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THE RUSTUMID STATE

144-296 / 762-909

by

Idris Saleh El-Hareir

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for the degree of

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UNIVERSITY OF UTAH GRADUATE SCHOOL

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Dedicated to
My Parents

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TRANSLITERATION SYSTEM *

Initial	Medial	Final	Alone	Value	Initial	Medial	Final	Alone	Value
ا	ا	ا	ا	omit	ض	ض	ض	ض	ḍ
ب	ب	ب	ب	b	ط	ط	ط	ط	t
ت	ت	ت	ت	t	ظ	ظ	ظ	ظ	ẓ
ث	ث	ث	ث	th	ع	ع	ع	ع	‘
ج	ج	ج	ج	j	غ	غ	غ	غ	gh
ح	ح	ح	ح	h	ف	ف	ف	ف	f
خ	خ	خ	خ	kh	ق	ق	ق	ق	q
د	د	د	د	d	ك	ك	ك	ك	k
ذ	ذ	ذ	ذ	dh	ل	ل	ل	ل	l
ر	ر	ر	ر	r	م	م	م	م	m
ز	ز	ز	ز	z	ن	ن	ن	ن	n
س	س	س	س	s	ه	ه	ه	ه	h
ش	ش	ش	ش	sh	و	و	و	و	w
ص	ص	ص	ص	s	ي	ي	ي	ي	y

Vowels and Diphthongs

ا	a	آ	ā	إ	ī
و	u	أ	á	أو	aw
ي	i	و	ū	أى	ay

* This was taken from Library of Congress Cataloging Service, Bulletin No. 91, September, 1970.

ABSTRACT

This study, THE RUSTUMID STATE (144-296/762-909), reviews and analyzes the political, religious, and economic development in the history of that little-known realm which derived its name from that of its founder, 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Rustum. It dominated life in the Maghrib (North Africa) for more than one hundred and fifty years in the medieval world of Islam.

The first of the six chapters of this thesis, serving as an introduction, explores briefly the early phases of Arab conquest in North Africa. In the course of the discussion, an attempt has been made to define Khārijism and follow the spread of that movement in North Africa as well as the Berber reaction to the oppressive administration of the Arabs. This chapter further discusses the outcome of the struggle between the Khawārij in the Maghrib and the Arab Caliphate in the east resulting in the establishment of the Khārijī Ṣufri State of Banū Midrār (Wāsūl) at Sijilmāsah in 140/757 and the Khārijī-Ibādī-Rustumid State at Tāhirt in 144/762.

Chapter II traces the developments leading directly to the establishment of the Rustumid dynasty in Tripolitania, Ifriqiyah (Tunisia), and the Middle Maghrib (Algeria). The reign of each Rustumid Imam is outlined, with a survey of the problems confronting him with his own political supporters and his opponents. An attempt is also made to explain how the

Ibādī Imamate, founded initially upon the principles of Islamic republicanism, ended by deviating from those democratic ideals and gravitated toward absolute hereditary rule.

Chapter III details and analyzes the foreign relations of the Rustumids with their powerful neighbors in the Maghrib, including the Aghlabids of Tunisia, the Midrarids or Banū Wāsūl and the Idrisids in Morocco, as well as the Sub-Sahara countries. Attention has also been devoted to the special relations with other contemporary Islamic states, such as the Umayyads in Andalusia (Spain) and the 'Abbasid Caliphate in the Arab East.

Chapter IV deals with economic and cultural life of the realm with its various aspects. It has been found essential in this regard to follow the development of agriculture, industry, and trade, as well as the evolution of the city of Tāhirt, the Rustumid capital, from a primitive hamlet to a prosperous metropolis. Furthermore, the constitutional history of the Imamate linked with the administrative policy of each Imam has been considered, together with the intellectual life under his rule.

Chapter V unravels the numerous and rather complex factors at play in the decline and fall of the Rustumid State in 296/909.

Chapter VI summarizes and synthesizes the consensus of arguments presented in the study with a concentration on how the Khārijī experiment of democratic rule in theory failed in its practical application, as clearly demonstrated in the course of Rustumid history.

It is evident from this thesis that I have tried in all humility to render justice to an unexplored subject in the world of Islam. A thorough examination of all sources available, both published and manuscript, has been meticulously pursued in order to present the reader--perhaps for the first time--with the complete picture of a forgotten but important chapter in the annals of mankind.

CHAPTER I

BACKGROUND: THE MAGHRIB FROM THE ARAB CONQUEST TO
THE RISE OF THE KHĀRIJĪ MOVEMENTS

"The Maghrib" is a geographical term used by Arab writers since Medieval times to refer to North Africa.* The word "Maghrib" means the West, "where the sun sets, " as opposed to "Mashriq, " the East, or "Levant, " "Where the sun rises."

The Arab army, under the command of 'Amr Ibn al-'Āṣ, began its advance on the Maghrib immediately after the completion of Egypt's conquest in 21 AH / 641 AD.¹ By Autumn, 22/642, Barqah (Cyrenaica) had fallen into the hands of the Arabs. From there, expeditions were sent southward under 'Uqbah Ibn Nāfi' and westward under 'Amr himself, who took Tripoli in 23/643.²

* The term "Maghrib, " whenever used in this study, refers to modern North Africa, which includes the territories occupied by Libya, Tunisia, Algeria, and Morocco.

¹ 'Abd al-Rahmān Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, Futūḥ Ifrīqiyyah wa al-Andalus, ed. by 'Abd Allah Anīs al-Ṭabbā' (Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-Lubnānī, 1964), pp. 28-29.

² Ibid., p. 30. See also: Aḥmad Ibn Yaḥyā al-Balādhurī, Futūḥ al-Buldān, 1st edition, ed. by Raḍwān Muḥammad Raḍwān (Cairo: al-Maṭba'ah al-Miṣriyyah, 1932), pp. 225-227; and Abū 'Abd Allah Muḥammad Ibn al-Abbār, Kitāb al-Hullah al-Sayrā', v. 1, ed. by Ḥusayn Mu'nīs (Cairo: al-Sharikah al-'Arabīyah Li al-Ṭibā'ah wa al-Nashr, 1963), p. 14.

When 'Amr Ibn al-'Āṣ was recalled to the East, his successor, 'Abd Allah Ibn Sa'd Ibn Abī Sarah, the governor of Egypt, continued the policy of pushing westward into the Maghrib. He personally led an expedition and won a victory over a Byzantine force at the Battle of Subayṭalah in 27/647 in Ifriqiyah (Tunisia).³ Hitherto, the Arabs had not yet attempted to settle permanently west of Egypt.

The political crisis following the assassination of Caliph 'Uthmān Ibn 'Affān (24-35/644-656) brought about a period of respite in the conquest of the Maghrib. When that crisis came to an end in 41/661, Arab expansion westward was vigorously resumed. In 47/667, the Umayyad commander, Mu'awiyah Ibn Ḥudayj, penetrated Ifriqiyah (Tunisia) as far north as Banzart, or Binzirt (Bizerta) and captured the fortress of Jalulā'.⁴ In 48/668, for no apparent reason, he returned to Egypt, probably having been recalled to the east by the Caliph.

In 50/670, 'Uqbah Ibn Nāfi' was appointed governor over the Maghrib by Caliph Mu'awiyah Ibn Abī Sufyān (46-61/661-680). In that year, 'Uqbah started the foundation of the city of al-Qayrawān, which he wanted to be an advance military outpost in future operations and a center for spreading

³Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, Futūḥ, pp. 36-45. See also: al-Balādhurī, Futūḥ, pp. 227-228; and Ibn 'Idhārī al-Marrakushī, al-Bayān al-Mughrib fi Akhbār al-Andalus wa al-Maghrib, vo. 1, Ed. by G. S. Colin and E. Lévi-Provençal (Beirut: Dār al-Thaqāfah, (1967), p. 11.

⁴Ibn 'Idhārī, Al-Bayān, v. 1, p. 17. See also: Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, Futūḥ, p. 49; and Ibn al-Abbār, al-Ḥullah al-Sayra, v. 2, pp. 322-323.

Islam in the Maghrib. This plan was the first step undertaken by the Arabs toward permanent occupation of the region. While 'Uqbah was expanding and consolidating the Arab domination in the Maghrib, he was suddenly ousted by Mu'awiyah for unknown reasons.⁵ However, it was the Caliphal policy not to leave a governor too long in one place for fear of ambitious tendencies toward independence. 'Uqbah's successor, Abū al-Muhājir Dīnār, continued the same expansionist policy westward into the Middle Maghrib (Algeria) until he was replaced by 'Uqbah again in 62/682.⁶ The reinstated 'Uqbah decided to carry out the completion of the conquest of the Maghrib. He led a force of Arab warriors and set out westward into central Algeria, where he met and defeated a joint Berber-Byzantine force in Bijāyah. From here he marched on Tanjah (Tangier), where he was well received by its governor, Julian (the Yulyān of the Arabic sources). From Tanjah he traveled southwest until he reached an unknown point on the Atlantic Ocean. On his way back to al-Qayrawān, 'Uqbah was ambushed by a coalition of Berber tribesmen and Byzantine regulars under Kusaylah, the Chieftan of the Aūrbah tribe. Kusaylah had escaped earlier from 'Uqbah's men who had mistreated him,

⁵ Ibn 'Idhārī, al-Bayān, V. 1, pp. 19-21. See also: Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, Futūḥ, pp. 50-55; and al-Balādhurī, Futūḥ, p. 230; and Ibn al-Abbār, al-Hullāh al-Sayrā', v. 2, p. 323; and Abū Zayd 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Dabbāq, Ma'ālim al-Imān fi Ma'arifat Ahl al-Qayrawān, v. 1, ed. by Ibrahim Shabbūḥ, (Cairo: Maktabat al-Khānjī, 1968), pp. 164-166.

⁶ Ibn 'Idhārī, al-Bayān, v. 1, pp. 28-31. See also: al-Balādhurī, Futūḥ, p. 230.

and he rallied the Berber tribes and the Byzantines. The combined Berber-Byzantine forces met 'Uqbah at Tahūdā. 'Uqbah and three hundred of his horsemen were killed in the ensuing fighting during 63/683.⁷

Zuhayr Ibn Qays, 'Uqbah's deputy at al-Qayrawān, had to evacuate the city under threat of the advancing victorious Kusaylah. He withdrew to Barqah (Cyrenaica) where he waited for reinforcements from the Caliph. Kusaylah entered al-Qayrawān, and thus the Arabs lost temporarily their conquests west of Barqah.

When Ibn Qays received reinforcements in 67/686 from Caliph 'Abd al-Malik (66-87/685-705) with authorization to be the governor of the Maghrib and to resume the counter-attack, he first marched back to al-Qayrawān. Kusaylah and his Byzantine allies met Ibn Qays's army at Mems near al-Qayrawān, where a fierce battle took place and ended with the death and defeat of Kusaylah and his allies.⁸ Ibn Qays later returned to Barqah for unjustifiable reasons and was ambushed and killed by the Byzantines at Darnah (Derna) in 71/690.⁹

⁷Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, Futuḥ, p. 61. See also: Abū 'Abd al-Allah Muḥammad Ibn Abī Dīnār, al-Mu'nis fi Akhbār Ifrīqīyah wa Tunis, ed. by Muḥammad Shammām (Tunis: al-Maktabah al-'Atīqah, 1967), pp. 29-32.

⁸Ibid., p. 61. See also: Abū Bakr 'Abd Allah al-Malikī, Riyāḍ al-Nufūs, v. 1, ed. by Ḥusayn Mu'nis (Cairo: Maktabat al-Nahḍah al-Miṣrīyah, 1951), p. 30. See also: Ibn al-Abbār, al-Ḥullah al-Sāyrah, v. 2, pp. 329-331.

⁹Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, Futuḥ, p. 66. See also: al-Balādhurī, Futuḥ, p. 231; and Ibn Abī Dīnār, al-Mu'nis, pp. 32-33.

The death of Ibn Qays had convinced Caliph 'Abd al-Malik that a permanent Arab conquest of the Maghrib could not be achieved until the Byzantines were driven out of their positions along the Maghribian coast. Therefore, as soon as 'Abd al-Malik had put down the rebellion of 'Abd Allah-Ibn al-Zubayr in 73/693, he appointed Ḥassān Ibn al-Nu'mān al-Ghassānī as governor of the Maghrib with orders to avenge the killing of Zuhayr Ibn Qays. The first step undertaken by Ibn al-Nu'mān upon his arrival at al-Qayrawān was to destroy the Byzantine stronghold at Carthage. This was to be done in order to deprive the Berbers of any future Byzantine military assistance. He laid siege to Carthage and took it by storm. He also eliminated or captured other important Byzantine coastal fortifications.¹⁰

Ibn al-Nu'mān's second step was to pacify the Berber resistance. The Berbers were under a queen known among the Arabs as "al-Kāhinah" (the Priestess or Prophetess). The strongholds of al-Kāhinah were in the Awrās (Aurés) mountains. Al-Kāhinah and Ibn al-Nu'mān's forces met on the banks of the river Nīnī, where the latter was defeated. He retreated to Barqah and waited for reinforcements from Damascus. His headquarters were at the Gulf of Sirt (Surt) in a place which later became known as Quṣūr-Ḥassān (Ḥassān's Palace).¹¹ Upon receiving reinforcements, Ibn

¹⁰Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī al-Jazarī Ibn al-Athīr, Al-Kāmil fi al-Tārīkh, ed. by 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Najjār, v. 4 (Cairo: Idārat al-Tibā'ah al-Monīriyah, 1928), pp. 31-33.

¹¹Ibid., p. 32. See also: Ibn Abī Dīnār, al-Mu'nis, pp. 33-34.

al-Nu'mān marched back again upon al-Qayrawān. This time he was able to defeat al-Kāhinah's forces and kill her in 82/701. In that year he retook Carthage from the Byzantines and began the foundation of the city of Tunis in 84/703. In 86/705, Ibn al-Nu'mān was recalled by the Caliph and left the Maghrib for the East.¹²

Ibn al-Nu'mān's successor, Mūsā Ibn Nuṣayr, followed a more daring and effective plan toward the completion of the conquest of the Maghrib. First, he pacified the Middle Maghrib (al-Maghrib al-Awṣaṭ) and then the Far Maghrib (al-Maghrib al-Aqṣā) to the Atlantic Ocean. From there he advanced as far as Darāḥ Valley and Sijilmāsah. He then moved into the Tanjah region (Tangier), where he seized the city and appointed Ṭāriq Ibn Ziyād as its governor.¹³ Ibn Ziyād was later, in 92/711, to distinguish himself in the conquest of Andalusia (Spain). Thus, the entire Maghrib had come under the control of the Arabs.

One may wonder about the relative ease with which the Arabs conquered North Africa. Therefore, let us discuss briefly the causes which were behind that historical question and certainly contributed to the fall of the whole region.

At the time of the Arab conquest, North Africa was undergoing a

¹²Al-Mālikī, Riyāḍ al-Nufus, pp. 32-38. See also: al-Balādhurī, Futuh, p. 231; and Ibn Abī Dīnār, al-Mu'nis, p. 35.

¹³Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, v. 4, pp. 112-113. See also: Ibn Abī Dīnār, al-Mu'nis, pp. 35-36; and Ibn al-Abbār, al-Hullah al-Sayrā', v. 2, pp. 332-334.

religious as well as a political crisis. The religious dispute was between the supporters of the Chalcedonian orthodox doctrine and monophysitism. Following the fall of Egypt and Syria into the hands of the Arabs, many Christian refugees coming from these area to North Africa began preaching the Monophysite doctrine with great vigor, which undoubtedly added another problem for the already divided community. The outcome of this doctrinal conflict was the separation of North Africa from the Byzantine Empire in the year 646 when a certain Gregory, the exarch of the region, rebelled against the central authority and even had himself proclaimed emperor.¹⁴ In the midst of these developments, the Arabs began their assault on North Africa.

Moreover, the majority of the Berbers of North Africa were nomadic, like the invading Arabs, and consequently communications with them were much easier and faster than the sophisticated urban and sedentary ruling Byzantines. Another important factor which facilitated the conquest of the area was the social equality the Arabs offered to the Berbers who embraced Islam. They even invited the Berbers to participate with them in the conquest

¹⁴Charles Diehl, L'Afrique Byzantine, Histoire de la Domination Byzantine en Afrique (533-709), v. 2 (New York: Burt Franklin, 1959), pp. 542-558. See also: Ernest Mercier, Histoire de l'Afrique Septentrionale (Berbèrie) Depuis les Temps Les Plus Recules Jusqu'a La Conquêt Française (1830), v. 1 (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1888), p. 196.

of Spain in 92/711 and share together the spoils of war. This was, of course, contrary to what the Byzantines had done to the Berbers, who, "with their superstitious mythology, were thus kept outside the pale of Christian civilization."

It is therefore no wonder that the Berber tribes found it more to their advantage to accept the new situation readily and to settle down with the invaders on a footing of social equality. They even offered a helping hand in the task of exterminating the church which they regarded as a symbol of past humiliation.¹⁵

When the Maghrib had become a part of the Arab Empire, it began to share with the rest of the provinces the reactions to the vicissitudes of the central administration in the capital of a vast realm. Thus the succession of emerging crises, both political and religious, found their way to North Africa in the form of two major institutions: Khārijism and Shi'ism. Both of these politico-religious movements sprang up in the Arab East at an early date, and their proponents seized every opportunity to penetrate new fields with the expansion of the Arabs. The Maghrib became an excellent new target for their missionaries and propagandists who were able to function undisturbed under a veil of secrecy in those remote sections of the empire.

The heralds of those movements in the Maghrib were the Khārijites. They incited rebellion among the Berbers against the Umayyad and the 'Abbasid administrations in turn. Their sustained efforts culminated in the

¹⁵A. S. Atiya, A History of Eastern Christianity (London: Methuen and Company, Ltd., 1968), pp. 438-440.

creation of the Šufri State of Sijilmāṣah, as well as the Ibadī Rustumid Imamate, which constitutes the main theme of this study. Shi'ism followed Kharijism later and struck root among some Berber tribes. Again, the Shi'ites of North Africa succeeded in the establishment of the Idrisid State at Fās (Fez) in 172/789 and the Faṭimid in Ifrīqīyah in 296/909, later taking over the entire Maghrib.

What was Kharijism? How and when did the movement spread to the Maghrib? What branches of Kharijism were peculiar to this particular area? What was the Berber reaction to the Arab attempts at the suppression of this movement among their clans? The present chapter will attempt to answer these questions and analyze briefly the major factors involved in the ensuing events with specific reference to the Maghrib and will serve as an introduction to the topic of this thesis: "The Rustumid State."

Kharijism was a politico-religious movement which plagued the Umayyad Caliphate almost continuously throughout its existence, 40-132/660-750. The origins of the movement began during the Battle of Šifīn (37/658) between 'Ali, the fourth of the Orthodox Caliphs (35-40/655-660) and Mu'āwīyah, the governor of Syria (17-40/638-661). When Mu'āwīyah's¹⁶ army was on the brink of defeat by 'Ali's forces, the former accepted the advice of the shrewd, wily 'Amr Ibn al-'Āṣ to invoke the Qur'ān as the sole

¹⁶Abū Ja'far Muḥammad al-Ṭabarī, Tārīkh al-Rusul wa al-Mulūk, ed. by Muḥammad Abū al-Faḍl-Ibrāhīm, v. 4 (Cairo: Dār al-Ma'ārif, 1963), p. 48. See also: Abū al-Ḥasan 'Ali al-Mas'ūdī, Murūj al-Dhahab, ed. by Y. A. Daḡhīr, v. 2, 1st ed. (Beirut: Dār al-Andalus, 1965), p. 390.

basis of arbitration between the two sides. Although 'Ali appears to have been aware of the trick, the bulk of his troops forced him to accept the principle of arbitration.¹⁷ When a sector of 'Ali's troops began to perceive that this procedure was only a mere trick for "buying time," they tried to persuade the Caliph to rescind this arrangement. But 'Ali refused to do so, since he had already committed himself to arbitration. Consequently, about 12,000 of his discontented troops withdrew from his camp to Ḥarawrā', a village two miles southeast of al-Kūfah.¹⁸

This section of 'Ali's army became known as "Khawārij" or Khārijites from the verb "Kharaju"--"went out" or "seceded." They formed the nucleus of the first separatists or dissenters, known initially in the older annals as "al-Ḥarawriyah" after the village of Ḥarawrā',¹⁹ or "al-Muḥakimah," i.e., those who resorted solely to Allah's judgment, their slogan being "La Ḥukma Illa Li-llah"--"Judgment belongs only to God."²⁰ These early dissidents were badly defeated and many of them massacred by 'Ali in

¹⁷Al-Ṭabarī, Tārīkh, v. 4, p. 49.

¹⁸Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, v. 4, p. 165. See also: Louis Massignon, Khiṭaṭ al-Kūfah, trans. by Taqī Ibn Muḥammad al-Muṣ'ibī (Ṣayda: Maṭb'at al-'Irfān, 1939), Maps Nos. 1, 3; and Mercier, L'Afrique Septentrionale, v. 1, pp. 200-201.

¹⁹Al-Ṭabarī, Tārīkh, v. 4, p. 55.

²⁰G. Levi Della Vida, "Kharijites," Encyclopedia of Islam, first ed., II, pp. 904-905. See also: Maḥmūd Ismā'il 'Abd al-Rāziq, "Jadal Ḥawla al-Khawārij wa Qaḍiyat al-Taḥkīm," al-Jam'iyah al-Miṣrīyah Le al-Dirāsāt al-Tārīkhīyah, v. 20, (1973), pp. 47-69; and Martin Hinds, "The Siffin Arbitration Agreement," Journal of Semitic Studies, v. 17, (1972), pp. 93-192.

the Battle of al-Nāhrawān (38/659).

Al-Shahristānī, the principal jurist, theologian, and historian of religions in the oriental middle ages (479-548/1087-1153), defines the Khārījī as anyone who revolts against or dissents from the Imam, who is accepted by a clear majority of the faithful.²¹ Ibn Ḥazm (384-456/904-1064), another historian, jurist, philosopher, and theologian, enumerates the following as the basic tenets in which all the Khawārij believed: (a) rejection of the principle of arbitration with regard to the Caliphate; (b) considering as equivalent to unbelievers (Kāfirs) all those who commit grave sins; (c) legalization of rebellion against an unjust Imam; (d) serious sinners must suffer eternal hell; (e) extension of eligibility to the Imamate or Caliphate beyond the closed circle of the Quraysh tribe.²² The theologian, al-Baghdādī (d. 429/1037) includes other details in the description of the Khawārijī, which may be epitomized in the damnation of Caliph 'Alī, 'Uthmān, Ṭalḥah, al-Zubayr, 'Ā'ishah, and their followers, Mu'āwiyah and his supporters, and the two referees of Ṣiffin, 'Amr Ibn al-'Āṣ and Mūsā al-Ash'arī.²³

From the aforementioned discussion, we may deduce that the term

²¹Abū al-Faṭḥ Muḥammad Aḥmad al-Sharistānī, al-Milal wa al-Niḥal, v. 1, ed. by Muḥammad Sayyid Kaylānī (Cairo: Maṭba't Muṣṭafā al-Ḥalabī, 1961, pp. 114-116.

²²Al-Zāhiri al-Andalusī, Ibn Ḥazm, al-Faṣl fi al-Milal wa al-Aḥwa'wa al-Niḥal, v. 2 (Cairo: Maṭba't Muḥammad 'Alī Ṣubayḥ, 1964), p. 107.

²³Abū Mansūr Abd al-Qādir Ibn Ṭāhir al-Baghdādī, al-Milal wa al-Niḥal, ed. by A. N. Nādir (Beirut: Dār al-Mashriq, 1970), p. 58.

"Khawārij" is a rather loose one. In general, however, it is safe to assume that the Khawārij emerged as a kind of "opposition republican party" against the royalist theocrats who were either Sunnites or Shi'ites.

The most important of the Khārijī thoughts is their theory of the State. They agree with the Sunnites and the Shi'ites that the basic source of authority is derived from God, though they differ from them on its use as well as the limitations of the Imam's power. Moreover, the Khawārij disagree with both major sects on the principle of Qurayshī origin as a binding prerequisite for the right of succession to the Caliphate.

The command over men belongs only to God. Within the limits of law the one entrusted with authority can give orders and require obedience, but he forfeits this right as soon as he deviates from the law, for no man has an inherent right in his person against another; all types of human command, when just, are derived from the divine source.²⁴

This Khārijī theory of state appealed mostly to the non-Arab Muslims, more especially the Berbers in the Maghrib, who found in it strong justification for their political and religious rebellions against the Arab administration.

Khārijism thus developed into a popular democratic movement against a republican background of a free state as opposed to the royalist Sunnite or Shi'ite concept. The trouble with Khārijism was that it did not remain a united front. From its rise, some sub-sects and schismatic groups sprang out of its main core because of difference in views on certain religious

²⁴Elie Adib Salem, Political Theory and Institutions of the Khawārij (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1956), pp. 50-51.

minutiae as well as minor political issues. Undoubtedly, these early separatist tendencies weakened the movement and ultimately led to its extinction.

Al-Baghdādī speaks of twenty major Khārījī groups, and each of them was again sub-divided into other minor groups.²⁵ This multiplying conglomeration of petty sects took against each other as well as against their principal Sunnite and Shi'ite opponents. Of these groups, the Ibadīyah and al-Ṣufriyah embraced somewhat moderate views, whereas others, like the Azāriqah and al-Najdat, adopted extremist doctrines, which in some cases went beyond the teachings of Islam, itself.²⁶

The Khawārij who were beaten and persecuted in the East had to flee for safety to the distant provinces of the Arab Empire, like Khurāsān, southern Arabia, east Africa, the Maghrib, and Spain, where they hoped to practice their own creeds undisturbed and freely.

As to how and when the Khārijites reached the Maghrib, there is no accurate record in Arabic sources. The fourteenth-century historian, Ibn Khaldūn (792-808/1352-1406), for instance, sees a correlation between the assassination of Yazīd Ibn Abī Muslim, the governor of the Maghrib, in 102/720, and the beginning of the Khārījī movements in North Africa.²⁷

²⁵ Abd al-Qāhir Ibn Ṭāhir Muḥammad al-Baghdādī, al-Farq Bayna al-Firaq, ed. by Muḥammad M. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd (Cairo: Maktabat Muḥammad Ṣubayḥ, 1964?), pp. 74-113.

²⁶ Al-Baghdādī, al-Farq Bayna al-Firaq, pp. 82-93.

²⁷ 'Abd al-Rahmān Ibn Khaldūn, Tārīkh Ibn Khaldūn . . . Kitāb al-'Ibar wa Diwān al-Mubtad' wa al-Khabar, ed. by Y. A. Dāghir, v. 6 (Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-Lubnānī, 1959), pp. 220-221.

Al-Tabarī (224-310/839-923) and Ibn al-Athīr (555-630/1160-1232) relate the inception of the Khārijī movements in the Maghrib to a group of Iraqi propagandists who went there during the reign of Caliph Hishām Ibn 'Abd al-Malik (105-125/724-743).²⁸ It would seem, however, that the Khawārij had gradually migrated to the Maghrib since the rise of their movement after the arbitration of Ṣiffin, either under the pressure of the Caliphs who undoubtedly persecuted them in the East and/or migrated there as a part of an organized protest against the very system of the Caliphate. At any rate, by 122/740, Khārijism had soon gained enough ground to be able to muster a rebellion against the Umayyad administration.

Amongst the Khārijites who took refuge in the Maghrib, the Ibādīyah and the Ṣufriyah stand out as the more enduring elements. Both of them were popular Khārijī sects in North Africa. The Ibādī scholars believe that their sect is not a part of the Khārijism and does not have anything to do with it.²⁹ Nevertheless, an examination of the Ibādī source material leaves no doubt about the fact that the Ibādīs were one of the Khārijī groups. Ibn Ḥazm, for example, supports this fact by stating that Ibādism was clearly a Khārijī sect, and that Ibādīs were the closest to the Sunnis because of their moderate

²⁸Al-Tabarī, Tārīkh, v. 4, p. 254. See also: Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, v. 3, p. 47.

²⁹Abū al-Rabi' 'Sulaymān al-Barūnī, Mukhtaṣar Tārīkh al-Ibādīyah (Tunis: Maktabat al-Istiḳāmah, 1938), p. 2. See also: al-Ṭāhir Aḥmad al-Zawī, Tārīkh al-Fatḥ al-'Arābī fī Libyā (Cairo: Dār al-Mā'arif, 1954), p. 108; and 'Amr K. Ennāmi, Studies in Ibādism (Benghāzi, Univ. of Libyā, Faculty of Arts, 1972), pp. 7-26.

views.³⁰

Ibādism takes its name from 'Abd Allah Ibn Ibād al-Murri al-Tamimi, who was certainly one of its founders.³¹ He was a contemporary of Caliph 'Abd al-Malik Ibn Marwan (66-87/685-705).³² Ibadi writers, however, attribute the introduction of Ibādism in the Maghrib to Salamah Ibn Sa'id or Sa'd, a Shaykh from al-Basrah. It is highly probably that Ibn Sa'id was sent to the Maghrib to preach Ibādism as part of a well-organized plan to spread its philosophy throughout the Arab world. He appeared at al-Qayrawan toward the beginning of the second/eighth century. Ibn Sa'id's labors were crowned by his success in converting four prominent men to Ibādism. These four men were: 'Abd al-Rahman Ibn Rustum, 'Asim al-Sadrati, Isma'il Ibn Dirar al-Ghadamsi, and Abu Dawud al-Qibili al-Nafzawi.³³

Ibn Sa'id sent these men to al-Basrah for more study and training at the hands of Abu 'Ubaydah Muslim Ibn Abi Karimah al-Tamimi, the head of the Ibadi sect. A fifth man, Abu al-Khattab 'Abd al-A'la Ibn al-Samah al-Ma'afri al-Himyari joined them there. After two years of study and

³⁰Ibn Hazm, al-Milal, v. 2, p. 106.

³¹Al-Baghdadi, al-Farq Bayna al-Firaq, P. 103.

³²Al-Baruni, Mukhtasar, p. 17.

³³Abu al-'Abbas Ahmad al-Shammakhi, Kitab al-Siyar (Cairo: Dar al-Kutub "Manuscript" No. 769, History), fo. 28 ro + 28 vo. See also: Abu Zakariyah Yahya al-Warjalani, Kitab al-Sirah wa Akhbar al-A'imma, (Cairo: Dar al-Kutub "Manuscript" No. H-9030), fo. 5 vo; and Abu al-Abbas Ahmad al-Darjini, Tabaqat al-Ibadiyah (Cairo: Dar al-Kutub "Manuscript" No. H-12561), fo. 8 ro.

training, these five Du'ah (missionaries) were ordered to leave for the Maghrib with authority from Abū 'Ubaydah to form an Ibaḍī Imamate, once their mission gained popular recognition from the tribes of that area. Abū 'Ubaydah also designated Abū al-Khaṭṭāb al-Ma'afī to be the future Imam in the Maghrib and 'Abd al-Rahmān Ibn Rustum to be the Qāḍī (judge). These five men became known in the Ibaḍī theology and tradition as Ḥamalat al-'Ilm--"the bearers of science or knowledge."³⁴

The Ṣufriyah, like the Ibaḍīyah, rose in the East and were forced to flee to the remote parts of the Arab Empire. The sect takes its name from Ziyād Ibn al-Aṣfar, its founder.³⁵ The Ṣufriyah missionaries are mentioned as having been in the Maghrib from the beginning of the second/eighth century. We know from the Ibaḍī historians, al-Darjī nī (seventh/thirteenth century) and al-Warjalānī (d. 471/1078) that Salamah Ibn Sa'īd, the first to preach Ibaḍism in North Africa, was accompanied by 'Abd Allah 'Ikrimah Ibn 'Abd Allah, a Ṣufri missionary from Berber origin, who was a Mawla (client) of Ibn 'Abbās, the famous Muslim traditionalist deceased at al-Ta'if (68-69/688-689).

The Ṣufri activities appear to have been very successful in the Middle Maghrib, since we see that, in the year 122/740, Maysrah al-Madgharī

³⁴Shammakhī, al-Siyar, fo. 28 ro - 28 vo. See also: al-Warjalānī, al-Sīrah, fo. 5 ro.

³⁵Al-Baghdādī, al-Farq Bayna al-Firaq, p. 90. See also: G. Levi Della Vida, "Al-Sufriya," Encyclopedia of Islam, first ed., IV, pp. 498-499.

was able to incite and lead a strong rebellion against the Umayyad administration.³⁶

The Ibāḍīyah, together with al-Ṣufriyah, espoused the moderate Khārijī doctrines, and consequently their attitude toward non-Khārijī Muslims was also moderate. The Ibāḍīyah and the Ṣufriyah cooperated in mastering one rebellion after another against the Umayyads and the 'Abbasids. Ultimately, the Ibāḍīyah gradually absorbed the Ṣufriyah, who disappeared entirely from the scene of events in the Maghrib.

Slowly but surely, Khārijism penetrated deeply into the Maghrib. The Berbers accepted it because the Khārijī views paralleled nicely those of the tribesmen of the Maghrib, who were accustomed to living in a classless society. Khārijism put them on equal footing with their Arab overlords. The efforts of Caliph 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz (98-101/717-720) seem to have helped the Berbers to become Muslims and eventually to call for equality with the Arabs.³⁷ But " . . . their Islamization went further than their

³⁶Abū Zakarīya Yahya Ibn Abū Bakr al-Warjalānī, Kitāb al-Sīrah wa Akhbār al-A'immah, tr. by Emil Masqueray as: "Cronique d'Abou Zakaria" (Alger: 1878), p. 3. See also: al-Darjīnī, Ṭabaqāt, fo. 5 ro; and Abū al-Arab Muḥammad Ibn Aḥmad al-Tamīmī, Ṭabaqāt 'Ulamā' Ifriqiyyah wa Tūnis, ed. by 'Ali al-Shābbī and Na'im al-Yāfi (Tunis: al-Dar al-Tūnisīyah Li al-Nashr, 1968), pp. 82-83; and Chikh Bekri, "Le Kharijism Berbère: Quelques Aspects du Royaume Rustumide," Annales de l'Institut d'Etudes Orientales, v. XV, (1958), p. 58; and Abū al-'Abbās Shams al-Dīn Aḥmad Ibn Khallikān, Wafayāt al-A'yān wa Anbā' Abnā' al-Zamān, ed. by Iḥsān 'Abbās, v. III (Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 1968), pp. 265-266.

³⁷Ibn 'Idhārī, al-Bayān, v. 1, p. 48. See also: Al-Malikī, Riyāḍ al-Nufūs, pp. 66-76.

Arabization,"³⁸ which left a wide cultural gap between the two nationalities and led to more struggle for independence. This fact later convinced the Arab administration to quit the Maghrib. One incentive to Berbers' Islamization was their incorporation into the Arab armies, which entitled them to booty acquired in battles with non-believers. The Arab conquest of Spain at the beginning of the eighth century opened up an opportunity for Berber recruitments and consequently the sharing of spoils of war.

The Arab administration changed its tolerant policy toward the peoples of the conquered lands as the period of conquest came to an end. The Berbers watched carefully with growing animosity as the Arabs were transforming the Maghrib into a purely Arab province without sharing the administration with them. At the same time, the Arab governors of the Maghrib began exercising harsh policies set up by the Caliphs at Damascus and later at Baghdad.

The Umayyad Caliphate began experiencing financial crises at the end of the first/seventh century when the period of conquest came to an end as did the booties which constituted a large portion of the Caliphate budget. Other sources of revenue to the Caliphate treasury, the Jizyah (poll tax) and and the Kharāj (land tax) were on the decline.³⁹ The Jizyah was levied on

³⁸Abun-Nasr, A History of the Maghrib (Cambridge: The University Press, 1971), p. 71.

³⁹Ya'qub Ibn Ibrāhīm Abū Yūsuf, Kitāb al-Kharāj, third ed. (Cairo: al-Maṭba'ah al-Salafiyyah, 1962), pp. 23-69. See also: Muḥammad Diyā' al-Dīn al-Rayyis, al-Kharāj wa al-Nuzum al-Māliyah Li al-Dawlah al-Islāmīyah, 3d ed. (Cairo: Dār al-Mā'arif, 1969), pp. 126-131.

the Dhimmis (Christians, Jews, and other protected religious groups) who were living under Muslim rule. The Kharāj was collected from non-Muslims in the conquered lands who were left in possession of their farms in return for the land tax. The Jizyah was supposed to be dropped in case of adopting Islam, and the state could no longer legally collect it. The Kharāj, on the other hand, was decreasing because many farmers left their farms and moved to cities. The Umayyad Caliphs faced a grave economic dilemma because of this development. In order to avoid a budget deficit and eventual bankruptcy, they decided to continue collecting the Jizyah from those who newly embraced Islam, and the farmers were ordered to return to their villages. This action was met by resistance all over the empire and led to more counter-measures by the government.

The Berbers in the Maghrib were among the first people to revolt because of this action as well as other grievances. They joined the Khawārij in their drive because the propaganda of that group called for equality among all Muslims according to the Qur'an. In addition to this, the Maghrib was suffering from instability. The governors were appointed and dismissed after short tenures following vicissitudes of politics at Damascus, these in turn depending on the two rival Arab tribes, the Qaysites and the Yamanites. This rivalry between these two tribes reflected their disputed in the Maghrib as well as in the rest of the realm of the Umayyad Caliphate, and they instigated civil wars and rebellions. In the end, this was a contributing factor

in the decline and fall of the Umayyad Dynasty.⁴⁰

In 101/220, Yazīd Ibn Abī Muslim was appointed governor of the Maghrib. He was a former secretary of the famous tyrant, al-Ḥajjāj Ibn Yūsuf al-Thaqafī, Viceroy of Iraq (75-95/694-714).⁴¹ Upon his arrival, Yazīd carried out a tough policy with the Berbers similar to that of his former master, al-Ḥajjāj, in other parts of the empire. In order to increase the revenues, he imposed both the Jizyah and the Kharāj on the Berbers, despite their Islamization, ignoring the deep penetration of the Kharijī doctrine in the Maghrib which reflected resentment to oppression and corruption.⁴² In addition to this, he humiliated his Berber guards by ordering them to tatoo their names on their right hands together with the words, "The Guards of Yazīd," on their left hands.⁴³ Tatooing the guards' hands was a Byzantine practice. Yazīd's real intention was simply to make his guards easily recognizable by other Berbers. The Berbers considered this procedure outrageous and, assisted by Kharijī propagandists, were able to

⁴⁰Georges Marçais, La Berbèrie Musulmane et l'Orient au Moyen Âge (Paris: Aubier Editions Montaigne, 1946), p. 4. See also: Julius Wellhausen, The Arab Kingdom and Its Fall, tr. from German by Margaret Weir (Beirut: Khayats, 1963), pp. 68-71.

⁴¹Al-Tabarī, Tārīkh, v. 6, p. 493. See also: G. Marçais, La Berberie, p. 45; and Ibn al-Abbār, al-Ḥullah al-Sayrā', v. 2, p. 336.

⁴²Al-Tabarī, Tārīkh, v. 7, p. 617.

⁴³Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, Futūḥ, pp. 88-89. See also: Mercier, L'Afrique Septentrionale, v. 1, p. 225.

assassinate him in the year 102/721.⁴⁴ The Berbers, however, did not conduct a general revolt. They reinstated Muḥammad Ibn Yazīd, the former governor of the Maghrib, and wrote to Caliph Yazīd Ibn 'Abd al-Malik (d. 105/724) explaining to him that their action was not a revolution against the Caliphate authority. The Caliph had no alternative but to accept the status quo.⁴⁵

Following the assassination of Yazīd Ibn Abī Muslim, the Maghrib became appeased until the appointment of 'Ubayd Allah Ibn al-Ḥabḥāb as new governor in 116/735.⁴⁶ Ibn al-Ḥabḥāb, however, followed a discriminatory and extortionist tax policy and began supplying slaves to Damascus from the Maghrib. He appointed as his deputy at Ṭanjah (Tangier) 'Umar Ibn 'Abd Allah al-Murādī, who also followed a similar and equally harsh policy toward the natives of that city, precipitating in the end his own assassination in 122/740.⁴⁷ In this way, the spark of an uprising in the Far Maghrib (al-Maghrib al-Aqṣā) was fired against the Umayyad administration.

⁴⁴Ibid., p. 89. See also: Al-Ṭabari, Tārīkh, v. 6, p. 617.

⁴⁵Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, v. 4, p. 182; and Abd Allah Laroui, L'Histoire du Maghrib (Paris: Francois Maspero, 1970,) p. 89.

⁴⁶Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, Futūḥ, p. 93. See also: Ibn 'Idhārī, al-Bayān, v. 1, p. 51; and Ibn al-Abbār, al-Ḥullah al-Sayrā', v. 2, pp. 336-338.

⁴⁷Shahāb al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Nuwayrī, Histoire de la Province d'Afrique et du Maghrib, trans. by M. Le Baron MacGuckin De Slane in Journal Asiatique, v. 12, 1841, p. 441-442; and Laroui, L'Histoire du Maghrib, p. 88.

The leader of this rebellion was Maysarah, the chieftain of the Khārijī Šufrī tribe of Maḡharah or Maṭḡharah. The historians of different eras, Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam (187-257/803-871), Ibn 'Idhārī (7-8th/13-14th centuries), and Ibn al-Athīr, all agree that the cause of that revolution was the oppressive policies of Ibn al-Ḥabḥab and his deputy, 'Umar al-Murādī.⁴⁸

The same Arab historians give the leader of the first Khārijī revolt in the Maḡhrib, Maysarah, the surnames of al-Ḥaqīr--"low born"--or al-Faqīr--"the poor." They even mention that he was a Saqqā'--"water carrier" or "water seller" at al-Qayrawān.⁴⁹ On the other hand, the stories of low origin and poverty seem to be contradicted by the fact that he was the chief of his big tribe. It is a known fact traditionally in the tribal system in the Arab world, even today as well as in earlier times, that great wealth is an essential requirement to entitle a person to the Sheikhdом or leadership of his tribe. It seems that the Arab historians were trying to dramatize or belittle his person and discredit the movement.

Before declaring his rebellion, Maysarah tried hard to remind the governor of the Maḡhrib and his deputy at Tanjah of their wrongdoings. When he failed with them, he led a delegation of some twenty of his notable

⁴⁸Ibid., p. 442. See also: Ibn Khaldūn, Tārīkh, v. 6, p. 221; and Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, Futūḥ, p. 94; and Ibn 'Idhārī, al-Bayān, v. 1, p. 52; and al-Ṭabarī, Tārīkh, v. 4, pp. 254-255; and Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, v. 3, p. 47; and Mercier, Li Afrique Septentrionale, v. 1, p. 230.

⁴⁹Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, v. 4, p. 222. See also: Ibn 'Idhārī, al-Bayān, v. 1, p. 52.

tribesmen to Damascus, where he had hoped to put his complaints before the Caliph, himself, Hishām Ibn 'Abd al-Malik. In Damascus he was unable to have an audience with the Caliph and, after waiting so long, he handed a petition to al-Abrash, Hishām's Prime Minister, and returned to the West.⁵⁰

As soon as Maysarah and his companions arrived at Tanjah, they declared rebellion against the Umayyad administration in 122/740. Other Berber tribes like Ghumārah, Miknāsah, and Barghwāṭah, joined Maysarah in his revolt.⁵¹ He even went so far as to declare himself "Caliph" and received the "Bay'ah"--that is, public acclamation of allegiance to his person according to the Ṣufrite doctrine.⁵²

Maysarah and his Ṣufrite followers marched on Tanjah, wrested the city by force of arms, and killed its Arab governor, 'Umar al-Murādī. They first encountered the regular Arab army under the command of Khālīd Ibn Abī Ḥabīb al-Fihri and, after severe fighting, Maysarah withdrew to Tanjah. His withdrawal angered his Khārijī followers, who accused him of cowardice and murdered him according to the Khārijī doctrine which permits killing a coward Imam.⁵³

⁵⁰Al-Ṭabarī, Tārīkh, v. 4, pp. 254-255. See also: Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kamil, v. 3, p. 47.

⁵¹Sa'd Zaghlūl 'Abd al-Ḥamīd, Tārīkh al-Maghrib al-'Arabī (Cairo: Dar al-Mā'arif, 1965), p. 256.

⁵²Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, Futuh, p. 94.

⁵³Ibrāhīm al-Raḳīq al-Qayrawānī, Tārīkh Ifriqiyyah wa al-Maghrib, ed. by al-Munji al-Ka'bi (Tunis: Maktabat al-Saqtī, 1968), p. 110.

The Berbers selected Khālīd Ibn Ḥāmid al-Zanātī as their new Imam. Al-Zanātī met the Arab contingents in the Shalif Valley and defeated them. All prisoners of war found to be of pure Arab blood were massacred outright, and these included their very commander, Khālīd Ibn Ḥabīb. That disastrous battle became known to Arab historians as Ghazwat or Waq'at al-Ashraf-- "The Battle of al-Ashraf" (meaning "The Battle of the Nobles"), signifying the downfall of Arab lords and soldiers slaughtered there.⁵⁴

In 123/741, another Arab army sent from Syria with reinforcements from Egypt and Tripolitania under the command of Kulthūm Ibn 'Iyād al-Qushayrī, numbering some 30,000, faced the same fate as its predecessor in the battle of Baqdūrah on the Sebū River.⁵⁵ The Khārījī uprising spread to Andalusia (Spain) where other encounters took place, ending with an Arab victory over those rebels.⁵⁶ In Ifrīqiyah (Tunisia) a Ṣufrite Khārījī named 'Ukāshah al-Fazzārī declared another rebellion of his own and sent his brother to Ṣabrātah in an unsuccessful attempt to seize it.⁵⁷ The revolt of the Khawārijī

⁵⁴Ibid., p. 111. See also: Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, v. 4, p. 223; and Ibn Khaldūn, Tārīkh, v. 6, p. 222.

⁵⁵Anonymous, Akhbār Majmū'ah Fi Fath al-Andalus (Madrid: Revadeneyra, 1867), p. 30-31.

⁵⁶Ibid., p. 40. See also: Ahmad Ibn Khālīd al-Nāsirī al-Salāwī, Kitāb al-Istiqṣā' Li Diwal al-Maghrib al-Aqṣā, v. 1 (Casablanca: Dar al-Kutub, 1956), p. 100. See also: Ḥusayn Mu'nīs, "Thawrāt al-Barbar fi Ifrīqiyah wa al-Andalus," Majallat Kulliyat al-Ādāb, University of Cairo, v. 10, (1948), pp. 143-206.

⁵⁷Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, Futūḥ, p. 96.

by now had spread almost to all of the Maghrib and the Berbers took control of all the important cities save al-Qayrawān and Tripoli, which remained under the Umayyad administration.

In the following year, 124/742, Caliph Hishām appointed Ḥanzalah Ibn Ṣafwān al-Kalbī, the governor of Egypt, as governor of the Maghrib and placed under his command an army of 50,000 warriors.⁵⁸ Meanwhile, the Berber forces advanced on al-Qayrawān in two groups: one led by 'Abd al-Wāḥid Ibn Yazīd, chief of the Hawwārah Berber tribe, and the other by Ukāshah al-Fazzārī. The two Khārījī leaders disagreed on who was to be the future Imam, and eventually this split worked against both of them. Ḥanzalah's plan was to fight each of them separately. He began with Ukāshah al-Fazzārī and won a great victory over his troops and killed him at the Battle of al-Qarn near al-Qayrawān. He then turned against 'Abd al-Wāḥid al-Hawwārī and was able to kill him and rout his army at the battle of al-Aṣṇām, three miles north of al-Qayrawān.⁵⁹ These two victories over the Khārījī Berbers were hailed by Arab historians as triumphs which equated the Battle of Badr (2/624) in which the Prophet Muḥammad inflicted resounding defeats on the Meccans in the earliest Islamic annals.

Despite his great victories over the Khawārij of the Maghrib, however,

⁵⁸Anonymous, Akhbār Majmū'ah, p. 36.

⁵⁹Ibn 'Idhārī, al-Bayān, v. 1, pp. 58-59. See also: Ibn al-Athir, al-Kāmil, v. 4, p. 223-224; and Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, Futūḥ, p. 104; and Ibn Khaldūn, Tārīkh, v. 6, p. 222; and al-Qayrawānī, Tārīkh, pp. 115-122.

Ḥanzalah Ibn Ṣafwān failed to bring peace to the region. He was forced to quit the Maghrib for the East by 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Ḥabīb, a great-grandson of 'Uqbah Ibn Nafi'. Ḥanzalah, wanting no more bloodshed, gave up his governorship in favor of 'Abd al-Raḥmān.⁶⁰

During the governorship of 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Ḥabīb (127-137/745-755), the Umayyad Caliphate was overthrown in the east by the 'Abbasids. Ibn Ḥabīb struggled hard to keep his position by means of recognizing the 'Abbasid succession on the one hand and by giving secret asylum to the fugitives of the Umayyad household on the other, thus playing a double game in his remote region.⁶¹ In the meantime he was able to subdue the Berber tribes and put down all attempts to overthrow him. When he was assassinated by two of his own brothers in 137/755, the Khawārij resumed their rebellion.

'Abd al-Wārith, a brother of Ibn Ḥabīb, took refuge with the Warfjūmah tribe in southern Tunisia. The Warfjūmah Berbers belonged to the Ṣufrī branch of Khārijism. 'Abd al-Wārith and 'Āsim Ibn Jamīl, the chief of the Warfjūmah tribe, took control of al-Qayrawān in 140/757. The atrocities they committed during and after capturing the city turned other Khārijī sects against them.⁶²

⁶⁰Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, Futūḥ, pp. 105-106.

⁶¹Al-Qayrawānī, Tārīkh, pp. 133-134.

⁶²Ibn 'Idhārī, al-Bayān, v. 1, p. 70. See also: al-Nuwayrī, Histoire de la Province d'Afrique, pp. 460-461/ and Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, v. 4, p. 280; and al-Qayrawānī, Tārīkh, p. 141.

By occupying al-Qayrawān, the Ṣufriyah had accomplished what May-sarah and his successors had been unable to accomplish. Thus, Kharijism was for the first time in control of all the Maghrib. The Ṣufriyah were in Ifriqiyah and the west and the Ibadīyah concentrated on Tripolitania. The Khawārij were about to accomplish their dream of establishing the elusive "democratic state." What prevented them from reaching that goal was their division, their local disagreements, and the atrocities of the Ṣufriyah when they captured al-Qayrawān.

It was the Ibadīyah under their Imam, Abū al-Khaṭṭāb, who responded to the appeals of the Qayrawānees to save them from the savagery of the Ṣufriyah. The Ibadīyah, as we have seen, were active in Tripolitania after the arrival of Salamah Ibn Sa'īd on mission. As a result of Ibn Sa'īd's efforts twenty years later, the Ibadī community in Tripolitania under their leader, 'Abd Allah Ibn Mas'ūd al-Tajībī, led an abortive attempt to overthrow the authority of Elyās Ibn Ḥabīb, the governor of Tripolitania, whom the Ibadīyah detested. Al-Tajībī was taken prisoner and killed in 162/744. The Ibadīyah chose two leaders to replace al-Tajībī. They were 'Abd al-Jabbār Ibn Qays al-Murādī and al-Ḥārith Ibn Talīd al-Ḥadramī. The Ibadīyah now took control of all Tripolitania. This event prompted 'Abd al-Rahmān to send an army against them, but the Ibadīs defeated it. The two Ibadī leaders later disputed the state authority with each other, and both were

killed in a mutual fight.⁶³

The victories of the Ibadīyah gave them control over the Berber tribe of Zanatah west of Tripolitania as well as the tribe of Nafusah which was settled south of Tripoli in the mountain bearing their name to this day. After the death of al-Hārith and 'Abd al-Jabbār in 131 or 132/748-749, the Ibadīyah elected Ismā'il Ibn Ziyād al-Nafūsī as their new Imam. He took the title of "Imam al-Difa' (Imam of Defense). Ibn Ziyād captured the town of Qabis in 132/750, but soon afterwards was killed near that town in a struggle with 'Abd al-Rahman Ibn Habi'b's troops.⁶⁴ Ibn Habi'b marched on Tripoli, wrested it from al-Ibadīyah, and rebuilt its fortified walls.⁶⁵

After the death of Ismā'il al-Nafūsī, the Ibadī state collapsed, but its population remained faithful to the doctrines of Ibadism until that state was revived by Abū al-Khaṭṭāb al-Ma'āfirī. The Ibadī notables held a secret conference in a place called Sayyād, west of Tripoli, and chose Abū al-Khaṭṭāb as Imam in 140/757.⁶⁶ Abū al-Khaṭṭāb led his Ibadī followers in a campaign

⁶³Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ*, pp. 106-108. See also: al-Shammākhī, *al-Siyar*, fo. 29 ro; and Ibn Khaldūn, *Tārīkh*, v. 6, p. 223; and T. Lewicki, "Al-Ibadiyya," *Encyclopedia of Islam*, new ed., III, p. 654.

⁶⁴Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ*, p. 108. See also: Ibn Khaldūn, *Tārīkh*, v. 6, p. 223; and Tadeusz Lewicki, *Études Ibādites nord-Africaines*, Part I (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1955), pp. 127-128.

⁶⁵Ibn 'Idhārī, *al-Bayan*, v. 1, p. 63.

⁶⁶Al-Shammākhī, *al-Siyar*, fo. 28 vo. See also: Lewicki, "al-Ibadiyya," and al-Warjalānī, *al-Sīrah*, fo. 6 vo.

against 'Umar Ibn 'Uthmān al-Qurashī, the governor of Tripoli, and drove him out and wrested all Tripolitania from Ibn Ḥabīb's authority.

While the Ibaḍīyah were gaining control of Tripolitania, the Ṣufriyah had seized al-Qayrawān. In 141/758, Abū al-Khaṭṭāb received an appeal from the Ibaḍīyah in al-Qayrawān to liberate them from the radical Ṣufriyah of Warfjūmah, as we mentioned before. He marched on al-Qayrawān with the Ibaḍī tribes of Zanātah and Hawwārah and, on his way, occupied the town of Qābis. He defeated the Warfjūmah, drove them out of al-Qayrawān, and appointed his companion, 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Rustum, as its governor.⁶⁷ The Ibaḍī Imamate of Abū al-Khaṭṭāb in a short time included all Tripolitania, Tunisia, and the Middle Maghrib--modern Algeria. Abū al-Khaṭṭāb also exercised some influence over the Ṣufrite kingdom of Sijilmāsah.⁶⁸

The 'Abbasid Caliph, Abū Ja'far al-Manṣūr (136-158/754-775) was busy in the east with the rebellions of his uncle, 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Alī, Abū Muslim al-Khurāsānī, and the Rawāndīyah. When he put down the last of these revolts in 140/758, and received an appeal for help from 'Aqīfah, chief of Kutāmah tribe who was ill treated by Abū al-Khaṭṭāb or Jamīl al-Sidrātī,

⁶⁷Al-Shammakhī, al-Siyar, fo. 29 vo - 30 vo. See also: al-Warjānī, al-Sīrah, fo. 7 ro - 8 vo; and Ibn 'Idhārī, al-Bayān, v. 1, pp. 70-71; and al-Nuwayrī, Histoire de la Province d'Afrique, p. 463; and al-Darjīnī, Tabaqāt, fo. 11 ro - 12 vo.

⁶⁸T. Lewicki, "al-Ibaḍīyya," p. 654. See also: Idem., Études Ibadites nord-Africaines, pp. 112-114; and A. DeMontylinski, T. Lewicki, "Abu al-Khaṭṭāb al-Ma'āfri," Encyclopedia of Islam, new ed., I, P. 134.

another Berber, Chief who was also ill treated by Abū al-Khaṭṭāb,⁶⁹ he turned his attention to the affairs of the Maghrib. He appointed Muḥammad Ibn al-Ash'ath al-Khuṣṣā'i as governor of Egypt with authority to pacify the Khawārij in the Maghrib. Ibn al-Ash'ath dispatched two expeditions to the Maghrib. The first was under al-'Awwām Ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Bajālī, and the second was commanded by Abū al-Aḥwaṣ 'Umar Ibn al-Aḥwas al-'Ijlī. The first army was defeated by the Ibādīyah at Sirt on the eastern border of the Ibādī state. The second army met the same fate at Maghmadās (Marsā al-Za'frān on modern maps) in 142/760.⁷⁰

Following the defeat of those two armies from Egypt, Caliph Abū Ja'far al-Manṣūr ordered Muḥammad Ibn al-Ash'ath to command personally another expedition against al-Ibādīyah and to assume the governorship of the Maghrib. Upon receiving this news, Abū al-Khaṭṭāb decided to meet Ibn al-Ash'ath in Sirt, where he had met the previous two armies. When Ibn al-Ash'ath learned about the preparedness of Abū al-Khaṭṭāb and the huge army he had assembled, he pretended that Caliph al-Manṣūr had ordered him to withdraw back to Egypt. Deceived by Ibn al-Ash'ath's plan, Abū al-Khaṭṭāb disbanded his troops. Ibn al-Ash'ath then ordered his army to

⁶⁹Al-Ṭabarī, Tārīkh, v. 7, pp. 474-494 & 505-508. See also: al-Warjalānī, al-Sīrah, fo. 9 ro; and al-Shammākhī, al-Siyar, fo. 13 ro.

⁷⁰Al-Shammākhī, al-Siyar, fo. 30 vo. See also: Ibn 'Idhārī, al-Bayān, v. 1, p. 171; and Abū 'Ubayd Allah al-Bakrī, al-Mughrib fi Dhikr Ifriqiyah wa al-Maghrib, ed. by DeSalne (Algiers: Imprimerie Du Government, 1857), p. 7; and Ibn Khaldūn, Tārīkh, v. 4, p. 411.

march on al-Ibādīyah with full speed, day and night, for a "blitzkrieg" surprise attack. The Imam hastily gathered the nearby tribes to check the advancing 'Abbasid hosts. The two sides met at Tawurghah, where Abū al-Khaṭṭāb and his depleted army of some twelve to fourteen thousand succumbed in 144/761.⁷¹ Thus the first Ibādī Imamate was eliminated after a brief, meteoric existence.

Ibn al-Ash'ath continued his advance toward al-Qayrawān. He recaptured it after its governor, 'Abd al-Raḥman Ibn Rustum evacuated it and fled westward, where he later founded the Rustumid State at Tāhirt, as we shall see. By occupying al-Qayrawān, the 'Abbasid administration re-established the authority of the Caliphate over Ifrīqīyah, but the rest of the Maḡrib remained under Khārijī rule.

During his stay in the Maḡrib, Ibn al-Ash'ath tried hard to eliminate the Khawārij. He sent an expedition to the Fazzān region, to Zuwaylah or Zawīlah and the Waddān, which succeeded in killing the Khārijī leader, 'Abd Allah Ibn Hayyān.⁷² Another attempt directed against the Khawārij was this

⁷¹Ibn 'Idhārī, al-Bayān, v. 1, pp. 71-72. See also: al-Shammākhī, al-Siyar, fo. 31 ro - 31 vo; and al-Nuwayrī, Histoire de la Province d'Afrique, pp. 464-466; and al-Zāwī, Tārīkh, pp. 122-123; and Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, v. 4, p. 281; and Abū 'Umar Muḥammad al-Kindī, Kitāb al-Wulāh wa Kitāb al-Qudāh, ed. by Rafinkast (Beirut: Maṭba'at al-Abā' al-Yasū'ayīn, 1908), pp. 108-109; and al-Mālīkī, Riyāḍ al-Nufūs, v. 1, pp. 101-102; and Ibn Khaldūn, Tārīkh, v. 6, p. 225; and al-Warjalānī, Chronique, pp. 37-38; and T. Lewicki, Études Ibadites nord-Africaines, pp. 113-114; and H. Faurnel, Les Berbers, v. 1 (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1875), pp. 358-360.

⁷²Ibn 'Idhārī, al-Bayān, v. 1, p. 73. See also: Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, v. 4, p. 281; and Mercier, L'Afrique Septentrionale, v. 1, pp. 246-247.

time commanded by Ibn al-Ash'ath himself in pursuit of the fugitive 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Rustum who had fled to a mountain known as Sufajjaj south of Tāhirt.⁷³ After a period of siege of Ibn Rustum at Sufajjaj, Ibn al-Ash'ath was constrained to retire to al-Qayrawān by the spread of disease among his soldiers.⁷⁴

At al-Qayrawān, Ibn al-Ash'ath was forced by a local meeting among his men to give up his governorship of the Maghrib and leave for Baghdad. The Mutineers were led by 'Isā Ibn Mūsā al-Khurasānī. Caliph al-Manṣūr sent his orders to al-Aghlab Ibn Sālim al-Tamīmī to assume the governorship of the Maghrib in 148/765, which did not last long because al-Aghlab was killed by al-Ḥasan Ibn Ḥarb al-Kindī, one of his officers, in 150/767.⁷⁵ Caliph al-Manṣūr appointed 'Umar Ibn Ḥafṣ Ibn Qabīṣah as governor of the Maghrib in 151/768.⁷⁶ Ibn Ḥafṣ faced new Khārijī revolts. The Ibādīyah who had been defeated by Ibn al-Ash'ath at Tawurghah either withdrew south-

⁷³Al-Warjalānī, Chronique, pp. 40-41. See also: Muḥammad 'Alī Dabbūz, Tārīkh al-Maghrib al-Kabīr, v. 3 (Cairo: Dār Ihya' al-Kutub al-'Arabīyah, 1963), pp. 22-23 & 256-258.

⁷⁴Sulaymān Abd 'Allah al-Bārūnī, Kitāb al-Azhār al-Riyāḍīyah fi A'immat wa Mulūk al-Ibādīyah (Cairo: Maṭba'at al-Azhār al-Bārūnīyah, no date), pp. 3-4. See also: al-Warjalānī, Chronique, pp. 40-41; and al-Shammākhī, al-Siyār, fo. 32 ro.

⁷⁵Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, v. 4, p. 282, v. 5, p. 26. See also: al-Nuwayrī, Histoire, p. 468; and Ibn 'Idhārī, al-Bayān, v. 1, pp. 74-75.

⁷⁶Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, v. 5, p. 31. See also: al-Nuwayrī, Histoire, pp. 471-472; and Ibn 'Idhārī, al-Bayān, v. 7, p. 75; and Ibn Khaldūn, Tārīkh, v. 6, p. 226, and v. 4, p. 412.

ward into Tripolitania and the Fazzān or westward into central Maghrib where Khārijī centers were growing. It seems that the victory of Ibn al-Ash'ath over the Ibādīyah in Tripolitania and Ifrīqīyah " . . . was indeed an indirect cause of the creation of an Ibādite kingdom where Khārijism could blossom freely."⁷⁷

Ibn Ḥafṣ, a member of the well-known Muhallabī family in Iraq which produced many famous generals, had no difficulty in imposing his authority over Ifrīqīyah and Tripolitania. The threat of Ibn Ḥafṣ's authority came from the Khawārij in the Middle and Far Maghrib. In Tlemsān, Abū Qurrah al-Yafrinī al-Maghīlī, a follower of the Ṣufri branch of Khārijism, commanded his powerful tribe along with the Ibādīyah of Tāhirt under Ibn Rustum in one coalition. Abū Ḥātim al-Malzūzī from the tribe of Hawwārah, who took the title of "Imam al-Difā" (Imam of defense), 'Āṣim al-Sidrātī, one of "Ḥamalāt al-'Ilm," 'Abd al-Malik Ibn Sakrīd al-Ṣinhājī, al-Miswir Ibn Ḥanī al-Zanātī, and Ya'qūb Ibn Ḥabīb Ibn Yaṭful, all joined the march against the 'Abbasid administration. These Khārijī leaders were able to assemble twelve armies in the Zāb under the command of Abū Qurrah.⁷⁸ They besieged 'Umar at Ṭubnah. 'Umar Ibn Ḥafṣ managed to break up the siege by

⁷⁷Charles Andre' Julian, History of North Africa, trans. by John Petrie, ed. by C. C. Stewart (New York: Praeger Publisher, 1970), p. 24.

⁷⁸Al-Qayrawānī, Tārīkh, pp. 142-144. See also: Ibn 'Idhārī, al-Bayān, v. 1, p. 76; and Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, v. 5, p. 32; and Ibn Khaldūn, Tārīkh, v. 6, p. 226 and v. 4, p. 413; and al-Nuwayrī, Histoire, pp. 472-474.

bribing a brother of Abū Qurrah who withdrew his strong contingents from Ṭubnah.⁷⁹ When the Ṣufriyah left their siege of Ṭubnah, 'Umar marched against Ibn Rustum, where he won a victory over him and his Ibādī followers.⁸⁰ Ibn Ḥafṣ then retired to Ifrīqiyyah under surviving Khawārij pressure. The Khawārij were finally able to set siege to the city of al-Qayrawān with Ibn Ḥafṣ therein. Ultimately, Ibn Ḥafṣ lost his life in the ensuing fighting with the Khawārij in 154/771, and his half-brother, Jamīl Ibn Ṣakhr, was chosen as his successor. Jamīl negotiated a peace agreement with the Khawārij, who allowed him under safe conduct to evacuate al-Qayrawān with his troops and their arms to Ṭubnah.⁸¹ Thus the Khawārij were again in control of most of the Maghrib.

Caliph al-Manṣūr, unwilling to yield to the Khawārij who were about to drive out the Caliphate administrators from the Maghrib, dispatched another famous Muhallabī, Yazīd Ibn Ḥātim Ibn Qabiṣah, who was the governor of Egypt(144-152/762-770), in the hope of recovery of lost territory.⁸² Yazīd led a powerful army of about sixty thousand warriors⁸³ and won a

⁷⁹Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, v. 5, p. 32.

⁸⁰Ibid.,

⁸¹Ibid., See also: Ibn 'Idhārī, al-Bayān, v. 1, p. 76; and al-Ṭabarī, Tārīkh, v. 8, p. 42.

⁸²Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, v. 5, p. 33. See also: al-Qayrawānī, Tārīkh, pp. 159-160; and al-Nuwayrī, Histoire, pp. 480-483.

⁸³Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, v. 5, p. 33. See also: Ibn al-Abbār, al-Ḥullah al-Sayrā', v. 1, pp. 72-75.

decisive victory over the Khawārij in Tripolitania, killing their leader, Abū Ḥātim, in a place called Jenbī or Jandūbah.⁸⁴ It was, as the Arab historians state, the last of 375 battles against the Berbers from the time they had revolted against 'Umar Ibn Ḥaṣṣ.⁸⁵ Yazīd pacified Ifrīqīyah and organized its administration and ruled it for fifteen years. He died at al-Qayrawān in 170/787.⁸⁶ Despite these defeats, Khārijism remained strong in the hinterlands of the Middle and Far Maghrib.

The 'Abbasid administration in Ifrīqīyah faced a crisis after the death of Yazīd because of a power struggle within the Muhallabī dynasty. Dawūd Ibn Yazīd succeeded his father and put down the revolt of Nuṣayr Ibn Ṣāleh al-Ibādī, the chief of the tribe Nufzāwah until Caliph Ḥarūn al-Rashīd appointed Rawḥ Ibn Ḥātim as governor of the Maghrib in his stead in 171/788. But his reign did not last long; he died at al-Qayrawān in 174/791. Al-Rashīd appointed Naṣr Ibn Ḥabīb, another Muhallabī, to take over the governorship of the Maghrib in 174/791, and in 177/794, this office went to al-Faḍle Ibn Rawḥ, who was killed by his troops in 178/795.⁸⁷

⁸⁴Al-Shammākhī, al-Siyar, fo. 32 ro. See also: al-Warjalānī, al-Sīrah, fo. 12 vo - fo. 13 ro.

⁸⁵Julien, History of North Africa, p. 24.

⁸⁶Al-Ṭabarī, Tārīkh, v. 8, p. 49. See also: Ibn al-Abbār, al-Ḥullah al-Sayrā', v. 1, p. 76.

⁸⁷Ibn 'Idhārī, al-Bayān, v. 1, pp. 82, 84, 85. See also: al-Nuwayrī, "Histiore," Journal Asiatique, v. 13, (1842), pp. 49-55; and Ibn Khaldūn, Tārīkh, v. 6, p. 228; and Fournel, Les Berbers, v. 1, p. 384; and Ibn al-Abbār, al-Ḥullah al-Sayrā', v. 1, pp. 76-79.

In 179/796, al-Rashīd chose the celebrated Harthamah Ibn A'yan to be the governor of the Maghrib, hoping that he would put an end to the instability and turbulence of that region.⁸⁸ Harthamah did his best to organize the Maghrib but finally asked al-Rashīd to relieve him from his duties in the Maghrib and returned to Baghdad.⁸⁹ Caliph Al-Rashīd appointed his foster brother, Muḥammad Ibn Muqātil al-'Akkī as successor to Harthamah in 181/798. Ibn Muqātil employed strong measures which led to the outbreak of civil war, and al-Rashīd dismissed him.⁹⁰ In 184/800, the Caliph chose, at the advice of Harthamah, the former governor of the Maghrib, Ibrāhīm Ibn al-Aghlab al-Tamīmī to that office. Ibn al-Aghlab managed to restore order to Ifrīqīyah and established a semi-independent state which was named after him and became hereditary in his family until it was destroyed by the Fatimids in 296/909.⁹¹

The 'Abbasid administration in the Maghrib, despite its numerous victories over the Khawārij, could not extend its authority beyond Ifrīqīyah (Tunisia). The Middle and the Far Maghrib remained mostly under Khārijī rule. In 140/757, a Khārijī state was founded in Sijilmāsah (present-day

⁸⁸Ibid., pp. 85-89. See also: al-Ṭabarī, Tārīkh, v. 8, p. 266; and Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, v. 5, pp. 95-96.

⁸⁹Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, v. 5, p. 96.

⁹⁰Ibid., pp. 103-104. See also: al-Nuwayrī, Histoire, pp. 56-64; and Ibn al-Abbār, al-Hullah al-Sayrā', v. 1, pp. 88-90.

⁹¹Ibid., pp. 104-105. See also: al-Qayrawānī, Tārīkh, p. 220; and Ibn al-Abbār, al-Hullah al-Sayrā', v. 1, pp. 93-100.

Rissani) by the Berbers of the Ṣufrī sect. The founder of that state was 'Īsā Ibn Yazīd al-Aswad, one of the rebellious Miknāsah who had escaped to the south along with four thousand of his followers after the defeat of the Ṣufrī uprising under Maysarah al-Ḥaqīr in 122/740.⁹² 'Īsā Ibn Yazīd ruled for fifteen years and was murdered in Khārijī style by his subjects in 155/772 because of his "misbehavior."⁹³ He was succeeded by Abū al-Qāsim Samghūn (Samkū) Ibn Wāsūl (155-168/722-784).⁹⁴ Abū al-Qāsim was followed by his son, Elyās, who ruled Sijilmāsah from 168/784 to 174/791. He was succeeded by al-Yas' whose reign lasted about one-third of a century (174-208/790-823).⁹⁵ During his reign, Sijilmāsah had developed into a large, prosperous city because of its location on the trans-Saharan trade routes. Al-Yas' strengthened his relations with the Rustumid State of Tāhirt by marrying his son to the daughter of 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Rustum.⁹⁶

⁹²Ibn 'Idhārī, al-Bayān, v. 1, p. 156. See also: Ibn Khaldūn, Tārīkh, v. y, p. 267, and al-Bakrī, al-Mughrib, p. 149.

⁹³Ibid. See also: Ibn Khaldūn, Tārīkh, v. 6, p. 267; and Ibn 'Idhārī, al-Bayān, v. 1, p. 156; and Anonymous, Kitāb al-Istibṣār fi 'Abjaib al-al-Amṣār, ed. by Sa'id Z. 'Abd al-Ḥamid (Alexandria: Maṭba'at Jami'at al Iskandariyah, 1958), p. 201.

⁹⁴Ibn Khaldūn, Tārīkh, v. 6, pp. 267-268. See also: al-Bakrī, al-Mughrib, p. 149; and Ibn 'Idhārī, al-Bayān, v. 1, pp. 156-157.

⁹⁵Ibn Khaldūn, Tārīkh, v. 6, p. 268. See also: Ibn 'Idhārī, al-Bayān, v. 1, p. 157; and al-Bakrī, al-Mughrib, pp. 149-150.

⁹⁶Lisān al-Dīn al-Khaṭīb, Kitāb A'māl al-A'lām, pt. 3, ed. by Aḥmad al-'Abbādī and Muḥammad al-Kattānī (Casablanca: Dār al-Kitāb, 1964), pp. 139-148.

This dynasty, which ruled Sijilmāsah, came to be known as Banū Wāsūl or Midrār. It continued to rule Sijilmāsah until it was finally overrun by the Fatimid commander, Jawhar al-Ṣiqillī, in 347/959.⁹⁷

Other Khārijī groups remained scattered throughout the Maghrib, at Jabal Nafūsah (Western Mountain), whose population belonged mostly to the Ibādī branch of Khārijism, and at Tāhirt and its neighboring provinces.

The rise of Khārijī movements in the Maghrib was a major turning point in the relation between the Arab Caliphate and the region. The Umayyads, proud of their Arab-backed Caliphate, tried hard to keep North Africa as part of their realm at any cost until their fall in 132/750. The 'Abbasids who succeeded them did the same until they realized after great sacrifices of money and manpower that the Maghrib was bound to go on its own sooner or later. It was only then that the 'Abbasids decided to pull out with no intention of return.

In order to check the advance of the Khārijites eastward and consequently to prevent more loss of territories to them, the 'Abbasids granted the Aghlabid dynasty the power to rule Ifrīqiyah (Tunisia) as a vassal state. The Aghlabid Amirate thus became a "buffer state" between the 'Abbasid possessions east of Tripolitania and the Khārijites west of Tunisia.

