

60. *Geburtstag* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2008), 15-56 (contains the edition of a *taqrīz* by Ibn Nubātah);  
 Geert Jan van Gelder, "The Conceit of Pen and Sword: On an Arabic Literary Debate," *Journal of Semitic Studies* 32 (1987): 329-60;  
 ʿAwaḍ al-Ghubārī, "al-Tanāṣṣ fī shiʿr Ibn Nubātah al-Miṣrī," in his *Dirāsāt fī adab*

*Miṣr al-Islāmī* (Cairo: Dār al-Thaqāfah al-ʿArabiyyah, 2003), 149-230;  
 Everett K. Rowson, "An Alexandrian Age in Fourteenth-Century Damascus: Twin Commentaries on Two Celebrated Arabic Epistles," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 7 (2003): 97-110.

## IBN QAYYIM al-JAWZIYYAH

(1292 – 1350)

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### WORKS

#### Early Works

*al-Futūḥāt al-qudsiyyah* (The Jerusalem Triumphs, not extant);  
*al-Tuḥfah al-makkiyyah* (The Precious Gift from Mecca, not extant);  
*al-Mawrid al-ṣāfi* (The Clear Spring, not extant);  
*Maʿrifat al-rūḥ* (Knowledge of the Soul, not extant);  
*Tahdhīb Sunan Abī Dāʿūd* (The Neat Arrangement of the Hadith Collection of Abū Dāʿūd);  
*al-Manār al-munīf fī ʿl-ṣaḥīḥ waʿl-daʿīf* (The Lofty Lighttower, on Authentic and Weak Hadiths), also entitled *Naqd al-manqūl waʿl-mihakk al-mumayyiz bayna ʿl-mardūd waʿl-maqbūl* (Criticism of Hadiths, and the Touchstone which Separates Unacceptable from Acceptable Hadiths);  
*al-Furūsiyyah* (Horsemanship);  
*ʿl-lām al-muwaqqiʿīn ʿan rabb al-ʿālamīn* (Informing the Drafters of Legal Documents about the Lord of All Being);  
*Kitāb al-rūḥ* (The Book of the Soul);  
*Jalāʿ al-aḥām fī ʿl-ṣalāh waʿl-salām ʿalā khayr al-anām* (Enlightening Minds concerning the Prayer and Invoking Blessings on [the Prophet Muḥammad], Who Is the Best of Humankind);

*Kitāb al-ṣalāh wa-ḥukm tārikihā* (The Book of Prayer and the Legal Ruling on One Who Fails to Perform It);  
*al-Tibyān fī aqsām al-Qurʿān* (Explaining the Oaths in the Qurʿān);  
*al-Wābil al-ṣayyib min al-kalim al-ṭayyib* (The Heavy Shower of Good Utterances);  
*Hidāyat al-ḥayārā fī ajwibat al-yahūd waʿl-naṣārā* (Guiding the Bewildered, on Responses to the Jews and Christians);  
*Kashf al-ghīṭā ʿan ḥukm samāʿ al-ghināʿ* (Lifting the Veil from the Legal Ruling on Listening to Singing).

#### Middle Works

*Aḥkām ahl al-dhimmah* (Laws regarding the Dhimmīs);  
*al-Turuq al-ḥukmiyyah fī ʿl-siyāsah al-sharʿiyyah* (The Ways of Governance, on Islamic Law regarding Rule);  
*al-Kāfiyah al-shāfiyah fī ʿl-intiṣār liʿl-firqaḥ al-nājiyah* (The Sufficient and Healing [Poem] on the Vindication of the Saved Sect); also entitled *al-Qaṣīdah al-nūniyyah* (The Ode Rhyming in -n);  
*Ijtimāʿ al-juyūsh al-Islāmiyyah ʿalā ḡazw al-muʿaṭṭilah waʿl-jahmiyyah* (Mustering the Islamic Armies to Attack the Muʿaṭṭilah and the Jahmiyyah);

*al-Dā' wa'l-dawā'* (The Malady and the Remedy), also known as *al-Jawāb al-kāfi li-man sa'ala 'an al-dawā' al-shāfi* (The Sufficient Answer to the One Who Seeks a Cure);  
*Hādī al-arwāḥ ilā bilād al-afrah* (The Leader of Souls to the Land of Joys);  
*Badā'ī' al-fawā'id* (Amazing Benefits);  
*Rawḍat al-muḥibbīn wa-nuzhat al-mushtāqīn* (The Garden of Lovers and the Promenade of Those Who Yearn);  
*Miftāḥ dār al-sa'ādah wa-manshūr wilāyat al-'ilm wa'l-irādah* (The Key to the Abode of Happiness and the Decree of the Sovereignty of Knowledge and Will).

#### Later Works

*Shifā' al-'alīl fī masā'il al-qaḍā' wa'l-qadar wa'l-ḥikmah wa'l-ta'līl* (Healing the Person Afflicted with Wrong Concepts about Predestination, Wisdom and Causality);  
*al-Ṣawā'iq al-mursalah 'alā 'l-jahmiyyah wa'l-mu'aṭṭilah* (Thunderbolts Directed against the Jahmiyyah and the Mu'aṭṭilah);  
*al-Fawā'id* (The Benefits);  
*Ighāthat al-lahfān min maṣāyid al-shayṭān* (Rescuing the Distressed from Satan's Snares);  
*'Uddat al-ṣābirīn wa-dhakhīrat al-shākīrīn* (Implements for the Patient and Provisions for the Grateful);  
*Ṭarīq al-hijratayn wa-bāb al-sa'ādātayn* (The Road of the Two Migrations and the Gate Leading to Two Joys);  
*Madārij al-sālikīn bayna manāzil iyyāka na'budu wa-īyyāka nasta'in* (Stages of the Travelers Between the Stations of "Thee only we serve; to Thee alone we pray for Succor" [Qur'an 1:5]);  
*Tuḥfat al-mawḍūd bi-ahkām al-mawlūd* (The Gift of the Beloved regarding Laws Dealing with the Newborn);  
*Zād al-mā'ād fī hady khayr al-'ibād* (Provisions for the Afterlife, on the Teachings of the Best of All People);  
*al-Ṭibb al-nabawī* (The Medicine of the Prophet).

#### Editions

The majority of Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah's works is available in a CD-ROM version:

*Mu'allafāt shaykh al-islām Ibn Taymiyyah wa-tilmidhihi Ibn al-Qayyim*, al-Turāth—Markaz li-Abḥāth al-Ḥisāb al-Ālī (Amman 1419/1999).

Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah's works are also available at the following URLs (last visited 28 February 2009):

<http://www.alwaraq.net>

<http://www.sahab.net/>

<http://www.al-eman.com/Islamlib/>

<http://arabic.islamicweb.com/Books/>

*al-Ṭuruq al-ḥukmiyyah fī 'l-siyāsah al-shar'īyyah* (Cairo: Maṭba'at al-Ādāb wa'l-Mu'ayyid, 1899); ed. Muḥammad Ḥāmid al-Fiḳī as *al-Ṭuruq al-ḥukmiyyah fī 'l-siyāsah al-shar'īyyah aw al-firāsah al-marḍiyyah fī ahkām al-siyāsah al-shar'īyyah* (Cairo: Maṭba'at al-Sunnah al-Muḥammadiyyah 1953, repr. Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyyah, n.d.);

*al-Kāfiyah al-shāfiyah fī 'l-intiṣār li'l-firqaḥ al-nājiyyah*, as *al-Qaṣīdah al-nūniyyah li-Abī 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr al-ma'rūf bi-Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah allatī sammāhā bi'l-Kāfiyah al-shāfiyah fī 'l-intiṣār li'l-firqaḥ al-nājiyyah* (Cairo: al-Maṭba'ah al-Khayriyyah, 1901); ed. 'Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad al-'Umayr (Riyadh: Dār Ibn Khuzaymah, 1996);

*Hidāyat al-hayārā fī ajwibat al-yahūd wa'l-nasārā* (Cairo: Maṭba'at al-Taqaddum 1905); ed. Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān 'Ādil ibn Sa'd (Cairo: Dār Ibn al-Haytham, n.d.);

*Miftāḥ dār al-sa'ādah wa-manshūr wilāyat al-'ilm wa'l-irādah* (Cairo: Maṭba'at al-Sa'ādah, 1905); ed. Sa'īd Abū Haytham and 'Alī Muḥammad (Cairo: Dār al-Ḥadīth, 1997);

*Kitāb al-rūḥ* (Hyderabad: Maṭba'at Majlis Dā'irat al-Ma'ārif al-Nizāmiyyah, 1906);

*Shifā' al-'alīl fī masā'il al-qaḍā' wa'l-qadar wa'l-ḥikmah wa'l-ta'līl*, ed. Muḥammad Badr al-Dīn Abū Firās al-Nu'mānī al-Ḥalabī (Cairo: Maṭba'at al-Ḥusayniyyah 1906); ed. al-Sayyid Muḥammad al-Sayyid and Sa'īd Maḥmūd (Cairo: Dār al-Ḥadīth, 1994);

*Madārij al-sālikīn bayna manāzil iyyāka na'budu wa-īyyāka nasta'in*, ed. Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā (Cairo: Maṭba'at al-Manār 1912); ed. 'Imād al-'Āṣ (Cairo: Dār al-Ḥadīth, 1996);  
*al-Fawā'id* (Cairo: Idārat al-Ṭibā'ah al-Muniriyyah, 1925); ed. Sayyid ibn Rajab

