

The Ibadiyah in Muslim Sicily

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A part of the history of the medieval Maghrib that has by passed historical study is the period of Arab rule in Sicily. Arab rule lasted from 212/827 until the Norman conquest which began in 457/1064 and ended with the capitulation of Noto in 483/1090. Muslim communities, however, remained active for another century, and not until Frederick II Hohenstauffen defeated their attempts at autonomy and completed the transfer of its leaders to Lucera in southern Italy around 644/1246, did the last vestige of their communities disappear. (1)

Not long after the Aghlabid expedition to conquer Sicily, Muslim settlers migrated to the island from North Africa and the Muslim East. The majority of the settlers to the island, however, were Berbers from Ifriqiyah (the region of modern day Tunisia and Tripolitania). Throughout the period of Muslim rule, and even during the early years of Norman rule, the inhabitants of Ifriqiyah sought refuge on the island, fleeing periods of drought and political upheavals. Arab sources indicate that Berbers first came to Sicily as warriors in the invading army of Ibn al-Furāt in 212/827. They came with their families, clans and tribes. A large part of the Berber contingent was composed of members of the Hawwārah tribe, one of the largest and most influential Berber groups in North Africa. (2) They came to the island from the region known today as Tripolitania in Libya and southern Tunisia, and not only as warriors but as settlers, following the pattern of the Berber migrations and settlement in Spain. The Hawwārah were among the staunchest followers of the Ibadite doctrine, (3) and after making an accord with the Aghlabid regime, they had a prominent role in the conquest of Sicily. Ibn Khaldūn

states that after the Hawwārah in Ifriqiyah failed in their rebellion against Aghlabid rule in 196/811, they sought the help of the leader (*imām*) of the Ibadī Rustamid state, 'Abd al-Wahhāb ibn Rustam (171/788-208/824), based at Tahert. Ibn Rustam mediated an agreement between them whereby the Hawwārah became allies of the Aghlabids and assisted their army in conquering Sicily. (4) One of the leading commanders of the invasion of Sicily, Zawāwah ibn Ni'mah al-Khalaf (fl. 3rd/9th century), was a member of this tribe. (5)

After the initial invasion of 212/827, many Berbers came as settlers. (6) It seems that a steady stream of immigrants fled the famines, civil wars and religious strife that afflicted North Africa from the 4th/9th to the late 6th/12th century. The island attracted these immigrants because of its fertility, especially because its soil excelled in the production of the same crops (especially wheat, barley, olives, grapes, and figs) as those grown in North Africa. In addition, land was available for settlement, since the previous century saw an economic decline and depopulation of Sicily due to the series of plagues that had visited the island from 541 to 752. One study of these plagues speculates that they caused the major urban centers to fall into decay. (7) Another part of the attraction was that Sicily had a greater supply of water, making it less susceptible to periods of severe drought, while keeping its pasturage lush for livestock raising. (8) Historical reports mention the famines and upheavals that afflicted North Africa from 246/860 to 537/1142, (9) causing a sizeable number of the inhabitants of Ifriqiyah to flee to Sicily. (10) Arabic sources sometimes specifically mention the migration of Berbers to the island. (11) This was especially the case when a massive move-

ment took place during the great famine of 395/1004-1005, and later during the Banū Hilāl invasion of North Africa in 451/1059. (12) Even when Sicily was under Norman rule (537/1142), that is, when the island was under Norman rule, a severe famine in Ifriqiyah prompted many people to flee to the island. (13)

Under the Fatimids, the flow of colonists continued, and perhaps even increased, since the revolution that brought the new regime to power in North Africa caused Sunnis and Kharijites to seek refuge in Sicily. This was especially the case with members of the Aghlabid elite and other supporters of the old regime who left Ifriqiyah after the establishment of the Fatimids. (14)

Among the Berber tribes that settled on the island were members of the Ibadī sect. Their presence adds a new element to the study of Muslim Sicily, since the Ibadī community in North Africa, especially after the fall of the Rustamid state at Tahert, dispersed and established small semi-independent enclaves throughout North Africa and probably Sicily as well. (15) Ibadī sources state that their community prospered in Sicily, having organizational ties to North Africa, especially with the Ibadī spiritual center on the island of Jerba. (16) Although their presence on the island originated with the military expedition that conquered Sicily, it seems that Ibadī tribes settled there seeking the economic benefits that trade between North Africa and Europe and the Arab East afforded them. Besides commerce, Ibadī groups may have sought a region, as they did in North Africa, where they could live in autonomous communities freely practicing their religion. An Ibadī source states that the city of Qaṣr Yanni (Enna) was among the towns that were Ibadī strong-

holds, (17) but it seems that some of the Ibadī tribes of Tahert settled in the region of Noto, where records from the Angevin period mention a settlement called Tahartina. (18)

After the fall of the Rustamid imamate, dispersed Ibadī communities resorted to a state of secrecy (*kitmān*), whereby they could develop their own self-governing bodies independent or semi-independent of the central government's authority. (19) As in North Africa, the Ibadīyah in Sicily most likely sought independence from the provincial government at Palermo as well, and established semi-autonomous communities in various parts of the island. At the same time, however, members of this sect could hold official government positions. They may serve as military officials, qadis, teachers and in other positions as part of the official Islamic religious community, even though they secretly opposed the regime and its ruler. (20) The total silence in medieval Arabic, Greek or Latin sources, concerning events in the region of Enna and southern Sicily suggests that this region was outside the main political struggles that especially gripped Palermo and Agrigento. It is therefore possible that, as Ibadī sources suggest, this region was an Ibadī stronghold that enjoyed some autonomy and escaped political strife with the central government.