The Khārijites, having been successful in driving out the Caliphate authority from most of the Maghrib, and realizing their goal of creating

⁹⁷Al-Bakrī, al-Mughrib, pp. 150-151. See also: Ibn Khaldūn, Tārīkh, v. 6, pp. 270-271.

their own Imamate, decided to settle down and not to embark on more ventures. As we have seen, a Ṣufri-Khārijī state was founded at Sijilmāsah. When the first Ibādī Imamate in Tripolitania was destroyed by the 'Abbasids, many Ibadis fled to Tāhirt where later 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Rustum, the former governor of al-Qayrawān during the Imamate of Abu al-Khaṭṭāb al-Ma'afri, was able to re-establish the Ibadi Imamate. This state came to be known as the Rustumid State, which lasted until 296/909, and whose history and genealogy will be detailed in the following pages.

CHAPTER II

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE RUSTUMID DYNASTY

'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Rustum, The Founder

144-171/762-788

Medieval as well as modern scholars were unable to establish an accurate genealogical tree for the ancestors of 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Rustum, the founder of the Rustumid State. It is essential, therefore, here to present some of their views in order to arrive at a reasonably acceptable conclusion about 'Abd al-Raḥmān's forbears.

The geographer, al-Bakrī (d. 487/1095) reports that Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Rustum was of royal Persian descent and details his genealogy as follows: 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Rustum Ibn Bahrām (a Mawlā or client of Caliph 'Uthmān Ibn 'Affān, 24-35/644-656) Ibn Dhū Sharār Ibn Sābūr Ibn Babkān Ibn Sābūr Dhū al-Aktāf, the King of Persia (309-379 A. D.)¹

The historian, Ibn Khaldūn (792-808/1352-1406) says that 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Rustum was a descendent of Rustum,² the Persian commander

¹Al-Bakrī, al-Mughrib, p. 67. See also on the Kings of Persia: al-Mas'ūdī, Murūj, v. 1, pp. 266-314; and Abū al-Qāsim al-Firdawsī, al-Shahnāmah, v. 2, Part 4, 1st Ed., trans. by al-Fath Ibn 'Alī al-Bandārī and 'Abd al-Wahhāb Ibn 'Azzām (Cairo: Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyah, 1932), pp. 49-63.

²Ibn Khaldūn, Tārīkh, v. 6, p. 225.

(Amīr) slain at the Battle of al-Qādisiyyah by the Arabs in 15/637. Ibn 'Idhārī, the seventh-eighth/thirteenth-fourteenth century North African historian, calls him only 'Abd al-Rahmān Ibn Rustum Ibn Bahrām, who was a Mawla (client) of Caliph 'Uthmān.³

Yāqūt, the famous medieval geographer (575-626/1179-1229) brings up a somewhat different genealogy for Ibn Rustum. He mentions him as 'Abd al-Rahmān Ibn Rustum Ibn Bahrām (a Mawla or client of Caliph 'Uthmān) Ibn Bahrām Jūr Ibn Shābūr Ibn Badhkān Ibn Shabūr Dhī, King of Persia.⁴

The Ibādī historian, al-Warjalānī (d. 471/1079) also relates Ibn Rustum to the Persian royal dynasty of the Sassanids. According to him, Ibn Rustum's genealogy was reported as: 'Abd al-Rahmān Ibn Rustum Ibn Bahrām Ibn Kisrā (Khusrū).⁵ Al-Shammākhī (another Ibādī historian (d. 928/1522)) also connects Ibn Rustum with the Persian Dynasty of the Sassanids by saying that he was 'Abd al-Rahmān Ibn Rustum Ibn Bahrām Ibn Sābūr Ibn Kisrā on one page, and, on another, reiterates his ancestry with some modification as 'Abd al-Rahmān Ibn Rustum Ibn Bahrām Ibn Sām Ibn Kisrā, the Persian King.⁶

Abū al-Qāsim al-Barrādī (eighth/fifteenth century), yet another Ibādī

³Ibn 'Idhārī, al-Bayān, v. 1, p. 196.

⁴Shahāb al-Dīn abi'Abd Allāh Yāqūt, Kitāb Mu'jam al-Buldān, v. 2, ed. by Muḥammad al-Khānjī (Cairo: Dār al-Sa'ādah, 1906), p. 356.

⁵Al-Warjalānī, al-Sīrah, fo. 5 vo.

⁶Al-Shammākhī, al-Siyar, fo. 28 ro, fo. 33 vo. See also: al-Darjīnī, Tabaqāt, fo. 8 ro.

historian also relates Ibn Rustum to the Sassamid Dynasty of Persia with a different genealogical table as: 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Rustum Ibn Bahrām Dawwās Ibn Sabūr Ibn Bābak Dhī al-Aktāf, the Persian King (309-379).⁷

The modern writers who examined the history of North Africa, with brief reference to the Rustumid State, include G. Marçais, E. F. Gautier, Charles Julien, Tadeusz Lewicki, A. DeMotylinski, Edward Von Zambaur, among others.

Gautier relates 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Rustum to Rustum, the Persian commander who was killed at the Battle of al-Qādisīyah and who was himself a descendant of King Khusrū of Persia.⁸ Zambaur asserts that the genealogy of 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Rustum given by Medieval Arab chroniclers was false and legendary.⁹ Marçais speaks of Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Rustum as a descendant of an ancient Persian dynasty.¹⁰ Julien and Lewicki mention 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Rustum as of "noble Persian origin."¹¹ Motylinski comments on

⁷Abū al-Qāsim Ibrāhīm al-Barrādī, Kitāb al-Jawāhir (Cairo: Lithograph, 1302/1885), p. 174.

⁸E. F. Gautier, L'Islamisation de L'Afrique du Nord Les Siècles Obscurs du Maghrib (Paris: Payot, 1927), p. 293.

⁹Edward Von Zambaur, Mu'jam al-Ansāb Wa al-Usarāt al-Hākimah fi al-Tārikh al-Islāmī, trans. by Zakī M. Hasan and others (Cairo: Matba'at Jāmi'at Fu'ād al-Awwāl, 1951), p. 100.

¹⁰Marçais, La Berbérie Musulmane, p. 106.

¹¹Julien, History of North Africa, p. 23. See also: T. Lewicki, "Les Historiens Biographes et Traditionnistes Ibadites-Wahbites de l'Afrique du Nord du VIIIe Au XVIe Siecle," Folio Orientalia, v. III, (1961-1962), pp. 11-12; and Idem, "The Ibadites in Arabia and North Africa," Journal of World History, v. XII, (1971), p. 88.

the same subject of his genealogy in the following terms: "It is inexact and mutilated, is given by the historians to establish the fact that 'Abd al-Rahmān was of royal stock and was descended from the dynasty of the Sassanids."¹²

From the above-mentioned survey, we find that historians agree that 'Abd al-Rahmān Ibn Rustum was of Persian extraction but disagree on his royal origin. Yet most of them tend in a rather vague and involved way to ascribe his lineage to the Persian dynasty of the Sassanids (226-651 A.D.).

Al-Firdawsī, the author of the immortal Shahnāmāh (The Book of Kings), relates an interesting story about the father of the Persian commander and grandfather of 'Abd al-Rahmān Rustum, who was killed in al-Qādisīyah in 15/637. That story puts it that Furrūkh-Hormzid, Ispahbāz or Spahbādh (Viceroy) of Khurasān or Azerbaijan, proposed to marry the Persian Queen Azarmidokht (killed in 631 or 632 A.D.). The queen rejected the proposal, but invited him to her palace, where she had him assassinated. His son, Rustum, who later commanded the Persian armies against the Arabs in 15/637, led his father's army and avenged his murder by dethroning and slaying that queen in 631-632 and installing in her place King Yazdagird III (632-651).¹³

¹²A. De-Matylinski, "'abd al-Rahman Ibn Rustam," Encyclopedia of Islam, 1st ed., v. 1, pp. 56-57.

¹³Al-Firdawsī, Shahnāmāh, v. 2, Part 4, p. 262. See also: Arthur Christensen, L'Empire Des Sassanides, Le Peuple, L'Etat, et La Cour (Copenhagen: Bianco Lunos Bogtrykker, 1907), p. 86.

If the story is to be trusted, it means that Farrūkh-Hormzid, Rustum's father, was an Ispahbāz (Viceroy) chosen from among the Shathradharan (nobles). These nobles ruled the local provinces as royal vassals to the King of Kings and often attained the title of King themselves.¹⁴

According to the Persian Empire social structure, Rustum must have been one of those nobles because no commoner could lead a corps of Cavalry formed of noblemen.¹⁵ After the collapse of the Persian resistance to the Arabs, King Yazdagirt III fled to Khurasān, and with him was Farrūkh Zādah, a brother of the Rustum who had been the king's counselor.¹⁶

Based on the details given by al-Firdawsī in the Shahnāmah, we may safely assume that Rustum was of Persian noble origin stemming from the Sassanid Dynasty, although historians failed to mention the name Farrūkh-Hormzid in his genealogical tree. It would seem logical from 'Abd al-Rahmān Ibn Rustum's noble Sassanid origin that he might have been able to convince many Persians to leave the Arabized East and join him in North Africa. There he granted them high governmental positions in the newly established Rustumid State. These Persian immigrants became known as 'Ajam (Persians) in the community of Tāhirt and played an important role in the economic as well as the political development of that state.

¹⁴Christensen, L'Empire Des Sassanides, pp. 21-22.

¹⁵A. Faroughy, "A Persian Dynasty in North Africa," Islamic Review, v. 40, (April, 1952), p. 12.

¹⁶Al-Firdawsī, Shahnāmah, pp. 268-269.

'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Rustum was born in Iraq and accompanied his parents on their way to the Maghrib. We have some information as to why his parents decided to leave for North Africa. Al-Warjalānī, who reported this, says that 'Abd al-Raḥmān's father had in mind a prophecy which promised him that one of his descendants would rule the Maghrib. Following this prophecy, Rustum left Iraq for the Maghrib by way of Mecca, where he died en route in the Holy City or its neighborhood. His widow married a pilgrim from al-Qayrawān who took his wife and her son, 'Abd al-Raḥmān, to North Africa.¹⁷

Al-Shammākhī weaves a slightly different story about the advent of 'Abd al-Raḥmān into North Africa. He says that Rustum, 'Abd al-Raḥmān's father, went to Mecca on pilgrimage accompanied by his wife and son. At Mecca he died, and his wife married a man from al-Qayrawān who took her and her son to the Maghrib where 'Abd al-Raḥmān was brought up.¹⁸ The story promoted by al-Warjalānī that 'Abd al-Raḥmān's father possessed the knowledge of a prophecy about his coming to North Africa could have been purposely fabricated by Rustumid historians to give the state divine origin and consequently draw the allegiance of the Berber tribes to it.

Ibn Khaldūn reports a different but more logical story about the coming of 'Abd al-Raḥmān to the Maghrib. He says that Ibn Rustum came to North

¹⁷Al-Warjalānī, al-Sīrah, fo. 5 vo. See also: al-Darjīnī, Tabaqāt, fo. 8 ro.

¹⁸Al-Shammākhī, al-Siyar, fo. 28 ro.

Africa with the Arab armies which conquered it and that he allied himself with the Yamanites.¹⁹ In this case, 'Abd al-Raḥmān could not have reached the Maghrib before the second half of the first/seventh century.

At puberty, 'Abd al-Raḥmān developed a tendency towards Khārījī doctrines through the influence of his teachers and pre-eminently his step-father. We know from the historians al-Warjalānī, al-Shammākhī, and al-Darjīnī that he met Salamah Ibn Sa'id, the Ibādī Dā'ī (missionary) at al-Qayrawān, and was probably taught by him and lured to Ibādī teachings. According to these historians, it was Salamah Ibn Sa'id who advised 'Abd al-Raḥmān to go to al-Baṣrah and study more of the Ibādī theology under Abū 'Ubaydah Muslim Ibn Abī Karīmah al-Tamīmī, the head of the Ibādī community in that city. Ibn Sa'id is reported to have said to him: "Young man, if you want to seek what I see you are after, go to Abū 'Ubaydah Ibn Abī Karīmah al-Tamīmī. In his company you will find what you are seeking."²⁰

Ibn Rustum was not the only one recruited by Ibn Sa'id in North Africa. As we have mentioned in the previous chapter, there were three more with him who became known later as Ḥamalāt al-'Ilm (bearers of knowledge) in Ibādī tradition.

During the first Ibādī Imamate of Abū al-Khaṭṭāb al-Ma'afri, 'Abd al-Raḥmān served as governor of al-Qayrawān until the collapse of that

¹⁹Ibn Khaldūn, Tārīkh, v. 6, p. 246.

²⁰Al-Warjalānī, al-Sīrah, fo. 5 vo. See also: al-Shammākhī, al-Siyar, fo. 28 ro; and al-Darjīnī, Ṭabaqāt, fo. 8 ro.

Imamate at the hands of Ibn al-Ash'ath in 144/762. When the 'Abbasid armies approached al-Qayrawān, Ibn Rustum fled westward with his family to the Middle Maghrib.

The Ibādī sources of North Africa dramatize the flight of 'Abd al-Rahmān Ibn Rustum from al-Qayrawān to the Middle Maghrib by providing an elaborate description of his perilous journey through lands controlled by enemies. He first was arrested by 'Abd al-Rahmān Ibn Ḥabīb, the Arab governor of the Maghrib. When Ibn Ḥabīb was about to put him to death, a friend of the governor and Ibn Rustum interceded on his behalf and had him freed from prison. Secondly, on his way westward his horse died and had to be buried, so Ibn al-Ash'ath could not find its remains in the open and pursue him. Ibn Rustum and his companions had to travel by night and many times changed their course to elude their pursuers. Furthermore, he fell sick, and his son and faithful servant had to carry him in turn.²¹

At any rate, 'Abd al-Rahmān Ibn Rustum and his party succeeded in dodging the pursuit of Ibn al-Ash'ath and arrived safely at Sufajjaj, a rugged mountain near the Valley of Sufavīve which has a spring bearing the same name. The word "Sufavīve" is believed to be a corruption of "Sufajjaj." This mountain is located today to the south of Tāhīrt between the town of Shallālah in the east and al-Suvār in the west.²²

²¹Al-Warjalānī, al-Sīrah, fo. 11 ro. See also: al-Shammākhī, al-Siyar, fo. 31 vo - 32 ro; and al-Darjīnī, Tabaqāt, fo. 15 ro.

²²Dabbūz, Tārīkh al-Maghrib, v. 3, pp. 256-257. See also: Lewicki, "The Ibadites in Arabia and North Africa," p. 90.

Al-Darjīnī mentions that 'Abd al-Rahmān Ibn Rustum took refuge at Wādī (valley) of Sufajjaj where sixty Ibādī Shaykhs from Tripolitania joined him.²³ The area where Ibn Rustum took refuge was the land of the Ibādī tribe of Lamāyah which resided in southern Tāhirt. That tribe had once been in alliance with Ibn Rustum.²⁴ Other Ibādī tribes were also reported living in the neighborhood of Tāhirt. These comprised Hawwārah, Lawātah, Zawāghah, Matmātah, Miknāsah, and Zanātah.²⁵

When Ibn al-Ash'ath learned about Ibn Rustum's escape from al-Qayrawān and the gathering of the Ibādīs around him, he decided to strike out against them before they became more consolidated. He led a large army and set siege to the hiding place of Ibn Rustum at the mountain of Sufajjaj. Ibn al-Ash'ath was forced to raise the siege because of the nature of that rugged terrain as well as the spread of smallpox among his troops.²⁶

The Ibādī tribes in the Middle Maghrib soon afterward joined Ibn Rustum and recognized his leadership. This Ibādī community was later reinforced by more immigrants from Tripolitania following other disturbances and Ibādī uprisings in that country. Ibn Rustum ruled over these Ibādī tribes, probably as Imām Difā' (Imām of Defense), until he was raised

²³Al-Darjīnī, Ṭabaqāt, fo. 15 vo.

²⁴Ibn Khaldūn, Tārīkh, v. 6, p. 247.

²⁵Ibid., p. 246.

²⁶Al-Warjalānī, al-Sīrah, fo. 11 vo. See also: al-Shammākhī, al-Siyar, fo. 32 ro; and al-Darjīnī, Ṭabaqāt, fo. 15 vo.

to the office of full Imam in the year 160 or 162/777 or 779.

The Foundation of Tāhirt - 144/762

The idea of founding a city had become almost a custom of every ruling Muslim dynasty in the Middle Ages. The motives behind such an idea were political, economic, and strategic. Though essentially a question of security, the new foundation was intended to commemorate the beginning of the rule of a dynasty and to immortalize its name in history.

'Abd al-Rahmān Ibn Rustum was no exception. He and his Ibādī followers wanted to have their own capital like their fellow Khārijis, Banū Midrār, who founded their capital, Sijilmāsah in 140/758.

The year in which Tāhirt, the new Rustumid capital, was founded is a disputed question among medieval as well as modern historians. Al-Warjalānī and al-Shammākhī believe that the city was founded in 160 or 162/777 or 779.²⁷ Al Darjīnī Ibn Khaldūn, al-Bakrī, and Yāqūt all state that Tāhirt was constructed in 144/762.²⁸ Ibn 'Idhārī thinks that Tāhirt was erected in 161/778.²⁹

Modern historians are also divided on this issue. It is unnecessary to go into the details of their arguments because they are based mostly upon

²⁷Al-Warjalānī, al-Sīrah, fo. 13 ro. See also: al-Shammākhī, al-Siyar, fo. 34 ro.

²⁸Al-Darjīnī, Ṭabaqāt, fo. 18 vo. See also: Ibn Khaldūn, Tārīkh, v. 6, p. 247; and al-Bakrī, al-Mughrib, p. 68; and Yāqūt, Mu'jam, v. 2, p. 356.

²⁹Ibn 'Idhārī, al-Bayān, v. 1, p. 196.

the reports of the above-mentioned medieval chroniclers.

It would seem, however, that new Tāhirt was most probably founded in the year 144/762 because we hear of its name for the first time only in the year 151/769 by Arab historians reporting the participation of 'Abd al-Rahmān Ibn Rustum with other Khārijī leaders coming from Tāhirt with an army of 15,000 to besiege the 'Abbasid governor, 'Umar Ibn Ḥafṣ al-Ṭubnah. Those same historians tell us that when Ibn Rustum was defeated in that offensive, he retired to Tāhirt.³⁰ This fact suggests that the city of Tāhirt with its new name was in existence before 151/769, a fact which went unnoticed by all historians. It seems also that those historians who adopt the years 160, 161, and 162/777, 778, and 779 are confused between the date of the foundation of Tāhirt and the election of 'Abd al-Rahmān Ibn Rustum to the Imamate in 160/777 or 162/778, as will be discussed shortly.

When Ibn al-Ash'ath withdrew to al-Qayrawān, Ibn Rustum and his Ibādī followers became agreed on constructing their own city. They sent a group of pioneers to select the site of the new town. Their choice fell upon the site of an ancient Roman-Byzantine town, which had been, perhaps, the capital of a native dynasty, vassal or ally with the Byzantines.³¹

³⁰Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, v. 5, p. 32. See also: al-Qayrawānī, Tārīkh, p. 143; and Ibn 'Idhārī, al-Bayān, v. 1, p. 76; and Ibn Khaldūn, Tārīkh, v. 6, p. 226; and al-Nuwayrī, Histoire, p. 475.

³¹S. Gsell, Histoire Ancienne de l'Afrique du Nord, v. 1 (Osnabruck: Ottzeller Verlag, 1972), p. 10. See also: G. Marçais and A. Dessus-Lamare, "Tihert-Tagdemt," Revue Africaine, v. 89, (1945), pp. 24-57; and Gautier, L'Islamisation d'L'Afrique du Nord, pp. 297-298.

At this site, which later became known as old Tāhirt, Ibn Rustum seems to have faced opposition from the population of that area who were, according to al-Bakrī, from the Berbers of Barfjānah.³² This tribe was probably unwilling to see its town turned into a capital and the center of a state which might eventually invite trouble to their community. Thus, they destroyed what Ibn Rustum had built and ordered him to move out of their region.

Ibn Rustum left and chose a new site five miles southwest of old Tāhirt which came to be known as new Tāhirt (Tāhirt al-Ḥadīthah).³³ There might have been other reasons which made Ibn Rustum depart from old Tāhirt. First, he himself very likely wanted to found a city that would be entirely attributed to him. Second, he also might not have liked the idea of rebuilding on the basis of an old Byzantine town for religious reasons. Third, and more important is that the location of new Tāhirt had more abundant water supply than old Tāhirt at the confluence of the rivers of Mīnah, Tātush, and other springs.³⁴

The site of new Tāhirt was owned by factions from the Berber tribes of Marāsah and Ṣanhājah. Ibn Rustum negotiated with the owners to sell him

³²Al-Bakrī, al-Mughrib, p. 67. See also: Yāqūt, Mu'jam, v. 2, p. 356.

³³Ibid.

³⁴Ḥabīb al-Janḥānī, "Tāhirt 'Aṣīmat al-Dawlah al-Rustumīyah," al-Majallah al-Tunīsiyah Li al-'Ulūm al-Ijtimā'īyah, v. 12, Nos. 40-43, 1975, p. 14. See also: al-Bakrī, al-Mughrib, pp. 66-67; and Yāqūt, Mu'jam, v. 2, p. 355.

that piece of land, but they refused. However, they agreed to permit him to start the construction of his city on condition that the original owners would collect Kharāj (taxes) from its markets.³⁵

Upon being given clearance from the local population, Ibn Rustum began constructing in 144/762. The first edifice to be erected was its congregational mosque, followed by houses and markets. The city was named Tāhirt, a Berber word meaning in Arabic Duff (tambourine) because the place Ibn Rustum chose was treeless and like a squared tambourine.³⁶ Al-Bakrī elaborates a similar story and cites a different Berber word, Tāgdimt, meaning squared tambourine.³⁷ The city was also known as Mu'askar 'Abd al-Raḥmān (camp)³⁸, Tihirt³⁹, and al-'Askar.⁴⁰

The location of Tāhirt was well chosen at the foot of Jazūl or Kazūl Mountain⁴¹, which acted as a natural defensive line. In addition to defensive priority, the city was situated in the fertile plain of Sersū (Sersou) over

³⁵ Al-Bakrī, al-Mughrib, p. 68. See also: Yāqūt, Mu'jam, v. 2, p. 356; and al-Warjalānī, al-Sīrah, fo. 13 vo; and al-Siyar, fo. 34 vo.

³⁶ Yāqūt, Mu'jam, v. 2, p. 356.

³⁷ Al-Bakrī, al-Mughrib, p. 68. See also: al-Shammākhi, al-Siyar, fo. 36 vo.

³⁸ Ibid., p. 68. See also: Yāqūt, Mu'jam, v. 2.

³⁹ Abū al-Fidā, Taqwīm al-Buldān, pp. 124-139. See also: Shahāb al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Qalqashandī, Ṣubḥ al-A'Shā, v. 5, ed. by 'Alī Ibrāhīm (Cairo: al-Maṭba'ah al-Amīriyah, 1913), p. 111.

⁴⁰ Al-Warjalānī, al-Sīrah, fo. 14 ro.

⁴¹ Ibn Khaldūn, Tārīkh, v. 6, p. 247.

400,000 hectares.⁴² The city had also abundant water from the rivers of Mīnah, Tātush, and other springs in its neighborhood.⁴³ From the forests covering the adjacent mountains, the city drew its timber for building purposes as well as for firewood. More importantly, Tāhīrt had a unique location at the end of the Tell on the northern borders of the Steppes, in touch with Sahara nomads and the sedentary population in the north. This location made it a center of commercial routes between east-west and north-south. Due to this location, Tāhīrt grew from a primitive settlement to a prosperous commercial city or emporium. The development of Tāhīrt will be discussed later in more detail in Chapter IV.

Ibn Rustum spent the years from 144/762 to 160/777 organizing and consolidating Ibādī domination over the Middle Maghrib. In 151/762 he joined the Ṣufriyah and other Ibādī leaders in an overall uprising against the 'Abbasid administration. He led an Ibādī army of 15,000 warriors and took part in the siege of the 'Abbasid governor, 'Umar Ibn Ḥafṣ at Tunah, but the latter managed to break the siege and defeated Ibn Rustum, who withdrew to Tāhīrt, leaving 3,000 of his men dead on the battlefield.⁴⁴

In 160/777 or 162/779, the Ibādīs of the Middle Maghrib, after

⁴²Lewicki, "The Ibadites in Arabia and North Africa," p. 90.

⁴³Ibn Khaldūn, Tārīkh, v. 6, p. 247. See also: al-Bakrī, al-Mughrib, p. 66; and Yāqūt, Mu'jam, v. 2, p. 355.

⁴⁴Ibn 'Idhārī, al-Bayān, v. 1, p. 75. See also: Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, v. 5, p. 32; and Ibn Khaldūn, Tārīkh, v. 6, p. 226; and al-Nuwayrī, Histoire, pp. 474-475; and al-Qayrawānī, Tārīkh, p. 143.

recovering their strength, decided to elect an Imam, a post which Ibn Rustum had been actually serving since 144/762. This decision was not an easy one because general tribal chiefs had coveted that leading office and many qualified for it according to the Ibādī teachings. It seems that these tribal leaders came to a deadlock on the selection of the new Imam.

Despite their integrity and the fulfillment of other requirements, the choice of any of the leaders would have given his faction an advantage over the others, thus upsetting the precarious equilibrium of forces inside the tribal confederation. And too, what was the possibility of removing the Imam from the office if he proved to be unworthy of the people's trust? In the case of the tribal chief, his own tribe was bound to defend him with arms in hand. The danger of civil strife was more than a theoretical possibility.⁴⁵

Thus, Ibn Rustum became the only and inevitable alternative candidate to the Imamate if bloodshed was to be avoided. His integrity was beyond question; he was the only survivor of the five original Dā'is (missionaries) who had spread Ibādism in the Maghrib, the others having been killed in action by the 'Abbasid administration during the Khārijī uprisings. In addition to this, he was well educated, brave, pious, and had gained administrative experience during his governorship over al-Qayrawān as well as having had the advantage of acting as Imam from 144/762 to 160/777. Above all, he had proved to be a great administrator and political organizer. His Persian descent was no obstacle, because Khārijī doctrine allowed all Muslims, regardless of birth, color, or race to be eligible for the office of Imam if they qualified for it. Moreover, Ibn Rustum would have no tribal solidarity of 'Aṣābiyah to stand

⁴⁵Farrouhy, "A Persian Dynasty in North Africa," p. 13.

behind him if he had proved to be unworthy of the job bestowed on him by the Ibādī community.⁴⁶

This policy of choosing a candidate who had no tribal support was practiced before the Ibādīyah in Sijilmāṣah, where the Khārijī Ṣufri state chose 'Isā Ibn Yazīd al-Aswad, mainly because he had no tribal support. When he proved unworthy of the job bestowed upon him, the Ṣufri community put him to death, and no tribe came to his defense, as already seen in Chapter I. It would appear that the Ibādīs of Tāhīrt had in mind that historical precedent when they were deliberating the choice of their Imam.

Thus, 'Abd al-Rahmān Ibn Rustum was chosen as the first Imam in the Rustumid State in 160 or 162/777 or 779. He concentrated his efforts on strengthening the new Imamate. He concluded an alliance with the rulers of the Ṣufri State of Sijilmāṣah and strengthened it by marrying his daughter, 'Arwā or 'Arwī (also mentioned as Hānū) to Midrār, the son of Abū Mansūr al-Yas' al-Ṣufri.⁴⁷ His relations with the Ibādīs of the Arab East were very strong because they looked upon him as their own Imam and recognized his authority. They even sent him a three-camel load of money as a financial aid

⁴⁶Ibn al-Ṣaghīr, Dhikr Ba'd al-Akhbār fi al-A'imma al-Rustumīyīn, trans. by A. DeMotylinski, with Arabic text, Actes Du XI^e Congrès International des Orientalistes (Algiers: E. Laroux, 1905), Arabic text, pp. 9-10. See also: al-Warjalānī, al-Sīrah, fo. 13 vo; and al-Shammākhī, al-Siyar, fo. 34 ro. and al-Darjīnī, Ṭabaqāt, fo. 18 ro.

⁴⁷Ibn Khaldūn, Tārīkh, v. 6, p. 268. See also: Ibn 'Idhārī, al-Bayān, v. 1, p. 157; and Ibn al-Khaṭīb, Tārīkh, p. 143.

from the Ibādīs of al-Baṣrah.⁴⁸ This money was used in purchasing arms, horses, and help for the poor.⁴⁹

Thanks to this financial aid, the Ibādīs of Tāhīrt were able to develop their capital and strengthen themselves militarily by buying their much-needed arms. The Ibādīs of the East were very impressed by the fair and just rule of Imam 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Rustum, and, therefore, after three years, they decided to send him a second financial contribution. This time it was ten camel-loads of money--solid cash.⁵⁰ The same envoys who had carried the first aid to Tāhīrt were entrusted with the delivery of the second one to Ibn Rustum. They left Iraq under cover and managed to maintain secrecy until they arrived at Tāhīrt. They found Tāhīrt had changed completely, and they were highly impressed by its new buildings and wealth. After consulting with his counselors and the tribe notables, Imam 'Abd al-Raḥmān decided to return the second financial aid to those who had contributed it. This was done on the ground that the Ibādīs of the Maghrib were no longer in need of financial help because they had become economically independent and were free from persecution, unlike their Ibādī co-religionists in the Arab East.⁵¹

⁴⁸Ibn al-Ṣaghīr, Akhbār al-A'immah, Arab text, p. 12.

⁴⁹Ibid., pp. 11-72. See also: al-Warjalānī, al-Ṣīrah, fo. 14 vo; and al-Shammākhī, al-Siyar, fo. 34 vo; and al-Bārūnī, al-Azhār, pp. 85-87.

⁵⁰Ibn al-Ṣaghīr, Akhbār al-A'Immah, p. 13.

⁵¹Ibid., p. 14-15.

Imam 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Rustum continued his hostile policy toward the 'Abbasid administration in Tunisia in the hope that he might be able to annex that country. In 171/788, he encouraged Ṣāliḥ Ibn Nuṣayr al-Naḥzāwī al-Ibādī (also known as Nuṣayr Ibn Ṣāliḥ) to rebel against the 'Abbasid governor, Dāwūd Ibn Yazīd Ibn Ḥatīm (170-171/787-788). The revolt failed, and the Ibādī tribe of Nazāwah was badly massacred; more than 10,000 Ibādīs lost their lives in that encounter.⁵² This defeat forced Ibn Rustum to conclude a peace treaty in 171/788 with Rawḥ Ibn Ḥatīm, the new governor of Tunisia (171-174/788-791).⁵³ In general, however, the reign of Imam 'Abd al-Raḥmān seems to have been relatively peaceful, and no uprising or schism had been reported in his reign. He applied himself with great simplicity and lived an austere life which recalls that of Caliph 'Umar Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, the second of the orthodox Caliphs (13-23/634-644).⁵⁴

Imam 'Abd al-Raḥmān was by now an old man and, following the example set by Caliph 'Umar Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, he nominated eight candidates to form an elective council (Majlas Shūrā) in order to choose one of themselves as his successor when he died. These eight electors were: Mas'ūd al-Andalusī, Abū Qaddāmah Yazīd Ibn Fandīn al-Yafrinī, 'Uthmān ('Imrān) Ibn Marwān al-Andalusī, his son 'Abd al-Waḥḥāb Ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn

⁵²Ibn 'Idhārī, al-Bayān, v. 1, p. 82. See also: Ibn Khaldūn, Tārīkh, v. 6, p. 228.

⁵³Ibn Khaldūn, Tārīkh, v. 6, p. 228.

⁵⁴Ibn al-Ṣaghīr, Akhbār al-A'imma, pp. 10-11, 16.

Rustum, Abū al-Muwaffaq Sa'dūs Ibn 'Atiyyah, Shukr Ibn Sālīḥ al-Kutāmī, and Muṣ'ab Ibn Sarmān (or Sadmān).⁵⁵

Unlike Caliph 'Umar, Imam 'Abd al-Raḥmān did not expressly forbid the election of his son, 'Abd al-Wahhāb. He died in 171/788, but the date of his death is disputed by medieval historians. Ibn 'Idhārī states that he died in 168/785⁵⁶, while Ibn Khaldūn does not mention any date of his death and states only that he concluded a peace agreement with Rawḥ Ibn Ḥātim, the governor of Tunisia in 171/788.⁵⁷ It is more logical to accept the year 171/788 as that of Ibn Rustum's death because of Ibn Khaldūn's statement that Rawḥ Ibn Ḥātim also concluded a treaty with 'Abd al-Wahhāb Ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Rustum in 171/788. This indicates that Imam 'Abd al-Raḥmān might have died in 171/788, and that his son succeeded him in the same year, when his son, the Imam 'Abd al-Wahhāb, reconfirmed the treaty concluded between his father and the governor of Tunisia.

One month after Imam 'Abd al-Raḥmān's death, the elective council met to choose a successor. That was not an easy task. After long days of deliberation, they agreed to narrow down the eight candidates to two: 'Abd

⁵⁵Al-Warjalānī, al-Sīrah, fo. 14 vo. See also: al-Shammākhī, al-Siyar, fo. 36 ro; and al-Darjīnī, Tabaqāt, fo. 19 vo; and al-Bārūnī, al-Azhār, p. 99; and al-Bārūnī, Mukhtaṣar, p. 38.

⁵⁶Ibn 'Idhārī, al-Bayān, v. 1, p. 196.

⁵⁷Ibn Khaldūn, Tārīkh, v. 6, p. 228.

al-Wahhāb Ibn Rustum and Mas'ūd al-Andalusī.⁵⁸ It is clear that the Khārijī political theory of state, which dislikes a hereditary system, was at stake. 'Abd al-Wahhāb was highly educated, brave, and just. In other words, he was perfectly qualified for the position. His only obstacle was that he was a son of the deceased Imam, and many Ibāḍis disliked or feared that their democratic principles might be endangered by making the Imamate hereditary. Therefore, the majority were in favor of choosing Mas'ūd al-Andalusī.⁵⁹

When the day was set for the final election of their candidate from among the two, Mas'ūd al-Andalusī disappeared, leaving 'Abd al-Wahhāb the only available candidate and, de facto, he was chosen as Imam and successor to his father in 171/788.⁶⁰

Although the Ibāḍī sources indicate that the election of Imam 'Abd al-Wahhāb was by clear majority⁶¹, we find by careful examination of these same sources that it was not quite so. He was elected by pressure tactics on other candidates to withdraw, leaving him the only candidate in the field.

⁵⁸Al-Warjalānī, al-Sīrah, fo. 14 vo. See also: al-Shammākhī, al-Siyar, fo. 36 ro; and al-Darjīnī, Ṭabaqāt, fo. 19 vo.

⁵⁹Al-Warjalānī, al-Sīrah, fo. 14 vo. See also: al-Darjīnī, Ṭabaqāt, fo. 19 vo; and al-Shammākhī, al-Siyar, fo. 36 ro.

⁶⁰Al-Shammākhī, al-Siyar, fo. 36 vo. See also: al-Warjalānī, al-Sīrah, fo. 14 vo; and al-Darjīnī, Ṭabaqāt, fo. 19 vo - 20 ro.

⁶¹Al-Warjalānī, al-Sīrah, fo. 15 ro. See also: al-Shammākhī, al-Siyar, fo. 36 vo; and al-Darjīnī, Ṭabaqāt, fo. 20 ro.

The historians, al-Warjalānī, al-Shammākhī, and al-Darjīnī tell us that the majority of the Ibāḍīs wanted Mas'ūd al-Andalusī to be their Imam, and not 'Abd al-Wahhāb⁶², probably because the former was more educated than the latter. Mas'ūd al-Andalusī, we are told by these same Ibāḍī historians, did not want to be the Imam and intentionally disappeared when the final meeting came to pass, thus giving 'Abd al-Wahhāb the chance to be elected by his own default.⁶³

It is possible that Mas'ūd al-Andalusī was forced out of the race because of a lack of tribal backing, and his disappearance might not have been voluntary. However, it is not to be excluded that he might have turned down the position of Imam because he was pious and did not want the burden of heavy political responsibility. But the question is still open as to why he remained in the field at the beginning and simply changed his mind on the very last day. Since there is no explanation of this paradox in the Ibāḍī sources, we may assume that Mas'ūd al-Andalusī, being a refugee from al-Andalus (Spain), as his name indicates, had no tribal support. It is possible that he recalled the case of 'Isā Ibn Yazīd al-Aswad who, like himself, was without tribal support when elected first Imam in the Ṣufrī State of Sijilmāsah in 155/772 and, when he was sentenced to death in a cruel way, no

⁶²Al-Warjalānī, al-Sīrah, fo. 14 vo. See also: al-Shammākhī, al-Siyar, fo. 36 ro; and al-Darjīnī, Tabaqāt, fo. 19 vo.

⁶³Al-Warjalānī, al-Sīrah, fo. 14 vo. See also: al-Shammākhī, al-Siyar, fo. 36 ro.

tribe came to his defense.

Another strong reason which might have convinced Mas'ūd al-Andalusī not to seek the position of Imam was the support of Yazīd Ibn Fandīn al-Yafrinī for 'Abd al-Wahhāb. Ibn Fandīn belonged to the subdivision of the all-powerful Berber tribe of Zanātah which stood with 'Abd al-Wahhāb because his mother was from Banū Yafrin. Ibn Fandīn was one of the eight candidates and, having failed to get himself elected, cast his tribe's support behind 'Abd al-Wahhāb because of kinship relations and in the hope that the Imam might favor him with a state office. To borrow Ibn Fandīn's statement in support of 'Abd al-Wahhāb: "'Abd al-Wahhāb is our closest relative on the maternal side from anybody else."⁶⁴ Abd al-Wahhāb also had another powerful group behind him. This was the Persian element in Tāhirt which were rich and strong and certainly voted for him because of racial kinship.

All these reasons mentioned above indicate that the election of Imam 'Abd al-Wahhāb was against the will of many Berber tribes and eventually was not done according to the Ibādī theory of state. This is exemplified by the dangerous uprising of Ibn Fandīn and consequently the rise of the first North African Ibādī sub-sect, the Nukkār.

Ibn Fandīn, who at first supported 'Abd al-Wahhāb Ibn Rustum because of racial kinship on the one hand and in the hope that he would be favored with a state position on the other, backed away from that support when 'Abd

⁶⁴Al-Warjalānī, al-Šīrah, fo. 14 vo. See also: al-Shammākhī, al-Siyar, fo. 36 ro - 36 vo; and al-Darjīnī, Ṭabaqāt, fo. 20 ro.

al-Wahhāb refused to guarantee him that privilege. Ibn Fandīn then introduced a notion of Shart (condition) obliging the new Imam to rule with a council and not to take decisions without consulting the council. This proposal was defeated, and 'Abd al-Wahhāb was finally elected as Imam.⁶⁵ His election was a victory of the hereditary system over the Khārijī elective principle of democratic government.

Those who refused the recognition of 'Abd al-Wahhāb formed a new party which came to be known as "al-Nukkār" or "al-Nukkārīyah" (the deniers). This early schism was, in the long run, a fatal blow to the Rustumid unity as well as the Ibādī domination in the Middle Maghrib.

⁶⁵Al-Warjalānī, al-Sīrah, fo. 14 vo - 15 ro. See also: Al-Shammākhī, al-Siyar, fo. 36 vo - 37 ro; and al-Darjīnī, Tabaqāt, fo. 20 ro.

The Second Imam, 'Abd al-Wahhāb Ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān

171-208/788-824

The final stage of 'Abd al-Wahhāb's election took place at Tāhirt's congregational mosque where the new Imam received the Bay'ah (public acclamation of allegiance to his person from the general public) and was carried in a procession through the streets of Tāhirt to Dār al-Imārah (the seat of government) amidst overwhelming joy.⁶⁶

The first dilemma Imam 'Abd al-Wahhāb had to cope with shortly after his election in 171/788 was the Nukkārī schism. The leader of this movement, Yazīd Ibn Fandīn, as we have mentioned above, was one of the eight electors chosen by Imam 'Abd al-Raḥmān, and he himself aspired to his own personal election as Imam. Having failed in this respect and also in regard to his participation in the government of the new Imam, he began a campaign against 'Abd al-Wahhāb on the assumption of breach of faith by having repudiated his promise to rule with a council at one time and that the Imam was not the best qualified in the Ibādī community on account of the inferiority of his scholarship in relation to others' and must consequently be barred from ruling.⁶⁷

After some fighting, the Nukkārs and Imam 'Abd al-Wahhāb agreed to put their disputed questions before the Ibādī 'Ulamā' (scholars) and religious

⁶⁶Al-Warjalānī, al-Sīrah, fo. 15 ro.

⁶⁷Ibid.

leaders at Mecca. A delegation was sent from Tāhirt to the Holy City to explain the problem. The delegation met three prominent Ibādī scholars at Mecca: Abū 'Amr al-Rabī' Ibn Ḥabīb, Abū Ghassān Muḥammad Ibn al-Mu'ammir al-Ghassānī, and Wā'il Ibn Ayyūb.⁶⁸ After studying the problem, these Ibādī scholars ruled in favor of Imam 'Abd al-Wahhāb. They rejected the Shart (condition) and legalized an Imamate of a person agreed upon by the majority of the community, even if there were others who were more learned than himself.⁶⁹

The Nukkārs were encouraged by Shu'yab Ibn al-Mu'arrif or al-Ma'rūf, an Ibādī scholar who was living in Egypt and, when the delegation sent from Tāhirt to Mecca informed him of the death of 'Abd al-Rahmān Ibn Rustum and the situation in the Maghrib, he hastened to go to Tāhirt in the hope that he also would be elected Imam. This adventurer first joined Imam 'Abd al-Wahhāb and ruled in his favor and then changed his mind and joined the Nukkārs and advised them to overthrow 'Abd al-Wahhāb before the return of the Ibādī delegation from Mecca.⁷⁰

Ibn Fandīn and his followers, knowing that they would lose their war of propaganda against Imam 'Abd al-Wahhāb and that the ruling of the Ibādī scholars in the East would not be in their favor, especially after Ibn al-

⁶⁸Ibid., fo. 15 vo.

⁶⁹Ibid., fo. 15 vo - 16 ro. See the text of the reply of the Ibādī scholars of the East in al-Warjalānī, al-Sīrah, fo. 15 vo.

⁷⁰Ibid., fo. 16 ro - 17 vo.

Mu'rrif encouraged them, resorted to violence. First, they engineered a very daring scheme to assassinate Imam 'Abd al-Wahhāb, whose vigilance saved him from their plot.⁷¹ Secondly, when the plot failed, the plotters became fearful of the Imam's justice and thus resorted to open warfare. They seized a chance when Imam 'Abd al-Wahhāb was out of town and attacked the capital. The attack was repelled by the Imam's son, Aflah Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb, who succeeded in defeating the rebels and killing twelve thousand of them, including their leader, Yazīd Ibn Fandīn.⁷²

The reply of the Ibādī 'Ulamā' (scholars) then arrived in Tāhirt after the defeat of Ibn Fandīn and his followers. It denounced their rebellion and declared, as well, the invalidity of the Shart (condition) on the Imam and the validity of 'Abd al-Wahhāb's Imamate, and it disavowed the activities of Shu'yab Ibn al-Mu'rrif against the Imamate of 'Abd al-Wahhāb.⁷³

This first politico-religious crisis was of grave consequence to the very existence of the Rustumid Imamate. It led to one civil war after another, and then the Imams were bound to suppress any rebellion, irrespective of its aims. This resulted in the decline in popularity of the Imam and eventually to a lack of support for the State.

The trouble with the Nukkārs did not come to an end after their first

⁷¹Ibid., fo. 16 vo - 17 vo.

⁷²Ibid., fo. 17 vo - 18 ro. See also: al-Shammākhī, al-Siyar, fo. 38 vo; and al-Bārūnī, al-Azhār, p. 112; and al-Bārūnī, Mukhtaṣar, pp. 38-39.

⁷³Al-Warjalānī, al-Ṣīrah, fo. 18 ro - 18 vo.

defeat. They persisted in their struggle against the Rustumid Imamate. Some of them succeeded in killing Imam 'Abd al-Wahhab's son, Maymūn and mutilated his body. The Imam retaliated by sending an army commanded by his nephew and a son of his assassinated son. This army inflicted severe defeat upon the Nukkārs, and many of them were slaughtered.⁷⁴

Imam 'Abd al-Wahhāb's next war was with a politico-religious group known as al-Wāṣilīyah. This powerful group was a conglomeration of Berber tribes, but the majority were from the tribe of Zanātah. The Wāṣilīyah were originally the followers of Wāṣil Ibn 'Aṭā' (80-131/699-749), a former student of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, the founder of the Mu'tazilah sect (21-110/642-730). Ibn 'Aṭā' broke away from his teacher and founded his own sect, the Wāṣilīyah, named after him.⁷⁵ Thus, the Wāṣilīyah was originally a part of the Mu'tazilah. Like other Islamic sects, al-Mu'tazilah originated in Iraq in the first/seventh century over political and religious issues and sent its emissaries to all parts of the Islamic world, including the Maghrib.

The Wāṣilīyah followers were estimated at 30 or 40 thousand in North Africa. Most of them were nomads living in the north of Tāhirt, between Mustaghānim (Mostaganem) and Wahrān (Ouran), and to the south of it as well as in the Far Maghrib in the city of Walīlī (Walīlah).⁷⁶ These

⁷⁴Ibid., fo. 18 vo.

⁷⁵Al-Shahristānī, al-Milal, v. 1, pp. 46-49.

⁷⁶Al-Bakrī, al-Mughrib, p. 67. See also: Ibn Khaldūn, Tārīkh, v. 6, p. 248; and Yāqūt, Mu'jam, v. 2, p. 356; and al-Bārūnī, al-Azhār, p. 116; and Dabbūz, Tārīkh al-Maghrib, v. 3, p. 480.

Wāṣilīyah were among other non-Ibādī groups living under Rustumid rule.

These Wāṣilīyah were angered by the killing of Yazīd Ibn Fandīn, who had belonged to the tribe of Zanātah like the majority of them. It is also likely that the remnants of Ibn Fandīn's followers urged their fellow tribesmen of Zanātah to come to their support despite religious differences. There were also external factors contributing to the rebellion of the Wāṣilīyah. They were encouraged by Muḥammad Ibn Khazar al-Zanātī of the same tribe, whose principality of Tlemsān had become part of the Idrisid State in 173/790. Another Wāṣilī leader, Ishāq Ibn Muḥammad al-Urbī, the chief of the Wāṣilīyah at Walīlah and the one who helped Imam Idrīs I to found the Idrisid State in 172/789, had a hand in stirring up trouble against the Rustumids and encouraged the Wāṣilīyah to revolt against Imam 'Abd al-Wahhāb in the hope of annexing the Rustumid State to that of the Idrisids.⁷⁷ Al-Warjalānī, the Ibādī historian, related the rebellion of the Wāṣilīyah to the weakness of the Ibādīyah because of their internal wars. He was referring to the wars with the Nukkārs.⁷⁸

The conflict with Wāṣilīyah was a very serious one. It was a war of propaganda to disapprove the validity of each other's theory on religious as well as political issues. When the debates and wars with the Wāṣilīyah had dragged on for a long time, and perhaps the latter were gaining the upper

⁷⁷ Ibn Khaldūn, Tārīkh, v. 6, p. 248. See also: al-Bārūnī, al-Azhār, pp. 116-117; and Dabbūz, Tārīkh al-Maghrib, v. 3, pp. 484-485.

⁷⁸ Al-Warjalānī, al-Sīrah, fo. 19 ro.

hand in debate, the Imam asked for help from the region of Tripolitania. The governor of that region sent four prominent scholars, well trained in scholastic theology and debate. These scholars were al-Mahdī al-Nafūsi, Muḥammad Ibn Yānis, Abū al-Ḥasan al-Abdalānī, and Ayyūb Ibn al-'Abbās. They succeeded in defeating their Wāṣilīyah counterpart.⁷⁹ When the debate with the Wāṣilīyah ended with a victory for the Ibādīyah, a war broke out, which ended in the rout of the Wāṣilīyah.⁸⁰

Imam 'Abd al-Wahhāb's fourth war was with the tribes of Sadrātah, Mazātah, and others. The cause of this war, according to Ibn al-Ṣaghīr, was that the chiefs of those tribes had asked Imam 'Abd al-Wahhāb to dismiss his police chief, the treasurer, and the Qāḍī (judge) of Tāhīrt, accusing them of abusing their power and of being corrupt. Ibn al-Ṣaghīr adds that those nomads were inspired to do so by the sedentary population of Tāhīrt.⁸¹ It is likely that the non-Ibādī factions in the city and the Nukkārs were behind this conspiracy to undermine the authority of Imam 'Abd al-Wahhāb.

The Imam accepted the demands of these tribesmen and asked them to submit a list of names to replace the ousted officials. But when these chiefs left his office, a delegation representing the various government agencies met with the Imam and warned him not to yield to the demands of

⁷⁹Ibid., fo. 19 ro - 19 vo.

⁸⁰Ibid., fo. 19 vo - 22 vo. See also: al-Shammākhī, al-Siyar, fo. 39 vo - 41 vo; and al-Bārūnī, al-Azhār, pp. 118-128.

⁸¹Ibn al-Ṣaghīr, Akhbār al-A'immah, pp. 17-18.

the nomads and probably warned him also of a possible plot engineered by the Nukkārs and other opposing factions in Tāhirt. When the nomad chiefs came back to discuss final plans to replace the proposed fired officials, they found that the Imam had changed his mind completely on the subject and even defended his former officials. The chiefs were outraged by this and swore that unless the Imam dismissed the named officials they would try him and his officials.⁸² Those tribes and their supporters from Tāhirt withdrew to a place outside the city which came to be known as "Kudyat al-Nukkār," and they also were named al-Nukkārs.⁸³

The Imam warned them of the possible outcome of their action and asked them to return to obedience. When they refused, he attacked them and wiped them out. Ibn al-Ṣaghīr states that, despite the victory of Imam 'Abd al-Wahhāb over those tribesmen, the scars of defeat created new hostility toward the Rustumid State.⁸⁴ It is possible to deduce from the writings of al-Ṣaghīr that the original Nukkārs were behind all those troubles, or it meant that just those who disobeyed the Imam were labeled "Nukkār" as well.

Soon afterward, a fifth war was in progress. This time it raged with the big tribe of Hawwārah. The cause of this war was a proposed marriage

⁸²Ibid., pp. 19-20.

⁸³Ibid., p. 20.

⁸⁴Ibid.

⁸⁵Ibid., pp. 20-21.

between either the chief of Hawwārah or his son with the daughter of the chief of the tribe of Lawātah.⁸⁵ The chief of Hawwārah was from a subdivision of a tribe known as al-Aws and later Banū Masālah who appear to have been hostile to Imam 'Abd al-Wahhāb.

Imam 'Abd al-Wahhāb, whose internal policy seems to have been based upon "divide and rule," and not wanting a unity between these two big tribes, opposed the marriage for fear of their union against him.⁸⁶ In order to prevent the proposed marriage and eventually the unity between them, Imam 'Abd al-Wahhāb invited the chief of Lawātah and asked him for his daughter's hand. The chief agreed, and the Imam married her. This action by Imam 'Abd al-Wahhāb angered the chief of Hawwārah, who denounced him and declared his withdrawal from the Rustumid State, ten miles to the west of Tāhīrt.⁸⁷ The chief of Hawwārah was followed by other discontented factions and soon a war broke out between the rebels and the state. It ended with complete defeat of Hawwārah and its allies.⁸⁸ However, the Banū Masālah continued to cause trouble to the Rustumid State and even occupied Tāhīrt for some time, as we shall see.

After uniting all Ibādī Berber tribes under his rule, Imam 'Abd al-Wahhāb turned to challenge the Aghlabids and perhaps even to destroy them.

⁸⁶Ibid., p. 21.

⁸⁷Ibid., p. 21.

⁸⁸Ibid., pp. 21-22. See also: al-Bārūnī, al-Azhār, pp. 133-135; and T. Lewicki, "Un Royaume Ibadite Peu Connu: L'Etat des Banu Masāla (IX^{es})," Rocznik Orientalistyczny, v. XXXI, (1968), pp. 7-14.

In 196/812, he left for Tripolitania, the eastern province of the Rustumid State. The Ibādī historians mention that the real purpose of his journey was pilgrimage. By studying the Ibādī as well as the Sunnī sources, a different conclusion may be reached.

According to al-Warjalānī, al-Shammākhī, and al-Darjīnī, Imam 'Abd al-Wahhāb left for the East on pilgrimage and, on his way to Jabal Nafūṣah (western mountain), he annexed Jabal Dammar in southern Tunisia to the Rustumid State and appointed a certain Midrār as its governor. When he reached Jabal Nafūṣah, the Ibādī Shaykhs and notables there convinced him not to continue this trip eastward for fear that the 'Abbasids might arrest him.⁸⁹ They proposed to the Imam that he should send to the Ibādī scholars in the East for a Fatwā (legal opinion) as to whether he could stay home and send someone else to perform pilgrimage on his behalf, or had to do it in person, or could be exempted entirely from the Hajj (pilgrimage).⁹⁰

Examination of the sources reveals that Imam 'Abd al-Wahhāb was not going on a pilgrimage but rather on an inspection tour as well as to offer assistance to the Ibādī Berber tribes under Aghlabid rule. He was well known as a learned scholar, and this makes it impossible to believe that such a person would seek an opinion on so simple a question as the possibility of his

⁸⁹Al-Warjalānī, al-Sīrah, fo. 23 ro. See also: al-Shammākhī, al-Siyar, fo. 41 vo; and al-Bārūnī, al-Azhār, pp. 137, 140-141; and al-Darjīnī, Ṭabaqat, fo. 28 ro - 28 vo.

⁹⁰Al-Warjalānī, al-Sīrah, fo. 23 ro - 23 vo. See also: al-Shammākhī, al-Siyar, fo. 41 vo; and al-Bārūnī, al-Azhār, p. 140-141; and al-Darjīnī, Ṭabaqat, fo. 28 vo.

visit to Mecca. It is common knowledge that the safety of the road is a necessary criterion for the Hajj (pilgrimage). It is beyond doubt that Imam 'Abd al-Wahhāb knew that he could not undertake the Hajj on account of 'Abbasid menace. It is possible that he announced that he was going to Mecca in order to cover up the preparations for his attack on Tripoli in 196/812. Finally, it is self-evident that as a pilgrim he could not have strayed into annexation of territories on his way to Mecca. Surely a pilgrim would not have stayed seven years in Jabal Nafūṣah.

Ibn Khaldūn, Ibn al-Athīr, and even the Ibādī historian, al-Darjīnī, make it clear that the purpose of Imam 'Abd al-Wahhāb's visit to Tripolitania was for consolidation of his state. Ibn al-Athīr states that the real cause of his visit to Tripolitania was the defeat of the Ibādī tribe of Hawwārah at the hands of the Aghlabid Amīr, Ibrāhīm Ibn al-Aghlab (184-196/800-812) in 196/812.⁹¹ Ibn Khaldūn gives even more details, saying that in 196/812 the Berber tribe of Hawwārah rebelled against Aghlabid authority and destroyed Tripoli, and Ibrāhīm Ibn al-Aghlab sent an army to the city, commanded by his son, Abū al-'Abbās 'Abd Allah, who inflicted a severe defeat upon them.⁹² Finally, al-Darjīnī makes it clear that Imam 'Abd al-Wahhāb besieged Tripoli to bring it under Ibādī control.⁹³

It is more logical, therefore, to accept the reports of Ibn Khaldūn,

⁹¹ Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, v. 5, pp. 156-157.

⁹² Ibn Khaldūn, Tārīkh, v. 6, pp. 286-287.

⁹³ Al-Darjīnī, Tabaqāt, fo. 28 vo.

Ibn al-Athīr, and al-Darjīnī. In the year 196/812, 'Abd al-Wahhāb laid siege to Tripoli and forced its governor, Abū al-'Abbās 'Abd Allah, to accept a humiliating treaty in 197/813 whereby the Aghlabids lost all Tripolitania except the city of Tripoli and the sea. Abū al-'Abbās 'Abd Allah was forced to accept this treaty in order to leave Tripoli for al-Qayrawān where his father had died and he was recalled to take his place as governor.⁹⁴

From Tripolitania Imam 'Abd al-Wahhāb sent an expedition to take Qābis (Gabes) under the command of Qatfān Ibn Salamah al-Zawāghī, who captured it along with other towns in its neighborhood and the island of Jerbah.⁹⁵ During his seven-year stay in Tripolitania, Imam 'Abd al-Wahhāb took the village of Mirī near Jādū as his government seat and built a mosque there which was named after him.⁹⁶ After the consolidation of his rule in Tripolitania and southern Tunisia by annexing the coastal area from Sirt (Surt) to Qābis and Jerbah, the Imam decided to return to Tāhīrt. Before leaving Mirī, and at the request of the people of Jabal Nafūṣah, he appointed his closest aide and Wazīr (minister), al-Samah Ibn Abī al-Khaṭṭāb al-Ma'afri, as governor of Tripolitania.⁹⁷ When al-Samah died, his son, Khalaf, was

⁹⁴Ibn Khaldūn, Tārīkh, v. 6, p. 286. See also: Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, v. 5, pp. 156-157; and al-Warjalānī, al-Ṣīrah, fo. 23 vo; and al-Bārūnī, al-Azhār, pp. 144-146; and al-Shammākhī, al-Siyar, fo. 42 ro.

⁹⁵Al-Bārūnī, al-Azhār, pp. 146-147.

⁹⁶Al-Bārūnī, al-Azhār, p. 141.

⁹⁷Al-Warjalānī, al-Ṣīrah, fo. 24 ro. See also: al-Shammākhī, al-Siyar, fo. 42 vo; and al-Bārūnī, al-Azhār, p. 147; and al-Darjīnī, Ṭabaqāt, fo. 29 ro.

chosen by some Ibādīs to be his successor, but Imam 'Abd al-Wahhāb disapproved of the selection of Khalaf and replaced him by Ayyūb Ibn al-'Abbās, whose reign did not last long because of his death. In 200/816, Imam 'Abd al-Wahhāb appointed Abū 'Ubaydah al-Jannāwanī governor of Tripolitania, thus ignoring Khalaf Ibn al-Samah, who began a rebellion against the Rustumid Imam, 'Abd al-Wahhāb, and continued it into the reign of Imam Aflah.⁹⁸ The rebellion of Khalaf, which became known as al-Khalafīyah, will be discussed in Chapter V.

Imam 'Abd al-Wahhāb died at Tāhīrt in 208/824, but this date is disputed by historians. Ibn 'Idhārī, who differed with other historians as to when the Imam succeeded his father, also disagreed with other historians as to when he died. According to Ibn 'Idhārī, Imam 'Abd al-Wahhāb died in 188/804.⁹⁹ This date is contradicted by the fact that 'Abd al-Wahhab took part in the siege of Tripoli in 196/812, as reported by Ibn Khaldūn and Ibn al-Athīr.¹⁰⁰ Al-Bārūnī states that Imam 'Abd al-Wahhāb ruled for nineteen years and died in 190/809,¹⁰¹ but this also is refuted by the previous

⁹⁸Al-Warjalānī, al-Sīrah, fo. 24 ro - 26 vo. See also: al-Shammākhī, al-Siyar, fo. 50 vo - 51 ro; and al-Bārūnī, al-Azhār, p. 148; and T. Lewicki, "Etudes Ibadites Nord-Africaine," pp. 36, 62, 67; and Rene Basset, "Sanctuaires Du Djebel Nafousa," Journal Asiatique, v. 13, (May-June, 1899), pp. 430-431.

⁹⁹Ibn 'Idhārī, al-Bayān, v. 1, p. 194.

¹⁰⁰Ibn Khaldūn, Tārīkh, v. 6, pp. 286-287. See also: Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, v. 5, pp. 15-157.

¹⁰¹Al-Bārūnī, al-Azhār, p. 163.

statements by Ibn Khaldūn and Ibn al-Athīr. Modern historians such as G. Marçais, T. Lewicki, Motylinski, and others, believe that he died in 208/824.¹⁰² It would appear, however, that the year 208/824 is more acceptable because it was reported by an Andalusian source that Imam 'Abd al-Wahhāb had sent an embassy in 207/823 to the 'Umayyads of Spain, and that that embassy included three of his sons. This same source tells us that 'Abd al-Ghanī, one of 'Abd al-Wahhāb's sons, returned to Tāhīrt in 208/824 and found that his father had been dead for eight months.¹⁰³ This report leaves no doubt that the year 208/824 is the more viable one for Imam 'Abd al-Wahhāb's death.

During the reign of Imam 'Abd al-Wahhāb, the Rustumid State reached its apogee due to his success in keeping all Ibādī tribes united under his leadership. He was able to recruit a formidable army from their communities in the face of the Aghlabids, the Idrisids, and the 'Abbasids. Despite all these achievements, Imam 'Abd al-Wahhāb was not without shortcomings. He followed a policy of "divide and rule," which was based on balancing the competing powers within the state without realizing the remote adverse effects on the state in the future. He also turned the Rustumid State into a hereditary system by appointing his son, Aflah, as his only successor, thus closing

¹⁰²G. Marçais, "Rustumids," *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 1st ed., III, pp. 1187-1188; and A. De Motylinski, "Abd al-Wahhāb Ibn 'Abd al-Rahman Ibn Rustum," *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 1st ed., I, pp. 65-66; and T. Lewicki, "The Ibadites in Arabia and North Africa," p. 102.

¹⁰³E. Lévi-Provinçal, *Histoire de L'Espagne Musulmane*, v. 1 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1950), pp. 244-245.

the door in the face of other Ibādī leaders who were hoping to become Imams. The far-reaching outcome of this was the disillusionment of many Ibādīs in their state which became no different from the 'Abbasids, whom they fought so long. In the end, this policy led to the decline of support to the state and ultimately to its extinction.

The Boundaries of the Rustumid State

During the reign of Imam 'Abd al-Wahhāb (171-208/788-824) and his son, Imam Aflah (208-240/824-855), the Rustumid State reached its highest strength and ruled over vast areas extending from the Gulf of Sirt in the east to Tlemsān in the west. During that period, it was regarded as the most powerful state in the whole of North Africa. It is difficult to draw an exact line of boundaries for a medieval state in the Maghrib, especially in regard to the Rustumid State which was ruling over a federation of mostly nomadic tribes. However, it is safe to say that the Rustumid territories comprised the vast lands included today in south and northwest Algeria, south Tunisia, and nearly all of Tripolitania and the Fazzān regions of present Libya, except the city of Tripoli which remained under Aghlabid control.

Ibn al-Ṣaghīr, the ninth-century chronicler whose work provides us with the oldest extant source available on the Rustumid State, noted that that state extended from Tripoli in the east to the city of Tlemsān in the west.¹⁰⁴ Al-Shammākhī (d. 928/1522) provides us with a list of names of Rustumid

¹⁰⁴Ibn al-Ṣaghīr, Akhbār al-A'immah, p. 17.

governors during the reign of Imam 'Abd al-Wahhāb. These governors were in Qafṣah (Gafṣa) in southern Tunisia, Sirt (Surt) in Libya, Nafzāwah (Nefzaoua), Qanṭrārah (Tijis), Jabal Dammar (Kef Demmer), Qaṣṭāliyah (Tozeur), Qābis (Gabes), all in southern Tunisia, and Jabal Nafūsah (western mountain) in Libya.¹⁰⁵ If this information supplied by al-Shammākhī is to be trusted, it means that the Rustumid State controlled all western modern Libya (Tripolitania and Fazzan regions) and all southern Tunisia, which constitutes about half of present Tunisia.

In the Middle Maghrib, the Rustumid State controlled almost all modern Algeria. Al-Bakrī (d. 1095) reports that the inhabitants of the cities of al-Masīlah and Bijāyah (Boujie) or Bighāyah, and the Awrās (aurés) mountains were from the tribes of Hawwārah, Miknāsah, Mazātah, Darīsah, Kabīnah, and Warfallah, who belonged to the Ibāḍī branch of Khārijism.¹⁰⁶ The Awrās mountains were part of the Rustumid State, and Ibn al-Ṣaghīr tells us that Imam Aflah appointed a Qāḍī (judge) from these mountains known as Muḥakkim al-Hawwārī.¹⁰⁷ These same mountains remained as strongholds of the Ibāḍīs even after the fall of the Rustumid State, and many Ibāḍī inhabitants from Tāhīrt fled to it when their capital fell to the Faṭimids in 269/909. It was from these mountains that the Nukkārī leader, Abū Yazīd Makhlad or

¹⁰⁵Al-Shammākhī, al-Siyar, fo. 42 vo, 59 vo - 60 vo. See also: al-Bārūnī, al-Azhār, pp. 164-165.

¹⁰⁶Al-Bakrī, al-Mughrib, pp. 144-145.

¹⁰⁷Ibn al-Ṣaghīr, Akhbār al-A'immah, pp. 23-24.

Mukhallad Ibn Kaydād led his rebellion against the Faṭimids in 332/944.¹⁰⁸

In North Algeria and along its Mediterranean coast, the Rustumids held important seaports such as Bijāyah or Baghāyah (Bougie), Marsā al-Dajāj, Charshal (Cherchel), Tīnīs (Tenes), al-Ghazzah, al-Kharaz, Arzew, Farrūkh, Mustaghānim (Mostaganem), and Wahrān (Ouran).¹⁰⁹ The plain of Sersū (Sersou) which was inhabited by the Ibādī tribes of Lamāyah, Sadrātah, Mazātah, Miknāsah, Lawātah, Hawwārah, Nafūsah, Zawāghah, Maṭmātah, Azdājah, and Ghumārah, along with Tāhirt, Wādī Rīgh, and Warjalān, were the heart of the Rustumid State.¹¹⁰

The Rustumid State encircled the Aghlabid Amirate on all sides except from the north, and the Aghlabids were blockaded in North Tunisia and

¹⁰⁸Ibn 'Idhārī, al-Bayān, v. 1, p. 216. See also: al-Bakrī, al-Mughrib, p. 144; and Abū 'Abd Allah Muḥammad Ibn Ḥammād, Akhbār Mulūk Banī 'Ubayd wa Siratihim, trans. by M. Vonderheyden, with Arabic text as: Histoire des Rois Obaidides (Algiers-Paris: Jules Carbonel and Paul Geuthner, 1927), Arabic text, p. 18. French trans., p. 33.

¹⁰⁹Al-Bakrī, al-Mughrib, pp. 66, 70, 72-73, 75, 81-82, 144-145. See also: Aḥmad Ibn Abī Ya'qūb Ibn Wāḍih al-Ya'qūbī, Kitāb al-Buldān (Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum), v. 7, ed. by M. J. D. Goeje (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1967), p. 353; and 'Imād al-Dīn Ismā'il Abū al-Fidā, Tagwīm al-Buldān, ed. by M. Reinand and M. G. DeSlane (Paris: L'Imprimerie Royale, 1840), pp. 122-124; and M. Vonderheyden, La Berberie Orientale Sous La Dynastie Des Banou l'Arlab (Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1927), pp. 38-68; and Chikh Bekri, "Le Kharijisme Berbere," pp. 76-81; and T. Lewicki, "al-Ibādiyyah," p. 655; and Idem., "Les Ibadites en Tunisie au Moyen Âge" (Rome: Angelo Signor-elli, 1959), pp. 4-6; and Idem., "La Repartition Géographique des Groupements Ibādites dans l'Afrique du Nord au Moyen Âge," Rocznik Orientalisty-czny, v. 21, 1957, pp. 307-341; and Idem., "Undocument Ibāḍite in Edit Sur l'Emigration des Nafusa du Jabal dans Le Sahil Tunisien au VIIIe au IXe Siècle," Folia Orientalia, 1959, pp. 175-191; and 'Ubayd Allah Ibn Khurrādhībah, Kitāb al-Masālik wa al-Mamālik, Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum, v. 6, ed. by M. J. DeGoeje (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1967), pp. 88-89.

¹¹⁰Ibn Khaldūn, Tārīkh, v. 6, p. 246. See also: Lewicki, "al-Ibādiyya," p. 655.

northeast of Algeria. The Rustumids, however, were not able to keep all these vast domains together under their rule because the Aghlabids were trying hard on their part to break up the Rustumid blockade. They succeeded in the reign of Abu 'Iqāl al-Aghlab Ibn Ibrāhīm (208-226/838-841), who sent his commander, 'Isā Ibn Ray'ān al-Azdī, in 224/839, to southern Tunisia where he crushed the Ibādī tribes of Lawātah, Zawāghah, and Miknāsah in Qaṣṭaliyah (Tozeur) and Gafṣah (Gafsa).¹¹¹ This Rustumid defeat resulted in the loss of most of southern Tunisia to the Aghlabids and led to dividing the Rustumid State into separate blocks, Tripolitania in the east and the western part of the Middle Maghrib.

The Third Imam, Abū Sa'īd (Maymūn) Aflaḥ Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb

208-240/824-855

Aflaḥ was designated as heir apparent to his father, Imam 'Abd al-Wahhāb, during his lifetime. Ibn al-Ṣaghīr tells us that during Imam 'Abd al-Wahhāb's war with the tribe of Hawwārah, Aflaḥ fought so courageously that his father declared him his successor from that day forward.¹¹² During the war with the Nukkārs, Aflaḥ took the credit for defeating the Nukkārs and defending the capital while his father was out of town.¹¹³ During Imam 'Abd al-Wahhāb's seven-year sojourn in Tripolitania, Aflaḥ assumed the Imamate

¹¹¹ Ibn 'Idhārī, al-Bayān, v. 1, p. 107.

¹¹² Ibn al-Ṣaghīr, Akhbār al-A'immaḥ, pp. 22-23.

¹¹³ Al-Warjalānī, al-Sīrah, fo. 17 vo - 18 vo. See also: Shammākhī, al-Siyar, fo. 38 vo; and al-Darjīnī, Ṭabaqāt, fo. 23 ro - 23 vo.

responsibility in Tāhirt and the Middle Maghrib, in which he undoubtedly gained administrative training. When Imam 'Abd al-Wahhāb died in 208/824, he became Imam without facing any opposition.¹¹⁴

The first problem encountered by Aflah when he became Imam in 208/824 was the rebellion of Khalaf Ibn al-Samah al-Ma'afri in Tripolitania. That rebellion had broken out during the last years of Imam 'Abd al-Wahhāb's reign, as mentioned before. The cause of that rebellion was mainly political because Imam 'Abd al-Wahhāb refused to appoint Khalaf as governor of Tripolitania in his father's place. When Imam 'Abd al-Wahhāb died in 208/824, Khalaf seized the opportunity to declare his rebellion. This movement came to be known after him as al-Khalafiyyah. The Khalafiyyah claimed that Tripolitania should have its own Imam since communication with Tāhirt became difficult because of the Aghlabid occupation of the connecting strip of land between Tripolitania and Tāhirt in southern Tunisia.¹¹⁵

Khalaf drew his support from the tribe of Zawāghah and Banū Yafrin. He took the village of Timtī as his headquarters.¹¹⁶ When the hostile activities of Khalaf increased in Tripolitania against Imam Aflah's authority, the latter instructed his governor in Jabal Nafūṣah, Abū 'Ubaydah al-Jannāwani,

¹¹⁴Ibn al-Saghīr, Akhbār al-A'imma, p. 23.

¹¹⁵Al-Warjalānī, al-Sīrah, fo. 25 vo - 27 vo. See also: al-Shammākhī, al-Siyar, fo. 50 vo; and al-Darjīnī, Tabaqāt, fo. 30 ro.

¹¹⁶Al-Shammākhī, al-Siyar, fo. 69 ro. See also: al-Warjalānī, al-Sīrah, fo. 26 vo. For the location of Timtī, see: J. Despois, Le Djebel Nefousa Etude Géographique (Paris: Larose, 1935), p. 268, No. 10.

to deal with him firmly after warning him. Al-Jannāwanī, the governor of Tripolitania, and Khalaf's forces met at the village Adraf near Jādū where the latter's army was routed. Khalaf again met the governor of Tripolitania for the second time in 221/835 near Jādū where he lost another battle.¹¹⁷

When Abū 'Ubaydah, the governor of Tripolitania died, Khalaf resumed his rebellion for the third time against al-'Abbās Ibn Ayyūb, the new governor. The two sides met at Fāghis near Tintī in Jabal Nafūṣah where Khalaf was defeated for the third time. He died shortly after this defeat. His son continued the struggle against the Rustumid Imams.¹¹⁸

The third schism which took place during the reign of Imam Aflah was "al-Naffāthīyah," a movement in Tripolitania. The Naffāthīyah, like the Khalafīyah, rose over personal ambition of its founder, Naffāth Faraj Ibn Naṣr al-Nafūṣī. Naffāth studied in Tāhirt and reached high standards of scholarship and hoped that Imam Aflah would appoint him to the position of governor of Qanṭrārah. When that position went to his classmate, Sa'd Ibn Yūnus, he started a campaign of accusations against the person of Imam Aflah. The Imam considered him a heretic and dealt with him harshly,

¹¹⁷Al-Warjalānī, al-Sīrah, fo. 28 vo. See also: al-Shammākhī, al-Siyar, fo. 51 ro ' 54 vo; and al-Bārūnī, al-Azhār, pp. 167-173; and A. De Motylinski, Le Djebel Nefousa (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1898-1899), p. 84; and Despois, Le Djebel Nefousa, pp. 240-268, No. 10, pp. 269-299.

¹¹⁸Al-Shammākhī, al-Siyar, fo. 57 ro - 57 vo. See also: al-Warjalānī, al-Sīrah, fo. 29 ro; and al-Bārūnī, al-Azhār, pp. 174-177.

forcing him to flee to Baghdad.¹¹⁹ More details about this movement will be discussed in Chapter V.

Imam Aflah's internal policy was like that of his father. He continued the policy of "divide and rule" as a means of keeping the Berber tribes and other factions in check. He played all rival tribes against each other until he forced each one to seek his help against its rivals and relieve him of other problems.¹²⁰ To borrow Ibn al-Ṣaghīr's expression, he chose "... to lie quietly on his back and stretch his legs without being bothered."¹²¹ This policy stirred up profound hatred for the Imams among the opposing factions, as Ibn al-Ṣaghīr noticed.¹²² Imam Aflah's foreign policy will be discussed in the following chapter.

