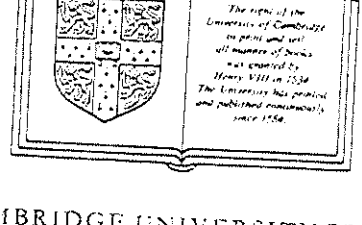
RELIGION, LEARNING AND SCIENCE IN THE ʿABBASID PERIOD

EDITED BY
M. J. L. YOUNG, J. D. LATHAM AND
R. B. SERJEANT



CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS
CAMBRIDGE
NEW YORK PORT CHESTER
MELBOURNE SYDNEY

CHAPTER 3

IBĀḌĪ THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE

ẓUHŪR: THE EXPANSION OF IBAḌISM

The same general conditions which allowed the ʿAbbasids to establish their power in the core of the Islamic world were also exploited by the Ibāḍīs (the chief sect of the Kharijites[1]) to establish states in parts of its periphery. During the last decade of Umayyad rule their movement in Basra had been transformed into a full-scale *daʿwah* under the guidance of Abū ʿUbaydah Muslim b. abī Karīmah, propagating its ideology among two major disaffected groups, the Berbers of North Africa and the Yamanī tribes in southern Arabia (notably the Azd). Basran political and social networks were also exploited, particularly those of the merchants of the old Sasanid *Arḍ al-Hind*, so that cells of Ibaḍism came into being in parts of Khurāsān, Kirmān, Sijistān and al-Baḥrayn. Lesser colonies also existed in other parts of Iraq and even in Egypt: but Syria seems to have been barren ground.

Political activation of the movement in the Maghrib appears to have been precipitated by the rival propaganda of the Ṣufrīs (another Kharijite sect) in about 126/743–4, but the first full realization (*ẓuhūr*) of an Ibāḍī state resulted from a joint ʿUmānī-Ḥaḍramī-Yamanī expedition which established ʿAbdullāh b. Yaḥyā al-Kindī (*Ṭālib al-Ḥaqq*) in Yemen and took the Holy Cities of Mecca and Medina in the *ḥajj* of 129/747. ʿAbdullāh was killed shortly afterwards. Following the suppression of this uprising, a rump imamate survived for a while in the Ḥaḍramawt and a weak (*ḍaʿīf*) imam, al-Julandā b. Masʿūd, was brought to power in ʿUmān: both areas however, were early on brought under ʿAbbasid control. In the Maghrib the fortunes of the numerous centres of Ibaḍism had a complicated history but, reputedly in 144/761–2, a new colony, remote from the main Arab centres, was founded at Tāhart, and in about 160/776–7 was sufficiently strong openly to proclaim ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Rustam (d. 168/784) as the imam. A decade or so later the Mashriqī Ibāḍīs began to exploit the internal political divisions of ʿUmān and finally overthrew Julandā rule in 177/793 to establish a century of strong (*shārī*) imamate rule. Some time in the fourth

[1] See *CHALUP*, 220–1, 413–4.

decade of the third/ninth century the old directing centre in Basra closed and its last "imam", Abū Sufyān Maḥbūb b. al-Raḥīl, returned to join his son in the new state: Abū ʿAbdullāh Muḥammad b. abī Sufyān in turn acted as a general adviser to the other Ibāḍī communities until his death in 260/873. In Ḥaḍramawt a small (*difāʿī*) imamate existed based on the Wādī Daʿwān.

The Ibāḍī community, however, was by no means unified. Following the death of Abū ʿUbaydah (shortly after the ʿAbbasids came to power), a doctrinal dispute began to emerge amongst his followers, notably between his successor al-Rabīʿ b. Ḥabīb al-Farāhīdī (d. 170/786) and a group which propounded views that threatened the integrity (*ijmāʿ*) of the community. Surviving written material shows that amongst the issues involved was the attitude that communal prayer was not indispensable, and that the views of previous generations over such issues as *fitnah* were not binding: associated with this was an attempt to classify degrees of sin. Other matters at stake reflected current debate elsewhere in the Islamic community, *tashbīh*, *qadar*, *shakk*, *ʿaql*, the "creation" of the Qurʾān, and so on. So internal divisions began to emerge and an Ibāḍī heresiography came into existence: politically the most important breakaway group were the Nukkarites, the deniers of the legitimacy of the second Rustamid imam, ʿAbd al-Wahhāb b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (168–208/784–823). In the Mashriq the community was doctrinally threatened by Hārūn b. al-Yamān, but Abū Sufyān managed to hold the "orthodox" line of what became known as Wahbiyyah Ibaḍism in ʿUmān and Ḥaḍramawt; however, the Yamanīs (who had never re-established an imamate) broke away.

