

their like who advocated fighting and separating from those they considered non-Muslims, the nascent Ibādiyya accepted the practice of *taqiyya* ("prudent dissimulation"), rejected the need to emigrate (that is, to perform *hijra*) away from those whom they considered non-Muslims, and did not anathematise those who refrained from fighting against those whom they deemed tyrants. In so doing, they implicitly accepted the premise that the community might live in secret amidst non-Ibādīs. What is perhaps the earliest formal exposition on the conditions of *zuhūr* and *kitmān* comes from an Ibādī *sīra* ("epistle") that survives in an Omani manuscript collection and purports to be from an unknown Abū 'Ubayda al-Maghribī to the second Rustumid *imām* 'Abd al-Wahhāb b. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Rustum (r. 168–188/785–804; Kāshif, 2:320–24). Formulations of the *masālik al-dīn* that count four stages are first attested by the Maghribī Ibādī scholar Abū Zakariyyā' Fayṣal b. Abī Maswar (d. fifth/eleventh century), who was a member of the North African Ibādī generation (*tabaqa*) of the late fourth/tenth and early fifth/eleventh century (al-Darjīnī, 2:364).

The concept of *kitmān* also serves the broader purpose of conceptualising the flow of Ibādī history as uninterrupted and, thereby, as connected in an unbroken link back to the first Muslims. Such claims allow Ibādīs to assert connections to the earliest sources of Islamic legitimacy (Gaiser, Stages, 214–5).

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## Kulthūm b. 'Iyād al-Qushayrī

**Kulthūm b. 'Iyād al-Qushayrī** (d. 123/741) was an Umayyad notable and government official who served as *amūr* (governor) of Damascus during the reign of the caliph Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik (r. 105–25/724–43). He also led a large Syrian army on an expedition to suppress an Amzigh (Berber) revolt in the Maghrib (122–5/740–3). He is occasionally labelled al-Qasrī rather than al-Qushayrī, which is likely a scribal error, but could suggest confusion about his tribal affiliation. As a Qushayrī, he would have been part of the Qaysī tribal bloc, but as a Qasrī, he would have been part of the Bajīla tribe, which was loosely attached to the Yamanī bloc instead.

Little is known about his tenure as *amūr* of Damascus. It is even unclear when he was appointed to the position. Ibn 'Asākir (d. 571/1175) records two long, eloquent, but otherwise unremarkable *khutbas* (sermons) Kulthūm gave in Damascus (Ibn 'Asākir, 50:218–24). These do not appear in other sources. Al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923) describes Kulthūm's role in the feud between Khālid al-Qasrī (d. 126/743), whom he refers to as Kulthūm's cousin (*ibn 'amm*), and the Qaysī leader Yūsuf b. 'Umar (d. 127/744). In this account, Kulthūm is prompted by Yūsuf to imprison members of Khālid's family on false charges of arson and looting in