The Trend Of Al-I'tizal Between The Caliphs' Acceptance And The Resistance Of Jurists: The Example Of Al-Ma'mun, Al-Mu'tasim, And Al-Wathiq (198 AH/813 CE-232/847 CE)

Hussein Raja Al-shouqirat[1] , Mustafa Kamal Al Ma'ani[2] ,
Ahmad Attalla Alsaidat[3] , Khaldoun Khalil Al-Habashneh[4]

[1]Assistant Professor /Department of history and geography /
Faculty of arts /Al Hussein Bin Talal University / Ma'an / Jordan.
[2]Assistant Professor/Al Hussein Bin Talal University/Faculty Of Arts.
[3]Department of history and geography / Faculty of arts /
Al Hussein Bin Talal University/ Ma'an / Jordan.
[4]Associate Professor /Department of Basic Sciences
(Humanities and Scientific) / Faculty of arts /
Al-Zaytoonah University / Amman / Jordan

Abstract:

This study focuses on the Abbasid Caliphs' (Al-Ma'mun, Al-Mu'tasim, and Al-Wathiq) adoption of the policy of Al-I'tizal and their attempt to impose it forcibly as the official doctrine of the state during the period (198 AH/813 CE-232/847 CE). The study also examines the collision of these Caliphs' positions with the Al-Rafidhi jurists' resistance to the policy of Al-I'tizal. Between the Caliphs' acceptance and the jurists' rejection, the study highlights the ordeal that resulted in the examination, persecution, torture, and killing of the opposing jurists, led by Imam Ahmad bin Hanbal. The study mainly focuses on explaining the Caliphs' positions and studying them as a model for adopting the policy of Al-I'tizal. It also clarifies the opposing jurists' positions towards that policy. The study concluded the success of the opposing jurists in their steadfastness and the failure of the Caliphs' policy of adopting the trend of Al-I'tizal and imposing it as the official doctrine of the state. Furthermore, the study also shows the role of society and the public in thwarting the policy of Al-I'tizal due to their sympathy with the opposing jurists and their support for them.

Introduction:

This study sheds light on the Abbasid Caliphs' (Al-Ma'mun, Al-Mu'tasim, and Al-Wathiq) adoption of the policy of Al-I'tizal during their caliphate, which extends from (198 AH/813 CE-232/847 CE) during the first Abbasid era. It also examines their collision with the jurists' resistance to this policy during that period. The study mainly focuses on understanding the positions of these Caliphs and studying these positions as a model for adopting the policy of Al-I'tizal, attempting to impose this policy forcibly as the official doctrine of the state. The beginning of Al-Ma'mun's caliphate marked a new beginning for the Abbasid state, with his establishment in Marw and his upbringing there, followed by his conflict with his brother Al-Amin and his approach towards the Alawi Shii trend. The politically and religiously reflected results had an impact on the institution of the caliphate itself, forming a new turning point and critical stage in the history of the Abbasid state. The policy of seclusion (i'tizal) crystallized as an official doctrine of the state after Al-Ma'mun's ascension to the caliphate in the year 212 AH/827 CE. Specifically, this policy faced strong opposition from the juristic (fiqh) trend that stood against adopting seclusion as an official doctrine of the state. The state faced a crisis when the caliphs adopted seclusion as a doctrine, and the jurists resisted, leading to an ordeal for the jurists who opposed the policy. As a result, these jurists were subjected to campaigns of torture, persecution, imprisonment, and even death, which led the public to stand by them and support them. Due to these events, the policy of seclusion faced difficulties in imposing itself as an official doctrine of the state and can be said to have failed in doing so. The adoption of the policy of seclusion continued during the reigns of Al-Mu'tasim and Al-Wathiq, and it remained a weapon in the hands of the caliphs against the jurists who opposed it. It should be noted here that some jurists supported the policy of seclusion."As an official doctrine of the state, however, the study is concerned with expressing the position of the opposing jurists to that policy, led by Imam Ahmed bin Hanbal."

