

Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah: His Life and Works*

There is hardly another Muslim Mamluk polymath of such standing who at the same time is best known as the student of someone else. Despite his own extraordinary scientific output, Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah (1292–1350) was Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad Ibn Taymīyah's (1263–1328) most famous and important student. Even centuries later, he is still primarily known and defined by his relation and service to his master, whose works he compiled and whose legal doctrines and hermeneutical and theological convictions he defended. While Ibn Taymīyah led a life characterized by conflict on several fronts, Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah—with the exception of a few incidents—was a rather bookish man who preferred pious scientific endeavors to confrontations of any kind.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

The full name of this scholar in the shadow is Abū 'Abd Allāh Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr ibn Ayyūb ibn Sa'd ibn Ḥarīz ibn Makkī Zayn al-Dīn al-Zur'ī al-Dimashqī al-Ḥanbalī, known as Shams al-Dīn Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah, or simply Ibn al-Qayyim. It is, however, wrong to say Ibn al-Qayyim al-Jawzīyah, since the element "Qayyim" is the first part of a genitive clause. Being in the *status constructus*, "Qayyim" takes no article.¹ Nevertheless, this is a frequent mistake. The article, however, returns when one uses the short version Ibn al-Qayyim. Ibn al-Qayyim's father, Abū Bakr, took care of the Damascene Jawzīyah madrasah, so that the term means nothing more than "son of the superintendent (*qayyim*) of the Jawzīyah."² There is no need to dwell in this article on the numerous other elements of his name.³ Suffice it to mention his *nisbah* al-Zur'ī

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¹Aḥmad Māhir Maḥmūd al-Baqarī, *Ibn al-Qayyim min Āthārihi al-'Ilmīyah* (Beirut, 1984), 4.

²Burhān al-Dīn Ibrāhīm Ibn Muflīḥ, *Al-Maqṣad al-Arshad fī Dhikr Aṣḥāb al-Imām Aḥmad*, ed. 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Sulaymān al-Uthaymīn (Riyadh, 1990), 1:265.

³Minute details concerning his names are already given in Bakr ibn 'Abd Allāh Abū Zayd, *Ibn*



(or al-Zar‘ī), since we thereby “know that his family originated from Zar‘a in the Ḥawrān” (a coincidental parallel with Ibn Taymīyah, whose family was also ousted from Ḥarrān in that region). “Most probably they fled the Mongolian invasions in the thirteenth century,”⁴ so that his family headed to Damascus which was at that time “the major academic center of the Ḥanbalite world.”⁵ Al-Zar‘ah itself is described as “a small farming village fifty-five miles from Damascus,”⁶ though by the time of Ibn al-Qayyim’s birth the family had already moved to Damascus.

This short introduction to what is basically an overview of Ibn al-Qayyim’s œuvre gives only rough biographical outlines.⁷ The late medieval sources for biographical data on Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah are already diligently displayed in a number of modern Arabic books on this author and are also presented in the foreword of many editions of his books. Nevertheless, a critical biography of Ibn al-Qayyim in a Western language remains to be written. Entries in the vast biographical dictionaries are quite summary; they display a lot of name-dropping, do not offer much analysis, and copy profusely from one another. Obviously Ibn al-Qayyim’s life was quite humdrum judged from the sensationalist viewpoint of biographers and historical chroniclers. Of real importance, however, are the contributions by another Hanbali legal scholar, Ibn Rajab (d. 1397), and the Shafi‘i traditionalist and historian Ibn Kathīr (d. 1373).⁸ These two were the most important of Ibn al-Qayyim’s pupils.⁹ Ibn Rajab is also “the last great representative of medieval Hanbalism.”¹⁰ While the reception of Ibn al-Qayyim’s life and works

Qayyim al-Jawzīyah: Ḥayātuḥu Āthāruḥu Mawāriduh (Riyadh, 1412/1991–92), 17–36, 202–8. On Ibn al-Qayyim’s confusion with other authors see also ‘Iwaḍ Allāh Jād Ḥijāzī, *Ibn al-Qayyim wa-Mawqifuhū min al-Taḥkīm al-Islāmī* (Cairo, 1960), 26–27.

⁴Gino Schallenberg, “The Diseases of the Heart: A Spiritual Pathology by Ibn Qayyim al-Ḥawzīyah,” in *Egypt and Syria in the Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mamluk Eras* (Proceedings of the 6th, 7th and 8th International Colloquium organized at the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven in May 1997, 1998 and 1999), ed. U. Vermeulen and J. van Steenberg (Leuven, 2001), 3:421.

⁵Michael Cook, “On the Origins of Wahhābism,” *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 3d ser., 2, no. 2 (1992): 193.

⁶*Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya on the Invocation of God: Al-Wābil al-Ṣayyib min al-Kalim al-Ṭayyib*, trans. Michael Abdurrahman Fitzgerald and Moulay Youssef Slitine (Cambridge, 2000), xi.

⁷For biographical details see Livnat Holtzmann, “Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya,” in *Arabic Culture 1350–1830*, ed. D. Stewart and J. E. Lowry, *Dictionary of Literary Biography* (forthcoming); and idem, “Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya,” in *Medieval Islamic Civilization: an Encyclopedia*, ed. Josef W. Meri (New York, 2005).

⁸Ḥijāzī, *Ibn al-Qayyim wa-Mawqifuhū min al-Taḥkīm al-Islāmī*, 4. The work is a Ph.D. dissertation from al-Azhar University from 1947. There is a 2nd ed. (Cairo, 1972), with a revised introduction.

⁹On such students see Abū Zayd, *Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah*, 179–83. Another important student is the Shafi‘i scholar Muḥammad al-Dhahabī.

¹⁰Henri Laoust, “Ibn Qayyim al-Djawziyya,” *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., 3:822.



in later centuries certainly deserves more exploration, his rediscovery and enthusiastic propagation by modern Salafi authors also calls for closer analysis. A comparable revival and hailing by such reformers was offered not only to Ibn Taymīyah, his co-Hanbali or *the* neo-Hanbali par excellence, but also, for instance, to the Maliki scholar Muḥammad al-Shāṭibī (d. 1388) and the Shafi‘i ‘Izz al-Dīn Ibn ‘Abd al-Salām (d. 1262). But before we can examine the ongoing interest in Ibn al-Qayyim’s œuvre, we need to get a better idea of the scope and variety of this reservoir beyond merely rattling off book titles. Since about the second half of the twentieth century, a considerable number of monographs written in Arabic on Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah have been published. These works are often the outcome of dissertations and other academic writing from faculties of religion, shari‘ah law, or literature from the Near East. Many of them are not found in Western libraries or are not even officially published.¹¹ This study refers to at least some of them, but does not have the scope to fully present their major findings.

To give but a short biographical overview,¹² Ibn al-Qayyim was born on 7 Šafar 691/29 January 1292 in Damascus, the city where he also died. His father was a religious scholar who excelled notably in inheritance law (*al-farā’id*). From him Ibn al-Qayyim received his initial scientific education¹³ and took over the responsibility for the Jawzīyah madrasah. This madrasah also “served as a court of law for the Hanbali *kādī al-kuḍāt* of Damascus.”¹⁴ His education “was particularly wide and sound.”¹⁵ The subjects of his education, and especially the names of his teachers, are extensively listed in the biographical dictionaries.¹⁶ Among them are Šafi‘ al-Dīn al-Hindī,¹⁷ an opponent of Ibn Taymīyah, Ibn Taymīyah himself, and Badr al-Dīn Ibn Jamā‘ah. Al-Šafadī in particular not only mentions the names of his teachers but also lists the titles of certain books Ibn al-Qayyim read with them.¹⁸ According to the Shafi‘i scholar al-Suyūṭī (d. 1505),

¹¹Some such works are mentioned in Rāshid ibn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Ḥamd’s introduction to his edition of Ibn al-Qayyim, *Al-Kalām ‘alā Mas’alat al-Samā’* (Riyadh, 1409/1988–89), 14.

¹²Cf. *Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya on the Invocation of God*, xi–xiii; Schallenbergh, “The Diseases of the Heart,” 421.

¹³Abū Zayd, *Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah*, 37, provides information on some close relatives, 38–41.

¹⁴Laoust, “Ibn Qayyim al-Djawziyya,” 821.

¹⁵Ibid.

¹⁶Given in full detail in Abū Zayd, *Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah*, 49–50, 159–78; cf. Ḥijāzī, *Ibn al-Qayyim wa-Mawqifuhu min al-Taḥkīr al-Islāmī*, 31–33; Ibn al-Qayyim, *Al-Kalām ‘alā Mas’alat al-Samā’*, ed. al-Ḥamd, 24–28, followed by a list of his students, 28–30.

¹⁷Sayyid Ahsan, *Life and Thoughts of Muhammad Ibn Abd al-Wahhab* (Aligarh, 1988), 32.

¹⁸Šalāḥ al-Dīn Khalīl ibn Aybak al-Šafadī, *Al-Wāfi bi-al-Wafayāt* (Istanbul, n.d.), 2:271.



he wrote (*ṣannaḥa*), debated (*nāẓara*), practiced legal development (*ijtahada*), and became one of the great authorities (*al-a'immah al-kibār*) in Quran commentary, hadith, practical jurisprudence, both roots [i.e., Quran and *sunnah*], and Arabic.

He then lists fourteen of Ibn al-Qayyim's important works.¹⁹ Ibn Rajab mentions that he was likewise versed in "the science of proper conduct, and the terminology, allusions, and subtleties of the Sufis" (*'ilm al-sulūk, wa-kalām ahl al-taṣawwuf, wa-ishārātihim wa-daqa' iqihim*).²⁰ He is described as outstanding not only for his erudition, but also for his level of piety. Ibn Kathīr says, "I do not know in this world in our time someone who is more dedicated to acts of devotion" (*akthar 'ibādah minhu*), and reports as an eyewitness that Ibn al-Qayyim had a manner of conducting the ritual prayer by which he very much prolonged it, stretching out its bowing and prostration, while turning a deaf ear to any critique thereof.²¹ And Ibn Rajab adds that:

he was extremely (*ilā al-ghāyah al-quṣwā*) dedicated to divine devotion (*'ibādah*), spending the night in prayer (*tahajjud*) as well as prolonging ritual prayer, and he invoked the name of God (*ta'allaha*), was eager to recall him (*lahija bi-al-dhikr*), articulated affection, repentance, and petitions of forgiveness and longing directed to God (*shaffafa bi-al-maḥabbah, wa-al-inābah wa-al-istighfār, wa-al-iftiqār ilā Allāh*), and expressed that he could be broken by him (*wa-al-inkisār lahu*) and that he is cast into his hands (*wa-al-iṭrāḥ bayna yadayhi*), [all] while entering or leaving prayer (*'alā 'atabat 'ubūdīyatihi*)—to which I never witnessed anything comparable therein [the prayer] (*lam ushāhid mithlahu fī dhālik*).²²

The Hanbali scholar must have been so peculiar in his pious exaggerations, as some see it, that he caused bewilderment even among the inhabitants of Mecca. Ibn Rajab further relates:

¹⁹Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī, *Kitāb Bughyat al-Wu'āh fī Ṭabaqāt al-Lughawiyīn wa-al-Nuḥāh*, ed. Muḥammad Amīn al-Khānjī (Cairo, 1326/1908–9), 4.

²⁰Abd al-Raḥmān Aḥmad Ibn Rajab, *Kitāb al-Dhayl 'alā Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanābilah*, ed. Muḥammad Ḥāmid al-Fiḳī (Cairo, 1372/1953), 2:448.

²¹Abū al-Fidā' Ismā'īl ibn 'Umar Ibn Kathīr al-Qurashī, *Al-Bidāyah wa-al-Nihāyah* (Beirut, n.d.), 14:253.

²²Ibn Rajab, *Kitāb al-Dhayl 'alā Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanābilah*, 2:448; cf. the translation in *Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya on the Invocation of God*, xiii.



He often (*marrāt kathīrah*) performed the pilgrimage and dwelled in the holy vicinity (*jāwara*) in Mecca. The people of Mecca, however, remember him because of his intense devotion (*shiddat al-‘ibādah*) and multiple circumambulations of the Kaaba (*kathrat al-ṭawāf*), which was regarded as astonishing.²³

Although Ibn al-Qayyim made several pilgrimages to Mecca and spent some time there, he is not recorded for any other *ṭalab al-‘ilm* activities. His modern chronicler Abū Zayd takes some pains to dispel the impression of a travel-shy, stay-at-home scholar, pointing out that many eminent religious scholars were already on hand in Damascus so that he did not need to head for other places. The old patterns of *ṭalab al-‘ilm* cannot be applied, he says, arguing:

this is not unusual for his epoch, because the cities at that time used to be jam-packed with expert scholars of Islam, outstanding Quran memorizers, and well-versed writers, especially in Damascus.²⁴

When Ibn Taymīyah returned from Egypt to Damascus in 712/1313 after an absence of six years, Ibn al-Qayyim, at that time aged twenty-one, joined him immediately as a student and remained so until the former’s death in 1328. The companionship with this extraordinary scholar and, from the viewpoint of influential circles, notorious troublemaker, was an experience that shaped Ibn al-Qayyim’s life like no other.²⁵ In 1318, however, the sultan “forbade Ibn Taymīyah to issue fatwas regarding repudiation (*ṭalāq*) contrary to the prevailing Hanbali doctrine.” Ibn Taymīyah landed in prison for five years but kept receiving visitors, as well as publishing and issuing fatwas. Only after his last arrest in 1326, prompted by a critical treatise on the visitation of graves, was he finally denied the possibility to write, a serious deprivation that lasted until his death in 1328.²⁶ During this period, Ibn al-Qayyim was likewise held captive in the citadel of Damascus, accused of prohibiting visits to the grave of Abraham (*ziyārat qabr al-Khalīl*). Ibn Ḥajar

²³ Ibn Rajab, *Kitāb al-Dhayl ‘alā Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanābilah*, 2:448.

²⁴ Abū Zayd, *Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah*, 54, cf. 55–57; similarly, al-Ḥamd’s introduction to his edition of Ibn al-Qayyim, *Al-Kalām ‘alā Mas’alat al-Samā’*, 22.

²⁵ *Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya on the Invocation of God*, xi.

²⁶ Ahsan, *Life and Thoughts of Muhammad Ibn Abd al-Wahhab*, 18. On Ibn Taymīyah’s various detentions, see Sherman A. Jackson, “Ibn Taymiyyah on Trial in Damascus,” *Journal of Semitic Studies* 39, no. 1 (1994): 41–85; Donald Little, “Significance of the Detention of Ibn Taymiyya,” 311–27; Hasan Qasim Murad, “Ibn Taymiyya on Trial: A Narrative Account of his Miḥan,” *Islamic Studies* 18, no. 1 (1979): 1–32.



al-‘Asqalānī recounts: “He was arrested together with Ibn Taymīyah in the Citadel after he was humiliated (*uhīna*) and paraded around (*īfa bi-hi*) on a camel.”²⁷ Delivering fatwas in line with the convictions of Ibn Taymīyah had brought about this treatment and the ensuing arrest, but since Ibn al-Qayyim was “the most devoted disciple of his mentor, he was especially marked for humiliation.”²⁸ He would have been shown more leniency and been spared this sojourn in prison had he switched legal doctrines. In the eyes of many followers, however, this self-imposed fate had nothing to do with social stain and stigmatization; on the contrary, as Ibn Rajab reports:

He underwent inquisition (*umtuḥina*), and was repeatedly harmed (*ūdhá*) and jailed (*hubisa*) together with Ibn Taymīyah in the Citadel, but separated from him, and was only released from there after the death of the shaykh.²⁹

The verb *umtuḥina* already recalls the “*miḥnah*” of Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal³⁰ and—in this great tradition of sacrifice in the name of wholehearted dedication to the holy sources—the subsequent multiple *miḥan* of Ibn Taymīyah. By undergoing his own “mini-*miḥnah*,” Ibn al-Qayyim impressed certain people, while repulsing others. Even after the death of Ibn Taymīyah, Ibn al-Qayyim “suffered distress (*umtuḥina*) once again because of the fatwas of Ibn Taymīyah.”³¹ In 1345 he “experienced *miḥan* with the judges” (*jarat lahu miḥan ma‘a al-quḍāh*), namely Taqī al-Dīn al-Subkī (d. 1378), the Shafī‘i chief judge of Damascus, “because of his fatwa on the permissibility of a shooting contest (*musābaqah*) without a third competitor (*muḥallil*).”³² In 1349, a second conflict arose with al-Subkī because of Ibn al-Qayyim’s stubborn adherence to Ibn Taymīyah’s fatwas, this time concerning the much-debated issue of repudiation (*ṭalāq*).³³ Before it escalated, however, a conciliation (*ṣullḥ*) was reached between the two with the help of the amir Sayf

²⁷ Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, *Al-Durar al-Kāminah fī A‘yān al-Mi‘ah al-Thāminah*, ed. Muḥammad Rashīd Jād al-Ḥaqq (Cairo, 1966–67), 4:22.

²⁸ Ahsan, *Life and Thoughts of Muhammad Ibn Abd al-Wahhab*, 33.

²⁹ Ibn Rajab, *Kitāb al-Dhayl ‘alá Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanābilah*, 2:448.

³⁰ Walter M. Patton, *Aḥmed Ibn Ḥanbal and the Miḥna: A Biography of the Imām Including an Account of the Moḥammedan Inquisition Called the Miḥna, 218–234 A. H.* (Leiden, 1897).

³¹ Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, *Al-Durar al-Kāminah*, 4:22.

³² *Ibid.*, 23; Sayyid Ahsan, “Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyah,” *Islam and the Modern Age* 12 (1981): 245; *idem*, *Life and Thoughts of Muhammad Ibn Abd al-Wahhab*, 34.

