. Dīwān al-Āshiyākh* in the beginning of 3rd/9th century in Damā city, since several views of Omani scholars are represented in this compilation.[41] Although *āthār* developed in the meantime a particular style for general legislation called *jāmi'* and was characteristic of the Omani school's legislation, it depended heavily on the Eastern Ibādite school. This collection of *āthār* can be divided into two types: the first type collected the opinions and tradition of only one scholar for example, *Jāmi' Abī al-Hawārī, Jāmi' ibn Ja'far, Jāmi' ibn Baraka*, *Jāmi' Abū Sa'īd al-Kudamī*. The second collected traditions of several schools over longer periods. For example, *Bayān al-Shar'*, *al-Musannaf*, *Qāmūs al-Sharī'a*.[42]

As we have seen, proof that this epistle was a reply to a letter from Mansūra asking about theological issues is clear in K since it starts with "to those who had written to us..." Imam Rāshid's arguments in M followed a different pattern, and used more sources than other texts; mainly, he quoted arguments from the Koran but he also tried to interpret Koranic verses to support his arguments, and sometimes used a dialogue form.[43]

Imam Rāshid also cites examples from pre-Islamic poetry, which were used as a kind of linguistic authority. He also includes sayings from classical Arabic to enliven the epistle's arguments.[44] The epistle also reflects Abū Hamza al-Shārī's discourse at Mecca in the context of distinguishing the *wilāya* (association) and *barā'a* (dissociation), which is the ideology that distinguishes the Ibādites from the rest of the Islamic community.[45] In spite of the text containing only three *hadīth*, the author first quotes the source of *hadīth* and then comments on it. The use of *hadīth* to illustrate both

sides of the argument is an excellent example of how the Ibāḍite *Mashāriqa* school in Oman developed this literary form.[46]

The epilogues to the epistles usually contain rhyming prose in order to attract the listeners' attention. In Z the epilogue begins by asking Allah to bestow prosperity on us, unite us, bring about felicity and embrace us both here and in the life hereafter. We see one graduated phonetic series: *yuwaffiqanā*, *yalumma sha'aṯhanā*, *ilfatunā*, *jam'unā*. Apparently, the expression for invoking Allah reflects the circumstances of the Ibāḍites in the 3rd/9th century in central Asia. The text ends with supplication and uses verbs in the present tense in order to invoke survival and continuity. K's epilogue begins by asking the audience to invoke Allah and is shaped by rhyming prose. This invocation is in the oppositional style of *badī'*. Both K and Z conclude in short epilogues and end in offerings of peace to the Prophet and *taḥmīd*. M, however, has a longer epilogue; we mentioned above that it was written in hortatory rhyming prose. But the extent of ceremonial language and mention of the subject of death and life hereafter in the epilogue remind us of al-Zamakhsharī's *maqāma*.[47] This gives the text's epilogue an extensive rhyme prose *saj'*.

The conclusion

To sum up, the *siyar* turn out to be a typical product of the Ibāḍite School, and should be treated from both a theological and a socio-political perspectives. We have seen that the works originally consisted of an extensive exposition of the Ibāḍite religious teaching. However, there are variations of style in the doctrinal expressions of their fellow scholars in the Ibāḍite school to show the development as both literature and theological argument. As we have seen, quite different structural techniques were used in the composition of the texts. Z used mostly the narrative structure, K employed more the *uslūb al-khitābī* and M inclines to the polemical style. From the historical interaction between several Ibāḍite parties, we see that the texts usually show the sender to be of superior rank to the recipient as far as the notion of power relations is concerned. This reinforces the idea that they were under the control of other central powers, either in Basra or Oman. This made it difficult for them to establish an independent political order or an Imamate. Probably this is the reason why, after their communication with central powers had ceased, they failed to create a political character for themselves.

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[1] For this type of analysis, see; Robert de Beaugrande and Wolfgang Dressler, *Introduction to Text Linguistics.* (London and New York, 1981).

[2] Chapter 1, epistles xxvi, xxvii, xxviii, xxxiii.
[3] Josef Schacht, 'New Sources For The History of Muhammadan Theology' in *Journal of Islamic Studies*, v. 1 (1953), p. 29-33; Montgomery Watt, *Free Will and Predestination in Early Islam* (London, 1948).
[4] See in chapter 1, *sīra* xviii.
[5] Norman Calder, 'Friday Prayer and The Juristic Theory of Government: Sarakhsī, Shīrāzī, Māwardī' in *BSOAS*, v. 49 (1986), p. 36.
[6] See K's text, On this: Abū Hilāl al-'Askarī, *Kitāb al-Ṣinā'atayīn* (Cairo, 1371/1952), (ed. by Alī al-Bajāwī and M. Abū al-Faḍl Ibrāhīm), p. 385.
[7] For this formulation in Arabic literature see Michael Zwettler, *The Oral Tradition of Classical Arabic Poetry* (Ohio State University Press, 1978).
[8] Shawqī Ḍayf, *al-Fann wa madhāhibuhu fī al-nathr al-'Arabī* (Beirut, 1956), p. 54-55.
[9] Al-Jāḥiż, *al-Bayān wa al-Tabyīn* (Cairo, 1948), (ed. 'Abd al-Salām Hārūn), v. 1, p. 297.
[10] EI2; art. Ibādiyyah.
[11] Al-Darjīnī, *Ṭabaqāt*, v. 2, p. 258.
[12] Al-Shammākhī, *Al-Siyar*, v. 1, p. 88.
[13] Al-Darjīnī, *Ṭabaqāt*, v. 2, p. 258.
[14] EI2: art. Mudjāhid B. Djabr al-Makkī.
[15] Rabī' b. Ḥabīb, *Jāmi' al-Saḥīḥ* (Muscat, 1995), (ed. Muḥammad Idrīs), p. 353.
[16] Ibn Ja'far, *Jāmi'*, v. 3, p. 142.
[17] Ibn Maddād, *Sīra*, Ms, p. 19.
[18] Al-Sālimī, *Lum'a*, p. 13.
[19] Van Ess, *Anfänge Muslimischer Theologie*, p. 279.
[20] Cf. Van Ess, *Anfänge Muslimischer Theologie*; Van Ess, 'The Beginning of Islamic theology' in *The Cultural Context of Medieval Learning* (Dordrecht, 1975), (ed. J. E. Murdoch and E. D. Sally), p. 87.
[21] Harry Austryn Wolfson, *The Philosophy Of The Kalam* (Harvard University Press, 1976), p. 72.
[22] Wolfson, *The Philosophy Of The Kalam*, p. 72.
[23] Michael Cook, *Early Muslim Dogma*, p. 159-163; Van Ess, 'Das K. al-Irjā Das Muhammad b. al-Hanafīya' in *Arabica*, v. 21 (1974), p. 20.
[24] See David Thomas, *Anti-Christian Polemic in Early Islam* (Cambridge University Press, 1992), p. 51-65.
[25] *ibid.*, p. 31.
[26] Wolfson, *The Philosophy of The Kalam*, p. 8.
[27] 'Azzān b. al-Ṣaqar died in 268 or 278 after Muḥammad b. Maḥbūb's death in 260. See al-Baṭāshī, *Itḥāf*, v. 1, p. 195.
[28] Ibn Ja'far, *Jāmi'*, v. 1, p. 84.
[29] EI2; art. al-Manṣūr.
[30] Ibn Maddād, *Sīra*, p. 34. Ma'an became the governor of Yemen and Ḥaḍramawt in 141/759, thus Wā'il arrived after this year.
[31] See chapter1, *sīra* (xxxxiv).
[32] Michael Cook, *Early Muslim Dogma*, p. 61.
[33] See Daniel Beaumont, 'Hard Boiled: Narrative Discourse in Early Muslim Tradition' in *Journal of Islamic Studies*, v. 83 (1996), p5-30.
[34] See chapter 1, section (1C).
[35] See Z's text.
[36] A. Jones, 'The Qur'ān II; Asbāb al-nuzūl' in *Arabic Literature to the End of the Umayyad Period* (Cambridge University Press, 1983), (ed. by A. F. L. Beeston, T. M . Johnstone, R. B. Serjeant and G. R. Smith), p. 228-232
[37] See K's text.
[38] See K's text.
[39] Ennami, *Studies in Ibādism*, p. 229.
[40] Ibn Ja'far, *Jāmi'*, v. 1, p. 145.
[41] Al-Sālimī, *Lum'a*, p. 27.
[42] For this case see further: G. Rex. Smith, 'The Omani Manuscript collection at Muscat, Part I' in *Journal of Arabian Studies*, v. 4 (1978), p. 161-190; Wilkinson, 'The Omani Manuscript collection at Muscat, Part II' in *Journal of Arabian Studies*, v. 4 (1978), p. 191-230.
[43] See M's text.
[44] See M's text.
[45] See M's text.
[46] For a similar epistle see "the *sīra* of Sālim b. Dhakwān".
[47] See *Maqāmat al-maūt and maqāmat al-furqān.* Al-Zamakhsharī, *Maqāmāt al-Zamakhsharī* (Cairo, 1312/1896), p. 164, 169.

Chapter 7

The Ibāḍites and Eastern Mesopotamia

This chapter is an overview of the three *siyar* discussed in this present research. These *siyar* are assumed to emanate from the Ibāḍite tradition, which constitutes a major part of *'aqīda*. At first sight *siyar* seem of limited interest to researchers, but these classical Ibāḍite texts, which are usually described as basic references and chiefly theological studies are, in fact, lively historical documents shedding light on the historical development of Ibāḍism. From a detailed study, which the present chapter aims to demonstrate, we assume that *siyar* have implications for a much improved understanding of the major doctrinal and historical backgrounds in Asia during the period of the 10th to 11th centuries which marked the birth of these *siyar*.

Further, to place these *siyar* in their specific historical and geographical context, it is convenient to begin after the battle of Nahrawān (38/658), and it includes these three following aspects:

1- The Ibāḍite history in Eastern Mesopotamia:
   a. The historical background of the Muḥakimma and its relations with Eastern Mesopotamia. This section shows the relationship with Eastern Mesopotamia between 38/658 and 62/681.
   b. The Muḥakimmates' schism and the settlements in Eastern Mesopotamia: this section shows the relationship with Eastern Mesopotamia after 62/681.
   c. The Omanis and their adherence to Ibāḍism. This section discusses the relation between the tribe and the thoughts in early Islam and also the relation between Ibāḍism and the Azd clan and their respective influence in Oman.
   d. Some aspects of the relationships between Ibāḍism and Eastern Mesopotamia. This section explores the beginning of the Ibāḍism and their relation with Eastern Mesopotamia.
2- Tracing the Ibāḍite settlements in Asia through a discussion of the Arabic geographical literature. The aim of this section is to explore where the Ibāḍite settlements in Asia were at the time of the *siyar* during the 10th and 11th centuries.

3-We need to analyse the *siyar* for their historical content and links to Omani history in the 10th –11th centuries, in order to discover how the *siyar* could spread Ibāḍism as a doctrine.

The first and second aspects are considered in this chapter. For the third aspect we will limit our discussion of the socio-politics in Oman in the 10th –11th centuries, since the analysis of the *siyar* contents has already been discussed in Chapter 6. Unfortunately, the Ibāḍite history in Asia has not been previously discussed, nor has their thought. This makes it difficult to trace the development of their ideology using only the material from the heresiographers,[1] useful as they are as sources of that period. Ibn al-Nadīm gives a list of some Ibāḍite *fuqahā* and theologians and confused them with Khārijites scholars. The lack of information regarding Ibāḍite history in Asia is also evident in Ibāḍite literature, and this makes it difficult to discuss the Ibāḍite scholars in these lands, whereas for North Africa or Oman, we have access to biographical dictionaries.[2] The objective of this chapter is to try to focus on Ibāḍite history in Asia through analysing the *siyar*, and trying to link the historical events in the period of the 10th-11th centuries, when the *siyar* were written, with Ibāḍism in Asia.

I- Historical background

As al-Shihristānī reports the events after the al-Nahrawān battle, "After the Khārijites were defeated, two of them went to Oman, two went to Kirmān[3], two went to Sistān[4], two went to al-Jazīra[5], one went to Tall-Mawzūn and two others went to Yemen".[6] He also reports that, " ...until now they are still in these locations". One could argue that these accounts highlight the beginning of the relationship between Ibāḍism and the Asian areas. After the Nahrawān battle the land of Eastern Mesopotamia became the centre for some of the Khārijite movements.[7] The crushing victory in the Nahrawān Battle did not lead to the end of the Muḥakimma. For 'Alī, it was a doubtful victory which merely put the worst fanatics out of the way, while the majority remained ready to break out into rebellion at any moment.[8] The surviving followers from the battle instead took up a new life in two cities, Kūfa and Basra, and they are well known as the *Khawārij al-Baṣra* and *Khawārij al-Kūfa*.[9] They flourished less in Syria than in Iraq; Kūfa and Basra the most influential.[10] Our so-called Khārijite School belonged to the Baṣran rather than the Kūfan[11] milieu and its members were not concerned with defending privileges gained from participation in the conquest of Iraq. Nevertheless, there was a certain continuity of the ideology by which the Muḥakimma party had

rationalized their position and it is this that led our group also to be known as Khārijites.[12]

Let us now cast our minds back to the historical background of the Muḥakimma leaders' communications in Asian areas in the years after the battle of al-Nahrawān 38/658 to 61/687, which is the year of the death of Abū Bilāl Mirdās b. Ḥudayr.[13,14] This leads us to trace of the settlements of Ibāḍism in Asia before the formation and crystallization of Khārijism into an ideology. Their principles are: firstly, the *hijra* (to emigrate); this terminology appeared when a number of them were determined to leave their homes and called themselves emigrants *muhājirūn* and the place from which they set out was known as *muhājir* or *dār hijra*.[15] Secondly, they used the policy of *al-takfīr* (infidelity), speak of themselves as Unitarians *Muwaḥḥidūn*, and call other Muslims polytheists. For this reason they considered their land as a land of war.[16] Thirdly, they emigrants adopted the policy of *isti'rāḍ*.[17]

The communication between the Muḥakimma and Eastern Mesopotamian regions had begun soon after the battle of Nahrawān. Their movement started with insurrections[18] against the central government, which indicated that they rejected the arbitration between 'Alī and Mu'āwiya. At the beginning of these genuine Khārijite insurrections, in 38/658 a certain Khirrīt b. Rāshid al-Nājī separated from 'Alī because the arbitrator appointed by 'Alī had deposed him. Even the people of Khūzistān[19] went over to him in the hopes of ridding themselves of the oppressive capitation-tax. Some of these even had the boldness to expel 'Alī's governor from Fārs[20] and the situation remained so, until Ziyād b. Abīhi, who was sent by 'Alī, succeeded in driving them away. Khirrīt's insurrection was defeated and destroyed by Ma'qal b. Qaiys and Khirrīt was slain.[21] Ibn al-Athīr and al-Balādhurī mention some insurrections in the immediate aftermath of Nahrawān: Ashras b. 'Awf al-Shaybānī, who took 200 men to Daskara[22] and was killed in Rabī' II 38/Sept 658; Hilāl b.'Ullāfa of the Taym Ribāb and his brother Mujālid, who led more than 200 men in Māsbaḍhān[23] died in Jumādā I 38/Oct 658; Ashhab b. Bishr of the Bajila, who had 180 men behind him, was killed at Jarjarāya[24] on the Tigris 11th Jumādā II/Nov 658; Sa'īd b. Qufal al-Timī of Tim Allah, who had gone with 200 men to Bandanijān,[25] was killed in Rajab 38/Dec 658. Finally A. Maryam al-Sa'dī al-Tamīmī who led an army, most of whom were *mawālī* freed men, was killed in Ramaḍān 38/Feb659.[26] Furthermore, during the following years in 41/661 500 Khārijite horsemen under Farwa b. Nawfal al-Ashja'ī escaped the slaughter at Nahrawān, because they took

no part at all in the battle, but withdrew to Bandanjān near Daskara in Shahrazūr.[27] Then A. Maryam who was a slave of al-Hārith b. Ka'b rebelled and was killed in Bāduraya.[28,29] Thereafter, during the year 42/662 Qaṭari b. al-Fujā'[30] and al-Muhallab b. A. Sufra[31] joined 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Sumrah to raid Sistān under the command of Basra's governor 'Abdullāh b. 'Amir.[32] The Khārijites insurrection continued until 43/663 when the Khārijite of Kūfa revolted under al-Mustawrad b. 'Ulliffa, who was killed in Daylamāyā.[33,34] In 49/669 when al-Mughīra b. Shu'ba was the governor of Kūfa, Shabīb b. Bijra al-Ashja'ī rebelled; then al-Mughīra sent a force under Kathīr b. Shihāb al-Hārithī, and Shabīb was killed in Azerbaijan.[35,36] Afterwards, in 58/678 Hayyān b. Żubyān al-Sulamī a Khārijite who had been wounded at Nahrawān but allowed by 'Alī to return to Kūfa, about a month later he left Kūfa and went to Rayy[37] with ten companions. This was the last great rising originating in Kūfa. Thus Kūfa in fact was predominantly Shiite, and a much shorter time was required to extirpate the Khārijites there than in Basra, where the party was able to assert itself in spite of all persecution for twenty years.[38] In the same year one famous leader in Basra, 'Urwa b. Udayya was killed by 'Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād who was the governor of Basra.[39] Some time after 58/678 A. Bilāl emigrated to Ahwāz,[40] but was killed in 61/681 in Asak.[41,42]

This historical recital is relevant to our concern. Exponents of the movement of the sociology of knowledge would hold that the ideas behind most early Islamic movements have a political or social reference; and this survey agrees with them in outlook. The connection between ideologies and politics inside these lands and societies are particularly crucial when attempting to understand the nature of the Islamic movements and the acceptance by their societies.[43]

The list above gives an idea of the pattern of movement in early Islam. It is remarkable that we can see that the leaders of the Khārijite movement continued to communicate Asian land and some of them used it as a place for either *Hijra* or rebels. Despite this fact their movement had not yet coalesced into an organization under one leadership. Their movement had remained under separate leaders and therefore disunited. This might be because they viewed the *Khilafa* as an entity, which was taken by force. Thus they started to look for places to establish their rebellion. Wellhausen began the debate, as to the reason why the Khārijites did not adopt the Arabian Desert as a place of refuge, but rather chose non-Arab regions like the area of Jūkā (on the other side of the Tigris), Ahwāz, Media and Fārs.[44] Of course, they had in fact lost their contact with the desert

tribes through the *Hijra*, through emigration to the garrison cities, and enlisting in the army.[45] Wellhausen justifies this according to the fact that they were mostly military stipendiaries of the state, or *muqātila*; they were continually attracted and encouraged by the success of their Jihad. Since they now lived a life of leisure in urban centres, they did not want to return to the Arabian steppes; but they were driven to make a public protest, even if it cost them their lives.[46] Therefore it is conceivable that they gradually started to lose the tribal support *'asabiya,* and because stubborn proponents of the celebrated "equality" which was already adopted by the *mawāli.* In this Brünnow could be correct in saying that the Khārijites did not come from the Quraysh or the Thaqīf or the Ansar, but instead they first arose amongst the politically under-privileged.[47] We also note that the Asian areas could have been used by different movements to gain support against the central state.

