

THE EXOTERIC AḤMAD IBN IDRĪS

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AND

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THE EXOTERIC AḤMAD IBN IDRĪS

A Sufi's Critique of the Madhāhib and the Wāhhābīs

Four Arabic Texts with Translation and Commentary

by

BERND RADTKE, JOHN O'KANE,
KNUT S. VIKØR AND R.S. O'FAHEY



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CONTENTS

Preface	vii
Introduction	1
PART I: AN EPISTLE AGAINST THE MADHĀHIB	
Aḥmad b. Idrīs, <i>Risālat al-Radd ‘alā ahl al-ra’y</i>	47
Supplement	81
Translation: Epistle in Refutation of the adherents of individual opinion	95
PART II: A DEBATE WITH THE WAHHĀBĪS	
Letter from ‘Alī b. Mujaththal to Ibrāhīm al-Ḥifzī	133
Translation	136
Letter from Ibrāhīm al-Ḥifzī to Aḥmad b. Idrīs	139
Translation	142
<i>Munāzarat Aḥmad b. Idrīs ma‘a fuqahā’ ‘Asīr</i>	145
Translation: The Debate of Aḥmad b. Idrīs with the jurists of ‘Asīr (1248/1832)	177
Bibliography	213
Index of Place Names.....	219
Index of Concepts	220
General Index.....	222

PREFACE

Behind the present work lies a long and complicated intellectual history. In 1983, the present Director of the National Records Office in Khartoum (The Sudan), Ali Salih Karrar, came to Bergen (Norway) to write his doctorate under the supervision of R.S. O'Fahey. Karrar's chosen topic was the history of the Sufi brotherhoods of the Sudan, especially in his homeland, the Shāyqiyya region of the Northern Sudan. Karrar's family had had longstanding ties to a family that in the 1870s settled among the Shāyqiyya people, namely the family of Sayyid Aḥmad b. Idrīs (1749-1837), a Moroccan, who was to be one of the most influential figures of nineteenth-century Islam.

Ali Karrar's coming to Bergen acted as a catalyst, bringing together a number of scholars who in different ways were beginning to rethink approaches to nineteenth-century Islamic intellectual and religious history. Those involved included Joseph N. Bell (Department of Arabic, University of Bergen), Einar Thomassen (Department of Religious Studies, Bergen), and others such as Albrecht Hofheinz and Knut S. Vikør. We began to hold a weekly seminar in which we undertook to translate the letters of Ibn Idrīs and the *Munāẓara*, a record of a debate or disputation held in Ṣabyā in °Asīr (now part of Sa°ūdī Arabia) in 1832 between Ibn Idrīs and a group of Wahhābī scholars. The texts then available to us were provided by Ali Karrar, Yahyā Muḥammad Ibrāhīm (professor of History, University of Khartoum), and Shaykh Sayyid Muḥammad al-Ḥasan al-Idrīsī who was the head of the Idrīsī *ṭarīqa* (died 1995). The latter in particular furnished much information, but also made available many manuscripts and books from the Idrīsī tradition

The seminar in Bergen has produced a number of publications which are given in detail in the Bibliography of this book. The first was O'Fahey's *Enigmatic Saint. Ahmad ibn Idris and the Idrisi Tradition* (London 1990). *Enigmatic Saint* was an attempt to situate Ibn Idrīs within a wider context and to open avenues for future research. In 1993 *The Letters of Aḥmad ibn Idrīs* were published, which provided the texts, translations and commentary of the thirty-eight surviving letters of Ibn Idrīs. This was followed by a translation of his *Kunūz al-jawāhir* together with a small treatise on spiritual retreat in the journal *Oriens* (XXXV, 1996). Another fruit of these efforts was a rough draft of an English translation of the *Munāẓara*, the fourth of the texts presented in this work, for which Joseph Bell was largely responsible.

A number of studies on the students of Ibn Idrīs and the Sufi brotherhoods they established have also been undertaken in the Bergen milieu. The first was Karrar's own study of the Khatmiyya and the other brotherhoods in his country (*The Sufi Brotherhoods in the Sudan*, London 1992). Then Knut S. Vikør published an intellectual biography of perhaps the most famous of Ibn Idrīs' students, Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Sanūsī (d. 1859), *Sufi and Scholar on the Desert Edge* (London 1995). Two further works which deal with the wider influence of Ibn Idrīs are Albrecht Hofheinz' 'Internalising Islam: Shaykh Muḥammad Majdhūb, scriptural Islam and local context in the early nineteenth-century Sudan' (Unpubl. Ph.D. Bergen 1996) and Mark Sedgwick's, 'The Heirs of Ahmad Ibn Idris: The spread and normalization of a Sufi order, 1799-1996' (Unpubl. Ph.D. Bergen 1999). Also to be mentioned is a shorter study on the state set up by Ibn Idrīs' great-grandson in early twentieth-century Yemen, Anne K. Bang's *The Idrīsī State in ʿAsīr, 1906-1934* (Bergen 1996) as well as the study produced in Khartoum, independently of the Bergen group, by Yaḥyā Muḥammad Ibrāhīm, *Madrasat Aḥmad b. Idrīs al-Maghribī, wa-atharuhā fī'l-Sūdān* (Beirut 1993).

In 1989 the group in Bergen was joined by Bernd Radtke. By the early 1990s he produced an edition and a German translation of the *Risālat al-Radd*, the first text we publish here. And he proposed that the *Risālat al-Radd* and the *Munāẓara* be published together in a book. Eventually, however, he became convinced that, in view of the recent progress in research on Ibn Idrīs, it was desirable to undertake a new German translation of the *Munāẓara* which would serve as the basis for the final version of the English translation. By the middle of the 1990s this translation was completed along with the new edition of the *Munāẓara*. Happily, by then both Arabic letters which form a prelude to the *Munāẓara*, and are therefore included in this work, had been edited and published. By the middle of the 1990s Knut Vikør as well had joined the project. And finally more recently John O'Kane, who was responsible for producing the final version of the English translation, began to work on the Arabic texts in close cooperation with Bernd Radtke.

Radtke has also published a series of articles which deal with Ibn Idrīs, certain of his students, and other contemporary Sufis in the wider intellectual context. These articles include 'Lehrer-Schüler-Enkel: Aḥmad b. Idrīs, Muḥammad ʿUṭmān al-Mirḡanī, Ismāʿīl al-Walī' (1992); 'Between Projection and Suppression. Some Considerations concerning the Study of Sufism' (1992), and 'Ijtihād and

Neo-Sufism' (1994),¹ as well as the article by O'Fahey and Radtke criticizing the widespread conception that Ibn Idrīs was part of an eighteenth- or nineteenth-century 'Neo-Sufi' trend.²

By contrast to the *Letters of Aḥmad Ibn Idrīs*, the four works which we present in this volume show Ibn Idrīs in relation to the political history and intellectual currents of his time in a very direct and immediate way. They define his position in regard to the important eighteenth- and nineteenth-century debates concerning the reinterpretation of *uṣūl al-fiqh* and make clear his attitude towards the Wahhābīs—this movement being, like himself, of a 'fundamentalist' outlook, but which on certain critical points was absolutely unwilling to accept his position. This disagreement caused him difficulties when towards the end of his life he found himself forced to seek refuge in Ṣabyā in °Asīr, a locality under Wahhābī domination. These difficulties, along with his theological divergences from the Wahhābīs, are dealt with in our second main text, the *Munāzara*.

In the first text, the *Risālat al-Radd °alā ahl al-ra°y*, Ibn Idrīs expresses himself with the greatest possible clarity regarding his attitude towards the traditional Islamic *madhāhib* and their claims to an overarching authority. He categorically denies them any authority whatsoever. In this respect he is in agreement with certain other religious scholars of his day. What distinguishes Ibn Idrīs, however, is the solution he proposes regarding the question of authority, legal or otherwise. He rejects the rationalistic methods of developing legal prescriptions and opts for an inward orientation towards God—namely the fear of God (*taqwā*), by means of which an individual, with the help of God, can attain to a higher form of discrimination (*furqān*) which will enable him to derive all God's commands solely on the basis of the sacred tradition of the Qur°ān and the Sunna, without having to resort to the authority of the schools of jurispru-

¹ These are to be found, respectively, in *Oriens*, XXXIII, 1992, 94-132; Frederick de Jong (ed.), *Shī°a Islam, Sects and Sufism*, Utrecht 1992, 70-82; and *Asiatische Studien*, XLVIII, 3, 1994, 909-21. Important also are 'Ismā°il al-Walī: Ein sudanesischer Theosoph des 19. Jahrhunderts', *Der Islam*, LXXII, 1995, 148-55; 'Sufism in the 18th Century: An attempt at a provisional appraisal', *Die Welt des Islams*, XXXVI, 3, 1996, 326-64; 'Ibrīziana', *Sudanic Africa*, 7, 1996, 113-58; 'Zwischen traditionalismus und Intellektualismus: Geistesgeschichtliche und historiographische Bemerkungen zum Ibrīz des Aḥmad b. al-Mubāarak al-Lamaṭī', in Elie Wardini (ed.), *Built on Solid Rock: Studies in Honour of Professor Ebbe Egede Knudsen on the Occasion of his 65th Birthday April 11 1997*, Oslo 1997, 240-67; and 'Kritik am Neo-Sufismus', in Frederick De Jong and Bernd Radtke (eds.), *Islamic mysticism contested: Thirteen centuries of controversies and polemics*, Leiden 1999, 162-73. For a full list see Bibliography.

² R.S. O'Fahey and Bernd Radtke, 'Neo-Sufism reconsidered', *Der Islam*, LXXII, 1993, 52-87.

dence. This individualistic form of pious radicalism which may be termed a form of pietism, as far as one can ascertain, appears to be peculiar to Aḥmad b. Idrīs alone. Certainly none of his students ever went as far in rejecting, in effect, the weight of the whole preceding tradition. His unique stance in this respect perhaps helps to explain the great influence he exerted within the Islamic world of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

After the *Risālat al-Radd*, there follow two letters, one from the then ruler of °Asīr, °Alī b. Mujaththal, to a local scholar, Ibrāhīm b. Aḥmad al-Ḥifzī, referring to the upset caused in Ṣabyā by the practices of Ibn Idrīs' followers—many of whom were seemingly Africans from the Sudan and Eritrea—and asking for his advice. The second letter, very respectful in tone, is from Ḥifzī to Ibn Idrīs and basically asks him to restrain particular practices of his followers.

The two letters form a prelude to the *Munāẓara* or Debate, a set-piece, which with considerable clarity and artistry (including, in effect, 'stage directions' on the part of the author °Ākish, which give the work great vividness) lays out Ibn Idrīs' criticism of the Wahhābīs and his theological divergences from them.

We hope that the texts presented and translated here will form a stimulating contribution to the debate on the internal intellectual and spiritual developments in the Muslim world in the nineteenth century, and that they will furthermore give some idea of how complex that development was.

For their generous help and useful information we wish to express our gratitude to Rudolf Sellheim (Frankfurt), Josef van Ess (Tübingen), Werner Ende (Freiburg), Gerd-Rüdiger Puin (Saarbrücken), Stefan Reichmuth (Bochum), Reinhard Weipert (Munich), Fred De Jong (Utrecht), and John Hunwick (Evanston). We would also like to express our gratitude to Ulrich Haarmann, whose untimely death we mourn, and to Wadad Kadi for having accepted this work in the series *Islamic History and Civilization*.

Bernd Radtke, John O'Kane, Knut S. Vikør & R.S. O'Fahey

INTRODUCTION

Evidence for the texts

Risālat al-Radd

The text of the *Risālat al-Radd* is preserved in several manuscripts. ALA I, p. 133, no. 6, enumerates six known MSS. For the present edition we were only able to make use of the MS Bergen 438. This is a copy of a MS which is in the possession of Muḥammad al-Tuhāmī al-Ḥasan al-Aḥmadī al-Idrīsī.¹ Together with the title-page it contains 25 pages. According to the owner, the title is given as: *Risālat al-Radd ‘alā ahl al-ra’y bi’l-ṣawāb li-muwāfaqat al-sunna wa’l-kitāb li’l-‘ārif bi’llāh wa’l-dāll ‘alayhi al-sayyid Aḥmad b. Idrīs*.

Two separate hands can be distinguished, both in a clear, modern Egyptian-Sudanese *naskhī* script. The second hand begins on p. 6, line 5, and continues up to p. 7, last l.; then appears again from p. 9, l. 1 to p. 11, l. 6. The second is a more elegant hand than the first and employs a thinner pen. In the margin are numerous additions and corrections which stem almost entirely from the first hand. From these marginalia it is clear that the text of our MS was produced on the basis of a comparison with several other MSS. We have incorporated the additions into our text without any indication but the variants from other MSS given in the margin are noted as such. Moreover, references to Koranic verses are indicated in the apparatus of the edited text, as well as the sources for the *ḥadīth* citations. The division of the text into numbered paragraphs stems from us and the page numbers of the manuscript are given in square brackets.—The letter *ṣād* stands for *aṣl*, i.e. the text of the manuscript.

At first glance there can scarcely be any doubt as to Aḥmad b. Idrīs being the author. Numerous expressions in this text are the same as in the *Munāẓara*—the second text presented in this book— as well as in other writings of the author, for instance in

¹ Concerning him, see R.S. O’Fahey *et alii*, *Arabic Literature of Africa [ALA]*, I: *The Writings of Eastern Sudanic Africa to c. 1900*, Leiden 1994, 151f.

*al-‘Iqd al-naḥs.*² For further details consult the notes accompanying the translation. On the other hand, the question of authorship is complicated by the fact that in a work by his student Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al-Sanūsī, the *Īqāz al-wasnān*,³ there are a number of passages which appear to have been taken over word for word from the *Risālat al-Radd*, and others which present an exact paraphrase of corresponding passages in the *Radd*.⁴ The Arabic wording of the correspondences between the *Radd* and the *Īqāz al-wasnān* is found in the Appendix to the Arabic text of the *Risālat al-Radd*.

The *Risālat al-Radd*, as can be seen below, consists of three parts: Part One §§ 1-40, Part Two §§ 41-52, and Part Three §§ 53-59. The list given in footnote 4 shows that the correspondences are virtually confined to Part One.

The *Īqāz* is written in a style quite different from the *Radd*, with more scholarly apparatus and less of an overtly polemical tone. Generally speaking, Sanūsī is in the habit of citing the sources he quotes from in his writings. But he does not mention Ibn Idrīs in the case of our correspondences! Who then is the real author? Did Aḥmad b. Idrīs take the text from the work of his student or did Sanūsī use the text of his teacher?

The exact date of composition of the *Īqāz* is not known, although it must have been written before 1848. Sanūsī was in close contact with Ibn Idrīs for a period of eleven years, from 1826 until the teacher’s death in 1837,⁵ at which time Sanūsī was in his forties and had already begun composing books.⁶ Thus it is not wholly impossible that Sanūsī could have written the *Radd*. We

² ALA, I, 131 no. 28. For further details consult the notes accompanying the translation.

³ Regarding this work, see Vikør, *Sufi and Scholar*, 221-3.

⁴ The verbal correspondances between the two texts are as follows:

§ 1 = 41,1-2;	§ 15 = 41,7; 77,-5-78,6;	§ 22 = 88,8-9;
§ 2 = 41,-2; 40,3-5;	78,7-13;	§ 23 = 88,10-11;
§ 3 = 40,3; 89,10-11;	§ 16 = 78,13-16;	88, 11-14; 88,18;
§ 6 = 76,6-ult.; 91,12;	§ 17 = 29,4; 77,7-10;	§ 24 = 88,14-18;
§ 7 = 76,-1-77,7;	§ 18 = 26,-4-5; 120,9;	88,18-penult.;
§ 8 = 77,10-11;	§ 20 = 24,-3-25,5;	§ 29 = 52,-4f.;
§ 11 = 77,12;	25,5-6;	§ 34 = 90,7-9;
§ 12 = 77,12-13;	§ 21 = 88,3-8;	§ 41 = 89,-4.

⁵ For most of this time Ibn Idrīs was in the Yemen, whereas Sanūsī resided in Mecca. But the latter frequently travelled south and close contact between them was continuously maintained. Cf. O’Fahey, *Enigmatic Saint*, 137; and Vikør, *Sufi and Scholar*, 111-18.

⁶ However, his most productive period as a writer was probably later, in the 1840s; Vikør, *Sufi and Scholar*, 237-9.

would maintain, however, that the original author was in fact Aḥmad b. Idrīs, although not in the sense that he himself wrote down the text of the *Risāla* in the form here presented. As in the case of *al-‘Iqd al-naḥās* and other writings transmitted under his name, he no doubt dictated passages of the text on separate occasions and sometimes reformulated things he had already said earlier. Later writers then put together these passages as independent works. This method of compilation is illustrated, for instance, by the passages grouped together under the title *Tanbīh* in our text (§§ 41-52), which often represent nothing more than a somewhat varied repetition of Part One.

The printed text of the *Īqāz al-wasnān* frequently offers better readings for the corresponding passages than the manuscript tradition of the *Risālat al-Radd* which was available to us. Furthermore, a comparison of Sanūsī’s and Ibn Idrīs’ texts provides proof that Sanūsī did not adhere to the radical position of his teacher regarding the *madhāhib*. On this point the reader may consult the footnotes accompanying the translation of *Radd*, § 6.

When and where the original passages making up our text were written or dictated cannot be answered with certainty, though it is not likely to have been during the period that Ibn Idrīs lived in the Maghreb, i.e. before 1798. One may surmise that the text was put together either in Upper Egypt,⁷ i.e. after 1813, or in Ṣabyā, in any case in the latter years of Ibn Idrīs’ life. In § 44 he speaks of the fact that he has settled in the country of those he is addressing, which clearly means that he has immigrated there. This would fit for Ṣabyā as well as for Upper Egypt, but could even apply to Mecca. We will come back to this question below.⁸

The Letters and the Munāzara

In contrast to the *Risālat al-Radd*, the other Arabic texts have already been published earlier. The letter of ‘Alī b. Mujaththal to Ibrāhīm al-Ḥifzī and the latter’s letter to Aḥmad b. Idrīs have been edited by Abū Dāhish in the series *Min turāth ‘ulamā’ janūbī’l-jazīra al-‘arabiyya*, ‘*Asīr*, no. 9, 1409/1989.⁹

⁷ See 27, below.

⁸ See 37f., below.

⁹ R.S. O’Fahey, ‘Games, dancing and handclapping’, in H. Palva and K.S. Vikør (eds.), *The Middle East—Unity and Diversity*, Copenhagen 1993, 129 n. 18.

The *Munāẓara* is available in four printed editions.¹⁰ The author Hasan (al-Ḥasan) b. Aḥmad b. °Abd Allāh al-Ḍamadī al-Tihāmī, known as °Ākish, was born probably at Ḍamad in Tihāmat al-Yaman in late 1221/1807.¹¹ He appears to have come from a locally prominent family since his father served as *qāḍī* at Ḍamad. The father, Aḥmad b. °Abd Allāh (b. 1174/1760-61, d. Rabī° II 1222/June-July 1807) himself spent two periods of study in Ṣan°ā°, on the second occasion with the famous Muḥammad b. °Alī al-Shawkānī¹² who was later to write a treatise for him in response to certain questions.¹³ Among the son's teachers¹⁴ was °Abd al-Raḥmān al-Bahkalī,¹⁵ himself a onetime student of both Shawkānī and °Ākish's father. From 1238/1822-23, thus at the age of about fourteen, °Ākish studied with Bahkalī in Bayt al-Faqīh where the latter held the positions of *qāḍī* and *ḥakīm*.¹⁶ He later moved to Zabīd where he studied with Ahdal,¹⁷ °Utumī¹⁸ and Muḥammad °Abid al-Sindī.¹⁹

°Ākish, still a very young man, seems to have spent the years 1240 to 1242/1824-26 in Mecca, where he studied Tradition with several teachers including Muḥammad Yāsīn b. °Abd Allāh al-Mīrghani,²⁰ one of the most prominent teachers in the holy city of the day. Mīrghani was the uncle, guardian and first teacher of Ibn Idrīs' student Muḥammad °Uthmān al-Mīrghani.²¹ Given that we do not have a precise chronology for this period of Ibn Idrīs' life, it is uncertain whether °Ākish met either Ibn Idrīs or his student

10 ALA, I, 148f.

11 The following is based on Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Zubāra (Zabāra), *Nayl al-waṭar min tarājim rijāl al-Yaman fi'l-qarn al-thālith °ashar*, 1348/1929-30, I, 314-18.

12 On him see 19-22, below.

13 Muḥammad b. °Alī al-Shawkānī, *al-Badr al-ṭāli° bi-maḥāsīn man ba°d al-qarn al-sābi°*, Cairo 1348/1929-30, I, 77, where he calls his work *al-°Iqd al-munaḍḍad fi jayyid masā°il °allāmat Ḍamad*. The ten questions posed by Ḍamadī are listed in Ibrāhīm Ibrāhīm Hilāl, *Wilāyat Allāh wa'l-ṭariq ilayhā*, Cairo n.d., 48-9, but where the work is entitled *°Uqūd al-zabarjad fi jayyid masā°il °allāmat Ḍamad*.

14 A detailed list of teachers, subjects and texts is given in Zabāra, *Nayl al-waṭar*, *op. cit.* We have included here only those who met Ibn Idrīs or who are referred to elsewhere in this introduction.

15 See *Munāẓara*, § 15.

16 See *Munāẓara*, § 16.

17 See *Munāẓara*, § 1.

18 O'Fahey, *Enigmatic Saint*, 85; lived 1194-1246/1780-1-1830-1.

19 O'Fahey, *Enigmatic Saint*, 89f.; died 1257/1841.

20 ALA, I, 186; died 1251/1835-36 or 1255/1839-40.

21 ALA, I, 187-98; lived 1208-1268/1793-1852.

during his years in Mecca. It seems unlikely, however, that he had not heard of the Moroccan before the latter came to ʿAsīr.

In 1243/1827-28 ʿĀkish was in Ṣanʿāʾ where he settled in a house near the Filayḥī Mosque and studied a great range of subjects with the prominent scholars of the city, among them his father's teacher Shawkānī.²²

For convenience we have assigned the following letters to the printed versions of the *Munāẓara* available to us:

A. *Munāẓarat sayyid Aḥmad b. Idrīs, raḍīya Allāh taʿālā ʿanhu wa-fuqahāʾ al-Najdiyya.*

This is a pamphlet of 28 pages (at least in the version that we have) published probably in Cairo by Dār al-Ṣawī li'l-ṭabʿ wa'l-nashr wa'l-taʿlif, situated in Ḥārat Abī'l-Ḥasan al-Shūshtarī, shāriʿ al-Azhar. The text we have breaks off in mid-sentence. There is no indication of the date of printing, but on the title page is noted that the text was printed with the support of Sayyid Muḥammad al-Sharīf b. ʿAbd al-Mutaʿāl b. Aḥmad b. Idrīs, who died in July 1936, and that 'it could be obtained from his munificence, the publisher in Uqṣūr, Zayniyya, Daraw, (Wādī) Ḥalfā, Dongola and Omdurman.' Of the three versions of the Debate, this is the only one that is an 'official' publication of the Adārisa.²³—In our edition this printed version will be designated by the sign *alif*.

B. *Naṣr al-ḥaqq bi'l-ilhāmāt al-ilāhiyya.*

This is a printed pamphlet of 40 pages put out by Ṣāliḥ al-Jaʿfarī as no. 3 in a series entitled *Silsilat turāth al-ʿarif bi'llāh sayyidī al-shaykh Ṣāliḥ al-Jaʿfarī*, published in Cairo by Dār jawāmiʿ al-kalim. It bears no date, but most of the Idrīsiyya writings put out by Jaʿfarī appeared in the 1960s. The *Munāẓara* occupies pp. 5-32. On p. 33 Jaʿfarī says that while in Mecca in 1320/1902-03, he came across a MS by Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Sulaymān al-Ahdal (on whose behalf ʿĀkish wrote his account of the debate) entitled *al-Luʿluʿ al-nafīs al-mustakhraj min baḥr sayyidī Aḥmad b. Idrīs*.²⁴ He prints the beginning of this

²² One of his teachers was Lutf Allāh Jaḥḥāf whose unpublished chronicle, *Durar nuḥūr al-ḥūr al-ʿin*, is said to contain references to Ibn Idrīs; see ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad al-Ḥibshī, *al-Ṣūfiyya wa'l-fuqahāʾ fi'l-Yaman*, Ṣanʿāʾ 1391/1971, 38-9.

²³ I.e. the descendants of Ibn Idrīs; for information on them, see O'Fahey, *Enigmatic Saint*, 107-29.

²⁴ A work with the same title, but 'edited' by Muḥammad Amin al-Ḥasanī, is noted in both Constance Padwick, *Muslim Devotions*, London 1969, 294 n. 67; and B.G. Martin, *Muslim Brotherhoods in 19th-century Africa*, Cambridge 1976, 217 n.

text on pp. 34-36; it ends with the statement that it was written in Sha^cbān 1248/December 1832-January 1833; in other words in the same *hijrī* year as the debate, but a few months later. Pp. 37-38 appear to be by Ja^cfarī, but halfway down p. 38 a fragment from ^cĀkish seems to begin.—In our edition this printed text will be referred to by the sign *bā*⁷.

C. Munāzarat Aḥmad b. Idrīs ma^ca fuqahā⁷ ^cAsīr, ed. ^cAbd Allāh Abū Dāhish, *al-^cArab* 5, dhawā^cl-qa^cda wa^cl-ḥijja 1406/July-August 1986, 326-88. This edition was published by Abū Dāhish a second time in the series *Min turāth ^culamā⁷ janūbī^cl-jazīra al-^carabiyya*, no. 5, 1407/1987.

This is a copiously annotated (797 footnotes) edition of the debate based on three manuscripts preceded by an introduction (pp. 326-30). Before we repeat the description of the three MSS that Abū Dāhish gives, it should be noted that he is seemingly unaware of the existence of *A* and *B*. Equally, as his bibliography shows, he has access to materials on Ibn Idrīs that we have not seen.—This printed version will be designated in our edition by the sign *lām*.

Abū Dāhish calls the three MSS *lām*, *mīm* and *wāw*.

Lām: This MS is in the possession of Ḥijāb b. Yaḥyā al-Ḥāzimī of Ḍamad (^cĀkish's home town) and consists of 15 folios. The number of lines on each folio varies. The first page, for instance, has 26 lines, the last 27, each line containing approximately 27 words. The colophon bears the date 19 Rajab 1343/13 February 1924 and gives the copyist as ^cAlī b. Muḥammad al-Sanūsī, whom Abū Dāhish identifies as the poet of that name (lived 1310-1363/1892-93-1943-44).

Mīm: This is MS 2879, in the Department of Manuscripts of the Library, King Sa^cūd University, Riyadh. The MS has ten folios, each containing about 19 lines with about nine words to the line. There is no indication as to the date or the copyist.

Wāw: This MS is in the possession of Shaykh al-Ḥasan b. ^cAlī al-Ḥifzī of Rujāl Alma^c (there is also a copy of it in the possession of Shaykh Ḥāshim b. Sa^cīd al-Nu^cmī of Abhā²⁵). It was copied by Ḥifzī on 18 Dhū^cl-qa^cda 1379/10 May 1960 from a copy written by Shaykh Muḥammad b. Ḥasan b. ^cAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ḥifzī and dated 18 Muḥarram 1321/16 April 1903. It consists of 25 folios,

²⁵ This is the author of *Ta^crikh ^cAsīr*; see 28, below.

each folio containing 15 lines and each line approximately ten words.

One may observe firstly that *A* and *B* are clearly of Egyptian provenance, while *C* is based on MSS from °Asīr. Secondly, *B* and *C* are markedly closer to each other than to *A*. Thirdly, *B* and *C* contain some very significant passages that do not appear in *A*.

Since the three MSS of *C* and the printed version of *B* scarcely deviate from one another, we have chosen to reproduce the text edition of Abū Dāhish with only the slightest modifications. Deviations from *A* and *B* are only indicated in the footnotes when they are of any real significance for the sense. The notes with which Abū Dāhish has supplied his edition are extremely useful, and we have not hesitated to quote from him frequently. All such information is cited with the abbreviation AD.

The Risālat al-Radd: Contents

The introduction (§ 1), as is customary, sets forth the problem to be dealt with: the duty which God has imposed on man to follow the Koran and the Sunna. In § 2 Ibn Idrīs, in accordance with the style of a *risāla*, addresses his readers (*ikhwānī*) directly. God has only ordered us to do one thing and that is to follow revelation (*wahy*), which consists of the Holy Book and the Sunna—both are revelation. Any possible disagreements, any disputes, are to be resolved through God and the Prophet, i.e. by resorting to the texts of the Koran and the Sunna. All legal rulings (*aḥkām*) are contained (§ 3) in the Koran and the Sunna. This is absolutely clear (§ 4): recourse to God and the Prophet is recourse to the Koran and the Sunna, to the sacred tradition which has been fixed in writing, since it is not possible for everyone to have direct contact with God or to have an encounter with the Prophet in this world.

But religious scholars (§ 5) are often unable to find the correct legal judgements in the Koran and the Sunna. This occurs quite frequently because they are deficient in fear of God (*taqwā*), whereas whoever is endowed with fear of God also possesses true knowledge of God. Without the beneficial effects of *taqwā*, one is bound to go astray and follow Satan. Once again (§ 6), knowledge is exclusively what has come from God and the Prophet—and certainly not what a religious scholar derives from scriptural tradition on the basis of his own individual judgement (*ra'y*). The latter is, in fact, a legal ruling of Satan (*ḥukm al-Ṭāghūt*).

Both the ignorant (*jāhil*) and the learned (*‘ālim*) are guilty of delivering a judgement of Satan when they follow their *ra’y*. The sin of the scholar, however, is greater than that of the ignorant person because being an authority, the scholar also brings about the corruption of others. He is only protected from error as long as he follows the Prophet (*al-ma‘ṣūm*). When seeking a legal judgement (§ 8), the layman (*‘ammī*) must ask the scholar to confirm that the ruling in question either comes from God or from the Prophet. Only when such confirmation is given, is the layman obliged to obey the scholar. Should the legal judgement actually be based on *ra’y*, the sin which results falls upon the scholar and not upon the layman. On the other hand (§ 9), if the layman is aware that the ruling is based solely on the individual opinion of an ordinary scholar, then the sin involved falls upon the layman because he knowingly follows the scholar and not God or the Prophet.

A still greater sin is committed by the religious scholar (§ 10) who says something about God which he does not know to be true: he is a *kāfir*, *zālim*, *fāsiq*. Even if the layman finds the legal judgement recorded in a book (§ 11) without the judgement being traced back to God and the Messenger, he is not following God and the Prophet. He is then behaving the same way the Jews and Christians do who take their rabbis and monks as authorities. To deliver a legal judgement which has not been traced back to God amounts to making a claim to *rubūbiyya* (§ 12). Everything which has been traced back to God and the Prophet constitutes authoritative proof for a legal judgement. This is especially true with regard to *ḥadīths* (§ 13): the scholastic criterion of *isnāds* is unimportant. Only when a contradiction with another accredited *ḥadīth* occurs, is it proper to employ the methods of *ḥadīth*-criticism. But (§ 14) a person endowed with fear of God (*taqwā*) has no need either of scholastic knowledge of the Traditions or the rational procedure of *qiyās* and *fikr* because God instills in him a form of intuitive knowledge (*furqān*) which enables him to find the correct legal judgement in the scriptural tradition.

All the early legal authorities corrected their teachings (§ 15) once they became aware that their doctrines had not been transmitted from the Messenger. Whoever follows them in doing the same is rightly guided. There are some, however, who believe that the old forefathers only changed their doctrines out of humility. But this implies that they were not convinced that their teachings had been in real opposition to the Prophet, and fur-

thermore that they claimed to be on the same level as the Prophet. No Muslim would dare to say such a thing and this amounts to a monstrous disparagement of the legal authorities. Rather, everyone is convinced that the old authorities declared: we are not individuals who can claim to have seen the Prophet in person. If there is a doctrine available from a Companion of the Prophet, one must act in accordance with that. In support of this view is the *ḥadīth*: 'My Companions are like the stars. Whichever one of them you follow, you will be rightly guided!'

Wherever (§ 16) the Koran and the Sunna are silent, the word of a Companion who witnessed the Prophet's behavior with his own eyes has the greatest authority. There is no room here for rational procedures which in fact simply lead the people astray. The founders of the four schools of jurisprudence (§ 17) have ordered us only to follow the Prophet. This has been forgotten by modern men who profess to adhere to these legal authorities.

In what follows examples are given of the positions which the founders of the schools of jurisprudence adopted toward *ra'y*: Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (§ 17), Shāfi'ī (§ 18), Abū Ḥanīfa (§ 19) and Mālik b. Anas (§ 20), the last mentioned having renounced *ra'y* on his deathbed. How then can one follow the *ra'y* of the founders of the legal schools (§ 22) when they themselves have renounced it? Even people who benefited from little guidance in earlier times such as poets (§ 23) understood more by way of simple faith than the so-called great scholars of the present: they were aware that a scholar like Mālik b. Anas himself ought not to issue commands and prohibitions on the basis of his *ra'y*. Indeed, the Prophet himself (§ 24) only issued commands and prohibitions when authorized to do so through revelation.

Consequently, the founders of the legal schools (§ 25) have affirmed that their own doctrines are not to be accepted whenever they are not in accord with the two forms of revelation, in particular with regard to statements declaring certain things punishable which are not really punishable because the scriptural texts are silent about them. If, however, a scriptural text dealing with a matter does exist, it is not necessary for the legal authorities to elaborate their own views on the subject, and one is not obliged to follow them in this. Priority is always accorded to the actual words of revelation. One is not to bother arguing with persons who rely exclusively on the authority of human beings, for such behavior on their part is the equivalent of idolatry.—If the statements of the authorities do not agree with revelation, they are

worthless and spring from *hawā*. Right guidance, on the other hand, is only to be had from revelation and this is the actual *madhhab* of all genuine religious scholars. The scholars (§ 26), according to a well-known *ḥadīth*, are the heirs of the prophets, and the heritage of the prophets is revelation. One should cease to converse with anyone who does not shun *ra'y*.

The pronouncements of the founders of the legal schools (cf. § 18 ff.) regarding renunciation of *ra'y* are in fact cited by their would-be followers (§ 28) but the latter omit to follow the founders in this respect. If they were true Muslims, whenever they disagreed with one another about something, or even if they disagreed with the founders of the legal schools, or for that matter with the Companions of the Prophet, they would resort to the two sources of revelation. This is how the Companions of the Prophet themselves acted, as is illustrated by the example of the caliph °Umar. The Companions of the Prophet used to ask one another for advice when they were unsure about anything, as in the case of °Umar who would ask °Alī (§ 29). No written works held authority for °Umar, except revelation (§ 30). He would certainly have destroyed all the legal writings which have been produced since his death (§ 31)!

Thus one should follow the Companions of the Prophet in their practice of resorting to the Koran and the Sunna. Certain legal judgements have been clearly stated in the Koran (§ 32), the others have been enunciated by the Prophet, whom one must follow absolutely. In the case of the Prophet, he has clearly expressed himself either in his actual words or in his deeds. Whatever he has passed over in silence is basically permissible. There is no question of his having forgotten to mention something. Indeed, he acted at the bidding of God who is omniscient. Those endowed with fear of God will know how to solve a moot point on the basis of the legal judgement which they have found in the Koran. Therefore, whatever is clearly stated in scriptural revelation is not in need of further clarification (§ 34). Matters about which nothing has been said are permissible (*°afw, jawāz*). One should not ask further about them, nor (§ 35) are they to be dealt with by means of *qiyās*. The same is even more obviously true of any questions which are explicitly dealt with in a scriptural text. The typical religious scholar, however, makes no effort to understand (*fahm*) but immediately has recourse to *ra'y* as developed in the scholastic tradition ('the eminent men'). It is paradoxical that a person (§ 36) may well shun all manner of forbidden things and

yet feel no shame in saying something about God for which he has no certainty. Such a religious scholar claims to adhere to the legal judgement of God but knows that the authority he follows arrived at the ruling in question through *qiyās*.

With the death of the Prophet revelation came to a close (§ 37). The legally binding duties have thereby reached completion. One must in no way increase their number. The rightly guided Muslim therefore holds exclusively to the Koran (§ 38), for God's religion has been completed through the Book, *ra'y* and *qiyās* are superfluous, and everything has been disclosed by the Koran and the Prophet (§ 40).

With this the main text reaches its conclusion. What follows under the heading *Tanbīh* (§§ 41-52) are further clarifications of what has been stated. It is necessary (§ 41) in the case of every ruling to interrogate the Koran and the Sunna word by word. One is often mistaken, as were famous Companions of the Prophet such as °Umar, and so one may conclude erroneously that the Koran says nothing about a particular legal question. To reiterate (§ 42): with the proper inner attitude all solutions are to be found in the Koran, only they are not evident to the present-day legal authorities. The latter rely on themselves and their external learning. The case is different for those God loves and those instilled with pious fear of God (§ 43); they are protected from the snares of Satan.

At this point Ibn Idrīs directly addresses those for whom the epistle is intended (§ 44): he has settled down in their country because he is sure that they have not followed *ra'y* or any authority in general because *ẓann*, *qiyās* and *ra'y* do not constitute knowledge. Concerning what is not spoken of in the Koran and the Sunna, one must remain silent. If one does not do so, one is spreading abroad Satanic knowledge. Only if a legal authority in the end dissociates himself from this kind of unjustified answer (§ 45) will he have the sin for it erased from his account—even if by accident his answer had been correct. The people with true knowledge (§ 46) are those who fear God. They know as well (§ 47) that God is free to forgive or to punish. Likewise, the founders of the legal schools (§ 48) such as Shāfi'ī, for example, renounced their own *ra'y* when a relevant scriptural text was on hand. The example (§ 49) of Ashhab, the student of Mālik, follows. Once again (§ 50): if no *wahy* has been sent down pertaining to a particular matter, then one must remain silent regarding it. If one holds to this rule, one is God-fearing and will be granted

knowledge. Only the unlearned person who asks out of sincerity is honest. All others who pose questions are hypocrites motivated by some other concern. The religious scholar is not obliged to reply to anyone but the sincere person without learning (§ 52).

Here the main subject of the epistle is brought to a close. What follows (§§ 53-57) are some responses of Ibn Idrīs to specific questions. His answers are given on the basis of *ḥadīths*: 1. Are *majālis al-dhikr* permitted (§§ 53-54)? 2. Are bodily movements allowed during the *dhikr* (§ 55)? 3. Is it permitted to draw out one's pronunciation of the *takbīr* (§ 56)? 4. In the prayer of supplication at the end of ritual prayer is it allowed to raise up one's hands (§ 57)?

Finally, by way of conclusion (§§ 58-59) the main assertion of the *Radd* is once more repeated: in all matters one must acknowledge the legal ruling of God.

Summary

The chief points put forward by Ibn Idrīs in his epistle are as follows. Everything a human being needs by way of knowledge or for action is contained in recorded revelation (*wahy*), i.e. in the Koran and the Sunna. Anyone can find this in the two categories of transmitted text, provided he possesses proper fear of God. Every legal judgement (*ḥukm*) is to be found there. If revelation is silent about a particular subject, one must consider the matter allowed (*‘afw, jawāz*)—for example, swaying to and fro during the *dhikr*-performance. In no case is it permitted to derive legal rulings from a text of revelation by rational procedures (*ra’y, qiyās, fikr*). Thus, the whole tradition of the schools of jurisprudence, inasmuch as it is based on legal judgements acquired by rational means, is to be rejected. To follow the representatives of the *madhāhib* amounts to *shirk* because in such a case one is following an authority other than God. The ordinary unlettered man (*‘āmmī*) may only follow a religious scholar (*‘ālim*) if the latter has based his judgement exclusively on revelation, and not on the tradition of the schools. The founders of the schools of jurisprudence were not infallible, nor for that matter were the Companions of the Prophet. All four founders of legal schools have warned against *ra’y*, rejected their own use of it and abjured it.

The opposition around which the epistle revolves is that between divine revelation and the tradition of the legal schools, between the Koran and the Sunna on the one hand, and the sci-

ence of *fiqh* on the other. The means for attaining a legal ruling is personal piety, which everyone is capable of achieving.

The intellectual background

Aḥmad b. Idrīs' epistle stands within two traditions. On the one hand, it takes up once more an old Sufi pietistic discussion—about which more will be said below. On the other hand, it is a further example of the revived debate concerning the *uṣūl al-fiqh*, or the *ijtihād/taqlīd* controversy, which took place in the 18th and 19th centuries.²⁶ This debate has been competently described by Rudolph Peters²⁷ on the basis of four relevant authors: Shāh Waliullāh-i Dihlawī (1703-62), Ḥamd b. Nāṣir (d. 1810), Muḥammad b. °Alī al-Shawkānī (1760-1834) and Muḥammad b. °Alī al-Sanūsī (1787-1859). To these one may also add: Muḥammad b. °Abd al-Wahhāb (1703/4-1792),²⁸ Ṣāliḥ al-Fullānī (1752/3-1803)²⁹ and al-Ḥājj °Umar (1793-1864).³⁰ All these authors have in common the rejection of *taqlīd*, i.e. the uncritical acceptance of the doctrinal tradition of any particular *madhhab*. As for what is meant to replace *taqlīd*, each author has worked out a different answer. Of the four individuals presented by Peters, Shawkānī holds the most extreme position: no special qualifications are required for practicing *ijtihād*. Anyone with a modicum of knowledge and understanding is capable of doing so. Moreover, *taqlīd* is absolutely forbidden.³¹ This amounts to the complete elimination of the authority of the *madhāhib*.—

²⁶ For further historical aspects regarding the controversy see e.g., Wael B. Hallaq, 'Was the gate of *Ijtihād* closed?', *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, XVI, 1, 1984, 3-34; Norman Calder, 'Al-Nawawī's typology of *muftīs* and its significance for a general theory of Islamic Law', *Islamic Law and Society*, III, 2, 1996, 137-64; and Hallaq, 'Introduction' to the same issue. For a recent discussion, see Christopher Melchert, *The formation of the Sunni schools of law: 9th-10th centuries C.E.*, Leiden 1997; and Wael Hallaq, *A History of Islamic legal theories*, Cambridge 1997.

²⁷ Rudolph Peters, '*Ijtihād* and *taqlīd* in 18th and 19th century Islam', *Die Welt des Islams*, XX, 1980, 132-45.

²⁸ Concerning him see Esther Peskes, *Muḥammad b. °Abd al-wahhāb (1703-92) in Widerstreit: Untersuchungen zur Rekonstruktion der Frühgeschichte der Wahhābīya*, Beirut-Stuttgart 1993.

²⁹ On him see John O. Hunwick, 'Ṣāliḥ al-Fullānī (1752/3-1803): the career and teachings of a West African 'ālim in Medina', in A.H. Green (ed.), *In Quest of an Islamic Humanism*, Cairo 1984, 139-54.

³⁰ On him see Radtke, 'Ijtihād and Neo-Sufism', 917-19; *idem*, 'Von Iran nach Westafrika', *Die Welt des Islams*, XXXV, 1995, 40-2; and 'Studies on the sources of the *Kitāb Rimāh hizb al-rahīm* of al-ḥājj °Umar', *Sudanic Africa*, 6, 1995, 73f.

³¹ Peters, '*Ijtihād*', 138, 140 & 143.

Muḥammad b. °Alī al-Sanūsī, the student of Ibn Idrīs, follows close behind him, although after making a distinction between absolute and relative, or secondary, *ijtihād*, he is prepared to acknowledge the authority of the four schools of jurisprudence.³² Nevertheless, in the opinion of both of them precedence is to be given to the Sunna.³³—Shāh Waliullāh acknowledges the legal judgements of the legal authorities but no one *madhhab* has precedence over another.³⁴ This corresponds to the position held by al-Ḥājj °Umar.³⁵ Similarly, Ḥamd b. Nāṣir accords validity to the legal rulings of the imams but he gives precedence to the Ḥanbalite *madhhab*.³⁶ The remaining three authors, Muḥammad b. °Abd al-Wahhāb, Ṣāliḥ al-Fullānī and our Ibn Idrīs, share the view of Shawkānī: the sole legal sources are the Koran and the Sunna, and the tradition of the *madhāhib* has no special competence for delivering legal judgements. As E. Peskes has rightly noted,³⁷ the latter authors are not actually concerned with the opposition *ijtihād/taqlīd*, but with that between *fiqh* (the doctrinal authority of the legal schools) on the one hand, and the Koran and the Sunna on the other.³⁸

The layman (°*ammī*), as it appears, now emancipates himself from the influence of traditional authority. However, when it comes to the means by which one is to arrive at a personal legal judgement on the basis of scriptural revelation, there is disagreement between the above-mentioned opponents of the *madhāhib*. Whereas the others allow rational means which are generally referred to as *ittibā°* or *ijtihād bi'l-naṣṣ*, our text makes no reference to these terms and rejects categorically the use of rational means to produce legal judgements. But it does allow *ittibā°* in the sense of critical questioning of a religious scholar by a layman,³⁹ although the better method is to cultivate one's piety (*taqwā*) and

32 Peters, 'Idjihād', 137 & 143.

33 On this point see also Knut S. Vikør, *Sources for Sanūsī Studies*, Bergen 1996, 102-4; on Sanūsī's relation to Aḥmad b. Idrīs, see 23f., below and the footnotes to translation of *Radd*, § 6.

34 Peters, 'Idjihād', 143.

35 Radtke, 'Ijihād and Neo-Sufism', 917f.

36 Peters, 'Idjihād', 143.

37 Peskes, *Muḥammad b. °Abdalwahhāb*, 41f.

38 Cf. also the text in Peters, 'Idjihād', 134 n. 7; and especially Peskes, *Muḥammad b. °Abdalwahhāb*, 42f.; for Ṣāliḥ al-Fullānī, cf. Hunwick, 'Ṣāliḥ al-Fullānī', 146.

39 Baber Johansen, 'Die sündige, gesunde Amme: Moral und gesetzliche Bestimmung (*hukm*) im islamischen Recht', *Die Welt des Islams*, XXVIII, 1988, 264-82 (also in Johansen, *Contingency in a Sacred Law: Legal and Ethical Norms in the Muslim Fiqh*, Leiden 1999, 172-88).

attain a form of refined spiritual intuition (*furqān*) which then qualifies one to deliver legal judgements—and here is where the other tradition underlying our text becomes manifest, namely the Sufi pietistic tradition.

* * *

When in the 3rd/9th century Sufism began describing mystical experience in written form and structuring it in ‘intellectual’ systems, these doctrines were referred to as *‘ilm al-bāṭin*.⁴⁰ This knowledge was viewed by Sufis as a necessary supplement to the *‘ilm al-zāhir* whose foundation was formed by *ḥadīth* and *fiqh*. The *‘ilm al-bāṭin* was conceived as an indispensable discipline which, by educating the soul and cultivating pious attitudes and feelings, made possible the actual fulfillment of the law. The theosophist Ḥakīm Tirmidhī went so far as to deny that the authorities in *fiqh*—in his case they were Ḥanafites—had the ability to deliver valid legal judgements. In his view the rationalistic methods which they employed were not capable of fathoming the true internal structures of the world and revelation.⁴¹ Aḥmad b. Idrīs appears to be not very far from this view. One is not dealing here with an opposition between religious law and mysticism. This is an issue concerning authority.

°Abd al-Wahhāb al-Sha°rānī or al-Sha°rāwī, the Egyptian polyhistor who died in 1565—known among other things as a popularizer of Ibn al-°Arabī’s doctrines⁴²—was also active in the field of *uṣūl al-fiqh*. In his *Kitāb al-Mizān*⁴³ he attempted to present proof that the founders of the four *madhāhib*, i.e. the four

40 *Bāṭin*: Bernd Radtke, ‘Theologen und Mystiker in Ḥurasan und Transoxanien’, *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, CXXXVI, 1986, 551ff.; and Fritz Meier, ‘Ein wichtiger handschriftenfund zur ṣūfik’, *Oriens*, XX, 1967, 103 (also in *Bausteine: Ausgewählte Aufsätze zur Islamwissenschaft*, Istanbul/Stuttgart 1992, I, 319f., and *Essays on Islamic Piety and Mysticism* [trans. John O’Kane, ed. asst. Bernd Radtke], Leiden 1999, 184).

41 Radtke, ‘Theologen und Mystiker’, 559, and *idem*, ‘Warum ist der Sufi orthodox?’, *Der Islam*, LXXI, 1994, 304f.

42 Cf. his *Kitāb al-yawāqūt wa’l-jawāhir fi ‘aqā°id al-akābir*; Carl Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur [GAL]*, Leiden 1937-49, II, 336 no. 2; Supplement [S] II, 464. On his influence in West Africa during the nineteenth century, see Radtke, ‘Studies on the sources of the *Rimāḥ*’, 111 and *passim*.

43 Peters, ‘Idjihād’, 138. As we have subsequently come to see, it is most probably this work which *al-ḥājj* °Umar cites as *Risāla mubāraka*; Radtke, ‘Studies on the sources of the *Rimāḥ*’, 95, no. XLV.

imams, as well as their followers (*muqallidūn*) were all correct.⁴⁴ Throughout the 19th century this work of Sha[°]rānī's was still eagerly studied both at al-Azhar and in West Africa.⁴⁵

According to Sha[°]rānī a Muslim may become convinced of the truth of the above thesis by means of any one of three different modes of knowledge: 1) through *naẓar* and *istidlāl*, i.e. speculation and rational argumentation; 2) through *taslīm* and *īmān* which may be translated as religious faith and acceptance; 3) through *kashf* and *°iyān*, i.e. mystical unveiling and direct perception.⁴⁶

Whereas 1) and 2) appear to be comprehensible without further comment, 3) is in need of some explanation. In this connection let us consider two statements of Sha[°]rānī: 'Firstly I received [what is in] this book from al-Khaḍir as a form of knowledge which I accepted on the basis of faith.⁴⁷ Then I travelled the mystic path under the guidance of the master °Alī al-Khawwās⁴⁸ until I beheld the very source of the *sharī°a*'—i.e. the Prophet Muḥammad—'in a mystical experience (*dhawq*), in a mystical unveiling (*kashf*), and as absolute certainty (*yaqīn*).'⁴⁹ And more specifically: 'With the eye of my heart I perceived the source of the pure *sharī°a* from which the doctrines of every religious scholar flow forth. I came to realize that every *mujtahid* is correct (*kull mujtahid muṣīb*)⁵⁰ due to mystical disclosure and certain knowledge, and that no one *madhhab* is more worthy of the *sharī°a* than another (*wa-annahū laysa madhhab awlā bi'l-sharī°a min madhhab*).'⁵¹ The last point regarding the equal value of the *madhāhib* is further elucidated by the words of his teacher °Alī al-Khawwās: No single doctrine of the imams lies outside the *sharī°a* because 'their spirit had encountered the Prophet's spirit and regarding all the proofs they were doubtful about, they were

44 °Abd al-Wahhāb al-Sha[°]rānī, *Kitāb al-Mizān*, Beirut 1409/1989, I, 59.

45 Radtke, 'Studies on the sources of the *Rimāh*', 111 and *passim*. The nineteenth-century Azhar shaykh °Ilaysh (on him, see Vikør, *Sufi and Scholar*, 250-7) cites passages from the *Kitāb al-Mizān* in his *fatwā* against Sanūsī; Vikør, *Sufi and Scholar*, 254, corresponds to *Mizān*, I, 181, one l. from bot. ff.; *ibid.*, 255 corresponds to *Mizān*, I, 185, l. 8ff.

46 *Mizān*, I, 59.

47 *Mizān*, I, 124: °ilman wa-yaqīnan wa-taslīman.

48 Died 939/1532; on him see Eric Geoffroy, *Le soufisme en Egypte et en Syrie sous les derniers Mamelouks et les premiers Ottomans*, Damascus 1995, 40 and *passim*.

49 *Mizān*, I, 124.

50 On this principle see Josef van Ess, *Theologie und Gesellschaft im 2. und 3. Jahrhundert Hidschra. Eine Geschichte des religiösen Denkens im frühen Islam*, Berlin-New York 1991-7, II, 161f.

51 *Mizān*, I, 125.

able to ask him: "Oh Prophet of God, are these your words or not?" And this occurred in a waking state and by means of direct speech (*yaqẓatan wa-mushāfahatan*) under the conditions known to those who receive mystical unveilings.⁵² A passage in Sha^crānī's work the *Lawāqih al-anwār al-quḍsiyya fī bayān al-uhūd al-muḥammadiyya*⁵³ refers to this last point: 'Shaykh Aḥmad al-Zawāwī (d. 1517)⁵⁴ once said to me: "We recite the *taṣliya* on behalf of the Prophet so often that he then sits with us while we are in a waking state (*hattā yaṣīra yujālisunā yaqẓatan*) and we keep company with him like the *ṣaḥāba* did (*naṣḥa-buhū*).⁵⁵ Then we question him about matters of our religion and about *ḥadīths* which are held to be weak in the opinion of our religious scholars. Subsequently we base our behavior on his words."⁵⁶

We may summarize the chief points of Sha^crānī's arguments under two headings:

1) The doctrinal authority of all four *madhāhib*, as it developed historically, is recognized as valid. The imams all teach what is true (*kulluhum 'alā'l-ḥaqq*). This is not only the case with the founders, *al-a'imma al-mujtahidūn*, but the same holds true for their followers, the *muqallidūn*, as well as the followers of the followers, i.e. those of the present generation.

2) That the doctrines of the *madhāhib* which developed over time are founded on truth may be accepted on the basis of authority: *tasliman wa-īmānan*. Likewise, their truth can be demonstrated by a rational methodology: *naẓaran wa'stidlālan*. Absolute certainty, however, can only be obtained by the third method, namely the mystical method. The founders of the schools of jurisprudence already possessed, in addition to the traditional connection with the Prophet, i.e. the sacred written and oral tradition, a particular psychic connection. They were capable of communicating with the Prophet directly. This is what ultimately justifies their claim to truth. Moreover, according to Sha^crānī, the rank and spiritual status of the imams can still be attained today, though only by travelling the mystic path under the guidance of a

52 *Mizān*, I, 182.

53 *GAL*, II, 336 no. 14, S II, 465, and Radtke, 'Studies on the sources of the *Rimāh*', 87.

54 On him see Geoffroy, *Le soufisme*, 103.

55 On this idea see Fritz Meier, 'Eine Auferstehung Mohammeds bei Suyūṭī', *Der Islam*, LXII, 1985, 51 (*Bausteine*, II, 828/*Essays*, 539).

56 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Sha^crānī, *Lawāqih al-anwār al-quḍsiyya fī bayān al-uhūd al-muḥammadiyya*, Cairo 1321, 116.

shaykh. The mystic path leads to a direct encounter with the Prophet in a waking state (*yaqẓatan*) and provides the adept with certain knowledge.⁵⁷ It is this procedure which constitutes the *ṭariqa muḥammadiyya*.⁵⁸ For Sha^crānī, therefore, pursuing the mystic path forms a complimentary adjunct to the traditional *uṣūl al-fīqh*.

Whereas earlier Sufism accepted the true dream as a possible way of having a real encounter with the Prophet Muḥammad, later Sufism recognized the possibility of a real, physical encounter with Muḥammad after his death, the latter not being conceived of as dead and lifeless but as carrying on actively in another form of existence. Emphasizing the possibility of a physical encounter with the Prophet 'in flesh and blood' is one of the distinguishing characteristics of modern Sufism.⁵⁹ Such an encounter is described as an overwhelming experience which is almost too intense for the mystic to bear but, at the same time, imparts to him an ineffable sense of happiness.⁶⁰ It instills in him an absolutely certain knowledge regarding all questions to do with delivering legal judgements. Were the schools of jurisprudence to disappear, because of his direct contact with the Prophet the mystic would be able to restore the whole of the *sharī'a*, as one author of the 18th century affirms.⁶¹ And the physical encounter with the Prophet finally leads the enlightened mystic to the *unio mystica* with God.⁶² Knowledge of this kind is far superior to that of an ordinary theologian and jurist. From this vantage point the fanatic factionalism of the schools of jurisprudence (*ta'aṣṣub al-madhāhib*) obviously appears absurd, since the activity of the schools is based on fallible human understanding.⁶³

57 See Radtke, 'Kritik am Neo-Sufismus', 167.

58 No monograph on the subject exists; for the time being, cf. Meier, 'Auferstehung', 43 (*Bausteine*, II, 820/*Essays*, 529f.); O'Fahey & Radtke, 'Neo-Sufism reconsidered', 64-71; Radtke, 'Between Projection and Suppression', 74; *idem*, 'Erleuchtung und Aufklärung: Islamische Mystik und europäischer Rationalismus', *Die Welt des Islams*, XXXIV, 1, 1994, 59; 'Sufism in the 18th Century', 353ff.; and '*Ibriziana*', 113-58.

59 This is not, however, a substitute for union with God but one of the stages along the way to achieving the latter. See Radtke, 'Ismā'il al-Walī', 153f.; 'Sufism in the 18th Century', 360; and 'Kritik am Neosufismus', 167f. & n. 36.

60 Aḥmad b. al-Mubārak al-Lamaṭī, *al-Ibrīz min kalām sayyidī 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Dabbāgh* (ed. M.°A. al-Shammā°), Damascus 1984-86, I, 56-8 & 400; II, 56-8 & 274-303.

61 Lamaṭī, *Ibrīz*, II, 97: *wa-law ta'afḥalat al-madhāhib bi-asrihā la-qadara 'alā ihyā' al-sharī'a*; see also Radtke, 'Ijtihād and Neo-Sufism', 920.

62 Lamaṭī, *Ibrīz*, II, 287ff.; Radtke, 'Ismā'il al-Walī', 153; 'Lehrer-Schüler-Enkel', 102 & 115; and 'Kritik am Neo-Sufismus', 167f. & n. 36.

63 Lamaṭī, *Ibrīz*, II, 97f.

Aḥmad b. Idrīs does not go this far, at least not in the *Risālat al-Radd*. The Prophet is no longer directly accessible for persons with a normal consciousness.⁶⁴ This clearly shows that our text was intended for the wider audience which did not necessarily have links with mysticism. But that Ibn Idrīs was convinced he was in continuous direct contact with the Prophet is shown in other of his writings⁶⁵ which were intended for the inner circle of his disciples. In our text the esoteric aspects of the *ṭarīqa muḥammadiyya* are toned down by the less provocative demand for *taqwā*.

The claim to higher authority on the part of our master, which is underpinned by these spiritual experiences, did not remain hidden from the outside world. Thus, the Azhar-educated religious scholar Ḥasan al-^cAṭṭār reproaches Aḥmad b. Idrīs for maintaining that he is in direct verbal contact with the Prophet.⁶⁶

* * *

Let us now take a closer look at the views of Muḥammad b. ^cAlī al-Shawkānī with whom Ibn Idrīs corresponded.⁶⁷ Shawkānī, who was born in 1759, held the office of *qāḍī* of Ṣan^cā³ from 1795 until the time of his death, and served as judge and political and diplomatic adviser to three Zaydī imams.⁶⁸ Thus he experienced the period of Wāḥḥābī expansion in the Ḥijāz, as well as the Egyptian destruction of the Wāḥḥābī state. He actually composed

⁶⁴ *Radd*, § 4.

⁶⁵ Cf., for example, Thomassen & Radtke, *Letters*, 90f. and the Introduction to the same work, 5; as well as Radtke, O'Fahey & O'Kane, 'Two Sufi Treatises', 161f.

⁶⁶ *Risāla fi'l-ijtihād* in Vikør, *Sources for Sanūsī Studies*, 103, 4th l. from bot. ff. — Already in the sixteenth century the Ottoman theologian Birgili mentions quite negatively (Muḥammad b. ^cAlī al-Birkawī or Birgili, *al-Ṭarīqa al-muḥammadiyya wa'l-sira al-aḥmadiyya*, Cairo 1379/1960, 13) that certain Sufis in his time claimed to possess direct access to the Prophet and God. The question is whether he is reporting the Sufis' view correctly or has distorted it out of malice; cf. the translation of the relevant passage from Birgili in Bernd Radtke, 'Von raben und uhus als subjekten gesellschaftlicher reformprozesse nebst anderen denk- und merkwürdigkeiten neudeutscher schriftauslegungskunst' (forthcoming).