- (Mansura and Farskour-Damietta: Dār Ibn Rajab, 2001);
- Zād al-ma'ād fī hady khayr al-'ibād*, 2 vols. (Cairo: Maṭba'at 'Abd al-Laṭīf, 1928); ed. Shu'ayb al-Arnā'ūt and 'Abd al-Qādir al-Risālah and Maktabat al-Manār al-Islāmiyyah, 1986); 5 vols., ed. Muṣṭafā 'Abd al-Qādir 'Atā' (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyyah, 1998);
- Ravḍat al-muḥibbīn wa-nuzhat al-mushtāqīn*, ed. Aḥmad 'Ubayd (Damascus: al-Maktabah al-'Arabiyyah, 1930); ed. 'Abd Allāh al-Minshāwī (al-Manṣūrah: Maktabat al-Imān, n.d.);
- Ijtimā' al-juyūsh al-islāmiyyah 'alā ghazw al-mu'aṭṭilah wa'l-jahmiyyah*, ed. 'Abd Allāh ibn Ḥasan al-Shaykh and Ibrāhīm al-Shūrā (Cairo: Idārat al-Ṭibā'ah al-Muniriyyah, 1932); ed. 'Awwād 'Abd Allāh al-Mu'taq as *Ijtimā' al-juyūsh al-islāmiyyah* (Riyadh: Maktabat al-Rushd li'l-Nashr wa'l-Tawzī', 1999);
- Hādī al-arwāḥ ilā bilād al-afrāḥ*, ed. Maḥmūd Ḥasan Rabī' (Cairo: Maktabat al-Azhar, 1938); ed. Ḥāmid Aḥmad al-Ṭāhir (Cairo: Dār al-Fajr li'l-Turāth, 2003);
- Mukhtaṣar Tahdhīb sunan Abī Dā'ūd li'l-Ḥāfiẓ al-Mundhirī wa-Ma'ālim al-sunan li-Abī Sulaymān al-Khaṭṭābī wa-Tahdhīb al-imām Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah*, 8 vols., ed. Aḥmad Muḥammad Shākir and Muḥammad Ḥāmid al-Fiḳī (Cairo: Dār al-Ma'rifah, 1950, repr. Beirut 1980);
- al-Ṭibb al-nabawī*, ed. 'Abd al-Ghanī 'Abd al-Khāliq (Cairo: Dār 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb li'l-Nashr wa'l-Tawzī', 1957); ed. 'Imād Zakī al-Bārūdī (Cairo: al-Maktabah al-Tawfiqiyyah, 2001);
- Aḥkām ahl al-dhimmah*, ed. Ṣubḥī Šāliḥ (Damascus: Maṭba'at Jāmi'at Dimashq, 1961); ed. Ṭāhā 'Abd al-Ra'ūf Sa'd (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyyah, 1995);
- Ighāthat al-lahfān min maṣāyid al-shaytān*, ed. Muḥammad Sayyid Kīlānī (Cairo: Maṭba'at Muṣṭafā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī wa-Awlādih, 1961); ed. Muḥammad Ḥāmid al-Fiḳī (Beirut: Dār al-Ma'rifah, 1975);
- Tuḥfat al-mawdūd bi-aḥkām al-mawlūd*, ed. 'Abd al-Ḥakīm Sharaf al-Dīn (Bombay: Sharaf al-Dīn al-Kutubī wa-Awlāduhu, 1961); (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyyah, n.d.);
- I'lām al-muwaqqi'īn 'an rabb al-'ālamīn*, ed. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Wakīl (Cairo: Dār al-Kutub al-Ḥadīthah, 1968); ed. Ṭāhā 'Abd al-Ra'ūf Sa'd (Beirut: Dār al-Jīl, 1973);
- al-Tibyān fī aqsām al-Qur'ān*, ed. Ṭāhā Yūsuf Shāhīn (Cairo: Dār al-Ṭibā'ah al-Muḥammadiyyah, 1968);
- Badā'i' al-fawā'id* (Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-'Arabī, 1970);
- al-Manār al-munīf fī 'l-ṣaḥīḥ wa'l-da'īf*, ed. 'Abd al-Fattāḥ Abū Ghuddah (Aleppo: Maktabat al-Maṭbū'āt al-Islāmiyyah, 1970);
- 'Uddat al-ṣābirīn wa-dhakhīrat al-shākirīn*, ed. Zakariyyā 'Alī Yūsuf (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyyah, 1972);
- Kitāb al-ṣalāh wa-ḥukm tārikihā*, ed. Quṣayy Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Khaṭīb (Cairo: Quṣayy Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Khaṭīb, 1974);
- al-Dā' wa'l-dawā' aw al-Jawāb al-kāfi li-man sa'ala 'an al-dawā' al-shāfi'*, ed. Muḥammad Jamīl Ghāzī (Jeddah: Maktabat al-Madanī wa-Maṭbū'ātuhā, 1978);
- al-Ṣawā'iq al-mursalāh 'alā 'l-jahmiyyah wa'l-mu'aṭṭilah*, ed. Zakariyyā 'Alī Yūsuf as *Mukhtaṣar al-ṣawā'iq al-mursalāh 'alā 'l-jahmiyyah wa'l-mu'aṭṭilah* ('Ābidīn: Maṭba'at Dār al-Bayān, 1981, repr. Cairo: Maktabat al-Mutanabbī, n.d.); ed. 'Alī ibn Muḥammad al-Dakhīl Allāh (Riyadh: Dār al-'Āsimah, 1998);
- al-Furūsiyyah*, ed. Aḥmad al-Mukhātibī (Rabat: al-Majlis al-Qawmī li'l-Thaqāfah al-'Arabiyyah, 1987);
- Ṭariq al-hijratayn wa-bāb al-sa'adatayn*, ed. 'Umar ibn Maḥmūd Abū 'Umar ([Riyadh]: Dār Ibn al-Qayyim, 1988);
- al-Wābil al-ṣayyib min al-kalim al-ṭayyib*, ed. Muḥammad 'Alī Abū 'l-'Abbās (Cairo: Maktabat al-Qur'ān, 1989);
- Naqd al-manqūl wa'l-mihakk al-mumayyiz bayna 'l-mardūd wa'l-maqbūl*, ed. Ḥasan al-Samāḥī Suwaydān (Beirut: Dār al-Qādirī, 1990);
- Kashf al-ghīṭā' 'an ḥukm samā' al-ghīnā'*, ed. Rabī' ibn Aḥmad Khalaf (Beirut: Dār al-Jīl, 1992);
- Jalā' al-afḥām fī 'l-ṣalāh wa'l-salām 'alā khayr al-anām*, ed. Nizār Muṣṭafā al-Bāz (Mecca and Riyadh: Maktabat Nizār Muṣṭafā al-Bāz, 1996).

### Translations

*Natural Healing with the Medicine of the Prophet: From the Book of the Provisions of the Hereafter by Imam Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah (1292-1350 C.E.)*, tr. and emended by Muhammad al-Akili (Philadelphia: Pearl Publishing House, 1993);

*Patience and Gratitude: An Abridged Translation of 'Uddat al-ṣābirīn wa-dhakhīrat al-shākirīn*, tr. Nasiruddin al-Khattab (London: Ta-Ha Publishers, 1997);

Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya: *Medicine of the Prophet*, tr. Penelope Johnstone (Cambridge: The Islamic Texts Society, 1998);

*Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah on the Invocation of God: Al-Wābil al-Ṣayyib min al-Kalim al-Ṭayyib*, tr. Michael Abdurrahman Fitzgerald and Moulay Youssef Slitine (Cambridge UK: The Islamic Texts Society, 2000);

*The Legal Methods in Islamic Administration*, translated with commentary by Ala'eddin Kharofa (Kuala Lumpur: International Law Book Services, 2000).

Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah is the *laqab* (agnomen) of Shams al-Dīn Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr al-Zur'ī, a prolific fourteenth-century Damascene scholar who is chiefly known as the most devoted disciple and exegete of the Ḥanbalī theologian and juriconsult Ibn Taymiyyah (d. 1328). In his writings Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah, of the Ḥanbalī school of law and theology, strove to implement his master's doctrine, especially the principle of *al-wasaṭ* (the golden mean), the attempt to synthesize different and sometimes contradictory theological trends into a complete and unshakable doctrine. The basis of both Ibn Taymiyyah's and Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah's endeavors is a devout adherence to the precepts and exact wording of the Qur'an and Hadith (the traditions related from the Prophet and his Companions), as well as to *ijmā'* (consensus on matters of doctrine) and the teachings of the *salaf* (ancestors, i.e. the followers of the Prophet in the first three centuries of Islam), along with a laborious effort to integrate them with some of the doctrines of *kalām* (speculative theology).

Although Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah suffered his share of persecution by Ibn Taymiyyah's

ideological rivals, namely scholars who belonged to the religious establishment of the Mamluk state (r. 1250-1517, Egypt and Syria), he was nevertheless much appreciated by his contemporaries, regardless of their theological and jurisprudential affiliation, being the author of several key works on Hadith and Islamic law. All the medieval biographers of Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah describe him as a scholar who achieved his prestigious status as the prominent disciple and heir of his master through hard work and dedication to scholarship. They are unanimous that Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah became one of the greatest scholars in *tafsīr* (Qur'anic exegesis), Hadith, *fiqh* (Islamic law) and *uṣūl al-dīn* (theology). He mastered both traditionalist theology, which draws its authority solely from divine revelation and tradition (*naql*) and the teachings of the ancestors (*salaf*) of the Muslim community, along with speculative theology (*kalām*), which gives precedence to human reason (*'aql*) in the process of perceiving God and the world.

Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah's writings are wide-ranging and cover almost every field in the Islamic sciences. Most of his theological writings represent an elaborate attempt to simplify and clarify his master's doctrines and views. Thus, in order to have the fullest comprehension of his works, one must first be acquainted with Ibn Taymiyyah's works and precepts. The most conspicuous feature of Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah's writing is his insertion of whole paragraphs and even chapters of his master's works into his own writings, though always clearly identifying his sources. This mimetic writing is probably the source of the tendency in contemporary research to perceive Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah as a mere epigone, however competent he might be, of Ibn Taymiyyah, thus leading to an unjustified neglect of his works. Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah's contemporaries, however, probably understood his mimetic writing in accordance with the conventions of their times, as a distinct mark of his thoroughgoing erudition. It is noteworthy that Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah succeeds in developing independent views that are sometimes remote from his master's ideas and even inconsistent with them. Such ideas are often disguised by heavily ornamented sentences,

typical of Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah's style. The very few studies that have been conducted on themes in the works of Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah's reveal the distinctive lines of his thought, mainly in the field of theology.

The biographical sources do not disclose any details about the circumstances in which Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah's works were written. The author himself does not refer to any chronology of writing in any of his works, and only a few of them allude to milestones in his life. Nevertheless, in many cases the author refers to earlier works, thus establishing a partial basis for an approximate chronology. Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah did not have a benefactor to whom he dedicated his works, so they do not include introductions in *saj'* (rhymed prose) praising Mamluk officials or other patrons. Since the state of research on Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah's literary corpus is still embryonic, and since there have been only very few attempts to periodize and categorize Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah's works, the chronology suggested in this entry is necessarily provisional.

