John C. Wilkinson, *Ibâḍism: Origins and Early Development in Oman*, Oxford Oriental Monographs, Oxford University Press, 2010, xxxvii+472 pp. ISBN: 978-0-19-958826-8 *(Valerie J. Hoffman)*

This book is the culmination of Wilkinson's impressive career of scholarship on Oman and Ibāḍī Islam. The author elaborates on his earlier work and produces the most thorough analysis to date of the historical evidence regarding Ibāḍism's origins and development, deconstructing the standard narrative of Ibāḍism's formation, and building upon (and occasionally disagreeing with) the works of Martin Hinds,[1] Josef van Ess,[2] Wilferd Madelung,[3] Michael Cook,[4] Abdulrahman Al-Salimi,[5] and Patricia Crone and Fritz Zimmermann.[6] He discusses the most important sources on early to medieval Ibāḍism, displaying an unparalleled knowledge of an extraordinary spectrum of Ibāḍī texts.

1 "The Banners and Battle Cries of the Arabs at Ṣiffīn," *Al-Abḥāth* 24 (1971), 3–42; "Kūfan Political Alignments and their Background in the Mid-Seventh Century AD," *IJMES* 2 (1971), 346–367; "The Ṣiffīn Arbitration Agreements," *Journal of Semitic Studies* 17 (1972), 93–129.

2 "Untersuchungen einiger ibāditischen Handschriften," *ZDMG* 126 (1976), 25–63; "Nachträge," *ZDMG* 127 (1977), 1–4; *Theologie und Gesellschaft im 2. und 3. Jahrhundert Hidschra: Eine Geschichte des religiösen Denkens im frühen Islam*, 3 vols. (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1922), vol. 2.

3 "The Shiʿite and Khārijite Contribution to Pre-Ashʿarite *Kalām*," in: *Islamic Philosophical Theology*, ed. P. Morewedge (Albany, NY, 1979), 120–139; *The Succession to Muḥammad: A Study of the Early Caliphate* (Cambridge, 1997); "Abd Allāh Ibn Ibāḍ and the Origins of the Ibāḍiyya," in: Barbara Michalak-Pikulska / Andrzej Pikulski (eds.), *Authority, Privacy and Public Order in Islam: Proceedings of the 22nd Congress of L'Union Européenne des Arabisants et Islamisants*, (Leuven and Dudley, MA, 2006), 52–57.

4 *Early Muslim Dogma* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981).

5 Abdulrahman Al-Salmi, "The Omani *Siyar* as a Literary Genre and Its Role in the Political Evolution and Doctrinal Development of Eastern Ibāḍism, with Special Reference to the Epistles of Khawārizm, Khurāsān and Manṣūra," Ph.D. Thesis, University of Durham, 2001; Abdulrahman Al-Salimi / Wilferd Madelung (eds.), *Early Ibāḍī Literature: Abu l-Mundhir Bashīr b. Muḥammad b. Maḥbūb, Kitāb al-Raṣf fī l-Tawḥīd, Kitāb al-Muḥāraba and Sīra,* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, Band 75, 2011).

6 Patricia Crone / Fritz Zimmermann, (trans. and ed.), *The Epistle of Sālim ibn Dhakwān* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2001). Wilkinson also makes reference to Crone's other works, such as *Slaves on Horses* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980); *Meccan Trade and the Rise of Islam* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987); "Were the Qays and Yemen of the Umayyad Period Political Parties?" *Der Islam* 71 (1994), 1–57; and "A Statement by the Najdiyya Khārijites on the Dispensability of the Imamate," *Studia Islamica* 88 (1998), 55–76.

To say this book is not for novices is an understatement. It not only assumes a good grasp of early and medieval Islamic history, *fiqh* methodology, the categories of land ownership in early Islam, and the geography of the Middle East, but it assumes that its readers are familiar with all the relevant scholarship on Ibāḍism written by the above-mentioned authors. The discussion of tribes and individuals is extremely difficult for anyone not familiar with the subject to track; the first chapter, "The Pre-Islamic Heritage: Yaman and Nizār," is enough to discourage all but the most determined readers. The author frequently does not bother to translate words, phrases, or entire Arabic sentences, which makes the book nearly inaccessible to non-Arabists, although even an Arabist might wonder who are the *ʿulūj* that the Ibāḍīs exempted from taxation. It is also clear that this book never had the benefit of a copy editor; it is full of incomplete sentences and other English language errors (e.g., principal vs. principle). Nonetheless, the language of the book has a conversational tone that is engaging, and more to the point, it is absolutely brilliant and constitutes an essential contribution to the growing field of Ibāḍī studies.

