



Islamic University of Europa

## JOURNAL OF ISLAMIC RESEARCH

İslam Arařtırmaları

البحوث الإسلامية

Vol 2 No 2 December 2009

# Early Debates On “The Word Of God” (Kalâmullah/Qur’an)

Muammer ESEN, Assoc. Prof. Dr.  
Ankara University, Faculty of Divinity  
Muammer.esen@hotmail.com

## The background of the debates

The debates about the Word (*kalâm*) attribute of God started in the early ages of Islam. The intense debates about this subject did not affected only the science of the Kalam (the Islamic theology) itself, but also its being named as ‘Kalam’.

Apart from the ones connecting these earliest discussions about the word (*kalâm*) attribute of Allah caused by the external effects, there are some people saying that this matter has become a problem parallel to the development of the intellectual thought in Islam.<sup>1</sup>

a) There are some disparities in the opinions of the people connecting the early arguments of the Word of God (*kalâmullah*) to the foreign views. It is claimed that the belief that “Quran is not created” was taken from the belief that the heavenly word is not created and is in the Father’s hearth.<sup>2</sup> Thus, some connected the subject of distinction of ‘*dhâtî* - *fi’lî* (essence - act) attributes with the Christian belief.<sup>3</sup>

Al-Ma’mûn, the Abbasid caliph, made the opinion that ‘The Quran is created’ an official belief of the state, since he feared that the belief that ‘Quran is not created’ would lead to the belief that Jesus who is believed to be the “Word of God” is also not a created.<sup>4</sup> In addition, al- Shahrîstânî, a Sunnite theologian, criticized al-Allâf, one of the leading Mu’tazilites who adopted the idea ‘Allah knows (‘*alîm*) with knowledge (‘*ilm*), and His knowledge (‘*ilm*) is His Essence

(*Dhât*)', saying that his regarding the attributes of Allah as the faces (*wujûh*) of the Essence (*Dhât*) is the same as the Christians' belief of "trinity", or rather "tree persons" (*aqânîm*).<sup>5</sup> The Mu'tazilites that denied the existence of the attributes acted with the same concern arguing that accepting them would lead to polytheism (*shirk*). Because, according to them, Christians became polytheists (*mushrik*) due to their belief of "*aqânîm*" (tree persons, trinity).<sup>6</sup>

The connection between the debates on attribute of the Word of God (Qur'an), consequently the early arguments about the other attributes of God, and the debates on that in the Christian theology can be seen clearly.

Some associate the arguments about this subject with Judaism. According to them, whoever said that "Qur'an is created", either adopted this opinion of the Jews who are saying that "The Old Testament is created", or the first who asserted this opinion were of Jewish or were infidels.

Also, some base the arguments of attributes on the foreign philosophical movements. According to them, actually the Mu'tazilites were affected by the foreign philosophers' books they read, and eventually in favor of absolute uniqueness (*tawheed*) and transcendence (*tanzîh*) they denied the attributes of God. In any case, especially in the early debates of the "Word of God" (*kalamullah* / Qur'ân) and the other attributes of God, we can't deny the effects of the foreign elements. From the very early times, especially after the conquest of such places as Syria etc, Muslims who started to live together with the Jews, Christians, etc. joined their arguments on this subject by adducing from Qur'an and Sunnah and tried to solve this problem in their own way. Some others like Ja'd b. Dirham and Jahm b. Safwân, by using reason (*'aql*) besides the narration (*naql*) tried to form the first theological ideas about the subject. Thus, the subject became one of the first matters of the science of Kalâm discussed in the early times.<sup>7</sup>

b) Among the Muslims are also ones who do not relate this matter to the external effects. According to them, the arguments of the God's attribute of Word (*kalâm*) and others arose from the development that took place in the intellectual thought of Islam. These people believed that the foreign influences were of the secondary reason. In their opinion, the platform of the argument started with the matter of the "great sins" (*kabîrah*), continued with the subjects of predestination, or predetermination (*qadar*) and the responsibility of the human being, and eventually came to the matter of the attributes of Allah. Consequently, the debates about great sins (*kabîrah*), God's decree, and predestination (*qadâ, qadar*) etc. go back to the very early times of Islam, soon after the Jamal and Siffin battles and it was hardly to talk about the external effects. We can already see this apparently in the route of the debates of that time. So, the development of the religious intellectual thought in Islam arose from the very nature of Islam.<sup>8</sup> Although every kind of internal or external influences may cause these arguments, in my opinion, it is essential to say that the main underlying cause

is the “verses of likening” (*mutashâbihât*) mentioned in the Qur’an. And, when these matters are examined deeply, it will be seen that even though they are related to the external reasons, the origin of the matter is internal. The form of the argument of the Word of God also shows this clearly.

