Dār al-islām / dār al-ḥarb

Territories, People, Identities

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LEIDEN | BOSTON

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PART 5
Modern and Contemporary Developments

Better *barr al-ʿaduww* Than *dār al-ḥarb*
Some Considerations about Eighteenth-Century Maghribi Chronicles

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1   Introduction

The topic of the *dār al-islām / dār al-ḥarb* dichotomy which is at the center of this volume can be dealt with from several points of view. I shall limit myself mainly to analyzing the matter starting with the reading of a number of essays by two Maghribi historians from the Ottoman period, the Libyan Ibn Ġalbūn (Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn Ḫalīl Ġalbūn al-Ṭarābulusī al-Miṣrātī, twelfth/eighteenth century) and the Tunisian Maḥmūd al-Maqdīš al-Safāqusī (d. 1226/1811), with some reference to other authors from different historical periods and geographical contexts.

Ibn Ġalbūn and al-Maqdīš are representatives of an as yet little studied local historiography. They both studied *fiqh*, *tafsīr* and Hadith according to the tradition of that period. In the chronicles that we take into account, the two historians and *fuqahāʾ* seem to be more interested in describing the Other as representing similarity and diversity at the same time. This orientation should be approached, in my view, taking into account what my colleague and friend Gianroberto Scarcia wrote about the dichotomies *islām/ḥarb* and *ʿarab/ʿajam*:

> What is not Islam, then, is not what is located beyond clear—although controversial and variable—territorial boundaries but a merely historical "flaw" of the human soul. A flaw which is behavioral, superficial, political and not a way of being (a "diversity") of an anthropological order: a moral flaw indeed, which is, in Islam, juridical.[1]

It is sufficient to consider the use of the term *ṯaġr* (pl. *ṯuġūr*) in Arabic sources to realize that Scarcia's observations are very insightful. According to the *Lisān*

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1   Gianroberto Scarcia, "*Islām* e *Ḥarb, ʿArab* e *ʿAjam*: nota a due celeberrime dicotomie islamiche," in *Azhàr: studi arabo-islamici in memoria di Umberto Rizzitano (1913–1980)*, ed. Antonino Pellitteri and Giovanni Montaina, Annali della Facoltà di lettere e filosofia dell'Università di Palermo. Studi e ricerche 23 (Palermo: Facoltà di lettere e filosofia dell'Università di Palermo, 1995), 205–6 (my translation).

al-ʿarab by Ibn Manẓūr, the meaning of *ṯaġr* is "breach," an open and fluctuating passage. The territory beyond the breach is not necessarily a grey zone between white and black; it represents what is contiguous to the world of Islam, a place of apprehension.[2] In this regard, it can be useful to look at the Fatimid period and the role of Sicily in that historical and ideological context, even though at first sight this reference may appear inappropriate.

Indeed, if we examine the case of Calabria in particular—although this region wasn't actually part of the Islamic territories, in the tenth century its population used to pay the *jizya* to the Fatimid *ʿāmil* of Sicily—or more generally the case of Southern Italy at the time of the first Banū Abī 'l-Ḥusayn, or Kalbids—governors of Muslim Sicily on behalf of the Fatimids—we can better understand the complexity of the matter.[3] In this context, an important document concerning Sicily at the time of the victory of the *daʿwa fāṭimiyya* in North Africa is very revealing. The document expresses a coherent—if we consider the time and place in which it was drafted—definition of the Other as a reflection of the Self. It is a message dated 296/909 and addressed to the Muslim Sicilians by the *dāʿī* Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ṣanʿānī after the Fatimid victory over the Aghlabids in the same year. According to *qāḍī* al-Nuʿmān, the message was part of a more comprehensive document sent to all the territories administered by the Aghlabids, promising *amān* to everyone who had shown obedience and loyalty towards the *daʿwa fāṭimiyya*. There is no explicit mention of the *dār al-islām / dār al-ḥarb* dichotomy in the document, but only a reference—appropriate to the history of that time—to *dārikum* and *dār al-mušrikīn*, a sort of problematic invitation to the *ḥaqq al-jihād* and an even more problematic appeal "*li-jihādikum al-kafara al-ẓālimīn.*" The latter should be intended—in my opinion—as a fight against the usurpers, the Bānū al-Aġlāb, who persist in error, as clarified by the above-mentioned *qāḍī* al-Nuʿmān in his *Iftitāḥ al-daʿwa* which contains the aforesaid document.[4]

