ABSTRACTS

KEYNOTE SPEAKERS

Ijabi Identity and Imperial Policy in the Early Abbasid Period
Joseph van Ess
(University of Tübingen, Germany)

Part One: The relationship between Empire and Caliphate.
The caliphate arose as a political necessity, without any explicit religious obligation. Oppositional tendencies were likewise not religiously conditioned but of tribal origin; only later heresiographical literature emphasized the religious roots (using terms like Saba'iyya, Khawarij etc.). Under the Umayyads the basis of the caliphate was primarily tribal; the Abbasids rather chose an autocratic model based on Iranian ideas.

Part two: The Ibadiyya as Part of the Islamic Empire.
The Ibadi community seems to have been almost exclusively Arab and tribally oriented. Moreover, its perspective was maritime rather than continental. Oman, though being part of the Arabian peninsula, was the center of a "thalassocracy" squatting the shores of the Gulf, with mercantile outposts in Iran and in Basra. With its floating borders and its "republican" ideology which was taken over into Ibadi religious thinking the area did not fit well into Abbasid autocratic rule. Under the Umayyads the conflict with the caliphate had not yet been perceived, but under the Abbasids it broke out where both concepts came closest to each other: in Basra. When a compromise turned out to be impossible the Ibadi community left Iraq and retreated to the periphery, i.e. Oman and the Maghrib.

Ibāḍīyya and Mu'tazila in Early Islam
Wilferd Madelung
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The Ibāḍīyya and the Mu'tazila arose as moderate opposition movements in Basra under the Umayyad caliphate in close contact with each other. Both sought to restore the unity of the Muslim community primarily by a teaching effort and extensive missionary activity rather than armed revolt. As they appealed largely to the same constituency, their rivalry became intense despite their similar motivation. In their theological thought, the Ibāḍīyya gradually moved closer to Sunnī traditionalism without giving up their separate identity, while the rationalist Mu'tazila merged into the Shi'a and eventually disappeared as an independent school of theology. The paper will examine the major stages in this development.

Moderation and Extremism in Early Ibadis Thought
John Wilkinson
(Oxford University, United Kingdom)

This paper is an attempt to draw together certain aspects of early Ibadism I have developed more fully elsewhere, and is really in the nature of “flying a kite”. It is obvious that the terms moderation and extremism are relative to Ibadism itself, and equally obviously judgemental. What appears to be moderation may in fact be weakness, while extremism may
represent sticking to principles whatever the outcome. The real issue is what constitutes the two ends of the continuum, the right and wrong (haqq wa bâtiţ) which form the ma‘rûf and munkar of the Ibadi community’s moral and legal code. There are therefore two aspects to be examined. The one, to establish how the common ground was decided, by whom, why and when: the other, the nature of the debatable ground in between. It is in this grey that the “moderates” display a certain flexibility and tolerance in interpretation which the “extremists” try to categorize as black or white, as is particularly apparent in the views of the early ulema in Oman. The dichotomy is illustrated through discussion of the origins and activation of the movement; the views of the qa‘ada and the ideology and practices of shirâ‘; of qawl wa ‘amal; of the debates concerning membership and exclusion from the community (walâya and barâ‘a) and the nature of suspended judgement, wuqûf, both in terms of individuals and doctrinal dispute; the evolution of the constitution of the Imamate; the development of the Rustaq party dogma and its rejection of all Mu‘tazili influences, its harsh and puritanical interpretations of certain tolerated practices, and its increasing tendency to accept Shâfi‘i-Ash‘ari norms in its attempts to emerge as a fully fledged madhhab, the true madhhab al-muslimîn of the 73 firqa.

**Speakers**

Breviary of Faith and Sectarian Memorial. A New Reading of the *Kitāb Ibn Sallām* (3rd/9th c.)

