http://journal.umpo.ac.id/index.php/aristo/ aristo@umpo.ac.id

Moderation and Civilization

(A Historical Analysis on the Moderate Policy of the Rustamid Dynasty)

Ahmad Choirul Rofiq
Institut Agama Islam Negeri Ponorogo
ahmadchoirulrofiq@iainponorogo.ac.id

Abstract

The Rustamid Dynasty (160-296 AH / 776-909 AD) was a remarkable Ibadite dynasty. Unfortunately, most of the historical works have paid little attention to the development of Islamic civilization during the Rustamid reign. This fact is very contrary to the study of Sunnite or Shi'ite dynasties. This paper shows that the Rustamids performed their moderate policy by giving great tolerance, freedom, and equality to all citizens who lived in their territory, especially in Tahert (part of Algeria) and Jabal Nafusah (part of Libya). Consequently, this moderate policy, which was encouraged by the moderate Ibadite doctrine, had influence on the establishment of Islamic civilization in the Maghrib. The Rustamids successively played a significant role in economic prosperity, intellectual development, and Islamization. Like the Rustamids, the plural society of Indonesia can obtain the achievements of civilization by maintaining their multicultural diversity. Hence, the Indonesian government, the Muslim organizations, and all of the Muslim people should promote tolerant Islamic teachings and support intellectual movement.

Keyword: the Ibadites, the Rustamids, Moderate Policy, Islamic Civilization

Submite : 30 November 2017
Review : 20 Maret 2018
Accepted : 29 Juni 2018

Surel Corespondensi : jovani.audra@gmail.com

Introduction

The Islamic history tells us that there was an Ibadite government in the Maghrib. It was the Rustamids (the Rustumids) who accomplished their regime for over a century. They developed a great advance in economic field as well as in intellectual field. Their political territory boundary was close to the Aghlabids (183-296 AH / 800-909 AD), the Idrisids (172-313 AH / 789-926 AD), and the Midrarids (140-296 AH / 757-909 AD). Today Tahert (Tihart, Tahart, dan Taihort), the Rustamid capital, is in Algeria, and Jabal Nafusah, their vital province, is in Libya. Their reign began in 160 AH (776 AD) and crumbled when the Fatimids had destroyed them in 296 AH (909 AD). (al-Hariri, 1987, pp. 94, 185, 234) Although the Rustamids could establish their civilization, many historical works still have not taken adequate notice to



Sosial Politik Humaniora http://journal.umpo.ac.id/index.php/aristo@umpo.ac.id

them. This fact is completely different from the researches of Sunnite or Syi'ite history. The following paper deals with the moderate policy implemented by the Rustamids in their effort to uphold Islamic civilization.

Muhammad 'Isa al-Hariri, in his work entitled *ad-Daulah ar-Rustamiyyah bi al-Maghrib al-Islami: Hadharatuha wa 'Alaqatuha al-Kharijiyyah bi al-Maghrib wa al-Andalus*, paid more attention to political affairs, such as situation of the Rustamid regime and internal strife to gain power. Al-Hariri shown the economic and intellectual achievement during the Rustamid rule. However, al-Hariri did not explain the motive behind the Rustamid policy that made their accomplishment happen.

The similar case is also found in the work of Ibrahim Bahaz entitled *ad-Daulah ar-Rustamiyyah: Dirasah fi al-Audha 'al-Iqtishadiyyah wa al-Hayah al-Fikriyyah* (Alpha Publisher, Algiers, 2010). Indeed, he elucidated the economic and intellectual situation of the Rustamids. But he did not point out the factor that influenced the Rustamid policy. In addition to the works of al-Hariri and Bahaz, there was *al-Azhar ar-Riyadhiyyah fi A'immah wa Muluk al-Ibadhiyyah* written by Sulaiman Basya al-Baruni. This book was valuable because of its information about the establishment of the Rustamids untill their collapse. Nevertheless, al-Baruni was unable to give historical analysis since he wrote his work descriptively. (al-Baruni, 1987)

Another book was *al-Ibadhiyyah fi Maukib at-Tarikh* written by 'Ali Yahya Mu'ammar. Unfortunately, the author preferred to write his work tendentiously to his Ibadite sect. As an insider writer, he used to admire the Rustamid dynasty and avoid any negative assessment towards the Rustamids. For example, his statement that the Rustamid government had a close similiraty to the government of *al-Khulafa' ar-Rasyidun* (the rightly guided caliphs) because the Rustamid dynasty performed *syura* (consultation) to run their government and solve their problems. (Mu'ammar, 2008)

The same perspective was shown by Bukair ibn Balhah in his work entitled *al-Imamah* 'inda al-Ibadhiyyah baina an-Nazhariyyah wa at-Tathbiq: Muqaranah ma'a Ahl as-Sunnah wa al-Jama'ah. Ibn Balhah stated clearly that the system of Ibadite governments, both in Oman and Tahert, was founded upon the principle of syura dan ikhtiyar hurr (free election). The political succession which was limited to the descendant of 'Abd ar-Rahman ibn Rustam could be accepted for the reason that the Ibadites carried out this policy to prevent political conflict among them. (Balhah, 2010)



