

TODAY'S PERSPECTIVES ON IBADI HISTORY

*EDITED BY
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Georg Olms Verlag
Hildesheim · Zürich · New York
2017

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Bibliographic information published by Die Deutsche Nationalbibliothek
Die Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the
Deutsche Nationalbibliografie; detailed bibliographic data are available
in the Internet at <http://dnb.d-nb.de>.

Printed on durable and acid-free paper
Cover design and Typesetting: Weiß-Freiburg GmbH – Graphik & Buchgestaltung
Printed in Germany
© Georg Olms Verlag AG, Hildesheim 2017
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ISBN 978-3-487-15152-6

Table of Contents

Foreword by Sheikh Abdullah Bin Mohammed Al Salmi	7
Introduction by the Editor	9

Contributions of Western Scholarship to the Reconstruction of Ibādī History

Stefan Schreiner: <i>Julius Wellhausen (1844–1918) and the Beginnings of Ibādism: Some Remarks on His Book ‘The Religio-Political Opposition Parties in Early Islam’ and Its Historical Context</i>	15
William Clegg: <i>The British Contribution to the Reconstruction of Ibādī History</i>	25
Valeria Fiorani Piacentini: <i>The Italian Perspective and Contribution to Ibādī Studies: From ‘Oriental Studies’ to Islamic and Ibādī Studies</i>	35
Moez Dridi: <i>Others People’s Lives: Ibādī Communities from the Perspective of Francophone Orientalists’ Writings</i>	49

The Early Period and the Formation of the Ibādī Community (1st–2nd / 7th–8th Century)

Josef van Ess: <i>Reconstructing Early Islamic Thought: The Ibādīyya in Context</i>	61
Wilferd Madelung: <i>‘Abd Allāh b. al-Abbās and the Muḥakkima</i>	69
Adam Gaiser: <i>‘In Them are Good Models’: Ibādī Depictions of the Muḥakkima</i>	75
Annie C. Higgins: <i>Early Shurāt / Khawārij Poetry: Catalytic Qaṣīdas</i>	83
John C. Wilkinson: <i>Ḥamalat al-‘Ilm</i>	91
Angeliki Ziaka: <i>Early Ibādī Writings as Historical and Theological Sources</i>	99
Messaoud Mezhoudi: <i>The Formation of the Ibādī Community in North Africa</i>	109

Historical Sources Related to the North African Ibādī Context

Miklos Muranyi: <i>First Steps Towards an Ibādī Corpus Iuris: The Mudawwana of Abū Ghānim al-Khurāsānī</i>	119
Vermondo Brugnatelli: <i>The Original Format of Abū Ghānim’s Mudawwana: Philological Evidence from a Berber Commentary</i>	125
Lutz Ilisch: <i>The Coinage of the Rustamid State</i>	139
Ouahmi Ould-Braham: <i>The Case of the Kitāb al-Siyar of al-Wisyanī (6th / 12th Century) and Its Various Manuscript Copies</i>	161
Paul Love, Jr.: <i>Ibādī Prosopographical Literature: al-Wisyanī, Networks, and the New Philology</i>	177
Anna Maria Di Tolla: <i>Berber Ibādism: Political, Religious Legitimacy and Definition of a Specific Identity</i>	185

Historical Sources Related to the Omani Ibādī Context (3rd–12th/9th–18th Century)

Yohei Kondo: <i>The Deposition of the Imām al-Salt b. Mālik and the Ibādī Imāmate Tradition of Oman</i>	197
Eric Staples: <i>The Maritime Dimensions of the Ibādī Imāmate in the 9th Century CE</i>	211
Sami Saqer Abu Dawoud: <i>al-Awtabī and His Book Muwaddih al-Ansāb</i>	225
Kadir Gömbeyaz: <i>Sources and Characteristics of al-Qalhātī's Heresiological Classification in His al-Kashf wa l-Bayān</i>	233
Abdulrahman Al Salimi: <i>Biographical Dictionaries in Oman</i>	245
Hossein Modarressi: <i>Oman in Iranian Chronicles and Archives</i>	259
Allen Fromherz: <i>Ibādism in World History: Ming Pottery, Ibādī Mihrābs and Cosmopolitan Paradox</i>	269

Historical Sources Related to the Omani Ibādī Context (Modern Period)

