Insult, Fury, and Frustration: The Martyrological Narrative of Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah’s Al-Kāfiyah al-Shāfiyah

Introduction

A student of Islamic theology is bound to find ample evidence of the heated theological disputes that occurred as early as the seventh century in various literary genres. Theological manuals and treatises, Quran and Hadith exegeses, heresiographical compendia, chronicles, and biographies: all of these provide material on theological controversies. Poetry, on the other hand, has rarely been considered a possible source of information on theological disputes, though those disputes also generated poems. For example, in the famous closing line of his reproachful poem against the Muʿtazilī theologian al-Naẓẓām (d. ca. 230/845), the illustrious poet Abū Nuwās (d. between 198/813 and 200/815) rejects the Muʿtazilī doctrine of al-manzilah bayna al-manzilatayn (a definition of the status of the Muslim grave sinner).¹

Theological controversies are often façades behind which political struggles over hegemony occur. We learn this from the very first fitan in Islamic history, which led to the appearance of sectarian groups such as the Khawārij. Further examples occur throughout the history of the development of Islamic thought. Scholars passionately arguing over theological issues such as the nature of the Quran, the definitions of the divine attributes, or the existence of free will were actually the representatives of political trends and positions. There is no doubt that great thinkers developed their thought from simple intellectual curiosity and genuine desire to seek the truth. However, when a theological concept is summarized in a basic formula or slogan and spreads to the wider population of scholars and even laymen, the concept becomes a cliché on the one hand, and a political idea on the other. The process of simplifying a theological concept can lead to harassment and even physical violence directed at scholars. In al-Maʿmūn’s (d. 218/833) infamous inquisition (miḥnah), the Abbasid government used a theological debate over the concept of the “createdness” of the Quran as a tool to impose its authority on the traditionalists. The repercussions of the miḥnah, namely the aggressive and often violent implementation of the formula al-Qurʾān ghayr makhlaq by Hanbali traditionalists, or the attack of the Hanbali mob on the Quran...
exegete and historian Abū Jaʿfar al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923), are further examples. The pretext for the attack on al-Ṭabarī was his supposedly figurative interpretation of one of the so-called anthropomorphic verses in the Quran. Internal politics was more likely the reason for that severe attack.²

Another example of the relationship between theology and politics is the series of Damascene and Cairene trials to which the renowned scholar Taqī al-Dīn Ahmad ibn Taymiyyah (d. 728/1328) was subjected, between 705/1306 and 707/1307. In Hanbali sources, these trials are referred to as ordeals, miḥan. The basis of these trials was theological, because they involved Ibn Taymiyyah’s hermeneutical approach toward the divine attributes and the anthropomorphic expressions in the Quran and the Hadith. The sources, however, reveal that personal and political rivalries were behind Ibn Taymiyyah’s trials. The struggle for power is clearly reflected in the reports on the trials. Theology was discussed in the trials, of course, but the subtext was the alternative to the religious establishment which Ibn Taymiyyah offered to the masses of his time.³

Ibn Taymiyyah’s trials were formative events for his disciples and followers (the Taymīyan circle). The theological issues of anthropomorphism (tashbīh) and the divine attributes (ṣifāt Allāh) were indeed issues of contention, if not the major ones, between the Taymīyan circle and the religious establishment whose members followed the guidelines of Ashʿarī kalām. Ibn Taymiyyah rejected the allegorical interpretation (taʾwīl) of the anthropomorphic verses, which the Ashʿarīs practiced with enthusiasm and self-conviction. Refuting this method and tagging it as foreign to the proper Islamic way of thinking, Ibn Taymiyyah promoted a subtle and nuanced reading of the anthropomorphic expressions, a reading which his rivals perceived as merely literal.⁴ Tashbīh, or rather the accusation of tashbīh lev-


⁴ On Ibn Taymiyyah’s nuanced reading of the anthropomorphic expressions, see: Jackson, “Ibn Taymiyyah on Trial in Damascus”; Yasir Qadhi, “The ‘Unleashed Thunderbolts’ of Ibn Qayyim
eled by the Ashʿarīs against Ibn Taymīyah, ignited the anger of Ibn Taymīyah’s followers and fueled their writings. One such work, written as a response to the trials and the theological controversy that accompanied them, is Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah’s (d. 750/1350) Al-Kāfiyah al-Shāfiyah fi al-Intiṣār lil-Firqah al-Nājiyah (Th sufficient and healing [poem] on the vindication of the saved sect, henceforth Al-Kāfiyah al-Shāfiyah), also known as Al-Qaṣīdah al-Nūniyah.⁵

Al-Kāfiyah al-Shāfiyah was considered for years a versified creed reflecting the Taymīyan theological doctrines. However, by contextualizing previously neglected parts of Al-Kāfiyah al-Shāfiyah, I proved in a recent article that this work is actually a political treatise, in direct response to the accusations raised against Ibn Taymīyah by the Ashʿarī ulama of his times. These accusations particularly addressed Ibn Taymīyah’s readings of the anthropomorphic texts in the Quran and the Hadith.⁶ In the current article, however, I will focus on the means Ibn al-Qayyim used in order to convey his position regarding the dispute between al-Gawziyyah: An Introductory Essay,” in A Scholar in the Shadow: Essays in the Legal and Theological Thought of Ibn Qayyim al-Gawziyyah, ed. Caterina Bori and Livnat Holtzman, Oriente Moderno 90, no. 1 (2010): 135–49; Abdessamad Belhaj, “Ibn Qayyim al-Gawziyyah et sa contribution à la rhétorique arabe” in A Scholar in the Shadow, 151–60; Livnat Holtzman, “Does God Really Laugh? Appropriate and Inappropriate Descriptions of God in Islamic Traditionalist Theology,” in Laughter in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Times, ed. Albrecht Classen (Berlin, 2010), 165–200.


Ibn Taymiyyah and the Ashʿarīs. Why did Ibn al-Qayyim choose the sophisticated vehicle of poetic expression in order to discuss the complex issue of anthropomorphism and divine attributes, when he could have more easily discussed these topics in prose? The answer lies both in the role poetry played in Ibn al-Qayyim’s times, and in the text of Al-Kāfiyyah al-Shāfiyyah itself. Therefore, this study first considers Ibn al-Qayyim’s choice of poetry as the appropriate means to convey his viewpoint on the dispute between Ibn Taymiyyah and the Ashʿarīs, then presents the structure and content of Al-Kāfiyyah al-Shāfiyyah and analyzes its various parts. Through this approach, I assess the need that this poem satisfied, both for Ibn al-Qayyim and for his audience; I identify the emotional components of the poem; and, finally, I define the message Al-Kāfiyyah al-Shāfiyyah conveyed to the Taymiyyan circle of students, scholars, and laymen.

The Poetry of the Ulama

Although Al-Kāfiyyah al-Shāfiyyah, a magnificent poem of six thousand verses, is unique in its volume and ambitious agenda, the work is also a typical literary product of the Mamluk period. This challenging poem aims at surveying the views of every prominent trend and scholar in Islamic thought, polemicizing political rivals, and unfolding the Taymiyyan agenda on the divine attributes. Al-Kāfiyyah al-Shāfiyyah cannot be properly evaluated without understanding the circumstances in which it appeared. I am not referring here to the historical background of Ibn Taymiyyah’s disputes with the Ashʿarīs and the events leading to his trials; rather, I am referring to the intense literary activity in Damascus and Cairo. In my opinion, this activity provides a better and more satisfactory explanation for the appearance of Al-Kāfiyyah al-Shāfiyyah than any historical event, notwithstanding the importance of the historical context. The observations of Thomas Bauer, Everett K. Rowson, Salma Jayyusi, and Robert Irwin are fundamental for the reconstruction of the literary activity, and especially poetry, in the period. Ibn al-Qayyim’s poem, as we will see, fits with these scholars’ findings.

Though rich and diverse, Mamluk literature has largely failed to attract the attention of Western scholars. In his groundbreaking “Mamluk Literature: Misunderstandings and New Approaches,” Thomas Bauer discusses Western research’s dismissive view of this literature, a view whose origins go back to the nineteenth century. In a nutshell, Western researchers recognized the earlier greatness and glory of Arabic literature in “classical times,” while describing Arabic literature of the post-Seljuk period as decadent, stagnant, imitative, worthless, and irrelevant.

Jawziyya’s Al-Kāfiya al-Shāfiya,” The New East: Journal of the Middle East and Islamic Studies (Ha-Mizrach Ha-Chadash) 53 (May 2014).
Bauer emphasizes that the fault was not in the literary texts themselves, but in the prejudiced ideology of Western scholars.7

Of course, the lack of appreciation for the literary products of Mamluk times began in Mamluk times, when literary critics dismissed their contemporaries’ poetic output as inferior and decadent.8 However, Bauer’s criticism of Western scholars is supported by the articles of Rowson, Irwin, and Jayyusi, who express a certain feeling of disappointment in literary work of the Mamluk period. Rowson, for instance, comparing Arabic literature of the Mamluk period with Greek literature of the Alexandrian Age, observes, “Authors worked under the burden of a rich canon of classical texts, which they revered, and which they diligently collected, classified, commented, criticized, and epitomized. By comparison, their own literary efforts, while certainly copious, have been seen as derivative, lifeless, and smelling altogether too much of the lamp.”9 Similarly, Jayyusi accepts the precept that “the post-classical” age of Arabic poetry was one of decline. She judges that poetry in this period began “to lose its former zest and spirit.”10 Robert Irwin refers to the feeling of literary antiquarianism that dominated Mamluk literature, and in particular the poetry written in the “post-classical periods.” When a belletrist or poet of the Mamluk period wrote about courting beautiful slave girls or the pleasure of drinking wine in the morning, he was merely reproducing themes from Abbasid literature and not reflecting his own experience.11 This lack of originality, says Irwin, as well as the artful and taxing devices of Mamluk-period works, are the reasons that “[t]hese sorts of productions have not survived well compared to the work of older poets.”12 Whether the poetry of the Mamluk period is decadent and inferior is a question that will not be resolved here. I will


12 Ibid., 13.
merely point out that, in spite of the fact that Bauer, on the one hand, and Rowson, Irwin, and Jayyusi on the other, stand for two opposing positions, they all agree that it was an extremely fertile era in terms of literary activity.

The Mamluk period was characterized by three major features. First, the number of literary works produced was overwhelming. Second, most of these works compiled, interpreted, and classified previous material. Third, the participation of the ulama in the literary sphere was conspicuous compared to previous periods in Arabic literary history. These new “religious poets” composed poems on topics relevant to their everyday occupations and social connections. Bauer mentions, among others, the rhymed fatāwā of ulama-poets. We may add theological treatises in verse as one of the religiously inclined genres of poetry that appeared in the Mamluk period.

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There were, however, exceptional works like Al-Kāfiyah al-Shāfiyah, which the biographers define as a ḡasīdah.

