

SULAYMĀN AL-BĀRŪNĪ

an Ibādī Pan-Islamist

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TRANSLITERATION

<i>alif</i>	' (except when initial)	<i>rā'</i>	r	<i>ghayn</i>	gh
<i>bā'</i>	b	<i>zā'</i>		<i>fā'</i>	f
<i>tā'</i>	t	<i>sīn</i>	s	<i>qāf</i>	q
<i>thā'</i>	th	<i>shīn</i>	sh	<i>kāf</i>	k
<i>jīm</i>	j	<i>ṣād</i>	ṣ	<i>lām</i>	l
<i>hā'</i>	ḥ	<i>dād</i>	ḍ	<i>mīm</i>	m
<i>khā'</i>	kh	<i>ṭā'</i>	ṭ	<i>nūn</i>	n
<i>dāl</i>	d	<i>zā'</i>	z	<i>hā'</i>	h
<i>dhāl</i>	dh	<i>ʿayn</i>	ʿ	<i>wāw</i>	w
				<i>yā'</i>	y

Long vowels: ā, ī, ū
alif maqṣūra à
tā' marbūṭa a; in construct state: at
nisba masculine: ī; feminine: iyya

INTRODUCTION

The Ibādīs¹ are the most moderate and the only still existing branch of the Khārijīs. They derive their name from their founding father, °Abdallāh b. Ibād al-Murrī al-Tamīmī, a theologian who lived in Basra in the second half of the 7th century A.D. From Basra the doctrine of the Ibādīs spread to Oman, Ḥaḍramawt and Yemen, and during the last years of the Omayyad dynasty (661-750) Ibādī armies even conquered from Yemen the two holy cities of Islam. Driven back by an Omayyad army, the Ibādīs held out in Yemen and Ḥaḍramawt. For a certain time a great Ibādī Imamate existed comprising Ḥaḍramawt and Oman. In Yemen and Ḥaḍramawt, groups of Ibādīs were still being observed until well into the 2nd century A.H.; in other regions they held there own until these days.

Already in the beginning of the 8th century A.D. Ibādī missionaries were active in North Africa, where around mid-eighth century an Ibādī Imamate was founded in Tripolitania. The fact that the Ibādīs, despised as they were by the Sunnī Muslims, in North Africa were well received especially by the Berbers, perhaps finds an explanation in the hatred these original inhabitants of North Africa felt towards the Arab (Sunnī) invaders. The Tripolitanian Ibādīs were soon pushed back towards the Hinterland of the Tripolitanian and Algerian coasts. In Algeria an Imamate came into being in Tāhart (Tiaret) under Imam °Abd al-Raḥmān b. Rustam, that reached its apogee under his successors °Abd al-Waḥḥāb b. °Abd al-Raḥmān (784-823) and Aflaḥ b. °Abd al-Waḥḥāb (823-872?); all Ibādīs in the Maghrib were united in this Imamate. The Imamate of Tāhart was brought down by the Fāṭimids, and the Ibādīs were pushed back south once more. The invading Banū Hilāl and Banū Sulaym pushed the Ibādīs back into the barren Mīzāb (M'zab) in southern Algeria and the Jabal Nafūsa in Tripolitania.

In the seven cities of Mīzāb, still nowadays most inhabitants are Ibādīs. In 1955, around 32.000 of the circa 42.000 inhabitants were Ibādīs, while some 10.000 Ibādīs lived in North Algeria as permanent emigrees.²

In Tripolitania Ibādīs are still living in the coastal town of Zuwāra and in the Jabal Nafūsa. In the Jabal Nafūsa, Mālikīs gained more and more ground in the course of time. In *Annuaire du Monde Musulman* of 1929³ a number of 34.000 Ibādīs living in the Jabal Nafūsa is given. Jean Despois, on the other hand, writes that (in the 1930s) Mālikīs had won already half of the Jabal Nafūsa, and that the population of the Jabal between 1915 and 1931 was reduced from 67.475 to 43.313 as a result of the heavy fighting between Berbers (Ibādīs) and Arabs (Mālikīs).⁴

Jerba has been completely Ibādī until well into the 17th century. In 1674 the first Mālikī school was opened, after which gradually around two fifths of the inhabitants converted to Mālikism.⁵ Nowadays little is noticed in public life of the Ibādīs, mainly as a result of the immigration of Tunisians caused by the tourist industry. In the 1940s, according to Stablo, 47.000 people lived on Jerba, 23.000 of whom were Mālikīs.⁶ Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Tlātī, however, counts already 51.226 souls in 1936 and 58.603 in 1946.⁷

Emigration is a remarkable fact among the Ibādīs of North Africa. Being pushed back into inhospitable regions where only a certain number of people can find sufficient means of

¹ For a detailed description of the history and the doctrine of the Ibādīs, see the article *al-Ibādīyya* of Lewicki in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, vol. 3, and the literature mentioned there. See also Rubinacci 1969, *The Ibādīs*.

² *Documents algériens*, nr. 16, cited by Shinar 1961, 99 note 9.

³ Page 196.

⁴ Despois 1935, 143 and 310.

⁵ Brunshvig 1931, 283.

⁶ Stablo 1941, cited by Freund 1970, 21. For an evaluation of Stablo's statistics, see Freund 1970, 18-20.

⁷ Tlatli 1967, 78.

sustaining life, among the Ibādī inhabitants of Mīzāb, Jerba and the Jabal Nafūsa a fairly big number are looking elsewhere for a livelyhood.⁸

The Sultanate of Oman, on the southeastern point of the Arabian Peninsula, also still is completely Ibādī, except for a few tribes. Since the reign of the dynasty of the Āl Bū Saʿīd in Muscat (since circa 1742), a contrast between more liberal Ibādīs on the coast and more orthodox Ibādīs in the interior has developed, which time and again lead to the founding of an Imamate in the mountainous interior of the land as opposed to a Sultanate in Muscat and the coastal regions.⁹ This contrast between coast and interior, however, is mainly caused by political differences; both the inhabitants of the coastal regions and those of the mountainous interior are for the most part Ibādīs, all in all 300 to 400.000.

On Zanzibar, ruled by a branche of the Āl Bū Saʿīd, in 1929 some 6.000 Ibādīs lived.¹⁰ After the revolution of John Okello, beginning of 1964, in which Sultan Jamshīd b. ʿAbdallāh al-Būsaʿīdī was chased away, in all probability few Ibādīs stayed on the island.¹¹

The teachings of the Ibādīs are on a few important points different from Sunnī Islam. In drawing up their legal rules, which in general do not differ much from those of the Sunnīs, they allow, contrary to the Sunnīs, *Ijtihād* of their scholars, which they themselves often call *Ra'y al-Muslimīn*. As for the Caliphate, among the Ibādīs becomes leader of the faithful the person who is most suitable for this position; he is elected and descent from Quraysh is not required. For the Ibādīs the Koran is created, and they believe in eternal punishment in hell, also for sinful Muslims. God can not be seen in the Hereafter and several eschatological conceptions, like the *Mīzān* and the *Šīrāt*, are interpreted symbolically by the Ibādīs. In daily life they attract attention by their very strict observance of religious rules based on the Koran and the Sunna. Apart from the prohibition of drinking alcohol, they also know a prohibition to smoke tobacco and to listen to frivolous music. Their ascetical way of living earned them the nickname *puritans of the desert*.¹²

* * *

At the turn of the century Ibādī teachings experienced a renaissance. Those days there were several great scholars, who through their works and activities activated Ibādī studies and even made these known internationally. In Oman, the blind scholar *Nūr al-Dīn* ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥumayyid al-Sālimī (1870-1914) succeeded in restoring the Ibādī Imamate.¹³ In Mīzāb *Quṭb al-A'imma* Muḥammad b. Yūsuf Iṭfayyish (1820-1914) worked to restore the pure Ibādī teachings, which in his surroundings were strongly influenced by non-islamic Berber customs. Both have a considerable number of works on their credit. They were known to the

⁸ For Mīzāb, see for example Suter 1957. For Jerba, see Freund 1970, 23 and Tlatli 1967, 81. For the Jabal Nafūsa, see Despois 1935, 163-169.

⁹ The last three Imams who ruled in the interior of Oman were: Sālim b. Rāshid al-Kharūšī, 1913-1920; Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh al-Khalīlī, 1920-1954; Ghālib b. ʿAlī al-Hināwī, 1954-1957. The history of these Imamates is depicted in Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh al-Sālimī's *Nahdat al-A'yān bi-Ḥurriyyat ʿUmān*, Cairo 1380/1963, and *ʿUmān Tārīkh yatakallim*, Damascus 1383/1963.

¹⁰ *Annuaire du Monde Musulman* (ed. L. Massignon), Paris 1929, 269.

¹¹ On this revolution, see John Okello: *Revolution in Zanzibar*, Nairobi 1967, a book by the organizer of the revolution. An opponent, Ahmed Seif Kharusi, wrote: *Zanzibar: Africa's first Cuba*. Also: Michael F. Lofchie: *Zanzibar background to revolution*, Princeton 1968.

Sultan Jamshīd b. ʿAbdallāh al-Būsaʿīdī fled at the outbreak of the revolution to Great Britain and lives presently in the South English coastal town of Southsea. In the same town is the seat of The Zanzibar Organization of the above-mentioned A.S. Kharusi, who in his paper *Free Zanzibar Voice* makes propaganda against the present government of Sheik Abeid Karume.

¹² *Les puritains du désert*. See Chevrillon 1927.

¹³ See my other M.A. thesis: *The Imamate of Sālim b. Rāshid al-Kharūšī (1913-1920)*. Leiden, May 1971, especially pp. 17-40.

English and the French respectively for their opposition against influence of these powers in their countries. The *Quṭb al-A'imma* trained a school of students who were capable to continue his work, albeit partly as a result of current circumstances, in a more liberal direction, and who in the 1920s were going to cooperate closely with the orthodox reformists in Algeria.

In the Jabal Nafūsa it was Sulaymān al-Bārūnī, who did his best to help his co-religionists forward. Unlike both above mentioned scholars, Sulaymān was above all a statesman. He had above all eyes for the worldly needs of his native country (the Jabal Nafūsa), and in his later life he tried to ameliorate the situation by political means. The increasing influence of Christian European powers in the Muslim world made him raise his voice for a common Muslim front.

Sulaymān al-Bārūnī was not the first nor the only Ibāḍī with Pan-Islamic ideas, but he surely was the Ibāḍī who became most known for them. He showed practically no sectarian fanaticism; he seemed a Pan-Islamist in the true sense of the word.

I. SULAYMĀN AL-BĀRŪNĪ

Sulaymān al-Bārūnī was born in 1870 in Jādū, a little town in the district Fassātū of the Jabal Nafūsa, as son of °Abdallāh b. Yaḥyā b. Aḥmad al-Bārūnī.¹⁴

His father, °Abdallāh b. Yaḥyā b. Aḥmad al-Bārūnī, was a generally respected scholar among the Ibādīs of his time and he enjoyed great influence among his co-religionists in the Jabal Nafūsa. At first he lived in Kabāw, later on he moved to Jādū.¹⁵ Perhaps on his way to perform the *Ḥajj* or on his way back, he stayed some time in Cairo.¹⁶ Before this journey he had taken lessons from Abū °Uthmān Sa°īd b. °Īsā al-Bārūnī, who died in 1865-6 on Jerba.¹⁷ Furthermore, we know that he had a brother, °Īsā,¹⁸ and three sons, Yaḥyā, Sulaymān and Aḥmad.¹⁹ The great influence °Abdallāh b. Yaḥyā al-Bārūnī had on his environment is clear from the fact that Ottoman officials always paid him a visit when they were in the neighbourhood of where he lived.²⁰ In 1885 he was chief of the °*Azzāba* of the Jabal Nafūsa.²¹ Although he lived in Jādū, he taught in the *Zāwiya* of al-Bakhābkha, near Yefren.²² Later on, in May 1904, this *Zāwiya* was to be renovated and develop into a fairly big school, which was to be called *al-Madrasa al-Bārūniyya*.²³ °Abdallāh b. Yaḥyā was a pious man, who lived a secluded life and did not like to receive a lot of attention.²⁴ He must have occupied himself mainly with teaching.²⁵ Three works by his hand are known:

- *Risālat Sullam al-°Āmma wa'l-Mubtadi'īn ilà Ma°rifat A'immat al-Dīn*, Cairo 1324/1907;
- his *Dīwān: hādhā 'l-Kitāb mushtamil °alà Dīwān ... °Abdallāh al-Bārūnī wa-Dīwān Tilmīdhihi ... °Amr wa-Dīwān Shaykh al-Islām wa-li-ghayrihi ayḍan*, Lith., n.pl., n.d., probably Cairo.

- *Jawāb °alà Su'āl al-Shaykh al-Gharyānī*.²⁶

°Abdallāh b. Yaḥyā al-Bārūnī died 16th April 1913, more than 90 years old.²⁷

The al-Bārūnī family was a notable family, that had produced many scholars. A branch of the family settled on Jerba, and possesses there a precious library of Ibādī works.²⁸

¹⁴ Bārūnī, Abū 'l-Qāsim Sa°īd Yaḥyā: *Ḥayāt Sulaymān Bāshā al-Bārūnī*, 2nd enlarged impr., Cairo 1367/1948, 36. The first printing is entitled: *Za°īm al-Mujāhidīn al-Ṭarāblusiyīn Sulaymān Bāshā al-Bārūnī*. Cairo 1360/1941. This booklet has 72 pp. small format; it contains some information which is not incorporated into the second impression.

¹⁵ Bārūnī, °Abdallāh b. Yaḥyā 1907, 54 note 1. This work was completed around 1873 and afterwards published by Sulaymān al-Bārūnī, who also added notes. In 1873 °Abdallāh lived in the district Fassātū (*o.c.*, 54 note 1), and because Sulaymān was born circa 1870 in Jādū, his father presumably moved there before that date.

¹⁶ Bārūnī, °Abdallāh b. Yaḥyā n.d., 33-48, where poems of °Abdallāh written in Cairo. His stay in Cairo was anyhow before 1865-6, because from Cairo he wrote a poem to his master (*o.c.*, 46-48), who died in 1865-6 on Jerba (*o.c.*, 62).

¹⁷ *O.c.*, 46, 62.

¹⁸ *O.c.*, 42.

¹⁹ Bārūnī, Sulaymān 1908, 123.

²⁰ Bārūnī, °Abdallāh b. Yaḥyā n.d., 72-99.

²¹ Motylinski 1898, 89; translation of a description of the Jabal Nafūsa, written in Berber by Ibrāhīm b. Sulaymān al-Shammākhī from Yefren. On the °*Azzāba*, see p. 18.

²² Deduced by comparing *Dīwān °Abdallāh ...*, 92 and 93, and Motylinski, *o.c.*, 89.

²³ Bārūnī, °Abdallāh b. Yaḥyā 1907, 40 note; Bārūnī, Sulaymān 1908, 3, 5 note 2; Bārūnī, Za°īma bint Sulaymān 1964, 60-61.

²⁴ According to his son Sulaymān, in Bārūnī, Za°īma 1964, 61.

²⁵ Mu°ammar 1964, vol. 2 part 2, 70-71: he occupied himself mainly with teaching, while his student and colleague-scholar, °Amr b. °Īsā al-Tandammīrī was in charge of *al-Amr bi'l-Ma°rūf wa'l-Nahy °an il-Munkar*.