Valerie J. Hoffman: <i>Nāsir b. Abī Nabhān's Use of Sunnī Literature</i>	279
Mohammed Ech-Cheikh: <i>Theology of History and Ibādī History</i>	285
Anna Rita Coppola: <i>Omani Historiography Between Tradition and Modernity: Nūr al-Dīn al-Salīmī and His Tuḥfa</i>	293
Mandana E. Limbert: <i>A Historian at the Edge: Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Salīmī's Twentieth-Century</i> . . .	309
Uzi Rabi: <i>Oman and the Arab Spring: A Counterpoint to the Image of the Disintegrating Middle Eastern State</i>	317
Beatrice Nicolini: <i>Power and Tolerance Among the Ibādīs of Oman and Zanzibar During the 19th Century: A Few Reflections</i>	323
Amal Ghazal: <i>Zanzibar and East Africa Through Local Eyes: al-Mughayrī's Juhaynat al-Akhhār</i>	335
The Authors	343

Berber Ibādism: Political, Religious Legitimacy and Definition of a Specific Identity

Anna Maria Di Tolla

The Berbers, autochthonous inhabitants of North Africa, accepted Ṣufrism and Ibādism for their emphasis on the essential equality of all Muslims regardless of their ethnic origin. Berbers adopted the new doctrines not only in protest against injustices of the ruling orthodox governments, but also in order to maintain their political autonomy in the Maghribian regions and affirm and strengthen their Berber cultural identity. On the other hand, as regards their contribution to the diffusion of the doctrine, Berber scholars not only played an important role in Ibādī theology, but they also integrated the practice of Islam into many aspects of their local culture and developed a rich literature, thus creating a distinct North African Ibādī identity.

Ibādī Berber writings form a rich field of Berber literary tradition, though there is still not much known about them. The period of the political ascendancy of Khārijism in North Africa and the role of the Berbers in that process, as supporters of the new doctrine, have received relatively little attention primarily due to the lack of literary sources. In this paper, for reasons of space, it will not be possible to give a comprehensive historiographical overview of Ibādī sources concerning the Berbers in Ibādī history, rather, I shall mention some Ibādī works indicating in particular their importance for the understanding of Berber history and culture in the early Islamic period, and underlining their significance for the historical and religious development of Ibādism in North Africa. Thereby, I give priority to some of the Arabic sources of Berber history written by Berbers themselves. The overall goal of this paper is to analyse some aspects of and information about the way how the Berbers have legitimized Khārijism, reconciled their culture with the new doctrines that they have adopted, and redefined their specific religious identity.

The Berbers: Cultural and Religious Identity Through Some Ibādī Sources

In the 8th century, in the earliest source extant about the history of early Islamic North Africa, the *Kitāb fihī bad' al-islām wa sharā'i' al-dīn* (The Origins of Islam and the Foundations of the Faith) by Ibn Sallām (died in 887),¹ appear some *ḥadīths* on the virtues of the Berbers. This work, brought to light thanks to the research of Werner Schwartz in the Ibādī libraries of Jerba, is about the origin of Ibādism in North Africa according to the Ibādī tradition of the Maghrib.²

It appears that Ibn Sallām originated from the Tripolitania region and belonged to the powerful Berber tribe of Lawāta who was affiliated with the Rustamid dynasty in Tāhart. This source mostly was composed in Tripolitania, around the year 875 during the period of the Rustamid dynasty (776–909). Even if its content is heterogeneous, the importance of this work lies in the fact that it is written from a Berber perspective. It includes historical accounts, a part of which is taken directly from Ibn Sallām's own memory and family archives. Within his *Kitāb*, he mentions Yahyā ibn 'Umar (his uncle) and 'Umar ibn Tamṭanīn (his grandfather) who both participated in the formation of the Imamate of Abū l-Khaṭṭāb in Tripolitania and were present at the Battle of Tāwarghā (761) against the 'Abbāsīd governor Muḥammad ibn al-Ash'ath al-Khuẓā'i.³ The other part of Ibn Sallām's book derives from some *ḥadīths*, histories of prophetic traditions, mostly apocryphal ones which were already circulating in the 2nd/8th century.

