



The Impact Of Relations Between The Umayyad State In Al-Andalus And The Rustamid State In The Maghreb (2-5 Ah / 8-11 Ce)

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Abstract:

In the western Islamic world, independent states emerged apart from the Abbasid Caliphate in the east. These states experienced varying degrees of positive and strained relations due to political, religious, social and other factors. The relations between the Umayyad Sunni state in Al-Andalus (138-422 AH/756-1031 CE) and the Rustamid external state in the Maghreb (160-296 AH/777-909 CE) showed aspects of positive political relations, despite differences in religious and tribal (origin of the ruling tribe) affiliations. This academic article aims to examine the historical context, analyse the reasons behind this contradiction between politics and religious affiliation, and trace the impact of these relations in Al-Andalus even after the fall of both states.

Keywords: Umayyad state, Rustamid state, relations, Maliki school of thought, Ibadi school of thought.

1. Introduction:

The geographical distance of the far western Islamic world¹ from the centre of the Abbasid caliphate in the east made it a suitable location for political opponents and religious movements that differed from the official state doctrine. The Islamic lands of the Maghreb facilitated the entry of different schools of thought and political dissidents because, although their people embraced Islam, they were not familiar with the specific details of the schools of thought originating in the East, nor did they differentiate between them. As a result, groups such as the Khawarij, Shi'a and Mu'tazilites entered the region. Eventually, however, the Sunni school of thought was able to spread and become the official doctrine of society and of most of the states established in the Islamic lands of the Maghreb.

Among the states that emerged in the far western Islamic world, we find the Umayyad state in Al-Andalus (138-422 AH/756-1031 CE), which made Cordoba its capital, and the Rustamid state in the central Maghreb (160-296 AH/777-909 CE), which made Tahert its capital. Some sources have indicated the relations that linked the central Maghreb to Al-Andalus, especially the positive political relations between the Rustamids and the Umayyads. The historical study of the relations between the Rustamids of the central Maghreb and the Umayyad state in Al-Andalus is of great importance, especially

since it led to a political opening between the two states and had a doctrinal and cultural impact that requires further research.

The main problem addressed in the article is What were the effects of the positive political relations between the Umayyad state in Al-Andalus and the Rustamid state in the Maghreb? To what extent did this relationship continue in Al-Andalus after the fall of both states?

First of all, the scope of the article: it is essential in my article to specify its boundaries concerning the subject, time frame, and geographical framework. The subject is the relationship between the Rustamid state in the central Maghreb² and the Umayyad state in Al-Andalus³, focusing on the political relations that linked the two states (politically and militarily). In addition, the article examines the doctrinal and cultural impact of this relationship on Al-Andalus, particularly in terms of the dominant doctrine, since Tahert was exposed to other schools of thought such as the Mu'tazilites and the Maliki school, while the Umayyad state followed the Sunni school. This relationship raises several questions, given that the Rustamid state adhered to the Ibadi school, while the Umayyad state was Sunni. How did the Umayyad state, which had fought against the Ibadi doctrine in the eastern regions, establish links with them in the Maghreb? What was the attitude of the Maliki school in Al-Andalus towards Umayyad-Rustamid relations, despite their doctrinal differences?

The temporal framework of the article focuses on the specific history of the rise and fall of both states. This includes the Rustamid state (160-296 AH / 777-909 CE) and the period of its coexistence with the Umayyad state (138-422 AH / 756-1031 CE). The Umayyad state in Al-Andalus was established before the emergence of the Rustamid state and continued to exist after its fall. The article also examines the continuing influence of the Ibadi doctrine in Al-Andalus until the end of the 'era of the taifas'.

The geographical framework includes the borders of the Iberian Peninsula (Al-Andalus) and the central region of the Maghreb. This region extends from the eastern cities of Béjaïa and Constantine to the western limits of the Muluya River. It is important to note that this discussion excludes the Jebel Nafusa region, which is considered an extension of the Rustamid state.

2. Second, the Rustamid state in the central Maghreb (160-296 AH / 777-909 CE):

was founded by Abd al-Rahman ibn Rustam⁴. He was one of the five Imams⁵ of the Rustamid state and is considered the first prominent leader in the lands of the Maghreb. The state adhered to the Ibadi doctrine, which is attributed to Abdullah ibn Ibad⁶. However, there are different views within the Ibadi community about the origins of the sect. Some believe that its beginnings can be traced back to Abu'l-Shu'ayb Jabir ibn Zaid⁷, and its opponents called it the "Ibadiyya" and accepted this label. There is also some disagreement as to whether the Ibadi doctrine is a distinct faction within the Kharijite sect⁸. The city of Tahert is considered to be the capital of the Rustamid state⁹, which rose

to prominence and became one of the most important urban centres in the Islamic Maghreb.

After Abd al-Rahman ibn Rustam, the Imamate continued in the hands of his descendants, hence the name Rustamid State. In 296 AH / 909 CE, the state fell into the hands of Abu Abdullah al-Shi'i, a preacher of the Shiite Ismaili Fatimid state, who killed its last Imams in Tahert, namely Ya'qub ibn Abi al-Yaqzan (294-296 AH / 906-909 CE)¹⁰. He then eliminated the remaining members of the Rustamid family in Sadrata and Warjilah, and the Ibadi doctrine spread to other regions such as Ghardaia.

3. Third, the Umayyad state in Al-Andalus (138-422 AH / 756-1031 CE):

After the turmoil in the Levant that led to the fall of the Umayyad Caliphate and the rise of the Abbasid Caliphate in 132 AH / 749 CE, the Abbasids persecuted the Umayyad descendants. One of these descendants, Abd al-Rahman ibn Muawiya ibn Hisham al-Dakhil, fled to Al-Andalus in 138 AH / 756 CE and established a powerful and independent emirate there, separate from the Abbasid Caliphate¹¹. Umayyad rule in Al-Andalus can be divided into two periods:

1) The period of the Emirate (138-316 AH / 756-929 CE): This period is named after the characteristic of the Umayyad ruler and his official title. During this period, the ruler was known as the Emir. The relationship between the Umayyad state in Al-Andalus and the Rustamid state existed during this period. It began with Abd al-Rahman ibn Muawiya ibn Hisham ibn Abd al-Malik (138-172 AH / 756-788 CE)¹², the founder of the state and the one who laid its foundations in Al-Andalus. The Umayyad Emirate ended during the reign of Emir Abd al-Rahman al-Nasir (300-350 AH / 912-961 CE), who came to power at the age of twenty-three. Although he was not a direct descendant of Emir Abdullah ibn Muhammad and therefore did not have the right to rule according to the established system, his uncles abstained from ruling due to the dangers and challenges associated with ruling during this period¹³.

2) The Caliphate Period (316-422 AH / 929-1031 CE): This period is so called because the system of government changed from the emirate to the caliphate. After Abd al-Rahman III came to power, he was known as al-Nasir li-Din Allah (300-350 AH / 912-961 CE). Perhaps the most significant event during his reign was his declaration of himself as the caliph of the Muslims in Al-Andalus in 316 AH / 929 CE, and he took the title of Amir al-Mu'minin¹⁴ (Commander of the Faithful). With his declaration of the caliphate, the Islamic world had three caliphs: the Abbasids in the East (Baghdad), the Fatimids in the Maghreb (Mahdia) and the Umayyads in Al-Andalus (Cordoba). The Umayyad emirate thus became a caliphate.

