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TO MY WIFE.



## INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

The following pages contain the record of the Imam Ahmed ibn Hanbal and of a struggle<sup>1)</sup> with which he stood connected, whose issues were so great as to warrant a close study of all that is involved in the movement. The history of Dogma in Islam as written by Western writers has given us an idea of the questions which were being disputed at this time, and the outward history of events has recorded in very meagre outline the most important public occurrences of our narrative; but there has been, so far, no use made of the rich opportunity presented in the biography of Ahmed ibn Hanbal to see, the theological controversies of Islam in their connection with the outward history of the State. This kind of historical study is the more interesting, because from it we are enabled to understand the relation of the State to religion at that time, and the place occupied by religion and its teachers in the State.

i) The Mihna. This term, meaning in general usage a 'testing' or 'trial', whether by the accidents of fortune or the actions of men, is often used, (together with the vili Form of the verb i\*\*^V\*) with reference to a religious test with a view to obtaining assent to some particular belief or system of beliefs. We find this special usage largely illustrated in the records of the Mu'tazilite inquisition, the account of which is to appear in the sequel. It is also found in the accounts of the Orthodox inquisition under the Khalif ICahir 200 years later. Most commonly, the whole\* persecution extending from the year 218 A. H. to 234 A. H. is called the Miljna.

We have referred above to the issues of the Mihna, as the persecution inaugurated by al-Ma<sup>3</sup>mun is called. The importance of them lies in the fact that they settled the orthodox character of Islam for all following ages; and in the preservation of orthodoxy lies the preservation of Islam itself, in our judgment. Had Rationalism succeeded in bringing about by persecution a general abandonment of orthodoxy, it is probable that the principle of free thought, without recognition of authority, would have had a disintegrating effect within Islam itself, and would have made it much more susceptible to modifying and reforming influences from without; so that, in time, we should have seen standards of faith and life, which contravene our reason as the Koran and Tradition do, given up for something more satisfying to reason and moral judgment. We need not enter into the question whether any good came from the preservation of orthodoxy, further than to say that if Islam was to continue to be Islam, to preserve orthodoxy was the best way to accomplish such a result.

We ought to give Rationalism credit for having asserted the principle, un-Islamic though it be, that thought must be free in the search for truth. The abuse of free-thinking, however, in a love of speculation for speculation's sake, and in an inordinate desire of controversial victory is, in the history of this period, abundantly exemplified.

Ahmed ibn Hanbal during his whole career subsequent to the death of the Imam al-Shafi'î (204 A. H.) was the most remarkable figure in the camp of Mohammedan orthodoxy, and during the course of the Mihna did more than any other individual to strengthen the resistance of his party to the repressive efforts of the Khalifs and their officers. He stood for the standing or falling of orthodoxy in its time of trial; and there is little exaggeration in the statement, made more than once concerning him, that 'all men were looking to him for an example, that as he decided on the test as to the Koran being applied to him, so they might follow\*.

We have some interesting circumstantial evidence of

Ahmed's position and influence among the people from the way in which he was treated by the Khalifs. Ai-Ma<sup>D</sup>mun had made up his mind to cite him to appear with the first seven men to whom he put the test, but even the violent bigot Ahmed ibn Abu Dowad the Chief-Kadi advised his master not to summon him, doubtless recognizing that success with the seven men would be much more difficult should Ahmed be with them, and feeling that the result of their trial would better determine whether or not it would be wise to attack one greater than they. Al-Ma<sup>D</sup>mun's letter to his governor in Baghdad after the latter had examined the doctors' treats with gentleness Ahmed ibn Hanbal, when one reads what he had to say about most of the other doctors there alluded to. In the case of al-Mu<sup>c</sup>tasim, we must bear in mind that he did not scourge Ahmed until he had exhausted every means to save him, by threats, arguments and entreaties. He declared that had al-Ma<sup>^</sup>mun not ordered him to deal with him and such as he, he would have had nothing to do with the infliction of the punishment. Furthermore, the scourging took place in the court-yard of the palace unknown to the mass of the people, who stood outside waiting for the announcement as to how the trial had ended. As soon as they suspected that their Imam was being tortured, there was a tremendous excitement; and it seemed as if the Khalifs' palace would become an object of assault, when al-Mu<sup>c</sup>tasim had Ahmed's uncle °Ishak brought out, and had this man falsely intimate to them that he had not harmed his nephew in the least. To make himself still more secure against the danger of a popular uprising, al-Mu<sup>c</sup>tasim kept Ahmed within the precincts of the palace until the evening, and then dressed him up in gala costume and sent him under cover of dusk to his dwelling. We may consider it as significant of Ahmed's standing among the people that there were no further attempts to coerce him during the remaining fifteen years of the Mihna, though we are assured that he was active in teaching and as popular as he ever had been, or even more

so. Al-WatruVs treatment furnishes some evidence to shew how he regarded Ahmed's influence. We are told that, despite the urging of Ibn Abu Dowad, he would not cite Ahmed for examination before him, but sent word to the Imam to remove from his country; a good proof that Ahmed had great power with the people. The biographer adds that he does not know whether the Khalif refrained from dealing with Ahmed because of admiration for his steadfastness, or because of fear that evil consequences might come upon him should he lay violent hands upon so holy a man. For al-Mutawakkil we need say little here. His attention to Ahmed and the messages which he sent him point clearly to his popularity and influence.

The religious sentiment in the Muslim populace had not much sympathy with the loose views and free living of the liberal teachers. Hence it was that they idolized as they did a man like Ahmed ibn Hanbal. His intense devotion to the things most venerated and cherished by the people: God, the Prophet, the Koran, the Tradition, the Sunna of the Prophet, and the Communion of the Faithful, endeared him to the mass of the common folk. He was, also, a remarkable example of an effort which always excited reverence in the breast of the Muslim, namely, the effort 'to bring himself near to God and thus secure a good reward from him'. Those who are familiar with the stock expressions of Mohammedan piety will understand what this means in the case of a sincere and earnest religionist. Judging by the record of a host of extravagant visions of blessedness in Paradise which men had of the Imam Ahmed after his departure from the world, one cannot doubt that all good Muslims believed him to have obtained even more than the good reward for which he had hoped.

That Ahmed ibn Hanbal has come to be regarded as the founder of the Hanbalite Madhhab, or School, is not to be wondered at, though it is not because of any intention on his part, as far as I can see. He was a great saint and defender of orthodoxy, and it is due to this fact that his pupils and

admirers, after his death, sought to give form to their master's teachings and compacted themselves into a sect or school of theology. I do not believe that Ahmed himself had the idea that such would occur. That a school was formed spontaneously is a testimony to the powerful impression of the man's personality upon his own age and that following. The things which the Muslims reckon to Ahmed's praise are his personal life, his intensely orthodox teaching, and his maintenance of his teaching in the face of persecution. He was learned in only one direction, that is, in the Koran, Tradition, the Consensus of usage and opinion among the Faithful. These things he knew thoroughly; of worldly learning he does not appear to have had any great store. The kind of knowledge he had, supplementing great courage and firmness and much natural shrewdness, was his effective weapon in the controversial warfare which he had to wage. Ahmed's great book the Musnad is the best monument to that knowledge in which he especially excelled. It exercised such an influence, in itself and in the works derived from it, for the maintenance of Tradition in its worthy place as a basis of theology, that its author's career ought to be known. We will then see the real life which was so steadying in its effect upon Mohammedan religious thought, and which was but followed up in its effect by the book which it produced.

Some native biographers and historians have noticed the man and the persecution in which he suffered for his faith with too flattering recognition of Ahmed's worth and services. Others whose interest is more secular and who record, for the most part, only the outward events of civil history have often passed over the religious movement of Ahmed's time with little or no notice. But there is a significance about the man and the movement which the greatest of the chroniclers, such as Tabari, have not been slow to recognize. Abu<sup>D</sup>l-Mahasin, who professes to be writing the annals of Egypt, but whose interest in religious persons and events is evident on almost every page of his work, has done full

J<sup>us</sup> . to the general course of events in connection with  
 °Mihna and to the public career of Ahmed ibn Hanbal.  
 In the narrative which follows, I have sought to give the  
 connected story of my subject's life from its beginning to  
 its close. The account expands, however, at that point where  
 his life becomes a factor in the public history of the time,  
 in order that we may have a fair impression of the whole  
 course of religious events then transpiring, and may, also,  
 see more clearly Ahmed ibn Hanbal in the arena where he,  
 more than elsewhere, won for himself that great fame which  
 has placed him among the chief heroes and saints of his faith.

It should be remarked that European writers have too  
 often written their accounts in a spirit of antipathy toward  
 the orthodox theology of Mohammedanism, and have given  
 more than a due share of commendation to the Mu<sup>c</sup>tazilites  
 (Rationalists). They were, it is true, advocates of the freedom  
 of thought, but were, none the less, in many cases, too  
 self-indulgent and pleasure-loving to be credited with the  
 highest moral aims or earnestness. It is doubtful whether,  
 in most instances, their championship of free thinking was  
 from any lofty conception of what constitutes true freedom.  
 It would appear to be rather the motive of convenience that  
 moved them to take the course they took. They preached  
 the gospel of Freedom because they felt the Law and the  
 Commandment to impose an inconvenience upon them, so  
 that they could not do as they wished. All praise is due  
 to the sincere men who loved freedom and sought it as the  
 right of every man, but the sequel will shew not many of  
 such men in that field of history which it covers.

The characters of the four Khalifs al-Ma<sup>D</sup>mun, al-Mu<sup>c</sup>tasim,  
 al-Wathil< and al-Mutawakkil will receive some additional  
 light from the narrative which follows; as a result, probably  
 that of the first and last named will receive a different  
 judgment from that which has been passed hitherto. Al-  
 Ma<sup>D</sup>mun, the scholar and patron of scholars, the first free-  
 thinking Khalif who took a real interest in religion, will be  
 more fully discovered as a man intolerant toward those who

differed from him, even to the degree of becoming an intense persecutor. As to his liberal tendencies, it is not likely we shall find any reason to change our judgment. He had a quick and very capable mind, and hated to be fettered. He believed he had the right to think to the full extent of his opportunity, and to make opportunity for mental ranging where he had none. Had he stopped at this point, he would have presented to us a record of great service to his fellow-men accomplished by moral means; but when he rejected what he deemed a spiritual tyranny, only to turn spiritual and physical tyrant himself, the pure quality of his early aspirations is for us sadly spoiled.

Al-Mutawakkil is a Khalif whose character cannot possibly be what European historians have made it out to be — darker than the plague of darkness itself. He was orthodox, but his treatment of liberals will easily bear comparison with his predecessors' treatment of the orthodox theologians; while the attitude he assumed toward Ahmed ibn Hanbal does not present to us a man without redeeming qualities. It is not to be understood that we condone his terrible treatment of individuals, and the gloating satisfaction with which he sometimes related his own barbarities. Nor would we soften terms over his treatment of Jews and Christians. But the man was a fanatical religionist, and many of his deeds must be viewed from the religious standpoint to a greater extent than they have been heretofore.

It will be seen that, in regard to some other points, I have indicated in a footnote here and there a difference of opinion from some of the modern authorities whose works have been consulted. But, none the less, I avail myself of the present opportunity to say that the books of scholars like Steiner, von Kremer, Houtsma and Goldziher have been of great service to me, and that I am fully appreciative of the service their contributions have rendered to our knowledge of that period of Mohammedan history with which my sketch professes also to deal.

In my work I have derived most of the material used

from three manuscripts in the Library of the University of Leiden; i) Cod. 311a, which, with its companion Cod. 311£, represents the 5<sup>th</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> vols, respectively, of a five volume Ms. of the 4J^I &Jl:> or y ^ l Kxb> of Abu Nu<sup>c</sup>aim Ahmed ibn Abdallah al-<sup>3</sup>Ispahani (d. 450). 2) Cod. 73 a, which was not in the University collection of Mss. at the time that Dozy prepared his Catalogue, and is, therefore, not described. Its companion volume, Cod. 73^ Goh, is however described. The two volumes form together one transcript of the work of TajVd-Din Abdu<sup>D</sup>l-Wahhab ibnu<sup>D</sup>l-Subki (d. 771), entitled aUajUiIt oliuL: 3) Cod. 1917, which is likewise not described in the University Catalogue, but will be found in the Catalogue of Landberg, "Catalogue de Manuscrits arabes provenant d'une Bibliotheque privee a el-Medina et appartenant a la Maison E. J. Brill, Leide", p. 53, Cod. 188, Ahmed el-Maqrizi (f 845) ^AXS> ^ cX^i wolLc *Autographe de Vauteur.*

The biography of Ahmed ibn Hanbal in Abu Nu<sup>c</sup>aim is found pp. 138—161 and in al-Subki pp. 132—143. I have made most extensive use of the former of these two, as being the most detailed and circumstantial account of my subject's life. It is the oldest account of the three, and shews that fact *in* the amount of gossip and personal detail which it records, and which the later accounts have omitted. The narrative in al-Subki affords a great deal of matter touching Ahmed's part in the Mihna, but not so much for the biography before and after that time. Al-Maqrizi's contribution is almost sure to be a portion of his MokafTa, and is a good piece of biographical writing, well-arranged, concise in expression, and covering fully the life and relations of Ahmed. Considered as a literary production, it is a better account than that of Abu Nu<sup>c</sup>aim, because of its compactness and system; but, for one who is gathering materials to compose a sketch having itself a similar purpose to Maqrizi's, as might be expected, the more diffuse narrative of Abu Nu<sup>c</sup>aim, with its accumulation of traditional accounts bearing on many minor points in Ahmed's career, has much more to offer.

As is pointed out in a footnote Tabari's Annales have been followed for the letters of the Khalif al-Ma<sup>D</sup>mun. The same source, also, has afforded some useful information touching matters of more public interest during the progress of the Mihna.

My endeavor has been to use the materials gathered from these and other sources in such a way as to make many witnesses contribute each something complementary to the testimony of his fellows, and yet have the whole convey the impression of a continuous narration.

To my greatly esteemed Professor, Doctor M. J. De Gocje, Professor of Arabic in the University of Leiden, I am indebted for direction, advice, and encouragement without which it would have been impossible to have accomplished the result that is here presented. I am very thankful to him for this, as also for his great courtesy as Interpres Legati Warneriani in placing at my disposal the three manuscripts which have been used in the preparation of the work.

Leiden, Feby 4th, 1897.

WALTER M. PATTON.

## AHMED IBN HANBAL AND THE MIHNA.

### I.

*Ahmed's* Ahmed ibn Hanbal was born in the month of Birth and Rabi<sup>0</sup> the first, 164 A. H. \*). The home of his parents Family Con-was in Khorasan<sup>2</sup>). His father Mohammed ibn Han-nec ions. was one of the descendants of a captain in the Abbaside army in Khorasan which fought to overthrow the Omayyads<sup>3</sup>). The family left Khorasan to take up residence in Baghdad, however, and Ahmed was born a few days or months after their arrival in the latter city<sup>4</sup>). We are not informed what family his parents had beside himself, and in none of the sources of information to which I have had access is there, excepting of a brother of his father's, <sup>D</sup>Ishak ibn Hanbal<sup>5</sup>) and a son of this man, Hanbal ibn Tshal^ ibn Hanbal<sup>6</sup>), any mention of a relative of his father's or his own generation. His lineage was of pure Arabic stock<sup>7</sup>) from the family of Shaiban of the great tribe of Bekr ibn Wa<sup>3</sup>il. Ahmed is rarely called 'ibn Mohammed', the name

i) Ibn Chall. N°. 19, Dhahabi, Liber Class. 8, N°. 18, Abu'l-Mahasin I, 735 ff-

2) Jacut I I, 777.

3) Abfi Nu<sup>c</sup>aim, Leiden Ms. 3110, 150/<sup>^</sup>, وكان ابيه من ابناء قواد خراسان

4) Ibn Chall. N°. 19, Dhahabi, Liber Class. 8, N°. 18, Al-Nawawt, Biog. Dicty. p. Ifl.

5) Abu<sup>D</sup>I-Mah. I, 771.

6) Abu<sup>D</sup>I-Mah. II, 76; cf. p. 26, l. 5 infra.

7) Al-Makrlzi, Leiden Ms, 1917, p. 1, واصله من العرب قال يحيى بن

معين ما رايت خيرا من احمد ما افخر علينا قط بالعربية ولا ذكرها

of his paternal grandfather taking the place, of that of his father, probably from the fact that the latter died at thirty years of age while his son was still in infancy. On the death of the father, the responsibility for Ahmed's care and training devolved upon his mother, whose name and history we do not know \*).

*Years of Study and Teachers.* We are without any details of his early years and know merely that he continued to reside in Baghdad until the year 179 A. H. In this year, when fifteen years of age, he began the study of the Tradition<sup>2</sup>). He first went to the lecture-room of Abdallah ibn al-Mubarak, who came to Baghdad for the last time in 179 A. H. He was too late in going, however, as Ibn al-Mubarak had left the city to take part in an expedition to Tarsus<sup>3</sup>). Malik ibn<sup>3</sup>Anas, too, died in the very year in which Ahmed began to study; and the latter used to say that he had been deprived of Malik ibn<sup>D</sup>Anas and Hammad ibn Zaid, but that God had given him in their place Sofyan ibn<sup>c</sup>Uyaina and Tsma<sup>c</sup>il ibn<sup>c</sup>Ulayya<sup>4</sup>). His first teacher was Hushaim ibn Bashir al-

i) That Ahmed's father did not die before his boy was born will appear from the following: Abu Nu<sup>c</sup>aim, p. 138 £, **وَتُوْفِي أَبُو مُحَمَّدٍ بِنِ حَنْبَلٍ**

**وَلَهُ ثَلَاثُونَ سَنَةً فَوَلِيَّتُهُ أُمُّهُ قَالَ أَبِي كَانَ قَدْ نَفَسَ أُذُنِي الرَّجُلِ**

2) Dhahabi, Lib. Class. 8, N°. 18.

3) Abu Nu<sup>c</sup>aim, 138 a, **وَكَانَ ابْنُ الْمُبَارَكِ قَدِيمًا فِي هَذِهِ السَّنَةِ وَهِيَ**  
**آخِرُ قَدِيمَةٍ قَدِمَتْهَا وَذَهَبَتْ إِلَى مَجْلِسِهِ فَتَقَالُوا خَرَجَ إِلَى طَرَسُوسَ فَنُوْفِي**  
**سَنَةَ أَحَدِي وَعِثْمَانِينَ**

Abdallah ibn al-Mubarak d. 181 A. H., al-Nawawi Biog. Dicty Ho.

4) Al-Makiizi, p. 2, **وَكَانَ رَضِيَ بِنْتِاسَفَ عَلَى عِلْمِ اجْتِمَاعِهِ بِالْإِمَامِ**  
**مَالِكٍ لِأَنَّ مَالِكًا رَضِيَ تُوْفِي السَّنَةَ الَّتِي طَلَبَ الْإِمَامُ أَحْمَدُ فِيهَا الْحَدِيثَ**  
**وَهِيَ سَنَةُ تِسْعٍ وَسَبْعِينَ وَمِائَةً فَكَانَ يَقُولُ فَاتَنِي مَالِكٌ فَأَخْلَفَ اللَّهُ**

Sulami, to whom he went in the year 179. With Hushaim he studied in this year and, then, to receive more particular instructions in difficult traditions, he continued to study with him three years longer and part of a fourth year up to the time of Hushaim's death, which occurred in the year 183 A. H. From Hushaim's dictation he wrote the **كتاب الحجة**, containing about 1000 traditions, a part of the **تفسير**, the

^La'i and some minor writings. He is said to have learned from this teacher in all more than three thousand traditions<sup>1</sup>). For the study of tradition he visited Kufa and Basra, Mecca, Medina, Yemen, Syria and Mesopotamia<sup>2</sup>) and among the other teachers under whom he studied were Sofyan ibn ^Uyaina (f 198), ^Ibrahim ibn Sa^d (f 183), Yahya ibn Sa^id al-Kattan (f 198), Wakf (f 196), Ibn ^Ulayya (f 193), Ibn Mahdi (f 198), Abd al-Razzak (f 2ii), Jarir ibn Abd al-Hamid (f 188), al-Walid ibn Muslim (f 194), ^Ali ibn Hisham ibn al-Barid, Mu^tamar ibn Suleiman (f 187), Ghundar (f 193), Bishr ibn al-Mufaddal (f 186), Ziyad al-Baka<sup>D</sup>i, Yahya ibn Abu Za'ida (f 182), Abu Yusuf the Kadi (f 182), Ibn Numair (f 234), Yazid ibn Harun (f 206), al-Hasan ibn Musa al-'Ashyab (f 209), 'Ishak ibn Rahawaih (1238), ^Ali ibn al-Madini (f 234), and Yahya ibn Ma^in (f 233)<sup>3</sup>).

عليّ سفيان بن عيينة وفاتى حماد بن زيد فأخلف الله عليّ  
اسماعيل بن عليّة

1) Abu Nu^aim, 139 <7, Q.C O\*\*A^\$ ^ J\* [j^JLa JwAiafli ^ j! <كز>

هشيم سنة تسع وسبعين الا انسى لم اعتقد بعض سماعى وثمناة  
سنة ثمانين واحدى وثنتين وثلاثه ومات فى سنة ثلاثة وثمانين  
كتبنا عنه كتاب الحج نحو من الف حديث وبعض التفسير والقضاء  
وكتبنا صغارا قال قلت تكلم ثلاثه آلاف حديث قال اكثر

2) On the subject of travelling about to acquiie a knowledge of tiaditions cf. Goldzihei, Moh. Studien II, p. 176.

3) Cf. al-Nawawt Biog. Diet. If I\* f.; al-Subkt, p. 133; Dhahabt, Lib. Clab. 8, N°. 18. Dhahabi adds Balu ibn ^Asad. Abu<sup>1</sup>i-Mah. I, 638, makes Kubaisa

He studied with al-Shafi<sup>c</sup>i the Fihch and the 'Usui al-Fifeh<sup>1</sup>). We do not know much of the history of Ahmed until the year 218 A. H. is reached. In that year the Mihna was begun by the Khalif al-Ma'mun and Ahmed comes at once into prominence. He must have been studying with Abu Yusuf the Kadi before 182 A. H. when Abu Yusuf died. His personal intercourse with al-Shafi<sup>c</sup>i began in 195 A. H., when the latter came to Baghdad, and lasted till 197 A. H., when al-ShafTi went to Mecca. After a break it was renewed in Mecca, and after that, probably, for a brief space of time in Baghdad, when al-Shafi<sup>c</sup>i returned there for a month in 198 A. H. before finally taking his departure from <sup>c</sup>Irak<sup>2</sup>). We know that Ahmed was in Baghdad in this year. Wakf ibn al-Jarrah he knew very intimately before his death in 197 A. H. Ahmed had such familiarity with this man's traditions that he gave his son liberty to take any of Wakf's books that he pleased, and told him that, if he would give him any tradition whatever from it, he would give him the <sup>3</sup>Isnad for it, or, if he would give him the <sup>D</sup>Isnad, he would give him the tradition. Wakf had his tradition from Sofyan from Salama, but Ahmed seems to have been able to add to his own teacher's knowledge in respect to the traditions of Salama<sup>3</sup>). With Sofyan ibn <sup>c</sup>Uyaina he studied in Mecca

ibn <sup>c</sup>Olj:ba one of Ahmed's teachers; I, 681, Khalaf ibn Hisham al-Bazzar; I, 715, Esmail ibn ^Ibrahim ibn Bistam; I. 734, Kutaiba ibn Said ibn Jamil. By Shahrast&ni Wakf and Yazid ibn Harun are classed as Shyites, Haarbr. Tians. I. 218.

1) al-Makrizi, p. 2, واجتمع بالامام الشافعي رضي الله عنه الفقه واصولہ

2) De Goeje, Z. D. M. G. XLVII, p. 115; Ibn Chall. N°. 569.

3) al-Subki, p. 132, وقال قتبية بن سعيد كان وكيع اذا كانت العتمة  
ينصرف معه احمد بن حنبل فيقف على الباب فيذاكره فاخذ ليلة  
بعضادتي الباب ثم قال يابا عبد الله [احمد] اريد ان القى عليك  
حديث سفيان، قال هات قال تحفظ عن سفيان، عن سلمة بن كهيل

before 198 A. H., in which year Sofyan died. We have no means of fixing the exact date when he studied with Sofyan. It was, no doubt, on the occasion of a pilgrimage, for Ahmed performed the Hajj five times in all<sup>1</sup>). It was also during the residence of al-Shafi'i in Mecca, in all likelihood, for we have it recorded that <sup>D</sup>Ishak ibn Rahawaih on two occasions disputed there with al-Shafi'i -during Ahmed's residence there, and it would seem also in his presence<sup>2</sup>).

The following incident is characteristic of the man. While in Mecca, Ahmed's clothes and effects were stolen during his absence from his lodgings in the hours when he was engaged in study with his teacher (Sofyan). On his return, the woman of the house told him of the theft, but his only enquiry was as to whether the writing-tablets had been preserved. On learning that they had, he asked for nothing more. Still, owing to the torn state of his clothes, he was forced

كذا قال نعم ثَمَّا يحيى فيقول سلمة كذا وكذا فيقول ثَمَّا عبد الرحمن فيقول وعن سلمة كذا وكذا فيقول انت حدثنا حتى نفرغ من سلمة ثم يقول احمد فتحفظ [عن] سلمة كذا وكذا فيقول وكيع لا فيأخذ في حديث شيخ شيخ قال فلم يزل قائماً حتى جاءت الجارية فقالت قد طلع الكوكب أو قالت الزهرة وقال عبد الله قال لي ابي خذ اى كتاب شئت من كتب وكيع فان شئت ان تسألنى عن شىء (المكلام marg) حتى اخبرك بالاسناد وان شئت بالاسناد حتى اخبرك عن المكلام

1) al-Nawawf Biog. Dict., p. 144, l. 16.

2) al-Subki, pp. 157, 158, مناظرة بين الشافعى واسحاق رضيهما روى عن اسحاق بن راهويه قال كنا بمكة والشافعى بها واحمد بن حنبل ايضا بها الخ  
مناظرة اخرى بينهما . . . . . فسكت الشافعى فلما سمع ذلك احمد بن حنبل الخ

to remain away for several days from the lecture-room, until the anxiety of his fellow-students led them to seek him put and put him in the way of earning a little money to procure a change of garments. Their proffered gifts or loans he would not on any account accept<sup>1</sup>).

Abd al-Razzak Ahmed first met in Mecca. On one of his

1) *Abû Nu'aim, 143 a*, قال حدثني ابي ثَنَا احمد قال ، اصلى على عبد الله بن احمد [بن حنبل] من حفظه قال نزلنا بمكة دارا وكان فيها شيخ يكنى بابي بكر بن سماعة وكان من اهل مكة قال نزل علينا ابو عبد الله في هذه الدار وانا غلام قال فقالت امي التزم عذا الرجل فاخدمه فانه رجل صالح فكننتُ اخدمه وكان يخرج يطلب الحديث فسروى متاعه وقماشه فجاء فقالت له امسى دخل عليك السراق فسرقوا قماشك فقال ما فعلت الالواح قالت له امسى في الطاق قال وما سأل عن شيء غيرها (142 a) حدثنا سليمان بن احمد ثَنَا عبد الله بن احمد بن حنبل ثَنَا علي بن الجهم بن بدر قال كان لنا جزار فاخرج اليها كتابا فقال اتعرفون هذا لخط فلنا نعم هذا خط احمد بن حنبل فقلنا له كيف كتب ذلك قال كنا بمكة مقيمين عند سفیان بن عيينة ففقدنا احمد بن حنبل ابانا له نره ثم جئنا اليه نسأل عنه فقال لنا اهل الدار التي هو فيها هو في ذلك البيت فحجنا اليه والباب مردود عليه واذا عليه خلعان فقلنا يا ابا عبد الله ما خبرك له نرك منذ ايام قال سرقت ثيابي فقلت له معي دنائير فسان شئت خذ فريضا وان شئت صلته فاني ان يفعل فقلت تكتب لي باجرة قال نعم فاخرجت دينارا واني ان ياخذ وقال اشتر لي ثوبا واقطعه نصفين فأوما أنه يأنزر بنصف وبنصف بالنصف الآخر وقال جئني ببقيته ففعلت فحجنتُ بوزي فكتب لي فهذا خطه

pilgrimages Yahya ibn Ma<sup>c</sup>in accompanied Ahmed ), and they made up their minds that, after the completion of the pilgrimage, they would go to San<sup>c</sup>a in Yemen and study Tradition with Abd al-Razzak\*. On arriving at Mecca they met with the teacher, who had, like themselves, come to perform the Hajj. Yahya ibn Ma<sup>c</sup>in introduced Ahmed to him, and, after making known their wish to study with him, an appointment was made by Ibn Ma<sup>c</sup>in in accordance with which they should receive his instructions in Mecca instead of going to San<sup>c</sup>a. Ibn Ma<sup>c</sup>in told Ahmed of this and the latter asked him why he had made such an arrangement. His reply was that it would save a month's journey each way and all the expenses of the trip. Ahmed, however, declared that he could not allow such considerations to overcome his pious resolutions, and, in the end, they did go to San<sup>c</sup>a and received there the traditions. He suffered great hardships on the way thither, for, though offered money sufficient to enable him to travel in comparative comfort, he refused to take it and hired himself to one of the camel drivers of a caravan going to the place. At San<sup>c</sup>a, likewise, he lived in penury and suffering, though help was tendered him such as would have secured him against anything of the kind. Abd al-Razzak himself said that Ahmed remained with him almost two years, and that when he came he offered him money, saying that the country was one where trading was difficult and to gain his livelihood would be impossible. Ahmed was inflexible, however, saying that he had a sufficiency for his needs. The traditions which he had from this teacher were those of al-Zuhri from Salim ibn Abdallah from his father and the traditions of al-Zuhri from Sa<sup>c</sup>id ibn al-Musayyib from Abu Huraira. Ahmed was fortunate in having studied with Abd al-Razzak before the year 200 A. H., for his reputation as a sound traditionist was impaired after that date. It is in keeping with Ahmed's character that he should, as we are informed, have put into practice every tradition which he

1) Abu<sup>3</sup>l-Feda, Annates, Reiske ed, II. 186.

learned from Abd al-Razzak, even to one in which the Prophet is represented as giving to Abu Taiba, a surgeon, a din&r for cupping him. Following this example Ahmed, too, asked to be cupped and gave the surgeon a dinar \*).

حَتَّى أَحْمَدُ حَاجَاتٍ رَافَقَ فِي بَعْضِهَا يَحْيَى بْنُ ١) al-Makīfī, p. 7,  
 مَعِينٍ وَاتَّفَقَا عَلَى أَنَّهُمَا بَعْدَ انْقِضَاءِ الْحَجِّ بِمَصْبِيانَ إِلَى صَنْعَاءَ الْيَمِينِ  
 يَأْخُذَانِ الْحَدِيثَ عَنْ عَبْدِ الرَّزَّاقِ فَوَجَدَاهُ فِي الطَّوَافِ فَلَمَّا فَرَغَ  
 اجْتَمَعَا عَلَيْهِ وَكَانَ أَحْمَدُ لَا يَعْرِفُ شَخْصَهُ وَإِنَّمَا يَعْرِفُهُ بِأَسْمِهِ فَقَالَ لَهُ  
 يَحْيَى بْنُ مَعِينٍ هَذَا أَخِيكَ أَحْمَدُ بْنُ حَنْبَلٍ فَقَالَ حَيَّيَاهُ اللَّهُ إِنَّهُ  
 لِيُبَلِّغُنِي عَنْهُ كُلُّ مَا أُسِّرَ بِهِ تَبَتُّهُ اللَّهُ تَعَالَى عَلَى ذَلِكَ ثُمَّ وَاعَدَ يَحْيَى  
 الشَّيْخَ عَلَى فِرَاءَةٍ فَلَمَّا انصَرَفَا عَنْهُ قَالَ أَحْمَدُ لِابْنِ مَعِينٍ لَسَمَّ اخَذْتَ  
 عَلَى الشَّيْخِ الْمَوْعِدَ فَقَالَ لَهُ يَحْيَى قَدْ أَرَاكَ اللَّهُ مَسِيرَهُ شَهْرًا وَرُجُوعَ  
 شَهْرًا وَالنَّفَقَةَ فَعَالَ الْأَمَامُ أَحْمَدُ مَا كَانَ اللَّهُ لِيُرَاقِي وَقَدْ نَوَيْتَ نِيَّةَ أَفْسَادِهَا  
 بِمَا تَقُولُ ثُمَّ سَافَرَا إِلَى صَنْعَاءَ الْيَمِينِ وَاخْتَصَمَ عَنْهَا بِهَا وَصَحَّ عَنْ الْأَمَامِ  
 أَحْمَدُ إِنَّهُ قَالَ مَا كَتَبْتُ حَدِيثًا إِلَّا وَقَدْ عَمِلْتُ بِهِ حَتَّى مَرَّ بِي أَنْ  
 رَسُولَ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ اخْتَصَمَ وَأَعْطَى أَبَا طَيْبَةَ الْخِجَامَ دِينَارًا فَاحْتَاخَمْتُ  
 لَمَّا خَرَجَ أَحْمَدُ بْنُ حَنْبَلٍ, 141 هـ, Abū Nu'aim, . وَأَعْطَيْتُ لِلْحِجَامِ دِينَارًا  
 إِلَى عَبْدِ الرَّزَّاقِ انْفِطَعَتْ بِهِ النَّفَقَةُ فَكِرَى نَفْسَهُ مِنْ بَعْضِ الْجَمَّالِينَ  
 إِلَى أَنْ وَاقَى صَنْعَاءَ وَقَدْ كَانَ اصْحَابُهُ عَرَضُوا عَلَيْهِ الْمُوَاسَاةَ فَلَمْ يَقْبَلْ مِنْ  
 أَحَدٍ شَيْئًا . . . . يَقُولُ (عَبْدُ بْنُ حُمَيْدٍ) سَمِعْتُ عَبْدَ الرَّزَّاقِ يَقُولُ  
 قَدِمَ عَلَيْنَا أَحْمَدُ بْنُ حَنْبَلٍ هَاهُنَا فَاقَامَ سِتْنِينَ إِلَّا شَيْئًا فَقُلْتُ لَهُ يَا  
 عَبْدَ اللَّهِ خُذْ هَذَا لَشَيْءٍ دَقَعَهُ إِلَيْهِ فَانْتَفَعُ بِهِ فَإِنَّ أَرْضَنَا لَيْسَتْ  
 بِأَرْضِ مَتَنَجْرٍ وَلَا مَكْسَبٍ وَإِنَّا عَبْدُ الرَّزَّاقِ كَفَّهَ مَدَهَا فِيهَا دَفَائِرُ فَقَالَ  
 لَمَّا قَدِمَ أَحْمَدُ, 144 هـ, Abū Nu'aim; . أَحْمَدُ أَنَا بِخَيْرٍ وَهُوَ يَقْبَلُ مِنِّي  
 ابْنِ حَنْبَلٍ مَكَّةَ مِنْ عِنْدِ عَبْدِ الرَّزَّاقِ رَأَيْتُ بِهِ شَاكِبًا وَقَدْ تَبَيَّنَ

With Ishak ibn Rahawaih, who is called in the Kitab al-Fihrist (I. 230) a leading Hanbalite, he corresponded for a length of time, until Ishak took a letter of recommendation which Yahya ibn Yahya had written for him to Abdallah ibn Tahir, and received from the latter because of it both money and high position<sup>1</sup>).

*Afimed s* When still a youth Ahmed ibn Hanbal was held in reverence as an authority on the Tradition, *Period of Teaching.* and in the assemblies of the sheikhs was looked up to with great respect<sup>2</sup>). We do not know when his most

عليه اثر النصب والنصب فقلت [أى أحمد بن إبراهيم الدورقي] بلبا عبد الله لقد شققت على نفسك في خروجك إلى عبد الرزاق فقال ما أهون الشقة فيما استفدنا من عبد الرزاق كتبنا عنه حديث الزهري عن سالم بن عبد الله عن أبيه وحديث الزهري عن سعيد بن المسيب عن أبي هريرة رضى . . . قال أبى [أى أبو عبد الله] ما كتبنا عن عبد الرزاق من حفظه شيئاً إلا مجلس الأول وذلك أنا دخلنا بالليل فوجدناه في موضع جائساً فأملى علينا سبعين حديثاً ثم التفت إلى القوم فقال لو لا هذا ما حدثتكم يعنى أبى [أى أبو عبد الله] قال أبى [أبو عبد الله] وجالس عبد الرزاق معمرًا [مات سنة 153هـ] تسع سنين فكان يكتب عنه كل شيء يقول قال عبد الله وكل من سمع من عبد الرزاق بعد المائتين فسماعه ضعيف وسمع منه أبى قديماً

فدخل الحاجب 1) al-Nawawi Biog. Dict. 144 f. cf. al-Subki, p. 156, [أى ابن طاهر] فقال له رجل بالباب زعم أن معه رقعة يحيى بن يحيى إلى الأمير فقال يحيى بن يحيى قال نعم قال أدخله فدخل أسحف وثاوله الرقعة فأخذها عبد الله وقبلها واقعد أسحف بجانبه وقضى دينه ثلاثين ألف درهم وصبره من ندمائه

قال أبو نصر سمعت عبد بن حميد يقول 2) Abū Nu'aim, 144, كان في مساجد أظنه ببغداد وأصحاب الحديث يتذاكرون وأحمد يومئذ شاب إلا أنه المنظور إليه من بينهم الخ

active period of teaching and literary work occurred, but he was established as the greatest traditionist of his time when al-Ma<sup>3</sup>mun introduced the Mihna, and continued to teach until shortly after al-Wathi<sup>^</sup> came to the Khalifate when he was forced to give up teaching. He may have resumed teaching for a year or so after al-Mutawakkil came to power, but in 237 A. H. when he went to the camp he took an oath never to tell a tradition *in its integrity* as long as he lived, a vow which he appears to have kept<sup>1</sup>).

*His Works.* In regard to his books we know on the whole very little. He left at his death twelve loads and a half of books all of which he had memorized<sup>2</sup>). The names which have come down to us are the following: كتاب العليل - كتاب الزهد - كتاب الناسخ والمندسوخ - كتاب التفسير - الفرائض - كتاب الفصائل - كتاب المسائل - كتاب الأشربة - كتاب الايمان -<sup>3</sup> كتاب المناسك - كتاب الرد على الجهمية - كتاب طاعة الرسول - كتاب المسند.

*The Musnad.* Of one book, his great work, the Musnad, we have more definite particulars. It comprised the testimonies of more than 700 Companions of the Prophet, and was selected and compiled from 700,000 traditions (or according to another account from 750,000) and contained 30,000 (in some accounts 40,000) traditions. Ahmed boasted that whatever was in it was a reliable basis for argument, and that what was not contained in it was not to be regarded as a sound basis. He looked upon this book as an imam which was to settle all differences of opinion about any Sunna of the Prophet<sup>4</sup>). It has always had the greatest reputation in Mo-

1) Cf. Chapter II near the end; Chapter III near the beginning.

2) al-Nawawī, Biog. Dict. ۱۴۳.

3) Kitāb al-Fihrist I, ۲۲۹.

4) al-Subkī, p. 133, l. 20, واللف مسنده وهو اصل من اصول هذه الامة.

قال لنا [الامام] ان هذا الكتاب قد جمعته وانتقيته من اكثر من 27. 1  
سبعمائة وخمسين الفا فيما اختلف فيه المسلمون من حديث رسول

hammedan theological circles, and has been used as a basis of many smaller works and as a source of information by many authors. Its immense size and the very inconvenient method of its arrangement have, however, done a great deal to prevent its becoming much more used than it actually has been. In fact, it has been rarely mastered by any one individual, and perhaps as rarely transcribed by one person. Hence it is that, whereas there are a number of partial copies of the work, only one complete manuscript is known to-day\*).

The Musnad as compiled by Ahmed ibn Hanbal is no longer extant<sup>2)</sup>, nor does it seem to have survived his own age; for Abu Abd al-Rahman Abdallah Ahmed's son, who edited, with some additions of his own, the work of his

الله صلعم فأرجعوا اليه فان كان فيه والا ليس بحاجة . . . . فقال عملت هذا الكتاب امأا اذا اختلف الناس في سنة عن رسول الله صلعم رجع اليه وقال ايضا خرج الى المسند من سبعمائة الف حديث قال ابو موسى البديني ولم يخرج الا عمّن ثبت عنده صدقه وديانته دون من طعن [Cod. has these points. Read طعن] الله ابن الامام احمد رحمة الله عليهما قال سألت ابى عن عبد العزيز ابن ايان فقال لم اخرج عنه في المسند شيئا لَمَّا حَدَّثَ بِحَدِيثِ الْمَوَاقِيتِ تَرَكَتُهُ قَالَ أَبُو مُوسَى فَأَمَّا عِدَدُ أَحَادِيثِ الْمُسْنَدِ فَلَمْ أَرِ أَسْمَعَ مِنْ أَفْوَاهِ النَّاسِ أَنَّهَا أَرْبَعُونَ أَلْفًا إِلَى أَنْ فُرِزَتْ عَلَيَّ ابْنِ مَنْصُورِ بْنِ زُرَيْقٍ بِبِعْدَادِ قَالَ أَنَا أَبُو بَكْرٍ الْخَطِيبُ قَالَ قَالَ ابْنُ الْمُنَادِيِّ لَمْ يَكُنْ فِي الدُّنْيَا أَرَى عَنْ أَبِيهِ مِنْهُ يَعْنِي عَبْدَ اللَّهِ ابْنَ الْأَمَلِ أَحْمَدَ لِأَنَّهُ سَمِعَ الْمُسْنَدَ وَهُوَ ثَلَاثُونَ أَلْفًا وَالتَّفْسِيرُ وَهُوَ مِائَةٌ أَلْفًا وَعِشْرُونَ أَلْفًا الْحَجَّ

The sum 40000 for the traditions is that given in the Kitáb al-Fihrist I, 319, l. 22.

1) Goldziher, Z. D. M. G., L, 466 f.

2) Goldziher, Z. D. M. G., L, 473.

father after his death \*), speaks of what he heard from his father, what he read to his father from his own copy of the original page, and what he had gathered from books and papers belonging to his father, as being embodied in the edition which he had made<sup>2</sup>). In some cases he says that he 'thinks' he had a tradition from his father in such and such a form, in such and such a manner of communication, or under such and such a heading. These evidences seem to point to the absence of any book which could have been used to verify what he had in mind. The Musnad as now preserved to us is in the revised form given it by the editorial labours of Abdallah ibn Ahmed. It is mentioned, further, that an edition of the Musnad with certain supplementary traditions by the editor was made by Abu 'Omar Mohammed ibn Abd al-Wahid (f 345). A commentary in eighty sections making together ten volumes was prepared by Abu '1-Hasan ibn Abd al-Hadi al-Sindi (f n 39); an epitome called al-Durr al-Muntacad min Musnad Ahmed was compiled by Zain ad-Din 'Omar ibn Ahmed al-Shamma al-Halabi<sup>3</sup>) and, finally, an edition of the Musnad ordered alphabetically according to the names of the Companions of the Prophet from whom the traditions take their origin was made by the Jerusalem scholar Abu Bekr Mohammed ibn Abdallah al-Makdisi: ترتيب مسند احمد بن حنبل على حروف المعجم<sup>4</sup>). A printed edition of the work, based chiefly on a manuscript in the Library of the Sadat Wafa'iyah at Cairo was issued in 1896<sup>5</sup>).

The great work according to the boast of Ahmed himself was intended to be encyclopaedic in its aim, as far as traditions related to the Sunna of the Prophet were concerned. It apparently attempts to comprehend everything which in

1) Goldziher, Z. D. M. G., L, 472, 504.

2) Goldziher, Z. D. M. G., L, 497.

3) Haj. Hal. V, 534 f.

4) Goldziher, Z. D. M. G., L, 470.

5) Goldziher, Z. D. M. G., L, 468.

the author's judgment could possibly contribute to a complete notion of what the Sunna was. All the reliable materials coming down from the Companions were meant to be included within the book. Hence, only the very broadest tests were applied to the traditions which were accepted by the author. The main criterion was that the Isnad must be sound; that is, no man whose reputation for truthfulness or religious character was deemed unsatisfactory could be allowed to validate a tradition\*). The test of conflict with clear teaching of the Prophet elsewhere found was also applied, but not with the most thorough consistency<sup>2</sup>); and, finally, the duplicate traditions were excluded, though here, also, Ahmed's practice was not uniform<sup>3</sup>). In a work of such an aim we expect to find and in this work do find all kinds of traditions: those relating to ritual, legal precedents, moral maxims, fables, legends, historical incidents and biographical anecdotes<sup>4</sup>). Furthermore, we cannot find the same order which is observed in the great collections of al-Bokhan and Muslim. Their material was much less in quantity than Ahmed ibn Hanbal's and much narrower in its scope. They had a purpose much more special in view, which permitted of a real system being observed. But Ahmed's aim was simply to store up genuine traditions and nothing more<sup>5</sup>).

In such a collection, too, as that found in the Musnad any one acquainted with the genesis of Mohammedan tradition can understand that there would appear all sorts of inconsistencies and contradictions. Such, in fact, are found in the book. Sayings are attributed to the Prophet which never could have been uttered by him. He is represented as having prescience of events occurring long after his time, and as lending his countenance to views whose later origin

i) Goldziher, Z. D. M. G., L, 478 & note 1); v. note 4, p. 19.

2) Goldziher, Z. D. M. G., L, 480; v. note 4, p. 19.

3) Goldziher, Z. D. M. G., L, 481.

4) Goldziher, Z. D. M. G., L, 474.

5) v. note 4, p. 19.

is clearly known; opposite opinions and parties alike find their support in distinct traditions of the Musnad '). It might seem that there was room to question the honesty of the author who would thus leave all kinds of discrepancies in his work; but reflection will shew that a dishonest man would hardly admit or allow to remain in his compilation such things, and that the aim of Ahmed, comprehensive and unscientific as it was, sufficiently accounts for whatever of miscellaneous or contradictory character there appears. It is quite likely, too, that the Musnad was a collection brought together during many years, and one to which labor was not continuously devoted by the compiler. In the use of the work, also, after its completion there probably was no continuity observed. He would read a portion now and a portion again, a portion to this one and a portion to that one (only three persons are said to have heard it complete from Ahmed himself). These facts would make it difficult for him to have in mind and eye the whole work at one time, so as to perceive the mutual harmony or discrepancy of the parts of which it was composed. He, thus, might easily admit and with difficulty correct such inconsistencies as those of which we have spoken. With his aim, as we conceive it, however, inconsistencies made very little difference. He was but collecting sound traditions, and not supporting particular opinions or movements. It was not his idea to constitute himself a harmonist. Dishonesty in connection with any of the contents of the Musnad lies properly with other and earlier authorities than Ahmed. We have no record of his having been charged with fabricating traditions during his lifetime<sup>2</sup>). His great fault was the uncritical aim and method. Even in the Isnads, where he was supposed to be an excellent critic,

1)oldziher, Z. D. M. G., L, 47§, 4% f-

2)al-N;ing the trial before al-Mu<sup>c</sup>tasim it was not objected that any of his traditi<sup>i</sup> xr- arguments were unsound. When he was charged with plagiarizing a trad<sup>»</sup> ± (which he had not there cited), he was angry, and took pains to put his ad<sup>J</sup><saries to confusion. Cf. a passage in the long Arabic note in Chapter II

he appears to have been rather liberal. There are found lists of authorities with anonymous individuals even as the first sources of the traditions cited; a few names are given credit, also, who do not stand as reputable authorities in the opinion of many theologians. In the cases of most of the latter Ahmed, however, makes a special note\* to the effect that he sees no reason to refuse the traditions furnished by them. And, lastly, he favours at times the Kussas, who, while not altogether discountenanced as authorities, were not held in great repute \*).

Abdallah, Ahmed's son, did his part as editor with great conscientiousness, noting carefully his own additions to the materials gathered by his father, and inserting corrections and glosses with explicit statement of his own authorship of them. The traditions which he added to the Musnad appear to have been afterwards brought together by him in a separate book which bore the title **زوائد مسند الامام احمد بن حنبل لولده عبد الله الزاهد**. In some cases where Abdallah had heard a tradition found in the Musnad from another teacher as well as his father, he wrote a note to that effect when putting in the tradition concerned<sup>2</sup>).

During his lifetime Ahmed read the Musnad to his sons Salih and Abdallah and to his uncle Ishak ibn Hanbal, and they alone formed the favoured circle who heard the complete work from the lips of its author<sup>3</sup>).

As may be inferred from what has been already said,

i) Goldziher, Z. D. M. G., L, 471 f, 478 f; Cf. De Goeje, Gloss. Beladhoii and<sup>^</sup>Gloss. Fragm. Hist. Ar. **قص**. The Kussas having as stoitellers no very serious aim were naturally enough in discredit with serious traditionists, but it may well have been that such men actually furnished some sound traditions. According to the critical method then in vogue, the soundness of sue traditions would depend upon their contents to some extent, but more - the Isnads.

2) Goldziher, Z. D. M. G., L, 501 ff. Abdallah is said to have traditions, likewise, to his father's **كتاب الزهد**.

3) v. note 4, p. 19.

the great work of Ahmed is not arranged with any reference whatever to the subjects of the traditions it includes. Such an arrangement is found rather in that kind of tradition-collections called Musannafs, a class of works which properly belongs to a later development of Arabic literature than these Musnads. The latter class, of which Ahmed's book is representative, is ordered according to the earliest authorities or first sources of the traditions cited, and according to the localities where the author obtained his materials. In such an arrangement we would expect to find traditions bearing a particular colour and evincing a similar tendency brought together, according to the predilection or bias of the original authorities or of the localities made responsible for the traditions. This feature, which is almost inevitable in employing such a method, is a mere accident of the classification, and forms no part of the author's intention. Such a miscellaneous arrangement and the mass of the materials brought together made these Musnads of little general value as works of reference on account of their inconvenience, and led to such an undertaking as that of al-Makdisi to bring a more convenient order into the book of Ahmed ibn Hanbal. It does not diminish the awkwardness of his work, either, that the traditions of the same primitive authority should be found, some in a section classified according to the names of the men, and others in one or more sections classified according to the places in which the materials were gathered \*).

The order of the Musnad of Ahmed ibn Hanbal, as found in the recently published Cairo edition, is as follows;  
Vol. I, pp. 2—195, Traditions of ten Companions of the Prophet, including the first four Khalifs.

1 I, pp. 195—199, Four other Companions (principle of 3)ate classification not given).

1P- 199—206, The Ahlu °1-Bait.

2Aal-Ni  
tradil|j w—  
a trad|7  
his adiidziher, Z. D. M. G., L, 469 ff.

Vol. I, p. 206 to the end, Vol. II and Vol. III to p. 400,  
The well-known Companions.

Vol. III, pp. 400—503, Traditions of Meccans.

Vol. IV, pp. 2—88, Traditions of Medinans.

Vol. IV, pp. 88—239, Traditions of Syrians.

Vol. IV, pp. 239—419, Traditions of Kufans.

Vol. IV, p. 419—Vol. V, p. 113, Traditions of Basrans.

Vol. V, p. 113—Vol. VI, p. 29, The Ansar.

Vol. VI, pp. 29—467, The Women. (In pp. 383—403 of this section are put in some traditions **مسند العباثل** 1).

It should be carefully borne in mind that each one of the sections enumerated, as well as the whole work, is called a Musnad, e. g. The Musnad of the Meccans, the Musnad of the Ansar etc.<sup>2</sup>). Such is a general description of the long famous Musnad of the Imam Ahmed.

*Ahmed's Pupils.* We have the names of some of those who heard the Tradition from him, among whom were his teachers Abd al-Razzak, Ibn Mahdi and Yazid ibn Harun. Other pupils were Abu WValid, <sup>c</sup>Ali ibn al-Madini, al-Bokhari, Muslim, Abu Daud, al-Dhuhli, Abu Zur<sup>c</sup>a al-Razi, Abu Zur<sup>c</sup>a al-Dimashki, Ibrahim al-Harbi, Abu Bekr Ahmed ibn Mohammed ibn Hani ai-TiVi al-Athram, al-Baghawi, Obaidallah ibn Mohammed Abu <sup>D</sup>l-Jasim (his last pupil <sup>13</sup>), Ibn Abi Dunya, Mohammed ibn Ishak al-Saghani, Abu Hatim al-Razi, Ahmed ibn Abi <sup>3</sup>1-Hawari, Musa ibn Harun, Hanbal ibn Ishak, Othman ibn Sa<sup>c</sup>id al-Darimi, Hajjaj ibn al-Sha<sup>c</sup>ir, Abd al-Malik ibn Abd al-Hamid al-Maimun, Bala ibn Makhlad al-Andalusi, Ya<sup>c</sup>kub ibn Shaiba, Dhaim al-Shami and his own sons Abdallah and Salih<sup>4</sup>). His method of teaching was to read the tra-

1) Goldziher, Z. D. M. G., L, 470.