After the collapse of the Umayyad Caliphate in 750 several Berber tribes adopting Khārijism, the Ṣufrī or Ibādī variants, established numerous autonomous reigns in the Maghrib. In the chapter on what the Prophet said about the virtues of Berbers, Ibn Sallām mentions 'Amr b. Yimkitin as having been among the first Ibādī scholars of Nafūsa. He started teaching the Qur'an in the mosque of his village, Ifāṭmān, a ruined village in the western Jabal Nafūsa between Jādū and Kabāw. Later he was to become

one of the most important leaders of the Nafūsa region and participated in the wars against the 'Abbāsīd army. After quoting the Prophet's traditions concerning Berbers Ibn Sallām goes on in his text asserting that the rebellion was supported by powerful tribes located in the Tripolitania region, namely the Hawāra, Lawāta, Mazāta and specifically the Nafūsa,⁴ tribes who were very active in the popular movement and gained supremacy over the other tribes. They promoted and supported Abū l-Khaṭṭāb (d. 761), the leader of the *ḥamalāt al-ilm*, and established an Imamate in Tripolitania which at that time served as the main political and religious center in North Africa.

Another prominent North African Ibādī scholar, Abū Zakariyyā' Yaḥyā l-Warjlānī (d. 1130), writing almost three centuries after Ibn Sallām, also focuses on the history of the Ibādī Imamate in North Africa. He devotes two chapters to the praise of the Berbers, implicitly recognizing 'the lowliness of their rank'.⁵ In contrast to that, al-Warjlānī quotes some *ḥadīths* and testimonies of companions of the Prophet to prove that this people was designated by God to have a predominant role in Islam, to develop the new faith and to create the Imamate in Tripolitania.

It is very interesting to follow the evolution of the attitude that the Berbers took towards the Arabs. Being allies or holders of power in Tāhart, in Fez or in other territories and relying on many scholars who did not consider it a misfortune that they were ethnically Berber, as in the case of the pious al-Buhlūl ibn Rāshīd,⁶ rather, they claimed proudly the cultural and religious identity of the Berbers. These are manifestations of overcoming the psychological subjection. It is at this time that, conceptually, should be dated the many apocryphal statements minted for the express purpose of claiming the merits and virtues of the Berber people in response to the many insulting statements and *ḥadīths*, coined by the Arabs against them.

Among the pro-Berber *ḥadīths* and companions' testimonies cited by both authors—Ibn Sallām and al-Warjlānī—are for instance:

*The angel Gabriel appeared to the Prophet Muḥammad and said: O Muḥammad, I advise you to fear God and the Berbers.—And who are the Berbers?—They are people who will restore life to the religion of God when it is dead and renewed when adopted.*⁷

(...) O people of Mecca, O people of Medina, I recommend you to behave well towards God and towards the Berbers, as these take along in the Maghrib the religion of God after that you'll have left. These are the ones mentioned by God in his Book: "O you who believe, whoever among you rejects religion, Allah will lead a people who will love Him, humble

*about it of the believers, haughty towards the infidels, who will lead the fight on the paths of Allah and not fear anyone. They have the favor of Allah. They are the ones who do not take account of the blame of some, if not obedience to God"*⁸

We know that 'Aīsha—God will accept—saw a young man who had his hair braided on the two sides of the head, and it was beautiful and elegant.—Which group does that one belong to?—He is a Berber—, they answered to her.—The Berbers, she said, are hospitable to guests, hitting with the sabre and taming kings as they tame horses.

In the first *ḥadīth*, probably, there is an allusion to the corruption of the Umayyads and 'Abbāsīds and that the Maghrib will be the new political center of the revived Islamic faith. The Berbers will play an important role in the revival of the religion and establish a just Islamic order in the face of the deviation and tyranny. And the following two traditions place the Berber tribes as the bearers of the true message of Islam and the vehicle for the transmission and achievement of the divine decrees to the rest of the world, maintaining themselves as faithful servants of God, so the corrupted Arabs will be supplanted by the Berbers, a people whose promise to the divine commandments and faithfulness to the truths of the Islamic message could not be doubted. These traditions reinforce the implication between Ibādism and the Berber identity on the one hand, and the centrality of the role of the Ibādī Berbers as God's instrument for the preservation and revitalization of the true faith on the other.

Certainly, the long process of constitution of the subjectivity of the group must be added. The sacralized history represents for the mentioned two Ibādī authors a kind of reason for being that cannot be called into question without the risk of denying themselves and their identity.