²⁶ Perhaps he also wrote: *Jawāb °alà Su'āl al-Shaykh al-Gharyānī*. Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Literatur*, Suppl. II, 893, mentions mistakenly *al-Azhār al-Riyāḍiyya ...* as being a work by °Abdallāh al-Bārūnī. This is a work by Sulaymān al-Bārūnī. It is °Abdallāh's *Dīwān* that begins with a laudatory poem for the Prophet. On this *Dīwān*, see Sarkīs 1928, 515.

²⁷ De Leone 1960, 387 note 14.

Possibly, the name Bārūn is a Berber pronunciation for the vulgar Arabic Bā Hārūn (= Abū Hārūn).²⁹ Sulaymān al-Bārūnī tried to retrieve the origins of his family, and in 1910 the sheikh of the al-Ḥirth tribe in Oman, ʿĪsā b. Šāliḥ al-Ḥārithī, wrote to him that a subsection of his tribe was called al-Barāwina (al-Barwāniyyīn).³⁰ Later on, in 1939, when Sulaymān was in Oman, he wrote a small history of his family, entitled *Mukhtaṣar Tārīkh al-ʿĀila al-Bārūniyya*, the text of which was printed in the book *Sulaymān Bāshā al-Bārūnī fī Aṭwār Ḥayātihi*,³¹ written by Sulaymān's best friend, the Mīzābī Abū 'l-Yaqzān Ibrāhīm b. ʿĪsā, with whom he corresponded almost his entire life. In this little work, which by the way is mainly based on *Kitāb al-Siyar* of Abū 'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad al-Shammākhī (d. 1522),³² Sulaymān, just like that, puts that his family descends from the Barāwina in Oman, whose main centre is Darīz.³³ Some members of the Barāwina would live on Zanzibar, where indeed always many members of the al-Ḥirth tribe were living. With a certain Masʿūd al-Bārūnī, *Ḥakīm* of the German colonizers in East Africa, Sulaymān says to have maintained a correspondence until the outbreak of World War I.³⁴ How and when his forbears came to the Jabal Nafūsa, he does not know. Since Berber clients of Yemenī and Ḥaḍramī tribes founded the Ibādī Imamate in North Africa in the first half of the 8th century,³⁵ it seems not impossible that members of a subsection of the Omani al-Ḥirth tribe landed in the Jabal Nafūsa.

Sulaymān al-Bārūnī grew up in the Jabal Nafūsa, which he would afterwards compare to a village by which does pass a railway, but that has no railway station, and which does lie along a telegraph line, but that has no transmitting and receiving station itself.³⁶ He received his first education from his father, and when he was seventeen years old he was sent into “the wide world”. He went to study at the Zaytūna mosque in Tunis. Next he studied from 1892 to 1895 at the Azhar in Cairo, and thereafter he took lessons from the *Qutb al-Aʿimma* Muḥammad b. Yūsuf Iṭfayyish in Mīzāb.³⁷ On his return to Tripolitania in 1898-9 he was arrested by the Ottoman authorities on the suspicion of subversive intentions against Ottoman rule in Tripolitania and against the Sultan-Caliph in Istanbul. Released after some time, he was arrested again after a couple of months and sentenced to five years in prison. In 1902 he was granted amnesty, but he remained under strict police control. Restricted in his activities,

²⁸ This library is in al-Hashshān on Jerba and it has a rich collection of Ibādī manuscripts. The owner is Muḥammad al-Bārūnī, and presently it is kept by his son Yūsuf. See also Ennami 1970, 64.

²⁹ Lewicki 1955, 125.

³⁰ Bārūnī, Zaʿīma 1964, 157-158.

³¹ 2 vols., Algiers 1376/1956, vol. 1, 8-33. Both volumes of Abū 'l-Yaqzān's work contain mainly correspondence of Sulaymān al-Bārūnī. Through this correspondence one can, for example, keep a close track of Sulaymān's journey in Oman (vol. 1, 209-253). Abū 'l-Yaqzān Ibrāhīm b. ʿĪsā presently lives in al-Qarāra (Guerara) in Mīzāb; he is very old and he is partly paralyzed. However, mentally he still is fully sound. Sulaymān must have written on his family before. In his *Dīwān*, 1st suppl., 9 note 1, in this respect *Mirʿāt al-ʿUyūn* is mentioned. The above mentioned work *Mukhtaṣar ...* is available in manuscript in the library of Muḥammad al-Bārūnī on Jerba. It is dated 4 Ramadān 1358/18 October 1939.

³² Cairo 1301/1883-4. See Motylinski, Bibliographie du Mzab. Les livres de la secte abadhite, in: *Bulletin de Correspondance Africaine* (Alger), ive année, 1885, tome iii, 47-70, where a detailed table of contents is given as well as an index of names of places and tribes. Lewicki, Une chronique ibādite “Kitāb al-Siyar” d'Abū 'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad al-Shammākhī, avec quelques remarques sur l'origine et l'histoire de la famille des Shammākhis, in: *Revue des Études Islamiques* (Paris), VIII (1934), 59-78. Also Lewicki's work mentioned in note 29 is based on *Kitāb al-Siyar*.

³³ Abū 'l-Yaqzān Ibrāhīm 1956, vol. 1, 225.

³⁴ Mr. Ahmed Seif Kharusi (see note 11) wrote to me (Dec. 1971), that members of the Barāwina lived on Zanzibar indeed. However, he had known nobody who called himself al-Bārūnī.

³⁵ Lewicki 1959, 16.

³⁶ Bārūnī, Zaʿīma 1964, 28.

³⁷ Tunis: *Dīwān ʿAbdallāh*, 27-33; Bārūnī, Sulaymān, *Dīwān*, 49. Cairo: Bārūnī, Sulaymān, *K. al-Azhār al-Riyādiyya*, 301-302. Mīzāb: o.c., 302; Bārūnī, Sul., *Dīwān*, 75. Sulaymān travelled from Egypt via Tunis to Mīzāb; he stayed some time in Tunis (his *Dīwān*, 123, 125).

with some difficulties Sulaymān succeeded in obtaining an exit permit for a trip to Egypt, and in 1906 he left for Cairo. There he revealed himself an energetic Pan-Islamist, in spite of his unpleasant experiences with the Ottoman authorities.³⁸

* * *

In the course of his almost ten years abroad, Sulaymān al-Bārūnī apparently had acquired certain ideas, which no doubt were partly due to the influences he experienced from his surroundings. In the following we will look at the political and cultural situation in Tunisia, Egypt, Algeria and Tripolitania, as it was during Sulaymān's stay in these countries, in order to come to a better understanding of the formation of his ideas, which he will express after 1906, during his stay in Egypt.

³⁸ These events will be described in detail in chapter VI. This study concentrates on Sulaymān's formative years and his first work in Egypt from 1906 to 1908. His greatest reputation Sulaymān gained through his struggle against the Italian invaders in Tripolitania in 1911 and his attempts to establish an independent little state there. In the Conclusion, a short survey of Sulaymān's life after 1908 until his death in 1940 will be given.

II. TUNISIA

In their pursuit to maintain and further their far-reaching independence from the Ottoman Empire, the rulers of Tunisia (*Bāy*) were mainly supported by France, that, after the occupation of Algeria in 1830, was keen on having a friendly neighbouring country. After the Sublime Porte had made an Ottoman province of Tripolitania, after having deposed the ruling dynasty of the Karamanlis (*Qaramānlī*), the *Bāy* of Tunisia, for fear he should suffer the same fate, was driven into the arms of France, that would not tolerate the Ottomans at the borders of Algeria, conquered by France from the Ottomans. Later on, from around the middle of the 19th century, when French (and Italian) pressure on Tunisia was increasing, certain circles in Tunisia considered it necessary to form together with the Ottomans a common Muslim front opposed to the Europeans. When France occupied Tunisia in 1881, the Ottomans at the border of Tripolitania stirred up the population to vehement anti-European demonstrations and they supported Tunisian tribes that had fled the country.³⁹

The increasing influence of Europe in the Muslim world made the increasing weakness of the Ottoman Empire stand out in sharp contrast to the power and wealth of the European powers. Strong personalities in Arab countries that were directly or indirectly under the rule of the Sublime Porte, realized that, to make their countries as strong as the European countries, they had to introduce reforms after the example of Europe. Given that reform movements in the Arab countries were inspired by individuals who strived for more power, they were in the first place focussed on the building up of an own strong, modern equipped army. Tunisia had, because of its location, always been earlier in contact with Europe than the countries in the eastern basin of the Mediterranean, although, of course, influences from the East were not completely lacking. Also afterwards, when under the leadership of Khayr al-Dīn a clear policy of rapprochement to the Ottoman Empire was pursued and influences from the East became more evident, the European influence remained stronger.⁴⁰

The first reformer in Tunisia, Aḥmad *Bāy* (reigned 1837-1855), could take the independent policy of Muḥammad ^cAlī in Egypt as an example. Aḥmad *Bāy* wanted to reshape his country into a strong, independent state. Being an enthusiastic admirer of Napoleon I,⁴¹ he called in especially the help of French specialists to build up a modern army. In 1840 he established Madrasat Bardū al-^cAskariyya, where mainly Europeans were teaching.⁴² Then he founded the Aḥmadiyya library (October 1840), and in 1842 he tried to reorganize the teaching of the conservative Zaytūna mosque.⁴³ However, his admiration for Europe brought an increasing European (French) domination into his country; Khayr al-Dīn, who, as mentioned above, sought rapprochement to the Ottoman Sultan-Caliph, was unable to turn this influence. As was the case in Egypt, these expensive reforms ended in a financial disaster.

Although the masses of Tunisian Muslims remained aloof of European inspired modernizations, these nevertheless did take, be it slowly, also effect in the orthodox-islamic environment of the Zaytūna mosque. The scholar Maḥmūd Qābādū (d. 1871), who already under Aḥmad *Bāy* had taught at the Madrasat Bārdū al-^cAskariyya,⁴⁴ proved himself to be a loyal follower of the ideas of Khayr al-Dīn, who tried to make European technology and

³⁹ Martel 1965, vol. 1, 2002-2003, 105, 223, 272-273. See also al-Jinḥānī 1969, 115; Serres 1925, 268 ff.; Khairallah n.d., 20, 184, 194-195; Charmes 1883, 53, 54, 350, 370-381.

⁴⁰ al-Jinḥānī 1969, 113, 124, 139. Souriau-Hoebrechts 1969, 36-37: the first Arabic newspaper in Tunisia, *al-Rā'id al-Tūnisī* (first issue 1 July 1860), borrowed articles from Arabic newspapers in the East.

⁴¹ Al-Jinḥānī 1969, 116-117.

⁴² *O.c.* 118-120; Khairallah n.d., 13-14.

⁴³ Al-Jinḥānī 1969, 125-127.

⁴⁴ *O.c.*, 119.

learning suitable for the Muslim Arab public, and he is considered a trailblazer for the influence of Muḥammad °Abduh's reformism in Tunisia.⁴⁵

A clear contact with a particular reform movement in the east was made in 1882. Muḥammad al-Sanūsī, who at the time was editor of the only Arabic Tunisian newspaper *al-Rā'id al-Tūnisī*, established in 1860 through the initiative of Khayr al-Dīn, during a journey in the east in 1882, had got into contact with the secret society *al-°Urwa al-Wuthqà*, established in the same year in Calcutta by Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī, and after his return in Tunisia he set himself up as its mouthpiece.⁴⁶ The journal *al-°Urwa al-Wuthqà*, which was published in 1884 in Paris, had readers in Tunisia; Muḥammad al-Sanūsī sent °Abduh a laudatory poem after the publication of the first issue.⁴⁷ *Al-°Urwa al-Wuthqà*'s success in Tunisia encouraged Muḥammad °Abduh to pay his first visit to Tunisia from 6 December 1884 to 4 Januari 1885. Muḥammad al-Sanūsī organized his journey, and °Abduh received an enthusiastic welcome.⁴⁸

The secular reforms begun by Aḥmad Bāy and continued by his successors, had generated an intellectual elite that was European in scope. These secular reforms were translated into Islamic terms by orthodox Muslim theologians, and in this way, apart from the intellectual elite, a group of Muslim intellectuals came into being, which in general joined in better with the masses and which anyhow was more concerned with the masses. France's occupation of Tunisia brought a new element into the differences of opinion of the secular European oriented group and the group that was orientated on the religion of Islam. Both groups lost their independence; the former one lost its *political* independence, while the members of the latter one became as *Muslims* dominated by *Christians*. The seculars developed into militant nationalists, and after the failed protest movement against the new decree on domestic government in April 1885, the religiously orientated theologians, convinced of the power of the French and the benefit of cooperation, definitely took the moderate, non-nationalistic course of Muḥammad °Abduh.⁴⁹ Mouthpiece of this grouping which was striving for social reforms and improvement of Islamic education became the journal *al-Hāḍira*, established in 1888.⁵⁰ The opposite party, which in the first place was striving for political independence, soon (1890) established its own journal, *al-Zuhra*, that was closed down in 1896 because of its tendency.⁵¹

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When Sulaymān al-Bārūnī started studying at the Zaytūna mosque, in this conservative environment⁵² already a core of reformists who were influenced by the ideas of Muḥammad °Abduh had formed. Their affiliation with Islam was stronger than their affiliation with their country Tunisia. During Sulaymān's stay in Tunis a contrast between these orthodox reformists (*al-Hāḍira*, 1888) and the fierce nationalists (*al-Zuhra*, 1890) became visible

⁴⁵ *O.c.*, 128-129. Khairallah n.d., 17.

⁴⁶ Al-Jinḥānī 1969, 150. On *al-Rā'id al-Tūnisī*, see Souriau-Hoebrechts 1969, 35-36; al-Jinḥānī 1969, 133-136. On *Jam°iyyat al-°Urwa al-Wuthqà*, Hourani says in his article *Jam°iyya* in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, vol. 2, 429, that there is no information on this society, and that it probably has done nothing more than publishing the journal of the same name. Al-Shanūfī 1966, 73 (on *al-°Urwa al-Wuthqà*), 78-83 (al-Sanūsī).

⁴⁷ Al-Shanūfī 1966, 81.

⁴⁸ *O.c.*, 83-89. See also al-Jinḥānī 1969, 151-152.

⁴⁹ *O.c.*, 154-155; al-Shanūfī 1966, 86-88. °Abduh definitely had taken a different course from al-Afghānī, concentrating on social reforms and education, while al-Afghānī concentrated on political independence. This drifting apart of both reformers is depicted by al-Jinḥānī 1969, 73-75, based on Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā's *Tārīkh al-Ustādh al-Imām Muḥammad °Abduh*, Cairo 1350/1931, vol. 1.

⁵⁰ Al-Jinḥānī 1969, 157-158; al-Shanūfī 1966, 91; Souriau-Hoebrechts 1969, 54.

⁵¹ Al-Jinḥānī 1969, 158-159; 1890, dir. °Abd al-Raḥmān al-°Sanādī; al-Shanūfī 1966, 92; 1890, dir. Muḥammad al-°Sanādī; Souriau-Hoebrechts 1969, 54; *idem*; Bioud 1969, nr. 1272; 1888, dir. °Abd al-Raḥmān al-°Sanādī.