In most of his works, Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah refers to Ibn Taymiyyah as being already deceased, a fact which indicates that these works were composed after 1328. Even so, it is possible that the formula *rahimahu 'llāh* (May God have mercy upon him) and other equivalents after Ibn Taymiyyah's name were inserted by a copyist after the completion of a specific work. Thus, the appearance of this formula does not necessarily mean that the work in which it occurs was actually composed after 1328. Furthermore, it is highly likely that some of Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah's key works were conceived while imprisoned between 1326 and 1328 in the Citadel of Damascus; thus, the possibility that he was engaged not only in studying but also in writing during that period cannot be entirely excluded. In spite of these reservations, the basic assumption in this entry follows the guidelines that Joseph N. Bell has developed in his pioneering monograph *Love Theory in Early Hanbalite Islam* (1979). According to Bell, almost all of the works of Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah were written after the death of Ibn Taymiyyah, thus covering a period of twenty-three years of Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah's intellectual

development. Birgit Krawietz (2006) has also attempted to catalog the complete literary output of Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah and thereby helped to provide a clearer view of his works. Another pivotal study which helped establish the chronology proposed in this entry is Bakr ibn 'Abd Allāh Abū Zayd's *Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah: Hayātuhu, āthāruhu, mawāriduhu* (Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah: His Life, Works and Sources [1995; rev. ed. 2002]), by far the most comprehensive biography to date on Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah.

Aside from the problem of dating Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah's works, a simple enumeration of them has yet to be done, and thus it has not yet been determined how many works he actually composed. At least four works mentioned in the biographical sources or in his own works are not extant; they are considered in this entry to be early works: *al-Mawrid al-ṣāfi* (The Clear Spring), *al-Tuhfah al-makkiyyah* (The Precious Gift from Mecca), *Ma'rifat al-rūh* (Knowledge of the Soul) and *al-Futūḥāt al-qudsiyyah* (The Jerusalem Triumphs). The last title probably alludes to Ibn al-'Arabī's (d. 1240) *al-Futūḥāt al-makkiyyah* (The Meccan Triumphs). Conversely, a number of works have been wrongly attributed to Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah. The most conspicuous example is that of *Akhbār al-nisā'* (Reports about Women), a monograph on the attributes of eminent Muslim women. The monograph, which is not mentioned at all in Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah's list of works as it appears in biographies written about him, was probably composed by the famous Ḥanbalī scholar 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn al-Jawzī (d. 1201), the author of important works on theology and jurisprudence, such as *Talbīs Iblīs* (The Deception of Satan). Ibn al-Jawzī composed a work entitled *Ahkām al-nisā'* (Laws regarding Women), whose content is different from *Akhbār al-nisā'*. Nevertheless, *Akhbār al-nisā'* appears in a list of Ibn al-Jawzī's works in several biographies, which leads to the conclusion that it is indeed his work.

Another tendency in the Arabic publishing world regarding Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah's works is to publish one work under different titles, or to publish portions of large works as short independent works. This tendency often

leads to misconceptions, as in the case of the booklet published under the title *Fatāwā rasūl Allāh* (The legal *responsa* of the Prophet, Cairo: al-Maktabah al-Tawfīqiyyah, 2000; it has been republished since 1980 by different presses, under the names of different editors). In the short introduction to this work, the editor, Khayrī Saʿīd presents it as an original work by Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah, containing *responsa* (*fatāwā*, sg. *fatwā*) of the Prophet, collected from Hadith literature. Nevertheless, *Fatāwā rasūl Allāh* is merely taken from the last volume of Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah's *I'lām al-muwaqqi'īn* (to be discussed below). The case of *Ba-dā'ir al-tafsīr* (The Amazing Items of Qur'anic Exegesis, Dammām: Dār Ibn al-Jawzī, 1993), reflects an attempt of the editor, Yusrā al-Sayyid Muḥammad, to construct a comprehensive *tafsīr* (Qur'anic exegesis), which Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah never composed, by collecting his commentary on various Qur'anic verses from extant works. The publication of this inauthentic *tafsīr* merely underscores the need to determine the actual number of authentic works by Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah. Several attempts to compile Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah's *tafsīr* are described in detail by Krawietz.

Although it is impossible at present to offer a complete chronology of Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah's works, a provisional periodization of his theological works is possible. Through textual analysis and scrutiny of style and themes, it is possible to divide his works into early, middle and later periods. After Ibn Taymiyyah's death, Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah wrote several monographs that displayed his broad education and deep grasp of various topics in the Islamic sciences. The main feature of these early works is a less-developed prose style and heavy reliance on Hadith and other relevant sources. The earlier works tend to focus on one genre (e.g., Hadith, polemics, Qur'an) or one theme and are thus relatively easy to recognize.

Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah's middle works, classifiable as works on jurisprudence, theology, rhetoric and polemics, allude to Sufi terminology and themes. The later works combine a mature understanding of Sufi doctrines with Ibn Taymiyyah's principle of *al-wasat* (the golden mean). As a competent writer, Ibn Qayyim al-

Jawziyyah strictly adheres to the conventions of the four genres of jurisprudence, theology, rhetoric and polemics, not immediately disclosing his Sufi tendencies. His middle works and more so his later works, regardless of their main topic or title, include substantial quotations from Ibn Taymiyyah's theological, jurisprudential and exegetical thought interwoven with Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah's independent approach, mainly in the fields of theology and mysticism. These works transgress generic boundaries by their subtle deployment of Sufi terminology and do not always follow a single theme or a single line of thought. It should be noted that in his later works Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah frequently cites his middle works, hence the division in this entry between these two groups.

It is not possible at present to date Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah's legal works. Some of his *fatāwā* survive as monographs, but most of them are either no longer extant or have found their way into his longer works and become assimilated there. However, since not all of these *fatāwā* have been identified (as noted by Krawietz), it is not yet possible to give a full list of Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah's legal works, let alone to periodize them. As a consequence, this entry discusses only those legal works that are significantly related to milestones in Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah's life. Their chronology is only partial and requires further investigation.

Like his teacher before him, Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah had a wide circle of disciples, some of whom did not belong to the Ḥanbalī school of law and theology. Two of his closest students, **Ibn Kathīr** (d. 1373), of the Shāfi'ī school of law, and Ibn Rajab (d. 1397), of the Ḥanbalī school of law, became well-known scholars and biographers. Their works are among the few biographical sources on Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah. Ibn Kathīr describes Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah in several places in the fourteenth volume of his annals *al-Bidāyah wa'l-nihāyah* (The Beginning and the End). Ibn Rajab inserts the biography of Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah in his biographical dictionary *Dhayl Ṭabaqāt al-ḥanābilah* (Supplement to the Biographical Dictionary of the Ḥanbalī School). Although Ibn Rajab's is the most detailed biography of Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah, it is still markedly suc-

cinct and relies on an earlier biography that appears in *al-Muʿjam al-mukhtaṣṣ biʾl-muḥaddithīn* (The Dictionary of Traditionists) by the Damascene historian Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Dhahabī (d. 1348 or 1352-3), who was also familiar with Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah, and possibly one of his students. The fourteen-year-old Ibn Rajab was a student of Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah for a mere year, after which his master died, while al-Dhahabī had a longer acquaintance with him. Other important biographical sources for the life of Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah are in the works of his contemporary, the Damascene historian al-Ṣafadī (d. 1363). Relatively detailed biographies of Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah are also to be found in the works of later scholars such as the Shāfiʿī Hadith exegete and biographer, Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī (d. 1449), the Shāfiʿī biographer of Ibn Taymiyyah, Ibn Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Dimashqī (d. 1438) and the notable Qurʾan exegete and prolific scholar Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūfī (d. 1505).

All of these biographers describe Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah in a distinctly admiring tone. Ibn Rajab, for example, emphasizes Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah's great erudition in regard to Qurʾan and Hadith. Although, says Ibn Rajab, he was by means *maʿṣūm* (infallible), no one could compete with him in the understanding of the texts. Ibn Kathīr gives a more down-to-earth description of Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah: "He was the most affectionate person. He was never envious of anyone, nor did he hurt anyone. He never disgraced anyone, nor did he hate anyone."

Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah was born in 1292, probably in Damascus, to the Zurʿī family. The *nisbah* (adjective) al-Zurʿī denotes the family's origin from the village al-Zurʿ, whose original name, according to the geographer Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī (d. 1229), is al-Zurrā. The village is situated near Damascus. The Zurʿī family was of a humble origin and did not have great scholars among its ranks. Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah was the first member of the family to achieve fame as a scholar.

Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah's father, Abū Bakr ibn Saʿd al-Zurʿī, worked as the superintendent of Jawziyyah Madrasah, the law college of the Ḥanbalī school of law, and a court, in Damascus. Thus, his *laqab* Qayyim al-Jawziyyah (the su-

perintendent of al-Jawziyyah Law College), and the son's *laqab*, Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah (the son of the superintendent of al-Jawziyyah Law College), are simply an indication of the father's occupation and social status. Another indication of the father's status is to be found in a verse that Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah used to recite, according to one of his biographers: "I am a beggar, and so were my father and grandfather." Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah's father is described by the biographers as a pious and reticent man who was so dedicated to his work that he was found dead one night in the year 1323, having died while at work in al-Jawziyyah College. Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah had a younger brother, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Abī Bakr Zayn al-Dīn al-Zurʿī, who, though also a scholar and a teacher, did not reach his older brother's stature.

The Jawziyyah Madrasah was named after its founder, Muḥyī al-Dīn ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn al-Jawzī (d. 1258), the son of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn al-Jawzī. The resemblance in the names al-Jawzī and al-Jawziyyah has often caused the two scholars to be confused with each other. Most of Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah's contemporaries do not shorten his *laqab* to Ibn al-Qayyim, as do modern writers, although there are some references to him as Ibn al-Qayyim in medieval biographical literature. The reason for the consistent refusal of medieval biographers to refer to Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah as Ibn al-Qayyim is probably the existence of several known figures who have the same *laqab*, each for different reasons.

Although belonging to the Ḥanbalī school of law and theology, Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah acquired a wide and solid knowledge in all the branches of the Islamic sciences such as philology, law, jurisprudence and theology, learning from various teachers, some of whom belonged to other schools of law. Since Damascus was considered to be, at that time, an important center of study in the Arabic-speaking Islamic lands, Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah did not need to travel far in order to pursue knowledge. Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah spent most of his days in Damascus, although al-Ṣafadī claims that he did in fact travel in order to learn. At any rate, most of Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah's teachers were Damascene. Among them one finds prominent figures

of the Ḥanbalī school of law and theology, such as Sulaymān Taqī al-Dīn ibn Ḥamzah ibn Aḥmad ibn Qudāmah al-Maqdisī (d. 1315), who was *qādī al-quḍāh* (chief judge) of this school in Damascus. Another famous teacher was the Shāfi‘ī *qādī* of Damascus, Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Hindī (d. 1333), also known as one of Ibn Taymiyyah’s interrogators in the famous 1306 trial in Damascus. Among the names of his teachers that of the female traditionist Fāṭimah bint Jawhar al-Ba‘labakkiyyah (d. 1311) is also conspicuous.