The Berbers and Their Aspiration for Autonomy and Spirit of Independence

It is not known precisely when the Ibādī doctrine started to gain followers in North Africa. At the time when the Ibādī school was established in Baṣra during the second half of the first century H, Islam itself gained a stronghold over North Africa in spite of the initial opposition it encountered from the Berbers. It is not known if the people of Jabal Nafūsa remained Christians after the Muslim conquest until they were converted to the Ibādī school, or accepted Islam in mass without any struggle whatever.⁹

The importance of the history of early Islamic centuries in North Africa for understanding the course of the

development of Khārijism is fundamental. Not only did Khārijism shape the course of Islamic political and religious history in North Africa during the 8th and 9th centuries, but the movement itself was also transformed in significant ways. The importance of the Khārijites in the so-called Great Berber Revolt of 740–743, which played a key role in weakening the Umayyad political authority to its reversal in North Africa, and the rise of significant Khārijite reigns in the Maghrib in the 8th and 9th centuries are two key developments which link the political history of North Africa with the religious expansion of Khārijism as a distinct religious identity.

By the early 730s, Berber dissatisfaction with the discriminatory fiscal and social policies of the Umayyad authorities in North Africa, in addition to a number of other factors, started to culminate ultimately in the rebellion of 740. Khārijism itself was not the causal factor of the revolt, but the adoption of this religious doctrine by the rebelling tribes with its opposition to 'unjust' political authority gave religious expression to the longtime political and social protests of these Berber tribes facing the Umayyad political domination. In other words, Khārijism as a religious doctrine was not the cause of the rebellion, rather than providing the Berber tribes with an important ideological substrate within which they could legitimize and organize their struggle against the Umayyads.

Certainly, the Berbers had had a tendency towards autonomy and rebellion against central governing authorities already before the arrival of the Arabs. Throughout the Roman period, the Berbers asserted their individuality by the adoption of heterodox doctrines such as Donatism. There was also a series of revolts against the Byzantines, and several independent Berber territories were established in the region following the Vandal invasions in the 5th and 6th centuries which weakened Roman authority in North Africa.¹⁰ Finally, the Berber tribes played an active role in resisting the Arab conquerors of North Africa in the 7th century. It is thus a combination of factors and considerations that made the rebelling tribes to adopt Khārijism and allowed the Berbers of north-west Africa to counteract the Umayyad political authority.

The introduction and then disappearance of Barghawāta Islam is another interesting historical phenomenon for understanding the spirit of independence among the Berbers and the expansion of Ibādism in North Africa. The Barghawāta were a Berber confederation mainly of the Masmūda which reigned over Tamesna, the coastal plain of modern Casablanca and Rabat, from the early 8th until the mid-12th century. They ruled an independent reign for four centuries, gaining the freedom from political interference and Arab domination. Islam persisted as orthodoxy in their kingdom for less than a century, when eventually

a new prophet and a sacred text were affirmed. The fourth ruler of the kingdom of Barghawāta, Yūnus (ruled 842–884), attempted to assert Berber cultural and religious autonomy by introducing a berberized version of Islam.¹¹ This new religion had a Qur'an of its own in Berber language and its doctrine appears to have been a Berber deformation of Sunnī and Shī'ite Islam with some influences from the Khārijite doctrine. They also established some precepts which drew mainly from ancient Berber beliefs and customs.¹² Nevertheless, Ibn Ḥawqal emphasizes the ascetic style of life and the good morality of the Barghawāta.¹³ This view of a new religion can be taken as an evidence of the Barghawāta's determination to remain distinct from the Arab conquerors, both politically and culturally.

Of the various Berber kingdoms of North Africa, the Barghawāta were especially predisposed to leading a cultural revolt in the form of a berberized Islam. The purpose of Yūnus, to render Islam into a local and independent form, was to maintain the political unity of his kingdom. According to Mohamed Talbi, they could be distinguished primarily by their confession, and only after that by their tribal affiliation. They constituted a community that had arisen and developed through the lively 'Berber nationalism'.¹⁴ Their constant use of the Berber language and frequent recourse to astrology and magic testifies to the influence of the environment on their belief. The Barghawāta's introduction of a berberized Islam also indicates that Berbers did not quietly submit to Arab cultural norms; instead, they tried to modify an ethnically Arab religion to be adequate to the Berber experience. Their longevity can be attributed to several factors, including their advantageous geographical position.