LITERATURE OF THE PERIOD

The nature of such Ibāḍī literature as exists from this period of *ẓuhūr* may only be understood in the light of the fact that the tradition remained oral. Strengthening the community was what mattered, and this came through attracting members to a leading *ʿālim*'s *majlis*; notions concerning the resulting states of association (*wilāyah*), or dissociation (*barāʾah*) with other Muslims in due course came to cover "soundness" of legal opinions (*fatāwā*), and eventually elaborated to determine the conditions for breaking away and deposing an imam. Originally, all missionaries (*ḥamalat al-ʿilm*) were trained in Basra, but as the imamates became established the leading ulema developed their own centres locally. In this way the true learning was expanded spatially from node to node and temporarily by a line of teachers who had inherited a communally developed *ijmāʿ* (not *taqlīd*). Mutual debate was always preferred when resolving problems

confronting the community, so that written exchanges were exceptional.

Ibāḍī theological literature therefore really only came into existence when personal communication was difficult. At one level we thus have what is little more than fragmentary correspondence, inter- and intra-community opinions and advice offered individually or collectively to imams and other ulema. Such "letters" are generally termed *sīrah*s, and a considerable quantity have survived in various recensions: perhaps the earliest is the only written work we know by Abū ʿUbaydah, a treatise on *ẓakāh* written to a Maghribī. Written communication with the Maghribī community, encouraged perhaps by the bibliophile tendencies of the increasingly urbane Tāhart imams, in fact resulted in the only large-scale recording of material from the early Ibāḍī period, for the Mashriq remained for some time the main advisory centre and there was no reliable contact outside the *ḥajj*: most of these works remained more or less unknown in ʿUmān for a long time. Perhaps the most important is a complex of *fatāwā* from the earliest teachers: the *Kitāb Jābir* (Abū Shaʿthā' Jābir b. Zayd, the supposed teaching founder of the movement who died in 93/711–12), the *Kitāb Ḍumām b. Sā'ib* (the main teacher of Abū ʿUbaydah Muslim b. abī Karīmah and the leading figure of "proto-Ibaḍism") and the *Athār* of al-Rabīʿ b. Ḥabīb al-Farāhīdī. Much of this collection, in reality, seems to have been set down by Abū Ṣufrah ʿAbd al-Malik b. Ṣufrah (the *Kitāb Abī Ṣufrah*), probably in the first third of the third/ninth century; one of his main sources was al-Haytham b. ʿAdī (d. *c.* 206/821–2). Another important source was the last Basran "imam", Abū Sufyān, who himself really began to rationalize Ibāḍī history in a biography of the early Ibāḍīs written specifically for the Maghribīs: unfortunately this *Kitāb Abī Sufyān* only appears to survive in the recensions of al-Darjīnī, al-Barrādī and al-Shammākhī (seventh to ninth/thirteenth to fifteenth centuries). The third major early work is the *Mudawwanah*,[2] reputedly written for the imam ʿAbd al-Wahhāb b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān by Abū Ghānim Bashīr b. Ghānim al-Khurāsānī, but almost certainly, like the *Kitāb Abī Sufyān*, for his son the imam Aflaḥ: it contains the legal opinions (*fatāwā*) of seven of Abū ʿUbaydah's pupils (including the "heretical" ʿAbdullāh b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz and Abū 'l-Muʿarrij). The existing form of all these early works has evidently resulted from subsequent editing, but without question forms a major corpus of genuine early material, mostly set down in the first third of the third century of the *Hijrah*. It shows us much about the early forms of Ibaḍism: amongst the important features to note is that *fatāwā* display virtually no critical apparatus justifying each opinion.

[2] Beirut, 1974.