The last Umayyad caliph, Hisham III al-Mu'tadid bi-Allah, was deposed on the 12th of Dhu al-Hijjah, 422 AH / 30 November, 1031 CE. The minister Abu Hazm ibn Juhur, after meeting with the notables and elders of Cordoba, announced the end of the institution of the caliphate as a whole, as there was no one worthy of it. It was announced in the markets

and in the countryside that no Umayyad should remain in Cordoba and that no one should shelter them¹⁵. Al-Andalus thus entered the era of the taifas (small independent kingdoms) and the independent Ibadi emirates of Al-Andalus were born, as we shall see.

4. Fourth - The political and military relations between the Umayyads and the Rustamids:

In general, the Umayyad state adhered to the Maliki school of thought, especially under the influence of Imam Malik ibn Anas¹⁶, although it initially followed the school of thought of Imam Abu Amr al-Awza'i¹⁷. The jurists of the Maliki school opposed the entry and spread of other Sunni schools of thought, especially non-Sunni ones. In the political sphere, however, interests formed the basis of relations. The close relationship between the Umayyads and the Rustamids, who were Ibadi, became apparent, raising questions about the reasons for this strong relationship.

By examining some historical sources and references, we can deduce the following justifications¹⁸:

1. The Umayyad Emirate was besieged by the Christian Emirates to the north and the Alawite state of Adarisa¹⁹ to the south (the Far Maghreb).
2. The Rustamid state was also under siege, surrounded²⁰ by the Sunni state of the Aghlabids to the east and the Alawite state of the Adarisa to the west.
3. The Rustamid state was also under siege, surrounded by the Sunni state of the Aghlabids in the east and the Alawite state of the Adarisa in the west. The existence of a common enemy that constantly threatened both states, namely the Abbasid Caliphate and its allies in the Maghreb (the Aghlabids), whose aim was to overthrow them on the grounds that they were outside the legitimate Caliphate (the Muslim community).
4. Abd al-Rahman ibn Rustam was of Spanish origin. The author of "Marwaj al-Dhahab" mentioned that Abd al-Rahman ibn Rustam was Persian, but also mentioned another view that Abd al-Rahman was of Spanish origin (Ishban)²¹.
5. The presence of Berbers in Al-Andalus²², and the Rustam state supported the Berbers.
6. Before entering Al-Andalus and establishing the Umayyad state, Prince Abd al-Rahman ibn Muawiya had stayed among the tribes of the Maghreb. Dr Joudat's comparison of primary texts suggests that he may have stayed among the Tahert tribes, who were Ibadi²³. Although the Rustamid state had not yet been established at the time of Abd al-Rahman ibn Muawiya's passage through Al-Andalus, the good relations between the Tahert tribes and Prince Abd al-Rahman continued.
7. Some dissident Ibadi groups, known as Nukkari, arrived in Al-Andalus as a result of their opposition to Imam Abdul-Wahhab ibn Abd al-Rahman ibn Rustam. They would establish their own small states during the era of the Taifas, as I will mention later.

These and other reasons consolidated and strengthened the Umayyad-Rustamid convergence, especially in the economic, political and military fields. However, in the religious and sectarian field, I can hardly find any impact, and the available sources do not mention that any Ibadi scholars or students went to Al-Andalus with the intention of settling there or spreading their call, especially considering that their scholarly destination, as mentioned by the researcher Bahaz, was the city of Basra and the Islamic East, where Ibadi figures were present²⁴.

When it comes to determining the beginning of the relationship between the two states, Dr Abdulaziz Filali attributes it to the era of the first prince, Abd al-Rahman al-Dakhil (138-172 AH/756-788 CE), who had established contact with the Rustamid family in North Africa²⁵.

This means that the relationship began in the early years of the establishment of the Rustamid state in the central Maghreb. During the time of Prince Hakam ibn Hisham, according to Ibn al-Qutaybah, the Khawarij were present in Tilimsan (Tlemcen), where he mentions: "Then a Khawariji group appeared on the island, and their teachings were similar to the teachings of the Khawarij during the time of their dissent against Ali and Muawiyah and those who came after them. Abbas ibn Nasih wrote poems to the ruler Hakam to incite him to denounce what they had introduced. In the poem he said:

"Pray with the Affil whom they have raised with his evil before they bring him to us.

So Hakam said, "By Allah, we will do so", and he himself went out until he reached the island, and he settled at its gate, carrying the sword against most of its people"²⁶. These are all references to the presence of the Ibadis in Al-Andalus, perhaps because of the positive political influence that linked the two states. However, the rulers of the Umayyad state did not wish to expand the relationship in a sectarian manner, mainly because they feared the religious authority of the Maliki jurists, who were opposed to the Kharijite sect in general.

The relationship was further cemented during the era of Prince Abd al-Rahman ibn al-Hakam, who received an official delegation from Tahert at his court in 207 AH/822 CE. The day of their reception was a memorable day²⁷, and he showered them with valuable gifts upon their return. If anything, this indicates the close political ties that bound them together.

If we trace the influence of the Rustamids in Al-Andalus, we find that they became prominent and contributed to the support of the Umayyad state through some of their men, whether in administrative positions or in military leadership. Among these individuals we find

- Muhammad ibn Sa'id ibn Muhammad ibn Abd al-Rahman ibn Rustam: His father, Sa'id, entered Al-Andalus during the era of Prince Hakam ibn Hisham and settled in the Jazira region. Abdul Rahman ibn al-Hakam involved him in his governmental affairs before taking over the principality²⁸, and when he took over after the death of his father Hakam,

he summoned him and appointed him Hajib (chamberlain) and Minister²⁹. Muhammad ibn Sa'id played a role in suppressing the revolt of Hashim al-Darrab³⁰, who came from Cordoba to Tilimsan, gathered the rebels and some Berbers in 214 AH/829 CE and declared a revolution against Prince Abd al-Rahman. The latter sent Muhammad ibn Sa'id to suppress the rebellion. Due to his strength, the rebellion lasted until 216 AH/831 CE, but he finally succeeded in suppressing it and Muhammad ibn Sa'id was appointed to the border post of Tutila³¹.

Due to Muhammad ibn Sa'id's military experience, his role resurfaced when the Normans attacked Seville in 230 AH/844 CE. The Normans besieged the city for seven days and also invaded the surrounding areas. Although the Norman forces outnumbered the Andalusian armies in the areas they occupied, Muhammad ibn Sa'id managed to defeat them, killing five hundred fighters and capturing four ships and their cargo. He ordered the ships to be burned and their contents sold. Muhammad ibn Sa'id died on 17 Safar 235 AH/849 CE³².

Abdul Rahman ibn Rustam was another prominent figure associated with the Rustamids in Al-Andalus. He lived in Cordoba and may have been the son or brother of the aforementioned Muhammad ibn Sa'id. Abdul Rahman served as minister and hajib during the reign of Prince Abdul Rahman ibn al-Hakam. He held the position of Hajib alternately with Isa ibn Shahid³³, indicating the presence of the Rustamid family in general in Al-Andalus and their significant military role³⁴.

Qasim ibn Sa'id ibn Muhammad ibn Abd al-Rahman ibn Rustam, mentioned by "Jawdat", is noted in some sources for holding positions within the state, although his role seems to have been less significant than that of his predecessors.

From the information provided, it is clear that certain Ibadi Berber tribes, such as the Zanata tribe, played a role in the Umayyad emirate of Al-Andalus. They were able to settle in Al-Andalus, including the Banu Barzal and Banu Dammar, who established their own domains in the late Umayyad era and during the period of the Taifa kings, as I will explain later.

5. Fifth - The religious and cultural impact of the Rustamid and Umayyad relations, even after the fall of both states:

The relations between the Rustamid state and the Umayyad state had a limited impact on other aspects, including religious and cultural, both during their reign and even after their fall. However, the influence can be observed through certain individuals who emerged after the fall of these states. Here we can clarify this point.