³³ Ahsan, “Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyah,” 245; Ahsan, *Life and Thoughts of Muhammad Ibn Abd al-Wahhab*, 34. The fatwas that prompted his imprisonment are mentioned by Abū Zayd, *Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyah*, 69–71.



al-Dīn ibn Faḍl in al-Subkī's garden.³⁴ Compared with his scientific skills, Ibn al-Qayyim's "career was modest, and was hampered by the opposition that the neo-Hanbalism of Ibn Taymiyya encountered in the governmental circles of the Mamlūk state."³⁵ But when Ibn al-Qayyim died in 1350 at the age of sixty,³⁶ his burial attracted huge crowds of people.³⁷ He was buried beside his mother in the Bāb al-Ṣaghīr cemetery. One of his three sons, 'Abd Allāh (d. 1355), succeeded him at the Ṣadrīyah madrasah.³⁸ The main feature that ultimately distinguishes Ibn al-Qayyim from Ibn Taymīyah seems to be his general mood and attitude toward the world. According to a modern Damascus-based shari'ah commentator, Wahbah al-Zuhaylī, their "modes of thinking" (*al-minhaj al-fikrī*) differ in that Ibn Taymīyah is "hot-blooded" (*ḥādd al-mizāj*), whereas Ibn al-Qayyim is "mild-tempered" (*raqīq al-uslūb*).³⁹ While his master is often described in situations revealing his choleric rage, notorious impatience, uncompromising stance, aggressiveness, and sarcastic rejoinders, Ibn al-Qayyim is perceived as a profoundly different, rather sanguine individual. Ibn Kathīr, who claims to have belonged to the inner circle of this scholar, reports that Ibn al-Qayyim's behavior easily won sympathy, because he never envied others or caused harm to them, never blamed anybody, or harbored hatred or grudges.⁴⁰ Conflicts simply for the sake of dispute did not suit his personality. He preserved this attitude even in jail:

During his imprisonment he was busy reciting the Quran, contemplating, and meditating. Thereupon many good things were disclosed to him (*fa-futiḥa 'alayhi min dhālik khayr kathīr*) and he gained a large portion of the right senses and sentiments (*al-adhwāq wa-al-mawājīd al-ṣaḥīḥah*). As a consequence, he mastered the

³⁴Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah wa-al-Nihāyah*, 14:232. For Ibn al-Qayyim's supporters (*anṣār*) and enemies see Ḥijāzī, *Ibn al-Qayyim wa-Mawqifuhu min al-Taḥkīm al-Islāmī*, 38 f.; 'Abd al-'Azīm Sharaf al-Dīn, *Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah: 'Aṣruhu wa-Manhajuhu wa-Ārā'uhu fī al-Fiqh wa-al-'Aqā'id wa-al-Taṣawwuf* (Cairo, 1967), 72–73.

³⁵Laoust, "Ibn Qayyim al-Djawziyya," 822.

³⁶For a discussion of the exact date see Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Al-Durar al-Kāminah*, 4:23; Jamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah fī Mulūk Miṣr wa-al-Qāhirah* (Cairo, 1348–92/1929–72), 10:249; Ḥijāzī, *Ibn al-Qayyim wa-Mawqifuhu min al-Taḥkīm al-Islāmī*, 31; Sharaf al-Dīn, *Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah*, 68–70.

³⁷Abū Zayd, *Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah*, 311 f.

³⁸Ahsan, *Life and Thoughts of Muhammad Ibn Abd al-Wahhab*, 35. The other two were named Ibrāhīm and Sharaf al-Dīn (*Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya on the Invocation of God*, xii).

³⁹*Tariq al-Hijratayn wa-Bāb al-Sa'adatayn*, ed. Yūsuf 'Alī Budaywī (Damascus and Beirut, 1993), 14.

⁴⁰Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah wa-al-Nihāyah*, 14:253.



discourse of the sciences of the people of [mystical] experiences (*ahl al-ma'ārif*) and gained access to their concealed issues (*wa-al-dukhūl fī ghawāmiḍihim*), and his writings are full of that.⁴¹

His modern admirers feel obliged to point out

that he felt longings and affection that captivated his heart, not in the manner of the extreme Sufis, but of the venerable forefathers" (*lā 'alā manhaj al-mutaṣawwifa al-ghulāh bal 'alā ṭarīq al-salaf al-ṣāliḥ*).⁴²

Ibn Rajab, who is very famous himself, confessed, "I never saw anybody with a broader knowledge than him."⁴³ A modern editor praises Ibn al-Qayyim as "the very learned and encyclopedic" (*al-'allāmah al-mawsū'ī*).⁴⁴ He was indeed outstanding (*bāri'*) in several sciences, such as Quran commentary (*tafsīr*), jurisprudence, Arabic, grammar, and hadith.⁴⁵ Ibn al-Qayyim also possessed an impressive library, since he purchased more manuscripts than anybody else,⁴⁶ and devoted much time to studying them. This is apparent after reading only a single example of his writings.⁴⁷ This is not to say that he diligently quoted from his sources; as a matter of fact, he seldom explicitly quoted anything but Quran and *sunnah*—a deplorable habit that makes an assessment of his original contributions all the more difficult.⁴⁸ He was such an enthusiastic collector of books "that he obtained an unquantifiable number of them, while his children for a long period after his death used to sell out of this what they did not finish."⁴⁹ His whole life was rooted in religious sciences. He served as imam at the Jawzīyah, and after 1342 he also taught at the Ṣadrīyah and other institutions. Further, he issued fatwas and wrote books and treatises. Al-Ṣafadī informs us that

he worked a lot, disputed, carried out legal development, bent to

⁴¹Ibn Rajab, *Kitāb al-Dhayl 'alā Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanābilah*, 2:448.

⁴²Abū Zayd, *Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah*, 45.

⁴³Ibn Rajab, *Kitāb al-Dhayl 'alā Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanābilah*, 2:448.

⁴⁴In the introduction to *Miftāḥ Dār al-Sa'ādah wa-Manshūr Wilāyat al-'Ilm wa-al-Irādah*, ed. Ḥassān 'Abd al-Mannān al-Ṭībī and 'Iṣām Fāris al-Ḥarastānī (Beirut, 1994), 5.

⁴⁵Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah*, 249.

⁴⁶Ibn Rajab, *Kitāb al-Dhayl 'alā Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanābilah*, 2:449.

⁴⁷Abū Zayd, *Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah*, 61.

⁴⁸Al-Baqarī, *Ibn al-Qayyim min Athārihi al-'Ilmīyah*, 60.

⁴⁹Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Al-Durar al-Kāminah*, 4:22.



the quest [for knowledge], composed, and became one of the great leading figures in the science of Quran commentary, hadith, legal and theological hermeneutics, jurisprudence, and Arabic.⁵⁰

The sources convey the impression of a workaholic.⁵¹ His fields of expertise can hardly be enumerated, because

the sciences he learned and in which he distinguished himself encompass nearly all the sciences of the holy law and God" (*takādu ta'ummu 'ulūm al-sharī'ah wa-'ulūm al-ālihah*).⁵²

One would expect that a scholar of his standing would have had a brilliant career in the relevant institutions of higher learning. This, however, did not happen, although he did have some moderate success. Three reasons account for this. First, his œuvre provides no easy reading. The scope of his erudition and eloquence could not make up for his long-windedness and tedious focus on the whole range of minutia related to any problem.⁵³ Second, his loyalty to Ibn Taymīyah, even after his death, proved to be a persistent impediment to achieving higher aspirations: "Ibn Qayyim had a decent career, but since he represented and propagated Ibn Taymīyah's thoughts, he was at times hampered by the same circle which opposed his master."⁵⁴ As a consequence, his writings quickly fell into oblivion: "A majority of his works have become extinct since in the early periods no care was taken to preserve them."⁵⁵ Already in Ibn Rajab's time, Ibn al-Qayyim's works were largely forgotten.⁵⁶ Abū Zayd discusses this "concealed reason why many of the writings of Ibn al-Qayyim disappeared from the Islamic library" (*al-sirr fī ikhtifā' al-kathīr min kutub Ibn al-Qayyim 'an al-maktabah al-islāmīyah*).⁵⁷ He answers his own question by referring to the widespread indignation (*sakht*) and quarreling (*khiṣām*) instigated by the activities of Ibn Taymīyah, which continued well beyond the latter's death. Finally, "the enemies of this Salafī call" (*da'wah*) embarked upon

⁵⁰ Al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfi bi-al-Wafayāt*, 2:271; for a collection of such reports, see Abū Zayd, *Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah*, 51–53.

⁵¹ Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah wa-al-Nihāyah*, 14:253.

⁵² Abū Zayd, *Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah*, 51.

⁵³ Cf. the critical remarks in Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Al-Durar al-Kāminah*, 4:22.

⁵⁴ Ahsan, *Life and Thoughts of Muhammad Ibn Abd al-Wahhab*, 33.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 35.

⁵⁶ Moshe Perlmann, "Ibn Qayyim and the Devil," in *Studi orientalistici in onore di Giorgio Levi Della Vida* (Rome, 1956), 2:330.

⁵⁷ Abū Zayd, *Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah*, 309.



the collection and burning of his books and those of his master Ibn Taymīyah.⁵⁸ Even today, the accusation against Ibn Taymīyah that he was the “father of Islamic fundamentalism”⁵⁹ rarely includes Ibn al-Qayyim explicitly, but it does cast a certain suspicion on him. A third reason is the repression of Hanbalism with the advent of Ottoman supremacy, which basically favored Hanafism.⁶⁰ The development of Hanbalism has barely been studied for the period before the eighteenth century,⁶¹ when the importance of neo-Hanbali authors reappears as a sort of *deus ex machina* in the time of Muḥammad Ibn ‘Abd al-Wahhāb (d. 1792) in what today constitutes the kingdom of Saudi Arabia.

While this introduction is intended to point out areas of needed research, rather than filling existing gaps, the main part of this article is dedicated to an attempt to outline and categorize Ibn al-Qayyim’s works. We first need to know what is available before addressing the other serious problems of insufficient research. The methodology chosen for the second and main part of this article therefore differs from that of the previous two projects in this long-term series on the “great Mamluk polymaths.”⁶²

WORKS OF IBN AL-QAYYIM

Introductions to editions of Ibn al-Qayyim’s works usually present only a number of various book titles to acquaint the reader with his literary output.⁶³ Such a mere enumeration of doubtlessly important titles is of little help in getting an idea of the character and composition of his œuvre.⁶⁴ Even those who do try to somehow

⁵⁸Ibid., 310.

⁵⁹Birgit Krawietz, “Ibn Taymiyya, Vater des islamischen Fundamentalismus?: Zur westlichen Rezeption eines mittelalterlichen Schariatsgelehrten,” in *Theorie des Rechts und der Gesellschaft*, ed. Manuel Atienza et al. (Berlin, 2003), 39–62.

⁶⁰Ignaz Goldziher, “Zur Geschichte der ḥanbalitischen Bewegungen,” *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 62 (1908): 28; Ahsan, *Life and Thoughts of Muhammad Ibn Abd al-Wahhab*, 30.

⁶¹Michael Cook, *Commanding Right and Forbidding Wrong in Islamic Thought* (Cambridge, 2000), 158–63.

⁶²Marlis J. Saleh, “Al-Suyūfī and His Works: Their Place in Islamic Scholarship from Mamluk Times to the Present,” *Mamlūk Studies Review* 5 (2001): 73–89; Stephan Conermann, “Ibn Ṭūlūn (d. 955/1548): Life and Works,” *Mamlūk Studies Review* 8 (2004): 115–39.

⁶³For instance, 57 titles in *Al-Ṭuruq al-Ḥukmīyah fī al-Siyāsah al-Shar‘īyah*, ed. Aḥmad al-Za‘bī (Beirut, 1999), 22–24, or 20 “most important and renowned of his books” in *Shifā’ al-‘Alīl fī Masā’il al-Qadā’ wa-al-Qadar wa-al-Ḥikmah wa-al-Ta’līl*, 2nd ed. Muṣṭafā Abū Naṣr al-Shalabī (Jeddah, 1415/1995), 1:13–14. Cf. for pre-modern voices Abū Zayd, *Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah*, 192–97.

⁶⁴The article “Ḥanābila” by Henri Laoust, in *EI*², 3:161, mentions only four titles; likewise his article “Ibn Qayyim al-Djawziyya,” 822. Much more detailed are the ones by Najīb Māyil Haravī,



categorize his writings still feel compelled to deliver some remarks on the general difficulty of analyzing his scientific output on the basis of clear-cut categories. One editor, for instance, in his long introduction quotes from Ṣubḥī al-Ṣāliḥ's preliminary remarks to his edition of *Aḥkām Ahl al-Dhimmah* to make the observation:

At times, it is difficult for the researcher to consider something from the writings of Ibn al-Qayyim under a specific category (*ism mawḍū'ī khāṣṣ*), . . . because what he wrote on theology (*kalām*) is not devoid of legal aspects as well as of exhortations that refine the hearts (*al-mawā'iz al-muraqqiqah lil-qulūb*), and what he wrote on practical jurisprudence and on the principles of legal reasoning is also not free from theological studies and exhortations.⁶⁵

Given this multi-layered character and departure from familiar genres, it is no coincidence that many an editor or scholar has shied away from such a task or stopped short of any further inquiry by simply reverting to a list of titles, or by reducing the state of the art to broad generalizations. No wonder that Western secondary literature has also failed to come up with any remedy in this regard, providing only bits and pieces.⁶⁶ The relevant Western secondary literature on Ibn al-Qayyim is cited throughout this article.

Therefore, it has proven necessary to try a somewhat different approach here. To begin with, the present overview makes no attempt to recommend a definitive way to finally pinpoint Ibn al-Qayyim's numerous writings under familiar genre labels. It calls for a heightened awareness that any classification can be used only loosely, since most of his writings defy easy categorization and—as a rule—transcend familiar boundaries. That is to say, the majority of Ibn al-Qayyim's writings could also legitimately be categorized differently. Nevertheless, the present study does not seek recourse to overly broad, catch-all categories, such as cramming several titles under one simple term, for instance "religious doctrine" (*al-'aqidah*), to cope with this inherent ambiguity. Instead, the aim is to convey a sense of

⁶⁵Ibn-i Qayyim-i Jawzīyah, "in *Dā'irat al-Ma'ārif-i Buzurg-i Islāmī* (Tehran, n.d.), 4:498–504 (in Persian), and especially Yusuf Şevki Yavuz, "İbn Kayyim el-Cevziyye," in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul, 1999), 20:109–27 (in Turkish).

⁶⁵*Aḥkām Ahl al-Dhimmah*, ed. Ṣubḥī al-Ṣāliḥ (Damascus, 1961), editor's introduction, 1:70; *Hidāyat al-Ḥayārā fī Ajwibat al-Yahūd wa-al-Naṣārā*, ed. Muḥammad Aḥmad al-Ḥājj (Damascus, 1996), 80. The categorization of al-Ḥājj is highly problematic anyway and does not really address the critical issues, 81–102.

⁶⁶An exception is Schallenbergh, "The Diseases of the Heart," 421–28, who analyzed a number of his writings.



certain common threads in the author's interest and output. With a bird's-eye view, but occasionally with a more focused look at specific writings or parts of them, Ibn al-Qayyim's publications available in print⁶⁷ are grouped under certain headings and their characteristics identified. His most important works will be discussed in the context of these subdivisions of his religious-scientific output. For the sake of lucidity, not every small tract attributed to him shall be recorded.⁶⁸ Nor is any chronology of his many writings an option here. The same applies to an analysis of Ibn al-Qayyim's sources and his indebtedness to certain authors, especially to Ibn Taymīyah, although the latter's influence is sporadically traced. The authenticity of a substantial percentage of Ibn al-Qayyim's work is contested, and much that appears in modern publications is of little help to the critical reader who seeks the precise original work. This is an issue that will be demonstrated for a variety of writings in this survey which proceeds along the following divisions:

- (1) Inner-Islamic religious polemics
- (2) Intercommunal polemics with Jews and Christians
- (3) Eschatology
- (4) Quranic studies
- (5) Hadith
- (6) Legal methodology
- (7) Practical jurisprudence
- (8) Moral psychology
- (9) Pervasion of everyday life

On a second level, the intricate complex of modern perception, transformation, and distortion of Ibn al-Qayyim's œuvre by a plethora of compilations will be exposed to a certain degree. This includes a discussion of the considerable confusion about the original format of his writings.

(1) INNER-ISLAMIC RELIGIOUS POLEMICS

As an ardent follower of Ibn Taymīyah, it is not surprising to find Ibn al-Qayyim engaged in religious polemics. Committed to a literal understanding of the holy sources, he unwaveringly promotes religious truth as he sees it. Various intra-communal Muslim polemics aim to address familiar Hanbali hot spots. A voluminous

⁶⁷For manuscripts of Ibn al-Qayyim's writings see 'Alī ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn 'Alī al-Shibl, *Al-Thabat: Fihi Qawā'im bi-Ba'd Makhtū'āt Shaykh al-Islām Aḥmad Ibn Taymīyah wa-ma'ahu Mulḥaq bi-Ba'd Makhtū'āt al-'Allāmah Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah* (Riyadh, 1417/1996–97), 177–221.

⁶⁸The most detailed account of titles attributed to Ibn al-Qayyim or referred to by himself is Abū Zayd, *Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah*, 201–309.



opus is *Al-Ṣawā'iq al-Mursalāh 'alā al-Jahmīyah wa-al-Mu'aṭṭilah*.⁶⁹ This edition is the fruit of a dissertation from Saudi Arabia. Its editor writes in his introduction that "Ibn al-Qayyim lived in a century to a certain degree similar to the century we live in today," since an awakened Islamic community of believers returned to its Creator, "after it had suffered from defeats and losses of vigor."⁷⁰ People in the author's time were divided into several factions, while books on Sufism, philosophy, and speculative theology (*'ilm al-kalām*) were widespread and "the people were tempted (*futina*) by them, like they are tempted today by Western patterns of thinking, so that truth and void get mixed" in the minds of many Muslims. Ibn al-Qayyim is given credit for laying down "the most important principal deviations (*uṣūl al-inḥirāfāt*) of the Jahmites, if not of many sects (*firaq*)." Things turned bad because reason (*'aql*), desire (*shahwah*), personal judgement (*ra'y*), caprice (*hawā*), politics (*siyāsah*), and personal taste (*dhawq*) had taken precedence over revelation (*waḥy*).⁷¹

A smaller but better known work is his *Ijtimā' al-Juyūsh al-Islāmīyah 'alā Ghazw al-Mu'aṭṭilah wa-al-Jahmīyah*, which is also known under the title *Al-'Ulūw wa-al-Istiwā'* (Highness and sitting), or simply *al-Istiwā'*. It is a tract that pinpoints the literalistic criticism of Jahmites. It speaks out against denying God all attributes (*ta'ṭīl*) by dealing with the Quranic information that God, for instance, "sat" on a throne (*al-rahmān 'alā al-'arsh istawā*).⁷² The attributes of God (*ṣifāt Allāh*) are an old and fiercely debated issue with manifold hermeneutical implications.⁷³ The title of the epistle (*risālah*) in question could be translated as "Gathering the Islamic troops to fight the *mu'aṭṭilah* and the *jahmīyah*." The "troops" Ibn al-Qayyim claims to have assembled therein are utterings taken from the Quran, dicta of the Prophet's companions and their followers, renowned traditionalists, leading

⁶⁹Ed. 'Alī ibn Muḥammad al-Dakhīl Allāh, 4 vols. (Riyadh, 1412/1991–92). An early short version (*mukhtaṣar*) by Muḥammad Ibn al-Mawṣilī already dates from Cairo 1348/1929–30, repr. 1370/1950–51. Ahsan, "Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah," 247, renders the work incorrectly as "Al-Ṣawā'iq al-Munazzalah 'alā al-Jahmīyah wa-al-Mu'aṭṭalah."

