



University
of Glasgow

<https://theses.gla.ac.uk/>

Theses Digitisation:

<https://www.gla.ac.uk/myglasgow/research/enlighten/theses/digitisation/>

This is a digitised version of the original print thesis.

Copyright and moral rights for this work are retained by the author

A copy can be downloaded for personal non-commercial research or study, without prior permission or charge

This work cannot be reproduced or quoted extensively from without first obtaining permission in writing from the author

The content must not be changed in any way or sold commercially in any format or medium without the formal permission of the author

When referring to this work, full bibliographic details including the author, title, awarding institution and date of the thesis must be given

Enlighten: Theses

<https://theses.gla.ac.uk/>
research-enlighten@glasgow.ac.uk

AL-ASH'ARĪ'S DISCUSSION OF THE PHILOSOPHICAL
PROBLEM OF FREE WILL AND PREDESTINATION

BY

MOHAMMED YUSOFF BIN HUSSAIN

Submitted to the Department of Religious
Studies, Faculty of Arts, University of
Glasgow in fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Master of Letters (M.
Litt.).

UNIVERSITY OF GLASGOW

August, 1979.

ProQuest Number: 10646266

All rights reserved

INFORMATION TO ALL USERS

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.



ProQuest 10646266

Published by ProQuest LLC (2017). Copyright of the Dissertation is held by the Author.

All rights reserved.

This work is protected against unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code
Microform Edition © ProQuest LLC.

ProQuest LLC.
789 East Eisenhower Parkway
P.O. Box 1346
Ann Arbor, MI 48106 – 1346

Acknowledgements

The author would ~~like~~ to thank Dr. A. Alistair Kee for supervising this dissertation and making most helpful suggestions. The kindness and help shown by Dr. A. Alistair Kee to the author whilst living and studying in Glasgow is also very greatly appreciated. The author also wishes to express his thanks to The University of Glasgow Library for their help and co-operation without which writing this dissertation would have been an impossible task.

Mohammed Yusoff bin Hussain.

SUMMARY

"Al-Ash'arī's Discussion of the Philosophical Problem of Free Will and Predestination" is designed to explore the discussion of one of the controversial issues in Islamic theology and philosophy. The problem of Free Will and Predestination, without doubt, poses contradictory positions in Islamic thought. The upholders of the concept of Free Will will surely be able to maintain the justice of God, but will face the problem of the absoluteness of God. Whereas, the upholders of the concept of Predestination will surely be able to establish the sovereignty of God but will face the problem of the justice of God. The important question emerging from this contradiction is that of the human share of responsibility for what has been done. It is to be believed that man will be punished in the life hereafter for his wrong doings and he will be rewarded for his good works. This study will try to introduce one of the solutions given by a medieval Muslim scholar, al-Ash'arī, who was trying to reconcile these contradictory positions through a theory which he developed, that is, 'the theory of acquisition'.

The study is presented by producing various chapters which are relevant to the problem concerned

and under which this problem is treated. Through this study, we shall not only discuss al-Ash'arī's arguments and positions, but we shall also see the comparison between al-Ash'arī and various scholars from the upholders of Free Will (the Mu'tazilites) as well as the upholders of Predestination (the Jabarites).

In the introduction to the study, we shall introduce al-Ash'arī as an orthodox middle path scholar who valued highly the use of philosophical arguments, but in addition, prized even highly the revelation of the Holy Book, al-Qur'ān. Al-Ash'arī was at first a follower of the Mu'tazilites, but finally turned to orthodoxy. This study will only touch on al-Ash'arī's position when he became the orthodox middle path scholar.

The remaining five chapters will directly deal with the problem of Free Will and Predestination. In the chapter concerning the knowledge of God, al-Ash'arī holds that the knowledge of God is eternal in the sense that He knows the past, present and future. He also holds that God knows by knowledge which entails that the knowledge of God is not identical with His essence. However, al-Ash'arī believes that the knowledge of God is not distinct from God Himself. This means

that God's knowledge is not distinct from Him, whether as a quality apart from God's essence or as an attribute distinct from God.

In chapter three, the discussion of the createdness of human action, it will be shown that al-Ash'arī proves that human actions are created by God as they really are. This is in direct opposition to the position of the Mu'tazilites who hold that men are free to act. We discuss several opinions from the Mu'tazilites scholars regarding this problem. Al-Ash'arī, then proves that God is the true and efficient creator of all actions of man whether they are compulsory or voluntary. Moreover, he said that the compulsory and voluntary actions are alike in creation.

The discussion in chapter three will face the problem of the creation of evil. This chapter is introduced to analyse the problem in which al-Ash'arī maintains that God is the creator of evil in the sense that He creates evil to be bad and vain. From the solution given by al-Ash'arī, we learn that al-Ash'arī believes that the creation of evil by God is ultimately the evil of another being distinct from God Himself. At the end of the chapter, we elaborate the concept of the justice of God in relation to the creation of evil.

Another problem which is of interest and relevant to the discussion of human action is the question of human capacity. This will be discussed in chapter five of the study. Al-Ash'arī claims that capacity is created by God. Capacity is with the act and for the act, that is, the capacity is with a certain action and for that certain action, not for another action. This means that the man for whom God does not create a capacity cannot acquire anything.

After exploring various topics which are relevant to the main problem of this study, in the final chapter we discuss al-Ash'arī's interpretation of the theory of acquisition which ties up every problem discussed before. The theory of acquisition is regarded as the theory in which al-Ash'arī tracks a middle path position between the two extreme schools. It is to be understood that the theory of acquisition was not new to the Muslims during al-Ash'arī's time, but had been introduced by other scholars long before. However, the interpretation introduced by al-Ash'arī makes this theory more reasonable and understandable. Through this theory and with the help of the previous discussions, al-Ash'arī claims that the concept of the human share of responsibility is not inconsistent with

the concept of the foreknowledge of God, God's omnipotence and the concept of God's Will.

Finally, it is hoped that this study will give an introduction to the study of al-Ash'ari's ideas in the circle of Islamic thought.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter		Page
	SUMMARY	I
I.	INTRODUCTION	1
II.	THE KNOWLEDGE OF GOD	21
	1. The Eternity of the Knowledge of God	26
	2. The Eternity of the Knowledge of God and Its Relation With His Essence	35
	(i) The Knowledge of God is not Identical with His Essence.	43
	(ii) The Knowledge of God is not Distinct from Him	47
III.	THE CREATEDNESS OF HUMAN ACTION ...	52
	1. The Mu'tazilite Doctrine of Hu- man Actions.....	53
	2. Al-Ash'ari's Doctrine of Human Actions	63
	(i) God is the True and Effi- cient Creator of All Ac- tions	63
	(ii) Compulsory and Voluntary Actions are Alike in Crea- tion	76

IV.	THE PROBLEM OF EVIL	80
1.	The Mu'tazilite Interpretation of the Creation of Evil	81
2.	Al-Ash'ari's Interpretation of Evil	89
(i)	The Createdness of Evil by God	90
(ii)	God's Actions Without Pur- pose	95
(iii)	God Creates Evil to be Evil of Another Being Distinct From Himself	100
(iv)	The Justice of God	103
V.	THE DISCUSSION OF HUMAN CAPACITY.....	107
1.	The Mu'tazilite Theories of Human Capacity	108
2.	Al-Ash'ari's Discussion of Human Capacity	117
3.	The Discussion of the Question of Incapacity	134
VI.	THE THEORY OF ACQUISITION	141
1.	The Theory of Acquisition Accord- ing to Dirār b. 'Amr and al- Najjār	142
2.	Al-Ash'ari's Discussion of the Theory of Acquisition	148
(i)	Man Acquires a Created Ac- tion With a Created Capa- city	156
(ii)	The Concept of Human Res- ponsibility is Not Incon- sistent With the Concept of the Foreknowledge of God	169

(iii)	The Concept of Human Responsibility in Not Inconsistent With the Concept of God's Omnipotence	172
(iv)	The Concept of Human Responsibility is Not Inconsistent With the Concept of God's Will	174
(v)	Al-Ash'arī's solutions and their Relation to Dirār and al-Najjār	178
(vi)	Conclusion	182
BIBLIOGRAPHY		184

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

In this study we shall concentrate on one particular problem that is, the problem of Free Will and Predestination. We shall deal with it by examining the position of the Mu'tazilites and also the refutation of their position by al-Ash'arī. The problem of Free Will and Predestination illustrates two extreme positions: first, there is the position of the Mu'tazilites who maintained that man has full power over everything including the human will and human actions and has complete freedom of choice. Second, there is the position of the Jabarites who claimed that man has no part in determining his own actions: all comes from God. Between these two extremes, al-Ash'arī tried to hold an intermediate position.

We shall begin this study with a brief outline of the rise of these two extreme schools in Islam. Before al-Ash'arī, Muslim theologians and scholars were divided into different schools and groups. Historically, Muslims were united during the lifetime of the Prophet. All problems were referred to him and he was regarded as the religious leader as well as the political ruler. But, when the fourth authentic, or "rightly-guided" caliph, 'Alī b. Abī Tālib (656-661 A.D) was sworn in, he was opposed by an able contender, Mu'āwiyah b. Abī Sufyān. This struggle caused the battle of Siffīn (657 A.D), resulting in the defeat of 'Alī at the hand of Mu'āwiyah. It is reported as follows:

"Just as 'Alī was about to snatch the fruit of victory in a battle at Siffīn in 657, Mu'āwiyah tricked him into calling off the fighting and consenting to arbitration, which eventually resulted in 'Alī's downfall."¹

This arbitration marked the beginning of Islamic political differences which developed later into the theological differences. From it, Muslims were confronted with the question of who was right and who was wrong in this battle. It developed into the more theological question of 'who is a Muslim' and 'is a Muslim still be a Muslim if he has com-

1. M. Fakhry, A History of Islamic Philosophy, (New York and London, Columbia University Press, 1970), p. 52.

mitted a grave sin'? These are among the questions which arose at that time. The Shī'ites, who gave unquestioned support to 'Alī, claimed that:

"The Prophet had conferred the Imāmate [Caliphate] on 'Alī and nominated him as his successor. Thus 'Alī was the first Imām by ordinance."²

Moreover, they claimed that the Imāms or caliphs are sinless and they also claimed that 'Alī and his successors are the only lawful caliphs.

"The imām is impeccable, i.e., free from all sins, great or small. He is immune from error. Everything that he says or does is inviolate."³

This position was strongly contested by another group of theologians called the Khārijites. This group emerged at the same time and were the supporters of 'Alī in that battle, but abandoned the camp of 'Alī due to their disagreement with his decision to attend the meeting at the end of that battle. This group maintained that 'Alī also committed a grave sin because he looked to an arbitrator to solve the problem rather than God.

"'Alī also committed, according to them, a major sin when he accepted the 'arbitration' or 'one besides God'."⁴

2. Abu'l A'ālā Maudoodi, 'Political Thought In Early Islam', in A History of Muslim Philosophy, Vol. 1., edited by M.M. Sharif, (Weisbaden, Otto Harrassowitz, 1963), pp. 656 - 672 (p. 667).

3. Ibid., p. 667.

4. Ibid., p. 668.

Another group which was neutral between the two extremes was the Murji'ites. They came into existence when discussion of the problem of the consequences of the battle of Siffin took place, claiming that the outcome should have been left in the hands of God.

"He alone would tell, on the Day of Judgement, which of them struggled for the right cause and which for the wrong."⁵

From their view that the struggle between 'Alī and Mu'āwiyah should have been left to God to make a decision on the Day of Judgement comes their name 'Murji'ites', which means the "those who postpone".

These three groups may be regarded as the beginning of divisions among Muslims. They emerged due to the political differences, but, in maintaining their political positions, they employed theological arguments to add support to their claim. This in turn brought about theological differences.

These three groups gained many followers and scholars. What is significant for the purpose of our present study is the group of Khārijites and Murji'ites. "The Khārijite position contains the germ of the leading

5. Ibid., p. 669.

idea of the Qadarites, [who] were the heralds of the Mu'tazilites."⁶ As for the murji'ite group, "They were to a great extent the forerunners of orthodoxy."⁷ According to al-Ash'arī, Jahm b. Safwān, the great determinist and his followers belonged in the group of the Murji'ites.⁸ They were called the pure 'Jabarites'.

Mu'tazilites is the name given to a group of theologians who were also called 'the Seceders'. The existence of this school, in its first development is not purely political. However, their theological arguments were used to justify the political ends of rulers or to refute those who were opposed to the rulers, especially during the reign of the Abbasid caliphs. With regard to the problem of a Muslim who committed a sin, they held the middle position between the Kharijites and the Murji'ites. They said: "A sinful Muslim was neither a believer nor an unbeliever, but one in the middling state."⁹ This was the position of Wāsil b. 'Atā' (died 748 A.D) as he presented

6. A.J. Wensinck, The Muslim Creed, (London, Cambridge University Press, 1932), p. 37.

7. W. M. Watt, Free Will and Predestination In Early Islam, (London, Luzac & Company Ltd, 1948), p. 42.

8. Al-Ash'arī, Maqālāt al-Islāmiyyīn Wa'khtilāf al-Musallīn, Vol. 1., Edited by Hellmut Ritter, (Istanbul, 1929), p. 132.

9. Abu'l A'lā Maudoodi, op cit., p. 671.

it to his master, Ḥasan al-Baṣrī. Ḥasan al-Baṣrī was an outstanding theologian and scholar of that time, but Wāṣil b. 'Ata' disagreed with him regarding the problem of the Muslim who had committed grave sin. Therefore, Wāṣil broke away from Ḥasan al-Baṣrī and established his own position. These two positions, then form the basis of the Mu'tazilites. The name 'Mu'tazilite' was the name given to them by others. They called themselves as 'ahl al-Tawḥīd wa'l-'adl' (The People of Unity and Justice), for the following reasons:

"By justice they imply that it is incumbent on God to requite the obedient for their good deeds and punish the sinners for their misdeeds. By unity they imply the denial of the divine attributes."¹⁰

Based on these two theses, the Mu'tazilites developed their system of theological interpretation. In contrast to the orthodox method, the Mu'tazilites relied more on reason than revelation. They used reason to justify revelation.

Historically, this school was very popular in the reign of the Abbasid caliphs, especially under the reign of Ma'mūn (died 833 A.D), who introduced Greek philosophy into Islam by his initiative in the translation movement. During his reign, he encouraged translators to

10. Mir Valiuddin, 'Mu'tazilism', in A History of Muslim Philosophy, Vol. 1., edited by M.M. Sharif, (Weisbaden, Otto Harrassowitz, 1963), pp. 199 - 219 (p. 200).

translate Greek works into Arabic. He was the famous Abbasid caliph in the intellectual movement during this dynasty and he also set up an academy called 'Bayt al-Hikma' (House of Wisdom) in 830 A.D. With regard to his attitude toward the theological schools of his day, it is reported that he was a supporter of the Mu'tazilites.

"In fact, it was perhaps his very interest in theological discussions that led by degrees to not only the promotion of a popular interest in theology, but also to the support of the cause of a theological party (the Mu'tazilite) that had sought to apply the categories of Greek thought to Muslim dogmas and the use of the decisive resources of the state in the defense and consolidation of this position."¹¹

The Mu'tazilites employed Greek philosophy to produce a highly rational form of theology. While this gained for them the support of the Abbasid caliphs and the people at large, the orthodox school of Muslims regarded them as heretics.

Before proceeding to the main discussion of the problem of Free Will and Predestination we shall give a short introduction to al-Ash'ari's life and his writings. During his youth, al-Ash'ari was a pupil of his stepfather al-Jubba'i (died 915 A.D), who was a leader of the Mu'ta-

11. M. Fakhry, op cit., p. 23.

zilités. But in 912 A.D, when he was forty, al-Ash'arī suddenly abandoned the camp of the Mu'tazilite, especially the teaching of al-Jubbā'ī. This sudden change is reported to have occurred when al-Ash'arī went to the Mosque of Basrah and declared:

"He who knows me, knows me; and he who knows me not, let him know that I am so and so, the son of so and so. I have maintained the creation of the Qur'ān and that God will not be seen in the world to come with the eyes, and that creatures create their actions. Lo, I repent that I have been a Mu'tazilite and turn to opposition to them."¹²

This historical event is said to have come about for one of two reasons. Firstly, the change took place after he had some directions in his dreams. Secondly, his disagreement with the answer given by his master, al-Jubbā'ī, regarding the problem of faith and reward in the life hereafter.

As to the first cause, it is reported that one night in the month of Ramadān, the Prophet appeared to him three times in his dream. The Prophet asked him to seek truth in al-Qur'ān and the Traditions rather than his vain kalām. Such a story would be regarded as legend by modern

12. D. B. Macdonald, Development of Muslim Theology, Jurisprudence and Constitutional Theory, (London, George Routledge & Sons Limited, 1903), p. 188.

scholars, but it is a traditional device of ancient Arab historians to use a dream to mark a dramatic turning point. For example, there is a story of the dream of al-Ma'mūn, the Abbasid caliph, in which Aristotle appeared to al-Ma'mūn and discussed the problem of good and the nature of God. The similarity of these two stories is quite obvious, though fortunately to investigate the truth of these stories lies outside the field of our discussion. But what is more significant is that the change in al-Ash'arī marked the turning point in the history of Islamic thought. The second report of this change which is of more interest is that al-Ash'arī debated with his master, al-Jubbā'ī concerning the problem of three brothers who are in different positions; the first one was a believer, the second was a unbeliever and the third one died as a child. The question concerns the status of these three brothers in the life hereafter. Al-Jubbā'ī replied that the believer was in heaven, the unbeliever in hell and the child in a place of safety. Then another question was asked by al-Ash'arī of al-Jubbā'ī:

"But if the third said, 'Lord, Thou mightest have granted me life, and then I would have been pious and entered Paradise like my brother,' what then?". Al-Jubbā'ī replied, 'God would say, 'I knew that if thou wert granted life thou wouldst be godless and unbelieving and enter Hell'. Then al-Ash'arī drew his noose, 'But what if the second said, 'Lord, why didst thou not make me die as a child? Then had I escaped Hell'. Al-Jubbā'ī was silenced,

and al-Ash'arī went away in triumph."¹³

This story, however, is somewhat similar to the story of the change which happened to Wāsil b. 'Atā' the founder of the Mu'tazilite school. Wāsil asked Hasan al-Basrī about the problem of the grave sinner. Hasan al-Basrī failed to give a satisfactory answer to the question and Wāsil left the teaching of Hasan al-Basrī, that is the early orthodox, and formed his position which later became known as the Mu'tazilite.

After this change, al-Ash'arī wrote many books in order to develop his orthodox middle path position, using philosophical arguments confirmed by proof from passages of a -Qur'ān and the Traditions. As the hammer of the Mu'tazilites, he used rational arguments as a weapon to condemn the Mu'tazilite position. According to the ancient authorities, the works of al-Ash'arī numbered nearly three hundred. "After the change he wrote a number of books and Ibn Fūrak says that the number amounted to three hundred. Ibn 'Asākir Dimashqī has given the titles of ninety-three of them."¹⁴ W. C. Klein stated that: "a number

13. Ibid., pp. 189 - 190.

14. M. Abdul Hye, 'Ash'arism', in A History of Muslim Philosophy, Vol. 1, edited by M.M. Sharif (Weisbaden, Otto Harrassowitz, 1963), pp. 220 - 243, (p. 223).

given by several authorities is fifty-five. The Fihrist assigns him only six."¹⁵ The following works of al-Ash'arī are given by W. C. Klein. (1) Maqālāt al-Islāmīyīn Wa' khtilāf al-Muṣallīn. In this work, al-Ash'arī discussed the hereditary of the different schools, the orthodox creed as well as different views on philosophical question. (2) Kitāb al-Luma', translated as 'Book of Aphorism'. There are ten chapters in this work dealing respectively the Qur'ān, God's Will, His Visibility, The Qadar, the Istitā'a (Capacity), The Ta'dīl and Tajwīr (Accounting just and accounting unjust), Faith, The Particular and The Universe, The Promise and The Threat, and The Imāmate. (3) Ibāna 'An Uṣūl al-Diyāna, translated as 'The Elucidation of Islām's foundation'. (4) Risālā Fi'istiḥsān al-Khawḍ Fi'l-Kalām, translated as 'Tract in Favour of The Free Use Of The Kalām'. (5) Risālā al-Imān, translated as 'The Tract of Faith'. This work is used to defend the uncreatedness of fatih. (6) Risālā Kataba bihā ilā Ahl at-Tajr Bi Bāb al-Abwād. (7) Qawl Jumlat Ashāb al-Hadith Wa ahl-Sunnah Fi'l-i'tiqād.¹⁶

The First three are employed in our present study espe-

15. W.C. Klein, In his introduction to his translation of Al-Ash'arī's Ibāna 'An Uṣūl al-Diyāna, (New Haven, Connecticut, American Oriental Society, 1940), p. 28.

16. Ibid., pp. 29 - 30.

cially with regard to his philosophical arguments.

As an orthodox philosophical theologian, al-Ash'arī makes use of both orthodox kalām and dialectical method. He used the former in order to oppose the rationalist Mu'tazilites and he used the dialectic method to oppose the extreme Traditionists or the early orthodox. For this reason, he was the most distinguished and distinctive scholar of his time. With regard to his attitude towards the two extreme positions, that is the Mu'tazilites and the early orthodox or Traditionists, al-Ash'arī is reported to have had a close relationship to the early orthodox. In the following paragraphs we shall illustrate this. According to al-Shahrastānī's account elaborated by G. Makdisi, al-Ash'arī's position regarding the problem of the divine attributes is similar to the position of one section of the early orthodox.

As far as the problem of divine attributes is concerned, there were two extreme positions before al-Ash'arī. The first is the Mu'tazilite position which dissociated God from any attributes. Their position was then called 'ta'tīl' (divesting). The second position is that of the early orthodox who held a doctrine of the divine attributes. They were then called the 'Sifatites' (Attri-

butists). Among the early orthodox there was a section who had an anthropomorphic conception of the divine attributes. They were called the "Mushabbihīn (Comparers)". It is clear that there was a wide divergence between the Mu'tazilites, the upholders of the concept of 'ta'tīl' (divesting) and the upholders of 'tashbīh' (comparison) which held divine attributes in their human forms. Between these two extreme positions, there came another group of early orthodox, who were then called the middle path orthodox. This group believed in the concept of the divine attributes but not in the idea of 'tashbīh' (comparison). They affirmed the divine attributes by the concept of 'tafwīd' (leaving the interpretation to God). This means that they accept the divine attributes as found in al-Qur'ān and leave their interpretation to God. This according to al-Shahrastānī is the position of al-Ash'arī. He was following the orthodox middle path position, as exemplified by Mālik b. Anas and Ibn Hanbal. 'Tafwīd' is one of al-Ash'arī's position. The other one, according to al-Shahrastānī, is that of 'ta'wīl' (Metaphorical interpretation). For this reason, it is quite clear that al-Ash'arī follows two different roads: the first road was called the 'road of salvation', which is closely related to the early orthodox and secondly the 'road of wisdom', which is more philosophical and uses

rational argumentation. Both methods are employed by al-Ash'arī in his theological works.¹⁷

The aim of this study is to describe al-Ash'arī's philosophical arguments which have been so influential in the history of Islamic thought, especially regarding the question of Free Will and Predestination. Since this present study is a philosophical work, we shall pay more attention to the 'road of wisdom' (ṭarīq al-Hikma) rather than the 'road of salvation' (ṭarīq al-Salāma). The road of wisdom is regarded as his philosophical method in solving religious problems, whereas the road of salvation is regarded as his dogmatic method.

The problem of Free Will and Predestination is said to have been the first controversial issue to occur in Islamic thought. It was first discussed as the works of Ma'bad al-Juhānī (died 699 A.D), Ghailān al-Dimashqī (died before 743 A.D), Wāsil b. 'Atā' (died 748 A.D). It is not our purpose to investigate the origins of the problem of Free Will and Predestination, for much has been said by modern scholars to this subject. There is,

17. G. Makdisi, "Ash'arī and The Ash'arites In Islamic Religious History," 1., STUDIA ISLAMICA, Vol. 17, (1962), pp. 51 - 52.

for example, the excellent research of Prof. W. M. Watt especially in his treatment of political interference into the development of this problem. What is of interest here is to examine the fundamental differences among the schools with whom al-Ash'arī carried on his debates. This, however, will lead to study of different sects as well as individual scholars among whom the controversies have flourished.