Translation:

Al-I'tizal - meaning, significance, and origins: The term al-I'tizal is derived from the Arabic word "i'tazala," which means to withdraw or separate from something. It also means that a group has separated from each other or that some individuals have separated from others. In the Quran, Allah says, "And if you do not believe in me, then separate yourselves (i'tazalu) from me" (44:25).

Thus, al-I'tizal means separation and withdrawal in terms of language, and those who practice it are called al-Mu'tazilah, which means "the separated ones" (Lisan al-Arab, 11/440).

As a technical term, al-I'tizal refers to an Islamic group that emerged in the early second century CE. They followed the path of reason and placed it above tradition in studying Islamic beliefs. The reason for the name is attributed to the departure of Wasilibn Ata from the opinions of his teacher al-Hasan al-Basri on the issue of the major sin or the sinner. Wasil claimed that the sinner is neither a believer nor an unbeliever but is in a state between the two. This led al-Hasan al-Basri to expel Wasil from his circle. Wasil then withdrew and joined AmribnUbayd in their own private circle (al-Baghdadi, al-Firaq, 1/89).

Al-Shahrastani indicates that their withdrawal was due to their belief in negating divine attributes, predestination and that the sinner is in a state between belief and disbelief, as well as their opinion on the description of God and His qualities (al-Shahrastani, al-Milal, 38). Because of their beliefs, they withdrew from al-Hasan al-Basri's circle and became known as al-Mu'tazilah (al-Dhahabi, al-Siyar, 5/282; al-Zuhdi, al-Mu'tazilah, 2).

The emergence of al-Mu'tazilahis was linked to their separation from al-Hasan al-Basri's circle after Wasilibn Ata announced his opinion on the major sin. He then withdrew to a corner of the mosque, and al-Hasan said, "Wasil has withdrawn from us, so he and those who withdrew with him are called al-Mu'tazilah" (al-Shahrastani, al-Milal, 36; Erfan, Dirasat, 10).

Al-Shahrastani and al-Baghdadi believe that the word al-Mu'tazilah was adopted by the enemies of al-Mu'tazilah from the Ahl al-Sunnahwa al-Jama'ah to denote their deviation from the mainstream community. Therefore, al-Mu'tazilah is the dissenting sect (al-Baghdadi, al-Firaq, 1/98; al-Shahrastani, al-Milal, 36; al-Murtada, al-Tabaqat, 3). This may be an unfair criticism of al-Mu'tazilah.Some argue that the concept of al-I'tizal, or theological rationalism, predates

Wasilibn Ata, as many members of the Prophet's family had followed this approach. However, Wasil was the most prominent proponent of al-I'tizal (Abdullah Al-Amin: Studies/175).

The al-I'tizal movement split into more than twenty factions, including the Wasiliyah, followers of Wasilibn Ata, Al-Bashriyah, followers of Bashribn al-Mu'tamir, Al-Khayyatiah, followers of Abi al-Hasan al-Khayyat, Al-Iskafiya, followers of Muhammad ibn Abdullah al-Iskafi, Al-Amawiya, followers of AmribnUbaydibnThabit, Al-Nizamiyah, followers of Ibrahim ibnSayyar al-Nizami, Al-Hadhliyah, followers of Abi al-Hadhil al-Alaaf, Al-Ja'fariyah, Al-Jahiziyyah, Al-Thamamiyah, and Al-Ja'fariyah, among others. (Al-Hamadani: Al-Maniyahwa Al-Amal/3; Al-Maqrizi: Al-Khutat, 3/394; Rashid: Al-Mu'tazilah/99). The al-I'tizal movement also had several names, including "People of Justice and Tawhid," "Al-Munazzah," "Al-Wa'idiah," "Al-Wa'idiyah," and "People of Truth." (Al-Ash'ari: Articles/4; Al-Hamadani: Al-Maniyahwa Al-Amal).