⁶⁷ *Munāzara*, § 15.

⁶⁸ Born 1173/1759; died 1250/1834. Cf. O'Fahey, *Enigmatic Saint*, 83; *GAL*, S II, 818f.; Bernard Haykel, 'Mediation as Heresy: The Zaydī Imāmate's Response to the Wāḥḥābī Attack on Ziyārat al-Qubūr', in *Cases & Contracts in Islamic Law. Readers/Proceedings of the Workshop 3rd-4th Dec. 1994*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan 1994, 1; Stefan Reichmuth, 'Geschichte und Iḡtihād bei Muḥammad b. ^cAlī aš-Šaukānī' (unpublished paper); and ^cAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad Abū Dāhish (ed.), 'al-Qaṣīda al-lāmiyya fi rithā³ al-shaykh Muḥammad b. ^cAbd al-Wāḥḥāb li'l-qāḍī Muḥammad b. ^cAlī al-Shawkānī', *Majallat Jāmi'at al-imām Muḥammad b. Sa'ūd al-islāmiyya*, IV, Rajab 1411 [Jan.-Feb. 1991], 215-21.

a *qaṣīda* lamenting the death of Muḥammad b. °Abd al-Wahhāb⁶⁹ in which he referred to Ibn °Abd al-Wahhāb as his exemplary model (*quḍwatī*),⁷⁰ praised the latter's sons and comforted them,⁷¹ and celebrated the rulers of the Āl Sa°ūd as defenders of true Islam.⁷² On the other hand, he also sent a *qaṣīda* to Dir°iyya to the Wahhābī imam Sa°ūd b. °Abd al-°Azīz in which he condemned⁷³ the Wahhābī practice of *takfīr*.⁷⁴

Besides his biographical dictionary *al-Badr al-ḫālī*[°] and the above-mentioned poems, we were able to consult the following works from Shawkānī's numerous writings. The *Qaṭr al-walī* °*alā'l-walī*⁷⁵ offers a detailed commentary on the so-called *ḥadīth al-nawāfil* which plays a fundamental role in *taṣawwuf* with regard to the question of *wilāya*.⁷⁶ Similarly it includes in-depth discussions to do with the *ijtihād/taqlīd* debate.⁷⁷ The *Sharḥ al-sudūr bi-tahrīm raf° al-qubūr*⁷⁸ and *al-Durr al-naḍīd fī ikhlāṣ kalimat al-tawḥīd* both deal with the controversial issue of erecting mosques and other buildings over graves, as well as different

69 Abū Dāhish, 'al-Qaṣīda'.

70 Abū Dāhish, 'al-Qaṣīda', 233, verse 25.

71 Abū Dāhish, 'al-Qaṣīda', 239ff., verses 78ff.

72 Abū Dāhish, 'al-Qaṣīda', 241f., verses 95ff.

73 The *qaṣīda* (-ūdū; meter *wāfir*) is found in Zabāra, *Naḥl al-waṭar*, I, 299-302; verses against *takfīr*, e.g. 301, 3-5:

wa-kayfa yuḡālu qad kafarat unāsun
yurā li-qubūrihim ḥajarun wa-°ūdū
fa-in qālū atā amrun ṣaḥīḥun
bi-taswiyati'l-qubūri fa-lā juḥūdū
wa-lākin dhāka dhanbun laḡsa kufran
wa-lā fisqan fa-hal fī dhāka rudūdū

How can it be said people have become infidels
because their graves display stone and wood.
And if they say it is proper that the graves
have been levelled, one cannot deny this.
Yet this is a sin, not infidelity and depravity.
Can there be any doubt in this matter?

74 Cf. *Munāzara*, §§ 22 and 24.

75 Ed. Ibrāhīm Ibrāhīm Hilāl, Beirut 1397/1977-78.

76 See Bernd Radtke & John O'Kane, *The Concept of Sainthood in Early Islamic Mysticism: Two works by al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī*, London 1996, 92f. (cf. Bernd Radtke, *Drei Schriften des Theosophen von Tirmid̄*, II, Beirut-Stuttgart 1996, 54).

77 E.g. *Qaṭr al-walī*, 281ff. and *passim*; see also the footnotes to the translation of the *Radd*.

78 Ed. Muḥammad Ḥāmid al-Fiḳī, Cairo 1366/1947, 1-24; and edn. in Shawkānī, *al-Rasā°il al-salafiyya fī ihyā° sunnat khayr al-bariyya*, Beirut 1348/1930, 1-13.

aspects of venerating saints.⁷⁹ And finally, Shawkānī has two works which deal directly with *uṣūl al-fiqh: al-Qawl al-mufīd fī adillat al-ijtihād wa'l-taqlīd*⁸⁰ and the *Irshād al-fuḥūl ilā taḥqīq al-ḥaqq min 'ilm al-uṣūl*.⁸¹

For our purposes we wish to consider three aspects of Shawkānī's doctrines and views: his relation to the Wāhhābiyya, his attitude toward Sufism, and his position with regard to the ongoing *ijtihād/taqlīd* debate.

Although Shawkānī was in agreement with the puritanical tendencies of the Wāhhābiyya, he rejected their extremism. Like the Wāhhābīs, he spoke out against erecting buildings over graves of saints.⁸² But in his view people who indulged in this practice, or who visited graves or venerated them, were sinful Muslims, not *kāfirūn*.⁸³ He condemned the Wāhhābī *takfīr*.⁸⁴ On this point he was in accord with Aḥmad b. Idrīs who in the *Munāzara* agrees with the Wāhhābīs in condemning the erection of such buildings but is not willing to view this as a renunciation of Islam, as does Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Wāhhāb,⁸⁵ the ideological authority followed by the Wāhhābīs. For Aḥmad b. Idrīs, as for Shawkānī, the latter was merely a religious scholar who had his merits as well as his failings in many respects.⁸⁶

Shawkānī accepted the 'sober' Sufi tradition which is generally associated with the name of Ghazālī. However, in contrast to Ibn Taymiyya, the forerunner of the Wāhhābīs, he not only approved of the pious dimension of Sufism, i.e. the soul's complete orientation on God and a form of training which aims at this goal,⁸⁷ but he was also prepared to concede the existence of saints and miracles by saints (*karāmāt*).⁸⁸ Miracles, like visions (*mukāshafāt*), should be measured by the standard of the Koran and the Sunna, and are not, as with Ibn Taymiyya,⁸⁹ automati-

79 Edn. Beirut 1348/1930, in *al-Rasā'il al-salafiyya*; this text forms the central source for Bernard Haykel's article, 'Mediation as Heresy'; see especially 5ff.

80 Ed. Abū Muṣ'ab Muḥammad Sa'id al-Badrī, Cairo-Beirut 1411/1991; also in *al-Rasā'il al-salafiyya*.

81 Edn. Beirut: Dār al-kutub al-'ilmiyya 1414/1994.

82 Cf. the verses cited in n. 73; and *Sharḥ al-ṣudūr*, (edn. Cairo) 7/(edn. Beirut) 4.

83 Cf. the verses cited in n. 73, and Aḥmad b. Idrīs' viewpoint in *Munāzara*, § 24.

84 See previous note; on the Wāhhābī *takfīr* see *Munāzara*, § 22, n. 77.

85 Peskes, *Muḥammad b. 'Abdalwāhhāb*, 25f.

86 *Munāzara*, §§ 22 and 23.

87 Cf. Meier, 'Das sauberste über die vorbestimmung. Ein stück Ibn Taymiyya', *Saeculum*, XXXII, 1981, 76 (*Bausteine*, II, 698/*Essays*, 313).

88 *Qaṭr al-walī*, 257 f.

89 Meier, 'Das sauberste', 77 (*Bausteine*, II, 699/*Essays*, 314f.).

cally under suspicion of originating from Satan.⁹⁰ But Shawkānī rejects any tendencies to do with ontological monism.⁹¹

Shawkānī, it appears, is closest to the Wahhābī position, at least that of Ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, when it comes to the issue of the *uṣūl al-fiqh*.⁹² Both Shawkānī and Ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb categorically reject the authority and tradition of the *madhāhib*. The sole basis for legal judgements consists of the Koran and the Sunna, i.e. God and the Prophet. The doctrines of the *madhāhib* are to a great extent founded on *raʿy*, the personal opinion of the jurists of a given school—not directly on God’s Word which finds its explanation in the Sunna of the Prophet.

But how is an individual legal case to find its solution in the Koran and the Sunna? Naturally, to begin with, knowledge of both these forms of revelation is necessary. Then the simple use of an argument by analogy is permissible. This procedure is de-

90 *Qaṭr al-walī*, 258.

91 *Ibid.*, 439ff.

92 On this point see Peskes, *Muḥammad b. ʿAbdalwahhāb*, 35; cf. also verses no. 50 and 65-69 of the *qaṣīda* of lamentation:

—no. 50, 236:

fa-mā huwa illā qāʿimun fi zamānīhī
maqāma nabīyyin fi ināṭati bāṭilī

In this day and age he assumed nothing less than
the position of a prophet in eradicating the false.

—no. 65-69, 237f.

afiq yā muʿība ʿl-shaykhi mā dhā tuʿibuhū
laqad ʿibta ḥaqqan waʿrtajalta bi-bāṭilī
naʿam dhanbuhū ʿl-taqlīdu qad jadhda ḥablahū
wa-falla ʿl-taʿaṣṣuba bi-ʿl-suyūfi ʿl-ṣayyāqilī
wa-lammā daʿā lillāhi fiʿl-khalqī ṣārikhan
ṣarakhtum lahū biʿl-qadhfi mithla ʿl-zawājilī
afiqū afiqū innahū laysa dāʿīyan
ilā dīni ābāʿin lahū wa-qabāʿilī
daʿā li-kitābi ʿllāhi waʿl-sunnati ʿllatī
atānā bihā ṭāhā ʿl-nabīyyu khayru qāʿilī

Wake up, blamer of the shaykh! What do you blame him for?

You have blamed the true and contrived what is false.

Yes, his sin was to have cut the rope of *taqlīd*
and blunted *madhhab*-partisanship with shining swords.

When he called to God shouting among the people,
you shouted slander against him like thunderers.

Wake up! Wake up! He called not to a religion
which your forefathers and the tribes practiced
but to the Book of God and to the Sunna

which Ṭāhā the Prophet, the best ever to speak, brought us.

scribed by Shawkānī in the *Irshād al-fuḥūl*.⁹³ Thus he expressly accepts rational epistemological methods in delivering a legal judgement.⁹⁴

It is quite interesting that many formulations in the *Risālat al-Radd*, as far as rejecting the authority of the *madhāhib* is concerned, agree almost verbatim with those of Shawkānī.⁹⁵ In this respect the footnotes to the *Radd* should be consulted in detail. Did our two authors copy from one another? That is unlikely. It is more probable that they had recourse to a no longer extant canon of texts which criticized the *madhāhib* and *taqlīd*.

But Aḥmad b. Idrīs goes beyond Shawkānī. For him the truly pious Muslim has no need of the rational methods developed in science in order to understand the sacred tradition, because such a person can intuitively understand the two exclusive foundations for delivering a legal judgement. Naturally, to begin with, he must and can comprehend the text on a rudimentary level through his reason. But anything beyond that—the derivation of judgements concerned with the facts of external and internal ‘reality’—is not to be accomplished by means of a rational procedure. The man of piety receives from God intuitive knowledge (*‘ilm furqānī*)⁹⁶ as a reward for his fear of God (*taqwā*), and this enables him to distinguish between true and false.⁹⁷ Indeed, every Muslim can do the same if he fulfills the conditions inherent in fear of God.

Ibn Idrīs’ student Sanūsī, if we can trust the text transmission, did not wish to go this far. In the *Risālat al-Radd* Ibn Idrīs says: ‘What we do not know is what has not come from the Messenger of God... And the Messenger... said: “Knowledge is three things: an unambiguous Koranic verse, an old custom, and ‘I don’t know.’” Thus he made the statement “I don’t know” a form of knowledge because a statement based on *ra’y* is *ḥarām: li-anna’l-qawl bi’l-ra’y ḥarām*.’⁹⁸ In Sanūsī the position is expressed with far greater qualification: *li-anna’l-qawl bi’l-ra’y al-ghayr al-*

⁹³ Shawkānī, *Irshād al-fuḥūl*, 381.

⁹⁴ Whether he exerted influence on the Indian Sayyid Aḥmad Barēlwī, as Marc Gaborieau conjectures, still requires further study; cf. Marc Gaborieau, ‘Criticizing the Sufis: The Debate in Early-Nineteenth-Century India’, in De Jong & Radtke, *Islamic Mysticism Contested*, 465f.

⁹⁵ Cf. the footnotes to the *Radd* for details.

⁹⁶ *Radd*, § 14. Ibn Idrīs, had he felt the need to do so, could have referred to a time-honored tradition of Koranic interpretation in justification of his use of the concept of *furqān*.

⁹⁷ Cf. references given in footnotes to *Radd*, § 14.

⁹⁸ *Radd*, § 6.

mabnī ‘alā aṣl min al-kitāb wa’l-sunna wa-mā fuhima minhumā wa’l-qiyās ‘alā ghayr aṣl ḥarām: ‘For to teach by means of *ra’ya* which is not based on a foundation in the Koran and the Sunna and on their understanding, and an argument by analogy without a foundation (in the Koran and the Sunna) are *ḥarām*.’⁹⁹

Above the interpretation of the sacred tradition which depends on pious intuition and is in principle accessible to every Muslim, stands the *interpretatio ab intra*, the *‘ilm al-bāṭin* of classical Sufism which is at the disposal of mystic masters and which Ibn Idrīs bases himself upon in the *Munāẓara*.¹⁰⁰ This capacity requires not only a pious orientation of the soul but a special form of schooling which is attained in progressing on the mystic path. Central in this regard is the *ṭarīqa muḥammadiyya*—in the well-known definition found in Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al-Sanūsī which he took over from an earlier author. The text runs: ‘The basis of this path’, he is referring to the *ṭarīqa muḥammadiyya*, ‘consists of the interior of the person who follows it¹⁰¹ becoming absorbed in the contemplation of Muḥammad’s *dhāt*,¹⁰² while zealously imitating the Prophet outwardly in word and deed, busying his tongue invoking blessings upon him, and devoting himself to him at all times whether in seclusion or in public, until honoring the Prophet comes to dominate his heart and to permeate his inner being to such an extent that he need only hear the Prophet’s name and he starts trembling, his heart is overwhelmed beholding him and the visible appearances of the Prophet emerge before his inner sight.’¹⁰³

‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Dabbāgh,¹⁰⁴ who died in 1718-19, describes the successful adept as follows: “His mind is constantly occupied with this noble Prophet such that the Prophet never leaves his thoughts. Other matters he is busy with do not cause him to stop

99 Cf. the Supplement to *Radd*, § 6.

100 *Munāẓara*, § 29.

101 *Mabnā hādhihī’l-ṭarīqa ‘alā istiḡhrāq bāṭini ṣāhibihā fi shuhūd dhātihi sl‘m*. This is by far the best reading of the sentence which has caused so much confusion; on this subject see Radtke, ‘Projection’, 74 n. 9. The emendation attempted there was clearly called for but proved to be too complicated.

102 On the meaning of *dhāt* in a context such as this see Meier, ‘Auferstehung’, 43 (*Bausteine*, II, 820/*Essays*, 530).

103 Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al-Sanūsī, *al-Manḥal al-rawī al-rā’iq fi asānīd al-‘ulūm wa-uṣūl al-ṭarā’iq*, in *al-Majmū‘a al-mukhtāra*, Beirut 1969, 49, one l. from bot. ff.; cf. also Aḥmad al-Sharīf al-Sanūsī, *al-Fuyūḍāt al-rabbāniyya fi ijāzat al-ṭarīqa al-sanūsīyya*, Istanbul 1339-42/1920-23, 11; and in Vikør, *Sources for Sanūsī Studies*, 227, which contains a better text.

104 On Dabbāgh, see n. 108.

thinking of the Prophet. People see him eating, but his thoughts are with the Prophet; people see him drinking, but his thoughts are with the Prophet. Even when he's asleep his thoughts are with the Prophet."¹⁰⁵

The final goal is *illumination (faḥ)*. Illumination confers the capacity to perceive in a waking state the Prophet himself, in flesh and blood as it were, and to keep company with him. This is the same as *ru'yat al-nabī yaqzatan*, *ru'yat dhātihī al-sharīfa* or *ijtimā' bi'l-nabī yaqzatan*—i.e. the state we heard about above in the first part of our description of Sha'arānī's views—a state of higher consciousness which according to Sufis is *above* normal consciousness, not *below* it as in the dream state, and consequently represents a kind of hyper-wakefulness. The person who attains this state is an absolute authority in all cases involving legal judgement because he can resolve them through his direct contact with the Prophet himself—which recalls the words of Aḥmad al-Zawāwī.¹⁰⁶ This same claim of Zawāwī and Aḥmad b. Idrīs¹⁰⁷ was also made by Ibn Idrīs' spiritual ancestor 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Dabbāgh,¹⁰⁸ Aḥmad al-Tijānī the founder of the Tijāniyya,¹⁰⁹ as well as the *mahdī* Muḥammad Aḥmad¹¹⁰ who went so far as to abolish the *madhāhib*.¹¹¹

Despite the fundamental differences inherent in the three modes of knowledge—ratio, higher intuition and illumination—they have one thing in common: the radical rejection of the authority of the scholarly tradition of the *madhāhib*. Shawkānī replaces the *madhāhib* with rationalistic *ijtihād*, i.e. with an individual's ability to reason. Aḥmad b. Idrīs offers in their place pi-

105 Lamaṭī, *Ibrīz*, II, 285; also quoted in *al-ḥājj 'Umar, Rimāḥ ḥizb al-raḥīm 'alā nuḥūr ḥizb al-raḥīm*, in the margins of 'Alī Ḥarāzīm Barrāda, *Jawāhir al-ma'ānī wa-bulūgh al-amānī fi fayd Sīdī Abī'l-'Abbās al-Tijānī*, Beirut 1393/1973, I, 220.

106 See 17, above.

107 See 19, above.

108 Dabbāgh and the *Ibrīz* are discussed in the following articles by Radtke: 'Sufism in the 18th Century', 326-64; 'Zwischen Traditionalismus und Intellektualismus', 240-67; 'Ibrīziana', 113-58; 'Der Ibriz Lamaṭis', in Holger Preißler and Heidi Stein (eds.), *XXVI Deutscher Orientalistentag: Annäherung an das Fremde*, Stuttgart 1998, 326-33; 'Wat betekent *ṭarīqa muḥammadiyya* in de islamitische mystiek van de 18e en 19e eeuw?', in Marjo Buitelaar & Johan ter Haar (eds.), *Mystiek, het andere gezicht van de islam*, Bussum 1999, 35-44; and 'Kritik am Neo-Sufismus', 162-73.

109 Bernd Radtke, 'Was steht in den *Ġawāhir al-ma'ānī*? Versuch einer Ehrenrettung', (forthcoming).

110 Radtke, 'Wat betekent', 34.

111 See R.S. O'Fahey, 'Sufism in Suspense: The Sudanese Mahdi and the Sufis', in De Jong & Radtke, *Islamic Mysticism Contested*, 266-82.

ous intuition for ordinary Muslims, and the *ṭarīqa muḥammadiyya* and a state of illuminated consciousness for whoever is prepared to travel the mystic path.—From the viewpoint of intellectual history none of this is new in an absolute sense. But the emergence of these tendencies on what appears to be a widespread scale in the 18th and 19th centuries could well be an indication of ideological and perhaps social transformations.

How does our text, the *Risālat al-Radd*, fit into this picture? At first glance it does not appear to offer anything radically new. The line of argumentation as well as the examples given are for the most part taken from earlier literature—but this is likewise the case for the other authors mentioned in this connection.¹¹² For example, Fullānī's work the *Īqāz* is 90 to 95 percent plagiarized from Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr's *Jāmiʿ bayān al-ʿilm* and Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya's *Iʿlām al-muwaqqiʿin*.¹¹³ However, what is truly original, as far as one can judge, is Ibn Idrīs' particular solution: the pious fundamentalist attempt to bring personal fear of God (*taqwā*) into the process of delivering legal judgements instead of rationalistic methods. Indeed, this approach is as far removed as possible from any form of intellectual 'enlightenment'.¹¹⁴ On the other hand, it could be taken as a sign of 'Islamic modernism'—as a manifestation of a process of individualization.¹¹⁵

Aḥmad b. Idrīs' biography

The first question one would like to answer about a text with this content and purpose, i.e. a text based on pious fear of God and radical opposition to the *madhāhib*, is when, and in particular where, can it have first been published. Whom is Ibn Idrīs addressing in § 44? What country has he settled down in?

On the basis of Ibn Idrīs' biography four possibilities present themselves. First of all there is Cairo where he made his first sojourn in 1798-99 after leaving the west.¹¹⁶ He is also said to have taught in al-Azhar. That he would have made public his attack against the *madhāhib* in the very bastion of the religious schools, in the 'lion's den' so to speak, seems rather unlikely.

¹¹² Peters, 'Idjühād'; and Radtke, 'Ijühād and Neo-Sufism', 916.

¹¹³ Cf. also Peters, 'Idjühād', 142 n. 36.

¹¹⁴ As Johansen, 'Die sündige, gesunde Amme', 281f., rightly remarks.

¹¹⁵ On this point see Radtke, 'Sufism in the 18th century', 361.

¹¹⁶ O'Fahey, *Enigmatic Saint*, 51f.

As for his stay in the Ḥijāz, it seems probable that he went directly from Cairo to Mecca where he arrived in 1799.¹¹⁷ He left Mecca approximately at the time of the Egyptian occupation, i.e. 1813-14, and went to Upper Egypt,¹¹⁸ returned once more to Mecca in 1817-18,¹¹⁹ and then at some time during the following years visited Upper Egypt again. Finally, in 1824-25 he was back in Mecca. A few years later in 1827-28 he was forced to leave Mecca for good.¹²⁰ After first having travelled about on the coast of Yemen, in 1830 he settled definitively in Ṣabyā in °Asīr where he died in 1837 and where the events described in our second text took place. Why was he obliged to leave Mecca, and why did he decide to settle in Ṣabyā? What lies behind the reports that in 1824-25 Ibn Idrīs was at the head of a revolt in Upper Egypt which was directed against the brief Egyptian domination established there?¹²¹—The source materials covering the whole period from 1798 to 1827, as has been rightly pointed out, are extremely uninformative.¹²² Indeed, by examining the information of both texts presented here together, more may perhaps become clear than has been the case until now.

Ibn Idrīs is said to have been viewed with hostility by the established local ‘*ulamā*’ shortly after his arrival in Mecca, due in fact to his position regarding the *uṣūl al-fiqh*.¹²³ What his student Muḥammad °Uthmān al-Mīrghanī reports—though he is not an eye-witness for this period—accords with the contents of the *Risālat al-Radd*. The nature of the relations of Ibn Idrīs with the then governor of Mecca, Ghālib b. Musā°id, is not quite clear. It appears that due to the hostility of the ‘*ulamā*’ Ibn Idrīs withdrew to Ṭā°if for a few years.¹²⁴ He was back in Mecca at the time of the Wāhhābī conquest of the city in 1803 and remained there until the Egyptian conquest in 1813-14.¹²⁵ Although our sources have an anti-Wāhhābī bias, they cannot completely cover up the fact that Ibn Idrīs was on friendly terms with the Wāhhābīs. He

117 *Ibid.*, 58.

118 *Ibid.*, 54.

119 *Ibid.*, 54.

120 See Thomassen & Radtke, *Letters*, 168-9, where the key phrase *fa-qad waqa°a°l-inzi°āj li°l-ḥaramayn* occurs, making it clear that Ibn Idrīs was expelled from Mecca. The sense of the Arabic text is: It happened that I was expelled from the Ḥaramayn.

121 *Ibid.*, 56-8.

122 *Ibid.*, 51.

123 *Ibid.*, 64.

124 *Ibid.*, 64; Hofheinz, ‘Internalising Islam’.

125 O°Fahey, *Enigmatic Saint*, 68.

made the personal acquaintance of Sa°ūd b. °Abd al-°Azīz and the sons of Muḥammad b. °Abd al-Wahhāb, and had respect for them.¹²⁶ That he left Mecca after the Egyptian conquest may be an indication that he did not appreciate the presence of the Egyptians who will, moreover, have supported the theological establishment of Mecca.

Apart from the brief remark at the beginning of the *Munāẓara*,¹²⁷ the sources are silent concerning the exact reasons for his final departure from Mecca. °Ākish informs us that Ibn Idrīs left Mecca because of an incident which was caused by a son of the shērīf Ghālib b. Musā°id with the help of Egyptian and Turkish troops. After having travelled around for a while, he finally chose Ṣabyā which was under Wahhābī domination, though he had first wished to settle in the neighboring city of Abū °Arīsh whose emir °Alī b. Ḥaydar was a supporter of the Egyptians and who had a large number of Egyptian soldiers with him in the city.¹²⁸ But as °Ākish reports, °Alī b. Ḥaydar was unwilling to take Ibn Idrīs under his protection in view of the fact that Ibn Idrīs had been forced to leave Mecca because of something which happened between him and these same troops.¹²⁹

Thus it seems Ibn Idrīs was able to reach a *modus vivendi* with the Wahhābīs but not with the establishment of the Islamic learned centers. This situation accords well with our findings that alliances were frequently based on a shared attitude toward the *uṣūl al-fiqh*: the Wahhābīs and Ibn Idrīs were united by a radical anti-madhhabism, at least to begin with. What separated them was the Sufi element. We will have more to say about this below.

°Asīr in the early Wahhābī period

Let us look a little closer at the history of this particularly turbulent time for the Ḥijāz and °Asīr. For our purpose we can draw on the following sources:

1. *Ta°rīkh °Asīr fī'l-māḍī wa'l-ḥāḍir*, by Hāshim b. Sa°id al-Nu°mī.¹³⁰
2. *Fī rubū° °Asīr, dhikrayāt wa-ta°rīkh*, by Muḥammad °Umar Rafī°.

¹²⁶ *Munāẓara*, § 23.

¹²⁷ *Munāẓara*, § 2.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*

¹³⁰ See 6, above; owner of a MS of the *Munāẓara*.

3. *Al-Sirāj al-munīr fī sīrat umarā'* °Asīr, by °Abd Allāh b. °Alī b. Musfir.

All three of these sources are from the 20th century but the accounts they present are based on earlier materials.¹³¹

To facilitate an understanding of what follows it will be useful to give some geographical information. °Asīr consists of two main regions: the coastal plain of the Tihāma and the mountainous area of al-Sarāt, the real °Asīr. The Tihāma is also called al-Mikhilāf al-Sulaymānī, whereas the mountainous area is referred to as Sarāt °Asīr.¹³² The Tihāma is divided from north to south into six chief localities: al-Qunfudha, Ma(u)ḥā'il, Rujāl Alma°, Jizān, al-Ḥudayda and al-Mukhā. Ṣabyā and Abū °Arīsh, as well as other towns, are in Jizān. The highland region of Sarāt is divided into eight cantons: Abhā, Ṣahrān, Shahrān, Najrān, Ṣa°da, Banū Shahr, Raghdān and Bīsha.¹³³

At the end of the 18th century °Asīr was divided into several emirates and spheres of power:

1. The emirate of the Āl al-Mutaḥammī included the tribes from Sarāt °Asīr, Rujāl Alma° and Maḥā'il.
2. The emirate of the Āl Shakhbān was based in Bīsha.
3. The emirate of °Arrār b. Shārr included the tribes of the Tihāma.
4. The emirate of the shērīf Maṣṣūr b. Nāṣir al-Ḥasanī had its center in Ṣabyā.
5. The emirate of the shērīf Ḥamūd b. Muḥammad al-Ḥasanī had its center in Abū °Arīsh.
6. The shaykhdōm of Ṣāliḥ b. °Abd al-Malik was based in al-Luḥayya.
7. The emirate of Ṣāliḥ b. Yaḥyā was centered on al-Ḥudayda.¹³⁴

Wahhābī expansion had already reached eastern °Asīr by the end of the lifetime of the founder of the Wahhābī state, Muḥammad b. Sa°ūd (d. 1179/1765).¹³⁵ Under his son, °Abd al-°Azīz b. Muḥammad b. Sa°ūd, Wahhābī rule came to include the Ḥijāz—

¹³¹ An important older source especially concerning Ḥamūd, which we have not been able to consult, is °Abd al-Raḥmān al-Bahkalī, *Nafḥ al-°ūd fī sīrat dawlat al-Sharīf Ḥamūd*.

¹³² See also Johannes Reissner, 'Die Idrisiden in °Asīr: Ein historischer Überblick', *Die Welt des Islams*, XXI, 1981, 164-92.

¹³³ *Al-Sirāj al-munīr*, 13-15.

¹³⁴ *Al-Sirāj al-munīr*, 25f.

¹³⁵ *Al-Sirāj al-munīr*, 28.

Mecca was conquered on the 4th of Muḥarram, 1218/April 26th, 1803—and was likewise established in the highlands of °Asīr, though not without bitter fighting especially in connection with the attempt to subdue the Tihāma. °Ākish speaks in the *Munāẓara* of streams of blood which were unleashed as a result.¹³⁶ The beginning of the Wahnābī mission in this region is given in our sources as the middle of the second decade of the 13th century, i.e. circa 1798-1800. The more precise dates of 1213/1798-99¹³⁷ and 1215/1800-01¹³⁸ are also cited. The proponent of this first mission was the emir of Sarāt °Asīr and Rujāl Alma°, Muḥammad b. °Āmir, known as Abū Nuqṭa, from the Āl al-Mutaḥammī.¹³⁹ He was supported by some other emirs, among whom the emir of Bīsha, Sālim b. Shakhbān.¹⁴⁰ The latter had already been installed as emir in Bīsha in 1213/1803 by °Abd al-°Azīz b. Muḥammad after the previous emir, Mar°ī b. Muḥammad, had been killed by the Wahnābī general, Rubayyi° b. Zayd.¹⁴¹

Either in 1213/1798¹⁴² or 1215/1800-01¹⁴³ °Abd al-°Azīz b. Muḥammad sent a large contingent of troops at the request of Abū Nuqṭa which were meant to help to subdue the whole of °Asīr and to spread the Wahnābī *da°wa*. Abū Nuqṭa was appointed governor on behalf of the Wahnābīs. Many tribes submitted to him, including the emir °Arrār b. Shārr and the emir of Ṣabyā, Maṣūr b. Nāṣir. Together they advanced up to Abū °Arīsh, whose emir Ḥamūd, however, remained undefeated. The army then returned to Sarāt and the Najd, apparently due to exhaustion.

Immediately afterwards Abū Nuqṭa saw it as his chief activity to settle tribal disputes and to disarm individual tribes.¹⁴⁴ Many resisted him and received support in doing so from Ḥamūd who sought help against the Wahnābī emirs from the Zaydī imam of Ṣan°ā°. ¹⁴⁵ Consequently, Dir°iyya, the Wahnābī headquarters, sent out a new army in 1215/1800-01¹⁴⁶ consisting of 500 to 1,000

136 *Munāẓara*, § 7.

137 *Al-Sirāj al-munīr*, 29.

138 *Ta°rikh °Asīr*, 131; and *Fī rubū° °Asīr*, 177.

139 *Al-Sirāj al-munīr*, 29; *Ta°rikh °Asīr*, 131; and *Fī rubū° °Asīr*, 177.

140 *Al-Sirāj al-munīr*, 29.

141 *Ibid.*

142 *Ibid.*

143 *Ta°rikh °Asīr*, 132.

144 *Ta°rikh °Asīr*, 133; and *al-Sirāj al-munīr*, 33.

145 *Al-Sirāj al-munīr*, 33.

146 *Al-Sirāj al-munīr*, 34.

men which once again advanced up to Abū °Arīsh with the intention of punishing Ḥamūd. Along with the Wahnābī leaders Ḥizām b. °Amir al-°Ajmanī, Rubayyī° b. Zayd and Abū Nuqta, the °Asīriote emirs °Arrār b. Shār and Maṣūr (the shērīf of Ṣabyā) also took part in the campaign. For 'political reasons' a truce was concluded. The army then withdrew to Sarāt and the Najd.

None the less, Ḥamūd persisted in his machinations against the Wahnābīs and once more turned to the imam of Ṣan°ā° for help. Furthermore, he entered into negotiations with other tribes in an attempt to prevent the Wahnābī forces from taking control of the Tihāma. This and other difficulties regarding to the subjection of the tribes and the establishment of the Wahnābīs over them prompted Abū Nuqta to journey to Dir°iyya together with his brother. °Abd al-°Azīz b. Muḥammad then appointed him emir of the whole of °Asīr, Tihāma and Sarāt,¹⁴⁷ and ordered him to continue the conquests and especially to wage war against Ḥamūd. While returning home, however, Abū Nuqta died in Jumādā I 1215/September-October 1800.¹⁴⁸

His brother °Abd al-Wahnāb was chosen as his successor with the consent of °Abd al-°Azīz b. Muḥammad. The latter ordered him to renew the war against Ḥamūd. Likewise, he was especially encouraged in this direction by the emir of Ṣabyā, Maṣūr. °Abd al-Wahnāb then set out against Ḥamūd with 20,000 warriors. After heavy fighting during the siege of Abū °Arīsh, Ḥamūd was forced to surrender on the 19th of Ramaḍān, 1217/January 13th, 1803. He paid homage to the Wahnābīs and was allowed to remain emir of Abū °Arīsh.¹⁴⁹

In this capacity Ḥamūd further extended his domination. Under the cover of promoting the Wahnābī mission,¹⁵⁰ he subdued areas which until then had been subject to the rule of the imam of Ṣan°ā°. ¹⁵¹ Meanwhile he endeavored to by-pass °Abd al-Wahnāb and to establish a direct relation of dependence on Dir°iyya. Behind °Abd al-Wahnāb's back he maintained contact with the Wahnābī imam and wrote him hypocritical letters.¹⁵²

After the murder of °Abd al-°Azīz b. Muḥammad in the year 1218/1803, Ḥamūd sent a delegation to pay homage to the new

147 *Al-Sirāj al-munīr*, 35.

148 *Ibid.*; *Ta°rikh °Asīr* and *Fī rubū° °Asīr* give the year 1217/1802.

149 *Ta°rikh °Asīr*, 134f.; and *al-Sirāj al-munīr*, 36-8.

150 *Ta°rikh °Asīr*, 135.

151 *Ta°rikh °Asīr*, 136; and *al-Sirāj al-munīr*, 38f.

152 *Ta°rikh °Asīr*, 136; and *al-Sirāj al-munīr*, 40.

imam Sa[°]ūd and succeeded in establishing favorable links with the center, under the proviso that he remain on a friendly footing with [°]Abd al-Wahhāb.¹⁵³ But no real change resulted from this and the fighting continued. Finally, Sa[°]ūd decided to send a large army under the leadership of [°]Abd al-Wahhāb against the recalcitrant Ḥamūd. However, on the 19th of Jumādā II, 1224/August 1st, 1809, in an armed clash in Wādī Baysh [°]Abd al-Wahhāb lost his life.¹⁵⁴

His cousin, Ṭāmī b. Shu[°]ayb, was chosen as his successor.¹⁵⁵ But Ḥamūd also suffered heavy losses in this war. His army was defeated, Ṣabyā was occupied and Abū [°]Arish was seriously threatened. A state of general exhaustion led to a truce in the year 1226/1811.¹⁵⁶

In the years that followed [°]Asīr was more and more drawn into the sphere of Egyptian-Turkish-Wahhābī conflicts. The result was that the northern Tihāma came under Wahhābī control, while the southern Tihāma remained under Ḥamūd. After the rather laborious conquest of the Ḥaramayn, Muḥammad [°]Alī simultaneously attacked the heartland of the Wahhābīs and their ally in [°]Asīr, the emir Ṭāmī b. Shu[°]ayb. The Egyptian troops finally conquered the central region of Sarāt in 1230/1815. Ṭāmī was forced to flee to the Tihāma but was captured there. He was first brought to Egypt and then to Istanbul where he was publicly executed.¹⁵⁷

His successor in the year 1231/1816 was a relative, the emir Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Mutaḥammī.¹⁵⁸ The real winner, however, was Ḥamūd who even managed to advance victoriously into Sarāt and to bring the local tribes under his dominion. He died at the peak of his success on the 14th of Rabi[°], 1233/January 21st, 1818.¹⁵⁹

He was succeeded by his son Aḥmad b. Ḥamūd, although the real ruler was his father's vizier, Ḥasan b. Khālīd al-Ḥāzimī, who was also an accomplished religious scholar. The situation which emerged after the death of Ḥamūd led Muḥammad [°]Alī to send a new expeditionary force to [°]Asīr in 1234/1818-19 under the leadership of Aḥmad Khālīd Pāshā.¹⁶⁰ Ḥasan b. Khālīd set out to

153 *Ta'rikh 'Asir*, 139; and *al-Sirāj al-munir*, 40f.

154 *Ta'rikh 'Asir*, 143; *al-Sirāj al-munir*, 61; and *Fī rubū' 'Asir*, 180.

155 *Ta'rikh 'Asir*, 145; *al-Sirāj al-munir*, 61; and *Fī rubū' 'Asir*, 180.

156 *Ta'rikh 'Asir*, 147.

157 *Ta'rikh 'Asir*, 153-6; and *al-Sirāj al-munir*, 69-71.

158 *Ta'rikh 'Asir*, 158; and *al-Sirāj al-munir*, 71.

159 *Ta'rikh 'Asir*, 161; and *al-Sirāj al-munir*, 74.

160 *Ta'rikh 'Asir*, 164.

confront them in the mountainous region. Surprisingly, instead of moving into the highlands, the Egyptians attacked Abū °Arīsh and took the emir Aḥmad b. Ḥamūd prisoner.¹⁶¹ Ḥasan b. Khālid, supported by the °Asīriotes Sa°id b. Muslaṭ and °Alī b. Mujaththal, withdrew again. He was then appointed emir by the °Asīriotes but soon fell in battle leading his troops against the Egyptians in Sha°bān 1234 or 1235/June 1819 or 1820.¹⁶²

Nu°mī, the author of the *Ta°rikh °Asīr*, at this point inserts a *vita* of Ḥasan whom he celebrates as a great religious scholar. He cites some of Ḥasan's writings whereby it becomes clear that the latter was a proponent of Wahnābī viewpoints such as *taḥrīm al-taqlīd*,¹⁶³ concerning which he wrote a *Risāla*. Nu°mī also mentions a *Risāla* about the necessity of destroying the *mashāhid*.¹⁶⁴

After the death of Ḥasan b. Khālid, the shērif of Mecca Muḥammad b. °Awn conquered Sarāt¹⁶⁵ and took prisoner the very unpopular last emir of the Āl al-Mutaḥammī, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad, who then disappears from history. He was apparently deported to Egypt. These events took place circa 1236/1820-21.

However, it was not long before resistance to foreign rule arose in Sarāt.¹⁶⁶ Sa°id b. Muslaṭ, together with his nephew °Alī b. Mujaththal of the Banū Mughayd, organized the uprising. Both were proponents of Wahnābī doctrine. In 1238/1822-23 the Egyptians were defeated and Sa°id was raised to the position of emir. There then followed over the years 1239-40/1823-24 several attempts on the part of Ibn °Awn to reestablish his rule over Sarāt.¹⁶⁷

Ibn Muslaṭ died in Ṣafar 1242/September 1826 and was succeeded by his nephew, °Alī b. Mujaththal.¹⁶⁸ Thereupon the emirate of °Asīr definitively passed from the Āl al-Mutaḥammī, the Rufayd and the Rabī°a, into the hands of the Banū Mughayd. This was the first genuinely independent dynasty of °Asīr, since the Āl al-Mutaḥammī had been thoroughly dependent on the Wahnābīs.

°Alī b. Mujaththal received support in the Tihāma, in particular from the clan of Ḥasan b. Khālid, which enabled him to ex-

161 *Ta°rikh °Asīr*, 165.

162 *Ta°rikh °Asīr*, 166.

163 See 13, above.

164 See 20, above.

165 *Ta°rikh °Asīr*, 167-70.

166 *Ta°rikh °Asīr*, 171ff.

167 *Ta°rikh °Asīr*, 173.

168 *Ta°rikh °Asīr*, 175.

tend the sphere of his rule.¹⁶⁹ He was successful in bringing Ṣabyā and Ḍamad under his control. The reasons given for his success are that Muḥammad °Alī was preoccupied in Syria, whereas in Mecca civil war prevailed among the sherif families which in 1243/1827-28 led to the emirate being transferred from the Āl Ghālib to the Dhawī °Awn.¹⁷⁰

In 1242/1827 Ibn Mujaththal¹⁷¹ drove the Turkish garrison out of Ṣabyā and installed his own governor who was soon driven out himself by °Alī b. Ḥaydar, the emir of Abū °Arīsh. A truce was concluded in 1243/1827-28 on the basis of which °Alī b. Ḥaydar conceded Ṣabyā to °Alī b. Mujaththal who then installed Muḥammad b. Ḥasan¹⁷² b. Khālid as governor there.

In the following years¹⁷³ Ibn Mujaththal fought against various tribes in an attempt to extend his rule southwards. In Wādī Mawr he destroyed pilgrimage shrines and the graves of saints. In addition, his goal was to conquer Abū °Arīsh which he began to lay siege to in Rabi° I 1248/July 1832. °Alī b. Ḥaydar was sent troop reinforcements by Muḥammad °Alī's governor in Mecca, Aḥmad Yakun (Yegan).¹⁷⁴ Meanwhile, °Alī b. Mujaththal had entered into a pact with Türkçe Bilmez and his Albanian troops who in Rajab 1247/late 1831 had launched a rebellion in Mecca against the sherif Muḥammad b. °Awn and the Egyptian governor Aḥmad Pāshā, but were subsequently driven from the city.

In the face of this coalition °Alī b. Ḥaydar was forced to capitulate. Abū °Arīsh was surrendered without a struggle, the Turkish garrison had to depart for the Ḥijāz, and °Alī b. Ḥaydar managed to remain emir of the city through °Alī b. Mujaththal's favor.

It is at this point that the *Ta'rikh °Asīr* introduces a report concerning the *Munāzara* which took place between Aḥmad b. Idrīs and religious scholars from °Asīr. A complete translation of the passage is as follows:

'Al-Idrīsī had come to Ṣabyā in 1245/1829 on his return journey from Zabīd. He had gone to this latter city from Mecca in 1244/1828. Although the doctrinal beliefs of the emir Ibn Mujaththal were far removed from those of Aḥmad, he allowed

169 *Ta'rikh °Asīr*, 176.

170 See 37, below.

171 *Ta'rikh °Asīr*, 178.

172 The text has °Alī which is clearly a mistake; see 35, below, and n. 177.

173 *Ta'rikh °Asīr*, 179.

174 *Ta'rikh °Asīr*, 180f.

him to take up residence in Şabyā which at that time formed part of his emirate. He granted him a fixed monthly income from the revenues of Jīzān. Since Ibn Idrīs now began to preach the principles of his path and Şabyā was virtually crowded with his novices, certain religious scholars opposed him. They were *muṭāwiʿa*¹⁷⁵ of the emir Ibn Mujaththal and included Shaykh Nāṣir b. Muḥammad al-Kubaybī al-Jāmī¹⁷⁶ from Rujāl Almaʿ, Shaykh ʿAbd Allāh b. Surūr al-ʿAsīrī al-Yāmī, and Shaykh ʿAbbās b. Muḥammad al-Rufaydī. The *daʿwa* of Ibn Idrīs was in fact mixed with *taṣawwuf*, i.e. with matters which contradict the tenets of the *ahl al-sunna*. The ʿAsīriotes had no sympathy for the practices of *taṣawwuf*, for the ascetic *awrād* and self-promotion through alleged miracles which everyone expectantly awaits. These religious scholars presented the emir of ʿAsīr with a description of these reprehensible matters and explained to him what they found objectionable in al-Idrīsī.

Thereupon the emir wrote to his governor in Şabyā, Muḥammad b. ʿAlī¹⁷⁷ b. Khālīd al-Ḥāzimī and asked him for an explanation concerning the accusations against al-Idrīsī. The governor's reply did not confirm the accusations.

When the emir Ibn Mujaththal came to Şabyā on his way to lay siege to Abū ʿArīsh, he convened a gathering at which a debate was held in his presence. He had al-Idrīsī and those who reproached him from among the religious scholars of ʿAsīr participate in the debate, as well as a considerable number of religious scholars from al-Mikhlāf al-Sulaymānī including: Shaykh Yaḥyā b. Muḥsin al-Nuʿmī, Shaykh ʿAlī b. ʿAqīl al-Ḥāzimī, Shaykh ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā, Qāḍī ʿAbd Allāh al-Subaʿī, Qāḍī Aḥmad b. ʿAlī, Shaykh Aḥmad b. ʿAlī b. ʿAdwān, Shaykh Ismāʿīl b. Bashīr, Shaykh ʿAlī b. Muḥammad Shawīsh, Shaykh Ḥasan b. Muḥammad ʿAbduh, Shaykh Muḥammad b. ʿAbduh al-Jābirī,¹⁷⁸ and other religious scholars and notables as well. Nuʿmī then continues: 'I do not here wish to describe what took place in the debate. It contained both "lean and fat". In this connection I only wish to mention things which will make clear to the reader that the emir ʿAlī b. Mujaththal possessed the capacity for political action that corresponded to his situation in al-Mikhlāf al-Sulaymānī, in particular

175 See n. 183.

176 See n. 2 of the translation of the *Munāzara*.

177 Sic! The *Munāzara* and the *Letter* of Ibn Mujaththal both have *Ḥasan* which is correct; see n. 172, above.

178 For these scholars, see *Munāzara*, § 12.

in his dealings with this Sufi religious scholar, whose *madhhab* already embraced the greater part of the Sudan and North Africa before he arrived in al-Mikhlāf al-Sulaymānī. The upright doctrinal beliefs which characterized the emir are clear from the words with which he inaugurated the *Munāẓara*.¹⁷⁹ There then follows the opening remarks of the emir which are given in *Munāẓara* § 13.

Türkçe Bilmez, the emir's ally, then proceeded to conquer the cities of the southern Tihāma in the name of the emir and in so doing committed gruesome atrocities.¹⁷⁹ This led to the dissolution of the alliance between them. In the middle of Rajab 1249/November 1833 Ibn Mujaththal attacked Türkçe in Zabīd. By the following month of Sha^cbān Türkçe was obliged to flee in a British warship which had been anchored off the coast of Zabīd. After having also conquered al-Ḥudayda, ^cAlī b. Mujaththal died on his return journey to ^cAsīr on the 12th of Shawwāl, 1249/February 21st, 1834. His successor was a relative named ^cĀ'id b. Mar^cī.

This is the extent of what the sources have to tell us.—The history of ^cAsīr during the first decades of the 19th century, like that of the whole of the Arabian Peninsula, indeed of the whole Near-Eastern world, was deeply affected by the rise of the Wahhābiyya. The Wahhābī *da^cwa*, toward the end of the 18th century, acquired a firm foothold among the tribes of ^cAsīr's mountainous region Sarāt, in particular through the support of the emirs of the Āl al-Mutaḥammī. In the lowlands, called the Tihāma or al-Mikhlāf al-Sulaymānī, the movement met with resistance both from local rulers and from the Zaydī imams of Ṣan^cā', whose sphere of influence had extended up to the city of Abū ^cArīsh. The most prominent representative of this resistance was the emir of Abū ^cArīsh, the sherif Abū Mismār Ḥamūd, who simultaneously sought to shake off the authority of the Zaydī imams as well as to hinder direct Wahhābī rule in the Tihāma. This situation led to numerous extremely bloody military clashes with the emirs of the Āl al-Mutaḥammī. In the end Ḥamūd was forced to recognize the hegemony of the Wahhābī center of power in Dir^ciyya and to adopt Wahhābī religious doctrines, but he was always successful in evading complete submission by skilfully manoeuvring between the Wahhābī imam and his representatives, the emirs of the Āl al-Mutaḥammī in ^cAsīr, and the Zaydī imams in Ṣan^cā'. He

¹⁷⁹ *Ta'rikh ^cAsīr*, 183.

even managed to survive a concentrated attack of the combined forces of the Wāhhābīs and the °Asīriotes.

The Egyptian invasion of Muḥammad °Alī not only put an end to the Wāhhābīs' domination over the Ḥaramayn and their state in the Najd, but had an important effect on the two regions of °Asīr as well. The mountainous region was conquered and the dynasty of the Āl al-Mutaḥammī was extinguished. None the less, Ḥamūd once again managed to survive and for a short time he was even able to impose himself as emir over the whole of °Asīr. Successive new campaigns, undertaken by the sherifs of Mecca at the bidding of Muḥammad °Alī, were intended to confirm Egyptian sovereignty.

Soon, however, the highlands rose in rebellion under the leadership of the emirs from the tribe Banū Mughayd. The Egyptian troops were defeated and expelled, the recent conquest of the lowlands was further consolidated. As with their predecessors of the Āl al-Mutaḥammī, the emirs of the Banū Mughayd were zealous proponents of the Wāhhābī doctrine which only a few years after the great set-back of 1818 was thus able to reassert itself with vigor. Our second text, the *Munāzara*, depicts events which took place at an important historical juncture. The second emir of the Banū Mughayd, °Alī b. Mujaththal, was then in the process of definitively subduing his old opponent in Abū °Arīsh with the help of the rebels from Mecca. But before setting out for Abū °Arīsh, he had to come to a decision concerning the case of Ibn Idrīs.

To return to our initial question before this lengthy historical digression, why did Ibn Idrīs not settle in Abū °Arīsh which was his original intention according to °Ākish, but instead chose Ṣabyā for his residence which lay within the domain of an emir who had little sympathy for the views of our shaykh? The actual hindrance appears to be the troops which the sherif of Abū °Arīsh had received as reinforcements in his fight against °Alī b. Mujaththal. They were the official Egyptian troops, not the rebels under the leadership of Türkçe Bilmez with whom °Alī b. Mujaththal had allied himself. These official Egyptian troops, at the instigation of one of the sons of Ghālib b. Musā°id, were supposed to have done something hostile to Ibn Idrīs in Mecca¹⁸⁰ which forced him to leave the city for good.

180 *Munāzara*, § 2.

In 1827 Mecca was in a turbulent state and a rebellion against the Egyptian troops was under way led by members of the family of the sherif Ghālib b. Musā'id who had been deposed by the Egyptians in 1813. Indeed, in 1827 the emir of Mecca had been °Abd al-Muṭṭalib, a son of Ghālib b. Musā'id, but he was deposed by the Egyptians and replaced by the sherif Muḥammad b. °Awn. Whether °Abd al-Muṭṭalib had himself been appointed by the Egyptians remains unclear—only in that case would he have had the authority to use the Egyptian troops to intimidate Ibn Idrīs. On the other hand, sources report that Aḥmad b. Idrīs positioned himself on the side of °Abd al-Muṭṭalib against Muḥammad b. °Awn.¹⁸¹ When the latter gained the upper hand, Ibn Idrīs departed from Mecca. The reports, however, are not unambiguous. In any case, the two possibilities together are not compatible. The fact that Ibn Idrīs shunned Abū °Arīsh suggests rather that he had been on the anti-Egyptian side in Mecca and wished to avoid renewing the conflict. Ṣabyā was the less troublesome choice, given that he was in agreement with the Wāḥḥābīs in rejecting the *madhāhib* establishment. Disagreement revolved around Ibn Idrīs' relation to *taṣawwuf*, and his unwillingness to accept certain doctrinal positions of the Wāḥḥābīs.

Ibn Idrīs' remark in *Radd* § 44 may well be based on the situation in Ṣabyā. He calls for the rejection of *ra'y* which is a view he has in common with those he is addressing. Similarly, the defense of special *dhikr*-practices in *Radd* §§ 53-55 could be in reaction to hostile criticism and opposition in Ṣabyā. As in the letter to the emir, there is no discussion about the permissibility of *dhikr* in general but only about deviant practices connected with it.—We therefore have good reason, if not cogent proof, for situating the composition of the *Risālat al-Radd* in Ṣabyā during the final years of the master's life.

Prelude to the debate

The passage quoted above from Nu°mī's *Ta'rikh* makes it clear what the reasons for the debate were. It was the fact that behavior of the adherents of Ibn Idrīs was causing a scandal in Ṣabyā. Once °Alī b. Mujaththal was informed of this, he sought advice in a letter to the respected religious scholar Ibrāhīm b. Aḥmad al-Ḥifzī

¹⁸¹ Hofheinz, 'Internalising Islam'.

al-Zamzanī.¹⁸² This letter is preserved and presented here both in the Arabic original and in translation. Ibn Mujaththal directs no reproaches against Ibn Idrīs personally. The scandal in question is wholly to do with the behavior of his students in Ṣabyā, which going by everything the emir has heard can only be described as *bid'ā*. The persons who brought charges against the disciples of Ibn Idrīs are referred to in our texts as *muṭāwi'ā*, which is the plural of *muṭawwi'*.¹⁸³ This is the official designation for the religious police of the first and second Wāhhābī state,¹⁸⁴ comparable to the revolutionary committees of modern Iran. The actual scandal had to do with the form of *dhikr*-performance which Ibn Idrīs' followers practiced, not with *dhikr* itself which is sanctioned by the sacred tradition, as Ibn Mujaththal admits. In Ibn Idrīs' group the singers who participated sang so loudly that it disturbed the peace during the night.¹⁸⁵ What seems to be indicated is that the *dhikr*-performance consisted of a mixture of *dhikr* and *samā'*,¹⁸⁶ although our texts only speak of *dhikr* and never explicitly mention *samā'*. The arguments which then follow are of a pronounced Wāhhābī character. Our duty consists solely in adhering to the law of the Messenger. This is to be understood with our powers of intelligence and is mild in its demands. Exaggerated exercises of piety are not permissible.¹⁸⁷ The immediate question was whether the form of practicing *dhikr* adopted by Ibn Idrīs' students was to be judged an exaggeration—*dhikr* itself is not forbidden. The only standard one is to judge by, however, are the practices of

182 Introduction of Abū Dāhish's edition 11f.; born 22 Rabī' I, 1199/2 February, 1785; died 1257/1841.

183 Cf. Amīn al-Rayḥānī, *Mulūk al-'arab*, 86 n. 1. — The term was used in the 1860s for local 'ulamā' who were the 'public ministers of religion' among the bedouin tribes under Sa'ūdī authority. In the early twentieth century, they were described as religious officials, under the authority of the 'ulamā' proper, but with a rank higher than that of the *talāmīdh* (students), their task being to give religious instruction and to enforce morality in the newly conquered territories. This latter function was taken over by the 'Organization for commanding good and forbidding evil' (*al-Hay'a li'l-amr bi'l-ma'rūf wa'l-nahy 'an al-munkar*), the 'public morality committees' [or 'religious police'] established in the late 1920s, which are commonly known as the *muṭāwi'ā*; Charles Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, (3rd edn.) London 1924, II, 369 & 395; John Habib, *Ibn Sa'ud's Warriors of Islam*, Leiden 1978, 62 & 119. Cf. also *Munāzara*, n. 40.

184 Cf. *Munāzara*, § 10, n. 40.

185 Cf. Fritz Meier, 'Ein Knigge für Sufi's', *Rivista degli studi orientali*, XXXII, 1957, 35 n. 3 (*Bausteine*, I, 519/*Essays*, 85 n. 166).

186 Cf. Fritz Meier, 'Der Derwischtanz. Versuch eines Überblicks', *Asiatische Studien*, VIII, 1954, 128ff. (*Bausteine*, I, 44/*Essays*, 41ff.).

187 On this subject see Meier, 'Das sauberste', 77f. (*Bausteine*, I, 699f./*Essays*, 315).

Muḥammad and his Companions.¹⁸⁸ It is rather surprising that this issue, *dhikr* and *samā'*, and the behavior which led to the controversy in the first place, play no role in the *Munāẓara*. They are not even mentioned. It may well be that ʿĀkish has intentionally avoided a 'touchy' subject concerning which his position was difficult to defend.

Ḥifẓī subsequently wrote a letter to Ibn Idrīs about this matter which is preserved, and which we present here in the Arabic original and in translation. In this letter as well Ibn Idrīs is referred to with great respect and excluded from any personal reproach. Ḥifẓī asks him simply to forbid the *bid'ā* of his students because, as is well-known, God has revealed His religion in a fully perfected form and consequently, no one should be so audacious as to wish to add any supplementary practices to it.

The distinctive position of Aḥmad b. Idrīs becomes particularly clear toward the end of the *Radd*.¹⁸⁹ For the Wahnābīs as well as for Ibn Taymiyya only what is positively stated in the Koran and the Sunna has validity.¹⁹⁰ Naturally this view also has validity for Ibn Idrīs, in the case of *dhikr* as well. But in addition there is the category of *maskūt ʿanhū*, which applies for example to the movements made during the *dhikr* and therefore renders them permissible.

Summary of the debate

As for the historical context and the outward proceedings of the debate, the reader is referred to the historical sketch given above as well as the text of the *Munāẓara* itself. Here we will simply give an overview of the actual topics touched on in the controversy. After the historical introduction (§§ 1-20), sections §§ 21-24 deal with the role of Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahnāb whom Nāṣir al-Kubaybī eulogizes as a true renewer of Islam (§ 21). In § 22 Ibn Idrīs states he will not deny certain merits of Ibn ʿAbd al-Wahnāb but he categorically rejects his teaching and practice of *takfīr*. Ibn ʿAbd al-Wahnāb had only been a fallible ʿālim. Moreover, Ibn Idrīs seriously doubts whether Nāṣir is correctly presenting the doctrine of Ibn ʿAbd al-Wahnāb. Indeed, he states that in Mecca he was acquainted with the Wahnābī imam Saʿūd b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz and three offspring of Ibn ʿAbd al-Wahnāb, and they did not

¹⁸⁸ Cf. Letter of Ibn Mujaththal.

¹⁸⁹ *Radd*, §§ 53-55.

¹⁹⁰ An example of this view is found in the letter of Ḥifẓī: the religion of Islam, as it has been revealed, is perfect.

teach what Nāṣir al-Kubaybī maintains.—The following topic (§ 24) has to do with the reprehensibility of venerating the graves of saints. Regarding this point Ibn Idrīs is fundamentally in agreement. But the mere fact of the existence of this error is no reason to accuse the entire *umma* of having abandoned Islam.

Next (§ 26) the reproach is made that Ibn Idrīs is a proponent of the doctrines of Ibn al-^cArabī. Ibn Idrīs' reply is that the offensive doctrines of Ibn al-^cArabī are probably interpolations in his works. Ibn Idrīs is fully convinced of the correctness of Ibn al-^cArabī's faith. The whole question, however, surpasses the intellectual capacities of Kubaybī.

As for the reproach that he allows his students to show him such reverence as is only due to God, by kissing his hand, etc. (§ 27), he replies with the assertion that the reverence is not for his person but for his function as a mediator of divine knowledge. Whoever designates this as idolatry shows (§ 28) that he is only familiar with a limited degree of knowledge, has in fact only studied a few textbooks of the *madhāhib*.

Then he addresses the question of the possibility of an *interpretatio ab intra* of the Koran. Naturally, he concedes, the precondition for such an interpretation is one's capacity for an *interpretatio ab extra*. §§ 30-32 deal with issues concerning practices during the ritual prayer. Ibn Idrīs' practice is characterized as reprehensible innovation (§ 32). It goes without saying that he can cite proofs from scripture which refute the accusation.

At this point (§§ 33-38) the reproaches against Ibn Idrīs' students are dealt with. In his refutation Ibn Idrīs begins by referring to some basic principles. Firstly, there were even sinners among the Companions of the Prophet. But if one accuses a person of a sin, one must prove it by providing witnesses in accordance with the sacred law. In this connection it is forbidden to spy on people (§ 34). If one makes unproven statements in public, one is spreading lies. So much for the juridical dimension. Next there follows the ontological dimension (§§ 35-38). Ibn Idrīs bases his explanation on the old distinction between the severe and the friendly aspect of God. If man did not commit sins, then God's friendly aspect, His mercy, etc., would be meaningless (§ 35). No human being is capable of fulfilling all the duties imposed by the religious law. Thus in one sense sin exists through God's decision. The fact that man is obliged to conform to the religious law does not contradict this. Besides these explanations Ibn Idrīs has other things to add which the author does not report (§ 37). Finally (§

38), Ibn Idrīs states that he feels no necessity to enter any further into these accusations. If they were true, he would have taken measures himself against his students.

