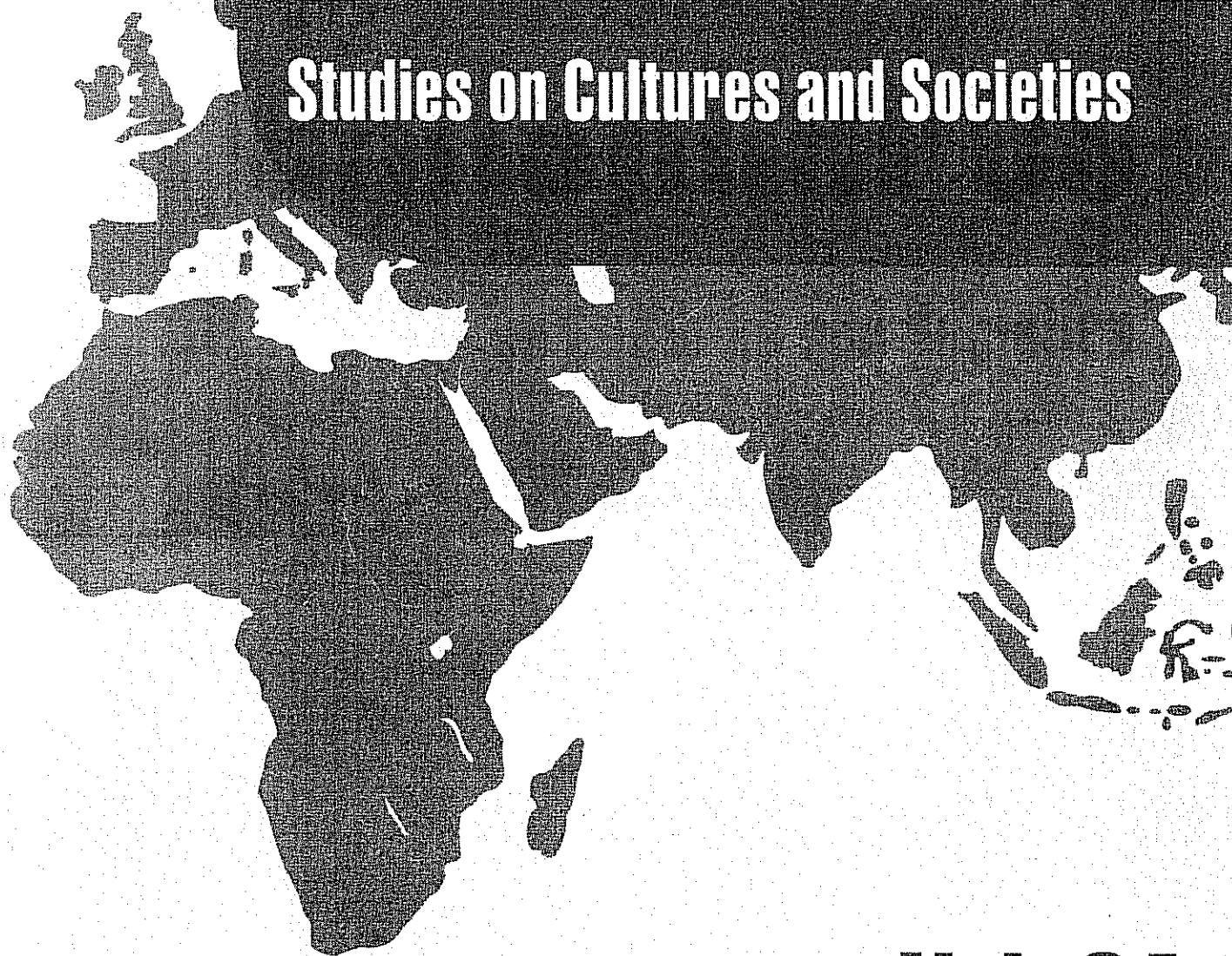


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Ibadism in the Studies of 'Ali Yahya Mu'ammār²

Abstract

The studies of 'Ali Yahya Mu'ammār on Ibadism and his approaches and contributions on the subject are examined in this paper. 'Ali Yahya Mu'ammār, who grew up in Libya, is an important researcher on Ibadism. He played a leading role in the transmission of Ibadi culture and tradition and wrote many important studies. We believe this study will contribute to an understanding of the subject from the inside. In addition, it is aimed at contributing to Ibadi literature in our country, a subject that is insufficiently studied. In this context, the life and 'scientific personality' of 'Ali Yahya Mu'ammār is the focus. His opinions about Ibadism are then analysed in terms of the different dimensions they offer and some assessments made.

Keywords: Ibadism, 'Ali Yahya Mu'ammār, Algeria, Scientific Reformist Movement, al-Ibadiyyah fi Mawkibi al-Tarikh.

Introduction

Algeria and Tunisia and particularly Libya are key centres of Ibadism and have existed for centuries as such. Ibadism survived around Berber-origin tribes throughout history. Important scholars and authors who have adopted the Ibadi faith, thought and tradition such as Ibn Sallam al-Ibadi, Darjini, Barradi, Warjilani, Shammahi and Mazati lived in this region. 'Ali Yahya Mu'ammār is one of the recent representatives of scientific tradition in this area.

'Ali Yahya Mu'ammār is one of the most important scholars to have grown up in the most recent period, as are Abu Ishak Atfayyish, Bayyud Ibrahim Umar, Sulaiman al-Baruni, Amr Khalifa al-Nami, Faruk Umar Fawzi, Ibrahim Fakhhar, Muhammad Ali Dabbuz, Nur al-Din Salimi and Salim Hamd al-Kharisi.³ There are significant studies by these authors on this subject, offering important information and contributions on the historical development of Ibadism as well as its beliefs and teachings. These authors have sought to

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2 I would like to thank my friend and colleague Dr. Ibrahim Hakkı Inal who read and made some contributions my article.