وأنتم معشر أهل جزيرة صقلية أحق بما أوليته من المعروف والإحسان

واسديته، وأولى به وأقرب إليه لقرب داركم من دار المشركين ولجهادكم

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2   See Antonino Pellitteri, *I Fatimiti e la Sicilia* (*sec. X*): *materiali per uno studio sulla Sicilia* thaghr *e terra di* gihâd *con particolare riferimento a fonti ismailite dell'epoca* (Palermo: Centro Culturale al-Farabi, 1997), 15.

3   Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad al-Marrākušī Ibn ʿIḏārī, *Kitāb al-Bayān al-muġrib fī aḫbār al-Andalus wa'l-Maġrib* [= BM], ed. Georges Séraphin Colin and Évariste Lévi-Provençal (Leiden: Brill, 1948), 1:130–32.

4   Pellitteri, *I Fatimiti e la Sicilia*, 46–49.

الكفـرة الظالمين وسوف أمـلأ إن شـاء الله جزيرتكم خيـلاً ورجالاً من المؤمنين الذين يجاهدون في الله حق جهـاده فيعـز الله بهـم الدين والمسلمـين ويذل بهـم الشـرك والمشركين والحول والقوة لله العـلي العظيـم وهو حسبنا ونعـم الوكيـل

A) And you, the people of the island of Sicily have a greater right and are (even) more deserving of the benevolence that I have awarded to you; all the more so, since **your land is closer to that of the godless (*al-mušrikīn*), and because of your jihad against the unbelieving sinners**. I will fill your island, if God be willing, with horsemen and foot soldiers, who are believers **and will have the task of fighting the just cause of the jihad in the name of God**. And God will consolidate, through these, the hold of religion and the strength of the Muslims, and through these, will humiliate the idolatry of the godless. The power and strength are with God Almighty and Omnipotent; He suffices, for our needs, and is our most excellent Defender.

B) And when what was written was read out in the country, its people felt safe and confident, calm and grateful. Their fears were appeased, and delegations reached him from every corner of the land to thank him, to rejoice with him and to acknowledge his justice, goodness and successful running of public affairs. This increased their exultation and joy for him.[5]

There is no doubt that this letter to the Sicilians should be analyzed also by taking into account the specific terminology and framework of the fourth/tenth–century *daʿwa fāṭimiyya* both from a historical-political and a juridical–theoretical point of view, but that is beyond the scope of the present study. Nevertheless, we can affirm that in *qāḍī* al-Nuʿmān's text one can find references to the fact that Islam urges all humankind to know one another, according to the Qur'an: "And (We) have made you nations and tribes that you may know one another (*sūrat al-ḥujurāt*, Q 49:13)." On the other hand, the idea of geographical divisions along religious lines is mentioned neither in the Qur'an nor in the sayings of the Prophet. The notion of "houses" or "divisions" of the

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5 See Antonino Pellitteri, "The Historical-Ideological Framework of Islamic Fatimid Sicily (Fourth/Tenth Century) with the Reference to Works of the Qāḍī Al-Nuʿmān," *Al-Masāq* 7 (1994): 148.

world such as *dār al-islām* and *dār al-ḥarb* does not appear in the Qur'an or in the Hadith. Early Islamic jurists devised these terms to denote the legal rulings in connection with the Islamic expansion.