Methods

According to the literature review above, there is no comprehensive research on the Rustamid policy and the factor that induced the Rustamids to carry out their policy. Moreover, this historical research is different from the previous works because of behavioural approach applied to analyze political behaviour of the Rustamids. This library research utilizes behavioural approach (Surbakti, 1992, p. 131) as well as historical method which are composed of topic selection, heuristic, verification, interpretation, and historiography. (Kuntowijoyo, 1997, p. 89) The topic on the Rustamid policy is chosen in connection with the fact that it is rarely discussed by historians. Besides, there is primary source which makes this topic workable. The main source is *Akhbar al-A'immah ar-Rustamiyyin* written by Ibn ash-Shaghir, historian who lived at the reign of the Rustamids, especially under the rule of Abu al-Yaqzhan ibn Aflah. This study also uses relevant secondary sources to elucidate analysis. However, the verification of *Akhbar al-A'immah ar-Rustamiyyin* is not performed utterly because this verification was done by A. de C. Motylinski in 1905 and Ibrahim Bahaz in 1985. (ash-Shaghir, 1986)

To ease process of analysing the moderate Rustamid policy in the Maghrib and its motive, it is important to define the meaning of the Maghrib, policy, and moderation. Yaqut al-Hamawi wrote that the Maghrib included the area between Milyanah (in Ifriqiyyah) and the Atlantic Ocean, and then it also embraced Andalusia. (al-Hamawi, 1977, p. 161) Some sources said that the Maghrib was divided into three parts, namely, Maghrib Adna (Tunisia today), Maghrib Ausath (Algeria), dan Maghrib Aqsha (Morocco). (al-Baruni, 1987)

This writing takes the definition of policy that means every decision made by government to control and regulate public society. (Surbakti, 1992, p. 190) The connotation of moderation is behaviour that keeps away from extremeness and radicalness. (Guralnik, 1996, p. 871) Immoderation is its antonym. It is indicated by extreme behaviour or excessive deeds, and then followed by refusing any different opinion or belief and eliminating tolerant or open-minded attitude. (Haidar, 1988)

Result and Discussion

1) The Rulers of the Rustamid Dynasty

Before elaborating the Rustamid policy, it is necessary to catch a glimpse of the Rustamids. The accomplishment of the Ibadites to obtain political victory in the Maghrib was



Sosial Politik Humaniora http://journal.umpo.ac.id/index.php/aristo@umpo.ac.id

achieved by severely struggle. After Salmah ibn Sa'd had preached Ibadite doctrines in the Maghrib in 95 AH (713 AD), the Ibadites made several great efforts, for instance, the revolts commanded by 'Abd Allah ibn Mas'ud at-Tujibi in 127 AH (744 AD), 'Abd al-Jabbar ibn Qais al-Muradi and al-Harits ibn Talid al-Hadrami in 131 AH (748 AD), Isma'il ibn Ziyad an-Nafusi in 132 AH (750 AD), and then Abu al-Khaththab al-Ma'afiri in 140 AH (757 AD). At-Tujibi led the Hawwarah, one of Berber tribes, in Tripolitania to rebel against 'Abd ar-Rahman ibn Habib, Umayyad administrator in the Maghrib. But they were defeated easily by Ibn Habib.

The Hawwarite revolt continued under the command of 'Abd al-Jabbar and al-Harits. This rebel ended when al-Harits and 'Abd al-Jabbar had been killed suddenly. The failure also occurred in the revolt of Isma'il who directed the Nafusah tribe in opposition to Umayyad government. After several collapses, the Ibadites in the Maghrib made intensive contact with the leaders of Ibadite community in Basrah to prepare more careful and systematic struggle. (Isma'il, 1985)

Many emissaries from the Maghrib were sent to Basrah. Those delegates, who were called *hamalat al-'ilm*, lived for about five years (135-140 AH / 752-757 AD) there. They learnt directly from Abu 'Ubaidah Muslim ibn Abi Karimah, the highest leader of the Ibadites, and other Ibadite personages. (Nashir, 2006, p. 446) Subsequently, Abu 'Ubaidah chose Abu al-Khaththab as an Ibadite leader in the Maghrib. After coming back to the Maghrib, Abu al-Khaththab in 140 AH (757 A.D) convinced a number of Berber tribes, such as Nafusah, Hawwarah, and Zanatah to become a member of the Ibadites and take part into Ibadite struggle until their accomplishment of mission. Afterwards, they were successful to conquer Tripolitania, Jazirah Jirbah, Jabal Damr, Qabis, and even Qayrawan.