3 See: Iwaz Muhammad Khalifat, *Nash'at al-Harakat al-Ibadiyya*, Oman: Wizarat al-Turath wa-l-Thaqafa, 2002, pp. 40–43; Amr Khalifa al-Nami, *Dirasat on al-Ibadiyya*, translated by Mihail Huri, (ed.), Muhammad Salih Nasir, Mustafa Salih Bajju, Tunisia: Dar al-Gharb al-Islami, 2012, pp. 39–40.

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explain Ibadism better and correctly to other Muslim groups, both Sunnite and Shiite.

'Ali Yahya Mu'ammār was a student of Bayyud Ibrahim Umar from Algeria. Among this Ibadi research, his studies are remarkable and give us important information about the formation and historical development of Ibadism, the spread of Ibadism in North Africa, Ibadi sub-sects in North Africa, its belief system and opinions, its relationship with Kharidjite in terms of the history, political opinions of Ibadites, critiques and accusations against Ibadites, their current situation and their relations with other religious groups and neighbours. On the other hand, he gives us important information about countries and geographical regions where Ibadis live today.

'Ali Yahya Mu'ammār as an effort to gain insights into Ibadism has moved from both classical to more contemporary sources. In this context, it examines in detail information given about Ibadis in studies by contemporary authors like Ali Mustafa al-Ghurabi, Muhammad Abu Zahra, Abd al-Qadir Shayba, Yahya Huwaydi, Izz al-Din at-Tanuhi and Ibrahim Muhammad Abd al-Baqi as well as studies by classical authors like Ash'ari, Baghdadi, Ibn Hazm, Shahrastani and Isfarayani. It seems he aims to correct some generalizations found in earlier works and the various prejudices that emerged over the centuries. On the other hand, he gives us important information about the biographies of Ibadi scholars and authors who lived in North Africa. He also examines and criticises views put forward about Ibadism by some Orientalists such as Carlo Alfonso Nallino.⁴

The aim of this article is to analyse the place and contributions of 'Ali Yahya Mu'ammār. I will be very happy if I am able to contribute to the discussions within "Ibadi Studies" worldwide. My paper consists of two parts. In the first, I will present the life of 'Ali Yahya Mu'ammār, his development and his important works on Ibadism. In the second part, I will investigate his opinions related to Ibadism. Not all studies of him will be under investigation; I will focus more on his opinions about Ibadism.

1. 'Ali Yahya Mu'ammār: His Life and Scientific Personality

'Ali Yahya Mu'ammār was born in the village of Tekvīt near Nālūt city in the Libyan region of Jabal Nafūsa, in 1919. He grew up in a middle-class family, his family devoted to religious values, which is why the culture of Jabal Nafūsa had a serious impact on him.

He memorised surahs of the Qur'an at a young age in his village and learned reading and writing rules from Shaykh Abdullah b. Mas'ud al-Bārūnī

4 'Ali Yahya Mu'ammār, *al-Ibadiyya bayn al-Firaq al-Islamiyya inda Kuttāb al-Maqalat fi l-Qadīm wa-l-Hadīth*, Oman: Maktabat al-Damri li l-Nashr wa-l-Tawzi, 2014, pp. 13–85.

al-Kabāwī in 1924. He was then enrolled in primary school established by the Italian Colonial Government in 1925. His teacher there was Isa b. Yahya al-Bārūnī and his level of intelligence and logical capabilities were evident even then. His teachers began to treat him with special attention from an early age.

Meanwhile, he read various disciplines, especially fiqh, together with formal training from Shaykh Ramadan b. Yahya al-Jarbi in his spare time. Shaykh Ramadan was a student of Shaykh Muhammad b. Yusuf Atfayyish, a prominent scholar in the region. Shaykh Ramadan returned to the Island of Djerba in 1927, where he continued his education by attending his teacher Ramadan's circle in the same year. During this time, he trained for a little over a year in Djerba. Then he moved to the University of Zaitune in the capital of Tunisia. He trained in various branches of science, especially akaid and fiqh, under important scholars such as Shaykh Muhammad b. Salih as-Samini. Training at the University of Zaitune had a serious impact on him as he not only educated himself he also developed his sense of morality and civilisation.⁵

'Ali Yahya Mu'ammār moved to Algeria during the next period of his life and became a student of Shaykh Bayyud Ibrahim in 1937. He did many things connected with education and training, staying seven years in Algeria. Firstly, he studied many sciences, especially tafsīr (the exegesis of Qur'an) under Shaykh Bayyud. He took part in the *Scientific Reformist Movement* (*al-Harakat al-Ilmiyya al-Islāhiyya*), led by Shaykh Bayyud. Moreover, he entered the *Institute of Life* (*Ma'had al-Hayat*), which had been founded by Shaykh Bayyud. He participated in some social and cultural activities as well as courses there. He also participated in the activities of the *Youth Association* (*Jam'iyyat al-Shabab*). He presented at conferences and recited poems, participating in many social activities.⁶ He published several articles and poems in Arabic newspapers in the Youth magazine. He exhibited two plays, *Zū Kār* (The pitch owner) and *Muhsin* in this period. While here he worked as a student and as a teacher at the same time. The period he spent with his teacher Shaykh Bayyud in Algeria was during the period of French colonisation between 1937 and 1943, when he benefited from the knowledge, culture and experiences of his teacher.

He returned to Nalut in Libya in 1944, and began to put make serious inroads in the field of culture and education. Firstly, he gave lessons at elementary school, then high school level. He conducted public conversations in mosques outside the official structures and established good communication

5 Mu'ammār, *al-Ibadiyya bayn...*, p. XI–XII.

6 Mu'ammār, *al-Ibadiyya bayn al-Firaq...*, p. XII–XIII.

with the public. In addition, he learned the skills of management by establishing an institute for teachers there. Meanwhile, he was appointed public inspector to oversee the education system in Libya's eastern regions.⁷ He started working at the Ministry of Education in the capital of Tripoli in 1968 and he continued this mission until 1980. He worked in the Centre for Educational Research as well as dealing with education policy, a process that enabled him to apply his ideas. He contributed substantially to the educational life of the country by working at all levels of the education system.