II- The Muhakimmate's schism and the settlements in Eastern Mesopotamia

The historical period after 61/680 reflects the doctrinal transformation of Islamic sects, not only the Khārijites, but also the Shiites too, because this period had witnessed the death of Husayn who was killed by the governor of Iraq 'Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād.[48] Gradually, since this time the Eastern region of Mesopotamia had been conquered not just by Khārijites and Shiites but by other infiltrating doctrines resulting from other movements.[49]

Generally, this doctrinal transformation has determined the character and form of the Islamic sects. Their political drift was the so-called orthodox and it is allied with the Umayyad, unlike the Shiites and the Khārijites. The latter stands in striking contrast to the late Islamic sects. Muslims with their different parties later developed their religious doctrine along the lines of their own beliefs, but this is another matter. Nevertheless, the Arabian conflict within the Caliphate was limited to Syria, the Hijāz and Iraq and did not spread to the surrounding regions, and eventually this arranges to enforce a debate of natural Caliphate. Moreover, enthusiastic political debate is natural to the Arabic mentality, and this emanated especially from both northern tribes of 'Adnānīs and southern tribes of Qahtānis.[50] From this began the framework of a new Arab structure.

We may now understand the conception of the Khārijites' schism.[51] The Bakrites A. Tālūt, Abū Fudayk, Ibn al-Aswad and the Hanafites Najdā b. 'Āmir al-Hanafī[52] went to Yamāma, settled there and later rebelled. The Tamīmites Nāfi' b. al-Azraq, 'Abdullāh b. Saffār, 'Abdullāh b. Ibād, Hanżala b. Bayhas went to Mecca to support Ibn Zubayr.[53] This was the first development beyond the original kernel doctrine of Basra Muhakimma. The second step was the split from Ibn al-Zubayr,[54] while Ibn al-Azraq was the first to split from the dissenters.[55] Consequently, the Muhakimma was made up of two groups, the first group known as *al-Qa'ada*[56] and the second as the Khārijite. There were differences of opinion among those who remained at home and those who held with the Khārijite and did not fight in the path of God. A party called Ibādite was rejected and the other accepted.[57] In Basra, however, they found little comfort and Ibn al-Azraq had the most followers.[58] Najda b. 'Āmir, on the other hand, went to Yamāma with his followers and spread their doctrines.[59] The followers of both Nāfi' b. al-Azraq and Najda b. 'Āmir al-Hanafī were not so much theologians, as essentially political and military leaders.[60] Hence their pattern of behaviour remained contentious and a great many non-Arab people had joined them.[61] Therefore, at the end of the first/seventh century the Azāriqa had already become extinct.[62] Eventually, in a historical and heresiographical perspective, the Khārijites were split into twenty groups. There was nothing to unify them and their ideology except two theories; the condition of the Caliphate, which does not need the Qurashiyate, and the deeds, which are part of the faith.[63]

Through this schism of the Khārijites, the regions of Eastern Mesopotamia became refuge and migration places, since in the heartland of the caliphate the Khārijites gradually died out. Additionally, it will be helpful to understand that each group, by seceding, crystallized the ideology that it had adopted. The heresiographical literature gives us limited information on their evolutionary movement in Asia. Through following their immigration to Asian regions, we may comprehend the dimensions of their thought and their settlements. The Azāriqa were the first group who had a role among the Khārijites in Asia; their rebellion was about collecting taxes from some regions and they continued in insurrection for twenty years. The insurgents began in Ahwaz and Fārs and continued until they were destroyed by al-Muhallab.[64] Though their policy still remained in the Umayyad period and their last insurrection was under Subayh who was the *mawlā* of Siwār b. al-As'ar al-Māzinī, until their death which resulted in the conclusion of the movement, during the reign of Hishām b. 'Abd al-

Malik.[65] However, Qaṭarī b. Fujā'a kept a firm hold on the province of Fārs as is indicated by coins minted in his name with title 'Commander of the Faithful' in several towns in Fārs in the years 69/688-689 and 75/694-695.[66] Since the Azāriqa had been mostly destroyed the Azāriqa sub-sects were remaining the al-Khāzimiyya and al-Bid'iyya.[67] Yāqūt also showed that they settled in a place called Albānu between Kabul and Ghaznīn, and that there were scholars, artists and traders among them.[68] Moreover, Ibn Hazm notes that Azāriqa there were in Andalusia; their scholar was A. Ismā'īl al-Bathī.[69] On the other hand, Ibn Khaldūn considers that the leaders of both the Carmathians and the Zianj's revolutions were Azāriqa.[70] Yet we have no any proof of whether Ibn Khaldūn correctly described them as Khārijites rather than radical parties.

The Najdiyya also tried to expand their thought in Asia after they spread throughout most of Arabia. Najda b. 'Āmir sent 'Aṭiyya b. al-Aswad to Sistān, who was successful in his recruiting in Marw and soon after the Najdiyya split[71] into three groups under; Abū Fudayk, 'Aṭiyya b. al-Aswad[72] and Najda b. 'Āmir. They were known as al-'Aṭawiyya;[73] as followers of Aṭiyya and were mainly the branch of Najdiyya who had been most successful in spreading their thought in many settlements, most of them in Sistān, Khurāsān, Kirmān and Quhstān,[74] and there were more or less fifteen sub-sects.[75] Al-Shihristānī illustrates some of their settlements thus. 'Ajārida[76] the followers of 'Abd al-Karīm b. 'Ajrad were in Sīstān.[77] The Khalafiyya were the followers of Khalaf al-Khārijī in Kirmān and Makrān.[78] The Shaybānites were the followers of Ziyād b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Shaybānī in Jirjān, Nisā and Armenia.[79]

The Ṣufriyya also had settlements in central Asia; according to Ibn Ḥazm the 'Ajāridates who were considered a sub-sect of Ṣufriyya mainly the Khārijites of Khurāsān.[80] The Ḥamziyya were followers of Ḥamza b. 'Abdullāh al-Khārijī who raised an insurrection in Sistān and Khurāsān starting in 179/795 trying to establish the Ṣufriyya State.[81]

III- The Omani and their adherence to Ibādism

It is necessary to understand the nature of the Omani adherence to the Ibāḍite movement and in the course of time the Omanis have adopted Ibāḍism, which gives Oman its religious and cultural dimension. Wilkinson gives the interesting details on the background of this development.[82]

It is interesting that the leader of Muḥakimma in the battle of Nahrawān was 'Abdullāh b. Wahab al-Rāsibī, who came originally from the Azd clan.[83] Within the tribal structure of the Azd of southeast Arabia, there was a major split and Azd represented in external sources as Azd Shanū'a and Azd 'Uman. Both of them were Omanis as Al-Balādhurī states that most of the people of Oman were Azd.[84,85] Nevertheless, the Azd immigrations to Basra contributed to Arab clans already there and to the establishment of the city.[86]

Now in Basra, with the death of Yazīd b. Mu'awiya 64/683, the situation was tense. 'Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād himself let the Khārijites out of prison, as a favour to the Basrans, and it is said that the Baṣran Khārijites joined forces with the Tamīmites against the Azdites in the Basran tribal feuds. During these feuds, Mas'ūd b. 'Āmir the leader of the Azd was murdered in Basra, and the whole Azd alliance was dragged to the brink of a full-scale tribal war with Tamīm, because after the murder one faction of the Azd claimed the murder was a Tamīmite,[87] and contrarily another Azd faction claimed the killer was a Khārijite allied to the Tamīm, who were themselves linked to the Khārijite.[88] This began a new chapter both in the formation of Khārijite thought, and in the Muhallabite' war against the Khārijites, and shortly afterwords the Azd of 'Umān found themselves engaged togeather with al-Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufra in the war against Khārijite extremists. Al-Mubarrad notes some 'Umān Azd branches, namely Nidāb,[89] Yaḥmad,[90] and Jahḍam,[91] joined al-Muhallab in his war, but the Khārijite extremists called al-Muhallab; "Mazunian sorcerer".[92] In the following years links formed between the Azd, Muhallabids and Ibāḍite to produce Ibāḍism in Oman and South Arabia. The alliance of the Omanis Azd to the Muhallabids had continued in the Umayyad period during the reign of Yazīd II, and the Azd followed Yazīd b. al-Muhallab until his sudden death in Sind.[93] This may have been the beginning of the Ibāḍite organization of their calling and propaganda.

Also it cannot be denied that the early Omani scholars in Basra such as Jābir b. Zayd,[94] Ḍamām b. al-Sā'ib[95] were Ibāḍite as well as Omanis and they are considered among the first generation of Ibāḍite. They were followed by al-Rabī' b. Ḥabīb, A. Ḥamza al-Mukhtār b. 'Awf, Blaj b. 'Uqba and Abū 'Ubayda 'Abdullāh b. al-Qāsim. The third influence for the Omanis to adopted Ibāḍism was provided by the *ḥamalat al-'ilm ilā al-amṣār* carriers of knowledge,and most of whom were from Azd.

It is necessary to remember that the Khārijites had tried to gather followers to them in Oman, though the Omanis rejected their thought. According to al-Baghdādī, the Khārijites in Oman supported Nāfi‘ b. al-Azraq which can be considered the first attempt to establish Khārijite thought in Oman.[96] There was another attempt by the Najdiyya in 69/682 under their leader ‘Aṭiyya b. al-Aswad when they killed the king of Oman ‘Abād b. ‘Abdullāh (b. al-Julandā b. al-Mustakbir). ‘Aṭiyya then left some of his followers in charge but these were killed when the Omanis revolted aginst them; the Omani restored Sa‘īd and Sulaymān the sons of ‘Abād to power. Again al-Aswad tried to seize Oman but failed.[97] The Sufriyya, on the other hand, tried to spread their doctrine in Oman. However, it could be argued that they only succeeded in intrducing their ideas as can be seen from al-Khalīl b. Aḥmad al-Farāhīdī who was born at the beginning of the 2nd/8th century states: "When I came from Oman (to Basra) I held the Sufriyya opinions".[98] We should remember that in 131/748 the Imam al-Julandā b. Mas‘ūd fought the Sufriyya leader Shaybān b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Yashkurī and afterwords killed him.[99] As a consequence this led to the first Imamate of Oman and it is possible to argue that it was the beginning of the crystallization of the Omani State under the Ibāḍite ideology.

IV- Some Aspects of the relationships between Ibādism and Eastern Mesopotamia

We have already covered the development of the Muḥakimma's relationship with the Asian regions, starting from the beginning of the *fitna*, and tracing the expansion of their role following other doctrines in the first era of Islam. The crisis, which followed the death of Yazīd b. Mu‘āwiya, marked the break-up of the Khārijites and the birth of Ibāḍism. Part of the political crisis was the Ibāḍites' adoption of *al-Qu‘awd* and thus they were called the *Qa‘ada* or the *Waqifa* by the other Khārijites. These names mean 'those who suspend judgement'. They are not in themselves important, but they merit attention as they mark the transitional phase between the Khārijites and Murji'a. The Ibāḍites considered that the grave sinner should be regarded as an ingrate *kuffār al-ni‘am*, which implies *kufar*. [100] However, contrary to this opinion are the Mu‘tazilites, who regarded the grave sinner as neither a believer nor an unbeliever, but rather as one in an "intermediate position" *manzila bayn al-manzilatayn*. The adoption of the new concept by the Ibāḍites led to the proposals for reformation and re-organization of the Ibāḍite political policy in Basra. Regarding this, Jābir b. Zayd states clearly that it was

the policy of: " A tyrant sultan (who) is a punishment to people. If you are in a powerful position, try to direct him to follow the truth, and if you have fear of him then keep supplicating to Allah".[101] Doctrinally, the status of Islamic belief during the beginning of the 2nd/8th century was as remarked by A. Nūḥ Sāliḥ b. Nūḥ al-Dahhān as follows. There were three categories of believers. Firstly, a category which praised 'Uthmān and did not relinquish the *Irjā'*. The second category praised 'Alī and did not renounce the Shiites. The third category was the Muslims who were still on the right track (Ibāḍites).[102] As Wellhausen notes, the Khārijites entered another stage towards the end of the Umayyad period the Khārijite movement took on a totally different character when the Umayyad Kingdom began to break up altogether: it now became part of a revolution. The difference is outwardly visible in the numbers. The small numbers of troops which are usually characteristic of Khārijite armies, swelled to powerful masses.[103] The transformation of the power in Islamic imperialism through changing the government from Umayyad to Abbasid affected the activities of the Khārijites generally. Thereupon during this period the Ibāḍites of Basra continued to live in the state of *kitmān* keeping their beliefs secret.[104]

This section is meant to explore some aspects of Ibāḍite relations with Eastern Mesopotamia, and what may be termed the second stage of Ibāḍite history. In particular we wish to look at the period after they split from the other Khārijite sects and examine the extent of the relations between the Ibāḍite and Eastern Mesopotamia. The chronicles are silent about the relationship between Ibāḍism and these lands after the 70s/690s, and do not reflect further development in those area. This was perhaps due to the Khārijites' adoption of insurrection as a policy in their movement; however, the Ibāḍite called this period the *Kitmān* (secret) period. Therefore, the Ibāḍite's biographical dictionaries do not record the first generation *ṭabaqa* of scholars of Ibāḍism from the areas of Eastern Mesopotamia. However, studies investigating the lists of names given by the Ibāḍites' biographical dictionaries and works in the second Ibāḍite generation (*ṭabaqa*) show that the Ibāḍites were able to attract Persians and people of whom origin non-Arab. Therefore, it is not surprising to find that the figures who were starting to formulate Ibāḍism, were from the local Baṣran background such as Ja'far b. al-Sammāk,[105] (son of the fisherman; variant Sammān, butter merchant), Abū Nūḥ Sāliḥ b. Nūḥ al-Dahhān,[106] (the painter/greaser) who lived in the Ṭayy quarter and Abū 'Ubayda Muslim b. Abī Karīma, a basket weaver (*qaffāf*) who was a client *mawlā* of the Tamīmite.[107] Abī 'Ubayda became the second leader of Ibāḍism and succeeded Jābir b. Zayd. However,

Abī 'Ubayda may have been a Persian because his name was Kudīn, Kūrzīn or Kūrīn.[108] Also among them was A. Yazīd al-Khwārizmī[109] who was from Khwārizm, and the famous Ibāḍite scholars of the blood *dima* legislation, Ḥabīb b. Sābūr[110] and A. al-Naẓar al-Khurāsānī[111] and there are other notable people, such as, a man of Kurāsān or Khurāsānis.[112] Hence it is no wonder that we can find that al-Darjīni has written a chapter entitled "the Advantage of Persians" in his work[113] which is confirmed by the Prophet's *ḥadīth* in which he says, "Allah has treasure which is neither gold nor silver, but it is in the bellies of the Persians".[114] Also the *ḥadīth* says, "if the religion (Islam) overhangs from the Pleiades, the non-Arab people would reach it and the luckiest of them are the Persian".[115] Al-Ash'arī relates that the Yazīdites who were the followers of Yazīd b. Unaysa went so far as to claim that Allah would raise up a prophet from among the Persians, and would reveal to him a book and this book would be revealed as a whole and complete. Consequently, the Ibāḍites dissociated from them.[116] Yazīdites had previously been considered as Ibāḍites, and eventually they moved to Tūn,[117] which is part of Fārs land.[118] The Ibāḍites in Basra have stimulated theological thinking because, with a fair measure of logic, they developed the Khārijites position as far as possible.

During the lifetime of the first Ibāḍite generation there was no discussion of *qadar*, predestination and the free will of human beings. This was, however, later to become the main topic of debate amongst them. A certain Suḥār al-'Abdī gave the following advice concerning the Qadariyya: "Talk with them about (divine) knowledge (*kallimuhūm fī'l-'ilm*). If they admit it, they contradict (their doctrine); if they deny it they fall into unbelief."[119] As a consequence the predestination issue led to a schism between the Ibāḍites. The Ḥārithiyya had a different view from the Ibāḍites concerning the Mu'tazilite's view of predestination; they held that capacity exists before the act, and that there are acts of obedience not directed towards Allah.[120] This view gradually attracted followers such as Ḥamza al-Kūfī,[121] 'Aṭiyya and Ghaylān during Abū 'Ubayda's time. Following them Shu'ayb b. al-Ma'rūf, 'Abdullāh b. 'Abd al-'Azīz and Ibn 'Umayr 'Isā[122] during al-Rabī' b. Ḥabīb's time. Additionally, as al-Shammākhī shows, Abraha b. 'Aṭiyya and his father called the Ibāḍites in Khurāsān to follow the Qadarite view on predestination.[123] Hārūn b. al-Yamān followed the Sha'biyya[124] in Maḥbub b. al-Raḥīl's time (d. 220/835). Hārūn and Maḥbūb lead to a wider debate between the Ibāḍites in Arabia. Consequently the Ibāḍites of Yemen followed Hārūn b. al-Yamān.[125] Elie Salem notes that the Eastern Church influenced the Khārijites in the

doctrine of free will. According to Professor Thomas, Shabīb b. Yazīd al-Shaybānī al-Najrānī, founder of the Khārijite sub-sect Ashāb al-Sū'āl, comes from Najrān, a Christian land prior to Islam. His thesis is that the doctrine of free will in Islam was influenced by Christian countries such as Syria and Iraq.[126] On the other hand, Professor Madelung discovered an important book *K. al-Njā'* by Ahmad al-Nāsir al-Dīn, who was a Zaydite imām. This book was written to refute 'Abdullāh b. Yazīd al-Baghdādī's views on anti-Qadariyya. The book reveals that there was a debate between the Ibādite groups in Iraq and the Qadariyya at the end of 4th/10th century, and moreover, *K. al-Njā'* preserves for us in its debate the book of 'Abdullāh b. Yazīd against the Qadariyya.[127] During the development of the Ibādites' school in Basra and until the beginning of the 3rd/9th century, predestination was their central theological concern. Despite this, Watt postulates that theologically the Ibādites had no influence in Iraq.[128] On the other hand, Van Ess observed, possibly correctly, how far the Ibādite school in Basra developed in discussing the subject of *Qadar*.[129] This state of affairs led in the following years to the schism of the Ibādites into rational and traditional groups. The latter took over control of the Ibādites.[130]

The Ibādite tradition also preserves a creed by A. al-Fadl 'Isā b. Fūrak al-Khārijī,[131] who belonged to the Sistānis sect of Hamza al-Khārijī, and who wrote between 215/830 and 218/833 (or 260/874 at latest).[132] This creed, which is presented with comments by Muhammad b. Mahbūb (d.260/874) and A. Sa'īd al-Kudamī in the 4th/10th century, makes it clear that the Khārijites of Sistān did not identify themselves as Azāriqa, contrary to what might be expected. However, Muhammad b. Mahbūb, commenting on the creed, notes that we agree with this, but breaks the arguments here, as he suffers a paroxysm of fury at this point he indignantly restates the position of the Ibādites on the relation with their *qawm*, claiming that Ibn Fūrak misrepresents them which, as al-Kudamī notes, is not true at all.[133] Crone and Zimmermann suggest, possibly correctly, that the creed shows that the Sīstānī Khārijites rejected the central Ibādite doctrines concerning the status of non-Khārijite *ahl al-qibla*; they were sufficiently close to feel that the letter's *qawm* as our *qawm*.[134] One can see here a gap between the time after al-Rabī''s death 170s/786-796 and Mahbūb's departure from the Ibādite centre in Basra. Similarly, there is little evidence to illustrate the relationship between the progress of the theological dialectic in Ibādite doctrine and the reasons behind the collapse of the Ibādite movement in Basra. As reflected in this presentation, one can see that the predestination issue dominated debates at Mahbūb's time. However, two explanations

are possible for the pressure, which led to the eclipse of the Ibāḍite in Basra. Firstly, one could suspect that Maḥbūb was unable to rule the Ibāḍite scholars in Basra and therefore he left. This suggests that the Ibāḍite sources ignored the Ibāḍite scholars who settled there later. This suggestion seems to be correct according to the *sīra* sent to the Imam al-Ṣalt, which states that the Ibāḍites had divided into three groups: the followers of Maḥbūb, the followers of 'Abdullāh b. Yazīd and the followers of Hārūn.[135] Secondly, since the Ibāḍite leaders in Basra submit their differences to the Omani imam, and the leadership in *dār al-taqiya* was losing its grasp, Crone and Zimmermann give an interesting conjecture that Maḥbūb's leaving Basra was political rather than theological. That is, he left, not because the Ibāḍite Basran leadership, i.e. Rabī' and Maḥbūb, spent the rest of their life in Oman nor because Oman became a spiritual centre of Ibāḍism; but because eastern (Omanis) and North African Ibāḍism had developed separate identities.[136] So the majority of Ibāḍites outside Basra had passed into the hands of local imams capable of backing their decisions with military power and the Basrans could respond to this development only by emigrating.[137] Of course, this makes it difficult to communicate between the North African and Oman Ibāḍites without the mediation of Basra. Ennami notes that the Nukkar in Northern Africa followed 'Abdullāh b. 'Abd al-'Azīz, Ḥātim b. Manṣūr and Abū al-Mū'rij in jurisprudence *fiqh*, and in theology followed 'Abdullāh b. Yazīd al-Fuzārī.[138] To conclude this survey of Ibāḍite theology, however, we may consider that this was the third stage in Ibāḍite progress in their school after the *fitnat al-taḥkīm* and the schism of Khārijites.