⁵² A description of the teaching material in use at the Zaytūna, in al-Jinḥānī 1969, 137-140.

clearly. While being in Tunis, Sulaymān had enough opportunity to see a European power at work. Having grown up in a very conservative Muslim environment, Sulaymān had landed in an environment where both Muslim reformist and European influences had permeated. While studying at the Zaytūna mosque, which after all was always inclined to conservatism, he had a chance to get acclimatized. Sulaymān al-Bārūnī's only activity while studying in Tunisia observable to us, was a poem on the occasion of a circumcision.⁵³ Maybe Sulaymān was in Tunis under the care of a pupil of his father, Sulaymān al-Jāduwī, a man with orthodox-reformist ideas, who was to establish afterwards the journal *Murshid al-Umma*.⁵⁴

⁵³ Circumcision of an acquaintance's son, *al-Ḥājj* Sulaymān al-Majdalī al-Nafūsī (Sulaymān al-Bārūnī, *Dīwān*, 49-50). With respect to Sulaymān al-Majdalī, see p. 32.

⁵⁴ Pupil of ʿAbdallāh al-Bārūnī: Sulaymān al-Bārūnī, *Dīwān*, 1st suppl., 7 line 9; Muʿammar 1964, vol. 2 part 2, 132. Founder of *Murshid al-Umma* and *al-Murshid*: Sulaymān al-Bārūnī, *o.c.*, 5 (*al-Murshid*); Muʿammar, *o.c.*, 132 (*Murshid al-Umma*); al-Jundī 1965, 78 (*Murshid al-Umma*); Souriau-Hoebrechts 1969, 57 (*Murshid al-Umma*, established 1910), 60; Bioud 1969, nr. 2602 (*al-Murshid*, established 1906), nr. 2606 (*Murshid al-Umma*, established 1906).

III. EGYPT

Muḥammad °Alī (reigned 1811-1848) was the first leader in an Arab country to use the weakness of the Sultan-Caliph in Istanbul and break away from the Ottoman Empire. He organized a strong army and also in his other reforms he looked to Europe, especially to France.⁵⁵ The khedive (*Khidīw*) Ismā°il (r. 1863-1879), through his extravagant imitation of French culture, brought his country on the brink of bankruptcy, with as a consequence that in 1876 a foreign financial control commission was established to administer the state finances.

The masses of Egypt's Muslim population were so deeply submerged in traditions and of old so closely bound to the rules of Islam, that the influences from Europe passed them by; the religious scholars were opposed to them out of conservatism. In the course of the 19th century individuals appeared, who adduced religious arguments to carry through reforms, which made them find a willing ear in large sections of the Muslim population. They tried to limit the increasing European, Christian influence in the Muslim countries, and they advocated reforms aiming at making the Muslim countries as powerful as the European powers. In the technical and scientific fields they necessarily had to rely on imitation of European achievements, but they tried to reformulate Muslim doctrines in the light of those modern achievements and demonstrate in this way that Islam contained all possibilities to achieve what Europe had achieved.

Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī (1839-1897)⁵⁶ was such an activist. He wandered around all his life and he clearly saw the impotence of every Muslim country separately towards the European colonial powers. One Muslim front seemed to him the only solution to push the Christian European powers back: Pan-Islamism. In Egypt, where he stayed from 1871 to 1879, Muḥammad °Abduh became his principal follower.⁵⁷ After he had been banished several years because of his alleged participation in the preparation of the °Urābī uprising, °Abduh turned away from al-Afghānī's political-activistic course and began to apply himself to reforms in the social and educational fields. After his return to Egypt in 1888, Khedive Tawfīq (r. 1879-1892) gave him a position in the administration of justice and not in education, because he feared °Abduh's influence on the students. Only under Khedive °Abbās II, who succeeded his father in 1892 when he was eighteen years old, °Abduh got the opportunity to reform education in the Azhar mosque, but it lasted until 1896 before reforms could be implemented.⁵⁸

Khedive °Abbās II initially had shown himself pro-English, and on a few occasions he had called in the English for help in points of difference with the Ottoman Sultan.⁵⁹ However,

⁵⁵ According to Lord Cromer 1908, vol. 1, 16 note: for fear of England's growing influence in the Arab world.

⁵⁶ On Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī many studies have appeared. See A. Albert Kudsi-Zadeh, *Sayyid Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī, an annotated bibliography*, Leiden 1970. To be supplemented with: °Abd al-°Azīz Sayyid al-Ahl, *Khātirāt Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī*, Cairo 1963; Qādī °Abd al-Ghaffār Šāhib, *Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī*, New Delhi 1932; °Abd al-Mun°im Shamīs, *Safīr Allāh, Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī*, Cairo 1969; Maḥmūd Abū Riyya: *Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī, Tārīkhuhu wa-Risālatuhu wa-Mabādi'uhu*, Cairo 1966; Muḥ. Salām Madkūr, *al-Ḥakīm al-Thā'ir Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī*, Cairo 1962; Muḥ. Ṭāhir al-Jabalāwī, *Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī. Ḥayātuhu wa-Ārā'uhu*, Cairo 1971; Yūsuf b. Ism. al-Nabhānī, *al-°Uqūd al-Lu'lu'iyya fī 'l-Madā'ih al-Muḥammadiyya*, Beirut 1329/1911, 354 ff. (against al-Afghānī); Zahīr al-Dīn al-Fārūqī, *Muntakhabāt Jarīdat al-°Urwa al-Wuthqā*, n.pl. 1322/1904-5. Remark on nr. 164 of Kudsi-Zadeh: *Siḥr Hārūt*, by Sālim Effendi °Anḥūrī, Damascus 1302/1885, 176 ff., note on al-Afghānī.

⁵⁷ Also on Muḥ. °Abduh much has been written. See N. Safran, *Egypt in search of political community*, Cambridge (Massachusetts) 1961, 273 note 1, where a number of works is mentioned. To be supplemented with some more recent works: A. Hourani, *Arabic thought in the liberal age, 1798-1939*, London repr. 1967, esp. 130-192; E. Kedouri, *Afghani and Abduh*, London 1966; R. Wielandt, *Offenbarung und Geschichte im Denken moderner Muslime*, Wiesbaden 1971, 49-72.

⁵⁸ Riḍā 1931, vol. 1, 426-427.

⁵⁹ Cromer 1915, 4-5.

at a certain point he took a different course and adopted a nationalistic, i.e. anti-English position.⁶⁰ Lord Cromer, who at the time was Consul-General of England in Egypt, was able to stop the Khedive's anti-English aspirations, but his behaviour had already launched an anti-English, Muslim movement.⁶¹ Anti-English demonstrations took place, and conservative Muslims came and expressed their allegiance to the Khedive, congratulating him for his stand towards the English. Summer 1893 ʿAbbās went to Istanbul, where a delegation of theologians in his company offered a petition to the Sultan-Caliph, in which they requested his help against the foreign intruders in their country as leader of the Muslims.⁶² However, this visit ended up in failure and it became clear to the Khedive that from this side support was not to be expected.⁶³ Finally, ʿAbbās' aspirations came to nothing; he had to acknowledge Great Britain's superiority.

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Most probably, Sulaymān al-Bārūnī was among his own people during his stay in Cairo. There was a small group of Ibādīs from the Jabal Nafūsa in Cairo, several of whom lived permanently in Cairo.⁶⁴ He studied at the Azhar, which at the time was led by the ultra-conservative theologian Muḥammad al-Anbābī, who had already replaced Muḥammad al-ʿAbbāsī al-Mahdī al-Ḥanafī temporarily during the ʿUrābī revolt.⁶⁵ Exactly at the time of Sulaymān's stay in Cairo, Muḥammad ʿAbduh did not teach at the Azhar, and his ideas were not yet written down systematically and published. Muḥammad al-Ṣādiq ʿAffī's remark that Sulaymān made contact with Muḥammad ʿAbduh in Cairo⁶⁶ is therefore in my opinion not correct. Also the way in which Sulaymān speaks of ʿAbduh in his annotation in the booklet *Sullam al-ʿĀmma* ... (pp. 46, 51) of his father does not lead one to suspect that he personally took lessons from ʿAbduh. Nevertheless, al-Afghānī's and ʿAbduh's ideas and activities were no doubt in Egypt better known than in Tunisia, so that Sulaymān must have had ample opportunity to discuss them. Moreover, ʿAbduh's renewed attempts since 1892 to reform education at the Azhar certainly did not remain unnoticed by Sulaymān. It is true that during Sulaymān's study-time in Cairo the Khedive ʿAbbās II was encouraging nationalistic, anti-English feelings, but Muṣṭafā Kāmil, who is generally considered founding father of Egyptian nationalism and with whom Sulaymān later on apparently had been in contact, studied in France from 1892 to 1894, and only started his career afterwards.⁶⁷ There were not yet nationalist parties and newspapers during Sulaymān's stay in Cairo. The mouthpiece of the orthodox-reformist movement, *al-Manār*, only started appearing in March 1898. For all that, there was plenty opportunity for Sulaymān to improve his mind also outside of the Azhar and to broaden his outlook at the world. *al-Muʿayyad*, for example, which was established by ʿAlī Yūsuf in 1890, was an excellent newspaper with much international news from the Muslim world. The liberal attitude of the English towards the press as a matter of fact had as result that in general printing flourished in Cairo.⁶⁸ In the first volume of *al-Muʿayyad* the following statement occurs: "The intelligent observer will not fail to notice, that the large number of

⁶⁰ *O.c.*, 10 ff.

⁶¹ *O.c.*, 32.

⁶² *O.c.*, 45-46.

⁶³ *O.c.*, 46-48.

⁶⁴ Bārūnī, Sulaymān 1908, 123: after his departure from Egypt in 1895, Sulaymān had left there his two brothers, Yahyā and Aḥmad, and many friends and relatives. In relation to the small Ibādī community, see Conclusion.

⁶⁵ Jomier 1960, 819. On sheikh al-Anbābī, see Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Literatur*, Suppl. II, 742.

⁶⁶ ʿAffī 1969, 216.

⁶⁷ Safran 1961, 85-90.

⁶⁸ Hartmann 1899, 52-86, lists 168 newspapers and periodicals.

printing houses in Egypt has a favourable influence on the advancement of knowledge, the spread of scholarship and the enlightenment of the minds.”⁶⁹

It seems that Sulaymān did not write down the impressions he gathered during his period of study in Cairo.

⁶⁹ In 1324/1906 an anthology from the first year of *al-Mu'ayyad* was published in book form with as title *Muntakhabāt al-Sana al-ūlā min al-Mu'ayyad*. The quotation is on p. 32.

IV. ALGERIA

In 1830 the French conquered the town of Algiers. The collapse of Ottoman power in Algeria and the “policy of restricted occupation” the French pursued in the beginning, gave rise to general chaos. In Constantine *Bāy Aḥmad* got the situation fairly quickly under control, but in the province of Oran, in Algeria's northeast, Moroccans invaded the country.⁷⁰ [°]Abd al-Qādir b. Muḥyī 'l-Dīn adroitly took advantage of the chaotic situation and took power in the northeast. The French thought to be able to use him in the pacification of the country and concluded several treaties with him; [°]Abd al-Qādir acknowledged French supreme authority⁷¹ and received in exchange for his cooperation arms from the French. Thanks to these arms, [°]Abd al-Qādir was able to conquer large territories, and after having consolidated his authority there, in 1839 he suddenly proclaimed the *Jihād* against the French⁷² and began to call himself *Amīr al-Mu'minīn*. Only after years of combat, he surrendered in 1847. After the rebellion of the Emir [°]Abd al-Qādir, the French abandoned their policy of restricted occupation and they even started to pursue a clear policy of assimilation.⁷³ For the time being, the French did not colonize the country beyond the line Biskra-al-Ahgwāt (Laghouat).⁷⁴ The desert territory in the south was not occupied for the time being.

In this desert territory, about 600 km south of the town of Algiers, lies Wādī Mīzāb, a mountainous region, transected by several *Wādīs*. In Mīzāb there are five cities that do not lie far from each other: al-[°]Aṭf (El Ateuf), Bū Nūra (Bou-Noura), Banū Yasqan (Beni-Isguen), Malīka (Mélika) and Ghardāya (Ghardaïa). Two other cities lie a bit apart: Barrayān (Berriane), circa 35 km to the northeast, and al-Qarāra (Guerara), some 60 km to the east. These seven cities were inhabited almost exclusively by Berbers belonging to the sect of the Ibādīs. The social and administrative organization of these Ibādī cities deserves special attention.

There were two classes: the *Ṭalaba* (Tolba), the seekers of knowledge, who formed the religious element in society, and the [°]*Awāmm*, the ordinary people, the laymen. From the *Ṭalaba* (mostly) twelve members were chosen for the so called *Ḥalqat al-[°]Azzāba*. This council supervised observance of religious rules, took care of education, controlled the markets and the slaughtering of cattle, and looked after the washing of the dead. From the [°]*Awāmm* a college of tribal and clan leaders was formed, that managed the town; part of this college were the *Makara*, who carried out punishments and had the duty of investigating crimes, a sort of police force so to say. In this way each of the seven towns had its own *Majlis Dīnī* and its own *Majlis Baladī*. Formally the latter was subservient to the former. For the women there was a similar organization, led by women under the supervision of a few theologians.⁷⁵ There was an umbrella organization for all cities together, the *Majlis [°]Ammī Sa[°]īd*, called as such because its sessions took place near the tomb of sheikh [°]Ammī Sa[°]īd b. [°]Alī al-Jarbī. On this college the great scholars and the [°]*Azzāba* of the entire heptapolis of Mīzāb had a seat.⁷⁶ The advantages of this politico-religious organization of social life in Mīzāb were on repeated occasions undone by two antitheses, that through the ages have always been cause of often bloody internal controversies in Mīzāb. On the one hand there was

⁷⁰ Serres 1925, 208.

⁷¹ See however De Leone 1957, vol. 1, 70: in the Arabic version of the treaty of 1837 it only said that the *Amīr al-Mu'minīn*, as [°]Abd al-Qādir called himself, knew “that the Sultan is great”. De Leone quotes from Augustin Bernard, *L'Algérie*, Paris 1929, 191.

⁷² De Leone 1957, vol. 1, 68-72.

⁷³ *O.c.*, 101, 102-103.

⁷⁴ *O.c.*, 103.

⁷⁵ Dabbūz 1965, I, 192-244. Gouvion 1926, 267-284. Motylinski 1885, 23-36. Rubinacci 1969, 302-317. Lewicki 1971, 95-99. On the organization for the women: Goichon 1927, 1931.