'Ali Yahya Mu'ammār sought to upgrade the intellectual and moral level of young people in the latter period of his life in his country. He ran courses and conducted conversations with young people in different places, especially mosques. At this point, he also published several books and magazines. He died at the end of a busy life at 27 Safer 1400 on 15 January 1980.⁸

Besides useful activities, he was also a prolific writer during his working and scientific life and had a versatile personality, training many students with his knowledge and culture. He addressed the minds and hearts of people with an effective and attractive method, penetrating their inner world. He left behind various investigations and works, including deep and comprehensive analyses of his own in various fields such as history, Islamic thought, jurisprudence and literature. These studies are shown below:

- *al-Ibadiyya fi Mawkib al-Ta'rikh I: Nash'at al-Madhab al-Ibadi*: This study is one of the most important of its kind and deals with the emergence and historical development of Ibadism.
- *al-Ibadiyya fi Mawkib al-Ta'rikh II: al-Ibādiyya fī Libya*, deals with the spread and historical development of Ibadism in Libya, the activities of the first Ibadi groups in North Africa, traditional institutions, the geographical regions where Ibadites live in Libya today and some current problems.
- *al-Ibadiyya fi Mawkib al-Ta'rikh III: al-Ibādiyya fī Tunis*, deals with the spread and historical development of Ibadism in Tunisia and their traditional institutions.
- *al-Ibadiyya fi Mawkib al-Ta'rikh IV: al-Ibadiyya fī l-Jaza'ir*, deals with the spread of Ibadism in Algeria, the Rustamī state and activities, Ibadi sub-sects, traditional institutions, prominent personalities who grew

7 Mu'ammār, *al-Ibadiyya bayn al-Firq...*, p. XIV.

8 Mu'ammār, *al-Ibadiyya bayn al-Firq...*, p. XV, XVI; for the life of 'Ali Yahya see: Mu'ammār, *al-Ibadiyya Madhabun Islamiyyun Mu'tadilun*, Oman: Ministry of Awqaf and Religious Affairs, 2011, pp. 3–7; Baba'ammi (ed.), *Mu'jam A'lam al-Ibādiyya min al-Qarn al-Awwal al-Hijri ila l-Asr al-Hadis*, Bairut: Dar al-Ghrab al-Islami, II, pp. 296–297.

up there and the geographical regions where Ibadites live in Algeria today.

- *al-Ibadiyya bayn al-Firaq al-Islamiyya inda Kuttab al-Maqalat fil-Qadim wa-l-Hadith*: 'Ali Yahya Mu'ammār argued here that Ibadism had been described wrongly in both classical and contemporary sources. He surveys the information about Ibadis found in the studies of contemporary authors like Ali Mustafa al-Ghurabi, Muhammad Abu Zahra, Abd al-Qadir Shayba, Yahya Huwaydi, Izz al-Din at-Tanuhi and Ibrahim Muhammad Abd al-Baqi, outside of the studies of classical authors like Ash'ari, Baghdadi, Ibn Hazm, Shahrastani and Isfarayani.
- *al-Ibadiyya Madhhabun Islamiyyun Mu'tadilun*: This study is his last work, so presents his latter opinions and deals with the historical development of Ibadism, the geographical regions where Ibadites live today, the relationship between Ibadism and Khāridjite, the belief system of Ibadism and various religious, political and juridical views.⁹
- *Samr Ustratin Muslimatin*: This study describes the religious basis of Ibadism in a fictional style. In the study, which means 'the night conversation of a Muslim family', he dealt with such issues as faith in God, Tawhid (Monotheism), the belief in prophets and books, the hereafter, chance and predestination.
- *al-Fatāt al-Libiyya wa-Mashakil al-Hayat*.
- *al-Islam wa-l-Qiyam al-Insaniyya*.
- *Falastin bayn al-Muhajirin wa-l-Ansar*.

'Ali Yahya Mu'ammār also wrote short books and treatises such as *Ajwiba wa fatāwā* (Answers and Fatwās), *Ahkām Salāt al-Jumu'a* (The Provisions of the Friday Prayer), *Ahkām al-Safar fi l-Islam* (The Provisions of Travel in Islam), *Baḥṭh fi Ḥukm al-Tadhin* (Research on the Provision of Smoking), *Muslim Lakinnahu Yahliq wa Yadhinu*, (With Participation of Shaykh Bayyud), *al-Mithaq al-Ghaliz* (The Exact Promise), *al-Aqānim al-Thalatha aw Aliha min al-Halwā* (The Main Idols from halvah, sweet) ile *al-Amr bi l-Ma'ruf wa-l-Nahy an al-Munkar* (Commanding the right and Forbidding the wrong). Moreover, he also wrote commentaries on works entitled *Kitab al-Sawm* (Fast) and *Kitab al-Nikah* (Marriage) of Abu Zakariyya al-Jannawuni. He also wrote many articles and studies published in Arabic magazines such as *Majallāt al-Shabāb* (Youth magazine), *Majallāt al-Muslimīn*, *Majallāt al-Adhhār*,

9 'Ali Yahya completed this study on August 12, 1979. See: Mu'ammār, *al-Ibadiyya Madhhabun...*, p. 7, 51.

al-Risāla, *al-Uṣbu al-Siyāsi*, *al-Muallim* (Teacher). His correspondence and letters with his teachers and students such as Shaykh Bayyud, Shaykh Abu'l-Yaqzān, Shaykh Adun Sharifi and Amr Khalifa al-Nāmī¹⁰ are also known. For a recent history of Ibadism, these correspondences are of significant value.¹¹

2. The Opinions of 'Ali Yahya Mu'ammār on Ibadism

It seems that 'Ali Yahya Mu'ammār examined Ibadism from various aspects when his studies are looked at as a whole. He emphasises especially the formation and historical development of Ibadism in North Africa, the spread of Ibadism in Libya, Tunisia and Algeria, Ibadi groups that emerged in this region and the geographical regions where Ibadi groups lived. Besides, issues such as the belief structure and opinions of Ibadis, their traditional institutions like Dīwān al-'azzāba, the scholars and authors who grew up in this region and the relationship between Ibadism and Kharidjite are important issues on which 'Ali Yahya works. At this point it cannot be said that he emphasised only doctrinal, that is the belief structure, of Ibadism.