2) Goldziher, Z. D. M. G., L, 472. On the Musnad cf., also, Goldz<sup>'''</sup> Moh. Studien II, 228, 230, 266, 270.

3) Dhahabl, Liber Class, 8, N°. 18.

4) al-Nawawi, Biog. Diet. **١٤٣**. The n a **خلد** in al-Nawawi's adid  
be **مخلد**; v. de Jong's ed. of Dhahabi's Muschtabih 74, Kamus, ai|

ditions from a book rather than recite them<sup>1</sup>). He is not known to have taught in any other way except in the case of about one hundred traditions<sup>2</sup>). He adopted this method notwithstanding the fact that he had everything committed to memory and was generally regarded as being almost the first hafiz of his time. On one occasion when he was delivering the tradition to some of his pupils, after they had learned it by heart, and were preparing to write it, Ahmed exclaimed, 'the book is the best hafiz' and with that he started up and brought a book<sup>3</sup>). His wish probably was to verify his memoriter recitation.

Ahmed does not appear to have taken money from his disciples, either for his services as a teacher or for the writing materials etc. which he furnished<sup>4</sup>).

*Relations* For al-Shafi<sup>0</sup>! he always entertained the most with al- affectionate regard. His testimony to him was that *ShafI-i.* none in his day carried an ink-bottle or touched a pen but there was resting upon him an obligation to al-ShafTi<sup>5</sup>). For thirty years he declared he had never prayed a prayer without offering in it a petition for his friend, and on his son's asking him what kind of a man al-Shafi<sup>c</sup>i was that he should pray for him so regularly, he replied that al-Shafi<sup>c</sup>i was like the sun to the world and like good health to mankind<sup>6</sup>). Al-Shafi<sup>c</sup>i, too, seems to have had a great

Mahasin II. 1\*PA. **دحيم الشامي** I have added from al-Subki, p. 133, l. 18, cf. Dhahabl Liber Class. 8, N°. 69.

1) al-Nawawi, Biog. Diet.

2) Abu Nu<sup>c</sup>a'im, 139

a

**رايت ابى في حفظة حدث من غير كتاب الا باقل من مائة حديث**

3) al-Nawawi, Biog. Diet. 144, cf. Goldziher, Moh. Stud. II, 196, 197.

4) al-Nawawi, Biog. Diet. 145, cf. Goldziher, Moh. Stud. II, 181.

5) al-Nawawi, Biog. Diet. 43.

6) al-Nawawi, Biog. Diet. v1. al-Makrizi, p. 2, **وقال الامام أحمد ما صليت صلاة منذ ثلاثين سنة الا وانا ادعو للشافي كذا في الكلية**

respect and affection for Ahmed. He is said to have declared, 'O Abu Abdallah, whenever a tradition from the Messenger of God is sound in your judgment, tell it to us that we may conform to it'. Ahmed is reported as saying that al-Shafi'i told him that he (Ahmed) was more learned in the sound traditions than himself, and that his (al-Shafi'i's) desire was to know from him what he regarded as sound that he might adopt it. Ahmed's son Abdallah declared that, wherever al-Shafi'i says in his book 'a trustworthy person told me that\*', or 'a trustworthy person related that to me', he refers to his father. Abdallah said, further, that the book which al-Shafi'i composed in Baghdad was more correct than the book which he composed in Egypt, because, when he was in Baghdad, he asked Ahmed and the latter suggested corrections to him, but when he was in Egypt and was inclined to adopt a weak tradition there was no one to correct him<sup>1</sup>). Al-Shafi'i

للمحافظ ابى نعيم وقال الامام الغزالي في الاحياء اربعين سنه وكثرة  
بائنه له قال له ابنه ابي رجل كان الشافعي حتى تدعو له كل هذا  
الدعاء فقال يا بني كان الشافعي كانشمس للدنيا والعاوية للناس

حدثنا سليمان بن احمد قال سمعت عبد  
الله بن احمد بن حنبل يقول سمعت ابى يقول قال محمد بن  
ادريس الشافعي يابا عبد الله اذا صحَّ عندكم الحديث عن رسول  
الله صلعم فاخبرونا به حتى نرجع اليه حدثنا سليمان بن  
احمد قال سمعت عبد الله بن احمد يقول سمعت ابى يقول قال لى  
محمد بن ادريس الشافعي انتم اعلم بالاخبار الصحاح منا فانما كان  
خير صحيج فاعلمنى حتى اذهب اليه كوفيا كان او بصريا او شاميا  
قال عبد الله جميع ما حدث به الشافعي في كتابه فقال حدثنى  
الثقة او اخبرنى الثقة فهو ابى رحمه الله، قال عبد الله وكتابه الذى  
صنعه ببغداد هو اعدل من الكتاب الذى صنعه بمصر وذلك انه حيث

1) Abū Nu'aim, 140b, عبد

went to Egypt in the year 198, stayed probably two or three months and then returned to Mecca, whence he took his final journey to Egypt in the end of 199 or the beginning of 200. In 'Irak he composed the Book of the Hajj. His first visit to Baghdad was in the year 195; he left there for Mecca in 197 and returned for a month to Baghdad in 198 \*). Al-Shafi'i said, 'I left Baghdad and did not leave behind in it any one greater as a fakih, or one more pious, self-denying, or learned than Ahmed<sup>1</sup>2).

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كان هاهنا يسأل الشيوخ فيغير عليه ولم يكن بمصر ممن يغير عليه  
انذا ذهب الى خير ضعيف قال وسمعت ابي يقول استفاد منا الشافعي  
ما لم نستفد منه

1) De Goeje, Z. D. M. G. XI.VII. 115; Ibn Chall. N°. 569.

2) al-Subki, p. 132, l. 9, قال فيه الشافعي فيما رواه حرملة خرجت  
من بغداد وما خلقت بها ائمة ولا اروع ولا ازهد ولا اعلم من احمد  
cf. Ibn Chall. N°. 19.

3) Abu Nu'aim, 141 a, حدثت الهيثم بن جميل حديث عن هشيم  
فوق فيه فقيل له خالفوك في هذا قال من خلفي قالوا احمد بن  
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1) Abū Nu'aim, 1404, عبد سمعت قال سمعت ابن احمد بن سليمان بن  
الله بن احمد بن حنبل يقول سمعت ابي يقول قال محمد بن  
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الله صلعم فاخبرونا به حتى نرجع اليه حدثنا سليمان [ابن  
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cf. Ibn Chall. N°. 19.

3) Abu Nu'aim, 141 a, حديث عن هشيم  
نوم فيه فقيل له خالفك في هذا قال من خالفني قالوا احمد بن  
حنبل قل وددت. انه نقص من عمري وزاد في عمر احمد بن حنبل

that it was a very strange thing that Ibn Hizam should be ready to accept the testimony of three persons leading up to Abu Hanifa, and yet refuse that of three authorities forming a chain of tradition to the Prophet. Ibn Hizam did not grasp Ahmed's meaning and asked for an explanation. Ahmed answering said, "You will not receive the Isnad 'Yazid ibn Harun in Wasit said, Homaid told me from Anas, saying, the Messenger of God said'; and, yet, you receive the Isnad 'Such an one said, Mohammed ibn al-Hasan told us from Ya<sup>c</sup>kub from Abu Hanifa". Musa adds that he was so impressed by the force of what Ahmed said that he engaged a boat at once and went to Wasit to receive the Tradition from Yazid ibn Harun \*). When Ahmed himself went to study with Yazid, on the other hand, Yazid ibn Sa<sup>c</sup>id al-Kattan enquired for him, and, on learning where he had gone, exclaimed, 'What need has he of Yazid?' This was interpreted to mean that Ahmed was more fit to be the teacher than the scholar of Yazid ibn Harun<sup>2</sup>).

1) Abū Nu'aim, 144 b, (يقول موسى بن حزام الترمذى بترمذ) كنت اختلف الى ابي سليمان الجوزجاني [الكوزجاني] في كتب محمد بن الحسن فاستقبلني احمد بن حنبل عند الجسر فقال لي ابي اين فقلت الى ابي سليمان فقال لي احمد العجب منكم تركتم الى النبي صلعم ثلاثة واقبلتم على ثلاثة الى ابي حنيفة فقلت كيف يا ابا عبد الله قال يزيد بن هارون بواسط يقول حدثنا حميد عن انس قال قال رسول الله صلعم وهذا يقول ثنا محمد بن الحسن عن يعقوب عن ابي حنيفة قال موسى بن حزام فوقع قوله في قلبي فاكتريت زورقا من ساهتي فاتحدت الى واسط فسمعت من يزيد بن هارون

2) Abū Nu'aim, 140 a, قال (عبد الله) سمعت ابي يقول كنت مقبها على يحيى بن سعيد القطان ثم خرجت الى واسط فسأل يحيى بن سعيد عنى فقالوا خرج الى واسط فقال اى شىء يصنع

*Ali ibn al-Madini* not only shewed great respect *al-Madintiox* Ahmed, but received it, likewise, from him. It is said that when *Ali* came to Baghdad he took a leading place among the traditionists, and at such times as men like Ahmed and Yahya ibn Ma<sup>c</sup>in and Khalaf and al-Mu<sup>c</sup>aiti were in difference of opinion on any point the voice of *Ali* was regarded as decisive. Ahmed out of respect never called *Ali* by his proper name, but always by his kunya Abu <sup>D</sup>l-Hasan<sup>1</sup>). While Ahmed was regarded as the best fakih of his time, Ibn al-Madini was said to have superior knowledge of the different views held as to traditions<sup>2</sup>), and to be the most learned of the doctors of his day, as Yahya ibn Ma<sup>c</sup>in was the one ,who wrote the most, and Abu Bekr ibn Abu Shaiba was the greatest hafiz<sup>3</sup>).

*Yafow* Of Yahya ibn Ma<sup>c</sup>in Ahmed said, that the hearing *Afaw* of Tradition from Yahya was healing for troubled breasts. He said, also, that Yahya ibn Ma<sup>c</sup>in was a man whom God created for the express purpose of exposing the lies of liars; and any tradition which Yahya did not know was no tradition. When he died Yahya left behind him one hundred and fourteen cases and four casks of books. This is in harmony with what has just been said as to his having written more traditions than any of his contemporaries<sup>4</sup>).

بواسطة قالوا يُقيم على يزيد بن هارون قال وای شیء يصنع عند يزيد  
ابن هارون قال أبو عبد الرحمن يعني أدی هو اعلم منه

1) al-Nawawi, Biog. Dict. ۴۴۳, cf. Goldziher Moh. Stud. I. 267.

2) al-Subki, p. ۱85, l. ۱, قال وای شیء يصنع عند يزيد

علي اعلم باختلاف الحديث من احمد

3) al-Nawawi, Biog. Dict. ۱۴۴.

4) " " ۹۲۸, the word *جبات* should probably be read

حَبَاب, *jars*, (sg. حَبّ) vid. De Goeje, Gloss. Bibl. Geog.

*Al-Ifusain* One of the contcm Ahmed ibn Hanbal  
*ibn 'Ali al-* was al-Husain ibn *Ali ibn* azid Abu 'Ali al-Ka-  
*Karabhu* rabisi (f 245 A. H.j) This man was well know become  
 as a fa^ih and as a traditionst At first he was a disp[lay  
 of the Ra'y school, but later inclined to views of al-  
 Shafi^i, became a studenof his teachings and received author-  
 ization<sup>1)</sup> to teach what he had Earned. The Khatib al-  
 Baghdad! tells that *he was much* disesteemed (lit. was very  
 rare) as a traditioms^ because he had acquired a bad name  
 with Ahmed ibn, Hanbal This was owing his strong  
 leaning toward discal theology (<sup>2</sup>), in general,  
 and, more particularly to his application of dialectics in  
 order to come to his conclusions touching the Koran. He  
 was a professed belieevd

believer in the uncreated existence of the  
 Koran, but could not Ahmed ibu Hanbal by his  
 profession of this trine, and much less by his utterances  
 on <sup>ne</sup>Symbolic expression of the Koran in articulate human  
 sounc|| (QUJJ ii))<sup>3)</sup>. He appears to have trifled somewhat  
<sup>ll</sup> 7ls treatment of subjects that were to minds such as that  
 °y Ahmed in the highest degree sacred and serious. For  
<sup>q</sup>example, his declared faith in the created nature of the  
 Lafz al-Koran was on one occasion told to Ahmed, who,  
 though the profession was in full accord with his own con-  
 viction, declared it heresy, because the process by which it  
 had been reached was that of reasoning and not that of  
 submission to traditional authority. Ahmed's judgment on  
 him was made known to al-Karabisi, who changed his decla-  
 ration of faith and professed that the Lafz al-Koran was  
 uncreated as well as the Koran itself. Naturally enough,

1) اَجَازَةٌ cf. Goldziher, Moh. Stud. IL 189.  
 s>

2) For origin and use of the term **كلام** vid. Houtsma, De Strijd over het  
 Dogma, 87 f.; cf. Shahiast&ni, Haarbr. transl'n IL 388 f.

3) The Lai? al-Koran is used here with reference to the enunciation of the  
 Koran in human speaking; in the following paragraph we have taken it to  
 have a wider scope.

this pleased Ahmed no better and he vigorously declared that this, too, was heresy. The whole quarrel, as one can readily see, was with the method of al-Karabisi, far more than with his theological conclusions').

الحسين بن علي بن يزيد ابو علي الكرابيسي كان، 1) al-Subki, p. 172، اماما جليلا جامعا بين الفقه والحديث تفقه أولا على مذهب اهل الرأي ثم تفقه للشافعي . . . . . (قال داود الاصبهاني) قال لي حسين الكرابيسي لما قدم الشافعي الى بغداد قدمته فقلت له تاذن لي ان اقرأ عليك الكتب فابا وقال خذ كتب الزعفراني فقد اجزتها لك فاخذها اجازة قال الخطيب حديث الكرابيسي يعجز جدا وذلك ان احمد بن حنبل كان يتكلم فيه بسبب مسئلة اللفظ وهو ايضا كان يتكلم في احمد فنجنب الناس الاخذ عنه لهذا السبب فقلت كان ابو علي الكرابيسي من متكلمي اهل السنة استاذ في علم اللام كما هو استاذ في الحديث والفقه وله كتاب في المقالات قال ابو الخطيب الامام فخر الدين في كتاب غاية المسامع على كتابه في المقالات معول المتكلمين في معرفة مذاهب الخوارج وسائر اهل الاهواء فقلت المروى انه قيل للكرابيسي ما تقول في القرآن قال كلام الله غير مخلوق فقال له السائل فما تقول في لفظي بالقرآن فقال لفظك به مخلوق فمضى السائل الى احمد بن حنبل فشرح له ما جرى فقال هذه بدعة والذي عندنا ان احمد رضي اشار بقوله هذه بدعة الى الجواب عن مسئلة اللفظ ان ليست مما يعنى المرء وخصوص المرء في ما لا يعنيه من علم اللام بدعة فكان السكوت عن اللام فيه اجمل واولى ولا يبطن باحمد رحمه الله انه يدعى ان اللفظ الخارج من بين الشفتين قديم ومقالة الحسين هذه قد نقل مثلها عن البخاري والدارقطني بن اسد المحاسبى ومحمد بن نصر المروزي وغيرهم وسيكون لنا عودة في ترجمة البخاري الى اللام في ذلك ونقل ان احمد لما قال هذه بدعة رجع السائل الى الحسين

*Al-Bokhari.* We have interesting evidence of the doctrinal sympathy between al-Bokhari and Ahmed ibn Hanbal. A jealous rival of al-Bokhari in Nisabur charged the latter with heresy on the point of the Lafz al-Koran, and the imputation was taken up by many. But it is clear that al-Bokhari's silence on the question, from reluctance to be drawn into any reasoning on a point for which there was so little evidence pro or con in Tradition, was the only ground for suspecting his orthodoxy. His belief, as well as that of Ahmed ibn Hanbal, was that the Koran itself was not created, but the Lafz al-Koran, by which he understood the human acts of writing,

فقال له تلفظك بالقران غير مخلوق فعاد الى احمد فعرفه مقالة الحسين  
ثانيا فانكر احمد ايضا ذلك وقال هذه ايضا بدعة وهذا يدل على ما  
نقله من ان احمد انما اشار بعوله هذه بدعة الى اللام في اصل  
المسئلة والا فكيف ينكر اثبات الشيء ونفيه فاتهم ما قلناه فهو الخلف  
ان شاء الله تعالى وبما قال احمد نقل فنقول الصواب عدم اللام  
في المسئلة راسا ما لم يدع الى اللام حاجة ماسة ومما يدل على  
على ما نقله وان السلف لا ينكرون ان لفظنا حادث وان سكوتهم  
انما هو عن اللام في ذلك لا عن اعفاده ان الرواة روى ان الحسين  
بلغه كلام احمد فسيه فقال لافولن مقالة حتى يقبل احمد بخلافها  
فيكفر فقال لفظي بالقران مخلوق وهذه الحكاية قد ذكرها كثير من  
الحنابلة وذكرها شيخنا الذهبي في ترجمة الامام احمد وفي ترجمة  
الكرابيبي فلنظر الى قول الكرابيبي فيها ان مخالفتها يكفر والامام احمد  
فيما يعتقده لم يخالفها وانما انكر ان ينكلم في ذلك فاذا تأملت ما  
سطرناه ونظرنا قول شيخنا في غير موضع من تاريخه ان مسئلة اللفظ  
عما يرجع الى قول جهم عرفت ان الرجل لا يدري في هذه المضايق  
ما يقول وقد اكثر هو واختابه من ذكر جهم بن صفوان وليس قصدهم  
الا جعل الخ

reading, reciting and all other acts connected with the use or preservation of the revelation, was created \*).

قال الحسن بن محمد بن جابر قال لنا الذهلي لما  
 1) al-Subki, p. 214, ورد البخاري نيسابور اذهبوا الى هذا الرجل الصالح فاسمعوا منه فذهب  
 الناس اليه واقبلوا على السماع منه حتى ظهر الخلل في مجلس الذهلي  
 فحسده بعد ذلك وتكلم فيه قال ابو احمد بن عدى ذكر لي جماعة  
 من المشايخ ان محمد بن اسمعيل لما ورد نيسابور واجتمعوا عليه  
 حسده بعض المشايخ فقال لاصحاب الحديث ان محمد بن اسمعيل  
 يقول اللفظ بالقران مخلوق فامخونه فلما حضر الناس قام اليه رجل  
 فقال بابا عبد الله ما تعول في اللفظ بالقران مخلوق هو ام غير مخلوق  
 فعرض عنه ولم يجبه فلما السوال فعرض عنه ثم اعاك فالتفت اليه  
 البخاري وقال القران كلام الله غير مخلوق وافعال العباد مخلوقة  
 والامتحان بدعة فشغب السرجل وشغب الناس وتفرقوا عنه وقعد  
 البخاري في منزله قال محمد بن يوسف الفريدي سمعت محمد بن  
 اسمعيل يقول اما افعال العباد فمخلوقة حدثنا علي بن عبد الله ثنا  
 مروان بن معاوية ثنا ابو مالك عن ربي عن حذيفة قال قال النبي  
 صلعم ان الله يصنع كل صناع وصنعتة وسمعت عبيد الله بن سعيد  
 يقول ما زلت اسمع اصحابنا يقولون ان افعال العباد مخلوقة قال البخاري  
 حركاتهم واصواتهم واكسابهم وكتابتهم مخلوقة فلما القران المتلو المثبت في  
 المصاحف المسطور المكتوب الموعى في القلوب فهو كلام الله ليس  
 بمخلوق قال الله تعالى بل هو آيات بينات في صدور الذين اوتوا العلم  
 وقال يقال فلان حسن القراءة ولا يقال حسن القران ولا روى القران  
 وانما ينسب الى العباد القراءة لان القران كلام السرب والقراءة فعل  
 العبد وليس لاحد ان يشرع في امر الله بغير علم كما زعم بعضهم  
 ان القران بالفاظنا والفاظنا به شيء واحد والتلاوة في المتلو او القراءة

*Mohammed* Another of Ahmed's companions, whose highest *ibnAslam*. compliment was that he resembled the great Imam, was Mohammed ibn Aslam Abu Husain al-Kindi al-Tusi

في المفروضة ففيل له أن التلاوة فعمل الفارقي وعمل الثاني فرجع وقال ظننتهما مصدرين ففيل له هل لا أمسكت كما أمسك كثير من اصحابك ولو بعثت الى من كذب عنك واسترددت ما اثبتت وضربت عليه فزعم ان كيف يمكن هذا وقال قلت ومضى فقلت له كيف جاز لك ان تقول في الله شيئا لا يقوم به شرحا وبيانا اذا لم تميز بين التلاوة والمتلو فسكت ان لم يكن عنده جواب وقال ابو حامد الاعمش رايت البخاري في جنازة سعيد بن مروان والذهلي يساله عن الاسماء والكنى والعلل وير فيه البخاري مثل السام فما اتى على هذا شهر حتى قال الذهلي الا من يختلف الى مجلسه فلا ياتنا فانهم كتبوا اليينا من بغداد انه تكلم في اللفظ ونهيناه فلم ينته فلا تقربوه قلت كان البخاري على ما روى وسنحكى ما نبيه من قال لفظي بالقران مخلوق وقال محمد بن يحيى الذهلي من زعم ان لفظي بالقران مخلوق فهو مبتدع لا يجالس ولا يكلم ومن زعم ان القران مخلوق فقد كفر وانما اراد محمد بن يحيى والعلم عند الله ما اراده احمد بن حنبل كما قدمناه في ترجمة الكرابيسي من النهي عن الخوض في هذا ولم يرد مخالفة البخاري وان خالفه وزعم ان لفظه الخارج من بين شفثيه للمحدثين قديم فقد باء بغضب وافر عظيم والظن به خلاف ذلك وانما اراد هو واحمد وغيرها من الائمة النهي عن الخوض في مسائل الكلام وكلام البخاري عندنا محمول على ذكر ذلك عند الاحتياج اليه فانكلام في الكلام عند الاحتياج واجب وانسكوت عند [dittography] عدم الاحتياج سنة فانهم ذلك ودع خرافات المورخين واضرب صفحا عن توهيبات الصالحين الذين يظنون انهم محدثون وانهم عند السنة واقفون

(† 242 A. H.). This man was an earnest opponent of the Jahmī and Murjī<sup>1</sup>) sects, of the former because they professed that

وَمِنْ عِنْدِهَا مَبْعُودُونَ وَكَيْفَ يَطَّسُّ بِالْبَخَّارِيِّ أَنَّهُ بَدَّهَبَ إِلَى تَتَاءٍ مِنْ  
 اقْوَالِ الْمُعْتَزِلَةِ وَقَدْ صَحَّ عَنْهُ فِيهَا رَوَاهُ الْفَرِيدِيُّ وَغَيْرُهُ أَنَّهُ قَالَ أَسَى  
 لَا سَجَهْلَ مِنْ لَا يَكْفُرُ لِلْجَهْمِيَّةِ وَلَا يَرْتَابُ الْمُصْنَعُ فِي أَنَّ مُحَمَّدَ بْنَ يَحْيَى  
 لِحَقَّقْتَهُ آفَةَ الْحَسَدِ الَّتِي لَا يَسْلَمُ مِنْهَا إِلَّا أَهْلُ الْعَصَمِ وَقَدْ سَأَلَ بَعْضُهُمْ  
 الْبَخَّارِيَّ عَمَّا بَيْنَهُ وَبَيْنَ مُحَمَّدَ بْنَ يَحْيَى فَقَالَ الْبَخَّارِيُّ كَمْ يَعْتَرِي  
 مُحَمَّدَ بْنَ يَحْيَى الْحَسَدُ فِي الْعِلْمِ وَالْعِلْمُ رِزْقُ اللَّهِ يُعْطِيهِ مَنْ يَشَاءُ  
 وَلَعَدَّ ظَرْفُ الْبَخَّارِيِّ وَأَبَانَ عَنْ عَظِيمِ حِكَايَةِ حَيْثُ قَالَ وَقَدْ قَالَ لَهُ  
 أَبُو عَمْرٍو لَلْغَفَّافِ إِنْ النَّاسُ قَدْ خَاضُوا فِي قَوْلِكَ لِقَوْلِكَ بِالْقُرْآنِ مُخْلُوقِ  
 بِلَا عَمْرٍو أَحْفَظُ مَا أَقُولُ نَعَمْ مِنْ أَهْلِ نَيْسَابُورِ وَقَوْمِ [وَالرَّقِي  
 [dittography] وَالرِّيَّ وَهَمْدَانَ وَبَغْدَادَ وَاللُّوْفَةَ وَالْبَصْرَةَ وَمَكَّةَ وَالْمَدِينَةَ إِلَى  
 قُلْتَ لِقَوْلِكَ بِالْقُرْآنِ مُخْلُوقِ فَهُوَ كَذَابٌ فَإِنِّي لَمْ أَفَلِّهِ إِلَّا إِنِّي قُلْتُ أفعال  
 الْعِبَادِ مُخْلُوقَةٌ قُلْتَ تَأْمَلُ كَلَامَهُ مَا أَذْكَاهُ وَمَعْنَاهُ وَاللَّهِ عِنْدَ اللَّهِ إِنِّي  
 لَمْ أَقُلْ لِقَوْلِكَ بِالْقُرْآنِ مُخْلُوقِ لِأَنَّ الْكَلَامَ فِي هَذَا خُوصٌ فِي مَسَائِلِ  
 الْكَلَامِ وَصِفَاتِ اللَّهِ لَا يَنْبَغِي لِلْخُوصِ فِيهَا إِلَّا لِنُصْرُورَةٍ وَتَلَيَّنِي قُلْتَ أفعال  
 الْعِبَادِ مُخْلُوقَةٌ وَهُوَ قَاعِدَةٌ مُعْنِيَّةٌ عَنِ التَّخْصِيصِ هَذِهِ الْمَسْأَلَةُ بِالذِّكْرِ  
 فَإِنِ كُلُّ عَاقِلٍ يَعْلَمُ أَنَّ لِقَوْلَنَا مِنْ جَمَلِنَا أفعالنا وَأفعالنا مُخْلُوقَةٌ فَالْقَائِلُ  
 مُخْلُوقَةٌ وَنَقَدَ أَفْصَحَ بِهَذَا الْمَعْنَى فِي رِوَايَةٍ أُخْرَى صَحِيحَةً عَنْهُ رَوَاهُ حَاتِمُ  
 ابْنِ أَحْمَدَ الْكِنْدِيُّ فَقَالَ سَمِعْتُ مُسْلِمَ بْنَ الْحَاجَّاجِ فَذَكَرَ الْحِكَايَةَ وَفِيهَا  
 أَنَّ رَجُلًا قَامَ إِلَى الْبَخَّارِيِّ فَسَأَلَهُ عَنِ اللَّفْظِ بِالْقُرْآنِ فَقَالَ أفعالنا مُخْلُوقَةٌ  
 وَالْقَائِلُ مِنْ أفعالنا وَفِي الْحِكَايَةِ أَنَّهُ وَقَعَ بَيْنَ أَتَمِّمْ إِذَاكَ اخْتِلَافَ عَلَى  
 الْبَخَّارِيِّ فَقَالَ بَعْضُهُمْ قَالَ [قال dittography] لِقَوْلِكَ بِالْقُرْآنِ مُخْلُوقِ وَقَالَ  
 آخَرُونَ لَمْ يَقُلْ قُلْتَ فَلَمْ يَكُنِ الْإِنْكَارُ الْحَقَّ

<sup>1</sup>) For the doctrines of Jahm ibn Šafwān, the founder of the Jahmīa sect, v.

the Koran was created, of the latter because they held that faith was mere profession without the inward trust and experience of the heart. The argument which he adopted toward the Jahmia was that of the Koran verses in which God speaks in his own person to Mohammed announcing his Mission, and to Moses declaring himself to be his Lord and the Lord of the worlds. In the former case it is implied that if the *word* of the speaker be not that of God, Mohammed's Mission is called in question. If it be the word of God, then it is eternally potential in him and inseparable from any true conception of him, and, therefore, it must be uncreated. In the case of Moses, if the speaker to him be a creature, then Moses himself and the worlds also, have a second lord, — for one Lord is admitted without question, — and the professors of such a doctrine are at once convicted of Shirk (*Sj&*); but, supposing God to have really spoken, then we have again the proceeding forth of a word which we must not regard as created with its utterance, but rather as an inseparable adjunct of the Divine Knowledge, for how otherwise could the Divine Knowledge become efficient or communicative? The sin of the Jahmia is their Shirk; this is the result of the reasoning, and without reasoning, from the standpoint of the orthodox apologist, they are guilty, as well, of forging a lie against God (*افتراء*) by declaring that God did not speak to Moses though the Koran says he did.

Against the Karramiya MurjPa Ibn Aslam maintained the

Shahrastani Haarbruckei's transl'n I, 89; Houtsma, *De Stnjd over het Dogma &c.* pp. 102, 123 f. On the Murjr'a v. Houtsma, *De Stnjd &c.* pp. 34 ff., 40; Shahrastani, Haarbrucker's transl'n I, 156 ff. The Murjite belief as presented in Houtsma, p. 36, differs from that set forth by Mohammed ibn Aslam, but agrees with the second class of the Kanamite sects (Houtsma, p. 39) and with the Sifatiya Karramiya (Shahrastani, *Haaibr. transl'n I*, 119 ff., especially p. 127). Ahmed ibn Hanbal, it will be remembered composed two woiks bearing the titles, respectively, *كتاب الرد على الجهمية* and *كتاب الايمان*, vid. p. 19.

doctrine that faith is a gift of God to the heart, a gift of illumination and of spiritual adornment, by means of which it is disposed to believe in God, his angels, his books, his messengers, the resurrection, the day of judgment, the final account, in foreordination to good and evil, in paradise and in hell-fire. This faith is given only to those upon whom God is pleased to bestow it, and is not complete without both the testimony of the lips as, at once, its expression and its confirmation, and the acts of the bodily members as the evidence that the confession of the lips and the antecedent faith of the heart are genuine. The testimony of the lips has for its subjects the things believed on by the heart. These it declares to be true; and, more specifically, it gives the formal confession that there is no God but Allah and that Mohammed is his Prophet and his Messenger. The acts of the members lie in the performance of such things as God prescribes and in the abstention from such things as he forbids. These points are supported by arguments from the Koran and Tradition; but by this man, as by others of the strict orthodox party, there is stress laid, as well, on arguments outside of either of these sources. For example, it is said by Mohammed ibn Aslam that, should the Murjite view be proved correct, then the Prophet and the first Khalifs, who had not spent their whole lives in the confession of Islam, but who had had true faith, notwithstanding, might be held inferior to any mere babblers of the sacred formulas who had been occupied long enough with his task. Those (also called MurjTa \*) who held that works were the measure and substance of faith are opposed, too, and the argument of disparagement to the early worthies is applied here, likewise.

Mohammed ibn Aslam was a believer in the eternal existence of the Divine attributes, but we have no record

i) Called especially XxvoLJu' v. De Gocje, Gloss. Bibl. Geog.

of his method of proving his position in this respect, nor have we any exposition of what it involved<sup>1</sup>).

1) Abū Nu'aim, 162a ff, قال الشيخ وأما كلامه في النقص على المذاهب من الجهمية والمُرَجَّثة فشائعٌ ذائعٌ وقد كان رحمه الله من المثبتة لصفات الله أنها أزلية غير محدثة في كتابه المنرجم بالرد على الجهمية ذكرت منه فصلا وجيزا من فصوله . . . . . محمد بن اسلم رحمه الله يقول زعمت الجهمية أن القرآن خلق وقد أشركوا في ذلك وهم لا يعلمون لأن الله قد بين أن له كلاما فقال انى اصطفتك على الناس برسالاتي وكلامي وقال في آية اخرى وكلمه الله موسى تكليما فأخبر ان له كلاما وأنه كلم موسى عليه السلام فقال في تكليمه آياه يا موسى انى انا ربك فمن زعم ان قوله يا موسى انى انا ربك خلق وان له ليس بكلامه فقد اشرك بالله لانه زعم ان خلقا قال موسى انى انا ربك فقد جعل هذا الزاعم ربا لموسى دون الله وقول الله تعالى ايضا موسى في تكليمه فاستمع لما يوحى انى انا الله لا اله الا انا فاعبدنى فقد جعل هذا الزاعم الها لموسى غير الله وقال في آية اخرى لموسى في تكليمه آياه يا موسى انى انا الله رب العالمين فمن لم يشهد ان هذا كلام الله وقوله تكلم به والله قاله وزعم انه خلق فقد عظم شركه وافترأوه على الله لانه زعم ان خلقا قال موسى يا موسى انى انا الله رب العالمين فقد جعل هذا الزاعم للعالمين ربا غير الله فأتى شرك اعظم من هذا فنبقى الجهمية في هذه القصة بين كُفْرين اثنين ان زعموا ان الله لم يكلم موسى فقد ردوا كتاب الله وكفروا وان زعموا ان هذا الكلام يا موسى انى انا الله رب العالمين من خلق فقد اشركوا بالله ففى هولاء الايات بيان ان القرآن كلام الله وفيها بيان شرك من زعم ان كلام الله خلق او قول الله خلق

*Mystics and Ascetics*, Ahmed ibn Hanbal had a predilection in favor of mystics and ascetics, but toward one of these, *Ai-Hthith al-Harith ibn Asad al-Muhasibi*, he conceived a *strong antithy* because this man was said to use reasoning in theological matters. The reconciliation between

او ما اوحى الله الى انبيائه خلعف واما نَقَصَهُ رَحْمَةُ اللهِ عَلَى الْمُرْجِئَةِ  
 الْكُرَامِيَةِ الَّتِي زَعَمَتْ أَنَّ الْإِيمَانَ هُوَ انْفِرَالُ بِاللِّسَانِ مِنْ دُونَ عَقْدِ الْقَلْبِ  
 الَّذِي هُوَ التَّصْدِيقُ فَقَدْ صَنَّفَ فِي الْإِيمَانِ فِي الْأَعْمَالِ الدَّالَّةِ عَلَى  
 تَصْدِيقِ الْقَلْبِ وَ أَمْرَاتِهِ كُنَايَا جَامِعًا كَبِيرًا . . . . .  
 . . . . . فَقَالَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ  
 الْإِيمَانُ أَنْ تُؤْمِنَ بِاللَّهِ وَمَلَائِكَتِهِ وَكُتُبِهِ وَرُسُلِهِ وَالْيَوْمِ الْآخِرِ وَبِالْقَدْرِ  
 كُلِّهِ خَيْرِهِ وَشَرِّهِ لِخَلْقِهِ وَهَذَا أَوَّلُ حَدِيثٍ ذَكَرَهُ وَاسْتَفْتَحَ بِهِ كِتَابَهُ  
 وَبَنَى عَلَيْهِ كَلَامَهُ قَالَ مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ إِسْمَاعِيلَ الْإِسْمَاعِيلِيُّ مِنْ قَبْلِ اللَّهِ  
 قُرْبَانًا وَرَحْمَةً وَمَنَّا بِعَلِيِّ بْنِ أَبِي طَالِبٍ مِنْ عِبَادَةِ اللَّهِ فَيَقْدَفُ فِي قَلْبِهِ  
 الْإِيمَانَ وَ يُحِبُّهُ إِلَهُهُ فَإِذَا نَوَّرَ قَلْبَهُ وَزَيَّنَ فِيهِ الْإِيمَانَ وَحَبِبَهُ إِلَيْهِ  
 آمَنَ قَلْبُهُ بِاللَّهِ وَمَلَائِكَتِهِ وَكُتُبِهِ وَرُسُلِهِ وَالْيَوْمِ الْآخِرِ وَبِالْقَدْرِ كُلِّهِ  
 خَيْرِهِ وَشَرِّهِ وَهَذَا لِخَلْقِهِ أَوَّلُ حَدِيثٍ ذَكَرَهُ وَاسْتَفْتَحَ بِهِ كِتَابَهُ وَبَنَى  
 عَلَيْهِ كَلَامَهُ قَالَ مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ إِسْمَاعِيلَ الْإِسْمَاعِيلِيُّ مِنْ قَبْلِ اللَّهِ قُرْبَانًا وَرَحْمَةً  
 وَمَنَّا بِعَلِيِّ بْنِ أَبِي طَالِبٍ مِنْ عِبَادَةِ اللَّهِ فَيَقْدَفُ فِي قَلْبِهِ نُورًا  
 a repetition [of preceding matter] يَتَوَرُّ بِهِ قَلْبُهُ وَيُشْرَحُ بِهِ صَدْرُهُ وَيُشْرَفُ فِي قَلْبِهِ الْإِيمَانَ  
 وَيُحِبُّهُ (وبصاحبہ Codex) الیہ آمَنَ قَلْبُهُ بِاللَّهِ وَمَلَائِكَتِهِ وَكُتُبِهِ وَرُسُلِهِ  
 وَالْيَوْمِ الْآخِرِ وَبِالْقَدْرِ كُلِّهِ خَيْرِهِ وَشَرِّهِ وَآمَنَ بِالْبَعْثِ وَالْحِسَابِ وَالْجَنَّةِ وَالنَّارِ  
 حَتَّى كَانَتْ يَنْظُرُ إِلَى ذَلِكَ وَ ذَلِكَ مِنَ النُّورِ الَّذِي قَذَفَهُ اللَّهُ فِي قَلْبِهِ فَإِذَا  
 آمَنَ قَلْبُهُ نَطَقَ لِسَانُهُ مُصَدِّقًا لِمَا آمَنَ بِهِ الْقَلْبُ وَأَفْرَ بِذَلِكَ وَشَهِدَ أَنَّ

them does not seem to have ever been openly effected; but there is a story to the effect that Ahmed took the opportunity of secretly hearing al-Harith, when the latter with

لا اله الا الله وانّ محمداً رسول الله صلعم وانّ هذه الاشياء انتهى آمن  
 بها القلب حتف فاذا آمن القلب وشهد اللسان عملت الجوارح  
 فاطاعت امر الله وعملت بعمل الايمان وادت حتف الله عليها في  
 فرائضه وانتهت عن محارم الله ايماناً وتصديعاً بما في القلب ونطق  
 به اللسان فاذا فعل ذلك كان مؤمناً وقد بين الله تعالى ذلك في  
 كتابه ان بدء الايمان من قلبه فقال ولكن الله حبب اليكم الايمان  
 وزينه في قلوبكم وقال افمن شرح الله صدره للاسلام فهو على نور من  
 ربه وقال الذين اوتوا العلم والايمان وقال كتب في قلوبهم الايمان وقال  
 رسول الله صلعم للحارث بن مالك عبد نوري الله الايمان في قلبه وقال  
 نور يقدف في القلب فينشرح وينفتح ثم بين الرسول انه تبين على  
 المؤمن ايمانه بالعمل حين قيل له هل له علامة يعرف بها قال نعم  
 الانابه الى دار الخلود والتجافي عن دار الغرور والاستعداد للموت  
 قبل نوره الا نرون انه قد تبين ان ايمانه يعرف بالعمل لا بالفعل وقد  
 بين ان الايمان الذي في القلب ينفعه اذا عمل بعمل الايمان فاذا عمل  
 بعمل الايمان تبين علامة ايمانه انه مؤمن فهذا كلامه الذي عليه  
 البقاء والكتاب وانه جعل الاعمال علامة الايمان قال الايمان هو تصديق  
 القلب وانّ اللسان شاهد يشهد ومعبّر يعبر عما في القلب لا ان  
 الشاهد المعبر نفس الايمان من دون تصديق القلب على ما زعمت  
 الكرامية وضمن هذا الكتاب من الآثار المسندة وقول الصحابة  
 والتابعين احاديث كثيرة قال محمد بن اسلم قال المرجى الايمان واحد  
 ويتفاضل الناس بالاعمال يقال للمرجى فولك يتفاضل الناس بالاعمال

his companions had been invited to a feast, and that he was then convinced that his earlier impressions of the man, however just when formed, did al-Hanth some injustice at

خطأ لأنه زعم أن من كان أكثر عملاً فهو أفضل من الذي كان أقل عملاً فعلى زعمه أن من كان يعد رسول الله كان أفضل من رسول الله صلعم لأنهم عملوا بعده أعمالاً كثيرة من الحج والعمرة والغزوة والصلاة والصيام والصدقة والأعمال الجسبية ورسول الله صلعم أفضل منهم ثم من كان يعد أبى بكر قد عملوا أعمالاً كثيرة لم يبلغها أبو بكر وأبو بكر أفضل منهم ثم من كان يعد عمر قد عملوا الأعمال الكثيرة التي لم يعملها عمر ولم يبلغها وعمر أفضل منهم ثم من يعد أصحاب رسول الله صلعم من التابعين قد عملوا أعمالاً كثيرة أكثر مما عملته الصحابة والصحابة أفضل منهم وإى خطأ أعظم من خطأ هذا المرجحى الذى زعم أن الناس يتفاضلون بالأعمال إنما الفضل بيد الله يوتيه من يشاء يفضل من يشاء من عباده على من يشاء عدلاً منه ورحمة فكل من فضله الله فهو أعظم إيماناً من الذى دونه لأن الإيمان قسم من الله قسمه بين عباده كيف شاء كما قسم الارزاق فاعطى منها كل عبد ما شاء الا ترى الى قول عبد الله بن مسعود اذا احب الله عبداً اعطاه الايمان فالإيمان عطية من الله يعطيه من يشاء ويفضل من يشاء على من يشاء وهو قوله ولكن الله يحب اليكم الايمان وزينه فى قلوبكم وقال أقمن شرح الله صدره للاسلام فهو على نور من ربه افلا ترون ان هذا التزيين وهذا النور من عطية الله وورقه يعطى من يشاء كما يشاء الا ترون ان الناس يمهرون بيوم القيامة على الصراط على قدر نورهم فواحد نوره مثل الجبل واخر نوره مثل بيت فكم بين الجبل والبيت من الزيادة والنقصان فاذا كان نور من خارج

that time. The change in Ahmed's opinion does not seem to have been complete or to have saved al-Muhasibi from loss of credit in Baghdad, for, at his death in 243 A. H., only four people attended his funeral. It is possible that this may, however, be explained as the consequence of some pious wish which he had expressed M.

مثل الجبل واخر مثل البيت فكذلك نورها من داخل القلب على قدر ذلك فالمرجئة ولجهمية قياسهما قياس واحد فان التجهيمية زعمت ان الايمان المعرفة فاحسب بلا اقرار ولا عمل والمرجئة زعمت انه قول بلا تصديق قلب ولا عمل وكلاهما من شيعة ابلis وعلى زعم ابلis مؤمن لانه عرف ربه ووحدّه حين قال فبعزتك لاغوبتكم اجمعين وحين قال انى اخاف الله رب العالمين وحين قال رب ما اغويتنى فالى قوم ايبين ضلالة واظهر جهلا واعظم بدعة من قوم يزعمون ان ابلis مؤمن ففضلوا من جهة قياسهم يفتيسون على الله دينه ولا يقاس دينه فما عبدت الاوثان والاصنام الا بالقياس فاحذروا يا امة محمد القياس على الله في دينه وانبعوا ولا تمتدعوا فان دين الله استبان افتداء وانبع لا قياس واينداع

1) v. Shahrastāni Haabruker's transl'n I, 97, II, 389. A different view is given of Ahmed's quarrel with this man in von Kremer, *Ideen des Islāms*, 68, note I. For his biography v. Ibn Chall. N<sup>o</sup>. 151. Al-Subkī, p. 230, l. 9. فأعلم ان الامام احمد رضى الله عنه كلن يشدد النكير على من يتكلم فى علم الللام خوفا ان يجبر ذلك الى ما لا ينبغى ولا شك ان السكوت عنه ما لم تدع اليه الحاجة اولى والللام فيه عند فقد الحاجة بدعة وكان للحارث قد تكلم فى شىء من مسائل الللام قال ابو القاسم النصرى انى بلغنى ان احمد بن حنبل هاجره بهذا السبب فلنت والظن بالحارث انه وما تكلم حيث دعت الحاجة ولكل مقصد والله اعلم يرجهما الله وذكر الحاكم ابو عبد الله ان ابا بكر احمد بن

With Bishr al-Hafi (f 226) and with al-Sari al-Sakati (f 253) Ahmed stood on terms of intimate friendship. He counted it his high privilege, indeed, to have seen some of the most holy men of his time in possession of little else than their piety and poverty. Those whose names are recorded beside the

اسحاق اخبره قال سمعت اسماعيل بن اسحاق السراج يقول قال لى احمد بن حنبل يبلغنى ان الحارث هذا يكثر اكلون عندك فلو احضرته منزلك واجلسنى من حيث ان لا يرانى فاسمع كلامه فقصدت الحارث وسألته ان يحضرنا تلك الليلة وان يحضر اصحابه فعال فيهم كثرة فلا نردم على الكسب والذم فثبتت ابا عبد الله فاعلمته فحضر الى غرفة واجتهد في ورده وحضر الحارث واصحابه فاكلوا ثم صلوا القبعة ولم يصلوا بعدها وقعدوا بين يدى الحارث لا ينظفون الى قريب نصف الليل ثم ابندا رجل منهم فسأل عن مسألة فآخذ الحارث في الكلام واصحابه يستمعون كأن على رؤوسهم الطير ثم من يبكى ومنهم من يحن ومنهم من يزحف وهو في كلامه فصعدت [في الغرفة لتعرف حال ابي عبد الله فوجدته قد بكى حتى غشى عليه فانصرفت انيهم ولم يزل تلك حالهم حتى اصبحوا وذهبوا فصعدت الى ابي عبد الله فقال ما اعلم لى رانت مثل هؤلاء القوم ولا سمعت فى علم الحقائق مثل كلام هذا الرجل ومع هذا فلا ارى لك عجبتم ثم قام وخرج وفي رواية ان احمد قال لا انكر من هذا شيئا قلت تأمل هذه الحكاية بعين البصيرة واعلم ان احمد بن حنبل انما لم يبر لهذا الرجل عجبتم لقصوره عن مقامهم فانهم فى مقام ضيق لا يسلكه كل احد فيخاف على سالكه والا فاحمد قد بى وشكر الحارث هذا الشكر وتلك رأى واجبها وحشرنا الله معهم اجمعين فى زمرة سيد المرسلين صلعم

two mentioned are Abdallah ibn Idris (f 192) Abu Daud al-Hafari and Ayub al-Najjar \*).

*Daud Um* Daud ibn <sup>c</sup>Ali, the founder of the Zahirite school, <sup>c</sup>Alu (| 270) was one of Ahmed's pupils. There was made to Ahmed a very unlikely report against him to the effect that he had been teaching in Khorasan that the Koran was created (by fashioning that which already existed £>J^), and that his Lafz al-Koran was created (by toeing made from nothing ^JL^). This influenced Ahmed so that he refused to receive him, and we have no knowledge that he afterwards changed his decision; but the Zahirites are known to have been even more strict than Ahmed on the uncreated nature of the Koran, and it may be assumed that Daud did not long continue to be suspected by him. It is to be remarked that the informant of Ahmed was Mohammed ibn Yahya al-Dhuhli, the same man who in jealousy accused al-Bokhari of heretical views on the Lafz al-Koran. Further, it should be noted that the incident is said to have occurred during the lifetime of Ishak ibn Rahawaih (f 238 A. H.) when Daud must have been a comparatively young man. If the account be true his views must have undergone

وليفى خلفا كثيرا من الصالحين الزهاد وقال الامام 1) al-Makrizi, p. 1, ابو بكر المروزي سمعت احمد بن حنبل يقول ما اعدل بالفقر شيئا رايت قوم صالحين لقد رايت عبد الله بن النريس وعليه جبة من لبود وقد اتى عليه السنون والدهور ورايت ابا داود التحفري وعليه جبة مخرفة قد خرج العطن منها يصلى بين المغرب والعشاء وهو يرجح من اللجوع ورايت ايوب بن الناجار بمكة قد خرج مما كان فيه ومعه ريشاء [رشا Cod.] يستقى به بمكة وقد خرج من كل ما كان يملكه وكان من العابدين وكان في دنيا فتركها في يدى يحيى العطن في أناس أخر ذكرهم

change during the remaining years of his life. He was born in 202 A. H. and died in 270 A. H.').

*IbrciMm* In the year 218 A. H. there died in Egypt *Un IsmaU* Ibnihim ibn Isma°il Abu Ishak al-Basri al-Asadi *ai-Mftaiizh* Al-Mu°talizi, known as Ibn °Ulayya. 'He was a professor of the doctrine that the Koran was created and had discussions about Fikh with al-ShafVi in Egypt, and with Ahmed ibn Hanbal in Baghdad about the Koran. Ahmed regarded him as a dangerous heretic <sup>2</sup>). The Ibn °Ulayya al-Akbar whose name figures in the history of the Mihna under al-Ma<sup>D</sup>mun, appears to have been a different person, who was of orthodox reputation hitherto. Taken together with the similarity of the names, the seeming readiness with which Ibn °Ulayya al-Akbar complied with the test as to the Koran's creation might suggest, however, that he was in some way related to the party here mentioned. But this is only hypothetical.

## IL

*MIHNA.* In the beginning of the second century of Islam *Historical* al-Ja<sup>c</sup>d ibn Dirham, teacher of the Khai if Mar wan II, *Develop-* held the doctrine that the Koran was created, and, *ment.* at that time, imaginative adversaries of the belief declared themselves to be able to trace the steps of Tradition by which the heresy was to be carried back from Ja<sup>c</sup>d to Lebid, a Jew, whom the Prophet had declared to have bewitched him and thereby produced in him a sickness <sup>3</sup>). However the doctrine came to him, Ja<sup>c</sup>d was put to death by Khalid ibn Abdallah, Governor of °Irak, at the command of the Khalif Hisham. After this we hear no more of the doctrine until the time of the Abbaside Harun al-Rashid <sup>4</sup>). The account of the

i) Goldziher, *Zahiiiten*, p. 134. The incident is also found in *al-Subld*, p. 232.

2) *Abttl-Mahasin* I, 647.

3) Weil, *Mohammed*, 94, note 121.

4) Houtsma, *De Stnjd over het Dogma*, roi f.

historical development (of the doctrine of the creation of the Koran)<sup>1)</sup> which led up to the inquisition under al-Ma<sup>D</sup>mun and his successors is given by Abu<sup>3</sup>l-Faraj ibn al-Jauzi, (f598 A. H.) as follows: Men did not cease to follow the good rule of the fathers of Islam and their confession that the Koran was the uncreated Word of God, until the Mu<sup>c</sup>tazilites (freethinkers)<sup>2)</sup> appeared, professing the creation of the Koran. This they did secretly until the time of al-Rashid. Then, they ventured to teach their view more openly, until al-Rashid said one day, 'I have heard that Bishr al-Marisi<sup>3)</sup> says that the Koran is created; now, verily, if God give him into my hand, I will kill him in such a way as I have never yet killed anyone'. On learning this Bishr remained hidden for about twenty years during the days of al-Rashid. (This would carry back his public profession of the doctrine in question to about 173 A. H.) When al-Rashid died, the matter remained in the same position during the time of his son al-Amin; but when al-Ma<sup>3</sup>mun succeeded, some of the Mu<sup>c</sup>tazilites led him astray and made the doctrine of the creation of the Koran to appear plausible to him<sup>4)</sup>.

i) On this subject cf. Weil, Chalifen I I, 262, note 1; von Ki emei, Hen sell. Ideen des Islams, 233 ff. and chionological note 20, p. 127, in the same work.

2) On the name Mu'tazila and the rise of the sect, vid. Steiner, Die Mu'taziliten, 25 f. • Houtsma, De Stujd ovcu het Dogma, 51. On the histoiy of the sect, Steinci, 48 ff.; Dozy, Ilet Islamisme, 183, 184. On theii doctiines, Magoudi VI, 20 ff.; Steiner, 3 ff.; Houtsma, 55, 80, 89, 121 f.; Haarbiucker's transl'n of Shahrastani 1, 40. On their doctrine of the Koian Steiner, 75 ff.; Houtsma, 104 f.

3) Von Hammer, Lit. Geschichte III, 205; Abu'l-Mah. I, 647 and note 9; Ibn Chall. N°. 114; Steinei, Die Mu'tazihten, 78. He is called by Houtsma, De Stnjd over het Dogma, 79 (cf. note 1), one of the leading Mu'ijites of his time. By Shahrastani, Haaibr. I, 94, he is called, as the result of false pointing of the letters, Bishi ibn Attab, instead of Bishr ibn Ghiyath al-Maiisi. Foi his views vid. Shahiastani, Haarbr. I, 161, 162, cf. I, 243.