Wilkinson began his academic career with a doctoral dissertation on Arab settlement in Oman. He made his name as a scholar with his groundbreaking study, *Water and Tribal Settlement in South-East Arabia: A Study of the Aflāj of Oman* (Oxford University Press, 1977). There is probably no Westerner who knows as much as he does about the tribes of Oman. In the book currently under review, he discusses the tribal, economic, and political situation of the region of Oman before Islam and the process of Islamization and its impact on the region, interrogating the standard interpretation of the so-called Wars of Apostasy during the caliphate of Abū Bakr. He examines the tribal composition of Omanis in Basra and the emergence of Khārijism. He argues that the origins of the Muḥakkima (those who rejected the Ṣiffīn arbitration with the slogan "No judgment but God's") lie not in the battle of Ṣiffīn but in the debate during the caliphate of ʿUthmān over how authority should be constituted; those who confronted ʿUthmān's alleged improprieties demanded that he "act in accordance with the Book of God," asserting the centrality of the Qurʾān to all judgment.

Wilkinson insists on the importance of viewing Ibāḍī history through the lens of tribal relations. It is extremely difficult for a non-specialist to keep the names of tribes and individuals straight while reading Wilkinson's narrative, so some of what he says will go over the heads of many readers. Nonetheless, the essential argument is both understandable and dazzling. The point of that difficult first chapter is to lay out the main tribal divisions of Arabia, especially between the Nizār, or "northern" Arabs, and the Yaman, or "southern" Arabs, and the role these divisions played in pre-Islamic and early Islamic history. Wilkinson notes that the earliest Khārijī movements were dominated by Nizārīs, as was

the caliphate itself, whereas the tribes of central Oman, the heartland of Ibāḍism in that country, are Yamanī. Omani settlement in Iraq was centered in Baṣra, which did not play a role in the earliest Khārijī rebellions. On the other hand, the non-Khārijī rebellions of Ibn al-Ashʿath al-Kindī (80–82/699–701) and Yazīd b. al-Muhallab al-Azdī (101–102/720–721) were Yamanī uprisings against Nizārī authority.

Wilkinson argues that the Ibāḍī movement, which had its roots in Basra, only took hold among the Omanis and other Yamanī tribes after these two great Yamanī revolts had been crushed. In other words, Ibāḍism became a vehicle of Yamanī rebellion against Nizārī domination. Whereas classical typologies of early Khārijism posit a spectrum from radical (the Azraqīs) to the most moderate (the Ibāḍīs), with the Ṣufrīs somewhere in the middle, Wilkinson argues that there were no essential dogmatic differences between the Ibāḍīs and the Sufris; the differences were tribal: the Ṣufrīs were Nizārī and the Ibāḍīs were Yamanī. Ibāḍism provided the ideology for the major Yamanī tribes in Iraq to set up Imamates in their homelands in southern Arabia, as well as in North Africa. He points out that Khārijī movements, whether Ibāḍī or Ṣufrī, only took root in the east in lands formerly ruled by the Sasanids; they were opposed to Hijāzī hegemony and insisted on the equality of all before the judgment of God. The Ibāḍīs, he says, were the last Khārijī school to activate, some sixty years after their alleged split from the Azraqīs in 64/683.

Wilkinson looks critically at the evidence for the views of various early Muslim groups on the definitions of believers, *kuffār*, *mushrikūn*, and *munāfiqūn*. Classical sources locate the origin of Ibāḍism with the alleged development by the mysterious ʿAbd Allāh b. Ibāḍ, the purported leader of the quietist Khawārij in the 60s/680s, of the category of *kufr al-niʿma* (ingratitude for God's bounty) as a lesser degree of infidelity than that of stark unbelief or polytheism (*kufr al-shirk*). Crone and Zimmermann, however, argued that Ibāḍīs in the early period referred to the category of "hypocrisy" (*nifāq*) rather than *kufr al-niʿma*, and that the earliest Ibāḍī use of this phrase dates to the end of the third/ninth century, and then only with reference to Iblīs, and that its use to refer to sinning Muslims emerged in Oman only in the fourth/tenth century (2001:198 ff.). Wilkinson demurs (132–135), citing evidence from an epistle (*sīra*) by Mūsā b. ʿAlī al-Sāmī (177–230/793–844) and pointing out that the first distinction between *mushrikūn* and *kuffār* was made by a "proto-Ibāḍī," Abū Muḥammad al-Nahdī, around 81/700. Based on his analysis of terminology, Wilkinson suggests that the epistle of Sālim b. Dhakwān is "not as early as Cook suggests" (72/692), but "not as late as Crone and Zimmermann propose" (between 134/751 and 177/793). This is just one example of the sort of careful scrutiny of the sources in which Wilkinson engages throughout this book.