Let us now clear up the confusion and also differentiate between the followers and missionaries of the Ibāḍites and the Ṣufriyya.[139] However, these aspects will need to a lengthy debate. Here we provide a short summary. Firstly, according to al-Shammākhī, the first Ibāḍite missionary to arrive in North Africa was Salama b. Sa'ad al-Ḥaḍramī who was riding a camel with 'Ukruma, although Salama was recruiting to the Ibāḍites and 'Ukruma to the Ṣufriyya.[140] 'Umrān b. Ḥaṭṭān, a famous Khārijite poet, was a Ṣufriyya although we find him included in Ibāḍite biographical dictionaries.[141] Some claimed that Hilāl b. 'Aṭiyya al-Khurāsānī had Ṣufriyya inclinations and he was therefore required to go home, which he did, nevertheless remaining in a position of association. In contrast, they also told A. al-Mū'rij to go to his people, which he did, but died during the journey, and thus he remained in a state of suspended judgement.[142] Shabīb b. 'Aṭiyya al-Khurāsānī also was accused of being a Ṣufriyya.[143] Ibn Khaldūn reports that Abū Yazīd Mukhalad b. Kaydād who revolted against the Fatimids was a

pupil of Abī 'Amār al-A'mā al-Sufrī.[144] As indicated by these accounts of Ibāḍite scholars at the end of 1st/7th century and the beginning of the 2nd/8th century, it is likely that the people of Muḥakimma in central Asia had reacted to the schism in Basra and the new policies of each party.

Later, in the beginning of the 2nd/8th century the Ibāḍite had been able to define their policy, and from this period their members began to be known by others as Ibāḍite.[145] Also it was being realised that there was a need to concentrate on *da'wa* with membership and doctrine and to organise the movement's missionary activities *Ḥamalat al-'ilm ilā al-amṣār*.[146] The historical reports of the Ibāḍite missionaries are known to have been sent out in Oman, North Africa, Yemen and Ḥaḍramawt, and more is known about them.

Notwithstanding, it is possible to identify the Ibāḍite scholars during this time through a survey of the Omani works. Among the earlier Ibāḍite generation of the *Ḥadīth*'s narrative was Ḥamād b. Isḥāq al-Khwārizmī who might have been a contemporary of Abū 'Ubayda Muslim.[147] The Ibāḍite's revolution at the end of Umayyad reign by Ṭālib al-Ḥaqq in Arabia was actively backed by the Persian Koran reader, grammarian and poet who was 'Abd al-'Azīz Bishkast in Medina. When Abū Ḥamza al-Azdī occupied Medina in the name of the Ibāḍite Caliph in 130/747, he came forth as an enthusiastic supporter. Abū Ḥamza was defeated in the battle by the Umayyad army, and the Medinans killed him.[148] Fortunately, al-Sālimī preserved for us the list of Ibāḍite scholars who carried the knowledge to Khurāsān and central Asia: Abū Yazīd al-Khwārizmī and Abū Hāshim b. 'Abdullāh al-Kurāsānī,[149] Naṣr b. Sulaymān, Maḥmūd b. Naṣr, A. Manṣūr al-Khurāsānī.[150] Several of the Khurāsānis men had earlier supported al-Imam al-Julandā b. Mas'ūd to establish the first Imamate of Oman in 131/748. Among them were Hilāl b. 'Aṭiyya, who became the *qāḍī* of the Imam and died with him in 134/751 fighting against the Abbasid's military campaign.[151] According to Madelung he was the first Ibāḍite missionary to Khurāsān.[152] Also mentioned were his brother Shabīb b. 'Aṭiyya,[153] (who played a role in the *Muḥtasib* between the death of al-Imam al-Julandā and the Imamate of Muḥammad b. Abī 'Affān), A. Manṣūr al-Khurāsānī, A. Ḥafṣ Khurāsānī and A. 'Abdullāh Hāshim b. 'Abdullāh al-Khurāsānī.[154] Also among them was A. Hāshim Nāfi' b. Jarīr al-Khurāsānī, who lived in Basra and transmitted the *āthār* from al-Rabī'. He was a scholar in the Omani traditional *fiqh* jurisprudence.[155] According to Abī Ghānim al-

Khurāsānī, other Ibāḍite legal scholars teaching in Khurāsān at his time were Ḥātim b. Manṣūr and A. Sa'īd 'Abdullāh b. 'Abd al-'Azīz.[156]

From 161/777 to 297/909, the Rustamid dynasty[157] united all the Ibāḍites in North Africa from a centre in western Algeria. This family attributed its ancestry to pre-Islamic Persian Royalty.[158] At the end of the 2nd/8th century A. 'Isā Ibrāhīm b. Ismā'īl al-Khurāsānī from the Ibāḍite centre in Basra sent a letter to Tāhart in North Africa to support the election to the Imamate of the Rustamid, 'Abd al-Wahhāb b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān (171-208/788-824) against the Khalafiyya.[159] The famous Ibāḍite work *K. al-Mudawwana* by A. Ghānim Bishr b. Ghānim al-Khurāsānī collected the Ibāḍite tradition *āṯhār* of Basra in the 3rd/9th century.[160]

The Ibāḍite's relationship with Eastern Mesopotamia continued until the beginning of the third century: we find a letter from Maḥbūb b. al-Raḥīl in Basra to Naṣr b. Sulaymān in Khurāsān.[161] Relevant to this survey is the work of Ibn al-Nadīm, who gives a list of the Ibāḍite scholars with their works, under the section about Khārijite theological and *fiqh* works. This list is useful for tracing the Ibāḍite scholars in Basra and Kūfa, most of whom are not mentioned in the Ibāḍite sources.[162] According to this list, Ibāḍism in Basra was still protected in 5th/11th century. The scholars were Ibrāhīm b. Isḥāq, Ṣāliḥ al-Nājī, al-Hīṯham b. al-Hīṯham al-Nājī, A. al-Qāsim al-Ḥadīṯhī and A. Bakr al-Barda'ī. However, we can also see in the list that they had a contact and debate with the Mu'tazilite and Murji'a such as A. 'Alī Yaḥyā b. Kāmil b. Ṭalḥa al-Khudarī,[163] who was a Mu'tazilite and a follower of Bishr al-Miraīsī and had written about the debate between him and Ja'far b. Ḥarb.[164] Also, al-Mas'ūdī adds other scholars: 'Abdullāh b. Yazīd al-Fuzārī in Kūfa and A. Mālik al-Ḥaḍramī,[165] and al-Ash'arī names in addition Muḥammad b. Ḥarb.[166] Again, when Maḥbūb left Basra, the connection broke between the Ibāḍite of North Africa and Mashāriqa and the people of Basra. This may have happened because the Nukkārite of North Africa adopted their theological opinions.[167]

As the historical accounts[168] show, the revolutions of Khārijites in the Asian regions continued to break out from time to time. A number of them were successful for a few years and then disappeared. In the Mosul region in northern Iraq around sixteen revolutions have been recorded. There were several revolts in the other regions as well; in Sistān, Khurāsān and Kirmān. According to al-Ṭabrī's and Ibn al-Aṯhīr's accounts, the revolutions occurred in the years: 178/794, 252/866, 254/868, 255/868-869,

256/869, 263/876, 267/880, 272/885, 273/886, 279/892, 280/893, 281/894, 282/895, 283/896, though Ibāḍite were not likely to be involved. Watt's argument might be right that there is a sharp contrast between the Khārijism of these unsuccessful rebels of the Abbasid period and that of the earliest Khārijites. In short, the Khārijite revolts of the Abbasid period must be classified as reactionary protests which did nothing to bring about any real improvement, but which gave the participants the subjective satisfaction of feeling they were achieving something.[169] With respect to this case, it is possible to argue that the scholarly achievements of the Ibāḍite scholars were abandoned in the preceding political period. However, they retreated from interference in Islamic theological issues. This transformation of the Ibāḍites at the beginning 4^{th} /10^{th} in Basra attracted through their revolutions non-Arabs (i.e Kurds, Berbers…etc). Through this perspective survey of Ibāḍite doctrinal history, it is necessary to argue that the Ibāḍite in central Asia were still controlled by Basran scholars who represented a link with all the different areas up to the beginning of 3^{rd}/9^{th} century but that they then lost this control. Also it is worthy noting here that the Ibāḍites in Oman and North Africa had a schism about the political issue of arranging the election to the Imamate. Thus, they fragmented into sub-sects such as Khalafiyya and Nukkār in North Africa and the Rustāq and Nizwā schools in Oman. In contrast, the Ibāḍite movement in Eastern Mesopotamia had fragmented as a result of its involvement in fierce theological debate with other schools of thought, especially on the issues of predestination and *kufr* and *imān*. For these reasons the Ibāḍites had begun to lose their position in Asia to the doctrines of the Murji'a and Shiites.[170] This might be one of the consequences of the new policy of Ibāḍism, which was not successful in establishing the Ibāḍite Imamate in this area and failed in uniting the Ibāḍite communities under its auspices.

V- The Historical Geography of the Ibādite settlements in Eastern Mesopotamia

Our intention is now to review the Ibāḍites toponymy in Asia in order to complete the last section of this discussion. Existing settlement already mentioned in classical Arabic literature on geography account some of them. Therefore, we need to discover how long these in Asia had existed. Such discussion seems to be helpful when examining the authenticity of *siyar* in order to understand the spread of Ibāḍism in Asia during the 4^{th} to 5^{th} and 10^{th} to 11^{th} centuries, and when the settlements were located in the time of *siyar*. Inevitably we must address the problems of the geographic literature about

Ibāḍite and Khārijite settlements, remembering that the Khārijite are not necessarily Ibāḍite.

We need not consider early settlements in or near the Arabian Peninsula in Iraq,[171] Oman, Yemen,[172] Ḥaḍramawt,[173] Shaḥar,[174] Bahrain[175] and the Socotra Island.[176] However, Ibn al-Mujāwir ($7^{th}/13^{th}$) says there were also Ibāḍite in Syria in Damascus and Ḥirrān.[177] But the focus will be on the locations where the Ibāḍite had settled in Eastern Mesopotamia during the *siyar*'s time. For instance, Ibn al-Nadīm ($5^{th}/11^{th}$) in the course of his discussion the Khārijite doctrine, gives helpful information on their settlements: "this sect existed in different places some of which are: Oman, Sistān, Azerbaijan, al-Sinn,[178] al-Buwāzīj, Karkh Jidān, Tall 'Akbrā, Ḥzzā and Shahrzūr".[179] In addition, Lewicki discusses the Ibāḍite groups outside Basra to show how Ibāḍite thought spread during the Islamic conquest.[180] For this case Madelung and Van Ess have given good coverage of the Ibāḍite in Eastern Mesopotamia.[181] There is also geographic literature about certain part of Eastern Mesopotamia, as follows:

A- Eastern Iran

We do not have a detailed description of the first settlement of Muḥakimma in eastern Iran. The *sīra* of Sālim b. Ḍhakwān is considered to be written in the 70s A.H;[182] Van Ess suggests, that it was composed in Eastern Iran.[183] According to al-Iṣtakhirī, there was an immigration to the East of Iran by the al-Ḥanżla of Tamīm who were descended of 'Urwa b. Udayya (cf. the figures of the first Muḥakimma). They crossed from Bahrain to Fārs at Umayyad time and settled in Iṣtakhir where they had properties and lived in villages.[184] In Fārs, there was an Omani immigration by the al-'Umāra, descendants of al-Julandā b. Karkar.[185] They had a castle which is known as al-Daykdān or Ibn 'Umāra's Castle.[186] Al-'Awtabī writes of the Omani pre-Islam immigration of Sulayma b. Mālik to Kirmān. His descendants were known as the people of Mirbad, *Banu* Bilāl and *Banū* al-Julandā b. Karkar. Al-Julandā was the ancestor of both al-Ṣafāq (or Ṣaffār), and the Haro (al-Huzw).[187] According to Wilkinson, both the Omani sources and an independent non-Omani source make it clear that all these dynasties including the Ṣaffarids are of Omani origin.[188] The essential point is that early settlements of Omanis were established in this area before the Arabs took control of the country. The question, which arises here, is whether these settlements by the Omani Azd had influenced this region and adhered to the Muḥakimma. Wilkinson maintains that they

were a semi-autonomous people. Ibn Khaldūn describes the conflict between the Khārijites and the Saffarids in 253/866 in Sistān, Hurā and Khurāsān.[189]

In Fārs, the Hamziyya (Ibādite sub-sect) were active at the beginning of 2nd/8th century. Al-Mas'ūdī mentions their existence in Fārs.[190] Madelung, on the other hand, identifies the Khārijites of eastern Fārs as Ibādites.[191] More interestingly, Ibn al-Mujāwir writes that Ibādites lived in Hamadān as well as Isfahān, Dīr Lyān, Dakūk and 'Ārān.[192] Additionally, the Island of Ibn Kawān, which is referred to in the present day as Kishm Island and is situated near to the coast of Kirmān opposite Rās Musandam (in northern Oman) was, according to Ibn Khurdādhdhaba and al-Idrīsī still inhabited by Ibādites in the 6th /12th century.[193]

The other region in Eastern Iran is Kirmān. As Ibn Hawqal describes this province, "..there are three Friday prayer mosques in the town of Bam and the Khārijites mosque was in the *sūq* beside the house of Mansūr b. Khurdīn a prince of Qān of Kirmān. The Khārijites kept their own treasury in the mosque.[194] They were described as thrifty but at the same time, wealthy people.[195] Madelung suggests that probably they engaged in trade.[196] According to Wilkinson, there were Ibādites still in Kirmān until 5th/11th century.[197] Madelung instead considered them as Khārijite since according to the heresiographers they were 'Ajārida.[198] The Khārijite groups (whom the heresiographer called simply al-Harūriyya) were described, "They are in the regions of Sistān, Hirāt and Khurāsān. They are numerous people, only God knows their number".[199] However, Crone and Zimmerman argue that the Khārijites on the border between Fārs and Kirmān, who engaged in revolts in the mid-ninth century, may well have been Ibādites.[200]

B- Southern Iran and Sind

There are two elements, which played major roles in the evolution of the settlements. The first element is Omani maritime power.[201] From the first quarter of the 1st/7th century, there was some naval support from Oman and Bahrain for 'Uthmān b. al-'Asi al-Thaqafī's early campaign against the Persian coast.[202] There was an early attempt by the Caliphate forces to occupy the Sind region, but the Muslim shipping was unsuccessful at sea[203] until they occupied the region in 92/710.[204] However, during the first Imamate of Julandā b. Mas'ūd, the Omanis were capable of mustering a sizeable navy which they sent on an expedition to Socotra and which imposed a *sulh* (treaty) on

the Christians of that island.[205] Consequently, tensions appeared between the Imamate and the Christian Soctrains when the people rebelled against Imam al-Salt b. Mālik.[206] The second more formal development of commercial treaties occurred during the Imamate of Ghassān b. 'Abdullāh (192/808-207/823) in conjunction with attempts to eliminate the Indian pirates or (*bawārij al-Hind*).[207] However, al-Mas'ūdī attributed this suppression of piracy to the Abbasid government during al-Mu'tasim's reign.[208] Through the development of the Omani navy, the Imamate forces in the beginning of the 3rd/9th employed in the Omani's army a force of Daybul [209] people commanded by al-Mattār al-Hindī.[210] The fact is the commercial trading with *Ard al-Hind* developed a relationship even though non-Muslims were involved; Muhammad b. Mahbūb included Indians even though they were unbelievers in the *Dār al-Islām*.[211] The Omani trading ships, until the 7th/13th century, were still connected with the port of Daybul.[212]

This overall view highlights the Omani role in the Indian Ocean and their early relationship with Southern Iran and the Sind province after the beginning of Islam. Al-Mas'ūdī (d.342), writes of the Southern coast of Iran in the 4th/10th century (the Makrān province) as the place of *Shurā*.[213] Lewicki suggested that the Khārijites living in the coastal region between Kirmān and Sind might have been identical with these Ibādite.[214] Al-Istakhrī gives a clear picture of the Ibādite locations along the coast of Makrān and Sind. These locations were al-Tīz, Kīz, Dazak,[215] Rāsak, Rustāq al-Khrūj and Rustāq Khurdhān and all the inhabitants of these Rustāqs were *Shurā*.[216] These settlements expanded towards the south. The *sīra* of the Imam Rāshid b. Sa'īd to the people of Mansūra, the capital of Sind province in the 5th/11th century, documents that Ibādism still existed in this region.[217] According to Ibn al-Mujāwir the Ibādites were still settled as far as the region of Gwādir.[218] In addition Yāqūt recounts that Quzdār or Qusdār, which was a town in Sind not far from Bist, was peopled by the Khārijites specifically Khalafiyya.[219] It was noted in al-Shihrastānī records that most of the Khārijites of Kirmān and Makrān were followers of Khalafiyya.[220] However, we need not accept the view that the Khārijites in these regions were Khalafiyya, even if Khalaf had appeared in this area around 179/795. Al-Baghdādī recounts that the Khalafiyya had conflicts with another Khārijites group, followers of Hamza b. Adarak. Khalaf was later apparently succeeded by Mas'ūd b. Qaiys who was attacked by Hamza in a river valley, and in the course of the fight drowned in the river. The Khalfiyya were in doubt about Mas'ūd death[221] and then considered themselves to be in a time of *taqiya*.[222] Thereafter,

there is no further mention of the Khalafiyya, so they may have ended their existence at the beginning of the 3rd/9th century.

