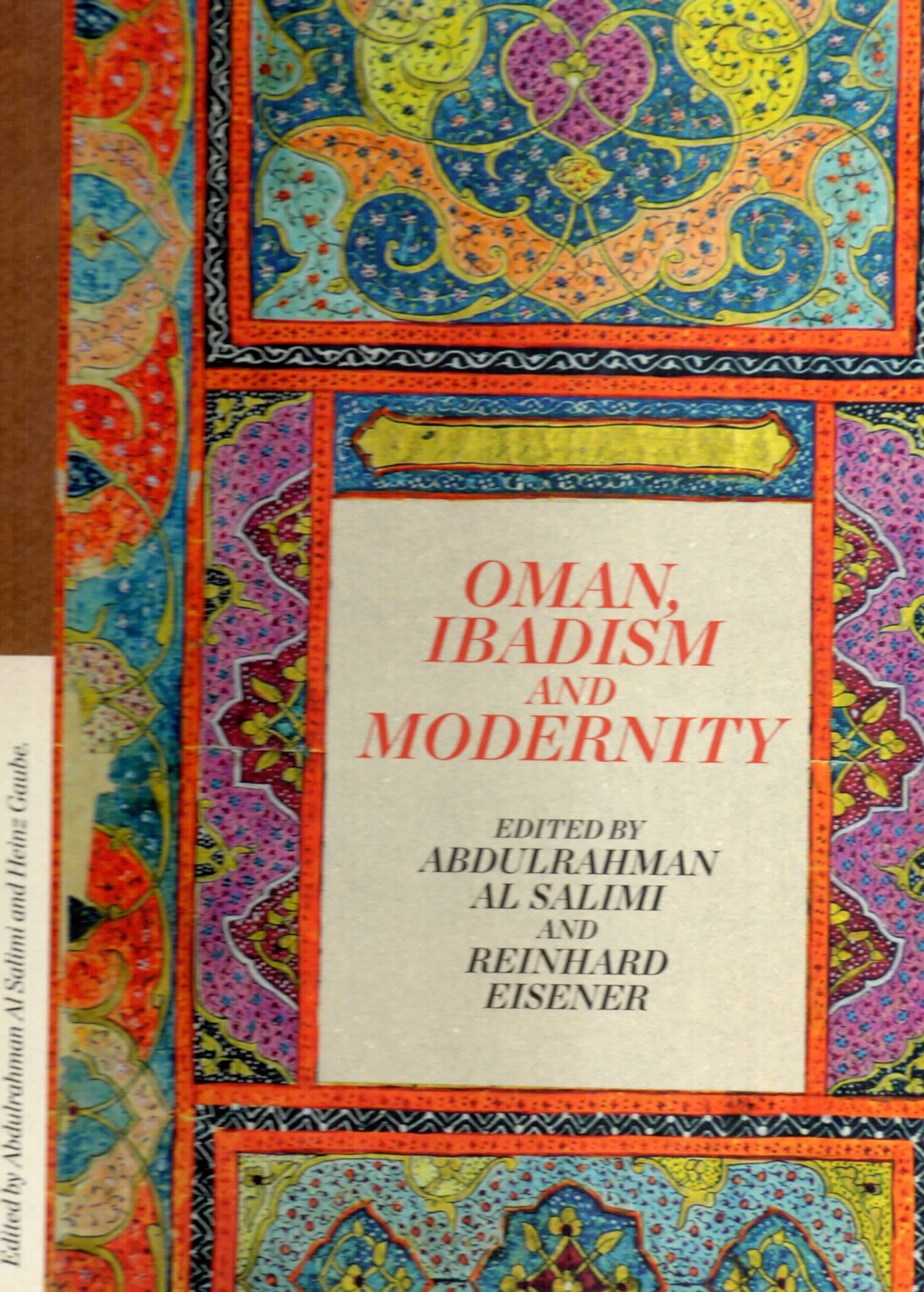
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OMAN, IBADISM AND MODERNITY

EDITED BY
ABDULRAHMAN AL SALIMI
AND REINHARD EISENER

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Table of Contents

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

Part 1: Encounters with Modernity (Historical Background, the *Nahḍa* Period)