There is uncertainty about the year of Imam Aflah's death, as well as the length of his reign, as in the case of the previous Imams. Ibn al-Ṣaghīr states that Imam Aflah ruled for fifty years without mentioning when he began ruling or when he died.¹²³ Meanwhile, al-Warjalānī points out that Aflah ruled for sixty years.¹²⁴ Ibn 'Idhārī reports that Imam Aflah ruled

¹¹⁹Al-Warjalānī, al-Sīrah, fo. 29 ro - 31 ro. See also: al-Shammākhī, al-Siyar, fo. 64 vo; and al-Bārūnī, al-Azhār, pp. 195-210.

¹²⁰Ibn al-Ṣaghīr, Akhbār al-A'immah, p. 27.

¹²¹Ibid.

¹²²Ibid.

¹²³Ibid., p. 26.

¹²⁴Al-Warjalānī, al-Sīrah, fo. 31 vo. See also: al-Darjīnī, Ṭabaqāt, fo. 35 vo.

for seventeen years from 188/804 to 205/821.¹²⁵

The account of Ibn 'Idhārī can be easily refuted because Imam Aflah had been reported by three distinguished historians (Ibn Khaldūn, Ibn al-Athīr, and al-Balādhurī) as still fighting the Aghlabids when they ventured to build an outpost close to Tāhīrt in the year 227/842, according to Ibn Khaldūn¹²⁶, and 239/854, as reported by al-Balādhurī and Ibn al-Athīr.¹²⁷ This leaves no doubt that Aflah was still living until the year 239/854. As for the accounts of al-Warjalānī and Ibn al-Ṣaghīr, they were probably counting all the years in which Aflah ruled on behalf of his father during his absence in Tripolitania as well as on other occasions. We know from Ibn al-Ṣaghīr that Aflah was recognized as an Imam during his father's lifetime.¹²⁸

The Fourth Imam, Abū Bakr Ibn Aflah

240-241/855-856

When Imam Aflah died in 240/855, he left several sons and nephews. Among his sons there were two prominent ones: Abū Bakr and Abū al-Yaqẓān Muḥammad who was seized as a prisoner by the 'Abbasids when he had gone to Mecca on pilgrimage. Abū al-Yaqẓān was highly praised by many Ibāḍīs in Tāhīrt, who nominated him as their future Imam in succession to his father

¹²⁵Ibn 'Idhārī, al-Bayān, v. 1, p. 197.

¹²⁶Ibn Khaldūn, Tārīkh, v. 4, p. 429.

¹²⁷Al-Balādhurī, Futūḥ, p. 236; and Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, v. 5, p. 263.

¹²⁸Ibn al-Ṣaghīr, Akhbār al-A'immah, p. 23.

because of his piety, learning, and courage. However, when Imam Aflah died, Abū Yaqzān was still confined to an 'Abbasid prison in Baghdad.¹²⁹ Thus, Abū Bakr became the only candidate and heir apparent to his father and was elected Imam in 240/855.

Unlike his father or his brother Abū al-Yaqzān, Abū Bakr was a man enamored of poetry, literature, and worldly pleasures. He was generous, mild-mannered, and, unlike his predecessors, indifferent toward some religious matters and tolerant toward generous and influential personalities.¹³⁰ He finally fell victim to these influential people. One of those influential people was a certain Muḥammad Ibn 'Arafah who became a very close associate of Imam Abū Bakr. Ibn 'Arafah had served under Imam Aflah as his envoy to the Sudanese king of Goa. Relations between Imam Abū Bakr and Ibn 'Arafah were strengthened by marriage ties. The Imam married either the sister or daughter of Ibn 'Arafah, and the latter married the Imam's sister.¹³¹

Imam Abū Bakr made Ibn 'Arafah his advisor and entrusted him with the running of daily affairs of state while he himself lived in seclusion and enjoyed his life style of pleasure. It seems that Ibn 'Arafah, in spite of his pleasure-loving ways, was a man of great administrative abilities, and his popularity was enhanced by his daily contacts with the people. Meanwhile,

¹²⁹Ibid., pp. 27, 30.

¹³⁰Ibid., p. 31.

¹³¹Ibid., p. 31.

the Imam's popularity was declining more and more because of his seclusion until the people of Tāhīrt began saying: "In reality, Ibn 'Arafah was the Imam, and Imam Abū Bakr was Imam in name only."¹³²

When Abū al-Yaqẓān was released from the 'Abbasid prison and returned to Tāhīrt, he accepted the Imamate of his brother and the latter appointed him governor of the capital and its environs.¹³³ Here relations between Abū al-Yaqẓān and Ibn 'Arafah became cool, and friction between them soon developed. Ibn 'Arafah seems to have applied tough measures against daily contacts between the Imam and members of the Rustumid dynasty, who soon found they were able to see their Imam only with Ibn 'Arafah's permission. Meanwhile, Ibn 'Arafah had continuous access to him and consequently exercised great influence on his conduct. Here he was greatly helped by the feminine influence of his sister and daughter whom the Imam loved so much.¹³⁴

At a meeting between Imam Abū Bakr and the Rustumid dynasty members headed by Abū al-Yaqẓān, the Imam's brother warned Abū Bakr of the potential danger of Ibn 'Arafah and urged him to get rid of him by assassination. Ibn al-Ṣaghīr says that Abū al-Yaqẓān was the one who told Imam Abū Bakr of the possible danger of Ibn 'Arafah to the Rustumid dynasty.¹³⁵ It is

¹³²Ibid.

¹³³Ibid., p. 32.

¹³⁴Ibid., p. 33.

¹³⁵Ibid.

likely that the Imam was told of alleged conspiracy by Ibn 'Arafah against the Rustumid State.

It is clear that the popularity of Ibn 'Arafah and the influence of his sister or daughter on Imam Abū Bakr stirred up Rustumid jealousy toward Ibn 'Arafah. On the other hand, there could have been a conspiracy by Abū al-Yaqẓān for the removal of Ibn 'Arafah as a first step toward the deposing of his brother in order to take his place as Imam.

Those strained relations amidst the members of the Rustumid family together with the worsening of internal affairs at Tāhirt, resulted in an explosive situation which was fanned by internecine disaffection among the tribes. Ibn al-Ṣaghīr attributed all this to Imam Aflah's policy of "divide and rule."¹³⁶ The Rustumid capital was like a city abounding in gunpowder, and only a spark was necessary to start the conflagration. Curiously, the spark was provided by the weak Imam Abū Bakr himself. Under the influence of his brother, Abū al-Yaqẓān and the members of his family, he persuaded Ibn 'Arafah to ride out of town with him to a place known as "Jinān al-Amīr" (the Prince's Gardens), and there he perfidiously murdered him and hid his body in the nearby mountains.¹³⁷

Upon hearing of the disappearance of Muḥammad Ibn 'Arafah, his family, friends, neighbors, and entourage went searching for him. On the discovery of his body hidden in the mountains near Tāhirt, they carried it

¹³⁶Ibid., p. 32.

¹³⁷Ibid., pp. 34-35.

back to the capital where the people were horrified at his assassination.

Somehow the crime was traced to Imam Abū Bakr, himself, and the friends and relatives of Ibn 'Arafah cried for vengeance against the Imam.¹³⁸

The inhabitants of Tāhirt became divided over the crime issue into three camps. The Imam, his Rustumid relatives, their clients, and the Christian community in the capital were on one side; the Arabs and the Jund were on the other. The 'Ajam and the Nafūṣah tribe remained neutral at the beginning of the civil war.¹³⁹

Ibn al-Ṣaghīr did not specify what he meant by 'Ajam and Jund (soldiers). However, in Arabic, the word 'Ajam signified the non-Arabs who spoke Arabic imperfectly with a foreign accent.¹⁴⁰ These were generally the Persians whom the Arabs first conquered in 15/637 and thereafter mixed with them. Al-Ya'qūbī, in his description of the inhabitants of the Maghrib, refers to minorities living in various towns who were remnants of the Romans, Africans, and Persians whom he loosely called 'Ajam.¹⁴¹ On these premises, it would appear that the 'Ajam mentioned by Ibn al-Ṣaghīr were mostly the Persians and other non-Arab and non-Berber minorities living in Tāhirt. As for the Jund, they may have consisted of those soldiers

¹³⁸Ibid., p. 36.

¹³⁹Ibid., pp. 36-37.

¹⁴⁰Luwīṣ Ma'lūf, al-Munjid fi al-Lughgh, New Edition (Arabic Dictionary) (Beirut: al-Matb'ah al-Kāthūlīkīyah, 1960), p. 489.

¹⁴¹Al-Ya'qūbī, al-Buldān, p. 350.

who deserted the Aghlabid and the 'Abbasid armies together with some of the descendants of the first Arab conquerors who settled in the Maghrib. A second assumption is that they might have simply been recruits of the Rustumid rulers from the tribes.

The leader of the Arabs was Maḥmūd Ibn al-Walīd, who led the first encounter with the Rustumids and their supporters.¹⁴² The rise of the Arabs to avenge the assassination of Ibn 'Arafah might suggest that he was of Arab stock.

The first clash in this civil war, however, was between the Jund and the Arabs, but the intervention of the 'Ajam on the side of the Rustumids forced them to put down their arms and form a united front against the Rustumids and their allies.¹⁴³

During the formation of this coalition of the Jund and the Arabs, a new leader emerged. This was Khalaf al-Khādim, a former Mawla (client) of the Aghlabids, who used his great wealth in subsidizing the civil war against the Rustumids.¹⁴⁴ This might suggest an intervention by the Aghlabids in the civil war in Tāhīrt through Khalaf, their former client. The Arabs and the Jund succeeded in defeating the 'Ajam and setting fire to their quarters in Tāhīrt, which also destroyed the quarters of the neutral tribe of Nafūsah. The Nafūsah was angered by the action of the Arab and the Jund and swung

¹⁴²Ibn al-Ṣaghīr, Akhbār al-A'imma, p. 36.

¹⁴³Ibid., p. 37.

¹⁴⁴Ibid.

toward unity with the 'Ajam and the Rustumids. During the first outbreak of this civil war, Abū al-Yaqẓān remained neutral. He instigated the trouble and remained out of it, watching carefully the development of events. However, the Arabs and the Jund accused him of complicity and maintained that he was helping their enemies.¹⁴⁵

The coalition of the 'Ajam and the Nafūsah invited Abū al-Yaqẓān to a conference and declared him the Imam. This step strengthened their forces, and they emerged victorious over the Arabs and the Jund in the two major battles of al-Dimt's bridge and Salīs's bridge, where the Arabs and the Jund lost many of their notables and leaders in 241/856. However, later in the fight the Arabs and the Jund, under their new leaders, Muḥammad al-Ṣayrafī and Ibn al-Wāsiṭī, won a major victory over the 'Ajam together with the Nafūsah and the Rustumids in the battle of al-Radd al-Mu'awwaj. Here, the Arab coalition drove the 'Ajam out of their quarters and forced them to reside with the Nafūsah in one quarter of the city and later drove them completely out of Tāhirt. The 'Ajam moved to a place in southern Tāhirt known as Tanābghīlt at a two-day journey from Tāhirt. Abū al-Yaqẓān also was forced to move out to Askadāl, one day's journey to the south of Tāhirt. Nafūsah also was forced to evacuate Tāhirt to a new location, probably in the outskirts of the city.¹⁴⁶

During this confusion, a new, ambitious leader and an old rival and

¹⁴⁵Ibid., pp. 37-39.

¹⁴⁶Ibid., pp. 38-39.

enemy of the Rustumid dynasty seized the opportunity to take over Tāhirt. This leader was Muḥammad Ibn Masālah. As we have stated before, Banū Masālah fought the Imam, 'Abd al-Wahhab, and it would seem that they had their own principality in the neighborhood of Tāhirt. Al-Ya'qūbī points out that in the reign of Imam Aflaḥ, Banū Maṣālah were independent and were in a state of war with the Rustumids. Banū Masalah's capital was the city of 'al-Jabal.¹⁴⁷ Ibn Masālah ruled in Tāhirt without much trouble until friction between his tribe and the tribe of Lawātah arose and the latter was forced out of Tāhirt and eventually invited Abū al-Yaqẓān and announced their recognition of him as Imam.¹⁴⁸

Abū al-Yaqẓān took Taslūnat, a place several miles south of Tāhirt, as his headquarters. With the money he brought from Baghdad and other sources, Abū al-Yaqẓān grew stronger, and many Ibādīs rallied around him. The war between him and Ibn Masālah continued without much success for either side and dragged on for seven years.¹⁴⁹ When Abū al-Yaqẓān saw that the prolongation of the war was not in his interests, he appealed for more military aid from Jabal Nafūṣah and Tripolitania. With the advent of new troops at Tāhirt, his hands were strengthened and he could negotiate for peace with a better chance of success. Finally, peace was concluded between

¹⁴⁷Al-Ya'qūbī, al-Buldān, pp. 355-356. See also: T. Lewicki, "L'Etat des Banū Masāla," p. 11-12.

¹⁴⁸Ibn al-Ṣaghīr, Akhbār al-A'imma, p. 39. See also: T. Lewicki, "L'Etat des Banū Masāla," p. 11.

¹⁴⁹Ibn al-Ṣaghīr, Akhbār al-A'imma, p. 40.

Abū al-Yaqẓān and Ibn Masālah. The terms of the agreement were that Ibn Masālah should withdraw and that Abū al-Yaqẓān should assume the Imamate, while a general amnesty would be declared for those who fought Abū al-Yaqẓān. The terms were granted, and Abū al-Yaqẓān entered Tāhirt as the new Imam.¹⁵⁰

It would appear that Ibn Masālah's military strength was depleted to the extent that he could not withstand the power of Nafūsah. In addition to this, the inhabitants of Tāhirt had become weary of a fruitless war. Therefore, they were forced to accept the terms of the new settlement.

As for Imam Abū Bakr, he was deserted by his supporters and became powerless. He was forced to leave Tāhirt during the civil war, and he either resigned voluntarily in favor of his brother, Abū al-Yaqẓān, or was forced to abdicate his office as Imam. He could have died in the strife, though this was not reported by the Ibādī historians.¹⁵¹

The Fifth Imam, Abū al-Yaqẓān Muḥammad

241-281/856-895

The first action Imam Abū al-Yaqẓān undertook when he returned to Tāhirt was to restore law and order to the capital. He formed his government and appointed among its members a Qādī (judge) for the city of Tāhirt, Ṣāhib Bayt al-Māl (treasurer), and a special police force (Ḥisbah) to inspect the

¹⁵⁰Ibid., pp. 40-41.

¹⁵¹Al-Warjalānī, al-Sīrah, fo. 31 vo. See also: al-Shammākhī, al-Siyar, fo. 67 ro; and al-Darjīnī, Ṭabaqāt, fo. 36 ro.

capital with an eye on the imposition of law and order as well as on keeping the city clean.¹⁵² Most of these officials were selected from the members of the Tribe of Nafūṣah, on whom he depended as had his predecessors.

We must assume that Imam Abū al-Yaqzān appointed governors to all the Rustumid provinces, though we have no records of their names. Apparently those records must have been destroyed, along with other Ibādī works, by Abū 'Abd Allah al-Shī'ī when he occupied Tūhīrt in 296/909. However, the names of two governors of Tripolitania have survived. These were Aflah Ibn al-'Abbās and Abū Manṣūr al-Yās.¹⁵³

The reign of Imam Abū al-Yaqzān Muḥammad was peaceful, and he concentrated on writing books defending Ibādism. The biggest event during his reign was the invasion of al-'Abbās Aḥmad Ibn Ṭulūn, the son of Aḥmad Ibn Ṭulūn, the 'Abbasid viceroy of Egypt (254-270/868-884) of Ifrīqiyah in 266-267/880-881.¹⁵⁴

This young adventurer led an Egyptian army of eleven thousand soldiers and invaded Tripolitania without the consent of his father, who was at that time in Syria. He sent messengers to the Aghlabid governor, Ibrāhīm Ibn Aḥmad al-Aghlab (261-289/875-902) with a forged letter in the name of al-Mu'tamid, the 'Abbasid Caliph (256-279/902-905) authorizing him to assume the governorship from the Aghlabids. He also sent other letters to

¹⁵²Ibn al-Ṣaghīr, Akhbār al-A'imma, p. 41.

¹⁵³Ibid., p. 47. See also: al-Bārūnī, al-Azhār, pp. 245-246, 251-252.

¹⁵⁴Ibn 'Idhārī, al-Bayān, v. 1, pp. 117-119.

several Berber chieftains and to Abū Maṣṣūr al-Yās, the Rustumid Governor of Tripolitania, asking them to recognize him and accept him as the legitimate governor of Ifrīqiyah.¹⁵⁵

Al-'Abbās occupied Cyrenaica (Barqah) on his way to Ifrīqiyah, as well as the city of Libdah (Leptis Magna), and laid siege to the city of Tripoli after defeating the Aghlabid army under Aḥmad Ibn Qurhub fifteen miles west of Libdah.¹⁵⁶ When Ibn Ṭulūn's army committed atrocities against the population, they appealed to the Rustumid governor, Abū Maṣṣūr al-Yās for help. Abū Maṣṣūr responded by launching an army of twelve thousand against the intruders and won an astonishing victory over Ibn Ṭulūn, who left most of his men dead on the battlefield in addition to one million Dinars in gold.¹⁵⁷

Otherwise, Imam Abū al-Yaqẓān ruled undisturbed for forty years. Ibn al-Ṣaghīr, who was the contemporary of Abū al-Yaqẓān in Tāhīrt and was personally acquainted with him, described him as pious, modest, highly respected, and a just ruler. According to Ibn al-Ṣaghīr, Imam Abū al-Yaqẓān

¹⁵⁵Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, v. 6, p. 21. See also: al-Kindī, Kitāb al-Wulāh wa al-Quḍāh, pp. 220-223.

¹⁵⁶Ibn 'Idhārī, al-Bayān, v. 1, p. 118.

¹⁵⁷Abū Muḥammad 'Abd al-Allah al-Balawī, Sīrat Aḥmad Ibn Ṭulūn, ed. by Kurad 'Alī (Damascus: al-Maktabah al-'Arabīyah, 1939), pp. 252-255. See also: al-Kindī, Kitāb al-Wulāh wa al-Quḍāh, pp. 220-223; and Ibn 'Idhārī, al-Bayān, v. 1, p. 119; and Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, v. 6, p. 21; and Ibn Khaldūn, Tārīkh, v. 4, p. 434; and al-Shammākhī, al-Siyar, fo. 69 vo; and Muḥammad al-Wazīr al-Sarrāj, al-Hulal al-Sundasīyah fi al-Akhbār al-Tunisīyah, v. 1, Pt. 4, ed. by M. al-Hīlah (Tunis: al-Dār al-Tunisīyah li al-Nashr, 1970), p. 882.

¹⁵⁸Ibn al-Ṣaghīr, Akhbār al-A'immah, pp. 44, 49.

died in 281/895, then a very old man--probably more than a hundred years of age.¹⁵⁸ With his death, the Rustumid State lost a strong personality and began its precipitous decline.

The Sixth Imam, Abū Ḥātim Yūsuf

281-294/895-907

At the time of Imam Abū al-Yaqẓān's death, his two elder sons were not present at his deathbed. The first, al-Yaqẓān, was in Mecca on pilgrimage, and the second, Abū Ḥātim Yūsuf had been dispatched by his father with an army to protect caravans carrying enormous wealth from the East.¹⁵⁹

Abū Ḥātim was summoned back to Tāhīrt and declared Imam, receiving the customary Bay'ah (homage or popular pledge of allegiance) from the Ibādī leaders as well as the general public.¹⁶⁰ Soon the new Imam faced a serious political problem. First, his entourage from the Rustumid dynasty wanted to screen him from the public and to surround him with royal pomp, but the people insisted on having access to him at any moment as they had with his ancestors in the past.¹⁶¹ The reasons for this change appear to have been the problem of security on the one hand and the enhancement of the Imam's prestige on the other. This novelty generated a new struggle between the Rustumid aristocracy and the Mashā'ikh (religious leaders) as

¹⁵⁹Ibid., p. 50.

¹⁶⁰Ibid.

¹⁶¹Ibid.

well as the common people.

The second problem which faced Abū Ḥātim was the rise in influence upon him of non-Ibādī Shaykhs (religious leaders). These leaders probably had hoped to win Abū Ḥātim to their sect and consequently destroy Ibādism. The Imam's association with the non-Ibādī religious leaders angered other Ibādī leaders. Among them were Muḥammad Ibn Rabāḥ and Muḥammad Ibn Ḥammād, who were his former ardent supporters. But the Imam tired of their clamor and apparent conspiracy against him, and he decided to place them under house arrest outside Tāhirt.¹⁶²

The austere action of Imam Abū Ḥātim against Ibn Ḥammād and Ibn Rabāḥ led to an uprising in Tāhirt by the supporters of those incarcerated leaders, and they were ultimately liberated and brought back from their exile. The Imam was forced to flee from the capital to Tamālīt, a fortress belonging to the tribe of Lawātah in southern Tāhirt. He was followed by the Christian community, the 'Ajam, and the tribe of Nafūṣah, who also left Tāhirt and rallied behind Abu Ḥātim. From these gatherings Imam Abū Ḥātim was able to recruit enough soldiers to lay siege to his old capital, Tāhirt. The leaders of the rebellion had second thoughts about their opposition and decided to seek a new candidate for the Imamate. Their choice fell upon Ya'qūb Ibn Aflaḥ, Abū Ḥātim's uncle, who was living in self-exile¹⁶³

¹⁶²Ibid., p. 50.

¹⁶³Ibid., pp. 51-53. On Zuwwāghah see: al-Ṭāhir Aḥmad al-Zāwī, Mu'jam al-Buldān al-Libīyah, 1st ed. (Tripoli: Maktabat al-Nūr, 1968), pp. 175-176.

at the town of Zuwwāghah about forty-five miles west of Tripoli.¹⁶³

Ya'qūb Ibn Aflaḥ returned to Tāhīrt and was proclaimed by the rebels as new Imam. This step led to the weakness of Imam Abū Ḥātim, since many Ibādis left him and joined his new rival. It would seem that Ya'qūb Ibn Aflaḥ somehow was behind that rebellion because he had never recognized the Imamate of his nephew, Abū Ḥātim.¹⁶⁴

In this wise, the civil war broke out and continued for four years until 285/899, when the two sides agreed to a truce mediated by Ya'qūb al-Mazzāṭi, the chief of the tribe of Mazzātah. Ya'qūb Ibn Aflaḥ appointed 'Abd . . . Aflaḥ al-Lamṭī as his representative, and Abū Ḥātim chose a certain Mankūd and Ibn Abī 'Iyād from the tribe of Lawātah to act for him.¹⁶⁵ The truce was meant to lead to permanent peace between the two sides. The negotiations lasted for four months. During that time, Abū Ḥātim used every means at his disposal behind the scenes to win the supporters of Ya'qūb Ibn Aflaḥ to his side. Before the truce came to an end, Abū Ḥātim and his supporters were on the verge of striking at their opponent, and Ya'qūb had no choice but to flee from Tāhīrt back again to Zuwwāghah.¹⁶⁶ Thus, Abū Ḥātim was reinstated in his lost Imamate after four years of strife and civil war.

It is interesting to note here that the Khawārij who had denounced

¹⁶⁴Ibn al-Ṣaghīr, Akhbar al-A'imma, pp. 53-54.

¹⁶⁵Ibid., pp. 53-55.

¹⁶⁶Ibid., p. 56.

Caliph 'Ali for accepting arbitration and mediation with Mu'āwiyah, the governor of Syria during the Battle of Ṣiffīn (37/658) did not mind using the same method themselves when their state faced a devastating civil war. None of the Khārījī historians denounced this action by Imam Abū Ḥātim, but on the contrary it was hailed as a fair means for sparing the blood of Muslims.

On his return to power, the reinstated Imam, Abū Ḥātim, began to re-organize his state by the appointment of several new officials to the local government in Tāhirt as well as the governorships of the provinces. The post of Qāḍī (judge) in Tāhirt went to 'Abd Allah Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Abī al-Shaykh, a son of the former Qāḍī of the capital during the Imamate of Abū al-Yaqzān Muḥammad. The powerful dignity of the treasurer was conferred upon 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Ṣawāb al-Nafūsī. This shows also the dependence of Abū Ḥātim, like his predecessors, on the tribe of Nafūsah in the conduct of State administration. The position of Chief of Police was divided between two persons: a certain Zukār and one Ibrāhīm Ibn Miskīn who took tough measures in purging the corruption which had developed in the capital during the civil war.¹⁶⁷

When Abū Ḥātim was reinstated, the Rustumid State had already been torn assunder by the civil war in Tāhirt and the neighboring provinces, as well as in Tripolitania. The Imam was unable to restore full order to the State because of perpetual conspiracies among members of his own Rustumid

¹⁶⁷Ibid., p. 56. See also: al-Shammākhī, al-Siyar, fo. 86 ro.

family as well as factions among the Ibādī tribes. In Tripolitania, the governor, Abū Manṣūr al-Yās, was busy subduing a rebellion started by Khalaf Ibn al-Samḥ and continued by his son, al-Ṭayyib, after his death. Drawing support, like his father, from the tribe of Zawwāghah, he tried to secure the independence of Tripolitania from the rest of the Rustumid State.¹⁶⁸ After several encounters between governor al-Yās and al-Ṭayyib Ibn Khalaf, the former succeeded in defeating the latter and forced him to escape to the island of Jerbah. There, Ibn Khalaf was taken prisoner and brought back to Jabal Nafūṣah and jailed for several years until he repented and was released.¹⁶⁹

After Abū Manṣūr's death, Imam Abū Ḥātim appointed Aflah Ibn al-'Abbās as governor of Tripolitania. During the governorship of Aflah, Ibn al-'Abbās had a serious confrontation between Ibādīs of Tripolitania and the Aghlabid governor of Ifrīqīyah, Ibrāhīm Ibn Aḥmad al-Aghlab (261-289/875-902). This developed into a clash between the two sides in 283/896, at the Battle of Mānū.¹⁷⁰

The Ibādī, as well as the Sunni sources, mention different opinions as to the causes of this encounter. The Ibādī historian, al-Warjalānī, reports

¹⁶⁸Al-Warjalānī, al-Sīrah, fo. 32 vo. See also: al-Shammākhī, al-Siyar, fo. 69 vo; and al-Bārūnī, al-Azhār, p. 277; and al-Bārūnī, Mukhtaṣar, p. 48.

¹⁶⁹Al-Warjalānī, al-Sīrah, fo. 33 ro. See also: al-Shammākhī, al-Siyar, fo. 69 ro; and al-Bārūnī, al-Azhār, pp. 278-279.

¹⁷⁰Ibn 'Idhārī, al-Bayān, v. 1, p. 129. See also: Ibn Khaldūn, Tārīkh, v. 4, p. 435; and al-Warjalānī, al-Sīrah, fo. 33 vo.

that the Maswaddah (Abbasid) Caliph, al-Mutawakkil, received reports from al-Qayrawān and Tripoli that if he crushed the tribe of Nafūṣah, the Rustumid State would collapse. Accordingly, the Caliph prepared an army and gave its command to Ibrāhīm Ibn al-Aghlab and sent it to the Maghrib. When this army reached Tripoli it was intercepted by the tribe of Nafūṣah because it was suspected that it was on its way to Tāhirt, the Rustumid capital, and eventually fighting broke out between the two sides.¹⁷¹

Al-Warjalānī's account of this encounter is confused, inaccurate, and easily refutable. First, the ruling 'Abbasid Caliph at the time of this clash was not al-Mutawakkil, who ruled during 232-247/847-861, but Caliph al-Mu'taḍid, who reigned from 279/829 to 289/902.¹⁷² This was because the Battle of Mānū took place in the year 283/896. Secondly, according to the 'Abbasid history, there is no reference to such an army sent to the Maghrib at that time (283/896). Thirdly, according to the historical sources of North Africa, Ibrāhīm Ibn Aḥmad never was in Baghdad and never led an army from there to North Africa. In fact, these sources refer to tense relations between Caliph al-Mu'taḍid and Ibrāhīm Ibn al-Aghlab in which the Caliph asked Ibn al-Aghlab to resign from the governorship of Ifrīqiyah in favor of his cousin,

¹⁷¹Al-Warjalānī, al-Sīrah, fo. 33 ro. See also: al-Darjīnī, Ṭabaqāt, fo. 37 vo - 38 ro.

¹⁷²C. E. Bosworth, The Islamic Dynasties (Edinburgh: The University Press, 1967), p. 7. See also: Zambaur, Mu'jam al-Usarāt al-Hākimah, p. 3.

Abū al-'Abbās Muḥammad Ziyādat Allah.¹⁷³ Fourthly, the battle took place at an ancient site between Tripoli and Qābis on the coast. If there had been an 'Abbasid army coming from the east, it would mean that the Rustumid towns from Sirt in the east to Tripoli were captured by this army, but there is no reference to such an event in either the Ibādī or the Sunni sources.

Al-Shammākhī, another Ibādī historian, presents a different but more logical story. He says that Ibrāhīm Ibn Aḥmad Ibn al-Aghlab, the 'Abbasid governor of Ifrīqīyah (Tunisia) arrived from Raqqādah to Tripoli and committed atrocities there, and the Nafūṣah tribe and Aflaḥ Ibn al-'Abbās, the Rustumid governor, decided to fight him.¹⁷⁴ This probably means that Ibn al-Aghlab committed atrocities against the Ibādī tribes, thus inciting Aflaḥ to come to their defense. Al Shammākhī also quoted another reason for the clash from Ibn al-Raqqīq, saying that in 283/896 Ibrāhīm Ibn al-Aghlab marched eastward from Tunisia to invade Egypt and wrest it from Ibn Ṭūlūn, but the Nafūṣah tribe blocked his way, and he forced his way out.¹⁷⁵

Ibn 'Idhārī and Ibn Khaldūn share the same story mentioned by Ibn al-Raqqīq, although with more details.¹⁷⁶ However, the author of Kitāb al-

¹⁷³Anonymous, Kitāb al-'Uyūn wa al-Ḥadā'iq fi Akhbār al-Ḥaḡā'iq, v. 4, Pt. 1, ed. by 'Umar al-Sa'īdi (Damascus: al-Ma'had al-Firinsī, 1972), p. 86. See also: Ibn 'Idhārī, al-Bayān, v. 1, p. 129.

¹⁷⁴Al-Shammākhī, al-Siyar, fo. 88 vo.

¹⁷⁵Ibn al-Raqqīq, quoted in al-Shammākhī, al-Siyar, fo. 88 vo.

¹⁷⁶Ibn 'Idhārī, al-Bayān, v. 1, p. 129. See also: Ibn Khaldūn, Tārīkh, v. 4, p. 435.

'Uyūn wa al-Hadā'iq states that the real reason for the march of Ibrāhīm Ibn Aḥmad Ibn al-Aghlab eastward to Tripoli was to kill its governor, Abū al-'Abbās Muḥammad Ziyādat Allah, because Caliph al-Mu'taḍid offered him the governorship of Ifrīqīyah in the place of Ibrāhīm Ibn Aḥmad. Therefore, on his way to Tripoli, the tribe of Nafūsah intercepted him at Mānū and thus the clash started.¹⁷⁷

It is very likely that Ibn al-Aghlab wanted to break up the Rustumid blockade imposed upon the Aghlabids by the treaty of 197/813 which gave the Rustumids the control of almost all Tripolitania as well as the Island of Jerbah. It seems that Ibn al-Aghlab chose the right time when Imam Abū Ḥatīm was involved in the civil war in Tāhīrt with his uncle, Ya'qūb Ibn Aflaḥ, and, therefore, was unable to give any assistance to his governor in Tripolitania. It is also possible that Ibn al-Aghlab was indeed on his way to Egypt and either violated the treaty of 197/813 with the Rustumids by crossing through their territories or, perhaps, requesting passage through that region without avail, being forced to return to his headquarters. Al-Warjalānī states that Ibn al-Aghlab asked for a narrow land corridor in Rustumid territory for the passage of his army and that he was denied it by Nafūsah.¹⁷⁸

Whatever the causes of that clash might have been, the two sides met at Mānū between Qābis and Tripoli in 283/896. The Rustumid army had 20,000 warriors under the command of Aflaḥ Ibn al-'Abbās, the governor of

¹⁷⁷Anonymous, Kifāb al-'Uyūn, p. 86.

¹⁷⁸Al-Warjalānī, al-Sīrah, fo. 33 vo.

Tripolitania, assisted by Sa'd Ibn Abī Yūnus, the governor of Qanṭarārah (Tijis) in southern Tunisia, and the prominent Ibādī Shaykh, Ma'bad al-Jannāwani.¹⁷⁹ The Aghlabid army was commanded by Ibrāhīm Ibn Aḥmad, himself.¹⁸⁰

The outcome of the battle was a stunning victory for the Aghlabids and a devastating defeat for the Rustumid State, a great blow indeed, which paved the way to the Rustumid State's final destruction. The Ibādīs lost 12,000 dead on the battlefield, according to their own sources. Among those killed were four hundred scholars and notables.¹⁸¹ In the following year, 284/897, Ibrāhīm Ibn al-Aghlab sent an expedition to Jabal Nafūṣah under the command of his son, Abū al-'Abbās, who won another victory and brought with him to Tunis three hundred leaders from the Ibādī tribes, only to be executed in cold blood.¹⁸²

Imam Abū Ḥātim, however, remained in office despite his defeat by the Aghlabids from without and the civil war in his capital from within. In

¹⁷⁹Ibid. See also: al-Shammākhī, al-Siyar, fo. 88 vo; and al-Darjīnī, Ṭabaqāt, fo. 38 ro.

¹⁸⁰Ibn 'Idhārī, al-Bayān, v. 1, p. 129. See also: Ibn Khaldūn, Tārīkh, v. 4, p. 435.

¹⁸¹Al-Warjalānī, al-Sīrah, fo. 33 vo - 34 ro. See also: al-Shammākhī, al-Siyar, fo. 89 ro; and Ibn 'Idhārī, al-Bayān, v. 1, p. 129; and Ibn Khaldūn, Tārīkh, v. 4, p. 435; and al-Nuwayrī, Conquête de l'Afrique Septentrionale Par Les Musulmans et Histoire de la Pays Sous les Emirs Arabes, trans. by Le Baron de Slane as an appendix to Ibn Khaldūn, Histoire Des Berberes, v. 1, new ed. (Paris: Librarie Orientaliste, 1925), pp. 429-430.

¹⁸²Ibn 'Idhārī, al-Bayān, v. 1, p. 130. See also: al-Shammākhī, al-Siyar, fo. 89 vo.

the end, he was assassinated by his nephews, the sons of his brother, al-Yaqẓān, in 294/907.¹⁸³

The Last Imam, al-Yaqẓān Ibn Muḥammad

294-296/907-909

Al-Yaqẓān Ibn Muḥammad was the eldest son of Imam Abū al-Yaqẓān Muḥammad who died in 281/895. He was, at the time of his father's death, on pilgrimage in Mecca and, therefore, his half-brother, Abū Ḥātim Yūsuf, was chosen Imam.¹⁸⁴ When al-Yaqẓān returned to Tāhīrt from pilgrimage, he began claiming his right to the Imamate, because he was the eldest son of the late Imam. Relations between Imam Abū Ḥātim and his brother, al-Yaqẓān, became strained until the latter and his sons assassinated the former in 294/907. Al-Yaqẓān was automatically chosen Imam in the same year.¹⁸⁵

When al-Yaqẓān became Imam, the Rustumid State was already disintegrating. Its eastern province, Tripolitania, had been lost to the Aghlabids, along with part of southern Tunisia, in 283/896. Furthermore, in 284/897, the state lost financial as well as military support from the tribe of Nafūṣah, which was destroyed by the Aghlabids. In addition, the Shī'i Dā'i (missionary) Abū 'Abd Allah was gaining the Berber tribes in Ifrīqīyah (Tunisia) to the Faṭimids. He formed a formidable army from the tribe of Kutāmāh and was

¹⁸³Ibn 'Idhārī, al-Bayān, v. 1, p. 197.

¹⁸⁴Ibn al-Ṣaghīr, Akhbār al-A'immah, p. 50.

¹⁸⁵Ibn 'Idhārī, al-Bayān, v. 1, p. 197.

able, in 296/909, to destroy the Aghlabid Amirate.

In the same year, he led a huge Faṭimid army and marched westward to Tahirt. Imam al-Yaqẓān, unable to defend the Rustumid State, was forced to surrender to the Faṭimid commander, Abū 'Abd Allah, who executed him along with his sons and relatives and sent their heads to Raqqādah where they were paraded in 296/909.¹⁸⁶

Hence the Shi'ite battalions had a triumphant entry into Tāhirt, and the Rustumid realm became a Faṭimid province after one hundred fifty-two years of independence.

¹⁸⁶Ibid., p. 197. See also: al-Warjalānī, al-Sīrah, fo. 36 vo; and 'Arib Ibn Sa'id al-Qurtubī, trans. by J. Nicholson as: An Account of the Establishment of the Faṭimid Dynasty in North Africa (Tubingen-Bristol: Ludwig Friedrich Fues & William Strong, 1840), p. 102; and André Negre, "La Fin de l'Etat Rustamite," Revue d'Histoire et de Civilisation du Maghreb (Juillet, 1969), Tome 6 et 7, p. 18.

CHAPTER III

FOREIGN RELATIONS

The Rustumid State did not live in political isolation. It had friendly as well as hostile relations with neighboring states in the Maghrib, including the Aghlabids in the East (Tunisia), the Midrarids or Banū Wāsūl and the Idrisids in the West (Morocco), as well as the Sub-Sahara populations in the South. It also had relations with other contemporary Islamic states outside of North Africa, such as the Umayyads in Andalusia (Spain) and the 'Abbasid Caliphate in the Arab East. This chapter will trace and analyze the causes and consequences of these friendly or hostile relations.

Relations With the Aghlabids

Relations with Tunisia (Ifriqiyah) were hostile ever since the rise of the Ibādī movement and the establishment of the first Imamate of Abū al-Khaṭṭāb al-Ma'afri in Tripolitania and parts of Tunisia in 140/758. When that Imamate was destroyed by the 'Abbasids in 144/762, one of its founders, 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Rustum, who was the governor of al-Qayrawān, fled westward to the central Maghrib where, as we have seen, he founded Tāhirt and subsequently the Rustumid State. The hostile relations continued between Ibn Rustum and the 'Abbasid governors thereafter because the latter regarded Ibn Rustum as a rebel who should be subdued by all means, and Ibn Rustum and his Ibādī supporters considered the 'Abbasids and their Aghlabid governors as Kuffār (infidels) and usurpers who should be removed.

Based on these two contradictory beliefs, relations between the Aghlabids and the Rustumids were continuously strained to the end. Therefore, in

151/768, 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Rustum joined a coalition of Khārījī forces in an attempt to drive out the 'Abbasid governor, 'Umar Ibn Ḥaḥṣ, from Ifrīqīyah (Tunisia) (151-154/768-771). Ibn Rustum, however, was defeated and had to retire to Tāhirt.¹ Despite this defeat, Ibn Rustum tried another time to annex Ifrīqīyah to his Imamate or perhaps to return to it once it was liberated from the 'Abbasid authority. He inspired the chief of the Ibādī tribe of Nafzāwah, Nuṣayr Ibn Ṣāliḥ, to rebel against the 'Abbasid authority in 171/787. Unfortunately for Ibn Rustum, the uprising of Nuṣayr was severely crushed by Dāwūd Ibn Yazīd, the 'Abbasid governor, in 170-171/787-788, with great losses to the Nafzāwah tribe.²

It is likely that this defeat convinced 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Rustum that he should seek peace with the new 'Abbasid governor, Rawḥ Ibn Ḥātim (171-174/787-791). In fact, negotiations began immediately after the defeat of the Ibādī uprising in the same year, 171/787. Ibn Khaldūn states that 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Rustum asked Rawḥ Ibn Ḥātim for the establishment of peaceful co-existence in 171/787.³ Ibn Khaldūn also adds that in this year Rawḥ Ibn Ḥātim concluded a peace agreement with Imam 'Abd al-Raḥmān's successor,

¹Al-Qayrawānī, Tārīkh, pp. 142-144. See also: Ibn 'Idhārī, al-Bayān, v. 1, p. 76; and Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, v. 5, p. 32; and Ibn Khaldūn, Tārīkh, v. 4, p. 413, v. 6, p. 226; and al-Nuwayrī, Histoire, pp. 472-474.

²Ibn 'Idhārī, al-Bayān, v. 1, p. 82. See also: Ibn Khaldūn, Tārīkh, v. 4, p. 415; and Fournel, Les Berbers, v. 1, p. 382.

³Ibn Khaldūn, Tārīkh, v. 6, p. 228.

'Abd al-Wahhāb Ibn Rustum in 171/787.⁴

From Ibn Khaldūn's reports, one can surmise that Imam 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Rustum had started those negotiations with Rawḥ Ibn Ḥātim, and when he died in 171/787, his son and successor, Imam 'Abd al-Wahhāb, continued them until a peace accord was reached in the same year. It is also possible that Imam 'Abd al-Raḥmān may have reached that peace agreement himself with Rawḥ in 171/787, and that his son, 'Abd al-Wahhāb, only reconfirmed that treaty on his death in the same year (171/787).

There was strong motivation for Imam 'Abd al-Wahhāb to ask for peace with the 'Abbasid governor at least temporarily because of the rebellion of the Nukkārs at the beginning of his reign. Undoubtedly, he wanted to have his eastern borders quiet until he was able to pacify his home from rebels and dissidents. As a result of these talks, peace was restored to Ifrīqīyah as well as the Middle Maghrib, until 196/812.

In the year 184/800, the Aghlabid dynasty was granted by Caliph Harūn al-Rashīd (170-193/786-809) the right to rule Ifrīqīyah (Tunisia) semi-independently from the 'Abbasid Caliphate, as was discussed in Chapter I. From the establishment of the Aghlabid dynasty in 184/800 until the fall of both of them in 296/909, relations were hostile because the Rustumids looked upon the Aghlabids as representatives of the Caliphate system, which the Ibādī doctrine resented.

It is worth mentioning here that some modern scholars who dealt with

⁴Ibid., v. 4, p. 415.

the history of North Africa, and particularly the relations between the Aghlabids and the Rustumids, did not believe that there was a continuous hostile relation between these two neighboring states, and that each was satisfied with its territories. R. Brunschvig and E. F. Gautier relate the alleged lack of hostility between the Rustumids and the Aghlabids to the engagement of the latter in the wars in Sicily.⁵ M. Vonderheyden believes that the Berbers in Ifrīqīyah (Tunisia) were not willing to fight their comrades in arms who were under the Rustumids. He adds that the Rustumid rulers harbored no hostile feelings toward their Aghlabid neighbors because of their piety as well as their indifference to events outside their realm.⁶ G. Marçais thinks that, because the Rustumids were busy with their own internal affairs, they had no time to fight the Aghlabids.⁷

In fact, Arabic sources, Ibādī as well as Sunnī, tell a different tale. These very sources inform us of Ibādī expansive plans to annex Ifrīqīyah to their Imamate. It would appear, however, that peace prevailed in Ifrīqīyah and the Middle Maghrib only during the period between 171-195/787-811, when the Rustumids and the 'Abbasid governors reached a peace agreement.

Apparently, it was the Rustumids who desired peace because of their

⁵Robert Brunschvig, La Tunisie Dans le Haut Moyen Âge (Cairo: Conference de l'Institut Français d'Archeologie Orientale, 1948), p. 14. See also: E. F. Gautier, l'Islamisation de l'Afrique du Nord, p. 307.

⁶Vonderheyden, La Berbérie Orientale, pp. 267-268.

⁷G. Marçais, l'Afrique du Nord Française dans l'Histoire (Paris: Editions Archat, 1937), pp. 144-151.

internal disputes. But once their dispute with the Nukkārs was resolved, hostility was resumed on a large scale with the Aghlabids. As a matter of fact, Imam 'Abd al-Wahhāb's mind was bent on driving out the 'Abbasid authority as it was represented by the Aghlabids from Ifrīqīyah, which he wanted to annex. Therefore, as soon as he consolidated his rule in the Middle Maghrib by uniting all Ibādī Berber tribes, mostly by force of arms, he resumed his expansionist policy in Tunisia at the expense of the Aghlabid Amirate.

As we have stated before in Chapter II, Imam 'Abd al-Wahhāb, in 196/812, went on a trip to Tripolitania without disclosing the real goal of that trip. Although it was known among the Ibādīs that it was for pilgrimage, on his way to Tripolitania he annexed the mountain of Dammar and appointed a certain Midrār as its governor. In the same year, he laid siege on the city of Tripoli and won a great victory over the Aghlabid governor of Tripolitania, who was forced to accept a humiliating treaty which gave the Rustumids control of all Tripolitania, save the city of Tripoli, itself, and the sea. In addition to this, Imam 'Abd al-Wahhāb occupied Qābis, the surrounding areas, and the island of Jerbah.⁸ The Ibādī historian, al-Darjīnī, explicitly states that Imam 'Abd al-Wahhāb's intention in Tripoli's siege was to bring it under

⁸Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, v. 5, pp. 156-157. See also: Ibn Khaldūn, Tārīkh, v. 6, pp. 286-287; and al-Warjalānī, al-Sīrah, fo. 23 vo; and al-Shammākhī, al-Siyar, fo. 42 vo.

Ibādī control.⁹

The Aghlabids remained on the defensive until 224/839, when they succeeded in breaking the Rustumid blockade by occupying Bilād al-Jarīd (southern Tunisia). Ibn 'Idhārī, who provided us with this information, says that in the reign of Abū 'Iqāl al-Aghlab Ibn Ibrāhīm al-Aghlab (228-236/838-841), he dispatched 'Isā Ibn Ray'ān al-Azdī in 224/839 to subdue the tribes of Lawātah, Zawāghah, and Miknāsah. He succeeded in beating their groups in the area lying between Qafṣah and Qaṣṭīlīyah.¹⁰ Although Ibn 'Idhārī did not say anything about the doctrine professed by these tribes, it is known that they were of Ibādī profession and among the supporters of the Rustumid State.¹¹ This defeat put an end to the Rustumid control of most of southern Tunisia and led to the separation of Tripolitania from the bulk of the Rustumid State in the Middle Maghrib.

From that date, the Aghlabids took the offensive, and it seems that they were so encouraged by their victory in 224/839 as to venture, in the reign of Abū al-'Abbās Muḥammad Ibn al-Aghlab (226-242/841-856), to build

⁹Al-Darjīnī, Ṭabaqāt, fo. 28 vo.

¹⁰Ibn 'Idhārī, al-Bayān, v. 1, p. 107. See also: Mohamed al-Talbi L'Emirate Aghlabid (Paris: Librairie d'Amérique et d'Orient, 1966), pp. 219-220.

¹¹Ibn al-Ṣaghīr, Akhbār al-A'Immah, pp. 27, 39, 52-53. See also: Ibn Khaldūn, Tārīkh, v. 6, pp. 246, 248; and T. Lewicki, "Les Ibadites en Tunisie," pp. 15-16; and Fournel, Les Berbers, v. 1, pp. 384-385; and Lewicki, "La Répartition Géographique des Groupements Ibādites dans l'Afrique du Nord," pp. 310-311.

a city--probably a military outpost--near Tāhīrt, and they named it al-'Abbāsīyah. This city was founded in 227/842, according to Ibn Khaldūn;¹² Ibn al-Athīr and al-Balādhurī say 239/854;¹³ whereas al-Qalqashandī puts that date as 237/852.¹⁴ However, these sources provide no specific information about the exact location or the circumstances under which al-'Abbāsīyah was founded, beyond the words, "Bi al-Qurbi Minhā" (in its neighborhood).¹⁵ It is likely, however, that al-'Abbāsīyah was built in the region of Ṭubnah.

There is a disagreement among modern North African historians about the motives behind the construction of al-'Abbāsīyah by the Aghlabids. E. Mercier believes that the main reason for the foundation of this city was strategic, since it served as an outpost for further Aghlabid thrust into the very body of the Rustumid State.¹⁶ A. Sālīm promotes the thesis that the true Aghlabid motive was, above all considerations, economical. Tāhīrt was a great trade emporium, and it is possible that al-'Abbāsīyah was designed to partake of its merchant activities at the terminal of the desert caravan routes.¹⁷ However, it is not unreasonable to assume that al-'Abbāsīyah must have served

¹²Ibn Khaldūn, Tārīkh, v. 4, p. 229.

¹³Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, v. 5, p. 263. See also: al-Balādhurī, Futūḥ, p. 336.

¹⁴Al-Qalqashandī, Ṣubḥ, v. 5, p. 121.

¹⁵Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, v. 5, p. 263. See also: Ibn Khaldūn, Tārīkh, v. 4, p. 429; and al-Qalqashandī, Ṣubḥ, v. 5, p. 121; and al-Balādhurī, Futūḥ, p. 236.

¹⁶Mercier, Histoire de l'Afrique Septentrionali, v. 1, p. 285.

¹⁷Al-Sayyid 'Abd al-Azīz Sālīm, al-Maghrib al-Kabīr, v. 2 (Cairo: al-Dār al-Qawmīyah Li al-Ṭibā'ah wa al-Nashr, 1966), p. 568.

both causes, the military and the economic. What is clear is that it became a base from which the Aghlabids could sally their raids and attacks into Rustumid territories while sharing in the trade activity of Tāhirt. It is equally acceptable to think that that fortified town served as a buffer zone for arresting Rustumid attacks on the Aghlabid territories.

Realizing the danger with which he was threatened by that novel foundation, Imam Aflah Ibn al-Wahhāb (208-240/827-855) organized an onslaught on al-'Abbāsīyah and completely erased it from the map. When he informed the Umayyad Amīr in Spain, Abū 'Abd Allah Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān (238-273/852-886) of this action against the Aghlabid city, the Umayyad Amīr rewarded Aflah by sending him 100,000 Dirhams in aid.

The Aghlabids' reaction to the fate of al-'Abbāsīyah was to incite rebellion against the Rustumids during Imam Abū Bakr Ibn Aflah's reign (240-241/827-828). This resulted in a civil war which lasted seven years, and Ibn al-Ṣaghīr reports that one of the prominent leaders of the rebels was a wealthy man named Khalaf al-Khādim, who happened to have been a Mawla (client) of the Aghlabids. He financed part of the war against the Rustumids within the troubled city of Tāhirt.¹⁸

During the governorship of Ibrāhīm Ibn Aḥmad al-Aghlab (242-249/856-863), the Ibāḍī tribes under Aghlabid rule rebelled, and Ibrāhīm¹⁹

¹⁸Ibn al-Ṣaghīr, Akhbār al-A'imma, p. 37.

¹⁹Muḥammad Ismā'il 'Abd al-Rāziq, al-Aqḥālībāh--Siyāsatihi al-Khārījīyah (Cairo: Maktabat Sa'id Ra'fat, 1972), p. 131. See also: Ibn Khaldūn, Tārikh, v. 4, p. 429.

his brother, Ziyādat Allah, to quell their rebellion, which he did in 245/860. It is highly possible that that rebellion of the Ibādī tribes was precipitated by the Aghlabid intervention in Rustumid internal affairs. They were, of course, encouraged by the Rustumids as either a reprisal to the activities of Khalaf al-Khādīm or an attempt to recover southern Tunisia from the Aghlabids.

Hostilities between the Aghlabids and the Rustumids escalated to a climax in 238/896, when both sides met on the field of a place called Mānū between Tripoli and Qābis, where the Rustumids suffered a humiliating defeat, as has already been shown in Chapter II. In 284/897, Ibrāhīm Ibn Aghlab sent another expedition to Jabal-Nafūṣah, commanded by his son, Abū al-'Abbās. This again succeeded in inflicting yet another defeat on the Ibādī tribes and particularly the tribe of Nafūṣah, the chief supporter of the Rustumid State.²⁰

This struggle between the Rustumids and the Aghlabids continued with more success to the Aghlabids because the Rustumid State had been suffering from internecine separatism among its tribes and even among members of its ruling dynasty. The conflict, however, continued without final victory for either of them. It resulted, however, in wrecking the defensive ability of both of them to withstand the first assaults of the new, emerging, Shī'ī forces commanded by Abū 'Abd Allah al-Shī'ī in 296/909, who easily destroyed

²⁰Al-Shammākhī, al-Siyar, fo. 89 vo. See also: Ibn 'Idhārī, al-Bayān, v. 1, p. 130; and al-Bārūnī, al-Azhār, pp. 284-285; and 'Aliyahya Mu'ammār, al-Ibādiyyah fi Mawākib al-Tārīkh, v. 2, pt. 1 (Cairo: Maktabat Wahbah, 1964), pp. 129-131.

both enfeebled parties without much difficulty in Tunisia and even without striking a blow within Tāhirt.

Rustumid-Idrisid Relations

In order to understand the relations between the Rustumids and the Idrisids, it is imperative here to give a brief survey of the origin of the Idrisids and their attitude and doctrinal outlook upon the Rustumids. Who were these Idrisids? Where did they come from?

The founder of the Idrisid State was Idrīs Ibn 'Abd Allah Ibn al-Ḥasan Ibn 'Alī Ibn Abī Ṭalīb, the fourth of the orthodox Caliphs (35-40/655-660).²¹ Idrīs Ibn 'Abd Allah had taken part in the 'Alawids or Alids' abortive uprising against the 'Abbasid Caliph al-Ḥādī (169-170/786-787) in the Ḥijāz in 169-786. When this rebellion was put down with great severity, Idrīs Ibn 'Abd Allah escaped to the Far Maghrib and succeeded in establishing a state which came to be known as al-Adārisah (Idrisids) in 172/789.²²

The 'Alawids, the descendants of Caliph 'Alī and of Fāṭimah, the daughter of Prophet Muḥammad, believed that they were the only legitimate heirs to the throne of the Caliphate. They fought the Umayyad Caliphate as

²¹Al-Tabarī, Tārīkh, v. 8, pp. 192-193. See also: al-Mas'ūdī, Murūj, v. 3, pp. 326-327; and Ibn 'Idhārī, al-Bayān, v. 1, p. 82; and Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, v. 5, p. 76; and Ibn Khaldūn, Tārīkh, v. 4, p. 23.

²²Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, v. 5, p. 76. See also: al-Tabarī, Tārīkh, v. 8, pp. 193-202; and al-Mas'ūdī, Murūj, v. 1, pp. 326-327; and Ibn 'Idhārī, al-Bayān, v. 1, pp. 82-84; and Ibn Khaldūn, Tārīkh, v. 4, pp. 24-25; and al-Bakrī, al-Mughrib, pp. 115-122.

well as their cousins, the 'Abbasids, both of whom were considered usurpers of their right of succession. Idrīs was supported in his claim by his descent from Caliph 'Ali and the Prophet. In particular, the Berber tribes went wholeheartedly to the side of this new claimant as soon as he set foot on the soil of the Maghrib. Undoubtedly, Idrīs Ibn 'Abd Allah had in mind the idea of the Alids' right to the Caliphate throne. But such an idea contradicted the Khārijite doctrine of the Ibādī State of Tāhirt, which rejects the Qurayshī origin as a prerequisite to the Caliphate. Moreover, the great-great-great grandfather of Idrīs I, the founder of the Idris State, Caliph 'Ali Ibn Abī Tālib, had massacred the first Khawārij at the Battle of al-Nahrawān in 38/659, and he was assassinated by a Khārijī rebel in 40/661. In fact, the Khawārijī, including the Ibādīs went as far as to accuse Caliph 'Ali of being a Kāfir (unbeliever),²³ an attitude which necessarily reflected upon Ibādī attitude towards all Idrisids.

Based on this historical animosity, it is only natural that the relations between the Rustumids and the Idrisids could have been anything but hostile, at least during the reign of Idrīs Ibn 'Abd Allah (172-177/789-793). We know from Idrisid accounts that Imam Idrīs I led an army in 173/790 and annexed Tlemsān to his budding kingdom, where its ruler, Muḥammad Ibn Khazar al-Zaṇātī, recognized him.²⁴ This new acquisition of territories by the

²³Anonymous, Kitāb al-'Uyūn, p. 86.

²⁴Ibn al-Khaṭīb, Tārīkh al-Maghrib, p. 192. See also: Ibn Khaldūn, Tārīkh, v. 4, pp. 24-25; and 'Ali Ibn 'Abd Allah Ibn Abī Zar', al-Anīs al-al-Muṭrib Bi Rawḍ al-Qirṭās fi Akhbār Mulūk al-Maghrib Wa Tārīkh Madīnat Fās (Rabat: Dār al-Mansūr Li al-Tibā'h Wa al-Wirāqah, 1973), p. 21.

Idrisids made them have common borders with the Rustumids. The tribe of Zanātah, which was one of the major supporters of the Rustumids, some of whose branches now came under the Idrisids, represented a development not easily accepted by the Rustumid Imam, 'Abd al-Wahhāb. Ibn Khaldūn tells us that the Banū Mighrāwah and Banū Yafrin, who were branches of Zanātah, fought the Rustumids in the hope of annexing them to the Idrisid State when Tlemsān had become part of the Idrisid State.²⁵ It is beyond doubt that the Idrisids had encouraged their partisans among these tribes to fight the Rustumids.

During the uprising of the Wāṣilīyah against Imam 'Abd al-Wahhāb Ibn Rustum, the Idrisid State was involved with them. The Wāṣilīyah were mostly from the Zanātah tribe, and some of them were under Idrisid control. Two Berber chiefs under Idrisid suzerainty were: Muḥammad Ibn Khazar al-Zanāṭī from the tribe of Zanātah and a prominent Wāṣilī leader, Ishāq Ibn Muḥammad al-'Urbī, who helped Imam Idris I to establish his state in the Far Maghrib, had been reported involved in helping the rebellion of the Wāṣilīyah against the Rustumids. These leaders were probably acting on instructions from Imam Idrīs I.²⁶

When Imam Idrīs I was assassinated by an 'Abbasid agent in 177/789,

²⁵ Ibn Khaldūn, Tārīkh, v. 6, p. 248.

²⁶ Al-Bārūnī, al-Azhār, pp. 116-117. See also: Dabbūz, Tārīkh al-Maghrib, v. 3, pp. 484-485; and Chick Bekri, 'Le Kharijisme Berbère,' p. 103; and Mas'ūdī, Murūj, v. 1, p. 186.

his heir and successor, Idrīs II, it seems, had come to terms with his neighbors, the Rustumids, to fight together the 'Abbasids and their vassals, the Aghlabids. This is how we can explain the silence of history books on the relations between the Rustumids and Idrisids. In fact, Idrīs II had been forced to lay down his differences and historical enmity toward the Rustumids and the Umayyads in Spain and come to terms with them in order to fight the 'Abbasids and the Aghlabids who were conspiring against him. The 'Abbasids and their vassals, the Aghlabids, succeeded in assassinating Rāshid, Idrīs II's advisor, tutor, and regent, in 186/802.²⁷ The Aghlabids, acting on orders from their 'Abbasid masters, continued to stir up trouble among the Idrisids as well as the Rustumids.

It is self-evident that the hostility of the 'Abbasid-Aghlabid camp against the Rustumids, the Idrisids, and the Umayyads in Andalusia (Spain) had somehow closed the gap between the latter powers whose survival could only be guaranteed by forgetting their own differences and the creation of a united front against a common enemy.

Under these circumstances, the Idrisids seem to have preferred to keep the Rustumid State as a "buffer" zone between themselves and the Aghlabids, thus avoiding direct military confrontation with them. In 188/804, the Umayyad Amīr, al-Ḥakam Ibn Hishām (180-206/796-822) sent a delegation

²⁷ Al-Ṭabarī, Tārīkh, v. 8, pp. 198-199. See also: al-Bakrī, al-Mughrib, p. 122; and Ibn Khaldūn, Tārīkh, v. 4, p. 25; and Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, v. 5, p. 76; and al-Istibṣār, pp. 195-196.

to Imam Idrīs II to congratulate him on his accession to the throne and to ask for his alliance against the Aghlabids and the 'Abbasids. Imam Idrīs II reciprocated by sending a delegation to Andalusia (Spain) with gifts and an exchange of views, according to the diplomatic style of the age.²⁸ The Umayyads of Spain were prompted to deal with the North African States of the Rustumids and the Idrisids in order to counteract the 'Abbasid and Aghlabid approach to the Carolingians during the reign of Emperor Charlemagne (768-814 A.D.). The 'Abbasid Caliph, Hārūn al-Rashīd (170-193/786-809), in an attempt to destroy the Umayyads of Spain and their allies, the Idrisids and the Rustumids, sent a delegation with valuable gifts to Charlemagne in 184/801 at Aix-La-Chapelle, or Aachen. This delegation was headed by two prominent diplomats, one from Persia and the other representing the Aghlabids from North Africa.²⁹

The mutually friendly relations of the 'Abbasids and the Carolingians were prompted by self-interest; Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd had hoped to use Emperor Charlemagne against the Umayyads of Spain, and Charlemagne desired to use Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd as an ally against the Byzantines and secure a footing in the Holy Land. The Umayyads' response to all this was the rapprochement between them and the Byzantines, the Idrisids, and the Rustumids in an effort to form an alliance against the 'Abbasid and Carolingian empires. In 225/840, the Umayyad Amīr, 'Abd al-Raḥmān II (al-Awṣat)

²⁸'Abd al-Hādī al-Tāzī, "Dawlat al-Adārisah Wa Imārat al-Rustumīyyīn al-Kisrawīyah," Da'wat al-Haqq, (January, 1972), p. 125.

²⁹Ibid., pp. 124-125.

(206-238/822-852) sent an ambassador to the Byzantine emperor Theophilus (829-842 A.D.)³⁰ to pursue that policy.

Although the 'Abbasid and the Carolingian friendship was never able to generate military action in the Iberian Peninsula, it did force the Umayyads, the Idrisids, and the Rustumids, who were natural enemies to each other, to bury their differences in order to check the conspiracies of the 'Abbasids and their vassals, the Aghlabids.

As far as the Rustumid-Idrisid relations were concerned, they continued on peaceful terms. The Idrisid State, after the death of Idrīs II in 213/828, was divided among his nine sons according to the advice of Kinzah, the mother of Idrīs II.³¹ These Idrisid principalities became weak as a result of that subdivision and consequently unable to pursue any hostile action toward the Rustumids. This is how we can explain the silence of historians about the relations between these two neighbors until the conquest of all North Africa by the Faṭimids in 310/926.

Relations With the Midrarids (Banū Wasūl)

Rustumid-Midrarid relations were in the whole friendly and peaceful. The two states were Khārijis, although they belonged to two different branches. The Midrarids belonged to the Khārijī branch of the Sufriyah.

³⁰Ibid., p. 125.

³¹Ibn Khaldūn, Tārīkh, v. 4, pp. 27-28. See also: al-Bakrī, al-Mughrib, p. 123; and Kitāb al-Istibṣār, p. 196.

They fought together the 'Abbasid administration during the reign of Governor 'Umar Ibn Ḥaṣṣ at Ṭubnah, as stated before.

Relations between the Rustumids and the Midrarids were strengthened by intermarriage. Imam 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Rustum married his daughter to Midrār Ibn Abū Maṣṣūr al-Yas', the ruler of the Ṣufrī State of Sijilmāsah (174-208/794-824).³² Tāhīrt was inhabited by Ṣufrī adherents from Sijilmāsah who played an important role in its history.³³ Sijilmāsah also had considerable Ibādī population who were reported by Ibn al-Ṣaghīr as paying their Zakāh (alms giving) to an Ibādī scholar named Abū 'Ubaydah al-A'raj.³⁴

The Rustumid Imams seem to have exercised great influence over the Ṣufrī rulers of Sijilmāsah. Al-Bakrī states that it was due to an accusation made by Abū al-Khaṭṭāb al-Ma'āfrī which resulted in the removal and execution of 'Isā Ibn Yazīd al-Aswad, the first Imam of Sijilmāsah (140-155/758-772).³⁵ Although al-Bakrī made a mistake about the fact that Abū al-Khaṭṭāb al-Ma'āfrī was the one whose accusation led to the murder of 'Isā Ibn Yazīd, because we know that Abū al-Khaṭṭāb was killed by Muḥammad Ibn al-Ash'ath, the 'Abbasid commander in 144/761. Therefore, the accusation

³²Ibn Khaldūn, Tārīkh, v. 6, p. 268. See also: Ibn 'Idhārī, al-Bayān, v. 1, p. 157; and al-Bakrī, al-Mughrib, p. 150; and Ibn al-Khaṭīb, Tārīkh al-Maghrib, p. 143.

³³Al-Warjalānī, al-Sīrah, fo. 36 vo.

³⁴Ibn al-Ṣaghīr, Akhbār al-A'immaḥ, pp. 45-46, 52. See also: Chick Bakrī, "Le Kharijisme Berbère," p. 104.

³⁵Al-Bakrī, al-Mughrib, p. 149.

which al-Bakrī mentioned must have come from Imam 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Rustum (144-171/761-788). If this story is to be trusted, it means indeed that the Rustumid influence was very strong in Sijilmāsah.

It is clear from the reports supplied by al-Bakrī, Yāqūt, and Ibn Khaldūn about the Rustumids that relations between the Ibādīs and the Ṣufri of Sijilmāsah were so close that these historians were confused. Al-Bakrī, for instance, says that Imam Aflaḥ Ibn 'Abd al-Waḥḥāb (208-240/824-855) was the Imam of the Ibādīs, the Ṣufriyah, and the Wāṣiliyah.³⁶ Yāqūt points out that Imam Aflaḥ (Maymūn) was the head of the Ibādīyah as well as the Wāṣiliyah and the Ṣufriyah.³⁷ Ibn Khaldūn reports that some of the rulers of the Ṣufri State of Sijilmāsah were Ṣufri-Ibādī. He mentions among these rulers: Abū al-Qāsim Samghūn (Samkū) Ibn Wāsul (155-167/772-784), and his son, al-Yas' Ibn Abī al-Qāsim (167-174/784-791).³⁸

The Midrarids' capital, Sijilmāsah, was located on the major trans-Saharan trade routes. It was also the point of departure to the Sudan. Therefore, some of the Rustumid caravans had to pass through Sijilmāsah. It is no wonder, therefore, to see the Rustumid Imam, 'Abd al-Raḥmān, decide to connect his dynasty with the ruling Midrarids' family of Sijilmāsah through marriage in order to guarantee favorable treatment for the Rustumid commercial caravans as well as their merchants.

³⁶Al-Bakrī, al-Mughrib, p. 67.

³⁷Yāqūt, Mu'jam, v. 2, p. 356.

³⁸Ibn Khaldūn, Tārīkh, v. 6, pp. 267-268.

Other than these fragmentary findings, the Arabic medieval sources are mute on further specific details of the subject of Rustumid-Midrariid relations. This might indicate that the relations between the two Khārijī neighboring states were always friendly and based on the mutual benefit of both states. Finally, it is safe to conclude that the relations between Tāhīrt and Sijilmāsaḥ were peaceful and cordial until the two states were overrun by the Fatimid commander, Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Shī'ī in 296/909.

Rustumid-Umayyad Relations

It was quite natural for the Umayyad Amīrs of Qartūbah (Cordova) to meet with the Rustumids of Tāhīrt. The founder of the Umayyad State in Andalusia (Spain), 'Abd al-Raḥmān al Dākhil (138-172/756-788), after escaping from the 'Abbasid massacre of the Umayyad dynasty in 132/750, took refuge in Cyrenaica (Barqah) for five years and then resorted to Tāhīrt where he was given political asylum for the nonce. The writings of al-Maqqarī³⁹ help us in the elucidation of this development and its impact on subsequent events.

In reality, this rapprochement between the two dynasties was enhanced by a number of circumstances. First, both the Umayyad and the Rustumid states were under continuous threats by the 'Abbasid Caliphate in the east through the Aghlabids, their vassals in the west. Both were considered rebel

³⁹ Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad al-Maqqarī, Nafḥ al-Tīb Min Ghuṣn al-Andalus al-Raṭīb, v. 4, ed. by Muḥammad Muḥyyi al-Dīn 'Abd al-Ḥamīd (Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-Arabī, 1967), p. 28.

states by the 'Abbasids who were determined to curb them. Second, the establishment of the Idrisid State in the Far Maghrib, whose Imams claimed the leadership of the whole Islamic world, was naturally a new menace to the Umayyads in Spain. In fact, it became a Spanish Umayyad policy to prevent the establishment of any Shī'i state in the Maghrib as a matter of self-protection. Thus, the creation of the Idrisid State in the Far Maghrib made it inevitable for the Umayyads of Spain to seek some unison with the Rustumids.⁴⁰

Moreover, the establishment of the Aghlabid State in Tunisia and the Idrisid in the Far Maghrib deprived the Umayyads in Spain of land communication with the Arab east and the sub-Sahara countries, thus rendering their sole outlet to these parts through Rustumid territories in the Middle Maghrib. Furthermore, the Umayyads also might have used the Rustumid State as a "buffer" zone between their realm and the Aghlabid dominion of the 'Abbasid Empire. It is quite possible that the Rustumids became a real force in keeping the balance of power in the Maghrib to the advantage of the Umayyads. Some scholars even believe that the Rustumid State contributed to the rise of the Umayyad State in Spain and prevented its early destruction by the 'Abbasid machinations.⁴¹

All the aforementioned premises led the Rustumids and the Umayyads

⁴⁰ Muḥammad 'Alī al-Makkī, "al-Tashayyu' fi al-Andalus," Ṣahifat al-Ma'had al-Miṣrī Bi Madrid, v. 3 (1954), p. 121.

⁴¹ Dabbūz, Tārīkh al-Maghrib, v. 3, pp. 349-350.

of Spain to disregard their historical enmity and work together against the 'Abbasids and their agents, the Aghlabids. Historically, the Umayyads of Spain were the descendants of the early Umayyad Caliphs in the Arab East (40-132/661-750), who were also responsible for massacring many Khārijites in the east as well as in North Africa.

It is very possible that the Rustumid-Umayyad alliance was a decisive factor in encouraging the Imam 'Abd al-Wahhāb to attack the Aghlabid territories in Tunisia and Tripolitania, forcing them to surrender almost all Tripolitania and eastern and southern Tunisia in 197/813.⁴²

In 207/822, Imam 'Abd al-Wahhāb Ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān (171-208/788-824) sent three of his sons, namely Dahyūn, Bahrām, and 'Abd al-Ghanī on a diplomatic mission to Qurṭubah (Cordova). This delegation was received by the Umayyad Amīr, 'Abd al-Raḥmān II (al-Awsat) (206-238/822-852), with tremendous magnificence, and it is said that their reception cost him one million Dinars. This Rustumid visit is recorded in the Andalusian sources as one of the biggest events of that time.⁴³

⁴² Al-Tāzī, "Dawlat al-Adārisah Wa Imārat al-Rustumiyīn," p. 125.

⁴³ Ibn Sa'īd al-Maghribī, *al-Mughrib fi Ḥulī al-Maghrib*, v. 1, 2d Edit., ed. by Shawqī Dayf (Cairo: Dār al-Ma'ārif, 1964), p. 48. See also: E. Lévi-Provençal, *Histoire de l'Espagne Musulmane*, v. 1, pp. 244-245; and Marcais, *La Berbérie Musulmane et l'Orient*, p. 104; and Muḥammad Ibn Tāwīt, "Dawlat al-Rustumiyīn Ashāb Tāhirt," *Ṣahīfat Ma'had al-Dirāsāt al-Islāmiyah fi Madrid*, Special Issue, v. 102, (1951), p. 116; and Mohamed Talbi, "al-'Ilaqāt Bayn Ifriqiyyah wa al Andalus fi al-Qarn al-Thālith al-Hijri," *Cahiers de Tunisie*, Nos. 69-70, v. 18, (1970), p. 33; and Check Bekri, "Le Kharijisme Berbère," pp. 98-99.

The Arabic sources neither mention the purpose of the visit nor its outcome. It is very likely, however, that its real purpose was to lay down some plans to counter the 'Abbasid-Carolingian rapprochement. It is also possible that one of the aims of this mission was to congratulate Amīr 'Abd al-Raḥmān II on his accession to the throne in 206/822. The Rustumids and the Umayyads might have discussed also economic relations, such as supplying Spain with wheat. E. Lévi-Provinçal relates the need of Umayyad Spain for North African wheat which led Amīr 'Abd al-Raḥmān II to strengthen his relations with the Rustumids in order to insure a continuous supply of this important commodity.⁴⁴

Relations between the two states became so closely knit that we hear names of Rustumids who were employed by Amīr 'Abd al-Raḥmān II as Wazīrs (ministers) and generals. The Andalusian sources mention the names of Muḥammad Ibn Rustum⁴⁵ and 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Rustum as definite examples.⁴⁶

In 229/844, Amīr 'Abd al-Raḥmān II sent an ambassador to Tāhīrt to inform Imam Aflaḥ (208-24 /824-855) of his victory over the Normans. Incidentally, the commander of the Umayyad army which defeated the Normans

⁴⁴ Lévi-Provinçal, Histoire de l'Espagne Musulmane, v. 3, pp. 271-272.

⁴⁵ Ibn 'Idhārī, al-Bayān, v. 2, p. 83. See also: Lévi-Provinçal, Histoire de l'Espagne Musulmane, v. 1, pp. 245-246; and Ibn al-Abbār, al-Hullāh al-Sayrā', v. 2, pp. 372-373.

