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Bitlis Eren University, Faculty of Islamic Sciences, Philosophy and Religious Studies, Department of History of Religions, Bitlis, TURKEY
zyucedogru@beu.edu.tr ORCID 0000-0003-4931-6148

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Sakarya University, Faculty of Theology, Department of Islamic Philosophy
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Dr. Kadir GÖMBEYAZ

Kocaeli University, Faculty of Theology, Department of Kalam and Islamic Sects
Kocaeli, Turkey kgombeyaz@hotmail.com

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EXECUTIVE OFFICE

Ankara Yıldırım Beyazıt University, Faculty of Islamic Studies
Esenboga Kulliyesi, Ankara, Turkey
ulumdergisi@gmail.com www.dergipark.org.tr/ulum

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CONTENTS | İÇİNDEKİLER

From the Editor

Editörden

Zeynep Yücedođru (ed.) 3 – 6

ARTICLES | MAKALELER

Mosque Lessons in Germany According to the Religious Officials

Din Görevlilerinin Gözüyle Almanya'da Cami Dersleri

Hasan Yerkazan 7 – 34

Some Considerations on Mistakes in Understanding the Problem of Evil

Kötülük Problemini Anlamada Yapılan Hatalar Üzerine Bazı Mülahazalar

Abdullah Pakođlu 35 – 44

Byzantine Paulicians: Beliefs and Practices

Bizans Pavlikyanları: İnanç ve Pratikler

Canan Seyfeli 45 – 68

A Heated Controversy in the Second/Eighth Century: Khalq al-Qur'ân (The Createdness of Qur'ân)

2./8. Yüzyılda Önemli Bir Tartışma: Halku'l-Kur'ân (Kur'an'ın Yaratılmışlığı Meselesi)

Mehmet Ata Az 69 – 92

The Term *Qatl* in the Qur'ân as a Source of History and Its Historical Framework

Bir Tarih Kaynağı Olarak Kur'ân'da Katl Kavramı ve Tarihi Çerçevesi

Mehmet Çakırtaş 93 – 110

TRANSLATED ARTICLES | ÇEVİRİ MAKALELER

The Basic Matters in the Formative Period of Kalâm

Kelâm İlminin Teşekkül Sürecindeki Temel Sorunlar

Ayhan Işık – Mustafa Selim Yılmaz 111 – 132

Will (*Irāda*), Resolution (‘*Azm*) and Reliance on God (*Tawakkul*) in the Qur’ān

Kur’ān’da İrāde, Azm ve Tevekkül

Hayati Aydın 133 – 150

SUMMARIES OF DOCTORAL DISSERTATION | DOKTORA TEZ ÖZETİ

Abd al-Rahim Karahisāri’s Mystical Thoughts and His *Munyat al-Abrār* and *Ghunyat al-Akhyār* (Text and Analysis)

Abdurrahim Karahisāri’nin Tasavvufî Görüşleri ve Münyetü’l-Ebrâr ve Gunyetü’l-Ahyâr İsimli Eseri (Metin ve İnceleme)

Abdullah Taha Orhan 151 - 156

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From the Editor

Greetings,

It is a great pleasure to introduce the first issue of volume 3 of *ULUM*. This issue features five research articles, two translations, and a thesis summary.

Hasan Yerkazan investigates the current situation of religious education provided by the mosque staffs in Germany for originally Turkish children. He conducts his research through questionnaires prepared for religious officials appointed by the Presidency of Religious Affairs. The study concludes that the physical conditions of classes in the mosques require improvement and the social relations between students and teachers necessitates a closer dialogue for quality teaching.

Examining evil problem with a specific focus on misunderstandings regarding the issue, Abdullah Pakođlu first provides a historical account of the evil problem, then explains how this problem is perceived and understood with different approaches. He categories five different mistakes in understanding the evil problem. The main objective of the study is that when the right methods are applied to the analysis of the evil problem, it will be clear that the eventual solution lies in strong faith.

Canan Seyfeli contributes to this issue of *ULUM* with the research paper about Byzantine Paulicians (7-12th centuries) and their religious doctrines and practices. Paulicians, being labelled as heretics by the mainstream Christianity, appear to be different from them on doctrinal matters, such as the Trinity, accepting only some texts of the Bible, and on interpreting the scripture. The paper concludes by presenting the main findings regarding the history and religious beliefs of the Paulicians.

Mehmet Ata Az provides us with an insight into the matter of *khalq al-Qur'ān* (creadetness of the Qur'ān) which is the most debated problem of Islamic intellectual history. While the discussion of *khalq al-Qur'ān* centers on the divine attribute *kalām* (God's speech), the paper examines the terminology and concepts of the debate and the way different Islamic groups interpreted this terminology.

The fifth paper by Mehmet Cakirtas examines the concept “*qatl*” and its historical background through an analysis of Qur'ānic texts. The main objective of the study is that in the Qur'ān, the term *qatl* can be categorised under seven types, which can be read with the light of *Sīra* sources.

The paper, “*The Basic Matters in the Formative Period of Kalām*” by A. Işık and M.S. Yılmaz presents an analysis of social-political background in which *ilm al-kalām* emerged. While doing so, the research focuses on the three key concepts: *imāmah* (caliphate), *murtakib al-kabīrah* (the problem of the grave sinner), and *qadar* (predestination). The main conclusion of the research is that *kalām*, as the fundamental branch of

Islamic intellectual tradition, is formed on a multi-dimensional context/background which affected the way Islam intellectuals and apologists defend and debate the religious matters. Therefore, the paper maintains that institutional matters of Islamic history should be understood through contextual reading.

Hayati Aydin contributes this issue with the title “*Will (Irāda), Resolution (‘Azm) and Reliance on God (Tawakkul) in the Qur’ān*” where he explores the concepts *will (irāda)*, *resolution (‘azm)* and *reliance on God (tawakkul)* in connection with having faith in God’s power and will. The study concludes that a believer’s success comes eventually if s/he endeavours and faithfully relies on God’s will.

In his summary of doctorate thesis, Abdullah Taha Orhan studies Abd al-Raḥīm Karahisāri’s (d. 1483-94) perception of Sufism through his work entitled *Munyat al-Abrār and Ghunyat al-Akhyār*. While the first parts of the thesis shed some light on the biography of Karahisāri by reflecting the social and cultural aspects of his life and the period he lived in, the final chapters analyse the texts of *Munyat al-Abrār* with special focus on the features of different manuscript copies and the content of the book. While the research provides new findings regarding Karahisāri’s life, the primary conclusion of the thesis is that Karahisāri’s understanding of Sufism is deeply affected by Akbarian metaphysics, Ibn al-‘Arabī and al-Qunawī.

It is an honour to announce that our journal *ULUM*, which is founded in 2018 by Dr Abdullah Demir, will continue its journey under the supervision of “The Islamic Sciences Education and Research Centre” founded by the academic staff of Ankara Yildirim Beyazit University Faculty of Islamic Sciences. The new editor of *ULUM* will be Assistant Professor Mehmet Ata Az. The coming issues of *ULUM* will provide both English and Turkish texts of the papers.

We would like to thank the editorial team, referees, authors, and readers who generously contribute to our journal *ULUM*. A special acknowledgement is for Dr Abdullah Demir for his endeavour to introduce a journal publishing papers in English on various topics of Islamic Studies.

We wish you the very best and looking forward to announcing our next issue which will be published with the new and fresh editorial board!

Dr. Zeynep YÜCEDOĞRU
Bitlis Eren University
Faculty of Islamic Sciences
Department of Religious Sciences
Bitlis, TURKEY
zyucedogru@beu.edu.tr
ORCID: 0000-0003-4931-6148

Editörden

Kıymetli Okurlar,

Beş araştırma makalesi, iki tercüme ve bir doktora tez özetinden oluşan *ULUM* dergisinin 3. cildinin ilk sayısını takdim etmekten mutluluk duymaktayız.

Sayıda yer alan ilk makalede, Hasan Yerkazan Almanya'daki camilerde Türk çocuklar ve gençler için din görevlileri tarafından verilen dini eğitimini ele almaktadır. Yerkazan'ın çalışmasının temelini Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı tarafından atanan din görevlilerinin doldurduğu anketleri oluşturmuştur. Makalenin temel sonucu, camilerdeki sınıfların fiziksel imkanlarının geliştirilmeye ihtiyaç duyduğu ve daha kaliteli bir dini eğitimin dini görevliler ve öğrenciler arasında daha yakın bir diyalogu gerektirdiğidir.

İkinci makalede, kötülük problemini bu hususa dair yanlış anlaşılmalara odaklanarak konu edinen Abdullah Pakoğlu, ilk olarak konunun tarihsel sürecini ele almakta daha sonra ise mevzunun farklı dînî gruplar arasında nasıl anlaşıldığını açıklamaktadır. Çalışmanın temel argümanlarından biri kötülük problemini izah ederken doğru metot ve terminoloji uygulandığında nihaî çözümün güçlü bir imanda olduğudur.

Canan Seyfeli “Bizans Pavlikyanları: İnanç ve Pratikler” adlı makalesi ile dergimizin bu sayısına katkıda bulunmaktadır. Ana akım Hıristiyanlar tarafından heretik sayılan Pavlikyanlar, teslis gibi doktrinsel inançlar ve Kitâb-ı Mukaddes'in sadece belirli metinlerini kabul etme ve farklı yorumlama gibi hususlarda ayrılmaktadırlar. Makalenin son bölümü Pavlikyanların tarihi, inançları ve ibadetleri hakkında temel bulguları sunmaktadır.

Mehmet Ata Az, İslam ilim ve entelektüel tarihin en tartışmalı konularından biri olan Kur'an'ın yaratılmışlığı hususunu izah etmektedir. Araştırma halku'l-Kur'an meselesini ilâhî sıfatlardan kelâm üzerine yoğunlaşarak incelemekte ve aynı zamanda mevzuya dair terminoloji ve teknik ifadeleri bunların farklı gruplar arasında nasıl anlaşıldığını ele almaktadır.

Bu sayımızın beşinci makalesi *katl* ifadesi ve tarihçesini Kur'ân metinleri üzerinden incelemektedir. Araştırmanın temel argümanlarından biri Kur'ân metinlerinde geçen *katl* kavramının Siret eserleri ışığında yedi kategoriye ayrılacağıdır.

“Kelâm İlminin Teşekkül Sürecindeki Temel Sorunlar” isimli çalışması ile Ayhan Işık ve M.Selim Yılmaz kelâm ilminin ortaya çıktığı sürecin sosyo-politik arka planı hakkında bir analiz sunmaktadırlar. Bu analizde üç kavram üzerine odaklanılmaktadır: Hilafet, mürtekeb-i kebîre ve kader. Çalışmanın ulaştığı nihaî kanılardan biri, konunun İslam entellektüel geleneğinin ana birimlerinden olan ilm-i kelâm âlimlerinin ve müslüman entellektüellerinin düşünce yapısını ve tartışma usûlünü etkileyecek birçok boyutlu bir arka plan oluşturmuş olduğudur. Bu nedenle, araştırmada kelâm ilminin meselelerinin bağlama dayalı bir okuma ve anlama gerektirdiği vurgulanmaktadır.

Hayati Aydın bu sayımıza “Kur'ân'da İrâde, Azm ve Tevekkül” adlı makalesi ile katkıda bulunmakta ve irade, azm ve tevekkül kavramlarını Allah'ın kudreti ve iradesine inanç ile ilişkili olarak ele almaktadır.

Araştırmada, inanırın nihaî başarısının her türlü gayreti ve çabayı gösterdikten sonra Allah'ın iradesine güçlü bir imanla tevekküle bağlı olduğu sonucuna ulaşılmaktadır.

Sayımızın son çalışmasında Abdullah Taha Orhan, Abdülrahîm Karahisâri'nin *Münyetü'l-Ebrâr ve Gunyetü'l-Ahyâr* eserinin incelemesini yaptığını doktora tez araştırmasının özetini sunmaktadır. Tezin ilk bölümleri Karahisâri'nin hayatının kültürel ve sosyal yönüne değinen bir biyografi aktarmakta iken diğer bölümler *Münyetü'l-Ebrâr*'ın farklı el yazma nüshaları, özelliklerini ve içeriğini analiz etmektedir. Tez çalışması, Karahisâri'nin biyografisine dair bilinmeyen birçok hususu açığa çıkarmakta ve onun sufliğinin önemli ölçüde Ekberiyeye metafiziğinden etkilendiği sonucuna varmaktadır.

2018 yılında Dr. Abdullah Demir tarafından yayımlanmaya başlayan dergimiz, bu sayımızdan itibaren Ankara Yıldırım Beyazıt Üniversitesi İslami İlimler Fakültesi öğretim üyelerince kurulan "İslami İlimler Eğitim ve Araştırma Merkezi" tarafından yayımlanacaktır. Derginin editör ekibinde de değişiklik olacaktır. Önümüzdeki sayıdan itibaren *ULUM*, Doç. Dr. Mehmet Ata Az'ın editörlüğünde yeni alan editörleri ve Yayın Kurulu ile İngilizce-Türkçe çift dilli olarak yayın hayatına devam edecektir.

Index Islamicus'ta taranan ve DOAJ'da yer alan dergimizin bu aşamaya gelmesinde emek ve katkıları olan editör ve Yayın Kurulu üyeleri ile hakem, yazar ve okurlarımıza teşekkürlerimi sunuyorum.

En iyi dileklerimizi iletiyor ve yeni editör ekibimiz tarafından yayımlanacak olan bir sonraki sayımızı sizlere ilan etmeyi sabırsızlıkla bekliyoruz!

Dr. Zeynep YÜCEDOĞRU
Bitlis Eren Üniversitesi
İslami İlimler Fakültesi
Din Bilimleri Bölümü
Bitlis, TÜRKİYE
zyucedogru@beu.edu.tr

ORCID: 0000-0003-4931-6148

Mosque Lessons in Germany According to the Religious Officials *

Hasan Yerkazan **

Abstract

In this study, the current state of religious education and religious training activities carried out by the mosques of The Turkish-Islamic Union for Religious Affairs (DITIB, which were established by people who emigrated from Turkey to Germany and one of the largest Islamic organizations operating in Germany), have been tried to be determined by the questionnaire applied to the religious officials and by observation method. In the course of this study, the physical condition of the mosques, the success of the instructors, the methods of education applied in the mosque lessons are analysed in terms of the Religious officials' perspectives. Based on the results of the obtained data, some suggestions and proposals are made for the mosque lessons to be more effective and productive. DITIB mosque unions are organizations that try to provide religious, social, cultural, and educational activities to all Muslims, especially Turks. There are special service areas for children, youth, adults and the elderly. Religious officials have been sent to Germany by the Presidency of Religious Affairs are primarily responsible for education and training activities. Thousands of students participate in religious education and training activities in mosques throughout Germany on weekends and holidays. In the mosque lessons, besides teaching basic religious and ethical knowledge, the students are tried to gain the ability to read the Qur'ān in a duly manner.

Keywords

Religious Education, Mosque Lessons, Religious Official, DITIB, Germany

* **Note:** This article has been prepared by using our expert thesis titled *Yurt Dışında Camilerde Yürütülen Eğitim Hizmetlerinin Sorunları ve Çözüm Önerileri (Almanya Örneği)*, Ankara: Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı, 2016.

** **Corresponding Author:** Associate Professor, Amasya University, Faculty of Theology, Department of Hadith, Amasya, Turkey | Doç. Dr., Amasya Üniversitesi, İlahiyat Fakültesi, Hadis Anabilim Dalı
hasanyerkazan@gmail.com | **ORCID** 0000-0001-8673-0546.

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Din Görevlilerinin Gözüyle Almanya’da Cami Dersleri

Öz

Bu çalışmada Türkiye’den Almanya’ya işçi statüsünde göç eden kişiler tarafından kurulan ve Almanya’da faaliyet gösteren en büyük İslâmî çatı kuruluşlarından biri olan Diyanet İşleri Türk İslam Birliği (DİTİB) bünyesindeki camilerde yürütülen din eğitim ve öğretim faaliyetlerinin mevcut hali din görevlilerine uygulanan anket çalışmasıyla ve yerinde gözlem metoduyla tespit edilmeye çalışılmıştır. Çalışma boyunca, din görevlilerinin gözüyle camilerin fiziki durumu, eğitmenlerin başarısı, cami derslerinde uygulanan eğitim öğretim yöntemleri incelenmiştir. Elde edilen veriler neticesinde, cami derslerinin daha etkin ve verimli bir hale gelebilmesi için bazı öneri ve tekliflerde bulunulmuştur. DİTİB camileri başta Türkler olan üzere bütün Müslümanlara dinî, sosyal ve kültürel hizmetler vermeye çalışan bir kuruluştur. Çocuklara, gençlere, yetişkinlere ve yaşlılara özel hizmet alanları bulunmaktadır. Eğitim ve öğretim faaliyetlerinden birinci derecede Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı tarafından Almanya’ya gönderilen din görevlileri sorumludur. Almanya genelinde camilerde yürütülmekte olan din eğitim ve öğretim faaliyetlerine hafta sonları ve tatil günlerinde binlerce öğrenci iştirak etmektedir. Cami derslerinde öğrencilere temel dini ve ahlâkî bilgilerin öğretilmenin yanı sıra Kur’ân-ı Kerîm’i usulüne uygun bir şekilde okuma becerisi kazandırılmaya çalışılmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler

Din Eğitimi, Cami Dersleri, Din Görevlileri, DİTİB, Almanya

Introduction

Since 1960, many Turkish citizens have gone to work in many Western European countries, including Germany, France, the Netherlands and Belgium. Turkish workers have tried to take their customs, traditions, culture and religious experiences to the countries where they go. Despite their busy and heavy work life, they have always come together to meet their cultural and social needs and have struggled to survive and maintain their traditions and cultures. Therefore, they have tried to establish solidarity among themselves by establishing associations since the first years of their immigration.¹

While some associations are established only for cultural and social activities, others are established to provide religious services. Associations established to provide religious services carried out mosque-based activities.² The biggest aim of such associations is to prepare the opportunity for the generations who grow up in a foreign culture to teach and live their own values.³ One of the most important activities of

¹ For detailed information about associations and organizations in Germany, see. Yasin Aktay ve Necdet Subaşı, *Referans Grupları Avrupa’da Türkler Dinsel Organizasyonları Söylem ve Tasavvurları*, Proje Raporu (Konya-Muğla: yy., 2006), 81-159; Ayca Aytekin, *Türkisch-Islamische Vereinigungen in Deutschland und die Rolle des Islams in der Türkei im Vergleich* (Norderstedt: Grin, 2009); Thomas Lemmen, *Islamische Vereine und Verbände in Deutschland* (Bonn: Friedrich- Ebert-Stiftung, 2002), 34-93; Erkan Perşembe, *Almanya’da Türk Kimliği Din ve Entegrasyon* (Ankara: Araştırma Yayınları, 2006), 127-178.

² For more information see. Ömer Yılmaz, “Yurtdışı Cami ve Cami Dışı Din Hizmetleri”, *Diyanet İlmî Dergi* 42/1 (2006), 5-78.

³ For more information, see, Cemal Tosun, *Din ve Kimlik* (Ankara: TDV Yayınları, 2010), 37-41.

associations established to provide religious services is to organize Qur'anic recitation, religious education, and teaching courses for young people and children who come to the mosque within the association on the days of school holidays.⁴

Here in this research originated in Turkey operating in Germany, the largest organization comprised of Muslim immigrants "Turkish-Islamic Union for Religious Affairs (DITIB)"⁵ within the serving associations / status of non-formal religious education activities in the mosques have been studied to determine through the perspectives of imams.

This study is based on the evaluation of the questionnaire. It has been applied to the officials serving throughout Germany and commissioned from Turkey. A total of 501 religious officials participated in this survey. Surveys of religious officials were conducted online and delivered to the researcher. Descriptive statistics method was used in the analysis of the obtained survey data. In addition to the survey, the observation method was also included in this study. During the survey and observation process, Religious Services Attaches, association managers and religious officials were in contact with DITIB associations were contacted. As the scope and of this research; the problems of mosque courses have been tried to be determined from the eyes of educators/religious officials.

In Germany, religious officials carry out religious education and training activities as well as mosque services. The contribution of religious officials to religious education and training activities for children and youth and the current status of educational activities in mosques are tried to be examined in this study.

In this study, the efficiency of religious education carried out in mosques within DITIB associations in Germany, satisfaction and expectations of religious officials, their evaluations on religious education/teaching service; which factors affect these evaluations and expectations and in which situations they differ and whether there is a significant relationship among them.

Findings and Comments on the Religious Officials Participating in the Survey

Religious officials working under the Presidency of Religious Affairs provide religious services in the

⁴ For more information, see, Ali-Özgür Özdil, *Wenn sich Moscheen öffnen Moscheepädagogik Eine praktische Einführung in den Islam* (Münster: Waxmann, 2002.), 29-37; Halit Ev, *Almanya'da Çocuklara Yönelik Kur'an ve Dini Bilgiler Kursları* (İzmir: Tıbyan Yayıncılık, 2003); Ahmet Çekin, *Stellung der Imame, Eine Vergleichende Rollenanalyse der Imame in der Türkei und Dutschland* (Tübingen: Tübingen Üniversitesi, Doktora Tezi, 2004); Recai Doğan, "Avrupa'da Kur'an-ı Kerim ve Dini Bilgiler Kursları: Problemler ve Çözüm Önerileri (Almanya Örneği)", *III. Din Şurası Tebliğ ve Müzakereleri*, ed. Mehmet Bulut (Ankara: Diyanet Yayınları, 2005), 391-408; Rauf Ceylan, *Islamische Religionspädagogik in Moscheen und Schulen* (Hamburg: Verlag Dr. Kovac, 2008), 51-61.

⁵ Religious Affairs The Turkish-Islamic Union (DITIB) was established in Köln on July 5, 1984, with the support, entourage, organization and structuring of the Presidency of Religious Affairs 23 years after the Turks went to Germany as workers' status (1961). DITIB is concerned with the religious, social and cultural problems of Muslim Turks and tries to provide services with approximately 900 associations throughout For more information, see, DITIB (Hrsg.), *Kleines Handbuch für Vereine* (Köln: DITIB Verlag, 2004). Hasan Yerkazan, *Eğitim ve Din Hizmetleri Bağlamında Almanya Diyanet İşleri Türk İslam Birliği* (Elazığ: Fırat Üniversitesi, Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, Yüksek Lisans Tezi, 2011); Yakup Çoştu - M. Akif, Ceyhan, "DİTİB'in Din Eğitimi Faaliyetleri Üzerine Bir Değerlendirme", *Hitit Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi* 8/1 (Haziran 2015), 39-51.

status of civil servants as public employees.⁶ The religious officials have two responsibilities. The first is the responsibility imposed by the legislation as a civil servant and the second is the conscientious and spiritual responsibility. While performing his profession as a religious officer, he/she also achieves his/her duties as a servant against God and he/she has to be an example and leader to other people under the mission he/she has undertaken within the expectations of the society. While performing the profession of religious official, it is necessary to deal with people whose ages, genders, cultures differ greatly from each other. Developing a style to appeal to all segments, understanding different behaviours and being patience is the difficulty of his/her profession.⁷

Religious officials working abroad need to deal with a much more diverse range of services than their domestic duties. Besides mosque services, social, cultural, and in-mosque education activities are the primary areas of responsibility. The mosque courses organized especially for children, young people, and adults are the most important duties of religious officials.

1. Personal Information of Religious Officials

In this part, the researcher has mentioned the personal information of the participants.

1.1. Age of Religious Officials

Table 1: Information on the Age of Religious Officials Participating in the Survey

Age	People	Age	People
25	4	44	30
27	3	45	43
30	7	46	30
31	2	47	26
32	7	48	21
33	10	49	18
34	16	50	28
35	26	51	8
36	22	52	8
37	26	53	4
38	27	54	1
39	18	55	7
40	37	56	4
41	21	58	1
42	20	62	1
43	24	63	1
Total			501

⁶ The Presidency of Religious Affairs (DIB) is an organization that has been established in Turkey on 3 March 1924 to carry out the works related to the beliefs of Islam, the principles of worship and morality, enlighten the society on religion and manage the places of worship. See. İrfan Yücel, “Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı”, *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi* (İstanbul: TDV Yayınları, 1994), 9/455-460.

⁷ See. Ahmet Çekin, “Mesleki ve Sosyal Boyutlarıyla Yurtdışı Din Görevliliği”, *Diyanet İlmî Dergi* 41/3 (Eylül 2005), 17-40.

According to the data in Table 1, the age of religious officials varies between 25 and 63 years. It is clearly seen that the density is between 35 and 50 years.

1.2. Gender of Religious Officials

Table 2: Information on the Gender of Religious Officials

Gender	Frequency	Percent
Male	464	93
Female	37	7
Total	501	100

A total of 501 religious officials, 93% male and 7% female, participated in the survey. The Presidency of Religious Affairs (DIB) employs male and female religious officials in accordance with the need abroad. The number of female religious officials abroad is quite low compared to the number of male religious officials. However, the need for female religious officials increases day by day.

1.3. Education Status of Religious Officials

Table 3: Education Status of Religious Officials

Collection Status	Frequency	Percent
Doctorate	1	0,2
Master's Degree	48	9,5
Faculty of Theology	203	40,5
Associate Degree	235	47
Other	14	2,8
Total	501	100

0.2% of the religious officials, who participated in the survey, have a doctorate degree, 9.5% have master's degree, 40.5% have theologians, 47% have associate degree and 2.8% have the other one. It is absolutely seen that most of the religious officials who participated in the survey are graduated from Theology/Divinity Faculty.

1.4. Religious Official of Mission in Turkey

Table 4: Religious Official of Mission in Turkey

Mission	Frequency	Percent
Mufti	9	2
Preacher	49	10
Imam	298	58
Quran course teacher	65	13
Muezzin	51	11
Other	29	6
Total	501	100

Surveyed the religious official "before coming to Germany were in the most recent of which work in Turkey?" 2% of the religious officials, mufti, 10% preacher, 58% imam, 13% Qur'ān course teacher, 11% muezzin and 6% other according to these data, the vast majority of the religious officials who participated

in the religious officials– serve as imam-preacher in Turkey.

1.5. Number of Students of Religious Officials

Table 5: Number of Students of Religious Officials

Number of Students	Frequency	Percent
1-50	246	49
51-100	167	33
101+	88	18
Total	501	100

The question, “How many students are there in the mosque?” is replied as 49% of the religious officials have 1-50 students; 33% of them have 51-100 students and 18% of them 100 and above students. In total, 501 religious officials have 37,244 students.⁸

1.6. Pedagogical Formation Training of Religious Officials

Table 6: The Status of Religious Officers Receiving Pedagogical Formation Training

Pedagogic formation	Frequency	Percent
Yes	199	40
No	302	60
Total	501	100

When the religious officials who participated in the survey were asked if they had received formation training, 60% of them answer as no; while 40% of them answer yes. According to these data, the majority of religious officials did not receive pedagogical training. In a similar study, the Qur’an course teachers were asked, “What subjects do you need in-service training seminars?”. Almost all of them answered the above question as “pedagogical training”. One of the teachers stated that the new generation is different, and they have issues with understanding them.⁹

1.7. Reading Status of Child and Young Psychology of Religious Officials

Table 7: Reading Status of Child and Young Psychology of Religious Officials

Reading Books on Child and Young Psychology	Frequency	Percent
Yes	414	83
No	87	17
Total	501	100

To the question asked to the religious officials who participated in the questionnaire, “Have you read books about youth and child psychology?”, 83% of the religious officials respond as yes; 17% of them respond “no.” Reading of books on youth and child psychology will lead to increased teaching efficiency in the

⁸ No data on the number of students participating in education and training activities in DITIB mosques throughout Germany has been obtained.

⁹ Ayşegül Gün vd., “Bir İlmi Geleneğin Merkezi: Büyükağa Kur’an Kursu -Hafızlık Eğitimi, Niteliği, Sorunları ve Beklentileri-”, *Hitit Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi* 17/34 (Aralık 2018), 228-229.

mosque. According to the data above, many officials have read books on child and youth psychology.

2. Physical Status of Mosques According to Religious Officials

2.1. The Suitability of the Physical Structure for Education

Table 8: According to the Religious Officers of the mosque's situation in terms of physical availability

Attendance Status	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	86	17
Agree	120	24
Partially Agree	159	32
Disagree	89	18
Strongly Disagree	47	9
Total	501	100

When asked whether their mosques are physically conducive to teaching, 17% of the religious officials strongly agree; 24% agree; 32% partially agree; 18% disagree and 9% strongly disagree. According to these data, many mosques in Germany are found to be physically conducive to teaching.

2.2. Eligibility of Classes for Courses

Table 9: Classes According to Religious Officials

Attendance Status	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	75	15
Agree	121	24
Partially Agree	151	30
Disagree	105	21
Strongly Disagree	49	10
Total	501	100

The participation question, which was posed as our classes are suitable for studying, is marked by 15% of religious officials as strongly agree, 24% agree, 30% partially agree, 21% disagree, and 10% strongly disagree. According to these data, most of the classes in the mosques in Germany are suitable for teaching. However, the proportion of those who partially participated in this question of participation is higher than other answers. Making the classes in mosques suitable for teaching is very important in terms of efficiency.

2.3. Status of The Places Where Students Can Play and Have a Good Time in the Mosque

Table 10: Having a place in the mosque where students can play and have a good time

Attendance Status	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	34	7
Agree	60	12
Partially Agree	126	25
Disagree	165	33
Strongly Disagree	116	23
Total	501	100

To the question, “Are there places in the mosque where students can play and have a good time?” 7% of the religious officials responded as strongly agree; 12% agree; 25% partially agree; 33% disagree and 23% strongly disagree. According to these data, it is understood that most of the mosques in Germany have limited or no spaces where students can play and have a good time.

2.4. Cleaning Status of Mosque

Table 11: Cleaning Status of Mosque

Attendance Status	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	174	35
Agree	245	49
Partially Agree	65	13
Disagree	14	3
Strongly Disagree	3	1
Total	501	100

The participation question, which was created as the inside and outside of the mosque are clean, are marked by 35% of religious officials as strongly agree, 49% agree, 13% partially agree, 3% disagree, and 1% strongly disagree. According to these data, there are no problems with the cleanliness of mosques, with some exceptions.

2.5. Projection, Computer and Internet Usage in Classrooms

Table 12: Use of Computer, Internet and Projection for Religious Education in Classrooms

Usage Status of Computer, Internet and Projection Status	Frequency	Percent
Yes	268	53
No	233	47
Total	501	100

To the question, “Do you use projector, computer and internet for educational purposes in your classrooms?” 53% of religious officials’ answer is yes and 47% of them answer no. According to these data, there is an equality in terms of educational projection, computer and internet use. It is absolutely necessary to make use of such ancillary tools in the required classes.

3. The Status of Students According to Religious Officials

3.1. Turkish Language Problem of Students

Table 13: Turkish Language Problem According to Religious Officials

Attendance Status	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	203	41
Agree	182	36
Partially Agree	94	19
Disagree	18	4
Strongly Disagree	4	1
Total	501	100

The participation question, which was posed as the students have a problem of understanding Turkish, answered by religious officials as 41% strongly agree; 36% agree; 19% partially agree; 4% disagree and 1% strongly disagree. In Germany, the children of the fourth generation are currently attending mosque classes. It may be wrong to expect a good level of Turkish grammar from children whose parents are born in Germany. Inevitably, it is natural for children to have some deficiencies in Turkish grammar. According to the data above, it is seen that most of the religious officials agree that students have a problem with understanding Turkish. Most of the mosque courses in Germany are taught in Turkish. Children sometimes do not understand the issues described because of the language problem, and this decreases their interest in the lessons. However, it is observed that the students have improved their Turkish through mosque lessons. There is also an indirect benefit here. This problem should be tried to solve by studying the lessons with different methods (games, etc.).

3.2. Students' Prepared Attendance

Table 14: Students' Prepared Attendance

Attendance Status	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	19	4
Agree	23	5
Partially Agree	97	19
Disagree	201	40
Strongly Disagree	161	32
Total	501	100

On the participation question of students come prepared for courses, 4% of the religious officials answer as strongly agree; 5% of them answer as agree; 19% of them answer as partially agree; 40% of them answer as disagree, and 32% of them answer as strongly disagree. The lessons should be supported with repetition at home and homework to make the information learned permanent. According to the above information, most of the religious officials stated that their students were unprepared for the courses.

3.3. The Influence Case of the Environment in Which the Child Lives in Affecting His Interest in Mosque Lessons

Table 15: Influence of the environment in which the child lives in mosque lessons

Attendance Status	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	131	26
Agree	190	38
Partially Agree	115	23
Disagree	56	11
Strongly Disagree	9	2
Total	501	100

The multicultural and multi-religious environment in which the child lives diminishes his interest in mosque lessons. On the question of participation, 26% of the religious officials strongly agree; 38% agree; 23% partially agree; 11% disagree and 2% disagree at all. Living in a multicultural environment sometimes provides people with a very different and valuable experience and sometimes causes a break in their interests and concerns. In Germany, children spend most of their time except the mosque and home in a

culture alien to them. According to most of religious officials, the multicultural and multi-religious environment in which children live has diminished their interests in mosque classes.

3.4. Consultation with the Students in the Decisions Taken About Themselves in the Mosque

Table 16: Consultation with the students in the decisions taken about themselves in the mosque

Attendance Status	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	51	10
Agree	174	35
Partially Agree	140	28
Disagree	91	18
Strongly Disagree	45	9
Total	501	100

On the efficiency of the courses, the opinions of the students are also asked. On the question of participation, 10% of the religious officials strongly agree; 35% agree; 28% partially agree; 18% disagree and 9% disagree at all. Students are required to internalize and adopt the mosque and the mosque courses to love these courses. Some activities will increase their commitment to the mosque by applying their views. According to most of religious officials who participated in the survey, their opinions are also referenced in the decisions taken about students in mosques.

3.5. The Status of Cultural and Social Activities for Students in the Mosque

Table 17: The Status of Cultural and Social Activities for Students in the Mosque

Attendance Status	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	28	6
Agree	103	21
Partially Agree	209	42
Disagree	115	23
Strongly Disagree	46	9
Total	501	100

The question of participation in the form of "enough social and cultural activities are organized for students in the mosque." 6% of the religious officials answer as strongly agree; 21% answer as agree; 42% answer as partially agree; 23% answer as disagree and 9% answers as strongly disagree. Many methods need to be tried to be effective. The aim of the mosque courses is to educate young people and children. Every activity organized for this purpose will make mosque lessons more efficient. In addition, social and cultural activities in mosques will attract more students to mosques.

3.6. Remarkable Situation of the Mosque Lessons Content

Table 18: The Attention of the Mosque Lessons

Attendance Status	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	43	9
Agree	153	31
Partially Agree	202	40
Disagree	80	16
Strongly Disagree	23	5
Total	501	100

The question of participation in the form of "the content of the mosque lessons was arranged in a way that attracts the attention of the students", 9% of the religious officials respond as strongly agree; 31% respond as agree; 40% response as partially agree; 16% respond as disagree, and 5% respond as strongly disagree. The content of the mosque lessons was arranged in a way that attracts the attention of the students. Individuals learn the topics that interest and wonder more easily. However, not all subjects may be equally interesting to everyone. To make mosque courses more efficient, it is necessary to develop strategies for attracting students' interest. According to most of the religious officials, the content of the mosque courses is not organized to attract the attention of the students.

3.7. The Tasteful Passing of Mosque Courses for Students

Table 19: The tasteful passing of mosque courses for students

Attendance Status	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	54	11
Agree	168	34
Partially Agree	228	46
Disagree	44	9
Strongly Disagree	7	1
Total	501	100

The question of participation in the form of "the mosque classes are enjoyable for my students" 11% of the religious officials respond as strongly agree; 34% respond as agree; 46% respond as partially agree; 9% respond as disagree, and 1% respond as strongly disagree. It is very difficult for students to follow the lessons seriously without being bored. In order to keep the students, fit and alive, the lessons should be fun and enjoyable. Energizing the students through games and competitions in course repetitions and ensuring their participation in the course will have a positive effect on the course yield. According to the data given above, most of the religious officials stated that the mosque lessons were partly enjoyable for their students.

3.8. Recommendation for Students to share the information they have learned in the mosque with others

Table 20: Students to share the information they learned in the mosque with others

Attendance Status	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	194	39
Agree	253	50
Partially Agree	47	9
Disagree	7	1
Strongly Disagree	0	0
Total	501	100

To the question of participation that I encourage my students at the mosque to share the information they have learned, especially with their family and those around them, 39% of the religious officials respond as strongly agree, 50% respond as agree, 9% respond as partially agree, and 1% respond as strongly disagree. Repetition is needed to strengthen the knowledge or practices learned in the mosque. The fact that religious officials advise their students to share the information they taught in the mosque with their families will

both reinforce the students' knowledge and indirectly transfer information to the families through the students. According to these data, almost all religious officials have reported that they follow such a method.

4. Parents' Status According to Religious Officials

4.1. Parents' Exchange of Information on Religious Education

Table 21: Parents' Exchange of Information on Religious Education

Attendance Status	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	32	6%
Agree	103	21%
Partially Agree	178	36%
Disagree	132	26%
Strongly Disagree	56	11%
Total	501	100

To the question of participation, families exchange information about the education of their children with religious officials, 6% of them are strongly agree with it; 21% of them are agree; 36% of them are partially agree; 26% of them are disagree and 11% of them are strongly disagree. It is of great importance that families and educators work together for a successful, effective education. Because in order for the information learned in the lessons to become permanent and to strengthen, families should definitely help their children at home. According to the religious officials, families exchange information with the religious officials partly on the education of their children. There is neglect of parents in this matter.

4.2. Expectations of Parents from Mosque Courses

Table 22: Expectations of Parents from Mosque Courses

Attendance Status	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	71	14
Agree	171	34
Partially Agree	144	29
Disagree	94	19
Strongly Disagree	21	4
Total	501	100

To the question of participation, I think the expectations of parents in mosque classes are very high, 14% of the religious officials answer as strongly agree; 34% answer as agree; 29% answer as partially agree; 19% answer as disagree and 4% answer as strongly disagree. According to these data, parents have high expectations from mosque classes.

4.3. Parents' Interest

Table 23: Parents' Interest

Attendance Status	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	12	2
Agree	64	13
Partially Agree	175	35
Disagree	156	31
Strongly Disagree	94	19
Total	501	100

On the question of participation, parents are very interested in having their children attend mosque classes, 2% of the religious officials are strongly agreed; 13% are agree; 35% are partially agreed; 31% are disagreed, and 19% are strongly disagreed. Parents' follow-up and guidance of their children's education and being in contact with religious officials have a positive effect on mosque lessons. According to the above data, most of the religious officials do not find the parents' interest enough to follow the mosque lessons.

5. Association Management and Congregation According to Religious Officials

5.1. Efforts of the Mosque / Association Management for the Education of Students

Table 24: The Efforts of the Administration of the Mosque / Association for the Education of Students

Attendance Status	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	60	12
Agree	99	20
Partially Agree	196	39
Disagree	98	20
Strongly Disagree	48	10
Total	501	100

To the question, “Does the mosque/association administration prepare all kinds of facilities for the education of the students?”, 12% of the religious officials responded as strongly agree; 20% respond as agree; 39% respond as partially agree; 20% respond as disagree, and 10% respond as strongly disagree. According to the above findings, the management of the association tries to meet all the needs of the mosques. However, some mosques do not give required attention to education. According to most of religious officials, the directors of the association contribute to the education and training activities at a moderate level.

5.2. Association Management and Relevance of the Mosque Community to Students

Table 25: Management of the Association and the Status of the Students in the Mosque Community

Attendance Status	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	56	11
Agree	176	35
Partially Agree	168	34
Disagree	72	14
Strongly Disagree	29	6
Total	501	100

On the question whether the management of the association and the community of the mosque treat the students kindly and delicately in the mosque, 11% of the religious officials responded as strongly agree; 35% respond as agree; 34% respond as partially agree; 14% respond as disagree, and 6% respond as strongly disagree. The students will feel comfortable and safe during their stay in the mosque and will increase their love, interest and interest in mosque lessons. According to the above data, religious officials think most of the association management and mosque community have a positive attitude towards students.

5.3. Collaboration with the Management of the Association in the Follow-up of Mosque Courses

Table 26: Collaboration with Association Management in the Follow-up of Mosque Courses

Attendance Status	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	57	11
Agree	144	29
Partially Agree	164	33
Disagree	95	19
Strongly Disagree	41	8
Total	501	100

To the statement question, “We are in full cooperation with the management of the association”, 11% of the religious officials responded as strongly agree; 29% are agree; 33% are partially agree; 19% are disagree, and 8% are strongly disagree. According to the above data, the majority of religious officials is partly in cooperation with the management of the association, while most of religious officials stated they have not received the support of the management of the association in this regard.

6. Application, Method and Current Situation of Religious Officials in Mosque Courses

6.1. Student Enrolment System Applications

Table 27: Student Registration System Application Status

Registration System	Frequency	Percent
Yes	383	76
No	118	24
Total	501	100

The religious officers who participated in the study were asked about the application status of the student registration system. 76% of the religious officials answered “yes” and 24% answered “no.” According to these data, the quarter of the religious officials do not apply student enrolment system. According to the above findings, in mosques where the student registration system is not applied, it is not possible to follow up the students regularly.

6.2. Curriculum Implementation Status

Table 28: Curriculum Application Status of Religious Officials

Curriculum Application Status	Frequency	Percent
Yes	422	84
No	79	16
Total	501	100

One of the most important elements of education and training activities is to have a viable curriculum. The question of whether they have a curriculum directed to religious officials, 84% of religious officials responded “yes”; 16% responded “no.” According to these data, many mosques follow a curriculum in mosque classes by religious officials.

6.3. Possession of Educational and Instructional Material

Table 29: Possession of Educational and Instructional Material

Possession of Materials	Frequency	Percent
Yes	196	39
No	305	61
Total	501	100

One of the biggest problems in mosque education is the lack of sufficient educational and instructional materials. To the question, “Do you have enough educational and instructive materials in mosque education?” 61% of the religious officials answered “no” and 39% answered “yes.” According to these data, most mosques are lack of the necessary materials for education and training. It is also observed that the educators who possess the materials benefited from the documents prepared by the Presidency of Religious Affairs or other institutions and organizations. However, most of these materials were found to be incompatible with the level of understanding of children in Germany.

6.4. Availability of Sufficient Number of Trainers in the Mosque

Table 30: Availability of sufficient number of trainers in the mosque

Attendance Status	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	85	17
Agree	135	27
Partially Agree	106	21
Disagree	127	25
Strongly Disagree	48	10
Total	501	100

To the statement, “We don't have enough educators in our mosque,” 17% of the religious officials reacted as strongly agree; 27% responded as agree; 21% responded as partially agree; 25% answered as disagree and 10% responded as strongly disagree. Religious officials make use of honorary officials in their education and training activities. However, some mosques do not have enough voluntaries to perform honorary duties. According to the data above, while there are enough educators in some mosques, it is observed that there are no officials to contribute to education and training activities.

6.5. Providing Class Discipline During the Course

Table 31: Providing Class Discipline During the Course

Attendance Status	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	101	20
Agree	218	44
Partially Agree	138	28
Disagree ⁹	39	8
Strongly Disagree	5	1
Total	501	100

To the question, “I can maintain classroom discipline during class,” 20% of the religious officials responded as strongly agree; 44% responded as agree; 28% responded as partially agree; 8% responded as

disagree, and 1% responded as strongly disagree. When teachers maintain discipline in classroom, they teach more effectively.¹⁰ The vast majority of the participants stated that they are capable of maintaining class discipline.

6.6. Knowing When and How Much and How to Teach Information to Students

Table 32: Knowing when and how much information is taught to students

Attendance Status	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	149	29,8
Agree	255	51
Partially Agree	84	17
Disagree	12	2
Strongly Disagree	1	0,2
Total	501	100

To the question, “I know when to teach students what amount of knowledge and by what method,” 29.8% of the religious officials responded as strongly agree; 51% responded as agree; 17% responded as partially agree; 2% responded as disagree and 0.2% responded as strongly disagree. Nearly all of the religious officials stated that they know when and what amount of knowledge to teach students and by what method.

6.7. The Problem of Communication of Religious Officials with Students

Table 33: The Problem of Communication of Religious Officials with Students

Attendance Status	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	29	6
Agree	90	18
Partially Agree	153	31
Disagree	156	31
Strongly Disagree	73	15
Total	501	100

With the question of I am having trouble communicating with students, 6% of the religious officials answered strongly agree; 18% answered agree; 31% answered partially agree; 31% answered disagree, and 15% answered strongly disagree. In order to have an impact on their students or to be beneficial to them, educators need to have good communication with their students. According to this data, most of the religious officials do not have any communication problems with their students. However, some religious officials stated that they face such a problem. In another study, the pre-service teachers were asked the question of how the teachers of the religious education communicate with the students, 34,1% of them stated that it was “very good”, 45,9% stated that it was “good”, 13,9% stated that it was “moderate” and 6% stated that it was “inadequate”.¹¹

¹⁰ See. Adem Bayar - James H. Kerns, “Undesired Behaviors Faced in Classroom by Physics Teachers in High Schools”, *Eurasian J. Phys. & Chem. Educ.* 7/1 (2015), 37-45.

¹¹ Ayşegül Gün, “İlahiyat Alanında Pedagojik Formasyon Eğitimi Alan Öğretmen Adaylarının Gözüyle Din Dersi Öğretmenleri”, *Şırnak Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi* 11/24 (Haziran 2020): 140.

6.8. Sanctions Against Students Who Disturb the Course

Table 34: Sanction Against Students Who Missed Peace

Attendance Status	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	114	23
Agree	175	35
Partially Agree	123	25
Disagree	69	14
Strongly Disagree	20	4
Total	501	100

With the question of participation that I cannot impose any sanctions against students who disturb the class, 23% of the religious officials answered as strongly agree; 35% answered as agree; 25% answered as partially agree; 14% answered as disagree and 4% answered as strongly disagree. In mosque classes, students give educators a hard time from time to time by disrupting the course layout. Because mosque classes are conducted on a voluntary basis, educators are not able to impose any sanctions on students. According to the above data, the majority of religious officials stated they could not impose any sanctions on their students who were disturbing the peace. In another study on the Qur'an course education, the students were asked how the attitude of the course teachers was in the face of their negative behaviours, the majority of the students (87.7%) stated that the teachers wheedle them/ lay some sweet lines of them. 8.8% of the students stated that the course teachers wig them, 1.8% stated that the course teachers applied to physical punishment; 1.8% stated that the teachers remained unresponsive.¹²

6.9. Good Use of Time During Class

Table 35: Good use of time during class

Attendance Status	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	124	24,7
Agree	270	54
Partially Agree	100	20
Disagree	5	1
Strongly Disagree	2	0,3
Total	501	100

With the question of I use time well during class, 24.7% of the religious officials answered as strongly agree; 54% answered as agree; 20% answered as partially agree; 1% answered as disagree and, 0.3% answered strongly disagree. In order to ensure the efficiency and quality of the courses in the classroom at a high level, educators need to use the time very well. The vast majority of the religious officials stated that they consume time of the course efficiently.

¹² Ayşegül Gün vd., "Bir İlmi Geleneğin Merkezi: Büyükağa Kur'an Kursu -Hafızlık Eğitimi, Niteliği, Sorunları ve Beklentileri-", 221-222.

6.10. Failure to Allocate Sufficient Time to Students Due to The Multiplicity of Students

Table 36: Failure to allocate sufficient time to students due to the multiplicity of students

Attendance Status	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	85	17
Agree	119	24
Partially Agree	140	28
Disagree	122	24
Strongly Disagree	35	7
Total	501	100

To the question, “I do not have enough time for each student because of the large number of students,” 17% of the religious officials answered strongly as agree; 24% answered as agree; 28% answered as partially agree; 24% disagreed and 7% answered as strongly disagree. Most of the mosque courses in Germany do not apply to any student quota. Every student comes to the mosque regardless of the number of educators is admitted to the classes. This leads to crowded classrooms, decreases productivity and leads the educator to not take sufficient care of the students. According to the data above, most of religious officials face this problem.

6.11. Follow-up Status of Non-Students

Table 37: Follow-up Status of Non-Students

Attendance Status	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	163	33
Agree	244	48,7
Partially Agree	73	15
Disagree	19	4
Strongly Disagree	2	0,3
Total	501	100

With the participation question of I keep track of students who do not attend to the class, 33% of the religious officials answered as strongly agree; 48% answered as agree; 15% answered as partially agree; 4% answered as disagree and 0.3% answered as strongly disagree. One of the biggest problems of mosque courses is that students do not attend the classes consistently. Practices such as not going to class regularly disrupt the course layout and create a difference in knowledge among students. This causes serious difficulties to the educator. In order to avoid such problems, the educator must follow the attendance status of his/her students closely. According to the data above, the vast majority of religious officials follow students who do not show up for class.

6.12. The Status of Contact with The Parents of Students with Attendance Problem

Table 38: The status of contact with the parents of students with absenteeism problem

Attendance Status	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	106	21,2
Agree	238	47,5
Partially Agree	122	24,3
Disagree	33	6,7
Strongly Disagree	2	0,3
Total	501	100

With the participation question that I am contacting the parents of students with attendance issues immediately, 21.2% of the religious officials answered as strongly agree; 47.5% answered as agree; 24.3% answered as partially agree; 6.7% answered as disagree and 0.3% answered as strongly disagree. According to these data, the vast majority of educators contact immediately the parents of absent students.

6.13. Meeting with Parents

Table 39: Meeting with Parents

Attendance Status	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	84	17
Agree	175	35
Partially Agree	178	36
Disagree	57	11
Strongly Disagree	7	1
Total	501	100

To the question, “I regularly assembling parents' meetings to raise their awareness about the importance of education,” 17% of the religious officials answered as strongly agree; 35% answered as agree; 36% answered as partially agree; 11% answered as disagree and, 1% answered as strongly disagree. The role of parents in the efficiency of mosque education is vital. To receive the support of parents, meetings should be held with them to share the situation of their children.

6.14. Motivating Conversations

Table 40: Motivating Conversations

Attendance Status	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	214	43
Agree	250	50
Partially Agree	34	7
Disagree	3	1
Strongly Disagree	0	0
Total	501	100

Religious officials, with the participation question that they give motivational speeches about the importance of mosque lessons to the students who attend mosque classes, 43% of them answered as strongly agree; 50% answered as agree; 7% answered as partially agree, and, 1% answered as both disagree and strongly disagree. In order to increase productivity/efficiency in education, educators need to motivate students. According to the data above, almost all religious officials give motivational speeches to their students on issues related to the importance of mosque lessons.

6.15. Follow-up Status of Information Learned in the Mosque

Table 41: Follow-up Status of Information Learned in Mosque (Prayer, Fasting etc.)

Attendance Status	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	109	22
Agree	229	45,7
Partially Agree	135	27
Disagree	26	5
Strongly Disagree	2	0,3
Total	501	100

To the participation question that I follow whether the knowledge learned in the mosque (prayer, fasting, etc.) is applied, 22% of the religious officials answered as strongly agree; 46% answered as agree; 27% answered as partially agree, 5% answered as disagree and, 0.3% answered as strongly disagree. It is very important to monitor whether the information learned during the education and training in the mosque is applied or not. According to the above data, the majority of religious officials follow students' prayers such as prayer and fasting they learned in the mosque.

6.16. Students Cognition of the Prophet and Islamic Elders

Table 42: Students Cognition of the Prophet and Islamic Elders

Attendance Status	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	79	16
Agree	233	46,7
Partially Agree	167	33
Disagree	20	4
Strongly Disagree	2	0,3
Total	501	100

The question of participation in the form of “my students knew the prophet and the Islamic elders better and his love increased. 6% of the religious officials answered as strongly agree; 21% answered as agree; 42% answered as partially agree; 23% answered as disagree and, 9% answered as strongly disagree. The teaching of the Prophet and other Islamic elders to the children is of great importance in the mosque. The majority of religious officials stated that their students know the prophet and the elders of Islam better and that their love for them have increased.

6.17. Acquisition of the Customs and Traditions in the Mosque

Table 43: Acquisition of the customs and traditions in the mosque

Attendance Status	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	125	25
Agree	259	52
Partially Agree	101	20
Disagree	15	3
Strongly Disagree	1	0,2
Total	501	100

With the question of participation that the values of our traditions and customs are given in the mosque, 25% of the religious officials answered as strongly agree; 51.8% answered as agree; 20% answered as partially agree; 3% answered as disagree and, 0.2% answered as strongly disagree. Certain customs, traditions, and cultural values must be given to students in mosques. According to the vast majority of religious officials, such values are given to students in the mosque.

6.18. Gaining Basic Moral Values of Students

Table 44: Students' Basic Moral Values Gain Status

Attendance Status	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	161	32
Agree	272	54
Partially Agree	61	12
Disagree	7	1
Strongly Disagree	0	0
Total	501	100

To the participation question that students are given basic moral values in the mosque, 32% of the religious officials answered as strongly agree; 54% answered as agree; 12% answered as partially agree, and 1% answered as disagree. During the education in the mosque, the students try to gain basic moral values, whether planned or unplanned. Planned topics in the course curriculum by processing; Unplanned students are affected by the environment or conversations and gain some basic values. According to the majority of religious officials, basic moral values such as truthfulness, honesty, and helpfulness are taught to students in the mosque.

Conclusions and Recommendations

For an efficient religious education in mosques abroad, physical and social situations, and teaching elements should be compatible with each other. The results and recommendations obtained in this research are as follows:

Physical Conditions (mosque, class and number of students);

- Classroom environment is required for regular, efficient processing of courses. Spaces outside of the classroom environment distract students and instructors, thus reducing course efficiency and reducing motivation. In all mosques, it is necessary to encourage mosque administrations and parents to create a classroom environment. In the mosques where physical facilities are not available, portable desks and whiteboards can be used within the mosque.

- According to the survey data, the majority of religious officials stated that their classes were suitable for teaching. However, the classes established in some mosques are not suitable for teaching due to their physical conditions. The classroom environment should be arranged in a way that will appeal to and appeal to the students. If students themselves contribute to the organization of classes, they may love their classes more. For example, a painting, painting and model hanging on a corner or wall of the classroom will increase their commitment to their classes. This will indirectly affect course efficiency positively.

- In the mosque, there is a need for places where children can have a quality time and play during breaks. Such places will allow the students to play games among themselves, and the students will be able to merge on this occasion. The more students who attend the mosque classes, the more they can commingle together, the greater their commitment to the mosque. Associations that do not have a shortage of space should make places within the mosque where children can play and have a pleasurable time.

*Social Situations (educators, students, parents and association management);
Educators / Religious Officers;*

• Preparatory training seminars are conducted by the Presidency of Religious Affairs for the personnel to be employed abroad. These seminars enable religious officials to provide more efficient services abroad. The duration and content of these seminars should be diversified and revised as needed. It was observed that the religious officials who started to work abroad without having the information caused the disruption of the services abroad and the decrease in efficiency.

• Most of the religious officials who attended the survey are graduates of theology faculties and most of them have professional experience considering their years of service. However, 60% of the religious officials or 302 of the 501 religious officials did not receive pedagogical formation training. It would be wrong to expect a high level of success in the mosque classes from the officials who do not have sufficient knowledge about efficient lesson processing techniques.

• A number of studies are needed to make religious officials more useful abroad as an educator. For example, the persons who have received pedagogical formation in their foreign assignments and the personnel who have been successful in religious education in the area they work in the country can be given priority. In addition, issues such as effective religious education and classroom management should be handled intensively in the orientation seminars prepared for religious officials before the foreign mission.

• Time is one of the most important elements of education and training. Using time carefully and diligently is one of the first indicators of success. In order to ensure the most effective course efficiency in the classroom, educators should evaluate the course hours very well.

• An educator who masters the class by ensuring class discipline during the course can ensure that their lessons are more productive. Knowing when and how much information will be taught to students is of great importance for the efficiency of mosque courses.

• In effective religious education, educators should have a good dialogue with their students. According to the survey data, the majority of the religious officials do not have any communication problems with their students. However, some religious officials also stated that they are facing such a problem.

• One of the shortcomings that decrease the efficiency of mosque courses is that the teachers cannot allocate sufficient time to the students due to the large number of students. In Germany, there is no student quota for mosques in the mosques. Every student who comes to the mosque regardless of the number of educators is admitted to the classes. This leads to the formation of crowded classes, decreases efficiency and causes the educator to not take care of the students adequately. To solve this problem, it is necessary to increase the number of honorary officers in mosques.

• Honorary and official educators in the mosque are required to receive in-service training from time to time on issues related to education and training. Because most of the educators, including the official clergy, did not receive pedagogical formation training. With such training programs, the deficiencies of the trainers will be eliminated. There is a constant need to renew and motivate those involved in education and training activities. Seminars are organized by the Presidency for religious officials to be assigned abroad within the framework of professional orientation training programs. However, it is not possible for religious officials to know the profile of the foreign students before the mission. Because this must be seen and

observed in person. The training courses for the service to be provided after the observation of the service area will provide an increase in the quality of the training services.

- There is a need to carry out some studies in order to be more qualified and effective for religious educators. First of all, experienced personnel in education and training activities should be employed in mosques abroad. Personnel who will contribute to the religious education of children and young people should be appointed rather than those who will act as imams abroad.

- The employment of personnel who are successful in religious education and training abroad is a crucial condition. For this purpose, more qualified personnel can be employed abroad by conducting studies on the employment of religious educators abroad. It has been observed that people who do not have an educational aspect have difficulty in education and training activities in mosques. In addition, the reputation of the religious officials who are unable to achieve the desired success in religious education and training activities is damaged. In this context, it should be determined whether the applicants applying for the international duty exam have an educational aspect. Persons who do not have sufficient experience both experience troubled days during their overseas duties and cause the Presidency's religious services to be interrupted.

- If possible, studies should be carried out on the second period of non-intermittent employment of officials who have achieved good success in education and training services abroad. Because getting an experience from scratch makes the institution lose many years. Every time a clergyman is exchanged, there may be a period of stalling in the mosques. In order to be more successful in education and training activities in the mosque abroad, experienced personnel should always be employed.

Students;

- According to religious officials, the contents of the mosque courses were not arranged to attract the attention of the students. It is very difficult for students to follow the lessons seriously without being bored. In order to keep the students, fit and alive, the lessons should be fun and enjoyable. In this context, mobilizing the students through games and competitions and ensuring their participation in the course repetitions will have a positive effect on the course yield.

- Lessons can be handled better in the periods when the interests and interests of the students are complete. It is necessary to make students relevant to mosque courses by applying different methods.

- The most important aim of these courses is that the information learned in the mosque courses have an equivalent in social and religious life. The fact that the learned knowledge remains only as a general culture is not the main objective of the mosque courses. The main objective of the mosque courses is to educate a virtuous generation who knows religion. In this context, it is of great importance that religious educators make and encourage their students to make remembrance recommendations about their religious life.

- Some opportunities should be provided to teach students in the mosque the Prophet (pbuh) and the Islamic elders better. The exemplary lives of these distinguished people are role models for them.

- In a society without moral values and principles, it is not possible to have peace and bliss. These values are the guarantee of people living together. The reason of the depression and unrest experienced by many societies in the past and today stems from the moral collapse. Morality is an integral part of religion

as it is important for the individual and society. Students should also gain basic moral values in mosque courses.

- The transmission of traditions, customs, customs and traditions from generation to generation means the preservation of identity and culture. In this context, mosques abroad perform a great task. After the students step into the mosque, they realize many cultural values by realizing or not.

- Sharing information with students at home has a positive impact on both students and their families and provides a two-way benefit. By doing so, mosques can be the leading carrier of tradition and culture. First, when the student shares the information he has learned in the mosque with his family, his knowledge will be consolidated and become more permanent. Secondly, the information learned indirectly in the mosque will be transferred to the families. To achieve such benefit, educators should instruct students to share the basic religious knowledge they have learned in the mosque with their families at home.

- Living in a multicultural environment can sometimes give people very different and valuable experiences, and sometimes they cause a disintegration of their interests and interests. In Germany, children spend most of their time outside the mosque and home in a culture that is alien to them. In religious education, it is necessary to take into account the position of the students.

Parents;

- Efficient, efficient and successful education can be achieved by the cooperation of educators and families. Because, in order for the information or gains learned in the lessons to become permanent and consolidate, families must help their children at home. According to religious officials, nearly half of the family's exchange information with the religious official about the education of their children. Parents want their children to have a good education in mosques. However, it was observed that the efforts of the children in the mosque classes were very weak in order to be successful.

- It is very difficult for educators to continue their education services without getting any help from anyone. There is a need for a unit to help the religious educator. For more regular, organized and disciplined education activities, mosque-family associations should be established in mosques. Awareness raising meetings should be organized through the family union and the situation of their children should be shared. Religious officials should direct these meetings. The fact that this meeting is held in the first lesson of education and training will enable parents to be more conscious throughout the year. It is not possible to achieve the desired success when hand in hand with the parents in the mosque education. Conscious parents will ensure that children are more successful. In such a course, all parents should be informed about what children will be taught during the year, methods to be followed in educational activities and expectations from parents. Thus, full coordination between parents and educators will be ensured during the educational activities in the mosque.

- Regular religious visits by religious officials and sharing information about the mosque classes and students to the parents through communication tools will positively affect the course efficiency.

Association / mosque management;

- The association / mosque administrations meet all the needs of the mosques within the association. However, in some mosques, it was observed that there was not enough attention on education. According to religious officials, association administrations contribute to the medium level of education and training activities. In order to carry out the mosque courses regularly and efficiently, the religious officials and the association management should support each other and follow the educational activities in a coordinated

manner. Almost half of the religious officials cooperate with the association management; a significant number of religious officials stated that they did not get the support of the association administration or partially received support. In this context, meetings or seminars should be organized at regular intervals in order to raise awareness of the association administrations in educational services.