1.1 Encircling the Phenomenon

Christian Lange: *Was There an Arab Intellectual Revival (*Nahḍa*) in the 17th and 18th Centuries? A Review Essay* 15
John C. Wilkinson: *A Historic Perspective on the* Nahḍa 25
Ridwan al-Sayyid: *The Omani Renaissance: Renewal of* Fiqh *and Religious Reform* 35
Hossein Modarressi: *Islamic Modernisms: An Ibāḍī-Shīʿite Perspective* 39
Angeliki Ziaka: *Redefining Ibāḍī Identity through Religious Discourse in the Time of the* Nahḍa 45

1.2 On Eminent Figures of the *Nahḍa*

Saleh Ahmed Al-Busaidi: *The Development in the Ibāḍī Theology during the 18th and 19th Centuries* 55
Barbara Michalak-Pikulska: *Religious Aspects in the Poetry of Abū Muslim al-Bahlānī* 63
Ersilia Francesca: Ijtihād *and the Ibāḍī Reform Movement in North Africa: Shaykh Muḥammad Aṭfayyish's 'Re'-Interpretation of* Kitāb al-Nīl 69
Sulaiman Ali Al Shueili: *The Development of Ibāḍī Jurisprudence Writing in Oman: al-Imām al-Sālimī as a Model* 81
Ersilia Francesca: *Religion and Politics in Contemporary Omani Ibāḍism* 87
Farhat Jaabiri: *Le grand réformateur Shaykh Bayyūḍ tel que l'ai connu Ibrāhīm b. ʿUmar, 1313–1401/1899–1981: un témoignage* 97

1.3 Practical Reactions to Modernization

Amal Ghazal: *The Individual Reaction to Western Modernization* 107
Anna Maria Di Tolla: *Family in the Maghrib: The Case of Mzabi Society in the* Nahḍa *Period* 113
Mandana Limbert: *From Colonial Documentation to Citizenship Boundaries: Marriage Policy across Two* Nahḍas 123
Valerie J. Hoffman: *Ibāḍīs in Zanzibar and the* Nahḍa 129
Mikhail A. Rodionov: *Ibāḍīs in the Cultural Memory of Modern Ḥaḍramawt* 145
Serge A. Frantsouzoff: *The Heritage of Ibāḍism in the Medieval History of Ḥaḍramawt in the Context of the Ideological Struggle between the Irshādites and the ʿAlawites* 151

Part 2: Shaping Modernity (Contemporary Policies and Practices)

2.1 Development Trajectories

Wilferd Madelung: *Religion and Politics in Ibāḍism: A Historical Survey* 159
John C. Wilkinson: *Ibāḍism and State Formation in Oman* 163
Anna Maria Di Tolla: *Religion and Political Structure: The Berber-Ibāḍī Perspective in North Africa between Diversity and Pluralism* 171
Mohammed Ech-Cheikh: *The Tragedy of the Arab World* 181
Ahmed Abou-El-Wafa: *Ibāḍī Jurisprudence in Modern Context (International Perspectives)* 187
Valerie J. Hoffman: *Ibāḍī-Omani Creeds and the Construction of Omani Religious Discourse* 197
İsmail Albayrak: *The Notion of Jesus' Return in the Views of Two Ibāḍī Scholars: Muḥammad Aṭfayyish and Aḥmad al-Khalīlī* 209

2.2 Institutions and Policies

Yohei Kondo: *Ibāḍī Policy on Education and Learning in the Premodern Period* 221
Nathaniel Mathews: Jumuiya ya Kiislamu ya Istiqaama Tanzania *and Modern Ibāḍism in East Africa, 1985–2016* 235
Abdullah Ahmed Al-Sulaimi: *The* Iftā' *Office of Oman: Its Objectives and Policy* 247
Abdulrahman Al Salimi: *The Religious Policies in Oman: Renewal in the Modern State* 263
Suleiman Salem Al Husseini: *Religious Education in General and Higher Education in Oman: Reality, Rationale, and Institutional Practices* 271

2.3 Tolerance as a Paradigm

Hilal Al-Hajri & Nikolas S. Panagiotou: *His Majesty Sultan Qaboos as a Paradigm of Peace: Images in Foreign Writings and Media* 289
Adam Gaiser: *The Roots of Religious Tolerance in the Omani-Ibāḍī Tradition* 297
Suleiman Salem Al Husseini: *Tolerance, Sincerity and Hospitality, as Experienced by European and American Travelers Visiting Oman in the 19th and 20th Centuries* 307
Amanda Propst: *Religious Tolerance in Oman and Ibāḍī Islam* 317
James Broucek: *Generic Islam? Official Religious Discourse in the Sultanate of Oman* 325
Annelle R. Sheline: *Ibāḍism and the Tradition of Tolerance in Oman* 337
Christopher J.R. Howitz: *The Christian and Hindu Communities in Oman (after 1970)* 347
Alexander Wrona: *Omani State Policies Concerning Buddhist Expatriates: Their Effects and Significance for the Sri Lankan Theravāda Community in Muscat* 359