### **The Historical Route of the Arguments of the Word of God (Kalamullah)**

Ja’d b. Dirham is said to have first talked about the attribute of Word of God, consequently its (*kalâm*/Qur’an) being a creature in Syria.<sup>9</sup> But, ‘Umayyad caliph Hisham b. Abd al-Malik didn’t like his saying this, and ordered the governor of that time Khâlîd b. Abd Allah to arrest and punish him with the death penalty, and thus being accused of saying ‘God didn’t talk to Moses’, ‘God wasn’t friends with Ibrahim’, he was terribly executed.<sup>10</sup>

Actually Ja’d b. Dirham did not only uttered the opinion that Quran is “created” (*makhlûq*), but also he was the first to deny the divine attributes. His student, Jahm b. Safwân, developed his thoughts. So depending on Jahm, the Jahmiyya sect developed and systematized the attributes, and meanwhile attribute of the Word (*kalâm*). As they emphasized on the attributes, and used a rationalist method to explain them, it was their denying the attributes of Allah to come into the mind when they are talked about. They were the first rationalists to absolve extremely. They said that God had no attributes except His Essence (*Dhât*).<sup>11</sup>

Except the matter of predestination (*gadar*), the Jahmiyya leded the Mu’tazilah with its opinions about the attributes, as in the most matters, and developed an extreme and strict mood. The Mu’tazilah, by means of at least supporting that the attributes are identical with Essence (*Dhât*), didn’t exceed as far as the Jahmiyya.<sup>12</sup> Contrary to the exaggerating attitude of the Jahmiyya, some books were written to criticize them, many of which were in the form of critics.<sup>13</sup>

The reason for Jahm’s going to that extreme about the attributes was the Hashwiyya, mostly formed by ‘Ashab al- Hadith’ of his time, who explained the verses (*nass*) apparently without any rational interpretation and exceeded in anthropomorphism (*tashbîh*) about the attributes. Consequently, some people from the Ashâb al- Hadith accused the Jahmiyya of infidelity<sup>14</sup>. Contrary to that, Jahm said that ‘Allah can’t be described with the attributes that the human being (*’ibâd*) are described’. So he expressed his rationalist opinion and accused his opponents of going to the anthropomorphism (*tashbîh*). But Jahm couldn’t see the difference between the “unity in the meaning” and “unity in the name”. Whereas, for example, knowledge (*’ilm*) is an attribute of both the Creator (God) and the creature (*makhlûq*); consequently there is a unity in name. But we can’t say the same for “meaning” (*ma’nâ*); because there is difference between the knowledge (*’ilm*) of the Creator (God) and creature (*makhlûq*) in terms of the meaning (*ma’nâ*). It is the same for the other attributes.<sup>15</sup>

As it was said before, the reason that leded Jahm b. Safwân to go extreme in transcendence about the attributes of God (*tanzîh*) was the ones going extreme

in anthropomorphism (*tashbîh*). Thus, when Muqatil b. Suleiman, a famous interpreter of his time, supported the anthropomorphism (*tashbîh*), and called people to spread it among the community, Jahm called people to deny the attributes. Abu Hanîfa, who was aware of this subject, stated that Jahm went extreme in the denial of “*tashbîh*” saying that ‘God is not a thing (*shay*)’; whereas Muqatil went extreme in anthropomorphism (*tashbîh*) saying that ‘God is in the form of human’ and finally he emphasized the wrongness of the both opinion.<sup>16</sup>

Jahm b. Safwân’s denial of the divine attributes is a subject that must be emphasized. His aim of denying the attributes was not to compare God with others. So he says that it is not appropriate to use the concept ‘the thing’ (*shay*) for God; because “the thing” is a creature (*makhlûq*) that has alike, but God is unique; He looks like nothing. So if we call “the thing” to God we compare Him with the things (*ashyâ*). According to him the attributes like “the Ever-living” (*al-Hayy*), “the All-knowing” (*al-Alîm*), and “the All-wishing” (*al-Murîd*) can’t be used for Him also<sup>17</sup>. Advocating that the attributes of creatures can’t be described with God, Jahm didn’t accept attributes like *al-Hayy* and *al-Alîm* while accepting “the Almighty, the All-powerful” (*al-Qadîr*), “the Creator” (*al-Khâlik*) for Him. Because according to him, none of the creatures were described with the attributes of “power” (*qudrah*), act (*fi’l*), and “creation” (*khalq*). These attributes are private to Him.<sup>18</sup>

It is understood from here that Jahm doesn’t accept the similar attributes that are common by name. Consequently he doesn’t deny the eternal attributes totally; he only denies the attributes that have the possibility of similarity with God’s Essence (*Dhât*) itself. Although it seems a contradiction that he accepts the “might, power” (*qudrah*) and act (*fi’l*) attributes of God; in his view there is no contradiction. Because he is a Jabrite; he doesn’t accept the might (*qudrah*) and act (*fi’l*) attributes for human being. For him “might” and “act” attributes are only special to God.

