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THE PRINCIPLES OF IBN TAYMIYYA'S QURDANIC INTERPRETATION

Ву

Didin Syafruddin

A Thesis submitted to
the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for
the degree of Master of Arts

Institute of Islamic Studies
McGill University
Montreal

1994

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Abstract

Title : The Principles of Ibn Taymiyya's Quranic Interpretation

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Convinced that "true" Islam had become distorted at the hand of the ahl al-bidas (the innovators) such as the philosophers, the mutakallimūn, the sūfis and the Shīcites, Ibn Taymiyya (d. 1328) not only refutes their fundamental views but also their Quranic hermeneutics, especially their ta'wil, through which "un-Islamic" views were imposed on the words of the Quroan. This concern leads him to write his Muqaddima fī Uṣūl al-Tafsīr (An Introduction to Principles of Quranic Interpretation) which this thesis focuses on. In his principles, Ibn Taymiyya lays strong emphasis on the tafsīr bi al-ma'thūr and the authority of the salaf (the Companions of the Prophet and their Followers), adducing many new arguments in support of this position. He believes that the Quroan had been explained in its entirety by the Prophet to his Companions, and the latter passed this understanding on to the tābifūn. This view leads him to rationalize claiming that the salaf's sayings always can be explained, and to oppose the use of reason in determining the meaning of the scripture. Ibn Taymiyya did not leave behind a complete commentary on the Quroan. However, his principles of tafsir not only show much originality, they have also been very influential. In fact, his influence in this respect is not limited to medieval thinkers like Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya, Ibn Kathīr, al-Zarkashī and al-Suyūţī but extends to modern writers as well.

Résumé

Auteur : Didin Syafruddin

Titre : Les principes d'interprétation coranique d'Ibn Taymiyya

Departement : L'Institut des études islamiques, Université McGill

Diplôme : Maîtrise ès Arts

Convaincu que le "vrai" islam avait été déformé aux mains du ahl al-bida tel que les philosophes, les mutakallimūn, les soufis, et les chiites, Ibn Taymiyya (m. 1328) réfute non seulement leurs opinions fondamentales mais également leur herméneutique coranique, surtout leur ta³wīl par lequel des opinions "non-islamiques" ont été imposées sur les mots du Coran. Cet intérêt l'amène à écrire sa Mugaddima fi uşūl al-tafsīr (Introduction aux principes d'interprétation coranique), qui sera le sujet de cette thèse. Parmi ses principes, Ibn Taymiyya insiste sur le tafsīr bi al-ma³thūr et aussi sur l'autorité des salaf (les compagnons du prophète et ceux qui les suivent), en apportant de nouveaux arguments pour soutenir sa position. Il croit que le Coran a été clairement expliqué par le prophète à ses compagnons, qui ont fait passé cette explication aux tābifūn. Cette opinion l'amène à rationaliser, en déclarant que les maximes des salaf peuvent toujours être expliquées, et qu'il faut donc s'opposer à l'usage de la raison dans l'interprétation des écritures saintes. Ibn Taymiyya n'a pas laissé de commentaire coranique complet. Cependant, ses principes montre son originalité et ont eu beaucoup d'influence sur les penseurs médiévaux comme Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya, Ibn Kathīr, al-Zarkashī, et al-Suyûţī, ainsi que sur certains écrivains modernes.

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should be thanked as well for kindly translating the abstract into French. I am also grateful to Professor Wael B. Hallaq, who gave me some helpful suggestions when I began writing this thesis; he also lent me his—recent book on Ibn Taymiyya and gave some other references as well. Finally, I have to thank Professor Issa J. Boullata, both as the Director of the McGill-Indonesia IAIN Development Project and as my thesis adviser. He has always encouraged me—to work very hard and has himself been a very efficient and helpful supervisor. Although at the time of my finishing this thesis, he was very busy because of his administrative duties in the Project directorship, he was willing nevertheless to go over every sentence of this thesis and suggest corrections and improvements. This thesis is a tribute to his concern and, I hope, the beginning of my intellectual journey.

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INTRODUCTION

A. Previous Studies of Ibn Taymiyya

Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn Taymiyya, who was born at Ḥarrān in 1263 A.D. and died in the Citadel of Damascus in 1328 A.D., was one of the leading figures of the Ḥanbalite school. As a Muslim thinker, he always insisted on the superiority of the Quroān and of the Sunna (the Prophet's Tradition), and of the examples of the ṣaḥāba (the Companions of the Prophet) and the tābi'ūn (the immediate successors of the Companions) over other sources of guidance such as reason. In addition, he strove to maintain the pristine purity of Islamic teachings.

As a salafī theologian, loyal to the "men of old" Ibn Taymiyya criticized without hesitation the philosophers, rational theologians, (speculative) şūfīs and Shī¢ītes whose convictions (${}^caq\bar{a}{}^\circ id$) he considered to have strayed from true Islam. He wrote many books and issued many $fatw\bar{a}$ s, 1 showing the weaknesses of his opponents' arguments from the point of view of both reason and revelation and trying to have them accept what he regarded as true Islam. He seems to have defined himself as a guardian of Islamic thinking and behavior whose responsibility was to guide Muslims to the right path and to preserve and maintain the salafī convictions. This stance led him to be a polemical Muslim thinker, as is shown by the nature of almost all of his writings.²

l Al-Dhahabī has mentioned that his works include about 300 books. See Tadhkirāt al-Ḥutfāz (Haydarabad: Maṭbacat Dārirat al-Macārif al-Nizāmiyya, 1334 H.), 279.

² See for example al-Radd 'alā al-Manţiqiyyīn (Bombay: al-Maţba'a al-Qayyima, 1949), his refutation of Greek logicians; Minhāj al-Sunna al-Nabawiyya (Būlāq: al-Maṭba'a al-Kubrā al-Amīriyya, 1321 H.), his criticism of the Shī'ites and the Qadarites; Ma'ārij al-Wuṣūl (Medina: al-Maktaba al-Ilmiyya, n.d.) refuting the philosophers' conviction that the Prophet did not explain the principles of Islam (uṣūl al-dīn).

However, Ibn Taymiyya was a man of action as well as ideas. He consistently put his ideas into practice. One example is his taking up arms against the Ittiḥādiyya, the supporters of Ibn 'Arabī (1240-1) and against the Rāfiḍites of Kasrawān.³ Also, he did not hesitate to take part in fighting against the Mongols when they invaded Syria. He even gave a fatwā encouraging Muslims to get involved in that holy war against their enemies.⁴ This activist personality led him into practical political affairs. Consequently, his thought went through a dialectical process with social reality.

There have been many studies of Ibn Taymiyya either in the form of biographies⁵ or thematic studies of his thought in areas such as politics, *kalām* (theology), philosophy, şūfism, jurisprudence and Qur³anic exegesis. Regarding politics, he has been seen as a Muslim theologian who insisted strongly on the unity of the *umma* and social justice.⁶ Furthermore, as regards *kalām* and philosophy, Ibn Taymiyya is considered to

³ Henri Laoust, "Ibn Taymiyya", *The Encyclopedia of Islam*, New Edition, 1971, Ed. by B. Lewis et all., III, p. 952.

⁴ Abd al-Hādī, al-cUqūd al-Durriyya (Cairo: Matbaca Ḥijāzī, 1938), 120-131.

⁵ Among biographies of Ibn Taymiyya are 'Abd al-Hādī, al-'Uqūd al-Durriyya; Mar'ī ibn Yūsuf al-Karmī, al-Kawākib al-Durriyya (Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 1986); Ibn Kathīr, al-Bidāya wa al-Nihāya, Vol. 14, 134-140. The most important biography of Ibn Taymiyya is Abū Zahra's Ibn Taymiyya, ḥayātuh, ārā'uh wa fiqhuh. In this book, the author describes the historical, social and political background of Ibn Taymiyya and discusses his fiqh, uṣūl al-fiqh and tafsīr. Another useful biography is by Muḥammad Yūsuf Mūsā: Ibn Taymiyya (Beirut: al-'Aṣr al-Ḥadīth, 1988). A concise biography can also be found in Laoust's article, "Ibn Taymiyya", The Encyclopaedia Of Islam, New Edition, 3, 951-955. For his personal characteristic, see Donald P. Little, "Did Ibn Taymiyya Have a Screw Loose?", Studia Islamica, 41, 93-111.

⁶ The classic study of the social-political theory of Ibn Taymiyya is Henri Laoust's Essai sur les Doctrines Sociales et Politiques de Takī-d-Dīn Aḥmad b. Taymīya (Cairo: Imprimerie de l'institut Français d'archéologie orientale, 1939). Unfortunately, I have no access to works in French. There is a useful study of Ibn Taymiyya's political thought by Qamaruddin Khan entitled, The Political Thought of Ibn Taymiyya (Delhi: Adams Publisher & Distributors, 1988). Also see Victor E. Makari's Ibn Taymiyya's Ethics: the Social Factor (California: Scholars Press, 1983), 113-173.

have been the strongest opponent to the idea of ta^ctil and of the idea that the Prophet did not explain the principles of Islam through syllogistic and demonstrative methods. With respect to suffism, he was one who resisted the idea of tashbih and that of the union of man and God. Again in his legal reasoning, Ibn Taymiyya was foremost in his strong emphasis on the authority of the Quran and the Sunna over the other sources like $ijm\bar{a}^c$ and $qiy\bar{a}s$. And last but not least, in Quranic exegesis, this Ḥanbalite theologian was well known for his strong rejection of ta^owil (metaphorical interpretation) and $tafs\bar{a}r$ bi alraay (Quranic interpretation through personal opinion). Unfortunately, most modern studies on his method of Quranic interpretation such as by Abū Zahra, Muhammad

⁷ On this issue there are several important studies: Thomas F. Michel, A Muslim Theologian's Response to Christianity (Delmar: Caravan Books, 1984), 40-55; Sabih Ahmad Kamālī: The Types of Islamic Thought (Aligarh: Institute of Islamic Studies, Aligarh Muslim University, n.d), 53-111; Nurcholish Madjid, Ibn Taymiyya on Kalam and Falsafa (the conflict between reason and revelation), Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1985, 112-140; Muḥammad Khalīl Harās, Ibn Taymiyya al-Salafī (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-Islāmiyya, 1984); and the recent introduction by Wael B. Hallaq to his edition and translation of Ibn Taymiyya's al-Radd falā al-Mantiqiyyīn or Ibn Taymiyya Against the Greek Logicians (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), xi-1viii; George Makdisi, "The Tanbīh of Ibn Taymīya on Dialectic: The Pseudo-cAqīlian Kitāb al-Farq", Medieval and Middle Eastern Studies in Honor of Aziz Suryal Atiya, Ed. by Sami A. Hanna (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1972), 285-294.

⁸ See Michel, Ibn Taymiyya's "Sharh on the Futüh al-Ghayb of Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī", Hamdard Islamicus, IV, No. 2, 1981, 3-12 and his A Muslim Theologian's Response to Christianity, 5-23. and the enlightening discussion of Ibn Taymiyya's thought and attitude regarding şūfism by Muhammad Umar Memon: Ibn Taymiyya's Struggle against Popular Religion (Paris: Mouton & Co, 1976), 35-72.

⁹ Abū Zahra. *Ibn Taymiyya*, 460-478.; Mūsā, *Ibn Taymiyya*, 167-188; Victor E. Makari, *Ibn Taymiyyah's Ethics*, 178; Sirajul Haq, "Ibn Taymiyya's Conseption of Analogy and Consensus", *Islamic Culture*, 17, 1943, 77-87.

¹⁰ His study of Ibn Taymiyya's Quranic interpretation is only a part of his biography. However, it contains a very good discussion especially when the author makes a comparison between Ibn Taymiyya's principles of Quranic interpretation and those of al-Ghazālī'. See Abū Zahra's *Ibn Taymiyya*: 220-235.

cAdnān Zarzūr, 11 Muḥammad Yūsuf Mūsā, 12 and cAbd al-Raḥmān cUmayra 13 only give brief discussions of it. These writers merely summarize the Muqaddima fī Uṣūl al-Tafsīr, and do not go beyond observing that according to Ibn Taymiyya's principles of tafsīr, Qur³anic interpretation should be through the Qur³ān, the Sunna, the sayings of the ṣaḥāba and their successors. They do not consult his other writings or collections of his fatwā s, nor do they discuss why Ibn Taymiyya emphasized those principles of Qur³anic interpretation, or what tendencies in the Qur³anic interpretation of the time may have inspired him to write that book. There are certainly exceptions, such as Muḥammad al-Sayyid al-Julaynid 14 and Ṣabrī al-Mutawallī, 15 whose works on the principles of Ibn Taymiyya's tafsīr have considered the lack of previous studies into account. However, they too do not analyze closely the problem of the extent to which Ibn Taymiyya was consistent with his principles when he himself interpreted the Qur³ān. Finally, no writer compares the principles of Ibn Taymiyya's Qur³anic interpretation with those of the previous thinkers of the same school of tafsīr.

¹¹ He edited and wrote an introduction to Ibn Taymiyya's Muqaddima fī Uṣūl al-Tafsīr (Kuwait: Dār al-Qur'ān al-Karīm, 1971), 5-24.

¹² See his book: Ibn Taymiyya, 138-147.

¹³ He edited and wrote an introduction to Ibn Taymiyya's al-Tafsīr al-Kabīr (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-filmiyya, 1988). Victor Makari and Thomas Michel note that Quroanic interpretation is one of Ibn Taymiyya's concerns. But it has unfortunately received little attention. See Victor Makari, Ibn Taymiyya's Ethics, 2. and Thomas Michel, A Muslim Theologian's Response to Christianity, 383.

¹⁴ See his Al-Imām ibn Taymiyya wa Mawqifuh min Qadiyyat al-Ta'wil (Cairo: al-Hay'a al-'Āmma li Shū'ūn al-Maṭābic al-Islāmiyya, 1973).

¹⁵ See his Manhaj ibn Taymiyya fi Tafsīr al-Qur'ān al-Karīm (Cairo: 'Ālam al-Kutub, 1981).

B. The Focus of this Study

The study proposed here would be significant for several reasons. One of them is that Ibn Taymiyya's thought was basically derived from his interpretation of the Qur³ān. To get a better understanding of his ideas and actions, we must deal with his principles of Qur³anic interpretation. There are many studies of Ibn Taymiyya's thought, but they do not relate it to his principles of Qur³anic interpretation. The second reason is that Ibn Taymiyya's refutation of the philosophers, the speculative theologians, the şūfis or the Shīcites was mainly because of their distortion of Qur³anic interpretations and their claim that their theological views too were derived from the Qur³ān. Finally, Ibn Taymiyya was the leading salafī thinker, who could be considered as a proponent of tafsīr bi alma²thūr (Qur³anic interpretation through the Sunna, şaḥāba and tābisūn); he laid down the rational and the scriptural basis of this school of Qur³anic exegesis, which greatly influenced such later exegetes as Ibn Kathīr, 16 al-Zarkashī and al-Suyūṭī. 17 His

¹⁶ Ibn Taymiyya's influence on Ibn Kathīr can be seen in the latter's discussion about his method of Qur'anic interpretation. See Muḥammad 'Alī al-Ṣābūnī, Mukhtaṣār Tafsīr Ibn Kathīr, Vol. 1 (Beirut: Dār al-Qur'an al-Karīm, 1981), 12; Jane Dammen

principles of Qur³anic interpretation have not been explored yet particularly in Western studies.

The sources which will be used for studying this subject can be divided into three categories: firstly, sources written by Ibn Taymiyya himself, particularly *Muqaddima fī Uṣūl al-Tafsīr*; secondly, writings by others on Ibn Taymiyya; and thirdly, general sources related to the subject under discussion.

In rendering the Qur'anic verses, Arberry's Koran interpreted ¹⁸ and M.H. Shakir's Holy Qur'an ¹⁹ are followed with some modifications. The system of the Institute of Islamic Studies, McGill University is used in Arabic transliteration.

McAuliffe, "Quranic Hermeneutics: The Views of al-Tabarī and Ibn Kathīr" in Andrew Rippin's (ed.) Approaches to the History of the Interpretation of the Qur³ān (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), 55. Also her Qur³anic Christians, An Analysis of Classical and Modern Exegesis (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 72-3.

¹⁷ See Adnan Zarzūr's introduction to Ibn Taymiyya's Muqaddima fi Uşūl al-Tafsīr, 20.

¹⁸ Arthur J. Arberry, *The Koran interpreted* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983).

¹⁹ M.H. Shakir, Holy Qur'an (New York: Tahrike Tarsile Qur'an, Inc., 1986).

CHAPTER ONE IBN TAYMIYYA'S VIEWS ON TA'WIL

A. Historical development of Islamic schools of thought until the time of Ibn Taymiyya

The principles of Ibn Taymiyya's Qur³anic interpretation as presented in his Muqaddima fī Uṣūl al-Tafsīr, cannot be separated from the political and theological challenges confronting him. Although the Muqaddima touches upon those political and theological issues only in passing, it clearly reflects and responds to the intellectual controversies of his time. These issues and controversies are, in fact, reflected in all his writings and his fatāwā (Islamic legal advices).

Why did Ibn Taymiyya feel it necessary to write the *Muqaddima fī Uṣūl al-Tafsīr* (An Introduction to the principles of Qur³anic interpretation)? As he himself explains, some of his friends asked him to write an introduction containing general principles that could help them understand the Qur³ān, its interpretation and its meanings. Furthermore, the *Muqaddima fī Uṣūl al-Tafsīr* was also intended to help the reader differentiate the correct tafsīr (Qur³anic interpretation) from others and to serve as a criterion in identifying the correct opinions. Such a criterion is necessary, he states, because there are many tafsīr s in which strong opinions are mixed with weak ones, the true with the groundless. Some of these tafsīr s are based on valid reasoning, some are not. Ibn Taymiyya emphasizes that

l His views on the duty of the ruler and that of the ruled is expressed in Al-Siyāsa al-Shariyya fī Iṣlāḥ al-Rā'ī wa al-Ra'iyya (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 1988).

the *umma* is in need of an understanding of the Qur³ān which does not deviate from the truth.²

In his introduction of the *Muqaddima*, Ibn Taymiyya does not reject all *tafsīr* s of the time as groundless. He observes that some of them are true and some of them are not. Nor does he hold that all schools of Islamic thought have erred in their interpretation of the Qur³ān. He only suggests that some of the *tafsīr* s are based on correct understanding of the Qur³ān while others are unfounded. Later in the *Muqaddima*, as well as in other writings, Ibn Taymiyya, however, expresses his concerns on the growing number of Qur³anic interpretations which diverge from the beliefs of the *salaf* and points out the false opinions on which such interpretations are based. He attacks them from the point of view of reason or from that of Scripture. What disturbs him most are the people who, for him, have gone astray and claimed that their understanding of the Qur³ān was correct, though it contradicted the view of the *salaf*.

Ibn Taymiyya always claimed that his criticism of other deviant schools mainly derived from the salaf's own understanding of the Quroan. His critique cannot simply be characterized as theological, however, for theology according to him is closely related to political concerns and developments. Ibn Taymiyya felt that the political fragility of the umma which had allowed the Mongols to invade the Muslims, was due to the latter's differences in their understanding of Islam or of the Quroan. Ibn Taymiyya accused the Shīcites and the sūfis of having facilitated the Mongol invasion. So, when he called for a return to the salaf's interpretation of the Quroan, it was not only because the latter was

² Ibn Taymiyya, *Muqaddima fī Uşūl al-Tafsīr*, Ed. by ^cAdnān Zarzūr (Kuwait: Dār al-Our³ān al-Karīm, 1971), 33-4.

theologically well-founded, but also because doing so would politically consolidate the unity of the Muslim community. ³

Ibn Taymiyya (1263-1328) lived when the Muslim community was divided along legal, theological and political lines. This diversity originated from the fact that for more than five centuries the Muslim community had experienced a remarkable change either due to its internal dynamics or its interaction with external intellectual and cultural influences. The difference within the Muslim community first began when the Muslims were faced with the problems of succession to the Prophet, and particularly when 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān came into power while facing a silent rivalry from 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib and his followers. The differences became more acute when 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib was accused of being part of the conspiracy to kill the third caliph 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān.

This political clash within the Muslim community and its leaders is a turning point for later development in Muslim history because the effects of this tragedy went beyond the political sphere. ⁴ From this time onwards, differences among Muslims were not limited only to the political sphere, but also affected or shaped theological developments. This tragedy divided the Muslim community into the supporters of Alī and those of Uthmān.

³ Ibn Taymiyya repeatedly called for a return to the Islamic understanding of the salaf and for avoiding differences of opinions within the Muslim community. The Muslims were discouraged to talk about what they did not know. See, for example, his Muwāfaqat Ṣahīḥ al-Manqūl li Ṣarīḥ al-Maʿqūl, Vol. 1 (Medina: Maṭbaʿat al-Sunna al-Muḥammadiyya, 1951), 26, 29. Moreover, Ibn Taymiyya accused certain people of bidʿa such as falāsifa, Muʿtazilites, Shīʿites and ṣūfis, of creating doubt and confusion which led to disunity of the umma and the invasion of the Mongols. See, for instance, his al-Tafsīr al-Kabīr, Ed. by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ʿUmayra, Vol. 1 (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyya, 1988). 290.

⁴ According to W. Montgomery Watt, this period is a convenient starting point for the study of Islamic thought. See his *The Formative Period of Islamic Thought* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1973), 9.

This political clash soon created the third group, the Khārijites 5 who condemned supporters of both 'Uthman and 'Ali as sinful and claimed to be the only righteous people. After Mucawiya ibn Abī Sufyan, a nephew of cUthman, turned out to be victorious in his struggle against Alī, he established the Umayyad dynasty. These political rulers tried to eliminate all political opposition from the loyal supporters of Alī and the Khārijites. The opposition to the rulers did not remain merely political for it, later, also became theological. Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib came to be seen by his supporters as not merely a political leader, but also a religious figure. The Kharijites also developed the theological doctrine of the grave sin, stressing that a Muslim who committed it was to be killed. In the light of the tension between political groups, this doctrine was easily understood to suggest that the rulers had committed grave sins, so that shedding their blood was lawful. The radical theology of the Khārijites led to the rise of the accommodative theology of the Jabrites suggesting that the criterion of faith was not action, but affirmation, in one's heart, of God's existence. According to this group, the affirmation of the heart of the believer was sufficient even though it was not proved by action. They, also asserted that the action of man was created by God. The human being, in their opinion, had no freedom to choose or to act. This doctrine implied that the existing rulers could not be judged as sinful because they acted according to God's will rather than their own. This theology clearly emphasized submission to the rulers. As a reaction to this theology of political harmony, there arose the Qadarites emphasizing the notion that it was man, not God, who created human actions. In political terms, this idea suggested that the faults of the caliphs were their responsibility, not God's will.6

⁵ Ibn Taymiyya regards Khārijites as the first innovators (ahl al-bid'a) in Islam. See his Majmū' Fatāwā Ibn Taymiyya: Muqaddimat al-Tafsūr, Vol. 13 (Rabat: Maktabat al-Ma'ārif, n.d.), 31, 38.

⁶ The interrelation of theology and politics presented here is not deterministic or reductionist.

In this atmosphere of political and theological clash, there also were Muslims who consciously tried to devote their life only to serving God by practicing the commands of God and of His Messenger and by purifying the soul from the temptations of worldly life. This şūfistic phenomenon was represented by the life of Hasan al-Baṣrī (d.728). In addition there were other pious Muslims who tried to emulate what the Prophet and his companions taught and practiced by collecting their sayings and recording their behavior. Such pious Muslims, represented by al-Awzācī (d.744) and Mālik ibn Anas (d.791), later became the orthodox school of the Sunnites. Their political affiliation was more accommodative to the existing rulers. The interrelation of theology and politics in the first centuries of Islam was obviously more complicated than has been depicted here. The point emphasized here is not only that the internal dynamics of the Muslim community manifested themselves in political fragmentation but also in theological conflicts within the Muslim community and that these two are interconnected. Historically, such differences led to different ways of understanding and interpreting the Quran, not only different but contradictory and mutually exclusive.

Apart from the Muslim community's internal dynamics, Muslim intellectual elites of the late Umayyad and particularly the 'Abbasid period came into contact with Persian and Greek thought. ⁷ Many works of Greek science and philosophy were translated. Those who translated these works themselves came from different cultural and religious backgrounds and were patronized by the rulers. As a result of exposure to the "foreign" sciences, intellectual currents within the Muslim community became more sophisticated.⁸ At this time, the Muctazilites took over the Qadarite argument regarding the place of man

⁷ Ibn Taymiyya's remark on this event is that from the third century, Greek thought had covered the Sun of guidance of Muḥammadan teachings among the Muslim community. See his al-Risāla al-Tadmuriyya (Cairo: Maṭbaʿat al-Islām, 1949), 3.

⁸ H.R. Gibb discusses the influence of Greek thought on the internal dynamics of the Muslim community. *Mohammedanism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969).

in relation to God. They also came up with doctrines of other fundamental issues like the unity of God, the justice of God, etc. The Mu^ctazilites were clearly different from their predecessors, for instance in presenting their theological arguments in rational terms. Many of their theological doctrines, no less than rational methods, were unacceptable to other scholars of the time. It would not be more peculiar than their strong emphasis on the authority of reason. The Muctazilites believed that reason was sufficient to form moral choices and that the position of revelation was supplementary rather than primary. Therefore, they were in favor of ta'wil (metaphorical interpretation) of the Our'an if they felt that the apparent meaning of the Qurain contradicted rational judgment. In case of conflict between reason and revelation, they held the latter should be interpreted according to the former. Regarding the hand of God, for example, the Mu^ctazilites rejected the apparent meaning contained in the Quroan for the "hand" implied that God had a physical form. If that were so, God needed space and time which meant that He was like man and other creatures, and that was of course impossible. Therefore, they rejected the apparent meaning of the Quran for this rational argument. According to them, such apparent but questionable meanings of the text should be interpreted metaphorically (ta'wīl).

Mu^ctazilite teachings were opposed, among others, by Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal (d.855) (and his followers later known as the Ḥanbalites) who called upon Muslims to believe whatever God has said. He believed that reason could not determine good or bad. Moreover, his followers emphasized the limits of reason, and maintained that it could not determine the meaning of the Scripture. As a dialectical process, the thesis of the Mu^ctazilites resulted in the antithesis of the Ḥanbalite and this led to the synthesis of the Ash^carites. This Ash^carite school founded by Abū al-Ḥasan al-Ash^carī (d.935) tried to reconcile the authority of revelation with that of reason by using rational arguments

borrowed from the Greek heritage. With the passage of time, the Muslim exposure to Greek thought and culture made them more diverse.

In fact, Muslim contact with Greek thought went beyond intensifying the inner diversity of the community; it also created a new group within it, namely, the philosophers. These thinkers inherited Greek thought not merely in terms of methods, as the theologians mentioned above did but also in their world views. They brought new ideas to the Muslim community and had their own ways and methods of understanding God, Man, Universe, Prophethood mentioned in the Quron. Among themselves too, the philosophers differed widely: some of them were far from orthodoxy, others were near and still others were considered to be within orthodoxy. Although they claimed to be true Muslims, they were in certain respects much more different than the other groups, particularly in their convictions regarding the ability of human reason. Therefore, their views were very often to provoke strong reactions and refutations from Muslim theologians.

It is very difficult to determine whether internal dynamics or external influences were more important in shaping the course of Muslim history, for both are closely related to each other. The Shīcites and the Muctazilites, for example, historically originated from an internal political dialectic of the Muslim community, but in later times, they were influenced by Greek thought especially in their way of presenting their theological

On the one hand, Abū al-Ḥasan al-Ash'arī emphasized the authority of the Qur'ān, the Sunna and the salaf over reason. On the other hand, however, he emphasized the importance of reason for supporting religious argument. Therefore, he criticized the anti-rational tendency of the Ḥanbalites of his time. See Ḥamūda Gharāba, Abū al-Ḥasan al-Ash'arī (Beirut: Manshūrāt al-Maktaba al-'Arabiyya, 1973), 81.

arguments.¹⁰ The Ḥanbalites may be considered as a product of the internal historical process, but their theological consolidation cannot be separated from their conflict with the Mu^ctazilites or the Ash^carites. Almost each of them is thus a product of the other. What is more certain is that the interrelations of internal dynamics and external influences contributed to the growth and development of all theological schools. By intensifying the elaboration of doctrines and the expansion of schools, subdivisions within them were created. The history of the Sh̄^cites is a case in point. Due to internal and external influences, their doctrines regarding the place of ^cAlī continued to become more sophisticated. At the same time, they also came to be divided into Rāfiḍites, Zaydites, Ismā^cīlites (Bāṭinīs), Nuṣayrites, Qarmāṭians, etc. each school with its distinct nature. Subdivisions also occurred among the ṣūfis, some of whom had a shar^cī, others a more speculative orientation. In short, the Muslim community has exhibited increasing diversity with the passage of time.

B. The Schools of Islamic Thought in Damascus and Egypt in the Second Half of the 13th Century and the First Half of the 14th

Most Islamic schools of thought discussed above continued to exist in the time of Ibn Taymiyya both as a social and an intellectual reality, though some had declined. Ibn Taymiyya spent his life in what can be characterized as the centers of Islamic thought at that time. Ḥarrān, the place where he was born, was the center of the Ḥanbalite school. ¹¹ It was a former Hellenized territory. In addition, Ibn Taymiyya had the advantage of living in Cairo at a time when, as capital of the relatively stable Mamlük state, it was becoming

¹⁰ Like the Mu^ctazilites, the Shī^cites, for instance, denied the attributes of God. See Nurcholish Madjid, *Ibn Taymiyya on Kalām and Falsafa (the conflict between Reason and Revelation)*, unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Chicago University, 1985, 125.

¹¹ L. Veccia Vaglieri, "Ḥarrān", *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, New Edition, 1971, Ed. by B. Lewis et al., III, 228.

one of the cultural foci of Islam replacing Baghdad; Damascus, as the second Mamlūk capital, was also rising in importance at this time. ¹² Egypt in his time was the living center of various Islamic legal schools: theḤanafites, the Mālikites, the Shāficites and the Ḥanbalites, all of whom were supported by the rulers. ¹³ It also was the main center of a growing ṣūfi order. ¹⁴ In his time, the Shīcites, though far from where he lived, clearly challenged the theology and the politics of the Sunnites. ¹⁵ The doctrines of many other theological schools, like the Muctazilites, Jahmites, Khārijites, Jabrites, etc. were still alive in his time, challenging the salaf's understanding of Islam. ¹⁶

As regards the Islamic legal schools, Ibn Taymiyya was certainly in agreement with their understanding of Islam for they followed the Qur³ān, the Sunna, the sahāba and the $t\bar{a}bi^c\bar{u}n$. Nevertheless, he felt it was necessary to emphasize the superiority of the Qur³ān and the Sunna over other Islamic legal sources. Therefore, he dwells at length on the supremacy of the Qur³ān and the Sunna over $ijm\bar{a}^c$, $qiy\bar{a}s$, al-maṣālih al-mursalah, $istihs\bar{a}n$ and $istish\bar{a}b$ which had become established as Islamic legal sources by that time.

¹² W. Montgomery Watt, *Islamic Philosophy and Theology* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1987), 145.

¹³ Donald P. Little argues that the Mamlüks' support of the legal schools can be traced to the interrelations of their religious and political interests. See his, "Religion under the Mamlüks", *The Muslim World*, 73, 1983, 165-81.

¹⁴ Victor Danner and Wheeler M. Thackston, Ibn 'Ata' Illah (The Book of Wisdom) Kwaja Abdullah Ansari (intimate Conversations), New York: Paulist Press, 1978, 14. See also Muhammad Umar Memon, Ibn Taymīya's Struggle Against Popular Religion (Paris: Mouton, 1976), 5.

¹⁵ Victor E. Makari, *Ibn Taymiyyah's Ethics, the Social Factor* (Chico: Scholars Press, 1983), 2.