As he had argued earlier,[7] so he argues here that the classical Ibāḍī line of Imāms was a Maghribī rationalization of early Ibāḍī history composed after the collapse of the Rustamid Imamate of Tahert in 909 and exported to Oman only much later, in the late eighteenth century; that neither Jābir b. Zayd (21–93/642–711) nor his alleged pupil and successor, Abū ʿUbayda Muslim b. Abī Karīma (d. between 136 and 158/753 and 775) – although, as WILKINSON points out (166 and 167), it is a chronological impossibility for the latter to have been the former's pupil – were Imams at all in the sense in which this word was later used; that other lesser-known figures were more important in early Ibāḍism than commonly acknowledged; and that the concept of a secret (*kitmān*) Imamate was likewise a later Maghribī rationalization. Jābir was not the "organizer" of the sect, as is commonly asserted, nor was Abū ʿUbayda the one who activated the missions to various regions – that, WILKINSON suggests, was likely al-Rabīʿ b. Ḥabīb (d. 170/786) – but both Jābir and Abū ʿUbayda were important teachers and points of reference for important figures in the emergence of Ibāḍism.

WILKINSON elaborates on his earlier arguments[8] that the collection of Ibāḍī Ḥadīth, the *musnad* of al-Rabīʿ b. Ḥabīb, also known as *al-Jāmiʿ al-ṣaḥīḥ*, was not a collection of Ḥadīth in the usual sense of the word but a collection of *āthār*, or sayings, often not of Muḥammad, and that their "organization" (*tartīb*) into the book's present form, recognized by Ibāḍīs as the work of the North African scholar, Abū Yaʿqūb Yūsuf b. Ibrāhīm al-Wārjlānī (d. 570/1175), included the addition of previously nonexistent *isnād*s and was part of an attempt to mold Ibāḍism into an Islamic school (*madhhab*) along Sunni lines, while trumping the Sunnis by claiming it to be the oldest Ḥadīth collecton. This "madhhabization," to use WILKINSON's word, responded to pressures from Sunnis in North Africa and included the acceptance of the Sunni *uṣūl al-fiqh*, whereas classical Ibāḍī *fiqh* was based mainly on an ever-evolving scholarly consensus that allowed for practical accommodations with local needs rather than rigid adherence to the Prophet's words or to analogical reasoning based on the Qurʾān and Sunna. In this book, WILKINSON provides pithy examples to demonstrate how this new type of *fiqh* was ill suited to the management of land and water resources in Oman or to the maintenance of a large maritime trade in the Indian Ocean.

7 "The Early Development of the Ibāḍī Movement in Basra," in: G. H. A. JUYNBOLL (ed.), *Studies on the First Century of Islamic Society*, 125–144 (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1982); "Ibāḍī Theological Literature," in: M. J. L. YOUNG, J. D. LATHAM, and R. B. SERJEANT (eds.), *Religion, Learning, and Science in the Abbasid Period*, 33–39 (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

8 "Ibāḍī Ḥadīth: An Essay on Normalization," *Der Islam* 62 (1985), 231–259.

In his seminal book, *The Imamate Tradition of Oman* (Cambridge University Press, 1987), Wilkinson discussed the deposal of Imam al-Ṣalt b. Mālik al-Kharūṣī in 272/886, the civil war that followed, and the dominance of the Rustāq school of Ibāḍism in Oman, which led to the disaffection of the northern tribes of Oman as well as the Ḥaḍramawt and the ultimate demise of the sect in those regions. He elaborates on these developments here, carefully looking at what we can glean from the sources about all the Imāms of what he calls the First Imamate in Oman (179–280/795–893). Here he goes beyond political history, however, and looks at the development of Ibāḍī literature in Oman during the period after the collapse of the Imāmate, examining in some depth the work of the great scholars, Abū Saʿīd al-Kudamī, Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad Ibn Baraka (both of the 4th/10th century), Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Kindī (d. 508/1115), Abū l-Mundhir al-ʿAwtabī al-Ṣuḥārī (5th-6th/11th-12th centuries), Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Kindī (d. 557/1162), and Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Saʿīd al-Qalhātī (late 6th/12th century), among others, and the ways that each contributed to the development of Ibāḍism as a *madhhab*. At the end, he compares Ibāḍī lifeways in Oman with those of Ibāḍī communities in the Maghrib, especially in Wārglā (Ouargla) and the Mzāb of Algeria.

There are many aspects of this book that are frustrating for the reader, including the complexity of the narrative, with its abundant use of tribal and personal names beyond the ability of the non-specialist to track, the unexplained use of Arabic terms and phrases, and, worst of all, the frequent neglect of page number citations. This last makes this book little more than a vague guide for those who wish to track down the references. The book has an incomplete index of Arabic terminology, but no glossary. Indeed, one might think that the author perhaps intended to keep Ibāḍī studies in a state of *kitmān*, inaccessible to the uninitiated. Nonetheless, this is a masterful work, a *tour de force* that will undoubtedly be, as the author intended, the final word on the development of Ibāḍī Islam for some time to come.

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Zeynep Yürekli, *Architecture and Hagiography in the Ottoman Empire: The Politics of Bektashi Shrines in the Classical Age*, Farnham: Ashgate, 2012, 222 pp. ISBN: 978-1-4094-1106-2 (*Jonathan Brack*)

In the late fifteenth century and throughout the sixteenth century, the shrines of the eighth-century Seyyid Gazi and thirteenth-century Hacı Bektaş, which had