C- Khurāsān and Sistān

In the first centuries of Islam, Sistān was a refuge of the Khārijites who launched their uprisings and incursions into the neighbouring Khurāsānīs towns.[223] It seems that there was contact with the Khārijite movement from its beginning before the battle of Nahrawān.[224] Al-Balādhurī states that the first Khārijite missionary to Sistān was a man from Tamīm, called ʻĀṣim or Ibn ʻĀṣim.[225] Barthold suggests that there was a whole series of Khārijite disturbances in Sistān and Bādhaghīs.[226] This region, as described, had many Khārijites, who established their sect and lived there proudly. According to the geographical literature Karkūiya was a big town in this province, which was peopled by Khārijites. They had scholars and *fuqahā'* and they were described as uncompromising in praying, fasting and worshipping.[227] Not far from Karkūiya, and three leagues from Zaranj, was a town named Kurūnak or Karūn. Under this last name Karūn still exists. Yāqūt adds that it was a pleasant place, full of good things, with a population of Khārijites and weavers.[228]

As regards the popular movements of the 3rd and 4th centuries Barthold shows that the chief amongst them were the Khārijites in Sistān and Shiites in Ṭabristān, both of which continued under the Sāmānids.[229] Yet, according to Ibn al-Mujāwir, the Sistān region was still considered Ibāḍite until 7th/13th century.[230] Crone and Zimmermann suggest that Eastern Iran was a home of Sistān Khārijites whose extremist dissociation from the Ibāḍites had repercussions even in Oman.[231] This suggestion might be correct because al-Shihrastānī adds that the Khārijites of Sistān were ʻAjarida who followed ʻAṭiyya's doctrinal.[232]

From the beginning of the 2nd/8th century, there was an Ibāḍite group of considerable size in Khurāsān as a result of the activity of the *ḥamalat al-ʻilm*.[233] Moreover, a number of the Ibāḍite scholars were natives of this province. Since the al-Muhallabids at the Umayyad time were deputies of Khurāsān, we may note that the Omani Azd joined them in Khurāsān and consequently adopted it as their base.[234] Contrary to the view of Crone and Zimmermann, it has been argued that there is no evidence that Ibāḍism reached Khurāsān at all by the 720s/1320s, let alone that it had engendered the

book learning and the *mutakallims*. The conjecture that many Azd who accompanied Yazīd b. al-Muhallab to Khurāsān were Ibāḍite, does not amount to substantive evidence.[235] Conversely, al-Shaqṣī claims that Ṣuḥār al-'Abdī came from Khurāsān,[236] and Ibn Maddād and al-Sa'dī describe him as Khurāsānī.[237] It is possible that he was an Arab who had participated in the conquest of Eastern Iran and had been a governor of Hirāt for a while.[238] Ibn Ja'far, on the other hand, states that there was an Ibāḍite insurgent in Khurāsān in the beginning of the 2nd/ 8th century at the time of A. 'Ubayda.[239] As we can see, the region of Khurāsān had sheltered the Ibāḍite until 7th/13th.[240] Van Ess notes that we incidentally hear about the Ibāḍites in Hirāt, but the passage in question refers to the end rather than the beginning of the 2nd/8th century.[241] Munīr bin Nayyir in his *sīra* to the Imam Ghassān b. 'Abdullāh wrote that the Ibāḍite groups in Yemen and Khurāsān were the most important among the Eastern Ibāḍite settlements.[242] Al-Maqrizī recounts that Ḥamza al-Khārijī rebelled in Khurāsān and then established bases in Kirmān,[243] despite the Ibāḍite dissociating from Ḥamza. The geographical literature refers to the following town as Ibāḍite: Karūkh a small town but also second largest about 10 leagues from Hirāt. Al-Iṣtakhrī says it was a pleasant place. It had a Friday prayer mosque in the Subaydān part with the people of *Shurāt.* According to al-Iṣtakhrī, the buildings of the town were made of sun-bricks and built at the feet of the mountains. Other *Shurāt* towns were Astrībān, Mārābāḍh, Bāshān, Kūrān, Ba'āsfrāz, Kāshkān and Asfizār.[244]

To turn to the other part of the Khurāsān region, precisely in the Hirāt Mountains, is Khujstān province, where Aḥmad b. 'Abdullāh al-Khūjstānī lived. He rebelled in Nisābūr and died in 264/877.[245] Al-Iṣtakhrī reports that in the province of Bādhaghīs, the people of Fān village were followers of Aḥmad b. 'Abdullāh and all of them were *shurāt*.[246] But there is little evidence to suggest whether Aḥmad was an Ibāḍite or not, but we believe that he was not. Madelung argues that no information is available about precise location, ethnic composition and later fate after 3rd/9th century.[247] However, the *sīra* to the people of Khurāsān shows that Ibāḍism was extinct in Khurāsān in the 4th/10th century. The point of view in the *sīra* is that the Ibāḍites held knowledge from Naṣr b. Sulaymān, who died at the end of the third century, which implies that his pupils were still active in the 4th/10th century. The commercial routes may have improved the relationship between Oman and central Asia. Ibn al-Mujāwir described these routes, Ṣuhār was the starting point for caravans to Kirmān, thence to Sistān and finally to Khurāsān, which was the main centre for the caravan treads in central Asia.[248]

D- Al-Jazīra, Azerbaijan and Khwārizm (Northern region)

The Khārijites of the northern regions came at various times from Mosul and northern Mesopotamia (al-Jazīra). Al-Balādhurī recounts that there were three kinds of residents in Mosul; Khārijites, tradesmen or burglars.[249] The Azd were already resident among the Arab tribes of Shaybān of Bakr,[250] and a substantial population of Azdites from Oman lived along with an Ibādite community. Most of the local Khārijites must have been Sufriyya.[251] According to Van Ess the Ibādite who joined Abū Hamza al-Shāri's force in the Arabian revolt with Azd Zahrān were not from Mosul but from Basra; Abū Hamza moved to Mosul after the revolt had been suppressed.[252] The Khārijites who rebelled in Mosul in the early Abbasid time were not Ibādite but Sufriyya.[253] However, the original Ibādite of these settlements belonged to the Omani community; as indicated by records about Māzn b. Ghadūba, who was the first Omani to embrace Islam; he had two grandsons, Ahmad b. Harb and 'Alī b. Harb b. Muhammad b. 'Alī b. Hayān. The latter was born in Azerbaijan 175/791 and was a scholar of *Hadith* and Arts. He died in Mosul in 256/878. The other grandson, Ahmad, was born in 174/790 and was also a scholar of *Hadith* and died in Adna in 263/876.[254] It seems that there were some Ibādite scholars who tried to contact Hamza al-Kūfī who was excommunicated by A. 'Ubayda because of his view of predestination. Hamza then moved to Mosul where he tried to convert some Ibādites. In the 4th/10th century we find an Ibādite scholar from Mosul, Abū Bakr Yahyā b. Ishāq al-Mawsilī, who might have had some contact with several Omani scholars; al-Shaqsī states that he lived in Oman in Izki city.[255] Ibn Maddād identifies Abū 'Abdullāh b. Hāshim b. 'Abdullāh both al-Khurāsānī and al-Khwārizmī.[256] After that, it seems that the scholars in this region disappeared. Even the Ibādite scholar Abū Yazīd al-Khwārizmī's pupils seem to be unknown and to have disappeared from these regions.

According to al-Mas'ūdī, Ibn al-Shādhuliya rebelled with the support of Kurds who called for up to the *Shurāt*. Generally, from the end of the Umayyad State Mosul and al-Jazīra were centres of Sufriyya.[257] Hence we cannot judge whether those *Shurā* were Ibādite since, as usual, the historical records do not differentiate between the Khārijites, and thus provide little evidence. Ibn Khaldūn, on the other hand, notes that some of the Kurds of Azerbaijan, Syria and Mosul were Christians and Khārijites who still preserve the dissociation from 'Uthmān and 'Alī.[258] Bukhārā also seems to have been under the Khārijites as it was seized by Husayn b. Muhammad al-Khawārijī, who Barthold judges, because of his surname, to have been a Khārijite leader and possibly one of the Jacobitic

adherents.[259] To return to Khwārizm, they existed there in the 7th/13th century, and according to Ibn Khaldūn, the Khwārizm Shāh eradicated the Khārijite from Khwārizm.[260] On the other hand, Ibn al-Mujāwir notes that in the 7th/13th century, there were Ibāḍite in Azerbaijan.[261]

To sum up, as Madelung argues, the Ibāḍite community was always oriented towards centres outside Iran.[262] Through the available information, it is possible to show that the Ibāḍite community in Eastern Mesopotamia co-existed links in with the *siyar's* period.

VI- The socio-politic situation in Oman during the period of the *siyar*

We now come to third aspect of our study, the historical, social and political background.[263] The *siyar* were written during the interregnum in the Imamate of Oman which lasted approximately for a century and a half, from the beginning of the 4th/10th century) when the Khwārizm's *sīra* was written to middle of the 5th/11th century when the Imam Rāshid b. Sa'īd al-Yaḥmadī wrote.

The collapse of the first Imamate in Oman in 280/892, happened because the Omanis themselves brought about the downfall of their own state, through the intransigence of their *'ulamā'* and unleashing of tribal *'asabiya*, both of these distractive activities encouraged by the Abbasids and Omanis themselves. In the aftermath of the disastrous events, Oman's maritime commerce was destroyed.

During the first forty years of interregnum, Oman began to disintegrate into its constituent parts; however, attitudes and alliance develop in Oman. This period also witnessed the origin of the Omani dynasties, and their rise to prominence supported by the rule of foreign authorities. According to Ibn Khaldūn: there was Banī Sāma b. Lū'ī b. Ghālib's state which was under the Abbasid suzerainty while they dominated the Imamate state 280/893. Although the Banī Sāma attributed themselves to the Quraysh clan, Quraysh genealogists denied this claim.[264] The first ruler was Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim al-Sāmī who had sought the assistance of the Abbasid's governor al-Mu'taḍid. Banī Sāma's rule did not extend all over Oman but only to the coastal region. Al-Sālimī described this forty-years of interregnum in Oman as an occupation of a tyrant ruler.[265] Later Oman was defeated in 305/917 by the Carmathian leader Abū Ṭāhir al-Janābī.

The second rulers were Carmathians [317/929-375/985]. Despite their invasion, which ravished and ravaged the inhabitants, they gave the population a considerable degree of internal freedom and autonomy.[266] According to Ibn Khaldūn, they came back as invaders in several campaigns on different periods occasions. Rather than allowing the Abbasids to collect the tribute, the Carmathians collected the tribute for themselves. These developments, nevertheless, had doctrinal repercussions because the Friday's sermon now expressed the Carmathians leanings towards the Shiites Fatimids rather than the Orthodox Abbasid.[267] Their concern was mainly to exact a tribute from the Omanis and they appointed an agent at Nizwā.[268] At about this time, Yūsuf b. Wajīh dynasty was born. Ibn Wajīh succeeded in wresting control in Oman and minted coins in his own name;[269] hence, Ibn al-Athīr described him as the Emir of Oman.[270] He was appointed by the Abbasids, although his relationship with Baghdad became turbulent.[271] Nevertheless, Ibn Wajīh tried to intervene in the Caliphate's affairs in Baghdad by leading two unsuccessful campaigns to seize Basra. The first campaign was in 331/942 and the second in 341/952 when he made an alliance with the Carmathians against the Buyids.[272] We have no information about the ethnicity or the genealogy of Ibn Wajīh, the precise date of whose conquest has not been given by either local or general historians. Miles stated that the Turkish Seljuk army supported him. It seems that he was appointed by Baghdad and continued as Emir of Oman until he was murdered by his slave Nāfi' in 342/953.[273] Miles pointed out that the Omanis preferred the Carmathian suzerainty to the yoke of the Abbasids because they did not only begin to recover from their former political predominance, but enjoyed a respite for a time from the business of war, and were thus able to turn to the arts and pursuits of peace, and to look forward to a fresh tide of prosperity.[274] The rule of the Buyids of Persia in Oman witnessed the emergence of the Mukramids [c.390/1000-443/1040] and Clifford Edmund Bosworth argues that they were presumably a local Omani family, appointed as governors in coastal Oman by the Persian Buyids with their capital at Sohar.[275] The reign of the Mukramids shows clearly that Oman was divided into coastal and internal regions. The former was under Mukramids authority and the latter was controlled by the Imamates. At the level of cultural influence, Omani dynasties who were backed by the Buyids have several links with Persia, for example when the poet Mihyār al-Daylamī praised the Mukramid's Emir,[276] and a second poet Abzūn al-'Umānī of Persian origin fled to Oman to join a Buyid campaign.[277] Ibn Khaldūn records the dynasty of Julandānis from the Azd clan in Qalhāt produced the king in 428/1035 was Zakariyā b. 'Abd al-Malik. Their rule acknowledged allegiance to Ibādism.[278]

Despite foreign rule, Ibāḍite ideology helped create Omani national unity and gives and extra feature of this period. The Ibāḍites were in a state of interregnum from the Imamate and were losing control of the country because of chaotic conditions of rule and the schism between the Nizwā and Rustāq schools. Although, Ibāḍism was successfully sustained in Oman and embodied in the first Imamate while it lasted, this period under discussion was particularly important in the crystallization of Oman as a nation.[279] The *'ulamā'* used several patterns in order to protect the Ibāḍite authority in Oman. Firstly, the political structure of the Imamate had changed from *żuhūr* (manifestation) to *difā'* (defiance), which permitted the Omanis to form a unified ideology to support them against the foreign forces. The *'ulamā'* were never silent, they elected several Imams over the forty years of the Imamate's interregnum. The *sīra* of A. Qaḥtān chronicles their names for us and reveals that these imams followed each other in rapid succession but all failed they to establish their authority.[280] The appointment of Imam Abū Al-Qāsim Sa'īd b. 'Abdullāh, in 320/930 essentially revived the Imamate. The new Imam managed to take control of Oman from Ibn Wajīh and repossess many internal cities in Oman,[281] and thereby confining Ibn Wajīh's influence to the coastal districts. Then Imam Abū Al-Qāsim Sa'īd b. 'Abdullāh was succeeded by the Imam Rāshid b. al-Walīd in 328/939 -342/953 until the Imamate was restored by al-Khalīl b. Shādhān and Rāshid b. Sa'īd. According to Wilkinson, this time marked a great resurgence of Ibāḍite activities associated with the revival of the Omani Imamate, following the eviction of the Buyids in the middle of the eleventh century and the attempts of *'ulamā'* to keep their ideology in being for the following period of accelerating disintegration.[282]

Secondly, the attempt to restore the Imamate had helped revive several revolutions against foreign rulers. These revolutions arose frequently. In the year 331/942 there was a revolution led by Imam Rāshid b. al-Walīd and his leader Abū Muḥammad 'Abdullāh b. Abī al-Mū'thir, and consequently, the Imam lost his authority in 342/953.[283] Ibn Al-Athīr reports that in 363/972 there was a revolution in Oman led by Imam Ḥafs b. Rāshid and yet another revolution in 442/1050 under the leadership of Imam Rāshid b. Sa'īd (Ibn Rāshid).[284] The revolutions helped to preserve Ibāḍite ideology and the Omanis became united under one leader, namely the Imam. In the meantime, Oman formed a distinctive political and geographical unit, which was by no means isolated.[285] The role of the *'ulamā'* may be illustrated by Abū al-Mū'thir al-Salt b. Khamīs who gave orders to burn the housing of people who had supported the Carmathians in Oman,

justifying it thus "they will be unable to return or settle there again".[286] Finally, we may remark that Omani compilations during this period had considered the non-Ibāḍite rulers as tyrants and unfair *sultans*.[287] This concept (tyrant sultan) has been brought into consideration because they were considered either non-Omanis or colonists. Local rulers during foreign occupation were regarded as supporters, hirelings or governors of invading states. Thus, the compilations have never included them in the sequence of chronological history of Omani rulers.[288]

The third feature was maritime trading. Despite the numerous invasions of Abbasid, Carmathian and Seljuk forces, Oman's trade had significantly increased.[289] When Baghdad became the commercial metropolis of the Middle East in the early Abbasid period, the ports of 'l-Ubullah and Sīrāf, and to a lesser extent the ports of Oman, became entrepots for trade with the East.[290] Although the Omani coasts were still controlled by foreign rulers, most of the shipping activities took place on the East African coast. Al-Idrīsī notes that boats came from the East Indies to the Sofala coast. The East African people themselves seemed always to employ Omani craft.[291] Wilkinson suggests, that depending on the regime in power, the Omanis more or less benefited from this trade, which also included black slave dealing on a considerable scale down the East Africa coast.[292] During the period following the collapse of the first Imamate, other Muslims ruled the Omani's coast.[293] By the time the Omanis were able to re-found their Imamate and expand overseas in the 11th and 12th centuries the strategic geographic position became important, whereas up to the 5th/11th century the Gulf hinterland had been the more important.[294] The Fatimids in Egypt immediately developed new maritime routes and began a full-scale development of the Western Empire. New maritime routes were set up between Egypt and the Atlantic Ocean in an attempt to avoid Byzantine-controlled waters in the Mediterranean.[295] Another result was active commerce with Nubian and a Red Sea trade in the hands of Abyssinian merchants. They served as intermediaries or agents for the Eastern Roman Empire as they attempted to conquer Yemen and Hijaz and tried to dominate commerce with India.[296] Wilkinson suggests, that even though the reunited Omanis may have made some impact in raids on non-Muslim India and were activity proselytising in both the Indus valley area and Kilwa, their influence was temporary in East Africa.[297] These connections engendered an expansion of commercial activity along the Red Sea–South West Arabian axis so that the hegemony of the Persian/Arabian Gulf in Indian Ocean trade began to be challenged. The rising of new commercial activities, onward

transports and re-export trading had thrived on the Omani coast in Sohar, Qalhāt, Muscat and Raysūt. Consequently, the changing commercial routes together with the decline of Basra and the collapse of Sīrāf in the Gulf, resulted in a drift towards South-West Arabia of the Gulf merchants similar to that of the merchants from Iraq and Persia to Egypt and Syria.[298] On the other hand, the Chinese during Sung times had developed ship-building and navigation techniques which permitted large junks not only into the Gulf but also into the Red sea ports. These junks also crossed the Indian Ocean direct from Sumatra to East Africa.[299] Another factor affecting the general picture of Oman, in Wilkinson's view is that India became a major centre of trade after the establishment of the Delhi Sultanate in India after 588/1192.[300]

From this background of Oman during the period under consideration, we can see that the move of Maḥbūb b. al-Raḥīl from Basra to Oman had made Oman the center of Ibādism and Oman began to attract considerable attention. However, at the end of the 3rd/9th century both of the Ibādite Imamates in North Africa and Oman came to an end. The first Imamate represented the unification of Oman into a state, more or less closely associated with the Ḥaḍramī Ibāḍite State,[301] while the second Imamate was restored by Imam Rāshid b. Sa'īd who reinvigorated the Imamate ideology to inaugurate a new ruling era. He expanded his authority to Laḥsā and Hagar in the western part of the Gulf to bring under his control the rebel clans of Nahd and 'Aqīl.[302] He also turned both towards Ḥadramawt to support the Ibāḍite leader A. Isḥāq and eastwards to re-establish his rule over *Arḍ al-Hind* in al-Manṣūra city. Wilkinson thinks that the main difference distinguishing the 11th century second Imamate from 9th century first Imamate is that by the time of the second Omani Imamate, Ibāḍite doctrine had been fully developed into maturity.[303]

VII- The chronology of Imams in Oman

Ibn al-Aṯhīr refers to the events of 363/974 when Oman revolted against the Buyids shortly after Mu'az al-Dawlah's death, and when the Omanis elected an imam named Ḥafṣ b. Rāshid and a leader called Ward b. Ziyād.[304] Imam Ḥafṣ b. Rāshid's war with al-Muṭahir b. 'Abdullāh was mentioned by the *sīra* of A. al-Ḥasan al-Bisyāwī. Al-Muṭahir b. 'Abdullāh was the leader of a Buyid military campaign to Oman. According to the *sīra* however, the Imam Ḥafṣ b. Rāshid was appointed to the Imamate twice and Abū al-Ḥasan was doubtful of the first Imamate of Ḥafṣ b. Rāshid.[305] Al-Sālimī,

however, denied Ibn al-Athīr's accounts for two reasons: first by saying that the Imam Hafs b. Rāshid [455/1062-472/1088] was the son of the Imam Rāshid b. Sa'īd [425/1033-455/1062]. Secondly, Imam Hafs b. Rāshid is not mentioned in the Omani sources of this time.[306] Now this issue leads us to re-examine the chronology of the Omani Imams. Historically, at first sight when we compare Ibn al-Athīr's and Ibn Miskawayh's accounts with the *sīra* of A. al-Hasan al-Bisyāwī, it appears that we should accept Ibn Athīr and Ibn Miskawayh rather than al-Sālimī's suggestion. When we try to reconcile these statements, we see that al-Bisyāwī lived between the middle of 4th/10th century and the beginning of the 5th/11th century, and that makes it impossible to argue that he lived during Hafs b. Rāshid's reign. Al-Bisyāwī reports in his *sīra* that he lived during the Imamate of Rāshid b. al-Walīd 328-342 and his teacher (*shaykh*) Ibn Baraka had imposed a payment from him in connection with an endowment.[307]

Secondly, most of the Omani historical compilations and the Omani *siyar* are far from clear in this period their coverage of and we have some difficulty in accepting their chronology of Imams. Of course, the confusion seems to have arisen because Omanis remembered Hafs as the son of an imam called Rāshid without remembering who this Rāshid was.[308] The author of *Kashf al-Ghumma* mentions that Hafs was the son of Imam Rāshid b. Sa'īd,[309] and possibly the Omani historians followed him in this chronology.