In the voluminous *Zād al-ma‘ād fī hady khayr al-‘ibād* (Provisions for the Afterlife, on the Teachings of the Best of All People), probably the last work Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah wrote, he provides a colorful description of one of his most famous teachers, the Ḥanbalī Aḥmad ibn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Shihāb al-Dīn al-Nābulusī (d. 1298), whose nickname was al-‘Ābir (the Dream Interpreter). In the account in *Zād al-Ma‘ād*, al-‘Ābir taught the six year old Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah that wearing jewelry was bound to wreak havoc on a man. “One day a man comes to me,” says the old teacher, “and he tells me that he had a dream of himself wearing a *khalkhal* (anklet) around his ankle. So I told him that the dream was an indication that his leg would be shaken with pain. And so it was.” The basis for the dream-interpretation here is a linguistic argument since the verb to shake is *khalkhala*. Al-‘Ābir demonstrated his skills in *ta‘bīr* (dream interpretation) to the astonished boy, and the latter, who was deeply impressed, asked him to teach him this craft. The teacher refused, however, because Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah was too young, in his opinion.

All the biographers seem to ignore an important teacher of Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah’s, who may well be the most influential, namely ‘Imād al-Dīn Abū ‘l-‘Abbās Aḥmad ibn Ibrāhīm al-Wāsiṭī (d. 1311), a well-known Ḥanbalī and Sufi teacher, who undertook a commentary on al-Anṣārī al-Harawī’s (d. 1089) spiritual manual *Manāzil al-sā‘irīn* (The Stations of Those who Walk along the [Mystical] Way). Al-Wāsiṭī preached a total devotion to the teachings of the Prophet and the *salaf* while conducting the ascetic life of a Sufi. Surprisingly enough, one of his former students was Ibn Taymiyyah, who

held him in the highest regard. Al-Wāsiṭī’s unfinished attempt to provide a gloss on *Manāzil al-sā‘irīn* probably inspired Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah’s most esteemed work on mysticism, *Madārij al-sālikīn* (discussed below).

The biographers also specify the books that the hard-working and eager student read with his teachers, thus portraying the breadth of his formal education. From this list of books, the most conspicuous ones are Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī’s (d. 1210) *al-Muḥaṣṣal* (The Yield), a major Ash‘arī manual of *kalām*, and Sayf al-Dīn al-Āmidī’s (d. 1233) *Kitāb al-Iḥkām* (The Book of Precision), an important treatise on *uṣūl al-fiqh* (legal theory). Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah learnt these Ash‘arī works by heart and recited them to at least two of his teachers, Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Hindī and Ibn Taymiyyah. His knowledge of Ash‘arī *kalām* was, therefore, wide and thorough. According to Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah’s own avowal, in the poem *al-Kāfiyah al-shāfiyah* (discussed below), he was enchanted by the subtleties of Ash‘arī *kalām* until he met Ibn Taymiyyah. In verses 2271-4 he describes the typical Ash‘arī theologian as a bird locked in a cage of destruction. The other birds sitting on a nearby tree feel sorry for that bird, which was caged because of its refusal to eat the sweet fruit from the highest branches of the tree. Apparently it prefers to seek for food in a dunghill. The sweet fruit symbolize the Qur’an and Sunnah, while the dunghill represents the books of the Ash‘arī theologians. In verses 2274-80 the narrator gives his audience helpful advice:

*By God, people! Listen to the advice of a compassionate brother who wishes to help you.  
I have experienced this once, as I, too, was a bird, trapped in a snare.  
I am forever in debt to this man, whom the Lord with his grace ordained that I would meet.  
He was a learned man from the Land of Ḥarrān.  
Welcome is the one who comes from Ḥarrān!  
The Lord shall grant him what he deserves: he shall reside in His garden, and enjoy the Lord’s favor.  
That man grabbed me with both his hands, and he led me, without deserting me, to the place from which Faith rises.*

The learned man from the “Land of Ḥarrān”

(today located in Turkey near the Syrian border) is Ibn Taymiyyah who in 1313 returned to Damascus after a three-year stay in Cairo and became the most influential figure in the life of the twenty-one-year-old Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah. It is quite clear that Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah dedicated the next fifteen years of his life to study only with Ibn Taymiyyah, and he soon succeeded in establishing himself as the latter's senior disciple. Clearly the above verses describe the first encounter between the two, an encounter about which the biographical sources are silent. In verses 2281-4 of *al-Kāfiyah al-shāfiyah*, Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah describes enthusiastically his acquaintance with Ibn Taymiyyah's doctrines, as a tourist making a journey and admiring what he sees:

*I have seen the flags of the city, in whose surroundings are the camps of the right guidance, in which the troops of the Qur'an reside.*

*I have seen huge monuments hidden from the sight of the gang of the blind.*

*I went down to a water spring, so pure and clear; its pebbles like pearls fixed in crowns.*

*There I have seen goblets, as many as the stars, just waiting for the thirsty passer-by.*

Since their first encounter, the two men shared the same views and almost the same fate, although their family background, personalities and even circumstances of life were quite different. Ibn Taymiyyah belonged to a well-known family that had already given the Ḥanbalī school two highly esteemed scholars. Ibn Taymiyyah was described by his contemporaries as an activist in politics, religious polemics and even military affairs. His atypical lifestyle is described by Ibn Rajab. It appears that Ibn Taymiyyah never married and did not associate with women. In comparison, Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah conducted a calmer and more conventional life, since he had no involvement in political matters. He had to work for his living as a teacher, as he had a wife and children to support. Although there is no indication of the year in which he started his teaching career, Ibn Kathīr states that he gave lectures and sermons in various mosques and *madrasahs* in Damascus, including the Ṣadriyyah and Jawziyyah Madrasahs, both of

Ḥanbalī affiliation. Amongst his students one can find, beside the biographers mentioned above, the Ḥanbalī scholar and biographer Muḥammad Shams al-Dīn ibn Aḥmad ibn 'Abd al-Hādī ibn Qudāmah al-Maqdisī (d. 1343). A careless reading of al-Ṣafadī led a modern biographer to conclude that the Shāfi'ī *qāḍī al-quḍāh* (chief judge) Taqī al-Dīn 'Alī ibn 'Abd al-Kāfi al-Subkī (d. 1355) was his student as well, but he never was. One of al-Subkī's teachers was a Cairene scholar by the name of 'Alī ibn 'Isā ibn al-Qayyim, and not the Damascene Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah. A lone and dubious source reports that the celebrated philologist and composer of *al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ* (The Comprehensive Dictionary), Muḥammad ibn Ya'qūb al-Fīrūzābādī (d. 1414) was a student of Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah, but that is highly unlikely.

Unlike Ibn Taymiyyah, portrayed in the biographical sources as noisy, turbulent and smug, Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah seems to have remained unpretentious even after he established himself as a major scholar. The following *qaṣīdah*, written in the *ṭawīl* meter, which al-Ṣafadī claims to have heard from Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah himself (it is also quoted by Ibn Hajar al-'Asqalānī), is a self-portrait of a very humble scholar who openly and plainly doubts his own merit. It is noteworthy that verse 8 alludes to Qur'an 70:19, 100:6 and 33:72. The closing statement in verse 11 is an allusion to Qur'an 2:18. Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah refers to himself throughout the *qaṣīdah* as the little boy (*bunayy*) of Abū Bakr (his father's *kunya*, agnomen), thus belittling himself.

(1) *This is the little boy of Abū Bakr, whose sins are numerous.*

*Hence the one who decries him is not to be blamed [for doing so]!*

(2) *This is the little boy of Abū Bakr, who is ignorant of himself.*

*He is also ignorant of the Divine Command, and why should he have knowledge of it at all?*

(3) *This is the little boy of Abū Bakr, who has taken the front seat for himself.*

*So he disseminates knowledge, while he himself has none.*

(4) *This is the little boy of Abū Bakr, who as-*

- pires to a communion with the Sublime,  
While sins are his main interest and occupa-  
tion.*
- (5) *This is the little boy of Abū Bakr, who wishes  
to ascend to the Heavenly Garden of Re-  
treat,  
Although he has no determination to do so.*
- (6) *This is the little boy of Abū Bakr, who sees  
the benefit in things that are bound to be-  
come extinct and perish.  
Those [are the] things in whose abandonment  
is actually the greatest prize of all.*
- (7) *This is the little boy of Abū Bakr, who is  
bound to fail in his efforts,  
Since he has no share in doing good deeds.*
- (8) *This is the little boy of Abū Bakr, who is, as  
his Creator says,  
“Fretful” and “ungrateful.” He is described  
as sinful and foolish.*
- (9) *The little boy of Abū Bakr and his like be-  
came those who lead the creatures  
By issuing their fatāwā [formal legal opin-  
ions].*
- (10) *However, they have no ability when it  
comes to real knowledge, piety and as-  
ceticism.  
Their main concern is worldly things.*
- (11) *I do declare, had the Prophet’s companions  
seen the most meritorious amongst the lit-  
tle boy of Abū Bakr and his like,  
They surely would have said: They are “deaf  
and dumb.”*

The low self-esteem that emerges so plainly in this poem seems more than mere stylized modesty. As a disciple of Ibn Taymiyyah, it is not unlikely that Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah could not appreciate his own abilities and knowledge, all the more so as long as his master was alive. This could also explain why all of his works were written after 1328.

It is clear that the most important event in Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah’s life was his imprisonment in the citadel of Damascus as a result of his association with Ibn Taymiyyah. Ibn Taymiyyah made many enemies within the highest ranks of the religious establishments of Damascus and Cairo after issuing *fatāwā* on several legal matters, such as a *fatāwā* in which he condemned the popular custom of visiting the tombs of saints

(*ziyārat qubūr al-awliyā’ wa’l-ṣāliḥīn*), thus arousing the anger of senior religious officials as well as the governor of Damascus, the amīr Tankiz (d. 1340). These officials did not accept Ibn Taymiyyah as an independent *mujtahid* (a jurist qualified to engage in independent legal interpretation). Ibn Taymiyyah was arrested twice, in August 1320 and July 1326. It is certain that during that second imprisonment, in July 1326, Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah was also imprisoned, along with a group of Ibn Taymiyyah’s followers. As Ibn Kathīr indicates, all his followers were released immediately except for Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah. Ibn Taymiyyah and Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah remained in prison for more than two years. Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah was released only a month after his master’s death in September 1328. It is noteworthy that Ibn Kathīr indicates elsewhere that Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah was imprisoned from August 1320 until September 1328. This assertion does not correspond with Ibn Kathīr’s description of Ibn Taymiyyah’s release from prison in February 1321 and his second arrest in July 1326.

