

and their relevance to Islamic culture.¹⁰² These works represent a new theoretical infusion into the study of different types of Islamic sources, with enormous potential for historians of religion as well, since, as Julia Bray has suggested:

A history of emotions is still lacking in the spectrum of Islamic histories, but I believe it is an essential, whether we see it as a type of history or, as William M. Reddy has put it, “a way of doing political, social, and cultural history, not something to be added to [them]”. Since people act on what they believe and feel, a history of emotions seeks to explain both why people act and what their actions mean to them. Historians of emotion hold a range of positions but agree that thinking and feeling are connected; that neither is a natural, ahistorical given; and – a view that sits well with ‘Abbāsīd textual sources – that emotions are specific not only to cultures but, within them, to “emotional communities”, of which, Barbara H. Rosenwein argues, there will be several in any society. Identifying and exploring emotional communities is something for which we have a large body of early and medieval Arabic sources, including poetry and many types of narrative. Where to begin?¹⁰³

When it comes to *faḍā’il*, it has been noted that their focus shifted, after the fourth/tenth century, from particular groups to the “Qur’ānically guided vision of a righteous polity led by its most morally excellent members”.¹⁰⁴ The contents and tenor of al-Dāraquṭnī’s *Faḍā’il* suggest that in assessing how that morality was construed, we ought to pay attention to negative affective aspects of this literature in addition to the valorized positive traits embodied by revered figures or pious exemplars. The suspiciousness of Sālim ibn Ja’d, the insolence of Sālim ibn Abī Ḥaḥṣa, the exasperation and frustration of al-Bāqir and al-Šādiq: these too were among the affective dimensions of the *faḍā’il* tradition, and contributed to the formation of an increasingly sectarian *faḍā’il* discourse peopled by figures who were neither the Prophet nor even his Companions, whose imagined loyalties pushed the boundaries of the genre beyond an exclusively laudatory purview.

The extant chapter of al-Dāraquṭnī’s contribution to *Faḍā’il al-ṣahāba* is just one brief text, and it is a somewhat idiosyncratic text at that, but it emerged from a specific intra-Shii context. Containing contentious interactions rather than idealized pietistic themes, a compilation like al-Dāraquṭnī’s *Faḍā’il* reveals the workings of an evolving competitive discourse in which the representation of negative affects was considered an instructive and persuasive narrative device. What al-Dāraquṭnī’s compilation teaches us, as brief and fragmentary as it may be, is that the cultivation of pious partisanship through the collection and dissemination of *faḍā’il* was not necessarily a straightforwardly hagiographical endeavour.

102 J. Elias, *Alef is for Allah: Childhood, Emotion, and Visual Culture in Islamic Societies* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2018), 28–60.

103 J. Bray, “Toward an Abbasid history of emotions: the case of slavery”, *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 49/1, 2017, 143–7, here 143.

104 S. Enderwitz, “Faḍā’il”, *Encyclopaedia of Islam* 3, citing A. Afsaruddin, “In praise of the word of God: reflections of early religious and social concerns in the *Faḍā’il al-Qur’ān* genre”, *Journal of Qur’anic Studies* 4, 2002, 27–48, here 38.

Ballaghanā ‘an an-Nabī: early Basran and Omani Ibādī understandings of sunna and siyar, āthār and nasab

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Abstract

This paper explores the usages of four concepts – *sunna*, *sīra*, *āthār*, and *nasab* – mainly in early Ibādī epistles, but also in other types of Ibādī literature, to examine how early Ibādīs understood the legacy of the Prophet Muḥammad, and their relation to that legacy. It argues that before the sixth/twelfth century a notion of communal pedigree occupied pride of place in early Ibādī conceptualizations of legality and legitimacy. Thus, Ibādī *sunna* was “communal *sunna*”. The accumulated weight of Ibādī tradition – what is known as *āthār* in Ibādī literature – operated authoritatively as a counterpart to *sunna*; and the Ibādī *siyar* tradition did not focus on the Prophet exclusively, but rather described the scholarly community as an imagined whole. Moreover, Ibādīs explicitly articulated their communal pedigree in “teacher lines” (called *nasab al-dīn* or *nasab al-islām*) in Omani literature, and through the structure of their *ṭabaqāt/siyar* works in North Africa. Appreciating the importance of this communal pedigree, and the nexus of concepts through which it was articulated, helps us to understand the relative lack of emphasis placed on collecting and documenting ḥadīth (Ibādīs employ ḥadīth, but they did not use *isnāds*, nor did they appear to have a ḥadīth collection until the sixth/twelfth century), as well as the general absence of Prophetic biography among them (which also does not appear until the sixth/twelfth century).

Keywords: Kharijites, Ibādīs, Prophet, Sīra, *Siyar*, *Āthār*, *Nasab*, *Sunna*, Oman

From a modern Sunni or Shi‘i Muslim perspective, early Ibādī attitudes towards ḥadīth and *sīra* might seem puzzling, leading the observer to assume that early Ibādīs placed little emphasis on ḥadīth, and none on Prophetic biography. For example, ḥadīth, both Prophetic and non-Prophetic, appear in the early Ibādī epistles (*siyar*) but sparsely, and without *isnāds*.¹ Ibādīs do not seem to have a formal ḥadīth collection until quite late – Abū Ya‘qūb Yūsuf al-Warjlanī’s (d. 570/1174) sixth/twelfth-century *Tartīb al-musnad* is the earliest example

1 One exception is the *sīra* (epistle) of Shabīb b. ‘Atīyya, which contains a number of well-known and widely disseminated ḥadīth. See Abdulrahman Al-Salimi and Wilferd Madelung, *Ibādī Texts from the 2nd/8th Century* (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 149–222.