In closing (§§ 39-40), the question of Ibn Idrīs' attitude toward the legal sciences is dealt with. Kubaybī maintains that Ibn Idrīs teaches that the *sharī'ca* is only an external matter, a mere husk without a kernel. Aḥmad b. Idrīs retorts with the same arguments as in the *Risālat al-Radd*: The only knowledge is what is in the Koran and the Sunna, i.e. not what is contained in the *kutub al-ra'y* or what the philosophers teach. The fanatic factionalism of the *madhāhib* (§ 40) must be rejected and is wholly unnecessary since all *aḥkām* can be found in the Koran and the Sunna.

The sections which then follow (§§ 41-45) form an epilogue. The gathering disperses (§ 41) and after the *maghrib*-prayer the inner circle around Ibn Idrīs goes back to his house (§ 42) where he comments bitterly on the ignorance of the religious scholars of his time and speaks about the disputes he had engaged in both in the West and in Mecca. The next morning (§ 43) the emir °Alī b. Mujaththal undertakes a personal visit to Ibn Idrīs. After being subjected to words of admonition, Ibn Mujaththal requests to speak with Ibn Idrīs in private (§ 44). °Ākish informs us that the emir, on behalf of himself and in view of the behavior of his *muṭāwi'ca*,¹⁹¹ offers his apologies to Ibn Idrīs. Ibn Idrīs advises him not to listen to the counsel of those ignorant men in the future. Finally, the emir mentions that he is about to wage war against the Turkish troops in Abū °Arīsh. Ibn Idrīs attempts to dissuade him from doing so: the majority of the inhabitants of the city are good Muslims, members of the *ahl al-bayt* and religious scholars. The Turkish troops include officers of rank (*rutba*) and after all the Egyptians have legitimate jurisdiction over that part of the country, so you should not be waging war against them. Although the emir would not be deflected from his intention, he did make one concession in response to Ibn Idrīs' exhortation: whoever now wishes to take the opportunity to leave Abū °Arīsh will not be treated with hostility.

Conclusion

°Ākish's report does not present an unbiased view. He has no qualms about slanting the information he presents, as is clear from what he says about Ḥifzī's reaction to the emir's letter. He leaves

¹⁹¹ See above, n. 183, and n. 40 of the translation of the *Munāzara*.

one in no doubt about his anti-Wahhābī standpoint. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb is for him ‘al-Najdī’. His sympathies lie with the Āl Ḥaydar in Abū ʿArīsh. Aḥmad b. Idrīs is represented as emerging from all disputes as the uncontested winner. Many of the reproaches levelled against him were in fact simple clichés which regularly recur in the polemics against Sufis: unchaste behavior, antinomianism and other such charges which were especially brought against the school of Ibn al-ʿArabī.¹⁹² On the other hand, what strikes the attentive reader is that the real cause of the dispute, namely the *samāʿ*-practices of Ibn Idrīs’ followers in Ṣabyā, are never mentioned at all in the *Munāẓara*. This omission makes one somewhat suspicious concerning the overall reliability of ʿĀkish’s portrayal of events.

Generally speaking, there were some areas where a compromise could be reached but others where agreement was simply out of the question. The latter was the case regarding the mission of Ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb. His doctrine of *takfīr* and the way he chose to put it into effect were unacceptable to Ibn Idrīs. Conversely, the concept of an *interpretatio ab intra* of the Koran was difficult for the Wahhābīs to accept. Quite wisely Ibn Idrīs chose not to enter into a serious discussion on Ibn al-ʿArabī. Concerning ritual practices and issues involving the *uṣūl al-fiqh*, there was room for reaching agreement. Similarly, Ibn Idrīs and the Wahhābīs were united in their rejection of the cult of the tombs of saints.—As for the complex of beliefs and practices associated with the *ṭarīqa muḥammadiyya*, questions to do with this important development in ‘modern’ Sufism were never addressed at all.¹⁹³

¹⁹² On this subject see Michel Chodkiewicz, ‘Le procès posthume d’Ibn ʿArabī’, in De Jong & Radtke, *Islamic Mysticism Contested*, 93-123.

¹⁹³ For more on this point see ‘Kritik am Neo-Sufism’, 172.

PART I

AN EPISTLE AGAINST THE MADHĀHIB

رسالة الردّ على أهل الرأي بالصواب لموافقة السنّة والكتاب

للعارف بالله تعالى والّدالّ عليه السيّد أحمد بن إدريس

[٢] بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

وصلى الله على مولانا محمّد وعلى آله في كلّ لحظة ونفّسٍ عدّد ما وسعه علم الله .

الحمد لله الذي أمرنا باتّباع الكتاب والسنّة وهدانا لقبولهما،
فظلّت قلوبنا بهما مطمئنّةً، وجعلهما سبيلَ نجاة لمن سلّكهما ووقايةً
وجنّةً، وصير في أذن من صدّ عنهما وقرأ وقلوبهم في أكثّة،^١ وذلك
على لسان ترجمانه الذي فرض وسنّ، القائل: تركت فيكم واعظين لن
تضلّوا ما تمسّكتم بهما،^٢ فبشرى لنا بهذه المنّة! ورؤي عنه أنّ كلّ
بدعة ضلالة وصاحبها في النار ينادي بأقبح رنة،^٣ صلى الله عليه وسلّم
وعلى آله وأصحابه الذين هاجروا لنصرته ونصروه في هجرته بأجود
الأسنة .

إعلموا إخواني رحمكم الله تعالى أنّ الله عزّ وجلّ أمرنا معشر الأمة
باتّباع الوحي فقط، فقال: **إِتَّبِعُوا مَا أَنْزَلَ إِلَيْكُمْ مِنْ رَبِّكُمْ وَلَا تَتَّبِعُوا مِنْ**

١ قارن القرآن الكريم ٥/٤١ .

٢ راجع المعجم المفهرس ١/٢٢٧٠ .

٣ راجع المعجم المفهرس ١/٢٥١ ب .

دُونِهِ أُوْلِيَاءَ قَلِيلاً مَا تَذَكَّرُونَ^٤ ، والوحي الذي أنزل إلينا من ربنا هو الكتاب العزيز وأفعال رسوله صلى الله عليه وآله وسلم وأقواله، فكلاهما وحي بنص الكتاب، قال الله عز وجل: وَمَا يَنْطِقُ عَنِ الْهَوَىٰ إِنْ هُوَ إِلَّا وَحْيٌ يُوحَىٰ،^٥ إِنْ أَتَّبِعْ إِلَّا مَا يُوحَىٰ إِلَيَّ،^٦ فالآية الأولى نص في أقواله والآية الثانية تعم أقواله وأفعاله، وقد أمرنا الله تعالى عند التنازع في أمر فصلاً^٧ جعل لنا به المخرج، وبين لنا به المراد فقال عز وجل: فَإِنْ تَنَازَعْتُمْ فِي شَيْءٍ فَرُدُّوهُ إِلَى اللَّهِ وَالرَّسُولِ إِنْ كُنْتُمْ تُؤْمِنُونَ بِاللَّهِ وَالْيَوْمِ الْآخِرِ،^٨ والمراد أي شيء قليلاً كان أو كثيراً لأن الشيء أنكر النكرات، وهذه الآيات: وَنَزَّلْنَا عَلَيْكَ الْكِتَابَ تَبْيَانًا لِكُلِّ شَيْءٍ،^٩ [٣] مَا فَرَطْنَا فِي الْكِتَابِ مِنْ شَيْءٍ،^{١٠} أَوْ لَمْ يَكْفِهِمْ أَنَّا أَنْزَلْنَا عَلَيْكَ الْكِتَابَ يُتْلَىٰ عَلَيْهِمْ^{١١} وأمثالها صريحة.^{١٢}

فالكتاب العزيز فيه الأحكام كلها جليلها ودقيقها، فلولم يكن في الكتاب العزيز والسنة الغراء الفصل الذي يبين إذا تنازعنا في شيء لما

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| ٤ | القرآن الكريم ٣/٧ . |
| ٥ | القرآن الكريم ٥٣/٣-٤ . |
| ٦ | القرآن الكريم ٥٠/٦ . |
| ٧ | «بأمر فصل»، ص . |
| ٨ | القرآن الكريم ٥٩/٤ . |
| ٩ | القرآن الكريم ٨٩/١٦ . |
| ١٠ | القرآن الكريم ٣٨/٦ . |
| ١١ | القرآن الكريم ٥١/٢٩ . |
| ١٢ | «صريحات»، ص . |

أحالنا عليهما، فكيف يحيلنا عليهما والحكم معدوم فيهما؟ بل الحكم كله في الكتاب إذ السنّة عينه، فإنّها بيانه لا غيره ولا قسميّة له، فلذلك قال ابن عبّاس رضي الله تعالى عنهما: لو ضاع منّي عقل بعير لوجدته في كتاب الله تعالى، فحاصلهما: ما من مسألة يتنازع فيها اثنان وإن كان مثقال حبة من خردل إلا جعل الله لها حكماً في كتابه وسنّة نبيّه عليه الصلاة والسلام، علم ذلك من علمه وجهله من جهله .

وقوله تعالى: **فَرُدُّوهُ إِلَى اللَّهِ وَالرَّسُولِ** جعل الحقّ سبحانه الكتاب هو نفسه والسنّة نفس نبيّه ﷺ، فالردّ الى الله تعالى الى الكتاب والردّ الى الرسول ﷺ الى السنّة، وإلا فليس كلّ واحد منّا مفتوحاً بينه وبين الله تعالى باب المخاطبة، متى نازعه أحد سأل الله تعالى فأجابته، وما كلّ الأمة اجتمعت برسول الله ﷺ، ولا هو باق معهم وهم يرونه في هذا العالم بجسمه الشريف حتّى يردّ كلّ متنازعين إليه، فما هناك إلا الكتاب العزيز المحفوظ من التبديل والمدوّن من السنّة الكثير منه والقليل.

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وإنّما تفاضل العلماء بذلك من حيث معرفتهم بالكتاب والسنّة وتعيين النصوص منهما، فكم من واحد يحفظ القرآن من أوله الى آخره غيباً والحكم فيه لا يدره، ويحفظ من الكتاب العزيز والأحاديث الصحاح^{١٣} شيئاً كثيراً ولا يقدر أن يعيّن [٤] الحكم منها، فإذا أُخبر بالحكم تعجّب غاية العجب، فكأنّ الآية التي فيها الحكم أنزلت الآن، وكأنّ الحديث لم يبلغه إلا تلك الساعة، ويقول: كم مرّة أمر على هذه

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١٣ بالهامش: «في رواية ويحفظ من كتب الاحاديث».

المسألة وهي بعينها موجودة^{١٤} وأقرؤها! وغاب عنه مفتاح الفهم في ذلك، وهو التقوى، كما قال الله تعالى: **وَاتَّقُوا اللَّهَ وَيُعَلِّمُكُمُ اللَّهُ وَاللَّهُ بِكُلِّ شَيْءٍ عَلِيمٌ**^{١٥}، والتقوى العمل بما علم، قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله وسلم: من عمل بما علم أورثه الله علم ما لم يعلم، وهو معنى حديث: **إنما العلم بالتعلم، يعني من الله بأن يتقيه فيعلمه، وأما إذا كان لا يتقيه فلا يعلمه بل يضلّه حتى عن الذي يحفظه، يحجبه عن فهمه، فتراه كالحمار يحمل أسفاراً**^{١٦}.

ومن أكبر التقوى أن يقف عند حدّ ما يعلم ولا يجاوزه فيقول فيما لا يعلم، فيصير تابعاً لأمر الشيطان، وقد نهى الله تعالى أن يتبعوا خطواته، قال تعالى: **يَا أَيُّهَا النَّاسُ كُلُوا مِمَّا فِي الْأَرْضِ حَلَالاً طَيِّباً وَلَا تَتَّبِعُوا خُطُواتِ الشَّيْطَانِ إِنَّهُ لَكُمْ عَدُوٌّ مُبِينٌ**^{١٧} ثم فسّر خطوات الشيطان التي نهاهم عنها أن يتبعوه فيها بقوله سبحانه: **إِنَّمَا يَأْمُرُكُمْ بِالسُّوءِ وَالْفَحْشَاءِ وَأَنْ تَقُولُوا عَلَى اللَّهِ مَا لَا تَعْلَمُونَ**^{١٨}.

فالذي لم نعلم هو الذي لم يات عن الله ولا عن رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله وسلم، والرسول صلى الله عليه وآله وسلم يقول: العلم

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١٤ بالهامش: «في رواية وهي عندي ولم أرها».

١٥ القرآن الكريم ٢/٢٨٢.

١٦ قارن القرآن الكريم ٥/٦٢.

١٧ القرآن الكريم ٢/١٦٨.

١٨ القرآن الكريم ٢/١٦٩.

ثلاثة: آية محكمة وسنة ماضية ولا أدري،^{١٩} فجعل لا أدري علماً لأنّ القول بالرأي حرام، فاجتنبوه سواء كان رأيه أو رأي غيره، لا نتحاشى أحداً حياً كان ذلك الغير أو ميتاً صغيراً كان أعني في أعين الناس أو كبيراً، فإنّ الله سبحانه وتعالى سمى الحكم بغير ما أنزل الله هو حكم الطاغوت، وهو الشيطان، وقد فسره الله عزّ وجلّ به، فقال: يُرِيدُونَ أَنْ يُتَحَاكَمُوا إِلَى الطَّاغُوتِ وَقَدْ أُمِرُوا أَنْ يَكْفُرُوا بِهِ وَيُرِيدُ الشَّيْطَانُ أَنْ يُضِلَّهُمْ ضَلَالًا بَعِيدًا،^{٢٠} [٥] ففسر الطاغوت بالشيطان، فإذا وسوس العالم أن يقول من عند نفسه شيئاً أو ليستحسنه، ففعل، فقد حكم بحكم الطاغوت الذي هو الشيطان، وحكمه هو أنّه أمره أن يقول على الله ما لا يعلم.

٧ فلا فرق في حكم الطاغوت الذي هو الشيطان بين أن يكون على لسان عالم أو جاهل لأنّ العالم غير معصوم إلا إذا وقف مع قول المعصوم، فمتى خرج منه وقع في الخطأ والضلال، وفي تلك الحالة فالجاهل أحسن منه حالاً، فإنّ رسول الله ﷺ قال: اتقوا زلّة العالم فإنّها تكبكب في النار، وذلك أنّه يتبعه غيره فيضلّ فيصير إماماً ضلالة من جملة الذين قال الله تعالى فيهم: وَجَعَلْنَاهُمْ أَئِمَّةً يَدْعُونَ إِلَى النّارِ،^{٢١} وأمّا الجاهل فلا يقتدي به أحد لأنّهم يعلمون أنّه تائه مقيود لا يدري

١٩ قارن المعجم المفهرس ٤ / ٣٣٠ ب.

٢٠ القرآن الكريم ٤ / ٦٠.

٢١ القرآن الكريم ٢٨ / ٤١.

إلى أين يذهب، بخلاف العالم فيتأولون العالم^{٢٢} بأنه ما فعل ذلك إلا عن علم صحيح من الكتاب والسنة.

٨ والحاصل: ما يجب على العامي إذا سأل عن حكم فأجابه أن يقول له: أهذا حكم الله الذي جاء به رسول الله ﷺ؟ فإن قال: نعم! وجب عليه أن يأخذ به، فإن خانه العالم برأي منه أو من العلماء قبله فإنما إثمه على ذلك العالم، قال رسول الله ﷺ: من أفتى فتيا بغير إثبات فإنما إثمه على من أفتاه.^{٢٣}

٩ وأما إذا قال له العالم: هذا قولي أو قول الشيخ فلان، فلا يجوز له أن يعمل به ويقول: العلماء قالوه، لأن الله تعالى قال: اتَّبِعُوا مَا أُنزِلَ إِلَيْكُمْ مِنْ رَبِّكُمْ وَلَا تَتَّبِعُوا مِنْ دُونِهِ أَوْلِيَاءَ قَلِيلًا مَا تَذَكَّرُونَ، فبيّن أن الذي يذكر منا هو القليل.

فحينئذ إن عمل به فإثمه على نفسه لأنه يعلم أنه قول فلان وفلان ليس هو الله ولا رسول الله ﷺ، ولا يقدر أن يقول في قوله: قال الله تعالى، [٦] ولا: قال رسول الله ﷺ، فقد علم يقيناً أنه غير قول الله وعمل به، ولا ينفعه كونها أفتاه^{٢٤} عالم، ويغترّ بقولهم: من قلّد عالماً لقي الله سالماً، مع أن هذه المقالة هي معنى الحديث السابق: من أفتى فتيا بغير إثبات فإنما إثمه على من أفتاه، فهو محمول على من قيل له: هذا حكم الله أو حكم رسول الله ﷺ، فعمل بذلك لأنه غير متعمّد

٢٢ «العالم»، إيقاظ الوجدان، «له»، ص.

٢٣ راجع المعجم المفهرس ٦٨/٥ ب.

٢٤ «أفتاه به»، ص.

للعمل بغير قول الله ورسوله، إثمًا خانة المفتي له، فهو مجتهد مخطيء، له الأجر والوزر على غيره.

١٠ بخلاف الذي بُيِّن له أنّ هذا قول فلان، وإن كان ذلك فلان من أكبر الأئمة، فإن عمل به من غير أن يتبيّن له أنّه قاله عن الله أو عن رسول الله، فإثمه على نفسه لا على العالم الذي أفتاه به، إنّما على ذلك العالم إثم أكبر، وهو كونه قال على الله بغير علم، لأنّه يجب عليه السكوت حيث لم يعلم الحكم بما أنزل الله من الكتاب والسنة لئلاّ يكفر ويظلم ويفسق، ومن لم يحكم بما أنزل الله فأولئك هم الكافرون والظالمون والفاسقون.

١١ وأمّا كونه وجده في مؤلّف فلان من غير أن يعزوه فلان الى الله ورسوله، فهذا لا يقوم حجةً عند الله، ومعنى قول العالم: هذا رأيي أو رأي فلان أو قوله أو وجدته في مؤلّف فلان هو عين قوله للسائل^{٢٥}: ليس قول الله ولا قول رسول الله ﷺ، فإذا كان يفهم فقد قال لسان حال لذلك^{٢٦} العالم: انظر لنفسك إن شئت امتثلت أمر ربك ولا تقف ما ليس لك به علم وإن شئت عملت بهذا واتخذت قائله رباً من دون الله، كما قال ﷺ حين قرأ قوله تعالى: اتَّخَذُوا أَحْبَارَهُمْ وَرُهَبَانَهُمْ أَرْبَابًا مِنْ دُونِ اللَّهِ وَالْمَسِيحَ ابْنَ مَرْيَمَ وَمَا أُمِرُوا إِلَّا لِيَعْبُدُوا إِلَهًا وَاحِدًا،^{٢٧} لما قالوا له: يا رسول الله، ما كانوا يعبدونهم؟ قال: ألم يكونوا يحلّون لهم

٢٥ «قول السائل»، ص.

٢٦ «ذلك»، ص.

٢٧ القرآن الكريم ٩/٣١.

ويحرّمون [٧] عليهم فيأخذون بذلك؟ قالوا: بلى! قال: هو ذلك.
 ١٢ فكلّ من أحدث حكماً مع الله فقد أحدث ربوبيةً، وكلّ من قلده في ذلك الحكم فقد اتّخذه ربّاً من دون الله بنصّ الرسول ﷺ، ولما كان الوجه الذي اتّخذوا به المسيح غير الوجه الذي اتّخذوا به أحبارهم ورهبانهم أخره الله سبحانه وتعالى عن قوله: أَرَبَاباً مِنْ دُونِ اللَّهِ لِيُنَبِّهَ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامَ عَلَى أَنَّ الْمَسِيحَ غَيْرَ الْوَجْهِ الَّذِي اتَّخَذُوا بِهِ أَحْبَارَهُمْ وَرَهْبَانَهُمْ أَخْرَهُ اللَّهُ سَبْحَانَهُ وَتَعَالَى عَنْ قَوْلِهِ: أَرَبَاباً مِنْ دُونِ اللَّهِ لِيُنَبِّهَهُ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامَ عَلَى أَنَّ الْمَسِيحَ غَيْرَ مَجْتَمِعٍ مَعَهُمْ فِي السَّبَبِ، فَإِنَّهُ لَمْ يَحْدِثْ رَبُوبِيَّةً فَيَكُونُ سَبَباً فِي اتِّخَاذِهِ رَبّاً، كَمَا بَرَّاهُ اللَّهُ تَعَالَى بِقَوْلِهِ: مَا قُلْتُ لَهُمْ إِلَّا مَا أَمَرْتَنِي بِهِ،^{٢٨} بخلاف أحبارهم ورهبانهم فإنهم متسبّبون في ذلك.

١٣ فتبيّن أنّ غير المعزوّ الى الله ورسوله ليس حجّة، وأمّا المعزوّ الى الله ورسوله فهو حجّة على أيّ وجه كان، لأنّ شرف الحديث عن الرسول ﷺ من أجل الرسول ﷺ لا من أجل الراوي، فنسبته إلى الرسول ﷺ شرفاً وعظماً، فلا عبرة بطعن الطاعنين في السند فلا يجوز العدول عنه من أجل طعن طاعن، وإتّما يُعدّل عنه بما يعارضه من طريقة مثله معزوة الى الله ورسوله، فحينئذ يُعتبر التقديم والتأخير وعدم مناقضته متواتر القرآن^{٢٩} ونحو ذلك ممّا يجب^{٣٠} الاحتجاج به عند أصحاب نقل الحديث.

١٤ وأمّا صاحب التقوى فيريحه الله من ذلك كلّهُ بتقواه بالفرقان الذي

٢٨ القرآن الكريم ٥/ ١١٧.

٢٩ بالهامش، بالصلب: «مناقضة متواترة من القرآن».

٣٠ «يوجب»، ص.

يجعله له، كما وعده بقوله تعالى: **إِنْ تَتَّقُوا اللَّهَ يَجْعَلْ لَكُمْ فُرْقَانًا**،^{٣١} وحاشاه أن يخلف الوعد! فكل من لم يجد علماً فرقانياً بغير واسطة نقل ولا قياس ولا فكر يستجليه به في الآن ما بلغ حقيقة التقوى، إنما يُخيّل له أنه متق لا غير وإلا فجل ربنا أن يخلف^{٣٢} مشروطه، وقد وجد الشرط الذي علّقه عليه.

١٥ هذا وما من أحد من العلماء المتقدمين الذين [٨] يزعم الناس أنهم على مذاهبهم كانت له مقالة في دين الله تعالى غير ما نقل له^{٣٣} عن رسول الله ﷺ إلا رجع وأبطلها وأوصى بتركها.

فمن الناس من هداه الله ورحمه، فعرف الحق لأهله، وهو الله، إنَّ الحُكْمُ إلا لله،^{٣٤} والرسول هو المبلّغ عنه، وحفظ ما أوصى به أئمة السلف ورجع كما رجعوا.

^{٣٥} ومنهم من مال الى المكابرة أنهم ما قالوا ذلك الا تواضعاً ونحوه، وهذا لا يشك في خراب عقله، فإن ذلك يقتضي أنهم ليسوا معتقدين أن قولهم إذا خالف قول الرسول تركوه ومدعون أن الرسول كواحد منهم يعمل بقوله تارة وبقول غيره أخرى^{٣٥}، وهذا لا يقوله مسلم،

٣١ القرآن الكريم ٢٩/٨.

٣٢ بالصلب: «يتخلف»؛ بالهامش: «في رواية يخلف».

٣٣ «نقله»، ص.

٣٤ القرآن الكريم ٤٠/١٢.

٣٥ «ومنهم ... أخرى»، مأخوذ من إيقاظ الوجدان، «ومنهم من جنح الى المكابرة ويتأول أقوالهم بأنهم قالوها تواضعاً ونحو ذلك، وهذا لا يشك أحد في خراب عقله، فإن معنى قوله تواضعاً أنهم ليسوا معتقدين أن قولهم اذا خالف قول الرسول ﷺ وأنهم مدعون أن الرسول كواحد منهم يعمل بقوله تارة وبقول غيره تارة»، ص.

وفيه من إلحاق الذمّ بالأئمة ما لا مزيد عليه .

فالذي يعتقده كلّ مؤمن فيهم أنّهم يقولون: لا نبلغ رتبة الصحابي الذي رأى الرسول ﷺ مرّةً واحدةً، فضلاً عن الذي رآه كثيراً،^{٣٦} فضلاً عن الملازمين، فضلاً عن علمائهم، وإنّه إذا وُجد قول الصحابي^{٣٧} كان يُعمل به دون رأي أولئك الأئمة، لقوله عليه الصلاة والسلام: سألتُ ربّي عمّا يختلف فيه أصحابي من بعدي، فقال: يا محمد، أصحابك عندي كالنجوم بعضها أضوأ من بعض، فمن أخذ بما قالوه فهو عندي على هدًى، ولذلك قال ﷺ: أصحابي كالنجوم بأيّهم اقتديتم اهتديتم .

١٦ فكلام الصحابي عند فقد الكتاب والسنة حجةً بنصّ الرسول ﷺ، بخلاف قول غيره، أتاه ذلك من رؤية النبي ﷺ، لا من أجل جودة فكره، فافهم! وأعوذ بالله من الجهل الذي يترك الإنسان يتكلّم بالهذيان والتناقض ولا يشعر لكونه لا يتدبّر^{٣٨} معنى القول الذي يتكلّم به .

١٧ فأنتم ترون الأئمة [٩] الذين يزعم الناس أنّهم على إثرهم^{٣٩} قد أوصوهم باتّباع الرسول وحده، أمّا أحمد بن حنبل فليس له مؤلّف رأي، إنّما كتابه المسند وهو حديث، وألّف جزءاً في الصلاة وآدابها وما

٣٦ بالهامش: «أكثر» .

٣٧ بالهامش: «في رواية أي صحابي» .

٣٨ «يدبر»، ص .

٣٩ بالهامش: «وآثارهم في رواية» .

يفعله الإمام والمأموم، مما بلغه أنه صفة صلاة الرسول ﷺ وأصحابه،
وأما المحرر فمجموعة^{٤٠} من فتاوى أفتى بها، كلها ترجع الى الحديث،
وقيل له: ما لك لا تتكلم مثل ما يتكلم^{٤١} أصحابك فلان وفلان؟
فقال: يا عجباً وهل لأحد^{٤٢} كلام مع كلام الله وكلام رسول الله ﷺ؟
وقال: رأي مالك والثوري والأوزاعي كله عندي رأي واحد، انما^{٤٣}
الحجة عندي في الآثار، لا يقدم فلان لشهرته في العلم على فلان، بل
كلهم عند فقد النصّ سواء، لا يقتدى بأحد منهم.

١٨ وقال الشافعي رحمه الله: إذا رأيتم قولي يخالف قول رسول الله
اضربوا بقولي عرض الحائط!^{٤٤} وقال: وددت أن لا يُنسب اليّ منه
حرف،^{٤٥} أضحينا كلنا قرأنا: قال الله قال رسول الله قال الشافعي،
وكيف يرضى رضي الله عنه أن يُنسب اليه شرع الله تعالى وتنقطع
نسبته عن الله ورسوله أو يشارك الله ورسوله؟

١٩ وقال أبو حنيفة رحمه الله سبحانه: حرام على من لم يعرف دليلي
أن يفتي بقولي، فقد أذرهم أن لا يعملوا بقوله من غير أن يعلموا
مسنده من الكتاب والسنة، وقال لهم: حرام عليكم لأن الله تعالى حرم

٤٠ بالهامش: «مجموعة رواية»؛ بالصلب: «فجمعوا».

٤١ بالهامش: «تكلم رواية».

٤٢ بالهامش: «في رواية وهل لأحمد».

٤٣ بالهامش: «وانما رواية».

٤٤ بالهامش: «وفي رواية فارموه من الحش يعني الطهارة».

٤٥ «حرفاً»، ص.

عليهم أن يقولوا بغير علم لقوله تعالى لنبيه عليه الصلاة والسلام: قُلْ
 إِنَّمَا حَرَّمَ رَبِّي الْفَوَاحِشَ مَا ظَهَرَ مِنْهَا وَمَا بَطَّنَ وَالْإِثْمَ وَالْبَغْيَ بِغَيْرِ الْحَقِّ
 وَأَنْ تُشْرِكُوا بِاللَّهِ مَا لَمْ يُنَزَّلْ بِهِ سُلْطَانًا وَأَنْ تَقُولُوا عَلَى اللَّهِ مَا لَا
 تَعْلَمُونَ،^{٤٦} فَإِنْ قَلَّدُوهُ مِنْ غَيْرِ أَنْ يَعْلَمُوا دَلِيلَهُ فَإِنَّهُمْ آثِمُونَ، وَإِنْ كَانَ
 لَا بَدَّ فِي جَوَازِ^{٤٧} الْعَمَلِ بِقَوْلِهِ مِنْ دَلِيلٍ، فَمَنْ أَوَّلَ الْأَمْرِ يَجْتَهِدُ الْإِنْسَانَ
 فِي الدَّلِيلِ عَلَى الْمَسْأَلَةِ،^{٤٨} فَلَا فَائِدَةَ فِي التَّعَبِ فِي تَحْصِيلِ الدَّلِيلِ عَلَيْهِ
 حَتَّى يَعْمَلَ بِهِ .

٢٠ وَأَمَّا مَالِكٌ رَحِمَهُ اللَّهُ، قَالَ: مَا مَنَّا إِلَّا مِنْ رَدٍّ ثُمَّ رُدَّ عَلَيْهِ إِلَّا صَاحِبَ
 هَذَا الْقَبْرِ الشَّرِيفِ، وَأَشَارَ إِلَى حَجْرَةِ الرَّسُولِ ﷺ، وَدَخَلَ [١٠] عَلَيْهِ
 عَبْدُ اللَّهِ بْنُ مَسْلَمَةَ^{٤٩} الْقَعْنَبِيُّ^{٥٠} شَيْخُ الْبَخَارِيِّ، وَمَعَهُ آخِرُ مِنْ أَكْبَابِ
 الْعُلَمَاءِ <مِنْ> أَقْرَانِهِ، قَالَا: دَخَلْنَا عَلَى مَالِكِ بْنِ أَنَسٍ فِي الْعِشْيَةِ الَّتِي
 أَغْمَضَ فِيهَا، فَوَجَدْنَاهُ يَبْكِي، فَقَلْنَا لَهُ: وَمَا يَبْكِيكَ يَا أَبَا عَبْدِ اللَّهِ؟
 قَالَ: وَدِدْتُ أَنْتِي جُلِدْتُ بِكُلِّ كَلِمَةٍ قَلْتُهَا سَوَاطًا وَلَا أَلْقَى النَّبِيَّ ﷺ
 بِشَيْءٍ زِدْتُهُ فِي شَرِيعَتِهِ، قَالَا، قَلْنَا لَهُ: ارْجِعْ عَنِ ذَلِكَ! قَالَ: كَيْفَ^{٥١} لِي
 بِذَلِكَ وَقَدْ سَارَتْ بِهِ الرِّكْبَانُ وَأَنَا كَمَا تَرِيانَ،^{٥٢} فَمَا خَرَجْنَا مِنْ عِنْدِهِ

٤٦ القرآن الكريم ٣٣/٧ .

٤٧ بالهامش: لجواز في رواية .

٤٨ بالهامش: «في رواية يجتهد في الدليل حتى يعمل به» .

٤٩ بالصلب: «يوسف»؛ بالهامش: «في رواية سلمة» .

٥٠ بالهامش: «في رواية القصنبي» .

٥١ «من»، ص، والتصحيح من إيقاظ الوسنان .

٥٢ «تريا»، ص .

حتّى أغمضناه .

٢١ فها هو مالك قد تاب من^{٥٣} جميع ما قاله، فلم يبق له مذهب ولم يخلف مذهباً غير الكتاب والسنة كسائر الأئمة، وأصدق ما يكون الإنسان عند الموت، فقد مات على توبة من الرأي صادقة^{٥٤} ولم ينقضها، والتوبة التي لا تُنقض فهي مقبولة عند الله تعالى، فقد طهره الله تعالى من الرأي .

٢٢ وإذا أعمى الله أبصار قوم صاروا يعتمدون آراء رجال رأوها، ثم علموا أنّها ذنوب فتابوا عنها ومُحيت من صحائف أعمالهم وجعلوا مذهبهم هو الكتاب والسنة فهل لأحد أن يقلّدهم فيها - وهم قد تركوها؟ بل الموفق المسدّد لو قالوا: اتّبِعْنَا فِي رَأْيِنَا وَدَعُ الْكِتَابَ وَالسُّنَّةَ - وحاشاهم أن يقولوا ذلك! - لا يفعل، فكيف وهم يقولون: لا تتّبِعُونَا إِلَّا فِيْمَا وَافَقَ الْوَحْيَ .

٢٣ وإذا وزنت إيمان الأكابر ممن يُدعَوْنَ بِالْعُلَمَاءِ^{٥٥} في زماننا هذا مع إيمان غواة القرون السالفة وجدت إيمان أولئك أرجح بما لا نهاية له، إلا في علم الله، إذ لا أغوى من الشعراء، فمن أغرب ما يُسمَعُ كان شاعر بمجلس بعض الملوك العباسيين^{٥٦} يغني له، فقال له رجل: حرّم مالك الغناء! فقال له الشاعر: يا هذا! وهل لمالك أن يحلّل في دين الله ويحرّم

٥٣ بالهامش: «لمن في نسخة» .

٥٤ بالصلب: «من الرأي»، بالهامش: «في نسخة من الرأي صادقة» .

٥٥ بالصلب: «بالعلم»؛ بالهامش: «بالعلماء» .

٥٦ بالهامش: «في نسخة بحذفها» .

برأيه؟

والله ما كان التحريم والتحليل لرسول الله ﷺ إلا بوحي من ربه،
 ٢٤ قال عزّ [١١] وجلّ له: لَتَحْكُمَ بَيْنَ النَّاسِ بِمَا أَرَاكَ اللهُ،^{٥٧} ولم يقل: بما
 رأيت، فلم يأذن له الله في ذلك بل عاتبه على ذلك في قصة مارية لما
 حرّمها، فقال: لِمَ تُحَرِّمُ مَا أَحَلَّ اللهُ لَكَ تَبْتَغِي مَرْضَاتَ أَزْوَاجِكَ.^{٥٨}

فإذا كان الشاعر من أولئك يغار في دين الله عزّ وجلّ وشرعه أن
 ينسب إلى مثل مالك^{٥٩} تحريم الغناء، فأين هذا ممن يرضى بقول فلان
 وفلان شرعاً ويحكم به ويرضيه أن يُعبد الله تعالى به؟

٢٥ فنقول: إنا لله وإنا إليه راجعون، اللهم! أجرنا في مصيبتنا هذه
 واخلف لنا خيراً منها! والحقّ ظاهر لمن لم يتعام، وهو الذي رجع إليه
 هؤلاء الأئمة الأعلام وأوصونا به: من أن أقوالهم إذا لم توافق الوحي
 تُترك ويُتبع الوحي.

هذا إذا كان كلام في مسكوت عنه بغير العفو الذي هو حكمه،
 وإذا وُجد النصّ بعينه فليس لهم كلام أصلاً، فلا اتباع لهم على كلّ
 حال، لأنّ الأمر الذي تكلموا فيه إن كان قولهم موافقاً للقرآن أو
 الحديث فبعبارة الله ورسوله أولى وأحلى وأهنى وأمرأ وألذّ وأقطع
 للشكوك وأثبت لليقين وأسهل وأنور وأرجح للخصم وأرضى للمؤمن

٥٧ القرآن الكريم ٤/ ١٠٥.

٥٨ القرآن الكريم ٦٦/ ١.

٥٩ بالهامش: «مالك ولو باللفظ ولم يرضى قول الرجل حرم مالك الغناء هكذا في
 نسخة ولعله هو الصواب فحرر».

٦٠ «موافق»، ص.

وأطمئنان لنفسه: الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا وَتَطْمَئِنُّ قُلُوبُهُمْ بِذِكْرِ اللَّهِ أَلَا بِذِكْرِ اللَّهِ تَطْمَئِنُّ الْقُلُوبُ،^{٦١} أي قلوب الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا وَعَمِلُوا الصَّالِحَاتِ طُوبَى لَهُمْ وَحُسْنُ مَثَابٍ^{٦٢}.

وأما إذا كانت^{٦٣} لا تطمئن قلوبهم إلا بقول فلان فلا كلام معهم، لأنهم من أفراد الذين قال الله تعالى فيهم: وَإِذَا ذُكِرَ الَّذِينَ مِنْ دُونِهِ إِذَا هُمْ يَسْتَبْشِرُونَ.^{٦٤}

وإن كان قولهم في الأمر الذي تكلموا فيه غير موافق للقرآن فذلك باطل ولا خير في الباطل، فهي حينئذ هوى، ومن أضلّ ممن اتبع هواه بغير هدى من الله، والهدى من الله هو الوحي، هذا هدى، فالعلماء الحقيقيون^{٦٥} مذهبهم هو الوحي، قال رسول الله ﷺ: [١٢] علماء أمّتي كأنبياء بني إسرائيل، وأنبياء بني إسرائيل ليس لهم قياس ولا رأي فلا علم لهم إلا بالوحي، قال الله عزّ وجلّ: إِنَّا أَنْزَلْنَا التَّورَةَ فِيهَا هُدًى وَنُورٌ يَحْكُمُ بِهَا النَّبِيُّونَ.^{٦٦}

٢٦ ومن أخوف حديث على العلماء قول النبي ﷺ: العلماء ورثة الانبياء،^{٦٧} فسماهم ورثة، والوارث لا يأخذ إلا نصيبه من تركة مورثة،

٦١ القرآن الكريم ١٣/٢٨.

٦٢ القرآن الكريم ١٣/٢٨؛ وبالهامش: «في نسخة يحذف وعملوا الى مثاب».

٦٣ بالهامش: «في نسخة بلفظ الأفراد الى قول لأنهم من أفراد».

٦٤ القرآن الكريم ٣٩/٤٥.

٦٥ بالهامش: «في نسخة فالحققون».

٦٦ القرآن الكريم ٥/٤٤.

٦٧ راجع المعجم المفهرس ٤/٢٣٢١.

فالأنبياء لا يورثون^{٦٨} إلا الوحي، وإذا أخذ الوارث شيئاً غير الذي عينه الشرع له من تركة مورثة فهو في ذلك الذي أخذه بغير حق لا يسمّى وارثاً بل غاصباً ظالماً.

٢٧ ففي هذا الحديث ما يُسكت العالم عن القول بالرأى إن كان يخاف أن يكون غاصباً ظالماً، وأمّا إذا كان لا يبالي فلا كلام معه، فهو يسرق ويسرق له غيره، وهو يأخذ وما عليه في ذلك، ولا يرفع للزواج الشرعية رأساً، فما يقال لمثل هذا، فلا يليق لأهل الحقّ معه إلا السكوت إعراضاً عنه والسلام.

٢٨ وهذه المقالات التي قدّمناها للأئمة الأربعة مقالة كل واحد يرويها الذين يزعمون أنّهم على مذاهبهم بأسانيد صحيحة فلان عن فلان التي يذكرونها في مناقبه ويغفلون عن اتّباعه فيها بالرجوع الى الله ورسوله الذي أمر الله به بقوله فَإِنْ تَنَازَعْتُمْ فِي شَيْءٍ فَرُدُّوهُ إِلَى اللَّهِ وَالرَّسُولِ إِنْ كُنْتُمْ تُؤْمِنُونَ بِاللَّهِ وَالْيَوْمِ الْآخِرِ.

فلو كانوا مؤمنين منصفين لردّوا الأمر الى الله والرسول حين التنازع، حتّى مع هؤلاء الأئمة، بل ومع الصحابة،^{٦٩} فإنّه لا حجّة لأحد دون رسول الله صلّى الله عليه وآله وسلّم، وما أمر الرسول بالافتداء بالصحابة عند فقد النصّ من الله ومنه ﷺ.

فإذا وُجد النصّ من الله ورسوله وجب على الصحابي الرجوع اليهما،^{٦٩} كما كان يفعل سيّدنا عمر وغيره رضي الله عنهم، وقد كان

٦٨ بالهامش: «في نسخة لم يورثوا».

٦٩ «فإنّه ... الرجوع اليهما»: بالهامش + «هكذا في نسخة»، وفي الصلب:

عمر رضي الله عنه وقافاً على الحق حتى مع النساء، وقضيته التي على المنبر مشهورة حين خطب فقال: يا أيها الناس لا تغالوا في الصداق! فإنه لو كان مكرمة لكان أولاكم به رسول الله ﷺ، وإن رسول الله ﷺ لم يصدق بنتاً من بناته ولا امرأة من نسائه [١٣] أكثر من اثني عشر أوقية فقالت امرأة: يا عمر أقولك يتبع أم قول الله تعالى؟ قال لها: وما قول الله تعالى؟ قالت له: الله تعالى يقول: وَأَتَيْتُمُ إِحْدَاهُنَّ قِنطَارًا فَلَا تَأْخُذُوا مِنْهُ شَيْئًا،^{٧٠} وأنت تقول: لا تزيدوا النساء فوق اثنتي عشر أوقية، فقال: رجل جهل وامرأة علمت، كل الناس أफقه من عمر حتى النساء.

٢٩ وذلك أن الحق يدور معه، كما قال ﷺ: والحق يدور مع عمر حيثما دار، والحق هو الله: فَذَلِكُمُ اللَّهُ رَبُّكُمْ الْحَقُّ،^{٧١} فهو دائر معه يبين له الشرع بلسان من شاء ولا يتركه على عمى، وكان إذا رأى شيئاً وسأل الصحابة رضي الله تعالى عنهم، فأجابوا بغير ما يعتقدونه عرفها لمن جاء الحق على لسانه من الصحابة، لذلك كان يقول: لولا عليّ لهلك عمر، وأعوذ بالله أن أعيش في قوم لست فيهم يا أبا الحسن!

٣٠ وكان عمر إذا احتج عليه بقول عن النبي ﷺ يخر ساجداً لعلمه بقول الله عز وجل: إِنَّمَا يُؤْمِنُ بِآيَاتِنَا الَّذِينَ إِذَا ذُكِّرُوا بِهَا خَرُّوا سُجَّدًا.^{٧٢}

«بالرجوع إليه».

٧٠ القرآن الكريم ٤ / ٢٠.

٧١ القرآن الكريم ١٠ / ٣٢.

٧٢ القرآن الكريم ٣٢ / ١٥.

ووجد رضي الله تعالى عنه رجلاً عنده كلام طيّب مكتوب، فقال له: أكتب مع كتاب الله تعالى؟ إنما أهلك من كان قبلكم أن ألف علماءهم كتباً فأكبوا عليها وتركوا التوراة والإنجيل حتى دُرسا وذهب ما فيهما من العلم.

٣١ أرأيتم لو رأى سيّدنا عمر ما أحدث فيما بعد من المؤلفات أكان يتوقّف في إذهابها؟ فنسأل الله سبحانه وتعالى أن يُسلّك بنا جاداتهم في اتّباع الحقّ وقبوله ممّن كان وردّ الباطل على من كان، فهذا شأن العلماء الورثة المتّبعين سبيل المؤمنين.

والله عزّ وجلّ يقول: وَمَنْ يُشَاقِقِ الرَّسُولَ مِنْ بَعْدِ مَا تَبَيَّنَ لَهُ الْهُدَىٰ وَيَتَّبِعْ غَيْرَ سَبِيلِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ نُوَلِّهِ مَا تَوَلَّىٰ وَنُصَلِّهِ جَهَنَّمَ وَسَاءَتْ مَصِيرًا،^{٧٣} والمؤمنون اذا لم يكونوا الصحابة فمن هم؟ واذا لم نتبعهم في الوقوف مع الشرع والدوران معه أينما دار ففي أيّ شيء نتبعهم؟ وما قال الله تعالى: فَإِنْ تَنَازَعْتُمْ فِي شَيْءٍ فَرُدُّوهُ إِلَى اللَّهِ وَالرَّسُولِ، إلاّ وجعل الله لذلك الشيء حكماً في كتابه وسنّة رسوله ﷺ، علم ذلك من علمه وجهله من جهله.

٣٢ فأما الكتاب [١٤] فتارةً بيّن الحكم وتارةً يحيل على الترجمان وهو الرسول ﷺ فيجب قبول الحوالة، كقوله: وَمَا آتَاكُمُ الرَّسُولُ فَخُذُوهُ وَمَا نَهَاكُمُ عَنْهُ فَانْتَهُوا،^{٧٤} أي لا ما آتاكم غيره ولا ما نهاكم

٧٣ القرآن الكريم ٤/ ١١٥.

٧٤ القرآن الكريم ٥٩/ ٧.

غيره، وقوله تعالى: **وَاتَّبِعُوهُ لَعَلَّكُمْ تَهْتَدُونَ**،^{٧٥} **وَإِنْ تَطِيعُوهُ تَهْتَدُوا**.^{٧٦}
 ٣٣ والرسول تارةً يبيّن لنا بالقول وتارةً بالفعل وتارةً بالسكوت، وما علمه وسكت عنه فقد أقرّه وأثبتته من جملة الجائز، ولا يقال هناك أشياء لم يعلمها، لأنّ الرسول لا يشرع من عند نفسه بل عن أمر الله، والله بكلّ شيء عليم وبكلّ شيء محيط، فكلّ ما يحدث من الوقائع في مستقبل الزمان حاضر عنده حال إنزال القرآن، فإذا جاء أوان وقوع تلك المسألة اطّلع المتّقون على ذلك الحكم في الكتاب فحكموا به، وقد كان عند أذن غيرهم فلم يسمعه.

٣٤ فتبيّن أنّ المبيّن مبيّن والمسكوت عنه ذلك عين بيانه، ولا يحتاج الى بيان آخر، فحكمه الجواز والعفو، قال الله عزّ وجلّ: **يَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا لَا تَسْأَلُوا عَنْ أَشْيَاءَ إِنْ تُبَدَ لَكُمْ تَسْأَلُوا عَنْهَا حِينَ يُنزَلُ الْقُرْآنُ تُبَدَ لَكُمْ**،^{٧٧} فكأنه قيل: يا ربّ إذا لم نسأل عنها ونحن مكلفون بالعمل بها ولا يصحّ لنا إلا بمعرفة حكمها قال لهم: عفا عنها،^{٧٨} أي حكمها العفو، فالذي سكت الله عنه فهو عفو، قال رسول الله ﷺ: **الحلال ما أحلّ الله في كتابه والحرام ما حرّم الله في كتابه وما سكت عنه فقد عفا عنه فاقبلوا من الله عفو**.^{٧٩}

٧٥ القرآن الكريم ٧/١٥٨.

٧٦ القرآن الكريم ٢٤/٥٤.

٧٧ القرآن الكريم ٥/١٠١.

٧٨ قارن القرآن الكريم ٥/١٠١.

٧٩ بالهامش، بالصلب: «عافيته»، وراجع المعجم المفهرس ٢/٤٨٨ ب.

٣٥ وإذا سكت الله وسكت رسوله المكلف من عنده بالبيان أفلا يسعنا أن نسكت؟ فهذا أنت ترى أن المسكوت عنه حكمه العفو، ولا يجوز أن يقاس فيه، وإذا كان التكلم في المسكوت <عنه> بغير الإباحة حراماً فما بالك^{٨٠} بالذي جاء فيه المنصوص، ولم يبلغوا الجهد في تحصيله بل من أول الأمر إذا سئلوا^{٨١} ذهبوا إلى آراء الرجال وعولوا عليها، والكتاب العزيز والسنة بين [١٥] أيديهم.

٣٦ فإذا سئل الرجل عن مسألة <ف>أجاب كأن جبريل عند أذنه، إمّا برأيه أو رأي غيره، وهو يعلم عدم عصمته، فترى الرجل يتورع عن لقمة الحرام ونظرٍ من لا يُحلّ - ولا يتورع أن يقول على الله ما لا يعلم أنه منه، ويفتري عليه الكذب، والله تعالى يقول: وَمَنْ أَظْلَمُ مِمَّنِ افْتَرَى عَلَى اللَّهِ الْكُذْبَ،^{٨٢} أي كذب أعظم من أن يقول: هذا حكم الله، ولم يعلم أن الله تعالى حكم به في كتابه ولا على لسان رسوله ﷺ، هذا مع علمه أن الذي قلده يقيس ويقول بالقياس ويرتضيه ديناً.

وأما إذا علم أنه يقول بعدم القياس واقفاً مع النصوص وأتاه بحكم لم يكن له مضافاً في الكتاب والسنة فهو حري أن يقول به لعلمه أنه لا رأي عنده، فهو ملتزم على نفسه أن لا يقول على الله إلا الحق، فهو عالم حقيقة من الذين قيل فيهم: كأنبياء بني إسرائيل، فإنه قائل مقالة موسى عليه السلام: حَقِيقٌ عَلَيَّ أَنْ لَا أَقُولَ عَلَى اللَّهِ إِلَّا الْحَقَّ،^{٨٣} وقوله

٨٠ * بالذي ... إذا سئلوا: بالهامش.

٨١ القرآن الكريم ٦١/٧.

٨٢ القرآن الكريم ٧/١٠٥.

عَزَّ وَجَلَّ حِينَ يُنَزِّلُ الْقُرْآنَ^{٨٣} هُوَ مَدَّةَ بَقَاءِ الرَّسُولِ ﷺ فِي هَذَا الْعَالَمِ الدُّنْيَوِيِّ.

٣٧ وَأَمَّا بَعْدُ أَنْ رَحَلَ إِلَى الدَّارِ الْآخِرَةِ فَلَا، لِأَنَّ الْعِلَّةَ مَأْمُونَةٌ لِأَنَّ الْأَحْكَامَ دُونَتْ، لَمْ تَبْقَ زِيَادَةٌ تَكْلِيفٍ عَلَى الْأُمَّةِ، إِذَا السَّبَبُ النَّهْيُ أَنَّهُمْ يَسْأَلُونَ عَنِ الْأَحْكَامِ الشَّرْعِيَّةِ مِنْ جَوَازٍ وَعَدَمِهِ، وَالرَّسُولُ ﷺ يَقُولُ: اتْرُكُونِي مَا تَرَكْتُكُمْ، إِنَّمَا أَهْلَكَ مَنْ كَانَ قَبْلَكُمْ كَثْرَةُ مَسَائِلِهِمْ بِغَيْرِ ضَرُورَةٍ وَاخْتِلَافِهِمْ عَلَى أَنْبِيَائِهِمْ بِالذَّهَابِ وَالْمَجِيئِ هَذَا ذَاهِبٌ وَهَذَا جَاءٌ يَسْأَلُونَهُمْ مِنَ الْأَحْكَامِ،^{٨٤} قَالَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ ﷺ: أَعْظَمُ الْمُسْلِمِينَ جَرَمًا فِي الْمُسْلِمِينَ رَجُلٌ سَأَلَ عَنْ شَيْءٍ لَمْ يَحْرَمَ فَحَرَّمَ مِنْ أَجْلِ مَسْأَلَتِهِ،^{٨٥} فَإِذَا كَانَ هَذَا السَّائِلُ يَسْأَلُ الرَّسُولَ ﷺ وَيَأْتِي الْحُكْمَ^{٨٦} مِنْ عِنْدِ اللَّهِ تَعَالَى فَهُوَ صَارَ^{٨٧} أَعْظَمَ الْمُسْلِمِينَ جَرَمًا فِي الْمُسْلِمِينَ لِكَوْنِهِ زَادَ عَلَيْهِمْ عِلَاوَةٌ عَلَى حَمْلِهِمْ.

فكيف بمن يسأل نفسه [١٦] ويجيبها: فإن قلت قلنا هذا، فيجعل نفسه تارة عبداً وتارة رباً، فقلوه: فإن قلت، هذا سؤال العبد، وقوله: قلنا، هذا جواب الرب، لأن الحكم لله وحده إنَّ الحُكْمَ إِلَّا لِلَّهِ.^{٨٨}

٨٣ القرآن الكريم ١٠١/٥.

٨٤ راجع المعجم المفهرس ٢٧٠/١ ب.

٨٥ راجع المعجم المفهرس ٣٣٨/١.

٨٦ بالهامش: «في نسخة تأتي الاحكام».

٨٧ «وهو»، ص، وبالهامش: «في نسخة بحذف صار».

٨٨ القرآن الكريم ٤٠/١٢.

٣٨ فالمؤمن الموقف الرشيد يقف مع حكم سيّده، وإن جهله سأل أهل الذكر، والذكر هو القرآن: **إِنَّا نَحْنُ الذِّكْرُ وَإِنَّا لَهُ لَحَافِظُونَ**،^{٨٩} فأهل الذكر هم الواقفون مع حدوده تعالى، وغيرهم لا أهليّة بينهم وبين الذكر، بل هم أجنب منه، ولا يتخذوا أحداً رباً من دون الله: **أَأْرَبَابٌ مُتَفَرِّقُونَ خَيْرٌ أَمِ اللَّهُ الْوَاحِدُ الْقَهَّارُ**.^{٩٠}

٣٩ وما قبض الله رسوله حتّى أغنى أمّته كلّهم عن الرأي بقوله تعالى: **الْيَوْمَ أَكْمَلْتُ لَكُمْ دِينَكُمْ**،^{٩١} وإذا كان الحقّ سبحانه و تعالى يقول: **أَكْمَلْتُ**، وهم يقولون له: بقي عليك شيء المسألة الفلانيّة والمسألة الفلانيّة أفنصّدق الله تعالى أو نصدّقهم؟ فأين من يرى القياس من هذه الأمّة؟ ومن حديث الرسول ﷺ حيث قال في القرآن: ومن ابتغى الهدى في غيره أضلّه الله،^{٩٢} لأنّ القرآن فيه الهدى كلّه، وهو عين الهدى والنور، والنور تُبصر به الأشياء، وإذا أراد أحد أن يسرج سراجاً من الماء لا يشتعل له ولو جلس الدهر كلّه، بل إذا كان السراج مشتعلاً أطفاه الماء وهو لم يترك له شيئاً.

٤٠ ما كان مبيناً فيه فهو مبين، وأمّا ما أحاله على الرسول فقد أحال به عليه، فهو جاء إلى الرسول ﷺ بأمر القرآن، فصار القرآن هو التبيان لكلّ شيء، كما قال الله تعالى: **فَبِالْقُرْآنِ أَمَرْنَا بِالسَّنَةِ**، وما أصيبت الأمّة بالتفرّق

٨٩ القرآن الكريم ٩/١٥ .

٩٠ القرآن الكريم ٣٩/١٢ .

٩١ القرآن الكريم ٣/٥ .

٩٢ راجع المعجم المفهرس ٢٠٣/١ ب .

عن القرآن إلا بدعوة نبيهم عليهم حيث طلبوا الهدى في غير كتابهم .
 فإذا كان الله تعالى يأمر الأنبياء أن يؤمنوا بنبينا^{٩٣} عليه السلام
 وينصروه وأخذ عليهم الميثاق على ذلك : وَإِذَا أَخَذَ اللَّهُ مِيثَاقَ النَّبِيِّينَ لَمَا
 آتَيْتُكُمْ مِنْ كِتَابٍ وَحِكْمَةٍ^{٩٤} الآية، ليجعلوه^{٩٥} واسطةً بينه وبينهم
 فيأخذوا بقدر كماله، لأن المرأة الصافية تقرّب البعيد وتوضحه،^{٩٦}
 فكيف [١٧] تتركه أمته - والحال أن الأنبياء تغبطها عليه كعيسى
 وموسى عليهما السلام، هذا يقول : لستُ أهلاً أن أحمل حذاه، وهذا
 يقول : لو كان في نفسه لم أبال ولكن أتباعه يدخلون مدخله، فكيف
 يصح لعاقل أن يستبدله بنبي آخر فضلاً عن صحابي فضلاً عن غيرهم
 من الناس، فوالله ما هذا إلا عماء لا بصيص فيه، بصّرنا الله والمسلمين
 أجمعين بالحق حتى لا نرى إلا إياه، آمين .

تنبيه

٤١ لا يصح لعاقل^{٩٧} أن يقول بالسكوت عن الحكم حتى يتفحص الكتاب
 العزيز كلمة كلمة وما دون من السنة، وإلا فكم من شياطين العلماء
 «قالوا» أنها مسكوتة «عنها»، فقاسوا فيها، ثم بلغهم عن النبي ﷺ
 الحكم، فرجعوا، وبعضها تكون في الكتاب العزيز، فلا يهتدون إليها،

٩٣ بالهامش : «في نسخة بنبيهم» .

٩٤ القرآن الكريم ٣ / ٨١ .

٩٥ بالهامش : «في نسخة فيجعلونه» .

٩٦ بالهامش : «في نسخة فتوضحه» .

٩٧ بالهامش : «في نسخة لقائل» .

ثمّ يأتي من بينها لهم من الكتاب العزيز، لأنّ الفهم بيد الله يؤتية من يشاء متى شاء.

كقصّة المرأة التي عزم سيّدنا عمر بن الخطّاب رضي الله عنه أن يرحمها لكونها أتت بولد لستّة أشهر، فلما حضر عليّ بن أبي طالب رضي الله عنه قال له: لا سبيل لكم عليها! قال له: ولم؟ قال: لأنّ الله تعالى قال: وَحَمْلُهُ وَفِصَالُهُ ثَلَاثُونَ شَهْرًا،^{٩٨} وقال الله تعالى: وَالْوَالِدَاتُ يُرْضِعْنَ أَوْلَادَهُنَّ حَوْلَيْنِ كَامِلَيْنِ،^{٩٩} فالحولين الكاملين بأربعة وعشرين شهرًا،^{١٠٠} تبقى ستّة أشهر هي مدّة الحمل، فقال عمر رضي الله عنه: لولا أبو الحسن لهلك عمر.

فكم من مبين في الكتاب ولكن لا يعلمه كلّ أحد، نعم، إنّ الله تعالى قال: آيَاتٌ بَيِّنَاتٌ، ولكنه قال: فِي صُدُورِ الَّذِينَ أُوتُوا الْعِلْمَ،^{١٠١} والذين أوتوا العلم غير الذين^{١٠٢} أوتوا العلم الآن، فالأولون أوتوه من عند الله، والآخرون أوتوه من عند أنفسهم وطلبوه من غير الطريقة التي هي التقوى^{١٠٣} والاعتماد على الله وحده في التعليم، بل استندوا لحولهم وقوتهم وقراءتهم [١٨] لسان العربية^{١٠٤} والآلات، وذلك ممّا

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٩٨ القرآن الكريم ١٥/٤٦.

٩٩ القرآن الكريم ٢/٢٣٣.

١٠٠ «شهر»، ص.

١٠١ القرآن الكريم ٤٩/٢٩.

١٠٢ «الذي»، ص.

١٠٣ بالهامش: «بغير طريقة التي هي التقوى كذا وجدته في نسخة».

١٠٤ بالهامش: «في نسخة اللسان العربي».

يزيدهم بعداً عن فهمه، لأنهم لم يطلبوا العلم ممن هو بيده، بل طلبوه من هذه الأشياء، وليس العلم في يدها حتى تجود به عليهم، فكم من حكم في الكتاب العزيز والسنة الغراء جهله الذين أوتوا العلم وزعموا أنه مسكوت عنه، فأخرجه^{١٠٥} الذين أوتوا العلم من أماكن يمرّ عليها أولئك صباحاً ومساءً لأن الخزائن لا تُخرج إلا لأهلها وفي أوقاتها.

٤٣ وأهلها هم الأحاباب وهم المتّقون: إِنَّ اللَّهَ يُحِبُّ الْمُتَّقِينَ،^{١٠٦} والحبيب لا يدخر عن حبيبه شيئاً ولا يتركه على عمى لا يدري أين يذهب، بل يريه أين^{١٠٧} يضع قدمه ويطلعه على مكاييد الشيطان ومدخله، على ما <هو> بضارهم،^{١٠٨} فلا يقدر عليه إبليس، بل يفرون منه، كما قال ﷺ: إِنَّ شَيَاطِينَ الْإِنْسِ وَالْجِنِّ لَيَفْرُونَ مِنْ ظِلِّ عَمْرٍ، وهذا ليس خاصاً بعمر رضي الله عنه، بل شركاؤه في ذلك كثيرون، فإنّ الرسول عليه الصلاة والسلام قال: ثلاثة معصومون من إبليس وجنوده: الذّاكرون الله كثيراً بالليل والنهار والمستغفرون بالأسحار والباكون من خشية الله.

