

## THE GENESIS OF EPISTEMOLOGY IN ISLAMIC THEOLOGY

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### Abstrak

*Artikel ini bertujuan untuk meneliti perbincangan awal berkenaan teori ilmu dalam akidah Islam. Kajian ini merujuk kepada karya-karya awal sarjana Islam dalam membincangkan isu akidah. Kajian ini turut meneliti hubungan awal di antara sarjana ilmu kalam dengan falsafah Greek. Dapatan kajian menunjukkan bahawa biarpun perbincangan berkenaan ilmu terdapat dalam al-Qur'an, kemunculan teori ilmu dalam perbincangan akidah mendapat lonjakan selepas kemasukan falsafah Greek ke dalam dunia Islam melalui projek terjemahan pada zaman khalifah Abbasiyah.*

### Abstract

*The aim of this article is to examine the origin of epistemology in Islamic theology. Therefore, I examined some early Muslim theological works on knowledge and the link between early Mutakllimun and Greek philosophy. The study indicates that although the discussion on knowledge is available in the Qur'an, the systematic appearance of epistemology in Islamic theology gained momentum after the penetration of Greek philosophy in the Islamic world through the translation project during the Abbasid caliphate.*

## Introduction

Epistemology<sup>1</sup> plays an important role in Islamic theology<sup>2</sup>, since the difference in epistemology influences the formation of other theological doctrines. The decision about which epistemology to base one's theology on will influence the result of one's belief and action. For instance, the difference between the views of the Ash'arites and the Mu'tazilites in their theological doctrines is partly due to the differences in the epistemological backgrounds they based their theological arguments on.

However, as S. Nuseibeh observes, to provide a complete outline of *kalām* epistemology is not an easy task. One of the problems is that there are diverse views held on the subject, not only between two classical schools, the Mu'tazilites and the Ash'arites, but also between adherents of the same school.<sup>3</sup> As a result, we do not as yet possess a complete consensus account of a *kalām* theory of knowledge. Every theologian (*mutakallim*) develops his theory of knowledge to suit, not only his theological school, but also his personal interpretation.

### The Origin of Epistemology in Islamic Theology

The debate on the theory of knowledge is part of many disputes in Islamic *kalām*.<sup>4</sup> Albeit relatively late compared to other issues such as free will and predestination,<sup>5</sup> the emergence of the epistemological issues in *kalām* is almost contemporary with the appearance of the problem of the createdness of the Qur'an (*khalq al-Qur'an*). Both were widely studied during the time of al-Ma'mūn (r. 198/813-218/833). However, because of political interference, the latter has become very significant while the former remains less significant.<sup>6</sup>

There is a very large number of references to knowledge in the Qur'an and the *hadīth*. Both exhort believers to make the best use of reason in their search for the ultimate and to make the acquisition of knowledge and scientific comprehension a part of the community's life. As for

knowing God specifically, there is a verse in the Qur'an: "Know that there is no god but Allah."<sup>7</sup> This verse indicates that the issue of knowing God originated from the Qur'an. Therefore, it is hard to agree with some western scholars who state that there is no mention in the Qur'an about knowing God.<sup>8</sup>

However, in dealing with the Qur'anic proof, there is a disagreement among the *mutakallimūn*. The Mu'tazilites,<sup>9</sup> for instance, accept the Qur'anic proof only after its validity has been proven by reason. For they consider that in the hierarchy of knowledge, intellect is before the Qur'an. Therefore, in their discussion on knowing God, they depend merely on reason.<sup>10</sup> Meanwhile, the Hanabila,<sup>11</sup> who maintain the superiority of revelation over reason, used Qur'anic evidence from the beginning. Accordingly, their arguments in theology must be based on revelation.<sup>12</sup> Ahmad b. Hanbal (d. 241/855), for instance, rejects the rational methods of the *mutakallimūn* but derives religious doctrines and legal rules solely from the Qur'an and the Traditions.<sup>13</sup>