Berberized Islam ultimately failed, but modern Moroccan deviations from Muslim orthodoxy, such as the cult of saints,¹⁵ remind us of the Berbers' persisting determination to practice Islam in their own way and cultural context.

The Ibādī Literary Tradition as a Means of Preservation of Berber Languages

A literary tradition in Berber is attested in written form from the first centuries of Islam in North Africa onwards, and it is the Ibādī tradition in Arabic language. The object of knowledge was the religious science and therefore writing attracted only the minority of people who could devote themselves to it. Outside the legal framework, writing did not express the experience common to all, but has become the support to perpetuate the ideological memory. A large number of great Berber scholars, who participated significantly in Ibādī studies,

emerged in the three communities of Jabal Nafūsa, Jerba Island and Southern Tunisia and Algeria. These scholars aimed at throwing light not only on the expansion of the Ibādī teachings in North Africa, but also on the Ibādī vision of Islamic theology. At that time, during the Middle Ages, among the Ibādī circles of scholars (*ḥalqa*), religious men and groups grew up that used the Berber language to convey their religious discourse and literary activity in Jabal Nafūsa and elsewhere in North Africa, leaving a relatively abundant literature, and in their writings in Arabic they took the indelible mark of Berber in the transmission of the religious message.¹⁶

Berber language was utilized as a vehicle for the diffusion of Islam in North Africa and many manuscripts were written in it since the beginning of the spread of this new doctrine. It should be noted that the use of Berber as a literary language had to be quite rooted for the Berber Ibādīs, for the majority did not know Arabic. A special impulse was given to literature written by the Ibādī Berbers who founded the kingdom of Tāhart. Some official acts that came from the chancery of the Tāhart Ibādī Imams were destined to *mashā'ikh* (venerables) of common Ibādī Maghrib. If the translation into Berber of those acts is a historically established fact during the Imamate of Aflaḥ and Abū Ḥātim Yūsuf, as we know the name of one of the official translators in the person of Abū Sahl al-Fārisī,¹⁷ it seems logical to think that the same applies to Imams who preceded or followed them. Abū Sahl al-Fārisī is remembered as a poet of verses about historical subjects. The son of Aflaḥ, Abū Bakr, cultivated poetry and literature. In Islamic culture, and even more so in that Puritan Khārijite, poets were not loved and this was an embarrassing aspect of culture in Ibādī Tāhart, since al-Warjlānī does not speak of the son and successor of Aflaḥ. According to Ibn Ṣaghīr, 'although a good, generous and sweet character',¹⁸ Abū Bakr did not show his predilection 'in religious matters, the same zeal of his predecessors',¹⁹ 'because he loved literature, poetry and stories of times past'.²⁰

During the reign of 'Abd al-Wahhāb b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān, the second Ibādī Imam of Tāhart, towards the end of the 2nd and the beginning of the 3rd century H, Berber language was used besides Arabic and Persian in his correspondence with Ibādīs in the Jabal Nafūsa. In this period, a prominent Ibādī polemicist, Mahdī l-Nafūsi (lived about the 4th/10th century) who distinguished himself in the ideological struggle against the Mu'tazilites, wrote a text in Berber to refute the doctrines of Naffāth b. Naṣr who was the protagonist of an Ibādī sectarian doctrine (the *Naffāthiyya*).²¹ Cultural relations as a result of the presence of various ethnic and religious groups, undoubtedly being made profitable by a policy of opening

up new markets, the increasingly complex structure of the society in Tāhart along with refinement of taste and luxury, all this gave rise to a range of cultural options that were not limited to studies of religious sciences and jurisprudence, but widened to other scientific fields, especially profane ones. al-Warjlānī wrote that Aflaḥ acquired a high competence in mathematics and astrology. Developments and progress that Islamic culture has made in the mathematical sciences are part of the cultural heritage of humanity. The Islamic world transmitted to Western culture astrology and astronomy. Masqueray notes that magic and astrology always have been cultivated by the Berbers in the Middle Ages.²² He also notes that the Berbers have a predilection for divination and the occult sciences. The predilection for these aspects of astrology is located generally in that fund of African religiosity, whose most significant cultural residue is that of the Tuaregs.