Ibn al-Qayyim’s literary activity in general, and the composition of Al-Kāfiyah al-Shāfiyah in particular, fit exactly into this picture of Mamluk literature. As a poem on theology, Al-Kāfiyah al-Shāfiyah is a perfect example of what Thomas Bauer calls “the ulamaization of adab,” because it describes new topics of interest to the ulama. Ibn al-Qayyim, as a poet, represents the process which Bauer names “the adabization of the ulama.” Ibn al-Qayyim’s training as a poet is a mystery. Since the biographers remain silent about this, we must deduce what we can from his literary works. He was obviously well read in poetry. A systematic
scrutiny of the entire bulk of Ibn al-Qayyim’s oeuvre reveals the extensive range of poetry with which he was familiar. Citing poems is a conspicuous trait of Ibn al-Qayyim’s writing, and his Rawdat al-Muḥibbin is particularly abundant in poetry, some of which was penned by Ibn al-Qayyim himself.¹⁹

Ibn al-Qayyim was a copious and diligent writer. Modern scholarship, both Western and Arab, seems preoccupied with discussions of his “originality” versus his “reliance” on Ibn Taymīyah’s works. These discussions, as a recent article demonstrates, are futile because the biographical data, not to mention the dozens of remarks scattered in his works, acknowledge Ibn al-Qayyim’s debt to his master, while his own work proves that Ibn al-Qayyim pursued areas of interest alien to Ibn Taymīyah.²⁰ As textual evidence from his literary oeuvre and several biographical works show, Ibn al-Qayyim’s literary output was a mixture of originality and imitation. Again, Al-Kāfiyah al-Shāfiyah is a perfect example of this: although Ibn al-Qayyim perceived the poem as a mere abridgement of Ibn Taymīyah’s theological works,²¹ the variety of theological topics it covered was unprecedented.²² Ibn al-Qayyim may have been inspired by the doctrinal Al-Qaṣīdah al-Nūnīyah (a poem in the kāmil meter dealing with the divine attributes and anthropomorphism) of the marginal Andalusī scholar ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muhammad al-Qaḥṭānī (d. 383/993), but Ibn al-Qayyim’s Al-Kāfiyah al-Shāfiyah is grander and much more elaborate than al-Qaḥṭānī’s poem.²³

Nevertheless, Ibn al-Qayyim’s admirable literary activity was typical of scholars of his times. Most of his works are voluminous monographs heavily relying on the works of previous generations, classifying them, and commenting on

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²² Bakr Abū Zayd includes Al-Kāfiyah al-Shāfiyah in a group of didactic poems which he defines as “doctrinal poems corresponding with the thought of the Salaf,” Al-Kāfiyah al-Shāfiyah BAZ, 1:145.

²³ Ibn al-Qayyim inserted two verses by al-Qaḥṭānī in Al-Kāfiyah al-Shāfiyah. In Al-Kāfiyah, Ibn al-Qayyim says: “A [scholar] who, without any fear, uttered truthful things composed such a poem, [in which he said] / that what is written in the Qurānic codex by the hands of old and young scholars / is the word of God, its verses and letters. However, the ink and the fine parchment [of the Qurān] are created.” Al-Kāfiyah al-Shāfiyah, 1996, 82, verses 769–71. These verses were identified by Muhammad ibn Ahmad Sayyid Ahmad as verses by al-Qaḥṭānī. Kifāyat al-Insān min al-Qaṣāid al-Ghurār al-Ḥisān, ed. Muhammad ibn Ahmad Sayyid Ahmad (Riyadh, 1409/1989), 65. See also Al-Kāfiyah al-Shāfiyah BAZ, 2:236–37, n. 769.
them. One of the several factors that make his writings attractive is his ability to produce a monograph from material scattered in many sources, thus creating definitive reference books which remain unique to the present time. Monographs such as Kitāb al-Rūḥ (the most comprehensive philosophical monograph in Arabic on the human spirit), Aḥkām Ahl al-Dhimmah (a compendium of Islamic laws regarding non-Muslims), Shifāʿ al-ʿAlīl (a definitive work on predetermination and free will), Rawḍat al-Muḥibbīn (a large-scale treatise on love), and Madārij al-Sālikīn (a commentary on an important Sufi manual) have been recognized by scholars as exceptional in their scope. In sum, the diversity of topics Ibn al-Qayyim covers, his ability to make his ideas accessible and coherent, his reliance on other sources—all these factors make Ibn al-Qayyim an excellent representative of scholarly activity in the Mamluk period.

This is the framework in which Ibn al-Qayyim’s Al-Kāfiyah al-Shāfiyah should be read and evaluated. It is first and foremost an attempt to gather, enumerate, classify, and explain all the known opinions of Muslim scholars on the issue of the divine attributes and the anthropomorphic expressions in the Quran and the Hadith. This is the backbone of the work, from which other theological issues emerge. Ibn al-Qayyim’s choice of poetry as the literary vehicle for theology can be explained by the place of poetry within the ranks of the scholarly religious elite of his times. The prestige of poetry—a genre highly regarded in scholarly circles in Ibn al-Qayyim’s time and in earlier periods—and the admiration that a good poem earned for its composer were enough to encourage a capable scholar to make the effort. In addition, there are didactic benefits to poetry; a poem circulates better than a work in prose because one can more easily learn it by heart. This assumption is corroborated by the fact that Ibn al-Qayyim’s Al-Ṣawāʿiq al-Mursalah ʿalā al-Jahmīyah wa-al-Muʾṭṭilah, a work (in prose) which preceded Al-Kāfiyah al-Shāfiyah, addresses almost the same topics as Al-Kāfiyah al-Shāfiyah. In other words, dedicating a large-scale monograph in prose to the divine attributes and the polemic with the Ashʿarīs did not prevent Ibn al-Qayyim from com-


posing a poem on the same issue. This suggests that there was another, more profound reason to write *Al-Kāfiyah al-Shāfiyah* than the mere wish to gain the admiration of his fellow ulama, or the desire to provide students with mnemonic devices. This reason can be found in the content of the poem.

At its core, *Al-Kāfiyah al-Shāfiyah* is an attack on the religious establishment of the time, fueled by the traumatic events of Ibn Taymiyah’s trials and his death while imprisoned in the citadel of Damascus. However, *Al-Kāfiyah al-Shāfiyah* also draws from Ibn al-Qayyim’s personal experience. Ibn al-Qayyim met Ibn Taymiyah in 713/1313 upon Ibn Taymiyah’s return to Damascus after his long imprisonment in Cairo. As a faithful disciple, Ibn al-Qayyim was very much involved in his master’s polemics and confrontations with the Damascene ulama. The circumstances that led to Ibn al-Qayyim’s own imprisonment in the citadel of Damascus for two years (between 726/1326 and 728/1328) are a bit vague. Both historians of the Mamluk period and contemporary researchers connected Ibn al-Qayyim’s imprisonment to that of Ibn Taymiyah. A recent study, however, suggests—that on the basis of a close reading of the historian al-Jazari’s (d. 739/1338) account of the events—that both Ibn Taymiyah and Ibn al-Qayyim were imprisoned for Ibn al-Qayyim’s provocative behavior in Jerusalem, where he preached against the visitation of holy graves, including that of the Prophet Muhammad. In other words, Ibn Taymiyah’s last imprisonment was perhaps caused by Ibn al-Qayyim, and not vice versa.

*Al-Kāfiyah al-Shāfiyah* was composed, at an unknown date, against the backdrop of these events that obviously combined theology and politics. We may assume that poetry is a much safer vehicle than prose for an author who wishes to address highly sensitive political issues. The restrictions and conventions of a *qaṣīdah* enable a scholar to juggle between things bluntly stated and things subtly suggested. Indeed, attacks on rivals and the use of foul language are acceptable in a *qaṣīdah* but not welcomed or tolerated in prose. Moreover, it is more dangerous to attack one’s rivals in prose because prose is more comprehensible and accessible, whereas poems are typically more difficult to decipher. Thus, focusing on the poetic devices Ibn al-Qayyim uses in *Al-Kāfiyah al-Shāfiyah*, rather than on his theological doctrines and formulas, is probably the best way to appreciate his

efforts to address an explosive political issue in the guise of a rhymed theological treatise.

**The Narrative Line and Structure of *Al-Kāfiyah al-Shāfiyah***

In his 1976 study on Ibn al-Qayyim, Aḥmad al-Baqrī states that Ibn al-Qayyim “was able to pronounce whatever he wished either in prose or poetry.” Al-Baqrī adds: “Ibn al-Qayyim uttered an idea in poetry whenever this idea was related to human emotions. This way, the connection between the content [of his poem] to the eternal [human] emotions was bound to draw the reader to read the poem again and again.” In other words, Ibn al-Qayyim wrote poetry in order to invoke in his readers or listeners sentiments that would make them more contemplative and attentive to the religious message. Al-Baqrī’s observation is based on verses scattered in Ibn al-Qayyim’s other works; however, what he says applies also to *Al-Kāfiyah al-Shāfiyah*. Although al-Baqrī sees *Al-Kāfiyah al-Shāfiyah* merely as a poem dealing with theology, a close reading detects literary devices that were meant to invoke a wide range of emotions in its audience. This so-called theological work actually provides its audience with plenty of opportunities to feel melancholic, empathic, furious, frustrated, and so on. In this respect, *Al-Kāfiyah al-Shāfiyah* is like any other poem, which first and foremost attempts to provide for the emotional needs of its composer and audience.

Ibn al-Qayyim composed *Al-Kāfiyah al-Shāfiyah* with careful consideration of the conventions of elite poetry. The poem was written in the catalectic form of the *kāmil* trimeter, which is defined by the omission of the last syllable of the second hemistich (*mutafāʿilun-mutafāʿilun-mutafāʿilun// mutafāʿilun-mutafāʿilun-faʿilātun*). Also, the same rhyme is maintained throughout the nearly six thousand verses of *Al-Kāfiyah al-Shāfiyah*: the rhyme is loose (*qāfiyah muṭlaqah*); it is accompanied by a *ridf*, that is, the letter of prolongation *alif* precedes the rhyming letter *nūn* (hence the title *Al-Qaṣīdah al-Nūnīyah*); and the rhyme is *mutawātir*, that is, it contains one moving letter which intervenes between two quiescents (for example,
burhāni, which is read burhānī, or wa’l-qurʾānī, which is read wa’l-qurʾānī, etc.35 These features, although providing sufficient credentials of Ibn al-Qayyim’s linguistic skills, are just one (technical) aspect of Al-Kāfiyah al-Shāfiyah. The other, more important, aspect relates to the structure of the poem.

A classical qaṣīdah (as opposed to mere versification, naẓm) usually consists of three sections: the first is an amatory prelude (nasīb), in which the narrator addresses his beloved, laments her departure, or recalls the flirtations of his youth. A transitory verse, which changes the subject and the atmosphere (takhallus), leads to the second part of the qaṣīdah, the raḥīl. In this part, the narrator describes the dangers of his journey and boasts of his bravery. The third part of the qaṣīdah is the qaṣd or gharad. This is the core of the poem, because this part details the subject which motivated the narrator to recite his poem in the first place. It can describe the narrator’s arrival at a destination after a long journey. It can also be a panegyric (madḥ), a lampoon (hijāʾ), self-glorification (fakhr), or elegy (rithāʾ), or a mixture of several themes. At any rate, it is the peak of the poem.36 Al-Kāfiyah al-Shāfiyah contains all three parts of the conventional qaṣīdah, but its unusual length makes it difficult to identify the demarcations between them. Further, Al-Kāfiyah al-Shāfiyah is also divided into 193 thematic parts (faṣl, pl. fuṣūl). This external, obvious partition of the poem—made for didactic purposes—also disguises the inner, hidden partition of the poem into the three conventional parts of a qaṣīdah. However, the content of Al-Kāfiyah al-Shāfiyah actually testifies to its tripartite structure. It is noteworthy that the narrator in Al-Kāfiyah al-Shāfiyah, who represents Ibn Taymiyah’s views, addresses a sympathetic audience, which he refers to as Ahl al-Sunnah, Ahl al-Ḥadīth, or Ahl al-Ithbāt (people of the Sunnah, Hadith, or those who affirm God’s attributes). This traditionalistic audience represents the Taymiyan circle in its broader sense; that is, Ibn Taymiyah’s supporters among scholars and laymen.37

The following section describes the three-part structure of Al-Kāfiyah al-Shāfiyah: (a) nasīb, (b) raḥīl, and (c) qaṣd.