Al-Ma'mun and Al-I'tizal:

Perhaps the connection between Al-Ma'mun and the scholars of the Mu'tazilah, such as Thumamah bin Al-Ashras and Abu Al-Hudhayl Al-'Allaf, and his conviction in their ideas, led him to adopt the Al-I'tizal movement until he became one of its most fervent defenders and prominent adherents. It can be said that the year 212 AH/827 CE was a turning point in the policy of the Abbasid state with the announcement by Al-Ma'mun of Al-I'tizal as the official doctrine of the state (Ibn Al-Jawzi: Manaqib/308; Al-Dhahabi: Siyar, 11/236).

Perhaps the issue that emerged with Al-Ma'mun's adoption of Al-I'tizal was the question of the creation of the Qur'an or what is known as the Mihnah, where IbnKathir refers to the Umayyad and Abbasid caliphs not adopting this issue until the emergence of the Mu'tazilah (IbnKathir: Al-Bidayah, 10/332). It appears that Al-Ma'mun did not initially declare his belief in the creation of the Qur'an. Al-Dhahabi mentions that the Qadariyyah appeared at the end of the Companions' time, then the Mu'tazilah appeared in Basra, and the Jahmiyyah in Khorasan during the time of the Tabi'in and beyond the second century (Al-Dhahabi: Siyar, 11/236). Even after Al-Ma'mun assumed the caliphate, he was passionate about knowledge and philosophy and held debates attended by scholars and jurists. Among those he chose for these gatherings were Ahmad bin AbiDawud and

Bishr Al-Marisi (IbnTayfur: Baghdad/36; Faruq Omar: Al-'Abbasiyun, 1/234).

Al-Ma'mun was interested in philosophy, translation, and Arabization. He brought books from Greece and became close to the Mu'tazilah until Ahmad bin AbiDawud became influential in Al-Ma'mun's court, and he convinced people to adopt the belief in the creation of the Qur'an. The Jahmiyyah became active during his time, and Al-Ma'mun favored Ali bin Abi Talib, saying he was the best person after the Prophet Muhammad (IbnTayfur: Baghdad/45; Al-Tabari: Tarikh, 5/178; Al-Dhahabi: Tarikh, 5).

IbnKathir adds that Al-Ma'mun had Shi'ite and I'tizal beliefs, meaning that he inclined towards the Shi'ite by preferring Ali and towards the Mu'tazilah by adopting their doctrine until he declared the belief in the creation of the Qur'an and announced Al-I'tizal as the official doctrine of the state. This was in the late year 212 AH/827 CE (IbnKathir: Al-Bidayah, 9/275; IbnTughriBardi: Al-Nujum, 2/249).

The ordeal of the creation of the Quran has cast its shadow over the reality of the state since the reign of Al-Ma'mun, and it continued until the reign of Al-Wathiq. The caliphs, scholars, and jurists were divided between supporters and opponents. The matter even reached the point where Al-Ma'mun examined the scholars in 218 AH about the creation of the Quran. Most of them answered under duress, while some refused to answer. Al-Ma'mun went to great lengths to test the jurists, scholars, judges, and narrators to say that the Quran is created based on the premise that every narrator is created and the Quran is a narration. (Al-Tabari: History, 6/632; Al-Kindi: Al-QudatwalWulat, 445; Ibn al-Jawzi: Al-Muntazam, 9/15).

Al-Ma'mun used the interrogation style to examine them through his letters to his deputy in Baghdad, Isaac bin Ibrahim, in which he listed the names of those he intended to examine. Then the response came containing the answer of the examiners. The first letter confirmed the necessity of gathering the judges and narrators, analyzing them, and informing them of those who approve or disapprove of the creation of the Quran. The second letter was sent in Rabi' al-Awwal 218 AH/ 833 CE.

Another request was made to question seven scholars, and they answered under coercion and fear of torture. (At-Tabari: History,

8/634; IbnKathir: Al-Bidayah, 10/272; IbnTughriBirdi: Al-Nujum, 2/268).