Jahm, who doesn’t accept the Word attribute of God as an eternal attribute because it is also an attribute of His creatures, consequently he said that the Word of God (*Kalâmullâh*), namely the Qur’an is created (*makhlûq*).<sup>19</sup> But he didn’t name God as who uttered the Word (*kalâm*)<sup>20</sup>; because he didn’t accept “*kalâm*” (Word) as an attribute of God since it is one of the attributes of the creatures.

The reason why we mostly emphasized on Ja’d b. Dirham, and his pupil Jahm b. Safwân while studying on the Word of God and the other attributes of God is that they are the first to systematized this subject in Islam. Their opinions about “*kalamullah*” (Qur’an) caused their sect (Jahmiyya) to be remembered in connection with this subject. Of course Jahm didn’t systematize this subject without a reason. As mentioned before, he adopted these opinions contrary to some leading figures of the Hashviyya, as Muqâtil b. Suleiman, who went

extreme in *tashbîh* (anthropomorphism), but he (Jahm) went extreme in *tanzîh* (transcendence) of Allah. Some prominent names from Ashâb al- Hadîth like Ahmad b. Hanbal, Ibn Quteiba, and al- Dârimî thought that Jahmiyya's opinions were dangerous and they wrote many books denying them.<sup>21</sup> The Jahmiyya was even accused of disbelief (*takfîr*) because of its opinions.<sup>22</sup>

Mu'tazila, in a bit different way, developed and systemized the opinions of Jahm b. Safwân about the Word of God and the other divine attributes. Mu'tazila denied that God has some eternal attributes (*sifât*) beyond his Essence (*Dhât*). Because according to them such this requires many eternal beings, that is impossible. Nevertheless they accept that God is the All-knowing ('*Alîm*), the Almighty (*Qadîr*) and the Ever-living (*Hayy*) in His Essence (*Dhât*).<sup>23</sup> They mostly adopted the negation (*selbî*) way to explain the attributes. According to this, God is "one and unique" (*tawhîd*). He is not a "matter" (*jism*), not a "form" (*sûrat*), not a "substance" (*jawhar*), not an "accident" ('*araz*) etc. They said that God can't be defined with attributes that came to being later (*hâdith*) trying to explain the attributes through the negation (*salbî, nafi*) method.

The Mu'tazilite's opinions of the attributes of God are accepted by the Kharicites, the Murjite, and some parts of the Shiite.<sup>24</sup> Consequently, it is not only the Jahmiyya and the Mu'tazila which adopted, developed, and systemized that idea said that the Word of God (Qur'an) is "created" (*makhlûq*), but also the Kharijite, most of the Zaydite and many of the Rafidite share the same opinion.<sup>25</sup> So it is not true to say that Mu'tazila doesn't survive today.

### **A Brief Evaluation of the Opinions about the Word of God (Kalamullah)**

It is possible to summarize the early opinions about the Word of God as follows:

1) According to some, the Word of God was an attribute of God. It was not true to say that it is a creature (*makhlûq*) or creator (*khâlûq*). Hisham b. Hakam and his followers were of this opinion. And according to Hisham, it was not possible even to argue that Qur'an is "created" (*makhlûq*), and also not possible to say that it is "uncreated" (*ghayr makhlûq*), as the attributes never change.<sup>26</sup>

2) According to some others, the Word of God was "uncreated" (*ghayr makhlûq*); it was "originated" (*muhdath*), that is, it came to being later, but not created.<sup>27</sup>

3) The opinions of Ibn Kullâb, a leader of Ahl al-Sunna, who lived about a century before al-Ash'arî and al-Mâturîdî, and who tried to form and systemize the opinions of Ashab al-Hadith in a theological method, are as follows: According to him, God speaks eternally; thus, He is eternally speaker "*mutakallim*". The Word of God (*kalamullah*) is an attribute which subsists in His Essence (*Dhât*), and the Word eternal (*qadîm*); that is, it eternally exists with His Essence. Thus, God (His Essence) and the Word are coeternal.