The most detailed account of the circumstances of Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah’s arrest appears in Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn ‘Alī al-Maqrīzī’s (d. 1442) annals. According to al-Maqrīzī, immediately after Ibn Taymiyyah’s arrest, Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah was subjected to harsh corporal punishment. Afterwards he was put on the back of a donkey and led through the streets of Damascus, while the people who led him severely defamed him. After that he was put in the Citadel of Damascus. According to al-Maqrīzī, two reasons led to his arrest: the first was a sermon Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah had delivered in Jerusalem in which he decried the visitation of holy graves, including the Prophet Muḥammad’s grave in Medina, and prayers to prophets and holy men; the second was his agreement with Ibn Taymiyyah’s view on the matter of divorce, which contradicted the view of the majority of scholars in Damascus. Those scholars apparently wrote to the Mamluk sultan in Cairo, who immediately ordered that Ibn Taymiyyah be arrested and Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah punished.

The time that Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah spent in prison receives the fullest description by Ibn

Rajab. Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah busied himself with recitation of the Qur'an and reflection on various issues arising from the sacred text. This intensive studying in seclusion only benefited him, says Ibn Rajab. It is possible that Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah, a teacher who needed to provide for his family and educate his offspring, enjoyed the time entirely for himself. Indeed, says his biographer, Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah made the most of his time of imprisonment: the immediate result of his delving into the Qur'an while in prison was a series of mystical experiences (described as *adhawāq*, sg. *dhawq*, direct experience of the divine mysteries, and *mawājīd*, plural of *mawjūd*, ecstasy occasioned by direct encounter with the Divine Reality). These experiences, emphasizes Ibn Rajab, were of a true nature. As a consequence, Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah acquired a great proficiency in the technical vocabulary and argumentations of the Sufis, thus obtaining the ability to decipher their writings.

After Ibn Taymiyyah's death and Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah's release from prison in 1328, he reestablished his teaching career. A gradual change had occurred in the life of the persistent and humble scholar: From the status of a disciple, situated under the shadow of a vigorous and eccentric mentor, he moved at the age of thirty-six towards the highly esteemed position of an independent teacher. Time was pressing, and surely he felt the need to convey Ibn Taymiyyah's doctrines to the next generations of scholars. Bolstered by his reputation as Ibn Taymiyyah's spiritual heir, and because of the persecution he had suffered from the Ash'arī religious officials, he was now prepared to continue his master's work.

On the surface, the years that followed Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah's release from prison were fruitful and calm. He was engaged in shaping a new image of himself as a prominent scholar and teacher. An indispensable part of this image involved travel in order to meet other scholars. Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah started to take long trips, thus radically changing his old habit of spending most of his days in the familiar surroundings of Damascus. His visits to Cairo are mentioned by al-Maqrīzī, although their nature is not clear, nor is it specified when he made

them. In a work from the later period of his writing, *Ighāthat al-lahfān min maṣāyid al-shaytān* (Rescuing the Distressed from Satan's Snares), the author refers to one of these visits. It appears that he had discussed medical issues with some senior physicians in Cairo. As he states, he introduced them to a proved method of draining toxins from the body by shaving the head. That way, says Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah, the harmful fumes in the body will evaporate. The Egyptian doctors, according to his own testimony, complimented Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah on his knowledge, saying that a journey to the Maghrib (North Africa) when one had this kind of knowledge was bound to be an easy one.

More significant are Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah's pilgrimages to Mecca. He was thirty-nine when he made his most famous pilgrimage to Mecca, as his name is mentioned among the participants of the official Damascene pilgrimage caravan to Mecca in the year 1331. This participation is a clear indication that his status as a respected scholar had not been damaged by his stay in prison.

The early works of Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah are roughly divided into two groups: five works written during his several pilgrimages to Mecca, most of which are undated, and nineteen works that were likely written in Damascus. The Meccan works, as with all of Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah's endeavors, contain innumerable citations from the writings of his predecessors. Since almost all of his biographers, such as Ibn Rajab, Ibn Kathīr and Ibn Ḥajar, describe Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah as an enthusiastic bibliophile whose book collection was the largest in Damascus, his claim that he wrote some of his works, i.e. the Meccan works, without the assistance of his library is an indication of his extraordinary memory. The Meccan works also contain descriptions of the author's experiences in Mecca and thus shed further light on his personality, more than his biographers were capable of doing.

Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah began writing books on Hadith and *fiqh*, such as *Tahdhīb Sunan Abī Dāwūd* (The Neat Arrangement of the Hadith collection of Abū Dāwūd, d. 889), an abridged and critical edition of one of the six canonical Hadith collections. Al-Ṣafadī indicates

that this book actually clarifies the defects in Abū Dāwūd's compilation, a statement which demonstrates the high esteem in which Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah was held by his contemporaries. *Tahdhīb Sunan Abī Dāwūd*, mentioned by its author in relatively early works such as *Miftāḥ Dār al-Sa'ādah* and *Badā'ī' al-fawā'id*, was probably the first work written by Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah. It was written in Mecca between April and July 1332. According to his own testimony, the author wrote this book while sitting on *ḥijr Ismā'īl*, a paved surface opposite the northwest wall of the Ka'bah, where the graves of Ishmael and his mother Hagar are said to be located, and listening to the sound of water trickling from *al-mīzāb*, a spout in the north west corner of the roof of the Ka'bah. Another Hadith work that seems to belong to this early stage of writing, although not written in Mecca, is *al-Manār al-munīf fī 'l-ṣaḥīḥ wa'l-ḍa'īf* (The Lofty Lighttower, on Authentic and Weak Hadiths), also entitled *Naqd al-manqūl wa'l-mihakk al-mumayyiz bayna 'l-mardūd wa'l-maqbūl* (Criticism of Hadiths, and the Touchstone which Separates Unacceptable from Acceptable Hadiths). In this short treatise, which was apparently written after Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah was asked by his students about how to identify forged Hadith reports (sg. *mawḍū'*), the author introduces methods for evaluating the validity of traditions by criticizing, somewhat unusually, the text of the Hadith (*matn*) and not the chain of transmitters (*isnād*). Thus, Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah follows in the footsteps of Ibn al-Jawzī, who wrote a similar work entitled *al-Mawḍū'āt* (Forged Hadiths). *Al-Manār al-munīf* is divided into various *topoi* considered dubious by the author, such as Hadiths which deal with the sanctity of the *qubbat al-ṣakhrāh* (the Dome of the Rock), and it actually encourages the reader to doubt the content of a suspicious report rather than relying on the more traditional method of checking the names of its transmitters in order to establish its credibility.

Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah's earliest work on Islamic law is *al-Furūsiyyah* (Horsemanship). This monograph, written in Mecca, is mentioned in the monumental work on the principles of Islamic jurisprudence, *I'lām al-muwaqqi'īn 'an rabb al-'ālamīn* (Informing the Drafters of Legal

Documents about the Lord of All Being). *I'lām al-muwaqqi'īn* or rather an early version of it by the name of *al-Ma'ālim* (Landmarks) is mentioned in several of Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah's works, one of which, *al-Tibyān fī aqsām al-Qur'ān*, is very early. Therefore, *I'lām al-muwaqqi'īn* is also considered here as early. Since the content of both works is related to the distressing events that occurred prior to Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah's death, both shall be discussed below.

The following monograph, *Kitāb al-rūḥ* (The Book of the Soul), although based on an even earlier work of Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah, *Ma'rifat al-rūḥ* (Knowledge of the Soul), which is unfortunately no longer extant, fits within the early stage of writing, not only because of a fairly guileless writing style and a heavy reliance on Hadith literature, but also because it is mentioned in another early work, *Jalā' al-afḥām*. *Kitāb al-rūḥ* deals with all aspects of the human soul and the afterlife. Divided into twenty-one major issues (sg. *mas'alah*), it deals with questions like: What is the difference between *rūḥ* and *naḥs* (spirit and soul)? Can the souls of the dead meet with the souls of the living? *Kitāb al-rūḥ* hardly deals with philosophical and *kalām* arguments, although in some issues, for example the issue of *tanāsukh* (the transmigration of the soul from one body to another), the author might have used such arguments in order to fortify his stand. The author relies on Hadiths and the sayings of the *salaf* only, without developing an original set of arguments of his own. Nevertheless, this is, as Krawietz indicates, an especially thorough investigation of the topic.

The early monograph *Jalā' al-afḥām fī 'l-ṣalāh wa'l-salām 'alā khayr al-anām* (Enlightening Minds concerning the Prayer and Invoking Blessings on [the Prophet Muḥammad], Who Is the Best of Humankind) deals with the notion of the effectiveness of prayers, while relying heavily on Hadith material. Pivotal to Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah's thought, the idea of the benefits of prayers is elaborated in his early theological works, like *al-Dā' wa'l-dawā'*. The monograph *Kitāb al-ṣalāh wa-hukm tārikihā* (The Book of Prayer and the Legal Ruling on One Who Fails to Perform It), which deals with the same topic as *Jalā' al-afḥām*, is presumably from the same

period. Another monograph typical of his early stage of writing is *al-Tibyān fī aqsām al-Qurʾān* (Explaining the Oaths in the Qurʾan), which opens with the meaning of the word *qasam* (oath, pl. *aqsām*), and then deals with Qurʾanic verses of an exclamatory nature. *Al-Wābil al-ṣayyib min al-kalim al-ṣayyib* (The Heavy Shower of Good Utterances), which deals with the invocation of God, gained extraordinary popularity worldwide, as Krawietz has shown.

As a teacher, Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah used to teach the biography of Ibn Taymiyyah from sources that are no longer extant and to read with his students his own works as well as Ibn Taymiyyah's. Gradually he established his position as an important participant in public debates (sg. *munāẓarah*) on theological matters. A description of one of these public debates, which took place in Egypt, appears in *al-Tibyān* as well as in another early monograph entitled *Hidāyat al-ḥayārā fī ajwibat al-yahūd wa'l-naṣārā* (Guiding the Bewildered, on Responses to the Jews and Christians). Apparently, Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah confronted "one of the greatest scholars and leaders of the Jews." In this case, neither the topic of the debate nor the arguments of the Jewish scholar are disclosed, since Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah prefers to concentrate on his attacks on the Jews, who, by accusing the Prophet Muḥammad of being a false prophet, are "abusing the name of God." The Jewish scholar, probably familiar with the good-natured Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah, was clearly astonished by the latter's attack on the Jews, and said: "You, of all people, say such things!" Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah explained his stand against the Jews in detail and in a much calmer tone, and after he finished his speech, the Jewish scholar responded: "Indeed he is a true prophet. Whoever follows him, will succeed and be happy." "So why not convert and join his religion?" suggested Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah enthusiastically. Qurʾan 2:78 echoes in the polite response of the Jewish scholar: "He [Muḥammad] was sent to those illiterates not having a revealed scripture. However we already have a scripture to follow." To that Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah responded angrily: the true Prophet was sent with a true message, and those who refused to follow him, Jews and Christians alike, were condemned to

burn in Hell. The Jewish scholar refrained from answering.