4) al-Makrizi, p. 3, فصل في محنة الامام رضى الله عنه وما وقع فيها, على سبيل الاختصار قل الحافظ ابو الفرج بن الجوزي لم يزل الناس على ثنون السلف وقولهم ان القرآن كلام الله غير مخلوق حتى نبغت

A Pre- It is reported that the Imam al-Shafifi, before Jichf/by his death in 204, had a dream, in which he was al-Shafitl. forewarned by the Prophet of the trial, in years to come, of Ahmed ibn Hanbal for the sake of the Koran. He is alleged to have sent word to Ahmed informing him of the communication he had received, and report says that Ahmed, on reading the letter, exclaimed, 'I hope that God will verify that which al-Shafi'i says' <sup>1</sup>). We may, probably, infer from

المعتزلة فقالوا مخلق القرآن وكانوا ويتسترون بذلك الى زمن الرشيد حتى ان الرشيد قال يوما بلغني ان بشر الميرسي يقول القرآن مخلوق والله علي ان اظفرني الله به لأقتلنه قتلته ما فتلتها احدا فاقام يدهر متواريا أيام الرشيد نحواً من عشرين سنة فلما ترقى الرشيد كان الامر كذلك في زمن ولده الامين فلما ولي المأمون خائطه فهم من المعتزلة فحسبوا له القول بمخلف القرآن

فصل في بشارة النبي صلعم له بالخنة قبل وقوعها 1) al-Makizal, p. 3, بسنين على لسان الامام محمد بن ادريس الشافعي رضى الله عنه كان الامام الشافعي رضى الله عنه لما دخل مصر رأى النبي صلعم في المنام واخبره ان الامام احمد سيمتحن قال الربيع بن سليمان فكتب الشافعي على يدي كتابا الى ابي عبد الله احمد بن حنبل ثم قال لي يابا سليمان اتحدّث بكثافي هذا الى العراق ولا تقراه فاخذت الكتاب وخرجت من مصر حتى قدمت العراق فوافيت مسجدا احمد ابن حنبل فصادفته يصلي الفجر فصليت معه وكنت له ارفع السنة فظمت ارفع عقيب الصلاة فجعل ينظم السى مليا حتى عرفني فلما سلمت من صلاتي سلمت عليه واصلت الكتاب اليه وقلت له هذا كتاب اخيكه الشافعي من مصر فاجعل يسالني عن الشافعي طويلا قبل ان ينظر في الكتاب ثم قال لي نظرت فيه قلت لا ففك ختمه

this incident that the doctrine of the creation of the Koran had already begun to make some stir when al-Shafi'ī was in Baghdad, and that Ahmed was at this early stage a vigorous opponent of the tenet.

*Al-Ma'mūn.* The interest of al-Ma'mūn in theology is emphasized by all the historians<sup>1</sup>). He had been thoroughly trained in the knowledge of Tradition, of the Koran sciences, and of the Koran itself from early childhood, and had had among his teachers Malik ibn Anas, Hushaim ibn Bashir and his own father<sup>2</sup>). His ability as a pupil soon brought him

وقراه حتى اذا بلغ موضعا منه بكى وقال ارجو الله تعالى ان يحقق  
ما قاله الشافعي قلت يا ابا عبد الله اى شيء قد كتب اليك قال  
ذكر في كتابه انه راي النبی صلعم في نومه وهو يقول له يابن  
ادريس بشر هذا الفتى ابا عبد الله احمد بن حنبل انه سُميت حسن  
في دين الله ويُدعى ان يقول القرآن مخلوق فلا يفعل فانه سيصرب  
بالسياط وان الله عز وجل ينشر له بذلك علما لا يطهى الى يوم  
القيامة فقلت بشاره فاي شيء جاترتى عليها وكان عليه ثوبان  
فزع احدهما فدفعه الی وكان مما يلي جلده واعطاني جواب  
الكتاب فخرجت حتى قدمت على الشافعي فاخبرته بما جرى قال  
فاين الثوب قلت هوذا فقال ليس نفاعك به وروى ان الشافعي  
رضى الله عنه قال للربيع لا نبتاعه منك ولا نستهديه ولكن اغسله  
وجئنا بمائه قال فغسلته وحملت ماءه اليه فاجعله في قنينة وكنت  
اراه في كل يوم ياخذ منه فيمسح على وجهه تبركا باحمد بن حنبل

1) Cf. Abu'l-Maḥāsīn I, 644; Hammer-Purgstall, Lit. Gesch. III, 26; al-Suyūṭī, Tarīkh al-Kholafā, Calcutta, 1857, p. 310; Dozy, Het Islamisme, 1880, p. 152. The notices of al-Ma'mūn's character found in al-Subkī, p. 144, and al-Maḥrīzī, p. 3, are in accordance with the accounts found in the works just mentioned.

2) Houtsma, De Strijd over het Dogma, 13, says that al-Ma'mūn first

to a foremost place as a theologian, but a mind like his, eager for much wider ranging than was afforded within the narrow bounds of the orthodoxy of Islam, soon shewed its sympathy with the revived philosophy which had begun to be popular under the dominion of the Khalifs, and with the different branches of Arabic letters and sciences. Following his bent of mind<sup>1)</sup>, he gathered to his court from different parts of his empire, philosophers and men of more liberal tendency of thought than had been found among the companions of his predecessors<sup>2)</sup>. Al-Ma<sup>D</sup>mun, however, is not looked upon as a man naturally impious nor was his interest in sacred subjects one merely controversial in its character. It is related of him that he used to complete 33 recitations of the Koran in the month of Ramadan<sup>3)</sup>. He also gave special gifts of money to relieve the needs of the teachers of Tradition, and all accepted of his beneficence except Ahmed ibn Hanbal<sup>4)</sup>. The letters written by al-Ma<sup>D</sup>mun in connection with the Mihna, however, do not give us a favorable impression of his character. The orthodox historians say that his companions at Court were wholly responsible for al-Ma<sup>A</sup>mun's

attended the lectures of the Mutakallims and latei took an interest in orthodoxy. He does not cite his authority for the lemaik, and it does not harmonize with what I have been able to gather from the au thou ties I have consulted. They invert the orde, and I have followed them in my narrative,

i) Steiner (Die Mu<sup>t</sup>aziliten, p. 16) expresses the opinion that the tendency toward liberal theological views, which was so strongly advanced by the influence of the Greek Philosophy, had already set in before the Ai abs became acquainted with Greek philosophical thought.

2) For the patronage of letters and philosophy by the Abbaside sovereigns with its direct effect in the rise of the men of the Kalam, and its indirect or reactionary effect in increasing the zeal in study of the men of the Tradition, vid. Houtsma, De Stnjd over het Dogma, 86 f.

3) Goldziher, Moh. Studien II, 58, 59; Von Kremer, Herrsch. Ideen d. Isi. 301, note 15; Steiner, Die Mu<sup>t</sup>aziliten, 6, note 55 Al-Subki, p. 144,

قبيل ختم في رمضان ثلاثا وثلاثين ختمًا.

4) Abū Nu<sup>f</sup>aim, 143 b, دفع السامون مالا ففعل انفسه على اصحاب 4) Abū Nu<sup>f</sup>aim, 143 b, دفع السامون مالا ففعل انفسه على اصحاب  
الحديث فلن فيهم ضعفاء فا بقى احد الا اخذ الا احمد بن حنبل

heterodoxy in theology, and for the consequent persecution of the stricter theologians on which he entered. It would appear to be more in accordance with the facts, to say that al-Ma<sup>D</sup>mun himself found the atmosphere of orthodoxy oppressive and sought relief by surrounding himself with men whose minds were of his own liberal cast<sup>1</sup>). That these men should then put forth this or that doctrine is not so much to be considered as that the Khalif himself found heterodoxy a more congenial environment than orthodoxy. That Ahmed ibn Abi Dowad, the Chief-Kadi, was responsible for the inquisition known as the Mihna may be said<sup>2</sup>); but it should not be forgotten that before Ibn Abi Dowad obtained his ascendancy over the mind of al-Ma<sup>3</sup>mun, the latter would himself have set on foot the Mihna for the creation of the Koran had he not been afraid to do so. The Khalif's public adoption of the doctrine of the Koran's creation dates from Rabi<sup>c</sup> I, 212 A. H. (827 A. D.)<sup>3</sup>).

The following incident shews clearly the state of al-Ma<sup>D</sup>mun's mind previous to this date. Yazid ibn Harun, who is mentioned in connection with the incident, died in 206 A. H., six years before al-Ma<sup>D</sup>mun publicly professed the doctrine that the Koran was created, and twelve years before the beginning of the Mihna. Yahya ibn Aktham related; "Al-Ma<sup>D</sup>mun said to us, Tf it were not for Yazid ibn Harun I would assuredly make public declaration of the doctrine that the Koran is created'. On this one of his courtiers said, 'Nay! but who is Yazid ibn Harun that the Commander of the Faithful

1) Cf. Houtsma, De Strijd over het Dogma, 108.

2) Cf. Abu'l-Mah. I, 733; De Goeje, Fragm. Hist. Arab., 547; Al-Subki, وكان معظما عند المأمون أمير المؤمنين يقبل شفاعته p. 136, ويصغى الى كلامه واخباره في هذا كثيرة فدرس ابن ابي دواد له القول بخلف القرآن وحسنه عنده وصبره يعتقدده حقا مبينا الى ان اجمع رايه في سنة ثمان عشرة ومائتين على الدعاء اليه

3) Tab. III, 1.99.

should fear him?' His reply was, <I am afraid, if I declare it publicly, that he will retort upon me, and men will be at discord in their opinions, and thus there will come trouble, to which I am averse'. One of those who were present then said to al-Ma<sup>d</sup>mun, 'I will make trial of the matter with Yazid ibn Harun'. So this man went down to Wasit and, coming upon Yazid in the Mosque, said to him, 'O Abu Khalid, the Commander of the Faithful greets thee and would inform thee that he wishes to make public declaration that the Koran is created'. Yazid answered, 'You lie against the Commander of the Faithful! If you speak the truth, wait here until the people come together to me'. So next day when the people came to him, the Khalif's messenger repeated what he had said the day before, and asked, 'What have you to say about the matter?' Yazid retorted, 'You have lied against the Commander of the Faithful. The Commander of the Faithful will not force men to profess that which they have not hitherto known, and which none of them has ever professed'. After this passage the man returned to..the Commander of the Faithful, told him of the result, and acknowledged that al-Ma<sup>3</sup>mun had been more accurate in his forecast than he himself had been. Al-Ma mun replied, 'He has made jest of you" !).

١) [قال البيهقي (458 ت)] قال يحيى بن اكرم قال لنا ، al-Maḳrīzī, p. 3، المأمون لولا مكان يزيد بن هرون لأظهرت القول بخلق القرآن فقال له بعض جلسائه ومن يزيد بن هرون حتى يتعبه أمير المؤمنين فقال لي اخاف ان اظهرته يرد علي فيختلف الناس وتكون فتنة وانما اكره الفتنة فقال الرجل للمامون انا اخبر ذلك من يزيد بن هرون فخرج الي واسط فجاى الي يزيد فدخل عليه المسجد فقال يا خالدا ان امير المؤمنين يقرئك السلام ويقر لك ان اريد ان اظهر القول في ان القرآن مخلوق فقال له كذبت على امير المؤمنين فلن

The public adoption of the doctrine that the Koran was created was conjoined with the public declaration of the superiority of <sup>c</sup>Ali over Abu Bekr and <sup>c</sup>Omar. Al-Ma<sup>D</sup>mun was a pro-<sup>c</sup>Alyite Khalif\*), even as al-Mutawakkil, who revoked the royal edict announcing the Koran's creation, was an anti-<sup>c</sup>Alyite Khalif. The Shyites were, in fact, Mu<sup>c</sup>tazilites in theological opinion, and it is not surprising that the ruler who gave out their tenet Jouching the Koran should, at the same time, prefer their great leader before the orthodox Abu Bekr and his successor, even as it is not surprising that the ruler who revoked their tenet should restore to the orthodox Khalifs their primacy. Political capital was made out of both events by partisans, but in both cases it seems to us that the intention of the Khalifs was primarily to effect a religious reform<sup>2</sup>).

For six years al-Ma<sup>3</sup>mun was undecided as to whether or not he should make the tenet that the Koran was created obligatory upon his subjects; finally, when he had deposed Yahya ibn

كنت صادقا فاصبر الى ان يجتمع على الناس قال فلما كان الغد واجتمع عليه الناس قلت يا ابا خالسد ان امير المؤمنين يقرئك السلام ويقول لك ان اريد ان اظهر القول بخلق القرآن فما عندك في ذلك قال كذبت على امير المؤمنين امير المؤمنين لا يحمل الناس على ما لا يعرفونه وما لم يقل به احد قال الرجل فلما رجعت الى امير المؤمنين قلت له يا امير المؤمنين انك كنت اعلم بالامر منا كان من القصة كيت وكيت فقال امير المؤمنين انه تلعب بك

cf. von Ilammei, Lit. Gesch. I 11, p. 159, Yazid ibn Harfm.

1) Houtsma, De Strijd etc. 97. Al-Ma<sup>m</sup>mim, who had hoped to effect something by political alliance with the "Alyites, found in time that there was nothing to be gained and much to be lost by such an alliance and gave it up, though still friendly to the <sup>c</sup>Alyite party and favorable to many of its views. Houtsma, 99.

2) Houtsma, De Strijd etc. 99 f. On this subject cf. Weil, Chalifen II, 258 ff. j von Kremer, Herrsch. Ideen, 333 ff.

Aktham, in the year 217 A. H., from the Chief-Kadi's office <sup>1)</sup> and appointed Ahmed ibn Abi Dowad as his successor, he was encouraged to take the step by his new favorite until, in the last year of his life 218 A. H., he ordered the application of the Mihna, or test<sup>2)</sup>.

*Ibn Abi* Ahmed ibn Abi Dowad, who held a position of *Dowad*. great power under the three Khalifs, al-Ma<sup>D</sup>mun, al-Mu<sup>c</sup>tasim and al-Wathik, and was the most vigorous advocate of the Mihna during their reigns <sup>3)</sup>, is pictured in the accounts given by the orthodox biographers of Ahmed ibn Hanbal in much too unfavorable a light. He was a learned man, gifted in the Kalam, — he studied the Kalam with Hayyaj ibn al-<sup>c</sup>Ala al-Sulami, a pupil of Wagil ibn<sup>c</sup>Ata<sup>4)</sup>, — and was the first who publicly employed it in speaking before the Khalifs, though he refrained from employing it in the presence of Ibn al-Zayyat the Vizier. The Khalif al-Mu<sup>c</sup>tasim was completely under the power of Ibn Abi Dowad.

1) De Goeje, *Fiagm. Hist. Arab.* 376.

2) p. 52, note 2.

3) Steiner, *Die Mu<sup>c</sup>taziliten*, 78.

4) for Wagil ibn <sup>c</sup>Ata cf. Dozy, *Hct Islamibmc*, 133 f.; Steinei, *Die Mu<sup>c</sup>taziliten*, pp. 25, 50. Houtsma (*De Stnjd etc.* 103) says that [Wac.il](http://Wac.il) ibn <sup>c</sup>Ata does not appear to have taught the cication of the Koian.

كان القاصي احمد بن ابي دواد عن نشا في العلم وتصلع، *al-Subkī*, p. 136، بعلم الكلام وحب فيه هياج بن العلاء السلمى صاحب واصل بن عطاء احد روس المعتزلة وكان ابن ابي دواد رجلا فصيحاً قال ابو العيينة [Cod. no points; cf. *Abu'l-Mahāsīn*, I 475, 733] ما رايت رئيساً قط افسح ولا انطق منه وكان كريماً ممدحاً وفيه يقول بعضهم لقد أنست مساوي كل دعير، محاسن احمد بن ابي دواد، وما ظرفت في الافاق الآ، ومن جدواك راحلتى وزادى، يقيم الظن عندك والامانى، وارقلت *Abu' - ١١١١* II. 678, corrects as in text] وان قلب ركابى في البلاء

He entered the service of al-Ma<sup>3</sup>mun in the year 204 A. H., on the recommendation of Yahya ibn Aktham, and at this Khalif's death was warmly recommended by him to his successor, al-Mu'tasim. In the very beginning of al-Mutawakkil's reign Ahmed was paralyzed, and his son Mohammed was made Chief-Kadi in his place, but was deposed in the same year, 232 A. H. Ibno Abi Dowad was an eloquent man and a poet whose praisewere loudly celebrated by poets and others. He was, also, a /man of large generosity, and a lover of good living and entertainment i). In contrast to this estimate of the man is the representation of him as an impetuous, ignorant and narrow bigot, which we find in most of the orthodox accounts. In 236 or 237 A. H. Ibn Abi Dowad came into disfavor at the Court, and was imprisoned and his property confiscated; later, he was sent to reside in Baghdad, where hisli lived till his death. Both father and son died in disgrace in the year 240 A. H., the son twenty days before his father

*First Letter* The first step taken by al-Ma'mun to secure conformity to the view which he had adopted was to *Mayimto send a letter to his lieutenant at Baghdad, Ishafe ibn Ibrabhim* cousin of Tahir ibn al-Hasan, ordering him to cite before him the kadis and traditionists, and to demand of,\* them an answer to the test as to the

i) On the luxuries nf<sub>e</sub> of the chief Mu<sup>c</sup>tazila cf, Houtsma, De Strijd etc. 8if.; Steiner, Diet Mu'tazihten, 10 infra.

2) Weil, Chalifen, 334; Goldziher, Moh. Stud. II, 58; Magoudi VI, 214; Ibn Chall. N.o. 31. Abu'l-Mah. I, 733; De Goeje, Fragm. Hist. Arab,

547; cf. Abú Nu<sup>c</sup>aim, 152a, *وَجَعَلَ يَعْقُوبَ وَعْتَابَ يَصِيرَانِ إِلَيْهِ فَيَقُولَانِ*  
*لَهُ يَقُولُ لَكَ أَمِيرَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ مَا تَقُولُ فِي ابْنِ أَبِي دَوَادٍ فِي مَالِهِ فَلَا*  
*يَجِيبُ فِي ذَلِكَ بِشَيْءٍ وَجَعَلَ يَعْقُوبَ وَعْتَابَ يَخْبِرَانِهِ بِمَا يَحْدُثُ فِي*  
*أَمْرِ ابْنِ أَبِي دَوَادٍ فِي كُلِّ يَوْمٍ ثُمَّ أَحْدَثَ ابْنُ أَبِي دَوَادٍ لِي بَغْدَادَ*  
*بَعْدَمَا أَشْهَدَ عَلَيْهِ بِبَيْعِ ضِيَاعِهِ*

creation of the Koran. This letter ran as follows «): That which God has laid upon the imams of the Muslims, their Khalifs, is to be zealous in the maintenance of the religion of God, which he has asked them to conserve; in the heritage of prophecy, which he has granted them to inherit; in the tradition of knowledge, which he has asked them to hold in charge; in the government of their subjects according to right and justice, and in being diligent to observe obedience to God in their conduct toward them. Now, the Commander of the Faithful asks God to assist him to persevere in the right way and to be energetic in it, to act justly, also, in those interests of his subjects over which God by his grace and bounty has appointed him to have rule. The Commander of the Faithful knows that the great multitude, the mass of the insignificant folk, and the vulgar public, who, in all regions and countries, are without insight and deep reflection, and have not a method of reasoning by means of such proof as God approves under the guidance which he gives, and no enlightenment by the light of knowledge and its evidences, are a people ignorant of God and too blind to see him, too much in error to know the reality of his religion, the confession of his unity and the belief in him; perverted, also, so as not to recognize his clear tokens, and the obligation of his service; unable to grasp the real

i) The text on which I have based all the translations of the Khalif al-Ma'mun's letters in relation to the Mihna is that found in the Leiden edition of Tabaii's *Annales IU* (2nd vol.), ۱۱۱۲-۱۱۳۳. It has the appearance of being a verbal copy of the letters, while the text in Abu'l-Mahasin I, ۹۳۷-۹۴۱, De Goeje, *Fragm. Hist. Arab. II*, ۳۱۵, Abu'l-Feda *Annales II*, 154f., and in al-Subki, 136 ff. represents the letters in greatly abridged form. The later writers appear to have used Tabaii for their text, for all shew much the same variations from the extended form of the letters found in his work; that is, where they furnish the same portions of the letters (for some of the authorities mentioned have abridged more than others, and in some there is but one or, it may be, two letters found). The above mentioned authorities, beyond the help already gathered from the collation with Abu'l-Mahasin, do not afford any assistance to improve the text found in Tabaii.

measure of God, to know him as he really is, and to distinguish between him and his creation, because of the weakness of their views, the deficiency of their understandings, and their turning aside from reflection and recollection; for they put on an equality God and the Koran which he has revealed. They are all agreed and stand unequivocally in accord with one another that it is eternal and primitive, and that God did not create it, produce it, or give it being; while God himself says in his well-ordered Book, which he appointed as a healing for what is within the breasts and as a mercy and right guidance for the believers, 'We have made it a Koran in the Arabic tongue' \*), and everything which God has made he has created. He says, also, 'Praise be to God who *created* the heavens and the earth and *made* the darkness and the light'<sup>2</sup>). He speaks also thus, 'We will tell thee tidings of that which went before'<sup>3</sup>); he says here that it is an account of things *after* whose happening he *produced* it, and with it he followed up their lead. Then he says, JI, 'A book whose verses were well-ordered, and, then, were divided by order of a Wise and Knowing One'<sup>4</sup>). Now, for everything that is ordered and divided there is one who orders and divides; and God is the one who orders well his Book and the one who divides it, therefore, he is its creator and producer. They, also, are those who dispute with false arguments, and call men to adopt their view. Further, they claim to be followers of the Sunna, while in every chapter of God's Book is an account, which may be read therein, that gives the lie to their position, declares their invitation [to adopt their opinions] to be false, and thrusts back upon them their view and their religious pretensions. But they give out, in spite of that, that they are the people of the truth and the [real] religion and the communion of believers, all others being the people of falsehood, unbelief and schism; and they boast themselves of

i) Koran, 43. 2.

3) Koran, 20. 99.

2) Koran, 6. I.

4) Koran, ix. 1.

that over their fellows, so deceiving the ignorant, until persons of the false way, who are devoted to the worship of another God than Allah, and who mortify themselves for another cause than that of the true religion, incline toward agreement with them and accordance with their evil opinions, by that means getting to themselves honour with them, and procuring to themselves a leadership and a reputation among them for honorable dealing. Thus they give up the truth for their falsehood, and find apart from God \*) a supporter for their error. And, so, their testimony is received, because they [sc. the ignorant or people of the false way] declare them [sc. those who *pretend* to be the people of the truth] to be veracious witnesses; and the ordinances of the Koran are executed by them [sc. those who pretend to be the people of the truth] notwithstanding the unsoundness of their religion, the corruption of their honour, and the depravation of their purposes and belief. That is the goal unto which they are urging others, and which they seek in their own practice and in [their] lying against their Lord, though the solemn covenant of the Book is upon them that they should not speak against God except that which is true, and though they have learned what the condition is of 'those whom God has made deaf and whose eyes he has blinded. Do they not reflect upon the Koran? or are there locks upon their hearts?'<sup>2</sup>) The Commander of the Faithful considers, therefore, that those men are the worst and the chief in error, being deficient in the belief in God's unity, and having an incomplete share in the faith — vessels of ignorance, banners of falsehood, the tongue of Iblis, who speaks through his friends and is terrible to his enemies who are of God's religion; the ones of all others to be mistrusted as to their truthfulness, whose testimony should be rejected, and in whose word and deed one can put no confidence. For one can only do good works after assured persuasion, and there [really] is assured persuasion

i) cf. Koran, 9. 16.

2) Koran, 47. 25—'26.

only after fully obtaining a real possession of Islam, and a sincere profession of the faith in God's unity. He, therefore, who is too blind to perceive his right course and his share in the belief in God and in his unity, is, in other respects, as to his conduct and the justness of his testimony, still more blind and erring. By the life of the Commander of the Faithful, the most likely of men to lie in speech and to fabricate a false testimony is the man who lies against God and his revelation, and who does not know God as he really is; and the most deserving of them all to be rejected when he testifies about what God ordains and about his religion is he who rejects God's testimony to his Book and slanders the truth of God by his lying. Now, gather together the kadis under thy jurisdiction, read unto them this letter of the Commander of the Faithful to thee, and begin to test them to see what they will say, and to discover what they believe concerning the creation of the Koran by God and its production by God. Tell them, also, that the Commander of the Faithful will not ask assistance in his government of one whose religion, whose sincerity of faith in God's unity, and whose [religious] persuasion are not to be trusted; nor will he put confidence in such a man in respect to what God has laid upon him and in the matter of those interests of his subjects which he has given into his charge. And when they have confessed that [sc. that the Koran is created] and accorded with the Commander of the Faithful, and are in the way of right guidance and of salvation, then, bid them to cite the legal witnesses under their jurisdiction, to ask them in reference to the Koran, and to leave off accepting as valid the testimony of him who will not confess that it is created and produced, and refuse thou to let them [the kadis] countersign it. Write, also, to the Commander of the Faithful the reports that come to thee from the tddis of thy province as to the result of their inquisition and their ordering that these things be done. Get acquainted with them, and search out their evidences, so that the sentences of God may not be carried out, except on the testimony of such

as have insight into real religion and are sincere in the belief in God's unity, and then, write unto the Commander of the Faithful of what comes of it all.

This letter was written in the month of Rabf I, 218 A. H., before al-Ma<sup>3</sup>mun set out on his last expedition to the frontiers, and about four months before his death. It must be confessed that the spirit of the document is that of the bigot, rather than that of a broad and liberal mind. Nor can we suppose that a man of al-Ma<sup>3</sup>mun's character would let a document of this kind be composed in any spirit but his own. Its indications all point to arrogant intellectual self-sufficiency coupled with a contempt of opinions different from those held by himself. The contemptuous Khalif would appear to have been convinced by those about him that he could now safely terrorize the orthodox, securing assent to his own views from such as were weak enough to be frightened by his threats or tortures, and blotting out the obstinate ones from the face of the earth, when they were found incorrigible.

*Th B 11-* This l<sup>t</sup>ter was sent to all the provinces. The *tiing of the* copy of that which was addressed to Kaidar, governor of Egypt, is practically the same as that *elsewhere.* whose translation has been given, but it did not

Egypt. reach Egypt until the month of Jumada II. The Kadi in Egypt at this time was Harun ibn Abdallah al-Zuhri. He gave in his assent on the test as to the Koran being applied to him, as did also the constituted witnesses except some whose testimony was by their refusal rendered invalid. Kaidar had made a beginning with the examination of the faiths and <sup>c</sup>ulama, but had evidently adopted no harsh measures, when the news of al-Ma<sup>D</sup>mun's death came to him in the month after the receipt of the order for the Mihna. On the receipt of this news the inquisition was suspended<sup>1</sup>).

There is mention of some trials for the sake of the Koran at Damascus, but there, as well as in other provinces, little appears to have been done, for the notices are

1) Abu'l-Mah. I, 636, 637.

very slight; and, from the way in which Abu'l-Mahasin's record reads, one might infer that the order for the Mihna to places outside of<sup>c</sup>Irak and Egypt came later than to these places. If this inference be just the time of the inquisition in these other parts must have been short, at least, in the Khalifate of al-Ma<sup>d</sup>mun. It is to be concluded, too, that the success of the persecution at Baghdad led al-Ma<sup>3</sup>mun to order a general introduction of the Mihna throughout his empire.

*Damascus.* In the year 218 A. H., al-Ma<sup>^</sup>mun went in person to Damascus, probably on his last expedition to Asia Minor, and personally conducted the testing of the doctors there concerning the freedom of the will (JLXC) and the divine unity, the second of which in his view involved a test as to the creation of the Koran -). The governor of Damascus under al-Ma<sup>3</sup>mun, as well as under his successors, al-Mu<sup>c</sup>tasim and

i) al-Ja<sup>c</sup>qubi II, 571, The Mu<sup>c</sup>tazila called themselves the Ahlu't-Tauhid wa'l-<sup>c</sup>Adl, the men of the Divine Unity and Righteousness, chiefly for the reason that they, on the one hand, rejected the orthodox view of the Divine attributes and of the Koian as out of harmony with the unitarian faith of Islam; and held, instead, that the so-called attributes were only empty names, or were not real and distinct existences, but particular presentations of the Divine essence itself: that is, God as wise, God as powerful etc. They, on the othei hand, l ejected the orthodox doctrine of the Divine foreordination of the actions and destinies of men as inconsistent with the absolute righteousness of God, and held that the human will was free, and man thus the determiner of his own destiny. Hence it is that in polemic liteiatuie Ahlu't-Tauhid wa'l-<sup>^</sup>Adl has a much more special meaning than that indicated in the beginning of this note, generally standing for those who believe, 1) in the non-existence of the attributes of God or their identity with his essence, and in the creation of the Koran (اهل التوحيد), 2) in the freedom of the will (اهل العدل); cf. Houtsma, De Stnjd etc. 55, 92, 133; Steiner, Die Mu-taziliten, 30, 50 and note 3); Shahrastanl, Haarbrucker's transl'n I, 39, 42.

If Ja<sup>c</sup>qubi be correct, Houtsma's statement (p. 108) "dat hij [al-Ma<sup>3</sup>mun] niet den vrijen wil ook meteen [with the creation of the Koran] als staatsdogma vaststelde" must be modified. The probabilities are in favour of the Khalifs having done what Ja<sup>c</sup>qubi says, though we, in general, do not find Ja<sup>c</sup>qubi a very satisfactory authority as far as the Mihna is concerned. His usual accuracy in recording events is seemingly wanting at this point.

al-Wathils, was Ishal<sup>^</sup> ibn Yahya. During the Khalifate of al-Mu<sup>c</sup>tasim, that Khalif wrote him a letter ordering him to urge the Mihna on the people under his authority. He, however, dealt leniently with them in regard to the order he had received. In 235 A. H., this man was appointed governor of Egypt by al-Mutawakkil \*).

*Kufa.* When the order came to Kufa there was a great assembly of the sheikhs in the general mosque of the city, and, on the Khalifs (the name of the Khalif is not given) letter being read to them, the feeling was against yielding to the order it contained. Abu Nu<sup>c</sup>aim al-Fadl ibn Dukain, a Kufite, who died in 219 A. H., said that he had met over 870 teachers, from the aged al-A<sup>c</sup>mash to those who were young in years, who did not believe the Koran to be created, and that such teachers as were inclined to the heterodox view were charged by their fellows with being Zindifes (atheists)<sup>2</sup>). Abu Nu<sup>c</sup>aim ibn Dukain was present at the opening of the Mihna in Kufa. This fact shews us the approximate date of the event there, for this man, as we have said, died in the year 219<sup>3</sup>).

*Citation of* The result of the letter of al-Ma<sup>^</sup>mun to Baghdad *the Seven* was to produce, as we may justly conjecture, a *Leaders*, feeling of resistance, the most zealous inciter of

1) Abu'l-Mah. I. 711 f.

2) On the origin of the name and its use among the orthodox v. Houtsma, De Strijd etc. 75.

3) al-Makrizi, p. 13, وأما الحافظ أبو نعيم الفضل بن دكين فروى الحافظ أبو الفرج بسنده إلى محمد بن أحمد بن عمرو بن عيسى قال سمعت أبا يقول ما رأيت مجلساً أتبل من مجلس اجتمع فيه المشايخ بجامع الكوفة في وقت الامتحان فقرأ عليهم الكتاب الذي فيه لئحة فقال أبو نعيم أدركت ثمانى مائة شيخ ونيفاً وسبعين شيخاً منهم الاعشى فمن دونه فما رأيت أحداً يقول بهذه المقالة يعنى بخلف القرآن ولا تكلم أحد بها الا رمى بالزندقة

which would be Ahmed ibn Hanbal \*). Still, al-Ma<sup>3</sup>mun did not yet venture to apprehend the latter. His next step was one which was calculated to shew him just how far he was safe in going in his enforcement of conformity to his views.

*Second* He wrote a second letter to Ishak ibn Ibrahim, *Letter of the governor of 'Iralf*, ordering him to send seven *al-Ma'mun* of the leading traditionists of Baghdad that he might test them himself. For his purpose, this was a sagacious move. Away from the moral support of their fellow-traditionists, and face to face with the state of the Court and the terrors which the Khalif brought to bear upon their minds, resistance was much more difficult than it would have been at Baghdad. And the compliance of these leaders being secured, smaller men needed not to be feared. The name of Ahmed ibn Hanbal was, at first, upon the list bearing the names of the seven referred to, but was erased at the instance of Ibn Abi Dowad, — at least, so the latter claimed<sup>2</sup>).

Those now summoned<sup>3</sup>) to the Court were Mohammed ibn Sa<sup>c</sup>d the secretary of al-Wakidi, Abu Muslim the amanuensis of Yazid ibn Harun, Yahya ibn Ma<sup>c</sup>in, Zuhair ibn Harb Abu Khaithama, Isma<sup>c</sup>il ibn Daud, Isma<sup>c</sup>il ibn Abi Mas<sup>c</sup>ud and Ahmed ibn Ibrahim al-Daurak:i. These seven men all yielded assent under the pressure which al-Ma<sup>D</sup>mun used with them. Having obtained his desire, the Khalif sent the men back to Baghdad, where Ishak ibn Ibrahim, acting under al-Ma<sup>D</sup>mun's orders, had them repeat their confession before the fal<sup>c</sup>ihs and traditionists<sup>4</sup>).

*Its Effect.* The fall of these seven men from orthodoxy was a source of much grief to Ahmed ibn Hanbal. His judgment

i) The Baghdad people had in the year 215, and even earlier, protested against al-Ma<sup>3</sup>mun's heterodoxy touching the Kordn, cf. Abu'l-Mah. I, 631.

2) Vid. p. 82.

3) Tabari III<sup>4</sup>1, text of letter not given.

4) Tabari 11 11 f. A biographical notice of Mohammed ibn Sa<sup>c</sup>d is found Ibn Chall. N°. 656; of Yahya ibn Ma'tn, al-Nawawt, Biog. Diet. p. 628; of Ahmed ibn al-Dauraki, Dhahabi Tabakat 8, N°. 98; of Zuhair ibn Harb, id. 8, N°. 23. I have not been able to find notices of the other three.

was that if they had stood their ground nothing more would have been heard of the Mihna in Baghdad. Al-Ma<sup>3</sup>mun would have been afraid to deal harshly with them seeing they were the leading men of the city; but, when they gave way, he had little hesitation in dealing with others \*). Their assent was by themselves excused on the ground of Takia (exemption from observance of religious duty when it involved risk to life), but the real cause of their doing as they did was fear of execution if they had not done so. Yahya ibn Ma'in with weeping used to confess that this was the case<sup>2</sup>). It was unfortunate that the seven leaders proved themselves so weak, for it is not unlikely that their firmness might have deterred al-Ma<sup>o</sup>mun from prosecuting further his effort for uniformity of belief; and after his death, the succeeding Khalifs were not such as would likely have revived an inquisition like this when it had once been given up.

*Third Letter.* A third letter from the Khalif was now sent to Baghdad to Ishak ibn Ibrahim the governor. Its text was as follows<sup>3</sup>): That which God has a right to expect from his vicegerents (khalifs) on his earth [and] those entrusted by him with rule over his servants, upon whom he

[قتل احمد بن حنبل] فاجابوا ولو كانوا صبروا وقاموا، 1) al-Maḥḥiḥi, p. 4،  
 لله لكان انقطع الامر وحذرهم الرجل يعنى المامون ولكن لما اجابوا  
 وهم عين البلد اجتسروا على غيرهم وكان ابو عبد الله اذا ذكرهم  
 يغتم ويقول هم اول من نلّم هذه التلمة

وسبب طلبهم انهم تسوفقوا اولاً ثم اجابوه تقية، 2) al-Subki, p. 137،  
 وكتب الى اسحق بن ابراهيم بن ابي بصير الفقيه ومشايع الحديث  
 ويخبرهم بما اجاب به هؤلاء السبعة ففعل ذلك فاجابه طائفة وامتنع  
 آخرون فكان يحيى بن معين [وغيره] يقول اجبنا  
 خوفا من السيف

3) Tabari III, 114 ff.

has been pleased to lay the maintenance of his religion, the care of his creatures, the carrying out of his ordinance and his laws, and the imitation of his justice in his world, is that they should exert themselves earnestly for God, do him good service *in* respect to that which he asks them to guard and lays upon them, make him known by that excellency of learning which he has entrusted to them and the knowledge which he has placed within them, guide to him the one who has turned aside from him, bring back him who has turned his back on his command, mark out for their subjects the way of their salvation, tell them about the limits of their faith and the way of their deliverance and protection, and discover to them those things which are hidden from them, and the things which are doubtful to them [clear up] by means of that which will remove doubt from them and bring back enlightenment and clear knowledge unto them all. And [part of that which he claims of them is] that they should begin that by making them *go* in the right way, and by causing them to see [things] clearly, because this involves all their actions, and comprehends their portion of felicity in this world and the next. They [the Khalifs] ought to reflect how God is one who holds himself ready to question them about that for which they have been made responsible, and to reward them for that which they have done in advance and that which they have laid up in store with him. The help of the Commander of the Faithful is alone in God, and his sufficiency is God, who is enough for him. Of that which the Commander of the Faithful by his reflection has made plain, and has come to know by his thinking, and the great danger of which is clear, as well as the seriousness of the corruption and harm which will come to religion thereby, are the sayings which the Muslims are passing round among themselves as to the Koran, which God made to be an imam and a lasting monument for them from God's Messenger and elect Servant, Mohammed, and [another thing is] the confusedness of the opinion of many of them about it [sc. the Koran] until it has seemed good in their

opinions and right in their minds that it has not been created ; and, thus, they expose themselves to the risk of denying the creating by God of all things, by which [act] he is distinguished from his creation. He in his glory stands apart in the bringing into being of all things by his wisdom and the creation of them by his power, and in his priority in time over them by reason of his being Primitive Existence, whose beginning cannot be attained and whose duration cannot be reached. Everything apart from him is a creature from his creation, — a new thing which he has brought into existence. [This perverted opinion they hold] though the Koran speaks clearly of God's creating all things, and<sup>1</sup> proves it to the exclusion of all difference of opinion. They are, thus, like the Christians when they claim that 'Isa ibn Maryam was not created because he was the Word of God<sup>1</sup>). But God says, 'Verily we have made it a Koran in the Arabic language<sup>2</sup>'); and the explanation of that is, 'Verily we have created it', just as the Koran says, 'And he made from it his mate that he might dwell with her<sup>3</sup>'. Also, it says, 'We have made the night as a garment and the day as a means of gain' \*). 'We have made every living thing from water'<sup>5</sup>). God thus puts on equal footing the Koran and these creatures which he mentions with the indication of 'making'. And he tells that he alone is the One who made it, saying, 'Verily it is a glorious Koran (something to be read) on a well-guarded table<sup>6</sup>'. Now, he says that on the supposition that the Koran is limited by the table, and only that which is created can be limited (by surrounding bounds<sup>7</sup>). He says, likewise, to his Prophet, 'Do not move in it thy tongue to make haste in it<sup>8</sup>'. Also, 'That which came to them was a newly created religion (SS) from their Lord<sup>9</sup>'.

i) cf. Sura 112; cf. Steiner, Die Mu<sup>c</sup>taziliten, p. 90 and note.

2) Koian, 43. 2.

3) Koran, 7. 189.

4) Koran, 78. 10.

5) Koian, 21. 31.

6) cf. Koran, 85. 21—22.

7) cf. Shahrastni, Haarbriicker's transl'n I, 72, 1. 20 ff.

8) Koran, 75. 16.

9) Koran, 21. 2.

Also, 'And who is a worse liar than the man who inventeth a lie against God or charges his verses with being false'). He tells, too, about men whom he blames because of their lying, in that they say, 'God has not sent down [by revelation] to men anything'<sup>2</sup>). Then, by the tongue of his Messenger he declares them liars, and says to his Messenger, 'Say, who sent down the book which Moses brought?'<sup>3</sup>). So God calls the Koran something to be read, something to be kept in memory, a faith, a light, a right guidance, a blessed thing, a thing in the Arabic language, and a narration. For he says, 'We relate unto thee a most beautiful narration in that which we reveal unto thee, — this Koran'<sup>4</sup>). Furthermore, he says, 'Say, surely, if men and jinns were gathered together to bring forth such as this Koran, they could not bring forth one like it'<sup>5</sup>). Also, 'Say, bring ten suras fabricated like it'<sup>6</sup>). Also, 'Falsehood shall not come up to it either from before or after it'<sup>7</sup>). Thus, he puts [at least, by possibility] something before and after it, and so indicates that it is finite and created. But these ignorant people, by their teaching concerning the Koran, have made large the breach in their religion and the defect in their trustworthiness; they have also levelled the way for the enemy of Islam, and confess fickleness and heresy against their own hearts, [going on] even till they make known and describe God's creation and his action by that description which appertains to God alone, and they compare him with it, whilst only his creation may be the subject of comparison. The Commander of the Faithful does not consider that he who professes this view has any share in the real religion, or any part in the real faith and in well-grounded persuasion. Nor does he consider that he should set any one of them down as a trustworthy person in regard to his being admitted as

i) Koran, 6. 21.

3) *ibid.*

5) Koran, 17. 90.

7) Koran, 41. 42.

2) Koran, 6. 91.

4) Koran, 12. 3.

6) Koran, i l. 16.

شاهد or شاهد — أمين or as one to be relied upon in speech or report, or in the exercise of authority over his subjects. Now, if any of them seem to act with equity, and to be known by his straightforwardness, still, the branches are to be carried back to their roots, and the burden of praise or blame is to be according to these. Thus, whosoever is ignorant in the matter of his religion, concerning that which God has commanded him in reference to his unity, he, as regards other things, is still more ignorant, and is too blind and erring to see the right way in other matters. Now, read the letter of the Commander of the Faithful unto thee to Ja'far ibn 'Isa and Abd al-Rahman ibn Ishak the kadi, and cite them both to answer for their knowledge respecting the Koran, telling them that the Commander of the Faithful in the affairs of the Muslims will not ask the assistance of any but those in whose sincerity of faith and whose belief in God's unity he has confidence; and that he has no belief in God's unity who does not confess that the Koran is created. And, if they profess the view of the Commander of the Faithful in this particular, then, order them to test those who are in their courts for the giving of evidence touching rights of claimants, and [order them] to cite them to answer for their profession in respect to the Koran. He who does not profess it to be created, let them declare his testimony invalid and refrain from giving sentence on what he says, even if his integrity be established by the equity and straightforwardness of his conduct. Do this with all the kadis in thy province, and examine them with such an examination as God can cause to increase the rightmindedness of the rightminded, and prevent those who are in doubt from neglecting their religion. Then, write unto the Commander of the Faithful of what thou hast done in this matter.

*Citation of* Following out the instructions of this letter, Ishak the Doctor ibn Ibrahim summoned to his presence a number in Baghdcid, *fa* faks, doctors and traditionists «). Among

1) Tabari III, W ff. is followed throughout the passage.

those summoned were Ahmed ibn Hanbal, Bishr ibn al-Walid al-Kindi, Abu Hassan al-Ziyadi, °Ali ibn Abi Mul<sup>c</sup>atil, al-Fadl ibn Ghanim, Obaidallah ibn °Omar al-Kawariri, °Ali ibn al-Ja<sup>c</sup>d, al-Hasan ibn Hammad al-Sajjada'), al-Dhayyal ibn al-Haitham, Kutaiba ibn Sa<sup>c</sup>id, who seems to have been only temporarily in Baghdad, Sa<sup>c</sup>dawaih, Sa<sup>o</sup>ld ibn Suleiman Abu °Othman al-Wasiti<sup>2</sup>), Ishak ibn Abi Israel, Ibn al-Harsh, Ibn °Ulayya al-Akbar, Mohammed ibn Nuh al-Madrub al-°Ijli<sup>3</sup>), Yahya ibn Abd al-Rahman al-°Omari, Abu Nasr al-Tammar, Abu Ma<sup>c</sup>mar al-Kati<sup>c</sup>i, Mohammed ibn Hatim ibn Maimun, a sheikh of the descendants of °Omar ibn al-Khattab who was kadi of al-Rakka, Ibn al-Farrukhan, al-Nadr ibn Shumail, Abd al-Rahman ibn Ishak, Ibn Bakka al-Akbar, Ahmed ibn Yazid ibn al-°Awwam Abu 'l-Awwam al-Bazzaz, Ibn Shuja and Mohammed ibn al-Hasan ibn °Ali ibn °Asim. Others are mentioned in the account of the investigation which follows.

When these men were brought before Ishak ibn Ibrahim, he read to them twice al-Ma<sup>3</sup>mun's letter until they grasped its meaning and, then, asked them for their assent to the doctrine which the Khalif propounded. At first, they tried subterfuges and would neither affirm nor deny that the *Ko-Bishr ibn ran* was created. The first to whom Ishak ibn Ibrahim put the test was Bishr ibn al-Walid. 'What dost thou say respecting the Koran?' he asked; and Bishr replied, 'I have more than once made my view known to the Commander of the Faithful'. Ishak said, 'But this letter is a new thing from the Commander of the Faithful. What is your view?' Bishr answered, 'I say the Koran is the Word of God'. Ishak. 'I did not ask thee for that. Is it created?' Bishr. 'God is the creator of everything'. Ishak. 'Is not the Koran a thing?' Bishr. 'It is a thing'. Ishak. 'And, there-

i) Abu'l-Mah. I. 638 and al-Makrizi, p. 4, supply the name of Sajjada

لحسن بن حماد المعروف بساجدة

2) Abu'l-Mah. I. 665, supplies the name of Sa<sup>c</sup>dawaih

3) Abu'l-Mah. I. 648; al-Subki, p. 138, adds المصروب

fore, created?' Bishr. 'It is not a creator'. Isha<sup>^</sup>. 'I did not ask for this. Is it created?' Bishr then confessed that he had yielded as far as he could yield, and could give no further answer; he contended, moreover, that the Khalif had given him a dispensation from speaking his mind on the subject. The governor now took up a sheet of paper that lay before him and read and explained it to Bishr. Then, he said, 'Testify that there is no God but Allah, one and alone, before whom nothing was and after whom nothing shall be and like to whom is nothing of his creation, in any sense whatsoever or in any wise whatsoever'<sup>1</sup>). Bishr said, 'I testify that and scourge those who do not testify it'. Ishak then turned to the secretary and said, 'Write down what he has said'.

<sup>^</sup>Ali *ibu Abi* Turning next to <sup>^</sup>Ali *ibn Abi Mukatil* he asked *Mulcatil*. for his confession. He replied, 'I have told my opinion about this to the Commander of the Faithful more than once, and have nothing different to say'. The written test was then read to <sup>^</sup>Ali and he gave the confession it required. Then the governor said, 'Is the Koran created?' <sup>^</sup>Ali answered, 'The Koran is God's Word'. Ishak, as in the case of Bishr, told him he had not asked for that, and <sup>^</sup>Ali answered, 'It is the Word of God; if, however, the Commander of the Faithful command us to do a thing we will yield him obedience'. Again, the scribe was bidden to record what had been said.

The next was al-Dhayyal whose replies were in the same strain as those of <sup>^</sup>Ali.

*Abu Hassan*. In the reply of Abu Hassan there is something naively submissive. 'The Koran is the Word of God', he said, 'and God is the creator of everything; all things apart from

i) Houtsma (De Stnjd etc. 108 infia) seems to imply that this written 'credo', which was to be subscribed by those to whom it was put, contained a confession that the Koran was created. As Tabari presents the case the document demanded only a profession of faith in God's unity. Its purpose was evidently to support the separate oral test as to the "Kenan. None seem to have had any scruples about giving assent to the written test, while all would have avoided the other, had it been possible.

him are created. But the Commander of the Faithful is our imam, and through him we have heard the whole sum of learning. He has heard what we have not heard, and knows what we do not know. God also has laid upon him the rule over us. He maintains our Hajj and our prayers; we bring to him our Zakat; we fight with him in the Jihad, and we recognize fully his imamate. Therefore, if he command us we will perform his behest, if he forbid us we will refrain, and if he call upon us we will respond'. Ishak said, 'This is the view of the Commander of the Faithful'. Abu Hassan rejoined, 'True! but sometimes the view of the Commander of the Faithful is one concerning which he gives no command to people, and which he does not call upon them to adopt, if, however, you tell me that the Commander of the Faithful has commanded thee that I should say this, I will say what thou dost command me to say, for thou art a man to be trusted and one on whom reliance is to be placed in respect to anything you may tell me from him. If, then, you order me to do anything, I will do it'. The governor's reply was, 'He has not commanded me to tell thee anything'. Abu Hassan said, 'I mean only to obey; command me and I will perform it'. Ishak said, 'He has not commanded me to command thee, but only to test thee'. The examination of Abu Hassan ends here.

*Ahmed ibn Hanbal* In the case of Ahmed ibn Hanbal, Ibn Bakka *Hanbal* al-Asghar suggested to Ishak ibn Ibrahim that he should ask him about the expression of the Koran, 'He is the Hearing and Seeing One', which Ahmed had used in his confession. Ahmed, in harmony with the principles of men of his class, answered only, 'He is even as he has described himself. Being further pressed to explain the words, he said, 'I do not know; he is even as he has described himself'. He was firm in adhering to the confession that the Koran was the Word of God, and would add nothing to it by way of compromise or admission. Those who were examined subsequently all followed Ahmed's example, except Kutaiba, Obaidallah ibn Mohammed ibn al-Hasan, Ibn

Ulayya al-Akbar, Ibn al-Bakka, Abd al-Mun'im ibn Idris ibn Bint Wahb ibn Munabbih, al-Muzaffir ibn Murajja, another man not a fakih who happened to be present, Ibn al-Ahmar and the 'Omari Kadi of al-Ral<ka. The answers of these are not furnished us but the implication seems to be that they compromised themselves. On this occasion when Ahmed perceived the assent of his companions as the test *ibn al-* was applied he was intensely angry \*). Ibn al-Bakka *Bakkd.* al-Akbar also compromised himself, but not fully, and with better grace than some of his fellows, for he stood on the ground of the Koran text in making the admissions which he made. These admissions were that the Koran was, on the one hand, something 'made' (مَجْعُودٌ) and, on the other hand, something 'newly produced' (اِمْتَحَدَثٌ). For the former position the text adduced was one cited by the Khalif in arguing that the Koran was created (مَخْلُوقٌ), namely, Kor. 43 : 2, 'Verily we have made it a Koran (reading) in the Arabic language'. For the latter position the text was, likewise, one cited by the Khalif in his argument, Kor. 21:2, 'What came to them from their Lord was a newly produced religion (ذِكْرٌ)'. Ishak asked Ibn al-Bakka if the term مَجْعُودٌ were not the same in meaning as مَخْلُوقٌ,

1) Abū Nu'aim, 146 هـ حدثنا سليمان بن احمد تَنَا عبد الله 146 هـ  
ابن احمد بن حنبل حدثني ابو معمر الفطيعي قال لما احضرنا في  
دار السلطان \* ايام الماخنة وكان ابو عبد الله احمد ابن حنبل قد  
أحضر فلما رأى الناس يجيبون وكان ابو عبد الله رجلا نينا فلما  
رأى الناس يجيبون انتفضت اوداجه واحمرت عيناه ونهب ذلك  
اللين الذي كان فيه فقلت انه قد غضب لده قال ابو معمر فلما  
رايت ما به قلت يا ابا عبد الله أبشُرْ

and he answered that it was. 'Then the Koran is created (مَخْلُوقٌ)?' said the governor. 'Nay, that I will not say. I say it is something m a (مَجْعُورٌ)', as the answer.

After all the other cases had been disposed of Ibn al-Bakka al-Asghar remarked that 'the two kadis', whom we assume to be Abd al-Rahman ibn Ishak and Ja'far ibn 'Isa, should be examined; but the governor said they held to the same profession as the Commander of the Faithful. Ibn al-Bakka suggested that if they were ordered to tell their opinion it could be reported to the Khalif for them. The governor, however, seems to have been determined to avoid the examination of the two kadis, probably, to save one who may have been his own son from exposure and humiliation. He simply said to the provoking questioner, 'If thou wilt serve as witness<sup>1)</sup> before them thou shalt know their opinion'.