٤٤ إذا علمتم هذا فاعلموا إخواني إنّنا ما جلسنا في أرضكم هذه إلا لاعتقاد أنّكم قابلون للحقّ معطون له، ومتى طلعت شمسهُ استضاءتم بها وافقت رأي أحد أو خالفته.

١٠٥ «أخرج»، ص.

١٠٦ القرآن الكريم ٣/٧٦.

١٠٧ «أن»، ص.

١٠٨ قارن القرآن الكريم ٥٨/١٠.

فإنَّ صاحب هذا الرأي فكيف نقلده نحن وإياكم فيه وقد أوجب الله عليه إذا سئل عمّا لا يعلم أن لا يقول على الله ما لا يعلم، لأنَّ ظنّه وقياسه ورأيه ليس بعلم، قال الله عزَّ وجلَّ: قُلْ هَلْ عِنْدَكُمْ مِنْ عِلْمٍ فَتُخْرِجُوهُ لَنَا إِنْ تَتَّبِعُونَ إِلَّا الظَّنَّ،^{١٠٩} وقال: وَمَا لَهُمْ بِذَلِكَ مِنْ عِلْمٍ إِنْ هُمْ إِلَّا يَظُنُّونَ،^{١١٠} فجعل الظنَّ مقابلاً للعلم فليس من العلم في شيء.

فكلَّ ما لم يجد المرء فيه دليلاً من الكتاب والسنة وجب عليه [١٩] السكوت إذا سئل عنه لأنّه حينئذ جاهل لا عالم، ووظيفة الجاهل سؤال العالم: فاسئَلُوا أَهْلَ الذِّكْرِ،^{١١١} وإذا كان جاهلاً وترك الواجب عليه وهو السكوت وسؤال العلماء عن تلك المسألة فكيف يقتدون به في الحرام الذي هو القول بغير ما قال الله ورسوله؟ فليس هو في تلك الحالة عالماً وحكمه فيها من حكم الطاغوت، إذ ليس حكم الطاغوت إلا الحكم بغير ما أنزل الله تعالى اتباعاً لأمر الشيطان إذا أمره أن يقول على الله ما لا يعلم، سواء كان له إمام بالشرع في الجملة أو لا إمام له.

فكلَّ مسألة لم تكن منصوباً عليها فحكمه بغير نصّ فيها فهي من حكم الطاغوت، لأنَّ الحكم لله وحده إنَّ الحُكْمَ إِلَّا لِلَّهِ لا لفلان ولا لفلان: وَمَا اخْتَلَفْتُمْ فِيهِ مِنْ شَيْءٍ فَحُكْمُهُ إِلَى اللَّهِ،^{١١٢} لا لغيره.

١٠٩ القرآن الكريم ٦/١٤٨.

١١٠ القرآن الكريم ٤٥/٢٤.

١١١ القرآن الكريم ١٦/٤٣.

١١٢ القرآن الكريم ٤٢/١٠.

٤٥ فَإِنْ تَابَ صَاحِبُهَا عَنْهَا مُحِيتَ عَنْهُ وَإِلَّا بَقِيَتْ عَلَيْهِ حَتَّى يَسْأَلَ اللَّهَ عَنْهَا يَوْمَ يَقُومُ لِلْإِشْهَادِ، وَيَقُولُ لَهُ: أَنَا قُلْتُ كَذَلِكَ أَوْ رَسُولِي أَمْ اتَّخَذْتَ إِلَاهَكَ هَوَاكَ وَتَرَكْتَنِي؟ فَيَا خَجَلْتَهُ مِنْ رَبِّهِ!

فَإِنْ شَكَّ هَلْ هَذَا حُكْمُ اللَّهِ أَمْ هُوَ لَا وَجِبَ عَلَيْهِ أَنْ يَسْكُتَ لِقَوْلِ اللَّهِ تَعَالَى: «إِلَّا مَنْ شَهِدَ بِالْحَقِّ وَهُمْ يَعْلَمُونَ»^{١١٣} فَإِنْ تَكَلَّمَ مِنْ غَيْرِ عِلْمٍ عَنِ اللَّهِ تَعَالَى أَوْ رَسُولِهِ وَإِنْ صَادَفَتْ لِأَنَّهُ مَرَّتْ كَبْ خَطْرًا عَظِيمًا لَا عِلْمَ عِنْدَهُ بِالْإِصَابَةِ، وَإِنَّمَا هِيَ رَمِيَةٌ مِنْ غَيْرِ رَامٍ، فَإِصَابَتُهُ اتَّفَاقِيَّةٌ، فَهُوَ مَعْرُضٌ نَفْسُهُ لِلْهَلَاكِ كَمَنْ شَرِبَ السَّمَّ فَسَلِمَ، فَهُوَ آثِمٌ بِلَا شَكٍّ إِلَّا أَنْ يَكُونَ عِنْدَهُ عِلْمٌ إِلَهِيًا بِالسَّلَامَةِ، كَمَسْأَلَةِ خَالِدِ بْنِ الْوَلِيدِ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ، لِأَنَّهُ إِذَا عِلِمَ مِنْ طَرِيقٍ لَا يَتَطَرَّقُ إِلَيْهِ الْكُذْبُ وَجِبَ عَلَيْهِ بِهِ أَنْ يَصْدُقَ.

وَمِنْ أَجْلِ مَا ذَكَرْنَاهُ مِنْ خَوْفِ سُؤَالِ تَابِ مَالِكٍ وَأَمْثَالِهِ حَيَاءً مِنَ اللَّهِ عَزَّ وَجَلَّ أَنْ يَلْقَوْهُ وَقَدْ حَكَمُوا بِغَيْرِ شَرْعِهِ.

٤٦ فَأَهْلُ الْعِلْمِ خَائِفُونَ مِنَ اللَّهِ عَزَّ وَجَلَّ كَمَا تَرَوْنَهُمْ، [٢٠] فَهَمَّ عَلَى وَصْفِهِمُ الَّذِي وَصَفَهُمُ اللَّهُ بِهِ: «إِنَّمَا يَخْشَى اللَّهَ مِنْ عِبَادِهِ الْعُلَمَاءُ»^{١١٤} أَي: بِهِ، لَا بِالْأَحْكَامِ فَقَطْ، فَإِنَّهُ لَا يَتَّقِي الشَّيْءَ إِلَّا مِنْ عَرَفِهِ، فَلِذَلِكَ تَرَى الطِّفْلَ يَتَأَنَسُ بِالنَّارِ لِكُونِهِ يَرَاهَا مُضِيئَةً، فَيَتَعَشَّقُ بِهَا، وَكَذَلِكَ الْحَيَّةُ يَعْثُ بِهَا لِعَدَمِ مَعْرِفَتِهِ بِإِحْرَاقِ النَّارِ وَقَتْلِ الْحَيَّةِ، فَلَوْ عَرَفَ الْإِحْرَاقَ وَالسَّمَّ مَا قَرَّبَ مِنْهُمَا.

١١٣ القرآن الكريم ٤٣/٨٦.

١١٤ القرآن الكريم ٣٥/٢٨.

٤٧ فكذلك من عرف الله وقهره وعلم أنه إذا أطاعه بيده النفع الذي لا مزيدَ عليه يعطي ما لا عين رأت ولا أذن سمعت ولا خطر على قلب بشر، وإذا عصاه عنده كل ما سواه.

٤٨ فمن عرفه خافه ولم يؤثر عليه غيره كائن من كان، ولا غير ما حكم به في كتابه أو على لسان رسوله، ومن ثم قال محمد بن إدريس الشافعي رحمه الله تعالى عن رسول الله ﷺ: أجل من نفوسنا من أن نرى غير ما قضى به، وهذا صريح بأنهم لا يتكلمون في المسائل مع وجود النص، وإنما يقولونه من باب الفهم لا تعمداً، لأن الخطأ إذا كان في الفهم صاحبه مجتهد مأجور بخلاف الرأي.

ومّا أنّهم غير متعمدين لباطل رجوعهم الى الحديث إذا بلغهم من أحد منهم، وما له مقالات إلا رجوع عنها، فلو لم يظهر الخطأ فيها ما رجع، وكلّ مسألة قالها من غير أن يستند فيها الى نصّ يحتمل أن تكون كذلك، لأنّه إذا جاز الخطأ في البعض جاز في الكلّ، وإذا لم تُعلم عين الخطأ وجب اجتناب مظانّه جملةً واحدةً، وإذا علم الإنسان النصّ تكلم به، وإن جهله سكت.

٤٩ سئل أشهب صاحب مالك رحمه الله: أيسع العالم إذا سئل عن شيء يدريه أن يقول: لا أدري، فقال: أمّا ما كان فيه مسند من الكتاب والسنة، فلا يسعه بأن يقول لا أدري، وما كان من هذا الرأي فيسعه أن يقول لا أدري، أي لأنه حينئذ ضلال: وَمَنْ أَضَلُّ مِمَّنِ اتَّبَعَ هَوَاهُ بِغَيْرِ هُدًى مِنَ اللَّهِ؟^{١١٥} والهدى من الله هو الوحي.

٥٠ فحاصله : إذا لم نعلم [٢١] الوحي سكتنا، ولا نتكلم بالجهل فيكون سدًّا لباب العلم ومفتاحاً لباب الضلالة، فإنَّ الله سبحانه وتعالى قال : وَمَا كَانَ اللَّهُ لِيُضِلَّ قَوْمًا بَعْدَ إِذْ هَدَاهُمْ حَتَّى يُبَيِّنَ لَهُمْ مَا يَتَّقُونَ^{١١٦}، فإذا نهى الله العالم أن يقول بغير علم ولا ينتهي أضلَّهُ عقوبة له، وإذا وقف فقد اتقى الله، وقد التزم أن من اتقاه يعلمه بدليل قوله : وَأَتَّقُوا اللَّهَ وَيَعْلَمُوا اللَّهَ،^{١١٧} فالواجب على الإنسان اذا لم يعلم أن يترك الجاهل ويسأل غيره حتى يجد من يعلم حكم الله لا حكم الناس .

٥١ والجاهل جاهلان : جاهل يسأل ليعلم حكم الله فيحكم به فيجب على العالم أن يجيبه بالحق أو يقول لا أدري فيما لا يدري .

وجاهل يسأل لا ليستفيد، بل تعنتاً، وقد يكون في صورة عالم وهو جاهل، لأنه لو كان عالماً حقيقةً ما ضيَّع وقته بالجدال والمراء ولاغتنم عمره في طاعة ربِّه، فكان الواجب عليه أن يسأل ليعلم فيعمل بما علم، فالتعلم المطلوب من العبد أن يتعلم حدود سيِّده ليقف عندها، يعلم الخير ليأتيه والشر ليتقيه .

فإن قصد من العلم غير هذا كإقامة جاه آبائه أو رأى أن أهل العلم لهم قدر ونحو ذلك من الشهوات التي هي أبواب النار، فعلمه وبال عليه، فعلمه كلما ازداد منه بعد من الله تعالى، لأنه هارب من الله إلى ما أراد، إنما لكل امرئ ما نوى .

٥٢ فالواجب على العالم إذا علم أن السائل يسأل ليعلمه أن يقبل

١١٦ القرآن الكريم ٩/١١٥ .

١١٧ القرآن الكريم ٢/٢٨٢ .

عليه ويعلمه، وإذا علم نيّته غير ذلك أن يعرض عنه وإن كان في الصورة عالماً، لأنه جاهل في الحقيقة، والله تعالى يقول: وَأَعْرَضُ عَنْ الْجَاهِلِينَ،^{١١٨} وإذا جهل حاله هل قصده بالعلم الخير أو الشرّ حمله على الخير ولا يقع في سوء الظنّ، فالذي يعرض <عنه>، هو الذي تحقّق منه عدم إرداة الخير لأنّ الكلام معه حينئذ ضياع وقت.

<ملحق>

٥٣ وأما المسائل التي أنكرها بعضهم وأشككت عليهم،^{١١٩} فأما الاجتماع على الذكر [٢٢] فلا نجيب عنه إلا بالأحاديث الصحاح المروية في أصحّ كتب الحديث، منها الحديث المشهور في البخاري ومسلم وغيرهما أنّ لله ملائكة سيّاحين في الأرض يلتمسون مجالس الذكر، فإذا وجدوا حلقة ذكر نادى بعضهم بعضاً: هلمّوا الى بغيتكم فيحضرون من مشارق الأرض إلى مغاربها في أقلّ من طرفة عين فيحفونهم إلى السماء فيسألهم ربّهم وهو أعلم بهم فيقول لهم: كيف وجدتم عبادي؟ فيقولون: وجدناهم يسبحونك ويمجدونك ويهلّلونك ويكبرونك، فيقول لهم: هل رأوني؟ فيقولون: لا والله ياربّ، ما رأوك! فيقول: كيف لو أنّهم رأوني! فيقولون: كانوا أشدّ لك، الخ، هم الذين لا يشقى بهم جليسهم.^{١٢٠}

١١٨ القرآن الكريم ٧/١٩٩.

١١٩ «عليه»، ص.

١٢٠ راجع المعجم المفهرس ١/٢٣٦٠.

٥٤ ومجالس الذكر كلها^{١٢١} قوم مجتمعون إمّا على عالم يذكّرهم في طاعته تعالى أو على تسبيح أو تهليل أو تلاوة قرآن، فالمراد بالذكر بأيّ صيغة مشروعة أو علم مقصود به وجه الله تعالى، وفي الصحيح، قال رسول الله ﷺ: إذا مررتم برياض الجنّة فارتعوا! قالوا: وما رياض الجنّة يا رسول الله؟ قال: حلق الذكر،^{١٢٢} ولا تكون الحلقة إلا على جماعة، وفي الصحيحين وغيرهما، قال رسول الله ﷺ، قال الله عزّ وجلّ: أنا جليس من ذكرني وأنا معه إذا ذكرني، فإن ذكرني في نفسه ذكرته في نفسي، وإن ذكرني في ملأ ذكرته في ملأ خير من ملأه، الحديث، والملأ الجماعة، ولا فرق بين القيام والقعود: الَّذِينَ يَذْكُرُونَ اللَّهَ قِيَامًا وَقُعُودًا وَعَلَىٰ جُنُوبِهِمْ،^{١٢٣} فَإِذَا قُضِيَتِ الصَّلَاةُ فَادْكُرُوا اللَّهَ قِيَامًا وَقُعُودًا وَعَلَىٰ جُنُوبِكُمْ. ^{١٢٤}

٥٥ ولم يرد عن النبي ﷺ تخبير في اهتزاز وتوافق الحركات والأصوات، ومن أعابها^{١٢٥} فعليه البيّنة، فإنّا ملتزمون للعفو في كلّ مسكوت عنه، فإنّه لم يبعث إلينا به رسولاً وما كنّا معذبين حتّى نُبعث رسولاً، وعفا الله عنها، [٢٣] وما سكت عنه فقد عفا عنه.

٥٦ وأمّا تطويل التكبير في أركان الصلاة، فقد كان رسول الله ﷺ

١٢١ كل، ص.

١٢٢ راجع المعجم المفهرس ٢/٢١٨آ، سنن الترمذي ٥/١٩٤، رقم ٣٥٧٧؛ وقارن ابن عبد البر، جامع بيان العلم ١/١٣ و ٣٢، الخاني، السير والسلوك ٥٢ ب.

١٢٣ القرآن الكريم ٣/١٩١.

١٢٤ القرآن الكريم ٤/١٠٣.

١٢٥ «أعابهن»، ص.

يملاً أركان الصلاة بالتكبير، فاذا هوى الى الركوع والسجود ورفع منهما
يبتدئ التكبير من حين شروعه في الركن ويستمر على مدّ التكبير
حتى يملأ الركن كله، والمأمومون باقون على قيامهم أو ركوعهم أو
سجودهم أو جلوسهم حتى ينقطع صوته بالتكبير، ثم يتبعونه كلهم
كرجل واحد لا يتخلفون، هذا قائم وهذا راع وهذا رافع.

بل في جميع أفعال الصلاة الإمام كرجل والمأموم كرجل، يصبرون
حتى يفعل الإمام الفعل، فاذا انقطع فعله أو تكبيره فعلوا مثل فعله،
ولا يساؤونه إلا في قول آمين، يقولون معه سواءً، فهو رجل منهم لا
يبتدئونها حتى يشرع هو فيها، فإذا سمعوا صوته آمنوا معه، وجميع
أقوالهم سرّاً إلا هذه، فإنهم يجهرون بها.

فما كان ﷺ يخطف للتكبير في أول أركان الصلاة ولا يترك شيئاً
من الركن فارغاً، لأن الله سبحانه يقول: أقم الصلوة لذكرى،^{١٢٦} لا
لسكوت ولا لذكر غيري، فليس في الصلاة موضع فارغ^{١٢٧} من ذكر
الله، بل هي كلها معمورة بذكر الله إما سرّاً أو جهراً، فإذا خلا شيء^{١٢٨}
منها من ذكر الله تعالى كان كالعضو الناقص، ومن ثم قال عليه الصلاة
والسلام: لا يكتب له من صلاته إلا ما عقل منها تسعها وثمانها
وسبعها وسدسها وخمسها وربعها وثلثها ونصفها، والذي عقل منها
هي التي عقل أمر الله بالذكر فيها.

١٢٦ القرآن الكريم ٢٠/١٤.

١٢٧ «فارغاً»، ص.

١٢٨ «شيئاً»، ص.

٥٧ وأما رفع اليدين بالدعاء بعد الصلاة، فقد وردت به صحاح الأحاديث، ففي الترمذي: الصلاة تقنع وتمسكن وتخضع وترفع يديك في آخرها [٢٤] وتقول: يا ربّ يا ربّ يا ربّ، وإلا فهي خداج،^{١٢٩} وصحّ صريح من ذلك برواية بيّنة، فقد حقّقوا فيها صفة فعله وأمره ﷺ وما يقول في ذلك الرفع.

فمن أنكره فإن كان حديثاً عدم معرفته وعدم وقوفه على أحاديثه عليه الصلاة والسلام فهو معذور، ولكن لم يكن من حقّه أن ينكر كلّ ما جهل، بل يقول: الله أعلم، ولا يخالف أمر ربّه بقوله سبحانه وتعالى: وَلَا تَقْفُ مَا لَيْسَ لَكَ بِهِ عِلْمٌ.^{١٣٠}

والرسول ﷺ يقول: من كذب عليّ متعمداً فليتبوأ مقعده من النار، وإذا بلغكم عنيّ حديث فلم تعرفوه فقولوا الله أعلم،^{١٣١} فمن لم يقل الله أعلم فقد عصى الله ورسوله، والله تعالى يقول: فَلْيَحْذَرِ الَّذِينَ يُخَالِفُونَ عَنْ أَمْرِهِ أَنْ تُصِيبَهُمْ فِتْنَةٌ أَوْ يُصِيبَهُمْ عَذَابٌ أَلِيمٌ.^{١٣٢}

٥٨ وحاصله أن المؤمن يحكم بحكم الله تعالى وحكم رسوله عليه الصلاة والسلام، وقال الله عزّ وجلّ: وَمَا اخْتَلَفْتُمْ فِيهِ فَحُكْمُهُ إِلَى اللَّهِ،^{١٣٣} وقال تعالى: إِنَّ الْحُكْمَ إِلَّا لِلَّهِ، لا إلى غيره ولا لغيره، وإذا حكم

١٢٩ راجع المعجم المفهرس ٦/٢٢٢٥.

١٣٠ القرآن الكريم ١٧/٣٦.

١٣١ راجع المعجم المفهرس ١/٤٣٦.

١٣٢ القرآن الكريم ٢٤/٦٣.

١٣٣ القرآن الكريم ٤٢/١٠.

الله تعالى وجب عليه أن يرضى بما حكم عليه، وإلا فليس بمؤمن، كما أقسم الله تعالى على ذلك بقوله سبحانه: فَلَا وَرَبِّكَ لَا يُؤْمِنُونَ حَتَّىٰ يُحَكِّمُوكَ فِيمَا بَيْنَهُمْ ثُمَّ لَا يَجِدُوا فِي أَنفُسِهِمْ حَرَجًا مِّمَّا قَضَيْتَ وَيُسَلِّمُوا تَسْلِيمًا. ١٣٤

٥٩ فها أنتم تسمعون أنّ من حكم بغير حكم الله فليس بمؤمن، ومن حكم الله ولم يوف بحكمه وقد سمّاه ١٣٥ الله المحاكم لغيره زاعماً للإيمان لا مؤمناً، ألم ترّ إلى الذين يزعمون أنّهم آمنوا بما أنزل إليك وما أنزل من قبلك يريدون أن يتحاكموا إلى الطّاغوت. ١٣٦

وإنّا لا نرضى لأنفسنا ولا لأحد من إخواننا المؤمنين المحاكمة الى غير الله تعالى ورسوله .

جعلنا الله وإياكم من المتّبعين لما جاء به رسول الله ﷺ من عند ربّه، آمين، والله تعالى يؤيدنا وإياكم بتوفيقه حتى نمشي [٢٥] على الصراط المستقيم، وحسبنا الله ونعم الوكيل، ولا حول ولا قوة إلا بالله العليّ العظيم، وصلى الله على مولانا محمّد وعلى آله في كلّ لحظة ونفسٍ عدّد ما وسعه علم الله .

تمت رسالة الردّ على أهل الرأي بالصواب لموافقة السنّة والكتاب .
والحمد لله ربّ العالمين .

١٣٤ القرآن الكريم ٤/٦٥ .

١٣٥ «سمى»، ص .

١٣٦ القرآن الكريم ٤/٦٠ .

SUPPLEMENT

List of the correspondences between the *Risālat al-Radd* and al-Sanūsī's *Īqāz al-wasnān*:

Radd, § 1:

تركت فيكم واعظين لن تضلّوا ما تمسّكتم بهما .

Īqāz, 42,1-2:

تركت فيكم اثنتين لن تضلّوا بعدهما كتاب الله وسنتي .

Radd, § 2:

a.

فَإِنْ تَنَازَعْتُمْ فِي شَيْءٍ فَرُدُّوهُ إِلَى اللَّهِ وَالرَّسُولِ

Īqāz, 41,-2:

فَإِنْ تَنَازَعْتُمْ فِي شَيْءٍ فَرُدُّوهُ إِلَى اللَّهِ وَالرَّسُولِ، الآية .

b.

والوحي الذي أنزل إلينا من ربنا هو الكتاب العزيز وأفعال رسوله ﷺ وأقواله، فكلاهما وحي بنص الكتاب، قال الله عز وجل: وَمَا يَنْطِقُ عَنِ الْهَوَىٰ إِنْ هُوَ إِلَّا وَحْيٌ يُوحَىٰ .

Īqāz, 40,3-5:

إذ ليست السنّة إلا مجرد بيان القرآن، إعلم أنّ النبي ﷺ هو المعبر عن القرآن الدالّ على معانيه بما علّمه الله، فكانت أقواله وأفعاله وتقريراته كلّها وحيًا، دليل الأقوال من الكتاب: وَمَا يَنْطِقُ عَنِ الْهَوَىٰ إِنْ هُوَ إِلَّا وَحْيٌ يُوحَىٰ .

Radd, § 3:

a.

بل الحكم كله في الكتاب إذ السنة عينه، فإنها بيانه لا غيره ولا قسمة له.

Īqāz, 40,3:

إذ ليست السنة إلا مجرد بيان القرآن.

b.

ما من مسألة يتنازع فيها اثنان وإن كان مثقال حبة من خردل إلا جعل الله لها حكماً في كتابه وسنة نبيه عليه الصلاة والسلام، علم ذلك من علمه وجهله من جهله.

Īqāz, 89,10-11:

فليس من قضية يتنازع فيها اثنان إلا ولها حكم فيه، علمه من علمه وجهله من جهله.

Radd, § 6:

a.

فالذي لم نعلم هو الذي لم يات عن الله ولا عن رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله وسلم، والرسول صلى الله عليه وآله وسلم يقول: العلم ثلاثة: آية محكمة وسنة ماضية ولا أدري، فجعل لا أدري علماً لأن القول بالرأي حرام، فاجتنبوه سواء كان رأيه أو رأي غيره، لا نتحاشى أحداً حياً كان ذلك الغير أو ميتاً صغيراً كان أعني في أعين الناس أو كبيراً، فإن الله سبحانه وتعالى سمى الحكم بغير ما أنزل الله هو حكم الطاغوت، وهو الشيطان، وقد فسره الله عز وجل به، فقال: يُرِيدُونَ أَنْ

يَتَحَاكَمُوا إِلَى الطَّاعُوتِ وَقَدْ أُمِرُوا أَنْ يَكْفُرُوا بِهِ وَيُرِيدُ الشَّيْطَانُ أَنْ يُضِلَّهُمْ ضَلَالًا بَعِيدًا، ففسّر الطاعوت بالشیطان، فإذا وسوس العالم أن يقول من عند نفسه شيئاً أو ليستحسنه، ففعل، فقد حكم بحكم الطاعوت الذي هو الشيطان، وحكمه هو أنه أمره أن يقول على الله ما لا يعلم.

Īqāz, 76,6-ult.:

فالذي لا نعلمه هو الذي لم يات عن الله عن رسوله لحديث: العلم ثلاثة: آية محكمة وسنة ماضية ولا أدري، فإن القول بالرأي الغير المبني على أصل من الكتاب والسنة وما فهم منهما والقياس على غير أصل حرام، بل من أكبر الكبائر كما يفيد التأمّل في قوله عز وجل: إنما يأمركم بالسوء والفحشاء، الآية، وجعل في الحديث لا أدري علماً لعلمه من نفسه نفي الدراية الموجب عليه السكوت، فمن قال فيما لا يدري برأيه أو رأى غيره كائناً من كان فقد حكم بغير ما أنزل الله، فقد سمى الله سبحانه الحكم بغير ما أنزل الله حكم الطاعوت، ومن مواده الشيطان كما بيّن ذلك بقوله: يُرِيدُونَ أَنْ يَتَحَاكَمُوا إِلَى الطَّاعُوتِ وَقَدْ أُمِرُوا أَنْ يَكْفُرُوا بِهِ وَيُرِيدُ الشَّيْطَانُ أَنْ يُضِلَّهُمْ ضَلَالًا بَعِيدًا، ففسّر الطاعوت الشيطان، فإذا وسوس لعالم أن يقول من عند نفسه شيئاً ويستحسنه، ففعل، فقد حكم بحكم الطاعوت الذي هو الشيطان، وحكمه هو أمره أن يقول على الله ما لا يعلم.

b.

العلم ثلاثة: آية محكمة وسنة ماضية ولا أدري.

Īqāz, 91,12:

العلم ثلاثة: آية محكمة وسنة ماضية ولا أدري .

Radd, § 7:

فلا فرق في حكم الطاغوت الذي هو الشيطان بين أن يكون على لسان عالم أو جاهل لأنّ العالم غير معصوم إلا إذا وقف مع قول المعصوم، فمتى خرج منه وقع في الخطأ والضلال، و في تلك الحالة فالجاهل أحسن منه حالاً، فإنّ رسول الله ﷺ قال: اتقوا زلّة العالم فإنّها تكبكب في النار، وذلك أنّه يتبعه غيره فيضلّ فيصير إماماً ضلالة من جملة الذين قال الله تعالى فيهم: وَجَعَلْنَاهُمْ أُمَّةً يَدْعُونَ إِلَى النَّارِ، وأمّا الجاهل فلا يقتدي به أحد لأنّهم يعلمون أنّه تائه مقبوض لا يدري إلى أين يذهب، بخلاف العالم فيتأولون له بأنّه ما فعل ذلك إلا عن علم صحيح من الكتاب والسنة.

Īqāz, 76,1-77,7:

فلا فرق في حكمه أن يقول على لسان عالم أو جاهل لعدم عصمة العالم إذا لم يقف مع قول المعصوم، فمتى خرج منه وقع في الخطأ والضلال، بل الجاهل أحسن منه إذذاك، ولذا قال ﷺ: اتقوا زلّة العالم فإنّها تكبكب في النار، وذلك أنّه يتبعه غيره فيما لم يأذن به الله فيضلّ فيصير إماماً ضلالة بذلك، فيصدق عليه: وَجَعَلْنَاهُمْ أُمَّةً يَدْعُونَ إِلَى النَّارِ، بخلاف الجاهل فلا يقتدي به أحد لعلم الناس بأنّه تائه لا يدري أين يذهب، فيتأولون العالم بأنّه ما فعل ذلك إلا عن أصل صحيح من

الكتاب والسنة.

Radd, § 8:

من أفتى فتياً بغير إثبات فإنما إثمه على من أفتاه.

Īqāz, 77,10-11:

من أفتى فتياً بغير إثبات فإنما إثمه على من أفتاه.

Radd, § 11:

كما قال ﷺ حين قرأ قوله تعالى: اتَّخَذُوا أَحْبَارَهُمْ وَرُهَبَانَهُمْ أَرْبَابًا.

Īqāz, 77,12:

وبين في تفسير: اتَّخَذُوا أَحْبَارَهُمْ وَرُهَبَانَهُمْ أَرْبَابًا.

Radd, § 12:

فكل من أحدث حكماً مع الله فقد أحدث ربوبية، وكل من قلده في ذلك الحكم فقد اتَّخذه رباً من دون الله.

Īqāz, 77,12-13:

وبين في تفسير: اتَّخَذُوا أَحْبَارَهُمْ وَرُهَبَانَهُمْ أَرْبَابًا أَنْ إِحْدَاثَ حَكْمٍ لَمْ يَأْذَنَ بِهِ اللَّهُ إِحْدَاثَ رَبُوبِيَّةٍ وَقَبُولَهُ اتِّخَاذَ الْمَحْدُثِ رَبًّا مِنْ دُونِ اللَّهِ.

Radd, § 15:

a.

ولذلك قال ﷺ: أصحابي كالنجوم.

Īqāz, 41,7:

قال: أصحابي كالنجوم، الحديث.

b.

وما من أحد من العلماء المتقدمين الذين يزعم الناس أنّهم على مذاهبهم كانت له مقالة في دين الله تعالى غير ما نُقل له عن رسول الله ﷺ إلا رجع وأبطلها وأوصى بتركها. فمن الناس من هداه الله ورحمه، فعرف الحق لأهله، وهو الله، إن الحكم إلا لله، والرسول هو المبلغ عنه، وحفظ ما أوصى به أئمة السلف ورجع كما رجعوا. ومنهم من جنح الى المكابرة وتأول أقوالهم بأنهم قالوها تواضعاً ونحو ذلك، وهذا لا يشك أحد في خراب عقله، فإن معنى قوله تواضعاً أنهم ليسوا معتقدين أنّ قولهم إذا خالف قول الرسول ﷺ وأنهم مدعون أنّ الرسول كواحد منهم يعمل بقوله تارةً ويقول غيره تارةً، وهذا لا يقوله مسلم، وفيه من إلحاق الذم بالأئمة ما لا مزيد عليه.

Īqāz, 77,5-78,6:

ولهذا ما ترى أحداً من المتقدمين الذين يزعم الناس أنّهم على مذاهبهم له مقالة في الدين غير ما نُقل عن الله ورسوله إلا رجع عنها وأبطلها وأمر أصحابه بتركها حين اطلع على النص، فمن الناس من رحمه الله فهداه، فعرف الحق لأهله، وهو أنّ الحكم لله ورسوله: إن الحكم إلا لله، وحفظ ما أوصى به السلف ووقف عند ما وقفوا ورجع كما رجعوا، ومنهم من مال الى المكابرة أنّهم ما قالوا ذلك إلا تواضعاً ونحوه، وهذا لا يشك في خراب عقله، فإن ذلك يقتضي أنّهم ليسوا معتقدين أنّ قولهم إذا خالف قول الرسول تركوه ومدعون أنّ الرسول كواحد منهم

يعمل بقوله تارةً ويقول غيره أخرى، وهذا مما لا يقوله مسلم، وفيه من إلحاق الذم بالأئمة رضي الله عنهم ما لا مزيد عليه.

c.

فالذي يعتقده كل مؤمن فيهم أنهم يقولون: لا نبلغ رتبة الصحابي الذي رأى الرسول ﷺ مرةً واحدةً، فضلاً عن الذي رآه كثيراً، فضلاً عن الملازمين، فضلاً عن علمائهم، وإنه إذا وجد قول الصحابي كان يُعمل به دون رأي أولئك الأئمة، لقوله عليه الصلاة والسلام: سألتُ ربِّي عما يختلف فيه أصحابي من بعدي، فقال: يا محمد، أصحابك عندي كالنجوم بعضها أضواً من بعض، فمن أخذ بما قاله فهو عندي على هدًى، ولذلك قال ﷺ: أصحابي كالنجوم بأيهم اقتديتم اهتديتم.

Īqāz, 78,7-13:

مع أن الذي يعتقده كل مؤمن فيهم أنهم يقولون: لا نبلغ رتبة الصحابي الذي رأى الرسول مرةً فضلاً عن أكثر، فضلاً عن الملازمين له، فضلاً عن علمائهم، وأنه إذا وجد قول الصحابي كان العمل به دون رأي أولئك الأئمة، لقوله ﷺ: سألتُ ربِّي عما اختلف فيه أصحابي من بعدي، قال: يا محمد، أصحابك عندك كالنجوم بعضها أضواً من بعض، فمن أخذ بشيء مما قاله فهو على هدًى مني، ولذلك قال ﷺ: أصحابي كالنجوم بأيهم اقتديتم اهتديتم.

Radd, § 16:

فكلام الصحابي عند فقد الكتاب والسنة حجة بنص الرسول ﷺ، بخلاف قول غيره، أتاه ذلك من رؤية النبي ﷺ، لا من أجل جودة فكره، فافهم! وأعوذ بالله من الجهل الذي يترك الإنسان يتكلم بالهذيان والتناقض ولا يشعر لكونه لا يتدبر معنى القول.

Īqāz, 78,13-16:

أي فقولهم عند فقد الكتاب والسنة حجة بقول الرسول بخلاف قول غيرهم، وذلك من رؤية الصحابي الرسول، لا من أجل جودة فكره، فافهم! ونعوذ بالله من الجهل الموقع صاحبه في التكلم بالهذيان والتناقض من حيث لا يشعر بكونه لا يتدبر معنى القول.

Radd, § 17:

a.

أما أحمد بن حنبل: فليس له مؤلف رأي.

Īqāz, 29,4:

قال بعضهم: ولهذا لم يألف الإمام أحمد كتاباً في الفقه.

b.

لا يقدم فلان لشهرته في العلم على فلان، بل كلهم عند فقد النصّ سواء، لا يقتدى بأحد منهم.

Īqāz, 77,7-10:

ولهذا حثّ السلف ولا سيما أئمة الهدى فإنهم رضي الله عنهم بالغوا في حثّ أتباعهم على الوقوف عند نصّ الكتاب والسنة وتحذيرهم عن متابعتهم فيما لم يقفوا لهم فيه على دليل وخصوصاً الأربعة.

Radd, § 18:

a.

وقال الشافعي رحمه الله: إذا رأيت قولاً يخالف قول رسول الله ﷺ اضربوا بقولني عرض الحائط!

Īqāz, 26,-4-5:

وقوله المشهور عنه إذا صحَّ الحديث: فاضربوا بقولني عرض الحائط إذا صحَّ الحديث فهو مذهبي.

b.

Noted in margin: وفي رواية فارموه من الحش يعني الطهارة
Īqāz, 120,9:

إذا عارض الخبر كلامي فخذ الحديث واترك كلامي في الحش.

Radd, § 20:

a.

ودخل عليه عبد الله بن مسلمة القعنبي شيخ البخاري، ومعه آخر من أكابر العلماء <من> أقرانه، قالوا: دخلنا على مالك بن أنس في العشيّة التي أغمض فيها، فوجدناه يبكي، فقلنا له: وما يبكيك يا أبا عبد الله؟ قال: وددت أنّي جُلدت بكلّ كلمة قلتها سوطاً ولا ألقى النبيّ ﷺ بشيء زدته في شريعته، قالوا، قلنا له: ارجع عن ذلك! قال: من لي بذلك وقد سارت به الركبان وأنا كما تريان، فما خرجنا من عنده حتى أغمضناه.

Īqāz, 24,-3-25,5:

وعن عبد الله بن مسلمة القعنبي، قال: دخلت على مالك، فوجدته

باكياً، فسَلِّمت عليه فردّ عليّ، ثمّ سكت عني يبكي، فقلت له: يا أبا عبد الله ما الذي يبكيك؟ فقال لي: يا ابن قعنب! إنّ الله على ما فرط منّي، ليتني جُلدت بكلّ كلمة تكلمتُ بها في هذا الأمر بسوط ولم يكن فرط منّي ما فرط من هذا الرأي وهذه المسائل، وقد كان لي سعة فيما سبقت إليه، زاد في رواية أخرى: فقلنا له: ارجع عن ذلك! فقال: كيف لي بذلك وقد سارت به الركبان وأنا على ما ترى، فلم نخرج من عنده حتى أغمضناه.

b.

وأما مالك رحمه الله، قال: ما منّا إلا من ردّ ثمّ ردّ عليه إلا صاحب هذا القبر الشريف، وأشار الى حجرة الرسول ﷺ.

Īqāz, 25,5-6:

وقال مشيراً إلى الحجرة الشريفة: كلّ كلام منه مقبول ومردود إلا كلام صاحب هذا القبر.

Radd, § 21:

فها هو مالك قد تاب من جميع ما قاله، فلم يبق له مذهب ولم يخلف مذهباً غير الكتاب والسنة كسائر الأئمة، وأصدق ما يكون الإنسان عند الموت، فقد مات على توبة من الرأي صادقة ولم ينقضها، والتوبة التي لا تنقض فهي مقبولة عند الله تعالى، فقد طهره الله تعالى من الرأي.

Īqāz, 88,3-8:

وهذا إمام الأئمة مالك رضي الله عنه لم يزل يوصي أصحابه ويحدّثهم

حتّى تبرّأ منه تبرّأ كلياً في آخر يوم من الدنيا وأوّل يوم من الآخرة كالتائب من أعظم زور، وحاشاه أن يلمّ أو يهّم بأدنى أدناه كالراجع عنه جميعه، واجلاً من الله ورسوله أن ينسب إليه شيء منه، مريداً أن لا ينسب إليه غير الكتاب والسنة كسائر الأئمة، إذ لا مذهب لهم رضي الله عنهم سواهما.

Radd, § 22:

وإذا أعمى الله أبصار قوم صاروا يعتمدون آراء رجال رأوها، ثم علموا أنّها ذنوب فتابوا عنها ومحيت من صحائف أعمالهم وجعلوا مذهبهم هو الكتاب والسنة فهل لأحد أن يقلّدهم فيها – وهم قد تركوها؟ بل الموقّ المسدّد لو قالوا: اتبعنا في رأينا ودع الكتاب والسنة – وحاشاهم أن يقولوا ذلك! – لا يفعل، فكيف وهم يقولون: لا تتبعونا إلا فيما وافق الوحي.

Īqāz, 88,8-9:

فهلأقلّدهم من يزعم أنّه على مذهبهم في ذلك ممثلاً لأقوالهم أن لا يتبعوا في شيء خالف الوحي مع ما هم عليه من وفور العلم وتمام اليقين.

Radd, § 23:

a.

وإذا وزنت إيمان الأكابر ممن يدعون بالعلماء في زماننا هذا مع إيمان غواة

القرون السالفة وجدت إيمان أولئك أرجح بما لا نهاية له، إلا في علم الله.

Īqāz, 88,10-11:

فلو وزن إيمان أكابر مدّعي العلم من أهل زماننا مع إيمان أدنى امرأة من أهل القرون السالفة لرجح بهم إلا من شاء الله.

b.

فمن أغرب ما يُسمَع كان شاعر بمجلس بعض الملوك العبّاسيّين يغني له، فقال له رجل: حرّم مالك الغناء! فقال له الشاعر: يا هذا! وهل للملك أن يحلّل في دين الله ويحرّم برأي؟

Īqāz, 88,11-14:

ومما يدلّ على أنّ بطلان الرأى كان في السلف معروفاً للكافة قول الشاعر يغني بمجلس بعض ملوك العبّاسيّين لمن قال له حرّم مالك الغناء: يا هذا! وهل للملك وغيره أن يحلّل أو يحرم في دين الله برأي؟

c.

إذ لا أغوى من الشعراء.

Īqāz, 88,18:

وقد علم أنّه لا أغوى ولا أرقّ ديناً من شعراء الملوك.

Radd, § 24:

a.

والله ما كان التحريم والتحليل لرسول الله ﷺ إلا بوحى من ربه، قال عز وجلّ له: لَتَحْكُمَ بَيْنَ النَّاسِ بِمَا أَرَاكَ اللَّهُ، ولم يقل: بما رأيت، فلم

يأذن له الله في ذلك بل عاتبه على ذلك في قصة مارية لما حرّمها،
فقال: لِمَ تُحَرِّمُ مَا أَحَلَّ اللَّهُ لَكَ تَبْتَغِي مَرْضَاتَ أَزْوَاجِكَ .

Īqāz, 88,14-18:

والله ما كان التحريم والتحليل لرسول الله ﷺ إلا بوحي من ربه، قال الله عز وجل: لَتَحْكُمَ بَيْنَ النَّاسِ بِمَا أَرَاكَ اللَّهُ، ولم يقل: بما رأيت، فلم يأذن له في ذلك بل عاتبه على ذلك في قصة مارية لما حرّمها، فقال: لِمَ تُحَرِّمُ مَا أَحَلَّ اللَّهُ لَكَ تَبْتَغِي مَرْضَاتَ أَزْوَاجِكَ .

b.

فإذا كان الشاعر من أولئك يغار في دين الله عز وجلّ وشرعه أن ينسب الى مثل مالك تحريم الغناء، فأين هذا ممن يرضى بقول فلان وفلان شرعاً ويحكم به ويرضيه أن يعبد الله تعالى به؟

Īqāz, 88,18-paenult.:

فإذا كان أحدهم يغار على دين الله وشرعه أن ينسب الى مثل مالك تحريم الغناء، فأين حال هذا ممن ينسب إليهم من أهل وقتنا عادلاً عن سبيلهم راضياً بقول من دونهم ورأيه شرعاً يحكم به ويعبد الله؟

Radd, § 29, cf. § 41:

ولولا عليّ لهلك عمر، وأعوذ بالله أن أعيش في قوم لست فيهم يا أبا الحسن!

Īqāz, 52,-4f.:

ولولا عليّ لهلك عمر، وأعوذ بالله أن أعيش في قوم ليس فيهم أبو الحسن.

Radd, § 34:

فالذي سكت الله عنه فهو عفو، قال رسول الله ﷺ: الحلال ما أحلّ الله في كتابه والحرام ما حرّم الله في كتابه وما سكت عنه فقد عفا عنه فاقبلوا من الله عفوّه.

Īqāz, 90,7-9:

فالذي حكم به هو العفو، لقوله ﷺ: الحلال ما أحلّ الله في كتابه والحرام ما حرّم الله في كتابه وما سكت عنه فقد عفا عنه فاقبلوا من الله عفوّه.

Radd, § 41:

كقصّة المرأة التي عزم سيّدنا عمر بن الخطّاب رضي الله عنه أن يرحمها لكونها أتت بولد لستّة أشهر، فلمّا حضر عليّ بن أبي طالب رضي الله عنه قال له: لا سبيل لكم عليها! قال له: ولم؟ قال: لأنّ الله تعالى قال: وَحَمْلُهُ وَفِصَالُهُ ثَلَاثُونَ شَهْرًا، وقال الله تعالى: وَالْوَالِدَاتُ يُرْضِعْنَ أَوْلَادَهُنَّ حَوْلَيْنِ كَامِلَيْنِ، فالحولين الكاملين بأربعة وعشرين شهرًا، تبقى ستّة أشهر هي مدّة الحمل، فقال عمر رضي الله عنه: لولا أبو الحسن لهلك عمر.

Īqāz, 89,-4:

كحكم عمر برجم من ولدت لستّة أشهر وردّ عليّ على ذلك بآيتي الحمل والرضاع حتّى قال عمر: لولا عليّ لهلك عمر.

EPISTLE IN REFUTATION
OF THE ADHERENTS OF INDIVIDUAL OPINION
THROUGH THE APPROPRIATE ARGUMENTS
WHICH CONFORM TO THE SUNNA AND THE BOOK

BY

THE KNOWER OF GOD MOST HIGH AND THE GUIDE TO
HIM, SAYYID AḤMAD B. IDRĪS

[2] In the name of God the Compassionate, the Merciful—and God bless our lord Muḥammad and his family, at every glance and every breath to the amount contained in God’s knowledge!¹

(1)

Praise be to God who has commanded us to follow the Book and the Sunna, and has guided us to accept them both. And thus our hearts found peace by means of them. And He has made them the path of salvation for whoever adheres to them, and a means of protection and shelter. But He has caused a deafness in the ear of those who turn away from them, and their hearts are veiled.² And this is from the mouth of His interpreter who established laws and prescriptions: ‘I have left among you two admonishers. You will not go astray as long as you cleave to these two.’³ What glad tidings for us are in this act of kindness! And it has been transmitted from him: ‘Every innovation is an error, and the one who commits it is consigned to Hell-fire and will cry out with the most abominable cry.’⁴ God’s blessings and peace be upon him and upon his family and Companions—who emigrated to give him assistance and during his emigration helped him to victory with the best of spearheads!

1 This is the well-known distinctive Idrīsī formula, here appended to the *basmala* by way of intensification; cf. Radtke, O’Fahey & O’Kane, ‘Two Sufi Treatises’, 162, where it is similarly appended to the *tahlīl*.

2 Cf. K 5/41.

3 Cf. Arent J. Wensinck, *Concordance et indices de la tradition musulmane*, Leiden 1936—, I, 270a; and Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, *Jāmi‘ bayān al-‘ilm*, Medina, n.d., II, 24. Also cited in *Īqāz al-wasnān*.

4 Cf. Wensinck, *Concordance*, I, 251b; also cited in Shawkānī, *al-Qawl al-mufīd*, 63.

(2)

Know my brethren—God Most High have mercy on you—that God, He is mighty and glorious, has ordered us, the entire *umma*, to follow divine revelation and nothing else. He has said: ‘Follow what has been sent down to you by your Lord in the precious Book and do not follow any friends apart from Him—but little do you remember!’ (7/3). The revelation which has been sent down to us by our Lord is the precious Book as well as the deeds and sayings of His Messenger, God’s blessings and peace be upon him! Both of these are revelation⁵ attested by the text of the Book. God Most High has said: ‘He does not speak out of his own fancy. This is a revelation which is revealed’ (53/3-4).⁶ And: ‘I follow only what is revealed to me’ (6/50). The first verse is scriptural proof concerning his words, whereas the second verse covers his words and his deeds. Moreover, God Most High has ordered us, whenever we are in disagreement about a matter, to avail ourselves of a means of deciding which He has given us as a solution. What is meant by this He has clarified for us, declaring: ‘And should you be in disagreement about something, refer the matter to God and the Messenger, if you believe in God and the Last Day’ (4/59).⁷ And this means any matter whatsoever, be it great or small, because ‘something’ is the most indefinite of indefinite nouns. Furthermore, the following verses and others like them are perfectly clear: ‘We have sent down to you the Book as an explanation for all things’ (16/89), [3] ‘We have not neglected anything in the Book’ (6/38)⁸ and ‘Is it not sufficient for them that We have sent down to you the Book to be read out to them?’ (29/51).

(3)

In the precious Book are found all the legal judgements, the important as well as the small ones. If the means of deciding which clarifies matters when we are in disagreement about something were not in the precious Book and the noble Sunna, God would

⁵ For a different usage of the term *waḥy*, see Radtke, O’Fahey & O’Kane, ‘Two Sufi Treatises’, 158, where it refers to ‘higher’ knowledge acquired through dreams and even *khawāṭir* (stray thoughts).

⁶ The passage beginning ‘The revelation...’ up to ‘revealed’ is found in *Īqāz al-wasnān* in a somewhat different wording.

⁷ On these Koranic verses, see also Peters, ‘Idjtihād’, 139; Šāliḥ al-Fullānī, *Īqāz himam ulī’l-abṣār li’l-iqtidā’ bi-sayyid al-muhājirīn wa’l-anṣār*, Hyderabad, 1298/1880-1, 5; and Shawkānī, *al-Qawl al-mufīd*, 63.—Also in *Īqāz al-wasnān*.

⁸ Also in Shawkānī, *al-Qawl al-mufīd*, 64.

not have referred us to them. Why would He refer us to them if the relevant judgement were not found in them? But every judgement is in the Book, the Sunna being identical with it—in fact the Sunna is the explanation of the Book, not something different from it or only a part of it.⁹ That is why Ibn ʿAbbās¹⁰ said about them: ‘Were I to lose a camel shackle, I would find it again in the Book of God.’¹¹ The long and the short of it is this: there is no matter two persons could disagree about though it be a *mithqāl* of mustard seed, for which God has not placed a judgement in His Book and the Sunna of His Prophet,¹² God’s blessings and peace be upon him! He who knows this knows it, and he who is ignorant of it is ignorant of it.¹³

(4)

In His words: ‘Refer the matter to God and the Messenger’, God Most High declares the Book to be Himself and the Sunna to be his Prophet, and referring to God Most High means referring to the Book, whereas referring to the Messenger means referring to the Sunna.¹⁴ Clearly the door of conversation is not open between every person and God Most High so that if someone disagrees with him, he can question God and God will answer him.¹⁵ Nor has everyone in the *umma* met the Messenger of God, God’s blessings and peace be upon him, nor is he still with them such that they can see him in this world in his noble body so that all persons who disagree can refer to him.¹⁶ What remains is the

⁹ The passage from ‘in fact...’ up to ‘only a part of it’ is found in *Īqāz al-wasnān* in a somewhat different wording.

¹⁰ The founder of Koranic exegesis and cousin of the Prophet; died 68/687-88 or later; Fuat Sezgin, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums* [GAS], Leiden 1965–, I, 22.

¹¹ On the saying also see Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Jāmiʿ bayān al-ʿilm*, I, 100.

¹² This is the fundamental assertion of the epistle.—On the relationship between the Sunna and the Koran also see Shaʿrānī, *Mizān*, I, 165f.; and al-ḥājj ʿUmar, *Rimāḥ*, I, 77.

¹³ The passage beginning ‘there is no matter...’ up to ‘is ignorant of it’ is found in a shortened form in *Īqāz al-wasnān*.

¹⁴ The passage ‘and referring to God...’ up to ‘to the Sunna’ occurs almost word for word in Shawkānī, *Qaṭr al-walī*, 250 & 310.

¹⁵ The implication here is that for some special persons the possibility of speaking with God does exist. On this point see Thomassen & Radtke, *Letters*, 96f., where the word *mukālamāt* is also mentioned; as well as Radtke, O’Fahey & O’Kane, ‘Two Sufi Treatises’, 158 n. 102.

¹⁶ By specifying ‘in his noble body’, i.e. not in a vision or in a dream, Ibn Idrīs is referring specifically to the *ṭarīqa muḥammadiyya* which leads one to a direct encounter with the living Prophet Muḥammad in the here and now. Such an encounter, however, is only possible for the mystic once he has attained illumination (*fath*); see Radtke, O’Fahey & O’Kane, ‘Two Sufi Treatises’, 161; and Radtke, ‘Sufism in the 18th century’, 359.—The

precious Book preserved from alteration and what is recorded of the Sunna, whether it concerns great or small matters.¹⁷

(5)

In this respect religious scholars contend for superiority on the basis of their knowledge of the Book and the Sunna, and apportioning¹⁸ the texts from both. But how many a person has memorized the Koran from beginning to end and yet does not know what legal judgements it contains, or has memorized a great amount of the precious Book and the sound *ḥadīths* but is unable to derive [4] a judgement from them. If he is informed of a judgement, he is greatly amazed. It is as if the verse containing the judgement had just been sent down, and as if he had not heard the *ḥadīth* until that very moment. He says: 'How many times I passed over this matter and it was right there and I read it!' But he lacked the key to understanding it. And that key is pious fear of God¹⁹—as God Most High has said: 'Fear God and He will give you knowledge, and God has knowledge of all things' (2/282). Fear of God is acting in accordance with what one knows. The Messenger of God, God's blessings and peace be upon him, said: 'Whoever acts in accordance with what he knows, God will bestow on him knowledge of what he does not know.'²⁰ And the meaning of the *ḥadīth* is this: 'Knowledge comes through being taught',²¹ i.e. by God when a person has pious fear of Him and He then teaches him. On the other hand, if a person does not fear God, then He does not teach him but rather leads him into error, even with regard to what he has memorized. God hinders him from understanding it, and he resembles 'a donkey carrying a load of books' (cf. 62/6).

The greatest fear of God consists in stopping at the limit of one's knowledge and not going beyond that limit to speak about what one does not know—for then one would become a follower

reference remains somewhat veiled since the present epistle is not addressed exclusively to mystics but is intended for a broader general public. On this point see Introduction, 19 & 24f.

¹⁷ See also § 41 below; and *Munāzara*, § 28.

¹⁸ On *ta'yīn*, cf. van Ess, *Theologie und Gesellschaft*, II, 479.

¹⁹ A central concept in this work and for Ibn Idrīs in general; one finds a laudatory hymn to *taqwā* in Thomassen & Radtke, *Letters*, 26-9; cf. also Radtke, O'Fahey & O'Kane, 'Two Sufi Treatises', 155 n. 82; and Ibn Idrīs, *al-'Iqd al-naḥḥī fī naẓm jawhar al-tadrīs*, Cairo 1399/1979, 138f. See also Introduction, 14f.

²⁰ Cf. 'Alī al-Qārī, *al-Mawḍū'āt al-kubrā*, Beirut 1391/1971, 325 no. 450; also cited in *Munāzara*, § 29.

²¹ Cf. Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Jāmi' bayān al-'ilm*, I, 100.

of Satan's command. Indeed, God Most High has forbidden them to follow Satan's footsteps, declaring: 'Oh people, eat of that which is lawful and good on the earth, and do not follow the footsteps of Satan. Verily, he is a manifest enemy unto you.' Then He explained the footsteps of Satan along which He had forbidden them to follow him with His words: 'He orders you to do what is evil and sinful, and that you say things about God which you do not know' (2/169).²²

(6)²³

What we do not know is what has not come from God and has not come from the Messenger of God, God's blessings and peace be upon him! And the Messenger, God's blessings and peace be upon him, said: 'Knowledge is three things: an unambiguous Koranic verse, an old custom, and "I don't know."' ²⁴ Thus he made the statement 'I don't know' a form of knowledge because a statement based on individual judgement is prohibited.²⁵ Therefore avoid it, whether it is the judgement of the person [speaking to you] or some other person's. We make an exception of no one, whether this other person be living or dead, small, i.e. in the eyes of the people, or great.²⁶ God, He is sublime and exalted, has called a judgement based on other than what He has sent down a judgement of Ṭāghūt, and he is Satan. And God, He is mighty and glorious, has identified him as Satan, declaring: 'They wish to seek a legal judgement from Ṭāghūt but they have been ordered to disbelieve in him, and Satan wishes to lead them far astray' (4/60). [5] Thus He has identified Ṭāghūt as Satan. Consequently, if Satan whispers to the religious scholar to assert something from his own self²⁷ or to approve of it and he does so,

²² A parallel text is found in *al-ʿIqd al-nafis*, 133.

²³ The whole section occurs in a slightly modified wording in *Īqāz al-wasnān*.

²⁴ This *ḥadīth* is also cited in *Īqāz al-wasnān* and, in a slightly different wording, in Shawkānī, *al-Qawl al-mufīd*, 62. Likewise, cf. Qārī, *Mawḍūʿāt*, 380 no. 185; Wensinck, *Concordance*, IV, 330b; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Jāmiʿ bayān al-ʿilm*, II, 23-4 (from Ibn ʿUmar: *al-ʿilm thalāthat ash-yāʾ, kitāb nāfiq wa-sunna māḍiya wa-lā adrī*); and Ibn Idrīs, *al-ʿIqd al-nafis*, 133.

²⁵ *Li-anna al-qawl bi'l-raʾy ḥarām*. The thought is expressed by Sanūsī with a greater degree of qualification: *li-anna al-qawl bi'l-raʾy al-ghayr al-mabnī ʿalā aṣl min al-kitāb wa'l-sunna wa-mā fuhima minhumā wa'l-qiyās ʿalā ghayr aṣl ḥarām*; cf. also Introduction, 23f. Clearly, Sanūsī adopts a less radical form of language than his teacher.

²⁶ Ibn Idrīs here presents a fundamental challenge to the centuries-old authority of the *madhāhib*.

²⁷ *Min ʿindi nafshihī*: Ḥakīm Tirmidhī had already raised this objection in the third/ninth century; cf. Radtke & O'Kane, *Concept*, 41f. [2] note (2) (cf. Radtke, *Drei Schriften*, II, 12f.).

the scholar has judged with a judgement of Ṭāghūt who is Satan. And the judgement of Satan is that he ordered him to say something about God which he does not know.

(7)²⁸

It makes no difference whether the judgement of Ṭāghūt who is Satan is spoken by a scholar or by an ignorant person, because the scholar is not protected from error²⁹ unless he restricts himself to the words of someone who is protected [i.e. the Prophet]. Whenever he departs from this, he falls into sin and error. In such a situation an ignorant person is actually better than he is. Indeed, the Messenger of God, God's blessings and peace be upon him, said: 'Be on guard against the slip of the scholar, for it will cast you into Hell-fire',³⁰ the point being that others may follow him and go astray. He then becomes an imam of error, one of those about whom God Most High has said: 'We have made them into imams who call to Hell-fire' (28/41). As for the ignorant man, no one follows his example since everyone knows he wanders aimlessly and needs to be led, not knowing where he is going—in contrast to the religious scholar whom everyone assumes does what he does on the basis of sound knowledge of the Book and the Sunna.

(8)

In sum: it is incumbent on the uneducated person when he requests a judgement from a scholar and the scholar gives him an answer, to ask him:³¹ 'Is this a judgement of God which was brought by the Messenger of God?' And if he replies: 'Yes!', the uneducated man must adhere to it. Should the scholar betray him with an individual judgement from himself or from the scholars before him, the sin for it is on that scholar. The Messenger of God, God's blessings and peace be upon him, said: 'If someone

²⁸ This section is also found in *Īqāz al-wasnān* in almost the exact same wording.

²⁹ Cf. Ibn Idri's remarks about Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb in *Munāzara*, § 22; as well as Sha'rānī's standpoint in Introduction, 16: Radtke, 'Attempt', 359, and 'Ijtihād', 918.

³⁰ Not found in Wensinck, *Concordance*, or other sources.

³¹ Peskes, *Muḥammad b. 'Abdalwahhāb*, 37; Fullānī, *Īqāz himam*, 53, 56, and especially 135; and Shawkānī, *al-Qawl al-mufid*, 31. Ḥasan b. Khālid (see Introduction, 33), the famous Wahhābī vizier and scholar, in his *Risāla* on the prohibition of *taqlid*, declared it to be the layman's duty to interrogate the religious scholar (Nu'mī, *Ta'rikh 'Asīr*, 167).

issues a legal judgement without firm grounds, the sin for it is on the one who issued it.’³²

(9)

On the other hand, if the scholar says to him: ‘This is my view or the view of Shaykh so-and-so’, it is not permitted for him to act on it and to say: ‘The scholars have said this.’ For God Most High has declared: ‘Follow what has been sent down to you from your Lord and do not follow any friends apart from Him—but little do you remember!’ And He explained that only a little is remembered by us.

In this case if he acts in accordance with it, the sin for it is on himself because he knows it is the view of so-and-so, and so-and-so is not God and not the Messenger of God, God’s blessings and peace be upon him! He is not able to say: ‘In His words God Most High has said’, [6] or ‘The Messenger of God, God’s blessings and peace be upon him, has said.’ He had known with certainty that it was not the word of God and yet he acted in accordance with it. And it will not be of use to him that a scholar issued it as a legal judgement. He is deceived by their saying: ‘Whoever follows the authority of a religious scholar will be safe when he meets God.’³³ Yet this saying has the same meaning as the previous *ḥadīth*: ‘If someone issues a legal judgement without firm grounds, the sin for it is on the one who issued it.’ But that only applies to a person who was told: ‘This is a judgement of God’ or ‘This is a judgement of the Messenger of God, God’s blessings and peace be upon him’, and who acted in accordance with it intending to act in accordance with the word of God and His Messenger—but he was betrayed by the one who issued the legal opinion to him. The latter is a sinful *mujtahid*. The one who poses the question receives the reward, whereas the burden of sin falls on the other.