Since Islam is not necessarily intended as "a physical space," the *dār al-islām / dār al-ḥarb* dichotomy is not applicable to real history. The Arab historians themselves, although they were often *fuqahāʾ*, coined different terms for different regions according to the actual situations prevailing therein, like *dār al-amān* (territory of security), *dār al-silm* (territory of peace) and *dār al-muwādaʿa* (territory of mutual peace). As an example that is closer to the historical period which is the main focus of this article, I would like to mention the case of the Yemeni historian and Shafiʿi *faqīh* Zayn al-dīn b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Maʿbarī, who noted in his *Tuḥfat al-mujāhidīn fī baʿḍ aḫbār al-burtuġāliyyīn* (ca. 985/1577):

> In Mulaybar, Muslims had no authoritative chief. Their unfaithful lord used to govern them according to the regional laws ... Nevertheless, Muslims used to enjoy respect and consideration. They were allowed to pray, to celebrate their festivities; judges and muezzins regulated their duties and cared about the application of the laws among Muslims. People were not allowed to interrupt their activities on Friday, and whoever did not respect the rules was fined. If a Muslim committed a crime punishable by death, the penalty was applied only by the consent of the notables of the Muslim community. In the same way, when a Muslim transgressed the Law, he was not arrested without the notables' authorization. And when a member belonging to a lower social class converted to Islam, he was respected as a Muslim even if he came from the lowest caste."[6]

What ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Maʿbarī adds is therefore important:

> *al-muslimūn daḫalū fī banādir Mulaybar wa-tawaṭṭanū fīhā* wa-daḫala ahluhā fī dīn al-Islām yawman fa-yawman *wa-ẓahara fīhā al-Islām ẓuhūran bāliġan ḥattā kattara al-muslimūn fīhā wa-ʿumira bihim buldānuhā maʿa qillat ẓulm ruʿātihā al-kaffāra.*[7]

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6 Zayn al-dīn b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Maʿbarī, *Tuḥfat al-mujāhidīn fī baʿḍ aḫbār al-burtuġāliyyīn*, ed. Amīn Tawfīq al-Ṭībī (Tripoli, 1987), 75.

7 "Muslims entered the ports of Mulaybar, settled there and local people *entered Islam day after day*, so that Islam appeared more and more prominent until Muslim multiplied there and the country was inhabited by them, since the infidel subjects showed little enmity": ibid., 46.

Conversely, with regard to the coming of the Portuguese (*ahl Burtuqāl min al-ifranj*), Ma'barī underlined: "*fa-ẓalamūhum wa-afsadū wa-'tadū 'alayhim min aṣnāf al-ẓulm wa'l-fasād al-ẓāhira bayna ahl al-bilād.*"[8]

It is useful to point out that the Yemeni author describes elsewhere the modalities of the Islamization of the Mulaybar local population by using the expression: "*daḫala ahluhā fī 'l-dīn qalīlan qalīlan,*" (their people entered into the religion little by little) as if he intended to denote a condition that was continuously redefining itself: that of *dār al-'ahd*, or the "land of the pact," which, according to Šāfi'ī, whose school the Yemeni historian belonged to, would be a temporary juridical status of a territory, between *dār al-islām* and *dār al-ḥarb*.[9]

2   Al-Maqdīš al-Safāqusī and Ibn Ġalbūn al-Ṭarābulusī

Having considered these precedents, what is more interesting to us is the representation of the *barr al-'aduww* in the works of Ibn Ġalbūn and Maqdīš al-Safāqusī.