The Authors 371

Religion and Political Structure: The Berber-Ibāḍī Perspective in North Africa between Diversity and Pluralism

Anna Maria Di Tolla

For many years and for many theorists, secularization theory has served to understand the religious paradigm. Today, the contemporary age is characterized by a new paradigm, the phenomenon of pluralism.

The American sociologist Peter Berger (defined by Jerry Bowyer in *Forbes* as 'the world's most popular sociologist')[1] claims that pluralism is the key theoretical paradigm for academic investigation and study which aim to understand the place of religion in the contemporary period.[2] According to Berger, this new paradigm deals with the "coexistence of different religions and the coexistence of religious and secular discourses".[3] By diversity, Berger means "a social situation in which people of different ethnicity, worldview and ethical value systems coexist peacefully and interact with each other in a friendly way".[4]

Berger notes that "pluralism is the far greater challenge for all traditions and religious communities of our time".[5] A challenge that is decidedly modern, or in other words, one that fits into the categories of choice rather than in those of necessity, of destiny or social obligation: "Modernity does not necessarily lead to secularization, but rather to pluralism".[6] And this pluralism is twofold: it means that the various religions live together and that every believer lives with a part of him- or herself that is centuries old. In polite controversy with the philosopher Charles Taylor, Berger argues that "It is better to define our age pluralistic rather than secular".[7]

Not that pluralism is a novelty of the modern era, writes Berger, in ancient Greece (see the story of St. Paul in Athens), in Alexandria, in Egypt and Rome, as well as along the Silk Road, in Muslim Spain or in Moghul India, there were events of de facto pluralism.[8] What modernity has brought about is the fact that pluralism has become globalized (thanks to modern means of communication) and that based on multiple memberships every believer contains in him- or herself a part of 'pluralism'. In addition, the essential datum of the contemporary age is the fact that pluralism is not considered in a negative way but is instead often sustained and supported at a political level.

Diversity and Pluralism in Islam

Over the course of centuries, Muslims have been regularly and erroneously portrayed as being internally homogeneous and dogmatic. However, within Islam broadly understood, there is a remarkable diversity of Islamic traditions, and a plurality of understandings about the very nature of Islam. Mohammad Hashim Kamali has analysed the meaning and concept of pluralism, and discussed a set of general premises which exist in Islam, such as divine oneness (*tawḥīd*), juristic disagreement (*ikhtilāf*), and disunity (*tafarruq*), that have a bearing on pluralism. Human dignity (*karāma*) and the moral autonomy of the individual (*ikhtiyār*) also substantiate the essence of pluralism in Islam.[9]

Today, as Asma Afsaruddin writes, there are two tendencies in the Muslim world: 'absolutists' (deniers of pluralism) versus 'modernists' (advocates of pluralism). This contrast "yields important insights into the construction of two prominent and competing world views in the Muslim world today".[10] However, there have been many examples of pluralism in Islam in the past: in Islamic Spain, for example, a powerful historiographic myth has been furnished by the image of an open society where Christians, Jews, and Muslims lived in harmony. Ibāḍism offers another example of religious pluralism.

Ibāḍī pluralism

The Berbers, the indigenous people of North Africa, have a strong tendency towards pluralism, autonomy, and harboring a spirit of independence. These are impor-

tant values in Berber Ibāḍī cultural identity. In a context where Berbers can be both Sunnī Muslims and Ibāḍīs, they often represented indigenous values and political and social norms as bases to develop a locally specific Berber concept of identity.[11]

This study focuses on the reconstruction of some aspects of political and social identity in which Berber Ibāḍism has been engaged. The Ibāḍī Berbers have lived in a context in which neighbouring tribes and surrounding actors represented different religions (Sunnism, Christianity, Judaism) with different customs, traditions and lifestyles. This process of identity is linked to the acceptance of pluralism as an important feature of the socio-cultural reality of this context. The acceptance of a pluralist world brought Ibāḍī Berbers to a tolerance of diversity.