Unfortunately, they were crushed by the Abbasid military at the battle of Tawurga in 144 AH (761 AD). Ya'qub ibn Habib who was known as Abu Hatim al-Malzuzi since 145 AH (762 AD) then occupied the Ibadite leadership. However, in 155 AH (772 AD) the Ibadites were also defeated in Jabal Nafusah. At this battle Abu Hatim and his army become the victims. When Abu Yahya ibn Qiryas had continued the leadership, the similar failure occurred in 156 AH (773 AD). A significant outcome was obtained by the Ibadites under the command of 'Abd ar-Rahman ibn Rustam. (Isma'il, 1985, pp. 85-95) 'Abd ar-Rahman avoided an aggressive attack of Muhammad ibn al-Asy'ats, the governor of Egypt sent by



Abu Ja'far al-Mansur, after he had escaped to the Sufjaj Mountain. He even got a great support from many Berber tribes, such as Nafusah, Hawwarah, Lawatah, Miknasah, Mazatah, and Lamayah. (al-Baruni, 1987, pp. 43-45) They eventually went to Tahert and installed 'Abd ar-Rahman as the leader of the Ibadites in 160 AH (776 AD). (al-Hariri, 1987)

There is no information about 'Abd ar-Rahman's genealogy in *Akhbar al-A'immah ar-Rustamiyyin*. Ibn ash-Shaghir only said that the Ibadites moved to Tahert and then had the same opinion to chose 'Abd ar-Rahman as their leader to carry out several responsibilities, for instance, helping the oppressed people, giving a verdict of guilty to every unlawful deed, distributing a tithe, and so forth. 'Abd ar-Rahman was designated because he didn't have a tribe or family who could protect him. At the assignment of 'Abd ar-Rahman as administrator of Qayrawan, Abu al-Khaththab asserted that the Ibadites would easily turn down 'Abd ar-Rahman if he deviated from the Islamic law because he did not have any defending tribe or family. (ash-Shaghir, 1986)

Al-Hariri stated that the genealogy of 'Abd ar-Rahman ibn Rustam referred to Bahram whose lineage related to the Persian kings. At that time, Bahram ('Abd ar-Rahman's grandfather) was a *maula* of 'Utsman ibn 'Affan in Medina. Rustam passed away when he made the pilgrimage to Mecca together with his wife and 'Abd ar-Rahman, his son. His wife got married again with a man from Qayrawan and then took 'Abd ar-Rahman there. 'Abd ar-Rahman grew up in Qayrawan where the Ibadite doctrines had been preached by Salmah ibn Sa'd. Being attracted by the Ibadite teachings, he followed this religious sect. (al-Hariri, 1987, pp. 74-78) Later he was a member of delegates sent to Basrah and struggled together with Abu al-Khaththab to establish a political authority for the Ibadites.

After his assignment as a leader of the Maghrib Ibadites, 'Abd ar-Rahman immediately started to build Tahert to become their capital. Firstly, he received financial support from the Ibadite society in Basrah. This assistance was delivered by reason of vast information that there was an Ibadite leader with a great honesty, justice, modesty, and humility. As a result of it, the prosperity of Tahert people increased. Such condition fascinated every traveler, tourist, and merchant who came to Tahert. Furthemore those men felt convenient to stay and live in Tahert. Therefore, the population of Tahert grew up and turned into assorted. The affluence of life remained until the death of 'Abd ar-Rahman. (ash-Shaghir, 1986, pp. 32-41) Before his death in 171 AH (787 AD), he had formed a commission to



appoint his successor. This board finally elected 'Abd al-Wahhab ibn 'Abd ar-Rahman as a leader. (al-Baruni, 1987)

Although there were some political problems, 'Abd al-Wahhab successfully led his leadership. His achievement was denoted by stability and steadiness in administration as well as in prosperity. Moreover, the Rustamids influence reached abroad indicated by their encirclement of Tripolitania and triumph over Tilimsan. Another accomplishment was attainment of strong loyalty and allegiance from the people of Jabal Nafusah whose support was very indispensable for the survival of the Rustamids. (ash-Shaghir, 1986, p. 45) Besides, he created tranquillity inside the Rustamid territory until his death in 211 AH (826 AD). Perhaps his valuable experience during the reign of his father was the factor that helped him to run his government. (al-Hariri, 1987)

'Abd al-Wahhab was succeeded by his son, Aflah, because Aflah had overcome the revolt of Banu Massalah (ash-Shaghir, 1986, p. 55) and the rebellion of Yazid ibn Fandin. (al-Baruni, 1987, p. 161) The Rustamids achieved their glory during his sovereignty. The trade activity progressed well and many foreign merchants come to Tahert. Hence, the financial revenue multiplied and the wealth developed rapidly. But the situation changed when Aflah's son, Abu al-Yaqzhan, had made a pilgrimage to Mecca and he was captured by Abbasid military. He felt so sad for many years and finally died. (ash-Shaghir, 1986, pp. 61-62, 64-69) His death in 240 AH (854 AD) ended his flourishing government. (al-Hariri, 1987)

Then some Ibadites met Abu Bakr ibn Aflah to assign him as their leader. At that moment, there was a refutation from some citizens who disagreed with this appointment, but most people ignored this rejection. The crucial problem faced by Abu Bakr related to the assassination of Muhammad ibn 'Irfah. Because Abu Bakr failed to deal with the conflict, his rule did not sustain for a long time. Abu al-Yaqzhan Muhammad ibn Aflah, Abu Bakr's brother, replaced him in 241 AH (855 AD) and returned the political stability. (al-Hariri, 1987) Ibn ash-Shaghir, who beheld directly the leadership of Abu al-Yaqzhan, said that Abu al-Yaqzhan was similar to 'Abd ar-Rahman ibn Rustam, the founder of Rustamid dynasty. Both of them were very pious and modest men. Besides, Abu al-Yaqzhan could enhance the intellectual activity in Tahert. Many scholars from various sects appeared during his administration because he did not discriminate them. His government took forty years until his death in 281 AH (894 AD). (ash-Shaghir, 1986)