¹⁶ Almost all his polemical fatwā s in theology were delivered to what he called "the people who had gone astray " (ahl al-dalāl) or "the innovators" (ahl al-bida^c): Ittiḥādites, Muctazilites, Ashcarites, Jahmites, Qadarites, Jabrites, Ithnacasharites, Ismācīlites, Qarmāṭians, Khurramites, Nuṣayrites. See, for instance, Majmūc Fatāwā Ibn Taymiyya: Tauḥīd al-Rubūbiyya, Vol. 2 (Rabat: Maktabat al-Macārif, n.d.).

In his view, recourse to the latter is justified after the two fundamental sources have been scrutinized. 17 It seems that in his time there was a tendency to favor qiyas or other secondary legal sources over the primary sources, which is why he had to emphasize the latter's importance. In line with this position, he severely criticized blind agreement (taqlid) or imitation of the imams of the legal schools before determining the scriptural basis of their views. He claimed that his shared opinion with Ahmad ibn Hanbal was not because he was a Hanbalite, but because Ahmad ibn Hanbal had stronger arguments than others. He often proposed new opinions or arguments which contradicted the established opinion of the imams of the schools. A remarkable instance of his independent stance may be seen with reference to the question of divorce: he affirms the invalidity of uniting three repudiations into a single one considering the three oaths of repudiation as a single oath if the person who uttered them did not intend to proceed to an actual divorce. Another interesting example is his fatwa concerning the lawfulness of bribing someone if the briber's intention was to regain his right, though he did not define the meaning of right and wrong here. His opinion clearly opposed the clear and the well-known tradition which stated: "the briber and the bribed are in Hell." 18

Although in some respects Ibn Taymiyya's views differ from those of the established Islamic legal schools and their followers, he shared the fundamental conviction

¹⁷ As regards qiyās, for example, Ibn Taymiyya only accepted what he termed alqiyās al-ṣaḥīḥ meaning analogy of two things which are exactly similar, for he was very suspicious of rational inference. See al-Qiyās fī Shar al-Islāmī, a work of Ibn Taymiyya and his pupil, Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya (Cairo: al-Maṭba al-Salafiyya, 1375 H.), 6-7. His attitude towards other legal sources particularly istiṣḥāb and maṣāliḥ mursalah was similar for he felt that they degenerate into rational speculation. For a discussion of his opinions, see Abū Zahra, Ibn Taymiyya, ḥayātuh wa asruh, ārā uh wa fiqhuh (Dār al-Fikr al-Arabī, n.d.), 463-65, 472-75, 494, 495; Muḥammad Yūsuf Mūsā, Ibn Taymiyya (Beirut: al-Aṣr al-Ḥadīth, 1988), 163-216.

¹⁸ Ibn Taymiyya, Mukhtaşar al-Fatāwā al-Mişriyya (Cairo: Maṭbasat al-Sunna al-Muhammadiyya, 1949), 458-59.

regarding the authority of the revelation and the Prophet's tradition as well as the virtues of the saḥāba and the tābisān. As a result, Ibn Taymiyya recognized these legal schools and was far from accusing them of having gone astray or being innovators. His attitude towards the various Islamic legal schools was of course different from that towards the falāsifa, mutakallimān, ṣūfis and Shīstes. The latter he considered dangerous and, in the eyes of Ibn Taymiyya, they were not Islamic at all. The following is a discussion of Ibn Taymiyya's criticism of the fundamental convictions of philosophers, mutakallimān, ṣūfis and Shīstes with special reference to their taswīl of the Qursān.

C. Ibn Taymiyya's Criticism of the Ta'wil of the Islamic Schools of Thought

1. The Philosophers

Although great philosophers such as al-Kindī, al-Fārabī, Ibn Sīna and Ibn Rushd were no longer alive, and noted institutions such as the Dār al-Ḥikma no longer existed, the works and ideas of the philosophers still circulated among the learned Muslims. Ibn Taymiyya's al-Radd 'alā al-Mantiqiyyīn was inspired by his meeting someone who seemed to blindly glorify the philosophers (al-mutafalsifa). ¹⁹ In the opinion of Ibn Taymiyya, such glorification could not be tolerated at all, for the philosophers disseminated very dangerous ideas which contradicted the Quroān, the Sunna and the Islamic understanding of the salaf. Therefore, he was very critical of most of the philosophers'

¹⁹ Ibn Taymiyya, *Majmū^c Fatāwā Ibn Taymiyya: al-Manțiq*, Vol. 9 (Rabat: Maktabat al-Ma^cārif, n.d), 82.

convictions.²⁰ His most fundamental criticism of their convictions related to ta^2wil centered on the problem of the creation of the universe.

According to the philosophers, the creation of the universe is the result of an evolutionary process. They believed that one does not come except from one (al-wāḥid lā yaṣdur illā 'an al-wāḥid). In their opinion, creation takes place through the process of emanation from the first intellect (al-'aql al-awwal) as a simple being and not a composite being, to the second, the third and so on till the tenth intellect. From the tenth intellect, the celestial soul was created. ²¹ After that, the tenth celestial soul created the celestial bodies. Moreover, the ninth celestial body created the terrestrial bodies of which man is the supreme being. This process of creation takes place according to this scheme. Therefore, in their view, direct creation of the world cannot be accepted for they also think that the process of creation must not contradict the sunna (the natural law).²²

The philosophers' understanding of the creation of the world calls forth sharp criticism from Ibn Taymiyya for, according to him, the philosophers have deprived God of His will. God, to him, is Omnipotent. Although Ibn Taymiyya rejects creatio ex nihilo, he does not accept the creation of the world through emanation; in his view, God created the world from material beings which already existed. What he tries to emphasize is that God Himself created this world, and he rejects the philosophers' evolutionary theory of

²⁰ His refutation of philosophy centered on the problems of "definition", "syllogism", "demonstration", "the eternity of the world", "the impersonality of God", "the Necessary Being." See Sabih Ahmad Kamālī, *Types of Islamic Thought* (Aligarh: Aligarh Muslim University, n.d.), 59-102; M.M. Sharif, *History of Muslim Philosophy*, Vol. 2 (Karachi: Royal Book Company, n.d.), 805; Nurcholish Madjid, *Ibn Taymiyya on Kalām and Falsafa*, 158.

²¹ Ibn Taymiyya, *Majmū^c Fatāwā Ibn Taymiyya: al-Tafsīr*, Vol. 17 (Rabat: Maktabat al-Ma^cārif, n.d.), 286-88.

²² Nurcholish Madjid, Ibn Taymiyya on Kalam and Falsafa, 161.

creation. The salaf and the imāms of the umma as well as the peoples of the Book all agree that this world is created by God ²³ and it is God too who created the entire universe. If God is limited by His sunna then He is no longer an Omnipotent God. Therefore, Ibn Taymiyya criticizes the philosophers severely, stating that their notions are merely a product of rational speculation. According to him, the philosophers' God, distant, transcendental, impersonal, a Being who has no a connection with the world and with human life is absolutely unacceptable. God is close to human life. He knows, hears, sees and takes care of human beings in this world. He makes us live and die, and provides means of subsistence. Therefore, Ibn Taymiyya affirms God exists in our life.²⁴

His objections to the philosophers' concept are based on what the Qur³ān and other religious sources have to say. God Himself says in the Qur³ān that He created the earth and the sky, the day and the night, male and female, jinn, angels, animals and everything else. So, from the point of view of the Qur³ān, God is involved in the direct creation of all existing beings. God is not as transcendent as the philosophers suppose. According to Ibn Taymiyya, the philosophers, try to interpret the revealed text according to their own convictions viewing all processes of creation as emanative and evolutionary and claiming that theirs was the true understanding of Islam. These thinkers, though knowledgeable in metaphysics, know nothing about God's existence. ²⁵ According to Ibn Taymiyya, they should be considered as the most dangerous of people. They are more dangerous than the Jews and the Christians, for in his opinion, though the people of the Book do not believe in the prophethood of Muḥammad, they do believe in God's creation of the world. The Jews

²³ Ibn Taymiyya, Muwafaqa, Vol. 1, 70. Also his Majmū'at al-Rasa'il wa al-Masa'il, Vol. 4-5 (Beirut: Dar al-Kutub al-Ilmiyya, 1992), 354-55.

²⁴ Ibn Taymiyya, Majmū^c Fatāwā Ibn Taymiyya: al-Tafsīr, Vol. 17, 293-94.

²⁵ Ibn Taymiyya, al-Radd 'alā al-Manţiqiyyīn (Bombay: al-Maţba'a al-Fatiyya, 1949), 394.

and the Christians believe that this universe is created directly by God. The philosophers' concept of creation contradicts the teachings of revealed books as well as the Qur²ān's.

One of Ibn Taymiyya's major objections to the philosophers is that when their notions are not in harmony with the religious texts, they interpret the latter rationally, emphasizing the rhetoric and the metaphorical nature of the words of the Prophet and the language of the Qur³ān. According to philosophers, he says, all Prophets use ambiguous language, the reason being that it is suited to the people (li maṣlaḥat al-jumhūr). Therefore, the philosophers interpret the Qur³ān metaphorically and insist that their understanding of the Qur³ān must not be the same as that of the common people (awāmm). 26 Consequently, they introduce new meanings for several words of the Qur³ān: Jibrīl, to the philosopher, is the active intellect, the Demiurge; the malā³ika are intelligences, celestial souls and the power of good; al-ʿarsh is the ninth celestial sphere; al-kursī is the eighth celestial sphere; 27al-shaiṭān is the power of evil 28; al-qidam is the essence (al-jawhar) and so forth.

In the opinion of Ibn Taymiyya, the philosophers come to the Qur³ān with preconceived notions. Consequently, it is not surprising that their understanding of the Qur³ān does not agree with the salaf. The salaf would not be familiar with the idea of the

²⁶ Ibn Taymiyya, Muwāfaqa, Vol. 1, 56-8. Such attitude can be seen in Ibn Rushd's Faṣl al-Maqāl fīmā bayn al-Ḥikma wa al-Sharī'a min al-Ittiṣāl. Ed. by Muḥammad 'Imāra (Cairo: Dār al-Maʿārif, n.d), 58. This short work was translated by George F. Hourani entitled "The Decisive Teatise, Determining What the Connection is between Religion and Philosophy", in Ralph Lerner and Muhsin Mahdi, eds., Medieval Political Philosophy: A Sourcebook (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1963), 163-85.

²⁷ Ibn Taymiyya, *Majmū^c Fatāwā Ibn Taymiyya: al-Tafsīr*, Vol. 17, 336-37. Also Thomas F. Michel. *A Muslim Theologian's Response to Christianity* (Delmar: Caravan Books, 1984), 21.

²⁸ Ibn Taymiyya, Majmū^c Fatāwā Ibn Taymiyya: al-Tafsīr, Vol. 17, 293.

first intellect, the essence, the accident (al-'arad), celestial bodies etc., because these philosophical terms and concepts did not appear until the 'Abbāsid period, when rulers like al-Ma'mūn patronized the dissemination of Greek culture and thought. That the philosophers can, without hesitation, dare to interpret the Qur'an metaphorically is, Ibn Taymiyya thinks, because they believe in the superiority of reason over revelation. Their belief in the authority of reason causes them to neglect the true meaning of the Scriptures as understood by the Prophet, the saḥāba and the tābi'ūn and to develop their own interpretations. In fact, they even believe that they are superior to the Prophet himself ²⁹ for they believe they can discover and develop demonstrative proofs for belief in God and His absolute unity in a very convincing manner. According to Ibn Taymiyya, such claims are not true at all. First of all, the Qur'an contains all kinds of methods: rhetorical, syllogistic, demonstrative as well as analogical. ³⁰ More importantly, conclusions reached on the basis of reason alone are never convincing; in fact, they are inherently contradictory. Therefore, many philosophers finally come to realize the weakness of their methods and begin to follow the salaf's understanding of the Qur'an.

2. The Mutakallimun

Other groups whose convictions Ibn Taymiyya regards as dangerous comprise the speculative theologians ($mutakallim\bar{u}n$). By $mutakallim\bar{u}n$ he means the Mu^ctazilites, the Ash^carites, the Jahmites, the Qadarites and the Jabrites. All of these groups have gone astray; they are people of bid^ca (innovation). Ibn Taymiyya's refutation of the first two of these groups is found in several of his works or $fatw\bar{a}$ s, perhaps because in terms of their supporters and of their intellectual influences, the Mu^ctazilites and the Ash^carites were still

²⁹ Ibid., 356.

³⁰ Ibn Taymiyya, Ma'ārij al-Wuşūl ilā Ma'rifat ann Uşūl al-Dīn wa Furū'ah qad Bayyanahā al-Rasūl (Medina: al-Maktaba al-'Ilmiyya, n.d.), 8.

very significant. In many respects, Ibn Taymiyya concedes the Ash arites are close to the salaf 's understanding of Islam. 31 The following discussion may therefore be limited to the Mu tazilites. His major criticism of this theological school concerns its concept of the unity of God and ta^ctil , and to ta^swil and the authority of reason. It should be noted that in some respects, Ibn Taymiyya's criticism of this school has many affinities with his refutation of the talastila or talastila

The Mu^ctazilites claimed to be the people of God's unity (ahl al-tauḥīd). They defined the unity of God as absolute unity, without any internal plurality or composition. To them, that which was eternal had to be God. Therefore, they rejected the notion of divine attributes, for attributes existing from all eternity must compromise the divine unity: whoever posits God and His attribute posits two gods, they said. ³² To the Mu^ctazilites, therefore, the attributes of God mentioned in the Qur³ān were to be seen only as names of the same essence, that is God. They strongly denied any separation between God and His knowledge, God and His Power and so on.

In addition, the Mu^ctazilites denied a corporeal existence to God for they defined God in the same way as philosophers did. God, according to the Mu^ctazilites, is a simple being; attributing a corporeal existence to God is making Him a composite being, which is unacceptable. They accused their opponents of being anthropomorphists who depict God as human, with hands, etc. The Mu^ctazilites could not accept descriptions of God sitting on the throne, or descending from the sky.³³ Such corporeal descriptions imply that God needs space and time. Like the philosophers, they believed that being subject to space and

³¹ Ibn Taymiyya, Muwāfaqa, Vol. 2, 166.

³² Harry Austryn Wolfson, *The Philosophy of Kalam* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1976), 132-33.

³³ Ibn Taymiyya, Muwafaga, Vol. 2, 19-23.

time is being subject to change, that change ushers in the new, so, God would have to be thought of as new, which is impossible.

At the level of its apparent meaning, the Qur³ān does speak of God's attributes and His corporeal existence. God describes Himself in the Qur³ān as Omnipotent, Omniscient, the Forgiver, the Freewiller, the All-hearing, etc. Again, God says that His hand is above the hand of the peoples, ³⁴ or that everything perishes but the Face of God.³⁵ The eyes of God are sometimes mentioned: for example, "Sailing, before Our eyes." ³⁶ The Muctazilites did not accept the apparent meaning of such verses. They interpreted them metaphorically, for to acknowledge their literal meaning would negate the absolute unity of God: to affirm the corporeality of God was to affirm the plurality of the eternal being.

Ibn Taymiyya criticizes the Mu^ctazilites for rejecting the attributes of God. In his opinion, the Qur^oanic statement, there is "nothing like Him" does not negate the attributes of God.³⁷ Rather, the attributes and the corporeality of God should be affirmed because He describes Himself by those descriptions. At the same time, the affirmation of the attributes and the corporeality of God do not necessarily result in anthropomorphism. The problem with the Mu^ctazilites, according to Ibn Taymiyya, is that they affirm the unity of God while rejecting God's description. In so doing, they basically equate the attributes and the corporeality of God with those of human beings. Such an analogy is absolutely unacceptable. When the Mu^ctazilites assert that the attributes of God make a composite, it is

³⁴ Quroān, XLVIII: 10.

³⁵ Qur³ān, XXVIII: 88.

³⁶ Qur³ān, LIV: 14.

³⁷ Ibn Taymiyya, Muwafaqa, Vol. 1, 66.

their view which is essentially anthropomorphic; otherwise they would not have perceived God in the human image. Ibn Taymiyya affirms, God's description of His hand, face or eyes must not be understood anthropomorphically, for God is a unique being; however, we must accept the descriptions of God in the Qur³ān because God describes Himself by those descriptions. Ibn Taymiyya emphasizes his fundamental conviction that the believer has to affirm God's attributes and corporeality without positing an analogy between God and man, and he has to affirm God's unity without denying the attributes and corporeality of God as revealed in the sacred text. ³⁸

Ibn Taymiyya also criticizes the Mu^ctazilites for their ta^3wil of the Qur³ān. At issue is not ta^3wil as such, for ta^3wil is lawful as long as it is in accordance with the understanding of the salaf. What the Mu^ctazilites and Ash^carites did, Ibn Taymiyya says, is that they interpreted the Qur³ān in the light of convictions which are theirs rather than those of the salaf. Through their reasoning, the Mu^ctazilites sought what was to be considered the true meaning of the Qur³ān. According to them, many words of the text need to be reinterpreted metaphorically. For example, the word "sit" ($istaw\bar{a}$) as in " the Beneficent sits on the throne," ³⁹ should be understood to mean to "dominate", "lead" or "direct" (malaka, $istawl\bar{a}$ and qahara); the word "hand", in the verse " the Hand of God is above their hands", was to be understood as "power"; the word "seeing" in the verse " Seeing their Lord" ⁴⁰ was to be interpreted as "hoping " ($raj\bar{a}$) in God. ⁴¹ The reason for such metaphorical interpretations is that the words "sitting", "hand" and "seeing", etc., are anthropomorphic and corporeal. To the Mu^ctazilites, those descriptions, taken literally,

³⁸ Ibn Taymiyya, al-Risāla al-Tadmuriyya, 5.

³⁹ Ouroān, XX:5.

⁴⁰ Qur³ān, LXXV: 23.

⁴¹ Ibn Taymiyya, Muqaddima fi Usül al-Tafsir, 87.

would make God a corporeal being acting in space and time. Consequently, they had to be rejected.

The Mu^ctazilites claimed that the verses of the sūrat al-Ikhlāṣ (the Unity of God) ⁴² provide a basis for denying the attributes of God. According to Ibn Taymiyya, they also claimed that the word "aḥad" (the one) in the Qur³ān has never been used as an attribute. Ibn Taymiyya says that this claim is completely wrong. He observes that several verses of the Qur³ān use the word as an attribute. For example, in the verse, "if one (aḥad) of the idolaters seeks protection from you," ⁴³ "aḥad" refers to an idolater. He also notes that the word "al-ṣamad" (the eternally Besought of all) which occurs in al-Ikhlāṣ itself, is the best of God's attributes. There is, in fact, nothing in the verses of this sūra which points to the denial of God's attributes. ⁴⁴

The Mu^ctazilites believed reason to be capable of determining right and wrong. They also applied reason to the holy scripture. For them, the scripture should be rationally acceptable. Therefore, whenever the apparent meaning of the verses seemed to them to be corporeal or anthropomorphic or contradictory to the dictates of reason, they interpreted it rationally. Ibn Taymiyya, however, questions their total reliance on reason and rationality, for reason, and the conclusions drawn from it, can never be fully trusted.

⁴² Qur³ān, CXII: 1-5. This sūra has been a subject of a very extensive elaboration by Ibn Taymiyya regarding his doctrine of God's unity. Ibn Taymiyya, Majmū° Fatāwā Ibn Taymiyya: al-Tafsīr, Vol. 17, 214-504.

⁴³ Qur³ān, IX: 6.

⁴⁴ Ibn Taymiyya, Muwafaqa, Vol. 1, 63-66.

3. The Speculative Şūfis

The speculative şūfis too come in for harsh criticism from Ibn Taymiyya. His criticism is mainly devoted to their concept of union of God and man (waḥdat al-wujūd) 45 and to their interpretation of Qur³anic verses. He himself, Ibn Taymiyya says, was once an adherent of the doctrine of waḥdat al-wujūd, but, later, realized its dangers and abandoned it. For the ṣūfis, there is no distinction or separation between God and human beings or other creatures. They acknowledge that the appearances of things are different, but that such difference is superficial; the difference is one of form, not essence. Like the philosophers, the ṣūfis regard the creation of this world as a process of emanation. Their difference consists in the latters' belief that the essence continues to emanate from the One to the other forms of existence. Therefore, their view is pantheistic: God is everything and everything is God.

Ibn Taymiyya stands against this view and shows its dangerous effects. According to Ibn Taymiyya, when we believe that everything is God we logically accept that God changes according to the change of beings. But God is an eternal being; there is no element of change in Him. Pantheism also implies that obeying the infidel is the same as obeying the Prophet: revelation and prophecy become irrelevant and religious guidance (sharī'a) is no longer required. Human beings do not need religious guidance (sharī'a) any longer. If everything is the image of God, what we do is also the deed of God. Understandably, therefore, the şūfi master regards himself as superior to the Prophet.

⁴⁵ See his Majmū'at al-Rasā'il wa al-Masā'il, Vol. 1 to 3, 75-84 and his al-Taṣawwuf wa al-Fuqarā', Ed. by Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh al-Samān (Cairo: al-Maktab al-Fannī li al-Nashr, 1960), 43-4.

In Ibn Taymiyya's view, the concept of God is based on a total dissimilarity between Him and the human being. ⁴⁶ He is a Unique Being, far from any similarity with other beings. Any other view is acceptable neither from the point of view of scripture nor that of reason.

Ibn Taymiyya observes that although the speculative şūfis deviate from the true Qur³ān, the Sunna, the ṣaḥāba and the tābi⁵ūn, they claim that theirs is the true Islam. He is particularly critical of their Qur³anic interpretation. One of its examples is the verse: "You have nothing in the affair" (laysa laka fi-l-amri shay³un).⁴⁷ According to the proponents of waḥdat al-wujūd, that verse purports to state that your action is the action of God. So, in their eyes, this verse negates not only the action but the actor's existence. To Ibn Taymiyya, the verse does not negate human actions and affirm the action of God. Nor does it assert that the action of human beings is the action of God. This verse, he observes, follows another one which states it is God's business to punish unbelief. ⁴⁸ According to Ibn Taymiyya, "You have nothing in the affair" is to emphasize that such matters are God's affair only (ifrād al-rabb). Ibn Taymiyya also refers to the occasion of revelation. It is said that this verse is related to the Prophet's praying to God asking Him to punish the people who disbelieved. God then revealed this verse, after which the Prophet no longer prayed for the unbelievers.

⁴⁶ Thomas F. Michel, A Muslim Theologian's Response, 6.

⁴⁷ Qurºān, III: 128.

⁴⁸ The complete verse is "That he may cut off a portion from among those who disbelieve, or abase them so that they should return disappointed of attaining what they desired. You have nothing in the affair whether He turns to them (mercifully) or chastizes them, for surely they are unjust." Quroan, III: 128-9.

Another example relates to the verse "You did not throw when you threw, but God threw." 49 Ibn Taymiyya observes that the suffi understanding of the verse is that the action of the servant is the action of God. But if that is the case, he argues, then if you walk it is God not you who is walking; if you speak, it is God not you who is speaking; if you lie, it is not you who are lying; if you disbelieve, it is not you but God who is the disbeliever. Rationally and scripturally, this belief is questionable. According to Ibn Taymiyya, this verse was revealed in connection with the battle of Badr. In this battle, the Prophet had thrown dust ($tur\bar{a}b$) at his enemies but the dust reached them all, and gave victory to the Muslims. According to Ibn Taymiyya the verse does not affirm that the human action is God's action but is intended to show God's power (qudra).

The supporters of wahdat al-wujūd also invoke the verse: "To pay homage to you (the Prophet) is to pay homage to God". 50 By this verse they mean that Muḥammad is essentially God. This, Ibn Taymiyya emphasizes, was not the true meaning of the verse at all. For him, the true meaning is that Muḥammad is the messenger of God, so to pay homage to him is to pay homage to God; the verse does not mean that the messenger of God is God. Those who so interpret the verse believe that God dwells in you (Muḥammad) (hāll fīk) and in everybody. This pantheistic belief suggests in turn that there is no difference between the Prophet and the rest of the people. It would be no different to follow the Prophet or Abū Jahl or Musaylima because to follow any of them is basically to follow God. 51

⁴⁹ Qur³ān, VIII: 17.

⁵⁰ Qur³ān, XLVIII: 10.

⁵¹ Ibn Taymiyya states when those who believed in such views were asked to fight against enemies, they thought that to fight them is essentially to fight God. Ibn Taymiyya. Majmū'at al-Rasā'il wa al-Masā'il, Vol. 1 to 3 (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 1992), 110-11.

Ibn Taymiyya insists that such Qur³anic interpretations cannot be justified for they are contradictory to reason as well as to the *salaf* s understanding of Islam which emphasized God's unity. According to Ibn Taymiyya, the speculative sūfis merely follow their whims.

4. The Shīcites

Another group against whom Ibn Taymiyya's refutations are directed are the Shīcites. In his view, they have deviated too far from true Islam. Beside contradicting the Qur³ān, the Sunna, the saḥāba and the $t\bar{a}bic\bar{u}n$, the Shīcites erred in inventing spurious traditions as well as in rejecting (rafd) the first three caliphs, Abū Bakr, cUmar and the early Muslims. Above all, however, Ibn Taymiyya's refutation of the Shīcites centers on their belief in the infallibility of Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib and his descendants. To support this fundamental tenet of their faith, the Shīcites, Ibn Taymiyya says, made their own interpretation of the Qur³ān believing that the Qur³ān consists of outer ($z\bar{a}hir$) and inner ($b\bar{a}zin$) levels of meaning.

The Shīcites regarded the infallibility of the imāms (cişmat al-acimma) as a basis of their right to the caliphate after Prophet Muḥammad. To them, cAlī and his family were the most deserving people for succession to the Prophet. cAlī was the most virtuous man among the Companions of the Prophet. He was one of the first Muslims and excelled in his bravery and generosity. He was a close relative of the Prophet, married the Prophet's daughter and was designated by him as his successor. On many occasions, the Shīcites believe, the Prophet had both explicitly and implicitly designated cAlī as his successor. But this designation was violated by the other Companions for their mundane interest.

The Shīcites believed their imāms to be infallible. The imāms did not have any new revelation, but they were appointed by God to protect this religion and the world. The infallible imām, according to the Shīcites, is to guide the community because revelation has been discontinued, and the Book and the Sunna are limited in their ability to solve the growing particular problems. Human beings have, moreover, never been able to control their desires, bad intentions, and mutual hatred. Because they keep falling in error, infallible imāms are needed to provide constant guidance. The Shīcites argue from history: when fallible or ordinary people become leaders, they run the affairs of the state and society according to their whims, making people suffer. 52

The Shīcite doctrine of the infallibility of the imāms provoked a sharp criticism from Ibn Taymiyya. First of all, he declared, the place of 'Alī is the same as that of the three previous caliphs. 'Alī, like the others, is among the most virtuous of the Companions. There is no reason to affirm that 'Alī was superior to the others. Abū Bakr, for example, was the first member of the Quraysh to embrace Islam and suffered from the persecution of Quraysh. Later, in Medina, he served as imām in prayer when the Prophet was absent. There are many traditions of the Prophet attesting to his virtues. In terms of knowledge of sharīca, Abū Bakr and 'Umar were in fact more knowledgeable than 'Alī. According to Ibn Taymiyya, Abū Bakr also gave much more of his property to the cause of God than 'Alī did. In terms of the political expansion of Islam, the caliphate of Abū Bakr and 'Umar excelled that of 'Alī. If 'Alī had blood ties to the Prophet, Ibn Taymiyya argues, Abū Bakr and 'Umar had them as well: the Prophet married 'Ā'isha bint Abī Bakr and Ḥafṣa bint 'Umar. Nor did the Prophet ever designate 'Alī as his successor. If that were the case, the election of Abū Bakr would not have occurred.

⁵² Thomas F. Michel, A Muslim Theologian's Response, 61-2.

In attacking the Shīcite belief in the infallibility of the imāms. Ibn Taymiyya argues that God has guaranteed to protect the religion, therefore, we do not need an infallible imām. If we still think that we need a protector of religion, according to Ibn Taymiyya, the *umma* itself can be such a protector. Ibn Taymiyya's view is that the more people there are to protect religion, the better it is. He questions why 'Alī and not Abū Bakr or 'Umar or any other knowledgeable Companions of the Prophet should be regarded as protectors of religion. Why should not the protectors of religion be determined in terms of their expertise considering, for example, the reciters of the Qurɔān (qurrāɔ) responsible for protecting the Qurɔān and its teachings, and the Islamic jurists (fuqahāɔ) responsible for protecting religion from speculative theology and demonstration (istidlāl), etc. If 'Alī was the only companion who deserved to be the protector of Islam, the transmission of knowledge of Islam by anyone else would be unjustified. However, our knowledge about the Qurɔān and the Prophet, he points out, is, in fact, not transmitted from 'Alī alone.⁵³

Ibn Taymiyya is very critical of the Qur'anic basis claimed for the doctrine of infallible imāms. One of the verses the Shīcites invoke is: "Allah only desires to keep away the uncleanness from you, O people of the House." ⁵⁴ In the claim of the Shīcites, the use of "innamā" (only) in this verse is the Qur'anic basis for the infallibility of the imāms. However, Ibn Taymiyya notes, the verse asserts neither the infallibility nor the imāmate of the people of the House. According to him, the statement here is not an information (ikhbār) concerning uncleanness being removed and the purity of the people of the House, but an order (amr) or instruction obligating the people of the House to remain in a state of purity. As in another verse, irāda here implies an order, desire and satisfaction. It means

⁵³ Ibn Taymiyya, Minhāj al-Sunna al-Nabawiyya, 3 volumes (Cairo: Maṭbaʿa al-Kubrā al-Amīriyya, 1322 H). References are to the abridgment by Muḥammad 'Uthmān al-Dhahabī in al-Muntaqā min Minhāj al-Iʿtidāl (Cairo: al-Maṭbaʿa al-Salafiyya, 1373 H.), 415-418

⁵⁴ Our³ān, XXXIII: 33.

that God desires that the people of the House be freed from uncleanness. The verse does not state a fact but the desire of God concerning the people of the House.⁵⁵ This understanding is confirmed by the context of the previous sentence which urges the wives of the Prophet to do good deeds.⁵⁶

Another Qur³anic basis for the imāmate of ʿAlī, according to the Shīʿites, is the verse "This day have I perfected for you your religion." ⁵⁷ The Shīʿites claimed that this verse referred to ʿAlī. According to Abū Nuʿaim, the Prophet called the people to Ghadīr Khumm; he raised the hands of ʿAlī so that people knew what he was doing. On this occasion, the Prophet delegated his authority (walāya) to ʿAlī. The people did not return home until the verse was revealed. To Ibn Taymiyya, this story was a great lie; the knowledgeable people knew that the Shīʿites' claim was a fiction. According to him, the verse was revealed to the Messenger of God when he was at ʿArafa, seven days before the day of Ghadīr; there is nothing in this verse to indicate the infallibility or the imāmate of ʿAlī. ⁵⁸

The Shīcites also justified the infallibility of the people of House (the Prophet's Family) through the verse "In houses which Allah has permitted to be exalted and that His name may be remembered in them; there glorify Him therein in the mornings and in the evenings; men whom neither merchandise nor selling diverts from the remembrance of

⁵⁵ Muhammad Uthman al-Dhahabi, al-Muntaqa, 168.

⁵⁶ The verse in full is "And stay in your houses and do not display your finery like the displaying of the ignorance of you; and keep up prayer, and pay the poor-rate, and obey Allah and His Apostle. Allah only desires to keep away the uncleanness from you. O people of the House! and to purify you a (thorough) purifying. Quran, XXXIII: 33.

⁵⁷ Qur³ān, V: 3.

⁵⁸ Muḥammad 'Uthmān al-Dhahabī, al-Muntaqā', 425.