⁷⁰*Al-Ṣawā'iq al-Mursalāh 'alā al-Jahmīyah wa-al-Mu'aṭṭilah*, ed. al-Dakhīl Allāh, 1:5.

⁷¹*Ibid.*, 1:6.

⁷²*Ijtimā' al-Juyūsh al-Islāmīyah 'alā Ghazw al-Mu'aṭṭilah wa-al-Jahmīyah: Wa-huwa al-Risālah al-Musammā bi-'al-Istiwā'*, ed. Riḍwān Jāmi' Riḍwān (Mecca and Riyadh, 1415/1995), 5–7. Early editions include one in Amritsar, India, in 1314/1896–97 and in Cairo in 1350/1931–32 (Abū Zayd, *Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah*, 201; Ahsan, "Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah," 246). On Ibn Ḥanbal and *istiwā'* see al-Baqarī, *Ibn al-Qayyim min Āthārihi al-'Ilmīyah*, 74–78.

⁷³Cf. Daniel Gimaret, *Les noms divins en islam: Exégèse lexicographique et théologique* (Paris, 1988); 'Abd al-Rahmān Ibn al-Jawzī, *A Medieval Critique of Anthropomorphism: Ibn al-Jawzī's Kitāb Akhbār al-Ṣifāt*, a critical edition of the Arabic text with translation, introduction, and notes by Merlin Swartz (Leiden, 2002).



interpreters of the Quran (*a' immat al-tafsīr*), Sufis and ascetics, theologians, poets, even one or the other philosopher, jinn and ants—as enshrined in the cherished reservoir of early Islamic texts.⁷⁴

A third theological tract of importance is *Shifā' al-'Alīl fī Masā'il al-Qaḍā' wa-al-Qadar wa-al-Ḥikmah wa-al-Ta'līl* (Cure of the ill concerning questions of divine ordinance, predestination, underlying reason, and finding explanations).⁷⁵ The title is an example of Ibn al-Qayyim's penchant for medical metaphors when discussing—to his mind—necessary normative orientations. This time, his arguments are basically directed against the ideas of, on the one hand, the fatalistic Islamic school of the Jabariyah, and on the other, the Qadariyah, perceived as extreme proponents of man's free will.⁷⁶ The cluster of theological problems in question is not a mere academic exercise for Ibn al-Qayyim, but relates to his inner conviction of man's accountability for his deeds, of which freedom of choice is the essential precondition. He therefore stands up against all charges of blurring the boundaries between good and evil or—to be more precise—between certain and uncertain as well as between permitted and forbidden. According to him, an allegation of fatalism is averse to the logic of divine legislation, the sending of prophets, and reward or punishment in the hereafter.⁷⁷ The same applies, on the other hand, to self-important behavior of man when confronted with God's demands. Today, as well, self-appointed agents of the Islamic heritage (*turāth*) underline the necessity of "the authentic method for an understanding of religious doctrine" (*al-manhaj al-ṣaḥīḥ fī fahm al-'aqīdah*) which they claim to have found in Ibn al-Qayyim's theological works.⁷⁸

Also to be mentioned under the rubric of religious polemics is the booklet *Al-Kāfiyah al-Shāfiyah fī al-Intiṣār lil-Firqah al-Nājiyah* (The Sufficient and salutary concerning the triumph of the rescued group).⁷⁹ It is better known as

⁷⁴*Ijtīmā' al-Juyūsh al-Islāmīyah*, 7.

⁷⁵*Shifā' al-'Alīl*, 2nd ed. al-Shalabī, with information on previous editions, 1:8. The first edition was printed in 1323/1905–6 and published by Muḥammad Badr al-Dīn Abū Farrās al-Na'sānī al-Ḥalabī (Cairo). On the latter's shortcomings, see *Shifā' al-'Alīl*, ed. al-Ḥassānī Ḥasan 'Abd Allāh (Cairo, ca. 1975), 645–46.

⁷⁶*Shifā' al-'Alīl*, ed. Khālīd 'Abd al-Laṭīf al-Sab' al-'Alamī (Beirut, 1995).

⁷⁷*Mukhtaṣar Shifā' al-'Alīl fī Masā'il al-Qaḍā' wa-al-Qadar wa-al-Ḥikmah wa-al-Ta'līl*, ed. Khālīd ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-'Akk (Beirut, 1996), 5.

⁷⁸*Shifā' al-'Alīl*, ed. al-Sab' al-'Alamī, 5. A translation into Urdu, printed in Lahore as *Kitāb al-Taqdīr*, is mentioned by Ahsan, "Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyah," 246.

⁷⁹Hüseyin Avni Çelik,, "İbn Kayyim el-Cevziyye ve Ma'āni el-Edevāt ve'l-Hurūf adlı eseri," *Atatürk Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi* 8 (1988): 152. There is an Arabic edition published by the Suhail Academy in 1976 in Lahore (Pakistan). An early one appeared already in Cairo in 1319/1901–2. It is reminiscent of Ibn Taymīyah's *Al-Waṣīyah al-Kubrā fī 'Aqīdat Ahl al-Sunnah*



Al-Qaṣīdah al-Nūnīyah (Ode rhyming in the letter "n"). It comprises important tenets of faith in the form of a didactic poem or mnemonic manual.⁸⁰ It further fueled fierce discussions of old disputes over the divine attributes, etc., that were launched by various commentaries and which prompted a famous refutation from Taqī al-Dīn al-Subkī (d. 1355), namely *Al-Sayf al-Saqīl fī al-Radd ‘alá Ibn Zafīl* (The Burnished sword in refuting Ibn Zafīl), i.e, Ibn al-Qayyim.⁸¹ During the lifetime of its author the *Nūnīyah* could only be transmitted in secret.⁸²

(2) INTERCOMMUNAL POLEMICS WITH JEWS AND CHRISTIANS

Hidāyat al-Ḥayārā fī Ajwibat al-Yahūd wa-al-Naṣārā (Guidance for the confused: answers to Jews and Christians) has been variously published. A first edition appeared already in 1323/1905–6 in Egypt.⁸³ Of special importance for any future analysis is a Saudi Arabian dissertation from the Islamic Muḥammad Ibn Sa‘ūd University which was published in 1416/1996. It provides not only an important critical edition,⁸⁴ but also has an introduction of more than 200 pages. Concerning the context of his engagement, this Saudi Arabian editor informs his readers:

The Jews and Christians used to carry the banner of enmity against the Muslim community (*ummah*) in the course of the centuries. Their deceit (*kayd*) is endless, not restricted to one means, but they fight against Muslims with all the means available to them. At times, they oppose them with strength and combat (*qitāl*), if they find a way to do so; at others, they take recourse to deceit and conspiracies or they defame by suspicions (*qadhf al-shubuhāt*), trying to fill Muslims with scepticism toward their [own] doctrinal beliefs (*tashkīk al-muslimīn bi-‘aqīdatihim*).

The book at hand is therefore presented as a reaction to such endeavors and allegations from non-Muslim religious communities.⁸⁵ It basically deals with seven

wa-al-Firqah al-Nājiyah: al-Baqarī, *Ibn al-Qayyim min Āthārihi al-‘Ilmīyah*, 153.

⁸⁰Abū Zayd, *Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah*, 288, counted nearly 6,000 verses. For Ibn al-Qayyim as a poet see al-Baqarī, *Ibn al-Qayyim min Āthārihi al-‘Ilmīyah*, 147–53.

⁸¹Cf. the *sharḥ* by Muḥammad Khalīl al-Harrās (Miṣr, n.d.). See also <http://www.sunnah.org/history/Innovators/ibn_al_qayyim_al-jawziyya.htm> (accessed Jan. 2, 2005), with a modern repetition of neo-Hanbali bashing of anthropomorphism by G. F. Haddad, 1. On the agnomen Ibn Zafīl see Abū Zayd, *Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah*, 31–36.

⁸²Abū Zayd, *Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah*, 288.

⁸³*Kitāb Hidāyat al-Ḥayārā* (Miṣr, 1323/1905).

⁸⁴*Hidāyat al-Ḥayārā*, ed. al-Ḥājj, 7, 141–42.

⁸⁵*Ibid.*, 6.



key theoretical issues raised by distortions of Islam by Jews and Christians, such as their questioning of the prophethood of Muḥammad.⁸⁶ The editor not only discusses the monograph's relation and independent value in comparison with Ibn Taymīyah's *Al-Jawāb al-Ṣaḥīḥ li-Man Baddala Dīn al-Masīḥ*, but also of two similar earlier works—one by Abū al-Ma'ālī al-Juwaynī (d. 1085) and the other by Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazzālī (d. 1111).⁸⁷ Finally, the editor not only claims a great portion of originality for Ibn al-Qayyim's piece and sees his endeavors as complementary to Ibn Taymīyah, but also stresses that the tone of the former is very different from that of his teacher:

I found that Ibn al-Qayyim did not believe in the manner of harshness ('*unf*) and abuse (*shatm*) in responding to his adversary (*khaṣm*). Rather, he believed in the principle of dispelling doubt (*shubḥah*) with arguments (*bi-al-ḥujjah*) and proof (*burhān*).⁸⁸

While his tone and strategies in making counter-arguments may differ from Ibn Taymīyah's, Ibn al-Qayyim, like his master, nevertheless does not hesitate to directly address all the touchy issues. However, a proper comparison of their style and content, as well as a comparison with other writings, is still awaited.

(3) ESCHATOLOGY

With two outstanding monographs of wide circulation, eschatology is one of Ibn al-Qayyim's influential areas of activity. Of these two, the "Book of the Soul," *Kitāb al-Rūḥ*,⁸⁹ is the more popular. It is a real best seller⁹⁰ and gained him a reputation even in circles opposed to him in other ways.⁹¹ Less polemical, but definitely rooted in his literalist text interpretation, are his efforts concerning Islamic eschatology. Although the Quran declares the question of the human soul to be unexplorable, for instance in 17:85, no other author has presented such a diligent investigation of the holy sources and statements on the various aspects of

⁸⁶The seven main topics are, for instance, listed *ibid.*, 131–32.

⁸⁷*Ibid.*, 161–68. Cf. *A Muslim Theologian's Response to Christianity: Ibn Taymiyya's al-Jawab al-Sahih*, ed. and trans. Thomas F. Michel (Delmar, NY, 1984).

⁸⁸*Hidāyat al-Ḥayārā*, ed. al-Ḥājj, 595.

⁸⁹The subtitle is often rendered in the following form as *Al-Rūḥ: Fī al-Kalām 'alā Arwāḥ al-Amwāt wa-al-Aḥyā' bi-al-Dalā'il min al-Kitāb wa-al-Sunnah wa-al-Āthār wa-Aqwāl al-'Ulamā'*, cf. for instance the 3rd ed. (Miṣr, 1966). All sorts of blends are available. For details of this work see Abū Zayd, *Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyah*, 253–58.

⁹⁰To mention here only one other edition of *Al-Rūḥ*, ed. 'Iṣām al-Ṣabābiṭī (Cairo, 1415/1994).

⁹¹<http://www.sunnah.org/history/Innovators/ibn_al_qayyim_al-jawziyya.htm> (accessed Jan. 2, 2005), 2.



the soul, especially of its whereabouts after death but before resurrection.⁹² The work itself was written in response to requests for clarification, since the question of the createdness and essence of the soul, etc., had always stirred discussions.

A bit less famous, but also widely circulating in many editions is his *Ḥādī al-Arwāḥ ilā Bilād al-Afrāḥ* (Guide for the souls to the realm of ultimate joy), also known under the title *Kitāb Ṣifat al-Jannah* (Book on the quality of paradise).⁹³ What the *Kitāb al-Rūḥ* provides for the knowledge of the soul, the "Guide for the Souls" offers with regard to Paradise. Such aspects as its "gardens, fruits, castles, black-eyed maidens, food, clothes, attire, adornment, jewelry, and the rivers therein" are so vividly described by direct quotations from the hadith and Quran that the reader is motivated to strive for them.⁹⁴ Striking are the most blatant, down-to-earth accounts of what can be awaited. Such descriptions are a necessary outcome of Ibn al-Qayyim's non-metaphorical understanding of the holy texts. Since it comprises some five hundred pages in Arabic and suffers from "too much information on chains of authorities (*kathrat al-'an'anah*), burden of some topics, and multitude of linguistic details," several short versions have been arranged.⁹⁵ Ibn al-Qayyim did not come up with a comparable compilation for the other option for the soul (and body), i.e., hell, although the latter is also an important topic in the sources. Because Muslims are not supposed to stay in hell eternally, Ibn al-Qayyim prefers not to frighten people about the hereafter (*tarḥīb*). There is no famous independent *tarḥīb* work in Ibn al-Qayyim's literary output on the torments awaiting sinners in the world to come. Probably such an approach did not match his personal inclinations and preaching habits, as shall be demonstrated in the section on his moral theology.

(4) QURANIC STUDIES

Ibn al-Qayyim did not leave behind a complete commentary on the Quran (*tafsīr*) or undertake to write one, as might be expected from a scholar of his standing.

⁹²Cf. Timothy J. Gianotti, *Al-Ghazālī's Unspeakable Doctrine of the Soul: Unveiling the Esoteric Psychology and Eschatology of the Iḥyā'* (Leiden, 2001), which also contains a good selection of relevant secondary literature.

⁹³Abū Zayd, *Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah*, 240.

⁹⁴*Ḥādī al-Arwāḥ ilā Bilād al-Afrāḥ*, ed. 'Iṣām al-Ṣabābiṭī (Cairo, 1992), 5. There is no need to deal with the various editions here. Cf. Soubhi el-Saleh, *La vie future selon le Coran* (Paris, 1971), 15–18, 25–43 and passim.

⁹⁵*Tahdhīb Ḥādī al-Arwāḥ ilā Bilād al-Afrāḥ*, ed. Ṣāliḥ Aḥmad al-Būrīnī (Amman, 2000), 5. Another one bears the title *Rūḥ wa-Rayḥān min Na'im al-Jinān: al-Mukhtaṣar al-Ṣaḥīḥ min Ḥādī al-Arwāḥ li-Ibn al-Qayyim*, ed. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd Aḥmad al-Dukhānjī (Alexandria, 1990). A similarly shortened French version is also available, namely *Le paradis: le rapprochement des âmes dans le monde des merveilles=Hadi el arwah ila biladi el Afrah*, ed. Fdal Haja, trans. Hébré Bousserouel (Paris, 1996), 1.



Although he drew heavily on the Quran, he usually combined Quranic interpretation with other aspects throughout his writing. He seems to have been more dedicated to the demonstration of certain ideas or perspectives than to an abstract goal of general commentary. Given his penchant for long-windedness even on the most minute topics, an official *tafsīr* work would have exceeded all reasonable measures anyhow. Instead, we find him concentrating on the interpretation of certain passages of the Quran. In this sense he produced a limited number of sporadic, but clear-cut *tafsīr* units. His extensive use of Quran interpretation in the course of general writing on the holy sources could be called commentary in a secondary sense, but is as such difficult to specify. Of special importance in the overall understanding of Ibn al-Qayyim's *tafsīr* are his remarks on the very beginning and some final parts of the Quran: the very first chapter, namely "The Opening" Surah (*al-Fātiḥah*), and the likewise short chapters at its end, namely Surah 109, "The Unbelievers" (*al-Kāfirūn*), as well as Surahs 113, "The Twilight" (*al-Falaq*), and 114, "The People" (*al-Nās*). The modern book market offers in monographic form a *Tafsīr Sūrat al-Fātiḥah*, a *Tafsīr al-Mu'awwidhatayn*,⁹⁶ i.e., a commentary on the last two surahs, numbers 113 and 114, and a *Tafsīr Suwar al-Kāfirūn wa-al-Mu'awwidhatayn*.⁹⁷ A closer look at the first of these three books, *Tafsīr Sūrat al-Fātiḥah*, reveals that it has simply been taken from the first part of the compendium *Madārij al-Sālikīn*.⁹⁸ In his opening words Ibn al-Qayyim nevertheless describes the *fātiḥah* as the bearer of the most central names of God.⁹⁹ The editor concedes this fact only by quoting the relevant part of the *Madārij* in his very last footnote.¹⁰⁰ The second separately published commentary booklet, *Tafsīr al-Mu'awwidhatayn*, is also taken from one of the huge compendia, namely *Badā' i' al-Fawā'id*.¹⁰¹ It draws attention to Ibn al-Qayyim's attachment to spiritual healing and white magic,¹⁰² i.e., to counter-measures against evil by reference to specifically strong passages of the Quran, notably the last two surahs. The author himself announces:

The aim is to discuss these two surahs and to show that they are

⁹⁶*Tafsīr al-Mu'awwidhatayn*, 2nd ed. (Cairo, 1392/1972).

⁹⁷*Tafsīr Suwar al-Kāfirūn wa-al-Mu'awwidhatayn*, ed. Muḥammad Ḥāmid al-Fiḳī (Beirut, ca. 1974).

⁹⁸*Madārij al-Sālikīn bayna Manāzil Iyyāka Na'budu wa-Iyyāka Nasta'in*, ed. Riḍwān Jāmi' Riḍwān (Cairo, 2001), 1:21–113, corresponds to the above-mentioned *Tafsīr Sūrat al-Fātiḥah*. *Madārij al-Sālikīn* is dealt with in this article in section eight on moral theology.