Religious Services Counsellor / Attaché;

- The religious officers abroad are the religious advisors and religious services attachés. The majority of religious services can be realized through the coordination of parents, association managers and religious services attachés. Religious officials should receive the support of the religious services counsellor and attaché on matters related to religious education at the mosque.

Instructional elements (materials, methods, curriculum, subjects and needs);

Curriculum;

- One of the most important elements of education and training services is to have a viable curriculum. The majority of religious officials have a curriculum in mosque classes. However, according to our observations, there is no common curriculum in all DITIB mosques throughout Germany. The present curriculum or religious services are more like the curriculum implemented in summer Koran courses in Turkey consists of works brought together under the leadership of the attaché.

- In the curriculum to be prepared or in the revision of the existing ones, the basic concepts should be given to the student instead of giving much information and meaningful learning should be aimed. Basic concepts and subjects should be given in each class according to the level of the students and processed in the student's daily life experiences. Attention should be paid to the links between subjects in the courses. In mosque courses, students should acquire basic skills such as integrating their beliefs with reason, discovering the meaning of life, having critical and analytical mentality, the ability to choose and think on their own, and respect for thought, freedom, human, moral and cultural heritage.

- Curriculum should be clear, understandable and transparent. Aims, objectives and achievements should be clearly stated in the training programs. After the education and training programs are applied in a certain association or mosque and the deficiencies are seen and eliminated, they should be expanded in other mosques. Other religions who are not far from life and disconnected, aiming at an inquisitive and active student rather than a passive and rote student, developing moral and mental abilities, increasing the quality of life, increasing the awareness of living in peace with the people of the country they live without losing their social, cultural and religious identities. There is a need for an education program and curriculum that creates awareness of respect for spiritual and cultural values and places particular emphasis on values education.

Materiel;

- Most mosques lack material. It was observed that the people who own the materials have benefited from the materials prepared by the Presidency of Religious Affairs or other organizations. In addition, some of these materials do not correspond to the level of children living abroad.

- Technical support from projection, computer and internet is needed in order to carry out the lessons efficiently. The use of visual materials in the lessons will make the students more interested in the lessons and the lessons will be processed more efficiently. Today, technical opportunities have become a part and

necessity of education. The mosque administrations, who are aware of this need and have the opportunity, have provided auxiliary materials such as projection, computer, internet and smart board in the classroom.

- Religious educators provide many educational materials by their own means. In this context, in the mosques of all DITIB associations in Germany, it is necessary to provide a unity of curricula and prepare the necessary course materials in mosque courses for children and young people. In Germany, the materials to be prepared in order to meet the needs of mosque classes should be bilingual (Turkish-German) considering the comprehension levels of the students in Germany. Sound and vision-based materials should be emphasized. The opportunity to experience emotions such as practice, participation, feeling and sharing should be prepared.

Method;

- Repetition is needed to consolidate the knowledge or practices learned in the mosque. Religious officials should tell their students to share the knowledge and gains they have learned in the mosque with their families at home. In this way, this situation will both reinforce the knowledge of the students and indirectly transfer information to the families through the students.

- Qur'an, sermon, prayer and religious information competitions are organized among mosques or regions within the mosque. Such knowledge and skill competitions increase the motivation of the students.

- It is essential that many methods are tried to be effective and efficient in mosque courses. The aim of the mosque courses is to give religious education to young people and children. Every activity carried out for this purpose will make mosque lessons more effective and efficient. Within this framework, students' commitment to the mosques will be further increased through social and cultural activities organized in mosques. Social and cultural activities will increase the willingness of students attending mosque classes and strengthen their ties with the mosque.

- In order for the students to adopt and internalize mosque courses, applying their opinions in all kinds of activities about the students will enable them to adopt the subject and achieve the desired goal in a better way.

- In order for the learned knowledge to become permanent and consolidate, mosque courses need to be supplemented with repetition and homework. According to religious officials, almost all of the students are unprepared for the lessons. Religious officials and parents should work together in coordination with the homework. In this context, a course follow-up book that will provide the follow-up between the educator and the parent will enable the students to do their homework more regularly.

- Registration system should be applied for the efficiency and order of the courses. ¼ of the religious officials do not apply student registration system and follow-up. In the mosques where no student registration system is applied, the follow-up of the students is not done regularly. This also impedes the implementation of a planned curriculum. Within this framework, the registration date should be announced and followed up regularly before the start of the academic year.

- One of the biggest problems of mosque courses is absenteeism. Failure of students to attend mosque classes regularly disrupts the coherence of the classroom. In addition, the difference in level among the students causes the course to be disrupted. This causes serious problems for the educator and disrupts the training program. In order to avoid such problems, the trainer should follow the attendance of the students very closely. The parents of the students who are absent should be contacted. Within this framework,

motivating speeches about the importance of mosque courses should be given to the students attending mosque classes.

- Currently, it is not possible for all religious officials to study mosque courses in two languages, German and Turkish. Because the majority of religious officials do not speak enough language to teach. As mentioned earlier, the processing of some courses in German with honorary officers may meet the needs of the students. Students need to use both languages to understand the course better. In addition, it is important not to ignore the fact that the Turkish language of the children has been developed through the mosque lessons and that their ties with culture have been strengthened through the Turkish language.

- According to almost all religious officials, students face the problem of understanding Turkish. For this reason, in the development of the program, the language in which the students will provide the best understanding of the field and the content should be preferred and should be taken as basis and only bilingual material support should be given without insisting on the mother tongue.

- Religious education is not available in all regions of Germany under the same standards and conditions. Therefore, it would be beneficial to provide different training programs and alternatives. These alternative education programs should be shaped by the needs of the students and the expectations of parents and association managers.

- Education and training activities are one of the greatest services of mosques abroad. Alternative hours and days should be offered to students who cannot come to the mosque at the weekend due to various reasons. Mosques can be more efficient and productive if they reach everyone and every segment in the region they serve. If the children are allowed to come to the mosques, it is possible to connect families to the mosque.

- In order to provide better and higher quality education, students should be taken into intensive education and training programs occasionally time. In this sense, the boarding Qur'an courses offer good opportunities for students.

- According to the study, since the levels of the students participating in mosque classes are different from each other, the same subjects are repeated in the lessons and this causes frustration for the people who have learned the lesson. Inclusion of students in this situation in the higher-level education and training program will increase productivity. In addition, advanced level students should be taken to the appropriate courses.

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Some Considerations on Mistakes in Understanding the Problem of Evil

Abdullah Pakoğlu *

Abstract

In this article, we aim to reveal the common mistakes made in the evaluation of the problem of evil from our perspective. Briefly, the problem of evil, which can be defined as “how evil can coexist with the existence of a good and almighty God”, is a problem that both theists and atheists might relate. The subject is important for theists because it is one of their existential questions and problems, and, perhaps, most of the time, it is the subject of criticism of their beliefs. It is important for atheists as it is one of the most important intellectual grounds against theism. In this problem, the theism has been criticized from many points and many different answers have been given to these criticisms in this article, we will try to respond to these general criticisms from our perspective by showing the errors. considering the vast scope of the evil problem, this research is no means conclusive on the matter. It is our hope to contribute to the debate to make the problem of evil clearer for those who are interested in the topic.

Keywords

Philosophy of Religion, Problem of Evil, David Hume, Reason, Anthropomorphism

* **Corresponding Author:** Assist. Prof., Sivas Cumhuriyet University, Faculty of Theology, Department of Philosophy of Religion, Sivas, Turkey | Dr. Öğr. Üyesi, Sivas Cumhuriyet Üniversitesi, İlahiyat Fakültesi, Din Felsefesi Anabilim Dalı
apakoglu@cumhuriyet.edu.tr | **ORCID** 0000-0002-1584-4164

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Kötülük Problemini Anlamada Yapılan Hatalar Üzerine Bazı Mülahazalar

Öz

Bu makalede, kötülük probleminin değerlendirilmesinde yapılan başlıca hataları kendi bakış açımıza göre ortaya koyabilmeyi amaçlıyoruz. Kısaca; “âlemde kötülüğün, iyi ve kudretli bir Tanrının varlığı ile beraber nasıl olup ta bir arada bulunabildiğini” sorgulama düşüncesi olarak tanımlayabileceğimiz kötülük problemi gerek teistlerin gerekse ateistlerin çokça üzerinde durdukları bir sorundur. Konu teistler açısından; hem kendi varoluşsal soru(n)larından birisi olduğu için, hem de –belki de çoğu zaman- inancına yönelik bu noktadan çokça eleştiriye muhatap olduğu için önemli olduğu gibi, ateistler açısından da teizmin karşısındaki en önemli fikri dayanaklarından birisi olması hasebiyle önemlidir. Bu problemde teizm birçok noktadan eleştirilmiş ve bu eleştirilere de birçok farklı cevaplar verilmiştir. Biz de bu makalede, kendi bakış açımızdan bu genel eleştirilere, yaptıklarını düşündüğümüz hataları göstererek bir cevap verme çabası sergileyeceğiz. Konunun, tabiatı itibarıyla tüketilmesi ve sonlandırılması mümkün gözükmediği için, elbette ki bizim de ona son noktayı koyma gibi bir iddiamız yoktur. Bu çalışmamızın naçizane bir anlama gayreti olduğunu belirtmek isteriz.

Anahtar Kelimeler

Din Felsefesi, Kötülük Problemi, David Hume, Akıl, Antropomorfizm

Introduction

One of the concepts that cannot be allied in its definition is the “evil” concept. The concept assumes relatively different meanings. For example, “bad” for X may be “good” for Y. Even for ourselves, what is bad at time A may be good at time B and vice versa. This makes it difficult to make a clear definition of the concept.

Despite this relative situation in the structure of the concept, the boundaries of the problem of evil have somehow become apparent in the minds of those who are interested in the matter, as the philosophy is concerned, thanks to the major philosophers who have had discussions on the subject. In other words, when we use the concept in a philosophical sense, it is clear what we are talking about: “The situation, formation, or thing that comes from nature or is the result of conscious human action and harms human existence in this world life is called evil within a more general framework.”¹ In addition, simple measures are suggested to understand the evilness of something. For example, the phrase “every time we believe this should not have happened, we take a path leading directly to the problem of evil”² reveals our first notice of evil.

In the problem of evil, the concept is categorized under three headings, as Leibniz (d. 1716) has done, namely, a) moral evil as a result of people's actions, b) natural events, or, more generally, evil that comes

¹ Ahmet Cevizci, *Paradigma Felsefe Sözlüğü* (İstanbul: Paradigma Yayınları, 2000), 574.

² Susan Neiman, *Evil in Modern Thought: An Alternative History of Philosophy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2015), 5.

without human intervention and c) metaphysical evil, which expresses the lack of finite beings away from deficiency³. However, the problem is largely related to moral evil, and according to many, the evil is divided into two, namely, moral and natural evil.

Although it is a very basic subject, many papers have been written on its history until today, and we will give a short history both to prepare a ground for our research and to introduce the subject to the readers who are unfamiliar with philosophy.

1. Historical Background

Religion and philosophy, the two pioneer subjects in searching for the truth, deal with the concept of “evil” in their ways. It is a known fact that the religion has existed long before philosophy⁴, looking at the information that the religion has provided for us on this subject, it can be seen that the beginning of the problem of evil has begun with the first human, Adam. Since killing a person without a crime is considered one of the greatest evils, we understand from the story of Adam and his children⁵, Cain and Abel, that the history of evil goes back to the first period.

In the philosophy, the history of the subject goes back to Plato (347 BC), but the name that has made it famous is David Hume⁶ (d. 1776) with his well-known dilemma. However, he expresses in the mouth of Philo, one of the heroes of Hume, that it is actually Epicurus (280 BC), an ancient philosopher who has formulated the problem as follows:

“Epicurus's old questions are still unanswered:

- Is he (God) willing to prevent evil, but not able? Then he is impotent.

- Is he able, but not willing? Then he is malevolent.

- Is he both able and willing? Then whence evil?”⁷

Apart from Hume, of course, many people have been interested in this issue and still are interested. But when talking about the problem of evil, mostly Epicurus' questions are repeated directly under the name of Hume, and the problem is referred to by him. For this reason, we will consider the issue through these dilemmas.

After briefly describing the problem, we shall now consider efforts to understand the issue.

³ Rafiz Manafov, *John Hick'in Din Felsefesinde Kötülük Problemi ve Teodise* (İstanbul: İz Yayıncılık, 2007), 43.

⁴ Alfred Weber, *Felsefe Tarihi*, trans. H. Vehbi Eralp (İstanbul: Sosyal Yayınları, 1993), 10.

⁵ Kitâb-ı Mukaddes (Access Date 18 May 2020), Genesis 4/2-9; *Kur'ân-ı Kerim ve Türkçe Anlamı* (Ankara: Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı Yayınları, 1990), al-Mâide 5/27-30.

⁶ Epicurus' conception of religion/God and the conception of religion/God during the Hume period were not the same. However, even if its nature was different, the highlighted point was common. For detailed information, see. Aydın Topaloğlu, “Kötülük Problemi,” *Din Felsefesi*, ed. Latif Tokat (Ankara: Bilay, 2018), 236.

⁷ David Hume, *Din Üstüne*, trans. Mete Tunçay (Ankara: İmge Kitabevi Yayınları, 1995), 209.

2. Ways of Understanding the Problem

In the studies related to the problem, the subject is discussed under two main aspects. In the former, the concept of “evil” has been tried to be defined, and then the harmony or incompatibility of this definition with the idea of God has been tried to be proved. Generally, the phenomenon of evil as it is aforementioned, has been discussed under three headings, namely, metaphysical, physical/natural and moral, and ideas about their relevance or irrelevance to God have been argued. Theists have made great efforts to understand the relevance of evil to God in a way that does not contradict with His justice. They have used the term “theodicy”, which is formed by the combination of the Greek words “God” and “justice” to express the idea that He is fair, and therefore, will not persecute anything. The name that has made the concept famous in the history of philosophy is Leibniz. Leibniz has advocated the idea of al-Ghazali (d. 1111), who lived six centuries before him, that “the best of all possible worlds”, which coincides with Plato’s (348 BC) “the job of the best is also the best” statement. However, philosophers like Voltaire (d.1788) has not found Leibniz’s idea satisfying, but they have not offered a solution, either.⁸

Another method of interpreting is built on the idea of understanding the perpetrator, not the actual action. Here, it is aimed to save the perpetrator from responsibility by reducing the effect of the perpetrator on the action. In other words, they have found an outlet from the questions asked by Hume in solving the problem by accepting a limited power, a restriction that could be suitable for God. The process philosophy pioneered by Alfred North Whitehead is the best-known example of this idea.⁹

Now that we have outlined the problem, then we shall head to our main topic.

3. Mistakes in Understanding the Problem of Evil

Those who deal with the problem of evil make some logical mistakes, in our opinion, when revealing the issue. Due to these errors, an issue which is not easy to understand and interpret by its nature¹⁰ becomes even more intricate. The aim of this article is to contribute to the understanding of the subject by drawing attention to the mistakes made while evaluating the most problematic part of the problem, moral evil and natural evil.

Now, let us try to explain the aspects which we perceive as wrong of the problem that David Hume has revealed in the words of Epicurus:

When we examine the problem, the following points stand out.

- a) Anthropomorphist understanding of God
- b) Inconsistency in the belief in God
- c) The illusion of seeing the reason as an unlimited and unique opportunity
- d) Man's inability to fully understand his existence or lack of belief in afterlife
- e) The double standard on free will

⁸ Nurten Kiriş, “Tarihsel Olarak Kötülük Problemi ve Çözüm Yolu Olarak Teodise,” *FLSF Felsefe ve Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi* 5 (2008), 91.

⁹ Mehmet S. Aydın, *Din Felsefesi* (Ankara: Selçuk Yayınları, 1992), 153.

¹⁰ Since the problem is based on evaluating God's acts, it has a character that goes beyond the limits of man.

The following of the article will try to address and explain these problems one by one.

a) Anthropomorphist Understanding of God

It is a well-known fact that human's ability to understand is limited. Therefore, one will understand the issues in proportion to one's possibilities and there is no other possibility. In other words, one will look at the problems with a "humanly" view because one cannot speak of something one does not know. There is no problem so far. The problem here lies in perceiving this limited possibility as unlimited and reducing everything to this limit. Contrary to this understanding, which is concretely embodied in the mythological gods of Helen, apophatic theology (negative theology) limits the possibility of talking about God as much as possible and develops within the culture of Helen because it occurs as a result of the reaction.¹¹ As can be seen, both represent endpoints.

We can illustrate the anthropomorphism we see in the problem with the following example. I witness an event in which a man severely beats a small child, and this man is someone who I can stand up against. However, I do not save the child from this man, I do not prevent this evil. In this case, it is reasonable to say that although I claim that I am strong, either I am not strong enough to save this child, or I am bad enough to let a child get hurt! Yes, someone can easily say these words for me, because my possibilities and impossibilities are very similar to his, in what situations I can behave. Therefore, one can guess what I can or cannot do.

However, we do not have the opportunity to know what God does, when He does it, and how it will work. Therefore, it is a logical error to consider the actions of God as if they were a human's actions. Although there are studies on David Hume's opposition to anthropomorphism¹², there is nothing to prevent us from thinking that the problem he has expressed is of an anthropomorphic nature. It is not difficult to observe that Western thinkers have experienced this problem in many issues, especially due to the belief in human god (Jesus) and inherited Hellenic culture's influence on theologies.¹³ However, since this is an issue outside the scope of the subject of this article, expressing this much will be enough.

b) Inconsistency in the Belief in God

Another issue which is related to our claim in the previous point and will confirm our view is inconsistency in the belief in God. What is meant by the inconsistency here is that the person who says one believes in God, he admits that God is absolute strong, absolute knowledgeable, absolute good/merciful. This is the true meaning of faith. Faith does not coexist with the idea of "I believe but I am not sure." What is meant here is not to prevent researching events and trying to understand their wisdom. The objection is to have an ambivalent thought. This situation can be explained with the following example. I have a friend who I consider as my "best friend". I see him in a situation that may seem against my point of view. As a result, I end up ending my relationship with him. Here, I either do not know the true meaning of the concept of "best friend", that I end my relationship with him immediately, or I think wrong about him and attribute

¹¹ Hasan Özalp, "Tanrı Hakkında Konuşa(ma)mak: Plotinus'da Negatif Teoloji," *Turkish Studies* 10/2 (2015), 740.

¹² Habib Şener, "David Hume'un Tanrı Anlayışı ve Antropomorfizm Eleştirisi," *Iğdır Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi* 11 (2017), 266.

¹³ Ruhattin Yazoğlu, "Antropomorfizm ve Hıristiyanlık," *Ekev Akademi Dergisi* 1/2 (1998), 273.

to him an adjective that he is not worthy of. Therefore, I have to eliminate this contradiction regarding the concept of best friend. To eliminate this, I either have to behave in accordance with the belief in friendliness, or express that person is not my best friend.

c) The Illusion of Seeing the Mind as an Unlimited and Unique Opportunity

The mind is defined as the capacity and ability of a person to grasp things, evaluate them, link them and become aware of their similarities and differences. It is also possible to find various definitions and divisions. There are different classifications that emphasize different powers and abilities of mind, such as, intuitive mind, deductive mind and practical mind.¹⁴

The mind that considers evil as a problem and has a hard time to understand is outside the intuitive mind and wants to bring together the causes and consequences of events and come to a direct conclusion. People who have trusted the intuitive form of mind since Plato¹⁵ have not considered events that seem bad as other intellectuals. Both the history of Islamic Sufism and mysticism are filled with stories of people who think so, and it has not been possible to prove that they are wrong.

The mistake here is to substitute the mind, which is abstracted from faith and intuition as the core of modernization¹⁶, itself as a unique measure in place of all the abilities of mind and to forget that mind is an ability, and any ability is eternal. Therefore, it is a logical mistake to see things that cannot be grasped by mind, which has a limited ability, meaningless and wrong. The phrase “It is beyond me” expresses the limitedness of the mind to a certain extent.

After expressing that the mind is a skill, we will also need to remember that our abilities are of different degrees to everyone. It is evident that not everyone has the same capacity in mind. The expression that everyone uses in their daily lives “I have never thought like that” is a reflection one comes across a new idea that convinces himself/herself. situation. Therefore, seeing the actions of God, who has absolute intelligence, as bad because we cannot make sense, expresses that we either do not have a mind that is capable of evaluating this situation, or a false thought that that our mind is an unlimited ability. The following example will try to explain this situation. People of all ages with good mental health have a mind. A 3-year old child is vaccinated. Her 30-year-old mother gets to decide this. Her mother gets to do this by holding her child’s arms, if necessary. While this is not a good thing for the child, it is a very good thing for the mother, who considers it reasonable for her to endure this pain so that her child will not suffer in the future. Since the child's mind is not at a level that will grasp the information about the vaccine, but only at the level of evaluating the things that give pleasure and pain, it may seem normal for her to evaluate this situation poorly. However, this is not the case for the mother, which we can call the upper mind. An objection can be made to the example: “Is it not normal for the child to evaluate this event like this, is the child guilty here?” Of course, it is not a crime or a mistake to think like that for a child of this age. However, no one who can argue this problem will claim that the child at this age has a “mind level”.

¹⁴ Cevizci, *Paradigma Felsefe Sözlüğü*, 28.

¹⁵ Plato divides the mind into two as intuitive mind that grasps ideas directly and discursive mind, which leads to the mathematical ideas, and thus becomes crystallize by mathematical proof. Cevizci, *Paradigma Felsefe Sözlüğü*, 29.

¹⁶ Cevizci, *Paradigma Felsefe Sözlüğü*, 29.

d) Man’s Inability to Fully Understand His Existence or Lack of Belief in Afterlife

Another issue that will complement our previous point is about death and afterlife, which are directly related to making sense of our existence in the earth. Here, the part about our example above is the point where we are talking about a level of mind that may be aware of the benefit the vaccine will provide to her in the future. “The future” related to this problem is after death.

Every person who is aware of their existence has more or less a thought about the existence. The question that completes the questions like “what am I, where I came from” is “where am I going?”. Existence cannot be completed without any answer to this question because human is a whole with his/her beginning and end. The point we consider here as a mistake is that although people say that they believe in a life after death, they evaluate the events that happened during their lives cannot happen in afterlife, and treat the pleasures and pains as if they were limited to this world. This is an attitude that clearly contradicts with the belief that “those who are patient with troubles are heralded with heaven”.¹⁷ In addition, we would like to remind that Kant's fact¹⁸ that people are overly eager about worldly pleasure, personal pleasure and interests disturb the purity of moral principles and cause a collective pollution in society is in line with the point that religions draw attention to.

e) The Double Standard on Free Will

The mistake we will consider in this point will be more related to the attitudes of atheists. Of course, while accepting the existence of God, there are also theist and deist people who agree with atheism on free will. However, this issue may not occupy as much an important place in their thinking as atheists. Atheism claims that man has to create his own essence and man’s existence depends on his freedom. As a requirement of this thought, they do not accept the idea of a decisive God. Because if there is a God, he will determine a man’s life, and man will be unable to create his own essence. This is one of the reasons for rejecting God.¹⁹

The evils, which are considered as problems, are mostly related to moral evil, that is, the events that occur as a result of human actions.²⁰ It is one of the most ancient issues that whether a man is free in his actions or not, and to what extent he is free is a problem that cannot be solved either now or in the future because, as Avicenna (Ibn Sina) (d. 1037) expresses, “the most general word cannot be defined by the words below it”. In this vein, we, who are limited, cannot understand the actions of the limitless God at the level of our limited actions. However, we cannot stay away from the effort to understand as much as possible. The most common opinions about this subject are as follows; a) man is a free being, he determines his actions b) a man, as a created being, cannot go beyond what the absolute will determines c) God is the main determiner but there are things that a man can also determine. As aforementioned, many of the atheists, who use the problem of evil as their most serious intellectual basis, stand out for the freedom of man at the

¹⁷ Kur’ân-ı Kerim ve Türkçe Anlamı (Ankara: Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı Yayınları, 1990), al-Bakara 2/155.

¹⁸ Peter-Andre Alt, *Karanlık Ruhun Arkeolojisi: İçimizdeki Kötülük*, trans. Sabir Yücesoy (İstanbul: Sel Yayıncılık, 2016), 61.

¹⁹ Aydın, *Din Felsefesi*, 218–219.

²⁰ Cafer Sadık Yaran, *Kötülük ve Theodise* (Ankara: Vadi Yayınları, 1997), 30–31.

point of justifying atheism, but they hold God responsible for the moral evil that occurs as a result of the actions of the free man. This is a clear inconsistency. Atheists, who are aware of this inconsistency, have refrained from making an atheism foundation based on the problem of evil, and they have stated that the provision of “there is no God” cannot be a conclusion, and they have wanted to keep what they want to do in the context of a religious criticism.²¹

Here, both anthropomorphism and free will confusion are intertwined because it is expected that one hand will reach out from the sky to prevent the evil. Thus, as a person, who has witnessed an evil, is expected to prevent it, the same is expected from God. However, it will conflict with the free will. The strange thing in here is that supporting the idea of “no God” for man to be free.

After these evaluations about moral evil, it is time to talk about the natural evil that is happening outside of human will. Natural disasters, physical defects, beings that damage the environment, environmental conditions that make life difficult are mentioned as natural evil.²² There are different opinions about natural evil. There are those who argue that evil cannot come from non-emotional beings, and those who hold this framework much broader.²³

What is often wrong with these points, which are referred to as evil, is the inability to determine whether the evil is really natural evil or moral evil. For example, everyone knows that what needs to be discussed about people's death in an earthquake is not about the earthquake, but about the buildings that are not built in accordance with the legislation. Considering the earthquake as the problem is not the right attitude since the individual who creates a moral problem by not acting in accordance with the legislation for the sake of his simple interests is the problem. Likewise, it is the same situation to make God responsible for the damage that is caused by the flood, not the one who is responsible for the damage by destroying the work ethic by building a house in the stream beds. Of course, there are more examples related to this problem.

Of course, every objection about natural evil does not contain easily understandable mistakes such as earthquake and flood examples. For example, in spite of all kinds of measures, a child may be born with a physical disability. Behaving like we have the knowledge of the upper mind, even though we do not, and forgetting that the point where scientific knowledge has come today is not the ultimate point where we have the knowledge of everything are difficult to notice compared to aforementioned problems. While the meaning of earthquakes for our world used to be an incomprehensible subject for the people of the past, it has become understandable today with the development of science. In this vein, it is evident that the things we see as “evil” today will not become obstacles in the future thanks to the science that continues to evolve itself.

²¹ Topaloğlu, “Kötülük Problemi,” 242.

²² Metin Yasa, *Tanrı ve Kötülük* (Ankara: Elis Yayınları, 2016), 22.

²³ Manafov, *John Hick'in Din Felsefesinde Kötülük Problemi ve Teodise*, 38–41.

Finally, remembering that we should question the source of goodness as we questioned the source of evil, it would be useful to understand the issue. In the words of Boethius (d. 524), “If there be no God, from whence cometh any good?”²⁴

Conclusion

In this world where there is pain, the idea of a world without evil will not go beyond a wish that cannot be realized. If so, the attitude we should take should be to understand these facts and events correctly and to determine an attitude accordingly. The way to understand correctly is to have the right methods. The principles of logic, which express the principles of correct use of mind, are the principles that will shed light on us.

By passing the things we perceive through the mind filter, we reach the judgment of “right” or “wrong”. However, mind is not a one-dimensional skill. If we consider the events with a holistic approach without neglecting their intuitions, we can reach more inclusive and accurate results. In order to understand the problem of evil, in which the principle “the piece cannot contain the whole”, which is a basic principle of mind, is frequently violated, we need to adhere to this principle along with other principles such as consistency.

The main point that makes the problem complicated is that the divine knowledge issue is one of the basic elements in this problem. The answer to the question “why is this happening” lies in the in divine knowledge. However, it is not possible for us to be fully aware of this. As the problem we have talked about is not only based on knowledge, since it contains a dimension which is related to the faith, expecting a result which is in scientific level will be another mistake.

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²⁴ Anicius Manlius Severinus Boethius, *Tractates, De Consolatione Philosophiae*, trans. H. F. Stewart (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968), 151.

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Byzantine Paulicians: Beliefs and Practices

Canan Seyfeli *

Abstract

The subject of the article is the Byzantine Paulicians, their beliefs and practices. The Paulicians are a semi-secret movement with different Christian teachings that had influenced the Byzantine territory between the seventh and the twelfth centuries. They remained in secrecy due to their heretic acceptance by the Orthodox. However, even though they were a problem for the Byzantine and Orthodox Church when they were strong, the reasons for disappearance from Anatolia were the Byzantine and Orthodox Churches. It is estimated that their first leader, Constantinos, was didaskalos in 655. Then, the movement, which was divided into two, lost its power in Anatolia in the first half of the IX century. Constantinos and later leaders identified themselves as Christians. The Paulician doctrine accepts some texts from the New Testament. However, the Paulicians interpret the Scriptures, Jesus Christ and rituals such as baptism and eucharist (holy communion) differently from Christians. Although they are often associated with dualist doctrines, neither their form of the organization nor their commends and prohibitions are similar to theirs. The association with Christianity is based on more explicit data. However, they have different ideas about central issues such as the Trinity and the position of Jesus as God. The Paulicians adopted a significant number of New Testament texts, especially the Gospels and the Epistles of Paul. Thus, they revealed a new interpretation of Christianity. Thinking differently, especially believing different from the basic admissions of Christianity, led to the emergence of negative data about them. Due to their different interpretations, the Paulicians were declared heretic throughout history, especially by the official Byzantine Church. This situation led to prosecutions, executions, migrations, and degeneration of Paulicians, which caused their constant concealment and thus to the increase of unreal information about them.

Keywords

History of Religions, Paulicians, Byzantine, Orthodox Church, Christianity, Faith

* **Corresponding Author:** Prof., Dicle University, Faculty of Theology, Department of History of Religions, Diyarbakır, Turkey | Prof. Dr., Dicle Üniversitesi, İlahiyat Fakültesi, Dinler Tarihi Anabilim Dalı
cseyfeli@yahoo.com | ORCID 0000-0002-3379-2812

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Bizans Pavlikyanları: İnanç ve Pratikler

Öz

Makalenin konusu Bizans Pavlikyanları, inanç ve uygulamalarıdır. Pavlikyanlar Bizans topraklarında VII.-XII. Yüzyıllar arasında etkili olmuş farklı Hıristiyan öğretilerine sahip yarı gizli bir harekettir. Ortodokslar tarafından sapkın kabul edilmeleri nedeniyle gizlidirler. Ancak, güçlü oldukları dönemde Bizans'ı ve Ortodoks Kilise'yi uğraştırmışlarsa da Anadolu'dan kaybolma nedenleri de Bizans'tır. İlk liderleri olan Konstantinos'un 655 tarihinde *didaskalos* olduğu tahmin edilmektedir. Sonra ikiye bölünen hareket IX. Yüzyılın ilk yarısında Anadolu'da gücünü kaybetmiştir. Konstantinos ve sonraki liderler kendilerini Hıristiyan olarak tanımlamışlardır. Pavlikyan öğretisi Yeni Antlaşma'dan bazı metinleri kabul eder. Ancak, onları, İsa Mesih'i ve vaftiz, evharistiya gibi ayinleri Hıristiyanlardan farklı yorumlarlar. Çoklukla düalist öğretilerle ilişkilendirilseler de ne örgütlenme biçimleri ne de emir ve yasakları onlarınki gibidir. Hıristiyanlıkla ilişkilendirme ise daha açık verilere dayanır. Bununla birlikte teslis, İsa'nın tanrı olarak konumu gibi merkezi hususlarda farklı fikirlere sahiplerdir. Pavlikyanlar Yeni Ahit metnlerinin önemli bir kısmını, özellikle İnciller ve Pavlus'un mektuplarını kabul etmişlerdir. Böylece yeni bir Hıristiyanlık yorumu ortaya çıkarmışlardır. Farklı düşünceleri, özellikle Hıristiyanlığın temel kabullerinden farklı inanmaları onlar hakkında olumsuz verilerin ortaya çıkmasına yol açmıştır. Farklı yorumları nedeniyle tarih boyunca özellikle resmi Bizans Kilisesi tarafından heretik ilan edilmişlerdir. Bu, onlar hakkında kovuşturmalar, idamlar, göçler, dejenerasyon gibi sonuçları doğurmuştur. Bu durum sürekli gizlenmelerine, dolayısıyla haklarında gerçek dışı bilgilerin çoğalmasına yol açmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler

Dinler Tarihi, Pavlikyanlar, Bizans, Ortodoks Kilise, Hıristiyanlık, İnanç

Introduction

The Paulicians is a non-formalized and non-institutionalized movement which is spoken and written widely, although there is not sufficient information about them. In the period until the middle of the 5th century when Christianity completed its process as a religion, many movements could not carry themselves to later periods. Since the movements in this process were in the period of establishing religion itself, it is more plausible that there were contradictory or different ideas. But in the following period, Paulicianism was one of the most influential movements that disturbed central Christianity and forced itself to consider it because of its mysterious but effective feature. Paulicianism was a movement attracted attention with this feature. The most important reason of this interest is, of course, the disrepute as a heretic movement. This led to the writings about this movement by their adversaries, and the formation of suspicious information to declare their heresy. It is very difficult to find the manuscripts belong to them, since they could not become doctrinally central under state protection.

The most explicit data on the geography, teachings, beliefs and practices of the Paulicians are related to those who lived in the Byzantine lands in Anatolia. They lived in Central Anatolia and the Black Sea mountains inland, especially in Malatya and Sivas; mostly in Samosata (Samsat), in the ancient Mananali on the borders of Erzincan, and in settlements such as Arguvan and Tephrike (Divriği) in Malatya. Apart from these living spaces in the Byzantine period and its geography, there is also an Armenian geography. It is

thought that the Paulicians spread to the Armenian geography with the influence of fighting with the Malatya Muslim Emirate. However, the information and data about the Paulicians living in this second area are less and more complex. Most of these is based on Armenian sources. More importantly, the movements in both regions have similar characteristics, but this does not require them to be the same and interconnected.

The basic approach in both old and modern research sources related to Paulicians and similar movements is based on the concept of "*interaction*". The emergence of these communities in the close geographies and living in the close geographies as a result of migrations, as well as having similar doctrines, beliefs and practices, have often led to the explanation of the concept of "*interaction*", and that the new one is influenced by the old one. One thing that is certain at this point is that the Paulicians have always been interested in Christianity. However, the aim of this study is to evaluate this movement objectively within its period and with its internal dynamics. The goal of understanding themselves as they are, is to take into consideration the fact that human beings can produce when necessary conditions are formed. Because it is a human-producing entity and the concept of "*production*" is the target of the study. Thus, it is possible to reveal that the Paulicians were able to produce their interpretations, ideas, perspectives, cultures and traditions.

The doctrine, beliefs and acceptances that are said about these communities, which mostly originate from the teachings of Christianity, show that they interpret Christianity, sacred texts and present Christians differently. These movements, which may be geographically or historically close or distant, may have similar interpretations. However, this does not require them to be continuation of each other or to influence each other. The general opinion of the study is that the common point of these movements is the idea of reverting to the religious origin. Therefore, they claim and defend their religion as true religion, especially against central Christianity (Orthodoxy). According to them, the Christian societies in which they emerged moved away from the true state of religion and centralized their human authority, creating an environment where negative and evil prevailed. They accepted that it was possible to get rid of this by returning to the origin and original texts of religion. Paying attention to this issue will provide an opportunity to see the differences rather than the similarities and sameness between central religion and heretics. However, this study is limited to the historical process and basic beliefs of the Byzantine Paulicians.

The Paulicians are a closed and semi-concealed community because they do not feel safe from the members of the state religion who are under the protection of the state. The fact that they were strong and resistant to Byzantium for a while allowed the creation of slightly more open data. However, since they tend to show themselves differently than they are, it is inevitable for them to create difficulties in defining them in their reality. Therefore, it becomes difficult to establish the historical processes of the Paulicians, to present the systematic of their beliefs and practices and to put forward ideas about them.

Paulicians had three different habitats in history. These are Byzantine, Armenian and Balkan lands. The main sources of information about them belong to these three habitats. Byzantium was important for the Paulicians, in terms of resources. The main reason why the Byzantine sources have a narrative closer to the real Paulicians is that the main source belongs to the Peter of Sicily, the Byzantine ambassador sent to

and living with the Paulicians. His work is known as “*The History of Paulicians*”.¹ This small work is valuable because it was created by observing the Paulicians from the inside. However, many other data mostly belong to external opponents, such as various documents and decisions.

The emergence of the Paulicians in the Middle Ages is also a mystery and contains assumptions. The most obvious information is that the Paulicians have a relationship with Christianity. However, even Peter of Sicily gives contradictory information about the origin of Paulicians. In addition, Peter investigated by assuming that the Paulicians were influenced by their predecessors or were their continuation. However, they are more likely to be the continuation of Christianity. In fact, those who put forward these assumptions and associate new movements with the infamous ones in the history of Christianity take their power from central Christianity (Catholicism, Orthodoxy, Armenia, etc.), and with this power they curse the communities that have different interpretations.

The origin of the Paulicians was generally associated with Mani and/or Paul of Samosata. Peter of Sicily also contradictorily relates both to Mani and argued that they had connections with the name of Paul. According to this, the mother, who is a Manichaeist, teaches her two sons (Paul and John) and sends them out of Samosata. They come to the place called Phanaroia (Erbaa) and spread their ideas in a village. This village is called Episparis in the sense of ‘seedbed’. After that, they take the name of Paulician instead of Manichaeist. Peter both associates the name Paul mentioned above with Samosata² and says that this community cursed the Paul of Samosata. So, he falls into contradiction. In addition, Peter reports that the Paulicians condemned Mani and other deviations close to him.³

The studies drawn attention in modern research belong to Donka Radeva.⁴ He wanted to show that there was a sacred archetype, a model, based on the Paulicians (in the Bible), that it did not lose itself in later periods so that it was possible to identify the recurring tradition. As a result, she stated that the Paulicians regarded themselves as sincere and faithful and that their teachings were a new Christian interpretation. Radeva has made new expansions with this approach.⁵ Taking a different approach, Mariyana Tsibranska-Kostova aimed to reveal how the Paulicians were defined in two medieval Slavic sources (a sermon text and the 24th title of *Panoplia Dogmatica*) and the conceptualization of alterity

¹ Peter of Sicily, “7. Peter of Sicily’s History of The Paulicians (870),” in *Christian Dualist Heresies in the Byzantine World C.650-C.1450*, trans. Janet Hamilton and Bernard Hamilton (Manchester: St. Martin’s Press, 1998), 65–92.

² Peter of Sicily, “The History of The Paulicians”, c. 85, 93, 112.

³ Peter of Sicily, c. 15.

⁴ Donka Radeva, “Pavlikyanstvoto Mezhdur Legendite i Istoriyata VII-XVII Vek,” *Plovdivski Istoricheski Forum, Godina I*, n.d., 36–57; Donka Radeva, “The Bulgarian Paulicians between Orthodoxy, Catholicism and Islam (Xvii–Xx Century AD) (Bulgarian),” in *Religiya, Natsionalna Identichnost i Dürzhavnost Na Balkanite Prez XIX-XXI v. (Veliko Tarnovo: Velikotürnovski universitet “Sv. sv. Kiril i Metodii,” 2018)*, 30–45.

⁵ Donka Radeva, “Paulicians-Digeneses of Word and Sword,” n.d., 1–38 I would like to thank Donka Radeva for sending the pdf of the remarkable article study which has not yet been published and has a new approach.

through the linguistic and cultural approach. She has shown that there is some consistency in the basic mechanisms between these two texts shaping the image of these perverts.⁶

Taking these considerations into account, the historical process of the Paulicians was processed through three regions. Later his beliefs were discussed. The subject was examined with the titles "Paulicians in Byzantine History", and "Paulician Beliefs and Practices" respectively.

1. Paulicians in Byzantine History

The information that clearly demonstrates the historical existence of the Paulicians is about Constantine of Mananalis (the area lying between Tercan and Kiğı, south of Tuzlaçayı), who is also regarded as their founder. It is estimated that Constantine, who lived under the rule of Constans II (641-68), was *didaskalos* under the name Silvanus in 655. Silvanus was associated with one of the friends of whom Paul had acted together.^(1Cor.1:19;1Thess.1:1) It is thought that the tradition of taking the name of the disciples of St. Paul started in this way. Paulician leader Constantine served twenty-seven years around Colonea (Şebinkarahisar) and was eventually reported to Emperor Constantine IV (668-85). Thereupon the Emperor assigned a man named Symeon to execute Constantine and to draw the community to the Orthodox Church. There is information that Constantine was stoned and executed, and that his followers were handed over to Orthodox Church officials. Symeon returned to Istanbul, but three years later he went back to Kibossa (near Şebinkarahisar). Symeon became the new *didaskalos* of the Paulicians and took the name of Titus, one of Paul's disciples.^(2Cor.7:6-7) At this time, Justus, the adopted son of Constantine of Mananalis, questioned whether Christian dualism was consistent with the doctrine of St. Paul and appealed to the Orthodox bishop of Colonea to arbitrate between Titus and himself. The bishop reports Titus to the Emperor, and Titus and his followers are burned alive. Justus and his followers passed to the Orthodox Church. This event took place between 687-693 according to the sources.⁷

The Paulician Church of Macedonia at Cibossa was weak. An Armenian, Paul, who escaped the interrogation, took refuge in the Episparris area of Phanaroia with his sons Gegnesius and Theodoros. Paul brought together the Paulicians and did not qualify as a leader like *didaskalos*. However, their sons claimed that they had the characteristics of *didaskalos*. Paul supported Gegnesius. Gegnesius took the name of St. Paul's trusted companion, Timotheus, who supported the missionary activities of Paul and Silvanus.^(2Cor.1:1;1Thess.1:1) Peter of Sicily says Timotheus Gegnesius has been in office for thirty years.⁸ In this case, since he died in 748, he must have done *didaskalos* in 718.⁹

As the main sources of the Paulicians are divided into Greek and Armenian, their living spaces are divided into two: Byzantine and Armenian lands. In other words, it is seen that the Paulicians existed in Armenian geography besides Cibossa and Episparris. Data from Jhon of Otzun (Hovhannes III Otznetzi,

⁶ Mariyana Tsibranska-Kostova, "Paulicians Between the Dogme and the Legend," *Studia Ceranea* 7 (2017), 229-63.

⁷ Janet Hamilton and Bernard Hamilton, "Historical Introduction," in *Christian Dualist Heresies in the Byzantine World C.650-C.1450*, trans. Janet Hamilton and Bernard Hamilton (Manchester: St. Martin's Press, 1998), 10-14.

⁸ Peter of Sicily, "The History of The Paulicians", c. 114-122.

⁹ Hamilton and Hamilton, "Historical Introduction," 14.

Armenian Catholicos) shows this. In fact, these data also include information that a group of people, defined as iconoclasts, living in the same geography as the Albanians, joined the Paulicians.¹⁰ This shows the existence of wider geography subject to the Paulicians.

Peter of Sicily tells that Emperor Leon III (717-741), who emphasized iconoclast thought in 730 with the order to destroy all religious images, called *didaskalos* Timotheus to Istanbul and questioned the Patriarch (probably Anastasios, 730-754).¹¹ The Patriarch forces Timotheus to condemn those who reject Orthodox faith and do not respect the Cross or Mary, and not want to join the Holy Communion. In the narrative, even if the questions are answered according to Paulician beliefs, the answers have the meaning to please both sides. According to Peter, Timothy's faith is secret, but the secret meaning of his answer is parallel and true to his true belief. According to him, the real meaning is in the answers. Accordingly, the Orthodox Church is, in fact, the Paulician Church; the holy cross is Jesus with arms open and Mary is holy Jerusalem. When asked if Timotheos believed in the Holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church and baptism, he replied in the same way. He expressed the characteristics of the Paulician Church in his words, declaring the baptism was Jesus himself, i.e., living water. Thus, Timotheus rescued himself, appearing to be Orthodox.¹² In the end, Timotheus was declared Orthodox by the Patriarchate and sent to Phanaroia with the permission of the empire. However, he went to Mananalis, the land of the first *didaskalos* Constantinople, which was in the hands of the Arabs at the time. Peter says that the last *didaskalos* Sergius Timotheus founded the Paulician Church in Achaia^(Act.18:12;2Cor.1:1) in Mananalis.¹³ Timotheus died in a plague epidemic in 748. However, his church was under the protection of the empire and became a respected movement both in the Caucasus and Byzantine lands.

After Timothy, the Paulicians were divided into two groups about the *didaskalosate*: who followed his son Zakharias and who followed his adopted Joseph. These two leaders, who claim the *didaskalosate*, decided to immigrate to Byzantine territory. In this period, when the Abbasid Caliphate re-established Islamic rule in 772, many Armenians migrated to Byzantine lands and the Paulicians joined this movement. However, Arab margraves killed Zakharias' followers. Zakharias escaped when he saw the danger, thus losing the *didaskalosate*. Joseph and his followers made themselves as if they were heading south to the margraves and then went west to Episparis in Phanaroia, the center of Paulician in Byzantine Anatolia. Joseph, the undisputed *didaskalos*, took the name of Epaphroditus, whom Saint Paul praised^(Phil.2:25;4:18).¹⁴ The Episparisians greeted the Paulicians warmly, but a Byzantine official arrested them when they came together to pray. Epaphroditus survived and moved to Antioch in Pisidia (near Yalvaç), which was Christianized by St. Paul.

¹⁰ John of Oztun, "Appendix IV: John of Oztun," in *The Key of Truth a Manuel of The Paulician Church of Armenia*, ed. and trans. Fred. C. (Frederick Cornwallis) Conybeare (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1898), 152–54.

¹¹ Hamilton and Hamilton, "Historical Introduction," 15–16.

¹² Peter of Sicily, "The History of The Paulicians", c. 115-121.

¹³ Peter of Sicily, c. 163.

¹⁴ Peter of Sicily, c. 129.

There he founded the Philippian Church of the Paulicians.¹⁵ Epaphroditus, who served for about thirty years, died before 800.¹⁶

The next Paulician leader, Baanes (Vahan), who succeeded Epafroditus, was born in Armenia. Peter said that Baanes was one "of the Hebrews". He was *didaskalos*, but his leadership was blocked by a man named Sergius. The adherents of Sergius were agents of Peter of Sicily and branded Baanes with the nickname "the Foul".¹⁷ What happened to Baanes is unknown. Sergius is actually Greek and is from a village near Istanbul. It is said that a Paulician woman whom he fell in love with, or a teacher named as a sorcerer, was influential in his being a Paulician. He was accepted by some Paulicians as *didaskalos*. He took the name of Tychicus whom Saint Paul described as "my brother"^(Ef.6: 21).¹⁸ In the second Council of Nicaea (787), the iconoclast decisions were abolished. Later, when Tihikos *didaskalos* in the period of Empress Eirene (797-802), both during this period and during Nicephorus I (802-11), the Paulicians benefited from the old legal freedom. Sergius also wrote pastoral letters like St. Paul. It is also said that he wrote a book about St. Matthew, who understood to interpret the Gospel of Matthew.¹⁹ He moves the center of the Paulicians to Cynochorion near Neocaesarea (Niksar). He moves the center of the Paulicians to Cynochorion near Neocaesarea. Here, Sergius establishes the Paulician Church of Laodicea (Denizli). Meanwhile, Patriarch Nicephorus (806-815) manages to convince Michael I (811-3) to declare that the Paulicians are heretic and to put the death penalty into effect again. Then Leo V (813-820) restarts the iconoclast period but does not repeal the decision of the Paulicians that they are heretic and should be executed.²⁰

The prosecution of the Paulicians rises through the Thomas, Orthodox Archbishop of Neocaesarea. Many of the Paulicians are executed. Meanwhile, the Paulician Church of Laodicea members kill Thomas. Sergius' fans call the killers *astatoi* in terms of stray. Then, the *Astatoi* settle in the Argaoun (Arguvan) fortress given by the Emir of Melitene (Malatya). Sergius-Tychicus and his supporters later joined the *astatoi*. They found Paulician Church of the Colossians in Argaoun. Passing to Cilicia, Sergius, with the permission of the Emir of Tarsus, establishes the Ephesus Paulician Church based in Mamistra. These churches show emulation to the churches founded by St. Paul. The *Astatoi* fought against the Byzantine with the Muslims of Melitene in the period of Michael II (820-830) and certainly in the period of Theophilus (830-842). Sergius continued his life with carpentry and died approximately 834-5. There is information that he was murdered by an Orthodox fanatic or a fan of Baanes. It seems that it was possible that Sergius fans started killing Baanes supporters, but the mixed environment may have led to quarrels and turmoil. Then Sergius fans started killing Baanes supporters. This suggests that the Baanes supporters might have killed Sergius, but the mixed

¹⁵ Peter of Sicily, c. 7, 163.

¹⁶ Hamilton and Hamilton, "Historical Introduction," 17-18.

¹⁷ Peter of Sicily, "The History of The Paulicians", c. 130.

¹⁸ Peter of Sicily, c. 134.

¹⁹ Gouillard (Trans.), "16. The Synodikon of Orthodoxy: Clauses About Bogomils," in *Christian Dualist Heresies in the Byzantine World C.650-C.1450*, trans. Janet Hamilton and Bernard Hamilton (Manchester: St. Martin's Press, 1998), 134-39, d; Jean Gouillard (Trans.), "Le Synodikon de l'orthodoxie," in *Travaux et Mémoires-2*, ed. E. de Boccard (Paris, 1967), 9, <https://orthodoxie.typepad.com/ficher/synodikon.pdf>.

²⁰ Hamilton and Hamilton, "Historical Introduction," 18-20.

environment may have led to quarrels and turmoil. Theodotus, *synekdemos* of Sergius, ended these killings by providing peace. In this mixed process, no new *didaskalos* are elected; Sergius’s six *synekdemoi* run the administration in Argaoun. Most of the Paulicians continued to live in the Byzantine lands.²¹

Queen Theodora cancelled all iconoclast decisions as an iconodulist in 843. Now the cursed list of heretics is announced every year on the first Sunday of the Great Lent. The law applied to the Paulicians brought executions. Carbeas’ father was among the executed. Carbeas, then, went to Argaoun with about five thousand men and entered the service of the Emir of Melitene (843-844). In 856, Carbeas and his supporters went to Tephrike (Divriği) on the Byzantine border, where they were independent of the Emir of Melitene. It became an attractive place for the Byzantine Paulicians, and Carbeas supported Muslims of Melitene in their attacks against Byzantine until his death (863). After that, Chrysocheir, Carbeas’ son-in-law and nephew, took over. But Sergius’ two surviving *synekdemoi*, Basileius and Zosimus, remained religious leaders. In the turmoil of the revolution in the palace in 867, Chrysocheir attacked the west, Nicaea, Nicomedia and Ephesus. Thereupon, Basil I sent Peter of Sicily to Tephrike for peace talks at 869-70. Peter was only able to exchange captives. Chrysocheir was killed in battle in 872 and his head was cut off and sent to the emperor.²² Tephrike preserved its independence until it was destroyed by an earthquake in 878. The Paulicians, whose power was broken, did not attract much attention as a community that lives their beliefs in their living spaces from now on. A Paulician unit under the command of Diaconitzes, son-in-law of Chrysocheir, joined the war in the Byzantine army in 885.²³ Although this might show that they lived with a massive population, Diaconitzes was soon returned to Orthodoxy by Emperor Leo VI (886–912).²⁴

The Paulicians were scattered from Anatolia either in the form of deportation from their original habitat or settling in the Balkans in various ways. It is possible to come across their traces in the close environment they are dispersed from. They were seen in Euchaita (Elvançelebi Village, Çorum), Miletos (Milet) and Ephesus (Efes) in the 10th century and at the beginning of the next century.²⁵ There are also thoughts that they have spread to the Armenian geography. This relationship is plausible since it has been for a long time. When it comes to the latter, that is, settling in the Balkans, Peter of Sicily gives interesting information about this: “*I had heard these blasphemers babbling that they intended to send some of their number to the country of Bulgaria to detach some from the orthodox faith and to bring them over to their own foul heresy. They were emboldened by the fact that the divine preaching had just begun, and thought that they would be able easily to sow their own tares in the pure and guileless wheat. These unholy people often do this, and eagerly accept many blows and dangers in order to share their personal plague with those they meet.*” It is understood from this information

²¹ Hamilton and Hamilton, 20–21.

²² Genesios, *On the Reigns of the Emperors*, trans. Anthony Kaldellis (Canberra: Australian Association for Byzantine Studies, 1998), Book 4/37, 496n; Albert Vogt, *Basile I^{er}, Empereur de Byzance (867-886), et La, Civilisation Byzantine à La Fin Du IX^e Siècle* (Paris: A. Picard et fils, 1908), 325.

²³ Hamilton and Hamilton, “Historical Introduction,” 21–22.

²⁴ Janet Hamilton and Bernard Hamilton, trans., “9. The Death of The Paulician Leader Chrysocheir (c. 878),” in *Christian Dualist Heresies in the Byzantine World C.650-C.1450* (Manchester: St. Martin’s Press, 1998), 96–97, b.

²⁵ Hamilton and Hamilton, “Historical Introduction,” 23.

that before the 880s, the Paulicians carried out mission activities in the dominant regions of the Orthodox Church bravely and faithfully.

After the Byzantine Anatolia and the Armenian geography, the third important Paulician habitat was the Balkans, especially Bulgaria today. The Bulgarian Paulicians were mainly formed by immigrants from Anatolia. The policy of immigration from the eastern border of the Byzantine to the Balkans was based on the goal of creating a war power. In addition, the migration of heretics had the goal of Orthodoxization. Population transferred from Anatolia to the Balkans was also valid for non-heretics. Armenians came first. One of the most well-known migrations took place in the policy of Emperor Constantine V (741-775). He emigrated Armenians from cities such as Theodosiopolis (Erzurum) which he conquered in 751,²⁶ and Paulicians, who were not seen as heretical because they were orthodoxized, to form a line of defense against the Bulgarians. Some researchers stated that those who were displaced were the ones living in Byzantine lands or border areas such as Theodosiopolis, Melitene, Tephrike.²⁷ Contemporary Theophanes expressed this in the events of 754/5: "*The emperor Constantine settled Syrians and Armenians whom he had brought from Theodosiopolis and Melitene in Thrace, and from them spread the heresy of the Paulicians.*"²⁸ However, the real exile of the Paulicians to the Balkans developed after their powers in Anatolia were broken and dispersed. The influence of Byzantium in exile grew after 970, when it increased its power in the East again. Byzantine, while placing the Armenians to the West in the period when it expanded its eastern border by demolishing the small Armenian kingdoms, in the meantime, drove the Paulicians to the Balkans.²⁹ It is understood that the remaining Paulicians lived under Muslim rule until the beginning of the 12th Century, since they fought among the Muslim troops against the Crusaders during the First Crusade.³⁰ Those who remained migrated to Bulgaria by Byzantine again. Antakya Orthodox Patriarch Theodoros II (970-6) convinced John I Tzimiskes (969-76) to drive the heretics from the East in the newly captured areas. Upon this, the Emperor placed the Paulicians in Philippopolis (Plovdiv, Filibe) and its vicinity in about 975.³¹ Some sources mentioned two hundred thousand Paulicians in this immigration.³² It is understood that Philippopolis was the main settlement for the displaced people.

It is difficult to clearly identify the religious and political lines of the Paulicians in the Balkans from sources. It is understood that the Paulicians took different positions depending on time and place. While sometimes they were Byzantine warriors, they sometimes fought against the Byzantines with the Pechenegs, Catholics or Crusaders. When they sometimes were forced to accept Orthodox teaching, some

²⁶ J. Laurent, *L'Arménie Entre Byzance et l'Islam Depuis La Conquête Arabe Jusqu' En 886* (Paris: Fontemoing, 1919), 208.

²⁷ Rene Grousset, *Başlangıcından 1071'e Ermenilerin Tarihi*, trans. Sosi Dolanoğlu (İstanbul: Aras Yayıncılık, 2005), 320.

²⁸ Theophanes Confessor, *The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor Byzantine and Near Eastern History AD 284-813*, trans. Cyril Mango and Roger Scott (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), 593.

²⁹ Canan Seyfeli, *Ermeni Kilise Merkezi Ecmiatzin* (Konya: Çizgi Kitabevi, 2015), 132-50, 342n.

³⁰ Nina Garsoian, *Paulician Heresy: A Study of the Origine and Development of Paulicianism in Armenia and the Eastern Provinces of the Byzantine Empire* (The Hague-Paris: Mouton & Co, 1967), 15-16.

³¹ Peter Charanis, "The Transfer of Population as a Policy in the Byzantine Empire," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 3/2 (1961), 146.

³² Radeva, "Paulicians-Digeneses of Word and Sword," 19.

did not give up their beliefs despite torture and death. They sometimes opposed Catholics and Crusaders. Instead of carrying out mission activities in such an environment, the Paulicians only tried to protect themselves. However, a significant number of the Paulicians eventually accepted Catholicism. It can be said that the main reason why they felt close to Catholics is that they are both anti-iconic. This complex situation is an important factor that prevents clear data on the teaching of the Paulicians.

According to Euthymius of the Periblepton in about 1045, the Paulicians were heretics, such as Montanus, Paul of Samosata and Mani, who lived before them. He said that the Paulicians did not leave the holy texts and the letters of Saint Paul just like their predecessors. He also stated that all of their teachings were similar, but that their heresies were obvious, that they could only harm those who saw these perversions as a long-established tradition, and even nobody was upset because they were not affected.³³ These statements have parallels with the words of the Armenian historian Aristakes Lastivertsi.

In 1081, Alexios I (1081-1118) fought shoulder to shoulder with 2800 Paulicians in Dyrrachium to stop the Norman attack. This union, described as the Manichaeist, has two leaders, Xantas and Culeon, and returned to their homes with their men after the defeat.³⁴ Alexios then forced the Paulicians to Orthodox baptism and punished those who refused, arrested their leaders and confiscated the people’s homes. The Paulician leader Traulos collaborated with the Pechenegs and captured the Beliatoba fortress, managed by Alexios near Philippopolis.³⁵ The Emperor made another similar attempt in Philippopolis in 1114. Then he wanted to be baptized with Orthodox baptism, especially the Paulicians in Philippopolis, and he was partially successful in this. However, Paulician leaders such as Cusinus and Pholus were not able to be baptized.³⁶ However, the Paulicians were integrated with the Bulgarians in the region over time.

2. Paulician Beliefs and Practices

Peter of Sicily described the doctrinal portrait of Paulicians, with the following words: “*There are not two separate groups. The Paulicians are also Manichaeans, who have added the foul heresy they discovered to the heresy of their predecessors, and have sunk in the same gulf of perdition.*”³⁷ This statement summarizes the form of approach in his book. In the following sections, he stated that they accepted the Bible and the letters of Paul, Jacob, John and Judah.³⁸ Accordingly, he argued that the Paulicians had developed a new doctrine by reinterpreting and understanding the Manichaeist doctrine with the texts of the New Testament, thereby distorting Christianity.

³³ Euthymius of The Periblepton, “19. Euthymius of The Periblepton Condemns Bogomils (C. 1045),” in *Christian Dualist Heresies in the Byzantine World C.650-C.1450*, trans. Janet Hamilton and Bernard Hamilton (Manchester: St. Martin’s Press, 1998), 158.

³⁴ Anna Comnena (Komnene), *The Alexiad*, ed. Elizabeth A. Dawes, vol. Books (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Books, 1928), Book IV/IV.

³⁵ Comnena (Komnene), Book VI/IV.

³⁶ Comnena (Komnene), Book XIV/IX.

³⁷ Peter of Sicily, “The History of The Paulicians”, c. 3.

³⁸ Peter of Sicily, c. 42, 44.

According to Peter of Sicily, Paulician leader Constantine of Mananalis, who lived in the period of Constans II (641-68), was also influenced by the Manichaean doctrine and transformed it into Paulicianism by interpreting it with the texts of the New Testament.³⁹ However, the Manichaeist past, which is constantly emphasized in the text of Peter, is rather ambiguous. In addition, some researchers have emphasized that there is no evidence of Manichaeist or gnostic influence in the Paulician tradition.⁴⁰ In fact, because of the similarities, the unknown is defined by acting on what is known. It is possible to understand this from some of Peter's statements. While Peter stated that Constantine taught Manichaeistic heresy in one place,⁴¹ he said that Paulicians had cursed Mani, who was clearly the chief guides elsewhere.⁴² He even conveyed the Paulicians saying that "*they do not share the licentiousness of the Manichaeans*".⁴³ In addition, Peter reveals that the Paulicians had their own teaching and interpretation, by saying "*they anathematize enthusiastically Mani and all the foul heretics of his party, and Paul of Samosata*".⁴⁴ This might suggest that Peter was trying to identify the perverted (heretic) ideas in the teachings of the Paulicians, and put them into a pattern of his thought, both while living with them and writing. However, Constantine defined himself as a Christian. Peter also expressed the following words that support this statement, "*They call themselves Christians, and they call us who are truly named from Christ our true God, Romans*".⁴⁵ Thus, Peter stated that the Paulicians saw themselves as true Christians.