Muslim scholars are unanimous that any interpretation of theological as well as philosophical problems must refer to al-Qur'ān and the Traditions of the Prophet. Or at least, it must not go against positions which are plainly stated in these sacred sources. The problem of Free Will and Predestination is regarded as a theological and philosophical one, and therefore, it must be discussed within the context of al-Qur'ān and the Traditions. However, with reference to the passages in al-Qur'ān, there are many passages which firmly maintain the omnipotence of God and the sovereignty of God in the universe. There are also several passages which clearly state that man is free with respect to his own deeds. For this reason, it is clear that in al-Qur'ān there is nothing definite to suggest any philosophical doctrine on this subject. This does not mean that al-Qur'ān does not deal with this prob-

lem. Al-Qur'ān has given the general answer to this problem, although the answer still requires interpretation.

With regard to the statement of God's absolute power and sovereignty in the universe, al-Qur'ān stated:

"That is God, your Lord!
There is no god but He,
The Creator of all things:

Then worship ye Him:
And He hath power
To dispose of all affairs." (6 : 102)¹⁸

"There is no moving creature
On earth but its sustenance
Dependeth on God: He knoweth
The time and space and its
Temporal deposit:
All is in a clear Record." (11 : 6)¹⁹

These passages concern the power of God towards His creatures in the universe. They describe His sovereignty over all the creatures in the universe and as such are not of our concern. But, with regard to God's power over human actions, which was soon to be a controversial issue in Islam, there are statements or passages in al-Qur'ān supporting contradictory positions. Firstly, there are passages which affirm absolute predestination:

18. All quotation are taken from the translation by A. Yusuf 'Alī, The Glorious Qur'ān, Translation and Commentary, (Leicester, The Islamic Foundation, 1978), p. 319.

19. Ibid., p. 515.

"No soul can believe, except
By the Will of God,
And He will place Doubt
(Or obscurity) on those
Who will not understand." (10 : 100)²⁰

"Those whom God (in His Plan)
Willeth to guide, — He openeth
Their breast to Islam;
Those whom He willeth
To leave straying, — He maketh
Their breath close and constricted," (6 : 125)²¹

Secondly there are passages which affirm complete freedom
of human actions:

"Say, 'The Truth is
From your Lord':
Let him who will,
Believe, and let him
Who will, reject." (18 : 29)²²

"It is those who believe not
In the signs of God,
That forge falsehood;
It is they who lie!" (16 : 105)²³

Despite the fact that al-Qur'ān gives no definite answer
to the problem of Free Will and Predestination, there are
several passages of the Traditions of the Prophet which
favour predestination. Among those are:

"God wrote down the decrees, regarding the created
world fifty thousand years before He created the
heavens and the earth, while His throne was on

20. Ibid., p. 510.

21. Ibid., p. 326.

22. Ibid., p. 738.

23. Ibid., p. 685.

the water."²⁴

"The Prophet said: Verily, one of you is gathered together in his mother's womb forty days, then he is a clot of blood the same time, then an angel is sent to him and four things are ordained: his sustenance, his term, whether he is to be miserable or happy (and his work)."²⁵

The Qur'ānic passages and the Traditions which refer to predestination are sometimes interpreted as expounding a fatalistic position. And yet there are clear references in al-Qur'ān and Traditions in favour of the freedom of human actions and the reward and punishments of man in the life hereafter. For these reasons, the problem remained as a controversial issue in Islamic theology. During the lifetime of the Prophet Muslims were discouraged from discussing this problem and asked to spend their time in the practical teaching of religion. The Prophet clearly disapproved of such debates.

As history went on, the problem became a major area of discussion among the different schools as well as individuals in Islamic thought. Among those were the two extremes of the Mu'tazilites and the determinists or com-

24. Muslim, Qadar, Tradition 16, quoted from A. J. Wensinck, Muslim Creed, p. 54.

25. Al-Bukhārī, Qadar, b. 1, trad. 1 quoted from W. M. Watt, Free Will and Predestination In Early Islam, p. 18.

pulsionists, often called in Islam the Jabarites. The Mu'tazilites are the upholders of the doctrine of Free Will which depends on the establishment of the justice of God. On the other hand, the Jabarites are the upholders of the doctrine of Predestination. The word 'Jabarite' is not the name of a school but the name of the person who maintains the absolute preordination of human actions. The Jabarite position is to maintain the absolute sovereignty and omnipotence of God in the universe.

As has been mentioned before the Mu'tazilites were the forerunners of the Qadarites who also had a close relationship with the Kharijites in the matter of ideas. The Mu'tazilites imported philosophical argumentation into their doctrines, especially from Greek works which were made available to them through the translation movement. The Jabarites, in contrast to the Mu'tazilites held that human actions are predestinated by God. One of the most popular scholars of this group was Jahm b. Safwan (died 745 A.D), and his followers were called the Jahmites. In al-Ash'ari's work, Jahm was classified as 'Murji'ite'.²⁶

26. Al-Ash'ari, Maqalat al-Islamiyin Wa'khtilaf al-Musallin, Vol. 1., p. 132.

Regarding the term 'Jabarite', al-Shahrastānī reported that:

"Compulsion (jabr) is the denial that actions really come from man, and the attribution of them to God. The Jabariya consist of several groups. The pure Jabariya are those who do not assert any act at all to be man's or any power for action. The moderate Jabariya assert that man has a power which does not have any influence at all."²⁷

As far as Jahm's doctrine is concerned, he was regarded as a pure Jabarite, believing that all human action is determined by God.²⁸

In 912 A.D. al-Ash'arī separated from the Mu'tazilites and emerged in the orthodox middle path position trying to reconcile the conflict between the positions of the Mu'tazilites and the Jabarites. Though al-Ash'arī also dealt with the position of the Jabarite, we shall not be concerned with it in this study. We shall discuss his reply to the Mu'tazilites where he used philosophical arguments as weapons against them.

27. Al-Shahrastānī, Kitāb al-Milāl Wa'l-Nihāl, Vol. 1., quoted from W. M. Watt, Free Will and Predestination In Early Islam, p. 96.

28. M. Abdul Hye, op cit., p. 226.

CHAPTER TWO

THE KNOWLEDGE OF GOD.

The questions relating to God's attributes and His unity are regarded as controversial areas in Islamic theology. Indeed, these problems of the relationship between God's attributes and God's absolute unity became one of the main theological and philosophical issues in early Islam.

This problem becomes more complicated when we consider the references in al-Qur'ān to the attributes and the oneness of God. The following are some translations of the great many verses regarding these two questions. Firstly, verses which describe the attributes of God:

"Send not away those
Who call on their Lord
Morning and evening,
Seeking His face." (6 : 52)¹

"Say: 'Who is it in whose
Hands is the governance
Of all Things, — who protects
(All), but is not protected
(Of any)? (Say) if ye know.'" (23 : 88)²

"Throw (the child)
Into the chest, and throw
(the chest) into the river:
The river will cast him
Up on the bank, and he
Will be taken up by one
Who is an enemy to Me
And an enemy to him':
But I cast (the garment
Of) love over thee from Me:
And (this) in order that
Thou mayest be reared
Under Mine eye." (20 : 39)³

The first verse is speaking of God's face, the second is of God's hand the third verse refers to the eye of God. These are among a number of verses which are regarded as illustrating a pure anthropomorphic concept of God. These anthropomorphic attributes can be described as 'physical', and are not of interest in this present

1. All quotations are taken from the translation by A. Yusuf 'Alī, The Glorious Qur'ān: Translation and Commentary, (Leicester, The Islamic Foundation, 1978), p. 302.

2. Ibid., p. 889.

3. Ibid., p. 796.

study. What we are much more concerned with is the attribute which is regarded as that of 'quality'. To illustrate we may quote several translations of al-Qur'ān mentioning these attributes:

"Say: 'Whether ye hide
What is in your hearts
Or reveal it,
He knows what is all:
He knows what is
In the heavens,
And what is on earth,
And God has power
Over all things.'" (3 : 29)⁴

"God! There is no god
But He, — the Living,
The Self-subsisting, Eternal.
No slumber can seize Him
Nor sleep." (2 : 255)⁵

"No soul can believe, except
By the Will of God,
And He will place Doubt
(Or obscurity) on those
Who will not understand." (10 : 100)⁶

"Offspring, one of the other:
And God heareth
And knoweth all things." (3 : 34)⁷

"If they do, they are in right guidance,
But if they turn back,
Thy duty is to convey the message:
And in God's sight
Are (all) His servants." (3 : 20)⁸

4. Ibid., p. 130.

5. Ibid , p. 102.

6. Ibid., p. 510.

7. Ibid., p. 131.

8. Ibid., p. 127.

Based on these verses, early theologians interpreted the attributes of God and divided into different sects and schools. We shall not be concerned with the problem of the attributes of God in general, or the interpretation of these verses, because this would lead into a broad field of study which would be outside the area of our discussion. For the purpose of our present study we shall concentrate on the problem of the knowledge of God.

Despite the fact that al-Qur'ān proclaims the many attributes of God, there are several passages which firmly proclaim the concept of the unity of God and the oneness of God, as in the translations below:

"Say: He is God,
The One and Only;
God the Eternal, Absolute;
He begetheth not,
Nor is He begotten;
And there is none
Like unto Him." (122 : 1 - 4)⁹

"And your God
Is One God:
There is no god
But He,
Most Gracious,
Most Merciful." (2 : 163)¹⁰

The unity of God has been the earliest and most

9. Ibid., p. 1806.

10. Ibid., pp. 63 - 64.

fundamental issue in Islamic thought. The concern has been to maintain the monotheistic conception of God which displaced polytheistic and henotheistic conceptions of Arab paganism, often referred to as 'the age of Jāhiliyya (Ignorance)'. From this arose several problems. For example, if these attributes or qualities are regarded as parts of God, does that not involve a return to a polytheistic conception or is it inconsistent with the concept of the Unity of God? For such reasons some of the Mu'tazilites and other sects of theologians denied the divine attributes in order to maintain the Unity of God. The Mu'tazilites are those who were regarded as divesting God of all essential attributes and proclaimed themselves as "ahl al-Tawhīd" (People of Unity). This problem will be discussed in subsequent paragraphs.

Al-Ash'arī agreed with all Muslim scholars that, according to al-Qur'ān, "God knows". However, its question of how this should be interpreted remains. In al-Ash'arī's philosophical discussions of the knowledge of God and its relation to God's essence, the following questions were dealt with. If God really knows, is His knowledge eternal or created? If it is eternal, does He know through His essence which is He? The first question is the question about the nature of God's knowledge, whether it is eternal

or created. Whereas, the second question is the most significant question, for it describes the nature of that knowledge as well as its relation to the essence of God Himself. From these questions, lead a great many inquiries. Al-Ash'arī dealt with these questions with orthodox middle path attitudes which will be clearly seen at the end of this chapter.

1. The Eternity Of The Knowledge Of God.

Al-Ash'arī believed in the eternity of the knowledge of God. It is not created as the compulsionist Jahm b. Safwān (died 746 A.D) and his followers (the Jahmites) claimed. Jahm b. Safwān died in 746 A.D., but the Jahmites were very active in the time of al-Ash'arī. For this reason, in his discussion of the uncreatedness of the words of God (al-Qur'ān) entitled 'Kalām on the doctrine That the Qur'ān is the Uncreated Word of God' in his work Al-Ibāna 'An Usūl al-Diyāna, there are two sections containing his reply to the Jahmiyya (Jahmites).¹¹ This was in addition to his criticism of the Mu'tazilites, but in this section we shall

11. Al-Ash'arī, Al-Ibāna 'An Usūl al-Diyāna, translated by W. C. Klein, American Oriental Series, Vol. 19, (New Haven, Connecticut, 1940), pp. 73 - 75.

deal with Jahm's arguments of the createdness of the knowledge of God and al-Ash'arī's reply to them.

Firstly, Jahm described the relationship of God, His knowledge and all things known to Him. It is reported as follows:

"God cannot know off things before He has actually created them. In other words, He knows them after He has created them."¹²

The reason he put forward is that, if God knew things before He created them, it would entail the supposition that His knowledge of the things would either, (a) remain as it was before the creation of the things, or (b) it would not remain the same. If (a) is the case, it is impossible, because the knowledge of things before their existence is distinct from the knowledge of them after their existence. If (b) is the case, then the knowledge of God must be variable, in the sense that His knowledge of things before they exist is different from the knowledge of these same things after they exist. This is certainly true because whatever is variable must be changeable. And if it is changeable, it cannot be eternal. Both suppositions (a) and (b) lead to the conclusion that God's knowledge is

12. Abdul Subhan, 'Al-Jahm b. Safwān and His Philosophy' ISLAMIC CULTURE, Vol. 11., (1937), p. 224.

not eternal, but is created.

The second argument of Jahm is concerned with the relationship between God's knowledge and His essence. It is an elaboration of supposition (a) from the first argument. He said:

"God's knowledge does not precede phenomena because that would imply change in Him, because knowing that a thing will be is different from knowing that it is. There is one knowledge for every knowable."¹³

Al-Shahrastānī's account of Jahm b. Safwān and Hishām b.

Hakam is that:

"They agreed that God knows eternally what will be, and knowledge about the future is not the same as knowledge about the present."¹⁴

From these two statements, it can be concluded that, since God is regarded as the creator of things as they are, and since these things are changeable, according to Jahm, God knows things after they have been created. This is to establish the absoluteness and the uniqueness of God. This would follow the same conclusion as for the first argument that is, God's knowledge is created.

13. A. S. Tritton, Muslim Theology, (London, Luzac & Company Ltd., 1947), pp. 63 - 64.

14. Al-Shahrastānī, Kitāb Nihāyatu'l-Iqdām Fī 'Ilmi'l-Kalam, edited and translated by Alfred Guillaume, (London, Oxford University Press, 1934), p. 78.

Now, we proceed to analyse al-Ash'arī's reply to Jahm's positions or rather the Jahmites' positions. Al-Ash'arī maintained that God's knowledge is eternal and he set out to prove that both of Jahm's arguments are false. To begin with, al-Ash'arī makes clear that the eternity of God's knowledge was affirmed by all Muslims and to deny this would be regarded as a departure from this general agreement. This is not a philosophical argument, but rather an accusation against the Jahmites.

Al-Ash'arī said:

"The Muslims unanimously agreed, before the origin of the Jahmiyyah and the Mu'tazilah and the Haruriyyah, that God had knowledge eternally, and said: 'God's knowledge is eternal, for God's knowledge precedes created things' and they do not refuse to say of every new thing that arises and everything that comes down from God, 'All this exists antecedently in God's knowledge;' and therefore he who denies that God has knowledge dissents from the Muslims and is guilty of a departure from their agreement."¹⁵

This statement of al-Ash'arī is in agreement with the position of the Early Orthodox. In Fikh Akhbar 11 by Abū Hanīfa (died 767 A.D) a contemporary of Jahm b. Ṣafwān, it is stated that:

15. Al-Ash'arī, Al-Ibāna 'An Usūl al-Diyāna, p. 95.

"He has been from eternity and will be to eternity with His qualities and His names. None of His qualities or names has come into being; from eternity He knows by virtue of His knowledge, knowledge being an eternal quality."¹⁶

This is also an accusation rather than an argument. It is obvious that here al-Ash'arī is expressing his orthodox attitude to the problem.

Moreover al-Ash'arī accused the Jahmites of borrowing their position from non-Islamic sources, namely 'the zindiq'. He made this accusation because, according to al-Ash'arī, their position in maintaining the createdness of God's knowledge would entail that God has no knowledge before the thing is created. And, since God is eternal and knowledge is created, therefore the proposition that 'God is knowing' is impossible.

"They have simply borrowed this from the 'zindiqs' and the advocates of 'ta'tīl'; because many of the 'zindiqs' believe that God is not a knower, or a wielder of power, or a living one, or hearing one, or a seeing one".¹⁷

Concerning the proposition of the first argument of Jahm, that is, God knows things after He creates them,

16. Quoted by A.J. Wensinck, Muslim Creed, p. 138.

17. Al-Ash'arī, Al-Ibāna 'An Usūl al-Diyāna, p. 94.

follows another proposition that is 'God originates knowledge for Himself'. This, according to al-Shahrastānī's account of the orthodox argument, in replying to Jahm's theory is totally unthinkable. If God originates knowledge for Himself, then either: i.(a) it must be in His essence, or (b) in a substrate, ii. not in either. Moreover, he clarified that:

"Origination essentially demands alteration; and origination in a substrate would demand that the substrate should be of time; while origination not in a substrate would demand the denial of God's specifying."¹⁸

From this reply, it is reasonable to assume that the idea 'God originates knowledge for Himself' is unthinkable.

Another proposition derived from Jahm's theory is that, if God knows things after He creates them, that is, 'God's knowledge is like human knowledge', then God knows things after they exist. Al-Ash'arī's general argument that 'God is unlike a creature' throws light on his reply to Jahm's position. It is to presume that if God were like a creature, it would follow that His relation to temporal production would be that of a creature.

18. Al-Shahrastānī, Kitāb Nihāyatu'l-Iqdām Fī 'Ilmi'l-Kalam, p. 78.

If God were like a creature, it would lead to the following alternatives: God would be like a creature either: (a) in all respects, or (b) in some respects. If (a) is the case, it would entail that He be temporally produced, as a creature is, in all respects. If (b) is the case, God would be temporally produced, in that there are some respects in which He is like a creature and some in which He is not. Both alternatives are equally impossible to presume of God, since God is eternal but creatures are temporal either in all respects or in some respects. Al-Ash'arī concluded:

"But it is impossible for the temporally produced to have preexisted eternally."¹⁹

Referring to this argument, there are good grounds for maintaining that God's knowledge is eternal, and it pre-exists eternally. And to hold that God knows things after He creates them is unreasonable.

The second argument of Jahm is closely related to the first one: If God's knowledge is eternal, it must follow that God knows in the past, present and future, since things before they exist are different from them-

19. Al-Ash'arī, Kitāb al-Luma', translated by Richard J. Mc Carthy, in The theology of Al-Ash'arī, (Beyrouth, Imprimerie Catholique, 1953), p. 9.

selves after they exist. So, the different forms of the knowable in a different state of time or situation of the knowable would entail that God's knowledge will change as the knowable changes. And if it is eternal, it is impossible to change. Therefore, according to Jahm, God's knowledge is created.

Since this was the object of Jahm's position, al-Ash'arī produced the counter argument to this claim. Al-Ash'arī's reply was reported by al-Shahrastānī, as follows:

"The way in which they differ is nothing to do with knowledge about them, but is peculiar to themselves. They are known because knowledge comes into contact with them but that does not alter."²⁰

Since it has been agreed that God is eternal, which is a state regarded as timeless, the changing of the thing knowable, that is, the thing in eternity and afterwards created, does not affect His essence.

Furthermore, considering the new cognition precedes from the thing as it exists he claimed:

"Are these new cognitions knowable before they come

20. Al-Shahrastānī, Ki'āb Nihāyatu'l-Iqdām Fī 'Ilmi'l-Kalam, p. 79.

into existence, or are they not an object of knowledge? If they were knowable was it by eternal knowledge and cognitive power, or by other cognitions which preceded their existence?"²¹

These two alternatives are produced in order to clarify their claim regarding the new cognition of a knowable. This is a conclusion which can be drawn from Jahm's argument of the changeableness of the knowable. The first alternative would mean that everything is known by eternal knowledge and this would also follow from Jahm's answer about the new cognition. The second alternative is certain to be impossible, because it would entail that those cognitions need further cognitions and result endless chain (tasasul).

From these discussions, it is concluded that, according to al-Ash'ari, the knowledge of God is eternal, for God knows the things before He creates them. And because God's knowledge is eternal and is not affected by the changing of time and of things that exist, therefore it is false to believe that God's knowledge is created. It is eternal. Since it is eternal, it is to be believed that God knows the past, present and the future. In relation to the main problem of this study, that is the

21. Ibid., pp. 79 - 80.

problem of Free Will and Predestination, a question arises. Since God has foreknowledge of human action, the question therefore arises: what is man's responsibility for acts which were determined in God's knowledge?. This question will be answered later.

2. The Eternity Of The Knowledge Of God And Its Relation With His Essence.

It has been already argued, in the previous section, that the knowledge of God is eternal. And it has been said before, that God Himself is eternal. The problem is, how are these two eternities to be related, that is, how is the eternity of the knowledge of God to be related to God Himself?. The following questions serve to show how this problem has been dealt with by the Mu'tazilites and al-Ash'arī's comments on their views.

Firstly, if God's knowledge is eternal, does He know through Himself, is this knowledge part of Himself?. Secondly, if God's knowledge is eternal, is it predicated of God simply to assert His being and to deny His ignorance?. These two questions were central to the thought of two leading scholars of the Mu'tazilites. The first question is identified with the position of Abu'l-Hudhail al-'Allāf

(died 841 A.D) one of the famous scholar of Basrite school of Mu'tazilites. Whereas the second question is identified with the position of al-Nazzām (died 840 A.D) who during his youth associated with philosophers, dualists and materialists as well as sceptics. Both of them influenced the contemporaries of al-Ash'arī, that is, al-Jubbā'ī and his son, Abū Hāshim.

Regarding Abu'l-Hudhail's position, al-Shahrastānī reported that he was following the philosophers' conception of the knowledge of God. He stated:

"Abu'l-Hudhail al-'Allāf followed the philosophers in holding that God knows by knowledge which is Himself (nafsuhu)."22

Regarding al-Nazzām's position, al-Ash'arī mentioned that:

"He denies knowledge, power, life, hearing, seeing, and [other] essential attributes [of God] and says that God is continuously knowing, living powerful, hearing and eternal in virtue of himself (bi-nafsihi), but not in virtue of knowledge, power, life, hearing, seeing, and eternity, and so is his view with regard to [other] essential attributes."23

22. Ibid., p. 69

23. Al-Ash'arī, *Maqālāt al-Islāmiyyīn*, Vol. 2., p. 486, quoted from Harry A. Wolfson, "Philosophical implications of the Problem of Divine Attributes", *JOURNAL OF AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY*, Vol. 79, No. 2, (1959), pp. 73 - 80 (p. 76)

Referring to Abu'l-Hudhail's position, it is obvious that he is in favour of maintaining the simplicity as well as the absoluteness of God. God's qualities must be regarded as either negations or logical references or relations. Because of His absolute simplicity, nothing positive could be said about God since then there would be added subject and predicate quality and being to Him. However God is not to be regarded as composite.

According to the report of al-Shahrastānī quoted before, it is obvious that Abu'l-Hudhail was influenced by the philosophers in his conception of divine attributes. If we investigate in detail al-Nazzām's position, then we can conclude that his position is also influenced by the philosophers. This claim is substantiated by H. A. Wolfson who established that both al-Nazzām and Abu'l-Hudhail were influenced by Aristotle.²⁴

The phrase which indicates the relationship between the Mu'tazilites' (al-Nazzām and Abu'l-Hudhail) position and Aristotle's is 'which is Himself', which both al-Nazzām and Abu'l-Hudhail used although they differed in their positions — Abu'l-Hudhail saying that 'God knows by Himself' (in virtue of Himself), whereas al-Nazzām denied

24. Ibid., pp. 77 - 78.

it, saying that God knows not in virtue of knowledge.

Thus H. A. Wolfson pointed out that:

"The Arabic expression 'li-nafsihi' or 'bi-nafsihi', which we have translated 'in virtue of Himself' is a direct translation of the Greek 'καθ'αυτὸν', which means 'according to himself', 'by himself' or 'in virtue of himself',"25

To make clear Aristotle's position on this subject, H. A.

Wolfson summarised Aristotle's meaning of the phrase quoted above in three alternatives:

"(1) that which is the definition of the subject, thus signifying its essence, or (2) that which is its genus and differentiae, or (3) that which is its property."26

Although Abu'l-Hudhail and al-Nazzām differ in this matter, they still used the characteristic phrase, 'in virtue of'. In this regard, H. A. Wolfson stated that:

"Accordingly, when both al-Nazzām and Abu'l-Hudhail describe divine attributes as terms predicated of God 'in virtue of himself', they mean thereby that each of these terms signifies a property of God."27

25. Ibid., p. 77.

26. Ibid., p. 77. See also, Aristotle, The Works of Aristotle, Vol. VIII., Metaphysicā, Translated into English under the editorship of J. A. Smith and W. D. Ross. (Oxford, the Clarendon Press, 1908). Book V, Chapter 18, 1022a.