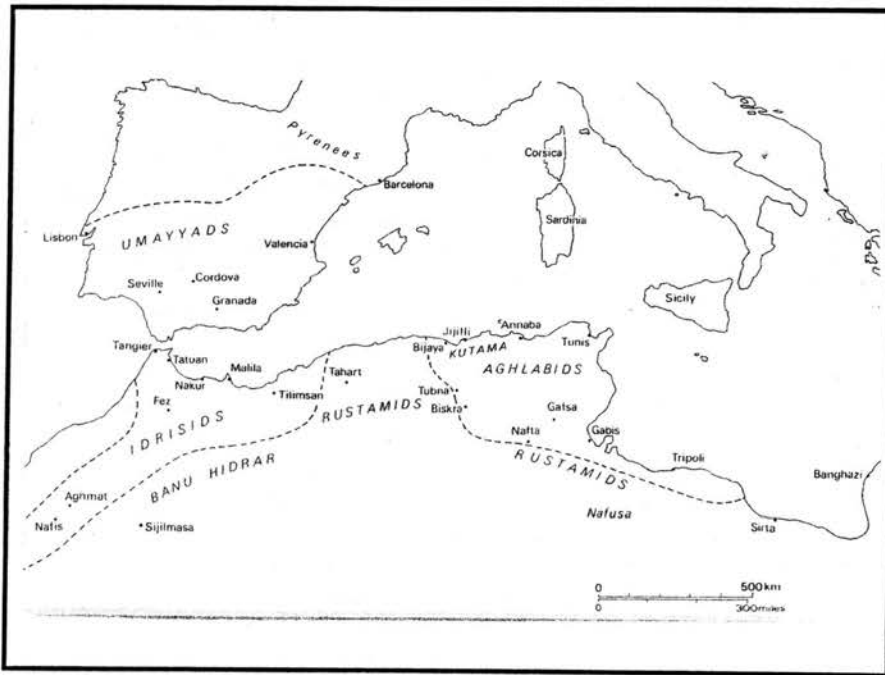
The Berbers inhabited the cities and towns on the coast as well as the interior, such as Enna. Although Berber settlement was greatest in the western part of the island, (21) they were found throughout the island, even in the capital city of Palermo, which was the Arab seat of power. The Arab traveler Ibn Ḥawqal (fl. 332/943-367/977), who visited the island in 362/972, mentions that the Berbers formed a large part of the capital's population. (22)

A study of the toponyms of towns and villages in medieval Sicily reveals a large number of Berber tribal names, among which are well-known followers of the Ibadī sect. The now extinct village of Cumia, for example, which was located near Messina (23) carried the name of the tribe Kumiyah, a branch of the Nafzāwah. (24) The medieval town of Karkud or Qarqud, (25) which may correspond to the present town of Sommatino, is most likely

which gave its name to two other communities, one in the Rif region of Morocco, and the other in the Zab region of Algeria. (35) A river in western Sicily, passing near the town of Selinunte, was called Modiuni until the seventeenth century. It is likely that the name originates with the Lawātah tribe of Madyūnah who was related to the Kumiyah, an Ibadī tribe found throughout all North Africa. (36) One of the most important Ibadite tribes in North Africa,

the Lamayah, who was also related to the Kumiyah and Madyūnah, and probably gave its name to the town of Rahl al-Mayah near Corleone and Lamia near Mineo. The tribe's center in Tripolitania was also called al-Mayah. (37)

All the tribes mentioned above are known to have professed Ibadism during the period under discussion. The names of prominent individuals appearing in 6th/12th century



named after the tribe Karkudah, a branch of the Hawwārah. (26) Near the modern town of Monreale was the village of Rahl Maghaghi, (27) a settlement surely named after the Lawātah sub-tribe of Maghāghah. (28) Until the eighteenth century there was a village near the present village of Acquaviva (near Mussomeli) called Micchinisi, (29) which seems to have derived its name from the Miknāsah tribe, a branch of the Zanātah inhabiting northern Morocco during the 4th/10th century. (30) The community of Manzil Zammur, (31) also located near Monreale, appears to have been named after its settlers, the Berber tribe Zammur. This group inhabited the region of Jabal Nafūsh (32) and was a branch of the Banū Nafūsh. (33)

On the other side of the island, some twelve miles west of Syracuse, is located the town of Mellili, probably named after the Hawwārah sub-tribe Malillah, (34)

documents also reveal the presence of Ibadī Berber tribes. The *nisbah* (adjectival name, which may be formed from a town, tribe or profession) of people such as al-Righī, al-Maklatī, al-Masallatī, and al-Misratī (38) are found along with the many Hawwāri, Zanātī, Lawātī, Nafzāwī, and Wardīnī. (39) The Righah was a tribe of central Algeria, (40) and the Maklatah, a Lawātah branch of the Nafzāwah, (41) inhabited southern Ifriqiyah. The Masallatah and the Misratah were important tribes belonging to the Hawwārah who inhabited much of Tripolitania. (42)

Among the *qā'ids* who divided up the island and established their own principalities after the loss of power of the central government at Palermo in 433/1045, the names of Ibadī tribes are present. The *qā'id* 'Abd Allāh ibn Mankūt controlled the western region including the coastal cities of Mazara, Trapani, Sciacca,

and Marsala, while Ibn Maklati held Catania and its environs. A glance at some of the names of these *qā'ids* clearly indicates that they, or their ancestors, were members of Ibadī tribes. Ibn Mankūt, also spelled Matkūt, Madkūd, Matkūd and Maskūd, due to the differences in Berber dialects (43), is the name of a tribe belonging to the Ibadī Hawwārah group of Berbers, (44) and is a name commonly used among the leaders of Ibadī communities in the Jabal Nafūsah region of Tripolitania. (45)