Peter of Sicily thinks that Constantine's teaching is an idea of Manichaean origin, interpreting the Bible and Acts. He makes some narratives about Constantine's development of his teaching, "*This man entertained in his house for some time a certain deacon, a prisoner who was returning to his own country from Syria and came first to Mananalis. ... The prisoner was bringing back from Syria two books, one of the holy Gospel and the other of the Apostle, which he presented to Constantine in return for his hospitality*". He continues: "*..he (Constantine) ... realised that his heresy was unlawful and hateful ..., he determined to give a new face to the evil. He determined, ... that no other book at all should be read than the Gospel and the Apostle*". Peter adds: "*He took the origin of every blasphemy from the Manichaean books already mentioned, and was able through the co-operation of the devil to twist the thoughts of the Gospel and the Apostle to his own opinion in his interpretation. He rejected the books of the Manichaeans*".⁴⁶ Peter also explained that Paulician leader Sergius was Paulician in a similar way. Accordingly, it is stated that Sergius "*entered into a relationship with an immodest woman who belonged, it is said, to the Manichaean heresy*." Impressed by this woman, Sergius read and studied Paul's Letters, Acts and Bibles, thereby developing his ideas.⁴⁷ Thus, Peter evaluated the event with the same approach.

³⁹ Peter of Sicily, c. 94-98.

⁴⁰ Hamilton and Hamilton, "Historical Introduction," 8.

⁴¹ Peter of Sicily, "The History of The Paulicians", c. 105.

⁴² Peter of Sicily, c. 100.

⁴³ Peter of Sicily, c. 3.

⁴⁴ Peter of Sicily, c. 15.

⁴⁵ Peter of Sicily, c. 37.

⁴⁶ Peter of Sicily, c. 95-97.

⁴⁷ Peter of Sicily, c. 138-152.

Sergius’ development before revealing his idea reveals that not only those who knew the Bible well, but also other ordinary Christians thought about reading the Bible. Because Peter stated that Sergius previously said to the Manichaeist woman, “*It is not right for laymen like me to read them, but only for priests.*”⁴⁸ Similarly, Sicilian Peter warned the Orthodox against the Paulicians, “*The best plan for the simple is this, to avoid these corrupt people, and not be disgusted, nor try to answer their enquiries, but be silent when they make enquiry, and, if possible, run away from private audience with them, as if they were snakes.... It is difficult for the simple not to be swept away by them, as they quote all the sayings of the Gospel and the Apostle in conversation, and their craft is only recognized by those who are very familiar with holy scripture.*”⁴⁹ Peter’s warning shows that the Paulicians were effective and successful in missionary. It is therefore considered dangerous for Christians other than those who know the scriptures well because they use the Scripture. With this warning, Christians were advised to stay away from them, as they did not recognize the holy text as much as the Paulicians. For this reason, the way for the Orthodox Church to dominate the Paulicians was not by speech and discussion, but by silencing and destroying with pressure and violence.

Constantine has some interesting words that show his devotion to the Bible with a different interpretation. He said, “*You are the Macedonians and I am Silvanus sent to you by Paul.*” These and similar words were evaluated with literal meaning by Peter.⁵⁰ However, Constantine spoke these words by making an analogy to the people of Kibossa. Considering the entire text, it is understood that this analogy was made about the entire Paulician Church. He continued his analogy in the above his word and showed himself in position of the student of Paul. Thus, he showed his loyalty to Paul and his letters. It is also understood that through this high analogy and allegory, he captured the spirit of Jesus Christ, who spoke with matters in the Gospels.

It is understood that among the texts accepted by the Paulicians, which the entire Christian Bible was not included. According to the Sicilian Peter, the Paulicians “*do not accept any book of the Old Testament, calling the prophets cheats and brigands, They accept only the four holy gospels and the fourteen epistles of St Paul, the catholic epistle of James, the three epistles of St John, that of St Jude and the Acts of the Apostles, using the same text as we do.*”⁵¹ Elsewhere, he stated that the Paulicians “*that they follow the words of the holy Gospel and of the Apostle.*”⁵² In addition, Peter used the following statement to show that the Paulicians had their own scriptures, “*They also have cursed epistles of their leader Sergius, full of impiety and arrogance.*”⁵³ These letters were probably created by emulating St. Paul.

Paulician leader Sergius, in these his words quoted by Peter, talks about following a tradition in which he probably included his letters, “*Be imitators of me, and hold fast the traditions which you received from me*”,⁵⁴

⁴⁸ Peter of Sicily, c. 138.

⁴⁹ Peter of Sicily, c. 10, 12.

⁵⁰ Peter of Sicily, c. 101.

⁵¹ Peter of Sicily, c. 42.

⁵² Peter of Sicily, c. 23.

⁵³ Peter of Sicily, c. 43.

⁵⁴ Peter of Sicily, c. 160.

"Let no one deceive you in any way. You have these promises from God, be confident. I have written to you, having confidence in your hearts, that I am the door-keeper, the good shepherd, the guide of the body of Christ, the light of the house of God, and I am with you always to the close of the World.^[Matt. 28.20] If I am absent in the body, still I am present in the spirit."⁵⁵ and "We are the body of Christ; if anyone separates himself from the traditions of the body of Christ, that is, our traditions, he sins, because he takes the part of those who teach otherwise, and does not believe sound doctrine."⁵⁶ From these words of Sergius, it is understood that they care about their commitment and loyalty to the Bible. Here Sergius likened the church to the body of Jesus, just like St. Paul, and stated that he was the guide of this body. Thus, he pointed to unity in Jesus Christ and to the unity of the Church.

One of the interesting issues associated with the Bible is that the Paulicians reject St. Peter's "*the two catholic epistles*". Sicilian Peter stated that he did not know why the Paulicians were enemies of St. Peter. In fact, they may have negatively evaluated Peter's words about him because of the importance they gave to Paul.⁵⁷ Saint Peter points out that St Paul is incomprehensible and some distorted his words, "So also our beloved brother Paul wrote to you according to the wisdom given him, speaking of this as he does in all his letters. There are some things in them hard to understand, which the ignorant and unstable twist to their own destruction."^(2.Pet.3:16) In these words of St. Peter, there are two situations that can disturb the Paulicians. The first is the issue of incomprehensibility in the words of St. Paul. However, it is possible for the Paulicians to see themselves as the best understanders of Paul. The second is the subject of "*the ignorant and unstable*" people to distort the Sacred text. The Paulicians do not see themselves in Paul's position anyway. Paulician leaders regard themselves as Paul's helpers. Therefore, the criticism of St. Peter is like directly addressing Paulician leaders. Therefore, the Paulicians may have associated the criticism with them and may have been disturbed by it. Another point that increases this disturbance is that Orthodox Christians often accuse the Paulicians of distorting the Bible when they interpreting it. They should not have wanted to face this accusation because they considered themselves to be the true and correct interpreter of St. Paul.

It is understood that there are different interpretations of the Scriptures and therefore discussions among the Paulicians. Peter said that the discussion between Iustus, who killed Constantine by throwing stones in his execution, and Paulician leader Symeon, the whale nickname, came out of his different interpretations from the letter to the Colossians.⁵⁸ It is known that St. Paul said, "*The Son is the image of the invisible God, the firstborn over all creation. For in him all things were created: things in heaven and on earth, visible and invisible, whether thrones or powers or rulers or authorities; all things have been created through him and for him. He is before all things, and in him all things hold together. And he is the head of the body, the church;*"^(Col.1.16-18) and in Christianity, this meant interpretation as Jesus Christ. In this discussion, it is understood that they differ in interpreting Jesus Christ. In addition, it is understood that the Paulicians based their idea of "*above all the idea of the first-born Jesus Christ*" on these texts. The Paulicians was accused of being Adoptionist throughout history due to these ideas.

⁵⁵ Peter of Sicily, c. 161.

⁵⁶ Peter of Sicily, c. 167.

⁵⁷ Peter of Sicily, c. 44.

⁵⁸ Peter of Sicily, c. 110.

The idea of Jesus Christ is above all related to the idea of God when it comes to Christianity. There is not much clear data on the idea of God of the Paulicians in Peter’s History. Peter said that “By an improper use of allegory, and in ignorance, they are able to say that they confess the Holy Trinity and to anathematize those who do not.”⁵⁹ He hinted that they refused the Trinity, but they pretended to accept it. Thus, he says that the Paulicians have the idea of a Trinity according to them and/or a different interpretation. Donka Radeva has reached similar conclusions. According to her, “The analysis proves that the sacral archetype of the Paulicians (i.e. Ontology, Cosmology, and Christology) has not changed. The Orthodox Trinity of ‘the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit’ is blessed and sacralized. The Heavenly Father, the Creator of the world, and Christ are the three coeternal consubstantial Divine Persons who have established the cosmic (heavenly), earthly and human order.”⁶⁰ Here, Radeva did not mention the Holy Spirit. However, it is easy to add this from the Christian texts used by the Paulicians. However, it is very difficult to find a clear ‘Holy Trinity’ doctrine in the Paulicians. In addition, if a trilogy was included, it is not necessarily Christian trilogy. It is understandable and acceptable to have Father, Son and Holy Spirit mentioned in the Bible. So they can talk about a holy trinity. However, it is certain that the Paulicians interpret the scriptures differently. In the Christian texts accepted by the Paulicians, there is no explicit expression of the “Holy Trinity”, there is no explicit statement indicating that the three are Gods, and there is no expression that presents three as Gods in the same sentence. Considering that this state of the scriptures and they reject the Christian tradition that interprets these texts, it is highly plausible that they have different interpretations of the idea of God and of the trilogy. Also, if the Paulicians acted according to the words of St. Paul given above, it is possible that they might have considered Jesus Christ to be created (first and foremost) and the creations to be the most perfect. However, this is a matter that can completely change the idea of God and teaching, as they reduce Jesus Christ to a created being.

Another subject that affects the idea of God very closely is the idea of creation. However, there are no clear data on the idea of the creation of the Paulicians. Peter said, “they confess two principles, an evil one and a good one; one who is the maker of this world and has power over it, the other has power over the world to come.” And “they say that the maker of the cosmos is one god, and that another god, whom they call the heavenly father, has no power in this cosmos but does in the age to come.”⁶¹ First of all, it is literally a coercion to reach the conclusion of dualism from these explanations. Neither in Mani dualism⁶² nor in Zoroastrian dualism,⁶³ there are no ideas of two Gods who share the realms (the creation world, this world and the hereafter) as the domain of domination, because God has power in all three realms. Also, there is no idea of God where the evil is also creative. Demiurge is neither a god nor a true creator. In fact, the idea of a bad God who created the universe and dominated in the world, is in no systematic religion. In dualist and gnostic religions such as

⁵⁹ Peter of Sicily, c. 14.

⁶⁰ Radeva, “Paulicians-Digeneses of Word and Sword,” 29.

⁶¹ Peter of Sicily, “The History of The Paulicians”, c. 36, 38.

⁶² Canan Seyfeli, “Maniheizm”, *Çokkültürlülük Konferansı* (Diyarbakır: İnsan Hakları Derneği Yay., 2005), 137–40.

⁶³ Irach J. I. Taraporewala, *Zerdüş Dini: Zerdüş’ün Gathaları Üç Unutulmuş Din: Mitraizm, Maniheizm, Mazdakizm*, trans. Nice Damar (İstanbul: Avesta Yayınları, 2002), 43–50; Mehmet Alıcı, *Kadim İran’da Din: Monoteizm’den Düalizm’e Mecusi Tanrı Anlayışı* (İstanbul: Ayışığı Kitaplığı, 2012), 205–36.

Mandaeism and Manichaeism, the universe and man are created from the combination of two opposite elements, and it is the God of Light that brings life to existence.⁶⁴ Therefore, it is impossible for the Paulicians to believe that the evil God is creative. However, according to the Christian interpretation, the Paulicians might have gone to a little excess. According to the Book of Genesis, in Christianity, the human who was expelled from Heaven through the devil fell into the World, which is dominated by the devil. This world, in which man fell, is a realm in which the lost heavenly realm is regained. However, in this world, dominated by the devil, whose head is crushed on the cross, the Church is the Heaven. In the other realm, the Heaven (Celestial Church), where good and survivors reach again, is a realm that the devil cannot enter, and his power does not reach. It also dominates the hereafter and/or the life after death, which dominates creation and the realm of creation.⁶⁵ In no systematic religion, it is not possible for these two realms to be different dominating (god). So, the Paulicians see the devil only as the dominating of the world. It is possible to understand this from the words of Peter of Sicily. He quoted the Paulicians said, "You believe in the creator of the universe, and we believe in those who speak in books." and added, "You have neither heard his voice nor seen his face."^(Jn 5:37)⁶⁶ The first is the words of the Paulicians that Peter quoted. The second belongs to the Bible of John and as follows, "And the Father who sent me has himself testified concerning me." The Paulicians must have interpreted "testifying" in these words as "speaking in books". It seems unlikely that the Paulicians, who seemed to be discussing by quoting from the scriptures, accused Christians of believing in the creator of the universe. However, it is plausible that the Paulicians accused Orthodox Christians of "abiding by the devil". Thus, they must have emphasized that they are different from Christians by stating that they believe in a god who speaks to man and is close to man (themselves).

Hamiltons came to the conclusion "that Constantine of Mananalis really did found a new type of Christianity, a world-affirming dualism based on his understanding of the New Testament."⁶⁷ They had also put forward ideas in many places, showing that dualism applied to all Paulicianism. The definition of dualist is already been reflected in the name of their work. But the subject of dualism does not appear in the texts of Paulicianism as a distinct belief and acceptance. In fact, the Paulicians did not see the world as negative as Christians. The reason for this is that the Paulicians did not have the idea of Jesus who lifted the original sin of humanity on the cross. In Christianity, the world is the place of regaining what he lost in this realm, which he came to by losing the heavenly realm, where he lived peacefully and together with God, holy and immortally, as a result of the original sin.⁶⁸ However, the Paulicians accepted such matters as spiritual and unworldly, not literally. So, they interpreted the texts of the New Testament and developed their own invisible divine realm and the apparent realm (world) idea. Even Donka Radeva put forward ideas to support this information. According to her, Paulicianism cannot be defined as cosmogonic dualism. Because, according to the data provided by the sources, the parts of the cosmogonic, etiological and Christological model reveal that the perception of

⁶⁴ Şinasi Gündüz, *Sâbiiler Son Gnostikler* (Ankara: Vadi Yayınları, 1995), 67–109; Mehmet Alıcı, *Işığın Elçisi Mani ve Gnostik Düşüncesi* (İstanbul: Divan Kitap, 2018), 248–369.

⁶⁵ Canan Seyfeli, *Ermeni Kilisesi'nde Sakramentler* (Konya: Çizgi Kitabevi, 2015), 33–47.

⁶⁶ Peter of Sicily, "The History of The Paulicians", c. 38.

⁶⁷ Hamilton and Hamilton, "Historical Introduction," 10.

⁶⁸ Seyfeli, *Ermeni Kilisesi'nde Sakramentler*, 35–40.

the Paulicianist universe is not dualism. However, she has thought that there is a potential for dualism in the dialectic of the Bible.⁶⁹ However, this potential is not dualism in the idea of creation and universe perception, but moral dualism in view of the world and worldly life. It would be better to call it the idea of good and bad opposition rather than dualism. This is related to the idea of "the devil who is the dominating of the world" belonging to Christianity.

Peter also included the ideas of the Paulicians about Jesus Christ in his words about St. Mary. He also gives their ideas about St. Mary. He says somewhere as, "They say, ...that our Lord and God became man in a virgin, and anathematize those who do not. And all the particulars of the incarnation of the Lord they admit, saying one thing with their mouth, another in their heart,"⁷⁰ in another place, "the glorious ever-virgin mother of God is not even counted (in their hostility) among the bare number of good human beings. They say that the Lord was not born of her, but brought His body from heaven, and that after the birth of the Lord she had other children from Joseph."⁷¹ In this belief, it is emphasized that Jesus Christ is different from other people as a man, he is heavenly with his body, and his existence is not caused by Mary. However, the fact that Mary's womb is a bag shows that Jesus is embodied in her womb. This incarnation is actually nothing but a fatherless birth. This suggests that the Paulicians considered Jesus both sacred and divine both physically and spiritually. This means accepting the essential feature that distinguishes Jesus from other people. In some of his words about Saint Mary, Peter said that Jesus was not born of him physically, and this contradicts the formula of repentance. He contradicted the acceptance of the Paulicians about Mary in the 39th sentence given above, both as a body that was not born from Mary and descended from Heaven, and that Mary made other children after her birth. In another place, with the same contradiction, he said that the Paulicians, "teach that she gave birth to God in appearance and not in reality, and have the ridiculous idea that after the divine birth she had other sons from Joseph;"⁷² Also, since the Orthodox Church admits that Virgin's virginity is constant, Peter criticizes the Paulicians, but the sons of Mary are mentioned in the Bible.^(Mt.12:40-42, Mk.3:31, Lk.8:21)

The Paulicians had their own view of the Christian sacraments. They believed most of the New Testament texts, but they interpreted them differently than Christians. The data of Peter of Sicily show that the Paulicians did not regard Jesus Christ as God. This is related to the fact that it is possible that the Jesus and the Holy Spirit of the Bible interpreted by Christians may not be interpreted as gods. The Christianity established a religious structure and tradition after the age of the apostles, interpreting the Bible between around 100-450. This was actually the central Christianity. The Paulicians were far from these developments. They developed a unique idea, only by interpreting the majority of the New Testament texts. This situation not only allowed them to create their own traditions, but also, they were fed from the same sacred texts from which the Christian teaching shape. Therefore, for example, Christians regarded bread and wine as the true the body and blood of Jesus Christ, while the Paulicians interpreted it as "symbolic words of Christ". Peter put it this way, "They refuse to accept the divine and awe-inspiring mystery of the body and blood of the Lord. ... that it was not bread and wine that the Lord gave to his disciples at the supper, but that symbolically he gave them his words

⁶⁹ Radeva, "Paulicians-Digeneses of Word and Sword," 7.

⁷⁰ Peter of Sicily, "The History of The Paulicians", c. 15.

⁷¹ Peter of Sicily, c. 39.

⁷² Peter of Sicily, c. 22.

as bread and wine."⁷³ However, according to Peter, they say, "We are the body of Christ."⁷⁴ However, they may even consider it symbolic. Likewise, it appears that they do not accept baptism, or rather water baptism. Peter said that "he said that baptism was Our Lord Jesus Christ, and nothing else, because He said, 'I am the living water.'"⁷⁵ Here, the answer of Paulician was again allegorical, and meant baptism in Christ, not in water. As for Jesus' word, it is not explicitly expressed in the Bible, but it is implied in the Gospel of John.^(In.4:10) This word is in line with the interpretation of the Paulicians. They did not accept sacramental baptism. It is understood that the Paulicians agreed to "be baptized in Jesus Christ, the living water" and that baptism should be realized by faith. In such a situation, the Paulicians cannot be expected to believe in the cross of Christ. So Peter reported it as follows, "They do not accept the image, power and operation of the precious life-giving cross, but heap it with a thousand insults."⁷⁶

It is understood from their own structure that the Paulicians did not accept the orthodox hierarchy. However, Peter said that they opposed the presbyters, "They turn away from the elders [lit. presbyters] of the Church. They say that the elders conspired against the Lord and so they ought not to name them, avoiding even the very name."⁷⁷ The Christianity acknowledges that in the New Testament texts there are three ranks appointed by "putting the hand on the head". These are the church servant (diacon), the elders (presbyters) and the supervisor (episcopos). The elderly committee refers to the community and has undergone a two-way transformation over the time, the priest (servant of the communion) and the council of bishops.⁷⁸ The Paulicians seem to have opposed the elder assembly in the Bible. So, there are two hierarchies left, just as in the first period of the Christianity, for example in Paul. The Paulicians also rejected the priest (K'ahanay in the Armenian Church, Kohen in the Syriac Church) in the Christian tradition.

With the idea of reliance on Scriptures, as in the movements of returning to the original of religion, the Paulicians extracted elderly and accepted two hierarchies (supervisor and church servant) from the New Testament texts. There are two clear and distinct individual missions in the New Testament texts: those who manage the sacred presentation (bishop and/or presbyter) and church servants (deacons). As for the elderly (presbyters), it is an old council based on the Old Testament. According to the New Testament texts, there may be apostles, supervisors and church officials in this council.⁷⁹ Ignatius of Antioch (30-107) described presbyters as "the sanhedrim of God, and assembly of the apostles of Christ."⁸⁰ This statement spontaneously refers to the Old Testament, to the Jews. Probably the Jews of Jesus period should have an influence on the Paulicians' rejection of the presbyters. So, this was shaped in the form that in the Paulicians to reject

⁷³ Peter of Sicily, c. 40.

⁷⁴ Peter of Sicily, c. 167.

⁷⁵ Peter of Sicily, c. 120.

⁷⁶ Peter of Sicily, c. 41.

⁷⁷ Peter of Sicily, c. 45.

⁷⁸ Seyfeli, *Ermeni Kilisesi'nde Sakramentler*, 441-43.

⁷⁹ Seyfeli, *Ermeni Kilisesi'nde Sakramentler*, 440.

⁸⁰ Ignatius, "The Epistle of Ignatius to the Trallians," in *ANF01: Ante-Nicene Fathers*, ed. Alexander Roberts, James Donaldson, and Cleveland Coxe, vol. 1-The Apostolic Fathers, Justin Martyr, Irenaeus (Online Edition, 2002), 109-20, Chap. III.

presbyters, which meant a council, and to accept two individual officials (bishop and diacon). Donka Radeva stated that the Paulicians had a hierarchical model consisting of a leader and disciples who put forward their beliefs with unwavering words and self-sacrifice.⁸¹ It can be assumed that they are attached to the New Testament texts and do not regard the Clergy as sacramental. Therefore, their hierarchies were mostly in the form of administrative structuring. The Paulicians were also not structured like Manichaeists (elected and listeners) or similar to other gnostics.

Paulician leader Constantine had the title of *didaskalos*, which means teacher in Greek. In practice, however, it worked as a guide. *Didaskalos* was like the bishop being the only leader in the first period of Christianity. The idea of the single leader bishop expressed uniqueness in the Universal Church. However, this idea was interpreted over time as being the only leader in Christianity, almost all the ancient churches, in the region of the bishop.⁸² Right after the Bible era, this was one of the issues discussed. Ignatius of Antioch (30-107) said, “*Let the laity be subject to the deacons; the deacons to the presbyters; the presbyters to the bishop; the bishop to Christ, even as He is to the Father.*”⁸³ He also said about the bishop: “*Let no man do anything connected with the Church without the bishop. Let no man do anything connected with the Church without the bishop.*”⁸⁴ He also said, “*Your bishop presides in the place of God*”⁸⁵ and “*the bishop is the representative of the Father of all things*”.⁸⁶ Here he puts the bishop in the place of Baba by analogy. He says “*the Lord did nothing without the Father*”⁸⁷ and places the church in Christ’s place. According to him, the bishop is “*the Chief Captain of the Lord*”.⁸⁸ According to his talent, he is “*imitator of the Christ of God*”.⁸⁹ Elsewhere, he referred to Jesus Christ, who was described in the Letter to Hebrews as “*the only High Priest*”, and called him “*the true and first Bishop*” according to Luke^(Luk.4: 6).⁹⁰ Here, he placed the bishop instead of Christ in the concrete sense. Therefore, the Universal Church has only one bishop. The first shaping of Christianity through tradition was basically according to Eucharist.⁹¹ The first clear examples of this formation are seen in Ignatius. He said that the Eucharist was the only one and explained the reason as follows, “*For there is one flesh of our Lord Jesus Christ,*

⁸¹ Radeva, “Paulicians-Digeneses of Word and Sword,” 13.

⁸² Seyfeli, *Ermeni Kilisesi’nde Sakramentler*, 478.

⁸³ Ignatius, “The Epistle of Ignatius to the Smyrnaeans,” in *ANF01: Ante-Nicene Fathers*, ed. Alexander Roberts, James Donaldson, and Cleveland Coxe, vol. 1-The Apostolic Fathers, Justin Martyr, Irenaeus (Online Edition, 2002), 140–51, Chap. IX.

⁸⁴ Ignatius, Chap. VIII.

⁸⁵ Ignatius, “The Epistle of Ignatius to the Magnesians,” in *ANF01: Ante-Nicene Fathers*, ed. Alexander Roberts, James Donaldson, and Cleveland Coxe, vol. 1-The Apostolic Fathers, Justin Martyr, Irenaeus (Online Edition, 2002), 98–109, Chap. VI.

⁸⁶ Ignatius, “The Epistle of Ignatius to the Trallians”, Chap. III.

⁸⁷ Ignatius, “The Epistle of Ignatius to the Magnesians”, Chap. VII.

⁸⁸ Ignatius, “The Epistle of Ignatius to the Smyrnaeans”, Chap. VIII.

⁸⁹ Ignatius, “The Epistle of Ignatius to the Trallians”, Chap. VII.

⁹⁰ Ignatius, “The Epistle of Ignatius to the Magnesians”, Chap. IV.

⁹¹ Seyfeli, *Ermeni Kilisesi’nde Sakramentler*, 67. “The ‘Christ mystery’ has been revealed mainly in Eucharist. Thus, the expression of the Eucharist as the Christ mystery caused to be said the mystery to other rituals associated with Christ. In other words, there has been a process parallel to the development process of the teaching of Christ.”

and one cup to the unity of His blood; one altar; as there is one bishop, along with the presbytery and deacons,"⁹² This parallels Paul's saying: "one Lord, one faith, one baptism; one God and Father of all".^(Eph.4:5-6) The Paulicians, who do not accept the Christian tradition, seem to have adopted the only leader idea of the New Testament.

However, it is mentioned that the Paulician leaders (Sergius) saw themselves as Christ's apostles.⁹³ Indeed, just like the bishop who conducts the ritual in eucharist symbolizes Jesus, the only leader here is also replacing Jesus. In this case, if the only leader symbolizes Jesus, his aides near the only leader symbolize the disciples of Jesus. In the hierarchy, as in Ignatius, it is essential to connect to Christ with a hierarchical line. However, this linear and traditional transfer is not revealed in the Paulicians because they do not accept the tradition, or it is not possible to follow their own traditions. First of all, the main reason for this is that they are free to read and interpret the Scriptures themselves. Second, their lives are so bumpy that they have not been able to form a tradition in one line. It is possible to understand this since the Paulicians could be governed by *didaskalos* for only two centuries from Constantine.⁹⁴ Then, there is information that the name *synekdemoi* is used for the leader. However, here, the practical meaning of these names is more important than the name given to the leader. In the text of the repentance formula aimed at Orthodoxizing the Paulicians, all the only leaders, including Constantine, were identified as *synekdemoi*. However, in the "a" text, *synekdemoi* are also introduced as followers of Sergius, the only leader.⁹⁵ This latest information also supports the information provided by Peter.⁹⁶

Three names and two ranks draw attention in the church structures of the Paulicians. These are *didaskalos*, *synekdemoi*, and *notarius*. *Didaskalos'* teacher and guiding meaning⁹⁷ is equivalent to the Christian supervisor, the bishop. It points to only one leader. The Paulicians had periods without *didaskalos*, but at such times it appears that they were ruled by at least the *synekdemoi* community.⁹⁸ *Didaskalos* are the only leaders in terms of administration and they are teachers with sacred texts such as doctrinal epistles. Hamiltons stated that the *didaskalos* were chosen by the *synekdemoi* and that if they were true, they approved a leader with a divine charisma.⁹⁹ Regarding the election of the leader, Peter stated that there is no single guide after Sergius' death, these *synekdemoi* are in the same status and equal and there are priests named *notarius* attached to them.¹⁰⁰ In the summary version, Peter described Paulician religious officials as follows: "They reject our priests and other members of our hierarchy. They call their own priests *synekdemoi* and *notaries*; they

⁹² Ignatius, "The Epistle of Ignatius to the Philadelphians," in *ANF01: Ante-Nicene Fathers*, ed. Alexander Roberts, James Donaldson, and Cleveland Coxe, vol. 1-The Apostolic Fathers, Justin Martyr, Irenaeus (Online Edition, 2002), 129-40, Chap. IV.

⁹³ Peter of Sicily, "The History of The Paulicians", c. 166.

⁹⁴ Hamilton and Hamilton, "Historical Introduction," 9.

⁹⁵ Janet Hamilton and Bernard Hamilton, trans., "11. Abjuration Formulae (Tenth Century) For Paulician Converts to Orthodoxy," in *Christian Dualist Heresies in the Byzantine World C.650-C.1450* (Manchester: St. Martin's Press, 1998), 102-10, a/15, b/1.

⁹⁶ Peter of Sicily, "The History of The Paulicians", c. 174, 183.

⁹⁷ Hamilton and Hamilton, "Historical Introduction," 9.

⁹⁸ Peter of Sicily, "The History of The Paulicians", c. 183.

⁹⁹ Hamilton and Hamilton, "Historical Introduction," 9-10.

¹⁰⁰ Peter of Sicily, "The History of The Paulicians", c. 183.

are not distinguished from the others by dress or diet or the rest of their manner of life."¹⁰¹ It is clear that the Paulicians reject administrative meaningful ranks other than the two individual basic hierarchies of the New Testament. It seems that they accept two ranks, *didaskalos* or *synekdemos* and *notarius*, but reject sacramental rites in Christianity. The fact that there is no difference between the lifestyles of these two ranks shows that even though there is no priesthood, there is a simple life idea. This also manifests itself in the giving of ranks, and therefore they do not perform clergy. However, even if there is no information, it is possible for them to perform a small task assignment rite. However, their ideas about baptism show that they did not hold an initiation ceremony. In parallel, neither the leaders and their deputies nor the members of the community are forced into a mystical life. They do not have sexual abstinence or a prohibition on marriage. Even an only leader can get married and have children. They can also have a profession, that is, they can engage in worldly affairs.¹⁰² Moreover, unlike the Manichaeists, they can kill and fight. The Paulicians, who do not have the beliefs that would require, pulling skirts from the world, are not cold towards material assets. This is about them not being dualists. They neither show excessive respect nor enmity against the elements on the negative side of dualism, the evil, the substance, and the material realm dominated by evil. With all these features, it is understood that they have very important differences from the Manichaeists they are accused of. So, the Paulicians are a complete New Testament commentator.

Closed societies that are heretic or heterodox have always been accused of excessive blasphemy by orthodoxies. One of these main reasons is that they hide themselves. Peter put it like this, "*In a word, like an octopus or a chameleon, they change both manner and appearance to suit the occasion, to catch some of the witless. When someone pays attention to their nonsense, then they show him a little of their mysteries*"¹⁰³ "*their rites and heresies should not be shared with their nearest neighbours, far less with those who are strangers to them, but only with those few whom they perceive to be more perfect in impiety.*"¹⁰⁴ One of the ways Paulicians hide themselves is their allegorical and symbolic speech. Peter emphasized that when the Paulician leader Gegnesius was questioned by the Patriarch, his answers were not the same as his intent, and seemed the same as the person asking, but the truth was different. Accordingly, the Patriarch asked respectively: "*Why do you deny the orthodox faith?*", "*Why do you not believe in and honour the precious cross?*", "*Why do you not worship and venerate the holy mother of God?*", and "*Why do you not partake of the stainless body and precious blood of Our Lord Jesus Christ, but dishonour it?*" He also asked the Catholic Church and baptism. Gegnesius' answer to all these questions was to curse those who do not accept and/or perform it. Peter hinted that the wording and the meaning is different, and said that by Orthodox belief he meant his own heresy, the crucifixion of Jesus with the cross, Jerusalem with Mary, the word of Jesus with the body and blood of Him, the Manichaeist council with the Catholic Church and and Jesus Christ himself with baptism.¹⁰⁵ These answers reveal that the Paulicians had

¹⁰¹ Peter of Sicily, "8. Peter The Higoumenos: An Abridgement of Peter of Sicily," in *Christian Dualist Heresies in the Byzantine World C.650-C.1450*, trans. Janet Hamilton and Bernard Hamilton (Manchester: St. Martin's Press, 1998), 92-96, c. 19.

¹⁰² Hamilton and Hamilton, "Historical Introduction," 9-10.

¹⁰³ Peter of Sicily, "The History of The Paulicians", c. 16.

¹⁰⁴ Peter of Sicily, c. 33.

¹⁰⁵ Peter of Sicily, c. 115-120.

an idea for almost all of the theological issues of Christianity. In this case, it is possible to talk about an independent Christian church.

The Hamiltons came to the following conclusion, "*Constantine of Mananalis really did found a new type of Christianity, a world-affirming dualism based on his understanding of the New Testament.*"¹⁰⁶ This expresses the idea that Paulicianism is a new Christian interpretation centered in the New Testament. Here, they meant that the Paulicians believed in their own way, as in Donka Radeva's statement, "*The Paulicians think of themselves as sincere Christians.*"¹⁰⁷ Donka Radeva took a different approach and stated that the Paulicians had a genuine and sincere belief that gave birth to sacrifice themselves. He said this about both Byzantine and Bulgarian Paulicians. According to her, the Paulicians believed that their faith originated directly from Jesus Christ and the sermons of the Apostle Paul. She supported this with the idea that the Paulicians set up the apostolic hierarchy in accordance with the sacred model of the Apostle Paul and consisted of a leader and supporters following the Holy Word.¹⁰⁸

Conclusion

As a result, it is understood that the name Paul, who was active in the Paulicians taking this name, actually referred to the Apostle Paul. In other words, if this movement is based on a Paul, then, this must be definitely the apostle Paul. Indicators of this are these: Their acceptance of Paul's epistles, the Acts, the Four Gospels, and other New Testament texts parallel to the texts of St. Paul; Shaping their churches by emulating the mission of St. Paul; Their glorification of St. Paul, and therefore their refusal of the epistles of St. Peter due to a small and vague criticism; Accepting St. Paul as a guide to them, and shaping their lives with the words of St. Paul on basic subjects such as God, the Church, Jesus Christ, and accept themselves as true Christians.

The main factor of Paulicians to establish a Christianity different from the Christianity and unique to them is that they restricted the Biblical belief. It is primarily their rejection of the Old Testament while valuing St. Paul. The second important factor is the rejection of the tradition of the predecessors, the Church Fathers and the councils, which helped shape the general Christianity. For this reason, Paulicians have their own unique ideas about the basic teachings of Christianity. Another issue that these features reveal is the following: Paulicians are not dualists and gnostic, and Manichaeist teachings did not play a role in the formation of this movement.

Paulicianism is a different Christian interpretation that emerged and developed within the jurisdiction of the Orthodox Church and migrates from Anatolia to the Balkans over time. The fact that it was a secret organization due to their heretic acceptance both prevented the emergence of their own first-hand data and caused the Orthodox Christians to be exhibiting an extremely exclusivist approach and give false information.

¹⁰⁶ Hamilton and Hamilton, "Historical Introduction," 10.

¹⁰⁷ Radeva, "Paulicians-Digeneses of Word and Sword," 30.

¹⁰⁸ Radeva, 8-9, 37.

When the information provided by the sources is evaluated critically, discreetly and in an attempt to understand it in its own reality, it is seen that the Paulicians have their own perception of the universe and the world, and this shapes issues such as the Bible, God, Jesus and the Sacred understanding. However, their differences, especially in the idea of God and Jesus, differed from central Christianity attracted attention, and they were subjected to the same hostility shown to heretics throughout history.

The Paulicians, who accepted the texts of the New Testament and interpreted them accordingly, had different ideas about the fundamental beliefs of Christianity such as Jesus, Mary, eucharist, baptism, and the cross. Moreover, the debates that Christianity formed between the second and fifth centuries did not affect them. It was important for them to directly refer to and read the scriptures. They were free from Christian symbolism and the belief in deep meaning believed to exist behind what is seen. This has shaped their views as the belief in what is more material and visible. It is about that they reject the icons. These traits led them to be interpreted as the first and original Protestants by modern period researchers. However, with these features, Paulicianism is just a movement advocating a return to the original and the primary texts.

The fact that Paulicians were warriors and altruists with their religious beliefs and acceptances that led them to sacrifice showed that they were sincere. These features had a significant impact on their emergence with similar ideas in different regions and times, especially in the Balkans, in ancient Bulgaria. It is still possible to find its traces in Bulgaria although it has changed culturally. It is quite likely that this is due to the high regards for freedom, self and other religious-cultural sentiments.

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A Heated Controversy in the Second/Eighth Century: Khalq al-Qurʾān (The Createdness of Qurʾān)

Mehmet Ata Az *

Harun Çağlayan **

Abstract

Throughout Islam's theology, the issue of createdness of Qurʾān - which results from the discourse of the denial of divine attributes and which was first raised as a question by Ja'd b. Dirham and followed by Jahm b. Şafwān and Bishr b. Ghiyāth al-Marīsī- has been one of the oldest debates raging within the Islamic scholarly circles. When political conspiracies were involved in the issue, the debate became even fiercer and led to bloodshed and torture among Muslim communities causing death to many eminent scholars in the 2nd/8th century. One of the reasons why all these debates did not reach a conclusion is that the concepts had not been sufficiently analyzed and the attribution of false or different meanings to the same concepts under discussion. Each sect or group attempted to resolve the issue within the framework of their own background, cultural structure and most importantly, their own principles. The different views put forward on the issue of createdness of Qurʾān are largely related to the kalām attribute, and it is based on the acceptance of the kalām as a essential (dhātī) and active (fi'li) attribute. Although the explanations are different, all sect or group accept that the Qurʾān is a divine book sent to people by God.

Keywords

Kalām, Divine Attributes, Kalāmullāh, Khalq al-Qurʾān, Createdness of Qurʾān

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- * **Corresponding Author:** Associate Prof., Ankara Yıldırım Beyazıt University, Faculty of Islamic Sciences, Department of Philosophy of Religion, Ankara, Turkey | Doç. Dr., Ankara Yıldırım Beyazıt Üniversitesi, İslami İlimler Fakültesi, Din Felsefesi Anabilim Dalı
mehmetataaz@gmail.com | ORCID 0000-0002-8844-8875
- ** **Author:** Associate Professor, Kırıkkale University, Faculty of Islamic Sciences, Department of Kalam, Kırıkkale, Turkey | Doç. Dr., Kırıkkale Üniversitesi, İslami İlimler Fakültesi, Kelam Anabilim Dalı
caglayanharun@gmail.com ORCID 0000-0002-0228-5164

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2./8. Yüzyılda Önemli Bir Tartışma: Halku’l-Kur’ân (Kur’an’ın Yaratılmışlığı Meselesi)

Öz

İslam düşüncesinde, -ilk defa Ca’d b. Dirhem tarafından tartışılan, daha sonra da Cehm b. Safvan ve Bişr b. Gıyâs el-Merîsî tarafından sürdürülen ve ilâhî sıfatların inkarıyla sonuçlanabilen- Kur’ân’ın mahluk olup olmadığı meselesi, uzun süre tartışma konusu olmuştur. Meseleye siyasî çekişmeler dahil edildiğinde, tartışma daha da şiddetlenmiş ve 2./8. yüzyılda İslam toplumunda bu tartışma kan dökülmesine, birçok âlimin işkenceye maruz kalmasına hatta ölümüne yol açmıştır. Halku’l-Kur’ân meselesinde süre gelen tartışmanın sonuçlanamamasının sebeplerinden biri, problemin temel kavramlarının yeterince analiz edilmemesi, kavramalara yanlış veya farklı anlamların yüklenmesidir. Her mezhep veya grup, problemi kendi dinî ve teolojik kaygıları ve en önemlisi de kendi ilkeleri bağlamında izaha kavuşturmaya çalışmıştır. Halku’l-Kur’ân konusunda ileri sürülen bu farklı görüşler, büyük ölçüde kelâm sıfatıyla ilgisi olup kelâmın zâtî veya fiilî bir sıfat olarak kabul edilmesine dayanmaktadır. İzahlar farklı olsa da tüm taraflar, Kur’ân’ın Allah tarafından insanlara gönderilen ilâhî bir kitap olduğunda mutabıktır.

Anahtar Kelimeler

Kelâm, ilâhî Sıfatlar, Kelânullâh, Halku’l-Kur’ân, Kur’an’ın Yaratılmışlığı

Introduction

The nature and validity of divine attributes ascribed to God to make His being intelligible has long been a controversial issue among Muslim scholars and philosophers.¹ The issue of God’s speech (*kalâm Allāh*) as an attribute of God —considered fundamentally problematic as an attribute of God— and whether the attribute bears an eternal meaning as other attributes do, and whether it has a correlation with His nature, have been questions that have been pondered on by many Muslim scholars.² While discussions on the nature of His *kalâm* attribute continue, the different camps on this discussion have inevitably led to a very closely related topic, the nature of the Qur’ân that is considered to be His revelation (*wahy*). While some sects and scholars advocate *the doctrine of the created Qur’ân (khalq al-Qur’ân)* and its temporality on the basis of its created (*makhlūq*) and produced (*muḥdath*) nature, others argue for its precedence and its uncreated (*ghayr makhlūq*) divine Word of God on the grounds of similar justifications and discourse.³

Trying to establish a similarity between God’s speech (*kalâm Allāh*) and the speech of man causes different theological and metaphysical problems. If the God’s speech is similar to the human speech, it is unthinkable to be eternal (*qadīm*). Since it is unthinkable that similar ones are different in eternity and

¹ Abū Mansūr al-Māturīdī, *Kitāb al-Tawhīd*, Critical ed. Bekir Topaloğlu, Muhammad Aruçi (Ankara: Türkiye Diyanet Publication, 2003), 70, 74, 79; Abū al-Ḥasan ‘Alī ibn Ismā‘īl ibn Ishāq al-Ash‘arī, *Maqālāt al-Islāmiyyin* Critical ed. Muḥammad Muḥyī al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd (Cairo: Maktab al-Nahdat al-Misriyya, 1950), 2/156, 157.

² Māturīdī, *Kitāb al-Tawhīd*, 84-90; Ash‘arī, *Maqālāt*, 2/178, 179, 231.

³ Māturīdī, *Kitāb al-Tawhīd*, 86; Ash‘arī, *Maqālāt*, 2/179, 232; Abū Manşūr ‘Abdulqāhir b. Ṭāhir b. Muḥammad al-Baghdādī, *Usūl al-dīn*, Critical ed. Dār al-Funūn (Istanbul: State Printing Office, 1346/1928), 106, 107; Abū l-Mu‘īn al-Nasafī, *al-Tamhīd fī usūl al-dīn*, Critical ed. Abdulhay Kābil (Cairo: Dār al-Sagāfa, 1987), 24.

createdness. However, if God's speech is different from the human speech, it cannot be comprehend by man. Because God's speech is the name of what is heard. Apart from these, if we consider that there is another sound in the metaphysical universe other than the sound heard in the physical universe, we have to accept that it may have other colors and meanings, which would be impossible to mention any criteria.⁴

This study concentrates on the issue of the createdness of the Qurʾān as it relates to the creation of the kalām attribute rather than the eternalness of kalām, the temporality of kalām or its relation to the nature of God. Before describing the emergence, the development and the historical course of the issue which caused deep debates among Islamic scholars throughout the historical period of Islamic philosophy, clarification needs to be made on the two fundamental perceptions regarded as the salient point of the topic under consideration. Behind the reasons for these explanations first lies the fact that the discussions on the createdness of the Qurʾān did not reach a conclusion due to misinterpretation on the meanings of the same words as well as the way principles and concerns are being processed by the arguing schools, who built the doctrines upon concepts which were not thoroughly analyzed. The unrestricted (mutlaq) use of words and their restricted (muqayyad) uses are different from each other.⁵ Secondly, they identified the attribute of speech with speaking and did not see that the attribute of speech could be a reason or a means to speak.⁶ Therefore, it is necessary to determine which terminology or concepts were used from the second/eighth century AH onwards, and to question the correctness of the notions and the meanings they carried, as these exercises determine the course of their debates and the conclusions they would lead into.

1. Conceptual Frame

1.1. The Makhluq (the Created) and Ghayr Makhluq (the Uncreated)

When the discussions on the Qurʾān that took place between in the 2nd/8th and the 4th/10th century are examined, it is obvious that the reason for not reaching a consensus or conclusion is insufficiently analyzed notions, as well as the issues arising from different meanings ascribed to the same concepts. Each and every part of the discussions tried to solve the issue in the light of its own knowledge, cultural structure and adopted principles. During these more or less two centuries, the common denominator of verbal and written debates was centralization of the terms created (*makhluq*) particularly by the Muʿtazila and the uncreated (*ghayr makhluq*) as two presuppositions. Since the beginning of the 2nd century AH, the discussions that were made through the 'risalāt' or between the experts on the science of ḥadīth and the Muslim jurisprudence that represented the Salafī, as well as the Muʿtazila, were focusing on whether Qurʾān as being "the created" is appropriate terminology.

As far as the interpretations of the phrases the *makhluq* and the *ghayr makhluq* are concerned, there seems to be a difference in the interpretation between the Salafī and the Muʿtazila. This difference is closely

⁴ Qāḍī ʿAbd al-Jabbār, *Sharḥ al-uṣūl al-khamsa*, Critical ed. Abdulkerim Osman (Cairo: Maktab al-Vahba, 1996), 549.

⁵ Qāḍī ʿAbd al-Jabbār, *Sharḥ al-uṣūl al-khamsa*, 47.

⁶ Māturīdī, *Kitāb al-Tawhīd*, 88, 89; Ashʿarī, *Maqālāt*, 2/178, 179, 247.

related with the meanings that each word attributed to the revelation (wahy), the way they commented on it and the nature of the revelation perse.⁷

The Salafī, one of the schools, interprets the Qurʾān or the *God’s speech (kalām Allāh)* as having no connection with God’s attribute *al-Khaliq* (The Creator), that is, it bears no similarity to anything to do with “createdness”.⁸ On the other hand, the term “the created” has different meanings for the Muʿtazila, and some of the meanings used can be translated as “to make”, “to create”, or “to set up”. Through these meanings, they concluded that the term “makhlūq” meant that God created and set up his own *kalām*, hence He is the speaker. And in contrast with the Salafī and the Ahl al-Sunna, the Muʿtazila regarded the phrase “it is created” in a certain time period as the creation of the Qurʾān, i.e. a form of sound was for the purpose of communication with mankind. Therefore, Muʿtazila supported the view that *kalām* was the created thereafter.⁹ Yet the Salafī and the Ahl al-Sunna, in contrast with Muʿtazila, claimed that God’s *kalām* attribute meant that He is the al-Mutakallim with his own voice of which its nature is incomprehensible. Based on this standpoint, God did not create Qurʾān the way He created the rest of the beings and the Qurʾān is a *God’s speech (kalām Allāh)* revealed by God through its incomprehensible nature.¹⁰

In this context, it is possible to say that there are three different standpoints adopted by the *kalām* schools on the issue of the createdness of Qurʾān. First of them is presented by the Muʿtazila who takes the words literally as their basis: *kalām* as a particular structure, a system consisting of letters which are arranged in a way that brings meaning.¹¹ The second one proposed by the Ashʿariyya who takes the meaning as their basis and states that the meaning of *kalām* is indicated by signs and phrases identified by the grammar and that it exists with its subject. Ashʿarī accepts that the reading of God’s word at mihrab (niche of a mosque) and written in the mushafs as the created.¹² And the third and the last standpoint is by the Salafī who defended both, the word and the meaning, i.e. the Qurʾān as letters, verses, words and meaning. It is *God’s speech (kalām Allāh)* and therefore is the uncreated. According to Hashviyya and Ibn Kullāb (d. c. 241/855) attacked the teachings of Jahm and the Muʿtazilīs about the created Qurʾān. the Qurʾān read in the mihrabs and written in the mushafs is not created and is existed by God. Many of Ibn Kullāb’s views were developed and became normative in the third/ninth century, in the new school of theology founded by Abū

⁷ ‘Abdulazīz b. Yaḥyā b. Muslim al-Kinānī, *al-Ḥayda wa al-ʾitidhār fī al-raddi ʾalā man qāla bi khalk al-Qurʾān*, Critical ed. Ali b. Muhammed b. Nāsır el-Fakīhī (Madīna: Maktab al-Ulūm wa al-Ḥikam, 1423/2002), 43, 80.

⁸ al-Kinānī, *al-Ḥayda*, 41; Hakkı, İzmirlı İsmail, *Yeni İlm-i Kelām* (Ankara: Umran Yayınları, 1981), 2/114.

⁹ Qāḍī ʿAbd al-Jabbār, *al-Mughnī fī abwāb al-tawḥīd wa-l-ʿadl* (Cairo, s.n., 1961), 5/3-4; For more information: Jan R. T. M. Peters, *God’s Created Speech: A Study in the Speculative Theology of the Muʿtazilī Qāḍī l-quḍāt Abū Hassan ʿAbd al-Jabbār bn. Ahmad al-Hamādānī* (Leiden, s.n., 1976); Qāḍī ʿAbd al-Jabbār, *Sharḥ al-uṣūl al-khamsa*, 544.

¹⁰ al-Kinānī, *al-Ḥaydas*, 41; Abū Mansūr al-Māturīdī, *Taʾwīlāt al-Qurʾān*, Critical ed. Majdī Bāsālūm (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-İlmiyya, 2005), 3/273.

¹¹ Ashʿarī, *Maqālāt*, 2/247; Qāḍī ʿAbd al-Jabbār, *al-Mughnī*, 5/6; Aslan, “Kelamullah Tartışmalarında Dilbilimsel İçeriği”, 134.

¹² Qāḍī ʿAbd al-Jabbār, *Sharḥ al-uṣūl al-khamsa*, 527, 708; Abdulmālīk Al-Juvaynī, *Kitāb al-İrshād ilā qawʾid al-adille fī uṣul al-ʾitikād*, Critical ed. Muhammad Yusuf Mūsa, Ali Abdulmunīm Abdulhamīd (Cairo: al-Maktab al-Hanjī, 1959), 104; Aslan, “Kelamullah Tartışmalarında Dilbilimsel İçeriği”, 134.

al-Ḥasan al-Ash'arī (d. 324/935–6).¹³ While the Mu'tazila try to overcome the issue of the createdness of the Qur'ān by separating the attribute of *kalām* and the act of speaking itself and by building a relationship of process and action (creation); the Ash'ariyya, the Māturīdiyya and the Salafīyyah try to reach a resolution by dissolving the *kalām* and the act of speaking into each other.¹⁴

When it is viewed through its contextual meaning, *kalām* can ascribe different forms yet it is essentially "unique". On the other hand, as far as the "word" is literally approached, *kalām* and its internal and simple unity (*Kalām al-nafsī*) may express multiplicity in meaning depending on the difference in the language of the revelation. Within this context, *kalām*, according to the Ash'ariyya approach, is accepted as the meaning and the attribute which exist in and within a person (self, subject or mind). *Kalām* cannot be reduced to a meaning that consists of letters and sounds that are permanent with the speaker's existence.¹⁵ According to the Mu'tazila's approach, it is a reference system with its own rules of construction and phonetics and is independent from the subject.¹⁶ A word is what is made up of a combination of two or more letters, or a special order of certain letters. In this context, the word is the thing in which the meaning of the word or the meaning of this word is revealed.¹⁷ Lastly, for the Salafī, it is regarded as a transcendent *kalām* that is based on the unity of the word and the meaning of which authority descends directly from His nature. Within this definitional framework, the *kalām* discussion by the Mu'tazila is built upon a perception that it is an act of speech whereas, according to the Ash'ariyya and Salafī, it is based on an attribute that exists with the nature of God. This definitional difference between the Mu'tazila, the Ash'ariyya, the Māturīdiyya and the Salafīyyah results from the distinction and the relation between the attribute of speech and what is spoken of.

For the Mu'tazila, the act of speaking and the attribute of speech are completely separated from each other and *kalām* is defined as not only something that was created, but as a symptom as well. Thus, the Mu'tazila has tackled God's *kalām* within a linguistic domain. According to this point of view, God can be described as *mutakallim* when a *kalām* is attached to Him.¹⁸ Since *ḥadīth* cannot be transformed into *qadīm*, God Himself and the *God's speech (kalām Allāh)* which is *created* cannot be imagined in conjunction with each other. This shows that God spoke through a *kalām* which He created within an entity and that God is *al-mutakallim*. Hence, according to the Mu'tazila, God speaks by creating His words, and the words came into being, but that does not mean that it requires any organ for its creation. We know the *kalām* of Allah in two ways. The first of these is not possible, but God fulfills His *kalām* in objects such as trees and stones.; the

¹³ Qāḍī 'Abd al-Jabbār, *Sharḥ al-uṣūl al-khamsa*, 527; Richard C. Martin, "Createdness of the Qur'ān", *Encyclopaedia of Islam Three*, ed. Kate Fleet and et al, Consulted online on 08 October 2019 http://ekaynaklar.mkutup.gov.tr:2097/10.1163/1573-3912_ei3_COM_24418

¹⁴ Qāḍī 'Abd al-Jabbār, *Sharḥ al-uṣūl al-khamsa*, 533; Aslan, "Kelamullah Tartışmaların Dilbilimsel İçeriği", 134.

¹⁵ Qāḍī 'Abd al-Jabbār, *Sharḥ al-uṣūl al-khamsa*, 527, 558, 708.

¹⁶ Qāḍī 'Abd al-Jabbār, *Sharḥ al-uṣūl al-khamsa*, 47; Qāḍī 'Abd al-Jabbār, *al-Mughnī*, 5/48, 58.

¹⁷ Qāḍī 'Abd al-Jabbār, *Sharḥ al-uṣūl al-khamsa*, 47.

¹⁸ Qāḍī 'Abd al-Jabbār, *Sharḥ al-uṣūl al-khamsa*, 532, 533; Abū al-Mu'īn al-Nasafī, *Ṭabşirat al-adilla*, Critical ed. Hüseyin Atay – Şaban Ali Düzgün (Ankara: Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı Yayınları, 2003-2004), 1/339-342.

second is that what a true messenger informs.¹⁹ This is because all things that come into existence through God exist directly or without a means.²⁰ Thus, while the Mu‘tazila deal with a negative theology on the relation between the speech attribute and the act of speaking per se based on negative theology, the Ash‘ariyya and Salafis share an approach of syllogism and they explain the relation between God’s *kalām* and human speech on the same level. Furthermore, while the Ash‘ariyya defines *kalām* as the “meaning” signified by letters, the Salafis try to justify *kalām* as an attribute within the relation of word and meaning.²¹ The Ash‘ariyya theologians (*mutakallimūn*) are in agreement that the word is named *kalām* in terms of the “meaning” indicated by it. For example, the Ash‘arī scholar Imām al-Ḥaramayn Abū l-Ma‘ālī al-Juwaynī (d. 478/1085) defines the *kalām* as a meaning which indicates and signs an expression that exists with its subject.²² Ibn Taymiyya (d. 728/1328) seem to support the opinion of the Salafis by saying that that ‘*Although Qur’ān is not created, it is not different from God. It exists with God.*’²³ As it can be seen, Ibn Taymiyya, one of the Salafī scholars, states that although the Qur’ān is the uncreated, it exists through God himself. As understood, the definitions of *kalām* and its nature understood by schools are fundamentally different. Therefore, and naturally, the opinions made on Qur’ān and its true nature are also dissimilar.²⁴ While Mu‘tazila tackles *kalām* based on literal speech, the Ahl al-Sunna mainly claims that *kalām* is an attribute or meaning which exists through the speaker.

1.2. The Beginning and Historical Development of the Createdness of Qur’ān Issue

The issue of the createdness of the Qur’ān as it relates to God’s *kalām* attribute reached a high point in the history of Islamic theology to a point of unprecedented arguments, torture and declaring each other unbelievers.²⁵ Worst of all, and particularly when the right for free speech was taken away, the issue turned out to be a deadlock by “Miḥna Events”²⁶ which was caused and supported by the caliph. In other words, the events became even more problematic and atrocious because of the Caliphate governance’s bias who was supposed to be neutral, thus causing theological arguments to turn into a political debate.²⁷ This conflict continued until the caliph al-Mutawakkil (r. 232-47/847-61) released a decree on 848 forbidding any discussion on the nature of the Qur’ān.²⁸ Thereafter, the peaceful discussion between Abū ‘Alī al-Jubbā‘ī (d.

¹⁹ Qāḍī ‘Abd al-Jabbār, *Sharh al-Usūl-i Khamsa*, 539.

²⁰ Qāḍī ‘Abd al-Jabbār, *Sharh al-Usūl-i Khamsa*, 541-42.

²¹ Ibn Taymiyya, *al-Rasāil* (Egypt: s.n., 1349), 2/22; Aslan, “Kelamullah Tartışmalarının Dilbilimsel İçeriği”, 137.

²² Juvaynī, *Kitāb al-Irshād*, 104.

²³ Ibn Taymiyya, *Majmū‘at al-rasā’il wa-l-masā’il* (Egypt: Matba’a al-Manār, 1964), 35.

²⁴ Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *al-Muḥaṣṣal* (Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-‘Arabī, 1990), 402.

²⁵ Ahmet Akbulut, *Müslüman Kültüründe Kur’an’a Yabancılaşma Süreci* (Ankara: Otto, 2017), 168, 206, 207.

²⁶ Abdulkarim b. Aḥmad Shahrīṣṭānī, *al-Milal wa al-Nihāl* (Egypt: Matba’a al-Bulāq, 1263), 68.

²⁷ Akbulut, *Kur’an’a Yabancılaşma Süreci*, 204-208.

²⁸ Jamāladdīn Qāsimī, *Tariḥu al-Jahmiyya wa al-Mu‘tazila* (Egypt, n.d.), 52. Aslan, “Kelamullah Tartışmalarının Dilbilimsel İçeriği”, 132.

303/915), Abū Hāshim al-Jubbā'ī (d. 321/933) from the Mu'tazila and the Qāḍī 'Abd al-Jabbār (d. 414/1024-1025) and al-Juwaynī turned into a vicious circle of linguistic and theological argumentation.²⁹

The argument of the createdness of the Qur'an was first brought systematically into question by Ja'd b. Dirham (d. 124/741) who an Umayyad-era heretic was and known for his rejection of divine attributes specifically God's speech. By the order of the Caliph Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik (r. 105-125/724-743), he was beheaded after being put to exile due to his discourse. Then, Jahm b. Şafwān (d. 128/746) emerged as his follower and further systematized the discourse. Some sources claim that Ja'd served as a tutor to the future caliph Marwān b. Muḥammad (r. 127-132/744-750), and perhaps for his sons. Ja'd introduced his opinions about the attributes and the createdness of the Qur'an during Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik, who captured him and sent him to Khālid al-Qasrī, the governor, who exiled him. Later, by Hishām's order, he was beheaded on the first morning of 'Eid, the festival of sacrifice.³⁰

The following is Ibn Taymiyya's views on the account mentioned: Ja'd b. Dirham was the first to come up with the opinion about Qur'an's createdness at around year 120. He was then followed Jahm b. Şafwān. Ja'd was killed by Khālid al-Qasrī. And Jahm was killed during the reign of Merv on Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik.³¹ al-Shahrastānī (d. 548/1153), similarly, accounts as follows: Ja'd b. Dirham is the first to come up with the view about Qur'an's createdness.³² So far, the resources that dated to this first century demonstrate that Ja'd b. Dirham is the chief architect of the issue of the createdness of the Qur'an. However, questions can still be raised on the possibility that Ja'd b. Dirham could have taken up this view from another person or from the internal discussions of another religion and whether or not he came up with this thesis all by himself. Aḥmad Amīn (1886-1954) was an Egyptian scholar claims with regard to his opinion the origin of createdness of the Qur'an is outsourced. According to him, Ja'd b. Dirham was under the influence of Jewish and Christian theology and he took this issue from them. As a proof, he quoted the caliph al-Ma'mūn, who had a high interest in theology and philosophy, arguing that Qur'an is the uncreated are similar to those saying Jesus is God's son, which means as Jesus being God's word, he is the uncreated too.³³

This statement may seem reasonable; for during the reign of al-Ma'mūn many studies from different languages and cultures were being translated into Arabic. Besides, it is also possible that Muslim scholars are influenced by the increased conquests of the caliph 'Umar, which caused an exchange of ideas as a result of encountering and adopting different cultures and views of different religions and communities, whereas some of those cultures and communities also accepted Islam.

After Ja'd b. Dirham's initial effort to develop this doctrine, Jahm b. Şafwān systematized the contention of the non-createdness of Qur'an and found supporters in the course of time. Regarding some

²⁹ Aslan, "Kalamullah Tartışmalarının Dilbilimsel İçeriği", 133.

³⁰ Watt, M. *İslâm Düşüncesinin Teşekkül Devri*, trans. Ethem Ruhi Fıçlalı (Ankara: Umran Yayınları, 1981), 305-306; Steven C. Judd, "Ja'd b. Dirham", *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Three*, Consulted online on 07 October 2019, http://ekaynaklar.mkutup.gov.tr:2097/10.1163/1573-3912_ei3_COM_30760

³¹ Ibn Taymiyya, *al-Rasā'il*, 3/120-132.

³² Shahrastānī, *al-Milal wa al-Nihāl*, 1263, 86.