⁴⁶ Muḥammad Ibn 'Umar Ibn al-Qūṭīyah, Tārīkh Iftitāḥ al-Andalus, ed. by Don Julian Ribera (Madrid: Tip. de la Revista de Archives, 1926), p. 62.

was Muḥammad Ibn Rustum.⁴⁷ In 239/854, when Imam Aflaḥ Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab destroyed the newly-built Aghlabid city of al-'Abbāsiyah, he hastened to inform the Umayyad Amīr Muḥammad I (238-273/852-886), who rewarded Imam Aflaḥ with 100,000 Dirhams for this action against their common enemy.⁴⁸

It is clear from this exchange of information between the Rustumids and the Umayyads in Spain that they were working together as allies. It seems also that Amīr Muḥammad I and Imam Aflaḥ cooperated to check Aghlabid activities along the Mediterranean coast. It can be surmised that the Umayyads had agreed to help finance the attack on the Aghlabids and that the Rustumids used their military forces in the endeavor.

The Rustumid capital, Tāhīrt, was inhabited by a large minority from Andalusia (Spain) where one of the major gates in Tāhīrt was named after them Bāb al-Andalus (Gate of Spain).⁴⁹ We know that Imam 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Rustum chose two prominent scholars from among the Andalusians living in Tāhīrt in the eight-man committee from which the Ibādī community in Tāhīrt was supposed to select one as his successor. These two Andalusians

⁴⁷ Ibn 'Idhārī, al-Bayān, v. 2, p. 83. See also: Lévi-Provinçal, Histoire de l'Espagne Musulmane, v. 1, p. 245; and Chik Bekrij, "Le Kharijisme Berbere," p. 160.

⁴⁸ Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, v. 5, p. 263. See also: Al-Balādhurī, Futūḥ, p. 236; and Ibn Khaldūn, Tārīkh, v. 4, p. 429; and al-Qalqashandī, Ṣubḥ, v. 5, p. 121.

⁴⁹ Al-Bakrī, al-Mughrib, p. 66. See also: Yāqūt, Mu'jam, v. 2, p. 355; and al-Qalqashandī, Ṣubḥ, v. 5, p. 111.

were Mas'ud al-Andalusī and 'Uthmān ('Imrān) al-Andalusī.⁵⁰ Ibn al-Qūṭīyah later tells us that 'Umar Ibn Ḥafṣūn, who rebelled against the Umayyads (267-306/880-918), fled from Spain and lived for some time in Tāhirt with other Andalusians. When the Rustumids learned about his plans against their friends, the Umayyads, they wanted to arrest him, but he fled from Tāhirt.⁵¹

Andalusia (Spain) itself was inhabited by many Berber tribes from the Middle Maghrib who either entered Spain with the Arab conquerors or on their own as immigrants during the civil wars in North Africa.

Cordial relations between the Rustumids and the Umayyads of Spain continued through the reign of Imam Abū al-Yaqẓān Muḥammad (241-281/856-895) and the Umayyad Amīr Muḥammad I (238-273/852-886). Ibn 'Idhārī tells us that ". . . the Rustumid Imam Abū al-Yaqẓān Muḥammad Ibn Aflah of Tāhirt did not make decisions on important questions without seeking the opinion of Amīr Muḥammad I and his views."⁵² Ibn al-Khaṭīb states that the kings of the Middle Maghrib delivered service to Amīr Muḥammad and he was recognized by the kings of Tāhirt and Sijilmāsah.⁵³

⁵⁰ Al-Warjalānī, al-Sīrah, fo. 14 vo. See also: al-Shammākhī, al-Siyar, fo. 36 vo; and al-Darjīnī, Tabaqāt, fo. 19 vo.

⁵¹ Ibn al-Qūṭīyah, Tārīkh Iftitāḥ al-Andalus, pp. 91-92.

⁵² Ibn 'Idhārī, al-Bayān, v. 2, p. 108.

⁵³ Lisān al-Dīn Ibn al-Khaṭīb, Kitāb A'māl al-A'lām fi man Būyi'a Qable al-Ihtilām Min Mulūk al-Islām, 2d Edit., ed. by Lévi-Provinçal (Beirut: Dār al-Makshūf, 1956), p. 22.

Ibn 'Idhārī and Ibn al-Khaṭīb wrongly infer that the Rustumid Imam, Abū al-Yaqẓān, and others were Umayyad vassals simply because of their closeness. In reality, both parties aimed at united action, and both continuously exchanged views about the developments of events in the Maghrib.

Unfortunately, almost all of the Ibādī historians are silent on the subject of the Rustumid Imam's relations with the Umayyads. However, the Ibādī scholar, al-Bārūnī, admits that Imam Aflah had friendly relations with the kings of Umayyad Spain and that he was held in high regard by them. The two potentates were also in the habit of exchanging gifts.⁵⁴

Trade relations between the Rustumids and the Umayyads in Spain were prosperous. Rustumid caravans brought commercial commodities from the Arab East and the sub-Sahara countries, unloaded them at Rustumid ports such as Farrūkh and Tīnīs, where Umayyad ships picked them up and carried them to Spain.⁵⁵

Friendly relations between the Ibādīs of North Africa and the Umayyads of Spain continued even after the fall of the Rustumid State in 296/909. The Nukkārī leader, Abū Yazīd Makhḥad (Mukhallad) Ibn Kaydād, who revolted against the Faṭimids in 322/944, sent a delegation headed by his son, Ayyūb, in 335/947, to ask for Umayyad support. This Ibādī delegation met the Umayyad Amīr (now Caliph) 'Abd al-Raḥmān III al-Nāṣir (300-350/912-961) whom

⁵⁴Al-Bārūnī, al-Azhār, p. 186. See also: Dabbūz, Tārīkh al-Maghrib, v. 3, p. 350.

⁵⁵Al-Ya'qūbī, al-Buldān, pp. 353-354. See also: Check Bekri, "Le Kharijisme Berbere," p. 100.

they recognized, and they claimed that they were working for him in North Africa. Al-Nāṣir received them with great courtesy and hospitality.⁵⁶ 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Nāṣir's policy toward the Maghrib was to use it as a "bulwark between Spain and the Faṭimids."⁵⁷

During the second Ibādī uprising against the Faṭimid Caliph Abū Tamīm Ma'ad al-Mu'izz (341-365/953-975), the Ibādī leader again sought the help of the Umayyads.⁵⁸ It is obvious that the Umayyads in Spain were trying to check the Faṭimid expansion to the west and consequently into Spain itself. However, the Umayyad assistance to the Ibādīs against the Faṭimids seems not to have materialized, since we hear of no armies sent from Spain to the Middle Maghrib.

Relations With the Arab East (The 'Abbasid Caliphate)

Relations between the Rustumid State and the 'Abbasid Caliphate were hostile all the way from the beginning of the rise of the Ibādī movement in North Africa to the fall of the Rustumid State in 296/909. The reason for this hostility was that the 'Abbasid Caliphs considered the Ibādīs in the Maghrib

⁵⁶Ibn 'Idhārī, al-Bayān, v. 2, pp. 2, 214. See also: Ibn Khaldūn, Tārīkh, v. 4, p. 94; and Ibn Ḥammād, Akhbār Mulūk Banī 'Ubayd, Arabic text, pp. 39, 84; and Lévi-Provençal, Histoire de l'Espagne Musulmane, v. 2, pp. 103-104; and R. LeTourneau, "La Revolt d'Abu Yazid au Xme Siècle," Cahiers de Tunisie, v. 1, No. 2, (1953), p. 114.

⁵⁷Reinhart Dozy, Spanish Islam, trans. by Francis G. Stokes (London: Frank Cass and Co., Ltd., 1972), pp. 417, 433-434.

⁵⁸Al-Warjalānī, al-Šīrah, fo. 48 vo. 53 ro.

and the Imams, the Rustumids, as rebels and dissidents who should be subdued and brought back under their authority. At the same time, the Ibādīs and their Rustumids Imams looked upon the 'Abbasid Caliphs as unjust and corrupt rulers who should be overthrown. This was the situation between the Rustumid State and the 'Abbasid Caliphate on the official level.

Despite this animosity, contacts between the Rustumids in the Maghrib and the Ibādīs in the Arab East under the 'Abbasids continued uninterrupted on an unofficial basis and was mostly done behind from the 'Abbasid authorities, as Ibn al-Ṣaghīr points out.⁵⁹

North African Ibādī relations with the Arab East had a spiritual character. As we have seen, all the Khārījī, including the Ibādīs, rose in the Arab East, mainly Iraq. The headquarters of the Ibādī movement were at al-Baṣrah in southern Iraq. From there missionaries were sent to all parts of the Arab Empire. In 140/757, five of these missionaries succeeded in the establishment of the first Ibādī Imamate of Abū al-Khaṭṭāb in the Maghrib; and later, in 144/762 the Rustumid State followed suit. That movement was welcomed by the Ibādī community at al-Baṣrah and other localities in Iraq, and they decided to support their western co-religionists in every possible way. During the first years of the imamate of 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Rustum, the Ibādīs of al-Baṣrah sent him three camel-loads of money to help him develop his new capital, Tāhīrt, and to buy arms as well.⁶⁰ After

⁵⁹ Ibn al-Ṣaghīr, Akhbār al-A'imma, p. 13.

⁶⁰ Ibid., pp. 10-12.

three years a second good-will expedition was sent to Ibn Rustum. This time it delivered ten camel-loads of money from the Ibādīs of al-Baṣrah and others.⁶¹

However, Imam 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Rustum decided to return the second shipment of money to al-Baṣrah because he felt that the Ibādīs of the Maghrib had already become wealthy and strong enough to stand on their own. Somehow, it appeared as if the Ibādīs of the East considered that Imam 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Rustum was their legitimate religious leader and, therefore, they were bound to support him by all means possible.

This fact seems to have convinced the rulers of 'Umān during the 3rd/9th century to bear the title of Wālī (Governor) or Muqaddim (Chief) as an indication of recognition of the Rustumid Imams as the only universal Ibādī Imams. However, the 'Umānī rulers were never appointed by the Rustumid Imams.⁶²

The Ibādīs of the West kept their close contacts with those of the East to whom they looked for ideological support from whose scholars they sought guidance whenever they were confronted by doctrinal disputes in the Maghrib. When the Rustumid Imamate faced its first political and religious crisis, after the death of the first Imam and during the dispute between 'Abd al-Waḥḥāb and the Nukkārs who challenged the legality of his Imamate, the two parties had to lay their dispute before the Ibādī scholars of the

⁶¹Ibid., pp. 13-15.

⁶²Lewicki, "al-Ibadiyya," p. 652.

East.⁶³ As has already been stated, the eastern Ibādī scholars recognized the validity of 'Abd al-Wahhāb's Imamate and rejected the allegations made by the Nukkār̥s.

During the last years of Imam 'Abd al-Wahhāb's reign, there was another schism of the Khalafīyah whose followers tried to establish an independent Imamate in Tripolitania, separate from that of the Rustumids of Tāhirt. They tried to gather theological arguments in support of their political intentions and ambitions. They, too, like the Nukkār̥is, resorted to the Ibādī scholars of the East to find a solution to their political problem. Khalaf, the leader of the Khalafīyah, sent a delegation to the East where it met the Ibādī religious leader, Abū Sufyān Maḥbūb Ibn al-Raḥīl. Ibn Raḥīl ruled against their arguments, denounced them, and advised them to obey Imam 'Abd al-Wahhāb.⁶⁴ These two disputes prove the subordination of the Ibādīs of Maghrib to those of the East in terms of religious ascendancy to solve political problems.

Hostile relations between the 'Abbasid Caliphs and the Rustumid Imams continued, and when Abū al-Yaqẓān Muḥammad, the son of Imam Aflaḥ went to Mecca on pilgrimage and was discovered by the 'Abbasid agents, they arrested him, took him to Baghdad, and put him in prison. The 'Abbasids accused Abū al-Yaqẓān Muḥammad of plotting against them by corres-

⁶³ Al-Warjalānī, al-Ṣīrah, fo. 15 ro-16 ro.

⁶⁴ Ibid., fo. 25 vo. See also: al-Bārūnī, al-Azhār, p. 151.

ponding with other Khārijis in the East and preparing the way for his father to overthrow the 'Abbasid Caliphs.⁶⁵

The 'Abbasid Caliphate welcomed Ibādī dissidents from the Rustumid State. One of these was Naffāth Faraj Ibn Naṣr al-Nafūsī who broke away Imam Aflah's allegiance when the latter refused to appoint him governor of Qanṭarārah. Naffāth later tried to develop his own school of thought but was considered a heretic by the Rustumid Imam and was forced to flee to the East where he settled in Baghdad.⁶⁶

It happened that the 'Abbasid Caliph al-Wāthiq (227-232/842-847) had imprisoned his brother, al-Mutawakkil with Abū al-Yaqẓān. When al-Mutawakkil became Caliph (232-247/847-861), he freed his fellow prisoner, Abū al-Yaqẓān, from jail. The Caliph treated Abū al-Yaqẓān rather well because he was considered a political prisoner, and he was granted 120 Dirhams daily. When he was released, the 'Abbasids offered him either a governorship under the Caliphate in the East or the opportunity to return to the Maghrib. He chose to go back home. Before his departure to the Maghrib, he was given large amounts of money, gifts, and letters to the 'Abbasid governors along the road to the Maghrib to facilitate his trip. The money Abū al-Yaqẓān brought with him from Baghdad helped him to win the civil war in Tāhīrt which had started in 241-856. The 'Abbasid Caliph even continued to

⁶⁵ Ibn al-Ṣaghīr, Akhbār al-A'imma, pp. 27-28.

⁶⁶ Al-Bārūnī, al-Azhār, p. 206.

pay the 120 Dirhams a day to a friend of Abū al-Yaḡẓān in Baghdad as a gesture of friendship.⁶⁷

This change of attitude on the part of the 'Abbasids probably was an attempt on their part to win the Rustumids to their side and break their alliance with the Umayyads in Spain. However, this did not happen, though al-Yaḡẓān, the son of Imam Abū al-Yaḡẓān Muḥammad went to Mecca on pilgrimage without fearing arrest by the 'Abbasids.⁶⁸ It seems that Imam Abū al-Yaḡẓān tried to keep up the friendship of both the 'Abbasids and the Umayyads. It is this friendship with the 'Abbasids which may help to explain Abū al-Yaḡẓān's peaceful reign. After his death, conflict with the Aghlabids was resumed on a large scale.

Cultural relations with the Arab East were maintained despite Rustumid hostility towards the 'Abbasid Caliphate. Al-Warjalānī, the Ibāḍī historian, tells us the Imam 'Abd al-Wahhāb sent 1,000 Dinars to some Ibāḍī friends in the Arab East, where they bought for him forty camel-loads of books.⁶⁹ When Naffāth, the founder of the Naffāthīyah schism, escaped to Baghdad, he was permitted to transcribe the famous Diwān (collection) of Jābir Ibn Zayd al-Azdī (d. 93/711), one of the early Ibāḍī scholars and one of the founders of Ibāḍism. Naffāth brought his transcription of the Diwān back to Jabal Nafūsah but later destroyed the collection in order to deprive

⁶⁷ Ibn al-Ṣaghīr, Akhbār al-A'imma, pp. 28-30, 40-41.

⁶⁸ Ibid., p. 49.

⁶⁹ Al-Warjalānī, al-Sīrah, fo. 19 ro.

his opponents of its use.⁷⁰ Another Ibādī scholar from Tāhirt, 'Abd al-'Azīz Ibn al-Awz, also made a renowned trip in search of knowledge to the East.⁷¹ Abū Ghānim, an Ibādī scholar from Khurāsān, undertook a reverse trip to the Maghrib.⁷²

The Ibādī community in Egypt also maintained contacts with the Rustumid State. During the first political crisis after the death of Imam 'Abd al-Rahmān in 171/788 and the rise of the Nukkārī schism, an Ibādī scholar named Shu'yab Ibn al-Mu'rrif hurriedly left Egypt to Tāhirt, where he played a major role in the civil war between Imam 'Abd al-Wahhāb and the Nukkārs.⁷³

The Rustumid capital, Tāhirt, was inhabited by political as well as religious minorities from al-Baṣrah, al-Kūfah, al-Qayrawān⁷⁴, and from Persian towns. As a matter of fact, it is known that some Persians held important positions in the Rustumid administration, commerce, and political life.

⁷⁰Ibid., fo. 30 vo - 31 vo.

⁷¹Ibn al-Ṣaghīr, Akhbār al-A'imma, p. 47.

⁷²Lewicki, "al-Ibādiyya," p. 656.

⁷³Al-Warjalānī, al-Sīrah, fo. 17 vo - 18 ro.

⁷⁴Ibn al-Ṣaghīr, Akhbār al-A'imma, pp. 12-13.

Rustumid Contacts with the Sub-Sahara Countries

Contacts between North Africa and the West and Central Sudan were maintained since antiquity, in spite of the fact that the Great Sahara stood as a natural barrier between these two regions. However, the Great Desert proved conquerable despite its aridities. Historical records from ancient as well as medieval times indicate the existence of commercial relations between North Africa and the lands south of the Sahara. These activities developed later into what became known as the trans-Sahara trade.

What were the incentives behind the Rustumid contacts with populations of the sub-Sahara countries? What were the trade routes through which commerce flowed to and from the Sudan? What were those commodities coveted so much by the peoples of North Africa and by the inhabitants of the sub-Sahara countries? Finally, what were the Rustumid activities in the south of the Great Sahara?

The Rustumid State was among the first medieval Islamic states in North Africa to deal with the populations of the sub-Sahara countries. It is obvious that these relations were economically and religiously motivated. The Rustumid merchants carried with them finished products from the Maghrib and brought back with them two badly needed commodities from the Sudan: gold and slaves. During these contacts, the Ibādī merchants were also active, as we shall see, as missionaries preaching Islam whenever or wherever they traveled in the Sudan.

Tāhirt, the Rustumid capital, was connected by networks of trade and

transport routes leading in all directions.⁷⁵ The first route connected Tāhirt with Sijilmāsah, the capital of the Ṣufrī State, which was the normal point of departure of caravans for the Sudan.⁷⁶ From Sijilmāsah to Taghāzāh, to Awdaghust (Audeghost), and to Ghana was a major trade route.⁷⁷ The second major trade route led from Tāhirt south to Warjalān (Ouargla) which served as the starting point directly to Tād-Mecca (Tādmekkat) and to central Nigeria, the valley of the Niger River, and the capital city of Jūjū or Kūkū (Gao).⁷⁸

Two major trade routes linked Tripolitania, the eastern province of the Rustumid State, with the central and western Sudan. One linked Tripoli with Jabal Nafūsah to Ghadāmis, Tād-Mecca, and Gao.⁷⁹ The second con-

⁷⁵Ibid., p. 13.

⁷⁶Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm Ibn Muḥammad al-Iṣṭakhri, Kitāb Masālik al-Mamālik, Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum, v. 1, ed. by M. J. De Goeje (Leiden: A. J. Brill, 1967), p. 46. See also: al-Ya'Qūbī, Kitāb al-Bulḍān, p. 359.

⁷⁷Al-Bakrī, al-Mughrib, pp. 149-171. See also: Al-Ḥasan Ibn Muḥammad al-Wazzāz (Leo Africanus), The History and Description of Africa, v. 3, trans. by John Percy and ed. by R. Brown (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1896), pp. 800, 824; and Abū al-Qāsim al-Nuṣaybī Ibn Ḥawqal, Kitāb Ṣūrat al-Ard (Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum), v. 2, ed. by M. J. DeGoeji (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1967), p. 101.

⁷⁸Al-Bakrī, al-Mughrib, p. 182. See also: al-Sharīf al-Idrīsī, Sifat al-Maghrib wa Ard al-Sudān wa Miṣr wa al-Andalus, ed. and trans. by R. Dozy and M. J. DeGoeji as: Description de L'Afrique et de L'Espagne (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1968), pp. 120-121; and T. Lewicki, "Traits de l'Histoire du Commerce Transsaharien, Marchands et Missionnaires Ibādites En Soudan Occidental et Central Au Cours Des VIIIe-XIIe Siècles," Etnographia Polska, v. 8 (1964), p. 293.

⁷⁹Al-Bakrī, al-Mughrib, p. 182.

nected Tripoli with Zawīlah and extended to the environs of Lake Chad, Kānim, and Bornu (see Map No. III, p. 248).⁸⁰ These routes were by no means the only thoroughfares leading from North Africa to the Sudan, but they constituted the main arteries which caravans pursued across the vast sandy coastlands of the Sahara.

The important staple commodities the Rustumid merchants were carrying from the Maghrib to the Sudanese peoples were salt, which was badly needed and in great demand in those hot climes. There the body loses much salt through perspiration. Other commodities included finished products such as clothing, glass for the Sudanese households, and armor for the Sudanese fighters. From the Sudan, in turn, those merchants brought gold, which was required in North Africa and beyond, for replenishing their monetary system stocks. Also, slaves from Central Africa were sought for domestic service, for labor, and for other purposes.

Pressed by their dire need for salt, the Sudanese people were in the habit of offering both gold and slaves for that sorely needed commodity. The medieval traveler from western Europe, Alvise Ca Da Mastro (1432-1480) noted specifically that the Sudanese consumed too much salt for fear they would "dry up."⁸¹ Another traveler, Valentin Fernandes (1494-1516), stated

⁸⁰Ibid., p. 11. See also: al-Idrīsī, Description, pp. 132-133.

⁸¹Alvise Ca Da Mosto, Relations des Voyages A la Côte Occidentale d'Afrique, French trans. by M. Ch. Schefer (Paris: E. Leroux, 1895), p. 56.

that the Sudanese people healed many internal diseases with salt.⁸² So expensive was salt that it was valued for an equivalent weight of gold or sometimes one weight of salt for two of gold.⁸³ Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī (575-625/1179-1229) remarked that the most valuable article in the treasury of the King of Kūkū (Gao) was salt.⁸⁴ Ibn Ḥawqal, who visited Awdaghust in 340/951, says that one camel-load of salt cost between 200 and 300 gold Dinars.⁸⁵ Al-Bakrī (d. 487-1095) states that the King of Ghana levied one golden Dinar as tax on a donkey-load of salt coming into his territories and two Dinars on the same load going out of his country.⁸⁶ Ibn Baṭṭūṭah (704-779/1304-1377), who visited the Sudan, says that the price of one load of salt was ten Mithqāls of gold at the City of Mālī, and sometimes it reached forty Mithqāls. He adds that the Sudanese oftentimes used salt instead of gold and silver coinage as a mode of exchange.⁸⁷ Even as late as the sixteenth century, al-Wazzāz or Leo Africanus (wrote 1526) noticed that salt was still

⁸²Valentin Fernandes, Description de la Côte d'Afrique d'Ceuta Au Sénégal, French trans. by P. DeCenival and Th. Monod (Paris: Larose, 1938), p. 87.

⁸³Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān Abū Ḥāmid al-Andalusī, Tuḥfat al-Albāb, in Journal Asiatique, v. CCVII (1925), p. 42.

⁸⁴Yāqūt, Mu'jam, v. 7, p. 302.

⁸⁵Abū al-Qāsim Ibn Ḥawqal, Surat al-Ard, p. 101.

⁸⁶Al-Bakrī, al-Mughrib, p. 176.

⁸⁷Abū 'Abd Allah Ibn Baṭṭūṭah, Rihlat Ibn Baṭṭūṭah (Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 1964), p. 674.

very expensive. He saw one camel-load of salt sold for eighty golden Ducats at Timbuktu.⁸⁸

What made the salt so expensive in the Sudan was that it was not available in most parts of the mainland of black Africa, while its transportation by sea was not possible as the humidity melted it. The best salt mines were in the region of Taghāzah, at a distance of twenty days' journey to the south of Sijilmāsah. There the salt was excavated from quarries two fathoms deep underground, carved like stone, and carried to the south to be bartered in exchange for gold.⁸⁹ Another source of salt was at Awlīl in the Jadālah country near the Atlantic coast, wherefrom it was transported by caravans to the Sudanese markets.⁹⁰

As for the gold which the Ibādī merchants needed badly in the Maghrib, its main source was Ghana, known to some medieval writers as "the land of gold."⁹¹ According to al-Bakrī, the purest gold was at Ghiyārū⁹² (now Gadiaro or Gundiuru, near the Senegalese coast and not far from the town of Kayes⁹³). Ghiyārū was situated at a distance of eighteen days' journey from

⁸⁸Al-Wazzāz, History and Description of Africa, v. 3, p. 824.

⁸⁹Ibid., pp. 800, 824. See also: al-Bakrī, al-Mughrib, p. 171.

⁹⁰Al-Idrīsī, Description, pp. 2, 32. See also: al-Bakrī, al-Mughrib, p. 171.

⁹¹Al-Mas'ūdī, Murūjal-Dhab, v. 4, trans. by C. B. DeMeynard as: Les Prairies D'Or (Paris: l'Imprimerie Imperiale, 1861), Arabic text, p. 39.

⁹²Al-Bakrī, al-Mughrib, p. 176.

⁹³Lewicki, "The Ibadites in Arabia and North Africa," p. 122.

the city of Ghana (Kumbī Ṣāleh). Al-Bakrī adds that the best gold in the world came from Awdaghust.⁹⁴

The third important commodity exported from the Sudan to North Africa was slaves. Kānim and Bornu had no gold to offer to the merchants of the Maghrib and, therefore, traded in slaves. The slave victims were captured from various places by various methods and taken to the slave markets and sold for gold. One of these famous slave emporia was Zawīlah in the Fazzān region (Libya). From Zawīlah, slaves were taken to different markets in North Africa.⁹⁵ In addition to gold and slaves, the Sudan exported to North Africa other products like musk, ostrich feathers, kola nuts, hides, and ivory.⁹⁶

In its turn, merchants of the Maghrib carried fine clothes, paper, swords and what is more important, salt, to the Sudanese regions.

It was not only material goods that the merchants brought with them, but also the knowledge and culture of the wider world, the world of Islam, new concepts of religion, of law, and of government, new forms of learning, new words to enrich local languages, new styles of architecture, new crops, new crafts, and new skills.⁹⁷

⁹⁴Al-Bakrī, al-Mughrib, p. 176. See also: Abū Ḥāmid al-Andalusī, Tuhfat al-Albāb, p. 245; and Lewicki, "Traits d'Histoire du Commerce Trans-saharien," p. 305.

⁹⁵Al-Ya'qūbī, al-Buldān, p. 345. See also: al-Bakrī, al-Mughrib, p. 11; and al-Iṣṭakhrī, al-Masālik, p. 44.

⁹⁶E. W. Bovill, The Golden Trade of the Moors, 2nd edit. (London: Oxford University Press, 1968), p. XI.

⁹⁷Bovill, Golden Trade, p. XII.

Concerning the Rustumid State's political and commercial relations with the sub-Sahara countries during the period between 144/762 and 296/909, there is a dearth of information, apart from the scanty references by Ibn al-Ṣaghīr. However, we can gather gleanings of value on this subject from other Ibādī works written after the fall of the Rustumid State between the eleventh and sixteenth centuries. These include some of our outstanding literary sources such as Kitāb al-Sīrah Wa Akhbār al-A'imma, written by Abū Zakarīya al-Warjalānī (d. 471/1078), Kitāb al-Siyar, a biography written by Abū al-Rabī' Sulaymān al-Wisyanī, who came from southern Tunisia and was writing in the second half of the twelfth century, Kitāb Ṭabaqāt al-Mashā'ikh, written by Abū al-'Abbās Aḥmad al-Darjīnī in the thirteenth century, an anonymous collection known as Siyar al-Mashā'ikh compiled in southern Tunisia in the twelfth century, and Kitāb al-Siyar, written by Abū al-'Abbās Aḥmad al-Shammākhī (d. 928/1522).

These Ibādī biographies speak of Ibādī merchants from southern Tunisia and Tripolitania who frequently visited the Sudan for the purpose of trade and, at the same time, acted as missionaries to spread their Islamic religion among the Sudanese pagan tribes. Although some of these Ibādī reports occur at a later date, generally after the collapse of the Rustumid State in 296/909, it is beyond doubt that they reflected the great occurrences of bygone days and, hence, preserved for us a multitude of historical facts about the relations between the Rustumids and the sub-Sahara countries in the eighth, ninth, and tenth centuries. We know that many of these mis-

sionaries came from Warjalān, a Rustumid oasis which remained outside Faṭimid control until the twelfth century. Many of Tāhirt's inhabitants fled to Warjalān, including some members of the Rustumid dynasty, such as Ya'qūb Ibn Aflah.⁹⁸

Perhaps the oldest information we have about the political as well as the trade relations between the Rustumid State and the Sudan was supplied by Ibn al-Ṣaghīr, who wrote his history of the Rustumid Imams during the reign of the Imam Abū Ḥātim Yūsuf (281-294/895-907). Ibn al-Ṣaghīr wrote a description of the reign of Imam 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Rustum (144-171/672-788) and the development of the city of Tāhirt, saying: ". . . Tāhirt, shortly after its foundation had become an important trading center. Trade routes were established from Tāhirt to all countries to the East, West, and the South, to the Sudanese lands where they traded in a variety of goods."⁹⁹

Ibn al-Ṣaghīr provided us with other pieces of information about the early political relations between the Rustumid State and the central Sudan during the reign of Imam Aflah (208-240/824-855). According to this author, Imam Aflah sent Muḥammad Ibn 'Arafah, a wealthy citizen and one of the most distinguished personalities in Tāhirt, closely connected with the Rustumid dynasty by marriage on an embassy to the "King of the Sudan" with gifts.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁸Al-Warjalānī, al-Sīrah, fo. 37 ro.

⁹⁹Ibn al-Ṣaghīr, Akhbār al-A'immah, p. 13.

¹⁰⁰Ibid., p. 31.

Ibn al-Ṣaghīr, however, did not specify the particular name of either the kingdom or the king visited by Ibn 'Arafah, although it is possible that that was the king of the Songhai State at its capital, Gao*, located on the central Niger river.¹⁰¹

According to the Ibādī historian, Abū al-Rabī' Sulaymān al-Wisyanī (second half of the twelfth century), Aflah Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb had intended to visit Jūjuwa or Jūjū (Gao) during his father's lifetime, but the Imam did not permit him to go.¹⁰² It seems that when Aflah became Imam in 208/824, he wanted to fulfill his former wish of establishing commercial as well as political ties with the King of Gao, and he sent Ibn 'Arafah with presents as his ambassador there.

¹⁰⁰Ibid., p. 31.

¹⁰¹Lewicki, "The Ibadites in Arabia and North Africa," p. 119. See also: "Traits d'Histoire du Commerce Transsaharien," p. 302; and Idem, "L'Etat Nord-Africain de Tahirt et Ses Relations Avec le Soudan Occidental de la Fin du VIIIe et au IXe Siècle," Cahiers d'Études Africaines, No. 8, v. 2, (1962), p. 526.

¹⁰²Abū al-Rabī' Sulaymān al-Wisyanī, Kitāb al-Siyar, p. 23, "Manuscript." Writer is using a Xeroxed copy sent by Dr. A. K. Ennāmī, Faculty of Education, University of Tripoli, Libya. (The writer would like to record his thanks to Dr. A. K. Ennāmī for making available this manuscript). See also: T. Lewicki, "L'Etat Nord-Africain de Tahirt et Ses Relations Avec le Soudan," pp. 523-524. On Kitāb al-Siyar of al-Wisyanī, see: A. K. Ennāmī, "A Description of New Ibādī Manuscripts from North Africa," Journal of Semitic Studies, v. XV (1970), pp. 85-86; and T. Lewicki, "Quelques Extraits Inédits Relatifs aux Voyages Des Commerçants et des Missionnaires Ibadites Nord-Africains au Pays du Soudan Occidental et Central Au Moyen Âge," Folia Orientalia, v. II (1960), pp. 7-10; and Idem, "De Quelques Textes Inédits en Vieux Berbere Provenant d'Une Chronique Ibadite Anonyme," Revue des Études Islamiques, v. III (1934), pp. 275-305.

*On the City of Gao, see: R. Mauny, "Notes d'Archeologie au Sujet de Gao," Bulletin de l'Institut Francaise d'Afrique Noire, v. XIII, (1951), pp. 837-852.

The Arab writers and geographers knew of Gao as an important trade center for gold and other commercial commodities. The name of the city was transcribed by the Arab geographers in different ways as "Kūkū, al-Kūkū, al-Kawkaw, Jūjū, Jūjuwa, and Gogo."¹⁰³

Al-Darjīnī, the Ibādī Biographer (thirteenth century), in his biographies, Tabaqāt al-Mashā'ikh, reported that his great-grandfather, 'Ali Ibn Yakhlaf al-Nafūsi, a merchant from Naftah in southern Tunisia, went to Ghana on trade missions and succeeded in converting the pagan king of Mālī to Islam.¹⁰⁴

This event was also reported by another Ibādī historian, Abū al-'Abbās al-Shammākhī (d. 928/1522) in his book, Kitāb al-Siyar. Al-Shammākhī states that the converted king was that of Ghana, but the conversion took place in the city of Mālī.¹⁰⁵ Al-Bakrī, the Arab geographer (d. 487/1095) reports a similar story about a Muslim missionary who went to Ghana and converted its king to Islam. Al-Bakrī failed to mention either the name of that king or the origin of the Muslim missionary.¹⁰⁶ Al-Shammākhī and al-Darjīnī, who knew that episode, assumed that it was identical with that of 'Ali Ibn Yakhlaf.

¹⁰³ Al-Bakrī, al-Mughrib, p. 183. See also: Yāqūt, Mu'jam, v. 1, pp. 301-302; and K. al-Istibṣār, p. 225; and Ibn Hawqal, Surat al-Ard, p. 92; and al-Idrīsī, Description, pp. 10-12, 22, 34, 38, 132; and al-Wisyanī, al-Siyar, p. 23; and Abū al-Fidā, Taqwīm al-Buldān, pp. 128, 156-157; and Ibn Battūtah, Riḥlah, p. 692.

¹⁰⁴ Al-Darjīnī, Tabaqāt, fo. 213 vo-214 vo. On al-Darjīnī and his work. see: T. Lewicki, "Notice Sur la Chronique Ibādite d'ad-Darjini," Rocznik Orientalistyczny, v. XI, (1936), pp. 146-172.

¹⁰⁵ Al-Shammākhī, al-Siyar, fo. 170 ro-170 vo.

¹⁰⁶ Al-Bakrī, al-Mughrib, p. 178.

Ibn Khaldūn (d. 808-1406) mentioned that Barmanada or Barmandar of Mali was the first king in Mālī to embrace Islam.¹⁰⁷ If the story mentioned by al-Bakrī, al-Darjīnī, and al-Shammākhī is to be trusted, it could be true that the king who was converted to Islam was indeed King Barmanāda of Mālī.

Al-Warjalānī (d. 471/1078), in his work, Kitāb al-Sīrah Wa Akhbār al-A'immah, reports that Abū Sālīh al-Yajrānī, a pious Ibādī scholar, went from Warjalān to Tād-Mecca north of Gao for trade purposes and returned to Warjalān.¹⁰⁸ Unfortunately, al-Warjalānī did not give a date to the trip made by al-Yajrānī to Tād-Mecca. However, T. Lewicki suggests that it took place in the second half of the tenth century.¹⁰⁹

Al-Wisyānī (7/13 century) reports that a merchant named Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allah al-Sadrātī (middle V/XI century) also journeyed to the Sudan, probably to Ghana from southern Tunisia.¹¹⁰ The author of Siyar al-Mashā'ikh (XII century) also provided us with some episodes of Ibādī merchants who traveled to the Sudan for the purpose of trade. One of these was Falḥūn Ibn Ishāq Ibn Wāṣīn, who went to Ghana via Sijilmāsah, where he died.¹¹¹ Falḥūn

¹⁰⁷ Ibn Khaldūn, Tārīkh, v. 5, 1. 931.

¹⁰⁸ Al-Warjalānī, al-Sīrah, fo. 78 vo. See also: al-Shammākhī, al-Siyar, fo. 137 ro-137 vo.; and al-Darjīnī, Tabaqāt, fo. 157 ro.

¹⁰⁹ Lewicki, "Qualques et Traits Inedits Relatifs Aux Voyages Des Commerçants et Des Missionnaires Ibadites," p. 5.

¹¹⁰ Al-Wisyānī, al-Siyar, p. 51. See also: al-Shammākhī, al-Siyar, fo. 191 vo-192 ro.

¹¹¹ Anonymous, Kitāb Siyar al-Mashā'ikh, p. 124. (This manuscript is included with Kitāb al-Siyar of al-Wisyānī. See also: al-Shammākhī, al-Siyar, fo. 176 vo, 180 vo.

Ibn Ishāq of Banū Wāsīn or Wisyān lived during the IV/X century.¹¹² Another Ibādī trader named Tamī al-Wisayān or Tamlā, who was poor, went to Tād-Mecca and became very wealthy there. He was able to send sixteen bags of money, each containing five hundred Dinars, from Tād-Mecca to al-Quşūr, his hometown in southern Tunisia. That substantial amount was intended for distribution among the needy Ibadites.¹¹³

Another Ibādī shaykh, Abu Mūsā Hārūn Ibn Abī 'Imrān al-Wisyānī, from Bilād al-Jarīd in southern Tunisia, went to Warjalān where he was offered a teaching position with a hundred Dinars as salary. He turned it down and left for Ghana. Then he settled in the city of Aghyaru or Ghiyārū (now Gadiaro or Gundiuru), where he finally died.¹¹⁴ The city of Ghiyaru, according to al-Bakrī, was situated at eighteen days' journey from the city of Ghana (Kumbī Ṣaleḥ) to the south.¹¹⁵ This adventure by Abū Mūsā Hārūn Ibn Abī 'Imrān al-Wisyānī was probably undertaken shortly after the collapse of the Rustumid State in 296/909, when many Ibādī scholars fled southward to Warjalān and to the Awrās mountains.

Relations between Tripolitania, the eastern province of the Rustumid

¹¹²Lewicki, "Quelques Extraits Inédits Relatifs Aux Voyages Des Commerçants et Des Missionnaires Ibadites," p. 24.

¹¹³Anonymous, Siyar al-Mashā'ikh, p. 78. See also: al-Shammākhī, al-Siyar, fo. 150 ro.

¹¹⁴Ibid., pp. 82-83. See also: al-Shammākhī, al-Siyar, fo. 176 vo.

¹¹⁵Al-Bakrī, al-Mughrib, p. 176.

State, had continuous contacts with central and western Sudan. Trade caravans passed through an ancient and heavily traveled route. One major route led from Tād-Mecca northward to Ghadāmis and Jabal Nafūṣah (the western mountains) with its terminal point at the city of Tripoli. A second route began from the basin of Lake Chad, linking it with Zawīlah and the Mediterranean shores.¹¹⁶

As early as the III/IX century, the Ibādī sources mention the existence of commercial contacts between Tripolitania and western Sudan, especially the land of Takrūr (Senegal).¹¹⁷ These trade relations are explicitly reported by al-Shammākhī, who states that Maymūn Ibn Muḥammad Abū 'Umar, governor of Jabal Nafūṣah, encouraged trade with the Sudan in the III/IX century. On an occasion, he is said to have refused to accept a gift of four hundred Dinars from a caravan coming from the Takrūr (Senegal). If anything at all, this must necessarily indicate the volume of that trade. It is also reported that this same governor encouraged trade with the Sudan.¹¹⁸

Al-Bakrī, who wrote before 1095, states that the king of the land of Takrūr (Senegal), Warjābī Ibn Rābīs, embraced Islam.¹¹⁹ This probably

¹¹⁶ Ibid., pp. 11, 182.

¹¹⁷ Al-Shammākhī, al-Siyar, fo. 90 vo- 91 ro.

¹¹⁸ Ibid.. See also: Basset, "Les Sancuaires," Journal Asiatique, v. III, (1899), pp. 456-457; and Lewicki, "Ibādica," pt. 2, pp. 104-105; Idem, "Études Ibadites Nord-Africaines," p. 42; and Mu'ammār, al-Ibadiyah, v. 2, pt. 1, pp. 165, 167.

¹¹⁹ Al-Bakrī, al-Mughrib, p. 172.

took place in the second half of the fourth/tenth century. King Warjābī asked his people to follow his example and many were converted with him. This king died in the year 432/1041.¹²⁰ Although al-Bakrī did not mention how King Warjābī was converted to Islam or who converted him, it is highly possible that he was converted by Ibādī merchants and missionaries, active in the western Sudan from the II/VIII century.

Contacts between Tripolitania and the central Sudan, especially the basin of Lake Chad and its environs, were very strong. It is no wonder, therefore, to hear that the governor of Tripolitania, Abū 'Ubaydah 'Abd al-Ḥamīd al-Jannāwānī, during the Imamate of Aflah Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb (208-240/824-955) was conversant with some African languages including Kānimī, in addition to Arabic and Berber.¹²¹ This certainly shows the strong ties between central Sudan (Kānim and Bornu) and Tripolitania.

Al-Wisyānī points out that a notable Ibādī doctor named 'Abd al-Ḥamīd al-Fazzānī (from the Fazzān region) traveled to the land of the Sudanese in III/IX century, a one-month trip from Jabal Nafūṣah.¹²² Al-Wisyānī probably was referring to the lands of Kānim, Bornu, and the basin of Lake Chad.

Al-Shammākhī reports that an Ibādī Shaykh from Jabal Nafūṣah named Abū al-Qāsin al-Furṣṭā'i, who had been killed in the battle of Mānū in 283/896,

¹²⁰ Ibid.

¹²¹ Al-Shammākhī, al-Siyar, fo. 52 ro-52 vo. See also: Lewicki, "Études Ibadites, Nord-Africaines," pp. 92-93; and Idem, "The Ibadites in Arabia and North Africa," pp. 126-127.

¹²² Al-Wisyānī, al-Siyar, p. 4. See also: al-Darjīnī, Ṭabaqāt, fo. 138 ro.

had been in the Sudan, where he converted a local Sudanese king to Islam.¹²³

It is likely that al-Shammākhī meant by "the Sudan" Kānim or Bornu.

Relations between the Rustumid State and the sub-Sahara populations were most peaceful, friendly, and profitable for the Rustumid State and its adherents. When that state fell to the Faṭimids in 296/909, many Ibādīs fled southward to Warjalān, which was part of the Rustumid State, and remained until the twelfth century, an independent Ibādī community. Ibādīs fleeing from the Faṭimids also found refuge in Tād-Mecca, Gao, Takrūr, Kānim, Bornu, Ghana, Awdaghust, and other Sudanese towns.¹²⁴ They even had their own colonies and quarters in those towns wherever they settled. Al-Bakrī states that the city of Awdaghust was inhabited by factions of the Ibādī Berber tribes such as Barfjānah, Nafūsah, Lawātah, Zanātah, and Nafzāwah.¹²⁵

Ibn Hammād (1150-1230) in his history, Akhbār Mulūk Banī 'Ubayd, records that Abū Yazīd Makhlad or Mukhallad Ibn Kaydād, the Nukkarī leader who rose against the Faṭimids in 332/944, was born of a slave girl at Tād-Mecca. Abū Yazīd accompanied his father on a trade venture to the city of Kūkū (Gao) before returning to their home town, Qaṣṭīliyah (Tozer or Tuzer) in southern Tunisia in Bilād al-Jarīd.¹²⁶

¹²³ Al-Shammākhī, al-Siyar, fo. 106 vo-107 ro.

¹²⁴ Al-Bakrī, al-Mughrib, pp. 172-183.

¹²⁵ Ibid., pp. 158-159.

¹²⁶ Ibn Hammād, Akhbār Mulūk Banī 'Ubayd (Histoire des Rios 'Abaidides), Arabic text, p. 18. French trans., pp. 33-34. See also: Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad Ibn 'Alī al-Maqrīzī, Itt'āz al-Hunafā' Bi Akhbār al-A'immah al-Faṭimīyyīn al-Khulafā', v. 1, ed. by Jamāl al-Dīn al-Shayyāl (Cairo: Dār al-Tahrīr, 1967), p. 75.

Even after the defeat of Abū Yazīd Ibn Kaydād in 336/948, many of his followers fled southward to the Sudan.¹²⁷ Perhaps it was due to these Ibāḍī contacts that, in the year 753/1353, as recorded by the North African traveler, Ibn Baṭṭūṭah, there were still Ibāḍīs living at a place known as Zaghārī within the State of Ghana.¹²⁸

Last but not least, the foreign relations of the Rustumid State, in brief, had negative as well as positive aspects. Foremost among these negative relations were the continuous hostilities and wars with the 'Abbasid Caliphate and its vassals, the Aghlabids, which eventually ended in weakening the Rustumid State and led to its dismemberment. The positive impact of these foreign relations with other states can be clearly seen in the political, social, intellectual, economic, and cultural life of the Rustumid realm, which will be detailed and analyzed in the next chapter.

¹²⁷Ibid., p. 85. See also: Ibn Ḥammād, Akhbār Banī 'Ubayd,

¹²⁸Ibn Baṭṭūṭah, Riḥlah, p. 680.

CHAPTER IV

ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL LIFE

It is widely admitted that any state cannot flourish without a strong economy and, eventually, abundant natural resources which are essential for building its civilization. The Rustumid State was fortunate to possess all these requirements. This was basically due to its location in the fertile Middle Maghrib. Tāhirt, the capital, was surrounded by arable terrains of the Sersū (Sersou), an area of over 400,000 hectares, well supplied with water from the rivers Mīnah and Tātush. Moreover, the Middle Maghrib was blessed with sufficient moisture for agriculture and growing pastures for livestock.

Geographically, the Rustumid State was situated at the commercial crossroads leading from East to West and from North to South.¹ This unique location made it possible for the Rustumid merchants to have easy access to the rich Sudanese countries, Egypt, Andalusia (Spain), and the rest of Europe through its southern ports on the Mediterranean coast. According to al-Bakrī, the distance between Tāhirt and al-Qayrawān was nineteen "stages" (nineteen days' travel). From Tāhirt to the Mediterranean coast was only four "stages."² Tāhirt was also linked with Sijilmāsah by a trade route of fifty days' journey. From there the caravans proceeded to the Sudan.³

¹Maurice Lombard, L'Islam Dans Sa Première Grandeur VIIIe-XIe Siècles (Paris: Flammarion, 1971), pp. 72-73.

²Al-Bakrī, al-Mughrib, pp. 69-79. See also: al-Ya'qūbī, Kitāb al-Buldān, p. 359.

³Al-Iṣṭakhri, Masālik al-Mamālik, p. 49. See also: al-Ya'qūbī, Kitāb al-Buldān, p. 359.

Tripolitania, the eastern province, was connected with central and western Sudan by two major trade routes starting from Tripoli to Ghadāmis to Tād-Mecca, and in the opposite direction from Lake Chad basin northward to Zawīlah through the Fazzān region to the Mediterranean littoral.⁴ This ideal geographical location made Tāhirt prosperous from trade activities in all directions, especially with the sub-Sahara countries.

Agriculture

The Arab geographers and writers in the Middle Ages spoke of the agricultural richness of the Rustumid State, in which farming was equaled by raising livestock. The following is a survey of what those writers said about agriculture in Tāhirt and its neighborhood.

Ibn al-Ṣaghīr states that shortly after the founding of Tāhirt, the inhabitants began planting new farms and establishing an irrigation system by digging canals and erecting water mills.⁵ In a short time these new farms yielded enough food for the new colonists because of the fertility of the soil, the abundance of water, and the mild climate. It is beyond doubt that the rapid growth of Tāhirt in particular and the Rustumid countryside in general invited more immigrants from all over the Islamic world. We find support for this view in Ibn al-Ṣaghīr's statement on Tāhirt after its construction as a city to which people from different places moved and in which they chose

⁴Al-Bakrī, al-Mughrib, pp. 11, 182. See also: al-Idrīsī, Description, pp. 132-133.

⁵Ibn al-Ṣaghīr, Akhbār al-A'imma, p. 12.

to settle.⁶ It is also possible that the rapid growth in agriculture and trade and eventually the improvement of the economic situation in Tāhirt led Imam 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Rustum to the rejection of the second offer of financial aid from the Ibādīs of the Arab East.

Al-Ya'qūbī, in the third/ninth century, described the crops in Tāhirt and its neighborhood as never failing unless they were struck by cold weather or wind because of the fertility of the soil and the abundance of water.⁷

Al-Muqaddasī, another Arab geographer, fourth/tenth century, described Tāhirt as " . . . a city surrounded by trees, forests, gardens, a big country with abundant resources and plentiful water supply."⁸

Ibn Ḥawqal, the fourth/tenth century geographer, gives an elaborate description of the agricultural wealth of the region of Tāhirt. He says: "The city of Tāhirt had plentiful water, trees, and gardens. Tāhirt was one of the sources of livestock such as cattle, sheep, mules, and abundant honey, butter, and a variety of cereals."⁹

Al-Bakrī, the fifth/eleventh century geographer (d. 487/1095), noted that " . . . Tāhirt had the most beautiful and delicious quince anywhere."¹⁰

⁶Ibid., p. 13.

⁷Al-Ya'qūbī, Kitāb al-Buldān, p. 358.

⁸Shams al-Dīn Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad al-Muqaddasī, Aḥsan al-Taḡāsīm fi Ma'rifat al-Aqālīm, Bibliotheca Geographorum Aribicorum, v. 3, ed. by M. J. DeGoeje (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1967), p. 228.

⁹Ibn Ḥawqal, Sūrat al-Arad, p. 86.

¹⁰Al-Bakrī, al-Mughrib, p. 67. See also: Kitāb al-Istibṣār, p. 178.

Al-Idrīsī (493-560/1100-1165), the great geographer, also noted that ". . . Tāhīrt had many farms, good palm trees, mules, cattle, and sheep. It also had honey, butter, fruits, and many other products. Above all, Tāhīrt was a very beautiful spot."¹¹ Al-Iṣṭakhṛī, sixth/tenth century, described Tāhīrt as a ". . . big city in vast, fertile area with plentiful water and agricultural products."¹² Ibn 'Idhārī, the North African historian (7th-8th/13th-14th centuries) reported also that "Tāhīrt had been surrounded by gardens of varied fruits and many trees."¹³

Although some of these descriptions by Arab writers occurred after the collapse of the Rustumid State, they still provide us with a fair estimate of its agricultural development, and they also depict the city of Tāhīrt and its neighborhood as very fertile country, which it still is today. This argument can be supported by specific statistics concerning the number of animals of a rich rancher who lived during the Imamate of 'Abd al-Wahhāb Ibn Rustum (171-208/788-824). The Ibādī historian, al-Shammākhī (d. 928/1522), says that Yabīb Ibn Zalghīn owned 300,000 sheep, 12,000 donkeys, and 30,000 camels. Another farmer named Muḥammad Ibn Jarnī produced so much wheat and barley and other cereals that his Zakāh (tithes) to the state treasury became as enormous as Ibn Zalghīn's from his raising of animals. In this

¹¹Idrīsī, Description, p. 87.

¹²Al-Iṣṭakhṛī, Maṣālik al-Mamālik, p. 39.

¹³Ibn 'Idhārī, al-Bayān, v. 1, p. 198.

respect, Imam 'Abd al-Wahhāb rightly asserted that "If it were not for the taxes paid by himself in gold and the taxes paid in agricultural products by Muḥammad Ibn Jarnī, as well as the taxes paid by Yabīb Zalghīn in cattle, the treasury of the Rustumid State would have been depleted."¹⁴

This undoubtedly proves the fact that the Tāhīrt region was, indeed, very rich in agricultural products and livestock. This also confirms what Ibn Hawqal said of Tāhīrt as the source of livestock.¹⁵ Incidentally, the author of Kitāb al-Istibṣār commented on the meat products of Tāhīrt's region as the very best and noted that much of it was sought for exportation to the Far Maghrib and Andalusia (Spain).¹⁶

Industry

The second source of income in the Rustumid State was industry. This consisted of handicrafts of varied character, such as the textile industry and the manufacture of vessels from pottery, as well as smelting copper, blowing glass, and forging swords. We have very scanty information on the subject of Rustumid industries. Nevertheless, we can construe the industrial strength of the Rustumid State from story references and indirect citations in the sources. For instance, Ibn al-Ṣaghīr states that Imam Aflah Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb (208-240/824-855) built doors of iron, probably for his palaces, as

¹⁴Al-Shammākhi, al-Siyar, fo. 60 ro - 60 vo.

¹⁵Ibn Hawqal, Ṣūrat al-Ard, p. 86.

¹⁶Kitāb al-Istibṣār, p. 179.

sturdy steel gates to his capital. Iron kitchen utensils and iron caldrons (Jifān) to feed poor people were manufactured.¹⁷

From the discoveries of Georges Marçais and Dessus Lamare, in their excavations on the site of the city of Tāhirt in the summer of 1941, relics of factories which produced utensils, glass materials, and ceramics for palaces of the Imams have been identified.¹⁸ This is material evidence as to the existence, though modest, of domestic industries.

Trade

Trade in the Rustumid State played an important role in the development of its economy. Trade relations were established at an early date with the sub-Sahara countries, the Arab East, neighboring North African states, Andalusia (Spain), and Europe.

Ibn al-Ṣaghīr left unmistakable references to this early trade activity. He states that Tāhirt became a crucial center to the caravan routes leading to all directions, notably the sub-Sahara and the Sudan.¹⁹ It was perhaps due to the Rustumid State's economic development and the just rule of Imam 'Abd al-Rahmān Ibn Rustum (144-171/762-788) that many merchants and wealthy

¹⁷Ibn al-Ṣaghīr, Akhbār al-A'immah, p. 26.

¹⁸Georges Marçais et Dessus Lamare, "Tihert-Tagdempt," Revue Africaine, v. 89 (1946), pp. 55-57. See also: Claudette Vancker, "Géographie Économique de l'Afrique du Nord, Selon les Auteurs Arabes du IXe. Siècle Au Milieu du XIIe Siècle," Annales Économies Sociétés Civilisation, v. 28, No. 3, (1973), Map No. 6.

¹⁹Ibn al-Ṣaghīr, Akhbār al-A'immah, p. 13.

people moved their businesses to Tāhirt and settled within its secure borders. Actually, Ibn al-Ṣaghīr mentions specific groups of people who had come from different places, such as al-Baṣrah, al-Kūfah, and even from al-Qayrawān in Ifrīqiyah (Tunisia) to live and trade at Tāhirt.²⁰

The greatest volume of Rustumid trade was carried on with the sub-Saharan countries. The Rustumid State, as mentioned before, was linked with the central as well as the western Sudan by a number of major trade routes. One route started from Tāhirt to Sijilmāsah and then further to Awdaghust and Ghana. A second route connecting from Warjalān led to Gao and the Central Niger bend; and a third was linked to Tripolitania, the eastern Rustumid province. In fact, the last route forked out from Tripoli to Jabal Nafūṣah, Ghadāmis, Tād-Mecca, and Gao; while another also ran from Tripoli to Zawīlah and the Lake Chad basin.²¹

It was through these routes that gold, slaves, and other Sudanese merchandise poured northward to the Maghrib and the Mediterranean ports and from there to Europe. In the reverse direction, the Rustumid caravans carried finished and raw products such as clothes, swords, glass, and, most importantly, salt to the Sudan.²²

The economic impact of this vast trade with the Sudan and the sub-

²⁰Ibid.

²¹Al-Bakrī, al-Mughrib, pp. 11, 149. See also: al-Idrīsī, Description, pp. 121, 132-133; and al-Ya'qūbī, al-Buldān, pp. 359-360; and al-Iṣṭakhṛī, Masālik al-Mamālik, p. 49.

²²Ṣālim, al-Maghrib al-Kabīr, v. 2, p. 577.

Sahara was the rapid growth of the Rustumid wealth, mostly concentrated in the capital, Tāhirt, as we shall see shortly. We have no definite figures on the volume of trade between the Sudan and the Rustumid State, but this can be judged from a citation by Ibn Ḥawqal who was witness to a transaction involving 42,000 Dinars between two merchants at Awdaghust and Sijilmāsah in 339/951, shortly after the collapse of the Rustumid State.²³ The same author states further that he never saw such a transaction in the East and, when he mentioned that episode in Iraq and Persia, it was considered unbelievable.²⁴ Ibn Ḥawqal again says that revenues from Sijilmāsah alone, in 307/920, constituted about half of the income of the Fatimid Caliphate.²⁵

As far as trade with Egypt and the Arab East are concerned, we have no detailed information. However, we know from a story related by Ibn al-Ṣaghīr that it must have been considerable. During the year 281/895, Abū Ḥātim was sent by his father, Imam Abū al-Yaḳẓān Muḥammad, with an army, to protect a big caravan carrying large amounts of money from the East.²⁶ Ibn al-Ṣaghīr did not define the provenance of that caravan, but we must assume that it came from Egypt.

Commercial ties with the Andalusians (Spanish) were as strong as were political relations. The Rustumid State exported wheat and other cereals as well as livestock, slaves, gold, and other Sudanese products to

²³Ibn Ḥawqal, Sūrat al-Ard, p. 99.

²⁴Ibid.

²⁵Ibid., pp. 99-100.

²⁶Ibn al-Ṣaghīr, Akhbār al-A'imma, p. 50.

the Andalusian Caliphate.²⁷ Merchant fleets from the Rustumid ports on the Mediterranean coast, including Wahrān (Ouran), Tīnīs (Tenes), Forrūkh, and al-Dajāj, were constantly busy carrying those commodities to Spain.²⁸

We lack concrete evidence concerning the currency circulated in the Rustumid State. However, it is almost certain that gold Dinars minted in Tāhirt itself were in current use. We have to remember that precious metal was imported in great quantities to the Rustumid State from the Sudan and, consequently, its minting was no problem. In fact, some writers assert that the Rustumid State had currency bearing its name.²⁹

As for the weights and measures system, thanks to al-Bakrī, we are able to define these in relation to their counterparts at Cordova. Hence, the Mudd used in Tāhirt was equal to five and one-half Aqfizah (Cafiz) in use at Cordova, while the Rustumid Qinṭār (Kantar) at Tāhirt equaled one and two-thirds of a Kanṭar at Cordova, and the Riṭl (pound) in Tāhirt was equal to five pounds in that city.³⁰

²⁷Kitāb al-Istibṣār, p. 179. See also: Lévi-Provençal, Histoire de l'Espagne Musulmane, v. 3, pp. 271-272.

²⁸Al-Ya'qūbī, al-Buldān, p. 353. See also: al-Idrīsī, Description, p. 65.

²⁹'Abd al-Raḥmān M. al-Jilālī, Tārīkh al-Jazā'ir al-'Ām, v. 1, (Beirut: Maktabat al-Ḥayāt, 1965), p. 221.

³⁰Al-Bakrī, al-Mughrib, p. 69.

The Evolution of Tāhirt, the Capital

We have discussed in Chapter II the circumstances in which the site of Tāhirt was chosen and the motives behind its foundation by Imam 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Rustum in 144/762. Now it behooves us to trace the subsequent development of the Rustumid capital throughout its known history from 144/762 until its fall to the Faṭimids in 296/909.

Tāhirt, like any other medieval Islamic capital, played an important role in the history of the Rustumid State as well as in the history of the entire Maghrib. This town developed from a primitive military settlement known in the beginning as "Mu'askar 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Rustum" (Ibn Rustum's Camp) into a large, prosperous metropolis. Tāhirt owed its rapid growth to its unique location along important trade routes which linked it with neighboring countries in North Africa as well as further distant areas such as the Sudan and the sub-Sahara, as stated before. Thanks to its unique location, Tāhirt became a great trade emporium and invited many traders and wealthy people from all over the Islamic world.

The city of Tāhirt and its inhabitants were financially helped in the first year of its construction by the Ibāḍīs of the East who sent three camel-loads of money to Imam 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Rustum³¹, who sagaciously used the money in planning and executing its construction. He divided that money into three portions, one for buying horses, a second for securing arms, and a third to be distributed among the poor.³² It is clear that this investment by

³¹Ibn al-Ṣaghīr, Akhbār al-A'immah, p. 12.

³²Ibid.

The Ibāḍīs of the East soon yielded its benefits, as this financial help contributed to the rapid growth of the Rustumid capital.

Soon after its founding, Tāhīrt became the home town of peoples of different nationalities. Ibn al-Ṣaghīr attributed this to the prosperity of the Rustumid State and the wise government of Imam 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Rustum, who administered justice and offered security to his subjects.

Concerning these newcomers to Tāhīrt, Ibn al-Ṣaghīr wrote:

Delegations and their companions (Rifāq) came to Tāhīrt from all provinces and remote countries. It is said that it was a rare stranger who descended on its inhabitants without settling down in their midst and building his own habitation with theirs on account of the affluence of the city and the good governance and justice of the Imam, as well as the feeling of security for self and possessions. On inspecting (Tāhīrt) its buildings, you distinguish those belonging to so-and-so al-Kūfī, so-and-so al-Baṣrī, and so-and-so al-Qayrawānī. The same is said about the mosques. In other words, you distinguish the mosque of al-Qayrawāniyyīn and their Raḥbah (square) from the mosque of al-Baṣriyyīn and that of al-Kufiyyīn."³³

These newcomers from different places representing different cultures, undoubtedly contributed a lot to the development of Tāhīrt in terms of economics, industry, architecture, culture, and intellectual life with their knowledge and imported skills. This may help to explain the rapid growth and expansion of the city of Tāhīrt in the first three years of its existence. Ibn al-Ṣaghīr reports that, three years after the date of the first financial aid, a delegation carrying another financial contribution from the Ibādīs of the East arrived in Tāhīrt. That delegation found Tāhīrt had completely

³³Ibid., pp. 12-13.

changed from a poor and insignificant hamlet to a rich city with palaces, gardens, mills, stately quarters, and slaves observable everywhere for labor and service.³⁴

The only place the delegation found unchanged was Imam 'Abd al-Raḥmān's residence. It was as modest as the first delegation had seen it. Imam 'Abd al-Raḥmān, after consulting his advisors, the tribal chiefs, and the notables, decided to turn back the second financial assistance to its contributors, because he felt that the Ibādīs of the Maghrib were no more in need of such aid.³⁵

The initial plan of the city of Tāhīrt was a simple one. According to al-Warjalānī, it consisted of the congregational mosque, Dār al-Imārah (government residence), and private homes.³⁶ Al-Bakrī (d. 487/1095) later tells us that the city had four gates: Bāb al-Ṣabā, Bāb al-Manāzil, Bāb al Andalus, and Bāb al-Maṭāḥin.³⁷ Tāhīrt was founded near the rivers Mīnah and Tātush, from which the population obtained water for drinking and for irrigating their gardens.³⁸ The city had one major thoroughfare passing

³⁴Ibid., pp. 13-14.

³⁵Ibid., pp. 14-15.

³⁶Al-Warjalānī, al-Sīrah, fo. 13 vo - 14 ro. See also: al-Bakrī, al-Mughrib, p. 68; and al-Darjīnī, Ṭabaqāt, fo. 20 ro.

³⁷Al-Bakrī, al-Mughrib, p. 68. See also: al-Darjīnī, Ṭabaqāt,

³⁸Ibid., p. 66.

through it from east to west.³⁹

As the city expanded, more buildings were added to it. Among these was the quarter of the Qarawāniyyīn and their mosque. Other quarters included those of al-Baṣriyyīn and al-Kūfiyyīn, each furnished with its own mosque.⁴⁰ It seems that the inhabitants of Tāhirt lived in tribal groups in separate quarters of the city assigned to each ethnic division. Ibn al-Ṣaghīr refers to al-Qayrawāniyyīn's Raḥbah (square), the tribe of Nafūṣah's 'Adwah (side) and their Darb (track), the Hayy (quarter) of al-'Ajam (the Persians), and the Jund (soldiers), who built their own quarters.⁴¹

Tāhirt was also reported to have had twelve public baths and markets. One of these markets was built by a wealthy Persian notable named Ibn War-dah, who was so powerful and influential that the police would not dare enter his market. This man lived during the Imamate of Aflah Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb Ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Rustum (208-240/824-855).⁴²

The most distinguished edifice in Tāhirt was the Qaṣabah (Citadel), commonly known as al-Ma'ṣūmah ("the protected"). This citadel was built as the seat of government and was consequently well-fortified to withstand long sieges. The Qaṣabah was the only remaining building to be identified with the Rustumid era. This citadel was surrounded by a rectangular,

³⁹Al-Janḥānī, "Tāhirt," p. 16.

⁴⁰Ibn al-Ṣaghīr, Akḥbār al-A'immaḥ, p. 13.

⁴¹Ibid., pp. 13, 26-27, 37, 38.

⁴²Al-Bakrī, al-Mughrib, p. 68.

strong wall for protection from inroads, as its name indicates. It was built on a fortified location on top of a hill overlooking the chief market places.⁴³

The Rustumid capital was also surrounded by a wall with a number of towers built by local Ibādī tribes. Some of these towers were mentioned by Ibn al-Ṣaghīr, such as the Lawātah tower, where Imam Abū al-Yaqẓān took refuge during the civil war in 241-248/856-863, the tower of the tribe of Nafūṣah where Abū al-Yaqẓān resided for a while, and the Tamālīt tower in southern Tāhīrt where Imam Abū Ḥatīm Yūsuf fortified himself against his uncle, Yaq'ūb Ibn Aflah, during the civil war of 281-285/895-899.⁴⁴ Al-Bakrī mentions a fortress belonging to the tribe of Barfjānah in the east of new Tāhīrt within the precincts of the old city.⁴⁵ The author of Kitāb al-Istibṣār also reported a well-fortified citadel belonging to the tribe of Hawwārah on a fertile mountain near the capital.⁴⁶

When the economic conditions improved in the Rustumid State, as already noted, and the capital began to teem with its inhabitants, rich people built palaces, ranches, and gardens in the outskirts of Tāhīrt. Ibn al-Ṣaghīr has recorded the names of some of those rich people who took residence in

⁴³G. Marçais et Lamare, "Tihirt-Tagdempt," pp. 44-55. See also: al-Bakrī, al-Mughrib, p. 68; and Georges Marçais, L'Architecture Musulmane d'Occident; Tunisie, Algérie, Maroc, Espagne, et Sicile (Paris: Arts et Métiers Graphique, 1954), pp. 28-29.

⁴⁴Ibn al-Ṣaghīr, Akhbār al-A'imma, p. 39, 41, 52.

⁴⁵Al-Bakrī, al-Mughrib, p. 67.

⁴⁶Kitāb al-Istibṣār, p. 178.

the suburbs of the capital. They included a certain Abbān and Ḥamawīh, who built their famous palaces in an area known as Amlāq in the vicinity of Tāhīrt. These two rich men seem to have been of Persian origin, as their names indicate. A third wealthy man named 'Abd al-Wāḥid constructed a palace which bore his name. Muḥammad Ibn Ḥammād possessed an estate known as al-Thuluth several miles out of Tāhīrt. In this estate he had gardens, farms, and palaces.⁴⁷

The Rustumid Imams and their family members also had their palaces and extensive orchards. Imam Abū Bakr (240-241/855-856) is reported by Ibn al-Ṣaghīr to have had a well-known garden named "Jinān al-Amīr" (the Prince's Garden) where he used to go for rest and recuperation. In this place, Imam Abū Bakr assassinated his son and brother-in-law, Muḥammad Ibn 'Arafah in 242/851.⁴⁸

Despite the fact that Tāhīrt is believed to have been inhabited mostly by influential groups from the Arab East, mainly Iraq and Persia, excavations and archaeological studies provide us with a different picture. It was discovered that the Umayyad architectural pattern of Syria and Spain was more common and dominant in Tāhīrt than other types. The explanation given for this influence of Umayyad civilization and style is that there were close relations between the Rustumid State and the Umayyad Amirate in

⁴⁷Ibn al-Ṣaghīr, Akḥbār al-A'immah, pp. 26, 51.

⁴⁸Ibid, p. 35.

Andalusia (Spain) whose representatives tried hard to keep the features of their heritage.⁴⁹

The Rustumid capital was described vividly by the Arab geographers from the third/ninth century to the ninth/fifteenth century. The following is an attempt to furnish the reader with a few descriptive accounts of Tāhirt in different periods.

Al-Ya'qūbī, third/ninth century, described Tāhirt in these words:

" . . . and Tāhirt, the great city. It was a glorious city with great rank and was called Irāq al-Maghrib (Iraq of the Maghrib). It was inhabited by Ahklāt (rabble) of peoples ruled by persons from Persia named Banu Muhammad Ibn Aflah Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb Ibn 'Abd al-Rahmān Ibn Rustum, al-Fārisī (the Persian)."⁵⁰

Al-Muqaddasī, fourth/tenth century, compared Tāhirt with the cities of Balakh in Persia, Damascus in Syria, and Qurṭubah (Cordova) in Andalusia:

Tāhirt was also the name of the Qaṣabah (Citadel). It was the Balakh of the Maghrib. It was encircled by rivers, outflanked by trees, covered by gardens, and springs flowed around it. It was a great region where the foreigner flourished and the able liked it. They preferred it to Damascus, but they were mistaken, and to Qurṭubah (Cordova), but I did not think they were correct. Tāhirt was a big place with abundant resources . . . beautiful markets, plentiful water, and good people. It was an ancient city, well paved

⁴⁹Marçais et Dessus Lamare, "Tihert-Tagdempt," p. 54. See also: Marçais, L'Architecture Musulmane, pp. 28-29.

⁵⁰Al-Ya'qūbī, al-Buldān, p. 353.

and with wonderful characteristics.⁵¹

Al-Muqaddasī added that Tāhirt had four gates (Abwāb), Majjānah, Darb (track) al-Ma'sūmah, Darb Ḥarat al-Qafir, and Darb al-Basātin.

Tāhirt also had two mosques built of stone near its markets.⁵²

Ibn Hawqal, who visited Sijilmāṣah and Awdaghust in 339/951, characterized Tāhirt as " . . . two big cities, the first was ancient and the other was new:"

The old city had a wall and was located on a low mountain. It had many inhabitants, and it had a mosque. New Tāhirt also had a mosque, and each of the two mosques had an Iman (prayer leader) and Khaṭīb (orator). New Tāhirt had more merchants and more trade than the old city. Tāhirt had plentiful water which reached all its homes. It also had gardens, baths, and Khānāt (hotels).⁵³

The author of Kitāb al-Istibṣār, sixth/twelfth century, describes Tāhirt as " . . . one of the famous cities of the Middle Maghrib," and he adds:

It was an old, big, and famous city surrounded by a stone-built wall. It had a well-fortified Qaṣabah (Citadel) overlooking its markets. The Qaṣabah was called al-Ma'sūmah ("The protected"). Tāhirt was located at the foot of a mountain named Qarqal.⁵⁴

Al-Idrīsī (493-560/1100-1165) depicts Tāhirt in these words:

The city of Tāhirt in the former time had been two cities, one an ancient and the other new. The old city had a wall and was located on top of a low mountain. The population were Berbers who

⁵¹Al-Muqaddasī, Aḥsan al-Taqāsīm, pp. 228-229.

⁵²Ibid., p. 229.

⁵³Ibn Hawqal, Ṣūrat al-Ard, p. 86.

⁵⁴Kitāb al-Istibṣār, p. 178.

practiced trade, and their markets were full of goods.⁵⁵

Al-Iṣṭakhri, fourth/tenth century, portrayed Tāhirt as follows: "It was a big city with vast, fertile ground, plentiful water and crops, and the Ibādiyah were in control of it."⁵⁶

Yāqūt (d. 626/1229) says:

Tāhirt was a name for two opposite cities in the Far Maghrib (al-Maghrib al-Aqṣā). One of them was called old Tāhirt and the other new Tāhirt. Tāhirt was a splendid city. In olden times it used to be called 'Irāq al-Maghrib (Irāq of the Maghrib)."
Neither entered under the control of the governors of Ifrīqiya (Tunisia), and the Maswaddah (the 'Abbasids) armies never reached it. The Aghlabid authority had never been exercised there.⁵⁷

Abū al-Fidā (d. 732/1332) states that

. . . Between old and new Tahirt was one stage. It was a . . . great city in ancient times which used to be called 'Irāq al-Maghrib (Iraq of the Maghrib). It had a seaport named Farrūkh. Old Tahirt was situated on a low mountain. It had a mosque, as did the new one. New Tāhirt was greater than the old one. It had water which reached its houses. Tāhirt had a great reputation during the reign of the Rustumid Kingdom. It was the seat of the Khawāriji rule and the seat of the Rustumids, the Kings of the Maghrib.⁵⁸

Finally, al-Qalqashandī (d. 821/1418) portrayed Tāhirt as follows:

. . . It was the base of the Middle Maghrib, and in it there was the residence of the Kings of Banū Rustum (The Rustumid Kings) until their state was extinguished by the Faṭimids. . . Tāhirt was a great city which used to be called "Baghdād al-Maghrib (Baghdad of the Maghrib)" in olden times.⁵⁹

⁵⁵Al-Idrīsī, Description, p. 87.

⁵⁶Al-Iṣṭakhri, Masālik al-Mamālik, p. 39.

⁵⁷Yāqūt, Mu'jam, v. 2, pp. 354-355.

⁵⁸Abū al-Fidā, Taqwīm al-Buldān, p. 124.

⁵⁹Al-Qalqashandī, Subh, v. 5, p. 111.

The aforementioned descriptions by the Arab geographers, although some were written after the fall of the Rustumid State to the Faṭimids in 296/909, give a clear indication as to its glorious past and its economic power, which derived partly from its fertile plains but largely from its trade and the trade routes it commanded.

After the collapse of the Rustumid State in 296/909, Tāhirt began its slow decline and ultimate downfall. Gradually its wealthy merchants, intellectuals, and even many of its Ibādī inhabitants fled or were forced out of it to Warjalān and the mountains of the Awras. The city also fell victim to Berber rivalry and tribal factions. It became a perpetual battlefield between the Faṭimid armies and the resisting Ibādīs, leading to a state of complete insecurity and the desertion of its inhabitants.

Tāhirt was thus reduced to a minor and secondary town in the vast Faṭimid Caliphate, and it never enjoyed peace. In 312/925, Muḥammad Ibn Khazar al-Zanātī wrested it from the Faṭimids.⁶⁰ The Faṭimids took it back, only to lose it again to Ḥumayd Ibn Yasal in 223/939, who ruled it until the Faṭimids drove him out in 333/945. The struggle over the control of Tāhirt continued until Jawhar al-Ṣiqillī finally captured it in 349/961 for his Faṭimid masters.⁶¹

The final blow which completely destroyed Tāhirt was in 620/1224 when Banū Ghāniyah rebelled against the authority of al-Muwaḥḥidūn (Almohads)

⁶⁰Ibn 'Idhārī, al-Bayān, v. 1, p. 198.