It is well known that the dominant school of thought in the Western Islamic world, in terms of belief (aqeedah), is Sunni, and in terms of jurisprudence (fiqh), it is Maliki, until the period of my interventions. The Western Islamic world has maintained this affiliation for centuries, up to the present day, despite the establishment of the Ibadi

Rustamid state, the Zaydi Madarid state, the Ismaili Shiite Fatimid state, and the small independent states that emerged in Al-Andalus.

In terms of influence, we find that the Andalusians had an impact on the Maghreb region, which is justified, especially since the Maliki school of thought served as a unifying factor between them. However, the influence of the Ibadi school of thought in Al-Andalus is not evident or established. The presence of members of the Rustamid family in positions of power within the Umayyad authority was a political presence that cannot be used as evidence of such influence.

It is possible that some Ibadis existed in Al-Andalus during the Umayyad period, but they practised their faith secretly and discreetly, as was their custom. Evidence of this can be seen in the Berber revolts of 399 AH (1009 CE), which were followed by the weakening of Umayyad rule. This led to the emergence of Berber dynasties, including the Ibadite emirates. It is unlikely that their presence was accidental, but rather that they were established before these events.

It should be noted, however, that the Ibadis in Al-Andalus followed the Nukkari Ibadi³⁵ school of thought.

The available sources do not mention any Ibadi scholars or students of knowledge who went to Al-Andalus with the intention of settling there or spreading their teachings, especially considering that their scholarly destination, as mentioned by Dr Ibrahim Bahaz, was the city of Basra and the Islamic East³⁶, where Ibadi preachers were present. This could be attributed to the dominance of the Maliki jurists over religious life in Al-Andalus and their strict prevention of the entry of Sunni schools of jurisprudence, let alone other theological sects. Particularly noteworthy is the statement of the Andalusian scholar Abd al-Malik ibn Habib in his book "Kitab al-Wadihah", where he said: "Whoever is known to belong to deviant sects such as the Ibadis, the Murjia, the Qadariyya and their like, should not be led in prayer by them"³⁷. Imam Malik's view of the Ibadis was that they should be given the opportunity to repent (since he considered them to be of the Khawarij). However, when he learned that the learned scholar Akrama, a mawla (freed slave) of Ibn Abbas (d. 722 AD), held the beliefs of the Khawarij (specifically the Sufriyya), Imam Malik excluded him from his muwatta. Ibn al-Madini (d. 848 A.D.) stated: "Malik did not mention Akrama in any of his books except in the narration of Thawr from Akrama by Ibn Abbas, which affects its authenticity. He said, 'He fasts and gives alms'³⁸. This influence can be clearly seen in Al-Andalus, which is why this school of thought and other sects did not spread there as they did in the Maghreb and the Islamic East.

When the Rustamid state in the central Maghreb fell and the Umayyad Caliphate weakened, some sources indicate the presence of the Ibadiyya in Al-Andalus. This could be attributed to the positive relationship between the two states, which led some Ibadi individuals to settle there. Among these sources, Ibn Hazm mentioned the Ibadiyya in Al-Andalus in his books "Al-Fasl" and "Jamihrat Ansab al-Arab". This confirms that the Ibadiyya were present in Al-Andalus, including the capital, Cordoba. Ibn Hazm mentioned

that he had asked one of the Ibadiyya scholars, Abu Muhammad Buwaykani al-Ibadi, about the genealogy of some Berber tribes. The scholar replied, among other things, that "the Banu Barzal and the Banu Waseen are Ibadi". It is worth noting that Ibn Hazm testified to the knowledge and expertise of this scholar in the genealogy of the Berbers³⁹. Ibn Hazm also provided us with some information about the Ibadiyya in Al-Andalus, saying: "The Nukkar from the Ibadiyya are predominant among the Khawarij in Al-Andalus... As for the statement of the Tha'labah (from the Sufriyya), Abdullah bin Ibbaad returned and his followers disowned him. They do not recognise him today, and when we asked the most knowledgeable among them about him and their doctrine, none of them knew him"⁴⁰.

This shows that the Ibadiyya existed and were known in Al-Andalus during the period of the weakened Caliphate and the emergence of sects.

However, the majority of them followed the Nukkar doctrine, as stated by Ibn Hazm. He also mentioned the ignorance of these Ibadi individuals about their leader, Abdullah bin Ibbaad. It should be noted that the people Ibn Hazm questioned could have been from the general population⁴¹.

Furthermore, Ibn Hazm also witnessed certain practices among the Ibadiyya in Al-Andalus, stating: "We have observed the Ibadiyya among us in Al-Andalus who forbid the food of the People of the Book... and demand the killing of anyone who sleeps during the day in Ramadan, considering it a great sin"⁴².

Based on the previous information, we can say that followers of the Ibadi sect were present in Al-Andalus during this period. Although they may not have been overtly visible or well known, the establishment of Ibadi states during the Taifa period (such as the Banu Barzal and the Banu Dammar) suggests their influence in Al-Andalus⁴³. It is possible that they adopted a strategy of concealment, a religious practice adopted in the absence of a visible imamate. The study of the Ibadi sect in Al-Andalus is still lacking, and there may be some sources that shed light on their presence. It is worth noting that the Ibadi community in Maghreb is known for documenting its history and doctrine, including the biographies of its Imams. However, such documentation seems to be lacking for the Ibadi community in Al-Andalus.

Al-Andalus also witnessed the establishment of Ibadi Berber states, due to the good relations between the Rustamids and the Umayyads.

Military alliances between the Umayyad rulers and certain anti-Fatimid Berber tribes in Maghreb also played a role. Some of these Ibadi Berber states in Al-Andalus include

- **The Banu Dammar state in Moron (403-458 AH / 1013-1066 AD):** The Banu Dammar belonged to the Zenata Berber tribe and were Ibadi Kharijites. Scholars such as al-Maqii⁴⁴ and al-Daraji mentioned that there was no religious connection between the Dammar of Maghreb and the Banu Dammar of Al-Andalus, as the Andalusians were considered Sunni⁴⁵. However, the Banu Dammar formed the third small Berber emirate

in the southern region of Al-Andalus. Abu Tuziri, a member of the Banu Dammar, came to Al-Andalus in the days of Al-Mansur ibn Abi Aamir and served in the army. After the Berber revolt, he settled in the region and established his rule. When he died in 403 AH / 1013 AD, his son Noah ibn Abi Tuziri succeeded him and continued to rule the region. The Banu Dammar were Berbers from Tunisia, from the Zenata tribal confederation, and they were Ibadi. This emirate eventually fell into the hands of the Banu Abbad, the kings of Seville⁴⁶.

State of the Banu Barzal in Qarmunah (404-459 AH/1013-1067 CE): Founded by Abu Abdullah Muhammad ibn Abdullah ibn Barzal, known as "Abu Abdullah al-Barzali". The Banu Barzal are a branch of the Zenata Berber tribe, specifically the Yifran clan. They held important territories in the Moroccan Atlas Mountains, such as Jebel Salat and its surrounding areas, including Amelala, Setif and Tabana. The Banu Barzal belonged to the Ibadi Kharijite sect, which followed the Nukkari doctrine⁴⁷. Abu Abdullah was appointed ruler of Qarmunah during the reign of the Umayyad caliph Hashim al-Mu'ayyad. When the turmoil that overthrew the Umayyad dynasty occurred in 399 AH/1008 CE, many emirates gained independence from Cordoba, including this emirate. Narratives suggest that Abu Abdullah ruled justly, but Ibn Hayyan described him as "the lynchpin of turmoil" and highlighted the negative impact of his rule in the region. This emirate, like its predecessors, eventually fell to the Banu Abbad, the rulers of Seville⁴⁸.