Amongst the other more important intercommunity works to come down to us are *sīrah*s by Abū ʿAbdullāh b. abī Sufyān advising the Ḥaḍramīs and Yamanīs (virtually all his *fatāwā* have also been recorded) and a *sīrah* written by Abū ʾl-Ḥawārī Muḥammad b. al-Ḥawārī (late third/ninth century) to the Ḥaḍramī community. This contains some important information concerning early ʿUmānī history in the context of an exposé concerning the proper conduct of an expedition. This is an important theme in Ibāḍī *fiqh*, for it emerges from the attitude adopted towards other Muslims. The essential idea here is that they are *ahl al-qiblah* and that therefore their property and persons are inviolate; the only blood-letting permitted is in fighting an official war. Basically the blame for their condition is seen as coming from the political leadership which had fallen into the hands of the *ahl al-aḥdāth*, that is, innovating, unconstitutional rulers (*jabābirah*), and deviants (*min al-qiblah kuffār*), but not polytheists (*mushrikūn*).

THE FOURTH/TENTH TO SIXTH/TWELFTH CENTURIES

The collapse of the imamates in both Tāhart and ʿUmān in civil wars at the end of the third/ninth century profoundly revolutionized the Ibāḍī movement and brought to the fore the problem of how to deal with occupying powers and the application of *taqiyyah* (religious dissimulation): the main ʿUmānī treatise was the *Kitāb al-Muḥāribah* of Bashīr b. abī ʿAbdullāh Muḥammad b. abī Sufyān Maḥbūb al-Raḥīlī (late third/ninth century). In north Africa the imamate was never to revive and eventually Ibaḍism only survived in the Mzāb, Jarbah Island and the Jabal Nafūsah. Following defeat by the Faṭimids at the battle of Baghay in 358/868–9, the surviving communities passed into a state of secrecy (*kitmān*) and the imamate was replaced with the organization of the *ʿazzābah* councils whose arrangements began to be formalized in a *sīrat al-ḥalqah* by Abū ʾl-ʿAbbās Aḥmad (d. 504/1111), who based himself on the rulings of his father (Abū ʿAbdullāh Muḥammad b. Bakr al-Nafūsī, d. 440/1048–9). Abū ʾl-ʿAbbās also wrote an important treatise on land, the *Kitāb Uṣūl al-arāḍī* ("Land Principles/Rights")[3], clearly designed for the new colonies founded by the refugee Ibāḍīs.

Associated with such fundamental political changes came a rationalization of the "states" of the religion (*masālik al-dīn*) and an evolution of the ideas concerning the stages of defensiveness (*difāʿ*) and expansionism (*shirā*). In ʿUmān, where the imamate was to re-emerge in the fifth/eleventh

[3] Incorporated in *Kitāb al-Nīl* by ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Ibrāhīm al-Thamīnī, Bārūn, AH 1305.

century, these categories were used to classify imams and their powers and past history was rationalized accordingly: in fact a *shārī* imam basically meant a permanent, plenipotentiary imam, whereas a *difāʿī* imam was one who was appointed provisionally, for a certain purpose (usually to conduct a war). Otherwise their powers were common. No conditions (*shurūṭ*) could be imposed on them, other than those emanating from the law of God by which they governed (*lā ḥukm illā li-llāh*). Since it was the duty of every Muslim to obey this law, the imam had no need of a standing army. However, he had no particular status in interpreting the law and was bound by the *ijmāʿ* of the community. Generally speaking, an imam could only be deposed for a major sin (*makfirah*), and then only after consultation and an opportunity to make atonement (*tawbah*). A further type of imam whose position was theoretically defined in this period was the *ḍaʿīf* imam, an appointment made for political expediency; in this case the condition (*sharṭ*) of compulsory consultation was imposed for an initial period. The idea of the *kitmān* imam however, was an *ex post facto* normalization developed in the Maghrib, and the nearest that can be traced in ʿUmān is the idea of the *imām muḥtasib* (probably a much later development).