⁶¹Ibid.

(524-667/1130-1269) and began launching one attack after another until the remaining inhabitants of Tāhirt found it inevitable to evacuate it in 620 / 1224.⁶²

Ever since that date, the proud Rustumid capital, which was nicknamed Balakh and Baghdad of the Maghrib and was compared with Damascus and Qurṭubah (Cordova), disappeared forever. What remained of it were its ruins, mainly its Qaṣabah (Citadel) which was once invincible.

Administration

Theoretically, the Rustumid State was established on the Khārijī theory of state, i. e., "a republican concept," in which an Imam was supposed to be elected by the community of the faithful. He was required to govern according to the Qurʾān, the Sunnah (tradition), and the good example set by his predecessors. In return for this, his subjects owed him absolute obedience. He was subject to deposition if he deviated from these principles.⁶³

According to the Khārijī theory of state, the position of Imam could be entrusted to any Muslim who followed the above-mentioned principles, whether he was of aristocratic Qurayshī origin, or Mawla (client), or even the son of a slave. In addition to this, the Imam must be learned, courageous, and an adult male.⁶⁴ On these premises, the Ibadis of North Africa chose

⁶²Ibn Khaldūn, Tārīkh, v. 6, p. 249.

⁶³Al-Warjalānī, al-Ṣīrah, fo. 13 vo. See also: al-Shammākhī, al-Siyar, fo. 34 ro - 34 vo; and Sālim, Political Theory of the Khawārij, pp. 51, 52, 56.

⁶⁴Al-Bārūnī, Mukhtaṣar, pp. 74-75.

'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Rustum, who possessed all of the above-mentioned qualifications in addition to the fact that he had no tribe to support him against public opinion in case of transgression.⁶⁵

Although founded on these democratic principles, the Rustumid community deviated from them after the death of the first Imam, 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Rustum and selected his son, 'Abd al-Wahhāb to be his successor, thus establishing hereditary rights to the Ibādī Imamate. The democratic principles of the Khārījī theory of state died, in effect, with the first Imam, 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Rustum.

We have no information as to how Imam 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Rustum administered his state between 144/762 and 171/788. Apart from Ibn al-Ṣaghīr's reference to the fact that he had Qādis (judges), Shurtah (police force), Bayt Māl (treasury), and other officials around him⁶⁶, there are few details as to the system of administration in the nascent Rustumid State. Ibn al-Ṣaghīr and the early Ibādī historians failed to give details on the Rustumid administration; and perhaps this was due to the loss of the Rustumid archives when Abū 'Abd Allah al-Shī'ī destroyed their books in 296/909. However, we know that 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Rustum had spent some of his earlier years in missionary work as well as administrative training at al-Basrah under Abū 'Ubaydah Muslim Ibn Abī Karīmah, the head of the Ibādī

⁶⁵Al-Warjalānī, al-Sīrah, fo. 13 vo. See also: Ibn al-Ṣaghīr, Akhbār al-A'immah, p. 9; and al-Darjīnī, Tabaqāt, fo. 18 ro; and al-Shammākhī, al-Siyar, fo. 34 ro.

⁶⁶Ibn al-Ṣaghīr, Akhbār al-A'immah, p. 15.

community there. We know also that 'Abd al-Rahmān Ibn Rustum served as governor of al-Qayrawān (141-144/759-762) during the Imamate of Abū al-Khaṭṭāb al-Ma'āfirī, whose downfall occurred in 144/762.⁶⁷

Based on this background, it is quite logical that Imam 'Abd al-Rahmān must have appointed governors, judges, tax collectors, treasurers, and other governmental officials to the provinces which constituted his state. During the Imamate of his son, 'Abd al-Wahhāb, we find, as we shall see shortly, a list of names of Wazīrs (ministers) and governors, ostensibly from his father's court, suggesting new developments in the Rustumid system of government.

The sources of income of the Rustumid State were the Zakāh (alms-giving), the Jizyah (poll tax), the Kharāj (land tax), and other levies on trade and industry.⁶⁸

Ibn al-Ṣaghīr tells us how Imam 'Abd al-Rahmān spent the state's income through payment of salaries of his 'Ummal (employees), Quḍāh (judges), the Shurṭah (police), and his Hasham (entourage). The balance of his budget was presumably distributed among the Ibadi poor and the Muslim⁶⁹

⁶⁷Al-Warjalānī, al-Sīrah, fo. 8 vo. See also: al-Darjīnī, Tabaqāt, fo. 12 vo; and al-Shammākhī, al-Siyar, fo. 30 vo.

⁶⁸Al-Madanī, Kitāb al-Jazā'ir (Algiers: al-Maṭba'ah al-'Arabīyah, 1350/1932), p. 21. See also: al-Jilālī, Tārīkh al-Jazā'ir, v. 1, p. 221; and Ibn al-Ṣaghīr, Akhbār al-A'imma, p. 15.

⁶⁹Ibn al-Ṣaghīr, Akhbār al-A'imma, pp. 15-16.

community.

The Imam's power was absolute. He was the head of the state religiously, militarily, and politically. The Imam, however, had to consult with the chiefs of the tribes and with al-Shurāh or Mashā'ikh al-Madhab (the Ibādī religious leaders).⁷⁰ The administration of Imam 'Abd al-Raḥmān was simple but effective. He lived an ascetic life, and his simplicity was reminiscent of the life of Caliph 'Umar Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb. Ibn al-Ṣaghīr states that the Ibādī delegation which brought the first financial aid to Tāhirt asked about the Imam's residence and, when directed to it, in the historian's words: "There they stopped before the Imam's house and found him busy filling the cracks in the roof of his modest house, by himself." The report goes on describing the Imam's house, ". . . that his furniture consisted of a straw mat and an animal skin stretched over it, covering the floor. The room was bare, save for the cushion he slept on, his saber and lance and, in another corner of the house was tethered a horse. The dinner was as simple as the furniture. The guests were served warmed-up loaves of bread, melted butter, and salt."⁷¹

Imam 'Abd al-Raḥmān kept up this simplicity until his death. Ibn al-Ṣaghīr tells us that he used to sit in the congregational mosque to receive the complaints of the widows and the weak. Because of this simple life and just

⁷⁰Ibid., p. 12. See also: al-Madaṇī, Kitāb al-Jazā'ir, p. 21; and Chick Bekri, "Le Kharijisme Berbere," p. 66.

⁷¹Ibn al-Ṣaghīr, Akhbār al-A'imma, p. 11.

rule, he earned the respect of all Ibādīs, including those in the Arab East, and consequently there was neither heresy nor rebellion during his entire reign.⁷²

The Rustumid Imamate, according to Ibn al-Ṣaghīr, carried with it other titles of Amīr (Prince) and Sultān.⁷³ They also were called Amīr al-Mu'minīn (Commander of the Faithful)⁷⁴, and al-Bakrī, Yāqūt, Ibn al-Faqīh al-Hamadhānī, Ibn Kurṛādhībāh, and al-Shammākhī state that Imam Aflah Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb was addressed as Khalīfah (Caliph).⁷⁵ In addition, Abū al-Fidā and al-Qalqashandī designated the Rustumid Imams as Mulūk (kings).⁷⁶ The question of Mulk (royalty), however, is contrary to Khārījī dogmas, which consider it impious. It is likely that the Rustumid Imams were labeled kings after their system of government became hereditary. Ibn al-Ṣaghīr also stated that the reign of Imam 'Abd al-Wahhāb was great and overpowering. Imam 'Abd al-Wahhāb appears to have distinctly changed from the

⁷²Ibid., pp. 10, 16.

⁷³Ibid., pp. 43-62. See also: al-Shammākhī, al-Siyar, fo. 34 vo; and al-Darjīnī, Ṭabaqāt, fo. 24 ro; and al-Warjalānī, al-Sīrah, fo. 18 vo.

⁷⁴Al-Warjalānī, al-Sīrah, fo. 14 ro. See also: al-Darjīnī, Ṭabaqāt, fo. 19 ro; and al-Shammākhī, al-Siyar, fo. 35 vo, 36 ro, 38 vo, 50 ro.

⁷⁵Al-Bakrī, al-Mughrib, p. 67. See also: Yāqūt, Mu'jam, v. 2, p. 356; and Abū Bakr Aḥmad Ibn al-Faqīh al-Hamadhānī, Mukhtaṣar Kitāb al-Buldān, Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum, v. 5, ed. by M. J. DeGoeje (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1967), p. 76; and Ibn Khurṛādhībāh, al-Masālik, p. 87.

⁷⁶Abū al-Fidā, Taqwīm al-Buldān, pp. 124, 139. See also: al-Qalqashandī, Ṣubḥ, v. 5, p. 111.

status of Imamate to that of kingship.⁷⁷

The most important position in the Rustumid State after the Imam was the post of Wazīr (minister). We do not know whether Imam 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Rustum had Wazīrs among the officials who were reported by Ibn al-Ṣaghīr as working for him, or who formed his Ḥasham (entourage),⁷⁸ but during the Imamate of 'Abd al-Wahhāb (171-208/788-824), the son of 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Rustum, we find names of some Wazīrs who played important roles in the State. The historians, al-Shammākhī and al-Warjalānī, specifically mention the names of Mizwar Ibn 'Imrān, al-Samḥ Ibn 'Abd al-'Alā Ibn Abī al-Khaṭṭāb al-Ma'āfirī, and a certain Abwah or Abūh as active Wazīrs at the Rustumid court.⁷⁹

Next to the Wazīrs in the administrative scale were the governors who acted as deputy Imams in their provinces. Like the Imams, the governors held absolute powers in the administration of their provinces, checked only by the local religious elite, the Mashā'ikh (religious leaders). They supervised tax collection, recruited soldiers in times of war, and kept law and order in their regions.⁸⁰

The Rustumid State was divided into provinces. Each province had

⁷⁷Ibn al-Ṣaghīr, Akhbār al-A'imma, pp. 16, 20.

⁷⁸Ibid., pp. 15-16.

⁷⁹Al-Shammākhī, al-Siyar, fo. 42 vo, 60 ro. See also: al-Warjalānī, al-Sīrah, fo. 24 ro.

⁸⁰Chick Bekri, "Le Kharijisme Berbère," pp. 67-68.

its own local government. The most important of these provinces was Tripolitania because it was the home of the important tribe of Nafūsah which was entirely devoted to the Rustumid household to the last day. It is reported that Imam 'Abd al-Wahhāb had once said, "This faith (Ibādism) was established by the swords of Nafūsah and the funds of Mazatah."⁸¹ It is no wonder, then, to hear that Imam 'Abd al-Wahhāb accepted the request of the Nafusah tribe to appoint his beloved Wazīr and friend, al-Samḥ Ibn 'Abd al-'Alā al-Ma'āfirī as governor of Tripolitania.⁸²

The Ibādī historian, al-Shammākhī, provides us with the following list of names of governors and their provinces at the time of Imam 'Abd al-Wahhāb (171-208/788-824). These governors were: Wakīl Ibn Darrāj al-Nafūsi, governor of Qafṣah (Gafsa); Sallām Ibn 'Amr al-Lawāti, governor of Sirt (Surt); Mayyāl Ibn Yūsuf, governor of Nafzāwah (Nefzauo); Salamah Ibn Qaṭfah, governor of Qābis (Gabes); Muḥammad Ibn Ishāq al-Khazari, also governor of Nafzāwah; Midrār, governor of Jabal Dammar (Kef Demmer); Zaqqūn Ibn 'Umar, governor of Qaṣṭāliyah or Qaṣṭīliyah or Qaṣṭāliyah (Tozeur); Abū Yūnus Wasīm, governor of Qanṭrārah (Tijis) in Bilād al-Jarīd; and Abū 'Ubaydah 'Abd al-Ḥamīd al-Jannāwani, governor of Jabal Nafūsah (western mountain) in Tripolitania.⁸³

⁸¹Al-Shammākhī, al-Siyar, fo. 60 vo. See also: al-Warjalānī, al-Sīrah, fo. 33 ro.

⁸²Al-Warjalānī, al-Sīrah, fo. 24 ro. See also: al-Shammākhī, al-Siyar, fo. 42 vo.

⁸³Al-Shammākhī, al-Siyar, fo. 42 vo, 59 vo, 60 ro. See also: al-Bārūnī, al-Azhār, pp. 164-165.

The Rustumid capital, Tāhirt, had its own metropolitan governor. At one time, its governor was Abū al-Yaqẓān Muḥammad. Tāhirt also had another official called Shaykh al-Balad (Mayor), also known as Muqaddim al-Balad (Chief). Ibn al-Ṣaghīr, to whom we owe this information, also mentions a certain Ibn Mas'ūd as Shaykh and Muqaddim of Tāhirt during the Imamate of Abū Ḥātim Yūsuf (281-294/895-907).⁸⁴

Although the governors were appointed by the Imams and sometimes were elected by the local population and approved by the Imams, there were cases when the sons of the deceased governors felt entitled to inherit their parents' positions. This was the case with Khalaf Ibn al-Samḥ who rebelled against the central authority because of Imam 'Abd al-Wahhāb's refusal to confirm him in the place of his deceased father as governor of his province.

The Imam was also responsible for appointing the Qudāh (judges) after consulting with the Shurāh (the religious leaders of the Ibādī sect), with the notables, and with his advisors. The judges held very important and independent positions in the Rustumid State. On occasion, Rustumid judges were capable of challenging the Imams and punishing the powerful. They were usually chosen from independent sources to avoid partiality and inspire public respect. Ibn al-Ṣaghīr mentions some of the most outstanding judges in the Rustumid State. These included Muḥakkim al-Hawwārī, who had lived in the Awrās mountains. Muḥakkim was highly regarded by the Ibādī leaders and scholars. Though he was selected by them, Imam

⁸⁴Ibn al-Ṣaghīr, Akhbār al-A'imma, p. 55.

Aflah cautioned the Ibādīs of Tāhīrt about him because he had grown up in a Bedouin environment, which was a classless society. Imam Aflah was afraid, therefore, that Muḥakkim would apply the laws strictly without mitigation and would pay no attention to rank or nobility.⁸⁵ Imam Aflah, however, reluctantly confirmed the appointment of Muḥakkim.

As Imam Aflah had expected, Judge Muḥakkim applied rules and laws with unflinching austerity. His first punishment befell al-'Abbās Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb, the Imam's brother, and one of the enthusiasts who strongly urged Aflah to appoint him. This action by Muḥakkim against the Imam's brother was greatly praised by the Shurāh (Ibādī religious leaders) as a victory for justice.⁸⁶

Another Rustumid judge who stood against the Imam and his relatives was Abū 'Abd Allah Muḥammad Ibn Abī al-Shaykh. He was appointed by Imam Abū al-Yaqẓān Muḥammad (241-281/856-895). It is said that he once went to the Imam's office and threw into his hands his seal and registers as a protest against letting the Imam's son, Abū Zakariya, go unpunished for his abduction of a young girl.⁸⁷

The Shurṭah (police) were under a commander known as Sāhib al-Shurṭah (police chief). This police department was under the jurisdiction of

⁸⁵Ibid., pp. 23-24.

⁸⁶Ibid., pp. 25-26.

⁸⁷Ibid., pp. 41-44.

the Qādī (judge) and was responsible before him.⁸⁸

In 248/863, Imam Abū al-Yaqzān Muḥammad added a new department known as Ḥisbah to the Rustumid administration. The Ḥisbah office was used in the Arab East, and probably Abū al-Yaqzān learned of it when he was still in Baghdad. The office of Ḥisbah was headed by an official known as al-Muḥtasib. The duty of this official was to promote good and forbid evil--supervise markets and the public moral behavior.⁸⁹

Ibn al-Ṣaghīr states that Imam Abū al-Yaqzān " . . . ordered some men from Nafūṣah to walk through the markets of Tāhīrt commanding good and forbidding evil. If they saw a butcher inflating a sheep they punished him; if they saw an animal loaded over its strength, they unloaded it and ordered the owner to lighten its burden; if they saw dirt in the street, they ordered those around to sweep it up."⁹⁰

We have no exact data on the military system in the Rustumid State, apart from the fact that the Imam did have a permanent army, and it played an important role in Rustumid history.⁹¹ There were also Muslim guards to protect the Imam as well as other loyal guards who were Christians.⁹²

⁸⁸Ibid., p. 18.

⁸⁹J. F. P. Hopkins, Medieval Muslim Government in Barbary (London: Luzac & Co., Ltd., 1958), p. 136. See also: al-Madani, Kitab al-Jaz'ir, p. 21.

⁹⁰Ibn al-Ṣaghīr, Akhbār al-A'imma, pp. 41-42.

⁹¹Ibid., pp. 27, 37-39, 41.

⁹²Ibid., pp. 27, 36, 52. See also: Lewicki, "The Ibadites in North Africa and Arabia," p. 108.

Tāhirt was known from the beginning as al-Mu'askar (camp)⁹³, an indication that the first Imam, 'Abd al-Raḥmān, had under his command a permanent force. Al-Bārūnī, speaking of the city of al-Mu'askar north of Tāhirt, says that it was so named because Imam Abu Ḥatīm Yūsuf (281-294/895-907) used to review his troops there.⁹⁴ This leaves no doubt that the Rustumid State did indeed have a regular army. Ibn al-Ṣaghīr refers to a group who lived in Tāhirt as Jund (soldiers), although he did not give details on these soldiers, whether they were Rustumid soldiers or deserters from the Aghlabid armies who had fled to Tāhirt.⁹⁵ However, it is quite possible that the Jund were Rustumid recruits.

Since the Aghlabids were almost always in a state of war with the Rustumids, and both states were trying hard to destroy each other, the Rustumid State must have had a standing army in order to face the Aghlabid regulars. All these references indicate the existence of a regular standing army in the Rustumid State, although this subject is still contested by some researchers.⁹⁶

Despite the fact that the Rustumid State was founded on the principles of an "Islamic Republic," it failed to develop a free administration and

⁹³Al-Warjalānī, al-Ṣīrah, fo. 14 ro. See also: al-Darjīnī, Ṭabaqāt, fo. 19 vo.

⁹⁴Al-Bārūnī, al-Azhār, p. 65.

⁹⁵Ibn al-Ṣaghīr, Akhbār al-A'immah, pp. 37-39.

⁹⁶Chick Bekri, "Le Kharijisme Berbère," pp. 73-75.

especially to solve the problem of accession to the Imamate. After the year 171/788, in which the first Imam died, the problem of choosing the new Imam became as acute as in the hereditary states of the Umayyads and the 'Abbasids. Although Imam 'Abd al-Raḥmān did not nominate his son, 'Abd al-Wahhāb, as his successor, 'Abd al-Wahhāb did accede to the throne, and this turned the Ibādī republican Imamate into a hereditary monarchy. Because of the rising opposition to Imam 'Abd al-Wahhāb on this account, he followed a policy of "divide and rule." Ibn al-Ṣaghīr stated that Imam 'Abd al-Wahhāb objected to unity among the tribes, and he played one against the other to keep them under his control. He even ". . . changed from the status of Imam to that of royalty."⁹⁷ Before his death, Imam 'Abd al-Wahhāb nominated his son, Aflaḥ, as his successor and thus put an end to the Khārijī principle of democratic republicanism.

Imam Aflaḥ followed a similar administrative policy of "divide and rule." He even instigated wars and troubles among the tribes of the Rustumid State so as to deflect their energy from opposing him and toward seeking his help against their rivals.⁹⁸

The Rustumid administration was basically founded on a tribal system. The Imams drew their support from the tribes of Mazātah and Nafūsah. The latter performed many important duties for the Imams, such as running Bayt al-Māl (treasury), the Hisbah office (representing some police and

⁹⁷Ibn al-Ṣaghīr, Akhbār al-A'imma, p. 20.

⁹⁸Ibid., p. 27.

municipal duties), and the Shurṭah (police). The tribe of Nafūṣah even supplied the Imamate with troops, religious elite, and financial aid.⁹⁹ In this sense, the Rustumid administration was similar in its broader outline to that of the Umayyads and the 'Abbasids. Perhaps it differed only in one aspect by giving some role to the Wujūh (notables), who were rich merchants or chiefs of the Ibadi tribes, as well as the Mashā'ikh (religious elite of the Ibādī sect).

Intellectual Life

It was natural to find many Ibādī scholars and intellectuals in the Rustumid State because Ibādism, itself, was founded in the Arab East on scholastic debate and a well-organized missionary system with highly trained Du'āh (missionaries) able to carry out a religious discussion with effect.

The founder of the Rustumid State, 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Rustum, was one of the five original "Ḥamalat al-'Ilm" (bearers of knowledge) who were trained at al-Baṣrah for missionary work in the Maghrib. It is no wonder, therefore, to find that the Rustumid capital had grown into a great intellectual center maintaining cultural relations with the Arab East. In the meantime, Tāhirt also became a home of Ibādī learning in North Africa, able to cope with their Sunnī counterparts at al-Qayrawān and Fās (Fez).

We are told by the Ibādī historians al-Warjalānī, al-Darjīnī, and al-

⁹⁹Ibid., pp. 23, 28, 30, 37-41, 44, 47, 56. See also: al-Shammākhī, al-Siyar, fo. 55 vo.

Shammākhi, as well as by Ibn al-Ṣaghīr, that the Rustumid Imams were all learned and highly educated.¹⁰⁰ This is no surprise to us because, according to the Khārijī theory of state, an Imam must be a man of learning before he could aspire to his election by the Ibādī community.¹⁰¹ We are assured that Imam 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Rustum was one of the great scholars of his time in Islamic theology, Arabic language, astronomy, and astrology. He even wrote a book on the interpretation of the Qur'ān.¹⁰² His son and successor, Imam 'Abd al-Wahhāb, was also a celebrated scholar. He wrote several works, one of which was entitled "Masā'il Nafūsat al-Jabal" (Problems of Nafūsaḥ of the Mountain).¹⁰³ This book became a basic text for the Ibādī school of religion in North Africa. Imam 'Abd al-Wahhāb was conversant with Persian, Berber, and a Sudanese language, in addition to Arabic, of course. He had great interest in collecting books and buying manuscripts. He once sent one thousand Dinars to his friends in the Arab East at al-Baṣrah for the acquisition of learned texts, and it is said that they furnished him with forty camel-loads of books.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰⁰Al-Warjalānī, al-Sīrah, fo. 18 vo. See also: al-Darjīnī, Tabaqāt, fo. 24 ro; and al-Shammākhi, al-Siyar, fo. 42 vo, 55 vo; and Ibn al-Ṣaghīr, al-A'immah, pp. 17, 44.

¹⁰¹Al-Bārūnī, Mukhtaṣar, p. 75.

¹⁰²Dabbūz, Tārīkh al-Maghrib, v. 3, p. 312. See also: al-Shammākhi, al-Siyar, fo. 55 vo.

¹⁰³Ibn al-Ṣaghīr, Akhbār al-A'immah, p. 17.

¹⁰⁴Al-Warjalānī, al-Sīrah, fo. 19 ro, 26 ro. See also: al-Darjīnī, Tabaqāt, fo. 24 vo; and al-Shammākhi, al-Siyar, fo. 42 vo, 51 ro.

Imam Aflah was also known as a poet, a mathematician, an astrologist, and a renowned scholar in religious matters. According to al-Warjalānī, al-Darjīnī, and al-Shammākhī, Imam Aflah had started a teaching career as soon as he reached the age of puberty. Aflah's sister was also reported to be a very learned woman.¹⁰⁵ Imam Abū Bakr was known for his love of poetry, literature, and history. Imam Abū al-Yaqzān was cited by Ibn al-Ṣaghīr as a great scholar and a defender of Ibādism. He wrote several letters in defense of his faith and the refutation of opposing religious sects in Tāhīrt. It was noted by al-Warjalānī, al-Darjīnī, and al-Shammākhī that Imam Abū al-Yaqzān was the author of forty works essentially to prove Ibādī thought.¹⁰⁶

Most teaching lessons were held at Mosques in Tāhīrt as well as in all Rustumid towns. The subjects of study were mainly religion, language, and mathematics. Religious studies were concentrated upon the exegesis of the Qur'ān, the Ḥadīth (prophetic tradition), and the Ibādī doctrine. Debate with non-Ibādī sects was highly encouraged by Ibādī theology, perhaps in the hope of converting others to their faith.

The Rustumid Imams and Ibādīs in general were given credit for their tolerant religious attitude toward other Muslim sects as well as non-

¹⁰⁵Al-Warjalānī, al-Ṣīrah, fo. 29 ro. See also: al-Shammākhī, al-Siyar, fo. 55 vo; and al-Darjīnī, Ṭabaqāt, fo. 33 ro; and al-Bārūnī, al-Azhār, pp. 187-195.

¹⁰⁶Al-Warjalānī, al-Ṣīrah, fo. 31 ro. See also: al-Darjīnī, Ṭabaqāt, fo. 36 vo, 135 ro; and al-Shammākhī, al-Siyar, fo. 68 vo; and Ibn al-Ṣaghīr, Akhbār al-A'imma, p. 44; and al-Barrādī, al-Jawāhir, p. 179.

Muslim groups living under their rule in Tāhirt and elsewhere in the Rustumid State. Ibn al-Ṣaghīr reports the existence of Jews and Christians with synagogues and churches in Tāhirt. He even mentions a notable Christian leader named Bakr Ibn al-Wahīd who, together with the Christian community in Tāhirt, fought on the side of the Imam, Abū Ḥātim, during the civil war of 281-285/895-899.¹⁰⁷

Ibn al-Ṣaghīr, whose history is considered the oldest extant work on the Rustumid Imams and who lived in Tāhirt during the latter years of the Imamate of Abū al-Yaqẓān Muḥammad (241-281/856-895) and the early part of the Imamate of Abū Ḥātim Yūsuf (281-294/895-907) speaks of their even-handed justice and tolerance toward all.¹⁰⁸

It was because of that tolerant attitude that the Rustumid Imams manifested toward the people of non-Ibādī profession that they chose to move to Tāhirt and settle there. Among these groups were the Mu'tazilah, the Wāṣilīyah, some Shi'is, Ṣufriyah, Sunnis, Christians, and Jews.¹⁰⁹

Ibn al-Ṣaghīr adds that the Ibādīs in Tāhirt did not forbid other Muslims from praying in their mosques, with the exception of the congregational mosque where Ibādī rituals only were mandatory.¹¹⁰ Debate among Ibādī

¹⁰⁷Ibn al-Ṣaghīr, Akhbār al-A'immah, pp. 36, 44, 52, 55. See also: Lewicki, "The Ibadites in Arabia and North Africa," p. 108; and G. Marcais et Dessus Lamare, "Tihirt-Tagdemt," p. 42.

¹⁰⁸Ibn al-Ṣaghīr, Akhbār al-A'immah, p. 10.

¹⁰⁹Ibid., pp. 36, 42, 44, 55. See also: al-Warjalānī, al-Sīrah, fo. 36 vo; and Dabbūz, Tārikh al-Maghrib, pp. 329-330.

¹¹⁰Ibn al-Ṣaghīr, Akhbār al-A'immah, p. 42.

scholars and other Muslim sects was greatly encouraged. Ibn al-Ṣaghīr tells us that he, himself, became involved in a dialogue with an Ibādī scholar named Abū al-Rabi' Sulaymān at al-Rahdānah Mosque in Tāhīrt over the marriage of young girls who did not reach the age of puberty.¹¹¹ Ibn al-Ṣaghīr explicitly states that the " . . . Ibādī Faḳīhs (jurists) as well as non-Ibādīs were heavily engaged in a friendly way in discussing points of difference among each other's sects. Whoever came from either side to the circle of the other was treated with utmost courtesy and kindly debated."¹¹²

Debate between Ibādīs and other Islamic sects, however, was not always peaceful and friendly, as Ibn al-Ṣaghīr contends. The Ibādī historians tell us that the Ibādīs and the Wāṣilīyah scholars once set up a day for debate on political and religious issues. The discussion became hot and eventually led to a clash between the two sides which developed into a rebellion of the Wāṣilīyah against the Rustumid State, and Imam 'Abd al-Wahhāb had to ask for help to quell that movement from Tripolitania.

The governor of Tripolitania sent to Tahirt four prominent scholars and horsemen highly trained in scholastic matters who won a major victory in a highly publicized debate over their opponents from the Wāṣilīyah sect. This led to a confrontation with the Wāṣilīyah who persisted in their revolt against the Imamate of 'Abd al-Wahhāb who was forced to subdue them by

¹¹¹Ibid., p. 57.

¹¹²Ibid., p. 57.

force of arms.¹¹³

Mahdī al-Nafūsi, the hero of the Ibādīs who defeated his Wāsilī opponent in a debate, continued discussion with other Muslim sects in Tāhirt and is reported to have said that he had converted during his stay in Tāhirt ". . . seventy non-Ibādī scholars to Ibādism."¹¹⁴ This Ibādī scholar was killed later during Imam 'Abd al-Wahhāb's siege of the city of Tripoli in 196/812.¹¹⁵

During the Imamate of Abū al-Yaqẓān Muḥammad (241-281/856-895), the al-Mu'tazilah sect held a public debate with the Ibādīyah on the banks of the river Mīnah, where many celebrated scholars from both sides took part in a dialogue which was on religious problems and the philosophy of both sects.¹¹⁶ The Ibādī source did not mention the outcome of that general debate, and we can only assume that the issues must have remained undecided.

The Ibādī State provided its scholars and students with a big library containing over 300,000 works on different subjects. This library was located at the Ma'ṣūmah citadel and consequently became known as

¹¹³Al-Warjalānī, al-Sīrah, fo. 19-23 ro. See also: al-Shammākhī, al-Siyar, fo. 39 vo - 41 vo; and al-Darjīnī, Ṭabaqāt, fo. 24 vo - 27 vo; and al-Bārūnī, al-Azhār, pp. 118-128.

¹¹⁴Al-Darjīnī, Ṭabaqāt, fo. 26 ro.

¹¹⁵Al-Warjalānī, al-Sīrah, fo. 23 vo. See also: al-Shammākhī, al-Siyar, fo. 42 ro.

¹¹⁶Ibn al-Ṣaghīr, Akhbār al-A'immaḥ, pp. 44-45. See also: al-Barrādī, al-Jawāhir, p. 179.

al-Ma'sūmah Library. Unfortunately, this library was set on fire by the Shī'ī commander, 'Abū 'Abd Allah, when he occupied Tāhīrt in 296/909, after removing books of interest to the Faṭimids. These comprised works on medicine, mathematics, astronomy, and other secular subjects.¹¹⁷ The destruction of al-Ma'sūmah Library undoubtedly led to the loss of many historical as well as philosophical works on the Rustumid State and the Ibādī culture.

Tāhīrt was, therefore, a great cultural center which produced many celebrated scholars in different fields. Although it is difficult to present a full array of Ibādī and non-Ibādī scholars who flourished under Rustumid rule, a brief discussion of a selection of these names may help in the evaluation of the lofty intellectual life in that capital.

In addition to the Ibādī scholars mentioned before in this study, we may add some more illustrious names such as Ibn Abī Idrīs, Aḥmad al-Tīh, Abū al-Abbās, Ibn Faṭḥūn 'Uthmān, Ibn al-Ṣaffār, Aḥmad Ibn Mansūr, 'Uthmān Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Yahya. These scholars are known to have been foremost among the great speakers or orators in the mosques in Tāhīrt, although Ibn al-Ṣaghīr accused them of misinterpreting certain religious terminology in order to prove their point in debating at any cost.¹¹⁸

Another Ibādī authority living in Tāhīrt was Shaykh Abū Sahl, who

¹¹⁷Al-Bārūnī, al-Azhār, p. 293. See also: Dabbūz, Tārīkh al-Maghrib, v. 3, pp. 619-620; and al-Jilālī, Tārīkh al-Jazā'ir, v. 1, p. 232.

¹¹⁸Ibn al-Ṣaghīr, Akhbār al-A'immah, p. 59.

wrote a number of works in the Berber language and worked as an interpreter for Imam Aflah (208-240/824-855) and Imam Abū Ḥātim Yūsuf (281-294/895-907).¹¹⁹ Abū 'Uthmān Ibn Abī Yūnus, the governor of Qanṭrārah (Tijis) in Bilād al-Jarīd in southern Tunisia, was taught by Imam Aflah, along with other students who became famous in their fields of study. 'Isā Ibn Farnās al-Nafūsī, Muḥammad Ibn Bakr, and 'Abd Allah Ibn al-Lamṭī were three scholars who were especially trained in 'Ilm al-Kalam (scholastic theology) to defend Ibādī doctrine.¹²⁰

The Rustumid capital was also home for members of non-Ibādī Islamic sects such as the Sunnis, Shi'is, Mu'tazilah, Wāṣilīyah, and Ṣufriyah. These sects produced great scholars, among whom were Bakr Ibn Ḥammād Ibn Sahl Ibn Abī Ismā'il al-Zanātī, born in Tāhirt in 200/816. He was a jurist and an eloquent poet. He traveled to Baghdad in 217/833, where he met the 'Abbasid Caliph, al-Mu'taṣim (218-227/833-842) and praised him in a well-known poem. Ibn Ḥammad composed a poem in which he described Tāhirt and its salubrious climate. He died in that city in 296/909.¹²¹

Zakariya Ibn Bakr Ibn Aḥmad al-Ghassānī, commonly known as Ibn al-Ashajj, was another Muḥaddith (narrator) from Tāhirt. He traveled to the Arab East where he met the illustrious Arab poet, Abū al-Ṭayyib al-

¹¹⁹Al-Bārūnī, al-Azhār, pp. 68-69.

¹²⁰Ibn al-Ṣaghīr, Akhbār al-A'immah, pp. 44-45.

¹²¹Al-Bakrī, al-Mughrib, p. 67. See also: Yāqūt, Mu'jam, v. 2, p. 356; and al-Dabbāgh, Ma'ālīm al-'Imān, v. 2, pp. 192-194; and al-Malikī, Riyāq al-Nufūs, v. 2, pp. 16-19.

Mutanabbī in Egypt. He finally settled in Andalusia (Spain), where he died in 393/1003.¹²² Muḥammad (Abu al-Ṭib) Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Ibrāhīm Ibn Abī Burdah was also from Tāhirt. He was a famous Faqīh (jurist) belonging to the Sunnī school of al-Shāfi'īyah (Shāfi'i). He went on pilgrimage to Mecca in 324/936. From there he visited Baghdad, where he made further studies under the great Shāfi'ī jurists, Abū Ishāq al-Mirwazī and Abū Sa'īd al-Iṣṭakhrī, the head of the Shāfi'ī school at that time. Ibn Burdah then left for the Maghrib and visited Andalusia (Spain) in 361/972, where he was welcomed by the Umayyad Amīr, al-Ḥakam II (350-366/942-976). He was later accused of sympathy toward al-Mu'tazilah and was forced to flee from Spain in 373/984 and settled in Tāhirt, where he died in 373/984.¹²³

Another scholar from Tāhirt was al-Qāsim Ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān, who was a pupil of the poet, Ibn Ḥammād (d. 296/909). He was a Muḥaddith (narrator). He left Tāhirt for Spain where he died.¹²⁴ His son, Abū al-Faḍle Aḥmad, was born in Tāhirt in 309/922 and moved to Spain in 317/930, where he taught Ḥadīth (tradition) and died in 390/1000 or 396/1006.¹²⁵

¹²²Abū al-Walīd 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Farḍī, Tārīkh 'Ulamā' al-Andalus (Cairo: al-Dār al-Miṣrīyah Li al-Ta'līf wa al-Tarjamah, 1966), p. 152. See also: Aḥmad Ibn Yahya al-Dabbī, Bughyat al-Multamis fi Tārīkh Rijāl al-Andalus (Cairo: Dār al-Kitāb al-Arabī, 1967), p. 293.

¹²³Ibn al-Farḍī, Tārīkh 'Ulamā' al-Andalus, p. 114.

¹²⁴Abū al-Qāsim Khalaf Ibn Bashkwāl, Kitāb al-Ṣilah, v. 1 (Cairo: al-Dār al-Miṣrīyah Li al-Ta'līf Wa al-Tarjamah, 1966), p. 84. See also: Ibn al-Dabbī, Bughyat al-Multamis, p. 251.

¹²⁵Ibn al-Dabbī, Bughyat al-Multamis, p. 251. See also: Ibn Bashkwāl, al-Ṣilah, v. 1, p. 84.

'Abd Allah Ibn Hammūd Ibn Hallūb was also a scholar, jurist, and poet from Tāhirt.¹²⁶

Tāhirt also produced the great Jewish scholar, Yahūda Ibn Quraysh al-Tāhirtī (from Tāhirt). He was a superb linguist who mastered Arabic, Armenian, Berber, Hebrew, and Persian. He attempted to write a comparative study of these languages, and he left a comparative grammar in Arabic.¹²⁷

Nevertheless, it must be admitted that the Rustumid State compared rather badly with the 'Abbasids in the East and the Umayyads in the West in poetry and pure Arabic literature. This may be ascribed to the immersion of Ibādī scholars in the study of Ibādī theology for self-defense, thus leaving them little time for other literary endeavors.

The official language of the Rustumid State was, of course, Arabic. In addition, Berber was used as a second language.¹²⁸ Perhaps even Persian was used as a third basic language, since there was a large and influential Persian community in Tāhirt.

In conclusion, the Rustumid administrative policy of "divide and rule," and the preferential attitude toward certain tribes which led to the estrangement of others must have contributed significantly to the downfall of that once powerful and wealthy state. The rise of the Ibādī sub-sects, the religious quarrels with non-Ibādī sects, and the deviation from the

¹²⁶Ibn Bashkwāl, al-Ṣilah, v. 1, p. 299.

¹²⁷Dabbūz, Tārīkh al-Maghrib, v. 3, p. 334.

¹²⁸Al-Jilālī, Tārīkh al-Jazā'ir, v. 1, p. 221.

original Ibādī republican principles to a state entirely controlled by the Rustumids undoubtedly made many Ibādīs wonder what was the difference between their own state and that of the 'Abbasids and the 'Umayyads, which they had fought so long. These factors and others which led to the decline and fall of the Rustumid State will be discussed in further detail in the following chapter.

CHAPTER V

DECLINE AND FALL OF THE RUSTUMID STATE

The decline and fall of the Rustumid State was precipitated by two major factors: internal weakness on the home front and external aggression of new and formidable enemies.

The decay of the Rustumid State within its borders was brought about by several circumstances. First, the rise of the numerous schismatic and separatist political as well as religious sub-sects broke the traditional unity of North African Ibādism, whose dogma rallied the Berber tribes behind the Imams. Second, the shortsighted administrative policy of "divide and rule" adopted by the Rustumid Imams created frictions, enmity, and even the outbreak of civil wars among the various segments of Rustumid society. Third, the hostility of non-Ibādī political and religious groups living in the Rustumid State, such as the Sunnites, Shi'ites, Mu'tazilites, Ṣufrites, and Wāṣīlites, acted as a "fifth column" in disrupting the peace, security, and unity of the Rustumid State. Fourth, internecine disputes and squabbles over power among the members of the Rustumid dynasty led some of them to invite foreign intervention in their own home affairs.

External aggression which faced the Rustumids was represented in the almost continuous wars with the Aghlabids and, above all, the emergence of the Faṭimids, whose propaganda culminated in the establishment of their Caliphate on the ruins of the Aghlabid, the Rustumid, the Midrarid, and the Idrisid States.

In this chapter we shall discuss and analyze the above-mentioned causes which led to the decline and ready submission of the Rustumid

authority to the armies of the Faṭimid commander, Abū 'Abd Allah al-Shī'i, almost without "striking a blow," as it were.

During the Imamate of 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Rustum (144-171/762-788), the Rustumid State functioned smoothly and peacefully, and no heresy or rebellion was reported throughout his reign. This was chiefly because 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Rustum was a professional political organizer as well as a deeply religious and just leader whose ascetic life earned for him great respect among the various Berber tribes who rallied around him.

This Ibādī unity, however, did not last long. One month after the death of Imam 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Rustum, the founder and first head of that new state, in 171/788, a grave religious and political crisis arose over the problem of succession to the Imamate. Before his death, 'Abd al-Raḥmān tried to avoid this danger by constituting in his own lifetime an elective council of eight candidates, of whom one should be amicably chosen as the future Imam. When the Ibādī community selected 'Abd al-Waḥḥāb as successor to his father, the decision was not accepted by the majority of the Ibādī tribes outside the council, as the Ibādī historians claimed. In fact, the election of 'Abd al-Waḥḥāb Ibn Rustum incurred separatism among the tribes and opened the way for secessionists. These factions necessarily led to the weakening of North African Ibādism and the nascent Rustumid State. Among these factions or sub-sects, one may enumerate the Nukkārs, the Waḥḥābiyah, the Khalafīyah, the Naffāthīyah, the al-Ḥusaynīyah, the al-'Umariyah, and the Banū Maṣālah. It is interesting to review the

constitution of each of those novel Ibādī sub-sects and their impact on the mother state.

The Nukkārs or al-Nukkārīyah (Deniers)

According to al-Shammākhī, the seeds of the Nukkārī schism in Ibādī theology had begun earlier, in the time of Abū 'Ubaydah Muslim Ibn Abi Karīmah al-Tamīmī, the head of the Ibādī community at al-Baṣrah. A number of Abū 'Ubaydah's pupils and followers expressed some views on certain religious questions in opposition to the established doctrines of their teacher. Consequently, Abū 'Ubaydah expelled them from his classes and refuted their views. Among these students were 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Abd al-Azīz, Abū al-Muwarrij (or al-Mu'arrij) 'Amr Ibn Muḥammad al-Sadūsī, Ḥātim Ibn Manṣūr, and Abū al-Mu'rriif (or al-Ma'rūf) Shu'yab.¹

The Nukkārī schism, therefore, began ideologically at al-Baṣrah but politically in North Africa during the election of a successor to Imam 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Rustum, who died in 171/788. As stated in Chapter II, the founder of the Nukkārī movement in North Africa was Yazīd Ibn Fandīn al-Yafrinī. He was chosen by Imam 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Rustum as a member of the eight-man elective council. When Ibn Fandīn failed to secure for himself the position of Imam, which went to 'Abd al-Wahhāb Ibn Rustum, he decided to support the latter on the ground that his mother belonged to the

¹Al-Shammākhī, al-Siyar, fo. 21 vo. See also: T. Lewicki, "al-Nukkar," Encyclopedia of Islam, Supplement, 1938, p. 172; and Ennāmi, Studies in Ibādism, p. 153.

same tribe as Ibn Yazīd and in the hope that 'Abd al-Wahhāb would favor him with a high state office.²

When Imam 'Abd al-Wahhāb refused to employ him in his government, the disappointed Ibn Fandīn rescinded his recognition of the Imam unless he would agree to make no decisions without consulting a council. This notion of Sharṭ (condition), however, was rejected by the North African as well as by the Eastern Ibādī scholars.³ Although the proposal of Ibn Fandīn was defeated, and 'Abd al-Wahhāb Ibn Rustum was elected, Ibn Fandīn continued his opposition to the new Imam, accusing him of breaking his promise of ruling with a council, alleging that the promise had been made at an earlier time, and declaring that he was unfit for the office of Imam on the theory that he was not the best qualified candidate.⁴

Thus, Ibn Fandīn's opposition developed to the point of denying totally the validity of 'Abd al-Wahhāb's Imamate. Hence arose the schism of "al-Nukkār" or "al-Nukkāriyah" (the Deniers).⁵

In addition to the name "al-Nukkār" or "al-Nukkāriyah," this Ibādī sub-sect came to be known as "al-Najawīyah," from the Arab word,

²Al-Warjalānī, al-Sīrah, fo. 14 vo. See also: al-Darjīnī, Ṭabaqāt, fo. 20 ro; and al-Shammākhī, al-Siyar, fo. 36 ro.

³Al-Darjīnī, Ṭabaqāt, fo. 20 ro. See also: al-Warjalānī, al-Sīrah, fo. 14 vo; and al-Shammākhī, al-Siyar, fo. 36 vo - 37 ro.

⁴Al-Warjalānī, al-Sīrah, fo. 15 ro. See also: al-Darjīnī, Ṭabaqāt, fo. 20 vo; and al-Shammākhī, al-Siyar, fo. 36 vo.

⁵Al-Warjalānī, al-Sīrah, fo. 14 vo. See also: al-Darjīnī, Ṭabaqāt, fo. 21 vo; and al-Shammākhī, al-Siyar, fo. 37 vo.

al-Najwā (confidential talks) which had been used previously to discuss the question of 'Abd al-Wahhāb's succession.⁶ They were given the name "al-Shu'biyah" also, because they introduced Shu'ab (divisions) into Islam.⁷ It is likely that they were also called "Shu'yabiyah," a word derived from the name of Shu'yab Ibn al-Ma'rriif, one of their leaders.

Al Darjīnī calls these Nukkāris "al-Shaghabīyah" for the Shaghab (disturbance) they caused in the Ibādī community of the Maghrib.⁸ They were also named al-Mulhidah (heretics), al-Nukkāthah, or Nukkāth because they had broken their Bay'ah (pledge of allegiance) to Imam 'Abd al-Wahhāb.⁹ Furthermore, they had other names such as "al-Yazīdīyah," either from their political leader, Yazīd Ibn Fandīn al-Yafrinī, who led them unsuccessfully against Imam 'Abd al-Wahhāb, or from their spiritual leader, 'Abd Allah Ibn Yazīd al-Fazzārī.¹⁰ Other names were "al-'Umariyah," from 'Isā Ibn 'Umar ('Umayr), "al-'Askariyah,"¹¹ because of their warlike intent,

⁶Al-Warjalānī, al-Sīrah, fo. 16 ro. See also: al-Shammākhi, al-Siyar, fo. 36 vo; al-Darjīnī, Ṭabaqāt, fo. 21 vo.

⁷Al-Warjalānī, al-Sīrah, fo. 16 ro.

⁸Al-Darjīnī, Ṭabaqāt, fo. 21 vo.

⁹Ibid., fo. 21 vo - 22 ro. See also: al-Warjalānī, al-Sīrah, fo. 16 vo; and al-Shammākhi, al-Siyar, fo. 37 vo.

¹⁰Ibn al-Ṣaghīr, Akhbār al-A'immah, p. 16. See also: Lewicki, "al-Nukkar," p. 172; and Ennāmi, Studies in Ibādism, p. 154.

¹¹Ibn al-Ṣaghīr, Akhbār al-A'immah, p. 16. See also: al-Warjalānī, al-Sīrah, fo. 15 ro.

and finally "al-Mastāwah," after one of the Berber tribes which supported the Nukkārs.¹²

These names were given to the Nukkārs by their opponents who supported Imam 'Abd al-Wahhāb and became known as al-Wahbiyah or al-Wahhābiyah, as will be discussed shortly.

As we have just seen, the Nukkārī schism arose over a political issue or, specifically, because of the ambition of Yazīd Ibn Fandīn and the reluctance of Imam 'Abd al-Wahhāb to include him in his government. It would seem, therefore, that if Imam 'Abd al-Wahhāb had given Yazīd Ibn Fandīn a high position in his administration the Nukkārī schism might have been avoided and, consequently, Ibādī unity would have been preserved.

Ibn Fandīn and his party were further strengthened in their rebellion by Abū al-Mu'rrif Shu'yab, who joined the Nukkārs while living in Egypt. Shu'yab was one of the original fathers of the Eastern Nukkārī movement who opposed the old Ibādī master, Abū 'Ubaydah al-Tamīmī. When Abū al-Mu'rrif learned of the raging dispute from a delegation sent by the Ibādīs of North Africa to those in the Arab East for consultation, he hurriedly left Egypt against the advice of his followers in the hope that he might be elected as Imam. After prolonged negotiations, he decided to throw his weight on the side of the Nukkārs and declared the illegality of 'Abd al-Wahhāb's Imamate, since the rebels promised him support in his election as

¹²Lewicki, "al-Nukkar," p. 172. See also: *Idem*, "Les Subdivisions de L'Ibadiyyah," *Studia Islamica*, v. 9 (1958), pp. 78; and Ennāmi, *Studies in Ibādism*, p. 154.

Imam.¹³

As both parties were biding their time until they received a verdict from the Ibādī scholars of the East, Abū al-Mu'rrif advised Yazīd Ibn Fandīn and his followers to take action against Imam 'Abd al-Wahhāb before the return of the delegation from the East. Ibn al-Mu'rrif suspected that the eastern Ibādī scholars would recognize 'Abd al-Wahhāb's Imamate and reject the thesis of the Nukkāris.¹⁴

The Nukkārs accordingly engineered a plot to assassinate Imam 'Abd al-Wahhāb; but when they failed to reach the target, they resorted to open civil war by attacking Tāhīrt while 'Abd al-Wahhāb was out of the capital. Consequently, a battle took place between them and the defenders of the capital, led by Imam 'Abd al-Wahhāb's son, Aflah. The outcome of the battle was a devastating defeat upon the Nukkārs, whose leader, Yazīd Ibn Fandīn was slain along with twelve thousand of their supporters.¹⁵

Abū al-Mu'rrif Shu'yab escaped unharmed to Tripoli, where he continued the cold war of propaganda against Imam 'Abd al-Wahhāb. Meanwhile, the reply of the Ibādī scholars of the East confirmed the validity of 'Abd al-Wahhāb's Imamate, denounced the rebellion of Ibn Fandīn, and disavowed

¹³Al-Warjalānī, al-Šīrah, fo. 15 vo - 16 ro. See also: al-Shammākhī, al-Siyar, fo. 37 ro - 37 vo; and al-Darjīnī, Ṭabaqāt, fo. 21 vo.

¹⁴Al-Warjalānī, al-Šīrah, fo. 17 vo. See also: al-Shammākhī, al-Siyar, fo. 38 vo; and al-Darjīnī, Ṭabaqāt, fo. 23 ro.

¹⁵Al-Warjalānī, al-Šīrah, fo. 16 vo - 18 ro. See also: al-Darjīnī, Ṭabaqāt, fo. 22 ro - 23 vo; and al-Shammākhī, al-Siyar, fo. 37 vo - 38 vo.

the illicit maneuvers of Abū al-Mu'rrif toward Imam 'Abd al-Wahhāb.¹⁶

Nevertheless, the Nukkārs persisted in their struggle against Imam 'Abd al-Wahhāb, even after their first defeat. They resorted to assassination and murdered Maymūn, a son of the Imam. Abd al-Wahhāb avenged the loss of his son by dispatching an army commanded by a son of the deceased Maymūn against his father's killers. The Nukkārs again suffered defeat.¹⁷

The Nukkārs continued their opposition to the Imamate of 'Abd al-Wahhāb and even developed a new school of theological thought of their own. They constituted their own separate councils and communities which survived Rustumid rule. As late as the year 332/944, we know that they rose against the Faṭimids under the leadership of the Nukkārī leader, Abū Yazīd Makhlad (Mukhallad) Ibn Kaydād of Banū Yafrin. This was the same tribe as that of Yazīd Ibn Fandīn, the founder of the Nukkārī schism.¹⁸

Although this is not the place to delve into the tedious theological particulars of the Nukkārī doctrine, it would seem proper to provide a survey of the rise of the different sub-sects to show the role of those

¹⁶Al-Warjalānī, al-Sīrah, fo. 18 ro. See also: al-Shammākhī, al-Siyar, fo. 38 vo; and al-Darjīnī, Ṭabaqāt, fo. 23 vo.

¹⁷Al-Warjalānī, al-Sīrah, fo. 18 vo. See also: al-Darjīnī, Ṭabaqāt, fo. 24 ro; and al-Shammākhī, al-Siyar, fo. 39 vo.

¹⁸Al-Warjalānī, al-Sīrah, fo. 38 ro - 40 vo. See also: Ibn Ḥammād, Akhbār Mulūk Banī 'Ubayd, Arabic text, pp. 18-39; and Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, v. 6, pp. 302-309; and S. M. Stern, "Abu Yazid al-Nukkari," Encyclopedia of Islam, 2nd ed., pp. 163-164; and Le Tourneau, La Révolt d'Abu Yazid, pp. 103-125; and Ibn 'Idhārī, al-Bayān, v. 1, pp. 216-220.

schisms in the decline and fall of the Rustumid State. *

The loyal party to the Rustumid Imamate came to be known as al-Wahhābiyah, whose members considered the Nukkārs as Kuffār (infidels). Al-Warjalānī, the Ibādī Wahhābī (Wahbī) historian, for example, regarded Abū Yazīd Makhlad (Mukhallad) Ibn Kaydād, the leader of the Ibādī uprising of 332/944, as " . . . an enemy of God, who committed grave crimes equal only to those committed by the Pharaohs of Egypt."¹⁹ Abū Yūsuf al-Warjalānī, a Wahhābī (Wahbī) jurist, gives the following evaluation of the Nukkārs: "Their ignorant is a scholar and their scholar is an unjust . . . In all Madhāhib (schools), the Nukkārs are the closest and the most remote of all to us, because of their rancor, arrogance, ignorance, and denial."²⁰

Since the record of the Nukkārs must have been systematically destroyed by the Wahhābiyah, it becomes difficult to evaluate the logic of their attitude toward their opponents. What we do know about their views is available only from the writings of their opponents, who had nothing good to say about them as enemies of the Islamic faith.

The rise of the Nukkārs' schism brought about a grave split in the Ibādī community in the Maghrib which badly needed a united front in the

* On the differences and beliefs of the Nukkārs, see: A. K. Ennāmi, Studies in Ibādism, pp. 157-159.

¹⁹ Al-Warjalānī, al-Šīrah, fo. 39 vo, 45 vo.

²⁰ Abū Ya'qūb Yūsuf al-Warjalānī, Kitāb al-Dalīl Li Ahl al-'Uqūl, v. 1 (Cairo: Lithographed at al-Maṭba'ah al-Bārūniyah, 1306/1889), pp. 32-33.

face of an indomitable foe who was determined to destroy them. What is even more serious is that the Nukkārs also opened up the way for other schismatic and separatist groups to follow their lead. These developments, which were mainly politically motivated, undoubtedly wasted the resources of the Rustumid State, weakened it, and contributed to its final downfall.

The Wahhābiyah* (Wahbiyah)

The Wahhābiyah or Wahbiyah was the name given to the supporters of Imam 'Abd al-Wahhāb Ibn Rustum during the conflict with the Nukkārs' schism. There is a disagreement among the historians about the origin of the name, "al-Wahhābiyah" or "al-Wahbiyah." Ibn al-Ṣaghīr states that he was told that the supporters of Imam 'Abd al-Wahhāb, during the conflict with the Nukkārs, were called Wahbiyah, but he himself denied any knowledge of it.²¹ Ibn al-Raḥīq al-Qayrawānī says that the Wahbiyah sect was attributed to 'Abd al-Wahhāb Ibn Rustum.²² The Ibādī historian, al-Barrādī, points out that the Wahbiyah were the followers of 'Abd Allah Ibn Wahb al-Rāsibī.²³ Al-Rāsibī was the first Khārijī leader slain at the Battle of al-Nahrawān in 38/659 between Caliph 'Ali and the Khawārij.

Al Barrādī argues that if the name Wahbiyah were attributed to 'Abd

* We must note here that there is no relation between the Ibādī Wahhābiyah of North Africa and the Wahhābiyah movement in the Arabian Peninsula in the eighteenth century.

²¹ Ibn al-Ṣaghīr, Akhbār al-A'imma, p. 16.

²² Al-Qayrawānī, Tārīkh, p. 173.

²³ Al-Barrādī, al-Jawāhir, p. 174.

al-Wahhāb, the correct form would have been "Wahhābiyah," not "Wahbī." This argument²⁴ is based upon syntactical Arabic rules. Another Ibādī scholar believes that the original form was "Wahhābiyah" but was changed to "Wahbīyah" in order to simplify it for the Berbers.²⁵

Whatever the truth might be, the name Wahhābiyah or Wahbīyah meant in the Maghrib the supporters of Imam 'Abd al-Wahhāb Ibn Rustum (171-208/788-824).

The Wahhābiyah represented the majority of the Ibādīs in the Maghrib. They played an important role in the history of the Rustumid State as well as in the field of Ibādī theology and history in North Africa. The Wahhābiyah sect, therefore, became the official Rustumid State doctrine, and other schisms were outlawed. The Wahhābiyah sect, which tried hard to preserve the unity and purity of the original Ibādī doctrine, contributed indirectly to the divisions within the Rustumid community by waging war against all other shades of Ibādī thought, including that of the Nukkārs, the Khalafīyah, and others. Therefore, instead of keeping the unity of Ibādī ranks, they set about to destroy it by denying the right of free thought outside the restricted principle of the Imamate.

²⁴Ibid., p. 174.

²⁵Ennāmi, Studies in Ibādism, p. 149. See also: Lewicki, "Les Subdivisions de L'Ibadiyyah," pp. 72-76. On the Wahhābiyah creed, see: Ennāmi, Studies in Ibādism, pp. 150-153. See also: A. de C. Motylinski, "L'Aqida des Abadhites," Recueil de Memoires et de Textes Publies en Honneur du XIVe Congres des Orientalistes (Algiers, 1905), pp. 505-545.

The Khalafīyah

Al-Khalafīyah were the followers of Khalaf Ibn al-Samḥ, a grandson of Abu al-Khaṭṭāb al-Ma'āfirī, the first Imam of the first Ibādī establishment in Tripolitania and Ifrīqīyah (Tunisia) (140-144/757-762).²⁶ Khalaf's father, al-Samḥ, worked as Wazīr (minister) of Imam 'Abd al-Wahhāb Ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān (171-208/788-824) and was one of his closest aides and advisors. When Iman 'Abd al-Wahhāb visited Tripolitania in 196/812 for a period of seven years, al-Samḥ became highly popular as his right hand in Tripolitania. Upon Imam 'Abd al-Wahhāb's return to Tāhīrt, the Ibādīs of Tripolitania asked him to appoint al-Samḥ as their governor. The Imam reluctantly agreed, and al-Samḥ served in that capacity until his death.²⁷

After the death of al-Samḥ, Ibn Abī al-Khaṭṭāb al-Ma'āfirī, his son, Khalaf, was selected as governor by the Ibādī community in Tripolitania by popular vote without the consent of Imam 'Abd al-Wahhāb, who objected to the nomination.²⁸

Apparently, Imam 'Abd al-Wahhāb had certain disagreements with Khalaf in the past, and he was apprehensive of his future ambitions, more especially as he was the grandson of the first Ibādī Imam in the Maghrib, Abū al-Khaṭṭāb al-Ma'āfirī. Khalaf and his supporters rejected Imam 'Abd al-

²⁶Al-Warjalānī, al-Sīrah, fo. 24 vo.

²⁷Ibid., fo. 24 ro. See also: al-Darjīnī, Ṭabaqāt, fo. 29 ro; and

²⁸Al-Warjalānī, al-Sīrah, fo. 24 vo - 25 ro. See also: al-Shammākhī, al-Siyar, fo. 50 ro - 50 vo; and al-Darjīnī, Ṭabaqāt, fo. 29 vo.

Wahhāb's orders and even announced Khalaf as their Imam.²⁹

In order to find religious support to their political ambitions and consequently attain independence from Tāhirt, the Khalafīyah introduced a theory stating that, since the Tripolitanian Hawzah (area or territory) was separated from that of Tāhirt by lands under enemy control (the Aghlabids), Tripolitania should have its own local Imam. In addition to this, they claimed that the distance between Tripolitania and Tāhirt was too great and that communication with Tāhirt was difficult.³⁰

Khalaf and his rebellious followers hoped to secure the support of the Ibādī scholars of the Arab East and actually wrote to Abū Sufyān Maḥbūb Ibn al-Raḥīl, the head of the eastern Ibādīs, seeking his approval. But Abu Sufyān's response condemned their rebellion and advised them to obey Imam 'Abd al-Wahhāb.³¹

Despite their disappointment, the Khalafīyah continued their struggle for independence and began taking serious measures against the supporters of Imam 'Abd al-Wahhāb. Khalaf drew his support mainly from the tribes of Zawāghah and Banū Yafrin.³²

²⁹Al-Warjalānī, al-Sīrah, fo. 25 vo. See also: al-Darjīnī, Ṭabaqāt, fo. 30 ro.

³⁰Ibid., See also: al-Darjīnī, Ṭabaqāt, fo. 30 ro; and al-Shammākhī,

³¹Al-Darjīnī, Ṭabaqāt, fo. 30 ro. See also: al-Warjalānī, al-Sīrah, fo. 25 ro - 25 vo; and al-Shammākhī, al-Siyar, fo. 50 ro.

³²Al-Shammākhī, al-Siyar, fo. 69 ro.

When the hostility of Khalaf increased, the newly-appointed governor, Abū 'Ubaydah 'Abd al-Ḥamīd al-Jannāwānī, asked Imam 'Abd al-Wahhāb's permission to subdue him by force of arms. The Imam's reply was that : they should try to deal with him peacefully in the hope of avoiding more divisions in the already troubled Rustumid State.³³

In 208/824, Imam 'Abd al-Wahhāb died, and his son, Aflah, was chosen as his successor. Upon hearing this, Khalaf refused to recognize his Imamate and began attacking the areas under Governor Abu 'Ubaydah al-Jannāwānī. Khalaf took the village of Timtī as his headquarters in Jabal Nafūṣah (western mountain). Then the Khalafīyah and the Rustumid forces met at Adraf (Daraf) near Jādū, where the rebels were routed.³⁴ The rebels withdrew to Timtī to regroup their scattered forces. Again they attacked Abū 'Ubaydah's forces near Jādū, where a severe battle took place, ending once more in their defeat and flight to Timtī in 221/836.³⁵

Despite these two defeats, Khalaf and his party continued their rebellion, and consequently the civil war dragged on in Tripolitania. When the governor of Tripolitania died, Imam Aflah appointed al-'Abbās Ibn Ayyūb, who soon found himself face-to-face with the rebels. The new governor and

³³Ibid., fo. 51 vo. See also: al-Warjalānī, al-Sīrah, fo. 26 vo; and al-Darjīnī, Ṭabaqāt, fo. 31 ro.

³⁴Al-Warjalānī, al-Sīrah, fo. 26 vo - 27 ro. See also: al-Shammākhī, al-Siyar, fo. 52 ro; and al-Darjīnī, Ṭabaqāt, fo. 31 vo.

³⁵Al-Warjalānī, al-Sīrah, fo. 28 ro - 28 vo. See also: al-Shammākhī, al-Siyar, fo. 53 ro - 54 ro; and al-Darjīnī, Ṭabaqāt, fo. 32 vo; and al-Bārūnī, al-Azhār, pp. 170-173.

Khalaf's forces met at Fāghis, a locality near Timtī, where Khalaf died shortly after his defeat.³⁶

After the death of their leader, the Khalafīyah took to peaceful co-existence with the rule of Imam Abū Ḥātim Yusuf (281-294/895-907) until al-Ṭayyib, the son of Khalaf, resumed the active hostility of his father. Al-Ṭayyib drew his support from the tribe of Zawāghab, which had followed his father before.³⁷ It is clear here that Ibn Khalaf had chosen the timing of his rebellion to coincide with the civil war between Imam Abū Ḥātim and his uncle, Ya'qūb Ibn Aflah who, like Ibn Khalaf, was a refugee at Zuwwāghah.

After several encounters between Ibn Khalaf and Abū Manṣūr al-Yās, governor of Tripolitania, the former was defeated and forced to escape to the Island of Jerbah. Abū Manṣūr al-Yās followed him to Jerbah and besieged him until he finally surrendered to al-Yās. Ibn Khalaf was then carried to Jabal Nafūsah where he was imprisoned until he had repented for his sins and was released.³⁸

The Khalafīyah rebellion was politically motivated, as had been that of the Nukkārs before them. According to Ibādī sources, the only point of difference between the Khalafīyah and the Wahhābiyah was the former's

³⁶Al-Shammākhī, al-Siyar, fo. 57 ro - 57 vo. See also: al-Warjalānī, al-Sīrah, fo. 29 ro; and al-Bārūnī, al-Azhār, pp. 174-177.

³⁷Al-Darjīnī, Ṭabaqāt, fo. 36 vo. See also: al-Warjalānī, al-Sīrah, fo. 32 ro; and al-Shammākhī, al-Siyar, fo. 69 ro.

³⁸Al-Warjalānī, al-Sīrah, fo. 33 ro. See also: al-Shammākhī, al-Siyar, fo. 69 ro; and al-Darjīnī, Ṭabaqāt, fo. 37 ro - 37 vo; and al-Bārūnī, al-Azhār, pp. 278-279.

claim that, since Tripolitania was separated from the rest of the Rustumid State by lands controlled by the Aghlabids, it should have its own Imam.³⁹

The rebellion of the Khalafīyah contributed to the decline and fall of the Rustumid State principally through the long civil war which this schismatic sect had instigated and led in Tripolitania, the province on which the Rustumid State depended heavily for its supply of warriors and financial support. The civil war led by the Khalafīyah in Tripolitania kept the local government totally occupied in trying to pacify the region, and the rebels left no time or surplus of money or warriors to send to the Rustumid Imam who was trying to survive another rebellion in his own capital led by his uncle, Ya'qūb Ibn Aflah. In addition to this, the Khalafīyah rebellion disunited the Ibādī tribes of Tripolitania by their new political ideas and encouraged them to rise against the Rustumid authority.

The Naffāthiyah

The al-Naffāthiyah schism was founded by Naffāth, Faraj Ibn Naṣr al-Nafūṣī. The name Naffāth (perpetrator) was a nickname given to the founder of this schism by Imam Aflah Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb (208-240/824-855), because the founder inspired Bida' (innovations) in the minds of people.⁴⁰ The Ibādī sources report that the Naffāthiyah sect was initially founded for personal political ambition through malice and hatred of Naffāth toward the Rustumid

³⁹Ennāmi, Studies in Ibādism, p. 159.

⁴⁰Al-Wisyānī, al-Siyar, p. 9.

Imam, Aflah.⁴¹

Naffāth and his classmate, Sa'd Ibn Abū Yūnus, son of the governor of Qanṭrārah, were educated in Tāhīrt at the hands of Imam Aflah and other Ibādī scholars. When Abū Yūnus, the governor of Qanṭrārah died, Imam Aflah appointed his son, Sa'd, in his place. This action by the Imam outraged Naffāth, who was hoping that the office would go to him, especially after he had attained a high standard of learning. The Ibādī historians believe that this was the event which prompted Naffāth to begin accusing Imam Aflah of violating the prerogatives of his office.⁴²

The accusations propagated by Naffāth against Imam Aflah were:

(a) that he had neglected the affairs of the Muslims; (b) that he had changed his appearance by growing a long beard and wearing a high turban; (c) that he had spent too much time on hunting;⁴³ and (d) that he rarely fought the Maswaddah (the 'Abbasids).⁴⁴ In view of these accusations, Imam Aflah considered Naffāth a heretic and an ignorant young man who lacked experience.⁴⁵ It seems that the movement of Naffāth was serious enough to induce Imam Aflah to launch a counter-propaganda campaign against him in order

⁴¹Al-Warjalānī, al-Sīrah, fo. 29 vo.

⁴²Ibid. See also: al-Darjīnī, Ṭabaqāt, fo. 33 vo; and al-Shammākhi, al-Siyar, fo. 64 vo.

⁴³Al-Warjalānī, al-Sīrah, fo. 29 vo. See also: al-Darjīnī, Ṭabaqāt, fo. 34 ro.

⁴⁴Al-Shammākhi, al-Siyar, fo. 55 vo - 56 ro.

⁴⁵Al-Bārūnī, al-Azhār, p. 204.

to obliterate his influence on the public mind. This is evident from a number of letters which Aflah issued to his officials and Ibādī followers in Tripolitania.⁴⁶

When the policy of mediation with the Naffāthiyah failed, Imam Aflah wrote a menacing letter to Naffāth warning him against the grave consequences of his foolhardy behavior. Therefore, Naffāth collected his valuables and fled to the East, where he settled in Baghdad.⁴⁷

After breaking with Imam Aflah, Naffāth tried to organize his own sect and teachings. He introduced new ideas about the laws of inheritance in Islam. He held that the Khuṭbah (sermon) at Friday prayer was a Bid'ah (innovation) and expressed other opinions on certain religious issues which he considered false by the standards of Wahhābī Ibādīs.⁴⁸

Al-Naffāthiyah, unlike al-Nukkārīyah or al-Khalafīyah, never resorted to violence. This was probably because the followers of Naffāth were not numerous or strong enough to face the Rustumid Imamate in an open armed rebellion. However, al-Naffāthiyah succeeded in gaining support among the Berber tribes in Tripolitania at the expense of the popularity of the Rustumid State.

As for the fate of the founder of al-Naffāthiyah, it was reported by

⁴⁶Ibid., pp. 199-205.

⁴⁷Ibid., pp. 204-206.

⁴⁸Al-Warjalānī, al-Sīrah, fo. 29 vo. See also: al-Darjīnī, Tabaqat, fo. 34 ro.

the Ibādī sources that he had returned from Baghdad to Jabal Nafūṣah, where he gave up his views and repented.⁴⁹

The Ḥusaynīyah

This North African Ibādī sub-sect derived its name from its founder, Aḥmad Ibn al-Ḥusayn, who lived in the first half of the third/ninth century.⁵⁰ According to al-Shammākhī, Aḥmad Ibn al-Ḥusayn and his son, 'Umārah, adopted the principles of Qiyās (analogy) in debating and followed 'Isā Ibn 'Umayr in the science of Kalām (theology) and Ibn 'Ulayyah in his Fiqh (jurisprudence).⁵¹ Al-Shammākhī (d. 928/1522) says that he saw many books written by Ibn al-Ḥusayn, among which were Kitāb al-Maqālāt and Kitāb al-Mukhtaṣar.⁵²

Al-Ḥusaynīyah, like al-Naffāthīyah, did not resort to violence. However, it gained many adherents in the Maghrib. Al-Shammākhī states that some Ibādī scholars had said: "If the Imam had not refuted the doctrine of Aḥmad Ibn al-Ḥusayn, he would have been followed by the membership of all Madhāhib (schools)."⁵³

The adherents of al-Ḥusaynīyah were reported as still existing until

⁴⁹Al-Bārūnī, al-Azhār, p. 210.

⁵⁰Lewicki, "al-Ibadiyyah," p. 660. See also: Idem, "Les Subdivisions de L'Ibadiyya," p. 80; and Ennāmi, Studies in Ibadism, p. 162.

⁵¹Al-Shammākhī, al-Siyar, fo. 85 vo.

⁵²Ibid.

⁵³Ibid.

the sixth/twelfth century in Jabal Nafūṣah. Later they recanted from their doctrine and joined the Wahhābī Ibādī school.⁵⁴

The 'Umariyah

This sect took its name from its founder, 'Isā Ibn 'Umayr ('Umar) who lived in the first half of the second/eighth century.⁵⁵ Al-Warjalānī, the Wahhābī Ibādī historian, says that the followers of al-Umayriyah claimed that they were Ibādīs and that their views were based on those of 'Abd Allah Ibn Mas'ūd, the companion of the Prophet Muḥammad, but they were not, in fact, connected with Ibādism.⁵⁶

It seems that 'Umariyah and al-Ḥusayniyah sub-sects were related to each other. Ibn al-Ṣaghīr speaks of al-Ḥusayniyah as a continuation of al-'Umariyah.⁵⁷ Al-Shammākhī confirms this by stating that al-Ḥusayniyah took the views of Qiyās (analogy) adopted by 'Isā Ibn 'Umayr, the founder of al-'Umariyah.⁵⁸

⁵⁴Ibid., fo. 207 vo.

⁵⁵Lewicki, "al-Ibadiyyah," p. 659.

⁵⁶Al-Warjalānī, al-Sīrah, fo. 15 vo.

⁵⁷Ibn al-Ṣaghīr, Akhbār al-A'imma, p. 16.

⁵⁸Al-Shammākhī, al-Siyar, fo. 85 vo.

On the views of al-Ḥusayniyah and al-'Umariyah, see: Ennāmī, Studies in Ibādism, pp. 163-164.

Banū Masālah

The separatist movement of Banū Masālah was purely political in nature. Unlike other Ibādī movements, it developed no particular philosophy. Its aim clearly was to gain tribal independence. Banū Masālah began their dispute with the Rustumid State early in the reign of Imam 'Abd al-Wahhāb (171-208/788-824). Ibn al-Ṣaghīr tells us that Banū Masālah was a branch of the Berber tribe of Hawwārah, which Imam 'Abd al-Wahhāb feared, probably because of its tendency toward independence.⁵⁹

When a proposed marriage between the chief of the Hawwārah tribe or his son and the daughter of the chief of the Lawātah tribe was announced, Imam 'Abd al-Wahhāb intervened to stop it. The reason, as reported by Ibn al-Ṣaghīr, was that the Imam, whose internal policy was "divide and rule," became afraid of the unity between these two big tribes, fearing they might turn against him. Therefore, he called the chief of Lawātah and asked for the hand of his daughter in marriage. When Banū Masālah learned of Imam 'Abd al-Wahhāb's action, they declared their separation from the Rustumid State and moved out of Tāhīrt.⁶⁰

Imam 'Abd al-Wahhāb, unwilling to see the Hawwārah tribe become independent, which might encourage other tribes to follow, led his army against them, and eventually a clash between the two sides took place at

⁵⁹Ibn al-Ṣaghīr, Akhbār al-A'immah, p. 21.

⁶⁰Ibid.