This article starts with an outline survey of some aspects of the Berber Ibāḍīs as a people and culture, of their desire for autonomy and their spirit of independence. This will be followed by a brief overview concerning the importance of language and traditional customs as vehicles for the diffusion of Islam. Then, some of the key features of the first Imamate of North Africa will be examined (that of Abū l-Khaṭṭāb, 740–744 AD), and of the social institutions which were established in Tāhart, an urban settlement located in todays's southern Algeria, between the 8th and 11th century AD.

Berber Ibāḍism and the Desire for Anti-Hegemonic and Egalitarian Principles

In the 8th century AD, two currents of Khārijism still flourished, namely, Ibāḍism (which survives today in areas of the Maghrib such as Mzab in Algeria, Jerba in Tunisia, and Jabal Nafūsa in Libya, as well as in Oman and in Zanzibar), and Ṣufrism (which died out several centuries ago). The history of Khārijism in North Africa during the 8th to 10th century is fundamental in order to gain an understanding of the early Islamic centuries in North Africa. Khārijism shaped the course of Islamic political and religious history in North Africa, and the Khārijite movement itself was in turn also transformed.

The great Berber revolt of 740–743 AD was instigated by a combination of factors, chiefly widespread Berber discontent with the discriminatory fiscal and social policies of the Umayyad authorities in North Africa. During the 8th and 9th centuries, the Khārijite kingdoms in the Maghrib rose thanks to the important role played by the Khārijites in that famous uprising. The Khārijites tried to change the direction of the unjust political authority of the Umayyads in North Africa. These two factors, i.e. the rise of the Khārijite kingdoms and the changes in political rule in North Africa, were key factors linking the political history of North Africa to the religious expansion of Khārijism as a distinct religious identity.[12] Khārijism itself was not the foremost cause of the revolt, but the adoption of this religious doctrine by the dissenting tribes gave religious expression to the political and social protests of the Berber tribes. In other words, Khārijism as a religious doctrine provided the Berber tribes with an important ideological substrate within which they could organize their struggle against Umayyad political domination.

Certainly, the Berbers already had a tendency towards autonomy and rebellion against central governing authorities before the arrival of the Arabs. Throughout the Roman period, the Berbers asserted their specificity as a people through the adoption of heterodox doctrines such as Donatism. There were 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 AD which weakened Roman authority in North Africa.[13] Consequently, the Berber tribes played an active role in resisting the Arab conquerors of North Africa in the 7th century. A combination of factors thus sanctioned the adoption of Khārijism by the rebelling tribes, and allowed the Berbers of north-western Africa to develop a counterpart of Umayyad political authority.

The introduction, then disappearance, of Barghawāṭa Islam is another interesting historical phenomenon worth looking at while attempting to understand the spirit of independence among the Berbers and the expansion of Ibāḍism in North Africa. The Barghawāṭa were a Berber confederation of Masmūda, which reigned over Tamesna, the coastal plain of modern day Casablanca and Rabat, from the early 8th until the mid-12th century AD. They ruled an independent reign for four centuries, gaining freedom from outside political interference and Arab domination. Taking on Ibāḍism as their new religion evidenced the Barghawāṭa's determination to remain distinct from the Arab conquerors, both politically and culturally.[14]

The tribe or the tribal alliance constituted a structuring element in the formation of Berber Ibāḍī group identity. The specifics of Berber tribal organization, which can in all probability be found still in the 20th century, are anti-hegemonic and egalitarian principles rooted in a clan structure system.[15] It is important to begin our analysis from the traditional Berber social organization, in order to identify those relevant aspects which underline the evolution of specific ethnic and political notions.

In the countries of the Maghrib the traditional social structure is characterized by the crucial role of kinship.

The importance of kin-based solidarities in the region has been analyzed already by Ibn Khaldūn (d. 808/1406), who has stated that the *ʿaṣabiyya*, i.e. 'solidarity' or *esprit de clan*, is the cohesive force of the group and originated from blood relations and extended family units, namely, the clan or tribe. If it leads individuals to refuse any affiliation with individuals or groups beyond their own, *ʿaṣabiyya* facilitates the fragmentation of society into small groups. The traditional rivalry between these groups is thus a risk that threatens the unity of the community and the Muslim *umma*. Ibāḍism thus attempted to counter these fragmenting tendencies.[16]