This cultural characteristic of the Berbers was the reason for the Arab stereotype of the Berber magician and sorcerer consecrated in the *Thousand and One Nights* in which the sorcerers are of North African origin. This question also is related to the issue of Islam unwilling to accept pre-Islamic rites and customs. In the Maghrib, Islam instead has incorporated those practices and those rites by giving them new meanings compatible with the Islamic faith.

Some important Berber manuscripts were written by the many scholars who contributed to the development of the Ibādī literary tradition and translated and commented on some Ibādī *'aqīdas*,²³ which consist of a kind of Ibādī catechism, synthesis of faith and basic education.²⁴ In addition to the 'catechism', several ancient poems in Berber language, which explain in simple terms the principles of religious doctrine, were found at Jerba and in the Jabal Nafūsa. They probably belonged to a vast poetic corpus, a kind of 'oral catechism' for a largely illiterate population. These poems should have been understood by the majority of the Ibādī populations, and thus they should have been composed in a kind of Ibādī common language used for religious education. The dialect of the Jabal Nafūsa region, as studied by de Calassanti-Motyliniski, according to Henri Basset,²⁵ seems to be very close to the language used in the medieval Ibādī chronicles and religious treatises.²⁶

Ibādīs have also preserved the predominant role of women in the traditional Berber society, as evidenced by the many texts about women held in esteem for their compassion and education. Several of the saints were women, and the stories which were told about them in various chronicles reveal how much freedom and respect these Ibādī women enjoyed in common with Berber women elsewhere in North Africa. The important part played by women in religion, so unusual among Muslim peoples, is relevant for the life of women, and this interaction has contributed to

the vitality of Berber culture—in particular, this is apparent in the very existence of Mzabite culture.³⁷

Writing in Arabic has been gradually imposed. Thus losing its importance, writing in the local language has lost its space. It is interesting to note that in Mzab the poetic production in Berber remained in a female sphere. Probably, women were the last custodian of writing in Berber. It can be assumed, as among the Tuaregs, that writing in Berber was part of the educational duties of women.

Berber Identity and Some Cultural Specifics

The articulation of a particular North African Ibādī identity is one of the most distinctive aspects of the Ibādī texts of that region. So, the organization of traditional tribal societies of North Africa, known as *jamā'a* strongly influenced the *'azzāba* which transformed the *ḥalqa* and local councils into a general meeting, marked by tribal influences.³⁸

Ibādī communities in some areas of central North Africa, namely the western part of Libya, in Jabal Nafūsa, are often difficult to reach. Today, Jabal Nafūsa is a region with a high concentration of ancient mosques, many of which are built partially underground, and their most obvious particularity is the absence of minarets like with the Ibādī mosques which rose in the Mozabite towns in the south of Algeria. According to Ibādī writings the whole of Jabal Nafūsa is filled with holy sites and sanctuaries,³⁹ and some books have been written to guide pilgrims.

Jabal Nafūsa is also characterized by fortified store houses, known as *igberm* in Berber, which consist of agglomerations of closed citadel-granaries contained within a defensive wall. During peaceful times, each *igberm* functioned as a central storage area and in times of attack the village population retreated into the *igberm*. They are also to be found in Tunisia and among the Berbers in Southern Morocco and probably elsewhere, what testifies to an ancient traditional organization of cohesion and unity.

Integration of Ancient Berber Cults into Ibādīsm

The Cult of the Cave

Ibādīsm in North Africa is also characterized by a conservation of ancient pagan cults, especially the cult of caves, which is one of the ancient Berber cults like that

of particular rocks or stones.³⁰ The caves, which for centuries had served as dwellings, here and there remained to be places of worship. There still existed sacred Berber caves since recorded history, even in the time of St. Augustine.³¹ If it can be assumed that a few ceremonies were of Phoenician origin, others probably were used for truly indigenous worship.³²

Historians of ancient Africa long since have recognized a deity named after Ifru.³³ The form *ifru* recalls the root *ifri* which in Berber means 'cave, rock shelter'.³⁴ The term is used as a place name and is widespread throughout North Africa. The cult of the caves harks back to the ancient chthonic cult, according to the belief that by advancing in the dungeons you get closer to God. In the popular imagination the cave is a natural shelter that gave security to semi-sedentary and nomadic populations during the transhumance in Antiquity.³⁵ Often, in the caves are located graves of saints, and that is why they have a sacred character.