Allah." ⁵⁹ According to Thaclabī, when the Prophet recited this verse, a man asked: Which house do you mean? He replied: the Houses of the Prophets. Then Abū Bakr asked: Oh! Messenger of God: is this house (the house of cAlī and Fāṭima) included. He answered: Yes. It is one of them. Accusing al-Thaclabī undoubtedly of lying, Ibn Taymiyya refers to the consensus of the people (ittifāq al-nās), that the houses mentioned in the verse are mosques (masājid). If, he contends, cAlī is the one who was not diverted by trade he must have been the best Companion after the Prophet. In addition, the word "men" (rijāl) indicates that what is meant by the verse is not the House of cAlī and Fāṭima because there was only one man, that is cAlī there, while the Ouraīn does not say "a man" but "men." ⁶⁰

Another verse the Shīcites invoked, according to Ibn Taymiyya, is "I do not ask of you any reward for it but love of near relatives" 61. This verse, it was asserted by Shīcites, refers to Ḥasan and Ḥusayn. 62 According to al-Thaclabī, quoting the Musnad of Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, when the verse was revealed, the Companions asked: "Who from your kinship deserve our love?" The Prophet said: "cAlī, Fāṭima and their sons." According to al-Thaclabī, this verse affirms that none beside cAlī need be praised. 63 According to Ibn Taymiyya, there is no such statement in the Musnad of Ibn Ḥanbal; in fact, that book speaks of the virtues of all four caliphs. According to the consensus (bi l-ittifāq), the verse is considered part of a Meccan sūra, when cAlī had not yet married Fāṭima and did not have sons. If cAlī had not yet had a family, the verse could scarcely have referred to his

⁵⁹ Qur³ān, XXIV: 36-7.

⁶⁰ Muḥammad Uthman al-Dhahabi, al-Muntaqa, 431.

⁶¹ Qur an, XLII: 23.

⁶² Muḥammad Uthmān al-Dhahabī, al-Muntaqā, 289.

⁶³ Ibid., 431.

family. ⁶⁴ In the opinion of Ibn Taymiyya, "fi l-qurbā" in the verse does not mean "near relatives" (cAlī, Fāṭima and their sons); if that were the case, the Qur³ān would use "li l-qurbā" or "li dhawī l-qurbā" as it does elsewhere. What it means by "fī l-qurbā" in this verse, according to Ibn Taymiyya, is "relationship", namely, the relationship between Muḥammad and the Quraysh. ⁶⁵ So, according to Ibn Taymiyya, the verse is related to the Quraysh, not to cAlī, Fāṭima and their sons. Ibn Taymiyya agrees that to love the people of the House is obligatory, but it is not confirmed by this verse. ⁶⁶ Even if the verse requires that, we should love (mawadda) the people of the House, it still does not mean to affirm their imāmate and infallibility (sisma).

Ibn Taymiyya's refutation of the "extremist" Shīcites such as the Bāṭinīs 67 , is even harsher. He points out that Shīcites have invented their own Quranic understanding, disregarding the understanding of the Companions of the Prophet, their following generations and the imāms of Islamic jurisprudence (a'immat al-fuqahā'). The Twelvers, in his eyes, are better than the Bāṭinīs for although they have deviated from the sharīca they glorify the descendants of the Prophet, while the Bāṭinīs even glorify people who have committed sins. According to the Bāṭinīs, Ibn Taymiyya says, the Quran consists of outer ($z\bar{a}hir$) and inner ($b\bar{a}tin$) meaning; the former, they asserted, is not sufficient, so the reader should go beyond the apparent meaning. To them, the language of the Quran is

⁶⁴ Ibid., 433.

⁶⁵ Ibid., 289.

⁶⁶ Ibid., 432

⁶⁷ Ibn Taymiyya is not consistent in using technical terms. For example, he uses the term 'Bāṭinīs'' for Ismāʿīlites in general and the Qarmāṭians, whom he sometimes distinguishes from the Ismāʿīlites. He also speaks of Bāṭini ṣūfis and Bāṭini Falāsifa. See Ibn Taymiyya, Majmūʿ Fatāwā Ibn Taymiyya: Muqaddimat al-Tafsīr, Vol. 13. (Rabat: Maktabat al-Maʿārif, n.d.), 235-238.

symbolic, which means that we should discover the inner meaning of it. Thus, they arrived at Qur³anic interpretations which, Ibn Taymiyya maintains, are not known by the *salaf*.

Among examples of Bātinī ta³wīl adduced by Ibn Taymiyya is the interpretation of the verse: "Both hands of Abū Lahab perished." 68 The Bāṭinīs understood "both hands of Abū Lahab" neither as his actual hands nor as his power, but as Abū Bakr and 'Umar ibn al-Khattab, for they considered both of them as the usurpers of 'Alī's right to the caliphate after the death of Prophet Muhammad. They also interpreted "imam mubin" which literally means "clear leader" in the verse "wa kullu shay in ahsaynāhu fī imāmin mubīn " 69 as reference to cAlī. The majority of the Ouranic exegetes, Ibn Taymiyya notes, have never interpreted the expression in such a way. They understood it to mean "writing" or "registering", so the translation of the verse is "We have recorded everything in clear writing.", not " in a clear leader." Another verse which has been interpreted differently by the Batinis is the verse: "Then fight the leaders of unbelief." 70 In their interpretation, it means "to fight Talha and Zubayr." 71 These two Companions of the Prophet were on the side of cA3isha when they fought against cAlī, in the battle of Camel. Ibn Taymiyya does not point out, however, what to him is the true meaning of the verse. He may have regarded its reference to unbelieving leaders of the Ouraysh as self-evident. Ibn Taymiyya also refers to the Batini interpretation of "ash-shajarata I-malfanata" (the cursed tree).⁷² In their interpretation, that expression has nothing to do with a real tree but refers, rather to

⁶⁸ Qur³ān, CXI: 1.

⁶⁹ Qur³ān, XXXVI: 12.

⁷⁰ Quran, IX: 12.

⁷¹ Ibn Taymiyya, Majmū^c Fatāwā Ibn Taymiyya: al-Tafsīr, Vol. 13, 237.

⁷² Qur³ān, XVII: 60.

the accursed Banū Umayya. ⁷³ However, the Umayyads came to power twenty-nine years after the Prophet Muḥammad's death; to state that this verse refers to them is, therefore, post-factum.

Another group of Shīcite "extremists" mentioned by Ibn Taymiyya are the Oarmātians. According to these people, the enjoined salāt means essentially knowledge of our secret. The same understanding is also applied to fasting and hajj. Fasting is essentially the hiding of our secret and hajj signifies the command to visit our holy teachers. 74 Heaven, they said, means to enjoy life in this world while hell means practicing sharīfa beyond its burdens. About "al-dābba" (the animal) that God will bring forth, they said, that it actually means "al-falim al-natig" or the speaking teacher sent to every generation. They believed that Isrāfīl, who is to blow the bugle (al-sūr) is none other than the teacher who by his knowledge will make the heart of the people alive. Regarding Gabriel, they said, like the philosophers, that he is the active intellect, from which being has emanated. They regarded "al-qalam" (the pen) as the first intellect, understood by the philosophers as the first creator as well. The Qarmatians interpreted "the stars", " the moon" and " the sun" seen by Abraham according to the Our anic story as " the soul" (alnafs), reason and "the necessary existence." Ibn Taymiyya accuses the Qarmatians of having basically rejected the Qurvan and considers their inner tavwii as sheer infidelity (alkufr al-mahd). 75

Ibn Taymiyya also refers to another "extremist" group, the Nuşayrites. This group believed, he states, that the apparent meaning of the Quroan has been abrogated. In their

⁷³ Ibn Taymiyya, Majmū^c Fatāwā Ibn Taymiyya: al-Tafsīr, Vol. 13, 238.

⁷⁴ Ibn Taymiyya, al-Risāla al-Tadmuriyya, 31.

⁷⁵ Ibn Taymiyya, *Majmū^c Fatāwā Ibn Taymiyya: al-Tafsīr*, Vol. 13, 236. Also his *Muwāfaga*, Vol. 1, 197.

conviction, such prophets as Abrahain, Noah, Moses, Jesus and Muḥammad are the bearers of the exoteric meaning, while imāms like 'Alī and Seth are the bearers of esoteric meanings. They asserted that the five daily prayers had been abrogated and replaced by dhikr, or remembering five names: 'Alī, Ḥasan, Ḥusayn, Muḥsin and Fāṭima. 16 In the opinion of Ibn Taymiyya, their teachings are not derived from the salaf at all. In fact, they clearly contradict the teachings of the salaf.

5. Ibn Taymiyya's General Criticism of Ta³wīl

Ibn Taymiyya's criticism of various schools of thought and their $ta^3w\bar{\imath}l$ has been reviewed in the foregoing pages. We should not forget, however, that besides refutation of specific cases of $ta^3w\bar{\imath}l$, he also had strong words of criticism for $ta^3w\bar{\imath}l$ in general. He points out that, through $ta^3w\bar{\imath}l$, innovations (bid^ca) were introduced to Islam.

The early generations of Muslims did not know ideas such as active intellect, occupation (taḥayyuz), essence, of which the falāsifa. spoke.⁷⁷ The Mu^ctazilite denial of God's attributes, the mystical notion of waḥdat al-wujūd, the Shīcite doctrine of the infallibility of the imāms, are all foreign to the salaf. All these ideas were innovations of later Muslim generations. The reason for such innovations, according to Ibn Taymiyya, is that different schools and sects had their own beliefs ('aqīda) and interests which they tried to justify in terms of the Quroān through taowil. Such a procedure enabled every school to have its own understanding of the Quroān and allowed it to claim a Quroanic basis for its beliefs. Given its significance, therefore, taowil became the main topic of Ibn Taymiyya's criticism.

⁷⁶ Thomas F. Michel, A Muslim Theologian's Response, 59.

⁷⁷ Ibn Taymiyya, Muwāfaqa, Vol. 1, 54; his al-Tafsīr al-Kabīr, Vol. 1, 255 and his Majmū'at al-Rasā'il wa al-Masā'il, Vol. 1 to 3, 518.

In the opinion of Ibn Taymiyya, there are three meanings of ta^3wil . One of them is "that to which the matter returns" ($m\bar{a}$ $ya^3\bar{u}l$ ilayh al-amr). By this definition, ta^3wil is to return any explanation to the first or to the original meaning. So, it is still considered ta^3wil if someone's interpretation of the Qur $^3\bar{a}n$ is in conformity with the connotation of the literal word ($madl\bar{u}l$ al-lafz) and its meaning (wa $mafh\bar{u}muh$). Ta^3wil , by that definition, does not mean to change the original meaning of the text. Another meaning of ta^3wil is "the interpretation of a statement ($tafs\bar{u}$ al- $kal\bar{u}$) and the explanation of its purpose. According to the second meaning, ta^3wil is solely to elaborate and to clarify the apparent expression of the text. The reader should not go beyond the text. The third meaning of ta^3wil is "a turning away of an expression from the preponderant or the most likely meaning to a justified meaning for a certain reason." Ibn Taymiyya observes that the last meaning of ta^3wil is the one most widely understood by later generations ($muta^3akhkhir\bar{u}n$) in particular, while the Companions of the Prophet, their later followers and the imams of the umma, particularly the four imams of the Islamic legal schools, did not use it. What they used were the first and the second meanings of ta^3wil . 78

To Ibn Taymiyya, the true meaning of $ta^3w\bar{u}$ is to explain the expression of the text. The accuses the $muta^3akhkhir\bar{u}n$ of having misunderstood the meaning of $ta^3w\bar{u}$. The latter thought that the true meaning of $ta^3w\bar{u}$ was to turn away the apparent meaning of the text for another meaning. He strongly objects to this understanding, which, he

⁷⁸ Ibn Taymiyya, Muwāfaqa, Vol. 1, 5; Majmū Fatāwā Ibn Taymiyya: Muqaddima al-Tafsīr, Vol. 13, 288-94; Majmū at al-Rasā il al-Kubrā Vol. 1 (Cairo: al-Matba al-Famira al-Sharafiyya, 1323 H.) 407-8.

⁷⁹ Ibid., 118.

asserts, appeared only with the later generations who studied al-fiqh and $u \in \bar{u}l$ al-fiqh (legal reasoning) and with $mutakallim\bar{u}n$. 80

Following Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, Ibn Taymiyya describes the people of bid'a and shubuhāt, as the people who always disagreed about the Book, contradicted it, and agreed in contradicting it. The people of bid'a argued from the Qur'an and the Tradition if those sources fitted their convictions, but if they did not, they changed the meaning of the text and interpreted it in ways which were not admissible. Thus, they made the clear (muhkam) texts unclear (mutashābih) and the unclear clear.81

As regards the attitudes towards the Qur³anic verses (and Traditions) which speak of God's attributes, there were, according to Ibn Taymiyya, three groups. The first were the people who acknowledged the attributes of God as they are literally stated in the sources. For this group, God's attributes are understood in human images. Ibn Taymiyya accuses such people of being anthropomorphists. The second group comprised those people who denied the attributes of God. They interpreted the text metaphorically and determined the meaning of it. In the opinion of Ibn Taymiyya, they were the murațiila (the deniers of God's attributes). The third group comprised those who thought that the attributes of God in the Qur³ān might be true as they are described or they might not. This group, which refrained from giving any opinion was, according to Ibn Taymiyya, surely on the right track. They rejected the denial of God's attributes because they are affirmed in the Qur³ān. They did not accept tamthil (analogy) for God is characterized in the Qur³ān as the

⁸⁰ Ibn Taymiyya, al-Risāla al-Tadmuriyya, 58 and his Muwāfaqa, Vol. 1, 122.

⁸¹ Ibn Taymiyya, al-Tafsīr al-Kabīr, Vol. 1, 251. Also his Majmū^c Fatāwā Ibn Taymiyya: Muqaddima al-Tafsīr, Vol. 13, 58.

Unique Being. Finally, they also rejected takyīf (determining the manner), for the salaf has taught that way. 82

The middle position, Ibn Taymiyya states, is not only the stance of Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, it is also the position of the salaf. He himself was certainly among the followers of the same position. Ibn Taymiyya cannot be characterized as an anthropomorphist because in many of his writings he criticizes the anthropomorphic understanding of the Qur³anic verses: "Anyone who says that God has knowledge as mine and that he sits as my sitting is an anthropomorphist (mushabbih) who analogizes God to animal beings."83 He strongly urges the affirmation of God's attributes without analogy and to deanthropomorphize without denying them.

Describing the attitude of the salaf when faced with some difficult verses of the Qur³ān, Ibn Taymiyya notes that they did not interpret them metaphorically; they also refrained from interpreting the Qur³ān through ra³y (personal opinion). The salaf always tried to avoid talking about what they did not know. Ibn Taymiyya notes that there are many traditions forbidding Muslims to explain the Qur³ān through personal opinion. Though he does not explain what he means by personal opinion, it is likely that what he might mean is any explanation or interpretation of the Qur³ān which lacks a basis in the text of the Qur³ān, the Sunna and the salaf. It is his principle that if someone is faced with a certain opinion which he does not know whether the Scripture validates or invalidates,

⁸² Ibn Taymiyya, Majmū'at al-Rasā'il al-Kubrā, 387; Mar'ī ibn Yüsuf al-Karmī, al-Kawākib al-Durriyya, Ed. by Najm 'Abd al-Raḥmān Khalaf (Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī), 118-19. The third group's attitude, to him, is that of ahl al-sunna. See his 'Aqīdat Ahl al-Sunna wa al-Firqa al-Nājiya, Ed. 'Abd al-Razzāq 'Afīfī (Cairo: Maṭba'a Anṣār al-Sunna al-Muḥammadiyya, 1358 H.), 13.

⁸³ Ibn Taymiyya, al-Risāla al-Tadmuriyya, 5; his Majmū Fatāwā Ibn Taymiyya: Muqaddimat al-Tafsīr, Vol. 13, 379 and his Majmū al-Rasā il al-Kubrā, Vol. 1, 395.

he should refrain from giving any opinion unless he has knowledge of the scriptural position on it. 84 One of the traditions which warn against the use of personal opinion is the tradition of Ibn Abbas saying: "Whoever speaks in the Qura without knowledge should take his place in the Fire." 85 Another Tradition quoted by Ibn Taymiyya is from Jundub who quoted the Prophet as sayings: "Anyone who speaks about something in the Our³ān with his personal opinion, then corrects what he said, is still wrong," ⁸⁶ This is confirmed by another tradition which states, "Whoever says anything regarding the Qurain, according to his personal opinion, means he has forced himself to do what he does not know and he has practiced what was not ordered. In case he arrives at the true meaning of the matter he has still erred for he did not get in from the proper door." 87 In the opinion of Ibn Taymiyya, Mālik ibn Anas is one of the imāms who put that tradition into practice. Asked about the meaning of "istawa" (literally "sit") in the verse "al-Raḥmānu 'alā l-'arshi istawā" (God sat on the Throne), Mālik answered: "The meaning of 'istawa ' (to sit) is clear, the manner is unknown and belief in it is obligatory." 88 Malik did not himself interpret the word "istawa" metaphorically, nor did he describe the manner; he merely emphasized the obligation of believing in it. By citing the saying of Mālik ibn Anas, Ibn Taymiyya seeks to criticize the practice of taywil in his time. In his eyes, Malik ibn Anas is the example of the Medinan piety which should be followed.

⁸⁴ Muḥammad Khalīl Harās, *Ibn Taymiyya al-Salafī* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al- Ilmiyya, 1984), 53.

⁸⁵ Ibn Taymiyya, Muqaddima Fī Usūl al-Tafsīr, 105.

⁸⁶ Ibid., 106.

⁸⁷ Ibid., 108.

⁸⁸ Muhammad Khalīl Harās, Ibn Taymiyya al-Salafī, 46-9.

The question, however, arises why in later generations, the philosophers, the mutakallimūn, the ṣūfis and the Shīcites began taɔwil of the Qurɔān. Ibn Taymiyya's answer is that, they believed in the capacity of reason to form moral choices and consequently to determine the meaning of the text. They believed that the apparent meaning of the text brought by the Prophet is not the intended meaning of the Scripture. They claimed that the true meaning of the text is what their reason understood. The people of reason even believed that if there is contradiction between the apparent meaning of the Qurɔān and reason (in fact, Ibn Taymiyya maintains, rational knowledge), the former should be interpreted according to the latter; they argued that since both reason and the Qurɔān are from God, they cannot be mutually contradictory.

Ibn Taymiyya vehemently rejects the authority of reason to determine the meaning of the Qur³ān. In his opinion, conclusions based solely on reason are inherently contradictory and merely create doubt and confusion. Those who claimed the authority of reason were in disagreement, for example, on whether the Qur³ān as kalām Allāh is sound, word or meaning. Similarly, regarding the verse "God speaks to Mūsā", some of them said that "to speak" is the attribute of action, while to others, it was the attribute of essence. This discussion did not result in any conclusive opinion until the deniers finally affirmed that the Qur³ān is kalām Allāh without determining whether it is sound, word or meaning. 89 According to Ibn Taymiyya, the farther one went from the Sunna the more inconsistent his position became. The Mu²tazilite doctrines, he argues, contradict each other. For example, the school of Basra strongly denied God's attributes, but the school of Baghdad affirmed several of His attributes (like al-samī¢, al-baṣīr, al-ḥayy, al-ʿalīm). The Shīʿites have greater contradictions, but the most contradictory positions were certainly those of the philosophers. Their contradictions were greater than those of all the

⁸⁹ Ibn Taymiyya, al-Tafsīr al-Kabīr, 278-80.

peoples of qibla -- Muslims, Jews and Christians taken together. The philosophers, for example, disagreed on whether jism (body) is composed of matter and form, or of undivided particulars or of none of them. Their learned representatives like Abū Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī, Abū al-Maṭālī al-Juwaynī and Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Khaṭīb themselves were confused even though, ironically, they often claimed that the rational argument is definite (qat• \bar{t}) and free of any contradiction. ⁹⁰

Ibn Taymiyya is equally critical of the terms introduced by the philosophers and the mutakallimūn. Regarding 'aql (reason), which is perhaps the most important term in philosophy and kalām, the conclusions of Ibn Taymiyya's careful scrutiny are interesting. He claims that the people of $ta^3w\bar{t}l$ have misunderstood the meaning of 'aql. This term was used in two senses. It is, firstly, an instinct (gharīza) which is part of our existence. The second sense is that of the knowledge acquired through that instinct. The first meaning of 'aql would never contradict naql (transmitted religious proof), for it is posited, like life itself, as a condition of every knowledge, be it rational or revelational (sam'ī). The first meaning is very different from the second, however, for it is clear that what is known through 'aql is not necessarily known through naql. Ibn Taymiyya believes that the meaning of 'aql in the Qur'ān is in the sense of al-gharīza, not as rational knowledge (al-'culūm al-'aqliyya) 91 as it was understood by the people of ta'wīl.

 cAql , in Ibn Taymiyya's view, is attached ($yata^callaq$) to qalb (heart). His view is based on the following verse of the Qur $^3\bar{a}n$: "Have they not travelled in the land so that they should have hearts with which to understand ($qul\bar{u}bun\ ya^cqil\bar{u}na\ bih\bar{a}$)." 92

⁹⁰ Ibn Taymiyya, Muwafaqa, Vol. 1, 90-2.

⁹¹ Ibid., 49.

⁹² Our an, XXII: 46.

Again, when Ibn 'Abbās was asked: "How do you obtain knowledge? "He replied: "Through a curious tongue (bi lisān sa²ūl) and through an intelligent heart (bi qalb 'aqūl)." Ibn Taymiyya considers 'aql as something which is not separate from qalb. To him, the direction of 'aql is controlled by the will of qalb. 93 Therefore, his analogy regarding the relation of qalb to 'ilm is that of a vessel to water or of a river to a flood implying that 'ilm is controlled by qalb as water and the flood are controlled by the limits of a vessel and a river. Ibn Taymiyya emphasizes that the qalb, by its very nature (fitra), inclines to the truth. It can accept nothing but the truth. 94 Given this nature, the qalb and the 'aql have never contradicted God. In fact, the qalb seeks to know God, for He is the Real Truth. 95 Given that the Qur³ān is the truth, and the Messengers are the most knowledgeable people regarding the truth, 'aql will never contradict the Qur³ān and the Sunna. Sound reason (sarīḥ al-marqūl) must be in accordance with the sound religious text (saḥīḥ al-manqūl). Anything which contradicts sound reason can be known through saḥūḥ al-manqūl. 96

The foregoing argument enables Ibn Taymiyya to criticize ta^3wil . According to him, ta^3wil originated from the basic assumption that there was contradiction between 'aql and naql. What the falāsifa and the mutakallimūn called contradiction (tanāquq), he maintains, is not between 'aql and naql, but between rational knowledge (al-'ulūm al-'aqliyya) and naql. 97 Ibn Taymiyya argues that 'aql as "an instinct within us" (al-

⁹³ Ibn Taymiyya, Majmū^c Fatāwā Ibn Taymiyya: al-Manțiq, Vol. 9, 303-304.

⁹⁴ Ibid., 313.

⁹⁵ Ibid., 312

⁹⁶ Ibn Taymiyya, *Dar's Ta'āruḍ al-'Aql wa al-Naql*, Ed. by Muḥammad Rashād Sālim. Vol. 1 (Cairo: Maṭba'at Dār al-Kutub, 1971), 194.

⁹⁷ The distinction between 'aql and 'aqliyyāt also can be seen in his al-Tafsīr al-Kabīr, Vol. 6, 446.

gharīza al-latī fīn \bar{a}) must necessarily be in agreement with naql since both faql as gharīza and naql make the human being inclined to the truth. And the truth does not contradict itself. ⁹⁸ He proposes the formula "Sound reason" must be in accordance with sound naql and unsound reason can be known by sound naql. " ⁹⁾

Rational knowledge cannot therefore be a basis (aṣl) for determining shar^c. The knowledge of God and the affirmation of His Messenger do not, according to Ibn Taymiyya, require rational argument (al-adilla al-caqliyya) for such knowledge is natural and necessary (fitrī darūrī).¹⁰⁰

Ibn Taymiyya strongly rejects the philosophical connotations of the word caql . According to him, caql in the Qur ${}^3\bar{a}n$ is in fact sometimes equated with sam^c as in the verse: "If we listen to or na^cqil we would not be the people of Fire." 101 In his opinion, caql in the Qur ${}^3\bar{a}n$ is not necessarily related to rational argumentation in philosophy. 102 To equate caql with its philosophical understanding is unjustified. Ibn Taymiyya's criticism of the misuse of that word seems to come from his realization that many philosophers always asserted the necessity of philosophy in studying Islamic fundamentals: they referred to the verses of the Qur ${}^3\bar{a}n$ which uses the word caql , from which they

⁹⁸ Muḥammad Khalīl Harās, ion Taymiyya al-Salafī, 52.

⁹⁹ Ibid., 47.

¹⁰⁰ Ibn Taymiyya, al-Tafsīr al-Kabīr, 280 and Muhammad Umar Memon, Ibn Taymīya's Struggle Against Popular Religion, 6.

¹⁰¹ Quran, LXVII: 10.

¹⁰² Ibn Taymiyya, Muwafaga, Vol. 1, 50.

argued for the legitimacy, even obligation, of interpreting the Qur³ān through rational or philosophical methods. 103

Another reason for Ibn Taymiyya's rejection of the understanding of 'aql stems from his belief that the reasoning of philosophers and theologians is responsible for schisms and the disunity of the Muslim community. 104 It is reason which has created contradictory opinions. In his view, ta^3wil is not the cause but the effect. Those people already held certain convictions and brought them to bear on the Qur³ān through ta^3wil .. Ta^3wil is thus merely a justification of their convictions, an instrument in the service of their ideology. It is clear that Ibn Taymiyya was not merely concerned with theology or the understanding of Islam, but also with politics. In his days, Muslims were not only divided into various schools of Islamic thought, but along political, regional or ethnic lines. The unity of the *umma* was very fragile and the Mongols could invade the Muslim states without having to face any strong resistance. In discouraging differences of opinion, Ibn Taymiyya was thus also concerned to lessen the disunity of the Muslim community. 105

¹⁰³ See, for example, Ibn Rushd's emphasis on 'aql in his Faşl al-Maqāl fīmā bayn al-Ḥikma wa al-Sharī'a min al-Ittiṣāl, 22.

¹⁰⁴ According to Abū Zahra, it is very probable that his salafī orientation is emphasized to avoid sadd dharī at al-fasād. Abū Zahra, Ibn Taymiyya, 226.

¹⁰⁵ Ibn Taymiyya's convictions were confirmed by the conduct of the Shīcites and the sūfis in his own lifetime. They were not united against the Mongols, and even facilitated their invasion. Ibn Taymiyya, Majmūc Fatāwā Ibn Taymiyya: al-Tafsīr, Vol. 17, 311-12, 401; Thomas F. Michel, A Muslim Theologian's Response, 13; M.M. Sharif, History of Muslim Philosophy, 796; Victor E. Makari, Ibn Taymiyyah's Ethics, 12, 14.

CHAPTER TWO THE PRINCIPLES OF IBN TAYMIYYA'S QUR'ANIC INTERPRETATION

It has been discussed earlier that Ibn Taymiyya's criticism of the innovators (ahl albida^c) in relation to $ta^{3}w\bar{t}l$ was based on three central reasons. First of all, the innovators were deemed to have contradicted the salaf's understanding of the Qur³ān. They were also seen to have erred because of their belief in the superiority of reason over revelation. Moreover, Ibn Taymiyya accused them of having contributed through their beliefs to the disunity of the umma. While the previous chapter is concerned with Ibn Taymiyya's refutation of the innovators' interpretation of the Qur³ān, this chapter will discuss his principles of Qur³anic interpretation, as presented in his Muqaddima fi Uṣūl al-Tafsūr in particular, and analyze his exegesis of sūrat al-Ikhlāṣ. This chapter will primarily focus on his exegetical method and on his arguments for the authority of the salaf in interpreting the Qur³ān.

A. Ibn Taymiyya's Method of Quranic Interpretation

The best method of $tafs\bar{t}r$, according to Ibn Taymiyya, is to refer, in descending order, to the Quroan itself, the Sunna (the Prophet traditions), the sayings $(aqw\bar{a}l)$ of the $sah\bar{a}ba$ (the Companions of the Prophet) 1 or to those of the $t\bar{a}bi^c\bar{u}n$ (the Followers of the Companions of the Prophet). 2

¹ According to Ibn Taymiyya, the saḥāba comprise all those who witnessed the Prophet and believed in him even though they may have had the opportunity to witness him only once. He bases himself on, among others, the saying of Mālik: "Whoever accompanies the Messenger of God, peace be upon him, one year, or one month, or one day or saw him and believed in him, he is one of his Companions." See Ibn Taymiyya.

One verse of the Qur 3 ān is often explained in another verse (yufassiru baʻquhū baʻqā). This, to Ibn Taymiyya, is the ideal method of tafsīr. 3 However, if the explanation of a certain verse is not found in another part of the Qur 3 ān itself, the interpretation of the Qur 3 anic text should then be based on the Sunna. The Sunna basically functions, according to Ibn Taymiyya, as an elaborator (shāriḥa) of the Qur 3 ān. Ibn Taymiyya follows Muḥammad ibn Idrīs al-Shāfi 4 ī, according to whom whatever the Prophet Muḥammad said and did was based on an understanding of the Qur 3 ān. No one

Majmū^c Fatāwā Ibn Taymiyya: Uṣūl al-Fiqh, Vol. 20 (Rabat: Maktabat al-Ma^cārif, n.d.), 289 and his Ṣiḥḥat Uṣūl Madhhab Ahl al-Madīna (Beirut: Dār al-Nadwa al-Jadīda, n.d.), 21.

² His method is repeatedly mentioned by many scholars of Qur³anic studies when they come to a discussion of Qur³anic interpretation by tradition (tafsīr bi al-ma³thūr). Ibn Taymiyya is deemed to be the thinker who laid the scriptural and rational foundation of this school. See Abū Zahra, Ibn Taymiyya, ḥayātuh wa ārā³uh wa fiqhuh (Dār al-Fikr al-ʿArabī, n.d.), 220-36; Muḥammad Ḥusayn al-Dhahabī, al-Tafsīr wa al-Mufassirūn, Vol. 1 (Cairo: Dār al-Kutub al-Ḥadītha, 1961), 48-50; Muḥammad Basyūnī Fawra, Nash³at al-Tafsīr wa Manāhijuh fī Þaw³ al-Madhāhib al-Islāmiyya (Cairo: Maṭbaʿat al-Amāna, 1986), 13; Muḥammad Yūsuf Mūsā, Ibn Taymiyya (Beirut: al-ʿAṣr al-Ḥadītha, 1988), 167-88; Fahd ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Sulaymān al-Rūmī, Manhaj al-Madrasa al-ʿAqliyya al-Hadītha fī al-Tafsīr (Beirut: Mu³assasat al-Risāla, 1407 H.), 16-20.

³ All great Muslim exegetes agree that the interpretation of the Qur'anic verses in the first place be based on the other verses of the Book itself. In fact, later modern Muslim scholars like Fazlur Rahman and 'Ā'isha bint al-Shāṭī see such method as the only valid way of interpreting the Qur'ān. Fazlur Rahman maintains that the Qur'ān should be understood in the context of its unity, avoiding any approach dealing with Qur'ān atomistically or partially. The only context that is needed, according to him, in (re)interpreting the Qur'ān is the historical setting of the life of the Prophet Muḥammad and the people of his time. See his Islam and Modernity (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1984), 2-11 and Major Themes of the Qur'ān (Chicago: Bibliotheca Islamica, 1980), xi-ii. Bint al-Shāṭī maintains, however, that every verse of the Qur'ān can be sufficiently interpreted through others and there is no need to have recourse to anything else, she considers the occasions of revelation as merely supplementary. See her al-Tafsīr al-Bayānī, Vol. 1 (Cairo: Dār al-Ma'ārif, 1962), 9-10. Also Issa J. Boullata, "Modern Qur'ān Exegesis: A Study of Bint al-Shāṭi's Method," Muslim World, LXIV (1974), 103-113.