“The Word of God is not made up of letters (*hurûf*), nor is it a voice (*sawt*). It is indivisible, it is impartible, and it is unalterable. It is a “meaning” (*ma‘nâ*) in God.”<sup>28</sup>

“The impression (*rasm*) consists of various letters (*hurûf*) and it is the recital (*qirâah*) of the Qur’an...The expressions (*‘ibârât*) used as substitutes for the Word of God contain variety and diversity, whereas the word of God contains no variety and diversity, just as the liturgical glorification of God (*dhikr*) is expressed in various and divers terms, whereas God the glorified (*madhkâr*) is subject to no variation and diversification”.<sup>29</sup> “The recital (*qirâah*) (Which is the impression of the Word of God) is different from the thing recited (*maqrû‘*) which subsists in God (namely, the Word of God), even as the liturgical glorification of God is different from God. For just as He who is glorified is eternal and ceaselessly existent, whereas the glorification is originated, so also, with regard to thing recited, God is eternally speaking it, whereas the recital is originate and created and it is an acquisition (*kasb*) on the part of man.”<sup>30</sup>

“The Word of God (Qur’an) is called “Arabic Qur’an” (*Qur‘ânan ‘arabiyyan*) just because of the impression, which is the impression thereof and is the recital thereof, is in Arabic, and so it is called Arabic for a reason. Likewise the Word of God is called “Hebrew” (*‘ibrâniyyan*) for a reason, and that is because the impression, which is the impression thereof, is in Hebrew.”<sup>31</sup>

Ibn Kullâb accepted that the Word of God is eternal (*qadîm*), but the commands (*amr*), and forbids (*nahy*) in the Qur’an are not eternal.<sup>32</sup> Because the commands and forbids of God only exist if there is one to be addressed to.

4) There are also some who believe that some part of the Quran is created (*makhlûq*) while as some is not (*ghayr makhlûq*). According to them, for example, the attributes and the names of the creatures, and the news in the Qur’an that declare the things they did are created later (*makhlûq*).

5) As we said before, the Mu’tazilites, the Kharijites, most of the Zaydites, and many of the Murjites and the Rafizites believe that the Word of God is created later (*makhlûq*) and did not exist before.<sup>33</sup>

6) Besides the matter whether the Word of God is created or not, in the early times, it was also argued whether it (*kalamullah*) is heard or not. Here are some of the disagreements:

a) According to some, the Word of God can’t be heard. But we listen to it in the meaning that we understand it. Our listening to it (Qur’an) is our hearing its recital. But Moses had heard the Word of God.<sup>34</sup>

b) According to some, we can’t hear the Word of God by means of our ears. We can only hear the speaker (*mutakallim*) as a real speaking. Moses listened to God, as a Speaker “mutakallim”, but truly he heard any word (*kalâm*). Because, it is impossible to hear something that does not stand as itself.<sup>35</sup>

c) According to some others, what is heard is nothing but a word (*kalam*) and voice (*sawt*). As the word of human being truly would be heard by our ears, the Word of God is also heard truly when it is recited.<sup>36</sup>

7) The ones, who accepted that the Word of God (Qur'an) is created, conflicted with each other on the essence of it. These are some of the conflicts in summary:

a) According to some the Word of God (Qur'an) is a matter (*jism*), it is impossible to be an accident (*'araz*)<sup>37</sup> According to a narrative from Zarqân, Jahm b. Safwan adopted the opinion that Qur'an is a matter (*jism*), and it is one of the acts of God.<sup>38</sup>

b) According to some others Qur'an is not a "matter" (*jism*), but an accident (*'araz*). Because according to them the accidents are some existing meanings. Some of them can be understood by eye while the others by ear. Also some accidents can be understood by means of other senses. Supporters of this opinion denied both God and the Word of God (Qur'an) to be a "matter" (*jism*).<sup>39</sup>

8) According to Ja'fer b. Mubashir, a Mu'tazilite scholar, the ones who accepted that Quran is a matter had conflicts between each other and had some different thoughts. Let's mention these opinions shortly:<sup>40</sup>

a) According to a group, the Word of God (Qur'an) is a matter (*jism*) that God created in the "Preserved Tablet" (*lawh mahfûz*).

b) For another group, the Word of God (Qur'an) is a matter that (stands) with God without a space.

c) According to another group, the Word of God (Quran) is a matter (*jism*) that (stands) with God in all the spaces that God created.

9) The ones saying that the Word of God (Quran) is not a matter (*jism*) or an accident (*'araz*), divided into two different groups.<sup>41</sup>

a) According to some, the Word of God (Quran) is neither a matter (*jism*) nor an accident (*'arad*). It is a substance (*ayn, jawhar*) that (standing) with Allah, but different from Him. The Word of God is impossible to stand alone without Him.

b) The group that adopted the opinion 'God is a matter (*jism*), not like the matters (*jism; ajsâm*)' thinks that Quran is neither a matter, nor an accident. Because the Word of God is an attribute of God and His attribute is impossible to be "God".