The cavern or cave can be inhabited by *junūn*, according to the most widespread belief, and this has created fears of the cave.³⁶ The most famous deity who lived in caves was the god Bacax, mentioned in numerous Latin inscriptions. Charles Tissot assumed that 'Ifru is a goddess of caverns', and proposed to grant her the same character as that of Bacax.³⁷ René Basset classifies caves inhabited by genii according to the consultations that are practiced there, that is, whether they are used for oracles, healing or just to protect from disease or the evil eye.³⁸

After Berbers had adopted the Ibādī doctrine, they remained faithful to the worship of caves. This cult had also its place in Tāhart, and it seems to have been practiced still in more recent times: Capot-Rey mentions in the 1940s that a Mozabite colony from Tāhart went on pilgrimage to the cave where the last Imam prayed.³⁹

For the time after the fall of the Rustamides, Ibādī sources provide many examples of the importance given to the caves. Thus, when the Nukkārī rebel Abū Yazīd came back from the pilgrimage, he dug a cave in Qal'at Shaddād, in the Jerid, where he met his companions to organize his rebellion against the Fāṭimids.⁴⁰ In Jerba, around the year 1000, seven scholars called the 'Sheikhs of the cave' met in the cave of Majmaj near the mosque called *masjid al-ghār*, to write the *Diwān al-'azzāba*, an encyclopedia of Ibādī *fiqh* consisting of 12 volumes, now lost.⁴¹ To this day, in Jerba three mosques are underground and also the ancient synagogue has an underground cavity where one performs rituals for fertility.⁴²

Although the importance of caves in Ibādī writings is remarkable, it should be noted that the Ibādīs are not the only Muslims to have kept this cult. Many Sunnī populations throughout the Maghrib have maintained it as well.

Other Cults

Many other examples can be given of how the Berbers have legitimized the Ibādī doctrine by combining local customs with new religious practices. In Jerba, the visit to the olive tree—an ancient ritual to ensure prosperity—has been incorporated into religious ceremonies when celebrating the marriage and circumcision, and it is still respected by the inhabitants of the island.⁴³

A strong tradition of venerating saints' tombs is found throughout the regions inhabited by Berbers. The roots of this tradition can be traced back to ancient times. This practice is based on a strong tradition of holiness among charismatic figures, and it can be assumed that this phenomenon originates in pre-Islamic Berber practice. According to Gabriel Camps, pre-Islamic Berbers practiced a cult of saints, a deification of individuals who implied a unique and personal connection with God.⁴⁴

According to Luigi Serra—referring to the situation in the sixties—the Ibādī people of Zuara in Tripolitania have preserved ancient customs concerning marriage, birth and above all the rite of *Awussu*.⁴⁵ The latter they use to celebrate every year in a given season. Its main action consists of a bath in the sea during the hours before the dawn of every three feast days. At some point, usually two hours before dawn, the bathers enter collectively into the water. They purify themselves and their animals too, their wool garments and blankets, and obtain the blessing of the sea. The celebration of this feast was primarily intended to remove from the body and soul any kind of damage and spells; then to get the benign of natural forces, and finally to win the favor of the deity who rules them.⁴⁶

Another ancient rite preserved and practiced by Maghribians in general and also by Ibādī people is the rite of *anzar*. This ceremony referred to a practice in which the bride of the rain represented a rain goddess, or the personification of the earth as a bride to be impregnated by the rain. The rite is associated to female fertility and reproduction power.⁴⁷

Many other ancient rites have been preserved in the culture of the Ibādī Mzab.⁴⁸ The Berbers also held many cultural beliefs of Arabs coming from the Middle East, such as the belief in evil spirits and the evil eye, thus making a fusion of Arab and Berber religious practices.⁴⁹

Conclusion

For the Berbers, Ṣufrism and Ibādism were acceptable because of their emphasis on the essential equality of all Muslims regardless of their ethnic origin. Berbers adopted the new doctrines not only as means against injustices of orthodox governments, but also in order to maintain their political autonomy in the Maghribian regions, and to affirm and strengthen Berber cultural identity. On the other hand, as regards their contribution to the diffusion of the Ibādī doctrine, the Berbers not only played an important role in Ibādī theology, but they also integrated the practice of Islam in many aspects of the local culture and developed a rich literature, thus creating a distinct North African Ibādī identity.