³³ Aḥmad Amīn, *Ḍuḥā al-Islām*, 147.

narratives, after Jahm b. Şafwān was killed by Hishām b. ‘Abd al-Malik in Merv, the doctrine was defended by Bishr al-Marīsī (d. 218/833). Even though, in the course of developing and spreading of the doctrine, Bishr al-Marīsī could not meet Jahm b. Şafwān and he did not take the standpoint (of the doctrine) from him literally, yet he did it with the help of the citizens of Jahm and the supporters of Jamiyyah. Bishr had in a philosophical sense systematically discussed the subject in all aspects with his opponents and tried to spread as well as justify his reasoning. Sometimes, he was assisted by the statesmen. As it was historically recorded, Bishr was of Jewish origin and during the reign of the ‘Abbāsīd caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd (r. 170–193/786–809) or the caliph al-Maʾmūn (r. 198–218/813–33) (according to some other resources) he defended and developed this doctrine for about 20 years. Based on this historical study, it is reasonable to suggest that the thought and the scholarly work on the createdness of Qurʾān issue was first developed by Jaʿd b. Dirham, then followed by Jahm b. Şafwān, Bishr al-Marīsī and when this thought reached the Muʿtazila, the school adopted this idea as one of their basic doctrines. This doctrine was first learnt from their affiliation with the Jahmiyya, and then it was systematized and taught throughout the history of the philosophy by the Muʿtazila.³⁴

We have already mentioned earlier that some Islam theologians believed that the createdness of the Qurʾān issue infiltrated into the Islamic community from outside and was supported by some external communities. The doctrine was assimilated into the Islamic community through Jaʿd b. Dirham whose thinking was influenced by the Jewish’ and Christians’ and Greek philosophical doctrines. Logos, which is considered to be eternal in Greek philosophy, translated into Arabic as “kalām” has paved the way for createdness of Qurʾān issue.³⁵ Jews believed that the Law had been created before the world; Medinan Jew Labīd b. al-Aʿsam based on the creation of the Torah, he claimed that the Qurʾān is also a created.³⁶ Christians also believed that the Logos existed eternally in God; one of the Christian theologians clerks in the palace, Yūḥannā al-Dimashqī (John of Damascus) in order to prove the godhood of Jesus against the Muslims, he suggested that the divine words (kalāmullah), namely the Qurʾān, are not created.³⁷ On the other Ibn Qutayba thinks that Bayān ibn Simʿan was the the first person who effected by external discussions said that the Qurʾān was created.³⁸

The issue of the createdness of Qurʾān that emerged in the early period of the Umayyads reached the period of al-Maʾmūn via the continuous discussions and various writings related to this topic. The issue, which had been taken up and debated by many, and continued to be observed and dialogued until this very period, developed into a political debate from the later part of the Umayyad when the Umayyad caliphate manipulated the authority of al-Maʾmūn and others and turned the issue into an official discourse employed

³⁴ Aḥmad Emīn, *Ḍuḥā al-Islām*, 147.

³⁵ M. Ramazan Abdullah, 525-526.

³⁶ Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fī l-tarīkh*, ed. C.J. Tornberg (Beirut, 1966-1967), 7/49.

³⁷ ‘Amr b. Baḥr al-Jāḥiẓ, *Rasāʾil al-Jāḥiẓ*, Critical ed. ‘Abd al-Salām Muḥammad Hārūn (Cairo, 1979), 3/347; Muḥammad Abū Zahrā, *Tarīkh al-Madhāhib al-Islamiyya* (Cairo: Dār al-Fikr al-‘Arabī, n.d.), 1/157-158.

³⁸ Abū Muḥammad ‘Abdullāh Ibn Qutaiba, *Kitāb al-Maʿarif fī aḥbār al-‘arab wa-ansābihim II*, Critical ed. Ferdinand Wüstenfeld (Göttingen, s.n., 1850), 148.

in political spheres. Consequently, the issue became a formidable question, a deadlock intermingled by too many factors.

al-Ma'mūn, who was well-known for his interest in theological and philosophical subjects, sympathized with the Mu'tazila who were supporting their views with philosophical and logical methods. Naturally, the Mu'tazila defending the createdness of Qur'ān thesis convinced al-Ma'mūn to accept the createdness of Qur'ān and used him to adopt the contention and to manipulate the authority of the state.

The unforgettable products of this conflicting situation were the "events" that rose from it, "the *Mihna* (Inquisition) Event", which took place to oppress the opponents by torture in order to force them to give up the idea against official political contention of the state; the createdness of Qur'ān. The createdness of the Qur'ān issue turned completely into a political discourse by encouraging Aḥmad b. Abī Du'ād (160–240/776 or 777–854) as an advisor to the caliph al-Ma'mūn. The scholars of Mu'tazila began to increase their political influence on the state in 218/833. The scholars of Mu'tazila took over the control in order to create official discourse of the state. They made al-Ma'mūn publish a circular and started to torture, put in dungeons and even kill the opponents of the createdness of Qur'ān, which was the official stance of the state. This tyranny in the mind and in the speech continued for 16 years from 218/833 to 234/848–849, including the al-Mu'tasim and Waṣil periods. All sources indicate that the scholars were put under pressure and forced to accept this ideology. al-Ma'mūn was not satisfied with all that he did. He issued four decrees in different times to Ishāq b. Ibrāhīm, the region of Baghdad, ordering him to declare, that muḥadīths, kadhis, lawyers and Sufis shall be interrogated in order to find out if they accept the createdness of Qur'ān or not, and if they don't, they shall be punished with imprisonment. Muḥammad b. Nuḥ al-Maḍrūb (d. 218/833), Nu'aym b. Ḥammād al-Marwazī (d. 228/843),³⁹ Aḥmad b. Naṣr al-Khuzā'ī (231/845) and Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (d. 241/855) and were the first to be sentenced, imprisoned and tortured.⁴⁰

The struggle of the supporters of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, represented by the Muhaddiths and the followers of the Salafī School, against the Mu'tazila continued within the framework of the letters, *kalām* and words of Qur'ān. While the Mu'tazila insisted that all those mentioned were created, some Ḥanbalis and Salafīs on the contrary, claimed that they were uncreated. On the other hand, the Sufis were quite reluctant to give their opinions. According to this group, declaring opinion on this subject is *bid'a* (heresy) and if there is something to say on this subject, their stance is that Qur'ān is speech of God (*kalām Allāh*).⁴¹

Abū l-Ḥasan al-Ash'arī (d. 324/935) who was a student of Abū 'Alī al-Jubbā'ī until he was in his forties, separated from Mu'tazila in 300/913 for not being able to withstand the pressure and the tension asserted

³⁹ Nu'aym b. Ḥammād al-Marwazī, whose collection *Kitāb al-Fitan* is the earliest extant complete text on the subject, was imprisoned in Sāmarrā for not giving rejecting the caliph request that the Qur'ān was created. After he died in prison (228/843), he was chained and buried, following his will. See. Ali Çelik, "Nuaym b. Hammād", *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslām Ansiklopedisi* (İstanbul: TDV Yayınları, 2007), 33/219.

⁴⁰ M. Qasim Zaman, *The Caliphs, the 'Ulamā', and the Law: Defining the Role and Function of the Caliph in the Early 'Abbāsīd Period*, *Islamic Law and Society*, 1997, Vol. 4/1 (1997), 26; Andrew Rippin, *Muslims: Their Religious Beliefs and Practices* (New York: Routledge), 2003, 66; Yusuf Şevki Yavuz, "Halku'l-Kur'ān", *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslām Ansiklopedisi* (İstanbul: TDV Yayınları, 1997), 15/372.

⁴¹ Aḥmad Emīn, *Ḍuḥā al-Islām*, 163.

by the academics and theologians in this academic world and joined the Ahl al-Sunna school. The arguments on the createdness of the Qurʾān started to follow a different course with the Ashʿarī. This difference related closely with the definition of the attribute of *kalām* which described God, the al-mutakallim. al-Ashʿarī, so to speak, divided the elements of the issue and made a classification to tackle the issue in a more fruitful way. His work led to the formulation of: *kalām al-lafẓī* and *kalām al-naḥsī* which later were often highlighted in the discussions of the issue of *God’s speech (kalām Allāh)*. This classification or dichotomy was in fact extremely helpful in facilitating the comparison work in the ability of the human beings to speak and the usage of this classification enabled them to engage in the discourse more effectively. al-Ashʿarī clarified this subject clearly by saying that there are two kinds of *kalām*. The first one is speech with sound and the other one is speech without sound and letter. *Kalām al-naḥsī* is a meaning which finds a voice by letters and signs. On the other hand, *kalām al-lafẓī* is signs and letters that signify *kalām al-naḥsī* and in that respect *kalām al-lafẓī* is external to the essence of God; hence it is *makhlūq* (the created). Ashʿarī, in this respect interprets *kalām al-lafẓī* as the words of *kalām al-naḥsī*, and *God’s speech (kalām Allāh)* as *ghayr makhlūq* (the uncreated). Here the meaning of the signified word was turned into an act of the speaking attribute (*kalām*) and was foregrounded as unique and present with God. Therefore, *kalām al-naḥsī* is essentially the word of God. *Kalām al-lafẓī* on the other hand, being the signifier and carrier of meaning, is also the word of God, but in a metaphorical sense.⁴²

Ashʿarī in this sense confirmed the Muʿtazila’s claim through this classification by confirming that Qurʾān is something that can be written, heard and recited, and hence it is created. Because each word is readable and writable Qurʾān is also characterized with a kind of consequentiality, a combination formed of different parts; as for the meaning which existed with the person (God), it is pre-eternal and existent. Forasmuch meaning is not subject to change depending on the phrases or words. For Ashʿariah, the *God’s speech (kalām Allāh)* which indicate by literal words is *qadīm* (pre-eternal) and the meaning exists with God. It is fair to conclude that Ashʿarī tried to reconcile the different stances of the Muʿtazila and Ahl al-Sunna and followed the middle path by dividing *God’s speech (kalām Allāh)* that was embraced as *kalām al-lafẓī* by the Muʿtazila and as *kalām al-naḥsī* by the Ahl al-Sunna.

While Ashʿariyya approaches the subject by dividing *kalām* into two parts, Fazlur Rahman takes a far different perspective. In his explanation on the integrity of the revelation of Qurʾān and the Prophet, he states that the Qurʾān is purely the word of God in his book called *Islam*. He also remarks that the Prophet’s inner world has a close relation with the Qurʾān. Yet this relation cannot be understood as a mechanical relationship as if it was in a record. Rather, divine *kalām* was emitted out of the heart of the Prophet.⁴³

Many scholars of Islam discussed the issue with assumptions that the Qurʾān and its relationship to God is an attribute, that the *God’s speech (kalām Allāh)* is identified with knowledge of (ilm) God, that it is sent down and is not that of human speech, that the use of derivatives of call in the dialogues between God and the prophet Jesus; and interpreted the verses within this framework and the stance that it is uncreated is supported by the methods based on verses. However, the Muʿtazila regarded Qurʾān as a text consisting of sūras, verses and letters with unity among them, a text that can be written, read, heard and is a miracle of

⁴² Abdurahmān al-Jazārī, *Tawḍīḥ al-akāid fī Ilmi al-tawḥīd* (Matbaʿa al-Hadarāt al-Sharkiyya, 1932), 119-20.

⁴³ Fazlur Rahman, *Islam* (London: Weidenfield and Nicolson, 1966), 30-3.

the Prophet; and for this reason, they believe that it is impossible to consider it as an attribute of God or to render it as something that exists with God (pre-eternal). Furthermore, there were efforts to prove the createdness of Qur'ān through inferences from the verses and its temporality, consecutive verses, its assumed send down by God or its proclaimed *naskh* (some verses nullify by other verses) character.⁴⁴

As we have mentioned earlier, the Mu'tazila who described *kalām* based on literally approach, thus, take word's function into consideration, bring forward the following inferences under the title "Inconsistencies of *Kalām Qadīm*", a negation to justify their claims.⁴⁵

- *Kalām* that consists of at least two letters and sounds is *muḥdath*. As God's *kalām* in the Qur'ān belongs to this category, it cannot be *qadīm*. If it is, human's *kalām* should also be pre-eternal. Because they are of the same kind.
- The verses of the Qur'ān ought to be created when the language it employs is considered. Because the language it assumes, bears human characteristics as it is formed by people in consensus. Thus, Qur'ān is *muḥdath* because it addresses humans with their own language.
- Qur'ān should be created since it assumed to be distinct and separate from God. Because Qur'ān has some qualifications such as attributions and sections which are perceptible, *muḥkam* and *mutashabih* verses or metaphoric and audible, and it demonstrates a nature of createdness which cannot be attributed to God. If they were *qadīm*, we would have appointed another pre-eternal besides God.
- *Kalām* is created in terms of its temporality.
- *Kalām* owes its meaning to its structure that is built upon words, which means it is formed by a special arrangement. A word which deprived of this cannot be meaningful. This also demonstrates its createdness.
- Qur'ān's defiance to mankind in some issues is also a proof of its createdness. Because, challenging with something pre-eternal is not only nonsensical but impossible as well. As there is allowance in defiance, Qur'ān should have been created.
- As word is attributed to its owner as an act of himself, *kalām* cannot be pre-eternal; i.e. the words such as *in'ām* (gift from God), *ihsan* (to do beautiful things).
- Suggesting that *God's speech (kalām Allāh)* is pre-eternal despite its being a substance, means that all substances are of the same kind.
- Claiming that Qur'ān is pre-eternal and uncreated would be a deficient attribution to God, because in this case Qur'ān is abstracted from such qualifications as "comprehensibility" and its "benefits". Also, it would be impossible to understand what is meant by divine wish. And whether it is comprehensible or "sent down", can only be perceived through human language it addresses, i.e.,

⁴⁴ Māturidī, *Kitāb al-Tawhīd*, 84.

⁴⁵ Qādī 'Abd al-Jabbār, *al-Mughnī*, 5/84-93.

through a created (*muḥdath*) way. Otherwise, God would have been desiring evil, which would also be *muḥdath*.

It is reasonable to summarize then that the *Mu‘tazila* who constituted their basic tenets on the principle of Tawḥīd of the Islamic doctrine had attempted to justify the createdness of the Qur’ān (or God’s speech (*kalām Allāh*)) on the basis of the rationale stated above.

According to Ahl al-Sunna, God’s speech (*kalām Allāh*)—in other words, *al-kalām al-nafsī*—exists with God’s nature and has a meaning which can be expressed with a verse exempt *munazzal* from all deficiencies. This means that its eternal relation can be separated into different parts including prohibition (*nahy*), command (*amr*), message (*khobar*), call (*nidā*), and the like. The Ahl al-Sunna does not find it obstructive or oppose that *al kalām al-lafzī*, bearing the ordinary qualifications, i.e. those indicating its *makhlūq*, meaning exists with God. For, the evidence or the indicators that refer to the createdness of Qur’ān in fact belong to *lafz* (wording) not to the meaning that exists and pre-eternal with God. Besides, the plurality of *al kalām al-lafzī* (Qur’ān, Old Testament, Bible, etc) does not at all indicate that the multiplicity of *al-kalām al-nafsī* existing with God himself. The plurality of the *lafz* disclosing only the distinguishable part of *kalām* does not imply the plurality of meaning, the spiritual world of *kalām*. Therefore, the God’s speech (*kalām Allāh*), which is written in the Qur’ān, memorized by hearts and uttered by tongues, is *ghayr makhlūq*. Because God’s speech (*kalām Allāh*) is read, heard and read through *lafz* or verses signifying a *qadīm* meaning.

That God’s speech (*kalām Allāh*) bears this such characteristics does not denote a createdness, in other words its *muḥdath* quality. Just as writing, hearing or pronouncing a sentence like “Fire has a burning effect” does not require its realness as sound, letter and system, *kalām al-nafsī* reflecting the *kalām* meaning by Ahl al-Sunna cannot be fully understood by linguistic terms.

al-Nasafī, in his *Ṭabṣīrat al-adilla*, describes the *kalām* definition of Ahl al-Sunna in different words to the effect of the same conclusion:

God’s speech (kalām Allāh) is an eternal attribute which bears no relation to the system of phonetic or letter codes. The *kalām* attribute exists with God and bears opposite meanings to silence; speechlessness or inability as in naivety of a child, or muteness. With this attribute, God commands, prohibits and calls; this attribute is evidenced by the expressions. Designating the expression as *God’s speech (kalām Allāh)* is only because they are indicated by *kalām* (speech). When God speaks in Arabic, they call it Qur’ān; when He speaks in Syriac, they call it Bible and in Hebrew, they call it Old Testament. The difference is in the expressions, not in the attribute.⁴⁶

The Salafīs, who are more conservative compared to Ahl al-Sunna, take another stance. They interpret all of the texts such as ḥadīth and verses literally as they believe it is aloof of figurative expressions. The Salafīs, in respect to Ahl al-Sunna followers that chastised the *Mu‘tazila* more strictly. The Salafīs took religious scholars and their transported source texts as their reference and asserted a supremacy over their opponents and their adverse views. The Salafīs, as we stated briefly above, believe that *God’s speech (kalām Allāh)* is pre-eternal and *ghayr makhlūq* only because it is related or attributed to God’s nature in nasses (divine decrees based on verses) and Ṣunnah.

⁴⁶ Nasafī, *Ṭabṣīrat al-adilla*, 1/382-383.

The Salafī, as opposed to Mu'tazila and Ahl al-Sunna, believe that it would be great illusion to abstract word from meaning when considering the realness of *kalām* and that it is absolutely necessary to conceive it holistically in order to understand *kalām*. On the contrary, the Salafīs based *kalām* as an attribute within the unity of word and meaning. Therefore, they did not consider *kalām* as it is seen by Mu'tazila who take the issue on the basis of lafz and think God is exempt from all attributes or like Ahl al-Sunna who divide the *kalām* as *al-kalām al-nafsī* and *al-kalām al-lafzī*. In other words, the Salafīs take *kalām* without any interpretation or ta'wīl (explanation), i.e. without any deviation. From the standpoint of unitedness of lafz and meaning in *God's speech (kalām Allāh)*, the Salafīs define *God's speech (kalām Allāh)* as one single conception or attribute within God's eternal knowledge, take an agnostic attitude towards the way divine *kalām* is spoken and its nature; and claim that the speech of God can no way be figurative or metaphoric.⁴⁷

According to the Salafīs, Qur'ān is *God's speech (kalām Allāh)* both in word and meaning and is a divine attribute of God. Within this context, the Salafīs distinctively from Mu'tazila and Asharies, contend that while considering *kalām*, word and meaning must be preserved and must not be interpreted.⁴⁸ Ibn Taymiyya remarks that the Qur'ān is God's *kalām* as a whole -meaning and letters- and Gabriel delivered *God's speech (kalām Allāh)* to the Prophet.⁴⁹ In addition to all these, Ibn Taymiyya relates the arguments of Salafīyya and eminent great imams of four schools and he states his opinion as the following:

The description of *kalām* has been a matter of dispute among men and some interpreted it as "a word signifying a meaning", while others read it as "the meaning signified by a word". For different camps, on the other hand, *kalām* is a conception that covers both word and meaning, whereas still others argue that *kalām*, although it may correspond with meaning or word depending on the situation, is in fact an all-encompassing concept covering both.⁵⁰

As it can be seen, all four schools regard *kalām* as consisting of word and meaning, yet they disagree on the primacy of one over another and on the relationship between the two.

According to Salafīs, *kalām* is an attribute that belongs to the speaker. Accordingly, *God's speech (kalām Allāh)* cannot be separated from its owner (speaker). In fact, God made Gabriel hear His *kalām* attribute. To the understanding of the adherents of this school, it is not appropriate to say *God's speech (kalām Allāh)* has been separated from God's nature and been transfused to prophets. However, the statement that should be made: "He, as *God's speech (kalām Allāh)*, is *ghayr makhluq*" (Originated in Him and returns back to Him). The statement "originated in Him" means He Himself is the one who speaks; and the statement "returns to Him," means *God's speech (kalām Allāh)* cannot be devoted to mushaf (the Divine Books) or by the mind that memorizes it, i.e. the prophets.⁵¹ So, The God has spoken using the letters and meanings of Qur'ān. The speech there belongs neither to Gabriel to Mohammad.

⁴⁷ Ibn Taymiyya, *al-Rasāil*, 1/76.

⁴⁸ Qādī 'Abd al-Jabbār ibn Aḥmad, *al-Muḥīṭ bi-l-taklīf*, Critical ed. Omar al-Sayyīd 'Azmi - Aḥmad Fuad al-Aḥvānī (Cairo: Dār al-Misriyya, n.d.), 308.

⁴⁹ Ibn Taymiyya, *al-Rasāil*, 22 etc.

⁵⁰ Ibn Taymiyya, *al-Rasāil*, 55.

⁵¹ Ibn Taymiyya, *al-Rasāil*, 75.

Here lies the reason why Ibn Taymiyya says, God - without relating Qurʾān to time or space - revealed Qurʾān through His own speech and presents evidence by *nidā* (call—voice) and its synonyms transferred from Qurʾān. However, it is impossible to know whether God spoke through a *kalām* comprising word and meaning. His speech is not a figurative one. He revealed them to prophets. Besides, the Salafī school confirms and insists on the view that Qurʾān - as word and meaning - is God’s *kalām* and that God has revealed the Qurʾān through His speech. According to Salafīyya, *God’s speech (kalām Allāh)* is pre-eternal in its genus or nature. Salafis (the earlier religious scholars) do not say, “the word per se is pre-eternal” or “Qurʾān is pre-eternal”. On the contrary, Salafis asserts various accounts like “[it] is *God’s speech (kalām Allāh)*, revealed (munazzal) or *ghayr makhlūq*.”⁵²

Abū Hanīfa, who brought forward the opinion of Ahl al-Sunna in its original form, regarded *kalām* as essential attribute among His other attributes is *qadīm* and that God is *mutakallim* with His essential *kalām* and the attribute is eternal itself.⁵³ It is claimed that Abū Hanīfa, in the context of the issue of the createdness of Qurʾān, advocates Qurʾān is *makhlūq*. However, the historian, al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī defended Abū Hanīfa and clarified him as the following: “As far as the issue of createdness of Qurʾān is concerned, Abū Hanafi is said to contend that Qurʾān is the uncreated (*ghayr makhlūq*).”⁵⁴

Nevertheless, when a prominent Ḥanafī jurist Abū Yūsuf Yaʿqūb b. Ibrāhīm al-Anṣārī al-Kūfī (d. 182/798) was asked about the createdness of Qurʾān, he asked not to call the Qurʾān with the term “the created”. When the same question is directed to Abū Hanīfa, he replied “Qurʾān is *makhlūq*. Because whoever says that “I swear on the Qurʾān that I am not going to do it” swears in fact on something else than God and everything except God is *makhlūq*.” As stated by Abū Hilal al-Askār, Abū Hanīfa uses an analogy (“swear on the Qurʾān”) related to *fiqh* and makes a deduction. In other words, in Abū Hanīfa’s logic, everything except God is *makhlūq*; and since Qurʾān is something other than God, it is a *makhlūq*, too.” Despite all of the explanations above, we see such statements in *al-Fiqh al-Akbar* which is believed to be written by Abū Hanīfa: “Qurʾān is revealed to the prophets as God’s *kalām* which is written in the holy books, memorized in hearts and uttered by tongues. Qurʾān is in the form of a *makhlūq* so that we can read and pronounce it. However, the Qurʾān itself is *ghayr makhlūq*.”⁵⁵

In order to resolve the paradox between his own expressions above and the statements here, we may have to disregard the claim that *al-Fiqh al-Akbar* is written by Abū Hanīfa or what he means is the written words in Qurʾān as in the analogy of “swear” above.

Muḥammad b. Idrīs al-Shāfiʿī (d. 204/820), on the other hand, tries to be unbiased and follows the midcourse between Salafīyya and Ahl al-Sunna yet he takes a stance when it comes down to the issue of Qurʾān’s createdness. al-Shāfiʿī like fuqahā and the muhaddithun, he says “Qurʾān is God’s *kalām* and is not a *makhlūq*.” As evidence, he underlines the verse stating, “God spoke to Moses.”⁵⁶

⁵² Ibn Taymiyya, *al-Rasāil*, 55; İzmirli İsmail Hakki, *Yeni İlm-i Kelâm*, 2/114.

⁵³ Naşr Ḥāmid Abū Zayd, *İlahi Hitabın Tabiatı*, trans. Mehmet Emin Maşalı (Ankara: Kitabiyat Publications, 2001), 333.

⁵⁴ Naşr Ḥāmid Abū Zayd, *İlahi Hitabın Tabiatı*, 333.

⁵⁵ Abū Zayd, *İlahi Hitabın Tabiatı*, 333.

⁵⁶ Muḥammad Abū Zahrā, *Imam Şaḫīfī* (Cairo: Dār al-Fikr al-ʿArabī, 1948), 136-137.

At this point, one can speculate that there is another reason why al-Shāfi'ī accepts the statement "God spoke to Moses behind a veil". al-Shāfi'ī was objecting to the claim that "Qur'an is makhlūq" as stated by the jurist (faqīh) Ibn 'Ulayya (d. 218/832).⁵⁷ The latter founded and developed Jahmiyya (upon the doctrine of Ja'd b. Dirham who first coined the phrase "createdness of Qur'an in history").⁵⁸ al-Shāfi'ī, who confirms the attributes ascribed to God, resorts to nass and Şunnah as the evidence and tries to prove that Qur'an is not makhlūq. However, he does not attempt to make dichotomy or division as Ahl al-Sunna or other scholars did. According to him, all verses and meanings Qur'an is God's *kalām* and to deny or reject it is infidelity (*takfīr*); and to attempt to interpret it through various *tawils* is *bid'at*.

During the end of Umayyad reign, Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal was one of the people who was harshly oppressed and tortured in the event called Miḥna Event (the Inquisition of the Abassid Caliph al-Al-Ma'mūn - known as the one who issued circulars as a result of the pressure of scholars of Mu'tazila of the time who were forced to admit that the Qur'an was created rather than uncreated). Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal was one of the few scholars to refuse it and advocated that all the attributes of God that are stated in the Qur'an and ḥadīths are in fact His attributes designating His uncreatedness.⁵⁹ Also, he regards that all of the attributes including His *kalām* attribute as pre-eternal. Since *kalām* attribute is *qadīm* and result of this idea the Qur'an is *qadīm* and uncreated too.⁶⁰

It is also rumoured that Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal was in fact silent about the issue and was reluctant to take a stance. The same rumours went on with his claim that he regarded such discussions as *bid'at* and preferred to be duly silent and said that he'd rather keep quiet than follow those *bid'at* makers. However, Ibn Qutayba (d. 276/889) opposes this stance based on the presumption that it is difficult for him to remain silent during a period of intense debates. It is particularly clear that this was the reason lying behind the pressures and tortures he went through during *Miḥna (Inquisition)* at Umayyah reign.⁶¹ Those who advocate that he was reluctant to say anything at the time, attempt to prove it by the letters he sent to al-Mu'taṣim. The letter portrays an imam trying to be reserved about the issue. Another evidence is the following account which Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal brought forward:

He who says the Qur'an is makhlūq, he is a Jahmī (from the Jahmiyya). If he is Jahmī, he is kafir.
And he who says the Qur'an is not makhlūq, he makes *bid'at*.⁶²

Ibn Qutayba rejects this account and objects this opinion. Another group, however, claims that Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal means that Qur'an is not a makhlūq all together with the letters, expressions and meanings in it.

⁵⁷ Although Ibn 'Uleyye was accused of adopting the opinion of the createdness of the Qur'an, he repented that it was due to a misunderstanding, after Emīn, who just became caliph, asked him about it. See. Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *al-'Ilal wa-ma'rifat al-rijāl*, Critical ed. Waṣīyallāh b. Muḥammad 'Abbās (Bombay, 1408/1988), 1/377.

⁵⁸ Abū Zahrā, *Imam Shafi'i*, 136-137.

⁵⁹ Muḥammad Abū Zahrā, *Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal* (Cairo: Dār al-Fikr al-'Arabī, 1947), 131-132, 136-137; Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *al-Radd 'alā al-Zanādiqah wa al-Jahmiyyah* (Cairo: al-Maṭba'a al-Salafiyyah wa Maktabiyah, 1393), 26.

⁶⁰ Abū Zahrā, *Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal*, 132.

⁶¹ Miḥna was reversed in 234/848 by al-Ma'mūn's third successor, caliph al-Mutawakkil (r. 232-47/847-61).

⁶² Abū Zahrā, *Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal*, 133.

To substantiate this, they point at his letters and other accounts delivered by Ibn Ḥanbal. One of the documents mentioned is the letter he sent to al-Mutawakkil (the one who relies on God and therefore trustingly bears those hardships that come his way) who asks him to state his actual opinion and write a text to relieve the pain and stress arising from the issue of createdness of Qurʾān.⁶³

The latter appears to indicate two points: Firstly, for Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, who takes sides with the Salafī as his predecessors, believes that Qurʾān is not created. According to him, “Qurʾān is God’s *kalām* and God’s *kalām* does not indicate a createdness. Rather, it declares His command (amr). Command and createdness are thoroughly different from each other.” His inferences take their sources from the nasses⁶⁴ in Qurʾān, speeches of ḥadīths and remarks of the companions, saḥaba and tabi’ūn.

Secondly, the letter shows that Ibn Ḥanbal disapproves in analyzing or immersing in such debates and does not want to permit them to be discussed. While he speaks on this matter, he appears extremely reluctant. His actual objective seems to prevent them from any misleading that can be caused by the debaters and to protect people against confusion.⁶⁵

It can be concluded that both sides have good arguments. When an overview is presented on Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal by putting together all of his views and statements, an insight can be drawn that he advocates the standpoint that highlights the Qurʾān as not being created. However, he opted to remain silent due to the chaotic atmosphere and the anxiety present during that period.

Nevertheless, Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal made efforts to support his views with Qurʾān verses. Takes the verse “We have made it a Qurʾān in Arabic” (al- Ḥicr 15/91) as example and states that it would be a great mistake to take the word/verb “made/ja’ala” in the verse as an indicator of Qurʾāns’ createdness. Or another verse “And they made Qurʾān in parts (15/91), “They made the angels female who are subjects of God the most Compassionate.” (al- Zuh̄ruf 43/19). The word “ja’ala” in these verses means in fact “*sammā*”. However, the word “ja’ala” close to the “fa’ala” in meaning (as it should be here) can be best exemplified in the verse “they seal ears with their fingers”⁶⁶ Yaj’alūna means here “fa’ala”.⁶⁷

Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, points out that the word *ja’ala* in the very well-known verse “We have made it a Qurʾān in Arabic” is used in the meaning of *fa’ala* (rendered), not “create/made” as it was supposed. The word *ja’ala* in the following verses also used in the meaning of “fa’ala”. “We have sent it down as an Arabic Qurʾān, so you people may understand” (al-Shu’arā’ 26/195) and again in “Verily, We have made Qurʾān easy, in your tongue, onto your heart in order that they may give heed.” (al-Shu’arā’ 26/195), and “We have made Qu’rān in Arabic, that ye may be able to understand.” (al-Shu’arā’ 26/195).⁶⁸

⁶³ Abū Zahrā, *Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal*, 132-136.

⁶⁴ Abū Zahrā, *Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal*, 138-39; Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *al-Radd*, 26.

⁶⁵ Abū Zahrā, *Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal*, 133.

⁶⁶ Abū Zayd, *İlahi Hitabın Tabiatı*, 362.

⁶⁷ Abū Zayd, *İlahi Hitabın Tabiatı*, 362.

⁶⁸ Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *al-Radd*, 22-4.

As it can be shown his way of interpretation of the verses, Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal can be said to advocate that Qurʾān is not created, that, on the contrary, Qurʾān is qadīm. Yet, it should be kept in mind that, the accounts have strong arguments according to other rumors. Because Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal may actually have kept silent due to his political worries at the time and may have felt it necessary to stay away from such discussion in order not to mislead common people.

According to al-Ghazzālī, who after meticulously studying each of the attributes of God in detail accepted all of them as they appeared in the Qurʾān and ḥadīths as qadīm attributes:

God Almighty is the One that speaks through a *kalām* idiosyncratic to Himself, that commands, prohibits, promises with Heaven and, threaten with Hell. His speech exists with His own Self and it bears no resemblance to that of humans. His voice is not generated through a vibration in the air or collision of things and his letters cannot be compared to one that is produced by movement of the reciter's tongue and his management of the flow of air in his mouth. The Qurʾān, Torah, Gospel, and Psalms are His Books, revealed to His messengers, upon whom be peace. The Qurʾān is read by tongues, written in books, and remembered in the heart, yet it is subsisting in the Essence of God, not subject to division and or separation through its transmission to the heart and paper.⁶⁹

al-Ghazzālī (d. 505/1111), like the scholars of Ahl-al Sunna, divides God's *kalām* into *al-kalām al-nafsī* and *al-kalām al-lafzī*,⁷⁰ and stating that the Qurʾān is *kadīm* in the meaning sense, he tries to explain his view through *kalām al-nafsī*. From this perspective, al-Ghazzālī concludes that the fact that God's *kalām* is written in the holy books and read by tongues does not demonstrate it is created. For, God's *kalām* does not consist of sound and letters. The dialogue between God and Moses as written in the book is explained by al-Ghazzālī by his comment "Moses has heard God's *kalām* not in the form of sounds and letters." Also, al-Ghazzālī takes the issue of 'contradiction in terms' as his starting point to solve the problem.

Rephrased al-Ghazzālī asks does the *kalām* of God Almighty exist in the holy books or not? If it exists, how is it manifested into something qadīm? If it is not manifested/infiltrated, does it not contradict with *ijma* (agreement)? He answered these questions by saying: God's *kalām* is written in sacred places, memorized in the hearts and read by the tongues; as for the ink and the words on pages, they are all temporal since they are comprised of similar matter and naturally temporal. al-Ghazzālī also states that there is a difference between the saying that God's *kalām* is written in the holy book and God's qadīm attribute is thoroughly reflected on the holy book; and he supports his point by the analogy of fire. In addition to this, al-Ghazzālī states that he who thinks the act of making sound and dividing it into letters is a qadīm act does not deserve to be addressed or accounted. For this poor man is not aware of what he is saying and is ignorant of the meaning of either letter or ḥadīth.⁷¹

In order to clarify that Qurʾān is not *makhlūq*, al-Ghazzālī continued to suggest another solution and says: To understand whether the Qurʾān is God's *kalām* or not, we need to take three points into

⁶⁹ Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad al-Ghazzālī, *Iḥyā al-'Ulūm al-Dīn* (Beirut: Dār al-Ma'rifa, 1982), 91.

⁷⁰ Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad al-Ghazzālī, *al-Iqtisād fī al-'itiqād* (s.l.: Dār al-Maktab al-Ḥilal, 2000), 142-44.

⁷¹ al-Ghazzālī, *al-Iqtisād fī al-'itiqād*, 150.

consideration: *qirāʾah* (recitation), *maqrūʾ* (recited text) and *lafẓ* al-Qurʾān (wording). *Maqrūʾ* (recited text) which has been read is the uncreated spoken words originating with God and ascribed to Him as His speech⁷². In other words, *kalām* exists as an eternal attribute with God. The *Qirāʾa* (reading Qurʾān) is a temporal action which returns to the act one left before. The temporal action simply means that the reader starts or generates the act of reading before the act of reading exists. *Qirāʾa* is simply to restart an act that he did not do before. In other words, this is something perceived by senses. At times al-Ghazzālī says that when one says Qurʾān, he means that it is *maqrūʾ* and if one indicates this meaning in Qurʾān, he in fact means the Qurʾān *qadīm*, not something *makhlūq*. This is what the Salafis mean when they say, The Qurʾān, that is, the one that is read as God Almighty's *kalām* is not created. And al-Ghazzālī points out that if the word of Qurʾān is used to indicate the act of *qirāʾa* of the reader, it is impossible think that that reader may have existed before *qirāʾa* comes to exist. For what does not exist before the existence of ḥadīth is undoubtedly also ḥadīth.⁷³

Also, there are divisions and parts which conflict with the attribute of *qadīm* Qurʾān, that they have a beginning and an end, that they are not simplified and so combined that they don't mean anything on their own, and in fact indicate the *kalām* attribute of God. These are the characteristics of *qirāʾa* and manifest the *maqrūʾ*.⁷⁴

The Qurʾān is not created, what is created is in fact is the *qirāʾa* and the *lafẓ* and the meaning is pre-eternal and all the commands, prohibitions, messages and dialogs are pre-eternal too. The question one may ask then is how a message is conveyed by something non-existent, how a command is given to an entity that does not exist and how to forbid that entity to some other languages? The most important question is how does eternal God dialogue with someone that does not exist? al-Ghazzālī answers these questions by using verses such as "Take the shoes off your feet" (Ṭāhā 20/12) and "We sent Noah to his people" (Ṭāhā 20/12) and states that the objections to these verses arise from the fact that they are accepted *kalām* as sound or *lafẓ*. In the nature of God, it means "We shall send Noah" and after sending it means "We have sent". According to al-Ghazzālī, speech changes based on the situation whereas the meaning which is eternal with the nature of God does not change.⁷⁵

To our understanding, these explanations however, cause to new problem. After the act has been completed in the sentence "We shall send Noah", it is claimed that the sentence turns into "We have sent", which is quite problematic indeed. Because there occurs a change in knowledge of God and God's omnipotence and action undergo an alteration depending on the time. And all of this happens not in our mind or knowledge but in His mind and truth. al-Ghazzālī believes that the change occurs in His knowledge. Although al-Ghazzālī says that the changes in words do not affect the meaning, this cannot be a point of departure. For, the meaning in each sentence is clearly different: one reads "We shall send", and the other "We have sent."

⁷² al-Ghazzālī, *al-Iqtisād fi al-ʿitiqād*, 151.

⁷³ al-Ghazzālī, *al-Iqtisād fi al-ʿitiqād*, 151-152

⁷⁴ al-Ghazzālī, *al-Iqtisād fi al-ʿitiqād*, 152.

⁷⁵ Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad al-Ghazzālī, *Tahāfut al-Falāsifa*, ed. Aḥmad Shams al-Dīn (Beirut: Dar al-Kitāb al-ʿIlmiyah, 2000), 113-122.

Let us continue with al-Ghazzālī's statements. According to al-Ghazzālī, the truth of a message requires a connection with its bearer; which, in this case, is Noah's being sent down to people. And that knowledge cannot be changed in accordance with situation as mentioned in the topic knowledge of God. The phrase of God "Take off your shoes" is in fact an indicator of a specific command. And command is a *lafz* that requires the addressee to obey, a demand that is born by the One who commands. In order to solve this problem, al-Ghazzālī says, "to make the command take place, it is not necessary for the servant to exist (before his existence). However, before the existence of the command, it could be accepted that the command exists with its owner"⁷⁶ And this logical proposition might partly relieve our concerns.

In brief, al-Ghazzālī, tried to come up with counter-evidence and logical propositions to refute the claims that the Holy Book - the Qur'an in this case - is *makhlūq*; the claim which resulted from God's being One with His *kalām* attribute and His dialogue with human beings. When doing this, he employs dialectics and tries to answer the very complicated questions that are asked or possible to be asked. Like Ahl al-Sunna scholars, al-Ghazzālī too divides *kalām* into two parts as *kalām-al lafzī* and *kalām al-nafsi* and proposes that the Qur'an is the product of the second part, that is, the *kalām-al nafsi*. And in order to refute the claims of createdness of the Qur'an, he makes an unusual categorization and divides the Qur'an as *qirā'ah*, what *maqrū'* and *lafz-al-Qur'an*. He says that what ḥadith and *makhlūq* is in fact the *qirā'a* (*reading Qur'an*) and the words (*lafz*) in the Qur'an and he tries to prove that what is *maqrū'* which the meaning is definitely the product of God's *kalām* attribute and *qadīm*.

Conclusion

Throughout Islam's theology, the issue of the createdness of Qur'an - which results from the discourse of the denial of attributes and which was first raised as a question by Ja'd b. Dirham and followed by Jahm b. Ṣafwān and Bishr al-Marīsī, - has been one of the oldest debates raging within the Islamic scholarly circles. When political conspiracies were involved in the issue, the debate became even fiercer and led to bloodshed and torture among Muslim communities causing death to many eminent scholars and persons. The createdness of the Qur'an issue – said to have been introduced into the community of Islam by some scholars from other religions—stirred up myriad of discussions, debates and disputes among Muslim scholars.

When we analyze the discussions focusing on *God's speech (kalām Allāh)* from the second half of 124 AH until the end of the fourth century (AH), the most substantial contentment one can reach seems to be that many of these debates had been built on fallacious propositions and grounds. One of the reasons why all these debates did not reach a conclusion is that the concepts had not been sufficiently analyzed and the attribution of false or different meanings to the same concepts under discussion. Each group or community attempted to resolve the issue within the framework of their own background, cultural structure and most importantly, their own principles. During the period of about two centuries, the common denominator of the disputes - whether verbal or written— had been the phrase of *makhlūq* which was accepted as a presumption (by the Mu'tazila). Therefore, the issue of the createdness of the Qur'an which disrupted the communities at the time is simply the attempts of affirmation or negation of the pseudo conclusion reached,

⁷⁶ al-Ghazzālī, *Tahāfut al-Falāsifa*, 113.

rather than examples of an accurate sample. Almost all the discussions within this period had occurred as arguments depicting a speculative approach to support some a priori presumptions.

Although the issue of createdness of the Qur’ān —as a multifaceted issue— is originated in the enigmatic nature of its relationship with revelation, it in fact demonstrates a number of erroneous methods which in turn became the source of its insolubility. Misconfigured methods appear to be the most influential factor in the course the issue takes in time. By erroneous methods, we mean the handling the *God’s speech (kalām Allāh)* issue in terms of a dichotomy of ‘makhlūq and ghayr makhlūq’, which arises from the search of meaning and assuming that each notion has ontologically severe distinctions. The defective reasoning in resolving the issue went even further and it was presumed that word (speech) is an attribute to God.

The emergences of evaluations that are seriously fallacious have a considerable effect on the deadlock of the issue under consideration. While the Qur’ān issue must be handled as “what has been delivered to the Prophet Mohammad” who was the addressee of the revelation, it was considered to be an attribute to God’s and within the context of God. Such considerations made it inevitable that *lafz* is to be separated from meaning and led to the discussion focusing on whether the *lafz* (the Qur’ān we hold in our hands) is created and the believer’s contention that the Qur’ān exists with God’s nature is uncreated. As a result of this differentiation the Qur’ān we actually hold in our hands has been accepted as the figurative Qur’ān according to Ahl al-Sunna, especially the Ash‘ariyya and meaning, as the attribute of God, is the actual Qur’ān.

It can be concluded that the speculative analyses mentioned above have become an obstacle that prevents the truth to emerge rather than shedding light on it. Such representations which result in a problem entangled by itself are based on the notion of *mutākallim* shaped in the human mind. In this respect it can be said that set *kalām* aside from *mutākallim*, it makes meaningless the meaning of *mutakallim*. When Ahl al-Sunna and Salafis, supporters of such views, accept the Qur’ān as *God’s speech (kalām Allāh)* pre-eternal with His nature, they agree that the concept of *mutakallim* has its roots in the human mind. Mu‘tazila on the other hand, believes that *God’s speech (kalām Allāh)* must be thought separately from it, since the *God’s speech (kalām Allāh)* is only the object of revelation. However, while Ahl al-Sunna regards *God’s speech (kalām Allāh)* within the context of the meaning and the *lafz* together, the Mu‘tazila took it only on the grounds of *lafz* and makes an erroneous inference on this attribute and its product (the Qur’ān) within the relationship of the nature of God and the principles of Tawhīd. Attempting to justify their approach, the Mu‘tazila focus on the belief that the *kalām* (described as the source of the true path (hidāyah) of God, creator of everything) was revealed to the prophet. That the world is taken as an attribute negates the revelation.

Within the framework of linguistic explanations employing the *kalām-al lafzī* and *kalām-al nafsī* —the key concepts of the issue of [un]createdness of Qur’ān—demonstrating the two facets of the same concept, we can make the following conclusions:

The *kalām al-nafsī* that is perceived by Ahl al-Sunna and al-Ghazzālī as the way of mind allowing speech to be delivered to human beings is as defective as Mu‘tazila’s description of the problem thoroughly on lexical (*lafz*) terms, totally ignoring the meaning. As a matter of fact, it is therefore impossible to solve the issue of createdness of the Qur’ān unless the issue is analyzed on the basis of the unity of speech and meaning. Furthermore, Ahl al-Sunna is committing a logical fallacy, if not thoroughly inconsistent, when

they take the issue on the grounds of thinking the ability on human beings just as the Mu'tazila considers the issue as lexical-oriented only to deny the truth. On the other hand, Al-Ghazzālī's explanation that the words mean *nahy*, *Khabar* and the alike, are *qadīm* with God. Yet later this is also problematic. Now that we are not able to comprehend the opinion of Ahl-al Sunna only expresses an instant speculation in human minds. In this design, words are accompanied with meanings. And speech exists after this act. To define God's *kalām* based upon mind and human thoughts is both logically and ontologically fallacious. In order to avoid such mistakes made in traditional discussions Naşr Hāmīd Abū Zayd (d. 2010) and Mohammed Arkoun (d. 2010), suggested to reconsider the issue from the contemporary linguistic and hermeneutic theory, but unfortunately their offer was not accepted by other Muslim scholar.⁷⁷

In summary, the following fallacies led to a deadlock on the issue under consideration:

- Ignoring the diversity and difference between Schools, scholar and groups trying to understand and discussed the issue based on their principles and rubrics and fundamental beliefs which they accepted.
- Taking the *God's speech (kalām Allāh)* as an attribute in conjunction and relativeness to God.
- Attempting to define *kalām* on account of the dichotomy between word and meaning
- Perceiving that one should take the concept of *mutakallim* as the starting point debating without understanding the arguments of the other schools and scholars
- Handling the issue before solving the problem of different perceptions on the concepts employed, that is, each concept became laden with only its truths and the same concept was perceived differently depending on the groups and schools.

In the context of revelation, although instead of the Qur'an issue which must be handled as "what has been delivered to the Prophet Mohammad" who was the addressee of the revelation, it was considered to be an attribute of God and within the context of God. The attributes ascribed to God, particularly His *kalām* attribute and the resulting question "Is the Qur'an created?" have been a deep concern of Islam scholar, perhaps more than necessary. The following sentence inscribed into a tombstone perhaps of the year 200/815 is quite concise to demonstrate that the significance attached to the topic: The Qur'an is *kalām Allāh*, revealed and not created, good and bad both come from Him.⁷⁸

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⁷⁷ Mohammed Arkoun, *Rethinking Islam. Common questions, uncommon answers*, trans. from the French and ed. Robert D. Lee (Boulder 1988), 6; Richard C. Martin, "Createdness of the Qur'an", *Encyclopaedia of the Qur'an*, ed. Jane Dammen McAuliffe (Leiden-Boston-Köln: Brill, 2001), 1/471.

⁷⁸ Arthur Stanley Tritton, "The Speech of God", *Studia Islamica* 36 (1972), 7.

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A Heated Controversy in the Second/Eighth Century: Khalq al-Qurʾān (The Createdness of Qurʾān) *

Mehmet Ata Az **

Abstract

Throughout the history of Islamic thinking, the issue of createdness of Qurʾān - which results from the discourse of the denial of divine attributes and which was first raised as a question by Jaʿd b. Dirham and followed by Jahm b. Şafwān (d.128/745-46) and Bishr b. Ghiyāth al-Marīsī (d. 218 or 219/833-34)- has been one of the oldest debates raging within the Islamic scholarly circles. When political conspiracies were involved in the issue, the debate became even fiercer and led to bloodshed and torture among Muslim communities causing the death of many eminent scholars in the 2nd/8th century. One of the reasons why all these debates did not reach a conclusion is that the concepts had not been sufficiently analyzed and the attribution of false or different meanings to the same concepts under discussion. Each sect or group attempted to resolve the issue within the framework of their own background, cultural structure and most importantly, their own principles. The different views put forward on the issue of createdness of Qurʾān are largely related to the kalām attribute, and it is based on the acceptance of the kalām as a essential (dhātī) and active (fiʿlī) attribute. Although the explanations are different, all sect or group accept that the Qurʾān is a divine book sent to people by God.

Keywords

Kalām, Attributes, Speech of God, Kalāmullāh, Khalq al-Qurʾān, Createdness of Qurʾān

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** **Author:** Associate Prof., Ankara Yıldırım Beyazıt University, Faculty of Islamic Sciences, Department of Philosophy of Religion, Ankara, Turkey | Doç. Dr., Ankara Yıldırım Beyazıt Üniversitesi, İslami İlimler Fakültesi, Din Felsefesi Anabilim Dalı
mehmetataaz@gmail.com | **ORCID** 0000-0002-8844-8875

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2./8. Yüzyılda Önemli Bir Tartışma: Halku'l-Kur'an (Kur'an'ın Yaratılmışlığı Meselesi)

Öz

İslam düşüncesinde, -ilk defa Ca'd b. Dirhem tarafından tartışılan, daha sonra da Cehm b. Safvan (ö.128/745-46) ve Bişr b. Gıyâs el-Merîsî (ö. 218-19/833-34) tarafından sürdürülen ve ilâhî sıfatların inkarıyla sonuçlanabilen- Kur'an'ın mahluk olup olmadığı meselesi, uzun süre tartışma konusu olmuştur. Meseleye siyasî çekişmeler dahil edildiğinde, tartışma daha da şiddetlenmiş ve 2./8. yüzyılda İslam toplumunda bu tartışma kan dökülmesine, birçok âlimin işkenceye maruz kalmasına hatta ölümüne yol açmıştır. Halku'l-Kur'an meselesinde süre gelen tartışmanın sonuçlanamamasının sebeplerinden biri, problemin temel kavramlarının yeterince analiz edilmemesi, kavramalara yanlış veya farklı anlamların yüklenmesidir. Her mezhep veya grup, problemi kendi dinî ve teolojik kaygıları ve en önemlisi de kendi ilkeleri bağlamında izaha kavuşturmaya çalışmıştır. Halku'l-Kur'an konusunda ileri sürülen bu farklı görüşler, büyük ölçüde kelâm sıfatıyla ilgisi olup kelâmın zâtî veya fiilî bir sıfat olarak kabul edilmesine dayanmaktadır. İzahlar farklı olsa da tüm taraflar, Kur'an'ın Allah tarafından insanlara gönderilen ilâhî bir kitap olduğunda mutabıktır.

Anahtar Kelimeler

Kelâm, ilâhî sıfatlar, Kelânullâh, Halku'l-Kur'an, Kur'an'ın Yaratılmışlığı

Introduction

The nature and validity of divine attributes ascribed to God to make His being intelligible has long been a controversial issue among Muslim scholars and philosophers.¹ The issue of God's speech (*kalâm Allâh*) as an attribute of God —considered fundamentally problematic as an attribute of God— and whether the attribute bears an eternal meaning as other attributes do, and whether it has a correlation with His nature, have been questions that have been pondered on by many Muslim scholars.² While discussions on the nature of His kalâm attribute continue, the different camps on this discussion have inevitably led to a very closely related topic, the nature of the Qur'an that is considered to be His revelation (wahy). While some sects and scholars advocate the doctrine of the created Qur'an (*khalq al-Qur'an*) and its temporality on the basis of its created (*makhlûq*) and produced (*muḥdath*) nature, others argue for its precedence and its uncreated (*ghayr makhlûq*) divine Word of God on the grounds of similar justifications and discourse.³

Trying to establish a similarity between God's speech (*kalâm Allâh*) and the speech of man causes different theological and metaphysical problems. If the God's speech is similar to the human speech, it is

¹ Abū Mansūr al-Māturīdī, *Kitāb al-Tawhīd*, Critical ed. Bekir Topaloğlu, Muhammad Aruçi (Ankara: Türkiye Diyanet Publication, 2003), 70, 74, 79; Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn Ismā'īl ibn Ishāq al-Ash'arī, *Maqālāt al-Islāmiyyīn* Critical ed. Muḥammad Muḥyī al-Dīn 'Abd al-Ḥamīd (Cairo: Maktab al-Nahdat al-Misriyya, 1950), 2/156, 157.

² Māturīdī, *Kitāb al-Tawhīd*, 84-90; Ash'arī, *Maqālāt*, 2/178, 179, 231.

³ Māturīdī, *Kitāb al-Tawhīd*, 86; Ash'arī, *Maqālāt*, 2/179, 232; Abū Manşūr 'Abdulqāhir b. Ṭāhir b. Muḥammad al-Baghādī, *Usūl al-dīn*, Critical ed. Dār al-Funūn (Istanbul: State Printing Office, 1346/1928), 106, 107; Abū l-Mu'īn al-Nasafī, *al-Tamhīd fī usūl al-dīn*, Critical ed. Abdulhay Kābīl (Cairo: Dār al-Sagāfa, 1987), 24.

unthinkable to be eternal (*qadīm*). Since it is unthinkable that similar ones are different in eternity and createdness. However, if God's speech is different from the human speech, it cannot be comprehended by man; because God's speech is the name of what is heard. Apart from these, if we consider that there is another sound in the metaphysical universe other than the sound heard in the physical universe, we have to accept that it may have other colors and meanings, which would be impossible to mention any criteria.⁴

This study concentrates on the issue of the createdness of the Qur'ān as it relates to the creation of the kalām attribute rather than the eternity of kalām, the temporality of kalām or its relation to the nature of God. Before describing the emergence, the development and the historical course of the issue which caused deep debates among Islamic scholars throughout the historical period of Islamic philosophy, clarification needs to be made on the two fundamental perceptions regarded as the salient point of the topic under consideration. Behind the reasons for these explanations first lies the fact that the discussions on the createdness of the Qur'ān did not reach a conclusion due to misinterpretation on the meanings of the same words as well as the way principles and concerns are being processed by the arguing schools, who built the doctrines upon concepts which were not thoroughly analyzed. The unrestricted (*mutlaq*) use of words and their restricted (*muqayyad*) uses are different from each other.⁵ Secondly, they identified the attribute of speech with speaking and did not see that the attribute of speech could be a reason or a means to speak.⁶ Therefore, it is necessary to determine which terminology or concepts were used from the 2nd/8th century AH onwards, and to question the correctness of the notions and the meanings they carried, as these exercises determine the course of their debates and the conclusions they would lead into.

1. Conceptual Frame

1.1. The Makhḷūq (the Created) and Ghayr Makhḷūq (the Uncreated)

When the discussions on the Qur'ān that took place between in the 2nd/8th and the 4th/10th century are examined, it is obvious that the reason for not reaching a consensus or conclusion is insufficiently analyzed notions, as well as the issues arising from different meanings ascribed to the same concepts. Each and every part of the discussions tried to solve the issue in the light of its own knowledge, cultural structure and adopted principles. During these more or less two centuries, the common denominator of verbal and written debates was centralization of the terms created (*makhḷūq*) particularly by the Mu'tazila and the uncreated (*ghayr makhḷūq*) as two presuppositions. Since the beginning of the 2nd century AH, the discussions that were made through the 'risalāt' or between the experts on the science of ḥadīth and the Muslim jurisprudence that represented the Salafī, as well as the Mu'tazila, were focusing on whether Qur'ān as being "the created" is appropriate terminology.

As far as the interpretations of the phrases the *makhḷūq* and the *ghayr makhḷūq* are concerned, there seems to be a difference in the interpretation between the Salafī and the Mu'tazila. This difference is closely

⁴ Qāḍī 'Abd al-Jabbār, *Sharḥ al-uṣūl al-khamsa*, Critical ed. Abdulkerim Osman (Cairo: Maktab al-Vahba, 1996), 549.

⁵ Qāḍī 'Abd al-Jabbār, *Sharḥ al-uṣūl al-khamsa*, 47.

⁶ Māturīdī, *Kitāb al-Tawhīd*, 88, 89; Ash'arī, *Maqālāt*, 2/178, 179, 247.

related with the meanings that each word attributed to the revelation (wahy), the way they commented on it and the nature of the revelation perse.⁷

The Salafiyya, one of the schools, interprets the Qur'ān or the *God's speech (kalām Allāh)* as having no connection with God's attribute *al-Khaliq* (The Creator), that is, it bears no similarity to anything to do with "createdness".⁸ On the other hand, the term "the created" has different meanings for the Mu'tazila, and some of the meanings used can be translated as "to make", "to create", or "to set up". Through these meanings, they concluded that the term "makhlūq" meant that God created and set up his own *kalām*, hence He is the speaker. And in contrast with the Salafī and the Ahl al-Sunna, the Mu'tazila regarded the phrase "it is created" in a certain time period as the creation of the Qur'ān, i.e. a form of sound was for the purpose of communication with mankind. Therefore, Mu'tazila supported the view that *kalām* was the created thereafter.⁹ Yet the Salafī and the Ahl al-Sunna, in contrast with Mu'tazila, claimed that God's *kalām* attribute meant that He is the al-Mutakallim with his own voice of which its nature is incomprehensible. Based on this standpoint, God did not create Qur'ān the way He created the rest of the beings and the Qur'ān is a *God's speech (kalām Allāh)* revealed by God through its incomprehensible nature.¹⁰

In this context, it is possible to say that there are three different standpoints adopted by the *kalām* schools on the issue of the createdness of Qur'ān. First of them is presented by the Mu'tazila who takes the words literally as their basis: *kalām* as a particular structure, a system consisting of letters which are arranged in a way that brings meaning.¹¹ The second one proposed by the Ash'ariyya who takes the meaning as their basis and states that the meaning of *kalām* is indicated by signs and phrases identified by the grammar and that it exists with its subject. Ash'arī accepts that the reading of God's word at mihrab (niche of a mosque) and written in the mushafs (texts) as the created.¹² And the third and the last standpoint is by the Salafī who defended both, the word and the meaning, i.e. the Qur'ān as letters, verses, words and meaning. It is *God's speech (kalām Allāh)* and therefore is the uncreated. According to Hashviyya and Ibn Kullāb (d. c. 241/855) attacked the teachings of Jahm and the Mu'tazilīs about the created Qur'ān. the Qur'ān read in the mihrabs and written in the mushafs is not created and is existed by God. Many of Ibn Kullāb's views were developed and became normative in the third/ninth century, in the new

⁷ 'Abdulaziz b. Yaḥyā b. Muslim al-Kinānī, *al-Ḥayda wa al-i'tidhār fī al-raddi 'alā man qāla bi khalk al-Qur'ān*, Critical ed. Ali b. Muhammed b. Nāsir el-Fakīhī (Madīna: Maktab al-Ulūm wa al-Ḥikam, 1423/2002), 43, 80.

⁸ al-Kinānī, *al-Ḥayda*, 41; Hakkı, İzmirlı İsmail, *Yeni İlm-i Kelām* (Ankara: Umran Yayınları, 1981), 2/114.

⁹ Qāḍī 'Abd al-Jabbār, *al-Mughnī fī abwāb al-tawḥīd wa-l-'adl*(Cairo, s.n., 1961), 5/3-4; For more information: Jan R. T. M. Peters, *God's Created Speech: A Study in the Speculative Theology of the Mu'tazilī Qāḍī l-quḍāt Abū Hassan 'Abd al-Jabbār bn. Ahmad al-Hamādānī* (Leiden, s.n., 1976); Qāḍī 'Abd al-Jabbār, *Sharḥ al-uṣūl al-khamsa*, 544.

¹⁰ al-Kinānī, *al-Ḥaydas*, 41; Abū Mansūr al-Māturīdī, *Ta'wīlāt al-Qur'ān*, Critical ed. Majdī Bāsālūm (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-İlmiyya, 2005), 3/273.

¹¹ Ash'arī, *Maqālāt*, 2/247; Qāḍī 'Abd al-Jabbār, *al-Mughnī*, 5/6; Aslan, "Kelamullah Tartışmalarında Dilbilimsel İçeriği", 134.

¹² Qāḍī 'Abd al-Jabbār, *Sharḥ al-uṣūl al-khamsa*, 527, 708; Abdulmālīk Al-Juvaynī, *Kitāb al-Irshād ilā qaw'id al-adille fī uṣul al-'itikād*, Critical ed. Muhammad Yusuf Mūsa, Ali Abdulmunīm Abdulhamīd (Cairo: al-Maktab al-Hanjī, 1959), 104; Aslan, "Kelamullah Tartışmalarında Dilbilimsel İçeriği", 134.

school of theology founded by Abū al-Ḥasan al-Ash'arī (d. 324/935–6).¹³ While the Mu'tazila try to overcome the issue of the createdness of the Qur'ān by separating the attribute of *kalām* and the act of speaking itself and by building a relationship of process and action (creation); the Ash'ariyya, the Māturīdiyya and the Salafīyyah try to reach a resolution by dissolving the *kalām* and the act of speaking into each other.¹⁴

When it is viewed through its contextual meaning, *kalām* can ascribe different forms yet it is essentially "unique". On the other hand, as far as the "word" is literally approached, *kalām* and its internal and simple unity (*Kalām al-nafsī*) may express multiplicity in meaning depending on the difference in the language of the revelation. Within this context, *kalām*, according to the Ash'ariyya approach, is accepted as the meaning and the attribute which exist in and within a person (self, subject or mind). *Kalām* cannot be reduced to a meaning that consists of letters and sounds that are permanent with the speaker's existence.¹⁵ According to the Mu'tazila's approach, it is a reference system with its own rules of construction and phonetics and is independent from the subject.¹⁶ A word is what is made up of a combination of two or more letters, or a special order of certain letters. In this context, the word is the thing in which the meaning of the word or the meaning of this word is revealed.¹⁷ Lastly, for the Salafī, it is regarded as a transcendent *kalām* that is based on the unity of the word and the meaning of which authority descends directly from His nature. Within this definitional framework, the *kalām* discussion by the Mu'tazila is built upon a perception that it is an act of speech whereas, according to the Ash'ariyya and Salafī, it is based on an attribute that exists with the nature of God. This definitional difference between the Mu'tazila, the Ash'ariyya, the Māturīdiyya and the Salafīyyah results from the distinction and the relation between the attribute of speech and what is spoken of.

For the Mu'tazila, the act of speaking and the attribute of speech are completely separated from each other and *kalām* is defined as not only something that was created, but as a symptom as well. Thus, the Mu'tazila has tackled God's *kalām* within a linguistic domain. According to this point of view, God can be described as *mutakallim* when a *kalām* is attached to Him.¹⁸ Since *ḥadīth* cannot be transformed into *qadīm*, God Himself and the *God's speech (kalām Allāh)* which is *created* cannot be imagined in conjunction with each other. This shows that God spoke through a *kalām* which He created within an entity and that God is *al-mutakallim*. Hence, according to the Mu'tazila, God speaks by creating His words, and the words came into being, but that does not mean that it requires any organ for its creation. We know the *kalām* of Allah in two ways. The first of these is not possible, but God fulfills His *kalām* in objects such as trees and stones.; the

¹³ Qāḍī 'Abd al-Jabbār, *Sharḥ al-uṣūl al-khamsa*, 527; Richard C. Martin, "Createdness of the Qur'ān", *Encyclopaedia of Islam Three*, ed. Kate Fleet and et al, Consulted online on 08 October 2019 http://ekaynaklar.mkutup.gov.tr:2097/10.1163/1573-3912_ei3_COM_24418

¹⁴ Qāḍī 'Abd al-Jabbār, *Sharḥ al-uṣūl al-khamsa*, 533; Aslan, "Kelamullah Tartışmaların Dilbilimsel İçeriği", 134.