35 For the relevant definitions of the rhymes, see Wright, A Grammar, 2:350–55, and al-Tibrizī, Al-Kāfī, 146–56.


37 On Ahl al-Ithbāt in Al-Kāfiyah al-Shāfiyah, see my “Accused of Anthropomorphism.”
(a) The Nasīb: Easily identified, the shortest part of Al-Kāfiyah al-Shāfiyah looks like a typical amatory prelude.38 Th nasib in Al-Kāfiyah al-Shāfiyah is abundant in motifs from classical poetry, which are meant to arouse a feeling of nostalgia and sweet melancholy in the audience: the distance between the lovers, the yearning, the bird cooing and lamenting, the slanderers—both men and women—who try to separate the lovers, and the nocturnal visitation of a female phantasm to the jailhouse.39 The various terms that Ibn al-Qayyim uses here, for instance love (maḥabbah, verses 1, 10), passion (hawá), passionate love (gharām, verse 11), the reunion of lovers (waṣl, verse 3), and the suffering lover (wālih, verse 13), originated from classical poetry. Ibn al-Qayyim, who meticulously collected and studied the vocabulary of love in his great work Rawdat al-Muḥibbīn, demonstrates here his deep familiarity with love poetry.40 However, Ibn al-Qayyim’s nasib is neither erotic nor profane.41 Depicting three consecutive scenes, the nasib actually deals with human love for God (maḥabbah). When read as an allegory, the theological nature of the nasib becomes apparent, while the typical nasib motifs turn out to be mere adornments. The possibilities hidden in the nasib section of Al-Kāfiyah al-Shāfiyah were not detected before, and so the reading suggested here is my own interpretation of the text.

Th nasib presents three scenes. The first scene (verses 1–12) is that of a courthouse: the narrator is put on trial because of his love for God, a love from which he cannot be averted. The slanderers (characters who often appear in the nasib parts of classical poems) try to separate the narrator and his love, but they fail. In the trial, the slanderers claim that love (maḥabbah) and aversion from love (ṣudūd) are the same. This sophistic yet absurd argumentation which they bring forth is not valid, as the narrator proves (verse 12). The judge indeed rules that the slan-

38 The nasib part (verses 1–39, Al-Kāfiyah al-Shāfiyah, 1996, 31–33) was identified as such by Ibn ʿĪsá (Tawḍīḥ al-Maqāṣid, 1:83), Harrās (Sharḥ al-Qaṣīdah al-Nūnīyah, 1:25), and Abū Zayd (Al-Kāfiyah al-Shāfiyah BAZ, 1:13).


41 This is the observation of the three commentators on Al-Kāfiyah al-Shāfiyah, who are anxious to defend the didactic and theological nature of the poem. Tawḍīḥ al-Maqāṣid, 1:38; Sharḥ al-Qaṣīdah al-Nūnīyah, 1:25; Al-Kāfiyah al-Shāfiyah BAZ, 1:13; 2:49, n. 1.
derers’ case is invalid, and that the break-up between the lovers (the narrator and God) is wrong.  

1. The sentence of love has fixed and unshaken pillars. Aversion from love cannot abolish love.  
2. How is it possible to abolish love, when the Judge of goodness ruled for it, and the two rivals agreed on the veracity of his ruling?  
3. The witnesses came, testifying that this reunion of lovers was indeed genuine, and that it materialized in the place where charity resides.  
4. Thus the powerful sentence of love was confirmed. Even the slanderers could not break this bond of love.  
5. This is why the rebukers’ opinion was nullified, its pillars collapsed.  
6. The slanderers suddenly realized that their opinion was absolutely nullified.  
7. They realized that their opinion was not in its place, and that it did not fulfill the required conditions [of logical argumentation]. Therefore, their opinion became null.  
8. As a result, the Judge of goodness sealed the court-record, stating that it was wrong to give a verdict of solace and separation from love.  
9. The judge then explained to you the absurdity of this sentence and its reversal. So, lend me your ears, you who have ears!  
10. The slanderers gave their sentence without having a clear proof. They stated that love and aversion from love were the same.  
11. But this sentence is unjust. How can you compare passionate love to aversion from love? They are opposites!  
12. How different are these two states! You may claim as much as you want that they co-exist, but the fact is that two opposites never co-exist.

In the second scene (verses 13–19), the narrator speaks to himself, as his monologue reflects his inner doubts. He is persuaded by the slanderers’ views, and is

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43 This sentence is unjust. How can you compare passionate love to aversion from love? They are opposites!
nearly tempted to break his bond of love to God, and exchange it with a position of turning away from this love. His soul feels that this move is wrong, but he ignores his soul (here depicted as a bird), condemning her to a miserable life, deprived of goodness and truth. In a sophisticated reversal of roles, the narrator rebukes himself for being tempted to leave God, whereas in the previous part the slanderers rebuked him for his genuine and true love for God.  

13 Oh you miserable lover! A lover who attaches no importance whatsoever to his soul, because he sells it out of sheer stupidity.  
14 Are you selling the one thing that your soul desires, and replacing it with aversion from love, chastisement, and separation?  
15 Don’t you know the attributes and the true value of what you sell? Are you such a fool as to not know what is valuable?  
16 Woe betide a heart, whose bird does not want to desert the branches of a tree planted in the sand dune.  
17 This bird keeps on cooing in the tree, but someone else—not she—gets the fruits of the tree, which are actually close to her.  
18 The bird keeps on crying, while the lover who wisely keeps his connection [to God] laughs. The bird complains all the time, while the lover is grateful.  
19 But still, if pure beauty was fastened to the stars, this poor bird would aspire to fly there.  

The third scene (verses 20–39) takes place in the jailhouse. Here, the suffering narrator is visited at night by a female phantasm. Starting her nocturnal journey in Syria, the female visitor passes through prominent places along the pilgrimage route to Mecca, but she does not stop. She hurries to her destination, which is where the suffering prisoner—the narrator—resides. He is aware that the visitation is but a dream or a vision. The narrator listens attentively to his visitor’s words, which bring him joy, and refute whatever he perceived as sheer truth in the past. The narrator, who twice reversed his doctrinal position, is obviously fascinated by the visitor’s words; however, being suspicious and ill-fated, he threatens her by quoting a well-known verse: he says that if she lies to him, then she

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47 Chastisement and separation (taḍhib wa-hijrān) are briefly mentioned in Madārij al-Sālikīn as a condemned Sufi approach. Ibn al-Qayyim quotes there two verses by Anonymous (a fool, according to Ibn al-Qayyim), who states: “Being chastised and being separated for me is better than being in the best relationship, because when we are in a relationship we are slaves to our fate, and when we are alone we are slaves of the Lord.” Ibn al-Qayyim, Madārij al-Sālikīn, 2:40.
will be considered a liar. Verse 40, which is a continuance of the narrator’s words, is a *takhallus*, an elegant transition to the next part of the poem.  

20 And what a beautiful visitor came at night! She feared neither the spies of the amir nor the watchful eyes of the jailers.
21 She crossed the Land of Syria, heading towards Medina, the place from which faith had arisen.
22 She went to Wādī al-ʿAqiq, and she crossed this meeting point not as a pilgrim in a state of ritual consecration, but freely, without anyone being able to stop her.
23 Then she went to Wādī al-ʿArāk, without intending or hoping to see me.
24 And she went to ʿArafāt, and then Wādī Muhassir, and Minā, where she offered her sacrifice. And how many sacrifices did she offer!
25 Then she went to Jamarāt—where the stone-throwing ceremony takes place—then she headed to the Kaʿbah, the monument with the covers and pillars.
26 There she made no circumambulation, kissed no black stone, threw no pebbles in the stone-throwing ceremony, and ran between no hills, so she was in no special state of ritual consecration of the two pilgrimages.
27 She went to the top of al-Ṣafā hill, and there she headed off to the house of the agonizing prisoner, who is in love.
28 I wonder whether a guide lent her his clothes, and whether the wind blew under her wings.
29 I swear, if this guide tried to replace her, he would not succeed.
30 If she went that night at the speed of the wind, she would not have made it to Wādī Naʿmān. She would not have reached her destination by night.
31 But she went by herself; her guides were the stars Gemini and not Taurus.
32 She went down to the watering place, to the plentiful wells of tears. She need not go down with the sheep to their watering place.

Instead of a she-camel, she mounted the back of her passion and love. Instead of provisions, she took for her journey the memory of her loved one, and the knowledge that their reunion was near.

She promised that she would visit me, and indeed she kept her promise. Her visit took place when I closed my eyes.

Indeed she took the lover who longed for her by surprise, when she drew the curtains and entered without asking for permission.

She unveiled her beautiful face, and said: “I couldn’t resist seeing you.”

She told me something I thought was true. It was something of which my eyes—a long time ago—deceived me.

I marveled at her words, I was overjoyed! I said eagerly, although I was overtaken by this dream:

“If what you are telling me is a lie, then you will be as guilty as this deceitful liar,

This Jahm ibn Sa’fwan and his lot, who negated the attributes of the Creator, the Benefactor.”

The nasib part of Al-Kāfiyah al-Shāfiyah is closely connected to the entire theme of the poem: it indeed addresses theology, not in a didactic but in a highly artistic fashion. The exterior layer of the nasib elaborates on the doubts in the mind of a suffering prisoner, who sits in his cell after his trial. The prisoner contemplates his trial, in which the struggle between the authentic expression of God-man relations and the detachment between God and man, caused by the use of scholastic and rationalistic arguments, was presented. Taking the external layer of the nasib (a prisoner unjustly tried for his authentic love for God), it is possible to read the nasib part as a poetical depiction of Ibn Taymiyyah’s miḥan. The elements in the nasib seem to fit perfectly into the miḥan narrative: a man is put on trial by people who use sophistic arguments. He is found guilty and sent to a jailhouse that is situated away from Syria. Ibn Taymiyyah’s Damascene trials were indeed concluded by sending Ibn Taymiyyah to Cairo, where he was sentenced and put

50 “If what you are telling me is a lie” (in kunti kādhibata ‘ladhi haddathtini) was identified by Bakr Abū Zayd as a verse by the poet Ḥassān ibn Thābit (death date unknown, sometime between 40/659 and 54/673). Al-Kāfiyah al-Shāfiyah BAZ, 2:58, n. 39. Oddly enough, this verse is taken from the nasib part of Ḥassān ibn Thābit’s poem, a poem whose main goal is to condemn al-Ḥārith ibn Thābit for fleeing from the battlefield in the battle of Badr. For a longer version of the poem, see: Diwān Ḥassān ibn Thābit, ed. ‘Abd A. Muḥannā (Beirut, 1414/1994), 213–15; the verse above is verse 11. For a shorter version, see Ibn Hishām, Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīyah, ed. ‘Umar ‘Abd al-Sālām Tadmuri (Beirut, 1410/1990), 2:356–57, and Hārith’s reply thereafter. For a translation of the Sīrah version of the poem, see: Alfred Guillaume, The Life of Muhammad (repr. Karachi, 2007), 345–46.
in detention in the citadel of Cairo. The only element which does not fit the narrative is the issue for which the narrator is put on trial. Ibn Taymīyah was accused of anthropomorphic readings of the Quran, and the love for God was never discussed in his trials. Still, one can connect the love of God, which the narrator expresses, to the traditionalistic point of view, while the sophistic attempt to rebut this love is the rationalistic point of view. In other words, the trial in the nasīb part presents the Taymiyan traditionalism put on trial by the rationalistic Ashʿarīs.