10) Ones saying that the Word of God is an accident (*'arad*) held different opinions among each other.<sup>42</sup>

a) According to Abu al- Huzayl al- Allâf, a Mutazilite scholar, God created Quran in the "Preserved Tablet" (*Lawh Mahfûz*), and it is an accident (*'arad*). He adds that Quran exists in three spaces: 1) the space where it is preserved, 2) the space where it is written, and 3) the space where it is listened.<sup>43</sup>



b) According to Muhammad b. Abd al- Wahhâb al- Jubbâi who shares the same opinion, the Word of God can't be narrated. Because narrating something is bringing the same of it; however no one can bring the same of the Word of God. It just can be recited, memorized, and written. Also according to him the Word of God can be heard but can't be seen.

c) According to al-Isqâfi, the Word of God can be found in different abodes (*makân, mahall*) at the same time as preserved, heard and written. But the same thing is impossible for human word.<sup>44</sup>

d) According to Ja'fer b. Harb and Ja'far b. Mubashir God created Qur'an in the "Preserved Tablet" (*Lawh Mahfûz*). It is impossible to be out of a space at the same time. It can be only in one place at the same time. Additionally they say that Quran is written in "*mushafs*", and memorized in the hearts of the reciters (*hâfîz*). They express that what is recited is the Quran itself, but what is listened, written is the narration of Quran. It is the act of the writer, memorizer, and reciting one's <sup>45</sup>

Whether "the recital" (*qirâ'ah*) of Quran is the Word of God or not, is also a matter of discussion. Ones accepting that the recital is the Word of God have different opinions among themselves: Some consider the recital (*qirâ'ah*) as the Word (*kalâm*), while the others consider the Word (*kalâm*) as the letters (*hurûf*), and recital (*qirâ'ah*) as the sound (*sawt*).<sup>46</sup>

### **Distinction between the Recital (*qirâ'ah*) and the Recited (*maqrû'*)**

One of the early leaders of the Ahl al-Sunnah, 'Abd Allah b. Kullâb, separated the act of recital (*qirâ'ah*) from the thing recited (*maqrû'*). According to him, "the thing recited" (*maqrû'*) subsists in God. "The impression (*rasm*) consists of various letters (*hurûf*) and it is the recital (*qirâ'ah*) of the Qur'an...The expressions (*ibârât*) used as substitutes for the Word of God contain variety and diversity, whereas the Word of God contains no variety and diversity, just as liturgical glorification of God (*dhikr*) is expressed in various and divers terms, whereas God the glorified (*madhkûr*) is subject no variation and diversification"<sup>47</sup> So the glorified (*madhkûr*), that is God, is eternal (*qadîm*), whereas the liturgical glorification of God (*dhikr*), as an action something outside of God, is originated (*muhdath*). "The recital (*qirâ'ah*) (which is the impression of the Word of God) is different from the thing recited (*maqrû'*) which subsists in God (namely, the Word of God), even as the liturgical glorification of God (*dhikr*) is different from God. For just as He who is glorified is beginningless (*qadîm*) and ceaselessly existent, whereas the glorification is originated (*muhdath*), so also, with regard to the thing recited (namely, the Word of God) God is eternally speaking it, whereas recital is originated and created (*makhluq*) and it is an acquisition (*kasb*) on the part of man"<sup>48</sup>

The Mut'azilah also constitutes a difference between the recital (*qirâ'ah*) and the thing recited (*maqrû'*). According to them, the recital is our action whereas

the recited thing is God's.<sup>49</sup> Some say that the two are the same. Karâbisî, who believed that Qur'an is not created (*ghar makhlûq*), believed that reciting it, is not created also. In the same way, some from the Ahl al- Hadit, who believed that Quran is not created, accept that reciting and pronouncing the Qur'an is not created also.<sup>50</sup>

One of the important arguments about the Word of God is the distinction between the "speech of the soul" (*kalâm nafsi*) and the "uttered speech" (*kalâm lafzi*).

### **Distinction between the "Uttered Speech" (*Kalâm Lafzi*) and the "Speech of the Soul" (*Kalâm Nafsi*)**

The most important reason of such distinction is the arguments whether the Word of God is created or not that took place in the early times, and a middle way of solution to that matter that caused "*mihna*" (inquisition) in the period of Abbasids.

As we mentioned before, the first to utter that Quran is created was Ja'd b. Dirham, and his student Jahm b. Safwân were under pressure because of their opinions, and even Ja'd b. Dirham was killed because of this. It is also the same for the Mut'azilah; as they said Quran is created, they were subjected to many tortures until the era of Abbasid caliph al-Ma'mûn. With al-Ma'mûn, this time, Ashâb al-Hadîth, who said that Quran is not created, were subjected to the same things. It is clearly known that, Ahmad b. Hanbal, who announced his opinion that the Word of God (Qur'an) is not created, was behaved cruelly. This era is named as 'The Era of Mihna'<sup>51</sup>.