¹⁵ Qāḍī 'Abd al-Jabbār, *Sharḥ al-uṣūl al-khamsa*, 527, 558, 708.

¹⁶ Qāḍī 'Abd al-Jabbār, *Sharḥ al-uṣūl al-khamsa*, 47; Qāḍī 'Abd al-Jabbār, *al-Mughnī*, 5/48, 58.

¹⁷ Qāḍī 'Abd al-Jabbār, *Sharḥ al-uṣūl al-khamsa*, 47.

¹⁸ Qāḍī 'Abd al-Jabbār, *Sharḥ al-uṣūl al-khamsa*, 532, 533; Abū al-Mu'īn al-Nasafī, *Ṭabşirat al-adilla*, Critical ed. Hüseyin Atay – Şaban Ali Düzgün (Ankara: Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı Yayınları, 2003-2004), 1/339-342.

second is that what a true messenger informs.¹⁹ This is because all things that come into existence through God exist directly or without a means.²⁰ Thus, while the Mu‘tazila deal with a negative theology on the relation between the speech attribute and the act of speaking per se based on negative theology, the Ash‘ariyya and Salafis share an approach of syllogism and they explain the relation between God’s *kalām* and human speech on the same level. Furthermore, while the Ash‘ariyya defines *kalām* as the “meaning” signified by letters, the Salafis try to justify *kalām* as an attribute within the relation of word and meaning.²¹ The Ash‘ariyya theologians (*mutakallimūn*) are in agreement that the word is named *kalām* in terms of the “meaning” indicated by it. For example, the Ash‘arī scholar Imām al-Ḥaramayn Abū l-Ma‘ālī al-Juwaynī (d. 478/1085) defines the *kalām* as a meaning which indicates and signs an expression that exists with its subject.²² Ibn Taymiyya (d. 728/1328) seem to support the opinion of the Salafis by saying that that ‘*Although Qur’ān is not created, it is not different from God. It exists with God.*’²³ As it can be seen, Ibn Taymiyya, one of the Salafī scholars, states that although the Qur’ān is the uncreated, it exists through God himself. As understood, the definitions of *kalām* and its nature understood by schools are fundamentally different. Therefore, and naturally, the opinions made on Qur’ān and its true nature are also dissimilar.²⁴ While Mu‘tazila tackles *kalām* based on literal speech, the Ahl al-Sunna mainly claims that *kalām* is an attribute or meaning which exists through the speaker.

1.2. The Beginning and Historical Development of the Createdness of Qur’ān Issue

The issue of the createdness of the Qur’ān as it relates to God’s *kalām* attribute reached a high point in the history of Islamic theology to a point of unprecedented arguments, torture and declaring each other unbelievers.²⁵ Worst of all, and particularly when the right for free speech was taken away, the issue turned out to be a deadlock by “Miḥna Events”²⁶ which was caused and supported by the caliph. In other words, the events became even more problematic and atrocious because of the Caliphate governance’s bias who was supposed to be neutral, thus causing theological arguments to turn into a political debate.²⁷ This conflict continued until the caliph al-Mutawakkil (r. 232–47/847–61) released a decree on 848 forbidding any discussion on the nature of the Qur’ān.²⁸ Thereafter, the peaceful discussion between Abū ‘Alī al-Jubbā‘ī (d.

¹⁹ Qāḍī ‘Abd al-Jabbār, *Sharh al-Usūl-i Khamsa*, 539.

²⁰ Qāḍī ‘Abd al-Jabbār, *Sharh al-Usūl-i Khamsa*, 541-42.

²¹ Ibn Taymiyya, *al-Rasāil* (Egypt: s.n., 1349), 2/22; Aslan, “Kelamullah Tartışmalarının Dilbilimsel İçeriği”, 137.

²² Juvaynī, *Kitāb al-Irshād*, 104.

²³ Ibn Taymiyya, *Majmū‘at al-rasā’il wa-l-masā’il* (Egypt: Matba‘a al-Manār, 1964), 35.

²⁴ Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *al-Muḥaṣṣal* (Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-‘Arabī, 1990), 402.

²⁵ Ahmet Akbulut, *Müslüman Kültüründe Kur’an’a Yabancılaşma Süreci* (Ankara: Otto, 2017), 168, 206, 207.

²⁶ Abdulkarim b. Aḥmad Shahristānī, *al-Milal wa al-Nihāl* (Egypt: Matba‘a al-Bulāq, 1263), 68.

²⁷ Akbulut, *Kur’an’a Yabancılaşma Süreci*, 204-208.

²⁸ Jamāladdīn Qāsimī, *Tariḥu al-Jahmiyya wa al-Mu‘tazila* (Egypt, n.d.), 52. Aslan, “Kelamullah Tartışmalarının Dilbilimsel İçeriği”, 132.

303/915), Abū Hāshim al-Jubbā'ī (d. 321/933) from the Mu'tazila and the Qāḍī 'Abd al-Jabbār (d. 414/1024–1025) and al-Juwaynī turned into a vicious circle of linguistic and theological argumentation.²⁹

The argument of the createdness of the Qur'ān was first brought systematically into question by Ja'd b. Dirham (d. 124/741) who an Umayyad-era heretic was and known for his rejection of divine attributes specifically God's speech. By the order of the Caliph Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik (r. 105–125/724–743), he was beheaded after being put to exile due to his discourse. Then, Jahm b. Ṣafwān (d. 128/746) emerged as his follower and further systematized the discourse. Some sources claim that Ja'd served as a tutor to the future caliph Marwān b. Muḥammad (r. 127–132/744–750), and perhaps for his sons. Ja'd introduced his opinions about the attributes and the createdness of the Qur'ān during Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik, who captured him and sent him to Khālid al-Qasrī, the governor, who exiled him. Later, by Hishām's order, he was beheaded on the first morning of 'Eid, the festival of sacrifice.³⁰

The following is Ibn Taymiyya's views on the account mentioned: Ja'd b. Dirham was the first to come up with the opinion about Qur'ān's createdness at around year 120. He was then followed Jahm b. Ṣafwān. Ja'd was killed by Khālid al-Qasrī. And Jahm was killed during the reign of Merv on Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik.³¹ al-Shahrastānī (d. 548/1153), similarly, accounts as follows: Ja'd b. Dirham is the first to come up with the view about Qur'ān's createdness.³² So far, the resources that dated to this first century demonstrate that Ja'd b. Dirham is the chief architect of the issue of the createdness of the Qur'ān. However, questions can still be raised on the possibility that Ja'd b. Dirham could have taken up this view from another person or from the internal discussions of another religion and whether or not he came up with this thesis all by himself. Aḥmad Amīn (1886–1954) was an Egyptian scholar claims with regard to his opinion the origin of createdness of the Qur'ān is outsourced. According to him, Ja'd b. Dirham was under the influence of Jewish and Christian theology and he took this issue from them. As a proof, he quoted the caliph al-Ma'mūn, who had a high interest in theology and philosophy, arguing that Qur'ān is the uncreated are similar to those saying Jesus is God's son, which means as Jesus being God's word, he is the uncreated too.³³

This statement may seem reasonable; for during the reign of al-Ma'mūn many studies from different languages and cultures were being translated into Arabic. Besides, it is also possible that Muslim scholars are influenced by the increased conquests of the caliph 'Umar, which caused an exchange of ideas as a result of encountering and adopting different cultures and views of different religions and communities, whereas some of those cultures and communities also accepted Islam.

After Ja'd b. Dirham's initial effort to develop this doctrine, Jahm b. Ṣafwān systematized the contention of the non-createdness of Qur'ān and found supporters in the course of time. Regarding some

²⁹ Aslan, "Kalamullah Tartışmalarının Dilbilimsel İçeriği", 133.

³⁰ Watt, M. *İslām Düşüncesinin Teşekkül Devri*, trans. Ethem Ruhi Fıġlalı (Ankara: Umran Yayınları, 1981), 305–306; Steven C. Judd, "Ja'd b. Dirham", *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Three*, Consulted online on 07 October 2019, http://ekaynaklar.mkutup.gov.tr:2097/10.1163/1573-3912_ei3_COM_30760

³¹ Ibn Taymiyya, *al-Rasāil*, 3/120–132.

³² Shahrastānī, *al-Milal wa al-Nihāl*, 1263, 86.

³³ Aḥmad Amīn, *Ḍuḥā al-Islām*, 147.

narratives, after Jahm b. Ṣafwān was killed by Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik in Merv, the doctrine was defended by Bishr al-Marīsī (d. 218/833). Even though, in the course of developing and spreading of the doctrine, Bishr al-Marīsī could not meet Jahm b. Ṣafwān and he did not take the standpoint (of the doctrine) from him literally, yet he did it with the help of the citizens of Jahm and the supporters of Jamiyyah. Bishr had in a philosophical sense systematically discussed the subject in all aspects with his opponents and tried to spread as well as justify his reasoning. Sometimes, he was assisted by the statesmen. As it was historically recorded, Bishr was of Jewish origin and during the reign of the ʿAbbāsīd caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd (r. 170–193/786–809) or the caliph al-Maʾmūn (r. 198–218/813–33) (according to some other resources) he defended and developed this doctrine for about 20 years. Based on this historical study, it is reasonable to suggest that the thought and the scholarly work on the createdness of Qurʾān issue was first developed by Jaʿd b. Dirham, then followed by Jahm b. Ṣafwān, Bishr al-Marīsī and when this thought reached the Muʿtazila, the school adopted this idea as one of their basic doctrines. This doctrine was first learnt from their affiliation with the Jahmiyya, and then it was systematized and taught throughout the history of the philosophy by the Muʿtazila.³⁴

We have already mentioned earlier that some Islam theologians believed that the createdness of the Qurʾān issue infiltrated into the Islamic community from outside and was supported by some external communities. The doctrine was assimilated into the Islamic community through Jaʿd b. Dirham whose thinking was influenced by the Jewish' and Christians' and Greek philosophical doctrines. Logos, which is considered to be eternal in Greek philosophy, translated into Arabic as "kalām" has paved the way for createdness of Qurʾān issue.³⁵ Jews believed that the Law had been created before the world; Medinan Jew Labīd b. al-Aʿsam based on the creation of the Torah, he claimed that the Qurʾān is also a created.³⁶ Christians also believed that the Logos existed eternally in God; one of the Christian theologians clerks in the palace, Yūḥannā al-Dimashqī (John of Damascus) in order to prove the godhood of Jesus against the Muslims, he suggested that the divine words (kalāmullah), namely the Qurʾān, are not created.³⁷ On the other Ibn Qutayba thinks that Bayān ibn Simʿan was the the first person who effected by external discussions said that the Qurʾān was created.³⁸

The issue of the createdness of Qurʾān that emerged in the early period of the Umayyads reached the period of al-Maʾmūn via the continuous discussions and various writings related to this topic. The issue, which had been taken up and debated by many, and continued to be observed and dialogued until this very period, developed into a political debate from the later part of the Umayyad when the Umayyad caliphate manipulated the authority of al-Maʾmūn and others and turned the issue into an official discourse employed

³⁴ Aḥmad Emīn, *Ḍuḥā al-Islām*, 147.

³⁵ M. Ramazan Abdullah, 525-526.

³⁶ Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fī l-tarīkh*, ed. C.J. Tornberg (Beirut, 1966-1967), 7/49.

³⁷ ʿAmr b. Baḥr al-Jāḥiẓ, *Rasāʾil al-Jāḥiẓ*, Critical ed. ʿAbd al-Salām Muḥammad Hārūn (Cairo, 1979), 3/347; Muḥammad Abū Zahrā, *Tarīkh al-Madhahib al-Islamiyya* (Cairo: Dār al-Fikr al-ʿArabī, n.d.), 1/157-158.

³⁸ Abū Muḥammad ʿAbdullāh Ibn Qutaiba, *Kitāb al-Maʿarif fī aḥbār al-ʿArab wa-ansābihim II*, Critical ed. Ferdinand Wüstenfeld (Göttingen, s.n., 1850), 148.

in political spheres. Consequently, the issue became a formidable question, a deadlock intermingled by too many factors.

al-Ma'mūn, who was well-known for his interest in theological and philosophical subjects, sympathized with the Mu'tazila who were supporting their views with philosophical and logical methods. Naturally, the Mu'tazila defending the createdness of Qur'ān thesis convinced al-Ma'mūn to accept the createdness of Qur'ān and used him to adopt the contention and to manipulate the authority of the state.

The unforgettable products of this conflicting situation were the "events" that rose from it, "the *Mihna* (Inquisition) Event", which took place to oppress the opponents by torture in order to force them to give up the idea against official political contention of the state; the createdness of Qur'ān. The createdness of the Qur'ān issue turned completely into a political discourse by encouraging Aḥmad b. Abī Du'ād (160–240/776 or 777–854) as an advisor to the caliph al-Ma'mūn. The scholars of Mu'tazila began to increase their political influence on the state in 218/833. The scholars of Mu'tazila took over the control in order to create official discourse of the state. They made al-Ma'mūn publish a circular and started to torture, put in dungeons and even kill the opponents of the createdness of Qur'ān, which was the official stance of the state. This tyranny in the mind and in the speech continued for 16 years from 218/833 to 234/848–849, including the al-Mu'tasim and Waṣil periods. All sources indicate that the scholars were put under pressure and forced to accept this ideology. al-Ma'mūn was not satisfied with all that he did. He issued four decrees in different times to Iṣḥāq b. Ibrāhīm, the region of Baghdad, ordering him to declare, that muḥadīths, kadhis, lawyers and Sufis shall be interrogated in order to find out if they accept the createdness of Qur'ān or not, and if they don't, they shall be punished with imprisonment. Muḥammad b. Nuḥ al-Maḍrūb (d. 218/833), Nu'aym b. Ḥammād al-Marwazī (d. 228/843),³⁹ Aḥmad b. Naṣr al-Khuzā'ī (231/845) and Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (d. 241/855) and were the first to be sentenced, imprisoned and tortured.⁴⁰

The struggle of the supporters of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, represented by the Muhaddiths and the followers of the Salafī School, against the Mu'tazila continued within the framework of the letters, *kalām* and words of Qur'ān. While the Mu'tazila insisted that all those mentioned were created, some Ḥanbalis and Salafīs on the contrary, claimed that they were uncreated. On the other hand, the Sufis were quite reluctant to give their opinions. According to this group, declaring opinion on this subject is *bid'a* (heresy) and if there is something to say on this subject, their stance is that Qur'ān is speech of God (*kalām Allāh*).⁴¹

Abū l-Ḥasan al-Ash'arī (d. 324/935) who was a student of Abū 'Alī al-Jubbā'ī until he was in his forties, separated from Mu'tazila in 300/913 for not being able to withstand the pressure and the tension asserted

³⁹ Nu'aym b. Ḥammād al-Marwazī, whose collection *Kitāb al-Fitan* is the earliest extant complete text on the subject, was imprisoned in Sāmarrā for not giving rejecting the caliph request that the Qur'ān was created. After he died in prison (228/843), he was chained and buried, following his will. See. Ali Çelik, "Nuaym b. Hammād", *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslām Ansiklopedisi* (İstanbul: TDV Yayınları, 2007), 33/219.

⁴⁰ M. Qasim Zaman, *The Caliphs, the 'Ulamā', and the Law: Defining the Role and Function of the Caliph in the Early 'Abbāsīd Period*, *Islamic Law and Society*, 1997, Vol. 4/1 (1997), 26; Andrew Rippin, *Muslims: Their Religious Beliefs and Practices* (New York: Routledge), 2003, 66; Yusuf Şevki Yavuz, "Halku'l-Kur'ān", *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslām Ansiklopedisi* (İstanbul: TDV Yayınları, 1997), 15/372.

⁴¹ Aḥmad Emīn, *Ḍuḥā al-Islām*, 163.

by the academics and theologians in this academic world and joined the Ahl al-Sunna school. The arguments on the createdness of the Qurʾān started to follow a different course with the Ashʿarī. This difference related closely with the definition of the attribute of *kalām* which described God, the al-mutakallim. al-Ashʿarī, so to speak, divided the elements of the issue and made a classification to tackle the issue in a more fruitful way. His work led to the formulation of: *kalām al-lafẓī* and *kalām al-naḥsī* which later were often highlighted in the discussions of the issue of *God's speech (kalām Allāh)*. This classification or dichotomy was in fact extremely helpful in facilitating the comparison work in the ability of the human beings to speak and the usage of this classification enabled them to engage in the discourse more effectively. al-Ashʿarī clarified this subject clearly by saying that there are two kinds of *kalām*. The first one is speech with sound and the other one is speech without sound and letter. *Kalām al-naḥsī* is a meaning which finds a voice by letters and signs. On the other hand, *kalām al-lafẓī* is signs and letters that signify *kalām al-naḥsī* and in that respect *kalām al-lafẓī* is external to the essence of God; hence it is *makhlūq* (the created). Ashʿarī, in this respect interprets *kalām al-lafẓī* as the words of *kalām al-naḥsī*, and *God's speech (kalām Allāh)* as *ghayr makhlūq* (the uncreated). Here the meaning of the signified word was turned into an act of the speaking attribute (*kalām*) and was foregrounded as unique and present with God. Therefore, *kalām al-naḥsī* is essentially the word of God. *Kalām al-lafẓī* on the other hand, being the signifier and carrier of meaning, is also the word of God, but in a metaphorical sense.⁴²

Ashʿarī in this sense confirmed the Muʿtazila's claim through this classification by confirming that Qurʾān is something that can be written, heard and recited, and hence it is created. Because each word is readable and writable Qurʾān is also characterized with a kind of consequentiality, a combination formed of different parts; as for the meaning which existed with the person (God), it is pre-eternal and existent. Forasmuch meaning is not subject to change depending on the phrases or words. For Ashʿariah, the *God's speech (kalām Allāh)* which indicate by literal words is *qadīm* (pre-eternal) and the meaning exists with God. It is fair to conclude that Ashʿarī tried to reconcile the different stances of the Muʿtazila and Ahl al-Sunna and followed the middle path by dividing *God's speech (kalām Allāh)* that was embraced as *kalām al-lafẓī* by the Muʿtazila and as *kalām al-naḥsī* by the Ahl al-Sunna.

While Ashʿariyya approaches the subject by dividing *kalām* into two parts, Fazlur Rahman takes a far different perspective. In his explanation on the integrity of the revelation of Qurʾān and the Prophet, he states that the Qurʾān is purely the word of God in his book called *Islam*. He also remarks that the Prophet's inner world has a close relation with the Qurʾān. Yet this relation cannot be understood as a mechanical relationship as if it was in a record. Rather, divine *kalām* was emitted out of the heart of the Prophet.⁴³

Many scholars of Islam discussed the issue with assumptions that the Qurʾān and its relationship to God is an attribute, that the *God's speech (kalām Allāh)* is identified with knowledge of (ilm) God, that it is sent down and is not that of human speech, that the use of derivatives of call in the dialogues between God and the prophet Jesus; and interpreted the verses within this framework and the stance that it is uncreated is supported by the methods based on verses. However, the Muʿtazila regarded Qurʾān as a text consisting of sūras, verses and letters with unity among them, a text that can be written, read, heard and is a miracle of

⁴² Abdurahmān al-Jazārī, *Tawḍīḥ al-akāid fī Ilmi al-tawḥīd* (Matba'a al-Hadarāt al-Sharkiyya, 1932), 119-20.

⁴³ Fazlur Rahman, *Islam* (London: Weidenfield and Nicolson, 1966), 30-3.

the Prophet; and for this reason, they believe that it is impossible to consider it as an attribute of God or to render it as something that exists with God (pre-eternal). Furthermore, there were efforts to prove the createdness of Qur'ān through inferences from the verses and its temporality, consecutive verses, its assumed sent down by God or its proclaimed *naskh* (some verses nullify by other verses) character.⁴⁴

As we have mentioned earlier, the Mu'tazila who described *kalām* based on literally approach, thus, take word's function into consideration, bring forward the following inferences under the title "Inconsistencies of *Kalām Qadīm*", a negation to justify their claims.⁴⁵

- *Kalām* that consists of at least two letters and sounds is *muḥdath*. As God's *kalām* in the Qur'ān belongs to this category, it cannot be *qadīm*. If it is, human's *kalām* should also be pre-eternal. Because they are of the same kind.
- The verses of the Qur'ān ought to be created when the language it employs is considered. Because the language it assumes, bears human characteristics as it is formed by people in consensus. Thus, Qur'ān is *muḥdath* because it addresses humans with their own language.
- Qur'ān should be created since it assumed to be distinct and separate from God. Because Qur'ān has some qualifications such as attributions and sections which are perceptible, *muḥkam* and *mutashabih* verses or metaphoric and audible, and it demonstrates a nature of createdness which cannot be attributed to God. If they were *qadīm*, we would have appointed another pre-eternal besides God.
- *Kalām* is created in terms of its temporality.
- *Kalām* owes its meaning to its structure that is built upon words, which means it is formed by a special arrangement. A word which deprived of this cannot be meaningful. This also demonstrates its createdness.
- Qur'ān's defiance to mankind in some issues is also a proof of its createdness. Because, challenging with something pre-eternal is not only nonsensical but impossible as well. As there is allowance in defiance, Qur'ān should have been created.
- As word is attributed to its owner as an act of himself, *kalām* cannot be pre-eternal; i.e. the words such as *in'ām* (gift from God), *ihsan* (to do beautiful things).
- Suggesting that *God's speech (kalām Allāh)* is pre-eternal despite its being a substance, means that all substances are of the same kind.
- Claiming that Qur'ān is pre-eternal and uncreated would be a deficient attribution to God, because in this case Qur'ān is abstracted from such qualifications as "comprehensibility" and its "benefits". Also, it would be impossible to understand what is meant by divine wish. And whether it is comprehensible or "sent down", can only be perceived through human language it addresses, i.e.,

⁴⁴ Māturidī, *Kitāb al-Tawhīd*, 84.

⁴⁵ Qādī 'Abd al-Jabbār, *al-Mughnī*, 5/84-93.

through a created (*muḥdath*) way. Otherwise, God would have been desiring evil, which would also be *muḥdath*.

It is reasonable to summarize then that the *Mu'tazila* who constituted their basic tenets on the principle of Tawḥīd of the Islamic doctrine had attempted to justify the createdness of the Qur'ān (or God's speech (*kalām Allāh*)) on the basis of the rationale stated above.

According to Ahl al-Sunna, God's speech (*kalām Allāh*)—in other words, *al-kalām al-nafsī*—exists with God's nature and has a meaning which can be expressed with a verse exempt *munazzal* from all deficiencies. This means that its eternal relation can be separated into different parts including prohibition (*nahy*), command (*amr*), message (*khobar*), call (*nidā*), and the like. The Ahl al-Sunna does not find it obstructive or oppose that *al kalām al-lafzī*, bearing the ordinary qualifications, i.e. those indicating its *makhlūq*, meaning exists with God. For, the evidence or the indicators that refer to the createdness of Qur'ān in fact belong to *lafz* (wording) not to the meaning that exists and pre-eternal with God. Besides, the plurality of *al kalām al-lafzī* (Qur'ān, Old Testament, Bible, etc) does not at all indicate that the multiplicity of *al-kalām al-nafsī* existing with God himself. The plurality of the *lafz* disclosing only the distinguishable part of *kalām* does not imply the plurality of meaning, the spiritual world of *kalām*. Therefore, the God's speech (*kalām Allāh*), which is written in the Qur'ān, memorized by hearts and uttered by tongues, is *ghayr makhlūq*. Because God's speech (*kalām Allāh*) is read, heard and read through *lafz* or verses signifying a *qadīm* meaning.

That God's speech (*kalām Allāh*) bears this such characteristics does not denote a createdness, in other words its *muḥdath* quality. Just as writing, hearing or pronouncing a sentence like "Fire has a burning effect" does not require its realness as sound, letter and system, *kalām al-nafsī* reflecting the *kalām* meaning by Ahl al-Sunna cannot be fully understood by linguistic terms.

al-Nasafī, in his *Ṭabṣīrat al-adilla*, describes the *kalām* definition of Ahl al-Sunna in different words to the effect of the same conclusion:

God's speech (kalām Allāh) is an eternal attribute which bears no relation to the system of phonetic or letter codes. The *kalām* attribute exists with God and bears opposite meanings to silence; speechlessness or inability as in naivety of a child, or muteness. With this attribute, God commands, prohibits and calls; this attribute is evidenced by the expressions. Designating the expression as *God's speech (kalām Allāh)* is only because they are indicated by *kalām* (speech). When God speaks in Arabic, they call it Qur'ān; when He speaks in Syriac, they call it Bible and in Hebrew, they call it Old Testament. The difference is in the expressions, not in the attribute.⁴⁶

The Salafīs, who are more conservative compared to Ahl al-Sunna, take another stance. They interpret all of the texts such as ḥadīth and verses literally as they believe it is aloof of figurative expressions. The Salafīs, in respect to Ahl al-Sunna followers that chastised the *Mu'tazila* more strictly. The Salafīs took religious scholars and their transported source texts as their reference and asserted a supremacy over their opponents and their adverse views. The Salafīs, as we stated briefly above, believe that *God's speech (kalām Allāh)* is pre-eternal and *ghayr makhlūq* only because it is related or attributed to God's nature in *nasses* (divine decrees based on verses) and *Ṣunnah*.

⁴⁶ Nasafī, *Ṭabṣīrat al-adilla*, 1/382-383.

The Salafī, as opposed to Mu'tazila and Ahl al-Sunna, believe that it would be great illusion to abstract word from meaning when considering the realness of *kalām* and that it is absolutely necessary to conceive it holistically in order to understand *kalām*. On the contrary, the Salafīs based *kalām* as an attribute within the unity of word and meaning. Therefore, they did not consider *kalām* as it is seen by Mu'tazila who take the issue on the basis of lafz and think God is exempt from all attributes or like Ahl al-Sunna who divide the *kalām* as *al-kalām al-nafsī* and *al-kalām al-lafzī*. In other words, the Salafīs take *kalām* without any interpretation or ta'wīl (explanation), i.e. without any deviation. From the standpoint of unitedness of lafz and meaning in *God's speech (kalām Allāh)*, the Salafīs define *God's speech (kalām Allāh)* as one single conception or attribute within God's eternal knowledge, take an agnostic attitude towards the way divine *kalām* is spoken and its nature; and claim that the speech of God can no way be figurative or metaphoric.⁴⁷

According to the Salafīs, Qur'ān is *God's speech (kalām Allāh)* both in word and meaning and is a divine attribute of God. Within this context, the Salafīs distinctively from Mu'tazila and Asharies, contend that while considering *kalām*, word and meaning must be preserved and must not be interpreted.⁴⁸ Ibn Taymiyya remarks that the Qur'ān is God's *kalām* as a whole -meaning and letters- and Gabriel delivered *God's speech (kalām Allāh)* to the Prophet.⁴⁹ In addition to all these, Ibn Taymiyya relates the arguments of Salafīyya and eminent great imams of four schools and he states his opinion as the following:

The description of *kalām* has been a matter of dispute among men and some interpreted it as "a word signifying a meaning", while others read it as "the meaning signified by a word". For different camps, on the other hand, *kalām* is a conception that covers both word and meaning, whereas still others argue that *kalām*, although it may correspond with meaning or word depending on the situation, is in fact an all-encompassing concept covering both.⁵⁰

As it can be seen, all four schools regard *kalām* as consisting of word and meaning, yet they disagree on the primacy of one over another and on the relationship between the two.

According to Salafīs, *kalām* is an attribute that belongs to the speaker. Accordingly, *God's speech (kalām Allāh)* cannot be separated from its owner (speaker). In fact, God made Gabriel hear His *kalām* attribute. To the understanding of the adherents of this school, it is not appropriate to say *God's speech (kalām Allāh)* has been separated from God's nature and been transfused to prophets. However, the statement that should be made: "He, as *God's speech (kalām Allāh)*, is *ghayr makhluq*" (Originated in Him and returns back to Him). The statement "originated in Him" means He Himself is the one who speaks; and the statement "returns to Him," means *God's speech (kalām Allāh)* cannot be devoted to mushaf (the Divine Books) or by the mind that memorizes it, i.e. the prophets.⁵¹ So, The God has spoken using the letters and meanings of Qur'ān. The speech there belongs neither to Gabriel to Mohammad.

⁴⁷ Ibn Taymiyya, *al-Rasāil*, 1/76.

⁴⁸ Qādī 'Abd al-Jabbār ibn Aḥmad, *al-Muḥīṭ bi-l-taklīf*, Critical ed. Omar al-Sayyīd 'Azmi - Aḥmad Fuad al-Aḥvānī (Cairo: Dār al-Misriyya, n.d.), 308.

⁴⁹ Ibn Taymiyya, *al-Rasāil*, 22 etc.

⁵⁰ Ibn Taymiyya, *al-Rasāil*, 55.

⁵¹ Ibn Taymiyya, *al-Rasāil*, 75.

Here lies the reason why Ibn Taymiyya says, God - without relating Qurʾān to time or space - revealed Qurʾān through His own speech and presents evidence by *nidā* (call—voice) and its synonyms transferred from Qurʾān. However, it is impossible to know whether God spoke through a *kalām* comprising word and meaning. His speech is not a figurative one. He revealed them to prophets. Besides, the Salafī school confirms and insists on the view that Qurʾān - as word and meaning - is God's *kalām* and that God has revealed the Qurʾān through His speech. According to Salafīyya, *God's speech (kalām Allāh)* is pre-eternal in its genus or nature. Salafis (the earlier religious scholars) do not say, "the word per se is pre-eternal" or "Qurʾān is pre-eternal". On the contrary, Salafis asserts various accounts like "[it] is *God's speech (kalām Allāh)*, revealed (munazzal) or *ghayr makhlūq*."⁵²

Abū Hanīfa, who brought forward the opinion of Ahl al-Sunna in its original form, regarded *kalām* as essential attribute among His other attributes is *qadīm* and that God is *mutakallim* with His essential *kalām* and the attribute is eternal itself.⁵³ It is claimed that Abū Hanīfa, in the context of the issue of the createdness of Qurʾān, advocates Qurʾān is *makhlūq*. However, the historian, al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī defended Abū Hanīfa and clarified him as the following: "As far as the issue of createdness of Qurʾān is concerned, Abū Hanafi is said to contend that Qurʾān is the uncreated (*ghayr makhlūq*)."⁵⁴

Nevertheless, when a prominent Ḥanafī jurist Abū Yūsuf Yaʿqūb b. Ibrāhīm al-Anṣārī al-Kūfī (d. 182/798) was asked about the createdness of Qurʾān, he asked not to call the Qurʾān with the term "the created". When the same question is directed to Abū Hanīfa, he replied "Qurʾān is *makhlūq*. Because whoever says that "I swear on the Qurʾān that I am not going to do it" swears in fact on something else than God and everything except God is *makhlūq*." As stated by Abū Hilal al-Askār, Abū Hanīfa uses an analogy ("*swear on the Qurʾān*") related to *fiqh* and makes a deduction. In other words, in Abū Hanīfa's logic, everything except God is *makhlūq*; and since Qurʾān is something other than God, it is a *makhlūq*, too." Despite all of the explanations above, we see such statements in *al-Fiqh al-Akbar* which is believed to be written by Abū Hanīfa: "Qurʾān is revealed to the prophets as God's *kalām* which is written in the holy books, memorized in hearts and uttered by tongues. Qurʾān is in the form of a *makhlūq* so that we can read and pronounce it. However, the Qurʾān itself is *ghayr makhlūq*."⁵⁵

In order to resolve the paradox between his own expressions above and the statements here, we may have to disregard the claim that *al-Fiqh al-Akbar* is written by Abū Hanīfa or what he means is the written words in Qurʾān as in the analogy of "swear" above.

Muḥammad b. Idrīs al-Shāfiʿī (d. 204/820), on the other hand, tries to be unbiased and follows the midcourse between Salafīyya and Ahl al-Sunna yet he takes a stance when it comes down to the issue of Qurʾān's createdness. al-Shāfiʿī like fuqahā and the muhaddithun, he says "Qurʾān is God's *kalām* and is not a *makhlūq*." As evidence, he underlines the verse stating, "God spoke to Moses."⁵⁶

⁵² Ibn Taymiyya, *al-Rasāil*, 55; İzmirli İsmail Hakki, *Yeni İlm-i Kelâm*, 2/114.

⁵³ Naşr Ḥāmid Abū Zayd, *İlahi Hitabın Tabiatı*, trans. Mehmet Emin Maşalı (Ankara: Kitabiyat Publications, 2001), 333.

⁵⁴ Naşr Ḥāmid Abū Zayd, *İlahi Hitabın Tabiatı*, 333.

⁵⁵ Abū Zayd, *İlahi Hitabın Tabiatı*, 333.

⁵⁶ Muḥammad Abū Zahrā, *Imam Şaḫīfī* (Cairo: Dār al-Fikr al-ʿArabī, 1948), 136-137.

At this point, one can speculate that there is another reason why al-Shāfi'ī accepts the statement "God spoke to Moses behind a veil". al-Shāfi'ī was objecting to the claim that "Qur'ān is makhlūq" as stated by the jurist (faqīh) Ibn 'Ulayya (d. 218/832).⁵⁷ The latter founded and developed Jahmiyya (upon the doctrine of Ja'd b. Dirham who first coined the phrase "createdness of Qur'ān in history").⁵⁸ al-Shāfi'ī, who confirms the attributes ascribed to God, resorts to nass and Ṣunnah as the evidence and tries to prove that Qur'ān is not makhlūq. However, he does not attempt to make dichotomy or division as Ahl al-Sunna or other scholars did. According to him, all verses and meanings Qur'ān is God's *kalām* and to deny or reject it is infidelity (*takfīr*); and to attempt to interpret it through various *tawils* is *bid'at*.

During the end of Umayyad reign, Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal was one of the people who was harshly oppressed and tortured in the event called Miḥna Event (the Inquisition of the Abassid Caliph al-Al-Ma'mūn - known as the one who issued circulars as a result of the pressure of scholars of Mu'tazila of the time who were forced to admit that the Qur'ān was created rather than uncreated). Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal was one of the few scholars to refuse it and advocated that all the attributes of God that are stated in the Qur'ān and ḥadīths are in fact His attributes designating His uncreatedness.⁵⁹ Also, he regards that all of the attributes including His *kalām* attribute as pre-eternal. Since *kalām* attribute is *qadīm* and result of this idea the Qur'ān is *qadīm* and uncreated too.⁶⁰

It is also rumoured that Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal was in fact silent about the issue and was reluctant to take a stance. The same rumours went on with his claim that he regarded such discussions as *bid'at* and preferred to be duly silent and said that he'd rather keep quiet than follow those *bid'at* makers. However, Ibn Qutayba (d. 276/889) opposes this stance based on the presumption that it is difficult for him to remain silent during a period of intense debates. It is particularly clear that this was the reason lying behind the pressures and tortures he went through during *Miḥna (Inquisition)* at Umayyah reign.⁶¹ Those who advocate that he was reluctant to say anything at the time, attempt to prove it by the letters he sent to al-Mu'taṣim. The letter portrays an imam trying to be reserved about the issue. Another evidence is the following account which Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal brought forward:

He who says the Qur'ān is makhlūq, he is a Jahmī (from the Jahmiyya). If he is Jahmī, he is kafir.
And he who says the Qur'ān is not makhlūq, he makes *bid'at*.⁶²

Ibn Qutayba rejects this account and objects this opinion. Another group, however, claims that Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal means that Qur'ān is not a makhlūq all together with the letters, expressions and meanings in it.

⁵⁷ Although Ibn 'Uleyye was accused of adopting the opinion of the createdness of the Qur'ān, he repented that it was due to a misunderstanding, after Emīn, who just became caliph, asked him about it. See. Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *al-'Ilal wa-ma'rifat al-rijāl*, Critical ed. Waṣiyyallāh b. Muḥammad 'Abbās (Bombay, 1408/1988), 1/377.

⁵⁸ Abū Zahrā, *Imam Shafi'i*, 136-137.

⁵⁹ Muḥammad Abū Zahrā, *Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal* (Cairo: Dār al-Fikr al-'Arabī, 1947), 131-132, 136-137; Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *al-Radd 'alā al-Zanādiqah wa al-Jahmiyyah* (Cairo: al-Maṭba'a al-Salafiyyah wa Maktabiyah, 1393), 26.

⁶⁰ Abū Zahrā, *Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal*, 132.

⁶¹ Miḥna was reversed in 234/848 by al-Ma'mūn's third successor, caliph al-Mutawakkil (r. 232-47/847-61).

⁶² Abū Zahrā, *Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal*, 133.

To substantiate this, they point at his letters and other accounts delivered by Ibn Ḥanbal. One of the documents mentioned is the letter he sent to al-Mutawakkil (the one who relies on God and therefore trustingly bears those hardships that come his way) who asks him to state his actual opinion and write a text to relieve the pain and stress arising from the issue of createdness of Qurʾān.⁶³

The latter appears to indicate two points: Firstly, for Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, who takes sides with the Salafī as his predecessors, believes that Qurʾān is not created. According to him, "Qurʾān is God's *kalām* and God's *kalām* does not indicate a createdness. Rather, it declares His command (amr). Command and createdness are thoroughly different from each other." His inferences take their sources from the nasses⁶⁴ in Qurʾān, speeches of ḥadīths and remarks of the companions, saḥaba and tabi'ūn.

Secondly, the letter shows that Ibn Ḥanbal disapproves in analyzing or immersing in such debates and does not want to permit them to be discussed. While he speaks on this matter, he appears extremely reluctant. His actual objective seems to prevent them from any misleading that can be caused by the debaters and to protect people against confusion.⁶⁵

It can be concluded that both sides have good arguments. When an overview is presented on Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal by putting together all of his views and statements, an insight can be drawn that he advocates the standpoint that highlights the Qurʾān as not being created. However, he opted to remain silent due to the chaotic atmosphere and the anxiety present during that period.

Nevertheless, Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal made efforts to support his views with Qurʾān verses. Takes the verse "We have made it a Qurʾān in Arabic" (al- Ḥicr 15/91) as example and states that it would be a great mistake to take the word/verb "made/ja'ala" in the verse as an indicator of Qurʾāns' createdness. Or another verse "And they made Qurʾān in parts (15/91), "They made the angels female who are subjects of God the most Compassionate." (al- Zuh̄ruf 43/19). The word "ja'ala" in these verses means in fact "sammā". However, the word "ja'ala" close to the "fa'ala" in meaning (as it should be here) can be best exemplified in the verse "they seal ears with their fingers"⁶⁶ Yaj'alūna means here "fa'ala".⁶⁷

Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, points out that the word *ja'ala* in the very well-known verse "We have made it a Qurʾān in Arabic" is used in the meaning of *fa'ala* (rendered), not "create/made" as it was supposed. The word *ja'ala* in the following verses also used in the meaning of "fa'ala". "We have sent it down as an Arabic Qurʾān, so you people may understand" (al-Shu'arā' 26/195) and again in "Verily, We have made Qurʾān easy, in your tongue, onto your heart in order that they may give heed." (al-Shu'arā' 26/195), and "We have made Qu'rān in Arabic, that ye may be able to understand." (al-Shu'arā' 26/195).⁶⁸

⁶³ Abū Zahrā, *Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal*, 132-136.

⁶⁴ Abū Zahrā, *Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal*, 138-39; Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *al-Radd*, 26.

⁶⁵ Abū Zahrā, *Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal*, 133.

⁶⁶ Abū Zayd, *İlahi Hitabın Tabiatı*, 362.

⁶⁷ Abū Zayd, *İlahi Hitabın Tabiatı*, 362.

⁶⁸ Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *al-Radd*, 22-4.

As it can be shown his way of interpretation of the verses, Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal can be said to advocate that Qurʾān is not created, that, on the contrary, Qurʾān is qadīm. Yet, it should be kept in mind that, the accounts have strong arguments according to other rumors. Because Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal may actually have kept silent due to his political worries at the time and may have felt it necessary to stay away from such discussion in order not to mislead common people.

According to al-Ghazzālī, who after meticulously studying each of the attributes of God in detail accepted all of them as they appeared in the Qurʾān and ḥadīths as qadīm attributes:

God Almighty is the One that speaks through a *kalām* idiosyncratic to Himself, that commands, prohibits, promises with Heaven and, threaten with Hell. His speech exists with His own Self and it bears no resemblance to that of humans. His voice is not generated through a vibration in the air or collision of things and his letters cannot be compared to one that is produced by movement of the reciter's tongue and his management of the flow of air in his mouth. The Qurʾān, Torah, Gospel, and Psalms are His Books, revealed to His messengers, upon whom be peace. The Qurʾān is read by tongues, written in books, and remembered in the heart, yet it is subsisting in the Essence of God, not subject to division and or separation through its transmission to the heart and paper.⁶⁹

al-Ghazzālī (d. 505/1111), like the scholars of Ahl-al Sunna, divides God's *kalām* into *al-kalām al-nafsī* and *al-kalām al-lafẓī*,⁷⁰ and stating that the Qurʾān is *kadīm* in the meaning sense, he tries to explain his view through *kalām al-nafsī*. From this perspective, al-Ghazzālī concludes that the fact that God's *kalām* is written in the holy books and read by tongues does not demonstrate it is created. For, God's *kalām* does not consist of sound and letters. The dialogue between God and Moses as written in the book is explained by al-Ghazzālī by his comment "Moses has heard God's *kalām* not in the form of sounds and letters." Also, al-Ghazzālī takes the issue of 'contradiction in terms' as his starting point to solve the problem.

Rephrased al-Ghazzālī asks does the *kalām* of God Almighty exist in the holy books or not? If it exists, how is it manifested into something qadīm? If it is not manifested/infiltrated, does it not contradict with *ijma* (agreement)? He answered these questions by saying: God's *kalām* is written in sacred places, memorized in the hearts and read by the tongues; as for the ink and the words on pages, they are all temporal since they are comprised of similar matter and naturally temporal. al-Ghazzālī also states that there is a difference between the saying that God's *kalām* is written in the holy book and God's qadīm attribute is thoroughly reflected on the holy book; and he supports his point by the analogy of fire. In addition to this, al-Ghazzālī states that he who thinks the act of making sound and dividing it into letters is a qadīm act does not deserve to be addressed or accounted. For this poor man is not aware of what he is saying and is ignorant of the meaning of either letter or ḥadīth.⁷¹

In order to clarify that Qurʾān is not *makhlūq*, al-Ghazzālī continued to suggest another solution and says: To understand whether the Qurʾān is God's *kalām* or not, we need to take three points into

⁶⁹ Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad al-Ghazzālī, *Iḥyā al-'Ulūm al-Dīn* (Beirut: Dār al-Ma'rifa, 1982), 91.

⁷⁰ Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad al-Ghazzālī, *al-Iqtisād fī al-'itiqād* (s.l.: Dār al-Maktab al-Ḥilal, 2000), 142-44.

⁷¹ al-Ghazzālī, *al-Iqtisād fī al-'itiqād*, 150.

consideration: *qirāʾah* (recitation), *maqrūʾ* (recited text) and *lafẓ* al-Qurʾān (wording). *Maqrūʾ* (recited text) which has been read is the uncreated spoken words originating with God and ascribed to Him as His speech⁷². In other words, *kalām* exists as an eternal attribute with God. The *Qirāʾa* (reading Qurʾān) is a temporal action which returns to the act one left before. The temporal action simply means that the reader starts or generates the act of reading before the act of reading exists. *Qirāʾa* is simply to restart an act that he did not do before. In other words, this is something perceived by senses. At times al-Ghazzālī says that when one says Qurʾān, he means that it is *maqrūʾ* and if one indicates this meaning in Qurʾān, he in fact means the Qurʾān *qadīm*, not something *makhlūq*. This is what the Salafīs mean when they say, The Qurʾān, that is, the one that is read as God Almighty's *kalām* is not created. And al-Ghazzālī points out that if the word of Qurʾān is used to indicate the act of *qirāʾa* of the reader, it is impossible think that that reader may have existed before *qirāʾa* comes to exist. For what does not exist before the existence of ḥadīth is undoubtedly also ḥadīth.⁷³

Also, there are divisions and parts which conflict with the attribute of *qadīm* Qurʾān, that they have a beginning and an end, that they are not simplified and so combined that they don't mean anything on their own, and in fact indicate the *kalām* attribute of God. These are the characteristics of *qirāʾa* and manifest the *maqrūʾ*.⁷⁴

The Qurʾān is not created, what is created is in fact is the *qirāʾa* and the *lafẓ* and the meaning is pre-eternal and all the commands, prohibitions, messages and dialogs are pre-eternal too. The question one may ask then is how a message is conveyed by something non-existent, how a command is given to an entity that does not exist and how to forbid that entity to some other languages? The most important question is how does eternal God dialogue with someone that does not exist? al-Ghazzālī answers these questions by using verses such as "Take the shoes off your feet" (Ṭāhā 20/12) and "We sent Noah to his people" (Ṭāhā 20/12) and states that the objections to these verses arise from the fact that they are accepted *kalām* as sound or *lafẓ*. In the nature of God, it means "We shall send Noah" and after sending it means "We have sent". According to al-Ghazzālī, speech changes based on the situation whereas the meaning which is eternal with the nature of God does not change.⁷⁵

To our understanding, these explanations however, cause to new problem. After the act has been completed in the sentence "We shall send Noah", it is claimed that the sentence turns into "We have sent", which is quite problematic indeed. Because there occurs a change in knowledge of God and God's omnipotence and action undergo an alteration depending on the time. And all of this happens not in our mind or knowledge but in His mind and truth. al-Ghazzālī believes that the change occurs in His knowledge. Although al-Ghazzālī says that the changes in words do not affect the meaning, this cannot be a point of departure. For, the meaning in each sentence is clearly different: one reads "We shall send", and the other "We have sent."

⁷² al-Ghazzālī, *al-Iqtisād fi al-ʿitiqād*, 151.

⁷³ al-Ghazzālī, *al-Iqtisād fi al-ʿitiqād*, 151-152

⁷⁴ al-Ghazzālī, *al-Iqtisād fi al-ʿitiqād*, 152.

⁷⁵ Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad al-Ghazzālī, *Tahāfut al-Falāsifa*, ed. Aḥmad Shams al-Dīn (Beirut: Dar al-Kitāb al-ʿIlmiyah, 2000), 113-122.

Let us continue with al-Ghazzālī's statements. According to al-Ghazzālī, the truth of a message requires a connection with its bearer; which, in this case, is Noah's being sent down to people. And that knowledge cannot be changed in accordance with situation as mentioned in the topic knowledge of God. The phrase of God "Take off your shoes" is in fact an indicator of a specific command. And command is a *lafẓ* that requires the addressee to obey, a demand that is born by the One who commands. In order to solve this problem, al-Ghazzālī says, "to make the command take place, it is not necessary for the servant to exist (before his existence). However, before the existence of the command, it could be accepted that the command exists with its owner"⁷⁶ And this logical proposition might partly relieve our concerns.

In brief, al-Ghazzālī, tried to come up with counter-evidence and logical propositions to refute the claims that the Holy Book - the Qur'ān in this case - is *makhlūq*; the claim which resulted from God's being One with His *kalām* attribute and His dialogue with human beings. When doing this, he employs dialectics and tries to answer the very complicated questions that are asked or possible to be asked. Like Ahl al-Sunna scholars, al-Ghazzālī too divides *kalām* into two parts as *kalām-al lafẓī* and *kalām al-nafsī* and proposes that the Qur'ān is the product of the second part, that is, the *kalām-al nafsi*. And in order to refute the claims of createdness of the Qur'ān, he makes an unusual categorization and divides the Qur'ān as *qirā'ah*, what *maqrū'* and *lafẓ-al-Qur'ān*. He says that what ḥadīth and *makhlūq* is in fact the *qirā'a* (*reading Qur'ān*) and the words (*lafẓ*) in the Qur'ān and he tries to prove that what is *maqrū'* which the meaning is definitely the product of God's *kalām* attribute and *qadīm*.

Conclusion

Throughout Islam's theology, the issue of the createdness of Qur'ān - which results from the discourse of the denial of attributes and which was first raised as a question by Ja'd b. Dirham and followed by Jahm b. Safwān and Bishr al-Marīsī, - has been one of the oldest debates raging within the Islamic scholarly circles. When political conspiracies were involved in the issue, the debate became even fiercer and led to bloodshed and torture among Muslim communities causing death to many eminent scholars and persons. The createdness of the Qur'ān issue – said to have been introduced into the community of Islam by some scholars from other religions—stirred up myriad of discussions, debates and disputes among Muslim scholars.

When we analyze the discussions focusing on *God's speech (kalām Allāh)* from the second half of 124 AH until the end of the fourth century (AH), the most substantial contentment one can reach seems to be that many of these debates had been built on fallacious propositions and grounds. One of the reasons why all these debates did not reach a conclusion is that the concepts had not been sufficiently analyzed and the attribution of false or different meanings to the same concepts under discussion. Each group or community attempted to resolve the issue within the framework of their own background, cultural structure and most importantly, their own principles. During the period of about two centuries, the common denominator of the disputes - whether verbal or written— had been the phrase of *makhlūq* which was accepted as a presumption (by the Mu'tazila). Therefore, the issue of the createdness of the Qur'ān which disrupted the communities at the time is simply the attempts of affirmation or negation of the pseudo conclusion reached,

⁷⁶ al-Ghazzālī, *Tahāfut al-Falāsifa*, 113.

rather than examples of an accurate sample. Almost all the discussions within this period had occurred as arguments depicting a speculative approach to support some a priori presumptions.

Although the issue of createdness of the Qur'ān —as a multifaceted issue— is originated in the enigmatic nature of its relationship with revelation, it in fact demonstrates a number of erroneous methods which in turn became the source of its insolubility. Misconfigured methods appear to be the most influential factor in the course the issue takes in time. By erroneous methods, we mean the handling the *God's speech (kalām Allāh)* issue in terms of a dichotomy of 'makhlūq and ghayr makhlūq', which arises from the search of meaning and assuming that each notion has ontologically severe distinctions. The defective reasoning in resolving the issue went even further and it was presumed that word (speech) is an attribute to God.

The emergences of evaluations that are seriously fallacious have a considerable effect on the deadlock of the issue under consideration. While the Qur'ān issue must be handled as "what has been delivered to the Prophet Mohammad" who was the addressee of the revelation, it was considered to be an attribute to God's and within the context of God. Such considerations made it inevitable that *lafz* is to be separated from meaning and led to the discussion focusing on whether the *lafz* (the Qur'ān we hold in our hands) is created and the believer's contention that the Qur'ān exists with God's nature is uncreated. As a result of this differentiation the Qur'ān we actually hold in our hands has been accepted as the figurative Qur'ān according to Ahl al-Sunna, especially the Ash'ariyya and meaning, as the attribute of God, is the actual Qur'ān.

It can be concluded that the speculative analyses mentioned above have become an obstacle that prevents the truth to emerge rather than shedding light on it. Such representations which result in a problem entangled by itself are based on the notion of *mutākallim* shaped in the human mind. In this respect it can be said that set *kalām* aside from *mutākallim*, it makes meaningless the meaning of *mutākallim*. When Ahl al-Sunna and Salafis, supporters of such views, accept the Qur'ān as *God's speech (kalām Allāh)* pre-eternal with His nature, they agree that the concept of *mutākallim* has its roots in the human mind. Mu'tazila on the other hand, believes that *God's speech (kalām Allāh)* must be thought separately from it, since the *God's speech (kalām Allāh)* is only the object of revelation. However, while Ahl al-Sunna regards *God's speech (kalām Allāh)* within the context of the meaning and the *lafz* together, the Mu'tazila took it only on the grounds of *lafz* and makes an erroneous inference on this attribute and its product (the Qur'ān) within the relationship of the nature of God and the principles of Tawhīd. Attempting to justify their approach, the Mu'tazila focus on the belief that the *kalām* (described as the source of the true path (hidāyah) of God, creator of everything) was revealed to the prophet. That the world is taken as an attribute negates the revelation.

Within the framework of linguistic explanations employing the *kalām-al lafzī* and *kalām-al nafsī* —the key concepts of the issue of [un]createdness of Qur'ān—demonstrating the two facets of the same concept, we can make the following conclusions:

The *kalām al-nafsī* that is perceived by Ahl al-Sunna and al-Ghazzālī as the way of mind allowing speech to be delivered to human beings is as defective as Mu'tazila's description of the problem thoroughly on lexical (*lafz*) terms, totally ignoring the meaning. As a matter of fact, it is therefore impossible to solve the issue of createdness of the Qur'ān unless the issue is analyzed on the basis of the unity of speech and meaning. Furthermore, Ahl al-Sunna is committing a logical fallacy, if not thoroughly inconsistent, when

they take the issue on the grounds of thinking the ability on human beings just as the Mu'tazila considers the issue as lexical-oriented only to deny the truth. On the other hand, Al-Ghazzālī's explanation that the words mean *nahy*, *Khabar* and the alike, are *qadīm* with God. Yet later this is also problematic. Now that we are not able to comprehend the opinion of Ahl-al Sunna only expresses an instant speculation in human minds. In this design, words are accompanied with meanings. And speech exists after this act. To define God's *kalām* based upon mind and human thoughts is both logically and ontologically fallacious. In order to avoid such mistakes made in traditional discussions Naṣr Ḥāmid Abū Zayd (d. 2010) and Mohammed Arkoun (d. 2010), suggested to reconsider the issue from the contemporary linguistic and hermeneutic theory, but unfortunately their offer was not accepted by other Muslim scholar.⁷⁷

In summary, the following fallacies led to a deadlock on the issue under consideration:

- Ignoring the diversity and difference between Schools, scholar and groups trying to understand and discussed the issue based on their principles and rubrics and fundamental beliefs which they accepted.
- Taking the *God's speech (kalām Allāh)* as an attribute in conjunction and relativeness to God.
- Attempting to define *kalām* on account of the dichotomy between word and meaning
- Perceiving that one should take the concept of *mutakallim* as the starting point debating without understanding the arguments of the other schools and scholars
- Handling the issue before solving the problem of different perceptions on the concepts employed, that is, each concept became laden with only its truths and the same concept was perceived differently depending on the groups and schools.

In the context of revelation, although instead of the Qur'ān issue which must be handled as "what has been delivered to the Prophet Mohammad" who was the addressee of the revelation, it was considered to be an attribute of God and within the context of God. The attributes ascribed to God, particularly His *kalām* attribute and the resulting question "Is the Qur'ān created?" have been a deep concern of Islam scholar, perhaps more than necessary. The following sentence inscribed into a tombstone perhaps of the year 200/815 is quite concise to demonstrate that the significance attached to the topic: The Qur'ān is *kalām Allāh*, revealed and not created, good and bad both come from Him.⁷⁸

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⁷⁷ Mohammed Arkoun, *Rethinking Islam. Common questions, uncommon answers*, trans. from the French and ed. Robert D. Lee (Boulder 1988), 6; Richard C. Martin, "Createdness of the Qur'ān", *Encyclopaedia of the Qur'ān*, ed. Jane Dammen McAuliffe (Leiden-Boston-Köln: Brill, 2001), 1/471.

⁷⁸ Arthur Stanley Tritton, "The Speech of God", *Studia Islamica* 36 (1972), 7.

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The Term *Qatl* in the Qur'ān as a Source of History and Its Historical Framework

Mehmet Çakırtaş *

Abstract

Intentional killing of people is expressed with the concept of '*qatl*' (killing). This expression is also used in Turkish. Since the beginning of history, *qatl* has remained an issue in human relations. As far as we can see, the studies analysing the concept *qatl* did not go beyond the encyclopedic information. Examining the term *qatl* - where a step further means war - in the context of the Qur'ān, which is one of the most fundamental sources of Islamic History, and especially the determination of the projections in the sources of *Sīra* (*the story of the Prophet's life*) hope to contribute to understanding the framework of this matter. In this study, starting from the Qur'ān as a source of History and *Sīra*, the historical references of the verses concerning the word *qatl* were identified in their connection with *Sīra*. As a result of the research, it is observed that the concept *qatl* in the Qur'ān can be analysed under seven categories, including war. The majority of these categories were used as a reference in *Sīra* sources.

Keywords

History of Islam, *Sīra*, The Qur'ān, *Qatl*, Prophet Muḥammad

* **Corresponding Author:** Ph. D., Radio and Television Supreme Council, Ankara, Turkey | Dr., Radyo ve Televizyon Üst Kurulu
m_cakirtas@hotmail.com | **ORCID** 0000-0002-2221-1509

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Bir Tarih Kaynağı Olarak Kurʾān’da Katl Kavramı ve Tarihî Çerçevesi

Öz

Nefis sahibi varlıkların canına kastedip öldürmek, ‘katl’ kavramıyla ifade edilmiştir. İnsanlar arası ilişkilerde tarihin başlangıcından itibaren katl, bir mesele olarak varlığını korumuştur. Tespit edebildiğimiz kadarıyla katl kavramına dair çalışmalar ansiklopedik açıklamaların ötesine geçememiştir. Bir adım ötesinde savaşın yer aldığı katl kavramının bütün boyutlarıyla İslam Tarihi’nin en temel kaynaklarından olan Kurʾān açısından ortaya konması, özellikle Siyer kaynaklarındaki izdüşümlerinin tespiti bu kadîm meselenin çerçevesinin anlaşılmasına değerli bir katkı sağlayacaktır. Makalede bir Tarih ve Siyer kaynağı olarak Kurʾān’dan hareketle katl ile ilgili âyetlerin tarihî referanslarıyla tespit edilip Siyer ile ilişkisi ele alınmıştır. Araştırma neticesinde, Kurʾān’da katl kavramının savaş da dahil olmak üzere yedi başlıklı bir kategorizasyona tâbi tutulabileceği ve bunların önemli bir kısmının Siyer kaynaklarında referans olarak kullanıldığı görülmüştür.

Anahtar Kelimeler

İslam Tarihi, Siyer, Kurʾān, Katl, Hz. Muhammed

Introduction

Qatl means taking the life of a living being. Another meaning of the term is to curse.¹ Again, dismissal is the other meaning attributed to the term.² It is used approximately 174 times in the Qurʾān with its derivatives. In the Qurʾān, the concept of *qatl* is used concerning two meanings: The first is to kill and the second is to curse. Although it is possible to talk about a third use, it is highly controversial and used only concerning killing the self.³ These issues will be highlighted in the relevant sections.

Having different dimensions and undeniable importance throughout history, the concept *qatl* and the relevant issues have only been studied on concept-basis, which has not transcended the limits of an encyclopedic examination.⁴ This notion essentially deserves to be studied comprehensively in the form of a book, and in the meantime, this paper aims to pave the way to fill a gap for realizing relevant dimensions of this concept. This study is based on the Qurʾān, which is also the source of History and *Sīra*. The historical background of the verses was sought to be confirmed from the sources of *Sīra* and History. Consequently, it is understood that the concept *qatl* has manifestations that can be examined under seven titles. For instance, it was found out that the *qatl* as the killing of the self is not expressly put forth and caused different interpretations.

1. Individual *Qatl*

Qatl is employed sometimes intentionally and sometimes unintentionally under varied circumstances. First and foremost, the act of *qatl* is strictly and explicitly forbidden for believers (al-Nisā

¹ Khalil b. Aḥmad, *Kitāb al-ʿAyn* (Beirut: Muʿassat al-Aʿlamī liʾl- Maṭbūʿāt, 1988), 5/127.

² Muḥammad b. Mukarram Ibn Manzūr, *Lisān al-ʿArab* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyah, 2009), 11/547.

³ Cafer Acar, *Hz. Peygamber’in Savaş Stratejisi* (Bursa: Emin Yayınları, 2018), 68.

⁴ Ali Bardakoğlu, “Katl”, *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* (Ankara: TDV Yayınları, 2002), 25/45-48.

4/92-93). However, the Qurʾān shows compensatory ways in case of a killing (*qatl*). Q 92 and 93 (al-Nisā) put forth the provisions for killing a believer by mistake, the unintentional killing of a believer among the hostile community and killing a person with whom one has a treaty.

al-Ṭabarī mentions two narratives in relation to Q 92-93. According to the first narrative, these verses were revealed in the context of ʿAyyāsh b. Abū Rabīʿa’s killing of Ḥārith b. Yazīd, who previously maltreated him. When ʿAyyāsh killed him, Ḥārith had converted to Islam. In the second narrative, it is reported that these verses were revealed in the context of a similar situation experienced by Abū l-Dardā. However, the first narrative was used more widely in the literature. As to the *Sīra* narratives, it is possible to encounter this event only once in late sources.⁵ Q 93 (al-Nisā), on the other hand, is associated with Miqyās b. Subāba, who went to Medina after becoming a Muslim and received compensation from the Prophet Muḥammad for his brother who was killed by mistake. However, he then vindictively killed the murderer of his brother and fled to Mecca by becoming an apostate.⁶

According to the Qurʾān, *qatl* without a legitimate reason causes heavenly anger. Referring to earlier communities of Israelites (Banū Isrāʾīl), the murder of a person is seen as an equally big crime as the killing of all humanity.⁷ It is noted that the verse was revealed to address the Jews, who set a trap to kill the Prophet Muḥammad.⁸ However, there is not any reference to this point in *Sīra* sources.

