

Christian-Muslim Relations A Bibliographical History

Volume 4 (1200-1350)

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Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya

Shams al-Dīn Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr ibn
Ayyūb al-Zur‘ī l-Dimashqī l-Ḥanbalī

DATE OF BIRTH 29 January 1292
PLACE OF BIRTH Damascus
DATE OF DEATH September 1350
PLACE OF DEATH Damascus

BIOGRAPHY

Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya was a prolific Ḥanbalī jurist, theologian and spiritual writer who is best known as the foremost student of Ibn Taymiyya. Apart from several pilgrimages to Mecca, he spent his whole life in Damascus. The agnomen (*laqab*) ‘Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya’ refers to his father’s occupation and means ‘the son of the superintendent (*qayyim*) of the Jawziyya madrasa’, a law college in Damascus used as the court of the city’s chief Ḥanbalī judge. Modern scholars writing in both Arabic and European languages frequently shorten the agnomen to Ibn al-Qayyim. In the literature one occasionally finds Ibn Qayyim or Ibn al-Qayyim al-Jawziyya (both of which are grammatically incorrect because Qayyim al-Jawziyya is a noun construct [*iḍāfa*]).

Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya first met Ibn Taymiyya when the latter returned from Egypt to Damascus in 1313, and he soon gained a place among Ibn Taymiyya’s inner circle of disciples. Ibn al-Qayyim shared in his master’s trials, which included imprisonment with Ibn Taymiyya from 1326 until the latter’s death in 1328. Although Ibn al-Qayyim followed his teacher’s methods and many of his doctrines, he also developed original views of his own, and recent scholarship is starting to bring these out. Apart from his sometimes harsh views on Christians and Jews, Ibn al-Qayyim’s writings are typically warmer and more eloquent than Ibn Taymiyya’s. Drawing inspiration and terminology from Sufism, they express a distinctively therapeutic concern for the maladies of both spirit and body. Toward the end of his life, in 1345 and 1349, Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya came into disagreement with the Shāfi‘ī chief judge of Damascus Taqī al-Dīn al-Subkī on legal matters pertaining to horse racing and divorce, respectively. It is also very likely that in 1348 or later al-Subkī stopped Ibn al-Qayyim from presenting arguments for the annihilation of hell fire and the eventual salvation of all humankind.

It appears that Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya only began writing after Ibn Taymiyya died, but his literary production is immense nonetheless. Krawietz (2006) provides a comprehensive overview of his books. Bell (1979) works out an approximate chronology of many of the theological and spiritual works. Holtzman (2009) groups Ibn al-Qayyim's works into early, middle and late periods. Both Bell and Holtzman work on the basis of internal evidence. There is practically no external evidence by which to date Ibn al-Qayyim's works, and the date of his death is also subject to some slight disagreement, either 13 Rajab 751 (Ibn Kathīr, al-Ṣafadī) or 23 Rajab 751 (Ibn Rajab), both in September 1350.

Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya's two major works dealing with Christianity, as well as Judaism, are *Hidāyat al-ḥayārā fī ajwibat al-Yahūd wa-l-Naṣārā* ('Guidance for the confused concerning answers to Jews and Christians') and *Aḥkām ahl al-dhimma* ('Regulations for the People of the Covenant'). These are discussed separately below. Ibn al-Qayyim also gives a long account of Satan's trickery in leading Christians astray towards the end of his later work *Ighāthat al-laḥfān min maṣā'id al-Shayṭān* ('Rescuing the distressed from the snares of Satan'). This is found on pp. 625-50 in the edition of Majdī Fathī al-Sayyid (Cairo: Dār al-Ḥadīth, s.d.), and in vol. 2, pp. 270-98 of the edition of Muḥammad Ḥāmid al-Fiḳī (Beirut: Dār al-Ma'rifa, 1395/1975). This account has not been studied, but it draws at least in part from Ibn Taymiyya's *Jawāb* and Ibn Ḥazm's *Fiṣal fī l-milal wa-l-niḥal*, and probably Ibn al-Qayyim's earlier book *Hidāya*.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