(10)

The contrary is the case when the person has been told: ‘This is the view of so-and-so’, nor does it matter whether so-and-so is among the greatest authorities. If the person acts in accordance with the opinion and it is not clear to him that what the scholar said is from God or the Messenger of God, the sin for it is on him

³² Wensinck, *Concordance*, v, 68b. The same *ḥadīth* is also found in *Īqāz al-wasnān*; cf. as well *Munāzara*, § 22.

³³ Cf. Qārī, *Mawḍū‘āt*, 388 no. 604.

and not on the scholar who issued the legal opinion to him. As for that scholar, he has committed a greater sin, namely he has said something about God without having knowledge for it. His duty is to remain silent when he does not know the appropriate judgement on the basis of the Book and the Sunna which God has sent down. Otherwise he acts as an unbeliever, a transgressor and a sinner. Those who do issue judgements which are not based on what God has sent down, they are the unbelievers, the transgressors and the sinners.

(11)

Should he find the judgement in a book³⁴ by so-and-so without the author having traced it back to God and His Messenger, this does not count as proof before God. Indeed, when the scholar says: 'This is my individual judgement or the judgement of so-and-so or his teaching, or I found it in the writings of so-and-so', it is exactly the same as his saying to the questioner: 'This is not the word of God, nor is it the word of the Messenger of God, God's blessings and peace be upon him!' If the questioner had any understanding, what this scholar was really saying by implication is: 'Look after yourself! You can either obey the command of your Lord and not follow what you have no knowledge about, or you can act in accordance with this and accept the person whose opinion it is as a lord apart from God.' This is like when the Messenger, God's blessings and peace be upon him, recited the words of God Most High: 'They have taken their rabbis and their monks as lords apart from God, and the Messiah—Mary's son—but they were ordered to worship only one God' (9/31),³⁵ and the Companions asked him: 'Oh Messenger of God, they were not worshipping them, were they?' He said: 'Were they not declaring to them what is allowed and forbidden, [7] and they followed them in this?' They replied: 'Yes.' He said: 'There you have it!'

³⁴ For criticism of the authority of schoolbooks and compendia, cf. *Munāzara*, § 28; Ibn Idrīs, *al-ʿIqd al-naḥs*, 225-7; Fullānī, *Īqāz himam*, 137; as well as Lamaṭī, *Ibrīz*, II, 101f.

³⁵ Also in *Īqāz al-wasnān*. One of the chief testimonies cited against *taqlīd*; Peters, 'Idjūhād', 141f.; Peskes, *Muḥammad b. ʿAbdalwahhāb*, 36; and Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Jāmiʿ bayān al-ʿilm*, II, 109.

(12)

Anyone who brings forth a judgement along with God has brought forth a form of lordliness.³⁶ And anyone who follows his authority in this regard has accepted him as a lord apart from God³⁷—as confirmed in the scriptural text of the Messenger, God's blessings and peace be upon him! Since the way they accepted the Messiah was different from the way they behaved toward their rabbis and their monks, God, He is sublime and exalted, only mentions him after His words 'lords apart from God' in order to inform the Messenger, peace be upon him, that the Messiah was not together with them in providing cause. He did not bring forth a form of lordliness and thus provide cause for their taking him as a lord. Indeed, God Most High has acquitted him of this in His words: 'I have only said to them what You ordered me' (5/117). It was otherwise with their rabbis and their monks. They did in fact provide cause [for their worshipping them].

(13)

Thus it is clear that what cannot be traced back to God and His Messenger is no proof. As for what can be traced back to God and His Messenger, that is proof in every possible regard, for the high rank of the *ḥadīth* from the Messenger, God's blessings and peace be upon him, is because of the Messenger, God's blessings and peace be upon him, not because of the transmitter. It is its connection to the Messenger, God's blessings and peace be upon him, which constitutes its high rank and greatness. Moreover, the criticism of those who discredit a Tradition's chain of transmission is of no consequence, nor is it permitted to reject a Tradition because of the criticism of one who discredits it [the *isnād*].³⁸ One may only reject it on the basis of something which opposes it³⁹ and can be traced back to God and His Messenger in the same

³⁶ *Rubūbiyya*: in Sufism the opposite of 'ubūdīyya; an antithetical complex of ideas already discussed by Richard Hartmann, *Al-Ḳuschairīs Darstellung des Ṣūfītums*, Berlin 1914, 5-8.

³⁷ From 'Anyone...' up to 'apart from God' with different wording also in *Īqāz al-wasnān*.

³⁸ *Ṭa'īn* and *ṭā'in* in the same sense also in Shawkānī, *Qaṭr al-walī*, 230f.—This is certainly not an example of attributing greater emphasis to the importance of *ḥadīth* studies which some have claimed is a distinctive feature of Neo-Sufism; see Radtke & O'Fahey, 'Neo-Sufism reconsidered', 57.

³⁹ *Yu'ārīḍuhū*; on this word see Peters, 'Idjūhād', 143.

way. If such is the case, 'precedence and succession'⁴⁰ may be taken into account, as well as lack of contradicting the *mutawātir*⁴¹ of the Koran and matters like this, which the expert traditionists take to be the necessary basis for argumentation.

(14)

But the person who is God-fearing, God releases him because of his fear of God from all this by means of 'higher discrimination' (*al-furqān*)⁴² which He provides him with—as He has promised in His words: 'Fear God and He will provide you with higher discrimination!' (8/29). And banish the thought that God should ever break His promise! But anyone who has not found discriminatory knowledge without the mediation of transmission, deductive analogy and speculation in order to clarify it,⁴³ such a person has not yet attained true fear of God. He merely imagines he is God-fearing. Otherwise, our Lord is too lofty to renege on the condition He has laid down, and man is already aware of the condition which God has set him [i.e. fear of God].

40 *Taqdīm* and *ta'khīr*: a stylistic device often referred to in Koranic exegesis and *hadīth* studies (hysteron proteron); see al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā, *Amālī*, Cairo 1373/1954, I, 4; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Jāmi' bayān al-'ilm*, I, 80f.; and A. Goguyer, *La 'Alfiyyah d'Ibnu-Malik*, Beirut 1888, 259 & 312.

41 *Encyclopaedia of Islam (New edition) [EI (2)]*, Leiden 1960—, s.v.

42 On *furqān* cf. Introduction, 14f.; see also Rudi Paret, *Der Koran. Kommentar und Konkordanz*, Stuttgart 1980, 19, in connection with 2/53, and the bibliography given there. The meaning of *furqān* is disputed among Muslim as well as Western interpreters. The various meanings commonly offered revolve around the idea of 'help' and 'assistance', but as his formulation *'ilm furqānī* indicates, by *furqān* Ibn Idrīs here understands a form of divine epistemological grace which enables one to attain a non-rational, intuitive understanding of revelation. See the epithet *fārūq* as traditionally applied to 'Umar and interpreted by Ḥakīm Tirmidhī to mean 'the person who achieves *ḥaqq* in all his affairs'; Radtke & O'Kane, *Concept*, 217 (cf. Radtke, *Drei Schriften*, II, 158). — Cf. also the following Koranic commentators: Muḥammad b. Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, *Jāmi' al-bayān fī tafsīr al-qur'ān*, Cairo 1321/1903, IX, 148, offers the interpretations *makhraj* (solution), *najāt* (help), *faṣl bayna'l-ḥaqq wa'l-bāṭil*; likewise Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Qurṭubī, *al-Jāmi' li-aḥkām al-qur'ān*, Cairo 1967, VII, 396; Abū'l-Fidā' Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr al-qur'ān al-'aẓīm*, Beirut 1978, III, 306, where *furqān* is interpreted as the capacity to distinguish between true and false (Qurṭubī: *wa-ja'ala lahū bayna'l-ḥaqq wa'l-bāṭil furqānan*; Ibn Kathīr: *ay faṣlan bayna'l-ḥaqq wa'l-bāṭil*); similarly Ibn al-'Arabī, *al-Futūḥāt al-makkiyya*, Cairo 1911, IV, 219: *ka'l-muttaqī idhā ittaqā'llāha ja'ala lahū furqānan wa-huwa 'ilm yufarriq bihī bayna'l-ḥaqq wa'l-bāṭil*.

43 This does not imply a mystical 'clarification' such as can only be attained by means of special psychic exercises, but refers to a state of mind which is attainable by every genuinely pious Muslim; see also Introduction, 19.

(15)

Furthermore, every one of the early religious scholars—those whose [8] doctrines (*madhāhib*) the people claim to be following—who taught something about the religion of God Most High which had not been transmitted by the Messenger of God, God's blessings and peace be upon him, later recanted, declared it false and recommended abandoning it.⁴⁴

But there are persons whom God has guided and to whom He has shown mercy, and they have conveyed the truth to their people and the truth is God: 'Verily, only God possesses the judgement' (12/40) and the Messenger is the bearer [of the truth] from Him. And they are mindful of what the imams among the forefathers enjoined and avoid what they avoided.

There⁴⁵ are those, however, who incline to arrogance and have claimed that the imams only said this out of modesty, etc. As for such a person, there is no doubt about the ruined state of his mind. This would imply that the imams did not believe they had to abandon their teaching if it conflicted with the teaching of the Messenger and that they considered the Messenger to be like one of themselves—sometimes one followed his teaching and sometimes one followed someone else's. But no Muslim would say such a thing, nor could there be any greater disparagement of the imams.⁴⁶

What every believer holds to be true concerning them is that they said: 'We have not attained the rank of a Companion who beheld the Messenger a single time—not to mention one who beheld him many times or those who attended upon him or the religious scholars among them.' Thus, when the teaching of a Companion is available, one must act in accordance with it and not in accordance with the individual judgement of the above-mentioned imams.⁴⁷ The Messenger, God's blessings and peace be upon him, said: 'I asked my Lord God about the disagreement of my Companions after my death and He said: "Oh Muḥammad, to Me your Companions are like the stars. Some of them shine more brightly than others. But whoever follows what they say, in My eyes he is on the right path.'" For this reason the Messenger,

44 Specific examples are given in §§ 17-23.

45 From here up to the words 'and sometimes one followed someone else's' we have adopted the text of Sanūsi's *Īqāz al-wasnān*.

46 From 'everyone of the early scholars...' up to 'disparagement of the *imāms*' is also in *Īqāz al-wasnān*.

47 On this point see Fullāni, *Īqāz himam*, 3.

God's blessings and peace be upon him, said: 'My Companions are like the stars. Whichever one you follow, you will be rightly guided!'⁴⁸

(16)

The word of a Companion, when the Book and the Sunna do not cover something, is valid proof, as confirmed in the scriptural text of the Messenger, God's blessings and peace be upon him—in contrast to the doctrine of anyone else. This is because what he says comes from beholding the Prophet directly⁴⁹ and not from the excellence of his thought.⁵⁰ Understand this point well!⁵¹ I take refuge with God against such ignorance as allows a person to speak raving nonsense and contradictions without being aware of it because he doesn't consider the meaning of what he says.

(17)

You see that the imams [9] whom the people claim to follow have advised them to heed no one but the Messenger. Take the case of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal.⁵² He has no writings that deal with individual judgement.⁵³ The book he wrote is the *Musnad* which consists of *ḥadīths*. And he composed a fascicle on ritual prayer and the proper practices associated with it, including what the prayer leader and those being led are to do. This is based on what he learned about how the Messenger, God's blessings and peace be upon him, and his Companions performed the ritual prayer.⁵⁴ As for his compilation, it is a collection of legal judgements which he issued, all of them based on *ḥadīths*.⁵⁵ He was once asked: 'Why is it that you don't formulate arguments like your colleagues so-and-so formulate?' He replied: 'Oh how amazing! Is it right for anyone to formulate arguments (*kalām*) alongside the words

48 Cf. also Peters, 'Idjtihād', 139f.; as well as Qārī, *Mawḍū'āt*, 388 no. 604. The *ḥadīth* is classified as weak; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Jāmi' bayān al-ʿilm*, II, 78 & 90; Sha'rānī, *Mizān*, I, 147; and Shawkānī, *Qaṭr al-walī*, 335f.—From 'What every believer...' up to 'will be rightly guided' also in *Īqāz al-wasnān*.

49 The old principle of *adtestatio rei visae*; see Bernd Radtke, *Weltgeschichte und Weltbeschreibung im mittelalterlichen Islam*, Beirut-Stuttgart 1993, 158 n. 127-9.

50 Once again the anti-rationalistic tendency is very clear.

51 The passage beginning 'Understand this point well!' and ending with 'he doesn't consider the meaning of what he says' is also found in *Īqāz al-wasnān*.

52 GAS, I, 502ff.

53 With a different wording also in *Īqāz al-wasnān*. Sha'rānī makes the same observation, *Mizān*, I, 217; as does Shawkānī, *al-Qawl al-mufīd*, 60.

54 GAS, I, 506 no. 4: *Kitāb al-Ṣalāt*.

55 GAS, I, 507 no. 10: *al-Masā'il*.

(*kalām*) of God and the Messenger of God?’⁵⁶ And he said: ‘So far as I am concerned, the individual judgement of Mālik and Thawrī and Awzā‘ī is all one and the same. In my view authoritative proof is in the scriptural sources.’⁵⁷ No particular person stands above anyone else because he is famous for his religious learning. Rather, they are all the same when a scriptural text is lacking. None of them is to be followed as an example.⁵⁸

(18)

And Shāfi‘ī, God have mercy on him, said: ‘If you see that something I have said contradicts the words of the Messenger of God, reject it!’⁵⁹ And he said: ‘I wish not a single letter of it were ascribed to me. We have come to be taken completely as a Koran [i.e. people go about declaring]: “God said, the Messenger of God said, and Shāfi‘ī said.”’⁶⁰ How could Shāfi‘ī, God be pleased with him, be content that the law of God Most High be ascribed to him and that its connection to God and His Messenger be severed, or that he be associated as a partner with God and His Messenger.

(19)

And Abū Ḥanīfa, God the Sublime have mercy on him, said: ‘It is forbidden for someone who does not know my proof to issue legal judgements on the basis of my teaching.’⁶¹ Thus he warned people not to act in accordance with his teaching without knowing its basis in the Book and the Sunna. He said to them: ‘It is forbidden to you because God Most High forbade people to say something without knowledge when He declared to His Prophet, God’s blessings and peace be upon him: “Say: ‘Verily my Lord has forbidden indecent acts, the visible and the hidden ones, and sin and unjust insolence, and that you associate with Him something for which He did not send down authority, and that you say

⁵⁶ Similarly in Sha‘rānī, *Mizān*, I, 217.

⁵⁷ Also in Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, *Jāmi‘ bayān al-‘ilm*, II, 149, equal to Fullānī, *Īqāz himam*, 28; Sha‘rānī, *Mizān*, I, 217; and Shawkānī, *al-Qawl al-mufīd*, 60.

⁵⁸ From ‘No particular person...’ up to ‘as an example’, there is a parallel text with a different wording in *Īqāz al-wasnān*.

⁵⁹ A variant on Shāfi‘ī’s statement is also in *Īqāz al-wasnān*; and in Sha‘rānī, *Mizān*, I, 213, and *Lawāqih*, I, 89; as well as in Shawkānī, *Qaṭr al-walī*, 329.—The variant given in n. 44 to the text of the *Radd* also occurs in *Īqāz al-wasnān*.

⁶⁰ No source found for this saying.

⁶¹ Also cited in Sha‘rānī, *Mizān*, I, 207; *Lawāqih*, I, 90f.; and al-ḥājj ‘Umar, *Rimāh*, I, 87; with different wording in Shawkānī, *al-Qawl al-mufīd*, 36; and *Qaṭr al-walī*, 328.

something about God which you do not know” (7/33). Thus, if Abū Ḥanīfa’s adherents follow him without knowing his proof, they are sinners. And if proof is indispensable for one to be permitted to act in accordance with his teaching, surely a person should seek the proof for the matter from the very outset. Of course, there is no benefit in making the effort to acquire the proof for it unless one is going to act in accordance with it.

(20)

As for Mālik, God have mercy on him, he said: ‘No one among us has put forward a refutation without then being refuted himself, no one that is except the inhabitant of this noble tomb’, and he pointed to the chamber of the Messenger, God’s blessings and peace be upon him!⁶² And [10] °Abd Allāh b. Maslama al-Qa° nabī,⁶³ the shaykh of Bukhārī, went in to see him, along with another of the great religious scholars from among his contemporaries. They said: ‘We went in to see Mālik b. Anas on the evening that he closed his eyes [for good] and we found him weeping. We then said to him: “What causes you to weep, oh Abū °Abd Allāh?” He replied: “I would gladly be flogged with a whip for every word I have spoken, if I could then meet the Prophet without having added anything to his *sharī°a*.” We said to him: “Then retract what you said!” He replied: “How can I do that since travellers have conveyed my words abroad and I am in the state which you see.” And we did not leave him until we had closed his eyes.’⁶⁴

(21)⁶⁵

There you have it. Mālik repented of everything he had said. He was left with no other *madhhab*, and he left behind no other *madhhab*, besides the Book and the Sunna—just like the other imams. And a man is his most honest at the time of his death, and Mālik died in a state of sincere renunciation of individual judgement (*ra°y*) and did not retract his repentance. And repentance

⁶² The dictum occurs with a different wording in *Īqāz al-wasnān*; and in Sha°rānī, *Mizān*, I, 210.

⁶³ Ibn Ḥajar al-°Asqalānī, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, Hyderabad 1325-27/1907-09, VI, 31 no. 51.

⁶⁴ From ‘And °Abd Allāh...’ up to ‘we had closed his eyes’ also in *Īqāz al-wasnān*; Ibn °Abd al-Barr, *Jāmi° bayān al-°ilm*, II, 145; Fullānī, *Īqāz himam*, 25; Sha°rānī, *Mizān*, I, 210f.; al-ḥājj °Umar, *Rimāḥ*, I, 85; Ibn °Abbād al-Rundī, *Sharḥ al-Ḥikam al-°Aṭā°iyya*, Cairo 1303/1885-6, II, 61; and a shortened version is found in Shawkānī, *al-Qawl al-mufīd*, 59f.

⁶⁵ The whole section with different wording in *Īqāz al-wasnān*.

which is not retracted is accepted by God Most High.⁶⁶ Thus God Most High cleansed him of individual judgement.

(22)⁶⁷

If God takes away a group of people's sight,⁶⁸ they end up relying on judgements of men who [at first] made these judgements but then came to know that they were sins, and so these men repented of them and the sins were erased from the tablets of their deeds and [in the end] the only *madhhab* they followed was the Book and the Sunna. Now should anyone follow them as an authority in these judgements when they themselves have abandoned them? As for a man whom God gives success and guidance, were they to say: 'Follow us in our individual judgement and leave aside the Book and the Sunna'—far be it from them to say such a thing!—he would not do it. So how would he do so, when they say: 'Follow us only in whatever is in agreement with revelation!'

(23)

If you weigh the faith of those who are held to be great religious scholars in our time against the faith of the men of earlier times who went astray, you will find the faith of the latter to be weightier to such a degree that only God's knowledge can comprehend.⁶⁹ Now no one is further astray than the poets.⁷⁰ One of the strangest things I heard is that there was a poet at the court of one of the 'Abbāsīd kings who used to sing for the king. And a man said to him: 'Mālik [b. Anas] has declared singing unlawful!' The poet replied: 'Oh so-and-so, does Mālik have any right to declare what is allowed and what is forbidden in God's religion on the basis of his individual judgement?''⁷¹

(24)

By God, even the Messenger of God, God's blessings and peace be upon him, could only declare things forbidden or permissible

⁶⁶ On this point see van Ess, *Theologie und Gesellschaft*, IV, 579-90.

⁶⁷ One finds a paraphrase of these thoughts in *Īqāz al-wasnān*; and a similar train of thought in Shawkānī, *al-Qawl al-mufīd*, 71.

⁶⁸ Here Ibn Idrīs has in mind the contemporary *fuqahā'*.

⁶⁹ From 'If you weigh...' up to 'when it comes to the knowledge of God' in *Īqāz al-wasnān* with a different wording.

⁷⁰ In *Īqāz al-wasnān* with a lengthier wording.

⁷¹ From 'Now no one...' up to 'judgement' in *Īqāz al-wasnān* with a slightly different wording. The same story is also found in Sha'rānī, *Mizān*, I, 204.

on the basis of a revelation from his Lord.⁷² God, He is mighty [11] and glorious, said to him: 'So that you may judge between the people by means of what God has shown you [made you see]' (4/105). He did not say: 'By means of what you see [i.e. on the basis of your own judgement].' God did not allow him to use his own judgement. In fact He reprimanded him for this in the affair concerning Māriya when Muḥammad declared her unlawful.⁷³ God said: 'Why do you forbid what God has made lawful for you, seeking to please your wives?' (66/1).⁷⁴

If even that poet was one of those who are zealous on behalf of God's religion and His law such that he accused someone like Mālik because he forbade singing, what are we to say about a person who readily accepts the teaching of this and that religious scholar as the law and renders judgements by means of it and is content that God Most High is worshipped on the basis of it?⁷⁵

(25)

Now we say: We belong to God and unto Him we shall return. Oh Lord God, reward us for this suffering of ours and requite us with some good from it! And the truth is clear to anyone who has not shut his eyes and that is the position which the above-mentioned outstanding imams adopted and recommended to us: namely that whenever their doctrines are not in conformity with revelation, they are to be abandoned and one is to follow revelation.⁷⁶

This is also the case if they condemn something which is not mentioned in revelation and is in fact permitted. But if a scriptural text actually exists, there is nothing for them to say at all and no question whatsoever of following them. If what they have to say about the matter they are discussing is in agreement with the Koran or the *ḥadīth*, surely the form of expression used by God and His Messenger is more appropriate, pleasanter, more beneficial and wholesome, more agreeable, better at dispelling doubts and establishing certainty, easier [to understand], more illuminating, weightier against an enemy, more satisfying for the believer and better at providing rest to his soul: 'Those who believe and their

⁷² Almost the same wording in Sha'rānī, *op. cit.*

⁷³ One of Muḥammad's wives had found him in an intimate *tête-à-tête* with his concubine Māriya (Mary the Copt). The Prophet, to please his wives, vowed he would not consort with Māriya again, though such a relationship was deemed lawful.

⁷⁴ The whole section from 'By God...' up to 'wives' is in *Īqāz al-wasnān*.

⁷⁵ The paragraph from 'If even that poet...' up to 'basis of it' is in *Īqāz al-wasnān*.

⁷⁶ Also in Fullānī, *Īqāz himam*, 3; Shāfi'ī expresses the same view in Abū Nu'aym al-Īsbahānī, *Ḥilyat al-awliyā' wa-ṭabaqāt al-asfiyā'*, Cairo 1932-37, IX, 106f.

hearts are at rest in remembrance of God—surely hearts are at rest in remembrance of God’ (13/28), that is to say the hearts ‘of those who believe and do good deeds—blessedness unto them and a good return!’ (13/28).

But if their hearts only find rest in the words of the scholars so-and-so, one should not speak with them, for they belong to those persons about whom God has said: ‘And when the [so-called] other gods apart from Him are mentioned, behold they rejoice!’ (39/45).

On the other hand, if what they have to say about the matter they are discussing is not in agreement with the Koran, then it is false and there is nothing of benefit in what is false. Indeed, it is erroneous fancy.⁷⁷ And who is more astray than one who follows his erroneous fancy without right guidance from God. And right guidance from God is revelation. That is right guidance. Thus the *madhhab* of the veritable religious scholars is revelation. The Messenger of God, God’s blessings [12] and peace be upon him, said: ‘The scholars of my community are like the prophets of the Israelites.’⁷⁸ And the prophets of the Israelites did not make use of deduction by analogy (*qiyās*) and individual judgement. Their only knowledge consisted of revelation. God, He is mighty and glorious, has said: ‘Verily, We have sent down the Torah which contains right guidance and light; on the basis of it the prophets pass judgement’ (5/44).

(26)

The most frightening *ḥadīth* for the religious scholars, however, is the saying of the Prophet, God’s blessings and peace be upon him: ‘The religious scholars are the heirs of the prophets.’⁷⁹ Thus he called them heirs, and an heir may only take his share from the bequeathed legacy. But the prophets have only bequeathed revelation.⁸⁰ Now if an heir takes something which the religious law has not assigned to him from a bequeathed legacy, with regard to what he has taken unrightly he is not called an heir but a sinful usurper.

⁷⁷ The meaning of *hawā* in this particular context; the same thought occurs in Shawkānī, *Qaṭr al-walī*, 317.

⁷⁸ Qārī, *Mawḍū‘āt*, 247 no. 298.

⁷⁹ Cf. Wensinck, *Concordance*, IV, 321a; cf. also Qārī, *Mawḍū‘āt*, 247 no. 199.

⁸⁰ On the legacy of the prophets in general, cf. Radtke, *Drei Schriften*, II, 200f.

(27)

Consequently, this *ḥadīth* should lead a religious scholar to refrain from saying anything on the basis of individual judgement if he fears becoming a sinful usurper. On the other hand, if he remains indifferent, one should not speak with him. He is a thief and others steal for him as well. And he takes and doesn't care about it. He pays no attention to the restrictions of religious law. One should not speak to a person like this. All that is proper for the people of the truth is to turn away from him in silence. That and no more!

(28)

As for the teachings of the four imams which we cited above, those who claim to be following their *madhhabs*⁸¹ transmit the teaching of each one of them with sound chains of transmission from so-and-so and so-and-so. They mention the words among the particular imam's glorious deeds but they neglect to follow him in this regard by referring to God and His Messenger, which God has ordered in His words: 'And should you be in disagreement about something, refer the matter to God and the Messenger, if you believe in God and the Last Day' (4/59).

But if they were righteous believers, they would put the matter before God and the Messenger when there was disagreement, even if they disagreed with these imams—yes, even if they disagreed with the Companions. Indeed, no one possesses authoritative proof without the Messenger of God, God's blessings and peace be upon him! And the Messenger did not order us to follow the Companions when a scriptural text from God or from himself is lacking.

But when there is a scriptural text from God and from His Messenger, a Companion is obliged to have recourse to them. This is what our lord ʿUmar and others did, God be pleased with them! Indeed, ʿUmar, God be pleased with him, was a great supporter of the truth, even from women. The story is well-known how one time he was giving a sermon from the pulpit and said: 'Oh people, do not go to extremes in fixing a dowry! As much as it is held to be a noble deed, the best for you is to act like the Messenger of God, God's blessings and peace be upon him! The Messenger of God, God's blessings and peace be upon him, never gave one of his daughters or one of his women a dowry

81 Comparable formulations in Shawkānī, *al-Qawl al-mufīd*, 71.

[13] of more than twelve ounces.' Just then a woman said: 'Oh °Umar, are we to follow your word or the word of God Most High?' He asked her: 'What does God say?' She replied to him: 'God Most High says: "And even if you gave to her a hundred-weight, do not take back any part of it" (4/20), whereas you say not to give women more than twelve ounces.' °Umar exclaimed: 'Here you have a man who is ignorant and a woman with knowledge! Everybody knows more than °Umar about *fiqh*, even women!'⁸²

(29)

And this was so because the truth went about with °Umar, as the Messenger said: 'The truth goes about with °Umar wherever he goes.'⁸³ And the truth is God. 'That then is God, your Lord, the truth' (10/32). And the truth [God] went about with him and explained to him the religious law through the tongue of whomever He wished and did not leave him in blindness. Whenever he saw something and asked the Companions about it and they gave him an answer he did not believe, he would tell it all to one of the Companions whose tongue spoke the truth. This is why he used to say: 'If it were not for °Alī, °Umar would perish.⁸⁴ I take refuge with God from the eventuality of living among a people where you are absent, oh Abū'l-Ḥasan!'⁸⁵

(30)

If anyone would cite the Prophet, God's blessings and peace be upon him, when arguing against °Umar, °Umar would fall down prostrate⁸⁶ because he knew the words of God, He is mighty and glorious: 'Only those believe in our verses who fall down prostrate when they are reminded of them' (32/15).

And °Umar, God Most High be pleased with him, met a man who had some good words written down with him. °Umar said to him: 'Is there any other book besides the Book of God? The people who lived before you were destroyed because their religious scholars composed books to which they then devoted them-

⁸² Also in Ibn °Abd al-Barr, *Jāmi' bayān al-'ilm*, I, 131.

⁸³ On these and other special qualities of °Umar see Radtke & O'Kane, *Concept*, 213-17 (cf. Radtke, *Drei Schriften*, II, 155-8).

⁸⁴ The same sentence also in *Īqāz al-wasnān*.

⁸⁵ See § 41 below as well.

⁸⁶ Similar in Shawkānī, *Qaṭr al-walī*, 446.

selves, abandoning the Torah and the Gospel until these were effaced and what knowledge had been in them was lost.’⁸⁷

(31)

Now do you think that if our lord °Umar saw the writings that were produced at a later time, he would have hesitated to destroy them? Therefore we ask God, He is sublime and exalted, to lead us along their path in following the truth and accepting it from whomever it comes, and rejecting what is false from whomever it comes. This is the way of the religious scholars who are the heirs and follow the path of the believers.

And God, He is mighty and glorious, has said: ‘Whoever disagrees with the Messenger after the right guidance has been made clear to him and follows a path other than that of the believers, We shall turn him over to what he has turned to and We shall let him roast in Hell—an evil end indeed!’ (4/115). Now if the Companions are not ‘the believers’, then who are? And if we do not follow them in supporting the religious law and engaging in it in every way, then in what will we follow them? And God would not have said: ‘Should you be in disagreement about something, refer the matter to God and the Messenger’ unless God had placed a judgement about that something in His Book and the Sunna of His Messenger, God’s blessings and peace be upon him! He who knows this knows it, and he who is ignorant of it is ignorant of it.

(32)

As for the Book, [14] sometimes it reveals the legal judgement and sometimes it refers one to the interpreter, and he is the Messenger, God’s blessings and peace be upon him. And one must accept the referral, as God says: ‘Whatever the Messenger gives you, take it; whatever he forbids you, abstain from it!’ (59/7). This does not mean: ‘Whatever someone else gives you and whatever someone else forbids you.’ Moreover, God says: ‘Follow him that you may be rightly guided’ (7/158), and ‘If you obey him, you will be rightly guided’ (24/54).

(33)

The Messenger sometimes explains things for us with words, sometimes with deeds, and sometimes by means of silence. What

⁸⁷ On this topic also see Ibn Idris, *al-‘Iqd al-nafis*, 133f.; conflict in the Muslim community arose due to books being written.

he knows and yet remains silent about, he has granted and confirmed as being permissible.⁸⁸ One must not say that there are things which he does not know about, because the Messenger does not legislate on his own initiative but at the command of God, and God knows everything and encompasses everything. Every event which was to happen at some future time was present to God when He sent down the Koran. When the moment arrives for the particular question to arise, those who are God-fearing will become aware of the relevant judgement in the Book and give judgement in accordance with it. The judgement had already reached the hearing of others but they did not listen to it.

(34)

This is clear: that what has been explained has been explained, and what has been passed over in silence, the silence is its explanation and it needs no further explanation. The judgement pertaining to it is that it is allowed and pardonable. God has said: 'Oh you who believe, do not ask about things which, if they were revealed to you, would cause you pain; but if you ask about them when the Koran is being sent down, they will be revealed to you!' (5/101). It was as if they had said: 'Oh Lord, if we do not ask about these things that we are obliged to practice, it will not be right for us unless we know the judgement affecting them', and He had replied to them: 'They will not be held against you.' That is to say, the judgement concerning them is that they are pardonable. Thus whatever God is silent about is pardonable. The Messenger of God, God's blessings and peace be upon him, said: 'What is allowed is what God has allowed in His Book, and what is forbidden is what God has forbidden in His Book. Whatever He has passed over in silence, He has made pardonable. See that you accept from God His waiver of punishment.'⁸⁹

(35)

If God remains silent and His Messenger who is obliged to provide an explanation from Him remains silent, is it not permissible for us also to remain silent? Know you therefore that the judgement concerning what is passed over in silence is that it is pardonable, nor is it allowed to apply deduction by analogy (*qiyās*) to it. Moreover, if it is forbidden to discuss what has been passed

⁸⁸ On this point see Sha'rānī, *Mizān*, I, 113.

⁸⁹ Wensinck, *Concordance*, II, 488a.—From 'Thus whatever...' up to 'punishment' in *Īqāz al-wasnān*; and a similar version in Shawkānī, *Qaṭr al-walī*, 341.

over in silence without being explicitly allowed, why are you worried about something which is defined by a scriptural text? The scholars do not expend enough effort to find it but as soon as they are asked, they turn to the individual judgement of 'the eminent men'⁹⁰ and rely upon these judgements. And yet the precious Book and the Sunna are there [15] before them.

(36)

When a man is asked about a problem and answers as if Gabriel were speaking into his ear,⁹¹ either with his own individual judgement or that of someone else, he knows that he is not protected from error. Now you see the man scrupulously refrain from an illicit morsel of food and from gazing on forbidden persons, but he doesn't refrain from saying something about God when he doesn't know if what he says comes from God. He fabricates falsehood about God. And God has said: 'Who is more iniquitous than someone who fabricates falsehood about God?' (61/7). But what falsehood is greater than to say: 'This is the judgement of God', without knowing whether God Most High really gave this judgement in His Book or through the tongue of His Messenger, God's blessings and peace be upon him! And he does this even though he knows that the person he follows as an authority employs deduction by analogy, teaches deduction by analogy and acknowledges it as religion.

If, on the other hand, he knows that his authority does not employ deduction by analogy but restricts himself to the scriptural texts and gives him a judgement without any contradiction to the Book and the Sunna, then it is appropriate for him to adopt it, knowing it contains no individual judgement. He has taken it upon himself not to say anything but the truth about God and he is a true religious scholar like those about whom it was said: 'Like the prophets of the Israelites'. Indeed, like Moses, peace be upon him, he says: 'I may not speak anything but the truth about God' (7/105). And the words of God, He is mighty and glorious, 'when the Koran is being sent down' (5/101),⁹² means the period that the Messenger, God's blessings and peace be upon him, remained in this lower world.

⁹⁰ I.e. the school tradition of the *madhāhib*; Shawkānī often uses *al-rijāl* when referring to the authorities associated with the *madhāhib*; e.g., *al-Qawl al-mufīd*, 16.

⁹¹ He acts as if what he has to say is inspired by the angel Gabriel who revealed the Koran to the Prophet Muḥammad.

⁹² Picking up the Koranic quotation from § 34 above.

(37)

After he departed for the Hereafter, however, it ceased since the grounds for making legal judgements were assured because the legal judgements had been recorded. There were to be no further obligations laid upon the *umma*.⁹³ The reason for this was that they were prohibited from asking about legal judgements concerning what was allowed and what was forbidden.' Indeed, the Messenger, God's blessings and peace be upon him, used to say: 'Leave me in peace regarding what I have left you. Those who lived before you were destroyed because of their numerous unnecessary questions and their quarrelling with their prophets, while endlessly coming and going to ask them about [the grounds for] judgements.'⁹⁴ The Messenger of God, God's blessings and peace be upon him, said: 'The Muslim who committed the greatest offence against Muslims is the man who asked about something which had not been forbidden but then became forbidden because of his question.'⁹⁵ For when this questioner asked the Messenger, God's blessings and peace be upon him, and the judgement came from God Most High, he then became the Muslim who committed the greatest offence against the Muslims because the burden laid upon them by the Messenger was increased.

And then what about the person who asks himself [16] and gives himself the answer? [As if to say:] 'If I ask, we would answer this.' One time he presents himself as a bondsman and another time as a lord. When he says: 'If I ask...', this is the question of the bondsman, whereas when he says: '...we would answer',⁹⁶ this is the reply of the lord. For indeed, judgement belongs to God alone; 'verily, only God possesses the judgement' (12/40).

(38)

The believer who has been given success by God and is rightly guided restricts himself to the judgement of his Lord. If he is ignorant of that judgement, he asks the people of 'recollection',⁹⁷

⁹³ On this question see Aḥmad al-Tijāni in Barrāda, *Jawāhīr al-ma'ānī*, I, 107f.: 'Once the Prophet has departed for the other world—he is still in the same state however as during his lifetime in this world—he announces to his community particular commands for an individual but there are no further general commands for the mass of Muslims, for the commands came to an end with his death. All that remains is his outflow (*faḡḡ*) in the form of individual commands for a single individual.' Cf. also § 4 above.

⁹⁴ Wensinck, *Concordance*, I, 270b.

⁹⁵ Wensinck, *Concordance*, I, 338; and Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Jāmi' bayān al-'ilm*, II, 141.

⁹⁶ The religious scholar contrives a legal judgement on his own authority.

⁹⁷ Cf. Shawkāni, *al-Qawl al-mufīd*, 16.

and 'recollection' is the Koran: 'It is We who have sent down the recollection, and We watch over it' (15/9). And the people of 'recollection' are those who restrict themselves to the ordinances of God Most High. As for the others, there is no kinship between them and 'recollection', rather they are foreigners to it. But the former take no one as their Lord apart from God: 'Are sundry numerous gods better than God the One, the Almighty?' (12/39).

(39)

God only removed His Messenger from life once He had made all of His community independent of individual judgement, as He says: 'Today I have perfected your religion for you' (5/3). Now when God, He is sublime and exalted, says: 'I have perfected', whereas the so-called authorities say to Him: 'There is still something left for You [to deal with] regarding this or that question', are we to believe God or are we to believe them? And what about those in the *umma* who approve of deduction by analogy? There is a *ḥadīth* of the Messenger, God's blessings and peace be upon him, in which he says regarding the Koran: 'Whoever seeks right guidance in anything else, God will lead him astray',⁹⁸ because the Koran contains all right guidance. It is right guidance itself and light. Light is what one sees things with, and if someone wishes to use water in a lamp, the lamp will not light for him, though he sit there till the end of time. Rather, if the lamp had been burning, the water will extinguish it and no light at all will remain.

(40)

What has been explained in the Koran has been explained, and as for what God has referred to the Messenger [to explain], He has referred it to the Messenger. And the referral to the Messenger, God's blessings and peace be upon him, came with the command to recite the Koran, and the Koran became the explanation for all things, as God Most High has said: 'With the Koran We commanded the Sunna.'⁹⁹ And the *umma* was only separated from the Koran by an invocation of their Prophet against them when they sought right guidance in something other than their Book.

Now if God ordered the prophets to believe in our Prophet and to assist him, and God entered into a covenant with them concerning this: 'And when God entered a covenant with the

⁹⁸ Cf. Wensinck, *Concordance*, I, 203b.

⁹⁹ This is not a Koranic verse. The text of this passage may be corrupt.

prophets [saying]: “I have given you a Book and Wisdom, etc...” (3/81) so that they would make him the intermediary between Him and themselves and take his perfection as their example—because the polished mirror brings the distance close and makes it clear¹⁰⁰ —, then how [17] can his own community abandon him? Indeed, the other prophets, such as Jesus and Moses, envy the Muslim community because of him. Jesus said: ‘I am not worthy to carry his shoe’, and Moses said: ‘If it were only a question of him, I would not care but even his followers attain what he attains.’ So how could an intelligent person wish to replace him with another prophet, let alone with a Companion or someone else besides them? By God, this amounts to sheer blindness without a glimmer of light! God cause us and all the Muslims to perceive the truth so that we see but the truth alone! Amen.

ADMONTION

(41)

An intelligent person ought not to say that the Koran is silent regarding a particular judgement if he has not studied the precious Book word for word as well as what has been recorded of the Sunna. But how many satans among the religious scholars declared that a question has not been treated, and dealt with it using deduction by analogy, only to be informed of the judgement from the Prophet, God’s blessings and peace be upon him, so that they then had to recant. [Or] another question is contained in the precious Book but they were not guided to it. Then along comes someone who explains it to them from the precious Book, because understanding is in God’s hands and He gives it to whom He wishes when He wishes.

As in the story about the woman whom our lord °Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, God be pleased with him, had decided to have stoned because she had borne a child after six months. But when °Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, God be pleased with him, arrived, he said to °Umar: ‘You cannot do anything against her.’ °Umar asked: ‘Why is that?’ He replied: ‘Because God Most High has said: “Pregnancy and weaning amount to thirty months” (46/15) and God Most High has said: “Mothers shall suckle their children for two complete years” (2/233). Now two complete years comes to twenty-

¹⁰⁰ On this point see as well Ibn Idrīs, *al-ʿIqd al-naḥīs*, 185-9; and Radtke, ‘Lehrer-Schüler-Enkel’, 122f.

four months which leaves six months for the duration of pregnancy.' At that ʿUmar, God be pleased with him, exclaimed: 'If it were not for Abū'l-Ḥasan, ʿUmar would be destroyed.'¹⁰¹

(42)

But how much has been explained in the Book and yet not everyone knows it! Yes indeed, and God has said: 'Clear verses' but then he added: 'In the breasts of those who have been given knowledge' (29/49). And those who were given knowledge are not those who have been given knowledge now. Indeed, the former were given knowledge from God, whereas the latter were given it from themselves (*min ʿindi anfusihim*)¹⁰² and sought it by a path which was other than pious fear of God and trust in God alone for instruction. Rather, they relied on their own power and their own strength and their mastery [18] of the Arabic language and other tools.¹⁰³ This is what rendered them even further removed from understanding, because they did not seek knowledge from Him in whose hands it resides but they sought it from these things. Knowledge, however, is not in the hands of such things so that these might bestow it upon them. How many judgements are in the precious Book and the noble Sunna but those who have been given knowledge do not know about them and claim that the matter has been passed over in silence. But those who have [truly] been given knowledge bring them forth from places the others pass by morning and evening, because treasures are only brought forth for those who are worthy of them and at the appropriate moments.

(43)

And those who are worthy of them, they are the loved ones, and they are those who fear God: 'Verily, God loves the God-fearing' (3/76). And the beloved does not hide anything from his loved one and does not leave him in blindness not knowing where he is going. Rather, he shows him where to place his foot and informs him of the traps of Satan and ways he 'causes them harm' (58/10).¹⁰⁴ And Iblīs is unable to do anything to him but in fact

¹⁰¹ Found in abbreviated form in *Īqāz al-wasnān*; also in Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Jāmiʿ bayān al-ʿilm*, II, 88.

¹⁰² See also § 6 above.

¹⁰³ For criticism of a purely external knowledge of ʿarabiyya, see Ibn Idrīs, *al-ʿIqd al-nafīs*, 259f.; as well as *Munāzara*, § 39.

¹⁰⁴ In Koran 58/10 it says: *wa-laysa bi-ḍārrihim shayʿan*.

the satans flee from him, as the Messenger, God's blessings and peace be upon him, said: 'The satans from among mankind and the Jinn flee from the shadow of 'Umar.'¹⁰⁵ And this is not peculiar to 'Umar, but there are many who share in this with him. Indeed, the Messenger, God's blessings and peace be upon him, said: 'Three groups are protected from Iblīs and his army: those who recollect God much by night and by day, those who pray for forgiveness at dawn, and those who weep for fear of God.'

(44)

Now if you have understood this, then know, oh brethren, that we have only settled in this land of yours¹⁰⁶ because we believe you are disposed to the truth and given over to it. When the sun of truth rises, you seek its illumination whether it agrees with anyone's individual judgement or contradicts it.

As for the practitioner of individual judgement, how can we follow him in this along with you since God has made it obligatory on him not to say something about God which he does not know, should he be asked about something he does not know. For his conjecture and his deduction by analogy and his individual judgement do not constitute knowledge. God has said: 'Say: "If you possess any knowledge, show it to us, but you only follow your conjecture"' (6/148). And He has said: 'They have no knowledge of this, but they are merely conjecturing' (45/23). Thus God compared conjecture with knowledge, and it had nothing to do with knowledge.

Whatever a person can find no proof for in the Book and the Sunna, he must remain [19] silent when asked about it because at such a time he is ignorant and not learned. It is the duty of the ignorant to ask the learned: 'Ask the people of recollection' (16/43). But if he is ignorant and has abandoned his duty which is to be silent and ask the learned about the matter, how can one follow him in what is forbidden, i.e. teachings which are not what God or His Messenger said? He is not learned in this case and his judgement in the matter belongs to the judgements of Ṭāghūt. For the judgement of Ṭāghūt is simply a judgement not based on what God Most High sent down but one following the order of Satan when he ordered the latter to say something about God

¹⁰⁵ Cf. Radtke & O'Kane, *Concept*, 122 & 215f. (cf. Radtke, *Drei Schriften*, II, 80 & 157).

¹⁰⁶ See Introduction, 26.

which he did not know, irrespective of whether he has some general acquaintance with the religious law or not.

Thus, every matter which is not defined in scripture and whose judgement is not based on a scriptural text dealing with it, that matter belongs to the judgements of Ṭāghūt. For indeed, judgement belongs to God alone; 'verily, only God possesses the judgement' (12/40), and not this or that person: 'Whatever it is you disagree about, the judgement thereof belongs to God' (42/10), not to anyone else.

(45)

If one who gives such a judgement repents of it, it will be erased from his account, but if he does not, it will remain with him until God questions him about it on the day he rises up to give testimony. God will say to him: 'Did I or My Messenger say that, or did you take your own fancy for your god and abandon Me?' Then oh how shameful he will be before God!

If he has any doubt about whether this is the judgement of God or not, he must remain silent in accordance with the words of God Most High: 'Except for such as have testified to the truth, and that knowingly' (43/86). But if he says something without knowledge from God Most High or His Messenger, and if by chance it turns out to be right, he is running a grave danger since he has no knowledge of how to hit the mark—'A shot without a [conscious] marksman'—his hitting the mark was merely a coincidence. He is exposing himself to destruction like someone who drinks poison but escapes death. Without a doubt he is a sinner, unless he possesses divine knowledge of his safety, as was the case with Khālīd b. al-Walīd, God be pleased with him. For since Khālīd had knowledge by a way which was not subject to falsehood, he was therefore obliged to believe it.¹⁰⁷

And because of the fear of interrogation which we have mentioned, Mālīk and others like him repented out of shame before God, thinking they would meet Him and that they had delivered judgements which were not based on His religious law.

¹⁰⁷ Concerning him, see Khalīl b. Aybak al-Ṣafādī, *al-Wāfi bi'l-wafayāt* (ed. H. Ritter *et alii*), Leipzig/Wiesbaden 1931—, XIII, 264; for the story referred to, cf. Richard Gramlich, *Die Wunder der Freunde Gottes*, Wiesbaden 1987, 93, with further references. Khālīd drinks poison, in the firm knowledge that God will protect him from its deadly effects; because he knows this, he is not committing suicide, i.e. is not a sinner; also mentioned in Shawkānī, *Qaṭr al-walī*, 266.

(46)

The people of knowledge fear God as you see them, [20] and they are the way God has described them: 'Only those of His servants fear God who have knowledge', i.e. knowledge of Him, not simply of the judgements. In fact, no one fears something unless he is acquainted with it. For this reason you see that a child likes fire because he sees it give off light. He treats it in friendly fashion. And he is the same toward a snake. He plays with these, being unaware that fire burns and a snake is deadly. If he was acquainted with burning and poison, he would not go near either of these.

(47)

Now it is the same with the person who is familiar with God and His overwhelming power and knows that if he obeys Him, it is in God's hands to be of the greatest profit to him and to bestow on him 'what no eye has seen, no ear has heard and what has never occurred in the heart of a human being'. But should he disobey Him, God can do the exact opposite.

(48)

Thus whoever is acquainted with Him fears Him and does not prefer anyone else to Him, whoever it may be, nor any judgement other than what He has delivered in His Book or through the tongue of His Messenger. Therefore, Muḥammad b. Idrīs al-Shāfi'ī, God Most High have mercy on him, said about the Messenger, God's blessings and peace be upon him: 'It is too great a thing for us to exercise individual judgement in preference to what he has decided.'¹⁰⁸ This is clear from the fact that they did not dispute matters concerning which there was a scriptural text and they only discussed a question in order to understand it, not with any further intention. For if a person commits an error when attempting to understand something, he is a *mujtahid* and receives his reward,¹⁰⁹ whereas that is not the case with individual judgement.

¹⁰⁸ No source has been found.

¹⁰⁹ This refers to a well-known *ḥadīth* on *ijtihād* (cf. Wensinck, *Concordance*, I, 390a): 'If a scholar undertakes *ijtihād* and is right, then he will receive two rewards [one for doing *ijtihād* and one for being right], and if he undertakes *ijtihād* and is wrong, then he will have one reward [for his *ijtihād*]; Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 'I'tisām', 20-1; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 'Aqḍiya', 15; Tirmidhī, *Sunan*, 'Aḥkām'; Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*, 'Aqḍiya'; Ibn Māja, *Sunan*, 'Aḥkām', 3; and Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, IV, 198 & 204. All these versions have: 'If someone gives a *ḥukm*, and undertakes *ijtihād* and is right...'

What also shows they were not intentionally seeking something false is that they made use of *ḥadīths* whenever they heard them from one of their number. Nor did anyone of them formulate his own doctrines without recanting. And if the error in it had not become visible, he would not have recanted. Every matter he formulates which is not based on a scriptural text is likely to be this way because if an error is possible in some of it, it is possible in all of it. And if the particular error is unknown, one is obliged to avoid all the places where it could conceivably be. If a person knows the scriptural text, he bases his discourse on it but if he is ignorant of it, he remains silent.

(49)

Ashhab, God have mercy on him, the student of Mālik,¹¹⁰ was asked: 'Is it permissible for a religious scholar if he is asked about something he knows to say: "I do not know"?' He replied: 'With regard to what has scriptural support in the Book and the Sunna, it is not permissible for him to say: "I do not know." As for what has to do with individual judgement, however, it is permissible for him to say: "I do not know."' Because in that case it is a question of error: 'And who has gone more astray than someone who follows his own fancy without right guidance from God?' (48/5). And right guidance from God is revelation.

(50)

In sum: when we do not know [21] the revelation, we should be silent and not speak in ignorance. Ignorance obstructs the door to knowledge and unlocks the door to error. God, He is sublime and exalted, has said: 'God would not lead a people astray after He had guided them without making it clear to them what they should be on guard against' (9/115). Thus if God forbids a religious scholar to formulate doctrine without knowledge but he does not desist, God leads him astray as a punishment for it. But if he holds back, then he fears God. And whoever fears God, God will necessarily give him knowledge, as is proven by His words: 'Fear God and God will give you knowledge' (2/282). It is the duty of a person who is without knowledge to abandon the ignorant and to ask others until he finds someone who knows the judgement of God, not the judgement of people.¹¹¹

¹¹⁰ Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, IX, 278f. no. 4200.

¹¹¹ On this point see Introduction, 14.

(51)

There are two kinds of ignorant persons: the one asks in order to know the judgement of God and then to judge in accordance with it. And it is incumbent on the religious scholar to answer him with the truth or to say 'I do not know' when he does not know.

The other kind asks not in order to acquire benefit but out of obstinacy. And he may appear to be a religious scholar but he is ignorant because if he were really a scholar, he would not waste his time in quarrels and disputes but would make use of his life in obeying his Lord. It is his duty to ask in order to know, and then to act in accordance with his knowledge. What is required of the bondsman as far as learning, is that he learn the restrictive ordinances of his Lord and abide by them, and that he know what is good in order to perform it, and what is bad in order to avoid it.

But if the purpose of his knowledge is other than this, for example to establish the prestige of his ancestors or because he has seen that the people of knowledge enjoy high esteem or for other such lustful reasons which form the gateway to Hell-fire,¹¹² then his knowledge will be a scourge upon him. The more his knowledge grows, the further removed from God he becomes because he is running away from God toward what he wants himself. 'Every man obtains what is in accordance with his intentions.'¹¹³

(52)

It is incumbent on the religious scholar, if he knows that the person posing the question wishes to be taught, to take an interest and to teach him. But if he knows that the person has some other intention, he must turn away from him even if he appears to be learned, because in reality he is ignorant and God Most High has said: 'Turn away from those who are ignorant' (7/199). If he is unsure whether the questioner's desire to acquire knowledge is for a good or a bad motive, he should give him the benefit of the doubt and not fall into thinking ill of the man.¹¹⁴ As for the person he turns away from, he is someone whose lack of good in-

¹¹² On the lusts forming the gateway to Hell, cf. Radtke & O'Kane, *Concept*, 48 (cf. Radtke, *Drei Schriften*, 17-18), and Radtke, *Al-Ḥakīm at-Tirmiḏī. Ein islamischer Theosoph des 3./9. Jahrhunderts*, Freiburg 1980, 65 & 150 n. 189.

¹¹³ See *Munāzara*, § 27.

¹¹⁴ For more about this principle see Fritz Meier, 'Zum vorrang des glaubens und des guten denkens vor dem wahrheitseifer bei den muslimen', *Oriens*, XXXII, 1990, 1-49 (*Bausteine*, II, 876-925 and *Essays*, 589-647).

tention has been verified, and in this case talking to him is a waste of time.

SUPPLEMENT

(53)

Now let us consider matters which some people reject and which cause difficulties for them. As for gatherings for [22] performing *dhikr*,¹¹⁵ I will only reply with the sound *ḥadīth*s which have been transmitted in the most sound *ḥadīth*-books. Among them is the famous *ḥadīth* found in Bukhārī and Muslim, and in others as well, which says: 'God has angels who travel about on the earth searching for *dhikr*-gatherings. When they find a *dhikr*-circle, they call to one another: "Come to the object of your desire!" Then in less than the blinking of an eye they come together from all over the earth and surround those in the circle up to the sky. Then their Lord, who knows them best, asks them: "How did you find My bondsmen?" They reply: "We found them extolling You with 'God is sublime!' and glorifying You and exclaiming 'There is no god but God!' and 'God is great!'" Then God asks them: "Have they ever beheld Me!" And they reply: "No by God, they have not beheld You, oh Lord!" And God says: "Imagine how they would behave if they were to see Me!" They reply: "They would be even more devoted, etc." They are such that whoever keeps them company knows no unhappiness due to them.'¹¹⁶

(54)

Dhikr-gatherings include any group of people who have assembled, either around a religious scholar (*ʿālim*) who reminds them about worshipping God Most High, or to declare 'God is sublime!' or 'There is no god but God' or to recite the Koran. And the purpose of *dhikr*, by means of whatever legitimate form of recitation or intended knowledge (*ʿilm*), is the face of God Most High. In the *Ṣaḥīḥ* the Messenger of God, God's blessings and peace be upon him, says: 'When you pass by the gardens of Paradise, [stop and] graze there!' They asked him: 'What are the gardens of Paradise, oh Messenger of God?' He replied: 'The

¹¹⁵ This is probably a reference to criticism against the *dhikr*-practices of the community around Ibn Idrīs, as expressed for instance in the letters of ʿAlī b. Mujaththal and Hifzī.

¹¹⁶ Wensinck, *Concordance*, I, 360a; and Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 'Dhikr', 25.

dhikr-circles.’¹¹⁷ A circle can only be formed by coming together in a group. In the two *Ṣaḥīḥs* and elsewhere the Messenger, God’s blessings and peace be upon him, says: ‘God, He is mighty and glorious, has said: “I sit together with whoever recollects Me and I am with him when he recollects Me. If he recollects Me in his soul, I will recollect him in My soul. If he recollects Me in an assembly, I will recollect him in an assembly better than his assembly”, etc.’¹¹⁸ And an assembly means a group. Nor is there any difference between standing and sitting: ‘Those who recollect God, standing and sitting and on their sides’ (3/191); ‘And when you have performed the ritual prayer, then recollect God, standing and sitting and on your sides’ (4/103).

(55)

No information has been transmitted from the Prophet, God’s blessings and peace be upon him, about swaying back and forth and coordinating movements and voices [in a group].¹¹⁹ Whoever disapproves of this has the burden of presenting clear proof against it. Otherwise, we are obliged to allow whatever has been passed over in silence [in the Koran and Sunna]. God has not sent us a messenger concerning this, and we are not liable to punishment unless we have been sent a messenger. God has allowed this. [23] Whatever He has passed over in silence, He has allowed.

(56)

On the question of drawing out the *takbīr* in the *arkān* of ritual prayer, in fact the Messenger of God, God’s blessings and peace be upon him, filled the *arkān* of ritual prayer with the *takbīr*. When he stooped for the *rukūʿ* and the *sujūd* and raised himself from these, he began the *takbīr* at the beginning of the *rukūʿ* and went on extending the *takbīr* until he filled the whole of the *rukūʿ*. Those being led in prayer remained in their *qiyām* or their *rukūʿ* or their *sujūd* or their *julūs* until he finished pronouncing the *takbīr*. Then they all followed him as one man; nobody lagged behind, one person standing, one person bowing and someone else rising.

117 Wensinck, *Concordance*, II, 218a; Tirmidhī, *Sunan*, ‘Daʿwāt’, 82/3577; cf. also Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Jāmiʿ bayān al-ʿilm*, I, 13 & 32; Shawkānī, *Qaṭr al-walī*, 398; and Qāsim b. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Khānī, *al-Sayr waʾl-sulūk ilā malik al-mulūk*, MS Berlin 3287/8, 52b.

118 Cf. Radtke, *Al-Ḥakīm at-Tirmidhī*, 136.

119 Cf. the letter of the emir Ibn Mujaththal.

But rather, in all the movements of the ritual prayer the prayer leader acts as one man, and those being led act as one man. They wait until the prayer leader performs a movement and once he finishes his movement or his *takbīr*, they do just as he did. They only accompany him in saying amen; this they say together with him. Then he is one of them and they do not begin to say amen until he begins. So when they hear his voice, they say amen with him. Except for this, everything else they say they say to themselves. Only amen [do they pronounce] out loud.

And the Messenger, God's blessings and peace be upon him, did not suppress the *takbīr* at the beginning of the *arkān* of ritual prayer and he did not leave any part of the *rukṅ* without it because God has said: "Perform the ritual prayer recollecting Me!" (20/14), not in silence and not recollecting anyone else but Me.' There should be no place in the ritual prayer without recollection of God, but rather the ritual prayer should be filled with recollection of God, whether to oneself or out loud. Indeed, any part of the ritual prayer without recollection of God Most High would be like an impaired bodily limb. Therefore, the Messenger, blessings and peace be upon him, said: 'The only part of a person's ritual prayer which will be recorded for him is what he understands, be that a ninth, an eighth, a seventh, a sixth, a fifth, a fourth, a third or one half.'¹²⁰ The part of ritual prayer someone 'understands' is the part during which he fulfills God's command for recollection.

(57)

With regard to raising one's hands in the prayer of supplication after the ritual prayer,¹²¹ there are sound *ḥadīths* which have been transmitted in support of this. One finds in Tirmidhī: 'In the ritual prayer you beg. You are wretched and you are humble, and at the end you raise your hands [24] and exclaim: "Oh Lord, oh Lord, oh Lord!" Without this the ritual prayer is a miscarriage.'¹²² And this is manifestly true, being attested by a clear report. In the report they have established what the Messenger, God's blessings and peace be upon him, did and ordered, and what he said about raising one's hands.

¹²⁰ Not found in Wensinck, *Concordance*, or other sources.

¹²¹ For a description of how this issue was discussed in al-Andalus, cf. Maribel Fierro, 'La polémique à propos de *raf' al-ḡadaḡn fī l-ṡalāt* dans al-Andalus', *Studia Islamica*, LXV, 1987, 69-90.

¹²² Wensinck, *Concordance*, VI, 225a; and Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, I, 211.

As for a person who rejects this, if he is unfamiliar with this *ḥadīth* and generally does not know the *ḥadīths* of the Messenger, God's blessings and peace be upon him, he is excused. But he does not have the right to deny everything he is ignorant of. Instead he should say: 'God knows best!' and not oppose what his Lord, He is sublime and exalted, has ordered in His words: 'Do not pursue that concerning which you have no knowledge!' (17/36).