The years after Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah's release from prison were also dedicated to establishing his status as a *mufī* (a jurist qualified to give formal legal opinions). Like Ibn Taymiyyah before him, Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah received requests from individuals seeking his legal opinion. As an independent scholar unattached to the religious establishment in Damascus, the *responsa* he wrote soon caught the attention of the authorities. One such response is *Kashf al-ghīṭāʿ an ḥukm samāʿ al-ghināʿ* (Lifting the Veil from the Legal Ruling on Listening to Singing), which provides Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah's opinions on music, dancing and Sufi practices, in accordance with Ibn Taymiyyah's views on these matters as elaborated in his work entitled *al-Istiqāmah* (The Upright Posture).

As a *mufī*, Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah did not maintain a low profile, and so gradually provoked the annoyance of religious officials. One of his highly esteemed legal works, the two-volume *Aḥkām ahl al-dhimmah* (Laws Regarding the Dhimmīs, members of legally recognized and protected religious minorities), which follows *Hidāyat al-ḥayārā*, deals with laws governing Jewish, Christian and Sabaeen subjects of the Muslim state, who, according to Islamic law, enjoy the protection of the state after paying the *jizyah* (a poll tax). According to Krawietz, this work is without doubt the main late-medieval reference regarding religious minorities in the Islamic Lands. It begins with several questions addressed to the author about the *jizyah*, gives a historical survey of the caliphs' approaches to the *dhimmīs* throughout the generations, and then deals with questions that likely arose in everyday life: Is it permissible to eat meat butchered by a *dhimmī*? Is it permissible to trade with a *dhimmī*? What becomes of a *dhimmī* couple if one of its members embraces Islam? All these questions, and many more, contain bits and pieces of Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah's theological views. That is why this work is often quoted by its author in his other theological works. This is also a clear indication of its early date among Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah's works.

Another legal work of great importance is *al-Ṭuruq al-ḥukmiyyah fī 'l-siyāsah al-sharʿiyyah*

(The Ways of Governance, on Islamic Law regarding Rule), which deals with all aspects of governance. The work follows Ibn Taymiyyah's ideas as reflected in his *al-Siyāṣah al-shar'īyyah* (Islamic Law regarding Rule). Both works convey the conviction that if the ruler follows the divine law, there will be no conflict between the requirements of the state and of Islamic law.

After gaining confidence as a debater, Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah started to delve into more complex issues. This led him to undertake works on dogmatic theology and to refute therein doctrines he considered dubious. His first such theological work, which represents a very early stage in his writing and stands out in particular is *al-Kāfiyah al-shāfiyah fī 'l-intiṣār li'l-firqaḥ al-nājiyah* (The Sufficient and Healing [Poem] on the Vindication of the Saved Sect). This work is a *qaṣīdah* (rhyming ode) of nearly six thousand verses in the *kāmil* meter. The repeated loose rhyme (*qāfiyah muṭlaqah*) throughout is *-anī*, thus giving the *qaṣīdah* its other name, *al-Qaṣīdah al-Nūniyyah* (The Ode Rhyming in *-n*). This elegant work combines Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah's illustrious skills in the Arabic language with the theological tenets that he absorbed as a result of his association with Ibn Taymiyyah. It deals with the major theological questions that most concerned Ibn Taymiyyah: the divine attributes, predetermination and eschatological matters. The *qaṣīdah* is a strong refutation of Mu'tazilī and Ash'arī views. For example, verses 53-5 offer Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah's interpretation of the Ash'arī theory of *kasb* (acquisition), according to which, when God creates man's acts He also creates in him the ability to "acquire" them. Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah sees the *kasb* doctrine as a complete negation of man's responsibility for his actions:

*According to them, man is no agent,  
And his action is like a movement caused by  
shivering,  
And the blowing of the wind,  
Or the walking of a man in his sleep,  
Like the trees when they bend down.  
God will cause him to burn in Hell,  
Because of the actions he did not commit.*

Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah's second theological work is *Ijtīmā' al-juyūsh al-islāmiyyah 'alā*

*ghazw al-mu'atṭilah wa'l-jahmiyyah* (Mustering the Islamic Armies to Attack the Mu'atṭilah and the Jahmiyyah). The Mu'atṭilah, literally those who practice *ta'tīl* (negation of God's attributes), is a common pejorative term used by Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah and Ibn Taymiyyah before him to refer to the Mu'tazilah (a theological movement committed to the idea of free will), because of their approach towards the theological question of God's attributes. They denied the existence of the substantives in God's essence, as opposed to Sunni theologians, and the Ash'arī theologians above all, who speak of God's attributes as real existents. The Jahmiyyah is a sect of dubious historicity named after its alleged founder, Jahm ibn Ṣafwān (d. 746). In their writings Ibn Taymiyyah and Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah give the name Jahmiyyah to various groups that they despise: especially the Ash'arīs, who represent the Sunni branch of rationalistic *kalām*, and the monist Sufis, who followed Ibn al-'Arabī. Since Ash'arī *kalām* impressed senior officials of the Mamluk state, and since the writings of Ibn al-'Arabī were also highly appreciated by those officials, *Ijtīmā' al-juyūsh al-islāmiyyah* is a genuinely representative example of Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah's technique of expressing disagreement with the authorities through inter-Islamic polemics. A simple and unpretentious work, *Ijtīmā' al-juyūsh al-islāmiyyah* presents the traditionists' method of refuting the arguments of the Mu'tazilah in the matter of God's attributes, namely by quoting the Qur'an, Hadith and numerous sayings of the *salaf*, but without using any rationalistic argumentation. In this respect, *Ijtīmā' al-juyūsh al-islāmiyyah* is a tedious list of quotations. However, it provides the sources of Ibn Taymiyyah's and Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah's approach to the issue of divine attributes, which can be summed up by the formula *bi-lā ta'tīl wa-lā tashbīh wa-lā tamthīl*, i.e. dealing with those attributes without negating them (*ta'tīl*), as the Mu'tazilah do, without taking an anthropomorphic approach (*tashbīh*), as some extreme traditionists tend to do, and most of all, without comparing God and His attributes to creation (*tamthīl*). Although *Ijtīmā' al-juyūsh* does not represent the peak of Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah's literary output, he considered it important and often quotes from it

in his later works.

*Al-Dā' wa'l-dawā'* (The Malady and the Remedy) is presumably the third theological work written by Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah. Known also as *al-Jawāb al-kāfi li-man sa'ala 'an al-dawā' al-shāfi* (The Sufficient Answer to Be Given to the One Who Seeks a Cure), *al-Dā' wa'l-dawā'* deals with “diseases of the heart,” a favorite theme of Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah, and the ways to cure them. Hypocrisy, vanity, envy and homosexuality are dealt with in this book as diseases that can be cured by intensive prayer, doing good deeds and conducting a devout life.

A monograph written after *Ijtimā' al-ju'yūsh*, which it quotes, is *Hādī al-arwāḥ ilā bilād al-afrah* (The Leader of Souls to the Land of Joys). It is a sixty-nine chapter compilation of Hadiths describing Heaven, with Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah's comments on every one of them. The work opens with an impressive *qaṣīdah* by the author (the closing verses of this *qaṣīdah* are quoted at the end of this entry).

In addition to the *Tahdhīb Sunan Abī Dāwūd*, mentioned above, Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah wrote several other important works in Mecca. According to his biographers, during his stays in Mecca he made a tremendous impression on the people of the city because of his great devotion in performing the rituals of the pilgrimage. He was particularly fond of performing additional *tawāf's* (circumambulation of the Ka'bah), as part of the pilgrimage rites. Although they were used to the pious behavior of pilgrims, this insistence greatly impressed the Meccans.

The spiritual atmosphere of Mecca and the tranquility he felt away from the vigorous Damascene life stimulated him to compose his first mature work (Bell, 1979), which combines theology with natural sciences and pseudo-sciences. This work, *Miftāḥ dār al-sa'ādah wa-manshūr wilāyat al-'ilm wa'l-irādah* (The Key to the Abode of Happiness and the Decree of the Sovereignty of Knowledge and Will), is often quoted in Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah's works on spiritualism. The enigmatic phrase *manshūr al-wilāyah* (the decree of sovereignty) which appears in the title of this piece alludes to the Sufi concept of *dhikr* (a constant remembrance of God, often accompanied by the ritual, rhythmic chanting of the word Allāh as an ecstatic tech-

nique). “The *dhikr*,” says Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah in his greatest work, *Madārij al-sālikīn*, “is like a decree of sovereignty. He who is given it reaches [the spiritual experience]. He who is denied it is cut off [from spiritual experience].” At the end of the sixty-page introduction to the book, he explains that he had written the work after experiencing several mystic stages in Mecca. Even so, *Miftāḥ dār al-sa'ādah* cannot be considered a manual of spirituality. It is meant to demonstrate “a theodicy of optimism or a best-of-all-possible-worlds theodicy” (Hoover, 2002), a view which the author shares with Ibn Taymiyyah. This view sees a wise purpose (*ḥikmah*) in every aspect of creation. Hence, *Miftāḥ dār al-sa'ādah* contains a thorough discussion of the world of animals and the wise purpose behind their being created the way they are, drawing on zoology, botany, astrology and human anatomy. Unlike earlier works, *Miftāḥ dār al-sa'ādah* invites the believer to seek the remedies for his body and soul in Islamic law. “People are in more need of the *sharī'ah* than of anything else,” says the author in the introduction to the second part of the work. “There is no comparison between their need of the *sharī'ah* and their need of medical science. It is common knowledge that most of the world's population leads healthy lives without the assistance of a doctor. A doctor is to be found only in several big cities. As for the Bedouins, inhabitants of small villages and, in fact, the majority of humankind, they do not need doctors, as they are actually healthier and stronger and have a better temperament than those who constantly consult their doctors.” The answer to this paradox, according to Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah, is that these people live according to their inherent nature (*fiṭrah*) or the way that God has created them. Regaining the *fiṭrah* is possible for Muslims, since the *sharī'ah* guides them to a healthier way of life, one that is in accordance with the *fiṭrah*.

Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah refers to his stay in Mecca in *Miftāḥ dār al-sa'ādah*. “Once I attended a meeting in which all the prominent figures in the city participated. The question on the agenda was which of the two plants, grape or date palm, is more beneficial to people?” After a very heated debate, Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah

finally stood up, and gave the astonished crowd a learned lecture, combining his knowledge in Hadith, Arabic philology and local agriculture, and set the matter straight: although the date palm is more beneficial to the people of this area, they cannot exclude the benefits of grapes, which do not grow in the Hijaz (that part of Western Arabia where Mecca and Medina are located). “On top of everything else,” he lamented, “you were interpreting a Prophetic saying wrongly to make your point.”