Another possibility is to read the nasīb as reflecting Ibn al-Qayyim’s own life experience. This reading corresponds with an autobiographical passage in Al-Kāfiyah al-Shāfiyah, in which Ibn al-Qayyim admits his past attraction to Ashʿarī kalām, and expresses his gratitude to Ibn Taymīyah, who rescued him from it. In the nasīb (verses 16–19), the narrator describes his soul as a miserable bird, who is unable to reach the sweet fruit in the top branches of the tree because she sticks to her place in the tree. The same metaphor appears in an autobiographical section in Al-Kāfiyah al-Shāfiyah:

2271 Haven’t you seen this bird, locked in the cage of destruction? Sitting between the branches of the tree, the female-mourners weep for her.
2272 Desperately seeking her salvation, this bird constantly crashes [against the walls of the cage]; the gap between the tree’s branches is rapidly closing on her.
2273 This is the bird’s fault, because she left the best fruits on the top branches of the tree,
2274 And went to seek for food in the dunghill, poking in the garbage and leftovers, eating insects and worms.
2275 By God, people! Listen to the advice of a compassionate brother who wishes to help you.

I have experienced this once, as I, too, was a bird, trapped in a snare.

Reading both passages—in the nasīb and the autobiographical passage—as complementing each another, transfers the reference to the love for God from a...
theological issue to a spiritual issue. In other words, Ibn al-Qayyim describes his inner doubts as a believer, whose love for God is genuine but who is lured to replace this love with the artificial intellectualism of Ashʿarī kalām. Hence, he feels miserable, until he is reminded of the true Islamic message by his night-visitor.

(b) The “Rahil”: The part which follows the nasib in Al-Kāfiyah al-Shāfiyah is not thematically distinctive. The takhallus, the transition towards the main motive of the qaṣīdah, is elegantly constructed by the poet, as part of the narrator’s words to the female visitor to his prison cell.

39 “If what you are telling me is a lie, then you will be as guilty as this deceitful liar,
40 This Jahm ibn Ṣafwān and his lot, who negated the attributes of the Creator, the Benefactor.”
41 They denied Him His heavens; they emptied the throne of the [presence] of the Merciful.
42 They negated the word of the Glorious God. They determined that this word was created.
43 They said: Our Lord does not possess the attributes of hearing and seeing. He has neither face nor hands.  55

In this transitory section, Ibn al-Qayyim heads for the theological dispute. Although he does not start with the Ashʿaris, but with the dubious historical figure of Jahm ibn Ṣafwān (executed in 749),56 Ibn al-Qayyim uses the views of Jahm and his alleged followers as a caricature of the Ashʿari standpoint, which, in his view, denies God’s attributes. Several times in Al-Kāfiyah al-Shāfiyah, Ibn al-Qayyim uses the derogatory name Jahmīyah for Ashʿaris and Muʿtazilīs alike.  57

The so-called rahil section is first and foremost a programmatic speech of the narrator, addressed—at least in the beginning—to the female phantasm. As a didactic section of more than 4800 verses, the rahil deals with many theological issues, most of which revolve around the discussion of the divine attributes.

57 Ibn al-Qayyim describes the Jahmīyah as the proponents of the concept of the created Quran; hence they are the Muʿtazilīs. Al-Kāfiyah al-Shāfiyah, 1996, 71–72 (verses 622–34). In a rather complex section of the poem, Ibn al-Qayyim refers to the Jahmīyah as the deniers of God’s aboveness and His sitting on the throne. However, in this section he seems to be more interested in the views of Ibn al-ʿArabī (d. 638/1240). Al-Kāfiyah al-Shāfiyah, 1996, 99–102 (verses 1045–91). The Jahmīyah are compared to the Jews, who distorted the true meaning of the scriptures by using figurative interpretation. Al-Kāfiyah al-Shāfiyah, 1996, 156–57 (verses 1898–1920).
However, Ibn al-Qayyim’s artistic efforts are also reflected in several sections of the *raḥīl*, especially in the frame story. He presents several armies (symbolizing different Islamic trends, including sects and heresies) arriving at a *majlis taḥkīm*, where an arbitration is about to take place. Each party presents its views—mostly on the matter of the divine attributes. However, the narrator comments on every speech, and his comments evolve into lengthy declarations and refutations (from verse 1045 onward), and so the frame-story is broken into many sections of a polemical nature. Perhaps defining the lion’s share of the poem (verse 40 to verse 4914) as a *raḥīl* is a bit excessive; however, one cannot ignore the abundance of *raḥīl* motifs hidden in this part of the poem. One typical example is the description of a group of Muʿtazilīs and Ashʿarīs arriving at the *majlis taḥkīm*. Their leader’s description of the hardships of his journey could have been taken from any artistic *qaṣīdah*:

351 Another group came along. Their description [of the divine attributes] was similar to the [description of the previous group]; however, they added more things to the scales.

352 [Their leader] said: Listen, O people. Stop amusing yourselves with false notions.

353 I exhausted my she-camel, I have worn out my heart; I made my utmost efforts, and became fatigued.

354 I looked up and down. I looked in front of me, and behind. I looked at my left and then at my right.

355 Nobody directed me to Him, oh, no! Not a soul guided me to Him, except for the Holders of Hadith. [They are people] whose teachings go back to the Qur’an.

356 They said: The One you are looking for is above His worshippers, the sky and every other place. ⁵⁸

**Th** raḥīl also borrows other themes from the huge reservoir of Arabic poetry. For example, Ibn al-Qayyim presents a lecture of good advice (*waṣīyah*), addressed to a student who wishes to embark upon a debate with a tough rationalist rival. In this *waṣīyah*, ancient poems of advice echo.⁵⁹ Th *waṣīyah* is closely connected to the message conveyed by the narrator in the *nasīb*: it warns its eager listeners not to embark on a debate—a battle, as he puts it—without the proper weapons. The debater should hold the Qur’an and the Sunnah in hand, and strike his rival,

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the *Muʿaṭṭil* (a Muʿtazilī or an Ashʿarī, who denies the divine attributes) with “the sword of revelation,” and he should not use the senseless jabber of *kalām*.

The *waṣīyah* section (verses 188–260) is quite long and repetitive. The following verses give the core of the message. Added to them are verses 242–43, in which Ibn al-Qayyim refers to his own life experience.

188 O you—a man who seeks his salvation—come and listen to the advice of an experienced man, who came to your rescue!
189 In all your affairs, make sure that you stick to revelation, and not to the gold-embellished senseless jabber.
190 You should come to the rescue of the Quran and the prophetic traditions, delivered by the Prophet, who was sent to bring them to us.
191 Strike—as a warrior of jihad holding the sword of revelation—the very tip of the fingers of those who deny the divine attributes!
192 Be truthful, determined, and devoted to God when you attack! Do not be a coward!
193 Remain firm and patient under the flags of divine guidance. Know that being hit in battle is the outcome of the Merciful’s will and satisfaction.
194 Take the Quran and the irrefutable Prophetic traditions as your weapon. Cry the cry for battle from the bottom of your brave heart!

[...]

204 Do not fear their great number. They are the flies and insects of humanity. Are you afraid of flies?
205 You can distract them by provoking disputes between them, the way the horseman distracts his horse when he ties a girth around its belly.
206 When they attack you, do not be terrified; do not be a coward.
207 Stay put. Do not attack without your troops. This is not desirable even for the brave man.
208 When you see the troops of Islam arrive with the Sultan,
209 You should enter their ranks; do not stand there all helpless, weak, and afraid.
210 You should take off two pieces of garment, that whoever wears them will be afflicted with disgraceful and humiliating death:

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60 *Al-Kāfiyah al-Shāfiyah*, 1996, 43–44.
The garment of sophisticated ignorance and on top of it, the garment of ardent zeal. What miserable garments are they!  

242 So proceed straight toward your opponents in the battle, not toward the weakest people in the sides. Bravery is when a man fights his equals in battle.

243 Listen to the advice of the experienced man, who has traveled a lot and knows what goes on in people’s minds.  

The various parts of the raḥīl, especially those which draw their scenes from classical Arabic poetry, succeed in expressing intense emotions of enmity and insult. The waṣīyah uses the entire arsenal of military motifs—the battlefield, flags, horses and their equipment, horsemen, surprise attack—to reconstruct the heroic scenes of the celebrated qaṣāʾid of past generations. Even the foul language used to encourage the warrior whom the narrator addresses is part of the long tradition of the poetical hijāʾ. These scenes and motifs are, however, really codes designed not to depict an actual battlefield, but a metaphorical one: the battlefield of the theological debate, the munāẓarah. In sum, although the raḥīl draws forms and motifs from the rich Arabic poetical heritage, theology, and more specifically the Ashʿarī-Taymiyyan debate on anthropomorphism and Ibn Taymiyyah’s ordeals, remains its main goal.

(c) The Qaṣd: In the classical qaṣīdah, the eventful part of the raḥīl concludes with an arrival at a destination, literally or figuratively. The poets of the Umayyad court—al-Akhṭal (d. 92/710), for example—often concluded their poems with a lengthy section of madiḥ (panegyric), in which they praised the caliph—their benefactor—in hopes of receiving material reward for their efforts. The poets elegantly glided from descriptions of their hair-raising adventures to depictions of the comforts of the city and the palace in which the caliph resided.

The same transition awaits the reader of Al-Kāfiyah al-Shāfiyah. The heated and stormy description of battles, combined with violent attacks on Ashʿarī kalām and other Islamic trends, is replaced by a calmer atmosphere—in fact, the calmest—as

61 Ibid., 44.
62 Ibid., 46.
64 Ibid., 3:1000–1086 (bāb al-hijāʾ).
the destination turns out to be paradise. This section of the poem (verses 4915–5721) contains vivid and delightful descriptions of paradise and its inhabitants, descriptions which heavily rely on relevant Hadith material. The ultimate reward that awaits the believers—the Taymiyan circle, no less—at the end of their difficult journey is the actual and physical sight of God (ru’yat Allāh, the vision of God). The traditionalistic concept of seeing God’s face was another bone of contention between the Taymiyan circle and the Ash’arīs, because the Ash’arīs interpreted ru’yat Allāh metaphorically. Ibn al-Qayyim’s description of the groups arriving at paradise and seeing the face of God is his ultimate answer to the Ash’arīs.

5418 And they will see Him, praised be Him, above them. They will see Him with their own eyes, as clearly as they see the moon and the sun.

5419 This is specifically stated in a Prophetic hadith with multiple chains of transmission, whose veracity only a wicked person denies.

5420 The Quran so says, either directly or by way of implication; these are two ways of expression in the narrative thread of the Quran.

[...] Suffice it to say that God, praised be Him, described the faces [of the believers] in heaven as bright.

5429 And He also described them as looking, which undoubtedly means that they will look [at Him] using their own eyes.67

Further scenes of the heavenly reward which awaits the Taymiyan circle are discussed below.