The Ash'arites,<sup>14</sup> although maintaining the superiority of revelation over reason, are inclined toward reconciliation between the two previous methodologies by giving a middle role to reason between the view of the Hanbalites and that of the Mu'tazilites. The Ash'arites accept the use of reason for proving the existence of God and His attributes.<sup>15</sup> However, the knowledge of good and evil is only through revelation and not through reason.<sup>16</sup>

In the early works of Muslim scholars before the fourth/tenth century,<sup>17</sup> there is no systematic appearance of epistemology.<sup>18</sup> Most of the books in theology were written directly on the foundation of belief and the principles of theology.<sup>19</sup> We can observe this type of methodology being used by Abu Hanifa (theologian and religious lawyer d. 150/767) in his *al-Fiqh al-akbar (the Greater Fiqh)*. He started his book by briefly mentioning the six pillars of belief (*iman*). On this, he writes:

*The basics of unity (tawhid) and that which makes faith (īmān) valid, that one says I believe in God, His angels, His books, His messengers, resurrection after death, and that the good and evil of destiny are from God Most High. I believe too in the accounting (al-ḥisāb), the scales (al-mīzān), hell and paradise. All the foregoing is reality.*<sup>20</sup>

In this book, Abū Hanifa elaborates these fundamental doctrines, especially the doctrine of *al-Tawḥīd*. There is no discussion of the theory of knowledge in this book. Abu Hanifa mentions only the doctrines that one needs to believe without even providing any proof to support these doctrines. This type of method can also be observed in the work of Abu ʿUbayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām (d. 224/839), *Kitāb al-Īmān (the Book of Faith)*. The discussion of the theory of knowledge is not included in this book; rather, it focuses on the discussion of the faith.<sup>21</sup>

The discussion of knowledge among early Muslim scholars occurs only when they discuss the attributes of God. The perfect (*kamāl*) God is the one that has all the positive attributes including knowledge (*ʿilm*). To differentiate between God's knowledge and a human's knowledge, Abu Hanifa says that God knows with knowledge, but His knowledge is not like ours. However, Abu Hanifa does not explain the nature of human knowledge in his work.<sup>22</sup>

### **The Development of Epistemology in Islamic Theology**

After the expansion of the Islamic world through the conquest of the Umayyad and the ʿAbbasid empires, Muslims faced various kinds of people from different intellectual and religious backgrounds. The people of the book (*ahl al-Kitāb*), Jews and Christians have their own interpretation of religious concepts. The concept of God, for instance, was interpreted differently from that in Islamic teaching.

In addition, the translations of philosophical works from Syriac and Greek into Arabic during the reign of al-Rashid (r. 170/786-193/809)

and al-Ma'mūn had exposed Muslims to new ideas in theological studies. The translation of Greek philosophy, especially the works of the Sophists, Plato and Aristotle, changed the Muslim intellectual landscape forever through the influence of Greek philosophy on the latter's philosophy and theology.<sup>23</sup>

The influence of Greek philosophy in the Islamic world during the reign of al-Ma'mun can be traced from the involvement of two well-known scholars in theological and philosophical debates at the court of al-Ma'mun. The first figure is al-Kindi, the first Arab philosopher who was influenced in some degree by the Mu'tazilite theology.<sup>24</sup> Al-Kindi worked as a translator or supervisor for translators in Bayt al-Hikma, a well-known library established by al-Ma'mun. The second figure is Abu al-Hudhayl al-<sup>ʿ</sup>Allāf, who systematized the theology of the Mu'tazilites and sometimes worked at al-Ma'mūn's court during *al-Miḥna*.<sup>25</sup>

According to Ibn al-Murtaḍā, Abu al-Hudhayl investigated Aristotle's works.<sup>26</sup> Therefore, probably due to that reason, al-Ash'ari (d. 324/935-6)<sup>27</sup> accuses Abu al-Hudhayl of taking his view on the attributes of God from Aristotle.<sup>28</sup> However, this accusation seems to be contradicted by another report from Ibn al-Rawandi. Based on a report by al-Khayyat, Ibn al-Rawandi mentioned that nobody before Abu al-Hudhayl held his view regarding the attribute of God.<sup>29</sup> Based on these reports, we can conclude that although there is a disagreement among the *Mutakallimūn* on the extent of the influence of Aristotle or other Greek philosophers on Abu al-Hudhayl, we can conclude that Abu al-Hudhayl is familiar with Greek philosophical terms and works.