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- Al-Ṣafadī, *Kitāb al-wāfi bi-l-wafayāt*, vol. 2, ed. S. Dederling, Wiesbaden, 1974, pp. 270-73
- Al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān al-a'sr wa-a'wān al-naṣr*, ed. 'Alī Abū Zayd, et al., 6 vols, Beirut, 1998, iv, pp. 366-70
- Ibn Kathīr, *Al-bidāya wa-l-nihāya*, ed. 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Abd al-Muḥsin al-Turkī, 21 vols, Cairo, 1997-99, www.archive.org/details/alhelawyo7 (an obituary is found in vol. 18, pp. 523-24 in the year 751 AH, and see the index in vol. 21, p. 1121 for other mentions of Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya)
- Ibn Rajab, *Kitāb al-dhayl 'alā Ṭabaqāt al-Hanābila*, ed. Muḥammad Ḥāmid al-Fiḳī, 2 vols in 1, Cairo, 1953, ii, pp. 447-52
- Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Al-durar al-kāmina fī a'yān al-mi'at al-thāmina*, 4 vols, Hyderabad, 1930-31, iii, pp. 400-3

Further biographical sources in Arabic are listed in C. Bori and L. Holtzman (eds), *A scholar in the shadow. Essays in the legal and theological thought of Ibn Qayyim al-Ġawziyyah* (Oriente Moderno monograph series 90.1), Rome, 2010, pp. 259-60

Secondary

- Bori and Holtzman (eds), *A scholar in the shadow* (ten articles on Ibn al-Qayyim's thought; the Introduction, pp. 13-44, includes new insights on Ibn al-Qayyim's biography and a wide-ranging survey of scholarship on his thought)
- C. Bori, 'Ibn Taymiyya wa-jamā'atu-hu. Authority, conflict and consensus in Ibn Taymiyya's circle', in Y. Rapoport and S. Ahmed (eds), *Ibn Taymiyya and his times*, Karachi, 2010, 23-52
- L. Holtzman, 'Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah', in J.E. Lowry and D.J. Stewart (eds), *Essays in Arabic literary biography*, Wiesbaden, 2009, 202-23
- J. Hoover, 'Islamic universalism. Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya's Salafi deliberations on the duration of hell-fire', *MW* 99 (2009) 181-201
- B. Krawietz, 'Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah. His life and works', *Mamlūk Studies Review* 10 (2006) 19-64
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- R. Caspar, A. Charfi and A.-T. Khoury, 'Bibliographie', *Islamochristiana* 4 (1978) 247-67, p. 259
- 'Abd al-'Azīm Sharaf al-Dīn, *Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya. 'Asruhu wa-manhajuhu wa-ārā'uhu fī l-fiqh wa-l-'aqā'id wa-l-taṣawwuf*, Cairo: Maktabat al-Kulliyāt al-Azhariyya, 1967 (repr. Cairo: Al-Dār al-Dawliyya, 2004)
- 'Iwaḍ Allāh Jādd Ḥijāzī, *Ibn al-Qayyim wa-mawqifuhu min al-takfīr al-Islāmī*, Cairo: Dār al-Ṭibā'a al-Muḥammadiyya, 1960; with different pagination, Cairo: Majma' al-Buḥūth al-Islāmiyya, 1972
- H. Laoust, art. 'Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya', in *EL* 2
- Brocklemann, *GAL* ii, pp. 105-6; *S* ii, pp. 126-28
- H. Laoust, *Essai sur les doctrines sociales et politiques de Taḳī-d-Dīn Aḥmad b. Taymiyya, canoniste ḥanbalite né à Ḥarrān en 661/1262, mort à Damas en 728/1328*, Cairo, 1939, pp. 489-92

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Aḥkām ahl al-dhimma, 'Laws regarding the dhimmīs'; *Aḥkām ahl al-milal*, 'Regulations for people of the religions'

DATE Unknown

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

This large work, which runs to 873 pages in the 1961 edition of Subḥī l-Ṣāliḥ, provides a comprehensive account of Islamic regulations pertaining to non-Muslims. The book begins by responding to an inquiry about the *jizya*, or poll tax, collected from non-Muslims (*ahl al-dhimma*) living within Islamic territories. Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya's response, which takes up 140 pages in al-Ṣāliḥ's edition, outlines the reasons for the tax and the way in which it should be collected. He interprets the 'humiliation' prescribed by Q 9:29 to mean not striking *dhimmīs* paying the *jizya* but rather having them comply with the Islamic regulations pertaining to their status.