The Martyrological Narrative of Al-Kāfiyah al-Shāfiyah

Martyrology—according to The New Oxford American Dictionary—is “the branch of history or literature that deals with the lives of martyrs.”68 Taking this definition at face value, we are bound to admit that Al-Kāfiyah al-Shāfiyah is not a martyrology; the narrative axis that starts in the nasīb and continues through the rahīl and up to the qaṣd of Al-Kāfiyah al-Shāfiyah, however, is martyrological. The poem tells the story of true believers in their battle against evil. These believers,

66 The concept of ru’yat Allāh is based on Q. 75:22–23 “On that day there shall be joyous faces, looking towards their Lord” (Dawood, 577), which was interpreted allegorically by the Mu’tazilis and Ash’arīs, and taken at face value by Ahl al-Ḥadīth. Daniel Gimaret, “Ru’yat Allāh,” The Encyclopaedia of Islam, 2nd ed., 8:649.
as depicted in the poem, stuck to their principles and did not let changes in public taste distract them from their goal: while the elite (the Ashʿarīs, mainly) were lured by the charms of speculative theology, this group of the righteous adhered only to the Quran and the teachings of the Prophet and his followers. Standing for their principles caused suffering and hardships for the members of this group, but they will surely be compensated in the afterlife. This basic tale contains all the building blocks of a martyrrological narrative: the story of the battle between good and evil is concluded by the heavenly reward that awaits the righteous warriors.

As we have seen, Ibn al-Qayyim promises his audience that they will see God’s face in heaven. This reward is indeed a prominent clause in traditionalistic professions of faith, from Ahmad ibn Hanbal’s (d. 241/855) onward. Ibn al-Qayyim himself discussed the concept of ruʿyat Allāh in prose and poetry in Rawdat al-Muḥibbīn and Ḥādī al-Arwāḥ ilā Bilād al-Afrāḥ (The leader of souls to the land of joys). However, the theme of believers in paradise provides Ibn al-Qayyim with an opportunity to use his skills to set up scenes combining the sacred and the profane; since these scenes are set in paradise the feeling of religious piety is maintained.

Most of the scenes of paradise are heavily indebted to the Quran and Hadith. Ibn al-Qayyim’s ambition to elaborate on every detail of the huge reward that awaits the believers generates tedious and lengthy passages. His passages on heaven are actually inventory lists: dull and didactic. Even so, they are interesting because they demonstrate his familiarity with motifs and images drawn from classical poetry and reused in the poetry of his contemporaries. One example is the description of the wine in heaven, a drink that is promised to the believ-

ers in the Quran and the Hadith. Ibn al-Qayyim describes the heavenly wine as depicted in the Quran:

5184 There [i.e., in heaven], they will be given pure nectar to drink; its last sips leave the odor of musk, that lingers. Its first sip is [as tasty as] its last sip.

5185 They will be given wine, delicious for its drinkers. It will neither dull their senses nor cause them sickness or discomfort. 73

[...]

5189 They will drink from the fount named Salsabil, tempered with camphor. This is the beverage of the pious.

5190 This is the beverage of the righteous; however, the favored will have a second beverage.

5191 It is called Tasnim. What they will drink is absolutely the best. 74 It is made only for the most favored, the ones specifically chosen by God. 75

Earthly wine, on the other hand, is depicted in derogatory terms, as causing drunkenness, loss of the mind, and illness. 76 Ibn Qayyim’s illustrations in both cases, of heavenly and earthly wine, do not go beyond flat duplications of the Quran. Ibn al-Qayyim, it seems, cannot allow his imagination to recreate the taste and smell of wine. When it comes to carnal lust, however, Ibn al-Qayyim is freer in his poetic expression. An extremely lengthy section describes the houris, the beautiful virgins of paradise: 77

4915 O you, who wishes to ask the hand of the fair houris in marriage!
O you, who wishes to be intimate with them in the garden of the afterlife.


74 yudʿā bi-tasnīmin, sanāmūn shurbuhum. Here Ibn al-Qayyim uses a tawriyah (double entendre), playing on the similarity between tasnīm (the name of the drink) and sanām (the hump of the camel, here used metaphorically for denoting a peak).


76 Al-Kāfiyah al-Shāfiyah, 1996, 368 (verses 5186–87).

If only you knew who you wished to marry, you would offer her your entire fortune!

If you knew where she lived, you would rush to her, even if you had to run on your head!

I already described to you the road leading to her house. So if you wish to unite with her, stop being slow and weak.

Hurry up and quicken your paces; you will get there within the hour.

Then you will be able to make love passionately. Encourage your soul by speaking about this forthcoming union. And while you can, offer the bridal money.

Consider [your entire lifetime] as the month of Ramaḍān, in which you fast before you meet her. Consider the day of your union as breaking the fast in ʿĪd al-Fiṭr.

Sing her praises when you go to your journey. When you encounter terrifying events, remember that you long for her.

Do not occupy your thoughts with the house of the old days, in which you squandered your time in decadent amusements.

In spite of the erotic tone of this passage, Ibn al-Qayyim reminds his listeners that the road to paradise, and hence to the beautiful houris who reside there, passes through true piety and belief. The motif of the memories of past amusements, much used in classical poetry to invoke feelings of nostalgia in the audience, is used by Ibn al-Qayyim for a different purpose: he wishes to motivate his listeners to embrace the genuine traditionalist faith. According to Ibn al-Qayyim (the former sinner who held Ashʿarī views), there is no need to dwell on the glory of the past when the future of the true believer is much brighter.

In his description of the houris, Ibn al-Qayyim combines several sources. First and foremost his description relies on Hadith, the discussions of the early traditionalists, Qur’an exegetes, and lexicographers. A good example is the description of the houris’ eyes (verse 5275), which is actually a dense versification of Ibn al-Qayyim’s interpretation of the word ḥūr, leaning on the views of traditionalists like Ibn ʿAbbās (d. 68/687–88) on the one hand, and the views of the lexicographers on the other. However, the description of other body-parts of the houris is very much formed by the conventions of elite poetry: their cheeks are rosy, their kisses are sweet, they are lean but luscious.

Now, listen to the description of the brides of paradise, and then pick one for yourself, you knowledgeable one!

78 Cf. Ḥādī al-Arwāḥ, 241.
The white of the cornea of their eyes is contrasted with the black of the iris. They are the most beautiful women, perfect in their traits and qualities.

They are beautiful to such a degree that whoever glances at them is confused by their beauty. The eye of the beholder is confused.

When seeing them, the beholder says: “Praised be He who granted them with beauty and good deeds!”

The beholder drinks from the cups of their beauty, until you see that he is indeed drunk.

[...]

Their cheeks are red; in their mouths are pearly teeth; their eyes are black; their limbs are feeble.

When they smile, the splash of lightning comes out of their mouths, casting light on the ceiling and walls of the palace.

We were told that when this luminous lightning appears, someone from paradise will ask about it,

And he will get the response: “This is the light coming from the laughing mouth in the upper heaven, as you may as well see.”

By God! The one, who kisses that mouth, indeed receives—by that kiss—everything his heart desires.

The colorful and perhaps erotic description of the kisses of the houris is toned down by Ibn al-Qayyim’s undoubted piety. His source in this case is an unreliable hadith that is also tagged as mere fabrication (mawḍūʿ); however, Ibn al-Qayyim considered this hadith good enough for his poem.†9 The tension between the didactic and the erotic remains throughout the passage:

Her body is well-watered with the liquid of youth. She is like a shoot planted by the waters.

When the waters of paradise go through her veins, she bears the most colorful fruits

Such as roses, and apples, and pomegranates in one single tree. Praised be He, who planted this garden!

Her figure is like a flexible branch; her beautiful legs are neither too long nor too short.

†9 The hadith, on the authority of ʿAbd Allāh ibn Maʿṣūd, quoted the Prophet as saying: “A splash of light appeared in the sky. They looked up, and lo and behold! The light comes out from the open mouth of a houri, laughing in the presence of her husband.” Sharḥ al-Qaṣīdah al-Nūnīyah, 2:430, Al-Kāfiyah al-Shāfiyah BAZ, 2:988, n. 5306.
Her thighs grow out of a nursery made of ivory. You might think that this nursery, her buttocks, is one of the hills in the sand-dunes.

She is all made of enormous curves: her breasts are separated from her belly, and they are actually floating in a distance, not near her belly. ⁸⁰

No, all the houris are full-bosomed; their breasts are swelling and round, just like smooth pomegranates.

With the same detailed precision, Ibn al-Qayyim describes the houris’ necks, cleavage, and ankles. ⁸¹ One might think that Ibn al-Qayyim, in his anatomical descriptions, did not confine himself to religious texts and classical poetry, but allowed his imagination to go wild, particularly when reading a very blunt passage on the houris’ genitalia, which leads to an elaborate description of sexual intercourse between a believer and a houri. ⁸² The passage is, in fact, solidly based on Hadith material and the discussions of the early Quran exegetes, ⁸³ though its bluntness exceeds the details provided by the Hadith. Commentators on Al-Kāfiyah al-Shāfiyah, apart from Muḥammad Khalīl Harrās, chose to skip this passage and not interpret it. Even Ibn al-Qayyim himself concludes the passage with an apology: “O God, please forgive my pen for exceeding the proper bounds” (verse 5321). On this, Harrās remarks: “The author sensed that his pen advanced too much and too far, and that he was too explicit about matters that should be left implicit.” ⁸⁴

There is nothing profane or obscene in Ibn al-Qayyim’s descriptions of the carnal delights that await the believers in heaven. These sensual descriptions, as I

⁸⁰ This verse is paraphrased according to Harrās’s interpretation. Sharḥ al-Qaṣīdah al-Nūniyah, 2:431.
⁸⁴ Sharḥ al-Qaṣīdah al-Nūniyah, 2:434.
said before, are drawn from religious literature. However, Ibn al-Qayyim chooses to conclude *Al-Kāfiyah al-Shāfiyah* with a more didactic tone. First, he addresses his listeners with another *waṣīyah* containing a petty description of four archetypical enemies of the believer (verses 5722–5777), and demanding that believers fight for their beliefs with every means they have (verses 5778–5780). Then he puts in the mouths of the true believers a prayer (verses 5780–5821), in which they ask God to protect the Quran and the Prophet. The prayer will be discussed below.

However, the description of the heavenly reward is but one—albeit central—ingredient of the martyrrological narrative, and indeed it comes at the end of the poem. What precedes this description is a thorough and systematic process of psychological manipulations on the part of Ibn al-Qayyim, which are meant to arouse a wide range of emotions in a receptive audience, inciting them to act. The melancholic atmosphere of the *nasīb* transfers into a series of rhythmic attacks on the Ashʿarīs. *Al-Kāfiyah al-Shāfiyah* is a raging poem: its militant atmosphere, occasional foul language, and determined attacks on the Ashʿarīs all combine to create a piece that is much more than a versified creed or a mere polemical treatise. The “emotional baggage”—if we may borrow a contemporary term—invested in *Al-Kāfiyah al-Shāfiyah* is tremendous. Ibn al-Qayyim, who had his share of *miḥan* (of which his listeners were well-aware), weaves the martyrrological narrative from three basic emotions: insult, fury, and frustration. Alongside these, he emphasizes the importance of perseverance, acceptance—a state accomplished after completing a process of rationalization—and self-pride. By skillfully expressing these emotions, Ibn al-Qayyim nurtures the martyrrological narrative, and leads his captive audience to the conclusion that an action against the Ashʿarīs is inevitable. At this point, the description of paradise and the carnal pleasures awaiting the believers is presented as the peak of the narrative. The process of propagandizing for an attack on the Ashʿarīs is successfully concluded. The listeners become “we”—an elect and highly motivated community, self-acknowledged and determined.  