Ibn Maklati bore the name of a Berber tribe belonging to the Nafzāwah group, who was also related to the Hawwārah. (46) The Nafzāwah and its branches, like that of the Hawwārah, professed Ibadism, (47) and during the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries the Nafzāwah region of southern Tunisia, known as the Jarid, was an Ibadī stronghold. (48) The Maklatah was an ally of the Aghlabids and fought against Fatimid rule along with the Lawātah and the Hawwārah. (49)

The Berber tribes that settled on the island, however, were not limited to those professing Ibadism, but it appears that many, or most, were members of this sect. Other Berber tribes, such as the Kutāmah and Ṣanhājah came to the island as part of the Fatimid jund after that dynasty established their rule there. These two tribes also left place names in various parts of the island. (50) A hint of the possible impact of this Ibadī presence may be seen in tracing the activities of one of these little known Ibadī tribes, the Barqajanah. Ibn Ḥawqal reports that the inhabitants of Palermo were mostly composed of Barqajanah (Berbers) and *mawālī* (clients, i.e., indigenous converts to Islam) claiming a connection with those who conquered the island. (51) According to al-Ya'qūbi the Barqajanah was a Berber tribe who originally migrated west from the

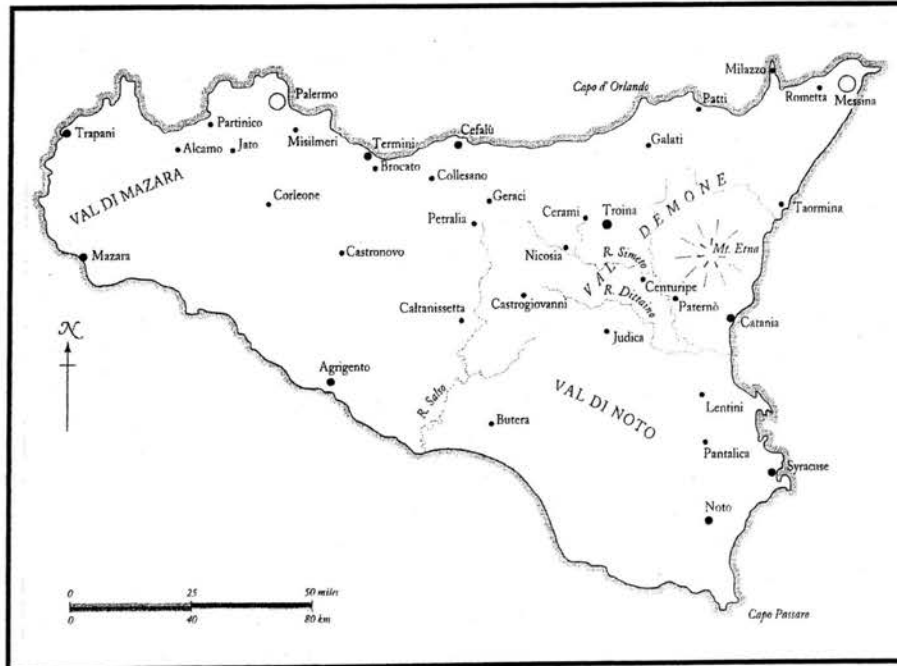
region of Barqah in Libya. During the Arab advance into North Africa they first moved to Qayrawan and then further west to Tahert and beyond. (52)

Members of the Barqajanah appear in many of the major commercial centers in North Africa, especially along the trade routes which were monopolized by Ibadī tribes. (53) In Awdaghust, they were found along with people from Ifriqiyah, Nafūsah, Lawātah, Zanātah, and

Ibadī Rustamid state, 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn Rustam (d. 171/788), arrived there to build a new city of Tahert adjacent to it and established it as his capital in 144/761. (64)

It is even possible that the Barqajanah may have had a prominent place in the commerce of the new city of Tahert. (65) There is the possibility that if they had a prominent position in the commerce of Tahert, they would have moved to other trading centers after the Fatimid conquest.

Arabic sources and modern scholars conclude that the Zanātah Berbers and their factions were ardent followers of the Ibadīyah. (66) The personal name Jana (or Shanah in some sources) is associated with the Zanātah because of the tribe's belief that Janah was the founder of their tribe, thus the prominence of the name among its members. (67) It is possible, then, that the tribal name



Nafzāwah, all well-known Ibadī tribes active in the trans-Saharan gold and slave trade. (54) One of the major trade routes from west Africa to Qayrawan passed through the cities of Fez, Tahert and Tobnah, (55) suggesting that they were part of this commercial network. It seems certain that they were found at Awdaghust, Tajannah and Palermo approximately at the same time, that is, around 360/970, (56) but they are reported at Fez, Tahert and Tobna at an earlier period. (57) At the beginning of the 3rd/9th century members of the tribe are mentioned as owning part of the land that would become the Idrisid city of Fez in Morocco. (58) They were also found at Ighzar, (59) the environs of Bani Jallidisan, (60) and possibly at Warglan. (61) In the 2nd/8th century they held the fortified town of Old Tahert (Ḥiṣn li-Barqajanah) (62) also known as Qal'at Hawwārah (63) when the founder of the

Barqajanah may have originated from the tribe being a branch of the Zanātah who inhabited the region of Barqa as al-Ya'qūbi states in his *Tarikh*. (68)

The presence of the Barqajanah in the cities and towns along the major North African trade routes strongly hints that they were a player in the Ibadī trans-Saharan trade network in North Africa, therefore suggesting that they had a similar role in Sicily. Ibn Ḥawqal, for example, tells us that Palermo was mostly populated by merchants, (69) and notes that the Barqajanah comprised a large portion of that population, making it probable that they participated in that city's commercial activity. It is difficult to determine when they arrived in Sicily, but it is very possible that they migrated to Sicily after the fall of Tahert. The Ibadī trade network in Sicily may have led to political conflicts with the Fatimid authorities in Palermo, as it did in