⁴ Ibn Taymiyya, *Muqaddima fī Uṣūl al-Tafsīr*. Ed. by 'Adnān Zarzūr (Kuwait: Dār al-Qur'an al-Karīm, 1971), 93.

knew God and His teachings better than the Prophet and he was commanded by God to convey His message to the people.⁵

According to Ibn Taymiyya, there are many verses which instruct the Prophet to judge or make a decision in accordance with the Quroan. One of them is the verse, "Surely we have revealed the Book to you with the truth that you may judge between people by means of that which God has taught you; and be not an advocate on behalf of the treacherous." ⁶ Therefore, Ibn Taymiyya believes that what the Prophet did is exactly the truth as inspired by or derived from the Qur³ān. Ibn Taymiyya quotes the Prophet as saying: "Remember I was given the Quran and its example." In the opinion of Ibn Taymiyya, the example mentioned is the Sunna. ⁷ He maintains that the Sunna itself is also revelation. In his view, the difference is that the Our an is recited (yutla), while the Sunna is not. The argument for the necessity of making reference to the Sunna in interpreting the Quran is also based on the tradition of Muadh ibn Jabal when being sent to the Yaman, the Prophet asked him: " By what will you judge?". He replied: "By the Book of God." The Messenger asked: "If you do not find the solution there." Mucadh said: "By the traditions of the Messenger." The Prophet asked: "If you do not find the solution even there?" He said: "I will judge by my personal opinion." It is reported that the Prophet was very pleased with this answer. 8

⁵ Ibn Taymiyya, *Majmū^c Fatāwā Ibn Taymiyya: Muqddimat al-Tafsīr*, Vol. 13 (Rabat: Maktabat al-Ma^cārif, n.d.), 136.

⁶ Quran, IV: 105.

⁷ Ibn Taymiyya, *Majmū'at al-Rasā'il wa al-Masā'il*, Vol. 1-3 (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 1992), 200.

⁸ It is unfortunate that Ibn Taymiyya does not discuss the final answer of $Mu^c\bar{a}dh$ "I will judge by my personal opinion." (ajtahid ra³yī). But what is certain is that $Mu^c\bar{a}dh$'s preference for personal opinion as a basis of his decision would be interpreted by Ibn Taymiyya not as mere personal opinion but as itself based on the Qur³ān and the Sunna. On another occasion, Ibn Taymiyya vehemently criticizes " mere personal opinion" in

In Ibn Taymiyya's view, however, the bases of Qur³anic interpretation was not only limited to other parts of the Qur³ān itself and to the Sunna. For him if the explanation of the Qur³ān is not found in either sources, the interpreter should refer to the sayings of the sahāba and those of the $t\bar{a}bi^c\bar{u}n$ or what he calls the salaf. Ibn Taymiyya sometimes even mentions the followers of the $t\bar{a}bi^c\bar{u}n$ as the source of guidance in interpreting the Qur³ān.9

B. The Authority of the Salaf in interpreting the Quran

It is Ibn Taymiyya's strong belief that the Prophet had explained all words of the Quroan and their meanings to his Companions. ¹⁰ This belief is clearly based on many verses of the Book which tell the Messenger to explain the holy scripture to the peoples and urge the people themselves to think and to reflect on the Quroan. One such verse is the following: "We have revealed to you the Quroan (al-dhikr) that you may make clear to

interpreting the Qur³ān. In fact, such an interpretation is forbidden. See his *Muqaddima* fī *Uṣūl al-Tafsīr*, 93-4, 105.

Unfortunately, I am unable to find Ibn Taymiyya's exact definition of the term salaf which literally means "ancestors". Those who are certainly considered salaf by Ibn Taymiyya are the şaḥāba and the tābi'ūn. See his Majmū' Fatāwā Ibn Taymiyya: al-Tafsīr, Vol. 17, 87. However, he also very often mentions the authority of tābi'ū al-tābi'īn (the Followers of the tābi'ūn) and he often uses terms like al-a'imma, or a'immat al-umma, or a'immat al-muslimīn such as al-Shāfi'ī and Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, or a'immat al-muslimīn al-mashhūrīn bi al-'ilm wa al-dīn, or al-a'imma al-arba'a. See his Muqaddima fī Uṣūl al-Tafsīr, 79, 85; al-Tafsīr al-Kabīr, Vol. 6 (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 1988), 448; Majmū' Fatāwā Ibn Taymiyya: al-Tafsīr, Vol. 17, 68, 87, 102, 150, 205; Dar' Ta'āruḍ al-'Aql wa al-Naql, Vol. 1 (Maṭba'at Dār al-Kutub, 1971), 45; Majmū' Fatāwā Ibn Taymiyya: Uṣūl al-Fiqh, Vol. 19, 9 and Muḥammad Khalīl Harās, Ibn Taymiyya al-Salafī (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 1984), 183. Abū Zahra says that Ibn Taymiyya, limits the authority of the salaf to the third generation of Muslims. See his Ibn Taymiyya, 224. See also Muhammad Umar Memon, Ibn Taymīya's Struggle Against Popular Religion (Paris: Mouton, 1976), 4.

¹⁰ Ibn Taymiyya, Majmū^c Fatāwā Ibn Taymiyya: Muqaddimat al-Tafsīr, Vol. 13, 402-3.

men (the Companions) what has been revealed to them, and that haply they may reflect."11 Another verse states: "And we have revealed to you the Book only so that you may make clear to them that about which they differ, and (as) a guidance and a mercy for a people who believe." 12 In another verse, the Qura an affirms: " (It is) the Book we have revealed to you abounding in good, that they may ponder over its verses, and that those endowed with understanding may be mindful." 13 The same emphasis is also affirmed in another verse: "Do they not meditate on the Quroan?" 14 or "Is it then that they do not ponder over what is said?" 15 Ibn Taymiyya takes these verses as proof that the Prophet was told to explain the Book to his people. Also, his people were urged to think, to ponder and to meditate. According to Ibn Taymiyya, it is very unlikely that people would be urged to ponder the Quroan (al-tadabbur) without understanding its meaning. Ibn Taymiyya maintains that the main goal of every discourse (kalām) is to understand its meaning, not merely to know the words comprising it. In fact, the understanding of the meaning of the Our an is even more important than any discourse. If the study of medicine and mathematics ($his\bar{a}b$), for instance, is hardly possible without asking a question, it is even more unlikely that an understanding of the Quroan can be achieved without

¹¹ Qur'an, XVI: 44. According to Muḥammad Ḥusayn al-Dhahabī, this verse does not mean that the Prophet explained all verses of the Qur'an for he was asked merely to explain the difficult verses. See his al-Tafsīr wa al-Mufassirūn, Vol. 1, 51-2. He maintains that the transmission of tafsīr from the Prophet was limited, the reason being that his audience at that time was pure Arabs and the Qur'anic verses which were unclear to them were only few. See Fred Leemhuis' "Origins and Early Development of the tafsīr Tradition" in Andrew Rippin, ed., Approaches to the History of the Interpretation of the Qur'an (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), 14.

¹² Qur³ān, XVI: 64.

¹³ Quraān, XXXVIII: 29.

¹⁴ Qurain, IV: 82.

¹⁵ Quran, XXIII: 68.

explanation, for the Qur³ān is the word of God ($kal\bar{a}m$ Allāh) on which the protection, salvation and happiness, here as well as in the hereafter, depend.¹⁶

In addition there are many traditions which convincingly prove that the Companions of the Prophet studied the Qur³ān attentively and carefully. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Sulamī, one of the great $t\bar{a}bi^c\bar{u}n$, said: the people who taught us the Qur³ān, like 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān, 'Abd Allāh ibn Mas'ūd and others stated that when they learnt ten verses from the Prophet, they did not continue further unless they had acquired full understanding of those verses and of the practices they enjoined. They said: we studied the Qur³ān, both in terms of knowledge as well as practice. ¹⁷ Al-Acmash reported on the same authority that 'Abd Allāh ibn Mas'ūd said: "They (the ṣaḥāba) did not continue further unless they had learnt the meaning of those verses. ¹⁸ According to Ibn Taymiyya, they also spent time (yabqūn mudda) memorizing the sūra s of the Qur³ān. Anas ibn Mālik reported that Ibn 'Umar spent about eight years' memorizing the sūrat al-Bagara. ¹⁹

It seems crucial to Ibn Taymiyya's view of the authority of the Qur³ān and the Sunna to hold that the Prophet explained the meaning of the Qur³ān. Otherwise, both religious sources would be exposed to doubt. Ibn Taymiyya insists in fact that the Prophet explained everything about the religion of Islam: its foundations and derivations, its outer as well as its inner meaning. ²⁰

 $^{^{16}}$ Ibn Taymiyya, *Majmūʻ Fatāwā Ibn Taymiyya: al-Tafsīr* , Vol, 17, 390 and his *Muqaddima fī Uṣūl al-Tafsīr* , 30-1.

¹⁷ Ibid., 36.

¹⁸ Ibid., 96.

¹⁹ Ibid., 35-6.

²⁰ See " Ma'ārij al-Wuṣūl " in Ibn Taymiyya's Majmū' Fatāwā Ibn Taymiyya: Uṣūl al-Fiqh, Vol. 19 (Rabat: Maktabat al-Ma'ārif, n.d.), 155. This short treatise is also

However, all the saḥāba are, according to Ibn Taymiyya, not authorities in understanding the Qur³ān. Those who are include the four rightly guided-caliphs and such learned people as 'Abd Allāh ibn Masʿūd and Ibn 'Abbās. According to Ibn Taymiyya, Ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī stated on the authority of Masrūq that 'Abd Allāh ibn Masʿūd used to say: "I swear there is no god except Him. With regard to every single verse that was revealed, I know about what and where it was revealed. If I knew there was someone more knowledgeable about the Book of God than me ... I would surely visit him." According to Ibn Taymiyya, al-Aʿmash stated that Mujāhid, one of the great tābiʿūn, also said: "If I read the reading of Ibn Masʿūd, I do not need to ask much from Ibn 'Abbās." ²¹ Referring to this tradition, Ibn Taymiyya obviously wants to stress that among the Companions there were some who were actively engaged in the study of the Qur³ān and were able to master its intricacies, so that their authority in explaining the Qur³ān could not be doubted.

In particular, Ibn Taymiyya emphasizes the authority of 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Abbās in interpreting the Qur'ān. According to him, the Messenger himself prayed for him: "O, God teach him good understanding in religion and instruct him in $ta^2w\bar{\imath}l$." ²² Ibn Taymiyya quotes 'Abd Allāh ibn Mas'ūd as saying: : "What an excellent interpreter of the

published separately. See Ma^cārij al-Wuṣūl ilā Ma^crifat ann Uṣūl al-Dīn wa Furū^cah qad Bayyanahā al-Rasūl (al-Madīna al-Munawwara: al-Maktaba al-cIlmiyya, n.d.). Also his Maimū^c Fatāwā Ibn Taymiyya: Muqaddimat al-Tafsīr, Vol. 13, 400-3.

²¹ Ibn Taymiyya, Muqaddima fi Uşūl al-Tafsīr, 103.

In Ibn Taymiyya's understanding, the word " $ta^{3}w\bar{t}l$ " in this tradition has nothing to do with metaphorical interpretation as it is understood by the *mutakallimūn* or $fuqah\bar{a}^{3}$, for in his opinion $ta^{3}w\bar{t}l$ is explanatory rather than interpretative of the apparent expression of the text. This is different from al-Ghazālī, for example, who argued that this tradition is a basis for allowing the reader to interpret the Qur³ān metaphorically or to go beyond the apparent meaning of the text as long as that such understanding is not contradictory to the primary sources, the Qur³ān and the Sunna.

Qur'an Ibn 'Abbas is." ²³ Al-A'mash, on the authority of Abū Wā'il, said: "At the time of the pilgrimage, 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Abbas was asked by 'Alī to act as the leader of pilgrimage. Ibn 'Abbas then gave a sermon, in which he interpreted sūrat al-Baqara or, according to another version, sūrat al-Nūr in so admirable a fashion that if the Romans, the Turks and the Daylamīs had heard it, they would have converted to Islam." In the view of Ibn Taymiyya, such traditions prove that the Companions of the Prophet were truly authoritative in interpreting the Qur'an.²⁴

The authority of the saḥāba was not merely based on the fact that they had been taught the Qur³ān by the Prophet and had themselves studied it; they had also witnessed the "occasions of revelation" with their own eyes. According to Ibn Taymiyya, they knew what circumstance a certain revelation was revealed in or about. So, they had a perfect knowledge of the revelation. In addition, they knew Qur³anic Arabic better than did later generations. ²⁵

The authority of Qur³anic interpretation does not, however, end with the Companions of the Prophet, for their knowledge of the Qur³ān was subsequently transmitted to their Followers ($t\bar{a}bi^c\bar{u}n$). Ibn Taymiyya believes that the Companions taught some of their Followers and insists—that there is no verse of the Qur³ān which is not known by the $sah\bar{a}ba$ and the $t\bar{a}bi^c\bar{u}n$. ²⁶ In fact, according to him, a "Follower" such as Mujāhid received Qur³anic interpretation in its entirety from the $sah\bar{a}ba$. Mujāhid

²³ Ibn Taymiyya, Naqd al-Manţiq (Cairo: Maţbaʿat al-Sunna al-Muḥammadiyya, 1951), 80. He points out that Ibn ʿAbbās was "the scholar of the umma" (ḥabr al-umma). See his Majmūʿ Fatāwā Ibn Taymiyya: Muqaddimat al-Tafsīr, Vol. 13, 282.

²⁴ Ibn Taymiyya, Muqaddima fī Uşūl al-Tafsīr, 97.

²⁵ Ibid., 95.

²⁶ Ibn Taymiyya, Majmūc Fatāwā Ibn Taymiyya: al-Tafsīr, Vol. 17, 397, 415.

said: "I studied ('araḍtu') the Qur³ān with Ibn 'Abbās. I stopped at every verse of it to ask for his explanation." In another tradition from Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq on the authority of Abān ibn Ṣāliḥ, Mujāhid stated: "I studied the Qur³ān three times, from its beginning to its end. I stopped at every verse and I asked him about it." ²⁷ Ibn Jarīr reported from Ibn Abī Mulayka: "I used to see Mujāhid asking about Qur³anic interpretation while he was bringing slates. Ibn 'Abbās said: 'Write! ' and Mujāhid did not stop until he had asked him about all Qur³anic interpretation." According to Ibn Taymiyya, Sufyān al-Thawrī said: "If you have the Qur³anic interpretation of Mujāhid, it is sufficient for you." Ibn Taymiyya maintains that al-Shāfī¹ī and al-Bukhārī as well as other knowledgeable people relied heavily on Mujāhid's interpretation. Also, Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal and the people who wrote tafsīr s followed Mujāhid's method much more than anyone else's. ²⁸ The other tābi¹ūn who were considered authoritative by Ibn Taymiyya include Sa⁵īd ibn Jubayr, 'Ikrima, a servant of Ibn 'Abbās, 'Aṭāʾ ibn Abī Rabāḥ, al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, Masrūq ibn al-Ajdaʿ, Saʿīd ibn al-Musayyab, Abū al-ʿĀliya, al-Rabīʿ ibn Anas, Qatāda, al-Ḍaḥḥāk ibn Muzāḥim, Zayd ibn Aslam, Tāwūs and Abū al-Shaʿthāð. ²⁹

The authority of the $sah\bar{a}ba$ and the $t\bar{a}bi^c\bar{u}n$ in interpreting the Quroan was, according to Ibn Taymiyya, also based on their temporal proximity to the Prophet. The age of both the $sah\bar{a}ba$ as well as the $t\bar{a}bi^c\bar{u}n$ was the best age of mankind after the time of the Prophet. The Prophet himself said: "The best age is the age in which I was sent, the next best is the generation which follows mine, and then those who come after." 30 Ibn

²⁷ Ibn Taymiyya, Muqaddima fī Uṣūl al-Tafsīr, 102.

²⁸ Ibid., 37.

²⁹ Ibid., 60-1 and 104.

³⁰ Ibn Taymiyya, Majmū Fatāwā Ibn Taymiyya: Muqaddimat al-Tafsīr, Vol. 13, 24; Also his Majmū Fatāwā Ibn Taymiyya: Uṣūl al-Fiqh, Vol, 20, 294-95 and Muḥammad Khalīl Harās, Ibn Taymiyya al-Salafī, 43. However, Ibn Taymiyya states that

Taymiyya observes that the Companions are praised and promised Heaven by God himself. God has stated in the Qur³ān: "Certainly God was well pleased with the believers when they swore allegiance to you under the tree, and He knew what was in their hearts, so He sent down tranquillity on them and rewarded them with a near victory." ³¹ God also states: "And (as for) the foremost, the first of *Muhājir* s and the *Anṣār* s, and those who followed them in goodness, God is well pleased with them and they are well pleased with His Messenger, and He has prepared for them Heaven beneath which rivers flow to abide in them for ever; that is the mighty achievement." ³² With regard to the Companions of the Prophet, Ibn Taymiyya mentions their virtues as follows:

"They were the first believers who undertook $jih\bar{a}d$; though facing enemies, they affirmed Muḥammad as the Messenger of God. The Companions believed in his words at the time when the truth of those words had not yet been proved and when his supporters were still few compared to the infidels and the hypocrites. Above all, they gave up their property for the sake of God. Their contribution cannot be compared to that of anyone else. ³³

Ibn Taymiyya also quotes the following verse: "And whoever acts with hostility to the Apostle after guidance has become manifest to him, and follows other than the way of the believers, We will turn him to that to which he has (himself) turned and make him enter hell; and it is an evil resort." ³⁴ It is clear, from this verse, he states, that whoever follows other than the way of the believers (the *salaf*) would be punished in hell. ³⁵ He says:

although the former must be better than the latter, some of the latter could also be better than the former. He notes the different opinions about the superiority of Mu^cāwiya over ^cUmar ibn ^cAbd al-^cAzīz as a case in point. See his Majmū^c Fatāwā Ibn Taymiyya: Muqaddimat al-Tafsīr, Vol. 13, 66.

³¹ Quraān, XLVIII: 18.

³² Qur³ān, IX: 100.

³³ Ibn Taymiyya, Majmū^c Fatāwā Ibn Taymiyya: Muqaddimat al-Tafsīr, Vol 13, 66.

³⁴ Qur³ān, IV: 115.

³⁵ Ibn Taymiyya, Naqd al-Mantiq, 1.

"Whoever explains the Qura or the $\underline{H}ad\overline{\iota}th$ and interprets it in a way which is not known to the $\underline{sah}\overline{u}ba$ and the $t\overline{u}bi^c\overline{u}n$, belies God, denies God's verses, changes their expression from their proper place and thus opens the door of $\underline{zandaqa}$ and $\underline{ilh}\overline{u}d$..." ³⁶

Ibn Taymiyya affirms, therefore, that the knowledge as well as the beliefs of the salaf are the most perfect ones 37 and their supremacy over those of others is not to be doubted. He maintains that knowledge of their sayings and practices as regards, for example, tafsir, the foundations of Islam (usil al-din) and its derivations $(furil^c)$ etc., is better than the knowledge of later generations. Similarly, it is necessary to know their consensus and disagreement in knowledge and religion, for their consensus is infallible (ma^csim) and their disagreement did not diverge from the truth. Their virtues are greater than their errors and their error in every branch of religious sciences is less than that of the later generations. He says, that it is forbidden to invalidate their sayings unless there is justification for doing so on the basis of the Book and the Sunna.

The authority of the $sah\bar{a}ba$ and in particular of the $t\bar{a}bi^c\bar{u}n$ presupposes their mutual agreement. Otherwise, their sayings are not authoritative. Ibn Taymiyya says that in case of disagreement, the matter should be returned back to the Quroan and the Sunna. However, Ibn Taymiyya maintains that the $sah\bar{a}ba's$ and the $t\bar{a}bi^c\bar{u}n's$ agreement was greater than that of the following generations. In addition, disagreements among the $sah\bar{a}ba$

³⁶ Ibn Taymiyya, Majmū^c Fatāwā Ibn Taymiyya: Muqaddimat al-Tafsīr, Vol. 13, 243.

³⁷ Ibid., 60.

³⁸ Ibid., 24-7.

³⁹ Ibn Taymiyya, *Majmū^c Fatāwā Ibn Taymiyya: Uṣūl al-Fiqh*, Vol. 20, 14 and Abū Zahra, *Ibn Ḥanbal*, 211.

have nothing to do with beliefs ('aq \bar{a} 'id'). Ibn Taymiyya affirms that the nobler the community is the greater consensus they have. Thus, whoever contradicts the Qur'anic interpretation of the $sah\bar{a}ba$ and the $t\bar{a}bi'\bar{u}n$ imputes lies ($muftar\bar{i}$) to God, rejects (mulhid) His verses and distorts (muharrif) the correct understanding of statements. 41

Given the aforementioned virtues of the salaf, Ibn Taymiyya emphasizes that the best way to interpret the Qur³ān is to refer to their aqwāl (sayings). ⁴² He stresses that the interpreter also should follow their views in dealing with the mutashābih and ilāhiyyāt verses of the Qur³ān. Like the salaf, the interpreter should refrain from giving an opinion on verses which he does not know. Abū Bakr said: "Which sky will protect me and which earth will help me to survive, if I say regarding the Qur³ān things which I do not know." 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān also said: "I have not said about the Qur³ān what I did not know." In another tradition, it is reported that 'Umar was angry at someone for asking him to interpret of the word "abb" in the Qur³ān. Again, there is a tradition which reports that when Saʿīd ibn Musayyab, one of the great tābiʿūn, was asked about a legal matter, he was a very enthusiastic and outspoken, but when asked regarding the Qur³ān, he was silent as if he had not heard the question. This shows how the salaf refrained from speaking about the Qur³ān without knowledge ('ilm') and avoided giving mere personal opinion. In fact, Ibn Taymiyya insists that the interpretation of the Qur³ān through mere reason is forbidden ⁴³. According to Harris Birkeland, when the proponents of tafsīr bi al-

⁴⁰ Ibn Taymiyya, Majmū^c Fatāwā Ibn Taymiyya: Uṣūl al-Fiqh, Vol. 19, 274.

⁴¹ Ibn Taymiyya, Majmū^c Fatāwā Ibn Taymiyya: Muqaddimat al-Tafsīr, Vol. 13, 243.

⁴² It is interesting that the word he uses is aqwāl al-ṣaḥāba or aqwāl al-tābifīn (sayings), neither afhām (understanding) nor tafsīr (interpretation). It is very likely that the word is chosen to stress the necessity of precise quotations from them.

⁴³ Ibn Taymiyya, Muqaddima fī Usūl al-Tafsīr, 108-115.

ma³thūr emphasize the interpretation of the Qur³ān through ⁶ilm (knowledge) what they mean is interpretation through al-ḥadīth. In case of Ibn Taymiyya, however, it is not merely tradition, but also the Qur³ān as well as the sayings of the Prophet's Companions and their Followers and to some extent the sayings of Arabic philologists which have to be taken into account in interpreting the Qur³ān.

The interpreter also should not make tahrif or ta'wil 44 of the apparent meaning of the text. According to Ibn Taymiyya, when the salaf dealt with God's attributes and names, they did not change the meanings of the apparent expressions through their ta'wil. What they did was to apply the apparent meaning of the verses, neither affirming it nor denying it. They submitted (tafwid and taslim) the true meaning of it to God alone who is Omniscient. For Ibn Taymiyya, to change the apparent meaning of the text through ta'wil or majāz (rhetorical considerations) implies that reason can determine its true sense, but reason, as mentioned repeatedly above, cannot be trusted. So R. Marston Speight is right in saying that the supporters of tafsir bi al-ma'thür equate the use of ra'y (personal opinion) with hawā (whims), 45 though Ibn Taymiyya's main argument is that reason is unreliable besides being subject to personal whims.

⁴⁴ Both terms are used by Ibn Taymiyya. However, he prefers to use $tahr\bar{i}f$, which is clearly condemned by God in the $Cur^3\bar{a}n$, though that verse concerns the Jews who are described as the people who changed the word (al-kalima) and the manning of the text. The word $ta^3w\bar{i}l$ does not have a negative connotation in the $Qur^3\bar{a}n$ where it usually means "to return to the point." But, when Ibn Taymiyya criticizes $ta^3w\bar{i}l$, what he means is $ta^3w\bar{i}l$ as it is understood by the philosophers, the mutakallimun and the fuqah \bar{a}^3 .

⁴⁵ See his "Function of *Ḥadīth* as Commentary on the Quroān as Seen in the Six Authoritative Collections", in Andrew Rippin, ed., Approaches to the History of the Interpretation of the Quroān, 67.

C. Ibn Taymiyya's View on the Salaf's Disagreement

It is very clear that Ibn Taymiyya strongly urges later Muslims to follow the Quroanic interpretation of the salaf. But, which opinion of the salaf should one follow? The problem with the salaf's tafsīr is their own disagreement. It is obvious that there is no settled opinion among them regarding the meaning of certain expressions of the Quroān. The same is true of reports on the "occasions of revelation." Each of the salaf seems to have had his own understanding or interpretation of the revelation. Ibn Taymiyya is not unaware of this problem. But, according to him, the salaf's disagreement cannot be taken as a reason for the rejection of their authority in Quroanic interpretation. His stance is based on two reasons. First, although there are disagreements among them, the traditions which were needed in religion are available and their soundness or unsoundness also can be known. Secondly, the disagreement of traditions cannot be deemed a contradiction (ikhtilāf tadādd) but a diversity of views (ikhtilāf tanawwu^c). 46

1. The Reliability of Traditions Can be Known

Ibn Taymiyya observes that disagreement in Quroanic interpretation can take two forms: al-naql (the traditions) ⁴⁷ and istidlāl (reasoning). As regards the former, he stresses that the traditions, whether transmitted from the trustworthy or untrustworthy people, can be divided into two categories: the traditions whose soundness (sahīh) and

⁴⁶ Ibn Taymiyya, Majmū^c Fatāwā Ibn Taymiyya: Muqaddimat al-Tafsīr, Vol. 13, 381 and his Majmū^c Fatāwā Ibn Taymiyya: Uṣūl al-Fiqh, Vol. 19, 139-41.

⁴⁷ By al-naql, Ibn Taymiyya means: al-Quroān, al-Ḥadīth, the sayings of ṣaḥāba and those of the tābirān. See his Majmūr Fatāwā Ibn Taymiyya: Muqaddimat al-Tafsīr, Vol. 13, 29. What Ibn Taymiyya seems to mean here is the traditions. See Muqaddima fī Usūl al-Tafsīr, 55-79.

unsoundness (kidhb) can be known and those of which cannot be so known. Ibn Taymiyya maintains that the disagreement of the traditions occurs as regards the second category which, according to him, mostly discusses things which are not important ($m\bar{a} l\bar{a} f\bar{a}^{j}ida f\bar{i}hi$) such as the tradition concerning the color of the dog of the people of the Kahf, or the cow in the story of Moses, the size of the ship of the Prophet Noah, the name of the child who was killed by Khiḍr and so forth. All these traditions were not transmitted soundly from the Prophet, though there are sound traditions regarding the same story such as a tradition informing us that the name of the Companion of Moses is Khidr. ⁴⁸

There also are traditions which are not transmitted from the Prophet but from people of the Book like Ka°b al-Aḥbār, Wahb ibn al-Munabbih and Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq. These traditions should not be validated or invalidated except with evidential argument (hujja).⁴⁹ As for the Isrā¬īliyyāt traditions, Ibn Taymiyya classifies them into three categories: first, the Isrā¬īliyyāt traditions which confirm the truth we have. Such traditions are undoubtedly true and can therefore be accepted. Secondly, there are Isrā¬īliyyāt traditions whose unsoundness is obvious for they contradict the truth we have. These traditions are to be rejected. Thirdly, there are certain Isrā¬īliyyāt traditions whose soundness or unsoundness is doubtful. As regards these traditions, Ibn Taymiyya maintains that they should neither be accepted nor rejected. To transmit them is permitted, particularly if there is a useful lesson (fā¬ida) in them. The Messenger of God, Ibn Taymiyya says, stated: "Transmit from me even if only one verse and from the Banī Isrā¬īl without hesitation; and whoever intentionally lies about me will take his place in fire." ⁵⁰ According to Ibn Taymiyya, the Isrā¬īliyyāt traditions contain a lot of disagreement

⁴⁸ Ibid., 56.

⁴⁹ Ibid., 57.

⁵⁰ Ibid., 100 and his *Majmū^c Fatāwā Ibn Taymiyya: Uṣūl al-Fiqh*, Vol. 19, 6-7. Abū Zahra, *Ibn Taymiyya*, 224.

on such things as the opinions about the names of birds which were brought to life by God to show a sign to Abraham or about the trees which talked to Moses. But, according to him, such $Isr\bar{a}^{2}$ liyyat traditions may be used for tafsir as long as they are included in the first and the third categories mentioned earlier. ⁵¹ He affirms that the transmission or use of $Isr\bar{a}^{2}$ liyyat traditions by the salaf had nothing to do with belief $(al-i^{2}tiq\bar{a}d)$ but with making or illustrating a point $(al-istishh\bar{a}d)$. ⁵²

According to Ibn Taymiyya, similar traditions have also been transmitted from the $t\bar{a}bi^c\bar{u}n$. These traditions, according to Ibn Taymiyya, are accepted as long as they are unanimously agreed upon. In case of disagreement, however, such traditions cannot be taken as a proof in an argument, and confirmation should be sought in reports from the $sah\bar{a}ba$, for it is very likely that they heard it from the Prophet or from the people who heard it from the Prophet. The sayings of the $sah\bar{a}ba$ are more reliable than those of the $t\bar{a}bi^c\bar{u}n$ for they referred to the people of the Book less than the $t\bar{a}bi^c\bar{u}n$ did. In fact, they even refused to confirm the opinions of the people of the Book. 53

Ibn Taymiyya is convinced that the contradiction of traditions in *tafsīr* merely occurs in case of traditions which have no proof (*dalīl*) for their validity. ⁵⁴ He believes that if the tradition is valid it would not be contradictory. Ibn Taymiyya emphasizes that

⁵¹ Ibn Taymiyya, Muqaddirna fi Uşül al-Tafsir, 55-7, 98-101.

⁵² Şabrī al-Mutawallī concludes that in the view of Ibn Taymiyya it is justified to use mawqūf, maqtū° or mursal traditions in tafsīr for textual evidence (shawāhid) and taking a lesson (i'tibār). See his Mannaj Ibn Taymiyya fī Tafsīr al-Qur'ān al-Karīm (Cairo: 'Ālam al-Kutub, 1981), 68.

⁵³ This is based on the tradition: "If the people of the Book tell (something) to you, do not confirm them, nor negate them." Ibn Taymiyya, Muqaddima fi Uşül al-Tafsīr, 57-8.

⁵⁴ Ibid., 58.

the traditions—relating to religion and tafsīr in particular, are available and their necessary soundness is known. In fact, a considerable number of the traditions needed for tafsīr are transmitted from the Prophet, though most of them, as in maghazī (military campaigns) and malāḥim (bloody fights), are marāṣīl. 55 Thus, Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal stated: "Three things that have no acceptable chains of transmission (isnād): al-tafsīr, al-malāḥim and al-maghāzī." 56 To Ibn Taymiyya, however, marāsil are acceptable.57

Ibn Taymiyya emphasizes the necessity of the soundness of tradition. He asserts, for example, that the tradition should be free from lies, fabrication, intended error, cheating, and that the transmitter should be free from making mistakes and being forgetful, though he does not explain how one can determine that a certain tradition is not a lie, fabrication, error, etc. It is likely, however, that those who are familiar with 'ulūm al-ḥadīth would not find it difficult to determine such matters, so that Ibn Taymiyya seems to consider it unnecessary to explain the ways of doing so. Nevertheless, he stresses the importance of the science of knowing the transmitters of ḥadīth ('ilm al-rijāl). 58

To Ibn Taymiyya, the piety of the Companions like Ibn Mas'ūd, Ubayy ibn Ka'b, Ibn 'Umar, Jābir, Ibn Sa'īd and Abū Hurayra is not to be doubted. They are the people

⁵⁵ Mursal (pl. marāsīl) is the tradition transmitted from the Prophet Muḥammad but with a chain of transmission which is .10t connected to the Prophet or ends with the tābi'ūn.. See the notes of 'Adnān Zarzūr in Muqaddima fī Uṣūl al-Tafsīr, 62; also see Ibn Taymiyya, Majmū' Fatāwā Ibn Taymiyya: al-Ḥadīth, Vol. 18 (Rabat: Maktabat al-Ma'ārif, n.d.), 8. Also Ṣubḥī Ṣāliḥ, 'Ulūm al-Ḥadīth wa Muṣṭalaḥuh (Beirut: Dār al-'Ilm li al-Malāyīn, 1988), 166.