Little is known about the life of Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn Ḫalīl Ġalbūn al-Ṭarābulusī al-Miṣrātī, who is better known as *al-ustāḏ al-fāḍil al-mu'arriḫ al-'allāma*, apart from the fact that he belonged to a family of well-known ulema who were active in the Miṣrāta and Misillāta areas, then in Tripoli, and that he lived at the time of the governor Aḥmad Pasha Qaramanli.[10]

In 1133/1721 he must have come back to Miṣrāta, in Libya, his hometown, from Cairo, where he had studied at al-Azhar under the sheikh Ra'ūf al-Bišbīšī and *al-ustāḏ* Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh b. Yaḥyā al-Sūsī.[11]

In Miṣrāta, he used to teach *tafsīr*, *fiqh*—he belonged to the Maliki *maḏhab*—and Hadith. In the course of his teachings, he seems to have asked the governor for the suspension of the fees which were due from the students, and the request was accepted by Aḥmad Pasha. According to another anecdote which refers to him, he acted as a governor's spokesman in order to inhibit the spread of the alcoholic beverages deriving from the fermentation of dates.[12]

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8   "They [scil. the Portuguese] oppressed them, spread corruption and showed hostility towards them with several acts of oppression and corruption among the people of the country": ibid., 46–47.

9   Ibid., 74.

10   See al-Ṭāhir Aḥmad al-Zāwī, *A'lām Lībiyā*, 3rd ed. (Tripoli: Dār al-madār al-islāmī, 2004), 331–32.

11   See al-Ṭāhir Aḥmad al-Zāwī al-Ṭarabulusī, "Tarjamat al-mu'allif," in *Al-Tiḏkār fī-man mal-aka Ṭarābulus wa-mā kāna bihā min al-aḫbār*, by Ibn Ġalbūn, ed. al-Ṭāhir Aḥmad al-Zāwī al-Ṭarabulusī (Cairo: al-Maktaba al-salafiyya, 1349), rā'–zā'.

12   Zāwī, *A'lām Lībiyā*, 332.

The only extant work of the historian of Miṣrāta is the *History of Tripoli in Libya*, or *al-Tiḏkār fī man malaka Ṭarābulus wa-mā kāna bihā min al-aḫbār*.

Better known are the biography and work of the Tunisian Maḥmūd Maqdīš al-Safāqusī, who was a man of wide culture, an expert in law, science and specifically the science of *tawḥīd.*

His work *Nuzhat al-anẓār fī ʿajāʾib al-tawārīḫ wa'l-aḫbār*, written in the second half of the twelfth/eighteenth century, is typologically meaningful with regard to the succession of its chapters: the geographical introduction—largely dedicated to Sicily—in which the historian borrows from his predecessors such as Idrīsī and Ibn Jubayr; some notes on medieval history; the closing chapter concerning the city of Sfax, its territory and the history of the events at the end of the eighteenth century, with regard to relations in the Mediterranean and the policy of Venice.

Carlo Alfonso Nallino provided a partial translation into Italian of al-Maqdīš's work, and in particular the appendix—or final chapter—published under the title "Della guerra santa che gli abitanti di Sfax ebbero a sostenere in questi ultimi tempi."[13]

This translation prompts us to return to the original text in Arabic in order to consider the point of view of "mirroring." From this perspective, we can affirm that his re-reading of the traditional topics of the great Muslim geographers, travelers and historians of the past should not be considered as a sterile imitation, but as the establishing of the representation of the *ʿaduww* as a reflection of the Self.

Nallino's translation, although valuable, has a limit (but the same could apply to other great orientalists): it does not take into due account, even in the title, the connection between representation, perception and memory, image and its meaning. In fact, when al-Maqdīš wrote that there were many islands "between al-Andalus and the land of the enemies," he intended representation as an active process inscribed in a complex cognitive apparatus, as congruently expressed by the Arabic: "*bayna al-Andalus wa-barr al-ʿudwa.*"

Both in this and in Ibn Ġalbūn's work, we do not come across the *dār al-islām / dār al-ḥarb* dichotomy. Moreover, in accordance with the Muslim historiographical tradition Ibn Ġalbūn never uses the term *ṣalībiyyūn*, or Crusaders, to indicate the non-Muslim Other, either when he refers to the past or when he narrates contemporary events. In this respect, the aforemen-