North Africa. (70) After the Fatimids put Sicily under their control, and not long after their first revolt against the new regime's authority was challenged in a revolt that lasted from 325/937 to 329/941, another major rebellion broke out in 335/947. It was at this time that the Fatimids were aggressively moving to exert their influence over the Italian commercial city-states of Campania, which had been almost a monopoly of Sicily before the Fatimids came to power. (71) It appears from historical sources that the Fatimid government tried to circumvent Sicilian commercial relations with the Italian mainland, causing conflict with the established Sicilian Muslim elite who had gained power and influence under the Aghlabids. (72)

The Barqajana and other members of the Ibadi sect were part of an influential trade network which encompassed North Africa from Tripolitania to Morocco, and from the Mediterranean coast across to sub-Saharan Africa. (73) They linked the island to this extensive economic network which may have had widespread impact upon the island's economy. Since the Ibadi trade network was a "confessional" and tribal trade network, (74) it is highly likely that they had a prominent place in the commerce of the island, especially if we consider that Ibadi tribes had an important place in the trans-Saharan gold and slave trade, and that Sicily was a major transit point for these commodities. (75) During the period of Muslim rule the island became, together with Ifriqiyah, a hub for goods going and coming from North Africa and Europe (via the Italian commercial states such as Amalfi, Gaeta, Naples and Salerno) and from Spain to the East. (76)

The influential position of the Ibadiyah in the commercial activities of the island may have drawn them into politi-

cal conflict as well. They may have been involved in a move to forcibly unseat the Fatimid governor of the island, Ibn 'Attāf al-Azdī (329/941-337/948). (77) It is reported that in 335/947, a group of armed men, supported and led by the influential families of the Banū al-Ṭabarī, the Banū Madūd or Mazūz, and the Banū Janah, overthrew the governor. (78) The Fatimid caliph al-Manṣūr (334/946-341/953) accused them of seizing a government owned ship and its cargo. (79) Although there is no specific mention in the sources concerning the ethnic makeup of the rebels, we may conclude that some of the rebels were Berbers and a strong likelihood that they were members of the Ibadi sect. The Banū al-Ṭabarī were of Iranian origin, since this is the *nisbah* (an adjectival appellation, which may be formed from a town, tribe or profession) for someone from Ṭabaristān in northern Iran. This group was most likely part of the Khurāsānī contingent of the jund who came to Sicily during the period of Aghlabid rule. As for the Banū Madūd, it may be a copyist's error for Mazūz. There is no reference in the Arabic sources to a clan or tribe named Madūd, but Mazūz does appear in Sicily in the person of the well-known Sicilian poet of the Kalbid period, Abū Ḥafṣ 'Amr ibn Mazūz ibn Jalīl al-Lawātī (fl. 4th/11th cent.). (80) The *Tarīḥ al-Madārik* of Iyād ibn Mūsā claims that his poetry showed that he was a proud proponent of the Lawātah tribe, which was also adhering to Ibadism. (81)

As for the Banū Janah, this name is synonymous with the Zanātah, Janah being associated in traditional Berber genealogy with the founder of the Zanātah Berbers, and a name commonly used by many members of that tribal group. (82) Thus, both groups, the Banū Mazūz and the Banū Janah, appear to have been Ibadi tribes belonging to the Lawātah and the

Zanātah, tribes who shared leading positions in the Rustamid capital of Tahert. (83) The lack of historical record leaves most of the history of the Muslims in Sicily shrouded in mystery, especially details concerning the fortunes of the Ibadiyah and their impact on the island. But is interesting to note that a remnant of the Ibadiyah may have remained in Sicily, perhaps in some autonomous form, until the 13th century. Ibn Sa'īd al-Maghribī (610/1214 - 685/1286) mentions in his work *'Unwān al-murqīṣāt wa al-muṭribāt* that the Sicilian poet Ibrāhīm ibn Maḥbūb (fl. 13th century) was secretary (*kātib*) to the "ṣāhib" of Sicily, Ibn Rustamī. (84) The Arab name Maḥbūb was commonly used by members of the Ibadiyah since Muḥammad ibn Maḥbūb was one of the early Ibadi theologians and traditionalists. (85)

The *nisba* al-Rustamī, on the other hand, which stems from the Persian name "Rustam", is in North Africa usually associated with the Ibadi dynasty and state at Tahert, (86) which lasted from 144/762 to the Fatimid conquest and expulsion of its leaders in 295/908. It was at that time that the Ibadi tribes dispersed, some going south to Warglan, and others to Jabal Nafūṣah (Tripolitania), and the islands of Jerba and Sicily. (87) Thus the name of a ruler of the Muslims in Sicily in the 13th century brings up new questions on the Ibadi presence on the island and begs for further research.

Another significant point is that until now scholars writing on Muslim Sicily have presumed that heterodoxy was not an important factor on the island. Scholars have overlooked the presence of Kharijites in Sicily, but it is imperative that we study anew the history of Islamic Sicily bearing in mind the potential ramifications of the Ibadiyah in the political, social and economic history of Sicily.