And the Messenger, God's blessings and peace be upon him, said: 'Whoever speaks falsehood about me intentionally will come to occupy a place in Hell-fire.¹²³ And if you hear a *ḥadīth* from me which you are not familiar with, say: "God knows best!"' Whoever does not say 'God knows best!'¹²⁴ disobeys God and His Messenger, for God Most High has said: 'So let those who oppose His command beware lest a trial befall them, or there befall them a painful punishment' (24/63).

(58)

In sum: a believer judges on the basis of the judgement of God Most High and the judgement of His Messenger, blessings and peace be upon him. And God, He is mighty and glorious, has said: 'Whatever it is you disagree about, the judgement thereof belongs to God' (42/10) and God Most High has said: 'Verily, only God possesses the judgement'—it does not belong to anyone else, it is no one else's! And whenever God Most High delivers a judgement, a believer must accept His judgement, otherwise he is not a believer. God Most High has sworn an oath to this effect in His words: 'But no, by your Lord, they will not be believers until they make you the judge in their disagreements. Then they will find no impediment in themselves concerning your verdict and they will submit in full submission' (4/65).

(59)

So there you hear that whoever delivers a judgement which is not based on God's judgement, is not a believer. And whoever chooses God as judge but does not abide by His judgement, God has called him a seeker of a judgement from other than Himself who merely claims to have faith and is not really a believer: 'Have you not seen that those who claim they believe in what has

123 Wensinck, *Concordance*, IV, 351b; and Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, III, 39.

124 Wensinck, *Concordance*, I, 436a; and Tirmidhī, *Sunan*, IV, 268, 4022-3.

been sent down to you and what was sent down before you, wish to seek a legal judgement from Ṭāghūt?’ (4/60).

But we will not accept, either for ourselves or for one of our faithful brethren, seeking a judgement from someone other than God Most High and His Messenger.

May God make us and you followers of what the Messenger of God, God’s blessings and peace be upon him, brought from his Lord. Amen! And may God strengthen us and you through His divine assistance so that we may travel [25] the ‘straight path’. God is our sufficiency and He is the best of protectors. There is no power and no strength save in God, the Lofty, the Magnificent. And God bless our lord Muḥammad and his family, at every glance and every breath to the amount contained in God’s knowledge.¹²⁵

Thus ends the epistle in refutation of the adherents of individual judgement through the appropriate arguments which conform to the Sunna and the Book.

Praise be to God, Lord of the creation!

¹²⁵ See footnote 1 above regarding this characteristic Idrīsī formula.

PART II

A DEBATE WITH THE WAHHĀBĪS

رسالة الأمير عليّ بن مجثّل
إلى
الشيخ إبراهيم بن أحمد الحفظي الزمزي

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

من عليّ بن مجثّل إلى الأخ في الله والمحبوب فيه العلامة إبراهيم بن أحمد الحفظي - سلّمه الله: سلام عليكم ورحمة الله وبركاته!
وبعد: حمداً لله، والصلاة والسلام على رسول الله وآله وصحبه وأولياء الله، وإنّ صدورها لأداء التحية واستمداد الأدعية، سيّما بحسن الختام والثبات على الإسلام - وغير خافٍ عليك نزول السيّد أحمد بن إدريس بصبيا، وهو كما قد علمت، ولا بدّ من حديث¹ من بعض أصحابه المصريّين والغربيّين، يسمّونهم الفقراء - وكلّنا فقراء لله خاصّةً، لا للمشايع!

وأمرنا الشريف محمد بن حسن <أن> يزيل كلّ بدعة بصبيا، منها المزمار ولعب النساء على الختان وغير ذلك، وأيضاً ما يُحدثه الفقراء من اللعب والرقص والصفق، وأرى أنّ آيات الله وذكره لا تُتخذُ هزواً ولعباً، ويُقصد به العبادة.

ويُغني عن ذلك ما شرعه الله لرسله وعملوا به وعلموه الناس، وميل الله العقول السليمة والفطر المستقيمة على قبوله مع سهولته وسموحته،

وقد علمت ما ورد في التشدد والتنطع والغلو في الدين من الوعيد، وقد قال الله تعالى: فَلْيَحْذَرِ الَّذِينَ يُخَالِفُونَ عَنْ أَمْرِهِ أَنْ تُصِيبَهُمْ فِتْنَةٌ أَوْ يُصِيبَهُمْ عَذَابٌ أَلِيمٌ^٢، وقول ابن عباس - رضي الله عنه - في شأن المتعة: أقول: قال رسول الله ﷺ، وتقولون: قال أبو بكر وعمر، إلى آخر الأثر، وهما هما!

ومما أنزل الله في سموحة هذا الدين وعدم التشدد في العبادة على غير المشروع قوله تعالى: ادْعُوا رَبَّكُمْ تَضَرُّعًا وَخُفْيَةً إِنَّهُ لَا يُحِبُّ الْمُعْتَدِينَ^٣، وقول النبي ﷺ: اربعوا على أنفسكم وأنتم لا تدعون أصم ولا غائباً فإنه أقرب إلى أحدكم من عنق راحلته^٤.

وتحصيل المسألة بعد ما ذكرنا: إن كنت ترى أن ما أحدثه المهوكون من الرقص والصفق ورفع الصوت حتى يسمع أهل مدينة صبيا جلبة المغنين غيرة^٥ الذكر - وكذلك الذكر إننا نقرهم عليه - وترى هذا من دين محمد ﷺ وأنه المنهج السوي فبين لنا ونغفل عنهم، وإن كان غير ذلك فأنت غير معذور حال تقف على خطنا ترسل إلى السيد أحمد بخط فيه بيان ونصيحة مما استنكره أهل الإسلام على بعض أصحابه، فإن الدين وسط بيننا وبين من ادعاه، ولا يظهر المتابعة فيه إلا البينة، وبينته ما كان عليه محمد ﷺ وأصحابه في زمنهم، والبدعة ما أحدث

٢ القرآن الكريم ٦٣/٢٤.

٣ القرآن الكريم ٥٥/٧.

٤ قارن المعجم المفهرس ٤١٥/٣ ب.

٥ «غير»، ص.

من بعدهم .

فتراني ولزّم عليك بحقّي عليك أنّك تكتب عليه وتبيّن له بما ألهمك الله من القرآن والسنة، ففيهما الشفاء لكلّ عليل، وعجّل لنا الجواب بيد رسولنا حتى يكون وصوله من طريقنا، ونكتب إلى السيّد جواباتٍ منّا على مضمون ما وصل منه .

ولولا خوف انتشار هذه البدعة إلى بلاد المسلمين ما كلّفنا عليك، والناس منتظرون فينا وفيك لردع هذه البدعة عن الغاغة وانتشارها فيهم .

هذا وسلّم لنا على الأولاد عبد الخالق وإسماعيل وأبناء الشيخ محمّد وأحمد بن هادي، ومن لدينا محمّد بن مفرّح والشريف أحمد بن حسين وعلي بن الحسن ومانع الباشة وناصر بن محمّد والأخوان أحمد ومحمّد يسلمون عليكم - والسلام! - ختام .

LETTER FROM EMIR °ALĪ B. MUJATHTHAL
TO SHAYKH IBRĀHĪM B. AḤMAD AL-ḤIFẒĪ AL-ZAMZANĪ

In the name of God the Compassionate, the Merciful:

From °Alī b. Mujaththal to his brother and dear friend in God, the highly learned Ibrāhīm b. AḤmad al-ḤifẒī—God grant him salvation. Peace be upon you, as well as God’s mercy and blessings!

Now to our purpose: Praise be to God, and blessings and peace be upon the Messenger of God, and upon his family and his Companions who are the Friends of God. The reason for writing is to greet you and to seek the support of your prayers, in particular for a happy final outcome and steadfastness in Islam. Moreover, it will not have escaped your notice that Sayyid AḤmad b. Idrīs has settled in Ṣabyā. He is as you know him to be. But I must tell you about certain of his disciples, Egyptians and people from the west. They are called the *fuqarā*² [those leading a life of poverty]—but we are all especially in need (*fuqarā*²) of God, and not in need of shaykhs!¹

We have ordered the shریف Muḥammad b. Ḥasan² to remove all reprehensible innovation from Ṣabyā, including the playing of wind instruments, frivolous jesting by women during circumcisions and suchlike,³ and also what the *fuqarā*² have brought forth in the way of playfulness, dancing and hand-clapping. In my view God’s signs [Koranic verses] and the recollection of God are not to be ‘treated with mockery and playfulness’ (cf. 2/229, 5/57), but only to be used for worship.

This behavior is rendered superfluous by the religious law God has given His messengers which they then practiced and taught to the people. And God has inclined sound minds and upright natures to accept the religious law with its ease and its mildness. Certainly you know what has been revealed in the Religion of the Promise concerning severity, obstinancy and going to extremes. God Most High has said: ‘Let those who go against His command beware lest a trial befall them or there befall them a painful punishment’ (24/63). And you know the words of Ibn °Abbās, God be pleased with him, concerning the *mut*^c*a*: ‘I say

1 This motif of criticism also occurs in *Munāẓara*, §§18 and 24.

2 Concerning him, see Introduction, 34.

3 These were popular practices in Ṣabyā which the Wāḥḥābī conquest put a stop to, not the objectionable practices which form the main subject of this letter.

the Messenger of God, God's blessings and peace be upon him, has said—but you say Abū Bakr and °Umar have said... (to the end of the *ḥadīth*).⁴ And these two men were who they were!⁵

As for the mildness of this religion and its lack of severity concerning worship not [specifically] prescribed by law, God Most High has also sent down His words: 'Call on your Lord humbly and in secret, for He does not like those who commit excesses' (7/55). And the Prophet, God's blessings and peace be upon him, said: 'Restrain yourselves since you are not calling someone who is deaf or absent, but He is closer to each one of you than the neck of your riding camel.'⁶

Now to the point of the matter, having said what we have said. If in your view these reckless people's dancing, hand-clapping, raising their voice to the extent that the inhabitants of the city of Ṣabyā hear the clamor of the singers, is a zealous form of recollecting God—for we allow them to engage in recollection of God—and you judge this to be consistent with the religion of Muḥammad, God's blessings and peace be upon him, and that it is proper practice, then make this clear to us and we will disregard them. But if such is not the case, then you are not to be excused if upon reading our letter you do not immediately send a letter to Sayyid Aḥmad in which you give him advice and clarify for him what the people of Islam disapprove of in certain of his disciples. Religion is an intermediary between us and those who claim to profess it, and only sure evidence can make clear if one follows it. In this case, sure evidence is what Muḥammad, God's blessings and peace be upon him, and his Companions practiced in their time. Reprehensible innovation is what those who came after them brought forth.

Heed me and fulfill your duty toward me by writing him and explaining to him by means of whatever God inspires you with from the Koran and the Sunna, for in these two resides the cure

4 The Prophet, who is the supreme authority, allowed the practice of *mut'at al-ḥajj*, i.e. temporary marriage during the period of pilgrimage, whereas Abū Bakr and °Umar supposedly forbade the practice; see footnote 121 of Abū Dāhish's edition; and *Musnad Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal*, I, 337.— For further information on *mut'a* see Werner Ende, 'Ehe auf Zeit', *Die Welt des Islams*, XX, 1980, 5; Sanūsi, *Iqāz al-wasnān*, 23; and Shawkāni, *al-Qawl al-mufid*, 58. This *ḥadīth* concerns the *mut'at al-ḥajj*; cf. *EI* (2) s.v. 'Mut'a'; Arthur Gribetz, *Mut'at al-nisā'* and *mut'at al-ḥajj*, Berlin 1994; and the review on Gribetz by W. Ende in *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, CXLVI, 1996, 585f.

5 What the emir wishes to make clear is that, despite the great prestige of Abū Bakr and °Umar, the Prophet Muḥammad is the ultimate authority in all matters.

6 Wensinck, *Concordance*, III, 415a.

for everyone who is ill. And send us your reply speedily by the hand of our messenger so that he reaches us on our journey.⁷ Then we will write answers to the Sayyid [Aḥmad] ourself concerning the matters he has communicated to us.

If we were not afraid that this innovation would spread to the lands of the Muslims,⁸ we would not have charged you with this task. The people expect from us and from you that we hold back this innovation from the riffraff and keep it from spreading among them.

Give our greetings to your offspring °Abd al-Khāliq and Ismā°il, and to the sons of Shaykh Muḥammad and Aḥmad b. Hādī. Of those with us, Muḥammad b. Mufarriḥ, the sherif Aḥmad b. Ḥusayn and °Alī b. al-Ḥasan and Māni° al-Bāsha and Nāṣir b. Muḥammad,⁹ as well as the two brothers Aḥmad and Muḥammad, send you their greetings. Peace!

The end.

⁷ Cf. Introduction, 34. Ibn Mujaththal is on campaign against Abū °Arīsh.

⁸ The Wahhābis frequently apply the term *bilād al-muslimīn* to the regions under their political control; cf. Peskes, *Muḥammad b. °Abd alwahhāb*, 31.

⁹ This is evidently none other than Nāṣir b. Muḥammad al-Kubaybī, Ibn Idrīs's chief opponent in the *Munāẓara*. For information about the other persons mentioned, cf. notes 157-69 of Abū Dāhish's text-edition of the letter.

رسالة الشيخ
إبراهيم بن أحمد الحفظي الزمزي
إلى
السيد أحمد بن إدريس

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

من إبراهيم بن أحمد الحفظي - غفر الله لهما - إلى وليّ الله بلا دفاع
وعلاّمة العصر بالإجماع الشريف أحمد بن إدريس الحسني - حفظه الله
ومدّ في عمره، سلام عليك ورحمة الله وبركاته!
أمّا بعد، حمدًا لله وصلاته وسلامه على من لا نبيّ بعده وعلى آله
وصحبه أهل... والنجدة.

وصدّرت للسلام والسؤال عن شيخ الإسلام واستمداد دعائه سيّما
بحسن الختام، والسؤال عنكم لا يزال والدعاء لكم مبذول، والكامل
يقبل الكمال نعم، أسبل الله على الجميع أثواب النعم!
وصل إلى الحقيير كتاب من الأمير الكبير - أمده الله بالتوفيق وكان
له على الحقّ خير معين ونصير - وذكر فيه ما معناه: أنّه سمع عن بعض
المنتسبين إياكم أنّهم أحدثوا اللعب والرقص والصفق ورفع الصوت
بالذكر حتى إنّهم يسمعون أهل مدينة صبيا جلبة المغنّين، وأمر ذلك الأمير
أن يكتب إليكم بما حصل.

ولا يخفى شريف علمكم أنّ الله تعالى قد أكمل الدين ورسوله قد

بلغ البلاغ المبين، وأنزل عليه الكتاب هدىً وذكرى للمؤمنين، قال الله تعالى: **الْيَوْمَ أَكْمَلْتُ لَكُمْ دِينَكُمْ وَأَتْمَمْتُ عَلَيْكُمْ نِعْمَتِي وَرَضِيتُ لَكُمُ الْإِسْلَامَ دِينًا**،^٢ وقال تعالى: **وَنَزَّلْنَا عَلَيْكَ الْكِتَابَ تَبْيَانًا لِكُلِّ شَيْءٍ وَهُدًى وَرَحْمَةً وَبُشْرَى لِلْمُسْلِمِينَ**،^٣ وقال تعالى: **يَا أَيُّهَا النَّاسُ قَدْ جَاءَكُمْ مَوْعِظَةٌ مِنْ رَبِّكُمْ وَشِفَاءٌ لِمَا فِي الصُّدُورِ وَهُدًى وَرَحْمَةٌ لِلْمُؤْمِنِينَ**،^٤ وقال تعالى: **فَإِمَّا يَأْتِيَنَّكُمْ مِنْي هُدًى فَمَنْ اتَّبَعَ هُدَايَ فَلَا يَضِلُّ وَلَا يَشْقَى وَمَنْ أَعْرَضَ عَن ذِكْرِي فَإِنَّ لَهُ مَعِيشَةً ضَنْكًا**،^٥ قال ابن عباس - رضي الله عنهما - : تكفل الله لمن قرأ القرآن وتبع ما فيه أن لا يضل في الدنيا ولا يشقى في الآخرة.

وقال ﷺ: ما تركت من شيء يقربكم إلى الجنة إلا وقد حدثتكم به، ولا من شيء يقربكم من النار إلا وقد حدثتكم به، وقال ﷺ: فعلosكم بسنتي وسنة الخلفاء من بعدي، تمسكوا بها وعضوا عليها بالنواجذ، وإياكم ومحدثات الأمور فإن كل بدعة ضلالة،^٦ - والآيات والأحاديث في هذا أكثر من أن تحصر وأنتم أعرف بها، ومثل الحقيقير في هذا التذكير (من الطويل):

٢ القرآن الكريم ٣/٥.

٣ القرآن الكريم ١٦/٨٩.

٤ القرآن الكريم ١٠/٥٧.

٥ القرآن الكريم ٢٠/١٢٣-١٢٤.

٦ قارن المعجم المفهرس ٢/٧٠ ب.

كَمَسْتَبْضِعُ تَمْرًا إِلَى أَهْلِ خَيْبَرًا،^٧

ولكلّ علم رجال ولكلّ مقام مقال (من البسيط) :

فللحديث رجال يعرفون به وللدواوين حسّاب وكتّابُ

فالمطلوب من الشيخ اليعسوب نهي المذكورين عن هذه البدع وأمرهم
بالنهج المتّبع، وأنتم بحمد الله منزّهون عن كلّ رذيلة، وحاشا المتحقّقين
بطريقتكم أن يفعلوا خلاف حالتكم الجميلة، وإنّما الكلام فيمن لم
يذق فرات مشربكم ولا شمّ روائح ريحان روضة مطلبكم.

تفضّلوا احمّلوا الحقيير على السلامة، ولكم الفضل والكرامة - نفع

الله بعلومكم المسلمين!

وتفضّلوا بإبلاغ السلام الإخوان الأعلام: الأخ العلامة محمّد، وابن

عمّه الطيّب، وعبد الله بن محمّد وكافة الإخوان، والأولاد زين

العابدين، وعبد الرحمن، وأحمد بن هادي وكافة الأولاد يسلمون

عليكم ويستمدّون دعاءكم.

والله يردّ عاكم ويمتّع بحياتكم، وصلى الله على سيّدنا محمّد وآله

وصحبه وسلّم.

٧ ديوان حسان بن ثابت ١/٢٢٤، رقم ١٠٣، بيت ٦.

LETTER FROM
SHAYKH IBRĀHĪM B. AḤMAD AL-ḤIFZĪ AL-ZAMZANĪ
TO SAYYID AḤMAD B. IDRĪS

In the name of God the Compassionate, the Merciful:

From Ibrāhīm b. Aḥmad al-Ḥifzī—God pardon them both—to the uncontested Friend of God whom all acknowledge as the greatest religious scholar of the age, the shērīf Aḥmad b. Idrīs al-Ḥasanī—God protect him and prolong his life: peace be upon you, as well as God’s mercy and blessings!

Now to our purpose: Praise be to God, and God’s blessings and peace upon him who was the last of the prophets, and upon his family and his Companions... assistance!

The reason for writing is to greet the Shaykh of Islam, to make a request and to seek the support of his prayers, in particular for a happy final outcome. There is no end to the requests you receive, and your prayers of supplication are granted. Those who are complete obtain what is complete. Yes, God let hang down the skirts of His benefits for everyone!¹

This humble one received a letter from the great emir—God grant him success and be the best helper and support for him in achieving what is right—and the gist of what the emir mentioned in the letter is this. He heard concerning certain of those attached to you that they have brought forth playfulness, dancing, hand-clapping and raising their voice during the recollection of God to the extent that the inhabitants of the city of Ṣabyā hear the clamor of the singers. The emir has ordered me to write to you about what has occurred.

It is not hidden from your noble learning that God Most High has perfected religion, and His Messenger has delivered the clear communication, and the Book was sent down to him as guidance and a reminder for the believers. And God Most High has said: ‘Today I have perfected your religion for you, and I have completed My bounty to you, and I have approved Islam as a religion for you’ (5/3). And the Most High has said: ‘We have sent down to you the Book which makes clear all things, as a guidance and a mercy, and as glad tidings for those who make submission’ (16/89). And the Most High has said: ‘Oh people, a warning has come to you from your Lord, and a cure for what is in your

¹ On the expression *asbala al-thawb* see *Lisān al-‘Arab*.

breasts, and a guidance and a mercy for the believers' (10/57). And the Most High has said: 'But if guidance comes to you from Me, whoever follows My guidance will not go astray, nor will he be miserable; but whoever turns away from My reminder will have a wretched life' (20/123-24). Ibn ʿAbbās, God be pleased with them both, said: 'As for whoever reads the Koran and follows what is in it, God has pledged that he will not go astray in this world or be miserable in the world to come.'

And the Messenger, God's blessings and peace be upon him, said: 'I have not omitted anything which will make you draw near to Paradise but I have told it to you; and there is nothing which will make you draw near to Hell-fire but I have told it to you.'² And the Messenger, God's blessings and peace be upon him, said: 'Adhere to my Sunna and the Sunna of the caliphs after me, hold fast to this and stick to it with tenacity. And beware of new things because every innovation is an error.'³ The Koranic verses and *ḥadīths* on this subject are too numerous to be counted but you are fully aware of this yourself. In reminding you, a humble person such as myself is:

Like one who would sell dates to the people of Khaybar.⁴

And every form of knowledge has its own men, every post its discourse:⁵

For the *ḥadīth* there are experts acquainted with them;
For the treasury accounts accountants and scribes.

My request of the prominent shaykh is that he prohibit those referred to above from these innovations and order them to adhere to the travelled path. Praise be to God, you are above any base behavior, and banish the thought that those who truly follow your spiritual path (*ṭarīqa*) behave in any way contrary to your comely state. Indeed, I am only talking about those who have not sampled the Euphrates of your watering-place and have not inhaled the fragrant basil of the garden of your seeking.

Have the kindness to look after this humble one's well-being, for you are endowed with excellence and generosity—God profit the Muslims through your learning!

² No source has been found for this tradition.

³ Wensinck, *Concordance*, II, 70b; Shaʿrānī, *Mizān*, I, 202; and Shawkānī, *al-Qawl al-mufīd*, 24f.

⁴ Ḥassān b. Thābit, *Dīwān* (ed. Walid ʿArafāt), Beirut 1974, I, 224 no. 103, verse 6.

⁵ Cf. Qārī, *Mawḍūʿāt*, 283, no. 367.

And kindly convey my greetings to the eminent brethren: the highly learned brother Muḥammad and his cousin al-Ṭayyib, and °Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad and all the brethren. And my offspring Zayn al-°Ābidīn, °Abd al-Raḥmān and Aḥmad b. Hādī and all my offspring send you their greetings and ask you to pray for them.

God watch over you and give others enjoyment through your life. God's blessings and peace be upon our lord Muḥammad, and upon his family and Companions!

مناظرة أحمد بن إدريس

مع فقهاء عسير

(١٨٣٢/١٢٤٨)

جمع

حسن بن أحمد عاكش الضمدي

١ يقول الفقير الى الله تعالى حسن بن أحمد بن عبد الله العمري الملقب
عاكش، غفر الله له، آمين.

الحمد لله رب العالمين والصلاة والسلام على سيدنا محمد الأمين
وآله المطهرين وصحبه أجمعين، وبعد:

فقد طلب مني الأخ السيد العلامة الجليل، المحقق النبيل، عزّ
الاسلام ونور حدقة الأنام محمد بن شيخنا الإمام علم الحفاظ والأعلام،
شيخ الإسلام السيد عبد الرحمن بن سليمان الأهدل - أمدّ الله أيامه
وأطال في السعادة مقامه - أن أشرح له صورة المناظرة الواقعة في شهر
جمادى الآخرة سنة ١٢٤٨، ألف ومائتين وثمان وأربعين، بين شيخنا
الربّاني الولي المشهور في البراري والبحور، العارف بالله تعالى الجامع بين
علمي الشريعة والطريقة سيدي السيد العلامة أحمد بن إدريس المغربي
- نفعنا الله ببركاته - وبين الفقيه العلامة ناصر بن محمد الكبيري
الجوني وبعض فقهاء عسير، وهم: عبد الله بن سرور اليامي، وعبّاس بن
محمد الرفيدي، إذ كنت الحاضر في ذلك الوقت، وأنا أسبح في لحيّ
ذلك البحر، حسبما ساعد البخت، وذلك أنّ الله تعالى قد منّ بقدم

شيخنا المذكور صبيا في شهر شعبان سنة ألف ومائتين وخمس وأربعين،^١ وذلك من أجل نعم الله على هذا القطر.

^٢ وكان قصده أن يقيم بمدينة أبي عريش عند ساداتنا الأشراف آل حيدر - أطال الله مدتهم - لأنهم أحق الناس به، ولكن لما كان المتولي لأمر هذه الجهة الشريف علي بن حيدر، وعنده جند متكاثرة من الترك والنظام، وما أوجب خروجه من مكة المشرفة إلا بسبب واقع جرى منهم على يد بعض أولاد الشريف غالب بن مساعد، فما رأى أن يوالي من خرج بسببهم - هكذا قاله لنا مشافهةً لما أرسلنا بعض الأشراف يستدعيه إليهم ويسأله عن سبب العدول.^٢

وكانت صبيا تلك المدّة تحت حكم الأمير علي بن مجتل، فاخترها للإقامة، وأجرى عليه الأمير الكفاية التامة، وكان له في ذلك الشرف الأثيل والذكر الجميل، ولما استقرّ هناك صار كعبةً للقاصدين، واثال عليه الناس من كلّ جهة في كلّ وقت وحين، حتّى كانت صبيا تضيء الأنوار أيّامها، وتنشر على سائر البقاع تيهان أعلامها، ولله درّ القائل (من الكامل):

إذا نظرت الى البقاع وجدتها

تشقى كما تشقى الرجال وتسعدُ

^٣ وانضاف إليه مع استقراره جمّ غفير من بلاد الجبرت والسودان وغيرهما، وكان من أعيانهم لديه جماعة أحقّهم بالتقدّم ابن أخيه

١ ١٢٤٤، آ.

٢ «وكان قصده... العدول»، ناقص في آ.

السيد العلامة الطيّب بن محمد بن إدريس، والشيخ العلامة المحقق عبد الله بن محمد العباس، والشيخ محمد الهميم، والشيخ إبراهيم الخزامي، والشيخ محمد البرناوي، والشيخ إبراهيم الرشيد، وهؤلاء أعيان مجلسه وخاصته من أصحابه،^٣ وكان يحضر لديه جماعة من علماء تهامة، أنا من جملتهم.

٤ وله في اليوم مجلسان، بعد الإشراق حتى يتعالى النهار، ومجلس بعد العصر حتى يصلي المغرب، وكان يحضر في ذينك الوقتين أمم من الناس، وهو ينثر عليهم درر الفوائد في البكر والآصال، على قدر مقام السائلين، ويعطي كل أحد جوابه على قدر قابليته، بحسن عبارة لها الجماد يلين،^٤ وكان لأصحابه بعد انقضاء مجلسه مجلس خاص يقع فيه الإملاء لبعض كتب الصوفية كتائية ابن الفارض وشرح القيصري عليها، وكالفصوص وشرح الجامي عليها.^٥

٥ وكنت أحضر معهم في تلك المذاكرة، ويقع الجمع لتلك العبارات، على ما لا خطر فيه ولا محاذرة، وكان يجتمع في ذلك المجلس رعا من الناس، فيسمعون شطحات من تلك العبارات.^٥ وكان الفقيه عبد الله بن سرور مقيماً في صبيا، ويحضر في غالب الأوقات، وينفر طبعه من تلك الألفاظ ويشمئز، يورد السؤالات، فأتولّى الجواب في سؤاله عن الحاضرين لأجل تخريج العبارة على وجه

٣ «وانضاف ... أصحابه»، ناقص في آ.

٤ «وكان لأصحابه ... عليها»، ناقص في آ.

٥ «وكنت ... العبارات»، ناقص في آ.

يقبله ذهنه،^٧ ولكن هؤلاء الرعاى يحملون ما يسمعون على غير مدلوله باختلاف الأوضاع، ومن أمثالهم: من ألقى العلم إلى غير أهله فقد ضاع وأضاع، وورد في سنن ابن ماجة عنه صلى الله عليه وآله وسلم أنه قال: واضع العلم في غير أهله كمقلد الدرّ الخنازير،^٦ وقال أمير المؤمنين عليّ بن أبي طالب - كرم الله وجهه في الجنة: ما حدثت قوماً بحديث لا يعرفونه إلا كان عليهم فتنة.^٧

^٦ ولا يشكّ ذو عرفان يميّز بين منزلة القبيح ومرتبة الإحسان في أن هذه الطائفة الصوفيّة لهم اصطلاحات خاصّة لا يهتدي إلى معرفتها إلا الراسخون في العلم، ولا يصل إلى فهم معانيها إلا من أيده الله بنور الفهم.^٨

وبهذا السبب نُسب إلى ذلك الجناى الإدريسى من المقالات ما يستنكرها من جمى على الظواهر من أهل العرفان، ومن عرف مصطلحهم عرف أنها جارية على نهج السنّة والقرآن، وفي الحقيقة إنه لم يصدر منه إلا علوم زاخرة ومعارف باهرة، لأنه من العلماء الراسخين الربانيّين، فإنّي بحمد الله قد لازمته، وأخذت عنه علم الطريقة وعثرت من معارفه على زبدة الحقيقة، فهو رباني هذه الأمة المحمديّة وقطب دائرة الولاية الأحمديّة، لم يصل إلى مداها أحد من أهل عصره، ولا يتحلّى بحلى معارفه عالم من علماء دهره، قد خاض في بحر من

٦ المعجم المفهرس ٧٦/٢ ب.

٧ «ولكن هؤلاء ... فتنة»، ناقص في آ.

٨ «ولا يشكّ ... الفهم»، ناقص في آ.

العلوم فراته غمير، فدع قول غيري ممن مال عنه، وخذ بقولي فلا ينبئك مثل خبير.

وهذا الفقيه عبد الله بن سرور من حفاظ كتاب الله العزيز، وكان قد أخذ عن علماء تهامة شيئاً من العلوم ولازم السيد حسن بن خالد مدةً وقرأ عليه، ولكن لم يكن له من الإدراك ما يميّز به بين المعلوم والموهوم، واتخذ بلاد عسير وطناً، ودان بمعتقد الطائفة النجدية في إطلاق لفظ الشرك الأكبر على جميع الأمة المحمدية من غير تفرقة بين الموحد منهم والمشرك الذي يعتقد النفع والضّر في غير الله تعالى، وقد صدر من أمرائهم المتقدمين وقائع مختلفة بسبب هذا الاعتقاد، سالت بها سيول من الدماء في هذا القطر التهامي، مما هو مسطور في تواريخ علماء اليمن ومعلوم بالتواتر لمن عقل لأنه ليس بالعهد من قدم.

فتلقى الفقيه عبد الله تلك الكلمات من بعض أولئك الأتباع في مجالس أصحاب شيخنا السيد أحمد بن إدريس، نفعنا الله به، وعرضها على ما بلغ إليه علمه، فاعتقد أنها خارجة عن معتقده وأنها ليست من العلوم الشرعية التي دان بها هو وأهل بلده.

وما زال يراجعني فيما يسمع، وأرشده إلى ما يصون دينه وعرضه وينفع، ولكن رأني لا أقبل عذل عاذل في شيخنا المذكور، وما سمع مني المقال، وما زال يصرّح بأن السيد أحمد يعتقد مذهب ابن عربي من الاتحاد والحلول، بمعنى أن الله تعالى يحلّ في كلّ صورة ويتحد بها، وهذا كفر، وهو مذهب النصارى، تعالى الله عن ذلك علواً كبيراً، وأن ذلك مذهب شيخنا المذكور.

ثم إنه كتب نسخة حصر فيها اعتراضاته على شيخنا، منها:

اعتقاده بهذه النحلة الكفرية،

وأن أصحابه يعظمونه بما لا يستحقه إلا الله تعالى من الخضوع له،

وتقبيل اليد، وأنهم يحملونه على السرير إن دخل بيته وإن خرج، ولا

يرضون أن يمشي على الأرض إكباراً وتعظيماً، وأن هذا عين الشرك،

لأنه لا يستحق التعظيم بمثل هذه العبادة إلا الله تعالى، وأن أصحابه

بهذا الفعل أشركوا، وأن إقراره لهم على ذلك خطأ،

وأن اعتقاد مذهب ابن عربي يتم كفر أصحابه، كما كفره بذلك

طائفة من العلماء،

وأن السيد أحمد يفسر القرآن بغير ما تدلّ عليه اللغة العربية، مما

لا تقتضيه دلالة الكلام على اختلاف أنواعه،

وأنه يميّز صلاة العصر حتى تصفر الشمس، وتقع صلاة المغرب

قرب صلاة العشاء، بسبب تطويل الركعتين قبل صلاة المغرب، كلا

الأمرين منهي عنه،

وأن بعض أصحابه يصحب الأحداث، ويستحسن مجالسة أهل

الصورة الحسننة من المردان، وربما جرى من بعضهم الفاحشة،

وأن منهم من يختلي بالأجانب من النساء، ولا يحترز من

المقدمات التي هي رائد الزنا،

ومنهم من يبطل علوم الشرع ويقدحون فيما ألفه علماء الإسلام

من أصل وفرع.

وهذه أمور فواقر لا يصح السكوت عليها، ولا يحلّ لولي الأمر أن

يتغافل عنها.

١٠ ولما سطر الفقيه عبد الله بن سرور هذه المسائل في رسالة بعث بها إلى الأمير علي بن مجتل، فتولّى إرسالها إلى الشيخ العلامة إبراهيم بن أحمد الزمزي، صاحب رجال ألمع، وهو من العلماء الراسخين، وبعد الاطلاع عليها أرشد الأمير إلى طيّ بساط ما في هذه الرسالة وإعدامها بالتمزيق، وأن لا يصغي الأمير إلى شيء من تلك المقالة، ويزجر مؤلّف الرسالة عن التعرّض لما لم يبلغ إليه فهمه، فما أصغى الأمير إلى كلامه سمعاً، واستخفّه مطاوعته مثل الفقيه ناصر الكبيبي، فإنّه تولّى ذلك الأمر في تقرير ذلك الاعتراض ورأى أنّ ذلك من نصرة الدين، حتّى أدى الحال إلى أنّ الأمير أرسل بخطّ إلى السيّد محمّد بن حسن بن خالد عامل صبيا أن من قال بهذه المقالة من أصحاب السيّد أحمد يُخرَج من صبيا ويُسفّر إلى الجهات البعيدة، فما استحسّن ذلك الصنع وراجع الأمير هو وبعض علماء الجهة في هذا المقصد.

وهذا ناصر الكبيبي ذو دعوى عريضة في العلم، ولا حاصل عنده يقوم بصحّة تلك الدعوى، ولكن نفق نفاقه على من لا يدري الحقائق، ولو علم أنّه لو جلس بين يدي من يرشده إلى الصواب لرمى ما يعتقده من حائق.

١١ فما أعقب ذلك إلا نزول الأمير من السراة لجهاد أبي عريش، ولما وصل صبيا أعاد الخوض في هذه المادّة، فقام ناصر الكبيبي وقال للأمير: أنا أقوم بمناظرة الشريف أحمد بن إدريس وأورد عليه هذه المسائل التي نقلها الأخ عبد الله بن سرور عنه وعن أصحابه.

١٢ وبعد استقراره بصبيا استدعى الامير بجميع العلماء من أهل الخلاف والحاضرين بصبيا، فممن حضر من أعيانهم: السيد العلامة يحيى بن محسن النعمي، والسيد العلامة علي بن محمد بن العقيلي الحازمي، والسيد العلامة عيسى بن علي، والقاضي العلامة عبد الله بن محمد السبعي، والقاضي العلامة أحمد بن علي، والسيد العلامة أحمد بن علي بن عدوان، والسيد العلامة إسماعيل بن شبير، والسيد العلامة علي بن محمد الشوش، والسيد الفاضل حسن بن محمد بن عبده، والفقيه محمد بن عبده الحازمي وغيرهم من فقهاء البلد.

١٣ وكنت ممن أُلزم بالحضور في ذلك المجلس، فحضرت، ولما حضر هؤلاء بين يدي الأمير استدعى بفقهاءهم، فحضر ثلاثة، وهم: ناصر الكبيبي وعبد الله بن سرور وعبّاس بن محمد الرفيدي، وقال الأمير ما معناه: إني لم أجمعكم إلا وقد علمتم ما نحن عليه من الدعوة الإسلامية، وإننا لم نزل قائمين بها في تجديد التوحيد وهدم الشرك، وهذه رسالة كتبها المطوّع عبد الله بن سرور، فيها حوادث جارية مما ينافي التوحيد ويقدم في جانب الإسلام وأهله، والمقصود اطلاعكم عليها، إننا ما نقول ولا نفعل إلا بقول أهل العلم، فنشر تلك الرسالة في ذلك الموقف، وتولّى إملاءها الفقيه علي بن يحيى كاتب الأمير.

١٤ وبعد أن أملاها وأكملت قال الأمير: ما تقولون؟
فبدأ السيد علي بن محمد عقيل بالجواب وقال: هذه الأمور لم تكن صادرة من السيد أحمد بن إدريس!
فعارضه ناصر الكبيبي فقال: لا تقل السيد أحمد، فإن السيد هو

الله، قل: الشريف أحمد أو أحمد بن إدريس!
فقال له: قال صلى الله عليه وآله وسلم لسبطه الحسن: إن ابني
هذا سيّد،^٩ وقال للأنصار لما أقبل سعد بن معاذ: قوموا لسيّدكم!^{١٠}
ولفظ السيّد إطلاقه في الشرع شائع لا محذور فيه.

فسكّته الأمير وقال: ليس هذا من مقصودنا، إنّما تكلم يا عليّ!
فقال عليّ بن محمّد: أنا عرفت ابن إدريس أيام مهاجرتي في مكّة
سنة ألف ومائتين وسبع وثلاثين، وهو من العلماء الأكابر، ولا نظير له
فيما علمنا في الأقطار الإسلاميّة في معارفه في العلوم الشرعيّة وفي
علوم الحقائق، وليس يقرب به أحد من أهل هذا الزمان، وهم مشايخنا
مثل السيّد عبد الرحمن بن سليمان، والقاضي عبد الرحمن بن أحمد
البهكلي صاحب بيت الفقيه، ومن في طبقتهم من علماء اليمن
والشام.

ومثل عالم صنعاء القاضي محمّد بن عليّ الشوكاني، عرفه
بالمكاتبة وأطنب في الثناء عليه وأرشد الناس الى الاستكثار من
علومه، فقال إنّها حديثه عهد برّبها - كما رأيتُه في جواب له على
السيّد عبد الرحمن بن سليمان.

وكذلك السيّد الحافظ عبد الله بن محمّد الأمير، وأخوه المحقّق
قاسم بن محمّد، وابن أخيه العلّامة يوسف بن إبراهيم.
فإذا كان مثل هؤلاء العلماء الذين تسنّموا غارب الاجتهاد - وما

٩ المعجم المفهرس ١٦/٣ ب.

١٠ المعجم المفهرس ١٧/٣ ب.

منهم إلا وله مصنف في علوم الإسلام وهو إمام ناقد - طأطأوا رؤوسهم له أدباً وأذعنوا له، فمن يكون ناصر الكبيسي وعبد الله بن سرور الياامي اللذين نسبتهما اليه كنسبة صبيان المكتب إلى الجهابذة من أهل العلم؟ فإنكارهم على السيّد أحمد منكر، ولا يسعك إسعادهم على ذلك.

١٦ فلما قال السيّد عليّ بن محمّد ذلك التفت الأمير الى السيّد يحيى بن محسن وقال: ما تقول أنت؟ وهؤلاء العلماء كلّ منهم يتكلّم عن نفسه، وهذا دين ما فيه محاباة!

فقال السيّد يحيى بن محسن: هذا رجل كما قال عليّ بن محمّد هو في الدرجة كمثّل الصادق والباقر في أهل البيت، وأنتم قد تشرّفتم بقدموه إلى بلادكم، والآن بهذا الصنيع كدّرتم المشرب، فإذا لم تروا له الإقامة فيما تحت أيديكم من البلاد فعرفوه يرتحل، فقد فارق أشرف البقاع لدون هذا العارض، وحيثما توجه لقي الإكرام، وأما فتح باب الاعتراض عليه من أمثالنا، أو من هؤلاء الإخوان الذين هم مطاوعتكم فهو لا يليق، فإنّه يسبح في بحر لسنا من الخائضين فيه، وما هلك من عرف قدر نفسه، بل يكون ذلك اعتراضاً من لا يدري على من يدري، وهذا هو الجهل البسيط.

١٧ وقال عبد الله السبعي، وكان في طبعه حدة: أنا بحضرتكم تقع الآن المراجعة بموقف هؤلاء الأعلام بيني وبين ناصر وعبد الله بن سرور، وما أسألهم إلا عن ظواهر في علوم الشرع في باب الطهارة والمواقيت، فإن أجابوا بالصواب عرفت أنّهم علماء، وحسن إطلاق اسم الفقيه

عليهم، وإن عجزوا عن مراجعتي عرفت أنّهم ليسوا بأهل لمراجعة السيّد أحمد الذي هو البحر الذي لا يُنزَف.

وبعد هذا كلّ صوّب أحد العلماء هذا الرأي وتكلّم عن نفسه بتقرير ما قاله الثلاثة الأعلام.

١٨ فغضب عبد الله بن سرور، وكان فيه طيش، والتفت إلى الأمير وقال: هؤلاء ما وصلوك إلا وقد تواطأوا على هذا الكلام، والتفت إلى من حضر وقال: أنتم علماء تهامة لا تغضبون لهذه المنكرات الصادرة من أصحاب السيّد أحمد، وفيكم عقائد في الصالحين وتخافون من السيّد أحمد ولا تخافون من الله!

فقال له بعض من حضر: إنّ هذا الكلام سفه، فالغضب لله تعالى في المنكر، وفعل السيّد أحمد معروف، وأنت خلطت المعروف بالمنكر وأردت المساعدة عليه، وقد برئنا من أن نقرّ بالباطل وأن نرضى مخلوقاً بما يغضب الخالق، ولكن رأينا افتراء معائب على مثل هذا الإمام ممّا تعجّل عقوبة المفتري عليه، وأمّا إنّنا نخافه – فلم يكن بيده سنان ولا سيف، بل سلاحه الذي يحارب به المعاندين أدلّة السنّة والكتاب، وسهام الأدعية التي لا تخطيء مستحقاً، وقد جاء في الحديث: من آذى لي ولياً فقد آذنته بالحرب،^{١١} وإذا لم يكن العلماء أولياء الله تعالى فما في الدنيا وليّ، ومن بارز الله تعالى بالمحاربة فقد هلك.

١٩ فقال الأمير: ما لنا حاجة يا مطاوعة بخصامكم، وأمّا ألزمكم الليلة هذه بالمشي مع ناصر الكبيبي وعبد الله بن سرور ويُعقد مجلس

المنظرة بين السيّد أحمد وبينهما بحضوركم، والحقّ أكبر من كلّ أحد، ولا نقرّ أحداً في بلادنا على الباطل، وحبل الدين متين! - فتفرّق المجلس على هذا الإلزام.

٢٠ ولما حضر وقت الميعاد عيّن الأمير طائفةً من خواصّه من عسير ليحضروا وقت المناظرة، فاقبلوا وهم يحفّون بالفقيه ناصر الكبيبي والفقيه عبد الله، وما وصلوا إلّا والسيّد أحمد جالس على سرير، وبين يديه من ذكرنا من علماء تهامة وكافة تلاميذته، فلماً وصلوا صافحوه وحفّوا بسريره من كلّ جانب، وجلس في صدر السرير الفقيه ناصر، وكان في الجانب الشرقي السيّد محمّد بن حسن بن خالد والسيّد عرار بن محمّد وكثير من سادات المخلاف وكبار بني شعبة، وفي الجانب الغربي عامّة الناس.

٢١ فلماً استقرّ المجلس بأهله وغصّ بالرجال تنحنح الفقيه ناصر الكبيبي وابتدأ بخطبة في الوعظ على قاعدتهم وثنى بدعوة النجدي، وكان براعة استهلال كلامه أنّ الناس كانوا في جاهليّة يعبدون الأصنام ويستحلّون المحرّمات، فتجرّد للدعوة محمّد بن عبد الوهّاب

٢٢ فقال السيّد أحمد: صواب الكلام: فبعث الله رسوله محمّد بن عبد الله - عليه أفضل الصلاة والسلام - لأنّه هو الذي أنقذ الناس من الجهالة وتحمل أعباء الرسالة وشرع شرائع الإسلام.

فقال الكبيبي: محمّد بن عبد الوهّاب مجدّد الاسلام!

فقال السيّد أحمد: لا ننكر فضله ولا مقصد الصالح فيما صنع، وقد أزال بدعاً وحوادث، ولكن شاب تلك الدعوة بالغلوّ وكفر من لا

يعتقد في غير الله تعالى من أهل الإسلام واستباح دمائهم وأموالهم بلا حجة.

فقال الكبيبي: ما فعل إلا ما هو الصواب!

فقال السيد أحمد بن إدريس: هو عالم من العلماء، والعصمة مرتفعة من غير الأنبياء، وهو يخطيء ويصيب، فإن أصاب فله أجران، وإن أخطأ فله أجر،^{١٢} وهو معفو عنه في خطائه، ولكن لا يحلّ التقليد له فيما أخطأ فيه، لأنّ ذلك ما كلفه الله تعالى على مبلغ علمه، وأنتم لجهلكم بمعزل عن أخذ دليله ومعرفة مهيع سبيله.

فقال الكبيبي: الشرك الأكبر قد عمّ الأقطار كلّها، والناس كلّهم ٢٣
قد ارتدّوا عن الإسلام في المشرق والمغرب واليمن والشام، ولولا أنّ الشيخ محمّداً جدّد الإسلام لكان الناس في ظلمة الكفر!

فقال السيد أحمد: معاذ الله تعالى ما كان الشيخ محمّد بن عبد الوهّاب يسلك هذا المسلك! أنت رجل حديث السنّ، وأنا عرفت في مكّة سعود بن عبد العزيز وعلماء حضرته أولاد الشيخ محمّد بن عبد الوهّاب: عبد الله بن محمّد وأخوه حسين وسليمان، وهم علماء يعرفون الحجّة ويلتزمون اللوازم عند واضح الحجّة، ولم يكن اعتقادهم ما أنت عليه، وهم مبرّأون ممّا تنسبه اليهم، وإمّا أنت نشأت في بلد أهلها عوامّ، وما عرفت من يرشدك إلى الصواب، بل (من البسيط):

حفظت شيئاً وغابت عنك أشياء^{١٣}

١٢ المعجم المفهرس ١/٣٩٠.٢

١٣ ديوان أبي نواس ٧٦.

وهذه الأمة المحمّديّة الحكم عليها جميعاً في جميع الأقطار الاسلاميّة بالشرك الاكبر والضلال العامّ يرده قواطع الأدلّة، وقد أخبر المصطفى ﷺ أن أمّته نصف أهل الجنّة،^{١٤} مع ترادف القرون من لدن آدم - صلوات الله عليه - إلى بعث نبينا محمد ﷺ في ألوف من السنين، وهم أم متكاثرة لا يعلمهم إلا ربّ العالمين، ومع هذا فهم نصف أهل الجنّة، فزِن كلامك بميزان الشرع لتعرف الخطاء!

٢٤ فقال ناصر الكبيسي: هذه المشاهد والقباب الموضوعة في اليمن إنما هي للاعتقاد في أهلها!

فقال السيّد أحمد: لا شكّ أنّه وقع من كثير من العامّة ومن هو قريب منهم من الخاصّة شيء من العقائد المفضية إلى الكفر والشرك، وتنوسي الشرع المحمّدي بسبب إهمال الملوك لذلك وعدم استماعهم لإرشاد أهل العلم، والدنيا مؤثرة في كلّ زمان ومكان، وأمّا خواصّ الأمة ففيهم طائفة من العلماء وغيرهم لا يزالون ما بقيت الدنيا قائمين بالحقّ، يحفظ الله بهم الشرع، فهم منزّهون عن الشرك، ولا يخلو قطر من الاقطار منهم، فلا يصحّ الحكم بالشرك على الأمة جميعها بسبب من جهل من عوامّهم ومن لم يتقيّد بالشرع من خواصّهم، ومن كفر مسلماً فقد كفر بنصّ الأحاديث.

وأما القباب والمشاهد، فهي بدعة منافية للشرع المحمّدي، لم يُحدثها على القبور سوى جهلة الملوك ومياسير العوامّ من غير مشاورة

لعالم، والباطل لا قيد له!

٢٥ فوجم ناصرالكبيبي وأحصر عن الجواب، ثم قال: يا أحمد، إنك لا تعرف الفرق بين الدينين!

فقال السيّد أحمد: لا إله إلا الله هي الفارقة بين الدينين، ويا سبحان الله! أمثلي يقال له هذا المقال؟ وإنما أنت محمول على السلامة لكونك ساكناً في البادية، وفي الحديث: من بدا فقد جفا،^١ وقد خاطب جفاة الأعراب سيّد الخليقة ﷺ بما كدرّ خاطره فصبر، ولنا به أسوة حسنة!

٢٦ ثمّ قال ناصر: أنت تعتقد نحلة ابن عربي، وهو يقول بوحدة الوجود ويصوّب فعل إبليس لما ترك السجود لآدم، وقد جعل العلماء المتقدّمون سؤالاً في ذلك، وأجاب علماء الإسلام من أهل عصره وغيرهم بكفره وكُفّر من اعتقد مذهبه.

فقال السيّد أحمد: هذا ابن عربي توفي سنة ستّ وثلاثين وسبع مائة، وبينك وبين زمانه فوق الخمس مائة من السنين، فهل شافهك بمثل هذه المقالة حتّى تهتك ما حرّم الله عليك من رمي مسلم بالكفر؟ ونحن من إسلامه على يقين، فلا ننتقل عنه إلا بمثله.

فقال ناصر: هذا الاعتقاد مذکور في كتبه صريحاً!

فقال له السيّد أحمد: وما يدريك أنّه قائله، فالاحتمال قائم على أنّه مدسوس عليه من بعض أعدائه، فاحكم على هذا الكلام إن ضاقت عليك وجوه التأويل أنّه كفر، ولا تحكم على ابن عربي أنّه كافر لأنّه لم

يصحّ لك طريق شرعية تجوز لك الجزم بكفره، ولو عرفت الحقيقة ما خضت في هذا المجال الذي يضيق عنه عطئك بكلّ حال، ولست من رجال هذه الطائفة، وأهل كلّ فنّ يُسلم لهم في فنّهم.

وأضرب لك مثلاً يليق بالمقام: رجل دخل السوق وعرف مخازنها وبضائعها وأسعارها وما اشتملت عليه من أنواع الفواكه والمعطر وغيرها، ورجل لم يدخل ذلك السوق، فضمّهما مجلس، فاندفع داخل السوق يحدث بما شاهده فيها ويصف الذي رآه، والذي لم يدخل السوق يعترض عليه فيما شاهده عياناً، فهل هذا شأن عاقل؟ بل يحكم عليه العقلاء بالجهل والسفه، لأنّه اعترض بما لا حقيقة لديه، وفي مثل هذا أنشدوا (من الخفيف):

فإذا كنت في المدارك غراً ثم أبصرت حاذقاً لا تماري
وإذا لم تر الهلال فسلم لأناس رأوه بالأبصار

٢٧ فقال ناصر الكبيبي: وأنت يا أحمد: أصحابك يقبلون يديك ورجليك ويخضع لك أصحابك خضوعاً لا يستحقّه إلا الله تعالى، وهذا عين الشرك، والتذلل نوع من العبادة، والعبادة لا تصحّ مخلوق!

فقال السيّد أحمد: إن كنت متقيداً بالشرع المحمّدي فاسمع ما أقول لك! قد صحّ في الحديث أنّ وفد عبد القيس لما وفدوا على رسول الله - صلى الله عليه وآله وسلم - قبلوا يديه ورجليه، وقد جمع بعض العلماء جزءاً لطيفاً في جواز تقبيل اليدين والرجلين، وأورد أحاديث جمّة قاضية بجواز تقبيل أيدي أهل البيت وأيدي غيرهم من العلماء،

وأما قولك إنَّ هذا عبادة، فلو عرفت معنى العبادة ما قلت هذا، العبادة في طريق، والتعظيم والأدب في طريق، فتعظيم العلماء واجب، قال الله تعالى: يَرْفَعُ اللَّهُ الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا مِنْكُمْ وَالَّذِينَ أُوتُوا الْعِلْمَ دَرَجَاتٍ،^{١٦} وقد قال صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَآلِهِ وَسَلَّمَ: ليس منّا من لم يعرف لعالمنا حقّه،^{١٧} ومن حقوق العالم التأدّب معه بتقويل يديه ومعرفة فضله، ومن عظم عالماً فقد عظم الله تعالى ورسوله صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَآلِهِ وَسَلَّمَ لأنّه حامل للشرع الشريف، فالتعظيم في الحقيقة تعظيم لما هو حامله، وقد ثبت حديث العلماء ورثة الأنبياء،^{١٨} وإذا كانوا ورثة الأنبياء كان للوارث ما للموروث من التعظيم، كما أنّ عليه ما عليه من تبليغ الشرع، على أنّ في الحديث أنّ الملائكة لتضع أجنحتها لطالب العلم،^{١٩} فإذا كانت الملائكة الذين هم خواصّ الله من خلقه تفرش أجنحتها، فما قولك في غيرهم ممّن لا يداني شيئاً من علوّ شأنهم؟

وجاء في الحديث القدسي أنّ النبيّ - صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَآلِهِ وَسَلَّمَ - قال حاكياً عن الله تعالى: من أراد أن يكرّمني فليكرّم أحبائي! فقال: ياربّ، من أحبّأؤك؟ قال: العلماء، - واعلم أنّ سادات الناس ثلاثة أصناف: الملائكة والأنبياء والسلاطين، وكلّهم عظموا العلماء، الملائكة لآدم، وموسى للخضر، وعزيز مصر ليوسف، ومن عظم ما عظمه الله

١٦ القرآن الكريم ١١/٥٨.

١٧ المعجم المفهرس ٤/١٤٠ ب.

١٨ المعجم المفهرس ٤/٣٢١ أ.

١٩ المعجم المفهرس ١/٣٨٥ أ.

فهو مؤمن، ومن استهان بذلك فهو خارج عن دائرة الايمان، والأعمال بالنيّات،^{٢٠} فمن قصد بذلك التعظيم امثالاً لأمر الله تعالى ورسوله صلى الله عليه وآله وسلم فقد فاز بالحسنى، ومن أراد معتقداً فاسداً وظهر لنا وجب علينا إرشاده إلى الصواب، ولا نقره على اعتقاده الفاسد، والترفع عن تعظيم ما يستحقه العلماء هو من الكبر، وقد قال الله تعالى: فَلَيْسَ مَثْوَى الْمُتَكَبِّرِينَ،^{٢١} أي جهنم.

فقال ناصر الكبيبي: أما نحن فعندنا مثل هذا شرك!

٢٨

فقال السيّد أحمد: سبحان الله! أورد لك الأدلة كتاباً وسنةً

وتقول: هذا شرك! هذا من الضلال البعيد!

فاستشاط ناصر من الغيظ وقال: إنّ الشرك تحت هذه العمّة، يعني

العمامة مشيراً إلى عمامة السيّد أحمد.

فتبسّم السيد أحمد وقال: إنّ كان الشرك ما هو في اعتقادك فلا

يضرنا نسبته اليّنا، وإن كان باعتبار ما عند الله فنحن على قدم راسخ

من التوحيد، وأنتم - بارك الله فيكم - عرفتم هذه النسخ التي يقال

لها الأصول والقواعد، وظننتم أنّ علم الكتاب والسنة هو ما اشتملت

عليه تلك المختصرات، وهذا من الجهل المركّب، وقد تولّى الله تعالى

حفظ دينه وشرعه الذي أرسل به رسوله - صلى الله عليه وآله وسلم،

وخلق له علماء دوّنوه في الدفاتر، وصار الشرع المحمّدي بعناية أهل

العلم محروساً من الزيادة والنقصان، ولو اطلّعت على ما اطلّع عليه

٢٠ المعجم المفهرس ٥٥/٧ ب.

٢١ القرآن الكريم ٢٩/١٦.

غيركم من العلم الواسع لظهرت لكم الحقائق ومشيتم على أوضح الطريق، ولكنكم ضيقتم على أنفسكم فضاقت عليكم المسالك، وقصرتم دين الإسلام على ما عرفتم، وزعمتم أنكم ناجون وغيركم هالك، وهذا من ضيق العطن وتحجر الواسع - فالله يهدينا وإياكم!

ثم قال ناصر: وأنت يا أحمد تفسر القرآن بغير ما دلّت عليه اللغة العربية، وقد قال الله تعالى: **إِنَّا أَنْزَلْنَاهُ قُرْآنًا عَرَبِيًّا**،^{٢٢} وهذا تحريف لكتاب الله تعالى!

فقال السيّد أحمد: حاشا لله تعالى أن يفسر القرآن بغير مدلوله الظاهر منه، وهذه تفاسيرنا للآيات معروفة، ونحمل النصوص على ظواهرها من اللغة العربية، ونرى أن العناية بالتفسير الظاهر لا بدّ منه، إذ لا مطمع في الوصول إلى الباطن قبل إحكام الظاهر، ومن ادعى فهم أسرار القرآن ولم يحكم التفسير الظاهر فهو كمن ادعى الوصول إلى صدر البيت قبل أن يتجاوز الباب.

ونحن بحمد الله ممن أحكم التفسير الظاهر، ولا ننكر أن في طيّ الآيات القرآنية إشارات خفية إلى دقائق تنكشف على أرباب السلوك، يمكن التطبيق بينها وبين الظواهر المرادة، ومعرفة ذلك من محض الإيمان وكمال العرفان، وعلى ذلك دلّ ما جاء في الحديث: **إِنَّ لِكُلِّ آيَةٍ ظَهْرًا** و**بطنًا** ولكلّ حرف حدًّا ولكلّ حدّ مطلعًا، قال أبو الدرداء - رضي الله عنه: لا يفقه الرجل كلّ الفقه حتّى يجعل للقرآن وجوهًا، وقال ابن مسعود - رضي الله عنه: من أراد علم الأوّلين والآخريين فليؤثر القرآن،

وقال باب مدينة العلم علم المصطفى عليّ بن أبي طالب - كرم الله وجهه: لو شئت أن أوقر سبعين بغيراً من تفسير القرآن لفعلت، وهذا لا يحصل بمجرد إحاطة الظاهر عن ظاهره، ولكن ظاهر الآية مفهوم منه ما جاءت الآية له ودلت عليه في عُرف اللسان العربي، وثمّ أفهام باطنة تُفهم من الآيات القرآنيّة لمن فتح الله تعالى قلبه، ومن اتقى الله علّمه ما لم يعلم.^{٢٣}

٣٠ فسكت الكبيسي ولم يهتد للجواب، ثمّ قال: يا أحمد، أنت تميم صلاة العصر وتؤخرها عن وقتها، وهذا لا يصحّ.

فقال السيّد أحمد: هذا لا نعتمده ولا نقصده حتّى يكون من إماتة الصلاة، ولا ندخل في الصلاة إلا في وقتها المضروب لها، لكن يقع التطويل فيها كما هو الهدي النبوي الذي كان عليه رسول الله - صَلَّى الله عليه وآله وسلّم، من أنّه^{٢٤} كان يشرع في الصلاة،^{٢٤} ثمّ يذهب الذاهب إلى قبا، وهي على نحو ميلين من المدينة، ويلحقه اللاحق وهو في أوّل ركعة من صلاة الظهر، والعصر على النصف من ذلك،^{٢٥} وقد صَلَّى أبو بكر - رضي الله عنه - صلاة الفجر بسورة البقرة، ولما سلّم من الصلاة قال له بعض الصحابة: كادت الشمس أن تشرق! فقال: لو أشرقت لم تجدنا غافلين! - ونحن لو غربت علينا لم تجدنا غافلين ولم نشتغل عن الصلاة بمال ولا بشيء من أمور الدنيا، بل

٢٣ قارن القرآن الكريم ٢/ ٢٨٢.

٢٤ «كان يشرع في الصلاة»، ناقص في آ، ل.

٢٥ المعجم المفهرس ٤/ ٢٤٨. أ.