However, no extant works of Abu al-Hudhayl survive today. Since most of the early Mu'tazilites' works were lost, Abu al-Hudhayl's view is mostly based on reports from the extant works of other scholars from the Mu'tazilites and the Ash'arites.

Another theologian who has possible relation with Greek philosophy is Abu <sup>ʿ</sup>Ali al-Jubba'i. His definition of knowledge as "believing a

thing (to be) as it is, when it happens immediately or by proof",<sup>30</sup> has a considerable similarity with the definition of knowledge attributed to Plato, "justified true belief".<sup>31</sup> For justified true belief is based on proof.

While the relation between Abu al-Hudhayl with Greek philosophy is proven,<sup>32</sup> Abu 'Ali's direct connection with Greek philosophy is unclear. However, there are various reports indicating that philosophy is not unfamiliar during his time. For instance, J. van Ess reports that Abu 'Ali's son, Abu Hāshim al-Jubba'i, wrote a book rejecting the logic of Aristotle, called *Kitab al-tasaffuh*.<sup>33</sup> The translations of the *Sophist* of Plato and the *Metaphysics* of Aristotle were completed during Abu 'Ali's lifetime.<sup>34</sup>

Also during his lifetime, the small remnants of the school of Alexandria emigrated to Baghdad from Harran.<sup>35</sup> Therefore, based on these reports, it is probable that Abu 'Ali was also familiar with philosophical debates of his time, although whether he adopts Plato's definition of knowledge is uncertain; for unlike the *Sophist* and *Metaphysics*, the specific dates of the translation of the *Theaetetus* and *Meno* into Arabic are lost.<sup>36</sup>

The earliest *kalam* work that discusses the theory of knowledge is neither Mu'tazilites nor Ash'arites. According to Rosenthal, *Kitab al-Tawhid*, by Abu Maṣū'ir al-Māturīdī (d. 333/944), is the earliest extant *kalam* work that discusses the theory of knowledge.<sup>37</sup> In this book, before engaging in a discussion of theological doctrines, al-Maturidi discusses a theory of knowledge. He opens the book with a chapter on the invalidation of uncritical imitation (*taqlid*), and insists on the importance of knowledge and proof. He also highlights the high position of the intellect in addition to revelation as the ways to acquire religious knowledge.<sup>38</sup> Henceforth, most of the *mutakallimun* who come after al-Māturīdī give a great emphasis to epistemology. We find that most of them start their works with a discussion of the theory of knowledge. They give great emphasis to the theory of knowledge as a foundation for theological discussions in their works.<sup>39</sup>

In the Ash'arites school, at the beginning of its formation, the discussion of reflection and knowledge is limited. One can observe from the book of *al-Ibāna 'an uṣūl al-diyāna* by al-Ash'ari that his arguments are mainly based on the Qur'an and Sunna. However, in his later works, especially *Risāla fī al-istiḥsan fī al-khawd fī al-'ilm al-Kalām*, al-Ash'ari defends the vindication of reflection in *kalam*, which includes his defence of the use of reason in theology. His stand in *Istiḥsān* has become a foundation for later Ash'arites to develop their *kalam* argument further. This task has been taken up by some scholars, and the two most prominent are Abu Bakr al-Baqillani (d. 403/1013) and Abu al-Qahir al-Baghdadi (d. 429/1037). In his book *al-Tamhīd*, al-Baqillani provides an introduction to knowledge, its divisions, and ways to obtain knowledge.<sup>40</sup> Meanwhile, al-Baghdadi elaborates in his book *Uṣūl al-Din* the reality of knowledge and its division as well as the ways of deriving knowledge.<sup>41</sup>