Notes:

- (1) See Julie Taylor, *Muslims in Medieval Italy: The Colony at Lucera*. (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2003).
- (2) Tadeusz Lewicki, "La répartition géographique des groupements ibadites dans l'Afrique du Nord au Moyen Age," *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* 21 (1957): 321; *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., s.v. "Hawwārah," by T. Lewicki.
- (3) 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Khaldūn, *Kitāb al-'ibar fi ayyām al-'arab wa al-'ajam*, 14 vols. (Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-Lubnānī, 1983-1986) 11: 246, 286-287; 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Khaldūn, *Histoire des Berbères et des dynasties musulmanes de l'Afrique Septentrionale*, trans. William M. de Slane. New ed. revised by Paul Casanova. 4 vols. (Paris: P. Geuthner, 1925-1926), I: 241, 276-277; Tadeusz Lewicki,

- "The Ibadites in Arabia and Africa," *Cahiers d'histoire mondiale* 13 (1971): 92-93.
- (4) Ibn Khaldūn, *Kitāb al-'ibar*, 11: 286 (*Histoire des Berbères*, 1: 277).
- (5) Ibid.
- (6) Abu Ja'far Ahmad ibn Nasr al-Dawudi, "Le régime foncier en Sicile au Moyen Age (IXe et Xe siècles), "Kitab al-Amwal" d'al-Dawudi," ed. and trans. H.H. Abdul Wahab and F. Dachraoui in *Études d'Orientalisme dédiées à la mémoire de Levi-Provençal*. 2 vols. (Paris: G.P.Maisonneuve, 1967), 2: 401- 444; Abū al-Qāsim ibn Aḥmad al-Ziyānī, "al-Turjumān al-mughrib 'an duwal al-mashriq wa al-maghrib," MSS. Rabat National Library, No. D 658, folios 14 vo and 16 ro.; see also Henri Bercher, A. Courteaux and J. Mouton, "Une Abbaye Latine dans la Société Musulmane: Monreale au XIIIe siècle," *Annales* 34 (1979): 532.
- (7) Robert S. Gottfried, *The Black Death* (N.Y.: The Free Press, 1983), 11-12; André Guillou, "L'Italia Bizantina dall'invasione Longobarda alla Caduta di Ravenna," in *Longobardi e Bizantini*, ed. Paolo Delogu, et al. (Turin: UTET, 1980), 311; Gina Fasoli, "Le Città siciliane dall'istituzione del tema bizantino alla conquista normanna," *Archivio Storico Siracusano*, II (1956): 68-70.
- (8) Claudio Vita-Finzi, *The Mediterranean Valleys* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), 117-120; Luna B. Leopold and Claudio Vita-Finzi, "Valley Changes in the Mediterranean and America and Their Effects on Humans," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 142 (1998), 9-16; Ibn Ḥawqal, *Kitāb ṣūrat al-arḍ*, (Beirut: Manshūrāt Dār Maktabat al-Ḥayāt, 1979), 72-73, 85, 92-93; also in *Islam from the Prophet Muhammad to the Capture of Constantinople*, edited and translated by Bernard Lewis, 2 vols. (London: Macmillan Press, Ltd., 1974), 2: 90-91, 100.
- (9) A Samaritan source (Abu al-Fath al-Samiri al-Danafi, *The Continuatio of the Samaritan Chronicle of Abu L-Fath Al-Samiri Al-Danafi*, translated and annotated by Milka Levy-Rubin (Princeton, N.J.: Darwin Press, Inc., 2002), 97) mentions that in 246/860 the famine in Ifriqiyah reached such proportions that some people resorted to cannibalism. It is very likely that this famine caused many to flee to Sicily, since this occurred soon after the Muslims established their own government in Palermo. al-Salawī ("Kitab al-istiḡsa li-akhbar duwal al-maghrib al-aḡsa," *Archives marocaines* 31(1925): 48, 49, 62-63, 65, 80) mentions famines and pestilence in 260/874, 285/898, 303/916, 307/919, 339/950 ends a period of severe drought; and locust infestation in 377/988. Ibn 'Idhārī, (*Kitāb al-Bayān al-Mughrib*, ed. G.S. Colin and É. Levi-Provençal, 4 vols. (Beirut: Dar Assakafa, 1967), 1: 12-13, 1: 116) also mentions the famine of 260/874, and also records one in 425/1033. Ibn al-Athīr, (*al-Kāmil fī al-tārīkh*, 12 vols., ed. C.J. Tornberg (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1853-1867; repr., Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, n.d.), 9:329, 494) mentions famines in 413/1022 and 432/1040. 