27. Ibid., p. 77.

However, with regard to the question of any predicate of God, for example the predicate 'knowing', signifying a property of God, they have different interpretations.

If we are to assume that both of these scholars were influenced by the Metaphysica of Aristotle, we have to examine the translation movement in the history of Islamic thought. Ishāq b. Hunain (died 911 A.D), a famous Muslim translator of Greek works, is said to have translated into Arabic the following texts:

"The 'Categories', the 'Hermeneutica', 'De Generatione et Corruptione', the 'Ethica' in Porphyry's Commentary, parts of the 'Metaphysica', Plato's 'Sophist', parts of 'Timaeus', and finally the spurious 'De Plantis'."28

The Metaphysica of Aristotle had not been translated during the debates between al-Nazzām and Abu'l-Hudhail which took place before 850 A.D. The translation would have been made between the middle of the ninth century and the early part of the tenth century. However, al-Ash'arī stated that Abu'l-Hudhail was influenced by Aristotle.

"This view of his is taken by Abu'l-Hudhail from Aristotle, For in one of his books, Aristotle says that the Creator in His entirety is knowledge, in His entirety is power, in His entire-

28. M. Fakhry, History of Islamic Philosophy, p. 26.

"ty is hearing, in His entirety is seeing."²⁹

Though the translation of the Metaphysica had not yet been done in the time of these two scholars, it is quite reasonable to say that they were familiar with the concept due to the popularity of Aristotelian teaching throughout the new Islamic states, especially Persia (Iran).

This is a good example of the way in which the Mu'tazilites, in rationalizing their conception of God, especially the unity of God, employed Greek philosophy, which is also regarded as an external element in Islamic thought. This was the main target of the orthodox theologians seeking to attack and abolish it. Al-Ash'arī strongly opposed such elements and he is regarded as a hammer of the Mu'tazilites.

With regard to the problem of the attributes of God in general, al-Ash'arī is reported to have produced or reproduced the principle of 'Mukhālafa', that is, 'God's difference from all created being'. The principle of 'Mukhālafa' is derived from the concept of 'tanzīh', the concept of excluding God from all human likeness, in contrast

29. Al-Ash'arī, Maqālāt al-Islāmiyyīn, Vol. 2, p. 485, quoted from H.A. Wolfson's article. p. 78.

to the concept of 'tashbīh' (comparison) and 'ta'tīl' (divesting).

These two extreme positions of 'tashbīh' (comparison) as held by the Anthropomorphists and 'ta'tīl' (divesting) as held by the Mu'tazilites were the main targets of al-Ash'arī in his interpretation of the divine attributes. The principle of 'Mukhālafa' is used to trace a middle path between these two extremes. Al-Ash'arī admitted the existence of the divine attributes with the qualification of 'tanzīh'. Thus, he admitted the existence of the knowledge of God, but this knowledge cannot be compared to human knowledge neither can God's other attributes be compared to those of men.

With the qualification of 'Mukhālafa' he maintained that the attributes of God, especially the knowledge of God, are unique and fundamentally different from those of creatures. This is of course, to avoid the confusion raised by the Mu'tazilites and the Anthropomorphists, both of whom are regarded as heretical by the orthodox section of the Muslims.

In relation to the Qur'ānic teaching regarding the problem of the divine attributes, he stated that with

the qualification of the principle of 'Mukhālafa' no attributes should be ascribed to God unless they are specifically expressed in al-Qur'ān. In this, he is in agreement with the majority of the Muslim theologians and philosophers.

As against the position of the Mu'tazilites, al-Ash'arī held that the knowledge of God is not identical with His essence and as against the Anthropomorphists he maintained that the knowledge of God is not distinct from Him. These two quotations below will serve to show his doctrine clearly.

"the essential divine attributes of knowledge, power, and life are eternal and subsist in God's essence."³⁰

"God has attributes which inhere eternally in Him and are in addition to His essence."³¹

As far as these two quotations are concerned, al-Ash'arī has clearly departed from the Mu'tazilites conception of the knowledge of God as well as from Anthropomorphists. This is a very difficult balance to be preserved. The

30. Al-Shahrastānī, Kitāb al-Milal Wa'l-Nihāl, Vol. 1., p. 67, quoted from M. Fakhry, *op cit.*, p. 231.

30. Al-Ash'arī, Maqālāt al-Islāmiyyīn, Vol. 1., p. 291. quoted from M. Abdul Hye, 'Ash'arism', in A History of Muslim Philosophy, Vol. 1., edited by M.M. Sharif, p. 227.

following paragraphs are his philosophical arguments in favour of his doctrine.

(i) The Knowledge Of God Is Not Identical
With His Essence.

If the knowledge of God is identical with His essence, it would be followed by the conclusion that 'God's knowledge is God'. Then if this is true, one could address his petitions to God's knowledge rather than to God Himself, which is unthinkable. We found this argument in his reply to the argument of Abu'l-Hudhail. He said:

"Since you say that God's knowledge is God, say, 'O knowledge of God, forgive me and have mercy on me': And then he will decline to do this and will be involved in contradictions."³²

From this argument, al-Ash'arī proceeds to maintain that God has knowledge by which He knows rather than knowledge which is Himself. He set up a number of arguments by firstly clarifying that the works of God are the works of Wisdom; then he proves that God is knowing by knowledge.

In the section discussing the orthodox position

32. Al-Ash'arī, Al-Ibāna 'An Usūl al-Diyāna, p. 95.

of maintaining that everything in the universe is attributed to God's creative power, al-Shahrastānī proves that the works of God are of wisdom. He says that this world and universe are well ordered and arranged, manifesting that there is a perfect and a wise architect who designed it. It is impossible to assume that this well ordered universe is the work of man, since man's knowledge is of generalities not details. Moreover man's knowledge is not in line with what man does. Therefore, there will be one other than man who is wise and perfect, who is able to arrange these phenomena. And finally, al-Shahrastānī states that this is a position held by al-Ash'arī. He says:

"Such was al-Ash'arī's system as expounded in his books, and applied to the actions of the ignorant."³³

Having these as the proofs that the work of God is the work of wisdom, then al-Ash'arī used this phrase at the very beginning of his argument in maintaining that God is knowing, not ignorant. He argued:

"Besides, if works of wisdom could be produced by one who is not knowing, we could not know but that perhaps all the determinations, dispositions and works which proceed from living beings proceed from them while they are unknowing. The im-

33. Al-Shahrastānī, Kitāb Nihāyatu'l-Iqdām Fī 'Ilmi'l-Kalam, p. 30.

possibility of that proves that well-made works can be produced only by one who is knowing."34

On the basis of this argument, he goes on to prove the real question at issue. It has been proved before that works of wisdom prove that God is knowing. This means that God has knowledge. The reason is that:

"If the works did not prove the knowledge of the man from whom they proceed, then they would not prove that the man from whom they proceed is knowing."35

From this statement, al-Ash'arī argued that: (a) If the proposition that works of wisdom prove that God is knowing but do not prove that God has knowledge, is valid, then it entails the further proposition, (b) that works of wisdom prove our knowledge but do not prove that we are knowing. In other words, if proposition (a) is valid, it is possible also to accept proposition (b). But, it is unthinkable to imagine proposition (b) that is, man has knowledge, but does not know and likewise man is knowing but has no knowledge. Therefore, both propositions (a) and (b) are invalid. And it is reasonable to hold that God has knowledge, since He is knowing. He has know-

34. Al-Ash'arī, Kitāb al-Luma', p. 13.

35. Ibid., p. 15.

ledge, in the sense that He is not only knowing but knowing by knowledge.

The Mu'tazilites are reported to have claimed that the works of wisdom do not prove the knowledge of the man who is knowing. The reason they put forward is derived from their understanding of the meaning of 'his being knowing'. According to al-Ash'arī, they said:

"the knowing man may be known to be knowing by one who does not know that he has knowledge."³⁶

From this understanding, they concluded that the meaning of 'his being knowing' is not that he has knowledge.

Al-Ash'arī replied to this question in two ways. First, if the understanding of 'his being knowing' as held by the Mu'tazilites is true, it would entail another proposition that 'works of wisdom prove that one has knowledge of them, but do not prove that he is knowing'. This has been proved before to be false. Second, al-Ash'arī disagreed with the meaning of 'his being knowing' given by Mu'tazilites. He produced his understanding of the phrase as follows:

"I hold that one's being knowing means that he has

36. Ibid., p. 16.

knowledge. Thus one who does not know that Zaid has knowledge does not know that Zaid is knowing."³⁷

Consequently, if we do not know God has knowledge, we do not know that He is knowing. So also, if we know God has knowledge, we know that He is knowing; it is impossible to maintain that we know God has knowledge, but do not know He is knowing. And it is impossible to hold that we do not know that God has knowledge, but know that He is knowing. Since this is impossible, it is to be believed that God is knowing by knowledge rather than God is knowing by His essence.

What al-Ash'arī is trying to prove in his previous argument is that the knowledge of God is not identical with His essence. However, al-Ash'arī does not finish his argument here, but he goes on to prove that the knowledge of God is not distinct from Him. He set up several arguments to support this claim, which is perhaps his argument in reply to the Anthropomorphist conception of attributes.

(ii) Knowledge Of God Is Not Distinct From Him.

Just as he denied the claim that the knowledge

37. Ibid., p. 16.

of God is identical with His essence, al-Ash'arī is also reported to have denied that the knowledge of God is distinct from Him. In other words, according to al-Ash'arī, God's knowledge is not distinct from Him, whether it is said to be as a quality apart from God's essence or as an attribute distinct from God. In his second set of arguments on the doctrine of knowledge of God and other divine attributes, he is trying to prove that these attributes are not to be regarded as distinct from God Himself.

R. J. McCarthy explained the use of the word 'distinct' here as: "Distinct from everything, i.e. a separate entity in himself."³⁸ Al-Ash'arī himself defined the word 'otherness' in his own understanding as: "that one of two things can be somehow separate from the other."³⁹ Despite these two definitions of the terms involved, we have already learned that God is eternal, His knowledge is eternal and it is easier to suppose that these two eternities are not separate from one another. In other words, the definitions of 'distinct' and 'otherness' as understood by al-Ash'arī are used to maintain and clarify the whole argument of this section, that is the knowledge of God

38. Ibid., note 16, p. 16.

39. Ibid., pp. 16 - 17.

which is eternal is not distinct from God Himself who is eternal.

In this section of the argument, al-Ash'arī used the same method as was used in the first section; thus he argued:

"If one could claim that the work of wisdom proves that the knower is knowing and his knowledge is known subsequently, another could claim that the work of wisdom proves that the knowledge is known and it is known to belong to a knower subsequently."⁴⁰

These propositions are invalid and since the assertions are the same, therefore the proof that the knower is knowing is also to be regarded as a proof of knowledge.

After citing several passages of the Qur'ānic verses in favour of his doctrine, al-Ash'arī concluded his doctrine by producing two propositions: (a) God is knowing by Himself. (b) God is knowing by a knowledge which cannot be Himself. If (a) is the case, it would entail that He Himself would be knowledge. It has been proved to be false. If (b) is the case, then it also would entail another proposition, that is, He is knowing by a quality distinct from Him. If this is true, then we should

40. Ibid., p. 17.

have to say that quality is knowledge. Moreover, he said:

"But knowledge cannot be knowing, nor can the knower be knowledge, nor can God be identified with His attributes. Do you not see that the way in which one knows that knowledge is knowledge is that by it the knower knows?. For the power of man, by which he does not know, cannot be knowledge. Hence, since the Creator cannot be knowledge, He cannot be knowing by Himself. And if that be impossible, it is certain that He is knowing by a knowledge which cannot be Himself."⁴¹

Finally, he stated that if God is knowing by Himself or by a quality which can be Himself is possible, it would mean that 'knowing' does not refer to God Himself or not to a quality. This certainly would be impossible because there would be no affirmation either of God or of quality which cannot be Himself.

This has been an account of al-Ash'ari's treatment of the central problem of the divine attributes, especially the problem of the knowledge of God. He rejected Jahm's solution by saying that to hold that knowledge of God is created is unreasonable. Al-Ash'ari proves that it is eternal, and since it is eternal, it is reasonable to hold that God knows the past, the present and the future. He opposed the Mu'tazilites' solutions claiming that God is knowing by His essence. He claimed that God is knowing by knowledge. The

41. Ibid., p. 19.

knowledge of God is not to be thought of apart from His essence, as held by Anthropomorphists. These two elements, firstly, knowledge is not God, and secondly, knowledge is not other than God are described as an effort of al-Ash'-arī to go and form his doctrine between the two extremists, the rationalist Mu'tazilites and the Anthropomorphists as well as the compulsionist positions.

With regard to the main issue of this study, that is the solution of Free Will and Predestination according to al-Ash'-arī, it is quite clear that all human actions are foreknown by God before they exist. If this is so, is the responsibility of man for what he has done consistent with the foreknowledge of God?. Is it thinkable that man receives punishments in the life hereafter for his wrongdoings, since these wrongdoings were foreknown by God before they existed or even before a man was born?. We shall find the solution to this question examining al-Ash'-arī's solution to the main problem of this study.

CHAPTER THREE

THE CREATEDNESS OF HUMAN
ACTION.

Al-Ash'arī, after arguing that God knows everything past, present and future and arguing that God knows by a knowledge, proceeds to prove that everything created in the universe is created by means of God's capability, including the actions of man, whether they are compulsory or voluntary. From these positions rise a number of questions and suppositions. Since God creates everything in the universe, especially all categories of human actions, whether they are good or evil, can it be claimed that God is an evildoer?. If God creates everything, what is man's share of responsibility for his actions if we say that He knows these actions before they occur and both wills and creates them?.

Al-Ash'arī primarily is concerned to prove that God alone is the Creator of the universe. Though God is the Creator of all in the universe, He is not an evildoer: man has his responsibility for what he has done. To make quite clear al-Ash'arī's proposed solutions, we shall present them under different topics and areas of discussion. They are, 'the createdness of human actions', 'the problem of evil', 'the discussion of capacity' and finally 'the theory of acquisition'. These topics serve to show al-Ash'arī's approach to the most controversial issue in the history of Islamic theology and philosophy. With the problem of the knowledge of God as the background of al-Ash'arī's understanding of God, we learn that al-Ash'arī's solution is unique. However some difficulties remain and may be dealt with by clarifying the terms used.

1. The Mu'tazilite Doctrine of Human Actions.

Before we proceed to discuss the createdness of human actions as viewed by al-Ash'arī, it is worth investigating briefly the Mu'tazilite thesis which is described as the counter-part of al-Ash'arī. In general, the Mu'tazilites held that the voluntary actions of man are made by means of man's capability which is given to them by God. In particular, Abu'l-Hudhail b. al-'Allāf held that

man has a capacity to act freely in the world.

Through the concept of 'tawallud' (generation) which he followed, he proves that certain actions are acts of man himself. He said:

"Man can cause in himself movement, rest, will and knowledge, but cannot cause accidents like colour and taste, the nature of which is not known. Secondary effects of his acts are his work, such as the pain caused by a blow or the noise produced by knocking two objects together."¹

Since he says that man can cause knowledge, but not accidents like taste, therefore, he is trying to divide human actions into two categories. Firstly, the actions of which man knows the modality, for example the flight of the arrow. Secondly, the actions of which man does not know the modality, for instance, pleasure and hunger. According to Abu'l-Hudhail, man is said to be the author of his actions of the first category whereas God is regarded as the author of the second one.

However these categories of Abu'l-Hudhail were opposed by Bishr b. al-Mu'tamir (died 825 A.D) the leading theologian of the Baghdādite Mu'tazilites. Bishr b. al-

1. A. S. Tritton, Muslim Theology, p. 87.

Mu'tamir said: "Whatever is 'generated' from our deeds is of our doing."² These two scholars, though they differ in the second category of actions of this concept, are in agreement on the problem of whether man is the author of his actions.

The motive of using this concept is quite obvious, since like other Mu'tazilites, they wish to maintain the justice of God by dissociating God from such actions of man so that man is to be regarded as the responsible agent of what he has done.

Another leading Mu'tazilite scholar, Mu'ammār b. 'Abbād al-Sulāmī (died 842 A.D) of the Basrite school of the Mu'tazilites, held that human actions needed no creator. He introduced the theory of 'ma'ānī' in order to justify his claim, and the following paragraphs are an elaboration of his view.

Mu'ammār made the distinction between what he called 'bodies' and 'accidents'. Regarding the existence of 'bodies' and 'accidents', he said that:

"the existence of bodies is to be ascribed to God, whereas the existence of accidents must be ascribed to the 'action' of bodies themselves."³

2. M. Fakhry, A History of Islamic Philosophy, p. 63.

3. Ibid., p. 65.

Then he goes on to make a distinction regarding the existence of the 'action'. This action, according to Mu'ammār, may proceed in either by of two ways: (a) by necessity from its nature — or (b) by free will or free choice. An example of the former is the burning of the fire and an example of the latter is human action as well as the action of animals.

As far as human actions are concerned, they are regarded as actions of free will or free choice. This free will is to be regarded as accident and its existence is regarded as the actions of the bodies themselves. Since human actions are in the category of accidents they are, surely, not the creation of God, for God is only the creator of (bodies), therefore human actions are not the creations of God.

The argument he put forward is as follows:

Colour is regarded as an accident of which a body may or may not be susceptible. If the body is susceptible of colour, then this colour belongs "to it by nature and is of its doing".⁴ And, on the other hand, if a body might not be susceptible to the colour, "God might decide to colour

4. Ibid., p. 65.

the body, and yet the body might not receive the colour of which it is not susceptible."⁵ Therefore, it is to be maintained that, according to this argument that:

"God cannot be said to cause the accidents, except indirectly, that is, through the agency of the body which causes its own accidents naturally."⁶

From this notion, it is evidently, that Mu'ammār put the body as the true cause of its accidents, which are infinite in number, rather than God. Therefore God is not the true cause of the accidents of bodies. And perhaps, Mu'ammār is the object of the crucial criticism of this notion, because he is in the position of maintaining that body is more powerful than God. His opponents charge him with claiming that:

"[God] created a finite number of bodies and each body produced an infinity of accidents."⁷

Moreover, since human actions are the actions of bodies themselves, and bodies are the creation of God, does it not follow that human actions are the creations of God? Or is man regarded as body so that we can suppose that human actions are God's creation since bodies

5. Ibid., p. 65.

6. Ibid., pp 65 - 66.

7. A.S. Tritton, op cit., p. 101.

are God's creations?. According to Mu'ammār, this conclusion does not follow. His doctrine of man will serve to show how Mu'ammār answers this question.

His doctrine regarding the nature of man is described as a critical solution, because he maintained that man is a spirit. This position rests on a distinction he makes between 'bodies' and 'substances'. He said that bodies are to be regarded as motionless, and possess length, width and depth. On the other hand, substances are souls (nufūs). Man is not body, for body in its true sense is regarded as an instrument or tool or cover. And man has no accident like colour, etc. Perhaps soul represents the highest being and transcends bodies and accidents. From this statement, it is obvious that according to Mu'ammār, man is soul. This position shows that Mu'ammār is trying to establish 'man is a spirit'.

To this extent, regarding the act of man (man in his definition), he is reported to have held that:

"Man acts in the inward world of the will (fī nafsihi). Thus he is capable of knowledge, will, hate, and representation, but is incapable of accomplishing anything at all in the outward world. Whatever is generated in the world of nature, therefore, and whatever inheres in bodies, such as motion and rest, colour, and taste, heat or cold, etc., is the work

of the body in which it inheres, through a necessity of nature."⁸

In his first argument, Mu'ammār proved that God is not the creator of human actions, since human actions are categorized as accidents and accidents are not the creations of God. Therefore, God is not the creator of human actions.

In his second argument, he is in a position to maintain that man is regarded as an intellectual substance (soul). Man is not 'body' but 'in a body' and body is regarded as a thing to be inhabited. Man is not accident, and it follows that man is not the creator of human actions, for body is to be described as the natural cause of its accidents. It is evidently on the basis of these arguments then Mu'ammār proposed his philosophical proof that neither God, nor man (in his definition) is the creator of human actions. Therefore, his proposition that human actions needed no creator follows, because they exist through the agency of the body which causes its own accidents naturally.

8. M. Fakhry, op cit., p. 66.

It is reported that his aim in establishing the proposition that human actions need no creator, was to dissociate God from the creation of evil, to establish the justice of God.

This extraordinary solution of the problem of human actions was unsatisfactory to the great majority of Muslim scholars, especially the orthodox. Other Mu'tazilite scholars differ from him regarding the theory of 'bodies' and 'accidents'. The Mu'tazilites, in general, maintain that God is the creator of both 'bodies' and 'accidents', whereas Mu'ammār as has been mentioned before held that God is the creator of bodies, but not accidents. Though the Mu'tazilites differed from him in this matter, they agreed that man was the author of his own actions.

With regards to his theological-philosophical development, it was reported that Mu'ammār was, like other leading Mu'tazilite scholars, influenced by external and non-Islamic elements, especially in his doctrine of 'ma'ānī'. However, substantiation of the claim that he was influenced by such philosophers requires a clear explanation of the translation movement, especially of Greek works. In the previous chapter, we stated that most of the Greek

works were not yet translated before the middle of the ninth century A.D., while Mu'ammār died in the 809 A.D. However, Anwar G. Chejne, without further evidence, stated that:

"Thus, an answer must be found to the statement of Ibn al-Murtadā who asserts that Mu'ammār has been exposed to gnosticism and Zoroastrianism, and to al-Shahrastānī who reports that he was under the influence of the philosophers."⁹

Moreover, he stated that, Mu'ammār's seniors such as Dirār b. 'Amr (died 815 A.D.), Jahm b. Ṣafwān (died 745 A.D.) and Wāṣil b. 'Aṭā' (died 748 A.D.) were not free from the influence of the Greek philosophy, and furthermore, it is evident that they influenced him in many aspects of his theological and philosophical doctrines.

As far as the idea of the doctrine of 'ma'ānī' is concerned, it is related to Indian philosophy.

"Professor Das Gupta writes that in the Nyaya system: the capacity of anything cannot be known until the effect produced is known, and if capacity to produce effects be regarded as existence or being, then the being or existence of the effect cannot be known until that has produced another effect and that another ad infinitum."¹⁰

9. Anwar G. Chejne, "Mu'ammār Ibn 'Abbād al-Sulamī; a leading Mu'tazilites of the Eighth-Ninth Century.", MUSLIM WORLD., Vol 51 (1961), p. 313.

10. A. S. Tritton, op cit., p. 100.

As has been mentioned before, according to the doctrine of 'ma'ānī' body produces an infinity of accidents. Likewise, in the Nyaya System, the existence of the effect cannot be known until it produces another effect, which leads to endlessness. Therefore, it is reasonable to suppose that the doctrine of 'ma'ānī' is related to the Nyaya System in Indian philosophy.

If this is true, it is a good illustration of al-Shahrastānī's claim that Mu'ammār was influenced by philosophers. And this is considered as the external element in Islamic thought, the influence of which al-Ash'arī spent so much of his life working to abolish.

In reply to the Mu'tazilite doctrine of human actions, al-Ash'arī puts forward his philosophical arguments in favour of his position that human actions are created by God. His theory rests on one main issue. The Mu'tazilites, in general, hold that human actions are of two kinds: compulsory and voluntary. An example of the former is 'shivering from fever' and an example of the latter is 'moving, approaching'. The Mu'tazilites maintained that compulsory actions are to be attributed to God, whereas voluntary action must be attributed to man himself. As opposed to this position, al-Ash'arī says

that all human actions whether they are compulsory or voluntary are God's creations. Based on this, he argues that God alone is true and efficient creator of all in the universe including human actions, compulsory and voluntary. Moreover, he states that the creation of compulsory and voluntary actions are not to be regarded as different. In other words, compulsory and voluntary actions are alike creations. The following paragraphs will serve to clarify al-Ash'arī's doctrine.

2. Al-Ash'arī's Doctrine of Human Actions.

(i) God is the True And Efficient Creator of All Actions.