Unless there are legitimate reasons, killing is forbidden for causing injustice.⁹ At the same time, this act gives the family of the murdered person authority for the deprivation the act of killing causes, and this also determines the nature of the killer's punishment.¹⁰ The punishment should be limited to the killer only. The extreme methods and demands of *Jāhiliyya* community are rejected in this respect.¹¹ However, no information about this connection is identified in *Sīra* sources.

While the Qurʾān provides a guideline for Muslims for an Islamic way of daily life, it also refers to historical references from the pre-Islamic period. Therefore, as a source of history, it puts examples from both the pre-Islamic period and the period of revelation. In this context, the dialogue of Adam’s two sons with each other, and the unfair killing of the one by the other sibling is explained. Thus, the message is given to Muslims by explaining that these behaviours will lead people to frustration and not bring any good

⁵ Abū al-Faraj Nūraddīn Ali b. Ibrāhīm b. Ahmad al-Ḥalabī, *Insān al-ʿuyūn fī sirat al-Amīn al-Maʾmūn al-shahīr bi-al-Sīrah al-Ḥalabīyah* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyah, 2008), 2/29.

⁶ Qādī Husayn b. Muḥammad b. al-Hasan al-Diyārbakrī, *Tārīḫ al-ḥamīs fī aḥvālī anfasī nafīs* (Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, s.l.).

⁷ al-Māʾida 5/32.

⁸ *Kurʾān Yolu Meali*, prepared by Hayreddin Karaman et al. (Ankara: Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı Yayınları, 2014).

⁹ al-Anʿām 7/151; al-Isrāʾ 17/33; al-Furqan 25/68.

¹⁰ al-Isrāʾ 17/33.

¹¹ Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *al-Tafsīr al-kabīr* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyah, 2013), 20/203; Muḥammad al-Shawkānī, *al-Fatḥ al-qādir* (Cairo: Dār al-Ḥadīth, 2003), 3/255

results.¹² It is possible to find this information, particularly in general history books.¹³ Ibn Kathīr opened a section under the title “*Hābīl* and *Qābīl*” and included the relevant opinions.¹⁴

Another example is mentioned in the context of the Prophet Moses. There is initially mentioned inadmissibility of unfair killing with a parable of *al-Khiḍr*¹⁵ and then described an act of killing that Prophet Mūsā caused unintentionally. The Prophet Mūsā felt great anxiety and fear because of this incident. For this reason, Allah put him to severe tests.¹⁶ Thus, it points out to humanitarian consequences and particularly moral consequences of unfair *qatl* for all Muslims. In connection with the verses, this event was mentioned in history books by Ibn al-Jawzī,¹⁷ ‘Izz al-Dīn b. al-Athīr¹⁸ and Ibn Kathīr.¹⁹ The narrative is titled as Parable of *al-Khiḍr* or Parable of Moses.

There is also a story describing the desperation of the Jews to find the murderer of a person killed by his nephew to inherit his wealth.²⁰ However, this narrative is not mentioned in the sources of *Sīra*. Finally, the incident of Moses’s killing a Coptic from the Israelites is mentioned, and it is pointed out that this situation emerged as a cause of fear when performing his duty as a prophet. It was also recorded as a sin.²¹ Al-Ṭabarī²² Ibn Kathīr²³ and Ibn ‘Asākir²⁴ mentioned this issue in their books. Thus, in the context of individual *qatl*, it is seen that the four historical events are described in the Qurʾān as a source of history, and only some of these are reflected in the sources of *Sīra* and history:

- The Accidental killing of a believer by another Muslim;
- Unfair *qatl* of one of the Prophet Adam’s sons by the other son;
- Killing of a rich man, among the Jews, by his nephew for an inheritance;
- The Prophet Mūsā’s fighting with a man and causing his *qatl*.

2. *Qatl* of One’s Own Children

While it is difficult to even imagine one person’s killing his child, it is possible to find examples for this type of killing. The sociological and psychological background that prepares the ground for the

¹² al-Māʾida 5/27-32.

¹³ ‘Imād al-Dīn Ismāʿīl b. ‘Umar Ibn Kathīr, *Qīṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ* (Kuwait: Gharas li’l-Nashr, 2009), 55; Id, *al-Bidāya wa-l-nihāya* (Dimaşk - Beirut: Daru Ibn Kathīr, n.d.), 1/103.

¹⁴ Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa-l-nihāya* 1/103.

¹⁵ al-Qahf 18/74.

¹⁶ For detailed information, see Ta-ha 20/39; al-Qaṣaṣ 28/15-19, 33.

¹⁷ Ibn al-Jawzī, *al-Muntaẓam fi taʾrīkh al-mulūk wa-l-umam* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-Ilmiyah, 2006), 1/360.

¹⁸ ‘Izz al-Dīn b. al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fi l-tārīkh* (Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-‘Arabī), 1/143.

¹⁹ Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa-l-nihāya*, 1/343-347.

²⁰ For interpretation of the verse 1/72 of al-Baqara, see *Kurʾān Yolu Meali*.

²¹ al-Shuʾara 14; al-Qaṣaṣ 28/9, 33.

²² Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad b. Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīh al-Umam wa al-Muluk* (Cairo: Dār al-Maʿārif, n.d.), 1/406.

²³ Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa-l-nihāya*, 1/288.

²⁴ Abū al-Kāsim Ali b. al-Hasan b. Hibatillāh b. Abdillāh b. Husayn al-Dimashkī al-Shāfi, *Tārīkh Madīnat Dimashq* (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1995), 61/56.

realization of this process is important. One of the issues severely criticized in the Qur’ān, which is an important source for the Period of Prophecy as well as the previous periods, is the killing of one’s children with various concerns, especially for the sake of sustenance.²⁵ Indeed, the killing of one’s children cannot be explained in any way. However, it is possible to encounter the issue of killing children for sanitary reasons in history.²⁶ In general, the reason for the killing of children is famine, as reflected in the Qur’ān, but these reasons can be categorized under three:

- Sacred reasons (e.g. sacrifice)
- Children born following an unwanted pregnancy
- Famine

Although mostly for female children, there are assessments that male children were also killed²⁷. This issue is specifically mentioned in six verses in the Qur’ān. Only one of these verses uses the feminine version of the word “children” referring to the killing of the female children²⁸, while the others use the word “children” in general, referring to both boys and girls²⁹. Given that the verses are *Makkī* and *Madanī*, it can be understood that the issue of killing the children continued to exist as a living problem at that time. When female children are in question, the situation becomes even more dramatic. During the period of *Jāhiliyya* and in the relevant societies, having a daughter was seen as a burden and load. Such reasons as the famine were also effective on this, but Allah assures believers about livelihood.³⁰ The Qur’ān criticizes *Jāhiliyya* society’s situation.³¹

Q 137, which is the first of the three verses of *Sūrat al-An‘ām*, addresses a current situation and points out that the *polytheist (mushrik^m)* do not have any discomfort with what they do.³² Q 140 establishes the relationship between this behavior and ignorance and dissipation and maintains that this is a loss. Q 151 commands not to kill children for the sake of livelihood in the context of the rules set by Allah. Q 31 (*Sūrat al-Isrā’*) and Q 12 (*Sūrat al-Mumtaḥina*) are of the same nature. According to the narrative from *Ikrim* regarding Q 140, it was stated that the verse was descended about those from the *Rabī‘a* and *Muḍar* tribes, who forced their wives to bury their children. According to this narrative, the husband told his wife to kill one of their daughters, otherwise she would be divorced.³³ In the Arabs, this situation remained as a matter in the period of *Jāhiliyyah*. They were doing this especially because of the possibility of the enslavement of female children and financial impossibility. However, they were still feeding some special animals such as

²⁵ Adnan Demircan, “Cahiliye Araplarında Kız Çocuklarını Gömerek Öldürme Adeti”, *İSTEM* 2/3 (2004, 9-42).

²⁶ Demircan, “Cahiliye Araplarında Kız Çocuklarını Gömerek Öldürme Adeti”, 11.

²⁷ Demircan, “Cahiliye Araplarında Kız Çocuklarını Gömerek Öldürme Adeti”, 12.

²⁸ Demircan, “Cahiliye Araplarında Kız Çocuklarını Gömerek Öldürme Adeti”, 12.

²⁹ The relevant verses are *al-An‘ām* 7/137-140-151; *al-Isrā’* 17/31; *al-Mumtaḥina* 60/12; *al-Takwīr* 81/8-9.

³⁰ *al-An‘ām* 7/151; *al-Isrā’* 17/31.

³¹ *al-Naḥl* 16/58-59; *al-Zukhruf* 43/17.

³² “Likewise, their idols entice many idolaters to kill their children, to lead them to their ruin, and confuse them in their faith. Had God willed, they would not have done it. So, leave them to their fraud!”. *al-An‘ām* 7/137.

³³ Abū Ja‘far Muḥammad b. Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr al-Ṭabarī* (Damascus: Dār al-Kalam), 8/68.

dogs.³⁴ It is narrated that some elite people such as Zayd b. ʿAmr b. Nufayl was uncomfortable with this situation and took care of the children under such risks to save them.³⁵ It was also noted that Sa’sa b. Najiya prevented the killing of around 400 female children in the period of *Jāhiliyyah*.³⁶ Another example of this is also given by his narrative.³⁷ It was also stated by Sa’sa that the killing of female children was prohibited after this example.³⁸ In Q 151, it is ordered not to kill children with economic concerns and fears of hunger in the context of stating the boundaries imposed by Allah.

The mentioning of not killing the children in the context of allegiance conditions mentioned in Q 12 (Sūrat al-Mumtaḥina) is related to post-al-Ḥudaybiya processes. The narrative from ʿĀ’isha bt. Abī Bakr, the wife of the prophet Muḥammad, states likewise.³⁹

Due to this tradition in the *Jāhiliyyah* Arabs, the Prophet Muḥammad displayed a special sensitivity to this issue at every stage of the Islamic invitation and included in the allegiance conditions that women must not kill their children for any reason. As seen in the first al-ʿAqaba Allegiance,⁴⁰ it was commanded by Allah to take allegiance from believing women, who wanted to emigrate after al-Ḥudaybiya, with an agreement including this specific issue.⁴¹ Even though it is in the late period, the subject was reflected in the sources of Sīra and history with some examples.⁴² The practice, which is thought to have entered the records for the first time with “Qays’s swearing to kill his daughter if he would have one”⁴³ was also mentioned about the Rabia tribe.⁴⁴ Similar practices are mentioned for Muḍar and Khuzāʿ tribes.⁴⁵ It was stated that after Qays became a Muslim, he visited Prophet Muḥammad and told him he killed his eight daughters in this way and asked what he should do.⁴⁶ It was also mentioned that upon being told another incident, the Prophet Muḥammad was crying until his beard got wet.⁴⁷ It is possible to increase similar examples.⁴⁸

³⁴ al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr al-Ṭabarī*, 8/68.

³⁵ Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa-l-nihāya*, 8/2.

³⁶ Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa-l-nihāya*, 8/3386, 4274.

³⁷ Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa-l-nihāya*, 8/3386.

³⁸ Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa-l-nihāya*, 8/3387.

³⁹ Abd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbdallāh al-Suhaylī, *al-Rawḍ al-unuf* (Cairo: Dār al-Ḥadīth, 2008), 4/70.

⁴⁰ Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra al-Nabawiyya*, 1/368.

⁴¹ al-Mumtaḥina 60/12.

⁴² Ibn Saʿd, *Kitāb at-Tabakāt*, 8/8, 189; Abū Saʿd Abd al-Malik b. Muḥammad, *Sharaf al-Muṣṭafā wa Dalāil al-Nubuwwa* (Beirut: Dār al-Bashair al-Islamiyya, 2003), 4/170-171; Abū Muḥammad Taqīyuddīn Ahmad al-Makrīzī, *Imtā al-Asmā* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-Ilmiyyah, 1999), 5/282; al-Diyārbaqrī, *Tārīh al-hamīs fī Aḥwālī Anfasi Nafs*, 2/89.

⁴³ Demircan, “Cahiliye Araplarında Kız Çocuklarını Gömerek Öldürme Adeti”, 11.

⁴⁴ Jawād ʿAlī, *al-Mufaṣṣal fī taʾrīkh al-ʿArab qabl al-Islām* (Cairo: Maktabat al-Thaqafat al-Diniyya, 1993), 5/90.

⁴⁵ Muḥammad b. Ahmad al-Qurtubī, *Tafsīr al-Qurtubī* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-Ilmiyyah, 2010), 10/117.

⁴⁶ Ibn Ḥajar al-Asqalānī, Abū al-Iṣāba fī tamyiz al-ṣahāba (Beirut: Dār al-Maʿrifa), 5/485.

⁴⁷ Darimī, *Mukaddime*, 1.

⁴⁸ For more information, see Adnan Demircan, “Cahiliye Araplarında Kız Çocuklarını Gömerek Öldürme Adeti”, 11.

During the period of *Jāhiliyyah* and in the societies under the influence of it, killing daughters was seen as a behavior that the *mushriks* liked.⁴⁹ It is stated that what was done was a dissolute behavior⁵⁰ and that they would be brought to book.⁵¹

The verses related to the slaughter of children are limitedly reflected in the *Sīra* sources, restricted with the notes regarding some practices of the Muḍar and Rabī‘a tribes. However, the sensitivity that the Muslim community should show in this regard was put forward as the main principle with the allegations received from women who would migrate from Mecca to Madinah after the First al-‘Aqaba Allegiance and al-Ḥudaybiya.

3. *Qatl* as a Punishment

Considering the concept *qatl* as a source of history, one of its contexts in the Qur’ān is related to the punishment that will be faced when the *qatl* turns out to be a crime. In this context, two verses have been identified. The first one is the *qatl* as a punishment of the people who act as a bandit⁵² and the other is the activation of *qatl* in a complementary nature against those who commit an unfair homicide.⁵³

Q 33 (Sūrat al-Mā’ida) does not refer to an incident included in the *Sīra* and history sources. However, it is possible to identify references to some historical events in *Tafsīr* sources. The verse is stated to be revealed about the *mushriks*, but it is also stated that it might be related to those who violated their agreement with the Prophet Muḥammad.⁵⁴ Al-Ṭabarī notes that some of these verses were descended about the tribes of ‘Urayna and ‘Ukl.⁵⁵ They visited the Messenger of Allah as Muslims and they wanted to take advantage of the milk etc. of the camels of Medina. The Messenger of Allah also allowed this. However, when they went to the flocks, they killed the shepherd and confiscated the flock. The Prophet Muḥammad punished them. It was stated that the verse was descended when this event was heard. It is possible to see a similar connection in ḥadīth sources.⁵⁶ Another incident whose connection is established with the verse is the Bi’r Ma‘ūna case.⁵⁷ In this incident, Muslims were tricked.⁵⁸ This caused arrangement of the Kurz b. Jabir Expedition (*Sariyya*), because the persons who were hosted upon declaring that they were Muslims betrayed and killed a shepherd with torture. It is noted that Q 33 (Sūrat al-Mā’ida) was descended upon the counter

⁴⁹ al-An‘ām 7/137.

⁵⁰ al-An‘ām 7/140.

⁵¹ al-Takwīr 81/9.

⁵² al-Mā’ida 5/33.

⁵³ al-Baqara 2/178

⁵⁴ Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr al-Ṭabarī*, 10/278

⁵⁵ Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr al-Ṭabarī*, 10/244, 245.

⁵⁶ Bukhārī, “Muhāribin”, 16-18; “Diyāt”, 22; “Wudū”, 66; “Zakāt”, 68; “Jihād”, 152; “Maghāzī”, 36, “Tibb”, 5-6, 29; Müslim, “Kasāme”, 9, (1671); Tirmizī, “Tahārat”, 55, (72), “ Aṭ‘imah”, 38, (1846); Abū Dāwud, “ Ḥudūd”, 3, (4364-4371); Nasāī, “Tahrimu al-Dam”, 7, (7, 93-98); Ibn Māja, “ Ḥudūd”, 20, (2578).

⁵⁷ For interpretation of the verse, see *Kur’ān Yolu Meali*.

⁵⁸ Acar, *Hız. Peygamber’in Savaş Stratejisi*, 136.

behavior of the people, who were granted full protection and graciously hosted by the Prophet Muḥammad.⁵⁹

Another verse about the incident of *qatl* in the context of punishment is related to the retaliation.⁶⁰ The protection of human life is one of the most fundamental issues of Islam. There is no compensation for unfair killing. For this reason, the highest sensitivity was shown, and the punishment of those who intended to kill irresponsibly was punished with retaliation in kind. No historical reference can be found regarding this verse.

4. *Qatl* of Prophets and Mission Holders

Another dimension of the concept *qatl* in the Qurʾān as a source of history is the killing of mission holders. *Qatl* of prophets is the most common matter in this context. Pointing out this issue in 24 sections is remarkable.⁶¹ The names of some prophets were mentioned in the order by pointing out the attempts and demands of killing against them. In this sense, attempts and concerns against prophets such as Ibrāhīm,⁶² Mūsā,⁶³ ʿĪsā,⁶⁴ Yūsuf,⁶⁵ and Hārūn⁶⁶ were mentioned.

It is understood that the *qatl* attempts by the Jewish against the prophets are very much known. The reason must be the role that prophets trying to play in society.⁶⁷ When the prophets appeared in the society and declared their prophethood, they were either denied or killed. It is obvious that in this sense there is a reaction to the essence of what is expressed.⁶⁸ As an equivalent to this matter the attempts to kill those who order justice can be put forward as a reference.⁶⁹ The reason for the punishment of Aṣḥāb al- Ukhūd is also based on this matter.⁷⁰ There is no doubt that the divine law holds the account of all of this.⁷¹ Being parallel with the subject, the attempt to kill the Prophet Yūsuf can be understood in the same context.⁷² Indeed, the

⁵⁹ Muḥammad b. ʿUmar al-Wāqidi, *Abū Kitāb al-Maghāzī* (Beirut: Ālam al-Kutub, 2006), 570; Abū ʿAbd al-Malik b. Hishām, *al-Sīra al-Nabawiyya* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-Ilmiyah, 2009), 491; Muḥammad Ibn Saʿd b. Manīʿ al-Zuhrī, *Kitāb at-Tabakāt al-Kabīr* (Cairo: Maktabat al-Hanji, 2002), 2/89-90; Bukhārī, “Maghāzī”, 36; “Hudud”, 16; Müslim, “Kasāme”, 9, 11; See Veli Atmaca, “Hadislerde Geçen Şifalı Yöntemler ve İlaç Adları”, *Hadis Tetkikleri Dergisi* 1 (2011), 98.

⁶⁰ al-Baqara 2/178.

⁶¹ Āl ʿImrān 3/21, 112, 183; al-Baqara 1/61, 91, 2/251; al-Maʿidah 5/70; al-Baqara 1/72 al-Nisā 4/157, Ghāfir/Forger 40/25-26, 28; Yūsuf 12/9-10; al-Baqara 1/61, 87; al-Qaşaş 28/9, 20, 33; al-Anfāl 8/30; ash-Shuʿara 24/14; al-Aʿrāf 7/127, 141, 150; al-ʿAnkabūt 29/24; al-Burūj 85/4.

⁶² al-ʿAnkabūt 29/24.

⁶³ Ghāfir/Forger 40/26; al-Qaşaş 28/9.

⁶⁴ al-Nisā 4/157.

⁶⁵ Yūsuf 12/9-10.

⁶⁶ al-Aʿrāf 7/150.

⁶⁷ Āl ʿImrān 3/21, 112, 183; al-Baqara 1/61, 91; al-Maʿidah 75/0.

⁶⁸ al-Baqara 1/87.

⁶⁹ al-Baqara 1/61.

⁷⁰ al-Burūj 85/4 n.

⁷¹ Āl ʿImrān 3/181.

⁷² Yūsuf 12/9-10.

qatl efforts against the Prophet ‘Īsā are also related to his mission.⁷³ It is understood that the Prophet Hārūn's attempt to prevent the idolatry of his people as a prophet was reciprocated as a threat in the same way.⁷⁴ It is also clear that the reason Prophet Mūsā was wanted to be killed along with his people is because of the revealing of the true case, which is entitled to enlighten the society.⁷⁵ For this purpose, he also established a groundwork for cooperation with the city’s dignitaries.⁷⁶ The lead actor was Pharaoh.⁷⁷ In the background of the issue, the command of the killing of the boys was given in the same context to destroy all possibilities that may pose a threat to the Pharaoh’s order.⁷⁸ However, the divine plan raised the Prophet Mūsā in the palace of Pharaoh.⁷⁹ The Prophet Ibrāhīm, the ancestor of the prophets, also faced death threats after his call to faith.⁸⁰

It is obvious that all these expressions are also associated with the Prophet Muḥammad. Since determining previous prophets’ references from *Sīra* and history studies is a deferrable matter, we may prefer to exclude the matter in not to exceed the scope of this article. In the Q 28 (al-Ghāfir), the question of “Will you kill a man for saying, my Lord is Allah” which was said by a believing man from Pharaoh’s family has been mentioned in *Sīra* sources as the word of Abū Bakr in the face of an attack against the Prophet Muḥammad.⁸¹ It is not clear whether this incident happened several times or only one incident since there are various narratives. Because in a similar incident, it has been said that Fatima, the daughter of Prophet Muḥammad, intervened and said this word. As the perpetrators of the incident, the names of Abū Jahl, Shayba b. Rabī‘a, ‘Uḫba b. Mu‘ayṭ and Umayya b. Khalaf were mentioned. The vast majority of the sources points out Abū Bakr as the owner of the expression.⁸² In fact, this issue requires an independent research.

A *qatl* incident against the Prophet Muḥammad was also took place during the *Hijra* and took part in the Qur’ān.⁸³ This verse also refers to decision-making process of the Prophet Muḥammad for *Hijra*. Because, the *mushriks* had already decided to kill Prophet Muḥammad. This situation is mentioned in all *Sīra* sources.⁸⁴

These attitudes towards the prophets undoubtedly met with a sanction. While these acts signify the signs of breaking the promise made to Allah, it is also considered as an unjust *qatl*.⁸⁵

⁷³ al-Nisā 4/157.

⁷⁴ al-A‘rāf 7/150.

⁷⁵ Ghāfir 40/25.

⁷⁶ al-Qaṣaṣ 28/20.

⁷⁷ al-Baqara 1/87.

⁷⁸ al-A‘rāf 7/127, 141.

⁷⁹ al-Qaṣaṣ 28/9, Ṭabarī, *Tārīh*, 1/407.

⁸⁰ al-‘Ankabūt 29/24.

⁸¹ Abū Abd Allah Muḥammad b. Ishāk b. Yasr b. Hiyār el-Muttalibī al-Kureṣī al-Madanī, *al-Sīra al-Nabawīyya* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyah, 2009), 230.

⁸² al-Diyārbaqrī, *Tārīh al-hamīs fī Aḥwālī Anfasi Naf*, 1/291-292.

⁸³ al-Anfāl 8/30.

⁸⁴ al-Wāqidi, *Maghāzī*, 1/133; Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra al-Nabawīyya*, 1/484; Ibn Sayyid al-Nās, *‘Uyūn al-athar* (Beirut: Dār al-Arqam, 1993) 1/207.

⁸⁵ al-Nisā 4/155.

5. *Qatl* in Wars

Wars constitute an area where the concept *qatl* and its derivatives are located in a wide frame. It is possible to identify the derivatives of the concept *qatl* in around 69 verses in the context of wars. “*Qitāl*” the dimension of the concept of *qatl* in the context of wars can be sorted under three pillars, namely legitimacy, principles and various issues.

5.1. Legitimacy and Framework of War

The phenomenon of war in the Qurʾān is expressed by the *qitāl* derivative of the concept *qatl*. The Qurʾān demands legitimacy for *qitāl*. Arbitrary implementation of *qatl* and *qitāl* is not approved. About thirty verses on the legitimacy of *qitāl* in the Qurʾān is expressed using the concept *qitāl*.

First of all, the absence of bloodshed from past generations of *Ummah* was guaranteed by a contract.⁸⁶ Contrary behaviors cause divine wrath. Worldly and ethereal punishments of this behavior are pointed out.⁸⁷ However, this is not the desire of Allah.⁸⁸ However, when necessary, *qitāl* becomes a mandatory duty.⁸⁹ The reason for this situation is also put forth.⁹⁰ The relevant verses up to this point have been mostly included in *Sīra* sources with interpretations of the mentality of war.⁹¹ Wherever they are located, detection and neutralization of the enemy are desired.⁹² It is understood that this verse of al-Tawba, is related to the ultimatum towards the *mushriks*.⁹³ If *qitāl* gains legitimacy by the pre-attack of the enemy, the same responsibility emerges.⁹⁴ The plight of the Jews who demanded a commander from the Prophet Mūsā to fight can also be mentioned here as a reference to *qitāl*.⁹⁵ Close relationships with them are prohibited.⁹⁶ These verses have often been included in a limited range of sources under the war allowing titles.⁹⁷ In particular, it is recommended that war methods of the attacker side should be responded in the same way.⁹⁸ After legitimacy and necessity have occurred, it is met as a strange act in the Qurʾān to refrain from *qitāl*.⁹⁹ It is also possible to associate this behavior with discord.¹⁰⁰ It is seen that the situation of having discord by escaping responsibility occurring from 147th verse of Āl ʿImrān is associated with the battle of Uḥud in the

⁸⁶ al-Baqara 1/84.

⁸⁷ al-Baqara 1/85.

⁸⁸ al-Baqara 2/253.

⁸⁹ al-Baqara 2/216.

⁹⁰ al-Tawba 9/13.

⁹¹ Bayhāqī, *Dalāil al-Nubuwwa*, 2/581.

⁹² al-Tawba 9/5.

⁹³ Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra al-Nabawiyya*, 2/544; Bayhāqī, *Dalāil al-Nubuwwa*, 3/89.

⁹⁴ al-Baqara 1/191.

⁹⁵ al-Baqara 1/246.

⁹⁶ al-Nisā 4/89, 91; al-Mumtaḥina 60/8-9.

⁹⁷ Bayhāqī, *Dalāil al-Nubuwwa*, 2/580.

⁹⁸ al-Tawba 9/36.

⁹⁹ al-Nisā 4/75.

¹⁰⁰ Āl ʿImrān 3/167.

sources.¹⁰¹ Because ‘Abdallāh b. Ubay, who is the leader of the *munafiqs*, left the Muslims on the road with his war team before the battle.

Persecution is the main factor that ensures the legitimacy of war. The verse¹⁰², which states that *qitāl* is allowed with its conditions, was included as a reference in *Sīra* sources by indicating the post period of al-‘Aqaba Agreement and *Hijra*.¹⁰³ Those who get involved in behaviors associated with persecution internally and externally are disciplined by executing *qitāl*. Persecution against human dignity is accepted superior to all forms of rules so that *qitāl* is allowed. Sacred months are also considered in the same way.¹⁰⁴ Q 217 (al-Baqara) was revealed in the context of ‘Abdallāh b. Jahsh Expedition.¹⁰⁵

Those who do not share the responsibility at the time of need will not find a place in the common group when the need is adequately met.¹⁰⁶ The issue expressed in Q 83 (al-Tawba) is associated with *munafiqs* who did not participate in the campaign during the Expedition of Tabūk.¹⁰⁷ Their values in the sight of Allah are according to their attitudes.¹⁰⁸ In Q 10 (al-Hadid), the difference of degrees between preferences before the conquest of Mecca and practices after the conquest is highlighted and in this context takes place in *Sīra* sources.¹⁰⁹

In the Qur’ān, the way of *qitāl* is required to be in accordance with divine consent. The verse of “And fight in Allah’s way those who fight you, but do not commit aggression”¹¹⁰ must be understood as a spiritual standard.¹¹¹ For fights which occur in these circumstances, Prophet Muḥammad is preached to encourage the believers to *qitāl*.¹¹² We cannot see any particular reference in *Sīra* sources for both verses. Rather, it has been included in late period sources in the context of permitting fight and judgement.¹¹³

¹⁰¹ Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, 1/325; Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra al-Nabawiyya*, 2/118; Shams al-Dīn Sāmī, *Subul al-hudā wa-l-rashād* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-Ilmiyah, 2013), 4/188; Ibn Kathīr/Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāye wa al-Nihāye*, 4/16.

¹⁰² al-Hajj 17/39.

¹⁰³ Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra al-Nabawiyya*, 1/467; Ibn Hibbān, 1/127; ‘Abdallāh b. Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Barr al-Qurtubī al-Namari, *al-Durar fi l-maghāzī wa-l-siyar* (Cairo: Wizarat al-Awkaf, 2010) 1/95; Ibn Sayyidinnas, *‘Uyūn al-athar*, 1/256.

¹⁰⁴ al-Baqara 2/217.

¹⁰⁵ Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra al-Nabawiyya*, 1/604; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jawāmi‘ al-sīra* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-Ilmiyah, 2003) 1/80; Bayhāqī, *Dalāil al-Nubuwwa*, 3/18; Ibn Sayyidinnas, *‘Uyūn al-athar*, 1/265.

¹⁰⁶ al-Tawba 9/83.

¹⁰⁷ Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, 3/1070; Maqrīzī examined this verse in the context of the will (testament) of Prophet Muḥammad. see Maqrīzī, *Imtā al-Asmā*, 14/491.

¹⁰⁸ al-Hadid 57/10.

¹⁰⁹ Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāye wa al-Nihāye*, 4/317-367; Maqrīzī, *Imtā al-Asmā*, 9/117; Shams al-Dīn Sāmī, *Subul al-Hudā*, 6/259.

¹¹⁰ al-Baqara 2/190

¹¹¹ al-Nisā 4/84; al-Baqara 2/244.

¹¹² al-Anfāl 8/65; Ibn Hishām gave place to this verse for explanation of some terms. For detailed information, see Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra al-Nabawiyya*, 1/675; Bayhāqī, *Dalāil al-Nubuwwa*, 4/171; al-Suhaylī, *ar-Rawzu al-Unuf*, 5/164; al-Shāmi gave place in the title of bravery of Prophet Muḥammad. See. Shams al-Dīn Sāmī, *Subul al-Hudā*, 7/46.

¹¹³ Bayhāqī. *Dalāil al-Nubuwwa*, 2/580; al-Suhaylī, *ar-Rawzu al-Unuf*, 7/302; Shams al-Dīn Sāmī, *Subul al-Hudā*, 4/5.

The Qurʾān has also identified the ones who would not expose to *qitāl*. Those who do not fight against Muslims,¹¹⁴ those enemies hiding behind Muslims,¹¹⁵ those who do not see the beliefs of Muslims as a cause of war¹¹⁶ are not objects of *qitāl*. Q 90 (al-Nisā) was annotated by al-Zurqānī in the context of the life of Suraka.¹¹⁷ Because he had remained neutral in wars with the commitment that he had taken from the Prophet Muḥammad.

The behaviors which may arise from different categories within the society and pose a threat against the existence of the society also can lead to *qitāl*. At this point, the language of threat against *munafiqs* is remarkable.¹¹⁸ This verse is included in Sīra sources within the context of forgiveness of the Prophet Muḥammad¹¹⁹ and libellous behaviors against the Prophet Muḥammad.¹²⁰ Apart from this, statements for some Jewish communities are also in this way.¹²¹ Q 26 and 27 from Sūrat al-Aḥzāb are cited in relation to the harbinger of Khaybar,¹²² al-Khandaq¹²³ and the Jewish tribe of Qurayza.¹²⁴

5.2. Promotion of War and Supporting the *Mujahids*

In the Qurʾān, it is possible to find many verses related to promoting *mujahids* for *qitāl* after the legitimate ground for war occurs. Since *qitāl* is sometimes a necessity in the nature of life, some of the believers need to attend to this action.¹²⁵ To make a general classification, the encouraging verses can be collected under four headings:

- Encouraging *qitāl* against negative attributes and weakness of the enemy
- Conquering the fear of death and encouraging *qitāl*
- Encouraging *qitāl* with Allah’s pledges of help and compassion towards *mujahids*
- Encouraging *qitāl* by explaining the value and returns of *qitāl* in the name of Allah

In the Qurʾān, after legitimacy for *qitāl* is provided, the legitimacy ground is almost strengthened by giving reference to other characteristics of the enemy. Above all, on the one side, there are some make *jihād* in the name of Allah and whose struggle depends on a legitimate ground, and on the other side, some

¹¹⁴ al-Baqara 2/191; Diyārbaqrī, cited this verse within the context of war made by ulu’l-azm prophets against heretics. See. Diyārbaqrī, *Tārīh al-hamīs fī Aḥwālī Anfasi Nafs*, 1/15.

¹¹⁵ al-Nisā 4/90.

¹¹⁶ al-Nisā 4/90; Mumtaḥina 60/8.

¹¹⁷ Muḥammad al-Zurqānī, *Sharḥ ‘alā l-mawāhib al-laduniyya* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-Ilmiyah 1996) 2/145.

¹¹⁸ al-Aḥzāb 33/60-61.

¹¹⁹ ‘Alī al-Qārī, *Sharḥ al-Shifā’* (Umman: Dār al-Fayha, 1986), 2/502.

¹²⁰ Maqrīzī, *Imtā al-Asmā*, 14/384; Shams al-Dīn Sāmī, *Subul al-Hudā*, 12/29.

¹²¹ al-Aḥzāb 33/26.

¹²² Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra al-Nabawiyya*, 2/250.

¹²³ Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāye wa al-Nihāye*, 4/107.

¹²⁴ Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra al-Nabawiyya*, 2/249; Shams al-Dīn Sāmī, *Subul al-Hudā*, 5/3; Dhahabī, *Siyar a’lām al-nubalā’* (Cairo: Dār al-Hadiht, 2006), 2/180; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāye wa al-Nihāye*, 4/133.

¹²⁵ al-Muzzammil 73/20.

deliberately show ingratitude against Allah.¹²⁶ In this regard, Q 13 (Sūrat Āl-‘Imrān) is associated with Banu Qaynuqa Jews.¹²⁷ At the leading position of the enmity, there are leaders of blasphemy.¹²⁸ In this manner, Abū Sufyan, Umayyah b. Khalaf, Utbah b. Rabi’ah, Amr b. Hishām and Suhayl b. ‘Amr are stated among the vanguards of the enmity against Prophet Muḥammad and the Muslims.¹²⁹ It is ordered to fight against those persons who make friendship with Devil,¹³⁰ who do not have faith in Allah and doomsday,¹³¹ and *kāfir*^{un} (*infidels*)¹³² and rebels¹³³ who are the closest of believers but cause such circumstances against them. This must be as a punishment for acts that they had taken.¹³⁴ Among these verses, Q 29 from Sūrat al-Tawba is cited under the title of *qitāl* against *mushriks*.¹³⁵ Shams al-Dīn Sāmī, on the other hand, cited under the title of Tabūk with reference to the fight against *mushriks*.¹³⁶ The same applies to Q 123 in Sūrat al-Tawba.¹³⁷ However, no reference was made to concrete cases for other verses.

Undoubtedly, resort to *qitāl* which endangers the life of the human being is not an easy choice. Generally, war and conquering the fear of death during the war is an important factor for the success of the *qitāl*. Therefore, it is underscored in the Qur’an that the death phenomenon is inevitable and that refraining from valued struggle is meaningless for avoiding from this and that the death will find the human being even in the back of the beyond.¹³⁸ Especially at this point, support was provided within the context of the battle of Uḥud.¹³⁹ Thus, it is reminded that the fear of death and escape from death is meaningless in this manner.¹⁴⁰ Moreover, it is emphasized that death is in question for every human being including prophets, and thus it is necessary to focus on the main target rather than individuals.¹⁴¹ For this reason, not keeping on and refusing *qitāl* is evaluated as a cause leading to the curse of Allah.¹⁴² In this respect, behaviours¹⁴³ of

¹²⁶ Āl ‘Imrān 3/13.

¹²⁷ Ibn Ishāq, *al-Sīra al-Nabawiyya*, 552; Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra al-Nabawiyya*, 1/552; Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra al-Nabawiyya*, 2/47; Ibn Sayyidinnas, *‘Uyūn al-athar*, 1/343; Shams al-Dīn Sāmī, *Subul al-Hudā*, 4/179.

¹²⁸ al-Tawba 9/12.

¹²⁹ Ibn Asâkîr, *Tārîkh Madînat Dimashq*, 23/438; 73/48.

¹³⁰ al-Nisâ 4/76

¹³¹ al-Tawba 9/29.

¹³² al-Tawba 9/123.

¹³³ al-Ḥujurât 49/ 9.

¹³⁴ al-Tawba 9/14.

¹³⁵ Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra al-Nabawiyya*, 2/548; Bayhâqî. *Dalâil al-Nubuwwa*, 2/582.

¹³⁶ Shams al-Dīn Sāmī, *Subul al-Hudā*, 5/433.

¹³⁷ al-Wāqidi, *Maghāzî*, 3/1076; Shams al-Dīn Sāmī, *Subul al-Hudā*, 5/433; Ibn Kathîr, *al-Bidāye wa al-Nihāye*, 5/5.

¹³⁸ Āl ‘Imrān 3/154, 156, 168; al-Nisâ 4/77.

¹³⁹ al-Wāqidi, *Maghāzî*, 1/323; Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra al-Nabawiyya*, 2/115.

¹⁴⁰ al-Aḥzâb 33/16; Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra al-Nabawiyya*, 2/246.

¹⁴¹ Āl ‘Imrān 3/144.

¹⁴² al-Anfâl 8/16.

¹⁴³ al-Mā’ida 5/24.

the people of Prophet Mūsā regarding their refusing to participate in the war against him and the battle of Uḥud have been referenced.¹⁴⁴ This is also reflected in Sīra sources.¹⁴⁵

It has been determined that the struggle of the Muslims are on divine values and that of the enemy is on *tāghūt* which can be described as unruliness and wildness.¹⁴⁶ The struggle of Muslims is framed with removing unrest in the earth.¹⁴⁷ No reference has been made for these two points. The Sūrat al-Ḥashr¹⁴⁸ includes evaluations regarding the closeness between The Jewish tribe of Naḍir and the *munāfiqs*, stating that *kāfirs* fight for irreligious values and they cannot succeed in this fight and that they are so coward.¹⁴⁹ Q 146 (Āl ‘Imrān) was revealed for the motivation of the Muslims in the Battle of Uḥud.¹⁵⁰

Qitāl which is made in the name of valued targets is not a worthless effort. Above all, the sender of the Qurʾān, Allah loves the *mujāhids* who participates in *qitāl* which is made for protection and establishment of supreme values¹⁵¹ and pledges to help them.¹⁵² In fact, Allah refers to its role¹⁵³ and support that it sends.¹⁵⁴ Afterwards, Allah wants to reward them.¹⁵⁵ Allah rewards them with Heaven in return for their sacrificing of their life.¹⁵⁶ These sacrifices of them do not go for nothing.¹⁵⁷ Allah accepts them as alive after martyrdom.¹⁵⁸ These verses point to spiritual values.

6. The Issue of *Qatl al-Nafs*

Another meaning of the term *qatl* within the context of the Qurʾān is “*Qatl al-Nafs*”. One can encounter the form of killing the self in four verses. It can be said that these have content that can be examined in

¹⁴⁴ Āl ‘Imrān 3/121-127.

¹⁴⁵ al-Wāqidi, *Maghāzī*, 1/119; Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra al-Nabawiyya*, 2/106; Ibn Sayyidinnas, *‘Uyūn al-athar*, 2/38.

¹⁴⁶ al-Nisā 4/76

¹⁴⁷ al-Baqara 2/193; al-Anfāl 8/39.

¹⁴⁸ al-Ḥashr 59/11, 12, 14; Āl ‘Imrān 3/111, 146.

¹⁴⁹ al-Wāqidi, *Maghāzī*, 1/382; Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra al-Nabawiyya*, 1/526; Ibn Sayyidinnas, *‘Uyūn al-athar*, 1/243; Maqrīzī, *Imtā al-Asmā*, 14/364; Qāḍī ‘Abd al-Jabbār b. Aḥmad al-Hamadhānī, *Tathbīt dal’ail al-nubuwwa* (Cairo: Dār al-Muṣṭafā, 2006) 2/434.

¹⁵⁰ al-Wāqidi, *Maghāzī*, 1/322; Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra al-Nabawiyya*, 2/211.

¹⁵¹ al-Şaff 61/4.

¹⁵² Verses 25 and 26 of Sūrat al-Aḥzāb were sent within the context of the battle of Uḥud. See: Wāqidi, *Maghāzī*, 1/265; Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra al-Nabawiyya*, 2/249.

¹⁵³ al-Anfāl 8/17 was sent within context of the battle of Badr. See. Wāqidi, *Maghāzī*, 1/132; Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra al-Nabawiyya* 2/406.

¹⁵⁴ al-Aḥzāb 33/26 was sent for al-Khandaq and Banu Qurayza. See. Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra al-Nabawiyya* 2/250; İbn Kesîr, *el-Bidāye*, 4/93.

¹⁵⁵ Verses 157, 158 and 195 of Sūrat Āl ‘Imrān were sent within the context of Uḥud. See. Wāqidi, *Maghāzī*, 1/324; Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra al-Nabawiyya*, 1/116; al-Nisā 4/74, al-Ḥajj 22/58, al-Fath 48/16 verses were sent regarding Hudaybiyyah. See. Wāqidi, *Maghāzī*, 2/620. According to some narratives, these verses were sent for Hawazin tribe on the day of Khunayn. See. Dhahabī, *Siyar a‘lām al-nubalā’* 2/41; Id, *Tarikh al-Islām*, 1/267.

¹⁵⁶ Verse 111 of Sūrat al-Tawba was sent because of the expedition of Tabūk. al-Tawba 9/111.

¹⁵⁷ Muḥammad 47/4.

¹⁵⁸ al-Baqara 2/154; Āl ‘Imrān 3/169.

three sub-titles. The first is *qatl* with its real meaning, which is used to condemn *qatl* attempts of the Israelites among themselves.¹⁵⁹ It is also included in *Sīra* sources in this way.¹⁶⁰

Another is about causing society to collapse spiritually.¹⁶¹ Acquiring property unfairly and living this way have been generally interpreted as *Qatl al-Nafs*. The verse tackles engaging with unfair trade and killing *nafs* in the same context. However, *Sīra* sources suggest that the verse was sent down for Amr b. al-‘Āṣ who did not allow people to ablute and forced them to perform *Salāt* this way in the Dhāt al-Salāsīl Expedition.¹⁶² According to this verse, it is understood that it would not be right for people to ablute in such cold weather and risk their lives. Inclusion of the Dhāt al-Salāsīl Expedition in this verse is probably due to an interpretation. Because the context of this verse does not seem to be fitting for such an interpretation. The verse seems much more fitting to the view that trade irregularities are directed towards the destruction of society.

The final context on the *Qatl al-Nafs* has been widely discussed. Because the killing of *nafs* is first mentioned in the Qur’ān, and actually killing of *nafs* was condemned in previous similar verses. Therefore, it is obvious that there is a difference in nature. In two verses, a meaning demanding people to kill themselves is reflected in the translations.¹⁶³ It is stated that it would be better for them to do so. In fact, a prediction is mentioned that they cannot act together in performing such a behavior that is good for them.¹⁶⁴ There have been many studies on this topic in the context of Q 54 in al-Baqara.¹⁶⁵ Based on evaluations, the historical background with regard to the killing of *nafs* in verse 54 of al-Baqara is about Israelites, the people of Prophet Mūsā. Prophet Mūsā wanted them to repent as they were worshipping calves, and they were able to pull through by doing so.¹⁶⁶ However, the "repent and kill yourself" expression in the verse is mostly understood literally, not metaphorically. Durmuş, who discussed the topic in an article, also reaches at the same conclusion.¹⁶⁷

However, it must be noted that the contexts of other verses on *Qatl al-Nafs* are about war conditions.¹⁶⁸ A similar use can be found in *Sīra* sources, in which Abū Sufyān and Ḥakīm b. Ḥizām recommended *mushriks*

¹⁵⁹ al-Baqara 2/85.

¹⁶⁰ Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra al-Nabawiyya*, 1/540; Diyārbaqrī, *Tārīh al-hamīs fī Aḥwālī Anfasi Nafs* 2/270.

¹⁶¹ al-Nisā 4/29.

¹⁶² al-Wāqidi, *Maghāzī*, 1/774; Bayhāqī, *Dalāil al-Nubuwwa*, 4/402-403; Maqrīzī, *Imtā al-Asmā*, 1/346; Ibn al-Jawzī, *al-Muntaẓam fī tarīkh al-mulūk wa-l-umam*, 3/322.

¹⁶³ al-Baqara 1/56; al-Nisā 4/66.

¹⁶⁴ al-Nisā 4/66.

¹⁶⁵ Zülfiḳar Durmuş, “Yanlış Anlamlandırma ve Değerlendirmelere Konu Olan Bakara 54. Âyetindeki ‘Uktülü Enfusekum’ İfadesinin Çözümlemesi”, *EKEV Akademi Dergisi* 7/17 (Güz 2003), 29-48; Şükrü Maden - Mustafa Yiğitoğlu, “Kur’ân-ı Kerim ve Eski Ahit Bağlamında Buzağıya Tapan İsrailoğulları’na Ölüm Cezası Verilmesi Meselesi”, *Amasya Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi* 11 (December 2018), 419-446.

¹⁶⁶ Durmuş, “Yanlış Anlamlandırma ve Değerlendirmelere Konu Olan Bakara 54. Âyetindeki ‘Uktülü Enfusekum’ İfadesinin Çözümlemesi”, 31.

¹⁶⁷ Durmuş, “Yanlış Anlamlandırma ve Değerlendirmelere Konu Olan Bakara 54. Âyetindeki ‘Enfusekum’ İfadesinin Çözümlemesi”, 46; Mesut Erdal, “Kur’an Meallerinde Hakikat-Mecaz İkilemi”, *Dicle Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi* 2/3 (2006), 197.

¹⁶⁸ al-Nisā 4/71.

to shout “are you going to kill yourselves” and not to resist before the possibility of Muslims and *mushriks* to go into a war and kill each other.¹⁶⁹ A similar situation was reflected in the sources as Jews said to *munāfiqs* “why are you going to kill each other (your selves)” at the battle of al-Khandaq to incite them.¹⁷⁰ From this point of view, it is possible that in case of hostility within the same society, people, who are on the side of the enemy are considered as "of their own" due to their kinship.¹⁷¹

7. *Qatl* as Curse

Another meaning of *qatl* referred to in the Qurʾān is cursing. Ibn Manzūr was the one who pointed to this aspect of the word's meaning.¹⁷² A study marking the curse aspect of the concept of *qatl* in the Qurʾān was conducted by Nesrişah Saylan.¹⁷³ As seen from the findings of this study, the concept of *qatl* is used to mean curse in six verses of the Qurʾān.¹⁷⁴ Four of these were in the anonymous form of *qatila* (قَاتِلًا) and two in the form of *qātala* (قَاتَلَ). The targeted people are those who cheat,¹⁷⁵ who are ungrateful,¹⁷⁶ who take lives due to faith,¹⁷⁷ who are *munāfiqs*¹⁷⁸ and those who speak ill of Allah.¹⁷⁹ It is suggested that Q 19 and 20 from al-Muddaththir were descended to curse Walīd b. Muḡhīra and his companies, who tried to refrain people from attending to Allah’s invitation during hajj season by talking about Allah’s messenger.¹⁸⁰

The Sūrat of al-Tawba 30 and al-Dhāriyāt 10 were included in Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ’s assessment as an expression of curse against liars.¹⁸¹ It expresses Allah’s threat against those oppressing Allah's messenger. Shams al-Dīn Sāmī also adopted this view.¹⁸²

The treatment Aşhāb al- Ukhdūd received in Sūrat al-Burūj is widely discussed in *Sīra* sources.¹⁸³ Shams al-Dīn Sāmī referred to Aşhāb al- Ukhdūd while discussing the Incident of the Elephant.¹⁸⁴

¹⁶⁹ al-Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, 2/826; Maqrīzī, *Imtā al-Asmā*, 2/387.

¹⁷⁰ al-Maqrīzī, *Imtā al-Asmā*, 4/218.

¹⁷¹ Durmuş, “Yanlış Anlamlandırma ve Değerlendirmelere Konu Olan Bakara 54. Âyetindeki ‘Uktülü Enfusekum’ İfadesinin Çözümlemesi”, 48.

¹⁷² Ibn Manzūr, *Lisān al-Arab*, 5/3529.

¹⁷³ Nesrişah Saylan, “Kurʾān’da Beddua”, *Fırat Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi* 26/1 (2016), 132.

¹⁷⁴ al-Dhāriyat 51/10; al-Muddaththir 74/19, 20; ‘Abasa 80/17; al-Burūj, 85/4-5; al-Tawba 9/30; al-Munāfiqūn 63/4.

¹⁷⁵ al-Dhāriyāt 51/10.

¹⁷⁶ ‘Abasa 80/17; al-Muddaththir 74/19-20.

¹⁷⁷ al-Burūj 85/4-5.

¹⁷⁸ al-Munāfiqūn 63/4.

¹⁷⁹ al-Tawba 9/30.

¹⁸⁰ Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra al-Nabawiyya*, 1/271; al-Suhaylī, *ar-Rawzu al-Unuf*, 3/21, 62.

¹⁸¹ Qādī Iyāz, *Shifā*, 2/486.

¹⁸² Shams al-Dīn Sāmī, *Subul al-Hudā*, 12/29

¹⁸³ Ibn Hishām, *as-Sīra al-Nabawiyya*, 1/30; al-Suhaylī, *ar-Rawzu al-Unuf*, 1/118, 213, 216; al-Diyārbaqrī, *Tārīh al-hamīs fī Aḥwālī Anfasi Nafs*, 1/194 al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīh*, 2/123; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāye wa al-Nihāye*, 2/153.

¹⁸⁴ Shams al-Dīn Sāmī, *Subul al-Hudā*, 1/214.

There are two verses in the same form in Sūrat al-Tawba¹⁸⁵ and al-Munāfiqūn.¹⁸⁶ The curse in the Sūrat al-Tawba reflects an anger towards the people of the book, who are associated with *shirk*. It mentions the approach of Christians on Prophet ‘Īsā and that of Jewish on Prophet ‘Uzayr. Ibn Hishām refers to this verse by talking about the claim about ‘Uzayr and changing of the *Qibla* in the same sentence.¹⁸⁷ The Sūrat Al-Munāfiqūn is associated with ‘Abdallāh b. Ubayy.¹⁸⁸

Conclusions

It is safe to say that the concept *qatl* has a wide use in the Qur’ān as a source of history. As far as we can ascertain, the concept *qatl* was used to express seven different categories in the Qur’ān and provisions were created about some of them. The contexts in which the *qatl* concept is mentioned in the Qur’ān are as follows:

1. Individual *qatl*
2. *Qatl* of one’s own children
3. *Qatl* of criminals
4. *Qatl* of prophets and mission holders
5. *Qatl* in wars
6. *Qatl* of the self
7. *Qatl* as a curse

The use of *qatl* in the Qur’ān is partially reflected in *Sīra* sources. It is understood that these reflections were shaped with the preferences of historians. Same view also applies to glossators. Taking into consideration that the current connection between the Qur’ān and history sources have been shaped throughout history with scientific efforts, it is safe to say that these efforts must also be exerted today.

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¹⁸⁵ al-Tawba 9/30.

¹⁸⁶ al-Munāfiqūn 63/4.

¹⁸⁷ Ibn Hishām, *as-Sirat al-Nabawiyya*, 1/570; Bayḥāqī, *Dalāil al-Nubuwwa*, 1/72.

¹⁸⁸ al-Ḥalabī, *Insān al-Uyūn fī Sirat al-Amīn al-Ma’mūn*, 2/88.

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The Basic Matters in the Formative Period of Kalām *

Ayhan Işık **

Mustafa Selim Yılmaz ***

Abstract

In contrast to other fields of scholarship, Kalām possesses a clear structure that has influenced the development of Muslim thought. This normative structure of kalām is analysed the fact of the structuring of the social imagination of the Muslim society. So, kalām reflects a character entirely derived from life and shaped within this framework. As much as the basic aim of kalām may be to systematically defend a religious doctrine, due to the contexts in which it has emerged, primarily socio-political backgrounds have an essential role in the formation of the identity of this science. The purpose of this paper is to explain this background and to achieve an analysis based on a contextual reading. In this regard, the matters that need to be methodologically focused on are the main issues that arose *within the first three generations of Islam*. These issues can be listed as the matter of caliphate (*imāmah*), the grave sinner (*murtakib al-kabīrah*), and the discussions on the question of predestination (*qadar*). Outstanding theses have been produced in response to these issues, which in a way are responsible for the political schisms in Muslim societies, and afterwards, these theses have led to the formation of the deeply rooted scholarly traditions of Islamic thought.

Keywords

Kalām, Politics, Caliphate, Grave Sinner, Predestination

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** **Author and Translator:** Assistant Prof., Karabük University, Faculty of Theology, Department of Kalām and Islamic Sects, Karabük, Turkey | Dr. Öğr. Üyesi, Karabük Üniversitesi, İlahiyat Fakültesi, Kelam ve İtikadi İslam Mezhepleri Anabilim Dalı i.ayhan555@gmail.com | ORCID 000-0002-7017-2583

*** **Corresponding Author and Translator:** Associate Prof., Karabük University, Faculty of Theology, Department of Kalām and Islamic Sects, Turkey | Doç. Dr., Karabük Üniversitesi, İlahiyat Fakültesi, Kelam ve İtikadi İslam Mezhepleri Anabilim Dalı s.mutekellim@gmail.com | ORCID 0000-0002-2346-804X

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Kelâm İlminin Teşekkül Sürecindeki Temel Sorunlar

Öz

Kelâm ilminin diğer ilmi disiplinlere nazaran İslâm düşünce geleneğinin seyrini etkileyen belirgin bir yapısı vardır. Muhtemelen bu normatif yapısı, kelâmın Müslüman toplumun sosyal muhayyilesini şekillendiren vakıanın değerlendirildiği temel ilmi alan olmasından kaynaklanmaktadır. Bu itibarla bu ilim, tamamen hayatın içinden çıkan ve bu çerçevede şekillenen bir karakteri yansıtmaktadır. Her ne kadar kelâmın, temel hedefi akideyi sistematik olarak savunmak olsa da mayalandığı ortam itibarıyla sosyolojik ve en önemlisi de siyasal arka planın bu ilmin, kimliğinin oluşumunda ciddi bir etkisi vardır. Esasında bu çalışmanın amacı, bu arka plana ışık tutmak ve bağlamsal bir okuma temelinde tutarlı bir analiz sunmaktır. Bu bakımdan metodolojik olarak odaklanması gereken nokta, Müslüman toplumun ilk üç nesli döneminde ortaya çıkan temel problemlerdir. Bunları da *hilâfet meselesi*, *mürtekb-i kebîre* ve *qader* meselesi etrafındaki tartışmalar şeklinde sıralamak mümkündür. Bir nevi siyasal hizipleşmenin de kökeni olan bu meselelerin çözümüne ilişkin önemli tezler ortaya atılmış ve daha sonra bu tezler İslâm düşünce geleneğinin köklü ilim geleneklerinin teşekkülüne yol açmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler

Kelâm, Siyaset, Hilâfet, Mürtekb-i Kebîre, Qader

Introduction

Kalâm, among Islamic sciences, holds a significant and determinative position. This is due to its characteristic that affects the course of the Muslim thought as well as its normative nature. The science (as being a principal thought activity) can be defined as a union of the attempts to produce a God-human-universe centred existential understanding. Kalâm, on the other hand, fulfils an essential, universal, and a central function in terms of discovering and systemizing the primary constants that on which the science depends. It must be for this reason why kalâm scholars described the science using such comprehensive names as “*ashraf al-‘ulûm*” and “*tāj al-‘ulûm*”.¹

What are the factors that lead to the emergence of the science of kalâm? In the first place, this matter needs to be accentuated. In the context of the historical experience of the end time (*ākhir al zamān*)² for Muslims (who have a past and legacy of approximately 1400 years) it is indispensable, in methodical terms: to turn back to the time of Muḥammad *the Messenger of Allah* (who is the last and integral ring of the Da‘wah of Islam beginning with Adam) and of His Companions (*Sahābah*), and their successors (*Tābi‘ūn*) and to do a reading starting from here. This period, which it’s also called as “reference period”³ in the words of the late

¹ For example, see. Sa‘d al-Dīn Mas‘ūd al-Taftāzānī, *Sharh al-Maqāsid*, ed. Abd al-Raḥmān ‘Umayra (Beirut: Ālem al-Kutub, 1998), 1/175 ff.; Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad al-Ghazālī, *al-Mustasfā min ‘ilm al-uşūl*, ed. Ḥamza b. Zuhayr Ḥāfiz (Medīna: s.n., n.d.), 1: 11 ff.

² It is a term preferred to be used for the Muslims antecedent him because Muḥammad is the last Messenger of Allah.

³ For a detailed analysis, see. Mustafa Selim Yılmaz, “Din-Siyaset ilişkisi Bağlamında M. A. El-Cabiri'nin Müslüman Geleneğe Yöneltiği Eleştiriler”, *Dini Araştırmalar* 11/32 (September-December 2008), 220.

Muḥammad ‘Ābid al-Jābirī (d. 2010), is a time when the primary tokens of the Muslim thought tradition became clear.

Why was there no sect in the time of Muḥammad, the Messenger of Allah, and why did they emerge after him? This question has always been the first question that is vital and whose answer is the most anticipated. Indeed, the correct answers that can be provided for this question will bring the essence of the matter into light. At this point, to avoid to the utmost a fragmentary approach and deviations that it will cause; first, it is necessary to adopt a contextual reading⁴ based on "time-space-phenomenon." The basic method of this paper also aims to be in this manner.

With this preliminary information, the Qur’ān and Sunnah’s perception will be the key determinants. First of all, the Qur’ān, for an individual to find guidance both in this world and afterlife, which are two elements of an order and a system completing each other, is one of the primary guides.⁵ This construction can be defined as a model form concerning individuals in the example of the Muḥammad the Messenger of Allah and with regard to society in the example of the Companions who united around the Messenger of Allah. When considering this point, it can be understood the reason why there was not a concept of a sect in the time of Muḥammad the Messenger of Allah. For the first teacher of a life that would be formed through being kneaded with revelation and the communicating face of the revelation with people was alive. Also, the society, which he ensured to be established with a struggle, were be able to resolve the problems they faced under the guidance of the revelation, under the leadership of the Messenger of Allah, and based on consultation (*shūrā*). In this respect, the first generation was advantageous since they were educated by the first teacher, while they were at a disadvantage considering the possibility of the revival of the residues of the Age of Ignorance (*Jāhiliyyah*) (because these were the only experiences of them before the coming of revelation), whose traces were being attempted to be erased. Furthermore, if we were to refer to the attestation of our history, the generation of the Companions had the responsibility to the next generations for being a figure that conveys the principles that the Messenger of Allah taught. Therefore, so to speak, with pros and cons, they constituted the determinative codes of the traditions of the following generations. In fact, this situation can also be observed in the main problems, which will be elucidated in this study.

Muḥammad, the Messenger of Allah began to form the core of the first Muslim society by guiding his Companions based on the main principles of the Qur’ān, i.e., Oneness of God (*tawhīd*), Messengerhood of Allah (*nubuwwāt*) and Afterlife⁶ (which are the three fundamental principles in the Ahl al-Sunnah tradition), and established this society in Madīnah. Every individual of the Companions, in proportion to their experience and intellectual reasoning, contributed to the growth of this society. Because the Messenger of Allah was a common sense for Muslims, during his lifetime, who had experienced serious disagreements to

⁴ For an illustrative analysis regarding this method, see. Mehmet Kalaycı, *Tarihsel Süreçte Eşarilik Maturidilik İlişkisi* (Ankara: Ankara Okulu Yayınları, 2013), 11 ff.

⁵ For example, see. Al-Baqarah 2/2-5; Tā-hā 20/2-3.

⁶ It is possible to interpret these principles in terms of founding a life: *Tawhīd*: Acknowledging only Allah as the one who lays down all the values that humans possess. *Messengerhood of Allah*: Admitting Muḥammad, the Messenger of Allah as the sole source for combining the transcendent and the earthly context and learning its method from him. *Afterlife*: Building a virtuous life in the world by knowing the possible outcomes in a certain future.

such an extent that would normally divide the society did not occur.⁷ This situation might generally cause relaxation in the Companions’ minds since the Messenger of Allah was the ultimate authority in solving problems. It can be seen that at the point of the death of the Messenger of Allah, and eventually after his departure from life, the Companions underwent a severe depression. In this regard, the main trouble they encountered was “adapting to a life without the Messenger of Allah”.⁸ The most obvious example of this can be seen in the accounts that are reported in our sources, which we can summarize in ‘Umar ibn al-Khattāb’s (d. 23/644) bewilderment and Abū Bakr al-Siddīq’s (d. 13/634) wise talk over this.⁹

The Companions, who had to adjust to a life without the Messenger of Allah, determined the course of the next generations through their conduct, probably with the sense of responsibility they felt deeply. So, they consulted to the experiences of their life before becoming a Muslim (perhaps the ones they did not consider to be contradictory to principles of Islam) as well as what they had learned from the Messenger of Allah. Moreover, their use of the concept of “amirate” in the words of the late Mohammad Abed Al-Jābirī (d. 2010)¹⁰, which was in their mind following the discussions they engaged in to choose the first caliph, can be given as an example to this case. It must be kept in mind that the Companions completely acted with a human reflex while solving their problems instead of being a superhuman even though different explanations are given about their experiences. This assessment is critical to understand the incident experienced [at that time]. In a sense, this situation will provide an opportunity to derive lessons from life experiences. Given that human is the main actor that forms the life; the fact that behind each life experience there are psychological, sociological, political, etc. factors, which constitute the mental background of human, is another point that should not be overlooked as well.