Al-Batāshī, (1998) has another hypothesis of the Omani Imams' chronology during this period. The basis of this suggestion was drawn from the *sīra* to the Imam al-Khalīl b. Sādhān written by a scholar calling him to follow the footstep of Imam Rāshid b. Sa'īd.[310] The hypothesis proposed through examining the historical events in the Imamate,[311] is the following:

First al-Batāshī claims that Hafs b. Rāshid was the brother of the grandfather of Imam Rāshid b. Sa'īd. However, he denied that Hafs was the son of Rāshid b. Sa'īd. His version of the Imam Rāshid b. Sa'īd's genealogy is that: Rāshid b. Sa'īd b. 'Abdullāh b. Rāshid b. Sa'īd b. Muhammad al-Yahmadī. So, according to this account, 'Abdullāh who was the grandfather of Imam Rāshid b. Sa'īd was actually the brother of Imam Hafs b. Rāshid.

Secondly, he examined the *sīra* of A. al-Ḥasan al-Bisyāwi and showed that the Imam Ḥafṣ was elected twice to the Imamate. Al-Bisyāwī's *sīra* explains that the first election of Imam Ḥafṣ could have been repeated, or the second one can be considered valid. Ibn al-Aṯhīr notes, as we saw above, showed that the revolution was in 363/974 when the Buyids forced him to take refuge in Yemen.[312]

Thirdly, al-Baṭāshī's hypothesis that al-Khalīl b. Shādhān [407/1016-425/1033] came later than Imam Rāshid b. Sa'īd. He suggests that the first one was Ḥafṣ b. Rāshid who was elected to be the Imam in 353/964 until Buyids defeated him in 363/974. The second one was Rāshid b. Sa'īd who died in 445/1053. The last one was al-Khalīl b. Shādhān who was elected as an Imam in 447/1055 until 474/1081. However, he argues that the earlier historians in Oman may have made a mistake in copying by confusing 407/1016 with 447/1055. This argument could be correct and can be used as the basis for relating these Imams to the Ibāḍite leader in Ḥaḍramawt, A. Isḥāq al-Ḥaḍramī, and the wars he was involved in with the Sulayḥids who were supported by the Fatimids.[313]

Al-Ḥāmid, on the other hand, denied Abū Isḥāq's relevance[314] because of the historical that the Sulayḥid State existed during the years 439/1047-532/1138 and al-Khalīl's reign uncertainty whether is correctly dated between 407/1016-425/1033. Nevertheless, Abū Isḥāq sought help in his poetry from both the Imams Rāshid and al-Khalīl. It is impossible to accept his poetry as evidence since requested the help of Imam al-Khalīl against the Sulayḥids before their state was actually founded in Ḥaḍramawt. Likewise, Bāwazīr argues that al-Sālimī could have made an error in the date of al-Khalīl's death.[315]

Abū Isḥāq al-Ḥaḍramī seems to have been a deputy under the Omani authority before he gained independence in Shawwāl 454/1062. Alternatively, Wilkinson reports that Ḥafṣ b. Rāshid succeeded his father (Rāshid b. Sa'īd) in 445/1053 without election, though the Ḥaḍrami Imam broke away, and recognized the first two Imams in the one *miṣr*.[316] There thus appears to be a strong correlation between al-Baṭāshī's hypothesis and the relevance of Abū Isḥāq, as can be seen through the Sulayḥid appeal to the Fatimids which took place in Yemen in 453/1061. This leads to some kind of confrontation between Omanis and Fatimids about control of the southern Arabian Peninsula. This confrontation demonstrates the extent of Ibāḍite influence in

Hadramawt and Yemen and also it emphasises the role of the Sulayhids in eliminating the existence of Ibādism in Yemen and Hadramawt.

We can now draw the following chronology:

1- Imam Rāshid b. al-Walīd 328-342

2- Imam Hafs b. Rāshid 353-363

3- Imam Rāshid b. Sa'īd 425-445

4- Imam al-Khalīl b. Sādhān 447-474

5- Imam Rāshid b. 'Alī 475-513

The previous chronology is:

1- Imam Rāshid b. al-Walīd 328-342

2- Imam al-Khalīl b. Sādhān 407-425

3- Imam Rāshid b. Sa'īd 425-445

4- Imam Hafs b. Rāshid 445- 475?

5-Imam Rāshid b. 'Alī 475-513

This revised chronology could make a tremendous transformation in the understanding of that period, as it highlights a new vision of Omani history and it also emphasises the importance of foreign sources as a supplement of Omani literature.

VIII- Conclusion

The production of the *siyar* came from the *'ulamā'* who prospered through contact with the outside world and not from isolation. The *siyar* spread Omani influence through trade caravans or maritime routes and trans-shipment. Consequently, the Omanis came to rule the Ibādite in the East and made them familiar with the *Mashāriqa* School. At the same time, the Omanis began to react to foreign occupation by identifying their 'national' sense of unity with Ibādism, and it was from then that they began to call themselves Ibādites and formalize their sect and theology.[317] In spite of the disasters which accompanied this period, the Omanis were fortunate to live in an era, which had witnessed the flourishing of both jurisprudence and Ibādite theology. Further, many scholars flourished, such as Ibn Ja'far, Ibn Baraka, al-Kudamī and al-Bisyāwī.[318] Nevertheless, the *'ulamā'* started a new period of evolution and formulation of legislation policy in the imamate.[319]

So far, this discussion leads us to ask if the political setting of Oman had been influenced by or had influenced the Ibāḍism in Asia? As yet, we have neither convincing evidence nor substantial answer to confirm this point. There are several possibilities to defend such an attitude: firstly, the second Imamate lasted less than a century, before the country was occupied by Daylams and Seljuk. Particularly, in the centuries after the second Imamate collapsed, the Hourmazi Kingdom emerged and its ruler attempted to control the Gulf trade.[320] This attempt resulted in the destruction of most of the Eastern Coast of Oman.[321] Further, it weakened the communications between the Ibāḍite parties in Asia, and we may suggest that the Omani *'ulamā'* emigrated from the coast to the interior and used it as a base. As a consequence, the Abbasid state became feeble and the meaning of setting up an Islamic state had changed, which parallels the view that divided the world between *Dār al-Ḥarb,* the unbeliever land, and *Dār al-Salam,* the Muslims land. Each new states consequently tried to establish its own doctrinal identity.

The second aspect was the origin of Nabhānī State in Oman. Though they were Ibāḍite, they changed the system of state from elected Imamas to hereditary successions. Consequently the *'ulamā'* did not accept them and this resulted in a conflict between the Nabhānis and the *'ulamā'* for approximately five centuries. Since then, their period has been considered as the 'Dark ages' period.[322] But this period, however, was important for the Ibāḍite as it gave them time to organise a state adopting their ideology and doctrine. Moreover, it was an era of radical changes to Islamic rule since the doctrine that was adopted became an ideology and a condition imposed on Islamic rulers as, for example; the Safavids with Shiite in Iran, the Seljuk with Sunnite doctrines in Central Asia and the Mutawakilite with Zaydite in Yemen. After this doctrinal impact, the maritime trading from the Gulf to the Red Sea resumed its flourishing activities. The Nabhānis and Omanis started to trade from the Indian Ocean to East Africa in the beginning of the 6th/12th century.[323] So this picture brings us to sum up that the Ibāḍite in Asia, more or less, had been affected by the collapse of the Omani imamate. Nevertheless, the rules of the Gulf and Omani coast had avoided the communication between Omani *'ulamā'* and the Ibāḍite in Asia, so the *'ulamā'* turned towards the Eastern African Coast and started a new era of the Ibāḍite missionaries.

This brings us to investigate the ending of the Ibāḍite in central Asia. We have found important evidence in Ibn al-Mujāwir's accounts of whether Ibāḍite in 7th/13th century

in central Asia adopting the Shāfi'ite, whereas the Kilwan people (Eastern Africa) had left the Shāfi'ite and have adopted the Ibāḍite doctrine.[324] This shifting of Islamic doctrine is interesting, the underlying concept seems to be assimilation and adopted of doctrine when there is contract but drifting apart towards other doctrine when contact is lost.

[1] Montgomery Watt tried to access 'The heresiographers literature about the Khārijite thought in the Umayyad Period' in *Der Islam*, v. 36 (1961), p. 215-231. See for further details on this regions; Wilferd Madelung, *Religious Trends in Early Islamic Iran* (Albany, 1988), p. 54-76; J. Van Ess, *TG*, v, 2.
[2] See for biographical dictionaries; Widād al-Qadi, 'Biographical Dictionaries: Inner Structure and Cultural Significance' in *The Book in the Islamic World* (Albany: SUNY Press, 1995), (ed. George N. Atiyeh), p. 93-122. There are both classical and modern works on this aspect of Ibāḍism. For more details regarding Oman see: J.C. Wilkinson; 'Bio-bibliographic Background to the Crisis Period in Ibāḍī Imamate of Oman' in *Arabian Studies*, v. 3 (1976); Van Ess, J. *'Untersuchungen einiger Ibādītischen Handschriften'* in *ZDMG*, Band cxxvi (1976), p. 25-63.
[3] Kirmān: is a province and region in south central Iran, see: G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate* (Cambridge University Press, 1930), p. 299-321.
[4] Sījistān: (Sistān) and its province is in the Helmund Valley of Western Afghanistan. See Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 334-351.
[5] Al-Jazīra: is a province in upper Mesopotamia. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 86.
[6] Shihristānī, *Al-Milal wa al-Niḥal* (Cairo, 1948), (ed. Aḥmad Fahmī), v. 1, p. 176; see also; al-Baghdādī, *Al-Farq bayn al-Firaq* (Cairo, 1328/1910), p. 61. The number of people who survived the battle of Nahrawān seems to have been exaggerated. However, al-Ya'qūbī states that less than ten men survived. See *Tārīkh* (Brill, 1883), (ed. M. TH. Houtsma), v. 2, p. 169; Abu Qaḥtān in his *sīra* agrees that there were four men survived *Siyar wa al-Jawābāt*, v. 1, p. 116. On the other hand, some accounts say that after Nahrawān there were 400 men. In comparing accounts of this event see; *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, (xvii), p. 136; Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashrāf* teil 4/1 (Wiesbaden, 1979), (ed. Iḥsān 'Abbās, p. 163; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, v. 3, p. 205.
[7] Keith Lewinsten, 'The Azāriqa in the Islamic Heresiography' in *BSOAS*, v. 54 (1991), p. 251-268; also see J. Wellhausen, *The Religio-Political Factions in early Islam* (North Holland Publishing Company, 1975), Translated by R. Ostle and S. Walzer; Rudolf Ernst Brünnow, *The Kharijites Under the First Omayyads* (Calcutta, The Muslim Review. Oriental Publication Series2) Translated by S. Khuda Bukhsh.
[8] Brünnow, *The Kharijites Under the First Ommayads*, p. 12.
[9] The leaders of those who remained after 'Abdullāh b. Wahab were: Abū Bilāl Mirdās b. Udayya, Shabīb b. Bījra, al-Mustawrad b. 'Ullifa al-Barāk and Wardān b. Majm'a al-'Aklī see: *Tārīkh Khalīfa Khayyāṭ* (Beirut, 1993), (ed. Suhail Zakār), p. 149.
[10] Wellhausen, *The Religio-Political Factions in early Islam*, p. 14.
[11] The last rebellion of the Kūfan Khārijites under their leader Ḥayyān b. Żabyān al-Sulamī, Mu'ādh b. Juwayn al-Ṭā'ī was in 58/677 when al-Mughīra b. Shu'ba died and Ḥayyān b. Żubyān al-Sulamī was chosen as Caliph. His companions gave allegiance to him. Ḥayyān proposed going to Ḥulwān to assemble all the like-minded supporters; in the subsequent battle between Kūfa and Rayy they were killed. See further: *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, xviii, p. 192-196. For their revolution in Kūfa, the *sīra* (lii) records their early leaders starting with Ziyād b. Kharāsh, moving on to Tamīm bin Maslama and finally dealing with 'Alī al-A'raj. In the meanwhile of Ibāḍite in Iraq, however, there were Ibāḍite theologian in Kūfa who were followed by Nukkār of North Africa. Ennami, *Studies in Ibādism*, p. 250.
[12] Wilkinson, 'The Early Development of the Ibādī movement in Basra', p. 125-142.
[13] For Abu Bilāl's death, see: *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, xix, p. 183-184. Ibn Al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, v. 3, p. 303.
[14] This could be argued when considering the fact that the Khārijites of Basra had a schism after the death of Abū Bilāl, see: al-Mubarrad, *Al-Kāmil* (Beirut, n.d), v. 2, p. 208-213.

[15] They used Koranic text for these arguments; Koran verses; 4:100, 8:74. See also EI2: art. Hidjra. Al-Ash'arī, *Maqālāt al-Islāmiyīn*, p. 8.
[16] EI2; art.Khāridjite.
[17] EI2; art. Isti'rād.
[18] Montgomery Watt gives a list of their revolts from their first rising up to 680. Watt, 'Khārijite Thought in the Umayyad Period', in *Der Islam*, v. 36(1961), p. 215-231.
[19] Khūzistān: a province in Eastern Iran and at the present day this district of Persia is known as 'Arabistān. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 232.
[20] Fārs: is a province in South-western Iran. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 248-298.
[21] Ibn Al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, v. 3, p. 183.
[22] Daskara a village northeast of Nahrawān. See Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 80.
[23] Māsbadhān is a town in the province and region of Jibāl in Eastern Iran. See Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 202.
[24] Jarjarāya: it was the capital of the district of lower Nahrawān, close to the Tigris. See Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 37.
[25] Bandanijān: a village northeast of Nahrawān. See Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 63 &80.
[26] Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, v. 3, p. 188-189; Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, teil 4/1, p. 163- 175.
[27] Shahrazūr: a town north of Halwān on the border between Iraq and Iran. The ruins old city is now known as Yāsīn Tāppah. See Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 248-298.
[28] A village was northern Baghdad. See Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 66.
[29]Ibn Al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, v. 3, p. 205.
[30]EI2; art. Katrī b. al-Fudjā'a.
[31]EI2; art. Muhallabids.
[32] *Tārīkh Khalīfa b. Khayyāt*, p. 154; al-Balādhurī, *Futūh al-Buldān* (Cairo, 1350/1932), (ed. by Ridwān Muhammad Ridwān), p. 396.
[33] It is one of the villages of Bahurasīr on an inlet of the Tigris. *History of al-Tabraī*, xviii, p. 62.
[34] *History of al-Tabraī*, xviii, p. 33; Ibn Al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, v. 3, p. 212.
[35] Azerbaijan: the province in northwest Iran. See Le Strange. *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 159.
[36] *Tārīkh Khalīfa b. Khayyāt*, p. 157. Ibn al-Athīr mentioned that Shabīb was killed in 41/661 in Kūfa by Khālid b. 'Utrufa or Ma'qal b. Qays, see: *al-Kāmil*, v. 3, p. 206.
[37] A town of western Iran in the north-eastern corner of the province known as Jibāl. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 214-215.
[38] Brünnow, *The Kharijites under the First Omayyads*, p. 14.
[39] See for al-Husayin's death; *The History of al-Tabarī,* xviii, p. 197; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, v. 3, p. 255. Ibn al-Athīr mentioned another report that 'Urwa was killed in 61/681 after the death of his brother A. Bilāl, see: *al-Kāmil*, v. 3, p. 304.
[40] It is in province of Khūzistān, and was a capital city of the region. *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 232.
[41] Āsak is a town in Ahwāz. *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 244 & 247.
[42] *History of al-Tabarī*, xix, p. 91; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, v. 3, p. 303.
[43] See further Ignaz Goldziher, *Muslim Studies* (London, 1967), (ed. by S. M. Stern, Translated by C.R. Barber and S. M. Stern, v. 1, p. 40-97.
[44] Wellhausen, *The Religio-Political Factions in Early Islam*, p. 12.
[45] *ibid.*, p. 12.
[46] Watt, 'Khārijite thought in the Umayyad Period', in *Der Islam*, v. 36 (1961), p. 217.
[47] Brünnow, *The Khārijites under the First Ommayed*, p. 17.
[48] See the death of al-Husayin; *The History of al-Tabarī*, xix, p. 91; Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil*, v. 3, p. 266; Abū Faraj al-Isbahānī, *Maqātil al-Tālibiyīn* (Cairo, 1365/1946), (ed. by al-Sayyīd Ahmad Saqar), p. 78.
[49] Throughout the Umayyad period, Eastern Mesopotamia was used as refuge by political and religious movements and the rebellions. Cf. Bernard Lewis, 'On the Revolution in Early Islam' in *Journal of Islamic Studies*, v. 32 (1970), p. 215-231.
[50] For this case in more detail; Watt, *Islamic Philosophy and Theology*, p. 5-6.
[51] See the Khārijites schism through heresiographical sources, also al-Mubarrad, *Al-Kāmil*, v. 2, p. 213; EI2; art. Khāridjites.
[52] In the beginning of Muhakimma's schism al-Mubarrad recounts that they followed three leaders; Nāfi' b. al-Azraq, A. Bayhas and 'Abdullāh b. Ibād, Najdiyya and Sufriyya, however, followed Ibn Ibād, see: *Al-Kāmil*, v. 2, p. 213; also see Cook's accounts: *Early Muslims Dogma*, p. 89-90.
[53] For Khārijite tribes see Ibn Khaldūn, *Tārīkh*, v. 3, p. 310, Ibn Khaldūn points out that the Khārijites had been of one view and they did not differ in their views, merely in the interpretation. *Tārīkh*, v. 3, p. 311. Here we should remember that the heresiographical literatures have different views of the sense and the sub-sect numbers of the Khārijites. Al-Ash'arī says that there were originally four groups of Khārijites;

Ibādite, Sufriyya, Najdiyya and Azāriqa and the other sub-sects were approaches from Sufriyya, see: *Maqālāt*, p. 18. On the other hand, al-Shahristānī states that the Khārijite were six groups and added the 'Ajārida and Tha'āliba. See; *Al-Milal wa al-Nihal*, p. 86. See also al-Maqrīzī's accounts; *al-Khiṭaṭ*, v. 4, p. 180. For other accounts of the Khārijites sub-sects see; Elie Salem, *Political Theory and Institution of the Khawarij* (Johns Hopkins Press: Baltimore, 1956), p. 25. On the other hand, The *sīra* (lii) also gives interesting a chronological list of the Khārijites in Basra as follows: Nāfi' b. al-Azraq, Najda b. 'Āmir, 'Aṭiyya b. Ziyād, Sālih, Shabīb, Abū Bayhas, 'Abdullāh b. Saffār, al-Jahm b. Safwān with his followers, Tha'labite, Shu'ayb al-Kurmānī, and finally later leaders, namely Dāwūd, Maṭar, Mansūr, al-Haydam, 'Azīz, Hamza, Abū Ishāq and Abū 'Awf.