Al-Ma'mun sent a third message to his deputy in Baghdad, Ishaq ibn Ibrahim, in which he emphasized the comparison of anyone who does not believe in the creation of the Quran to the Christians who say that Jesus is not a created being. (At-Tabari: History, 8/635; Farouk Omar: The Abbasids, 3/43; Jadaan: Al-Mihna, 200).

Researchers have differed about the reasons that led Al-Ma'mun to adopt this policy, with FahmiJadaan believing that Al-Ma'mun adopted this policy for political reasons and that the influence of the Mu'tazilites on him was almost nonexistent (Jadaan: Al-Mihna, 86).

Farouk Omar believes that the role of the Mu'tazilites was not significant in testing the people. Still, they supported the idea of Al-Ma'mun, and their influence was indirect. Perhaps the political and intellectual circumstances that preceded the reign of Al-Ma'mun shaped his religious policy (Farouk Omar: The Abbasids, 3/88).

Some argue that the scholars played a role in the crisis due to their stance towards it, and some see it as an issue of the state as a whole looking to maintain its security, and not a matter arising from incitement by the Mu'tazilites (Jarahullah: Al-Mu'tazilah, 42). Jarahullah points to Ahmad ibn Dawud in Al-Ma'mun's adoption of this religious policy and belief in creating the Quran and testing its people. Some argue that Al-Ma'mun adopted this policy to reconcile the state and the Alawite Shiite opposition. (Saadi: Ahmad ibnHanbal, 222; Moussa: The Conflict, 92).

Whatever the reason for al-Ma'mun adopting this policy, whether due to his conviction or encouragement from the Mu'tazilites, he was likely determined to continue with it until the end. He recommended to al-Mu'tasim, his successor, to continue on the path of the Mu'tazilites, to examine the jurists and scholars, and to continue to bring Ahmad ibn Dawud, the head of the Mu'tazilites, closer to him.

Al-Mu'tasim and the Mu'tazilites:

The caliphate passed to al-Mu'tasim upon the death of his brother al-Ma'mun (218 AH/833 CE - 227 AH/842 CE). He received a will from his brother that said, "...learn from what has happened and follow in the footsteps of your brother in regards to the Quran...and do not leave

Abu Abdullah ibnAbiDawud, but rather include him in your consultations and in all of your affairs" (al-Tabari: Tarikh, 8/648).

Even though al-Mu'tasim was not interested in knowledge or the issue of the creation of the Quran, he still urged people to accept it and imposed it upon them. Al-Suyuti indicates that the influence of Ahmad ibn Dawud continued to affect al-Mu'tasim. Al-dhahabi mentions that al-Mu'tasim was one of the greatest and most respected caliphs had it not been for his examination of the scholars regarding the issue of the creation of the Quran (al-Dhahabi: Siyar, 11/235; Ibn al-Jawzi: Manaqib/319; al-Suyuti: Tarikh/334; IbnKathir: Al-Bidaya, 10/333).

Al-Mu'tasim used persuasion and intimidation to examine the scholars, jurists, and hadith scholars. In 219 AH/834 CE, he examined Imam Ahmad ibnHanbal, who insisted that the Quran is the word of God (Hanbal: Dhikr/10).

It appears that al-Mu'tasim was not convinced about examining people on this issue and was tired of it. There are indications that he intended to lift this matter, but his entourage from the Mu'tazilites, including Ahmad ibn Dawud, prevented him from doing so. Al-Mu'tasim expressed his desire to release Ibn Hanbal and be done with the issue altogether (Ibn al-Jawzi: Manaqib/325).

Imam Ahmad ibnHanbal remained under torture by the Caliph al-Mu'tasim for a long time, at the instigation of Ahmad ibn Dawud who warned al-Mu'tasim not to abandon the Mu'tazilite doctrine. Al-Mu'tasim intensified the torture of Ibn Hanbal and increased his imprisonment. The Imam's only assertion was that the Quran is the word of God and is not created. He remained tortured for twenty-eight months until he was released (Ibn al-Jawzi: Manaqib/327; al-Tamimi: al-Muhan/436; Ibn al-Jawzi: al-Muntazim, 9/43; Hanbal: Dhikr/11).