In his attempt to deal with the problem of human actions, al-Ash'arī is concerned to oppose the views presented by the Mu'tazilites. He holds that the existence of every action in the universe is created by God's capability, including the compulsory and voluntary actions of man. On this point, al-Ash'arī argued that although God is the sole creator of all categories of human actions, it does not entail the attribution of evil to God and does not contradict the concept of human responsibility. In contrast to the Mu'tazilite positions, he maintains that man's power of action is the same as every other accident of man's being: it is the creation of God.

As has been mentioned before, Mu‘ammar argued that human actions needed no creator at all, for God is the creator of 'body', but not 'accident!'. Since human actions are described as accidents, and accidents are not the creation of God, therefore, God is not the creator of human actions. Moreover, man is also not to be called the author of his actions because accidents are caused by body through its nature, and man is not a 'body'. Therefore, man is not to be regarded as the author of his actions. From this theory, Mu‘ammar made 'body' the true cause of its accidents (human actions) by its nature. Based on this proposition, we will investigate al-Ash‘arī's reply to the position of Mu‘ammar.

In one of his propositions to prove that 'God is not the creator of human action', Mu‘ammar argued that 'God might decide to colour the body, and yet the body might not receive the colour of which it is not susceptible',¹¹ It is relevant to refer here to al-Ash‘arī's proof of 'god wills everything which can be willed, in the sense that those things which can be and 'de facto' are willed',¹² Mu‘ammar said: 'God might decide to colour the body'. The problem arises, does God's will decide to colour the

11. Supra, this chapter, pp. 56 - 57.

12. Al-Ash‘arī, Kitāb al-Luma‘, p. 33.

body?. In this regard, al-Ash'arī argued God wills everything which can be willed. To support this claim he said:

"There cannot be in God's dominion anything which He does not will. For if there were in God's dominion something not willed by Him, one of two things would have to follow: either the affirmation of unmindfulness and neglect, or the affirmation of weakness, impotence, feebleness, and failure to attain His desire. Since such things cannot be said of God, there cannot be in His dominion anything which He does not will."¹³

The reason for this claim is that: if what God wills takes place, it cannot be overtaken by weakness or failure. On the other hand, if what God wills does not take place, it would entail that He must be overtaken by weakness and failure. Similarly, with respect to Mu'ammār's propositions: if God wills to colour the body (which, according to Mu'ammār, God might decide), and this does not take place (for, according to Mu'ammār, the body might not receive the colour of which it is not susceptible), then it would entail that God must be overtaken by weakness and failure. From this argument, it is certain, according to al-Ash'arī that Mu'ammār's theory results in the attribution of weakness and failure to God. This is impossible to say of God.

13. Ibid., p. 34.

To be more precise with regard to the action derived from body (in Mu'ammār's theory), al-Ash'arī argued that:

"Similarly, then, if the taking place of an act of His which the Creator does not will would necessitate His weakness and failure to attain His desire or His unmindfulness and neglect, the same would be necessitated by the taking place of another's act unwilled by Him."¹⁴

According to al-Ash'arī, all temporally produced things are the creations of God and all things which proceed from others are acts of God. Therefore, in contrast to Mu'ammār's position that human actions exist by the nature of body, they are believed to be the creation of God.

However, al-Ash'arī is reported to have believed in the course of nature, as reported by al-Shahrastānī:

"he did allow a certain facility and ability (tamak-kun) which a man feels himself to possess, namely soundness of body and a belief in the course of nature."¹⁵

Though al-Ash'arī agreed on the question of the course of nature, he does not in his doctrine maintain that nature can give existence of any kind.

14. Ibid., p. 35.

15. Al-Shahrastānī, Kitāb Nihāyatu'l-Iqdām Fī 'Ilmi'l-Kalam, p. 38.

"We have proved that God creates men's actions.....
and he creates by choice and will, not by nature
and essence."16

Regarding the question of 'body' and its nature, al-Shah-
rastānī again mentioned that:

"Body is composed of matter and form, so that if
it exerted influence it would be in conjunction
with matter; and matter has a privative nature,
so that it is impossible that it should bring
anything into existence."17

These two statements of al-Shahrastānī are not reporting
the position of al-Ash'arī, rather he is reporting his
own position and the other al-Ash'arītes'. However, since
he is also an al-Ash'arīte, it is reasonable to suppose
that these statements derive from al-Ash'arī's doctrine.

As far as human actions are concerned, according
to al-Ash'arī, their existence is nothing to do with body
and its nature, for God is all-powerful and God alone is
the creator of all in the universe. Mu'ammār's theory
that human actions need no creator would entail ascribing
commitment of weakness and failure to God.

16. Ibid., p. 88.

17. Ibid., p. 26.

Furthermore, al-Ash'arī argued that the true and efficient Creator of all in the universe is God alone, and no other agent would be able to bring into existence any action in all its dimensions. He maintained that the total content of the being of any action is the product of an agent who determines it in its totality with knowing intention. We have discussed the knowledge of God in the previous chapter, whereby, al-Ash'arī held that God is knowing by a knowledge and He knows everything in detail not in general. To prove the proposition that 'the createdness of human action is by God', he argued that God alone knows the total content of the being of any action. From this proposition, he draws the conclusion that God alone is the true and efficient Creator of every action which exists in the universe.

By using the example of 'faith' and 'unbelief', he elaborates his argument and affirms that the true and efficient cause which determines the being is the cause in its total reality. He said:

"The rational proof of the creation of men's act is our experience that unbelief is bad, false, vain, inconsistent and of a certain contrariness, whereas faith is good, toilsome, and painful. And it is our experience that even though the unbeliever deliberately exert to make unbelief good and right, it will be contrary to his intention; and even though the believer wish that

faith be not toilsome, painful, and vexatious, it will not be according to his wish and desire."¹⁸

From this argument, it is evident that an act comes into existence by a producer who determines and knows the total content of its being, that is knows, the act of faith of the believer to be good, but the act of unbelief of the unbeliever to be bad and vain. If this act comes into existence without a producer who knows and produces it as it really is, then surely, it would exist without a producer. This would fall into the theory of Mu'ammār who holds that human actions need no creator or producer. This has been proved by al-Ash'arī to be false and impossible. So it is certain that an act comes into existence as it really is by a producer who intentionally produces it as such. Moreover, he argues:

"For if an act could come to be as it really is without someone who intends that, one could not be sure but that all acts are like that, just as, if an act could come to be without an agent, one could not be sure but that all acts are like that."¹⁹

Here, al-Ash'arī holds that if an act comes into existence

18. Al-Ash'arī, Kitāb al-Luma', p. 55.

19. Ibid., p. 55.

as it really is, without someone who intends it as it really is, then it would be possible that an act of the same content of being could exist not the same as the other though they are in the same content of being. Therefore, it is possible to suppose that an act comes into existence as it really is by a producer who determines it as it really is and by someone who intentionally produces it as it really is.

The producer of the act of faith and unbelief would not need to be believer and unbeliever, for both of them can deliberately exert themselves to make unbelief good and right and make faith not painful and toilsome. This intention shows that they are not the producers of faith or unbelief as they really are. It is certain that God alone is the producer of faith and unbelief as they really are.

Up to this point, al-Ash'arī proves that all works or acts need a producer who creates them knowing their real nature and content. Besides, if acts can be produced by a producer who does not know their real nature and content, it would mean that they could be produced without a producer, and since this is impossible, the former case is also impossible. We all know of

examples where a man does not know the real nature and content of what he is about to produce; therefore, it is possible for there to be a producer other than man himself. It is neither man who produces unbelief and faith, in their total content of essential reality, nor, on the other hand can material reality such as body cause any human actions, for, as has been stated before 'body' can affect nothing in things distinct from itself.

The central essence of these arguments is to make neither man nor body the producer of any act, but God alone as the true and efficient producer or creator of actions. This means that there is no agent who is able to produce it as it really is except God, and no one with power over it to produce it as it really is, in the sense that he creates it, except God.

Since al-Ash'arī sees God as the true and only creator of human actions of all kinds, the question arises, what is the difference between al-Ash'arī and the Jabarites or the compulsionists?. Al-Shahrastānī's account of the Jabarites as has been stated in the previous chapter mentioned that the pure Jabarite gave no power at all to man to perform his action; every action came from God. Al-Shahrastānī goes on to report that:

"As for those who assert that originated power has an influence in acting and who call this 'acquisition' (kasb), they are not Jabarīs, although the Mu'tazilīs apply the term 'Jabari' to one who does not assert that originated power in isolation (istiqlālān) has an influence in production and origination."²⁰

From this report it is clear that the Mu'tazilites claim that those who do not assert that originated power has its influence to create, will be regarded as Jabarites. This certainly is an accusation directed against al-Ash'arī by the Mu'tazilites. For al-Ash'arī believed that God is the creator of all actions in the universe. But al-Shahrastānī makes it clear that the upholder of the theory of acquisition is not to be called the Jabarite.

The Mu'tazilites maintained the capability of human action to establish the justice of God. On the other hand, the Jabarites or the Compulsionists maintained the uniqueness and absoluteness and omnipotence of God. It is likely that al-Ash'arī in his first step towards his solution of the createdness of human actions followed the position of the Jabarite in maintaining that God alone was the true creator of these actions. But, as far as al-Ash'arī is concerned, he is not to be associated with the

20. W. Montgomery Watt, Free Will and Predestination in Early Islam, p. 96.

Jabarite's doctrine. Following the orthodox position, he maintained that the justice of God in its true sense lay apart from both the 'Jabr' (compulsion) and the 'Qadar' (the theory in which man is capable of performing his own action, this is the Mu'tazilite position in general).

To prove his orthodox position, al-Ash'arī held that God was not the immediate agent who performed the act. He argued:

"Acts must have an agent who makes them as they really are, because an act cannot dispense with an agent. So if the agent who makes the act as it really is be not the body, God must be the agent who makes it as it really is. But the act does not need an acquirer who acquires it as it really is in the same way that it must have an agent who makes it as it really is, so that, if the act be an acquisition, God must be its acquirer."²¹

It is here he introduced the term acquisition' which we shall develop later. He maintained that although God is the true and efficient creator of every act as it really is, it does not follow that God is the one who actually performs the act or is what he called 'the ac-

21. Al-Ash'arī, Kitāb al-Luna', p. 57.

quirer' of the act. This problem lies in the distinction between the term 'creator' and 'acquirer'. He said that the action needs the creator who makes it as it really is, but it does not need the acquirer who makes it as it really is. In other words, the creator creates an action as it really is but the acquirer does not. These two terms, by definition, are described as not co-extensive. From this, it is obvious that al-Ash'arī is saying that: the action takes place through a created power of the one who actually performs the act, but this created power is not sufficient to determine the act in its total reality and content.

Despite his claim that compulsory actions and voluntary actions are alike in creation, which we shall discuss in the next section, he claimed that the proof of God's creation of compulsory actions is also the proof of God's creation of voluntary actions but not the acquisition of the voluntary actions. He said that the proof of the createdness of compulsory actions as they are proves that the one who moves thereby because of the compulsory actions is not God. And the one who moves because of compulsory action is not the agent who makes it as it really is. The reason for his claim lies in the definition of 'the one moving'. He said the term 'the one moving' is to be defined as the motion which

find its locus in him. But God cannot be said to act that way. He used an analogy to clarify this:

"Similarly, if the acquisition is itself proof of an agent who makes it as it really is, it does not necessarily prove that the agent who makes it as it really is ~~is~~ also the one who acquires it; nor does it prove that the one who acquires it as it really is is also the agent who makes it as it really is. For the acquirer acquires a thing because it takes place in virtue of his created power over it. But the Lord of the world cannot be one able to do a thing in virtue of a created power, and therefore cannot acquire the acquisition, although He is the agent who really makes it."²²

From this clarification, it is clear that God cannot be regarded as the acquirer of human actions, because by definition the actions or event exist through a created power and on the other hand, God's power is uncreated, absolute and transcendent.

To make it quite clear, the example given before should be applied, that is, the act of unbelief of the unbeliever. It has been proved that the unbeliever does not produce the act of unbelief in its total content of reality. From this, it follows that saying that the unbeliever acquired the act of unbelief means that he disbelieved through a created power. The act of disbelief does not come into existence in its reality by the acquisition of the unbeliever. Therefore, by using this example, the act of

22. Ibid., pp. 57 - 58.

unbelief of the unbeliever comes into existence through the acquisition of the unbeliever and the total content of its reality and essential nature of unbelief is determined by God.

(ii) Compulsory and Voluntary Actions are Alike in Creation.

The doctrine of human action of the Mu'tazilites is based on the distinction they made between the compulsory actions and voluntary actions. They claimed that compulsory actions are the creations of God, whereas voluntary actions of man are attributed to man himself. Al-Ash'arī agreed with them in the distinction between compulsory and voluntary actions of man, but disagreed with their use of the two categories. He maintained that there is no reason to make compulsory actions and voluntary actions different in creation. He argued, if the Mu'tazilites claimed that compulsory actions were God's creation due to their temporality, the case would be the same for voluntary actions which are also temporal. And if the Mu'tazilites claim that compulsory actions are the creation of God because they need time and space, voluntary actions are also the same needing time and space. He argued:

"Another rational proof of the creation of men's acts is that the proof which proves that God creates necessary [compulsory] motion also proves that He creates acquired [voluntary] motion. For that which proves that God creates necessary motion is the latter's beginning, to be —and the same is true of acquired motion. The creation of necessary motion is also proved by its need of a place and a time —and the same is true of acquired motion. Hence, since every proof by which one infers that necessary motion is created by God compels one to judge that acquired motion is also created by God, the creation of acquired motion is necessary for the same reasons that necessitate the creation of necessary motion."²³

For this reason, it is false for the Mu'tazilites, according to al-Ash'arī, to believe that voluntary actions are not the creation of God. Both compulsory and voluntary actions are the creation of God, for every proof of the createdness of compulsory actions is also the proof of the createdness of voluntary actions.

Regarding the above argument, an objection arises; if compulsory actions are regarded as necessary, then voluntary actions are also regarded as necessary. And if voluntary actions are regarded as acquisition, then compulsory actions must be regarded as acquisition. This objection derived from the essence of al-Ash'arī's claim

23. Ibid., pp. 58 - 59.

that compulsory and voluntary actions are alike in creation. In answer to this objection, he says that this does not follow from such a proposition because, by definition, these two categories of actions are different.

"There is no necessity of that, because the two differ with respect to necessity and acquisition. For necessity means that to which the thing is constrained and compelled and forced, and from which it can find no way to get free or to escape, even though it strive to be freed from it and want to escape from it and exhaust its endeavors to do so. So if one of the two motions be of this description, i.e. the description of necessity, as in the case of one shaking from palsy or shivering from fever, it is necessary motion; and if the other motion be of a contrary description, it is not necessary motion."²⁴

From this argument, it is stated that shaking from palsy or shivering from fever are regarded as compulsory actions and the act is characterised by the absolute incapacity of the man, and he is not free from such act. On the other hand, the act of going and coming and the like are regarded as voluntary actions and they are freely determined by the agent and the fact that they take place from the one who performs them through a created power.

The conclusion which can be drawn from this chapter is that according to al-Ash'arī, God is the creator of

24. Ibid., p. 59.

the universe, including the actions of man voluntary and compulsory. This does not mean that al-Ash'arī can be associated with the determinists or compulsionists (Jabarites), for he maintained that man is responsible for what he does through the theory of acquisition. This then is the central core of the problem of Free Will and Predestination or man's potentiality to perform his own actions, as it was debated in earlier centuries of Islam. However, the theory of acquisition here has not been dealt with fully, for in connection with the createdness of human action, there arises another problem that is, the problem of evil and God's justice. The question is that since God creates everything, even all human actions of good and evil, this means that God creates evil. Since God creates evil, can He be regarded as the evildoer or is He Himself evil?. Furthermore, if it is true that God creates evil, then is it just or unjust for God to punish the evildoer in the life hereafter?. These questions will be treated in the next chapter on 'the problem of evil'.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE PROBLEM OF EVIL.

The central issue here is the question whether God is Justice or Injustice since He creates everything in the world, including evil. In the previous chapter al-Ash'arī argued that God was the real creator of the universe including the acts of man, compulsory and voluntary and of good and evil. On the other hand, the Mu'tazilites in general maintained that God created only the compulsory, not the voluntary. In this regard, they held that God created only the good but not the evil.

1. The Mu'tazilite Interpretation of the
Creation of Evil.

The Mu'tazilites in general, from the very beginning, tried to maintain the justice of God and the absoluteness of God. To associate God with the creation of evil is against the claim of the Justice of God. If God creates evil, it follows that God is evil. And if God is evil, He must be unjust to His creatures. So, the main point of the Mu'tazilites is to avoid 'attributing evil to God'. This does not mean, according to the majority of them, that God has no power over evil. Only al-Nazzām held that God has no power over evil, which distinguishes him from other Mu'tazilite scholars.

Before we elaborate the Mu'tazilite position in general, it is worth noting some scholars among them who have different interpretations of this problem. To begin with, it is interesting to consider the interpretations of Abu'l-Hudhail, who is said to have the following position:

"That God has power to do evil, but that He did not actually do it because of His wisdom and compassion. Alternatively he argued that evil proceeds from deficiency, that there is no deficiency in God, and that therefore it is im-

possible to suppose His doing evil."¹

Abu'l-Hudhail's reasons for avoiding 'attributing evil to God' are twofold, Firstly, the nature of the acts of God or God Himself, and secondly, the nature of evil. Since it has been agreed that God is wise and His works are works of wisdom, it is impossible to suppose God doing evil which is regarded as contrary to the work of wisdom. Moreover, it is impossible to suppose that God has power to do evil due to the nature of evil itself, that is, 'evil proceeds only from deficiency'. From these two reasons, Abu'l-Hudhail concluded that it is impossible to maintain that God, though He has power over evil, creates it.

Al-Nazzām, however, has a different interpretation of the problem of evil. He said that God neither has power over evil, nor creates evil. His position is based on two considerations, firstly, the nature of evil itself, and secondly, his idea of God. On the former he said that evil is the essence of a thing, therefore the power to create it is itself to be regarded as evil. From this argument,

1. W. M. Watt, Free Will and Predestination In Early Islam, p. 72.

it is obvious that he is trying to avoid the following statement, that 'if God creates evil, God Himself is evil'.

As for the latter, he argued:

"If God has power over evil, then the occurrence of evil is possible, and as the supposition of the occurrence of a possible thing entails no impossibility, let us suppose that evil did occur. Now, God might or might not have knowledge of the evil which occurred. If we say that He did not have the knowledge of it, it would necessarily follow that He was ignorant; and if we say that He did have it, it would necessarily follow that He was in need of this evil; for had He not been in need of it, He would not have created it. When a person is not in need of a thing and knows its inherent evils, he will have nothing to do with it, if he is wise."2

This argument comes mainly from the theory of the works of God. Since it has been proved that the works of God are the works of wisdom, therefore, it is unreasonable to suppose that God is in need of creating evil. Moreover, it has been proved that God knows; then to suppose that God is ignorant of the occurrence of evil (so that we can suppose that He is not in need of evil) is also unreasonable. The conclusion which can be drawn from al-Nazzām's argument is quite simple. Since God is not ignorant, the occurrence of evil is in His knowledge, therefore, He is in need of evil. But on the other hand, since

2. Mir Valiuddin, "Mu'tazilism", in A History of Muslim Philosophy, Vol. 1., edited by M.M. Sharif (Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz, 1963), pp. 199 - 219 (p. 209).

God's works are regarded as works of wisdom, surely, He is not in need of evil. God is wise and so He has nothing to do with the creation of evil.

Another Mu'tazilite scholar who had a different interpretation of this issue was 'Abbād b. Sulaimān (died 864 A.D). He argued:

"All that God does is right. There cannot be anything profitable for man which He does not do; if there were, He would be unjust. He does not create unbelief but gives the unbeliever power not to believe. He does not create anything which we call evil or bad, like hunger or sickness; even the pains of hell are not evil, either really or metaphorically."³

His doctrine of uncreatedness of evil is based on the distinction he made between 'power over evil' and 'power to do evil'. An example of this distinction would be a wife's conception of a child. W.M. Watt elaborates this example, stating that 'Abbād was influenced by Mu'ammār.

"Just as a man has power over his wife's conception of a child, although he himself does not have power to conceive a child, so (thought Mu'ammār) God may have power over movement (that is, can cause men to move) although He Himself does not have power to move, and likewise may have power over evil (sc. the evil-doing of men) but not power to do evil."⁴

3. A.S. Tritton, Muslim Theology, p. 117.

4. W. M. Watt, op cit., p. 82.

The main problems to deal with were the 'attributing evil to God' and 'the power of God'. From this doctrine, 'Abbād is on his way to avoiding 'attributing evil to God' and at the same time asserting 'God is all powerful'. In connection with the question of the unbeliever, he argued that since unbelief is evil, and God does not create evil, therefore unbelief is not the creation of God. From this argument, he draws the conclusion that God does not make a man to be an unbeliever, because unbelief is an addition to the man who is an unbeliever.

'Abbād's interpretation of evil was opposed by al-Jubbā'ī (died 915 A.D). He said that the distinction between 'power over evil' and 'power to do evil' is invalid. He maintained that from this distinction it would follow that God is weak though He has power, because He is not the agent of such actions. As to the example given by 'Abbād, al-Jubbā'ī is reported to have said:

"If God brought about conception in a woman, he said, then He was 'one causing conception' (muh-bil), although this was the word which would normally be applied to her husband."⁵

Regarding his interpretation of evil and the reward in the life of hereafter, al-Jubbā'ī is well-known for his failure

5. Ibid., pp. 83 - 84.

to give a satisfactory answer to his pupil, al-Ash'arī, on the theory of 'ṣalāḥ wa'l-Aslāḥ (that is 'God is bound to do the best for His creatures'). His failure to explain this theory is regarded as one of the causes of al-Ash'arī's separation from the school of the Mu'tazilites.

From these brief observations on the Mu'tazilite doctrine, it is obvious that, though they differ in interpretation, they are alike in their main aim, to maintain the justice of God and uniqueness of God. On the basis of this similarity, we shall in the following paragraphs gather their arguments in general to see the problem clearly.

The Mu'tazilites believed that God's Will is not related to everything, for the following reasons:

"God's volitions are in time say that God wills His particular acts in the sense that He purposes to create them according to His knowledge. His will precedes the act by a moment. He wills that the good acts of His servants should come to pass and that the evil should not."⁶

From this proposition, they argued: "If God's will is related to everything, He wills evil....If He wills evil, He is evil."⁷ From this argument, arise two fundamental

6. Al-Shahrastānī, Kitāb Nihāyatu'l-Iqdām Fī 'Ilmi'l-Kalām, p. 86.

7. Ibid., p. 87.

questions: if it is not God who creates evil, then, who is the creator of it?. And why does God not create evil?.

Their answer to the first question was given in the previous chapter, that voluntary actions are made by means of human capability given by God. Good and evil actions are described as voluntary. Therefore, they said that good and evil are made by man's capability given by God. It is false, according to them, to hold that evil is created by God.

Regarding the second question, the Mu'tazilites based their answer on the goodness of the creation of God. They held that God is only bound to do what is best for His creatures. They argued:

"A wise man only does a thing for a wise purpose; and action without purpose is useless folly. The wise acts for his own advantages or to profit some one else. Since God is exalted above profit obviously He must act for the profit of others, and all His acts must be Salutory [the best for His creatures]".⁸

In this connection, the Mu'tazilites fall into two different groups. The first hold the opinion expressed by the Baghdādites that, in providing the greatest possible

8. Ibid., p. 127.

powers of mind and body of man, God was bound to do the best for them; even the punishment in the life hereafter is the best for them because when man is released from Hell, he is fit for Heaven. The second opinion was that of the Basrites, who hold that creation was the result of grace and favour. Moreover God is bound to avoid weaknesses in men and do the best for them. Both of these sections are right, as far as their doctrine of 'ṣalāḥ wa 'l-Aṣḥāḥ' is concerned. Both sections believed that God is bound to do the best for His creatures. This position followed from another interpretation of the unbeliever or the disobedient.

"If God knew that a people would be disobedient to His commands through an apostle, His knowledge would restrain Him from willing their performance. If He knew that men would disbelieve and perish, their well-being would turn Him from His wish. It is as though one let down a rope to a drowning man, knowing that he would strangle himself with it."⁹

After this brief examination of Mu'tazilite interpretation of evil, we shall now present the reply from al-Ash'arī.