- **Banu Yifran:** Ibn Khaldun mentions that the Banu Yifran are part of the Zenata people, and their wider branches include the Maghraouas, the Yanu Yarnian and the Banu Wasin. They were originally Kharijites and Sufrites, and their first leader in their wars was Abu Qurrah from the central Maghreb. However, they later deviated from their earlier beliefs and joined the Ahl al-Sunnah (Sunni Muslims). Therefore, I will not refer to them as Ibadi in Al-Andalus, as they followed the Sunni⁴⁹ school of thought.

The Banu Abbad managed to subdue the small Berber emirates to the south within a few years. Randa fell in 457 AH, followed by Murur in 458 AH, Qarmunah in 459 AH and Arqish in 461 AH⁵⁰.

As far as the cultural aspect is concerned, on the basis of the previous information, there is no clear Rustamid or Ibadi influence in Al-Andalus culturally. It should be noted that there could have been cultural exchange between the Maliki, Ibadi and Mu'tazili scholars in Tihert, since Al-Andalus embraced these different schools of thought. However, a strong stronghold of Maliki jurisprudence remained, which may have overshadowed other cultural and doctrinal influences. The picture is not clear and requires further research.

The Andalusian community in Tihert formed a considerable population, and it is even possible that a scholar of Andalusian origin, Salih Mas'ud al-Andalusi, was at the head of the Rustamid state. Although elected to a position of authority, he remained aloof from it and eventually disappeared. He then swore allegiance to Abd al-Wahhab ibn Abd al-Rahman ibn Rusum. The sources do not provide much information about him. What

interests me is where Salih Mas'ud al-Andalusi acquired the Ibadi doctrine, whether it was in the Maghreb or the Mashriq (East), or through scholars living in secrecy within Al-Andalus. The same questions can be asked about Imran ibn Marwan al-Andalusi⁵¹.

Dr Abdulaziz Filali mentioned the cultural impact, but it is unclear. For example, he mentioned that the aforementioned Muhammad ibn Sa'id was a writer, scholar, poet and chess player, and that he married one of the daughters of the singer Ziryab⁵². However, the sources do not elaborate on this matter.

In general, scholars from the central Maghreb wanted to go to Al-Andalus to acquire knowledge and spread it.

Their names appeared in the books of biographies and lessons. However, most of them were Maliki scholars, including Qasim ibn Abd al-Rahman ibn Abdullah ibn Muhammad al-Tamimi al-Tahirti, his son Abu al-Fadl Ahmad, known as Bazzaz, and Bakr ibn Hammad al-Tahirti, who compiled the *Sāiḥī* for him⁵³. However, not all of them were scholars or seekers of knowledge, and it is possible that Dr Bahazah emphasised their scientific orientation as the city of Basra and the Islamic East⁵⁴. It is worth noting that Al-Andalus witnessed the settlement of some Zenata tribes, and the movement between Tahert and the Zenata tribes in general towards Al-Andalus was individual due to the blood ties that bound them. It is confirmed that this movement brought with it many cultural and social links.

6. CONCLUSION

In conclusion, despite the considerable efforts made by some contemporary researchers in the field of Umayyad-Rustamid relations and the search for the Ibadiyya and its history in Al-Andalus, the absence of some missing sources and some that have not been studied will make the research incomplete and in need of further exploration, especially in the social, sectarian and intellectual relations between the central Maghreb and Al-Andalus in general and the Rustamid era in particular.

What can be inferred here is that the relations between the two Umayyad states in Al-Andalus and the Rustamid in the central Maghreb were good, resulting in the emergence of Rustamid leaders in Umayyad rule and the emergence of Andalusian communities and leaders in Rustamid rule. Economic life, based on common knowledge, was known and trade between them flourished. However, cultural, social and sectarian relations were very limited due to historical circumstances, interests and sectarian differences between the two states. It is clear that the common enemy of the Rustamid and Umayyad states, the Abbasid Caliphate in the East, was a strong factor in this convergence.

References

1- The term "Western Islamic" is used in contemporary discourse to refer to the combination of Maghreb and Al-Andalus, which includes the island of Sicily and the eastern Algerian islands. Prominent works that adopt this inclusive term include Dr. Sudanese Aziz al-Din Omar Musa's book, "The Unifiers in Western Islamic: Their

Organizations and Systems," published by Dar al-Gharb al-Islami in its first edition in Beirut, Lebanon, in 1411 AH/1991. Originally, the book was a master's thesis submitted to the History Department at the American University of Beirut in 1969 under the supervision of Professor Nicola Ziyadeh. Other relevant works in this field include Hisham Jaait's "The Foundation of Western Islamic in the First and Second Centuries AH/Seventh and Eighth Centuries," published by Dar al-Tali'a for Printing and Publishing in its second edition in Beirut, Lebanon, in 2008, and Mohamed Amin Belghith's "Insights into the History of Western Islamic," published by Dar al-Khaldunia for Publishing and Distribution in its first edition in Algiers in 1428 AH/2007. Numerous researchers have made valuable contributions to this area of study.

2- The term "Central Maghreb" (Algeria) is derived from the existence of the Lower Maghreb and the Upper Maghreb, named according to their proximity or distance from the centre of the Caliphate in the east. The exact boundaries of the Central Maghreb may vary according to different geographers and travellers, but it is generally understood to extend from the Moulouya River in the west to the boundaries of the cities of Constantine and Bejaia in the east. Notable cities and capitals within this region include Qalaa, Tlemcen, Bejaia, Constantine and Tihert. The term can be found in geographical and travel sources, as well as in academic studies such as Abdeli's doctoral thesis entitled 'Cultural Life in the Central Maghreb during the era of the Banu Zayan (633-962 AH/1236-1554 AH)'. This dissertation was supervised by Dr Abdelhamid Hajiat at the Department of History, Faculty of Arts, Humanities and Social Sciences, Abi Bakr Belkaid University, Tlemcen, Algeria. The relevant information can be found from page 18 onwards.

3- Al-Andalus: The term "Andalus" (Andalusia) is written with a damma on the letter dal and a fatha on the second dal. It is a non-Arabic word that was only used by Arabs during the Islamic period. It can be written with or without an alif and a lam (Al-Andalus). It refers to the region known as the Andalusian Peninsula, the Iberian Peninsula, or the present-day territories of Spain and Portugal (La Lusitania). It is located in southwestern Europe, bordered by the Mediterranean Sea to the east, the Atlantic Ocean (Sea of Darkness) to the west, the Strait of Gibraltar (Sea of the Strait or Al-Majaz) to the south, and the Pyrenees (Al-Burans) to the north, crossed by several passes connecting it to France to the north. There are important sources on this subject, and it is worth mentioning one of the compilations by Ahmad Mukhtar Al-Abadi in his book "Tareekh Al-Maghrib wal-Andalus" (History of Maghreb and Al-Andalus), published by Dar Al-Nahda Al-Arabiya in Beirut, Lebanon, on pages 18 and 19.