'Ali Yahya Mu'ammār, one can see from his training style, aims to reveal Ibadism, moving from both classical to contemporary sources. In this context, he surveys information on Ibadis in studies by contemporary authors like Ali Mustafa al-Ghurabi, Muhammad Abu Zahra, Abd al-Qadir Shayba, Yahya Huwaydi, Izz al-Din at-Tanuhi and Ibrahim Muhammad Abd al-Baqi outside of the studies of classical authors like Ash'ari, Baghdadi, Ibn Hazm, Shahrastani and Isfarayani. He aims to explain Ibadism better and away from incorrect generalisations and prejudices that emerged over the centuries.

2.1. The Formation and Historical Development of Ibadism

The Opinions of 'Ali Yahya Mu'ammār about the formation and historical development of Ibadism can be seen in the studies *al-Ibadiyya fi Mawḳib al-Tarikh Makibi't-Tarih* and *al-Ibadiyya Madhhabun Islamiyyun Mu'tadilun*. He gives priority to Ibadi sources here.

Ibadism, first of all, is a moderate sect of Islam, has a distinctive principles, procedures and *furu* (details) like other sects, according to him. Therefore Ibadism, as some authors posit, is not an innovation or heretical sect among Islamic sects. Ibadism emerged historically in the early period compared to other Islamic sects. Ibadis call themselves *Ahl al-Da'wā*. In addition, there

10 For his correspondence to his student Amr Khalifa an-Nāmī see: al-Shaybani, *al-Nami*, pp. 279–284.

11 For the studies of 'Ali Yahya see: Mu'ammār, *al-Ibadiyya bayn al-Firaq...*, pp. XV–XVI; Mu'ammār, *al-Ibadiyya Madhhabun...*, pp. 5–6; Baba'ammi, (ed.), *Mu'jam A'lam*, II, pp. 297–298.

are two important features of Ibadism. The first is that it is a sect which is clearly connected to the religion of God and acts with him. The second is their ambition to wage Holy war and make efforts in the path of God with perseverance.¹²

There are some important names in the formation and development of Ibadism. The first of these is *Jābir b. Zayd al-Azdi* (93/712), the founder of Ibadism. He believes that Ibadism is associated with the death of Jābir b. Zayd. However Ibadis are connected to Abdullah b. Ibād. Different social groups, especially some of the Umayyad Governor, also joined him because of a treatise which he sent to Abd al-Malik b. Marwan (86/705), which had a big impact because he invited the governor of the state and was open to discussion, unlike the majority of Kharidjites. The sect was named such by the name of Abd Allah b. Ibad rather than Jābir b. Zayd because of his coming to prominence in the political sphere and he was older than him. Moreover, he rebelled under the reign of Marwan b. Muhammad and was killed in the war of Tabāla, according to many historians. This information is incorrect; he died at the end of the reign of Abd al-Malik b. according to Marwan.¹³

Jābir b. Zayd had many intelligent students within his circles. These included Abd Allah b. Ibad, Abu Ubayda Muslim b. Abu Karima, Rabi' b. Habib, Dimam b. al-Saib, Abu Nuh Salih, Qatada, Ayyub, Ibn Dinar, Hayyan al-A'raj and Abu Mundhir Tamim b. Huways. All were active students. Jābir b. Zayd was not satisfied with the general condition, alongside Hasan Basri (110/728) and Said b. Jubayr (94/713), both of whom were his friends and opposed the power of Umayyad. The political power s also followed them and their students, accusing them of excesses and interfering in Kharidjites from the beginning. Such an accusation by the Kharidjites meant betrayal at that time. It seems that the reason for the spread of this claim was to make them feel they were under observation.¹⁴

The leader of Ibadism after Jābir b. Zayd was Abu Ubayda Muslim b. Abu Karima (145/762–63). Abu Ubayda grew up next to Jābir and Ibadism spread in the majority of Islamic Countries during this period. Students of Abu Ubayda played a big role in this process and they are known as *Hamalāt al-ilm* (science carriers). The students whom he trained passed on the style and knowledge they had learned from their teacher to their students. At this point 'Ali Yahya argues that Salama b. Sa'd was the most hardworking of this group as he was attacking cruel and oppressive people in their works. Salama b. Sa'd was not

12 Mu'ammār, *al-Ibadiyya fi Mawkiḥ al-Ta'rikh IV: al-Ibadiyya fi al-Jazair*, Cairo:al-Maṭba'a 'l-Salafiyya, 1979, pp. 17–19, 321–328; Mu'ammār, *al-Ibadiyya Madhhabun...*, pp. 9, 36, 43.

13 Mu'ammār, *al-Ibadiyya Madhhabun...*, pp. 9, 44.

14 Mu'ammār, *al-Ibadiyya Madhhabun...*, pp. 44–45.

satisfied with the situation of Muslims at the time and believed that political power had deviated on to the wrong path. He demanded the implementation of the provisions of God, adherence to the Sharia and the prevention of evil. The activities of Salama took place on two fields: Firstly, explaining the religion of Allah to the people, with Muslims holding with the religion of God and practicing his provisions. Secondly, young people with intelligence, purity and other notable features were chosen. They should go to the East and take lessons from the scholars there in order to complete their education. Salama b. Sa'd sent a group of students and then other groups to Basra for this purpose. These groups returned to their country and made successes of themselves.¹⁵

2.2. The Belief System of Ibadism and Religious Opinions

'Ali Yahya Mu'ammār gives us some basic information, although not very much and not very detailed about the belief system of Ibadism and religious opinions. He states that Ibadis adopted the basic structure of the Islamic Faith and its essential tawhid (Unity of God). He tells us about the religious discourse of Ibadism and its sources:

- The main source of religion on issues such as faith, worship, application and ethics is the Qur'an. In this context, the people who denied anything of the Qur'an are regarded as idolaters and apostates.
- Ibadis are on the opinion that the second source of Islam is '*authentic Sunnah*'. Authentic Sunnah refers to knowledge and requires action. In this point, mashur, a famous sunnah, is slightly weaker than the mutawatir sunnah, but is stronger than ahad (single) report. This is also requires action. Ahad's report is a report from one person, but it also may require actions.
- The third source is *Icmā* (consensus), according to Ibadis. The occurrence of icmā is possible in every century and it is reported to people with the valid requirements.
- Ibadis are of the opinion that the fourth source is *Qiyas* (analogy). The provisions related to Qiyas are expressed in procedural books.
- The fifth source is *Istidlāl* with different species. Ibadis also gave special consideration Masalih-i Mursala (Istislah).¹⁶

15 Mu'ammār, *al-Ibadiyya fi Mawkib al-Ta'rikh IV...*, pp. 20–24.

16 Mu'ammār, *al-Ibadiyya Madhhabun...*, pp. 27, 45–47; Mu'ammār, *Samr Usratin Muslimatin*, Algeria, Muassasat Tawalt al-Thaqafiyya, nd, pp. 191–196.

