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of Muslim tradition. Al-Shāfi'i too seems to have had a great respect and affection for Ibn Ḥanbal. It is told that, when al-Shāfi'i went at last to Egypt, he said: 'I do not leave behind any one greater as a *faqih* or more pious and learned than Ahmad ibn Ḥanbal.'

After this period of travelling, Ahmad continued to reside in Baghdad. Soon he was regarded as one of the greatest teachers of tradition and *fiqh*. During his whole career he was a great defender of orthodoxy. In his personal life he was very scrupulous in his adherence to the ritual observances. It is said that he was wont to pray every day 300 *rak'as* at least (every prayer consists of a certain number of *rak'as*). It was his custom at night, after the last prayer of the day, to sleep only for a short time, and then to arise and offer prayers of supererogation until the morning. He recited the whole Qur'an once every seven days. His needs were so extremely few that his life might seem a continuous fast. His demeanour was that of a man abstracted from the common concerns of life.

Ahmad's maintenance of the integrity of orthodox faith, during the inquisition (*mihna*) ordered by the Khalif al-Ma'mūn and his successors, is looked upon as one of his greatest merits by his Muslim biographers. Al-Ma'mūn had adopted in the year A.H. 212 (A.D. 827) the doctrine of the Mu'tazilites, that the Qur'an was *created*. The Khalif made this tenet obligatory upon his subjects, and sent letters to all the provinces, ordering that his governors should cite the *qadis* and learned men and demand of them a clear answer as to Allāh's *creation* of the Qur'an. Those who would not yield, as the test was applied, were frightened by threats and tortures. But Ahmad ibn Ḥanbal remained firm in the orthodox faith that the Qur'an was Allāh's *uncreated* word. He was cast for some time into prison, in chains, but refused to assent to the Khalif's doctrine. In the year A.H. 219 he was scourged in the palace of the Khalif Mu'tasim, Ma'mūn's successor. Finally, as the crowd outside became moved with anger and was preparing to attack the palace, the Khalif ordered the suspension of the punishment, and soon after set Ahmad free.

After the scourging Ibn Ḥanbal was let alone. It may be that the Government feared a popular outbreak if any further action was taken against the holy man. In the year A.H. 234 (A.D. 848) the Khalif al-Mutawakkil stopped the application of the test by public proclamation. When Ahmad was asked by this Khalif to undertake the teaching of al-Mu'tazz, his favourite son, in the palace at Surramanra, he excused himself, fearing that the Khalif was going to make him an attaché to the court.

As a *faqih* and a traditionist, Ibn Ḥanbal bore a great reputation among his own and the following generations. He was a man of great influence among the people, and the leading representative of the strictest orthodox party in those days. He died on the 12th of Rabi' the first, A.H. 241 (A.D. 31 July 855), at the age of 77 years. When the news of his death became known, there was general grief over the city of Baghdad and even in distant countries. It is told that many thousands were present at his funeral.

In regard to Ibn Ḥanbal's works we know very little. Only one book, the *Musnad*, his great work, is well known. It is a compilation containing about 30,000 or 40,000 traditions relating to the *sunnah* of the Prophet. According to Ahmad ibn Ḥanbal, only the traditions in it were a reliable basis for argument in *fiqh* and other Muslim sciences, whilst the traditions omitted therein were not at all to be regarded as a sound

basis. The *Musnad* is not arranged with any reference to the subjects of the traditions it includes, but only according to the earliest authorities of the cited traditions. The work has always had a great reputation in Muslim circles; it has been used by many traditionists, but its immense size and the inconvenient method of its arrangement prevented it from becoming a popular book. A printed edition was issued at Cairo in 1896.

After the death of Ibn Ḥanbal, his pupils and admirers continued to form the so-called *Hanbalite mathhab*, one of the four Muslim schools of *fiqh*, which still exist at the present day. The Hanbalites have always distinguished themselves by their aversion to liberal theories in matters of faith, and their enmity against the Muslim rationalists and freethinkers (see, further, art. SECTS [Muslim]).