[54] Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil*, v. 3, p. 335; *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, xx, p. 101.

[55] Al-Ash'arī, *Maqālāt*, p. 6; Al-Shahristānī, *Al-Milal wa al-Nihal*, p. 89; EI2; art. Azārika.

[56] This sense is against the *Kharūj,* which is the rebel extreme. This name of Q'ada is attributed to people who remained at home unlike the Khārijite. See EI2; art. al-Ibādiyyah.

[57] Duncan Macdonald, *Development of Muslim Theology, Jurisprudence and Constitutional Theory* (Lahore, n.d), p. 25.

[58] Wellhausen, *The Religio-Political Faction*, p. 45; Keith Lewinstein, 'The Azāriqa in Islamic Heresiography', in *BSOAS*, v. 54 (1991), p. 251-268.

[59] Ibn Khaldūn gives relevant details of Najdites see; *Tārīkh*, v. 3, p. 314. Also Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil*, v. 3, p. 352; Al-Shahristānī, *Al-Milal wa al-Nihal*, p. 91; al-Ash'arī, *Maqālāt*, p. 11. More interesting and relevant is the view by al-Mubarrad says that Najdiyya and Sufriyya views were following Ibn Ibād in that time, see: *al-Kāmil*, v. 2, p. 213.

[60] Watt, '*Khārijite thought in the Umayyad Period*', in *Der Islam*, v. 36, p. 217.

[61] Welhausen, *The Religio-Political Faction in Early Islam*, p. 45.

[62] Ibn Khaldūn, *Tārīkh*, v. 3, p. 345.

[63] Al-Bagdādī, *Al-Farq*, p. 55.

[64] Welhausen traced their rebel throughout the period with its details in; *Religio-Political Factions in Early Islam*, p. 45-78; also see Brünnow, *The Khārijites Under The First Omayyads*, p. 11.

[65]There is a doubt if Subayh was a Sufrite or Najdite, see: Ibn Hazam, *al-Fasl*, v. 3, p. 190.

[66] George C. Miles, *'Some New Light on The History of Kirmān in the First Century of Hijra '* in *The World of Islamic Studies in Honour of Philip K. Hitti* (London, 1959), (ed. J. Kritzeck and Rayly winder, p. 85-98.

[67] Van Ess, *Frühe Mu'tazilitische Häresiographie*, p. 68 & 69.

[68] Yāqūt, *Mu'gam al-Buldān,* v. 1, p. 244.

[69]Ibn Hazm, *Al-Fasl*, v. 3, p. 189.

[70] Ibn Khaldūn, *Tārīkh*, v. 4, p. 37 &183.

[71] Al-Ash'arī, *Maqālāt*, p. 13.

[72] Ibn Khaldūn mentions that when the Najdiyya were in schism and 'Aṭiyya tried unsuccessfully to seize Oman and afterwards went to Kirmān. Later al-Muhallab through Khārijites war fought and killed 'Aṭiyya in Qandābīl, see: *Tārīkh*, v. 3, p. 314. However, Ibn al-Athīr mentions that; "there is an other opinion that the Khārijites might have killed him". Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil*, v. 3, p. 353. 'Aṭiyya also minted coins in Kirmān named 'al-'Aṭawiya'; Cf. Miles, 'Some New Light on The History of Kirmān in the First Century of the Hijra', p. 85-98.

[73] Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, v. 2, p.354.

[74] Shihristānī, *Al-Milal,* v. 1, p. 193. Al-Rāzī adds that most of the Khārijite in Sistān were the followers of Najdiyya. Al-Rāzī, *I'tiqādāt Firaq al-Muslimiyīn wa al-Kāfiriyn* (Cairo, 1356/1938), (ed) 'Alī Sāmī al-Nashār, p. 47.

[75]Al-Ash'arī, *Maqālāt*, p. 13-19.

[76] Ibn Hazm asserts that the 'Ajāridites are a sub-sect of the Sufriyya. *Al-Fasl*, v. 4, p. 190.

[77] Shihristānī, *Al-Milal wa al-Nihal*, v. 1, p. 187.

[78] *ibid.*, v. 1, p. 203.

[79] *ibid.*, v. 1, p. 210.

[80] Ibn Hazam, *Al-Fasl*, v. 4, p. 191.

[81] See more details Bogdan Skladanek, 'Elements of Chronology of the Khārijite Insurrection of Hamziyya in Sistān (8^{th} –9^{th} century). Its outbreak and fall' in *Folia Orientalia*, v. 22 (1980-84), p. 81-95. However, some heresiographies attributed the Hamziyya as a sub-sect from 'Ajārida and 'Aṭwiya. Also see G. Scarcia, 'Lo scambio di Letter fra Hārūn al-Rāshīd e Hamza al-Harigi seconde il 'Tarihi –Sistān' in *AIUON*, N.S, v. 15(1950), p. 303.

[82] See further Wilkinson, 'The Early Development of the Ibādī movement in Basra'. See also; 'The Julandā of Oman' in *Journal of Oman Studies*, v. i (1975) p. 97-108.

[83] Al-'Awtabī, *Al-Ansāb*, v. 2, p. 169; Ibn Hazam, *Djamharat Ansab Al-'Arab* (Cairo, 1948), (ed. by E. Levi Provencal, p. 364; Al-Darjīnī notes that Ibn Wahab is Omani. *Tabaqāt*, v. 2, p. 201.

[84]See more details of Azd 'Umān and their settlement: Al-'Awtabī, *Al-Ansāb*, v. 2, p. 43; Sirhan, *Annals of Oman*, p. 3-9; Wilkinson, *Water and Tribal settlement in South-East Arabia: A Study of the Aflaj of Oman* (Oxford, 1977); EI2: art. Azd.
[85]Al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-Buldān*, p. 87.
[86] Al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-Buldān*, p. 345.
[87] Al-Mubarrad says they were a group of Khārijites of Tamīm under 'Abs bin Ṭalq al-Suraymī. *Al-Kāmil*, v. 2, p. 208.
[88] Ibn Khaldūn, *Tārīkh*, v. 3, p. 465.
[89] Al-Mubarrad, *Al-Kāmil*, v. 2, p. 231.
[90] *ibid.*, v. 2, p. 231.
[91] *ibid.*, v. 2, p. 259.
[92] *ibid.*, v. 2, p. 254. The Persian called Oman "Mazūn". As an Arab poet has said: " The Kesra named Oman Mazun, And Mazun, O friend! is a goodly land, And land abounding in fields and groves, with pastures and unfailing springs". Sirhan, *Annals of Oman*, p. 7.
[93] Al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, v. 5, p. 457; Cook, *Early Muslim Dogma*, p. 63.
[94] Al-Mas'ūdī considers Jābir was a *mawlā* of Azd; *Murūj*, v. 5, p. 462.
[95] For this list see Ibn Maddād, *Sīra*, Ms, p. 2-5.
[96] Al-Baghdādī, *al-Farq*, p. 64.
[97] Ibn Khaldūn, *Tārīkh*, v. 3, p. 314.
[98] Abū 'Ubaydallāh Al-Marzubānī, *al-Nūr al-Muqtabs min al-Muqtabas* (Wiesbaden, 1964), (ed. Rudolf Sellhien), p. 56.
[99] See for more details, Ibn Khaldūn, *Tārīkh*, v. 3, p. 354; Ibn al-Athīr, al-*Kāmil*, v. 4, p. 299; Al-Sālimī, *Tuhfa*, v. 1, p. 94.
[100] Watt, *The Formative Period of Islamic Thought*, p. 29-30.
[101] Al-Kindī, *Al-Muṣannaf*, v. 10, p. 252.
[102] Al-Shammākhī, *Al-Siyar*, v. 1, p. 83.
[103] Wellhausen, *Politic-Religion Faction*, p. 80.
[104] EI2, v. 3, p. 650. There are also two useful articles which discuss the transformation during this period. Laura Veccia Vaglieri has already discussed most of the Khārijite activities and rebellions in the Abbasid era. 'Le vicende del Harigismo in epoca abbaside', in *Rivista degli studi orientali*, v. 24 (1949), p. 31-44. Professor Watt gives also more details and brief accounts of the transformation policy by in his article 'The Significance of Khārijism Under the Abbasids' in *Recherches d' Islamologie*, in (Anawati- Gradet Festschrt), Louvain, 1978.
[105] Al-Darjīnī, *Ṭabaqāt*, v. 2, p. 232; al-Shammākhī, *Al-Siyar*, v. 1, p. 74.
[106] Al-Darjīnī, *Ṭabaqāt*, v. 2, p. 210, 240, 254 & 276; al-Shammākhī, *Al-Siyar*, v. 1, p. 81.
[107] Wilkinson, 'The Early Development of The Ibādī Movement in Basra', p. 137.
[108] Al-Jāḥiż, *Al-Bayān wa al-Tabyīn*, v. 1, p. 347 & v. 3, p. 265; Al-Iṣbahānī, *Al-Aghānī*, v. 23, p. 224; EI2, v. 3, p. 649.
[109] Al-Shammākhī, *Al-Siyar*, v. 1, p. 96; Al-Darjīnī, *Ṭabaqāt*, v. 2, p. 251.
[110] Al-Shammākhī, *Al-Siyar*, v. 1, p. 98; Al-Darjīnī, *Ṭabaqāt*, v. 2, p. 250.
[111] Al-Sālimī, *Lum'a*, p. 6; as al-Sālimī state that he adopted the Ibāḍites.
[112] Al-Shammākhī, *Al-Siyar*, v. 1, p. 81, 107, 108; Al-Darjīnī, *Ṭabaqāt*, v. 2, p. 248.
[113] Al-Darjīnī, *Ṭabaqāt*, v. 1, p. 12 as well as the chapter "The Advantage of Persiasn" in Al-Shammākhī. *al-Siyar*, v. 1, p. 43-53.
[114] *ibid.*, v. 1, p. 12.
[115] *ibid.*, v. 1, p. 13.
[116] Al-Ash'arī, *Maqālāt*, p. 20; Al-Shihristānī, *al-Milal*, v. 1, p. 216.
[117] A city in Quhstān province, nearest Qā'n city. Yāqūt, *Mu'gam al-Buldān*, v. 2, p. 62.
[118] Al-Shihristānī, *al-Milal*, v. 1, p. 215; Van Ess, *TG*, v. 2, p. 614.
[119] Van Ess, 'The Beginning of Islamic Theology' in *The Cultural Context of Medieval Learning* (Dordrecht and Boston, 1975), (ed. J. E. Murdoch and E. D. Sylla); also Van Ess, *Anfänge Muslimischer Theologie*, p. 20; al-Darjīnī, *Ṭabaqāt*, v. 2, p. 233.
[120] Al-Shihristānī, *al-Milal*, v. 1, p. 215; Al-Ash'arī, *Maqālāt*, p. 20.
[121] Al-Shammākhī, *Al-Siyar*, v. 1, p. 79 & 97; Al- Darjīnī, *Ṭabaqāt*, v. 2, p. 243. Lewicki argues that Ḥamza al-Kūfī was the founder of the Harithiyya sect; also this sect existed after the middle of the 3rd/9th century; EI2, v. 3, p. 659. On the other hand, al-Baghdādī notes that the Hārithiyya are the followers of Hārith b. Maziyad who got the knowledge from 'Abdullāh b. Ibāḍ. Al-Baghdādī, *Al-Farq*, p. 84; Van Ess, *TG*, v. 2, p. 204.
[122] Al-Shammākhī, *Al-Siyar*, v. 1, p. 97,110.
[123] Al-Shammākhī, *Al-Siyar*, v. 1, p. 96. On the other hand, al-Darjīnī claims that happened in Najrān. *Ṭabaqāt*, v. 2, p. 276.
[124] Al-Sālimī, *Tuhfa*, v. 1, p. 157; *Siyar wa al-Jawabāt*, v. 1, p. 237-373.

[125] Al-Sālimī, *Tuhfa*, v. 1, p. 158. See also Montgomery Watt, *Free Will and Predestination in Early Islam*, p. 32-40.
[126] Cf; Salem, *Political Theory and Institution of The Khawārij*, p. 42; Cook, *Early Muslim Dogma*, chapter 15th (An epistle of Jacob of Edessa), p. 145; also Cook, '*The origins of Kalām*' in *BSOAS*, v. 43 (1980), p. 31-37.
[127] Aḥmad al-Nāṣir al-Dīn, *Kitāb Al-Njā'* (Wiesbaden, 1985), (ed. Wilferd Madelung. Furthermore, Ibn al-Nadīm in *al-Fihrist* desecrates some Ibāḍites scholars and their anti-Qadriyya works, see: *Al-Fihrist*, p. 452 & 589.
[128] Watt, *The Formative of Islamic Thought*, p. 152.
[129] Van Ess, *TG*, v2, p. 202.
[130] 'Abdullāh b. Yazīd al-Fuzārī explains this development of Ibāḍism during that time: "the followers of al-Rabī' (b. Ḥabib) had developed further than us because they had followed the *āṯhār* (tradition) and we followed the *Ra'y*". Al-Darjīnī, *Ṭabaqāt*, v. 2, p. 477.
[131] Jumayīl b. al-Sa'dī, *Qāmūs al-Sharī'a*, v. 3, p. 285-98; Al-Kindī, *Bayān al-Shar'*, v. 3, p. 277-94.
[132] Cf. Patricia Crone, ' A Statement by the Najdiyya Khārijites on the dispensability of the imamate' in *Journal of Islamic Studies*, v. 86 (1998), p. 55-76.
[133] Crone and Zimmermann, *The Epistle of Sālim b. Dhakwān*, ch. 8, p. 4.
[134] Crone and Zimmermann, *The Epistle of Sālim b. Dhakwān*, ch. 8, p. 4.
[135] *Siyar wa al-Jawābāt*, v. 1, p. 204.
[136] Crone and Zimmermann, *The Epistle of Sālim b. Dhakwān*, Appendices, p. 7.
[137] Crone and Zimmermann, *The Epistle of Sālim b. Dhakwān*, Appendices, p. 8.
[138] Ennami, *Studies in Ibādism*, p. 263.
[139] Lewistein's hypothesis is that the Ṣufriyya might be right that they had not identified with other Khārijites until the first century. Cf. Keith Lewistein,' Making and Unmaking sect: The Heresiographers and the Ṣufriyya', in *Journal of Islamic studies*, v. 62 (1992), p. 89.
[140] Al-Darjīnī, *Ṭabaqāt*, v. 1, p. 11; Warner Schwartz, *Die Anfänge Der Ibaditen in NordAfrika*, p. 276.
[141] There is a claim that he died in Oman, see: Al-Darjīnī, *Ṭabaqāt*, v. 2, p. 226; Al-Al-Shammākhī, *Al-Siyar*, v. 1, p. 73. But Yāqūt says that he died in Furayṯh which is a village of Wāṣt province, see: *Mu'gam al-Buldān*, v. 4, p. 258. According to al-Isbahānī 'Umrān died in Rūḏhmīsān. *Al-Aghānī*, v. 18, p. 114.
[142] *Siyar wa al-Jawabāt*, v. 2, p. 25.
[143] Al-Barrādī, *Risāla*, p. 55.
[144] Ibn Khaldūn, *Tārīkh*, v. 6, p. 210.
[145] Lewicki, EI2, v. 3, p. 649; Wilkinson, *Early Ibādī development*, p. 139.
[146] Lewicki, EI2, v. 3, p. 649; Wilkinson, *Early Ibādī development*, p. 39; Ennami, *Studies in Ibādism*, p.122.
[147] Rabī' bin Ḥabīb, *al-Jāmi' al-Saḥīḥ*, p. 353.
[148] Madelung, *Religious Trends in Early Islamic Iran*, p. 74.
[149] Ibn Sallām al-Ibāḍī, *Bad' al-Islām wa Sharā'i' al-dīn* (Beirut, 1986), (ed. by W. Schwartz and Sālim b. Ya'qūb, p.115.
[150] Al-Sālimī, *Lum'a*, p. 13.
[151] Al-Sālimī, *Tuḥfa*, v. 1, p. 95.
[152] Madelung, *Religious Trends in Early Islamic Iran*, p. 74.
[153] Al-Sālimī, *Tuḥfa*, v. 1, p.105. See the first chapter on his *sīra* (xxxii).
[154] Ibn Maddād, *Sīra*, Ms, p. 5.
[155] Ibn Ja'far, *Jāmi'*, v. 2, p. 103 & 234.
[156] Abū Ghānim al-Khurāsānī, *Mudawwana*, v. 1, p. 205.
[157] EI2; art. Rustamid.
[158] The generation of the Rustamid dynasty is: 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Rustam b. Buhrām b. Dustār b. Sābūr b. Babikān b. Sābūr (Shammākhī, *Al-Siyar*, v. 1, p. 130). Also Shammākhī gives another version which is; 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Rustam b. Buhrām b. Sām b. Kisrā (v. 1, p. 113), and al-Darjīnī relates yet another one; 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Rustam b. Buhrām b. Kisrā b. Dhū Shirāz b. Sābūr b. Babikān b. Sābūr. (*Ṭabaqāt*, v. 1, p. 19); see also Ibn Khaldūn, *Tārīkh*, v. 6, p. 223-225; Ibn Ḥazm, *Djamhrat*, p.475.
[159] Shammākhī, *Al-Siyar*, v. 1, p. 144 & 162; Ibn Sallām, *Bad' al-Islam*, p. 135; Madelung, *Religious Trends in Early Islamic Iran*, p. 74; EI2: art. Khalafiyya.
[160] EI2: art. Abū Ghānim Bishr b. Ghānim al-Khurāsānī; Al-Darjīnī, *Ṭabaqāt*, v. 1, p. 42. See also Wilkinson, 'Ibadi Ḥadīth: an essay on Normalization', in *Der Islam*, v. 62 (1985), p. 231-259; Cook, *Early Muslim Dogma*, p. 131; Van Ess, *TG*, v2, p. 602.
[161] Ibn Ja'far. *Jāmi'*. v3, 142.
[162] See Ibn al-Nadīm, *Al-Fihrist*, p. 258-259. Professor Michael Cook wonders why these Ibāḍite names appear in the Ibn al-Nadīm and al-Ash'arī lists but are not found in the Ibāḍite *Ṭabaqāt*: he suggests that