In this point he puts forward his approach by saying “*Jadal* (discussion) is done in the necessary matters, not in the principles of faith matters”, related to theological thought activities.¹⁷

In this context, he emphasises the *faith of walāya and barāa*. He considers that *walāya* and *barāa* are important for Ibadism. *Walāya*/Tavallā means to love the believers and to make them friends. This is a command of the Qur'an. *Barāat*/Tabarrā is about getting away from infidels. *Barāat* occurs in the case of processing a great evil that eliminated the *walāya*. This belief in Ibadism is both located in the principles of faith and has a regulatory function in social life. It is understood that the Ibadis as a closed community have survived through this belief during the period of *kitmān* (secrecy) and have maintained the main beliefs in this way without impairing them.¹⁸

If we focus on *jurisprudence* in connection with the belief structure, according to 'Ali Yahya, Ibadis stand between Hanafis and Hanbalis. Ibadism relied on Sunnah after the Qur'an in terms of evidence. When the hadith narrations contradict the Qiyas (analogy), the tradition is preferred even over *Ahad* or *mursel*. In addition, Qiyas (comparison), *Istishab* and *Maslahat Mursala* is accepted in detail.¹⁹

In the point of *looking at sahaba/companion*, he says that Ibadis have positive opinions. Moreover, ‘as some suggest, don't curse the companions.’²⁰

2.3. The Spread of Ibadism in North Africa

'Ali Yahya Mu'ammār speaks of remarkable things related to this issue. Ibadism's arrival to this region was through students of Jābir b. Zayd and Abu Ubayda at the end of the first century and at the beginning of second century. Among them, as mentioned above, especially Salama b. Sa'd's place is different. He traveled the whole of North Africa and the Maghreb countries, formed a scientific (*Hameletu'l-Ilm*) group, involving individuals such as Asım as-Sidrātī and Abd al-Hamid b. Muḡtīr. Ibadism spread in this region with the activities of this team.²¹

The spread of Ibadism in this region is almost equivalent with the date of the entry of Islam. For example the arrival of Ibadism to Algeria was in years 50 and 60 AH. This is the date that the Islamic conquests start and Muslims

17 Mu'ammār, *al-Ibadiyya fi Mawḡib al-Ta'rikh II...*, pp. 329–335.

18 Mu'ammār, *al-Ibadiyya fi Mawḡib al-Ta'rikh IV...*, pp. 255–257, 292–298; Mu'ammār, *Samr Usratin*, pp. 211–212; moreover see: Sabri Hizmetli, 'İbadilik'de Velāyet ve Berāet İnancı', *AÜİFD*, Vol. 28, 1986, pp. 180–204.

19 Mu'ammār, *al-Ibadiyya Madhhabun...*, pp. 27–30, 48; Mu'ammār, *al-Ibadiyya fi Mawḡib al-Ta'rikh IV...*, pp. 292–306.

20 Mu'ammār, *al-Ibadiyya bayn al-Firaq...*, pp. 246–247.

21 Mu'ammār, *al-Ibadiyya fi Mawḡib al-Ta'rikh IV...*, pp. 20–24.

arrive in Algeria. At this point Ibadism spreads to regions such as Tunisia and Algeria, particularly Libya in North Africa. Ibadism spread by the activities of figures such as Abu'l-Khattab Abd al-A'la, Jannavuni, Amr b. Yamtakin, Haris b. Tulayd, Abu Ubayda Abd al-Hamid and Abu Mansur Ilyas especially in Libya and Algeria. In this context it seems that Ibadism spread in regions such as az-Zab, the valley of Arīgh, the valley of Savf, Tajrīt, Warjilan, Ajlu, al-Rimal, the mountains of Bani Mus'ab, al-Aghwāt and the valley of Mzab (the province of Gardaya) in Algeria.²²

'Ali Yahya Mu'ammār provides important information about *the Rustami State*. The Rustami State is the first Muslim state the Berbers established in the region. This government lived just about 140 years (160-297/777-909). The first president is Abd al-Rahman b. Rustam al-Fārisi. 'Ali Yahya Mu'ammār puts forth information given by Ibn Sağır al-Maliki, who is a contemporary of Rustamis, but is not Ibadi, is from the sect of Māliki and evaluates them about the Rustami State. Ibn Sağır has a separate study called *Ta'rīh al-a'imma al-Rustamiyyīn* (The History of Rustami Presidents) about Rustamis. Ibn Sağır tells that Rustami State is a powerful and advanced state in many ways, for example, social justice has spread and weak communities have strengthened during this period. Moreover the Rustami State gave life to the poor people.²³

The Rustami State is an example of rightly guided caliphs, according to 'Ali Yahya Mu'ammār. The Rustami State, that is big, strong and one of the most advanced states, is neighbours with Ağlebis in the South and Idrisis on the Maghreb. It is managed by a president called Amir al-Mu'minin (The Leader of Worshippers). Some leading people and religious scholars chose the president based on features such as knowledge, understanding, experience, justice and mercy in this period. If a deviation is seen in the president, he would be was overthrown in a hard way, not with a soft method. So the presidents dominate especially with justice, they set an example to the community with their simple and modest lives. Judicial authority, separate from political authority, was held in the courts, which were the highest institutions of law in this period.²⁴

There were two important institutions providing security for people in this period; the organisation of the police and the organisation of hisba. The policemen who are responsible for security in the cities performed the duties besides the judges, who ruled on legal issues. In addition, the organisation of hisba, a special community, were performing important tasks. The members of hisba commanded right and forbade wrong, trying to solve the people's

22 Mu'ammār, *al-Ibadiyya fi Mawkih al-Ta'rikh IV...*, pp. 15-19; Mu'ammār, *al-Ibadiyya fi Mawkih al-Ta'rikh II: al-Ibadiyya fi Libya*, Cairo:al-Maṭba'a 'l-Salafiyya, 1964, pp. 27-60, 100-155.