In another chapter of *Miftāḥ dār al-sa‘ādah*, which deals with the benefits of honey versus the benefits of sugar, Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah reveals that “During my stay in Mecca I was struck by several illnesses, but there were no doctors and no medicines in Mecca, unlike other cities. Eventually I was cured by [eating] honey and [drinking] the water of *zamzam* [a holy well in Mecca]. My recovery seemed like a miracle to me.”

As noted, *Miftāḥ dār al-sa‘ādah* was presumably composed in Mecca, away from the author’s rich library. The absence of his books is mentioned also in Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah’s other Meccan works. In *Badā’i‘ al-fawā’id* (Amazing Benefits), which deals with grammar, rhetoric, poetics, Qur’an and Hadith, he apologizes: “I wish the reader to forgive me for writing this work while being away from my books and unable to refer to them.” A similar statement appears in *Rawḍat al-muḥibbīn wa-nuzhat al-mushtāqīn* (The Garden of Lovers and the Promenade of Those Who Yearn), which deals with love from a theological point of view: “Whoever takes this book in his hands should forgive its author for writing this book away from his home and without his books.”

After completing *Miftāḥ dār al-sa‘ādah*, Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah was ready to confront the complexities of major theological problems. All of his later works, except one, were apparently written in Damascus. The later works are interwoven in a network of citations and allusions. The mention of *Miftāḥ dār al-sa‘ādah* in five of these later works indicates that it is a relatively early work. *Madārij al-sālikīn* specifically mentions eight of Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah’s early and later works, but also contains numerous citations from unnamed books. *Zād al-ma‘ād* (Provisions for the Afterlife), which is the only

work of Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah to quote from *Madārij al-sālikīn*, is probably his last work.

*Shifā’ al-‘alīl fī masā’il al-qaḍā’ wa’l-qaḍar wa’l-ḥikmah wa’l-ta’līl* (Healing the Person Afflicted with Wrong Concepts about Predetermination, Wisdom and Causality) is unique among Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah’s works, offering a profound analysis of the problem of predetermination (*al-qaḍā’ wa’l-qaḍar*), which is one of the key questions in Islamic theology. The work is conveniently organized, beginning with a wide overview of all the Hadith material on the issue of *al-qaḍā’ wa’l-qaḍar*, moving on to an exposition of the intra-Islamic polemic on this issue and then dissecting it into its component parts. Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah’s ideas are delicately and almost invisibly interwoven in long paragraphs that present his master’s views. In most cases, he uses Ibn Taymiyyah’s assertions and ideas as a platform to introduce his own ideas, even though these latter are hard to trace between the heavily ornamented phrases he inserts, thus stamping the trademark of his eloquent writing. *Shifā’ al-‘alīl* reveals Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah’s Sufi inclinations, mostly in its third chapter. It applies the principle of *al-wasaf* in full: while accepting some aspects of the Ash‘arī dogma regarding predetermination and accepting some aspects of the Mu‘tazilī doctrine of free will, Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah molds a formula of “soft determinism,” which enables the believer to accept the precept of predetermination alongside a profound notion of responsibility for his own actions.

A few years after the completion of *Shifā’ al-‘alīl*, Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah composed another piece of major importance, *al-Ṣawā’iq al-mursalah ‘alā ‘l-jahmiyyah wa’l-mu‘aṭṭilah* (Thunderbolts Directed against the Jahmiyyah and the Mu‘aṭṭilah). This work elaborates the author’s arguments against the Mu‘tazilī approach to the issue of the divine attributes and may be considered a mature version of *Ijtīmā‘ al-juyūsh al-islāmiyyah*.

Among his contemporaries Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah gained a reputation as a gifted composer of aphorisms. For example, Ibn Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Dimashqī cites seven aphorisms of Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah, the most famous being *bi’l-ṣabr wa’l-yaqīn tunāl al-imāmah fī ‘l-dīn*:

The status of a religious leader is gained only through patience and certain knowledge. The main sources of Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah's sayings are his monographs on religious ethics.

A fine representative of this kind of monograph is *al-Fawā'id* (The Benefits), which was composed after *Shifā' al-'alīl*. *Al-Fawā'id* includes a rich collection of maxims and epigrams attributed to Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah, alongside short yet profound analyses of several Qur'anic passages. "Drinking from the [cup] of whim and pleasure is sweet, but it is bound to make you choke," says Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah. And also: "He who remembers that the trap can make him choke, will easily and light-heartedly abandon the grain [he has found]." *Al-Fawā'id* is divided into short chapters entitled *fā'idah*, which literally means a thing to be benefited from, but in this context it refers to a moral lesson. Hence, every *fā'idah* conceals a notion, remark, prayer or textual interpretation that is bound to bestow upon the reader significant benefits. As a single-themed work it surely fits the early stage of Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah's works, although its opening suggests that it was probably arranged posthumously by one of his students or even sons: "The shaykh and imam, the reviver of the Sunnah, the suppressor of *bid'ah* [disapproved innovation], Abū 'Abd Allāh, also known as Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah, may God have mercy upon him and be pleased with him, said ..." Some of the *fawā'id* reveal Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah's approach to the interpretation of various Qur'anic verses and even short Suras. A strong influence of Ash'arī *kalām* is detectable in the *fā'idah* that deals with "two ways to know God" (*tarīqān li-ma'rifat Allāh*). The first is "to contemplate the objects of His actions" (*al-naẓar fī maf'ūlātihi*), while the second is to think about the signs (*āyāt*) that God bestows upon His creation; not only the signs of creation that are perceived by the eyes, but also those which are perceived by the ears, namely the verses (*āyāt*) of the Qur'an. These verses demand a process of analysis, which leads to a complete understanding. Thus, Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah follows the Ash'arī rationalistic approach, which demands the use of reason (*'aql*) in the process of knowing God and His creation, alongside a dedicated delving into the Qur'an

and Hadith.

As his work progressed, Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah's interest in Sufi practices and doctrines gradually intensified. It was not so far from the interest that Ibn Taymiyyah himself had shown in Sufism. Nevertheless, Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah certainly surpassed his master in that field. Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah became more and more absorbed in Sufi thought as the years went by. A great deal of Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah's biography is dedicated to his everyday life as an extremely devoted Sufi. The following is a description by Ibn Rajab: "He was a very pious man, who spent his nights in prayer. He used to prolong his prayer to the maximum possible extent. He spoke of God constantly. He was burning with the love [of God], with turning repentantly [to God] and asking His forgiveness... He threw himself in front of Him as a sign of his obedience. Never have I seen anyone who behaved like him in these matters." When taken at face value, these descriptions seem exaggerated, but they seek only to characterize Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah as a mystic using various techniques such as intense meditation and remembrance of God's name (*dhikr*) in order to reach the desired mystical state. Ibn Kathīr emphasizes that Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah's conduct during prayer was unique and aroused many condemnations from other Ḥanbalīs. However, he was unwilling to change his ways to conform to public taste. The following description of Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah is found in several sources: "When he prayed the morning prayer, he used to sit in his place and recite the name of God until daybreak. When he was asked about it, he said, 'This is my [special] time in the morning. If I am not nourished by [performing this action] in the morning, I lose my strength.'"

The fruit of Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah's laborious efforts in the field of Sufism are his later works *Ṭarīq al-hijratayn wa-bāb al-sa'ādatayn* (The Road of the Two Migrations and the Gate Leading to Two Joys), *'Uddat al-ṣābirīn wa-dhakhīrat al-shākīrīn* (Implements for the Patient and Provisions for the Grateful), *Ighāthat al-lahfān min maṣāyid al-shayṭān* (Rescuing the Distressed from Satan's Snares), but first and foremost *Madārīj al-sālikīn bayna manāzil*

*īyyāka na'budu wa-īyyāka nasta'īn* (Stages of the Travellers Between the Stations of "Thee only we serve; to Thee alone we pray for Succor" [Qur'an 1:5]). Considered to be Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah's masterpiece, *Madārij al-sālikīn* is a commentary on al-Anṣārī al-Harawī's spiritual manual *Manāzil al-sā'irīn* (The Stations of Those who Walk along the [Mystical] Way). Al-Anṣārī al-Harawī's text is glossed with theological doctrines developed by Ibn Taymiyyah, while Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah gives intellectual justifications for al-Anṣārī al-Harawī's instructions for moral and pious behavior. *Madārij al-sālikīn* contains numerous citations from early and later works, such as *Miftāḥ dār al-sa'ādah*, *Rawḍat al-muḥibbīn*, *Ṭarīq al-hijratayn*, *al-Wābil al-ṣayyib* and *Ighāthat al-lahfān*, to name a few.

One of the issues dealt with in *Madārij al-sālikīn* is predetermination, since the Sufi, according to the author of the *Manāzil al-sā'irīn*, is expected to be pleased with what has been predetermined for him. Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah finds a solution that combines his and Ibn Taymiyyah's activist point of view with the notion of being content with predetermination (*al-riḍā bi'l-qadar*): "The man who crosses the ocean on board the ship of [divine] decree (*safīnat al-amr*) has one mission only: to resist the high waves of predetermination. [He can do that] by using the [power] of the waves, one against the other. If he fails to do so, he will perish. That means that he has to drive predetermination away by using predetermination." Apart from demonstrating Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah's appealing style, which reaches its peak in *Madārij al-sālikīn*, this short passage reflects Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah's two-fold view of predetermination: although one has to acknowledge its existence, one must also fight evil by using the law, that is, the ship of decree that God has given him. This bold view results directly from Ibn Taymiyyah's thought, which objects to using predetermination as an excuse for not following God's decree. Thus, *Madārij al-sālikīn* reflects the theological thought of both Ibn Taymiyyah and Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah.

*Zād al-Ma'ād*, probably the last work written by Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah, reflects the author's interest in practical advice for the con-

duct of a better life, drawn from Hadiths on the Prophet's life. Presumably composed in Mecca or during one of the author's many travels, *Zād al-Ma'ād* is a collection of Hadiths and historical accounts of the life of the Prophet Muḥammad covering all aspects of everyday life, and thus fit to be a book of guidance for the believer and not merely a *Sīrah* (Prophetic biography). The last part of this work gained great popularity as a separate piece entitled *al-Ṭibb al-nabawī* (The Medicine of the Prophet). Here Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah enhances his approach to medicine and combines it with his approach towards spirituality and its influence on human health. This work offers a broad discussion of remedies for mental and physical illnesses mentioned in Hadith literature. *Al-Ṭibb al-nabawī* is divided into two sections: the first section, which is dedicated to different maladies or symptoms, provides methods to deal with various medical conditions; the second section, which is arranged in alphabetical order, describes the benefits of herbs and natural medicines. The author strives to back up his medical observations and suggestions with Hadiths, but a great deal of the material is based on the medieval medical literature, and especially Ibn Sīnā's (d. 1037) *al-Qānūn fī 'l-ṭibb* (Avicenna's Canon of Medicine). In *al-Ṭibb al-nabawī*, which conveys the mature insight of its author, Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah reveals his optimistic view that "every malady has its cure," alongside a realistic perspective that doubts, for example, whether immoral behavior leads to the outbreak of plagues.