*Fourth* Ishak ibn Ibrahim then wrote to al-Ma<sup>D</sup>mun a *Letter*, detailed account of the answers received, and after a delay of nine days again summoned the doctors to hear the Khalif's reply. The following is a version of the letter<sup>2)</sup>; — The Commander of the Faithful has received your answer to his letter touching that which the ostentatious among the followers of the Kibla and those who seek among the people of religion a leadership for which they are not the right persons, believe about the doctrine of the Koran, in which letter of his the Commander of the Faithful commanded thee to test them, and discover their positions and put them in their right places. Thou dost mention thy summoning of Ja'far ibn 'Isa and Abd al-Rahman ibn Ishak: on the arrival of the Commander of the Faithful's letter, together with those whom thou didst summon of those classed as fakihs and known as doctors of Tradition and who set themselves up to give legal

1) ابن شهدت عندهما بشهادة

2) Tabari III, 1)Y6 ff.

decisions in Baghdad, and [thou dost speak of] thy reading unto them all the letter of the Commander of the Faithful. [Thou hast mentioned], too, thy asking of them as to their faith touching the Koran and [thy] pointing out to them their real interest; also, their agreeing to put away anthropomorphic conceptions and their difference of view in the matter of the Koran; further, thy ordering of those who did not confess it to be created to refrain from Tradition and from giving decisions in private or in public. [Thou hast mentioned], too, thy giving orders unto al-Sindi and Abbas the client of the Commander of the Faithful, to the same effect as thou didst give orders concerning them unto the two kadis, even the same which the Commander of the Faithful prescribed *to* thee, namely, the testing of the statutory witnesses who are in their courts. Again, [thou hast mentioned] the sending abroad of letters unto the kadis in the several parts of thy province that they should come to thee, so that thou mightest proceed to test them according to that which the Commander of the Faithful has defined, whilst thou hast put down at the end of the letter the names of those who were present and their views. Now, the Commander of the Faithful understands what thou hast reported, and the Commander of the Faithful praises God much, even as he is the One to whom such belongs; and he asks him to bless his Servant and his Messenger, Mohammed, and he prays God to help him to obey him, [sc. God] and to give him [sc. the Khalif ], by his grace, effectual aid in his good purpose. The Commander of the Faithful has also thought over what thou hast written relating to the names of those whom thou hast asked about the Koran, and what each of them answered thee touching it, and what thou hast explained as his view. As for what the deluded Bishr ibn al-Walid says about putting away anthropomorphic conceptions, and that from which he keeps himself back in the matter of the Koran's being created, while he lays claim to leave off speaking on that subject as having had an engagement [to that effect] with the Commander of the Faithful,

Bishr has lied about that, and has acted as an unbeliever, speaking that which is to be refused credit and false; for there has not passed a compact or exchange of opinion in respect to this or any other matter between the Commander of the Faithful and himself, more than that the Commander of the Faithful told him of his belief in the doctrine of the Ikhlas [i. e. the belief in the unity of God] and in that of the creation of the Koran. Call him before thee; tell him what the Commander of the Faithful has told thee in the matter; cite him to answer about the Koran and ask him to recant; for the Commander of the Faithful thinks that thou shouldst ask to recant one who professes his view, seeing that such a view is unmixed infidelity and sheer idolatry in the mind of the Commander of the Faithful. Should he repent, then, publish it and let him alone; but, should he be obstinate in his idolatry and refuse in his infidelity and heterodoxy to confess that the Koran is created, then behead him and send his head to the Commander of the Faithful. In the same way, also, deal with Ibrahim ibn al-Mahdi. Test him as thou hast tested Bishr, for he professes his view and reports about him have reached the Commander of the Faithful; and, if he say that the Koran is created, then publish it and make it known; but, if not, behead him and send his head to the Commander of the Faithful<sup>1)</sup>. As for °Ali ibn Abi Mukatil, say to him, "Art thou not the man who said to the Commander of the Faithful, 'Thou art the one to declare what is lawful and unlawful'? and who told him what thou didst tell him?" the recollection of which cannot yet have left him [sc. °Ali]. And as for al-Dhayyal ibn al-Haitham, tell him that what should occupy his mind is the corn which he formerly stole in al-Anbar, when he administered the government in the city of the Commander of the Faithful, Abu<sup>3</sup>l-Abbas<sup>2)</sup>; and that, if he were a follower in the footsteps of his forefathers, and went in their ways only, and

i) On death penalty for heresy cf. Goldzihei, *Moh. Stud.* II, 216.

2) cf. Tabari III, A», 1. 18, seq.; De Goeje, *Bibl. Geog.* VII, JTv, 5 seq.

pushed on in their path, surely he would not go off into idolatry after having believed. As for Ahmed ibn Yazid, known as Abu<sup>D</sup>l-<sup>c</sup>Awwam, and his saying that he cannot well answer about the Koran, tell him that he is a child in his understanding, though not in his years, — an ignoramus; and that, if he do not see his way clear to answer he shall see his way clear to answer when he is disciplined, but should he not do it then, the sword will follow. As for Ahmed ibn Hanbal and that which thou hast written about him, tell him that the Commander of the Faithful understands the import of that view and the manner of his conduct in it; and, from what he knows, he infers his ignorance and the weakness of his intellect. As for al-Fadl ibn Ghanim, tell him that what he did in Egypt, and the riches which he acquired in less than a year are not hidden from the Commander of the Faithful, nor what passed in legal strife between him and al-Muttalib ibn Abdallah about that; for a man who did as he did, and who has a greedy desire for dinars and dirhems as he has, can be believed to barter his faith out of desire for money, and because he prefers his present advantage to everything else. [Remind him] that he, besides, is the one who said to <sup>c</sup>Ali ibn Hisham what he did say, and opposed him in that in which he did oppose him. And what was it that caused his change of opinion and brought him over to another? And as for al-Ziyadi, tell him that he is calling himself a client of the first false pretender in Islam in whose case the ordinance of the Messenger of God was infringed. It is in harmony with his character that he should go in the way he goes. (But Abu Hassan denied that he was a client of Ziyad or of anyone else, adding that he had the name of Ziyad [ibn abihi] for some other reason\*). As for Abu Nasr al-Tammar, the Commander of the Faithful compares **the** insignificance of his understanding with the insignificance of his business [date-merchant]. And as for al-Fadl ibn al-

i) This parenthesis represents a gloss in Tabarl III, ۱۱۲۸, ll. 6—8, (line

7 read **وَذَكَرَ** for **وَذَكَرَ**).

Farrukhan, tell him that by the doctrine which he professes respecting the Koran he is trying to keep the deposits which Abd al-Rahman ibn Ishak and others entrusted to him, lying in wait for such as will ask him to undertake trusts, and hoping to increase that which has come into his hand; for which there is no recovery from him, because of the long duration of the compact and the length of time of its existence. But say to Abd al-Rahman ibn Ishak, 'May God not reward thee with good for thy giving of power to the like of this man and thy putting of confidence in him, seeing that he is devoted to idolatry and disjoined from belief in God's unity!' And as for Mohammed ibn Hatim, and Ibn\*Nuh, and him who is known as Abu Ma<sup>c</sup>mar, tell them that they are too much taken up with the devouring of usury to grasp properly the doctrine of the divine unity, and that, if the Commander of the Faithful had sought legal justification to attack them for the sake of God, and make a crusade against them on the sole ground of their practice of usury and that which the Koran has revealed concerning such as they, he surely might have found it lawful, how will it be, then, now that they have joined idolatry to their practice of usury, and have become like the Christians? And as for Ahmed ibn Shuja<sup>c</sup>, tell him that not long ago thou wast with him, and thou didst extort from him that which he confiscated of the riches belonging to <sup>c</sup>Ali ibn Hisham; and [tell him] that his religion is found in dinars and dirhems. And as for Sa<sup>c</sup>dawaih al-Wasiti, say to him, 'May God make abominable the man whose ostentatious preparing of himself for a 'colloquium doctum' on Tradition, while hoping to gain honour by that and desiring to be a leader in it, carries him so far that he wishes for the coming of the Mihna, and thinks to ingratiate himself with me by it; let<sup>^</sup> him be tried j [if he yield] he may still teach Tradition. And as for him who is known as Sajjada and his denying that he heard from those traditionists and fafcihis with whom he studied the doctrine that the Koran is created, tell him that in his preparing of date-stones and his rubbing in order to improve

his sajjada\*), and likewise in his care for the deposits which <sup>c</sup>Ali ibn Yahya and others left in trust with him lies that which occupies his attention so that he forgets the doctrine of the divine unity and that which makes him unmindful [of it]. Then ask him about what Yusuf ibn Abi Yusuf and Mohammed ibn al-Hasan used to say, if he have seen them and studied with them. As for al-Kawariri, in what has been made known of his doings, in his receiving of gifts and bribes, lies that which sets in a clear light his real opinions, the evil of his conduct and the weakness of his understanding and his religion. It has also reached the Commander of\* the Faithful that he has taken upon himself the [settlement of] questions for Ja'far ibn 'Isa al-Hasani; so, order Ja'far ibn <sup>c</sup>Isa to give him up, and to abandon reliance upon him and acquiescence in what he says. And as for Yahya ibn Abd al-Rahman al-<sup>c</sup>Omari, if he were of the descendants of <sup>c</sup>Omar ibn al-Khattab, it is well known what he would answer. And as for Mohammed ibn al-Hasan ibn Ali ibn <sup>c</sup>Asim, if he were an imitator of his ancestors, he would not profess that profession which has been related of him<sup>2</sup>). He is yet a child and needs to be taught. Now, the Commander of the Faithful is sending to thee also, him who is known as Abu Mushir<sup>3</sup>), after that the Commander of the Faithful has cited him to answer in his testing about the <sup>x</sup>Koran; but he mumbled about it and stammered over it, until the Commander of the Faithful ordered the sword to be brought for him, when he confessed in the manner of one worthy to be blamed. Now, cite him to answer about his confession; and, if he stand fast in it, then, make it known/ and publish it. But those who will not give up their idolatry, and profess that the Koran is created, of those whom thou hast named in thy letter to the Commander of the


, i) <sup>c</sup>Sallow patch of skin on the forehead produced, when genuine, by oft-repeated religious prostrations; when an imposture, by lubbing the skin.

حکایت. Tabari, III, 113. read حکایت.

د. 218 A. H. Dhahabî Tabakât 7, N°. 62.

Faithful and whom the Commander of the Faithful has mentioned or refrained from mentioning to thee in this letter of his, except Bishr ibn al-Walid and Ibrahim ibn al-Mahdi, send them all in bonds to the camp of the Commander of the Faithful in charge of a watch and guards for their journey, until they bring them to the camp of the Commander of the Faithful and deliver them up to those to whom the delivery has been ordered<sup>1)</sup> to be made, so that the Commander of the Faithful may cite them to answer; and, then, if they do not give up their view and recant, he will bring them all to the sword. The Commander of the Faithful sends this letter by extra post [courier's letterbag] instead of waiting till all the letters have been gathered for the post, seeking to advance in the favor of God by the decree he has issued and hoping to attain his purpose, and to gain the ample reward of God thereby. So, give effect to the order of the Commander of the Faithful that comes to thee, and hasten to answer by extra post [v. above] about that which thou hast done, not waiting for the other letter-bags, so that thou mayest tell the Commander of the Faithful of what they will do.

*Recantation* O<sup>n</sup> this letter being read all of those mentioned of the in it recanted, with the exception of Ahmed; ib *Doctors*. Hanbal, Sajjada, al-Kawariri and Mohammed Nuh al-Madrub. These four were then cast into prison chains and next day were again brought before the governor and given a chance to recant. Of this chance Shavailed himself and was set free<sup>2)</sup>. The following day they were brought from the prison and given another opportunity to yield, which Obaidallah ibn 'Omar al-K4 *Ahmed and* embraced and received his liberty. Thus Ahmed *Mohammed* and Mohammed ibn Nuh alone of those cited *ibn Null* \* *Refuse to* appear remained firm in their faith; the one they *Recant.* Ahmed always excused on the ground of the

i) Variant  adopted in the translation.

2) Abu'l-Ma'â. I, 738, says Sajjada 'stood firm in the Sunna\

as supported by Koran, 16. 108, 'Except him who is forced, though he have no pleasure in it, while his heart rests in the faith \*).

and are Ishak: the governor now wrote a letter giving Cited to the results of his examination of the doctors<sup>2</sup>).

Tarsus. Shortly after this, al-Ma<sup>D</sup>mun ordered Ishak ibn Ibrahim to send Ahmed ibn Hanbal and Mohammed ibn Nuh in chains to him to Tarsus. On their journey when they were in the neighbourhood of al-Anbar Abu Ja'far al-Anbari crossed the Euphrates to see Ahmed in the khan where he was lodged, and reminded him of his responsibility as the leader to whom all men looked for an example. If he answered favorably, they, too, would assent to the doctrine but should he refuse to assent, a great many, if not all, would be held back from recantation. He told him, besides, r/o remember that death would come to him in the natural course of things, and exhorted him, in view of what he had said, to maintain the integrity of his faith<sup>3</sup>).

1) Houtsma, De Strijd etc. 69 and note; al-Makrizi, p. 4, وكان أبو عبيد الله رحمه الله يُفِيم عُنْدَهُمَا وَيَقُولُ لَيْسَ قَدْ حُبِسَا وَقَتِيدَا قَالَ اللَّهُ تَعَالَى الْإِيمَانُ أَكْبَرُ وَقَلْبُهُ مَطْمَئِنٌ بِالْإِيمَانِ [Koi. 16. 108] ثُمَّ قَالَ أَبُو عَبِيدَ اللَّهُ رَحْمَةُ اللَّهِ الْعَيْدُ كُرَّ وَالْحَبْسُ كُرَّ وَالضَّرْبُ كُرَّ فَأَمَّا إِذَا لَمْ يَنْتَلِ بِمَكْرِهِ فَلَا عُدْرَ لَهُ

2) Ṭabarī, III, 113<sup>1</sup>.

3) al-Makrizi, p. 4, ثُمَّ وَرَدَ كِتَابَ الْمَمُونِ إِلَى اسْحَاقَ بْنِ إِبْرَاهِيمَ، حَمَلُ إِلَى عَبْدِ اللَّهِ وَمُحَمَّدِ بْنِ نُوحٍ إِلَيْهِ بِبِلَادِ الرُّومِ فَحَمَلَا . . . . . وَذَكَرَ ابْنُ الْجُرُزِيِّ بِسُنْدِهِ إِلَى ابْنِ جَعْفَرِ الْإِنْبَارِيِّ [الابيارى، p. 136, al-Subki] أَنَّهُ قَالَ لَمَّا حَمَلَ أَحْمَدُ إِلَى الْمَمُونِ أُخْبِرْتُ فَعَبْرَتُ الْفُرَاتِ فَإِذَا هُوَ جَالِسٌ فَسَلِمْتُ عَلَيْهِ فَقَالَ يَا جَعْفَرُ تَعَنَيْتُ فَظَلْتُ لَيْسَ فِي هَذَا عَنَاءٌ وَقَلْتُ لَهُ أَنْتَ الْيَوْمَ رَأْسُ وَالنَّاسِ يَقْتَدُونَ بِكَ فَوَاللَّهِ لَنْ يَنْجِبْتَ

In pursuance of the Khalif's order the two unyielding theologians were borne on camels from Baghdad, Ahmed's companion in the mahmal being a man called Ahmed ibn Ghassan. As they were on the way Ahmed told his companion that he had a firm conviction that the messenger of al-Ma<sup>D</sup>mun, Raja al-Hidari, would meet them that night; and, in fact, Raja al-Hidari did meet them and the prisoners were transferred to his care, but he was not allowed to proceed far with his charge before the news of the Khalif's death relieved him of the obligation to bring the men to Tarsus. When he had conducted them as far as Adhana, and was just setting out with them at night, a man met them in the gate of the town with news that al-Ma<sup>3</sup>mun had just died at the river Bodhandhun [*Uo^svdov*] in Asia Minor, after leaving as a last charge to his successor to prosecute vigorously the Mihna \*).

الى خلف الفران ليُجيبين باجابتك خلق من خلق الله وان انت  
 لم تجب ليمتنعن خلق من الناس كثير ومع هذا فان الرجل  
 يعنى المامون ان لم يقتلك تمت ولا بُد من الموت فثقت بالله ولا  
 تجبهم الى شىء قال فاجعل ابو عبد الله يبكى ويقول ما شاء الله ما  
 شاء الله

1) Abū Nu'aim, 147 a, 147 b, (al-Subkī, p. 139, cf. al-Makīzī, p. 4  
 infra, a fuller account), قال احمد بن عسّان حملتُ انا واحمدُ بن  
 حنبل في محمل على جمل يُرأى بنا المامون فلما صرنا قُرب عانة  
 قال لي احمد قلبي يُحس ان رجاء الحِصاري باق في هذه الليلة فان  
 اتى وانا نائم فايقظنى وان اتى وانت نائم ايقظتك . . . . .  
 فلم يكن باسرع ان خرّج علينا رجاء الحِصاري فقال اين هولاء  
 الاشقياء فقال احمد يا عدو الله انت تقول القرآن مخلوق وتكون نحن  
 الاشقياء قال [احمد بن عسّان] فانزلنا من المحامل وصيرنا في خيمة  
 . . . . . قال والله ما مضى الثلث الاول من الليل الا ونحن

*Ai-Mtfmun Re-* I<sup>n</sup> ^<sup>e</sup> meantime, al-Ma<sup>D</sup>mun had received *jects the Pica* word that those who had recanted had done *of Tayia Offerdo* claiming the Takia as a justification, in *by the Doctors.* cordance with the dispensation granted in the Koran to such as are forced to confess a *false* faith, while their hearts continue to hold fast to the true<sup>1</sup>). This, of course, meant that what the Khalif believed and had propounded to them was false, a conclusion with which he was by no means satisfied, and, therefore, wrote again to Ishak

بصباحة وصباحة واذا رجاء الحصارى قد اقبل علينا فقال صدقت  
يا ابا عبد الله الغران كلام الله غير مخلوق قد مات والله امير  
[Ahmed had previously prayed for a Divine interposition to  
demonstrate that he was in the right way].

فلما صرنا الى اذنة ورحلنا منها وذلك في جوف الليل فتج لنا [1478]  
بابها فلقينا رجل ونحن خارجون من الباب وهو داخل فقال البشري  
قد مات الرجل قال ابي وكنت ادعو الله ان لا اراه قال ابو الفضل صالح  
فصار ابي ومحمد بن نوح الى طرس وجاء نعي الامور من البذندون  
فردا في اقيادهما الى الرقة واخرجوا من الرقة في سفينة مع قوم  
محبسين فلما صاروا بعانات توفي محمد بن نوح رحمه الله وتقدم  
الى فصلى عليه ثم صار الى بغداد وهو مقيد فمكث بالبباسرية  
اياما ثم صير الى الحبس في دار اكرتيت عند دار عمارا ثم نقل بعد  
ذلك الى حبس العامة في درب الموصلية فمكث في الحبس منذ  
اخذ وحمل الى ان ضرب وخلي عنه ثمانية وعشرين شهرا قال ابي  
فكنت اصلي بهم وانا مقيد وكنت ارى بوزان يا حمل له في زورق  
ماء باردا فيذهب به اليه الى الساجين،

1) Tabari III, 113 f.; De Goeje, *Fragm. Hist. Arab.* II, 465 f.; Abu 'l-Feda  
*Annales* II, 155.

ibn Ibrahim to tell Bishr ibn al-Walid and the others who had pleaded that their case was similar to that of °Ammar ibn Yasir contemplated in the Koran's dispensation to recusants, that there was no similarity between the cases. He had openly professed a false religion, while at heart a Muslim; they had openly professed the truth while in *and Orders* their hearts believing what was false. To settle *Th CHI to be* matters they must all be sent to Tarsus, there to *Sent to* await such time as the Khalif should leave Asia *//Im.* Minor. The following men were therefore sent after Ahmed and his company: Bishr ibn al-Walid, al-Fadl ibn Ghanim, °Ali ibn Abi Mukatil, al-Dhayyal ibn al-Hai-  
 tham, Yahya ibn Abd al-Rahman al-°Omari, °Ali ibn al-Ja°d, Abu<sup>D</sup>l-°Awwam, Sajjada, al-Kawariri, Ibn al-Hasan ibn °Ali ibn °Asim, Ishak ibn Abi Isra'il, al-Nadr ibn Shumail, Abu Nasr al-Tammar, Sa°dawaih al-Wasiti, Mohammed ibn Hatim ibn Maimun, Abu Ma°mar, Ibn al-Harsh, Ibn al-  
*Death of al-* Farrukhan, Ahmed ibn Shuja and Abu Harun ibn *Ma<sup>l</sup> mutt* al-Bakka. They received the news of the Khalifs *and its Con-* death when they arrived at al-Rakka, and, on the *sequences.* order of °Anbasa ibn Ishak, the Wali of the place, were detained there until they were sent back to Baghdad in charge of the same messenger as had brought them thence. On arriving at Baghdad, the governor Ishak ordered them to keep to their dwellings \*), but afterwards relaxed his severity toward them and allowed them to go abroad. Some of those who had been sent, however, had the temerity to leave al-Rakka and come to Baghdad without having obtained permission. As might have been expected, they suffered for their boldness when they reached the latter place, for Ishak punished them. Those who thus procured trouble to themselves were Bishr ibn al-Walid, al-Dhayyal, Abu °l-°Awwam and °Ali ibn Abi Mukatil.

i) On 'keeping to their dwellings' cf. Goldziher, Moh. Stud. II, 94.

*Alpmed and Ibn Nuh* To return to Ahmed and his companion Mohammed ibn Nuh. These two were now sent back to *Ordered bachal-Rakka* where they, also, remained in prison until the oath of allegiance was taken to the Khalif al-Mu<sup>c</sup>tasim. After this event, they were taken in a boat

*Death of* from al-Rakka to <sup>A</sup>Ānat, at which place Mohammed *Ibn Nuh*, ibn Nuh died, and Ahmed, after performing the offices of the dead over his friend, was brought back in bonds to Baghdad<sup>1</sup>). At first, he was imprisoned, as it appears, in the street al-Yasiriya for some days. From there he was transferred to the Dar al-Sharshir near to the Dar <sup>c</sup>Umara and lodged in a stable belonging to Mohammed ibn Ibrahim (brother of Ishak) which had been rented as a place of detention. It was very small and his stay there was short. He took sick in Ramadan, and was then transferred to the common prison in the Darb al-Mausiliya<sup>2</sup>).

Among those who stood faithful in the inquisition during

i) See preceding note, p. 82, 1. Houtsma (De Stnjd etc. 106) says that Mohammed ibn Null, as well as Ahmed ibn Ilanbal, was scourged by al-Mu<sup>c</sup>tasim, but he, in fact, never appealed before that Khalif.

2) al-Subki, p. 139, قال صالح صدار ابي الى بغداد معيدا فمكث بالياسرية اباناً ثم حبس بدار الشرشير عند دار عمارة ثم نقل بعد ذلك الى حبس العامة في درب الموصلية [المفضلى] . . . . . واما حنبل بن اسحق فقال حبس ابو عبد الله في دار عمارة ببغداد في اصطبل لمحمد بن ابراهيم اخي اسحق بن ابراهيم وكان في حبس صنيق ومرص في رمضان فحبس في ذلك الحبس قليلاً ثم حول الى سجن العامة فمكث في السجن نحواً من ثلاثين شهراً فكانا ناتييه وقرا على كتاب الارحاء وغيره في الحبس فرأيته يصلي باحد الحبس وعليه القيد وكان يخرج رجلاه من حلقة القيد وقت الصلاة والنوم

*Others who  
did not  
Recant.  
"Affan ibn  
Muslim.*

the Khalifate of al-Ma<sup>D</sup>mun, but whose name has not yet appeared, was °Affan ibn Muslim Abu °Othman, whom the Khalif and Ishak ibn Ibrahim his lieutenant in °Irak, in penalty for his refusal to obey the order to recant, deprived of the stipend which each of them granted to him. When asked what he had to say in reply to the demand made on him, he answered by reciting Sura 112, and enquiring whether that were created. His people were very angry with him for leaving them without means of support, for he had about 40 persons dependent on him. But the very day his stipend was cut off, a stranger brought to him a purse of 1000 dirhems (his stipend from al-Ma°mun had been 500 per month), and promised him that he should receive the same amount each month from the same source. He died in Baghdad in 220 A. H. During his life he was one of the leading men in Baghdad and a friend of Ahmed's who had much influence with him<sup>1</sup>). Another to whom the Mihna was applied in

1) *al-Makrizi*, p. 13, *واما عفان بن مسلم فقال حنبل بن اسحاق كنت حاضرا عند عفان بعد ان امتحن فساله يحيى بن معين بحضرة ابي عبد الله احمد بن حنبل ونكس معه فقال يابا عثمنا اخبرنا بما قال لك اسحق بن ابراهيم في الحنة وما ردت عليه فقال عفان لابن معين يابا زكريا لم اسود وجهك ولا وجوه اصحابك يعني انه لم يجب الى القول بخلف القرآن فقال له فكيف كان فقال دعانسي اسحق ابن ابراهيم فلما دخلت عليه قرا الكتاب الذي كتبه للمؤمن من ارض الجزيرة الى الرقة [الرقعة Cod.] فاذا فيه امتحن عفان وادعه الى ان يقول القرآن كذا وكذا فان قل ذلك فاقه على امره وان لم يجبك فاقطع عنه الذي يجرى عليه وكان للمؤمن يُجرى عليه في كل شهر خمس مائة درهم قال عفان فلما قرا على الكتاب قال لي ما تقول فقررت عليه قل هو الله احد [Kor. 112] الى اخرها وقلت امخلوق هذا*

*Abi Nifaim al-* this Khalifate, and who did not yield was *Fadlibn Bukain*. the Kufite, Abu Nu<sup>c</sup>aim al-Fadl ibn Dukain. When al-Ma<sup>D</sup>mun's letter came to Kufa he was told of its purport and exclaimed, 'It means only beating with whips'; and, then, taking hold of a button of his coat, he said, 'to me my head is of less consequence than that'. Of his trial we have no particulars, but he, at all events, docs not appear to have died a violent death. He died in 219 A. H. \*).

<sup>c</sup>A12 *ibn* <sup>e</sup>Ali ibn al-Madini is classed with those who sur-  
*al-Madinl*. rendered their faith at the time of the Mihna, ap-  
parently about the beginning of its course. He bitterly re-  
gretted his weakness, however, and was firmly reestablished  
in the orthodox faith before his death in 214. A. H. <sup>2</sup>).

فقال لي اسحق ان امير المؤمنين امر ان لم تجبه بقطع عنك ما  
يجرى عليك وان قطع عنك امير المؤمنين فطعنا عنك نحن ايضا  
فقلت له قال الله تعالى وفي السماء رزقكم وما توعدون [Kor. 51. 22]  
فسكت عنى اسحق وانصرفتم فسر ابو عبد الله ويحيى ومن كان  
حاضرا فلما رجع الى داره عدله اهل بيته وكان اربعين نفسا فبعد  
قليل نرى عليه الباب انسان قد دخل ومعه كيس فيه الف درهم فقال  
ييا عثمان ثبتك الله كما ثبت الدين وهذا لك في كل شهر

وقال الامام ابو بكر بن ابي شيبة لما جاءت المكنة 1) al-Makrizi, p. 13,

الى الكوفة قال لي احمد بن يونس الف ابا نعيم فقل له فلفيته فقلت  
له فقال انما هو ضرب الاسياط [so Cod.] ثم اخذ زرّ ثوبه وقال راسي

هذا <sup>هون</sup> <sup>علي</sup> <sup>من</sup> <sup>هذا</sup> <sup>Abū Nuʿaim al-Faḍl ibn Dukain</sup> was a Shyite according  
to Shahrastāni, Haabrucker's transl'n I, 218.

2) al-Subki, p. 185, وكان على المديني ممن اجاب الى القول بخلف

القران في المكنة فنقم ذلك عليه وزيد عليه في القول والصحيح  
عندنا انه انما [انها Cod.] اجاب خشية السيف الخ . . . . .

*Aimed in Prison*, In the common prison Ahmed ibn Hanbal was confined for a considerable time, the whole period, from the time of his arrest until he was set free after being scourged by al-Mu'tasim, being twenty-eight months. While in the prison he used to lead the prayers with the inmates, and engaged in the study of books which were provided for him by his friends. His good friend Buran did him the kindness to send him daily cold water, by means of a boat.

During the first part of his imprisonment, his uncle Ishak ibn Hanbal spoke to the officials and attaches of the governor seeking to secure a release of his nephew from prison; but, failing to obtain any satisfaction, he appealed to Ishak ibn Ibrahim in person. With a view to securing from Ahmed a modification of his position, Ishak then sent his chamberlain to the prison with Ahmed's uncle, ordering him to report whatever might pass between them. When they came to the prison, Ishak ibn Hanbal urged his nephew to yield an assent to the doctrine which was being pressed upon him. He reminded him that his companions, with much less reason, had recanted and that he had justified them in doing so on the ground of the Takia. Why then should he not recant? After much fruitless disputation, they made up their minds to leave him in prison; and he went on to say that imprisonment was a matter of very little concern to him — a prison or his own house it was all the same. To be slain with the sword, too, was not a matter which caused him great anxiety; the one thing that he feared was to be scourged. If that should befall him, he could not answer for his holding out against it. One of the prisoners then reminded him that in the case of scourging he need have no fear, for after two strokes of the whip, he would never know where

وقال محمد بن عثمان بن أبي شيبة سمعت علي المديني يقول قبل  
موته بشهرين القرآن كلام الله غير مخلوق ومن قال مخلوق فهو كافر

any that might follow would strike him. With this assurance the remaining anxiety of Ahmed was completely dispelled \*). *Another Cit-* On the 17th of Ramadan, 219 A. H., that is, four-  
*ation before* teen months from the time that he was stopped  
*Isfyalyp ib* when on his way to al-Ma<sup>3</sup>mun, he was brought from  
*Ibrahim* the common prison to the house of Ishak ibn Ibrahim, being bound with a single chain on his feet. While he was confined in the house of Ishak ibn Ibrahim, the latter sent

قال اسحاق بن حنبل عم الامام احمد كنت اتكلم، p. 5،  
 مع اصحاب السلطان والقواد في خلاص ابي عبد الله فلم يَمن لي امر  
 فاستاذنت على اسحاق بن ابراهيم فدخلت اليه وكلمته فقل  
 لحاجبه اذهب معه الى ابن اخيه ولا يكلم ابن اخيه بشيء الا  
 اخبرني به قال اسحاق فدخلت على ابي عبد الله ومعى حاجبه  
 فقلت يا ابا عبد الله قد اجاب اصحابك وقد اعذرت فيما بينك  
 وبين الله وبقيت اذنت في الحبس والضيق فقال ابو عبد الله يا عم  
 اذا اجاب العالم تقيّةً ولجاهل بجهل متى يتبين الخلف قال فامسكت  
 عنه قال فدكر ابو عبد الله ما روى في التقيّة من الاحاديث فقال  
 كيف تصنعون بحديث خبّاب ان من كان قبلكم ينشر احدكم  
 بالمنشار ثم لا يصده ذلك عن دينه قال فيثسنا منه ثم قال لست  
 اُبالي بالحبس ما هو ومنزلي الا واحد ولا قتلاً بالسيف انما اخاف فتنة  
 بالسوط واخاف ان لا اصبر فسمعه بعض اهل الحبس وهو يقول ذلك  
 فقال لا عليك يا ابا عبد الله ما هو الا سوطان ثم لا تدري ابن يقع  
 الباقي فلما سمع ذلك سرى عنه، قال ثم حوّل ابو عبد الله الى دار  
 اسحاق بن ابراهيم في شهر رمضان [ليلته]، 1476، Abu Nu'aim,  
 سبع عشرة خلت منه] سنة تسع عشرة ومائتين

to him every day two men to reason with him; their names were, respectively, Ahmed ibn Rabah and Abu Shuaib al-Hajjam. These two men used to argue with him, and, finding him immovable, as they turned to go away each day they called for an extra chain to be placed upon his feet, until, finally, there were four chains upon them. One of the discussions which Ahmed had was about the Knowledge of God. He asked one of the two inquisitors for his opinion on the subject, and the man said that the Knowledge of God was created. On hearing this Ahmed called him an infidel, and, though reminded that he was casting insult upon the messenger of the Khalif, he refused to withdraw the charge. Ahmed's reasoning was that the names of God as symbols of his attributes were in the Koran; that the Koran was part of the Knowledge of God, which is one of his attributes; that, therefore, he who pretended that the Koran was created had denied God, and, also, that he who pretended that the names of God were created had denied God. Here the argument seems to be: The names of God are not created; but the names of God form some part of the Koran; therefore, it follows that some part of the Koran, at least, is not created.

*Ahmed Ol-* On the fourth night after he had been removed *der ed to al-* to the house of Ishak ibn Ibrahim, the messenger *Miftasim*. of the Khalif al-Mu'tasim, Bugha al-Kabir, arrived after the last prayer, bringing the command of the Khalif to Ishak to send Ahmed to him. When Ahmed was brought in to Ishak before going to al-Mu'tasim, the governor addressed him, reminding him that it was his life which was at stake, and that the Khalif had sworn that he would not kill him with the sword, but would scourge him stroke after stroke, and would throw him into a place where no light would ever reach him. Then, the governor proceeded to argue with him regarding the Koran, quoting the text, 'Verily, we have made it a Koran (reading) in the Arabic tongue', and he asked him, if there could be anything made unless it were created. Ahmed answered with

another text. 'He made them like grass to be eaten', and asked the governor, if he would conclude from such a text anything about their being created. In this case the argument turns upon the fact that the word **جَعَلَ** does not, necessarily, include the meaning of **خَلَقَ**.

Preparations were then made for bringing Ahmed to al-Mu<sup>c</sup>tasim. The interest of Bugha, the messenger of the Khalif, in his prisoner and his cause was no very intelligent interest. He inquired of Ishak ibn Ibrahim's messenger what Ahmed was wanted for, and, on learning, he declared that he knew nothing about such things; that the limits of his faith as a Muslim did not extend beyond the declaration that 'there is no God but Allah, that Mohammed is the Apostle of God, and that the Commander of the Faithful is of the relationship of the Prophet of God'. At the gate of the royal park they disembarked after a short trip on the Tigris. Ahmed was taken out of the boat and put upon a beast, from which he was in danger of falling off, owing to his helplessness because of the weight of his chains. He was brought under these circumstances into the palace precincts \*) and made to alight at a house in a room of which he was confined, without any lamp to enable him to see at night<sup>2</sup>). During the night

i) al-MuHasim's palace was in the eastern part of Baghdad (vid. Ja'qubi, Bibl. Geogr. VII, 1\*00, 17). The general prison, if in the Daib al-Mufaddal (but v. p. 85, note 2), was in the same quarter and Ishak the governor's residence may not have been at any great distance from this general prison. In any case it is clear that the trial and scourging took place in Baghdad, where Ahmed was well-known and had many admirers. Hence the popular demonstration against the Khalif when Ahmed was flogged.

2) **أَبُو نُؤَيْمٍ، ١٤٧٦٠. أَحْمَدُ بْنُ جَعْفَرٍ وَعَلِيُّ بْنُ أَحْمَدَ**  
**وَالْحُسَيْنُ بْنُ مُحَمَّدٍ قَالُوا قَتَلْنَا مُحَمَّدَ بْنَ إِسْمَاعِيلَ قَتَلْنَا أَبُو الْفَضْلِ صَالِحِ**  
**ابْنِ أَحْمَدَ بْنِ حَنْبَلٍ قَالَ قَالَ أَبِي رَحِمَهُ اللَّهُ لَمَّا كَانَ فِي شَهْرِ رَمَضَانَ**  
**لَيْلَةَ سَبْعِ عَشْرَةَ خَلَّتْ مِنْهُ حُوزَاتُ مِنَ السَّجَنِ إِلَى دَارِ إِسْمَاعِيلِ**

he is said to have had a vision of °Ali ibn °Asim, and in-

ابن ابراهيم وانا مقيد بقيد واحد يُوجَّه الی فی كل يوم رجلان  
 سماهما ابی ذیل ابو العضل وهما احمد بن رباح وابو شعيب للحجاج  
 [الحجاج al-Makrizi، الحجاج Cod.] يكلمانسی ويناظرانسی فانا ارادنا  
 الانصراف نعى بقيد ففیدت به فمكثت على هذه الحالة ثلاثة ايام  
 وصار فی رجلی اربعة اقياد فقال لی [فقالی Cod.] احدهما فی بعض  
 الايام فی كلام دار وسألته عن علم الله فقال علم الله مخلوق فقلت  
 له یا كافر كفرت فقال لی الرسول الذي كان يحضر معكم من قبل  
 ابی اسحاق هذا رسول امير المؤمنين قال فقلت له ان هذا قد  
 كفر وكان صاحبه الذي يجي معه خارجا فلما دخل قلت له ان  
 هذا زعم ان علم الله مخلوق فنظر اليه كالمُنكر عليه ما قال ثم  
 انصرفا قال ابی واسماء الله فی القرآن والقرآن من علم الله فمن زعم  
 ان القرآن مخلوق فهو كافر ومن زعم ان اسماء الله مخلوقة فقد كفر  
 قال ابی رحمه الله فلما كانت الليلة [ليلة Cod.] الرابعة بعد العشاء  
 الاخيرة وجه المعتصم بِنغا الى اسحاق بن ابراهيم يأمره بحملی فأدخلت  
 على اسحاق فقال لی یا احمد أنها والله نفسك انه قد حلف  
 ان لا يقتلك بالسيف وان يضربك ضربا بعد ضرب وان يُلقيك في  
 موضع لا ترى فيه الشمس اليس قد قال الله تعالى انا جعلناه قرآنا  
 عربيا [Kor. 43. 2] اَقِيكُونُ مَجْعُولُ الا وهو مخلوق قال ابی فقلت له قد  
 قال الله فَجَعَلَهُمْ كَعَصْفٍ مَأْكُولٍ [Kor. 105. 5] اَفْتَخَلَفَمُ فقال اذهبوا  
 به قال ابی رحمه الله فانزلت لی شاطی دجلة وأحدرتُ الى الموضع  
 المعروف بباب البستان ومعنى بِنغا الكبير ورسول من قبل اسحاق قال  
 فقال بِنغا لماحمد الماخري بالفارسية ما تريدون من هذا الرجل قال

terpreted it as being of good omen, assuring him of exaltation (*Ac*) and protection from God (*عصمة*)<sup>1</sup>.

*Trial before al-Miftasim.* The next morning he was led to the palace in his chains and brought before the Khalif<sup>2</sup>). On this occasion, there were present with the Khalif Ahmed ibn Abi Dowad and his companions. It is said that

يُبيدون منه ان يقول القرآن مخلوق فقال ما اعرف شيئا من هذا الا قول لا اله الا الله وان محمدا رسول الله وولاية امير المؤمنين من رسول الله قال ابي فلما صرنا الى الشط اخرجت من الزورق فاجعلت على دابة والافياء على وما معي احد بمسكني فجعلت اكد اخير على وجهي حتى انتهى في الى الدار فادخلت ثم عرج في الى حجرة فصيرت في بيت منها وغلق على الباب واقعد عليه رجل وذلك في جوف الليل وليس في البيت سرور فاحتجت الى الوضوء فتدنت يدي اطلب شيئا فاذا انا باناء فيه ماء وطسنت [وطسنت] فتتهيأت للصلاة وقمت اصلي

قال حنبل بن اسحاق بن حنبل ابن عم الامام احمد 1) al-Maḥḥizī, p. 4,

سمعت ابا عبد الله يقول لما دعيت الى الخنة رايت في المنام على بن عاصم فاوتنتها علوا وعصمة من الله عز وجل ولحمد لله على ذلك

2) Abū Nu'aim, 148 ff. With a few exceptions which are indicated, the narrative is now drawn from this source until we reach p. 111, cf. Abu'l-Feda Annales II, 168. There is a short and mutilated account of the proceedings before al-Mu'tasim in al-Ja'qūbi II. 576, 577. فلما اصبحت جاتني الرسول

فاخذ بيدي فادخلني الدار واذا هو جالس وابن ابي دواد حاضر وقد جمع اصحابه والدار غاصة باهلها فلما تقوت منه سلمت فقال لي ادنه ادنه فلم يزل يدنيني حتى قربت منه ثم قال لي اجلس فجلست وقد انقلبتني الاقياد فلما مكثت هنيهة قلت تاذن في الكلام فقال

when al-Mu'taşim first saw Aḥmed, he said to those about

تكلّم قلت الى ما دعا اليه رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم فقال الى شهادة ان لا اله الا الله قال فقلت انا اشهد ان لا اله الا الله ثم قلت له انّ جدك ابن عباس يبيحكى انّ وقد عبد القيس لما قدموا على رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم امرهم بالايمان بالله فقال اتدرون ما الايمان بالله قالوا الله ورسوله اعلم قال شهادة ان لا اله الا الله وانّ محمدا رسول الله واقم الصلاة وابتاء الزكاة وصوم رمضان وان تعطوا الخمس من المغنم قال ابو الفضل حدّثناه ابي ثَمَّا يحيى بن سعيد عن شعبة قال حدثني ابو جمره قال سمعت ابن عباس قال انّ وقد عبد القيس لما قدموا على رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم امرهم بالايمان بالله فذكر الحديث قال ابو الفضل قال ابي فقال لي عند ذلك لولا اني وجدتك في يد من كان قبلي ما تعرّضت لك ثم التفت الى عبد الرحمن بن اسحاق فقال له يا عبد الرحمن ألم أمرك ان ترفع الخنثى قال ابي فقلت في نفسي الله اكبر انّ في هذا نرجسا للمسلمين قال ثم قال ناظره وكلموه ثم قال يا عبد الرحمن كلمه فقال لي عبد الرحمن ما تقول في القرآن قال فقلت له ما تقول في علم الله فسكت قال اني فجعل بكلمتي هذا وهذا فارتد على هذا واكلم هذا ثم اقول يا امير المؤمنين اعطوني شيئا من كتاب الله او سنة رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم اقول به ما [Cod. omits] اراه قال فيقول ابن ابي دؤاد انت لا تقول الا ما في كتاب الله او سنة رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم قال فقلت له تاويلت تاويلا فانت اعلم وما تاويلت ما يجس عليه ويقيّد عليه قال فقال ابن ابي دؤاد هو والله يا امير المؤمنين صلّ فصل مبتدع\* وهؤلاء فضائك والفقهاء فسلم فيقول لهم ما تقولون

him reproachfully, 'Did you not pretend that this was a

فيقولون يا امير المؤمنين هو صالح مصل مبتدع قال ولا يزالون يكلموني  
قال وجعل صوتي يعلو على اصواتهم وقال لي انسان منهم قال الله  
مَا يَأْتِيهِمْ مِنْ ذِكْرٍ مِنْ رَبِّهِمْ مُحَدَّثٍ [Korān 21. 2] أَفَيَكُونُ مُحَدَّثُ  
مَخْلُوقٍ قَالَ فَقُلْتُ لَهُ قَالَ اللَّهُ تَعَالَى صَّ وَالْقُرْآنُ ذِي الدِّكْرِ [Korān 38. 1]  
فالذكر هو القرآن وتلك ليس فيها الف ولا لام قال فجعل ابن سماعة  
لا يفهم ما اقول قال فجعل يقول لهم ما يقول قال فقالوا له انه يقول كذا  
وكذا قال فقال لي انسان منهم حديث خباب يا هناه تقرب الى الله  
بما استطعت فانك لن تقرب اليه بشيء هو احب اليه من كلامه  
قال ابي فقلت له نعم هكذا هو قال فجعل ابن ابي دواد ينظر اليه  
ويلاحظ منغيضا عليه قال ابي وقال بعضهم اليس قال الله خالف كل  
شيء قال قلت قد قال تَدْمِرُ كُلَّ شَيْءٍ [Korān 46. 24] فَدَمَّرَتْ اِلَّا مَا  
اراد الله قال فقال بعضهم فما تقول وذكر حديث عمران بن حصين  
ان الله تعالى كتب الذكر فقال ان الله خلق الذكر فقلت هذا  
خطأ حدثناه غير واحد ان الله كتب الذكر قال ابي فكان انا  
انقطع الرجل منهم اعترض ابن ابي دواد فتكلم فلما قرب الزوال قال  
لهم قوموا ثم احتبس عبد الرحمن بن اسحاق فتحلأ في ويعبد  
الرحمن فجعل يقول لي اما تعرف صالحا الرشيدى كان مودعي وكان  
في هذا الموضع جالسا و اشار الى ناحية من السدار قال فتكلم وذكر  
القران فخالفتني فامرت به فسحب ووطى ثم جعل يقول ما اعرفك  
الم تكمن تاتينا فقال له عبد الرحمن يا امير المؤمنين اعرفه منذ  
ثلاثين سنة يرمى طاعتك و الحجج و الجهاد معك وهو ملازم لمزله قال  
فجعل يقول والله انه لفيقيد وانه لعالم وما يسرفني ان يكون مثله معي

يرد على اهل الملل ولستن اجابنى الى شىء له فيه اذنى فرج لاطلقن  
عنه بيدى ولاطان عقبه ولاركبش اليه بجندى قال ثم بلتقت ائى  
فيقول وَيَتَحَكُّ يَا اَحْمَدُ مَا تَقُولُ قَالَ فَاَقُولُ يَا امِيرَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ اَعْطُونِي شَيْعًا مِنْ  
كِتَابِ اللَّهِ أَوْ سُنَّةِ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ فَلَمَّا طَالَ بِنَا الْمَجْلِسِ  
صَاحِرٌ فَنَامَ فَوَدِدْتُ إِلَى الْمَوْضِعِ الَّذِي كُنْتُ فِيهِ ثُمَّ وَجَّهْتُ إِلَى بَرَجَلَيْنِ  
سَمَّاهُمَا وَهُمَا صَاحِبُ الشَّافِعِيِّ وَعَسَّانُ مِنْ اصْحَابِ ابْنِ ابِي دَوَادٍ  
يُنَاطِرَانِي فِيغِيْمَانٍ مَعِيَ حَتَّى إِذَا حَصَرَ الْاَفْطَارُ وَجَّهْتُ إِلَيْنَا بِمَأْقَدَةٍ  
عَلَيْهَا طَعَامٌ فَجَعَلَا يَأْكُلَانِ وَجَعَلْتُ اتَعَلَّلْتُ حَتَّى تُرْفَعَ الْمَأْقَدَةُ وَاقَامَا  
إِلَى عَدَدٍ فِي خِلَالِ ذَلِكَ يَجِيءُ ابْنُ ابِي دَوَادٍ فَيَقُولُ لِي يَا اَحْمَدُ يَقُولُ لَكَ  
امِيرَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ مَا تَقُولُ فَاَقُولُ لَهُ اَعْطُونِي شَيْعًا مِنْ كِتَابِ اللَّهِ أَوْ سُنَّةِ رَسُولِ  
اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ حَتَّى اَقْبُولَ بِهِ فَقَالَ لِي ابْنُ ابِي دَوَادٍ وَاللَّهِ  
لَعَدَدُ كِتَابِ اسْمِكَ فِي السَّبْعَةِ فَمَا حَوَّثُهُ وَلَقَدْ سَأَعْنِي اخْدَامُ اِيَّاكَ وَاِنَّهُ  
وَاللَّهِ لَيْسَ السَّيْفُ اَنْهُ صُرِبٌ بَعْدَ صُرْبٍ ثُمَّ يَقُولُ لِي مَا تَقُولُ فَاُرَدُّ عَلَيْهِ  
نَحْوًا مِمَّا رَدَدْتُ عَلَيْهِ ثُمَّ يَأْتِيَنِي رَسُولُهُ فَيَقُولُ ابْنُ اَحْمَدُ بْنُ عِمَارٍ اِحْبَبْ  
لِلرَّجُلِ [الرجل Cod.] الَّذِي اَنْزَلْتُ\*\* فِي حُجْرَتِهِ فَيَذْهَبُ ثُمَّ يَبْعُونَ فَيَقُولُ  
لِي يَقُولُ لَكَ امِيرَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ مَا تَقُولُ فَاُرَدُّ عَلَيْهِ نَحْوًا مِمَّا رَدَدْتُ عَلَى ابْنِ  
ابِي دَوَادٍ فَلَا تَزَالُ رَسَلُهُ تَأْتِي اَحْمَدُ بْنُ عِمَارٍ وَهُوَ يَخْتَلِفُ فِيمَا بَيْنِي وَبَيْنَهُ  
وَيَقُولُ يَقُولُ لَكَ امِيرَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ اِحْبَبْنِي حَتَّى اُجْبَى فَاُطْلَقَ عَنْكَ بِمَدْيِ  
قَلْبٍ فَلَمَّا كَانَ فِي الْيَوْمِ الثَّمَانِي اَدْخَلْتُ عَلَيْهِ ففَالِ نَاطِرُوهُ وَكَلَّمُوهُ قَالَ  
فَجَعَلُوا يَتَكَلَّمُونَ هَذَا مِنْ هَاهُنَا\* وَهَذَا مِنْ هَاهُنَا فَرَدُّ عَلَى هَذَا وَهَذَا  
فَإِذَا جَاءُوا بِشَيْءٍ مِنَ الْكَلَامِ مِمَّا لَيْسَ فِي كِتَابِ اللَّهِ وَلَا سُنَّةِ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ  
صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ وَلَا فِيهِ خَبْرٌ وَلَا اَثَرٌ قُلْتُ مَا اَدْرِي مَا هَذَا قَالَ

\*\* Cod. اَنْزَلْتُ, but if we read لِلرَّجُلِ the correction is obviously necessary;  
i. e. 'pointing to the man in whose dwelling I had been lodged'.