23 Mu'ammār, *al-Ibadiyya fi Mawkih al-Ta'rikh IV...*, pp. 12-14, p. 27.

24 Mu'ammār, *al-Ibadiyya fi Mawkih al-Ta'rikh IV...*, pp. 25-26, 30-34, 64-125.

problems, especially in a spiritual and moral sense by visiting the bazaar. For example, this community when they saw a camel carrying a load more than it could carry, they would order its owner to decrease the load. They were also ordering cleaning up when they saw dirt on the roads.²⁵

The Rustami State is a one where there are significant developments in scientific ways. It has grown the scholars such as Abd al-Rahman b. Rustam, Āsīm as-Sidrātī, Abu Ubayda al-A'raj, Abu Yusuf at-Tarafay, Abu Sahl al-Farīsī, Abu Nuh Said b. Yahlaf al-Mazātī, Abu Zakariyya al-Huvvārī, Abu Ammār Abd al-Kāfī and Abu Ya'qub Wārjilānī in this period. This period was also a time when trade and agriculture, alongside urbanisation developed. There were many great and advanced buildings. So there was also advanced life. Many cities, especially the capital Tahert, was in the same situation. In addition, different groups who came from distant places like Kufa and Basra, were living side by side. Ambassadors from neighbouring countries also arrived and this led to significant cultural exchange.²⁶

Ibadism developed well in the region and spread. But this situation changed with the collapse of the Rustami State after the Manu war. For example, the links between Libya and Algeria severed in this process. The Ibadis who lived in cities migrated to the villages.²⁷

'Ali Yahya Mu'ammār gives us solid information about the Later History of Ibadism, especially *Ibadis who lived under Ottoman rule*. Ibadis were living in places like the Mzab valley and Wārjilān when Algeria came under Ottoman rule. They discussed among themselves: should they stay under Ottoman domination by rethinking their position or live independently? At this point, after they had remained undecided for a while, the majority of Ibadis decided to join this powerful Muslim state. They thought they would be in safety and security. So it was decided to ally with and participate in the Ottoman Empire. In the event, an alliance with the Ottoman Empire took place in return the annual tax. There was Ottoman rule during this period but this was not just a form of domination. In fact, Ibadis were living independently, resolving all kinds of internal and external problems themselves, especially with the institution of *Azzāba*, that is their traditional institution. Moreover, especially Ibadi traders from Mzab were going to and trading with the different regions of

25 Mu'ammār, *al-Ibadiyya fi Mawḳib al-Ta'rikh IV...*, pp. 30–34.

26 Mu'ammār, *al-Ibadiyya fi Mawḳib al-Ta'rikh IV...*, pp. 12–14, 127–150; moreover, for the activities of education and training see: Maryam Ba'ra, 'al-Ta'lim inda l-Ibadiyya bi-bilad al-Maghrib: Madinat Tihart Anmuzajan', *Islami İlimler Dergisi*, Vol. X/1, 2015, pp. 315–326.

27 Mu'ammār, *al-Ibadiyya fi Mawḳib al-Ta'rikh II...*, pp. 83–85, 156–157; In addition, for the Rustami State see: al-Warjilani, *Kitab al-Sira wa-Akhbar al-A'imma*, Abd al-Rahman Ayyub (ed.), Tunis 1405/1985, I, pp. 85–277; Darjini, *Kitab Tabaqat al-Mashayikh bi l-Maghrib*, Ibrahim Tallay (ed.), Algeria, 1974, II, pp. 48–49.

North Africa in this period. The Ottoman government viewed them like other Islamic sects.²⁸

2.3. Ibadi Sub-sects in North Africa

'Ali Yahya Mu'ammār tells us remarkable things about Ibadi sub-sects in North Africa. In this context, firstly conflicts among Ibadis continued from the first century. Important groups among Ibadis also emerged in the process. He says that they divided into six groups. The most important of the sects, he says, is *Nukkār*. *Nukkār*, or the sect named *Nukkāriyya* as a political division. It emerged due to a power struggle taking place within the Rustami State. Abu Qudamah Yazid b. Fandin launched this movement. They did not accept the imamate of Abd al-Wahhab b. Abd al-Rahman after Abd al-Rahman b. Rustam with the justification that they were more virtuous people. According to 'Ali Yahya, *Nukkār* became a religious sect that had certain principles in the subsequent process. Abu'l-Ma'ruf Shu'ayb made this transformation in the sect. Some opinions were put forward on the procedure and subordinates in the next process.²⁹

Another sect is *Naffāsiyya*. *Naffāsiyya* emerged under the leadership of Faraj b. Nasr al-Naffās. Faraj b. Nasr who had read many sciences from Rustami leaders in Tahert, had extensive knowledge and was one of the leading scholars of his time. His justification for leaving was avoidance of Aflah, the president of Rustami from the war against Aġlabis. So he went to the eastern region. This Tunisia-based movement lives in the Jabal Nafūsa region of Libya as a small group today. *Naffāsiyya* have moderate features and no extreme views.³⁰

The sect called the *Khalafiyya* emerged under the leadership of Khalaf b. Abu'l-Khattāb al-Maāfirī in Tripoli. His father was scholarly man and governor in Eastern Libya in the period of Abd al-Wahhab b. Rustamī. When his father died, the people wanted him to manage that region instead of his father, but they did this without consulting the government. Khalaf accepted this and began applications. But Rustamī authorities did not accept this situation and refused his governorship. Rustamī authorities appointed another governor. This time Khalaf didn't accept this situation and declared his independence. Although his movement continued for a long time the central government prevailed against him and ended his dominance. *Khalafiyya* maintained their presence in Tripoli because they found support there during the next process. 'Ali Yahya says that