Notwithstanding the North African Berbers' traditional rootedness in clan-based relations were based on democratic principles. The Ibāḍī community found in these collective values an existential argumentation and justification centred around maintaining the cohesion of the group, which gave it strength and power.[17] In Jabal Nafūsa, for example, Ibāḍism was based on the ethnic element (having spread principally among the Hawwāra and Nafūsa tribes). In fact, the Berber tribes were very probably influenced by a democratic model of community which was already prevailing in their tradition of clan-based democracy.[18] This rootedness in a pre-Islamic tribal past facilitated the spread of allogenic elements among the Ibāḍīs, including giving—at least in principle—all men, regardless of their ethnic origins, equal chances to attain the role of leader, thus helping to promote the institution of an *imāmate* based on the principle of tribal non-discrimination and on the Qurʾān as sole authority. It is also worth noting the importance of some Ibāḍī Maghribian cities, like Sijilmāsa and Tāhart, which for several generations played the role of metropoles, as centers for the elaboration and confrontation of ideas, for the formation and diffusion of Ibāḍism.[19] The sense of belonging to a superior lineage replaced the individual act of affiliation. Many Berbers were convinced they were the chosen people, and that their nobles had been designated by God to hold a predominant position in Islam, and to develop the new faith and to create the first Imamate in Tripolitania.[20]

Language and Power: Berber Language as a Vehicle for the Diffusion of Islam

Traditional Berber society is based on orality. After the arrival of the Arabs in the Maghrib few inhabitants of the region were able to read or speak Arabic. Berber was thus the medium of Islamization in the Maghrib, a process in which the written language played an important role. The Ibāḍī Berbers developed their own religious language, constituted essentially by the Berber of the Jabal Nafūsa with the addition of a significant number of Arabic words drawn predominantly from religious vocabulary.[21]

Ignorance of the Arabic language imposed the adoption of a plurality, collective methods in the learning of the Qurʾān and the *ḥadīth*, and regarding other texts: *fiqh* and grammar were often elaborated in verse, in order to facilitate their memorization. This pluralism was also the result of collective celebrations of religious ceremonies which often gave rise to (sacred) lyrics. The Berbers, as a distinctive ethnic identity, used their own language, and this played a crucial role in shaping their identity and their intercommunity relations in the Maghrib. Islam is a fundamental aspect of Berber identity, a sentiment that was further accentuated by the Ibāḍī doctrine.

Another peculiarity of the Maghrib is the ease with which the language of intellectual production of a given historical moment is widely acquired and adopted. This is what has enabled the Berber people to distinguish themselves by producing authors who have marked the history of humanity. The Berber language was utilized as a vehicle for the diffusion of Islam in North Africa, and many manuscripts were written following the beginning of the diffusion of this new religion. It should be noted that the use of Berber as a literary language had to be quite deeply rooted in the Ibāḍī Berbers, as the majority of them did not know Arabic. A special impulse was given to written literature by the Ibāḍī Berbers who founded the kingdom of Tāhart. Some of the official acts emanated by the chancery of the Tāhart Ibāḍī Imams, and which were destined to the *mashāʾikh* ('venerables'), were written in Berber.[22] If the Berber translation of those acts is a historically established fact during the Imamates of Aflaḥ and Abū Ḥātim Yūsuf, as we know the name of one of the official translators (named Abū Sahl al-Fārisī), it seems logical to think that this would have been the case even for Imams that preceded or followed them. al-Fārisī is remembered as a poet, writing verses on historical subjects. The son of Aflaḥ, Abū Bakr, also cultivated poetry and literature. In Islamic culture, and even more so among the puritan Khārijites, poets did not enjoy great favor, and this must thus have been a somewhat embarrassing aspect of the culture of the Ibāḍī city of Tāhart, since al-Warjlānī does not speak of the son and successor of Aflaḥ. According to Ibn Ṣaghīr, "although good, generous and sweet of character", Abū Bakr did not show his predilection "in religious matters, with the same zeal of his predecessor", "because he loved literature, poetry and stories of times past".[23]