Sosial Politik Humaniora http://journal.umpo.ac.id/index.php/aristo/aristo@umpo.ac.id

The Ibadites elected Abu Hatim ibn Abu al-Yaqzhan to take the place of his father. Although several clashes emerged and Abu Hatim was enforced to leave Tahert, he could establish his authority. (ash-Shaghir, 1986, pp. 102-115) He restored the political situation and social condition after internal dissension. However, the miserable disaster happened when the Rustamids had been defeated by the Aglabids in 283 AH (896 M) at the battle of Manu in Jabal Nafusah. His reign persisted until his murder in 294 AH (906 AD). After this assassination, al-Yaqzhan ibn Abi al-Yaqzhan continued the Ibadite leadership. But most people detested him and thought that he was involved to this political conspiracy. As a consequence, his government did not run smoothly. In addition, the threat of Abu 'Abd Allah al-Husain, a Syi'ite commander ordered by 'Ubaid Allah al-Mahdi (the founder of Fatimid dynasty), came and eventually annihilate the Rustamids in 296 AH (909 AD). (al-Baruni, 1987)

2). The Moderate Policy of the Rustamid Dynasty

The Rustamids fruitfully established remarkable civilization because of their moderate policy. Undoubtedly, this policy corresponded to the Ibadite doctrine that preferred a moderate behaviour than extreme conduct to the non-Ibadite people. (al-Isfaraini, 1988) As a consequence of it, the Ibadites were renowned as the closest Kharijite sect to *Ahl as-Sunnah wa al-Jama'ah* or the Sunnites. (Zahrah, 1946) The Rustamid policy to the non-Ibadites, either Muslim or non-Muslim, was founded on the basis of tolerance. Such moderation was applied during the period of Rustamid dynasty from the first ruler ('Abd ar-Rahman) to the last ruler (al-Yaqzhan). For this reason, there were various citizens who lived freely and peacefully in the Rustamid territory without any distinction or discrimination.

As mentioned above, 'Abd ar-Rahman ibn Rustam, the founder of Rustamid dynasty, was famed of his modesty, humility, honesty, and justice. All people were very delighted of his headship. From the beginning of his sovereignty, he focused his attention to make prosperity of citizens. Hence, many travelers and merchants from abroad came to Tahert and dwelt there. They were from different homelands, for example Basrah and Kufah. Additionally, there were non-Muslim communities paid some *jizyah* (head tax on free non-Muslims under Muslim rule). Because of this affluence, the Rustamids smoothly rejected the second financial assistance from the Ibadites of the Masyriq. (ash-Shaghir, 1986)



'Abd al-Wahhab continued 'Abd ar-Rahman's moderate policy. As a consequence, the prosperity of his society went to a great extent. The reign of Aflah enhanced the wealth of his people. This enrichment was denoted by remarkable development and trade activity operated by both national and foreign businessmen. But such conducive situation was disrupted by internal conflict in the short period of Abu Bakr ibn Aflah. After the accession of Abu al-Yaqzhan ibn Aflah, the political instability could be controlled and the government was handled well. Abu al-Yaqzhan made a peaceful situation and encouraged the pluralistic life by making *munazharah* (academic debate and discussion) followed by many different scholars, either the Ibadites or non-Ibadites. Ibn ash-Shaghir, the Syi'ite historian, was a witness who joined directly the public gathering between Abu al-Yaqzhan and his people. (ash-Shaghir, 1986)

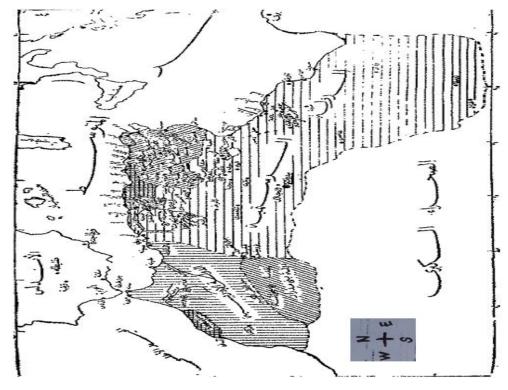
The situation of harmony and tolerance appeared during the reign of Abu Hatim too. Many scholarly forums were held. Moreover, there was a number of non-Ibadite persons who served him as his staff, for instance, Abu Mas'ud, Abu Danwan, and 'Ulwan ibn 'Ulwan who were Hanafite men came from Kufah. Besides, Abu Hatim sometimes took the advice from his advisors, both from Ibadites and non-Ibadites. (ash-Shaghir, 1986)