28 Mu'ammār, *al-Ibadiyya fī Mawḳib al-Ta'rikh IV*..., pp. 329–341.

29 Mu'ammār, *al-Ibadiyya bayn al-Firaq*, pp. 227–232, 245; Mu'ammār, *al-Ibadiyya Madhhabun*..., pp. 38, 41–42.

30 Mu'ammār, *al-Ibadiyya bayn al-Firaq*..., pp. 232–239, 245; Mu'ammār, *al-Ibadiyya Madhhabun*..., p. 40.

there is not a different opinion of this sect in terms of faith, but in the political dimension.³¹

Another sect is *Husayniyya*. The founder of this sect is Abu Ziyad al-Husayn at-Trāblusi who lived in the third century. 'Ali Yahya tells us that his opinions are mixed with Umariyya, one of many other sub-sects. Many opinions of this group are mentioned in the books of Maqālāt. This group has an intellectual dynamism. However, other than what their opponents write about Husayniyya there is no trace.³²

The sect called the *Sakkakiyya* emerged under the leadership Abdullah al-Sakkāk al-Lavātī, the founder of this sect. When Abd Allah al-Sakkāk opposed Ibadis on some issues, the majority of the Ibadis cut off their relationship with him. According to 'Ali Yahya, they denied tradition, ijma and qiyas. In addition they saw azan (the call to prayer) and Friday prayer as innovation, so they were beyond Islam. The Sakkakiyya disappeared in the next process. However, beyond what their opponents wrote about Sakkakiyya there is no longer any book like Husayniyya.³³

Another sect is *Farsiyya*. The founder of this sect is Abu Sulaiman b. Ya'qub b. Aflah. Abu Sulaiman b. Ya'qub issued interesting fatwas on various issues, and contemporary scholars moved away from him. He had interesting opinions, such as that the meat of animals to be eaten should be dirty and the blood in the veins be forbidden even after cleaning.³⁴

It is interesting that 'Ali Yahya does not mention *Wahbis*, one of the essential sub-sects of Ibadism here while he is referencing the sub-groups of Ibadis. He does not mention Wahbis who constituted the majority of Ibadis, although he mentions all other sub-groups other than Wahbis. This must be due to the fact that Wahbis formed the main body of Ibadis in North Africa, 'Ali Yahya seems to associate the Wahbiyya with Ibadism here.

2.4. The Political Opinions of Ibadites

The political opinions of Ibadites are among the issues that 'Ali Yahya is interested in. Ibadis think the imamate is assumed by the command of God according to him. That is why they think the president would be elected by a shura (council). However, the presidency is not limited to Quraish or any

31 Mu'ammār, *al-Ibadiyya Madhhabun...*, pp. 40–42; Mu'ammār, *al-Ibadiyya bayn al-Firaq...*, pp. 239–240.

32 Mu'ammār, *al-Ibadiyya bayn al-Firaq...*, pp. 240–242; Mu'ammār, *al-Ibadiyya Madhhabun...*, pp. 39–42.

33 Mu'ammār, *al-Ibadiyya Madhhabun...*, pp. 39–40, 42; Mu'ammār, *al-Ibadiyya bayn al-Firaq...*, pp. 242–243, 245.

34 Mu'ammār, *al-Ibadiyya Madhhabun...*, pp. 40–41; Mu'ammār, *al-Ibadiyya bayn al-Firaq...*, pp. 243–245.

tribe of the Arabs. Everyone who has the right conditions, such as knowledge, justice and righteousness, can be president. However, Quraishness or Arabness is preferable in case of overlapping conditions here. The president is also responsible for the practices of governors.

It is not right to revolt against a just president, according to Ibadites. It is not wajib (obligatory) to revolt against a cruel president, as Kharidjites posited. In addition, this case isn't forbidden, as Ash'arīs and Salafis say. So, justice is primarily demanded from cruel rulers. If he does not answer, his dismissal is requested. If he still does not answer, revolt is no longer unlawful against him and he should be dismissed by force.³⁵

2.5. The Relationship Between Ibadism and Khāridjite.

'Ali Yahya has important and remarkable ideas about the relationship between Ibadism and Kharidjite. He considers that Ibadism is outside of the Kharidjite; so he does not accept them as Kharijis. He refers to the subject with the title of *Ibadis are not Kharidjites* in his study '*al-Ibādiyya Madhhabun Islamiyyun Mu'tadilun*'. He says that the books of Makālāt written in Islamic heresiography accept Ibadis as a sect of Kharidjites, but that it was wrong. It shows them as rude, extreme and inconsiderate people in this way. Whereas 'Ali Yahya believes that Ibadis are the most remote people to Kharidjites. Ibadis were never badly behaved throughout history, according to him. They progress by inviting and persuasion, even when they change some state institutions. The places where the other sect members live is regarded as a Muslim town, even if the president is cruel. So it is not true hostility towards a Muslim state.³⁶

'Ali Yahya tells us that Ibadis, although they criticised the Umayyad administrators, didn't join revolts against the Umayyad as the movements against the Umayyad did, such as Shiites, Kharidjites, Tawwabun, Abdullah b. Zubayr. According to him, leading Kharidjite leaders tried to convince them to revolt with them, but he prevented it and reported that an uprising could not be made for a nation whose azan (the call to prayer) rises from their minarets and the Qur'an rises from their mosques.³⁷

35 Mu'ammār, *al-Ibādiyya Madhhabun...*, pp. 21–24; Mu'ammār, *al-Ibādiyya fī Mawkib al-Ta'rikh IV...*, pp. 364–373; for the political views of Ibadis see: Ethem Ruhi Fırlalı, *İbadiye'nin Doğuşu ve Görüşleri*, Ankara: AÜİF. Yay., 1983, pp. 108–125; Harun Yıldız, *Kendi Kaynakları Işığında Hāricîliğin Doğuşu ve Gelişimi*, Ankara: Araştırma Yay., 2010, pp. 172–175; Zuhayr Taghlat, 'al-Imamat al-Ibādiyya', *İslami İlimler Dergisi*, Vol. X/1, 2015, pp. 252–270.