Aslān River. It ended with a crushing defeat for the Hawwārah tribe.⁶¹

Banū Masālah remained quiet until the reign of Imam Abū Bakr Ibn Aflah (240-241/855-856). During the civil war which followed the assassination of Ibn 'Arafah in 241/856, the chief of Hawwārah, Muḥammad Ibn Masālah, seized the opportunity to accomplish his dream of creating his own ruling dynasty, or perhaps to avenge the defeat of Hawwārah by Imam 'Abd al-Wahhāb. He led his tribe in a civil war against the Imamate and succeeded in the occupation of Tāhirt, the Rustumid capital, in 241/856.⁶²

Muḥammad Ibn Masālah and his tribe of Hawwārah remained in Tāhirt for seven years until 248/863, when Abū al-Yaqẓān Muḥammad and his supporters from the tribe of Nafūsah drove them out of Tāhirt.⁶³ Banū Masālah, however, retained their independence until the fall of the Rustumid State in 296/909. Al-Ya'qūbī (late third/ninth century) confirms this by stating that Banū Masālah were virtually independent from the Rustumid State and that they were in a state of war with it.⁶⁴

It is beyond question that the aforementioned Ibādī sub-sects and political and religious schisms accelerated the decline and fall of the Rustumid State. The state had to suppress each of them by either force of arms

⁶¹Ibid., pp. 22-23.

⁶²Ibid., p. 39.

⁶³Ibid., pp. 40-41. See also: Lewicki, "L'Etat des Banū Masāla," pp. 11-12.

⁶⁴Al-Ya'qūbī, al-Buldān, pp. 355-356.

or counter-propaganda, or by both, which certainly cost it a great deal of effort, money, and manpower. Moreover, and more importantly, the State lost its popularity by losing ground in many cases to these schisms. Finally, when the Rustumid State was faced by foreign aggression from the Aghlabids and the Faṭimids, the followers of these schisms undoubtedly did not care to see the Rustumid State destroyed, but probably many of their adherents refused to defend the last Rustumid Imam, al-Yaqzān, who surrendered to the Faṭimids without a fight.

Impact of the "Divide and Rule" Policy

The "divide and rule" policy was first introduced by Imam 'Abd al-Wahhāb, the second Rustumid Imam (171-208/788-824), and followed by his son and successor, Aflah (208-240/824-855). Imam 'Abd al-Wahhāb adopted that shortsighted policy as a method of keeping balance among the Berber tribes and other factions under Rustumid control, with the apparent objective of preventing any potential coalition by his opponents against him.

He inaugurated that policy when he heard of a proposed marriage between two influential tribes, the Lawātah and the Hawwārah. This, he reckoned, might lead to a dangerous union between the two strong tribes, who might eventually turn a political situation to his disadvantage. Thus, the Imam wasted no time in trying to stop that match at any cost. He even went to the extent of courting the bride for himself. This resulted, as has been mentioned already, in a civil war between the Rustumid State and

the tribe of Hawwārah.⁶⁵ Although that tribe was defeated, its leaders never forgot their humiliation and awaited a favorable opportunity for vengeance. That opportunity presented itself during the civil war in 241/856, when they marched on the Rustumid capital, Tāhirt, and occupied it for seven years until 248/863.⁶⁶

In fact, Imam Aflah seems to have used the "divide and rule" policy extensively. Ibn al-Ṣaghīr states that, when the Imam became apprehensive of a union among the parties under his rule with an intent to dethrone him, he hastened to stir up trouble between the tribes of Lawātah and Zanātah as well as between Lawātah and Maṭmāṭah, and also between the Jund (soldiers) and the 'Ajam (Persians).⁶⁷ These extensive intrigues led to wars and civil strife among the above-mentioned factions. Aflah's purpose in this policy was to weaken the opposing factions and keep them engaged in their own troubles rather than his own. Moreover, this policy rendered him the only supreme arbiter among the tribes whose chiefs sought his support against their own rivals.⁶⁸ In this wise, the Imam relieved himself of fighting them and, as Ibn al-Ṣaghīr puts it: " . . . he lay on his back securely and quietly and stretched his hands and feet."⁶⁹

⁶⁵Ibn al-Ṣaghīr, Akhbār al-A'imma, pp. 20-22.

⁶⁶Ibid., pp. 40-41.

⁶⁷Ibid., p. 27.

⁶⁸Ibid.

⁶⁹Ibid.

Although Imam Aflah succeeded in keeping his opponents busy among themselves, he planted the seeds of destruction of his own Rustumid State. The "ferment of hatreds" generated by his policy was bound in the long run to work against him.⁷⁰ This became obvious in later periods after his death when, for seven long years, the civil wars raged all over the country in full pre-Islamic fashion, with ensuing confusion and general decline.

In addition to this disastrous policy, the Rustumid Imams chose to depend on a number of given tribes and thus estranged the rest. Here, we know that they favored the Nafūṣah, Mazātah, the Ajam (Persians), and Christian elements in Tāhirt. The tribe of Nafūṣah supplied the State with warriors, religious elite, and many important officials in the administration, such as governors, judges, treasurers, police chiefs, and personal advisors and servants to the Imams.⁷¹ Ultimately, Nafūṣah became so strong that they even had a decisive influence in the selection of Imams. Ibn al-Ṣaghīr tells us that, when Imam Aflah died, Nafūṣah was able to impose his son, Abū Bakr, on the community as Imam, although he was widely known to be unqualified for that dignity. It is also reported by Ibn al-Ṣaghīr that 'Abd al-Azīz Ibn al-Awz, an opponent to the election of Abū Bakr, loudly shouted, "Oh, Nafūṣah, God is asking you why, when an Imam dies, you put another in his place without submitting the matter to the Muslims to choose the most

⁷⁰Ibid., pp. 27-32.

⁷¹Ibid., pp. 22, 23, 28, 36, 40, 45, 47, 54, 56.

pious and most acceptable to them?"⁷²

The tribe of Mazātah also had its share of the Rustumid Imam's favor. This tribe supported the Imams financially and even intervened among the members of the dynasty in their private disputes. This did occur in the case of imminent civil strife between Imam Abū Ḥatīm Yūsuf (281-294/895-907) and his uncle, Ya'qūb Ibn Aflaḥ, in 285/899. It is known that the chief of the Mazātah, Abū Ya'qūb al-Mazātī, tried to use his good offices to quell that family struggle.⁷³ It is not surprising, therefore, to hear Imam Aflaḥ say, "This faith (Ibāḍism) was established on the swords of Nafūsah and the monies of Mazātah."⁷⁴

Undoubtedly, the policy of favoritism toward particular factions and the dependence on the good humor of some against others had its negative results in the Rustumid State. The most calamitous by-products of this policy came to pass as the Rustumids, faced by the Faṭimid invasion, could not recruit troops to repel the invaders, and the last of the Imams had to surrender to the enemy without any significant resistance.

⁷²Ibid., p. 31.

⁷³Ibid., pp. 54-55.

⁷⁴Al-Warjalānī, al-Sīrah, fo. 33 ro. See also: al-Shammākhi, al-Siyar, fo. 60 ro.

Hostility of Non-Ibādī Sects

The Rustumid State opened its territories to all religious groups to settle among its Ibādī adherents. These non-Ibādī sects included the Sunnis, Shi'is, Ṣufrīs, Mu'tazilah, and Wāṣiliyah. Despite the tolerant attitude of the Rustumid Imams and Ibādīs in general toward these sects, these immigrant infiltrators acted like a "fifth column" in disrupting the peace of the State and in helping hostile neighbors to overthrow their hosts.

The Wāṣiliyah were the first to rebel against the authority of Imam 'Abd al-Wahhāb (171-208/788-824). The Wāṣiliyah rebellion was associated, as we have seen in Chapter II, with the Idrisid movement. It took Imam 'Abd al-Wahhāb a long time to bring them back under Rustumid control. However, they continued to stir up trouble in the State whenever it was possible.⁷⁵

During the civil war following the assassination of Ibn 'Arafah by Imam Abū Bakr (240-241/855-856), non-Ibādī elements played a major role in the ensuing fighting between the Rustumid State and the rebels. Among the leaders of these groups were Khalaf al-Khādim, Abū Muḥammad al-Ṣayrafī, and Ibn al-Wāsiṭī.⁷⁶

Non-Ibādī sects in Tāhīrt grew so strong that they began to entertain the idea of overthrowing the Ibādī authority. Ibn al-Ṣaghīr states that Imam Abū Ḥatim Yūsuf (281-294/895-907) came under the influence of non-Ibādī

⁷⁵Al-Warjalānī, al-Sīrah, fo. 19 ro - 19 vo.

⁷⁶Ibn al-Ṣaghīr, Akhbār al-A'immah, pp. 38-39.

Mashā'ikh (religious leaders). Among these non-Ibādī Shaykhs (leaders) were Abū Mas'ūd, Abū Danūn, and 'Alwān Ibn 'Alwān. These leaders probably belonged to the Mu'tazilah or Shī'i sects, since Ibn al-Ṣaghīr refers to advent from al-Kūfah and its prevalent Madhhab (school), which could have been anything but 'Ibādī.⁷⁷ Ibn al-Ṣaghīr's remark that these non-Ibādī elements' aspiration to destroy the Ibādīs⁷⁸ betrays the fact that they were strong and numerous. It may mean also that the Ibādīs might have become a minority in their own capital, and the Rustumid Imams became rulers over a majority of non-Ibādīs.

When the Faṭimid commander, Abū 'Abd Allah al-Shī'i, approached Tāhīrt on his way to Sijilmāsah, these non-Ibādī sects of Sunnis (Māliki), Wāṣilīyah, Shī'is, and Sufris sent a delegation to the invader urging him to occupy Tāhīrt and destroy the Persian Amirate. They complained to him about the overpowering influence of the Persians and promised to help him if he decided to attack the Rustumid capital.⁷⁹ Thus, the non-Ibādī sects played the role of a real "fifth column" in the destruction of the Rustumid State.

⁷⁷Ibid., pp. 50-51.

⁷⁸Ibid., p. 51.

⁷⁹Al-Warjalānī, al-Ṣīrah, fo. 36 vo. See also: al-Darjīnī, Tabaqāt, fo. 40 vo.

Disputes Among the Members of the Rustumid Dynasty

After the death of the third Imam, Aflah Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb, in 240/855, members of the Rustumid dynasty began a power struggle amongst themselves, ending in weakening the trust of the Ibādīs in their Imams.

According to al-Ṣaghīr, it was Abū al-Yaqẓān Muḥammad who urged his brother, Imam Abū Bakr, to assassinate Muḥammad Ibn 'Arafah.⁸⁰ It is likely that Abū al-Yaqẓān deliberately advised his brother to commit this act in order to implicate him in a crime which would lead to his removal from office. We know from Ibn al-Ṣaghīr that Abū al-Yaqẓān, despite his apparent role in the assassination of Ibn 'Arafah, did not participate in defending his brother.⁸¹

In fact, plotting against one another became the order of the day amongst the members of the Rustumid dynasty. Another example occurred after the death of Abū al-Yaqẓān Muḥammad in 281/895. At that time, his eldest son was in Mecca on pilgrimage, and the Ibādī community chose another son, Abū Ḥātim Yūsuf, as his successor. An immediate rival of Imam Abū Ḥātim even before the return of his older brother was his own uncle, Ya'qūb Ibn Aflah, who refused to recognize him and left Tāhīrt to his exile at Zuwwāghah.⁸²

When a civil war broke out in Tāhīrt between Imam Abū Ḥātim Yūsuf

⁸⁰Ibn al-Ṣaghīr, Akhbār al-A'imma, p. 33.

⁸¹Ibid., pp. 34, 37.

⁸²Ibid., p. 53.

and the population of Tāhirt, the rebels sent to Ya'qūb, whom they declared as Imam.⁸³ This development might suggest that Ya'qūb Ibn Aflah had a hand in instigating the rebellion which led to that civil war, since we know that he never recognized the Imamate of his nephew, Abū Ḥatim Yūsuf. This civil strife lasted for four years until 285/899.

Although Ya'qūb Ibn Aflah lost his bid for the Imamate to Abū Ḥatim Yūsuf, the latter faced still new and more powerful rivals. It was his brother, al-Yaqzān, who had been in Mecca on pilgrimage. Al-Yaqzān claimed his right to the throne on the ground that he was the eldest son. Having failed to recover the Imamate peacefully, al-Yaqzān resorted to plotting for the removal of his brother. In the end, he and his sons were able to assassinate Imam Abū Ḥatim Yūsuf in 294/907.⁸⁴

In 294/907, al-Yaqzān Ibn Muḥammad became Imam of a state already badly torn by civil wars. He did not enjoy the outcome of his action against his brother very long. Dawsarah, the daughter of the assassinated Imam and some of her brothers escaped from Tāhirt and went to Abū 'Abd Allah al-Shī'i, whom they asked for help to avenge the murder of their father. At the same time, other appeals for the same purpose were pouring from Tāhirt. Al-Shī'i wasted no time in leading the forces of the Faṭimids for the final blow against the tottering realm of the Rustumids.⁸⁵

⁸³Ibid.

⁸⁴Al-Warjalānī, al-Ṣīrah, fo. 36 vo. See also: al-Darjīnī, Tabaqāt, fo. 40 vo.

⁸⁵Al-Warjalānī, al-Ṣīrah, fo. 36 vo. See also: al-Darjīnī, Tabaqāt, fo. 40 vo.

Wars With the Aghlabids

Another factor in weakening the Rustumid State was their continuous wars with the Aghlabids, their inveterate enemy at their gate in North Africa. In reality, the two contestants fought one another to a standstill until the Faṭimids pounced on them and destroyed both in one and the same year (296/909).

Because of the contradictory religious principles of the two antagonists, the Aghlabids and the Rustumids worked hard to destroy one another. The first encounter between them took place in 196/812, when the Rustumids won a great victory over the Aghlabids, resulting in the annexation of all Tripolitania, except the city of Tripoli, in addition to eastern and southern Tunisia.⁸⁶

This victory also enabled the Rustumids to surround Aghlabid territories from all sides except the north. The Aghlabid reaction to this blockade was perpetual warfare against the Rustumids, with varying fortunes. In 224/839, the Aghlabids succeeded in inflicting a crushing defeat upon the Rustumid tribes of Lawātah, Zawāghah, and Miknāsah between Qafṣah (Gafsa) and Qaṣṭīliyah (Tozeur).⁸⁷ The outcome of this defeat was the loss of most of southern Tunisia, thus cutting the land communication between Tāhirt and Tripolitania, the eastern province under Rustumid rule. This

⁸⁶Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, v. 5, pp. 156-157. See also: Ibn Khaldūn, Tārīkh, v. 6, pp. 286-287; and al-Warjalānī, al-Sīrah, fo. 23 vo; and al-Shammākhī, al-Siyar, fo. 42 ro.

⁸⁷Ibn 'Idhārī, al-Bayān, v. 1, p. 107.

Aghlabid victory encouraged local Ibādī separatists and ambitious dissenters such as Khalaf Ibn al-Samḥ to declare the independence of Tripolitania on the ground of difficult communication with Tāhirt.⁸⁸

Another chapter in Rustumid-Aghlabid hostility took place at the Battle of Mānū in the year 283/896. In this battle, the Rustumids were badly beaten and lost 12,000 dead in the field, mostly from the tribe of Nafūṣah, the main supporter of the Rustumid Imams in Tripolitania as well as in the Middle Maghrib. In the following year (284/897), the Aghlabids sent another expedition to Jabal Nafūṣah (western mountain), and succeeded in inflicting yet another defeat upon the same strong tribe of Nafūṣah.⁸⁹ This defeat resulted in the loss of all Tripolitania and all of southern Tunisia to the Aghlabids. The Rustumid Imam, Abū Ḥātim Yūsuf, could not send any help to his rather fictitious governor in Tripolitania because he, himself, was fighting for survival against another usurper, his own uncle, Ya'qūb Ibn Aflaḥ. With the fall of Nafūṣah, the Rustumid State became ripe for complete collapse, which was soon coming at the hands of the Faṭimids.⁹⁰

⁸⁸Al-Warjalānī, al-Sīrah, fo. 25 vo. See also: al-Darjīnī, Ṭabaqāt, fo. 30 ro; and al-Shammākhī, al-Siyar, fo. 50 vo.

⁸⁹Al-Shammākhī, al-Siyar, fo. 89 ro. See also: Ibn 'Idhārī, al-Bayān, v. 1, p. 130.

⁹⁰Al-Darjīnī, Ṭabaqāt, fo. 39 vo.

The Faṭimid Invasion

The final downfall of the Rustumid State was not at the hands of the Aghlabids, but rather the Faṭimids. Who were these Faṭimids? How did they establish themselves in the Maghrib? How did they destroy the Rustumid State? In order to understand how the Faṭimids put an end to the Rustumids, it is imperative to answer these questions.

The Faṭimids, as their name indicates, were descendants of Faṭimah (this, however, is a contested historical problem), the daughter of Prophet Muḥammad and wife of 'Ali, the fourth of the orthodox caliphs (35-40/655-660). The supporters of the right of 'Ali and his descendants to the Caliphate came to be known as al-Shī'ah (partisans or adherents of 'Ali). The Shī'ah (Shi'ism), like Khārijism, arose over the issue of the Caliphate system. The adherents of Shī'ism believe that 'Ali and Faṭimah's descendants were the only legitimate heirs to Prophet Muḥammad and, consequently, were entitled to the throne of the Caliphate.⁹¹

The 'Umayyad Caliphs (40-132/660-750) and their successors, the 'Abbasids (132-656/750-1258) persecuted the Shi'ites in the East because of their rival claim to the Caliphate. The Shi'ites, like the Khārijites, split into numerous sub-sects over the Imamate. One of these offshoots was the Ismā'īlīyah (Isma'ilism),⁹² followers of Ismā'il, the eldest son of Ja'far

⁹¹Al-Shahristānī, al-Milal, v. 1, p. 146.

⁹²Muḥsin al-Amīn, A'yān al-Shī'ah, 3rd ed., v. 4, Pt. 2 (Beirut: Maṭba'at al-Inṣāf, 1960), p. 29.

al-Ṣādiq, the sixth Imam who died in 148/766.

The Shi'ites, despite their defeat by the Umayyads and the 'Abbasids, never recognized either of them because they considered both of them usurpers to their rightful heritage. The Shi'ites were thus forced to turn to maneuvers against their oppressors and, like the Khārijites, sent their Du'āh (missionaries) to various parts of the Islamic Empire to preach their principles and seek supporters. It was the sixth Imam, Ja'far al-Ṣādiq (d. 148/766) who first sent two missionaries to North Africa. These were al-Ḥalwānī and Abū Sufyān, who chose the Berber tribe of Kutāmāh in north-east Algeria for conversion to Shī'ism.⁹³ When these two missionaries died, another missionary, 'Abū 'Abd Allah al-Shī'i, succeeded them in the Maghrib. Abū 'Abd Allah arrived in North Africa in 288/900, accompanied by some chiefs of the Kutāmāh tribe, whom he met at Mecca while on pilgrimage.⁹⁴

The activities of Abū 'Abd Allah proved to be very successful among the Kutāmāh tribesmen who, it seems, were not ideologically or politically committed to other states in the Maghrib. In a short period of two years, he was able to convert them to the Shī'ah cause. Consequently, he recruited from their ranks a formidable army with which he started conquering the

⁹³ Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, v. 6, p. 126. See also: Ibn Khaldūn, Tārīkh, v. 4, p. 65; and al-Maqrīzī, Itti'āz al-Ḥunafā', v. 1, p. 55.

⁹⁴ Ibn Khaldūn, Tārīkh, v. 4, p. 66. See also: al-Maqrīzī, Itti'āz al-Ḥunafā', v. 1, p. 56; and Ibn 'Idhārī, al-Bayān, v. 1, p. 124; and Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, v. 6, p. 127.

Aghlabid towns, one after the other, until he captured al-Qayrawān in 296/909.⁹⁵ By the conquest of al-Qayrawān, the last and most important bastion of 'Abbasid authority in the Maghrib, Abū 'Abd Allah laid the firm foundation of Shi'ite rule in the distant Maghrib, far from 'Abbasid centers. In fact, the Maghrib became the nucleus for the extension of their ambitions over the rest of the Islamic world.

Encouraged by the success of his missionary, the Ismā'īlī Imam, 'Ubayd Allah al-Mahdī left secretly his headquarters at Salamīyah in northern Syria for the Maghrib. He arrived at Sijilmāsah disguised as a merchant but later was discovered and imprisoned by the ruler of the Ṣufri State, al-Yasa' II (270-296/883-909). However, he recovered his freedom as soon as Abū 'Abd Allah completed the conquest of Ifrīqīyah and the Middle Maghrib in 296/909.⁹⁶

On his way to Sijilmāsah, Abū 'Abd Allah passed near Tāhirt, where he received a delegation from the non-Ibādī sects including Sunnis, Shi'is, Ṣufris, and Wāṣilis, proposing the conquest of Tāhirt and the overthrow of the "Persian" Rustumids. The delegation even offered him the support of all concerned non-Ibādīs.⁹⁷ He readily accepted the offer, which coincided

⁹⁵ Ibn Khaldūn, Tārīkh, v. 4, p. 74. See also: Ibn 'Idhārī, al-Bayān, v. 1, p. 150; and Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, v. 6, p. 132.

⁹⁶ Ibn Khaldūn, Tārīkh, v. 4, pp. 70-75. See also: Ibn 'Idhārī, al-Bayān, v. 1, pp. 152-153; and Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, v. 6, pp. 129-130, 132; and al-Maqrīzī, Itti'āz al-Ḥunafā', v. 1, pp. 60-62.

⁹⁷ Al-Warjalānī, al-Sīrah, fo. 36 vo. See also: al-Darjīnī, Ṭabaqāt, fo. 40 vo.

with his plans and ambitions at any rate. In addition to the support of non-Ibāḍis in the Rustumid State, the appeal of Imam Abū Ḥātim Yūsuf's daughter and sons for him to avenge their father's assassination came as a final spark to legitimize his invasion of Rustumid territory in 296/909.⁹⁸

Having secured the support of non-Ibāḍī religious groups and even some Rustumids, Abū 'Abd Allah al-Shī'ī decided to strike against the Rustumid State. He thereupon sent a message to al-Yaqẓān Ibn Muḥammad, the last Rustumid Imam, asking him to meet with him. Unable to assemble warriors from the Ibāḍī community which was angered by the assassination of Imam Abū Ḥātim Yūsuf, Imam al-Yaqẓān and his sons agreed to meet with the Shī'ī.

The meeting between the two sides was recorded by the Ibāḍī historian, al-Warjalānī. According to him, the conversation went as follows:

Al-Shī'ī asked al-Yaqẓān, "What is your name?"

He answered, "al-Yaqẓān" (vigilant).

Al-Shī'ī commented, "No, but your name is al-Ḥayrān" (the perplexed). "Why did you kill your Amīr (Prince) and deprive yourself of your own power . . . and come to us without a fight or siege?"⁹⁹

After this brief, mocking conversation, Abū 'Abd Allah al-Shī'ī ordered the execution of Imam al-Yaqẓān Ibn Muḥammad, along with his sons and relatives. Their heads were sent to Raqqādah for parade and later hanged on the walls of that city. Al-Shī'ī then marched on the

⁹⁸Al-Darjīnī, Tabaqāt, fo. 40 vo. See also: al-Warjalānī, al-Sīrah, fo. 36 vo.

⁹⁹Al-Warjalānī, al-Sīrah, fo. 36 vo.

Rustumid capital, Tāhīrt, and entered it without any resistance. He annexed it to his new Faṭimid Caliphate.¹⁰⁰

It is quite clear from the difficult internal as well as external circumstances which surrounded the Rustumid State that its fall was inevitable. It was internally torn apart by political and religious schisms among its Ibādī followers as well as among the members of its ruling Rustumid dynasty. Moreover, the non-Ibādī sects within Tāhīrt never gave up hope of destroying the Rustumids by stirring up trouble whenever they could and even participated in armed rebellions. Finally they found their golden chance to realize their hopes by inviting the Faṭimids to strike the last blow against the Rustumids. More importantly, the Rustumid State was militarily and financially exhausted because of the long struggle with the Aghlabids which resulted in the dismemberment of the Rustumid State on the eve of the advent of the Faṭimids.

Last but not least, the long embattled Rustumids, whose human as well as financial resources were drained in local strife and constant conflict with the Aghlabids, became no match for the emerging Faṭimids, whose army was so huge that the historian, Ibn 'Idhārī, described it as being like "al-Dabbī al-Muntashir" (spreading swarms of ants)¹⁰¹ whose soldiers' enthusiasm and pride in their new Shī'ī doctrine was still unabated. The Rustumids, therefore, had no alternative but to surrender without resistance

¹⁰⁰Ibn 'Idhārī, al-Bayān, v. 1, p. 153.

¹⁰¹Ibid., p. 152.

to the invaders. After well-nigh a century and a half, or precisely from 144/762 to 296/909, the Rustumid's chapter in the story of North Africa came to an ignoble end.

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The Khārijī movement was the earliest Islamic religio-political schism which arose over the issue of the Caliphate. Khārijites believed that any Muslim, regardless of his race, color, or origin, could be elected Caliph or Imam if qualified for such an exalted position of leadership and respect by virtue of superior knowledge, health, and courage. This belief contradicted that of the Sunnites and the Shi'ites, who required Qurayshī (of the tribe of the Prophet Muḥammad) origin as a binding prerequisite for the right of succession to the Caliphate.

The opportunity for Khārijī schism arose as the result of a proposal of arbitration between Caliph 'Ali, the fourth of the Orthodox Caliphs (35-40/655-660), and Mu'āwiyah, the governor of Syria (17-40/638-660), to settle conflicts arising out of the assassination of Caliph 'Uthmān (24-35/644-656). These early secessionists protested the formation of a human tribunal above the Divine word. Therefore, they loudly cried "La Hukma Illa Li-llah (judgment belongs to Allah only). They split from Caliph 'Ali's camp and withdrew to the village of Ḥarawrā' near al-Kūfah. There they elected their own Imam, 'Abd Allah Ibn Wahb al-Rāsibī.

Caliph 'Ali dealt rather harshly with these dissenters and inflicted upon them a terrible defeat at the Battle of al-Nahrawān in 38/659, killing most of them, including their leader, al-Rāsibī.

The Khārijites split into numerous sects, and some of them turned radical and even went beyond the teachings of Islam in some cases. The Umayyad and the 'Abbasid Caliphs persecuted them in the Arab East, thus

forcing them to flee for safety to remote parts of the Arab Empire.

The Khawārij worked diligently to win support in the newly conquered provinces. They launched a massive propaganda campaign in all parts of the empire by sending their emissaries everywhere. It was in the Maghrib (North Africa) that Khārijism struck roots among the Berber tribes. North Africa was suffering from a lack of political stability due to the vicissitudes of relationships among the Caliphs, on the one hand, and the harsh and oppressive policy undertaken by Arab governors in the region, on the other. These governors, acting either on orders of the Umayyad Caliphs or on their own, imposed Jizyah (poll tax) and Kharāj (land tax) on the already Islamized Berbers. In addition to this, they enslaved many Berbers and sent them to Damascus.

While the Arab oppression was at its height in North Africa, the Khārijī Du'āh (missionaries) were actively calling for justice among all Muslims, regardless of origin, according to the Qur'ān. Therefore, the oppressed Berbers rallied in unified strength behind the Khārijī propagandists.

Among the Khārijī sects which sent missionaries to the Maghrib were the Ṣufrīyah and the Ibādīyah. The first succeeded in mustering the first Berber revolt against the Arabs, under Maysarah al-Maḍgharī in 122/740, and their state came to be known as the Midrarids or Banū Wāsūl, which lasted until 296/909.

The Ibādīyah missionaries were active at the same time in Tripoli-

ania and Ifrīqiyah (Tunisia). In 140/757, they succeeded in founding their first Imamate under Abū al-Khaṭṭāb al-Ma'afī. This Ibādī state, however, did not last long. It was destroyed by the 'Abbasid commander, Muḥammad Ibn al-Ash'ath in 144/761.

After this defeat, the Ibādīyah, under their leader, 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Rustum, the former governor of al-Qayrawān, re-established the Ibādī state and founded the City of Tāhirt in 144/762. This state came to be known as the Rustumid State. Ibn Rustum was elected Imam in 160/777 or 162/779 and ruled until his death in 171/788.

With the death of Ibn Rustum, the unity of the Ibādīs in the Maghrib was exposed to serious political and power struggles among various Berber tribal chiefs. The Ibādī state was supposed to be founded upon the principles of Islamic republicanism and administered accordingly. But when the first Imam died in 171/788, his son, 'Abd al-Waḥḥāb, succeeded him, despite opposition from some Ibādī leaders on the ground that he was not the best qualified candidate in the Ibādī community for the office of Imam. They were, perhaps, afraid that by his election the Imamate might turn into a hereditary kingdom.

'Abd al-Waḥḥāb was elected Imam in 171/788, apparently with pressure tactics exerted upon the popular candidate, Mas'ūd al-Andalusī, who was forced out of the race. The new Imam, however, faced serious opposition from Yazīd Ibn Fandīn, an ambitious Berber leader belonging to the tribe of Banū Yafrin. Ibn Fandīn's party rejected the Imamate of 'Abd al-

Wahhāb and plotted to remove him from office by force of arms. The Imam refused to deal with Ibn Fandīn and was prepared to defend his Imamate at any cost. Soon war broke out between the Imam and the party of Ibn Fandīn, and these rebels were labeled "al-Nukkārs" (deniers). Although the Imamate won several victories over its opponents, the outcome was of profoundly disastrous effect upon the unity of the Ibādī community in North Africa and, consequently, upon the Rustumid State.

The rise of the Nukkārs was a serious challenge to the Rustumid State and opened the way for other dissident sects to rebel against it. These were the Mu'tazilites, the Wāṣilites, and the tribe of Hawwārah, who fought to overthrow the state and gain independence.

Although Imam 'Abd al-Wahhāb was highly praised by Ibādī historians, examination of his internal policy suggests he was an opportunist who used all means at his disposal to remain in office. He apparently deviated from the Khārijī and Ibādī democratic principles and turned toward absolute monarchy, as had the Umayyad Caliphs before him as well as his contemporaries, the 'Abbasids. He stubbornly followed the policy of "divide and rule" in addition to depending upon certain favored tribes such as Nafūsah and Mazātah and exploiting the Persian elements within Tāhīrt in running the state.

Before his death in 208/824, 'Abd al-Wahhāb appointed his son, Aflah, as his heir-apparent. Thus, the Ibādī republic was perpetuated as a mere hereditary kingdom like its neighboring states. It is beyond doubt that this deviation from the original Khārijī democratic doctrine led many Ibādīs to

withhold their support from the Rustumid rulers, and probably many of them wondered what was the difference between their state and those of the Umayyads and the 'Abbasids, whom they had fought for so long.

Imam Aflah continued his father's "divide and rule" policy, which had left ferments of hatred among the Berber tribes, and the continuation of that policy certainly contributed to the civil war which began in 240/855 and ravaged the Rustumid State for seven years after his death.

Despite their tolerant policy toward non-Ibādī sects, the Rustumid Imams were unwilling to compromise with their Ibādī followers, who expressed their own political and religious ideas in a way which differed from the official views of the Imams. Therefore, this strict policy, whose aim was undoubtedly to preserve Ibādī unity, led instead to the rise of other Ibādī political and religious sub-sects such as al-Nukkārs, al-Khalafīyah, al-Naffāthīyah, al-Husayniyah, and al-'Umariyah.

The Rustumid Imams, however, were given credit for their tolerant policies toward other Islamic sects as well as other religions. The Rustumid State and its Ibādī adherents also had taken credit for spreading Islam and Islamic culture among the "pagan" tribes in central and western Sudan.

One of the most interesting aspects of Rustumid history was foreign relations. This state played an important role in trade relations between the Sub-Sahara countries, North African states, and Europe, wherein the Rustumid merchants exported the commodities and products of Africa to Europe and imported those of European cultures. The Rustumid State also played

the role of a "buffer state" between the warring states of the Aghlabids, the Idrisids, the Midrarids, and the Umayyads of Spain. Above all, the Rustumid Imams were forced to maintain constant vigil to withstand the ubiquitous hostility of the 'Abbasid Caliphate, whose policy was always to regain control of the entire Maghrib and Spain.

After the death of the first Imam in 171/788, the Rustumid State was plagued by (a) the rise of schismatic religious and political groups which split the Ibādī community into warring camps and disrupted its unity; (b) the shortsighted policy of "divide and rule" and dependence upon certain elements, such as the Berber tribes of Nafūṣah and Mazātah and the Persians, which caused irreparable damage to the unity of the Rustumid society; (c) squabbles over power among the Rustumid dynasty members, themselves, some of whom sought outside intervention; and (d) hostility of non-Ibādī religious and political groups which played an important role in disrupting the solidarity on the internal Rustumid front and also encouraged outside involvement.

In addition to all these internal problems, the Rustumid State faced a continuous state of war with the Aghlabids which drained its financial and human resources. The fall of this state, however, came at the hands of the emerging Faṭimids, whose power grew rapidly and resulted in the destruction of both the Aghlabids and the Rustumids in 296/909 and the conquest of North Africa in its entirety.

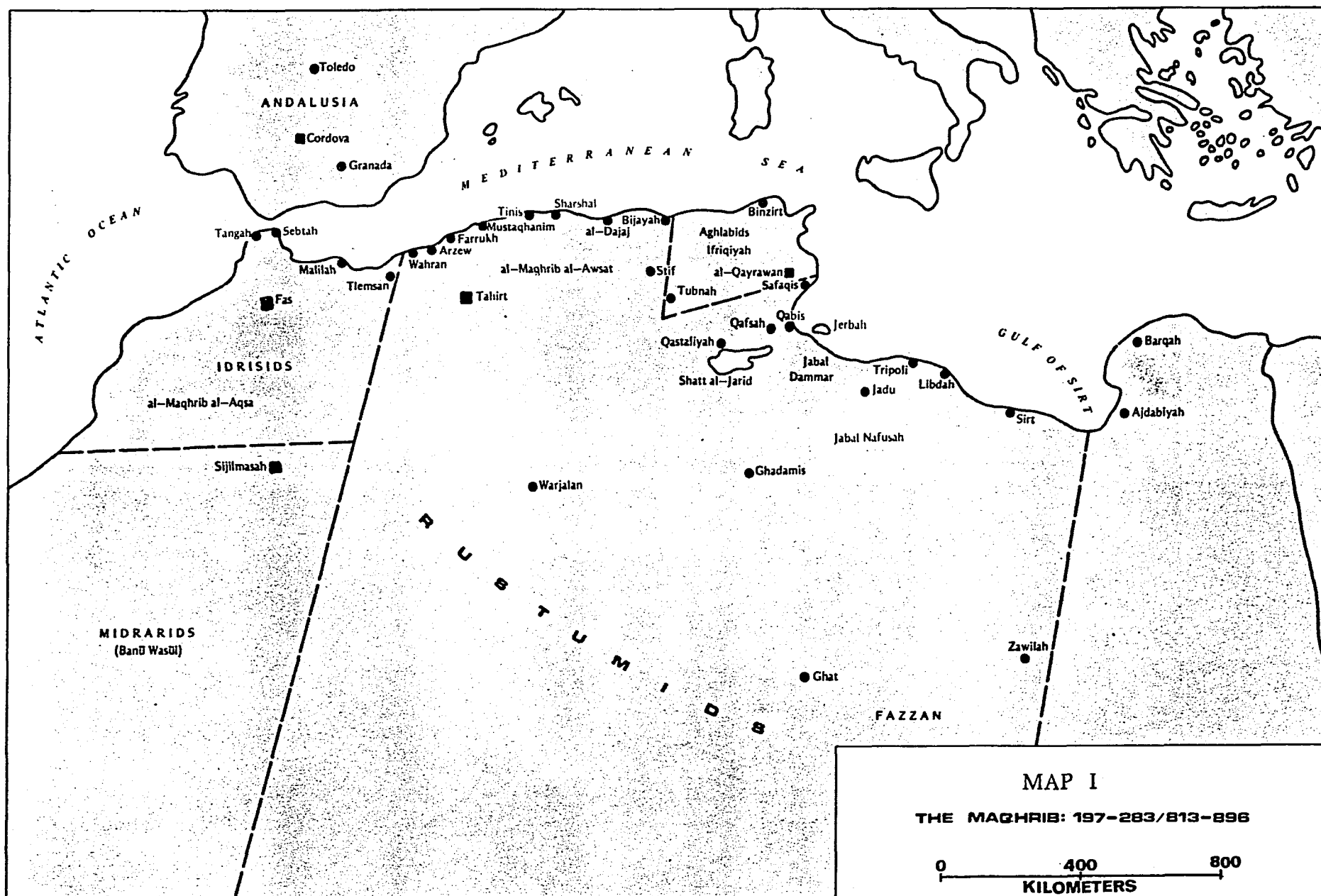
Exposed to all these troubles, the long-embattled and internally-

divided Rustumids crumbled without resistance before the invading Fatimids.

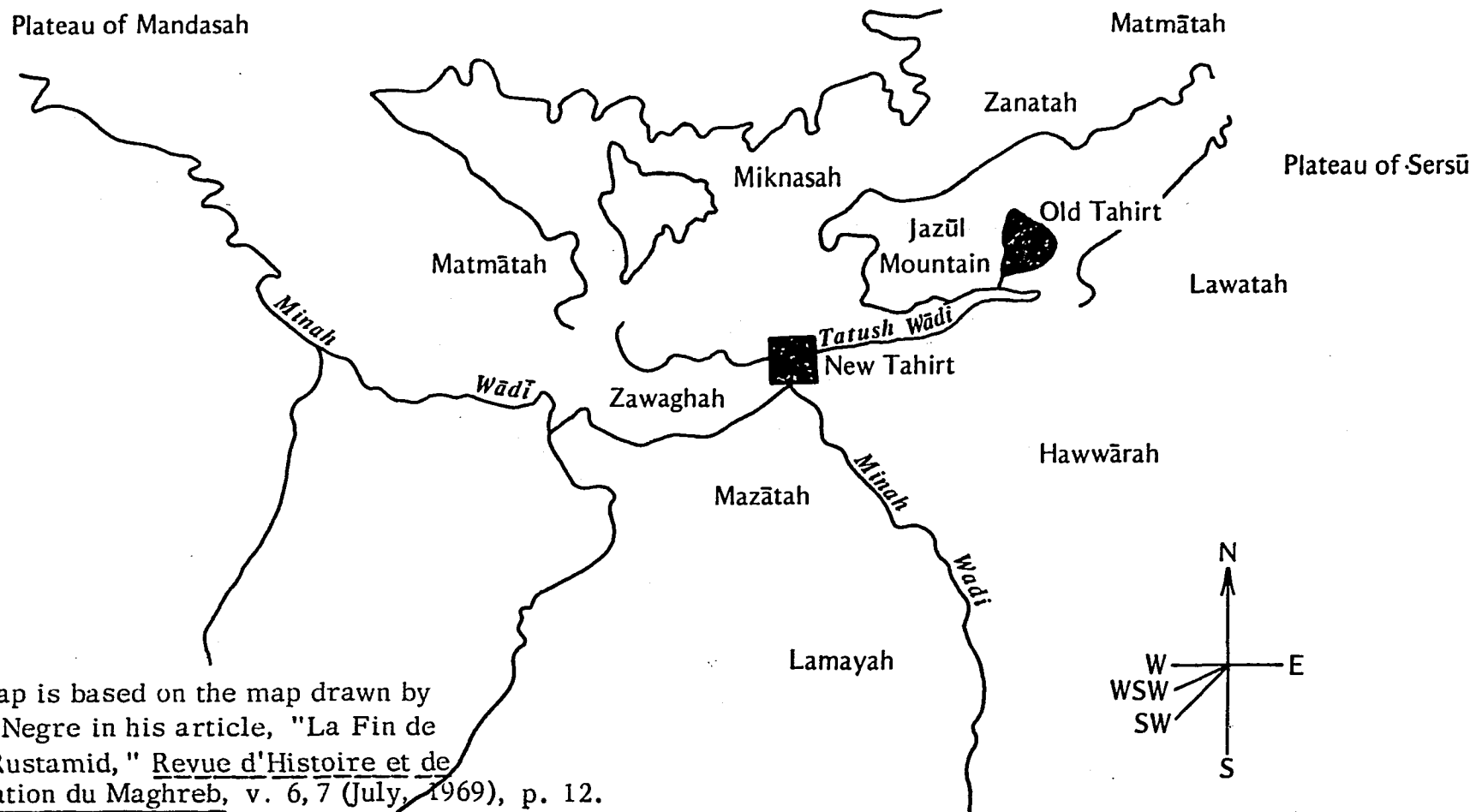
The establishment of the Rustumid State in the Maghrib was one of many Khārijī attempts to carve out their own ideal state in which they hoped to practice freely their democratic principles. It was also a challenge to the royalist parties, i.e., the Sunnites and the Shi'ites. However, when those Khawārij succeeded in establishing their own state, they ran into the same problems faced by the royalists--particularly the question of succession. Therefore, when they put their democratic and republican ideas into practice, there was a philosophical and political conflict over the problem of succession which divided them and, ultimately, led to their destruction.

It is apparent, however, that if Imam 'Abd al-Wahhāb had not succeeded his father and the Khārijī leaders had respected their democratic principles and ideas, for which they had fought so long, the Khārijī democratic experiment might have succeeded and the history of the entire Maghrib, and perhaps that of the whole Muslim world, would have taken a peaceful and prosperous course.

MAPS

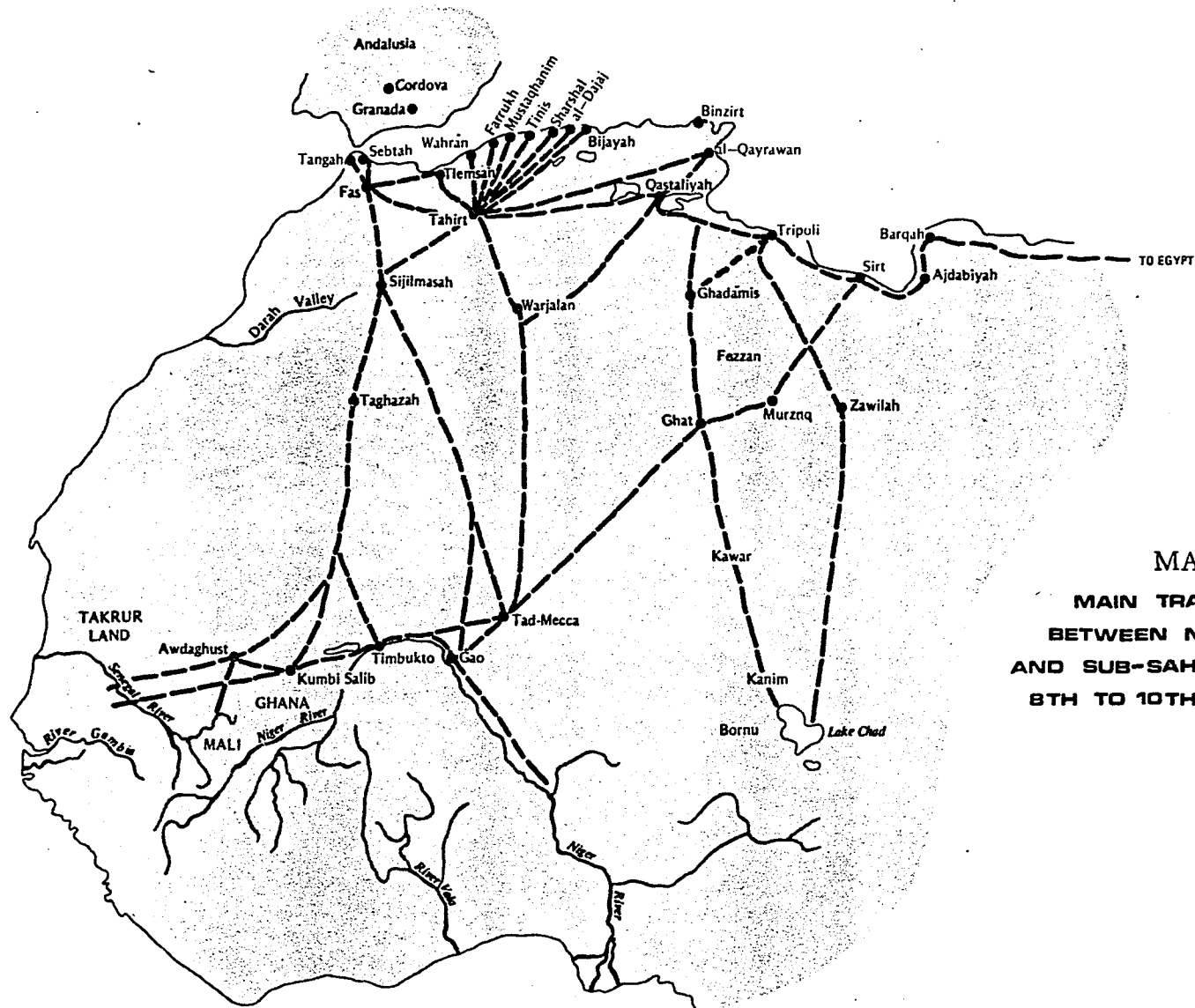


MAP II: TAHIRT AND ITS NEIGHBORHOOD



This map is based on the map drawn by Andre' Negre in his article, "La Fin de l'Etat Rustamid," *Revue d'Histoire et de Civilisation du Maghreb*, v. 6, 7 (July, 1969), p. 12.





MAP III
MAIN TRADE ROUTES
BETWEEN NORTH AFRICA
AND SUB-SAHARA COUNTRIES
8TH TO 10TH CENTURY A.D.

0 400 800 1200 1600
KILOMETERS

APPENDIX I

FOLIOS IN ARABIC

Abū Zakariya Yahya Ibn Abī Bakr Al-Warjalānī

Kitāb al-Sīrah Wa Akhbār al-A'immah

Cairo: Dār al-Kutub, No. H 9030, Fo. 1-37 ro.

This manuscript has been selected for presentation as an example of what the writer had to face in the compilation of his material. Owing to its importance in the structure of this thesis, it has been decided to include it in a special Appendix. Our long-range project is the publication of the entire text in a separate work for the first time. Other manuscripts of relative value for our research, as is seen from our bibliography and footnotes, are worthy of special consideration. Nevertheless, we have decided against their inclusion at this juncture in order not to overload the present thesis with an unwieldy mass of varied sources.

غير واحد من اهلها بنا حدث به الامام عن ابيه عبد الوهاب عن ابيه عبد الرحمن
ابن رستم رضي الله عنهم في بعض ما يحدث به عنهم وكان اذا ذكره
ذكره بالاصح فلا اخبرنا الا امام او قال سمعته يقول اول ما جاء بهذه الصفة
يريد مذهب الاباضية وفق بغير وان امر ببقية سلمة بن سعيد يدعوا
الي الاباضية وعكوفة مولد ابن عباس يدعوا بالجمع بينه قال وسمعت
سلمة يوما يقول وددت ان يطحن هذا الامر بيني ومذهب الاباضية
والمغرب يوما واحدا من غدة الوابل فما بالي ضرة عنيفة ثم ان عبد
الرحمن بن رستم قال في ذلك الامر مذهبهم في طلبه غاية الاختصاص فقال له
رجل من اهل الدعوة ان كنت تريد علم هذا الامر الذي كلقت به وعلقت
واراك فكلبه يد ونك ارض البصرة فان بها عالما يكتي ما عبيدة واسمه
مسلم بن ابي كريهة التميمي فانك تجد عنده ما فكلبه وقيل ان امه هي
التي قالت ذلك فلذلك توجه عبد الرحمن بن رستم الي ابي عبيدة رضي
الله عنه وله حديث سا ذكره بعد ان شاء الله مع النبي الذي طيلوا العلم
الي ابي عبيدة اذا صرنا اليه ونظرنا في كتاب

اعلام النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم لابن قتيبة وقد ذكر ابي عثمان عمرو
ابن بخر الجاحلي في كتاب الوعظ والزهد ان يوان كسرا اهتر وسفك
منه اربع عشرة شرافة ليلة نزل بها النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم
بها له طاروا في ذلك بعرض على كتمان ذلك من رزايه ولم تختمه نفسه
وصاف به صدره بلما كان بالغد من ليلته اخذ بزره ولباسه وقد
تنت تاجه وارسل الي رزايه واهل مملكته بلما اجتمعوا عليه فكل
كسرا بفعل اهل اخبر به بها بعثت به اليكم بفعلوا لا يخبرنا الملك
فان يكون عندنا سبيته اخبرناه به بعض عليهم خبرا لا يروان وكان من
وزراءه رجل يقال له الموربان انا واصلح الله الملك رايته روي

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم وصلى الله على سيدنا محمد وآله وصحبه

الذي جعله في السموات وما في الارض وله الحمد في الازلة وهو الحكيم
فانه رايها ما انقص من الآثار وما اندرس من الاخبار انقص
افكارنا التي تاليها اخبار ما سلف من مشايخ اهل الدعوة وصلوا بها وتذكر
ما فيها وحسن سيرهم وجميل مذهبهم ونشر فضائلهم وكتبنا من ذلك
ما تيسر كتابته ورجونا منه فقه من بعد ما ختمنا على العوام ان يتخذوه
وزراءهم فخرنا ويهلوه شيا منسيا والرائد الرغبة واياه نسل الصفة
ومن لدنه نرجو الثواب فيما له فصدنا وله المنة علينا وهو حسنا ونعم
الوكيل
ذكر وقع سبب مذهب الاباضية بيلا المعرب وكيف كان
ابتداء امره واوان جاء به من ارض المشرق واخبار الخمسة النع الحمل
للعلم الراعي المعرب وكيف كان مبدء الامامة التي انقضها ثم يتلوا
ذلك من اخبار المشايخ واخبار اهل الدعوة مع الائمة المسودة وكيف
فياق من فاع عنهم فرنا بعد فن بعد ما يتبع ذلك من احاديث اهل الدعوة
ونشر ما تروهم وكيف فخرهم سلف عن خلف وفلها بعد خلف وعسى
ان يذكر به مذهب ويستيف ذو هبة وان الذكر اتق المعربين

ورافقتني فقال له الملك يا موبدان هات روثاك فقال له الموبدان انه رايت
ابلا صهايا تقود خيلا عرابا دتلي انتشرت في دجلة وبلادها فقال له الملك
ليد شيعه يكون ذلك يا موبدان فقال له الموبدان لا ادي غير انه حدث بيكون
في ناحية المغرب وهم في ذلك نجا ورون الطلاع اذا قبل عليهم راكب يخرج
فاز فارس وكانت قبل ذلك لم تقصد الف علم جهاله ذلك يا متمد مم
رامقن الايون وريا الموبدان وهم في ذلك الى ان اتاهم انت بغرر جيرة
ساروة وفيض ماء السماوات يا متمد جرحه واستشعر وزراءه واحبار
مغال له بعضه ان في ناحية المغرب علماء الكهنة فلو بعثت اليهم لعل
النهان بن المتمد هيبقتك باعلم من في بلادك قال فبعث اليه النهان
النهان بن المتمد ان ابعت الي باعلم من في بلادك قال فبعث اليه النهان
ان المتمد بعث المصير بن عمر وبن جمان بن تغلبت الغسان في وفد اتا
عليه من السنين نيب على ثلاث مائة سنة وعمر حتى كانت ردت العرب
بعد مبعث النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم فمر به خالد بن الوليد حين صدر
من اليمامة وهو في بلاد الحيرة وهي حية وله معه حديث ليس هذا
موضع وكان على دين النصرانية فلما قدم على كسرا قال له اخبرني فيم
بعثت به اليك فقال له عبد المسيح لخير في الملك فان يكون عندي نبي
والا انت رجلا من بني عجم بشاري السباع وهي ما والا الحجاز مواضي
موتة التي استشهد بها جمع بنا ايد طالب رضي الله عنه بغيره
عن سمرال الملك من غير ان اسئله فضلا ان استغفره قال يا خير الملك
يا يوانه ورويا الموبدان وكل ما جاز عليه فقال له عبد المسيح ليس
عندي في هذا شيعه هذا اراد الملك ولكن انظر في حني افزع الشمام
انتك بعلم ذلك قال فمضا عبد المسيح مترجها الى الشام حتى قد
مها دفد اشرف في طريقه على الموت بالقميص فلما قدم على سطحي

وقف بين يديه فلم يبه سطحي جوابا ولم يرفع اليه راسه فلما استبكمه عبد
المسيح انتشأ برفق ويقول : اصم ام يسمع عطربك اليماني ام فان لم
به شامو الحق يا باصل الخطر اعيت من ومن : اتاك شيع الحية من الاستنى
وامد من مال ذيب بن حني : ابيض مضغاض الرداء والبدن : فحرب في الارض
علندات تشن : تر جعبي وخز ونهوي في وجي : حتى اتي عازي الحاجي والفق
حتى اتم ارجوزني رجع اليه سطحي راسه فقال عبد المسيح على جمل مسيح
انا الرسكيح وقد اشعيا على الخربح فقال بعثك ملك يني ساسان لا تكرر
الايون وخضود النيران وري الهيد ان انا صهايا تقود خيلا عرابا دتلي انتشرت
في دجلة وبلادها فقال عبد المسيح ايد شيعه يكون ذلك قال له سطحي :
كثرت التلاوة وبعث صاحب الهراوة وياض وادي السماوة وفاضت جيرة
ساروة وليس الشام لسكيح بشام يملك دح في كتابه ان سطحي فاض
مكانه ثم ان عبد المسيح رجع الى كسرا فلما كان ببعض الكربي انتشأ
وهو يقول : شمر فانك ما فيهم تشمير : لا يبر عنك ادلاج ونهجير
ان يمس ملك يني ساسان ابرطهم : فان ذا الدهم اطوارا دها ريز منم
اخو الصرح يجرع واخراته : والهز مزان وسابور وسابور : فربها ريبا اخر
بمنزلة : فغاف صولهم الاسد المها صير : والناس اولاد علة فصر علها
ان قد اقل ومهفور ومهفور : والغير والشمر مغر وناز في قرن : فالخير فبيع
الشمر هذوز : فلما وصل كسرا اخبره بما قال سطحي فقال له الملك التي
ان تملك منك اربعة عشر تكون امور اعطاك فملك منهم تسعة
فناخ ملكهم ببعث النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم قال عبد الله بن قتيبة في :
كتابيه والدم اعلم بما كان به التمام وترجوا ان يكون هؤلاء الذين وصلوا
السفر بنا هزرت من ايقنتا وقد بلغوا فيها رجح عظيممة ولوايف على
مائه وخمسين سنة فيما ذكر بعض الرويات وبلغنا ان رسوا الله صلى

الله ، وسلم لما نزلت هذه الآية ، يا ايها الذين آمنوا من يرتد منكم عن دينه فسوف يأت الله بقوم يجمع ويجمعونه اذاته على المؤمنين ائمة على الخا مبرين يجاهدون في سبيل الله والايه يكون لومة لائم ذلك فضل السيوف من يبيش ، فاشار الى سلمان العارضي وكان سلمان جالساً بين يديه فقال و لعلم ان يكونوا من ههنا هذا و ذكر في الخطاب ان رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم قال ان الله كثر اليس من ذهب ولا من فضة ولخرج طهروا ربنا ، يارس و ذكر ابن ابي عمير في الخطاب رضي الله عنه مشادات مرة مع العقيقة بن شعبة وكان العقيقة اعور وقال له عمر رضي الله عنه ههنا بصرت بعينك هذه اشياء مغيرة فقال له العقيقة نعم يا امير المؤمنين فقال له عمر ثم اعوزت فقال له العقيقة نعم اعوزت فقال له عمر يعوزن الاسلام كما اعوزت ثم يعمين حتى لا يد احد له ولا من عليه واذا في عليه مائة وستون سنت و رد الله عليه سمعه وبصره بوحيد كوحيد الملوك كحقيقة ارواحهم صلوة اعمالهم بسالة العقيقة من اياه امير المؤمنين اف ما ، الحجاز ومن حاف العراف ارض طه ، الشايع بولي عنه عمر رضي الله عنه وتركه ثم ان العرس و ليت على راس مائة وستون سنة في تاهيت و ذكر بعض اصحابنا ان والايتهم على راس اثني وستون سنة و روى يزيد بن اسلم ان النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم راوياً بفصحا على اعيابه فقال رايت غمفا سودا خالطها غم بيضاء ، فاولتها ان العجم يدخلون الاسلام ويستشركوكم في سبابكم و اموالكم فتعجموا من ذلك وقالوا العجم يارسوا الله فقال اياه والذي نفسي بيده لو ان الدين متعلق بالثريا لتنا ولته رجال من العجم واسعد دهم به فارس ، وروي عن رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم من ضربها ، انه قال لو ان العلم متعلق بالثريا لتنا ولته العرس و ذكر بعض المهجرين في قوله تعالى ستعون الف قوم اويله يارس فغير يد

تفك تلونهم او يسلمون فقال بعضهم هم بنو دنيعة وقال بعضهم العرس و بلغنا عن عائشة ام المؤمنين رضي الله عنها دخل عليها ذات يوم رجل من البربر وهي جالسة ومعهما نفر من المهاجرين والانصار فقامت عابشة عن ، سادتها فجرحتها بالبربر و دهنهم بالنسل الفوم غضباناً باستعجالي البربر حاجته عابشة رضي الله عنها ثم خرج جارسلت اليهم عابشة بالتفخيم من دورهم وجاءوا كلهم فقاتلهم لهم عابشة رضي الله عنها اراكم عبي عضيافا ولم ذلك قال بعض عضياف عليك من اجل رجل جاءك من البربر كذا ربه ونقص نوم و باثرته علينا وعلى نفسك فالت لهم عابشة رضي الله عنها الدائرة عليه وعلى نصيبه بما قال فيهم رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم قالت اني جوني فلانا البربر قالوا نعم فالت عابشة رضي الله عنها كفت انا و رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم جلوسا اذا دخل علينا ذلك البربر عصم الوجه غابر العيين فبكر اليه رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم فقال ما دهاك امريض ففتني بالامس كما هو الدوم صبيح اللون وجيتني اساعف كانهما تشتت من غير فلان البربر يارسوا الله تب بهم شذيد قال له رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم ما الذي همك قال تزدد بصرك علي بالامس خفت من ذلك انه نزلت في ، اية من عند الله قال له النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم انها ترد بصري عليك بالامس من اجل جبريل عليه السلام جاءني فقال انا و اوصيك بتقوى الله وبالبربر وفلت لجبريل و ابي البربر قال فوم هذا و اشار اليك ونظرت اليك قال النبي ، قلت لجبريل وما شأنهم قال فوم يجيرون دين الله بعد اذ يهوت و يجدونه بعد اذ يبلا قال جبريل يا همد دين الله خلق من خلفه نشا بالحجاز واحله بالمدينة خلفه ضعيفا ثم يبعثه وينشيه حتى يعلم ويعلم ويثمر كما تنشر

الشعر ثم يقع وانما يقع راسه بين يديه باسفر ١٠ والشيء ذا رفعه ثم يروى
منه مسكبه وانما احله وانما يرفع من عنده راسه وبلغنا ان عمر بن الخطاب
رضي الله عنه دعى عليه نزع من البربر من لوانته ١١ رسلهم اليه عمر بن الخطاب
وهو هائلوا ١٢ وروى والكاظم فقال لهم من انتي فقالوا من البربر من لوانته فقال
عمر لجلسائيه هل منكم من يوجب هذا الغييل في شقعه من الغيايل العرب و
والعجم قالوا ليس لنا من فيلهم من علم فقال العباس بن مرداس السلمي
ان عنده يبيعهم علميا يا امير المؤمنين هؤلاء من ولد يربز فيس وكان لعيس
عدة من ولد ادهم سبيها يربز فيس وفي خلفه بعض الرعونة يهني ضيفا
مغزائل اخوته ذات بيع مجز الى البربر فيكثر بها نسله وولده وكان
العرب تقول تبرروا به كثيرا فيكثر اليهم عمر رضي الله عنه وحاز اوج
هم اليه عمر بن العاص وارسالهم ترجمانا يترجم كلامهم ان سالهم عمر
عن شيء فقال لهم عمر ما لكم حلقون الروس والها فقالوا نشع عن
على الكرم يا حبيبا ان نكمل شعث في الاسلام فقال لهم عمر هل لكم مداني
تسكنونها قالوا لا قال لهم هل لكم حصون حصون فيها قالوا لا قال لهم
لكم اسواق تتباعدون فيها قالوا لا وبما عصر رضي الله عنه فلما جلسوا
وما يبيحك يا امير المؤمنين فلما تكلم حديث سمعته من رسول الله صلى
الله عليه وسلم يوم حنين انهزم المسلمون ونظر الى رسول الله صلى الله
عليه وسلم فقال ما يبيحك يا عمر فقال ابكاني يا رسول الله قلته هذه
العصاة من المسلمين واجتماعهم الكفر عليها فقال رسول الله صلى الله
عليه وسلم لا تنك يا عمر فان الله سيجمع للاسلام جبايا ما لم تعرف فوم
بجز الله بهم الاسلام وبجز الله الكرم اهل خثيبة وبما يربزهم تنز على
ما ابصر واليست لهم مداني يسكنونها ولا حصون يحصنون فيها
والاسواق يتباعدون فيها ولما تكلم الساعة حيث ذكرت حديث

رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم وما ذكره عليهم من الفضل وروى عمر بن الخطاب
ابن العاص وامره ان يجعلهم في مقدمة العسكر وادس اليهم رضي الله
عنه وادسهم وادسهم ان يطرهم ويخلصهم في مقدمة العسكر والها
واحسن اليهم رضي الله عنه عسكره وكانوا مع عمر بن الخطاب حتى قتل عثمان
ابن عفان فلما كان هذا الحديث في عصاة من اهل مصر عن عمر بن الخطاب
صلى الله عليه وسلم رجونا ان يكونوا اهل عوفنا وان يسيروا جوارا افضل هذا
الحديث وبلغنا عن رجل من رتبة ابي بكر قال فلان علي بن ابي طالب بالاهل مكة
يا اهل المدينة اوصيكم بالله وبابن البر خير فانهم سيأتونكم بدين الله مني
المغرب بعد ان يضيظونه هم الذين ذكر الله في كتابه يا ايها الذين امنوا
مؤثر في منفع عن دينه يسر يا ايها الله بفرح يجمع ويبرئ اذنة عني
المومنين اقره على الكافرين بما وعد في سبيل الله ولا تخافون لومة لائم
ذلك فضل الله يؤتيه من يشاء وهم الذين لا ينظرون في حساب احد فاف
طاعة الله فان البربر في حن جين وفعت الغينة انما تفاضل في العرب على
الدين ورا له وهم واما البربر فانها تلون على دين الله ليفهموه قال وهو
يوقع الحديث الذي في مسعود ان اخ جنة جها قال يا اهل مكة ويا اهل
المدينة او صيغ تنفي الله والبربر فانهم سياتونكم بدين الله مني
المغرب وهم الذين اسند الله بكهم اذ يقولون وان يتولوا يستبدل فوما
غيرهم ثم لا يكونوا امثالكم والذين نفهم ابن مسعود بيده لو اذ كنتم
لهم اكوع من ابايهم واقر لهم من دثارهم بعتي ثيابهم
عن عائشة رضي الله عنها انها اصرت صيالا له دواتان ذات جمال وهيئة
فغالت من ابي فييل هذا من السبا قالوا من البربر قالت عائشة رضي الله
عنها البربر يعرفون الضيف ويضربون السيب ويلعنون الطوك لحام الخيل
اللعن الحديث الذي في النور الخمسة المملة للعلم ادهم ابر الخطاب

عبد الهادي السمع المعالي به وصفا من قبيل من العرب وعبد الرحمن بن رستم
 العامري وعاصم السدراي واسما عيل بن دار القدا صبي وابو داود الغليلي
 بن برهان بن كسر الهلك العامري رضي الله
 عنه وكان اصله من العراق وكان ابوه رستم عنه في العلم ان ذريته سئل
 ارض المعقب فاقبل رستم متوجها من العراق ومعه ابنه عبد الرحمن ورجله
 ليتوصلوا الى ارض المعقب منها فلما كان بمكة او فريها منها ادركه جماعة
 فانتفضت ايامه بطات والتقاء ابنه عبد الرحمن وامد مع الحجاج بمكة من
 اهل المعقب فترجمت ام عبد الرحمن رجلا من اهل الغيرة وان فاقبل بها حتى
 قد صارت ارض الغيرة وان ونشأ بها عبد الرحمن بن رستم فلما بلغ مبلغ الرمال
 وفراوا فصر نظره اليه رجل من اهل الدعوة فغاله به فاقبل ان خفف طاب من
 اراك فكلبه فاقصد الى ابي عميرة مسلم بن ابي كريمة التميمي رضي الله
 عنه فجد عنه مار جوت فصار عبد الرحمن بن رستم الى ابي عميرة والتقا
 مع النضر الذين ذكرنا فصار جمع ابي عميرة وسالم عنها حوالهم ومراي
 اقبلوا فاجبره انهم من اهل المعقب وانهم ارادوا تعليم العلم واجابهم
 الرذلك ومكثوا عنده سنيين عدة وكان الشيخ ابي عميرة رضي الله
 عنه مستغنيا متقويا من بعض امراء البصرة وادخلهم سريبا وجعل
 فيه سلسلة فصار يعلم الفقاه بباب السرب فبنا مارا تنقضا مقيلا
 حرك السلسلة فيسكنون واذا انصرفوا حيا خذون في غزهم
 وكان عبد الرحمن نشا جيليا حدث السن وكان ابي عميرة يجل بينه
 وبين الناس ستر اليا يشغلهم بجماله فلما بلغوا من العلوم ما قد رآه
 لهم وارادوا الانصراف الى بلادهم علم العجرا ابا عميرة وكلين اليه ان
 جيعهم عيم الرحمن فبذع عوقله باجابه ابي عميرة وادخلهم عليه
 وكفى ثلاثة به عنت علقته واحدة منهم بقاتت بارك الله فيك كلها

بارك في عين الشمس وقالت الظانية وبارك الله فيك كلها بارك في البصر
 وقالت الثالثة وبارك الله فيك كلها بارك في مكيب الكها من الصالح فسال
 فلما عزموا على المسير الى بلادهم جلسوا ابا عميرة واستشاروه في شأنهم
 فقالوا يا شيخنا قد كانت لنا في المعقب قوة ووجدنا من انفسنا طاعة اقبول
 على انفسنا رجلا منا وهاذا فقال لهم ابو عميرة توجوهوا الى بلادهم فاجازوا
 في اهل دعوتكم ما يجب به عليكم التولية في العدد والهدى من الرجال فاولوا على
 انفسهم رجلا منهم فان ابا فاقبلوه واشتار ابي الخطاب رضي الله عنه فلما ارادوا
 الخروج من عنده نهيا الشيخ الركوب لموا دعتهم جعل رجله في الركاب فسله
 اسماء جميل عن ثلاثة مائة مسألة من مسائل الاحكام فبل ان يستوي على متن
 الدابة فقال له ابو عميرة ان تريد ان تكون فاضيا باين دار فقال اسماء جميل
 «دار ارايت ان انتليت بها برحمة الله والما علم في ذلك الوقت مساله امر
 قبل ذلك كله توجوهوا الى المعقب فلما وصلوا عزموا الامامة عبد الرحمن بن
 رستم واعتز اليهم وقال لهم ان يبيد في امارة الناس وبضا عتق فتكره
 وقبلوا عذره وارادوا تولية ابي الخطاب رضي الله عنه

ابو الخطاب مع اهل بيته من ارض المشرك الى كربلاء اهتم بامور المسلمين
 من له النظر فيهم من المشايخ واجتمع جماعة من المسلمين بعد ما قتل
 الحارث وعبد الحميد والناس في الشيطان وكانوا يجتمعون ويذكرون عفة
 الامامة فاجالوا النظر والكلوا الفكر فيما بينهم فيمن يرونه امراها ان كانت
 لهم قوة على عدوهم وكانوا يجتمعون في موضع يقال له صياح عكر غيرة
 المندنية مدينة اطرا ليس فيخفون على انفسهم انهم يجتمعون في
 امهم ارض بين فرج ارادوا فاستقوها واخضعوا ذلك واعلموه وقيل انهم
 انما يجتمعون في امهم ورجله ورجله اختصا وانما مرادهم الامامة فاذا

جنمعهوا في ذلك الموضع وخرجوا من كلاسهم فوجهوا الى امرأ المدينة يسلمون
 عليه مدراة له حتى انفق رايهم على بعد الامامة فاجتمعت حاضرتهم على مبا
 يعته اليه الخطاب رضي الله عنه ذكر بعض عايناهم انهم لما اتفقوا على ذلك
 جعلوا يبيعون موعدا يوما معلوما يجتمعون فيه بالضياد فانفقوا على ان كل
 واحد منهم ياتي بصل خليفه من الرجال ومن اتبعه من الناس بالسلاح ويجعلون
 الدروع في العراير ويخسوها بالثمن وكان بينهم وبين مشايخ المسلمين من
 اهل المدينة ومن ياتون على انهم عرض معهم علامة اذا رآهم دخلوا المدينة
 فيما عنهم ان يشهروا السلاح واظهروا لها واظهرهم بان الامام ابو الخطاب
 في السر كلما كانوا بالموعد اجتمعوا فيه بعامة المسلمين من شيوخ البر
 وغيرهم من يفرستة وهراة وصر وغيرهم من اعيانها بل فلما
 توافوا بضياد وقد اخرجوا بالخطاب حين خرجوا وقالوا له امض معنا على
 يركتنا الله وعونه في هذه الامر الذي فخيرنا فيه منذ زمان قال فخرج معهم
 ابو الخطاب ولم يدر ما يريد منه وهو غافل عن مرادهم فلما وصلوا الى ضياد
 تكلم متكلمهم وقال ليس قد اجتمع رايها على ما قد علمتموه قالوا بل
 قال فانتموا امركم اذا قال فقامت دفع كاهية ناجية فتكلموا ايضا بينهم
 ثم رجعوا فقالوا لا في الخطاب ابسط يدك لنا يهك على ان تحكم بينهم
 بكتاب الله وستة نبييه صلى الله عليه وسلم واثار انصاره الذين منى
 عبادهم فغاله لهم ابو الخطاب استقبلتموني وليس هذا خربت اليكم وقالوا له
 لا بد لك من الدخول في امور المسلمين بلها والحققة منع واحد فالهم
 لا اقبل اما متكلم الاعلى بشره قالوا له كل شرك يجوز بغير معصية
 نطيعهك فيه فقال لهم شره عليكم الا انتم في عسك في مسألة
 الطرث وعباد الجار فامند عليهم في جماعة المسلمين اختلاف وقرقة
 حدث بعض اصحابنا ان مسألة الحارث وعباد الجار انفصلت الى ارض الشرف

وعان بينهم فيها اختلاف وجرت في المعنى أشد من ذلك حتى كتب اليهم ابو عبيدة
مسلم وابو مودود وحاجب رجمهما اليه يا مران جماعة المسلمين بالظلم
عن ذكرهما فإراد ابو عبيدة ان يقطع الاختلاف من جماعة المسلمين بلما ت
ذلك فقالوا له لك ذلك علينا وبالعكس على الاقامة فبحق الله فيما في الكتاب
والسنة واتباع ائمة المهتدين فقبل ما يقتضيه وانصرف الى المدينة ومعه
جماعة المسلمين وذكي بعض اصحابنا وكان في ذلك خطاب خات على اسرار رجب
وهائة ستة اجتمع اربع على دخول المدينة مدينة اخرا بليس وفيها عامل
لاي جمع المصروفين من علي بن عبد الله بن العباس ثم انهم عزموا الى
رجال مع السلاح فحملوهم في جواليبي في مدينة الروقة فجعلوا ابواه الجواليبي
مروبوكة في داخل من اسفل وجعلوا مع كل رجلين بالسلاح ولما تأسطوا
المدينة ولم يعيكن بصنيعهم احد فتعوا الجواليبي وخرج الرجال والتمسلاح
في ايديهم فقالوا لا احكم ولا حكمة الا حكمة في الخطاب وقصدوا
الى نحو العامل ليقنطروه واباعليهم ابو الخطاب من ذلك وقال لهم انما دخلنا
عليهم بالامان فلما نظر اهل المدينة اليهم وقد اشتهروا بالسلاح قالوا امده
غدة وقال لهم المسلمون ليس ذلك بقدر الا باس عليكم فمن اراد منكم
انها قية فليقم في منزله فحضر ابو الخطاب العام في الاقامة فلما المدينة وبتجمع
من العمالة والقروح بالامانة واختار الخروج الى رضى المشرف فوقع الى
الخطاب معاتق بيت المال فافادة هامة واحسن ابو الخطاب السيرة في احكامه
وايامه وكانت ولاية في الخطاب اربع سنين وقد ولي على راس اربعين ومائة
وبلغنا ان امرأة من نساء الفير وان كتبت بطاقة الى الامام في الخطاب رضى
الله عنه تشكو اليه جور ورجل فامة فعاتت اما يهدي امير المؤمنين فان
لم انت لم في جرة جرتها فحس سريره في عاقبة عليها الورع جو عبيد
ان يفسدوها وكانت ورجومته ولات الفير وان فلما وصلت البطاقة