In this period of struggle, Ibn Kullâb and his friends, al-Hâris al- Muhâsibî and al- Qalânîsî, argued the distinction of the "speech of the soul" (*kalâm nafsi*) and of the "uttered speech" (*kalâm lafzi*). Because, while the Mu'tazilite accepted the Qur'an as created (*makhlûq*), on the other side Ahmad b. Hanbal and his supporters said that the Qur'an, as Word of God, is not created (*ghayr makhlûq*), and added the sounds (*aswât*), letters (*hurûf*), and the words (*kalimât*) to the Word of God as a part of the eternal (*qadîm*), not created (*ghayr makhlûq*) kalamullah<sup>52</sup>. However, some of the Ahl al- Hadith doesn't accept the voice, letters, and words as created.<sup>53</sup> It is understood that, the ones who claimed that Quran is not created, considering the melody in the recitation including the voices, letters, and words, as the eternal word of God, mainly formed their Hashwiyyeah branch<sup>54</sup>.

Different from the Mu'tazilite and Ahl al- Hadîth, Ibn Kullâb made the distinction between the "speech of the soul" (*kalâm nafsi*) and of the "uttered speech" (*kalâm lafzi*) saying that the "uttered speech" (*kalâm lafzi*) is created (*makhlûq*), whereas the "speech of the soul" (*kalâm nafsi*) is not created (*ghayr makhlûq*). Because, according to him, "The Word of God is not made up of letters (*hurûf*), nor is it a voice (*sawt*). It is indivisible, it is impartible, it is indissectible, and it

is unalterable. It is a “meaning” (*ma'nâ*) in God”<sup>55</sup>. Whereas no variety and diversity in the Word of God, the expressions (*'ibârât*) used as substitutes for the Word of God contain variety and diversity. The Word of God may be pronounced in Arabic words, or in Hebrew or etc. All these are the formal visions that express “Kalamullah”. Consequently the true, not created Word (*Kalâm*) is the “speech of the soul” (*kalâm nafsî*), which subsists in God. So the letters, voices, and words that express the unique “meaning” (*ma'nâ*) that subsists in God are not “Kalamullah” as they are created, but “kalam nefsî” (meaning) is not created.<sup>56</sup>

With some differences, this “speech of the soul” (*kalâm nafsî*) and the “uttered speech” (*kalâm lafzî*) distinction of “kalam” was also adopted by al- Ash'arî and al- Mâtürîdî who came a century after al- Kullâbî. Likewise, al-Juwaynî, one of the leading scholars of Ash'arite school of Kalam, said that the true “Word” (*kalam*) is the “*hadîth al-nafs*” (*ma'nâ*)<sup>57</sup>; that is the subjective speaking. This is the “speech of the soul” (*kalâm nafsî*) that subsists in God, and it is not created<sup>58</sup>.

Consequently, the two great leaders of Ahl al-Sunnah, al-Ash'arî and al-Mâtürîdî, who followed Ibn Kullâb with minor differences, after adopting his “speech of the soul” (*kalâm nafsî*) and the “uttered speech” (*kalâm lafzî; ma'nâ*) opinion, interpreted it and accepted that this “speech of the soul” (*kalâm nafsî*) that subsists in God's essence is not created, whereas the “uttered speech” (*kalâm lafzî*) is created.

## REFERENCES

- 1 İrfan, Abdulhamid, *İslam'da İtikâdî Mezhepler ve Akaid Esaları*, (translated by M. Saim Yeprem), Marifet Yayınları, İstanbul, p. 238-243.
- 2 See Mac Donald, D. B, *The Development of Muslim Teology, Jurisprudence and Constitutional Theory*, London 1900, p. 146.
- 3 See Wensinck, A. J, *Muslim Creed*, Cambridge 1932, p. 72.
- 4 See al-Tabarî, *Târîkh*, Leiden, III/1111-1118.
- 5 See al- Shahrîstânî, Muhammad b. Abd al-Kqrîm, *al-Milel wa'n-Nihal*, (ed. Muhammad Fath Allah Badrân). Cairo, 1951, p. 1/72.
- 6 Taftazani, Sad al-Dîn Mas'ud b. Omar, *Sharh al- Aqâid al- Nasaftiyya*, Cairo, 1326 h., p. 78.
- 7 See İrfan Abdulhamid, *ibid*, p. 240-241.
- 8 Weinsinck, *The Muslim Creed*, p.70, Watt, W. M. *Predestination and Free Will in Early Islam*, London 1948, p.38-40.
- 9 Ibn Nubâta, *Sharh al- 'Uyûn fî Sharh Risâla Ibn Zayd*, p. 186; Ibn Taymiyya, Abu al- Abbâs Taqy al- Dîn Ahmad b. 'Abd al- Halîm al- Harrânî, *al-Rasâil wa al- Masâil*, cairo, 1346, III/20.
- 10 Ibn Nubâta, *Sharh al- 'Uyûn*, p.186; Ibn al- 'Imad, Abu al- Falah, al-Hanbalî, *Shazarât al- Zahab fî Akhbâr man Zahab*, Egypt 1380, I/169.
- 11 Jamaladdin al- Qâsimî, *Târîkh al- Jahmiyya we al- Mu'tazilah*, Muassasah al- Risâla, Beirut, 1981, p.19.
- 12 İrfan Abdulhamid, *İslamda İtikadi Mezhepler*, p.245.