⁷⁶ Dabbūz 1965, I, 241-242.

the antithesis *Ṭalaba-^cAwāmm*, and on the other hand there was the antithesis *Ṣaff Gharbī-Ṣaff Sharqī*. The rigid standards of the *Ṭalaba* often were not in accordance with the demands of the ^c*Awāmm*, whose interests were mostly exclusively political, which means that they only defended the interests of their clan or family. Between the tribes and families in Mīzāb two large factions, *Ṣufūf* (Sofs), had formed: the *Ṣaff Gharbī* and the *Ṣaff Sharqī*, who were after each other's blood almost constantly. Because of the antithesis that existed between *Ṭalaba* and ^c*Awāmm*, the former's decisions often were not or insufficiently implemented.⁷⁷ The two-fold contrast *Ṭalaba-^cAwāmm* and *Ṣaff Gharbī-Ṣaff Sharqī* to a great extent contributed to the weakness of the Ibādīs towards intruders.⁷⁸

As said before, after having suppressed the rebellion of Emir ^cAbd al-Qādir, the French, for the time being, had left the desert alone. However, it became a haven of refuge for insurgents, who from there undertook incursions into regions under French control. In Mīzāb constantly internal conflicts occurred, in which often surrounding Arab tribes and also roaming rebels became involved; from time to time internal conflicts in Mīzāb mounted to the extent that one of the competing groups hired a band of rebels to liquidate its opponents. In 1852, for example, the rebel Muḥammad b. ^cAbdallāh, who after a failed rebellion in the surroundings of al-Aghwāt had moved to Warjlān (Ouargla), supported one of competing groups in Mīzāb,⁷⁹ which directly led to the conclusion of the so called *Capitulation du M'zab* on 29 April 1853 between General Randon and the administrative colleges of the different cities in Mīzāb. Mīzāb became a completely autonomous protectorate; in exchange for protection the Mīzābīs had to close their cities for enemies of the French and pay an annual tribute.⁸⁰ Because the Mīzābīs controlled a large part of trade in the Sahara, however, they remained involved in the activities of the insurgents; they traded arms and allowed the rebels on their markets. Later on they even started producing gunpowder.⁸¹ In 1882 bloody disturbances took place in Mīzāb⁸² and the French considered this a most convenient occasion to intervene and occupy Mīzāb militarily. In a letter the Governor-General of Algeria accused the Mīzābīs of not having adhered to the agreement of 1853. They were clearly given to understand that no Arab leaders would be appointed,⁸³ but that they were allowed to choose

⁷⁷ Motylinski 1885, 31 note 1.

⁷⁸ Huguet 1910, 151-184, 313-320, and Gouvion 1926, on the formation of these *Ṣufūf*. This formation of *Ṣufūf* is not typical for the Ibādīs. It is a phenomenon that is found in all of North-Africa. It even is not a typical North-African phenomenon. Essentially, the politico-religious organization of the Ibādīs in Oman in times an Imam was ruling was the same as in Mīzāb. In Oman decisions were taken by the Imam, who was assisted by a group of theologians, but for real political purposes the Imam had to rely on the support of tribal leaders. Omani tribes are divided in two confederations: the Ghāfriyya and the Hināwiyya. The Imam always had to manoeuvre cleverly to rally both groupings under his banner.

⁷⁹ Motylinski 1885, 59-60. Gouvion 1926, 220 note 2, 235, 243. On Muḥammad b. ^cAbdallāh, see also Martel 1965, index (in vol. 2), Mohammed ben Abdallah.

⁸⁰ Text of the agreement in Gouvion 1926, 243-244; Rouard de Card 1897, 430-431. Cf. Martel 1965, 153 note 3: "Les Mozabites (fixés) à Djerba défendent avec acharnement leur qualité de protégés français." (1866).

⁸¹ Rouard de Card 1897, 431.

⁸² Gouvion 1926, 252-253.

⁸³ The Mīzābīs constituted, so to say, a Berber Ibādī island amidst Arab Sunnīs who were hostile towards them. In 1871, for example, when unrest reigned in entire Algeria as a consequence of the reduction in the number of French troops because of the French-German war, Sunnīs in Warjlān took the opportunity to expel the Mīzābīs who lived in Warjlān with the help of the rebel Bū Shūsha (on whom see Martel 1965, index: Bou Choucha). All of Mīzāb had to prepare for defence against the rebel (Gouvion 1926, 249-252. Huguet 1910, 161 and 175, gives a different version of these events). On the traditional enmity between Ibādī Berbers and Sunnī Arabs, see also Huguet 1903. Also in the Jabal Nafūsa this enmity between Berbers and Arabs has led to violent clashes. Lately in the 1920s (Despois 1935, 307-311). The incidents of 1871 in Mīzāb drove the Mīzābīs into the arms of the French (Gouvion 1926, 252; Huguet 1910, 175).

their own leaders.⁸⁴ For the *Jamā'āt al-^cAwāmm* of the cities in Mīzāb a powerful arbiter who would keep up law and order would certainly in every way prove very helpful as regards their trading interests.⁸⁵ It were especially the *Ṭalaba* who kept up their opposition to the bitter end. After the incorporation of Mīzāb into the rest of Algeria, local enmities remained smouldering, as did opposition against French occupation. By interning agitators in northern Algeria or in France, the French were able to realize that the situation in Mīzāb gradually settled down. After 1897 law and order reigned in the entire Mīzāb.⁸⁶

From a cultural viewpoint, northern Algeria was, in comparison with for example Tunisia and certainly in comparison with Egypt, poor. The Press in Algeria did have an early start, namely at the beginning of the French occupation, but all newspapers were in French, with at the most a short article in Arabic. The great majority of Algeria's Muslim population stood aloof from European life and only manifested itself in explosive uprisings.⁸⁷ In the *Zāwiyas* traditional Islamic instruction was given, mainly aimed at initiation in one of the mystical orders, that ruled religious and cultural life in Algeria. As was the case in Tunisia and Egypt, in Algeria there were intellectuals as well, who became completely westernized and became more interested in politics than in Islam. However, there were Muslim scholars who started teaching in training schools for *Qāḍī's*, translators and civil servants established by the French, and from their students later on came the supporters of Muḥammad ^cAbduh's and his pupil Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā's Orthodox Reformism. Only towards the end of the 19th century these intellectuals established contact with religious and political currents in Tunisia, Egypt and Turkey, be it clandestinely because of French censure.⁸⁸

Among important Muslim scholars in Algeria were: Muḥammad b. Abī 'l-Qāsim al-Hāmilī (1824-1897), who opened a school in the village of Hāmil that is still functioning today;⁸⁹ ^cAbd al-Qādir al-Majjāwī (1848-1913),⁹⁰ who taught at schools established by the French, where he had a good influence on his pupils. Al-Majjāwī and his students ^cAbd al-Ḥalīm b. Smāya (1866-1931),⁹¹ Muḥammad b. Muṣṭafā al-Khūja, nicknamed *al-Muḍarraba*,⁹² and al-Mawlūd b. al-Mawhūb (1863?-after 1930)⁹³ were the pacesetters of Orthodox Reformism in Algeria and Muḥammad ^cAbduh's first followers there. In the beginning only a small group of people adopted ^cAbduh's ideas; after his visit to Algeria in 1903 his group of followers started to increase.⁹⁴ While the *Islamic Renaissance*, as the breakthrough of reformist thinking in traditional Islam often is called, in northern Algeria only began towards the end of the 19th century, in the south, in Mīzāb, an *Islamic Renaissance* had started much

⁸⁴ For the Arabic text of this letter, see Gouvion 1926, opposite p. 256; the translation on p. 287. For the development of the occupation, see *o.c.*, 254-256.

⁸⁵ Rouard de Card 1897, 432. On the other hand, their trade monopoly in the Sahara kept them from helping General Marguerite in 1853 to establish relations with the Tuaregs in the Sahara, who escorted trade caravans (Gouvion 1926, 235).

⁸⁶ Huguet 1910, 313-317.

⁸⁷ Souriau-Hoebrechts 1969, 68-73.

⁸⁸ *O.c.*, 71. Ageron 1968, 914: ^cAlī Yūsuf's newspaper *al-Mu'ayyad* probably was known in Algeria from 1899 (i.e. 9 years after it was first published), and in spite of an official ban it was smuggled in.

⁸⁹ Dabbūz 1965, 55-81; al-Ḥafnāwī 1909, 336-343 (also used by Dabbūz).

⁹⁰ Dabbūz 1965, 82-105.

⁹¹ *O.c.*, 106-125.

⁹² *O.c.*, 128-132. Muḥammad b. Muṣṭafā al-Khūja's writings were fully in line with Muḥammad ^cAbduh's way of thinking. On his works, see Dabbūz, *o.c.*, 131-132, and on French translations of these works, see Ageron 1968, 915. The *Muḍarraba* mentioned in Ageron p. 914 note 8 is the same person as Kamāl Muḥammad b. Muṣṭafā b. al-Khūja on p. 915. ^cAbd al-Ḥalīm b. Smāya and Muḥammad b. Muṣṭafā b. al-Khūja (*al-Muḍarraba*) are also mentioned in Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā's *Tārīkh al-Ustādh al-Imām ...*, vol. 1, 872, and in *Majallat al-Manār*, vol. 6 (1331/1903), 917-918, where he is full of praise on Muḥammad ^cAbduh.

⁹³ Dabbūz 1965, 134-143.

⁹⁴ On this visit, see Ali Merad: L'enseignement politique de Muḥammad ^cAbduh aux Algériens, *Orient* (Paris), nr. 28, 4th trimester 1963, 75-123.

earlier, namely the renaissance of the pure Ibādī Islam, free from Berber superstitions. Abū Zakariyyā' Yaḥyā b. Šālīḥ al-Afdālī (c. 1717-1808) had given the initial impetus to the revival of Islamic (Ibādī) studies in Mīzāb.⁹⁵ His student °Abd al-°Azīz b. Ibrāhīm al-Thamīnī (1717/8-1808), who is well known for his great *Fiqh* work *Kitāb al-Nīl wa-Shifā' al-°Alīl*,⁹⁶ developed this renaissance into its youth (*Tufūla*) and Muḥammad b. Yūsuf Itfayyish (1820/1-1914) raised the “child” to become a “young man”.⁹⁷

* * *

It was this Muḥammad b. Yūsuf Itfayyish,⁹⁸ the *Quṭb al-A'imma*, with whom Sulaymān al-Bārūnī studied for about three years. The *Quṭb al-A'imma* was no doubt the greatest Ibādī scholar of his time and Algerian Sunnī scholars held him in high esteem. He had correspondence with Omanis and he was decorated by Sultan-Caliph °Abd al-Ḥamīd II and Sultan Barghash of Zanzibar.⁹⁹ As said above, Muḥammad b. Yūsuf Itfayyish was the driving force behind a reform movement aiming at restoring the Ibādī doctrine in its original purity and freeing it from heathen Berber customs. He very strictly held on to Ibādī doctrines, such as the strict obligation of *Barā'a* (animosity) towards infidels, which made him a most uncompromising opponent of the French authorities in Mīzāb.¹⁰⁰ His strict demands to keep up observance of the rulings of the Islamic Law brought him in conflict with more moderate Ibādīs, especially with the lay administrators of the towns of Mīzāb. He himself stayed as much as possible in the background in his battle against modernisms (*Bida'*).¹⁰¹ This struggle of moderate Ibādīs against strictly orthodox ones sometimes resulted in murder;¹⁰² also the *Quṭb* was once target of an attempted murder,¹⁰³ and he has been banned from Beni Isguen for

⁹⁵ Dabbūz 1965, 254-262. Cf. Goichon 1931, 2: “Mais sur l'origine de ce mouvement toute précision manque aux femmes et les hommes se gardent d'en donner.”

⁹⁶ On °Abd al-°Azīz al-Thamīnī: Dabbūz 1965, 263-279; Motylinski-Lewicki, art. °Abd al-°Azīz b. al-Ḥājj Ibrāhīm al-Thamīnī al-Isdġānī, *EF*², vol. 1. *Kitāb al-Nīl* has been printed in Cairo, 1305/1887-8, 2 vols. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf Itfayyish composed a *Sharḥ* in 10 vols., (Cairo 1305-1343).

⁹⁷ Dabbūz 1965, 289, mentions two more phases hereafter in this renaissance in Mīzāb.

⁹⁸ On whom see: Schacht, art. Atfīyash, *EF*², vol. 1, 736; Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm Itfayyish: *al-Dī°āya ilā Sabīl al-Mu'minīn*, Cairo 1342/1933, 107-109 note; Dabbūz 1965, 287 (where a photograph)-388. With regard to his reforms, see also Goichon 1931, 1, 2, 4, 7, 8, 9, 22, 26. Works are mentioned in *EF*², *o.c.*; Dabbūz, *o.c.*; Khayr al-Dīn Zirīklī, *al-°lām*, Cairo, vol. 8, 32-33. Schacht spells his name as *Atfīyāsh*. Zirīklī spells *Atfayyish* and explains that this is a combination of three Berber words (*o.c.*, 70-71, 81). Algerian Ibādīs pronounce the name as *Tfayyish*. According to Gouvion 1926, 323, the *Alif* at the beginning, is the so-called *Ḥadd Allāh*, that brings *Baraka*. Dabbūz vocalizes *Atfayyash*.

⁹⁹ When he went to perform the *Hajj* in 1303/1885-6, Sheikh Muḥammad b. Abī 'l-Qāsim al-Ḥāmīlī hastened to meet him at his arrival in the town of Bū Sa°āda; on his request the *Quṭb* gave a lecture in his school in al-Ḥāmīl (Dabbūz 1969, 70-71, 81). The *Quṭb* sent several of his students to study with °Abd al-Qādir al-Majjāwī (*o.c.*, 93-94, 339, 353) and he also had friendly relations with al-Mawlūd b. al-Mawhūb (*o.c.*, 353). He corresponded with Sheikh °Abdallāh b. Yaḥyā al-Bārūnī (*Dīwān °Abdallāh al-Bārūnī*, 48, 50, 53). Muḥammad b. Shaykhān al-Sālimī, a cousin of the Omani scholar *Nūr al-Dīn °Abdallāh al-Sālimī*, composed panegyrics for him (*o.c.*, 200-208), and *Nūr al-Dīn* himself corresponded with the *Quṭb* (Muḥ. b. °Abdallāh al-Sālimī: *Nahḍat al-°yān ...*, 127-128). Decorated by °Abd al-Ḥamīd II (e.g. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf Itfayyish: *Risāla in lam ta°rif al-Ibādīyya yā °Uqbī yā Jazā'irī*, Cairo, completed Nov. 1910, 34; Dabbūz 1965, 329) and by Sultan Barghash of Zanzibar (d. 1888) (e.g. Dabbūz 1965, 239) from whom he also received presents (*o.c.*, 385). For the latter the *Quṭb* composed a poem (*Dīwān °Abdallāh al-Bārūnī*, 208). He also wrote to Muḥammad °Abduh (Itfayyish: *Risāla in lam ta°rif al-Ibādīyya*, 13; Dabbūz 1965 353).

¹⁰⁰ Dabbūz 1965, 329, 330, 331; Gouvion 1926, 256, 322; Huguet 1910, 180-181; Huguet 1903, 18-19; Zeys 1886, 8 note 3; Goichon 1931, 8 note 2.

¹⁰¹ Goichon 1931, 2.

¹⁰² *O.c.*, 3. Cf. Dabbūz 1965, 379.

¹⁰³ Dabbūz 1965, 331-332.

seven or twelve years.¹⁰⁴ In such incidents, however, one should always keep in mind the contrast between *Ṣaff Gharbī* and *Ṣaff Sharqī*. By this very orthodox Ibādī scholar Sulaymān al-Bārūnī was educated in the history and theology of his sect. The power of Europe (here: France) was felt well in Mīzāb: during Sulaymān's stay numerous Mīzābīs were interned elsewhere by the French authorities.¹⁰⁵ During his stay in Mīzāb Sulaymān composed some light hearted poems.¹⁰⁶ He paid a visit to the capital of the former Ibādī Imamate of the Banū Rustam, Tāhart, where he recited a poem, full of melancholy.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁴ *O.c.*, 336-338.

¹⁰⁵ Huguet 1910, 316.