الى الامام ابو الخطاب رضي الله عنه صاد فيه بواقفتها وهو يتوضا وقرأ كتابها و
 صارت رخصة لها ان تزل بها فنادى بالاطاعة جماعة فاجتمعوا اليه الناس
 فجلس بهم وصعد المنبر خطيبا فحمد الله واثنا عليه خيرا ورغب اهلها به في
 الجهاد وامر رعيته بالاقتداء بالحبوب وخرج من المسجد ابو الخطاب فلم
 يزل يارب المسجد يسر سعيه وكسر غصده وقال لا تحم الا الله ترجيها منه
 للمسلمين في الجهاد وغضبا لله ولدينه من طرف اخر ان رجوت
 ان يخرج من الفيروان وهي تضي وتقول اغترب معاشرا المسلمين فلم يجد
 احدا يرفع عنها فلما بلغ ابو الخطاب رضي الله عنه ما جاء بها واستفتاها
 بها نشر المسلمين ولم يجد احدا يرفع عنها فقال ابو الخطاب جيبها اليك
 يا اختاه فعند ذلك امرضا ديا بالغير ذكر اخاينا ان امرأة من اهل الفيروان
 ظلمها ورجومت وصاحت من الفيروان يا ابا الخطاب اغتبي جسد الله
 في صورتها وسمعتها ابو الخطاب من مدينة اكرابليس فقال جيبها اليك
 يا اختاه فعند ذلك امر ابو الخطاب مناديه بالغير بعسكر على طرف المدينة
 حتى اجتمع اليه من اهلها جمع كثير ثم اذابا الخطاب رضي الله عنه خرج
 بمن اجتمع معه من اهلها ويتبعه عسكر الرضوخ يرسم رضي الله
 عنه يخرج جوا في ستة هلة ذات قحط وجوع ولامد هم الله فيهم
 بالجراد باذاتوا نزل عليهم واذا ازلوا ازل معهم بلفظ ان ابا الخطاب
 رضي الله عنه لما خرج امر مناديه فنادى ايها الناس من كان له ابوان
 كبيران او واحد فليرجع ومن كانت له عروسة فليبعها فليرجع
 ومن كانت له عروس صفار فليرجع ومن اذ منكم الرجوع فليرجع بلبيل
 فلما جنهم الليل رجعت كما بقية من عسكرها فلما كانت بالقدوات امر
 خيلا تقطع رزاقه فوجد الكناس قد رجعوا فامر مناديه فنادى فامر
 مع الابر جمعوا باللبيل فلما جنم الليل رجعت كما بقية من عسكرها فلما

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اصبح ابو الخطاب ففزع خليفه ليبلغ من يجمع فوجد اثريه عسكره فزرع فامر
 مناديه ايضا ابصح الثالث فنادى فلما جنم الليل رجع من اراد الرجوع وبقي
 من لم رعيته في الجهاد وعدتهم ستة الاف فامر ابو الخطاب ان يقطع خلف
 العسكر ليبلغ ان كان رجع احد او لا فقطعوا فلم يرجع احد بعد ثلاث وقال ابو
 الخطاب اية طامني لمن مات في عز وتنا هذه بالجنة الا من كانت معه احدا
 ثلث خصال احدا قتل بنفسه اثني عشر والناثية من كان على اثر الحرام
 واثالثته من كان في يده ارض القصب وله منهن من جازا من كان على جرائق
 الحرام فليس منها وبيشهد انها ليست بامراته وبنو بالرائية واما ارض
 غيره اذا كانت في يده بالقب فليست منها ويستشهد على تركها واما من
 قتل نفسا من غير حلها فليغفر نفسه لا وليا المقتول فلنم يدهم فليدهم
 نفسه في سبيل الله فباع اليه رجل فقال قد اجتمعني في يا امير المؤمنين ج امره
 للعامة ان يتبعني من اعاش الحرام ونشر من الارض المقصورة ويعيد لا وليا
 المقتول فان لم يدهم فليدهم نفسه في سبيل الله فليقتل ابا الخطاب
 رضي الله عنه جاز على مدينة فابيس فحاصر اهلها حتى ضعفوا واعانوا له بالطاعة
 فعمل على المدينة عاملا ولما وصل ابو الخطاب رضي الله عنه الفيروان فحاصرهم
 باشد الحصار فاشاء الله ثم ان عاصما السدرا في مرض مرض شديد او كان
 من خيار اهل العسكر وهو احد الخمسة المحتلة للعلم واشتد شوكته على
 اهل الفيروان فسمع بمرضه اهل الفيروان وانه اشتد شوكته فبعث اهل
 الفيروان رجلا يبيع الشاة فسموا منها فتاة وامروا ان لا يبيعه الا اهل
 صم السدرا في قال فمضا البياع بها طاه من الفتاة الرافق وصل الى العسكر
 واشتد شوكته فاشاء الله ثم ان عاصما السدرا في مرض مرض شديد او كان
 اسم فمات وقد هرب البياع جين واعمالهم باستشهد عام رجة الله
 عليه فصار اهل المدينة اية عاصمكم السدرا في المقتول باسم ثم يقولون

كانهم يفود بسعي ذلك الموضوع رفاة الرب مضافا وامر ابو الخطاب
 مات عاصمكم بامر رب يعلم ابو الخطاب انهم قد عوه وبلغ فيه موت عاصم وبلغوا
 عظيميا فقال لا اله الا الله انهم قد عونا وغدونا يستغادهم كما فعلوا
 فجاد عنهم رحمة الله عليه وامر اهل العسكر ان ياتوا سلاخهم ويخلصوا
 ويخرجوا وقت ابل وياخة والطريق ينسب المنصرفين باصبع عسكر الى الخطاب
 خاليا ولكن اهل الغير وان انهم هم فوالهم ليلا وقلنا انهم من البربر فاجاد
 في طريقهم على اثرهم ومضا ابو الخطاب رحمة الله عليه فيمن معه البربر فاجاد
 فحس رفاة وكعز فيه برجله وذيله فاجاد اهل المدينة في طلب الى الخطاب
 رضي الله عنه واهابه فلما لقوهم وجدوهم معسكرين قترا ابو الخطاب
 ومن معه في وجوههم وهم فبهم فبهم ابو الخطاب واهابه يقتلونه حتى دخلوا
 معهم المدينة فحلت المدينة للابن الخطاب وذلك في سنة اعمامة احدى
 اربعين ومائة من التاريخ فلما استولى ابو الخطاب على المدينة استعمل
 عليها عبد الرحمن بن رستم وكان ابو الخطاب في احصاء المدينة قدم الى
 اصحابه الالهيسد وازرعوا من زرعهم وحدت بعض احبابنا ان شيئا من شيون
 الغير وان يفت ابنا له تراث له من زرعهم كانت بغرب مناخ عسكر الى الخطاب
 رضي الله عنه فقال له ايلي بنيه اذهب انظر ان كان يفي من زرعنا شيئا
 قال فخرج الغلام الى المزرعة فوجدها كما كانت لم يفسد وايمه
 شيئا فرجع الغلام الى ابيه واخبره فتعجب الناس من عدل ابو الخطاب رضي
 الله عنه وسيرته وكجاعتها عليه ليماميا مرمهم به من الحق وقال
 الشيخ لمكان معه فخرته انها تشبهون دينكم يدين ابو الخطاب
 واين مثل ابو الخطاب في عدله وفضله بلقنا ان امرائنا في خنا من مدينة
 الغير وان يفتهم ابو الهلها على يد ابو الخطاب فبخرت واحدة من مدينته
 القتلا من مدينته في ثيابهم كانهم رفود ففالت يا قتله انظر اليهم
 كانهم رفود بسعي ذلك الموضوع رفاة الرب مضافا وامر ابو الخطاب

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اهل المدينة اذ هم منهم ان يخرجوا الى قتالهم ليد فيزهم فتفقد ابو الخطاب
 القتلا بوجدهم فتبلا مسلوبا فامر ابو الخطاب مناديا في عسكره من
 اذ منكم شيئا من القتلا فليزده فلما ابين ابو الخطاب سنة دعاء يعفقه الله
 ويخلصه على اعيان الناس فامر ابو الخطاب اصطبه ان يركبوا ويخرجوا ويخلصوا
 بين يديهم فاجرامهم قال فانقطع حزام سرجه فوقع في حجب كساق
 سهما ربه فقتل سرجه ربه وقال بعضهم جنة حربه فاجده الامام فجده وقال
 انها تقروا بهن يفترا بلقنا ان ابو الخطاب رضي الله عنه حين من مهمم
 احسن فيهم السيرة فامر اهله بالانشعوا مديرا والاشعوا على جريح فقال رجل
 من اولاته من عسكر الى الخطاب فاكل من اموالهم جعلهم بقنا يفتنا ففلا ابو
 الخطاب ان فعلنا ما فعلوا فحقيق على الله ان يرضنا ويدخلنا معهم جهنم
 فنكون كما قال الله تعالى قلها دخلت امة لعنت اخسها حتى اذا دار ركط ويها
 جميعا فالت اخرهم لا ولاهم ربا هو لا اضلونا فانيهم عند اياضها من النار
 ثم ان ابو الخطاب توجه الى مدينة طرابلس وقد استعمل على الغير وان عبد
 الرحمن بن رستم رضي الله عنه ولاه على ما والاها من المديرة واستعمل
 عبد الرحمن بن رستم على كنانة رجلا منهم يقال له عفيفية ثم ان الرجل
 العهد وحدثه سرقة الثوب توجه معقب بما فعل به ابو الخطاب الى ارض
 المشرف فاذا بالبريد اذ يريد ابا جميع المصنوع فلما وصل الى بغداد
 وقف على باب سدة ابوددة له بالداخل والابا لانعا فلما كان عند راس
 القول اذ له ابو جميع ودخل عليه وخطا معه وسال عن حاجته فقال له حا
 جته ان تنفذ معي عسكر الى ناحية المغرب فامر ابو جميع بللا استعداد
 للسير الى ارض المغرب فابعد جيشا الى ناحية المغرب وجعل عليهم محمد
 ابن الاشعث الخزاعي ذكر بعض اهله ان عدت العسكر خمسون الفا
 وقال بعضهم بل سبعة فافا وجعل على كاهبه من العسكر رجلا وبن ابرالا

الاشعث وامرؤا بن يحيى لابن الاشعث فتوجه ابن الاشعث من المشرف فلهذا
 الى ابي الخطاب فلما فصل عنه عسكره من مصر اسر يبرئته الذي عسكر ابي الخطاب
 وبعث ابو الخطاب عيونته بسارت العيون فتعلم التي العيون فكل ما حدث فيها
 قدمته عيون ابن الاشعث من عسكر ابي الخطاب يسالهم عن اخبار ابي الخطاب
 قالوا انهم اع نيسر فقال لهم بل اجعلوا رايها رايها نا يا ابي اسد
 بانها ريتهم في لقاء كما انهم المرين في لقاء الطيب لوزنا صاحبهم لرجوه
 ولوسر في قطعهم وخيلهم من قناهم ليس لهم بيت مال يربون منه
 وانما معاشهم من طسبنا يبيعهم ولما وصروا لابن الاشعث من اخبار ابي
 الخطاب واحبابه رحمة الله عليهم ما وصروها له ذلك واستشار العاقل
 المأمور له بالطاعة في الرجوع فاباه مذك ذلك ولما راي ابن الاشعث تحو
 من امتراق الكلمة عمد الرجل من عسكره باعطاه هبة المساجرين جا
 عطاءهم كتبيا تون بها على لسان ابي جعبي وامرهم ابن الاشعث ان يتخروا
 عن الحكمي فاذا كانوا ان الخا اقبلوا كانه جاء وامر المشرف من عند
 ابي جعبي من بغداد فلما كان الوقت الذي امرهم فيه بالافئال الى الحكمي
 اقبلوا فابتدعهم الناس من كانوا حية الحكمي فابتدعهم من الحكمي
 الخراجي فاعطوا له كتبيا فغراها ابن الاشعث وامر الناس بالرجوع والحكمي
 لهم اذا ما جعبي وامرؤا ذلك ويقول انه قد طعم باهرنا رضا ما نحن اذ وج
 النبي مما انت فيه يرجع ابن الاشعث ذكره طابه الرجوع فلما راءه من الا
 شعث كذلك ارساله وامر به فقتل فقبل الى الناس اذا ما جعبي
 امرؤا ذلك فضع الى يمينه العسكرين ثم ان ابن الاشعث كرا ارجع
 الى المشرف فبناطايه مسيره وفرب المراحل والعيون فتعلم فاذبح
 كلالهم بغير ما اذا رغل ابن الاشعث من والنهار فاذا انتصف النهار
 نزل فاذا كان بالاعدات ارحل والعيون التي ابي الخطاب كلما وابني

الاشعث ورجع مرحلة رجعت منهم طابفة وابن الاشعث كلما ارحل من منها
 امر اخيلا فقطع الاثر من خليه ان كان بقي من عسكره من عيون ابي الخطاب
 شيئا او لا وبعين ابن الاشعث في عسكر ابي الخطاب فقيمة فلما وصلت عيون ابي
 الخطاب اليه من عسكر ابن الاشعث فبهره رجوعه وقد اجتمع على ابي الخطاب
 في نيب من سيهين العا فابتدع الناس بالرجوع الى مصر لهم ومواضع وذلك
 في زمان الحصاد فقال لهم ابو الخطاب ان العرب احباب مكر وخدع فلا تتبع قرا
 عن ملككم حتى تستغيثوا برجوع الفروع وعلته العامة فاذا لمع ابو الخطاب
 رضي الله عنه فصار كل الذي منزله وركنه فبقي قرا على ابي الخطاب وكان ذلك
 عيون ابن الاشعث مع ابي الخطاب فلما تفرقت جموده وجموعه اسرعت العيون
 السيرة التي صاحبهم فبهرت بافتراق العسكر على ابي الخطاب فحرا ابن الاشعث
 راجعا يكره امر كل طبايع يشع بهم ابو الخطاب حتى غشيت عساكره
 حيزا طرا ليس بعد رجوع ابي الخطاب الى مدينة كمر ليس معال ابو الخطاب
 الاحباب ان الاعداء قد غشيت حريمهم ولا يستغيثون افعدا ولا دفع عز عيتيه
 بهذا ما قول الحكم ان العرب احباب مكر وخدع ونكر فال بعرف ابو
 الخطاب رساله في البلدان التي وليها يستغيثهم ويستمدتهم وارسل
 الى عميد الرضوي بن رستم بدينة الفيران ان يستغيثه ويستمدده
 يستغيثهم وامر ابو الخطاب احبابه بالخروج واستار اليه بعضهم بالا فامد
 حتى ياتيه امداده من عماله ورجيته بابا عليهم وقال لا يستغيثوا الفوا
 بعد دخولهم حريم رجيتي الا ان اذ وقع على الرعية كله هم والحق باله
 قال فخرج ابو الخطاب فيمن حضر من احبابه ومن كان بغرب المدينة من نعيم
 سدة وصرارة وصرينة وصابر البربر يريدهم من الاشعث الخ ابي بلقيه
 تلو ورا وكان بينهما وبين المدينة مسيرة ثمانية ايام فيما قيل والله
 اعلم حدث فخرج واحمر احبابنا

لقد انما الخطاب لاسمع بافضل بن الاشعث اليه فخرج فيمن معه من ثيو سنة وصدارة
 وصويشة واعد السير الوازن الاشعث فوجد ابر الخطاب وقد سيقه الوالداء و
 تر اكلية وقال بن الاشعث لاهابه انزل ابو الخطاب ومن معه واستراحوا وسفروا
 حراهم واسفروا وانظم لانتقرون لعم على نبيي، والا وادنت اعدو عليهم منكم
 لكم وهذا بدأت اليهم يهين يوضع بهال له تزرعا بغرب مدينة على مسير
 اربع ايام فيما فيدوا له علم ولما وصلهم ابو الخطاب تافق انهم سمع الي
 لفاعهم والجهاد في سبيل الله والناس على بها برهم ولا فوهم وابو الخطاب
 في قلته واين الاشعث واهابيه في كثرة واستمر انقل في اهايا في الخطاب فكان
 بينهم قتلا شديدا وصار الدجال في الصعين تنهد كالحيطان ولم يبرح ابر
 الخطاب رحمة الله بقلته فزعه من المسلمين حتى استشهدوا واستشهد
 معه اربعة عشر الفا فيما ذكر بعض الروات وذو، آخر ان اتبع عشر الفا ولم
 يبلغ من عسكروه الا اليسير فتسا هفت رعيته بقتلته وهر بوا الرجال و
 لجوا الى الحصون الصغيرة والقلاع العالية بلغوا ان عيده الرحمن بن رستم
 لها وصلت رسلا الامام اليه الخطاب اليه يستغيها اسرع السير وادركها
 فقتل بالافطاب ومن معه من المسلمين يهد يهنة قابس في فتر قت عسكروه
 ومنهم من خفي حتى دخل مدينة الفيروان ولما سمع عيده الرحمن بن حبيب
 بصطاب اليه الخطاب ومن معه من المسلمين فترق عسكروه تار في مدينة
 الفيروان وطلب عيده الرحمن بن رستم فلم يجبه ولم يقدر عليه فجا زال
 عن اخباره ويتكشع عن آثاره حتى طفر به با تدر رجل من اهل المدينة من
 اهاب عيده الرحمن بن رستم الوعيد الرحمن بن حبيب ويتكشع فيده فقال ايها
 الامير اليك حادثة فوال له بن حبيب حوايك طلها معضبة الاعيد
 للرحمن بن رستم فقال له الرجل الفريدي ان لم اسلك في عيده الرحمن بن رستم
 فيمن اسلك فار فتركه له بن حبيب بلغنا ان عيده الرحمن بن رستم رضي

الله عنه قال في عيده الرحمن بن حبيب قبل ذلك وقد اراد الاستغاله في بعض امور
 المسلمين فقال عيده الرحمن بن رستم يا معشر المسلمين لا تزلوا عيده الرحمن
 امور المسلمين فاند ابليس الا ان عليه بشرق بني ادم فهد طاعه بن حبيب
 فلما فتر قت حيو دايه الخطاب وجنود بن رستم ولذا كدجل عليه بن حبيب الطاب
 حتى تشجع منه الفريدي بلغنا ان عيده الرحمن بن رستم خرج من الفيروان هو
 وابنه عيده الوهاب وعيد لهما خالين مستقيمين فتر جهوا الارض المعرب
 ولم يكن معهم الا برس واحد ومات لهم بعض الطريق بد فتره فها قد ان يقتل
 اثرهم فيقطع فيهم من يتبعهم ويتنهد في طليهم ان علم يهوت فير سهم في
 يسمر ذلك الموضع فبر الفرس وقد ضعفت قوة الشيع عيده الرحمن فصار تجله
 عيده تارة وابنه تارة فاد حصله العيد قال له عيده الوهاب اذا دركنا الهد و
 فلا تصعن اليه اذا لم يكونوا الا دون خمس مائة وكونوها فاذا عيدا العيد حصله
 عيده الوهاب فقال له العيد مثل ذلك ولما وصلوا الدجال اسروا ارج وكان
 جبلا منيعا فيبيعه عيده الرحمن وفصده والتجاليه وحداث ابو الربيع سلجان
 اني تجلب عضودته ان عيده الرحمن بن رستم كفه بسوي ارج سنون شنيها
 من مشايخ الابطاضية من طر ايلس ونسما مع بن الاشعث فخير عيده الرحمن
 واجتماع الناس عليه اقبل هجده في طليبه واخير انه في جبل منيع يقال له سوي
 ارج فقصده فوه حتى وحله فجا مصر عيده الرحمن بن رستم وحده على عسكرو
 في احصاره اياه فنافيه ان يهاهم عيده الرحمن ومن معه من المسلمين وبكر
 فده بيل والحال المكث فوخم عسكروا بن الاشعث فوقع فيه الجدي ومات
 من عسكرو كثير ورجع ابن الاشعث واهابه وقال لهم ان هوال الفوم
 في جبل منيع يقال له سوي ارج واستعالت انه لا يدخله الا دارع او
 مدح ما ترون وشار عليه بعضه بالافاضة فتصم وشار عليه آخره
 بالارخال عنهم فاخذ برأيه الدية استاروا عليه بالارخال فارتل الرمد يهت

الغبروان وقد ايسر من عهد الرحمن وعبد الرحمن واها به ودخل فيها وقضى فيها
 ابن لبيد الطنوزي ولا صديقه اطرابلس في رجب في سنة خمس واربعمائة
 مائة وصفت فيها اربع سنين وكانت ولاية الديات فكلها الخ وكان
 يرسلها جمع من الصدة ثلاث لأمير عبد الرحمن في سنة ثمان مائة وكان
 الامور والايه الكنعان ورسيد ولاية الديات من جملة من المسلمين من
 بغيت اهايا في الخبايا لما انسوا من انفسهم في حيز اطرابلس بعد اية الخطاب
 قوة وكان لهم عدة الحزم واغز انفسهم انهم يريدون الاجماع على امر ارض
 مسلمة وكان زوجها رجلا سوء ساءت سيرته اليها فاطهر والا جصاص
 لشاتها ونعم يريدون الخروج على حفيد اطرابلس وعامل اية جمع كما وصل
 اهاب اية الخطاب او مرة حتى ولوه بسمع باحتفائهم عامل الصديقه
 مدينة اطرابلس فخرج اليهم خصمائه فارس وجعل عليها عاملا
 فلما وصلت تلك الخيل قال لهم اجيبروا الكافة لأمير المؤمنين فالوا اجيبروا
 الكافة لأمير المؤمنين يعنون عمرو بن الخطاب رضي الله عنه ويريد العامل
 ابا جهمي قال فوجعت الخيل الى عامل الجند بصدقة اطرابلس واخبروه
 بالخبر ان الفوج اجابوا الكافة لأمير المؤمنين فلم يفتقد ذلك منهم ثم
 لان جميع من ينظر اليه من خيار المسلمين اجتمعوا ليلتهم تلك فاتفقوا
 على عقد الراية لاية حاتم ولاية الديات فاتفقوا على عقد الراية
 اصبحوا خرج اليهم عامل الجند بنفسه في خيل عظيمة فلما اتاهم قال
 لهم اجيبروا الكافة لأمير المؤمنين فالوا اجيبروا الكافة لأمير المؤمنين
 قال لهم اجيبروا الكافة لأمير المؤمنين اية جمع فقالوا له عليك لعنة
 الله وعلى اية كابر معك يريدون ابا جهمي وكان انكر جمع بلغب باية الدرا
 نق ثم ان عامل الجند ناصح القتال وناجزهم اياه واقتلوا الا لشديدا

بهم منهم ابو حاتم ومن معه من المسلمين واكثر البربر وهم الذين كانوا مع اية
 الخطاب حتى دخلوا مدينة اطرابلس فقتلوا منهم بشر كثير بلغنا ان ابا حاتم
 لهزمهم الله والهدى على يد يه وكان معه من عوام البربر من لم يهود النظر في امور
 الدين فخير انهم سلموا الامور المسلمين وخالصهم فيهم وعمدوا الى اسلاب
 المقتولين باقية وها وانتروا ثيابهم بفضاير حاتم رضي الله عنه في ذات
 الله ليعلمهم ذلك فقال لهم ليس من سيرة المسلمين اذا قتلوا من بض
 عليهم من اهل التوحيد وكما الله موثقتهم ان يكلموا من انهم والجنير اعلى
 جهمي ولا ان ينزعوا ثيابهم واكثر يقال لهم اذا انزعوا وكما الله المسلمين ما
 تنزع رجوع الى قتلهم وادفونهم وتذوا ثيابهم والاذان لم تردوا ما
 اخذتم من مقتلهم فلما اعتزلت اموركم وتركت ولايتكم وبريت منها
 اليكم فلما سمعوا ذلك منه اطاعوه وردوا اسلاب المقتولين وقد دخل
 ابو حاتم رضي الله عنه مدينة اطرابلس مع من يصنعهم وقاع فيها ما نشاء
 الله ثم نادى بالخروج الى اية بنية بلغنا انه خرج اليه جيش من اية بنية فبلغنا
 ابو حاتم ينعى الصربي فقاتلهم فيهم منهم الله باحسن يوم السيرة فامر
 الاتبع مدبرهم واليا على جميع ولايرخذ اسلاب المقتولين منهم وقد تقدم
 الى الناس في ذلك وكنهاهم عليه فلما قدم مدينة الغبروان حاصر اهلها سنة
 وطل على اهلها الحصار فافروا اليه بايديهم فادعوا له بالطاعة الا ما كان
 من ابن الاشعث فانه تيار الخ في دار الامارة في بنية اهايا الذين جمعهم
 فدارض المشرق فحاصره ابو حاتم سنة اخرا بعد دخوله المدينة فاجلا
 ابو حاتم من بها من بنية خذ اية الاشعث واعطاهم خيبر بصكون بها تعالاهم
 وخسنة يخلون عليها فرتهم واعطاهم خيبر بصكون بها تعالاهم
 واعطاهم واحد من اخسنة رعيها من خيبر لادهم فيعرف اولئك الاسلار
 وانصرموا الى المشرق ذكر ان السدراية العهد ود من اسر فتاها في جاء بالهسكر

من أرض المشرق من عند أبي جهم ثم على ما جعل بين الحضر على خوانه وأهل مذهبه
عدوهم وأبا دهم بأبدا عايدهم عند الوفاة الأسرار خرج معهم يريد أرضهم
المشرق فأطمع لهم أنه يريد أن يردهم الرضا زلهم ويوصلهم إلى موطنهم
بأعماهم وأخذ بهم طريقا لم يكن فيه ماء فأستعملهم عن آخرهم وهم
في عثرة وأعلم أيدخلهم في ذلك وقتلهم . هـ . بلغنا أن أبا
حاتم سمع بطوارق أفنيك من المشرق خرج من مدينة طرابلس فبلغناهم
بوضع بغال له مفهده وأس وهو على مسيرته ثمانية أيام من مدينة طرابلس
فلما وصلهم أبو حاتم صابره فاقبلوا قتلا لشدة أيدهم فخرج أسعد ومعه
أكتافهم فقتل منهم ستة عشر رجلا . بلغنا أن رجلا من أهل الحضر نكز إلى
رجل من أهل الدعوة فقال لهم الحضر يد ما تقسمون رعايكم هؤلاء أهل الحضر فقتلهم
رضي الله عنه وأرحمه ويعبره بذلك وكان صاحبنا فطنا حادفا فإياه فقال
له تفسيره مفهده أس جيبا أربعة أكدا في كل كد من أربعة آلاف رأس
ثم إن أبا حاتم لما فلتهم رجع إلى مدينة طرابلس وحسنت حاله بها .
أبى سلمة وأخا به رضي الله عنه . وبلغنا أن أبا حاتم لما تمكن بعد حيفا
الطرابلس دست لكتب بقبعة أهل المشرق ومن طراهم والحق الجين من مدينة
أهل القبر وأن الربيع جهم في شكون أبا حاتم وأخذ إلى أبا حاتم جيشا
كثيرا واستعمل عليه يزيد بن حاتم الأزد في قتل ولما انفصل يزيد بن حاتم
من مصر بسططه وسمع أبو حاتم خبره جمع أهله ومن ولعي عليه
بالغيايل من نفوسه وهزاره وحربته وأخاض البربر فجمع على الهاد
ورغم في الاستشفاه فخرج أن يزيد بن حاتم لما فده من جبر الحارليس
خرج إليه أبو حاتم ومن يتبعه من المسلمين إلى موضع بغال له جيبه
فجند فيبيلة من البربر من هوزة بغال لها مليحة يزيد بن حاتم على أبا
حاتم فسال أبو حاتم عفو أبا عليه من البربر ومن طان مع يزيد بن حاتم

فقال ليس معه خلا مليحة فقال أبو حاتم اللهم دل مليحة بيلقت جهم دعوى
أبى حاتم باستجاب الله إليهم وكذا لك كانوا من سائر البربر . بلغنا أن
يزيد بن حاتم رجلا من نفوسه بقتله عشرين مكدود الفريسي فلما التقا يزيد
أبى حاتم وأبو حاتم قتل البربر فقتلوا شديدا واستبغ القتل في أهاب أبا حاتم
فلما نظر أبو حاتم إلى أرحابه وخذ حشر فيهم القتل قال لأرحابه زهري الوافقتل
في سبيل الله . وفيه العروس وفجوري فليلا قال فتقدم أبو حاتم رضي الله عنه
حتى استشفه ومعه من أرحابه عدد كثير فداستشفه وأرحته أسعليهم
. بلغنا أن الموضع الذي كانت فيه معركتهم يستفي في كل ليلة فميس
ويجسر ضياءه من كل بعيد وقد سطع واقتد طاعدا . ذكر بعض أرحابنا
من في عصرنا هذا أنه راه وهو نور ساطع وضياء عظيم وحدث يعقوب بن
يوسف أيا حاتم إلى الطلف بابن أبي منصور أنه مر به وصافيه وقد سكن
فيما زال ذلك الموضع في أحياء من البربر بخار به يعقوب وصاحبه بيل مخلص
وقد أذاك الموضع ولما صلاه وجد مكان معركتهم في محمين من الأرض
فبسطها واستبان لهم أثر الهزاع الصغار والليل البهيم لما فيه من الضياء .
الساطع فلما خا منه دخلا في ظلمة عظيمة بالحق وأراههم وأبا النور
والضياء الساطع في الهواء والظلمة فقه من جرائبه فكارا (يد) عوان الله
تقلي جين تو سكا مكان المعركة وكان يعقوب بن يوسف رجلا شجاعا شديدا
المرقة قوي الطبيعة لا يهترأ فقيع . مخرج .
. رحمه الله . حدث غير واحد من أرحابنا أن عبد الرحمن بن رستم رضي الله
عنه والاقام في سلاطنة ستين وصانته . ذكر بعض أرحابنا أنها ولعي
على رأس اثنين وستين حسنة والله أعلم إلى الكرخين لقد وكل في ريب
وسبب ولايته أن جاعته المسلمين اتفقوا أن يتخذوا موضعها بغير فيه
مدينة تكون حرزا وحصنا للإسلام بأرسل الروا بد في الأرض فجمعوا

يدوم على تأهله وتغير جمهور المسلمين مع أهل تاهرت فقد بقت الغد بقتة على إنشاء
 معلومة أن باخذوها من غلتها وقد كانت قبل ذلك غياكل وغياض عامرة
 بالدمش والسباع والهوام وإن أخذوا فإنا أردنا عمارة هذه الأرض وأجلوا
 لها أجلا ثلاثة أيام ، بلغنا نفع روابها ومشاكل ولادها في أحوالها فآخذ
 منها فكانت لك معار غنيم فيها وزادهم بصيرة في عمارتها وأنشأها
 ثم انهم أطلقوا فيها النيران وأحرقوا النيران ما عليها من الأشجار وبقي حرجل
 تلك الأشجار ودحا وعمدا الرخيس فحسوه وبنوه وصاروا يد فبنوا تحت
 أصول تلك الأشجار بلما أجمع اليل طرقت الخنازير تلك الأشجار جوار واجمع
 نها حتى أتت على أذنها حيث شفت ربح ذلك الخيس بلما أصعرا وجدوها
 كلها مقلقة على وجوه الأرض ثم انهم عمدوا إلى مكان وأصلحوه لصلانهم
 فلما أرادوا أن يبنوها انتخبوا أربعة مطنة واقتنعوا عليها أيها يعملون
 للمسجد الجامع يودعت فر عتق على المكان الأول الذي أصلوه للصلاة في
 جينرا المسجد الجامع به فآخذوا في إنشاءها وعمارتها فعملوها ديارا و
 حضرا ثم أنصاعته المسلمين من أهل النظر منهم وجدوا في أنفسهم
 فوة وأنسرا حافة وأرادوا التولية ففكروا في عامة الفبايل فوجدوا في
 قبيلة راسا وراسيني كل يصلون للأمازة بأشتوروا فيما بينهم فقال
 بعضهم أن عبد الرحمن بن رستم العاربي رضي الله عنه وفدع عن عليه
 المسلمين الأمازة قبل تولى أيه الخطاب فاعرض عنها ودعها عنى
 نفسه ولم يردوها ولا سيما أنه ليس له قبيلة فنعته إذا تغير وتبدل
 فإذا رايتم أن تولوه أمور المسلمين فابعدوا بايق رايهم كله على تولى
 ومبايعة فبايعوه على الأقامة بكتاب الله وستة شمول الله صلى الله
 عليه وسلم وأثار الخلاء الراشد من المهتدين فقبل عبد الرحمن ما نا
 نعم واحسن السيرة في أمانته ولم ينفع عليه أحد في حكرمة ولا في خصوصه

ولم يكن في يده أن يراف . الأمازية يومئذ كلها هتمة متالفة لم يفرق بينهم
 ثابتر . بلغنا أن الولي على أهل عمان في أمانة عبد الرحمن رجل يظال بالوالد
 وأبو عبيد رحمة الله عليه جي في أمانة عبد الرحمن في ثم أن عبد
 الرحمن اتصت أخبارة إلى أهل البصرة من أهل دعوة المسلمين فبعثوا إليه
 بثلاثة أحمال ملاجلها وصلت الرسالة التي تاهرت صاروا يسئلون عن دار الأمازة
 وقد كانوا ظلموا أحوالهم فخرجوا فلما نقت لهم الدار فصدوا فخرها فإذا بها
 الاماع رضي الله عنه يرفق البيوت يهمل في السفوف والعيد فتنه ينسا وله
 الكمين بسلاوا العبد أن ياذن لهم وفذايقن العبد أن الاماع سمع كلامهم
 فغاله وخرهم فليلا ينزل على الخالك وغسل الكمين عن جسده فاذن لهم
 فدخلوا وسلموا عليه فردد لهم ووضع لهم شيئا فخر فبقت بعصر عليه
 عكة بلما أكلوه استأذنتوه أن يتنابوا عنه فاذن لهم فتنابوا ويمن
 بينهم واجمع رايهم على أنهم رضوا عنه بايقفوا أن يدعوا له المال ولم
 وصلت إلا خصال الرعي إلى حفي شاور أحمابه فيها بأشارا وعليه أن يآخذها
 فيبنيها في فغراء المسلمين والسلاح والعدة فجعل رخصه الله ذلك بعرض
 تلك الرسل بلما رجعت الرسل إلى المشرق فأخبروا أهل غنيم بعد عبد
 الرحمن وفضلته وورعه بعثوا بأموال أكثر من الأولى بلما وصلت الرعي
 الرحمن بشارا وأحمابه فغالبوا رايك . يلا مبر المومنين فلما ردوا رايها إليه
 فقال لهم أما إذ ردتهم إلىنا رايها فوليها فيبنيها فخرجوا إلى رايها فبهم
 أخرج إليها منا وقد استغفينا وفربنا بشق ذلك على الرسل وليس عليهم
 بد منكم أمانتهم يردوها إلى المشرق ويهيئوا من رايها دنة في الدين
 ورغبته في الأخرة بأفروا بأمانته وأصلوه بكتبهم ووصاياهم ثم أن تاهرت
 كانت حرة وأرضا للمسلمين وسميت بالعكسر عكس الميارك ولما
 حضرت الوفاة عبد الرحمن رضي الله عنه جعلها شورا في ستة نفر ضيع

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عمر بن الخطاب رضي الله عنه ادهم مسعود الاند لبيبة وكان رجلا واضلا وفيها
وارعاً من شيوخ المسلمين ومنع ابو قدامة يزيد بن قنينة في بيعه ورجل
يقال له عثمان بن مراد الاند لبيبة وعبد الوهاب بن عبد الرحمن رابو الهذلي
سعد وس بن عتيبة وسكر بن حاطة وصعب بن سعد مان ولما مات
عبد الرحمن بن سنان رضي الله عنه وغوله اجتمع اهل الشورى على من يولونه
امور المسلمين فنادوا بفضح البعض الا ان عاصم المسلمين حالت ابدسهم
الانثى فضع احدهما مسعود الاند لسبي والاخر عبد الوهاب رضي الله
وبعض المسلمين ارادوا تولية مسعود وبعضهم ارادوا تولية عبد الوهاب
فمكثوا الاحوال شتى يدبرون الرأي فيما بينهم ثم ان العاصم حالت المسعود
فبادروه لبيبا يهوه فقتلوا بهرب لهم واستخفوا وانتدروا عبد الوهاب
ليبا يهوه ولما سمع مسعود بتركهم لبيبا يهوه له وارادتهم مبايعته
عبد الوهاب رضي الله عنه خرج مبا در ليكون اول من يبايع عبد الوهاب هو
فكان ابو قدامة يضل اعين الناس اليه ولم تنصرف قلوب المسلمين
لديه ورواه فدا منها اراد تولية عبد الوهاب وقال هو اقرب منا
رحما من غيره واهلنا اي ان يحبه علينا لان عبد الوهاب يبيع نيت في جوابه
ان يوترهم في الامور لانه ان اختتم فباع ابو قدامة في يوم واحد وباروا
الامبا بعد عبد الوهاب للنا سبتا التي بينهم فكمعروا فيه ان يوترهم
على غيرهم ولقي قنينة انفسهم من جهته ولما اراد الناس مبايعته
عبد الوهاب رضي الله عنه تقدم مسعود الاند لبيبة لبيبا يهوه فتلهم
في يدين فدينوا واهابه فقالوا يتابعه بشرط الا يفضي امرادون حصا عنه
معلومة فقال لهم مسعود ما علمنا في امور الاصلية شرطا غير ان نجمع
بيننا كتاب الله وسنة نبيه عليا السلام واذا الصالحين فيله وترك
ابن قنينة واهابه في الشرط حين رده عليهم المسلمين فتقدم

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مسعود فبايع عبد الوهاب رضي الله عنه وبايع الناس بعد ذلك بيعة عامة
فحملوه الى دار الامة فلم يتخلف عن بيعته احد ولم يتنقم عليه في امره
احد في خطومة ولا في خصومة حتى جمع بن قنينة واهابه وانا لبيبة
مع ان كان يتنخل اسم الاياضية فقال لهم العمريه لم يجمعنا وياهم
الكلمة بول وازعموا انهم اراضية كثيرا ما يسترون مذهبيهم الوعيد الله
ابن مسعود رضي الله عنه بهم تبعة عيسى بن عمير يستذكروا مذهبهم ان نشاء الله
والرد عليهم فيما خالفوا به اهل القنينة بعد ذلك تذكر اقتران الاياضية واحدا
بواحد ويزيد على كل فرد منهم ما خالف فيه اهل القنينة ويزيد على ذلك كتابا يجمع
فيه مفا لانهم ان نشاء الله ما سبب اختلافهم في هذا الخبر غير واحد
من اهل القنينة ان عبد الوهاب رضي الله عنه لما ولا امور المسلمين وكانت
رغبته في اهل الخير واستعمال اهل العلم والبصيرة في الدين في امور المسلمين
بعد الرجال ليست لهم رغبة في الالايات مولاهم الامور ولما نظر في دينه
ابن قنينة واهابه الوما فعل وقد خالف فيه الوجبة تغيرت قلوبهم
وتنكرت صد وزهم وساءت كمنونهم وسقط في ايديهم ماله وروايت
عبد الوهاب فاختار في العلل وقلنا انما كانت ولاية عبد الوهاب على الشرط
الا يفضي امرادون جماعة معلومة في جمعنا الى ما عيب عنهم اراصة فافشروا
عند الجهال ومن ليست له بصيرة بامور الدين وصاروا يستترونهم عن طابعهم
فكثروا القيل والقال في البند ويقولون انه حادما بعض الناس علينا ولا هم
الامور دوننا ونحن اولي بالامور ممن ولاه على الناس لانه انما كانت ولايته
على ايدينا وكان ما يقولون الجهلة من الناس انه لا يجوز تولية رجل اذا كان في
جماعة المسلمين من هو اعلى منه فاختلط امرهم وتفاقم امرهم وكثر التنازع
تارة يقولون هم الذين مولوه وتارة يقولون لا تصالح ولاية رجل الا طان في جماعة
المسلمين من هو اعلى منه وتارة يقولون بل كانت ولايته على الشرط ثم ان جماعة

المسلمين اطلع امرهم مع يزيد بن عذينة واحياه ان يضعوا اوزار الرب حتى
يرسلوا اخوانهم بالمشرق ويكف بعضهم عن بعض بما جا بهم به اخذوه
فيعترا زسولني فتوجه الرسولا الى المشرق فلما وصل مصر وجدوا بها
شعيب بن المعرف وشيعته فلما خبراه بموت عبد الرحمن رضي الله عنه و
استخلاف الناس ابنه عبد الوهاب خرج ابن عذينة عليه وادعاه الشريك في
امامة عبد الوهاب وما خرج من الابل الجبل فلما سمع شعيب بن المعرف
ذلك من الرسولين الرسولين خلا بطلاقة من احبابه منهم ابو المنزول والنفقوا
على المسير الى تاهرت ثم اذ الرسولين توجهوا الى مصر فوجدوا بها ابرعهم والربيع
ابن حبيب رضي الله عنهم في جماعة من احبابنا بينهم ابو غسان محمد بن النعمان
الغسالي واخبرهم الغسالي بما قد قام فيه من ارسال احبابهم اليهم من اهل
المغرب وبموت عبد الرحمن وتولية عبد الوهاب وخرج ابن عذينة عليه
وادعاه العلل ودعاهم كتبوا خواتم من اهل المغرب وخرجوا وفيهموا
ما كتبوا فيها اليهم واجتمع من بها من المسلمين ان يرد الجواب بالاولا جهد
هم وكتبوا اليهم ^{بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم} اما بعد يا اخواننا قد بلغنا ما
كان فبلناكم وفيهنا ما كتبتمونا به من امر الشريك وليس ذلك من سمعته
المسلمين ان يجعلوا الشريك في الامامة ان لا يفي امرادون جماعة معلومة
ولا امامة صحيحة والشريك باطل بل هو في الامامة مشرك لما قام الله
حقه ولا اقيم له حد ولعلك الدود وليكملت الاحكام وظاع الحق و
الجماعة يتخذون اتفاقا على ان الامام ان قد صلبه سارق ولا يصيب
ان يفيم عليه الحد ويفضع يده حتى يحضر الجماعة ولا يجاهد الامام عدوا
ولا ينهها عن جساد الا تحضر الجماعة المعلومة والامامة صحيحة والشريك
باطل ما ذكرتم من تولية رجل في جماعة المسلمين من هو اعلم منه بذلك
جايز اذا كان في الفتاة والبطل بمنزلة حسنة وقد ذكر ابو بكر الصديق رضي

الله عنه يريدون ان يافوض منه وعليه بنا في طالب انقضى منه ومعاذنا في جيل رضي
الله عنه اعلم منه وهذا ما ليس فيه خلاف لقول رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم
اخرج زيد واقتضى علي واعلم انني باعنا اعرام معاذ بن بيل وقوله صلى
الله عليه وسلم معاذ بن بيل سيد العلماء وانه سيخبر عن ابيهم الغياض امام
العلماء ينده جرد والى الجواب بالثبات والانية عبد الوهاب وابطال الشريك وخطية
من انخل الشريك وذكر ان الامامة لا يتكلم الا يحدث في الاسلام بعد الاعذار والا
تدبر منهم والاصرار والاستحباب من اهل اللهم فيمنه يزوا من الامامة ثم ان
شعيبا جين جاز عليه الرسولا ان يعصر عزم التي تاهرت في خرج في نفر من احبابه
بغير مشورة من مشايخ مصر طمعا في الامارة وقد كان بها جماعة المسلمين
مشايخ ذوو فضل وعل وورع وقد نهاه بعضهم عن الخروج الى تاهرت وقالوا
له قد علمت انك لا تتكلم اهلها ولم يستغلوا يستغل هو واهلها كصمها
في الامارة فموا مستعجلين حتى انصاروا واحلهم فصاوا ويسرفونها سوا
وحي عنهم انهم وصلوا من مصر الى تاهرت في عشرين يوما فلما وصل شعيب
واحياء التي تاهرت دخل على الامام ولم يخف له يد من الدخول عليه فسأله في
ملم رضي الله عنه عن الامام ولي شريك الا يفي امرادون جماعة معلومة
فاجابه شعيب ان الامامة صحيحة والشريك باطل وسأله ايضا في جزوتو
لينة رجل في جماعة المسلمين من هو اعلم منه فاجابه بجزوتو ذلك ثم ان
شعيبا خرج فتوجه فزيد بن عذينة واحياه وطمعه في الامور فندم
على قتياله للامام عبد الوهاب رضي الله عنه فوارز بن عذينة واحياه على الامام
عبد الوهاب رضي الله عنه فخرج فكان ينظر اليه من التكاثر الى الضار الى جيل
له مدينة فصاوا ويجمعون ويقتلون فلذلك سموا الغويين ثم بعد ذلك
اجتمعوا بكنية بيل المدينة واظهروا التكاثر امامة عبد الوهاب فسموا
التكاثر فسموا الشيعية لا دخلهم في الاسلام والشعيب وسموا الماحدة جين

الحد واج اسماء الله لقوله تعالى **وَرُوحَ رَبِّكَ يَبْدُءُ فِي نَسْمَائِهِ سَمِجَرُونَ** ما كنوا
يعلمون وسموا النكاة لظنهم ببعه الامام بغير حدث بلغنا انه كان ايد
خلون المدينة بالجماعات فخلص بعض المسلمين الامام ازبها ثم عز ذلك
فيها ثم بلم يستقلوا به فخلصهم في خروجهم من المدينة الى الكهك والقالوا
له هذه مدينتنا وتلك منازلنا من عصبنا في خروجنا من المدينة فليخبرنا
الامام بذلك فترد فتردهم الامام ثم بعد ذلك لما راوا رايه خلون المدينية
بالسلاح فخلصهم بعض المسلمين الى الامام ان ينهاتهم عن ذلك فيها ثم عن
امساحهم السلاح فقالوا ان عصينا وانضنا فليخبرنا الامام بذلك فترد وقال
فتردهم الامام وامر اهل المدينة بامساحهم السلاح فجاب عليهم من الغدا
لهم بلغنا ان جماعة اختلوا عن عند الامام رضي الله عنه فاذا راوا امرهم
يبتعد فقالوا كيف لنا بالوصول الي قتلهم ولم ينص لهم ذلك ثم ان رايهم
قال لهم هل لكم من اريد ان تأخذوا ثابوتا ويعلو في فيه وقصدوا بالثابوت
اليه كلكم فاحصون عليه فمقتنعون من الاتفاق عليه وان يهمل في
احدكم دون غيره فاذا حضرتم الي ذلك فغزوا له لانه ان تضعه عند
احد مسراك فارتقى رايهم على ذلك فهدوا الي ثابوت فادخلوه فيه ومعه
سويقه وكان مغلف الثابوت من داخل فاقبلوا بالثابوت الى الامام عبد الوهاب
رضي الله عنه على ثيابهم الا واهم فتنارعون عليه حتى اخضعوا مفاصلهم
يتخاضرون ويضع السرايين ولما وصلوا الامام عبد الوهاب فتنخل منكلهم
وقال يا امير المؤمنين فصل بين هؤلاء الفروع واترغ الثابوت من ايديهم
جميعا حتى تصل بينهم ويزول الشر الذي بينهم فقال الفروع باجمعهم
صلى في لك يا امير المؤمنين ولا تنق باحد ان تضعه عنده الا انت تضعه
لنا عندك حتى تتفق عليه فلما الامام بينهم ذلك وخاف الشران يفع
ينفع قال اخلصوا ثابوتكم الى الموضع الذي امركم ان تضعوه فيه فقال

فلما حصلوا نظر اليهم الامام متغلبين بحمل الثابوت فاستراهم ثم از الامام
قالوا الثابوت يوجد مغلف من داخل مكان معاراده رية فيهم وكفى ادهم
ارادوا الصكر والعد فلما وضعوه خيرا من عنده مستسرين من جين فظنوا
انهم يكفرون بما ختمهم فيهم الله وكانوا الكهك مشر وخدابع وخيف النعوس
بلغنا انه انقروا مع طابعهم انه اذا ختم الامام يودن لصلاة الصبح عند
صلاة العري اذا سمعوا دونه وهم يبع فوكتهم ان يبتدروا الدار الامام
عبد الوهاب فان لم ياتوا فليعلمون ان صاحبهم لم يطع بما ختمه فلما جاء
اليه اشتغل الامام رضي الله عنه في حالته فلما فرغ منها وجع من وجع اهل
بيته وكان حادثة اذا فرغ منها ان يأخذ كتابا فيقرأ فيه فلما كانت تلك
الليلة عمد الامام رضي الله عنه الرزق مفرح بوضع على فراشه فوضع
عليه ملحفة بيضا فلما فضا حاجته من قراءة كتابه وجاءت الوقت
ان يبرز فيه اتد المصباح فاوقده فاكع عليه غطاء يستريحه وانظر
الوجانب البيت واقل على الصلاة حتى لا يسمع به ولا يراه من كاريه الثابوت
فلما هد صوت الامام عن صاحب الثابوت وكفى ان الامام قد فرغ من التا
بوت فخرج منه فصر في البيت بعينا وشعلا فلم يريا **يَا غُلَامُ**
حيه البيت فظن انه الامام فقصده ويده سيف مصكت والامام يصبر
فلما وطأ الي مرأش الامام ضرب بالسيف على الرزق فظن انه ضرب الامام وانما
اصاب الرزق مفرح فلما سمع الامام لضربه بالسيف نزع الخطا عن
المصباح واستضاء البيت بفضه الامام بالسيف وفده منه بين واخذ
والله في ثيابه ورده في ثابوته جيات الفروع متاملين منتظرين متى تذكرون
الصيحة على الامام عبد الوهاب ويودن صاحبهم فلما كان بالعد اجتمعوا
وتسايلا فيما بينهم فقال بعضهم لبعض هل سمعتم عن الامام
خبر او غصا حيد شيئا فقالوا لا فقال بعضهم لبعض امضوا الى الامام

انقاذ واثا بورتنا فنعول له فدا تعفنا عليه واصطلمنا ذال فاقبلوا الى الامام
رضي الله عنه فقالوا له اعطني لنا شيئا فدا تعفنا عليه فقال لهم الامام
امضوا الى الموضع الذي وضع فيه ثابرتقم فجدوه بمضوا حتى دخلوا في
البيت فوجدوا ثابرتقم في الموضع الذي تركوه فيه فحملوه ظموا وحلوا
الى ما منهم يوجد واحاصيهم فتبلا مفدا واضعفين فحبب الله سعيهم
والهم يهضم وبقيهم واخاب ظنهم فخرجوا من المدينة خوفا من ضياعهم
من المسلمين ثم ان شقيقا ابا المعرف تكلم الي يزيد بن قين بن واحابه فقال
لهم ما تنفرون بهم بيا ردوا الفوم واستغفروهم ولا تنتر بصوابهم فزيد
الاهام ورجعته فانما قال ذلك مخافة ان ياتي الجواب من المنسرفي فتكون
عليه الحجة ولانه علم ان الصواب ما اوفنا به والا نرجع عنه الطمعه وفيه
الامور وكان يزيد واحابه منتظري متى تكون لهم القرضه ولجودون من
اهل المدينة غرة وقد اصر الامام عبيد الوهاب رضي الله عنه المسلمين
ان يسلكوا سلاسلهم فكانوا كذلك الى ان خرج الامام عبيد الوهاب رضي الله
عنه ذات مرة الى بعض حاجاته فبادر رايه فدين واحابه اهل المدينة
واستغفروهم حين سمعوا بخروج الامام من المدينة ليدخلوها عليهم
على غيلة من اهلها فقامت الصيحة في المدينة فابتد بهم اهل المدينة
موظل مكانه صادا في ذلك اقل واخت له تكبر له راسه وقد قطع له
شق راسه وبقي الشق الاخر لم يقطع فاداة سلاسله فابتد بهم فوجد
هم على باب المدينة فدخلوا وان يدخلوها فوقف لهم اقل على بابها
ونسب احدى رجليه في الصفا فانسأ الى الفوم فصار يتبعه يد رفته
ويضربونه حتى لم يجد في رفته ما يتبع به فمرماه فعمد الى باب المدينة
با تنزعها فصار يتبع بها فتكامل اهل المدينة ويزيد بن قين بن مقابل
اولم بزعيم الوهاب رضي الله عنه على باب المدينة وعلى راسه يضقان

يضر الناس بينها وشمالا فقصده اقل رضي الله عنه وضربه على راسه
فقد رايضتين والراس ونسب السبب في عمرو باب المدينة وخزاني
فدين صريها وحسرا اقل بن عبيد الوهاب في يده الشدة بضد ذلك كله راسه
فقال له ما افرا راسك يا يزيد بن مشوم فلما نظر اليه اكله فتيلا صريها ولوا
منهم من هتفل جماعة المسلمين منهم قتلا عظميا فيها التي عسر
القتل فقتلهم فغير سوع احد الفوم صرة ياتنا عشر اليها بلقنا ان ده
القتل جرا على باب المدينة كاسيل من طرة القتل ثم ان اهل المدينة انهموا
بعدد كثير على ان يردوا الباب كما كان اول مرة فلم يقدروا عليه فقالوا اقل
اردد ما نزعنا فقال ردوا علي عبيك ايها اردته لكم ثم ان الامام رضي
الله عنه رجع من بعض حواجه فوجد على باب المدينة مظلمة عظيمه
فاخبره اهل المدينة خبر ان فدين واحابه امر بالقتل فاجمعوا ما امكن
لهم فحلى عليهم رجاء الصالح وطمعوا في العاقبة لعامة المسلمين من بقيه
احباب ابن فدين ثم شغبوا بالمعرف هرب حين انهم الفوم الى مدينة اصر
بلس ما كنهم فيه الخلاف والبراءة منه واستقبل الحجاج بذلك وانقل ذلك
الى الربيع بن حبيب رضي الله عنه وجماعة المسلمين فبروا من شغبهم و
يزيد بن فدين واحابه الذين قتلوا معه وكان على سبيلهم الامر فتاب
وكان الربيع بن حبيب رضي الله عنه يقول في جالسهم عبيد الوهاب اما ضا
تقينا واما المسلمين اجمعين وهو ليكن البراءة من شغبهم يزيد بن
فدين فقبل له كيف تنزل من شغبهم من غير حدث فقال وايه حدث اعلم
من براءة عبيد الوهاب امير المؤمنين وهذا ذلك يقول عبيد الوهاب اما ضا
وتقينا واما المسلمين اجمعين ثم ان بقية احباب يه فدين الذين لم
يصابوا يوم قتل بقيقة في افيستهم تزارات وضفاني فتمخروا حاجة على المد
بنقة فاجمعوا البرورة وكديت بسميت كديت النكار ثم ان الرسولين الذين

توجهوا نحو المشرق فذهبا إلى تاهرت وقد تقدمت في يزيد بن ميمون وأهلب
الوقعة واجتمع أهل المدينة على جواب أخوانهم من أهل المشرق باخذ الكتاب
يفروه بوجد وأبيه قتيبة ابن ميمون وأهلب وثلاث ولاية عبد الوهاب
رضي الله عنه فمكثوا بعد ذلك جينا بلغنا أن ميمون بن عبد الوهاب
مثل بليل ومزق لعمه فقطع أربا فلما أصبح وجدوه أهل المدينة على تلك
الحالة فنبأوا تاه عبد الوهاب فلما نظر إليه قال يا بني اجففت
ميك ثلاث ويل لمن مزق أخيل بكساه ويح لمن أصيب بليل وفل انقاريل
إذا المستأين السلطان فاستغصا عبد الوهاب في قتل ابنه فأتى
ابنه فجله وكفنه ودفنه ولم يد من قتلته ثم خرج ابن ميمون بن
عبد الوهاب ساعيا ولما وصل إلى النكار نادى يا ابن المهدي ودمه جرع
لوجه عبد الوهاب فأكبره الخبر واستغصا عبد الوهاب في قتل ابنه فأتى
عنه أن النكار هم الذين قتلوا ابنه فذهب إليهم جيشا وجعل عليهم
الناميون فخرج إليهم على مسيرة أيام من المدينة فصا بهم جميعين
على عدة نفهم متفكرية فصا به ففألفهم بهم مهم الله لم يقتل منهم
عددا كثيرا ففصر الناس عن تعدادهم وفألفوا إلى اسم أقل عددا من
هؤلاء المفتولين بوجد والسم هارون فحسبوا حكم اسم هارون أصيب
بوجد وأثلاث مائة هارون قتيلا فأوهز الله شر كلهم وأضعف قوتهم
وكانت هيتك الرستميين على العلم في فترته من الأصول والعقد والتفاسير
وفنون الرد على الخالفين وعلى اختلاف الناس وعلم اللغة والنحو والأعراب
والبحاثة وعلم الفقه بلغت من بعض أنه قال معاذ الله أن تكون عدة
امة لا تعلم منزلة بيت فيه الفجر بلقنات عبد الوهاب سحر ذات ليلة
مع اخته يتعلمون مسلما إلى بني فلي يصح عليهما ألا وهما يروا أن أهل
المشرق وأهل المغرب وكان في سهمهما يقدان مصباحا يجعل له عبد الوهاب

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التياب من مما منه رضي الله عنه حتى أتاه عليها حدث بعض أصحابنا زعمه الوهاب
بعث الله دينا إلى أخوانه من أهل المشرق أن يشتروا له بها الكتب فلبوا
صلحهم إلا أن اجتمعوا واتفقوا أن يشتروا بها رافا ويجعلون من أنفسهم ثمن
الحيز والأفلاج وعولة القناب فآخذوا في الشئ فبشروا له أربعين دينارا فكتب
ببعضها إليه فلما جاءته نشرها وفراها حتى تمها عن غيرها فاجمعها فقال
لعمه له ليس فيها مسئلة ليست عنده إلا مسلمين ولو سئلت عنهما لكتب
نفسهما التي تطارهما من المسائل ولما قدتهما كما ذكر في الكتاب
منها أن الأمام عبد الوهاب رضي الله عنه لما أوهز الله على يديه خليفة القنار
وأورثهم الخزي والعار فخطت الواصلية بعض الحركة وهم نوع من البربر
أكثرهم فبايد زاتة وذلك دين حسوسا ببعض "برقة في الأباضية وأرادوا
أن ينعموا بعض العرضه ببلغ الأمام ذلك باعترافهم مرة بعد مرة وقد
نشأ ذلك في الواصلية شباب حدث السن شجاع عظيم يحل لا ينفق له شيء
وهو ابن سيدهم وعميدهم وفيهم رجل منتقل للمناخنة يدب غرزة هم
وقد خرجت بينه وبين الأمام مناخنة كثيرة وكان شديد المعارضة حديده
العارضة فتكا نقت خليفة الواصلية واجتمعوا من كل نقب وجاءوا من كل أوب
والغا زاعزنا هرت وآخذوا عز جبالها وأضموا طاعة الأمام رضي الله عنه
وهم أهلب العهود باعترافهم فخرج إليهم بعساكر كثيرة فقاتلهم مرة
بعد مرة وكان أبقا المعروب للجدنة والشماعة لا يدرك أحد إلا قتله كل
بيا زاحدا الأقله ولذلك القناب يعرض عند القتال ويقال له أدم يا بني
لبما رأ الأمام رضي الله عنه ذلك فخرج بهم حديد أرسل إلى جيل فبرسمت
يستفهم أن يبعثوا له جيشا فجيأ يكون فيهم رجل عالم بفنون الرد على
الخالفين ورجل عالم بفنون التفسير ورجل عالم شجاع بكل بيل رزاقني

التيين وعدتهم لا يزيد عليهما شيئا ففرا في الركعة الاولى نصب الف، وان وج الثانية
انصعب الاخر فكلع الصبح عليه وبلغ فيهم ذلك فلما كان بالغدا اشق على احوالهم
ما جعل اكثر من اول مرة فخلبوه ان يروح كما كان اول مرة لان ذلك ارفع له وادوح
مما اتوا اليه . انهم قد رقدوا ذات ليلة اذ اتيت احكامهم من مضاميه
فبكر الى ابن يا نيس فابها يجله وكانت ليلة صغيرة ذات ربح وكثير وقرب جمع
كسوف كساسة بن يا نيس يضربها الربيع فتصون فقال ان كان لا يجد خل الخبة الامر
كان مثلك يا بن يا نيس سيسيبك فيها الوحشة بلغنا ان الامام رضي
الله عنه سمع يخبره من جيل نفوسه وافيالهم اليه وفر بهم منه حلم
عبيده فقال من يبشر في صنع بقدر نفوسه وهو حر فبان العبيد اذ اطلق
الشخص خرجوا من المدينة ينتظرون بعينها وشمالا وكان للامام عبيد اعرج
لا يستطيع النهوض مع جملة بعبيده وعهد اليه السر المدنية فلزمه في
عليه وكانت حالت العبيد كما ذكرنا في جردون كل يوم ينتظرون فذوم نفوسه
فلما كان ذات يوم رات عبيد الامام نفوسه فداقبوا قتيلا وادالى الاصابع
فتسا نفرا اليه فخيروه بقدر ومهم فخر الاعمى بعبيد فباع وصاح الي
الامام فاخبره بقدر ومهم وبشره بهم فخرج حرا لهما احواله بعد ذلك فوجدوا
قد سبغهم بالبخارة التي الامام وقالوا جاز بها الاعمى فلما وصل انهم انعموا
سبغوا الي مدينة ناهية وانهم كانوا اربعة بن واخير الامام بقدر ومهم ذلك
ركان ينتظر فذوم العسكرى فدخلوا على الامام واستغفروهم عن احوالهم
فسال كارا واحد منهم عن خصلته التي يقوم بها ويتخللها الامام فاجابته
واحد منهم بما يصلح له فامر الامام باذخالهم في دار الضيافة واجرا الضيافة
عليهم وعلف دوابهم بلغنا ان الامام اجل بعد ذلك للمعتلة اجلا قبل
قد ومهم فلما قدما فليلهم عبيد الوهاب الخروج فقال له انهو سيقون
دعا يا هير المؤمنين دي تستخرج دوابنا فانها قد منها السيرة وانعصبه !

المعتلي لموصوف بالشجاعة ولما وصلت رسال امام رضي الله عنه الى جيل
فجرو سنة استشار واعلى من يرسلونه الى الامام رضي الله عنه فابقى رايهم
جميعا ان يعفوا اليه باربعة نفرا واحد منهم مهدي والاخر ابوب الزهبا سر و
الثلاث همدين يا نيس والرابع لم يلقف اسمه وقد قيل ان اسمه ابا
محمد جارس اليعامل عبيد الوهاب على جيل نفوسه فلما اتاهم رسول العالم
توجهوا نحوه فقال لهم ان امير المؤمنين اخراج اليهم في امور وانا مبعوث
اليكم لانا على ههينة السعي . بلغنا ان انفع تسليما فيهم ايمنهم فقال لهم
مهدي اما انا فلا يلقيني فخالقه في مناصرة الا ان ركنت في ديني الله فقال لهم
ابن يا نيس اما انا فقد اخذت تقسمي الف، ان كله عن الثقات وعلمته
عنهم الا جردون واحد واذ اضطرت احد فخر جافال باخذ الاربعة
في ههينة السعي فخرجوا من جيل نفوسه متوجهين اليه تاخرت فلما انصرفوا
من الجبل كلهم هم محمد بن يا نيس ان يدعوه ان يكون خادما لهم وادبروا عليه
والج في الطيب فاجابوه الذي اذ . فاذا ارادوا ان يخلعوا فيهم وتزلوا في ايل فبعدهم
محمد بن يا نيس الى خيلهم وعلوها فياخذ في صنع كفاهم فاذ اظهروا
وناموا الفيل على الصلاة راعها وساجدا حتى يطلع عليه الف وكان طاب
نهاره فادها اليه فكان ذلك دابة وادهم فلما راوه متعديا على ذلك استغفروا
عليه وشق عليهم ذلك وطلبوه ان يرفق بفسده ولا يجعلها فوق كفا تنفرو
اذ يترك بعض الذي يهل في السعي ويأخذ عفوة بالليل والياهم وعزوا عليه
ان يترك والاظلموا من قديمهم غيرهم فلما راوا جدهم وعزهم وخاف
ان يصنعوا له خد منهم وقد هم عنبو فقال لهم انا اقبل ما اردت فخر والاخي
على شرط ان تدعوني لاركن ركعتين لا ازيد عليهما بعد شيئا فبشر الله
فلما سمعوا منه ذلك كانت انفسهم بذلك وسرعيم وكفروا انهم اصابوا
حاجتهم فلما كانت الليلة المفيلة وقد خرج من خد منهم فامر اله الركعتين

اسمير بلغنا ان الامام رضي الله عنه دخل ذات مرة بسالهم فقال له مهدي
 امانا يا امير المؤمنين كعبتك امرنا كخرة ان شاء الله اليوم فقال له مهدي بن
 يانيس امانا يا امير المؤمنين طعنتك فنزل القياس من شاء الله فقال الامام
 لهدي انه جاريه وبينه هذا القبي المعتزلي اعتزل للمناصرة وجوه منها
 اربع ان اعضاها عليك فقال له مهدي اجل يا امير المؤمنين فال بساط الامام
 الحديث معراج ابنه وبين المعتزلي من الكلام حتى انه واذا راع المعتزلي عن
 الوجه وحاد الجواب فقال مهدي للامام هانفا ذهب يا امير المؤمنين ذهب
 لك بالحنة وحاد عن الحجة حتى اطلع الامام على انوارها على جميع ما ليس فيه
 المعتزلي عليه وموضح سرفله فيه السؤال المعتزلي وحيده بينها عن الجواب
 بلغنا ان المهدي في ذلك كانت خربت خرجت من عنده هاربة فقبض عنهم
 ولم يدروا اين توجه فلما جئ عليهم اليك فرب عشاهاهم انتكروه حتى اسروا
 منه اعداء حاجتهم وافضلوا له عشاها فكانوا اذا قيل اليهم مهدي
 بغالوا له ابن تقيست ومزايحت وفدي وعشاها فقال لهم انه قد ردت
 اليوم تسعين علما من اهل الخلاف في غيبته عنكم قال فتقدم الي عشاهاه فطردوا
 عجبنا عجبنا لعدايتهم وكشف عنه بطارياكل منه فلما كان ان يشبع قال
 لاهلها كان عشاهاكم الليلة لم يخن ولم يجب وقد وجدت فيه كصم
 العجيني فقال بعضهم واهلك انما صدقت عجبنا عجبنا قال فيستورا
 جدد العجيني هو الذي صادف قال لهم مهدي حمدة الله على ثلاثة اما
 واحدة اذ قدم الي طعام ما يلبي ايه طعام كان يا في افض منه حاجته
 والثانية لظلاله اذ اخذت غفوة من الليل اجتربت بها والابالي به بعد
 ذلك والثالثة لست اقوف عشاها على نفسي ان يظلمني في الحجة الا ان
 رطقت في دبر الله ثم ان الامام بعث الي رئيس المعتزلة وسيدهم يانه
 يخرج سبعون اليه في اليوم العلاء وضرب لهم اجلا فلما كان ذلك اليوم

وقد سالت كثر المعتزلة وتنفذت استراحهم اسماهم عما ذابنجلهم
 من نفوسه وكانوا في عشاء فامر الامام رعيته الخروج الى الرابية وحضور من
 ضرة المعتزلة فقال له ايوب بن العباس يا امير المؤمنين في ربي انتقم السعي
 بلو امرنا امير المؤمنين بعن اركبه فامر الامام رضي الله عنه ان يذخر
 دارالاداب فيما خذ منه في سابعه به دخل فاذ انكر الي في سراحه هيبته
 باخذه ناصيته فبذره جبهة فتفزع رجلاه وكاد ان تسفك على راسه بين
 يديه فكان ذلك دابة حتى اى على اخرها ولم يعجبه منها شيه فقال ايوب
 للامام رضي الله عنه اجمع علي يا امير المؤمنين في سبي فانه عهدي به احسن
 من غيره فامر الامام رضي الله عنه ان يبي سبه فلما جدد في سبه جبهة بقدر
 ما يقوا عليه فيبلغ البرس راسه فيبلغ في انهيروا ولم يقدر على شئ فقام ايوب
 برسه فوجد به الحفا وامر باحراق الرجل وتحنينه فاتي به فجعله في بيت
 موضعه فيها فادخل في سبه في البيت فجعل له ذلك ثلاثة ايام فلما كان بعد
 ثلاثة اسر الامام بالخرج فخرجوا بالثقا العسكران والناس ينتظرون الى ايوب بن
 العباس فيتخرجون منه لما يسمعون من شجاعته وفدته الا انه اللفا شجاعا
 واعتذر الامام رضي الله عنه الى المعتزلة ودعاهم الى ترك ما به كملوا فاعذر
 اليهم بالحنة واما الامنا صيته فسالوا الضاحكة ثم ان الامام رضي الله عنه
 امر بالصعوب مصعب والواصلية فدصبت صعوبها فخرج مهدي الى الضاحكة
 بين الصعوب ومن معه من اهلها وجماعة المسلمين فخرج معهم الامام
 بوجه اهلها وخرج القبي الضاحكة من المعتزلة ووجوه المعتزلة معه وقال
 مهدي لهدي بن يانيس اخرج انت الية فناكره فقال بن يانيس بل اخرج
 ليه انت ولست باعلم منه ولا في عروقت الذي في من قبل يانيس
 قال فخرج مهدي فتقدم الي المعتزلي وقد كان قبل ذلك اسلمته نفسا
 وكنت به الكفون فارسل الي مهدي في سمرقان اهلها يقول له انه اخذ

ما شرفه وعلية اريد ان يستقر علي وان غلبت مستقرت عليك وليس فيما احده به
 لمن الزيادة على صاحبه فانفق مهدي مع اهلها انه اذا غلب المعتزلي ان
 علامته عليه ان يبرز ثنا شيته غراسه يفضها تحت ركبته ثم انهما خيا
 بينهما وجوه من المناظرة والناس يعلمون ما يقولون بلع يعلع منهم احد
 على صاحبه ثم انهما دخلا في فنون العلم فجاء ذلك عن حضرها غير
 ان الامام يعلم ما يقولون حتى صار كلاهما عند عامته من حضرها كالصنف
 بين الخجين عند الامام وعند غيره بلها كانا وشك ان غلبه مهدي فلما
 غلبه مهدي اخذ الشا نشية فنزها من راسه وجعلها تحت ركبته وكان
 ذلك اماره بينه وبين اهلها اذا غلب المعتزلي وكبر اهلها مهدي لغلبة
 مهدي له فلما نظر اليه المعتزلي وما فعل به فلان له عدوتيه بامهدي
 بلها فترقا من المناظرة وقد ابلغ مهدي في حج الهني المعروب بالثجوا غة
 من المعتزلة يطلب المبارزة فاخذ ابيوب بن العباس في هيشة الخرج اليه
 فجند يرسه حتى استوى بين الصعين واراد ركوبه حيث يراه المير بغان كالا
 هما يتقيا هل ركوبه مضك منه عامته المير يقيني وارادته اعينهم فقال
 ابو العتي الشجاع من المعتزلة هيهات الان جاء من يقتل ابيك اولاً ترزق
 سه حين ركبته كيع ادلا ولا يبطل المير ذلك الاقتب العارسة الحادق
 فخرج المير العتي بمبارزة فاقفلا مليا وتظاريا قليلا فحمل عليه ابيوب فقتله
 ذكر بعض اهلها انه طعنه فسلحه في رعه ولما رات المعتزلة راسها
 وعصيدها وبأرسلها اليه يحس عنيها صرعا ولما منهز مني بعد ما
 حما الوكيس واشتد الحرب واستفخر القتل في المعتزلة وكان ابلع بن
 الامام يضرب عن ناجية وابوب عن ناجية اخرى وكان سيح ابيوب ليس له
 الاحد واحد وفيل هذا اشتريه محايي المعنف ليس له حد من ناجية
 واحد له اذ اعيا جعله على عاتقه بلما امعن اهل العسكر في قتل

واحدية والنفس وحقت الحرب وازارها ولم يكد يعلت من المعتزلة الا الميسر
 وبار المسلمون بعد من ماصابه ابلع بن عبد الوهاب رضي الله عنه وطا طاب
 ابيوب بن العباس يوجد والاحدهم اكثر قتلا يقتل واحد وذو والذوالج
 ذكر بعض اهلها ان احدهم يضرب على ناجية واحدة والاخر يضرب عن نا
 حيتير والذوالج ابلع ايه هو منهما بلعنا ان المعتزلة حين انهم صرا والمسلمون
 في سافلتهم ان ابيوب بن العباس نكض الي شيه واقف هيشة رجل في حوصلة
 العسكر ونفع الهجاج فجله انه رجل جربه بالسيف يمين ضرب وحس في
 يده حين ضرب شدة فلما رجع قال لاهلها ضربت شيئا فويا ولم ادر ما
 هو فتصهوا في القتلا وجدوه عمودا فذا بها بلها مسورة بايديهم ورفع
 مضرته ابيوب له بالسيف فطار نصعين ثم بعد ذلك بيومين ارسلت
 المعتزلة ابيوب بن العباس بعد ما فعل فيهم الا فاعيل فاراد الميسر
 اليهم فصفوه عامته المسلمين من ذلك وابالهم الميسر واذا فاهم
 من الغدر ولم يشتغل بهم فلما فسار ابيوب بن العباس حتى وصل الي بعض احيا
 بهم ييممه بائند وبعض اهل الحى فاتزلوه في حص بر جوايه فلما خضع
 اليه فربوا اليه عشاه وهي فصة كيفة عليها شاه لحم ووكهمن لبغ فزال
 فجلل الفصة كلها وانتفا عكاشة الشاة عظما عكاشة حتى اتى على اخوها
 وشرب الوكب كله من لبن ولم يعضل شيئا ثم انه عمد الي الطريق الاوسط
 من القحى فانكأ عليه باخه في فزاة الفزان حتى اصبح وصلى صلاة الصبح بوضوء
 العشاء الا انه لم ينتفض عليه الوضوء بلها طلقت التمس امرهم ابيوب
 ان يقع يوا اليه في سه وقد انفقوا ان يصدروه ولما ركب نكلم منكلهم
 فقال يا ابيوب ان قتيلا الحى ارادوا ان تلعبهم على في سك فقال له ابيوب
 اجل ثم ان قتيلا الحى ركبوا خيلهم واخذوا فضايا يترامون بها وكان
 يبعم رجلا ذو فجة وشجاعة فجلل لهم بعد ابيوب ولما عيهم ابيوب قليلا ولم