The following verses demonstrate Ibn al-Qayyim’s rhetorical strategy. They appear in three consecutive passages.  

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85 “The martyrrological narrative textually interprets the act of martyrdom to be one supportive of order, community, and ideology. Martyrs’ accounts are sanitized and contextualized by the incorporation of doctrine and propaganda in order to legitimate, support, and transmit the ideology of the persecuted faction.” Nikki Shepardson, “Gender and the Rhetoric of Martyrdom in Jean Crespin’s ‘Histoire des vrays tesmoins,’” *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 35, no. 1 (Spring 2004): 158.

and which his audience undergoes with him: the passive sense of insult ripens to an aggressive open call for an active attack. First, the narrative is dominated by insult, a sense which is nurtured by the Ashʿarīs’ false accusations of anthropomorphism addressed to Ahl al-Sunnah. The arguments in this passage are fairly rational and balanced. A direct rejoinder to the Ashʿarī accusations, they show a desire to persuade the accusers that their accusations are false, and to convince them to reverse their misjudgment. Gradually, the sense of insult grows into fury, which is probably the dominant emotion in Al-Kāfiyah al-Shāfiyah. Fury finds its many expressions in foul language and accusations of heresy, all of which are addressed to the Ashʿarīs. The shift from insult to fury is a shift from passivity to activity. Ibn al-Qayyim’s own ordeals and his hatred of the Ashʿarīs charge the text with another conspicuous trait: apart from addressing the collective accusation of anthropomorphism addressed to the Taymiyan circle, the atmosphere is heated by the use of anaphora (verses 2365–68). The rhythm of the recitation accelerates, the tone of the reciter becomes urgent and high, and the charged message reflecting Ibn al-Qayyim’s personal experience and feelings explodes in the face of his prospective audiences—the Taymiyan circle, first and foremost, but also the Ashʿarīs themselves. As the text progresses, it is evident that Ibn al-Qayyim adopts for himself the definition of an anthropomorphist instead of refuting Ashʿarī accusations of anthropomorphism. The text reveals the depths of insult that Ibn al-Qayyim feels, as well as his perseverance, acceptance, and self-pride.

One cannot ignore the sarcasm and insult in Ibn al-Qayyim’s tone when he willingly embraces the derogatory name anthropomorphist (ḥashwī). The depths of sarcasm and self-insult are demonstrated in a passage in which Ibn al-Qayyim addresses this name, charging it with a double entendre (tawriyah, another esteemed rhetorical device). حاشو literally means “to stuff” and [worthless] “stuffing,” and figuratively means “something of little worth.” Rationalist thinkers referred to traditionalists as حاشي, حاشوي (pl. حاشوية), meaning scholars of little worth and anthropomorphists. In the following passage, Ibn al-Qayyim juggles between the literal and the metaphorical meanings of حاشو, using several derivatives, demonstrating his sarcasm:

87 In his unsurpassed article of 1934, A. S. Halkin defines حاشوية as “a vague term of insult” closely connected to the Hanbalis and meant to denote “an ignorant, reactionary lot who grossly exaggerated anthropomorphism and were receptive enough to accept any fantastic belief or superstition.” A. S. Halkin, "The Ḥashwiyya," Journal of the American Oriental Society 54, no. 1 (1934): 12, 2. See also "Hashwiya (Hasawiyya, Hushwiyya, or Ahl al-Ḥashw)," The Encyclopaedia of Islam, 2nd ed., 3:269.
One of the curiosities is that they [i.e., the Ashʿarīs] call the people who follow divine revelation—whether Prophetic hadiths or Quranic verses

By the name of ḥashwīyah. By that name they refer to people whose existence is worthless (ḥashw fī al-wujūd), people who are waste products of the human race.

The ignorant among them believe that the ḥashwīyah “stuffed” (ḥashaw) the Lord of all beings into the beings themselves,

Because they [i.e., the ḥashwīyah] say that the Lord, to Him belong majesty and rule, is “above the beings” and “in the sky.”

These asses thought that “in” stands for an accusative of place, meaning that the All-Compassionate is confined to one place.

By God! Nothing like it was ever heard from any sect in any time.

Do not defame the Ahl al-Ḥadīth with this notion. This is not their view. May evil befall the slanderer!

Indeed, they believe that the upper sky is [unfolded] in the palm of the Creator of all beings

Like a mustard seed in the palm of someone who keeps it. God the Sovereign is the Sublime!

Do you think, then, that He is the confined one—or is the sky confined?

How many times did you call [us] anthropomorphists and ḥashwīyah! This defamation is never concealed from the eyes of the All-Merciful.

Hear me out, ye people! If the Quran and the Sunnah of the Prophet indeed express this “stuffed” view, then you may as well testify

That we are, thanks to our Lord, pure ḥashwīyah. We do not deny it, and we do not hide it.

Do you know who among you your shaykhs used this [derogatory] name a long time ago?

[The Muʿtazili ʿAmr] ibn ʿUbayd called ʿAbd Allāh, the son of the caliph, by this name. The same ʿAbd Allāh who drove Satan away! 88

So, indeed you are the successors of Ibn ʿUbayd, just as [Ahl al-Ḥadīth] are the successors of ʿAbd Allāh. How is it possible to compare between these two inheritances?

Do you know who is worthy of this name? Do you know for whom [the name ḥashwīyah] exactly fits?

88 Ibn al-Qayyim refers here to ʿAmr ibn ʿUbayd (d. 144/761), one of the first of the Muʿtazilah, who described ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿUmar (d. 73/693), the son of ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, as ḥashwī. See references to primary sources in: Al-Kāfiyah al-Shāfiyah BAZ, 2:575–76, n. 2328.
This is the one who stuffs notebooks and brains with undesired innovative notions that contradict the obligating content of the Quran.

This is the real ḥashwī! Not Ahl al-Ḥadīth, who are leaders of faith and Islam!

They drew water from the sweet springs of the Prophetic traditions, not from the garbage of these “thinking brains”!

However, you drew water from the filthy Qallū River, which carries all the filth, dirt, and squalor in its waters! 89

[...]

Indeed we are anthropomorphists, praised be the Lord, because we do not negate the attributes of the Creator, the Merciful.

We swear that none of us has said that God is a body (jism), you slanderers!

[...]

Woe unto you, who goes down to the sewage canal to draw water! If only you saw the filth on your lips and teeth!

If only you saw the filthy marks in your heart, when you get yourself ready to perform your deeds and the rituals of Islam!

If going down to this filthy source of water agrees with you, then all this filth agrees with you. Why does this stinking source of water please you?

I advise you to cleanse your mouth from your wicked filthy words.

Go ahead, abuse the ḥashwī! Abuse the “stuffed” people of religion, the people of the Quran, the Hadith, and faith!

Welcome, O “stuffed” people of the right path. Others are the “stuffed” people of the wrong path, and there is no comparison between the two groups.

Welcome, O “stuffed” people who hold the absolute certain knowledge of the truth. Others are the “stuffed” people who have doubts. The two groups are not equal twins.

Welcome, O “stuffed” people who sit in the mosques. Others are the “stuffed” people who sit in public lavatories. How can you compare the two?

Welcome, O “stuffed” people of paradise! Others are the “stuffed” people of hell. Are the two groups equal? 90

89 For the identification of the Qallū River, see Al-Kāfiyah al-Shāfiyah BAZ, 2:576, n. 2334.

The sense of frustration which accompanies the various parts of *Al-Kāfiyah al-Shāfiyah* is conspicuous especially when Ibn al-Qayyim relates the roots of the theological dispute between *Ahl al-Ḥadīth* and the *Ashʿarīs*. Ibn al-Qayyim depicts futile trials to explain his—and *Ahl al-Ḥadīth’s*—position to the *Ashʿarīs*. Armed with self-persuasion and a strong feeling of inner justice, Ibn al-Qayyim explains that his theological position is identical to that of the Prophet and the Salaf. The unbridgeable gap between Ibn al-Qayyim and the *Ashʿarīs* widens because they use two different sets of language: his the straightforward language of the Hadith; theirs the tortuous language of the *kalām*. He masters their language, they belittle and reject his. In verses 3818–19, Ibn al-Qayyim hints that the *Ashʿarīs* are heretics: their rejection of the sacred texts and their use of allegorical interpretation connect them with the hypocrites (*munāfiqūn*) in the Prophet’s times.

3810 O people! You know that the animosity between us is rooted in events that happened a long time ago.

3811 We rely on the *Quran* and the Righteous Tradition which interprets the *Quran*.

3812 We also rely on our pure intellect and the natural disposition [in which] the All-Compassionate [created] humans, before they altered it.

3813 These are four inseparable principles; each of them equally and indiscriminately affirms the other and corroborates it.

3814 By God! According to what you constantly declare, these four principles never affirm one another.

3815 Because you claim: “What is perceived by the intellect contradicts what the *Quran* and the Hadith tell us.

3816 Therefore, we give precedence to what our intellect perceives. And as for the teachings of the *Quran* and the Hadith—we freely use various devices of allegorical interpretation [of the texts].

3817 When we are unable to handle the text, we toss it aside, ascribing no importance to the text whatsoever. Our only intention is to be amiable.”

3818 Indeed, in so doing you follow your ancestors. When they were urged to follow the *Quran*,

3819 they turned away. When calamity befell them, they swore: “Our only desire is conciliation and amity.”

91 *Al-Kāfiyah al-Shāfiyah*, 1996, 279 (verses 3810–19). What echoes in verse 3819 is Q. 4:61–62: “When they are told: ‘Come to be judged by that which God has revealed and by the Apostle,’ you see the hypocrites turn a deaf ear to you. But how would it be if one disaster befell them on account of what their hands committed? They would come to you swearing by God that they desired nothing but amity and conciliation.”
Insult, fury, and frustration are interwoven in a lengthy piece of *Al-Kāfiyah al-Shāfiyah* (divided into several parts) that recounts the chain of sufferings of *Ahl al-Ḥadīth* throughout history, a chain in which Ibn Taymiyyah’s ordeals are but a link. Ibn al-Qayyim presents a schematic inventory of the inner polemic and the civil strife within “Islam”; in other words, Ibn al-Qayyim lists the defining (negative) events in the history of Islam, from the assassination of the caliph ʿUthmān (d. 35/655), through the *miḥnah* of Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, up to the *miḥan* of Ibn Taymiyyah. Oddly enough, Ibn al-Qayyim sees all these (political) events as “the crimes of figurative interpretation” (*jināyat al-taʾwīl*), or, as Harrās puts it, “[Ibn al-Qayyim] determines here that the root of all calamities that befell Islam is *taʾwil*, which is actually a distortion of the texts and an apostasy.” By *taʾwil* and elsewhere by *ṭāghūt*, Ibn al-Qayyim refers to the rationalistic, and hence foreign, approaches of Ashʿarī thought. Much can be argued against Ibn al-Qayyim’s interpretation of Islamic history, but the fact is that while enumerating milestones in Islamic history and placing them—as crimes committed in the name of *taʾwil*—on the same historical level, Ibn al-Qayyim gains an incredible rhetorical leverage. This leverage is achieved by a complete harmony between form and content: the compelling rhythm of the text and the use of anaphoras combined with the flow of detailed calamities, one after the other, are rhetorical devices that increase animosity against the Ashʿarīs in the eyes of his potentially sympathetic audience.