During his reign, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, the second Ibāḍī Imam of Tāhart, who ruled between the end of the 2nd and the beginning of the 3rd century H, Berber was used

alongside Arabic and Persian in his correspondence with other Ibāḍīs in the Jabal Nafūsa. In this period, a prominent Ibāḍī polemicist, Mahdī l-Nafūsī (lived sometime around the 10th century AD), who distinguished himself in the ideological struggle against the Muʿtazilites, wrote a text in Berber to refute the doctrines of Naffāth b. Naṣr, who was the main exponent of an Ibāḍī sectarian doctrine, the Naffāthiyya. al-Warjlānī wrote that Aflaḥ had acquired a high competence in mathematics and astrology. The fundamental contributions that Islamic culture has made to the mathematical sciences are now part of the cultural heritage of humanity. The Islamic world transmitted astrology and astronomy to Western culture. Masqueray[24] notes that magic and astrology were widely cultivated by the Berbers in the Middle Ages. He notes that the Berbers had a predilection for divination and the occult sciences. Today, the most significant cultural residues of this Berber predilection for astrology—which echoes a common cultural trait present throughout Africa—are found among the Tuaregs.

This cultural characteristic of the Berbers lay the ground for the widespread Arab stereotype depicting Berbers as magicians and sorcerers, enshrined in the *One Thousand and One Nights*, in which sorcerers are of North African origin. This matter is far from trivial, as it is related to the issue of Islam being sometimes unwilling to accept pre-Islamic rites and customs. In the Maghrib, Islam instead has incorporated such practices and rites, giving them new meanings compatible with the Islamic faith.

Some important Berber manuscripts were written by the many scholars who contributed to developing the Ibāḍī literary tradition and who translated and commented on some Ibāḍī *ʿaqīdas*, a kind of Ibāḍī 'catechism', a synthesis of faith and basic education.[25] In addition to the 'catechism', several ancient poems in Berber language which explain in simple terms the principles of religious doctrine were found in Jerba and the Jabal Nafūsa. They probably belonged to a vast poetic corpus, a kind of 'oral catechism' for a largely illiterate population. These poems could be understood by the majority of the Ibāḍī population, and they were written in a kind of Ibāḍī common language used for religious education. The dialect of the Jabal Nafūsa region, as studied by Adolphe de Calassanti Motylinski, according to Henri Basset, seems to be very close to the language used in medieval Ibāḍī chronicles and religious treatises.[26]

By the end of the 8th century AD, the Ibāḍī doctrine crossed the Sahara. Ibāḍī Berbers travelling as warriors, missionaries, and merchants spread their doctrine to sub-Saharan countries, influencing sacred Islamic architecture and leading to the development of the only version of Islam that would be known in those areas for centuries and which also accompanied the expansion of some reigns, like that of the Soninke, and later of the Wangara kingdoms.[27]

After the foundation of their kingdoms in North Africa, the Ibāḍīs even succeeded in establishing relations with Sunnī Islam, in particular with the Spanish Umayyads (756–1031 AD), with whom they maintained an alliance throughout the duration of the Ibāḍī Imamate of Tāhart and who even later[28] remained allied with the other Ibāḍīs of North Africa, spurring the development of the Ibāḍīs' scientific and technical knowledge.[29] According to Pierre Rey, it was during the period of these intense interchanges of ideas and wealth between sub-Saharan countries, the Ibāḍis of the kingdoms in North Africa and Umayyad Spain, that Andalusian culture flourished.[30]

The Imamate of Abū l-Khaṭṭāb (757–761 AD)

The Ibāḍī movement had the goal of realizing equality and uniformity in beliefs and human values. A religious-spiritual unity of Ibāḍism was attempted during the Imamate of Abū l-Khaṭṭāb (d. 761 AD) in Tripolitania, and eventually became affirmed during the Imamate of the Rustamids in Tāhart (776–908 AD).[31]

One of the main ambitions of the Ibāḍīs was to realize a manifest Ibāḍī Imamate in North Africa. As a protesting political current, the Ibāḍī movement continued to fight battles, which were sometimes victorious, against the central power of the Aghlabid Arabs. It succeeded in reconstructing its own state entity even if, stuck in its senseless divergences, it failed in the historical opportunity to constitute a model of popularly legitimated power. Some features that seem to characterize the Imamate of Abū l-Khaṭṭāb centre around the fact that his power embodied the will of a large part of the indigenous Berber population who aspired to self-government. The popular strength of the Ibāḍī movement in North Africa was furnished mainly by the great Nafūsa tribe. It was around this tribe that the pro-Ibāḍī alliance was formed. Its involvement in the movement, throughout its history in the Maghrib, was to be total and decisive. Hence, perhaps, the reserved or sceptical and sometimes even outright hostile attitude of the other tribes and clans, traditionally adverse to the Nafūsa.