The reign of al-Yaqzhan ibn Abi al-Yaqzhan was similar to his predecessors. He also gave tolerance and equality to all citizens without discrimination against their sects. Unfortunately, the Rustamid oppositions took advantage of this tolerant policy to help the foreign adversaries demolish the Rustamids, especially when Abu 'Abd Allah asy-Syi'i had attacked Tahert and finally killed al-Yaqzhan. These latent opponents consisted of the Syi'ites, the Mu'tazilites, and the Shufrites. Perhaps these groups had the courage to dissolve the Rustamids because they had known that the Rustamids were on the verge of dissolution. Ofcourse they witnessed the downfall of the Nafusites by the Aglabids at the battle of Manu in 283 AH (896 AD). (al-Baruni, 1987)

This state of affairs was akin to the situation during the last days of the 'Abbasids in 656 AH (1258 AD) in Baghdad. It was mentioned that before the collapse of Abbasid power, the Syi'ites (conducted by Ibn al-'Alqami, the vizier of the Caliph al-Musta'sim), had assisted Mongolian troops led by Hulaku Khan to attack and destroy the 'Abbasids. (Hasan, 1967) It is understood that the Rustamids surely preferred the Ibadite sect than other sects because a believer must support and spread his own belief. Moreover, the Ibadites were the majority

people in the Rustamid territory. For this reason, the non-Ibadites always took advantage of every chance to strike the Rustamids. Hence, each tolerant government should preclude any menace and ought to be cautious every time.

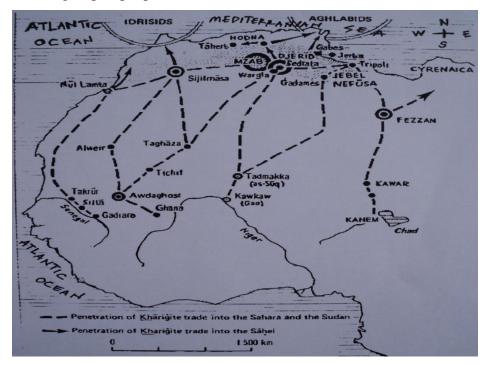
The previous explanation clearly proved that the Rustamids, from their early government until their downfall, constantly applied tolerant policy to their people without distinction of their sects. All citizens of different faiths had a similar opportunity to stay and live under the spirit of harmony. Although the Rustamids protected every religion, however, the Ibadite scholars naturally attempted to defend their Ibadite sect. They responded and replied another sect by open debate orally. Besides, they also wrote many works to argue against their opponents. (al-Baruni, 1987) Moreover, there were non-Muslim inhabitants under the Rustamid rule. At that time, there was Yahudza ibn Quraisy, a Jewish linguist who had many academic works in comparative languages of Arabic, Hebrew, and Berber. The Christians, who most of them were African people, existed too in Tahert. (al-Hariri, 1987)



The Rustamid Territory (al-Hariri, 1987)

The moderate policy of the Rustamids also clearly appeared in the economic activity. The livelihoods which became the sources of Rustamid revenue were trade, agriculture (olive, grape, palm, and wheat), cattle breeding (sheep, horse, and donkey), industry (cloth), and

mining (iron). The greatest income was earned from trade. The exported products consisted of earthenware, glassware, and perfume, whereas the imported commodities were composed of gold, slave, and ivory from *Bilad as-Sudan*, (al-Hariri, 1987) i.e. the land of the Negroes or the dark-skinned group of people. (Lombard, 2004)



Trade Routes in the Rustamid Era (Lombard, 2004)

Practicing economic policy, the Rustamids steadily upheld the value of justice, equality, and public kindness. These worthy values are Islamic universal principles to gain successful leadership. The Rustamids continuously performed these valuable principles. They consistently gave the same chance to everybody to undertake economic activity. All people must obey the government rule to gain advantages, whereas the Rustamids had to maximize their economic potentiality and ensure that their economic activities run in appropriate way for Islamic principles. Besides, the Rustamids effectively made governmental income from taxes, alms, donations, and *jizyah* for the necessities of government and society. For that reason, the Rustamids performed redistributive policy (Surbakti, 1992) by taking some wealth of their citizens and giving its benefit to them through certain governmental programs. The advantages of earnings were fulfilled by means of development over the Rustamid territory until the prosperity of society could be achieved.



On the intellectual field, the Rustamids had many scholars and learned men, such as 'Abd ar-Rahman ibn Rustam, 'Abd al-Wahhab ibn'Abd ar-Rahman, Aflah ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab, dan Abu al-Yaqzhan ibn Aflah, (Mu'ammar, 2008) Mahdi an-Nafusi, 'Abd Allah al-Lamthi, and Mahmud ibn Bakr. 'Abd ar-Rahman had an exegesis of the Qur'an. (al-Baruni, 1987). 'Abd al-Wahhab wrote his *Masa'il Nafusah* on Islamic jurisprudence. (al-Hariri, 1987) Aflah mastered Arabic literature, mathematics, and astronomy. Abu al-Yaqzhan wrote about 40 works. (al-Baruni, 1987). Because of their intellectual enthusiasm, the Rustamids vigorously transferred valuable works from the Masyriq to the Maghrib, especially to the library of al-Ma'shumah (in Tahert) and that of Khizanah Nafusah (in Jabal Nafusah). (al-Hariri, 1987) Moreover, Tahert was famous as '*Iraq al-Maghrib*, *al-'Iraq ash-Shaghir*, *Balkh al-Maghrib*, (al-Baruni, 1987) or *Little Basra*. (Lombard, 2004)