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Dabbāgh (*Ma'ālim al-imān fī ma'rifat ahl al-qayrawān*, ed. Ibrāhīm Shabbūh, 4 vols. (Cairo: Maktabat al-Khānjī, 1968), 3: 160) states that a major famine occurred in Ifriqiyah in the year 395/1004 that was so severe that the educated, the poor and the rich fled to Sicily. Ibn Abī Zar' (*Rawd al-Qirtas*, trans. Ambrosie Huici Miranda, 2 vols. (Valencia: J. Nacher, 1964), 1: 186-187, 218, 223) mentions famines in 285/898, 344/956, 381/991, and 411/1020.
- (10) Zakariyā ibn Muḥammad ibn Maḥmūd al-Qazwīnī, *Āthār al-bilād wa akhbār al-'ibād* (Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, n.d.), 215.
- (11) Abū al-Qāsim ibn Aḥmad al-Ziyānī, "al-Turjumān al-mughrib 'an duwal al-mashriq wa al-maghrib," MSS. Rabat National Library, No. D 658, folios 14 vo and 16 ro.
- (12) 'Abd al-Wahid al-Marrakushi, *History of the Almohads*, P.A. Dozy (Amsterdam: Oriental Press, 1968), 259.
- (13) Ibn Khaldūn, *Kitāb al-'ibar*, 5: 433.
- (14) 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-'arab fī funūn al-adab*, 31 vols. ed. R. Nizār and A. al-Ahwānī (Cairo: Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyah, 1923-1992), 24: 129.
- (15) Maḥmūd Ismā'il, *al-Khawārij fī al-maghrib al-islāmī*, (Beirut: Dār al-'Awdah, 1976), 176.
- (16) For references about Ibadites in Sicily and the administrative connections with Jerba and Warglan see Abū al-Rabī' Sulaymān al-Wisyānī, "Kitāb al-Siyar," MSS. Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyah, <Photocopy> No. H9112, folio 59 ro.
- (17) *Dhikr asmā' ba'ḍ shuyūkh al-Wahbīyah*, in Aḥmad ibn Abī 'Uthmān al-Shammākhī, *Kitāb al-Siyar*, 2 vols. (Oman: Wizārat al-Turāth, 1987), 2: 226.
- (18) *Gli Atti Perduti della Cancelleria Angioina*, [Regesta Chartarum Italiae, ed. Riccardo Filangieri] ed. Carlo De Lellis, 2 vols. Volume 1, Il Regno di Carlo 1, ed. Bianca Mazzoleni (Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo, 1939), I: 252.
- (19) Tadeusz Lewicki, "The Ibadites in Arabia and Africa," *Cahiers d'histoire mondiale* 13 (1971): 111; Mohamed Talbi, *L'émirat aghlabide* (Paris: Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1966), 359-360.
- (20) 'Amr K. Ennami, *Studies in Ibadism (al-Ibadiya)* (Tripoli: University of Libya Faculty of Arts, 1972), 237-238.
- (21) Illuminato Peri, "Per la storia della vita cittadina e del commercio nel Medio Evo: Girgenti porto del sale e del grano," in *Studi in onore di Amintore Fanfani*. 2 vols. (Milan: A. Giuffrè, 1962), I: 570-71; al-Dawudi, "Le Regime Foncier," 436-38; Michele Amari, *Storia dei musulmani di Sicilia*, rev. ed. and annotated by Carlo A. Nallino. 3 vols. (Catania: Prampolini, 1933-1939), 2: 54.
- (22) Ibn Ḥawqal, *Ṣūrat al-arḍ*, 117; *Islam from the Prophet Muhammad*, 2: 93.
- (23) Amari, *Storia*, II: 55.
- (24) Ibn Khaldūn, *Kitāb al-'ibar*, 11: 231 (*Histoire des Berbères*, I: 172).
- (25) Yāqūt ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥamawī, *Marāsid al-iṭṭilā' 'alā asmā' al-amkinah wa-al-biqā'*, 3 vols. ed. 'Alī Muḥammad al-Bajjāwī (Cairo : Dār Iḥyā' al-Kutub al-'Arabīyah 1954-1955), 3: 1160.
- (26) Ibn Khaldūn, *Kitāb al-'ibar*, 11: 283 (*Histoire des Berbères*, I: 274); Lewicki, "La répartition géographique," 320-321.