⁹⁹*Tafsīr Sūrat al-Fātiḥah*, ed. Muḥammad Ḥāmid al-Fiḳī (Cairo, ca. 1979), 3.

¹⁰⁰*Tafsīr Sūrat al-Fātiḥah*, 107.

¹⁰¹Abū Zayd, *Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah*, 233.

¹⁰²On magic see below the part on "medicine of the Prophet" (*ṭibb al-nabī*) in section 9.



tremendously useful, that people strongly benefit from, if not need them, that no one is able to dispense with them, that they both have a specific effect on the repulsion of sorcery (*siḥr*), the evil eye (*al-‘ayn*), and other evils (*shurūr*), and that man’s need to seek God’s protection (*isti‘ādhah*) through these two surahs is more pressing than his need for breath, food, drink, and clothes.¹⁰³

To further illustrate this, Ibn al-Qayyim follows up on some incomplete and less impassioned comments of his teacher Ibn Taymīyah. The tracts of both authors were also patched together for publication in Bombay.¹⁰⁴ The special interest in this issue in the Indian subcontinent is further indicated by the fact that an Urdu translation of Ibn al-Qayyim’s commentary on the *mu‘awwidhatān* had already been prepared in 1927 in Lahore.¹⁰⁵

On top of that, it was an Indian follower who initiated the most ambitious project and compiled a sort of all-encompassing *tafsīr* of Ibn al-Qayyim that was—to the disappointment of his admirers—not authentic. A graduate of Nadwat al-‘Ulamā’ in Lucknow, Muḥammad Uways al-Nadwī, browsed through the works of Ibn al-Qayyim, sorting out their *tafsīr* sections in order to cut-and-paste them into a single compendium of 631 pages. As its title he chose “The Precious Commentary” (*Al-Tafsīr al-Qayyim*),¹⁰⁶ insinuating that these were the authentic words of the late medieval Hanbali scholar. Its editor in 1949, Muḥammad Ḥāmid al-Fiqī, however, leaves no doubt in his concluding remark that he had to do much more than just straighten out some slips in Uways’ concoction.¹⁰⁷ Successive projects to set up a mega-*tafsīr* were carried out in the 1990s. They undertook to eliminate the many remaining deficiencies and also to broaden the scope of writings reviewed. One of these hails all the works of Ibn al-Qayyim as being “gardens full of fruit and rivers with fresh water,”¹⁰⁸ while another characterizes its task as

¹⁰³*Tafsīr al-Mu‘awwidhatayn*, ed. Maḥmūd Ghānim Ghayth, 2nd ed. (Cairo, 1392/1972), 5.

¹⁰⁴Ibn Taymīyah and Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah, *Tafsīr al-Mu‘awwidhatayn*, ed. ‘Abd al-‘Alī ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd Ḥāmid, 2nd ed. (Bombay, 1987), editor’s introduction, 5.

¹⁰⁵By someone named ‘Abd al-Rahīm, according to Ahsan, “Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyah,” 247.

¹⁰⁶*Al-Tafsīr al-Qayyim lil-Imām Ibn al-Qayyim*, compiled—as indicated on the title page—by “the meticulous Salafī” Muḥammad Uways al-Nadwī, ed. Muḥammad Ḥāmid al-Fiqī (Cairo, 1368/1949), “with the support of the distinguished traders and Mecca-based Salafis ‘Abd Allāh and ‘Ubayd Allāh Dihlawī.” Al-Baqarī, *Ibn al-Qayyim min Āthārihi al-‘Ilmīyah*, 219, assures his readers that Ibn al-Qayyim did wish to write a *tafsīr* and dedicates a large section to its description and reconstruction, 219–80, 288.

¹⁰⁷*Al-Tafsīr al-Qayyim lil-Imām Ibn al-Qayyim*, 631. For more criticism see Abū Zayd, *Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah*, 232.

¹⁰⁸*Badā’i’ al-Tafsīr: al-Jāmi’ li-Tafsīr al-Imām Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah*, ed. Yusrī al-Sayyid



uncovering a “hidden treasure” (*kanz madfūn*).¹⁰⁹ However, both authors of these reviews deserve credit for not listing Ibn al-Qayyim as the official author, as is often done, and indicating on the title page that they had put together (*jama‘a*) the amalgamation contained therein themselves. Such an announcement is welcome these days. Devices to attract the customer by creating fancy titles recalling familiar works of an author are, nevertheless, widespread. In this case, the title of the newly created *Badā’i’ al-Tafsīr* seems to suggest the authentic *Badā’i’ al-Fawā’id*.

This *Badā’i’ al-Fawā’id* (Amazing benefits) is a voluminous work not easily categorized.¹¹⁰ Al-Suyūfī (d. 1505) describes it as having “many benefits, the majority of which concern questions of grammar” (*huwa kathīr al-fawā’id aktharuhu masā’il naḥwīyah*).¹¹¹ Various other lessons derived from Quran and *sunnah* are also assembled in this work, which transcends genre categories. Wahbah al-Zuhaylī, in his introduction to one edition, characterizes it as a unique combination of

general principles in law and legal methodology, explication of the underlying reasons for the Holy Law (*asrār al-sharī‘ah*), detailed description of eloquence, purity of expression, ease of style, clarity of purpose and intention, and power of persuasion by bringing forward manifold and comprehensive proofs, by subtlety and precision, renewal (*tajdīd*) and creative development (*ijtihād*), so that it belongs to the core of general books on the shari‘ah.¹¹²

For the sake of convenience, we consider the “Amazing Benefits” here within the section on Quranic studies, also in order to distinguish it from other writings in this field—be they real or synthetic. *Badā’i’ al-Fawā’id* should not be confused with *Al-Fawā’id*, another authentic work by Ibn al-Qayyim that is presented in our section eight on moral psychology. Neither does it have anything to do with *Kitāb al-Fawā’id al-Mushawwiq ilā ‘Ulūm al-Qur’ān wa-‘Ilm al-Bayān*¹¹³ (The

Muḥammad (al-Dammām, Saudi Arabia, 1414/1993), 1:13.

¹⁰⁹*Al-Ḍaw’ al-Munīr ‘alā al-Tafsīr*, selected by ‘Alī al-Ḥamad al-Muḥammad al-Ṣāliḥī from the works of Ibn al-Qayyim (Dakhna, Saudi Arabia, in collaboration with Riyadh, 1995–99), 1:5.

¹¹⁰*Badā’i’ al-Fawā’id*, ed. Markaz al-Dirāsāt wa-al-Buḥūth, 2nd ed. (Mecca and Riyadh, 1998), which contains, by the way, Ibn al-Qayyim’s *tafsīr* on the Mu‘awwidhatān, 2:424–500. There are also earlier editions from Cairo.

¹¹¹Al-Suyūfī, *Kitāb Bughyat al-Wu‘āh*, 25.

¹¹²*Badā’i’ al-Fawā’id*, ed. Ma‘rūf Muṣṭafā Zurayq et al. (Beirut, 1994), 1, introduction of Wahbah al-Zuhaylī.

¹¹³*Al-Fawā’id*, ed. Salīm ibn ‘Ubayd al-Hilālī (Riyadh, 1422/2001), see the foreword by al-Hilālī, 18–19. For criticism regarding its ascription to Ibn al-Qayyim see Abū Zayd, *Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah*, 291–92.



Benefits which arouse interest in the sciences of the Quran and of eloquence). The latter is often ascribed to Ibn al-Qayyim and has appeared as such on the book market.¹¹⁴ An Arabic edition from Pakistan warmly recommends it for didactic purposes in a direct address to prospective readers.¹¹⁵ This, however, proved to be a wrong ascription, because its real author is the scholar Ibn al-Naqīb.¹¹⁶ To set the record straight, a recent edition printed a warning under the subtitle on the front page which reads "printed wrongly under the title *Al-Fawā'id al-Mushawwiq ilā 'Ulūm al-Qur'ān wa-'Ilm al-Bayān* of Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah."¹¹⁷ Certain parts of the huge *Badā'i' al-Fawā'id*, as happened with several of Ibn al-Qayyim's compendia, have been published separately.¹¹⁸ Some such partial publications tend to be blended with other writings by Ibn al-Qayyim. In short, whether spurred on by pious engagement or the rules of the market, there is a huge number of creative compilers, extractors, condensers, and synthesizers who have a share in the current confusion about the scholar's œuvre.¹¹⁹

To conclude this section on his studies immediately related to the Quran we must include a separate,¹²⁰ authentic tract by Ibn al-Qayyim, the monograph *Al-Tibyān fī Aqsām al-Qur'ān* (The Exposition on oaths in the Quran). It is "a commentary on Quranic verses such as 'By the sun and its radiance.'"¹²¹ It is described in one of the introductions as an absolutely unequaled and unique source on the topic.¹²² The medieval scholar diligently identifies instances of oaths in the holy book, revealing their background and offering erudite musings. Especially the passage that "Muhammad was the only prophet of God, from among numerous

¹¹⁴[Pseudo-] Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah, *Kitāb al-Fawā'id al-Mushawwiq ilā 'Ulūm al-Qur'ān wa-'Ilm al-Bayān*, ed. Muḥammad 'Uthmān al-Khusht (Cairo, 1994), with criticism of previous editions, 11.

¹¹⁵Printed in Gujranwala (Pakistan), 1394/1974.

¹¹⁶For a detailed analysis and evaluation see *Badā'i' al-Tafsīr*, 1:64–75.

¹¹⁷*Muqaddimat Tafsīr Ibn al-Naqīb: Fī 'Ilm al-Bayān wa-al-Ma'ānī wa-al-Badī' wa-l'jāz al-Qur'ān*, ed. Zakarīyā Sa'īd 'Alī (Cairo, 1415/1995).

¹¹⁸For instance, *Dhamm al-Ḥasad wa-Ahlihi*, ed. 'Alī Ḥasan 'Alī 'Abd al-Ḥamīd (Amman, 1986); *Irshād al-Qur'ān wa-al-Sunnah ilā Ṭarīq al-Munāẓarah wa-Taṣḥīḥihā*, ed. Ayman 'Abd al-Razzāq al-Shawwā (Beirut and Damascus, 1417/1996).

¹¹⁹This does not mean, of course, that there are not also many examples of serious secondary literature in Arabic exploring important aspects of Ibn al-Qayyim's work, e.g., 'Abd al-Fattāḥ Lāshīn, *Ibn al-Qayyim wa-Ḥissuhu al-Balāghī fī Tafsīr al-Qur'ān* (Beirut, 1982), to name but one example for the realm of *tafsīr*.

¹²⁰Against the claim that this is merely part of a book see *Al-Tibyān fī Aqsām al-Qur'ān*, ed. 'Iṣām Fāris al-Ḥarastānī and Muḥammad Ibrāhīm al-Zaghālī (Beirut, 1994), 5.

¹²¹*Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya on the Invocation of God*, xv.

¹²²*Al-Tibyān fī Aqsām al-Qur'ān*, ed. Fawwāz Aḥmad Zamarlī (Beirut, 1994), 18–19.



others by whose life Allāh has sworn, so dearly beloved was he to him," is taken as another indicator of his privileged status.¹²³ Besides dogmatic insight, obtaining everyday spiritual benefits seems to be the overarching focus of Ibn al-Qayyim's musings on the Quran. He is not interested in making predominantly technical contributions.

(5) HADITH

Although Ibn al-Qayyim drew upon the vast corpus of hadith as hardly anyone else, his immediate engagement in traditional hadith sciences appears to be quite meagre. He wrote an emendation (*tahdhīb*) on al-Mundhirī's (d. 1258) abridgement (*mukhtaṣar*) of Abū Dāwūd al-Sijistānī's *Sunan*. The latter is widely known as one of the canonized "six books" that contain the core corpus of early Islamic tradition (*sunnah*). This *Tahdhīb Mukhtaṣar Sunan Abī Dāwūd* was composed by Ibn al-Qayyim during a stay in Mecca; it apparently took him about four months to complete it.¹²⁴ The work is also published alongside other *Sunan* revisions, which is the reason for some different titles on the book market.¹²⁵ His further contributions to the field of hadith sciences address from a different angle the range and limits of hadith as a source of knowledge. Ibn al-Qayyim studied reported traditions in their strongest and weakest forms, from the so-called "holy hadith" (*ḥadīth al-qudsī*) in which God himself is said to speak, to the weak (*ḍa'īf*) hadith at the other end of the spectrum. In the slim tract *Al-Farq bayna al-Qur'ān al-Karīm wa-al-Ḥadīth al-Qudsī*¹²⁶ (The Difference between the noble Quran and the holy hadith), he analyzes their functional, hierarchical, and ritual differences. In *Al-Manār al-Munīf fī al-Ṣaḥīḥ wa-al-Ḍa'īf* (The Tall lighthouse for correct and weak reports),¹²⁷ however, the focus is on spurious reports. There are variants of its title; it is, for instance, also called simply *Al-Manār* or *Naqd al-Manqūl wa-al-Miḥakk al-Mumayyiz bayna al-Mardūd wa-al-Maqbūl* (Criticism

¹²³Haji Abdul Karim Germanus, "Some Unknown Masterpieces of Arabic Literature," *Islamic Culture* 26 (1952): 98.

¹²⁴Abū Zayd, *Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah*, 235.

¹²⁵For instance, *Mukhtaṣar Sunan Abī Dāwūd lil-Ḥāfiẓ al-Mundhirī wa-Ma'ālim al-Sunan li-Abī Sulaymān al-Khaṭṭābī wa-Tahdhīb al-Imām Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah*, ed. Aḥmad Muḥammad Shākir and Muḥammad Ḥāmid al-Fiqī (Cairo, 1369/1950, repr. Beirut 1400/1980), or *'Awn al-Ma'būd: Sharḥ Sunan Abī Dāwūd lil-'Allāmah al-'Azīm Ābādī ma'a Sharḥ al-Ḥāfiẓ Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah*, ed. 'Abd al-Raḥmān Muḥammad 'Uthmān, 2nd ed. (Medina, 1377/1968).

¹²⁶Ed. Nāyif ibn Qublān al-'Uṭaybī (Mecca, 1418/1997–98).

¹²⁷*Al-Manār al-Munīf fī al-Ṣaḥīḥ wa-al-Ḍa'īf*, ed. 'Abd al-Fattāḥ Abū Ghuddah (Aleppo, 1970), or ed. 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Yaḥyā al-Mu'allimī and Maṣṣūr ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Samārī (Riyadh, 1996).



of the transmitted and touchstone distinguishing the rejected and the acceptable).¹²⁸ According to the latter's editor, Ibn al-Qayyim "did not intend a thorough examination of the false hadith, but laid down the regulations and principles by which false hadith can be identified."¹²⁹ Such an analysis makes a great difference, since weak traditions, in contrast to spurious ones, are cherished inasmuch as Hanbali doctrine—based on its hierarchy of the law sources—accords them preference over rational arguments.

(6) LEGAL METHODOLOGY

I'lām al-Muwaqqi'īn 'an Rabb al-Ālamīn (Instructing those in charge about the master of the two worlds) is a heavy-weight compendium on the principles of Islamic jurisprudence. It ranks among a distinguished group of about half a dozen *uṣūl al-fiqh* monographs that represent the best and most important pre-modern Islamic contributions to the field.¹³⁰ Within Hanbali writing, it surpasses works like Muwaffaq al-Dīn Ibn Qudāmah's¹³¹ (d. 1233) *Rawḍat al-Nāzir wa-Jannat al-Munāzir* and Ibn 'Aqīl's (d. 1199) *Al-Wāḍiḥ fī Uṣūl al-Fiqh*. Modern manuals on Islamic legal methodology regularly refer their students to Ibn al-Qayyim's towering work—discussing its positions on a broad range of issues, such as the genesis of Islamic law, analogical reasoning, the reprehensibility of *taqlīd* and *ḥiyal*, or the fatwas of the Prophet and his companions.¹³² An early expression of this esteem in modern times is the fact that the very first edition of *I'lām al-Muwaqqi'īn* was published in India.¹³³ The extent and depth of Ibn al-Qayyim's treatment of the means of legal development (*ijtihād*) is not surprising, since by his time "virtually all Muslims became semi-rationalists in jurisprudence."¹³⁴ This

¹²⁸ Abū Zayd, *Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah*, 302–4. However, the edition *Naqd al-Manqūl wa-al-Miḥakk al-Mumayyiz bayna al-Mardūd wa-al-Maqbūl: Wa-huwa al-Kitāb alladhī Ṭubī'a bi-Isim "Al-Manār al-Munīf fī al-Ṣaḥīḥ wa-al-Ḍa'īf"*, ed. Ḥasan al-Samāḥī Suwaydān (Beirut, 1990), is quite explicit in its subtitle.

¹²⁹ *Naqd al-Manqūl wa-al-Miḥakk al-Mumayyiz bayna al-Mardūd wa-al-Maqbūl*, 9.

¹³⁰ In this sense it could be compared to, for example, Sāṭibī's *Muwāfaqāt*.

¹³¹ On Muwaffaq al-Dīn ibn Qudāmah see Henri Laoust, *La profession de foi d'Ibn Baṭṭa (Traditionniste et jurisconsulte musulman d'école hanbalite mort en Irak à 'Ukbarā en 387/997)* (Damascus, 1958), cxxxiii–cxxxv.

¹³² Birgit Krawietz, *Hierarchie der Rechtsquellen im tradierten sunnitischen Islam* (Berlin, 2002), 456.

¹³³ Published in three volumes by al-Maṭba'ah al-Nizāmīyah, India, 1298 [1880/81]: Abū Zayd, *Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah*, 209, n. 3 and 4. According to Ahsan, "Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah," 246, it was brought out in two volumes in Delhi in 1313–14/1885–86 and there is an "Urdu translation entitled *Dīn-i-Muḥammadī*."