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13   Carlo Alfonso Nallino, "Venezia e Sfax nel secolo XVIII secondo il cronista arabo Maqdîsh," in *Centenario della nascita di Michele Amari*, vol. 1 (Palermo: Stabilimento Tipografico Virzì, 1910), 329–56.

tioned Maʿbarī, in the course of the first chapter of his work dedicated to jihad, refers to non-Muslims, especially the Portuguese, by calling them generically *kuffār*. He also distinguishes them into two kinds: those who are *mustaqirrīn fī bilādihim* (i.e. those who permanently live in their countries)—in this case the jihad is *farḍ kifāya*—and those who are aggressive towards the Muslim countries, in which case the jihad is *farḍ ʿayn ʿalā kull muslim mukallaf*.[14]

The terminology used by the two Maghribi authors has ethnic and geographical connotations (*ifranj*, *rūm* and *bilād al-rūm*); political connotations (*al-ʿaduww*); and juridical-ideological connotations (*ahl al-kufr*, *naṣāra* and *naṣrānī*) as it appears in Ibn Ġalbūn. As far as this aspect is concerned, the eleventh/seventeenth-century Maghribi historian Ibn Abī Dīnār might have had some influence. In fact, with regard to the Sicilians and Roger II, he wrote that the Norman king, in order to conquer the isle of Djerba, sent a fleet including "*muslimīn min ahl Ṣiqilliyya wa-naṣāra min al-Ifranjiyyīn*" (Muslims from the people of Sicily and Christian Franks), making almost no distinction within the enemy group, which is remarkable if we consider that the author was a highly regarded *qāḍī*.[15]

In turn, to designate Roger, Ibn Ġalbūn used the expressions *malik al-Ifranj ṣāḥib Ṣiqilliyya* (king of the Franks, master of Sicily).[16] Both authors considered that the policy of Roger II towards Muslim north Africa represented a historical watershed and a crucial moment of trespassing from a political point of view, not only for the loss of Sicily but also for the changes it produced in the whole system of relationships in the Mediterranean area. Ibn Ġalbūn recalled that *Rūjār al-rūmī ṣāḥib Ṣiqilliyya malik al-Ifranj* persisted in *ṭuġyān*, and it is known that according to the Qurʾan the term *ṭuġyān* means "rebellious trespassing" as it occurs in Sura of the Cow (Q 2:15). In this regard, the historian of Tripoli added:

التذكار—ولاية الحسن بن علي

كان سن الحسن بن علي يوم ولايته اثنتي عشرة سنة، ولما تولى أمره صندل، راسل أمير المؤمنين علي بن يوسف بن تاشفين الملثم بمراكش

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14   Maʿbarī, *Tuḥfat al-mujāhidīn*, 51.

15   Ibn Abī Dīnār al-Qayrawānī, *al-Muʾnis fī aḫbār Ifrīqiyya wa-Tūnis*, 3rd ed. (Beirut: Dār al-Masīra, 1993), 113.

16   Ibn Ġalbūn, *Al-Tiḏkār fī man malaka Ṭarābulus wa-mā kāna bihā min al-aḫbār*, ed. al-Ṭāhir Aḥmad al-Zāwī al-Ṭarabulusī (Cairo: al-Maktaba al-salafiyya, 1349/1930), 48.