Other matters treated in the *Aḥkām* include the exclusion of non-Muslims from the Arabian Peninsula, how Muslims should greet and interact with *dhimmīs*, regulations for doing business with them and marrying them, the employment of non-Muslims in government posts, whether Muslims may eat meat butchered by Jews and Christians, the religious status of non-Muslim orphans, and the fate of children of idolaters who die before reaching the age of maturity. The last quarter of the *Aḥkām* cites the Pact of 'Umar (q.v.) in three different versions and provides commentary on each of the Pact's stipulations. Al-Ṣāliḥ has also published this section on the Pact of 'Umar as a separate volume entitled *Sharḥ al-shurūṭ al-'Umayriyya*.

Neither medieval biographers nor earlier modern scholars such as Brockelmann and Laoust list *Aḥkām al-dhimma* among Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya's works. This tome only came to the attention of modern scholars when Subḥī l-Ṣāliḥ edited and published it in 1961 from a single known manuscript found in the possession of the religious scholar Abū Sa'īd Aḥmad Bahā' al-Dīn in Madras, India. The manuscript is dated 869/1464-65 and includes a sale price marked in riyals, the currency of the Ḥijāz in Arabia. Al-Ṣāliḥ reckons that Bahā' al-Dīn's grandfather or another relative bought the manuscript in Mecca or Medina (al-Ṣāliḥ, Introduction, pp. 47-50).

Even though *Aḥkām ahl al-dhimma* does not appear in lists of Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya's works, no one has seriously questioned his authorship. Al-Ṣāliḥ cites the following pieces of evidence to establish the authenticity of the work (Introduction, pp. 53-58). Ibn al-Qayyim mentions a work of his entitled *Aḥkām ahl al-milal* in his theological treatise *Shifā' al-'alīl*. After lengthy deliberation, al-Ṣāliḥ takes *Aḥkām ahl al-milal* to be equivalent to our present work. Ibn al-Qayyim also copies a portion of text from the *Aḥkām* concerning predestination and the religious

status of children into *Shifā' al-'alīl* (ch. 30). It has recently been shown that this material comes originally from Ibn Taymiyya's *Dar' al-ta'arūḍ* (Holtzman, 'Human choice').

In addition, al-Ṣāliḥ observes that the *Aḥkām* refers its readers to Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya's earlier discussion of certain Jewish ritual slaughter regulations in *Hidāyat al-hayārā*. Moreover, al-Ṣāliḥ explains, the *Aḥkām* calls Ibn Taymiyya 'our shaykh' (*shaykhunā*), which Ibn al-Qayyim does in other writings as well. Finally, and characteristic of Ibn al-Qayyim's reliance on Ibn Taymiyya's writings more generally, the book quotes extensively from the latter's *Al-ṣārim al-maslūl* and *Iqtidā' al-ṣirāṭ al-mustaqīm*.

Aḥkām ahl al-dhimma falls most likely among Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya's middle works in view of the fact that he cites it in later works (Holtzman, 'Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya', pp. 202, 214). There is no evidence by which to date it more precisely.

The *Aḥkām* has been edited at least three times since the work of al-Ṣāliḥ. There are the editions of Ṭāhā 'Abd al-Ra'ūf Sa'd (1995) and 'Ādil Sa'd (2004), while the three-volume 1997 edition of Yūsuf ibn Aḥmad al-Bakrī and Shākir ibn Tawfīq al-Ārūrī is not based on new manuscript evidence. It is rather an attempt to improve on al-Ṣāliḥ's edition by, among other things, providing references for Qur'an and Hadith texts and examining Ibn al-Qayyim's textual sources in order to enhance his accuracy in citing them. Studies in European languages referring to *Aḥkām ahl al-dhimma* have relied on al-Ṣāliḥ's edition.