LITERATURE.—Walter M. Patton, *Ahmed ibn Hanbal and the Mihna: a Biography of the Imam, including an Account of the Mohammedan Inquisition called the Mihna*, Leyden, 1897; I. Goldziher, 'Anzeige von Patton's Ahmed ibn Hanbal and the Mihna,' in *ZDMG* lii. [1898] 155-160, 'Zur Gesch. der hanbalit. Bewegungen,' *ib.* lxii. [1908] 1-28, 'Neue Materialien zur Litt. des Ueberlieferungswesens bei den Muhammedanern,' *ib.* l. [1896] 465-500, and art. 'Ahmed b. Muhammed b. Hanbal,' in *ET* i. [1913] 188-190; C. Brockelmann, *Gesch. der arab. Lit.*, Weimar and Berlin, 1897-1902, i. 181-183.

TH. W. JUYNBOLL.

IBN HAZM.—Ibn Ḥazm (Abū Muhammad 'Alī b. Ahmad), a celebrated theologian and *bel esprit* of Muslim Andalusia, was born A.H. 384 (A.D. 994) in a suburb of Cordova, the Umayyad capital. He belonged to a Spanish family of converts (*muwallad*; cf. *ZDMG* liii. [1899] 602 ff.) hailing originally from Niebla. His great-grandfather, Ḥazm by name, had renounced the Christianity in which he was born, and embraced Islam; but the family subsequently denied their Christian descent, and fabricated for themselves a Persian origin, claiming to be descended from a Persian who had been emancipated (*maulā*) by Yazid, the brother of Mu'awiya, the first of the Umayyad Khalifs, and to be the protégés of that family. Ahmad, the father of Ibn Ḥazm, had served as vizir under the 'Amirids (al-Mansūr ibn Abi 'Amir, and his son al-Muzaffar), and Ibn Ḥazm himself held the office for a short time under the Khalifs 'Abdalahmān IV. (al-Murtadā) and 'Abdalahmān V. (al-Mustazhir), taking part in the wars forced upon the tottering Umayyad Khalifate by the insurgent Berbers under the claimant 'Alī b. Ḥammūd. He was for a time a captive among the Berbers. After the fall of Mustazhir (A.D. 1024), he was thrown into prison by Muhammad II. (al-Mustakfi), the next occupant of the throne. On regaining his liberty, he withdrew entirely from the political arena, and lived a rather solitary life on his ancestral estate near Niebla, devoting himself to the literary and scientific pursuits which at length made him one of the most prominent figures in Andalusian Islam. He died there A.H. 456 (A.D. 1063).

His literary work was of a varied character. His son, Abū Raḥ, estimates that he was the author of some 400 compositions, consisting in the aggregate of 80,000 pages, and there is no doubt that he was a most prolific writer. He was a tasteful poet, and his love poems are often quoted. He also composed a belletristic monograph on love, entitled *Tauq al-ḥamāma fi-l-ulfu wal-ullāf* ('the dove's neck-ring on sociality and the sociable'), still extant in a single MS (in Leyden), an edition of which is being prepared for publication by a Russian scholar. From this work a charming love-experience of its author has been translated by Dozy. Ibn Ḥazm contributed also to historical study. A short treatise of a historical character, *Nuḡat al-arūs fi tawārīkh al-khulafā*, was recently edited from the sole surviving MS (in Munich), and published with a Spanish transla-

tion ('Regalos de la novia sobre los anales de los califas') in the *Revista del Centro de Estudios Historicos de Granada y su Reino* (i. [1911] 160-180, 236-248), by C. F. Seybold. Of more importance in this field is Ibn Hazm's great work entitled *Jamharat al-ansab* (in Maqrizī, *Kitāb itti'āz al-hunafā* ['History of the Fatimids'], ed. H. Bunz, Leipzig, 1909, p. 8, l. 4—the title appears as *Kitāb al-jamāhīr fī ansāb al-mashāhīr*), treating of the genealogy of the Arab and Berber tribes, with special reference to the branches of the former in the Maghrib. This work, a section of which has been published in India by S. Khudā Bukhsh, was highly prized by Ibn Khaldūn ('Ibn Hazm is the *imām* of genealogists and learned men'; 'trustworthy, he has no equal'), and was often used by him (*Histoire des Berbères*, ed. de Slane, Algiers, A.D. 1847-51, i. 106 f., 147, ii. 2, and *passim*).¹