9. Ibid., p. 130.

2. Al-Ash'arī's Interpretation of Evil.

The Mu'tazilite position on the problem of evil was totally unacceptable to al-Ash'arī. The idea of maintaining the justice of God by attributing the creation of evil to an agent other than God, according to al-Ash'arī, would only raise another fundamental problem, that is, it would compromise the sovereignty of God. If God is not the creator of evil, then God would not be all powerful. Evil exists, and to deny this, would mean denying the reality of our history. Now, if the occurrence of such evil has nothing to do with God, then it would entail two alternatives: either (a) it exists by itself, or (b) it exists through an agent other than God. As to the former, al-Ash'arī has argued that every existing being does not exist by itself. This was discussed in the previous chapter concerning Mu'ammār's view that 'human actions need no creator' but exist by their nature through the 'body'. Though Mu'ammār emphasized human actions, the same point is also applied to evil because evil is regarded as an accident, and every accident must be ascribed to the action of bodies themselves.¹⁰ Since the first alternative has been proved to be false, we conclude that evil exists

10. Supra, Chapter 3, p. 55.

through another agent. If this agent is not God, then it would lead to a concept of dualism: which is contrary to the Islamic concept of God and creation. Al-Ash'arī develops his doctrine to maintain that God is a creator of evil, yet He is a just God. In other words, according to al-Ash'arī, to say that God is the creator of evil does not at all lead to the conclusion that God is not a just, all-powerful God. First of all al-Ash'arī argued that evil is the creation of God as of other existences. Then in his reply to the Mu'tazilite position he said that God's actions are without purpose. Again to avoid any confusion with the Mu'tazilites, he maintained that God creates evil to be the evil of another being distinct from Himself. After dealing with these problems, as treated by al-Ash'arī, we shall examine his solution to the problem of the justice of God, in which he claims that to say that God creates evil is not inconsistent with the concept of the justice of God.

(i) The Createdness of Evil by God.

It has been argued by al-Ash'arī that God creates everything in the universe, including the human actions compulsory and voluntary. This claim leads to another, that good and evil are believed to be the creation of God. On

the other hand, the Mu'tazilites maintained that God creates only good but not evil, because God does what is best for His creatures. Then the question arises, if God is not the creator of evil, who is the creator of it? If it is created other than by God's capability then it will follow that the agent (other than God) must be an effective power in the sense that he can create things contrary to God's creation. This is certainly a dualistic position.

Regarding the theory of effective power al-Ash'ari claimed that if God wills a thing, it is, and when He does not will it, it is not. We have discussed this in the previous chapter, in his reply to Mu'ammār's position.¹¹ However, in this section we shall elaborate it to see how it applies to the present discussion. He put forward two alternatives regarding the theory of effective power:

"Which is the worthier of the attribute of effective power; he of whom it is true that, when he wishes a thing to be, it most certainly is, and when he does not wish it, it is not; or he who wills it to be and it is not, and what he does not will, is?"¹²

11. Supra, Chapter 3, p. 64 - 65.

12. Al-Ash'ari, Al-Idāna 'An Usūl al-Diyāna, p. 101.

He then claimed that if the Mu'tazilites are in favour of the second alternative, then they support an untenable conclusion. And if they were in favour of the first alternative, then they would have admitted that Satan is worthier of effective power than God. From this argument al-Ash'arī is trying to oppose the Mu'tazilite position that evil was created by an agent other than God. This agent must be regarded as an effective power to will and create evil. This certainly follows from their position that Satan is more effective than God, since that he (Satan) wills, is, and what he does not will, is not. Moreover, this argument deals directly with the problem of the eternity of God's knowledge and His eternal Will. As has been discussed before, al-Ash'arī recognizes the eternity of God's knowledge. Then, from this, he argued that 'God eternally knows' will be true at a given time, and His will which is eternal will also be at that same time. Consequently, what He knows will not be eternally, nor what He eternally wills. Therefore, He wills what He knows in eternity.

The indirect consequence of this position is that, since God's Will is eternal, like His knowledge, there is no reason to maintain the creation of evil is without His will, for what He eternally knows will be and what He eter-

nally wills will be; and what He eternally knows will not be, will not be and what He eternally wills will not be, will not be. Therefore, from this argument, there is no reason to maintain that evil is not created by God, for He knows it to be and wills it to be, and if He knows it not to be, He wills it not to be. It has been agreed by the majority of the Muslim scholars that God is the only effective power in the universe, which leads to the following conclusion;

"When God wills a thing, it is, and when He does not will it, it is not because He is the worthier of the effective power."¹³

Then, it is certain that another agent is not regarded as an effective power. If he is effective, this would lead to dualism. Since another agent is not effective in power, therefore, to claim that evil is created by an agent other than God is meaningless and invalid.

The Mu'tazilite position in maintaining that God only creates good but not evil was reckoned to be similar to the dualistic concept of Zoroastrianism. In the teaching of Zoroastrianism, the world was regarded as the battleground of good and evil. The good was led by Ahura-Mazda

13. Ibid., p. 101.

and the evil was led by Angra Mainyu, also known later as Ahriman.¹⁴

Regarding al-Ash'arī's argument concerning the Mu'tazilite position, he claimed that, if they held that God created only the good, not the evil, they would fall into the dualistic concept of God and creation as was found in the teaching of Zoroastrianism. Since the Mu'tazilites would not accept the Zoroastrian position, the only alternative remaining to them, according to al-Ash'arī, was to maintain that God creates the good as well as the evil. This certainly will not fall into dualism but recognizes the power of God. However, just as surely, the Mu'tazilite conception of Creator and the creation is far different from that of Zoroastrianism. But al-Ash'arī maintained that the idea of separating the creation of good and evil is similar to the doctrine of Zoroastrianism. This claim was made by the later follower of al-Ash'arī, Ibn al-Murtadā, especially in his comment on Mu'ammār, "Mu'ammār had been exposed to gnosticism and Zoroastrianism."¹⁵

14. Ninian Smart, "Zoroastrianism," Encyclopaedia of Philosophy, Vol. 8 (London, Collier, Macmillan Ltd., 1967), p. 382.

15. Supra, Chapter 3, p. 61 note 9.

(ii) God's Actions Without Purpose.

It has been mentioned before that the Mu'tazilites introduced the theory of 'Ṣalāḥ wa'l-Aṣlah' (God creates the best for His creatures) to maintain the goodness and justice of God. From this theory they concluded that God is bound to do the best for His creatures. They also held that God does not create evil, for creating evil is surely contrary to the goodness of God. Al-Ash'ari's reply to this theory was reported by al-Shahrastānī.

Al-Shahrastānī used the term 'ordodox' to refer to a school including al-Ash'ari, opposed to the Mu'tazilite position. The argument is elaborated as follows: If God is bound to do what is best for His creatures due to the fact that God who is regarded as wise must do and act for a wise purpose and an action without a purpose is useless and meaningless as claimed by the Mu'tazilites, then it would follow that the creator is absolutely dependent. Firstly, this argument is a direct reply to the position of the Mu'tazilites in general, especially with regard to their theory of 'Ṣalāḥ wa'l-Aṣlah', by which they argued that "a wise man only does a thing for a wise purpose; and action without purpose is useless folly."¹⁶ Secondly, it deals with al-Nazzām's position in particular, who argued that "If we say that God did have [knowledge of the evil],

16. Al-Shahrastānī, Kitāb Nihāyatu'l-Iqdām Fī 'Ilmi'l-Kalam, p. 127.

it would necessarily follow that He was in need of this evil, for had He not been in need of it, He would not have created it."¹⁷ Regarding al-Nazzām's argument, though he does not say that God was in need of evil, he used the premise that if, for example something exists, God had need of it. The phrase 'had need' shows that God's works have purpose. The orthodox said that God's actions are without purpose, therefore, al-Nazzām's premise in his argument is invalid. Regarding the theory of 'Ṣalāh wa 'l-Aslāh' which involves the use of the phrase 'God's action is with purpose', the orthodox claim that the Mu'tazilites' theory is invalid, because to claim that God's action is with purpose would entail that God is dependent. If He is in need of something as the end product of His actions then He is indeed dependent and not self-sufficient. According to the orthodox God's actions embrace good and He does not destroy the world. However, this does not mean that He is in need of gain and advantage from His actions. Al-Shahrastānī concluded that:

"There is a difference between a good consequence following divine operation, and attributing good and utility to the disposition of those acts, just as there is a necessary difference between a perfection which necessitates a thing's exis-

17. Supra, This chapter, p. 83.

tence and one which merely evokes it. The former is an excellence like an inseparable attribute; the latter an excellence like a provocative cause."¹⁸

From the above argument, it is clear that according to al-Ash'arī and the orthodox, the Mu'tazilite argument does not hold, since the premise used by them is proved to be invalid. Since the premise is invalid, the conclusion is also invalid. Therefore the theory of 'Ṣalāḥ wa 'l-Aslah' is meaningless.

Apart from the main aim to establish the doctrine of the justice of God, the theory of 'Ṣalāḥ wa 'l-Aslah' is to maintain that God's actions are the actions of good will and for the welfare of man. The theory is related to the idea of 'Providence' in Christianity. In this connection, it is of interest to compare these two ideas briefly. Regarding the idea of 'Providence', John of Damascus had stated:

"The works of God are partly according to the goodwill of God and partly according to permission. Works of goodwill comprise all those which are undeniably good, while works of permission are concessions."¹⁹

18. Al-Shahrastānī, Kitāb Nihāyatu'l-Iqdām Fī 'Ilmi'l-Kalam, p. 127.

19. J. W. Sweetman, Islam and Christian Theology, Part 1., Vol. 2., (London, Lutterworth Press, 1947), p. 171.

With reference to these two theories, in Islam and Christianity, it is obvious that they are related in the sense they are similar in interpretation. To try to decide whether Christianity influenced Islam or Islam influenced Christianity in this matter, would lead to another detailed investigation. As far as the theory of 'Ṣalāh wa 'l-Aslah' is concerned, it was developed by Wāsil b. 'Atā' (died 784 A.D). He was the earliest scholar of the Mu'tazilite school and is reported to have adopted this theory from the creed of Mu'bad al-Juhānī (died 699 A.D) and Ghaylān al-Dimashqī (died before 743 A.D).²⁰ John of Damascus died in 750 and it is uncertain whether Muslim scholars were influenced by the Christians in this matter. However, the similarity of these two is quite obvious.

Regarding the origin of these two theories, Sweetman reported:

"Both Stoicism and Platonism emphasized the providential view of the world. The two great religions, quite apart from Greek philosophy which they came to use, strongly maintained the same belief. Neoplatonism was equally sure and its various exponents, while expressing themselves in various ways, saw the order of the whole cosmos as manifesting in different degrees the Di-

20. Mir Valiuddin, "Mu'tazilism", in A History of Muslim Philosophy, Vol. 1., edited by M.M. Sharif, p. 205

vine Intelligence. In the school of Alexandria, generally speaking, there was an optimistic view of the world."²¹

From this brief account of Greek philosophy concerning the 'providential view of the world', it is obvious that the theory of 'Salāh wa 'l-Aslah' and 'Providence' are closely related to Greek philosophy, and may have originated in Greek philosophy.

In this section we have dealt with al-Ash'arī's reply to the position of the Mu'tazilites in general and of al-Nazzām in particular. The Mu'tazilites, though they differ among themselves in interpreting the uncreatedness of evil by God, all agree that by dissociating God from creating evil, they establish the concept of Justice of God. However, al-Ash'arī accused the Mu'tazilites of borrowing from Greek philosophy and adopting it into their doctrine. As far as al-Ash'arī is concerned, he is trying to abolish any external influence in Islamic thought, and he says that the Mu'tazilites are not free from such an influence in their interpretation of evil.

21. J. W. Sweetman, op cit., p. 175.

(iii) God Creates Evil to be Evil of Another
Being Distinct From Himself.

On the basis of the two sections discussed above, at least two conclusions could be drawn. Firstly, the controversial question of maintaining the justice of God (according to the Mu'tazilites) and sovereignty of God (according to the Compulsionists) remains unsolved. Secondly, it is evident that all Muslim scholars who deal with this issue give more emphasis to the question of 'what God does' rather than 'what man does'.

Regarding the first conclusion, al-Ash'arī is closer to the Jabārites' position on upholding the sovereignty of God. They held that all actions are determined by God whether they are of good or evil. This must be regarded as 'attributing evil to God'. But al-Ash'arī, though he maintained the createdness of evil by God, argued that it did not follow that God is evil. Concerning the second conclusion, since God's action is the main object to be discussed rather than man's action, it involved the question of 'God's decree'. The word 'decree' is a translation of the Arabic word 'Qadā'. It might also be translated as 'decision'. According to al-Ash'arī, the term 'God's decree' is not co-extensive with the term 'evil' or 'unbelief'. In favour of this claim, he produced his philosophical arguments which lead to a middle path position between the two extreme

schools, that is the Mu'tazilites and the Compulsionists (including the Jabarites).

It has been argued before that God is the efficient creator of everything in the universe in the sense that He creates things as they really are, faith to be good, and unbelief to be bad and false. On the other hand, man, through experience, wants unbelief to be good and feels that faith is painful. Since God is the true producer of unbelief, He can never be the unbeliever, who desires that unbelief to be good, neither can He be the producer of faith that is painful. Al-Ash'arī then argued:

"So if the one who produces unbelief as it really is cannot be the unbeliever, and if the one who produces faith as it really is cannot be the believer, then the intentional producer of both must be God Most High, Lord of the Worlds."²²

The solution of the problem is therefore as follows: it has been shown that God is the producer (creator) of evil, as it really is. He cannot be the evildoer, who desires that evil be good (as contrary to its reality). Therefore, from this analogy, it follows that, according to al-Ash'arī, God creates evil to be evil for another,

22. Al-Ash'arī, Kitāb al-Luma', p. 56.

not for Himself. He confirmed this claim by a statement:

"But I maintain that evil is from God in the sense that He creates it as evil for another, not for Himself."²³

With respect to the position of Abu'l-Hudhail, who argued that evil proceeds only from deficiency, it is obvious that al-Ash'arī should agree with this statement, for al-Ash'arī said, evil is bad and vain. But the point on which they differ is derived from Abu'l-Hudhail's statement that 'there is no deficiency in God'. Al-Ash'arī should also agree with this statement, for he is in the position of maintaining the absoluteness of God. Their difference lies in their different understanding of the actions of God, especially with regard to evil. Al-Ash'arī argued that God creates evil to be the evil of another, not Himself and this certainly entails that evil proceeds from the evildoer (man), not God. Therefore it is true that evil is a deficiency, but the second premise, 'there is no deficiency in God' is invalid because evil proceeds from the evildoer, not God. Since, according to al-Ash'arī, God creates evil to be bad and vain, whereas the evildoer wants it to be good.

23. Ibid., p. 68.

(iv) The Justice of God

Al-Ash'arī argued in favour of the position that evil is created by God for another, not for Himself, and God could not be held to be an evildoer or evil itself. However, this position does not directly answer the question whether God is just or unjust. At first sight, al-Ash'arī's position could easily be taken as establishing God as unjust to His creatures. Thus, the question of the justice of God should be dealt with in another way. To analyse this issue, we have to define the terms involved. Since, as has been mentioned before, all Muslim scholars emphasise the question of 'what God does' rather than 'what man does', the term 'God's decree' must play a vital role in dealing with this problem. Besides that, the terms 'evil' and 'justice' should be clarified as to what al-Ash'arī meant by them.

Regarding the term 'God's decree', al-Ash'arī defined it in his reply to the question whether God decrees acts of disobedience. He answered, "Yes, in the sense that He has created them, and has written them down."²⁴ From this statement, it is obvious that al-

24. Ibid, p. 65.

Ash'arī defined the term as co-extensive with the term 'God's creation'. We have already discussed his position, maintaining that God creates all in the universe as it really is. And in this regard God is understood to have decreed all things in the universe including what is good and what is evil. Since evil is part of God's creation and is also to be regarded as part of what God has decreed, therefore, the term 'evil' is not co-extensive with the term 'God's decree'. It can be said that God's decree is co-extensive with God's creation. But since the existence of evil is only a part of God's total creation, it cannot therefore be said that evil is co-extensive with God's decree. From this clarification, it is unreasonable to claim that the existence of evil in the sense that God creates it, entails anything inconsistent with the term 'God's decree', for evil is not co-extensive with the term 'God's decree'.

Al-Ash'arī divided 'decree' into two kinds. Firstly, decree in the sense of command, announcement and information; this is right. Secondly, decree in the sense of creation; this includes right and wrong. By using the word 'unbelief' as an example of 'evil', he concluded:

"We are pleased that God has decreed unbelief as bad and determined it as false, but we are not pleased that the unbeliever is thereby unbelieving because God has forbidden us that."²⁵

It is obvious that, though al-Ash'arī believed in God's decree, it does not follow that he is content with the evil of the evildoer, for God does not command such acts.

As to the term 'justice', al-Shahrastānī stated the definition given by the orthodox including al-Ash'arī:

"Justice, in fact, consists in giving things their place, and this implies acting as Lord according to His own will and knowledge. The opposition is injustice and it is inconceivable that He should be wrong in His decision and unjust in His dealing."²⁶

The term 'evil' has been defined and discussed before and does not need to be dealt with again. Briefly, evil is simply bad and vain.

As far as al-Ash'arī is concerned, if we are to establish the 'justice of God' with respect to God's decree and the createdness of evil by Him, we are able

25. Ibid., p. 66.

26. A. J. Wensinck, op cit., p. 85.

to justify it through a correct use of these terms.

Al-Ash'arī has proved that God is the true and efficient creator, for He creates things as they really are and God's decree in the sense of creation, involves what is good and what is evil. But it has been stated that God's decree in the sense of command is regarded as right, therefore the term 'evil' is not co-extensive with the term 'God's decree'. Regarding the createdness of evil, God creates evil in the sense that He creates it to be vain and bad. This indicates that He is giving evil its place as bad and vain. Referring to the term 'justice', that is, 'giving things their place', therefore, what God does in the sense that He creates evil is not incompatible with the concept of justice. Therefore, there is no reason to say that God is unjust, though evil is believed to be a creation of God, for 'evil' is created by God as it really is, to be bad and vain.

On the other hand, if we are to establish the justice of God in connection with human responsibility and human action, it demands another interpretation, which will be taken up in the following chapters.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE DISCUSSION OF HUMAN CAPACITY.

In his 'Discussion of the Capacity', al-Ash'arī leads us to the conclusion that man has no causality at all, but what God wills and creates for him. This is significant for it is the problem with which we are concerned. The word 'capacity' is the translation of the Arabic word 'istitā'a', and it is sometimes translated as 'faculty'.¹ This chapter will elaborate al-Ash'arī's arguments and his reply to the Mu'tazilite positions on the problem concerned. This chapter will be mainly based on his discussion in his Kitāb al-Luma'.

1. Ibid., p. 128.

The way he introduced this problem is quite different from the way he introduced other chapters in his work. He does not explore the problem with the citing of the Qur'ānic verses as he does in other chapters, rather he cited them after he produced his philosophical arguments as if to confirm what had been argued philosophically. Besides the fact that his 'discussion of capacity', like other chapters, attempted to reply to the Mu'tazilite positions, it also offered an understanding and definition of the term 'capacity'. Using this as a basis, he proceeded to draw up his solutions.

1. The Mu'tazilite Theories of Human Capacity.

Beginning from their position that human actions are of man's own initiative, the Mu'tazilites went on to develop their theories on the problem of human capacity. These differ from those of the orthodox as well as al-Ash'arī. To deal with the Mu'tazilite positions, we will discuss the positions of Abu'l-Hudhail and al-Nazzām.

Regarding Abu'l-Hudhail's theory of human capacity, al-Ash'arī reported, "Man lives and is capable,

and life and capacity are both distinct from him."²

This position is common to the majority of the Mu'tazilite scholars except al-Nazzām. To explain the nature of 'capacity' he is reported to have said:

"Capacity is an accident, something more than bodily soundness and health; actions of the heart occur at the same time as capacity, those of the members in the second time."³

This position is derived from the concept of moment where he divided the occurrence of actions of man into two categories. First, the actions which are incomplete in the sense that they only occur in the human heart. Second, the actions which are complete in the sense that they occur in reality. The former are regarded as the actions which exist in the heart of man and the man has to make his decision whether to choose one action or the other. The latter are regarded as the performance of the actions decided upon in their real existence in the world through human capability.⁴ This concept of Abu'l-Hudhail is reported by al-Ash'arī as follows:

2. Al-Ash'arī, Maqālāt al-Islāmiyyīn Wa'khtilāf al-Muṣallīn, Vol. 1., p. 229.

3. A. S. Tritton, Muslim Theology, p. 87.

4. W. M. Watt, Free Will and Predestination In Early Islam, p. 70.

"Man is able to act in the first, and he acts in the first, and the act occurs in the second; for the first moment is the moment of 'yaf'alu' [will act or act] and the second moment is the moment of 'fa'ala' [acted]."⁵

To make this concept more clear it is important to note Abu'l-Hudhail's definition of 'moment'. He is reported to have said:

"The moment is the division (farq) between acts and it extends through the interval from act to act, and with every moment there originates an act."⁶

Abu'l-Hudhail's understanding of human capacity is closely related to his doctrine of the uncreatedness of human action by God. He had argued that the actions of which man knows their modality such as the flight of the arrow, are regarded as man's own actions.⁷ Relating this statement to the problem with which we are concerned here, it is clear that when a man has made a decision to perform a particular action in the first moment, he is supposed to have a knowledge of its modality. And moreover, Abu'l-Hudhail stated that capacity exists in that moment and is realised in the second moment.

-
5. Al-Ash'arī, Maqālāt al-Islāmīyīn Wa'khtilāf al-Muṣallīn, Vol. 1., p. 233, quoted from W.M. Watt, Free Will and Predestination In Early Islam, p. 70.
 6. Al-Ash'arī, Ibid., Vol. 2., p. 443, quoted from W. M. Watt, ibid., p. 70.
 7. Supra, Chapter 3, p. 54.

This means he holds that capacity precedes the act, the decision exists in the first moment and the act exists in the second moment, and these are regarded as man's own actions.