SIGNIFICANCE

Modern scholars have been impressed with the unprecedented focus and comprehensiveness of *Aḥkām ahl al-dhimma*. Its editor Subḥī l-Ṣāliḥ (Introduction, p. 6) calls it 'the first comprehensive book on the subject' in the Islamic tradition. Krawietz further accentuates its significance, stating that 'it has to be regarded as the main late medieval reference concerning the status of minorities in Islamic law' (p. 44; cf. Friedmann, p. 38). It is true that earlier Islamic law books only deal with regulations pertaining to *dhimmīs* across a diffuse range of topics and that the *Aḥkām* draws these together under one heading both for the first time and in a thorough and comprehensive manner. However, the paucity of manuscript evidence for the text and its absence from lists of Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya's works are striking, and the work does not appear to have been consulted widely in the late medieval period. The reasons for this may well lie in the work's idiosyncratic character.

Aḥkām ahl al-dhimma has received little critical investigation thus far. However, David Freidenreich's recent study ('Five questions') on its treatment of Muslim consumption of meat slaughtered by Jewish and Christian butchers (ed. al-Ṣāliḥ, pp. 244-69) shows that Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya's views are highly unusual. Ibn Taymiyya and much of the Sunnī tradition permit Muslim consumption of meat butchered by People of the Book without further qualification. However, Ibn al-Qayyim goes beyond this and systematically introduces theological criteria to help Muslims ascertain whether non-Muslim butchers are sufficiently Jewish or Christian – with Judaism and Christianity defined in Islamic terms – to permit consumption of the meat that they provide. Meat from an animal over which a Christian butcher pronounces the name of Christ instead of the name of God may not be consumed. Even Christians themselves should not eat such meat because the butcher has deviated from authentic Christianity – as defined by Ibn al-Qayyim – into idolatry. Freidenreich concludes that, if this and equally novel views on Jewish butchers are indicative of the whole of Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya's *Aḥkām*, the work is not merely a comprehensive compendium of medieval Muslim views on non-Muslims living in Muslim lands. It is rather an original and independent contribution to Muslim legal scholarship. Freidenreich observes that Ibn al-Qayyim's unique rulings in the *Aḥkām* do not appear in later medieval discussions of food regulations. The work is ignored or unknown. However, it is possible that Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya's views inspired some 20th-century Muslims to prohibit meat supplied by Jews and Christians.

Even if Ibn al-Qayyim's *Aḥkām* appears to have fallen into disuse soon after it was written, it is today attracting the attention of Salafī revivalists, giving the work a life it has not previously enjoyed. To cite just one example, al-Bakrī and al-ʿĀrūrī, the two editors of a 1997 edition of the *Aḥkām*, explain that their motivation in publishing the work is to resist Muslims who call for unifying the 'heavenly religions' (i.e. Judaism, Christianity and Islam) and for considering Jews, Christians and Muslims equally children of Abraham (i, p. 17-18). *Aḥkām ahl al-dhimma* is here serving a contemporary need to buttress the distinctiveness and superiority of Islam over against other religions.

MANUSCRIPTS

See the Description above.

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

Aḥkām ahl al-dhimma, ed. ʿĀdil Saʿd, 2 vols, Mecca: Maktabat Nizār Muṣṭafā al-Bāz, 2004