- (27) Salvatore Cusa, ed. *I Diplomi Greci ed Arabi di Sicilia*, 2 vols. (Palermo: D. Lao, 1868), 183-186, 207-210.
- (28) Ibn Khaldūn, *Kitāb al-'ibar*, 11: 235 (*Histoire des Berbères*, I: 232).
- (29) Ibid., I: 272; also Henri Bresc, "Féodalité coloniale en Terre d'Islam. La Sicile," *Structures Féodales et Féodalisme dans l'Occident Méditerranéenne (Xe-XIIIe Siècles)* (Rome: École Française de Rome, 1980): 635.
- (30) Ibn Khaldūn, *Kitāb al-'ibar*, 11: 246, 265-279 (*Histoire des Berbères*, I: 241, 259-272).
- (31) Cusa, *Diplomi Greci*, 223-224.
- (32) Ibn Khaldūn, *Kitāb al-'ibar*, 11: 229, 231, 283 (*Histoire des Berbères*, I: 170, 226, 274); Tadeusz Lewicki, *Études Ibadites Nord-Africaines* (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1955), 81-87; al-Shammākhī, *Kitāb al-siyar*, 2: 230.
- (33) Ibn Khaldūn, *Kitāb al-'ibar*, 11: 229 (*Histoire des Berbères*, I: 226-227).
- (34) Ibn Khaldūn, *Kitāb al-'ibar*, 11: 246, 282-283 (*Histoire des Berbères*, I: 179, 274-275).
- (35) M. Forstner, *Das Wegenetz des Zentralen Maghreb in Islamischer Zeit* (Weisbaden: O. Harrassowitz, 1979), 86, 90, 112, 207; Amari, *Storia*, I: 55.
- (36) Ibn Khaldūn, *Kitāb al-'ibar*, 11: 231, 245, 256 (*Histoire des Berbères*, I: 172, 209, 250); Amari, *Storia*, II: 54; Amico, *Dizionario*, I: 374, 576; Girolamo Caracausi, *Dizionario onomastico della Sicilia*, 2 vols. (Palermo: L'Epos Società Editrice, 1994), I: 830.
- (37) Cusa, *Diplomi Greci*, 209; Lewicki, "Ibadites in Arabia," 94.
- (38) Cusa, *Diplomi Greci*, 506, 571, 566, 572.
- (39) Ibid., 66, 106, 132, 579, 575.
- (40) Ibn Khaldūn, *Kitāb al-'ibar*, 11: 282-283 (*Histoire des Berbères*, 3: 275); Lewicki, "La répartition," 314.
- (41) Ibn Khaldūn, *Kitāb al-'ibar*, 11: 231, 240-243 (*Histoire des Berbères*, I: 172, 227-230); Amari, *Storia*, II: 55.
- (42) Ibn Khaldūn, *Kitāb al-'ibar*, 11: 282-283 (*Histoire des Berbères*, I: 275); Lewicki, "Répartition," 321-323.
- (43) René Basset, "Les Sanctuaires du Djebel Nefousa," *Journal Asiatique* (1899): 112.
- (44) Lewicki, "La répartition," 321.
- (45) al-Shammākhī, *Kitāb al-siyar*, 2:229; Tadeusz Lewicki, "Les noms propres Berbères employés chez les Nafusa médiévaux (VIIIe-XVle siècles)," *Folia Orientalia* 26 (1989): 81.
- (46) Ibn Khaldūn, *Kitāb al-'ibar*, 11: 229-230, 235-236 (*Histoire des Berbères*, I: 220-228, 231-234).
- (47) Ibn Khaldūn, *Kitāb al-'ibar*, 11: 230-231 (*Histoire des Berbères*, I: 227-228, 243).
- (48) Tadeusz Lewicki, "Quelques extraits inédits relatifs aux voyages des commerçants et des missionnaires ibadites nord-africains au pays du Soudan occidental au moyen âge," *Folia Orientalia* 2 (1960): 13.
- (49) Farhat Dachaoui, *Le Califat Fatimide au Maghreb (296- 365 H./909-975 J.C.)*, (Tunis: STD, 1981), 108.
- (50) Amari, *Storia*, 2: 54-55; Girolamo Caracausi, *Dizionario onomastico della Sicilia*, 2 vols. (Palermo: L'Epos Società Editrice, 1994), I: 772-773; Cusa, *Diplomi Greci*, 141, 251.
- (51) Ibn Ḥawqal, *Ṣūrat al-ard*, 118; Lewis, *Islam from the Prophet Muhammad*, 93.
- (52) Aḥmad ibn Abī Ya'qūb al-Ya'qūbī, *Tārīkh al-Ya'qūbī*, 2 vols. (Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 1960), I: 190.
- (53) Elisabeth Savage, *A Gateway to Hell: A Gateway to Paradise* (Princeton, N.J.: Darwin Press, 1997), 79.
- (54) Abū 'Ubayd al-Bakrī, *Description de L'Afrique Septentrionale*, rev. ed., trans. Mac Guckin de Slane (Paris: Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1965), 300 (For Arabic text see Abū 'Ubayd al-Bakrī, *al-Mughrib fī dhikr bilād Ifriqiyah wa-al-Maghrib*, ed. Le Baron de Slane (Algiers: Imprimerie du Gouvernement, 1857; reprint edition Baghdad: al-Muthannā, 1964?), 158; *Tegdaoust I*, eds. Robert Denise, et al. (Paris: Arts et Metiers Graphiques, 1970), 140.
- (55) *Kitāb al-Istibṣār fī 'ajā'ib al-amṣār*, ed. Saad Zaghloul Abdel-Hamid (Alexandria: University of Alexandria, 1958), 172; C. Vanacker, "Géographie économique de l'Afrique du Nord selon les auteurs arabes," *Annales* 28 (1973): 659-680; M. Forstner, *Das Wegenetz des Zentralen Maghreb in Islamischer Zeit* (Weisbaden: O. Harrassowitz, 1979), 44-47, 60-62, 66-68, 72-75, 77, 96, 172, 184ff.; Dachraoui, *Caliphate Fatimide*, 95; al-Bakrī, *Description de l'Afrique*, 109; *al-Mughrib fī dhikr bilād Ifriqiyah*, 51; Ibn Ḥawqal, *Ṣūrat al-ard*, 85.
- (56) Ibn Ḥawqal, *Ṣūrat al-ard*, 85; al-Bakrī, *Description de l'Afrique*, 137; al-Bakrī, *Description de l'Afrique*, 69, 158. For a discussion on the dates of the travelers see *Tegdaoust I*, 109-115.
- (57) al-Bakrī, *Description de l'Afrique*, 139 (*al-Mughrib fī dhikr bilād Ifriqiyah*, 67); Aḥmad ibn Abī Ya'qūb al-Ya'qūbī, *Kitāb al-Buldān* (Beirut: Dār Iḥyā' al-turāth al-'arabī, 1988), 113; Ibn Ḥawqal, *Ṣūrat al-ard*, 85.
- (58) Ibn Abī Zar' (*Rawḍ al-Qirtās*, I: 39-91, 186-187, 218, 223; Aḥmad ibn Abī Ya'qūb al-Ya'qūbī, *Kitāb al-Buldān* (Beirut: Dār Iḥyā' al-turāth al-'arabī, 1988), 113.
- (59) A fort near the city of Ténès belonging to the Barqajanah. Ibn 'Idhārī, *Bayān*, I: 193.
- (60) al-Bakrī, *Description de l'Afrique*, 141 (*al-Mughrib fī dhikr bilād Ifriqiyah*, 69).
- (61) Yāqūt ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥamawī, *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, 5 vols. (Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 1955-57), 5: 371. The text has Majanah, which is most likely a mistake for Barqajanah. See *Corpus of Early Arabic Sources*, eds. N. Levtzion and J.F.P. Hopkins; trans. J.F.P. Hopkins (Princeton: Markus Wiener, 2000), 175.
- (62) al-Bakrī, *Description de l'Afrique*, 139 (*al-Mughrib fī dhikr bilād Ifriqiyah*, 66; Ibn 'Idhārī, *al-Bayān*, I: 155.