But the bulk of Ibn Hazm's literary work is devoted to theology. Even a treatise on Logic—now lost—he is said to have brought into the theological sphere, thus disregarding the position assigned to the former by Aristotle. Voluminous works on the *fiqh*, the *hadīth*, the dogmatics, and other elements of Islam are ascribed to him; but, for a reason to be mentioned presently, the greater number have perished. He was at the outset an adherent of the Shāfi'ite school, but, following in the wake of Dawūd b. 'Alī (q.v.), the founder of the Zāhiriyya school, abandoned it for the latter. Just as, in a general sense, he vindicates the rejection of the non-traditional sources for the deduction of the Laws in a special work (*Ibtāl al-ḡiyās*) first made known by the present writer, so, in particular, he develops his Zāhirite polemic against the dominant schools (*madhāhib*) in the special chapters of his work *al-Muḥalla*, which deals with the religious law, while in various works in systematic theology he exhibits the Zāhirite method in its broadest application. In one direction, however, he advanced beyond the normal position of the Zāhirite school; for, whereas they had hitherto limited the scope of their principle to the science of law (*fiqh*), and had regarded the province of dogmatic theology as indifferent, Ibn Hazm applied their method to the latter as well. In controverting, on the one hand, the Ash'arite theology, which in his day represented the orthodox conception of the faith, and, on the other, the dogmatics of the Mu'tazilites, he interprets theology in the light of the Zāhirite school, and from that standpoint assails all other views. He develops his criticism in his best known work, the *Kitāb al-fisal fi'l-milal wal-ahwā' wal-nihal*—a title usually abbreviated to *Kitāb al-milal wal-nihal*—of which a printed edition is now available (4 vols., Cairo, A.H. 1317-21; on the MSS cf. *ZDMG* lxxvi. [1912] 166).

In this treatise he first of all gives, for polemical purposes, an account of non-Muhammadian religions and their doctrines, and then a critique of the doctrinal divisions of Islam. The first part of the work is devoted mainly to Judaism and Christianity, and to criticism of the OT and NT and the inconsistencies and absurdities therein, his design being to confirm a view already expressed in the Qur'an and elaborated with increasing distinctness in later Islam, viz. that the alleged documents of revelation in the hands of Jews and Christians cannot possibly be the sacred writings given by God. He deals also with later religious writings of Judaism and Christianity, and, in particular, he submits the Talmud to severe criticism. This side of his work would never of itself have aroused the animosity of other theologians, but it was a very different matter with the bitter and merciless spirit in which, alike in the work before us and in his writings on the *fiqh*, he speaks of the most eminent authorities in Muslim jurisprudence and dogmatics.

In his theological writings his tone is immoderate, fanatical, and unsparing, and he shows not the slightest respect for authority or for the great personalities of the past who stood high in the general esteem. His character for severity be-

¹ A quotation will be found in Nawawi, *Tahdhīb*, ed. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen, 1842-47, p. 376, line 4 from foot.

came a proverb in literary circles: *Saif al-Hajjāj waqalann Ibn Hazm* ('The sword of Hajjāj and the pen of Ibn Hazm'). The result was that he lost all favour with the theologians; his books were banned, and left unstudied (cf. Subki, *Tabuqāt al-Shāfi'īya*, Cairo, A.H. 1324, iv. 78), and were seldom quoted. This explains why most of his works are lost, and why some are extant only in rare MSS. Under the Abbādid ruler al-Mu'tamid, indeed, his books were publicly burned in Seville—a proceeding upon which Ibn Hazm commented in an epigram charged with supreme disdain:

'Though you burn the paper, you cannot burn what the paper contains, for it is laid up in my breast;

It goes with me whithersoever my camel betakes himself; it stops where I stop, and will be buried with me in my grave;

Let me alone with your burning of parchment and paper, and speak rather about science, so that the people may learn which of us knows anything;

If not, go to school again; How many secrets has God beyond the things you aspire to!