- <sup>13</sup> Some of them are Ibn Kutayba al-Dinawarî, *Kitâb al- Ikhtilâf fî al- Lafz wa al- Radd ‘alâ al- Jahmiyya wa al-Mushabbiha*; Ahmad b. Hanbal, *Kitâb al- Radd ‘alâ al- Jahmiyya wa al- Zanâdiqa*, Dârimî, *Kitâb al- Radd ‘alâ al- Jahmiyya*; Malatî, *al-Radd ‘alâ al- Zanâtiqa wa al- Jahmiyya*.
- <sup>14</sup> Fort this see “the Kitabus Sunnahs” and “the Raddiyas”
- <sup>15</sup> Ibn Asâkir, *Tabyîn Kezib al- Muftarî fî-mâ Nusiba ilâ al- Imâm Abu al- Hasan al-Ash’arî*, p.12 (The Mukaddima, written by Zahid al- Kavsarî.)
- <sup>16</sup> al- Malatî, Abu al- Husayn Muhammad b. Ahmad, *Kitâb al- Tanbîh wa al- Radd ‘alâ Ahl al- ahwâ wa al-Bida*, Leibzig 1936p.77; al-Isfarâyînî, ‘Imâd al- Dîn Tâhir b. Muhammad, *al-Tabsîr fî al- Dîn*, Dimashq, 1940, p.29.
- <sup>17</sup> For more information about Jahm’s opinions see; al- Ash’arî, Abul al- Hasan b. Ismâîl, *Maqâlât al- Islâmiyyîn wa Ikhtilâf al- Musallîn*, (ed. Helmut Ritter), İstanbul 1929, I/280; al- Shahristânî, Abu al Fath Muhammad b. Abd al- Karîm b. Ahmad, *al-Milal wa al- Nihal*, (ed. Muhammad al-sayyid al- kilânî), Egypt, 1961, I/86-87; al- Malatî, *al-Tanbîh wa al- Radd*, (ed. Muhamamd Zâhid al- Kawtharî), Maktabah al- Ma’ârif, Beirut, 1968, p.96-97; Jamâl al- Dîn al- Qâsimî, *Târîkh al- Jahmiyya wa al- Mu’tazilah*, p.96.
- <sup>18</sup> al- Shahristânî, *al- Milel*, I/86; Baghdâdî, *Mezhepler Arasındaki Farklar*, (translated by E. R. Fığlalı, Ankara 1991, 156; al-Isfarâyînî, *al-Tabsîr fî al-Dîn*, p.64.
- <sup>19</sup> al- Ash’arî, *Maqâlât al- Islâmiyyîn*, I/280; Baghdâdî, *Mezhepler Arasındaki Farklar*, p.156.
- <sup>20</sup> Baghdâdî, *ibid*, p.156.
- <sup>21</sup> Some of the old works written to deny al- Jahmiyya: 1) Ibn Kutayba al-Dinawarî, *Kitâb al- Ikhtilâf fî al- Lafz wa al- Radd ‘alâ al- Jahmiyya wa al-Mushabbiha*; 2) Ahmad b. Hanbal, *Kitâb al- Radd ‘alâ al- Jahmiyya wa al- Zanâdiqa*, 3) al-Dârimî, *Kitâb al- Radd ‘alâ al- Jahmiyya*; 4) Malatî, *al- Radd ‘alâ al- Zanâtiqa wa al- Jahmiyya*.
- <sup>22</sup> al-Dârimî, Abu Sa’îd Othmân b. Saîd, *Kitâb al- Radd ‘alâ al- Jahmiyya*, Dâr al- Ibn al- Ethîr, Kuwait, 1995, p.198.
- <sup>23</sup> Al-Shahristânî , *al-Milal*, I/44.
- <sup>24</sup> al- Ash’arî, *Maqâlât al- Islâmiyyîn*, I/166.
- <sup>25</sup> al- Ash’arî, *Maqâlât al- Islâmiyyîn*, II/582. Abu Hanîfa whom al- Ash’arî considered to be a Murjite, (al- Ash’arî, *Maqâlât al- Islâmiyyîn*, I/138) doesn’t share the same opinion with the Mu’tazilah. al-Ash’arî says that on the matter of Quran’s being created or not, some adopt the both opinion in another place.( al- Ash’arî, *Maqâlât al- Islâmiyyîn* Makalat, I/153).
- <sup>26</sup> al- Ash’arî, *Maqâlât al- Islâmiyyîn*, II/582
- <sup>27</sup> al- Ash’arî, *Maqâlât al- Islâmiyyîn*, II/583
- <sup>28</sup> al- Ash’arî, *Maqâlât al- Islâmiyyîn*, II/584.
- <sup>29</sup> al- Ash’arî, *Maqâlât al- Islâmiyyîn*, II/13-17
- <sup>30</sup> al- Ash’arî, *Maqâlât al- Islâmiyyîn*, II/13, 602.
- <sup>31</sup> al- Ash’arî, *Maqâlât al- Islâmiyyîn*, II/585.
- <sup>32</sup> al- Ash’arî, *Maqâlât al- Islâmiyyîn*, II/585
- <sup>33</sup> al- Ash’arî, *Maqâlât al- Islâmiyyîn*, II/582.
- <sup>34</sup> al- Ash’arî, *Maqâlât al- Islâmiyyîn*, II/587.
- <sup>35</sup> al- Ash’arî, *Maqâlât al- Islâmiyyîn* , II/587.
- <sup>36</sup> al- Ash’arî, *Maqâlât al- Islâmiyyîn*, II/587.
- <sup>37</sup> Ja’fer b. Mubashir or al –Asamm’s opinion.
- <sup>38</sup> al- Ash’arî, *Maqâlât al- Islâmiyyîn*. II/587.
- <sup>39</sup> al- Ash’arî, *Maqâlât al- Islâmiyyîn*, II/589.
- <sup>40</sup> al- Ash’arî, *Maqâlât al- Islâmiyyîn*, II/589-592.