فيقولون يا امير المؤمنين اذا توجَّهتْ له الحاجة علينا وكتب واذا  
كلناه بشيء يقول لا أدري ما هذا قال فيقول فاطوره ثم يقول يا احمد  
اني عليك شفيق فقال رجل منهم اراك تذكر الحديث وتناحله  
[تناحله Cod.] قال فقلت له فما تقول في قول الله تعالى يُؤصِّبُكُمْ اللَّهُ  
فِي أَوْلَادِكُمْ لِلذَّكْرِ مِثْلَ حَظِّ الْأُنثَيَيْنِ [Kor. 4. 12] فقال خص الله  
بها المؤمنين قال فقلت له ما تقول ان كان قاتلا او عبدا او يهوديا  
او نصرانيا فسكت قال ابي فانما احتججت عليهم بهذا لانهم كانوا  
يحتاجون علي بظاهر القرآن ولقوله اراك تتناحل الحديث وكان اذا  
انقطع الرجل اعترض ابن ابي دوان فيقول والله يا امير المؤمنين لئن  
اجابك لهُو احب الي من مائة الف دينار ومائة الف دينار فيعبد  
ما شاء الله اليه من ذلك ثم امرهم بعد ذلك بالقيام وخلا في ويعبد  
الرحمن فيدور بيننا [فينا Cod.] كلام كثير وفي خلال ذلك يقول  
تَدْعُوا احمد بن ابي دوان فاقول ذلك اليك فيوجه فيجى فينتكلم فلما  
طال بنا المجلس قام ورَدْتُ الى الموضوع الذي كنت فيه وجاءني  
الرجلان اللذان كانا عندي بالأمس فجعلنا يتكلمان فدار بيننا كلام  
كثير فلما كان وقت الاقطار جىء بطعام على نحو مما اتى به في اول  
الليلة فاطفروا وتعللت وجعلت رسله تاتي احمد بن عمار فيمصى اليه  
فيأتييني [بأتييني Cod.] برسالة على نحو مما كان في اول ليلة فجاء  
ابن ابي دوان فقال له انه قد حلف ان يصربك ضربا بعد ضرب وان  
يحبسك في موضع لا ترى فيها الشمس فقلت له فما اصنع حتى  
اذا كدت ان اصبح قلت لخليفت ان يحدث في هذا اليوم من  
امري شيء وقد كنت اخرجت نكتي من سراويلي فشدت بها  
الاقبيات اجملها بها اذا توجهت اليه فقلت لبعض من كان معي

الموكّل بى أُرِيدَ لى حَيْطَا مُجَاءً لى حَيْطٍ فَشَدَّدْتُ بِهَا الاقبياد وَاَعَدْتُ  
 التُّكَّةَ لى سِوَابِلِى وَلِبَسْتُهَا كِرَاهِيَةً اَنْ يَحْدِثَ شَيْءٌ مِنْ اَمْرِى فَتَعْرِى  
 فَلَمَّا كَانَ فِى الْيَوْمِ الثَّلَاثِ اُدْخَلْتُ عَلَيْهِ وَالْقَوْمُ حَصْرٌ فَجَعَلْتُ اُدْخُلُ  
 مِنْ دَارِ اِلَى دَارٍ وَقَوْمٌ مَعَهُ السِّيفُ وَقَوْمٌ مَعَهُ السِّبَاطُ وَغَيْرُ ذَلِكَ مِنْ  
 السِّبْطِ وَالسَّلَاحِ وَقَدْ حُشِيَتِ الدَّارُ بِالْمُجَنَّدِ وَهِيَ يَكُنُ فِى الْيَوْمِينِ  
 الْمَاضِيَيْنِ كَبِيرٌ اَحَدٌ مِنْ هَوْلَاءِ حَتَّى اِذَا صِرْتُ اِلَيْهِ قَالِ نَاطِرُوهُ وَكَلِمُوهُ  
 فَعَادُوا بِمِثْلِ مَنَاطِرَتِهِمْ فَدَارَ بَيْنَنَا وَبَيْنَهُمْ كَلَامٌ كَثِيرٌ حَتَّى اِذَا  
 كَانَ فِى الْوَقْتِ الَّذِى كَانَ يَخْلُو بى فِيهِ نَحَاى ثُمَّ اجْتَمَعُوا  
 وَشَاوَرُوهُمْ ثُمَّ نَحَاى وَدَعَاى فُخِّلَا لى وَبَعَدَ السَّرْحَنُ فَقَالَ لى وَبِحَكَ يَا  
 اَحْمَدُ اَنَا وَاللَّهِ عَلَيْكَ شَغِيْفٌ وَاِنِى لِأَشْفَقُ عَلَيْكَ مِثْلَ شَفَقَتِى عَلَى  
 هِرُونَ اَبْنِى فَاجَبْتَنِى فَقُلْتُ يَا اَمِيْرَ الْمُؤْمِنِيْنَ اَعْطُوْنِى شَيْعًا مِنْ كِتَابِ اللّٰهِ  
 اَوْ سُنَّةِ رَسُوْلِ اللّٰهِ صَلَّى اللّٰهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ فَلَمَّا صَاحَبَ وَطَالَ الْمَجْلِسُ قَالِ  
 عَلَيْكَ لَعْنَةُ اللّٰهِ لَقَدْ كُنْتُ طَمِعْتُ فَيْكَ خُذُوهُ خَلِّعُوهُ ثِيَابَهُ اسْتَحْبُوهُ  
 قَالِ فَاخَذْتُ فَسُحِبْتُ ثُمَّ خَلَعْتُ ثُمَّ قَالِ الْعُقَابِيْنَ [قال لى النُّعْمَانِيْنَ Cod.]  
 وَالسِّبَاطِ فَجِئْتُ بِالْعُقَابِيْنَ [؟ بِالْعُقَابِيْنَ read] وَالسِّبَاطِ فَقَالَ اِنِى وَقَدْ كَانَ  
 صَارَ السِّبَاطُ شَعْرَتَانِ مِنْ شَعْرِ النَّبِىِّ صَلَّى اللّٰهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ فَصَرَّرْتُهُمَا فِى  
 كَمِّ قَمِيصِى فَنظَرَ اسْحَاقُ بْنُ اِبْرَهِيْمَ اِلَى الصُّرَّةِ فِى كَمِّ قَمِيصِى فَوَجَّهَ  
 اِلَيَّْ مَا هَذَا مَصْرُورٌ فِى كَمِّ قَمِيصِكَ [كَمِّكَ Margin, variant] فَقُلْتُ شَعْرٌ مِنْ  
 شَعْرِ النَّبِىِّ صَلَّى اللّٰهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ وَسَعَى بَعْضُ الْقَوْمِ اِلَى الْقَمِيصِ لِئُخْرِقَهُ  
 فِى وَقْتٍ مَا اَقْبَمْتُ بَيْنَ الْعُقَابِيْنَ فَقَالَ لَهُمْ لَا تُخْرِقُوهُ اِنْعَمُوْهُ عَنْهُ قَالَ اِنِى  
 فَظَنَنْتُ اَنَّهُ \* لَدْرِى عَنِ الْقَمِيصِ الْخَرِقِ لِسَبَبِ الشَّعْرِ الَّذِى كَانَ فِيهِ  
 ثُمَّ صَبَرْتُ بَيْنَ الْعُقَابِيْنَ وَشَدَّدْتُ يَدِى وَجِئْتُ بِكُرْسِىٍّ فَوَضَعْتُ لَهُ وَاَبْنِى  
 اِبْنِى دُوَادٌ تَاقَمَ عَلَى رَاسِهِ وَالنَّاسُ اجْمَعُوْنَ قِيَامًا مِمَّنْ حَضَرَ فَقَالَ لى

انسان مِمَّنْ شَدْنَسِي حُخْمَد نَابِي الْكُحْشَبَيْنِي بِيَدِكْ وَشُدَّ عَلَيْهِمَا فَلَمْ  
 اِفْهَمْ مَا قَالَ قَالَ فَتَخَلَعْتُ يَدِي لَمَا شُدِدْتُ وَلَمْ اَمْسِكْ الْكُحْشَبَيْنِي قَالَ  
 اَبُو الْفَضْلِ وَرَ يَزُلْ اَبِي رَحْمَه اللّٰه يَتَوَجَّعُ مِنْهُمَا مِنَ الرَّوْسُغِ اِلَى اَنْ  
 تَوَفِّي ثُمَّ قَالَ لِلْجَلَّادِيْنَ تَقَدَّمُوا فَنَظَرُ اِلَى السِّبَاطِ فَسَقَالَ اَتِنُوا بِغَيْرِهَا  
 ثُمَّ قَالَ تَقَدَّمُوا فَسَقَالَ لَاحِدُهُمْ اِنَّهُ اَوْجَعُ قَطَعَ اللّٰه يَدَكَ فَتَقَدَّمُ فَضَرَبَ  
 سَوَاطِينِ ثُمَّ تَنَحَّى ثُمَّ قَالَ اِنَّهُ شَدَّ قَطَعَ اللّٰه يَدَكَ فَتَقَدَّمُ فَضَرَبَ  
 سَوَاطِينِ ثُمَّ تَنَحَّى فَلَمْ يَزُلْ يَدْعُو وَاحِدًا بَعْدَ وَاحِدٍ فَيَضْرِبُنِي سَوَاطِينِ  
 ثُمَّ يَتَنَحَّى ثُمَّ قَامَ حَتَّى جَاءَنِي وَتَمَّ مُحَادِقُونَ بِهِ فَقَالَ وَيْحَكَ يَا اَحْمَدُ  
 تَقْتُلُ نَفْسَكَ وَيَاْحَكَ اَجِبْنِي اَطْلُقْ عَنكَ بِيَدِي قَالَ فَجَعَلَ بَعْضُهُمْ  
 يَقُولُ لِي وَيْحَكَ اَمَامُكَ عَلَى رَاسِكَ قَائِمٌ قَالَ وَجَعَلَ عَاجِيفٌ يَتَنَحَّسُنِي  
 بِقَائِمٍ سَيْفِهِ وَيَقُولُ تُرِيدُ اَنْ تَغْلِبَ هَوْلَاءَ كَلِمٌ قَالَ وَجَعَلَ اسْحَاقُ بْنُ  
 اِبْرَهِيْمٍ يَقُولُ وَيْلَكَ لَخَلِيْفَةٍ عَلَى رَاسِكَ قَائِمٌ ثُمَّ يَقُولُ بَعْضُهُمْ يَا اَمِيْرَ  
 الْمُؤْمِنِيْنَ نَمَّ فِي عُنُقِي قَالَ ثُمَّ رَجَعَ فَجَلَسَ عَلَى الْكُرْسِيِّ ثُمَّ قَالَ لِلْجَلَّادِ  
 اِنَّهُ شَدَّ قَطَعَ اللّٰه يَدَكَ ثُمَّ لَمْ يَزُلْ يَدْعُو جَلَّادًا [Cod. جَلَّاد] بَعْدَ  
 جَلَّادٍ فَيَضْرِبُنِي سَوَاطِينِ وَيَتَنَحَّى وَهُوَ يَقُولُ لَهُ شُدَّ قَطَعَ اللّٰه يَدَكَ ثُمَّ  
 قَامَ اَلْسَى الثَّانِيَةَ فَجَعَلَ يَقُولُ يَا اَحْمَدُ اَجِبْنِي فَجَعَلَ عَبْدُ الرَّحْمَنِ بْنُ  
 اسْحَاقٍ يَقُولُ لِي مَن صَنَعَ بِنَفْسِهِ مِنْ اَصْحَابِكَ فِي هَذَا الْاَمْرِ مَا صَنَعْتَ  
 هَذَا يَجِيْبِي بِنِ مَعِيْنَ وَهَذَا اَبُو خَيْثَمَةَ وَابْنُ اَبِي اِسْرَائِيْلَ وَجَعَلَ  
 يُعَدُّ عَلَيَّ مِنْ اَجَابٍ وَجَعَلَ هُوَ يَقُولُ وَيْحَكَ اَجِبْنِي قَالَ فَجَعَلْتُ اَقْرَبُ  
 تَحْوًا مَا كُنْتُ اَقْوَلُهُ لَهُمْ قَالَ فَرَجَعَ فَجَلَسَ ثُمَّ جَعَلَ يَقُولُ لِلْجَلَّادِ شُدَّ  
 قَطَعَ اللّٰه يَدَكَ قَالَ اِنِّي فَذَهَبَ عَقْلِي وَمَا عَقَلْتُ اِلَّا وَاَنَا فِي حُجْرَةٍ  
 مُطْلَقٌ عَنِ الْاَقْبَادِ فَقَالَ اِنْسَانٌ مِمَّنْ حَصَرَ اَنَا كَبَيْبَنَاكَ عَلَى وَجْهِكَ  
 وَطَرَحْنَا عَلَى ظَهْرِكَ بَارِيَةً وَدُسْنَاكَ قَالَ اَبِي فَقُلْتُ مَا شَعَرْتُ بِذَلِكَ

قال فجاءوني بسويق فقالوا لي اشرب وتقياً فقلت لا افطر ثم جىء بي الى دار اسحاق بن ابراهيم قال ابي فنودي بصلاة الظهر فصلىنا الظهر فقال ابن سماعَةَ صليت والسدم يسيل من ضربك فقلت قد صلتى عمر رضى الله عنه وجرحه يشعبُ دما فسكت ثم خلى عنه فصار الى المنزل [Cod. omits] ووجه الى رجل من السجّين ممن يبصر الضرب والجراحات ويُعالج منها فنظر اليه فقال أنا والله لقد رايتُ من ضرب الف سوط ما رايت ضرباً أشد من هذا لقد جُرَّ عليه من خلفه ومن قدّامه ثم أدخل ميلاً في بعض تلك الجراحات وقال له يُنقب فجعل ياتيه ويُعالجه وقد كان اصحّت [cf. Taj al-<sup>o</sup>Arts] وجهه غير ضربة ثم يمكث يعالجه ما شاء الله ثم قال له ان هاهنا شيعا أُريدُ انْ اقطعهُ فجاءه حديدٌ فجعل يُعلق اللحم بها ويقطعه بسكين معه وهو صابر بذلك يحمد الله في ذلك فبراً منه ولم يزل ينوجع من مواضع منه وكان اثر الضرب بيننا في ظهره الى ان توفي رحمه الله، قال ابو الفضل سمعت ابي يقول والله لقد اعطيت المجهود من نفسى ولوددتُ انى اتجو من هذا الامر كفاً لا على ولا لى قال ابو الفضل واخبرنى احد الرجلين اللذين كانا معه وقد كان هذا الرجل يعنى صاحب الشافعى صاحب حديث قد سمع ونظر ثم جاتنى بعد فقال يابن اخى رحمةُ الله على ابي عبد الله ما رايت احداً بعبئى يشبهه لقد جعلت اقول له في الوقت ما يوجه الينا بالطعام يابا عبد الله انت صائم وانت في موضع تقية \* ولقد عطش فقال لصاحب الشراب ناولنى فناوله قدحاً فيه ماءً وثلجاً فاخذهُ فنظر اليه هنيهة ثم رثه عليه قال فجعلت اعجب اليه من صبره على الجوع والعطش وما هو فيه من الهول قال ابو الفضل وكنت التمس واحتمل ان اوصل اليه طعاماً او

young man, but this man is not young' [his age was 54] \*). The Khalif, on his entering, commanded him to draw near and bade him sit down. Then Ahmed asked permission to speak, and, having received it, put the question, 'To what did the Messenger of God give invitation?' The Khalif said, "To the testimony 'that there is no God but Allah'." Ahmed replied, 'I testify that there is no God but Allah'; and, after he had professed his adherence to the five cardinal points of Islam, the Khalif told him that if he had not been apprehended by his predecessor in the Khalifate he would not have taken any action against him. Then, turning to Abd al-Rahman ibn Ishak, al-Mu'tasim asked him if he had not given him command to abolish the Mihna. On hearing this, Ahmed was overjoyed, supposing that it was really the Khalif's intention to deliver his subjects from the objectionable test. Following this, there was disputation, in which the Khalif ordered Abd al-Rahman ibn Ishak to take a part. This man then put the question to Ahmed, 'What dost thou say about the Koran?' Ahmed returned him no direct answer, but, in turn, asked him 'what he had to say about the Knowledge of God'. To this Abd al-Rahman made no reply. During the Mihna this question was, with Ahmed, a favorite device in argument and one by means of which he generally put his opponents in embarrassment. The force of the argument lies in the fact that the Koran is declared to be knowledge from God, and Ahmed and such as he regarded this as equivalent to its being inseparable from the Knowledge of

رغيفا أو رغيفين في هذه الأيام فلم اقدر على ذلك واخبرني رجل  
 حضره قل تفقدته في هذه الأيام ولم يناظره ويكلمونه فما نحن في  
 كلمة وما ظننت ان احدا يكون مثل شجاعته وشدة قلبه قدس  
 الله روحه

فلما نظر الى المعتصم سمعته يقول اللهم كالمكر عليهم 1) al-Makrizi, p. 5

اليس قد رحمت انه حدث السن هذا شيخ مكتهل



did not apply to the Koran — a construction which is admissible<sup>1</sup>).

Someone introduced the verse, 'What came to them of ذِكْرٍ from their Lord was a thing newly produced', and asked, 'Can anything be newly produced unless it be created?' Ahmed said the Koran, Sura 38, declares, 'By the Koran, the possessor of الذِّكْر'; so الذِّكْر is the Koran but there is in that other (ذِكْرًا) no article. Here the argument is to shew that الذِّكْر and the Koran are identical in meaning, but ذِكْرٍ without the article is not identical with the Koran. Consequently, no argument can be based upon the declaration that ذِكْرٍ was newly produced.

The words were cited, 'He is the creator of everything'. Against this Ahmed quoted, 'Thou dost destroy everything'; and he added, 'Dost thou destroy except what God wills?' The argument is that the term 'everything' must be understood in harmony with declarations as to the unoriginate character of the Koran found elsewhere within the Book itself.

It is said that, in the course of the discussion, Ibn Abi Dowad lost his patience because Ahmed insisted on keeping to the Koran and the Tradition. Ahmed's defence was to the effect that his course was justifiable, for Ibn Abi Dowad was putting a construction upon the Koran with which sincere minds could not agree, and, failing to agree, the men were being cast into prison and loaded with chains. With this Ibn Abi Dowad called upon the Khalif to ask his kadis and fakihis if Ahmed were not a man misled, misleading

1) al-Mağrizi, p. 6, واحتاجوا على حديث ابن مسعود وما خلق الله من الجنة ولا نار ولا سماء ولا ارض اعظم من اية الكرسي [Kor. 2. 256] قال ابو عبد الله فقلت انما وقع الخلق على الجنة والنار والسماء والارض ولم يقع على القران



## *m*

admission as a ground for doing so. To this Ahmed made answer in harmony with what he had said before, asking for some justifying passage from the Koran or from the Tradition of the Prophet.

This closed the first day's proceedings, and Ahmed was sent back to his place of confinement, where two men, one a follower of al-Shafi'î and a certain Ghassan, of the following of Ibn Abi Dowad, visited him and engaged in conversation and disputation with him until the next morning. In the meanwhile, the evening meal was brought in and the two visitors partook; but Ahmed, though strongly pressed and though suffering from hunger, would not touch anything. Before the audience of the next day Ibn Abi Dowad himself brought a message from the Khalif enquiring as to whether Ahmed had changed his mind or not. Ibn Abi Dowad, also, expressed his personal sorrow at his arrest, especially in view of the Khalif's resolution not to execute him with the sword, in case he should refuse to recant, but to scourge him stroke after stroke until he should be brought to a change of mind or should die under the lash. He assured Ahmed that the Khalif al-Ma<sup>D</sup>mun had written his name among the first seven who were summoned, but that he had been instrumental in securing its erasure<sup>1</sup>). To all these persuasions Ahmed replied with the same plea for some satisfactory ground from either the Koran or the Tradition on which to base a change of faith. The man in whose house he was detained, Ahmed ibn 'Ammar, was, also, sent to him repeatedly with messages from the Khalif, but all in vain.

*Second Day.* On the second day, the proceedings were much the same as those of the previous audience. Whenever they used the Koran or a tradition of recognized authority Ahmed shewed himself ready to meet them, and appears to have been fully able to hold his own. When, however, they adopted any other method of argument, he refused absolutely to recognize the validity of their proofs, and maintained a

i) cf. p. 64.

stubborn silence. He carried this practice out so thoroughly that his opponents complained to the Khalif that, whenever the argument was in his favor he had his answer ready, but, on the contrary, whenever it went in their favor he simply challenged the testimonies which they adduced. It seems to have troubled him that they should have insisted, as they sometimes did, on the letter of the Koran; and, to shew them that they ought not to be too slavish in their adherence to the Koran, he asked one of the disputants what he had to say about the text, 'God commanded you concerning your children, the male's portion shall be the portion of two females'. The man replied that the text related specially to the believers. Ahmed then asked him, what would be the rule if the man were a murderer, a slave, a Jew, or a Christian. To this his opponent made no answer. This argument Ahmed apologized for using on the ground of their annoying manner of argument with him; and it would appear from this case that he was prepared to follow the text of the Koran as closely as practical necessity would allow, but admitted the need, in special cases, of modification or expansion by means of additional light from some other source. This additional light he apparently would have borrowed only from well-established Tradition.

On this day, as on the previous one, Ahmed Ibn Abi Dowad, whenever opportunity offered, took an active part in the discussion. In one of Ahmed ibn Hanbal's three examinations in this trial, probably in the first or second, when he had declared his faith in the Koran as uncreated, it was retorted upon him that he was setting up a similar being to God (dualistic view). His reply was, 'He is one God, eternal; none is like him and none is equal. He is even as he has described himself<sup>2</sup>). At the close of this session a private conference between the Khalif, Abd

1) Steiner, 77, cf. 90 f.

2) al-Mağrīzī, p. 4, **وَكُنَّ أَبُو عَبْدِ اللَّهِ إِذَا دُعِيَ إِلَى الْفِرْدِ بِخَلْفٍ**

al-Rahman and Ahmed again occurred, to which Ahmed ibn Abi Dowad was afterwards called in. At its close, Ahmed was returned to the place of detention, and the history of the first night was repeated. Messengers came and went, and the two men who had been with him before came back and stayed with him through the night. Before the next day came, Ahmed had a premonition that an issue would surely be reached at the coming session, and prepared himself for it.

*Third Day.* When the messenger came the next day Ahmed was brought to the palace of the Khalif, and his fear began to be confirmed as he saw the great display of pomp and of armed men, apparently prepared for some special occasion. First, there was an audience, in which the learned men disputed with him, and then followed another private conference in which the Khalif, as before, besought Ahmed to yield, in however slight a degree, so that he might grant him his freedom. The Khalif assured him of his having as much compassion for him as he would have for his own son Harun in such a case. Ahmed's reply was the invariable one, asking for some ground for a change of, faith adduced from the only sources which he recognized as authoritative. Finally the Khalif lost all patience when he saw that his hopes of a ground for leniency toward his prisoner were to be disappointed, and he ordered him to be taken

Ahmed away and flogged. The flogging then ensued. Before it occurred, a little knot was noticed in the sleeve of Ahmed's kamis, and he was asked what might be the explanation of it. He said that it held two hairs of the Prophet \*). On learning this Isha^ ibn Ibrahim saved

الفران وضرب بالسياط يقول القران كلام الله غير مخلوق فلذا قيل  
له القول بذلك. يودى الى التشبيه يقول احد صمد لا شبيه له ولا  
عدل وهو كما وصف به نفسه

1) On hairs of the Prophet as charms cf. Goldziher, Moh. Stud. II, 358.

the kamis from being destroyed. Before and during the course of the flogging, the Khalif sought to secure from Ahmed a recantation, and seems to have been moved by compassion for him, though equally moved by a determination to drive him to repent of his obstinate refusal. Ibn Abi Dowad and the leaders who were with him did their best, however, to move the Khalif to put Ahmed to death. When bound, Ahmed complained to the Khalif that the punishment he was inflicting upon him was unlawful according to the declaration of the Prophet, who had said that the blood and possessions of any man who confessed that there was no God but Allah, and that he was God's Messenger, were inviolable. Ahmed Ibn Abi Dowad, thinking his master inclined to weaken out of admiration for Ahmed's spirit and courage and from the conviction wrought by his arguments, reminded al-Mu<sup>c</sup>tasim that, if he yielded, he would certainly be said to oppose the doctrines of the former Khalif al-Ma'mun, and men would regard Ahmed as having obtained a victory over two sovereigns, a result which would stimulate him to assume a leadership fraught with evil consequences to the dominion of the Khalifs \*). As he was bound to the whipping-posts the lictors, one hundred and fifty in

قَالَ أَبُو عَبْدِ اللَّهِ وَجَعَلَتْ بَيْنَ الْعُقَابِيِّينَ فَفَلَّتْ يَا ١) al-Maḳrīzī, p. 7,  
 أمير المؤمنين أن رسول الله صلعم قال لا يحل دم امرء مسلم يشهد  
 أن لا إله إلا الله وأنى رسول الله إلا بأحدى ثلاث الخديث وقيل رسول  
 الله صلعم أمرت أن تقتل الناس حتى يقولوا لا إله إلا الله فإذا قالوها  
 عصموا منى دماءهم وأموالهم فيم تستحل دمي ولم أت شيئا من هذا  
 يا أمير المؤمنين أذكر وفوفك بين يدي الله عز وجل كوقفي بين  
 يديك يا أمير المؤمنين راقب الله فلما رأى المعتصم ثبوت ابن عبد  
 الله وتصميمه لأن لا يلقى عبد الله فخشى ابن ابنى دواد من رافتة

number it is said, advanced in turn and each struck him two strokes and then went aside<sup>1</sup>). At first, with each stroke Ahmed uttered a pious ejaculation, concerning the exact tenor of which the accounts vary<sup>2</sup>). There is an apocryphal story to the effect that, after he had been struck twenty-

عليه فقال يا امير المؤمنين ان تركته فيل انك تركت مذهب المأمون  
وسخطت قوله وانه غلب خليفتين فهاجه ذلك وطلب كرسيًا جلس  
عليه وقام ابن ابي دؤاد واصحابه على راسه ثم قال للجلادين الخ

حدثنا ابو بكر السهروردي بمكة قال رابت ابا

1) al-Subktī, p. 136, [Cod. در] بسهرورد . . . وكان ممن ضرب احمد [ابن حنبل] بين يدي المعنصم قال دعينا في تلك الليلة ونحن خمسون ومائة جلال ان امرنا بضره كنا نعدوا على ضربه ونمرُّ ثم يجي الآخر على ثم دعا بجلاد له يقال له ابو الدن [cf. Abū Nu'aim, 1504] اقره ثم يضرب فقال في كم تقتله قال في خمسة او عشرة او خمسة عشر او عشرين فقال اقتله]

2) al-Makrizī, p. 8, فلما ضرب سوطا قال بسم الله فلما ضرب الثاني قال لا حول ولا قوة الا بالله فلما ضرب الثالث قال القرآن كلام الله غير مخلوق فلما ضرب الرابع قال قل لى يصيبنا الا ما كتب الله لنا فضره تسعة وعشرين سوطا وكانت تكة سراويله حاشية ثوب فانقطعت فنزل السراويل الى عانته [عورته read] فقلت الساعة ينهتك فرمى ابو عبد الله طرفه نحو السماء وحرك شفتيه فما كان باسع من ان يبقى السراويل ثم ينزل قال ميمون فدخلت الى ابى عبد الله بعد سبعة ايام فقلت يا ابا عبد الله رايتك يوم ضربوك قد اكل سراويلك فرفعت طرفك نحو السماء ورايتك تحرك شفتيك فاقى شىء قلت قال قلت اللهم انى اسالك باسمك الذى ملأت به العرش ان كنت تعلم

nine strokes, Ahmed's nether garment threatened to fall to the ground, but that it was miraculously restored to its place and fastened securely, in answer to a prayer which

الى على الصواب فلا تهتك لى سترى وروى انه قال يا من لا يعلم  
العرش منه اين هو الا هو ان كنت على الحلق فلا تبد عورتى انتهى  
وذكر البيهقى انه فى اول سوط قال بسم الله وفى اثنائى قال توكلت  
على الله وهذا فى رضى الله وفى الثالث قال ما شاء الله كان وكل  
شىء عنده بمقدار وفى الرابع قال لا حول ولا قوة الا بالله وفى الخامس قال  
يا امير المؤمنين انك موقوف ومُسالل عنى بين يدى رب لا يظلم ويأخذ  
للمظلم من الظالم وفى السادس قال يا امير المؤمنين سائتلك بالله والدار  
الآخرة قل وهو لا يرفع راسه اليه وفى السابع قال يا امير المؤمنين اذكر  
الوقوف بين يدى الله كوقوفى بين يديك لا تستطيع منعا ولا عن  
نفسك دفعا فلما ضربته الثامن اضطرب المئزر فى وسطه قال المروزي  
وعباس بن مسكويه الهمذانى لقد راينا احمد رفع رأسه الى السماء  
وحرك شفتيه فما استتم الدعاء حتى راينا كفا من ذهب قد خرج  
من تحت مئزره فردّ المئزر الى موضعه بقدره الله تعالى فصاحت العامة  
وهموا بالهجوم على دار السلطان فامر بخله قال المروزي وابن مسكويه  
فدخلنا على ابي عبد الله فقلنا اى شىء كان تحريك شفتيك عند  
اضطراب المئزر قال رفعت بصرى الى السماء وناديت يا غياث  
المستغيثين ويا رب العالمين ان كنت تعلم اى قائم بحق فلا تهتك  
عورتى فاستجاب الله لدائى قال فكان اسحق بن ابراهيم يقول انا  
والله رايت يوم ضرب احمد وقد ارتفع السراويل من بعد انخفاضة  
وانعقد من بعد انحلاله وما رايت يوما كان اعظم على المعتصم من  
ذلك اليوم والله لو لم يرفع عنه الضرب لم يبرح من مكانه الا ميتا

he uttered. Some of the accounts go even so far as to say that a hand of gold was seen to go out from under his upper garment and adjust what was deranged<sup>1</sup>). As the flogging progressed Ahmed lost consciousness under the blows, and was removed in an unconscious state into a room near by. Meanwhile, the crowd outside the Palace court became moved with anger at the Khahfs treatment of Ahmed, perhaps, too, the report of his collapse had reached them; in any case, they were preparing to attack the Palace, when the Khalif ordered the suspension of the punishment. This order was due, it is likely, more to the fear of the multitude on the part of al-Mu<sup>c</sup>tasim than to any other cause. One account relates that, even after Ahmed was brought in unconsciousness to the room, his torturers continued their abuse by trampling upon him with their feet. When consciousness came back he was offered sawik for the purpose of producing vomiting, but he refused to take it. Subsequent to this, he was removed to the house of Ishak Ibn Ibrahim, where, after a short detention, he was set free, and went to his own dwelling. The date when all this occurred was within the last ten days of Ramadan 219 A. H., though the particular day is not known<sup>2</sup>). Ahmed does not seem to have harbored blame against the Khalif for having done what he did, and, afterwards, declared that he had no ill-will against any of those who had taken part in his persecution.

*Sequel to the Scourging.* In his own dwelling he was visited by the prison physician and treated until he was cured of his wounds. The scars, however, remained on him to the day of his death; and he never ceased to suffer from the dislocation of his wrists, which was brought about by neglect to take hold, as he was advised to do, of the upper parts [lit. teeth] of the whipping posts. When he failed to do this the principal weight of his body was suspended from the wrists. After the scourging, al-Mu<sup>c</sup>tasim brought

1) *vid. foregoing note.*

2) Ibn Chall. N°. 19.

out Ishak: ibn Hanbal (Ahmed's uncle) to the people, and asked them to witness that he would testify that he [the Khalif] gave over to them their Imam without hurt or damage to his body. It is said that if the Khalif had not caused this deception to be practised, the people would have risen in insurrection. As it was however, they were calmed and evil consequences were averted. It was the wish of Ibn Abi Dowad that Ahmed should now be imprisoned; but al-Mu<sup>c</sup>tasim was angry at the suggestion, and commanded his lieutenant Ishak to set Ahmed free. It is probable, that in this instance, likewise, fear of a popular uprising deterred the Khalif from continuing to use severe measures against his prisoner. As matters stood al-Mu<sup>c</sup>tasim gave him the gala dress, and as already related had him sent to his dwelling; and, as long as he was confined to his house, had his lieutenant Ishak enquire every day about his condition. The gala clothes, however, Ahmed sold and distributed the price in alms \*).

1) al-Maḳrīzī, p. 8, فصل فيما وقع له رضى الله عنه بعد انقضاء  
 الخنة قال ابن ابي حاتم سمعت ابا زرعة يقول لما المعتصم يأسف  
 عم احمد بن حنبل ثم قال للناس تعرفونه قالوا نعم قال فانظروا اليه  
 هو حكيح البدن [i. e. 'Look ye at him. Thou, Ishāk ibn Ḥanbal, is  
 he, Ahmed ibn Ḥanbal, not sound in body?'] Ishāk, thereupon, nodded as-  
 sent. Supply after اليه قال لاسف and after البدن نعم, اليه [فقال براسه نعم  
 البدن]. ولو لا انه فعل ذلك لوقع شر لا يقدر على دفعه فلما قال قد سلمته  
 اليكم حكيح البدن فداً الناس وسكتوا وكان ابن ابي دواد يحاول  
 الخليفة على حبس ابي عبد الله وعدم اطلاقه ويقول يا امير المؤمنين  
 احبسه فانه فتنة فغضب المعتصم وقال لناثبه يا اسف اطلقه قال ابو  
 عبد الله فلا يجد بدا من ان يخلى عني ولو لا ذلك لكان قد  
 حبسنى وقال المعتصم لهم ليس هذا كما وصفتهم قال البيهقي وذلك  
 انهم وضعوا من قدره وقلموه وصغروه عنده فلما شاهده وراى ما عنده

It is related that he remained only sixteen days at the Camp, and during this period used altogether as food a rub<sup>c</sup> of sawik (i. e. four handfuls of parched barley ground to meal). He took every night a dram of water and every third night a handful of sawil<sup>^</sup>. So much wasted was he by these experiences that it was a full six months after his return home before he seemed like himself again<sup>1</sup>).

*Mityia in* During the short governorship of al-Muzaffar *Egypt in the* ibn Kaidar, who succeeded his father in Egypt, *Reign of* there came to him a letter from the Khalif al-*al-Mu tasim.* Mu<sup>c</sup>tasim ordering a renewal of the Mihna. Al-MuzafTar tested the doctors in pursuance of the order he had

عرف له فضله وقال ميمون بن الاصبع أخرج أحمد بعد ان اجتمع  
الناس وضجوا حتى خاف السلطان فخرج قال البيهقي قال حنبل  
وخلع عليه المعتصم مَبْطُنَةً ومِيسَا وطِيلَسَانَا وَخَقًا وقلنسوة وأخرج  
على دابة عند غروب الشمس فصار إلى منزله ومعه الناس فدخل  
منزله ورَمَى بنفسه على وجهه وخلع ما كان خَلَع عليه فامر به فبيع  
واخذ ثمنه فتصدق به وبلغنا ان ابا اسكف نعى المعتصم ندم  
وأسقط في يده وامر اسكف نأيه ان لا يقطع عنه خبره قال فكان  
اسكف ياتينا كل يوم يتعرف خبره حتى صح وبَرًا بعد العلاج  
وخرج للصلاة ولحمد لله

حدثنا ابي والحسين بن محمد قالنا ننا احمد 1) Abū Nu'aim, 1426 f. ابن محمد بن عمر قال سمعت عبد الله بن احمد بن حنبل يقول  
\* مكث ابي بالعسكر عند الخليفة ستة عشر يوماً ما ذاق شيئا الا  
مقدار رُبْع سويقا كل ليلة كان يشرب شربة ماء وفي كل ثلاث ليل  
يستف حنفة من السويق فرجع الى البيت ولم ترجع اليه نفسه  
الا بعد سنة اشهر ورايت موقيه دخلا في حديثه

received, but it brought him only an increase of the troubles of his short term of authority, and of the success of the test we know nothing \*). After him we have no specific record of trials for the Koran in Egypt, but it is sure that al-Buwaiti underwent an examination in Egypt in the reign of al-Wathik. A little later on his case will be again noticed. In the year 231 A. H. al-Wathik sent a letter to his governors commanding the revival of the inquisition<sup>2</sup>). It must have been in the examinations which followed this command that al-Buwaiti was cited to answer for his faith<sup>3</sup>).

*Al-MuHa-* Al-Subki is, probably, right when he asserts that *tim* and al-Mu<sup>c</sup>tasim had not the learning which qualified *the Mihna.him* to decide whether the doctrine of the Koran's creation was right or wrong, and that the prosecution of the Mihna by him was due, in great part, to the charge which was left him in the testament of al-Ma'mun, and to the moving spirit among those by whom he was surrounded<sup>4</sup>). We do not hear of any further action against Ahmed on the part of this Khalif. He died in the year 227 A. H.

*Al-Wathi^* After the death of al-Mu<sup>c</sup>tasim and the accession of his son Harun al-Wathik, Ahmed became a very popular teacher, and was much resorted to. Al-Hasan ibn <sup>c</sup>Ali the Kadi of Baghdad noticing this wrote to Ibn Abi Dowad of the circumstance. Ahmed ibn Hanbal, however, heard of what had been done, and of his own will refrained from teaching, before any action was taken against him. Ibn Abi Dowad once again tried to persuade al-Wathik to per-

1) Abu'l-Mah. I, 649.

2) Abu'l-Mah. I, 683; al-Sujuti, Tarikh al-Kholafa, t \* f i

3) Abu'l-Mah. I, 686.

4) al-Subki, p. 145, قال المروخون ومع كونه كان لا يدري شيئا من العلم جهل الناس على القول بخلق القرآن قلت لان اخاه المامون اوصى اليه بذلك وانضم الى ذلك القاضي احمد بن ابى دواد وامثاله من فقهاء السوء cf. Weil, Chalifen II, p. 334.

secute Ahmed, but was unsuccessful. The Khalif let Ahmed alone; whether he was moved at all by admiration for him, or by a superstitious fear that something might happen to him should he lay violent hands on so holy a man, does not clearly appear<sup>1</sup>). It is reported of al-Wathik in relation to the Mihna that he did not personally wish it, but that the stimulus applied by his minister did not leave him much opportunity to escape from the work in which the latter was so zealous. The greater probability, as far as Ahmed ibn Hanbal enters into consideration, is that al-Wathik, like his predecessor, feared a popular outbreak should anything further be visited upon the Imam. And, for the reason that he wished to please all parties, he took the course of asking Ahmed to leave Baghdad, and dwell at a distance from him. Ahmed, however, did not go away; he simply withdrew into a comparative seclusion, which he maintained for the greater part of his remaining life.

*Al-Wathik* Al-Wathik did, nevertheless, carry on the policy *Prosecutes* of his predecessors. His command to all the gov-  
*the Mifyna. ernors* of the provinces to apply again the Mihna for the Koran has been already mentioned<sup>2</sup>). It was issued

١) al-Makrizi, p. 8 f. الوائق ابنه هرون وولى المعتصم وولى ابنه هرون وولى ابنه هرون وولى ابنه هرون  
اكثر الناس من الاخذ عن الامام احمد فشك ذلك على اهل  
البدع فكتب الحسن بن علي التميمي قاضي بغداد الى ابن ابي ذؤاد  
ان احمد قد انبسط في الحديث فلما بلغ ابا عبد الله امسك عن  
الحديث من نفسه من غير ان يمنع واستمر ابن ابي ذؤاد يحسن  
لوائق المنتحان الناس بتخلف القران ففعل ذلك لكنه لم يتعرض  
للإمام احمد قال الحافظ ابو الفرج اما لما علم من صبره او لانه خاف  
على نفسه ان يعرض له شيء ببركته يعني كما عرض لابيه الا انه  
ارسل يقول له لا تسكنني بارضى فاختفى الى ان مات الوائق  
vid. Weil, Chalifen II, 340; Abu'l-Mahasin I, 691. 2) vid. p. 114.

in 231 A. H. It is said that he gave this order, notwithstanding the fact that he had withheld his father al-Mu<sup>c</sup>tasim from the application of the Mihna \*). We have no record of those who were subjected to this examination, beyond the names and accounts of one or two who would not confess the doctrine of the Koran's creation and suffered for their faith.

*Ahmed ibn Naṣr al-Khuzuai* The best known of those who suffered under this Khalif was Ahmed ibn Nasr ibn Malik al-Khuzuai from the city of Merv, who was of one of

1) Abu'l-Mah. I, 683; al-Sujfitt, Taitkh al-Khol. 346.

2) v. Kremer, Hensch. Tdeen des Isi. 243, Weil, Chai. II, 341 f. 5 Dozy, Het Islamisme, 1565 al-Sujuti, Tarikh al-Kholafa, 346; al-Jaqubi, II, 5895 Tabaii, III,

فلما أهدى بن ١٣٤٣ هـ; De Goeje, *Fiagm. Hist. Arab.*, I, 529 f.; al-Makrizi, 10 f. نصر فكان من أهل الدين والصلاح والامارين بالمعروف سمع الحديث من مالك بن انس وغيره وروى عنه يحيى بن معين وغيره دعاه الواثق الى القبول بخلاف القرآن فابى فامر بصرب عنقه فصرّب وجمل راسه الى بغداد فُنصب في الجانب الشرقى ايما وفي الجانب الغربى ايما وأما جسده فُصلب بِسُرّ من رأى وروى للحافظ ابو الفرج بسنده الى ابراهيم بن اسمعيل قال كان احمد بن نصر حُلّى فلما قتل في الخنة وُصلب راسه أُخبرْتُ ان الراس يقرأ القرآن فمضيت فيث بقرب من الراس وكان قد وُكل به من يحفظه فلما هدأت العينون سمعت الراس يقرأ القرآن ألم أَحَسِبَ النَّاسُ أَنْ يَتَّزَكُوا أَنْ يَقُولُوا آمَنَّا وَهُمْ لَا يُفْتَنُونَ [Koi. 29. 1] فاقشعر جلدى ثم رأيتُه بعد ذلك في المنام وعليه السندس والاستبرق وعلى راسه تاج ثقلت ما فعل الله بك قل غفر لي وادخلني الجنة قال المروزي \* سمعت ابا عبد الله احمد بن حنبل وذكر احمد بن نصر فقال رحمه الله ما كان اسخاه لقد جاد بنفسه

the leading families of his tribe. One of his teachers was Malik ibn Anas and of his pupils one was Yahya ibn Ma<sup>c</sup>in. Ibn Nasr was, at first, left unmolested, but afterwards was apprehended for a cause that will be presently shewn. He was, according to Ahmed ibn Hanbal, a man of noble spirit, and we know from other sources that he was of distinguished ancestry, both his father and grandfather having held high places under the Abbaside khalifs. At the same time, he had a great name among the orthodox traditionists and was himself a man of staunch orthodox belief. For this reason, he had a deep hatred toward the Khalif and Ibn Abi Dowad, and openly defied both by his bold profession that the Koran was the uncreated Word of God. When the people of the quarter of Baghdad known as <sup>c</sup>Amr ibn <sup>c</sup>Ata saw his temper and considered his rank, they induced him to lend his moral and, it may be, also his material support to a conspiracy against the Khalifate. It was all arranged that the city of Baghdad was to be taken on a certain night, when the drunkenness of some of the conspirators on the night previous to that which had been appointed led them to give the signal for the attack on that night, with the result that the mass of the confederates did not respond, and the leaders of the conspiracy were at once arrested by order of the acting-governor, Mohammed ibn Ibrahim, their arrest being due to the turning State's-evidence of one of the subordinate plotters. Strangely enough, when brought before al-Wathik, the latter asked Ibn Nasr nothing about his part in the incipient insurrection, but began, instead, to question him about the Koran and the actual seeing of God on the day of Resurrection \*); perhaps, because the case against him on this count was much stronger than it would have been on that of sedition. When al-Wathik questioned him about his belief relative to the Koran, he, however, in reply, would give nothing but that he believed it to be the Word of God.

i) al-Wathik had forbidden his subjects to profess either of these beliefs, Houtsma, *De Stnjd over het Dogma*, 109.

One rather inflated tradition represents that Ibn Abi Dowad urged the Khalif to give his prisoner a delay, as he was an old man temporarily out of his senses and would come to a better mind if allowed time. Al-Wathik in the tradition appears as rejecting this view, and as declaring that Ibn' Nasr's unbelief had disciplined him to the view he had expressed. Whatever may be the truth of this story, the trial had not proceeded far when the Khalif called for the execution carpet and the sword Samsama; and, desiring to be allowed to personally strike off the obstinate infidel's head, as he expected to be rewarded by Heaven for disposing of him, he was allowed to try to despatch the martyr. He could not accomplish it, however, and Sima al-Dimashki had to come to his aid and dispose of the man. The head was then ordered to be sent to Baghdad; where for some days it was exposed to view in the eastern part of the city, and then for some days in the western part, after which it was fixed up permanently in the eastern portion. The execution occurred on the second last day of Sha<sup>c</sup>ban, 231 A. H., and the trunk and head remained exposed to public view for six years, until the Khalif al-Mutawakkil ordered them to be taken down, and handed over for burial to Ahmed ibn Nasr's relations<sup>1</sup>).

A fabulous story, to the effect that the head, after being exposed, recited the Koran until it was buried, is equalled by another which relates that, long years afterwards, a hunting party found the body and head of Ahmed ibn Nasr buried in the desert sand, and that there was not the slightest indication of decay upon them<sup>2</sup>).

1) Abu'l-Mah. I, 719.

2) al-Subki, p. 142 f. قلت وبلغني وما اراه الا في تاريخ للحاكم ان بعض الامراء خرج يستصيد فالتقاء السير على ارض نزل بها فعبث بعض غلمانة في التراب فحضر [Read فحفرو] حتى راى مبيتا في قبره طريا وهو في ناحية ورأسه في ناحية وفي اذنه رقعة عليها شيء مكتوب

*Nifaimibn* Nu<sup>c</sup>aim ibn Hammad was another who held out *Hammad*. He was the fourth of a quartette who came from Merv and endured with steadfastness the Mihna; the first was Ahmed ibn Hanbal and the others, Mohammed ibn Nuh al-Madrub and Ahmed ibn Nasr. Nu<sup>c</sup>aim ibn Hammad studied Tradition a great deal in the Hijaz and <sup>c</sup>Irak and went, afterwards, to Egypt. In the Khalifate of al-Wathik, he was brought from Egypt and examined; and, not satisfying the demand made upon him to confess the Koran to be created, he was thrown into prison where he died \*).

*Abu Ya<sup>c</sup>kub* Abu Ya<sup>c</sup>kub, Yusuf ibn Yahya al-Buwaiti, the *al-Buwaifi*. pupil of al-Shafi<sup>c</sup>i to whom he entrusted his circle of scholars at his death, was imprisoned for his refusal to acknowledge that the Koran was created, and died in prison 232 A. H. One of his fellow ShafVites, al-Rabf ibn Suleiman, relates that he saw al-Buwaiti in his chains, and heard him saying, 'God created the creation by 'Kun' [Be!], but, if 'Kun' be created, then it is as if a created thing created what was created<sup>2</sup>). By God! I will die in these thy chains, that

فاحضر من قرأه فاذا هو بسم \* الله الرحمن الرحيم هذا رأس احمد بن  
نصر هذه الكلمات السابقة فاعلموا انه رأس احمد الخراسي فدفن ورفع  
سنام قبره وكان هذا في زمن الحاكم ابى عبد الله الحافظ وهو على  
طراوته وكيف لا وهو شهيد رحمه الله ورضى عنه

واما نعيم بن حماد فكان من اهل مرو طلب<sup>1</sup>)  
الكثير من الحديث بالحجاز والعراق ثم نزل مصر ثم اشخص منها في  
خلافة الواثق وسئل عن القرآن فلم يوافقهم على ما ارادوه منه يعنى  
القول بخلقه فحبس حتى مات

2) 'Kiin\* is heie employed as synonymous with a manifestation of the Heavenly Word of God (as explained later in the present work). Al-Buwaiti seems to have been in full agreement with his master al-Shafi<sup>0</sup>!, and the latter in turn with Ahmed, as far at least as the Koran was concerned (cf. p. 49 and Abu'l-Mah. I, 686). The discussion of <sup>c</sup>Kun' in Houtsma, De Strijd etc., 129, seems to look toward other views than those held by the orthodox at the time of the Mihna.

those coming after us may know that men have died in their bonds for this cause; and, if I go in to him [al-Wathiy, I will declare the truth before him'. From prison he wrote to al-Rabi<sup>c</sup> ibn Suleiman entrusting him with the care of his circle of pupils, and bidding him be faithful to them \*).

The remaining history of the Mihna in the reign of al-Wathik is shortly told. There is one incident which is in keeping with the fanatical bigotry shewn by Ahmed ibn Abi Dowad in his efforts to establish the doctrine that the Koran was created. In the year 231 A. H., it was proposed to ransom 4600 prisoners from the Greeks, when Ibn Abi Dowad suggested that they should ransom only such as admitted the creation of the Koran, and that these should each receive two dinars on their release. This was actually done, and a small number of prisoners, who could not bring their consciences up to the point of meeting the test, were left unredeemed in the hands of the Greeks<sup>2</sup>).

1) Hammer-Pugstall, Lit. Gesch. III, p. 200, N<sup>o</sup>. 1050; al-Suyûti, Tarîkh al-Khol. 350; Abu'l-Feda Ann. II, 132; Fihrist I, 212; Abu'l-Mahâsin, I, 686; al-Makûzil, p. 11, بحمى البويطى فريد  
منه القبول بخلف القرآن فامتنع فحبس الى ان مات سنة اثنتين وثلاثين ومائتين قال الربيع بن سليمان صاحب الشافعى رأيت البويطى على بغل في عنقه غل وفي رجليه قيد وبين الغل والقيد سلسلة حديد فيها طوية وزنها اربعون رطلا وهو يقول انما خلق الله الخلق بكن [cf. Kor. 6, 72] فاذا كانت كن مخلوقة فكان مخلوقا خالف مخلوقا والله لاموتس في حديدك هذا حتى ياتي من بعدى قوم يعلمون انه قد مات في هذا الشأن قوم في حديدهم ولئن دخلت عليه يعنى الوائق لأصدغنه

2) Tabari III, 130 ff.; De Goeje, Fragm. Hist. Arab. II, 531; Abu'l-Mah. I, 684; al-Subki, p. 146.

*Al-Wathih Sur- renders the Doc- trine of the Koran's Creation.* Al-Wathik is generally considered to have given up the doctrine of the Mihna before his death, and an incident \*) which we may accept as fundamentally true, accounts for its *Alleged Cause.* Ibn Abi Dowad caused to be brought before the Khalif a sheikh of Adhana on the charge of heresy. The Khalif bade him discuss the question of the creation of the Koran with Ibn Abi Dowad, but the old man objected on the ground that Ahmed ibn Abi Dowad was a Sabaeen and was too unsound in his views to spend words upon. At this al-Wathik began to be very angry, but the sheikh promised to prove his points, if the Khalif would but give close attention to the discussion which was to take place between them.

To begin with, the sheikh asked Ibn Abi Dowad if his view were to be looked upon as an essential of the believer's creed. The latter answered that it was to be so regarded. Then the sheikh pointed out that God, having sent Mohammed with a revelation to his people, the Messenger of God did not leave unpublished any part of the Divine Message. Ibn Abi Dowad allowed that Mohammed had fully delivered the Message. His opponent then asked, if (on the basis of the revelation made through him) the Prophet had called upon men to accept the doctrine of the Koran's created existence. Ibn Abi Dowad gave to this no answer, and the sheikh claimed from al-Wathik one point established in proof of his charges. The Khalif allowed the point.

The second step was the quotation of Koran 5.5, 'This day have I completed for you your religion and perfected my grace upon you'; and the sheikh asked how any new doctrine could be justifiable in view of such a passage. Ibn Abi Dowad did not attempt a defence of his position against this assault upon it, and the sheikh claimed his second point, which al-Wathik conceded him.

1) v. Kremer, *Hersch. Idcen*, 243 ff.; al-Sujuti, *Tailkh al-Kholafa*, 347 f.; Abu'l-Mah. I, 691 f.; al-Malplzf, p. gf.; al-Subki, p. 143.

In the third place, the old man asked if the Prophet had known the doctrine now propounded, and if he had ever invited men to accept it. Ibn Abi Dowad claimed that Mohammed knew the doctrine, but he would not answer the question as to whether the Prophet had made its profession obligatory upon the believer or not. Here the sheikh claimed his third and final point. But he did not stop here. He argued that, allowing Mohammed to have known the doctrine in point and the early Khalifs to have known it; seeing that both he and they had been satisfied to refrain from obliging men to confess the tenet of the Koran's creation, was it the part of a modern zealot to do what they had not done? Supposing they did believe as he did, was it not his part to keep his belief a mere private opinion as they had done, instead of forcing people to think as himself? A companion of the Khalif al-Muhtadi who tells this story says that al-Muhtadi, who was present on the occasion, gave up the doctrine of the creation of the Koran from this time, and that al-Wathik ordered the sheikh to be at once set free, and, apparently, himself believed no longer as he had believed relative to the Koran. Other accounts say that al-Wathik changed his view before he died, and, in the connection where it occurs in the Arabic record, the testimony of al-Muhtadi is cited to shew that the incident above given occurred toward the end of al-Wathik's Khalifate <sup>1</sup>).

*AUMutawakkii* Al-Mutawakkil began to reign in 232, and *Abrogates the* the Mihna continued to exist for two years

*Milina.* j<sub>n</sub> his reign, being brought to a close in the yearj^y.. The whole term of its duration was, thus, from the 'lasFyeaT of al-Ma<sup>D</sup>mun, 218 A. H., to the second or third year of al-Mutawakkil, 234 A. H. In the latter year, air Mutawakkil stopped the application of the test, and by puW lie proclamation throughout the Empire forbade men on

1) Stein er, 78, says al-Wathik brought the Mihna to a close. But the tfuth is that he went no futher than to change his view in relation to the Koran and to purpose abrogating the test. His death prevented him from actually carrying his purpose into effect.

pain of death<sup>1)</sup> to profess the creation of the Koran. At this there was great rejoicing everywhere. Men praised the virtues of the Khalif, and forgot his vices; prayers for blessing upon him were heard on all sides and his name was mentioned with those of the good Khalifs Abu Bekr and °Omar ibu Abd al-Aziz. Two things alone were remembered against him by his Muslim subjects, both of which occurred in the year 236 A. H. The one was the permission granted for the sack of Damascus to the Turkish soldiery (the event however did not happen); and the other, the destruction of the tomb of al-Hosain together with the buildings round about it, and the conversion of the land into fields<sup>2)</sup>.

1) On death penalty for heresy cf. Goldziher, *Moh. Stud.* II, 216.

2) cf. v. Kiemer, *Hortsch. Ideen d. Isl.* 245 ff.; cf. Duzy, *Het Islam.* 163; cf. *Ibn Chall. N°.* 133; *Abu'l-Mah.* I, 691, 695, 702; *al-Sujütü, Tar. al-Khol.* 352; *al-Ja'qûbi* II, 592; *al-Subki*, p. 143, *وقد ظل امر هذه الفتننة وطال*، *شرها واستمر من هذه السنة التي هي سنة ثمان عشرة ومائتين الى سنة اربع وثلاثين ومائتين فرفعها المنوك في مجلسه ونهى عن القول بخلف القرآن وكتب بذلك الى الافاق وتوفّر دعاء الخلق له وبالغوا في الشناء عليه والتعظيم له حتى قال قائلهم للخلفاء ثلاثة ابو بكر الصديق يوم السدة وعمر بن عبد العزيز في رده المظالم والمنوك في احياء السنة وسكت الناس عن ذنوب المنوك وقد كانت العامة تنقم عليه شيعيين احدهما [Abu'l-Mah. I, 714] انه نذب لدمشق افريدون التركي احد مماليكه وصيره والياً عليها وكان ظالماً فأتكا فقدم في سبعة الاف فارس واباح لهم المنوك القتل والنهب على ما نقل الينا ثلاث ساعات فنزل بببيت لهما واراد ان يصبح البلد فلما أصبح نظر الى البلد وقال يا يوم يصبحك منى فقدمت له بغلة فصرته بالزوج فقتلته وقبره بببيت لهما ورد للجيش الذي معه خائبين وبلغ المنوك فصلاحت نيته لاهل دمشق والثاني [Abu'l-Mah. I, 712; *Fragm. Hist. Arab.* II, 546.]*

*General* Taking a general survey of the inquisition<sup>1)</sup> in *Survey of* augurated by al-Ma'mun, and carried on by the *the Mibna*. two succeeding Khalifs, we can say that as an attempt to stamp out by force moral convictions it was a failure from the start; for, in the Muslim world as everywhere else, there was an admiration and a moral support accorded by the great body of the people to those who suffered persecution, such as might have led men far less sincere than Ahmed ibn Hanbal to stand out against a tyrannous crusade of repression<sup>2)</sup>. That the principles of the strictest orthodox

انه امر يهدم قبر الحسين وهدم ما حوله من الدور وان يعمل مزارع  
ومنع الناس من زيارته وحُرِّثَ ويقى صحراء فتألم المسلمون لذلك  
وكتب اهل بغداد شتمه على الخيطان والمساجد

وقال للحافظ أبو الفرج وليّ المتوكل على الله سنة  
اثنيتين وثلاثين ومائتين فظهر الله به السنة وكشف تلك الغمة فشكره  
الناس على ما فعل ثم ذكر بسنده الى محمد بن خلف قال كان  
ابراهيم بن محمد التيمي قاضي البصرة يقول الخلفاء ثلاثه ابو بكر  
قاتل اهل الردة حتى استجابوا له وعمر بن عبد العزيز رد مظالم بني  
امية والمتوكل مآسى البدع وظهر السنة

1) A short account of the Mihna and its issues is to be found, Dozy, *Het Islamisme*, 154 ff.