36 Mu'ammār, *al-Ibādiyya Madhhabun...*, p. 24.

37 The first actual movement that was put forward by Ibadis is the movement launched by Talibū'l-Hakk Abdullah b. Yahya al-Kindi in Yemen with defensive reasons. Perhaps the first and last actual movement that Ibadis have put up against their opponents who they attacked the region in which they live. See: Mu'ammār, *al-Ibādiyya Madhhabun...*, p. 22.

Ibadites have been divided into countless sects and a leader appointed for each sect, according to him. However, both these sects, both these leaders and their sayings are not true for Ibadis, because they are far from these kinds of things. For example, the sub-sects such as *Yazidiyya*, *Hafsiyya* and *Harithiyya* are connected to Ibadis. But none of these sects are related to Ibadism.³⁸

2.6. Critiques and Accusations Against Ibadism

'Ali Yahya explains his ideas about critiques and accusations against Ibadism. This is regarded as an effort to defend Ibadism, using both classical and contemporary sources. He states that Ibadis had faced various accusations since the Umayyad period and notes with sadness that the faithful and historians of other sects have had a major role to play as they sided primarily with the view that that Ibadis are Kharidjites and that Ibadis are incorrect when they have searched for proof related to this provision. At this point 'Ali Yahya indicates that this effort is not to know the truth.³⁹

'Ali Yahya primarily surveys the works of classical authors such as Ash'ari (324/935–936), Baghdadi (429/4037–38), Ibn Hazm (456/1064), Isfarayani (471/1078) and Shahrastani (548/1153) and evaluates the information given about Ibadism by them.

'Ali Yahya tells us that Ash'arī does not know Ibadism well and he wrote many things that have no relationship with them. The information given by Ash'ari about the sub-sects of Ibadism such as *Yazidiyya*, *Hafsiyya* and *Hārisiyya* are not true either, according to him. He criticises Ash'ari again because of not giving information related to important scholars like Jābir b. Zayd, Abu Ubayda Muslim b. Abi Karima, Rabi' b. Habib, Ja'far b. as-Simāk, Suhār al-Abdi, Dīmām b. al-Saib, Abdullah b. Yahya al-Kindi, Abu'l-Khattab al-Maafiri, Abd al-Rahman b. Rustam and Hūd b. Muhakkam al-Huvvārī at all. He thinks that Ash'ari was right at this point and tells us that Ibadism does not spread in many Islamic countries like Iraq, Hijaz, Egypt and the southern Arabian peninsula in his time. On the other hand, some figures that Ash'ari shows us leaders, authors and theologians of Ibadis like Muhammad b. Harb and Yahya b. al-Kamil who did not live according to 'Ali Yahya. Ibadites and do not know these figures and their sects and are not therefore informed of their opinions. So the opinions that attributed to Ibadis are complex. All this indicates that Ash'arī does not mention the genuine Ibadis.⁴⁰

The leading thinkers of the Sunni thought such as Baghdadi, Ibn Hazm, Shahrastani and Isfarayani similarly make mistakes according to 'Ali Yahya.

38 Mu'ammār, *al-Ibadiyya Madhhabun...*, pp. 18–19.

39 Mu'ammār, *al-Ibadiyya bayn al-Firaq...*, p. 8.

40 Mu'ammār, *al-Ibadiyya bayn al-Firaq...*, pp. 13–19, 29–30.

Some of the opinions that they have attributed to Ibadis need to be refuted. He accuses especially Isfarayani, because he thinks that Isfarayani entered into this subject like a warrior and brought accusations against Ibadis. He tells us that some information given by Shahrastani are wrong and he also criticised him. The view of Shahrastani that Abdullah b. Ibad was killed in Tabala during the period of Marvan b. Mohammad is an example of this. In fact, he died at the end of the period of Abdulmalik b. Marwan. Additionally, 'Ali Yahya is of the opinion that Shahrastānī also relied on other sources, not Ibadi sources, while he gives information about Ibadism.⁴¹

Conclusion

'Ali Yahya Mu'ammār is one of the most important researchers of Ibadi origin in the last period. He devoted his whole life to Ibadi studies. His studies are significant and remarkable. It seems that he examined Ibadism in various aspects including both historically and theologically and current. In this point he has studies related to the theological dimension such as belief system and religious opinions of Ibadites and political opinions as well as studies related to the historical dimension such as the formation and historical development of Ibadism, the spread of Ibadism in North Africa, Ibadi sub-sects in North Africa and its relationship between Khāridjite in terms of history. He also studied issues such as critiques and accusations about Ibadites. Thus he dealt with many aspects of this subject.

Information given by 'Ali Yahya Mu'ammār about the formation and historical development of Ibadism, the spread of Ibadism in North Africa, the belief system and opinions of Ibadites and the different Ibadi sub-sects is based on the main Ibadi sources. In this context, he has relied on the works of important Ibadi scholars such as Darjini, Barradi, Wārjilani and Shammahi. So he has based his work on first-hand sources related to the subject and has made an important case-determination.

'Ali Yahya Mu'ammār's answers that the critiques and accusations about Ibadites are remarkable and thought-provoking. 'Ali Yahya makes an effort to reveal Ibadism, moving from classical to contemporary sources. It seems that he aims to explain Ibadism better and correctly, leaving aside some incorrect generalisations and a set of prejudices that emerged over the centuries. Because it is based on his personal observations significantly. He has contributed seriously to knowledge and understanding of the current situation of Ibadism with his studies in this field.

The studies of 'Ali Yahya provide important contributions to eliminating misunderstandings and prejudices among different religious groups and sects

41 Mu'ammār, *al-Ibadiyya bayn al-Firaq...*, pp. 45–54.

that live in the Muslim world. The members of different sects will understand each other better because of this. Muslim groups will get to know each other better and more accurately. Such studies will also be strengthened with studies by today's young researchers.