- Aḥkām ahl al-dhimma*, ed. Yūsuf ibn Aḥmad al-Bakrī and Shākir ibn Tawfiq al-ʿĀrūrī, 3 vols, Al-Dammām, Saudi Arabia: Ramādī li-l-Nashr, and Beirut: Dār Ibn Ḥazm, 1418/1997
- Aḥkām ahl al-dhimma*, ed. Ṭāhā ʿAbd al-Raʿūf Saʿd, Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyya, 1415/1995, 2002²
- A. Ferré, 'Muhammad a-t-il exclu de l'Arabie les Juifs et les Chrétiens', *Islamochristiana* 16 (1990) 43-65 (pp. 59-65 translate the main parts of pp. 184-91 from al-Ṣubḥī's edition of the *Aḥkām*)
- Bat Ye'or, *The dhimmi. Jews and Christians under Islam*, trans. D. Maisel, P. Fenton and D. Littman, rev. ed. Cranbury NJ, 1985, pp. 196-98 (short selections translated from al-Ṣāliḥ's *Sharḥ al-shurūṭ al-ʿUmarīyya*, the last part of the *Aḥkām*)
- Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya, *Sharḥ al-shurūṭ al-ʿUmarīyya, mujarradan min Kitāb aḥkām ahl al-dhimma*, ed. Ṣubḥī l-Ṣāliḥ, Damascus, s.d. (Introduction dated 1380/1961; the body of this work – pp. 1-217 – is identical to the final part of al-Ṣāliḥ's edition of the *Aḥkām*, ii, pp. 657-873)
- Aḥkām ahl al-dhimma*, ed. Ṣubḥī l-Ṣāliḥ, 2 vols, Damascus, 1961 (repr. Beirut, Dār al-ʿIlm li-l-Malāyīn, 1981, 1983, 1994)

STUDIES

- D.M. Freidenreich, *Foreigners and their food. Constructing otherness in Jewish, Christian, and Islamic law*, Berkeley, 2011, pp. 188-190, 202-3, 205 (on Jewish and Christian-butchered meat)
- D.M. Freidenreich, 'Five Questions about non-Muslim meat. Toward a new appreciation of Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah's contribution to Islamic law', in Bori and Holtzman (eds), *A scholar in the shadow*, 89-110 (examines vol. 1, pp. 244-69 of al-Ṣāliḥ's edition)
- L. Holtzman, 'Human choice, divine guidance and the *fiṭra* tradition. The use of hadith in theological treatises by Ibn Taymiyya and Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya', in Y. Rapoport and S. Ahmed (eds), *Ibn Taymiyya and his times*, Karachi, 2010, 163-88
- Holtzman, 'Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah', pp. 202, 214
- M.Y. Abu-Munshar, *Islamic Jerusalem and its Christians. A history of tolerance and tensions*, London, 2007, pp. 63, 68, 77, 196 n. 42
- Krawietz, 'Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah', pp. 44-45
- T. el-Leithy, *Coptic culture and conversion in medieval Cairo, 1293-1524 A.D.*, Princeton NJ, 2005 (Phd diss. Princeton University), pp. 38 n. 10, 260
- M. Levi-Rubin, 'Shurūṭ Umar and its alternatives. The legal debate on the status of the *dhimmīs*', *JSAI* 30 (2005) 170-206, pp. 170-71, 193, 196-97, 199

- Y. Friedmann, *Tolerance and coercion in Islam. Interfaith relations in the Muslim tradition*, Cambridge, 2003 (draws frequently from *Aḥkām ahl al-dhimma*; see the index)
- A. Ljamaï, *Ibn Ḥazm et la polémique islamo-chrétienne dans l'histoire de l'islam*, Leiden, 2003, pp. 183–84, 187–90
- M.R. Cohen, 'What was the Pact of 'Umar? A literary-historical study', *JSAI* 23 (1999) 100–57, pp. 123–24
- M.R. Cohen, *Under crescent and cross. The Jews in the Middle Ages*, Princeton NJ, 1994, pp. 53, 64, 68, 69, 73, 113, 131, 132, 173, 226, 228
- Abū Zayd, *Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya*, pp. 201–2
- Ferré, 'Muhammad a-t-il exclu de l'Arabie les Juifs et les Chrétiens', pp. 59–65
- S. Ward, 'A fragment from an unknown work by al-Ṭabarī on the Tradition 'Expel the Jews and Christians from the Arabian Peninsula (and the lands of Islam)', *BSOAS* 53 (1990) 407–20, pp. 409, 412–13
- M.J. Kister, "'Do not assimilate yourselves..." *Lā tashabbahū...*', *JSAI* 12 (1989) 321–71, pp. 347–48 (repr. in R.Hoyland [ed.], *Muslims and others in early Islamic society*, Aldershot UK, 2004, pp. 151–52)
- A. Noth, 'Abgrenzungsprobleme zwischen Muslimen und Nicht-Muslimen. Die "bedingungen 'Umars (*aṣ-ṣurūṭ al-'umariyya*)"', *JSAI* 9 (1987) 290–315
- S. Ward, *Construction and repair of churches and synagogues in Islamic law. A treatise by Taqī al-Dīn 'Alī b. 'Abd al-Kāfī al-Subkī*, New Haven CT, 1984 (Phd diss. Yale University), pp. 118 n. 7, 142–43 n. 52, 217 n. 21, 226 n. 51, 262 n. 38, 280 n. 108
- Caspar, Charfi and Khoury, 'Bibliographie', p. 259