¹³⁴ Christopher Melchert, "The Adversaries of Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal," *Arabica* 47 (1997): 253.



was particularly true for neo-Hanbali authors who propagated the dire need for *ijtihād*. His indebtedness to the trail-blazing thoughts of Ibn Taymīyah in particular is uncontested, although the latter himself never wrote a comprehensive work on *uṣūl al-fiqh*,¹³⁵ a format that did not suit his personality and approach. The core section of *I'lām al-Muwaqqi'īn* is to be found towards its very end. It consists of a broad collection of the Prophetic fatwas, i.e., Muḥammad's transmitted legal or doctrinal decisions, as requested by his followers, which were not directly fueled by divine inspiration (*wahy*).¹³⁶ Such a minute presentation of the Prophet's normative decisions referred to in *sunnah* and the Quran, although not surprising for Ibn al-Qayyim, is quite unusual in the framework of a book on the principles of legal methodology. This ambiguity can be clarified by a deeper look at the exact structure and apparent genesis of this work. The decisive clue is offered in its title, "Instructing Those in Charge about the Master of the Two Worlds."¹³⁷ While the second part, without any doubt, refers to God, the first part refers directly to the authorities, that is to say those who are entitled to sign (in Arabic: *waqqa'a*). Here Ibn al-Qayyim addresses legal scholars in their function as *muftīs* and *mujtahids*, i.e., those who write down their answers to questions and who seek to develop a solution consistent with the holy sources and the legitimate methodological means derived from them. To outline this task, the Hanbali scholar takes early Islamic proto-*iftā'* as the starting point and eternal model. In his exploration of the various aspects of the correct behavior for the *muftī* and questioner (*mustaftī*), this work, initially devoted to the relationship between *muftī* and *mustaftī*,¹³⁸ grew into an encompassing compendium covering, in the end, a whole range of issues relating to *uṣūl al-fiqh*.¹³⁹ Specifically *adab al-muftī* problems are dealt with in the section preceding the Prophetic fatwas.¹⁴⁰ The comprehensive character of *I'lām al-Muwaqqi'īn* turned it into a convenient reservoir for all sorts of separate, often paperback publications that offer its subtopics piecemeal. Out of this "quarry" which, in its complete form, is published in several volumes, parts hitherto selected

¹³⁵Cf. Henri Laoust, *Contribution à une étude de la méthodologie canonique de Taḳī-d-Dīn Aḥmad Ibn Taymīya* (Cairo, 1939), 9.

¹³⁶Birgit Krawietz, "Der Prophet Muḥammad als Muftī und Muḡtahid," in *Beiträge zum Islamischen Recht*, ed. Hans-Georg Ebert and Thoralf Hanstein (Frankfurt am Main, 2003), 3:58–59. For the fatwas themselves see Ibn al-Qayyim, *I'lām al-Muwaqqi'īn 'an Rabb al-'Ālamīn* (Beirut, 1418/1997), 2:486–612.

¹³⁷For discussions about the title see Abū Zayd, *Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah*, 210–17.

¹³⁸On this genre, see Birgit Krawietz, "Der Mufti und sein Fatwa: Verfahrenstheorie und Verfahrenspraxis nach islamischem Recht," *Die Welt des Orients* 26 (1995): 161–80, esp. 163.

¹³⁹Krawietz, "Der Prophet Muḥammad als Muftī und Muḡtahid," 60–61.

¹⁴⁰*I'lām al-Muwaqqi'īn*, 2:407–86.



for separate publication include those about *taqlīd*,¹⁴¹ *qiyās*,¹⁴² the authority of fatwas of the companions of the Prophet,¹⁴³ and, of course, Muḥammad's fatwas themselves.¹⁴⁴ The latter became especially popular in the modern era when the qadi was gradually supplanted by the *muftī* as the most central figure of Islamic legal thinking.¹⁴⁵ In general, the decades-delayed exploration in Western languages of the Hanbali school of law has also gained impetus lately with regard to Ibn al-Qayyim's conception of the principles of Islamic jurisprudence.¹⁴⁶

(7) PRACTICAL JURISPRUDENCE

In spite of the fact that he is frequently referred to as "the legal scholar" (*al-faqīh*) and in spite of his above-mentioned leading role in the field of *uṣūl al-fiqh*, Ibn al-Qayyim did not write a comprehensive *furū' al-fiqh* manual, nor did he comment upon one. Instead, a number of legal writings on more specific topics are attributed to him. To start with, it would be excessive to claim that, in these monographs on practical jurisprudence, he was primarily concerned with penal law.¹⁴⁷ Nevertheless, he is the author of some larger tracts on Islamic jurisprudence that are, though not exclusively, also important from the standpoint of criminal law, namely *Aḥkām Ahl al-Dhimmah*, *Al-Ṣalāh wa-Ḥukm Tārikihā*, *Al-Ṭuruq al-Ḥukmīyah fī al-Siyāsah al-Shar'īyah*, and *Kashf al-Ghiṭā' 'an Ḥukm al-Samā' wa-al-Ghinā'*. All four of these works were written in response to fatwa requests. Since they are *responsa*

¹⁴¹Ibid., 1:416–82, as compared with Ibn al-Qayyim, *Risālat al-Taqlīd*, ed. Muḥammad 'Afīfī (Beirut and Riyadh, 1983).

¹⁴²Introduction by Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Khaṭīb in *Al-Qiyās fī al-Shar' al-Islāmī: Yaḥṭawī 'alā Risālat al-Qiyās li-Ibn Taymīyah wa-Fuṣūl fī al-Qiyās li-Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah*, 2nd ed. (Beirut, 1975), 6.

¹⁴³*I'lām al-Muwaqqi'īn*, 2:379–407, as compared with *Al-Bayyināt al-Salafīyah 'alā anna Aqwāl al-Ṣaḥābah Ḥujjah Shar'īyah fī I'lām al-Imām Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah*, commented upon and expanded by Aḥmad Salām (Beirut, 1974).

¹⁴⁴*Fatāwā Rasūl Allāh*, ed. Sulaymān Salīm al-Bawwāb (Damascus, 1404/1984).

¹⁴⁵Krawietz, "Der Prophet Muḥammad als Muftī und Muḡtahid," 55.

¹⁴⁶Cf., for instance, Satōe Horii, *Die gesetzlichen Umgehungen im islamischen Recht (ḥiyal): Unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Ḡannat al-aḥkām wa-ḡunnat al-ḥuṣṣām des Ḥanafīten Sa'īd b. 'Alī as-Samarqandī (gest. 12. Jhdt.)* (Berlin, 2001), 53–66 and *passim*.

¹⁴⁷A study such as Bakr Ibn 'Abd Allāh Abū Zayd, *Aḥkām al-Jināyah 'alā al-Nafs wa-mā Dūnahā 'inda Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah* (Beirut, 1416/1996), might convey the wrong impression that penal law is one of Ibn al-Qayyim's central areas of interest. In fact, his relevant utterances had to be assembled from a variety of his writings, 12, but had attracted Abū Zayd's attention because of their insistence on the inherent wisdom of Islamic legislation (*tashrī'*) as against claims of "the orientalist" directed against the allegedly savage character of Islamic penal law, 13. Abū Zayd offers a comparative perspective on the various law schools using them as a frame for selected remarks taken from Ibn al-Qayyim.



and, as such, originally often did not bear an official title, the usual confusion about Ibn al-Qayyim's book titles here allows for an even greater range of different versions. The monographs mentioned here are widely read and discussed—well beyond the more limited realm of specifically Hanbali jurisprudence.

Outstanding are his *Aḥkām Ahl al-Dhimmah* (Regulations for the people of the covenant), i.e., Jews and Christians, with whom he was concerned not only in the sphere of theology. This *furū' al-fiqh* work is usually published in two volumes.¹⁴⁸ It is one of the most prominent works of Ibn al-Qayyim in general and the most important of his writings in practical jurisprudence in particular. In fact, it has to be regarded as the main late medieval reference concerning the status of minorities in Islamic law. No wonder that—once again—the well-known Salafī scholar Ṣubḥī al-Ṣāliḥ prepared the pioneering edition.¹⁴⁹ Of special importance is the long introduction by al-Ṣāliḥ himself¹⁵⁰ and an introduction to Muslim international law (*muqaddimah fī 'ilm al-siyar*) by Muḥammad Ḥamīd Allāh.¹⁵¹ The editor praises this book as

surpassing all earlier works in regard to diligence, depth, and comprehensiveness, and it was the first complete compilation on its topic (*imtāza 'an kull mā sabaqahu bi-al-diqqah wa-al-'umq wa-al-shumūl, fa-kāna awwal kitāb jāmi' fī bābihi*).¹⁵²

The point of departure was a fatwa request on the poll-tax (*jizyah*) and its imposition on more or less wealthy *dhimmīs*.¹⁵³ The very last part of the *Aḥkām* on the "conditions of 'Umar," i.e., of the (fictitious) pact between 'Umar and the Christians of Syria, has attracted specific attention. The editor of the famous 1961 version of the *Aḥkām* also edited and commented upon them separately that same year. He even recommends this detached part as an instructive and concise account of regulations for *dhimmīs*.¹⁵⁴ He characterizes it as an appendix on the one hand, but also as a separable and independent entity on the other. In due course, al-Ṣāliḥ

¹⁴⁸ Cf. ed. Ṭāhā 'Abd al-Ra'ūf Sa'd (Beirut, 1995), or ed. Yūsuf ibn Aḥmad al-Bakrī and Shākir ibn Tawfīq al-Ārūrī (al-Dammām, Saudi Arabia, 1997).

¹⁴⁹ *Aḥkām Ahl al-Dhimmah*, ed. Ṣubḥī al-Ṣāliḥ (Damascus, 1961).

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 1:1–46, and a description of the originally sole copy of the manuscript in Madras, India, on 47–66, followed by a presentation of Ibn al-Qayyim on 67–73.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 74–95. On *siyar* regulations see Hilmar Krüger, *Fetwa und Siyar* (Wiesbaden, 1968), 31–37.

¹⁵² *Aḥkām Ahl al-Dhimmah*, ed. al-Ṣāliḥ, 1:6.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, 7.

¹⁵⁴ *Sharḥ al-Shurūṭ al-'Umarīyah: Mujarrad min Kitāb Aḥkām Ahl al-Dhimmah*, ed. Ṣubḥī al-Ṣāliḥ (Damascus, 1961), introduction, 5–6; likewise *Aḥkām Ahl al-Dhimmah*, ed. al-Ṣāliḥ, 1:14–15.



qualifies this last quarter of the text as its real “center of gravity” (*markaz al-thaqal*),¹⁵⁵ which is a frequent feature in Ibn al-Qayyim’s writings.¹⁵⁶

The much smaller *Kitāb al-Ṣalāh wa-Ḥukm Tārikihā* (Book on the ritual prayer and those who neglect it) was edited in 1376/1956 by the important Salafī scholar Quṣayy Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Khaṭīb.¹⁵⁷ Since this legal tract is not very long and is well established as a topic of specific Hanbali (and later also Wahhabi) concern, some editions patch it together with other statements from this school, especially those of its alleged founding father Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal.¹⁵⁸ This work of Ibn al-Qayyim is a compound fatwa answering ten questions, all related to the problem of neglecting the duty of prayer. The basic question is whether such a disregard for one’s religious duties has to be treated as unbelief (*kufr*) or not. The scholar’s harsh reaction to skipping this duty is relevant because it offers an opportunity for sanctions in public space. It is worth mentioning that this time Ibn Taymīyah does not take the lead. Instead, it is Ibn al-Qayyim and it seems a relevant tract of Ibn Taymīyah has been unearthed and published separately only against the background of Ibn al-Qayyim’s writing.¹⁵⁹ It has been drawn (*istikhrāj*) from his *Majmū‘ al-Fatāwā*¹⁶⁰ and was obviously only recently printed separately for the first time as an “independent epistle” (*risālah mustaqillah*).¹⁶¹ The latter was put together with a lengthy introduction, various indices, and extensive footnotes in the epistle itself, that is to say, it had to be substantially edited to publish it along the lines of Ibn al-Qayyim’s monograph.¹⁶²

Al-Ṭuruq al-Ḥukmīyah fī al-Siyāsah al-Shar‘īyah (Legal ways of shari‘ah-conforming governance) not only addresses legal issues, such as the judiciary, but also aspects of economics, politics, and administration.¹⁶³ It is presented as “a

¹⁵⁵ *Aḥkām Ahl al-Dhimmah*, ed. al-Ṣāliḥ, 1:18.

¹⁵⁶ Cf., for instance, the above-mentioned collection of Prophetic fatwas in his *I‘lām al-Muwaqqi‘īn*.

¹⁵⁷ Other editions and reprints are available. Al-Baqarī, *Ibn al-Qayyim min Āthārihi al-‘Ilmīyah*, 136, on Ibn al-Qayyim’s understanding of the term *siyāsah*.

¹⁵⁸ Cf. *Al-Risālah al-Sunnīyah fī al-Ṣalāh wa-mā Yalzam fihā li-Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal wa-Yalīhi Kitāb al-Ṣalāh wa-Aḥkām Tārikihā* (Miṣr, 1964); *Kitāb al-Ṣalāh wa-mā Yalzam fihā li-Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal wa-Yalīhi Kitāb al-Ṣalāh wa-Aḥkām Tārikihā* (Miṣr, 1347/1928–29).

¹⁵⁹ Ibn Taymīyah, *Ḥukm Tārik al-Ṣalāh*, ed. Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Nu‘mānī al-Atharī (Beirut, 1421/2000).

¹⁶⁰ *Majmū‘ Fatāwā Shaykh al-Islām Aḥmad Ibn Taymīyah*, ed. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Qāsim al-‘Āṣimī al-Najdī al-Ḥanbalī with the help of his son Muḥammad (Riyadh, 1381/1961–62), 22:40–63.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 82–83.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, with the tract bearing extensive footnotes, 89–136.

¹⁶³ *Al-Ṭuruq al-Ḥukmīyah fī al-Siyāsah al-Shar‘īyah*, ed. Aḥmad al-Za‘bī [?] (Beirut, 1999), introduction, 2.



treatise of public law built around a theory of proof.”¹⁶⁴ It relies heavily on Ibn Taymīyah’s *Al-Ḥisbah fī al-Islām* as well as on *Kitāb al-Siyāsah al-Shar‘īyah fī Iṣlāh al-Rā‘ī wa-al-Ra‘īyah*,¹⁶⁵ but has received less attention in Western secondary literature. Also in its economic aspects, Ibn al-Qayyim very much followed the ideas of his master.¹⁶⁶ On the level of political jurisprudence, however, the monograph has to be viewed in comparison with a series of other works, such as Abū al-Ḥasan al-Māwardī’s (d. 1058) famous *Al-Aḥkām al-Sulṭānīyah*. Masud pointed out that in its political fine-tuning, Ibn al-Qayyim’s understanding of *siyāsah shar‘īyah* possesses a flavor distinct from Ibn Taymīyah’s harsh stance.¹⁶⁷

With *Kashf al-Ghiṭā’ ‘an Ḥukm Samā’ al-Ghinā’*¹⁶⁸ (Lifting the veil: judgement on listening to singing) a chord is struck that is again strongly reminiscent of Ibn Taymīyah and his criticism that Sufi practices lack respect for the demands of the shari‘ah.¹⁶⁹ Although the topic of music is dealt with in other writings of Ibn al-Qayyim as well, such as *Madārij al-Sālikīn* and *Ighāthah al-Lahfān*, this monograph is the special product of a fatwa request that was answered by eight late medieval legal scholars; Ibn al-Qayyim was the one who provided the longest and most detailed answer by far.¹⁷⁰

In his surviving legal responses, Ibn al-Qayyim often confronted problems of public space. While his famous longer fatwas acquired the format of full-fledged monographs, as has been demonstrated, it has to be assumed that many of his shorter ones did not survive the test of time. Some of these, however, are in wider circulation because they caused a great stir and prompted refutations, such as his counseling on repudiation (*ṭalāq*) or the visitation of graves (*ziyārat al-qubūr*), along the lines of his stubborn master Ibn Taymīyah.¹⁷¹ Taylor even speaks of the

¹⁶⁴Laoust, “Ḥanābila,” 161. Likewise Çelik, “İbn Kayyim el-Cevziyye ve Ma‘āni el-Edevāt ve’l-Hurūf adlı eseri,” 152. On the core issue of proofs see Baber Johansen, “Signs as Evidence: The Doctrine of Ibn Taymiyya (1263–1328) and Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya (d. 1351) [sic] on Proof,” *Islamic Law and Society* 9 (2002): 158–93.

¹⁶⁵Laoust, “İbn Qayyim al-Djawziyya,” 822.

¹⁶⁶Abdul Azim Islahi, *Economic Thought of Ibn al Qayyim (1292-1350 A.D.)*, Research Series in English 20 (Jeddah, 1984), 19.

¹⁶⁷Muhammad Khalid Masud, “The Doctrine of *Siyasa* in Islamic Law,” *Recht van de Islam* 18 (2001): 12–13.

¹⁶⁸Ed. Rabī‘ Ibn Aḥmad Khalaf (Beirut, 1412/1992).

¹⁶⁹Cf. Jean R. Michot, *Musique et danse selon Ibn Taymiyya: Le livre du Samā’ et de la danse (Kitāb al-Samā’ wa l-Raqṣ) compilé par le shaykh Muḥammad al-Manbijī*, ed. Jean R. Michot (Paris, 1991).

¹⁷⁰*Kashf al-Ghiṭā’*, ed. Khalaf, 5, the answer of Ibn al-Qayyim alone covers the pages 47–295.

¹⁷¹Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah, *Mashrū‘īyat Ziyārat al-Qubūr*, ed. ‘Izzat al-‘Aṭṭār al-Ḥusaynī (Cairo, 1375/1955). The editor remarks that Ibn al-Qayyim “was so overwhelmed with love for his master



“inflammatory, revisionist, and radically anti-ziyāra rhetoric of Ibn Taymiyya and Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya.”¹⁷² The publication of later refutations may also unearth some of this material. It is further likely that Ibn al-Qayyim incorporated several smaller *responsa* into his other writings, especially the ethical compendia, with their broad range of topics. Those shall be presented in the next section. At present, however, it is not possible to give a more comprehensive list of his legal publications—a problem that is closely related to the much-needed chronology of his works.