In his increasing isolation he was shunned even by students. Of the few pupils who availed themselves of his oral teaching the best known is Muḥammad b. Abī Naṣr al-Ḥumaidī († A.H. 488 [A.D. 1095]), who speaks in laudatory terms of his learning, and his moral and religious character.

Amongst his polemical works may also be included a still extant satirical poem of 137 couplets in which he holds up Christianity and its institutions to derision by way of a rejoinder to a Byzantine writer who had assailed Islam and the Khalifate in verse. A complete text of this poem appears in Subki (*op. cit.* ii. 184-189). Ibn Hazm never speaks of Judaism or Christianity except in fierce and virulent language.

Of his theological writings, besides the polemical work above referred to, his treatise on Abrogation in the Qur'an (*Kitāb al-nāsikh wal-mansūkh*) has been published (Cairo, A.H. 1297, in connexion with an edition of the Jalālain Commentary; also at the Khairiyya Press, A.H. 1308). An ethical work, *Kitāb al-akhḫāq wal-siyar fī madāwat al-nufūs* ('On the healing of souls')—a series of maxims relating to morals and the conduct of life, arranged in chapters—has also appeared in print (ed. Maḥmūdāni, Cairo, 1905). This tractate, in which the *Imitatio Muḥammadis* is set forth as the ideal of the ethical life (cf. I. Goldziher, *Vorlesungen über den Islam*, Heidelberg, 1910, p. 30), is of importance as affording a vivid impression of the author's personal character, and reveals very candidly his qualities and defects. He refers in it to the arrogance which ruled him for a time, but from which he was delivered by self-discipline. His intolerance, his propensity to bitter criticism of his fellow-men, and his ill-humour he ascribes to an enlargement of the spleen resulting from an illness (p. 77). This work is the tranquil outcome of the mature experience to which he constantly appeals. He complains here of the inconstancy of friends; after long years of intimacy his own best friend had deserted him (p. 40). But in spite of all he is able to say:

'Everything has its advantages: I myself have derived great benefit from the attacks of the ignorant. They have stirred up my spirit, quickened my feeling, stimulated my thought, and fostered my activity. They were the cause of my composing large works which I should never have written unless they had disturbed my peace and fanned the spark hidden within me' (p. 52).

Of his sons, besides the Abū Rāfi' mentioned above, we hear also of an Abū Usāma Ya'qūb as the transmitter of one of his father's works (*Nuqat al-'arūs*; cf. Ibn al-'Abbār, *Mu'jam* [*Bibl. arab. hispana*, iv.], p. 29, line 2 from foot).

LITERATURE.—Sources for the life of Ibn Hazm: C. Brockelmann, *Gesch. der arab. Litt.* i. (Weimar, 1895) 400; R. P. A. Dozy, *Hist. des Musulmans d'Espagne*, Leyden, 1861, iii. 341 ff. (*Gesch. der Mauren in Spanien*, Leipzig, 1874, ii. 210 ff.); the Arabic periodical *al-Muḡtabā*, i. (A.H. 1324) 89 ff., ii. (A.H. 1325)

318 ff. For his work on the sects: I. Friedländer, in the *Volke-Festschrift*, Giessen, 1906, pp. 267-277; the same writer has edited and translated the chapter on the Shi'ite sects in *JAOS* xxviii.-xxix. (1908-09). On his criticism of Judaism and Christianity: M. Steinschneider, *Polem. und apologet. Lit. zwischen Muslimen, Christen, und Juden*, Leipzig, 1877, pp. 22, 99; I. Goldziher, 'Muham. Polemik gegen Ahl al-Kitāb', in *ZDMG* xxxii. [1878] 365; M. Schreiner, *ib.* xlii. [1888] 612, xlvi. [1894] 39; his polemic against the Talmud was published by Goldziher, in Kobak, *Zeitschr. für Gesch. des Judentums*, viii. [1872] 76-104; his dogmatic system with references to his works is set forth in Goldziher, *Die Zāhiriten, ihr Lehrsystem und ihre Gesch.*, Leipzig, 1884, pp. 116-170.