The fifth/eleventh and sixth/twelfth centuries also saw a major emergence of Ibaḍism as a *madhhab*. In the second half of the third/ninth century, one can trace some attempt to record and structure the judgements of the early ulema, reportedly in the legal work of the Maghribī ʿAmrūs b. al-Fatḥ (d. 283/896), and certainly in the major compendium of Abū Jābir Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar al-Izkawī, the *Jāmiʿ Ibn Jaʿfar*. Works of *tafsīr* also began to appear towards the end of that century with that of the Maghribī, Hūd b. Maḥkam al-Hawwārī, preceding that of the ʿUmānī, Abū ʾl-Ḥawārī Muḥammad b. al-Ḥawārī (who also wrote a *Jāmiʿ*) by about two decades. The subsequent rapid development of the *fiqh* apparatus can be judged by examining Abū Saʿīd al-Kudamī's (late fourth/tenth century) critique (*al-Muʿtabar*) of the *Jāmiʿ Ibn Jaʿfar*, written probably about a century and a quarter later, and the final great exposé of *fiqh* principles of his quasi-contemporary and rival, Abū Muḥammad ʿAbdullāh b. Muḥammad b. Barakah al-Bahlawī (first half of fifth/eleventh century). Although the doors of *ijtihād* have never been closed, Ibn Barakah's *Jāmiʿ* was to become the standard work of reference for the great encyclopaedists of the next three-quarters of a century, notably Salamah b. Muslim al-ʿAwtabī's *al-Ḍiyyāʾ*, and the three works by members of a Kindah clan of Nizwā, the *Bayān al-Sharʿ* of Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm (d. 508/1115), the *Kifāyah* (which seems largely to have disappeared) of Muḥammad b. Mūsā and the *Muṣannaf* of the prolific author, Aḥmad b. ʿAbdullāh (d. probably 557/1162). Another influential work from this time was the *Mukhtaṣar al-khiṣāl*

of Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm b. Qays al-Hamdānī (first half of fifth/eleventh century), the last and only *shārī* imam in the Ḥaḍramawt (his surviving *Dīwān* records, *inter alia*, his campaigns in Yemen). The *Dīwān* of Ibn al-Naẓar al-Samʾūlī (sixth/twelfth century) was also considered an exemplary work and inspired commentaries through the centuries, rather in the same way as did Abū Naṣr Fatḥ b. Nūḥ al-Malashāwī's *Qaṣīdah nūniyyah* in the Maghrib.

Unfortunately, Ibaḍism in ʿUmān became increasingly split by a doctrinal dispute over the issues that had led to civil war and which still underlay current political alliances. The extremism of the so-called Rustāq party, which rejected in numerous treatises the moderate Nizwā party's notions about suspended judgement (*wuqūf*: cf. in particular Abū Saʿīd al-Kudamī's *Kitāb al-Istiqāmah*) finally alienated northern ʿUmān and the Ḥaḍramawt and led to the total collapse of the imamate at the end of the sixth/twelfth century in the core of the country: it was not to revive until the ninth/fifteenth century. For the movement to survive, therefore, it became essential that it acquire an impeccable "orthodoxy" which could challenge that of Sunnī groups and foster its belief that it formed the only true Islamic community. So we find an increasing tendency to calque the *madhhab* on the norms of Sunnism, but derive its teaching from only its own doctors. This meant normalizing the history of the movement and in the case of the Rustāq party, developing a true missionary teacher line (*ḥamalat al-ʿilm*) down to its final great exponents in the mid-fifth/eleventh century, Ibn Barakah al-Bahlawī and his pupil Abū ʾl-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Bisyānī (or Bisyāwī). In the Maghrib it went even further and a *Ḥadīth* collection, reputedly originating from al-Rabīʿ b. Ḥabīb al-Farāhīdī, was realized in a *Tartīb* by Abū Yaʿqūb Yūsuf b. Ibrāhīm al-Warjalānī (d. 570/1174). Trained in part at Cordova, Abū Yaʿqub was an expert in *Ḥadīth* scholarship (cf. also his *Kitāb al-ʿAdl waʾl-inṣāf*) and Quranic exegesis (his *Tafsīr* only survives fragmentarily): however, it is in his *Dalīl waʾl-burhān* that he presents his ideas on the general development of Ibaḍism. In ʿUmān his equivalent was Abū ʿAbdullāh Muḥammad b. Saʿīd al-Qalhātī, writing probably about half a century later. His *al-Kashf waʾl-bayān* similarly provides an exposé of the complete Ibāḍī theology through rebuttal of other doctrines and, in emulation of the *milal waʾl-niḥal* literature, finishes by expounding it as the only true *firqah*: some of this is also expressed in his *Maqāmah* celebrating the reconversion of Kilwa in East Africa to Ibaḍism.