Al-Nazzām, on the other hand had a different position regarding whether human capacity is distinct from man or not. He said, according to al-Ash‘arī:

"Man lives and is capable by himself, not with the life and capacity distinct from himself."⁸

Regarding the question whether man acts in the first moment or the second moment, he is reported as holding a different view from Abu'l-Hudhail. According to al-Nazzām:

"Man is able in the first moment to act in the second moment. Before the existence of the second moment it is said that the act will be performed (yuf‘alu) in the second moment; when the second moment has existed, it is said that the act has been performed (fu‘ila). That of which 'will be performed in the second' is predicated before the existence of the second is the same as that of which 'has been performed in the second' is predicated when the second moment has come into being."⁹

8. Al-Ash‘arī, Maqālāt al-Islāmiyyīn Wa'khtilāf al-Musallīn, Vol. 1., p. 229.

9. Ibid., p. 234, quoted from W. M. Watt, Free Will and Predestination In Early Islam, p. 71.

When we compare the positions of Abu'l-Hudhail and of al-Nazzām regarding the acts of man in the theory of moment, the distinction between their views is quite obvious. Abu'l-Hudhail explained in his theory that the act had been started or existed in the first moment which, as mentioned before, was the moment of decision. Though in the moment of decision, it was in man's heart to choose the act, Abu'l-Hudhail said the act had also occurred in that moment, and the second moment, he regarded as the realization of that action. On the other hand, al-Nazzām appeared to have maintained that in the first moment the incomplete act or the act in the time of decision, can be regarded as an act, but it cannot be established as existing, unless the second moment comes.¹⁰

As the consequence of this position, another interesting question arises, whether 'capacity' can precede the act or not. To deal with this question the Mu'tazilites held different positions, but the majority of them said that capacity is before the act.¹¹ Moreover, since Abu'l-Hudhail said that the act had been

10. W. M. Watt, *Ibid.*, p. 71.

11. Al-Ash'arī, *Maqālāt al-Islāmīyīn Wa'khtilāf al-Musallīn*, Vol. 1., p. 230.

started in the first moment, he held that incapacity could occur in the second moment in the sense that the act occurred without the existence of power.¹² "A little speech may accompany dumbness, action (movement) may accompany death"¹³

Another fundamental problem to be dealt with in the discussion of capacity is whether power is over both it and its contrary. The Mu'tazilites in general, after asserting that the capacity is before the act, went on to say that power over a thing is also power over its contrary. Moreover they said: "When one of the contraries occurs it is necessary for man to be attributed with power over it and its contrary."¹⁴

For Abu'l-Hudhail, the power occurs in the moment of decision, which means that in that moment, man is regarded as a capable agent to decide to perform the act, as well as to act, though the act really exists in the second moment. This position is confirmed by his claim that incapacity may exist in the second moment

12. Ibid., Vol. 1., p. 230.

13. Ibid., Vol. 1., p. 232. quoted from W. M. Watt, Free Will and Predestination In Early Islam, p. 71.

14. Al-Ash'arī, Ibid., Vol. 1., p. 231.

in the sense that the existence of the act took place without the existence of the power of the agent. This solution is more easily understood when we refer to his understanding of the term 'moment'. W. M. Watt wrote:

"The point is, however, that Abu'l-Hudhail is not thinking so much of time as measured by a clock, but rather of time as experienced, in a somewhat Bergsonian sense."¹⁵

When man makes a decision in the first moment, according to Abu'l-Hudhail, he is regarded as an agent of a decided action. The term 'decision' is equivalent to the term 'choice' (ikhtiyār). Therefore, the concept of free choice of human action, according to Abu'l-Hudhail started in the first moment. From this it follows that the capacity of man exists in that moment, for man is supposed to have knowledge to decide and be able to decide and act. This makes Abu'l-Hudhail hold that man is a responsible agent though the act is not realized in the second moment. Therefore, non-occurrence of capacity or power, according to Abu'l-Hudhail, results in the non-occurrence of decision and also involves the non-existence of choice. In this sense, it is clear that the act does not exist and man is not its agent of such an act. For, "When a man is not choosing (mukh-

15. W. M. Watt, op cit., p. 70.

tār), he is not the agent of the action, to which he is compelled (mudtarr) and forced (mujbir)."16

Al-Nazzām maintained that capacity is man himself, since he made no distinction between man and his capacity. He then emphasized more the will of man as the only action of man:

"Man's only act is will and that as the result of suggestions which are necessary and both from God. The bad are not to mislead men but to make their choice real. The will is movement in man; what happens outside him is the work of God through nature. Those acts, which proceed immediately from will, follow it inevitably."17

Regarding the term 'suggestion', he connected it to his analysis of knowledge, and his definition of the term 'choice'. W. M. Watt explains:

"Al-Nazzām also appears to have been the first to make the point that for a proper choice the man must have before his mind two 'suggestions', one telling him to go forward, the other to desist."18

Al-Nazzām said that when a man is confronted with these two suggestions, he is to decide which one to choose. Al-Nazzām sees the will of man as the force in man to

16. M. Schwarz, "Acquisition (Kasb) in Early Kalām.", in Islamic Philosophy and The Classical Tradition., edited by S. M. Stern, (Oxford, Bruno Cassirer Publishers Ltd., 1972), pp. 355 - 387 (p. 370).

17. A. S. Tritton, op cit., p. 93.

18. W. M. Watt, op cit., p. 73.

act, for he said that 'will is a movement in man' and 'capacity is man himself'. From these statements, it is obvious that al-Nazzām's definition of choice and the man who chooses is: "him, who when he wills (shā'a) acts, and when he does not will, does not act."¹⁹ This position was not in agreement with the majority of the Mu tazilites, for he said that the suggestion to do and not to do occurs in the human mind.

Having looked at these arguments of the Mu'tazilites in brief, we shall discuss al-Ash'arī's reply to each in turn. There are many arguments of the Mu'tazilites which we have not discussed in the preceding paragraphs and in fact there are many Mu'tazilite scholars involved in this debate, but in this brief investigation it is impossible to analyse every respect of debate and every person involved. However, we have produced the most important points to which al-Ash'arī responded in his Kitāb al-Lumā' and elsewhere in his works.

Abu'l-Hudhail and al-Nazzām are representatives of the Mu'tazilite scholars who although belonging to

19. M. Schwarz, op cit., p. 370.

the same school, differed among themselves in interpretation of the problem which concerns us. However, although they differed they still agreed that man has power to act, and he is the responsible agent and the justice of God can be upheld.

2. Al-Ash'arī's Discussion of Human Capacity.

At the beginning of his discussion of human capacity, al-Ash'arī makes clear his definition of human capacity. The definition of the term is important for him in dealing with the critical issue which emerges from the subject. However, he does not define the term 'capacity' independently, but with regard to its relations to man. We have discussed al-Nazzām's position in which he said that capacity is the man himself. In contrast to this claim, al-Ash'arī argued that al-Nazzām's position is untenable. If al-Nazzām's position were correct, then it would follow that, 'capacity' is a reality and a necessity of a man. This, according to al-Ash'arī, is not possible because man is not capable all the time. Since man is sometimes incapable, therefore, capacity cannot be the reality of man. For this reason he claims that human capacity is distinct from man him-

self. His argument is as follows:

"He [man] is sometimes capable and sometimes impotent, just as he knows at one time and does not know at another, and now moves and again does not move. Therefore he must be capable in virtue of something distinct from him."²⁰

The existence of capacity in man indicates that man is capable. On the other hand, non-existence of capacity indicates that he is incapable. If capacity is man himself then to suppose that he is incapable is impossible (referring to al-Nazzām's position which is that capacity is the reality of man himself). But it is certain that man is sometimes incapable, therefore capacity is something apart from man.

However, if we refer to al-Nazzām's position as a whole, this argument of al-Ash'arī's answer is not adequate. We have already discussed al-Nazzām's claim that when man wills he acts, when he does not will, he does not act. The term 'impotent' is the point where al-Ash'arī differ from al-Nazzām. With respect to the terms 'impotent', 'will' and 'act', it is clear, according to al-Nazzām that they can be related as follows:

20. Al-Ash'arī, Kitāb al-Luma', p. 76.

the existence of will entails the existence of action, but capacity also exists in the time of suggestion. The non-existence of will entails the non-existence of action. The non-existence of will, according to al-Nazzām, is a result of choosing in the first moment of the action. And it is true that choosing not to will is done by a capacity in the mind of man in the first moment of the action. With regard to this problem, al-Ash‘arī in his argument of the distinction between man's capacity and man himself, does not directly answer the position of al-Nazzām, but his answer follows from his understanding of human capacity.

As far as al-Ash‘arī's position is concerned, human capacity is regarded as an accident of his being. This is due to the fact that man cannot be described as capable at every moment. This position is in agreement with the position of Abu'l-Hudhail who held that 'human capacity is an accident'. However al-Ash‘arī agreed with Abu'l-Hudhail only on this point, but in all interpretations in which Abu'l-Hudhail departed from this position, al-Ash‘arī adapted a different position.

Through the theory of moment, Abu'l-Hudhail held that capacity or power precedes the act. This conclusion was rejected by al-Ash'arī, who said, that capacity did not precede the act. He argued that this was so:

"...because the act must begin to exist either with the capacity at the very moment that the latter begins to be, or after it. If the former is the case, then it is true and certain that the capacity exists with the act and for the act. But if the existence of the act is posterior to that of the capacity — and there is a solid proof that capacity does not endure — then the act must begin to exist in virtue of an inexistent power."²¹

The majority of the Mu'tazilites, especially Abu'l-Hudhail and al-Nazzām, through the theory of moment, fall into the second category in the above argument. Abu'l-Hudhail claimed that the incapacity would exist in the second moment, as has been discussed before. Al-Ash'arī argued, if this is the claim then it would be possible for the man to act though he is impotent during the time when the act is realised. This is unthinkable.²² The Mu'tazilite position is also untenable for another reason. Al-Ash'arī argued that the capacity does not endure. According to al-Ash'arī the endurance of the capacity would be through either of

21. Ibid., p. 77.

22. Ibid., p. 77.

two alternatives: first, of itself or second of the existent quality of durability. He elaborated these two alternatives:

"Now if it were to endure of itself, it would have to be its own duration, and it could not exist save as enduring. But this would necessitate that it be enduring at the very moment that it begins to be. On the other hand, if it were to endure because of a duration subsisting in it — and duration is a quality — a quality would subsist in a quality, and an accident in an accident; and that is false."²³

It is here that al-Ash'arī holds human capacity cannot exist before the action exists, as held by the Mu'tazilites especially Abu'l-Hudhail in his theory of moment. Since the second alternative has been proved to be false, according to al-Ash'arī, it follows that the capacity exists in the moment the action is realised. Therefore, it is to be regarded as capacity with the act and for the act.

Another position of the Mu'tazilites to which al-Ash'arī replied is the question of whether a power or capacity over a thing is also a power or capacity over both it and its contrary. As has been mentioned before the majority of the Mu'tazilites maintained that

23. Ibid., pp. 77 - 78.

the power over a thing was the power over both it and its contrary. Al-Ash'arī disagreed with this, saying that a power over a thing is for that thing and certainly not for its contrary. If we refer to Abu'l-Hudhail's position, it is obvious that he maintained that the power is for both it and its contrary. This is derived from his conception of decisions of man in the first moment, since he said that man is capable to decide the action, and the action is regarded as existing in that moment, therefore, capacity is the power of both. Al-Ash'arī argued:

"It is a condition of created power that its existence include the existence of the object of the power. For if that were not so, and if it could exist for one unit of time without an object, then it could exist for two or more units of time without an object, since there is no difference between one unit of time and two or more units. And if that were so, it could exist perpetually, the creature possessing it being all the while an agent in no wise acting."²⁴

The limitation in the definition of 'capacity' as proposed by al-Ash'arī, suggests the answer to the problem concerned. This argument is concerned with the contrast between the nature of human power which is created and that of God which is eternal. Regarding the problem of

24. Ibid., p. 78.

God's power, al-Ash'arī said it is an attribute of God, transcendent in His Being and that His power has no temporal relationship with the objects of actions in the temporal world. Moreover, God's power is eternal in His actions.²⁵

On the basis of this position, al-Ash'arī concluded that the nature of human power which is created entails the existence of its object when it exists. If this proposition is rejected, then it would necessarily follow that human power is eternal. To say this would lead to a non-Islamic concept of being. It is not in the compass of Islamic thought to hold that things are non-material and have a transcendental dimension to their being. God alone is eternal.

Therefore al-Ash'arī concluded this argument by saying:

"it must be a condition of man's power that its existence included the existence of its object. Since that is so, it is impossible for a man to have power over both the being and its contrary. For if he had power over both, both would have exist; and that cannot be."²⁶

25. Ibid., p. 78.

26. Ibid., p. 78.

The non-Islamic element which we mentioned above is in connection with the statement that things are non-material and have a transcendental dimension to their being. This statement is closely related to Neoplatonism. Regarding the compilations of Greek works which were made available to Islam, it has been stated that:

"Those two Neo-Platonic compilations contain virtually all the germinal elements that went into Islamic Neo-Platonism: the utter transcendence of the First Principle or God; the procession or emanation of things from Him; the role of reason as the instrument of God in his creation, and the locus of the forms of things, as well as the source of the illumination of the human mind; the position of the soul at the periphery of the intelligible world and the link or 'horizon' between the intelligible and the sensible worlds; and finally the contempt in which matter was held, as the basest creation or emanation from the One and the lowest rung in the cosmic scale."²⁷

In this quotation M. Fakhry is not dealing directly with our subject of discussion — but with the situation of Islamic thought at a time before al-Ash'arī — but the list given is obviously relevant to our problem. However we have not precisely pointed out the evidence for this claim. What is certain in this regard, according

27. M. Fakhry, A History of Islamic Philosophy, p. 44.

to al-Ash'arī, is that if any one rejects the claim that human power or capacity is created, he will fall into non-Islamic thought. Therefore, in rejecting the Neo-Platonic concepts, he denies that the nature and being of the world as well as human power originate from eternity. And he also claims that human power and capacity regarded as material being exist and relate to temporal objects.

His claim that the power of a thing is for that thing and not for its contrary, needs a further elaboration. Al-Ash'arī adopted another approach to explain and prove that a power cannot affect two motions. He said, if one power could affect two motions, then it would entail two alternatives, which are equally impossible. The two alternatives are: (a) it would be a power over two motions which took place simultaneously or (b) it would take place continuously or consecutively. If (a) were the case, then these two motions would exist in one place and one time. This would be impossible because the distinct effects would exist in a single point, that is, it is impossible to presume that in a single point, occurs two distinct effects at one time. If (b) were the case then, both of these motions would not co-exist with one another, and it has been proved before that capacity does not endure. For these reasons,

it is clear that a single action cannot affect two motions.²⁸

On the basis of the previous arguments on his understanding of human capacity, al-Ash'arī goes on to argue that human capacity is closely related to the act which occurs from it and moreover he maintained that this capacity exists simultaneously with the act. He said:

"Another proof that the capacity is with the act and for the act is the fact that he for whom God does not create a capacity cannot acquire anything. Hence since he cannot acquire the act if there be no capacity it is certain that the acquisition exists only because the capacity exists. And this is equivalently an affirmation that the capacity exists with the act and for the acts."²⁹

In this additional proof, al-Ash'arī introduced the term 'acquisition' for the first time in this discussion. This argument is also used to complete his treatment of the problem which has been discussed philosophically in the preceding paragraphs.

In the previous arguments, al-Ash'arī discussed the problem of human capacity independently of its re-

28. Al-Ash'arī, Kitāb al-Luma', p. 79.

29. Ibid., p. 79.

lation to God's creation of man's capacity. This shows that human capacity, though created by God, can be discussed within its own being and reality. In the previous discussions, the only terms analysed were power and capacity, but in this additional argument, al-Ash'arī includes the term acquisition as well as God's power.

Beginning from his position that 'capacity exists with the act and for the act', he goes on to discuss the relationship of this capacity to the agent in which the act takes place. Firstly he takes up the bodily instrument of the agent:

"The nonexistence of limb entails the nonexistence of the power, and the nonexistence of the power entails the nonexistence of the acquisition. For if the limb does not exist, the power will not exist. But it is because of the nonexistence of the power that the acquisition is impossible — when the limb does not exist — and not because of the nonexistence of the limb. If the limb were nonexistent, and the power existed, the acquisition would take place."³⁰

In this argument, al-Ash'arī used 'limb' as an example of a bodily instrument of man. The non-existence of the action is not because of the non-existence of the bodily instrument, but because of the absence of power.

30. Ibid., p. 80.

of the act. For if the bodily instrument, in this case the 'limb' does not exist, resulting in the existence of acquisition, then it would entail the proposition that when the limb exists then it necessarily follows that acquisition exists. But, as has been discussed before, al-Ash'arī said that man is sometimes capable and sometimes incapable, and furthermore, though the limb of man exists man is still incapable. For this reason it is unthinkable to suppose that the existence of the limb entails the existence of acquisition. Therefore the absence of the bodily instrument of man is not regarded as a fundamental cause of the absence of acquisition.³¹

Secondly, al-Ash'arī took up the accident of the agent and its relation to capacity and acquisition. To begin with, al-Ash'arī discussed 'life' which according to most theologians is the most fundamental accident among others. They said this because when life does not exist then other accidents and attributes or qualities do not exist at all. Al-Ash'arī said that the non-existence of life entails the non-existence of the acquisition, and elaborated this claim as follows:

31. Ibid., p. 80.

"Yes, because when life does not exist the power does not exist; and it is because of the non-existence of the power that the acquisition is impossible, not because of the non-existence of life. Do you not see that life can exist along with impotence, so that a man does not acquired?"³²

Here, again, he comes to the same conclusion as in his discussion of the bodily instrument of the agent. The absence of life does not entail the absence of acquisition, but the absence of acquisition is due to the absence of power as he had claimed in regard to the bodily instrument. The reason he put forward follows from the premise that though the agent has life, it does not necessarily hold that he has power. This premise is also used by al-Ash'arī in rejecting Abu'l-Hudhail's position that 'capacity would exist in the second moment'. Al-Ash'arī said that then an act of a man could exist after several hundred years even though in these several hundred years the man could be impotent.

On the question of the knowledge and skill of the agent and their relation to 'power' and 'acquisition', al-Ash'arī used the same approach as in the case of those of the bodily instrument and life. He said that the absence of knowledge or skill does not necessarily entail

32. Ibid., p. 80

the absence of action or acquisition, but the absence of knowledge or skill entail the absence of power. The absence of power is the true cause of the absence of acquisition or action. By using the example of the knowledge of 'how to weave' and 'the power to weave', he argued:

"and since knowledge of how to do it may be accompanied by impotence, we know that the nonexistence of the weaving is due only to the nonexistence of the power to do it, and that, were God to make it a custom to create the power to do it along with the nonexistence of the knowledge of how to do it, the weaving would indubitably take place."³³

From these three arguments dealing with the relation of power and acquisition to the bodily instruments as well as accidents or qualities of the agent, it is clear that al-Ash⁶arī put a strong emphasis on the role of 'power' or 'capacity' in order to realise the action or the acquisition of man. The absence of acquisition is not immediately due to the absence of such bodily instruments or accidents or qualities, but due to the absence of power though the power itself occurs through them.

33. Ibid., p. 81.

Finally, al-Ash‘arī summarised his position on this problem by stating that the absence of 'allowing' (this would include God's creation of power) would entail the absence of the acquisition. Analogically, the existence of 'allowing' would entail the existence of acquisition. This is sometimes presented as a an objection to his position.³⁴ Furthermore, as if the answer to the question of existence of constitution entails the existence of the acquisition or action, he answered:

"That is just what we say, because the constitution supports only what subsists in it. And every objection they urge concerning this point is to be answered as we answered the objections regarding the limb and life, because the non-existence of the acquisition is not due to the nonexistence of such things."³⁵

Al-Ash‘arī's solution to the question of the bodily instrument of the agent and its relation to 'power' or 'capacity' and 'acquisition' is a direct reply to the position of Mu‘ammar. Mu‘ammar stated that "free will is to be described as accident and its existence is regarded as the action of the bodies themselves."³⁶ It is clear that when Mu‘ammar spoke of the occurrence of human actions, he argued that their occurrence was due to the action of the bodily instrument of the agent. He

34. Ibid., p. 81.

35. Ibid., p. 81.

36. Supra, Chapter 3, p. 56.

made the body the true cause of the occurrence of those actions. From these premises Mu'ammār concluded that human actions needed no creator at all. Although we did not discuss Mu'ammār's position of 'capacity' in particular in this chapter, we have already discussed his position on the question of human action in the previous chapter and this conclusion is a consequence of his position regarding human action.

When al-Ash'arī proposed his solution to the question of an agent's qualities, such as life and knowledge and their relation to capacity or power and acquisition, he was also dealing with al-Nazzām's position as well as that of Abu'l-Hudhail. First of all al-Nazzām stated that 'capacity is the man himself'. This position is close to Mu'ammār's. Moreover al-Nazzām argued that when a man wills he acts and when he does not will, he does not act. Moreover he held that will is a movement in man. From these statements, it is obvious that al-Nazzām emphasized the quality of will in the agent as the cause of the occurrence of the actions. In other words, the occurrence of the actions of the agent is due to the occurrence of will. Though al-Ash'arī in his three sets of arguments regarding this problem did not directly deal with the quality of will of the agent,

he did say that "the answer respecting the life is like that respecting the limb"³⁷ and he gave the same formula with respect to the quality of knowledge. Therefore it is reasonable to hold that this answer could also be applied to the quality of 'will' of the agent.

Up to this point al-Ash'arī maintained that, in opposition to the position of al-Nazzām, within the limit of the term 'capacity', capacity is distinct from the agent. His claim that capacity exists with the act and for the act is regarded as his direct answer to the position of the majority of the Mu'tazilites' saying that capacity perdures through the occurrence of the action in the second moment. And it is regarded as his answer to the position of Abu'l-Hudhail who said that capacity occurred immediately before the action in the first moment. And finally he argued that the occurrence of acquisition is due to the occurrence of capacity, not depending on the occurrence of the bodily instrument and qualities and accidents of the agent. And on the other hand, the absence of acquisition is due to the absence of capacity and not because of the absence of the bodily instrument of the agent and accidents and qualities

37. Al-Ash'arī, Kitāb al-Luma', p. 80.

of the agent. From all these points, al-Ash'arī claimed that capacity is created by God, as has been discussed before. Moreover, he said that the capacity is with the act and for the act and it is due to the fact that he for whom God does not create a capacity cannot acquire anything.

3. The Discussion of the Question of Incapacity.

After the discussion of capacity is confirmed by citing several passages of al-Qur'ān as proof texts in supporting his thesis on capacity, al-Ash'arī then introduced the question of incapacity (al-'Ajz). This problem was introduced by the question of God's obligations and its relation to the incapability of the agent. As in his discussion of capacity, al-Ash'arī begins by making several important distinctions regarding term.

In Abu'l-Hudhail's theory of moment, in which he claimed that the statement, 'man acts in the first moment, and the act occurs in the second moment', it can be seen that this would entail the proposition that this act is left unformed between the first and second

moment. This proposition is assumed by al-Ash'arī. To this proposition, al-Ash'arī added, if that is the case, then it would be possible for incapacity to exist in between these two moments and so the act would occur while the agent was incapable.

Based on the above hypothesis, al-Ash'arī then set out to tackle the problem of God's obligation and its relation to the agent who is incapable of fulfilling it. He agreed that God punishes the unbeliever because of his action of unbelief. According to al-Ash'arī, this does not mean that man is unable to fulfil the obligation of God which is imposed on him. The reason he put forward is as follows:

"If you mean by your words that he [man] is incapable of believing because of his impotence to do so — no. But if you mean that he is incapable of believing because he omits to do so and is preoccupied with the contrary of belief — yes."³⁸

From this argument, it is clear that al-Ash'arī agreed that God's obligation is imposed on a man who is unable to believe, in so far as he is an unbeliever, because such a man is impotent to believe. On the other hand, God does not impose an obligation on the unbeliever,

38. Al-Ash'arī, Kitāb al-Luma', p. 83.

in so far as he is an unbeliever, who fails to believe and includes in his understanding misconceptions of belief. For the former, al-Ash'arī is trying to maintain that he (the unbeliever) could in some other time be a believer, when his impotence in believing is gone. The latter which is more complicated is elaborated as follows, God does not impose an obligation on the unbeliever, who is incapable of fulfilling that obligation. Al-Ash'arī argued that in this case the inability of the unbeliever to fulfil an obligation is owing to the fact that the unbeliever is preoccupied with the contrary belief. He said:

"Inability to do a thing is had when both the thing and its contrary are beyond one's power. Hence it is impossible for one who is unable to do a thing to be unable simply because he omits to do it."³⁹

This shows that within the limit of his understanding of incapacity, the realisation of the unbelief of the unbeliever cannot be the agent of the contrary, that is, belief. Thus, on the basis of the explanation above, al-Ash'arī argues:

39. Ibid., p. 83.

"If the power to do a thing were also a power to do its contrary, by analogy with inability, then help to do a thing would have to be help also to do its contrary, by analogy with the fact that inability to do a thing is also inability to do its contrary."⁴⁰

Therefore from this argument, it is clear that the power to act is not the power of not acting. Then, in other words, the incapacity of belief in this case, is not in any sense, according to al-Ash'arī the incapability of disbelief. Since this is true, he argued:

"So if such a comparison be impossible, their allegation is vain and their objection collapses, and there is no necessity of comparing the power with the inability, since there is no reason which brings them together, and since power does not belong to the genus of inability."⁴¹

The important point from the above quotation is that al-Ash'arī is trying to hold the claim that incapacity is not the analogy of power.