*Tuḥfat al-mawdūd bi-ahkām al-mawlūd* (The Gift of the Beloved regarding Laws Dealing with the Newborn) belongs to the category of the medicine of the Prophet. It offers a comprehensive guide to childbirth, caring for babies and raising children in all the stages of their infancy. In the first sixteen chapters of this book the author deals with many practical aspects of caring for infants: naming the newborn on the seventh day of its birth, shaving little children's heads and slaughtering a lamb to celebrate the occasion, circumcision of male and female newborns, the difference between the urine of male and female babies, what should be done when a baby urinates on one's clothes, piercing the ears

of a female newborn as a religious obligation and ways to deal with disobedient children. Most of the chapters are collections of anecdotes from the Prophet Muḥammad's life that depict his tender ways of dealing with children (and sometimes even with cats). For example, in the thirteenth chapter the Prophet holds in his arms a baby girl of one of his Companions while performing the prayer, even when making the obligatory prostrations. In the fourteenth chapter the Prophet kisses his grandsons, which leads Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah to the conclusion that it is highly recommended for a person to kiss his children. Ch. 17, which is the last chapter, differs from the other chapters, as it offers a spiritual overview of human life from conception to death, as well as a discussion on human anatomy and some medical cases, such as the reason for the physical resemblance between parent and child, the reason for breech delivery and why the eight-month-old fetus cannot survive after birth. In this chapter the author also deals with some of the arguments of Hippocrates as known to him from Arabic medical literature. Although Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah relies heavily throughout this book on Qur'anic verses and Hadith literature, the attempt to mold the sacred texts into a one-topic manual is nevertheless impressive. The author's statement in the book's beginning conveys quite a modern spirit: "This book will entertain its reader and will be admired by him who reflects on its content. The book is fit for life in this world and in the hereafter. Anyone who is blessed with children is in great need of the contents of this book." Relying on an undisclosed source, Abū Zayd claims that *Tuhfat al-mawdūd* was written as a gift for Burhān al-Dīn, one of Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah's sons, who became a father. It remains unclear to which period this work belongs.

After Ibn Taymiyyah's death, Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah was arrested at least twice for defending his master's teachings and *fatāwā* and refusing to recognize al-Khalīl (Hebron) as a site of Muslim pilgrimage. Unfortunately, it is not known when these imprisonments took place. Ibn Rajab claims that Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah was constantly harassed by officials, who used to question him about his convictions. Ibn Rajab uses the verbs *umtuḥina* (was put to test) and

*ūdhiya* (was ill treated) in order to denote the ordeal to which Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah was subjected, although he does not give specifics. The verb *umtuḥina* is a clear reference by Ibn Rajab to the *miḥnah* (severe trial, sometimes referred to as an inquisition) undergone by Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal (d. 855, eponym of the Ḥanbalī school), a series of interrogations of Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal and other traditionalist scholars initiated by the Abbasid caliph al-Ma'mūn (r. 813-33), who was sympathetic to Mu'tazilī views. Ibn Ḥanbal stood firm on his principle and refused to admit, in spite of harsh interrogation and torture, that the Qur'an was created by God, as the Mu'tazilīs believed, but insisted instead that it was *ghayr makhlūq* (un-created).

In 1345 Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah was attacked by Taqī al-Dīn al-Subkī, the influential Shāfi'ī chief judge of Damascus, on account of his view permitting the conduct of horse races without the participation of a third competitor (*al-musābaqah bi-ghayr muḥallil*). According to Ibn Kathīr, on Friday the sixteenth of Muḥarram (June 1345) Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah was the preacher of the Friday prayer in the big mosque in al-Mizzah. After the prayer an argument arose over Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah's view, expressed in a *fatwā* he issued which unfortunately no longer exists. Luckily, his views are clearly expressed in his work *al-Furūsiyyah* (Horse-manship). This monograph most likely belongs to the early period of Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah's writings, since the author refers to it in his monumental and much later work on the principles of Islamic jurisprudence, *Fīlām al-muwaqqi'īn 'an rabb al-'ālamīn* (Informing the Drafters of Legal Documents about the Lord of All Being). *Al-Furūsiyyah* deals with all kinds of riding sports, including camel and horse riding contests, citing many Hadiths on these matters. In the matter of the *muḥallil* it seems that the general view of the Sunni schools of law was stricter than that of Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah. The majority of Sunni jurists ruled that, when two horsemen compete in a race, and both invest a sum of money, the procedure is considered *qimār* (a game of chance, gambling), which is a forbidden act according to Islamic law. However, if a third horseman participates in the

race without investing his money, the whole process is not considered *qimār*. Thus, the race becomes legally permissible, and that is why this third party is called *muḥallil*, i.e. he who makes something legally permissible. Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah's views on horse racing—that the presence of the *muḥallil* is not necessary—is based on Ibn Taymiyyah's opinion on the subject. Apparently, Taqī al-Dīn al-Subkī made Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah retract his view after having humiliated him.

In 1349, a year before Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah's death, a public reconciliation between himself and Taqī al-Dīn al-Subkī was held under the auspices of the amīr Sayf al-Dīn ibn Faḍl, *malik al-ʿarab* (a Bedouin amīr). It appears that al-Subkī resented Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah for giving a great number of *fatwās* about *ṭalāq* (divorce) that were in accord with the unusual opinion of Ibn Taymiyyah, but inconsistent with the general ruling of the majority of Sunni scholars in Damascus. Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah argued that *ṭalāq al-ghaḍbān* (divorce of the angry, meaning divorcing the wife immediately, without counting three events of domestic quarreling separately from each other) is unacceptable. Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah's ruling in this case is to be found in *Iʿlām al-muwaqqiʿīn*, *Shifāʾ al-ʿalīl*, and *Ighāthat al-lahfān*.

Shortly before his death, Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah had a vision in a dream (*manām*), one of many symbolic dreams that he had. This dream is described by Ibn Rajab because of its important message. In his dream Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah saw his master, Ibn Taymiyyah. He was curious to know Ibn Taymiyyah's *manzilah* (status) in heaven, and the latter indicated that his status was higher than that of some of the senior scholars of Islam throughout the generations, but then added: "You had almost succeeded in joining us [at that prestigious level], but now you have only reached the *ṭabaqah* (class) of Ibn Khuzaymah" (a traditionalist of the tenth century). This episode seems to symbolize Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah's perception of himself as a lesser scholar than his master, in spite of his literary achievements, or just shows humility towards and admiration for his master.

Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah died on 26 September 1350 (the night of 23 Rajab 751). A

prayer for his soul was held in the great mosque in Damascus and he was buried in the cemetery of al-Bāb al-Ṣaghīr (the Lesser Gate). Many Damascenes attended his funeral.

Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah's sons, Ibrāhīm Burhān al-Dīn (d. 1366) and ʿAbd Allāh Jamāl al-Dīn (d. 1355), are mentioned in various biographies by contemporaries as highly esteemed scholars and teachers, though they did not enjoy their father's prestige. An anecdote about Ibrāhīm demonstrates his ability to silence opponents with his sharp wit: in a public gathering, Ibn Kathīr, who was the student of Ibrāhīm's father, accused Ibrāhīm of hating him, since he (Ibn Kathīr) belonged to the Ashʿarī theological school. Ibrāhīm's response was: "Even if you had been covered with *shaʿr* (hair) from head to toe, people would not have taken you to be Ashʿarī (lit. hairy), since your teacher is Ibn Taymiyyah!"

Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah was perceived by his contemporaries as a pious believer with great spiritual qualities. This combination, which generated a sensitive author able to refine his religious feelings into a powerful literary discourse, is well reflected in a *qaṣīdah* which concludes the biography of Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah by the admiring Ibn Rajab. The poem, in the *ṭawīl* meter, made a tremendous impression on the young Ibn Rajab, who heard Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah himself reciting it. The poem, which also opens the work *Hādī al-arwāh*, contains a delicate description of Heaven. In its final few verses, the believers who reach Heaven get the greatest reward of all: seeing the Lord with their own eyes. This concept—the *ruʾyat Allāh* (vision of God)—is a common theme in Islamic Sunni creeds of all theological tendencies, and in this respect, the poem is a confession of faith and devotion. Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah molds the well-known theme into a majestic scene, without neglecting any of the details of this future encounter, as they appear in the eschatological Hadiths. The last verses are a clear reproach to whoever dares to doubt the promise to the believers explicit in the notion of *ruʾyat Allāh*, and also a blunt threat: the skeptic is bound to be punished for not believing. If he does not believe because of his ignorance, he will be punished. If he does not believe in spite

of his familiarity with the eschatological Hadiths, he will be punished more harshly:

*No one should ever doubt that suddenly they will see this very bright light, Which will illuminate every corner of the heavenly gardens.*

*The Lord of Heaven will be openly revealed to them,*

*Laughing above his heavenly throne, then shall He speak:*

*“Peace be upon you!” And this greeting will be clearly heard by each of them, They shall hear it with their own ears when He greets them. Then He will say:*

*“You may ask me whatever you like, since I am very compassionate regarding everything you wish from me!”*

*To that they shall all respond: “What we ask of You is to please You, since You hold all that is beautiful, and You have compassion.”*

*And that is what He shall give them, and He shall see how they are gathered around Him. Exalted is He! Most generous is He!*

*And you who wish to sell this [notion] in haste for too low a price,*

*As if you do not know: Surely you will know. For if you do not know, then it is a misfortune. But it is a greater misfortune, if you do know [and choose not to believe].*

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## IBN SŪDŪN

(ca. 1407 – 1464)

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### WORKS

- Nuzhat al-nufūs wa-muḍḥik al-'abūs* (The Pastime of Souls, Bringing a Laugh to a Scowling Face);
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The Egyptian author 'Alī ibn Sūdūn al-Bashbughāwī, known as Ibn Sūdūn, is an unusual figure on the literary scene of fifteenth-century Cairo. He had an Islamic religious training and joined the ranks of the minor clergy, but abandoned his vocation in order to become a poet. He is best known for his collection of light verse and humorous stories and sketches, written