يشعر بالترقب الا والربيل خلعه قد شدد عليه بالروح فتقابل عنه يوب حين علم به
 طمأرا اذ ان يغير به اتقا يوب ضربته فشد عليه ايوب فقتل منهم ثمانية ثم
 حصل مرة اخرى فقتل منهم ثمانية وصاح الي النساء الحي فقال هل يطعنكم
 ام ازيد من فطلق له يلقي فتوجه ايوب بن العباس بلقنا انه جازر باربع
 جد فيه سبعا ولبوة وانشبوا لهم فشد عليهم بالسيف ففكح ارجلهم
 يعني ارجل الاسد وارجل اللبوة وتركها لحيوان ويزحجان بخارجيه من
 احياء البرير فناديا اهل الحج من ارضك اللع فليصيح الزوالاديه عند الله
 الاسد رقة فاقدر اهل الحج الى الراحه في يوجد واقيه سبعا ولبوة جيطون
 معهما انشبا لهما وفي باطل المكروه كعق باطل ذكر بعض اصحابنا ان
 مهدي كان مشتغلا بالامر الاخر كثيرا تاركا للدنيا وكان ابن خالته م
 مشتغلا بالدين ولم يعرض عن الاخره بلعنا ان الامام اختص عند امهده
 وابن خالته بناهوت فقال ابن خالته يا امير المؤمنين ان هذا ابريد مهدي
 ضيع ديناه حتى اذا يضربنا خرته فقال له مهدي يا امير المؤمنين ان ابن
 خالتي هذا قد اشتغل بدينه حتى طأه لك ان يضربنا خرته فلم يرد
 له الامام جوابا فلما توجه الامام رضي الله عنه الرجل بفوسنة فاخذ
 المظردات موق بين منازل نفوسه ففصد الراد مهدي بوجهه ادم
 عابد ليس له رغبة في الدنيا ولا الهمة وقد اضرب باللعام رضي الله عنه المظ
 ولم يجب عنه مهدي ما ينيه عنه الضرر ثم ان ابن خالته مهدي قال له مهدي
 دعم يكوننا عنديه وهو انفع لامير المؤمنين واحسن قال مجي الامام فتر
 جهك الى دارك ومعه مهدي فلما وصل الى الدار يوجد هادار متزويج
 نفقة فداستلكت عليه الدنيا فدخل صاحب الدار الى الفخز فاستخرج
 لهم ثيابا جديدة لم يتلها المظرو لم يلبها واكساهم اياها وروى عنهم
 برانشا وحميا حسنا وامر بالكهام ففرقت ووسع عليهم الخير واوفد لهم

البريران وقال الامام عليك الجنة طمهدي ورد لهما جواب فاصفتهما بتاقر
 بلقنا ان مهدي خطب امرأة جميل نفوسه فمضت المرأة الى الشيخ من شيوخ
 نفوسه مستشير في امرها فقال لها الشيخ ان مهدي رجل له عيادة ووزع
 ورغبة في الاخرة وهو من اهل الصلاح له تلمت في فدا دينه لها سد موفى سحر
 فدا نهديت وانهدمت جسورها لا يقدرك على سدها واصلاحها الا فيسلي
 من الناس فان زوجته فاختن انها لا يسد الا بتراب تغلبه على راسك في دقت
 المرأة وتزوجها مهدي ومثت الشيخ زمانا ثم اتاها راير في مفرها يوجد
 ها ليست فيه فسال عنها فاخبر بموضعهما فتوجه فورها يوجد ها تنقل
 التراب على راسها لتلتمه فتذكر قوله لها
 وحدث غير واحد من هذا ان الامام عبد الوهاب رضي الله
 عنه اراد السير الى الحج فاخته في هيئة السفر بعضا حتى وصل الى جبل دمر مع
 زوجته بجارها واستعمل عليه رجلا يقال له مدراو والامام بها مصلا بموضع
 يقال له ثلاث وفي موضع المصلا بلاطة يتبع عليها الامام رضي الله عنه
 كقعدة فيستوي راسه مع راس البلاطة بهي اليمو تبلغ للواقع الى
 الصدر ثم توجه الى جبل نفوسه وقد عزع على السير الى الحج واجتمع
 عليه جموع نفوسه فاجبرهم بمراة لتفسير الحج فقالوا له يا امير
 المؤمنين كسنا فدعك فاخته عليك من المسودة ان ياخذوك وييسروك
 فتعطل امور المسلمين وددو الله فلو اصننا ان يقتلوك ونولي بعدك رجلا
 من المسلمين يا ما ليتنا ولها ان ذاك علينا من ان تعطل دود الله واحكامه
 قال وارسل الامام رضي الله عنه وكان انهدي في ذلك انصر في البخل
 والعلم والورع ابر عمر والربيع بن ابيي رضي الله عنه وابن عباد ولما و
 صلت الغتب الى المشرق الى الربيع وابن عباد فاجاب الربيع بضم كان
 ملك في الهنا في امور المسلمين وتفضل ما فاتهم وخاب نفسه من

الهلل مودة ان يبعث نجه وهي جبي وفلان بن عباد من كان على هذه النعمة المذكورة
من الغنا في امور المسلمين وليس عليه حج الا ان كان الطريق من الشروك ان يبعث
يجب بها الحج على من استطاعه وصحت الاطاع رضي الله عنه منتظر ان يرسله
ان يبعث مولا عليه من ارض المشرق فلما قدمت الرسالة بخراب مسئلة اخذ يقول
الربيع رضي الله عنه جارس بلال لم يبع به عليه وصحت في جبل نفوسة في تلك
المره فيما بلغنا سبع سنين يتعلمون مسابيل الصلاة وفيها منها ابوابا
لم يذكروها ثم ان الامام حين ارسل رسوله الى المشرق وتوجه بهن لحما عه
من الناس من اهل جيز الحارليس وجبل نفوسة وعامة من جبالهم من البربر
وغيرهم يريد احصار مدينة اطرابلس فلما وصل الى مدينة حاصرها فمكت
عليها زماما حاصرها وكان بينه وبين اهل المدينة قتال شديدا وبه اس
ستشهد مهدي بلغنا انه لما قتلوه فظهر له راسه فاذا قال انه هزم
المسلمون ان فبض وجهه ونقيس واذا قالوا انه انهزفت المسودة ان
تشرح وجهه وتبسم ثم ان الامام رضي الله عنه اذا اراد ان يتجاوز عركيد
العدو حج سرهم فكان ينفق محل بينا جوا معه ثم يخرج سرهم ايضا
فيكون كذا حايه حتى يلقى الاهر ووزيره من وزراء ابن عمران فيقال
لهم ارفعوا الاحاصر المدينة برجا واحد ثم توجه راجعا الى جبل نفوسة
وقد ايسر من فتح المدينة فمكت في الجبل جينا وكان الامام اعطى من العلم
والعلم والاحتفال والصبر والعناء امور المسلمين بلغنا انه اختص اليه
رجلان يجبل نفوسة فاستددا المد على الجواب واقنع واما من رد الجواب
وقال انفسوسي ما يقول هذا الحضري يريد الامام رضي الله عنه فقال الامام
لجسليه هل ها هنا بن مغلطير فالوا لا قال الامام بالخصمين الاجل عدا فلما
كان الغدا استمسك الصديعي بالمد على عليه فامتنع ايضا من رد الجواب
كما فعل ول مرة فغدا لم الامام لجسايه هل ها هنا بن مغلطير فالوا لا

قال الاجل عدا فلما كان الغدا الثالث فخذ لك قال لم الامام الاجل غدا فلما
كان الربيع الرابع حضر الخصمان واستمسك الهديعي بالمد على عليه ج
ستر دده الامام الجواب فامتنع وقال ماذا يقول هذا الحضري وقال الامام
لجسليه هل ها هنا بن مغلطير وكان بن مغلطير فاعدا مستغنيا ثانيا به
لم يتم الامام قوله الا وثب ابن مغلطير على الرجل وبركبه بركته والرجل
يصيح ويقول غتني ادر كنيته يا امير المؤمنين فامر الامام بتركه واستردده
الجواب بوجه وحكم بينهما ولم يحضر بخول سخا فند
حدث لمخير واحد من اهلنا ان الامام رضي الله عنه لما اراد
التولية التي اهرت اجتمع عليه جوامع اهل اطرابلس وطلمونه ان يولي
عليهم رجلا فاذا الامام رضي الله عنه وزيره السع بن عبد الاعلا رضي
الله عنه وطلمونه اليه لما روه من محبة الامام له واثباته له واحسن
اثنا به عليه وهما ابن اطا منهم ايه الخطاب رضي الله عنه قبل ذلك فلما
علم الامام عبد الوهاب مرادهم في السع كرهه معارفته واراد مرار فنه قال
يا معشر المسلمين انكم قد علمتم ان السع وزيره واجب الناس الي و
انهمم الي في ولم ارد معارفته فاذا اردتم ان استعمله عليكم ما يه قد
انتمم على نقيس واستعمله واعدكم الامام رضي الله عنه ثم توجه يريد
تأمرت واسمع عامل على جيز اطرابلس فادسن بينهم السيرة وعدا بينهم
حكمه وذلك حاله واصلحهم مع ابا مامنه عبد الوهاب وناهما له في رعيته
ارضا عنه فلما حضرت الوفا استمع اجتمع عليه وجوه اهلها به وقد استعمل
في اطرابلس واهلها عمارا كثيرة تحتة وظالمه او صاها واما بنا بامر
برصك الله يا نا مطيعك في حياتك وبعد وفاتك فانك لن تالون رشد ابرار
الله علينا وعن الامام خير افعالهم السمع او يصيح بتفوا الله والاتباع لما
امرهم به والا تنته عما زجرهم عنه وكما عدا اما مطم عبد الوهاب وتنا

وتأبده ما دام مستقيما على الحق الذي عليه سلككم وجهاد من خالفكم منكم
رحمة الله عليه ولما توبوا السمع وجهاد الله يبلغ في الناس مونة ميلها عظمها
وخلع ولده يقال له خلع وقد بلغ في الناس حب السمع غاية عظيمة و
حسنة سيرته وعظم درجته وابتصفت العامة من الناس معز ليس له
بصيرة بلصور الدين ولا علم بأمور المسلمين ان يولوا على انفسهم خلع بن
السمع وكفوا ان ذلك وفي الامير المومنين رضي الله عنه من يهلكهم جرد
ذلك عليهم من له علم في الدين وبصيرة فقال لهم ليس ينبغي لكم
ان تستفروا امامكم المنيق من اموركم وقال بعضهم نولوه على انفسنا
فان رضي بذلك امير المومنين والاعلنا عن انفسنا وانا لهم من ذلك
اهل الصلاح منهم ابو الهيثب اسما عيل بن درار الغداهي وابو الحسن ايوب
عامل الامام رضي الله عنه على جبل بقرنة وجوه من بخر ليهم من اهل
دعوة المسلمين وابتد العامة الا ان يولوه على انفسهم فلوله بعضهم
كتابا الى الامام رضي الله عنه بتنا هت بوفات عامله السمع رضي الله عنه
باستخلاصهم خلعيا فقالوا له ان رضيا امير المومنين بهوكلنا والا نتركه
وعزلناه عزنا مورنا ولما وصلت الى الامام رضي الله عنه كتب اهل الطرابلس
بوفات عامله السمع وتوليت بعض الناس ابنه خلعيا واداهم الخبر ذلك
عليهم كتب الامام اليهم الامام رضي الله عنه كتاب جلولهم

من امير المؤمنين عبد الوهاب الوجيه عن المسلمين جميعا الطرابلس

اما بعد ويا امير المؤمنين عبد الوهاب الوجيه عن المسلمين جميعا الطرابلس
عنه وقد بلغني ما كنتهويخيه من وفات السمع واستخلاف بعض الناس
خلع ورد اهل الخبر ذلك فان من ولا خلع بغير رضا امامه يفد اخل
سيره المسلمين ومن ايا من توليته فقد اصاب فاذا اناكم كتابا في هذا
يلتزم طاعا مل استعمل منكم السمع على عمالته اتية ولي عليها الاخلاف

ان السمع حتى ياتيه امر به وتوبوا الى ربي وراجع التوبة عليكم فاعلمون ولها
وصل كتاب الامام الى اهل الطرابلس اجتمع اهلها عليه ففروا واصابوا فيه فخطبة
من ولا خلعيا وتصويب من عرف عن توليته وامر الامام ان يرجع كل عامل الى عطائه
الاخلاف بن السمع فكتبوا الى الامام رضي الله عنه فطلبوه ان يجوز لهم تأييد
ما فعلوا من توليتهم خلع وكتب الامام اليهم كتابا بان ما سالتهم من
ذلك لم يسعني فيما بيني وبين ربي ولو وسعني ذلك لفعلته لكم وان توبوا
من فعلهم ذلك فارسل الامام كتابا بغيره ييه بامره بغير الله والاعتراف
لامر المسلمين والحب عنها ورجع على من صدقات ماله ورجع عليه
اخذها حتى يعتزل امور المسلمين ثم ان الامام رضي الله عنه اختلفه في
النظر لامر المسلمين بقاءه الاجتهاد وارسل الكتاب الى الخاصة من جهة
عند المسلمين الذين كانوا اهل الطرابلس وكتابا اخر ييه استعمال خلع وامر
هم ان يرفع اليه الكتاب الاول الذي ييه عزرا خلع له فان فراه فاعتزل عن
امور المسلمين وحب عنها والطاع امامه ولم تكن له رغبة في الامور اذ يدعها
له الكتاب الذي ييه توليته واستعماله بان اعطوه الكتاب الذي ييه عزله
وابا من الاعتزال ان يغير كونه في عييه وزيقه حتى يحكم الله وهو خير الحاكمين ولما
وصلت كتب الامام رضي الله عنه الى اهل الطرابلس دعيوا الخلع الذي فيه
عزله ولما فراه وعرف حاقبه اعتروا با واستبكر واما من الاعتزال وقمادي
على توليته الجهال فبكره المسلمون في عييه وزيقه حتى يحكم الله وهو
خير الحاكمين واما الذي ولوه لما وصلهم كتاب الامام رضي الله عنه في
عليهم بهوكلهم والافاقمة عليه وانما لا يسلحهم ان يجوز لهما ما فعلوه و
ينهاهم ان يدعوا اليه صدقة امورهم فلم يفتعهم ذلك ولم يرضوا
به فاجتمعوا وارسلوا كتابا الى المشرف اليه في سعيان محبوب في الرحيل
وهو اذ ذاك راس اهل الدعوة والمصدق في اهل المشرف بعد انفضال طيبة

الريعم بن حبيب واپي عسكان مله بن العهر ، واپي الصهاج واپي الوب واپي بلها
وصل الغتاب الياي سعيان بن الرجيل رضي الله عنه كتب اليهم جواب كتابهم
يخطية من لا خلفا وتصيب من لم يولوه وامرهم بانواع امامهم عبد الرحمان
رضي الله عنه فلما وصل جواب محبوب اليهم ترجمه ولم يستعملوا به حتى
لم يواضعهم طاجاب احد واپي العلل ورموا ان عبد الوهاب ليس بامامهم
من غير حدث ولا بدعه ورموا ان امامهم خلف بعد سواهم للامام اذ يجوز
لهم ما فعلوا به توليته ورموا ان الحوزات صنفطعة لعبد الوهاب وانه
في حوزة وهم في حوزة اخر اولم يثنى بيننا وبينهم مساهل الا الاقرار بـ
ما صحت عبد الوهاب رضي الله عنه وسند في قولهم والرد عليهم في كتاب
افتراق الاباضية

رضوانه وطارقته خلف الخبيث بن الطيب وذكر عامة اهلنا ان عامل عنده
الوهاب رضي الله عنه ابو الحسريوب اذ ركنه منيته جماعات وهو احد
الرجال الذين تكروا على خلف ماضع فارسلت نفوسه الى الامام رضي الله
عنه فغيره وبقيت عاملهم وان يستعمل عليهم عاملا فارسل الامام اليهم
ان يختاروا افضلهم ووالاهم الامور المسلمين ويسمونه له ليستعمله
عليهم فرجع الامام لانه لا يصلح لهذا الامر احد الا ابو عبيدة عند الحميم
رجل من الجاور فارسل اليهم الامام رضي الله عنه ان يولوه على انفسهم
بامره ورايه باجمعت جموع نفوسه من جين بلغتهم وصية الامام وامره
لهم فارسلوا الى الامام ابي عبيدة فقالوا له ان امير المسلمين يا مريد
توليته على انفسنا واستعملناك علينا ان يقبض فينا بكتاب الله وسنة
نبيه عليه السلام وانكار الصالحين فلما سمع ذلك ابو عبيدة منهم قال
انا ضعيف انا ضعيف لست افكر على الفياح بامور المسلمين فارسلت
نفوسه الى الامام تارة اخرى واخبروه بقوله انا ضعيف انا ضعيف فارسل

اليهم الامام كتابا رضي الله عنه بما مرهم باستعماله ولحق لهم باليه بالبربرية
وبرك بر ما خضرته واختر بالبربرية وان بالخشية لافدا امور المسلمين لا ارجلا
يقول انا ضعيف انا ضعيف وكتب الامام الياي عبيدة يا مريد باله خول في امور
المسلمين ويظهر له ان كتبت ضعيفا في الدين فادخل في امور المسلمين فهو
الله مدتك وان كتبت ضعيفا في العلم فعليك يا مريد خريا، يكثر التوكتية وان
كتبت ضعيفا في المال فبيت مال المسلمين تفتيك فلما ورد على نفوسه كتاب
الامام رضي الله عنه واجتمعوا فارسلوا الياي عبيدة فقالوا له لا يستعمل
الا اذ خول في امور المسلمين وطاعة امامك فقال لهم امهلوني حتى استشير
عجورا جم ابو عبيدة فتوجهوا الى عجوز مع وفه بالعلم والادب والورع فالتاها
فقال لها ان امير المؤمنين بعث اليي يريد استعماله على الجبل فماذا تريين
وماذا تستشيرين به علي فقلت له هات في جهاعة نفوسه فهو ابط منك
واخرج فقال لها ما في امور الرجال فلا فقات فادخلنا في امور المسلمين لئلا
يبس الله عظامك في جمع قال فاننا ابو عبيدة التي جهاعة نفوسه فانع لهم
باله خول في امور المسلمين فبرلوه عن انفسهم فقال بعضهم لبعض امضوا بنا
لتزور فاني احسن من عما يصن فلما ولي ابو عبيدة احسن السيرة في جميع
اموره واما ابو زكريا الذي ذكرنا فقد بلغنا عنه من الورع والفضل وبلغنا
ان رجلا منا هابه من اهل المشرف بيزارة اهل دعوته فاختر بالجيل فنصبهم
اهله ونا ملهم توجة الى الامام بناهت فلما وصلها تصبج اهلها وقرتهم
وسالوه اهلنا هت عن الجبل نفوسه فقال الجبل هو ابو زكريا، وابور زكريا،
هو الجبل واما ابو داس وهو مثل العزال نعتي بنسب واما ابو العباس فجع
في القنا فلما رجع من تاهت الواجيل سالوه نفوسه عن اهل تاهت فقال لهم ليس
بها الا الامام وزيه بمر عبد الوهاب رضي الله عنه وزيه مرون عمران
بلغنا ان ابو داس اشتغل في امر اخيه حتى ضيع امر دنياه وكان فقير

ابو عبيدة وامرهم بنهب الاموال وقتل الانبياء ما قدروا عليه من الجساد ثم
ان خلبا مكنت بعد ذلك حول ستة وقد اجتمع عليه عدد كثير خرج معسكر ابي زيد
ابا عبيدة ومن معه من المسلمين وامر ابو عبيدة الاحابه بالفرج فخرجوا فمضوا
بعيد اعز ابل وليس معه من الناس الا القليل ولا اكلهم اهل بصائر يهوتون على
ما بصروا ولم يبالوا به فلتدوا في كثرة مرادهم ما بين ايديهم ذكر
بعض اهلها ان عدتهم سبعمائة رجل وذي بعضهم ان عدتهم عدت اهل
اهل يد من المسلمين ثلاثمائة رجل وثلاثمائة عشر واقلوا اظف ومن معه
من العساكر وقد اعجبتهم نفسه وكثرت من معه ولم يعلم ان الله مع الذين
انفقوا الذين هم حسنون وعدت عسك خلب اربعمائة الف ان خلبا ارسل
الى ابو عبيدة رسولين يامره بخلع والية اقلع واشبات والية هو بلما قدم
الرسولان على ابو عبيدة وبعدها لركاعة خلب وخلع طاعة ابلع رضي الله
عنه فاجتمع ابو عبيدة في امر الاربعة فقال لهم جهل احدث الامام عبيد الوهاب
رضي الله عنه وانيه ابلع رضي الله عنهما حدثا او امر ابلع خلب ولا يتبعهم
واجتمع عليه طاعة السمو لعبيد الدهاب رضي الله عنهما حتى ماتت طاعة
بالخوزات وانقطا عنها فقال لهم ابو عبيدة ان السمو قد افرط طاعة علي
اقترب الخوزات فقال احد الرسولين ان اغتاب اذ لم يجب الا طاعة هذه الرجل
هم اقل الدماء فقال لهم ابو عبيدة ما اعظم اراقة الدماء والترك بغير
يدي الله تعالي فقالوا لارافة الدماء اعظم فقال لهم ابو عبيدة لو كان
الامر على ما ذكرتم لاقترب اهل النعم وغيرهم ودعوا طاعة الخلفاء
المسودة واهل القبيلة وابو بلال واهلهم وعبيد الدين يحيى وابو حمزة
واهلهم وابو الفخار ومن تبعه من المسلمين وابو حاتم ومن تبعه رضي
الله عنهم اجمعين حتى لا يجمع منهم اثنان على عدلهم من المسلمين
عدد اكثر وانما اهل اوقاف دماهم على الفيلع يد يدا الله ولم يترك الفيلع

فجاءه فافترقوا الدماء واخذهم رغبوا في الجهاد به سبيل الله فبدلوا وجههم
للاستتار والسيوف حتى لا يروا رخصان الله فيمن على اثارهم ان نشاء الله الانتصفي
بهم بدلا ولا اعظم جزاء من اراد غير ذلك ماله يحكم بيننا وبينه بعدله وبضله
وهو خير الاكهنين ثم ان ابا عبيدة قال للرسولين فاذا كان عندكم اراقة الدماء
اعظم من الفيلع يد يدا الله تعالي م يقتلون الناس ارجعوا الى صاحبكم وفروا الى
ان هذه ايام الخميس دعونا فاذا كان بالقدار يوم الجمعة ان نشاء الله نصدم الله تعالي واخذ
انا وخلص من السموم وابو الضميا سما عيلاني وراى القدر امسي على شغب اهل قبيلة
ان جعل لقتله على اثارنا وانا نقتلهم وبينهم وهو خير العاقبين وهذا اكله
والليل فاقية غادية وراية على الفلح والشمس وليها ابو عبيدة تفكهم الصبرة وتطلب
الغزة لاهل اناكله ومن تقتله م جمع الرسولان الى خلب فاجبروه بساخر ابيهم من
السلام فامر عسكركم بالتهيئة للافات ابو عبيدة فلما قرب العسكران وتدا انا
بعضهم من بعض تقدم رجل معز كان مع خلب وكان هاجيا لجماعة المسلمين
ومضى يشفق عليهم فقال لا ابو عبيدة تنع باهياجك الى سبع الجبل فان تقى الداء
في لكم ادركتم ما رجوتهم واقتنع ما ذهبتهم وان تقى عليكم كتمت في حصن ولا يرب
كم ذلك فقال ابو عبيدة لاهلهم نصيحة نزعها الله من عدوه فامر اهلهم بالتتر
فاستندوا الخضر وهم الى الجبل فلما تنجا ابو عبيدة واخذ خلب ان يطم جينا وخروا
عن الفضل وقدم برسان خليه وتبعهم بهساكره ولما غشيت ابا عبيدة
الجبل ومن معه من المسلمين دعا ابو عبيدة نباء للوضوء فامر رجلا فحملوا له
سترا وتوضا وطلو ركعتين ودعا الله تعالي وابتهل اليه ان يعمل بشر طمعت ثم قال
يا من انا اعرض عنه منذ استقبلت امره لا تقرب هذه العصاة على يدي بل تقربنا
اقرضنا من عسكركم تقدم الرجل في كروب صب ابو عبيدة فقال له ما الذي
وقعكم قال له الرجل الذي في عسكركم ابو عبيدة وفيما ذكر الله فقال له اخلوني
ما بال اسلاح فقال له الرجل الذي في عسكركم ابو عبيدة فقال له من تدفعون قال

له من عفا علينا فتكلم رجله اخرون عسكر ابي عبيدة الرصاحه ماله انت له الكلام
يقال له الرجل كصحا في العلم وتناخير بعض الشرايح قد انا بعض
من بعض وذلك عشية الخميس ثلاثه عشر خلت من رجب سنة ثمان مائة وعشرين
وامرئيتي بعد هجرت رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم والتقاوا فقتلوا قتلا شديدا و
كان ابي عسكرا ابي عبيدة رطب شجاع حادق بالصحن يقال له القلياس وهو اخ ابيوب
ابن العباس تفر الى ابي عبيدة بضرب في اعراض الخيل ويكشفها بعينها وشظايا
لدهما الميمنة والقلب والميسرة فقال له ابي عبيدة وقد ذكرى صار في عيشنا
لغضب معصم لا اكلته النار يريد العباس ذكر من العباس ايضا انه ضرب رطل
بسيبه بطار اسد فقال له العباس للراس حين كمل الى النار فقال له الراس
عجيبا ويسن المصير وكان ممن قد عرف بالنسك والعبادة قبل ذلك وقال جسد
ادعوا له بالجنة زمانا اكل النار انا لله وانا اليه راجعون بلغنا ان رجلا من اصحاب
ابي عبيدة رطب عسكرا خلف بمنزلة رطل في خرج منه المزارق وركن
خلف الرجل وخرص بها فبنا بعد ذلك في ذلك الموضوع مصلا وهو معروف
المرئيات من اوسع القتل في اصحاب خلف وانفصلا وقتلت منهم مقلقة
عكينة واسر ابي عبيدة اصحابه الا يتبعوا مدبرهم ولا يميزوا على جحيم واحسن
السيرة فيهم احسن اليه اليه بالجار خلف ويطقت اصحابه التي تفتي فاضر باخراج
جميع من يفر من سيف وغيرهم من اصحاب ابي عبيدة ولقد اخرج منها كثيرا من
اصحابه غلظا عليهم وادب لهم ثلاثة ايام بعض وجد بعد ذلك فمهد وروى صدق
ماله جازي التمام والمساكين والارامل والمزكيات له ذنب على كثره منه من
منازهم واوطانهم ولما هزمهم السراي فثروا جل اصحابه عنه من غير سعة
وعثرهم صارا ياتون الى ابي عبيدة ويترقبون له ويقل يترقبهم ويرجعون
عن خلف بلغنا ان رجلا اذ جهو دانه يمشي اناه ثانيا فقال بيت دارا
عبيدة فقال له ابي عبيدة ثبت ثاب اليه عليك فانه رجاء اخر من فانا

الامر على عهد فقال له ثبت يا ابا عبيدة فقال ابي عبيدة ان لم يسعد بعد يابن
قبيصة يريد باب التوبة وهو الله شوكته خلف ولم يكن له بعد ذلك حكمة
حتى مات في ريعه وعينه ثم بعد ذلك ابنه ولم تكن له حكمة وامان خلف فانه
الفلز الرجفة والتجاليها وسعد طرد يثقه وخبر ان شاء الله خبره ومقتضاها
صرفا اليه ان شاء الله ثم ان الامام ابلغ رضي الله عنه الفاطميدة بعينها وشظايا
وتعق في امامته والحرد له الامر وبلغنا عنه انه فهد بين يديها اربع حلق
يتعلمون عنده فنزل العلم قبل ان يبلغ الحلم وبلغ في حساب الغبار والتجارت
مبلغا عظيما ذكر عنه انه فهد ذات ليلة هو راقته فقال لها علم تحسب
لها يذبح في السوق عدا والآن نشاء الله فقال لها ابلغ او ما يذبح في السوق
بقرة صغرى في يحنها عجل وغرة في جبهته فقال له صدقت هو البقرة
الصغرى في يحنها عجل والغرة راقته هو طوري ذنبه انقلب على جبهته فكلته
ابني الجبهة ذرة وانما ذلك طوري ذنبه ثم ان ابا عبيدة عمه الحميد ادر كنه
مبينه فتر جاحصة اليه عليه واستقبل الامام رضي الله عنه على يفر سعة اعطاه
مكان يروون فيه الخير بدعوة الشيخ ابي عبيدة حين قال معصم لا اكلته
النار ووليها حسن السيرة فكان على مسيل اصحابه حتى مات
وذكر غير واحد من اصحابنا ان الامام رضي الله عنه
سئل على فنكارة ابا يربش اصله من جبل يفر سنة وقد خرج من الجبل متوجها
الى فنكارة وكان سبب في وجهه من ذلك مدا اخرج الى العصى ليحكي
ومرر يابن فاحط من اجته الناس فاذا جاء المظفر في وقتها فكانت
المواضع التي احتسب منها الخدم يتمكن فيها المظفر ياخذ الماء وينهد
الجسور من ذلك فولي فنكارة وهو يقول لا يرا من الصدقة والبار من
الصدقة يودي ويكر ذلك حتى صعد لشرف فارس ابنه بسعد الى
الامام ليتعلم عنده العلم رضي الله عنه ومع سعد فبات في نصرته فلما ان

عند الامام رضي الله عنه فلما بلغنا من العلوم ما قدر الله لهما تزجها فو بلا دهما
حينئذ قال ابو بريس و سهبي و الداسعد فاباد الامام ان يستعمل على فنطارة فابا
ختمنا من لدنا و ميزهم فوجد سعد الامور له مسلمين صالح و الامور الدار احسن
و له و د الله اصلب و كنف سبيلنا يستعمل سعد و طوره و حتى عليه فبانه و لم
يبين لهما من العالم منهما فوجد لهما السجل هو و نجات و امرهما ان لا يعجا
عن السجل حتى ياتيا ببلدهما و يصلا الى فنطارة فعضيا بلما كانا ببعض الطريق
استغف نجات الشرو و سر و الخلق و حب الربا سنة و ارادة الامارة فاستغف
سعدا فقتل رحلهما فبقتن و راا الخطاب بوجده و حتى خافه و فضله و فمرا
الخطاب ليعلم من استعمله منهما فوجد سعدا هو العامل بكنف نفسه الكفون
و الحصر في قلبه الغش و العداوة خير لم يستعمله الامام فوصل سعدا فنطارة
فويلها فاحسن السيرة و افاع بحق الله فيها و له منبر و جمعه ثم ارا نجاتا
لما وصل الي بلده فسال عن الامام فاطحن الطعن فيه و قال اضاع امور المسلمين
و نزل في الخلقة و ليس الكرم و خرج الى الصيد و يطيل بالاسير مبلغ ذلك
الامام رضي الله عنه و ما يقوله فيه ارساله الامام من نفسه و اركان بالحسلا
فانية و توعد الامام في منزله انه فلما سمع نجات ذلك قال انه من السلطان
هو القتل و له مسابله فتلها الاصل لهما فكنها فخطبة زعم انها يدعة و
سبل من مسئلة يقبل له رجل مات و ترك اخاه من الاب و مية اخيه من الاب
و الال فغال بنو الاخرة من الاب و الال و الامن الاخرة من الاب فزاد ضالا
الرضالته .. ذكر المنافع انه لو لم يقف الا هذه المسئلة لجمع بها و دها
بلقنا ان نقاتنا له ابن اخت فترك ابن اخت ذات ليلة و يا قاتنا الى نجات
فعضها عليه فغال له رايك ر يا اعير صلابي رايت رجلا مع عرفة شقير
موضع على راسها سنور و يرفد له عليها فغال نجات ذلك رجل يجمع العلوم
و استغف عليه الشيطان فغال له القنا ابن اخته فانت هو يا خالي بلقنا

عنه انه دخل منزلا بفصد الرجل على فمده في منزله في خرج صاحب المنراج اخبره
عنه انه فمده نجات فانت دابة له فركبها فتيهه يربد ان يدركه ليكون على مذهبه
فجند اليه فمدها حتى سمع صوته بليل مظل و هو يقول ضللت و اضللت يا
نجات يربد نفسه يربد ذلك فلما سمع الرجل ذلك منه قال كيف لي بانواع رجل
يقرب على نفسه بالصلا فخرج و تركه بلقنا انه اعطاه العلم منزلة عظيمة
و البعد و البعم و لكنه امسد ذلك كله بالحسد و حب الامور ذكر و اعنه انه
جاءته امرأة ذات مرة تستغفني في مسئلة فغال له ما تقول في بيعة كاهنة
لصحت في ماء مغفوس فغال لها في مكانك حتى اخرج اليك ففعدت المرأة
بدخل الال و لا قد بيعة و نلا في عمله في قدر و مل و صبحها فترج البيعة فوجد
انيل فده سود القشرة و تغير داخل البيعة حتى صار طلون النيل فعمل االقشر
لم يسمع النجس فخرج الى المرأة فغال ان بيكتك فده فبس بلقنا ان سعدا
خرج متوجها في امر نجات و هو في جبل نفوسه فحانه ما يصل من الناس فهد
سعدا الى دار جبال نجات فاخت في بنيانها و كان نجات بناء عظيم فارا ح
نجات معا و نت سعدا في البنيان فصار يبيعه و يجمع الناس الى سعدا
في حراجهما فاذا نظر سعدا الى الناس قد اجتمعوا عليه و خوف و خوف ان
يقربهم عليه انه رضي عن نجات فصار يقول له في ملا من الناس فالي من
تترك كعرك يا نجات فيقول له نجات معاذا الله من الجع يا سبغ فاد
خلا سعدا يا صباه فال لهم ليس جزاء فربني و يخدم في ان اشغته في
وجهه و انها فوفت القصة على الناس و لذلك فعلت ما فعلت و انها جزاؤه
الغمر و الاعم بلقنا ان نجاتا تزجها الى الارض المسترق فلها و صلا الى بقدر
مكث فيها زمانا و كان يستن من رجل من اهل بغداد و يقعد معه في
حانوته و يجدته فال فيمنما هم كذا كذا اسمع نجات مناد يا نجات يا
فغال اصا حبه ما هدا المناد في فغال صاحب الحانوت يقول من اجاب الامر

العه منيف مسئلة فله سؤال فقال له نفاث انا احب امير المومنين مسئلة فقال له الرجل
استكت ليلا يفتح راسك ان لم تبق لامير المومنين بعد فكلف الجواب قال وقال له
بل اجبه عن كل ما سأل طمعا دارا عوان السلطان على صاحب الخاتون فقال لهم ان هذا
تكلف لما امير المومنين ان يحبس له سؤاله قال فابتدأ الاعزاز نفاث فآخذوه وجاهلوه
ومضوا به الى دار الامارة فاستأذنه له على السلطان فآذنه له السلطان فلما مضى
بين يديه السلطان سلع سلاح الامارة فغربه السلطان وادما جسده عن احداه
ولده ونسبه وموبده فقال له نفاث يا امير المومنين انا رجل من ائمة البر والبربر
ليس معكم ادب فاربذ ان تاذني في ان اتكلم في مجلسك بطا بة الى فقال له
السلطان قل ما بدا لك ثم از السلطان سأل عن مسئلة فاجاب بها له وزاد له
السلطان السؤال فاجاب فقل ما اراد عليه اجاب وقد اجتمعت وجوه بعد احد
وفعها وها وعلما وها فكلهموا يسئلونه حتى عجزوا فلم يقدروا له على تشييع
فيخرا اليه السلطان فنام له مليا وتعب مما حادوا من العلم مع سخا فنه
نسيه وفلت ادبه وقال نعم العسل في صوب سرى وبعض له نفاث فقال له
وهو يعرض له نعم الرجل في فير سوي يريد ديوان جابر بن زيد الذي عنده هصور
في الخزائن لا يستمتع به احد واختصا لذلك السلطان وانف واختصا من قوله
وعصب وقد ذكر في هذه بامره له ان ينقطع في مجلسه بما يريد ثم از السلطان
فقال نفاث سلط خنتك فقال له نفاث ما جئت ان تذهب في ديوان جابر بن زيد
ان اسخه فاجابه السلطان بذلك ولما خرج نفاث قال للسلطان بعض وزراء
كعب يا امير المومنين يقولون عذرك في ديوان جابر بن زيد في بلدك وخزانتك
فيتموه به لغيرك وتخرج من مدنيك علمانه لا يوجد عند احد في شيء من
البلد ان سواء بلدك اولا ترا عقل الرجل في ما بلغ من العلو على بعد ما يتعلمه
منه فكيف لو اصاب ديوان جابر بن زيد ولما سمع السلطان ذلك من قومه دم
على ما وعد نفاث من نفسه فقال للوزير اليه فد وعدت له ذلك وما الخيل

وشلي لا ينبغي له ان يخلص وعده فقال له الوزير ان اسر اليه وقل له ان الديوان ردي
وعدت ان تنصحه فاختار به يوم شئت من ايام السنة ولياليه واسمع فيه
ما قدرت عليه واما غير ذلك فلا تشييعه فجمع نفاث ان بعض وزراءه طعن
فيه عنده فقال نفاث للسلطان اجعل يا امير المومنين ثم ان نفاثا اشترا
دنا نير جبر من بعض وزراءه وسمع وعمل ادوا فحصة بالخير واشيد به
لعمير مكنته بعض ثوبه فبين الثنا من ام طهم فلما كان الحول يوم في سنة
امر فكا دينا ديه في الناس الا ان كل راق كتب يومه هذا فله دينار وللسمي
ضعب دينار فابتد رواله الناس من كل جانب يخشون بلما طمع عليه الف
الا وقد استغنت ديوان جابر كله الا كتابا واحدا فعمل عنده تسعة اجمال
مدخل على السلطان فكلهم ان يدعه يبيع ذلك الكتاب فابا عليه السلطان
فساله ان يفره بين يديه مرة واحدة فاعطاه له ففره مرة واحدة فجمع
فقال السلطان اليه قد جعلتكم طامرا فان اردت ان اتلوه عليك فقال له
السلطان اتله علي فلان فآذنه في فراه حتى اتقه ثم ان السلطان جمع
وجوه اعماله ووزراءه فقال لهم ان هذا الرجل قد غلبنا ومارك لنا من
جلبت وراه يريد الخروج بهذا الديوان ولم اصب اليه شيئا فانظر وايضا
ذاخولون به بينه وبين هذا الديوان فاجعلوه ثم ان السلطان قال لهم
اذا اراد التوجه الى بلده فاني ساخرج اليه واسأله فان وقع في مسئلة فتلت
والا فاسأله عما قدرتم عليه فجمع وفيه منهم عن مسئلة فتلتها ولما
عزم نفاث على المسير الى بلده خرج اليه السلطان فلقاه في عدة من اعماله
ولما وصلوا اليه وجدوه قد اراوا الركوب على بغلته وقد وضع رجله في الركاب
فساله السلطان عن مسئلة فطعن الناس يسئلونه حتى فرب وقت الصلاة ولم
يقدروا له على تشييع قال فتنع نفاث للطريق فآخذ غير الطريق فها فانه ان
يتصوره فترج به الى مكة ثم عن مكة الى الرافض المعرب ولما وصل الى حيز

الحرب ليس بغير الضرب أهل مذهبه والمفسدة نفسه وسأله عنه وقال ان نصير
 الدين انما هو دعوة المسلمين فاخذوه وانتقم به موضوعا ودموا فيه ودفنه
 ولم يعرف موضعه الى يومنا هذا وقد طاله بغيا وحسدا وسوء العاقبة فنفوذ
 باله من شرجودا والدم وما يتخلل به النيل والنهار ثم ان الامام اجمع رجع
 الوهاب رضي الله عنهما صكت في امامته ستين سنة وابيا اما ما حسن السجينة
 رءوفا بالمرعية لا يغاب في السلوقة لا يع ثم توفي رحمة الله عليه ورأى الامر من
 بعده انه ابو بكر وكان محمد بن ابي غاييا في ارض المشركين بدل بها عليه
 باخذ خمس حتى طافوه فاحسوا جائزته وتوجه فخر بلادهم ولا يتعد
 عليهم حسبوهم له موجدوه يستقون له دولة لاهلته باخذوا في ارضه يرونه
 وكان محمد من بلغ النهاية والعاية في علم الخفاقة محسب في الوقت
 الذي يسمون فيه بعلمه فلما كانت تلك الساعة اخذ فعدة كثيرة فجاء
 هاما، ودخل فيها محسبا في حين الوقت الذي يسمون يورجوه في الماء
 فكنوا انه قد دخل البحر وفنوا له انه قد دخل البحر لا يقدرون على شيء، فوجهوا
 عنه فتوجه محمد بن ابي رضى الله عنه الى ناهرب وكان من اخيه ابي بكر ما كان
 من سراب كرقعة اعترى محمد رضي الله عنه الفريبيين ولم يكن مع اخيه ولا مع
 غيره فلما زالت امامته ابي بكر ولا محمد ...

حدث غير واحد من اهائنا ان محمد بن ابي رضى الله عنه اجتمع عليه جماعة من المسلمين

مولوه على اقصاهم ولم يكن منهم في تربته اختلاف وبلغ في العدد والفضل
 غاية عظيمة وكانت نفوسه لا تعدل بر لا يلقه الا والايه جده عبد الرحمن رضي
 الله عنهما وكانت نفوسه تجعل باب داره كالسمعة يسعون حولها كما
 هبة يصلون وكافية نفوس الغر وان لها بية يتحدثون في فنون العلم ومكث
 في امامته اربعين سنة حسنة السيرة اربع مئة في زمانه ففان حتى كمل عمره
 سنة وله في الرد على الفالعين كتب كثيرة بليغة سمها مناقبه وقد

ذكر انها فريت طاهيا ومفتحة في تسعة عشر يوما واليه اعلم اي خلف
 كان فلما مات محمد

ولما رجع به يوسف ابنه ومكث في امامته اربع عشرة سنة وقد اصررت له
 الامور ولم ينقم عليه من عنته احد وكان الياس بن منصور بن عاتلة على جبل
 نفوسة والايه واحدة وكان فاجا في منصور عمرو بن قيس بن عمرو رضي
 الله عنه وكان عمرو بن عاتلة لما كتب اليه خط في الاصل والقبه ومما مات حتى
 انهم ان يعرفين مسائل المنصور مسائل السنة وراية المسلمين وكان خادما
 ملكا حاضرا في الخفة بلقا عنه انه استمسك رجل برجله عنده فاسترد
 عمرو بن المدعي عليه الجواب فاستفاد فالكوبية عمرو بن رجليه وعليه
 خفاقه وابو منصور الياس حاضر فقال له ابو منصور عجلت على الرجل يا عمرو بن
 فلما وضع عمرو بن اصابعه يديه فقال له كم هذا يا ابو منصور فقال له ابو منصور
 خمسة لم اجد كمالا لم تعجلت جيت لم تاخذهم واحدا فواحد حتى تاتي على
 اخرهم فان لم تدن الي ثلثاته يا الياس فخذ خاتفت عني فقتل الطاعن في
 دين المسلمين ومات الخو والد اعلى عورات المسلمين وكان ابو منصور فاضلا

مستجاب الدعوة وفي ذريته الولاية في جبل نفوسة وكان اذا خرج في
 ينكم الهدى وتلحقه من غير شعوب وكان يركب على بقلته لا يتقي خلفا على نفسه
 ولا على بقلته ولا يقع فيه ولا على بقلته واحدة ولا يبال في الله لو مته لا يبع
 يعقوب بن ابي يعقوب رحمة الله عليه ان امامته خرج في طلب خلفه في
 اخر ولاية المستقيم وقد هرب له الزر واعد والناصت عليه واراد ان يمتد وكان
 على مذهب ابيه فسمعوا قوله واكاعوه وقلوا دعوتهم الى ان رجعا عنها
 واستدرك ذلك وكيف كان رجوعهم ان مشاء الله قال بساركا ابو منصور ومن
 معه من نفوسة فلما وصلوا الى بلقة الحار ليس وجد بها جملعة راعته
 في عدة كثيرة فخر بها واكاعوا ولد بن خلف وارادوا منه من ابي منصور فبكتكم

شخخ كثير من شيوخ بني بهرام من يقال له ابو مسلمة وقال يا معشر ربيعة همل
في ثلاثه ان تفعلوا واحدة واحدة منهن او لان تدع ربيعة روضة وتدع خلود جردقة
وتعصر اليها وتضعوا صاحبكم والثانية ان ترسلوا انوارهم التي لا ماوان
يستعمل عليهم عاملا بغير جواز طاعة بقوسه والداهم والثالثة ان تدع ربيعة
ولا تلب لا سير به الي بفرسته وانا ضامن لكم وكعبيل لا يتجاوزوا فيه الحرف
فلما اتم الشيخ البيهقي كلامه تكلم رجل من ربيعة فقال ما راها هذا البيهقي
سبحه الا ان تغلب الوفيقة على الخليفة فقال ابو خليفة كيف قلت فنكلم الي
ابي خليفة رجلا من ربيعة فقال لا اسمع يا يا مسلمة الا اسمع فقال ابو
مسلمة لست اسمع فجعل يده في الارض فقال نعم ان ربيعة اجتمعوا على
فناصية ابي منصور فلما وصلهم ابو منصور ناجيهم القتال فاقتلوا قتالا
شديدا ما نفدت ربيعة وكانت عاصف ارض ربيعة عامرة باشجار فصغار كما
غرست وكانت عادتهم لمن اراد ان يفرس ارضا باغصان الاشجار فيجعل له
امكنة ويقيم في تلك الامكنة ويوصل ما بينهما بالجمال والحيات ليلا يمسد
ها الوحش فاذا انتهبوا الي تلك الامكنة ثم فلما استطاعوا لجوازها جوفد
ولا قتها فقتل منهم ابو منصور عددا كثيرا فرجع عنهم ودخلت بقيت ربيعة
جنينة والنجا ولا تلب الرجيل من ربيعة فادخله في قصر من قصور جردقة يقال
له غر دانت فسار اليهم مرة اخرى ومنعه من بفرسته فلما قرب ابو منصور
من جردقة ارسل رجلا من بني بهرام الي الروابي الذي منع ولد تلب وارسله
ماتد دينا رايهم في صرة فادخل الرجل جردقة فلما وصل الي الروابي وهو
معمل من بني مزلت سلم عليه وصار يصاحبه ويصحب له الداهم من حكمه
الي حكم الروابي الداهم جعل يسئله عن احوال الشيخ ويقول له لولا قتلت الي
اولادنا لدفنناهم اليك وكان ابو منصور في مسيره اذا جاز وقت الصلاة
تفرج عليه فيصعب اول العسكر لآخره فيصلي بهم ركعتين ويبرئ كل محبة مها

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على ثلاث او ما يعرب مودلت ثم ان الرجل توجه الي ولد تلب فقال لها اتري ايها الا
مير بعد كمال ما رملت نساة ربيعة على يدك فقال له ولد تلب ليتكم ثم
تسموني اميرا يا منصور ما لنا بالبربرية فانتهم لانه رجل عربي لم يجس البربرية
قال فدميعون لابي منصور فسار به ولم يكن يرميه في جردقة ولا قتال
فمضاه ابو منصور الي الرجل فجلس به فحان في سجنه الوان تزلت عليهم
المسئلة فطع الرجل بالثعلبي بها بنو جردقة و... الوان تزلت عليهم
فانابهم انها تقطع دون العافية وهذا ذلك قال يسجنوني ويسجنوني
ذكر بعض اصحابنا انه رجع هذا الي مذهب اهل الخو وحسنة احواله والتم
اعلم ابي ذلك ثم ان ابا منصور مات فوالى على بقوسه ابلع بن العباس في امامة
يوسف ربيعة اليه عليه ورضي عنه
غير واحد من اصحابنا ان بقوسه بلغت في النابيد في سلطنة الترسو ميين بارض
تاهرت مبلغا عظيما لم يبلغ غيرهم في معني ناصدا ولذلك قال فيهم الامام
عبد الوهاب رضي الله عنه انها قلاع هذا الدين بسيف نفاسة وملا من ربيعة
فانضلت اخبار بقوسه من كان بالامشرق من الامة المسودة بدرس اليهم
الكتب من كان بالقيروان ومدينة كرا بلس وغيرهم ان قيام دولة الترسو بنت
هزت بهم كان مكان ذلك على عهد المتوكل ببعداد من ابي العباس فلما
تداركت الكتب اليه انشد الي المغرب عسكريا وجعل عليهم ابراهيم بن احمد من
بنيه الاغلب فسار اليهم في المغرب بعسكره فلما قرب من اكر بلس سمعت
فيهم بقوسه با جنتهم وعزم رايهم الا يتركوه وما كانوا يريد من الجوار
الي تاهرت فوجه اليهم ان يتركوا اليه سائر الجرم مقدار نشر عما مية الاجر
فيه انا ومن معي فابواله من ذلك فلما را ابراهيم ان ليس له الا الرجوع
او ما صنعتهم نهيا لقتالهم وعزم على هارثهم فقال لا اصابه خذوا عذري
وشهروا اليهمكم وجوزوا على ساكني الجرم والانتقم من هؤلاء الغفوم فازهم

ترونا وضربنا لا ناصباح مودنا ذلك الذي يروى عنه وقال بعضهم لبعض دعوا
 هذه الرجل ولا تنقضوا له بشيء، فاجابهموا المسلمون من ذلك وقد كان سعد
 ابن ابى بر نس رضي الله عنه يبين قال لهم لا تنقضوا وقال بعضهم اشتفت
 يا سعد شدة خنقنا ان لم ترد الصوت فقال لهم يا قوم ليس في مائة كرون ولا
 مائتو كرون ولا كنية خفت ان تدخ البقرة فينبعها لجلها بعين بالبقرة نفوسه
 وبالهجل فنطراة ثم انهم خرجوا وتوجهوا نحو العباسي فبلغوه بالموضع
 الصر ووب بها نوا وهو قصر من قصور الاولين فاقبلوا قتلا شديدا ولم
 يدرك انه في ذلك العصر بارض المغرب فطلب رجل من عسكر المسلمو
 دة المبارزة الو عسكر المسلمين فلم يبارزة احد الا قتله وباراد الخرج ابن
 العباس واباله احمديه من ذلك وكان ذلك هو العادل عليهم بيارزة
 وقتله ابلع واشتد القتال بينهم فاسرع القتل في البر يغير وكثر القتال
 الجراح في نهر سنة حتى هصر بالانصرام فشهدهم الزخا من الصعين طال الحيطان
 بلما را ذلك واليهجم ابلع فبالعباس اموصا حب السند ان يجهر له في الارض
 ويوقيه كما لا يتهم عن السند احد واباله عن ذلك ثم اقتتلوا مليا فرجع
 اليه فقال احبر الحنكة باباله ثم اباله الا اجمع له فقال له صاحدا انفس
 فدامسكتة عنده جدك فلم يعل اليه ذلك وامسكتة عنده ايديك ولم يقل
 لي ذلك جئت له جئ الله لك فجمع السند موقيه مولا ابلع مدبرا فبتر كهم
 بلو دون بالسند فلم يستخير وان يتهم مولا والسند واقف حتى قتل منهم بشر
 كثير وقد كان ابلع فيما يلقا فذكر الخرج اليه العباسي وقتالهم اياه فله
 لك جعل يبع ما فعل ثم ان رطام من رايه البصا في الدين نكر اليه السند واقفا والذاس
 يصرون حوله فقال الحق انامك قد انتكف بااله وقصد الر السند وضربته
 بسيفه موقف فلما را امر يبيع من المسلمين ان السند قد وقع انهم مولا ولوا احد من
 فابلت من ابلت منهم بلعنا من الكفان فواهل دعوا فمنا من اهل الجبل ان عدة قتلاهم

اثنا عشر ابارعة الارب من عير سنة وثمانية مائة كان معهم من البربر وغيرهم و
 يبع اربهم ان عالم وفيه مائة كرون بلعنا ان عير سنة من قاتل كان في اخر العشر
 يبيع عن الناس ويدو دغهم رام بغدروا له على شيء وكان علم من سابق فلما
 اخرجهم واتبعهم عمد الا رجل جمال فنبصر هاله فاضطروه اليها فحتر به
 الروس فاخذوها سيرا فحضر به اليه العباسي فساله ان يستعفيه ليعفيه فقال عر
 كلمته لا اسمعها فيه واخذها اسلاك عرسا ويلي هذا لا تكشفه في منه فاخذوه
 فحضره بالحد يد من اربا به فلما وصلوا اليه عضوه استشهد رجلا منه عليه
 وقد كانت بعض نسوة عير سنة مني خرجوا معهم فاخذوا حياض فبهرات
 عير مني فاتي فو في عليهم القينة من قبل الظلمة التي تهامرت ان تستخلف
 كل واحدة منهم على نفسها لمن يزوجها المزاراد بها سوا وكات وفيه
 عالمة ثم ان ربيعة رجعا الى الجبل فحضر ابيه واشتروا في عرا ابلع بناه العباس
 وتوليت ابن عمه بائق را يهم كلهم عن غز له الاما كان من ايه موق وبعير فانه
 ابلعهم من عرله خشية الاختلاف ولم يبق من علماء يهم وبها يهم الا ابو الفاسم
 البكر ي وعبد الله بن الفير وهما اللذان يبعين اهل الجبل نوا ابلع من تلك الم
 فعهذ وكوالهما اعطيت الي يوم القيامة ثم ان نفوسه عن اهل الجبل في العباس وروا
 ان عمه مكانه بلما علم ذلك ابلع وقد كان معه رجل من يما فيه يقضب
 وقاما وقال يريده وقال له ابلع وقد كان معه رجل احملته فقال له الرجل لا اقدر
 ان املك فقال له الرجل احملني ولور حليم بلما سمع بذلك ابو معروف وخوف
 القينة توجه اليه فوجدته في حالته تلك فيها عن بقوة والاختلاف وامره
 بالصبر فسمع منه ابلع وفيه من قوله والخصم اليه ينف قال لعير سنة لا تقرب له
 فبتر ابلع الاختلاف ومكث ابن عم ابلع حوايل ثلاثة اشهر فلم يجسر وترويه
 رجع الناس اليه ابلع عير واحد من اهلنا ان الصعين اهل القير فوايلنا
 وضعهم اليه جاء رجل من عسكر العباسي ابراهيم بن احمد الراخ له مائة في العير كنة

ليصله ليد فيه ولما وصل الى الصغين رجع اخذه على دارته فخر الى شح حبيته السلوي
يكوم في قنلا المسلمين فسمعوا يقول خبرنا يا اهل الجنة وخبروا قنلا، المسلمين باجمع
شخ جار علي قنلا، المسودة وهذه منزل انجوا يا كلاب النار فنجوا يا سرهم حتى نزع اخوه
من بين يديه على سرج الدابة والفوه الى الارض بهرب ومضا وتركه لتسليمه ولما
خرج الفاسق من قنلا نفوسه ومضوا معه وذكر له ان قنطرة بها كانت بغية اهل
دعوتهم فقصده فوجدهم حتى اناهم بغية فبذل عليهم بعد طلوع الفجر فقتلهم
فاختار من فيها بهم وعلماء بهم فثابروا على ما بلغوا انهم
هو غ من اهل قنطرة سلا عن بغية اهل الدعوة قبل له ان ينجوا في رحلة اهلها وفيها
من علمائهم فقال له ابو بكر يوسف الفريسي هو جده اليهم فاخذته رسله فلما اخذته
رسل الفاسق طليع السبع ابر بكر اذ يدعوه حتى يصلي ويطعير فلما صلاه ما اخذ
في الدعاء الى الله تعالى فبغت الله اليهم رجاء عاصيا مطلقا لجمال بينهم وبين السبع
فما اخذته يوسف بيده وكان السبع اذ ذلك قد طبع حصوه ومضى الى ما وقره ثم
ان الفاسق عدو الله فوجه بشا نين عالما يريد مدينة الفيروزا فشد هم وظا فراقه وكان
جميع رجل عالما يقال له بن زيوب وكان مقطوع العزوب فلما جن عليه الدالستان
اطلبه في العزوب ولم يرد العزوب حتى ياذنوا له فاذا ناله فسل رجليه من الوثاق
بهرب وقد كان حين اراد ان يشد هو اخذ لهم الرجل المقطوعة العزوب
فاطعها لاهم جسد وما فلما هرب بن زيوب امر بعد ذلك ابراهيم بن احمد
با حمله قتلهم وقتلوا عن اخرهم فتوجه الى مدينة الفيروزا فمضى فيه
خلها وفخر فيها وهالذي بنا لاهل المغرب الزايد على سلاطنهم من سبت الى
الاسكندرية وكان سبب ذلك ان اهل اسكندرية كانوا في المناورة التي عملها
ذوالق بنق لهم في زمانه فلاح الروم يرونها في البحر اينا ما كانت ويخبرونهم
ويخبرون من كان يجيها لهم فلما بنا ابراهيم بن احمد هذه القصور التي
على سلاطن البحر اهل الاسكندرية اذا نظروا في مائة المناورة وراوا فلاح

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الهد وان يشيروا فيسخر نارهم من كاز فربما منهم من انصرف فيسير وايقظا فلاح من
وامن اهل القصور نار النار للقصور الذي يليه فيسير هو ايضا فيسخر نارهم حتى يطلع
في الليلة واحدة الى مدينة تستة فيخذ العود من الروم ويكاد للروم بعد ذلك دهر
لمويلام فيسخر واياهم حديث في يسيه من سراحهم ورجع العود من يفرق ونوع الزبادهم
باغت لذلك ملك الروم وجعل اهل مملكته واستشارهم في الحيلة فوالت ابراهيم
بهرب في فيما لقنا فقال له ايها الملك انك لست انت اذنت لي اني بيوت الاموال اخذ
منها حاجتي كصيتك الموت ان شاء الله فقال له الملك نشأتك وما تريد من الاموال
قال ولهم اليهود في البيت المال فاخذ منها اموال عظيمه من افرهم والدر واسبوا فيت
والذهب المضروب على سكة الاولين يا وفر من ذلك اجمالا وقصد بها الارض الاسكندرية
رنة فصار يجر في كل جبل من جبالها ويدفن في الاودية وعند المدينة مع الضع على
نفسه زينة وزينة حسنة فاطم انه عالم باخراج الخنزير والابن حتى انظر
خبره الى السلطان في مصر فبعث اليه بكار في جلبه الخنزير فيها هو بنفسه
فلما وصل الى اموال جسيمة وخنزير عظيمه اطعمته انفسهم الى جهنم واجتمع
مارا من ذلك فلما احسوا اليهود في منهم ذلك فقال للسلطان ها هنا خنزير
عظيم اعظم جميع الخنزير في المناورة تحت المرأة التي في المناورة فاذن في اتس
السلطان في نزع المرأة التي في المناورة نزعها واخرجها منها ما فتنها وهه
صقلها فانها قد تصدبت وردت اناها فاذن له السلطان في ذلك رغبة في المال
فلما اتزع المرأة امر بعض الغوم بالبيع فتنها وبعضا بفالن المرأة فانسل
اليهود في فلم يجد له اثر فعاثوا في رد المرأة على بنيناها الاول فلم يجده
لهم ذلك
وعقبه من بعده
الفاسق وابنه اسماعيل وابنه معاد في مسير معاد الى مصر ومسير الشيوخ
اي خرا خبار من فزع عليهم من الاباضية حدث غير واحد من اهلنا ان عبيد
الله اقبل من المشرق وهو يتبعه الى علي بن ابي طالب والخصم بنت رسول

انه صار له عليه وسلم وكان عنده من العلم انه سليل الملك بعد يند يقال انها تنزرت
 وانه منها نفع دوائه وافضل من المشرف فلما صار الى تنزرت وحسب انها هي
 التي تنفع منها دوائه فنظر الى رجالها وليس معهم زينة الملك ولا هبة السلافة
 وانها لهم مشيطرون واحباب العراثة وكانت معه ابنة نعيمة ركبها من مصر
 فترعها له رجل من بني جلتين وهو من بني واسين وكتب عبيد الله لثراسع الرجل اسم
 فيلته واسم بلده وجين نظر عبيد الله اهل تنزرت على الصفة التي ذكرنا ان ذراهم
 منقص وبني مخير الى امر طالعها ونازلا ولا يدري ما يفعل يفقد ذاك يوم في سوز
 تنزرت سمع رجلا ينادي ويقول من يشتر في فجع فاصرت فانه جساله هل في المغرب
 مدنية تسمى ناصروت غير هذه فاعلمد الرجل انه في كفاضة فلهذا يقال له
~~عبد الله~~ غير هذه بردها على الصفة التي تراعى علمه فوجد اليهم عبيد الله الجاني
 فوجد ~~عبد الله~~ التميمي فقبلوا دعوتهم وحدثني من دخل بلاد كفاضة ان بقية الشيعة
 فيهم اليوم فها هنا بقلعة من فلاحهم تسما حلاقه فلما قيلت كفاضة
 دعوتهم خلف فيهم هو لاله يكتا اياهم حصا وسما الجاني في غيرهم الفراء
 ويشترى لهم مذاهب التشريف في قال فيخرج عبيد الله من رجها الى سجلماسة
 مجاز في طريقه بوارجلان فلما راه سيعا وهم من راضنه وقالوا هذا
 الذي جاء من المشرف يريد الملك فيصفوا في وجهه وخبروا العرف
 وكان اشده الناس في ذلك اهل فصر بكر فلذلك حذر الملك ~~عبد الله~~ الكبير
 في رجوعه وسند كركيب كان ذلك اذا صرنا في موضع ان نشاء الله ثم
 ان عبيد الله سأل عن شيخ اهل وارجلان فقبل له غبار فقال ابن منزله فقبل له
 ثيابا غبارا فقال فيهم غبار وبلدهم غبارا غير الله ما بهم قال فيخرج من
 وارجلان حتى وصل الى سجلماسة فافزع بها مدة كطوبى وانتشر خبره في
 الناس انه قرب من المشرف باموال عظيمة فها هنا ذلك وامر غده وكان
 الداعي على سجلماسة رجل يقال له اليسع بن مدرار قال مر على اليه عبيد

الله فاعلماه بعض ما عنده ليرد عنه الناس فمكث عبيد الله في سجلماسة زمانا
 كطوبى ويسكن في عاليه دار وسكن رجل من جوه سجلماسة في اسفلها فماتت
 ابنتها بدار دار الساج في اسفلها ليلة من الليالي فمر بها الناس فبعثوا عظمي
 سخيما في الدار فانتبه من عوراء فمكث باه ليلة مسحلا فلما ابر عليه
 جمع الى عبيد الله وهو في عليا الدار وقد كان اياه قبل ذلك يعرف الكفاية ويند
 فيهم بعض عليه السلام باسم جبر بنين اياه فقال له عبيد الله ان كانت ابنتي
 صادقة والشعبان العظيم ملك يملك المشرف والمغرب قال فلما سمع الرجل ذلك من
 منزله كالحا على يده فقبلها فقال له العبير يا مولاه فقال له عبيد الله مما خ
 تستعني فقال له انا طريها للموت وقد رأت في مناجية في الدار نكبا نا عظيميا وليس
 معي في الدار احد غيرك فانت ذلك فقال فاذة ذلك حرا في حاجته فمكث في سجلم
 سنة حتى عرج بالعلم والفرقة بكار الناس فيتلون اليه ويسئلونه عن حوا
 فيهم وكانوا يجدون غده بوف من يربون حتى ناداه واليه المدنية ان نفسه
 راتره على جميع اهلها وجعله وزير في جميع اموره قال وكانت حاله كذا
 وربما ان يرجع عسكى الى سجلماسة فيامرهم بالخروج فيخرجون وينهاهم
 عن الخروج فلانهم موزان عصوه في هذا كله كان عاكه عليهم فزجب اليهم
 ذات مرة فمكث عظيم وامرهم بالخروج على كفاية العسكى في وقت معلوم
 فخرجوا وضربوا فيمنوا به في جميع احوالهم فلم يلبث ان تروا اليسع بن
 مدرار رايت اهل المدنية عبيد السليولوه على انفسهم فابا واقتمع منهم
 وخوف منهم ان يقتلوه وقال لهم انا رجل غريب انظروا من تولونه غيب
 فاباوا الى التوليتهم فوالا عليهم وولي سجلماسة وصاحبها من البربر وصار
 ياخذ الفراء والمداني التي في ملكها الا اذا قد مدينة فاس فلما تمكن بها في
 البلد وتفلت على الحبد بعث الى مولاه الجاني وهو يكتا منها فيجعل له من
 طاعة ويبعث دعوتهم فوالناس ومن كان على مذهبهم الى سجلماسة

رسول سيده بالكتب متواترة أن يخرج اليه بعض الخاطعه من الناس وقد بلغ الخيانة
في بعض كتابه وعظمت ذنبه عنه مع وكان ذاع طبعه في حساب الخمر ولا
تنت حاله عندهم مرضية لا يابصرهم بشيء الا بعلوه وبلغوا به بلع عنده
من قبيح كتمانته فمروا برهانه علاه قال جئت في ذلك الا ان قال لهم يوصي
من الايام لعامة من علمه من قتيلاهم ليس مراد به التعليم وانما مراد به
الصلك قال فاجلوه الزك والنعوه على قوله فلما تمضى امر بالخرج الى
سجلما سنة والحق له من نفسه انه وجد في العلم انه سبيل ارض سجلما سنة
وانه سبيل الامير الذي كان عليها في خرج متوجهها يريد سجلما سنة وحدث
بعض الخائنا ان ذو سرانتي يربس برنخه من اولع بن عبد الوهاب رضي الله
عنهم لما قتل ابوها وغدوه بنوايه يفتان خرجت معوجه مع اخها الى
الحجاز فلما وصلت اخبرته بفتنة ابوها واما انتصت من مرضها ولم يشتغل
بها فلما رآته كذلك اودعت من نفسها اذا هراخذ ثابرها ان تزوجه من نفسها
ثم ان الخبايا اذ في حريقه على ما هرت فلما كان بفتنة معها خرج اليه وجوه اهله
اما الخبايا من الامالكية والراصلية والشيعة ومن بها من الصمينة ونا
فوه وشكروا اليه اماره العرس وواعد والده العون من انفسهم على جميع
المرستين من امروا باستمال ساقهم وتو هين شوكتهم وارسل الخبايا
رسله اليه ففتان وبنيه اذا خرجوا اليه ولما وصلت رسله اليه ففتان وبنيه اذا خرجوا
لي خرج فبنوه فتلوه على مسيرة اميرال من تا هرت فلما قد صوا عليه سلال
الخبايا يفتان غراسه فقال له اسبه بفتان بفتان الخبايا بل اسبه
حيران وكيف فتلح اميركم وسليتم لانفسك طلع والحيتم نور الاسلام
والعيتم النيا يابيك في غير قتال واحدا وامرته وبنيه فقتلوا الخبايا فمهم فلما
ايفتت دوسرانت يربس بفتلهم بفتنت وهرت من الخبايا فافتت ارضها

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كلها حتى يبرح علم يفد عليها ثم ان الخبايا دخل المدينة ونهضوا واستهك
حرمها وادخلوا فيها وجعلوا عراة اهلها ذلة وكذاذ ويعلمون ذكر انه وجد
بها صمعة مملوءة ذنبا فاستخرجهم رات منهم كل ما يصلح الملك والحسان
والطرح انار في بفتنتهم وذك بعض الخبايا ان يعفوه بوايع لما سمع بافعال الخبايا
خرجت هرت متوجهة الى واران وله حديث طويل ستركه في موضعه ان
شاء الله واذا ابنه سليمان وكيف انتقل العرقه ثم ان الخبايا تزوجه يربس مولاه
عبيد الله وولاه دارا من سجلما سنة فمن معه من عساكره يربس مولاه الخبايا
والرسول فتلقا بينهما بالكتب فلما قربا التقاء العسكرين اليه
عبيد الله ان اذ التقيا بالغد وتزنت وميلت يديك راتقا على ذلك فلما كان بالغد
افتراه العسكران وورنا بعضهم منها بعض خرج الخبايا الى عبيد الله من الصمينة
عزائنه وقبل يديه وركبته فماتت لذلك كتابا معدها لهم الخبايا انه مولاه
وسلطان وسلطان من زينة علي بن ابي طالب وبا كصنة بنت رسول الله صلى الله
عليه وسلم فماتوا الانعوا لانفسنا سلطانا غيرك فقال لهم هو سلطانا في و
مولاه باسفه عزاله والاعاوه والثامه العسكران لعبيد الله ثم ان عبيد الله
انتخب من عسكره اولو الغرة والعدة والسلاح والشناك فجعل عليهم عا ملا
بانفسهم الى واران فتوجه العا مل فلما وصل الى واران وقد سمع اهل
الرجال ان يقاتله توجهوا فمركبته وهي كدية لا تارم فملصوها بهم وايقبها
مواجل الماء فملوها ما فلما وصلهم حاصرهم اشده الاطار ذكر بعض الخبايا
انه كوف عليهم سبع اطراف من الخيل فاذا الاقامة عليهم حتى جهوا
يوتوا عكشا فلما راوا ذلك اربأت قلوبهم وقبهم رجل يهودي فامر
بجمال جازمت ابروها فطشها ثم اذها في فمها على جدرك يبرس
فجعل لها في فمها كبير زينا فلما نظرت الجمال الرواء في الفضاء جعلت
ابوها في الفضاء وهي رطها من اسفل كربة حسب انها تشترب واذا

APPENDIX II

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLES:

THE RULING MUSLIM DYNASTIES

132-350/750-961

I. THE RUSTUMID IMAMS

	A. H.	A. D.
'Abd al -Raḥmān Ibn Rustum	144-171	762-788
'Abd al-Wahhāb Ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān	171-208	788-824
Abū Sa'id Aflah (Maymūn) Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb	208-240	824-855
Abū Bakr Ibn Aflah	240-241	855-856
Abū al-Yaqẓān Muḥammad	241-281	856-895
Abū Ḥātim Yūsuf	281-294	895-907
Al-Yaqẓān Ibn Muḥammad	294-296	907-909

II. THE 'ABBASID CALIPHS

	A. H.	A. D.
Abū al-'Abbās 'Abd Allah al-Saffāh	132-136	750-754
Abū Ja'far 'Abd Allah al-Manṣūr	136-158	754-775
Abū 'Abd Allah Muḥammad al-Mahdī	158-169	775-785
Abū Muḥammad Mūsā al-Hādī	169-170	785-786
Abū Ja'far Hārūn al-Rashīd	170-193	786-809
Abū Mūsā Muḥammad al-Amīn	193-198	809-813
Abū Ja'far 'Abd Allah al-Ma'mūn	198-218	813-833
Abū Ishāq Muḥammad al-Mu'tasim	218-227	833-842
Abū Ja'far Hārūn al-Wāthiq	227-232	842-847
Abū al-Faḍl Ja'far al-Mutawakkil	232-247	847-861
Abū Ja'far Muḥammad al-Muntaṣir	247-248	861-862
Abū al-'Abbās Aḥmad al-Musta'in	248-251	862-866
Abū 'Abd Allah Muḥammad al-Mu'tazz	251-255	866-869
Abū Ishāq Muḥammad al-Muhtadī	255-256	869-870
Abū al-'Abbās Aḥmad al-Mu'tamid	256-279	870-892
Abū al-'Abbās Aḥmad al-Mu'tadid	279-289	892-902
Abū Muḥammad 'Alī al-Muktafi	289-295	902-908
Abū al-Faḍl Ja'far al-Muqtadir	295-320	908-932

III. THE AGHLABID AMĪRS

	A. H.	A. D.
Ibrāhīm I Ibn al-Aghlab	184-197	800-812
Abū al-'Abbās 'Abd Allah	197-201	812-816
Abū Muḥammad Ziyādat Allah I	201-223	816-837
Abū 'Iqāl al-Aghlab	223-226	837-840
Abū al-'Abbās Muḥammad I	226-242	840-856
Abū Ibrāhīm Aḥmad	242-249	856-863
Abū Muḥammad Ziyādat Allah II	249-250	863-864
Abū 'Abd Allah Abū al-Gharānīq Muḥammad II	250-261	864-875
Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm II	261-289	875-902
Abū al-'Abbās 'Abd Allah II	289-290	902-903
Abū Maḍar Ziyādat Allah III	290-296	903-909

IV. THE IDRISID IMAMS

	A. H.	A. D.
Idrīs Ibn 'Abd Allah	172-177	789-793
Idrīs Ibn Idrīs	177-213	793-828
Muḥammad al-Muntaṣir	213-221	828-836
'Ali Ibn Muḥammad (I)	221-234	836-849
Yahya Ibn Muḥammad (I)	234- ?	849- ?
Yahya II Ibn Yahya I	?	?
'Ali II Ibn 'Umar Ibn Idris II	?	?
Yahya III al-Miqdām	?	?
Yahya IV Ibn Idrīs Ibn 'Umar	292-310	904-922

V. THE MIDRARIDS (BANŪ WĀSŪL)

	A. H.	A. D.
Abū al-Qāsim Samghūn (Samkū)	155-168	722-784
Abū al-Wazīr al-Yās Ibn Abī al-Qāsim	168-174	784-790
Abū al-Manṣūr al-Yas' I	174-208	790-823
Midrār al-Muntaṣir	208-253	823-867
'Abd al-Raḥmān Maymūn	253-253	867-868
Maymūn al-Amīr (Ibn Baqīyah)	253-263	868-876
Muḥammad Ibn Maymūn	263-270	876-883
Al-Yas' II al-Muntaṣir	270-296	883-909

VI. THE Umayyads of Andalusia (Spain)

	A. H.	A.D.
'Abd al-Raḥmān I al-Dākhil	138-172	756-788
Hishām I Ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān	172-180	788-796
Al-Ḥakam I Ibn Hishām	180-206	796-822
'Abd al-Raḥmān II Ibn al-Ḥakam (al-Awṣaṭ)	206-238	822-852
Muḥammad I Ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān	238-273	852-886
Al-Mundhir Ibn Muḥammad	273-275	886-888
'Abd Allah Ibn Muḥammad	275-300	888-912
'Abd al-Raḥman III al-Nāṣir	300-350	912-961

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