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The so-called *Kitāb Ibn Sallām* (KIS) – *Kitāb fihi bud’ al-Islām* was its original title – has already been edited by the German Arabist Werner Schwartz and by the Ibâdî Djerbian Scholar Sālim b. Ya‘qūb in 1986. However, their preliminary study in Arabic does not exhaust the interest of this strange work and the possibilities for a historical approach of it. The *KIS* ranges among the oldest North African Ibâdî sources since some of its narrative accounts were certainly collected shortly after 273/886-7. Even if its content is highly heterogeneous, the *KIS* includes valuable historical accounts, a part of which is directly taken from Ibn Sallām’s own remembrance and family archives, the other part derives from a standard Ibâdî stock of memory and martyrology that was already circulating in the 2d/8th c. Moreover, like some other ancient *Siyar* the *KIS* is also peppered with apparently disconnected biographical, theological and juridical elements. In order to give unity to this apparently chaotic compilation, after many hesitations the editors have attributed its writing to a single author, Ibn Sallām. Even if this interesting personality is actually a major protagonist for the making of this book, the *KIS* – like many other Early Islamic writings of this kind – should not be interpreted in the light of a sole authority but rather as the echo of a collective tradition and transmission. This does not mean that the seemingly disconnected materials included in the *KIS* are completely deprived of any intrinsic unity, but precisely unity appears with greater clarity when considering the ideological scope of the compilation.

In this essay we will first expose how the *KIS* has been constructed by tracing also the origins of its components, including the *hadiths*. Then we will examine the historical and biographical elements stressing out how they are actually contributing to the building of a sectarian counter-memory switching from a broader to a local scale. Finally, we will cross these conclusions with an analysis of the juridical and theological elements, showing that the *KIS* can be considered as a breviary of faith in the North African context of proselytization and islamicization.
The Reading of the Quran, *Sunna* and *Akhbar* in Early Ibadī Sources
Saleh Ahmed Al-Busaidi
(Sultan Qaboos University, Al-Khoud, Sultanate of Oman)

The Ibadis special reading of the Holy Quran and their opinions concur with other doctrines, but may not coincide. What makes the reading of the Ibadis distinguished, in my view, is in two things: first, the strong foundation they have established when dealing with legal texts; second, their strictness in applying its base and never diverting from it. This is what makes this doctrine consistent. Disagreement is rarely found between themselves, unlike others, regarding credence issues in particular, what are known as religious issues. If a disagreement is found among them, it is only at the beginning, but then their minds will be united in one opinion, as what happened regarding the issues of the creation of the Holy Quran. Regarding the issues of opinion, it is open to differences in views all opinions are accepted and respected. It is not permissible for anyone to accuse one who disagrees with him of being incorrect and if he did, he is seen to have gone astray.

This research shows the following results:
1. The Ibadis consider the Holy Quran as the first legal source that is a divine command.
2. The Ibadis do not find harm in interpreting some of the Quranic verses where interpretation may contradict other verses or logical evidence.
3. The honorable *sunna* is the second source for legal questions in Ibadism.
4. The Ibadis assert that the *hadith* should refer to the Holy Quran to make sure that it does not contradict anything in the verses of The Holy Quran.
5. The *Hadīth* of *‘āhād* is doubtful evidence, and so it can impose certain actions, but it does not provide real knowledge. Therefore, no credence can be established by *‘āhād* hadīth, but this type of hadīth can be used as evidence to support authentic credence.
6. The Ibadis accept other narrations and use them as evidence.
7. The Ibadis reject imitation and encourage freedom of opinion and following the evidence.

The Creation of the Quran in Ibadī Theology
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This paper will focus in the creation of the Quran in the Ibadī theological tradition. It starts with the Ibadī presence in their center in Basra, will follow the development of the discussions among the Ibadī communities in different regions and address the essential Ibadī arguments concerning the creation of the Quran up to modern times.

The question of the Creation of the Quran has led to a division among the Ibadī theologians whereas in other cases we usually get similar views whether it is in the Mashriq or Maghrib. It is possible to argue that it is mainly theological case. But it has caused consequences in the Ibadī’s theological discussion resulting mainly out of a confusion of adopted views rather than from an original evaluation of the sources.

Thus arguments on the creation of the Quran originate from two schools, Maghribian (North Africa) and the Mashariqian (Oman, Hadramawt, Yemen and also including the Ibadis in the regions east of Mesopotamia). That happened when the Ibadī center in Basra came to an end and Ibadī Imamates developed in different regions.

The paper traces the question of the creation of the Quran under theological and historical aspects, focusing especially on the Mashriq School.
L’évolution de la théologie ibadite maghrébine d’après une épître hérésiographique de la fin du XIe siècle
Allaoua Amara
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L’analyse de cette épître, éditée intégralement en 1994, permettrait d’avoir une idée sur les querelles théologiques qui ont marqué l’ibadisme maghrébin. Prenant comme point de départ une tradition prophétique sur l’éclatement de la communauté musulmane, il relate le point de vue ibadîte – wahbîte concernant la théologie des tendances rivales à savoir, le nukkarisme, le nafatisme, le khalfisme, le ‘umrisme, le sakkakisme et le farthisme.