¹⁰⁶ Sulaymān al-Bārūnī: *Dīwān*, 42, 75 (letter to a friend in the Jabal Nafūsa), 104-108.

¹⁰⁷ Sulaymān al-Bārūnī: *al-Azhār al-Riyāḍiyya* ..., 302-306.

V. TRIPOLITANIA

The dynasty of the Karamanlı (*Qaramānlī*), that from 1710-1835 ruled over Tripolitania in actual independence from the Ottoman Sultan-Caliph in Istanbul, was much weakened during the years 1830-1835 because of an internal struggle for power. Consequently, several tribal chiefs in the interior could strengthen their position of independence. When the Ottomans intervened in 1835 by occupying Tripolitania, in the western part of Tripolitania they were opposed by three tribal chiefs who did not wish to give up their independence to the new masters. Southwest of al-Khums (Homs), in the region of Tarkhūna, al-Murayyīd was the ruler. °Abd al-Jalīl b. Ghayth b. Sayf al-Nāṣir, chief of the Awlād Sulaymān, ruled over the entire desert region from Sirt to the South including Fezzan. The Jabal Gharyān and the Jabal Nafūsa were in the power of Ghūma b. Khalīfa b. °Awn al-Maḥmūdī, chief of the western branch of the Maḥāmīd.¹⁰⁸ Because of a chronic lack of resources and the frequent change of governors and other officials, it took some time for the Ottomans to get the interior of Tripolitania more or less completely in their power. The only one of the three above mentioned tribal chiefs to come to negotiate on submission in 1835 was Ghūma al-Maḥmūdī, who however was taken prisoner by Muṣṭafā Najīb, the first governor. Already in September of the same year, Muṣṭafā Najīb was summoned back to Istanbul, and Ghūma was released and retreated to the Jabal Nafūsa full of feelings of revenge. Al-Murayyīd was the first to be overpowered: summer 1841 Tarkhūna was occupied and al-Murayyīd was executed July next year. °Abd al-Jalīl, who could have caused the Ottomans much trouble because of the wide space for escape at his disposal, fell into the hands of the Ottomans more or less by chance in April 1842, and was executed together with several of his tribal leaders. The Ottomans occupied Murzuq. The Awlād Sulaymān, however, were not yet submitted and they continued to undertake raids, especially on trade caravans. Only after a number of their leaders, among whom sons of °Abd al-Jalīl, had been murdered treacherously on the instigation of the king of Bornu, the Ottomans succeeded to get a firmer grip on Fezzan. In 1849 they stationed a garrison in Ghāt on request of a local pro-Ottoman party.¹⁰⁹ Ghūma al-Maḥmūdī caused the Ottomans a great deal more trouble. In 1842 the Ottomans cheated him a second time. After having come to Tripoli voluntarily to negotiate, first he was kept dangling a couple of months and then brought to Trabzon at the Black Sea together with a number of relatives. This caused a revolt among his followers, who retreated to the Jabal Gharyān and the Jabal Nafūsa before the advancing Ottoman troops. In the course of 1843, however, the rebellion was smothered in blood; tens of prominent persons were murdered and the villages of the Jabal Nafūsa were sacked. A couple of years later, one of Ghūma's cousins, Mīlūd, who mysteriously had

¹⁰⁸ The political division of the Tripolitanian tribes:

- I. °Arab al-Sharq
 - a. Ṣaff al-Baḥr, leaders: the Qūlūghlīs (Koloğulları)
 - b. Ṣaff al-Fawqī, leaders: the Awlād Sulaymān.
- II. °Arab al-Gharb
 - a. Ṣaff Maḥāmīd al-Gharbiyyīn, leaders: Awlād al-Marmūrī, a section of the Maḥāmīd
 - b. Ṣaff Maḥāmīd al-Sharqiyyīn, leaders: Awlād Sa°īd b. Ṣūla, a section of the Maḥāmīd.
- III. °Arab al-Qibla
 - a. Ṣaff al-Maḡārha, a beduin tribe of the Wādī 'l-Shātī
 - b. Ṣaff Awlād Slimān.

There are two large groups:

- I. Ṣaff al-Fawqī, Ṣaff Maḥāmīd al-Gharbiyyīn, Ṣaff Awlād Slimān (later on anti-Italy);
- II. Ṣaff al-Baḥr, Ṣaff Maḥāmīd al-Sharqiyyīn, Ṣaff al-Maḡārha (more or less pro-Italy).

See: La rinascita della Tripolitania, Milano 1926, 39 (based on De Agostini: *Le popolazioni della Tripolitania*, Tripoli 1917). See further: Martel 1965, vol. 1, 61 (also based on De Agostini; Martel gives a more detailed description).

¹⁰⁹ Martel 1965, vol. 1, 101.

managed to flee from Trabzon and who had returned via the island of Jerba, succeeded again in stirring up a couple of revolts among Ghūma's followers, which however again were crushed gruesomely. Finally the Ottomans appointed Qāsim, chief of the eastern branch of the Maḥāmīd, leader of the Jabal Nafūsa, stationed in the fort of Yefren the Ottomans had built. This Qāsim was involved in a blood feud with Ghūma, who had killed Qāsim's brother. February 1855 Ghūma himself turned up again in the Jabal Nafūsa, after having managed to escape from Turkey. Although only a small part of Jabal Nafūsa's scourged people took his side, he nevertheless managed to chase his rival Qāsim from the fort of Yefren, but he was soon forced back to Tunisian territory. In 1858 he tried again to conquer the Jabal Nafūsa, but this time he paid with his life.¹¹⁰

* * *

The inhabitants of the Jabal Nafūsa were either Berbers or "Arabs". Some areas were populated exclusively by Berbers, others exclusively by "Arabs", in other areas again Berbers and "Arabs" were living together, but mostly in separate quarters of the villages. The Berbers spoke a Berber dialect and belonged to the sect of the Ibāḍiyya, while the "Arabs" spoke Arabic and were Mālikīs. Mixed marriages between members of both groups rarely happened. The Ibāḍī Berbers lived a sedentary life, they were peasants, who cultivated mainly fruit trees. They were never completely free from raids by Arab nomads, by paying a tribute they could protect themselves against raids temporarily. They were hard workers and in times of peace and order, when they could safely descend to the plains, they gradually expanded their possessions by buying trees and land from impoverished "Arabs". These mostly were nomads or semi-nomads and they were less willing to engage in regular work. The great majority of those among the population of the Jabal Nafūsa who proudly called themselves "Arabs" were actually Arabicized Berbers. Some groups of "Arabs" remember that in the past they spoke Berber and were Ibāḍīs. In some areas the "Arabs" completely drove the Berbers away, in other areas they slowly infiltrated Berber territory, resulting in Berbers and "Arabs" living together in many of the Jabal's villages. Most probably not more than a tenth of the population of the Jabal Nafūsa is made up of pure descendants of oriental Arabs. In spite of this, the so-called Arabs feel contempt for the Berbers, who, in turn, consider the Ibāḍīs of the island of Jerba and of Mīzāb to be their real brethern.¹¹¹ The double contrast Ibāḍīs-Mālikīs and Berbers-Arabs, that exists also in Mīzāb, was aggravated by the fact that the Ibāḍī Berbers generally had built up more stable property than the nomadic and semi-nomadic Sunnī Arabs.

During the reign of the Karamanlı dynasty the Berbers were not officially recognized as Ibāḍīs.¹¹² They were subject to the jurisdiction of a Ḥanafī (or Mālikī?) *Qāḍī*. This situation continued later under the Ottomans. In 1817, the Maḥāmīd, with the support of Yūsuf al-Qaramānlī, succeeded in appropriating the right to collect taxes in the Jabal Nafūsa.¹¹³ The Maḥāmīd were Arabs, probably even descendants from the Arabs of the invasion,¹¹⁴ *i.e.* not from the Banū Hiāl or the Banū Sulaym. Ghūma b. Khalīfa al-Maḥmūdī often wrongly is

¹¹⁰ The events of 1835-1858: Féraud 1927, 373-412; De Leone 1960, 256-258, 265-279, 288-292; Martel 1965, vol. 1, 102-106, 118-120; Rossi 1968, 297-310.

¹¹¹ Despois 1935, 137-155. With regard to the distribution of Ibāḍīs and Mālikīs in the villages of the Jabal Nafūsa, see: Motylinski 1898; Motylinski 1885, 3-5, note. For the distribution of Berbers and Arabs in Tripolitania, see: *La rinascita della Tripolitania*, 32 and the maps opposite pp. 32 and 40. Often it was considered *chic* to be "Arab"; see for example Dabbūz 1965, 166-167. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf Itfayyish in Mīzāb opposed the use of Berber as a religious language (Goichon 1931, 9, 22).

¹¹² Umar ʿAlī b. Ismāʿīl: *Inhiyār Ḥukm al-Usra al-Qaramānliyya*, 170.

¹¹³ Rossi 1968, 266-267; Slousch 1908, 434-435.

¹¹⁴ Martel 1965, 42. See also note 108.

presented as leader of the sedentary Berbers.¹¹⁵ His tribe certainly was master of the Jabal Nafūsa in the years 1835-1858, but this did not mean that the Ibādī Berbers fully supported him. First they were tributary to Ghūma, later on to the Ottomans. It is likely that the Ibādī Berbers considered the Ottomans to be intruders; with the Arabs they lived together since long, although sometimes uncomfortably, and it is not unlikely that Ghūma upheld law and order and provided for protection against nomads from the south. Nevertheless, it seems obvious that Ghūma showed favour to the Mālikī Arabs of the Jabal and from that perspective it is possible that the Ibādīs adopted a wait-and-see attitude towards the Ottomans, and anyway did not put up fierce resistance against them. There are reports suggesting resistance of the Ibādīs to Ottoman tax collectors during the turbulent years of Ghūma's rebellions¹¹⁶ and in such circumstances they no doubt have joined Ghūma al-Maḥmūdī's rebellious supporters. On the other hand, the rebellions in the Jabal Nafūsa always were quelled in a bloody way by the Ottomans, which was accompanied by large-scale looting. The sedentary Berbers were more affected by such events than the nomadic and semi-nomadic Arabs. When Ghūma in 1855, after his escape from Turkey, turned up again in the Jabal Nafūsa, he gathered little support: the stricken population -even the Arabicized Zintān and Rujabān, weary of years of struggle that had impoverished the Jabal much, turned against him, so that he had to flee hastily to Tunisia.¹¹⁷

In the last quarter of the 19th century it was in general quiet in the Jabal Nafūsa. Those days, the Ibādīs there had the same organization as their brethren in Mīzāb, the *ʿAzzāba*.¹¹⁸ This college supposedly had hardly any political influence: many villages had a mixed population of Ibādīs and Mālikīs and the administration and jurisdiction were in the hands of officials appointed by the Ottomans. Those days the Governors pursued a policy of rapprochement to the population and let local leaders take part in the administration.

The administrative organization in the Jabal Nafūsa those days was as follows: the Jabal al-Gharb, comprising Jabal Gharyān and Jabal Nafūsa, was one of the five *Sancaks* of the Ottoman province Ṭarāblus-i Gharb. Each *Sancak* was led by a *Mutaṣarrif*. The *Mutaṣarrif* of the Jabal Nafūsa held office in Yefren. The *Sanjak* was divided in *Kazas* (*Qaḍāʿ*) with a *Kaymakam* (*Qāʿimmaqām*) at its head, and the *Kazas* in turn were divided in *Nahiyes* (*Nāḥiya*), headed by a *Mūdūr* (*Mudīr*).¹¹⁹ The Ibādī Ibrāhīm al-Shammākhī draws us a picture of the administrative organization as it was in the Jabal Nafūsa in 1885.¹²⁰ In Yefren resided a *Paṣa* (*Bāsha*) (in all probability the *Mutaṣarrif*), a *Qāḍī* and a *Muhasebeci* (*Muḥāsabajī*) from Istanbul; the *Kātib*, the treasurer (*Ṣundūq-i Amīn*) and the members of the *Jamāʿa*, a group of notables who assisted the Ottoman officials in the administration, were from Yefren. In Fassāṭū a *Mudīr* from Tripoli was in command, assisted by a *Kātib* from Yefren; there was a *Qāḍī* from Tripoli and the *Muḥtās* and the *Jamāʿa* were from Fassāṭū itself.

¹¹⁵ Beguinot 1924.

¹¹⁶ Féraud 1927, 382-383 (it is not certain that Ibādīs were involved), 398-399 (Nālūt and Kābāw indeed were populated mainly by Ibādīs (Motylinski 1898, 105, 107; Motylinski 1885, 5, note)). Rossi 1968, 305-306 (more than half of the population of Yefren indeed was Ibādī (Motylinski 1898, 72-79; Motylinski 1885, 3, note)). In Kikla in those days presumably not many Ibādīs were living (Despois 1935, 145, 146, map opposite p. 144). Beguinot 1942, 208-209.

¹¹⁷ Féraud 1927, 408. Also in 1841 part of the population had turned against him (De Leone 1960, 267).

¹¹⁸ Motylinski 1898, 73 (5 houses of the *ʿAzzāba* in Umm al-Ghursān), 89 (ʿAbdallāh al-Bārūnī head of the *ʿAzzāba* of the Jabal Nafūsa); Sulaymān al-Bārūnī: *Dīwān*, 83 note 1 (*al-ʿAzzābī* Saʿīd Effendi al-Shammākhī); De Leone 1960, 368 (Saʿīd *al-ʿAzzābī*); Lewicki, art. Ḥalqa in *EL*², vol. 3, 96 (the Frenchman Duveyrier knew a certain *ʿAzzābī*, *Mudīr* of Jādū).

¹¹⁹ Martel 1965, 146; Rossi 1968, 322-323.

¹²⁰ Motylinski 1898, 108.

In Nālūt (Lālūt)¹²¹ there were a *Mudīr* and a *Qāḍī* from Tripoli, a *Kātib* from Yefren, and the *Jamāʿa* was of course from Nālūt itself.

The relations between the Ibāḍīs and the Ottomans must have been rather good those days, at least outwardly. However, the Ottomans were unable to prevent raids from the south completely, so it is likely that the Ibāḍī Berbers of the Jabal Nafūsa were of the opinion that they paid too much taxes in exchange for the protection they enjoyed by the presence of the Ottoman garrisons.¹²² The property of the sedentary Ibāḍīs were easier to control for taxes than that of the Jabal's semi-nomads. The Ibāḍī Berbers had equal voting rights to the Mālikī Arabs in the *Jamāʿas* and also Ibāḍī *Muḥtās* were appointed. Moreover the Ottomans obtained the friendship of the Ibāḍī mountain population by exempting them now and then from paying taxes.¹²³ ʿAbdallāh b. Yaḥyā al-Bārūnī, who was leader of the ʿAzzāba in the Jabal Nafūsa in 1885, apparently was on good terms with the Ottoman officials, who through him often granted exemption from taxes.¹²⁴ Those days, it must have been the independence-loving bedouin tribes that made Italian consuls and agents report that the Tripolitarians were ready to support any foreign power that would chase the Ottomans away.¹²⁵ That the Tripolitanian Berbers and Arabs looked at the Ottomans as foreigners is obvious: the differences between them are great. But the English Consul-General in 1897 had a more perspicacious insight in the situation: in the event of an invasion of Tripolitania by a European country, according to him, the hatred for the Ottoman occupiers would vanish and the bond of Islam would appear to be stronger than this hatred.¹²⁶ The Italians were going to experience this later on (1911 and after).