(8) MORAL THEOLOGY

Ibn al-Qayyim is depicted as belonging to “the scholars of the hearts” (*‘ulamā’ al-qulūb*)¹⁷³ and his pathology in the Sufi tradition has already been described by Schallenberg.¹⁷⁴ His concern for a “treatment of the heart” (*ṭibb al-qulūb*) stems from profoundly mystical influences on moral theology and a deeper understanding of the shari‘ah. As opposed to mere lip-service and letter-of-the-law-obedience, this powerful trend directly addresses the conscience of the believer, calls for his internalization of norms, and encourages an enhanced awareness of their necessary application by the responsible individual. The latter, in his daily life—and not merely as a matter of pious seclusion—has to equip himself with sufficient knowledge and insight to monitor his spiritual development and outward behavior within the legal framework of the shari‘ah. In this sense, Ibn al-Qayyim can indeed be called a “Sufi-Hanbalite.”¹⁷⁵ It is primarily for this type of deep pious concern that Ibn al-Qayyim is nowadays mostly appreciated far beyond the Hanbali inner circles of the Near East. In this field he produced the greatest bulk of his writings, namely *Madārij al-Sālikīn*, *Ṭarīq al-Hijratayn*, *Al-Dā’ wa-al-Dawā’*, and *Ighāthat al-Lahfān*.¹⁷⁶ Under his writings on Sufism are further listed *Rawḍat*

Ibn Taymīyah that he did not transgress any of his dicta,” 5, an allegation that should, however, be more critically tested.

¹⁷²Christopher S. Taylor, *In the Vicinity of the Righteous: Ziyāra and the Veneration of Muslim Saints in Late Medieval Egypt* (Leiden, 1999), 211. For Ibn al-Qayyim’s attitude towards ziyārah, see Josef W. Meri, *The Cult of Saints among Muslims and Jews in Medieval Syria* (Oxford and New York, 2002), 34–135 and passim.

¹⁷³*Risālat Ibn al-Qayyim ilā Aḥad Ikhwānih*, introduced by Bakr ibn ‘Abd Allāh Abū Zayd, ed. ‘Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad al-Mudayfir (Riyadh, 1420/1999–2000), 3.

¹⁷⁴Schallenberg, “The Diseases of the Heart,” 421–28.

¹⁷⁵George Makdisi, “Hanbalite Islam,” in *Studies on Islam*, trans. and ed. Merlin L. Swartz (New York and Oxford, 1981), 247.

¹⁷⁶According to the editor Bakr ibn ‘Abd Allāh Abū Zayd in his introduction to *Risālat Ibn al-Qayyim ilā Aḥad Ikhwānih*, 3.



al-Muḥibbīn, *‘Uddat al-Ṣābirīn*, and *Al-Fawā’id*.¹⁷⁷ The contents of these works shall be roughly presented and characterized here to allow for some closer analysis of Ibn al-Qayyim as an author of religious ethics.

Madārij al-Sālikīn bayna Manāzil ‘Iyyāka Na‘budu wa-Iyyāka Nasta‘īn (Stages of the travelers between “Thee alone we worship and in thee alone do we seek help”) ¹⁷⁸ is a voluminous commentary on the Sufi manual *Manāzil as-Sā’irīn* (Way stations of the wayfarers) ¹⁷⁹ of the Herati mystic and Hanbali preacher Abū Ismā‘īl ‘Abd Allāh al-Anṣārī al-Harawī (d. 1089).¹⁸⁰ The latter has often been commented upon,¹⁸¹ but Ibn al-Qayyim, with his diligent approach and special concentration on the issue of repentance (*tawbah*) at the beginning of the work, has probably produced the most popular and widespread Anṣārī commentary in circulation today. It is no wonder that various short versions are also available.¹⁸² In addition to that, the section on *tawbah* has been singled out and printed separately.¹⁸³ *Madārij al-Sālikīn* is widely regarded as Ibn al-Qayyim’s finest piece on theological psychology and an eminent example of Hanbali Sufism.

Ibn al-Qayyim’s book titles could be a topic in their own right. *Al-Dā’ wa-al-Dawā’* (The Malady and the remedy), for instance, is likewise known and published under *Al-Jawāb al-Kāfi li-Man Sa’ala ‘an al-Dawā’ al-Shāfi* (Sufficient answers on medication).¹⁸⁴ The medicinal metaphor is reminiscent of his already-mentioned theological treatise *Shifā’ al-‘Alīl*. It starts out with remarks on the blessings of invocation (*du‘ā’*) and remembrance of God (*dhikr*), provides information on sins

¹⁷⁷ Çelik, “İbn Kayyim el-Cevziyye ve Ma‘āni el-Edevāt ve’l-Hurūf adlı eseri,” 152.

¹⁷⁸ Notice should be taken of an important early edition, namely *Madārij al-Sālikīn bayna Manāzil ‘Iyyāka Na‘budu wa-Iyyāka Nasta‘īn*, since it was “printed with the support of a group of excellent Arabs in Kuwait, India, and Egypt,” ed. Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā (Cairo, 1333/1915). Ahsan, “Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyah,” 246, informs us that vol. 1 was already printed in 1331/1912.

¹⁷⁹ For information on this work and its commentators see Anṣārī al-Harawī, *Chemin de Dieu: Trois traités spirituels*, trans. and ed. Serge de Laugier de Beaucueil, 45–77.

¹⁸⁰ For his place within Hanbalism see A. G. Ravan Farhadi, *Abdullah Ansari of Herat: An Early Sufi Master* (Richmond, UK, 1996), 14.

¹⁸¹ For example, *Manāzil al-Sā’irīn ilā al-Ḥaqq al-Mubīn li-Abī Ismā‘īl al-Harawī: Sharḥ ‘Afīf al-Dīn Sulaymān Ibn ‘Alī al-Tilimsānī* (d. 1291), ed. ‘Abd al-Ḥāfiẓ Maṣṣūr (Tunis, 1989).

¹⁸² *Mukhtaṣar Madārij al-Sālikīn*, ed. Khālīd ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-‘Akk (Beirut [and others], 1996), or *Tahdhīb Madārij al-Sālikīn*, ed. ‘Abd al-Mun‘im Ṣāliḥ al-‘Alī al-‘Izzī (Dubai, 1981).

¹⁸³ Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah, *Kitāb al-Tawbah*, ed. Ṣābir al-Baṭāwī (Cairo, 1990).

¹⁸⁴ Schallenberg, “The Diseases of the Heart,” 422. Another translation is given by Germanus, “Some Unknown Masterpieces of Arabic Literature,” 97: “The answer given to him who asked for a curing medicine.” There are several editions under each of the two titles. Some editions alternatively offer both titles, such as *Al-Dā’ wa-al-Dawā’ aw al-Jawāb al-Kāfi li-man Sa’ala ‘an al-Dawā’ al-Shāfi*, ed. Muḥammad Jumayyil Ghāzī (Cairo, 1978). Abū Zayd, *Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah*, 233–45, found no reference to it by the author himself.



(*al-ma'āṣī*), distinguishing for instance healthy love (*ḥubb*) from excessive passion (*'ishq*). The compendium is also quite specific on certain aberrations such as polytheism and homosexuality.

Ighāthat al-Lahfān min Maṣāyid al-Shayṭān is composed—as the title reveals—for “Rescuing the Distressed from Satan’s Snares.” Perlmann¹⁸⁵ has already narrated a sort of rough outline based on the critical edition of al-Fiqī.¹⁸⁶ Schallenbergh renders it as “Assistance for Those Who Seek Refuge From Satan’s Entrapments.”¹⁸⁷ The voluminous work provides interesting reading material insofar as it not only deals with regulations for mastering the straight path to God, but also focuses on sins in all their richness and variety. Two issues in particular dealt with in this monograph were singled out for publication as a separate booklet. The first one is “devilish delusion” (*al-waswās al-khannās* or *waswasah*).¹⁸⁸ In this context, the literary impact of both Ibn al-Jawzī’s (d. 1200) famous *Talbīs Iblīs*,¹⁸⁹ and of Muwaffaq al-Dīn Ibn Qudāmah (d. 1223)¹⁹⁰ still needs to be investigated.¹⁹¹ The second topic of special interest as expressed in various editions is the contested question of triple divorce (*ṭalāq al-ghaḍbān*, “divorce of the angry”), i.e., to effect a divorce by pronouncing *ṭalāq* three times in immediate succession. This procedure was contested by neo-Hanbali legal scholars—notably in a famous fatwa of Ibn Taymiyah.¹⁹² Ibn al-Qayyim backed his position with the consequence of

¹⁸⁵Perlmann, “Ibn Qayyim and the Devil,” 330–37.

¹⁸⁶Ed. Muḥammad Ḥāmid al-Fiqī (Cairo, 1939). Among the various editions available there is again the name Muḥammad Jamāl al-Dīn al-Qāsimī (Cairo, ca. 1969).

¹⁸⁷Schallenbergh, “The Diseases of the Heart,” 422.

¹⁸⁸Printed separately as *Al-Waswās al-Khannās* (Cairo, 1984), or as *Subul al-Khalāṣ min al-Waswās al-Khannās*, ed. Nūr Sa’īd (Beirut, 1992).

¹⁸⁹For instance ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn al-Jawzī, *Talbīs Iblīs*, ed. Ayman Ṣāliḥ (Cairo, 1422/2001). Cf. the translation by D. S. Margoliouth, “The Devil’s Delusion by Ibn al-Jawzī,” *Islamic Culture* 9–12, 19–22 (1935–38, 1945–48).

¹⁹⁰Muwaffaq al-Dīn Ibn Qudāmah, *Risālat Dhamm al-Waswasah*, ed. Aḥmad ‘Adnān Ṣāliḥ (Baghdad, n.d.).

¹⁹¹This is all the more necessary since there is a booklet claiming to be Ibn al-Qayyim’s adaptation of the Ibn Qudāmah version, namely Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah, *Makā’id al-Shayṭān fī al-Waswasah wa-Dhamm al-Muwaswisīn: Sharḥ Kitāb Dhamm al-Muwaswisīn wa-al-Taḥzīr min al-Waswasah lil-Imām al-Faqīh Muwaffaq al-Dīn Ibn Qudāmah al-Maqdisī al-Ḥanbalī* (Cairo, 1401/1981), or the Beirut, 1402/1986, edition.

¹⁹²Yossef Rapoport, “Ibn Taymiyya on Divorce Oaths,” in *The Mamluks in Egyptian and Syrian Politics and Society*, ed. Michael Winter and Amalia Levanoni (Leiden and Boston, 2004), 191–217; Henri Laoust, “Une risāla d’Ibn Taimīya sur le serment de répudiation,” *Bulletin d’Etudes Orientales* 7–8 (1937–38): 215–36.



imprisonment, as previously mentioned.¹⁹³ *Ighāthah al-Lahfān* is not only a very popular treatise on theological psychology concerning all sorts of pitfalls in life (including lengthy remarks on doctrinal errors of Christians and Jews) with a presentation of remedies, such as formally seeking God's protection (*isti'ādah*), but is also relevant for legal doctrine. It deals with challenges for the believer in the context of ritual purity, prayer, visitation of graves,¹⁹⁴ dance, music, singing, polytheism, adultery, and homosexuality. In addition, it contains various reflections on the character of legal tricks (*ḥiyal*) and unorthodox innovations (*bida'*).

In *'Uddat al-Ṣābirīn wa-Dhakhīrat al-Shākirīn* (Implements for the patient and provisions for the grateful) Ibn al-Qayyim pursues the Sufi topics of patience and gratitude, which are seen as the two halves of faith. He thereby presents "a complete pedagogic encyclopedia,"¹⁹⁵ i.e., he "combines *ṣabr* with all aspects of life."¹⁹⁶ This book is tremendously popular. Its essence also reappears in other writings attributed to Ibn al-Qayyim.¹⁹⁷ There is a shortened version in English that assures its readers in the translator's afterword that, despite "a constant struggle to reassert our Islam in the face of overwhelming pressure from Western media and technology," the Islamic heritage still has "a great deal to say about the human condition."¹⁹⁸ Nowadays, even economists claim Ibn al-Qayyim's assistance, since in the course of this book he also explores the concepts of poverty (*faqr*) and wealth (*ghinā*), but without proposing strict asceticism:

Against the background of widespread influence of Sufism which promotes self-denial and pauperism, Ibn al Qayyim has tried to

¹⁹³ Ibn al-Qayyim, *Ighāthah al-Lahfān fī Ḥukm Ṭalāq al-Ghaḍbān* was printed separately in 1327/1909–10 and edited by the Salafi scholar Jamāl al-Dīn al-Qāsimī in the Egyptian Maṭba'at al-Manār. *Ighāthah al-Lahfān min Maṣā'id al-Shayṭān*, ed. Muḥammad Sayyid Kīlānī, 7, refers to an even earlier edition (Cairo, 1320/1902–3)—just to mention such early efforts. Some authors refer to it as *Al-Ighāthah al-Ṣuḡhrā*, Abū Zayd, *Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah*, 220.

¹⁹⁴ Cf. the extract version *Ziyārat al-Qubūr al-Shar'īyah wa-al-Shirkīyah* by Muḥyī al-Dīn al-Birkawī, Abū Zayd, *Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah*, 219.

¹⁹⁵ *'Uddat al-Ṣābirīn*, ed. Abū Usāmah Salīm Ibn 'Īd al-Hilālī (Jeddah and Riyadh, 1420/1999), with criticism of previous editions, 5–8.

¹⁹⁶ *'Uddat al-Ṣābirīn*, ed. 'Iṣām Fāris al-Ḥarastānī (Beirut, 1998), 2.

¹⁹⁷ For example the booklet *Maṭāli' al-Sa'd bi-Kashf Mawā'iq al-Ḥamd*, ed. Fahd ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn al-'Askar (Riyadh, 1993), 13–15, which claims to be a fatwa of Ibn al-Qayyim on the issue of praise (*ḥamd*) for God.

¹⁹⁸ *Patience and Gratitude: An Abridged Translation of 'Uddat as-Sabirin wa-Dhakhirat ash-Shakirin*, trans. Nasiruddin al-Khattab, ed. 'Abdassamad Clarke (London, 1997), 71.



bring out the balanced teachings of Islam with regard to poverty and riches.¹⁹⁹

It may seem strange that two of the most notorious literalists could produce such outstanding works on love, namely Ibn al-Qayyim's *Rawḍat al-Muḥibbīn wa-Nuzhat al-Mushtāqīn* (The Garden of lovers and the pleasance of yearning souls) and Ibn Ḥazm (d. 1064) with his *Ṭawq al-Ḥamāmah* (The Ring of the dove). This paradox is also reflected in an article which—despite its obscure title—conveniently presents and summarizes in English the chapter contents of the *Rawḍah*, which all deal with the “psychology and metaphysics” of earthly love as created by God.²⁰⁰ Hence, there is no need to reproduce them here. It should only be added that this work—more than most other writings by Ibn al-Qayyim—quotes a good deal of poetry.²⁰¹ Besides short versions of the *Rawḍah*,²⁰² parts of this monograph have been edited separately—especially chapter 29 on illegitimate desire (*hawá*).²⁰³ One editor cites many readers' ignorance of the exact contents of the great compendia (*al-muṣannafāt al-kabīrah*) as the very reason for publishing parts of them as separate tracts. The chapter on *hawá* is the very last one of the book.²⁰⁴ Frequently Ibn al-Qayyim provides essential information near the end of his books.²⁰⁵ This very chapter of the *Rawḍah* has also been translated into English.²⁰⁶ Another method to exploit the wealth of this or other writings of

¹⁹⁹Islahi, *Economic Thought of Ibn al Qayyim*, 6.

²⁰⁰Germanus, “Some Unknown Masterpieces of Arabic Literature,” 92. The standard account of Ibn al-Qayyim's writings on love is J. N. Bell, *Love Theory in Later Hanbalite Islam* (Albany, 1979), 92–181.

²⁰¹See *Rawḍat al-Muḥibbīn wa-Nuzhat al-Mushtāqīn*, ed. Muḥyī al-Dīn Dīb Mastū (?) (Beirut and Damascus, 1997), or any of the manifold editions.

²⁰²For example *Al-Ḥubb fī al-Islām: Mukhtaṣar Rawḍat al-Muḥibbīn wa-Nuzhat al-Mushtāqīn*, ed. Ṣāliḥ ibn 'Uthmān al-Laḥḥām (Amman, 1994).

²⁰³Ibn al-Qayyim, *Dhamm al-Hawá wa-Ittibā'ihī*, ed. 'Alī Ḥasan 'Alī 'Abd al-Ḥamīd (Amman, 1988). It would have to be analyzed against the background of previous writings, such as Ibn al-Jawzī's (d. 1200) “Censure of Passion” (*Dhamm al-Hawá*); Bell, *Love Theory in Later Hanbalite Islam*, 11–45, 99–100, and Stefan Leder, *Ibn al-Ġawzi und seine Kompilation wider die Leidenschaft: der Traditionalist in gelehrter Überlieferung und originärer Lehre* (Beirut, 1984). Another example is the chapter on glances and gazing that was separately published as *Aḥkām al-Nazar*, ed. Aḥmad 'Ubayd (Damascus, 1348/1929–30), but this at least admits already on the title page to being a “section isolated from” (*nubdhah mujarradah*) the *Rawḍah*. On *nazar* cf. Bell, *Love Theory in Later Hanbalite Islam*, 125–47.

²⁰⁴*Dhamm al-Hawá wa-Ittibā'ihī*, 4.

²⁰⁵Cf. the fatwas of the Prophet Muḥammad in Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah, *I'lām al-Muwaqqi'in 'an Rabb al-'Ālamīn*, ed. Muḥammad 'Abd al-Salām al-Zu'bī (Beirut, 1418/1997), 2:486–612.

²⁰⁶*From the Treasures of Ibnul Qayyim: A Chapter on The Dispraise of al-Hawaa (Desire):*



Ibn al-Qayyim is to assemble information on a certain topic from his various books—in this case, for instance, on the love for God—and to present it in a newly arranged shape while still naming the late medieval scholar as author of the new booklet, thus contributing even more to the widespread confusion about his *œuvre*.²⁰⁷

One might also expect to find under the topic of love Ibn al-Qayyim's "Reports on Women," *Akhbār al-Nisā'*, that is often attributed to him.²⁰⁸ Hämeen-Anttila²⁰⁹ perceives this work as an "adab-monograph," so that it would not fit into our category of Sufi moral theology,²¹⁰ but he deliberately leaves the question of its authorship aside. For reasons that space does not permit us to present here, this work cannot be regarded as a product of Ibn al-Qayyim.²¹¹ As a matter of irony, though, this is one of the very few works of Ibn al-Qayyim which has been translated into a Western language by a non-Muslim scholar of Islamic sciences.²¹²

In *Miftāḥ Dār al-Sa'ādah wa-Manshūr Wilāyat al-'Ilm wa-al-Irādah* (The Key to the abode of happiness and proclamation to generate knowledge and will power) Ibn al-Qayyim, who is labeled "the very learned encyclopedic" (*al-'allāmah al-mawsū'ī*), takes his readers once again on a journey of self-realization.²¹³ He guides them through the panoramic landscapes of his religious-spiritual outlook and worldview. God has arranged everything in the best of all manners. Man is

Appended with Warning the Muslims Against Deviant Creeds and Methodologies (Including those of Nuh Ha Mim Keller), prepared by Saleh As-Saleh (Buraidah, Saudi Arabia, 1418/1998).