An Unpublished Manuscript of Doxography. The Mabhath al-firaq of Shaykh Atfayyash
Farid Bouchiba
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The encyclopedic work of the Ibadite scholar Tfîch (d. 1914) comprises an unedited manuscript entitled Mabhath al-firaq. It is a doxographical treatise.

The introduction of the manuscript reveals the author's plan. Based on the famous hadith of the iftiraq "my community will be divided into seventy-three groups. All will go to hell except one: the one to which I and my companions belong", the author intends to show the victorious group, or in other words the firqa nâjiyya.

We propose firstly to study this hadith, remembering that Islam cannot be enclosed in arithmetical rules and exclude all opposition. Next for the sake of comparison, we will proceed to analyse and classify the firaq in the Mawāqif of al Ijî (d. 756), demonstrating that the Mabhath of Tfîch is often only a pale copy of it. However, we will show that even if the Mabhath is very similar to the Mawāqif in its structure, it differs in its inspiration. We will also study the second part of the manuscript where the defense of Ibadism is completely revealed, and where the author intends to demonstrate that the firqa nâjiyya could only be the Ibadiyya.
The Ibadiyah in Muslim Sicily. From the Conquest to Lucera?
Leonard Chiarelli
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The paper will focus on the presence of the Ibadiyah in Sicily. It begins with the Muslim conquest and ends with the deportation of rebellious Muslim political leaders and their families to Lucera by the emperor Frederick II Hohenstaufen (r. 1208-1250) from 1223 to 1245. The paper addresses the Ibadi tribes that settled on the island and where they were located, as best we can determine from primary sources. The presence of the Ibadiyah can be identified by the Berber tribes that participated in the expedition to conquer Sicily in 212/827. That was when the Aghlabid dynasty in Ifriqiya (the region of modern-day Tunisia and western Tripolitania) launched its conquest at the request of the rebellious Byzantine naval commander Euphemius (d. 214/829) who sought their help in re-conquering the island. Along with the expedition’s military forces, Muslim religious leaders and others migrated to the island. The largest group to settle in Sicily was the indigenous population of North Africa, known in the Middle Ages and today as the Berbers. Contingents of Berber warriors came from Tripolitania in Libya and southern Tunisia; most, if not all, were adherents of the Ibadi sect or madhhab. After the initial invasion a steady stream of immigrants to the island fled the famines, civil wars and religious strife that afflicted North Africa from the 4th/9th century to the late 6th/12th century. The paper historically traces the movement of Ibadi tribes from North Africa, including Tahert, to Sicily. It addresses the possible political, economic and social impact of their presence and presents evidence that may lead to the proposition that they established their own semi-autonomous state within the island. This community may have lasted until their defeat by Frederick II and their subsequent deportation to Lucera.

Nūr al-Dīn Al-Sālimī and the Ibadhi Theology. The Mashāriq Anwār al-`Uqūl
Anna Rita Coppola
(University of Rome “La Sapienza”, Italy)

The paper I’m going to present deals with the Ibadhi theology as outlined by al-Imam Nūr al-Dīn al-Sālimī in his book Mashāriq Anwār al-`Uqūl. In particular, I will try to explore the relations between Ibadhi and Mu’tazilite theology. I will pay attention to a specific problem posed by various articles mainly by Italian scholars and issued in the last century, that is the origin of Ibadhi theology. Is it stemmed from the Mu’tazila? Do they have a common origin? Are they two different theological schools? What supports the different explanation about the origins of Ibadhi theology and its common views with the Mu’tazilite one? I will try to answer to these questions analyzing firstly what is the Ibadhi ‘aqīda as illustrated in the Mashāriq and secondly illustrating what are the common thoughts of the two schools.

Berber Translations of Some Ibadi Aqidas
Anna Maria Di Tolla
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The literature on the subject of Berber codicology is rather limited (with some exceptions). The Berber manuscripts are dispersed in different countries in North Africa and in Europe. Many manuscripts are in private libraries and collections which have been passed from generation to generation. Today, many of these manuscripts are at risk of permanent damage and loss to give away inherited collection. The aim of this paper is to provide necessary
background information on Berber translations of some IbadiAQidas, the topic they discuss, some characteristics as the writing system, the notes on interesting features, the dialectal features, and so on.