In the following verses, Ibn al-Qayyim does not refer to the Ashʿarīs, but rather to sectarian groups in Islamic history (the Khawārij, the Rawāḍī, and the Muʿtazilah). The Ashʿarīs, in spite of the fact that they were not a sect but the leading trend in Sunni Islam, if not the very essence of Sunni Islam, are depicted by Ibn al-Qayyim as following in the footsteps of preceding sects, the Muʿtazilah especially, by harassing *Ahl al-Ḥadīth*.

1757 Moreover, the root of every calamity that befell Islam came from *taʾwil*. *Taʾwil* distorts the holy texts. *Taʾwil* causes the spreading of lies.

1758 *Taʾwil* divided Islam into seventy-three sects. There are many evident proofs for that.

92 Sharḥ al-Qaṣīdah al-Nūnīyah, 1:308.
94 From which seventy-two are heretical sects, and only one—*al-firqah al-nājiyah*—is saved. The tradition, on the authority of Abū Hurayrah (d. ca. 57/678), states: “The Messenger of God said: the Jews were divided into seventy-one or seventy-two sects. The Christians were divided into seventy-one or seventy-two sects. My nation will be divided into seventy-three sects.” For a collection of the various versions of this tradition, see: Abū Bakr al-Ājurrī (d. 360/971), *Kitāb*
Taʾwil assassinated the caliph ['Uthmān], who was responsible for the collection of the Quran, who was the possessor of the two lights, a man of virtues.

Taʾwil assassinated the caliph after him; I of course refer to ‘Ali, the slayer of his opponents in the battlefield.

Taʾwil slew al-Ḥusayn ibn ‘Alī and his family. Because of taʾwil, their flesh was cut to pieces.

Because of taʾwil, the sanctity of the city of Medina was desecrated in the battle of al-Harrah.

The blood flooded [in the city] as if it was the Feast of Immolation.

Because of taʾwil, al-Ḥajjāj ibn Yūsuf shed blood and slew the pious believer and the adherent of the Quran.

Because of taʾwil, the soldiers of the hostile al-Ḥajjāj did in Mecca whatever they did.

Taʾwil caused the rise of the Khawārij. Taʾwil also caused the appearance of those ugly beasts, the Rawāfiḍ.

Because of taʾwil, the Rawāfiḍ brutally cursed the chosen people after the Prophet, and slandered them.

Because of taʾwil, the tyrants drew their swords, thinking that they were doing the right thing.

Because of taʾwil, the Muʿtazilah came up with ideas that weakened the strength of faith.

Because of taʾwil, they claimed that God’s word is a created being.

Because of taʾwil, they denied the existence of divine predetermination. By so stating, they resembled the Zoroastrians (Majūs), the worshippers of fire.

Because of taʾwil, they stated that the grave sinners are bound to stay forever in hell like the idolaters.

Because of taʾwil, they completely denied the intercession of the Prophet, the Chosen.

Because of taʾwil, the Imām al-Shaybānī [Ahmad ibn Ḥanbal], the most righteous man of Ahl al-Sunnah, was flogged by their whips.

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95 Dhū al-nurayn is an epithet given to the caliph ‘Uthmān for being the husband of Ruqayyah and Umm Kulthūm, the Prophet’s two daughters. Sharḥ al-Qaṣīdah al-Nūnīyah, 1:309.


The description of the chain of disasters that befell Islam is a part of Ibn al-Qayyim’s rationalization for his animosity against the Ashʿarīs. The Ashʿari use of figurative interpretation and their rejection of the anthropomorphic descriptions of God in the Hadith make them the successors of sects deviating from true Islam.

2179 [Their methods of interpretation] caused enmity between us. Because of this, we are their adversaries.
2180 They go astray because of their stupid reasoning, while we stick to the Quran.
2181 Our methods contradict theirs. The two cannot walk together, ever.
2182 We refuse to profess the convictions and lies that they profess.
2183 We dismiss their views. We attach no importance to their views. We are satisfied with the teachings of the Prophet and the precise verses (muḥkam) of the Quran.
2184 Whoever is not satisfied with these two, God will not protect him from the calamities of time.
2185 Whoever does not choose these two as his cure, God will never bring cure to his heart and body.
2186 Whoever has no use for these two, the Lord of the throne will condemn him to death and deprivation.
2187 Whoever is not guided by these two, God will not guide him to the paths of truth and faith. ⁹⁸

However, demonizing the Ashʿarīs and describing their brutality is the most effective element in the process of rationalizing the animosity against them. In various sections of the poem, the description of the Ashʿarīs’ brutality towards Ahl al-Ḥadīth, or “us,” often deteriorates to simple defamation:

2188 We argue only with eminent scholars and not with these people, who are the lowest of the lowest and despicable bugs.
2189 They are the filth of humanity, pure garbage, rotten corpses, and ugly creatures.
2190 These are people who, because of their heresy, animosity, and slanders, demanded the blood of true scholars.
2191 They loathe Ahl al-Ḥadīth, because they despise the Sunnah and the Quran.

⁹⁸ Ibid., 174–75 (verses 2179–87).
The Message of *Al-Kāfiyah al-Shāfiyah*

Insult, fury, and frustration are crystallized in *Al-Kāfiyah al-Shāfiyah* into two positive emotions for the Taymiyan circle: self-pride—or a sense of community—and hope for a better future. These are mostly reflected in the advanced parts of *Al-Kāfiyah al-Shāfiyah*, and will be demonstrated here by three representative sections. All of these sections have one common denominator: they project a great deal of certainty that a bright future for the true believers—*Ahl al-Ḥadīth* or the Taymiyan circle—will indeed come to pass.

The sense of self-pride is interwoven throughout the discourse of *Al-Kāfiyah al-Shāfiyah*, and it reaches its peak in a prayer, a pledge that *Ahl al-Ḥadīth* address to God. Ibn al-Qayyim now names them the *Muthbitūn*. This name is certainly a variation of *Ahl al-Iṭḥbāt*, meaning “the affirmers of God’s attributes,” but it can also denote “the Followers of the *Muthbit*.” In the introduction of *Al-Kāfiyah al-Shāfiyah*, Ibn al-Qayyim refers to Ibn Taymīyah as the *Muthbit*, the affirmer, hence the *Muthbitūn* are the followers of Ibn Taymīyah.100 The prayer of the *Muthbitūn* is soaked in Quranic terminology and allusions to Quranic verses. Although the prayer is tagged as a collective address of the *Muthbitūn*, it is in fact a prayer of the individual. In its first half (verses 2789–2801) the individual humbly asks God to open his heart to the Quranic message; the second half (verses 2802–17), however, is a request to annihilate the enemies of the *Muthbitūn*. Here, as in previous passages, Ibn al-Qayyim’s personal life-experience as a reformed rationalist is reflected.

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2789 O Protector of Islam! O Protector of the traditions that are attributed to the one who was sent to bring the Quran!

2790 O You who are the apparent truth! Your sayings are also an apparent truth! And so are the promises to meet You [in the hereafter]! Your Messenger is also an apparent truth!

2791 Open the breast of every believer for the reception of your religion. Open their breasts widely, so they reach the summits of belief.

2792 Let their hearts be led by the Quran and not by what the slanderers say.

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Ibid., 175 (verses 2188–92).

100 *Al-Kāfiyah al-Shāfiyah*, 1996, 15–29. For an analysis of the introduction, see my “Accused of Anthropomorphism.”
Let the Party of the Right Path win with the help of the Quran. Annihilate, by the power of the Quran, the Party of the Straying Path and the Supporters of Satan.

By the power of the Quran, revive the one who wishes to revive the Quran. By the power of the Quran, protect the Quran from the slanderer who uses snares and tricks.

Decapitate the People of Deviation, those who replace [the Quran], those who believe its teachings are false, those who are tyrants.

I do solemnly swear by the grace that You granted me, and by my heart which You made as a vessel receiving the Quran;

And by the words that You wrote on my heart, ordering me to follow the Right Path—and indeed in my heart I read the lines of faith;

And by the fact that You pulled me out from the well of the People of False Convictions,¹⁰¹ when You threw at my rescue the ropes of the precise verses of the Quran;

And by the fact that You let me drink the sweet water from the spring, which is accessible to every thirsty man;

And by the fact that You protected me from drinking the water underneath the filthy layer of false convictions and distorted minds;

And by the fact that You guarded me from the tests You put to those who passed judgment on You, slandering You.

They tossed Your book behind their backs, and clung to the decorated and senseless jabber.

And by the fact that You showed me the undesired, vain, and varnished innovations, that Satan plants in the heart of the human being.

Satan engraves [and decorates] these things, just like the artists, who cover the engraving with paint.

The deceived thinks that these things are the truth, when actually they are phantoms of water in the desert.

By all these I do solemnly swear that I will fight Your enemies, as long as You allow me to do so. Fighting them will be my habit.

I will disgrace them and humiliate them publicly. Using my tongue, I will tear their skin apart.

Using the Quran, I will reveal their secrets, those secrets which were concealed from the weak.

¹⁰¹ This reading follows Bakr Abū Zayd’s version, who reads biʾr aṣḥāb al-hawá. Al-Kāfiyah al-Shāfiyyah BAZ, 2:639. The common version, ḥubb aṣḥāb al-hawá, is indeed rather obscure.
2809 I will follow them wherever they go. I will follow them, as the proverb goes, as far as Abadan.
2810 I will stone them with the milestones of divine guidance. I will stone them with piercing shooting stars.
2811 I will lie in wait, observing their tricks. I will besiege them everywhere.
2812 I will make their flesh and blood the greatest sacrifice, in Your day of victory.
2813 I will send them fearless troops, who never escape the battlefield.
2814 I will send the soldiers of both revelations—the Quran and the Sunnah. The soldiers of the natural disposition of Islam (fitrah). The soldiers fighting for the teachings of the intellect and the teachings of the scriptures. The soldiers of good deeds.
2815 I will do that—until every reasonable man will understand, who [among us] is more worthy of being considered a person whose conduct is ruled by both intellect and the Quran?
2816 I will seek advice in God, then in His messenger, His book, and the laws of true faith.
2817 If my Lord so wishes, all this will come true. If He does not wish so, then the ruling is His, the All-Merciful.\textsuperscript{102}

Ibn al-Qayyim plays here in two different fields, the allegorical and the literal. By stressing that he will fight his enemies using the Quran, his wits, and his tongue, Ibn al-Qayyim supposedly presents an allegory for a theological debate. However, the violent air of the prayer is striking: although the narrator describes himself as using metaphorical weapons (Quran, words, and good deeds), the outcome does not seem to be metaphorical at all, as the enemy’s flesh and blood are presented as sacrifices for God (verse 2812). Ibn al-Qayyim, who so resents the use of allegory when it comes to interpreting the Quran, by all means uses allegory in his poetry, even though the so-called allegorical expressions of flesh, blood, and death in the battlefield can also be taken literally.