¹²¹ Beguinot 1924, 783: Nālūt is the Arabic and Lālūt is the Berber pronunciation of the same town in the western Jabal Nafūsa.

¹²² Slousch 1907, 370.

¹²³ ʿAbdallāh al-Bārūnī: *Dīwān*, 75, 86-87; Slousch 1907, 370. For the tax rulings as they were in 1885, see Motylinski 1898, 108-109.

¹²⁴ ʿAbdallāh al-Bārūnī: *Dīwān*, 72-99.

¹²⁵ De Leone 1960, 322, 327 note 49; Rossi 1968, 324.

¹²⁶ Martel 1965, 732 note 2.

VI. SULAYMĀN'S ARREST

At his return from Algeria to Tripolitania Sulaymān al-Bārūnī was arrested on suspicion of subversive intentions. This was spring 1899, not long after Hāshim was appointed governor. A committee of investigation was set up and after two and a half months the Court of Appeal declared him innocent and he was released on bail. After more than a year and a half - apparently the Public Prosecutor had taken the case to a higher court- the Supreme Court reversed the Court of Appeal's verdict and its members who had voted for his release were even removed from office. The *Kaymakam* of Fassāṭū, Muḥammad al-Asīr al-Shāmī, had lured Sulaymān to his home, where one night in April 1901 he was arrested by a number of Ottoman soldiers. Those days Ḥāfīz was governor of Tripolitania. Escorted by a large group of soldiers -apparently disturbances were expected- Sulaymān was taken away and immediately sentenced to five years in prison. After having spent six months in a garrison's fort, he was transferred to police headquarters and again after six months he was placed under a sort of very strict house arrest, after some provincial dignitaries had acted as guarantors for him. This situation lasted about a year. Until Mūsā °Ārif Qarāda from Yefren, member of a delegation that was sent to Istanbul in 1902 by the governor, succeeded in obtaining amnesty for Sulaymān. Probably around April 1902 Sulaymān was set free.¹²⁷ However, also after his release, the authorities continued to distrust him, which is clear from the following facts. Sulaymān remained under strict police surveillance and his mail was always opened.¹²⁸ His father and his brother were refrained from the office of *Muftī*, because they were Sulaymān's relatives.¹²⁹ When he suggested to commemorate the opening of the school in Bakhābkha, which took place in May 1904 (see p. 7) every year with a celebration, some people feared that this would be interpreted as a provocation; therefore these celebrations were organized on the annual commemoration day of Sultan-Caliph °Abd al-Ḥamīd II's accession to the throne. According to the governor, the Jabal Nafūsa was under military rule because of Sulaymān al-Bārūnī's presence.¹³⁰ Gradually Sulaymān felt more and more threatened, and in March 1906, with some difficulty, he succeeded in obtaining an exit permit to travel to Egypt.¹³¹

On what grounds was Sulaymān arrested and accused of subversive intentions?

The only source we have been able to consult regarding this question, are Sulaymān's own words. According to him, the authorities had discovered documents in his luggage that could be interpreted ambiguously,¹³² such as a copy of a letter to the inhabitants of the Jabal Nafūsa, in which he incited them to engage in military training and in which he wrote about

¹²⁷ Hāshim was governor from 15 March 1899 until 13 May 1900 (De Leone 1960, 338). Ḥāfīz was governor from August 1900 until January 1903 (*o.c.*, 347). On the arrest of Sulaymān al-Bārūnī, see: Za'īma al-Bārūnī: *Ṣafahāt*, 1964, 58-60; Sulaymān al-Bārūnī 1908, 17-31 (*Ṣafahāt*, 85-89). A photocopy of the amnesty document in *Ṣafahāt*, 104a; it is dated 14 August 1318, according to the official Ottoman financial (*Maliye*) calendar. The beginning of 1318 of the official Ottoman financial calendar is equivalent to 4 December 1319 A.H., which is equivalent to 14 March 1902 A.D. On the delegation to Istanbul of 1902, see: Sulaymān al-Bārūnī 1908, 28-29 (*Ṣafahāt*, 87), 30 notes 1 and 2; *Ṣafahāt*, 60; De Leone 1960, 347, 389 note 16. On the basis of: the aforementioned date; Sul. al-Bārūnī 1908, 30 note 2; De Leone 1960, 338; and *Ṣafahāt*, 58 line 17, the following dates can be established: - the last two weeks of March 1899; Sulaymān arrested; - beginning of April 1901: sentenced to 5 years imprisonment; - beginning of October 1901: transferred to police headquarters; - 14 March 1901: released on bail, but under strict surveillance; - 14 March 1902: amnesty granted, document signed end March. De Leone's remark (p. 347) that the delegation had to wait more than 6 months before seeing any official, does not fit in this scheme.

¹²⁸ Za'īma al-Bārūnī: *Ṣafahāt*, 61-62.

¹²⁹ *O.c.*, 61. Perhaps this was before Sulaymān's amnesty.

¹³⁰ Sulaymān al-Bārūnī 1908, 8 note 2; Za'īma al-Bārūnī: *Ṣafahāt*, 61.

¹³¹ Za'īma al-Bārūnī: *Ṣafahāt*, 62; Sulaymān al-Bārūnī 1908, 121, second note 1, 73 (*Ṣafahāt*, 92).

¹³² Sulaymān al-Bārūnī 1908, 17 (*Ṣafahāt*, 85).

the wrong-doings of the foreign intruders in Algeria, Tunisia and Egypt.¹³³ Theologians with whom he had a personal feud -*the Muftī and his clique*, as he calls them himself, subsequently had arranged that these documents were interpreted in such a way that he was suspected of aiming at the establishment of an independent little state.¹³⁴

However much these theologians in their machinations were driven by personal feelings of hatred, their imputations were not completely without reason.

Sulaymān al-Bārūnī was an Ibādī and he returned to Tripolitania after three years of study with the greatest Ibādī scholar of his time, *Quṭb al-A'imma* Muḥammad b. Yūsuf Iṭfayyish, in the Ibādī region of Mīzāb. At his return Ibādī books were found in his possession.¹³⁵ Also later on Sulaymān was to show great interest in his sect and he was to continue to make every effort to improve its prestige with the Sunnīs.¹³⁶ In 1907-1908 for example, when he lived in Cairo where he had established a printing press, he published several Ibādī works, among which one on the imamate of the Banū Rustam in Tāher (8th-9th c.) and a *Dīwān* of an Ibādī Ḥaḍramī imam from the second half of the 11th century. With regard to his accusation in 1899 it is interesting to point at what Sulaymān said about his book on the Banū Rustam, *al-Azhār al-Riyāḍiyya fī A'imma wa-Mulūk al-Ibāḍiyya* (only vol. 2 has been published): ... *wa'l-[Juz'] al-awwal fī Zawāyā 'l-Kitmān*.¹³⁷ *Kitmān* for the Ibādīs is the same as *Taqiyya* for the Shī'īs, namely concealing one's real faith when under duress of a supreme enemy. His publication of the *Dīwān* of the Ḥaḍramī imam, entitled *Dīwān al-Sayf al-Naqqād*, by Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm b. Qays al-Ḥaḍramī, according to rumours was cause for the Ottoman authorities to hold to him the prospect of imprisonment at his return to Tripolitania.¹³⁸

Sulaymān was very well aware of the fact that in the course of the entire Ottoman period (1835-1911) nothing substantial had been done for the development of Tripolitania and less so for the Jabal Nafūsa.¹³⁹ During his stay in Tunisia, Egypt and Algeria he had experienced what was necessary to develop a country. After his departure to Egypt in 1906 he composed a farewell poem for his fatherland Tripolitania, in which he recited all the issues that should be undertaken to develop this region:¹⁴⁰ railways and roads were to be constructed, electricity and telephone were highly necessary; irrigation works should be built, mines exploited, archaeological treasures uncovered, schools should be built, printing presses established, newspapers published and industry should be developed.¹⁴¹ Besides indolence of the inhabitants, he held the Ottoman authorities responsible for the bad situation in Tripolitania.¹⁴²

¹³³ Za'īma al-Bārūnī: *Ṣafahāt*, 58. Cf. Sulaymān al-Bārūnī 1908, 20 note 2 and 110 note 3.

¹³⁴ Za'īma al-Bārūnī: *Ṣafahāt*, 58. Which *Muftī* it was is not mentioned. Most probably "*the Muftī and his clique*" were Sunnī Muslims, who often beared immense hatred against the Ibādīs, whom they did not consider to be Muslims. See for example the *Fatwā* of *Muftī* Muḥammad Kāmil b. Muṣṭafā b. Maḥmūd al-Ḥanafī from Tripoli in Insabato 1920, 105-106. This *Fatwā* is on p. 3 of Muḥammad Kāmil b. Muṣṭafā b. Maḥmūd al-Ṭarāblusī: *al-Fatāwā al-Kāmila fī 'l-Ḥawādīth al-Ṭarāblusiyya*. On p. 461 of this book there is a *Taqrīz* of Muḥammad Effendi Nā'ib and a *Taqrīz* dated 1313/1895 of a certain Sālim b. Mabruk al-Sa'ūdī al-Warshafānī al-Ṭarāblusī al-Mālikī al-Azharī. On the *Muftī*, see al-Ṭāhir Aḥmad al-Zāwī: *A'lām Lībiyā*, Cairo 1381/1961, 325-326. Cf. Martel 1965, 539, last two lines.

¹³⁵ Za'īma al-Bārūnī: *Ṣafahāt*, 62.

¹³⁶ For example Za'īma al-Bārūnī: *Ṣafahāt*, 155-156. At that time Sulaymān was representative of the Jabal Nafūsa in the Young Turkish parliament; he requested Sultan Fayṣal b. Turkī of Oman in writing to be allowed to donate Ibādī books to the library of the parliament.

¹³⁷ Sulaymān al-Bārūnī 1908, 1st suppl. 13 note 2.

¹³⁸ Za'īma al-Bārūnī: *Ṣafahāt*, 63.

¹³⁹ For example De Leone 1960, 347.

¹⁴⁰ In the first issue of the newspaper he established in Cairo, *al-Asad al-Islāmī*, printed in Za'īma al-Bārūnī: *Ṣafahāt*, 31-32 and 92-93, and in his *Dīwān*, 73-75.

¹⁴¹ Sulaymān al-Bārūnī 1908, *Dīwān*, 73-75. (Notes 141-143 are illegible in the carbon copy).

¹⁴² *O.c.*, 74-75 note 3. (Notes 141-143 are illegible in the carbon copy).

So Sulaymān al-Bārūnī was an Ibādī with a great interest in his sect, and he wished to see the bad situation Tripolitania was in improved. However, the strongest indication towards endeavours to achieve independence was the commotion his arrest in 1899 created in the Jabal Nafūsa and the festivities that lasted for days after his release two and a half months later. By his own account it was the commotion after his arrest that caused his release!¹⁴³

As for the imputations as such -the aspiration to establish an independent state, assuming that in 1899 he was indeed planning to establish an Ibādī imamate or an Ibādī Berber state, as several European authors claim in so many words,¹⁴⁴ then this would not have had any chance of success. But Sulaymān was a commonsensical man, who saw relationships in the Muslim world as they really were. In the Jabal Nafūsa the Ibādīs made up half of the population at the utmost. Large parts of the Jabal were inhabited by Mālikīs. The slopes of the Jabal Nafūsa were under control of nomadic and semi-nomadic Mālikī Arabs. It is inconceivable that Sulaymān was not aware of this. Not inconceivable is that Sulaymān had plans to make Tripolitania independent, but this would mean that Ibādīs (Berbers) and Mālikīs (Arabs) had to cooperate with each other. The commotion caused by Sulaymān's arrest could have been arisen because general discontent about the Ottoman authorities in the Jabal Nafūsa made Ibādīs as well as Mālikīs side with Sulaymān, who by his arrest alone already had become a resistance hero: after his release around April-May 1899 delegations of the Zintān and the Banū Rayyān, both Mālikī tribes that inhabited the slopes of the Jabal Nafūsa,¹⁴⁵ came to invite him for a visit.¹⁴⁶ At the time of Sulaymān's arrest the western part of the Jabal Nafūsa was very agitated because of constant French provocations at the not yet fixed border with Tunisia. The Ottoman governor, who was constantly vexed by lack of resources and by unwillingness of the population to form a regular cavalry under his command, had no answer to these provocations. During 1897 bedouin tribes had raided the slopes of the Jabal Nafūsa and especially in the months for sowing and harvesting the inhabitants of Nālūt suffered by the insecure situation in the border areas. In 1898 °Uthmān Rifʿat had been appointed *Mutaṣarrif* of the Jabal Nafūsa, a man who was very much concerned about the border incidents and who spoke French but no Arabic. In short, the authorities were nervous, the population was discontented and there was a big gap between the authorities and the population.¹⁴⁷ It seems very likely for the Ottoman authorities immediately to imprison everyone suspected of organizing a revolt. The unquiet situation in Tripolitania dragged on¹⁴⁸ and this raises the question whether this unrest perhaps had influenced Sulaymān's second

¹⁴³ (Notes 141-143 are illegible in the carbon copy).

¹⁴⁴ Veccia Vaglieri, art. al-Bārūnī, in *ET*², vol. 1; De Leone 1960, 387, 388 note 14. Probably they project back Sulaymān's subsequent attempts to establish an independent state against the Italians. With regard to these subsequent endeavours to achieve independence, see besides Veccia Vaglieri's article: De Leone 1960, 394 note 27; al-Ṭāhir Aḥmad al-Zāwī 1950, 268 note 1, who cites the Arabic translation by Ibrāhīm al-Rifāʿī (*Naḥwa 'l-Fazzān*) of Graziani: *Verso il Fezzan*, Tripoli 1929.

¹⁴⁵ Motylinski 1898, 81, 82. Cf. Graziani 1939, 19: 15 March 1919 Graziani arrested a certain Aissa (ʿĪsā) al-Baruni, leader of the Riaina (Banū Rayyān) warriors.

¹⁴⁶ Sulaymān al-Bārūnī 1908, 1st supplement, 6. He didn't want to accept the invitation not to provoke the Ottoman authorities.

¹⁴⁷ Governor Nāmiq (1896-1898) had been appointed to put up revenues from Tripolitania. He was not very familiar with the border problems (Martel 1965, 697-698) and therefore easily yielded to French provocations (*o.c.*, 732, 733-736; De Leone 1960, 334). In the months for harvesting the inhabitants of Nālūt suffered much by the insecure situation in the border areas (Martel 1965, 727-728). In spite of the raids in 1897 (*o.c.*, 738), the governor did not succeed in setting up a regular cavalry made up from the local population (*o.c.*, 732). °Uthmān Rifʿat had been the driving force behind the unsuccessful conference of November 1892-March 1893 on the border question in Zuwāra (*o.c.*, 731 note 1, 539-540).

¹⁴⁸ De Leone 1960, 335, 347. Governor Ḥāfiẓ Muḥammad's (Aug. 1900-Jan. 1903) intention to introduce a kind of general conscription provoked uprisings among the Qūlūghlīs (Koloğulları), descendants of Turkish fathers and Arab mothers, who had always made up the regular Turkish cavalry, and met with unwillingness among the rest of the population.

arrest. It seems however that the population of the Jabal Nafūsa, at least outwardly, was on good terms with the governor,¹⁴⁹ which leads to the conclusion that the second arrest was a result of a resumption of Sulaymān's lawsuit; the Public Prosecutor probably had given notice of appeal against his release.