I. GOLDZIHER.

IBN TAIMIYA.—Ibn Taimiya (Taqi al-dīn Abū-l-'Abbās Ahmad b. 'Abdallah), the most eminent Muslim theologian of the 13th-14th centuries, was the scion of a Syrian family of scholars, and was born A.H. 661 (A.D. 1263) in Harran, near Damascus, a locality where a rigidly puritanical conception of religion had prevailed from early times (Dhahabi, *Tadhkirat al-huffāz*, Haidarābad, n.d., ii. 48, line 3 from foot), and where the Hanbalite school was strongly represented. The family of Ibn Taimiya belonged to that school. As a public exponent of its tenets in Damascus he succeeded his father in A.H. 681 (A.D. 1282), and in a short time his lectures and writings, in which he assumed a position of decided antagonism to the dominant tendencies of Muslim orthodoxy, made a great stir and aroused vehement opposition. He rejected the unthinking and slavish adherence to a particular school of religious law (*taqlid*), and in the discussion of that subject he called upon his fellow-Muslims to fall back upon the old traditional sources. It is true that he went further than the Zāhirites (see art. DĀWŪD B. 'ALĪ), with whose principles he closely agrees, in the range which he assigned to arguments from analogy (*qiyās*). Alike in the sphere of theology and in that of religious usage, he relentlessly assailed the innovations (*bidd'*) which had found their way into the religious life, and, above all, he fought strenuously against the spiritualistic interpretation of the anthropomorphic passages in the Qur'an and the *hadith*, against the Ash'arite method of dogmatics, and against the mysticism of the Sūfis (*q.v.*). In the cultus, again, he declared war upon the worship of saints and tombs which had crept into Islam, and he even objected to the practices of invoking the Prophet and making pilgrimages to his tomb. He differed from the acknowledged schools of jurisprudence with reference to the law of divorce. It is of special importance to note his opposition to the abuses which brought in their train the practice of *tahtil*, viz. that a man should not re-marry a woman from whom he had been definitely divorced, unless she had meanwhile consummated a valid marriage with another and been divorced from him. In his writings he is a zealous adversary of Greek philosophy, Judaism, and Christianity. By way of inciting the Muslims against them, he pointed to the Mongol invasion which had just swept over Syria, asserting that the visitation was in part due to the laxity of his co-religionists. He issued a *fatwā* demanding that the Jewish synagogues in Cairo should be destroyed, and urging his people not to allow the chapels of other faiths to exist in their midst (ed. M. Schreiner, in *REJ* xxxi. [1895] 214 ff.). In his criticisms he did not spare the most widely accepted authorities of Islam, not even the first Khalifs. But the special object of his antagonism was al-Ghazālī, whom he disliked both as an Ash'arite and as a mystic, and whose knowledge of the sources of theological science he greatly disparaged. His opposition to the Muslim *consensus* (*ijmā'*)—a theological growth of centuries—brought upon him a series of persecutions, and from A.H. 705 (A.D. 1305) till his death he was repeatedly imprisoned both in Damascus and in Cairo. He died

in prison on 22nd Dhulq'ada 728 (29th September 1328).