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al-Afdālī, Yahyā b. Ṣālih

Abu Zakariyyā' **Yahyā b. Ṣālih al-Afdālī** (1126–1203/1714–88) was an important scholar and reformer of the Ibāḍiyya, an Islamic minority community considered to have origins in the Khārijite denomination that today exists mainly in Oman and North Africa. He was born in the town of Banī Yasjan in Wādī Mīzāb (located in the Sahara in present-day north-central Algeria). After finishing his elementary education he moved to the island of Jarba (Djerba) for further studies, where he stayed for twelve years. When exactly he left Wādī Mīzāb is not transmitted in the historiography of the Ibāḍiyya. His most important teacher in Jarba was Yūsuf b. Muḥammad al-Muṣ'abī al-Malikī (d. 1207/1792), who is said to have been one of the most influential Ibāḍī scholars of the time (al-Ḥājj Sa'īd, 81). Afterwards al-Afdālī studied at al-Azhar University in Cairo for a couple of years, although it is not known whether he concealed his faith, a practise known as *kitmān* that was common among Ibāḍīs at the time owing to the threat of persecution (Ourghi, 139). During his studies in Cairo he became familiar

with Sunnī schools of law (*madhāhib*), no doubt aiding rapprochement between Ibāḍī scholars and their Sunnī counterparts. In 1157/1744 al-Afdālī returned to his home town Banī Yasjan, where he established a religious school named Dār al-Talāmīdh (Custer, 2:33). Unfortunately, little information about al-Afdālī's religious reforms has been transmitted. What is known is that he tried to use his authority in religious education to prevent "cultural decline" and he criticised the spreading of heretical "innovations" (*bida'*)—such as fervent clan loyalty—in his sermons. In contrast to more conservative scholars he argued for the end of the long-lasting self-imposed isolation of the Ibāḍī community and its opening to the outside world in general and towards Sunnī thought in particular. Owing to intense educational activity, al-Afdālī devoted little time to authorship and, until recently, it was believed that he had not even authored a single work. Only when the private library of the Āl al-Faḍl family in Banī Yasjan was catalogued by the contemporary historian Yahyā b. 'Isā Būrās was a single work, attributed to al-Afdālī, discovered (Shārfi, 4: 967). Titled *Sharḥ*

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Abdulrahman al-Salimi, Early Islamic Law in Basra in the 2nd/8th
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Introduction

I

The Ibādī movement owes its name to 'Abd Allāh b. Ibād al-Murrī at-Tamīmī, an almost unknown early Muḥakkīma figure who participated in the siege to Mecca under the leadership of Nāfi' b. al-Azraq in 64/683, but later broke away from the Khārījī extremists and looked for an understanding with the Umayyad rulers. According to the Ibādī biographies he belonged to the second generation (*ṭabaqah*) of scholars and died probably during the reign of the caliph 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān (65–86/685–705). With the latter 'Abd Allāh b. Ibād succeeded in entering into correspondence and he is credited with two letters to him whose authenticity is almost controversial.¹

The real founding father of the school was 'Abd Allāh b. Ibād's successor, Abū l-Sha'thā' Jābir b. Zayd al-Azdī (born in 18 or 21/639 or 641 and died around 100/718), who came from Nazwā in Oman and was one of the best friends and a disciple of the celebrated companion of the Prophet 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abbās.

At Baṣra he enjoyed enormous prestige as a man of learning, and even Sunni Muslims acknowledge his importance as a transmitter. His teaching was crucial in the formation of the Ibādī school: not only did he train the first scholars of the movement, Abū Nūḥ Ṣāliḥ al-Dahhān, Ḥayyān al-A'raj, Ḍumām b. al-Sā'ib, Ja'far b. al-Sammāk, and Abū 'Ubaydah al-Tamīmī, but also several Sunni traditionists, such as Qatāda b. Di'āma, 'Amr b. Harim, 'Amr b. Dīnār, Tamīm b. Khuwayṣ and 'Umārah b. Ḥayyān, were among his friends and disciples.

He carried on 'Abd Allāh b. Ibād's policy of maintaining friendly relations with the Umayyads and kept on good terms with the powerful governor, al-Hajjāj, through whom he even succeeded in obtaining regular payments from the state coffers. But their relationship soon deteriorated mainly due to Jābir's close connections with the family of the former governor of Khurāsān, Yazīd b. al-Muhallab, who had been deposed and arrested in 86/705 by al-Hajjāj. Jābir corresponded with Yazīd's brother, 'Abd al-Malik b. al-Muhallab (d. 102/721), who was first governor of Khurāsān, then of Iraq (see *Jawābāt Jābir*

¹ R. Rubinacci, "Il califfo 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān e gli Ibādīti," in *Annali dell'Istituto Universitario Orientale*, N. S. 5 (1954): 99–121; Michael Cook, *Early Muslim Dogma* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 53; see also Abdulrahman al-Salimi and Wilferd Madelung (eds.), *Ibādī Texts from the 2nd/8th Century* (Brill, 2017).

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