Both books *al-Tamhīd* and *Uṣūl al-din* present an excellent explanation of the theory of knowledge. These scholars' works, then, became the foundation for the later generation of Ash'arite scholars such as Abu al-Ma'ali al-Juwayni (d. 478/1085),<sup>42</sup> Abu Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111),<sup>43</sup> and Fakhr al-Din al-Rāzī (d. 606/1210),<sup>44</sup> to develop their epistemological framework.

During the fifth/eleventh century, a systematic approach in epistemology influenced not only the Mu'tazilite and Ash'arite *mutakallimun*, but also some traditionalist scholars from the Hanbalite, such as Abu Ya'la al-Farra' (d. 458/1066). In his work, *al-Mu'tamad fī usul al-din*, he treats topics that are typical of *mutakallimun*, namely, epistemology, the validity and value of sound reasoning, and the invalidity of *taqlid*. He also argues about the proof of the existence of God based on the origination of accidents and atoms.<sup>45</sup> His approach to knowledge obviously differs from the typical Hanbalites who are concerned with the scripture and prophetic traditions. Therefore, Abu Ya'la was probably the first Hanbalite to use the method of *kalam*

in theological argumentation. His methodology then was followed by later Hanbalites such as Ibn al-Zaghūni (d. 527/1133) in his book *al-Idāh fi uṣūl al-din*.

With the Muʿtazilites, as I mentioned earlier, the discussion of epistemology was started by Abu al-Hudhayl al-Allāf (d. 226/841). When the translations of Greek philosophy were made during the reign of Hārūn al-Rashid, Abu al-Hudhayl studied some of the philosophers' books.<sup>46</sup> The influence of philosophy on Abu al-Hudhayl's theological proofs can be observed in his arguments on the attribute of God. He also introduced to the Muʿtazilites the concept of immediate knowledge,<sup>47</sup> the concept of the accidents (*ʿarad*) of bodies, and that of the atom, which he called *jawhar*.<sup>48</sup>

However, despite their acceptance of his role as the founder of the school of Basran Muʿtazilite, Abu al-Hudhayl's successors seem to distance themselves from philosophy. Al-Nazzām, for instance, wrote a book criticizing Aristotle's idea on the atom<sup>49</sup> while Abu Ḥāshim al-Jubba'i wrote a book rejecting Aristotle's logic.<sup>50</sup> Nevertheless, the discussion of knowledge continued among them. The pinnacle of this development can be observed through the work of ʿAbd al-Jabbar (d. 415/1025), *al-Mughni fi abwāb al-tawhid wa al-ʿadl* (*Summa on [God's] unity and justice*). In one of the work's twenty volumes, ʿAbd al-Jabbar specifies a discussion of the theory of knowledge entitled "*al-Nazar wa al-maʿarif*" (*Reflection and knowledge*).<sup>51</sup>

After ʿAbd al-Jabbār, the influence of philosophy in Muʿtazilite's *kalam* re-emerged in the hand of his student, Abu al-Husayn al-Basri (d. 436/1044).<sup>52</sup> In his argument on knowing God, Abu al-Husayn employs some arguments from philosophers to refute traditional Muʿtazilite proof. Abu al-Husayn's method in dealing with theological arguments has been criticized by other followers of ʿAbd al-Jabbār. Abu al-Husayn was accused of pretending to agree with the Muʿtazilites but in fact was hiding some other motive.<sup>53</sup>

## Conclusion

From previous explanations we observe that, in the early works of Islamic theology, the discussion of epistemology is limited, but, after the expansion of Islam and the translation of Greek philosophy into Arabic, debates on the theory of knowledge became widespread among the *mutakallimūn*.