**The Prohibition of Literal Anthropomorphic Attributes to the Divine. A Comparison of the Writings of Ibadi Theologians with the Writings of Reformed Theologian, John Calvin.**

Douglas Leonard  
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Ibadi theologians, while varied in their interpretations of the precise meaning of Quranic references to human metaphors in relation to the Divine, are unified in their rejection of the idea that these human attributes are in any sense literal. A similar prohibition can be seen in the writings of Reformed Theologian, John Calvin. In exploration of common theological ground between Ibadi Islam and Reformed Christianity, I will examine the texts of various Ibadi theologians prohibiting the assignment of literal anthropomorphic qualities to God. I will compare these Ibadi prohibitions with the doctrine of French Reformed Theologian John Calvin in his systematic theology, *The Institutes of the Christian Religion* and in Calvin’s commentaries on the book of Genesis. How one understands God has enormous ethical implications for how one lives and acts in the world. The shared prohibition of a literal embodiment of the Divine preserves an awareness of the sovereignty of God and limits the abuse of power that can result when one’s own human actions become improperly conflated with divine purpose.

**Theology of Human Act. Imposing the Impossible. Al-taklîf and its Problems among Ibadis**

Dridi Moez  
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*Taklîf* is a fundamental criterion bestowing on human beings a legal status that makes them responsible before the laws of jurisprudence. Because of this juridical responsibility and because of the faculty of ‘reason’ human beings possess, they are subject to a set of obligations and divine laws revealed to them through Prophet Muhammad. In the Quran, more specifically in chapter II, verse 233, God only imposes on His servants what they can bear, referred to as *wus’am*. Theological debates have indeed revolved around that particular aspect. How to read and interpret this *taklîf* and what are its limits and those of human faculties are questions raised every time the issue of free will is raised. *Istitâ’u*, or human capacity, is dependent on many conditions that fulfill it. According to Ibadis, human beings acquired their acts along with a free will and thus, they are solely responsible (*mukallaf*) for their acts. Accomplishing an act is conditioned by a divine intervention that creates this capacity simultaneously with the free will and the results of the act. This thesis is refuted by the Mutazilites.

In the case of certain legal and religious obligations, do human beings have the choice to not accomplish an act the moment they lack the physical and intellectual capacity? Asking the impossible from human beings could be possible but it would be inadmissible by God. For the sake of divine justice and human reason, as the Mutazilites put it, God can only hold for His servants what is in their best interest (*al-aslah*). Other theologians, however, believed that God could not be accounted for human acts because what is called « good » or « bad »
are human values that are meaningless for the Divine. According to Asharites, the « good » and the « bad » are foundational in the revelations. God does whatever he wants and all what he does is just.

As Islam is both a religion and a state, this question has a special emphasis in the case of the Ibadi imamate as an institution and of the imam as a person. Could one revoke a contract of allegiance to an imam who is considered unjust? or even oppose him? Does the mukallaf have the right to practice wuqaf, and refuse to answer questions concerning the Ibadi community?

These questions have been widely debated by the different schools but what did Ibadi theologians say about them? Have they developed a new approach or have they articulated a variation of existent interpretations by schools influenced by the Muatizilite theology? The latter has been well-represented by the historiography while that of Ibadism has been totally neglected. This idea of human free will is an important one that is at the heart of envisioning the relationship between God and human being and between the human being and the society. This paper offers an analysis of the Ibadi views.

“Ibadi Studies in Naples”. Rereading the Works of Last Century Italian Scholars
Ersilia Francesca
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The studies on Ibadism attracted the attention of the Italian scholars starting from the early decades of the last century when the pivotal works by Carlo Alfonso Nallino, Mario Martino Moreno, Laura Vecchia Vaglieri and Roberto Rubinacci analysed crucial questions of Ibadi theology and history. In particularly, Rubinacci argued that the Ibadis boost the development of Islamic law and dogma in early centuries of Islam thanks to their strict ethical code that was inflamed by an intense religiosity. Moreover, it was the first declarations by the early Ibadis, the points they proposed for discussion that spurred the Iraqi school. A critical rereading of the works of these Italian scholars will shed light on the contribution of the last century Italian scholarship to the studies on Ibadism.