²⁰⁷Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah, *Maḥabbat Allāh 'Azza wa-Jalla*, ed. Yūsuf 'Alī Budaywī (Damascus and Beirut, 1421/2000), 15, where he mentions an earlier work of his from the same fabrication, namely *Asmā' Allāh al-Ḥusnā* as attributed to Ibn al-Qayyim, ed. Yūsuf 'Alī Budaywī and Ayman 'Abd al-Razzāq al-Shawwā (Damascus and Beirut, 1418/1997), and threatens to be already preparing another one.

²⁰⁸For instance Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah, *Akhbār al-Nisā'* (Beirut, 1979).

²⁰⁹Jaakko Hämeen-Anttila, "Some Notes on Women in Classical Arabic Literary Tradition," in *Proceedings of the 14th Congress of the Union Européenne des Arabisants et Islamisants*, ed. A. Fodor, part 2, Budapest, 29 August–3 September 1988, published in *The Arabist Budapest Studies in Arabic* 15–16 (1995): 133.

²¹⁰For Çelik, "İbn Kayyim el-Cevziyye," 153, *Akhbār al-Nisā'* belongs to the genre of history. Others mention it under the rubric "history and social life" (*al-tārīkh wa-al-ijtimā'*), *Ḥādī al-Arwāḥ ilā Bilād al-Afrāḥ*, ed. 'Ādil 'Abd al-Mun'im Abū al-'Abbās (Cairo, 1988), 6.

²¹¹Cf. Abū Zayd, *Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah*, 202–8.

²¹²Although the German orientalist Bellmann in [Pseudo-] Ibn al-Qayyim, *Über die Frauen: Liebeshistorien und Liebeserfahrung aus dem arabischen Mittelalter*, ed. Dieter Bellmann (Munich, 1986), admits the dubiousness of its attribution, he does not refrain from smug remarks: 449, 463–65.

²¹³*Miftāḥ Dār al-Sa'ādah wa-Manshūr Wilāyat al-'Ilm wa-al-Irādah*, 1:5. Leaving aside other recent editions, there remain to be mentioned an early one from Cairo in 1323–25/1905–7 and an



created with a natural inclination toward paradise and a quest for the religious knowledge (*'ilm*) necessary to get there. Against this background, it is up to every Muslim to consciously remedy the deficiencies of his soul (*amrāḍ al-qalb*). In a somewhat patchwork-like manner, Ibn al-Qayyim also includes musings on phenomena of the physical and animated world, detecting all sorts of hidden wisdoms behind them, and underlines the necessity of the shari'ah while castigating astrology (*'ilm al-nujūm*) and other pseudo-sciences.²¹⁴

Ṭarīq al-Hijratayn wa-Bāb al-Sa'ādatayn (Path of the two migrations and gate to the two happinesses) is even more varied. The Syrian legal scholar al-Zuḥaylī identifies four central topics as this book's core issues: first, "the treasures of faith and their meanings," i.e., the basic tenets of faith, including ones disputed by other groups, who have a different approach to good and evil; second, "exposition of the ways of moderate Sufism (*al-taṣawwuf al-mu'tadil*) in accordance with Quran and *sunnah*;" third, reflections on good and evil; and fourth, a clarification of terms.²¹⁵ Again, we find Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Khaṭīb as one of the early editors of this work.²¹⁶ The title of the book is understood as referring to the migration to God by complying with his will, and to his prophet Muḥammad by following the Prophet's normative example.²¹⁷ With its reference to the abode of happiness and allusion to the metaphor of door and key, the title recalls the above-mentioned *Miftāḥ Dār al-Sa'ādah*.

Ibn al-Qayyim's *Al-Fawā'id* (The Benefits) is the most patchwork-like of the writings in this section—if not in his entire oeuvre. Its very general title refers the reader to Quran, *sunnah*, and early Islamic testimonies which provide him with a broad range of information. It fits less neatly than the above-mentioned monographs under the rubric of moral theology, since it contains elements of virtually every aspect of the author's broad literary production. One editor says that this book is equally relevant for hadith scholars, Quran interpreters, grammarians, rhetoricians, Sufis, theologians, experts of practical jurisprudence and of its methodology, or

Indian edition from 1329/1911, Ahsan, "Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyah," 247.

²¹⁴John W. Livingston, "Science and the Occult in the Thinking of Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 112 (1992): 599; idem, "Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya: A Fourteenth Century Defense Against Astrological Divination and Alchemical Transmutation," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 91 (1971): 96–103. Cf. Yahya Michot, "Ibn Taymiyya on Astrology: Annotated Translation of Three Fatwas," *Journal of Islamic Studies* 11, no. 2 (2000): 147–208.

²¹⁵*Ṭarīq al-Hijratayn wa-Bāb al-Sa'ādatayn*, ed. Wahbah al-Zuḥaylī and Usāmah Ḥasan 'Abd al-Majīd (Damascus and Beirut, 1419/1996), 5–7.

²¹⁶*Ṭarīq al-Hijratayn wa-Bāb al-Sa'ādatayn*, ed. Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Khaṭīb, 2nd ed. (Cairo, 1394/1974–75) (1st ed. 1375/1955–56).

²¹⁷*Ṭarīq al-Hijratayn wa-Bāb al-Sa'ādatayn*, ed. Budaywī, 6, listing alternative titles, 15. In that sense already the introduction of al-Khaṭīb in his edition, 4.



poets, and that it attracts beginners as well as teachers.²¹⁸ Under a newly created title *Fawā'id al-Fawā'id* (Benefits of the benefits) an adept has reshaped and rearranged the contents of the authentic *Al-Fawā'id*, presented according to the useful lessons of the various religious branches. As this editor informs us, in the original presentation "it is difficult to pick the fruit from the tree of its benefits."²¹⁹ Uncertainty about the identity of *Al-Fawā'id* does not stop here. On the one hand, it should not be confused with *Badā'i' al-Fawā'id*,²²⁰ although this does not mean that the two exhibit no overlap in content. On the other hand, there is also no connection between Ibn al-Qayyim's *Al-Fawā'id* and the wrongly attributed *Al-Fawā'id al-Mushawwiq ilá 'Ulūm al-Qur'ān wa-'Ilm al-Bayān*, also mentioned in section four.

On balance, while perusing Ibn al-Qayyim's writings on moral theology, the reader is struck by the repetition of familiar sub-topics. On the one hand, one recognizes specific emphases or angles of an explorative scientific character that call for a complete assembly of the relevant holy sources. Whereas *Madārij al-Sālikīn* takes the form of a commentary on the spiritual journey of the Sufi, and most dearly recommends repentance (*tawbah*), *Ighāthat al-Lahfān* concentrates on the diverse aspects of sin and its manifold pitfalls in the cosmos of human life. At least two works explore specific Sufi attitudes or, originally, stations of the mystic path, such as love in *Rawḍat al-Muḥibbīn*, or patience in *'Uddat al-Ṣābirīn*. On the other hand, the majority of their respective elements reappear in multiple combinations and modified variations. More or less general religious outlooks organizing one's smooth transit from this world to the next are found in *Ṭarīq al-Hijratayn*, *Al-Dā' wa-al-Dawā'*, and *Miftāḥ Dār al-Sa'ādah*. They, as well as *Al-Fawā'id*, do not even seem to need a specific marker. Their repeated composition seems to bear some sort of ritualistic character, so that one might even think of writing as a devout practice. Many readers perceive this similarly. One editor confesses in his preliminary remarks:

It became evident to me by hearing, witnessing, and personal experience that the books of Ibn al-Qayyim in general and this book [i.e., *Al-Fawā'id*] and the like in particular soothe the spirit while reading them, open the breast while studying them, and while reciting them delight the heart that turns to God in joy and longing.

²¹⁸ *Al-Fawā'id*, ed. Abū Khālid al-Ḥusayn Ayt Sa'īd (Beirut, 1993), 7–8.

²¹⁹ Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah, *Fawā'id al-Fawā'id: Murattabah Mubawwabah*, ed. 'Alī Ibn Ḥasan al-Ḥalabī al-Atharī (Riyadh [and others], 1417/1996), 6.

²²⁰ *Al-Fawā'id* (Miṣr, 1344/1925–26), 2. *Badā'i' al-Fawā'id* is dealt with above in the fourth rubric on Quranic sciences.



So if the reader is in a state of distress God dispels it with the blessing of sincere devotion" (*adhabahu Allāh bi-barakat ikhlās*).²²¹

In this sphere of religious ethics, Ibn al-Qayyim's criticism of deviating Muslims and People of the Book, which is familiar from his quite polemical inter- and intra-communal theological writings, vanishes—though not completely, as can be seen in the most striking exception *Ighāthat al-Lahfān*. In this sense, Muslim and Western Islamic studies are correct to frequently state that the Hanbali scholar is "more a preacher than a polemist"²²²—undoubtedly in contrast to his famous teacher Ibn Taymīyah.

What is more, this highest degree of genre-hybridization in the rubric of moral theology in all of Ibn al-Qayyim's works has consequences for the scientific assessment of such sources and for future analytical studies of his other writings. Since theology, Quran commentary, and legal doctrines are variously interwoven, any diligent analysis of Ibn al-Qayyim would also have to take into account about half a dozen such Sufi tracts on internalizing correct behavior. This is especially true of *Ighāthat al-Lahfān*. A consideration merely of his obvious legal writings dealt with above under the rubric of *furū'* or *uṣūl al-fiqh* would be too shortsighted and would unduly blur a correct appreciation of his role in Islamic jurisprudence. With good reason, it can be assumed that a similar situation also holds true for other fields.

(9) ENACTING THE PROPHET'S ORIENTATIONS IN EVERYDAY LIFE

Their devotion to early Islamic sources inspired the traditionalists in general and the Hanbalis in particular to deduce from them normative religious examples even for spheres one might regard as everyday and, to a certain degree, secular. This retrospective commitment and expanded normativity seeks to pervade society in a variety of ways. The proclaimed hegemony of so-called early Islamic practices left no stone of the corpus of this tradition unturned in a renewed quest to find models for orientation. It is best described by a fictitious book title ascribed to Ibn al-Qayyim: *Fiqh al-Sīrah* (The Comprehension of the prophetic conduct).²²³ We need not discuss here the specific historical reasons why the range of meaningful religious action was once again considerably broadened under the Mamluks and fused with exemplary procedures from the golden age of Islam. In the case of Ibn al-Qayyim, this trend expresses itself notably in the pious regulation of daily

²²¹ *Al-Fawā'id*, ed. Zakarīyā 'Alī Yūsuf (Cairo, ca. 1967), 2.

²²² Laoust, "Ḥanābila," 161.

²²³ Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah, *Fiqh al-Sīrah*, ed. 'Umar al-Faramāwī (Cairo, 1417/1997), 4, without any reflection about its provenance.



speech habits, in the field of medicine including occult practices, and further in a discussion of sports, contests, and pedagogical doctrines. The treatment of such areas as God-willed applications of meaningful Prophetic behavior is, to a certain degree, connected to the related fields of Quran commentary, the science of hadith, of jurisprudence, and of moral psychology. Nevertheless, none of these can be considered as clearly dominating our author's scientific approach here—apart from perhaps hadith. In this article, however, part five on hadith discusses only his contributions to either the corpus or to the status of hadith within the hierarchy of the normative sources, but not writings that simply make excessive use of hadith, because this would create an overly broad, and thus not instructive, category. Therefore, a separate section seemed necessary, in order to explore this dimension of Ibn al-Qayyim's literary activities.

With *Jalā' al-Afhām fī al-Ṣalāh wa-al-Salām 'alā Khayr al-Anām*²²⁴ (Clarification of understandings concerning the prayer and invoking blessings on the best of mankind) Ibn al-Qayyim reserved a complete study solely for the bliss, background, and correct manner of the *taṣliyah*, the invocation of blessings on Muḥammad before and after ritual prayer.²²⁵ This is, of course, nothing one would imagine the Prophet himself imposing on his followers. Nevertheless, such rituals became part of the Prophetic *sunnah* insofar as hadith put relevant recommendations into the mouth of Muḥammad himself, as well as the mouths of his companions and later generations. Ibn al-Qayyim displays the relevant source material concerning this topic with unprecedented diligence and explores its applicability to various situations in daily life.

Another, even slimmer treatise, *Al-Wābil al-Ṣayyib min al-Kalim al-Ṭayyib* (The Heavy shower of good utterances), deals, more generally, with all sorts of invocation (*dhikr*) and supplication (*du'ā'*). It is much less specific than *Jalā' al-Afhām* in that it offers divinely sanctioned elements of speech for a broad variety of social contexts. Its promoters compare the blissful effect of such expressions to the "heavy shower" that revives waste land, causing a stimulation of the hearts and opening the breasts.²²⁶ The tract takes up and complements a work by Ibn Taymīyah with the title *Al-Kalim al-Ṭayyib*.²²⁷ It seems that Ibn

²²⁴Ed. Nizār Muṣṭafā al-Bāz (Mecca and Riyadh, 1417/1996).

²²⁵Fritz Meier, "Invoking Blessings on Muḥammad in Prayers of Supplication and When Making Requests," in idem, *Essays on Islamic Piety and Mysticism*, trans. John O'Kane, with editorial assistance by Bernd Radtke (Leiden [and others], 1999), 550. Cf. the Maliki author Khalaf Ibn 'Abd al-Malik Ibn Bashkuwāl (d. 1183), *Kitāb al-Qurbah ilā Rabb al-'Ālamīn: El acercamiento a Dios*, ed. and trans. into Spanish by Cristina de la Puente (Madrid, 1995), 39–57 and passim.

²²⁶*Al-Wābil al-Ṣayyib min al-Kalim al-Ṭayyib*, ed. Muḥammad 'Alī Abū al-'Abbās (Cairo, 1989), 3.

²²⁷See especially the edition Taqī al-Dīn Ibn Taymīyah, *Al-Kalim al-Ṭayyib*, ed. Muḥammad Nāṣir



al-Qayyim's expanded version became the more popular one. Its publication history is characterized by several important features, common to widely accepted religious tracts in Arabic today. Its famous Salafi editor,²²⁸ multiple editions, circulation on the Indian book market,²²⁹ and even presentation in a complete English translation,²³⁰ all leave no doubt of its extraordinary popularity.

The most voluminous and famous of Ibn al-Qayyim's writings in this section of reenactment of the Prophetic *sīrah*, however, is his *Zād al-Ma'ād 'alá Hady Khayr al-'Ibād* (Provision for the life to come with the teachings of the best of God's servants). Once again, the Indian subcontinent is important for some editions.²³¹ *Zād al-Ma'ād* is one of Ibn al-Qayyim's thickest extant monographs. As one editor remarks, this compendium comprehensively exposes all aspects of the Prophet's behavior in "the most minute details of his life" and in a hitherto unprecedented fashion (*bi-shakl wa-uslūb lam yasbiqhu ilayhi aḥad*).²³² Another one adds that this even includes aspects such as Muḥammad's favorite colors and exactly how he used to drink, pointing out that hardly anybody else's life was ever so minutely recorded.²³³ Some scholars perceive this work as being one of Hanbali jurisprudence (*al-fiqh al-ḥanbalī*).²³⁴ Muranyi sees it as a collection of Ibn al-Qayyim's legal doctrines, following Ibn Taymīyah in his strictness concerning ritual questions, but displaying leniency in matters of mutual legal relations.²³⁵ It

al-Dīn al-Albānī (Ṭanṭā, 1406/1985).

²²⁸*Al-Wābil al-Ṣayyib min al-Kalim al-Ṭayyib*, ed. Quṣayy Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Khaṭīb, 2nd ed. (Cairo, 1394/1974) (1st ed. 1376/1956–57). There is an even earlier one from Egypt: *Al-Wābil al-Ṣayyib min al-Kalim al-Ṭayyib* (Miṣr, 1357/1938).

²²⁹As *Dhikr-i-Ilāhī*, published in Tandalyanwala (Pakistan); Ahsan, "Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyah," 247. According to *Al-Wābil al-Ṣayyib min al-Kalim al-Ṭayyib*, ed. Abū al-'Abbās, 8, it was published in 1895 in Delhi.

²³⁰*Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya on the Invocation of God*.

²³¹Most editions comprise four or five volumes, such as *Zād al-Ma'ād 'alá Hady Khayr al-'Ibād*, ed. Ṭāhā 'Abd al-Ra'ūf Ṭāhā (Cairo, 1390/1970), or the edition by Shu'ayb al-Arna'ūt and 'Abd al-Qādir al-Arna'ūt (Kuwait and Beirut, 1979). There are very early editions from Kanpur/Kānfūr (?) in India from 1298/1880–81 or Cairo 1324/1906–7 as well as 1347/1928–29, which was translated in 1962 by Ra'īs Aḥmad Ja'farī into Urdu and published in Lahore; Ahsan, "Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyah," 246; Abū Zayd, *Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah*, 260.

²³²*Zād al-Ma'ād 'alá Hady Khayr al-'Ibād*, ed. Muṣṭafá 'Abd al-Qādir 'Aṭā (Beirut, 1998), 1:6.

²³³*Zād al-Ma'ād 'alá Hady Khayr al-'Ibād*, ed. al-Arna'ūt and al-Arna'ūt, 1:6, with criticism of previous editions, 7.

²³⁴For instance, according to Wahbah al-Zuhaylī, *Āthār al-Ḥarb fī al-Fiqh al-Islāmī* (Beirut, 1981), who lists it alongside *Al-Ṭuruq al-Ḥukmīyah*, *I'lām al-Muwaqqi'in*, and *Aḥkām Ahl al-Dhimmah* in one rubric.