لما كان بينه وبين والده من المودة لما وقعت الوحشة بينه وبين رجار
صاحب صقلية بسبب الأسطول الذي كان قد صنعه عامله مكنى بن كامل
اللهمائي والي قابس من قبله لحمل التجارة، واستعانة مكنى بن كامل برجار
واتفق أن وصل بأثر توليته أسطول أمير المؤمنين علي بن يوسف مع قائده
علي بن ميمون إلى بلاد رجار فافتتح منها حصونًا وسبي منها سبايا كثيرة
فلم يشك النصراني أن الباعث لعلي بن يوسف على ذلك إنما هو الحسن
فاستجاش وحشد أجناده ومقاتلته وبالغ في كتم أمره بمنع السفن من
سواحل المسلمين فلم يخف على الحسن مقصده وخشي أن يطرق بلاده
دون أهبه له فأمر باتخاذ الأسلحة وتشييد الأسوار واستقدام القبائل
من الأعراب وغيرهم للجهاد، فوصلت الحشود إليه من كل جهة، ونزلت
الأعراب بظاهر المهدية، فلما كان يوم السبت لخمس بقين من جمادي
الأولى سنة سبع عشرة وخمسمائة، وصل أسطول رجار إلى المهدية فرسى
بالجزيرة المعروفة بجزيرة الاحاسي وهي على عشرة أميال من المهدية،
ونزل قائداه عبد الرحمن وجورجي إلى الجزيرة وضربت لهما ولمقدمي
الإفرنج مضارب هناك وكان وصولهم آخر النهار فخرج منهم إلى البر
تلك الليلة خلق كثير وانبسط حتى تعدوا عن البحر أميالاً ثم عادوا إلى
الجزيرة، ووصل القائدان في اليوم في البحر إلى المهدية في بعض قطع
فأطافا بها وانتهيا إلى ساحل زويلة فهالهما ما رأيا بالأسوار والسواحل،
من الناس وانصرفا عائدين إلى الجزيرة فوجدا طائفة من العرب والأجناد
قد حطوا حواليها وكشفوا من كان بها من الروم عن مواضعهم، وقتلوا

منهم قومًا ونهبوا بعض أسلحتهم، فلما كان اليوم الثالث تمكن النصارى من القصر المعروف بقصر الديماس وحصل به زهاء مائة بإعانة بعض الأعراب لهم على ذلك لما مناهم به عبد الرحمن وصاحبه.

وقد كان رجار أمرهما بالنزول بجزيرة الأحامي والتحيل على أخذ قصر الديماس بمباطنة العرب، ثم الزحف من هناك في البر بالرجال والخيل إلى المهدية، فلما كان في اليوم الرابع اجتمع المسلمون وخرجوا من المدينة وكبروا تكبيرة راعت من في الجزيرة فظنوا أنهم داخلون إليهم فانهزموا إلى مراكبهم وقتلوا بأيديهم كثيرًا من خيلهم، ودخل المسلمون الجزيرة وليس بها أحد منهم فوجدوا بأيديهم كثيرًا من خيلهم وآلات وأسلحة أعجلهم الهرب عنها، وأحاطوا الديماس يقاتلونه والأسطول في البحر يعاين ذلك ولا يستطيع إغاثة من في القصر لكثرة ما اجتمع في البر من عساكر المسلمين. فلما عاينوا أنهم غير قادرين على إنقاذ من بالقصر أقلعوا عائدين إلى صقلية، وأقام المسلمون يقاتلون من حصر بقصر الديماس منهم إلى أن اشتد الحصار عليهم، وفني ماؤهم وطعامهم فخرجوا منه ليلة الأربعاء الرابع عشر من جمادي الآخرة، فتخلفتهم سيوف الأعراب فقتلوهم عن أخرهم، وهنيء الحسن بهذا الفتح.

The author here refers to the battle of Cape Dīmās which is considered a crucial moment in the first Norman aggressive attempt against Ifrīqiya (July 1123). The fleet, coming from Sicily, arrived on July 21 at the island of Aḥāsī, off Cape Dīmās, about 10 kilometers from al-Mahdiyya, the political center of the Zīrids. The island was inhabited by Arabs, while most of the army that rushed to defend al-Mahdiyya was formed by Berbers. Roger's assault was doomed to fail.