We must come to the conclusion that it is not possible to determine with certainty whether the charges brought in against Sulaymān al-Bārūnī were right or not. Appearances were against him and the general situation in Tripolitania at the time contributed to reinforce these appearances. On the other hand it would be difficult to consider Sulaymān's many denials and his many odes to Caliph °Abd al-Ḥamīd to be merely lies and insincere flattering,¹⁵⁰ which is claimed just like that by some authors. While in Egypt, he even earned the nickname *Shā°ir al-Khilāfa*.¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁹ Under his rule the population responded better to orders from the Ottoman authorities (Sulaymān al-Bārūnī 1908, 20). Sulaymān praised him (*o.c.*, 20; Za°īma al-Bārūnī: *Ṣafaḥāt*, 29), and Ḥāfiẓ promised to help Sulaymān, when he was during a trip in the Jabal approached by many people, who had asked amnesty for Sulaymān (Sulaymān al-Bārūnī 1908, 23 (Za°īma al-Bārūnī: *Ṣafaḥāt*, 87)).

¹⁵⁰ For denials, see for example Za°īma al-Bārūnī: *Ṣafaḥāt*, 58-64; Sulaymān al-Bārūnī: *al-Azhār al-Riyāḍiyya*, 306. Panygerics: Sulaymān al-Bārūnī 1908, *passim*; Za°īma al-Bārūnī: *Ṣafaḥāt*, 64-82, and many poems taken from his *Dīwān*.

¹⁵¹ Muḥammad al-Ṣādiq °Affī 1969, 223.

VII. SULAYMĀN IN EGYPT

In March 1906 Sulaymān al-Bārūnī departed to Egypt, because, as he himself said, he began to fear for his life because of the intrigues of his enemies. He was determined not to return before he would be able to express himself in full freedom. In view of the Ottoman authorities' attitude later on, they possibly considered this journey to be an exile. At the time of his departure Sulaymān apparently had no idea of this.¹⁵²

In Egypt Sulaymān amply participated in cultural life. In his *Dīwān* numerous persons and societies occur with whom he was to a greater or lesser degree in contact.¹⁵³ He showed himself to be an admirer of Muṣṭafā Kāmil, the father of Egyptian nationalism, but who was also a supporter of Pan-Islamism.¹⁵⁴ In the summer of 1907 Sulaymān intended to travel to his country, but friends warned him in writing that the authorities were going to arrest him as a result of his publication of the aforementioned *Dīwān al-Sayf al-Naqqād* of Imam Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm b. Qays al-Ḥaḍramī, composed in the second half of the 11th century.¹⁵⁵ Then he took the decision to establish a printing press and a newspaper, that would enable him to explain his ideas as supporter of the Caliph, so that the intrigues against him would come to an end.¹⁵⁶ The printing press he called *Maṭbaʿat al-Azhār al-Bārūniyya* and the newspaper he gave as title *al-Asad al-Islāmī*. The first issue appeared 12 August 1907.¹⁵⁷ Immediately hereafter he went to the Maghrib all the same, not to his homeland but to Algeria, where he was everywhere welcomed with the greatest respect;¹⁵⁸ possibly this was a study trip in connection with the first book he was going to publish at his printing press, *al-Azhār al-Riyāḍiyya fī A'imma wa-Mulūk al-Ibāḍiyya*,¹⁵⁹ as well as to promote *al-Asad al-Islāmī*. Early 1908 he was back in Cairo. Already during his journey he had been informed that his newspaper was confiscated and banned in Tripolitania. Also all his correspondence to Tripolitania was opened and returned to him, even registred letters.¹⁶⁰ Of *al-Asad al-Islāmī* hereafter only two issues appeared, namely 14 and 23 April 1908.¹⁶¹ Although Sulaymān let almost no opportunity slip to praise Sultan-Caliph ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, whom he considered to be the only

¹⁵² Sulaymān al-Bārūnī 1908, 73 (Zaʿīma al-Bārūnī: *Ṣafahāt*, 92); *Ṣafahāt*, 62.

¹⁵³ See his *Dīwān*, 2nd supplement.

¹⁵⁴ Poems for Muṣṭafā Kāmil in Sul. al-Bārūnī 1908, 40, 69-70 (Zaʿīma al-Bārūnī: *Ṣafahāt*, 91). On Muṣṭafā Kāmil, see Safran 1961, 83-90, 90-91.

¹⁵⁵ Sul. al-Bārūnī 1908, 1st supplement, 10; Zaʿīma al-Bārūnī: *Ṣafahāt*, 63.

¹⁵⁶ Announcement: Zaʿīma al-Bārūnī: *Ṣafahāt*, 49. Address: beginning of Shāriʿ al-Ḥabbāniyya nr. 36, close to Shāriʿ Muḥammad ʿAlī (afterwards Shāriʿ al-Qalʿa) (*Ṣafahāt*, 48).

¹⁵⁷ Muḥammad al-Ṣādiq ʿAfīfī 1969, 162 note 1. Lengthy extracts from the three issues that appeared are given in Zaʿīma al-Bārūnī: *Ṣafahāt*.

¹⁵⁸ Sul. al-Bārūnī 1908, 1st supplement, 10; Zaʿīma al-Bārūnī: *Ṣafahāt*, 19. Poems he composed during this journey from about August 1907 to beginning 1908, in Sul. al-Bārūnī 1908, for example: 92-104, 111-114, 1st suppl., 10-14.

¹⁵⁹ Zaʿīma al-Bārūnī: *Ṣafahāt*, 49; *al-Azhār al-Riyāḍiyya*, 56. The *Dīwān al-Sayf al-Naqqād* must have been printed at another printing establishment than his own, as the latter was established after he was warned that at an eventual return to Tripolitania he would be arrested because of the publication of *Dīwān al-Sayf al-Naqqād* (*Ṣafahāt*, 63). The first little work Sulaymān published was a booklet by his father: *Sullam al-ʿĀmma wa'l-Mubtadiʿīn*, Cairo 23 Jan. 1907, printed at Maṭb. al-Najāh. Apart from the two books just mentioned, Sulaymān also published his *Dīwān*, (Cairo, June 1908, the two supplements were published later). Also printed is: *Khāṭirāt al-Bārūnī*, Istanbul 1331/1913, in Arabic and Turkish, edited by Muḥammad Ṣifā (in Zaʿīma al-Bārūnī: *Ṣafahāt*, 461-482). Furthermore there is his *Shakwā wa-Bayān Ḥāl ilā Mawlānā Amīr al-Mu'minīn ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, naṣarahu 'llāh* (*Ṣafahāt*, 58-83), completed on 5 Aug. 1907 and in 1908 sent to the Caliph and to several other persons (*Ṣafahāt*, 57). Muḥammad al-Ṣādiq ʿAfīfī 1969 mentions Sulaymān's poems and his *Mudhakkirāt Khāṣṣa*, which supposedly were in the press. In his later life Sulaymān wrote numerous articles in several journals, especially since 1925 in the orthodox-reformist journal *al-Minhāj*, published in Cairo by the Algerian Ibāḍī Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm Iṭfayyish.

¹⁶⁰ Sul. al-Bārūnī 1908, 89, 1st suppl. 2 note 1, 13 note 1; (*Ṣafahāt*, 82-83).

¹⁶¹ Zaʿīma al-Bārūnī: *Ṣafahāt*, 35, 7, 53.

person who could put up a certain power against Europe that had intruded the Muslim world,¹⁶² apparently the Ottoman authorities did not like his ideas concerning the Caliphate and the Muslim society.

What were then Sulaymān al-Bārūnī's ideas? In an article in the first issue of *al-Asad al-Islāmī*, entitled *Pan-Islam, Europe and the Madhāhib in Islam*,¹⁶³ he developed the following line of thought. As a result of the increasing European influence in the Muslim world, that in many countries had already resulted in occupation, people in the Muslim world realized more than ever their internal differences. They had no response to the European intrusion into their countries and their material inferiority stood out in sharp contrast to modern Europe. As a result a certain feeling of solidarity had come into being among the Muslims. They were looking for a common leader and their eyes had focused on the Caliph. Europe, that was well aware of the wrong it was doing to the Muslim countries, feared severe punishment when the Muslims would join forces, and soon saw in this feeling of solidarity a Pan-Islamist movement. The Europeans were trying to counter intensification of this movement by granting the Muslims much freedom and by respecting their feelings, in such a way that some Muslims had even begun praising the Europeans. However, organizing a movement that would really comprise all Muslims ran up against insurmountable problems; apart from the variety of people and tribes in the Islamic countries and apart from the different interests of every Muslim country, there were two important causes standing in the way of forming a Pan-Islamist movement: 1. the local political leaders in the Islamic countries were too much bent on power and personal standing to join forces and allow others to participate in ruling their countries; 2. disunity in the religious field was apparent from the *Madhāhib* and the many sects and mystical brotherhoods, who all claimed to preach the one and only truth. According to Sulaymān one should look at religion as a state. Privileges to minority groups harmed the central government. The *Madhāhib* and the sects in Islam were as it were religious privileges; points of agreement between the *Madhāhib*, the sects and the different theological movements were nothing more than religious treaties. In such a situation Pan-Islamism was completely impossible, *min Rābi'at al-Mustaḥlāt!* The most important cause of disunity in the Muslim world was due to the existence of the different religious convictions in Islam: there were the Ash'arīs with their four *Madhāhib*, the Mu'tazilīs, the Ibādīs, the Shī'īs, the Zaydīs, etc. etc. This disunity was even defended by a Tradition: *sataftariqu Ummatī ...*,¹⁶⁴ and the person who was striving for unity among the Muslims was labeled as a denier of the Traditions, a line of thought Sulaymān didn't agree with at all. In spite of the disunity in the Muslim world and the insuperable difficulties that blocked the way to put an end to this lack of unity, Sulaymān nevertheless observed a new way of thinking among the members of the Muslim community, that had led to the germination of a Pan-Islamic movement.¹⁶⁵

A few months after the publication of this article, Sulaymān drew up a list of questions, which he sent to theologians of the different *Madhāhib* and sects requesting them

¹⁶² Sul. al-Bārūnī 1908, 22 note 7.

¹⁶³ Za'īma al-Bārūnī: *Ṣafahāt*, 22-28.

¹⁶⁴ Sulaymān quotes the Tradition on the 72 or 73 sects, of which only one will enter Paradise (Wensinck 1965, 134: *wa-inna hādhihi 'l-Umma sataftariqu 'alā thalāthi wa-sab'īn*), a Tradition that speaks in favour of Sulaymān's ideas and that is quoted often by the Ibādīs. The Tradition quoted by Sulaymān is very well known, as is also clear from Za'īma al-Bārūnī: *Ṣafahāt*, beginning p. 27, *Ikhtilāf al-Umma Raḥma*, but it is not recorded in one of the six canonical collections of Traditions (Goldziher 1884, 98).

¹⁶⁵ Already in his annotations on pp. 46-52 of his father's booklet *al-Sullam al-Āmma ...* Sulaymān had depicted the disunity among the Muslims (Jan. 1907) and indicated the differences of the *Madhāhib* and sects as its cause. He attributed the division into *Madhāhib* to *Taqīd Muṭlaq* and he declared himself to be a follower of Egypt's former *Muḥī* Muḥammad 'Abduh, who time and again had agitated against this. The Muslims should consider the founding fathers of their *Madhāhib* to be normal theologians (meaning: 'Ulamā' *Mujtahidūn*), and not follow them blindly.

to return to him their answers after having studied his article on Pan-Islamism well. The list of questions was as follows:¹⁶⁶

1. Do you agree with me that one of the most important causes of the division among the Muslims are the numerous *Madhāhib* and their differences of opinion?
2. Supposing that you don't agree, what is according to you the final cause leading to this division in sects?
3. Supposing that you do agree, is it possible to unite the *Madhāhib* by bringing together their differing statements, and is it possible to eliminate the numerous movements, now that we need unity more than ever these days?
4. Supposing that unity is not possible, what is according to you the most important cause preventing this and is there a way to eliminate this cause?
5. Supposing that unity is possible, which way leads most easily to the desired result; which is the most favourable country to propagate this matter; in how many years are results to be expected; how much money is approximately necessary to reach results; how should we organize this matter?
6. What is your judgement of the person who makes an effort for this, politically as well as in the field of the *Sharʿa*, is he striving for salutary reforms (*Muṣliḥ*) or are his efforts harmful (*Mufsid*)?
7. What is the decisive proof that creating pictures that have no shadow, such as drawings on paper of kings and armies for good purposes, nevertheless is forbidden?

(*al-Asad al-Islāmī* shall be sent free of charge as long as the respondent is prepared to discuss above mentioned questions in the light of his *Madhhab*'s tenets. Signed in Ramaḍān 1325/Oct. 1907).¹⁶⁷

Apparently Sulaymān wanted to sound out the chances for the establishment of a pan-islamic movement that was to engage in propaganda among the Muslims. He suspected that the Tradition "differences of opinion in my community is a grace of God" could be an obstacle and therefore he enquired about the opinions of the different theologians on the pursuit of abolition of the *Madhāhib* and sects; he himself had written in his article: "(These differences) have already lasted for centuries. What good does it serve now if they continue?" From the last of his questions mentioned above can be understood that Sulaymān was thinking of a propaganda campaign using pictures; perhaps he thought this would catch on better with the common people.

Judging from his article and from his questions, Sulaymān clearly comes up as a pan-islamist. He wasn't striving to incite the Muslims in every country against the European occupiers; he didn't comment on the role of European sciences within Islam, but he focused exclusively on the theological divisions within Islam. If the Muslim peoples would think as one people, the rulers in the different Islamic countries would be forced automatically to unite.

¹⁶⁶ Zaʿīma al-Bārūnī: *Ṣafahāt*, 19-21. Also: Abū 'l-Yaqzān Ibrāhīm 1956, vol. 2, 145-147; Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh al-Sālimī 1961, 103-104.

¹⁶⁷ Abū 'l-Yaqzān Ibrāhīm 1956, 147 note, remarks that it is not known whether any answer to these questions came in, nor whether they had any influence. Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh al-Sālimī, 1961, 104-105, gives the answers of his father, *Nūr al-Dīn* al-Sālimī. It is not known if they were actually sent. In short *Nūr al-Dīn*'s answers were as follows: "Yes, the division in the Muslim community is to attribute to the difference of opinions in the different *Madhāhib*. Other causes are envy, hatred, desire for power. Reunification of the Muslims is possible theoretically, but not practicably. Striving for this aim is *Muṣliḥ*. The fastest way to reach this aim is propagating abolition of the denominations of the *Madhāhib*; sectarian fanaticism would then disappear gradually. The most appropriate places for propaganda are the holy cities of Mekka and Medina. We (the Ibādīs) don't follow any *Madhhab* but Islam; we call ourselves Ibādīs for ease of distinction from the movements within Islam that came into being later. Create pictures of objects with a *Rūḥ*, whether they have shadows or not, is *Ḥarām* on the basis of a Tradition." Signed: ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥumayyid al-Sālimī, circa 40 years old, at al-Qābil in the East of Oman, 1326/1908-9.