After his explanation on incapacity as the basis of his understanding of the term, he goes on to discuss the relation between the bodily instrument of the agent and its relation to incapacity, as he did in the question of capacity discussed before. As if to answer the objec-

40. Ibid., p. 83.

41. Ibid., p. 84.

tion whether God can enjoin an obligation on a thing in the absence of a limb (bodily instrument) he replied:

"No, because a man is commanded only to accept or omit, and when the limb does not exist there can be neither acceptance nor omission."⁴²

Moreover, he argued, since the nonexistence of this bodily instrument which is needed to execute the act commanded would entail the impossibility of acceptance or omission of that command, then there is no command in this case, because, as in the previous case, incapable here simply means unable to do the thing or its contrary. Therefore, it is impossible for God to command a man who lacks of limb, and the absence of a limb entails the absence of power. This is also true in the case of commanding a man to pay Zakāt (a religious tax) who has no money.⁴³

To conclude his philosophical discussion of the problem of incapacity, al-Ash'arī attempts to deal with the problem of the act and its contrary which are both covered by incapacity. He said, due to the limitation of what cannot be done by a man who has no power at all,

42. Ibid., p. 84.

43. Ibid., p. 85.

it is impossible to suppose that the incapability to do a thing is distinct from the incapability to do every other thing. Furthermore, if death comes about, then there would be no actions at all. In this case if the incapability of doing a thing is distinct from incapability of doing every other thing, then it would be necessary to say that the nonexistence of acts would be due to the existence of all inabilities. Al-Ash'arī concluded:

"This would necessitate the presence in one atom of two inabilities and two deaths. But if this were possible, one of the two could be supplanted by life with the result that the same atom would be simultaneously living and dead — which is absurd."44

The above argument serves to show the impossibility of maintaining the position that the 'incapacity to do a thing is distinct from the inability to do every other thing'. Thus, in this argument, al-Ash'arī tries to elaborate his understanding of incapacity with regard to the act and its contrary, enlarging the 'incapacity' to include both the act as well as its contrary.

Following these discussions as well as the discussions of the previous chapters, we shall focus on

44. Ibid., p. 85.

al-Ash'arī's philosophical solution to the problem of Free Will and Predestination in the following chapter. To do this, we shall discuss it in the context of his theory of acquisition, the term which was discussed briefly in the previous chapter, especially in "The Createdness of Human Action" and "The Discussion of Capacity".

CHAPTER SIX

THE THEORY OF ACQUISITION.

In the previous chapters, we have already discussed the conceptions of the knowledge of God, human action and human capacity as viewed by al-Ash'arī. These conceptions have a very close relation to the theory of acquisition which we are to discuss in this chapter. As far as the theory of acquisition is concerned, it was discussed long before al-Ash'arī. The concept was introduced by earlier scholars of Islam. For the purpose of our present study, we shall discuss the positions of Dirār b. 'Amr (728 - 815 A.D) and al-Najjār (who, although his dates are uncertain, was a contemporary of Dirār b. 'Amr). The main aim of this chapter is to discuss al-Ash'arī's arguments and their rela-

tion to the problems discussed in the previous chapters.

1. The Theory of Acquisition According to

Dirār b. 'Amr and al-Najjār.

In the Mu'tazilite genealogy, Dirār is reputed to have been the founder of the Basrite School.¹ He was an influential scholar during his time because he was a lecturer at the University of Basrah, which was also called the 'Majlis' (Assembly).² Though he was a scholar of the Mu'tazilites, his doctrine of human actions was not in agreement with the majority of the Mu'tazilites, since he held that human actions are created by God. Al-Ash'arī reported:

"The ground of the separation of Dirār b. 'Amr from the Mu'tazila was his view that the acts of men are created, and that one act comes from two agents (fā'ilān), one of whom creates it, namely God, while the other acquires it (iktasaba), namely man; and that God is the agent of the acts of men in reality, and that men are the agents of them in reality."³

1. W. Montgomery Watt, Free Will and Predestination in Early Islam, p. 65.

2. Ibid., p. 62.

3. Al-Ash'arī, Maqālāt al-Islāmīyīn Wa'khtilāf al-Musallīn, Vol. 1. p. 281, quoted from W. Montgomery Watt, Ibid., pp. 104 - 105. See also al-Baghdādī, Kitāb al-Farq bain al-Firāq, edited by Muhammad Badr, (Cairo, 1910), p. 201.

From the above report, it is clear that Dirār maintained the omnipotence of God and at the same time that man was a responsible agent of his own acts. Since Dirār held that God and men are the agents of human actions in their reality, then it is important to discuss his ideas about God and man and their relation to the human actions. This will serve to show his overall theory of acquisition.

Dirār's idea of the Will of God involves two categories:

"(1) That which is the thing willed or, in other words, the will to create is the act of creation. This formula means that the divine will needs no instruments, but passes at once from plan to performance. The statement that God's being willing is His essence refers to this aspect of His will. (2) That which is command, or act, or the creation of man's acts. One act can be the work of two agents; man's acts are done by both God and man; God created them, man acquired them."⁴

This idea of God's will is used to maintain that there are two kinds or categories of actions. The first category is compulsory creation which does not involve human beings, since they are not in need of any instrument.

4. A. S. Tritton, Muslim Theology, p. 69.

Whereas, the second category is voluntary actions of man which is realised through God's activity of creation and man's activity of action. Moreover, both God and man are regarded as the real agents of the act.

Regarding Dirār's conception of man, Dirār said that man is body, and this body is composed of accidents. Starting from this claim he is reported by al-Ash'arī to have made the following statements:

"He holds that capacity is before the act and with the act and it is part of him who is capable."⁵

Furthermore, regarding Dirār's understanding of 'body' and 'capacity', al-Ash'arī reported that Dirār held that colour and the like are part of the 'body'. Al-Ash'arī goes on:

"He is reported to have said that capacity and life are also parts of the body."⁶

These are some of the views of Dirār regarding the creation of human action by God and acquisition by man. What is more significant in this connection is that Dirār saw man as an active agent and the true agent of

5. Al-Ash'arī, Maqālāt al-Islāmīyīn Wa'khtilāf al-Muṣallīn, Vol. 1., p. 281. See also al-Baghdādī op cit., p. 201.

6. Al-Ash'arī, Maqālāt al-Islāmīyīn Wa'khtilāf al-Muṣallīn, Vol. 1., p. 345.

his actions, quite apart from God. This follows from his statement that God creates the actions in reality and man acts in reality.

We turn now to al-Najjār who was a Murji'ite. Regarding his position on the problem of human actions, al-Ash'arī gives a detailed account, which is relevant for our purpose and can be divided into two sections: firstly, al-Najjār's idea about God and secondly, his idea about man. On the first he held that:

- (1) "There is nothing in the sphere of God's sovereignty except what He wills; He is ceaselessly willing that what He knows will be in its time, and willing that what He knows will not be will not be."⁷
- (2) "In respect of the assertion of the unity of God al-Najjār held the doctrine of the Mu'tazila, except with regard to His will and generosity; he opposed them in respect of Qadar; and he held the doctrine of postponement (irjā' — the distinguishing mark of the Murji'a)."⁸

On the second, that is, his idea about man and his capacity, he said:

- (1) "Man is body and spirit; he has a phenomenal power, that of acquisition, which is incompatible with creative power."⁹
- (2) "One power is not sufficient for the performance of

7. Ibid., p. 283, quoted from W. Montgomery Watt, p. 106.

8. Ibid., p. 285, quoted from W. Montgomery Watt, p. 107.

9. A. S. Tritton, op cit., p. 72.

two acts, but for each act a power is originated along with the origination of the act; the power does not endure; the existence or non-existence of the act depends on the existence or non-existence of the power."10

- (3) "Man does not act in another, but only performs acts in himself, such as movements, rest, volitions, cognitions, unbelief, faith; man does not make pain, nor perception, nor vision; he makes nothing at all by way of 'generation' (tawallud)."11.

Then, with regard to the relationship of God's creative power and that of man's acquisition, al-Najjār explained that human action is created by God and man only acquires it. This is his theory of acquisition. He said, according to al-Ash'arī:

- (1) "The acts of men are created by God; men are the doers of them."12
- (2) "The power (istitā'a) may not precede the act; the help ('awn) from God is originated in the time (hāl) of the act along with the act, and this is the power."13

On the question of believer and unbeliever and their relations to God's Will and obligations, al-Najjār held that:

-
10. Al-Ash'arī, Maqālāt al-Islāmīyīn Wa'khtilāf al-Musallīn, Vol. 1., p. 283, quoted from W. Montgomery Watt, Free Will and Predestination In Early Islam, pp. 106 - 107.
11. Ibid., p. 284, quoted from W. Montgomery Watt, p. 107.
12. Ibid., p. 283, quoted from W. Montgomery Watt, p. 106.
13. Ibid., p. 283, quoted from W. Montgomery Watt, p. 106.

- (1) "The power of faith is succour, right direction, grace, kindness, benefit, guidance (tawfīq, tas-dīd, fadl, ni'ma, ihsān, hudā): the power of unbelief is confusion; abandonment, affliction, evil (dalāl, khidhlān, balā', sharr)."¹⁴
- (2) "The believer is a believer, one following the true religion (muhtadin), whom God succours and guides; the unbeliever is abandoned, one whom God abandons and leads astray, on whose heart He makes an imprint (or 'sets a seal' — tāba'a), whom He does not guide nor regard; God creates his unbelief, and does not do what is good for him; if God regarded him and did what was good for him, he would be sound."¹⁵
- (3) "God has imposed duties on the unbelievers which they are not able to perform, not because of any inborn intence or accidental infirmity, but because they do not do them (li-tarki-him la-hu)."¹⁶

From these reports, we can conclude that Dirār and al-Najjār are in agreement in maintaining that human actions are created by God. This is in opposition to the position of the Mu'tazilites in general. Both wrote before the time of al-Ash'arī and were regarded as the upholders of the theory of acquisition. We have brought them into our discussion in this chapter in order to compare the solution of al-Ash'arī regarding the theory of acquisition. Though we have mentioned before that both

14. Ibid., p. 283, quoted from W. Montgomery Watt, p. 107

15. Ibid., pp. 283 - 284, quoted from W. Montgomery Watt, p. 107.

16. Ibid., p. 284, quoted from W. Montgomery Watt, p. 107.

Dirār and al-Najjār agreed in maintaining the createdness of human actions, they had of course different interpretations of the problem. The points at which they diverged are firstly, the question of the createdness of human action by God in reality and man performing that created action in reality; secondly, the question of the relationship of capacity and act; and thirdly, the interpretation of generated effects.¹⁷ We shall discuss these differences together with their relevance for the position of al-Ash‘arī later in this chapter.

Having the previous discussion as the background to the theory of acquisition as viewed by the early Muslim scholars and al-Ash‘arī's predecessors, we are now to elaborate al-Ash‘arī's interpretation of the subject. How is the theory of acquisition dealt with by al-Ash‘arī? How does the theory of acquisition as interpreted by al-Ash‘arī compare with its use by his predecessors? These questions are the main questions to be discussed in this chapter.

2. Al-Ash‘arī's discussions of the Theory of Acquisition.

As far as al-Ash‘arī is concerned, God has fore-

17. H.A. Wolfson, The Philosophy of the Kalām, (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1976), p. 67).

knowledge, in the sense that He knows the past, the present and the future. He also holds that human actions are created by God. Moreover he said that good and evil are the creations of God. Human power or capacity is also the creation of God. On the other hand, man is still regarded as a responsible agent for what he does. He also maintained that God is a just God though evil is created by Him. These positions seem to contradict one another. It is through his theory of acquisition, that al-Ash'arī tried to reconcile these contradictory positions and held that they are not inconsistent with the fact that God is a just God, and God is all-powerful.

The following questions are posed to explore his philosophical treatment of the subject. If we are to assert that God has foreknowledge in the sense that He knows everything in the past, present, and future and to assert that everything created in the universe is created by God's capability then what is man's share of responsibility for his actions?. In other words, how is man considered as a responsible agent of his actions since God knows these actions before they come into existence and He wills and creates them?. Is the concept of human responsibility therefore inconsistent

with the fact that God knows how a man will act before that action exists through man's acquisition?. Is the concept of human responsibility inconsistent with the fact that God creates everything?. On the other hand, is the justice of God inconsistent with the fact that God creates evil in the universe?. Is it inconsistent with the fact that God creates the power or capacity of man to perform actions?. Moreover, is the omnipotence of God inconsistent with the fact that man has the act through acquisition?. These problems are solved in the following way, in al-Ash'arī's philosophical arguments of the theory of acquisition.

As far as the works of al-Ash'arī are concerned,¹⁸ the term 'acquisition' was introduced in his discussion of the problems which are closely related to the question of God's power and God's will as well as of man's action and man's power or capacity. In his Kitāb al-Luma', the term is introduced in three separate discussions. Firstly, the term occurs in his 'Discussion of the Qur'ān and the Divine Will'. In his answer to the question regarding the speech of God, he argued:

18. Kitāb al-Luma' and Al-Ibāna 'An Uṣūl al-Diyāna.

"If God produces in another a necessary writing, that other is writing of necessity; and similarly, if the writing be an acquisition, that other is writing by acquisition. So if God were to produce His speech in another, that other would have to be speaking by the speech of God."¹⁹

This argument is related to the problem of the speech of God and we shall not discuss this argument because it has little interest in our discussion. Secondly, the term also occurs in his 'Discussion of the Qadar'. In this discussion, al-Ash'arī introduces the term acquisition by posing the problem in the form of a question, showing that the term is assumed already to be well known to the reader. The question is this: "Why do you claim that the acquisition of creatures is created by God."²⁰ To answer this question, al-Ash'arī cited several passages of al-Qur'ān in support of his position. Therefore it is more theological than philosophical, and outside of our share of interest. However, the term is further analysed later in this discussion as a synonym for human voluntary actions. From the question quoted above and the explanation in the later discussion, al-Ash'arī maintains that human acquired actions are created by God. Thirdly, the term appears in his 'Discussion

19. Al-Ash'arī, Kitāb al-Luma', p. 32.

20. Ibid., p. 53.

of the Capacity'. After he argued that capacity is distinct from man, that the capacity occurs for the act and with the act, he concluded with his additional argument that if God does not create capacity for man to perform his action, there will be no action performed by man. This argument is used to prove that capacity is with the act and for the act and also used to prove that human capacity or power to perform an action is created by God. He said:

"Hence, since he (man) cannot acquire the act if there be no capacity, it is certain that the acquisition exists only because the capacity exists."²¹

Here again, al-Ash'arī used the term acquisition in relation to human action of the voluntary kind. This argument is used to show the relationship between God's power and man's acquired action and capacity. Both man's acquired action and his capacity are regarded as the creation of God, in the sense that if God does not create the action, there will be no action, and if God does not create the capacity, there will be no capacity. And furthermore, according to this argument, the occurrence of acquisition depends on God's will to create both the action and the capacity. Therefore, the term here is introduced as a synonym of human voluntary action.

21. Ibid., p. 79.

The term also appears in his work Al-Ibāna 'An Usūl al-Diyāna. In this work the term is introduced in his 'Chapter containing the Kalām concerning God's Will'. He said:

"There cannot be, under the authority of God, any acquisition (iktisāb) on the part of human beings that God does not will, just as there cannot be any universally recognized act of God's own that He does not will."²²

Though in this argument, al-Ash'arī stated the term 'acquisition' in connection with the will of God, he still meant the term acquisition to refer to the action of man in the voluntary manner. From all these quotations, it is clear that the term 'acquisition' has been used to apply to the voluntary actions of man, as opposed to the actions which are regarded as compulsory.

Before we proceed any further to elaborate this theory, it is worthwhile and important to give a detailed account of al-Ash'arī's doctrine of human action and its relation to its agent. As far as human actions are concerned, according to al-Ash'arī, they can be divided into two categories. Firstly, there are actions in which man has no power to accept or to prevent them from occurring; this is regarded as compulsory action. The agent

22. Al-Ash'arī, Al-Ibāna 'An Usūl al-Diyāna, p. 103.

of this action is God, and man has nothing to do with it. The second category is voluntary action in which God is the true and efficient creator and they occur through human activity, thus they are regarded as man's by acquisition. Extending this we can say that God creates the acquired actions as they really are, then man acquires them. This point is described as the essence of the theory of acquisition.

His argument in favour of the distinction between the two categories of actions is as follows:

"the man who goes and comes, and approaches and recedes, is quite different from one who shudders from palsy or shivers from fever."²³

The former are regarded as acquired actions whereas the latter are regarded as compulsory actions. To define the compulsory actions, al-Ash'arī said:

"For necessity [compulsory] means that to which the thing is constrained and compelled and forced, and from which it can find no way to get free or to escape, even though it strive to be freed from it and want to escape from it and exhaust its endeavors to do so."²⁴

23. Al-Ash'arī, Kitāb al-Lumā', p. 59.

24. Ibid., p. 59.

This distinction, according to al-Ash'arī, would be acknowledged by everyone. Using the same method of argument, that is, the method based on the function of human knowledge, the Mu'tazilites arrived at a different argument; they asserted that:

"a man feels intuitively that a thing happens or does not happen according to his will. He can move or not move. Unless he had the power to produce what he wanted, this feeling would be inexplicable."²⁵

From this statement, it is clear that the Mu'tazilites hold that the existence of an act is dependent on man's own will and intention, and this follows the proposition that if man wants movement, movement will exist. This makes the Mu'tazilites upholders of the doctrine of Free Will, or the so-called Libertarians in Islam, who hold that voluntary actions are the actions of man's intentions and activity. On the other hand, al-Ash'arī makes this distinction in order to limit the discussion to that of voluntary action or acquired action.

With regard to the problem of the createdness of human acquisition by God, al-Ash'arī pointed out that God is not only the sole creator of acquisition

25. Al-Shahrastānī, Kitāb Nihāyatu'l-Iqdām Fī 'Ilmi l-Kalam, p. 35.

(acquired action) as well as of compulsory action, but God is also the only real agent of both kinds of actions.

Al-Ash'arī said:

"It has no agent who makes it as it really is save God, and no one with power over it so that it will be as it really is, in the sense that he creates it, save God."²⁶

In this statement, al-Ash'arī guarded himself from claiming that man is the real maker or doer of his own action, but the performance of such an action is to be left to man, so that man is regarded as the responsible agent for what he has done. He maintained that the true creator of human acquired action is God alone. Though this problem has been discussed in the previous chapter, it is worth elaborating it in the present discussion because it has a very close relation to the theory of acquisition in particular.

(i) Man Acquires a Created Action With a Created Capacity.

Since we have discussed from al-Ash'arī's theory that God creates the acquisition of man, and man acquires it, the problem arises: how are these two agents (God the

26. Al-Ash'arī, Kitāb al-Luma', p. 56.

creator and man the acquirer) of the one same action connected, and how does man acquire that action which is created by God?. With regard to the relationship between the act of God and of man, al-Ash'arī holds that the fact that man acquired a move means that the action of movement is attributed to him, while that same movement is created by God in the sense that God creates it as it really is. This means that the movement is not created by man because 'create' is defined as making (creating) a thing as it really it is. On the other hand, when we say that God creates a movement, this does not mean that God Himself moves. According to al-Ash'arī, the definition of 'some one moves' means that the movement inheres in him. In this case it is impossible to suppose that the movement inheres in God. Al-Ash'arī gave two passages to support this claim in his Kitāb al-Luma'. Firstly, he said:

"Similarly, if the acquisition is itself proof of an agent who makes it as it really is, it does not necessarily prove that the agent who makes it as it really is is also the one who acquires it: nor does it prove that the one who acquires it as it really is is also the agent who makes it as it really it."²⁷

Secondly, he said:

"If I were the creator of my acquisition, when it

27. Ibid., pp. 57 - 58.

is really a creation of God, then God Himself would be moving by the necessary motion which He creates in one who moves thereby. Since that is impossible, because God creates it as the motion of another, we are not constrained by what they say, because our acquisition is a creation of another."²⁸

From these arguments, it is clear, according to al-Ash'arī, that God creates the acquisition of man, just as he creates the compulsory actions. The acquisition is thus performed by man in virtue of the power created by God in him.

Moreover, if the acquisition of man is not to be regarded as the creation of God, it would entail the position that the universe also is not the creation of God. In other words, if the proof of the createdness of human acquired action is invalid, it would weaken the proof that the universe was created by God and not by some other being. Al-Ash'arī explained:

"Moreover, the same would have to be said of the motions of the celestial spheres and of the union and composition of the parts of the heavens. And if this were so, these things would cease to prove that God made them as they are, and one could not be sure but that the parts of the heavens have a uniter who is not God, and the celestial spheres and arranger, and the stars a mover who is not God."²⁹

28. Ibid., p. 62.

29. Ibid., p. 61.

We have already discussed the view that God gives us power to perform our acquisition. If that is the case, a question arises: is it not true when God gave us power to perform our acquisition, God would have to relinquish His own power?. As far as al-Ash'ari's theory is concerned, this does not follow. When God gives us the power to perform, He does not relinquish His own power, since:

"For that over which God creates in us power is a fortiori the object of His power, just as His knowledge of a thing is superior to that which He creates in us, and His hearing of a thing is superior to that which He creates in us."³⁰

To the problem of how man acquires an act which is created by God, al-Ash'ari explained that this action is originated, takes place in time and space, just as with compulsory action. This is in line with his solution to the problem of capacity and its relation to the act. Both problems we have discussed in detail in the previous chapter. We have discussed the question of the acquired actions which take place in time and space in our discussion of the creation of both compulsory and voluntary actions by God.³¹ We have also discussed the

30. Ibid., p. 62.

31. Supra, Chapter 3, p. 77.

argument that capacity is with the act and for the act.³² Corresponding to these two solutions, we can see quite clearly al-Ash'arī's solution regarding the question of how man acquired the action which is created by God. In so far as the acquisition is created by God, it can only exist if and when God creates in man the action as acquisition and the power to perform it. Al-Ash'arī argued:

"And when He refrains from making it to be an acquisition of ours, it is impossible for us to acquire it. So what we have said proves that we acquire a thing only after God has created it as an acquisition of ours."³³

The power of man in this regard is described as distinct from man not part of him. The reason for this claim has been discussed in the previous chapter.³⁴ Briefly stated, if the power is distinct from man then he would always be powerful, since sometimes man is capable and sometimes he is incapable. Therefore, it is impossible to say that man is always powerful or potent, and therefore the power of man is distinct from himself. Moreover, this power does not endure. It is regarded as momentary in the sense that it exists for the act and with the act.

32. Supra, Chapter 5, p. 126.

33. Al-Ash'arī, Kitāb al-Luma', p. 62.

34. Supra, Chapter 5, p. 120.

This means that the action and the power come into existence at the very same moment. The argument for this claim is obtained from al-Ash'arī's proof that the capacity cannot precede the act. He said:

"We claim that [capacity cannot precede the act] because the act must begin to exist either with the capacity at the very moment that the latter begins to be, or after it. If the former is the case, then it is true and certain that the capacity exists with the act and for the act. But if the existence of the act is posterior to that of the capacity — and there is solid proof that the capacity does not endure. — then the act must begin to exist in virtue of an inexistent power."³⁵

It is quite obvious, according to al-Ash'arī, that the power exists for a particular action only. It is not as al-Ash'arī demonstrates, for two alternatives (commission or omission):

"it must be a condition of man's power that its existence include the existence of its object. Since that is so, it is impossible for a man to have power over both the thing and its contrary. For if he had power over both, both would have to exist; and that cannot be."³⁶

Therefore, the existence of the power entails the existence of the action necessarily. And that power is for a particular action, not its contrary.

35. Al-Ash'arī, Kitāb al-Luma', p. 77.

36. Ibid., p. 79.

From the above explanation, we can summarise al-Ash'arī's discussion of the problem of how man acquires the action which is created by God. Two sets of passages in his Kitāb al-Luma' help us to understand the problem clearly. Most of these passages have been dealt with either in this chapter or in the previous chapters. In the first set, al-Ash'arī used the term 'power' and in the second set, he used the terms 'power' and 'capacity' interchangeably.³⁷

His first set of statements which are concerned with the term 'power' are as follows:

"....the acquirer acquires a thing because it takes place in virtue of his created power over it."³⁸

"....the true meaning of acquisition is that the thing proceeds from its acquirer in virtue of a created power."³⁹

These statements indicate that the acquirer only acquires the act by a power which is created by God. The occurrence of the acquisition is due to the occurrence of the created power. This means that the absence of the created power would necessarily entail the non-occurrence of acquisition. Then, the acquirer would not

37. H. A. Wolfson, op cit, pp. 685 - 687.

38. Al-Ash'arī, Kitāb al-Luma', p. 58.

39. Ibid., p. 60.

act. Then al-Ash'arī goes on to claim that the occurrence of the action which is an acquisition has no agent who makes it as it really is except God. He said:

"It has no agent who makes it as it really is save God, and no one with power over it so that it will be as it really is, in the sense that he creates it, save God."⁴⁰

"Does a man, then, acquire the thing as it really is, i.e. as vain unbelief and good faith? [Al-Ash'arī replies]; This is an error, 'He acquires unbelief' means only that he disbelieves in virtue of a created power. Likewise our saying 'He acquires faith' means only that he believes in virtue of a created power, without his having acquired the thing as it really is."⁴¹

These statements clarify what al-Ash'arī means by his claim that acquisition is created by God. Man, according to al-Ash'arī, does not create the action as it really is — unbelief to be bad and faith to be good. But, God creates the thing as it really is. These statements are a further clarification of the term 'acquisition' and its function. Thus, from this explanation, it is clear that God is the creator of the acquisition and man is the acquirer. Finally, in this first set of al-Ash'arī's explanations of 'power', we conclude with his

40. Ibid., p. 56.

41. Ibid., p. 58.

statement: "When God empowers us over acquired motion it must be He who creates it in us as our acquisition."⁴² This statement indicates that al-Ash'arī is trying to establish the concept of the omnipotence of God. The occurrence of the acquisition is due to the existence of power which is imposed by God on us. If God did not empower us, the occurrence of acquisition would be impossible. For this reason, God is absolutely powerful. Does this mean that al-Ash'arī is a compulsionist? No, because he claims that man is the acquirer of his action which means that man is responsible for his actions.