Abu al-Hudhayl al-<sup>o</sup>Allaf was probably the first *mutakallim* involved in the discussion of the theory of knowledge. He sometimes worked at the court of al-Ma'mūn during the *Mihna*, and the translation project, therefore, was influenced by Greek philosophy. However, his successors distanced themselves from philosophy and wrote several works that rejected Aristotle's view of the atom and logic. Nevertheless, none of his works have survived.

The earliest extant *kalam* work that deals with the theory of knowledge is *Kitab al-Tawhid* by al-Maturidi. Al-Ash<sup>o</sup>ari wrote an epistle on the vindication of *kalam*, the *Istihsan*. This work became the foundation for the later Ash<sup>o</sup>arites to develop their theological doctrines. Among the Mu<sup>o</sup>tazilites, interest in the theory of knowledge developed after Abu al-Hudhayl, and the peak of this development can be observed in the work of <sup>o</sup>Abd al-Jabbār, the *Mughni*. Most likely because of the socio-political background of his time, <sup>o</sup>Abd al-Jabbār's works are the most extant among the Mu<sup>o</sup>tazilites today.

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### Notes:

- <sup>1</sup> 'Epistemology' is the branch of philosophy which is concerned with knowledge, the value of knowledge, the tools of knowledge and what is related to it. It is an attempt to answer the fundamental question of how to differentiate between true and false knowledge. Baldwin, J. M. 1960. "Epistemology" in *The Dictionary of Philosophy and Psychology*, i, Gloucester, Mass. p.333; Ferguson, B.S. 1988. "Epistemology" in *New Dictionary of Theology*. Leicester. p. 225.
- <sup>2</sup> 'Theology' or 'speculative theology' is a translation of *ilm al-kalām* (the science of *kalām*). It is a branch of knowledge in Islam that discusses theological doctrines.