In a passage in which he enumerates Ibn Taymiyyah’s prominent writings, and wishes to avenge the mihan which his enemies put him through, Ibn al-Qayyim expresses an open death wish for the Ashârâs. Again, this is an allegory, stating that the only way to defeat the Ashârâs is by reading Ibn Taymiyyah’s writings. In other words, aside from the Quran and the Sunnah, Ibn Taymiyyah’s writings are the ultimate weapon against the Ashârâs. Here, as in the previous passage, the metaphorical battlefield is the theological debate, but the many details of the Ashârâs’ metaphorical destruction form a three-dimensional picture of physical

\textsuperscript{102} \textit{Al-Kâfiyah al-Shâfiyâh}, 1996, 213–14 (verses 2789–2817).
suffering and actual defeat. Ibn al-Qayyim toils a great deal to construct the scene of the Ashʿarīs’ defeat, which—it is safe to assume—gave a great deal of pleasure to his audience: just as the Ashʿarīs divested God from His attributes, they will be divested from their human traits in the battlefield (verse 3630). The passage below certainly amplifies the undertone in other parts of Al-Kāfiyah al-Shāfiyah, and enhances the assumption that Al-Kāfiyah al-Shāfiyah is first and foremost a piece of Hanbali martyrology, drawing in part from Ibn al-Qayyim’s own life-experience, but mostly from the harsh experience of Ibn Taymiyah.

3627 If you wish to witness the death of the remnants of the People of Taʿṭīl and heresy [the Muʿtazilah and Ashʿarīyah, who deny the divine attributes];
3628 If you wish to see them as prisoners in very poor condition, their hands tied to their beards;
3629 If you wish to see them as targets of the lances, while no horseman who is capable of throwing a lance is left in their midst;
3630 If you wish to see them when the swords catch them, divesting them from their human qualities and the oaths they have taken;
3631 If you wish to see them abandoning the Quran and the Sunnah, forsaking their sound mind and the requirements of the Quran;
3632 If you wish to see them become a laughingstock and a source of mockery—remember how often they mocked true faith—;
3633 If you wish to see their residences deserted, remaining in such a condition for a very long time, with the help of God Almighty;
3634 If you wish to see their houses deserted, their community scattered, so even two of them will never meet together again;
3635 If you wish to see the Merciful divest their hearts of every knowledge and true belief,
3636 Because they divested the Merciful of His attributes. They even claimed that the throne is empty of the presence of the Merciful.
3637 They denied the existence of speech in God. They denied the existence of His attributes of perfection, because they were ignorant and slanderers.
3638 If you wish to see all that, then I suggest that you dedicate your time to read the writings of the imam, the shaykh of existence, the scholar of divine knowledge.
3639 I of course refer to Abū al-ʿAbbās Ahmad, this ocean whose knowledge encompasses every creek, and bay, and canal.

[verses 3640–67 list various works by Ibn Taymiyah]
[In these works, Ibn Taymiyah] helped God, His religion, the Quran, and the Prophet, using the sword and the scripture. Ibn Taymiyah humiliated them by revealing their ignorance. He demonstrated inconsistency in their thought throughout the ages.

By God! He threw them under the shoes of the People of Truth. Before that, they were walking with crowns. He threw them to the bottom of the pit. Before that, they were considered the luminaries of many a town.

Isn’t it a wonder that by using their weapon [of speculative theology] he managed to bring about their fall and ruin?

For years, they were holding our forelocks in their fists. However, all they managed to get from us is but one tortured prisoner. But then we held their forelocks in our fists. However, they received from us a rope for [their] rescue.

And so, by the grace of God, their kings became slaves for the supporters of the Prophet.

Their troops, who formerly attacked the armies of faith, were now led [from the battlefield as prisoners].

A man who has knowledge of what the two groups were saying about God already knows all that I told you above.

Stupid and sluggish talk, feeble arguments—we deserted them. But that is not the case with you [because you clung to them]. Using sluggish talk and lacking sluggish talk are two—very different—things.103

The third passage presents another feature in the martyrrological narrative: that of hope and recompense. In the qaṣd section, Ibn al-Qayyim promises the true Ahl al-Sunnah, those who were afflicted by the harassment of the Ashʿarīs, the reward of paradise and its delights, and the seeing of God’s face. Although the qaṣd section ends with a festive and decorated praise of God (verses 5778–80), it actually reflects the conflict between the Taymiyan circle and the Ashʿarīs at its utmost. At first sight, this grand finale embroidered with rhetorical repetitions is a madīḥ, a panegyric poem: it is recited in unison by the righteous Hanbalis or Ahl al-Sunnah. The recitation in unison as well as the frequent use of anaphoras (“By the truth of...” [wa-bi-ḥaqqi] in verses 5782–85, “O my God” [yā Rabbi] in verses 5797–5803, and so forth) give the illusion of a liturgical piece, conveying gratitude, glory, and genuine religious expression. However, the grand finale relates a different message: it wishes death for the Ashʿarīs, and along the way mentions the Sufis as devious rivals of Ahl al-Sunnah. The Ashʿarīs and Sufis are not separate

groups here: the Damascene and the Cairene elite embraced the monist teachings of Ibn al-ʿArabī to a certain degree, so the critique here is again directed at the Ashʿarī ulama.\textsuperscript{104} In spite of its grandeur, the following passage is dominated by a highly emotional atmosphere, thus giving the imploring an urgent and intensified nature:

5780 O Defender of faith! [we implore You]
5781 By the life of Your face! You are the most generous when You accede to our requests! By the light of Your face, O Glorious One!
5782 By the truth of Your grace which You granted without asking anything in return!
5783 By the truth of Your mercy which encompasses all the creatures, the beneficent as well as the evil ones!
5784 By the truth of Your beautiful names, which are meant to praise the All-Merciful!
5785 By the truth of Your praise, a praise which encompasses all beings, but for You, the Creator of all beings, it is many times as much.
5786 Because You are God, Allāh, Ilāh, and al-Ḥaqq, the One that all creatures worship, the One who is sacred, there is no other [but You].
5787 Oh, no! Every worshipped deity besides You, from below Your throne down to the lower earth, is untrue and void.
5788 In You we take refuge, in You we seek protection. You help the bewildered and the worried.
5789 Who besides You hears the needy and accedes to his request in times of hardship?
5790 We turn to You because there is something we wish for, and we hope it pleases You. Whoever wishes for it is worthy of Your help.
5791 So please, determine that [this wish] is a part of the graces You bestowed amply upon us all the time.
5792 [We wish] that You would help the Quran, the Prophet, and the divine religion which You brought down by the Decisive Proof (burhān).

5793 You chose Your religion; You picked the chosen one from among humankind to establish this religion.
5794 This was the religion which You chose for this human being who most pleased You. It is the most precious of all religions.
5795 Grant Your messenger, who was sent to bring the monotheist religion, help and succor, and humor him.
5796 Help him by granting Him precious victory, as You helped him throughout the ages.
5797 O God! Help the better of the two parties to overcome the party of the straying and the soldiers of Satan.
5798 O God! Please sacrifice the evil between the two parties for the sake of the chosen ones, the soldiers of the Quran.
5799 O God! Make your victorious party compassionate, full of love and care for each other.
5800 O God! Protect them from undesired innovations that infiltrated our religion throughout the ages.
5801 O God! Keep them away from the [Sufi] brotherhoods (ṭarāʾiq), the roads of which lead to hell!
5802 O God! Guide them with the light of inspiration, so they will arrive at You, and gain the prize of [inhabiting] paradise!
5803 O God! Help them and lead them to victory! Protect them from the temptations of the tempter!
5804 Lead them to victory, O God, with the help of the Quran that You brought down.
5805 O God! They are the foreigners, who seek refuge in You. You are the Benefactor!
5806 O God! For Your sake they fought with their fellow men, except the righteous.
5807 Although they were needy, they departed from their closest friends only to please the Compassionate.
5808 They were pleased with Your protection. Whoever wins Your protection is utterly secured and confident.
5809 They were pleased with Your Revelation. They were not pleased with anything other than Your Revelation. They were not pleased with people who present senseless notions.
5810 O God, strengthen their faith. Make them guides for the lost and bewildered.
5811 Let the Soldiers of Affirmation (ʿAsākir al-Ithbāt), who are the people of truth and knowledge, overcome the party of the deniers [of the divine attributes]!
Bring supporters for Ahl al-Sunnah! Help them any time!
Make them leaders of the pious! Provide them with patience and absolute certainty.
They will be guided by Your command, not by what some people invented and not by the enmity they preach for.
Strengthen them by Your truth. Lead them to victory. You have governance.
Forgive their sins. Make them do right. You always forgive readily.
All praises are meant for You. Your praise never perishes.
Your praise fills the skies and the earth. Moreover, every existent and every possibility in its utmost degree
Is the outcome of Your creative will. Behind all that [You created] lies everlasting and eternal praise.
Bless Your prophet and grant him the most noble prayers and salvation! Grant him Your perfect approval.
Bestow Your blessings upon his companions and successors.  

Did Al-Kāfiyah al-Shāfiyyah reach a large audience, or did its message to the Taymiyan circle remain hidden between its numerous verses? Al-Kāfiyah al-Shāfiyyah was a popular text, recited by Ibn al-Qayyim himself to an enthusiastic audience. The number of glosses written on the poem also indicates its importance in the eyes of later generations. Today, however, the persistence of its presentation as a Taymiyan or Salafi creed in verse sterilizes the poem of its emotional components and colors it as yet another dull theological work on the divine attributes.

Conclusion
Al-Kāfiyah al-Shāfiyyah, a multi-layered poem of outstanding volume, was composed as a response to the formative events of the Taymiyan circle, that is, Ibn Taymiyah’s miḥan. Al-Kāfiyah al-Shāfiyyah is labeled as a theological-polemical work on the divine attributes and anthropomorphism, written in verse for didactic and mnemonic purposes. However, Ibn al-Qayyim composed the poem in

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106 See the introduction to Bori and Holtzman, A Scholar in the Shadow, 25. Several unknown findings about Al-Kāfiyah al-Shāfiyyah’s proliferation in Damascus will be presented in my “Tashbih, Ḥashwiyya, and Takfīr: Taqī al-Dīn al-Subkī’s Counterattack on the Later Ḥanbalis,” in Holtzmann, Defining Anthropomorphism: The Challenge of Islamic Fundamentalism (Edinburgh, forthcoming).
107 For a thorough survey of glosses, some of which are still in manuscript, see: Al-Kāfiyah al-Shāfiyyah BAZ, 1:51–106.
order to satisfy various emotional and probably social needs of Ibn Taymiyah’s followers—whether educated or laymen. *Al-Kāfiyah al-Shāfiyah* helped these people reshape and strengthen their communal identity by telling (or reciting) a martyrrological narrative. According to this narrative, the followers of Ibn Taymiyah are the successors of previous generations of adherents to the Quran and the Sunnah, who suffered a great deal at the hands of the intellectual elite. The last round of the battle between the adherents of the Quran and Sunnah—the traditionalists—and the rationalistic elite was the *miḥan* of Ibn Taymiyah. The battle between good and evil is not yet concluded, but the poem promises its audience that victory awaits, and in any case, the brave warriors of the Quran will receive their full recompense in the afterlife.

Ibn al-Qayyim uses the vehicle of the highly artistic *qaṣīdah* to its fullest: he succeeds in expressing such a wide range of emotions throughout this so-called “Taymiyan creed in verse” by skillfully using various rhetorical and poetical devices that the artistic value of the poem can no longer be dismissed. All these devices are invested in the goal of arousing in the audience a sense of self-victimization. The martyrrological narrative overshadows to some degree the theological aspects or layers of the poem; however, these aspects are indeed the lion’s share of the poem, and should not be neglected. Ibn al-Qayyim’s success in building a poem in the guise of a theological treatise, which hides between its lines the kind of verses that are meant to unite individuals into a community facing a mighty enemy, is indeed impressive. The reception of the poem in Ibn al-Qayyim’s times and after is the matter for a different line of investigation.108

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108 See my "Tashbih, Ḥashwiyya, and Takfīr."