2) Iloutsma (*De Stnjd* etc. 106 f.) appeals to make the motive for the resistance of the orthodox theologians to their rationalistic opponents one of religious policy. If they suuendeied the doctiine of the uncreated nature of the Kor&n, the hope of the univeisal spread of Islam would have to be given up. I have not found this motive alleged in any of my souices, but can well believe that it may have been a secondary, though not a piimary one. The piimaiy motive was altogethei personal. Ahmed and those who stood with him had a simple belief, incapable of analysis, in the eternity and unorigin-ateness of the Koran; they hoped,, too, foi a leward if they maintained their faith at all costs, and feared grave spnritual consequences should the doctrine be given up. The honor of God, the Divine Legation of the Prophet, the unique and ineffable dignity of the Koran, and, finally, the everlasting well-

party, of which Ahmed was the leading representative, did not win their way in the following generations of Islam was not because they had been killed out by persecution, but because a more liberal and enlightened sentiment had been introduced into the Muslim commonwealth; because the yoke this Puritanism would have imposed was one which people could not bear amid the practical concerns of every-day life; and because the system rested upon casuistries, which, though deductively perfect, were false in their premises and could never have satisfied the untrammelled common sense of men. The inquisition only retarded the development of freer and purer conceptions among the adherents of the religion of the Prophet. But the retardation was not an unmixed evil. It checked, for a time, a philosophical movement, to give it a theological and religious concern, without which the Muslim people would have had for their teachers men indifferent to practical questions of religious life and observance, and unsympathetic in their attitude toward popular theological conceptions.

Of the men, persecuting and persecuted, connected with the Mihna, Ahmed ibn Hanbal comes out with the greatest credit to himself. Bishr ibn al-Harith al-Hafi had a saying that God had cast Ahmed ibn Hanbal into the crucible and he had come out pure gold. Ahmed's method of argument was no more unsound than that of his opponents \*).

being of their own souls and the souls of those who looked to them for an example — these are expressed motives for the orthodox apologetic, which in some cases became a defence of conviction even unto death. The faith in the Divine and uncreated nature of the Koian lay at the root of all their arguments and actions in this defence. In the historical instances of such a resistance as this the personal element of conviction, rather than any considerations of religious policy, has been the moving principle of the defence which has been put forward.

i) The statement of Houtsma (De Stijld etc. 106) would give the impression that the orthodox when in disputation with their opponents had no arguments worth mentioning to offer, and were quite incapable of dealing with those who stood against them. Judging from a modern point of view neither side had very strong points; but, judged from a Muslim standpoint, the

They had, on philosophical grounds, declared the Koran, as well as the attributes of God, to be created; but, when they opposed him, they sought to convict him of error on his own ground, and by his own method of proof, and he seems to have had the better of them in most of their word passages. The arguments used were childish enough, but not more so for him than for them. The fact that he had earnest convictions to defend, and that many of those who stood against him had been either frightened or bribed into taking their present stand, stood him in good stead, and must command our respect as we, to-day, review the whole historical scene in which he is a figure.

As to al-Ma<sup>D</sup>mun, he evidently disliked the slavishness of orthodoxy, and was impatient at its many absurdities; but he shewed at the same time how easy it is for a learned man to display a disdainful and narrow spirit toward the unlearned, for a philosopher to become a dogmatist, and for an advocate of liberal views to become a tyrant toward those of stricter beliefs.

Ahmed ibn Abi Dowad was a man whom one finds it difficult to credit with earnest convictions. His first master, al-Ma<sup>D</sup>mun, may be credited with acting in the belief that he was right and in the consequent wish to secure the general adoption of his opinions; but his minister will not be misjudged if we look upon him as actuated by contempt and violent hatred toward the strict life and toward zealous advocates of religious ideas, whose puritanism appeared in his eyes to be barbaric hypocrisy. He is not

disputations which are recorded in these pages shew that the orthodox had the great arguments of the Word of God and the Tradition, and could wield these as well or better than their opponents. Ishak ibn Ibrahim the governor, Abd-al-Rahman ibn Ishak, and al-Mu<sup>c</sup>tasim are all said to have been impressed by the force of what Ahmed ibn Hanbal said and the way in which he said it. Steiner (*Die Mu<sup>t</sup>aziliten*, 8) says that the Mu<sup>c</sup>tazila used the Koran interpreting it allegorically and giving their reasonings a philosophical cast. Houtsma, (*De Stnjd* etc. 80) speaks of the Mu<sup>c</sup>tazila as being, in general, men lacking in earnestness and given to dialectic trifling in disputation.

as black a character as the partisans of Ahmed ibn Hanbal would represent him to be, but I have met no record of his connection with the Mihna which shews him as other than arbitrary and unfeeling, except the isolated reference in the trial of Ahmed ibn Nasr the conspirator whom al-Wathik put to death. There, as we have already seen, Ibn Abi Dowad suggests, when al-Wathik grows angry with Ibn Nasr for persisting in his belief, that the prisoner is an old man whose mind is deranged, but who will see differently when he has had time to come to himself. This account, be it remarked, occurs in al-Subki's *Tabakat* (life of Ahmed ibn Hanbal), where Ibn Abi Dowad finds from the author an apology for his acts in more than one instance, but in each case the apology is a personal opinion of the author of the book, rather than well supported historical tradition. In earlier accounts, and in later as well, Ibn Abi Dowad is put before us as an able man, with eminent social qualities, but with a persecuting spirit in administration, and, though we have said that al-Ma<sup>3</sup>mun wished to enforce the Mihna before he really did so, we must remember that he actually did not do so of his own motion, but that it was Ibn Abi Dowad alone who turned the scale which brought about the long tyranny of sixteen years ending shortly after al-Mutawakkil's accession. We can believe too, that had it not been for him the Mihna would have lapsed for want of interest or from positive distaste on the part of al-Mu<sup>c</sup>tasim or al-Wathik.

For al-Mu<sup>c</sup>tasim's part in this movement we have not much to say. He found no pleasure in the wretched business of persecuting men's convictions, and clearly shewed in Ahmed's case that, had it not been for obligations which he held to be inviolable, he would have had nothing to do with the enforcement of the test as to the Koran.

Al-Wathik, as to his part in the Mihna, is<sup>^</sup> in somewhat greater degree a return to al-Ma<sup>D</sup>mun. Like his predecessors he, too, was dominated by Ibn Abi Dowad. The re-

corded cases, very few in number, of those whom he tried for the Koran evince cruelty as a feature of this Khalif's character, and that of Ahmed ibn Nasr, in particular, is positively brutal \*).

Not much can be said in favor of those who yielded in the Mihna. The assent of the first seven who were summoned to the Khalif's presence was the fatal factor which led to the following up of the persecution. Still, it was not the less weakness in those who recanted afterwards that they should have been terrified into submission. The doctrine of the Takia was generously applied to them by their friends and companions, and, no doubt, saved them a great deal in the estimation of the public; but their course was not felt by themselves to have been creditable, and bitter was the regret of men like Yahya ibn Ma'in that the swore] should have frightened them into surrender of a doctrine which was felt to be the truth. It is the fault of an age of controversy that theological opinions are based too much on the logic of words, and not upon verities from which the moral and intellectual judgment cannot separate itself. This was the case with the doctrine of the unoriginate nature of the Koran. Its evidences were simply words, and it was only an exceptional character like Ahmed ibn Hanbal, who had seen the purely speculative question of the Koran's origin in relations, the maintenance of which seemed to him to involve the very existence of his religious life and faith, to whom a surrender of his opinion became of transcendent moment. Others had not the same great conception of the question that he had, they knew it only as one of the controverted points in the polemic which was going on about them. The surrender of it might be a victory for an opponent, but it was worth making for the sake of one's life. Those who yielded took, at a later date, a more serious view of what they had done, but, at the time when they

i) In the account of Ahmed ibri Naur's execution, p. 118, we have suppressed the more hanowing features.

committed the act of denying their own confession, it appeared as simply a question of yielding an unessential point and acknowledging themselves beaten. Even their plea of the *Tainia* cannot be taken as rendering this explanation nugatory; though it might seem to suggest that they looked upon their act as one involving the cardinal sin of apostasy, to which sin the *Takia* stood specially related. This plea was but an excuse used for effect upon the people, and was not, of course, an explanation of how they came to do what they had done. Ahmed ibn Hanbal excused them on this ground, but his excuse contemplates the act after its commission and finds grounds of pardon for it. It does not offer any exposition of its inward cause and significance. The *Takia* itself might render impossible the proving of an act to be apostasy, for it could often be urged that a man's apostasy was but in word, while in heart he was sound in the faith.

Notwithstanding the testimony of historians to al-Mutawakkil's cruelty, it cannot be said that he ever shewed any unkindness or impatience with Ahmed ibn Hanbal. He might have been provoked to acts of harshness by Ahmed's peevishness had he allowed himself to yield to the provocation, but he was, instead, constantly kind and thoughtful of the old man's comfort and welfare. He does not appear to have been as intolerant in matters of religion as his predecessors, unless his hostility to 'Alyite movements be counted as of a religious character<sup>1</sup>). We are justified, in my judgment, in assuming that the interest in religion and theology which he shewed was not that of a persecuting partisan of a political faction, but of a sincere though fanatical religious bigot<sup>2</sup>). His connection with orthodoxy was, because free from any immediate and violent display of persecuting spirit<sup>3</sup>), hardly from a political motive. Counter persecution

i) On this hostility cf. pp. 140, 152; Abu'l-Mah. I, 712.

2) For a different view cf. Goldziher, *Moh. Stud.* II,\*57, 66; Dozy, *Hot Islamisme*, 163.

3) Houtsma, *De Strijd* etc. 113 *infra*.

would surely have followed the persecution already past, had al-Mutawakkil desired to make capital out of his connection with orthodoxy. It is more likely that his relation to theology and religion is to be explained by temperament and revulsion of feeling from the course of his predecessors. The latter, indeed, had already shewn strong signs that, personally, they were weary of the inquisition. They, however, still accorded in their theological views with the persecuting party and were subject to their influence. Al-Mutawakkil was, apparently, a Shafi'ite<sup>1</sup>). None will deny that his theological position made him friends as a result, but, however black his record may be, and whatever there may be to blame in his narrow bigotry, we think that his intention was only to reform abuses in religion as he saw them<sup>2</sup>).

### III.

*Al-Mutawakkil* I<sup>n</sup> the early years of al-Mutawakkil's reign and *Ahmed* there were those who sought to injure *Ahmed ibn Hanbal*. with the Khalif<sup>3</sup>). One report, in particular, was

i) al-Sujuti, *Taukh al-Khol*. 359.

2) Nearly all Kuropean wnteis impute political motives to this Khalif, as well as to al-Ma'mun when he inaugurated the pciscution. It may be admitted that al-Mutawakkil lecognized the futility of persecution as long as the great mass of his subjects weie of oithodox sympathies (Houtsma, 112); but the fact, which appeals to be well established, that al-Mutawakkil was personally orthodox in his theological convictions, as well as the other facts which have been noticed in the text, would seem to fully account foi what he did. It is nowheie stated in the oiiginal souices which I have consulted that he had any other motive than that of peisonal religious pieiefence. Out of this personal ground spiang his intention to biing about a restoration of orthodoxy. His antagonism to Alyitics, too, was more that of a fanatical re-piesentative of certain *views* than that of a man who hoped to make himself more popular with the majoiity by the step he took. The public feeling when he destroyed the tomb of al-Husain shews this.

3) Abu Nu<sup>c</sup>aim, 150<sup>^</sup> if. (This source is now followed with a few exceptions which are noted)\* **تذكر ورود كتاب المتوسل بمختنه اولاً ثم**

that he had charged with Atheism the predecessors of

بِحَاجَتِهِ لَهُ وَاشْتَخَاصَهُ إِلَى الْعَسْكَرِ ثَانِيًا رَحِمَهُ اللَّهُ حَدَّثَنَا مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ جَعْفَرٍ  
وَالْحُسَيْنِ بْنِ مُحَمَّدٍ وَعَلِيُّ بْنُ أَحْمَدَ قَالُوا قَتْنَا مُحَمَّدَ بْنَ إِسْمَاعِيلَ بْنِ  
أَحْمَدَ قَتْنَا أَبُو الْفَضْلِ صَالِحُ بْنُ أَحْمَدَ بْنِ حَنْبَلٍ قَالَ لَمَّا تَوَفَّى إِسْحَاقُ بْنُ  
أَبِرَهِيمٍ وَمُحَمَّدُ ابْنَهُ وَوَلَّى عَبْدُ اللَّهِ بْنُ إِسْحَاقَ كَتَبَ لِلْمُتَوَكِّلِ إِلَيْهِ أَنْ  
وَجِّهْ إِلَى أَحْمَدَ بْنِ حَنْبَلٍ أَنْ عِنْدَكَ طَلِبَةُ أَمِيرِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ فَرَجَّهَ بِحَاجَتِهِ  
مُظَفَّرٌ وَحَضَرَ مَعَهُ صَاحِبُ الْبُرَيْدِ وَكَانَ يَعْرِفُ بِأَبْنِ الْكَلْبِيِّ وَكَتَبَ لَهُ  
أَيْضًا فَقَالَ لَهُ مُظَفَّرٌ يَقُولُ لَكَ الْإِمِيرُ قَدْ كَتَبَ إِلَى أَمِيرِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ أَنْ  
عِنْدَكَ [عَبْدُكَ Cod.] [طَلِبَتَهُ [طَلِبَتَهُ Cod.] وَقَالَ لَهُ ابْنُ الْكَلْبِيِّ مِثْلَ ذَلِكَ  
وَكَانَ قَدْ نَامَ النَّاسُ فَدَفَعَ الْبَابَ وَكَانَ عَلَى ابْنِ رَحِمَهُ اللَّهُ إِزَارٌ [إِزَارًا Cod.]  
فَفَتَحَ لَهُمُ الْبَابَ وَفَعَدُوا عَلَى بَارِيَّةٍ وَمَعَهُمْ نِسَاءٌ فَلَمَّا قَرَأَ عَلَيْهِ الْكِتَابَ \*  
قَالَ لَهُمُ ابْنُ مَا أَعْرِفُ هَذَا وَإِنِّي لَأَرَى طَاعَتَهُ فِي الْعَسْرِ وَالْيُسْرِ وَالْمَنْشَطِ  
وَالْمَكْرَةِ وَالْإِكْرَةِ وَإِنِّي أَنَا سَفٌّ عَنِ تَخَلُّفِي عَنِ الصَّلَاةِ وَعَنِ حَضُورِ الْجَمَاعَةِ  
وَدَعْوَةِ الْمُسْلِمِينَ وَقَدْ كَانَ إِسْحَاقُ بْنُ أَبِرَهِيمٍ وَجَّهَ إِلَى ابْنِ أَنْ السُّنْمِ  
بَيْتَهُ وَلَا تَخْرُجْ إِلَى جَمْعَةٍ وَلَا جَمَاعَةٍ وَلَا نَسْرُلْ بِكَ مَا نَزَلَ فِي أَيْمِ ابْنِ  
إِسْحَاقَ ثُمَّ قَالَ ابْنُ الْكَلْبِيِّ قَدْ أَمَرَنِي أَمِيرُ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ أَنْ أُحْلِفَكَ مَا  
عِنْدَكَ طَلِبَتُهُ فَاحْلِفْ فَقَالَ ابْنُ إِسْحَاقَ حَلَفْتُ فَأَحْلَفَهُ [فَأَحْلَفَهُ Cod.]  
بِاللَّهِ وَالْطَّلَافِ مَا عِنْدَكَ [؟ مَا عِنْدَهُ Read] طَلِبَةُ [طَلِبَتَهُ Cod.] أَمِيرِ  
الْمُؤْمِنِينَ فَكَانَ أَمْرًا إِلَى ابْنِ عِنْدَهُ [عَبْدَهُ Cod.] عَلَوْنًا ثُمَّ قَالَ أَرِيدُ أَنْ  
أُقَاتِلَ مَنْزِلَكَ قَالَ أَبُو الْفَضْلِ وَكُنْتُ حَاضِرًا فَقَالَ وَمَنْزِلُ ابْنِكَ فَقَامَ مُظَفَّرٌ  
وَأَبْنُ الْكَلْبِيِّ وَأَمْرَاتَانِ مَعَهُمَا فَدَخَلَا فَفَتَشَا الْبَيْتَ ثُمَّ فَتَشَتِ الْأَمْرَاتَانِ  
النِّسَاءَ وَالصَّبِيَّانِ قَالَ أَبُو الْفَضْلِ ثُمَّ دَخَلُوا مَنْزِلَ فَفَتَشَوْهُ وَنَسُوا شِمْعَةَ  
فِي الْبُيُوتِ فَنظَرُوا وَوَجَّهُوا بِالنِّسَاءِ فَفَتَشُوا الْحُرْمَ وَخَرَجُوا فَلَمَّا كَانَ بَعْدَ

the Khalif — a report which the latter did not appear to con-

يَوْمَينَ وَرَدَ كِتَابُ عَلِيٍّ بَيْنَ النَّجَّيْمِ أَنَّ امِيرَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ قَدْ صَحَّحَ عِنْدَهُ  
بِرَأْيِكَ مَا فُرِّقَتْ بِهِ وَقَدْ كَانَ أَهْلُ الْبِدْعِ قَدَّمُوا أَعْنَاقَهُمْ فَالْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ  
الَّذِي لَمْ يَشْمَنْكُم بِكَ وَقَدْ وَجَّهَ إِلَيْكَ امِيرُ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ يَعْقُوبَ [يعقوبُ Cod.]  
المعروفُ بِمَقْصُورَةٍ وَمَعَهُ جَائِزَةٌ وَيَأْمُرُ بِالْخُرُوجِ فَاللَّهُ اللَّهُ أَنْ تَسْتَعْفَى أَوْ  
تَسْرُدَ الْجَائِزَةَ، قَالَ أَبُو الْفَضْلِ ثُمَّ وَرَدَ مِنَ الْعَدُوِّ يَعْقُوبَ فَدَخَلَ إِلَى أَبِي  
فَقَالَ لَهُ يَا أبا عَبْدِ اللَّهِ امِيرُ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ يَبْعُرُ عَلَيْكَ السَّلَامَ وَيَقُولُ قَدْ صَحَّحَ  
نَفْسًا سَاحَتَكَ وَقَدْ أَحْبَبْتُ أَنْ آتَسَّ بِقُرْبِكَ وَأَتَبَرَّكَ بِدَعَائِكَ وَقَدْ  
وَجَّهْتُ إِلَيْكَ عَشْرَةَ آلَافٍ دِرْهَمٍ مَعُونَةً عَلَى سَفَرِكَ وَأَخْرَجْتُ بِدِرَّةٍ فِيهَا صِرَّةٌ  
نَحْوَ مِائَتَيْ دِينَارٍ وَالْبَاقِي دِرْهَامٌ حَسَّاجٌ فَلَمْ يَنْظُرْ إِلَيْهَا ثُمَّ شَدَّهَا  
يَعْقُوبَ وَقَالَ لَهُ أَعُوذُ غَدًا حَتَّى أَنْظُرَ عَلَى مَا تَعَزَّمُ عَلَيْهِ وَقَالَ لَهُ يَا  
عَبْدَ اللَّهِ الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ الَّذِي لَمْ يُشَمِّتْ بِكَ أَهْلَ الْبِدْعِ وَأَنْصَرَفَ فَجِئْتُ  
بِاجْتَانَةِ [بِاجْتَانَةِ Cod.] خَصْرَاءَ كَبَيْتُهَا عَلَى الْبِدْرَةِ فَلَمَّا كَانَ عِنْدَ الْمَغْرِبِ  
قَالَ يَا صَالِحُ خُذْ هَذِهِ صَبَّيْهَا عِنْدَكَ فَصَبَّيْتُهَا عِنْدَ رَأْسِي فَوْقَ الْبَيْتِ  
فَلَمَّا كَانَ سَاحِرًا أَنْ هُوَ يَبْدَأُ يَا صَالِحُ فَفَعَلْتُ وَصَعِدْتُ إِلَيْهِ فَقَالَ يَا صَالِحُ  
مَا نَمْتُ لَيْلَتِي هَذِهِ فَقُلْتُ لَهُ لَيْتِي فَجَعَلَ يَبْكِي وَهُوَ يَقُولُ سَلِمْتُ مِنْ  
هُوَ لَاءٌ حَتَّى إِذَا كَانَ فِي آخِرِ عَمْرِي بُلَيْتُ بِإِيَّامٍ قَدْ عَزَمْتُ عَلَى أَنْ أَفْرُقَ  
هَذَا الشَّيْءَ إِذَا أَصْبَحْتُ فَقُلْتُ ذَلِكَ إِلَيْكَ فَلَمَّا أَصْبَحَ جَاءَهُ الْخَسَنُ  
ابْنُ الْبَرَّارِ وَالْمَشَايِخُ فَقَالَ جِئْتُ يَا صَالِحُ بِالْمِيزَانِ فَقَالَ وَجَّهُوا إِلَى ابْنِ  
الْمُهَاجِرِينَ وَالْأَنْصَارِ ثُمَّ قَالَ وَجَّهَ إِلَى فُلَانٍ حَتَّى يَفْرُقَ فِي نَاحِيَتِهِ وَإِلَى  
فُلَانٍ فَلَمْ يَبْرُدْ حَتَّى فَرَّقَهَا كُلَّهَا وَنَقَضَ الْكَلْبَ وَنَحَنَ فِي حَالَةِ اللَّهِ بِهَا  
عَلَيْهِمْ لِحْجَاءِ بَنِي لَهُ فَقَالَ يَا أَبَا عَبْدِ اللَّهِ فَعَطَى دِرْهَمًا فَخَرَجْتُ قِطْعَةً  
أَعْطَيْتُهُ وَكَتَبَ صَاحِبُ الْبُرَيْدِ أَنَّهُ تَصَدَّقَ بِالْدِرْهَامِ مِنْ يَوْمِهِ حَتَّى

sider very seriously, for he is said to have ordered the man

تَصَدَّقَ بِالْكَيْسِ قَالَ عَلِيٌّ بْنُ النَّجَّهِمْ فَفَلَّتْ يَا أَمِيرَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ قَدْ تَصَدَّقْتَ  
بِهَا وَعَلِمَ النَّاسُ أَنَّهُ قَدْ قَبِلَ مِنْكَ مَا يَصْنَعُ أَحْمَدُ بِالْمَالِ وَأَمَّا قُوَّتُهُ رَغِيفٌ  
قَالَ فَقَالَ لِي صَدَقْتَ يَا عَلِيُّ، قَالَ أَبُو الْفَضْلِ ثُمَّ أُخْرِجَ أَبِي لَيْلًا وَمَعَنَا  
حُرَّاسٌ مَعَهُمُ الْغَفَاطَاتُ فَلَمَّا أَضَاءَ الْفَجْرُ قَالَ يَا صَاحِبَ مَعَكَ دَرَاهِمُ قُلْتَ  
نَعَمْ قَالَ أَنْعَمُوا فَاعْطَيْتُهُمْ دَرَاهِمًا دَرَاهِمًا . . . . . قَالَ أَبُو  
الْفَضْلِ وَقَصَّرَ أَبِي\* فِي خُرُوجِهِ إِلَى الْعَسْكَرِ وَقَالَ نَعَصَّرَ الصَّلَاةَ فِي أَرْبَعَةِ  
بُرُودٍ فِي سِتَّةِ عَشَرَ فَرَسًا وَصَلِمْتُ بِهِ بَوْمًا أَنْعَصَرَ فَقَالَ لِي طَوَّلْتَ بِنَا  
الْعَصْرِ تَقْصِرُ فِي الرُّكْعَةِ مَقْدَارَ خَمْسِ عَشْرَةِ آيَةٍ وَكُنْتُ أَصِلِي بِهِ فِي  
الْعَسْكَرِ فَلَمَّا صِرْنَا بَيْنَ الْخَائِطَيْنِ قَالَ لَنَا يَعْقُوبُ أَقْبِمُوا ثُمَّ وَجَّهَ إِلَيَّ  
الْمَتَوَكِّلُ بِمَا عَمِلَ فَدَخَلْنَا الْعَسْكَرَ وَأَبِي مُنَكَّسُ الرَّاسِ وَرَأْسُهُ مَغْدَلِي فَقَالَ  
لَهُ يَعْقُوبُ اكْشِفْ رَأْسَكَ يَا عَبْدِ اللَّهِ فَكَشَفَ ثُمَّ جَاءَ وَصِيفٌ يُرِيدُ  
الدَّارَ فَلَمَّا نَظَرَ إِلَى النَّاسِ وَجَمَعَهُمْ قَالَ مَا هَوْلَاءُ قَالُوا أَحْمَدُ بْنُ حَنْبَلٍ  
فَوَجَّهَ إِلَيْهِ بَعْدَ مَا جَازَ بِجَيْبِي بِنَ قَرْنَمَةَ فَقَالَ يَقْرَأُكَ السَّلَامَ وَبِقَوْلِ  
الْحَمْدِ لِلَّهِ الَّذِي لَمْ يُشَمِّتْ بِكَ أَهْلَ الْبَلَدِ قَدْ عَلِمْتَ مَا كَانَ حَالُ  
ابْنِ أَبِي دَوَادٍ فَيَنْبَغِي أَنْ نَتَكَلَّمَ بِمَا يَجِبُ لِلَّهِ وَمَضَى بِجَيْبِي قَالَ أَبُو  
الْفَضْلِ أَنْزَلَ أَبِي دَارَ ابْتِخَانٍ فَجَاءَ عَلِيُّ بْنُ الْحَجَّامِ فَقَالَ قَدْ أَمَرَ لَكُمْ أَمِيرُ  
الْمُؤْمِنِينَ بِعَشْرَةِ آلَافِ مَكَانَ الَّتِي فَرَّقَهَا [أَبُوكُمْ. scil.] وَأَمَرَكُمْ أَنْ لَا يَعْلَمَ بِذَلِكَ  
فَيَغْتَمُ ثُمَّ جَاءَهُ مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ مَعَاوِيَةَ فَقَالَ أَنْ أَمِيرَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ يُكْتَبَرُ لِكَثْرَةِ ذِكْرِكَ  
وَيَقُولُ تَقْبِيحُ هَاهُنَا تُحَدِّثُ فَقَالَ أَنَا ضَعِيفٌ ثُمَّ وَضَعَ أَصْبَعَهُ عَلَى بَعْضِ  
أَسْنَانِهِ فَقَالَ إِنَّ بَعْضَ أَسْنَانِي يَتَحَرَّكُ وَمَا أَخْبَرْتُ بِذَلِكَ وَلَدِي ثُمَّ وَجَّهَ  
إِلَيْهِ مَا تَقُولُ فِي بَهِيمَتَيْنِ أَنْتَاطَحْتَنَا فَعَفَرْتَ أَحْدَاهُمَا الْآخَرَى فَسَقَطَتْ  
فَدَبَّحَ لِقَالِ أَنْ كَانَ أَطْرَفَ بَعَيْنِهِ وَمَصَّعَ بِذَنْبِهِ وَسَالَ دَمَهُ يُوَكِّلُ

who made it to be flogged for trying to injure a good subject.

قال أبو الفضل ثم صار إليه يحيى بن خافان فقال يسأبا عبد  
الله قد أمرني أمير المؤمنين أن أصير اليك لتركب إلى أبي عبد  
الله [المعتز] i. c. ثم قال لي فد أمرني أن اضع له سوادا ولباسانا  
وقلنسوة فإي قلنسوة يلبس فقلت له ما رأيته لبس قلنسوة قط  
فذل له أن أمير المؤمنين قد أمرني أن تصير لك مرتبة في أعلا  
المراتب [Cod. omits] وتصير أبو عبد الله في حاجرك ثم قال لي أن  
أمير المؤمنين قد أمر أن يُجربى عليكم وعلى قراباته أربعة آلاف  
درهم ففرغها عليهم ثم عاد يحيى من الغد فقال يبا عبد الله تركب  
فعال ذاك اليكم فعال استخبر الله فليس أزاره وخفيه وقد كان خفه  
قد أتى له عنده نحو من خمسة عشر سنة مرفوع برقع عدة فأنشأ  
يحيى السى يلبس [نلبس] قلنسوة فقلت له ما له قلنسوة قال  
كيف يدخل عليه حاسرا ويحيى قائم فطلبنا له دابة يركبها فقال  
يحيى تطلني [نطلني] فجلس على التراب وقال منيها خلفناكم  
وفيها نعيدكم [Kor. 20. 57] ثم ركب بغل بعض [بعض] التجار  
فضمينا معه حتى أدخل دار المعتز فاجلس في بيت الدهليز ثم جاء  
يحيى فاخذ بيده حتى أدخله ورفع الستر ونحن ننظر وكان المعتز  
قاعدا على دكان في الدار وقد كان يحيى تقدم إليه فقال لا تمد  
يدك إليه فلما صعد الدكان جلس فقال له يحيى يبا عبد الله  
إن أمير المؤمنين جاء بك ليستر بقربك وتصير أبو عبد الله في  
حاجرك . . . . .

وقد كانوا حدثوا أنه يخلع عليه سوادا ثم أنصرف فلما صار إلى الدار  
نزع الثياب عنه ثم جعل يبكي ثم قال قد سلمت من هؤلاء منذ

ستين سنة حتى اذا كان في آخر عمري بليت بهم ما احسبني \*  
سلمت من دخول علي هذا الغلام فكيف بمن يجب علي نصحه  
من وقت نفع عيني عليه ان احرج من عنده ثم قل يا صالح  
وجه بهذه الثياب الى بغداد تباع ويتصدق بثمنها ولا يشتري احد  
منكم شيئا قال ابو الفضل فوجهت بها الى يعقوب بن البختمان فباعها  
وفرى ثمنها وبعيت عندي الفلنسية ثم اخبرناه ان الدار التي هو  
فيها كانت لابتناح فعال اكتب رقة الى محمد بن الجراح ليستغنى  
لي من هذه الدار فكتبنا رفعه فامر المتوكل ان يعفا منها وجهه الى  
قوم ليخرجوا من منازلهم فقال ان يعفا من ذلك فاكتريت له دار  
بماتى درم فحمار اليها وأجرى لنا مائدة وثلج وضرب الخيش وفرش  
الطبرى فلما رأى الخيش والطبرى تحى نفسه عن ذلك الموضع  
والقى نفسه على مضربة له . . . . .  
. . . . . وجعل يواصل يفطر كل ثلاث على ثمن سيق  
فمكث خمس عشرة يفطر في كل ثلاث ثم جعل بعد ذلك يفطر  
ليلة ليلة لا يفطر الا على رغيف فكان اذا جىء بالمائدة توضع في  
اندهليز لكى لا يراها فياكل من حضر فكان اذا جهده لخر تبلى له  
خرفة فيضعها على صدره وفى كل يوم يوجه اليه بابن  
ماسويه فينظر اليه ويقول يا ابا عبد الله انما اميل اليك  
والى اصحابك وما بك علة الا الصعف وقلبة الرزة فقال له  
ابن ماسويه انا ربما امرنا عبادنا باكل دهن لخل [الخل Cod.] فانه يلين  
وجعل يجيئه بالشيء ليشره فيصبه وقطع له يحيى دراعة وطيلسانا  
سوادا . . . . .  
. . . . . وكان ربما صار اليه يحيى وهو يصلى فيجلس في الدهليز

حتى يفرغ وجيء على بن الجهم فينزح سيفه وقلنسوته ويدخل عليه  
وامر المتوكل ان نُشْتَرَى [نُشْتَرَى Cod.] لنا دارٌ فقال يا صالح قلت  
لبيك قال لئن أفررت لثم بشرى ذلك لتكونن القطيعة بيبي وبينكم  
انما يريدون ان يُصَيِّرُوا هذا البلد لى ماوى ومَسْكنا فلم يزل يدفع  
شرى الدار حتى اندفع وصار الى صاحب المنزل فقال اعطيك كل  
شهر ثلاثة الاف مكران المائدة فعلت لا افعل وجعلت رُسل المتوكل  
تاليه يسئلونه عن خبره فينصرفون [فيصبرون Cod.] اليه ويقولون هو  
ضعيف وفي خلال ذلك يقولون يابا عبد الله لا بد له من ان يراك  
فَسَكَت فاذا خرجوا قال الا تعجب من قولهم لا بد له من ان يراك  
وما علمهم انه لا بد له من ان يراك وكان في هذه دار حجارة صغيرة  
[الصغيرة Cod.] فيها بيتان فقال لى ادخلونى تلكم للحجرة ولا تُسرجوا  
لى سراجا فادخلناه اليها فجاءه يعقوب فقال يابا عبد الله امير المؤمنين  
مشتاق اليك ويقول \* انظر اليوم الذى تصير الى فيه اى يوم هو  
حتى اعرفه فقال ذاك اليكم فقال بوم الاربعاء يوم خال وخرج يعقوب  
فلما كان من الغد جاءه فقال البشرى يابا عبد الله امير المؤمنين بفرأ  
عليك السلام ويعول فد اعفيتك عن لبس السواد والركوب التى والى  
ولاة اليهود والى الدار فان شئت فلبس القطن وان شئت فلبس  
الصفوف فجعل يحمد الله على ذلك . . . . .  
. . . . . قال انى اعطى الله عهدا ان  
الْعَهْدَ كَانَ مَسْئُولًا [Kor. 17. 36] وقد قال الله تعالى يَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا  
أَوْفُوا بِالْعُقُودِ [Kor. 5. 1] انى لا احدث حديثا تماما ابدا حتى الظى  
الله ولا استثنى منكم احدا فتحججنا وجاء على بمن الجهم فقلنا له  
قال انا لله وانا اليه راجعون واخبر المتوكل بذلك وقال انما يريدون

ان أُحَدِّثَ فِيكُمُونَ هَذَا الْبَلَدُ حَبْسِي وَإِنَّمَا كَانَ سَبَبُ الدِّينِ أَتَمُّوا  
 بِهَذَا الْبَلَدِ لَمَّا أَطَارُوا وَأَمَرُوا فَحَدَّثُوا وَكَانُوا يَدْخُلُونَ عَلَيْهِ فَيَتَكَلَّمُونَ  
 وَهُوَ مُعْتَصِفٌ الْعَبِي يَنْعَدُّ وَضَعْفٌ ضَعْفًا شَدِيدًا فَقَالُوا يَخْبِرُونَهُ فَيَتَوَجَّعُ  
 لِذَلِكَ وَجَعَلَ يَقُولُ وَاللَّهِ لَعَدْتُ تَمَنِّيْتُ الْمَوْتَ فِي الْأَمْرِ الَّذِي كَانَ وَالِي  
 لِاتِمِّي الْمَوْتَ فِي هَذَا وَذَلِكَ أَنَّ هَذَا فَتْنَةُ الدُّنْيَا وَكَانَ ذَلِكَ فَتْنَةُ  
 الدِّينِ ثُمَّ جَعَلَ يَصُمُّ أَصَابِعَ يَدَيْهِ وَيَقُولُ لَوْ كَانَتْ نَفْسِي فِي يَدِي  
 لَأَرْسَلْتُهَا ثُمَّ بَفَتْحِ أَصَابِعِهِ وَكَانَ الْمُتَوَكِّلُ بِوَجْهِهِ إِلَيْهِ فِي كُلِّ وَقْتٍ يَسْأَلُهُ  
 عَنْ حَالِهِ وَكَانَ فِي خِلَالِ ذَلِكَ يَوْمًا لَنَا بِالْمَالِ فَيَعْمَلُ نُوَصِّلُ إِلَيْهِمْ وَلَا  
 يَعْلَمُ شَيْخَهُمْ فَبِعْتَمِ مَا بُرِيدَ مِنْهُمْ أَنْ كَانَ هَوْلًا بَرِيدُونَ [بريد Cod.]  
 الدُّنْيَا فَمَا بَمَنْعِهِمْ وَقَالُوا لِلْمَتَوَكِّلِ أَنَّهُ كَانَ لَا يَأْكُلُ مِنْ ضَعَامِكَ وَلَا يَجْلِسُ  
 عَلَى فِرَاشِكَ وَيَحْرَمُ الَّذِي تَشْرَبُ فَقَالَ لَهُمْ لَوْ نُشِرَ الْمُعْتَصِمُ لَمْ أَتَبَلَّ مِنْهُ  
 قَالَ أَبُو الْعَصَلِ ثُمَّ إِنِّي أَخَذْتُ إِلَى بَغْدَادٍ وَخَلَّفْتُ عَبْدَ اللَّهِ عِنْدَهُ  
 فَإِذَا عَبْدُ اللَّهِ فَدَ فَدَمٌ وَجَاءَ بَثِيَابِي الَّتِي كَانَتْ عِنْدَهُ فَعَلْتُ مَا جَاءَ  
 بِكَ قُلْتُ قَالَ لِي أَحَدٌ وَفَلَّ لَصَالِحٌ لَا تَخْرُجُ [بخروج Cod.] فَانْتَمُ كُنْتُمْ  
 أَقْتِي وَاللَّهِ لَوْ اسْتَقْبَلْتُمْ مِنْ أَمْرِي مَا اسْتَدْبَرْتُمْ مَا أَخْرَجْتُمْ وَاحِدًا  
 مِنْكُمْ مَعِيَ لَسَوْلا مَكَانَكُمْ لِمَنْ كَانَ تَوَضَّعَ هَذِهِ الْمَأْتِدَةُ وَلَمَنْ كَانَ  
 يُفْرِشُ هَذَا الْفَرْشَ وَيَجْرِي الْأَجْرَاءُ قَالَ أَبُو الْفَضْلِ فَكُنْتُ إِلَيْهِ أَعْلَمُهُ  
 مَا قَالَ لِي عَبْدُ اللَّهِ فَكُنْتُ إِلَى بَحْطِهِ بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ أَحْسَنُ  
 اللَّهُ عَابِدَتِكَ وَدَفَعَ عَنْكَ كُلَّ مَسْكَوَةٍ وَمَحْذُورٍ الَّذِي حَمَلْتَنِي عَلَى الْكِتَابِ  
 إِلَيْكَ وَالَّذِي [الَّذِي Cod.] فَلْتِ لِعَبِيدِ اللَّهِ لَا يَأْنِي أَحَدٌ مِنْكُمْ  
 رَجَاءً أَنْ يَنْقَطَعَ ذِكْرِي وَيُحْمَلُ فَانْكُمْ إِذَا كُنْتُمْ هَاهُنَا فَشَأْنُ ذِكْرِي وَكَانَ  
 يَجْتَمِعُ إِلَيْكَ قَوْمٌ يَنْفَلُونَ أَخْبَارَنَا وَلَمْ يَكُنْ إِلَّا خَيْرًا وَأَعْلَمُ بِأَبْنِي أَنْكَ  
 أَنْ أَقَمْتَ [أَقَمْتُ Cod.] فَلَا تَأْتِبْنِي أَنْتِ وَلَا أَخُوكَ فَهِيَ رِضَائِي فَلَا

تَجْعَلُ فِي نَفْسِكَ الْإِخْيَارَ وَالسَّلَامَ عَلَيْكَ وَرَحْمَةَ اللَّهِ وَبَرَكَاتِهِ، قَالَ  
 أَبُو الْفَضْلِ ثُمَّ وَرَدَ إِلَى كِتَابٍ آخَرَ بِخَطِّهِ يَذْكَرُ فِيهِ بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ  
 الرَّحِيمِ أَحْسَنَ اللَّهُ عَابِتِكَ [عَابِتِكَ Cod.] وَدَفَعَ عِنْدَكَ السُّوءَ بِرَحْمَتِهِ كِتَابِي  
 إِلَيْكَ وَأَنَا فِي نِعْمِ اللَّهِ مُتَطَاعِرَةٌ وَأَسْأَلُهُ أَنْ يَمَامَهَا وَالْمَعْرُونَ  
 عَلِيَّ أَدَاءً شَكَرَهَا قَدْ أَنْفَكْتَ عَنَّا عَقْدًا إِنَّمَا كَانَ حُبْسٌ مِّنْ  
 هَاهُنَا لِمَا أُعْطُوا فَاقْبَلُوا وَأَجْرِي عَلَيْكُمْ فَصَارُوا فِي الْحَدِيدِ الَّذِي صَارُوا  
 إِلَيْهِ وَحَدَّثُوا وَدَخَلُوا عَلَيْكُمْ فِيهِ كَأَنَّهُ فَيُودِيٌّ فَتَسَعَّلَ اللَّهُ أَنْ يُعَيِّدَنَا  
 مِنْ شَرِّهِمْ وَيَخَاصِنَا فَقَدْ كَانَ يَنْبَغِي لَكُمْ لَوْ قَدْ قَدَيْتُمُونِي بِأَمْوَالِكُمْ  
 وَأَهْلِيكُمْ لَهَانَ ذَلِكَ عَلَيْكُمْ لِلَّذِي أَنَا فِيهِ فَلَا يَكْبُرُ عَلَيْكُمْ مَا كَتَبْتُ بِهِ  
 إِلَيْكُمْ فَالزُّمُوا بِيُوتِكُمْ فَلَعَلَّ اللَّهُ أَنْ يَخْلُصَنِي وَالسَّلَامَ عَلَيْكُمْ وَرَحْمَةَ اللَّهِ  
 ثُمَّ وَرَدَ غَيْرُ كِتَابِ النَّبِيِّ بِخَطِّهِ يَذْكَرُ مِنْ هَذَا فَلَمَّا خَرَجْنَا مِنَ  
 الْعَسْكَرِ رَفَعَتِ الْمَائِدَةُ وَالْفَرْشُ وَكُلُّ مَا أَقِيمَ لَنَا قَالَ أَبُو الْفَضْلِ وَأَوْصَى  
 وَصِيَّةً بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ هَذَا مَا أَوْصَى بِهِ أَحْمَدُ بْنُ حَنْبَلٍ  
 وَأَوْصَى أَنَّهُ يَشْهَدُ أَنْ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ وَحْدَهُ لَا شَرِيكَ لَهُ وَأَنَّ مُحَمَّدًا  
 عَبْدُهُ وَرَسُولُهُ أَرْسَلَهُ بِالْهُدَى وَدِينِ الْحَقِّ لِيُظْهِرَهُ عَلَى الدِّينِ كُلِّهِ  
 وَلَوْ كَرِهَ الْمُشْرِكُونَ [Kor. 9. 33; 61. 9] وَأَوْصَى مَنِ اطَّلَعَهُ مِنْ أَهْلِهِ  
 وَقَرَابَتِهِ أَنْ يَعْبُدُوا اللَّهَ فِي الْعَابِدِينَ وَيَحْمَدُوهُ فِي الْحَامِدِينَ وَأَنْ  
 يَنْصَحُوا لْجَمَاعَةِ الْمُسْلِمِينَ وَأَوْصَى أَنِّي قَدْ رَضِيْتُ بِاللَّهِ رَبًّا وَبِالْإِسْلَامِ  
 دِينًا وَبِمُحَمَّدٍ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ نَبِيًّا وَأَوْصَى أَنَّ نَعْبُدَ اللَّهَ بِنِ  
 مُحَمَّدٍ الْمَعْرُوفِ بِبُزْرَانَ عَلِيٍّ نَاحُوا مِنْ خَمْسِينَ دِينَارًا وَهُوَ مُصَدِّقٌ  
 فِيهَا قَالَ فَيُقَضَى مَا نَدَى مِنْ غَلَّةِ الدَّارِ أَنْ شَاءَ اللَّهُ فَإِذَا اسْتَوَفَى  
 أُعْطِيَ وَلَسْتُ صَالِحٌ وَعَبِيدُ اللَّهِ ابْنِي [ابن Cod.] أَحْمَدُ بْنُ حَنْبَلٍ كُلُّ

*First Invitation to Visit al-Mutawakkil* An invitation from the Khalif to Ahmed to visit him was brought to him before the end of the year 235 A. H. by Ishak ibn Ibrahim '), who on this occasion asked Ahmed's forgiveness for the part which he had taken in the scourging under al-Mu<sup>c</sup>tasim. Ahmed, in reply, assured him that he had fully forgiven all who had sought his hurt, or participated, in any way, on that occasion. Ishak then proceeded to ask *and Conversation with Ishak ibn Ibra Jum on the Subject of the Koran.* Ahmed for his own private satisfaction about the Koran, and the latter expressed himself, as he uniformly did, to the effect that it was the uncreated Word of God. Ishak then asked for the proofs of the statement, and Ahmed, in answer, cited Koran 7. 52, 'Arc not the Creation and the Command his?' and pointed out that in the passage a distinction was made between the Creation and the Command. The 'Command' ^ f, in controversies of this kind refers to the eternal and heavenly Word of God, just as does 'Kun', on page 119. Ishak said, 'The Command is created'. 'What' exclaimed Ahmed, 'the Command created' Nay, it creates that which is created'. Ishak then asked, 'Who has handed down in Tradition the view that it is not created'? Ahmed answered, "Ja<sup>c</sup>far ibn Mohammed, who said, Tt is neither a creator nor a created thing"<sup>1</sup>). Then, this conversation being ended and Ishak having secured Ahmed's agreement to go to the camp, it was not long before he was on the way thither; but, for some unexplained cause, orders came while the

ذَكَرَ وَأَنْتَى عَشْرَةَ دَرَاهِمَ بَعْدَ وِفَاءِ مَسَلِ أَبِي مُحَمَّدٍ شَهِيدِ أَبُو يَوْسُفَ  
وَصَالِحِ وَعَبْدِ اللَّهِ ابْنِ أَحْمَدَ بْنِ مُحَمَّدِ بْنِ حَنْبَلٍ،

1) Ishak ibn Ibiahim, the governoi of <sup>c</sup>Iiak, as well as Ishak ibn Ibiahim al-Mausili, the favorite of the Khalifs, died in 235 A. II. The one leferred to in the text is, of course, the foimer.

2) This appears to be not only an authentic tiadition, but, as well, the clearest and most direct which was offeied by the oithodox in support of their view.

journey was in progress for him to be returned to his home. It is altogether likely that a suspicion of <sup>c</sup>Alyite leanings in Ahmed ibn Hanbal afford an explanation of this fact. As will presently appear, Ahmed was two or three times accused of such leanings to this Khalif.

*Ahmed Ac-* In the year 237 A. H., information was given to *cused of* the Khalif charging Ahmed with having sent one *cAlyite In-*lof his companions to meet an <sup>c</sup>Alyite who was *trigucs.* coming to him from Khorasan. On hearing this, the Khalif wrote a letter to Abdallah ibn Ishak, governor of Baghdad, (who had succeeded his brother Mohammed and his father Ishak ibn Ibrahim in the office) asking him to inquire of Ahmed as to the truth of the charge laid against him, and, also, to search his premises and make sure in the matter. In pursuance of these directions, Abdallah sent his chamberlain Muzaffar and the postmaster Ibn al-Kalbi<sup>1)</sup>, together with women who were to examine the women's apartments, to carry out the orders which had come to hand. When they were come and had read to Ahmed the Khalif's letter, he protested that the report was without foundation, and that he was in all respects a loyal subject<sup>2)</sup>. The searching of the premises, too, revealed nothing to substantiate the charge against him.

The result was reported to the Khalif, and a day or two later, there came a letter from <sup>c</sup>Ali ibn al-Jahm<sup>3)</sup> to Ahmed saying that the Khalif was fully satisfied of the groundlessness of the report, and that it had been fabricated by heretics with the design of injuring him. The letter of <sup>c</sup>Ali intimated, likewise, the Khalif's wish that Ahmed should

i) For employment of postmasters in this sort of detective sevice vid. Iloutsma, 71.

2) Ahmed had been keeping to his house up to this time, following the ordeis of Ishak the foimci governoi. On theologians keeping to their houses cf. Goldzihei, Moh. Stud. II, 94. On the similar piactice by the so-called Ka<sup>c</sup>ada (still-sitteis) cf. Iloutsma, De Stnjd etc., 26 f.

3) <sup>c</sup>Ali ibn al-Jahm banished to Khoiasan and killed theic by al-Mutawakkil's directions, 239 A. H., vid. Ibn Ghali. N°. 473; Abu'l-Mah. I, 730; Abu M.TT:to Ann TT inn

*Secondinvi-*<sup>visi</sup> him, and advised that a messenger was on *tation from* the way with a gift of money from the Khalif. *al-Muta-* The ^y following the arrival of the letter the *wo "i.* messenger, Ya<sup>c</sup>kub Kausarra, arrived bringing, in official form, the invitation already alluded to, and handing over the sum of 10,000 dirhems as the royal gift ( ) . Ya<sup>c</sup>kub then went away, telling Ahmed that he would return next morning for an answer to his message. That night was a sleepless one for Ahmed. The gift of al-Mutawakkil, which he had given into the charge of Salih his son, troubled him greatly. Finally, he made up his mind to be rid of the money altogether, and, rising betimes in the morning, he summoned persons whom he ordered to take portions to the descendants of the Muhajirun and Ansar and to the general poor, until the whole sum received had been paid out. It was a great grief to him that now at the end of his life, after he had successfully resisted anything of the kind for so long a time, he was to be forced to be a compromised pensioner on the bounty of the Khalif, a relationship which he with all his might sought to avoid, and from which after this he succeeded in keeping himself almost entirely free to the very *end* of his days. When word came to the Khalif of Ahmed's action, <sup>c</sup>Ali ibn al-Jahm prevented his master's displeasure by the explanation that such a man as Ahmed had no need of money, for his living consisted but of a crust of bread.

In a short time, Ahmed was on his way to the Khalif. Of the journey nothing of special interest is recorded, save that he availed himself of the legal provision that the prayers might be shortened while travelling, and that he, interpreting the provision as positive and not merely permissive, on one occasion complained that Salih his son had made the prayers too long. Arrived at the camp, he was first lodged in the house of Itakh<sup>A</sup> \*), and word was sent to his sons from the Court that an allowance of 10,000 dirhems had been appointed

to be given them, in place of the money which had been given away by their father. It was, at the same time, specially ordered that their father should not be told of the matter. Al-Mutawakkil now sent his greeting to Ahmed, and congratulated him on his escape from the attempts of his enemies to involve him in suspicions. If we may believe the record, and we probably may, al-Mutawakkil also expressed his pleasure at Ahmed's presence, as he wished to consult him in the matter of Ibn Abi Do wad, who had just fallen into disgrace \*). Very soon a wish of the Khalif was made known to Ahmed that he should remain with him to teach Tradition and give up the idea of returning to Baghdad. Especially did the Khalif desire him to undertake the teaching of al-Mu'tazz, his favorite son<sup>2</sup>). From all this Ahmed tried to excuse himself on the ground of physical infirmity, pointing to his loose teeth and other evidences of age and weakness. He declared his belief to be that the invitation and entertainment were, together, parts of a conspiracy to keep him in restraint —to make him a prisoner while yet the guest of his Sovereign. And he vowed a vow that he would never as long as he lived tell another complete tradition. Some say that this vow extended over the last eight years of his life, but if he came to the Khalif in 237 A. H., and took upon him the vow in order to escape detention where he was, the duration of its binding force was a little over four years. It may be that the vow was taken when al-Wathik: requested him to leave Baghdad, for we know that he ceased to teach during the latter months of that Khalif \s reign; still, as a matter of fact, we have in this case more than eight years, and, on the whole, it seems desirable to date his final cessation of teaching from the time of this visit to al-Mutawakkil, when he was 73 years of age and, as we really know, a man much weakened in his physical constitution.