Apart from these achievements, the Rustamids also had significant contribution to Islamization in the Maghrib and *Bilad as-Sudan*. For about two centuries (130-340 AH / 750-950 AD), the Kharijite people gained control of trade routes in the Maghrib and *Bilad as-Sudan*. Many Ibadite merchants made journeys along the vast area, such as Tahert, Wargla, Nafzawa, Jabal Nafusah, Tadmakkat, Gao, and Ghana. (Kaye, 1997) By this economic activity, the Ibadites took advantages of trading business and preaching Islam at the same time.

3). The Rustamid Policy and Its Relevance to the Indonesian Society

Donald V. Gawronski said that history is the interpretative study of the recorded fact of bygone human beings and societies, the purpose of which study is to develop an understanding of human actions, not only in the past but for the present as well. History seeks to understand the human past in an effort to understand a changing present, with the ambitious hope that such an understanding will provide worthwhile guidelines for future use. (Gawronski, 1969) That is the valuable benefit of history. Relating to the plurality of Indonesian people, the historical study on the the moderate policy of the Rustamids and its impact on the establishment of Islamic civilization in the Maghrib gives us many advantages. We can conclude, by this historical reading, that the successful advancement of the Rustamid Dynasty was influenced by their policy to perform great tolerance among their plural citizens.



Plurality is an indisputable fact of Indonesian society. Referring to the Report of the Wahid Institute (WI) 2008 and the Moderate Muslim Society (MMS) 2009, that religious conflicts tend to not be better. In the 2008-2009 annual report on religious pluralism, there are eight categories recorded by WI and MMS from 2008-2009: The deception of the group/individual, whether it is done by the community, the state, or a combination of both, violence based on religion, religious regulation, places of worship conflicts, such as vandalism, licensing problems, land disputes and other matters related, freedom of thought and expression, inter-religious relations as the issue of the spread of hatred against other religions, religious fatwa and morality and pornography which, although not directly related to religion, but the issues of morality and pornography-in-praxis reality cannot be separated from religious understanding. (Ni'am, 2015)

Pancasila, accepted by virtually all Muslim, secular and non-Muslim leaders, is the common ideological platform (*kalimatun sawa*) of the Indonesian state that is has a lot of diversity and plurality, not only in terms of ethnicity and culture, but also in terms of religion. For mainstream Muslims, however, the Pancasila is already Islamic enough; all pillars of Pancasila are basically in conformity with the fundamental teachings of Islam. Since the Indonesian state with Pancasila ideology is already Islamic enough, there is no strong reason for mainstream Muslims to transform Indonesia into an Islamic state. That is why any attempt to create an Islamic state Indonesia fails to attract the interest of mainstream Muslims. (Azra, 2006) The Indonesian Constitution guarantees all persons the freedom of worship according to his/her own religion or belief. Pancasila states that the belief in the One and Only God is the fundamental principle of Indonesian nation.

Indonesia, the plural country with the largest Muslim population in the world, should be the model of other Islamic nations to prove that Islam is moderate and tolerant because the concept of moderation and tolerance can be found easily in the Islamic teaching based on the Qur'an. Islam gives the right to freedom of conscience and conviction to the citizens. The Holy Qur'an has laid down the injunction: "There should be no coercion in the matter of faith" (2: 256). Although there is no truth or virtue greater than Islam, and although Muslims are enjoined to invite people to embrace it and advance arguments in favour of it, they are not asked to spread this faith by force. Whoever accepts it does so by his own choice. Muslims welcome such converts to Islam with open arms and admit them to their community with



equal rights and privileges. But, equally, Muslims have to recognize and respect the decision of people who do not accept Islam. No moral, social or political pressures may be put on them to change their minds. (Mawdudi, 1980)

Islam demanded Muslims to be kind and fair to non-Muslims. Allah states in the Glorious Qur'an: "Allah forbids you not with regard to those who fight you not for (your) faith nor drive you out of your homes, form dealing kindly and justly with them". (60: 8). Islam forbids abusing the beliefs of non-Muslims, when it provokes the other party to respond with reciprocal abuse. Instead, Allah instructs Muslims to use a fair and well-matured dialogue with such people. Allah says: "Say: O People of the Book! Come to common terms between us and you; that we worship none but Allah; that we associate no partners with Him; that we erect not, from among ourselves, Lords and patrons other than Allah. If then they turn back, say you: Bear witness that we are Muslims" (QS. 3: 64). (al-Sheha, 1980)