Al-Mu'tasim was not a man of knowledge and culture, but he implemented the policy of his predecessor. His adoption of Mu'tazilite thought was influenced by the Mu'tazilites, led by Ahmad ibn Dawud. Al-Mu'tasim expressed his desire to release Imam Ahmad ibnHanbal on several occasions, saying, "Shame on you, release yourself with your own hands" (Ibn al-Jawzi: al-Muntazim, 9/44).

It seems that al-Mu'tasim was convinced to release Imam Ahmad ibnHanbal and abandon his religious policy. Still, he was influenced by

the Mu'tazilites and their warning of public backlash. Al-Mu'tasim's policy stirred the Islamic world, but he tried to calm things down by announcing that the Imam was still alive (al-Tamimi: al-Muhan/736).

Reports indicate that Imam Ahmad ibn Hanbal was imprisoned and tortured by al-Mu'tasim, who whipped him before the Imam's insistence on his position. Reports suggest that al-Mu'tasim regretted whipping the Imam (al-Dhahabi: al-'Ibar, 1/376; al-Hanbali: Shatharat, 3/92).

It is worth noting that under the influence of Mu'tazilite thought, al-Mu'tasim examined the Imam on another issue: whether the knowledge of God is created or uncreated. It should be noted here that al-Mu'tasim's examination was not limited to Imam Ahmad only but also included Nu'aymibnHammad (d. 229/843), who died under torture and interrogation, as well as Abu Ya'qub Yusuf ibn Yahya al-Buwayti (d. 231/845 CE) from Egypt, who died during the reign of al-Wathiq (Ibn al-Jawzi: Manaqib/319; al-Dhahabi: al-'Ibar, 1/405; Ibn Tughri Barudi: al-Nujum, 2/354).

Al-Wathiq and Al-I'tizal:

Al-Wathiq succeeded his father, Al-Mu'tasim, as the Caliph (ruler) after he died in 227 AH/842-233 AH/847 CE and followed his father's footsteps in adopting the ideology of Al-I'tizal. Ahmad bin AbiDu'ad continued to affect Al-Wathiq in the issue of the creation of the Quran and the examination of scholars and jurists on this matter. Al-Wathiq wrote to judges not to accept the testimony of anyone who claimed the Quran was created, which led to the imprisonment of many scholars (IbnTaghribirdi: 2/320; Al-Suyuti: Tarikh/373; Al-Dhahabi: Al-'Ibar, 1/325; Al-Yaqoubi: Tarikh, 2/482).

It should be noted that Al-Wathiq did not confront Imam Ahmad bin Hanbal or examine him, possibly due to the Imam's firm stance or Al-Wathiq's awareness of his father's experience with him. Despite the Imam's departure and disappearance, his fame filled the horizons, and the number of his students increased. When this reached Ahmad bin AbiDu'ad, the Imam stopped teaching before AbiDu'ad asked him to do so (Farouk Omar: Al-Abassiyoon, 3/166; Ibn Al-Jawzi: Manaqib/309).

Al-Wathiq was keen on adopting the ideology of Al-I'tizal to the extent that he questioned the people of Thaghour regarding their view of

seeing God in the afterlife. He threatened to behead them if they did not answer him. He even went so far as to test prisoners of war among the Romans. Whoever answered was released, and whoever did not answer was left behind.

Al-Wathiq followed the policy of his uncle Al-Ma'mun and his father Al-Mu'tasim in adopting the ideology of Al-I'tizal and examining people. Al-Wathiq even examined the jurist Ahmad bin Nasr Al-Khuzai, and the situation between them escalated to the point where one insulted the other. Al-Wathiq consulted with those around him from Al-I'tizal on what to do, and they advised him to kill him. Al-Wathiq then had him killed, beheaded, and sent his head to Baghdad with a letter stating, "This is the head of the misguided infidel, Ahmad bin Nasr Al-Khuzai, whom Allah killed at the hands of the Caliph Al-Wathiq, after the evidence was established against him regarding the issue of comparison, and he was offered to repent, but he refused. So, the Commander of the Faithful declared his blood permissible and cursed him" (Al-Tabari: Tarikh, 5/252; Ibn Al-Jawzi: Manaqib/298; IbnKathir: Al-Bidaya, 10/302).