Thus Ibaḍism went into political decline in an explosion of scholarship that transformed its *fiqh* into a school comparable to the four schools of Sunnī Islam and put its theology into the strait-jacket of Islamic orthodoxy. This calquing process largely removed its originality and put in its place a

corpus of material that eventually led to claims by leaders of the *nahḍah* that Ibaḍism was the first of the orthodox schools, and that their theology derived from the very fount of Sunnī Quranic learning. Some minor variations over interpretation of the law, some small differences over ritual and a few vestiges of theological debate reflecting early issues which for long had ceased to stir Muslim thought, were all that came to distinguish the Ibāḍīs from the Sunnīs, except for one vital matter: the theory and practice of political community. To have removed that would have been to extinguish Ibaḍism itself. So the Ibāḍīs entered their political twilight at the end of ʿAbbasid times with their theology refurbished but their political ideology intact.

Niewohner, F. "Bibliographie d'ouvrages en langues européennes concernant le kalam", *Bulletin de Philosophie Médiévale*, XVI–XVII, 1974–5.
Pareja, F. M. "Historia de la espiritualidad musulmana" in Juan Flors (ed.), *Historia de la Espiritualidad*, Barcelona, n.d.
al-Shahrastānī *Asch-Schahrastâni's Religionsparteien und Philosophen-Schulen*, trans. T. Haarbrücker, Halle, 1850–1.
Srieglecker, H. *Die Glaubenslehren des Islam*, Munich, 1959.
Sweetman, W. J. *Islam and Christian Theology*, London, 1967.
Wensinck, A. J. *The Muslim Creed: its Genesis and Historical Development*, Cambridge, 1932.
Les Preuves de l'existence de Dieu dans la théologie musulmane, Amsterdam, 1936.
al-Ẓawāhirī, M. al-Ḥusaynī *al-Tuḥfa al-tāmm fī ʿilm al-kalām*, Cairo, 1959.
Zbinden, E. *Die Djinn des Islam*, Bern, 1955.

2 SHĪʿĪ THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE

al-Ashʿarī, Abū ʾl-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Ismāʿīl *Kitāb Maqālāt al-Islāmiyyīn*, ed. H. Ritter, Wiesbaden, 1963.
al-Ashʿarī, Saʿd b. ʿAbdullāh al-Qummī *Kitāb al-Maqālāt wa-ʾl-firaq*, ed. Muḥammad Jawād Mashkūr, Tehran, 1963.
al-Faḍl b. Shādhān al-Naysābūrī *al-Īḍāḥ*, ed. Jalāl al-Dīn al-Ḥusaynī al-Urmawī, Tehran, 1972.
al-Ḥillī, al-ʿAllāmah al-Ḥasan b. Yūsuf b. al-Muṭahhar *al-Bāb al-ḥādī ʿashar*, Tehran, AH 1370; trans. W. Miller, *A Treatise on the Principles of the Shīʿite Theology*, London, 1958.
Kashf al-murād fī sharḥ tajrīd al-iʿtiqād, being a commentary on Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī's *Tajrīd al-iʿtiqād*, Qumm, AH 1377.
Ibn Bābawayhi
Risālat al-Iʿtiqādāt in al-Ḥillī, *al-Bāb al-ḥādī ʿashar*, Tehran, AH 1370; trans. A. A. Fyzee, *A Shīʿite Creed*, Oxford, 1942.
Kamāl al-dīn wa-tamām al-niʿma, ed. ʿAlī Akbar al-Ghaffārī, Tehran, AH 1395.
Kitāb al-Tawḥīd, ed. Hāshim al-Ḥusaynī, Tehran, AH 1387.
al-Kashshī, Abū ʿAmr Muḥammad b. ʿUmar *Rijāl al-Kashshī*, in the recension of Muḥammad b. Ḥasan al-Ṭūsī, *Ikhtiyār maʿrifat al-rijāl*, ed. Ḥasan al-Muṣṭafā, Mashhad, AH 1348.
al-Kulaynī, Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad b. Yaʿqūb *al-Uṣūl min al-kāfī*, ed. ʿAlī Akbar al-Ghaffārī, Tehran, AH 1388.
al-Mufīd, Abū ʿAbdullāh Muḥammad b. Muḥammad
Awāʾil al-maqālāt fī ʾl-madhāhib al-mukhtārāt, ed. ʿAbbāsqulī S. Wajdī, Tabrīz, AH 1371.
al-Fuṣūl al-ʿasharah fī ʾl-ghaybah, Najaf, 1951.
Kitāb al-Irshād fī maʿrifat ḥujaj Allāh ʿalā ʾl-ʿibād, ed. Kāẓim al-Mūsawī al-Miyāmiwī, Tehran, AH 1377; trans. I. K. A. Howard, *The Book of Guidance into the Lives of the Twelve Imams*, London, 1981.
Kitāb Sharḥ ʿaqāʾid al-Ṣadūq, or *Taṣḥīḥ al-iʿtiqād*, ed. ʿAbbāsqulī S. Wajdī (printed in same volume as *Awāʾil al-maqālāt*), Tehran, AH 1371.
al-Murtaḍā, al-Sharīf Abū ʾl-Qāsim ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn
Jumal al-ʿilm wa-ʾl-ʿamal, Najaf, AH 1387.