- 41 al- Ash'arî, *Maqâlât al- Islâmiyyîn*, II/592/593.
- 42 al- Ash'arî, *Maqâlât al- Islâmiyyîn*, II/594-597.
- 43 al- Ash'arî, *Maqâlât al- Islâmiyyîn*, II/598-599.
- 44 al- Ash'arî, *Maqâlât al- Islâmiyyîn*. II/599-600.
- 45 al- Ash'arî, *Maqâlât al- Islâmiyyîn*, II/602.
- 46 al- Ash'arî, *Maqâlât al- Islâmiyyîn*, II/601
- 47 al- Ash'arî, *Maqâlât al- Islâmiyyîn*, II/13- 14.
- 48 al- Ash'arî, *Maqâlât al- Islâmiyyîn*, II/601
- 49 al- Ash'arî, *Maqâlât al- Islâmiyyîn*, II/602.
- 50 al- Ash'arî, *Maqâlât al- Islâmiyyîn*, II/601-602.
- 51 About the "Mihna" event see Patton, Walter Melville, *Ahmad b. Hanbal and The Mihna*, Leiden: E.J. Brill 1987; Ahmad Abd al- Javâd Dumî, *Ahmad b. Hanbal: beyne Mihna al- Dîn wa Minha al- Dunyâ*, Matbaah al-Asriyya, Beirut; al- Maqdisî, Taqiy al- Dîn 'Abd al-Ghânî b. 'Abd al-Wahhâb, *Minha al- Imam Ahmad b. Muhammad b. Hanbal*, Gîze, 1937. Özafşar, Mehmet Emin, *İdeolojik Hadisçiliğin Arka Plan: Mihne Olayı ve Haşeviyye Olgusu*, Ankara Okulu , 1999.
- 52 al- Juwaynî, Imam al- Haramayn Ebu al- Maâlî 'Abd al- Mâlik, *Kitâb al- Irshâd*, Beirut, 1985, p.120; al- Shahrîstânî, 'Abd al- Karîm, *Kitâb Nihâyat al- Iqdâm fî 'Ilm al- Kalâm*, (ed. Alfred Guillaume), London 1934, p. 313.
- 53 al- Shahrîstânî, *al- Nihâya*, p. 314.
- 54 al- Juwaynî, *al- Irshâd*, p.125-126.
- 55 al- Ash'arî, *ibid*, II/584.
- 56 For more informaton see, al- Ash'arî, *Maqâlât al- Islâmiyyîn*, II/584-585.
- 57 al- Juwaynî, Imam al- Haramayn Ebu al- Maâlî, *Luma' al-Adilla*, (ed. Fawqıyya Husayn Mahmûd), Âlam al- Kutub, Beirut, 1987, p.103.
- 58 al- Juwaynî, *Luma' al-Adilla*, p. 103-105; *al- Irshâd*, p.108-109. Fore more informaton see, al- Ghazâlî, Abu Hamid Muhamamad b. Muhammad, *Dâr Kutub al- 'Ilmiyya* , Beirut , 1983 , p.74-75.