Though a stringent interdict was laid upon the acceptance of his doctrines, he was not left without champions. Even after his death, pamphlets were written on the question whether he was to be regarded as a *kāfir* ('unbeliever') or as a genuine representative of orthodoxy. The tradition of his teaching was continued by his faithful pupil Shamsaiddin Ibn Qayyim al-Jauziya († A.H. 751 (A.D. 1350)) in numerous works. At a much later period his views enjoyed a further revival in smaller circles, and the most striking historical result of his teaching is the fact that in the 18th cent. the founder of the powerful Wahhāb (*q.v.*) movement in central Arabia derived his initiative from the writings of Ibn Taimiya (cf. Goldziher, *ZDMG* lii. [1898] 156). His name is the shibboleth of the Wahhābite theologians in their controversy with the orthodox, who in turn take as their watchword the name of Ghazālī.

As regards the influence of Ibn Taimiya at the present day, it should be noted that the party championed by Muhammad Rashid Rida in his periodical *al-Manar* (now in its 16th year)—a party which rejects the *taqlid* of the four orthodox schools, appeals to the *hadith*, and is opposed to the worship of saints and the superstitious practices associated therewith—draws its constant inspiration from the writings of Ibn Taimiya and Ibn Qayyim al-Jauziya. It is perhaps due to this wide-spread acceptance of Ibn Taimiya's views that within little more than a decade so many of the hitherto much neglected works of the great Hanbalite theologian have been issued in printed form in Cairo and Haidarābad.

Ibn Taimiya displayed a vast literary fertility in books, tractates, epistles, and *fatwas*. The list of his works given in Brockelmann's *Gesch. der arab. Litt.* ii. 103-105 is by no means exhaustive, and, in particular, attention should be drawn to a series of treatises (*majmū'at al-rasā'il al-kubrā*), published in 2 vols. at Cairo, A.H. 1322.

LITERATURE.—I. Goldziher, *Die Zāhiriten, ihr Lehrsystem und ihre Gesch.*, Leipzig, 1884, pp. 188-193, and in *ZDMG* lxii. [1908] 25 f.; M. Schreiner, *Beiträge zur Gesch. der theolog. Bewegungen im Islam*, Leipzig, 1899 (= *ZDMG* lii. [1898] 540-563, liii. [1899] 61-61), with a bibliography of the controversial writings for and against Ibn Taimiya; C. Brockelmann, *Gesch. der arab. Litt.*, ii. (Berlin, 1902) 103. I. GOLDZIHER.

IBN TUFAIL.—Ibn Tufail (Abū Bakr Muhammad ibn 'Abd-al-malik ibn Muhammad ibn Muhammad ibn Tufail al-Qaisi), referred to by the Christian Scholastics as Abubacer, was born, probably at the beginning of the 12th cent. A.D., in the little Andalusian town of Guadix (Wādī Ash), and died in the royal city of Morocco in 1185. Besides the name Abū Bakr he also bore that of Abū Ja'far (as in the MS of the British Museum tr. by Pococke), from the name of another of his sons. Our information regarding his life is but meagre, and what we are told is by no means always reliable. It is certain, however, that he was possessed of the learning and culture of his day, that he composed verses, and that he was actively engaged in medicine and politics. Thus we read that he was the physician and vizir of Khalif Abū Ya'qūb Yūsuf (1163-84), with whom he lived on terms of friendship. He performed a special service to Muhammadan philosophy by introducing Ibn Rushd (Averroes) to that prince, and encouraging him to write a commentary on Aristotle. This event has been generally assigned to the year 1154, but L. Gauthier brings it down to 1169.

We possess no scientific work from the hand of Ibn Tufail. His claim of being able to improve the Ptolemaic system is probably to be interpreted merely as expressing his conviction that he must adhere as closely as possible to Aristotle rather than to Ptolemy.

His only surviving work—a work that secures for its author a niche in the temple of universal literature—is a philosophical allegory entitled *Hayy ibn Yaqzān*. In the introduction to that book he indicates his position in Muslim philosophy. He professes to be an adherent of the philosophy of enlightenment (*ishrāq*, 'illumination'). This is not the crude pantheism current in India and Persia, but a speculative mysticism of a Neo-Platonic type. Having laid the foundations in the observation of Nature and in rational