When considering the previously described framework, it is possible to enumerate the most pressing problems of that period as follows:

1. The problem of leadership (*Caliphate*)
2. The grave sinner (*murtakib al-kabīrah*) and related matters
3. The problem of predestination (*qadar*)

These topics, as it were, have become the factors that determine the essential characteristic of Islamic thought tradition. It can be seen that these matters, which are basically founded on politic disputes, have been addressed in the way rereading history by tracing back and systemizing it in theological context since the abovementioned political setting disappeared with the century of compilation (*tadwīn*).¹¹ Generally, it can also be realized that each look at these topics shapes the methodology of sects in a manner that indeed

⁷ For analysis regarding the issue, see. Halil İbrahim Bulut, *İslam Mezhepleri Tarihi* (Ankara: DİB Yayınları, 2016), 120.

⁸ See. Ahmet Akbulut, *Sahabe Devri Siyasi Hadiselerinin Kelami Problemlere Etkisi* (İstanbul: Birleşik Yayınları), 1992, 340 ff.

⁹ For example, see. Muḥammad b. Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī-Tārīkh al-rusul wa al-mulūk*, ed. Muḥammad Abū al-Faḍl İbrāhīm (Cairo: Dār al-Ma‘ārif, 1962), 3/200-201.

¹⁰ See. Muhammed Ābid el-Cābirī, *Arap Siyasal Aklı*, trans. Vecdi Akyüz, First Printing (İstanbul: Mana Yayınları, 2018), 441 ff.

¹¹ For an illustrative analysis, see. Mehmet Evkuran, “Ehl-i Sünnet ve'l-Cemâat”, *Kelam Tarihi ve Ekolleri*, ed. Mehmet Evkuran (Ankara: Bilimsel Araştırma Yayınları, 2018), 219-220.

reflects the political standing of the period. Besides, it can be understood that the extent of these matters has turned into main starting points where the "God-human-universe" relationship presented with respect to its explanation of an existential course. Thus, first, explaining these significant matters in a descriptive way and then making a brief evaluation of them are going to be the primary method of this article.

1. The Problem of Caliphate

First of all, it is possible to note the followings concerning the etymology of the word *khalīfah*: This word means "s/he who comes after someone," "s/he who succeeds," "s/he who represents someone due to his death or incapacity," and "s/he who runs the business of a person he replaces." Terminologically, in our literature, the person who observes the commands of Islam, preserves the religion, and conducts the religious and worldly affairs in the name of the Messenger of Allah is defined as "*khalīfah*." The public authority he governs is denoted the word "*khalīfah*". The point regarding the use of this word while describing the head of a government can be summarized as follows: When Abu Bakr al-Siddīq was chosen as the head of the state, he said "I am not the *khalīfah* of Allah but Muḥammad the Messenger of Allah" and preferred to use the title "*khalīfatu Rasūlillāh*."¹² Based on this statement of him, it can be said that he wanted to emphasize the fact that he did not represent the God in the earth; conversely, he was only a follower of the message of the Messenger of Allah and his successor in the political sense. ‘Umar ibn Khattāb used the title "*khalīfatu khalīfati Rasūlillāh*".¹³ However, because it was a phrase that is long and difficult to say, eventually, the expression "*amīr al-mu’minīn*"¹⁴ was more preferred and became common usage.¹⁵ Nevertheless, as of Umayyads, the ancient eastern political understanding, which was formed based on the "shepherd-herd" metaphor and which was founded on the idea that the source of the legitimacy is God, began dominating. Accordingly, such descriptions as "*khalīfatullāh*"¹⁶ and "*ẓillullāh fi al-arḍ*"¹⁷ came to be used by Muslim rulers.¹⁸

Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Karīm al-Shahristānī (d. 548/1153) indicated that the most severe disagreement among *ummaḥ* was about the caliphate by saying, "Sides has not taken up arms against each other in none of the religious matters as much as the matter of *imāmah*".¹⁹ Indeed, the Qur’ān on the grounds of being a universal discourse, instead of explicitly stating the identity of the head of a state, emphasizes the principles that a Muslim ruler should adopt such as justice, merit, consultation, order, the supremacy of law,

¹² The Caliph of Muḥammad the Messenger of Allah.

¹³ The Caliph of the Caliph of Muḥammad the Messenger of Allah.

¹⁴ The Ruler of Muslims (Amīr).

¹⁵ For detailed information about the word "khalīfah" and its derivatives, see. Akbulut, *Sahabe Devri Siyasi Hadiselerinin Kelami Problemlere Etkisi*, 90-96.

¹⁶ God’s Caliph.

¹⁷ God’s Shadow in the Earth.

¹⁸ See. Rabiye Çetin, "Hilafet", *İslamiyet ve Hıristiyanlık Kavramları Sözlüğü*, ed. Mualla Selçuk and et al. (Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2013), 1/318-319.

¹⁹ Muḥammad al-Shahristānī, *Milal wa niḥal*, trans. Mustafa Öz (İstanbul: Litera Yayınları, 2008), 36.

and the protection of human freedom.²⁰ Therefore, Muḥammad the Messenger of Allah did not specify who was to take over the state after him despite all insistence to teach his companions a principal stand.²¹ Nonetheless, such cases as, at the time of his death disease, the Messenger of Allah’s request from Abū Bakr to perform the prayers were later used in the context of the legitimacy of the caliphate of this prominent companion, who is the first of the *Rāshidūn* Caliphs.²²

The Companions, by taking the conditions of the neighbourhood they lived into account, probably because of the idea that *ummah* should not encounter with chaos, resorted to choosing the head of the state as soon as possible while the preparation and the funeral procedures of the Messenger of Allah were continuing. Accordingly, the *Ansār* (who are consisted of *Khazraj* mostly) gathered at *Banī Sa’idah* canopy without *Muhājir* and wanted to appoint Sa’d ibn ‘Ubādah (d. 14/635) as caliph. However, the *Aws* from the *Ansār* informed ‘Umar ibn Khattāb about this meeting since they were afraid of the leadership of *Khazraj*, who had been their rivalry in the Age of Ignorance. Thereupon, after ‘Umar, Abū Bakr, and Abū ‘Ubayda ibn Jarrāh (d. 18/639), upon whom the former two stumbled on the road, joined this meeting and took part in it, the appointment of Abū Bakr as caliph was procured and they pledged allegiance to him on the ground of the narration “Imams are from Quraysh”²³ in contrast to *Ansār*’s argument that “one imam should be from the *Ansār* and the other from *Quraysh*”.²⁴

Abū Bakr appointed ‘Umar to his place before he passed away at the end of his caliphate duty lasted around two years. Later, with the allegiance of the Companions to him, ‘Umar served as the political leader of the *ummah* for more than ten years. Eventually, after a slave of Iranian descent, wounded ‘Umar during one *fajr* prayer by a dagger, he left the solution of the problem of the caliphate to a counsel committee of six people consisting of ‘Uthmān ibn Affān (d. 35/656), ‘Alī (d. 40/661), ‘Abd al-Rahmān ibn ‘Awf (d. 32/652), Talhā ibn ‘Ubaydillāh (d. 36/656), Zubayr ibn Awwām (d. 36/656), and Sa’d ibn Abī Waqqās (d. 55/675) (and he added his son ‘Abdullāh ibn ‘Umar (d. 73/692) to this committee given that he would not be chosen as caliph), on condition that they had to pick out someone among themselves within three days. Afterwards, he died. As a result of the counsel, ‘Uthmān was designated as caliph, and mainly due to some of his wrong political decisions at the second six-year of his caliphate, he provoked a strong adverse reaction; consequently, he was martyred. In place of ‘Uthmān, ‘Alī had to accept the caliphate duty because of the insistent demands of the Companions. His opponents revolted against him on the grounds that ‘Uthmān’s murderers must be found and punished, and then the *Jamal* and *Siffin* battles, which are considered disastrous for Muslim society, took place. Subsequently, the power of ‘Alī weakened, and he was martyred during a *fajr* prayer by Kharijites, who charged him with unbelief along with Mu’awiyāh ibn Abī Sufyān (d. 60/680), ‘Amr ibn As (d. 43/664), and quite a few Companions. After this, even though the people of Madīnah

²⁰ For example, see. al-Nisā 4/58; al-Nahl, 16/90; Āl-i İmrān 3/159; al-Shūra 42/38.

²¹ See. Akbulut, *Sahabe Devri Siyasi Hadiselerinin Kelami Problemlere Etkisi*, 341 ff.

²² See. al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, 3/221.

²³ For controversies around this ḥadīth, see. Mehmet Kubat, *İslam Mezhepleri Tarihi* (İstanbul: Kitap Dünyası Yayınları, 2015), 71-72; Ziya Kazıcı, *İslam Medeniyeti ve Müesseseleri Tarihi* (İstanbul: Kayıhan Yayınları, 1999), 83-84.

²⁴ For detailed information, for example, see. al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, 3: 218-223. Also see. Hasan Gümüšoğlu, *İslam’da İmamet ve Hilafet* (İstanbul: Kayıhan Yayınları, 1999), 215-220.

chose Ḥasan (d. 80/669) as caliph, under certain conditions, he stepped down as caliph in favour of Mu'awiyāh because of his lack of trust in his supporters, who contain many different and problematic fractions. Upon this incident, Hijrī 41st year called "ām al-jamā'ah".²⁵ Therefore, the period of "ordinance/wasāyah in political life"²⁶ began.

In this process where the disputes on caliphate were continuing, the Battle of *Siffin* happened to be the breaking point, and the following three discourses became predominant:

1. The *Shi'i* discourse, which advocated the *imāmah* of 'Alī and his descendants.

2. The *Kharijite* discourse, which left the *imāmah* to the opinion of *ummah* due to their hatred toward *Quraysh*.

3. The *Sunni* discourse, which acted with the motive of being comprehensive, wished for the union of *ummah* and practiced a combinative method.²⁷

This political partition proceeded into sharp divisions. Then, due to more severe disagreements, this matter was transferred to a theological dimension, and a ground for discussion was established. Moreover, in consequence of the battles above, another debate appeared. Later, at the centre of the status of dying and murdered people in these wars between Muslims, there emerged a setting, where two opposite views stood out, i.e., on the one hand, the accusative mind-set exalting the *Kharijite* mentality,²⁸ and on the other hand, the *Murji* point view²⁹ that leaves the ultimate decision to Allah.

2. Grave Sinner (*Murtakib al-Kabirah*) and the Related Matters

The grave sin, which is conceptualized in Muslim literature with the word "*kabirah*," is described terminologically as a misdeed to which the religious law (*shari'ah*) ascribes a menacing text (*nass*), a threat and punishment. Besides, it can be seen that several definitions have been provided [for this term],³⁰ for example, all kinds of behaviours that are contrary to the natural disposition and entail suffering in the afterlife, everything that God declared unlawful through the text (*nass*), each sin on which a person insist (though the one which he repents of called minor sin [*saghirah*]), and the only sin that Allah will not forgive unless it is repented of, i.e., polytheism³¹. There have been conflicts³² regarding the question of which sins

²⁵ "The year of unity". See. Mehmet Azimli, "Hilafet/Halifelik", *İslam Kurumlar Tarihi* (Ankara: Grafiker Yayınları, 2017), 55- 69.

²⁶ Akbulut, *Sahabe Devri Siyasi Hadiselerinin Kelami Problemlere Etkisi*, 133 ff.

²⁷ For a detailed analysis, see. Akbulut, *Sahabe Devri Siyasi Hadiselerinin Kelami Problemlere Etkisi*, 97-131.

²⁸ See. Mehmed Said Hatiboğlu, *Siyasi-İctimai Hadiselerle Hadis Münasebetleri* (Ankara: Otto Yayınları, 2016), 62.

²⁹ See. Harun Çağlayan, "Mürchie", *Kelam Tarihi ve Ekolleri*, ed. Mehmet Evkuran (Ankara: Bilimsel Araştırma Yayınları, 2018), 114 vd.

³⁰ See. Jamāl al-Dīn Abū l-Faql Muḥammad Ibn Manzūr, "كبير", *Lisān al-‘Arab*, Beirut: Dār Šādir, n.d.), 5: 65-70; Sayyid Sharīf al-Jurjānī, "كبير", *Kitāb al-Ta‘rifāt*, ed. Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Mar‘ashli (Beirut: Dār al-Nefāis, 2003), 230; Adil Bebek, "Kebîre", *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslām Ansiklopedisi* (Ankara: TDV Yayınları, 2002). 25/163-164.

³¹ Based on al-Nisā 4/116.

³² See. Ali Aslan Aydın, "İslam'da Büyük Günah ve Tekfir Meselesi", *Diyanet İlmî Dergi* 14/4 (1975), 200.

are grave as well as their numbers. However, sins such as polytheism, unjustly murder of a human, adultery, escape from war, consuming the possessions of an orphan³³ are enumerated in the first ranks.

As previously described, the main factors in the emergence of such a discussion are the battles of *Jamal* and *Siffin*, which took place amongst the Companions, the first generation of the end time Muslims. In consequence, the fact that this first-generation, regarded as the founding generation in Islamic thought, because they underwent the training of the Messenger of Allah, faced off against each other, fought, and intended to kill each other, created a significant trauma in the mind of Muslims. These also caused a centuries-long and an inherently political issue to evolve into a much-debated process by way of transferring it to a theological realm. Even going beyond the concept of grave sin, the matter has been treated in the context of “*asmā’-ahkām*,” (names-judgments) and the faith of an individual committing murder has been questioned. Eventually, it has reached to the extent of whether deeds/acts are a part of belief given that sinning is also an action.³⁴

Kharijites, who attempted to define infidelity before faith and accordingly infidel before faithful³⁵ and who differed from other sects based on this structure of them, can be described as the group that has opened this issue up for a discussion. In general, *Kharijites* acted upon the acceptance that each sin removes a person from religion without making a grave-minor sin distinction. Furthermore, they declared the sinner as infidel on the grounds of their fragmentary or very selective approach to the texts, and they led to the emergence of a chaotic environment. Based on this point of view, (even though they had disagreements over in which category of infidelity the people they charged with unbelief included regarding their identities in the afterlife), they accused the prominent figures of the Companions, particularly ‘Alī and Mu‘āwiyah, and numerous Muslims of infidelity,³⁶ and they moved their political opinions to the ground of belief.³⁷

Against this rigid approach of *Kharijites*, an intense adverse reaction occurred in the eyes of *ummah*, and this adverse reaction brought about the emergence of *Murjī* movement based upon the idea of referring the judgment about the grave sinner to Allah, in other words deferring it to the afterlife. *Murjī* groups, which were consisted of many fractions in contrast to *Kharijites*, did not consider deeds to be a part of faith and did not remove anyone who committed either a grave or a minor sin from the circle of Islam and counted them as believers. However, they described a sinner who does not repent of his sins as “*fāsiq*”.³⁸

³³ For example, see. Muslim, “İmān”, 143-146.

³⁴ For analysis on the issue, see. Akbulut, *Sahabe Devri Siyasi Hadiselerinin Kelami Problemlere Etkisi*, 268-276.

³⁵ See. İsmail Şık - Hamdi Akbaş, “Düşünce Hareketleri ve İnanç Grupları”, *Kelām I Kelām Tarihi/Kelām Okulları* (Ankara: Gece Kitaplığı Yayınları, 2017), 64 ff.

³⁶ See. ‘Abd al-Qāhir al-Baghdādī, *al-Farq bayn al-firāq (Mezhepler Arasındaki Farklar)*, trans. Ethem Ruhi Fıçlalı (Ankara: TDV Yayınları, 1991), 54.

³⁷ For detailed information on *Kharijites*, which is the first group that spoke of about the grave sin and the first group emerged within the Muslim society, also on their main principles, and their impacts on the Islamic thought, see. Rabiye Çetin, “Haricilik”, *Kelam Tarihi ve Ekolleri*, ed. Mehmet Ekvuran (Ankara: Bilimsel Araştırma Yayınları, 2018), 57-75.

³⁸ For detailed information, see. Çağlayan, “Mürcie”, 108-133.

In response to the understanding of these groups of the grave sinner and dependently of belief, as a third group, Mu'tazilah, which is qualified to be the first kalām school, (which also affects *Shi'ah* especially *Zaydīs* in terms of their theological viewpoints) entered into the picture. The basis of the foundation of this school, which started with Wāsil ibn 'Atā (d. 131/748) as such, pertinent to this matter exactly so much that they make their analysis based on one of the principles of their “*usūl al-khamsah*”, that is, “*al-manzila bayn al-manzilatayn*”.³⁹ Accordingly, they apply the concept “*fisq*”⁴⁰ as a new status between belief and disbelief. Indeed, the perception of *Kharijites* had an exclusionary effect on people; whereas, *Murji'ah*'s point of view led to excessive relaxation and failed to ensure the fulfilment of the requirement of belief. Thus, they named the grave sinner as “*fāsiq*” instead of a believer or unbeliever to establish a social order based on the principle of justice.⁴¹ If *fāsiq* does not ask forgiveness (*tawbah*) for his wrongdoings in this life, he will remain in eternal hell (even if his suffering will not be as severe as the suffering of an unbeliever). It is possible to say that this expression serves as a warning to a person who has sinned instead of excluding him from the community and that it has been created to make sure the reintegration of him into the society in a manner that enables him to repent. Even though they seem to have a shared perspective with *Kharijites* in terms of their acceptance of actions as a part of belief, due to their aims described above, this situation stands before us, indicating to the point where [Mu'tazilīs] differ from the [Kharijite] understandings that cause a chaotic environment.

Despite this, it can be said that *Ahl al-Sunnah*, which differs from the Adherents of Ḥadīth in using the kalām method to explain the creed of the *Salaf*, and which has been formed on the grounds of *Māturidism* and *Ash'arism*, due to its inclusiveness, has adopted the *Murji* perception in general as can also be inferred from their motto “People of the *qiblah* (*Ahl al-qiblah*) cannot be accused of infidelity”. It is also apparent that they developed the notion “being between fear and hope” (*bayn al-khawf wa al-rajā*) to separate himself from the conception “when together with belief, disobedience would not harm”, which is expressed as “*Khabīth Murji'ah*”.⁴² It can also be said that, especially in terms of *Māturidite* tradition, Abū Hanīfa's (d. 150/767) understanding of faith (who is claimed to be a *Murji*)⁴³ played a vital role in *Ahl al-Sunnah*'s perception of this matter. According to this viewpoint, which does not count actions as a part of belief in general, a person, who commits sins apart from polytheism and dies without repenting, is described as a believer. This person, who is defined as “*Fāsiq Believer*”⁴⁴ is left up to God's volition if He wishes He forgives him. If He wants, He

³⁹ Between two states (belief and unbelief).

⁴⁰ For detailed information, see. Ömer Aydın, *Kuran-ı Kerim'de İman-Amel İlişkisi* (İstanbul: İşaret Yayınları, 2007), 59-120; İbrahim Kaplan et al., “İmanla İlgili Teolojik Problemler”, *Kelâm III Sistematik Kelâm/İman ve İlâhiyât*, ed. İsmail Şık ve Nail Karagöz (Ankara: Gece Kitaplığı, 2017), 58.

⁴¹ See. Fethi Kerim Kazanç, “Mu'tezile”, *Kelâm Tarihi ve Ekolleri*, ed. Mehmet Evkuran (Ankara: Bilimsel Araştırma Yayınları, 2018), 173; Recep Önal, “İman ve Mahiyeti Konusunda Mu'tezile ile Ehl-i Sünnet Polemiği”, *Ondokuz Mayıs Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi* 39 (2015), 125 ff.

⁴² For example, see. 'Alī b. Sulṭān Muḥammad al-Qārī, *Sharḥ al-fiqh al-akbar li-Abī Ḥanīfa al-Nu'mān*, ed. Marwān Muḥammad al-Sha'ār (Beirut: Dār al-Nafāis, 1998), 161.

⁴³ For detailed analysis, see. al-Qārī, *Sharḥ al-fiqh al-akbar li-Abī Ḥanīfa al-Nu'mān*, 160.

⁴⁴ For example, see. al-Qārī, *Sharḥ al-fiqh al-akbar li-Abī Ḥanīfa al-Nu'mān*, 159 ff.

sends him to Heaven after He punishes him in proportion to his sins⁴⁵ or with the intercession of Muḥammad, the Messenger of Allah.⁴⁶

Consequently, general opinions concerning the grave sin within Islamic thought can be listed as follows:

1. *Kharijiyyah*: He is removed from religion and deserves eternal suffering in hellfire.

2. *Mu‘tazilah*: He is removed from religion; however, he does not become an infidel. He is called “*fāsiq*” between these and stay in the eternal hell even though not like infidels.

3. *Murji’ah*: He is faithful, and his judgment is referred to Allah in the afterlife.

4. *Ahl al-Sunnah*: He is faithful as long as he does not regard the sin as lawful; however, his judgment depends on God’s will.

5. It is reported from Ḥasan al-Basrī (d. 110/728) that once he used to describe such a person as “*munāfiq*”.⁴⁷

Lastly, because it has a direct relation to the present topic, the viewpoints on the definition of belief can be summarized as follows:

1. Jahm ibn Safwān (d. 128/745), who defines belief as the cognizance of heart and some *Murjī* groups.

2. *Karrāmites*, who define belief as a confession with tongue and some *Murjī* groups.

3. *Ash‘aris* and *Māturīdīs*, who emphasize that what is essential in faith is an affirmation (*taṣdīq*) by heart.

4. Some Hanafī practitioners of Islamic jurisprudence, such as especially Abū Hanīfah, Abū al-Yusr al-Pazdawī (d. 493/1100), Shams al-A‘immah Sarakhsī (d. 483/1090), and Kamāladdīn al-Bayādī (d. 1098/1687), who state that the main elements of faith are an affirmation by heart and confession with tongue.

5. *Kharijiyyah*, *Mu‘tazilah*, *Zaydiyyah*, *Ash‘āb al-Ḥadīth*⁴⁸ and some of *Ahl al-Sunnah*, who define faith as an affirmation by heart, confession with tongue, and performing deeds by organs.⁴⁹

3. The Problem of Predestination

Predestination is expressed with the concept of *qadar* in Muslim culture. The term *qadar* means “measuring, planning, ordination (*taqdīr*), decreeing (*qadā*) and judgment, having power, appointing,

⁴⁵ See. Kaplan et al., “İmanla İlgili Teolojik Problemler”, 62-70.

⁴⁶ See. İsmail Şık, “Şefa‘at”, *Kelām IV Sistematik Kelām 2 Nübüvvet Mead*, ed. İsmail Şık – İsmail Yürük (Ankara: Araştırma Yayınları, 2016) 225 ff.

⁴⁷ For example, see. Kaplan et al., “İmanla İlgili Teolojik Problemler”, 57-58.

⁴⁸ For analysis on *Ash‘āb al-Ḥadīth*, see. Sönmez Kutlu, *İslam Düşüncesinde İlk Gelenekçiler Hadis Taraftarlarının İman Anlayışı Bağlamında Bir Zihniyyet Analizi* (Ankara: Kitabiyat Yayınları, 2002), 69.

⁴⁹ For example, see. A. Saim Kılavuz, *Anahatlarıyla İslâm Akâidi ve Kelâm’a Giriş*, Fourteenth Printing (İstanbul: Ensar Neşriyat, 2009), 36-44.

shortening sustenance,⁵⁰ acting wisely, designated time and place of a thing, the very limit thereby something ends”⁵¹ in the lexicon. Terminologically, it is described in our literature as “the fact that created beings and incidents are within the knowledge and decree of God.” There are other significations of this word, such as “the shift of possible things from the state of inexistence into the state of existence” and “knowing the actuality, scale, and essence of a thing”.⁵² Generally in Muslim literature, this matter has been discussed on the basis of God’s attributes especially His Knowledge and Will, and it is understood in the way that God knows time and place, characteristics and all kinds of properties of everything that has happened and will happen from eternity *a parte ante* to eternity *a parte post*, and that He decrees and ordains in eternity based on this. This decree and ordination include qualities such as benefit, harm, good, and evil on the one hand, and time, place, reward, and punishment, which apply to created beings, on the other.⁵³ Therefore, in *Mâturîdî* scholarly tradition, “*qadar*” has been interpreted as the ordination of everything that created beings do including good and evil; while the term “*qadā*” has been construed as God’s creation of things that He has decreed in accordance with His knowledge and will. In contrast with this interpretation, *Ash’arî* tradition has used the term “*qadā*” in place of “*qadar*” and the term “*qadar*” in place of “*qadā*” but retaining the same explanation.⁵⁴ Considering that the arguments arousing around the concept of predestination (*qadar*), on which opinions in opposite poles clash, are a human phenomenon (as it is everywhere humans exist), it is possible to encounter similar disagreements in the Arabs of the Age of Ignorance. Particularly, an understanding presented in this context based on the term “*dahr*”, which can be defined as “that which actualizes the things previously decreed, and the cause of good and bad fortune” draws attention.⁵⁵ Indeed, there are claims indicating that this understanding has also been effective on the interpretations made after Muslim culture.⁵⁶

⁵⁰ See. Ibn Manzûr, “قدر”, *Lisân al-‘Arab*, 5: 74-75; Muḥammad ‘Alî Najjâr, “قدر”, *al-Muġjam al-wasîf*, ed. Ibrâhîm Muştafâ et al. (Istanbul: Çağrı Yayınları, 1992), 718; Abû al-Ṭâhir Majd al-Dîn al-Fîrûzâbâdî, “قدر”, *al-Qāmûs al-muḥîṭ* (Beirut: Dâr al-‘Ālamî al-Jâmi‘, n.d.), 2: 114.

⁵¹ See. Ibn Manzûr, “قدر”, *Lisân al-‘Arab*, 5: 74-75; al-Fîrûzâbâdî, “قدر”, *al-Qāmûs al-muḥîṭ*, 2: 114; al-Jurĵânî, “قدر”, *Kitâb al-Ta’rîfât*, 250; Mas‘ûd Jubrân, “قدر”, *al-Râ’id* (Beirut: Dâr al-‘Ilm li al-Malâ’iyîn, 1962), 1157-1159; Abû l-Fayḍ Murtaḍâ al-Zabîdî, “قدر”, *Tâj al-‘Arûs*, ed. ‘Abd al-Mun‘im Khalîl Ibrâhîm et al. (Beirut: Dâr al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya, 2007), 3: 481; al-Râghîb al-Işfahânî, “قدر”, *Mufradât alfâz al-Qur’ân*, ed. Safwân, ‘Adnân Dâwûdî (Damascus: Dâr al-Qalam, 2002), 657-658.

⁵² See. ‘Abd al-Raḥîm b. ‘Alî Shaykhzâde, *Naẓm al-farâ’id wa Jam’ al-fawâ’id* (Cairo: Maṭba‘at al-Taqaḍdum, n.d.), 21.

⁵³ For example, see. Nûr al-Dîn al-Şâbûnî, *al-Bidâya fi uşul al-dîn*, ed. Bekir Topaloğlu (Ankara: Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı Yayınları, 1995), 77-78.

⁵⁴ For example, see. Nail Karagöz, “İnsanın Fiilleri (Ef’âl-i İbâd)”, *Kelâm III Sistematik Kelâm/İman ve İlahiyât*, ed. İsmail Şık - Nail Karagöz (Ankara: Gece Kitaplığı, 2017), 219 ff.

⁵⁵ For analysis on this issue, see. H. Musa Bağcı, *İnsanın Kaderi Hadislerin Telkin Ettiği Kader Anlayışı* (Ankara: Ankara Okulu Yayınları, 2009), 289 ff.; Ramazan Biçer, *Akil ve İrade Kapısı İmam Mâtürîdî* (İstanbul: Erdem Yayınları, 2018), 91 ff.

⁵⁶ See. Toshihiko Izutsu, *Kur’an’da Allah ve İnsan*, trans. Süleyman Ateş (Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Yayınları, 1975), 117; Hanifi Şahin, “İlk Dönem Kader Tartışmalarında Siyasetin Rolü”, *Ankara Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi* 36 (2011), 49-50.

Qadar is a Qur’ānic concept. It appears approximately in one hundred thirty sections, along with its derivatives.⁵⁷ Differently from the significations given in Muslim literature, the meaning that stands out in a sense used in the Qur’ān is the measure.⁵⁸ In the verses where this meaning is stressed, mainly the fact that the universe has been created by God in a particular order and measure is underlined.⁵⁹ Moreover, in case of the adoption of a fragmentary interpretation style, opposite meaning settings can be inferred, for instance, that a human is free or that he is never free. Thus, while reading the verses, following a specific method and making a remark within the frame presented below will allow of having a consistent perspective:

1. The frame of verse
2. The frame of context (*siyāq-sibāq*)
3. The frame of the integrity of the Qur’ān
4. The frame of social and physical laws in the universe
5. The frame of common sense⁶⁰

On the other hand, when looked at the literature of ḥadīth, although there is a great emphasis indicating that discussing this issue is forbidden, ḥadīths reflecting both determinism and human freedom attract attention.⁶¹ Surely, even if it may be thought that this issue was addressed at the time of the Messenger of Allah, it is possible to say that it frequently appears with its current meaning in the political environment of Umayyad period. Afterwards, it attains a conceptual form, as it will be explained below. Besides, taking into consideration that ḥadīth reports recorded after this period where such a discussion took place, it will be a more accurate attitude to have a precautionary approach to these [ḥadīths].⁶² Numerous accounts are given as well in Muslim sources regarding that this matter discussed at the time of *Rāshidūn* Caliphs. To provide some examples, the following reports are essential in terms of pointing out to the first discussion ground of the problem of predestination: The fact that a theft incident, which happens at the time of ‘Umar ibn Khattāb, was responded in the way that “This the decree (*qadar*) of Allah”; the fact that when ‘Umar ibn Khattāb cancelled his visit to Damascus because of the plague, he answered the question of “Are you escaping from the decree of Allah?” as “I am escaping from the decree of Allah again to the decree of Allah.”; the fact that in response to the ones who wanted him to quit caliphate, ‘Uthman ibn Affān, brought forward the divine providence, saying “I will not remove the clothing that Allah put on me.”,

⁵⁷ See. Muḥammad Fu’ād ‘Abd al-Bāqī, “قدر”, *al-Mu’jam al-mufahras li-alfāz al-Qur’ān al-Karīm* (Istanbul: Tebliğ Yayınları, 1985), 536-537.

⁵⁸ See. Yusuf Şevki Yavuz, “Kader”, *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul: TDV Yayınları, 2001), 24/58.

⁵⁹ For example, see. al-Qamar 54/49; al-An‘ām 6/96; al-Hijr 15/21; al-Mu’minūn 23/18; al-Furqān 25/2; al-Shūra 42/27; al-Ṭalāq 65/3; al-Mursalāt 77/23; al-Muddaththir 74/18-20. For an analysis on this issue, see. Rabiye Çetin, “Kur’an-ı Kerim Bağlamında Kader-İmtihan İlişkisi”, *Journal of the Human and Social Science Researches* 5/4 (2016), 780-789.

⁶⁰ See. Ahmet Akbulut, “Allah’ın Takdiri-Kulun Tedbiri”, *Ankara Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi* 33/1 (1994), 138.

⁶¹ For analysis on this issue, see. Bağcı, *İnsanın Kaderi Hadislerin Telkin Ettiği Kader Anlayışı*, 291 ff.

⁶² For analysis on this issue, see. Akbulut, “Allah’ın Takdiri-Kulun Tedbiri”, 133 ff.; Bağcı, *İnsanın Kaderi Hadislerin Telkin Ettiği Kader Anlayışı*, 292-293.

and then opponents responded by attacking him with stones while saying “Allah makes us throw these stones.”; the fact that ‘Alī ibn Abī Tālib, at the time of his caliphate, associated the Battles of *Jamal* and *Siffīn*, in which he was also present, with predestination. Accordingly, in the period of four caliphs, it is possible to say that the problem had a theological and political content; however, a sharp distinction did not occur around the concept of predestination, and it did not turn into factionalism.⁶³

It can be realized that, as is with our other two headings, there is a political ground at the root of the controversies. Besides, the Battles of *Jamal* and *Siffīn* on which the discussion regarding the grave sinner stand out here. The fact that both killer and the killed are the founding generations of the Islamic thought, i.e., the Companions, increased the importance of the issue, and it started to be argued within the framework of human freedom and responsibility in his actions. Later it began to be handled in an ontological and epistemological setting. In this context, the following questions have made up of the core of the controversy, and later in the process, the views of the sects are formed: What is predestination? What are the states of the killer and killed in the afterlife? Do these incidents occur within the frame of predestination? If so, do human actions possess a responsibility? Does a human have an unchangeable destiny? If so, what is the meaning of a human being responsible for what he does and does not? Does a human act with his will when it comes to the action he performed? What is the will? What is the relationship between God’s will and human will? What is freedom, and what are its limits? Is it possible to speak of absolute freedom for humans?⁶⁴

It is possible to say that the issue, even though it began to be discussed on the grounds of *Jamal* and *Siffīn*, turned into a problem in itself. For in this period, it can be noticed that the matter of predestination or human freedom was exploited on account of political interests. The idea that what was being done was as a result of divine decree, and that the rulers were not responsible, tried to be brought forward to the fore. Even it was not refrained from reporting ḥadīths related to this issue. Because it is narrated that Mu‘āwiyah said, “If Allah did not see that I was competent in this task, He would not leave it to me. If Allah were not content with our actions, He would change the state which we are in”.⁶⁵ The rulers of Umayyad attributed their actions to Allah to lessen the negative responses from people and to justify themselves. With this deterministic view, human freedom was ignored, and it was tried to avoid responsibility by ascribing everything by God’s decree.⁶⁶

When Mu‘āwiyah started the Umayyad sultanate, with a deterministic attitude, he claimed that the one who directs him in his administrations was Allah, just as the one who gave him the duty of being the head of the state was Allah.⁶⁷ It is known that many sects were formed in the period of Umayyad’s, that there

⁶³ See. Muḥammad Abū Zahra, *İslâm’da Siyâsî ve İtikâdî Mezhepler Tarihi*, trans. Hasan Karakaya et al. (İstanbul: Hisar Yayınları, n.d.), 103-104.

⁶⁴ See. Mevlüt Özler, “Kelam Tarihi”, *Kelam El Kitabı*, ed. Şaban Ali Düzgün (Ankara: Grafiker Yayınları, 2016) 33-34. (21-40).

⁶⁵ See. Abdülhamit Sinanoğlu, “İslâm’ın İlk Siyasallaştırılma Sürecinde Kader İnancı”, *Ankara Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi* 43/2 (2002), 255.

⁶⁶ See. Halife Keskin, *İslam Düşüncesinde Kader ve Kaza* (İstanbul: Beyan Yayınları, 1997), 74.

⁶⁷ See. Sinanoğlu, “İslâm’ın İlk Siyasallaştırılma Sürecinde Kader İnancı”, 262.

were riots against the government, and there were also reactions to the current administration. To obliterate these reactions and to establish a legitimate ground, they attempted to impose the idea that God’s will manifested in this direction. A great deal of Umayyad sultans and governors made use of the concept of predeterminism with such content to legitimize their political power. Consequently, the determinist view has found a place for itself in the Umayyad period. This situation, named as “determinism ideology”⁶⁸ by researchers, stands out as an essential point in justifying the validity of the Umayyad rule. The only answer can be given the question of why the concept of predestination was employed for such an attempt of legitimization is the fact that rulers came to power unquestioned or by way of handing from father to son, which does not take the competency into consideration. Because they could not attain validity from the people based on justice, they tried to gain political influence and legitimize their status by claiming that their power is owing to the divine ordination of God⁶⁹.

It must be told that the first systematic view on the concept of predestination was introduced by *Jabriyyah*. This understanding, which is turned into a motto in the form of the statement “Human is the same as a leaf in wind; wherever the wind blows, s/he goes there,” is a natural result of a methodological view concerning the problem of attributes particularly.⁷⁰ With this opinion, this sect differs from the Umayyad rule that used the concept of predestination in accordance with their political objectives. When the problem is addressed considering their overall frame of mind, it can be said that they were also against the regime in question. Indeed, the leaders of this movement were murdered because of their ideas (especially on the matter of createdness of the Qur’ān/*khalq al-Qur’ān*).⁷¹ Moreover, it should be noted that the fact that perspectives respecting attributes were adopted by *Mu’tazilah*, who emphasized human freedom, is very telling.⁷²

According to this view, which can be described as extremely unantropomorphic perception, to establish the Oneness of God, on the one hand, God must be exempted from all the characteristics attributed to created beings, on the other hand, no attributes of Him should be ascribed to created beings. Based on this perspective, for them, actions must be attributed to God instead of humans. In other words, no will should be brought up in the face of God’s will since the will is an attribute unique to God. On this issue, *Jabriyyah*, who abstract action from human and attaches it to God, claims that everything happens by God’s decree and will. Yet, humans possess neither power nor will by any means. *Jabriyyah*, while not giving humans any will or power, maintains that God’s decree is unavoidable for humans, and they have to submit

⁶⁸ For example, see. İrfan Aycan, *Saltanata Giden Yolda Muaviye bin Ebi Sufyan* (Ankara: Ankara Okulu Yayınları, 2010), 208.

⁶⁹ See. Yavuz, “Kader”, 24: 59-60; Resul Öztürk, *Cebri Düşüncenin Yaygınlaşmasında Siyasi İktidarın Etkisi* (Akara: Ankara University, PhD Thesis, 2002), 115-125.

⁷⁰ For analysis on this issue, see. Akbulut, *Sahabe Devri Siyasi Hadiselerinin Kelami Problemlere Etkisi*, 289-292.

⁷¹ For detailed analysis on this issue, see. Rıza Korkmazgöz, “Cebriyye”, *Kelam Tarihi ve Ekolleri*, ed. Mehmet Evkuran (Ankara: Bilimsel Araştırma Yayınları, 2018), 137-162.

⁷² *Mu’tazilah*’s objection to the idea of an attribute separate from the essence based on their principle of tawhîd (with a heritage adopted from *Jabriyyah*) is a systematic reaction against Christian conception of God, as their defence of the idea of the absolute freedom of human in his acts based on their justice principle (with a heritage adopted from *Qadariyyah*) is a systematic reaction against the predestination concept of the political administration.

to what is destined for them. As stated by them, humans do not have any function or responsibility apart from being a locus for the act.⁷³ The scholar who first raised this matter is Ja’d ibn Dirham (d. 124/742), and following him, Jahm ibn Saffān systemized these views. According to him, also, humans do not own any power and will; rather they are obligated to their actions. Everything takes place by God’s ordination. Reward and punishment are fixed as is fate. Therefore, the religious obligation becomes compulsory. The only agent is God.⁷⁴

Besides *Jabriyyah*, which is the first group that emerged as a result of the predestination controversy, another significant formation is the sect called *Qadariyyah*.⁷⁵ *Qadariyyah* is a common name both for those who do not accept a conception of predestination restricted to a deterministic interpretation and for those who put this idea at the centre of their ideology. To put it another way, it is the name of the group that emerged at the time of the administration of ‘Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān (d. 86/705) as a reactionary movement against the deterministic understanding of divine decree. This group, led by Ma’bad al-Juhānī (d. 83/702), opposed the fact that they pretended as if the origin of their legitimacy and their practices were God’s ordination by saying “There is no predeterminism.”⁷⁶ They criticized *Umayyads* systematically and consistently because the latter group depicted their oppressions as God’s predestination. A heated debate took place between Hajjāj ibn Yūsūf (d. 95/714), governor of *Umayyads* famous for his title tyrant, and Ma’bad stated that he refuses the deterministic understanding. Furthermore, another name that stands out due to his opinions on this problem is Ghaylān al-Dimashqī (d. 120/738), who is an emancipated slave of ‘Uthmān. He had a series of dialog and correspondence with his friend ‘Umar ibn ‘Abd al-Azīz (d. 101/720) called with the nickname “second ‘Umar,” and they discussed the issue of predestination. However, he quitted speaking of this matter upon the caliph’s warning, at least until the caliph passed away. Ghaylān, who defined the predestination as human acts performed freely, believed that unless humans bring their actions into being, God does not intervene in this action.⁷⁷

Even though he is not counted among *Qadariyyah*, Ḥasan al-Basrī, one of the prominent figures of the *Tābi‘ūn* generation, should be included here in terms of his condemnation of the deterministic perception of divine decree. Ḥasan al-Basrī was born in Madīnah, and in his youth, he witnessed the martyrdom of ‘Uthman ibn Affān and the Battles of *Jamal* and *Siffin*. He attracted attention with his understanding of asceticism and expressed the wrongdoings of *Umayyad* rulers concerning the matter of predestination.⁷⁸

⁷³ See. Muḥammad Abū Zahra, *Ta’riḫ al-madhāhib al-Islāmiyya* (s.n.: Dār al-Fikr al-‘Arabī, n.d.), 182.

⁷⁴ See. al-Baghdādī, *al-Farq bayn al-firāq*, 281; al-Shahrastānī, *Milal wa niḫal*, 86; Şerafettin Gölçük, *Bâkılânî ve İnsanın Fiilleri* (Ankara: TDV Yayınları, 1997), 124.

⁷⁵ See. İlyas Çelebi, “İlk Kelam Tartışmaları ve İnanç Grupları,” *Kelam El Kitabı*, ed. Şaban Ali Düzgün (Ankara, Grafiker Yayınları, 2016), 56.

⁷⁶ There is no predeterminism; what happens, happens right now.

⁷⁷ For analysis on this issue, see. Akbulut, *Sahabe Devri Siyasi Hadiselerinin Kelami Problemlere Etkisi*, 289-294.

⁷⁸ See. Cemalettin Erdemci, “İlk Dönem (Hicri 1. asır) Kader Tartışmaları Çaylan ed-Dımaşkı-Ömer b. Abdülaziz”, *Tezkire: Journal of Thought, Politics and Social Science* 43-44 (April-September 2006), 198-223.

Also, he asserted his comments on the concept of predestination as a response to the threatening letter of ‘Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān and did not submit to political oppressions.⁷⁹

Mu‘tazilah inherited their perception of predestination, which they systematized based on their principles of justice, and the related concepts from *Qadariyyah*. Considering that they organized *Jahmiyyah*’s heritage regarding the issue of attributes on the ground of their perception of *tawhīd*, the fact that *Mu‘tazilah* constructed their methodologies in a manner that completes each other is noteworthy in terms of their receiving the honour of being the first school of kalām. They made an impression within the kalām literature, especially in connection with the fact that they did not acknowledge attributes separate from the essence of God⁸⁰ and that they defended the absolute human freedom. Also, it can be said that *Ahl al-Sunnah kalām* tradition, which draws attention with their uniting and inclusive attitude, has a combinatory approach.⁸¹ Both *Ash‘arism* and *Māturīdism* have sought to find an intermediary way with the concept of “*kasb*” (acquisition). It is possible to notice that even though both positions set a common ground, later on, their perspectives differed from each other. *Ash‘arism* approached the issue from the point that *Mu‘tazilah*’s idea of “human’s creating his actions” will cause an imperfection in God’s power, and prioritized the perception of an “Omnipotent God.” Accordingly, in this way of explanation, the concept of human freedom is left ambiguous⁸², and it has led to an impression close to the determinist view. Therefore, *Ash‘arism* is described as “intermediary determinism”.⁸³ In contrast, *Māturīdism*, which started out from the basis of “the universal-particular will” distinction⁸⁴, when compared to *Ash‘arism*, could explain human freedom in a more precise way. Also, they clarified the issue using the idea of attachment of two powers to one object of power and ascribing the action to God in terms of creation and to humans in terms of the acquisition.⁸⁵ Consequently, *Māturīdism* is regarded as “the intermediary entrust (*tafwīz*)” interpretation.⁸⁶

To conclude, it is observed that in the history of kalām, three main views are advanced concerning the problem of predestination:

1. The position defends that human does not have power and freedom: *Jabriyyah*.

⁷⁹ See. Abū ‘Abdallāh Muḥammad ibn Sa‘d, *Kitāb al-Ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*, ed. Adnan Demircan, trans. Ahmet Aslan and at al. (İstanbul: Siyer Yayınları, 2015), 7: 157-159.

⁸⁰ For different examples on the views of *Mu‘tazilis* regarding the attributes, which is also called as concept of *ta‘tīl*, cf. Emre Köksal, “İlk Dönem Mu‘tezile Kelamında Zât-Sıfat İlişkisi -Sıfat, Mânâ ve Ahvâl Kavramları Üzerinden Bir Değerlendirme-“, *Süleyman Demirel Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi*40 (2018/1), 235-249; Recep Önal, “Ebü’l-Berekât en-Neseфі’nin İlahî İsim ve Sıfatlara Yaklaşımı”, *Journal of Ondokuz Mayıs University Faculty of Theology* 42 (2017), 147-152.

⁸¹ See. Bağcı, *İnsanın Kaderi Hadislerin Telkin Ettiği Kader Anlayışı*, 289; Recep Önal, *Ebü’l-Berekât en-Neseфі ve Kelamî Polemikleri* (Bursa: Emin Yayınları, 2017), 261-265.

⁸² See. Mevlüt Özler, *İslam Düşüncesinde İnsan Hürriyeti: Cüveyni Eksenli bir Tetkik* (İstanbul: Nun Yayınları, 1997), 94.

⁸³ See. Nail Karagöz, “İnsanın Fiilleri (Ef‘âl-i İbâd)”, 237-240.

⁸⁴ See. Nail Karagöz, “İnsanın Fiilleri (Ef‘âl-i İbâd)”, 226-227.

⁸⁵ For example, see. al-Şabūnî, *al-Bidāya fi uşul al-dīn*, 64-67.

⁸⁶ See. Karagöz, “İnsanın Fiilleri (Ef‘âl-i İbâd)”, 240-242; Recep Önal, *İmam Birgivi’de Bilgi ve İnanç Paradigması* (Bursa: Emin Yayınları, 2019), 220-221.

2. The view defends that human has power and freedom: *Qadariyyah* and *Mu'tazilah*.
3. The combination of the positions abovementioned: *Ahl al-Sunnah*
 - a. Intermediate determinism (*al-jabr al-mutawassit*)
 - b. Intermediate *Tafwīz* (*al-tafwīz al-mutawassit*)⁸⁷

Assessment and Conclusion

Even though there are theological factors and the purpose of defending religion at the basis of the formation of the perspectives of the schools of kalām or sects, the major determinants are political and social reasons. It is granted that, not only with Muslims but also as a human reality and scientific fact, intellectual movements and sects undoubtedly get affected by the social and political events of the society in which they emerge and that this effect leaves its mark on the ways of thinking, ideas and solution suggestions. When the issue is handled by using a contextual reading regarding the Muslim society, it will be noticed that the political controversies that occurred in the first period and the viewpoints that took shape accordingly stood out. Notably, the fact that the boundaries of the sects became definite with the century of compilation gives the impression that in the first place a position was taken according to the preferred view out of the views in question, that the past was reread, and that then based on the position taken methodologies were built. With an objective assessment, it is possible to say that our science tradition put forward a commendable collection of knowledge and method to eliminate the distortion that social and political areas created and address the problems on a scientific platform. However, it could not exclude itself from the determinative nature of the factors of the aforesaid areas. It may be said that it is always at the risk of being a basis for the formation of misunderstandings. This is also the time when we, today, are going to further read again on the roots of the perceptions diverging from our source text, the Qur'ān and Muḥammad the Messenger of Allah. In fact, the existence and standing of the Messenger of Allah, who sets forth a model of experience by absorbing the central message of the Last Covenant, which, unlike the texts of other religious traditions, bases the emphasis of being chosen on the character building, cannot be imagined separately from the Qur'ān. When imagined, it may cause some misperceptions. Indeed, in the caliphate-centred debates, putting an emphasis on 'Alī ibn Abī Tālib and his descendants and while criticizing this emphasis, approaching to the political administration with a tribal focus and using the argument that the caliphate is from *Quraysh* bring along some chronic complications. It should be kept in mind that the century of compilation, in which Muslims created their political traditions, took place around the convulsion of *Banī Hāshim-Banī Umayyah*. It should not be forgotten that as truths can be advanced, wrongs can also be developed.

If the issue of caliphate was handled in an institutional context not on the basis of a specific individual and social identity, the message of Islam could have reverberated across further regions, and even Islamic civilization could have gained more considerable momentum. In fact, the caliphate, in the way it is established in our tradition, does not exist in the Qur'ān, but it is founded on the ḥadīth literature. At this point, it should be strongly pointed out that the caliphates of *Umayyads* and *'Abbāsids*, which started out

⁸⁷ Metin Özdemir, *Allah'ın Bilgisinin Ezelîliği ve İnsan Hürriyeti* (Istanbul: İz Yayınları, 2013), 30-121.

from the same point following *Rāshidūn* Caliphs, have been a great misfortune for Muslims. Because the caliphate, at the time of the compilation of ḥadīths, with the impact of the pro sultanate power, an area open to fabricating ḥadīths was created, both because of the desires of sultans and for the purpose of ingratiating themselves with the sultans.⁸⁸

As to the condition of caliphate being *Quraysh* origin, around the ḥadīth, which is reported in the way of Abū Bakr al-Siddīq stress over the caliphate’s belonging to *Quraysh* at the canopy of *Banī Sa’idah*, some controversies arisen in the historical process. Some regarded this statement of Abū Bakr as ḥadīth and claimed that the caliphate is the right of the people of *Quraysh*. Indeed, it might be said that Abū Bakr’s emphasis on *Quraysh* was originating from its influence, whose social impact was dominant at that time and which was prestigious in that area. In other words, the caliph might have been chosen from *Quraysh*, considering the political and social conditions of the period. Later on, the efficiency of *Quraysh* faded, and this condition was not taken into account and enforced.

The events taking place as a result of the conception of *Khārijites* concerning belief, disbelief, and deeds, which was caused by the disagreements on the grave sinner, has been an incident that narrows the boundaries of Muslim societies. Every Muslim or anyone adopting an attitude outside of *Khārijites*’ interpretations eliminated from the frame of Muslim, excluded from the *ummah* circle, and they were got rid of in one way or another. Therefore, *Khārijites*’ attitude gave rise to anarchy inside the society, and it affected each segment of the community at different levels. This situation, which can be described as a kind of deviation from the effort of establishing a consistent understanding concerning the integrity of the Qur’ān and the Messenger of Allah, for each individual of *ummah*, stroke a severe blow for the culture of tolerating each other even though they did not share the same opinion (but agreed on the principles) or with a broader expression the mores of living together as a society. The *Murji’ah* movement, which emerged as a reaction to this divergence with the motto “leaving the judgment to Allah, its deferral,” has been considered an attitude that relieved the society. It must be due to the purpose of focusing on the unity of *ummah* that later on, the tradition of *Ahl al-Sunnah* essentially adopted this understanding. Consequently, the tradition of *Ahl al-Sunnah* can be regarded as a perception that widens the boundaries of *ummah* and that cares about the communal unity since they accept those who commit a misdeed as a believer and refrained from accusing any believer with infidelity unless they confess it themselves and except a few particular cases.

The matter of predestination has a broader and more central impact than the previously treated two issues. Perceptions formed in this area, the essential element that affects the imagination and civilization of an individual, a society, even more than that a community constituting a significant amount of the world. In a sense, this issue has shaped the Muslim society in terms of demonstrating human’s purpose of existence and creating the axis of his conduct related to this.

Unfortunately, politics, by definition, has a nature that prioritizes power and legitimacy before everything, and that does not abstain from sacrificing everything at a time of danger. This fact is an experience that humanity has profoundly witnessed since its coming to existence. In this context, many solutions proposed within the historical process have not had the desired results. The conclusion that Jābirī

⁸⁸ For analysis on the issue, see. Azimli, “Hilafet/Halifelik”, 55- 69.

reached, when he analysed this context in detail, was in the form of moralizing the politics. Considering the reality, regrettably, this solution offer appears as a utopia in front of us. Instead of moralizing systems, giving those who establish policies an opportunity to build themselves as qualified and virtuous individuals seems to be the most consistent way. The fact that the political tradition of the Muslim community was formed at wrong hands such as *Umayyad* and *Abbāsīd* rules, and that *Umayyads* conceptualized of predestination in a way that eliminates the ontological purpose of human to ensure their political legitimacy, and that even worse they drew the Muslim thought tradition into a chronic debate in a theological ground in the context of whether it was a principle of faith, have created the most destructive effect in *ummah* mind. The end time Muslims, who have a 1400-year past, unfortunately, still have not been able to get rid of this effect.

Against this destructive impact, the intellectuals of *ummah* have been reacting, since the beginning, on the basis of moving the discussions over the problems *ummah* has been encountering into a healthy and natural ground. In this regard, the contributions of *Jabriyyah*, *Qadariyyah*, *Mu'tazilah*, which systemized the heritage of the previous two, and lastly, *Ahl al-Sunnah*, which had the claim of finding the middle way, to the intellectual thought is evident. It is possible to infer that, even though the shortcomings they left are open to all kinds of constructive criticism, attempted to find solutions to the problems of society and that *kalām* has been formed through life. To conclude, this situation shows that today's Muslims, who are facing more complicated and menacing issues, must act with a similar concern.

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Will (*Irāda*), Resolution (‘*Azm*) and Reliance on God (*Tawakkul*) in the Qur’ān *

Hayati Aydın **

Abstract

The most ideal belief as explained in the Qur’ān is based on will (*irāda*), Resolution (‘*azm*) and reliance on God (*tawakkul*). These three elements are complementary processes. Will comes first. The second in importance is resolution which means to be patient and serious in any action. And the third, absolute reliance on God means to have trust in God after performing the first and the second steps, will and resolution. It is only then that miracles occur. In other words, a miracle takes place only when one wills, takes action seriously and trusts in God in any work.

Keywords

Tafsir, The Qur’ān, Will, Resolution, Reliance on God

Kur’ān’da İrade, Azm ve Tevekkül

Öz

Kur’ān’a göre ideal anlamda iman; irade, azm ve tevekküle dayanır. Bunlar birbirlerini tamamlayan süreçlerdir. Bunlardan ilki iradedir; azm ve tevekkül ise bir irade doğrultusunda ortaya konulur. Birisi bir şeye inanır, bu hususta azm ortaya koyup Allah’a tevekkül gösterirse Allah o kişiyi mutlaka başarılı kılacak ve onun için imkânsız gibi görünen şeylerin gerçekleştiğini görecektir. Kur’ān’da azm ve tevekkülden sonra bir mucizenin gerçekleşmesi, mucizenin de imkânsızın gerçekleşmesi olduğuna göre bununla büyük olasılıkla Kur’ān bize azim ve tevekkülle önceleri imkânsız gibi görünen şeylerin birer normal iş gibi kolaylıkla vuku bulacağını kişi için her an bir mucizenin gerçekleşebileceği, olağanüstü bir kuvvetin zuhur edeceğinin mesajını vermektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler

Tefsir, Kur’ān, İrade, Azm, Tevekkül

* **Note:** This article is the translation of a previously published article in Turkish: Aydın Hayati, “Kur’ān’da İrade-Azm ve Tevekkül”, *Tasavvuf İlmî ve Akademik Araştırma Dergisi* 9/22 (2008), 59-79.

** **Author and Translator:** Prof., Van Yüzüncü Yıl University, Faculty of Theology, Department of Tafsir, Van, Turkey | Prof. Dr., Van Yüzüncü Yıl Üniversitesi, İlahiyat Fakültesi, Tefsir Anabilim Dalı
aydinhayati@yyu.edu.tr | **ORCID** 0000-0002-7652-6434

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Introduction

At the first place, what we expect from this manuscript is to establish the consistency of the Qur’ān in terms of the verse “When you have resolved, rely upon Allah” (Āl ‘Imrān 3/159). The second aim of the study, in this context, is to revive the recently forgotten essence of Islam in the light of Qur’ānic verses and examples from the lives of companions of prophet Muḥammad and some exemplary figures. Belief in its most ideal sense is the faith depending on will, resolution and reliance upon God. These are the basic elements of real belief. The first of them is will; however, resolution and relying upon God can be put forth thanks to a will because every naturally thought action and work depends on a will.

1. Will (Irāda)

It is the infinitive of the verb “a-rā-da / yu-ri- du”. According to al-Qāḍī al-Bayḍawī, will is the inclination of human ego (nafs) to an action because will directs the action. However, he also states that will is called as will power, whose first source is this inclination.¹ In the first definition, inclination is with action, while the power stated in the second one has priority compared to action.² According to al-Rāḡib al-Isfahānī, will is trying to achieve everything that is desired; however, this term can be used in the meaning of inclination of ego to an action decided to be done or not likewise. As far as al-Isfahānī reported, linguists see will as a power made out of wish, need and expectation. In the Qur’ ān, on the other hand, the use of this phrase in relation to God is usually the meaning of domination.² According to philologist al-Fīrūzābādī and al-Tahānawī, will, with its simple meaning, is asking for something or tendency to a work.³ As a matter of fact, Abū al-Mu‘īn an-Nasafī states that the word for irāda (will) comes from r-w-d item according to lexicon scholars. And by telling this, not only wish is meant as the ones who look for meadow that receives plenty of rain are called as *raid*, which means meadow, by researchers before his tribe but also it means the inclination since sensual woman slave in Arabic comes from the same root as *jariyetun ravdae* whose plural form is *jivarun rudun*.⁴ As can be seen, will, the common point in definitions, means both the source inclination in human and inclination itself. Due to the combination of wish with inclination in this way, some theologians regard will the same as wish, and combined both in the definition of will.⁵ Likewise, kalām

¹ ‘Abdallāh b. Umar al-Bayḍawī *Anwār al-tanzīl wa-asrār al-ta’wīl* (İstanbul: Hakikat Kitabevi, 1991), 1/222.

² Abū l-Qāsim Husayn b. Muḥammad al-Rāḡib al-Isfahānī, *al-Mufradāt fi gharib al-Qur’ān* (Beirut/Dār al-Marifa, n.d.), 206-207.

³ Majd al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Yakub al-Firuzābādī, *al-Qāmus al-Muhit alā Tariqat al-Misbah al-Munir and Asas al-Balāḡah*, ed., Isa al-Babi al-Halebi, 2/410; Muḥammad Ali b. Ali b. Muḥammad al-Tahanawī, *Kashshaf al- Istilahāt al-Funūn* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmi, 1998), 2/210.

⁴ Abu l-Muin al-Nasafī, *Tabsirat al-adilla*, Critical ed. Huseyin Atay – Ş. Ali Düzgün (Ankara: Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı Yayınları, 2004), 490.

⁵ Najm al-Dīn Abū Ḥafş ‘Umar b. Muḥammad, al-Nasafī, *Khashiyya al-Kastallanī alā Sharh al-Aqāid* (İstanbul: Salah Bilici Kitabevi, n.d.), 85-86.

resources usually set a common definition for will as the tendency to prefer one choice out of two things which is able to be done or preference itself as the term contains such wish power and inclination.⁶

In this issue which interests kalām science more, not only Ash‘arites but also Māturīdī’s accept as divine the existence of views and thoughts that will is fed by inner world of human being. However, while the Ash‘arites claim that the will of person has no effect of the actual choice on his act, the Māturīdī’s accept it as a spiritual inclination and power of choice, because he has a tendency to do or not to do so in him, so, he calls himself as (*‘Azm i muṣammam*) perseverance and they limit the area of responsibility of the person.⁷

According to Ash‘arites, the discretionary acts of the persons are realized as a result of a partnership between God and the person. They called these acts as *kasb* (*achievement*), which is the choice of the person, and *khalq* (*creation*), which is the creation of God. In other words, they defined *itkan and istitaat* (*strength and ability*) in action as *khalq and ijād* (*Creation and creating from non-existence*) belonging to God, while they named will as *kasb* (*achievement*) belonging to person. As a result, Ash‘arites denied the might of person on the actions; whereas they accepted person’s power on *kasb*.⁸ Maturidis as well call the act of God as *khalq*, person as *kasb*. However, according to them, in its real meaning, the word *fi‘l* (*verb*) comprises both *khalq* and *kasb*. Ash‘arites, on the other hand, use *kasb* in the verb about the verb itself metaphorically.⁹ In this case, the Ash‘arites assent Māturīdīs in the point that the verbs belonging to persons are created by God, and these verbs are within the will of persons. However, Ash‘arites opposed to Māturīdīs in naming the person’s achievement as verb methaphorically.¹⁰

Though will, in terminological aspect, means choosing and inclining; in Turkish tradition, since it tends to Maturidite in my opinion and the definition of the term’s philosophical meaning gets more importance, it is defined as *yakin* (belief), persistence in chosen prefer and determination in it and *taqwa*. In our language, when someone is called as will power owner, it is understood that the person is patient in his choice and determined. In this respect, willpower shows a similarity to the definition of will in philosophy and psychology. The reason for this is that philosophy and psychology define will as the mental and spiritual ability of men establishing a certain determination about an action, realizing the action in line with thought, having total soverginity of person on his actions and giving him the power to control it.¹¹ Within this context, in terms of tradition, psychology and philosophy will, rather than the wish to perform the action in accordance with the choice to perform, is the choice of consciousness to control the self-determination and perseverance, and in this regard means to show persistence. So, will, in terms of

⁶ Muslihiddin Mustafa al-Kastallanī, *Hashiya al-Kastallanī alā Sharh al-Aqāid* (İstanbul: Salah Bilici Kitabevi, n.d.), 85-86; Nasafī, *Tabsirat al-Adilla*, 490; Tahanawī, *Kashshaf*, 2/211; Shaikhzāde Muḥammad b. Muslihiddin Mustafa, *Khashiyya alā al-anwār al-tanzil wa asrār al-ta’wil* (İstanbul: Hakikat Kitabevi, 1991) 1/222.

⁷ Kamal al-Din Ibn al-Humam, *al-Musayara* (İstanbul: Çağrı Yayınları, 1979), 109-111.

⁸ Muḥammad Dāwūd Abdulbari, *al-Irada’ında al-Mu’tazilawa al-Ash’āira* (Dār al-Ma’rife al-Jamiiyya, 1996), 132- 133.