Historical narratives indicate that Al-Wathiq abandoned adopting the doctrine of Al-I'tizal (seclusion) due to the reversal of his actions regarding the examination of people after a debate that took place between Sheikh Abu Abdurrahman Abdallahibn Muhammad Al-Azrami, Sheikh Al-Nasai, Al-Tirmidhi, and IbnAbiDawud about the Prophet's silence on everything related to the creation of the Quran during his era and his efforts to that end. He convinced the attendees of his point of view, including Al-Wathiq himself, who rewarded Sheikh Al-Azrami and never examined anyone again after that (Ibn Al-Jawzi: Manaqib/351; Al-Suyuti: Tarikh/253).

From the above, it appears that Al-Wathiq inherited the policy of the Al-I'tizal movement and wanted to apply everything in it to scholars, jurists, and hadith scholars, as well as prisoners of war and people of the frontier. This was encouraged by the Mu'tazilites and their leader Ahmad ibn Dawud. Although some narratives indicate that IbnDawud was against the killing of Al-Khazai, this does not diminish his role in pushing the Caliph Al-Wathiq to adopt the policy of the Al-I'tizal doctrine.

The eras of the Mu'tazilite caliphs (Al-Ma'mun, Al-Mu'tasim, and Al-Wathiq) witnessed prominent events due to their adoption of the Al-

I'tizal movement. In the period of Al-Ma'mun, Muhammad ibnNuh died. In the era of Al-Mu'tasim, Imam Ahmad ibnHanbal was tortured, and in the period of Al-Wathiq, both Ahmad ibn Nasr Al-Khazai and Nu'aimibnHammad were killed. This movement impacted the Islamic community and created a rift that persisted until the caliphate of Al-Mutawakkil lifted the crisis from the nation, showed the Sunnah, and implemented it.

Regarding the jurists and Al-I'tizal, it is worth noting that there was a division among the jurists between supporters and opponents of the policy of Al-I'tizal adopted by the Abbasid caliphs (Al-Ma'mun, Al-Mu'tasim, Al-Wathiq). The study is primarily concerned with clarifying the opposition stance of the jurists to the policy of Al-I'tizal. While Ahmad ibn Dawud (d. 237 AH/851 CE) claimed to support the Al-I'tizal policy, Imam Ahmad ibnHanbal emerged as a representative of the opposition movement (Ibn Al-Murtada: Tabaqat Al-Mu'tazila/62).

It can be said that a trend of supporting the policy of retirement was adopted by the following scholars: Bishr Al-Marisi (d. 218 AH/833 CE), Abu Hassan Al-Ziyadi (d. 242 AH/856 CE), Bishr bin Al-Walid Al-Kundi Al-Hanafi (d. 238 AH/852 CE), Ishaq bin Abi Israel bin Ibrahim Kamjar (d. 246 AH/860 CE), Ahmad bin Ibrahim Al-Durqi (d. 256 AH/869 CE), Ali bin Al-Jaad (d. 230 AH/844 CE), Al-Fadl bin Ghanim Al-Khazai (d. 236 AH/850 CE), Al-Hasan bin HammadSajjadih (d. 241 AH/855 CE), Sa'dawiyyah Al-Wasiti (d. 225 AH/839 CE), Abu Nasr Al-Tammar (d. 228 AH/842 CE), Abdullah bin Umar Al-Qawariiri (d. 235 AH/849 CE), Ismail bin AbiMas'ud, Ismail bin Dawud Al-Jawzi, Abdul Rahman bin Yunus bin Hashim Abu Muslim Al-Rumi (d. 222 AH/836 CE), Muhammad bin Sa'd bin Munea (d. 230 AH/844 CE), Qutaibah bin Sa'eed (d. 240 AH/854 CE), Abu KhuthaimahZuheir bin Harb (d. 234 AH/848 CE), Malik bin Ismail bin Dharham (d. 219 AH/834 CE), Ali bin Abdullah bin Ja'far Al-Basri (d. 234 AH/848 CE), Abu Ma'mar Ismail bin Ibrahim Al-Hadhli, Abu Karib Muhammad bin Al-Ala', and Al-Nadhr bin Shumayl Al-Mazini (d. 204 AH/816 CE), Muhammad bin Shuja' Al-Thalji Al-Balkhi (d. 266 AH/879 CE), Muhammad bin Hatim Al-Baghdadi (d. 235 AH/849 CE), and Sahl bin Abdullah Al-Farkhan (d. 276 AH/889 CE). (Al-Shirazi: Tabaqat Al-Fuqaha 1/145, Al-Dhahabi: Siyar 11/498, Al-Baghdadi: Tarikh 6/6, Al-Hanbali: Shadhurat 1/18, Al-Qurashi: Tabaqat Al-Hanafiyyah 1/373, Al-Dhahabi: Al-'Ibar 1/394)