The spirit of the Qur'an finally inspired Muslims to become tolerant to non-Muslims. Historical studies have recorded a harmonious relation among the followers of Islam, Christianity, Judaism, and other religion. The prophet Muhammad set an example of tolerance in Medina. The messenger wrorte a document concerning the "Migrants" and the "Helpers" in which he made a friendly agreement with the Jews. (Peters, 1994) This document has been preserved which is commonly known as the Constitution of Medina. It appears to be authentic. It may be taken to show that the people of Medina were regarded as constituting a political unit of a new type, an *ummah* or community. It was bound together by their solemn agreement with one another. (Watt, 1961) The bond between members of the *ummah* transcends any bonds or agreements between them and the pagans, and they are all to seek revenge if any Muslim is killed fighting in the way of God. Besides, there are clauses dealing with relations with the Jews, who are partners in the affairs of Medina and bear their share of the expenses of warfare as long as there is no treachery between them and the Muslims although both Muslims and Jews will keep their own religion. (Kennedy, 1986)

Umar ibn al-Khaththab also performed tolerant policy. When the surrender of Jerussalem seemed to be imminent, Umar went to Syria and concluded a treaty with the notables of the city on very generous terms. Christians were to be given protection, and to have freedom of worship, paying a tax which in comparison was less heavy than that which in the past they had paid to Byzantium. (Holt, 1970) Furthermore, the Abbasid dynasty made a



similar policy. They successfully achieved the golden age of Islamic civilization because of this religious tolerance. At that time, the adherents of these religions lived together with great harmony. Moreover, non-Muslim community contributed to intellectual achievement during the Abbasid reign. The Abbasid citizens composed of Muslims and non-Muslims. The non-Muslims comprised Christians, Jews, Sabaeans, and Zoroastrians. (Ali, 1994) They were highly regarded by the Abbasid government because Islam doctrine orders its followers to esteem another religion and considers them as *Ahl adz-Dzimmah* (the free non-Muslim subjects living in Muslim countries who, in return for paying the capital tax, enjoyed protection and safety) or *Ahl al-Kitab* (the People of the Book), especially Christians and Jews. (Al-'Udat, 1992)

The non-Muslims were respected by the Abbasids. They enjoyed the practice of their religion and their customs and frequently became influential in the Abbasid government. (Grunebaum, 1953) This fact was different from the Christian empire which attempted to impose Christianity on its subjects. (Al-Aayed, 2002) The *dzimmah* on the whole worked well. The non-Muslims managed to thrive under Muslim rule, and even to make a significant contribution to Islamic civilization. (Lewis, 1974) At that time, many non-Muslim scholars contributed their valuable works to intellectual achievement during the Abbasid reign. The most celebrated of non-Muslim scholars was Abu Zaid Hunain ibn Ishaq al-Tbadi. He was a native of Hira, the son of a Christian (Nestorian) druggist. Hunain had many other friends and clients, mostly physicians of Jundi-Shapur and those who had removed to Baghdad and used the Arabic language. (O'Leary, 1979)

This paper expects to give a positive outlook on the relationship between the Muslim and non-Muslim communities in our daily life. As we know, Indonesian people composed of various ethnicities and religions. They can emulate the success of Abbasid and Rustamid government in creating a harmonious multicultural relationship along with the achievements of civilization. Perhaps, the plural society of Indonesia can obtain their splendour by maintaining this multicultural diversity. Moreover, Indonesian Islam has a number of distinctive characters vis-à-vis Middle Eastern Islam. Indonesian Islam is a moderate and accommodative kind of Islam. For that reason, Indonesian Islam is called as "Islam with a smiling face"; Islam which in many ways is compatible with modernity, democracy, and plurality. Despite these distinctions, Indonesian Islam is not less Islamic compared to Islam



somewhere else. Geographically, Islamic Indonesia is far away from the Middle East, but that does not mean that Indonesian Islam is religiously peripheral. (Azra, 2006)

The Indonesian government, the Muslim organizations, and all of the Muslim people should promote tolerant Islamic teachings. They must prevent radicalism and avoid liberalism to create a peaceful life. Multicultural Islamic education is a means for Indonesia with its Bhinneka Tunggal Ika (Unity in Diversity) to shape inclusive religiosity and reach the higher civilization as the Rustamids did. Besides, Indonesian government must provide the impetus of science and technology development because civilization will never be achieved without science and technology. Therefore, every intellectual movement as well as scientific researches and innovations should be fully supported by Indonesian government. Indeed, civilization is an advance level of development characterized by advance social development, economic progress, good political organization, scientific and technological development maintained with enthusiasm to pursuit the knowledge in which many ethnicities and religions may participate. (Ashimi, 2016)

Conclusion

The Rustamids consistently performed the Ibadite teaching that appreciated all Muslim people equally and took no notice of their various sects. (al-Isfaraini, 1988) Therefore, it can be declared that the implementation of moderate policy was inspired by theological value, i.e. the Ibadite doctrine. Because of this moderate behaviour, the Rustamids accomplished their government peacefully and gave tolerant rule to all citizens under their administration. Accordingly, they obtained great achievement in the establishment of Islamic civilization. Finally, it is more useful to make the Rustamid accomplishment generally known, for example, by inclusion the Rustamid Dynasty into the books of Islamic history that should be taught in the Islamic university. Besides, forthcoming contemporary research should be carried out to make discussion on the Ibadites more comprehensive, for instance, research on existing Ibadite society. Actually, Indonesian people potentially can realize higher civilization as the Rustamids did. The Indonesian government, the Muslim organizations, and all of the Muslim people should promote tolerant Islamic teachings and support intellectual movement. Moreover, educating all societies to prefer moderation and avoid extremism must be held persistently to maintain peaceful life and obtain an advance of civilization.