هذا شأننا، ومن لم يعرف هدي المصطفى - صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَآلِهِ وَسَلَّمَ - في الصلاة يعترض بمثل هذا.

٣١ فقال الكبيبي: قد قال - صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَآلِهِ وَسَلَّمَ: من أمّ بالناس فليخفف! ^{٢٦}

فقال السيّد أحمد: هذ وضع الدليل في غير محلّه لأنّ من قال له هذا كان يصلّي المغرب بالأعراف وهي مائتان وست آيات، والأحاديث لا تناقض، والتخفيف أمر نسبي يختلف باختلاف حال المصلّين والمؤتمّين، ولكلّ حال مقام، وكان المصطفى ﷺ يدخل في الصلاة وهو يريد التطويل فيسمع بكاء الصبي فيقصرها لئلا تفتن أمّه. ^{٢٧}

وأصحابنا كلّهم أغراب على قدم التجرد ولا شغل لهم غير العبادة والتفرغ لها، فنحن نطيل بهم الصلاة وهم لا يرضون منا بغير ذلك ولا مشقّة عليهم في ذلك لأنّ الصلاة راحة لكلّ مؤمن، كما قال سيّد المؤمنين وإمامهم ﷺ: أرحنا يا بلال بالصلاة! ^{٢٨} وقد قال الله تعالى: وَإِنَّهَا لَكَبِيرَةٌ إِلَّا عَلَى الْخَاشِعِينَ، ^{٢٩} فهي لا تكبر عليهم، وليس بمعنى أنّها صغيرة في صدورهم ولكنهم لا يستثقلونها ولا يرونها إلا راحتهم العظمى لأنّها مناجاة بين العبد وربّه تعالى، وقد جاء في صفة المنافق أنّه

٢٦ المعجم المفهرس ٢/٥٠ ب.

٢٧ المعجم المفهرس ١/٢١٢ ب.

٢٨ المعجم المفهرس ٢/٣١٥ أ.

٢٩ القرآن الكريم ٢/٤٥.

لا يأتي الصلاة إلا دباراً وينقرها نقر الغراب.^{٣٠}

٣٢ ثم قال الكبيبي: ويقع منكم التأخير لصلاة المغرب الى قرب العشاء، وهذه بدعة والاشتغال بالركعتين قبل المغرب وتطويلها مخالفة للسنة.

فقال له السيد أحمد: أمّا تأخير صلاة المغرب، فنحن نحرم بالصلاة عند غروب الشمس، ولكن نطيلها عملاً بالسنة، فقد كان - صلى الله عليه وآله وسلم - يقرأ فيهما بالطور^{٣١} ويقرأ فيهما بكثير من طوال السور، كما هو معروف في محلّه، ولا علينا ولو دخل العشاء فإنّا في طاعة، وأمّا الركعتان قبل المغرب فهما سنة هجرها الناس، اجتمع فيها أنواع السنة الثلاث: من فعله وقوله وتقريره ﷺ، فنحن نراها من السنن، ولا نتركهما، وبمجرد ترك الناس لهما لا يلزمنا تركها، لأنّا لم نقل إنهما واجبان لا يمكن الإخلال بهما، بل هي سنة، فالإنكار متوجه على المنكر لسنتيهما لا على من فعلها، فاعرف ما تقول!

٣٣ فسكت الكبيبي، فقال له عبد الله بن سرور: نسيت ما عليه أصحابه - وكانت النسخة في يده.

فقال: نعم يا أحمد، أصحابك يفعلون منكرات! وأخذ النسخة وعدّها.

وكان السيد أحمد مسنداً ظهره على الكرسي الذي هو جالس عليه، فقعده في بحبوحة السرير وقال: اسمع مني أيها الرجل وخذ مني

٣٠ المعجم المفهرس ٢/١١٠٠٢.

٣١ القرآن الكريم ٥٣.

جواباً عن هذه الأمور مجملًا ومفصلاً تنتفع به في هذه الموارد

وتستضيء بنوره لأنك للمعارف العلمية فاقد!

فقال ناصر الكبيبي: هات!

فقال السيد أحمد: هل خير أصحابي أم أصحاب رسول الله ﷺ؟

قال الكبيبي: بل أصحاب رسول الله ﷺ، وهم خير القرون.

فقال السيد أحمد: هل قرأت القرآن؟

فقال: قرأته.

فقال: هل مرّ بك قوله تعالى: الزَّانِيَةُ وَالزَّانِي،^{٣٢} وَالسَّارِقُ

وَالسَّارِقَةُ،^{٣٣} وَمَنْ يَعْصِ اللَّهَ وَرَسُولَهُ،^{٣٤} وَلَا تَأْكُلُوا أَمْوَالَكُمْ بَيْنَكُمْ

بِالْبَاطِلِ،^{٣٥} لَا تَأْكُلُوا الرِّبَا أَضْعَافًا مُضَاعَفَةً،^{٣٦} وَلَا تَقْتُلُوا النَّفْسَ الَّتِي

حَرَّمَ اللَّهُ إِلَّا بِالْحَقِّ،^{٣٧} مَنْ يُشْرِكْ بِاللَّهِ فَقَدْ حَرَّمَ اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ الْجَنَّةَ،^{٣٨} إِنَّمَا

الْخَمْرُ وَالْمَيْسِرُ وَالْأَنْصَابُ وَالْأَزْلَامُ رِجْسٌ مِنْ عَمَلِ الشَّيْطَانِ.^{٣٩}

قال: نعم!

فقال السيد: هذه أمّهات الكبائر من المآثم، هل نزلت على أسباب

٣٢ القرآن الكريم ٢/٢٤.

٣٣ القرآن الكريم ٥/٣٨.

٣٤ القرآن الكريم ٤/١٤.

٣٥ القرآن الكريم ٢/١٨٨.

٣٦ القرآن الكريم ٣/١٣٠.

٣٧ القرآن الكريم ١٧/٣٣، ٢٥/٦٨.

٣٨ القرآن الكريم ٥/٧٢.

٣٩ القرآن الكريم ٥/٩٠.

أم مجرد عن ذلك؟

فقال ناصر: على أسباب.

فقال السيّد أحمد: العصمة مرتفعة عن غير الأنبياء - عليهم السلام، وكلّ بني آدم خطّاء، كما ورد في الحديث.^{٤٠}

٣٤ فعلى فرض صحّة ما تدّعيه لا يلزمنا التجسّس، بل نقول كما قال معلّم الشريعة: من أتى شيئاً من هذه القاذورات فليستتر بستر الله، ومن أبدى لنا صفحته أقمنا عليه حدّ الله تعالى، وجاء رجل الى ابن مسعود - رضي الله عنه - فقال: إنّ هاهنا شربة للخمر مغلقين على أنفسهم الباب، فقال: يا هذا! نهينا عن التجسّس.

ثم إنّ التكلّم بهذا ونسخه في رسالة وعدّه من المعائب علينا إثمه عليكم أكبر لأنّ التكلّم بمثل هذا معصية، وفي هذا الكلام ما هو قذف، وقد علمت أنّ الله تعالى يقول: فَإِذْ لَمْ يَأْتُوا بِالشُّهَدَاءِ فَأُولَئِكَ عِنْدَ اللَّهِ هُمُ الْكَاذِبُونَ،^{٤١} فمن روى شيئاً ممّا رقمتم في هذه النسخة بغير تمام النصاب الشرعي نقول له: أنت كاذب كما قال الله تعالى، وإن كان صادقاً فيما قال في نفس الأمر، لكن صدقه وحده في هذا كذب عند الله، فالقائل منكم أو من غيركم بهذا من غير إقامة نصاب الشهادة كاذب بنص كتاب الله.

٣٥ وأمّا الجواب التفصيلي فأصغ له بقلب حاضر!

٤٠ المعجم المفهرس ٤٢/٢ ب.

٤١ القرآن الكريم ١٣/٢٤.

إِعلم أنّ الله تبارك وتعالى له الخلق والأمر،^{٤٢} وخلق عباده ليعبدوه،^{٤٣} وقد قدرّ عنده مقادير خلقه في لوح محفوظ قبل أن يخلقهم بألفي عام، وعلم مآل عباده: مؤمنهم وكافرهم وطائعهم وعاصيهم وسعيدهم وشقيهم، واتّصف بصفات عليّة: الرحمن، الرحيم، الغفور، الغفار، الستار، العفو، الجبار، المنتقم وغير ذلك من أسمائه الحسنی الجمالیة والجلالیة، وخلق مع ذلك دارین داراً لمن أطاعه وداراً لمن عصاه، فوجود العاصي في الأرض والمعاصي محقق وقوعه، كما قالت الملائكة عند خلق أبي البشر يسألون عن حكمة خلق آدم: **أَتَجْعَلُ فِيهَا مَنْ يُفْسِدُ فِيهَا وَيَسْفِكُ الدِّمَاءَ وَنَحْنُ نُسَبِّحُ بِحَمْدِكَ وَنُقَدِّسُ لَكَ، قَالَ إِنِّي أَعْلَمُ مَا لَا تَعْلَمُونَ،**^{٤٤} فقطع الحقّ - جلّ جلاله - بهذا الجواب لسان الاعتراض.

فمحال أن لا توجد معصية من المكلفين ممن لم يعصمه الله تعالى من تكليف ما لا يطاق، لأنّه لو عدم العصاة من الأرض ما تبين فضل الطائعين، ولولا طروق الأسقام ما عرف فضل العافية، ولولا مسّ الجوع والظمأ ما عرف فضل الشبع والرى، ولولا وقوع الخوف ما عرف فضل الأمن، وعلى هذا التعداد: وبضدّها تبين الأشياء، ومع ذلك لو كان الناس كلّهم مطيعين لله تعالى لا يوجد منهم عاص لتعطّلت أكثر أسمائه الحسنی من المغفرة والرحمة والستر، فإنّها مظاهر آثار الذنوب،

٤٢ قارن القرآن الكريم ٥٤/٧.

٤٣ قارن القرآن الكريم ٩/٣١.

٤٤ القرآن الكريم ٣٠/٢.

ولكان خلق النار عبثاً.

٣٦ فقد اقتضت الحكمة الربانية وقوع المعاصي من المكلفين لا محالة لأنهم لا يستطيعون أن يقدروا الله حق قدره، وليس في قدرة المخلوق هداية الخلق أجمعين، فقد قال الله تعالى لرسوله عليه الصلاة والسلام: وَمَا أَكْثَرُ النَّاسِ وَلَوْ حَرَصْتَ بِمُؤْمِنِينَ^{٤٥} - وهذا هو سرّ القدر الكوني الذي من اطلع عليه من أفاضل العلماء وأكابر الأولياء استراح، وهو لا ينافي ما كُلفنا به شرعاً من الأمر بالمعروف والنهي عن المنكر، بل يُلزم كلّ مسلم الارشاد إلى ما أوجب الله تعالى والنهي عن كلّ منكر يعلمه والغضب لله في مخالفة أمره ونهيه، والهداية بيد خالقها، وقد علم المهتدي من الضالّ.

٣٧ ثمّ تكلم السيّد أحمد بكلام على سبيل الإرشاد يلين له الجماد ويهتزّ له من كان حاضر اللبّ والفؤاد، ممّا يضيق عنه قلم التعبير، وربّما كان إيرادُه فتنةً لمن لا يعرف الغوص في ذلك البحر الغزير، وينشد عند ذلك (من السريع):

ما لي وللبحر وأهواله أسترزق الله من الساحل

والأخ العزيز - دامت أيّامه - لا تخفاه تلك الأمور، وعنده من تلك الإشارات كنوز.

٣٨ ثمّ قال السيّد: ولا يحسن منكم تعداد ذنوب غيرنا قدحاً علينا

وجعلهُ من المعائب علينا، وكُلُّ نَفْسٍ بِمَا كَسَبَتْ رَهِينَةٌ،^{٤٦} ولو اطلعنا أصحابنا على ما تزعمون لما سكتنا عنهم ولقُمنا عليهم غضباً لله تعالى ولأرشدناهم الى التوبة، ولكن ما علمنا ذلك، ولا نخوض في هذا ولا يلزمنا الجواب عن هذه الامور، والكملاء نظرهم الى محاسن الاعمال، والناقصون يقصرون نظرهم على معائب الرجال.

فأطرق الكبيبي عند ذلك وغرق في بحر لا يحسن السباحة فيه،
ولا بلغ فهمه الى تلقي هذه المعارف، فحظّه منها السماع لها، لا الفهم لتلك اللطائف. ٣٩

وقال: بقيت مسألة واحدة: أنت وأصحابك تقولون: إنّ علوم الشرع هذه رسوم وقشر لا لباب فيه.

فقال السيد أحمد: هذا أوّل مجلس وقع الاتفاق بك فيه، فهل سمعت هذا منّي أو رواه لك ثقة عنّي؟ ومع هذا لا يصحّ لك الحكم علينا بما لم نقله!

فقال ناصر: الناس يقولون!

فقال السيّد أحمد: إنّ الشيطان يلقي على لسان من لم يتقيّد بالقيود الشرعيّة برمي الناس بما هم بريئون منه بهذه الكلمة: يقولون الناس، يقولون الناس، يقولون الناس!

فقال الكبيبي: يا أحمد، أصحابك يصرّحون بهذا.

فقال السيّد أحمد: لا تكثّر الهمهمة! إقطع الكلام! - إنّ العلم عندنا: قال الله، قال رسوله، وما هما غير الكتاب والسنة، وما كان من

العلوم العربيّة فكلّها توابع لذلك، لا يعرف الكتاب والسنة من لا يعرفها، لأنّ القرآن نزل بلغة العرب، وما كان من علوم الفروع فإنّه مستنبط منها، وهو لاحق بها، وحاصل الكلام أنّ ما دلّ عليه صريح الكتاب والسنة بطريق الدلالات المعتبرة في الشرع من حكمٍ أصلي أو فرعي وجب العملُ به وإرشاد الناس اليه، وما خالف الكتاب والسنة من أي علم كان، كما هو المشاهد من كتب الرأي المحض وما عليه الفلاسفة من تحكيم عقولهم ومن دان بدينهم بما لا يطابقه عقل ولا يوافقه شرع فهو من الرسوم التي لا يحلّ لمؤمن أن يدين الله بذلك.

٤٠ والعصبية في اتباع المذاهب وتحزّب أهلها أحزاباً وتضليل بعضهم بعضاً حتى صاروا كأنّهم ملل مختلفة - كما يعرف ذلك من عرف أيام الناس واطّلع على مؤلّفاتهم - فهذا لا نرضاه ونهى كلّ مسلم عنه لأنّهم أمة واحدة، خير أمة،^{٤٧} ونبیّهم واحد، وكتابهم واحد، وقبلتهم واحدة، فأتى يكون التفرّق والتعصّب؟ ولم نزل ننقّر الناس عن هذا في بلاد الحرمين وغيرها - والحمد لله على كلّ حال!

ما من حادثة تقع في الدنيا إلا لها منزع من كتاب الله تعالى: **أَوْكَمْ يَكْفِيهِمْ أَنَا أَنْزَلْنَا عَلَيْكَ الْكِتَابَ يُتْلَىٰ عَلَيْهِمْ**،^{٤٨} والسنة هي شرح الكتاب، عرف ذلك من عرفه وجهله من جهله، ولا يستطيع أحد أن يردّ علينا صحّة هذا القول، ولكن أكثر الناس آثروا الخلق عن الحقّ، وظهر آثار ذلك في الكون باختلاف الأحوال ووقوع التعادي بينهم: **وَمَا**

٤٧ قارن القرآن الكريم ٣/ ١١٠.

٤٨ القرآن الكريم ٢٩/ ٥١.

رَبُّكَ بِغَافِلٍ عَمَّا يَعْمَلُونَ،^{٤٩} ولكنه يمهّل ولا يهمل .

٤١ فسكنت شقاشق الكبيري، ولم يدر ما يقول، وقال: وقد دنت الشمس للغروب وبقيت في النفس أشياء!
فقال السيّد الطيّب بن محمّد: إن غربت أتينا بالفوانيس والسرّج وتتمّ اعتراضاتك، فانشد (من البسيط):

وابن اللبون إذا ما لُزّ في قرنٍ

لم يستطع صولة البزل القناعيس^{٥٠}

فما أصغى سمعاً لذلك بل قام من الموقف وتفرّق الجمع .

وأذن المؤذن للمغرب، فتقدّم السيّد أحمد وصلّى بالناس، وبعد انقضاء الصلاة دخل بيته، واستدعى بالسيّد عليّ بن محمّد، والسيّد موسى بن حسن، والشيخ عبد الله، والسيّد الطيب وأنا معهم .

٤٢ ولما جلسنا بين يديه قال لنا: ظهور الجهل وذهاب العلماء من أشرط الساعة، وانظروا ما وقع من هذه الأمور التي ما كنت أحبّها واستوجبها صنيعهم، وهم مساكين قد جمدوا على ظواهر من الشرع وعرفوا جزئيات من العلوم وضلّوا من خالفهم فيها، وليتهم إذا لم يعلموا وعُلموا فهموا، وإذا ضلّوا وأرشدوا قبلوا، ولكنهم غير ملومين على المكابرة والعناد، وذلك شأن الجاهلين! – وأكثر الحكايات ممّا جرى عليه من المناظرة والمراجعة بين علماء المغرب عند خروجه من بلده^{٥١} من

٤٩ القرآن الكريم ٦/١٣٢ .

٥٠ ديوان جرير .

مدينة فاس بجامع القرويين^{٥١} وأيام إقامته بمكة، وأنه يشكر نعمة الله عليه أنه ما قام معترض أو مجادل إلا فلجّه بالحقّ الواضح وأسكته بالحجة.

٤٣ ثمّ إنّه أصبح الصباح ووصلنا إليه على جاري المعتاد بعد انبساط الشمس للدرس، فما استقرّ المجلس إلا والأمير عليّ بن مجثّل وثلاثة نفر من حاشيته واصلون لزيارة السيّد أحمد، فوصل وصافح السيّد أحمد، فاستدعى له بسرير، وجلس عليه بجانب سرير السيّد أحمد، فما زال يلاطف السيّد أحمد بالكلام، والسيّد يملي عليه الأحاديث التي فيها القوارع والزواجر، ويفنّن له أنواع الوعظ بالترغيب تارةً وبالترهيب أخرى، ويخوفه بخطر المقام الذي هو فيه إن لم يقع منه المشي على المنهج الشرعي والتحكيم للشرع في الأقوال والأفعال واتّباع سنّة الخلفاء الراشدين في الحال والمقال.

٤٤ وقام بعد ذلك كاتب الأمير الفقيه عليّ بن يحيى وناجي السيّد أحمد بقوله: إنّ الأمير مراده أن يتكلّم معك في البيت، فدخل السيّد واستدعى بالأمير، ودخلنا في جملة من دخل، ثمّ اندفع الأمير يعتذر من الأمر الجاري عليه من مطاوعته من سوء الأدب معه، وأنه ما كان قصده بهذا، وأتماّ غلبوا على رأيه، وقد ولّاهم أمره في الأحكام الشرعيّة ولا يمكن منه مخالفتهم.

فقال له السيّد أحمد: أنت في هذا المقام ولا ينبغي لك أن تطاوع

٥١ «من مدينة فاس بجامع القرويين»، آ؛ «من بلدة مدينة القيروان»، ب؛ «من بلدة مدينة القيروان»، ل.

من لا يعرف من العلم إلا اسمه في التحري على العلماء، وقد جاء في الحديث: ما من خليفة أو أمير إلا له بطانتان: بطانة خير تأمره بالخير وتحثه عليه، وبطانة تأمره بالشر وتحثه عليه، فعلمة بطانة الخير أن يهدي إلى الأمير محاسن الناس ويتقرب إليه بما ينفعه عند الله، وعلامة بطانة الشر أن ينقل إلى أميره معائب الناس ويتبع عورات المسلمين.^{٥٢}

وأنت يلزم عليك أن تسند أمورك إلى عالم قد أخذ العلم عن أهله وترتب للطلب بين أيدي المشايخ وشهد له العلماء بالسبق في المعارف، وهم موجودون، في الحاضرين في مجلسنا من هو بهذه الصفة، ولو سألت لعثرت على الحقيقة، منهم أخونا فلان، وأخونا فلان وأخونا فلان، وعدد جماعة، وأما هؤلاء المطاوعة، فهم يخبطون خبط عشواء، ولا يحل لك أن تقلدهم في الأمور الشرعية، فإنهم يوردون الفتاوى والأحكام عن غير خطام ولا زمام.

فسكت الأمير، وقال: نحن على عزم لجهاد هذه الطائفة من الترك في أبي عريش.

فقال له السيد أحمد: في أبي عريش طائفة من أهل البيت النبوي، أبوهم رسول الله ﷺ الذي يدعو الناس إلى القيام بشرعه، وفيهم العلماء ورثة الأنبياء، وناس فضلاء وما لا يُحصون من المتصفين بالإسلام حقًا، وهؤلاء الذين هم من الترك في أبي عريش إنما هم عسكري رتبة، والبلاد نظرها لصاحب مصر، فكيف تقاتلهم على هذا الوجه؟ والله سبحانه وتعالى قد منع خير خلقه - عليه الصلاة والسلام

– من دخول مكة عام الحديبية لأجل أن يطوف بالبيت، نظراً لمن فيها من المؤمنين، قال الله تعالى: **وَكُولا رِجالٌ مُؤْمِنُونَ وَنِساءٌ مُؤْمِناتٌ لَمْ تَعْلَمُوهُمُ أَنْ تَطُوهُمْ فَتُصِيبِكُمْ مِنْهُم مَعْرَةٌ بِغَيْرِ عِلْمٍ لِيَدْخِلَ اللهُ فِي رَحْمَتِهِ مَنْ يَشَاءُ لَوْ تَزَيَّلُوا لَعَذَّبْنَا الَّذِينَ كَفَرُوا مِنْهُمْ عَذَاباً أَلِيماً،**^{٥٣} فانظر كيف منع الله رسوله ﷺ من دخول مكة وأهلها كفار لأجل من فيها من المؤمنين خشيةً أن تصيبهم المعرة، أي المشقة، فكيف لا يراعى من الكثير منهم بهذه الصفة من الإيمان، والمطلوبون إنما هم ثلثة يسيرة؟

فقال الامير: لا بدّ أن نذهب إليهم، فمن خرج من بينهم أسلمناه، ومن بقي فهو مثلهم وقتلناه! وقام الأمير من المجلس.

فهذا حاصل ما وقع من المراجعة، رقمناه، وبعد رقمه أمليناه على شيخنا السيّد أحمد بن إدريس، وحينما طلبتم نقله نقلناه لكم وذكرنا لكم الأسباب الموجبة لهذه المناظرة، وتفضّلوا أعرضوا ذلك على والدكم شيخنا وكافة أهل الحلقة! والسلام عليكم ورحمة الله، وصلى الله على سيّدنا محمد وآله وسلّم، سبحانك اللهم وبحمدك، لا إله إلا أنت، أستغفرك وأتوب إليك.^{٥٤}

٥٣ القرآن الكريم ٤٨/٢٥.

٥٤ «كتبه الفقير لمولاه حسن بن أحمد بن عبد الله عاكش في جمادى الثانية سنة ١٢٤٥ هجرية»، زيادة في آ.

THE DEBATE OF AḤMAD B. IDRĪS
WITH THE JURISTS OF °ASĪR (1248/1832)

COMPILED BY

ḤASAN B. AḤMAD °ĀKISH AL-ḌAMADĪ

(1)

Ḥasan b. Aḥmad b. °Abd Allāh al-°Amrī who is in need of God Most High and bears the surname °Ākish—God grant him forgiveness, amen—says:

Praise be to God, the Lord of creation, and blessings and peace be upon our master Muḥammad, the trustworthy agent, and upon his family, the pure ones, and his Companions one and all. And now to our purpose:

It was requested of me by the brother, the sayyid, the highly learned authority, the noble attainer of higher reality, splendor of Islam, light of mankind's eye, Muḥammad, the son of our shaykh the imam, banner of those who know the Koran by heart and those who are eminent, the Shaykh of Islam, Sayyid °Abd al-Raḥmān b. Sulaymān al-Ahdal¹—may God extend his days and prolong his sojourn in felicity—that I set forth a description of the debate which occurred in the month of Jumādā II in the year 1248 between our divinely inspired shaykh, the Friend of God famous throughout the lands and seas, the knower of God Most High, who combines the two sciences of the *sharī°a* and the mystic path, my lord, the highly learned Sayyid Aḥmad b. Idrīs al-Maghribī—may God give us profit through his blessings—and the highly learned jurist Nāṣir b. Muḥammad al-Kubaybī al-Jūnī² and some jurists of °Asīr, the latter being °Abd Allāh b. Surūr al-

¹ Muḥammad b. °Abd al-Raḥmān b. Sulaymān al-Ahdal (1210-58/1790-1842), on whose behalf °Ākish wrote the *Munāẓara*, was a scholar who specialized in grammar and rhetoric. He wrote (a) *Ḥāshiya °alā sharḥ al-madhkhal fī'l-ma°ānī*, possibly a gloss on a work by °Ākish, and (b) *Ḥāshiya °alā sharḥ al-qaṭr*; °Umar Riḍā Kaḥḥāla, *Mu°jam al-mu°allifīn*, Damascus, 1957-61, X, 142; and Zabāra, *Nayl al-waṭar*, II, 283. His father was a distinguished scholar with whom Ibn Idrīs stayed twice before coming to reside in °Asīr.

² AD note 55; from Rujāl Alma°; died 1249/1833, leaving behind a manuscript collection. Cf. also the translated extract from *Ta°rikh °Asīr* in Introduction, 35.

Yāmī³ and °Abbās b. Muḥammad al-Rufaydī⁴—since, as good fortune brought it to pass, I was present on that occasion and am capable of swimming in the fathomless depths of that sea [the debate]. For God Most High graciously bestowed upon Ṣabyā the arrival of our above-mentioned shaykh in the month of Sha°bān 1245,⁵ and this was one of God's greatest favors to the region.

(2)

His intention had been to reside in Abū °Arīsh with our lords the sherifs, the Āl Ḥaydar—may God prolong their days—because they were the people most worthy of him. However, the governor of this district was the sherif °Alī b. Ḥaydar and he had numerous Turkish and Nizām-soldiers⁶ with him and since the actual cause of Ibn Idrīs' departure from Mecca the honorable was an occurrence involving these troops under the leadership of one of the sons of the sherif Ghālib b. Musā°id,⁷ the governor thought it best not to assist someone who had departed because of these troops. Ibn Idrīs told us this in person when one of the sherifs sent us to invite him to visit them and to ask him why he refused to come.

At that time Ṣabyā was under the rule of the emir °Alī b. Mujaththal. Ibn Idrīs chose it for his residence, and the emir granted him a generous sustenance⁸ and in so doing acquired high honor and good reputation. When Ibn Idrīs settled there, he became the Ka°ba of all those seeking God, and people thronged about him from every district and at every time and moment, so that Ṣabyā's days were illuminated with lights and the pride of her eminent men spread to all other places. How fine are the words of the poet who said:

³ AD note 56; from °Asīr; a supporter of the *da°wa* of Muḥammad b. °Abd al-Wahhāb and a student of Ḥasan b. Khālid al-Ḥāzimī (Introduction, 33).

⁴ AD note 57; from °Asīr; also mentioned in the translated extract from *Ta°rikh °Asīr* in Introduction, 35. AD gives no other information about him; he plays no further role in the *Munāzara*.

⁵ B and C give this date, i.e. January-February 1830; A gives Sha°bān 1244/October-November 1828. To add to the confusion, °Ākish (*Ḥadā°iq al-zahr*, MS, fol. 69) has Ramaḍān 1245/February-March 1830; this is the same year but one month earlier; Nu°mī also has 1245. We prefer the year 1245 as it allows for Ibn Idrīs' various travels along the Red Sea coast.

⁶ Cf. *EI* (2), s.v. 'Nizām-i djedid'.

⁷ See Introduction, 33.

⁸ Ibrāhīm, *Madrasat Aḥmad b. Idrīs*, 64 n. 4, quotes Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-°Aqīlī (*Ta°rikh al-Mikhla°f al-Sulaymānī*, Riyadh 1982, II, 619) to the effect that °Alī b. Mujaththal granted Ibn Idrīs a *rātīb* from the *mamlaha* of Jizān; cf. also Nu°mī, *Ta°rikh °Asīr*, 182; and Introduction, 34f.

If you take a look at places, you find them
wretched or happy, the way you find men at large.

(3)

When he had settled down here, a large crowd joined him from the land of Jabart⁹ and the Sudan and from elsewhere. Among the notables with him was a group, the worthiest of whom in status was his nephew the highly learned Sayyid al-Ṭayyib b. Muḥammad b. Idrīs,¹⁰ as well as the highly learned shaykh, the attainer of higher reality, °Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-°Abbās,¹¹ Shaykh Muḥammad al-Hamīm,¹² Shaykh Ibrāhīm al-Khuzāmī,¹³ Shaykh Muḥammad al-Barnāwī,¹⁴ and Shaykh Ibrāhīm al-Rashīd.¹⁵ These were the most eminent persons in his assemblies and the elite among his disciples. And also present with him was a group of religious scholars from the Tihāma, one of whom was myself.

(4)

He held two assemblies a day, one after dawn until midday, and one after the afternoon prayer until he performed the *maghrib*-prayer. At both these times there were masses of people on hand, and he scattered before them the pearls of his insights mornings and afternoons in accordance with the station of the questioners, and bestowed an answer on everyone of them in accordance with the person's spiritual capacity.¹⁶ His mode of expression was so attractive, it would soften stone. After his assembly was concluded, there was a special assembly for his disciples in which some Sufi books were read out loud, such as the *Tā'īyya* of Ibn

9 Eritrea and northern Ethiopia.

10 No further information.

11 Otherwise unidentified. He may be the same person to whom Ibn Idris wrote an intimate letter about his departure from the Ḥaramayn for the Yemen; Thomassen & Radtke, *Letters*, 167-75.

12 Likewise unidentified.

13 Unidentified; *B* has al-Ḥāzīmī.

14 O'Fahey, *Enigmatic Saint*, 42 & 83.

15 Lived 1228-1291/1813-74; *ALA*, I, 153-5.

16 *Qābiliyya*; cf. Radtke, 'Sufism in the 18th century', 336 n. 112.

al-Fāriḍ¹⁷ and the commentary on it by Qayṣarī,¹⁸ and the *Fuṣūṣ*¹⁹ and the commentary on it by Jāmī.²⁰

(5)

I was present with the disciples during these talks and Ibn Idrīs' sayings were collected, though without serious care and caution. Indeed, rabble from among the people were also attending this assembly and they took these sayings to be theopathic utterances.²¹

Meanwhile, the jurist °Abd Allāh b. Surūr was residing in Ṣabyā and he attended the assemblies on most occasions. His nature was such that he had an aversion to these words and recoiled from them. He would pose questions, and on behalf of those present I undertook to answer his questions in order to explain the saying in a way his mind could grasp. But the rabble on hand imputed to whatever they heard a different meaning contrary to the context. Their case is as in the words: 'Whoever offers knowledge to persons unfit for it, will himself perish and cause others to perish.' And in the *Sunan* of Ibn Māja it is transmitted from the Messenger, God's blessings and peace be upon him and upon his family: 'Conveying knowledge to those who are unfit for it is like adorning swine with a necklace of pearls.'²² And the Commander of the Faithful °Alī b. Abī Ṭālib—God honor his countenance in Paradise—said: 'Never have I reported to a group of people a *ḥadīth* which they had not heard before without it causing discord among them.'

(6)

Any person endowed with such divine knowledge as distinguishes between the categories of good and bad is in no doubt that the Sufi community possesses its own special terminology which is only understandable to someone who is firmly grounded in religious learning. Only someone God has supported through

17 On the *Tā'īyya* cf. Th. Emil Homerin, *From Arab Poet to Muslim Saint. Ibn al-Fāriḍ, His Verse, and His Shrine*, Columbia 1994, *passim*, but especially 38-40.

18 On Qayṣarī cf. Homerin, *Arab Poet*, 28f.

19 Ibn al-°Arabī, *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam*, trans. R.W.J. Austin, *Ibn al'Arabi: The Bezels of Wisdom*, Mahwah 1980, Introduction, 16ff.

20 °Abd al-Raḥmān b. Aḥmad al-Jāmī (d. 1492), *Naqd al-nuṣūṣ*; see GAL, I, 442 & II, 207, S I, 793 & II, 285.

21 *Shaṭḥāt*: cf. Carl W. Ernst, *Words of Ecstasy in Sufism*, Albany 1985.

22 Wensinck, *Concordance*, II, 86b; cf. Ibn Māja, *Sunan*, 'Muqaddima', 17.

the light of understanding will arrive at understanding its deeper meanings.

For this reason certain doctrines were attributed to the most honorable Ibn Idrīs which would be rejected by anyone who has halted at the externals of the people of divine knowledge. But anyone who is acquainted with the usage of the Sufis knows that these doctrines are in conformity with the Sunna and the Koran. In reality, nothing comes forth from Ibn Idrīs but floods of science and dazzling insights because he is one of the firmly grounded, divinely inspired religious scholars. Praise be to God that I have attended upon him! From him I obtained knowledge of the mystic path and through his spiritual insights I came to discover the very cream of higher reality. He is the God-inspired teacher of this Muḥammadan community and the Pivot of the circle of Aḥmadian Friendship with God. None of the people of his era has attained its scope and no religious scholar of his age is adorned with the ornaments of his higher insights. Indeed, he has plunged into a sea of sciences whose Euphrates is an unfathomable depth.²³ But put aside what others who were against him have said and listen to my words, for no one can inform you as well as the person who knows.

(7)

The jurist °Abd Allāh b. Surūr is one of those who know the precious Book by heart. He had studied something of the theological sciences with the religious scholars of the Tihāma and attended upon Sayyid Ḥasan b. Khālid²⁴ for a while and studied with him. Nevertheless, he did not possess the intelligence to distinguish between what is known and what is imaginary. He had made °Asīr his home and adhered to the creed of the Najdī sect,²⁵ declaring the entire Muḥammadan community great idolaters without differentiating between someone who professes one God

²³ The image is probably based on the fact that the Euphrates pours its great current of sweet water into the sea of the Persian Gulf; also occurs in Hifẓī's letter; see § 6, above.

²⁴ See Introduction, 33; AD note 119 remarks: 'He was born in 1188/1774-5. He studied first with Shaykh Aḥmad b. °Abd Allāh al-Ḍamadī [i.e., Ḥasan °Ākish's father]. He was proficient in the two sciences of *tafsīr* and *ḥadīth*, and was vizier to the shērīf Ḥamūd b. Muḥammad al-Ḥasanī. He championed and promoted the *da'wa* of Muḥammad b. °Abd al-Wahhāb, endeavoring energetically to spread its doctrine of suppressing innovation in the Tihāma. He wrote treatises and other works, and died in °Asīr in 1234/1818.'

²⁵ *Al-ṭā'ifa al-najdiyya*, i.e. the Wahhābis; °Ākish's manner of speech indicates that he was not an adherent of the Wahhābiyya. The Wahhābis themselves often called their movement *da'wat Muḥammad b. °Abd al-Wahhāb* or *al-da'wa al-salafiyya*.

and an idolater who believes that his profit and loss lie elsewhere than with God Most High.²⁶ Under their previous emirs various battles had taken place as a result of this belief, and rivers of blood had been unleashed in the region of the Tihāma. This has been recorded in the histories of the scholars of Yemen and is known through unbroken transmission by any intelligent person since it did not happen all that long ago.²⁷

(8)

The jurist °Abd Allāh heard the above-mentioned words from some of those participants in the assemblies of our shaykh Sayyid Aḥmad b. Idrīs—may God give us profit through him! He examined these words in light of the level of his own knowledge and was convinced that they deviated from his creed and that they did not form part of the sciences of religious law which he or the people of his country adhered to.

He continually questioned me about what he heard, and I gave him such counsel as would protect his religion and his honor, and be of profit to him. But he saw that I would not accept that anyone lay blame on our shaykh, and he would not listen to what I said. He continually declared that Sayyid Aḥmad believes in the doctrines of Ibn al-°Arabī²⁸ concerning ‘union’ and ‘incarnation’,²⁹ in the sense that God Most High incarnates Himself in every form and becomes united with it, that this is unbelief, and is the doctrine of the Christians—but God is elevated far above this—and that this is the doctrine of our above-mentioned shaykh.

(9)

Then he wrote a text in which he enumerated³⁰ his objections against our shaykh. It included the following:

—That he believes in this ungodly sect [Ibn al-°Arabī’s school].

—That his disciples honor him with forms of submission such as are only due to God Most High: they kiss his hand, they carry

²⁶ On the Wahhābī *taḳfīr* °āmm, cf. Peskes, *Muḥammad °Abdalwahhāb*, 27 & 29; on *shirk akbar* see *ibid.*, 86-9; and the poems by Shawkānī cited in the Introduction, n. 73.

²⁷ Introduction, 30-32.

²⁸ Throughout the *Munāzara* always written Ibn °Arabī.

²⁹ On Ibn Idrīs’ position concerning *hulūl* and *itihād*, cf. Radtke, O’Fahey & O’Kane, ‘Two Sufi Treatises’, 158.

³⁰ As mentioned in the Introduction, 43, there is no specific condemnation of the controversial *dhikr*- and *samā*°-practices.

him on a bench whether he enters or leaves his house, and out of respect and esteem they are not content for him to walk on the ground³¹—that this is pure idolatry because no one but God Most High deserves to be honored with this kind of worship, and that his disciples practice idolatry by acting this way and that giving them his consent for this is a sin.

—That belief in the doctrines of Ibn al-°Arabī completes the infidelity of his disciples, as indeed a group of religious scholars had declared Ibn al-°Arabī an unbeliever because of these doctrines.³²

—And that Sayyid Aḥmad interprets the Koran differently from what the Arabic language means, in a way other than what the sense of the words requires, irrespective of their various contexts.³³

—And that he extends the afternoon prayer until the sun becomes pale and the prayer of *maghrib* draws near to the evening prayer, this by means of prolonging the two *rak°as* before the *maghrib*-prayer. Both these practices are prohibited.³⁴

—And that some of his disciples keep company with young men and approve of consorting with handsome beardless youths, and at times some of them commit indecent acts.³⁵

—And that there are those among them who meet alone with women unrelated to them by family ties,³⁶ and do not refrain from such steps as are a preliminary to fornication.

—And there are those among them who hold the sciences dealing with religious law to be worthless and who vilify what the scholars of Islam have written concerning the theory and application of the law.³⁷

These are calamitous matters which it is not proper to remain silent about, nor is it permissible for the ruler to ignore them.

31 Here, § 27.

32 Here, § 26.

33 Here, § 29.

34 Here, §§ 30-32; on the earlier history of this controversy see S.M. Wasserstrom, 'The delay of Maghrib: A study in comparative polemics', in R.M. Savory & D.A. Agius (eds.), *Logos Islamikos*, Toronto 1984, 269-84.

35 Here, §§ 33-36; a standard accusation levelled against Sufis; cf. Joseph N. Bell, *Love Theory in Later Hanbalite Islam*, Albany 1979, 23-9; and Michael Winter, *Society and Religion in Early Ottoman Egypt*, New Brunswick 1982, 114 and *passim*.

36 Cf. Ibn Abī Zayd al-Qayrawāni, *al-Risāla*, 'Bāb fi'l-ḥiṭra wa'l-khitān': 'A man must only be alone with a woman with whom he has close ties of consanguinity.' See also Bell, *Love Theory*, 28-9.

37 Here, §§ 39-40.

(10)

And when the jurist ʿAbd Allāh b. Surūr had written these matters down in a letter, he sent it to the emir ʿAlī b. Mujaththal. The emir undertook to send it to the highly learned Shaykh Ibrāhīm b. Aḥmad [al-Ḥifzī] al-Zamzanī, the overlord of Rujāl Alma^c, who is one of the firmly grounded religious scholars.³⁸ After reading the letter he advised the emir to ignore what was in the letter and to tear it up,³⁹ and that the emir should not listen to any of this talk but should stop the author of the letter from meddling in matters beyond his level of understanding. But the emir paid no heed to what he said, and his *muṭāwi*^c^a⁴⁰ such as the jurist Nāṣir al-Kubaybī treated his words with disdain. Indeed, it was Kubaybī who undertook to affirm these objections [against Ibn Idrīs] and he conceived of this as coming to the aid of religion. It reached the point where the emir sent a letter to Sayyid Muḥammad b. Ḥasan b. Khālid, the governor of Ṣabyā,⁴¹ to the effect that those disciples of Sayyid Aḥmad who did any of the things mentioned above should be expelled from Ṣabyā and sent away to distant parts. But the governor did not approve of this action, and he and some religious scholars of the district consulted with the emir again concerning this intention.

The above-mentioned Nāṣir al-Kubaybī maintains an ample claim to learning but he has no substance to support the validity of this claim. None the less, his pretence has found a ready market among those who are unacquainted with realities. If only he knew that had he studied with someone capable of guiding him to what is right, he would cast off⁴² from himself what he presently believes.

(11)

What ensued only happened after the emir had come from al-Sarāt on his way to wage war against Abū ʿArīsh.⁴³ When he ar-

38 See Introduction, 39; and the letter of Ibn Mujaththal.

39 Introduction, 39; the letter of Ḥifzī shows that ʿĀkish is not telling the truth.

40 This is the plural of *muṭawwi*^c, a Wahhābī official whose job is to make sure Muslims observe correct religious and moral practice in everyday life; see Dozy, s.v.; Introduction, 39; as well as *El*, s.v. 'Mutaṭawwi'a', at the end of the article; and Amin al-Rayḥānī, *Mulūk al-ʿArab*, II, 86f., who describes religious and social conditions in the 1920s.

41 According to Nu^cmi (*Taʿrīkh ʿAsīr*, 174), he was appointed governor (ʿāmil) of Ṣabyā in 1245/1829-30; he was a son of the famous vizier Ḥasan b. Khālid.

42 *Min ḥāliq* also found in Sanūsī, *Īqāz al-wasnān*, 33, 5.

43 Nu^cmi (*Taʿrīkh*, 180f.) gives Rabī^c I 1248/August 1832 as the beginning of the campaign.

rived in Ṣabyā, he reopened the examination of this case. Then Nāṣir al-Kubaybī rose and said to the emir: 'I will engage the sherif Aḥmad b. Idrīs in a debate and I will put before him these matters which the brother ʿAbd Allāh b. Surūr has reported about him and his disciples.'

(12)

After the emir had installed himself in Ṣabyā, he summoned all the religious scholars of the Mikhlāf and those who were present in Ṣabyā. Those on hand from among the most eminent were: the highly learned Sayyid Yaḥyā b. Muḥsin al-Nuʿmī,⁴⁴ the highly learned Sayyid ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-ʿAqīlī al-Ḥāzīmī,⁴⁵ the highly learned Sayyid ʿĪsā b. ʿAlī,⁴⁶ the highly learned judge ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Subaʿī,⁴⁷ the highly learned judge Aḥmad b. ʿAlī,⁴⁸ the highly learned Sayyid Aḥmad b. ʿAlī al-ʿAdwān,⁴⁹ the highly learned Sayyid Ismāʿīl b. Shubayr [Shibbīr],⁵⁰ the highly learned Sayyid ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Shūsh,⁵¹ the excellent Sayyid Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbduh,⁵²

44 AD note 186: born and grew up in the village of al-Dahnāʾ in al-Mikhlāf al-Sulaymānī; studied with his father; then studied in Ṣanʿāʾ and Mecca. He died 1261/1845; see notice in ʿĀkīsh, ʿUqūd al-durar, MS; also mentioned in Nuʿmī.

45 AD note 188: born 1201/1786. He studied with Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḍamadī (ʿĀkīsh's father) and al-Ḥasan b. Khālid al-Ḥāzīmī; travelled to Zabīd, Ṣanʿāʾ and Mecca, then settled in Ḍamad. He died in 1252/1836; see notice in ʿĀkīsh, ʿUqūd al-durar, MS and Zabāra, *Nayl al-waṭar*, II, 160-1. Nuʿmī gives his name as ʿAlī b. ʿAqīl al-Ḥāzīmī.

46 AD note 189: ʿĪsā b. ʿAlī al-Ḥāzīmī; grew up in the village of Ṣalḥaba near Ṣabyā; studied with Muḥammad b. ʿAqīl al-Ḥāzīmī (*supra*), al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad ʿĀkīsh, Ibn Idrīs, etc. He resided in Zabīd and was a specialist in *ḥadīth* studies. He died in 1274/1857; see notice in ʿĀkīsh, ʿUqūd al-durar, MS, fol. 75; also mentioned in Nuʿmī.

47 AD note 190: from the village of al-Rujayʿ (?) to the west of Ṣabyā. He studied in Ṣaʿda, was a specialist in *farāʾīd* and stayed with Ibn Idrīs during the latter's years at Ṣabyā. He died in 1256/1840; see notice in ʿĀkīsh, ʿUqūd al-durar, MS; Nuʿmī gives his name as ʿAbd Allāh al-Subaʿī.

48 Not identified by Abū Dāhīsh, note 192; also mentioned in Nuʿmī.

49 AD note 194: born 1206/1791 in the village of al-Dahnāʾ in al-Mikhlāf al-Sulaymānī; studied with Ḥasan b. Khālid al-Ḥāzīmī and Ḥasan b. Aḥmad al-Bahkalī. He died in 1253/1837; see notice in ʿĀkīsh, ʿUqūd al-durar, MS; Nuʿmī gives his name as Aḥmad b. ʿAlī ʿAdwān.

50 AD note 196: Ismāʿīl b. Shibbīr al-Nuʿmī. ʿĀkīsh says of him: 'Master of ʿIthūd, he was a noble, learned, exalted sayyid. He studied with al-Ḥasan b. Khālid al-Ḥāzīmī from whom he acquired most of the sciences; he was learned in *fiqh* and knew Tradition. He died, I believe, in the year 1258/1842-3'; ʿUqūd al-durar, MS, fol. 30; Nuʿmī gives his name as Ismāʿīl b. Bashīr.

51 Not identified by AD, note 198; Nuʿmī gives his name as ʿAlī b. Muḥammad Shawīsh.

and the jurist Muḥammad b. °Abduh al-Ḥāzimī,⁵³ as well as other jurists of the region.

(13)

I was one of those obliged to attend this assembly and I did so. When the above-mentioned religious scholars appeared before the emir, he summoned the jurists among them and three of them presented themselves. They were Nāṣir al-Kubaybī, °Abd Allāh b. Surūr and °Abbās b. Muḥammad al-Rufaydī. And then the emir spoke, to the effect that:⁵⁴ 'I have brought you together because you are aware of our commitment to preaching Islam, and you know that we shall continue to do so by renewing the profession of God's oneness and destroying idolatry. This is a letter which the *muṭawwi*⁵⁵ °Abd Allāh b. Surūr has written. It reports on current happenings which oppose belief in God's oneness and vilify Islam and its adherents. My purpose is for you to examine the letter. Indeed, we will only speak and act in conformity with what the religious scholars advocate.' Then the letter in question was made public at that gathering and the jurist °Alī b. Yaḥyā, the emir's secretary, read it out loud.

(14)

After the latter had read it out in full, the emir said: 'What have you to say?'

Then Sayyid °Alī b. Muḥammad °Aqīl was first to reply, saying: 'These are not things which have arisen from Sayyid Aḥmad b. Idrīs!'

At that Nāṣir al-Kubaybī objected and said: 'Do not say Sayyid Aḥmad. The only *sayyid* [lord] is God. Say Sherif Aḥmad or Aḥmad b. Idrīs!'

And °Alī b. Muḥammad replied: 'The Messenger of God, God's blessings and peace be upon him, said about his grandson al-Ḥasan: "This offspring of mine is a *sayyid*."⁵⁶ And he said to

52 AD note 200: from the village al-°Adāya, one of the villages of Wādī Baysh. According to °Ākish, he possessed an abundant portion of science, devoted himself to worship and lived in obscurity (*khumūl*), engaging in agriculture to earn his sustenance. He died in 1275/1858; °Ākish, °*Uqūd al-durar*, MS; also mentioned in Nu°mī.

53 AD note 202: not identified with certainty.

54 Introduction, 35f.

55 See n. 40, above.

56 Wensinck, *Concordance*, III, 16b; Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 'Ṣulḥ', 9.

the Anṣār when Sa°d b. Mu°adh⁵⁷ approached: "Stand up before your *sayyid!*"⁵⁸ The use of the word *sayyid* is widely current in the religious law; one does not have to guard against using it.

The emir then interrupted him and said: "This is not what we are here to discuss. But go on, °Alī. What were you about to say?"

(15)

Then °Alī b. Muḥammad said: 'I came to know Ibn Idrīs during the days of my residence in Mecca in 1237.⁵⁹ He is one of the greatest religious scholars in all the Islamic lands, and has no equal, so far as I know, with regard to his knowledge of the legal sciences and the sciences of higher reality. No one in this day and age is a match for him, and that includes our shaykhs such as Sayyid °Abd al-Raḥmān b. Sulaymān,⁶⁰ the judge °Abd al-Raḥmān b. Aḥmad b. al-Bahkalī⁶¹ the overlord of Bayt al-Faqīh,⁶² and the other religious scholars of their generation from the south and the north.

Similarly, the religious scholar of Ṣan°ā°, the judge Muḥammad b. °Alī al-Shawkānī⁶³ who became acquainted with him through correspondence, has lavished praise on him and advised people to obtain as much of his learning as possible. He asserted that this knowledge is new and not something anyone possessed before. — This I saw in the written reply he sent to Sayyid °Abd al-Raḥmān b. Sulaymān.

⁵⁷ AD note 226; Ṣafādī, *Wāfi*, XV, 152 no. 204.

⁵⁸ Wensinck, *Concordance*, III, 17b.

⁵⁹ *Al-Muntaqā al-naḥīs fī manāqib quṭb dā°irat al-taqdīs mawlā al-sayyid Aḥmad b. Idrīs* (Cairo 1960, 16) has 1234/1818-19. This is a compilation by Ṣāliḥ al-Ja°farī from various sources, mainly printed, but pages 1-27 present materials collected primarily from Yemeni and Sanūsī manuscript sources by Muḥammad b. °Alī al-Idrīsī, Ibn Idrīs' great-grandson and founder of the Idrīsī state of °Asīr. The section compiled by al-Idrīsī was completed in Cairo on 24 Sha°bān 1321/26 November 1903; *ALA*, I, 165 no. 17.

⁶⁰ See *Munāzara*, § 1; this is the father of the person at whose request °Ākish composed the present work; cf. also O'Fahey, *Enigmatic Saint*, 81-5.

⁶¹ AD note 238: born in Ṣabyā 1182/1768; educated by his father and Aḥmad b. °Abd Allāh al-Ḍamadī, then went to Ṣan°ā° and studied there with the most famous shaykhs. He became *qāḍī* of Bayt al-Faqīh in the Tihāma and wrote several books; died 1248/1832. Cf. *Zabāra*, *Naḥl al-waṭar*, II, 23; °Ākish, °Uqūd al-durar, and *Ḥadā°iq al-zahr*; *Shawkānī*, *al-Badr al-ḥālī*, I, 318-22; and O'Fahey, *Enigmatic Saint*, 87f.

⁶² A region in the southern Tihāma.

⁶³ AD note 242: 1173-1250/1759-1834; cf. O'Fahey, *Enigmatic Saint*, 83; *GAL*, S II, 818f.; and Introduction, 19-22.

In the same connection we may mention the memorizer of the Koran Sayyid °Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Amīr,⁶⁴ his brother the attainer of higher reality, Qāsim b. Muḥammad,⁶⁵ and the latter's nephew, the highly learned Yūsuf b. Ibrāhīm.⁶⁶

Now if men like these religious scholars who have ascended to the peak of *ijtihād*—indeed everyone of them has written on the science of Islam and is a discriminating imam—have lowered their heads to Ibn Idrīs in respect and submitted to him,⁶⁷ then who are Nāṣir al-Kubaybī and °Abd Allāh b. Surūr al-Yāmī whose relation to Ibn Idrīs is like the relation of schoolboys to brilliant scholars among the men of learning? Their disapproval of Sayyid Aḥmad is therefore reprehensible, and you should not give them support in this.'

(16)

And when Sayyid °Alī b. Muḥammad had spoken thus, the emir turned to Sayyid Yaḥyā b. Muḥsin and said: 'What do you have to say? These religious scholars have all spoken their mind, and this religion knows no favoritism.'

Then Sayyid Yaḥyā b. Muḥsin said: 'This man is as °Alī b. Muḥammad has said. He holds the rank of men like [Ja°far] al-Šādiq and [Muḥammad] al-Bāqir among the members of the Prophet's family. You have been honored by his coming to your land. But now by this action you have muddied the water at the watering-place. If you think it is not right for him to reside in the region under your control, simply inform him and he will depart. Indeed, he left the most noble of places [Mecca] on account of an incident more trivial than this.⁶⁸ In whatever direction he heads, he will be received with honor. But it is not proper that men such

⁶⁴ AD note 248: 1160-1242/1747-1826; see Kaḥḥāla, *Mu°jam*, VI, 110; and Husayn b. °Abdullah al-°Amri, *The Yemen in the 18th & 19th Centuries*, London 1985, 68. His death-date would either imply that Ibn Idrīs came to the Yemen earlier than most sources state or, more probably, that they met in the Ḥaramayn; cf. also O'Fahey, 'Games, dancing and handclapping', 125 & n. 8.

⁶⁵ AD note 250: 1166-1246/1753-1830-1; O'Fahey, 'Games, dancing and handclapping', 125 & n. 8.

⁶⁶ I.e. two sons and a grand-nephew of the Yemeni scholar Muḥammad b. Ismā°il al-Kaḥlānī, known as Muḥammad al-Amīr (1099-1186/1688-1768); more information in *GAL*, S II, 556; and Kaḥḥāla, *Mu°jam*, IX, 57. °Amri also refers to an °Alī b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Amīr (d. 1219/1804); *Yemen*, 118, 124-5 & 183.

⁶⁷ One finds the passage 'I knew Ibn Idrīs... and submit to him' in Ja°farī, *al-Muntaqā al-naḥīs*, 16.

⁶⁸ Introduction, 27; the reason for Ibn Idrīs's departure from Mecca appears to be known to those present and is only referred to obliquely.

as us, or these brethren who are your *muṭāwiʿa*,⁶⁹ open the gates of opposition to him, for he swims in a sea which we are incapable of entering. He who knows his own capacity does not come to ruin, whereas this is opposition from someone who does not know against someone who knows. And that is ignorance pure and simple.’

(17)

And ʿAbd Allāh al-Subaʿī, who had a violent temper, said: ‘Right now in your presence, before these religious scholars, I want to examine Nāṣir and ʿAbd Allāh b. Surūr! I will only ask them about external aspects of the legal sciences relating to the rules of ritual purity and the times for prayer. If they answer me correctly, I will know that they are religious scholars who have a right to bear the name of jurist. If they prove incapable with regard to my examination, I will know that they are not fit to examine Sayyid Aḥmad who is an inexhaustible sea.’

After all this another religious scholar approved of this view and for his part spoke in confirmation of what the first three men of distinction had said.

(18)

Then ʿAbd Allāh b. Surūr, who was a thoughtless man, became angry. He turned to the emir and said: ‘These persons agreed among themselves to say these words before they came here!’ And he turned to the others who were present and said: ‘You religious scholars of the Tihāma, are you not angered at the reprehensible things that have arisen from the disciples of Sayyid Aḥmad? Your belief is in saintly men [not in God],⁷⁰ and you are in fear of Sayyid Aḥmad, not in fear of God!’

Then one of those present said to him: ‘This talk is foolishness. Anger on behalf of God Most High concerns what is reprehensible, whereas Sayyid Aḥmad does what is good. You have confused what is good with what is reprehensible. And you want to be given assistance against the good. We stand aloof from confirming what is false and from giving approval to a creature when he angers the Creator. In any case, we recognize that faults have been fabricated against this highly distinguished imam, and the fabricator will speedily be punished. As far as our allegedly

⁶⁹ See n. 40, above.

⁷⁰ Cf. the letter of Ibn Mujaththal, and Peskes, *Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-wahhāb*, 25; this is a typical Wahhābī reproach. See also § 24, below.

fearing him, he bears no spearhead or sword in his hand. Rather, the weapons he uses to combat the obstinate are the proofs from the Sunna and the Book, and the arrows of his prayers which do not miss the person who merits them. There is a *ḥadīth* which says: 'Whoever harms a friend of Mine, I shall declare war on him.'⁷¹ And if the religious scholars are not friends of God Most High, then no such friend exists in the world. And whoever struggles against God Most High in combat is bound to perish.

(19)

Then the emir said: 'We have no use for your quarreling, oh my *mutāwi*^{°a}.⁷² I enjoin upon you to come this night with Nāṣir al-Kubaybī and °Abd Allāh b. Surūr and then the debate between Sayyid Aḥmad and the two of them will be held in your presence. The truth is greater [more important] than any one person. We will not allow anyone in our land to follow falsehood, and the rope of religion is firm!' Following this obligatory invitation, the assembly dispersed.

(20)

When the appointed time arrived, the emir designated a group of his close associates from °Asīr to be present during the debate. They came and were surrounding the jurist Nāṣir al-Kubaybī and the jurist °Abd Allāh but when they arrived, Sayyid Aḥmad was already seated on a bench. In front of him were those religious scholars from the Tihāma whom we have mentioned and all his students. When the others arrived, they shook his hand and surrounded his bench on all sides. The jurist Nāṣir sat down in front of his bench. On the eastern side was Sayyid Muḥammad b. Ḥasan b. Khālīd⁷³ and Sayyid °Arrār b. Muḥammad⁷⁴ as well as many sayyids of the Mikhlāf and eminent men of the Banū Shu[°]ba,⁷⁵ and on the western side were the common people.

(21)

When the people in the assembly had settled down—and there were many men on hand—the jurist Nāṣir al-Kubaybī cleared his

71 Wensinck, *Concordance*, IV, 157b; and Shawkānī, *Qaṭr al-walī*, 229.

72 See note 40, above.

73 The governor of Ṣabyā mentioned above.

74 AD note 314; Introduction, 29.

75 See Arthur Kinahan Cornwallis, *Asir before World War I: Asir handbook*, Cairo 1916, reprint New York-Cambridge 1976, 39.

throat and began an admonitory sermon after their usual fashion and praised the missionary zeal of the Najdī [Muḥammad b. °Abd al-Wahhāb]. The rhetorical exordium of his talk was that the people had been in a pagan state of ignorance, worshipping idols and declaring licit things which are forbidden. Thus Muḥammad b. °Abd al-Wahhāb had devoted himself to proclaiming [the true] Islam.⁷⁶

(22)

Then Sayyid Aḥmad interjected: 'The truth of the matter is: God sent His Messenger Muḥammad b. °Abd Allāh—the best of God's blessings and peace be upon him—for he is the one who redeemed the people from ignorance and bore the burdens of prophethood and prescribed the laws of Islam.'

Kubaybī replied: 'Muḥammad b. °Abd al-Wahhāb is the renewer of Islam!'

Sayyid Aḥmad said: 'We do not deny his virtue and his noble intentions in what he undertook. Indeed, he eliminated reprehensible innovations and new practices. But he spoiled his missionary activity by exceeding the proper bounds: he declared Muslims who believe in God Most High to be infidels and allowed their blood to be shed and their property to be confiscated without any legal proof.'⁷⁷

Kubaybī said: 'He only did what was right!'

Then Sayyid Aḥmad b. Idrīs said: 'He was one religious scholar among others, and no one enjoys infallibility but the prophets.⁷⁸ At times he was mistaken and at times he was right. When he was right he received a double reward, whereas when he was mistaken he received a single reward.⁷⁹ His mistakes are pardonable, but following him as an authority with regard to his mistakes is not permitted. For that is what God Most High assigned to him in accordance with the extent of his knowledge, whereas you, because of your ignorance, are cut off from adopting his proof and from awareness of the highroad he proceeded along.'

⁷⁶ See Peskes, *Muḥammad b. °Abdalwahhāb*, 17f. & 27ff.

⁷⁷ See Peskes, *Muḥammad b. °Abdalwahhāb*, 18 and especially 32f., as well as the Index, s.vv. *tafīr*, *shirk*, *shirk akbar*.

⁷⁸ Cf. *Radd*, § 7.