On the other hand, many scholars resisted the retirement policy adopted by the Abbasid state during the study period. A trend

opposing this policy emerged, led by Imam Ahmad bin Hanbal bin Hilal bin Asad Al-Shaybani Abu Abdullah Al-Marwazi Al-Baghdadi (241 AH/855 CE). He maintained his position and did not accept the retirement policy or engage in it, repeating his famous statement in times of hardship that the Qur'an is the word of God and is not created. (Ibn Al-Jawzi: Manaqib/14, IbnKathir: Al-Bidayah 10/325)

It appears that Imam Ahmad's stance on the issue of testing the people played a role in the continuation of that ordeal. The Imam was tested on the issue of the creation of the Quran during the days of Al-Ma'mun, but he insisted on his position despite the threats until he was taken to Al-Ma'mun in chains and imprisoned. If the Imam had answered, the ordeal would have ended, and it would not have reached the point of torture and threats (At-Tabari: History, 8/644; As-Suyuti: History, 321).

The ordeal for Imam Ahmad intensified during the reign of Al-Mu'tasim, and he was tortured until he was close to death. During the days of Al-Wathiq, the Imam was required not to reside in his territory. Then, he was released for fear of public reaction. The Imam disappeared until the death of Al-Wathiq, and then Al-Mutawakkil revived the practice of the Sunnah. (As-Suyuti: History, 324; Ibn Al-Jawzi: Manaqib, 309).

The issue of testing scholars on the creation of the Quran is a controversial matter that has divided jurists into supporters and opponents of the state's adoption of the policy of seclusion. Scholars were divided on the issue, with some answering out of fear and caution and others insisting on their position, even at the cost of their lives. Perhaps the focus of Al-Ma'mun on testing scholars indicates his awareness of the extent of the influence of scholars on the general public and their impact on society.

Despite the support of many jurists for the policy of seclusion for Al-Ma'mun, Al-Mu'tasim, and Al-Wathiq, and despite the efforts of these caliphs to entrench that policy for the state, they failed to do so. This is evidenced by the fact that these jurists abandoned their positions as soon as Al-Mutawakkil assumed the caliphate and reversed their adoption of the policy of seclusion. Even some of the leaders of the Mu'tazila, such as Bishr Al-Marisi, who promoted the policy of seclusion, quickly abandoned it as soon as they had the opportunity.

The role of Imam Ahmad ibnHanbal remains clear, and his impact is evident in resisting the policy of seclusion.