they may be Kūfan Ibāḍite (a private e-mail). As he suggests perhaps to al-Mas'ūdī referring to 'Abdullāh bin Yazīd al-Fuzārī was in Kūfa, *Murūj*, v. 5, p. 441-444.
[163] See also; Al-Ash'arī, *Maqālāt*, p. 35.
[164] *ibid.*, p. 329.
[165] Al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, v. 5, p. 441-444.
[166] Al-Ash'arī, *Maqālāt*, p. 35.
[167] Ennami, *Studies in Ibādism*, p. 250.
[168] See Laura Veccia Vaglieri, 'Le vicende del Harigismo in epoca abbaside', in *Rivista degli studi orientali*, v. 24(1949), p. 31-44.
[169] Watt, *The Significance of Khārijism Under the 'Abbāsid*, p. 387.
[170] For further information on the spread of Murji'a thought in Asia, see: Madelung, 'The early Murji'a in Khurāsān and Transoxania and spread of Hanafism', in *Der Islam*, v. 59 (1982), p. 32-39.
[171] According to Ibn al-Mujāwir (d.7/13) they extended throughout most of northern Iraq and Kurdish mountains as well as in Baghdad and Basra. Ibn al-Mujāwir, *Tārīkh al-Mustabṣir* (Leiden, 1954), (ed. Oscar Lofgren), v. 2, p. 279.
[172] Ibn Ḥawqal, *Ṣūrat al-Arḍ*, p. 37; Al-Idrīsī, *Nuzhat al-Mushtāq*, v. 1, p. 164.
[173] Al-Istakhrī, *Al-Masālik wa al-Mamālik* (Leiden, 1967), p. 25; Ibn Khaldūn, *Tārīkh*, v. 4, p. 484.
[174] Ibn Khaldūn, *Tārīkh*, v. 4, p. 485.
[175] Ibn al-Mujāwir, *Tārīkh al-Mustabṣir*, v. 2, p. 279.
[176] Yāqūt, *Mu'gam al-Buldān*, v. 3, p. 227.
[177] Ibn al-Mujāwir, *Tārīkh al-Mustabṣir*, v. 2, p. 279.
[178] A town nearest Mosul in Jazīrah province, see: Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 90.
[179] Ibn al-Nadīm, *Al-Fihrst*, p. 329.
[180] EI2, v.3, p. 651.
[181] Madelung, *Religious Trends in Early Islamic Iran*, p. 54-76; Van Ess, *TG*, v2, p. 573-655.
[182] See further information about the *sīra* of Sālim b. Dhakwān in the first chapter.
[183] Van Ess, *TG*, v1, p. 172.
[184] Al-Astakhrī, *Al-Masālik*, p. 141. On the other hand, Ibn Ḥazam attributed them to his brother Abū Bilāl. *Djmhrat*, p. 212. Nevertheless, Ibn Durayd emphasised that Abū Bilāl did not have any progeny. Ishtiqāq, v. 2, p. 167.
[185] Al-Astakhrī, *Al-Masālik*, p. 141. Wilkinson discusses the relation between these clans, see: 'Suhar in the Early Islamic Period ', in *Istituto Universitario Orientale Seminario Di Studi Asiatici*, Naples (1979), p. 897.
[186] Al-Astakhrī, *Al-Masālik wa al-Mamālik*, p. 116.
[187] Al-'Awtabī, *Al-Ansāb*, v. 2, p. 218.
[188] Wilkinson, *Suhar in the Early Islamic period*, p. 895.
[189] Ibn Khaldūn, *Tārīkh*, v. 4, p. 686.
[190] Al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, v. 1, p.239-240.
[191] Madelung, *Religious Trends*, p. 76.
[192] Ibn al-Mujāwir, *Tārīkh al-Mustabṣir*, p. 279.
[193] Ibn Khurdādhdhbah, *Al-Masālik wa al-Mamālik* (Leiden, 1967), p. 62; al-Idrīsī, *Nuzhat al-Mushtāq*, v. 1, p. 164; EI2, v. 3, p. 653.
[194] See further Bam City in Le Strange, *The Lands of The Eastern Caliphate*, p. 312.
[195] Ibn Ḥawqal, *Ṣūrat al-Arḍ*, p. 312; Al-Astakhirī, *Al-Masālik*, p. 166.
[196] Madelung, *Religious Trends in Early Islamic Iran*, p. 70.
[197] Wilkinson, 'Oman and East Africa: New Light on Early Kilwan History from the Omani Sources', in *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, v. 6 (1981), p. 279.
[198] Madelung, *Religious Trends in Early Islamic Iran*, p. 62.
[199] Madelung, *Religious Trends*, p. 63.
[200] Crone and Zimmermann, *The Epistle of Sālim b. Dhakwān*, ch. 8, p. 22.
[201] Wilkinson, 'Suhar in the early Islamic Period', p. 897.
[202] Al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-Buldān*, p. 420.
[203] Al-Ḥjāj b. Yūsuf (the Umayyad governor of Iraq) ordered his deputy in Oman Badīl b. Tuhfa al-Bajlī to *Daybul*. Al-Blādhurī, *Futūḥ al-Buldān*, p. 422.
[204] Al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-Buldān*, p. 421; EI2: art. Daybul.
[205] Al-Kindī, *al-Muṣannaf*, v. 11, p. 145; Wilkinson, *The Imamate Tradition of Oman*, p. 332.
[206] Al-Sālimī, *Tuhfa*, v. 1, p. 166.
[207] Al-Sālimī, *Tuhfa*, v. 1, p. 123.
[208] Al-Mas'ūdī, *Al-Tanbīh wa 'l-Ischrāf* (Leiden, 1967), p. 355.
[209] EI2: art. Daybul.
[210] Al-Sālimī, *Tuhfa*, v. 1, p. 155.

[211] Ibn Ja'far, *Jāmi'*, v. 3, p. 73.
[212] Ibn 'Abd al-Mun'im al-Himyarī, *Al-Rawḍ al-Mi'ṭār fī Khabar al-Aqṭār* (Librairie Du Liban, 1975), (ed. Ihsān 'Abbās), p. 250.
[213] Al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, v. 1, p. 239.
[214] EI2, v. 3, p. 653.
[215] Ibn Hawqal, *Sūrat al-Arḍ*, p. 319; Al-Istakhrī, *Al-Masālik*, p. 177.
[216] Al-Istakhrī, *Al-Masālik*, p. 177.
[217] See chapter 4th; also EI2, v. 3, p. 653.
[218] Ibn al-Mujāwir, *Tārīkh al-Mustabṣir*, v. 2, p. 279.
[219] Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, v. 4, p. 341.
[220] Al-Shihrastānī, *Al-Milal*, v. 1, p. 203.
[221] Al-Bagdādī, *Al-Farq*, p. 78.
[222] Madelung, *Religious Trends*, p. 66.
[223] W. Barthold, *An Historical Geography of Iran* (Princeton University Press, 1984), Translated by Savt Soucek, (ed) C. E. Bosworth, p. 70. Also see: *The Tārīkh Sīstān* (Istituto Italiano Per Il Ed Estreno Oriente: Roma, 1976), Translated by Milton Gold, p. 7.
[224] Al-Shirastānī, *Al-Milal*, v. 1, p. 176.
[225] Al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-Buldān*, p. 387.
[226] W. Barthold, *Turkestan Down to the Mongol Invasion*, Translated by H.A.R. Gibbs, p. 198.
[227] Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, v. 3, p. 190.
[228] Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 342; Yāqūt, *Mu'gam al-Buldān*, v. 4, p. 458.
[229]Barthold, *Turkestan Down to the Mongol Invasion*, p. 213.
[230]Ibn al-Mujāwir, *Tārīkh al-Mustabṣir*, p. 279.
[231] Crone and Zimmermann, *The Epistle of Sālim b. Dhakwān*, ch. 8, p. 9.
[232] Al-Shihrastānī, *Al-Milal*, v. 1, p. 187 &193; al-Baghdādī, *Al-Farq*, p. 61.
[233] EI2; art. Ibādiyyah.
[234] Ibn Khaldūn, *Tārīkh*, v. 4, p. 414&415.
[235] Crone and Zimmermann, *The Epistle of Sālim b. Dhakwān*, ch. 8, p. 9 & 22.
[236] Al-Shaqṣī, *Manhaj al-Ṭālibyīn*, v. 1, p. 625; Ibn Maddād, *Sīra*, Ms, p. 18; Van Ess, *Anfänge Muslimischer Theologie*, p. 20-22.
[237] Al-Sa'dī, *Qāmūs*, v. 3, 312-5; Ibn Maddād, *Sīra*, p. 5.
[238] Crone and Zimmermann, *The Epistle of Sālim b. Dhakwān*, ch. 8, p. 22.
[239] Ibn Ja'far, *Jāmi'*, v. 1, p. 157.
[240] Ibn Mujāwir, *Tārīkh al-Mustabṣir*, p. 279.
[241] Van Ess, *TG*, v2, p. 601.
[242] *Siyar wa al-Jawābāt*, v. 1, p. 247.
[243] Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Khiṭaṭ*, v. 4, p. 180.
[244] Al-Istakhrī, *Al-Masālik*, p. 267.
[245] Cf; *The Tārīkh Sistān*, p. 178.
[246] Ibn Hawqal, *Sūrat al-Arḍ*, p. 441; Yāqūt, *Mu'gam al-Buldān*, v. 2, p. 347; *The Tārīkh Sistān*, p. 180.
[247] Madelung, *Religious Trends in Early Islamic Iran*, p. 74.
[248] Ibn al-Mujāwir, *Tārīkh al-Mustabṣir*, v. 2, p. 284.
[249] Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb Al-Shrāf*, v. 3, p. 281.
[250] Madelung, *Religious Trends in Early Islamic Iran*, p. 70.
[251] Crone and Zimmermann, *The Epistle of Sālim b. Dhakwān*, ch. 8, p. 9.
[252] Crone and Zimmermann, *The Epistle of Sālim b. Dhakwān*, ch. 8, p. 9.
[253] For the exact the year mentioned in the text; Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil* and *The History of al-Ṭabarī*.
[254] Cf. 'Iz al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr, *Usad al-Ghāba* (Cairo, 1286/1867), v. 4, p. 269; 'Abd al-Karīm b. Muḥammad al-Sam'ānī, *al-Ansāb* (Haidar Abad: India, n.d), v. 9, p. 28-29.
[255] Al-Shaqṣī, *Manhaj al-Tālibyīn* (Muscat, 1979), v. 1,p. 601.
[256] Ibn Maddād, *Sīra*, Ms, p. 6.
[257] The Ṣufriyya's leader Al-Ḍaḥāk b. Qays al-Shaybānī rebelled against Marawān II, and found support in Azerbaijan. Then they continued in the Abbasid state as we have seen in the previous section. Ibn Khaldūn, *Tārīkh*, v. 6, p. 63.
[258] Ibn Khaldūn, *Tārīkh*, v. 7, p. 230.
[259] Barthold, *Turkestan Down to the Mongol Invasion*, p. 222.
[260] Ibn Khaldūn, *Tārīkh*, v. 5, p. 39.
[261] Ibn al- Mujāwir, *Tārīkh al-Mustabṣir*, p. 278.
[262] Madelung, *Religious Trends in Early Islamic Iran*, p. 75.
[263] The history of what happened in Oman in the period following traces the classic sources; *al-Kāmil* by Ibn al-Athīr, *Tārīkh* by Ibn Khaldūn and *Tajārib al-umam* by Ibn Maskawayh. Also see; Mails, *Country and Tribes of the Persian Gulf*, p. 88-133.

[264] Ibn Kaldūn, *Tārīkh*, v. 4, p.198; Ibn al-Mujāwir, *Tārīkh al-Mustabṣir*, p. 281. From the coins reveal they were minted in Oman by a number of apparently unconnected individuals. Aḥmad b. al-Khalīl (around 300/912) and 'Abd al-Ḥātim b. Ibrāhīm around (316/928) are named on coins but we do not yet have evidence whether they were Banī Sāma successors or not was Aḥmad b. Hilāl who was a governor of Oman during al-Mu'taḍid's reign in 305/917 a member of Banī Sāma? Al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, v. 1, p. 233; Andrew Williamson, *Sohar and Omani Seafaring in the Indian Ocean* (London, 1972), p. 22.
[265] Al-Sālimī, *Tuhfa*, v. 1, p. 269. A coin was found, minted in Oman 289/902 by Saffarids who were the rulers of Kirman and Southern Iran. The coin is in the name of Muḥammad b. Hārūn. The Ṣaffarids perhaps fled to Oman in the Sāmis time. Williamson, *Sohar and Omani Seafaring in the Indian Ocean*, p. 22.
[266] Miles, *Country and Tribes of the Persian Gulf*, p. 98.
[267] Ibn Kaldūn, *Tārīkh*, v. 4, p.198.
[268] Miles, *Country and Tribes of the Persian Gulf*, p. 96 & 101.
[269] Williamson clarified the confusion over the reigns of the Wajihid rulers by the numismatic evidence. Coins of Yūsuf b. Wajīh span the period 317/929 to 332/944. Only two coins of Muḥammad b. Yūsuf have survived, dated 333/945 and 335/947. Coins of 'Umar b. Yūsuf span the period 341/952 to 350/961. Williamson, *Sohar and Omani Seafaring in The Indian Ocean*, p. 25; A.D.H. Bivar and S. M. Stern, 'The Coinage of Oman under Abū Kālījār the Buwayhid' in *Numismatische Chronicle* (1958), p. 147-156.
[270] Ibn Al-Aṯhīr, *Al-Kāmil*, v. 6, p. 292.
[271] Ibn Maskawayh records that the Abbasid Minister Abī 'Alī b. Muqla ordered Yūsuf b. Wajīh to deal with A. Al-'Abbās Al-Khuṣībī the former Minster of Abbasid and A. Sulaymān Yaḥyā there is to exile and imprison them in Oman. Yūsuf ignored his instructions. *Tajārib*, v. 1, p. 323.
[272] Ibn al-Aṯhīr, *Al-Kāmil*, v. 6, p. 292 & 340; Ibn Maskawayh, *Tajārib al-umam*, v. 2, p. 46 & 144.
[273] Miles, Country and Tribes of the Persian Gulf, p. 102. There is no mention of him as either an Omani or a member of Banī Sāma's family, see: *Oman in History*, p. 173.
[274]Miles, *Country and Tribes of the Persian Gulf*, p. 98.
[275] Clifford Edmund Bosworth, *The New Islamic Dynasties* (Edinburgh University Press, 1996), p. 112.
[276] Cf. Mihyār al-Daylamī, *Diwān* (Cairo, 1925), v. 1-4, p. 35, 170, 241, 320.
[277] Nājī Hilāl, 'Shā'ir min 'Umān', in *Majallat Manshūrāt Markaz Dirāsāt Al-Khalīj Al-'Arabī*: Basra University, v. 1, p. 104-135.
[278] Ibn Khaldūn, *Tārīkh*, v. 4, p. 199.
[279] Cf; J. E. Peterson, 'Oman's Odyssey: From Imamate to Sultanate' in *Oman Economic, Social and Strategic development* (London, 1987), (ed) B.R. Pridham, p. 2.
[280] *Siyar wa al-Jawābāt*, v. 1, p. 81; Al-Sālimī, *Tuhfa*, v. 1, p. 272-273; Sirhan, *Annals of Oman*, p. 23-25.
[281] See the *sīra* of Imam Sa'īd b. 'Abdullāh to Yūsuf b. Wajīh. Al-Sālimī, *Tuhfa*, v. 1,p. 289. We do not know exactly how far his rule extended, but he seems to have taken control over most of the interior of Oman because he died in Manāqī village nearest Rustāq and his Capital was Nizwā. *Tuhfa*, v. 1, p. 275. Sirhan, *Annals of Oman*, p. 25; Ibn Ruzayq, *The History of the Imam and Seyyids of Oman*, p. 29; Al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, v. 1, p. 234.
[282] Wilkinson, *Oman and East Africa: New Light On Early Kilwan History From The Omani History*, p285.
[283]Al-Sālimī, *Tuhfa*, v. 1, p. 283; Miles, *The country and Tribes of The Persian Gulf*, p. 103.
[284] Ibn al-Aṯhīr, *Al-Kāmil*, v. 7, p. 57 and v. 8, p. 55.
[285] Wilkinson, *Oman and East Africa: New Light on Early Kilwan History from The Omani Sources*, p. 277.
[286] *Siyar wa al-Jawābāt*, v. 1, p. 360.
[287] The concept of tyrant sultans as used, in the compilations and *Siyar*, in historical accounts during this time, is seen clearly in the *Jami' al-Faḍl bin al-Ḥawārī*, v. 1, p. 45.
[288] As shown in the secondary Omani sources of history for their chronological accounts; Sirhan, *Annals of Oman*, p. xv; Ibn Ruzayq, *The History of the Imams and Seyyids of Oman*, p. cxxv; Al-Sālimī, M. *Nahḍat al-A'yān*, p. 66.
[289] Bathurst, 'Maritime Trade and Imamate Government: Two Principal Themes in The History Of Oman To 1728', p. 91.
[290] Bathurst, 'Maritime Trade and Imamate Government: Two Principal Themes in The History Of Oman To 1728', p. 91.
[291] Al-Idrīsī, *Nuzhat al-Mushtāq*, v. 1, p. 61.
[292] Wilkinson, *The Imamate Tradition of Oman*, p. 43.
[293] It possible to see the expanded Omani role in the Indian Ocean at various periods, e.g. al-Julandā b. Mas'ūd 132-134/749-751, Ghassān b. 'Abdullāh 192-208/807-823, see: Wilkinson, 'Sohar in Early Islamic Period'; Wilkinson, *The Imamate tradition of Oman*, p. 42.
[294] Wilkinson, *The Imamate Tradition of Oman*, p. 43.