At least initially, the dominion of the Nafūsa tribe would not have provoked reactions of decisive opposition from the other tribes which did not fit into this political current and which seemed to be confined to a wait-and-see attitude in order to judge where their allegiances

would lie. Nafūsa power borrowed its ideological argumentation from the principle of Qur'ānic universality.

Abū l-Khaṭṭāb, first of all, represented the educated elite (trained mainly in theology). Secondly, he was assisted not by members of his family or by paid officials, but by a group of scholars and tribal chiefs who thus shared in his authority. Abū l-Khaṭṭāb's power and its distribution were revolutionary in the modern sense of the word. From this angle, the actions of the first Imam and the power of his group can be fully appreciated. The new order settled in a country ready to welcome it. The revolutionary situation prevailed well before the arrival of the 'bearers of knowledge' (*ḥamalat al-ʿilm*) from Basra. This new order was established under the leadership of an elite who had benefited from appropriate ideological preparation.

The choice of Abū l-Khaṭṭāb[32] as Imam shows that the question of Arab leadership in North Africa was fundamental, and Abū l-Khaṭṭāb was sent to North Africa to meet this need.[33] According to Ahmed Bakelli, it is probable that from the Berber perspective the fact that Abū l-Khaṭṭāb was of Arab origin could have a double advantage:[34] assuaging populations that did not speak the Arabic language with regard to possible interpretations of the basic texts, and establishing a neutral and catalytic element in a social context where rivalry between tribal populations remained strong.[35]

Although Abū l-Khaṭṭāb directed his activities primarily towards political and military struggles, and he died before he could settle down to participate in educational activities, his Imamate was nonetheless in many ways unique, bearing interesting characteristics in relation to governance and the acquisition of power.

The Rustamids of Tāhart between Consultation and Consensus

The Ibāḍī Emirate of Tāhart realized political pluralism in a concrete state based on Islamic values and principles. Especially, consultation and consensus were the basic principles governing the relationship between the Imam and the Muslim community.[36] In this model, two points were very important: the rules governing the election of an Imam, and those regulating his conduct in office. The standard principle for choosing a new Imam was election by the *ʿulamāʾ* acting as representatives of the Muslim community.

Following the development of the Ibāḍīs of Tāhart, it seems that the political form of consensus that emerged was expanded. Ibn Rustam, who originated from among the Persian Khārijites, was elected by the Berber tribes as their Imam for his ethics and religious morality, which were rooted in Ibāḍī values, notwithstanding the fact that he came from outside the Berbers' traditional political structure.

While confirmation by the *ʿulamāʾ* seems to have remained over time at least as a formal requirement, the Rustamids nonetheless ruled as a dynasty between 776 and 909 AD. They created embryonic forms of a formal administrative apparatus to which the Imam could delegate any political authority. In the case of the Ibāḍī communities of the Mzab, this tendency of delegating political authority to the Imam's advisers was further developed to a point where the institution of the Imamate itself lapsed altogether and was replaced by a corporation of religious notables. The end of the Rustamid empire came in 909 AD with the occupation of its capital by the Fāṭimids who viewed the 'Ibāḍī heresy' as a thorn in their side. The Ibāḍīs found refuge in Sidrāta near the oasis of Warqala (Ouargla), an Ibāḍī enclave which had been making its living from agriculture and trans-Saharan slave trade since the 8th century AD.

After the death of the last ruler of the Rustamids, the Ibāḍīs did not elect a new Imam and the sect entered into the state of *kitmān*, or of the hidden Imam, where in view of the hostile political environment the election of an Imam could be postponed until circumstances were considered more favourable. In the absence of an Imamate government, at least from the 15th century onwards, the towns of the Mzab valley were ruled by two corporative institutions: the *ḥalqa* (circle) of the *ʿazzāba* (learned men) and the *jamʿiyyat al-ʿawāmm* (council of laymen or *shaykhs*).[37]

The Political Role of the *Ḥalqa* at the Present Time

The religious communal life of the Ibāḍīs in the Mzab, and in Jerba too, continues to be oriented around the *ḥalqa* and its religious and moral authority. The *ḥalqa* of the *ʿazzāba* organisation is very important because it represented and still represents how religious knowledge is assimilated and transmitted.[38]

Another important element of governance is the 'council of twelve' which also holds social functions. This politico-religious structure represents a variant of the ancient Berber council collectives, the simultaneously theocratic and democratic governing bodies that incarnated the Ibāḍī community, or as Johannes Reissner writes: "The community as a self-administering community of salvation constituted on the power of its divine consecration, which did not necessarily require an imamate for this (...)