1) vid. note 2, p. 56.

2) al-Sujuti, Taiikh al-Khol. 357.

*The Interest of* It appears to have been some time before *al-Mutawakkil* Ahmed was summoned to the Palace; but, in *in Ahmed.* the meantime, the Khalif shewed a friendly interest in him and evinced a respect for his learning by submitting to him questions for his judgment upon them. One of these was the following: Supposing two animals to be fighting with their horns, and the one mortally wound the other; may the wounded animal if slaughtered be used for food? Ahmed's answer was that, if the animal shewed signs of life by moving its eyelids and by switching its tail, and if its blood was still flowing and not congealed, it might be slaughtered and eaten.

*His Visit to* At last, he was ordered to appear in the presence of the Khalif's son al-Mu<sup>c</sup>tazz. It was a sore affliction to Ahmed when Yahya ibn Khakan came to fit on him the Court costume, but he was induced to allow it to be put upon him, though put it on himself he would not. On this occasion, Yahya ibn Khakan told the sons of Ahmed that a stipend of 4000 dirhems per month had been ordered to be paid to them, but that their father was not to know of it. On arriving at the Palace, Ahmed was well received, though there is but a very scant notice of the audience. After his return to his lodgings from this first visit to his new protege, he felt badly over the sin he thought he had committed in wearing the fine clothes he had been obliged to put on; and, at once removing them, he ordered his son Salih to send them to Baghdad, where they were to be sold and their price given to the poor. His own family he forbade to reserve any of the garments for their personal use, but, notwithstanding, Salih kept the bonnet. Ahmed's peace of mind was much disturbed at this time, also, over his prospective visits to the Sovereign himself, and the charge he should have as tutor to the Khalif's son; for it seems that al-Mutawakkil did not, at first, take into consideration the vow which Ahmed had taken not to tell Tradition perfectly.

It is not likely that he really appeared before al-Mutawakkil at all; at least, we have nothing to shew that he

did, nor have we any evidence that he actually had the charge of the Khalif'sson. Al-Mu<sup>c</sup>tazz, at the time of Ahmed's arrival at Surramanra, was not more than six years of age, if as old as that \*).

*Asks a* Ahmed's next grievance arose when he learned  
*Change of* that the house in which he was<sup>1</sup> lodged had be-  
*Residence* longed to Itakh<sup>2</sup>). On hearing this, he had a let-  
 ter written to Mohammed ibn al-Jarrah, seeking that al-  
 Mutawakkil would release him from the obligation to remain  
 there. The Khalif granted this request, and then sought to  
 engage another home for him, by asking some people to  
 move out of the house which they were occupying. This  
 Ahmed did not wish and it was given up. Finally, a suitable  
 place was hired for him at a rent of 200 dirhems.  
*and is Offended* Here he was grieved at the luxury with which  
*at the Luxu) tous* the house was furnished, and, leaving the  
*Fr ovision Made* the house was furnished, and, leaving the  
*for Him.* finely furnished apartments, contented him-  
 self with a humble mattress which he had brought with  
 him. The bountiful table which was placed at his disposal  
 was, likewise, a great offence to him; a fact which we can  
 readily believe, when we are informed that the landlord of  
 the house offered Salih ibn Ahmed a sum of 3000 dirhems a  
 month for it, and was refused. Those of his family who were  
 desirous of retaining the table were obliged to have it set  
 down in the vestibule of the house, where he  
*Fasting and* might not see it. He himself fasted most of the  
*Sickness.* time, partaking only of a little sawik: and bread, until, at  
 last, he was taken sick and the well-known physician Ibn Ma-  
 sayah had to be sent to prescribe for him. He examined Ahmed,  
 assured him that his trouble was not really a disease, but  
 simply weakness and wasting of the body from lack of  
 nourishment, and prescribed for him sesame oil, which he  
 declared that he, as a Christian, was accustomed to give  
 to the ascetics of his own faith when they had brought

1) He was boin 232 A. H., Abu'l-Mah. II, 24.

2) Itdkh the Turk killed 234 A. H., Abu'l-Mah. I, 702.

themselves to a similar condition. Ahmed at this time seems to have received every attention at the hands of al-Mutawakkil and those about him; though, it does not surprise us to find him sometimes refusing kindnesses which were proffered.

*Consulted* At different times, attempts were made to draw about Ibn from Ahmed an expression of opinion regarding *Abi Dowad*. Ahmed ibn Abi Dowad his former persecutor, who had now fallen from favor. But neither about the man, nor about his estates and their disposition would he express himself at all. Nor was he any more willing to hear reports of the public gossip about his old adversary and the course of action which had been adopted towards him \*).

*Proposal ti* After a time al-Mutawakkil proposed that he *Buy a Ifous*, should buy a house for Ahmed, but the latter *for Him*. stinately refused his consent to the proposal, and ordered his son Salih to be no party to such a project. In the end the idea was given up.

*Ahmed again* The Khalif now began to urge that Ahmed *Urged to Attend* should attend continuously on him, as had been *on the Khalif* his intention in bringing him from Baghdad. The day that he should begin had actually been agreed upon. Ahmed, however, never concealed from anyone how extremely distasteful to him the obligation was. His uncle Ishak ibn Hanbal also urged him to go in to the Khalif and offer him direction and cited the example of Ishak jbn Rahawaih, who had done this with Ibn Tahir (with advantage to himself). Ahmed replied that he did not approve of Ibn Rahawaih or his course, and that in his conviction to be near persons in authority or to keep company with them was to imperil faith and violate conscience. Even as it was, he did not feel himself safe from guilt. After *but is* all this a message came from the Khalif releasing *Released*, him from all obligation to appear before either himself or his successors, and from the wearing of the black

i) vid. note 2, p. 56; Abu'l-Mah. I, 719.

Court costume. He might wear cotton or wool just as pleased him. It appears, in fact, to have been a general dispensation from fulfilling any requests from persons in authority which might be distasteful to him<sup>1</sup>). Now, at last, he was released from his fear that they were going to make of him an attache of the Court, and on this point had ease of mind. For his fellow-traditionists who remained at Court his feeling appears to have been one of censuring contempt. They were afraid to do that which would deprive them of their stipends from the Khalif, and, possibly, bring upon them much worse consequences. Ahmed had accomplished his end in securing his exemption from attendance at Court; not, however, by a direct refusal of the Khalifs mandate, but by persistent excuses; by shewing a dislike to what he was expected to do; and by his discontent with the general arrangements which were made for him by al-Mutawakkil's orders. He obstructed as far as possible the royal wishes, but did not deny them.

*Correspondence with his Sons.* His two sons, Salih and Abdallah, now returned to Baghdad, and, after they had gone away, the fine furnishings of the house were removed, and the Khalif's daily provision ceased to be provided. By Abdallah, who left him later than his brother, he sent word to Salih, telling him that both he and his brother were not desired to attend on him any further, for he regarded most of the

قال المروزي سمعت اسحق بن حنبل عم احمد، p. 10،  
 ونحن بالعسكر يُناشده ويسأله الدخول على الخليفة ليأمره وبينهاه وقال  
 انه يقبل كلامك هذا اسحق بن راضويه يدخل على ابن طاهر  
 فيأمره وبينهاه فقال له ابو عبد الله محتج على اسحق وأنا غير راض  
 بفعله ما له في رويتي خير ولا لي في رويته خير يجب على اذا رايته  
 ان أمره وانهاه الدنو منهم فتنة وللوس معهم فتنة نحن مستباعدون  
 منهم ما أرانا نسلم فكيف لو قَبِينَا منهم

unpleasant experiences through which he had passed as due to their not supporting him in the stand he had taken and their want of active sympathy with his principles. Their acceptance of the Khalifs fine provision, if they came back, would bring him only into ill-favor with the public; and their acceptance of the Khalifs stipend, against his known wish and sense of duty, he considered a grave breach of filial piety. They both might go where they would with his prayers following them, but he desired that they should not cumber him further by their presence. Such was the tenor of his first two letters to his son Salih. In a third he reproaches his sons for not taking steps to secure his release from his unwilling detention. But he advises them to keep to their dwellings<sup>1</sup>), and expresses the hope that God, by some means will open up his way.

*Alimed's Testament.* While at the camp, Ahmed made his testament, which was as follows: In the name of God, the Merciful, the Gracious. This is the testament of Ahmed ibn Hanbal. He testifies that there is no God but Allah, alone and without fellow, and that Mohammed is his Servant and his Messenger whom He sent with the right guidance and the true religion, that he might make it known as the perfect religion, though the idolaters be displeased. He, further, testifies that those who obey his family and his relatives worship God among those who worship, praise him among those who offer praise and do good service to the Community of the Muslims. I, also, testify that I am satisfied with Allah as Lord, with Islam as a religion, and with Mohammed as Prophet. I, further, testify that Abdallah ibn Mohammed, known as Buran, has a claim against me for about *fifty* dinars, and that he is to be credited in whatever he may say. Let what is due to him be paid from the rent of the house, if God will, and after he has been paid, the children of Salih and Abdallah, sons of Ahmed ibn Hanbal, are to receive, each male and female, ten dirhems,

after the payment of the money to Abu Mohammed. Witnessed by Abu Yusuf and Salih and Abdallah the two sons of Ahmed ibn Mohammed ibn Hanbal.

*rcrmission* It was not a great while before Ahmed again requested a change of residence \*), and the *Gra?ned to Re-* Khalif, with great kindness, acceded to his *turn to Baghdad.* request and, not only allowed him to engage another dwelling, but sent to him one thousand dinars that he might

1) Abū Nuʿaim, 153<sup>u</sup>, (The narrative now follows this source for a time.)

قال ابو الفضل ثم سال ابي رحمه الله ان يحول من الدار التي اكنيت له فاكبرى هو دارا وتحول اليها فسال المتوكل عنه فقيل انه عليل فقال كنت احب ان يكون في قري فقد اذنت له يا عبيد الله اسهل اليه الف دينار يقسمها وقال لسعيد نهيء له حرقة ينحدر فيها فجاهاه على بن الجهم في جوف الليل فاخبره نم جاءه عبيد الله ومعه الف دينار فقال ان امير المؤمنين قد اذن لك وقد امر لك بهذه الالف دينار فقال قد اعفاني امير المؤمنين مما اكره فردها وقال انا رقيق على البرد [so Cod.] والظهر ارضق بي فكتب له جواز فكتب الى محمد بن عبد الله في برة وتعاهد فقدم علينا فيما بين الظهر والعصر فلما انحدر الى بغداد ومكنت قليلا قال لي يا صالح قلت لبيك قال احب ان تدع [تدع Cod.] هذا البرزق فلا تاخذ ولا تؤكل فيه احدا فقد علمت انكم انما تاخذونه بسببي فسكت فقال ما لك فقلت اكره ان اعطيك شيئا بلساني واخالف الى غيره فاكون قد كذبتك وناققتك واني في القوم اكثر عيالا مني ولا اعدر وقد كنت اشكو اليك فنقول امرك منعقد بامري ولعل الله ان تحبل عني عن [del.] هذه العقدة ثم قلت له وقد كنت تدعو لي فارجو ان يكون الله استجاب لك قال ولا تفعل قلت لا فقال قسم فعل الله بك وفعل

distribute it in alms. At the same time, he gave him leave to return home and ordered a pleasure barge to be

فامر بسد الباب بينى وبينه فتلقانى عبدُ الله فسألنى فأخبرته فقال ما  
 أقولُ أنا قلتُ ذاك اليك فقال له مثل ما قال لي فقال لا أفعل فكان منه  
 اليه نحو ما كان منه اللى فلقينا عمه فقال لو اردتم ان تقولوا له  
 وما علمه اذا اخذتم شيئا فدخّل عليه فقال يابا عبد الله لستُ اخذ  
 شيئا من هذا فقال الحمد لله وهاتجرتنا وسدّ الابواب بيننا وبينه ومحامى  
 منزلنا ان يدخل منها الى منزله شىء . . . . .  
 قال ابو الفضل فلما مضى نحو من شهرين كتب لنا بشىء فاجبىء  
 به الينا فأول من جاء عمه فاخذ فأخبر فجاء الى الباب الذى كان  
 سدّه بينى وبينه وقد فتح الصبيان كوة فقال ادعوا لى صالحا فجاءه  
 الرسول وقلتُ له قل لى لستُ اجبىء فوجه اللى لى لم قال [قلت] لا  
 تجبىء فقلت قد له هذا الرزق ترتقبه جماعة كثيرة وانما انا واحد  
 منهم وليس فيهم اعذر منى واذا كان توبيخ خصصتُ به انا فلما نادى  
 عمه بالادان خرج فلما خرج قيل لى انه قد خرج الى المسجد  
 فاجئت حتى صرتُ فى موضع اسمع فيه كلامه فلما فرغ من الصلاة  
 التفت الى عمه ثم قال له نالقتنى وكذبتنى وكان غيرك اعذر منك  
 زعمت انك لا تاخذ من هذا شيئا ثم اخذته وانتم تستغل مايتى  
 درهم واعدت الى تطريق المسلمين تستغله انما اشفق عليك ان تطرق \*  
 يوم القيامة سمع ارضين اخذت هذا الشىء بغير حقه فقال قد  
 تصدقت فقال تصدقت بنصف درهم ثم هجره وترك الصلاة فى المسجد  
 The account of his difficulties with  
 the members of his family over the Khalif's allowances is in the Ms. considerably  
 extended, but the rest of it has no special interest, and varies but slightly  
 from the extract here given.

made ready to take him to Baghdad; this last favor however, Ahmed declined, preferring to travel by land on account of risk to his health from the coldness of the river journey. When he left for home, al-Mutawakkil had a letter written to Mohammed ibn Abdallah, the governor of Baghdad, ordering him to deal kindly with Ahmed and take good care of him.

*Objects to his Family Receiving Stipends.* From the time of his return to Baghdad, the story of Ahmed's life is little more than a record of his differences with his family — in particular, with his sons Salih and Abdallah, and his paternal uncle Ishak ibn Hanbal, — about the receiving of the Khalif's stipends and gifts which came to them from time to time. He would block up the doorways between his sons' houses and his own, when they expressed determination to accept the moneys, which they needed for the support of their families, and vigorously dissented from his view that their position was the same as his own, and that what was good for him was, likewise, good for them. For as long as two or three months together he would have nothing to do with his sons; and it was, apparently, only as their children in playing made their way into their grandfather's house and touched a more sympathetic chord of his nature, or as the offices of his good friend Buran (Abdallah ibn Mohammed) were called in that reconciliation was brought about. His uncle Ishak certainly played no worthy part toward him. He pretended great friendship and complete deference to his wishes as to the receiving of money, and at the same time accepted it with the rest. When Ahmed discovered the dissimulation, he was very angry; and it was all to no purpose that Ishak tried to excuse himself on the ground that he had used the money in giving alms, for he knew, and Ahmed knew, that he had not done so. Ahmed then ceased to worship in the mosque where his sons and uncle worshipped, and for the necessary prayers went to a mosque outside the city quarter in which he lived.

Harassed as they were by him, the members of Ahmed's

family agreed once or twice to receive no more money; but, after a period of abstinence, the urgent needs of their families forced them to give up the self-denial and again claim their stipends. At last, Ahmed went so far as to write to Yahya ibn Khakan, telling him that he had made up his mind to request the withdrawal of the regular aid which was granted to his family. Salih anticipated his father, however, by informing the officer who was over that part of Baghdad in which they resided, and he succeeded in preventing Ahmed's letter from accomplishing its object. The aid was continued and, not only that, but all that was due to the family, 40,000 dirhems, being the undrawn stipend for ten months, was paid over to his sons. And, though the Khalif had ordered his officers not to inform Ahmed of the payment, Salih himself sent word of it to his father. The old man, when he heard the message, exclaimed after a meditative silence, 'What can I do when I desire one thing and God orders another!' <sup>1</sup>)

قال أبو الفضل ثم كتب إلى رحمه الله أبي يحيى، 1536،  
 ابن خاتان يسأله ويعزم عليه أن لا يعيننا على شيء من أرزاقنا  
 ولا يتكلم فيها فبلغني فوجهت إلى القيم لنا وهو أبو غالب بن بنت  
 معاوية بن عمرو وقد كنت قلت له يا أبا أنه يكبر عليك وقد عزم  
 إذا حدث أمر أخبرتك به فلما وصل رسوله بالكتاب إلى يحيى أخذه  
 صاحب الخبر فأخذ نسخته ووصلت إلى المتوكل فقال لعبيد الله كم  
 من شهر لولد أحمد بن حنبل فقال عشرة أشهر قال يحمل إليهم الساعة  
 أربعون ألف درهم من بيت المال صحاح ولا يعلم هو بها قال فقال  
 يحيى للقيم أنا اكتب إلى صالح وأعلمه فوراً على كتابه فوجهت  
 إلى أبي أعلمه فقال التذي أخبره أنه سكت قليلاً وضرب بدقته  
 [بذقته Cod.] ساعة ثم رفع رأسه فقال ما حيلتي إذا أردت أمراً

*Again Suspect-  
ed of °Alyite  
Intrigues.*

After Ahmed's return to Baghdad (the date of which we do not know) some talebearer reported to al-Mutawakkil the old slander that Ahmed was harboring an °Alyite. The Khalif sent word to Ahmed of the report, and told him that he had imprisoned the man who made it until he should advise him as to what truth there was in the report, and direct him what to do to the man. Ahmed answered asserting his ignorance of the whole matter, but advised that the man should be set free, as to visit him with death might bring affliction to many others who were no sharers in his crime.

A man whose name is given as Abu Ja'ar ibn Dharih al-°Ukbari relates that, in the year 236, (which appears to be a mistake, for the circumstances point to the time of the second accusation of harboring an °Alyite, and this was after Ahmed's return to Baghdad from his visit to the camp in 237 A. H.) he sought Ahmed to ask him some doctrinal question, but was told at his house that he had gone outside that quarter of the city to prayers. So Abu Ja'far sat down at the gate of the street to wait for his return. Presently, an old man, tall, with dyed hair and beard, and of a dark brown complexion, came up and entered the street, the visitor entering with him. At the end of the street, Ahmed, for such it was, opened a gate and entered it, closing it after him and at the same time bidding his companion go his way. Just then, the latter noticed at the gate a mosque, in which an old man, also with dyed hair, was leading the prayers. When he had finished, Abu Ja'far asked a man who was at the prayers about Ahmed ibn Hanbal and why he had refused to answer him. The man re-

واراد الله امراء قال ابو الفضل وجاء رسول المتوكل الى ابي يقول لو سلم  
احد من الناس سلمت رفع رجل الى في وقت كذا ان عليا قدم  
من خراسان وانك وجهت اليه بمن يلقاه وقد حبست الرجل وارت  
ضربه وكرهت ان تغتم فمر فيه فقال هذا باطل ويخلى سبيله

plied that Ahmed had been suspected of harboring an °Alyite; that, on this account, the prefect of police had surrounded his dwelling with a cordon of police and then had proceeded to search it. For this reason he avoided speaking to people. The police had, however, found nothing to give substance to the suspicion which had been raised. Abu Ja'far, then, enquired who it was whom he had seen leading the prayers, and, on learning that it was Ahmed's uncle Ishak, he asked why Ahmed ibn Hanbal did not pray behind his uncle in this mosque which was near his own door. The man answered that he did not worship with his uncle, nor even his own sons, nor speak with any of them, because they had accepted the stipends and gifts of the Khalif M.

1) Abū Nu'aim, 142 a, حَدَّثَنَا أَبُو بَكْرِ أَحْمَدُ بْنُ جَعْفَرِ بْنِ مَالِكٍ ثَمًّا، أَبُو جَعْفَرِ بْنِ ذَرِيحِ الْعُكْبَرِيِّ قَالَ طَلَبْتُ أَحْمَدَ بْنَ حَنْبَلٍ فِي سَنَةِ سِتٍّ وَثَلَاثِينَ لِاسْئَلَهُ عَنِ مَسْئَلَةٍ فَسَأَلْتُهُ عَنْهُ فَقَالُوا خَرَجَ يَصَلِّي خَارِجًا فَجَلَسْتُ لَهُ عَلَى بَابِ الدَّرْبِ [المدار] حَتَّى جَاءَ فَقَمْتُ فَسَلِمْتُ عَلَيْهِ فَرَدَّ عَلَيَّ السَّلَامَ وَكَانَ شَيْخًا مَخْضُوبًا طَوِيلًا أَسْمَرَ شَدِيدًا السُّمْرَةَ فَدَخَلَ الرِّزْقَ وَأَنَا مَعَهُ أَمَاشِيهِ خَطْوَةً بِخَطْوَةٍ فَلَمَّا بَلَّغْنَا آخِرَ الدَّرْبِ إِذَا بَابٌ يَفْرُجُ دَفَعَهُ وَصَارَ خَلْفَهُ وَقَالَ أَذْهَبَ عَافَاكَ اللَّهُ فَتَنَيْتُ عَلَيْهِ فَقَالَ أَذْهَبَ عَافَاكَ اللَّهُ قَالَ فَاتَّعَفْتُ فَإِذَا مَسْجِدٌ عَلَى الْبَابِ وَشَيْخٌ مَخْضُوبٌ فَاتَّمَّ بِصَلَاةِ بِلَانَسٍ فَجَلَسْتُ حَتَّى سَلَّمَ الْإِمَامُ فَخَرَجَ رَجُلٌ فَسَأَلْتُهُ عَنْ أَحْمَدَ بْنَ حَنْبَلٍ وَعَنِ تَخَلُّفِهِ عَنِ كَلَامِي فَقَالَ أَتَّصَى عَلَيْهِ عِنْدَ السَّاطِرَانِ أَنَّ عِنْدَهُ عَلَوِيًّا فَجَاءَ مُحَمَّدُ ابْنُ نَصْرِ فَاحَاطَ بِالْمَحَلَّةِ فَفَتَّشْتُ فَلَمْ يَجِدْ فِيهَا شَيْءًا مِمَّا ذَكَرَ فَأَعْتَجَمَ عَنِ كَلَامِ الْعَامَّةِ فَقُلْتُ هَذَا الشَّيْخُ مِنْ هُوَ قَالَ عَمَّ اسْتَحْيَى قُلْتُ فَمَا لَهُ لَا يُصَلِّي خَلْفَهُ قَالَ لَيْسَ يُكَلِّمُنَا وَلَا بَنِيهِ لِأَنَّهُمْ أَخَذُوا جَانِزَةَ السُّلْطَانِ،

Al-Mutawakkil never ceased to shew his interest in Ahmed's welfare, and to make frequent inquiries about him. This was, for some reason which is hard to divine, most disagreeable to Ahmed; and he professed himself as preferring to die rather than have to live through such incessant at-*The Khalif Asks* tentions ). Among the evidences of the Kha-*for Afymcd\ View* lif's interest was a letter written by °Obaid-*as to the Koran,* allah ibn Yahya on his account, asking Ahmed to write him his views on the Koran, not by way of assurance of his accordance with the opinion of the Sovereign, but merely for the information of the Commander of the Faithful. In reply Ahmed dictated to his son a letter to °Obaidallah, in which he said <sup>2)</sup>: —

1) Abû Nu'aim, 1536, قال وكان رسولُ المتوكلِ يأتي ابي يبلغه السلام، ويسله عن حاله فَنَسَرَ لکن بذاك فباخذہ نَغَصَةً [Cod. نَعَصَةً] حتى تُدَثِّرُهُ [Cod. no points] يَقْبُولُ واللہ لو ان نفسی فی یدى لارسلتُها ويضمُ اصابعه ثم يفنكها

2) Abû Nu'aim, 1536 ff. حدثنا سليمان بن احمد ثنا عبد الله ابن احمد بن حنبل ح وحدثنا محمد وعلي والحسين قالوا ثنا محمد ابن اسمعيل ثنا صالح بن احمد بن حنبل قال كتب عبيد الله بن يحيى الى ابي رحمه الله يخبره ان امير المؤمنين امرني ان اكتب اليك اسالك عن امر القرآن لا مسئلة امتحان ولكن مسئلة معرفة وبصيرة فاملني علي ابي رحمه الله الى عبيد الله بن يحيى وحدى ما معي احد بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم احسن الله عاقبتك ابا الحسن في الامور كلها ودفع عنك مكاره الدنيا والاخرة برحمته قد كتبت اليك رضى الله عنك بالذى سأل عنه امير المؤمنين بامر القرآن بما حضرك والى اسأل الله تعالى ان يديم توفيق امير المؤمنين فقد كان الناس في خوص من الباطل \* واختلاف شديد يغمسون فيه حتى افضت للخلافة الى

Ahmed's I ask God to continue his aid to the Command-Letterin er of the Faithful, for men were in the depth of Reply, falsehood and immersed in violent differences of opinion until the Khalifate came to the Commander of the Faithful, and God banished by means of the Commander

امير المؤمنين فنقى الله بامير المؤمنين كل بدعة واجلى عن الناس ما كانوا فيه من الدل وضييق المحاسب [المجالس Cod.] فصرّف الله ذلك كله وذهب به بامير المؤمنين وفع ذلك من المسلمين موقعا عظيما ودعوا الله لامير المؤمنين فاسئل الله ان يستنجيب في امير المؤمنين صالح الدعاء وان يتم ذلك لامير المؤمنين وان يزيد في نيته وبعينه على ما هو عليه فقد ذكر عن عبد الله بن عباس رضى الله عنه انه قال لا تضربوا كتاب الله بعضه ببعض فان ذلك يوقع الشك في قلوبكم وذكر عن عبد الله بن عمر [عمرو Cod.] رضى الله عنه ان نقرأ كانوا جلوسا بباب النبى صلى الله عليه وسلم فقال بعضهم ان يقل الله كذا وقال بعضهم ان يقل الله كذا قل فسمع ذلك رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم فخرج كأنما فضى في وجهه حبّ الرمان فقال ائبهذا أمرتم ان تضربوا كتاب الله بعضه ببعض انما ضلّت الامم قبلكم في مثل هذا انكم نستم مما هاهنا في شيء انظروا الذى أمرتم به فاعملوا به وانظروا الذى نهيتم عنه فانتهوا عنه، وروى عن ابى هريرة رضى الله عنه [Cod omits.] عن النبى صلى الله عليه وسلم انه قال مرآء في القرآن كفر وروى عن ابى جهيم رجل من اصحاب النبى صلى الله عليه وسلم عن النبى صلعم قال لا تماروا في القرآن فان مرآء فيه كفر، وقال عبد الله بن عباس رضى الله عنه قدم على عمر بن الخطاب رضى الله عنه رجل فجعل عمر يسعله عن الناس فقال يا امير المؤمنين قد قرأ القرآن منهم كذا وكذا فقال ابن عباس فقلت والله

of the Faithful every heresy, and took away from men the straitness and humiliation of the prisons. God has, thus, changed all that, and removed it through the Commander of the Faithful, [all of] which has made a great impression upon the Muslims; hence, they pray God to bless the Commander of the Faithful, and I ask God to hearken to all

ما أحب ان يتسارعوا يومئذ هذا في القرآن هذه المسارعة قال فبهزنى  
 عمر وقال لله فانطلقت الى منبري مكتئبا حزينا فبينما انا كذلك ان  
 [اذا Cod.] اتاني رجل فقال اجب امير المؤمنين فخرجت فاذا هو بالباب  
 ينتظري فاخذ بيدي فخلا في وقال ما الذي كرهت مما قال الرجل  
 انفا فقلت يا امير المؤمنين متى يتسارعوا هذه المسارعة يختلفوا ومتى  
 ما يختلفوا يختصموا ومتى ما [لا Cod.] يختصموا يختلفوا ومتى ما  
 يختلفوا يعتتلوا قال لله ابوك والله ان كنت لاكتنمها الناس حتى  
 جئت بها، وروى عن جابر بن عبد الله رضى الله عنه قال كان  
 النبي صلعم يعرض نفسه على الناس بالموقف فيقبل هل من رجل  
 يحملني الى قومه فان فريشا قد منعوني ان ابلغ كلام ربي، وروى عن  
 جبير بن نفير قال قال رسول الله صلعم انكم لن ترجعوا الى الله  
 بشيء افضل مما خرج منه يعنى القرآن، وروى عن عبد الله بن  
 مسعود رضى الله عنه انه قال جردوا القرآن ولا تكتبوا فيه شيئا الا  
 كلام الله، وروى عن عمر بن الخطاب رضى الله عنه [Cod. omits] انه  
 قال هذا القرآن كلام الله فصعوه مواضعه، قال رجل للحسن البصرى  
 يبا سعيد انى اذا قرأت كتاب الله وتدبرته كدت ان اتس وينقطع  
 رجائي قال فقال الحسن ان القرآن كلام الله اعمال بنى آدم الى  
 الضعف والتقصير فاعمل وابشر، وقال فسرة بن نوفل الاشجعي  
 كنت جارا الخبّاب وهو من اصحاب النبي صلى الله عليه

good petitions for the Commander of the Faithful and to perfect [all] that for the Commander of the Faithful, that he may go on in his design; [I ask God] to help him, also, in that in which he is engaged. Now, it is related from Ibn 'Abbas

وسلم فخرجت معه يوماً من المسجد وهو أخذ بيدي  
 فقال يا هناه تَقَرَّبَ الى الله بما استطعت فانك لسن تُقَرَّبَ الله بشيء  
 احبَّ اليه من كلامه، وقال رجل للتحكم بن عبيدة ما حمل اهل  
 [اهل] [Cod.] الاهواء على هذا قال للخصومات، وقال معاوية بن قرة\*  
 وكان ابوه من اتى النبي صلعم اباكم وهذه للخصومات فانها تحبط  
 الاعمال، وقال ابو فلانة وكان قد ادرك غير واحد من اصحاب رسول  
 الله صلعم لا تجالسوا اصحاب الاهواء او قال اصحاب للخصومات فانى  
 لا آمن ان يغمسوكم في ضلالتهم ويلبسوا عليكم بعض ما تعرفون،  
 ودخل رجلان من اصحاب الاهواء على محمد بن سيرين فقالا يابا بكر  
 نحدثك بحديث فقال لا فقالا فنقرأ عليك آية من كتاب الله قال  
 لا لتقومان عنى او لأقومنَّه قال فقام الرجلان فخرجا فقال بعض القوم  
 يابا بكر وما عليك ان تقرأ عليك آية من كتاب الله فقال له ابن  
 سيرين انى خشيت ان يقرأ [بعنا Cod.] على آية فيبكر فانها فيبكر ذلك  
 قلبى، وقال محمد لو أعلم انى اكون مثلى الساعة لتركتهما، وقال  
 رجل من اهل البدع لايوب السخثيانى يابا بكر اسألك عن كلمة  
 فى قرأتى وهو يقول بيده ولا نصف كلمة، وقال طاووس بن طاوس لابن  
 له وتكلم رجل من اهل البدع يابنى أدخل اصبعيك فى اذنيك  
 حتى لا تسمع ما يقول ثم قال أشد أشد، وقال عمرو بن عبد  
 العزيز من جعل دينه غرضاً للخصومات اكثر التنقل، قال ابو الفضل  
 وجدت فى كتاب ابى بخطه نناً اسمعيل عن يونس قال نبئت ان

that he said, 'Do not smite God's Book one part of it with another part, for that casts doubt into your hearts'. And it is told from Abdallah ibn 'Omar that he said, 'Some persons were sitting at the Prophet's door, and some of them

عمر بن عبد العزيز قال من جعل دينه عرضا للمخضومات اكثر  
النقل، وقال ابراهيم النخعي ان القوم لم يدخر عنهم شيء [شيا. Cod.]  
حتى لكم لفصل عندكم، وكان الحسن يقول شر داء خائط فلما يعنى  
الاهواء، وقال حذيفة بن اليمان رضى الله عنه وكان من اصحاب رسول  
الله صلعم اتعوا الله معشر الفراء وخذوا طريق من كان فبلكم والله  
لئن استبقتم لقد سبقتم سبفا ببعيدا ولئن تركتموه يميننا وشمالا  
نقد ضللتكم ضلالا بعيدا او قال مبينا قال ابى وانما تركت ذكر  
الاسانيد لما تقدم من اليمين التى حلفت بها مما قد علمه امير  
المؤمنين لولا ذاك ذكرتها باسانيدها وقد قال الله تعالى وان  
أحد من المشركين استجارك فآجره حتى يسمع كلام الله [Kor. 9. 6]  
وقال ألا له الخلف والأمر [Kor. 7. 52] فأخبر بالخلف ثم قال والأمر  
فأخبر ان الأمر غير الخلف وقال تعالى الرحمن علم القرآن خلق  
الإنسان علمه البيان [Kor. 55. 1, 2, 3] فأخبر تعالى ان القرآن من  
علمه وقال ومن ترضى عنك اليهود ولا النصارى حتى تتبع ملتهم  
فل ان هدى الله فواللهدى ولئن اتبعت أهواءهم بعد الذى جاءك  
من العلم ما لك من الله من ولي ولا نصيب [Kor. 2. 114] وقال  
ولئن أتيت الدين أتوا الكتاب يكذب آية ما تبعوا قبلك وما أنت  
بتابع قبلتهم وما بعضهم بتابع قبلة بعض ولئن اتبعت أهواءهم من  
بعد ما جاءك من العلم أنك اذا لمن الظالمين [Kor. 2. 140] وقال  
وكذلك أنزلناه حكما عربيا ولئن اتبعت أهواءهم بعد ما جاءك من

were saying, Does not God say so and so? while others were saying, Nay! does not God say so and so? and the Messenger of God heard that, and went out — and it was as if pomegranates<sup>1)</sup> had been burst over his face — and he said, 'Was it this ye were commanded to observe, to smite God's Book one part of it with another? The peoples who were before you erred thus, but ye have nothing to do with this. Observe what ye are ordered to do and do it; and observe what ye are forbidden to do and abstain from it'. It is related from Abu Huraira from the Prophet that he said, 'Disputation about the Koran is unbelief.' It is related from Abu Juhaim, one of the Companions of the Prophet, from the Prophet that he said, 'Do not dispute over the Koran, for disputation over it is unbelief.' Abdallah ibn 'Abbas said, 'A man came to 'Omar ibn al-Khattab, and 'Omar began to ask him about the people, and he said, 'O Commander of the Faithful, so and so many of them recite the Koran (or, supply \*y>: 'Some of them have read the Koran so and so many times'?).' And Ibn 'Abbas said, 'So I said, By God, I do not like them to vie with each other in rapid reading of the Koran, but 'Omar

أَعْلِمَ مَا نَدَّكَ مِنَ اللَّهِ مِنْ وَلِيِّ وَلَا وَائٍ [Koi. 13. 37] فَالْفَرَّانَ مِنْ  
 عِلْمِ اللَّهِ فِي هَذِهِ آيَاتٍ دَلِيلٌ عَلَى أَنَّ الَّذِي جَاءَهُ صَلَاحٌ هُوَ الْفَرَّانُ  
 لِقَوْلِهِ وَلَمَّا اتَّبَعْتَ أَهْوَاءَهُمْ بَعْدَ الَّذِي جَاءَكَ مِنَ الْعِلْمِ، وَقَدْ رُوِيَ عَنْ  
 غَيْرِ وَاحِدٍ مِمَّنْ مَضَى مِنْ سَلْفِنَا أَنَّهُمْ كَانُوا يَقُولُونَ الْقُرْآنَ كَلَامَ  
 اللَّهِ غَيْرَ مَخْلُوقٍ وَهُوَ الَّذِي أَذْهَبَ إِلَيْهِ نَسْتٌ بِصَاحِبِ كَلَامٍ وَلَا أَرَى  
 الْكَلَامَ فِي شَيْءٍ مِنْ هَذَا الْأَمْرِ إِلَّا مَا كَانَ فِي كِتَابِ اللَّهِ أَوْ فِي حَدِيثِ  
 عَنِ النَّبِيِّ صَلَاحٌ أَوْ عَنْ أَصْحَابِهِ أَوْ عَنِ التَّابِعِينَ فَأَمَّا غَيْرُ ذَلِكَ  
 فَإِنَّ الْكَلَامَ فِيهِ غَيْرٌ مَحْمُودٌ،

1) حَبَّ الرِّمَانِ "the seeds of the pomegranate", but often "the pomegranate" itself.

blamed me for saying this, and said, 'Stop! Hush!' I went down, then, to my dwelling afflicted and grieving [because he seemed to oppose my zeal for the Koran]. And, while I was in this state of mind, a man came to me and said, 'Answer the summons of the Commander of the Faithful'. So I went out, and lo! he was at the door waiting for me, and he took me by the hand, went aside with me, and said, 'What was that with which you were displeased in what the man said a little while ago?' I said, 'O Commander of the Faithful, when they indulge in this rivalry to see who can read fastest, they read with mumbling voice; and if they read with mumbling voice, they dispute with one another; and if they dispute with one another, they fall into discord; and if they fall into discord they fight with one another. He said, 'Very good! Verily, by God, I was concealing it [the same opinion] from anyone until you said it\ It is related from Jabir ibn Abdallah that he said, 'The Prophet was presenting himself to the men in the Maukif [at Arafat] and he said, Is there any man who will take me to his people? for the Koreish have refused me the right to make known the Word of my Lord'. It is related from Jubair ibn Nufair that he said, 'The Messenger of God said, You cannot return unto God by means of anything more excellent than that which went out from him. He meant the Koran'. It is related from Abdallah ibn Mas'ud that he said, 'Write the bare Koran, but do not write in it anything except the Word of God'. It is related from °Omar ibn al-Khattab that he said, 'This Koran is the Word of God; give it, then, its proper place'. A man said to al-Hasan al-Basri, 'O Abu Sa'id, when I read the Word of God, and think over it, I almost despair and give up hope'. And al-Hasan said, 'The Koran is the Word of God; the works of the children of Adam incline toward weakness and insufficiency, but work and be of good cheer!' Farwa **ibn** Naufal al-Ashja<sup>c</sup>i said, 'I was a neighbour of al-Khabbab, who was one of the Companions of the Prophet, and I went **out** with him one day from the mosque, he holding me by **the**

hand, and he said, O you! draw near to God by means of that which you are able to use as means, but you cannot draw near to God by means of anything dearer unto him than his Word'. A man said to al-Hakam ibn 'Uyaina, 'What leads the sceptics \*) unto this [state of theirs]?' He said, 'Disputation'. Mu'awia ibn Kurra, whose father was one of those who came to the Prophet said, 'Beware of these disputations, for they spoil good works'. Abu Kilaba said (and he had met more than one of the Companions of the Messenger of God), 'Do not keep company with sceptics, (or he said, 'With disputatious people') for I do not feel secure that they will not plunge you in their error, and make obscure unto you a part of what ye know'. There entered two sceptics unto Mohammed ibn Sirin, and they said, 'O Abu Bekr, let us tell thee a tradition'. He said, 'Nay'. Then they said, 'Then let us recite unto thee a verse from the Koran'. He said, 'Nay; ye surely shall go away from me, or else I shall go away'. So the two men arose and went out, and one of those present said, 'O Abu Bekr, what was the matter, that a verse from the Koran might not be recited unto thee?' and Ibn Sirin said to him, 'I was afraid that they would recite a verse unto me and would pervert it and that that should become fixed in my heart'. Mohammed however, added, 'Had I known that I should be as I am now, I would certainly have allowed them'. A sceptic once asked Ayub al-Sakhtiyani, 'O- Abu Bekr, I would ask thee just a word'; but he turned his back, and motioned with his hand, 'Nay; not half a word'. Taus ibn Taus said to a son of his, when a sceptic was speaking, 'O my son, put your fingers in your ears so that you shall

i) This word does not quite represent the idea of the original **اهل الأهواء**. These were a class of men who were not prepared to accept the religious systems of other persons, except as their own reasoning confirmed their positions. They were thus in the first instance sceptical and then eclectic, taking from different systems such views as they approved or 'desired' to take. The name AhluVAhwd 'men of' desires', is thus appropriate, v. Shahrastant, Haarbrucker's transl'n I, p. 1 and note; Steiner, Die Mu'taziliten, 6.

not hear what he says'. Then he said, 'Run! Run!' °Omar ibn Abd al-°Aziz said, 'He who makes his religion a butt for disputations is the most unsettled of men'. (*Abu°l Fadl* said, T found it in a book of my father's in his own handwriting, 'Isma°il told us from Yunus saying, I was told that °Omar ibn Abd al-'Aziz said, 'He who makes his religion a butt for disputations is the most unsettled of men'). Ibrahim al-Nakha<sup>D</sup>i said, 'These people shall have nothing laid up in store for them until there is with you an excellent provision'. Al-Hasan used to say, 'The worst diseased person is the man diseased at heart'; he meant the desires [i. e. men of desires — sceptics]. Hudhaifa ibn al-Yaman said, 'Fear God, O ye Reciters of the Koran, and go in the way of those who were before you; for, if ye strive for precedence, ye have yet been preceded by a great distance, and if ye leave this way to the right or left ye have clearly committed error'. The letter went on to say: T have omitted the mention of the Isnads because of the oath that I previously swore, of which the Commander of the Faithful is cognizant. If it were not for that, I should have mentioned them [the traditions] with their Isnads. The Koran, too, has said, 'And, if one of the idolaters seek protection of thee, grant him protection that he may hear the Word of God (Koran 9 . 6). Do not the Creation and the Command belong to him?' (Koran 7.52). So he tells about 'the Creation', and then he says, 'and the Command', thus he tells us that the 'Command' is something else than 'the Creation'<sup>1</sup>). Also, 'The Merciful taught LU) the Koran, he created man, he taught him the explanation' (Koran 55 . 1, 2, 3). Thus God tells that the Koran is from his Knowledge L<sup>o</sup>U). He, also, says, 'And the Jews will not be content with thee, nor the Christians, until thou dost follow their religion. Say, 'Verily the direction of God is the right direction; but, surely, if thou dost follow their passions and their desires, after that which has come to thee

1) cf. p. 119 and, also, p. 139.

of knowledge (JU) there is for thee from God neither friend nor helper' (Koran 2 . 114). He says also, 'Even if thou dost give to those to whom the Book has been given every sign, they will not follow thy kibla, and thou wilt not follow their kibla, and one part of them will not follow the kibla of the other part. And, surely, if thou dost follow their passions, after what has come to thee of knowledge (Jlc), in that case, thou art, verily, one of those who *do* evil' (Koran 2 . 140). And also, 'And, thus, we have sent it down as a decision in the Arabic language; and, surely, if thou dost follow their passions, after what has come to thee of knowledge (LU), there shall be for thee from God neither friend nor helper' (Koran 13.37). Now, the Koran is from the Knowledge of God; and in these verses is a proof that that which came to him [the Messenger of God] is the Koran, according to his [God's] saying, 'And, surely, if thou dost follow their passions, after what has come to thee of knowledge (Jle)\j)

It has been related, moreover, from more than one of those who went before us that they used to say, 'the Koran is the Word of God uncreated', and that is what I believe. I am no dialectical theologian; I approve of argument in a matter of this kind only by means of what is in God's Book or a tradition from the Prophet, or from his Companions, or from those who followed them (Tab<sup>c</sup>iun), but, as for anything else, argument by means of it is not to be commended.

On one occasion, when al-Mutawakkil came to al-Shamasiya on his way to al-Mada<sup>D</sup>in, it was expected that Ahmed and his family would come, or send, to pay their respects to him, but Ahmed would neither go himself nor would he

1) "Passions" in these passages represents the word <sup>D</sup>Ahwa' found in the name AhluVAhwa, so that the passages must be taken as condemning rationalism in theological matters.

*Visit of Yafyya* allow Salih to go, for fear he should call at-  
*ibn Khdkan* tention to himself. The result of this was that  
*to Ahmed.* the next day Yahya ibn Khal'an came with  
 a great retinue to visit Ahmed, bringing him greeting and  
 many friendly enquiries from the Khalif, who, at the same  
 time, besought the prayers of the Imam. These last Ahmed  
 assured Yahya were offered up every day for his master.  
 Yahya then offered him a thousand dinars for distribution  
 among the poor. These, however, Ahmed would not accept,  
 pleading exemption, as he did on other occasions, on the  
 ground that the Khalif had agreed to excuse him from  
 obligation to do anything that might be distasteful to him.

*Invitation from* The money was finally given to Ahmed's sons.  
*Mofyammed ibn* On another occasion, Mohammed ibn Abdallah  
*Abdallah ibn* ibn Tahir besought Ahmed to pay him a visit  
*Tahir.* and strongly urged his request. This invitation,  
 however, Ahmed also declined, offering as an excuse the  
 Khalif's dispensation. After these incidents he took upon  
 himself a rigid fast, abstaining from all fat and, apparently,  
 from meat, for the record states that *before* this time he had  
 been provided with a dirhem's worth of meat, from which  
 he ate for a month! \*)

١) Abū Nu'aim, 155a, الشماسية، فنزل المتوكل وقدم الفضل وقدم أبو الفضل  
 يريد المدائن فقال لى ابي صالح احب ان لا تذهب اليهم ولا  
 تنبى [Cod. without points] على فلما كان بعد يوم وانا قاعد خارجا  
 وكان يوم مطر اذا يحيى بن خاقان قد جاء والمطر [المطر] [Cod.  
 عليه فى موكب عظيم فقال سبحان الله لم تصر الينا حتى تبلغ  
 امير المؤمنين السلام عن شيخك حتى وجه فى ثم نزل خارج الزاوى  
 فجهدت به ان يدخل على الدابة فلم يفعل فجعل يخرص المطر فلما  
 صار الى الباب نزع جرموقه وكان على خفه ودخل ابنى فى الزاوية \*  
 قاعد عليه كساء مربع وعمامة والستر الذى على الباب خيش فسلم

Ahmed's In the course of events we have been brought Sickness now to the year 241 A. H. On the first day of and Death. Rabi<sup>c</sup> I of this year\*), Ahmed was taken with a

عليه وقبّل جبهته وسائله عن حاله وقال امير المؤمنين يقربك السلام ويقبول كيف انت في نفسك وكيف حالك وقد آنتت بقرينك ويسئلك ان تدعوه فقل ما يلقي علىّ يوم الا وانا ادعوه له ثم قال قد وجه معى الف دينار لك تفرّقها على اهل الحاجة فقال له يابا زكرياء انا في البيت منقطع عن الناس وقد اعفاني من كل ما اكره وهذا مما اكره فقال يابا عبد الله الخلفاء لا يهتملون هذا فقال يابا زكرياء تلطف في ذلك فدعا له ثم قام فلما صار الى الدار رجع وقال هكذا لو وجه اليك بعض اخوانك كنت تفعل قال نعم فلما صرنا الى الدهليز قل قد امرى امير المؤمنين ان ادفعها اليك وتفرّقها فقلت تكون عندك الى ان تمضى هذه الايام، قال ابو الفضل وقد كان وجه محمد بن عبد الله بن طاهر الى ابي في وقت قدومه مع العسكر احب ان تصير [تصير Cod.] الى وتعلمنى اليوم الذى تعزم عليه حتى لا يكون عندى احد فرجه اليه انا رجل لم اخالط السلطان وقد اعفاني امير المؤمنين مما اكره وهذا مما اكره فجهد ان يصير اليه قابى وكان قد امن الصوم لما قدم وجعل لا ياكل اللحم وكان قبل ذلك يشتري له لحم بدرهم وياكل منه شهرا فتك اكل الشحم وادام الصوم والعمل فتوقفت انه كان قد جعل على نفسه ان سلم ان يفعل ذلك وكان حمل الى المتوكل سنة سبع وثلاثين ومائتين ثم مكث الى سنة احدى واربعين وكان قلّ يوم يمضى الا ورسول المتوكل

Mohammed ibn Abdallah ibn Tahir came from Khorasan, and was appointed over Irak in 237 A. H. Abu'l-Mah. I, 719.