[295] Archibald Lewis, *'Mediterranean Maritime Commerce, A.D 300-1100. Shipping and Trading'* in *The Sea and Medieval Civilisation* (London, 1978), (XII), p. 13; Nicholas M. Lowick, 'Trade Patterns on The Persian Gulf in The Light of Recent Coin Evidence' in *Near Eastern Numismatics, Iconography Epigraphy and History, Studies in Honour of George C. Miles*, (American University of Beirut. 1974), (ed. Bickran K. Kouymjian, p. 231.
[296] Archibald Lewis, *'Mediterranean Maritime Commerce, A.D 300-1100. Shipping and Trading'*, p9-10.
[297] Wilkinson, *Imamate Tradition of Oman*, p. 42.
[298] Wilkinson, *Oman and East Africa: New Light*, p. 283.
[299] Zhang Jun-yan, *'Relations Between China and the Arabs in Early Times'* in *Journal of Oman Studies*, v. 6, part 1 (1983), p98-101.
[300] Wilkinson, *The Imamate Tradition of Oman*, p. 43.
[301] Wilkinson, *The Origins of The Omani State*, p. 70.
[302] Al-Sālimī, *Tuhfa*, v. 1, p. 304; Ibn Khaldūn notes that Nahd's clan settled in Hagar (Bahrain) *Tārīkh*, v. 4, p. 198.
[303] Wilkinson, *Oman and East Africa: New Light*, p. 285.
[304] Ibn Al-Aṯhīr, *Al-Kāmil*, v. 7, p. 57.
[305] See Chapter 1, *sira* (lxxxviii).
[306] Al-Sālimī, *Tuhfa*, v. 1, p. 315.
[307] *Siyar wa al-Jawābāt*, v. 2, p. 5.
[308] Crone and Zimmermann, *The epistle of Sālim b. Dhakwān*, Bib, p. 3.
[309] Sirhan, *Annals of Oman*, p. 31.
[310] Al-Baṭāshī, *Itḥāf*, v. 1, p. 5.
[311] Al-Baṭāshī, *Itḥāf*, v. 1, p. 551-566.
[312] Ibn al-Aṯhīr, *al-Kāmil*, v. 4, p. 57.
[313] See Isḥāq al-Ḥaḍramī, *Dīwān Sayf al-Naqqād*; al-Ḥāmid, *Tārīkh Ḥaḍramawt* (Jidah, 1968), v. 1,p. 379.
[314] Cf. al-Ḥāmid, *Tārīkh Ḥaḍramawt*, v. 1, p. 269-271.
[315] Sa'īd 'Uaḍ Bāwazīr, *Ma'ālim Tārīkh al-Jazīra al-'Arabia* (Mecca, 1373/1954), p. 253. Crone and Zimmermann argue that al-Sālimī obviously did not know this manuscript (the *sīra* of A. al-Ḥasan al-Bisyāwī) although he gave his comments, see: *The Epistle of Sālim bin Dhakwān*, Bibliography, p. 2. Nevertheless, al-Sālimī mentioned the *sīra* in the *Tuhfa*, using the classical chronology of Omani's imams. Ibn al-Aṯhīr's text about the Imam Ḥafṣ is still unclear (*Kāmil*, v. 4, p. 57). Comparison between Omani historians and Ibn al-Aṯhīr show this gap (*Tuhfa*, v. 1, p. 315). Ibn Maskawayh confirmed that 'Uḍud al-Dawlah sent al-Muṭahir b. 'Abdullāh in 364/972. *Tajārib*, v. 2, p. 360.
[316] Wilkinson, *The Imamate Tradition of Oman*, p. 210.
[317] Wilkinson, *The Omani and Ibādī background to the Kilwah Sīra: the demise of Oman as a political and religious force in the Indian Ocean in the 6th/12th century*, p. 135.
[318] See Wilkinson, 'Bio-bibliographical Background to the Crisis Period in the Ibādī Imāmate of Oman' in *Arabian Studies*, v. 3, p. 137-164.
[319] There are several books written on this subject such as; *K. al-Imamah* by Al-'Awtabi, *al-Farq bayn al-imām al-'ālim wa ghayr al-'ālim* by Abū 'Isā al-Sarrī and *al-'Ihtidā'* by Abū Bakr al-Kindī.
[320]Williamson, 'Hormuz and the Trade of the Gulf in the 14th and 15th centuries A.D' in *Seminar for Arabian Studies* (London, 1972), p. 52-68.
[321] There is a report in the first half of the 8th/14th century that Sohar was merely a little village in ruins. Williamson, *Sohar and Omani Seafaring in The Indian Ocean*, p. 12.
[322] For the chronology of imams who were elected in Nabhānī times see Sirhan, *Annals of Oman*, p. 31-34; Ibn Ruzayq, *The History of Imams*, p. 41-52; Al-Sālimī, *Tuhfa*, v. 1, p. 252; Al-Sālimī, *Nahḍa*, p. 66.
[323] See Wilkinson articles 'The Omani and Ibādī background to the Kilwah Sīrah: the demise of Oman as a political and religious force in the Indian Ocean in the 6th/12th century' and 'Oman and East Africa: New Light On Early Kilwan History From The Omani Sources'.
[324] Ibn al-Mujāwir, *Tārīkh al-Mustabṣir*, v. 2, p. 278.

Summaries and Conclusions

In conclusion, it remains now to go over the main points and summarize the seven preceding chapters in order to shed further light on the results of these investigations.

In all the earlier illustrations studied, the Omani *siyar* genre was linked either with Omani historical sources or Ibāḍite *fiqh* works. There was a lack of in-depth research merely outline academic overviews. Most of those who studied this genre were of a puritanical outlook. Nor was there any real interest in exploring it in depth, as it is normally considered a branch in Arabic literature, although it has been used as a primary source in Omani or Ibāḍite studies. Virtually the first part of this study aims to establish diverse and infrequent texts as a genre. Compared with most general literature, these texts had been created not only as religious epistles, but also as the reflection of their historical context, so that they also serve as a historical archive. The basic incentive to development of our understanding of the *siyar* conception and its genre came from the Oriental scholars, many clues which play an important role in understanding the origins of the *siyar* literatures have been given by Cook, then later by Crone and Zimmermann, through their perceptive insight on the early formative period of Islam and the development of Islamic dogmatism. On the contrary, Wilkinson's research is concerned with finding out the historical aspects of Oman and Ibāḍism, and his research started three decades ago to investigate the technical aspects of the *siyar*. However, even though the start was ambiguous, he since considers them as a *fiqh* or *'aqīda* works.

The framework of this study stands on two avenues of the investigation; (1) the relation between internal and external aspects of Omani historical sources relevant to our subject, i.e. between Ibāḍism as thought and the interaction of Ibāḍism with Omani policies; and (2) between the individual and group aspects of the *siyar* that I have observed in each writer. When dealing with these several elements, a remarkable unity of understanding becomes clear, and although Ibāḍite thought has changed as its developed, we endeavour to identify the common features in both sides involving Ibāḍite and Omani history.

Principally, the Omani *Siyar* are in need of total restoration. Their decaying condition has not been remarked until now because few researchers have consulted them and no one has conduct a thorough investigation. Moreover, the manuscripts are still scattered and fragmented. As we have seen the *siyar* literature began to grow in Basra with the mainstream religious epistles. They employed a simple rhetorical style to convey information rather than dazzle with eloquence. *siyar* style was more concerned to deliver information about practical daily problems and appears not to have been affected by the flourishing literary innovations, of its era, because it was transferred from Basra to Oman prior to such innovations, so as Cook suggests it stayed alive longest.[1] Since *siyar* appeared in Oman, scholars had showed a great interest in writing *siyar* as a primary reference for religious matters. Such interest is believed to have influenced the style and writing of the *siyar*, from religious to historical writing. They had originally been considered as a religious reference but subsequently they began to record relevant historical facts. The *siyar* were associated with political movements in Oman. There has been an immense intellectual influence on *siyar* expressed in their coverage of religion or politics or a combination of both. This influence eventually evolved into a new literary form associated with political issues during the Oman political transitions. It can be argued that, the political participation and intellectual influence can be traced in the Arabic literature of the, Jāhilī, Umayyad and Abbasid literatures.

The thesis examined the texts to analyse the elements in its writings. It is not however, necessary to define the *siyar* themes by a few narrow aspects. They can be grouped according to these elements and have been consulted and quoted by historians or theologians. Certainly, the elements, which have been shown, could be contrary with some researchers and more or less to be familiar with further aspects. Thus, the study attempts to give a wide range of perspectives for a fully-fledged study of *siyar*, excluding superficial analyses of traditional methods. Although such methods are less important they may contribute to the understanding of some historical facts. Attention can be drawn to two characteristic narrative techniques employed in each *sīra* (which could be employed in any ascription text in classical Arabic): exegetical, in which *narrative* extracts embedded; and parabolic in which the *narratio* is itself the framework for frequent if not continuous allusion to scripture. The relation between the two types cannot be seen as one of simple inversion. In the exegetical style scriptural extracts, however discrete and truncated, exhibit the canonical text; in the parabolic

[1] Cook, Early Muslim Dogma, p52

style scriptural allusions are implicit only, exhibiting diction and imagery but not the verbatim text of the standard.

With respect to the texts examined in the thesis, the study treated them as collective rather than individual documents. In part II above once the *siyar* had been edited and translated the study concentrated on three key aspects authenticity; identifying the common elements of the *siyar* contents; and finally tracing the progression of the Ibādite movement in Asia. The discussion of Ibādite tradition in Asia has been limited to history and therefore involves neither other disciplines such as literature nor specialised studies on Ibāḍite doctrine. Throughout this study of *siyar*, we have tried to relate all the information supplied to the development of Ibāḍite doctrine in Asia and the historical relations between Oman and Asia. There is a general resemblance throughout *siyar* texts in terms of the time and location. The chronological events exposed during the 2nd/8th–5th/11th centuries show that *siyar* quoted liberally may passage extracted from previous Ibāḍite documents. On the other hand, the location of Ibāḍite texts have been widely spread throughout Ibāḍite protectorates. Meanwhile, all this information is still open and debatable.

These are the main arguments covered in the course of the investigation; but there are still matters that require further consideration. Along the lines of our chronological study of *siyar*, it is clear that we have omitted reference to certain aspects in the evolution of the Ibāḍite doctrine and the connection between Oman's history and the *siyar*. This study ultimately aims at understanding the *siyar* through adopting modern methodologies of analysing historical documents and providing qualitative rather than quantitative data.

Does the relevance of *siyar* in the Omani historical documentation, lie in the *siyar* themselves or does it have a wider historical relevance? In fact, we uncover an implicit development in the Omani historical writing, and note there are two further areas of interaction regarding the *siyar*. First, as seen already, the origin of the *siyar* style lies in Basra and has travelled via Oman to several Ibāḍite regions: Central of Asia, Yemen and Ḥaḍramawt and North Africa. Second, we need to reflect on the development of Ibāḍite thought in all three ways; theologically, politically and ideologically.

Accordingly, we have arranged chronologically our study of *siyar* as an attempt to understand the connotations and implications of this historical writing. Our study of the authenticity of the Arabic text has arguably emerged from the narrative aspect of the text. This has been an issue since Van Ess 1977 and Cook 1981, consequently we tried to elucidate a number of mysteries that lay behind the structure of the Arabic text and the materials quoted therein.

The hypotheses proposed in this thesis are not necessarily unique to this study, but the thesis attempts to re-investigate and bring them under a microscope whether they are valid. The first hypothesis proposes the origin and history of the Omani *siyar.* Secondly, using Wilkinson's and Peterson's insights one can trace back the factors shaping the Omani history, and can state during the period under consideration 10^{th}-11^{th} centuries, how far these aspects, the imamate, maritime trading and tribalism have affected the shaping of this era. Thirdly, the study aims to revise the chronology of Omani imams during this era.

The Ibāḍite settlements in Asia have been affected, chiefly by three factors; (1) the internal crisis in Oman and frequent campaigns after the ending of the first Imamate in 280/892; (2) the changing routes of maritime trading from 4^{th} /10^{th} and 5^{th} /11^{th} centuries; (3) The capture of the eastern Islamic empire by Mongol forces and the collapse of trading in central Asia.

Principally, all these factors involved Oman's political attitude and were significant in encouraging Omani adherence to Ibāḍism. Contrarily, the Ibāḍite attitude reflects the Omani political agenda. Nevertheless, the Omanis never demonstrated that they held any intent expansion or had any desire to propagate their beliefs. Subsequently, Islam experiences a great transformation, though the collapse was as well as has been with rationalism in Islamic thought in general.

The significance, which indicates aspects of the *siyar* texts other than the religious is however, sometimes difficult to differentiate in the level of content and structure. Though their approach is for providing the dealing of religious movement and the policy attitude. The need for correspondence/transmission has given Omani writers the opportunity to form a kind of style in order to express themselves. This form does not

simply reflect a kind of form or style in writing, but has gone further to reveal the understanding of basic cultural religion in Oman.

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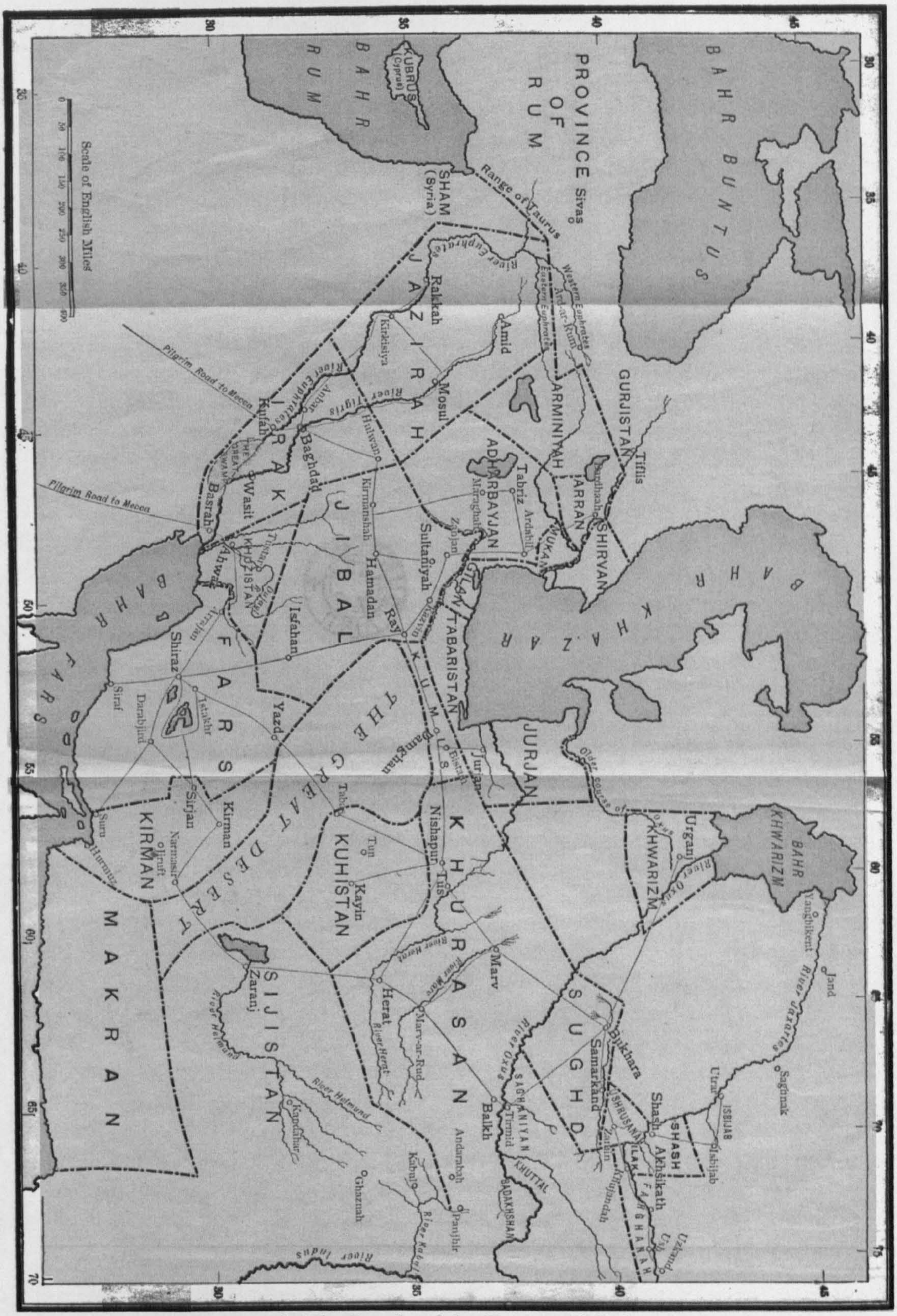
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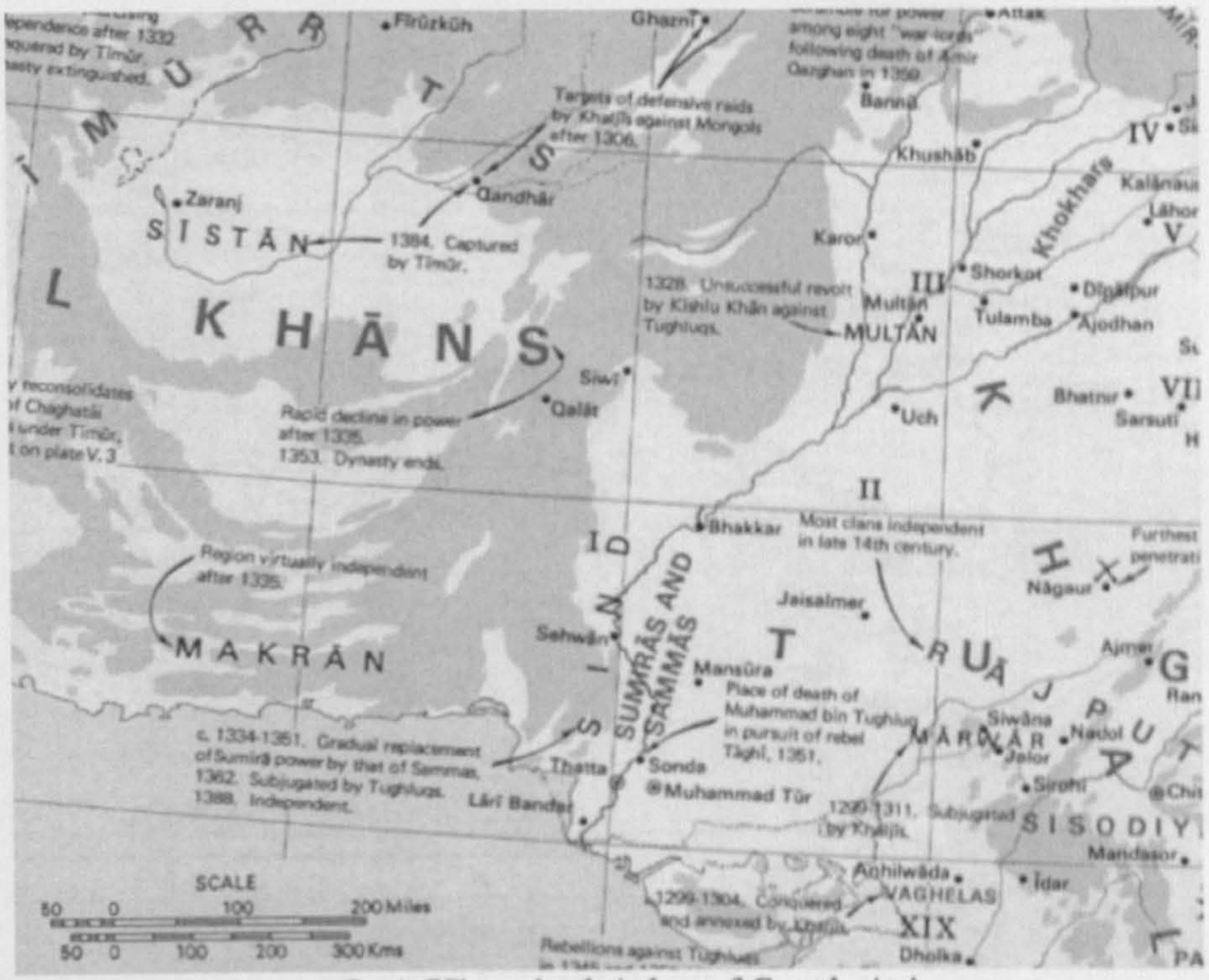
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map1: The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate.



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