The second set of the statements emphasized the terms power and capacity. In these statements al-Ash'arī applied the term 'power' and 'capacity' interchangeably. The statements are as follows:

"But since he is sometimes capable and sometimes incapable, it is true and certain that his capacity is something distinct from him."⁴³

"We claim that [the capacity cannot precede the act] because the act must begin to exist either with the capacity at the very moment that the latter begins to be, or after it."⁴⁴

42. Ibid., p. 62.

43. Ibid., p. 76.

44. Ibid., p. 77.

"...the capacity exists with the act and for the act."⁴⁵

"...the capacity does not endure."⁴⁶

These statements serve to prove, according to al-Ash'arī, that the capacity is not the man himself, thus man cannot perform the action naturally. But, the capacity is distinct from himself, and it is created by God. The occurrence of the capacity or power entails the occurrence of the action. It does not exist before the act, as claimed by some of Mu'tazilite scholars.

"...it is impossible for a man to have power over both the thing and its contrary. For if he had power over both, both would have to exist; and that cannot be."⁴⁷

"We deny that because a power is a power only over what exists with it in its locus."⁴⁸

These statements are used to support al-Ash'arī's claim that the capacity is for a particular action which exists in the hand of man and that power or capacity is not for the contrary and for another motion different from the motion which exists in the hand of man.

These two sets of statements provide al-Ash'arī's answer to the problem of how man acquires the acquired

45. Ibid., p. 77.

46. Ibid., p. 77.

47. Ibid., p. 79.

48. Ibid., p. 79.

action which is created by God. According to al-Ash^h-arī, the occurrence of the acquisition depends on the occurrence of the power or capacity. Both are created by God. Acquisition is performed by man in virtue of that created power. The power which is created is distinct from man himself. If the power exists in the sense that God creates it, it is for a particular act, not for its contrary. Moreover, one single power is for a single act, not two or more than two. What is more significant here is the claim of the absolute omnipotence of God. Though man has his role to act freely, it is within the limits of acquisition and capacity which are both created by God.

It has been noted before that al-Ash^h-arī is trying to steer a middle course between the two extreme positions of the Mu^tazilites and the compulsionists (the Jabarites). Therefore, the theory of acquisition is also to achieve this goal. The theory of acquisition is used to establish God as omnipotent and to maintain the sovereignty of God on the one hand and to establish the justice of God and to claim man's responsibility for what he does, on the other. According to al-Ash^h-arī, the justification of God's absolute power and sovereignty in connection with human life has

moral consequences. But, to deny human responsibility would result in denying the justice of God. Al-Ash⁶-arī maintained that it was possible to reconcile the omnipotence of God and the justice of God.

Al-Ash⁶-arī gave prime importance in his theology to the question of God's absolute power and sovereignty in the world:

"He creates things by His power, directs them by His wish compels them by His strength, and reduces them by His might; wherefore the proud submit to His power, the lofty are subject to the strength of His lordship, doubters are cut off from a sure foundation in the knowledge of Him, to Him the necks of men submit, and the prudence of the discreet is confounded in His kingdom."⁴⁹

On the basis of this quotation al-Ash⁶-arī is not far from the position of the Compulsionists, but it would be wrong to put al-Ash⁶-arī in the camp of the compulsionists, since he attributes a share of human responsibility for what man does. By contrast the compulsionists denied free agency in man and ascribed his actions wholly to God. Man is forced to accept what is imposed on him by God. Thus any thought of human responsibility is in contradiction to the theology of the compulsionists. And to claim al-Ash⁶-arī as a compulsionist is therefore false.

49. Al-Ash⁶-arī, Al-Ibāna 'An Usūl al-Diyāna, p. 43.

However, the tension is in the relationship of 'the sovereignty of God' and 'human responsibility'. Al-Ash'arī solves this problem in his theology, as can be seen from his use of the theory of acquisition.

We have discussed al-Ash'arī's position that the capacity of man does not create his action, rather this capacity is used to acquire those actions which are also created by God. Because the true sense of the term 'creating' is to make things as they really are, this will be the same as for all created things. Further, al-Ash'arī claims that if man has the power of creating in the true sense, it will necessarily mean that things will come into existence not in their reality. This is due to the fact that man, according to al-Ash'arī, through experience wants, for example, unbelief to be good and faith to be bad. This is surely contrary to the reality of both unbelief and faith. Since this is not the case, therefore it is reasonable to believe that man does not create his own action by his capability. And since man does not create his own action, and since it does not come into existence without an agent who acquires it, therefore man is the agent who acquires it through the capacity given by God. This capability is used for the occurrence of that action.

Regarding the question of the human share of responsibility for what man has done, it is clear from the above explanation that al-Ash'arī prefers man's acquisition rather than man's creation as the solution to this question. It has been argued before that if man chooses disbelief, in the sense of acquisition, then this man will change and become an unbeliever; but, if God creates unbelief, He will never become a believer, who want unbelief to be good. This means that acquisition will cause change to the acquirer, but creation will not cause such change to the creator.

(ii) The Concept of Human Responsibility is Not
Inconsistent With the Concept of the
Foreknowledge of God.

Perhaps, what is more significant to this problem is the question of whether the concept of human responsibility is inconsistent with the claim that God has foreknowledge, in the sense that He knows the future? And is this claim inconsistent with the fact that God is an absolutely powerful God in the universe?. The Foreknowledge of God and the occurrence of human acquisition which is foreknown by God before it comes into existence appear to be in contradiction. In the following paragraphs we shall analyse al-Ash'arī's solution.

Al-Ash⁴arī previously demonstrates that God's knowledge is eternal and is not identical with His essence as well as not distinct from Him. Since it is eternal, therefore God knows the thing in the past, present and future. In Chapter 2 of this study, we discussed the problem in detail. However, in the present discussion, it is worth recalling a set of statements from the previous discussion.

- (1) "All this exists antecedently in God's knowledge."⁵⁰
- (2) "The nature of knowledge is to follow the knowable without acquiring a quality from it nor acquiring it as a quality."⁵¹
- (3) "They are known because knowledge comes into contact with them but does not alter."⁵²
- (4) "It is to be believed that God is knowing by knowledge rather than God is knowing by His essence."⁵³
- (5) "But knowledge cannot be knowing, nor can the knower be knowledge, nor can God be identified with His attributes. Do you not see that the way in which one knows that knowledge is knowledge is that by it the knower knows?. For the power of man, by which he does not know, cannot be knowledge. Hence, since God the creator cannot be knowledge, He cannot be knowing by Himself. And if that be impossible, it is certain that He is knowing by a knowledge which cannot be Himself."⁵⁴

50. Supra, Chapter 2, p. 29.

51. Al-Shahrastānī, Kitāb Nihāyatu'l-Iqdām Fī 'Ilmi'l-Kalām, p. 79.

52. Supra, Chapter 2, p. 33.

53. Supra, Chapter 2, p. 47.

54. Supra, Chapter 2, p. 50.

From These statements, it is certain that the function of knowledge is only to know but not to bring things into existence. It is the condition of knowledge to come into contact with the knowable, but not to alter. It is the nature of knowledge to follow the knowable. Above all, the knowledge is used to discover the truth, not to bring things into existence. We have mentioned before, that 'creating' is bringing things into existence as they really are. Perhaps, 'acquisition' may be defined as acquiring a thing in virtue of a created power. Since the function of knowledge is to discover the truth, knowledge is quite unlike creation or acquisition. Since this is the case, therefore, it is obvious that knowledge is not analogous to the term acquisition or creation, and they are not co-extensive. A further reason is that, as has been mentioned above, knowledge does not acquire a quality from the knowable nor it acquires a knowable as a quality.

Therefore, man's share in responsibility for his own action is not inconsistent with the claim that God has foreknowledge, that God foreknows the actions of man before they come into existence, for knowledge does not affect that existence. It is reasonable to believe that God foreknows the actions of man before they exist, and man himself has his choice to act.

(iii) The Concept of Human Responsibility
Is Not Inconsistent With The Concept
Of God's Omnipotence.

The most significant question to solve is whether the concept of human responsibility is inconsistent with the claim that God is the creator of all in the universe through His capability?. As we have already seen, God, according to the compulsionists (the Jabarites), is the only active power. Furthermore they claimed that to attribute a share of this to man through the theory of acquisition, would entail comparing man's power with that of God, which was impossible, according to the compulsionists. They made no distinction between the statements 'the building stands' and 'the man dies'. They held that God makes the building stand and causes man to die. Therefore, according to them, there is no such thing as a human share of responsibility for what man has done. On the other hand, the Mu'tazilites claimed that man is the creator of his actions and free to perform them. This is certainly in stark contrast to the position that God creates everything in the universe by His capability. As far as these two opposite positions are concerned the two elements mentioned above can never be reconciled. But al-Ash'arī believed in both ideas and proved that the two are not contradictory. The following statements, which we have discussed

before, are gathered in order to see clearly al-Ash⁶arī's reconciliation.

- (1) "Al-Ash⁶arī prefers man's acquisition rather than man's creation as the solution to this question."⁵⁵
- (2) "The occurrence of the acquisition is due to the occurrence of the created power. This means that the absence of the created power would necessarily entail the non-occurrence of acquisition."⁵⁶
- (3) "The acquisition will cause change to the acquirer, but creation will not cause such change to the creator."⁵⁷
- (4) "The occurrence of the acquisition is due to the existence of power which is imposed by God on us. If God did not empower us, the occurrence of acquisition would be impossible."⁵⁸

From these statements, it is obvious that what is understood by man's capacity is nothing more than man's acquisition and this brings no effect to the existence of an act if God's capability does not create the act. Therefore, a human share in responsibility is not inconsistent with the claim that God is the sole creator of the universe, for what al-Ash⁶arī understood by human capability does not disturb the works of God in the sense that they cannot bring a thing into existence as it really is. Human capability can affect nothing

55. Supra, this chapter, p. 169.

56. Supra, this chapter, p. 162.

57. Supr , this chapter, p. 169

58. Supra, this chapter, p. 164.

in the universe.

- (iv) The Concept of Human Responsibility Is not
Inconsistent With The Concept of God's Will.

With regard to the question of God's Will, the same question arises; is the concept of human responsibility inconsistent with the claim that God wills everything which is to exist? From the very beginning, al-Ash'arī held that God wills everything which can be willed and de facto are willed.⁵⁹ Al-Ash'arī said:

"We maintain this because the divine willing, being one of God's essential attributes, as we have already proved, must embrace everything which can truly be willed."⁶⁰

Moreover, he stated:

"The existence of what He did not command from another would not entail His weakness; but the existence of what He did not will from another would prove weakness. Moreover, the existence of what He has not commanded, but has forbidden, and yet He has willed its taking place, does not mean that weakness overtakes Him."⁶¹

These two statements are agreed in maintaining that what

59. Al-Ash'arī, Kitāb al-Luma', p. 33 note no. 2 by McCarthy (the translator).

60. Ibid., p. 33.

61. Ibid., p. 44.

God wills in the universe will necessarily come into existence. On the other hand, what God does not will cannot come into existence. Using the example of the unbelief of the unbeliever, his solution to this problem becomes clearer.

"Moreover, we have already proved that the existence of the capacity entails the existence of the act. So if God can empower men to believe, He can also effect that which, had He effected it in them, they would have all believed."⁶²

Furthermore, in answer to the objection that God was miserly towards man, if the above statement is true, al-Ash'arī replied with a definition of the term 'miserliness'.

"Miserliness consists in the agent's not doing what he ought to do. But when something is a matter of generosity he who is generous is free to be generous with that or not to be generous. And in such a case no miserliness attaches to the agent if he does not do the thing."⁶³

From this al-Ash'arī concluded in respect of the question posed to him, "God has not effected in unbelievers what would ensure their belief."⁶⁴ With regard to the question of God's command, al-Ash'arī argued:

62. Ibid., p. 97.

63. Ibid., p. 98.

64. Ibid., p. 98.

"Do you not see that He has commanded us to pray and to be submissive and to move, yet He cannot pray and be submissive and move, because that is impossible for Him."⁶⁵

With reference to the previous explanation, the problem of human responsibility and its relation to the question of God's will and command is somewhat obvious. The existence of the unbelief of the unbeliever (the example used here) is definitely caused by the will of God. The reason is that nothing can come into existence without being willed by God. In this case, the existence of unbelief is also regarded as the creation of God, and it is an acquisition of man in the sense that he acquired it in virtue of the created power. Moreover, al-Ash'arī's statement explains that God wills the unbelief as He created it as it really is. And since God's decree is co-extensive with the term 'God's creation',⁶⁶ therefore, the claim that man has his share of responsibility for what he has done is not inconsistent with the claim that God wills everything which exists in the universe.

Previously, we have produced al-Ash'arī's ar-

65. Ibid., p. 101.

66. Supra, Chapter 4, p. 104.

gument for maintaining the justice of God with regard to the creative power of God and its relation to the creation. In its true sense, creating is to create something as it really is, and the term justice, in its true meaning is to bring something to its place, therefore, the justice of God, in the sense of bringing something to its place is not inconsistent with God's creative power, for creating is also bringing something into existence as it really exists.⁶⁷ However, the concept of God's justice in connection with the creative power of God, does not answer immediately the problem of the justice of God in its relation to the question of human responsibility. Thus the answer of this problem of the consistency of a human share of responsibility and God's will is also the answer to the problem of God's justice and its relation to the problem of human responsibility.

Al-Ash'arī's discussion of the theory of acquisition indicates the clear effort of him middle path position in trying to maintain the absolute power of God and the absolute justice of God. The extreme positions of the Mu'tazilites and the compulsionists

67. Supra, Chapter 4, p. 106.

brought these issues into contradiction. However, the theory of acquisition was conceived of long before al-Ash'arī. At the beginning of this chapter we discussed the positions of Dirār and al-Najjār with regard to their conceptions of the theory of acquisition. In the following paragraphs we shall discuss their positions in relation to al-Ash'arī's.

(v) Al-Ash'arī's Solutions and their Relation to Dirār and al-Najjār.

As we have mentioned before, Dirār departed from the majority of the Mu'tazilites in maintaining that human actions are created by God. Although human actions are created by God, man has his share of responsibility for what he has done, because man is also regarded as an agent for his actions. This is then called 'acquisition'. Probably, for this reason, W. M. Watt credited Dirār with being the first exponent of the theory of acquisition.

"Dirār is almost certainly the first exponent of the concept of 'acquisition' or 'Appropriation' (kasb, iktisāb) which eventually became the orthodox account of man's voluntary activity."⁶⁸

68. W. Montgemory Watt, Free Will and Predestination In Early Islam, p. 104.

As far as the term 'agent' is concerned, Dirār maintained that God and man are the agents of human actions. They both act as the agents to bring the action into its reality. In other words, according to Dirār, God creates human action as it really is, and man acquires that same action as it really is. This brought Dirār to the concept of a dual agency in human action, which is not in line with the theory of acquisition as understood by al-Ash‘arī. Al-Ash‘arī agreed with Dirār, as far as God is the creator of human action, in the sense that He creates it as it really is. But al-Ash‘arī opposed Dirār's position in maintaining that man acquires his action in its reality. Al-Ash‘arī said, as has been discussed before, man acquires his action in virtue of the created power. And man does not acquire the action in its reality, because if man acquired the action in its reality, then it would be possible for unbelief to be good and faith to be bad and vain. The concept of dual agents derived from Dirār's theory is one of the points of disagreement between al-Ash‘arī and Dirār.

Al-Ash‘arī claimed that Dirār held that capacity is part of man himself. In this regard, we found two separate statements by al-Ash‘arī. Firstly, he reported

of Dirār as follows:

"Man is a combination of accidents. So also body, it is a combination of accidents such as colour, heat, cold... [etc.]. And accident can cause change to body. And man can make length, breadth and depth, for these are all parts of body."69

In his second report, al-Ash'arī stated;

"He is reported to have said that capacity and life also are parts of the body."70

From these reports, it is clear that, according to Dirār, capacity is part of man himself. This is not in agreement with al-Ash'arī's conception of man's capacity, in which al-Ash'arī argued that if man's capacity is part of man's nature, then it would be possible for man to be always potent. But that is not the case, therefore capacity is distinct from man himself. In this particular case, al-Nazzām may agree with Dirār in holding that man's capacity is not distinct from man himself.

Another point on which al-Ash'arī is not in agreement with Dirār is when Dirār holds that capacity precedes act, in the sense that "capacity is before

69. Al-Ash'arī, Maqālāt al-Islāmīyīn Wa'khtilāf al-Musallīn, Vol. 1., p. 281.

70. Ibid., Vol. 2., p. 345.

the act and with the act and it is part of whom is capable."⁷¹ Al-Ash'arī however, claimed that capacity existed simultaneously with the act, for a particular action.

From all these explanations, it is obvious that al-Ash'arī's theory of acquisition is in contrast to that of Dirār. On the other hand, al-Ash'arī shares the same position as that of al-Najjār regarding the question of capacity. Al-Najjār is reported to have claimed that capacity does not precede the act, rather it exists simultaneously with the act, and capacity does not endure. As we have seen this is also al-Ash'arī's position. For this reason it has been said that al-Ash'arī was not influenced by the Mu'tazilites, such as Dirār. At this point in his theology he was closer to the Murji'ites.⁷²

Al-Ash'arī described these two scholars (Dirār and al-Najjār) as 'ahl al-Ithbāt' (The Affirmers of the Qadar). The name 'ahl al-Ithbāt' did not belong to a particular school or sect, but was given to those

71. Ibid., Vol. 1., p. 281.

72. W. C. Klein, In His Introduction to His Translation of Al-Ash'arī's Al-Ibān. 'An Usūl al-Diyāna, p. 36.

who affirmed the divine Qadar though on the other matters they may have different positions.⁷³ It is beyond the scope of our interest here to go any further into the term 'ahl al-Ithbāt'. However with regard to the theory of acquisition, it is claimed that al-Ash'arī had a very close relation to those members of 'ahl al-Ithbāt', since he often discussed the problems which are also central to 'ahl al-Ithbāt'. Does this mean that al-Ash'arī was influenced by them or was al-Ash'arī himself one of 'ahl al-Ithbāt'? This question must be left to another investigation. As far as the theory of acquisition is concerned, it is obvious that, according to al-Ash'arī, the problem of Free Will and Predestination is somewhat answered.

(vi) Conclusion.

The problem of Free Will and Predestination clearly indicates al-Ash'arī's middle path position of the orthodox theologian. He accepts the passages of al-Qur'ān proclaiming the omnipotence of God and so also the passages proclaiming the justice of God which give a human share of responsibility for what man has done. His

73. W. Montgomery Watt, op cit, p. 112.

reconciliation of this problem is his theory of acquisition which gave God His part to create human actions as they really are and gave man his part to choose and acquire these created actions which then ease the question of man's share of responsibility for what he has done. An attempt to rationalize the orthodox position is therefore attributed to al-Ash'arī. Without disturbing the concept of the omnipotence of God, al-Ash'arī made man a responsible agent for what he had done. And without sacrificing the concept of the justice of God, al-Ash'arī put forward the claim that God is still an absolute power. From this study, it is reasonable to suggest that al-Ash'arī's works and intellect mark the turning point in the history of Islamic thought, and the problem of Free Will and Predestination is a good example of his effort to impose philosophical method and argumentation on the theology of the orthodox.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- 1) 'Alī, A. Y., The Glorious Qur'an: Translation and Commentary, Leicester: The Islamic Foundation, 1978.
- 2) Aristotle, Metaphysica, edited by J. A. Smith and W. D. Ross, in The Works of Aristotle, Vol. VIII, Oxford: the Clarendon Press, 1908.
- 3) Al-Ash'arī, Al-Ibāna 'An Uṣūl al-Diyāna, translated by W. C. Klein, American Oriental Series, Vol. 19, New Haven: Connecticut, 1940.
- 4) Al-Ash'arī, Kitāb al-Luma', translated by Richard J. McCarthy, in the The Theology of al-Ash'arī, Beyrouth: Imprimerie Catholique, 1953.
- 5) Al-Ash'arī, Maqālāt al-Islāmiyyīn Wa'khtilāf al-Muṣallīn, in two volumes, edited by Hellmut Ritter, Istanbul, 1929 and 1930.
- 6) Al-Baghdādī, Kitāb al-Farq bain al-Firāq, edited by Muḥammad Badr, Cairo, 1910.
- 7) Chejne, A. G., "Mu'ammār Ibn 'Abbād al-Sulamī: A Leading Mu'tazilite of the Eighth-Ninth Century", THE MUSLIM WORLD, Vol. 51, (1961), pp. 311 - 320.
- 8) Fakhry, M., A History of Islamic Philosophy, New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1970.

- 9) Hye, M. A., "Ash'arism", in A History of Muslim Philosophy, Vol. 1., edited by M. M. Sharif, Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1963, pp. 220 - 243.
- 10) Macdonald, D. B., Development of Muslim Theology, Jurisprudence and Constitutional Theory, London: George Routledge & Sons Limited, 1903.
- 11) Makdisi, G., "Ash'arī and the Ash'arītes in Islamic Religious History 1", STUDIA ISLAMICA, Vol. 17., (1962), pp. 37 - 80.
- 12) Maudoodi, A. A., "Political Thought in Early Islam", in A History of Muslim Philosophy, Vol. 1., edited by M. M. Sharif, Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1963, pp. 656 - 672.
- 13) Schwarz, M., "Acquisition (kasb) in Early Kalām", in Islamic Philosophy and the Classical Tradition, edited by S. M. Stern, A. Hourani and V. Brown, Oxford: Bruno Cassirer Publisher Limited, 1972, pp. 355 - 387.
- 14) Al-Shahrastānī, Kitāb al-Milal Wa'l-Nihal, edited by W. Cureton, London, 1846.
- 15) Al-Shahrastānī, Nihāyatu'l-Iqdām Fī 'Ilmi'l-Kalām edited and translated by Alfred Guillaume, London: Oxford University Press, 1934.
- 16) Smart. N., "Zoroastrianism", Encyclopaedia of Philosophy, Vol. 8., London: Collier, Macmillan Ltd., 1967.

- 17) Subhan, A. "Al-Jahm b. Safwān and His Philosophy",
ISLAMIC CULTURE, Vol. 11., (1937), pp. 221 - 227.

- 18) Sweetman, J. W., Islam and Christian Theology:
A Study of the Interpretation of Theological
Ideas in the Two Religions, Part 1, Vol. 2.,
London: Lutterworth Press, 1947.

- 19) Tritton, A.S. Muslim Theology, London: Luzac
& Company Ltd., 1947.

- 20) Valiuddin, M., "Mu'tazilism", in A History of
Muslim Philosophy, Vol. 1., edited by M. M.
Sharif, Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1963,
pp. 199 - 220.

- 21) Watt, M. M., Free Will and Predestination in
Early Islam, London: Luzac & Company Ltd., 1948.

- 22) Wensinck, A. J. The Muslim Creed: Its Genesis
and Historical Development, Cambridge: the Uni-
versity Press, 1932.

- 23) Wolfson, H. A., 'Philosophical Implications
of the Problem of Divine Attribute's', JOURNAL
OF AMERICAN SOCIETY, Vol. 79 no. 2., (1959),
pp. 73 - 80.

- 24) Wolfson, H. A., The Philosophy of the Kalām,
Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1976.