CONCLUSION

Sulaymān al-Bārūnī wasn't the first or the only Ibādī who displayed pan-islamic or publishing activities in Cairo. *Al-Maṭba'a al-Bārūniyya*, for example, had been much more important for the Ibādīs than Sulaymān's *Maṭba'at al-Azhār al-Bārūniyya*. The former was established in May-June 1880 in Cairo by Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. ʿĪsā al-Bārūnī al-Jarījnī al-Nafūsī, Qāsim b. Saʿīd b. ʿĪsā al-Bārūnī and Sulaymān b. Masʿūd al-Majdalī al-Wifātī al-Nafūsī.¹⁶⁸ Most probably this was the first Ibādī printing press and many important and sometimes also voluminous Ibādī works were printed on it.

Muḥammad b. Yūsuf Iṭfayyish, who was Sulaymān al-Bārūnī's teacher from 1895-1898, wrote with regard to the European occupiers and the attitude of the Muslims in his *Taysīr al-Tafsīr* (II, 791), explaining the *Sūra*: "Obey Allāh and His Apostle and do not dispute with one another, lest you should lose courage and your resolve weaken" (Koran VIII, 46):¹⁶⁹

... if they would return to the tenets of our *Madhhab* or close their eyes for the problems on which there is difference of opinions and would unite, than they would overcome the infidels (*Ahl al-Shirk*). These apply at present all kinds of tricks in order to dominate others. As for the *Ahl al-Tawḥīd*, some help the infidels, others stand by doing nothing, again others serve God Almighty and don't engage in calling to resistance, a fourth group dedicate oneself to writing and this is done best the way sheikh ʿAbduh, sheikh Ismāʿīl b. Muṣṭafā and sheikh Qāsim b. Saʿīd do it. Therefore I said: Apply yourselves to writing, since we don't have fighters.

Also the two persons last mentioned in *Quṭb al-A'imma's* quotation above engaged in Pan-Islamism. Qāsim b. Saʿīd al-Shammākhī was a son of Saʿīd b. Qāsim al-Shammākhī, who originated from the Jabal Nafūsa and was a representative for Tunisia in Cairo.¹⁷⁰ Qāsim b. Saʿīd lived in Cairo, where he died in 1915.¹⁷¹ He composed several writings,¹⁷² in which he

¹⁶⁸ Date and names were given to me by sheikh Sālim b. Yaʿqūb, owner of a rich Ibādī library in Ghīzen on Jerba. See further: Gouvion 1926, 318; Motylinski 1905, 522 note 1; Ennami 1970, 77. With regard to Sulaymān al-Majdalī, see Bārūnī, Sul. 1908, 49, where Sul. al-Bārūnī is invited to a circumcision festivity by a certain Sul. al-Majdalī al-Nafūsī, trader in Constantine (1887). On al-Maṭba'a al-Bārūniyya at least 16 works were printed. The last work printed on this printing press known to me was dated 1893-3; the press produced lithographies.

¹⁶⁹ Written information from sheikh Abū 'l-Yaqzān Ibrāhīm b. ʿĪsā from al-Qarāra in Mīzāb, who studied with *al-Quṭb*. I have been unable to control the information. *Taysīr al-Tafsīr*, 6 vols., Algiers 1326/1908-9. (lith.). Iṭfayyish composed another Koran exegesis: *Hīmīyān al-Zād ilā Dār al-Ma'ād*, 14 vols., Zanzibar 1305-1314/1887-1897.

¹⁷⁰ On him: Bārūnī, ʿAbd. b. Yaḥyā n.d., 33, 34, 36, 67; Bārūnī, Sul. 1908, 83 note 1; first suppl. 18; Muʿammar, vol. 2 part 2, 221.

¹⁷¹ *Al-Munjid*, Beirut 1960, 2nd part, 292.

¹⁷² - *K. Sard al-Ḥujja ʿalā Ahl al-Ghafla*, Alexandria, finished in 1309/1891-2. On the tenets of al-Ibādīyya. - *Al-Ḥukma fī Sharḥ Ra's al-Ḥikma li-ʿUthmān Kamāl al-Dīn, Muʿāwiz*, Alexandria 1312/1894-5 (Sarkīs 1968, 1142). - *Risālat al-Qawl al-Matīn fī 'l-Radd ʿalā 'l-Mukhālifīn*, Cairo, finished 26 Dhū 'l-Ḥijja 1323/21 Febr. 1906. A refutation of several articles, in which he defends the Ibādīs and praises Muḥammad ʿAbduh and *al-Manār*. The followers of the *Madhāhib* consider the words of their *Madhhab's* founder to be more important than the Koran, the Tradition, the *Ra'y al-Muslimīn* and the *Ijmāʿ al-Ṣāliḥīn*. They have forgotten the tenet of *al-Walāya wa'l-Barā'a*. The author talks much about the Ibādīs throughout the booklet; cites many Traditions. The name al-Ibādīyya is nothing more than a name (cf. *Nūr al-Dīn* in note 169). - *Nibrās al-Mashāriqa wa'l-Maghāribā*, a newspaper published in Cairo since 17 Jum. I 1322/30 July 1904. The publisher was Muṣṭafā b. Ismāʿīl, but the driving force was Qāsim b. Saʿīd. Nr. 8 was dated 5 Nov. 1904 and nr. 9 31 Dec. 1904 (Hartmann 1905, 356-357; Bioud 1969, nrs. 815 and 2911). After the ninth issue the paper was banned in Tripolitania (*Nibrās*, year 2, (1324/1906), 32. In the first year, in any case 10 issues were published (see Qāsim al-Shammākhī: *R. al-Qawl al-Matīn*, 89). The second year was published in one volume of 104 pp. (1324/1906). The writer announces -one would almost say: not without some pride- that this is Cairo's (Egypt's) one and only annual newspaper. In this issue he criticizes Caliph ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd's indolence in no uncertain terms. Qāsim wishes to activate the Caliphate. Full of praise for Muḥ. Rashīd Ridā, from whose *al-Manār* (vol. 9) the opening words are copied. Complaints for lack of financial support, also from the Ibādīs. - *Risālat al-Zuhūr al-Maḥtūm fī*

presents information on the Ibādīs to people who know nothing about this sect and in which he defends his sect against attacks and incorrect remarks of outsiders. This all is directly related to his call for unity to all Muslims through abolition of the different *Madhāhib* and other religious movements in Islam. Return to the one and only true Islam, as it happens, means return to the teachings of the Ibādīs. And so much of his information on the sect of the Ibādīs contains Traditions, in which it is demonstrated that al-Ibādiyya is not a new current in Islam, such as the *Madhāhib* and sects that arose later on. Although he calls for unity under the leadership of Caliph °Abd al-Ḥamīd, at the same time he reproaches him his indolent attitude in several political matters and he criticizes the inadequate policies of his officials. From his booklets one gets the impression that the reproaches made by some writer to Sulaymān al-Bārūnī, namely that his eulogies for the Caliph were not genuine, were applicable to Qāsim b. Sa°īd al-Shammākhī. Defending and extolling the Ibādīs are central in his writings.

This is also the central point for Muṣṭafā b. Ismā°īl al-Miṣrī, a close friend of Qāsim al-Shammākhī and married with one of his daughters.¹⁷³ He proposes a conference of a number of Muslim theologians of the four *Madhāhib* and from different countries. They should discuss with each other in order to remove the differences of opinion between them, basing themselves on an important Ibādī *Fiqh* work.¹⁷⁴ In his book *al-Hadiyya al-ūlā al-Islāmiyya li'l-Mulūk wa'l-Umarā' fi 'l-Dā' wa'l-Dawā'*¹⁷⁵ he turns against copying European culture and European customs. The Muslims have forgotten the important tenet of the obligation to practice *Walāya* and *Barā'a*, assistance to the faithful and animosity towards infidels. To make oneself familiar with the achievements of the modern sciences is not enough to defeat the Europeans; the Muslims must return to the true religion. They should show remorse for lapses made so far, follow again the examples of the *Salaf* and restore God's laws. The Caliph, who should be the connecting link between the different Muslim rulers, secludes himself too much from his subjects, practices *al-Amr bi'l-Ma°rūf* insufficiently and neglects Arabic, the language of his religion.

Qāsim b. Sa°īd al-Shammākhī and Muṣṭafā b. Ismā°īl al-Miṣrī were clearly advocates of the Ibādīs. They tried to stimulate the feeling of Muslim international solidarity, emanating from European political dominance and cultural influence in the Islamic countries, by propagating the removal of division among the Muslims. This should be accomplished by the return of all religious convictions in Islam to the one and only Truth: the Ibādī creed, being the pure Islam. This latter implication of the removal of division among the Muslims is not to be found in the writings of Sulaymān al-Bārūnī, although it may of course have been a factor at the back of his mind. He must have been in close contact with Qāsim al-Shammākhī and

'l-Radd °alā 'l-°Allāma Ṭamūm, Cairo, finished 22 Dhū 'l-Qa°da 1327/5 Dec. 1909. An introduction by Muṣṭ. b. Ism. (3-31). Then the importance of the obligation to practice the tenet of *al-Walāya wa'l-Barā'a* is emphasized. We, so the author says, build on the Koran, the *Sunna* and the *Ra'y al-Muslimīn*. An attack on Ṭamūm's words on the Ibādīs. Muḥ. °Abduh had asked for information on the Ibādīs from him and from Muṣṭ. b. Ism. Many Traditions are cited. The Ibādīs are extolled. - K. *Marāshid al-Taqiyya*. Not yet printed end 1909. Mentioned in *R. al-Zuhūr*, 65, and in *R. al-Qawl al-Matīn*, 75.

¹⁷³ Information from the Ibādī teacher Ṣādiq b. Marzūq, a Jerban working in Tunis (July 1971). Muṣṭ. b. Ism. was born in Egypt and confessed later on to Ibādism. His full name was Muṣṭ. b. Ism. al-°Umarī al-Fāriḍī, al-Ḥamawī *Aṣlan*, al-Miṣrī *Muwalladan*. His father was al-Sayyid Ismā°īl Ṣabrī Bāshā al-Ṭūbjī (Topçu) al-Fāriḍī (Qāsim al-Shammākhī: *R. al-Zuhūr*, 3, 32-33). Possibly this Ism. Ṣabrī is the same person as the former *Wakīl al-Haqqāniyya* who sent a congratulation poem to Sul. al-Bārūnī after the publication of his *Dīwān* (2nd suppl., 1). Was this the poet, who had been a student of Muḥ. °Abduh (Adams 1968, 214), mentioned in Brockelmann, *GAL*, Suppl. III, 18-21?

¹⁷⁴ Qāsim al-Shammākhī: *R. al-Zuhūr*, 24-28.

¹⁷⁵ Cairo, finished on 20 Aug. 1903, printed at al-Maṭb. al-Bārūniyya in al-Jūdariyya in Cairo (*o.c.*, 197).

Muṣṭafā b. Ismāʿīl while he was in Cairo. The latter wrote an article in the first issue of his *al-Asad al-Islāmī*.¹⁷⁶

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We have followed Sulaymān's life until 1908. From that time on his pan-islamistic aspirations would almost completely submerge into political events. After the Young-Turkish revolution in Turkey Sulaymān was elected representative of the Jabal Nafūsa in the Ottoman parliament. In 1911, at the Italian invasion in Tripolitania, Sulaymān immediately took up arms and began to fight the intruders together with the Ottoman troops present in Tripolitania. Already in 1912 Turkey was compelled to conclude peace with Italy. Sulaymān al-Bārūnī declared an independent republic and continued to struggle, until he had to leave his country to Tunisia in 1913. From there he tried to enter into negotiations with the Italians, but failed because the Italians gained a decisive victory in the Jabal Nafūsa. Sulaymān travelled to Istanbul, where he became a member of the Senate and obtained the title of Paṣa (Bāshā). After the outbreak of World War I, at the instigation of the Germans and the Turks, he made an attempt to convince the Sanūsīs in Cyrenaica to undertake an attack at Egypt, but due to unforeseen complications he was taken prisoner. Back in Istanbul in 1916, he was appointed governor of Tripolitania and returned to his country aboard a German submarine, accompanied by Turkish military experts and provided with money and weapons, to lead the resistance against the Italians. In Tripolitania, after 1913 two factions had formed, one for and the other against continuation of the struggle against the Italians. This division in the Tripolitanian ranks was later on to result in bloody battles between Ibādī Berbers and Mālikī Arabs, which towards 1920 ended with driving the Ibādīs into the arms of Italy. After Turkey's defeat in the war, the Tripolitanian Republic was established under the protection of Italy, which actually meant a capitulation for the Tripolitanians. End 1921 Sulaymān al-Bārūnī disillusioned left Tripolitania. After numerous wanderings and an unsuccessful attempt to enter Tripolitania via Tunisia, from the Ḥijāz he went to Muscat at the invitation of Sultan Taymūr b. Fayṣal and after that he stayed a while in the interior of Oman with Imam Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh al-Khalīlī, who appointed him chairman of a yet to form Council of Ministers. However, Sulaymān couldn't handle the complicated Omani intertribal situation and he left for Iraq. In 1938 at the request of Sultan Taymūr he returned to Muscat as an advisor to the Sultan. Sulaymān suffered since a couple of years from a wasting disease, and on 1 May 1940 he died in Bombay.¹⁷⁷

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¹⁷⁶ Bārūnī, *Zaʿīma* 1964, 14-18.

¹⁷⁷ Literature related to Sulaymān's life after 1921: Abū 'l-Qāsim Saʿīd Yaḥyā al-Bārūnī: *Zaʿīm al-Mujāhidīn al-Ṭarāblusiyyīn Sul. Bāshā al-Bārūnī*, Cairo 1360/1941; *Id.*: *Ḥayāt Sul. Bāshā al-Bārūnī Zaʿīm al-Mujāhidīn al-Ṭarāblusiyyīn*, Cairo 1948; Abū 'l-Yaqzān Ibr.: *Sul. Bāshā al-Bārūnī fī Aṭwār Ḥayātihi*, 2 vols., Algiers 1376/1956; al-Ṭāhir Aḥm. al-Zāwī: *Jihād al-Abṭāl fī Ṭarāblus al-Gharb*, Cairo 1950, 20 (81-82), 94, 108, 112, 113, 115, 116-7, 117, 118, 120, 121, 123, 124, 126, 127-8, 129, 193, 204, 205-6, 207, 211, 223, 224, 227, 234, 235, 236, 238, 239, 246, 250 (photo), 268, 287, 288, 300, 320, 354; Zaʿīma bint Sul. al-Bārūnī: *Ṣafaḥāt Khālida min al-Jihād li'l-Mujāhid al-Lībī Sul. al-Bārūnī*, vol. 1, Cairo 1964; vol. 2, Beirut 1968 (?); Francesco Corò, Suleimān el-Barūn, il sogno di un principato berbero e la battaglia di Assaaba 1913, estratto da *Gli Annali dell'Africa italiana*, anno I, vol. III e IV, dic. 1938; E. Evans-Pritchard: *The Sanusi of Cyrenaica*, Oxford 1954, 125-130; C. Giglio: *The historical archives at the former Ministry for Italian Africa and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, from the beginning until 1922*, vol. 1, Leiden 1971; E. de Leone: *La colonizzazione dell'Africa del Nord*, vol. 2, Padova 1960; *Oriente Moderno*, I, 408; IV, 601; V, 309, 311, 6; XVIII, 563, 623; XIX, 67; XX, 326 (died in Muscat, sic); XXI, 230.

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