²³⁵Miklos Muranyi, "Die Ḥanbalīya," in *Grundriß der Arabischen Philologie*, ed. Helmut Gätje, vol. 2: Literaturwissenschaft (Wiesbaden, 1987), 321–22.



is, however, different as well in its impetus and range of topics, since it frequently transcends the familiar *furū‘ al-fiqh* pattern. *Zād al-Ma‘ād* is definitely not the compendium of practical jurisprudence which is otherwise missing in Ibn al-Qayyim’s oeuvre. Instead, it is a genuine “mixture containing the biography and what branches out from it, like jurisprudence, good manners (*ādāb*), and Prophetic instructions.”²³⁶ Abū Zayd speaks of “this amazing encyclopedia of various sciences such as *sīrah*, jurisprudence, profession of the unity of God, theology, the subtleties in *tafsīr*, hadith, language, grammar, etc.”²³⁷

Many scholars condensed this package of wisdom into a convenient short version; Muḥammad Ibn ‘Abd al-Wahhāb (d. 1792) is the most prominent of these.²³⁸ The most highly cherished part of *Zād al-Ma‘ād*, the section in its last quarter on Prophetic medicine (*al-ṭibb al-nabawī*, *ṭibb al-nabī*), came to be appreciated as a sort of separate book.²³⁹ Many people are familiar with this section, but have no clue that it was originally only a cluster of topics pertaining to a larger compendium. In recent decades it has perhaps become the most popular publication on Islamic medicine of all—even supplanting al-Suyūṭī’s (d. 1505) version. Notably, both are available in an English translation.²⁴⁰ In addition, Prophetic medicine is the one aspect of Ibn al-Qayyim’s work most intensely researched by Western scholars of Islamic sciences.²⁴¹ Its merits have definitely not been underestimated, although the extent to which Ibn al-Qayyim is indebted to the writings of other scholars is only now gradually becoming discernible. Typically, this field is concerned with the illness (*marād*) of hearts (*qulūb*) as well as the illness of bodies (*abdān*).²⁴² Nevertheless, in this context, Ibn al-Qayyim deals

²³⁶ *Mukhtaṣar Zād al-Ma‘ād fī Hady Khayr al-‘Ibād*, abridged by Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Wahhāb, ed. ‘Abd al-Razzāq al-Mahdī (Beirut, 1995), editor’s introduction, 5.

²³⁷ Abū Zayd, *Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah*, 261.

²³⁸ Others are *Hady al-Rasūl: Mukhtaṣar min Zād al-Ma‘ād*, ed. Muḥammad Abū Zayd (Cairo, [before 1960]), and *Thamar al-Wadād: Mukhtaṣar Zād al-Ma‘ād fī Hady Khayr al-‘Ibād*, ed. Muṣṭafā Muḥammad ‘Ammārah (Cairo, 1952). Cf. Abū Zayd, *Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah*, 262.

²³⁹ Abū Zayd, *Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah*, 270–71, came across a very early manuscript that dates back only 73 years after the death of Ibn al-Qayyim.

²⁴⁰ Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah, *Medicine of the Prophet*, trans. Penelope Johnstone (Cambridge, 1998). The second is al-Suyūṭī, *As-Suyuti’s Medicine of the Prophet*, ed. Ahmad Thompson (London, 1414/1994), strongly relying on the translation prepared by Cyril Elgood.

²⁴¹ Especially Irmeli Perho, “The Prophet’s Medicine: A Creation of the Muslim Traditionalist Scholars,” *Studia Orientalia* (Helsinki) 74 (1995), published as a monograph, 40–42 and passim; idem, “Medicine and the Qur’ān,” in *Encyclopaedia of the Qur’ān*, ed. Jane Dammen McAuliffe, (Leiden and Boston, 2001–), 3:349–67.

²⁴² Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah, *Al-Ṭibb al-Nabawī*, ed. Shu‘ayb al-‘Arna’ūt and ‘Abd al-Qādir al-‘Arna’ūt (Beirut, 1980), 5; Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah, *Medicine of the Prophet*, 3.



predominantly with bodily diseases. Noteworthy is the high percentage of occult practices,²⁴³ especially the evil eye²⁴⁴—obviously the heritage of many Near Eastern sources, which Ibn al-Qayyim often does not quote by name and title. This is part of a general problem: in his eagerness to present the authentic early Islamic picture, he often fails to mention his more recent scholarly sources.

A topic very dear to the heart of the Mamluk aristocracy must have been Ibn al-Qayyim's monograph *Al-Furūsīyah* (Horsemanship),²⁴⁵ which assembles traditions on various sports, especially riding and different contests (*sibāq*, *musābaqah*). They are related to the military tradition of Islam, but also include mere leisure activities. Noteworthy are the introductory remarks of one apparently Saudi Arabian edition published around 1970. The editor suggests that Islamic sport clubs replace their official self-designation as places for "physical education" (*riyāḍah badaniyah*) with "Islamic *furūsīyah*," in keeping with correct historical precedent, since the Europeans, in full ignorance, nowadays regard familiar types of sports as their own developments.²⁴⁶

A last concern is the raising of children and the treatment of infants in various stages of their development. *Tuḥfat al-Mawdūd bi-Aḥkām al-Mawlūd* (A Present for the beloved on the rules concerning the treatment of infants)²⁴⁷ comprises legal rulings and advice for the correct behavior of pregnant women, the treatment of their newborn infants, and the raising of children at certain stages of life. Taking this work as a starting point, a German dissertation—supervised by Annemarie Schimmel—deals with the prescriptions for small children, but leaves aside some of the aspects Ibn al-Qayyim treated.²⁴⁸ Giladi describes the book as "typically combining medical and religious elements"²⁴⁹ and presents it as "a remarkable instance of how Islamic writings could weave popularized medical theories into

²⁴³Schallenberg, "The Diseases of the Heart," 422–23.

²⁴⁴Birgit Krawietz, "Islamic Conceptions of the Evil Eye," *Medicine and Law* 21 (2002): 339–55.

²⁴⁵On the topic in general, see David Ayalon, "Notes on the *Furusiyya*: Exercises and Games in the Mamluk Sultanate," in idem, *The Mamluk Military Society* (London, 1979), 2:31–62; Shihab al-Sarraf, "Mamluk *Furūsīyah* Literature and Its Antecedents," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 8, no. 1 (2004): 141–200. For a discussion of the title see Abū Zayd, *Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah*, 280–81.

²⁴⁶*Al-Furūsīyah*, ed. 'Izzat al-'Aṭṭār al-Ḥusaynī (Beirut, ca. 1970), introduction, 2.

²⁴⁷Translation according to Avner Giladi, *Infants, Parents and Wet Nurses: Medieval Islamic Views on Breastfeeding and their Social Implications* (Leiden [and others], 1999), 43.

²⁴⁸Gerhard Adamek, "Das Kleinkind in Glaube und Sitte der Araber im Mittelalter" (Ph.D. diss., Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität, Bonn, 1968), 6–7. It normatively complements Franz Rosenthal, "Child Psychology in Islam," *Islamic Culture* 26 (1952): 1–22.

²⁴⁹Giladi, *Infants, Parents and Wet Nurses*, 63.



legal discussions.”²⁵⁰ Again, the existence of shortened versions²⁵¹ and editions from the South Asian market²⁵² are indicative of a wider distribution and interest beyond the smaller ideological community, since legal contents, interpretations of Quran and *sunnah*, religious ethics, and profane information are blended. A “medical appendix” (*mulḥaq ṭibbī*) at the end of one modern edition of the *Tuḥfah* includes photographic material and presents scientific knowledge of exclusively Western, specifically American, provenance.²⁵³

Such phenomena seem to be part of a broader trend in the modern book market in recent decades. Secular scholars, whether in medicine, psychology, pedagogy, or other fields, generate publications presenting odd mixtures of scientific manuals and quotations from the holy sources as well as relevant tracts of traditionalist authors. In the relevant bibliography, university textbooks and religious literature are, quite frequently, listed side by side—probably to show the harmony between the wisdom of the Islamic heritage and modern science.

CONCLUSION

Unlike Ibn Taymīyah, his pupil Ibn al-Qayyim did not spend his life fighting on several fronts. The latter’s mini-*miḥnah* in prison and ensuing social criticism in giving fatwas and defending theological stances in line with his famous teacher’s fiercely debated positions elevated him in the eyes of his admirers to the ranks of heroic resistance and moral courage. Taken as a whole, however, his life was one very much spent in writing. Ibn al-Qayyim is described as being well aware of the brevity of man’s lifetime and as therefore working incessantly²⁵⁴—even when separated from his private hometown library. One of the main scientific *desiderata* remains a systematic chronology of his writings.²⁵⁵ He wrote some books, such as *Zād al-Ma‘ād*, *Rawḍat al-Muḥibbīn*, and *Badā’i‘ al-Fawā’id*, while traveling.²⁵⁶ Certain phases and influences dominating his works have to be identified. According to Bell, “the various shifts in stress or disciplinary framework discernible in the

²⁵⁰Ibid., 43.

²⁵¹For instance, *Awlādunā fī Ādāb al-Islām: Mukhtaṣar min “Tuḥfat al-Mawdūd bi-Aḥkām al-Mawlūd”; wa-Yalīhi Fitnat al-Kabad ilā Naṣīḥat al-Walad li-Ibn al-Jawzī*, ed. Quṣayy Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Khaṭīb (Miṣr, 1394/1974).

²⁵²Ed. ‘Abd al-Ḥakīm Sharaf al-Dīn (Bombay, 1961). Ahsan, “Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah,” 246, refers to one edition (Lahore, 1329/1911–12).

²⁵³*Tuḥfat al-Mawdūd bi-Aḥkām al-Mawlūd*, ed. ‘Abd al-Laṭīf Āl Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ al-Fawā’ir (Amman, 1988), 8, 269–322.

²⁵⁴Al-Baqarī, *Ibn al-Qayyim min Āthārihi al-‘Ilmīyah*, 142.

²⁵⁵Cf. Holtzmann (see n. 7 above).

²⁵⁶*Zād al-Ma‘ād ‘alā Hady Khayr al-‘Ibād*, ed. al-Arna’ūṭ and al-Arna’ūṭ, 1:6; Abū Zayd, *Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah*, 60, 222, 252, 261.



writings of Ibn al-Qayyim correspond to fairly distinct periods in his career.²⁵⁷ Although he often refrained from giving an exact title, Ibn al-Qayyim, with several explicit self-references, gives many indications of the chronology of his works, which Abū Zayd diligently registered.²⁵⁸ Nevertheless, they have not yet been tied together in a convenient overview. The Hanbali is described as a bibliophile scholar and a devoted, if not compulsive, author who derives intense spiritual blessing from the procedure of pious writing as such. He must have worked as much as circumstances permitted even during his travels, thus creating for himself the air of his Damascene study. For these reasons, this article focuses on his œuvre and only to a lesser degree on his biography as important keys to his ideas about Islam. The limited path chosen for our study is first of all based on a hands-on approach to available books and booklets. The Internet proved unsuitable for a reliable initial survey, but has to come into play afterwards in a separate study.²⁵⁹ Even their contemporaries were perplexed about the huge literary output of Ibn Taymīyah and Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah. At the request of a group of such people, Ibn al-Qayyim himself compiled an inventory of his master's works.²⁶⁰ Unfortunately, no pre-modern adept ventured a comparable service for Ibn al-Qayyim. The cause of and extent to which neo-Hanbali doctrines fell into oblivion under Ottoman supremacy still have to be explored for the period from the fourteenth to the nineteenth century. The approach to Ibn al-Qayyim's œuvre chosen for this article, however, is a different one. Since the difficulties of demarcating and categorizing his works are tremendous, we chose here to approach them with regard to their reception in modern times. "Reception" is herein understood in the narrowest sense, because the history of the exact neo-Hanbali impact on important figures, such as Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb, Shawkānī, Mawdūdī, Ṣiddīq Ḥasan Khān, and the various Near Eastern Salafis like Rashīd Riḍā, has yet to be written.²⁶¹ Nevertheless, this article shows the special role of Salafī scholars such as Subḥī al-Ṣāliḥ and Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Khaṭīb, as well as of Salafī printing houses in Egypt and India. The Indian market and its scholars' attachment to Arabian libraries often blazed a trail. It seemed useful, in order to gain some access and familiarity, to focus first of all on printed works by Ibn al-Qayyim, and to follow to a certain degree the ways in which Muslims have (re)discovered this author. This methodology and the reading of introductory passages inserted by his modern

²⁵⁷Bell, *Love Theory in Later Hanbalite Islam*, 101.

²⁵⁸See especially Abū Zayd, *Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah*, 199–309.

²⁵⁹Among the almost 4,000 hits for "Ibn Qayyim" there are of course many useful sites, such as <<http://arabic.islamicweb.com/Books/taimiya.asp>> (accessed Jan. 5, 2005).

²⁶⁰*Asmā' Mu'allafāt Ibn Taymīyah*, ed. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munajjid (Damascus, 1372/1952–53).

²⁶¹Little information is given by al-Baqarī, *Ibn al-Qayyim min Āthārihi al-'Ilmīyah*, 145–46.



editors permit some sort of overview and provides clues for a categorization that are often missing, both from the few articles on this author in Western languages, as well as from a certain number of button-counting modern studies in Arabic. It must, however, be acknowledged that especially Saudi Arabian dissertations and academic writing have done much to enhance the level of research.

What, then, does the modern book market offer? Obviously, Ibn al-Qayyim “catered to all the branches of Islamic science.”²⁶² As al-Zuḥaylī sums up, the scholar’s activities “comprise religious knowledge (*‘ilm*), jurisprudence (*fiqh*), and legal development (*ijtihād*), and he is also the person of reference for those interested in transcendental questions (*imām ahl al-rūḥ*), in moderate Sufism (*al-taṣawwuf al-mu‘tadil*), sound spiritual radiance (*al-ishrāq al-nafsī al-sawī*), forceful remembrance of God, and for those who are eager to fulfill his duties and recommendations.”²⁶³

The problem is that such trends are often dealt with all together. His huge compendia embody an ongoing process of synthesizing the diverse elements in multiple variations and rearrangements. Genre boundaries are constantly transgressed and deliberately blurred. As a consequence, whoever researches a certain topic in Ibn al-Qayyim’s œuvre has to take a broad range of partially parallel publications into account. This is certainly important for his writings with legal relevance.

Ibn al-Qayyim is a great recycler in that any of his contributions can be expected to show up in a more or less transformed shape somewhere else in his writings. The scope of this article is not broad enough to determine the degree to which he recycles not only his own ideas but also those of previous authors. However, it is very likely that an œuvre of such vast dimensions could have been produced only by borrowing on a large scale. This is not to say that Ibn al-Qayyim lacked originality, which would be missing the point. Apart from the fact that in medieval religious sciences the concept of authorship and “copyright” was quite different from our understanding, his personal originality seems to lie elsewhere: in his extraordinary capacity to create a synthesis of floating data, his overarching aim of internalizing Islamic norms on an educational and self-referential level, and his creation of comprehensive books either in the form of compendia or of monographs on highly specific topics, about which previous scholars had written merely a passage, a chapter, or a small treatise. Further, he plays an important role in the self-emancipation of Hanbali Sufism and tradition-oriented inwardness. Although his writings have been marginalized for centuries, he produced—especially from the viewpoint of twentieth-century publications—an

²⁶²<www.pearlpublishing.com/medjawziya.shtml> (accessed Jan. 2, 2005).

²⁶³*Tarīq al-Hijratayn wa-Bāb al-Sa‘ādatayn*, ed. al-Zuḥaylī and ‘Abd al-Majid, 8.



extraordinary number of standard works that are in line with many reformers' reinvigorated interest in the early Islamic heritage.

Current editions, however, not only make Ibn al-Qayyim's works much more accessible than in the dispersed manuscripts of previous times, and allow for helpful insights, but they also contribute greatly to the already existing obscurity and confusion. Since the voluminous compendia seem to be too overwhelming for ordinary readers, the modern book market offers them in the form of single chapters, piecemeal selections, shortened versions, and collections containing also the works of other authors. While such editors often congratulate themselves for the service they provide to religious knowledge, these truncated publications are confusing to specialists and general readers alike. Many a twentieth-century soulmate even fuses his own musings or his leftover university textbooks with quotations from Ibn al-Qayyim. There is a rising flood of publications, including many paperbacks, most of which claim Ibn al-Qayyim as their official author. One scholar, though, counts only three smaller epistles as authentic writings of Ibn al-Qayyim among these available, in the range of 50–100 pages.²⁶⁴ As a consequence, the authenticity of the contents of the shorter publications in particular, but also of several larger synthetic works, have to be thoroughly tested. At times, pious compilers dress them up with fancy titles that deliberately recall famous, authentic works of Ibn al-Qayyim; or they fall back on titles reminiscent of generally familiar topics, such as "The Beautiful Names of God" (*asmā' Allāh al-ḥusnā*),²⁶⁵ to give but one final example. However, as a rule of thumb, these and other publications cannot be discarded, since many shorter fatwas and epistles in particular may still be uncovered and prepared for publication. Dissertations and similar studies from Arab countries play a pioneering role in this field. For Western readers it is not very easy to gain access. There may be various reasons for this: Ibn al-Qayyim's Arabic is of medium difficulty and he uses a highly technical language. Nor do his extremely frequent quotations from the Quran and *sunnah* make for easy reading. Only a few translations into Western languages are apparently available, and these are basically addressed to pious Muslims. Ironically, Bellmann picked the wrong author. It seems at any rate that a certain mood of devoted piety is a sort of precondition to fully appreciate the bulk of Ibn al-Qayyim's writings. Ardent readers often seek a profound elevation of spirit. Religiosity sells and Ibn al-Qayyim's presentations in particular obviously help Muslims feel good about themselves and proud of their religion. The gap in taste between Muslim and non-Muslim readers may also explain the lack of studies by Western scholars of

²⁶⁴Yusrī al-Sayyid Muḥammad in *Badā' i' al-Tafsīr*, 62.

²⁶⁵Ed. Budaywī and al-Shawwā. This appears even in a series called "Publications (*mu'allafāt*) of Ibn al-Qayyim."



Islamic sciences. The comparably small number of decent studies on Ibn al-Qayyim and possibly even other religious “polymaths” might also have to do with the fact that modern Western scholars are not sufficiently equipped or are too one-sided in their approach—while great medieval scholars, as a rule, were not.



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