4- Abdul Rahman ibn Rustam: He is Abdul Rahman ibn Behram ibn Sam ibn Kisra, the Persian king. He was born in Iraq and grew up in Kairouan. He went to Basra in 135 AH/752 CE with the aforementioned group of scholars to study Ibadī jurisprudence under Abu Ubaidah Muslim. When they returned, he was able to establish an independent Ibadī state in the central Maghreb with the followers of the school. He was elected their Imam (160-171 AH/777-787 CE). See: Ibn al-Saghīr, Akhbar al-A'imma al-Rustumiyyin, edited by Muhammad Nasser and Ibrahim Bahaz, Al-Jamilah Publications, Algeria, 1986, page 26 and onwards. Abu al-Abbas Ahmad ibn Sa'id al-Shamakhi, Kitab al-Siyar, edited and studied by Muhammad Hassan, the section on biographies of scholars of the Maghreb until the end of the 5th century AH/11th century CE, College of Humanities and Social Sciences, 1995, page 42 and onwards. Ibrahim Bahaz, Abdul Rahman ibn Rustam (160-171 AH/777-788 CE), the founder of the first independent Islamic state in Algeria, National Book Institution, Algeria, 1990, pp. 07 ff.

5- The five scholars of knowledge are

* Abu al-Khattab Abdul Alaa ibn al-Samh al-Maafiri.

* Abdul Rahman ibn Rustam.

* Asim al-Sadrati.

* Ismail ibn Darrar al-Ghadamssi.

* Abu Dawud al-Qabli al-Nafzawi.

Their biographies can be found in the following sources:

- "Kitab Tabaqat al-Mashaikh bi al-Maghrib" by Ahmed ibn Said al-Darjini, edited by Ibrahim Talai, Dar al-Baath, Constantinople, 1394 AH/1974 CE, page 19.

- "Mu'jam A'lām al-Ibadiyya min Q (1-15) H" by Ibrahim ibn Bakir Bahaz, Muhammad ibn Musa Baba Ami, and others, published by the Heritage Association, Vol. 3, Ghadames, Algeria, 1420 AH/1999 CE, pages 505-508, 499-500, 109-110, and 285.

6- The Ibadi school of thought is attributed to Abdullah ibn Ibad al-Murri al-Tamimi (died 86 AH/705 CE). He was born in Basra and lived at the time of the division of the Muslims at the Battle of Siffin. He also lived during the reign of Caliph Muawiyah ibn Abi Sufyan until the era of Abd al-Malik ibn Marwan. The latter, Abd al-Malik, had correspondences with Ibn Ibad in which he distanced himself from Ibn al-Azraq (the Kharijites). The Ibadi school of thought took its name from Ibn Ibad because of his staunch defence of the school, unlike Imam Jaber who, according to Ibadi scholars, hid his beliefs out of fear of the Umayyad rulers. For more information, see

- Salem bin Hamoud bin Shams al-Siyabi, "Izalat al-Wa'tha'an Atba' Abi al-Shu'tha'a", edited and explained by Dr Al-Sayyida Ismail Kashif, Arab Record Press, Ministry of National Heritage and Culture, Oman, 1979, page 49 and onwards.

- Ibrahim ibn Bakir Bahaz, Muhammad ibn Musa Baba Ami, and others, "Mu'jam A'lām al-Ibadiyya min Q (1-15) H", Maghreb Department, published by the Heritage Association, 1st edition, Ghardaia, Algeria, 1420 AH/1999 CE, biography number 577, volume 3, pages 551-553.

7- Abu al-Shu'tha' Jabir ibn Zaid (18-22/93 AH) was born in Oman during the caliphate of Umar ibn al-Khattab, but he lived in Basra and acquired knowledge there. He narrated the knowledge of three companions: Aisha, the Mother of the Faithful, Abdullah ibn Abbas, and Abdullah ibn Umar, may Allah be pleased with them all. He was considered the Mufti of Basra.

Regarding his affiliation with the Ibadi school of thought, Ibn Saad mentioned narrations denying any connection between Imam Jabir and the Ibadiyyah. For example, it is mentioned that Al-Hasan al-Basri visited him when he was ill and told him, "The Ibadiyyah support you. Imam Jabir replied, "I disassociate myself from them". The Ibadi scholars have justified this response by saying that Imam Jabir was applying the principle of concealment, which is considered a way of religious practice among them.

For further information see

- Ibn Saad, "Al-Tabaqat al-Kubra", Dar Beirut li al-Tiba'a wa al-Nashr, Beirut, 1405 AH/1985 CE, vol. 7, page 182.

- Zayana bint Khalafan al-Harithiyyah, "Al-Imam Jabir ibn Zaid wa Ta'sisu al-Fikr al-Ibadi", Maktabat al-Jil al-Wa'id, 1st edition, Muscat, Sultanate of Oman, 1427 AH/2006 CE, pages 115-121.

- Al-Siyabi, the above reference, page 13 and onwards.

- Mu'jam A'lām al-Ibadiyya, Maghreb section, al-Rahma, biography number 230, volume 2, page 217.

8- Historians and scholars of the Sunni community generally agree that the Ibadiyyah is a sect within the Khawarij. Some contemporary scholars and Orientalists have also supported this view. However, Ibadi sources have refuted this and provided historical

justification for their position on the matter. For a more detailed exploration of the issue, the following sources can be consulted:

- Al-Baghdadi, previous source, page 78.
- Abu Muhammad Ali ibn Ahmad ibn Hazm, "The Division into Sects, Heresies and Desires", Dar al-Ma'arifah, Beirut, Lebanon, 1403 AH/1983 CE, vol. 4, pages 188-189.
- Al-Shahrastani, "The Sects and Religions", edited by Muhammad Sayyid Kilani, Dar al-Ma'arifah, 2nd edition, Beirut, 1395 AH/1975 CE, vol. 1, page 115.
- Muhammad Abu Zahra, "The History of Islamic Sects in Politics, Beliefs and the History of Jurisprudential Sects", Dar al-Fikr al-Arabi, Cairo, Egypt, page 76.
- Saber Ta'ima, "Ibadiyyah: Doctrine and School", Dar al-Jil, Beirut, 1406 AH/1986 CE, pages 43 onwards.
- Alfred Bel, "Islamic Sects in North Africa from Conquest to Today", translated by Abdul Rahman Badawi, Dar al-Gharb al-Islami, 3rd edition, Beirut, Lebanon, 1987, page 145.
- Ali Yahya Maamar, "Ibadiyyah Among Islamic Sects According to the Book of Articles in the Ancient and Modern Era", Al-Matba'ah al-Arabiyyah, Ghardaia, 1987, pages 15-288.
- Nasser bin Suleiman bin Saeed Al-Sabai, "The Khawarij and the Absent Truth", Dar al-Muntathir, Beirut, Lebanon, 1420 AH/2000 CE, pages 184-188.
- Muhammad Nasser Bouhajem, "Clarifying the Position of the Ibadiyyah from the Khawarij", Al-Matba'ah al-Arabiyyah, Ghardaia, 1996.
- Ibrahim Bahaz and others, "Glossary of Ibadī Terminology: Doctrine, Jurisprudence, Civilization", Ministry of Endowments and Religious Affairs, 2nd edition, Sultanate of Oman, 1433 AH/2012 CE, vol. 1, pages 20-25.

⁹- Tahert (Tahart): A famous city in the central part of Maghreb, known for its adherence to the Ibadiyyah sect. It was originally two large cities, one ancient and one modern, built on the slopes of Mount Qazoul. The following sources can be consulted for further information on this subject:

- Muhammad ibn Abdel-Mon'em Al-Hamiri, "Al-Rawd al-Mu'tar fi Khabar al-Aqtar", edited by Ihsan Abbas, Dar Lebanon, Beirut, 1975, pages 126 and 127.
- Suleiman Al-Barouni, previous reference, page 7 and following.
- Ibrahim ibn Bukayr Bahaz, "The Rustamid State (160-296 AH / 777-909 CE): A Study of Economic Conditions and Intellectual Life", published by the Heritage Association, 2nd edition, 1414 AH/1993 CE, pages 85-97.