⁵⁶ Ibid., 59.

⁵⁷ Abū Zaira observes that this stance of Ibn Taymiyya toward tradition is different from that of al-Ghazālī, to whom only those traditions which are clearly transmitted from the Prophet directly are authoritative. See Abū Zahra, Ibn Taymiyya, 235.

⁵⁸ Ibn Taymiyya, Muqaddima fī Usūl al-Tafsīr, 62-4.

who could not have lied about the Prophet. They were also free from committing mistakes and being forgetful. In addition, they were morally sound. They had never stolen or robbed (qaṭṭac al-ṭarīq) nor had they been untrustworthy—witnesses. The same is true of the tābicūn—of Medina, Mecca, Syria and Basra. Those people had never lied about the Prophet, particularly to the people who were higher than them. ⁵⁹ Some of them are also said to have had a very good memory such as al-Shacbī, al-Zuhrī, 'Urwa, Qatāda and al-Thawrī. In his time, it was said that al-Zuhrī had never forgotten—in spite of his considerable traditions and his extensive memorizations. ⁶⁰

However, according to Ibn Taymiyya, mistakes and forgetfulness are sometimes unavoidable in human beings. This is particularly the case with traditions which have different paths of transmission. A tradition which reports the Prophet buying a camel from Jābir is a case in point. Considering the different paths of transmission, the tradition is sound. However, there are different reports about the price. Ibn Taymiyya can tolerate the presence of a mistake in a part of a long tradition:

"If a long tradition, for example, is reported by two different authorities without having made a secret agreement (muwāṭaʾa), it is prevented (imtanaʿa) from having a mistake as it is prevented from being a lie, for a mistake would not occur in a long different story, but in a part of it. If (someone) tells a long different story and another tells a similar one without muwāṭaʾa, the tradition as whole is guaranteed to be free from having a mistake just as it is guaranteed as a whole to be free from lie without muwāṭaʾa." ⁶¹

In Ibn Taymiyya's view, shared by Bukhārī, a mistake in a part of a tradition does not invalidate the soundness of that tradition particularly if that tradition is accepted and

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Ibid., 64-5.

⁶¹ It is very likely that by muwāţa³a he means secret agreement between transmitters of tradition. Ibid., 65.

affirmed by knowledgeable people who, in his view, would not make an agreement on error (dalāla). He is strongly convinced that knowledgeable people cannot agree in affirming a weak tradition or in lying about a sound one. Once they make an agreement in judging the status of a tradition, the result is bound to be known. In his eyes, their ijmāc (consensus) is marsūm (infallible). 62 Unfortunately he does not explain who the knowledgeable people are and how they make an $ijm\bar{a}^c$ or how do we know that a certain tradition is agreed upon by them. So far as I am aware, he leaves questions like these unanswered. In any case, the ijmāc of the knowledgeable people is crucial both in his accepting and rejecting a tradition. In his opinion, for example, although the status of the tradition might be that of al-hadith al-gharib, it is obligatory to know if it was accepted, affirmed and practiced by the umma. For instance, the tradition, "Surely deeds (are judged) by their intentions" was at first a hadith gharib which later became a mutawatir. Another example is the tradition: "No will (may be made to the benefit of) an inheritor." He notes that this is too accepted and affirmed by the umma and must be followed, though in al-Sunan it is not considered as a sound tradition. 63 Ibn Taymiyya applies the same rule to al-hadīth al-wāhid. He states:

"A khabar al-wāḥid which becomes generally accepted has to be known according to the majority of the 'ulamā' from the followers of Abū Ḥanīfa, Mālik, al-Shāfi'ī and Aḥmad. It is also the opinion of the majority of al-Ash'arī's followers like Isfarā'īnī, Ibn Fūrak, that though it only conveys probability (al-zann), when it is supported by the ijmā' of the knowledgeable, it is in the position of the ijmā' on law which is based on analogy or khabar al-wāḥid in which, according to the majority, the law becomes qat'ī. It is not qat'ī, when it is without ijmā'; ijmā' is infallible because the knowledgeable people in Islamic law (al-aḥkām al-shar'iyya) do not make agreement in allowing what is forbidden nor in forbidding what is

⁶² Ibn Taymiyya, Majmū^c Fatāwā Ibn Taymiyya: al-Ḥadīth, Vol. 18, 16-7, 41, 49, 51.

⁶³ What he means by al-Sunan is apparently the collection of traditions by Abū Dāwūd. Ibid., 49.

lawful. The same is true of the knowledgeable people in tradition, they do not make agreement in validating a false tradition nor invalidating a sound one..." 64

In this quotation, Ibn Taymiyya seems to consider $ijm\bar{a}^c$ as a determinant factor in deciding the acceptance or rejection of traditions. He does emphasizes, however, that in case a tradition is unreliable but the umma affirms and accepts it, $ijm\bar{a}^c$ on it must be rejected; unfortunately he does not give an example of this situation. ⁶⁵ What can be said on the basis of his latter principle is that he does not blindly adhere to the classification of traditions made by the knowledgeable people but is always ready to examine a tradition critically. Given this standpoint, he easily has a large number of traditions available for $tafs\bar{i}r$.

It has been mentioned above that Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal warned that most traditions used in tafsīr are mursal, i.e. traditions going back to the Prophet without the intermediary link of a Companion. The muḥaddithūn (traditionists) classify such traditions as dafīf ("weak" traditions). 66 Muslim, the second great traditionist after Bukhārī, for example, said: "Mursal in our opinion and in the opinion of people knowledgeable in reports (akhbār) cannot be used as proof." 67 To Ibn Taymiyya, however, such a tradition is acceptable as long as it does not amount to error and is not fabricated, though he does not explain those qualifications. He says:

"And the marāsīl, if the paths of their transmission are numerous and free from planned secret agreement or unplanned agreement, are undoubtedly sound ...

⁶⁴ Ibid., 41.

⁶⁵ Ibn Taymiyya, Muqaddima tī Uşūl al-Tafsīr, 67.

⁶⁶ The other weak traditions are al-munqați, al-mu addal, al-mudallas, al-mu allal, al-mudțarib, al-maqlūb, al-shādhdh, al-munkar and al-matrūk. Şubhī Şāliḥ, Ulūm al-Hadīth, 165-207.

⁶⁷ Ibid., 166.

Whenever the tradition is free from intended lie and error, it is authentic without any doubt." ⁶⁸

It is very likely that Ibn Taymiyya's acceptance of mursal traditions is rooted in his belief in the authority of the $t\bar{a}bi^c\bar{u}n$ in interpreting the Qur $^3\bar{a}n$. He seems to think that although in its transmission, a tradition ends with the $t\bar{a}bi^c\bar{u}n$ and is not connected through the Companions to the Prophet, the $t\bar{a}bi^c\bar{u}n$ themselves were in their own right one of the best generations of the Muslims, as mentioned by the Prophet. In addition, he would probably have been aware that the majority of the 'ulama' did not consider al-hadīth almursal as al-ḥadīth al-ḍa'īf. 69

It has been mentioned earlier that Ibn Taymiyya accepts the use of Isrā'īliyyāt traditions by the saḥābā and the tābi'ūn in tafsīr because, in his opinion, such traditions are meant not for i'tiqād (beliefs) but for istishhād (evidence). Furthermore, he makes the further qualification that in case of traditions bearing on halāl and harām or legal matters, their use should be strict 70 and any tradition regarding such matters should be rejected unless it is sound without doubt. However, this is not his stance on non-legal matters. He, for example, allows the use of al-hadīth al-da'īf for shawāhid (evidence) and i'tibār (taking a moral lesson). 71 In this respect, he refers to his Ḥanbalite master, Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal who, according to Ibn Taymiyya, allowed the traditions of 'Abd Allāh ibn Lahī'a for purposes of shawāhid etc. even though he forbade Ibn Lahī'a's traditions for the other purposes. Ibn Taymiyya mentions that 'Abd Allāh ibn Lahī'a, the Qāḍī of Egypt, was one of the most virtuous men as well as one of the people who narrated the

⁶⁸ Ibn Taymiyya, Muqaddima fī Uşūl al-Tafsīr, 62.

⁶⁹ Şubhī Şālih, "Ulūm al-Hadīth, 66.

⁷⁰ Ibn Taymiyya, Majmū Fatāwā Ibn Taymiyya: al-Ḥadīth, Vol. 18, 65.

⁷¹ Şabrī al-Mutawallī, Manhaj Ibn Taymiyya fī Tafsīr al-Qur'ān al-Karīm, 68.

most traditions. But because his books were burnt his later traditions are mixed with mistakes. 72 Such traditions are still useful for *shawāhid* and *istibār*.

Ibn Taymiyya also notes that it is allowed to use al-ḥadīth al-ḍasīf if its content comprises targhīb and tarhīb. He quotes Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal who said: "If a tradition deals with ḥalāl and ḥarām (legal matters) we are strict regarding chains of transmission and if it deals with targhīb and tarhīb we are lenient." Ibn Taymiyya points out that this is one of the reasons why the sulamā use al-ḥadīth al-ḍasīf (weak tradition) for faḍāsīl al-asmāl (virtuous deeds). By so doing, they do not intend, however, to make them the basis of legally suggested deeds (istiḥbāb) for istiḥbāb is an Islamic legal matter which should be based on an Islamic legal argument (dalīl sharsī).

Although he seems lenient or uncritical toward al-ḥadīth al-dafīf, Ibn Taymiyya is in fact very critical, even towards al-ḥadīth al-mutawātir. It seems that his basic principle in relation to traditions is that every tradition should be scrutinized critically, both from the point of view of content (matn) and from that of chains of transmission (isnād). He maintains that the fact that a tradition is transmitted by a trusty transmitter does not guarantee its soundness. He points out several examples. One of them is the tradition of Ibn 'Abbās reporting that Muḥammad on entering the Kaba (al-Bayt) did not pray, while in fact he did. Again, the tradition of Ibn 'Umar, reporting that the Prophet performed 'umra in the month of Rajab, while in fact Muḥammad did not perform 'umra except in

⁷² Ibn Taymiyya, Muqaddima fī Uşūl al-Tafsīr, 69.

⁷³ Ibn Taymiyya, Majmū Fatāwā Ibn Taymiyya: al-Ḥadīth, Vol. 18, 65. Şubḥī Ṣāliḥ notes that Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal is one of the imāms who allowed the use of al-ḥadīth al-ḍa fī in faḍā il a māl (virtuous deeds). However, he emphasizes that what the imām means by al-ḥadīth al-ḍa fī is not the same as is understood today, for in the time of Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, the traditions had not yet been divided except into al-ṣaḥīḥ and al-ḍa fī. What he means by al-ḥadīth al-ḍa fī is therefore still comprised within what we call al-ḥadīth al-hasan now. See his flūm al-Hadīth, 210.

the month of Dhū al-Qa^cda. ⁷⁴ All these mistakes are found in traditions transmitted by Ibn ^cAbbās and Ibn ^cUmar, who are deemed to be trustworthy.

As regards traditions, according to Ibn Taymiyya, there are two groups: the mutakallimūn and the people who claimed to be follower of the tradition. The first group is far from knowing the sound from the unsound traditions and they doubt the trustworthiness of traditions. The second group comprises people who invariably follow the traditions when their transmitters are deemed to be reliable. Both groups exaggerate their position. Although there are traditions which are doubtful, this judgment cannot be applied to all traditions, for the traditions which are necessary to religion remain available and their soundness also can be known. On the other hand, Ibn Taymiyya also disagrees with the second type of attitude which easily accepts the traditions of the trusted transmitter, since there is no guarantee that the transmitters are necessarily free from mistakes. What he emphasizes, then, is the necessity of a critical attitude toward tradition even al-hadīth al-mutawātir. He believes that this is the attitude of the knowledgeable people in tradition. He describes what the knowledgeable people did in dealing with traditions:

"Just as they used a hadith which has a lapse of memory for evidence (istishhād) and consideration (i'tibār), they invalidated the tradition whose transmitters are trustworthy (thiqa), honest ($sad\bar{u}q$) and accurate ($d\bar{a}bit$) in case of its mistakes are obvious. They are guided by instructions named as 'ilm' ilal al-hadīth and this is one of the noblest sciences among them." ⁷⁶

⁷⁴ See his Muqaddima fī Uṣūl al-Tafsīr, 71-2 and the instructive notes by the editor, Adnān Zarzūr.

⁷⁵ Ibid., 74.

⁷⁶ Ibid., 70.

In Ibn Taymiyya's view, al-ḥadīth al-ḍavīf should not necessarily be rejected because it can be used for shawāhid and i'tibār. Nor can the traditions of trustworthy people be blindly accepted, for their mistakes are also sometimes obvious. This critical attitude, according to Ibn Taymiyya, can be achieved by mastering 'ilm 'ilal al-ḥadīth' (science of the faults of tradition) and by referring to the ijmā' of knowledgeable people in tradition for their agreement is infallible. Through this knowledge, according to Ibn Taymiyya, the soundness of the traditions on tafsīr can be recognized.

The fabricated traditions too can be distinguished just as the sound ones can. Ibn Taymiyya acknowledges that the number of fabricated traditions (al-ḥadīth al-mawḍū) in tafsīr are many. He refers to the traditions of al-Thaclabī and al-Wāḥidī. He acknowledges that al-Thaclabī was undoubtedly a virtuous and pious man but because he was not aware of invented traditions he gathered those traditions together with the sound ones. The same is true of his companion, al-Wāḥidī. Although he was more knowledgeable than al-Thaclabī in Arabic, he was farther from the way of the salaf. Ibn Taymiyya also mentions several examples of fabricated traditions, such as a tradition connecting some Quranic verses to cAlī. One of them is the verse: "(There is) a guide for every people "77. According to the Shīcites, the "guide" mentioned in this verse is cAlī. The other one is the verse: "The retaining ear might retain it "78. In relation to this verse too, they claimed that "the retaining ear" of the verse refers to cAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib. 79 According Ibn Taymiyya, such fabricated traditions are found in some tafsīr s, however, their existence cannot be a reasonable argument of rejecting tafsīr bi al-ma²thūr for the reliability of traditions can be known.

⁷⁷ Qur³ān, XII: 7.

⁷⁸ Qur³ān, LXIX: 12.

⁷⁹ Ibn Taymiyya, Muqaddima fī Usūl al-Tafsīr, 75-8.

2. The Salaf's Disagreement was not Mutually Contradictory

The second reason for accepting tafsīr through traditions is based on Ibn Taymiyya's observation that the salafs' disagreement cannot be deemed as contradictory in its nature (ikhtilāf taḍādd) but only signifies diversity (ikhtilāf tanawwu^c). ⁸⁰ Their point, according to Ibn Taymiyya, was essentially the same although it was expressed in different words. He gives four reasons why the salaf's opinions tend to be incorrectly regarded as contradictory.

a. The salaf did not always use the fust name of a thing

One reason is that salaf often did not refer to something by its usual or original name (bi 'aynih), but rather used its second or a similar name or equivalent (nazīrih), e.g. by using the word al-ṣārim or al-muhannad instead of al-sayf (sword). It is also like calling God al-Raḥmān rather than Allāh. To do so is surely permitted for the Qur³ān itself confirms: "Say: call upon Allāh or call upon al-Raḥmān (the Beneficent), whichever you call upon, He has the best names". 81 But it should be realized that the word al-Raḥmān is not the first name of God. The Prophet Muḥammad himself is also often called Aḥmad, al-Ḥāshir, al-Māḥī, al-ʿĀqib. Similarly, the Qur³ān is often called al-Furqān (what separating the false from the true), al-Dhikr (the Remembrance), al-Hudā (the Guidance), al-Shifā³ (the Healing), al-Bayān (the Explanation) and al-Kitāb (the Book). Although different names are used, the named thing (al-musammā) is the same.

⁸⁰ Ibid., 381. Also his Majmū^c Fatāwā Ibn Taymiyya: Uṣūl al-Fiqh, Vol. 19, 139-41.

⁸¹ Our an, XVII: 110.

By using a variety of names, Ibn Taymiyya emphasizes, the *salaf* did not intend to contradict the original name or meaning at all. 82

As an example, Ibn Taymiyya refers to the following verse of the Qur³ān: "And whoever turns away from *dhikr* his shall surely be a straitened life, and We will raise him on the day of resurrection, blind." 83 According to him, there are two interpretations of *dhikr*, viz. "remembrance of God" (*dhikr Allah*) or "word of God" (*kalām Allah*), the Qur³ān. Both meanings, from the point of view of grammar are reasonable. The first meaning is justified by the consideration that God is an object. While in the second meaning, God is understood as the subject. Ibn Taymiyya prefers the understanding *kalām Allah*. However, both *dhikr Allah* or *kalām Allah*, Ibn Taymiyya stresses, are essentially the same, for the named one (*al-musammā*) is the same (Allah). 84 Another example is *al-ṣirāṭ al-mustaqīm* (the straight path). There are two interpretations of this expression: the Qur³ān and Islam. Both meanings are derived from the Prophet's traditions which come from the same authority, al-Tirmidhī. In this respect, Ibn Taymiyya emphasizes that these two meanings of the text are in harmony (*muttafiqān*) for they could together be understood to mean that Islam is to follow the Qur³ān. According to Ibn Taymiyya, such different descriptions basically signify the same essence. 85

⁸² Ibn Taymiyya, *Majmū^c Fatāwā Ibn Taymiyya: Uṣūl al-Fiqh*, Vol. 19, 38. Also his *Majmu^cat al-Rasā³il wa al-Masā³il*, Vol. 1 to 3 (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-cllmiyya, 1992), 198.

⁸³ Qur³ān, XX: 124.

⁸⁴ Ibn Taymiyya, Muqaddima fi Uşūl al-Tafsīr, 40.

⁸⁵ Ibid., 41-2 and his Majmū'at al-Rasā'il wa al-Masā'il, Vol. 1-3, 199.

b. instead of using a general name, the salaf used its varieties

The other source of the salaf's disagreement is their tendency to use the general name (al-ism al-amm) by using a particular form of it (naw) either for stressing its similarity or for attracting the listener's attention. For example, when a foreign man wanted al-khubz (the general word for bread) he used the word raghif (a loaf of bread) but what he wanted was bread, not a raghif in particular. The same case relates to zālim li nafsih, muqtasid and sābiq bi al-khayrāt in the verse: "Then we gave the Book for an inheritance to those whom We chose from among Our servants; but of them is he who makes his soul to suffer a loss (zālim li nafsih), and of them is he who takes a middle course (muqtasid), and of them is he who is foremost in deeds of goodness (sabiq bi al-khayrāt). 86 Those words signify something general: al-zālim li nafsih basically includes anyone who neglects religious obligations (al-wājibāt) and violates religious prohibitions (al-muḥarramāt); muqtașid refers to whoever practices al-wājibāt and avoids committing al-muharramāt; and sābiq bi al-khayrāt covers anyone who goes beyond al-wājibāt and approaches (taqarrab) God with good deeds (al-hasanāt). Some of the salaf, however, understood or interpreted them specifically in terms of the levels of obedience (anwa al-ta at) stating that al-sabiq is the person who prays at the beginning of the appointed time; muqtasid is the person who prays in the middle of the appointed time and zālim li nafsih is the person who prays toward the end of the appointed time. Later, other interpreters understood those expressions in terms of property, asserting that alsābiq is someone who gives alms in addition to what is obligatory; al-muqtasid is someone who merely gives the obligatory alms and does not receive "an exploitative interest " (al-riba); while zalim li nafsih is someone who receives al-riba or who

⁸⁶ Curain, XXXV: 32.

refuses to give the obligatory alms. These examples indicate that a general name—is understood or interpreted in particular terms. According to Ibn Taymiyya, to express something by using an example (bi al-mithāl) makes it easier to understand than a precise definition does. 87

The point that Ibn Taymiyya is trying to make through these arguments is apparently related, among other things, to the disagreement regarding the occasions of revelation (asbāb al-nuzūļ). In this connection, Ibn Taymiyya seems to realize that there are many verses in which the general was specified to a particular case. Such cases are often related to a particular person. For example, the verse on zihār was revealed with reference to the wife of Thabit ibn Qays; the verse on lifan was occasioned by Uwaymir al-'Ajlani or Hilal ibn Umayya: the verse of kalala referred to Jabir ibn 'Abd Allah; the verse "And that you should judge between them by what Allah has revealed" 88 was connected to the Qurayza and the Nadīr tribes; the verse "He from whom it is averted on that day " was related to the battle of Badr, and so forth. In other words, those verses which are essentially general are understood in a somewhat particular manner. Ibn Taymiyya, however, maintains that although these verses were revealed about particular persons or occasions, they are surely not specific to them. 89 Therefore, he affirms that what should be paid attention to is not the mere variety of the names or particularities of the occasions of revelation, for the audience of the revelation includes both particular persons and occasions as well as others. He asserts that knowing the particular occasions of revelation is

⁸⁷ Ibn Taymiyya, Muqaddima fī Uṣūl al-Tafsīr, 43-4 and his Majmū^c Fatāwā Ibn Taymiyya: Muqaddimat al-Tafsīr, Vol. 13, 382-84.

⁸⁸ Qur³ān, V: 49.

⁸⁹ Ibn Taymiyya, Majmū^c Fatāwā Ibn Taymiyya: Uṣūl al-Fiqh, Vol. 19, 14-5 in addition to his Majmū^cat al-Masā²il wa al-Rasā²il, Vol. 1-3, 199.

undoubtedly very important because it would help the reader to have a better understanding of its contents (al-munazzal). 90

c. The Possibility that a word has two meanings

The other source of the salaf 's disagreement is the fact that a word may very often be ambivalent in meaning (ihtimāl al-lafz ilā al-amrayn) as either mushtarak (one word has several meanings) or mutawāṭi (one word which can refer to several things). An example of the first is a word like qaswara which has two probable meanings: al-rāmī (archer) and al-asad (a lion); or like 'as'as which can mean igbal al-layl (the coming of night) and idbar al-lay! (the end of night). An example of mutawati; is the verse: "Then he drew near $(dan\bar{a})$, then he bowed $(tadall\bar{a})$."91 Regarding the "he" in the sentence "he drew near " ($dan\bar{a}$), the exegetes have different opinions. One of them maintained that "he" refers to Gabriel, while the other maintained that "He" refers to God. The case of verses wa l-fajri, wa layalin 'ashrin, wa sh-shaf'i wa l-watri is similar. 92 Ibn Taymiyya asserts that all different meanings of a verse which come from the salaf can be accepted for three reasons. First, it was very likely that the verse was revealed two times thus causing a variation in meaning. Second, that the expression itself is mushtarak. According to Ibn Taymiyya, most legal schools, like the Malikites, the Shafifites, the Hanbalites and many of the theologians permitted all meanings of that expression. Third, the word or

⁹⁰ Ibn Taymiyya, Muqaddima fī Uşūl al-Tafsīr, 45-7.

⁹¹ Quran, LIII: 8.

⁹² According to Adnan Zarzūr, "al-Fajr " could refer to "al-Nahār" as well as to "salāt al-subh" See his notes in Muqaddima fī Usūl al-Tafsīr, 50.

expression might be $mutaw\bar{a}ti^3$. This is also justified in so far as there is no specific qualification ($takh\bar{s}i\bar{s}$). 93

d. The salaf expressed a meaning with words close in meaning

The disagreement of the salaf is also related to the fact that instead of expressing ideas by using synonyms (mutarādifāt) of the words, they rather used approximate words (alfaz mutaqariba). To Ibn Taymiyya, the reason for this is clear. Synonym for certain Quranic words are hard to find. What the salaf chose then were words which were considered to have meanings close to the first. This is the case with their Quranic interpretations. The word mawr in yawma tamüru s-samā'u mawrā (On the day when the heaven will move with (awful) movement) 94 was interpreted al-haraka. The word alharaka, according to Ibn Taymiyya, is not a synonym of al-mawr, but an approximate word. The word al-haraka (movement), however, could be used for al-mawr because al-mawr itself means "a soft and fast movement". Also al-wahy (revelation) is sometimes interpreted as al-i lam (information). This is certainly accepted because al-wahy fast information. Another example is yaftinūnaka 95 is basically a secret and which is interpreted as yuzīghūnaka wa yaşuddūnaka (to turn you away), or lā rayb which is interpreted as lā shakka (no doubt). In the opinion of Ibn Taymiyya, al-shakk is also not a synonym of al-rayb, but it is a close word, for al-rayb implies idtirab (disruption) and haraka (movement), while al-shakk does not imply such meanings. Again, the same applies to dhālika al-kitābu which is understood as hādhā al-Qur'ānu. The second is not a synonym of the first. The word hadha refers to something rather

⁹³ Ibid., 51.

⁹⁴ Qur³ān, LII: 9.

⁹⁵ The verse that the expression occurs in is the following: "wa in kādū layaftinūnaka 'an al-ladhī awhaynā ilayka." See Qur'an, XVII: 73.

near and present while $dh\bar{a}lika$ on the contrary suggests something distant. In addition, $al-kit\bar{a}b$ is not necessarily $ai-Qur^2\bar{a}n$ for the former is basically something written while $al-Qur^2\bar{a}n$ is a word which has more to do with reading. All of these are examples of the disagreements among the salaf. ⁹⁶

Ibn Taymiyya strongly argues that the disagreement of the salaf amounts to diversity not contradiction. Thus, there is no reason to reject their authority in interpreting the Qur³ān. Moreover, he emphasizes, that the disagreements in interpreting the Qur³ān in fact occurred among people who use the method of istidlāl (rational method). According to Ibn Taymiyya, the proponents of this method are of two kinds. First, they are the people who have had certain convictions which they try to impose on the words of the Qur³ān. On the other hand are people who interpret the Qur³ān exclusively in terms of the Arab speech, ignoring the speaker (al-mutakallim bih), the audience (mukhāṭab) and the context (siyāq al-kalām). The first group is more concerned with the meaning and the second with the word.

The people whom Ibn Taymiyya accuses of having imposed their beliefs on the Quroān are the Khārijites, the Rāfidites, the Jahmites, the Muctazilites, the Qadarites and Murjioites. The Muctazilites include "Abd al-Raḥmān al-Kaysān al-Aṣamm, al-Shaykh Ibrāhīm ibn "Ulayya, Abū "Alī al-Jubbā"ī, al-Qādī "Abd al-Jabbār, "Alī ibn "Isā al-Rummānī and Abū al-Qāsim al-Zamakhsharī. The later Shīcites like al-Mufīd, Abū Jacfar al-Ṭūsī too seem to have been in agreement with the Muctazilite doctrines. They, according to Ibn Taymiyya, imposed their celiefs on the Quroān, ignoring the interpretations of the Companions of the Prophet, their Followers and the imāms of the Muslims.

⁹⁶ Ibn Taymiyya, Muqaddima fī Uşūl al-Tafsīr, 53.

⁹⁷ Ibid., 85.

What is the best tafsīr in the opinion of Ibn Taymiyya? The best tafsīr, according to him, is that of Ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī. He gives two reasons: first, his tafsīr refers to the opinions (maqālāt) of the salaf with full chains of authority; and second, because in Tabarī's tafsīr there is no innovation and it was not transmitted from suspect people (almuttahamūn) like Muqātil ibn Bakīr 98 and al-Kalbī. 99

D. Ibn Taymiyya's Tafsīr Sūrat al-Ikhlās

Having discussed Ibn Taymiyya's salafī -oriented method and principles of Qur³anic interpretation, it is important to examine his own tafsīr closely in order to analyze whether his tafsīr merely repeats the salaf's tafsīr or he if has distinct ideas and a method of his own. Before discussing the subject, it should be noted that Ibn Taymiyya did not author a complete tafsīr such as al-Ṭabarī, al-Zamakhsharī, al-Fakhr al-Rāzī or Ibn Kathīr did. Therefore, he is usually not regarded as a mufassir (a Qur³anic exegete), 100 though his thought has never lacked Qur³anic basis, and his writings and fatwā s can almost be seen as another kind of Qur³anic commentary. Nor does the absence of a complete Qur³anic commentary reflect the lack of his concern for tafsīr. On the contrary, Ibn Taymiyya is very concerned about tafsīr s by the fīraq of his time. He observes that some of the Qur³anic commentaries of his time had not gone substantially beyond repeating what has been said earlier. He says:

⁹⁸ According to Muḥammad Ḥusayn al-Dhahabī, what Ibn Taymiyya probably means is Muqātil ibn Sulaymān. See his al-Tafsīr wa al-Mufassirūn, Vol. 1, 208.

⁹⁹ Ibn Taymiyya, Muqaddima fī Uşūl al-Tafsīr, 90. and his Majmū' Fatāwā Ibn Taymiyya: Muqaddimat al-Tafsīr, Vol 13, 385.

¹⁰⁰ See, for example, the list of Qur'anic exegetes by tradition mentioned by Muhammad Husayn al-Dhahabī in his al-Tafsīr wa al-Mufassirūn, Vol. 1, 204.

"The Qur³ān has some verses which are clear. A part of it has been explained by Qur³anic exegetes in their books. Some verses, however, are more difficult to interpret. Someone may consult several books on that matter and no tafsīr explains it. An author may explain one verse and another may do the same thing. I would like to explain such verses with argument (bi al-dalīl) for it is more important than anything and if the meaning of one verse is clear, it is clear for the other similar ones too." 101

This seems to be one of the reasons why he undertakes an extensive commentary on al-Ikhlāṣ, taking 289 pages to explain the meaning of the four verses of that sūra. 102 His extensive tafsīr on this sūra is incomparable to that of any other Qur³anic exegete, for even the most praised Jāmic al-Bayān fī Tafsīr al-Qur³ān by al-Tabarī does not spend more than four pages on it; 103 al-Tafsīr al-Kabīr by Fakhr al-Rāzī devotes 10 pages to it 104 and the Muctazilite al-Zamakhsharī gives merely two pages on this sūra to explain the basic principles of his own theological school. 105 Ibn Taymiyya's tafsīr on sūrat al-Ikhlāṣ is the longest to date.

1. The Place of Sūrat al-Ikhlās

The principles and method of Ibn Taymiyya's Qur'anic interpretation, as applied in the tafsīr of sūrat al-Ikhlāṣ, will be studied to determine whether he consistently follows his own principles and method or not. The choice for our study here is based on several reasons. First, in terms of the pages devoted to it, this tafsīr is his longest commentary by

¹⁰¹ Ibn Taymiyya, al-Tafsīr al-Kabīr, Vol. 1, 10.

¹⁰² Ibn Taymiyya, Majmū^c Fatāwā Ibn Taymiyya: al-Tafsīr, Vol. 18, 214-503.

¹⁰³ Al-Ţabarī, Jāmie al-Bayān fī Tafsīr al-Qureān Vol. 28-30 (Beirut: Dār al-Maerifa, 1986), 221-224.

¹⁰⁴ Fakhr al-Rāzī, al-Tafsīr al-Kabīr, Vol. 31 (Beirut: Dār Iḥyā³ al-Turāth al-'Arabī), 174-85.

¹⁰⁵ Al-Zamakhshari, al-Kashshāf, Vol. 4 (Beirut: Dār al-Macrifa, 1987), 242-43.

far, compared for instance to his $tafs\bar{t}r$ s on al- $A^{c}l\bar{a}$, al-Falaq and al- $N\bar{a}s$ etc. 106 Second, the subject matter of this $s\bar{u}ra$ really represents a very central concern of Ibn Taymiyya, viz. $tauh\bar{t}d$ and its relationship to his principles and methods of Qur³anic interpretation. This is why his $tafs\bar{t}r$ $s\bar{u}rat$ al- $N\bar{u}r$ has not been chosen here, although it too is long, that $tafs\bar{t}r$ does not fully express his central concern. Third, it is very likely that, for the reasons already noted in his $tafs\bar{t}r$ $s\bar{u}rat$ al- $lkhl\bar{u}s$, he would offer the best method to explain and to interpret the issues that he considers significant.