The construction of a specific North African Ibādī narrative of the series of events culminating in the establishment of an Ibādī Imamate in the Maghrib was made not only by a distinct community (the Ibādīs), but by the Berbers that became the bearers of the Islamic message, and they were the main revivalists of this religion in an age characterized by dissension and corruption. The ancient Berber culture was and is not juxtaposed to the Ibādī faith, rather, it is real mixture so that the two can merge. This adaptation of Ibādism and Berber cultural traditions may be one of the causes of the success and preservation of this doctrine until today.

Notes

- 1 Ibn Sallām 1986.
- 2 Schwartz 1983.
- 3 Ibn Sallām 1986: 125.
- 4 Their political supremacy gave birth to political struggles over hegemony with the Hawāra, and to the political opposition movement of the separatist Khalafiyya in Tripolitania (Ibn Ṣaghīr 1908: 78; Warjlānī 1979: 158).
- 5 According to the testimony that al-Warjlānī attributes to a certain al-Abbās ibn Mirdās al-Salīmī, they originate from a Berber called Ibn Qays who would have had many children. The wildest among them, after having fought with their brothers, he would have chosen to live in the country (*fī l-barāri*). As a young adult, according to the words of the Arabs, he was 'the one that had proliferated' using the term *tabarbaru* (Warjlānī 1979: 105).
- 6 Talbi 1966: 20.
- 7 Ibn Sallām 1986: 126–129; Warjlānī 1979: 106–109.
- 8 Ibid.
- 9 Lewicki 1955: 54.
- 10 Modéran 2003: 375–376, 565–680.
- 11 See Bakrī 1857: 148–50.
- 12 Calassanti-Motyliniski 1905; Marcy 1932; Le Tourneaux 1960; Lewicki 1967a; Lewicki 1967b; Dernouny 1986; Deverdun 1991; Di Tolla 2015.
- 13 Ibn Ḥawqal 1964: 80.
- 14 Talbi 1973: 220; Dernouny 1986.
- 15 A popular practice in Muslim societies is a pious visitation of living or dead saints, the so-called *ziyāra*. The worship of saints still exists among the modern Berbers in the form of Maraboutism, which is widespread in northwest Africa, especially in Morocco.
- 16 Di Tolla 2015.
- 17 Darjīnī 1974: 296–297.
- 18 Ibn Ṣaghīr 1908: 91.
- 19 Ibid.
- 20 Ibid.
- 21 Lewicki 1936: 270–271; Lewicki 1961: 118; Rebstock 1983: 249–256.
- 22 [Warjlānī 1878]: 186, n. 1.
- 23 Di Tolla 2015.
- 24 Cuperly 1984: 49.
- 25 Basset, H. 1920: ix.
- 26 Calassanti-Motyliniski 1898.
- 27 Goichon 1927–1931, vol. I.
- 28 The political order of Ibādī cities based on the organisation of *ḥalqa* always has been autonomous.
- 29 Basset, R. 1899.
- 30 Lewicki 1967b: 15–16; Adam: 1973.
- 31 Gsell 1913, I: 256.
- 32 Ibid.: 304.
- 33 She was depicted some 16 km east of Constantine as 'a great figure struck' over a rock (Camps 2001: 3666).
- 34 It could mean "those who hide (themselves or their belongings) in caves" (Babington 1903: 161–162).
- 35 Probst-Biraben 1939: 129–142.
- 36 Westermarck 1926, I: 73–75.
- 37 Tissot 1884: 487.
- 38 Basset, H. 1920: 52.
- 39 Capot-Rey 1941: 180. Prevost 2011: 68.
- 40 Warjlānī 1979: 168.
- 41 Warjlānī 1979: 284; Shammākhī 1883: 380.
- 42 El Mrabet 2002.
- 43 Dermenghem 1954: 143.
- 44 Camps 1987: 98.
- 45 Serra 1964: 624–632; Serra 1971: 65–75.
- 46 In recent years this ritual yet is to disappear slowly after the Libyan government has declared that it is a pagan ritual.
- 47 Basset, R. 1910: 308; Camps 1989: 795–797.
- 48 Goichon 1927–1931, vol. II.
- 49 Westermarck 1926, I: 383.

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