Politics and Polemics. Ibadi Theology in North Africa in the Modern Period
Amal Ghazal
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A main feature of Ibadism in the modern period has been the attempt to redefine and re-articulate Ibadis’ relations with non-Ibadi Muslims. Anti-colonialism, nationalism and Islamic reform in the late nineteenth century and the first half the twentieth century created common ground between Ibadis and other Muslims. This paper looks at the place of Ibadi theology in those developments. Since theology is concerned with the relationship between human beings, in addition to their relationship to God, this paper analyses how the process of reconciliation and rapprochement with other Muslims affected and impacted theological articulations within Ibadism. The paper also argues that Ibadi theology in the modern period did not necessarily follow classical models of discussion and debate. The nature of the arguments as well as the new means of communication created not only a new context for Ibadi theology but also new forms and formulations of theological discussions. This paper focuses on theological debates and discussions in North Africa, with an emphasis on the Mzab. It looks at unpublished and published treatises on Ibadi theology as well as at Mzabi newspapers.
**Controversies between Ibadites-Wahbites and Other Doctrines (3rd/9th – 4th/10th Century)**

Mohamed Hassen
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Parallel to the socio-economic and political dynamism in the Maghreb from the 8th century, cultural life is characterized by a certain doctrinal plurality, illustrated by controversies between Ibadites and rival groups, about the foundations of religion and issues of everyday life. This dogmatic literature seems proliferate during the 11th-12th centuries (in the writings of Abu Ya'qub al-Warjalānī, of Abū 'Amr al-Sufī, or in the Kitāb al-mujiz of Abū' Abd al-Ammar -Kafi), perhaps as a result of the domination of Sanhaja and of raids launched by the Banu Ghaniya. We examine the record of controversies involving Ibadism by distinguishing three phases:

1. The emergence of the Ibadism:
   - Condemnation of Azraqites by Abd Allāh b. Ibad
   - The Sufrītes seen by 'Amrus b. Fath
   - Ibadites and Maalikites

2. The dogmatic divergences within the Ibadism of:
   - The Eastern origins of nuqqārite dogma
   - The split of Nuqqārites of Tahert
   - The controversy between the two Ibadite fractions (wahbite and nukkarite, 6th/12th cent.)
     - The Khalfiyya
     - The Naffāthiyya

   In this section, we will find that the dogmatic and tribal affiliation is consistent with the territorial, political and socio-economic development disagreements within the Rustumide State.

3. The controversy as a reflex of the relationship between minorities and the state ideology:
   - The Mu'tazilites: the topic discussed between the two groups about the constraint and the free will (al-jabr wa l-Ikhtiyar). The Ibadites have adopted a middle position between the constraint and the "capacity" (isti a'a).
   - The Ismailites and Ibadī minorities: the theological debate sessions organized by the Fatimid Caliph al-Mu'izz can not be explained by an atmosphere of intellectual freedom, because it wasorchestrated by the caliph himself. The moderate position adopted by the sovereign can be explained by a desire to pacify the Zanata tribes before the battle of Bāghay in 358/969.
   - For the Sunnis, the struggle between Zenata and Sanhaja was accompanied by a hardening of the position of Malikites against Ibadites and by reinforcing the isolation of minorities.

**Ibadi Values and Modern Islam**

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Some specific examples include the rise of interest – ihtimām not fā'ida – in what is dubbed ‘Islamic banking’ to the point that major western banks offer shari‘a compliant financing, variously defined, chosen by Muslims and non-Muslims alike. This reflects the social awareness for community welfare practised by Ibāḍīs, and has been noticed especially
in the wake of the US mortgage debacle in 2008 with its continuing effects at the individual, community and national levels. Meanwhile in Egypt, in their bid for governance the Muslim Brotherhood have engaged Peruvian economist Hernando De Soto to guide them toward a more inclusive and egalitarian market. Although they do not characterise this forward motion as looking back to early Ibāḍī practice, Ibāḍīs were recognised as models of economic egalitarianism inside and outside their immediate communities. An attention to daʿwa is found in various venues from private homes to urban streets to cyberspace. The goals of increasing and integrating benefits for oneself and others, in this world and the hereafter, resonate with Ibāḍī missionaries’ reputations for honest dealings in concert with a certain asceticism in reducing the material in favor of the spiritual. An example is Jamāʿat al-Tablīgh, a missionary group that invites Muslims at the individual level to consider what worldly comforts they are willing to forego in order to put spiritual ethics into practice. Individual responses can impel a degree of separation from the organised religious mainstream, even while identifying oneself with a spiritual majority. As for armed struggle or being killed by an oppressing or occupying force, the Shurāt idea of depriving the enemy of agency can be found in people’s recitation of the āya stating, ‘count not those who were slain in God’s path as dead/amwāt, but rather living/ahyāʾ with their Lord’ (Qur’an 3:169). In a visible rendition, for example, the āya garnered public attention on a street-spanning banner in ‘Ayn al-Ḥilwa refugee camp in Lebanon, dispelling sorrow by this attitude toward martyrs.