¹⁰- For more details about the Rustamid state, see

- Ibrahim ibn Bukayr Bahaz, "The Rustamid State", pages 98 ff.
- Suleiman Al-Barouni, "Al-Azhar Al-Riyadiyah fi Aymah wa Muluk al-Ibadiyyah" (Part Two), edited and indexed by Ahmed Karoum and others, with an introduction by Ibrahim Bahaz and Ahmed bin Saud Al-Siyabi, Dar Al-Baath, 3rd edition, Constantine, Algeria, 1423 AH/2002 CE, pages 112 et seq.

¹¹- For more information on "Abd al-Rahman al-Dakhil bin Mu'awiya", please refer to the following sources

- Ibn al-Athir, (The Complete History), published by Dar al-Kitab al-Arabi, 3rd edition, Beirut, Lebanon, 1400 AH/1980 CE, volume 4, page 362.
- Ibn Idhari al-Marrakushi, (The Clarification of the Maghreb in the History of al-Andalus and the Maghreb), edited and reviewed by J.S. Collan and Levy-Provençal, published by Dar al-Thaqafa, 3rd edition, Beirut, Lebanon, 1983, volume 2, pages 40 et seq.
- Ahmad ibn Muhammad al-Maqqari al-Tilimsani, (The Fragrance of the Branch of Fresh Andalusia and the Mention of its Minister Lisan al-Din ibn al-Khatib), explained, organised and commented by Youssef Ali al-Tawil and Mariam Qasim al-Tawil, published by Dar al-Kutub al-Ilmiyyah, 2nd edition, Beirut, Lebanon, 2012, volume 1, page 322.

- Hassan Ibrahim Hassan, (The History of Political, Religious, Cultural and Social Islam), published by Dar al-Jeel, Beirut, Lebanon, and Maktabat al-Nahda al-Misriyya, Cairo, 15th edition, 1422 AH/2001 CE, Volume 2, pages 187 and 188.

¹²- Abd al-Rahman bin Mu'awiya al-Dakhil, also known as Abu al-Mutarrif or Abu Yazid or Abu Suleiman, was the first Umayyad to enter al-Andalus (Muslim Spain). He was given the title "al-Dakhil" because he was the first Umayyad to enter al-Andalus. The Abbasid caliph Abu Ja'far al-Mansur nicknamed him "the Falcon of Quraysh". He was Abd al-Rahman I, and Ibn Khaldun mentioned that the caliphs used to send official greetings to him because they considered the rulers of Haramain (Mecca and Medina) to be the legitimate caliphs.

To learn more about the lineage and biography of this prince, you can consult the following sources

- Ibn Khaldun, "An Introduction to History" (translated by Franz Rosenthal), published by Dar al-Fikr, Beirut, Lebanon, 1972, vol. 4, p. 154 et seq.

- Ibn Khaldun, (The Roads and the Empires), published by Brill, Leiden, 1889, p. 90.

- Ibn Idhari, "Al-Bayan", vol. 2, p. 47 et seq.

- Al-Maqqari, "Al-Nafh", vol. 1, p. 318 and following; vol. 4, p. 24 and following.

- Anonymous author, "Tarikh al-Andalus", edited by Abd al-Qadir Bubaya, published by Dar al-Kutub al-Ilmiyyah, 1st edition, Beirut, Lebanon, 1427 AH/2007 CE, p. 53.

- Jalal al-Din al-Suyuti, "The History of the Caliphs", published by Dar al-Kutub al-Ilmiyyah, 1st edition, Beirut, Lebanon, p. 418.

- Muhammad Abdullah Anan, "Tarajim Islamiyah Sharqiyyah wa Andalusiyah" (Eastern and Andalusian Biographies), published by Maktabat al-Khanji, 2nd edition, Cairo, 1390 AH/1987 CE, p. 139 et seq.

- Abd al-Rahman Ali Hajji, (The Andalusian History from the Islamic Conquest to the Fall of Granada), published by Dar al-Qalam, 5th edition, 1418 AH/1997 CE, p. 215 and onwards.

- Hussein Mu'nis, (The Dawn of Andalus), published by Dar al-Sa'udiyah lil-Nashr wa al-Tawzi', 2nd edition, Jeddah, Saudi Arabia, 1405 AH/1985 C.E., p. 659 et seq.

¹³- for further clarification:

- Ibn Idhari, "Al-Bayan", vol. 2, pp. 156 and 157.

- Abdul Aziz Salem, (The History of the Muslims and their Influence in al-Andalus, from the Arab Conquest to the Fall of the Caliphate in Cordoba), published by Dar al-Nahda al-Arabiyyah, Beirut, Lebanon, 1408 AH/1988 CE, p. 280.

- Abdul Majid Al-Na'na'i, (The History of the Umayyad State in al-Andalus, Political History), published by Dar al-Nahda al-Arabiyyah, Beirut, Lebanon, pp. 315-316.

- Al-Abadi, (On Abbasid and Andalusian History), p. 377.

- Anan, "Tarajim" (Biographies), p. 167 et seq.

¹⁴- Abd al-Rahman al-Nasir was given this title because of several factors, including

- The weakness of the Abbasid caliphate in the eastern lands and its inability to protect the Islamic world.

- The establishment of a Shiite caliphate in the Maghreb (the Fatimid caliphate), which sought to control al-Andalus.

- The elevation of the religious and political status of the Emir of Cordoba.

- The response to the desire of the people of al-Andalus for Abd al-Rahman to be their caliph.

For a detailed account of the Caliph's biography, the reasons for declaring his caliphate and his legitimate rule, the following sources provide further information

- Ibn 'Idhari, "Al-Bayan", vol. 2, pp. 156 et seq.

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- Lisan al-Din ibn al-Khatib, (The History of Islamic Spain or The Book of the Works of the Illustrious Figures from Whom the Kings of Islam were Appointed), edited and annotated by Levi-Provençal, published by Dar al-Makhtut, 2nd edition, Beirut, Lebanon, 1956, pp. 28 ff.

- Ibn Khaldun, "The History", vol. 4, pp. 178 et seq.

- Al-Maqqari, "Al-Nafh", vol. 1, p. 339.

- Al-Abadi, "Fi al-Tarikh al-Abbasi wa al-Andalusi," p. 378 et seq.

- Abdul Aziz Salem, cited above, pp. 286 ff.

- Saleh Boubshesh, "Abu al-Walid al-Baji and his Jurisprudential Opinions (403-474 AH)", Doctoral Thesis in Principles of Islamic Jurisprudence, Faculty of Social and Islamic Sciences - Department of Islamic Law, Djelfa University, Academic Year: 1423-1424 AH/2002-2003, p. 5.

- Zafir al-Qasimi, (The System of Government in Sharia and Islamic History), published by Dar al-Nafa'is, 5th edition, Beirut, Lebanon, 1405 AH/1985 CE, pp. 319 et seq.

¹⁵- For further clarification:

- Ibn Idhari, "Al-Bayan", vol. 3, pp. 145 et seq.

- Abdul Wahid bin Ali al-Marrakushi, (The Wonderful Compilation of the History of Maghreb), published by Dar al-Kutub al-Ilmiyyah, 2nd edition, Beirut, Lebanon, 1426 AH/2005 CE, pp. 42-44.

- Ibn al-Khatib, "The History", pp. 138-140.

- Muhammad Suheil Taqqoush, "The History of the Muslims in Andalusia (91-897 AH/710-1492 CE)", published by Dar al-Nafa'is, 2nd edition, 1429 AH/2008 CE, pp. 417-418.

- Abdul Majid al-Na'na'i, "Tarikh al-Dawlah", pp. 526-531.

- Abdul Aziz Salem, "The History of the Muslims", pp. 358 et seq.