Why does Ibn Taymiyya choose sūrat al-Ikhlāş to explain the concept of God's unity rather than another sūra or other verses of the Qur³ān, for the theme of God's unity is hardly limited to this sūra. One of the reasons is that Ibn Taymiyya regards the value of sūrat al-Ikhlāş as equalling one third of the Qur³ān. His view is based on several sound traditions from the Prophet, saying that "Qul huwa Allāh aḥad" is equivalent to one third of the Qur³ān. 107

Ibn Taymiyya does realize that giving preference (tafqīl) to certain parts of the Qur'ān could easily be taken to mean that he lowers the value of the rest. Abū Ḥasan al-Ashcarī, al-Bāqillānī and the fuqahā' contended that giving preference to one part of the Qur'ān meant to devalue the others while all of them are the word of God (kalām Allāh) and the word of God is not divided into parts. 108 Ibn Taymiyya, however, affirms that giving preference to a part has nothing to do with al-nawc (quality) and al-sifa (description), but is related to al-qadr (value). He contends, that when the Prophet said that al-Fātiḥa was neither revealed to the Jews nor the Christians, the implication was that the

¹⁰⁶ See his, al-Tafsīr al-Kabīr, 10 volumes (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-cllmiyya, 1988).

¹⁰⁷ Ibn Taymiyya, Majmū Fatāwā Ibn Taymiyya: al-Tafsīr, Vol. 17, 103.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., 51.

Messenger gave preference to al-Fātiḥa over the rest of the Qur³ān. 109 Ibn Taymiyya states that when Abū al-ʿAbbās ibn Surayj was asked the meaning of the Prophet's saying "Qul huwa Allāh aḥad" is equivalent to one third of the Qur³ān, he said, it means that the Qur³ān is revealed into three parts: one third of it is legal (al-aḥkām), one third is promise and threat (al-wa⁴d wa al-wa⁴īd) and the rest is names and attributes; and sūrat al-Ikhlāṣ encompasses names and attributes. Ibn Taymiyya confirms that this statement is undoubtedly true. 110 As regards the contents of the Qur³ān, he emphasizes that there are two kinds of information in it: information about the Creator (al-Khāliq) and about the creature (al-makhlūq). In Ibn Taymiyya's reasoning, the former is surely superior to the latter; "Qul huwa Allāhu aḥad", where God describes His unity, is certainly higher than "Tabbat yadā Abī Lahab" which tells God's punishment of his creatures. 111 In Ibn Taymiyya's view, although the Qur³ān as a whole is the word of God, giving preference to some parts of it is acceptable both on account of the fact that the Prophet himself did so and also because of the nature of revelation. Sūrat al-Ikhlāṣ contains, according to Ibn Taymiyya, the best description of God and, therefore, it needs a full interpretation.

2. The Purpose of Ibn Taymiyya's Tafsīr sūrat al-Ikhlāş

The main purpose of Ibn Taymiyya's tafsīr sūrat al-Ikhlāş is to explain the true meaning of tauḥīd or God's unity. In his view, though the concept of God's existence had been widely accepted by the people of the Book as well as by the Muslims, the way they understood and explained its meaning was unacceptable. In fact, they were far from the true understanding of it. Although the Jews strongly believed in God's unity, for example,

¹⁰⁹ See his lengthy discussion on the problem of giving preference to certain parts of the Qur³ān over others. *Majmū^c Fatāwā Ibn Taymiyya: al-Tafsīr*, Vol. 17, from 103-212 and his own opinion can be seen in page 121.

¹¹⁰ Ibid., 103-4, 111-4, 121-2, 135, 138.

¹¹¹ Ibid., 190, 208 and 210

some of them, still insisted on Uzayr being the son of God. ¹¹² Likewise, the Christians affirm that Jesus is the son or word of God, despite the fact that they also claim to believe in God's unity. ¹¹³ The Arab polytheists, for their part, regarded angels and idols as the sons of God. ¹¹⁴

The speculative şūfis are not much better, for they emphasize the unity of God and man (al-wujūd wāḥid) while ignoring His uniqueness. ¹¹⁵ In addition, Ibn Taymiyya observes, the ṣūfis very often turn their teacher into a holy man, putting him in the position of God. Like the polytheists and some Christians who deify their righteous predecessors and venerate them, the ṣūfis also build tombs for their teachers and pray to them for their protection. They often consider praying at the tomb of their teacher better than doing so in the mosque. To Ibn Taymiyya, this attitude cannot be tolerated. ¹¹⁶ Those who affirm that 'Uzayr, Jesus or the angels are sons of God as well as those who insist that there is only One essence imply that they do not recognize an absolute dissimilarity between God and His creation. According to Ibn Taymiyya, such convictions are opposed to the true concept of God which has been emphatically described in sūrat al-Ikhlāṣ.

There are two related words of the sūra which are extensively discussed and elaborated on by Ibn Taymiyya, aḥad and al-ṣamad. To Ibn Taymiyya, the word aḥad in "Qul huwa Allāh aḥad" (Say: He, God, is one) means "the denial of (the idea of) having a partner" (nafy al-mushāraka) with God and "the denial of (making) similarity" (nafy al-

¹¹² Ibid., 272-3.

¹¹³ Ibid., 272-4.

¹¹⁴ Ibid., 272-4.

¹¹⁵ Љід., 295,

¹¹⁶ Ibid., 456, 461 and 463.

mumāthala) between human beings and God, and stresses that God is a unique Being: He is absolutely dissimilar to any other being or existence, the creatures are neither a part of Him nor do they have an essence similar to His. He quotes other verses of the same $s\bar{u}ra$, saying: "He begets not, nor is He begotten and none is like Him" To him, the description of God as ahad (One) means that God is a unique Being. 117 There is no one who can be considered equal to Him as the popular suffis have done with their teachers. Al-samad means that God does not generate other beings nor does anything emanate from Him.

Ibn Taymiyya observes that misunderstanding the concept of God's unity is also found among the Jahmites, the Mu^ctazilites and the Ash^carites. Insisting on God's unity, the Jahmites consequently reject all attributes and names of God in the Qur³ān. ¹¹⁸ The same is true of the Mu^ctazilites: they deny the attributes of God. The Ash^carites do likewise except for the "informative" attributes of God (al-sitāt al-khabariyya). To Ibn Taymiyya, their understanding of God's unity, which leads to a rejection of God's attributes, is misleading because the names and attributes of God are described by God Himself in the Qur³ān. In addition, God describes Himself in sūrat al-Ikhlāṣ as al-ṣamad, meaning that God is a perfect being. In fact, Ibn Taymiyya insists, as al-ṣamad God even proclaims Himself as the only Being who is entitled to have perfect attributes (sitāt al-kamāl). Those names and attributes in the Qur³ān are the perfect names and attributes which are only suitable for Him and they are absolutely dissimilar to those of human beings. ¹¹⁹

So the main purpose of his tafsīr sūrat al-Ikhlāş is to emphasize God's unity and His uniqueness as well as His absolute dissimilarity either in form or in essence. At the

¹¹⁷ Ibid., 449.

¹¹⁸ Ibid., 300, 305 and 447.

¹¹⁹ Ibid., 452.

same time, while affirming that notion, Ibn Taymiyya rejects any denial of God's names and attributes for these are described in the Qur³ān itself, and he stresses that the affirmation of God's names and attributes does not mean accepting the anthropomorphic sense of them; the latter contradicts the true nature of God as a unique Being absolutely dissimilar to any other creature.

3. Ibn Taymiyya's Method in Tafsīr Sūrat al-Ikhlās

The main focus of the following discussion is the way Ibn Taymiyya explains the verses of $s\bar{u}rat\ al$ -Ikhl $\bar{u}s$. Reading his $tafs\bar{u}r\ s\bar{u}rat\ al$ -Ikhl $\bar{u}s$, it can generally be said that he consistently follows his principles and method of Qur³anic interpretation: he always uses authorities like the Qur³ $\bar{u}n$, the Sunna, the sayings of the $sah\bar{u}ba$ and the $t\bar{u}bi^c\bar{u}n$ as well as Arabic philologists and even poets to argue what he believes is the true meaning of the verses.

Although sūrat al-Ikhlāş, so far as its words are concerned, is hard to interpret through other verses of the Qur³ān, Ibn Taymiyya still comes up with verses functioning as additional explanation. Insisting on his notion that generation (tawallud) must be from two aṣl s. Ibn Taymiyya, for example, cites the verse of the Qur³ān: "How could He have a son when he han no consort." ¹²⁰ Al-Dhahabī's admiration for Ibn Taymiyya's astonishing fluency in citing the verses of the Qur³ān to make his point appears quite justified in case of this tafsīr. ¹²¹ Ibn Taymiyya believes, after all, that the best interpretation of the Qur³ān is through the Qur³ān itself. So in so far as he finds an

¹²⁰ Qur³ān, VI: 101 which he quotes in *Majmū^c Fatāwā Ibn Taymiyya: al-Tafsīr*, Vol. 17, 222.

¹²¹ See 'Abd al-Raḥmān 'Umayra's introduction in Ibn Taymiyya, al-Tafsīr al-Kabīr, Vol. 1, 63. The same is also said by his pupils and his other contemporaries. See Muḥammad Yūsuf Mūsā, Ibn Taymiyya, 73-4.

explanation in the Qur³ān itself, Ibn Taymiyya would first refer to it. But in case he does not find it, he would refer to the *Sunna*, the Prophet's sayings or actions.

In this tafsīr, the tradition is invoked too and mostly in relation to the occasion of revelation (sabab al-nuzūl). The function of sabab al-nuzūl is in Qur³anic exegesis, as Andrew Rippin puts it, is to create an edifying narrative in which interpretation of a given Qur³anic verse may be embodied. 122 The asbāb al-nuzūl make the reader understand that the verses of the Qur³ān are very often revealed in responding to certain questions or circumstances of the people at the time of the Prophet, and helps him make a proper interpretation of it. One example concerns the verse: "lā ikrāha fi-l-dīni" (There should be no coercion in religion). It is not clear whether this verse refers to family, community or others. According to sabab al-nuzūl, the verses were revealed when the Christian converts to Islam tried to force their sons to follow their new religion; 123 from this it is clear that the intended message of the text concerns even—the parents. It can be said therefore that Islam teaches individual religious freedom. This interpretation is made possible by reference to the occasion of this verse's revelation.

Ibn Taymiyya cites different traditions of the Prophet on the revelational background of sūrat al-Ikhlāş and each report about the occasion of revelation is not necessarily the same. As regards this sūra, four different reasons are given as its the background. First, it is said on the authority of Ibn Abbās that this sūra was revealed in response to Āmir ibn al-Ṭufayl who asked the Prophet: "To what do you call us, O Muḥammad?" The Prophet said: "To God" He said: "Describe Him to me. Is He made of

¹²² Andrew Rippin, The Quranic asbāb al-nuzūl material: an analysis of its use and development in exegesis, Ph.D. dissertation, Institute of Islamic Studies, McGill University, 1980, v.

¹²³ Ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, Jāmic al-Bayān fī Tafsīr al-Qur ān, Vol. 3, 10.

gold or silver or iron?" Then this $s\bar{u}ra$ was revealed. ¹²⁴ Second, it is reported on the authority of Ubayy ibn Kacb in the *Musnad* of Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal that the $s\bar{u}ra$ was revealed when the Arab polytheists asked the Messenger of God to tell them about his God. ¹²⁵ Third, it is stated on the authority of Ibn Abbās that a group of Christians from Najrān came to the Prophet with seven bishops from Banū al-Ḥārith ibn Kacb. They said to the Prophet: "Describe for us your God, of what is He made?" The Prophet said: "My God is not made of anything. He is different from everything." Then God revealed this $s\bar{u}ra$. ¹²⁶ In another tradition, on the authority of Abū Sacād, those people who asked the Prophet about God were a group of Jews. The following is that tradition, as cited by Ibn Taymiyya: ¹²⁷

"Ibn Ḥamīd told us, from Salama, from Ibn Isḥāq, from Muḥammad ibn Satīd, saying: "A group of the Jews came to the Prophet, peace be upon him, and said: O, Muḥammad! It is God who created the creatures. Who created Him?" The Prophet, peace be upon him, became angry whose voice expressed his upsetness (intaqata) and he attacked (sāwara) them with anger for his God. Then angel Gabriel came and he calmed the Prophet down and said: "Make lower your humble (janāḥ), O Muḥammad" And the answer from God came to him to reply what they asked. He said: God says: "Say, He, God, is one" till the end of the sūra. When Prophet, peace be upon him, read it for them, they said to him: "Describe for us your God, how is His temper, how is His arm, how is His hand, how is His forearm. The Prophet became more angry than the first occasion and attacked them. Gabriel came and said to him (the Prophet) something similar to what he said the first time. He (Gabriel) came with the answer to what they asked and God revealed "And they measured not God with His true measure" 128

So, Ibn Taymiyya refers to the Prophet's traditions mostly for asbāb al-nuzūl of the sūra but not for the proper meaning of words for it is very likely that the Prophet's

¹²⁴ Ibn Taymiyya, Majmū^c Fatāwā Ibn Taymiyya: al-Tafsīr, Vol. 17, 451.

¹²⁵ Ibid., 116.

¹²⁶ Ibid., 452.

¹²⁷ Ibn Taymiyya, Majmü^c Fatāwā Ibn Taymiyya: al-Tafsīr, Vol. 17, 222-3.

¹²⁸ Qur³ān, VI: 91.

traditions do not provide such meanings. The case is different when he refers to the saḥāba like Ibn 'Abbās, Ibn Mas'ūd, Ubayy ibn Ka'b, Anas ibn Mālik, Sa'īd ibn Jubayr or Abū Hurayra and the tābi'ūn like Mujāhid, 'Ikrima, al-Daḥḥāk, al-Sha'bī, Sa'īd ibn Musayyab, al-Suddī. Although he refers several times to them in relation to asbāb al-nuzūl, those authorities are frequently referred to for the true meaning of words. In this respect, Ibn Taymiyya states that their sayings might sometimes appear as disagreement, but in fact they are not. Different opinions are equally valid.

What is striking in this tafsīr is that Ibn Taymiyya also refers to the opinions of Arabic philologists (ahl al-lugha) like Ibn Qutayba, Abū Bakr al-Anbārī, al-Jawharī, Abū al-Najm and Yaḥyā ibn Kathīr and even poets like al-Tarafa 129 and al-Nābigha. 130 Though he does urge Qur³anic exegetes in his Muqaddima to seek their help in understanding the Qur³ān, Ibn Taymiyya does not mention them as authorities in interpreting the Qur³ān. In this tafsīr, he brings forth linguistic arguments and cites the authorities in Arabic philological studies. However, his reference to Arabic philologists is not intended as a basis of his opinion but only a device to elaborate the basic meaning laid down by the salaf like Ibn Abbās. In other words, his reference to Arabic philologists is complementary rather than primary.

Referring to these authorities and recognizing that they are not in disagreement, Ibn Taymiyya tries to arrive at his own formulation. His emphasis on the authority of the salaf does not necessarily mean merely repeating their sayings. As regards this sūra, he gives a new context, examples, formulation and elaboration. His exegesis of the term al-ṣamad is a case in point.

¹²⁹ Ibn Taymiyya, Majmū Fatāwā Ibn Taymiyya: al-Tafsīr, Vol. 17, 217.

¹³⁰ Ibid., 228.

4. Ibn Taymiyya's Exegesis of al-samad

Ibn Taymiyya states that al-ṣamad has two meanings: first, it means "a being with no inside" and second, "the lord on whom someone in need depends." The first meaning, he states, is held by the majority of the ṣaḥāba like Ibn Mascūd and Ibn Abbās and tābicūn like Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, Mujāhid, Sacīd ibn Musayyab, Sacīd ibn Jubayr, Ikrima, Maysara, al-Þaḥḥāk, al-Suddī, Qatāda and some of the Arabic philologists like Ibn Qutayba. The second meaning is held by the majority of the Arabic philologists like al-Anbārī as well as some of the salaf such as Ibn Abbās. 131

Ibn Taymiyya reports that, according to Ibn 'Abbās, al-ṣamad is " a being with no inside" ($l\bar{a}$ jawfa lah). The same is stated by another great Companion of the Prophet, Ibn Massad, who says that it is "a being with no interior" ($l\bar{a}$ aḥshā²a lah). This is confirmed by one of the $t\bar{a}bi^c\bar{u}n$, Sacīd ibn Musayyab who says, it denotes something $l\bar{a}$ hashwa lah. Al-Shacbī, too states that al-ṣamad is "a being who neither eats nor drinks." Ikrima states that it is "a being from whom nothing else comes out." In addition, Maysara affirms that the term refers to a "solid" being (muṣmat). Ibn Qutayba, one of the great Arabic philologists, says that the word al-ṣamad is to be understood by changing the $d\bar{a}l$ to $t\bar{a}$? : from al-ṣamad to al-ṣamat, viz. something solid. lab

In explaining the meaning of verses in this $s\bar{u}ra$, Ibn Taymiyya always tries to cite his authorities in full. One of his examples is as follow:

¹³¹ Ibid., 214-5.

¹³² Ibid.

"Ḥakam ibn Macbad reported in Kitāb al-Radd ʿalā al-Jahmiyya from ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Nuʿmān who reported from Salama ibn Shabīb who reported from Yaḥyā ibn ʿAbd Allāh who reported from Darar who reported from Abān from Anas. He said: 'The Jews of Khaybar came to the Prophet, peace be upon him. They said: 'O, Abū al-Qāsim, God created angels from light of darkness (nūr al-ḥijāb), Ādam from fetid mire (ḥamac masnūn) and Satan from the flame of fire, the sky from smog and earth from the essence of water, tell us about your God. He (Anas) said: the Prophet, peace be upon him, did not answer them. Then, Gabriel came and said: O, Muḥammad!: 'Say: He, God, is One. God is He on Whom all depend. He begets not, nor is He begotten. And none is like Him.' He has no stems that become branches. 'Al-ṣamad' is a being which has nothing inside. He neither eats nor drinks, he begets not, nor is He begotten and none is like him. There is no one from His creature equivalent to His position and (He) restrains the skies and the earth from their destruction (zawāl)." 133

Ibn Taymiyya also cites the saying of Ibn Abbas for the second meaning of alsamad. As regards this meaning, he mentions his chains of authorities as follows:

"Ubayy told me that Abū Ṣāliḥ reported from Musāwiya ibn Ṣāliḥ from Alī ibn Abī Ṭalḥa from Ibn Abās, who said: al-ṣamad is the Lord whose power is perfect, the noble Being whose nobleness is perfect, the exalted (One) whose greatness is perfect, the Omniscient being whose knowledge is perfect, the Judge whose decision is perfect. He is One whose nobleness and authority are perfect. He is God Praisworthy, the sublime. The description of Him is not suited to anyone but Him, there is nothing comparable to Him and nothing similar to Him, praise be to God, the One, the Almighty." 134

Along the lines of the second meaning, according to Ibn Taymiyya, Abū Hurayra, one of the Companions of the Prophet, said: al-ṣamad is "a being who does not need anyone, but is needed by everyone." Furthermore, Abū Wāpil, one of the tābirūn, said that it means "the Lord whose power reaches the highest levels." In addition, slkrima said that it means "the being above or beyond whom there is no one." Karb al-Aḥbār, a converted Jew and one of the Companions of the Prophet, stated that al-ṣamad is "the

¹³³ Ibid., 223-4.

¹³⁴ Ibid., 220.

being who cannot be compared to anyone of His creatures." Furthermore, al-Suddī, from among the $t\bar{a}bi^c\bar{u}n$, asserted that it is "the Being intended in a state of desire and besought in a state of calamity." To Sacīd ibn Jubayr, the meaning of al-samad is "the Being who is perfect in His attributes and actions." According to Muqātil ibn Ḥayyān, it is "the Being who has no defect." In line with that meaning, Ibn Kaysān said, al-samad is "the Being to whom no one can be compared." Ibn Taymiyya says that, according to al-Anbārī, all Arabic philologists agree that al-samad is "the Lord above whom there is no one and who is the one sought by people in their needs and affairs." 135

Having presented both meanings of al-samad, with their respective authorities, Ibn Taymiyya maintains that the argument of the majority of the salaf and some Arabic philologists that al-samad is the Being who has no inside" are more convincing (adall) because from the etymological point of view too (ishtiq $\bar{a}q$), such meaning is well founded. Therefore, he says:

"Ishtiqāq bears out both opinions, the opinion of someone who says that al-ṣamad is "a being who has no inside" and someone who says that it is the "lord". The first opinion is more cogent for it is the root (aṣl) for the second; and in language the expression al-ṣamad is used to designate something which has no inside. Yaḥyā ibn Abī Kathīr said: the angel is ṣamad (has no inside) and the sons of Adam are jūf (have inside). In a tradition concerning Adam, Iblīs told about him that he (Adam) is ajwaf (has inside) and he is not ṣamad (has no inside). And al-Jawharī said: al-muṣmad from the point of view of language is al-muṣmat (something solid) and it has no inside. He (al-Jawharī) said: al-ṣamād is 'ifāṣ al-qārūra (the lid of a long-necked bottle). 136 And he said that al-ṣamad is the rugged elevated place. And the basis of the matter is al-jam' (joining) and al-quwwa (strength) 137

¹³⁵ Ibid., 216.

¹³⁶ Al-Jawharī states that al- $^cif\bar{a}s$ is a leather which is used for the head of long necked bottle. Ibid., 227.

¹³⁷ Ibid., 226.

Arguing that the first meaning can also be traced to the root of the word, Ibn Taymiyya analyzes the nature of its letters and compares it to the letters of other similar word. He takes al-samam, al-sawm, al-samat and al-sabr as his examples. According to Ibn Taymiyya, the meaning of samam al-qārūra, as al-Jawharī says, is "the lid of a long necked bottle", al-hajar al-asamm is "hard and solid stone", and rajul samm is "a strong man." 138 He goes on to say that the same is applied to al-sawm. The meaning of this word is to refrain (al-imsāk). Abū 'Ubayda said: everyone who refrains from cating, talking or walking is $s\bar{a}^{j}$ im (a fasting man). And the fasting man does not take anything inside. ¹³⁹ Ibn Taymiyya argues that the meaning of samad is $l\bar{a}$ jawf, like al-musmad and almusmat which mean "having no inside"; but he also notes that the letter dal in al-samad is stronger than $t\bar{a}^{j}$ in al-samat, and the stronger the letter the more powerful its meaning. 140 The same is the case with al-sabr. To him, al-sabr is joining (al-jam^c) and refraining (al-imsāk). Therefore, it is said that al-sabr is to restrain the self from mourning (al-jaza^c). In relation to food, al-sabra means to be mujtami^ca (joined) and mukawwama (accumulated) and al-şabāra means al-hijāra (stone). Ibn Taymiyya asserts that sabr al-shay is ghilazuh (the ruggedness of a thing) and its opposite meaning is aliazac, which means disjoined, disconnected (tagattuc) and divided (tafarrug). 141

It is interesting and somewhat intriguing to see Ibn Taymiyya so concerned to affirm that the primary meaning of al-samad is that of "a being who has no inside or interior" or that "al-samad" is something solid, strong, undivided, unseparated, accumulated, etc.. His main purpose, as mentioned above, is to declare the superiority of the

¹³⁸ Ibid., 228.

¹³⁹ Ibid.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid., 232-3.

¹⁴¹ Ibid., 233.

salaf's opinion. In addition, the purpose also is to affirm God's absolute unity and uniqueness. By affirming God's unity in this way, Ibn Taymiyya simultaneously refutes the belief of the Arab polytheists that the angels are the sons of God, and of the philosophers that the world necessitates the first cause $(al-illa\ al-\bar{u}l\bar{a})^{142}$ which comes about like the generation of a child from its mother, and of some of the Jews who claimed that 'Uzayr is the son of God and of the Christians that Jesus is a son and a word of God. The exegesis of al-samad, for Ibn Taymiyya, is the means of refuting them all. Insisting that God is al-samad who has no inside, is solid, rugged and strong, he maintains that this notion rejects the idea of generation (tawallud), division (tagattuc, tabaccud, inqisām), separation (tafarruq) and fragmentation (tajzi²a). Quoting the two following verses of the sūrat al-Ikhlās, he insists that the word al-samad indicates that God does not beget and he is not begotten and nothing is similar to Him. For al-tawallud a second being (aşl ākhar) is necessary. Jesus himself was generated through the angel Gabriel's blowing the spirit into Mary. Any generation (tawallud) needs two asl s. So, in Ibn Taymiyya's view, to hold beliefs such as those of the Arab polytheists, philosophers, some of the Jews and Christians is to oppose the fundamental meaning of al-samad. 143

Ibn Taymiyya also regards the second meaning of al-ṣamad, held by the majority of Arab philologists, as correct. In terms of the second set of meanings of the second meaning of al-ṣamad, viz. " the Lord on whom someone in need depends " or "the being like whom there is no one", or " the being who has no one above him", or "the being who has no one comparable to him", or "the being who has no defect", or "the being who does not need anybody but is needed by everybody", Ibn Taymiyya is able to bring into relief the second emphasis of the meaning of al-ṣamad, i.e. that God is the only One who

¹⁴² Ibid., 293-5.

¹⁴³ Ibid., 238-9.

deserves all the perfect attributes. So, in Ibn Taymiyya's opinion, the second meaning of al-samad is pivotal in affirming the perfect attributes mentioned in the Qur $^3\bar{a}n$. This understanding is of course radically opposed to that of the Mu^stazilites who regard $s\bar{u}rat$ al- $lkhl\bar{a}s$ as a basis for denying the attributes of God.

Ibn Taymiyya recognizes that the word samad in the indefinite form (without alif and $l\bar{a}m$) is often used in the Arabic language, but in $s\bar{u}rat$ al-Ikhl $\bar{u}s$, al-samad is used in the definite form (with alif and $l\bar{u}m$). To Ibn Taymiyya, this means that God is the only One who deserves the perfect attributes. He mentions other reasons: "And the creature, though in some respects he is samad, the essence of samad is absent from him for he has the attributes of separation and division, and in addition he depends on Him." 144

5. Analysis of Ibn Taymiyya's Tafsīr Sūrat al-Ikhlāş:

As for the question raised above, whether Ibn Taymiyya essentially repeats the salaf's opinions or also expresses his own, this tafsīr shows him to be a faithful follower of the salaf. He maintains that to acquire a true understanding of Islam on a matter for instance such as God's unity, two things are needed. One of them is the following:

"...to know the words of the Book and the Sunna as they are intended by God and His messenger, peace be upon him, to know the language of the Qur³ān in which it was revealed and what was said by the ṣaḥāba and the people who followed them in goodness as well as some 'ulamā' al-muslimīn about the meaning of those words, because when the Messenger of God, peace be upon him, addressed them with the Book and the Sunna, he explained what is intended by those words. And the ṣahāba's knowledge of the meaning of the Qur³ān is more perfect than their memorization of its words. And they conveyed those meanings to the tābi'ūn, and the meanings are greater than these words which they conveyed, because the general meanings that were needed by common Muslims are like the meaning of al-

¹⁴⁴ Ibid., 238.

tauḥīd, al-wāḥid, al-aḥad, al-īmān, al-islām and so on. All ṣaḥāba knew what is loved by God and His messenger, peace be upon him ..." 145

Ibn Taymiyya's salafī outlook is manifested in his strong emphasis, for example, that the first meaning of al-samad, which he sees as the opinion of the majority of the salaf, is superior to the second meaning held by the majority of Arabic philologists. However, he does not limit himself to their argument. Considering it necessary to show that the meaning of $l\bar{a}$ jawf is superior to other meanings, this Hanbalite theologian argues that this meaning is not only proved by sayings of the majority of the salaf, but it is also supported by philological findings. He goes on to maintain that al-samad's meaning of $l\bar{a}$ can also be seen in other similar words like al-samat, al-samam, al-sawm and al-sabr and their derivations. Arguing that al-samad philologically means $l\bar{a}$ jawf (a being who has no inside or is solid or something strong), Ibn Taymiyya affirms that the same is applied to al-samam in the expression al-haiar al-asamm which means al-hajar alsalb (strong or hard stone); or to al-sawm which means "to refrain from taking anything inside "; or al-sabr in its derivation, al-sibara which means al-hijara (stone). With this method, Ibn Taymiyya basically elaborates the salaf's argument. Such an effort is not found in al-Țabari, al-Zamakhshari or Fakhr al-Rāzi. These earlier Quranic exegetes, at least regarding sūrat al-Ikhlās, seem to consider it sufficient to mention lā jawf as one of the meaning of al-samad and they do not lay special emphasis on this particular meaning as Ibn Taymiyya does.

Another example of his new arguments to prove the opinion of the salaf concerns the idea of tawallud (generation). The meaning of al-samad, he says, is $l\bar{a}$ jawf (a being who has no inside). This notion is discussed by the salaf to refute any idea of generation or bearing a child, as claimed by some of the Jews, the Christians or by the

¹⁴⁵ Ibid., 353.

Arab polytheists, and to stress the oneness of God. It is interesting that Ibn Taymiyya goes on to argue that any *tawallud* be it among animal or trees, cannot happen except with two beings (*aṣlayn*). Even fire, he notes, must come out from *zandayn* (a primitive device for kindling fire), either two pieces of wood or iron and stone. Referring to the Qur³ān "Have you considered the fire which you strike? Is it you that produce the trees for it, or are We the producers?" ¹⁴⁶, he notes that in the opinion of more than one Qur³anic exegete, one of two trees that produce fire is said is male (*al-markh*) and the other is female (*al-itār*). ¹⁴⁷ God, however, is a unity, therefore, the idea of generation as well as bearing a child is impossible for Him and must be rejected.

Another striking feature of Ibn Taymiyya's tafsīr sūrat al-Ikhlūs is that he offers some new formulation as well. His emphasis on the view that al-samad means that God is the only One who deserves to have perfect attributes is one example of this. This emphasis does not go back to the salaf or to the earlier Qur³anic exegetes mentioned above. Although he does refer certainly to the statement of the salaf that the word al-samad denotes "the Lord on whom someone in need depends "or "the being to whom none can be likened "or "the highest being" and so on, Ibn Taymiyya arrives at a new formulation, viz. that al-samad means the being who is entitled to have the perfect attributes. Ibn Taymiyya seeks thereby to refute those who deny God's attributes. It is certain that this new formulation does not convey a new opinion, for the salaf had already affirmed God's attributes; but the way Ibn Taymiyya formulates this view and the emphasis he gives it are completely new.

¹⁴⁶ Quraān, LVI: 71-2.

¹⁴⁷ Ibn Taymiyya, Majmū^c Fatāwā Ibn Taymiyya: al-Tafsīr, 17, 241-2.

It was probably necessary for Ibn Taymiyya to develop new arguments on God's unity for he was faced with growing followers of popular sūfi master's like Ibn Atā Allāh in Egypt as well as speculative sūfis like Ibn Sabcīn (a follower of Ibn Arabī). 148 In addition, the Shīcites were growing stronger in certain parts of the Muslim world. There also were admirers of philosophical convictions, one of whom Ibn Taymiyya was to meet in prison. Again, his was a time when the Ash arites dominated the theological scene. Moreover, some Christians of Cyprus had recently produced an apology of their concept of God. 149 All these groups, in the view of Ibn Taymiyya, had misunderstood the concept of God either because they acknowledged the emanation of the creatures from God (as the philosophers and speculative şūfis did) or believed that God had a son (as the Christians did) or denied (like the Ash arites) some of the attributes of God or elevated human beings to the position of God (like the followers of popular sūfis and the Shīcites). Such misconceptions about God needed to be rectified. Ibn Taymiyya does realize that these theological challenges were not new, they had to some degree been answered by some of his predecessors like Ahmad ibn Hanbal; but the persistence and recurrence of challenges made him feel that he too had to respond to them, and with a stronger argument and a finer formulation.

Ibn Taymiyya is convinced that his understanding of God is salafī and the only true one. Such conviction makes it religiously incumbent upon him to refute anyone that he considers to have departed from the true understanding of the salaf. His works are therefore frequently polemical in character, and his thought can never be separated from the circumstances he lived in and the issues confronting him. Consequently, his thought is far from being mere intellectual exercise. Ibn Tayraiyya was an activist theologian who was

¹⁴⁸ Muhammad Umar Memon, Ibn Taymīya's Struggle Against Popular Religion, 5.