While Ibāḍīs cannot claim a monopoly on these goals and discussions, they do have a documented historical role of participation, whereby such ideas about exchange, equality, motivations, and judgment have been engaged and engaging even if not recognised by other Muslim sects. Ibāḍīs have been present and active by virtue of ideas they have been sharing and acting upon, contributing to decisions about values in a wider sphere of Muslim self-identification.

Finally, virtually all Muslims in the present day have replicated the experience of Ibāḍīs in being pushed to defend themselves against claims of extremism. In a smaller sphere, Ibāḍī – ‘Atfayyish primary among them in modern history – have felt the need to devote energy toward addressing the larger Muslim community in separating Ibāḍīs from amalgamation with extremist actions attributed to Khawārij. Now the larger Muslim population, ie, all Muslims within the lens of prevailing Western communications, find themselves in the same cross-hairs of criticism in which many of them placed Ibāḍīs for centuries, and consequently adopting Ibāḍī strategies for their own defence. In any case, Ibāḍīs have been distinguishing themselves from ‘the other’ among those calling themselves ‘believers’ and ‘Muslims’ since their earliest days, and they have been doing so by detailing motives, intentions, and judgments about the individual facing society and facing God, that is by defining a universe of values.

Articulating Ibadi Theology in the Modern Age
Valerie J. Hoffman
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The modern age brought Ibadis into closer contact with Sunni Muslims than ever before, prompting fresh reflections on the essential Ibadite teachings and the relationship between Ibadism and other Islamic theological schools. This paper will study the development of the articulation of Ibadite theology from the early nineteenth century to the present day through examining the writings of five scholars who extensively engaged with Sunni thought: Nasir b. Abi Nabhan (1778-1847), Muhammad b. Yusuf Atfayyish (1820-1914), Ibrahim b. Yusuf
Atfayyish (1886-1965), Bayyud Ibrahim b. ‘Umar (1899-1981), and Ahmad b. Hamad al-Khalili, the current Grand Mufti of the Sultanate of Oman.

**Ibâdi Thought and Colonial Encounters**

Augustin Jomier  
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Established as a social movement in the 1930s, mainly by Shaykh Bayyû, the ʾislāḥ is a major element in the history of the Mzab and in the evolution of the ibâḍî thought during the Contemporary period. Even if the reformist Ulama have mainly inherited of an ancient and ibâḍî intellectual tradition, they probably can also be seen as “an Islamic response to imperialism”. Indeed, the entry in a “colonial situation” – the “French Algeria” –, has deeply upset the frame of reference of Mozabi scholars. Among those changes, the increased trades in this age of empires, the orientalist looks on the ibâḍî and berber traditions and the imposition of new categorizations by the occupant have been especially significant. The ʾislāḥ and its related social actions have therefore been characterized by the reaction to colonial narratives, the questioning of the relations between the ibâḍî madhhab and the other Islamic schools and by a reflection on the role played by Berbers in North African and Algerian history. Their historiographical production contributed to suggest new identifications to the ibâḍî and Mozabî people, in order to articulate it with the building of the Algerian nation. In this article, I intend to examine the role played by “colonial encounters” in the evolution of ibâḍî thought in Algeria during the XXth century. For this purpose, I mainly refer to certain texts produced by the ʾislāḥ historiography and by the reformist Ulema, especially Shaykh Abû-l-Yaqzân and Shaykh Dabbûz. Secondly, I use the orientalist texts of the colonial period as well as the Colonial archives and papers of the Missionaries of Africa (ANOM ; White Fathers, Roma).