References

- Al-Aayed, S. H. 2002. The Rights of Non-Muslims in the Islamic World. Riyadh: Dar Eshbelia.
- Al-Baruni, S. B. 1987. *Al-Azhar ar-Riyadhiyyah fi A'immah wa Muluk al-Ibadhiyyah*. Vol. 2. Oman: Salthanah 'Uman.
- Al-Hamawi, Y. 1977. Mu'jam al-Buldan. Vol. 5. Beirut: Dar Shadir.
- Al-Hariri, M. 1987. Ad-Daulah ar-Rustamiyyah bi al-Maghrib al-Islami. Kuwait: Dar al-Qalam.
- Ali, A. 1994. A Short History of the Saracens. New Delhi: Nusrat Ali Nasri for Kitab Bhavan.
- Al-Isfaraini, A. 1988. *At-Tabshir fi ad-Din wa Tamyiz al-Firqah an-Najiyah 'an al-Firaq al-Halikin*. Beirut: Dar al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyyah.
- Al-Sheha, A. R. 1980. Human Rights in Islam and Misconceptions. London: Islamic Foundation.
- Al-'Udat. 1992. Al-'Arab al-Nashara. Damascus: al-Ahali.
- Ash-Shaghir, I. 1986. Akhbar al-A'immah ar-Rustamiyyin. Beirut : Dar al-Gharb al-Islami.
- Ashimi, Tijani Ahmad. 2016. "Islamic Civilization: Factors Behind Its Glory and Decline". International Journal of Business, Economics and Law. Vol. 9, Issue 5. 180-184.
- Azra, A. 2006. "Indonesian Islam, Mainstream Muslims and Politics". *Taiwanese and Indonesian Islamic Leaders Exchange Project* (pp. 1-11). Taiwan Taipei: The Asia Foundation.
- Balhah, B. i. 2010. *Al-Imamah 'inda al-Ibadhiyyah baina an-Nazhariyyah wa at-Tathbiq*. Vol. 2. Oman: Maktabah adh-Dhamiri.
- Gawronski, D. V. 1969. *History: Meaning and Method*. Illinois: Scott, Foresman, and Company.
- Grunebaum, G. E. 1953. Medieval Islam. Chicago: University of Chicago.
- Guralnik, D. B. 1996. Webster's New World College Dictionary. New York: A Simon & Schuster Macmillan Company.
- Haidar, K. 1988. I'tidal am Tatharruf. Kuwait: Dar Qirthas li an-Nasyr.
- Hasan, H. I. 1967. *Tarikh al-Islam as-Siyasi, wa ad-Dini, wa ats-Tsaqafi, wa al-Ijtima'i*. Vol. 4. Cairo: Maktabah an-Nahdhah al-Mishriyyah.
- Holt, P. 1970. *The Cambridge History of Islam*. Vol. IA. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Ismaʻil, M. 1985. *Al-Khawarij fi Bilad al-Maghrib hatta Muntashaf al-Qarn ar-Rabi*ʻ. Maghrib: Dar ats-Tsaqafah.

- Kaye, A. S. 1997. "Bilad al-Sudan" in The Encyclopaedia of Islam. Vol. 9. Leiden: E. J. Bril.
- Kennedy, H. 1986. The Prophet and the Age of the Caliphates. London: Longman.
- Kuntowijoyo. 1997. Pengantar Ilmu Sejarah. Yogyakarta: Bentang.
- Lewis, B. 1974. *Islam from the Prophet to the Capture of Constantinople*. New York: Harper & Row.
- Lombard, M. 2004. The Golden Age of Islam. Princeton: Markus Wiener Publishers.
- Mawdudi, A. A. 1980. Human Rights in Islam. London: Islamic Foundation.
- Mu'ammar, Y. 2008. Al-Ibadhiyyah fi Maukib at-Tarikh. Vol. 2. Seeb: Maktabah adh-Dhamiri.
- Nashir, M. S. 2006. *Mu'jam A'lam al-Ibadhiyyah min al-Qarn al-Awwal al-Hijri ila al-'Ashr al-Hadhir*. Beirut: Dar al-Gharb al-Islami.
- Ni'am, S. 2015. "Pesantren: the miniature of moderate Islam in Indonesia". *Indonesian Journal of Islam and Muslim Societies*, 5, 111-134.
- O'Leary, D. L. 1979. *How Greek Science Passed to the Arabs* . Great Britain: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd.
- Peters, F. 1994. A Reader on Classical Islam. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Surbakti, R. 1992. Memahami Ilmu Politik. Jakarta: Gramedia Widiasarana Indonesia.
- Watt, W. M. 1961. Muhammad, Prophet and Statesman. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Zahrah, M. A. 1946. *Tarikh al-Madzahib al-Islamiyyah fi as-Siyasah wa al-'Aqa'id*. Egypt: Dar al-Fikr al-'Arabi.