Among the jurists who resisted the policy of seclusion, followed Imam Ahmad's path, and paid the price for their position was the jurist Ahmad ibn Nasr Al-Khuzai (231 AH/845 CE), whose grandfather was a prominent figure in the Abbasid court. He was a man of knowledge and ijtihad, who Al-Wathiq tested on the matter of the creation of the Quran. He insisted that it was the word of God. As a result, Al-Wathiq had him executed by beheading him in Baghdad and crucifying him for days until Al-Mutawakkil ordered his body to be brought down. Some researchers believe that the killing of Ahmad ibn Nasr Al-Khuzai was due to political reasons related to his incitement of the people against the state and that he was not killed for doctrinal reasons (Al-Tabari: History, 5/288; Abu Ya'la: Tabaqat, 279; Ibn al-Athir: Al-Kamil, 1/88).

Among the jurists who resisted the policy of seclusion was Muhammad ibnNuh Al-Ajli (218 AH/833 CE), one of the scholars close to Imam Ahmad ibn Hanbal and one of the well-known trustworthy imams. He was tested more than once by Ibrahim ibn Ishaq, Al-Ma'mun's representative, and his answer was sent to Al-Ma'mun, who responded that he was one of those who was preoccupied with usury instead of monotheism and that his blood was permissible(Al-Isbahani: Hilya, 9/194; Al-Baghdadi: History, 3/323)

The jurist Muhammad ibnNuh remained steadfast in his retirement position, and he encouraged Imam Ahmad to do the same. The only two jurists who did not retire were Imam Ahmad and Muhammad ibnNuh. Al-Ma'mun sent for them, but they received news of his death on their way to meet him. Muhammad ibnNuh fell ill and passed away. Imam Ahmad washed his body, prayed over him, and buried him. He was given the title of "Defender of the Prophetic Sunnah." (Al-Baghdadi: History, 3/322; Al-Dhahabi: Al-Ibar, 1/375)

One jurist who opposed the retirement policy was Afaanibn Muslim (d. 220 AH/835 CE). He was one of Baghdad's leading scholars and jurists and the first to call for the examination of scholars and jurists. He was summoned by Ibrahim ibn Ishaq, who read a book from al-Ma'mun seeking his opinion on the creation of the Quran and threatening to cut off his livelihood if he did not comply. Afaan responded by reciting Surah Al-Ikhlas until its conclusion and then reciting, "And in the heaven is your provision, and whatever you are

promised." This was in response to the caliph's threat to cut off his livelihood. He used to take one thousand dirhams, and he had many children. (IbnSaad: Al-Tabaqat, 7/336; Ibn Al-Jawzi: Al-Muntazam, 1/61; Al-Dhahabi: Al-Ibar, 1/61)

Another jurist who opposed the retirement policy was Naeemibn Hamaad al-Khazaai al-Marozi (299 AH/843 CE), one of the trustworthy scholars who Imam Ahmad ibn Hanbal acknowledged. He was tested on the creation of the Quran, detained, and imprisoned, but he stood firm and did not comply. (Al-Hanbali: Shadhraat, 2/66; Ibn Al-Jawzi: Manaqib, 393).

Conclusion and Results:

The study concluded with the following results:

- There are a set of factors related to the state's safety that pushed Al-Ma'mun, Al-Mu'tasim, and Al-Wathiq to adopt the retirement policy, and perhaps these circumstances were more political than religious.

- The retired men exert an evident influence on the caliphs, pushing them to adopt the retirement policy.

- The failure of the caliphs Al-Ma'mun, Al-Mu'tasim, and Al-Wathiq to impose the retirement policy as an official doctrine of the state was due to the steadfastness of opposing scholars towards their positions on that policy.

- The success of the scholars, led by Imam Ahmad bin Hanbal, stood firm on their positions and foiled the imposition of retirement as an official doctrine of the state.

- The emergence of the role of the public and society in supporting the opposing scholars and their influence on the opinions of the people and their conviction in their point of view during the crisis and its aftermath.

- The success of the opposing scholars in influencing the people and society towards the retirement policy and gaining them to their side.

- Many scholars adopted the retirement policy under pressure, threats, and persecution from the caliphs.

- Al-Mu'tasim and Al-Wathiq desired to retract from adopting the retirement policy, but they weakened in the face of the influence and control of the retired men, led by Ahmad bin.

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