**The Concepts of walāya, barā’a, and wuqūf among the 2nd/8th Century Ibadis**

Yohei Kondo  
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In his The Making of Christian Doctrine, Dr. Maurice Wiles indicated three motives by which the Church was led along the path of doctrinal development: (1) an apologetic motive, (2) the problem of heresy, and (3) the natural desire to think out and think through the implications of their faith as deeply and as fully as possible. We could apply these motives to the doctrinal development in Islam with some modifications in terms of (1) and (2), namely (1) an apologetic motive, both against other religions and against other Islamic sects and schools, and (2) the problem of deviated thoughts and deeds arising from the community itself to which a Muslim writer or speaker belongs.

The Arabic walāya (association in English), barā’a (disassociation, sometimes ‘adāwa ‘enmity’), and wuqūf (suspension of judgment) are key concepts to understand the nature of Muslim society, especially that of the Ibâḍī community. The Ibâḍîs regard walāya and barā’a as a part of the most important principles constituting Ibâḍî teachings. Tracing their origin back to the Khawārij or al-Muhakkima, the Ibâḍîs adopted the Khârîjī attitude toward ‘Uthmân, ‘Alî and their adherents. On the other hand, they dissociated themselves from the other sects of the Khawârij and developed a detailed discussion on the concepts and practices of walāya, barā’a, and wuqūf over the centuries.
The aim of this paper is to analyze the concepts of walāya, barā’a, and wuqūf in Ibāḍī thought mainly from the second century A.H./eighth century A.D. to the fourth/tenth century in Iraq and Oman, from the religious and historical point of view. My research is based on the Ibāḍī ṭabaqāt (biographies), fiqh and theological works, in addition to ancient Ibāḍī epistles.

From a report of Basran Ibāḍī Imām Abū Sufyān Maḥbūb b. al-Raḥīl (al-Ruḥayl), the Ibāḍī principles of walāya, barā’a, and wuqūf seemed to be extant in the first part of the second/eighth century at the latest. Judging from Ibāḍī writings, the Ibāḍī scholars in Basra were more interested in and discussed the practical dimension of these principles (e.g. how to recognize the walāya in a converted person and what causes an Ibāḍī to be dissociated from the community) rather than the theological theory of walāya and barā’a. They considered walāya and barā’a (or ‘adāwa) in close connection with the concept of īmān and kufr, and required a wafli not just to offer al-shahāda or the confession of Islam but also to observe religious beliefs and rituals in accordance with Ibāḍī teachings. The idea that an Ibāḍī could recognize someone as his wafi not only by face-to-face interaction at the time of conversion but also by the testimony of a qualified Ibāḍī for a third person enabled the Ibāḍīs to make walāya the bond of the community beyond time and space.

The Ibāḍīsm declared barā’a both against other Islamic sects and against the members of the Ibāḍī community. In the process of discussion on the declaration of barā’a, they developed the concept of sin. While Ibāḍīsm responded harshly to a person who committed a mortal sin or advocated a deviant thought, they adopted the systematic procedure of declaration of barā’a in cautious measure and the acceptance of repentance on the part of the sinner. Thus, the doctrines of barā’a and repentance contributed to stabilize the quality of the Ibāḍī community.

In terms of wuqūf, the Ibāḍī scholars gave wuqūf a temporal and minimal role. But for the difficulty of classification of human deeds and sayings into the only two categories of walāya and barā’a, the role of wuqūf gradually became an indispensable category in the system of walāya and barā’a. Although the Ibāḍīs strongly opposed the Murji’ite attitude toward ‘Uthmān and ‘Alī, the Ibāḍī concept of suspending judgment on a person with uncertain conditions and leaving its judgment for God seemed to share some similar effects and functions with the doctrine of ijrā’ (postponement of judgment).

From the fourth/tenth century onward, Ibāḍī scholars considered the relation of the unchangeable judgment of God with the judgment of human beings on earth. Abū Sa‘īd al-Kudamī and Abū al-Ḥasan al-Bisyawī, two prominent eastern Ibāḍī scholars classified each of three concepts into several articles from the aspect of objects, functions, and rules. The concepts introduced by them included walāya/barā’a al-sharīṭa and wilāya/barā’a bil-jumla as a main principle to resolve the potential antinomy between two judgments; hence, that they tried to assure the validity of Ibāḍī teachings of walāya and barā’a in which Ibāḍīs believed and which they put into practice on earth.