¹⁶- Imam Malik bin Anas, also known as Abu Abdullah Malik bin Anas bin Malik, belonged to the Asbahi tribe, which can be traced back to Dhul Asbah of the Hamir lineage. His name "Al-Madani" reflects his connection with Medina, his place of residence. The exact date of his birth is debated, with the view supported by Judge Iyad suggesting the year 93 AH, the year of the death of Anas, the servant of the Prophet Muhammad, in Al-Madinah Al-Munawwarah.

Malik, the Imam, was born in the city to which the Prophet Muhammad emigrated. His father, Anas bin Malik, was a follower of Tabi'in, a hadith narrator, and his mother was Alaa, the daughter of Sharik bin Abd al-Rahman bin Sharik Al-Asadiya. Some sources mention her name as Tuleiha, a freedwoman of Ubaidullah bin Mu'ammara.

Imam Malik, a prominent figure among the four famous Sunni schools of jurisprudence, is known for his work "the Approved". Although he had other writings, including a treatise on predestination and a book on the interpretation of rare Qur'anic words, his Al-Muwatta gained widespread recognition.

Ibn Wahb narrated that he heard a caller in Medina proclaim, "People should seek religious judgements only from Malik bin Anas and Ibn Abi Dhuaib". Imam Malik died in the month of Rabi' al-Awwal in 179 AH and was buried in Al-Baqi. Scholars, including Imam Al-Shafi'i, praised him, and Ibn Makhloof said, "Malik is my teacher, and I have acquired knowledge from him. I consider Malik as evidence between me and Allah. When scholars are mentioned, Malik shines like a bright star. Ahmad did not reach Malik's level of knowledge, memorisation and preservation. There is no book on earth that is closer to the Qur'an than Malik bin Anas's The Approved.

For a detailed biography of Imam Malik, see

Al-Qadi 'Iyad, "Arrangement of Distinctions and Facilitation of Paths for Understanding the Notables of the Malik School", edited by Ahmad Bakir Mahmoud, published by Dar al-Hayat, Beirut, and Dar Maktabat al-Fikr, Tripoli, Libya, 1387 AH/1967 C.E., Volume 1, pp. 102 ff.

Ibn Abd al-Barr, "The Selection", p. 36 et seq.

Ibn Farhun al-Maliki, "The Illumination of the School in Knowing the Eminent Scholars of the School", researched and edited by Ma'mun bin Muhi al-Din al-Jannan, published by Dar al-Kutub al-Ilmiyah, Beirut, Lebanon, 1417 AH/1996 CE, p. 56 ff.

Malik bin Anas, "the Approved", narrated by Yahya bin Yahya al-Laythi, Dar Ibn al-Jawzi, 1st edition, Cairo, Egypt, 1432 AH/2011 CE, pp. 7-22.

Muhammad bin Muhammad Makhloof, "The Tree of Pure Light in the Categories of the Maliki Scholars", published by Dar al-Kitab al-Arabi, Beirut, Lebanon, pp. 52 ff.

¹⁷⁻ Imam Al-Awza'i: He is Imam Abu 'Amr Abd al-Rahman ibn 'Amr ibn Yahya al-Awza'i. He lived in Damascus before moving to Beirut, where he remained until his death. He was an imam in jurisprudence and hadith and received knowledge from scholars such as Ata ibn Abi Rabah (d. 115 AH/733 CE) and Al-Zuhri and their generation. Al-Awza'i was asked about jurisprudence when he was thirteen years old and he acquired knowledge from eminent scholars such as Sufyan al-Thawri, Abdullah ibn al-Mubarak and others. Al-Awza'i and Imam Malik met in the city's mosque, where they studied jurisprudence and hadith from Dhuhr to Maghrib prayers. Imam Malik described him as "Al-Awza'i, an Imam to follow".

Imam Al-Awza'i answered about seventy thousand legal questions because of the depth of his knowledge. He opposed the use of personal opinion and advocated following the hadith.

Abdullah ibn Muhdhi said of him, "No one in the Levant knows the Sunnah better than Al-Awza'i". Although his school of thought influenced the judiciary and legal rulings in the Levant, he refused the position of judge and his school of thought declined in the fourth century AH when the school of Imam Shafi'i gained prominence.

He died in Beirut in 157 AH/774 CE. Sources for further information on the biography of Imam Al-Awza'i include:

1. Shams al-Din al-Dhahabi, - "The Lives of Noble Figures". Edited by Muhammad bin 'Ayadi bin 'Abd al-Halim, Maktabat al-Safa, 1st edition, Cairo, Egypt, 1423 AH/2003 CE, vol. 5, pp. 296-297.

2. Abu Muhammad Abdullah ibn Muslim, - "Knowledge for Ibn Qutaybah". Edited and introduced by Dr Tharwat Akeasha, Dar al-Ma'arif, 2nd edition, Egypt, 1969 C.E., pp. 496-497.

3. Ibn Saad, - "The Great Classes". Published by Dar Beirut lil-Tiba'a wa al-Nashr, Beirut, 1405 AH/1985 CE, vol. 7, p. 488.

4. Khudari Ahmed Abdul Munaim al-Bahi, "Al-Awza'i: Faqih of the Levant and Andalusia and their Imam" in Al-Arabi Magazine, Issue 107, October 1967, Kuwait, p. 37.

¹⁸⁻ Abdul Jalil Mallakh: The Sectarian Movements in Andalusia and their Political and Intellectual Implications (138-479 AH/756-1086 CE). This is a doctoral thesis supervised by Dr Ibrahim Bahaz, Department of History, Faculty of Humanities, University of Algeria 2 Abu Al-Qasim Saadallah, 2017-2018 CE, pp. 193 and onwards.

¹⁹⁻ The Idrisids, founded by Idris ibn Abdallah ibn Hasan ibn Ali ibn Abi Talib, were a dynasty that established the Idrisid state (172-375 AH/788-985 CE). Idris had fled from the east in fear of the anti-Shiite Abbasids and settled among the Awraba tribe in the far Maghreb. The capital of the state was Fez, and its influence extended to Tlemcen and

Cordoba. Ismail Al-Arabi, "The Idrisids: Kings of Tlemcen, Fes and Cordoba", Dar Al-Matbouaat Al-Jami'iyah, Algeria, 1983, pp. 72 and following.

20- The Aghlabid dynasty (184-296 AH/800-908 CE) is attributed to Abu'l-Abbas Abdullah ibn Muhammad al-Aghlabi, but its founder was Ibrahim ibn al-Aghlab. Its capital was first established in the Abbasid city in 185 AH to demonstrate allegiance to the Abbasid state, and was later moved to Raqqada. The Aghlabid dynasty adhered to the Sunni school of thought. They conquered Sicily in 212 AH/827 CE. The dynasty fell in 296 AH due to the invasion of the Shia Fatimid preacher Abu Abdullah. For more information, see Hasan Ibrahim, "History of Islam", vols. 2 (pp. 171-180) and 3 (pp. 163-178).

21- The Meadows of Gold and the Mines of Precious Stones) by Al-Masudi. It was published by Dar al-Andalus for Printing, Publishing and Distribution, 1st edition, Beirut, Lebanon, 1385 AH/1965 CE, volume 1, page 186.

22- Mohammed Ali Duboz, "History of Greater Maghreb", published by Dar Ihya' al-Kutub al-Arabiyya Isa al-Babi al-Halabi and Partners, 1st edition, 1382 AH/1963 CE, 2/350.

23- Joudat Abdul Karim Yusuf: "Foreign Relations of the Rustamid State", National Book Institution, Algeria, 1984 CE, p. 128.

24- Bahaz, "The Rustamid State", p. 386.