1) The sources now used are the following extracts; al-Makrizi, p. 15, فصل في ذكر مرضه ووفاته قال صالح لما كان في اول يوم من شهر ربيع

fever attended with difficulty in breathing, and became so weak that his limbs would not support him. A physician came to see him, and prescribed for his sickness roast

الاول سنة احدى واربعين ومائتين حُمَّ ابي فدخلت عليه وهو  
محموم فتنفس نفسا شديدا فقلت على ما افطرت البارحة فقال على  
ماء باقلا ثم اراد القيام فقال خذ بيدي فاخذت بيده فلما صار الى  
الحلا ضعفت رجلاه حتى توكأ علىّ وكان يخنلف اليه غير متطيب  
كلام مسلمون فوصف له متطيب قرحة تشوى ويسقى ماءها فقال يا  
صالح قلت لبيك قال لا تشوى في منزلك ولا في منزل عبد الله اخيك  
وأنتى الفتح بن سهل وعلى بن النجعد فحاجبتهما وكثر الناس قال  
فأتى شىء ترى قلت تأذن لهم فيدعون لك فاذننا لهم فجعلوا يدخلون  
عليه افواجا حتى تمنى الدار وكثر الناس وامتلأ الشارع واغلقنا  
باب الزقاق وجاء رجل من جيراننا قد خصب فقال انى لارى الرجل  
يحيى شيئا من السنة فأخرج به فجعل الرجل يمدو له فيقول ابي  
ولجميع المسلمين ثم قال لى اقبص من السكان دراهم واشتر تمرأ وكفر  
عنى كفارة يمين فاشتريت وكفرت واخبرته فقال الحمد لله قلت وزاد  
الدينورى فى كتاب المجالسة ان الامام احمد قال فانى حنثت فى  
دهرى فى يمين واحدة ثم قال لى أحضر الوصية واقراها وكان كتبها  
قبل ذلك فقراتها فقرها على ما فى عليه . . . . .  
قال واشتدت به العلة يوم الخميس فلما كان يوم الجمعة اجتمع الناس  
حتى ملأوا السكك والشوارع قال حنبل وكان عنده ثلاث شعرات من  
شعر النبى صلعم فاوصى عند موته ان يجعل على لسانه شعرة وعلى  
كل عين شعرة ففعل به ذلك عند موته قال ولده عبد الله قال لى  
ابى فى مرضه الذى توفى فيه اخبرج لى كتاب عبد الله بن ادريس  
فاخرجت الكتاب فقال لى اخبرج احاديث ليث بن ابي سليم

pumpkin, with the liquor of the pumpkin to be taken as a drink. Ahmed asked particularly that this might not be prepared in the houses of either of his sons. As soon as it was learned that he was sick, people began to come in crowds to visit him, until it became necessary to close the door of the street; and the governor, hearing of the crowds,

فأخرجتها فقال لي اقرأ على حديث [حديث Cod. repeats] لبيث قلت  
 لظلمة ان طامساً كان يكره الانين في المرض فما سمع له انين حتى  
 مات رحمه الله فقرات ذلك على ابي فما سمعته أن في مرضه الى ان  
 توفي . . . . . وسئل عبد الله هل عقل ابوك عند الموت  
 المعاينة قال نعم كنا نوصيه [نوصيه Cod.] فجعل يشير بيده فقال لي  
 صالح اى شىء يقول فقلت هو يقول خيلوا اصابى فخللنا اصابه ثم  
 ترك الاشارة فمات من ساعته تغمده الله برحمته وذلك لاثنتى عشرة  
 ليلة خلت من ربيع الاول سنة احدى واربعين ومائتين وهو ابن  
 سبع وسبعين سنة فصل في غسله وتكفينه والصلاة عليه وعدد من  
 اسلم يوم موته قال ولده صالح لما توفي ابي كان المتوكل غائباً فوجه  
 الامير ابن طاهر حاجبه ومعه غلامان معهما مناديل فيها ثياب  
 وطيب وقالوا الامير \*يقربك السلام ويقول لك قد فعلت ما لو كان امير  
 المؤمنين حاضراً لفعله فقلت له اقرئه منى السلام وقل له ان امير  
 المؤمنين قد كان اعفاه في حياته مما كان يكره ولا أحب ان اتبعه  
 بعد موته بما كان يكرهه في حياته فعاد وقال يكون شعاره ولا يكون  
 دثاره فعدت عليه مثل ذلك وردت عليه وكفناه في ثلاث لغائف قال  
 المروزي لما اردت ان اغسله جاء بنو هاشم واجتمع في الدار خلف  
 كثير فادخلته المبيت وغطيته بثوب وارخيت الستر حتى فرغت من  
 امره فلما اردت تكفينه غلبنا عليه بنو هاشم واخذوا في البكاء عليه

considerately placed guards before the street door, while the family also placed guards before the door of the house. Only his physicians and such as he himself desired to see were then admitted. Among those who were thus allowed to see him was a neighbor, an elderly man with dyed hair and beard, on seeing whom Ahmed became greatly excited, and called the attention of those about him to this man as one 'who

وجعل اولادهم ينكبون عليه ويقبلونه قال صالح وارسل انى ابن طاهر يقول من يصلى على ابيك قلت انا فلما صرنا الى الصحراء وجدنا ابن طاهر فخطا علينا خطوات وعزانا فلما وضع السرير تقدمت للصلاة فجاءنى ابن طالوت ومحمد بن نصر وقبضا على يدي وقال الامير فماعتهم فغلبوا على وصلى ولم يعلم اكثر الناس بتقدمه فلما كان من الغد وعلموا بذلك صاروا ياتون القبر افواجا فيصلون عليه ومكتوا على ذلك ايما قال ولده عبد الله وكنا نحن والهاشميون صلينا عليه داخل الدار قال للخلال سمعت عبد الوهاب السراق يقول ما بلغنا ان جمعا كان فى الجاهلية والاسلام مثله حتى ان المواضع التى وقف الناس فيها مسحت وحزرت فاذا هى نحو من الف الف وحزرتنا على السور نحو من ستين الف امرأة وقال ابو زرعة بلغنى ان المتوكل امر ان يمسح الموضع الذى وقف الناس فيه للصلاة على احمد بن حنبل فبلغ مقام الفى الف وخمس مائة الف وفتح الناس ابواب المنازل فى الشوارع والبيوت والدروب وصاروا ينادون من اراد الوضوء وقال احمد بن الحسن القناعى كنت ببغداد وانا فى بستان لصديق لى فاذا بشيخ وشاب وعليهما ظمران فسلمت عليهما وقلت اراكما من غير هذا البلد قالا نعم نحن من جبل اللكام [اللكام Cod.] حصرتنا جنازة احمد بن حنبل وما بقى احد من الاولياء

was keeping alive the good rule of the Prophet'. Daily reports of the sick man's condition were now sent from Baghdad to the Khalif at the camp. These were never very encouraging, however, as Ahmed sank gradually day by day until he died. He seems to have borne his sickness with great fortitude, in which he was supported by a tradition of Taus,

لا حضرها وقال عبد الوهاب الوراق اظهر الناس في جنازة احمد بن حنبل السنة والطعن على اهل البدع قال جعفر بن محمد النسوي شهدت الناس في جنازة احمد بن حنبل يلعنون بشرا المريسي والكرايبيسي باصوات عالية واقام الناس ليلا يزيدون على القبر حتى قال ابو الحسن التميمي مكثت اياما رجاء ان اصل الى القبر فلم اصل اليه الا بعد اسبوع

قال المروزي رضى الله عنه مرض ابو عبد الله ليلة Al-Subki, p. 134 f. الاربعة ليلتين خلنا من ربيع الاول ومرض تسعة ايام وكان ربما اثن للناس فيدخلون عليه افواجا يسلمون عليه ويرد عليهم وتسامع الناس وكثروا وسمع السلطان بكثرة الناس فوكل ببابه وبباب الرقاق الرابطة واصحاب الاخبار ثم اغلق باب الرقاق فكان الناس في الشوارع والمساجد حتى تعطل بعض الباعة وحيل بينهم وبين البيع والشراء وكان الرجل \* اذا اراد ان يدخل اليه ربما تدخل من بعض الدور وطور الخالة ربما تسلف وجاء اصحاب الاخبار فقعدهوا على الابواب وجاء حاجب ابن طاهر فقال ان الامير يقرئك السلام وهو يشتهي ان يراك فقال هذا مما اكره وامير المؤمنين اعقلني مما اكره واصحاب الخبر يكتبون بحبوه الى العسكر والبرد مختلف كل يوم وجاء بنو هاشم فدخلوا عليه وجعلوا يبكون عليه وجاء قوم من القضاة وغيرهم فلم يوندن لهم ودخل عليه شيخ فقال اذكر وقوفك بين يدي

who is reported to have 'disliked groaning in sickness', on the ground that it was tantamount to complaining against God. Ahmed, therefore, was never heard to groan, except on the day in which he died. Two or three days before his death, he enquired for his purse, and asked his son Salih to look what was in it. Salih did so and found a solitary

الله فشبهق ابو عبد الله وسالت الدموع على خديه فلما كان قبل وفاته بيوم أو يومين قال ادعوا لي الصبيان بلسان ثقيل فجعلوا ينضمون اليه وجعل يشتم ويمسح بيده على رؤسهم وعينه تدمع وادخلت الطشت تحتة فرايت بوله دماً عبيطاً ليس فيه بول فقلت للطبيب فقال هذا رجل قد قنت الحزن والغم جوفه . . . . . قال موسى بن هرون الحافظ يقال ان احمد لما مات مسح الارض المبسوطة التي وقف الناس للصلاة عليها فحضر مقادير الناس بلاساحة ستمائة الف واكثر سوى ما كان في الاطراف والاماكن المتفرقة قلت وقيل في عدد المصلين عليه كثير قيل كانوا الف الف وثلاثمائة الف سوى من كان في الشفن في الماء كذا رواه خشنار بن سعيد وقال ابن ابي حاتم سمعت ابا زرعة يقول بلغني ان المتوكل امر ان يمسخ الموضع الذي وقف عليه الناس حيث صلى على احمد فبلغ المقام الف الف وخمسمائة وعن الثوركانسي وهو رجل كان يسكن اى جوار الامام احمد قال اسلم يوم مات احمد من اليهود والنصارى والمجوس عشرون الفا وفي لفظ عشرة الاف قال شيخنا الذهبي وهى حكاية منكورة تفرد بها الثوركانسي والراوى عنه قال والعقل يحيل ان يقع مثل هذا الحادث في بغداد ولا يرويه جماعة تتوفر دواهيهم على نقل ما هو دونه بكثير وكيف يقع مثل هذا الامر ولا يذكره المروزي ولا صالح بن احمد

dirhem. This his father directed him to use, together with some of the rent to be collected from the lodgers in his house, in buying dates to discharge an oath of almsgiving which he had taken upon himself. Salih carried out the order he had received, and returned to his father one-third of a dirhem, on receiving which Ahmed rejoiced at the prospect of dying as poor as he had lived.

The duration of his sickness was not long. The physician declared that grief and the hard ascetic character of his life had ruptured the internal organs of his body and could give the family little hope of his recovery. A characteristic incident occurred when he was being washed preparatory to the performance of the last devotions in which he took part. He was unable to speak, but, strong in the ruling passion of scrupulousness in the law, he made a sign that his sons who were washing him should wash *between* his fingers as well as on the back and front of them. When this was done, it is said that he rested quietly until he passed away. His prayers he performed to the very last, his sons assisting him in the rak'as. One of his last charges was that three hairs of the Prophet which he had in his possession should at his death be placed, one on each eye and one on his lips, and this was actually done \*). So he died. The date of the

ولا عبد الله ولا حنبل الدين حكوا من اخبار ابي عبد الله جزئيات  
كثيرة قال قالوا فوالله لو اسلم يوم موته عشرة انفس لكان عظيما ينبغي  
ان يرويه نحو من عشرة انفس

وكنت انا بالميل الى جنبه فاذا اراد حاجة حرّكتني، Abu Nufaim, 155 a,  
فاناوله وجعل يحرك لسانه ولم يثن الا في الليلة التي توفي فيها ولم ينزل يصلي  
فانما أمسكه فيركع ويسجد وارفعه في ركوعه واجتمعت عليه اوجاع الحصر  
وغير ذلك ولم ينزل عقله ثابتا فلما كان يوم الجمعة لاثنتي عشرة ليلة خلت من  
شهر ربيع الاول لساعتين من النهار توفي رحمة الله عليه ومغفرته ورضوانه،

1) cf. Goldziher. Moh. Stud. II, 358 and note 5.

event was Friday, the twelfth of Rabf I, 241 A. H., his age being a few days, or it may be hours, more or less than seventy-seven years.

*His Funeral.* There was the most wonderful scene of grief all over the city of Baghdad, and even in distant places, when the news of his death became known. The scene at the funeral, on the afternoon of the day of his death, was one such as must have been seldom witnessed anywhere. The estimates of the number of those who attended are very discrepant. Some say 600,000 were present on the spot where the prayers were held over him; others say 2,500,000, and other figures fall between these two <sup>1)</sup>). It is said that there were 10,000, and some say even 20,000, converts to Islam from the other religions on the occasion of Ahmed's death; but inasmuch as the family and others specially interested in him knew nothing of any such number, al-Subki's teacher Dhahabi thought such figures to be absurd and tjiat ten converts would be nearer the truth. The Emir Ibn Tahir wished to furnish the burial suit of Ahmed but Salih refused to accept it, as he knew that his father when living would have been unwilling to accept any gift from the Emir. The filial respect of Salih for his dead father's wishes in regard to receiving gifts or attentions from persons of state now took very decided form. It was only by main force that his friends withheld him from displacing Ibn Tahir in the official conduct of the prayers at the funeral<sup>2)</sup>). Indeed, it was not known by the people that Ibn Tahir had prayed over Ahmed, until the day after he was buried. When they knew they flocked in crowds to his grave in the cemetery of the Bab-Harb <sup>3)</sup>); so much so, that one man who attended the funeral, declared that it was a week before he was able to come near the tomb. His own family and the Hashimites also conducted prayers for him inside their own quarters on the evening of the day of his death<sup>4)</sup>). In the time of Ibn Challikan the

1) cf. Ibn Chall. N°. 19.

3) cf. Ibn Chall. N°. 19.

2) Magoudl VII, 229.

4) Ibn Chall. N°. 19.

tomb of Ahmed in the cemetery of the Bab-Harb was known far and wide and was much visited<sup>1</sup>). At a later time, the raised work of the tomb was destroyed and the grave made level with the surface of the ground because of the undue reverence which was being shewn to it<sup>2</sup>).

*His Biog-* Among those who are said to have written of *raphers. the* Manakib of Ahmed are Abu'l-Hasan ibn al-Munadi<sup>3</sup>), the Hafiz al-Manda<sup>4</sup>), al-Baihaki<sup>5</sup>), Abu Isma'il al-Ansari, the Fakih Abu 'Ali ibn al-Banna, commentator of al-Khurki, the Hafiz Ibn Nasir, the Hafiz Abu'l-Faraj ibn al-Jauzi<sup>6</sup>), Abd al-Rahman ibn Abi Hatim al-Razi and al-Hasan ibn Mohammed al-Khallal<sup>7</sup>)<sup>8</sup>).

#### IV.

*His Family.* The immediate descendants of Ahmed ibn Hanbal<sup>9</sup>), except his two sons Salih and Abdallah, both of whom

i) Ibn Chall. N°. 19; vid. also al-Nawawi, p. 146.

2) Goldzihei, Moh. Stud. I, 257.

3) al-Fihrist I, 38 f.; Dhahabl Tabakat 11, N°. 55.

4) Dhahabl, Tabakat 13, N°. 29.

5) Ibn Chall. N°. 27; Dhahabl Tabakat 14, N°. 13.

6) In his book *التعديل والجرح*, Chapter on the Manakib of Ahmed ibn Hanbal. v. al-Nawawi Biog. Dict. 143; cf. on Ibn al-Jauzi, Goldziher, Moh. Stud. II, 186 and note 2.

7) Dhahabi, *Ṭabaqāt* 13, N°. 68. The others I have not been able to trace in the authorities at command.

8) al-Makrizi, p. 18, *وقد افرج جماعة من الائمة مناقبه بالتصنيف*  
 كالامم ابى حسن بن المنادى والحافظ ابن منددة والبيهقى وشيخ  
 الاسلام الانصارى والفقير ابى على بن ابى شارب الحرقي والحافظ ابن  
 ناصر والحافظ ابى الفرج بن الجوزى وعبد الرحمن بن ابى حاتم الرازى  
 والحسن بن محمد الخلال وغيرهم رضى الله عنهم اجمعين انتهى  
 9) al-Makrizi, p. 2, *واما اولاده فاكبرهم صالح وكنيته ابو الفضل ولد*

were men of eminence, were not remarkable in their time. His eldest son was Salih, surnamed Abu<sup>1</sup> Fadl, who was born in the year 203. He related Tradition from his father and from Abu<sup>1</sup> Walid al-Tayalisi and 'Ali ibn al-Madini, and had as pupils his own son Zuhair, who died in 303, al-Baghawi and Mohammed ibn Makhlad. Salih occupied the office of Kadi of Ispahan. His mother was 'Abbasa bint al-Fadl. His death occurred in the year 265<sup>1</sup>). The second son was Abdallah Abu Abd al-Rahman<sup>2</sup>). He studied a great deal with his father, and studied, also, with Abd al-A'la ibn Hammad, Yahya ibn Ma'in, Abu Bekr ibn Abi Shaiba, and many others. He was a man thoroughly conversant with

سنة ثلاث ومائتين وروى عن ابيه وأبي الوليد الطيالسي وعلي بن  
المديني وروى عنه ابنه زهير والبغوي ومحمد بن محمد وولسى قضاء  
اصبهان وهو من زوجته عباسة بنت الفضل توفي سنة خمس وستين  
ومائتين وعبد الله وكنيته ابو عبد الرحمن سمع من ابيه واكثر عنه  
ومن عبد الاعلى بن حماد وجبى بن معين ومن ابى بكر بن ابى  
شيبه وخلق كثير قال الذهبي كان اسما خبيرا بالحديث وعلمه مقدما  
فيه ولما مرض قال ادخوني بالعطية فليل له الا تدفن عند ابيك  
يعنى بمقبرة باب حرب فقال صح عندي ان بالطبيعة نبيا مدفونا  
ولان اكون في جوار نبى احب اتي من ان اكون في جوار ابى وكانت  
وفاته في سنة تسعين ومائتين وسنه سبع وسبعون سنة كأبيه وللامام  
احمد ولد اسمه سعيد من سرية يقال لها [له Cod.] حسن ولى قضاء  
الكوفة وله منها ولد اسمه محمد واخر اسمه الحسن وله منها بنت  
اسمها زينب وله منها ولدان توعمان احدهما الحسن والاخر الحسين  
ومانا بالقرب من ولادتهما وله بنت اسمها فاطمة والده اعلم

1) Ibn Chall. N°. 19, says 'Ramaḍān 266 A. H.'

2) Abu 'l-Mah. II, 136. cf. his relation to the Musnad of his father, p. 24.



ceedingly fulsome in expression, but still afford us the substantial truth of his high worth in the view of the men among whom he moved. By many testimonies he is placed at the side of the greatest doctors of Islam in the ages which had preceded him, — Sofyan al-Thauri, Malik ibn Anas, Abd al-Rahman ibn Amr al-Auza'i, al-Laith ibn Sa'd and Ibn 'Abbas. The regard in which Ahmed ibn Hanbal was held is also seen in the way in which he is cited as giving an opinion on the doctors of his time; as, for example, by al-Nawawi, biographies of 'Ali ibn al-Madini, Yazid ibn Harun, Yahya ibn Sa'id al-Kattan, Yahya ibn Ma'in; also Ibn Challikan on Abu Thaur and Ishak ibn Rahawaih. Al-Dhahabi, too, in his *Tabakat* adduces Ahmed's opinion in regard to the men of his time with great frequency and with evidence of much respect. It used to be held that, if Ahmed discredited anybody, he could not fail to suffer for it in the eyes of people generally<sup>1</sup>). A noteworthy testimony is that of al-Husain ibn 'Ali ibn Yazid al-Karabisi, a man with whose theological views Ahmed had little sympathy. He said that those who spoke evil of Ahmed were

ثنا عبد الله بن محمد بن عبد الكريم قال سمعت ابا زرعة يقول  
ما رأيت عيبي مثل احمد بن حنبل فقلت له في العلم فقال في العلم  
والزهد والفقه والمعرفة وكل خير ما رأيت عيبي مثله

قال (عمر بن الحسن النخعي) سمعت 1) Abū Nu'aim, 140 a,

ابا يحيى الناقد يقول كنا عند ابراهيم بن عروة فذكروا على بن  
عاصم فقال رجل احمد بن حنبل يضعفه ثقيل رجل وما يبصره من  
ذاك اذا كان ثقة فقال ابراهيم بن عروة والله لو تكلم احمد بن  
حنبل في علقمة والاسود نصرهما The force of the passage is clear. For

الاسود 2, 1; *Tabak.* 2, 1; قيس *Alkama* and al-Aswad cf. Dhahabi  
النخعي<sup>2</sup> ib. 6; Abu'l-Maḥ. I, 280, l. 2.

like people who tried to kick over the mountain Abu Ku-bais with their feet \*).

*Ahmed as a Fakih*. As a fakih he bore a great reputation among his companions, as well as with others in his own generation and the generations following. The reputation of Ahmed in Baghdad at the time of Abu Ja'far Mohammed ibn Jarir al-Tabari (f 310A. H.) is shewn by the anger of the Baghdad people that al-Tabari should have omitted reference to Ahmed in his book upon 'the Fakihis and their distinctive doctrines'. His reason was that Ahmed was no fakih but rather a traditionist<sup>2</sup>). The opinion was given out in his own day that he was a greater fakih than 'Ali ibn al-Madini<sup>3</sup>). One traditionist in speaking of Ahmed's authority on the subject of Tradition said that when Ahmed supported him in a tradition he was indifferent as to who might differ from him in relation to it<sup>4</sup>). He was credited with extraordinary power of discrimination in the judging of sound and unsound traditions<sup>5</sup>). The general impression that one gets from the biographical details which we have brought together in the present work, and from less important notices which could not with propriety be introduced into the narrative, is that Ahmed's judgment on points of Fikh was seriously reached and often shrewd, but always shewed narrowness. His general reliance upon the Koran and the Tradition cannot be discredited from a Muslim standpoint, and was a safer course, viewed from that point of view, than any setting aside of such evidences in favor of individual judgment could have been<sup>6</sup>). But his principle of slavish literalness and his incorrigible arbitrariness in the interpretation of his evidences was that

يقول (الكرائيسى) مثل الذين يذكر  
 احمد بن حنبل مثل قوم يجيبون الى ابن قبيس يريدون ان يهدموا  
 بنعالم

2) cf. Goldziher, Zahiriten, p. 4 (from Abu'l-Feda Ann.. I I, p. 344).

3) al-Nawawl, p. Iff.

4) al-Nawawl, p. Iff.

5) cf. p. 28.

6) cf. Houtsma, De Strijd etc. 95.

which vitiated his claim to direct men to sound and permanent positions in theology. Such was impossible with his method. Belief founded on the letter of any standard of faith will always be narrow, dogmatic and polemical. Life founded on the letter of any rule of conduct can be only hard and exclusive in character. Just but not genial; irreproachable, but unattractive — such is the life. Sincere and earnest and, with its own postulates, correct, but, still, wrong at its foundation and unsightly in its superstructure — such is the opinion.

We subjoin a few remarks about the traits of character and habits of life of Ahmed ibn Hanbal, with a passing *Habits of Life* notice of his personal appearance. He was abstemious in the extreme, so much so, in fact, that his life might be termed a continuous fast. He is reported never to have bought a pomegranate, quince or any other kind of fruit, unless it might be a melon or grapes, which he ate with bread. In eating his bread he frequently dispensed with the use of vinegar. It was often the case that his sons bought things which they deemed permissible or even necessary, but which were luxuries in his eyes; and to escape in such a case his strictures they hid the things from him altogether \*). It is said that when he appeared before Ishak ibn Ibrahim after his long imprisonment in 219 A. H., Ishak looked in the little basket which Ahmed had with him and found his store of food to consist of two pieces of bread, a piece of cucumber and some salt<sup>2</sup>).

He had a profound dislike to the receiving of money assistance from others, and took very little pains to secure any

1) al-Nawawī, p. 145.

2) al-Makrizī, p. 5, فَبَعَثَ اسْحَاقُ بْنُ اِبْرَاهِيمَ فَاخَذَ الزَّنْبِيلَ الَّذِي فِيهِ افْطَارُ ابْنِ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ فَنَظَرَ إِلَيْهِ فَاذًا فِيهِ رَغِيْفَانِ وَشَيْءٌ مِنْ قِثَاءٍ وَيَلْحَجُّ فَعَجِبَ اسْحَاقُ مِنْ ذَلِكَ

money for himself. His happiest moments were those when he was left without a coin in his purse \*). His needs were few and his expenses next to nothing<sup>2</sup>). We have had in the course of the narrative abundant illustration of his selfdenial and his preference for poverty, and, were it desirable to do so, much more of the same kind of incident could be furnished.

*Characteristics.* His demeanor was that of a man abstracted from the common concerns of life, though in questions of learning he always shewed the liveliest interest<sup>3</sup>). He was a man of gentle nature, but capable of being roused to vehemence at the sight of injustice or wrong done to men or of impiety shewn toward God<sup>4</sup>). That he was looked upon as a scrupulously just man, even among those who were not Muslims, is shewn in many ways. One incident may be mentioned. It is related that two Magian women had a dispute about an inheritance before a Muslim Kadi, and when judgment had been rendered, the woman against whom the judge had decided said to him, 'If thou hast decided against me according to the decision of Ahmed ibn Hanbal, I am content; if not, I will not acquiesce in it\ The narrator of the story thought it such a strong testimony to Ahmed's character that he told it far and near to those whom he met<sup>5</sup>). Ahmed's aversion toward lightness,

i) al-Nawawl, p. Wo.

2) al-Nawawi, Iff, cf. pp. 141, 164.

3) Abû Nu'aim, 138 b, حَدَّثَنَا سُلَيْمَانُ بْنُ أَحْمَدَ تَنَا أَحْمَدُ بْنُ دَاوُدَ السَّجِسْتَانِيَّ يَقُولُ لَقَبْتُ مَائَتِينَ مِنْ مُحَمَّدِ الْقَاضِي قَالَ سَمِعْتُ أَبَا دَاوُدَ السَّجِسْتَانِيَّ يَقُولُ لَقَبْتُ مَائَتِينَ مِنْ مَشَايِخِ الْعِلْمِ فَمَا رَأَيْتُ مِثْلَ أَحْمَدَ بْنِ حَنْبَلٍ لَمْ يَكُنْ يَخْضِرُ فِي شَيْءٍ مِمَّا يَخْضِرُ فِيهِ النَّاسُ مِنْ أَمْرِ الدُّنْيَا إِذَا ذُكِرَ الْعِلْمُ تَكَلَّمَ

4) cf. pp. 73, 150.

5) Abû Nu'aim, 141 a, حَدَّثَنَا ابْنُ تَنَا أَبُو الْحَسَنِ تَنَا عَبْدُ اللَّهِ بْنُ أَحْمَدَ بْنِ حَنْبَلٍ حَدَّثَنِي نُوحُ بْنُ حَبِيبٍ الْقَوْمِيَّ قَالَ كَانَ عِنْدَنَا

particularly in men of learning, was pronounced. On a certain occasion Yazid ibn Harun was indulging in pleasant badinage with his amanuensis, when some one in the room gave a slight cough. Yazid enquired who it might be that had given the apparent sign of disapproval, and, on being told that it was Ahmed, he smote his forehead, and, turning to those nearest to him, asked them reproachfully why they had not told him of Ahmed's presence that he might have observed becoming gravity before him \*).

People used to say that Ahmed himself was a touchstone or Mihna. A versifier, Ibn A<sup>c</sup>yan, has the lines, 'Ibn Habbal is a safe test (Mihna): By the love borne to Ahmed the pious man is known; But when one is seen who defames him, Then be sure that his true character will be disclosed<sup>2</sup>).

يعنى بلدنا امرأتان ماجوسيتان فاختصمتا [فاختصما Cod.] فى مواريت  
لهن الى رجل من المسلمين ففضى لواحدة منهن على الاخرى  
فقالته انه ان كنت قضيت على بقضاء احمد بن حنبل رضيت  
والا فالى لا ارضى قال نوح فحدثت به اهل طرسوس والشامات

حدثنا سليمان بن احمد ثنا الحسن بن  
على المعمرى قال سمعت خلف بن سالم يقول قال كنا فى مجلس يزيد  
ابن هرون فمزح يزيد مع مستمليه فتناخنج احمد بن حنبل وكان  
فى المجلس فقال يزيد من المتناخنج فقيل له احمد بن حنبل ضرب  
يزيد بيده على جبينه وقال الا اعلمتوني ان احمد هاهنا حتى  
لا امزح

قال (ابو جعفر محمد بن دينار الموصلى) 134, p. al-Subki 2)

انشدنى ابن اعين فى الامام احمد بن حنبل رضى الله عنه  
'اضحى ابن حنبل مكنة مأمونة'  
'ويحِبُّ احمد يعرف المتنسك'

*Religious Character.* An indication of Ahmed's character from the religious point of view is found in the following verses, which are said to be of his composition and furnish the only discoverable trace of his poetic talent. 'Whenever thou art alone at any time, do not say I am alone, but say over me is a Watcher; And do not think that God is indifferent to what has passed by, and that what thou hidest from him is out of his sight. We give ourselves no care until sins follow upon the track" of sins; But then ! would that God would grant us repentance, and we would repent! <sup>1</sup>)

It is said that he was wont to pray every day 300 rak<sup>c</sup>as, and that, even after he was scourged and his bodily weakness was extreme, he reached the number of 150 daily. He completed a recitation of the Koran once in every seven days. It was liis custom at night after the last prayer of the day, to sleep for a short time, and then to arise and pray formal or extemporized prayers until the morning<sup>2</sup>).

’واذا رايت لاحمد متنقضا  
’فاعلم بان ستوره ستتهتك

حدثنا ابو على عيسى بن محمد الجرجسي، 155 a, [Cod. الجرجسي] قنا احمد بن يحيى تغلب النحوي قال كنت احب ان ارى احمد بن حنبل فدخلت عليه فقال لي فيم تنظر

فقلت له في النحو والعربية والشعر فاشدقني احمد بن حنبل  
’اذا ما خلوت الدهر يوما فلا تغفل، خلوت ولكن قل على رقيب،  
’ولا تاحسبن الله يغفل ما مضى، وأن الذي تخفي عليه يغيب،  
’لهونا عن الايام حتى تنابعت، ذنوب على اثارهن ذنوب،  
’فيا ليت أن الله يغفر ما مضى، ويأذن لنا في توبة فنرتوب،

حدثنا سليمان بن احمد قنا عبد الله، 143 a .، ابن احمد بن حنبل قال كان ابي يصلي في كل يوم وليلة ثلاثمائة

When at home *in* Baghdad he is said to have perseveringly kept to his house, so that none ever saw him, unless it were at public worship, at a funeral, or visiting the sick 'J. He was scrupulous in his adherence to Tradition and to the ritual observances. We have already cited the incident of the ritual ablutions performed on him by his sons just before his death, when, though unable to speak, he made signs that they should wash between, as well as upon the front and back of his fingers<sup>2</sup>).

*Persona/* In personal appearance, Ahmed was of beautiful *Appearance*, countenance and of medium height. He used to dye his hair and beard with henna and katam, but not a

ركعة فلما مريض من تلك الاسواق اضعفته \* وكان يصلى في كل يوم  
وليلة مائة وخمسين ركعة وقد كان قرب من الثمانين ، حدثنا  
سليمان بن احمد ثنا عبد الله بن احمد بن حنبل قال كان  
ابى يقرأ في كل يوم سبعا يختم في كل سبعة ايام وكانت له ختمة  
في كل سبع ليال سبى صلاة النهار وكان ساعة يصلى عشاء الاخرة  
ينام نومة خفيفة ثم يقوم الى الصباح يصلى ويدعو

قال عبد الله وكان ابى اصبر الناس على 1) Abū Nu'aim, 143 b,  
الوحدة لم يره احد الا في مساجد او حضور جنازة او عبادة مريض  
وكان يكره المشى في الاسواق، . . . حدثنا ابى قنأ احمد قنأ  
عبد الله بن احمد بن حنبل قال خرج ابى الى طرسوس ماشيا  
وخرج الى اليمن ماشيا وحج خمس حاجج ثلاثا منها ماشيا  
ولا يمكن لاحد ان يقول رأى ابى \* في هذه النواحي يوما الا اذا  
خرج الى الجمعة وكان اصبر الناس على الوحدة وبشر رحمه الله فيما  
كان فيه لم يكن يصبر على الوحدة فكان يخرج الى ذا ساعة والى  
ذا ساعة

2) vid. p. 171.

deep red, for in his beard were seen black hairs. He began the practice of dyeing his hair and beard when in his sixty-third year, and then wholly out of regard for the practice of the Prophet <sup>1</sup>).

## V.

*His Views.* Ahmed ibn Hanbal was a man whose peculiar temperament disposed him not only to the kind of life which he lived — intense, ascetic, and fierce in its protest against liberalism, — but also to those views and beliefs which were, to a certain extent, the springs of such a life <sup>2</sup>). His beliefs were not entirely free from adjustment to the circumstances of his age, but the measure of accommodation was the least that could be made. In fact, look where we will in Ahmed's life, and the elements of concession and compromise are never found to be present by his own wish, and, when found, their degree is the minimum possible.

*Sources.* We propose to generalize on the basis of the narrative already furnished and the few other sources of information accessible, in order to reach, if we can, a fair notion of the leading theological opinions or principles by which Ahmed ibn Hanbal directed his life. His testament, which has been given in the foregoing pages <sup>3</sup>), is a very colorless document, and affords no view of his characteristic beliefs. The confession it contains comprises stock phrases, which might come from a Muslim of any kind or character. The letter to <sup>c</sup>Obaidallah ibn Yahya, in an-

1) Ibn Chall. N<sup>o</sup>. 19; Abū Nu'aim, 138 b, قَالَ عَبْدُ اللَّهِ وَخَصَّصَ أَبِي رَأْسَهُ وَلِحَيْتِهِ بِالْحَنَاءِ وَالكَتْمِ وَهُوَ ابْنُ ثَلَاثٍ وَسِتِّينَ سَنَةً

2) Abū Nu'aim, 153 b, فَدَخَلْتُ إِلَيْهِ فَأَكْبَبْتُ عَلَيْهِ عَلَيْهِ وَقُلْتُ لَهُ يَا أَبَتِ، تَدْخُلُ عَلَى نَفْسِكَ أَلْغَمَ فَقَالَ يَا بَنِي يَأْتِينِي مَا لَا أَمْلِكُهُ

3) p. 147.

swer to the Khalif's enquiry relative to the Koran, has so much that is characteristic that we may credit it with representing accurately Ahmed's belief<sup>1</sup>). The conversation on the Koran with Ishak ibn Ibrahim is fully in the spirit of Ahmed's life, and lends us an interesting view of his faith as touching the Koran<sup>2</sup>). The trials before Ishaj: ibn Ibrahim and al-Mu<sup>c</sup>tasim, with the conversations connected with them, furnish much light on Ahmed's opinions and the individual element which they contain<sup>3</sup>).

*The Koran.* First, Ahmed ibn Hanbal's doctrine of the Koran<sup>4</sup>). The Koran he asserted to be the Word of God, by which he meant the expression of God's Knowledge, as such expression must be thought to be eternally present to God's Being. Or, if we must modify this at all, it would be to say, that, as long as there has been present to God that which is objective to Himself, so long has there been a Word of God as the expression of his Knowledge. Before the Objective came into existence, the Word of God was potential in Him and not actual. This gives us the Eternity of the Word of God. Then, as the Divine Knowledge cannot be conceived to be without the eternal adjunct of symbolic expression, and as speech is to be looked upon as a faculty expressing itself in energy and not a creation, the Word of God is not only eternal but uncreated as well. It may be objected that *a* Word of God is not the point in question, but the Koran, *the* Word of God as known to men. Be it noted, however, that the distinction between the written or otherwise presented Koran and the heavenly and essential Word of God is clearly drawn<sup>5</sup>). This, too, is

i) p. 155.

2) p. 139.

3) p. 93 ff.

4) p. 101. cf. Goidziher, Zahiriten, p. 138 ff. The Word of God was said by some of the orthodox to be an attribute of God, Houtsma, De Stnjd etc. 103 f. cf. Shahrastani. All the evidence at command, however, shews that Ahmed ibn Hanbal's belief was as I have set it forth.

5) cf. von Kremer, Herrsch. Ideen d. Isi. 2275 Steiner, Die Mu'taziliten, 38 f. The accounts given of the orthodox view as to the Koran differ from that which I have inferred Ahmed ibn Hanbal to have held. Nor does he

not drawn for the purposes of mere controversy, but represents, as we take it, a belief in the difference of extent between the visible and invisible Word of God. All the words spoken to Moses are the Word of God<sup>1</sup>); certainly, not as belonging to the visible Koran, but as belonging to the one eternal Word of God. All God's words to Mohammed and to the prophets are the Word of God; all those which were spoken to 'Isa ibn Maryam are equally the Word of God. And, in controversy, the words spoken to these various persons are used to prove the uncreated and eternal nature of the *visible* Koran, though they form no part of the Book. Why? Because they, with the substance of the Koran, are the revelations of the Eternal Word, not revelations coextensive with it but partial revelations. This leads to the doctrine that the Word of God is one as well as eternal and uncreated<sup>2</sup>). It could not be one if the visible words were taken in evidence, but regarded as a faculty of expression, latent or energizing, belonging to a Being, we

seem to have been alone in his idea of the Koian, but had both among the learned and unlearned a large number who sympathized with his opinions. Most of those who have expounded the orthodox view make the distinction between the visible and invisible *Koran* and go no further, thus making the Book as known to men the equivalent of that preserved in Heaven. The great distinction to be drawn is between the visible *Koran* and the invisible *Word of God*<sup>3</sup> the latter being not an equivalent but infinitely more extensive than the former. The connection with the doctrine of the Logos as held by Syrian Christians (Houtsma 101, note i) confirms the presentation of the Koran doctrine which is given in the text. The manifestation of the Logos in Jesus Christ is to be set over against the Heavenly and Uncreated Logos which is in the bosom of the Father. As for the 'Well-guarded Table' of the Koian, Sura 85, 22, (cf. Steiner 39 and note 5, also in the preceding account in these pages, p. 67) this, it is true, was an archetype of the visible Koran kept in Heaven, but, still, even this celestial archetype was not coextensive with the eternal and uncreated Word of God of which it was one manifestation. We thus think that the orthodox in Ahmed's day held to three elements in their doctrine of the Koran: 1<sup>st</sup>, the Visible Koian; 2<sup>nd</sup>, the Heavenly Koran; 3<sup>d</sup>, the Eternal Word of God.

1) p. 38.

2) cf. Goldziher, *Zahiriten*, p. 138 ff.; Houtsma, *De Stijld* etc. 129.

may see how the Word of God came to be looked upon as a continuous unity; or, as we may better express a fact in relation to a Being not knowing any succession of time, as a unity in an eternal present. Such a Word of God, considered both as to its thoughts and words, is necessarily without fault and infallible<sup>1</sup>). The Word of God is, thus, Eternal, Uncreated, One and Infallible. This we conceive to have been the doctrine of the Koran held by Ahmed ibn Hanbal and the theologians of his type. We have used modern expression to voice his ideas; the ideas, however, are not ours but his.

The Koran, in terrestrial relations<sup>2</sup>), is to be regarded as a manifestation of the One Word of God such as constitutes a revelation of the perfect religion, a means of salvation and a right guidance for men. In all the forms of its existence among men, written, recited or committed to memory, the substance and the unexpressed words in which the substance is embodied in God's thought are eternal, uncreated, infallible<sup>3</sup>). The human acts in relation to the substance and the words as found in connection with these human acts are temporal, created, fallible. This is the doctrine of the so-called Lafz al-Koran.

This Koran doctrine<sup>4</sup>) is strongly suggestive of Pantheism, for the Word of God as spoken to Moses, to Mohammed and as found in the Koran is the One Word — not parts of it — coming to manifestation; just as the moon at its quarter may be called a particular manifestation of the moon, but not a part of the moon. The Pantheistic suggestion is much the same as that found in the Christian doctrine of the Logos, from Eternity resident in God, inseparable from a true conception of Deity, and proceeding to manifestation at the coming into being of Objective Existence.

i) cf. Houtsma, *De Strijd* etc. 101.

2) Zahiriten, as in note 2, p. 185, especially p. 141, l. 18 ff.; cf. present work, pp. 32 ff.

3) cf. Houtsma, *De Strijd* etc. 117 f.

4) cf. von Kremer, *Hersch. Id. d. Isi.*, 41. On the whole much like the doctrine of al-Ash'ari, Houtsma, *De Strijd* etc. 118,

*The Divine Unity.* We are now prepared to consider the doctrine of the Divine Unity. Ahmed ibn Hanbal was firm in his belief in the unity of God \*), and, when we keep in view the doctrine of the Koran which we believe him to have adopted, it is easy to understand with what vigor and conviction he would resist the charge of polytheistic heresy which his opponents sought to fasten upon him. We may, by the way, notice his belief in the eternity of the Divine attributes<sup>2</sup>). His view, except in the case of the Divine Sovereignty and Knowledge, the attributes formally connected with the origin of the Koran, is stated but not elaborated in the sources to which I have had access. We have, however, in the case of the two attributes named sufficient data to enable us to arrive at his opinions. He stated, with all emphasis, that God could not exist without his Knowledge. And, though his adversaries declared that to make eternal and uncreated anything which was in thought separated from the bare idea of Deity was to make as many more deities as there were things so thought of<sup>3</sup>), Ahmed, taking the concrete view of an unphilosophical mind, could not think of Absolute Being, except as involving all the fullness of a perfect, or yet to be perfected, finite creature, and a finite creature he could not think of except as having attributes. The Absolute was the infinite correspondent and correlate of the perfect finite.

*The Anthropomorphic Attributes.* The same conviction evidently lay at the basis of Ahmed ibn Hanbal's faith in the anthropomorphic attributes given to Deity in the Koran<sup>4</sup>).

i) p. 106 infra. For the Mu'tazilite doctrine of the Divine Unity, vid. Steiner, *Die Mu'tazihiten*, 50.

2) pp. 90, 101 f., 139; cf. a slightly different view, von Kremer, *Herrsch. Id. d. Isi.*, 40 f.

3) For the Mu'tazilite view of the attributes of God, vid. Steiner, *Die Mu'taziliten* 50, 52, 59; Houtsma, *De Strijd etc.* 103, 124; Shahrastant, *Haarbrucker's transl'n I*, 71.

4) p. 72; cf. Goldziher, *Moh. Stud.* II, 186; von Kremer, *Herrsch. Id. d. Isi.* 41 f. (a more positive view).

Puzzled by philosophical arguments the untrained mind, though resting on the analogy of perfect human being, and holding fast to this as the undoubted ground and explanation of the Koran's anthropomorphisms, asserted its impotence to answer philosophizing objections by saying, 'He is even as he has described himself, I will say no more than this'<sup>1</sup>). There was a much less arbitrary answer, which may not have been fully formulated in Ahmed ibn Hanbal's mind any more than it was in that of Mohammed himself, but which, had it been clear to the mind of either, would have seemed a blasphemy in its utterance, and would have involved inevitably a proof of the charge made by those who were arguing on the other side. This answer would have been to assert the literal truth of the Koran's anthropomorphisms. Ahmed's belief was anthropomorphic. That was the simple fact<sup>2</sup>). And the Prophet's was not the less so. The principle on which Ahmed formed his notion of Deity was essentially right, 'the absolute is the perfection and infinitude of the perfect finite'; but his opponents properly objected to the giving of accidents of human nature, which may or may not be found when the human creature is in other environments, to the Being in connection with whom to speak of accidents and environments would be paradoxical and contradictory.

The fact of the matter in relation to these anthropomorphic attributes is that Ahmed ibn Hanbal had to set himself up not only, as his own apologist, but, also, as the apologist of the Koran and the Prophet, and he knew that — at least, so it

i) cf. Dozy, *Het Islamisme*, 1365 an argument of the Sifatiya, Shahrastani, Haarbrucker's transl'n, I, 95.

2) cf. Goldziher, *Zahhiten*, p. 133, l. 24 ff. The so-called negative position of Malik ibn Anas and Ahmed ibn Hanbal in this connection is laid to undeistand (vid. Shahrastani, Haarbrucker's transl'n, I, 97, 114 f.). Refusing to accept the figurative meaning of the anthropomorphic expressions, and yet insisting on the real force of these same expressions, as Ahmed certainly did, how can passivity be conceived to exist in such minds? Insistence on the positive meaning, and yet not stating what the specific meaning was, though denying it to be figurative, leaves only anthropomorphism over.

seems to us. If Ahmed had believed differently from the Koran and Mohammed, its human author, the case would have been a hard one for him; but anthropomorphism existed in higher quarters. Ahmed had the Word of God to uphold, as well as his own theological character and he made the best defence that could be made under the circumstances. He asserted that God was describing himself, and who knew about himself more or better than he did? To such an argument there is no direct answer. One must follow the much more circuitous route of proving the apologist's conception of the Koran revelation to be wrong, and once this is done the controversy on minor points would be time lost. The allegorical interpretation of the anthropomorphic expressions appears to be justly repudiated by any man who wishes to expound the Koran according to the temper of the man who composed it, the temper of the men to whom it was first addressed, and the special intention actually present in the mind of Mohammed, as far as this can be learned.

*Koran In-* The step to the consideration of Ahmed ibn *terpretation.* Hanbal's principle in the interpretation of the Koran is not a great one \*). He believed that the Koran was to be explained literally, except in cases where the Book itself indicated a limitation or modification of this method to be necessary, and in cases where a practical impossibility was involved. We say practical impossibility, for purely abstract necessity he was loth to admit as a regulating principle. There are so few ascertainable instances of allegorical interpretation on his part, that one can say that his general principle of hermeneutics governed him in dealing with the portions of the Koran which might seem to some to be figurative. The indications of the Book itself and practical necessity would determine for him the application of the literal or some other method to such passages. In all cases

i) cf. his use of texts pp. 72, 90 f., 101 ff., 106, 139, 162 f. For the freer method of the Mu'tazila, v. Steiner, *Die Mu'taziliten*, 79.

where the literal<sup>^</sup> method had to be given up the interpretation handed down in Tradition ever found favor with Ahmed.

*Extra-Koran* Closely allied with the interpretation of the *Sources of* Koran is the question as to the authoritative *Doctrine.* source of doctrine and rules of conduct, where the Koran fails to give sufficiently explicit directions. For Ahmed ibn Hanbal this lay in the Tradition. What had the Prophet said? What had the Prophet done? What had the Companions of the Prophet reported from him? Or, their Followers? Or, the second generation of Followers? What was the consensus of opinion and practice in the Muslim Community? The admission of the Kiyas or of Ra<sup>^</sup>y was generally opposed, but admitted where there was no better help to be found<sup>1</sup>). His monumental work, the great collection of traditions called the Musnad, had for its declared purpose the furnishing, in all conceivable instances, of sound traditional arguments to those who might resort to it<sup>2</sup>). Its composition and the importance Ahmed attached to it shew that Tradition next to the Word of God itself was the great rock on which he stood. Many testimonies go to prove that he was more tenacious of Tradition than any of the other doctors of his age<sup>3</sup>). We find that when he forgave his persecutors it was because of a traditional interpretation of a Koran verse<sup>4</sup>).

i) Goldziher, Moh. Stud. II, 217, note 4; Sachau, Zur Aeltesten Gesch. d. Moh. Rechts, 17; Houtsma, De Stnjd etc. 91 f.; cf. Goldziher, Zahiriten, 20, note 1. Houtsma's words p. 92, l. 16 ff. seem to be too favorable to the Mu<sup>c</sup>tazila. Their interpretation of the Koran as far as the attributes of God, the anthropomorphic expressions regarding God, and the predestination passages are concerned was wholly figurative, and we know how large a part of the polemic which they waged was over these points. The name Rationalists, or Freethinkers, is justly applied to the Mu'tazila and implies that the Koran with them was authoritative, not absolutely or as far as practical necessity would admit, but only as far as the rational demands of human life and comfort and the fair requirements of human thought allowed.

2) p. 19-

3) Ibn Khaldun, Proleg. I 11, 6; Goldziher, Zahiriten, 23, l. 25; Sachau, Zur Aeltesten Gesch. d. Moh. Rechts 15; cf. present work p. 16 f.

4) Abu Nu<sup>c</sup>aim, 1500, قال أبو الفضل دخلت على أبي يربما فقلت

When the author of the *Hilya* relates that Ahmed was angry [\*U JU\*] with those who weakened under the test in the days of al-Ma<sup>D</sup>mun, he follows up the incident with a tradition of some of the Prophet's Companions having been very angry when they were called upon to give up any part of their religion<sup>J</sup>). The author's purpose in introducing the tradition where it stands, is to point out the analogy between Ahmed's case and that cited, and to justify Ahmed in view of what the Prophet's Companions had done. He may wish to intimate, also, that Ahmed acted knowing this precedent, and being stimulated by it to feel as he did.

*The inter-* His interpretation of Tradition also leaned to the *pretation* of most rigorous view. A provision for relief in *Tradition*. ccptional cases he often made imperative in such

له بلغى ان رجلا جاء الى قَصَل الاتمطى فقال له اجعلنى في حل  
ان لم اقم بِنَصْرَتِكَ فقال فضل لا جعلت احدا في حل فتبسم ابى  
وسكت فلما كان بعد ايام قال لى مَرَرْتُ بِهَذِهِ الْآيَةِ فَمَنْ عَقَا  
وَأَصْلَحَ فَأَجْرُهُ عَلَى اللَّهِ [Koi. 42. 38] فَتَنَزَّرْتُ فِى تَعْسِيرِهَا فَاِذَا هُوَ  
ما حدثنى به هاشم بن القاسم قنا ابن المبارك حدثنى من سمع  
للحسن يقول اذا جئت الامم بين يدى رب العالمين يوم القيامة  
نودوا ليقيم من اجره على الله فلا بقوم الا من عفا فى الدنيا قال ابى  
فاجعلت الميت فى حل من صر به اياى ثم جعل يقسول وما على  
رجل الا يعذب الله بسببه احدا

حدثنا محمد بن فضيل بن عَزْوَانَ عن ابي سلمة بن عبد الرحمن  
الوليد بن عبد الله بن جميع عن ابى سلمة بن عبد الرحمن  
ابن عوف قال كان من اصحاب النبى صلى الله عليه وسلم من اذا  
أريد على شىء من امر دينه رايت حماليق عينيه فى راسه تدور  
كانه مجنون

instances, even if the persons concerned had no wish to avail themselves of the dispensation or the cases were in detail not the same as that originally provided for in the tradition. Hence, what was meant to be a relief became, instead, a burden<sup>1</sup>). *The Reason* The belief he held in the merit of good works<sup>2</sup>) *for his* was so strong that a rigid exegesis of the Koran and *Method* of Tradition was the most natural thing to be expected of him. The same belief explains his persistent application *and for the* of himself to a life of ascetic rigor and fasting<sup>3</sup>). *Manner of* His love of the ascetic life, in its turn, throws light *his Life*, upon the mystic character of his piety and his faith in dreams<sup>4</sup>). Solitude, hunger, and the absence of distracting comforts made the subjective life seem more real than the objective, and led Ahmed to feel an aversion to a life such as other men lived; for in such a life the reality of the interior world which he had created for himself was shattered, and mysticism with its revelry of religious imagination dissipated<sup>5</sup>).

i) For illustration of his ligoious interpretation, see Goldzihei, Zahiriten, pp. 87, 88 f., 103 l. 20 (T.; cf. p. 141 infra; Goldziher, Moh. Stud. II, 250.

2) cf. p. 164 and note 1 infra. Houtsma, De Strijd etc. 85, says that the close adherence to the letter of the Koran on the part of the orthodox leived a strict conception of life such as was found especially among the Hanbalites. But we would call attention to the fact that there was at this time a deep current of popular sentiment favoring a stricter religious life, and this great tendency of the life of individuals and of society at large expressed itself in high views of the Koran and a rigid interpretation of its precepts. The stricter conception of the Koran then leacted and gave definite form to the life tendency of the nation and its membeis. It was the conception of life that affected the conception of the Book which was the rule of life, lather than otherwise. Such is my reading of the circumstances, but Houtsma's explanation will also find many advocates.

3) cf. Abu'l-Mah. I, 364, obituary notice of Yazid ibn Ab! Yazid al-Azdi, containing a reference to his ascetic life and imitation of Ahmed ibn Hanbal.

4) al-Makrizi, p. 18, *ونقل من كثير من السلف أنهم رأوا الله تعالى*, *في المنام كالامام ابي حنيفة والامام احمد بن حنبل رضى الله عنهما* cf. pp. 92 f., 82.

5) *قال [في] بوران ابو محمد لابي*, 142 f., 82.

*Reverence* This ascetic-mystic aspect of his character comprises for *Relics*, a reverence for relics, which has found expression once or twice in the course of the preceding narrative<sup>1</sup>).

*Foreordination of Events.* To one holding such views as those of which we have been speaking, the belief in a pre-destined order of life is the only explanation of human events. Ahmed appears to have held that there was no contingency, either in the actions which men do, or in the events through which they are called to pass<sup>2</sup>).

*The Doctrine of Faith* expounded by his friend Mohammed ibn Aslam was, apparently, held by Ahmed ibn Hanbal, likewise. That is, that Faith is in the spirit, is expressed by the lips, and is confirmed by the acts. His declaration that discipline and trial would serve to increase his faith favors such a view<sup>3</sup>).

*Ahmed's Attitude toward Patronage.* His attitude toward patronage and favors on the part of rulers was that of an extremist, BUT there can be no doubt that his high con-

عندى خُفِّ ابْعَثُ بِهِ إِلَيْكَ فَسَكَتَ فَلَمَّا عَادَ إِلَيْهِ أَبُو مُحَمَّدٍ قَالَ  
يَا أَبَا مُحَمَّدٍ لَا تَبْعَثْ بِالْخُفِّ فَقَدْ شَغَلَ قَلْبِي عَلَى

ورأيت أبا ياحشد شعرة من شعر النبي، 144 a, Abū Nu'aim, 1) صلى الله عليه وسلم فيضعها على فيه يقبلها واحسب أني رأيتها [بضعها على عيبيه ويغمسها في الماء ثم يشربه يستشفى بها Marg. ورأيتها] قد أخذ قصعة النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم فغسلها في حُبِّ الماء ثم شرب فيها ورأيت غير مرة يشرب ماء زمزم يستشفى به وي مسح به يديه ووجهه cf. p. 107.

2) note 2, p. 109; p. 151.

3) al-Makrizi, p. 12, زيادة، وكنت في الساجن أكل وذلك عندى

The faith which was increased by his adversity appears to have been an inward exercise of the mind. cf. Mohammed ibn Aslam's view p. 38 f.

ception of his vocation as a teacher led him to keep as clear of compromise as possible<sup>1</sup>). Surramanra would become his prison, he said, were he to stay there and teach while, at the same time, receiving the fixed salary of the Khalif<sup>2</sup>). Ishak ibn Rahawaih he said he would rebuke, if he ever saw him, for his truckling to the Emir Abdallah ibn Tahir<sup>3</sup>). The wilfulness of Ahmed, doubtless, contributed to his opposition to a Court position; he was master of his own circle in his own way in Baghdad, but at the Court such would have been impossible. And, then, his real hatred of easy and congenial conditions on the ground of religious principle presented a crowning obstacle<sup>4</sup>).

*Aversion to Systematic Theology and its Result.* The character of Ahmed as a traditionist, and his aversion to generalization and deduction, prevented him from leaving behind any system of opinions. We may formulate for him in these days, but he would not have been willing to do so. Hence, the uninfluential character of the Hanbalite school. Their master's teaching was unsystematic, and much ground was lost ere his spirit and teaching could be put before the world in such a form as to accomplish any powerful effect. His personality in his lifetime and after his death was a great force in the Muslim world; and the personality seems yet to be as powerful in its influence as the opinions which he enunciated, though his following has never been great in comparison with that of the other three orthodox Imams.

i) p. 112 infra, p. 141; cf. attitude of Malik ibn Anas toward Harun al-Rashid, von Hammer, Lit. Gesch. III, 101, 102.

2) p. 142.

3) p. 145.

4) On this whole subject, cf. Goldziher, Moh. Stud. II, 39.

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## CORRIGENDA.

Page 3, line 5, Read *Abi* for *Abu*.

„ 19, n. 1, Read cf. p. 114 and p. 142.

„ 23, n. 2, last line, Read cf. Arabic, p. 97, l. 2 flf.

„ 28, line 6, Read al-Shafi'î's for al-Shafi'î's.

„ 38, note, l. 4 infra, Read Shahrastani for Shahrastani.

„ 46, line 2, Read Ayub ibn al-Najjar.

„ 47, „ 5, also Side-heading, Read al-Mu<sup>c</sup>tazili for al-Mu<sup>c</sup>talizi.

„ 53, last line, Read: made a jest.

„ 70, line 6, Dele comma after "Sa<sup>c</sup>dawaih".

„ 73, „ 2, Read Muzaffar for Muzaffir.

„ 75, „ 12 infra, Dele comma after "him".

„ 83, » 11 » Read طرسوس.

„ 96, „ 10 „ » يعون for يعون.

„ 102, „ 4 „ » وكانوا » وكانوا.

„ 109, » 55,, باسع » باسع.

„ 172, „ 17, Insert after "and":— confirmed their judgment.

„ 200, „ 10 infra, Read al-Khabbab for al-Khabab.