Kitāb hidāyat al-ḥayārā fī ajwibat al-Yahūd wa-l-Naṣārā; Hidāyat al-ḥayārā, 'Guiding the confused, on responses to the Jews and the Christians'

DATE Unknown

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

This polemic against Jews and Christians comes to 650 pages in the 2008 critical edition of 'Uthmān Ḍumayriyya, a careful piece of work based

on five manuscripts. The 1996 edition of Muḥammad al-Ḥājj is based on four of the same manuscripts and also makes a valuable scholarly contribution. The *Hidāya* cannot be dated precisely, but it falls among Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya's earlier works.

Ibn al-Qayyim indicates in his introduction that he wrote the *Hidāya* in response to a set of questions that an 'unbeliever' had presented to a certain Muslim. The Muslim could not answer and so beat the unbeliever instead. Ibn al-Qayyim is of the view that unbelievers should first be invited to Islam and debated with before a resort to force, and he aims to set out the necessary Muslim arguments in his book. The religious affiliation of the unbeliever is never given. While a long section toward the end of the book details first Jewish and then Christian errors, major parts of the *Hidāya* apply equally to Jews and Christians.

Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya divides the set of questions that he received into seven parts and responds seriatim. The first part of the inquiry alleges that Muslims think Jews and Christians only stay in their religions out of love for power or headship (*riyāsa*) and the good life (*ma'kala*). If that is truly the case, the inquirer asks in the second part, why do Jews and Christians without access to headship and the good life not convert to Islam? Ibn al-Qayyim clarifies that Muslims also believe that Jews and Christians remain in their religions for other reasons, such as ignorance, pride and attachment to irrational beliefs, and he adds that those without access to headship and the good life remain Jews and Christians simply out of subservience to their leaders. He emphasizes that the great majority of Jews and Christians did in fact convert to Islam and that they did so voluntarily. The number of Jews and Christian remaining in their respective religions is not significant.

Ibn al-Qayyim's response to the third part of the inquiry is, at 165 pages in Dumayriyya's edition, the longest section in the *Hidāya*. The prompt is the inquirer's claim that Muslims believe that Jews and Christians erased Muḥammad's name from their books. Ibn al-Qayyim denies that all Muslims say this, even if some ordinary Muslims might do so, and, following 'Alī ibn Rabban al-Ṭabarī, he cites Habakkuk 3:3 and 3:9 as biblical texts in which Muḥammad's name appears explicitly. Ibn al-Qayyim also provides a vast collection of stories and other biblical texts that refer to the Prophet. This collection draws heavily on Ibn Taymiyya's *Takhjīl ahl al-Injīl*, and the biblical passages cited follow in the tradition of 'Alī al-Ṭabarī and Ibn Qutayba's biblical proofs for Muḥammad's prophethood. Ibn al-Qayyim also broaches the question of textual corruption in this section, and here he is noticeably harsher than his teacher

Ibn Taymiyya. Ibn Taymiyya affirms that Christians and Jews misinterpret their scriptures (*taḥrīf al-maʿnā*), but he is reticent to pronounce on the corruption of the texts themselves (*taḥrīf al-lafẓ*). In the spirit of Ibn Ḥazm, however, Ibn al-Qayyim does not hesitate to say that Jews and Christians have indeed altered the wording of their scriptures. This would appear to undermine his use of the Bible to prove Muḥammad's prophethood, but he resolves this by maintaining that God protected those proof texts from corruption.