Kitāb al-Shāfī fī ʾl-imāmah, Tehran, AH 1301.
al-Uṣūl al-iʿtiqādiyyah in *Nafāʾis al-makhṭūṭāt*, II, ed. Muḥammad Ḥasan Āl-Yāsīn, Baghdad, 1954.
al-Najāshī, Aḥmad b. ʿAlī *Kitāb al-Rijāl*, Tehran, n.d.
al-Nawbakhtī, Abū ʾl-Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. Mūsā *Firaq al-Shīʿah*, ed. H. Ritter, Istanbul, 1931.
al-Qummī, Abū ʾl-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Ibrāhīm *Tafsīr al-Qummī*, ed. Ṭayyib al-Mūsawī al-Jazāʾirī, Najaf, AH 1386.
al-Ṭūsī, Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan *Fihrist kutub al-Shīʿah*, ed. A. Sprenger and Mawlāwī ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq, Calcutta, 1855.
Kitāb al-Ghaybah, Tabrīz, AH 1322.
Talkhīṣ al-Shāfī, ed. al-Ḥasan al-Mūsawī al-Kharsān, Najaf, 1963.
al-Ṭūsī, Naṣīr al-Dīn *Sharḥ al-Muḥaṣṣal* in Fakhr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿUmar al-Rāzī, *Kitāb al-Muḥaṣṣal*, Cairo, AH 1322.
Tajrīd al-iʿtiqād in al-Ḥillī, *Kashf al-murād*, Qumm, AH 1377.

3 IBĀḌĪ THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE

Cook, M. *Early Muslim Dogma*, Cambridge, 1981.
Cuperly, P. "L'Ibadisme au XIIème siècle. La Aqida de Abu Sahl Yahya", *IBLA*, CXLIII, CXLIV, 1979.
"Muḥammad Atfayyaš et sa Risâla šâfiya fi ba'ḍ tawârîḫ ahl wâdi Mizâb," *IBLA*, CXXX, 1972.
Ennami, A. K. "A description of new Ibāḍī manuscripts from North Africa", *Journal of Semitic Studies*, XV, 1970.
Ess, J. van "Untersuchungen einiger ibāḍitischen Handschriften", *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, CXXVI, 1976.
Lewicki, T. "Les historiens, biographes et traditionnistes Ibāḍites – wahbites de l'Afrique du Nord du VIII^e au XVI^e siècle", *Folia Orientalia*, III, 1961.
"La répartition géographique des groupements Ibāḍites dans l'Afrique du Nord au moyen-Age", *Rocznik Orientalistyczny*, XXI, 1957.
Moreno, M. M. "Note de teologica Ibāḍita", *Annali dell'Istituto Orientale di Napoli*, NS III, 1949.
Motylinski, A. de C. "Bibliographie du Mzab", *Bulletin de Correspondence Africaine*, III, 1885.
Rubinacci, R. "La Purità Rituale secondo gli Ibāḍiti", *Annali dell'Istituto Orientale di Napoli*, NS VI, 1957.
Schacht, J. "Bibliothèques et manuscrits abadites", *Revue Africaine*, C, 1956.
Schwartz, W. *Die Anfänge der Ibāḍiten in Nordafrika* (Studien zum Minderheitenproblem im Islam, VIII.), Wiesbaden, 1985.
Ǧihād unter Muslimen (Studien zum Minderheitenproblem im Islam, VI, part 2), Wiesbaden, 1980.
Smith, G. R. and Wilkinson, J. C. "The Omani manuscript collection at Muscat", *Arabian Studies*, IV, 1978.
Wilkinson, J. C. "Bio-bibliographical background to the crisis period in the Ibāḍī Imāmate of Oman", *Arabian Studies*, III, 1976.
"Ibāḍī *Ḥadīth*: an essay on normalization", *Der Islam*, LXII, 1985.
The Imamate Tradition of Oman, Cambridge, 1987.