25- Filali, cited above, p. 97.

26- Ibn al-Qutiya, the same source, pp. 67-68.

27- Some argue that the delegation consisted of the sons of Imam Abdul Wahab bin Abdul Rahman, while others believe that they were the brothers Abdul Wahab, Abdul Ghani, Dahiyun and Bahram. See: Ibn Hayyan, Al-Muqtas, edited by Mahmoud Maki, previous source, p. 488, Filali, reference above, p. 98.

28- Shazuna: It is a region related to the Moorish region, as it was one of the enrolled regions, including its areas such as Sharish and others. Al-Hamiri, previous source, p. 339.

29- Ibn Hayyan, Al-Muqtas, edited by Maki, footnotes p. 449. Maria Jesus Figuera, "Mohammed and Abdul Rahman bin Rustam in Cordoba", 11th Meeting of Islamic Thought, Wahran: 17-26 Safar 1397 AH/6-15 February 1977, Publications of the Ministry of Religious Affairs, Algeria, vol. 1/277.

30- Hashim al-Darrab: So called because when he arrived in Cordoba he was working as a labourer in the blacksmith's shop, beating with a hammer. Ibn Athari, Al-Bayan, 2/83.

31- Ibn Athari, Al-Bayan, 2/83.

32- Ibn Athari, 2/87 and 88. Encyclopaedia of Ibadi Personalities, 4/791.

33- Ibn Hayyan, "Al-Muqtas", edited by Maki, pp. 25-28. Filali, see above, p. 100. Maria Jesus, the previous article, p. 281.

34- Joudat, "Foreign Relations", p. 142, and for further details see above.

35- The Nukkari Ibadis: A sect arose after the death of Imam Abdul Rahman bin Rustam and the succession of his son Abdul Wahab as Imam. This was rejected by one of the seven advisers to the succession of Abdul Rahman bin Rustam, "Yazid bin Fandeen", who believed that it would eventually lead to him. They were called "Nukkari" because of their refusal of allegiance to Abdul Wahab. One of their notable figures was Abu Yazid Makhled bin Qidad al-Yafirini (Owner of the Donkey), who rebelled against the Fatimid state in Maghreb in 331 AH/942 CE. His rebellion was supported by the Umayyad caliph "Abd al-Rahman al-Nasir". After the revolt was suppressed, his followers migrated to al-Andalus. For more details, see Abi Zakariya Yahya bin Abi Bakr, "Siyar al-A'imma wa Akhbarihim", edited and annotated by Ismail al-Arabi, National Library, Algeria, 1399 AH/1979 CE, p. 58 and beyond. Al-Baruni, the above reference, p. 135 and beyond. Filali, the above reference, p. 169 and beyond. Saber Taema, "Al-Ibadiyya: Doctrine and Sect", Dar al-Jeel, Beirut, 1406 AH/1986 CE, pp. 50-55.

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- 36- Bahaz, "The Rustamid State", p. 386.
- 37- Al-Dashrawi, Farhat Al-Dashrawi, "Doctrinal Conflict in al-Andalus - the Era of Emirate and Caliphate", Arab Culture Magazine, Issue 27, Arab Organisation for Culture and Sciences, March-September 1994, p. 21.
- 38- These opinions had an impact in al-Andalus, and although they were described as innovative, they were not declared infidels because the basic concept of prayer behind them was acceptable according to the Sunnis. Ibn Abdul Barr of Andalusia wrote commentaries on this, stating that the refusal to pray behind them was to avoid their innovations. The Ibadīyya, as we know, do not agree with the Kharijites. For further details see: Al-Tahami, the above reference, pp. 77 and 78, 218 and 219.
- 39- Ibn Hazm, "Jamharat Ansab al-Arab", p. 498.
- 40- Ibn Hazm, "Al-Fasl fi al-Milal," vol. 4/191. For further elaboration see: Vol. 4/188-192.
- 41- Bahaz, "The Rustamid State," p. 386. According to my informant, they are not exclusively from the Ibadī sect, and he would probably get the same answer if he asked people from other sects about their leaders.
- 42- Ibn Hazm, "Al-Fasl", vol. 4/189.
- 43- Al-Kitman (Concealment):** Some references use the term "Taqīyya" instead of "Kitman". However, the Ibadīyya prefer the term "Kitman" because they see it as a path within religious practices. According to Ibadīyya, it is about Muslims hiding the rules of Sharia because they are unable to express them openly. Ibadīyya differs from some Kharijite groups who see taqīyya as a sign of hypocrisy. Ibadīyya and those who hold similar views point to the Qur'anic verse: "And a believing man of Pharaoh's family who hid his faith." (Quran, Ghafir/40:28). For more details, see Amr bin Jamee, the above reference, pp. 16-17. Amar Al-Talbi, "Opinions of the Kharijites", published by the Modern Egyptian Office for Printing and Publishing, Alexandria, Egypt, 1971, vol. 1, pp. 133-136. Ibrahim Bahaz, "Distortions of Ibadīyya: An Inside and Outside View", Al-Hayat Magazine, Issue 5, Arab Printing Press, Ghardaia, Algeria, Ramadan 1422 AH/December 2001 CE, pp. 35 et seq.
- 44- Maki: "Al-Tashayyu" (Shiism), pp. 43-44.
- 45- Bouziane Al-Draji: "States of the Kharijites and the Alawites in Maghreb and al-Andalus", published by the Arab Book for Printing, Publishing, Distribution, Translation, Algeria, 2007, p. 128.
- 46- This principality occupied a small area around the city of Murwar, stretching south to Wadi Laka. It was ruled by Nuḥ ibn Abi Taziri (403-433/1013-1041), then Muḥammad ibn Nuḥ 'Azz al-Dawla (433-445/1041-1053), followed by Minad ibn Muḥammad 'Imad al-Dawla (445-458/1053-1066). See: Anan, "Dawāl al-Ṭawā'if," the above reference, pp. 154-155, 461-462.
- . Ibn Ḥayyan, "Al-Muqtas," edited by Al-Hawari, p. 150.
- . Ibn 'Adarri, "Al-Bayan," vol. 3/268.
- 47- Ibn Khaldun, "The History" vol. 7/72.
- 48- This principality lay along the Great Valley, between the Principality of Cordoba to the east and the Kingdom of Seville to the west. It expanded to include the town of Istija and Al-Mudawwar. It was ruled by Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh (404-434/1013-1042) and later by 'Aziz ibn Muḥammad Al-Mustazhir (434-459/1042-1067). For more details see: Muḥammad 'Abd Allah Anan, "States of the Factions from their Establishment until the Almoravid Conquest", Al-Khanji Library, 2nd edition, Cairo, Dar al-Kitab al-'Arabi li al-Ṭibā'a wa al-Nashr, 1389 AH/1969 CE, pp. 148-149, 461.
- 49- Ibn Khaldun, "The History", vol. 7/15 and beyond.
- 50- Anan, "States of the Factions", p. 155.

⁵¹- References to Ibadi sources are available for detailed information, but for brevity I refer to: Bahaz, "The Rustamid State," p. 457. Joudat, "Foreign Relations," p. 128, and others.

⁵²- Filali, "Foreign Relations," pp. 99-100.

⁵³- Bahaz, "The Rustamid State," pp. 456-458. Muhammad al-Akhdar Abdelkader al-Sahih: "Bakr ibn Hammad, the Poet of the Arab Maghreb in the Third Century of the Hijra", Historical Encyclopaedia Series for Youth, Ministry of Culture and Tourism Publications, Directorate of Historical Studies and Heritage Revival, Algeria, 1986 (the entire book).

⁵⁴- Bahaz, "The Rustamid State", p. 386.