Ibn al-Qayyim's responses to the fourth, fifth and sixth parts of the inquiry are brief, and they affirm among other things that the foundation of Islam lies in the revelation of God and not in the degree of learning or lack of it found among the Prophet's Companions. The seventh part of the inquiry accuses Muslim scholars of sexual perversity and corrupt character. Ibn al-Qayyim's response constitutes the second longest section of the *Hidāya*, at 129 pages. He first explains that the sinfulness of a messenger's followers does not invalidate the veracity of the message. Then he counters that Jews and Christians, with all of their sin and error through history, have no right to accuse others of impropriety. Drawing on the *Iḥām al-Yahūd* of the Jewish convert to Islam al-Samaw'al al-Maghribi (d. 1175), Ibn al-Qayyim explains how Jews mistreated their prophets and how Rabbinic Judaism entangled its followers in a burdensome web of obligations in order to buttress its claims to authority. In this context, he also includes a discussion of Jewish laws of ritual slaughter, which he refers back to in the later *Aḥkām ahl al-dhimma*. Ibn al-Qayyim then quotes at length from Ibn Baṭrīq's church history to demonstrate that Christians strayed into doctrinal error through a series of ten ecumenical councils. This material from Ibn Baṭrīq is also found in Ibn Taymiyya's *Jawāb*, and it is not clear whether Ibn al-Qayyim merely copied from his teacher's book or drew from Ibn Baṭrīq directly. This section also includes quotations from 'Abd al-Jabbār's *Tathbūt dalā'il al-nubuwwa* (Reynolds) and a major argument that Muḥammad's advent proved all preceding prophets true (translated in Accad, 'Muḥammad's advent', pp. 222-25).

The *Hidāya* ends with a section on proofs for the prophethood of Muḥammad that is unsystematic and unexpectedly brief. Perhaps this is because so many proofs of this kind have already been presented earlier in the book.

SIGNIFICANCE

Ibn al-Qayyim's *Hidāya* has long been known for its harsh language against Jews and Christians and, in contrast to Ibn Taymiyya, its affirmation of

textual corruption of the Bible. Nonetheless, an earlier generation of scholars thought that the *Hidāya* was largely a 'plagiarism' of Ibn Taymiyya's *Jawāb* (Fritsch and Anawati). This has proved to be incorrect. While Ibn al-Qayyim does draw from Ibn Taymiyya's texts, he also uses other sources, as noted above, and he addresses a decidedly different set of questions. The book thus stands alone as a separate work.

Although dwarfed by Ibn Taymiyya's *Jawāb*, the *Hidāya* remains one of the longest polemical works against Christianity and Judaism in the Islamic tradition, and it contains one of the fullest discussions – if not the fullest – of biblical proofs for the prophethood of Muḥammad. It also marks the end of an era; Hava Lazarus-Yafeh (*Intertwined worlds*, p. 139) observes that the *Hidāya* was the last scholarly Muslim polemic against Judaism and Christianity in the medieval period. Later polemical works were limited to a more popular style.

The reception history of *Hidāyat al-ḥayārā* through to the 20th century remains to be studied. However, the fact that at least eight different editors have produced editions of one kind or another since 1978 reveals substantial recent interest in the work. 'Uthmān Ḍumayriyya, editor of the 2008 edition, may give us some sense of the reasons for this. Ḍumayriyya details the embattled state of Muslims today in the face of both military enemies and ideological competitors, such as secularism and Christian mission, and he turns to Ibn al-Qayyim as an example of how Muslim scholars should respond in the face of such threats. For Ḍumayriyya, Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya's *Hidāya* provides inspiration for Muslims struggling to defend the uniqueness of their religion in a religiously and intellectually hostile world.

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- MS Tunis, Zaytuna IV – 436, 291 (date unknown)
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- C. Adang, *Muslim writers on Judaism and the Hebrew Bible. From Ibn Rabban to Ibn Hazm*, Leiden, 1996 (p. 35 and p. 266 indicate that the *Hidāya* quotes Ibn Qutayba's *Dalā'il al-nubuwwa*, which text Adang translates on pp. 267-77)
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