Ibn Ġalbūn employs an interesting terminology:

1. Roger is *ṣāḥib Ṣiqilliyya*, which is also called *bilād Rūjār*. Roger is *al-naṣrānī*,
    while his men are called *al-ifranj* and *al-rūm*. This last definition prob-
    ably refers to a specific Greek Byzantine unit bound to Roger's admiral
    Jīrjī al-Anṭākī and headed by the very chief of the Norman expedition,
    Christodoulos, who was a Muslim converted to oriental Christianity.
2. Even with regard to the defense of al-Mahdiyya, Ibn Ġalbūn specifies that
    the battlefields are *sawāḥil al-muslimīn*; the inhabitants of the island of
    Aḥāsī are *ṭā'ifa min al-'arab*; the Zīrids' troops, whose main part is formed
    by Berbers as we have already remarked, are called *'asākir al-muslimīn*.
    They had gathered for jihad and a part of them was made up by *qabā'il
    min al-a'rāb*.

As for Ibn Abī Dīnār, he says that, during the battle of Djerba, *al-fransīs* killed
several men, raped the women of the island and captured children and young
men who were later sold in Sicily.[17]

We can therefore affirm that both Ibn Abī Dīnār first, and later Ibn Ġalbūn,
dealing with the historical facts related to the *ifranj* expansion in North Africa,
aimed to appeal to the Muslim governors to restore justice as an antidote
to the system of *ẓulm*. This can easily be noted in the context of the narra-
tive of the rise of the Almohads, some of whom were depicted as courageous
and able to restore justice, *'ādil bi'l-kitāb wa'l-sunna*: the emir Abū Fāris 'Abd
al-'Azīz—as recorded by Ibn Abī Dīnār—was a pious man who did justice
to the oppressed (*al-maẓlūm*) against his oppressor (*al-ẓālim*). More impor-
tantly, the Tunisian historian put the governor's doings in an international con-
text, underlining that the Almohad emir had shown an ability to react to the
European expansionism.

In this regard, the way Ibn Abī Dīnār explains the term *imbirāṭūr* in the
context of sixteenth-century Mediterranean history, is revealing: "*al-imbirāṭūr
fī dālika al-zaman huwa ṣāḥib Isbāniya (…) wa'l-imbirāṭūr min asmā' mulūk
al-Almān li-anna mulkahum qadīm wa'l-imbirāṭūr 'indahum ka'l-ḫalīfa 'inda
'l-muslimīn.*"[18] With regard to the policy of Charles V, the author defined pre-
cisely the idea and the practice of *mujāhadat al-kafara*, which he used as a
device to oppose the alliance between the Sicilian Christians and the Hafsid

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17   Ibn Abī Dīnār al-Qayrawānī, *Mu'nis*, 114.
18   "At that time, the emperor was the master of Spain … 'emperor' was among the names of
      the kings of Germany, because their regality was ancient and the emperor among them
      was like the caliph among the Muslims": ibid., 185.

power of Tunis, stressing his sympathy for the Ottoman conquest defined as *al-fatḥ al-mubārak*, despite the reticence expressed elsewhere in his work.[19]

3   **Conclusions**

The Arabic terminology which we here refer to, and which has been employed by Ottoman North African historians as well as *fuqahāʾ*—even if this could well concern in general the Arabic historiography of the same period—is meaningful with regard to the representation of a *dār al-ḥarb* which is not "territory of war or chaos," and to the fact that the *dār al-islām / dār al-ḥarb* dichotomy is not relevant to the reality of *barr al-ʿaduww.* The Arabic historians whom we have taken into account—as one can see—propose an analysis of *barr al-ʿaduww*, in which the system of *ẓulm, ẓālim* and *maẓlūm* is much more significant, as unquestionably attested to by the historian and *faqīh* Ibn Abī Dīnār al-Qayrawānī. Even Ibn Ġalbūn and al-Maqdīš al-Safāqusī use the abovementioned terminology to represent the Other according to a concept connected to an idea of "mirroring." This kind of Alterity, even though at an unconscious level, proves to be similarity or, in other words, resemblance of "he who represents" to "whom is represented," so that *barr al-ʿaduww* is to be preferred to *dār al-ḥarb.*

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19   Ibid., 220.

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