⁷⁹ Cf. Wensinck, *Concordance*, I, 390a. A paraphrase of the *ḥadīth* on *ijtihād* referred to in *Radd*, § 48; cf. n. 109.

(23)

Then Kubaybī said: 'The greatest idolatry⁸⁰ had spread over all the lands, and all the people had forsaken the faith of Islam in the east and in the west, in the south and in the north. If Shaykh Muḥammad [b. °Abd al-Wahhāb] had not renewed Islam, the people would be lost in the darkness of unbelief!'

And Sayyid Aḥmad replied: 'God Most High protect us from such a thought! That was not at all what Muḥammad b. °Abd al-Wahhāb believed! You are a young man, whereas I met Sa°ūd b. °Abd al-°Azīz⁸¹ in Mecca as well as the religious scholars of his entourage, the offspring of Shaykh Muḥammad b. °Abd al-Wahhāb: °Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad⁸² and his brother Ḥusayn,⁸³ and Sulaymān.⁸⁴ They are religious scholars who understand what a proof is and they adhere to the requisites of a clear procedure. However, their belief is not what you believe in, and they are free from what you attribute to them. You have grown up in a region where there are only common people and you have not known a person who could guide you to what is correct. Indeed [verse]:

You have committed something to memory, but other things have escaped you.⁸⁵

As for the judgement that the Muḥammadan community in its entirety in every Islamic country is engaged in the greatest idolatry and universal error, there are cogent proofs to refute this. Indeed, the Chosen One, God's blessings and peace be upon him, has informed us that his community will make up half the dwellers in Paradise.⁸⁶ And this despite the fact that the succession of centuries since Adam — God bless him and grant him peace — up to the mission of our Prophet Muḥammad, God's blessings

⁸⁰ See n. 77; that the Muslim lands themselves were in a state of *shirk akbar* in the view of the Wahhābis was the justification for their taking military action.

⁸¹ See AD note 342 and *EI* (2). In Wahhābī sources he is called Sa°ūd al-Kabīr and was the third imam of the Wahhābis.—On Ibn Idrīs's encounter with him, cf. O'Fahey, *Enigmatic Saint*, 66 & 68f.

⁸² AD note 346; the eldest son of Ibn °Abd al-Wahhāb; succeeded his father as *qāḍī*, etc.; died in 1224/1809. Cf. also Peskes, *Muḥammad b. °Abdalwahhāb*, 172 n. 31.

⁸³ AD note 344: 1165-1243/1751-1827; Peskes, *Muḥammad b. °Abdalwahhāb*, 172. He was deported to Egypt in 1818.

⁸⁴ AD note 347; not a son but a grandson of Ibn °Abd al-Wahhāb; the son of °Abd Allāh. Cf. Peskes, *Muḥammad b. °Abdalwahhāb*, 172; he was shot in 1233/1818 by order of Ibrāhīm Pāshā.

⁸⁵ Abū Nuwās, *Dīwān* (ed. Bahjat °Abd al-Ghafūr al-Ḥadithī), Baghdad 1980, 76.

⁸⁶ Wensinck, *Concordance*, III, 124b.

and peace be upon him, amounts to thousands of years,⁸⁷ during which time so many nations lived that only the Lord of creation knows their number. None the less, the Muslims will make up half the dwellers in Paradise. So weigh your words in the scale of religious law and you will know your error!

(24)

Then Nāṣir al-Kubaybī said: 'These tombs and funerary cupolas have been built in the Yemen because people believe in those buried in them!'⁸⁸

Sayyid Aḥmad replied: 'There is no doubt that among many of the common people and those of the elite who are close to them, there are beliefs which lead to infidelity and idolatry, and that the Muḥammadan religious law has been neglected through indifference on the part of rulers and their not heeding the advice of the religious scholars. In every time and every place people have had a preference for the world.⁸⁹ None the less, among the elite of the Muslim community there is a group of religious scholars and others as well who will not cease to stand up for the truth, as long as the world exists. Through them God preserves the religious law, and they are free from idolatry. There is no country where they are not to be found. It is not right to deliver a judgement to the effect that the entire Muslim community is engaged in idolatry because of those common people who are ignorant and those elite who do not adhere to the religious law. Whoever declares a Muslim to be an unbeliever is an unbeliever himself according to the textual authority of the *ḥadīth*.⁹⁰

As for the cupolas and the tombs, they are a reprehensible innovation which contravenes the Muḥammadan law. They have only been erected over graves by ignorant rulers and the well-off among the common people who have not consulted with a religious scholar. There is no restriction on falsehood!'

⁸⁷ For Ibn Idrīs's teaching about the age of the world see *al-°Iqd al-nafīs*, 5; on the subject in general see Radtke, *Weltgeschichte*, 236.

⁸⁸ On this issue see Thomassen & Radtke, *Letters*, 164; Peskes, *Muḥammad b. °Abdalwahhāb*, 25; Ibn °Abd al-Wahhāb names *ghulūw fī'l-°šāliḥīn* as grounds for *takfīr* or *kufūr*; cf. § 18 and n. 70 above; as well as Shawkānī's attitude, Introduction, 20f.

⁸⁹ An echo of K 87/16: 'Nay but you prefer the present life.'

⁹⁰ Cf. Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 'Adab', 73; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, '°Imān', 3; Mālik, *Muwaṭṭa'*, 'Kalām', 186 (1); and Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, II, 18 & 44.

(25)

At that Nāṣir al-Kubaybī was lost for words and could not give an answer. Then he said: ‘Oh Aḥmad,⁹¹ you do not know the difference between the two religions.’⁹²

And Sayyid Aḥmad said: “‘There is no god but God!’” That is the difference between the two religions. But for the sake of God! How can anyone say such words to someone like me? Verily, you are afforded protection because you live in the desert. It says in the *ḥadīth*: “Whoever lives in the desert is coarse.”⁹³ Some coarse nomads addressed the lord of creation—God’s blessings and peace be upon him—in a way which annoyed him but he exercised forbearance. We will follow his good example!’

(26)

Then Nāṣir said: ‘You adhere to the sect of Ibn al-°Arabī. He taught the doctrine of the unity of existence and he approved of Iblīs refusing to bow down to Adam.⁹⁴ Earlier religious scholars have already raised questions concerning this, and the religious scholars of Islam of his day and others besides responded by declaring him and those who follow his doctrines to be unbelievers.’⁹⁵

And Sayyid Aḥmad replied: ‘Ibn al-°Arabī died in the year 736,⁹⁶ which means that more than five hundred years lie between you and his time. Has he personally told you of these doctrines so that you would violate God’s prohibition to accuse a Muslim of unbelief? For our part, we are absolutely sure Ibn al-°Arabī was a Muslim. Nothing contrary to this has been transmitted to us from him.’

Nāṣir said: ‘These doctrines are clearly mentioned in his books!’

Sayyid Aḥmad replied: ‘What makes you certain that he professed them? There is always the possibility that they were foisted

91 He continues to address him only as Aḥmad.

92 From Ibn Idrīs’ answer: ‘There is no god but God!’, it would appear that the two religions in question are monotheism (*tawḥīd*) and polytheism (*shirk*).

93 Wensinck, *Concordance*, I, 351a; Tirmidhī, *Sunan*, ‘Fitan’, 69/2256; Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*, ‘Ṣayd’, 4/2859; Nasā’ī, *Sunan*, ‘Ṣayd’, 24; and Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, I, 357.

94 Usually attributed to al-Ḥallāj; see van Ess, ‘Eine Ehrenrettung des Satans und ihre Folgen’, *Die Welt des Islams*, XI, 1967-8, 223ff.; and Peter Awn, *Satan’s Tragedy: Iblīs in Sufī Psychology*, Leiden 1983; see also Meier, ‘Das sauberste’, 86 (*Bausteine*, II, 708/*Essays*, 330).

95 Introduction, 41.

96 In fact Ibn al-°Arabī died in 636/1240; *B* gives the correct date.

upon him, they kissed his hands and his feet.¹⁰⁰ Indeed, a particular religious scholar has compiled a small work on the permissibility of kissing the hands and the feet,¹⁰¹ and he cites numerous *ḥadīths* ruling that it is permissible to kiss the hands of members of the Prophet's family and the hands of some religious scholars as well. As for your saying this is worship, if you understood the meaning of worship, you would not say that. Worship is one matter, and showing respect and politeness is another matter. Showing respect to religious scholars is a duty. God Most High has said: "He will raise up in rank those of you who believe and have been given knowledge" (58/11). And the Prophet, God's blessings and peace be upon him, said: "Whoever does not acknowledge what is due to our religious scholar is not one of us!"¹⁰² The religious scholar has the right to be treated politely by having his hands kissed and by having his superiority recognized. Whoever shows respect to a religious scholar shows respect to God Most High and His Messenger—God's blessings and peace be upon him—because the scholar is the bearer of the noble law. Thus in reality the respect is respect for what the scholar bears. A firmly established *ḥadīth* says: "The religious scholars are the heirs of the prophets."¹⁰³ If they are the heirs of the prophets, the same respect is due to the heir as is due to that which is inherited—just as the heir has a special duty to transmit the law. Likewise in the *ḥadīth* it says that the angels extend their wings over the student of religious learning.¹⁰⁴ If the angels, who are God's elite in His creation, spread their wings [over them], what do you think others should do who do not come anywhere near the rank of the angels?

And a divine *ḥadīth* which the Prophet, God's blessings and peace be upon him, recounted from God Most High says: "Whoever wishes to honor Me let him honor the ones I love!" And the Prophet asked: "Oh Lord, who are the ones You love?" He said: "The religious scholars."¹⁰⁵ — Know that the leaders of the people are of three kinds: the angels, the prophets, and the

100 For the kissing of the Prophet's hands by the °Abd al-Qays see Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*, 'Adab', 149. Abū Dāhish says (note 407) that he could find no reference to this episode in the *Sira* of Ibn Hishām or in the *Zād al-ma'ād* of Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya.

101 An unidentified work.

102 Wensinck, *Concordance*, IV, 140b; and Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, V, 323.

103 Wensinck, *Concordance*, IV, 321a; e.g., Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, "ʿIlm", 10; and Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*, "ʿIlm", 1; cf. *Radd*, § 26.

104 Wensinck, *Concordance*, I, 385a; and Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*, "ʿIlm", 1.

105 We have not found a source for this.

rulers. All three of them have shown respect to the religious scholars: the angels to Adam, Moses to Khādir, and the °Azīz of Egypt to Joseph. And whoever respects what God respects is a believer. Whoever has contempt for this is outside the circle of the faith. And works depend on their intentions.¹⁰⁶ Thus whoever pursues this form of showing respect in obedience to the command of God Most High and the Messenger, God's blessings and peace be upon him and upon his family, will attain the best outcome. And if someone adheres to a corrupt doctrine and we are made aware of this, then it is our duty to guide him to what is correct and not to allow him to remain attached to his corrupt belief. And being too haughty to show the religious scholars the respect they deserve is arrogance. And God Most High has said: "How bad is the place where the proud will dwell!" (16/29)—namely, in Hell!

(28)

Then Nāṣir al-Kubaybī said: 'As far as we are concerned, something like this is idolatry!'

Sayyid Aḥmad replied: 'Good God! I cite the proofs for you from the Book and the Sunna and you say: "This is idolatry!" Here we have extreme error!'

Nāṣir flared up in anger and said: 'There is surely idolatry under this turban', and he pointed at the turban of Sayyid Aḥmad.

Sayyid Aḥmad smiled and said: 'If idolatry is what you believe it to be, it does us no harm to have it attributed to us. But if it is what it is in the eyes of God, then our profession of God's oneness stands on a firm footing. As for you [the Wāḥḥābīs]—God bless you—you are familiar with texts entitled *The Rudiments* and *Basic Principles*, and you imagine that knowledge of the Book and the Sunna consists of what is contained in these summaries. This is compounded ignorance.¹⁰⁷ God Most High has taken it upon Himself to preserve His religion and His law which He sent [us] through His Messenger, God's blessings and peace be upon him! For this reason He created religious scholars who have recorded it in books.¹⁰⁸ Thus, due to the solicitude of

¹⁰⁶ Wensinck, *Concordance*, VII, 55b; cf. Bukhāri, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 'Bad' al-wahy', 1 and *passim*.

¹⁰⁷ See parallels in *Radd*, § 11; Ibn Idrīs blames the Wāḥḥābīs for an attitude which they themselves—and above all Ibn °Abd al-Wāḥḥāb, the founder of the movement—sharply criticized in their opponents; cf. Peskes, *Muḥammad b. °Abdalwāḥḥāb*, 42f.

¹⁰⁸ *Radd*, § 4.

the people of learning the Muḥammadan law has been protected from additions and deletions. If you [the Wahhābīs] were cognizant of the accommodating religious learning which others possess, the realities would be apparent to you and you would proceed along the clearest path. But you have imposed restrictions on yourselves and the roads have become narrow for you. You have reduced Islam to what you are aware of and you claim that you are the saved ones, whereas all others shall perish. This amounts to narrow-mindedness and the hardening of accommodation. But God guides us and guides you!

(29)

Then Nāṣir said: ‘And oh Aḥmad, you interpret the Koran in a manner which does not accord with what the Arabic language means. God has said: “Verily, We have sent down to him an Arabic Koran” (12/2). And this is corruption of the Book of God Most High!’

Sayyid Aḥmad replied: ‘God Most High forbid that we should interpret the Koran other than according to its external sense. Moreover, our interpretation of the Koranic verses are generally accepted. We construe the texts in accordance with their external meanings in the Arabic language and we are of the opinion that attention to the external interpretation is indispensable, for there can be no hope of arriving at the internal meaning without first establishing the external sense. Whoever claims to have understanding of the secrets of the Koran but has not mastered the external interpretation, is like someone who claims to have reached the heart of the house before passing beyond the door.

Praise be to God—we are among those who have mastered the external interpretation. On the other hand, we do not deny that in the midst of the Koranic verses there are hidden indications of subtle matters which are revealed to the masters of the mystic path. And it is possible to accommodate these with the intended external meanings. Insight into this is based on pure faith and perfected divine knowledge. This is confirmed by what has been transmitted in the *ḥadīth*: “Every Koranic verse has an external and an internal aspect, and every letter has a limit and every limit a starting point.”¹⁰⁹ Abū’l-Dardā³,¹¹⁰ God be pleased with him, said: “A man has not fully understood all of jurisprudence until

¹⁰⁹ Not found in Wensinck, *Concordance* or other sources; cf. O’Fahey, *Enigmatic Saint*, 196 n. 7-8; and Ibn Idrīs, *al-‘Iqd al-naḥīs*, 245f.

¹¹⁰ Well-known Companion of the Prophet; died 31/651-2 or 32/652-3.

he can ascribe [other] significances to the Koran.” And Ibn Mas°ūd,¹¹¹ God be pleased with him, said: “Whoever seeks the knowledge of the ancients and the moderns, let him choose the Koran!” And that gateway to the city of knowledge—knowledge of the Chosen One—°Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, God honor his countenance, said: “If I wanted to load up seventy camels with Koranic commentaries, I could do so.” But this is not the case when one merely grasps its external meaning. To understand the external sense of the Koranic verse is to know why it was revealed and what it means in the normal usage of the Arabic language. Then there are hidden meanings in the Koranic verses which can be understood by a person whose heart has been illuminated by God Most High. “Whoever has fear of God, God will teach him what he does not know.”¹¹²

(30)

At that Kubaybī remained silent and could not find an answer. Then he said: ‘Oh Aḥmad, you render the afternoon prayer invalid by the fact that you extend it beyond its proper time, and this is not right.’¹¹³

Sayyid Aḥmad replied: ‘It is not our intention or our purpose to render the ritual prayer invalid. We begin the ritual prayer at its prescribed time but then it becomes lengthened in accordance with the practice adopted by the Messenger himself, God’s blessings and peace be upon him! Thus the Messenger began the prayer when someone set out to go to Qubā, which is about two miles from Medina. When the man came back, the Prophet was still performing the first *rak°a* of the noonday prayer and the hour of the afternoon prayer arrived when the noonday prayer was only half over.¹¹⁴ And Abū Bakr, God be pleased with him, used to recite during the dawn prayer the surah *al-Baqara*. When he brought the prayer to a close, one of the Companions said to him: “The sun is almost shining with its full brightness!” He replied: “Though it were shining with its full force, you would not find us negligent!” — For our part even if the sun were to set while we were praying, you would not find us negligent. We are not distracted from ritual prayer by wealth or by anything to do with worldly matters. No, this is where our interest lies. Whoever

¹¹¹ Well-known Companion of the Prophet; died 32/652.

¹¹² Cf. *Radd*, § 5.

¹¹³ Here, § 32.

¹¹⁴ AD note 494; cf. Wensinck, *Concordance*, IV, 248a.

is unfamiliar with the way the Chosen One performed his prayers, God's blessings and peace be upon him, raises objections of this kind.'

(31)

Kubaybī replied: 'The Messenger of God, God's blessings and peace be upon him, said: "Whoever leads people in prayer should keep it short!"'¹¹⁵

And Sayyid Aḥmad said: 'This is presenting a proof out of its context because the person he said this to was reciting the surah *al-A'raf* during the *maghrib*-prayer and that consists of 206 verses. The *ḥadīths* do not contradict one another. Shortening ritual prayer is a relative matter which depends on the situation of those who are praying and following the prayer leader. Every situation has its proper procedure. The Chosen One, God's blessings and peace be upon him, had begun the ritual prayer and intended to draw it out but then he heard the crying of a little boy and he shortened the prayer so that the mother would not have to suffer.'¹¹⁶

All our disciples are foreigners who are exclusively committed to God and have no other occupation but worship and full involvement with it. Therefore we lengthen the ritual prayer for them and this is precisely what they want us to do. This causes them no hardship because ritual prayer is refreshment for every believer, as the lord and imam of the believers himself said, God's blessings and peace be upon him: "Oh Bilāl,¹¹⁷ give us refreshment through the ritual prayer!"¹¹⁸ And God Most High has said: "This is difficult indeed, but not for those who are humble" (2/45). Thus the ritual prayer is not difficult for them [our disciples]. This does not mean that it is a light matter in their hearts. None the less, they do not find it a burden, but see it rather as the greatest refreshment for themselves because it is an intimate conversation between the bondsman and his Lord. The hypocrite, on the other hand, has been described as arriving for the ritual prayer when it is over and merely picking at it like a crow.'¹¹⁹

¹¹⁵ Wensinck, *Concordance*, II, 50b.

¹¹⁶ Cf. Wensinck, *Concordance*, I, 212b.

¹¹⁷ Well-known Companion of the Prophet and first *mu'adhdhin*; died 17-21/638-42.

¹¹⁸ Wensinck, *Concordance*, II, 315a.

¹¹⁹ Wensinck, *Concordance*, II, 110a; cf. Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, II, 265 & III, 247.

(32)

Then Kubaybī said: 'It happens that you extend the *maghrib*-prayer until it is almost time for the evening prayer. This is reprehensible innovation, and being preoccupied with the two *rakʿas* of prayer before the *maghrib*-prayer and lengthening them is contrary to the Sunna.'

Sayyid Aḥmad replied to him: 'As for extending the *maghrib*-prayer, we forbid the performance of ritual prayer at sunset but in lengthening the prayer we act in accordance with the Sunna. The Messenger of God, God's blessings and peace be upon him, recited *al-Ṭūr* while performing the two *rakʿas* and recited many other long surahs while performing them, as is generally accepted in its proper place. It does not matter if the hour for the evening prayer arrives and we are engaged in worship. As for the two *rakʿas* before *maghrib*-prayer, they are a *sunna* which people have abandoned. The three kinds of *sunna* concur on this point: the kind based on the words of the Prophet—God's blessings and peace be upon him—, on his deeds, and on what he confirmed. Therefore we consider it to be a *sunna* and are not willing to give up the two *rakʿas*. Simply because the people have abandoned them does not mean that we must abandon them. But we have not said they are a duty and that it is not possible to leave them out. No, they are a *sunna*. Disapproval should be directed against someone who denies that they have the status of a *sunna*, and not against someone who performs them. Take heed of what you say!'

(33)

Kubaybī remained silent but then ʿAbd Allāh b. Surūr said: 'You have forgotten to mention the things his disciples do', and he had the written text in his hand.

And Kubaybī said: 'Yes, Aḥmad. Your disciples do reprehensible things!' And taking hold of the text, he enumerated them.

Sayyid Aḥmad had been leaning his back against the seat he was sitting in, but now he sat in the middle of the bench and said: 'Listen to me, sir, and hear my answer regarding these matters both in general and in detail so that you may profit from it in this area (*mawārid*) and be illuminated by its light, because you are lacking in knowledge of the sciences.'

Nāṣir al-Kubaybī replied: 'Say it then!'

And Sayyid Aḥmad went on: 'Are my disciples better or the Companions of the Messenger of God, God's blessings and peace be upon him?'

Kubaybī replied: 'Certainly the Companions of the Messenger of God, God's blessings and peace be upon him, since they were the best of all generations.'

Then Sayyid Aḥmad said: 'Have you read the Koran?'

He replied: 'I have read it.'

Sayyid Aḥmad said: 'Then you have read the following words of God Most High: "The fornicatress and the fornicator" (24/2), "And the thief, male and female" (5/38), "And whoso disobeys God and His Messenger" (4/14), "Do not usurp one another's goods unjustly" (2/188), "Do not devour usury doubling your wealth many times over" (3/130), "Slay not any soul whom God has forbidden you to slay, except for a just cause" (17/33, 25/68), "Whoever sets up associates with God, God shall prohibit him from entering Paradise" (5/72), "Wine and games of chance, idols and divining arrows are an abomination devised by Satan" (5/90).'

He replied: 'Yes, I have!'

The Sayyid said: 'These are the most important of the great sins. Were there reasons then that these verses were sent down, or no reasons?'

Kubaybī replied: 'There were reasons.'

Then Sayyid Aḥmad said: 'No one but the prophets are protected from committing sins, peace be upon them, and every offspring of Adam is a sinner, as is transmitted in the *ḥadīth*.¹²⁰

(34)

Moreover, even if what you allege were true, we must not act as a spy. Rather, we say what the teacher of the *sharī'a* said: "Whoever commits one of these foul acts, let him be concealed by God's veil, whereas whoever exposes the sin to us, we will punish him with the prescribed penalty¹²¹ of God Most High." And a man came to Ibn Mas'ūd, God be pleased with him, and said: "There are wine drinkers right here who are drinking behind closed doors." Ibn Mas'ūd replied: "Oh you, spying is forbidden for us!"

¹²⁰ Wensinck, *Concordance*, II, 42b.

¹²¹ A reference to the *ḥadd*-punishment for calumny (*qadhf*), meted out to whoever levels a charge against someone without the required witnesses.

Therefore, saying this [about us], writing it down in a letter, and reckoning it to be among our sins is a greater sin on your part because saying a thing like this is wicked and such talk is calumny. Surely you know that God Most High has said: “But since they did not bring the witnesses, in God’s sight they are the liars” (24/13). And whoever repeats anything of what you have recorded in this writing without following the full legal procedure, we say to him: “You are a liar”, as God Most High has said—even if what he says is in fact true. But in this matter his truthfulness by itself is a lie in the eyes of God. Thus if one of you or anyone else says this without presenting the required witnesses, he is a liar according to the text of God’s Book.

(35)

As for my detailed answer, listen to it with the full presence of your heart.

Know that the act of creation and the command¹²² belong to God, He is blessed and exalted! And He created His bondsmen so that they would worship Him.¹²³ Two thousand years¹²⁴ before He created them, He foreordained with Himself the destinies of His creatures on a preserved tablet and He knew what the outcome of His bondsmen would be: which of them would be a believer and which would be an infidel, which obedient and which sinful, which blessed and which damned. He is characterized by lofty attributes: the Compassionate, the Merciful, the Forgiver, the Pardoner, the Veiler, the Pardon, the Coercer, the Avenger, as well as other of His “beautiful names” which have to do with His friendly or His fear-instilling aspect. And along with this He created two abodes, an abode for those who obey Him and an abode for those who disobey Him. Thus the existence on earth of the sinner and of sins was certain to occur—as the angels said at the creation of the Father of mankind when they asked God about the wisdom of creating Adam: “Will You put there one who will do evil and shed blood, while we sing Your praise and sanctify Your

¹²² *Khalq* and *amr*. Ibn Idrīs here refers to the two kinds of divine will; on this subject see van Ess, ‘Ehrenrettung’, 223f. with bibliography; Meier, ‘Das sauberste’, 84ff. (*Bausteine*, II, 706/*Essays*, 324); and Radtke, ‘Das Verhältnis der islamischen Theologie und Philosophie zur Astrologie’, *Saeculum*, XXXIX, 1988, 264. On *khalq* and *amr* see also Shawkānī, *Qaṭr al-walī*, 282ff.

¹²³ On this point see Radtke, ‘Sufism in the 18th century’, 337 n. 123.

¹²⁴ ‘Two thousand years’: the date frequently cited for events meant to have occurred in man’s mythical pre-history; for another example, cf. Radtke & O’Kane, *Concept*, 138, (cf. Radtke, *Drei Schriften*, II, 93).

name?” He said: “I know what you do not know” (2/30). With this answer God, He is mighty and glorious, cut short their objection.

It is impossible that there be no sin among those obligated to follow the religious law whom God Most High has not protected from the duty of observing what is beyond their capacity.¹²⁵ For if there were no sinners on earth, the excellence of those who obey would not be made clear. If not for the blows of sicknesses, the excellence of health would not be known. If not for the hardship of hunger and thirst, the excellence of satiety and quenched thirst would not be known. If not for the occurrence of fear, the excellence of safety would be unknown. And one could continue the enumeration. “Things are made clear through their opposite.”¹²⁶ Furthermore, if all people were obedient to God Most High so that there was no one sinner among them, most of God’s “beautiful names” to do with forgiveness, mercy and veiling [our sins] would no longer operate, for they are manifestations of the effect of sins. And the creation of Hell-fire would make no sense.

(36)

Thus without a doubt divine wisdom requires the occurrence of sins on the part of those obligated to follow the religious law because they are unable to value God in accordance with His real value,¹²⁷ nor is it within the power of the created being to give guidance to everyone. And God Most High said to His Messenger, God’s blessings and peace be upon him: “Even though you wish it, most people will not be believers” (12/103). This is the secret of God’s existential decree¹²⁸—whoever from the distinguished religious scholars and the great Friends of God is aware of this is at peace. The existential decree does not contradict what has been imposed on us by religious law as a duty regarding commanding the good and prohibiting what is reprehensible. Rather, every Muslim is obliged to give guidance to what God Most High has made a duty and to prohibit whatever is reprehensible that comes to his knowledge. He is obliged to be angered for

¹²⁵ Ibn Idris is referring to the doctrine of *taklīf mā lā yuṭāq*; see Hans Daiber, *Das theologisch-philosophische System des Muʿammar Ibn ʿAbbād as-Sulamī* (gest. 830 n. Chr.), Beirut 1975, 101; Radtke & O’Kane, *Concept*, 229 (cf. Radtke, *Drei Schriften*, II, 167); and van Ess, *Theologie und Gesellschaft*, IV, ‘Register: Wörter, Termini (arabisch)’, s.v. ‘k-l-f’.

¹²⁶ A saying often cited by Ibn Idris.

¹²⁷ Cf. for instance K 6/91.

¹²⁸ *Qadar kawnī*; cf. *irāda kawniyya* in Ibn Taymiyya, *Majmūʿat al-Rasāʾil al-kubrā*, Cairo 1386/1966, II, 76; and here, n. 122.

the sake of God at violations of His commands and prohibitions. But right guidance is in the hands of its Creator and indeed He distinguishes those who are rightly guided from those who go astray.’

(37)

Then, by way of giving counsel, Sayyid Aḥmad spoke such words as could soften stone and provoke trembling in those who were present in mind and heart. The pen is incapable of expressing his words. Were I to cite them, it might well cause tribulation for someone unacquainted with plunging into this boundless sea. In this regard one may recite [verse]:

What has the sea and its terrors to do with me?

I seek sustenance from God while remaining on the shore.

These matters will not be hidden from our dear brother,¹²⁹ may his days be prolonged! He possesses treasures which consist of these counsels.

(38)

Then the Sayyid said: ‘It is not right for you to slander us by enumerating the sins of others and imputing them to our account. “Every soul is accountable for its own deeds” (74/38). If we were aware that our disciples did what you claim, we would not be silent before them but would confront them in anger for the sake of God Most High and advise them to repent. But we are not aware of their behaving this way and will not enter into this question as no response is required of us in these matters. Those who have reached perfection have their sight on virtuous deeds, whereas those who are lacking confine their sight to men’s faults.’

(39)

At that Kubaybī lowered his head and sank into a sea in which he had no ability to swim. His understanding did not extend to receiving these forms of knowledge. His lot was merely to listen to them but he could not understand these subtleties.

And he said: ‘Only one question still remains. You and your disciples say: “The sciences of religious law are mere formalities. They are a shell without a core.”’

¹²⁹ See AD note 627; ʿĀkīsh is here addressing Muḥammad al-Ahdal.

And Sayyid Aḥmad replied: ‘This is the first assembly in which I have met you. Now have you heard such a thing from me or has a trustworthy person reported this to you about me? It is not right for you to make a judgement against us based on things we have not said.’

Then Nāṣir replied: ‘People say so!’

Sayyid Aḥmad said: ‘Satan incites those who do not adhere to the restraints of religious law to accuse people of things they are innocent of with the words: “People say so, people say so, people say so!”’

Then Kubaybī said: ‘Oh Aḥmad, your disciples openly declare this.’

Sayyid Aḥmad replied: ‘Stop your grumbling! Be silent! In our view knowledge is: “God said, His Messenger said, and these are nothing but the Book and the Sunna.¹³⁰ Whatever is contained in the sciences of the Arabic language is all a supplement to this.¹³¹ A person who does not know these sciences does not know the Book and the Sunna because the Koran was sent down in the language of the Arabs. Whatever there is in the sciences of the applied law (*furū*^c) is a derivation from these two and an adjunct to them. In sum, judgements to do with principles (*aṣḥlī*) or applications (*far*^c*ī*) which the clear sense of the Book and the Sunna indicates by way of authoritative meanings in the religious law, are what one is obliged to act in accordance with and to guide the people to. Whatever form of science contradicts the Book and the Sunna such as what one sees in the books on pure individual judgement,¹³² and what the philosophers do who give rulings based on their reason,¹³³ and those who profess things in their religion which neither conform to reason nor agree with religious law—all this amounts to ‘formalities’ which the believer is not permitted to take as a basis for worshipping God.

(40)

Fanaticism in following the schools of jurisprudence, party factionousness among their adherents, denouncing one another for errors so that the adherents become like members of different religions—such is familiar to whoever knows the past behavior of

130 Cf. O’Fahey, *Enigmatic Saint*, 60f. and the main message of the *Radd*; as well as Ḥasan al-°Aḥḥār, *Risāla fī’l-ijtihād*, in *Vikør, Sources for Sanūsī Studies*, 103.

131 The same in *Radd*, § 42.

132 Cf. for instance *Radd*, § 30.

133 *Al-°Iqd al-naḥīs*, 172-4; and Radtke, ‘Sufism in the 18th century’, 338.

people and their writings—this we condemn and prohibit every Muslim from doing, because the Muslims are one religious community, the best religious community,¹³⁴ and their Prophet is one, their Book is one, and their direction of prayer is one. How then does this division and fanaticism come about? We have constantly deterred the people from this behavior both in the Holy Cities and elsewhere. But praise be to God in all circumstances!

No event occurs in the world for which one will not find an authoritative source (*manzaʿ*) in the Book of God Most High: “Is it not sufficient for them that We have sent down to you the Book to read out to them?” (29/51). And the Sunna is the commentary on the Book.¹³⁵ He who knows this knows it, and he who is ignorant of it is ignorant of it. No one can refute for us the truth of this doctrine. But most people prefer creation to God. The effects of this are manifest in the world in the divergence of situations and the occurrence of hostility among people: “Your Lord is not heedless of the things they do” (6/132). He may allow postponement but He does not forget.’¹³⁶

(41)

Here Kubaybī’s rambling talk came to a halt and he didn’t know what to say. He remarked: “The sun is close to setting and there are still some things I have not mentioned.”

Sayyid al-Ṭayyib b. Muḥammad¹³⁷ said: ‘If the sun goes down, we will bring lanterns and lamps so that your objections may be completed. And he recited:

When the young camel is tied to one of its fellows,
it is unable to jump impetuously on the tall ones.¹³⁸

However, Kubaybī didn’t listen to him but left the gathering which then broke up.

The muezzin raised the call for the *maghrib*-prayer, and at that Sayyid Aḥmad stepped forward and led the people in prayer. When the prayer was over, he went inside his house. He then

134 An echo of K 3/110.

135 *Radd*, § 3.

136 See Radtke & O’Kane, *Concept*, 189, end of (139) (cf. Radtke, *Drei Schriften*, II, 134f., § 139).

137 Here, § 3.

138 Jarīr b. ʿAṭīyya, *Dīwān* (ed. Nuʿmān Muḥammad Amin Ṭāhā), Cairo 1969, I, 128: Qaṣīda 9, verse 17.

summoned Sayyid °Alī b. Muḥammad, Sayyid Mūsā b. Ḥasan,¹³⁹ Shaykh °Abd Allāh and Sayyid al-Ṭayyib. And I was with them as well.

(42)

When we had sat down before him, he said to us: ‘The emergence of ignorance and the disappearance of the religious scholars are among the signs of the final hour.¹⁴⁰ Look at these things that have happened. This is not what I wanted, though they deserved it because of their behavior. They are poor wretches who remain at the level of the externals of religious law. They have learned some details of the sciences and whoever opposes them regarding these they accuse of error. If only when they don’t know and are then instructed, they would understand, and when they are mistaken and then corrected, they would accept it! But they will not brook being blamed for arrogance and obstinance. That is the way with the ignorant!’—Then he narrated many stories about the debates and arguments he had had with the religious scholars of the Maghreb in Fez in the Qarawīyyīn Mosque when he departed from his country,¹⁴¹ and during the period of his residence in Mecca. And he thanked God for giving him the grace to wear down every adversary and opponent with the manifest truth and to silence him with an authoritative argument.

(43)

Then when the following morning arrived, we came before him as usual for instruction after the sun had risen. The session had only just begun when the emir °Alī b. Mujaththal and three members of his retinue came to visit Sayyid Aḥmad. The emir arrived and shook Sayyid Aḥmad’s hand. The Sayyid had a bench brought for him. The emir sat down alongside Sayyid Aḥmad’s bench and went on speaking very kindly to Sayyid Aḥmad. And the Sayyid recited *ḥadīths* for him which contained Koranic curses against Satan and words inspiring good conduct,¹⁴² and

139 AD note 701 suggests that this may have been Mūsā b. Ḥasan al-Ḥāzīmī (1207-61/1792-3-1845-6), and refers to a notice on him in °Ākish, °*Uqūd al-durar*, fol. 115.

140 On the signs of the final hour see Ibn °Abd al-Barr, *Jāmi° bayān al-°ilm*, I, 6, 148, 151 & 153; and *El* (2), s.v. ‘Sā°a’.

141 O’Fahey, *Enigmatic Saint*, 47-9.

142 *Qawāri°*: Koranic verses containing curses against Satan and recited when one is in danger; *zawājir*: inner voices which God instills in man to encourage him to undertake good actions; see A. de Biberstein Kazimirski, *Dictionnaire arabe-français*, Paris 1860, s.vv. Shawkānī, *al-Qawl al-mufīd*, 66, speaks of *qawāri° qur°āniyya* and *zawājir nabawiyya*.

addressed him with mixed forms of exhortation based one moment on encouragement and the next on instilling fear. He made him aware of the danger of the situation he would be in if he did not make his behavior conform to the religious law, adopt the religious law as his standard of judgement in his words and in his deeds, and follow the Sunna of the Rightly Guided Caliphs in practice and in speech.

(44)

After this the emir's scribe, the jurist °Alī b. Yaḥyā, stood up and whispered to Sayyid Aḥmad: 'The emir would like to speak with you inside the house.' The Sayyid then went into the house and summoned the emir, and we went inside with him. The emir then began apologizing for the way his *muṭāwi'ā* had behaved, namely for their impoliteness towards the Sayyid, and said that this had not been his intention. They had prevailed over his personal opinion, and since he had given them jurisdiction regarding judgements of religious law, he could not oppose them.

Then Sayyid Aḥmad said to him: 'You are the one in this position [as emir]. You must not allow someone who is familiar with no more than the name of learning to examine the religious scholars. Indeed, it says in the *ḥadīth*: "Every caliph and emir has two kinds of confidants in his entourage: a good one who bids him do good and encourages him in this, and one who bids him do evil and encourages him in this. The sign of the good confidant is that he only presents the emir with people's merits and draws close to him through things which give the emir profit before God. The sign of the bad confidant is that he conveys the people's failings to the emir and pursues the weaknesses of the Muslims."¹⁴³

You must base your affairs on a religious scholar who has acquired learning from the proper people, has studied systematically with the masters and whose pre-eminence in knowledge is attested by the religious scholars. Such scholars are on hand, and are among those attending our assembly. If you ask, you will find the truth. Among them are our brother so-and-so, our brother so-and-so, etc.' And he mentioned a group of them. 'As for these *muṭāwi'ā* of yours, they are groping in the dark. It is not permissible for you to follow their authority in matters concerning the

¹⁴³ Cf. Wensinck, *Concordance*, VII, 200b; not canonical in this form; cf. Fritz Meier, 'Tāhir aṣ-Ṣadafis vergessene schrift über westliche heilige des 6/12. jahrhunderts', *Der Islam*, LXI, 1984, 80 (*Bausteine*, I, 462/*Essays*, 492).

religious law. Indeed, they produce *fatwās* and legal judgements without a halter or a bridle.'

(45)

The emir was silent for a moment. Then he said: 'We are determined to go to war against the group of Turks in Abū °Arīsh.'¹⁴⁴

And Sayyid Aḥmad replied to him: 'In Abū °Arīsh there are a number of members of the Prophet's family. Their father is the Messenger of God, God's blessings and peace be upon him, who calls people to follow God's law. Also among them are religious scholars who are the heirs of the prophets, as well as other excellent persons and innumerable true believers in Islam. Moreover, those Turks who are in Abū °Arīsh are soldiers of rank, and jurisdiction over the country belongs to the ruler of Egypt.¹⁴⁵ How can you fight against them in these conditions? After all, God, He is sublime and exalted, prevented the best of His creation, the Prophet Muḥammad, God's blessings and peace be upon him, from entering Mecca the year of Ḥudaybiya for the purpose of circumambulating the Ka°ba—out of concern for those of the believers who were in the city. God Most High said: "If it had not been for some believing men and women whom you did not know and might have trampled underfoot, thus incurring shame on their account unwittingly—that God may admit into His mercy whom He will—had the faithful been clearly separated, We would have chastised the unbelievers among them with a painful chastisement" (48/25). See how God prevented His Messenger, God's blessings and peace be upon him, from entering Mecca whose people were [mostly] unbelievers for the sake of those in the city who were believers, fearing lest they [Muḥammad and his soldiers] incur shame, i.e. hardship. Then how can one not show respect in a case where many are involved who have the true faith [as in Abū °Arīsh] and those being pursued are only a small band?'

But the emir replied: 'It is absolutely necessary that we go against them. On the other hand, whoever comes forth from among them will be at peace with us. Whoever remains inside is the same as they are, and we will fight against him!' Then the emir left the gathering.

* * *

¹⁴⁴ See Introduction, 34.

¹⁴⁵ This refers to Muḥammad °Alī; cf. Introduction, 34.

This is a summary of what occurred in the dispute. We wrote this down and after writing it down, we read it out to our shaykh Sayyid Aḥmad b. Idrīs. When you requested a copy of it, we made a copy for you and we described for you the causes which led to this debate. Please be kind enough to show this to your father, our shaykh, and all those in the circle!

Peace and the mercy of God be upon you! And God bless our lord Muḥammad and his family, and grant them salvation! Oh Lord God, You are exalted, praise be unto You! There is no god but You! We ask You for forgiveness and turn to You in repentance.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴⁶ *B* and *C* add: 'Written by the one who is in need of his Lord, Ḥasan b. Aḥmad b. °Abd Allāh b. °Ākīsh, in Jumādā II 1248 of the *hijra*' [i.e. October/ November 1832]. *A* has the patently incorrect date Jumādā II 1245/December 1829.

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INDICES

1. PLACE NAMES

- Abhā 29
Abū °Arīsh 28–31, 33f, 36f, 42f, 178,
184, 210
al-°Adāya 185n
al-Andalus 128n
°Asīr IX, 27, 29, 31, 33, 187n
al-Azhar 26
- Banū Shahr 29
Bayt al-Faqīh 4, 187
Bīsha 29f
- Cairo 26
- al-Dahnā° 185n
Ḍamad 4, 6, 34
Dir°iyya 30f, 36
- Egypt 27f, 32f, 37, 42, 136, 197,
210
—see also Upper Egypt
Eritrea X, 179
Ethiopia 179
Euphrates 181
- Fez 208
Filayhī Mosque 5
- Ḥijāz 19, 27
al-Ḥudayda 29, 36
- Iran 39
Istanbul 32
°Ithūd 185n
- Jabart 179
Jizān 29, 35
- Ka°ba 210
Khaybar 143
- al-Luḥayya 29
- Maghreb 3, 42, 136, 208
Maḥā°il 29
Mecca 2n, 5, 27, 34, 38, 42, 187f,
207f
al-Mikhhlāf al-Sulaymānī 29, 35f
al-Mukhā 29
- Najd 31
Najrān 29
- Qarawiyyīn Mosque 208
al-Qunfudha 29
- Raghdān 29
Rujāl Alma° 6, 29f, 35, 184
al-Rujay° 185n
- Ṣabyā IX, 27–29, 34f, 37f, 136f,
142, 178, 180, 184
Ṣa°da 29, 185n
Ṣalhaba 185n
Ṣan°ā° 4f, 19
Sarāt °Asīr 29–31, 33, 36, 184
Shahrān 29
Shāyqiyya VII
Sudan X, 179
Syria 34
- Tā°if 27
Tihāma 29–31, 33, 36, 182
Tihāmat al-Yaman 4
- Upper Egypt 3, 27
- Wādī Baysh 32
Wādī Mawr 34
- Yemen 27
- Zabid 4, 36
Zahrān 29

2. CONCEPTS

- ʿafw* 10, 12
aḥkām 7
ahl al-bayt 42, 210
ʿāmmī 8, 12, 14, 100
amr 203n
 angels 126

bāṭin 198

 Companions of the Prophet 9f, 105, 114

dhawq 16
dhikr 12, 39f, 126, 137, 142
 dowry 112
 dream 18, 25

fahm 10
fath 25, 97n
fikr 8, 12
 final hour 208
fuqarāʾ 136
furqān X, 8, 15, 23, 104
furūʿ 206

ḥadīth, –criticism 8, 15, 103
ḥulūl 182n

ijtihād 13, 16, 25, 101, 123, 188, 191
 —*ijtihād bi'l-naṣṣ* 14
ʿilm al-bāṭin 15, 24
ʿilm al-zāhir 15
imāms (madhhab founders) 8f, 12, 17, 105f
īmān 16
 individualization 26
isnād 103
istidlāl 16
ittibāʿ 14
ittihād 182n
ʿiyān 16

jawāz 10, 12

karāmāt 21
kashf 16

khalq 203n
 knowledge 99, 125

madhāhib IX, 9, 13, 15–17, 22, 25, 99n, 105–9, 111f, 116n
 —see also *taʿaṣṣub al-madhhab*
maskūt ʿanhū, see silence
mukāshafāt 21
mutʿa 136
muṭāwiʿa 35, 39, 42, 184, 186, 189, 209

naṣṣ, (God’s form of expression is better) 110
naẓar 16
 Neo-Sufism IX

 pregnancy 119
 Prophet, meeting him after his death 18, 97
 —see also *ṭarīqa muḥammadiyya*

qadhf 203
qawāriʿ 208n
qiyās 8, 11f, 24, 104, 111, 115f, 118f, 121

raʿy 7–12, 22–4, 38, 42, 95–130, 206
ratio, rationalism 9, 12, 14–16, 23, 25f, 104n, 106n
rubūbiyya 8, 103

ṣalāt 12, 42, 106, 127f, 183, 199–201
samāʿ 39f, 43, 127, 136, 142
 Satan 7, 11, 99f, 120f
sayyid (right to title) 186, 196
sharīʿā 42, 183, 205f
shaṭaḥāt 180n
shirk 194, 197
 —*shirk akbar* 192n
 silence on a matter (*maskūt ʿanhu*) 10, 40, 114f, 119
 sin, necessity of 203
 Sunna, explanation of Koran 97

- ta'asṣub al-madhhab* 18, 42, 206
tafsīr 41, 183, 198
Ṭāghūt 7, 121f, 130
 —see also Satan
takfīr 21, 40, 43, 181, 192, 195
taqdīm wa-ta'khīr 104n
taqlīd 13, 100–2n
taqwā X, 7f, 14, 19, 23, 26, 98, 104,
 121, 124
ṭarīqa muḥammadiyya 18f, 24, 26,
 97n
taslīm 16
taṣliya 17
tawhīd 194n
 tombs 193
'ulamā' 8f, 12, 27, 98, 100f, 111,
 119, 196
umma 192
 union with God 18n
waḥy 7, 11, 96
 women 112, 119, 183
 writings, books 10, 113
zāhir 198
zann, 11
zawājir 208n

3. GENERAL INDEX

- °Ā'id b. Mar'ī 36
 °Abbās b. Muḥammad al-Rufaydī 35, 178, 186
 °Abd al-°Azīz al-Dabbāgh 24f
 °Abd al-°Azīz b. Muḥammad b. Sa'ūd 29–31
 °Abd al-Karīm al-°Utumī 4
 °Abd al-Khāliq b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥifzī 138
 °Abd al-Muṭṭalib b. Ghālib 38
 °Abd al-Qays 196n
 °Abd al-Raḥmān b. Aḥmad al-Bahkalī 4, 29n, 187
 °Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥifzī 144
 °Abd al-Raḥmān b. Sulaymān al-Ahdal 177, 187
 °Abd al-Wahhāb b. °Āmir 31f
 °Abd al-Wahhāb al-Sha'°rānī 15
 °Abd Allāh b. °Alī b. Musfir 29
 °Abd Allāh b. Maslama al-Qa'°nabī 108
 °Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-°Abbās (companion of Ibn Idrīs) 144, 179, 208
 °Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. °Abd al-Wahhāb 192
 °Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Amīr 188
 °Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Suba'ī 35, 185, 189
 °Abd Allāh b. Surūr al-Yāmi 35, 177, 180–2, 184–6, 188–90, 201
 °Ābid al-Sindī, see Muḥammad °Ābid
 Abū Bakr 137, 199
 Abū'l-Dardā° 198
 Abū Dāhish, °Abd Allāh 3, 6
 Abū Ḥanīfa 9, 107
 Abū Mismār, see Ḥamūd b. Muḥammad al-Ḥasanī
 Abū Nuṭṭa, see Muḥammad b. °Āmir
 Adam 197
 Adārisa 5
 al-Ahdal, see °Abd al-Raḥmān b. Sulaymān
 — see Muḥammad b. °Abd al-Raḥmān b. Sulaymān
 Aḥmad (companion of Ibn Mujaththal) 138
 Aḥmad b. °Abd Allāh al-Ḍamadī 4, 181n, 185n, 187n
 Aḥmad b. °Alī, qāḍī 35, 185
 Aḥmad b. °Alī b. °Adwān [al-°Adwān] 35, 185
 Aḥmad Barēlwī 23n
 Aḥmad b. Hādī (companion of Ḥifzī) 138, 144
 Aḥmad b. Ḥamūd 32f
 Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal 9, 106
 Aḥmad b. Ḥusayn (sherif, companion of Ibn Mujaththal) 138
 Aḥmad Khālīd Pāshā 32
 Aḥmad Pāshā 34
 Aḥmad al-Tijānī 25, 117n
 Aḥmad Yakun 34
 Aḥmad al-Zawāwī 17, 25
 al-°Ajmanī, see Ḥizām b. °Āmir
 °Ākish, see Ḥasan b. Aḥmad
 Āl Ghālib 34
 Āl Ḥaydar 43, 178
 Āl al-Mutaḥammī 29f, 33, 36f
 Āl Sa'ūd 20
 Āl Shakhbān 29
 °Alī b. Abī Ṭālib 10, 113, 119, 180, 199
 °Alī b. al-Ḥasan (companion of Ibn Mujaththal) 138
 °Alī b. Ḥaydar 28, 34, 178
 °Alī b. °Īsā 35
 °Alī al-Khawwāṣ 16
 °Alī b. Muḥammad b. °Aqīl [al-°Aqīlī] al-Ḥāzīmī 35, 185ff, 208
 °Alī b. Muḥammad al-Sanūsī 6
 °Alī b. Muḥammad al-Shūsh [Shawīsh] 35, 185
 °Alī b. Mujaththal X, 3, 33–8, 42, 136–8, 178, 184–90, 208–10
 °Alī b. Yaḥyā (secretary of Ibn Mujaththal) 186, 209
 °Arrār b. Shārr [b. Muḥammad] 29–31, 190
 al-Ashhab b. °Abd al-°Azīz al-Qaysī 11, 124
 al-Awzā'ī 107

- al-Badr al-ṭāli*^c by Shawkānī 20
 al-Bahkalī, see °Abd al-Rahmān b. Aḥmad
 — see Ḥasan b. Aḥmad
 Bang, Anne K. VIII
 Banū Mughayd 33, 37
 Banū Shu^cba 190
 Barēlwī, see Aḥmad Barēlwī
 al-Barnāwī, see Muḥammad al-Barnāwī
 Bell, Joseph N. VII
 Bilāl 200
 al-Birkawī, see Muḥammad b. °Alī
 British 36
 al-Bukhārī 126

 Christians 102

 al-Dabbāgh, see °Abd al-°Azīz
 al-Ḍamadī, see Aḥmad b. °Abd Allāh
 Dhawū °Awn 34
al-Durr al-naḍīd by Shawkānī 20

Fī rubū^c °Asīr by Rafī^c 28
 al-Fullānī, see Ṣāliḥ
Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam by Ibn al-°Arabī 180

 Gaborieau, Marc 23n
 Gabriel 116
 Ghālib b. Musā^cid 27f, 37f, 178
 al-Ghazālī 21

 Ḥakīm Tirmidhī 15, 99n, 104n
 al-Ḥallāj 194n
 Ḥamd b. Nāṣir 13f
 al-Hamīm, see Muḥammad al-Hamīm
 Ḥamūd b. Muḥammad al-Ḥasanī (Abū Mismār) 29-32, 36f, 181n
 Ḥanbaliyya 14
 Ḥasan b. Aḥmad al-Bahkalī 185n
 Ḥasan [al-Ḥasan] b. Aḥmad al-Ḍamadī al-°Amrī °Ākish X, 4, 6, 28, 30, 37, 42, 177, 185n
 al-Ḥasan b. °Alī al-Ḥifẓī 6
 Ḥasan al-°Aṭṭār 19
 al-Ḥasan b. Khālīd al-Ḥāzimī 32f, 100n, 181, 185n
 Ḥasan b. Muḥammad [b.] °Abduh 35, 185
 al-Ḥasanī, see Muḥammad Amīn

 Ḥāshim b. Sa^cīd al-Nu^cmī 28, 33, 35, 38
al-Hay'a li'l-amr bi'l-ma^crūf wa'l-nahy °an al-munkar 39n
 al-Ḥāzimī, see °Alī b. Muḥammad b. °Aqīl
 — see al-Ḥasan b. Khālīd
 — see Ḥijāb b. Yaḥyā
 — see °Īsā b. °Alī
 — see Muḥammad b. °Abduh
 — see Muḥammad b. °Aqīl
 — see Mūsā b. Ḥasan
 al-Ḥifẓī, see al-Ḥasan b. °Alī
 — see Ibrāhīm b. Aḥmad
 Ḥijāb b. Yaḥyā al-Ḥāzimī 6
 Ḥizām b. °Amir al-°Ajmānī 3i
 Hofheinz, Albrecht VIII
 Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. °Abd al-Wahhāb 192

 Ibn °Abbās 136, 143
 Ibn °Abd al-Barr 26
 Ibn °Abd al-Wahhāb, see Muḥammad
 Ibn al-°Arabī 15, 41, 43, 182f, 194f
 Ibn Ḥanbal, see Aḥmad
 Ibn Mas^cūd 199, 202
 Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya 26
 Ibn Sa^cūd, see Muḥammad b. Sa^cūd
 Ibn Surūr al-Yāmī, see °Abd Allāh b. Surūr
 Ibn Taymiyya 21f, 40
 Ibrāhīm Pāshā 192n
 Ibrāhīm, Yaḥyā Muḥammad VII
 Ibrāhīm b. Aḥmad al-Ḥifẓī al-Zamzanī X, 3, 38, 40, 42, 136–8, 142–4, 184
 Ibrāhīm al-Khuzāmī 179
 Ibrāhīm al-Rashīd 179
al-Ibrīz by Dabbāgh 25n
 al-Idrīsī, see Muḥammad al-Tuhāmī
 °Illaysh, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad 16n
 Imam of Ṣan^cā³ 30f, 36
Īqāz al-wasnān by Sanūsi 2
Īqāz himam by Fullānī 26
al-°Iqd al-naḥīs by Ibn Idrīs 2f
Irshād al-fuḥūl by Shawkānī 21
 °Īsā b. °Alī al-Ḥāzimī 185
 Ismā^cil b. Bashīr 35
 Ismā^cil b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥifẓī 138
 Ismā^cil b. Shībīr [Shubayr] al-Nu^cmī 185

- al-Jaʿfarī, see Šālih
 al-Jābirī, see Muḥammad b. ʿAbduh
 Jesus 119
 Jews 102, 111, 116
 Joseph 197
- al-Kaḥlānī, see Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl
 Karrar, Ali Salih VII
 al-Khaḍīr 16, 197
 Khālid b. al-Walid 122
 al-Khuzāmī, see Ibrāhīm
 al-Kubaybī, see Nāṣir b. Muḥammad
Kunūz al-jawāhir by Ibn Idrīs VII
- Lawāqih al-anwār* by Shaʿrānī 17
al-Luʿluʿ al-naḥīs by Ahdal 5
 Luṭf Allāh Jaḥḥāf 5n
- Mālik b. Anas 9, 11, 107–9, 122
 Mānīʿ al-Bāsha 138
 Maṣṣūr b. Nāṣir al-Ḥasanī 29–31
 Marʿī b. Muḥammad 30
 Māriya 110
 Messiah 103
 al-Mīrghanī, see Muḥammad ʿUthmān
 — see Muḥammad Yāsīn b. ʿAbd Allāh
al-Mizān by Shaʿrānī 15f
 Moses 116, 119, 197
 Muḥammad (companion of Ḥifẓī) 138
 Muḥammad (companion of Ibn
 Mujaththal) 138
 Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b.
 Sulaymān al-Ahdal 4f, 177, 205n
 Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb 13,
 14, 20, 22, 40, 43, 100n, 191f
 Muḥammad ʿĀbid al-Sindī 4
 Muḥammad b. ʿAbduh al-Ḥāzīmī 186
 Muḥammad b. ʿAbduh al-Jābirī 35
 Muḥammad Aḥmad, the Sudanese
 mahdī 25
 Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Idrīs 144
 Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Mutaḥammī
 32f
 Muḥammad ʿAlī 32–7, 210
 Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Birkawī 19n
 Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Sanūsī VIII, 2,
 13f, 23, 99n, 100n
 Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Shawkānī 4, 13,
 19, 187
 Muḥammad Amīn al-Ḥasanī 5n
 Muḥammad b. ʿĀmir, Abū Nuqta 30f
 Muḥammad b. ʿĀmir, see Muḥammad
 b. Ismāʿīl al-Kaḥlānī
 Muḥammad b. ʿAqīl al-Ḥāzīmī 185n
 Muḥammad b. ʿAwn 33f, 38
 Muḥammad al-Barnāwī 179
 Muḥammad al-Hamīm 179
 Muḥammad b. Ḥasan b. Khālid 34f,
 136, 184, 190
 Muḥammad b. Idrīs al-Shāfiʿī 9, 11,
 107, 123
 Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā al-Tirmidhī 128
 Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl al-Kaḥlānī
 188n
 Muḥammad b. Mufarriḥ 138
 Muḥammad b. Saʿūd 29
 Muḥammad al-Sharīf b. ʿAbd al-
 Mutaʿāl b. Aḥmad b. Idrīs 5, 187n
 Muḥammad al-Tuhāmī al-Ḥasan al-
 Aḥmadī al-Idrīsī VII, 1
 Muḥammad ʿUmar Rafīʿ 28
 Muḥammad ʿUthmān al-Mīrghanī 4,
 27
 Muḥammad Yāsīn b. ʿAbd Allāh al-
 Mīrghanī 4
 Mūsā b. Ḥasan al-Ḥāzīmī 208
 Muslim b. Ḥajjāj 126
al-Musnad by Ibn Ḥanbal 106
 al-Mutaḥammī, see Muḥammad b.
 Aḥmad
- Nāṣir b. Muḥammad al-Kubaybī al-
 Jāmī [al-Jūnī] 35, 40, 138, 177,
 184–207
 al-Nuʿmī, see Hāshim b. Saʿīd
 — see Ismāʿīl b. Shībīr [Shubayr]
 — see Yaḥyā b. Muḥsin
- Peskes, Esther 14
 Peters, Rudolph 13
- al-Qaʿnabī, see ʿAbd Allāh b.
 Maslama
 Qāsīm b. Muḥammad 188
Qaṭr al-walī by Shawkānī 20
al-Qawl al-mufīd by Shawkānī 21
- Rabīʿa 33
 Rafīʿ, see Muḥammad ʿUmar
Risāla by Ḥasan b. Khālid 33
 Rubayyīʿ b. Zayd 30f

- Rufayd 33
al-Rufaydī, see °Abbās b. Muḥammad
- Sa°d b. Mu°adh 187
Sa°id b. Muslat 33
Sa°ud b. °Abd al-°Aziz 20, 28, 31f, 40, 192
Šālih b. °Abd al-Malik 29
Šālih al-Fullānī 13f, 26
Šālih al-Ja°farī 5, 187n
Sālim b. Shakhbān 30
Šālih b. Yahyā 29
al-Sanūsī, see °Alī b. Muḥammad
— see Muḥammad b. °Alī
Sedgwick, Mark VIII
al-Sha°rānī, see °Abd al-Wahhāb al-Sha°rānī
al-Shāfi°ī, see Muḥammad b. Idrīs
Shāh Walīullāh-i Dihlawī 13f
Sharḥ on Ibn al-Fāriḍ by al-Qayṣarī 180
Sharḥ on *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam* by al-Jāmī 180
Sharḥ al-ṣudūr by Shawkānī 20
al-Shawkānī, see Muḥammad b. °Alī
al-Shūsh [Shawīsh], see °Alī b. Muḥammad
al-Sindī, see Muḥammad °Ābid
al-Sirāj al-munīr by Ibn Musfir 29
al-Suba°ī, see °Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad
- Sulaymān b °Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. °Abd al-Wahhāb 192
Sunan by Ibn Māja 180
- Tā°iyya* by Ibn al-Fāriḍ 179
Ta°rikh °Asīr by Nu°mī 28
Ṭāmī b. Shu°ayb 32
al-Ṭayyib b. Muḥammad b. Idrīs 144, 179, 207f
al-Thawrī 107
Thomassen, Einar VII
al-Tijānī, see Aḥmad al-Tijānī
al-Tuhāmī, see Muḥammad al-Ḥasan
Turks 42, 178, 210
Türkçe Bilmez 34, 36f
- °Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb 10f, 104n, 112f, 119, 121, 137
al-ḥājj °Umar Tall 13f
al-°Utumī, see °Abd al-Karīm
- Wahhābiyya IX, 21, 27–43, 181–207
Yahyā b. Muḥsin al-Nu°mī 35, 185, 188
Yūsuf b. Ibrāhīm 188
- al-Zamzanī, see Ibrāhīm b. Aḥmad al-Ḥifzī
al-Zawāwī, see Aḥmad al-Zawāwī
Zaydiyya 19
Zayn al-°Ābidīn b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥifzī 144