¹⁴⁹ Thomas F. Michel, A Muslim Theologian's Response to Christianity (Delmar: Caravan Books, 1984), vii.

fully aware that religious beliefs ought to be translated into action regardless of countercriticism and imprisonment. This spirit is amply reflected in his *tafsīr sūrat al-Ikhlāṣ*.

CHAPTER THREE THE ORIGINALITY OF THE PRINCIPLES OF IBN TAYMIYYA'S QUR'ANIC INTERPRETATION

How do Ibn Taymiyya's principles of Qur³anic interpretation compare to those of previous thinkers? Ibn Taymiyya's views on Qur³anic interpretation, scattered in several of his writings, have already been studied in the previous chapter. The main purpose of this chapter is to—show that Ibn Taymiyya does not only preserve the ideas of previous thinkers but also contributes new arguments and insights to the method of interpreting the Qur³ān by tradition (al-tafsīr bi al-ma³thūr).

A. The School of Ibn Taymiyya's Tafsīr

There are some characteristics of the $tafs\bar{t}r$ bi al- $ma^3th\bar{u}r$ school which Ibn Taymiyya shares. The adherents of this school believe that the best method of Qur³anic interpretation is by referring to what is explained in another part of the Qur³an, or to the Prophet's traditions, or to the sayings of the Companions of the Prophet or to those of their Followers $(t\bar{a}bi^c\bar{u}n)$. They emphasize the superiority of these authorities over reason and some of them tend to distrust the ability of reason even to determine the meaning of the Qur³an. Their belief is that the Prophet had explained the meaning of the Qur³an to his Companions and then the latter had passed it on to the $t\bar{a}bi^c\bar{u}n$.

¹ Muḥammad Ḥusayn al-Dhahabī, al-Tafsir wa al-Mufassirūn, Vol. 3 (Cairo: Dār ^cĀlam al-Kutub al-Ḥadītha, 1961), 152.

² See the standpoint of Ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī regarding ra³y (personal opinion) in his Jāmi^c al-Bayān fī Tafsīr al-Qur³ān, Vol. 1 (Beirut: Dār al-Ma^crifa, 1986), 27.

Since the purpose of this study is to show where 1bn Taymiyya's emphases differ and the new arguments he adduces in support of tafsīr bi al-ma²thūr, it is necessary to compare his thought regarding the principles of Qur²anic interpretation to that of the previous thinkers of the same school. This will enable us to identify what ideas already existed before 1bn Taymiyya and what were contributed by him. A comparison of his principles to those of other schools can also help place his thought in a broader framework but such a comparison will not help in assessing the precise contribution of 1bn Taymiyya to principles of Qur²anic interpretation according to the school of thought he claimed to belong to.

Therefore, it would not be proper to compare Ibn Taymiyya's view on the principles of Qur³anic interpretation to those of al-Ghazālī or al-Zamakhsharī or Ibn ʿArabī or al-Ṭabarsī, for those thinkers had views fundamentally different from Ibn Taymiyya's. Al-Ghazālī, for example, believed that the Prophet did not explain the Qur³ān except in so far as some of its verses are concerned. Consequently, al-Ghazālī rejected the interpretation of the Qur³ān by tradition unless the latter is transmitted soundly from the Prophet Muḥammad (masmūʿ wa musnad ilayh). In addition, in his opinion, the different sayings of the Companions of the Prophet as well as those of the tābiʿūn are basically the expression of their own opinion for if they were truly transmitted from the Prophet they would not have such differences as they exhibit. Al-Ghazālī suggested therefore that it is not necessary for the later Muslim generations to follow their opinions.³ He maintained that the apparent meaning of the Qur³ān is not the ultimate meaning of it, and he stressed the

³ Al-Ghazālī, Iḥyā² 'Ulūm al-Dīn', Vol. 1 (Damascus: Dār al-Khayr, 1990), 385; Muhammad Abul Quasem, "Al-Ghazālī in Defence of Ṣūfistic Interpretation of the Qur²ān", Islamic Culture, 1, 1979, 66. This article includes an English translation of part of al-Ghazālī's view on interpretation of the Qur²ān by personal opinion, 68-79. See idem, The Recitation and Interpretation of the Qur²ān (London: Kegan Paul International, 1982) 86-104. Abū Zahra, Ibn Taymiyya, ḥayātuh wa 'aṣruh, ārā²uh wa fiqhuh (Cairo: Dār al-Fikr al-'Arabī, n.d.), 229.

thought. As for the Mu^ctazilite exegete al-Zamakhsharī, he basically held the view that it is sufficient to interpret the Qur³ān rationally through examining the language of the verses; for him, in fact even al-Sunna has only a supplementary role, after rational reasoning. ⁴ In addition, he did not deem the sayings of the Companions and their Followers to be authoritative, though he used them for determining sabab a-nuzūl etc. ⁵ Al-Zamakhsharī's thought was rooted in his faith in the superiority of reason, and a belief that human reason could determine the meaning of a verse ⁶ In case of disagreement between the apparent meaning of the verse and rational understanding, al-Zamakhsharī held that the former has to be adjusted according to the latter. It should be borne in mind that the purpose of Qur³anic commentary according to the Mu^ctazilites is also to make clear what they regarded as the mutashābih verses of the Qur³ān. ⁷ Nor can Ibn Taymiyya be properly compared to Ibn ^cArabī, for this master of speculative ṣūfis based his tafsīr on a completely different notion, viz. the notion of the union of man and God. ⁸ In addition, although Ibn ^cArabī, like al-Ghazālī, remained committed to the apparent or the external meaning of the Qur³ān, he

⁴ Muştafā al-Şāwī al-Juwaynī, Manhaj al-Zamakhsharī fī Tafsīr al-Qur³ān wa Bayān I^cjāzih (Cairo: Dār al-Ma^cārif, n.d.), 93, 95 and Lutpi Ibrahim, "The Relation of Reason and Revelation in the Theology of al-Zamakhsharī and al-Bayḍāwī", Islamic Culture, 1, 1980, 95.

⁵ Muştafā al-Şāwī al-Juwaynī, *Manhaj al-Zamakhsharī*, 154-5 and al-Shaḥḥāt Zaghlūl, *al-Ittijāhāt al-Fikriyya fī al-Tafsīr* (Alexandria: al-Hay³a al-Miṣriyya al-ʿĀmma li al-Kutub, 1975), 214.

⁶ Muştafā al-Şāwī al-Juwaynī, Manhaj al-Zamakhsharī, 107-8. and Lutpi Ibrahim, "The Relation of Reason", 63.

⁷ Ignaz Goldziher, Madhāhib al-Tafsīr al-Islāmī, Trans. by 'Abd al-Ḥalīm al-Najjār (Cairo-Baghdad: Maktabat al-Khanjī and Maktabat al-Muthannā, 1955), 152; Muştafā al-Ṣāwī al-Juwaynī, Manhaj al-Zamakhsharī, 109; Naṣr Abū Zayd, al-Ittijāh al-ʿAqlī fī al-Tafsīr, dirāsa fī qaḍiyyat al-majāz fī al-Qurʾān ʿind al-muʿtazila (Beirut: Dār al-Tanwīr, 1982), 244-45.

⁸ Muḥammad Ḥusayn al-Dhahabī, *al-Tafsīr wa al-Mufassirūn*, Vol. 3 (Cairo: Dār ^cĀlam al-Kutub al-Hadītha, 1961), 72 and 77.

also greatly emphasized the importance of allusions (*ishārāt*) of the Qur³ān and criticized the interpretation of the Qur³ān by mere tradition which he regarded as causing loss of its spiritual dimension. ⁹ Ibn Taymiyya is also different from al-Ṭabarsī for this Shīsite exegete distrusted the traditions of the Companions circulating among the Sunnites, and particularly those which contradicted the Shīsite beliefs ¹⁰ relying instead on the authority of imām ^cAlī and his descendants. ¹¹ On a theological question like seeing God in Heaven, he was also influenced by the Mustazilite point of view. All these thinkers are very different from Ibn Taymiyya. For the latter insists that the Prophet had explained all meaning of the Qur³ān and emphasizes the authority of the sayings of his Companions and even those of the *tābisūn*. ¹² Such authorities, to him, are superior to reason. ¹³

Therefore, this study would only compare the principles of Qur³anic interpretation as proposed by Ibn Taymiyya to those of Ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī. According to Muḥammad Ḥusayn al-Dhahabī, there are eight outstanding Qur³anic exegetes whose tafsīr s have had wide circulation and who can be seen as the representatives of the tafsīr bi al-ma³thūr school. They are Ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī (d. 923), Abū al-Layth al-Samarqandī (d.983), Abū Ishāq al-Thaʿlabī (d.1035), Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥusayn al-Baghawī (d.1118), Ibn ʿAṭiyya

⁹ Goldziher, Madhāhib al-Tafsīr al-Islāmī, 267 and 274-5 and Helmut Gätje, The Qur'ān and its Exegesis, Transl. by Alford T. Welch (London-Henley: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1976), 40-1. For a further discussion of the principles of Ibn 'Arabī's Qur'anic interpretation, see Naṣr Ḥāmid Abū Zayd, Falsafat al-Ta'wīl, dirāsa fī ta'wīl al-Our'ān 'ind Muhyī al-Dīn Ibn 'Arabī' (Beirut: Dār al-Waḥda, 1983).

¹⁰ Muḥammad Ḥusayn al-Dhahabī, al-Tafsīr wa al-Mufassirūn, Vol. 2, 37.

¹¹ Mahmoud Ayoub, "The Speaking Qur'an and the Silent Qur'an: A Study of Principles and Development of Imamī Shīçī tafsīr " in Andrew Rippin (Ed.), Approaches to the History of the Interpretation of the Qur'an (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), 185.

¹² Ibn Taymiyya, *Muqaddima fī Uṣūl al-Tafsīr*, Ed. by Adnān Zarzūr (Kuwait: Dār al-Quran al-Karīm, 1971), 93-105.

¹³ Ibid., 79.

al-Andalusī (d.1154), Abū al-Fidā al-Ḥāfiz Ibn Kathīr (d.1373) Abd al-Raḥmān al-Tha alibī (d.1497) and Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī (d.1505). Abd al-Raḥmān al-Quranic commentators lived before Ibn Taymiyya. It is unfortunate, however, that none of them except Ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī elaborated principles of Quranic interpretation. For the purposes of this study, this great except is the most appropriate thinker to be compared to Ibn Taymiyya. Although he was not a Ḥanbalite, his principles of Quranic interpretation share with Ibn Taymiyya the same fundamental convictions.

B. Ibn Jarīr al-Ţabarī (d.923)

The principles of Qur³anic interpretation as articulated by Ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī were foreshadowed in some of the ideas of earlier Muslim thinkers. Muḥammad Idrīs al-Shāfi^cī (d.820) believed, for instance, that the Qur³ān and the Prophet's sound traditions (al-sunna al-thābita) are a unity and cannot be separated, for in his view both are revelation. ¹⁵ In his uṣūl al-fiqh (principles of legal reasoning), the Prophet's traditions serve to explain the generality of the Qur³ān even though they might be al-akhbār al-āḥād. ¹⁶ Sharing this opinion, Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal insisted that the Qur³ān and Sunna are inseparable, and the Sunna explains the apparent, the inner, the specific, the general, the abrogating and the abrogated verses of the Qur³ān. He maintained that it is the Messenger of God who elaborated the meaning of the Holy Book. Therefore, it is not allowed to interpret the

¹⁴ Muḥammad Ḥusayn al-Dhahabī, al-Tafsīr wa al-Mufassirūn, Vol. 1, 204.

¹⁵ Abū Zahra, Al-Shāfī'ī, ḥayātuh wa 'aṣruh, ārā'uh wa fiqhuh (Cairo: Dār al-Fikr al-Arabī, 1948), 184.

¹⁶ Ibid., 182.

Qur 3 ān through $ra^{3}y$ (personal opinion) or allegorically or to disregard what has been explained by the Propiet. 17

Both al-Shāficī 18 and Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal stated that in case explanation of the Quroān was not found in the Sunna, the interpreter must seek the explanation of the Prophet's Companions or of one of them in case of a difference of opinion. Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal believed that the Companions very likely witnessed the occasions of revelation and undoubtedly understood its content and, in addition they knew and heard directly the Prophet's tradition. Consequently it is very likely that their understanding of the Quroān was derived from the Sunna itself. 19 Al-Shāficī asserted that although the Companions might say something on the basis of their opinions, their opinion is still better than ours. 20

¹⁷ Henri Laoust, "Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal" in *The Encylopaedia of Islam*, New Edition, Ed. by B. Lewis, V.L. Menage et al., Vol. III, 1971, 275.

¹⁸ Abū Zahra, Al-Shāfi ī, 182.

¹⁹ Abū Zahra, *Ibn Ḥanbal ḥayātuh wa ʿaṣruh ārāʾuh wa fiqhuh* (Cairo: Dār al-Fikr al-ʿArabī, n.d.), 210-11 and Henri Laoust, "Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal ", the Encyclopaedia of Islam, New Edition, 275.

²⁰ Abū Zahra, al-Shāfi , 182. Some modern scholars, like Amīn al-Khūlī, often base themselves on the saying of Ahmad ibn Hanbal: "Three things have no asl or isnād (chain of authority): al-tafsīr, al-malāḥim and al-maghāzī ", and al-Shāfi'ī's statement: "Ibn Abbas only has about one hundred traditions" to suggest that even among earlier Muslim scholars, including al-Shafi^c and Ahmad ibn Hanbal, there was a sceptical attitude toward the reliability of tradition in tafsīr. Therefore, al-Khūlī proposes a literary approach to understanding the Qur'an as an alternative to tafsir bi al-ma'thur. See Amin al-Khuli, Manāhii Taidīd fī al-Nahw wa al-Balāgha wa al-Tafsīr wa al-Adab (Cairo: Dār al-Marifa, 1961), 274 and 276. However, the point of the statement by al-Shafi or Ahmad ibn Hanbal is not to reject Our anic interpretation by tradition. On the contrary, their critical stance toward tradition in tafsīr is because of their defence of tafsīr bi al-ma'thūr. Therefore, Ahmad ibn Hanbal, for example, regretted the fact that reliable traditions from the Companions to explain the Quran were available but not used by commentators. He said: "In Egypt there is tafsīr of Ibn Abbas which is reported by Alī ibn Abī Talha but not many go to Egypt for it." (Goldziher, Madhāhib al-Tafsīr al-Islāmī, 98). His statement expressed his concern that so often the Our an was interpreted without taking advantage of reliable traditions reported by Ibn Abbas, one of the most authoritative Companions of the Prophet in tafsir. In addition, they not only regarded the Companions of the Prophet as

To him, the only kind of personal opinion that can be tolerated is $qiy\bar{a}s$ (analogy). ²¹ Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal believed that there is no issue in the Qur³ān and the Sunna which has not been explained by the Companions, either precisely or allusively. ²² Therefore, he criticized the innovators (ahl al-bidac) for having neglected the Sunna and the explanations of the Companion. ²³ It is interesting, however, that neither al-Shāficī, who was among the followers of the $t\bar{a}bi^c\bar{u}n$ ($t\bar{a}bi^c$ al- $t\bar{a}bi^c\bar{i}n$) ²⁴ nor Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal who was among the followers of the $t\bar{a}bi^c$ al- $t\bar{a}bi^c\bar{i}n$, ²⁵ mentioned the $t\bar{a}bi^c\bar{u}n$ as one of the authorities in interpreting the Qur³ān.

1. The Question of the Quantity of the Prophet's traditions

Later, the authority of the Sunna and of the Companion in understanding the Qur³ān was also upheld by Ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, though he did not insist on their authorities. In fact, even the emphasis on the authority of the $t\bar{a}bi^c\bar{u}n$ can be seen in his principles of Qur³anic interpretation. It is likely that by his time the function of the Sunna as explaining the Qur³ān had become widely accepted by the majority of Muslim thinkers, thanks to the brilliant contribution of al-Shāfi^cī. The same is likely in connection with the authority of the Companions in interpreting the Qur³ān. Thus, Ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī did not have to emphasize

an authority in the interpretation of the Quran, they also insisted on the necessity to refer to them.

²¹ See the introduction of Majid Khadduri (ed.), *Al-Shāfi'ī's al-Risāla* (Cambridge: The Islamic Text Society, 1987), 39.

²² Ibn Taymiyya, *Majmū^c Fatāwā Ibn Taymiyya: Uṣūl al-Fiqh*, Vol. 19 (Rabat: Maktabat al-Ma^cārif, n.d.), 285.

²³ Ibn Taymiyya, *Majmū^c Fatāwā Ibn Taymiyya: al-Tafsīr*, Vol. 17, (Rabat: Maktabat al-Ma^cārif, n.d.), 415.

²⁴ Şubḥī Şāliḥ, 'Ulūm al-Ḥadīth wa Muşṭalaḥuh (Beirut: Dār al-'Ilm li al-Malāyīn, 1988), 388.

²⁵ Ibid., 394.

what had already been stated by al-Shāficī or Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal. There were those, however, who questioned the sufficiency of the Prophet's traditions for tafsīr and believed in the unavoidability of Qur³anic interpretation by personal opinion (ra³y). The question confronting Ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī is whether the Prophet explained all verses of the Qur³ān or only a very limited number of them. The question of the number and the quantity of the Prophet's traditions offering explanations of the Qur³ān had become a fundamental concern of the time and made it necessary for Ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī to respond in terms of his principles of Qur³anic interpretation. In his response, Ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī argued that the number of the Prophet's traditions explaining the Qur³ān is not small; therefore, he criticized the interpretation of the Qur³ān through the use of ra³y (personal opinion).

2. The Response of Ibn Jarīr al-Ţabarī

To begin with, Ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī classified the content of the Qur³ān into three categories. One is that aspect of the Qur³ān which is not known by anyone except God; it is not known even by the Prophet Muḥammad or the angels. This category consists of the mutashābih (unclear) verses like those on the descent of Jesus, the time of the rising of the Sun from the west, the blowing of the trumpet, the day of resurrection, the decline of the universe and the meaning of al-ḥurūf al-muqaṭṭaʿa (the mysterious letters). ²⁶ In these matters, the Prophet himself did not know anything except the portents (ashrāṭ) of these events. ²⁷ According to Ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, anyone who claims to know the meaning of these verses is a liar. ²⁸ The second category is that aspect of the Qur³ān which is known by everyone who knows the Arabic language in which the Qur³ān is revealed (dhū ʿilm bi

²⁶ Ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, *Jāmi^c al-Bayān fī Tafsīr al-Qur³ān*, Vol. 3-4, (Beirut: Dār al-Ma^crifa, 1986), 115 and that of Vol. I, 26 and 31

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Ibid., 26.

al-lisān al-ladhī unzila fīh al-Qur²ān). This aspect, however, is limited to such things as inflection (i'rāb), the fixed names (a'yān al-musammayāt bi asmā'ihā al-lāzima) which do not have concurrent meanings (ghayr al-mushtarak) and things described by specific attributes (al-mawsūfāt bi al-sifāt al-khāssa), to the exclusion of others such as legal judgments, their qualities and their forms, since the knowledge about them is given to the Prophet alone. This second aspect of the Qur³ān is elucidated through the words al-ifsād (causing corruption) and al-işlāḥ (putting something right). According to Ibn Jarīr al-Tabarī, when someone who is familiar with (dhū 'silm') the Qur'anic language hears somebody reciting the Quranic verse: "Wa idhā qīla lahum lā tufsidū fī l-ardi qālū innamā nahnu muşlihūna alā innahumu l-mufsidūna wa lākin lā yashfurūna " 29 he would know that al-ifsād in that verse is something which has to be avoided for it is detrimental and al $isl\bar{u}h$ is something which has to be done for it is beneficial, 30 but he does not know God's criterion to judge some actions as ifsad and others as islah. Such a criterion can only be known by referring to the explanations of the Prophet. 31 The third category of the Our on's content is that which is known by the Prophet. To Ibn Jarīr al-Tabarī, its quantity is not small. These verses relate to such things as obligations (wujūb) and recommended acts (nadb), guidance (irshād), various kinds of prohibition (nahy), rights (huqūq) and legal punishments (hudūd). Ibn Jarīr maintained that these verses could not be understood except by referring to the traditions of the Prophet. 32

²⁹ "When it is said to them, 'Do not corrupt in the land', they say: 'We are only ones that put things right.' Truly they are the workers of corruption, but they are not aware." Qur³ān, II: 11.

³⁰ Ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, Jāmi al-Bayān fī Tafsīr al-Quran, Vol. 1, 30.

³¹ Ibid., 26.

³² Ibid.

With reference to the third category of the contents of the Qur³ān, Ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī argued that the main message of the Prophet in relation to the Holy Scripture is to explain it to the people. A Qur³anic verse which confirms his conviction is: "We have revealed to you the Qur³ān (al-dhikr) that you may make clear to the peoples what has been revealed to them." 33 His view is also supported by another verse of the Qur³ān: "And We have not revealed to you the Qur³ān (al-kitāb) except that you may make clear to them that about which they differ, and (as) a guidance and a mercy for a people who believe." 34 On the basis of these verses, he held that God clearly ordered His messenger to explain the meaning of the Qur³ān. Muḥammad must have done so because these verses are also confirmed by the traditions of the Prophet's Companions. Abd Allāh ibn Masʿūd, for example, said: "A man from among us, if he studied ten verses of the Qur³ān, does not proceed to others before he understands their meanings and practices." 35 According to Ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, this tradition implies that the Prophet had truly explained the meaning of the Qur³ān to his people.

Ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī argues that without the Prophet's teachings, our knowledge of the Qur³ān would be very limited. As regards the verses known by God alone, for example, he maintains that they relate to an invisible world, such as resurrection. As for the language of the Qur³ān which was known by the ancient Arabic poets, he maintains that their knowledge was limited to the clear words like the word ifsād and iṣlāḥ and their grammar. ³⁶ Conversely, those verses whose meanings were known by the Prophet encompass different things. Ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī makes the point therefore that the Prophet's

³³ Qur³ān, XVI: 44.

³⁴ Ibid., 64.

³⁵ Ibn Jarīr al-Tabarī, Jāmie al-Bayān fī Tafsīr al-Qureān, Vol. 1, 27.

³⁶ Ibid., 26 and 31.

explanation regarding the Qur²ān is not insignificant ($l\bar{u}$ yakūnu qalīla). Thus, in his opinion, it is not allowed to interpret the Qur²ān by ra^2y or personal opinion.

According to Ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, there are two traditions that led the people to hold the notion that the number of the Prophet's explanations regarding the Qur³ān is small. The first is a tradition of ʿĀʾisha: "The Prophet does not explain the Qur³ān except certain verses which were taught by Gabriel to him." ³⁷ Reacting to this tradition, Ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī said that if ʿĀʾisha's statement was true, it would mean that Muḥammad had ignored a clear command of God. However, the tradition, he asserts, is not true. On the contrary, the Prophet fulfilled his duties and not a small number of the verses of the Qur³ān were explained by him. ³⁸ ʿĀʾisha's tradition was transmitted by a person whose reliability is suspect, viz. Jaʿfar ibn Muḥammad al-Zubayrī. This individual was not knowledgeable in tradition (ahl al-āthār); therefore, this tradition cannot be used as an argument. ³⁹

According to Ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, traditions describing the cautious attitude of the sala: in interpreting the Qur³ān are another reason for the notion that the Prophet did not explain much of the Qur³ān. Asked about the meaning of the Qur³ān, Sa⁵īd ibn al-Musayyab, one of the great $t\bar{a}bi^c\bar{u}n$, said, for example, that he would never talk about the Qur³ān. According to a report, his attitude was completely different when he dealt with legal matters. The same was the attitude of al-Sha°bī. He reportedly refrained from talking about the Qur³ān, the soul $(r\bar{u}h)$ and on the basis of personal opinion (ra^3y) . Such traditions were considered by the opponents of $tafs\bar{u}r$ bi $al-ma^3th\bar{u}r$ as suggesting that

³⁷ Ibid., 29.

³⁸ Ibid., 30.

³⁹ Ibid., 29-30.

the number of the Prophet's traditions on the Qur³ān is limited (qalīl). 40 To Ibn Jarīr al-Tabarī, however, these reports did not indicate that. Rather, they support his own conviction, because the attitude of Sacīd ibn Musayyab and al-Shacbī basically discourage Muslims to interpret the Qur³ān unless they have knowledge and to refrain from talking about the Qur³ān on the basis of personal opinion. Ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī asserted that these people did not reject the idea of Qur³anic interpretations, but they refrained from talking about the Qur³ān in terms of personal opinion and urged Muslims to always refer to what has been explained by the Prophet, for otherwise one would fall in error. 41

Having disproved the basis of his opponents' view, Ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī then refuted the validity of interpretation through ra^3y or the interpretation which ignores the Prophet's explanation, and declared that such interpretations would remain erroneous even when they say what is correct, for the exegete lacked conviction of truth ($m\bar{u}qin$). He said:

"The interpretation of the Qur³ān cannot be known except by the explanation of the Messenger of God, peace be upon him, or (except) by argument regarding it; it is not allowed to anyone to talk about it through his ra^3y . One who speaks about it through his ra^3y remains in error even though he reaches the truth... For such a person is not like one who has a firm conviction that he is true, but in the position of a forteller ($kh\bar{a}ri\bar{s}$) and of one who presumes ($z\bar{a}nn$). But to make statements in God's religion on the basis of one assumption is to give opinion without knowledge and God has prohibited that: 'Say: My Lord has only prohibited indecencies, those of them that are apparent as well as those that are concealed, and sin and rebellion without justice, and that you associate with God that for which He has not sent down any authority, and that you say about God what you do not know." 42

⁴⁰ Ibid., 29

⁴¹ Ibid., 30.

⁴² Ibid., 27 and Quroan, VII: 33.

It appears from the foregoing statement that the objection of Ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī to Qur'anic interpretation by ra^2y was not only that the number of the Prophet's traditions for $tafs\bar{i}r$ is not small, but also because he doubted the capacity of ra^2y itself to determine the true meaning of the Holy Book. It seems that, in his view, the nature of the decision of ra^2y is that it is a probable and relative opinion. This view is characteristic of the supporters of $tafs\bar{i}r$ bi al- $ma^2th\bar{u}r$ and, later on, it was to be much elaborated by Ibn Taymiyya.⁴³

3. The Advancement of Ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī's thought

As has already been discussed above, Ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī refuted two things: the notion that the explanation of the Qur³ān as offered by the Prophet is small (qalīl), and Qur³anic interpretation through ra³y. Ibn Jarīr's emphasis was a reaction to a growing sceptical attitude that considered the Sunna which explained the Qur³ān to be limited and the interpretation of the Qur³ān through ra³y therefore to be justifiable. This challenge had neither been faced by al-Shāfiʿī nor by Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal. Ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī went beyond al-Shāfiʿī and Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal for he stressed not only that the Sunna functions as the elaboration of the Qur³ān, but also that the number of the Prophet's traditions serving as such an elaboration is not small. In addition, he also argued more cogently both from the point of view of reason or on a revelational basis against the use of ra³y in interpretation. Later, Ibn Taymiyya was to go even further in some respects, for he declares that the Prophet Muḥammad has explained all the meaning of the Qur³ān despite the fact that he admits that there are Qur³anic verses which are only known by God

⁴³ See Ibn Taymiyya's views on the subject in the first chapter of this thesis.

(namely the unclear verses of the Qur 3 ān [mutashābih] on the true essence of God, His attributes, His kayfiyya, 44 qadar, the hereafter (al-ma 4 ād) 45 and the invisible world 46

Ibn Jarīr's advance over al-Shāfisī and Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal can also be seen in his regarding the $t\bar{a}bi^c\bar{u}n$ (the Followers of the Companions of the Prophet) as authoritative besides the Companions. He even tried to indicate who the commendable $(mahm\bar{u}d)$ $t\bar{a}bi^c\bar{u}n$ were, like Mujāhid, and who were the objectionable ones $(madhm\bar{u}m)$ like Abū Ṣāliḥ and al-Suddī. ⁴⁷ But the way that Ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī mentioned their authority is often indirect. He, for example, quoted traditions that describe the enthusiasm of the salaf (the Companions of the Prophet and their Followers) in understanding the Qur³ān and those which show their amazing mastery of it. It is reported, for instance, that Ibn Abbās used to deliver such sermons that if the Daylamīs and the Turks heard them, they would have converted to Islam. On that occasion, he interpreted $s\bar{u}rat$ $al-n\bar{u}r$ of the Qur³ān. ⁴⁸ Moreover, Sacīd ibn Jubayr, one of the great $t\bar{a}bi^c\bar{u}n$, asserted: "Whoever reads the Qur³ān and does not interpret it is like the blind or the Bedouin $(al-a^crab\bar{t})$." Again, Mujāhid, the great authority of the $t\bar{u}bi^c\bar{u}n$, stated: "I studied the Qur³ān (al-mushaf) with Ibn Abbās three times from its beginning to its end. On every verse I stopped to ask him about it." ⁴⁹ Through these traditions, Ibn Jarīr probably wants to illustrate the point that

⁴⁴ Ibn Taymiyya, Majmū^c al-Rasā³il al-Kubrā, Vol. 2, 34; his Majmū^c Fatāwā Ibn Taymiyya: al-Tafsīr, Vol. 17, 357, 419, 424-26, 450 and Şabrī al-Mutawallī, Manhaj Ibn Taymiyya fī Tafsīr al-Qur³ān al-Karīm (Cairo: ^cĀlam al-Kutub, 1981), 248.

⁴⁵ Ibn Taymiyya, Majmū^c Fatāwā Ibn Taymiyya: al-Tafsīr, Vol. 17, 396 and 402.

⁴⁶ Ibn Taymiyya, Majmū° Fatāwā Ibn Taymiyya: Muqaddimat al-Tafsīr, Vol. 13, 280.

⁴⁷ Ibn Jarir al-Țabari, Jāmie al-Bayān fi Tafsir al-Quran, 30-1.

⁴⁸ Ibid., 28.

⁴⁹ Ibid., 31.

the $t \bar{a} b i^c \bar{u} n$, besides the Companions, were really keen students and scholars of the Qurban and, therefore, their understanding of it is extraordinary.

The only occasion when Ibn Jarīr notes the necessity to refer to the $t\bar{a}bi^c\bar{u}n$ is during a discussion of who among the commentators are the most entitled to be followed in their exegesis. To him, they are the people whose interpretation of the Qur $^3\bar{a}n$ is supported by the Prophet's traditions and by the ancient Arabic language in which the Qur $^3\bar{a}n$ was revealed. It is certain that Ibn Jarīr had no objection to investigating the ancient Arabs' sayings or poetry in order to gain a true understanding of some Qur 3 anic verses, but he stipulated that the result of such an investigation has to be in conformity with the sayings of the salaf. It is in this context that Ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī mentioned the authority of the $t\bar{a}bi^c\bar{u}n$. The following is his saying:

"The (Qur³anic) commentators most likely to be true in their interpretation of the Qur³ān ... are those who have the clearest argument ... from the Prophet's tradition... and the clearest proof from language (al-lisān) ... from their poetry... their sayings or from their well-known language in so far as their ta³wīl and tafsīr does not deviate from the sayings of the Prophet's Companions ... and the tābifūn ..." 50

Ibn Taymiyya, as has already been shown in his commentary of sūrat al-Ikhlās, shares the view of Ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī and agrees that the sayings of the salaf are superior to those based on the ancient Arabic language and that the latter does not, by itself, constitute conclusive proof in support of an interpretation. 51

⁵⁰ Ibid., 32.

⁵¹ See the discussion of this issue in chapter II of this thesis under subtitle: "An Analysis of Ibn Taymiyya's Tafsīr Sūrat al-Ikhlāş ".