This provided a democratic dimension, offering the community certain codetermination rights".[39]

Conclusion

The present article includes evidence that Berber Ibāḍism and the political structure in North Africa were modelled on concepts of pluralism and diversity. Although Berber tribes were divided, due to internal conflicts, they nonetheless demonstrated high levels of equality between individual members. The Ibāḍī theological, societal and political principles of autonomy and independence, alongside concepts of pluralism, informed the development, limitations, and possibilities for pluralism in Berber Ibāḍism. These principles of independence prefigured some of the components of contemporary democratic systems of governance in North African Berber societies.

Notes

1 Bowyer, at https://www.forbes.com/sites/jerrybowyer/2013/05/29/is-religion-an-essential-driver-of-economic-growth/#206e0da2206e (last accessed May 2016).
2 Berger takes up this position in his book *The Many Altars of Modernity* (see Berger 2014).
3 Berger 2012: 313–316.
4 See Berger 2016.
5 Ibid.
6 Ibid.
7 See Taylor 2007.
8 See Berger 2014.
9 Kamali 2009: 30.
10 Afsaruddin 2008: 23.
11 Delineating Berber identity probably requires recognition of the totality of the Berber experience, including indigenous beliefs, Judaism, Christianity, Islam, and atheism. According to Eden Almasude: "By developing an Amazigh [Berber] political consciousness one becomes a pluralist by accepting this diversity" (Almasude 2014: 134).
12 Zerouki 1987: 20.
13 See Greenslade 1953; Frend 1972.
14 See Talbi 1973.
15 See Montagne 1930.
16 Ibn Khaldūn 1967, I: 255.
17 Ibid.
18 Zerouki 1987: 20.
19 Cuperly 1973: 17.
20 Abū Zakariyyā' Yaḥyā l-Warjlānī (d. 1130 AD) reserves two chapters to the praise of the Berbers, implicitly recognizing 'their low rank'. According to a testimony that the author attributes to the Arabian poet al-ʿAbbās ibn Mirdās al-Sulamī (d. ca. 18/639), they originated from a certain Barr ibn Qays, who was the wildest of the children of Qays, after having fought his brothers he chose to live in the desert (*fī l-barārī*) where his descendants became many so that the Arabs said, *tabarbarū*, meaning that they increased in number (Warjlānī 1979: 105).
21 With regard to the Berber language in the Middle Ages, see Meouak 2015; Mehdi 2015.
22 Lewicki 1936: 270–271; Lewicki 1961: 118; Rebstock 1983: 249–256.
23 Ibn al-Ṣaghīr 1885: 91.
24 [Warjlānī 1878]: 186, n. 1.
25 Di Tolla 2015: 115–128.
26 Basset 1920 [2001]: ix; Motylinski 1898.
27 See Clark 1982.
28 According to Pierre Rey, one of the most interesting aspects in this regard was the support given by the Umayyads to the radical Ibāḍī uprising of Abū Yazīd against the Fāṭimids from 943 to 946 AD (Rey 1998: 23).
29 In mathematics and astronomy, in matters of navigation and in the irrigation of arid zones, but also in history. The great Andalusian historian al-Warrāq gathered directly from the son of Abū Yazīd—who had taken refuge in Andalusia after the defeat and death of his father—information on Berber genealogies and North Africa which were later reproduced by al-Bakrī and after him by Ibn Khaldūn (Rey 1998: 22).
30 The Khārijite practices of egalitarian recruitment and their preaching of a popular Islam were successful among local Berber tribes (Reissner 2010: 131; Rey 1998: 24).
31 Cuperly 1973: 48.
32 Abū l-Khaṭṭāb ʿAbd al-Aʿlā' was originally from Yemen.
33 According to Ennami, there were no Nafūsī Berber people among the components of this mission because the Nafūsī representative, Ibn Maghṭīr al-Jannāwunī, had gone to Baṣra (Ennami 2007: 66).

34 Bakelli 2009: 37.
35 Ibid.: 40–42.
36 There was also the notion of an actionable social contract in which the rights and duties of the Imam and the *umma* were laid down by divine command (Bierschenk 1988: 115).
37 Lewicki 1979; Jaabiri 2016; Gouja 2016.
38 Cherif 2015: 347–393.
39 Reissner 2010: 131.

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