Sheikh Muhammad b. Yusuf Atfayyash. Sa contribution au développement de la pensée théologique ibadite
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This research paper considers the efforts of Sheikh Atfayyesh Mohamed Ben Youssouf as an Ibadi scholar who has got contributions in the Ibadi theology that have made him very famous and a distinguished reference for the Ibadi school all over the world. He has concentrated his research on the faith questions, and has written many books that treat those questions. His efforts require today to be evaluated in order to measure their contribution in
the development of the Ibadi view. The paper departs from the background of the Sheikh and the conditions in which he has worked, and investigates the importance of his scientific production in faith questions for the Ibadi school. What did he offer to the faith theology? Did he participate in its development through his works and views?

The researcher assumes that many reasons and conditions have been put together around Sheikh Atfayyesh that have pushed him to have a large contribution and an enhanced research, in order to satisfy the need in his era for the presentation of the Ibadi school and the permanence of its existence.

The research studies first the topic from the quantitative side that concerns what the Sheikh has left as books and research works in the field of creed. Then will be considered the qualitative aspect that concerns the content of what the Sheikh has left, in order to identify the kinds of evolution that could have resulted from the efforts of Sheikh Atfayyesh. That evolution could appear at the level of the Sheikh’s writings, as it could appear at the level of the Sheikh’s students who have followed his way after him and adopted his faith-related positions and his views in their writings.

The plan of the presentation will subsequently be as follows:
- The importance of the theological research of Sheikh Atfayyesh.
- The helping factors for the contribution of Sheikh Atfayyesh.
- The contribution in his books.
- The contribution at the level of the studied questions and ideas.
- An evaluation of the Sheikh Atfayyesh’s experience.

**Rereading Omani Siyar. Khālid b. Qahtān**
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A treatise by Abū Qahtān Khālid b. Qahtān (d. early 10th century), entitled: *Sīrat al-shaykh al-faqīḥ Abī Qahtān Khālid b. Qahtān rahimahu-Allāh* is one of the major Ibādī sources, rising directly to the time of the Imāmate of al-Salt b. Mālik al-Azdi al-Khārūsī (851-886). Abū Qahtān Khālid b. Qahtān –is an outstanding Ibādī `ālim and faqīh from Oman. His name is mentioned in Ibādī «Insad of the knowledge of the people of salvation» among those, who passed Islam, in its original, undistorted form, from the prophet Muhammad, what testifies to a considerable role Abū Qahtān played in the development of Ibādī doctrine. Khālid b. Qahtān, an Azdi from Banū Kharūs, witnessed the resignation of al-Salt b. Mālik, his fellow-tribesman, and took a lively part in the controversy that erupted in this regard within the learned community of Omani Ibādīs consistently acting on the side of his fellow tribesman. The transfer of authority to Rāshid b. al-Nadr has been inspired by `ālim Mūsā b. Mūsā from Banū Sāma b. Lu’ayy. According to Abū Qahtān, al-Salt b. Mālik was deposed unjustly because of Mūsā b. Mūsā’s machinations, hence Rāshid b. al-Nadr, Mūsā’s protégé, headed the Omani community of the Ibādīs illegally. In his *Sīra*, addressed to the Ibādīs of Oman, Abū Qahtān proves illegitimacy of the removal of al-Salt b. Mālik and unfounded position of Mūsā b. Mūsā on this issue.

Political crisis which entailed al-Salt b. Mālik’s retirement, had considerable consequences for the community of Omani Ibādīs, splitting it on those, who condemned the removal of justly select leader, and those, who acknowledged power of new Imām – Rāshid b. al-Nadr. The issue of al-Salt b. Mālik as well as the transmission of Imāmate to Rāshid b. al-Nadr became one of the central themes of Ibādī literature inspiring theological, political and legal disputes among the Ibādī scholars of Oman.
In his *Sira*, addressed to Omani Ibāḍīs, Abū Qahtān substantiates his political priorities, however starting from far away – from the creation of the world and the appearances of Islam, putting present time events within the context of Qur’ānic tradition and early Islamic history.

**The Conception of *jihad* among the Ibadis**

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This paper aims to analyse the Ibadi conception of *jihad* and the related theoretical nodes such the definition of the roles of the *imam*. It intends also to raise the question of the Ibadi conception of *jihad* in the framework of the Khariji movement, with special reference to the dynamic between theory and praxis. My analysis will be mainly based on a rereading of the *Tarik-i-Sistan* starting from this perspective.