C. Ibn Taymiyya (d. 728/1328)

It is difficult to deny that Ibn Taymiyya was influenced by his predecessors. Al-Shāfiçī had bequeathed him the idea of the unity of the Qur³ān and the Sunna, with the latter explaining the former; 52 and he followed Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal in insisting on the sayings of the Companions as the second authority in understanding the Qur³ān after the Sunna. 53 Another scholar who influenced him very much in his principles of Qur³anic interpretation was Ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī. Ibn Taymiyya does not only quote the same verses, the Prophet's traditions, the sayings of the Companions and of the tābiçūn as Ibn Jarīr does, 54 but also restates some of the latter's arguments. His belief that the Prophet Muḥammad had fulfilled God's order to explain the Qur³ān to his peoples is a case in point. 55 Also, his insistence that the Prophet had explained the meaning of all the Qur³ān to his people must be considered as a development of Ibn Jarīr's emphasis that the Prophet's explanation of the Qur³anic verses was not insignificant. The same is true of Ibn Taymiyya's refutation of tafsīr bi al-ra³y as well as of his emphasis on the excellence the salaf's understanding of the Qur³ān.56 What is stated by Ibn Taymiyya is very often a repetition of what Ibn Jarīr had said. His indebtedness to Ibn Jarīr is understandable for he

⁵² See his reference to al-Shāfi^cī in Muqaddima fī Uṣūl al-Tafsīr, 94.

⁵³ See his reference to Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal in Majmū^c Fatāwā Ibn Taymiyya: al-Tafsīr, Vol. 17, 447 and Majmū^c Fatāwā Ibn Taymiyya: Uṣūl al-Fiqh, Vol. 19, 285.

⁵⁴ Compare, for instance, Ibn Taymiyya's Muqaddima fī Uṣūl al-Tafsīr, 93-4 to Ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī's Jāmi^c al-Bayān fī Tafsīr al-Qur³ān, 25 or Muqaddima, 105-7 to Jāmi^c al-Bayān 27.

⁵⁵ Ibn Taymiyya, Muqaddima fī Uşūl al-Tafsīr, 35-7.

⁵⁶ Ibid., 105-112.

clearly acknowledges the latter's *tafsīr* as the best available. This is not to say, however, that Ibn Taymiyya does not go beyond the ideas of his predecessors. His contribution consists in a stronger emphasis on some earlier views as well as some new arguments.

1. The Stronger Emphasis of Ibn Taymiyya's Arguments

Ibn Taymiyya insists that the Prophet explained all the meaning of the Qur 3 ān to his Companions and, later, they taught it to the $t\bar{a}bi^{c}\bar{u}n$. 57 This position is clearly an advance over Ibn Jarīr's, who maintained that the number of the Prophet's explanations regarding the Qur 3 ān is not small. To Ibn Taymiyya, it is not allowed for a Muslim to believe that God revealed the message ($kal\bar{a}m$) without its meaning. 58 In addition, Ibn Taymiyya discusses the process of transmission of Qur 3 anic knowledge, suggesting a perfect transmission from the Prophet to the $t\bar{a}bi^{c}\bar{u}n$. The Companions are portrayed as receiving the meaning of the Qur 3 ān from the Prophet and transmitting it to the $t\bar{a}bi^{c}\bar{u}n$. 59 Ibn Taymiyya, therefore, emphasizes the authority of the Companions of the Prophet, the $t\bar{a}bi^{c}\bar{u}n$ and even the followers of the $t\bar{a}bi^{c}\bar{u}n$:

" ... We know that the Qur³ān is read by the Companions of the Prophet, the $t\bar{a}bi^c\bar{u}n$ and their followers ($t\bar{a}bi^c\bar{u}hum$) and they know most of its $tafs\bar{i}r$ and its meaning as they know most of the truth that God sent to His messenger, peace be upon him. (Therefore) whoever contradicts ($kh\bar{a}lafa$) their sayings and interprets the Qur³ān by contradicting their interpretation errs in proof ($dal\bar{i}l$) and meaning ($madl\bar{u}l$). And there is no doubt that whoever contradicts their sayings, his argument is specious (shubha) whether he supports it on rational or revelational (sam^ciyya) grounds." 60

⁵⁷ Ibn Taymiyya, Majmūʻ Fatāwā Ibn Taymiyya: Muqaddimat al-Tafsīr, Vol. 13, 402-3.

⁵⁸ Ibn Taymiyya, *Majmū^c Fatāwā Ibn Taymiyya*: al-Tafsīr, Vol. 17, 390 and his *Muqaddima fī Uṣūl al-Tafsīr*, 37.

⁵⁹ Ibid., 35-8.

⁶⁰ Ibn Taymiyya, Majmū Fatāwā Ibn Taymiyya: al-Tafsīr, Vol. 13, 361-2.

Ibn Taymiyya also declares that the age of the Companions and that of the tabisan were the best ages of Islam because the Messenger himself asserted so.⁶¹ He invokes the Quroan itself in support of the salaf's authority: "And whoever acts with hostility to the Apostle after that guidance has become manifest to him, and follows other than the way of the believers, We will turn him to that to which he has (himself) turned and make him enter hell; and it is an evil resort." 62 Ibn Taymiyya is of the opinion that "the way of believers" mentioned here is the way of the salaf. 63 Therefore, anyone who interprets the Our an should follow the way in which they interpreted it. He even goes further to declare that tafsīr by using mere personal opinion $(ra^{3}v)$ is forbidden (harām). ⁶⁴ His reason is that once ray directs Quranic interpretation, tafsīr becomes not only subject to whims $(haw\bar{a})$ of the interpreters but their own theological and ideological interests as well. To Ibn Taymiyya, those who interpret the Qur³ an metaphorically (ta³wil) have basically already had their own convictions by which they imposed them on the words of the Our an. 65 Although Ahmad ibn Hanbal and Ibn Jarir al-Tabari had clearly opposed the use of reason in interpreting the Holy Book, they did not declare such fine critical view as Ibn Taymiyya does.

⁶¹ Ibn Taymiyya, Majmū Fatāwā Ibn Taymiyya: Muqaddimat al-Tafsīr, Vol. 13, 24 and his Majmū Fatāwā Ibn Taymiyya: Uşūl al-Fiqh, Vol. 20 (Rabat: Maktabat al-Ma ārif, n.d.), 294-95.

⁶² Qur³ān, IV: 114. Ibn Taymiyya, Ma^cārij al-Wuṣūl, 32-4.

⁶³ Ibn Taymiyya, Naqd al-Manţiq, Ed. by Muḥammad al-FiqI (Cairo: Maktabat al-Sunna al-Muḥammadiyya, 1951), 1.

⁶⁴ Ibn Taymiyya, Muqaddima fī Uşūl al-Tafsīr, 105-15.

⁶⁵ See his statement, among others, in ibid., 81.

2. The New Arguments of Ibn Taymiyya

The major contribution of Ibn Taymiyya relates to his new arguments for the authority of naql and the salaf. Before discussing that subject, the evolution of thought within the tafsīr bi al-ma³thūr school is worth considering. As has already been indicated earlier, in the time of Ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī (d. 923) there began to appear a sceptical attitude, questioning and even rejecting the traditionist claim that the Sunna was sufficiently detailed to explain the Quran. This scepticism towards the supporters of tafsīr bi alma³thūr continued to develop even after Ibn Jarīr al-Tabarī. By the time of Ibn Taymiyya, however, the critical question that was being posed by opponents of tafsīr bi al-ma³thūr was not about the nature of the relationship of the Sunna to the Quran, nor about the authority of the Companions and the tabian, nor whether the Prophet explained many verses of the Quran or only a few of them, but rather that the transmitted opinions and sayings of the salaf were full of disagreements and contradictions. So, according to the opponents of tafsīr bi al-ma²thūr, even if they accepted naql and the sayings of the salaf as authoritative, how could the divergence and contradictions in their views be resolved? This challenge had not been addressed by al-Shafi^e (d.820) and Ahmad ibn Hanbal (d.855) for they were still striving to establish the authority of the Sunna of the Prophet as well as that of Companions. Nor was it faced by al-Tabarī (d.923) who was disturbed only by scepticism about the sufficiency in number of the Prophet's explanation of the Quran, as already discussed.

In connection with this issue, Ibn Taymiyya (d. 1328) does not mention the names of particular opponents. However, it is very likely that one of them is al-Ghazālī (d.1111), and for this there are several reasons. One of them is that this Ash arite theologian, in his

book $Ihy\bar{a}^{3}$ 'Ulūm al-Dīn, severely criticized Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal's Qur³anic interpretation for his reliance on the apparent meaning of the Qur³ān and his opposition to $ta^{3}w\bar{l}l$. ⁶⁶ In addition, he also rejected the equation of a prohibition of $tafs\bar{i}r$ bi al- $ra^{3}y$ to the necessity of Qur³anic interpretation by mere naql (transmitted religious tradition). To him, the prohibited $tafs\bar{i}r$ bi al- $ra^{3}y$ is the interpretation of the Qur³ān following the desires and the convictions of the interpreter or following the apparent sense of the Arabic language while disregarding the traditions of the Prophet. ⁶⁷ But his opposition to $tafs\bar{i}r$ bi al- $ma^{3}th\bar{u}r$, as he explained it, was also due to the fact that the Prophet himself only explained a few of the Qur³anic verses, while the sayings of the salaf contradicted each other and could not be reconciled. To al-Ghazālī, their contradictory sayings were due to the fact that they reflected their own opinions, for it was impossible that they had come down from the Prophet. ⁶⁸

In response to such a stance, Ibn Taymiyya asserts that the Messenger had explained all the meanings of the Quron to his Companions, who passed them on to their Followers. Ibn Taymiyya also argues that disagreement of naql (transmitted traditions), merely happens in traditions whose soundness is unknown and which are valueless for religion. The sayings of the salaf, he insists, are not contradictory but only diverse. Ibn Taymiyya's arguments in this regard have been discussed in the second chapter of this thesis and there is no need here for repetition. However, it should be borne in mind that despite the fact that Ibn Taymiyya's argument essentially revolves around such linguistic

⁶⁶ Al-Ghazālī, Iḥyā³ 'Ulūm al-Dīn, Vol. 1, 136. His view on ta'wīl can be found also in Iysa A. Bello's The Medieval Islamic Controversy between Philosophy and Orthodoxy: Ijmā^c and Ta'wīl in the Conflict between al-Ghazālī and Ibn Rushd (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1989), 52-65.

⁶⁷ Muhammad Abul Quasem, "Al-Ghazālī in Defence of Şüfistic Interpretation of the Quran", 66.

⁶⁸ Ibid., 385-6.

features as mushtarak, murādif and mutawāţi² and does not consider the real contradictions, this argument seems to have helped his school of Qur³anic interpretation to refute the criticism of their opponents. Ibn Taymiyya does succeed at least in convincing his readers that not all traditions which might be thought contradictory are necessary so. This is an original argument, not found in thinkers like al-Shāfi^cī, Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal and Ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī.

3. Analysis of the Advancement of Ibn Taymiyya's Thought

The tafsīr bi al-ma'sthūr school shows therefore a gradual but significant intellectual development, brought about by the need to respond to its critics. Al-Shāfīcī (d.825) established the authority of the Prophet's Sunna and emphasized its inseparability from the Qur'ān and that the former explains the latter. Following him, Ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī (d.923) emphasized that the number of Prophet's explanations regarding the Qur'ān is not small. Ibn Taymiyya (d.1328) for his part declares that the Prophet explained all the meanings of the Qur'ān to his Companions and that they taught them to their Followers. The same relates to the authority of the tābicūn. Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal (d.855) had not yet mentioned the authority of the tābicūn. Later, Ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī (d 923) began an account of it. Ibn Taymiyya reemphasizes this authority more explicitly and adds another argument drawn from both the Qur'ān and the Sunna. Then, he goes on to insist that their difference of opinion does not constitute contradictions, and these differences can be reconciled.

The question which needs some consideration now is this: what is the context in which Ibn Taymiyya's stand in favour of tafsīr bi al-ma²thūr is to be explained? This context may be described in terms of the following two factors:

a. Hanbalite world-view

As a Ḥanbalite, Ibn Taymiyya's thinking matured in a theological and intellectual atmosphere characterized by emphasis on the superiority of revelation over reason and the authority of al-Sunna or ḥadīth, al-āthār and naql, and the salaf and so forth, and a distrust of and opposition to personal opinion (ra³y) or rational reasoning. Having internalized this world-view by virtue of his madhhab and family background and education, he was very much disturbed by any deviation from Islam (bid¹a) and denounced all those he considered to have departed from the practice of the early generations of pious Muslims (salaf). Such sensitivity towards bid¹a is characteristic of the Ḥanbalites and is not shared by the followers of the Mālikite, Shāfi¹ite or Ḥanafite schools.

b. the struggle against bid a

Later, the Ḥanbalite notions Ibn Taymiyya had imbibed continued to be strengthened by long intellectual and political conflicts with his opponents. The history of the Ḥanbalite school itself till at least the time of Ibn Taymiyya was basically the history of intellectual and political conflicts with other schools of thought such as Jahmites, Muctazilites, sūfis, Shīcites and Ashcarites. The founding father of Ḥanbalism himself showed vehement opposition towards the Jahmites and Muctazilites and his position on the question of "the createdness" of the Quron caused him much suffering during the Miḥna. 69 Later, the conflict of Ibn Taymiyya with the Ashcarites, whom he considered as

⁶⁹ See his al-Radd 'alā al-Jahmiyya wa al-Zanādiqa, Ed. by 'Abd al-Raḥmān 'Umayra (Riyāḍ: Dār al-Liwā', 1977); and see Walter M. Patton, Aḥmed ibn Ḥanbal and the Mihna (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1897).

the inheritors of certain Mu^ctazilite attitudes, was not only an intellectual struggle but also had social and political implication. His writing the 'Aqīda al-Ḥamawiyya al-Kubrā and al-'Aqīda al-Wāsiṭiyya led to interrogation and imprisonment. He was also imprisoned for his sharp criticism of popular ṣūfism and his denunciation of the veneration of the tombs of ṣūfi shaykhs as bid^ca. He also took up arms against the Shī^cites accusing them of having facilitated the invasion of Baghdad by the Mongols. ⁷⁰ All this intellectual and political tension must have contributed to Ibn Taymiyya's confrontational style, which is also in evidence in his principles of Qur³anic interpretation.

Ibn Taymiyya's was a time when metaphorical interpretation of the Qur³ān (ta³wīl) had come to be seen by many as not only unavoidable and necessary but as the truth itself. To Ibn Taymiyya, ta³wīl not only legitimated the beliefs of the innovators like the şūfis, the Shī¢ites and the Ash¢arites but also created disunity in the umma. The ṣūfis, for example, though they helped educate the people also encouraged them to escape their public responsibilities. Ibn Taymiyya was shocked when the followers of the ṣūfi orders of the time rejected his call to take up arms against the Tatars claiming that to fight them is to fight God. He considers such a view not only as dividing Muslims into many groups of bid¢a but also weakening the unity and the strength of the umma. He is convinced that to oppose the people of bid¢a, whether in the intellectual or political realm, was necessary to return to the salaf's understanding of the Qur³ān and the Sunna. His principles of Qur³anic interpretation, under discussion here, are an intellectual vehicle to reach that goal. Once the umma believes in and practices Islam as the Prophet did, the Muslims could, he hoped, regain their earlier glory.

⁷⁰ For an account of Ibn Taymiyya's miḥan, see Ḥasan Qāsim Murād, Miḥan of Ibn Taymiya: a Narrative Account Based on a Comparative Analysis of the Sources, (MA thesis, McGill University, 1968), 74-112.

4. The Influence of Ibn Taymiyya

Although Ibn Taymiyya is usually not considered as a Qur 3 ān exegete, the influence of his principles of Qur 3 anic interpretation on later thinkers cannot be ignored. Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya (d.1350-1), for instance, strongly restated the point that the differences of opinion of the salaf are not to be seen as contradictions but as diversity of views, and he adduced other examples. 71 Al-Zarkashī (d.1391) also seems to be influenced by Ibn Taymiyya when he states that the people who do not understand very often think that the difference of opinions of the salaf constitutes disagreemen* (ikhtilāf) while it is not. In the view of al-Zarkashī, each of the salaf had pointed out the apparent meaning of the Qur 3 ān and their differences came from the fact that they tried to explain the Qur 3 ān using the expression clearest to the speaker (al- $q\bar{a}^2$ il) or the most appropriate one to the one raising the question (al-sā 3 il). Thus, although the salaf explained the Qur 3 ān in different terms, they pointed to the same meaning. 72 His argument is similar to Ibn Taymiyya's though it is unfortunate that al-Zarkashī does not mention him. The following is a statement of Ibn Taymiyya that al-Zarkashī quotes verbatim:

"The best method of tafsīr is the interpretation of the Qur³ān by the Qur³ān, (because) what is stated generally in one place is elaborated in detail in another and what is stated shortly in one place is explained in another. In case you are unable to do that, you must take the Sunna for it elaborates the Qur³ān and explains it. God said: "We have not revealed to you the Qur³ān (al-kitāb) except that you may make clear to them that about which they differ, and (as) a guidance and a mercy for a people who believe." 73

⁷¹ Sabrī al-Mutawallī, Manhaj ahl al-Sunna fī Tafsīr al-Qur'an, 73-4.

⁷² Al-Zarkashī, al-Burhān fī 'Ulūm al-Qur'ān, Vol. 2 (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 1988), 176.

⁷³ Ibid., 192.

It is not easy to determine which of al-Zarkashī's ideas are original and which are not. The acknowledgement of indebtedness to earlier writers was very much a matter of an author's choice. Thus, al-Zarkashī very often mentions the earlier writers he quotes from but in some cases he neglects to do so.

A later scholar who clearly acknowledged his debt to Ibn Taymiyya's principles of Qur'anic interpretation ($qaw\bar{a}^cid\ al$ - $tafs\bar{\imath}r$) is al-Suyūṭī (d. 1505) in his al- $Itq\bar{a}n\ f\bar{\imath}$ 'Ulūm al- $Qur'\bar{a}n$. 74 Ibn Taymiyya's influence can particularly be seen when al-Suyūṭī discusses the ranks of the knowledgeable people in $tafs\bar{\imath}r$, maintaining that the most knowledgeable are the people of Mecca like Mujāhid and 'Aṭā' ibn Abī Rabāḥ because they were the followers of Ibn 'Abbās. Later, they were the people of Kūfa, for they are the followers of Ibn Mas'ād. Next are the people of Medina like Zayd ibn Aslam etc.75

The influence of Ibn Taymiyya's principles of Qur³anic interpretation is easier to recognize on Ibn Kathīr (d.1373). ⁷⁶ This pro-Ḥanbalite Shāficite thinker is often considered to be the second only to Ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī in tafsīr bi al-ma³thūr school. He studied under different scholars of the time, one of his most influential teachers being Ibn Taymiyya. ⁷⁷ Ibn Kathīr followed his ideas and even gave a fatwā on a controversial

⁷⁴ Al-Suyūṭī, al-Itqān fī 'Ulūm al-Qur'ān, Vol. 1 (Cairo: Dār al-Turāth, 1985), 19.

⁷⁵ Al-Zarqānī, Manāhil al-'Irfān fī 'Ulūm al-Qur'ān (Cairo: Maṭba'at 'Īsā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī wa Shurakāh, n.d.), 19-21. The influence of Ibn Taymiyya's thought on al-Suyūṭī is shown in the latter's opposition to logic. See Wael B. Hallaq, ed., Ibn Taymiyya Against the Greek Logicians (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), xlix.

⁷⁶ See Jane Dammen McAuliffe, "Qur'anic Hermeneutics: The Views of al-Ṭabarī and Ibn Katḥīr" in Andrew Rippin, ed., Approaches to the History of the Interpretation of the Qur'an (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), 56-61.

⁷⁷ Jane Dammen McAuliffe, Qur'anic Christians: An Analysis of Classical and Modern Exegesis (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 72-3.

issue, talāq (divorce) in line with the view of Ibn Taymiyya, which caused him to endure mihna as did his teacher. Ibn Taymiyya's influence on Ibn Kathīr's principles of Qur³anic interpretation is obvious. The latter very often quotes his teacher's ideas verbatim. Ibn Taymiyya's statements in Muqaddima fī Uṣūl al-Tafsīr, 93-115 is, for instance, repeated by Ibn Kathīr in Tafsīr al-Qur³ān al-¢Azīm Vol. 1, 4-6, though Ibn Taymiyya is not mentioned here. The case is different when Ibn Kathīr quotes Ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī (pp. 6-8) and explicitly refers to him. Again, in relation to the issue of Isrā³īliyyāt, Ibn Kathīr says:

"Isrā'iliyyāt traditions are of three kinds. First, those whose soundness we know from what we have that supports it. Second, those whose unsoundness we know from what we have that contradicts it. Third, those which are neither from the first nor from the second category. Therefore, we neither trust in them nor deny them and to report them is lawful and most of such (traditions) consist of something which is of no use in respect to religious affairs "78

This statement is exactly what Ibn Taymiyya says in his Muqaddima $f\bar{i}$ U $\bar{s}\bar{u}l$ alTafs $\bar{i}r$. ⁷⁹ Therefore, it is not an exaggeration to say that Ibn Taymiyya's principles of Qur³anic interpretation not only show much originality, they have also been very influential. In fact this influence is not limited to the medieval thinkers and exegetes, but extends to modern writers . ⁸⁰

⁷⁸ Ibn Kathīr, Tafsīr al-Qur'ān al-'Azīm, Vol. 1 (Beirut: Dār al-Ma'rifa, 1987), 5.

⁷⁹ See page 100.

⁸⁰ See Muḥammad Ḥusayn al-Dhahabī, for example, who rephrases what was stated by Ibn Taymiyya regarding the Isrā'īliyyāt tradition in his al-Tafsīr wa al-Mufassirūn, 179. Khālid 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-'Akk also restates Ibn Taymiyya's method of Qur'anic interpretation and his argument regarding the nature of the difference of opinions of the salaf. See his Uṣūl al-Tafsīr wa Qawā'iduh (Beirut: Dār al-Nafā'is, 1986), 79-80 and 83-6.

CONCLUSION

Ibn Taymiyya's deep concern with what he perceived as distortions in understanding and interpreting the Quran is reflected throughout his polemical writings, refutations and criticisms of the ahl al-bida^c (the "innovators"). This study of his principles of Quranic interpretation reveals that Ibn Taymiyya's refutation of those he considered as the ahl al-bida, --- the philosophers, the mutakallimūn, the sūfis and the Shīcites --- was essentially because of his objections to their Quranic interpretations. According to Ibn Taymiyya, these ahl al-bida very often imposed "foreign" and "un-Islamic" beliefs (bidac) on the words of God (kalām Allāh) through ta wil (metaphorical interpretation), and changed or distorted or contradicted the true meaning of the Qurain in accordance with their preconceived beliefs. They claimed such beliefs to be the true understanding of the Quroan and often regarded the views of the other schools of Quranic interpretation as false. Such an attitude created confusion and disunity among Muslims and contributed to their deterioration. Ibn Taymiyya therefore rigorously opposes them, even sometimes charging them with unbelief, for in his view these ahl albida^c are themselves misled and mislead others.

According to Ibn Taymiyya, the meaning of the Quroan was taught by God to His messenger, and the messenger is the only one who has the best understanding of it; the messenger, later, transmitted the meaning of the Quroan in its entirety to the salaf. Therefore, in trying to understand the Quroan one has to refer to the understanding of the salaf. To Ibn Taymiyya, their tafsīr is sufficient: it needs neither taowīl nor allows the imposition of foreign ideas on the Quroan. That Islamic teachings in general and the meaning of the Quroan in particular have been perfectly and in their entirety transmitted

from the earliest is a conviction fundamental to Ibn Taymiyya's thought. It is only by being aware of this conviction of his that we can understand Ibn Taymiyya's rigorous polemical works as well as his painstaking efforts to restore the *salaf*'s understanding of the Qur³ān.

An important implication of Ibn Taymiyya's belief in the primacy and authority of the salaf's understanding of the Qur³ān is that the salaf for him are the most ideal people after the Prophet. He suggests, for example, that what was handed down by the salaf always can be explained and argues that the differences in their sayings as regards tafsīr do not concern matters of belief ('aqīda'), there are no contradictions in them, and their sayings are far better than those of later generations; in addition their piety is beyond doubt, and it was impossible for them to lie about the Prophet or to fabricate traditions. Ibn Taymiyya even suggests that their opinion cannot be separated from the opinion of the Prophet, because the Prophet was their teacher, and / or their opinions derive from an understanding of the Prophet's Sunna. Nor does he entertain the possibility that the salaf as readers or interpreters of the text (the Qur³ān) could have been conditioned by their historical circumstances or social political biases, particularly because of the oral transmission of materials.

Another implication of seeing the salaf as the most ideal people after the Prophet is that the injunction of the Quroan to think and ponder over the scripture is limited by Ibn Taymiyya to the first hearers or first audience of the revelation. Such Quroanic verses as: "Do they not ponder the Quroan?" 2 or "We have sent it down as an Arabic Quroan; haply

¹ For a critical discussion of *naql* in *tafsīr*, see Amīn al-Khūlī, *Manāhij al-Tajdīd* fī al-Nahw wa al-Balāgha wa al-Tafsīr wa al-Adab (Cairo: Dār al-Ma^crifa, 1961), 296-7.

² Our³ān, IV: 82

you will think" ³ are understood as an injunction to the people of the time of revelation; for the later Muslims it will suffice to follow and clarify what those early people said. ⁴ In fact, the use of reason independently of the salaf is forbidden to them. In addition, he ignores the fact that there are several sayings of the Prophet and those of salaf urging the believers to think or to have recourse to ta²wil. For example, he does not discuss the tradition: "The Qur³ān has an outer (zahr) and an inner (baṭn) meaning", or "No one speaks to the people except according to the level of (their) intellectual capacity", and so forth. ⁵ So, just as Ibn Taymiyya's opponents ignore his favorite traditions, he too chooses the traditions which confirm his own opinion; and if the supporters of ta³wil de-emphasize what has been transmitted from the early Muslims, the supporters of tafsīr bi al-ma²thūr (Ibn Taymiyya being one of the most prominent among them) idealize the transmission of Qur³anic meaning from the early Muslim generations.

Furthermore, Ibn Taymiyya's orientation to the salaf causes him not to show any willingness to make a distinction in the meaning of the Qur³ān between the ideal and the historical or the ideal and the real.⁶ In fact, he is not interested in discussing the levels of meaning of the Qur³ān, the outer and the inner, as the şūfis and philosophers of his time did. On the one hand, Ibn Taymiyya's principles of tafsīr avoid dividing the community of Qur³ān interpreters into the elite (khawāṣṣ) and the masses ('awāmm'), for all Muslims

³ Qur³ān, XII: 2

⁴ Ibn Taymiyya, *Muqaddima fī Uşūl al-Tafsīr* (Kuwait: Dār al-Qur³ān al-Karīm, 1971), 35-8.

⁵ Al-Ghazālī, Iḥyā² 'Ulūm al-Dīn', Vol. 1 (Damascus: Dār al-Khayr, 1990),130-1.

⁶ See, for example, the levels of the meanings of the Qur³ān discussed by Ismā^cīl Rājī al-Fārūqī, "Towards a New Methodology for Qur³anic Exegesis", *Islamic Studies*, Vol. 1 (March 1962), 35-52.

have the same access to an understanding of the Qur³ān. But, on the other hand, his salaf -oriented principles of tafsīr lack an awareness of the need to take account of social change, for the sufficiency of the salaf 's understanding of the Qur³ān as a model for an ever-changing world is arguable at best.

The idealization of the salaf and its various implications follow from Ibn Taymiyya's fundamental belief in the perfect transmission of Qur'anic understanding and of Islamic teachings in general from the time of the Prophet, the Companions and their Followers onwards. As a thinker with an astonishing mastery of tradition, Ibn Taymiyya criticizes what he considers distortions by later Muslim generations. His salafī outlook sometimes also leads him to opinions which go beyond the established legal schools.

Interestingly, Ibn Taymiyya's salafī orientation makes him a unique thinker whose intellectual legacy has contributed enormously to shaping almost all later development of Islamic thought. The traditionalists can claim him as among their precursors because he is a faithful follower of traditional religious authorities -- the Quran, the Sunna, the Companions and the Followers -- and does not go beyond the opinions of his predecessors. The modernists too can regard him as an inspiration for Ibn Taymiyya urges ijtihād, opposes taqlīd and develops a dynamic understanding of Islam. The same

⁷ See, for instance, Muḥammad Khalīl Harās, *Ibn Taymiyya al-Salafī* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-Ilmiyya, 1984).

 $^{^8}$ It may seem paradoxical that, on the one hand, Ibn Taymiyya is a salafī thinker, and on the other, a reformer; but there is no contradiction here at all. For when he emphasizes $ijtih\bar{a}d$ and opposes $taql\bar{i}d$, the purpose is not to form an opinion independently of the salaf but in accordance with their teachings.

According to Ignaz Goldziher, Muḥammad Rashīd Ridā was inspired by writings of Ibn Taymiyya and Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya. See "Ibn Taymīya", Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, Ed. James Hastings et al., VII, 1955, 72. The same is true of Muḥammad 'Abduh who held the works of Ibn Taymiyya in high esteem. See H.A.R. Gibb and J.H. Kramers, "Ibn Taymīya", Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam, 1961, 152. Also,

is true of the fundamentalists: they also can claim him as their model, for Ibn Taymiyya was an activist theologian who strove to restore Islam, in the crisis of the time, and remained undaunted by opposition and imprisonment. 9

A simple way to characterize Ibn Taymiyya is as a salafī -reformer: one who sought to purify Islam from bidca, reformulate Islamic doctrines and rebuild Muslim society on the basis of the salaf's legacy. His principles of Quranic interpretation are a fundamental part of his agenda for the purification of Islam.

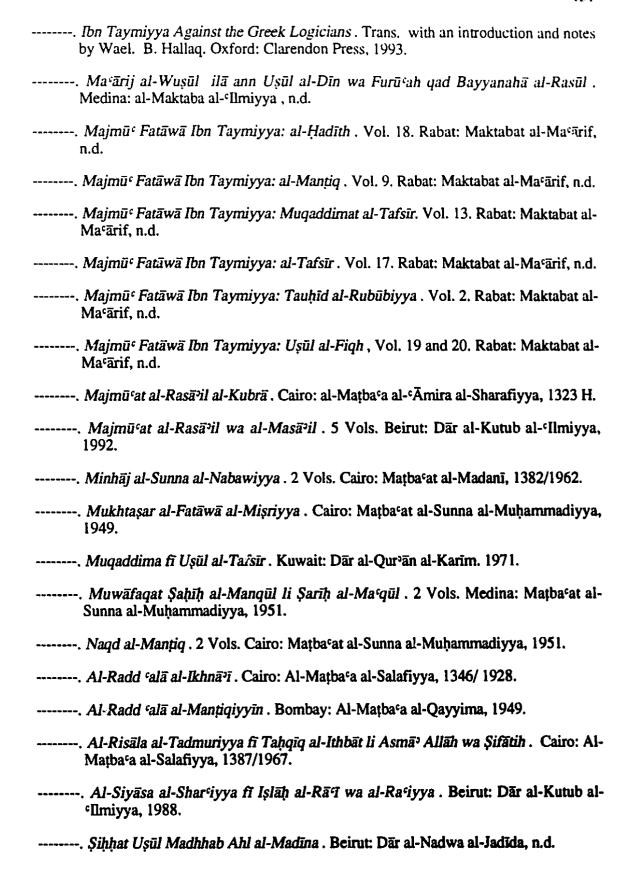
Gibb's Modern Trends in Islam (Beirut: Librairie du Liban, 1975), 34-5. For a more elaborate discussion, see Victor E. Makari, Ibn Taymiyyah's Ethics: the Social Factor (Chico-California, 1983), 177-94.

⁹ Most modern political writers are of the opinion that contemporary Sunnite Islamic fundamentalism is rooted in Ibn Taymiyya's thought. See, for example, R. Hrair Dekmejian, Islam in Revolution (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1985), 39-40 and 99. Emmanuel Sivan and Menachem Friedman, Religious Radicalism and Politics in Middle East (New York: State University of New York Press, 1990), 3-4 and 49; Dilip Hiro, Holy Wars: the Rise of Islamic Fundamentalism (New York: Routledge, 1989), 40-1; John Esposito, Islamic Threat: Myth or Reality? (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 152.

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