⁹ Nūr al-Dīn al-Sabunī, *Maturidiyye Aqāidi*, trans. Bekir Topaloğlu (Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı Yayınları, n.d.), 141.

¹⁰ Sabunī, *Maturidiyye Aqāidi*, 141, footnote 16.

¹¹ Fahir Sakil, *Mu’jam al-‘Ilm al-Nafs* (Bairut: Dār al-‘Ilm li al-Malayin, 1985), 121; Orhan, Hançerlioğlu, *Felsefe Ansiklopedisi* (İstanbul: Remzi Yayınları. n.d.), 3/126-127; A. Baki Güçlü et al., *Felsefe Sözlüğü* (Ankara: Bilim ve Sanat Yayınları, 2002), 772; Selçuk Budak, *Psikoloji Sözlüğü* (Ankara: Bilim ve Sanat Yayınları, 2002), 402.

tradition, psychology and philosophy, is a more consciencous action than preference and inclination. This, therefore, corresponds to the expression of perseverance in the Qur’ān. Our starting point will be this direction of will, that is, the will of the Qur’ān, in particular, of perseverance in the direction of determination of action

As for the will in terms of quality, certainly, a willed movement is rational and pursues a goal. And, this is peculiar only to human being. What distinguishes a willed action from an unintentional one is the intelligence to achieve the goal. A willful behavior differs from simple or conditioned reflexes in terms of belonging to the brain. For example, while the actions of a hypnotized person occur by the influence of the image instilled in him, a person in normal conditions wishes to do the action deciding on its being useful.¹² So, this action has both the judgment of dominating the utility and the purpose of performing that utility.

As for the structure of will, there are four phases in a willed action: 1. Designing the goal 2. Discussing it in mind, 3. Decision making, 4. Execution.

The first two stages of willful action correspond to the functioning of the concepts, reasoning, the third stage to the judiciary that concludes this reasoning, and the fourth stage to the movement is initiated by this judgment. Particularly the third stage in will is very important. If this moment is not present, there is no will. So, will patients do not have this moment. Such patients evaluate this issue in their mind for a long time, but cannot decide for themselves. Although these patients know very well how to behave, they cannot get away with indecision and confusion in their movements. They must make an extraordinary effort to make the simplest action.¹³

As Dwelshauvers puts it, all the forces in human being are gathered at the same point at the moment of decision in will since we have stated that will is used in the sense of perseverance in philosophy. At the time of application, it can be seen as the spark that invites the explosion. At this stage, hesitation and weighing the issue in mind have been abolished, but all positive and negative feelings have come to a standstill point.¹⁴ As a result, Henri Bergson describes this moment as this: An extremely weak action, such as the action of a finger, without pressing the trigger of a pistol, is sufficient to release a stacked amount of potency as large as possible at any time and in the selected direction.¹⁵ Thus, according to Bergson, decision-making in will is the first phenomenon that ignites the spark of acceleration. As the willpower concentrates in this, the force concentrates, and the power grows as well. According to him, if power could be created, it would be possible that created power could be weak. However, its reaction can be as big as a spark to explode a gun-powder factory¹⁶ because as much as he stated, in structural movement, some carbohydrates and fats that wait only a spark to explode and are called as explosive since they are similarized to gun powder. In

¹² Also see Necati Öner, *İnsan Hürriyeti* (Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1987).

¹³ Dwelshauvers, *Psikoloji*, trans. Sekip Tunç (İstanbul: s.n., 1952), 97.

¹⁴ Dwelshauvers, *Psikoloji*, 97.

¹⁵ Henri Bergson, *Zihnin Kudreti (Mental Power)*, trans. by: Miraç Katırcıoğlu (Ankara: Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1998) 48.

¹⁶ Bergson, *Zihnin Kudreti (Mental Power)*, 48.

these, secret powers that have been obtained from the sun and are up to activate have been accumulated in them.¹⁷

As long as willpower contains perseverance, it is certain that it creates a great resistance. There is even more or less faith in each will. It is only by such faith that there is a sense of devotion and knowledge and unpredictable power and courage in the science and art owners who have created great works in their own fields. So, what is the case of perseverance which makes the willpower so majestic in Islamic literature and particularly in Qur’ān? It is necessary to look at this point.

2. Resolution (*‘Azm*)

‘Azm, which means the tendency of willpower to an action, is to display determination, and direct to an action seriously,¹⁸ and work on that task patiently, and establish seriousness in that work.¹⁹ Since perseverance exhibits such determination and seriousness, it is sometimes used instead of oath. Within this context, what is meant by saying “*azamtu alayka lataf’alanna*” is to tell “I swear that you will do this”.²⁰ Thus Arabs produce the following words for a person who does not persevere in something and who is distracted and hesitant “*ma li fulānin ‘azimatun/That one does not have perseverance*”²¹ Again, if someone hides an intention that he will do in his heart “*tavā filanun fuādahu alā ‘azimati amrin/That person has tided his heart with the determination of that task*”²² According to Tahanawī, perseverance is the process that the willpower gains certainty, namely, tendency after the hesitations and impulses of ego which are caused due to various reasons such as opinion and sensuality.²³ Isfahanī on the other hand defined perseverance as one’s heart to be locked to do an action; and he brought a commentary that resolution is an avoidant, and when a person persevere, he acts in such a way that as if he locks satan to make him perform the wrong action.²⁴

All means that resolution is to establish seriousness showing determination in willpower without paying any attention to sensual inclinations and continue with patience and determination with any issue. Thus the information, which is thought to help collect a powerful will on a certain point and make souls, angels and jinns obey him and take them under his command, is called as “*‘Ilm al-Azāim*” (Science of

¹⁷ Bergson, *Zihnin Kudreti (Mental Power)*, 24.

¹⁸ Sharīf Ali b. Muḥammad al-Jurjānī, *al-Ta’rifāt*, s.l., n.d., 150; Abū al-Husayn Ahmad Ibn Fāris, *Mu’jamu Mekāyis al-Lughā* (Beirut: Dār al-Jiyl, 1991), 4/309.

¹⁹ Jamāl al-Din Muhammad Ibn Manzūr, *Lisan al-Arab*, “*Azm*” (Beirut: Dāru Ihyā Turas al-Arab, 1992), 9/193; Shihāb al-Dīn al-Alusī, *Rūh al-maānī fi Tafsīr al-Qur’ān al-‘Azīm ve Sab’i al-Mathānī* (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1987), 13/34.

²⁰ Ahmad Azharī, *Tahzib al-Lughā*, “*Azm*” (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-Ilmiyya), 2/152-154

²¹ Abū al-Husayn Ahmad Ibn Fāris, *Mu’jam al-Maqāyis al-Lughā* (Beirut: Dār al-Jiyl, 1991), 4/ 308-309; Ibn Manzūr, *Lisan al-Arab*, “*Azm*” (*resolution*), 9/193; Azharī, *Tahzib al-Lughā*, “*Azm*”, 2/152-154

²² Azharī, *Tahzib al-Lughā*, “*Azm*”, 2/152-154.

²³ Tahanawī, *Kashshaf*, “*Azm*”, 3/329-330.

²⁴ Isfahanī, *al-Mufradāt*, “*Azm*”, 334; Also see fort the same expression Ibn Manzūr, “*Azm*”; Azharī, *Tahzib al-Lughā*, “*Azm*”, 2/152-154.

resolutions) due to this connection.²⁵ Within this context, the Qur’ānic verses that are read to the ones who had experienced a disaster so, this disaster will come to an end are called as “Azāim al-Qur’ān” (Resolutions of Qur’ān).²⁶ Since they have great patience and determination in doing and carrying on, the wajibs and fards that are commanded by God that we are obliged to do are called Azāim.²⁷ The Qur’ānic verses in which the reciter is supposed to sujood are called as “Azāim al-Sucud”.²⁸ All these mean to show the seriousness of resolution on willpower, and intention to finish an action.

Use of some words in the Qur’ān as well set convenience with this meaning:

“...Obedience and good words. And when the matter [of fighting] was determined, if they had been true to God, it would have been better for them” (Muḥammad 47/21).

“And we had already taken a promise from Adam before, but he forgot; and we found not in him determination”.(Tā Hā 20/115)

As can be seen, this word is used in the meaning of seriousness and determination in the Qur’ān. Therefore, some prophets are called as ulul-‘az̄m (owner of resolution) since they established great seriousness and determination and patience although they encountered great resistance; and messenger of God was advised to obey these prophets and take them as example.

“So, be patient, [O Muḥammad], as were those of determination among the messengers”.(al-Aḥqāf 46/35).

Some of the Islamic scholars refered “min” in the expression “min al-rusul” in the verse to statement, so, they stated that all prophets have resolution. According to them, all prophets are “ulul-‘az̄m (owner of resolution)”. Each messenger of God assigned has resolution in other words patient and determination.²⁹ On the other hand, some other scholars referred “min” in the expression “mine’r-rusuli” in the verse to differentiation, so they stated that only a group of prominent prophets have resolution. However, the issue is about the number of these prophets. Who they are is a matter of dispute.³⁰ Yet, according to Suyūṭī and Alūsī, the reality is that the number of these prophets is five. They are Noah, Ibrāhīm, Moses, Christ and Muḥammad (PBUH).³¹

About the reason why these prophets are mentioned as “ulul-‘az̄m” prophets, the following explanations are made: Noah (PBUH) endured the torture for many years, and sometimes, although he was physically attacked until he fainted, he displayed patience and determination in God. Also, Ibrāhīm (PBUH) did not dread though he was thrown into the fire; and he defended his assertion with great determination; and also he exhibited the resolution of sacrificing his son, so he did not lose his patience and determination.

²⁵ Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisan al-Arab*, “‘Az̄m”, 12/397-400; Halim Sabit Sibay, “Azimet”, İslām Ansiklopedisi, 2/151.

²⁶ Ibn Farīs, *Maqāyis*, 4/ 309-310; Ibn Manẓūr, “‘Az̄m”, 9/193.

²⁷ Ibn Farīs, *Maqāyis*, 4/309-310; Ibn Manẓūr, “‘Az̄m”, 9/193.

²⁸ Azharī, *Tahzib al-Lughā*, “‘Az̄m”, 2/152-154.

²⁹ Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *al-Tafsīr al-Kabīr* (Beirut: Dāru lhyā al-Turas al- Arabī, 1998), 10/31.

³⁰ Ibn Manẓūr, “‘Az̄m”, 9/193; Alūsī, *Rūḥ al-ma’āni*, 13/34-35.

³¹ Alūsī, *Rūḥ al-a’āni*, 13/34-35.

In addition, Moses (PBUH) endured excessive behaviours of sons of Israel and dictatorship of pharaohs, so he never made any concessions of his resolution. Also, Jesus Christ (PBUH) never complimented the world during his lifetime, and he always said that the world is a temporary home-town, as a result, he did not construct anything in the world.³² However, some of these examples are the resolution and persistence of the prophets mentioned above, which deserve to be praised, while it is their patience and consolation that is praised in the Holy Qur'ān and recommended to Messenger of God (PBUH) as examples shown on behalf of religion. As the theme is this, the following can be stated: All the prophets have worked seriously for the sake of religion, and they have endured great hardship and suffering in this regard, and they have demonstrated great resolution in this issue. Therefore, it seems more reasonable to translate "min" in the verse with the meaning of the "tabyīn". As a result, there are many prophets whose narrations have not been retold in the Holy Qur'ān. The reason for this is that in the Qur'ān, it is said

"O Prophet, We have sent many a Messenger before you. Of them there are some whose stories We have narrated to you, and of others We have not..." (al-Mu'min 40/78).

Without knowing these prophets, it cannot be right to judge them and say that they do not have resolution.

Therefore, according to the Qur'ān, it is an act of resolution, to show patience and persistence in this matter, to show a warrior spirit, and to choose a party of goodness, righteousness and right. This warrior spirit, in the real sense, is realized and it achieves its goal only in the righteousness, in a known issue, in faith. It is difficult that it will be realized in falsehood and servile aims. The prophets were called with this title for their performance. This kind of action has been praised in the Qur'ān, and its owners have been heralded: (See Āl 'Imrān 3/186, Loqmān 31/17, al-Shūrā 42/43).

God reveals that the determination will lead to great consequences with full trust in faith:

"...And when you have decided, then rely upon God. Indeed, God loves those who rely [upon Him]" (Āl 'Imrān 3/159).

Hence, Muḥammad Iqbal says:

نقطه ی نوری که نام او خودی است-زیر خاک ما شرار زندگی است
محکم از حق شو سوی خود گامزن-لات و عزای هوس را سر شکن

"The point of light whose name is ego is the spark of life under our soil,

So, walk towards yourself, and become sound with God, and break your ego idol like ancient idols of Lat and 'Uzzā".³³

Resolution never becomes compliment the tempting feelings of ego. It is to clear thought from all kinds of negative effects. And because resolution is the focus on action, it requires great performance. For

³² Alūsī, *Rūḥ al-ma'āni*, 8/35; al-Rāzī, *al-Tafsīr al-Kabīr*, 10/30-31.

³³ Muḥammad Iqbal, *Kulliyāti Ash'ārī Farisī Mawlānā Iqbal-i Lahurī / Esrari Hodi*, 14, 18.

this reason, only the people who have great resolution and ideal will be able to display a constant determination:

Alexis Carrel has said the following words about people like: “There is an inexhaustible treasure of energy in the lives of scholars, heroes and saints. These people are like mountains rising above the plain. They show us the upmost point where we need to climb up; and they point to how noble the purpose of which human consciousness naturally rises. Only these people can give us the spiritual food our inner life wants”.³⁴

“What is the discussion point here is church, in gradually developing the good qualities in people’s characters, puts forth the point on the rising way to, as it is right, with experiences it has gained for two thousand years, the investigation of faults, cleaning the senses and intellects and spiritual development of mentality. It is essential and important to follow this main concept and then gain the righteousness of the mind, the love of right and righteousness. The absolute necessity and essentiality of these good qualities is known by philosophers, scholars who are engaged in search of experience rather than priests. Indeed, even a slight contradictory error will lead the experimenter to failure, and he immediately sees the punishment. Only the truth saves us from the dangers of both society and our individual lives”.

“This level rises gradually over the years. Many people go down the cliffs very fast during this journey, and fall off these cliffs, or lie among the grass on the banks of the rivers to sleep and fall their eternal sleep. It is necessary to continue resolution and effort in pride, concern, welfare and misery, health and disease. A person must rise again after every fall, and with the help of courage, faith and determination of power, the person needs to gradually gain the soul, the capacity of love. In the end, it is necessary to get rid of personal interests. It should not be forgotten that the irrational elements of the soul constitute the armor of the personality”.³⁵

There is no doubt that the people who establish their resolution and are humiliated due to their aim of life have great influences on masses. Again, as Alexis Carrel said,

“No one, neither Kant nor Bergson nor Pastuer, could be loved as much as Napoleon who was loved by his soldiers. Humble people have great power with justice, love and the ability to abandon personal interests”.³⁶

It is important to remember that historical figures shed light on our day. In the words of Rollo May,

“The most profound developments that can be attributed to human beings have been concealed in classical works such as the legend of Oedipus or the story of Ayyūb”³⁷

³⁴ Alexis Carrel, *Hayat Hakkında Düşünceler (Thoughts about Life)*, trans. Cahit Begenc (Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1979), 111-112.

³⁵ Carrel, *Hayat Hakkında Düşünceler*, 112.

³⁶ Carrel, *Hayat Hakkında Düşünceler*, 112.

³⁷ Rollo May, *Kendini Arayan İnsan (Man’s Search For Himself)*, trans. Ayşen Karpaz, Exceptional, 106.

In this regards, Holy contains rich events and examples. For example:

“Those [believers] who responded to Allāh and the Messenger after injury had struck them. For those who did good among them and feared Allāh is a great reward. Those to whom (i.e., hypocrites) said, ‘Indeed, the people have gathered against you, so fear them.’ But it [merely] increased faith them in, and they said, ‘Sufficient for us is God, and [He is] the best Disposer of affairs. So, they returned with favour from God and bounty, no harm having touched them. And they pursued the pleasure of God, and God is the possessor of great bounty” (Āl‘Imrān 3/172-174).

Despite the necessity of human nature to be resigned in the face of danger, Prophet’s companions’ determination shows that they defeated their nature and exceeded themselves. Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, says the following in the context of this verse: When the Companions of the Prophet heard the word spoken to scare them, they never respected it. On the contrary, in their hearts, this word revealed a strong determination to fight against the enemy, no matter how powerful or weak they are, and they obeyed him in the things that the Messenger of God sent him (PBUH). Nevertheless, some of Prophet Companions had been injured and needed treatment”³⁸.

Some said that the reason for revelation of these verses was because of Badr-ı Sugrā (Small Badr), while others narrated that it was about Hamrāu al-Asad. However, according to the preference of al-Tabarī, these verses were sent about Hamrā al-Asad incident. This view is more convenient for both the order of the holy verses and historical events. Because in the verse it says: *“Those [believers] who responded to Allāh and the Messenger after injury had struck them”* (Āl‘Imrān 3/172). This means that the companions of Messenger of God (PBUH) were in very difficult conditions, even so, they obeyed the command of Prophet and set out for the campaign; therefore, they were praised. As a result, the abovementioned verses were sent to Prophet (PBUH) for those who ran to Hamrā al-Asad as a respond to the Prophet’s call, though they were very tired and injured after the battle of Uḥud. However, in Badr battle, Muslims were not injured.³⁹ Thus, the revelation reason of the verses is as in al-Tabarī’s logical analyses, which many exegetes prefer and are mostly accepted ones. And the story is as follows: When Abū Sufyān and his friends arrived at the vicinity of Ravhā on the way back from Uḥud battle; they regretted not killing all Muslims. They talked the issue among themselves and decided to go back and wipe all Muslims out. When their intention was heard by the Messenger of God, he said “I only want those who participated in the battle to appear” (According to an opinion, together with him seventy companions stood as well). Many of these warriors were injured and their wounds were still bleeding. Eventually, they arrived at Hamrā al-Asad. In the meantime, God put fear into the hearts of the idolaters, and they scattered around without encouraging fighting against Muslims.⁴⁰

Some specific events related to the reason of this verse are also retold: a woman’s husband, father, brother and son were martyred in the battle, but when she saw the Prophet (PBUH) alive she cried and said: *“O, Messenger of God, all my worries passed away when I saw you safe and sound”*. In another narration, Safiyā heard that her brother Hamza was martyred in the battle and wanted to see him.⁴¹

³⁸ al-Rāzī, *al-Tafsīr al-Kabīr*, 3/434.

³⁹ Abū Ja‘far Muḥammad al-Tabarī, *Jāmi‘ al-bayān an ta’wīl’āy al-Qur’ān* (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1988), 3/182.

⁴⁰ al-Rāzī, *al-Tafsīr al-Kabīr*, 3/432.

⁴¹ al-Rāzī, *al-Tafsīr al-Kabīr*, 3/432.

The Messenger of God (PBUH) rejected her to do this. She turned to the Prophet and said:

*“I have heard what has happened to my brother; yet, it becomes easier when it comes to obedience to God”.*⁴²

Since the verse mentions about a group of people; therefore, such specific events are far from being the real reason for the revelation of the verse. However, when all these narrations are considered as a whole, it is possible to think that the verse was sent for all these events as a common verse.

As can be seen in the above verse, the preference of God and His Messenger was first put forward by Prophet’s companions; and then, in all kinds of adverse conditions, persistence was put forth and determination was shown. Afterwards, the stage came to put their trust in God. Finally, the verse was ended with divine gift in exchange for the cost paid for this act. Hence, as is mentioned in this verse, the third phase of the issue comes absolute reliance on God (tawakkul), the phase which comes after resolution. Allah states that, with the following verse, perseverance will have great consequences with full faith.

Indeed, in the Holy Qur’ān states that:

“...And when you have decided, then rely upon God. Indeed, God loves those who rely [upon Him]” (Āl ‘Imrān 3/159).

“...And whoever relies upon God - then He is sufficient for him. Indeed, God will accomplish His purpose. God has already set for everything a [decreed] extent]” (al-Ṭalāq 65/3).

3. Reliance on God (Tawakkul)

Reliance on God, which is the last ring of will and Resolution, as a root, it is far from a proxy, and it means to rely on someone.⁴³ “Vakala amrahu ilā fulanin” means “to order the business to someone else and to trust someone else on the job”⁴⁴ trust in God. According to al-Taftāzānī, within the context of the verse, “Whenever you decide on something, trust in me”.

It was necessary to use “me” object pronoun instead of God noun. In line with Arab language and rhetoric, using a certain noun instead of a pronoun is for reinforcement as used in the verse above. In other words, it is for strengthening the order. The meaning of this is as follows: whenever a person has resolution on something, s/he should rely on God. Because God has worthy of special qualities. He has to be obeyed. He has the vast mercy. He is the one whom all affairs should be referred to him⁴⁵ and, therefore, Muslims should certainly rely on God in their affairs.

When reliance on God reaches the level of full reliance on God, it comes to the rule of God to interfere in that affair. As a matter of fact, it is possible to see this resolution in the statements of Prophet Shu‘ayb who tried to preach his nation about the Unity of God:

⁴² al-Rāzī, *al-Tafsīr al-Kabīr*, 3/432.

⁴³ Isfahānī, *Mufradāt*, 531; Firuzābadī, *Qāmus al-Muḥit*, 4/653; Alūsī, *Rūḥ al-Ma‘ānī*, 3/106; Abū Hāmid Muḥammad al-Ghazzālī, *Ihyā ‘ulūm al-dīn* (Beirut: Dār al-Ihyā al-Kutub al-Arabi, n.d.), 4/253.

⁴⁴ al-Ghazzālī, *Ihyā*, 4/253.

⁴⁵ See al-Taftāzānī Sa‘d al-Dīn, *Mukhtaṣar al-ma‘ānī*, 110.

"Shu'ayb said "O my people! Look! What if, I am on the right evidence sent by my God, and He has given me a good sustenance? I do not want to behave against you, by doing myself the things I forbid you to do. I just want to correct you as far as I can. My success is only with the help of God. I relied on Him only and I will turn to Him alone!" "O my people! Do whatever you want to do wherever you are, as you see I also do. Soon you will know whom the punishment will come and humiliate and who is a liar. Observe! I also observe as you do!" Whenever our command has arrived, we have saved Shu'ayb and the believers with him with our mercy; however, those who were persecuted also caught that horrible voice, they collapsed in their homes. " (Hūd 11/ 88, 93- 94) It is said to be interpreted as an envelope of time for the " mastata'tu " in the verse. If it is accepted as this, the verse means "As far as I have power to chaten them".

Or if it is taken as it is more than "chasten", it means "Until I have the power to chaten them". If it is taken as this it means I will perform chasten.⁴⁶ In any case, these expressions show how much resolution and Reliance on God Shu'ayb (PBUH) has in his claim. On the other hand, in the expressions after that verse "I trust (stand) only to Him and turn to Him alone! ", since jār and majrūr have been presented to the verb will express restriction (hasr), the verse reveals how Prophet Shu'ayb's sincerety is high and that he only trusts in God in this issue. For this reason, in order to express the restriction in the verse, it is necessary that we translate the verse as "I trust (stand) only to Him and turn to Him alone!".

The fact that Prophet Shu'ayb firstly persevered and than trusted in God led to God's wrath to be fall onto unbelievers (See Hūd 11/94 -95). As can be seen in the verses, working as much as one can, and believing that success comes after s/he thanks to God, and trusting in God alone in this issue and turning to him is relying on God. What Shu'ayb preached was this. After this stage, God's help will realise. As a matter of fact, in his work called ar-Riāya, Ḥārīth b. al-Muḥāsibī also says that a person initially perserves and then he relies on God, and then he asks for help from his Creator, and he believes that all power and strength come from God almighty, and hopes from the Lord. When he acts in this way, he will see that God stands quite close to him, and responds his wishes, and does good for him and shows affection to him.⁴⁷

Also, the verses of Ibrāhīm 14 / 10 -15, can be given as examples in this sense:

"Their messengers said, 'Can there be doubt about God, Creator of the heavens and earth? He invites you that He may forgive you of your sins, and He delays your death for a specified term.' They said, 'You are not but men like us who wish to avert us from what our fathers were worshipping. So bring us a clear authority'" (Ibrāhīm 14 / 10).

"Their messengers said to them, 'We are only men like you, but God confers favour upon whom He wills of His servants. It has never been for us to bring you evidence except by permission of God . And upon God let the believers rely'" (Ibrāhīm 14 / 11).

"And why should we not rely upon God while He has guided us to our [good] ways. And we will surely be patient against whatever harm you should cause us. And upon God let those who would rely [indeed] rely. " (Ibrāhīm 14 / 12)

⁴⁶ Maḥmūd b. 'Umar al-Zamakhsharī, *al-Kashshaf an haqāiqi gavāmid al-tanzil* (Qahira: Dār al-Kitāb al-Arabī, n.d.) , 2/ 420- 421; Bayḍāwī, *Anwar al-tanzil*, 3/60.

⁴⁷ Abū Abdallāh Ḥārīth b. al-Muḥāsibī, *al-Riāya li Ḥuqūq Allāh* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-Ilmiyye, n.d.), 87.

“And those who disbelieved said to their messengers, ‘We will surely drive you out of our land, or you must return to our religion.’ So their Lord inspired to them, “We will surely destroy the wrongdoers” (Ibrāhīm 14 / 13).

“And We will surely cause you to dwell in the land after them. That is for he who fears My position and fears My threat” (Ibrāhīm 14 / 14).

“And they requested victory from God, and disappointed, [therefore], was every obstinate tyrant” (Ibrāhīm 14/15).

As can be seen in the verses:

وَمَا لَنَا أَلَّا نَتَوَكَّلَ عَلَى اللَّهِ وَقَدْ هَدَانَا سُبُلَنَا وَلَنَصْبِرَنَّ عَلَىٰ مَا آذَيْتُمُونَا وَعَلَى اللَّهِ فَلْيَتَوَكَّلِ الْمُتَوَكِّلُونَ

The expression, “why should we not rely upon God while He has guided us to our [good] ways. And we will surely be patient against whatever harm you should cause us. And upon God let those who would rely [indeed] rely” (Ibrāhīm, 14/ 12), shows the resolutions of prophets in their struggle, and the expressions, “why should we not rely upon God? Let those who rely on God”. Display their trust in God. In the verse, since the tense of “mā āzeytumuna” expression is past, and the previous torments that his people acted on messengers, “lanasbiranna” is in future tense, it shows that the people will perform torments and together with “lām” and “nūn” show that the messenger and his companions are of the resolution of enduring and ignoring seriously to the torments that their people will carry out.⁴⁸

In the interpretation of this verse al-Rāzī says: as far as it is understood from the expression of the verse, it is possible that God may have revealed to His messengers that the disbelievers would not harm them and they would not be able to cause them any troubles. Even if Lord did not reveal His prophets, the messengers did not pay any attention to their insolences since they had very noble spirit. The reason for this is that the souls of prophets were enlightened with divine knowledge and lit by spirit realm. When the soul is characterized in such an adjective, it is less concerned with body states. This spirit gives little importance to the bodily situations either in happy day or dark day, and either in comfort or in trouble. That person always trusts in God, and relies on His blessing. That person cuts his hopes off the ones out of God. For the one who attains the honour of a servant, and for the one who reaches the sincerity and mukashafah stages, it is not appropriate for him to trust anyone, anything, any honour and any capital being but for God. The expression,

“Why should we not rely upon God while He has guided us to our [good] ways. And we will surely be patient against whatever harm you should cause us. And upon God let those who would rely [indeed] rely” (Ibrāhīm, 14/ 12), is an evidence that God will protect His saints who are sincere in their belief in God from the traps and evils of their enemies.⁴⁹

According to what al-Rāzī stated, such a protection happens at such a stage. And that is sincerity, according to him, the one who reaches to that spiritual stage achieves a great spiritual power. This gigantic secret takes place in Qur’ānic words confidentially. Again al-Rāzī says that if someone initially studies

⁴⁸ Muḥammad Ṭāhir Ibn ‘Ashūr, *al-Tahrir wa al-Tanwir* (Tunus: Dār al-Tunus, n.d.), 7/204.

⁴⁹ al-Rāzī, *al-Tafsir al-Kabir*, 6/75.

Qur’ānic sciences and then ignores these sciences, he deprives of those secrets.⁵⁰ As a result, as far as al-Ṭabarī narrated, the word that Prophet Ibrāhīm said when he was thrown into the massive fire, “*Hasbun al-Allah wa ni’ma al vakīl / God is sufficient for us, who good proxy He is*”,⁵¹ led to the miracle, so the fire became cool and did not harm (PH).

According to narration above, we can say that miracles occur in a sincere, purity trust stage. For this reason, as seen above, Ibrāhīm (PBUH) says as in the verses 12 and 15.th of Ibrāhīm surah

“*Why should we not trust God when He showed us our ways? Let those who Rely on God, rely on Him*” (Ibrāhīm 14/12) in such a relying dimension, he expresses his wish; and he is informed that the assistance will soon come; and then the miracle occurs, and assistance is realized:

“*And they requested victory from God, and disappointed, [therefore], was every obstinate tyrant*” (Ibrāhīm 14/15).

In real terms, establishing Reliance on God is of determined people who have resolution. Mawlānā Jalāl al-Din al-Rūmī, narrates a fictional event: The event develops as follows: The fame of a lion spreads all over the world.

A man comes to the forest where the lion lives to eliminate his curiosity. He endures walking a distance of one year; and covers the destinations. Once he comes to the forest and sees the lion he is petrified because he cannot go ahead. The people tell him, “Since you have walked such a long distance to see this lion due to his love, this lion must have a property: Whoever appears in front of him and strokes him passionately without getting afraid, he does not give any harm to them. On the other hand, if he gets afraid and startle, the lion gets angry. Even he kills some of them since he thinks that they may be thinking badly about him. After you have walked for a year, why do you hesitate?” Upon this, the other passerby as well told the person, “Since you have walked such a long way for a year, here is the lion! Then, what is the meaning of staying away and staring at him? Go towards the lion one or two steps more”. Yet, no one has had the courage to step ahead. They said, “We walked such a long way, it was easy for us, but now, we cannot go a step ahead”. Mawlānā finishes this fictional story in this way:

“*Ān kadem-i azm nadir est. Cüz kar-i hāsān ve mukerrebān nist. Ān iman bi cüz-i enbiyā ve kumel-i evliyā rā neresed ki dest ez cān-i hud be küllī ſüstend*”.

“It is rare to step this great pace. No one can do this except those who are sincere and close to God. Such a belief is peculiar to the prophets and saints who gave up their lives”.⁵²

Here, the great step is the one that real patience and trust owners step forward. Thus, Abū Yazīd answered to a man who asked what reliance on God meant, “Even if predators and snakes shake you to the right and left, it is the fact that your secret (heart) is not moved”.⁵³ This is a stage of faith called certain

⁵⁰ al-Rāzī, *al-Taḥfīr al-Kabīr*, 6/75.

⁵¹ al-Ṭabarī, *Cāmi al-Beyān*, 3/182.

⁵² Mawlānā, *Fihī- Mā-Fihī* (Tahran: Shirketi Sihami Nashirini Iran, 1961), 156.

⁵³ al-Ghazzālī, *Ihyā*, 4/258.

belief. Here, this is step and the phase after this moment when the curtain of the unknown world is torn down, and miracles and other wonders occur. And this is only peculiar to the real people who relies on God.

As we mentioned in the section of will, especially Ash’arites say that even the person’s action cannot be defined as action in real sense;

And they give the only authority to God. Thus, the influence of God on actions of people is stated clearly:

“In the war, you did not kill them, but God did. When you threw, you did not throw, but God did. God did this so that He could test the believers with a good examination at His level. Yes, God hears and knows” (al-Anfāl, 8/17).

Rāzī accepted this view of Ash’arites by stating that our companions agree that God is the creator of our actions.⁵⁴ This meaning is quite clear in the Quranic above verse. However, according to me, the real message in this verse is to establish the fact that God has the influence on His servants’ actions, and that at any instance some extraordinary events may take place in their actions with the help of God. Therefore, miracles and wonders are unexpected divine actions on servants. Since trust is crucial in belief, in, Reliance on God has been mentioned sixty eight times in the Qur’an. Among these, “*Wa alā al-Allāhi falyatawakkalū al-mu’minūna / Let the believers rely on God*” statement has been repeated eight times, “*Wa alā al-Allāhi falyatawakkal al-mutawakkilūn / the ones who trust, let them rely on God*” statement has been repeated four times, “*Wa alā al-Allāhi tawakkalū in kuntum mu’minīn / if you are believers, then rely on God*” this statement has been mentioned in twice. It has been mentioned in the Qur’ān for fifteen times while the Qur’ān prophets struggle with their people so that they trusted in God for example; “*alayhi / alā al-Allāhi tawakkaltu, tavakkalna / I / we trusted in God*”. In all these expression forms, *jār* and *majrūr* have been presented to the verb. Such a usage in Arabic grammar and rethoric expresses *ḥasr*. Therefore, this reveals how important trust is for believers, so, believers should surely rely on God, and that reliance is an indispensable element of belief. All these expressions imply us that the greatness and majesty of real faith reveals at trust dimension. Owing to this indispensable dimension of faith, faith and Reliance on God had always been mentioned together in Islamic literature.

While stating the behaviours of the trusting, al-Qushayrī says this: “Those who have the power of real faith, clairvoyance light become calm under the influence of provision. They can see the things beyond our senses, and they can stare at beyond the thin curtain. The challenging ways never defeat them. The attacks of time never scare them. They believe that the breeze of facility will wave the flag, and clouds of difficulties will disperse away”.⁵⁵

Trust is a state arising from certain knowledge called real faith.⁵⁶ In other words, it is to know as if you witness the real impact in occurrence of every incident comes from God. Therefore, the most important effect of trust occurs in the spirits. When faith achieves such certainty, naturally, there happens a sooth in person’s spirit as well. Obviously,

⁵⁴ al-Rāzī, *al-Tafsīr al-Kabīr*, 5/466.

⁵⁵ Abū al-Qāsim ‘Abd al-Karīm al-Qushayrī, *Latāif al-Ishārāt* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-Ilmiyye, 2000), 1/394.

⁵⁶ Shāh Walī Allāh al-Dihlawī, *Hujjat Allah al-Baligha* (s.l.: Dār al-Ihya al-Ulūm, 1992), 2/284.

“Anyone with the least mind knows that a mortal person’s self evidence who does not depend on God is baseless. Such a thought is only a dream in vain. Hence, no matter how an unbeliever relies on him, it is certain that he will lose all his endurance against events happening one or other day. However, the real believer, who trusts in God, will not even distress even at the time of death”.⁵⁷

The benefit of such faith is as follows:

“...And when you have decided, then rely upon God. Indeed, God loves those who rely [upon Him]” (Āl ‘Imrān 3/159).

“...And whoever relies upon God - then He is sufficient for him. Indeed, God will accomplish His purpose. God has already set for everything a [decreed] extent” (al-Ṭalāq 65/3). Now, let us look at another example of how miracles, extraordinary

incidents in the Qur’ān take place in an environment where incentives and broods are exhibited. As stated above, this comes true in an environment where high will and resolution and trust are exhibited. For Example:

“And We had inspired to Moses, “Travel by night with My servants and strike for them a dry path through the sea; you will not fear being overtaken [by Pharaoh] nor be afraid [of drowning]” (Tā Hā 20/77).

According to the verse mentioned above, when Prophet Moses (PBUH) brought sons of Israel by the river Nile, he had a full trust and faith in God. However, pharaoh and his army had caught up them. In front of them was the sea colliding with the waves and behind them were Pharaoh and his soldiers with their swords and spears. This was a picture to fill the sons of Israel hearts with great fear and worry. Sons of Israel’s were let between two types of death. The promise of God that they would be saved from these threats did not eliminate the fear and worry in their hearts. The Qur’ān picturizes the scene right at this point.

At this scene, let us the Qur’ān and its rethoric describe the greatness of Prophet Moses’ (PH) reliance on God: Here, it can easily be seen how a great trust and reliance Prophet Moses (PH) has while everybody thrills at the case of fear and keeps their breath.

فَلَمَّا تَرَأَى الْجَمْعَانِ قَالِ أَصْحَابُ مُوسَىٰ إِنَّا لَمُدْرِكُونَ / قَالَ كَلَّا إِنَّ مَعِيَ رَبِّي سَيَهْدِينِ / فَأَوْحَيْنَا إِلَىٰ مُوسَىٰ أَنْ اضْرِبْ بِعَصَاكَ الْبَحْرَ فَانْفَلَقَ فَكَانَ كُلُّ فِرْقٍ كَالطُّودِ الْعَظِيمِ / وَأَزَلَفْنَا ثَمَّ الْآخِرِينَ / وَأَنْجَيْنَا مُوسَىٰ وَمَنْ مَعَهُ أَجْمَعِينَ

“And when the two companies saw one another, the companions of Moses said, “Indeed, we are to be overtaken!” [Moses] said, “No! Indeed, with me is my Lord; He will guide me”.

“Then We inspired to Moses, “Strike with your staff the sea, “and it parted, and each portion was like a great towering mountain.

“And We advanced thereto the pursuers. And We saved Moses and those with him, all together” (al-Shu’arā’ 26/62-65).

⁵⁷ Muhammed Hamdi Yazır, *Hak Dini Kur’ān Dili* (Istanbul: Eser Yayınları, 1979), 4/2566.

The fact that the tribe of Prophet Moses (PH) used a noun clause and two confirmation prepositions and said “*Innā lamudrakūn*” shows how great fear and worry they had.⁵⁸ Even in a recitation, instead of the expression of “*Innā lamudrakūn*”, it is recited as “*Innā lamudrekūn*” as a verb with ifta’lah rhyme. When this recitation is taken as the basis, the statement expresses.

“*We all one by one will die due to Pharaoh and his soldiers, so noone from us will be left*”.⁵⁹

This is because of the fact that the verb in this sentence points an exaggeration.⁶⁰ This expresses a great fear; and it conveys the meaning that Prophet Moses should take all precautions since they had no hope to be left alive. However, Prophet Moses did not compromise his fortitude even at the most frightening moment and was never shaken. This great faith and trust immediately resulted in salvation. Even, as some of the exegetes narrated, one believer from the tribe of Pharaoh said, “What were you commanded with? Here is the sea; and the soldiers of Pharaoh caught up with you”. Upon this statement, Prophet Moses replied in a great reliance on God, “I was ordered to approach the sea. I hope I will receive an order about what I will do”.⁶¹ And instantly, Prophet Moses (PH) was ordered to strike his stick into the sea and then the splitting of sea occurred. Every wave became a huge mountain with its height and greatness.

So the meaning of the expression “*...Whoever believes in God (trusts), He is enough for him*” is clear now. Thus, whenever will, resolution and trust are performed with high performance, this activates the divine realm. According to exegetes such as al-Rāzī and al-Alūsī, God could have splitted up the sea without the stick being stricken into the sea. Yet, having Prophet Moses (PH) realize this action with the stick in Prophet Moses’ hand is to show how valuable Prophet Moses is before Him.⁶²

نایب حق همجو جان عالم است- هستی او ظل اسم اعظم است

خشک سازد هیبت او نیل را- می برد از مصر اسرائیل را

“*The regent of right means to be the spirit of the universe - He finds existence under the great name of God.*

The sea Nile dries with its majesty - And Prophet Moses saves his tribe from Egypt”.⁶³

Conclusion

As a result, the message conveys the emphasis that after these stages, success occurs as miracle since it is a fulfilled action which is impossible to do. In other words, the Qur’ān states in this context that if we have a preference, and we have resolution on it, and we believe that God will lead us to success, namely, if

⁵⁸ Alūsī, *Rūh al-ma’ānī*, 10/84.

⁵⁹ al-Zamakhsharī, *al-Kashshaf*, 3/316; al-Bayḍāwī, *Anwār al-Tanzīl*, 2-3/471; Muḥammad b. Ali al-Shawkanī, *Fath al-Qādir* (Egypt: Mustafa al-Babi al-Halabī, 1964), 4/101.

⁶⁰ Abd al-Haqq Sibṭ al-Nawawī, *Tadrij al-adani, ila sharhi sa’d alā tasrif al-Zanjani* (İstanbul: Salah Bilici Kitabevi, n.d.), 30.

⁶¹ al-Bayḍāwī, *Anwār al-tanzīl*, 3/471; Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. Ali b. Yūsuf Abū Ḥayyān, *Baḥr al-muḥīṭ* (Beirut: Dār İhayāi Turas al-Arab, 1990), 7/17; Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Abū al-Su‘ūd, *Tafsir Abū al-Su‘ūd* (Beirut: Dāru İhyā Turas al-Arabi, 1990), 6/245; İsmā‘il Ḥaqqī Bursawī, *Rūh al-Bayān* (Beirut: Dār al-Ihyā Turas al-Arab, 1985), 6/279.

⁶² al-Rāzī, *al-Tafsir al-Kabir*, 8/507; Alūsī, *Ruh al-ma’ānī*, 10/87.

⁶³ Iqbal, *Esrari Hodi*, 30, 32.

we have a full reliance on Him, God will certainly make us successful, and we will see that the impossible things are realized, and this is caused by the help of God:

Therefore, in the Qur'ān, the realization of a miracle occurs after resolution and trust. And as miracle means the realization of impossible, the Qur'ān gives us the message that the issues which have seemed to be impossible before will be realized very easily like a normal issue, at any second, a miracle may happen for a person, and an extraordinary power may exist.

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Summaries of Doctoral Dissertations

Abd al-Rahim Karahisārī's Mystical Thoughts and His *Munyat al-Abrār and Ghunyat al-Akhyār*

(Text and Analysis)

Abdullah Taha Orhan *

Abstract

The period after the conquest of Istanbul, especially the second half of this century, was the period when the most critical steps were taken in the organization of the Ottoman Empire both politically and bureaucratically as well as scientifically and culturally. Before this era, with translation movements that gained momentum during the Murad II's reign, the ground was prepared for Turkish to become a medium of science and culture. In this century, Bayramiyya, the first local sūfī order in Anatolia, was one of the important centers of this intellectual movement with the works produced by its members. This cultural production commenced with the translation of some of the sūfī works such as *Lama'āt* ("Divine Flashes") and *Gulshan-i rāz* ("The Garden of Mystery") undertaken by Hacı Bayram-ı Velī's (Hājji Bayram Walī, d. 833/1429–30) disciples, continued with the writings and translations of the brothers, Yazıcıoğlu Mahmad and Ahmad Bīcān. While Aq Shams al-Dīn (Akşemseddin in modern Turkish, d. 863/1459) participated in this process with his treatises, also Aq Shams al-Dīn's successors Ibrahim Tennūrī and Abdurrahim Karahisārī supported them with their works.

This study [*Abd al-Rahim Karahisārī's Mystical Thoughts and His Munyat al-Abrār and Ghunyat al-Akhyār (Text and Analysis)*, PhD. Dissertation, Marmara University, Institute of Social Sciences, Department of Sūfism, İstanbul, Turkey, 2019] mainly focuses on mystical thoughts of Abdurrahim Karahisārī, who lived and wrote in such a time context. The main purpose of the study is to reveal the mystical thoughts of Karahisārī based on his works, especially *Munyat al-Abrār and Ghunyat al-Akhyār*, which focuses on a mystical perspective. Although four works of Karahisārī that have survived, prosopographic records that provide information

* **Author:** Dr., Nevşehir Hacı Bektaş Veli University, Faculty of Theology, Department of Sūfism, Nevşehir, Turkey | Dr., Nevşehir Hacı Bektaş Veli Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi, Tasavvuf Anabilim Dalı.
abdullahorhan@nevsehir.edu.tr | **ORCID** 0000-0001-5055-4712

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about his life and environment are quite limited. Therefore, the first thing to be done to achieve the goal of the study is to reveal the biography and environment of Karahisārī. So, in the first part of the study, the life and intellectual legacy of Karahisārī was explained through the archive records of the period and the literature written on them, with primary and secondary sources.

The first chapter devoted to the life of Karahisārī as a Sūfī thinker-author who lived in the countryside, not in the centers of science in the fifteenth century. First of all, his family, the era, sūfism and his sheikh Aq Shams al-Dīn and their relationships are discussed. Historical data about Afyonkarahisar in that period, literature which mentioned sheikh Aq Shams al-Dīn and the Ottoman science and thought of the period were tried to be read from this perspective. Current studies on Karahisārī are also mostly evaluated in this chapter. In this section, his works, which are the signs of Karahisārī’s intellectual legacy, are also introduced.

The second chapter, focuses on the main aim of the study: Mystical thoughts of Karahisārī. In this context, sources used were primarily his own works, works of Aq Shams al-Dīn, and some basic Sūfī sources produced in the Bayramī circles. While trying to understand the author, it was taken into consideration how the same concepts and issues were handled in Sūfī tradition, especially in the literature produced before him. Especially *al-Salwa fī sharāit al-khalwa*, which constitutes a source text for *Munyat*, was compared with *Munyat* and on which points the author differed from *Salwa* were determined. In this context, it was concluded that with the writings of Aq Shams al-Dīn and Karahisārī, Kubrawiyya and Suhrawardiyya which orders that the author of *Salwa* Khāssī (d. 634/1237) belongs to, were also influential in the formation of Bayramiyya as an order with its *ādāb*.

The third and fourth chapters of the study are devoted to *Munyat*, which is the most important source in the context of Karahisārī’s mystical views. In the third part, the external features of the text, such as manuscripts, the naming of the work and its title are discussed. Then, the content of the work, the main themes it handled, its importance in the context of its period, its sources and its internal features such as its comparison with *Salwa* were focused on. Brief information is given about the internal and external features of the nineteen manuscripts that could be accessed. It was questioned that why Karahisārī named it as *Munyat al-Abrār and Ghunyat al-Akhyār*, which was originally designed as a translation of *Salwa*. In addition, it was determined that a prior edition of the work completed before the conquest of Istanbul was dedicated to Selçuk Hātun (*Saljūk Khātun*), the aunt of Mehmed II, and the second edition dedicated to Mehmed II.

Then, in this chapter, problems are discussed such as why the work was written in Turkish vernacular and why the work of a Kubrawī author is preferred as the source text. The reason why *Munyat* was written in Turkish is the formation of Bayramiyya as a local order and the Sūfism of Anatolia in general. Also, in this part, by comparing the texts of *Munyat* and *Salwa* sentence by sentence, it was shown that the points that Karahisārī added to the text were noted and finally it was concluded that *Munyat* could be read as a commentary text in a classical sense rather than just a translation.

In the fourth and last chapter, the text of *Munyat*, which plays an important role in the vernacularization of Kubrawī tradition in particular and mystical thought in general, and where it plays an important role, has been tried to be constructed in the most accurate way.

As a result of the study, findings that could fill the gaps in the biography of Karahisārī were reached. It was concluded that the “Misrī” title, of which his father and then himself became famous, was not because they were originally from Egypt, but because his father went to Cairo, which was one of the scientific centers of the era, as many scholars from Anatolia had gone there for a long time. In addition, it was concluded that Karahisārī, whose birth and death dates are not known, was born in the first quarter of the fifteenth century and died in a period between 1483-1494, as some researchers have reached before.

It has been emphasized that he might have studied medicine in front of his sheikh at the same with his spiritual training since he had medicine books and there is some information in *menāqib-nāmes* and he also gave many examples of medicine and diseases in *Munyat*. As the sources constantly mention Karahisārī along with the sheikh and not talk much about Ibrahim Tennūrī who is known as a more famous successor than Karahisārī, it is thought that the sheikh gave importance to Karahisārī as much as Ibrāhīm Tannūrī. Besides, Aq Shams al-Dīn demanded from Karahisārī to write the stations and states in prose, and in addition, Karahisārī had the sheikh’s testament with his handwriting. Lastly, the fact that *Munyat* was written upon the request of Aq Shams al-Dīn shows Karahisārī’s place before his sheikh.

It is concluded that Karahisārī’s mystical perspective was adapted *Akbarian* metaphysics, of Ibn al-Arabī and his successor Qunawī. In this context, Karahisārī’s endowment deed showed that he had books of Ibn al-Arabī and Qunawī.

Karahisārī also transferred Suhrawardī-Kubrawī tradition to the Bayramiyya in case of its *ādāb* and it has resulted that he contributed to the vernacularization and localization of mysticism in Anatolia. So, it is noteworthy that Karahisārī’s most-used references were belonged to the Suhrawardī-Kubrawī tradition. There is another supporting argument that one of the *Munyat*’s sources is Khāssī’s *Salwa* who was the successor of Najm al-Dīn Kubrā. On the other hand, Karahisārī differed from Khāssī and Najm al-Dīn Kubrā on *khalwa* and *dhikr*.

The facts that Karahisārī’s books *Munyat* and *Risāla fī ash-rāt al-sā’a*, includes addressing sentences of *Ikhwān al-Ṣafā’* and direct references to his contemporary ‘Abd al-Rahmān Bisṭāmī (d. 858/1454) -a might-be pioneer of a hermetic-sūfī movement- revealed one of the important questions raised by the present study that whether he is a part of this *neo-Ikhwān al-Ṣafā’* movement or not.

Keywords

Sūfism, Ottoman Sūfism, Bayramiyya, Aq Shams al-Dīn, Abd al-Rahim Karahisārī, Qunawī

Abdurrahim Karahisārī’nin Tasavvufî Görüşleri ve Münyetü’l-Ebrâr ve Gunyetü’l-Ahyâr İsimli Eseri (Metin ve İnceleme)

Öz

15. yüzyıl ve özellikle de bu yüzyılın ikinci yarısına denk gelen, İstanbul’un fethinden sonraki süreç Osmanlı Devleti’nin hem siyâsî ve bürokratik açıdan hem de ilmî ve kültürel açıdan teşkilâtlanmasında en kritik adımların atıldığı dönemdir. Bu süreçte öncelikle II. Murad döneminde ivme kazanan tercüme ve te’lîf

hareketleriyle Türkçenin bir ilim ve kültür dili olmasına zemin hazırlanmıştır. Bu yüzyılda Anadolu topraklarında teşekkül eden ilk yerel tarikat olan Bayramiyye de mensuplarının ürettiği eserlerle bu entelektüel hareketin önemli ocaklarından biri olmuştur. Hacı Bayram-ı Velî'nin (ö. 833/1429-30) müridlerinin yaptığı *Lema'ât* ve *Gülşen-i Râz* gibi tasavvuf yazınının temel bazı eserlerinin çevirisiyle başlayan bu kültürel üretim süreci Yazıcıoğlu Mehmed (ö. 855/1451) ve Ahmed Bîcân (ö. 870/1466'dan sonra) kardeşlerin te'lîf ve tercümeleriyle devam etmiştir. Bizzât Akşemseddîn'in de kendi risâleleriyle katıldığı sürece, onun önde gelen halîfeleri olan İbrahim Tennûrî (ö. 887/1482) ve Abdurrahim Karahisârî (ö. 888-900/1483-94 arası) de kendi eserleriyle destek vermişlerdir.

Bu çalışma [*Abdurrahim Karahisârî'nin Tasavvufî Görüşleri ve Münyetü'l-Ebrâr ve Gunyetü'l-Ahyâr İsimli Eseri (Metin ve İnceleme), Doktora Tezi*, Marmara Üniversitesi, Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, Temel İslam Bilimleri Anabilim Dalı, Tasavvuf Bilim Dalı, İstanbul, Türkiye, 2019], böyle bir zaman bağlamında yaşayan ve eser veren Abdurrahim Karahisârî'nin tasavvufî görüşlerini konu edinmektedir. Çalışmanın temel amacı Karahisârî'nin, eserlerinden, özellikle de müstakil olarak tasavvufî bir mevzûya odaklanan tek eseri olan *Münyetü'l-ibrâr ve gunyetü'l-ahyâr*'dan hareketle tasavvufî görüşlerini gün yüzüne çıkarmaktır. Karahisârî'nin günümüze ulaşan dört eseri olsa da hayâtı hakkındaki biyografik ve çevresi hakkında bilgi veren prosopografik kayıtlar oldukça sınırlıdır. Dolayısıyla, çalışmanın gâyesine ulaşabilmesi adına ilk yapılması gereken Karahisârî'nin biyografisini ve muhitini ortaya çıkarmaktır. Bu nedenle çalışmanın ilk bölümünde birincil ve ikincil kaynaklarla, döneme dâir arşiv kayıtları ve bunlar üzerine yazılmış literatür üzerinden Karahisârî'nin hayâtı ve entelektüel mîrâsı ortaya konmuştur.

Karahisârî'nin hayâtına ayrılan birinci bölümde öncelikle, 15. yüzyıl Osmanlısında ve dönemin ilim merkezlerinde değil de taşrada yaşayan, henüz teşekkül eden yerel bir tarikatı temsil eden bir sûfi düşünür/müellif olarak Karahisârî'nin ailesi, dönemi, tasavvufa intisâbı ve şeyhi Akşemseddîn ile olan ilişkileri ele alınmıştır. Döneme dâir târih ilminin verdiği veriler, mekân bağlamında Afyonkarahisar'ın o dönemine âit çalışmalar, şeyhi Akşemseddîn hakkındaki literatür ve dönemin Osmanlı ilim ve düşünce hayâtı bu gözle okunmaya çalışılmıştır. Karahisârî üzerine yapılan güncel çalışmalar da çoğunlukla bu bölümde değerlendirilmiştir. Bu bölümde ayrıca, Karahisârî'nin entelektüel mîrâsının nişâneleri olan eserleri de tanıtılmıştır.

İkinci bölümde çalışmanın temel amacı olan Karahisârî'nin tasavvufî görüşlerine odaklanılmıştır. Bu bağlamda kaynak olarak öncelikle kendi eserleri, şeyhi Akşemseddîn'in eserleri, sonraki dönemde Bayramî muhitinde üretilen bazı temel tasavvufî kaynaklar kullanılmıştır. Müellifi anlamaya çalışırken tasavvuf literatüründe, özellikle de kendisinden önce üretilen literatürde aynı kavram ve konuların nasıl ele alındığı göz önünde bulundurulmuştur. Hâssaten *Münye*'ye kaynaklık teşkil eden *es-Selve fî şerâiti'l-halve* adlı eser *Münye*'yle karşılaştırmalı okumaya tâbi tutularak yazarın hangi konularda *Selve*'den ayrıştığı tespit edilmiştir. Bu bağlamda, Akşemseddîn ve Karahisârî'nin te'lîfleriyle, Bayramiyye'nin tarikat usûl ve âdâbının oluşturulmasında *Selve* müellifi Hâssî'nin (ö. 634/1237) de müntesibi olduğu Kübreviyye ve Sühreverdiyye'nin etkili olduğu sonucuna ulaşılmıştır.

Çalışmanın üçüncü ve dördüncü bölümleri, Karahisârî'nin tasavvufî düşüncesi bağlamında en önemli veri olan *Münye*'ye ayrılmıştır. Üçüncü bölümde *Münye* metninin öncelikle eserin dünya kütüphanelerinden tespit ve temin edilebilen yazma nüshaları, eserin isimlendirilmesi ve ithâfı gibi dış özellikleri tespit edilmiştir. Ardından eserin muhtevâsı, ele aldığı ana temalar, dönemi bağlamında önemi, kaynakları ve *Selve*

ile mukayesesi gibi iç özelliklerine odaklanılmıştır. Temin edilen on dokuz nüshanın iç ve dış özellikleri hakkında tanıtıcı kısa bilgiler verilmiştir. Karahisârî’nin, aslında *Selve*’nin tercümesi olarak kurgulanan bu esere neden *Münyetü’l-ibrâr ve gunyetü’l-ahyâr* ismini verdiği sorgulanmıştır. Yanı sıra, eserin İstanbul’un fethinden önce tamamlanan bir edisyonunun Fâtih Sultan Mehmed’in halası olan Selçuk Hâtun’a, İstanbul’un fethi esnâsında tamamlanan ikinci edisyonunun ise Fâtih’e ithâf edildiği tespit edilmiştir.

Ardından bu bölümde, eserin niçin Türkçe olarak kaleme alındığı, neden kaynak olarak bir Kübrevî müellifin eserinin tercih edildiği gibi sorunlar ele alınmıştır. *Münye*’nin, yerel bir tarikat olarak Bayramiyye’nin ve genel olarak Anadolu tasavvufunun teşekkülü serencâmında, bu amaca matuf olarak Türkçe kaleme alındığı sonucuna ulaşılmıştır. Bu bölümde son olarak, *Münye*’nin *Selve* metniyle cümle cümle karşılaştırması yapılarak Karahisârî’nin metne sıfırdan eklediği yerler not edilmiş ve nihâyet *Münye*’nin salt bir tercüme olmaktan ziyâde, klasik anlamda bir şerh metni olarak okunabileceği neticesine varılmıştır.

Dördüncü ve son bölümde ise, Kübreviyye’nin ve genel olarak tasavvuf düşüncesinin Anadolu’ya intikâli ve burada yerelleştirilmesinde önemli rol oynayan *Münye* metni, eldeki yazma nüshalarından hareketle doğruya en yakın şekliyle inşâ edilmeye çalışılmıştır.

Çalışmanın sonucunda, Karahisârî’nin biyografisindeki boşlukları doldurabilecek tespitlere ulaşılmıştır. Babasının ve sonrasında kendisinin de meşhûr olduğu “Mısrî” nisbesinin aslen Mısırlı olmalarından değil, babasının o dönemde Anadolu’dan pek çok ilim talibinin gittiği gibi dönemin ilim merkezlerinden olan Kâhire’ye giderek orada uzun müddet kalmasından dolayı verildiği kanaatine varılmıştır. Ayrıca, doğum ve ölüm tarihleri kesin olarak bilinmeyen Karahisârî’nin 15. yüzyılın ilk çeyreğinde doğup, daha evvel bazı araştırmacıların da ulaştığı gibi 1483-1494 yılları arasına rastlayan bir dönemde vefât etmiş olduğu sonucuna ulaşılmıştır.

Menâkıbnâmelerde zikredilen bazı hâdiselerden ve kitaplarının arasında tıp kitaplarının olmasından, ayrıca *Münye*’de tıptan ve hastalıklardan çokça örnekler vermesinden şeyhi Akşemseddîn’den tasavvufî seyr u sülûkünün yanında tıp ilmini de tahsil etmiş olabileceği ihtimâli üzerinde durulmuştur. Kaynaklarda Akşemseddîn’in sürekli yanındaymış gibi bahsedilmesinden ve Akşemseddîn’in daha meşhûr halîfesi olan İbrahim Tennûrî’den daha az bahsediliyor olması gibi sebeplerden ötürü şeyhinin en az Tennûrî kadar kıymet verdiği bir pozisyonda olabileceği düşünülmüştür. Bu çıkarımda Akşemseddîn’in Karahisârî’den seyr u sülûkteki makâmı *Menâzilü’s-sâirîn*’deki tertibe göre nazmetmesini talep etmesi, kendi eliyle yazdığı bir vasiyyetnâmenin Karahisârî’de bulunması ve *Münye*’nin de yine Akşemseddîn’in talebiyle yazılmış olması gibi sebepler de etkili olmuştur.

Karahisârî’nin tasavvufî görüşleri meyânında onun, İbnü’l-Arabî ve ardından Konevî (ö. 673/1274) ile bir ekol hâline gelen Ekberî düşüncüyü benimsediği tasavvuf metafiziğini benimsediği sonucuna ulaşılmıştır. Bu bağlamda, Karahisârî’nin kitaplığında İbnü’l-Arabî’nin eserleri olduğu gibi Konevî’nin de eserlerinin olduğu ilgili vakfiyesinden tespit edilmiştir. Vahdet husûsunda da bu ekölü takip ettiğini, ancak nazarî olmaktan ziyâde meseleye daha amelî boyutta yaklaşarak vahdet-i vücûdu seyr u sülûkteki fenâ-bekâ, cem’-fark, tecrîd-tefrîd makamlarıyla ilişkilendirerek anlattığı fark edilmiştir. Ayrıca, Karahisârî’nin tarikat âdâbını ta’yîn ederken Sühreverdî-Kübrevî geleneği Bayramiyye’ye aktardığı ve o tasavvufî geleneğin Anadolu’da yerelleşmesine katkı sağladığı kanaatine varılmıştır. Bu bağlamda, en fazla atıfta bulunduğu eserlerin Sühreverdî-Kübrevî muhîtinde üretilen eserler olması dikkat çekicidir. *Münye*’ye kaynak olarak

Necmeddîn-i Kübrâ'nın halîfelerinden olan Hâssî'nin *Selve*'sinin seçilmesi de bunu destekleyen bir argümandır. Diğer taraftan, kırk günlük halvet (erbaîn) ve cehrî zikir uygulamalarını tarîkatının esâsları arasında zikreden Karahisârî'nin, *Selve*'sinde şeyhi Kübrâ'ya atıfla otuz günlük halveti savunan Hâssî'den ve dolayısıyla Necmeddîn-i Kübrâ'dan ayrıldığı da not edilmelidir.

Karahisârî'nin *Münye* ve *Risâle fî eşrâti's-sâ'a* adlı eserinde muhataplarına, İhvân-ı Safâ'nın hitâp cümlesiyle seslenmesi ve neo-İhvân-ı Safâ denebilecek bir nev'i hermetik/tasavvufî bir hareketin öncüsü olması ihtimâlden bahsedilen çağdaşı Abdurrahman Bistâmî'ye açıktan ve doğrudan atıf yapması üzerinden, kendisinin bu hareketin bir parçası olup olmadığı da çalışmanın ortaya çıkardığı önemli sorulardan biridir.

Anahtar Kelimeler

Tasavvuf, Osmanlı Tasavvufu, Bayramiyye, Akşemseddîn, Abdurrahim Karahisârî, Konevî.

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