- (63) *Kitāb al-Istibṣār fī 'ajā'ib al-amṣār*, ed. Saad Zaghloul Abdel-Hamid (Alexandria: University of Alexandria, 1958), 178.
- (64) al-Bakrī, *Description de l'Afrique*, 139 (*al-Mughrib fī dhikr bilād Ifriqiyyah*, 66); Ibn 'Idhārī, *al-Bayān*, 1: 155.
- (65) Ibn Ṣaghīr gives the name of the tribe that controlled the sūq as '*ajim qawm min Majanah*' but Motylinski translated it into French as the tribe Marmajanah. But since Majanah and Marmajanah are the name of towns, I am not convinced that an unidentified tribe from Majanah could control the sūq of Tahert. It appears to me that there was a misreading or an orthographic mistake in the text, and the sentence should be read as '*ajim qawm Barqajanah*'. See Ibn Ṣaghīr, "Chronique d'Ibn Saghīr sur les imams Rustamides de Tahert," ed. A. De Motylinski in *Actes du XIVe Congrès International des Orientalistes* (Algiers: 1905), Arabic text, 27, French translation, 86.
- (66) Abū Zakariyā al-Wargalānī, "La Chronique d'Abu Zakariyya al-Wargalānī," *Revue Africaine* 104 (1960): 146; Michael Brett, *The Rise of the Fatimids*, (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 150; Lewicki, "The Ibadites in Arabia," 123-24; *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., s.v. "al-Ibadiyya," by T. Lewicki.
- (67) Ibn Khaldūn, *Kitāb al-'ibar*, 13: 4-5 (*Histoire des Berbères*, 3: 180-181); *Kitāb mafākhīr al-barbar*, ed. E. Levi-Provençal (Rabat: 1934), 49, 71-72.
- (68) See note 52.
- (69) Ibn Ḥawqal, *Ṣūrat al-arḍ*, 113; Lewis, *Islam from the Prophet Muhammad*, 87.
- (70) T. Lewicki, "The role of the Sahara and Saharians in relationships between north and south," in *General History of Africa*, vol. 3: *Africa from the Seventh to the Eleventh Century*, ed. M. El Fasi (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1988), 299; I. Hrbek, "The emergence of the Fatimids," in *General History of Africa*, vol. 3: *Africa from the Seventh to the Eleventh Century*, ed. M. El Fasi, 322-324.
- (71) See Leonard C. Chiarelli, *A History of Muslim Sicily*, forthcoming.
- (72) *Ibid.*
- (73) Lewicki, "The role of the Sahara and Saharians," 276-313; Jean Devisse, "La Question d'Audagust," in *Tegdaoust I*, 25-28, 129, 139; Lewicki, "Ibadites in Arabia," 83-129.
- (74) Michael Brett, "The Arab Conquest and the Rise of Islam in North Africa," in *The Cambridge History of Africa*, vol. 2, ed. J. D. Fage. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), 595.
- (75) See Leonard C. Chiarelli, *A History of Muslim Sicily*, forthcoming.
- (76) Shlomo D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society*. 6 vols. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967-1993), 1: 211-213.
- (77) *Cronica di Cambridge*, in Michele Amari, ed. and trans. *Biblioteca Arabo-Sicula*, 2 vols. (Turin: E. Loescher, 1881), 1: 289. Henceforth abbreviated to *BAS*; 'Izz al-Dīn ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil fī al-tārīkh*, 12 vols., ed. C.J. Tornberg (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1853-1867; repr., Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, n.d.), 8: 471 (*BAS* 1: 416-418); Abū 'Alī Maṣṣūr al-Judharī, *Vie de l'Ustadh Judhar*, trans. Marius Canard (Algiers: J. Carbonel, 1958), 103.
- (78) Ibn Khaldūn, *Kitāb al-'ibar*, 7: 444 (*BAS* 2: 193); al-Judharī, *Vie de l'Ustadh Judhar*, 102.
- (79) al-Judharī, *Vie de l'Ustadh Judhar*, 102.
- (80) Iḥsān 'Abbās, *Mu'jam al-'ulamā' wa al-shu'arā' al-ṣiqillīyīn* (Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 1994), 156; 'Alī ibn Ja'far ibn al-Qaṭṭā', *al-Durrah al-khaṭīrah fī shu'arā' al-jazīrah*, ed. Bechir Baccouche (Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 1995), 154.
- (81) Iyād ibn Mūsā, *Tartīb al-Madārik wa taqrīb al-masālik*, 3 vols. ed. A. B. Mahmud (Beirut: Dār Maktabat al-Ḥayāt), 3: 773.
- (82) See Ibn Khaldūn, *Kitāb al-'ibar*, 13: 13-23, 106, 114-120 (*Histoire des Berbères*, 3: 189-198, 285, 294-301). See also Tadeusz Lewicki, "Les noms propres Berbères employés chez les Nafusa médiévaux (VIIIe-XVIIe siècles)," *Folia Orientalia* 15 (1974): 7-8.
- (83) Tadeusz Lewicki, "The Ibadites in Arabia and Africa," *Cahiers d'Histoire Mondiale*, 13 (1971): 108; Ibn Ṣaghīr, "Chronique d'Ibn Saghīr sur les imams Rustamides de Tahert," ed. A. De Motylinski in *Actes du XIVe Congrès International des Orientalistes* (Algiers: 1905), Arabic text, 27, French translation, 87; *Idrīs 'Imād Dīn, Tārīkh al-khulafā' al-fāṭimīyīn bil-maghrib*, part five from the *Kitāb 'uyūn al-akhbār*, ed. Muhammad Yalaoui (Beirut: Dār al-Maghrib al-Islāmī, 1985), 319, 465; Ibn Khaldūn, *Kitāb al-'ibar*, 11: 225 (*Histoire des Berbères*, I: 220).
- (84) Ibn Sa'īd al-Maghribī, *Unwān al-murqīṣāt wa al-muṭribāt*, ed. Mahdad Abdelkader (Algiers: Carbonel, 1949), 49.
- (85) 'Amr K. Ennami, *Studies in Ibadism* (Benghazi: University of Libya, Faculty of Arts, 1972), 7-8, 37, 40, 62.
- (86) Muḥammad ibn Mūsā Bābā 'Ammī, *Mu'jam a'lām al-ibādīyah*, 2 vols. (Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 2000), 218-219.
- (87) Ismā'il, *al-Khawārij fī al-maghrib al-islāmī*, 176.