- <sup>3</sup> Nuseibeh, S. 1996. "Epistemology" in *History of Islamic Philosophy* in S.H. Nasr and O. Leaman (eds.). London. ii. p.831.
- <sup>4</sup> For an introduction of the formation of *kalām*, see W. Watt. 1973. *The Formative Period of Islamic Thought*. Edinburgh. pp.182-204; J. Van Ess. "Beginning of *Kalām*". pp. 87-111; M. Cook. 1980. "The Origin of '*Kalām*'" in *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*. 43(1). pp.32-43; M. Abdel Haleem. 1996. "Early *Kalām*" in *History of Islamic Philosophy*. S. H. Nasr and O. Leaman(eds.), London. i. pp.71-88.
- <sup>5</sup> Watt M. W. *Free Will and Predestination*. p.15.
- <sup>6</sup> Van Ess. "Beginning of *Kalām*". pp.89-92; Abdel Haleem. 1996. "Early *Kalām*". pp.78-80.
- <sup>7</sup> Qur'an, 47: 19.
- <sup>8</sup> Tritton A. S. 1940. "Theory of Knowledge in Early Muslim Theology" in *Woolner Commemoration Volume*, Lahore. p.253. F. Rosenthal in this regard most likely following Tritton's claim that there is no verse in the Qur'an that speaks on human knowledge of God. See F. Rosenthal. 1970. *Knowledge Triumphant*. Leiden. p.125.
- <sup>9</sup> For the development of the Mu'tazilites, see Watt. 1973. *The Formative Period of Islamic Thought*. Edinburgh. pp. 209-252; A. J. Wensinck. 1965. *The Muslim Creed: Its Genesis and Historical Development*. London pp.83-7.
- <sup>10</sup> Abd al-Jabbar, Abu al-Hasan b. Ahmad. 1393/ 1974. *Fadl al-Ftizal wa Tabaqat al-Mu'tazila wa Mubāyanatuhum li Sā'ir al-Mukhālifin*. F. Sayyid, Tunis (ed.). Cf. Mankdim, Shashdiw, Ahmad b. Abi Hashim al-Qazwini (Abd al-Jabbar). 1965. *Sharh al-Uṣūl al-Khamsa.* A. K. Uthmān (ed.). Cairo; Watt. 1973. *Formative Period*. p. 214.
- <sup>11</sup> The Hanabila are the followers of the school of theology, law and morality which grew up from the teaching of Ahmad b. Hanbal (d. 241/855). H. Laoust. 1960-2004. "Hanābila" in *Encyclopaedia of Islam (The)*. New Edition.12 vols. Leiden, [EF], iii, p.158.
- <sup>12</sup> See Abū Ya'ālā. 1974. *al-Mu'tamad fi Usul al-Din*. W. Z. Haddād (ed.). Beirut. p.19.
- <sup>13</sup> Watt. 1973. *The Formative Period*. p. 292.
- <sup>14</sup> Ash'arites are the followers of Abu al-Hasan al-Ash'ari sometimes it was called, Ash'ariyya or Asha'ira. For more see, Watt. "Ash'ariyya", EF, i, p.696.
- <sup>15</sup> Cf. al-Ash'ari. 1955. *Kitāb al-Lum'at fi al-Radd 'alā Ahl al-Zaygh wa al-Bida'*. H. Ghuraba (ed.) Cairo. pp. 6-7.
- <sup>16</sup> Cf. al-Baghdadi. 1928. *Usul al-Din*. Istanbul. p.14.
- <sup>17</sup> Scholars of Islamic traditions such as al-Bukhārī, Muslim, and Abu Daud mention in their *sahih* and *sunnan* a chapter on knowledge in which they report some of the traditions related to knowledge. The discussion of their works in this respect is beyond the scope of this research. For more information, see Rosenthal. 1970. *Knowledge Triumphant*. pp.70-96.
- <sup>18</sup> What I mean by systematic appearance here is the discussion which included the definition, division, source and the value of knowledge.
- <sup>19</sup> For an overview explanation regarding the contents of major Muslim theological

- works, see Gardet L. 1948. *Introduction A La Theologie Musulmane*. Paris. pp.136-186.
- <sup>20</sup> Abu Hanifa. 1373H/ 1953. *al-Fiqh al-Akbar*. Hyderabad. p. 3.
- <sup>21</sup> The full name of this book is *al-iman wa ma'ālīmihi wa sunanihi wa istikmalīhi wa darajatihi* edited by Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Albānī. See Madelung, W. 1970. "Early Sunni Doctrine Concerning Faith as Reflected in *Kitab al-Īmān* of Abu 'Ubayd al-Qasim b. Salam (d. 224/839)" in *Studia Islamica*. p. 234.
- <sup>22</sup> See Abū Ḥanīfa. 1373H/ 1953. *Fiqh al-akbar*. p.23.
- <sup>23</sup> Epistemology also becomes a concern of Muslim philosophers. Ibn Sina (d.428/1037), in this regard reports that "a discussion of the theory of knowledge is a must to understanding a discussion of the concept of divinity", cf. Ibn Sina. 1938. *al-Najāt fī al-Hikma al-Mantiqiyya wa al-Ṭabī'iyya wa al-Ilāhiyya*, Cairo. p.23; al-Farabi. (d. 339/950). *Ihsa' al-'Ulum*. p.17; Ibn Rushd (d. 595/1198). 1940. *Fasl al-Maqal fī ma bayn al-Hikma wa al-Sharī'a min al-Ittisal*. Cairo. p. 4.
- <sup>24</sup> Netton, I. 1989. *Allāh Transcendent: Studies in the Structure and Semiotics of Islamic Philosophy, Theology and Cosmology*. London. p.56.
- <sup>25</sup> For more information of *al-Mihna*, see Patton, W. *Ahmed b. Hanbal and the Mihna*. pp.25-43. Nyberg reports that he enjoyed the favour of al-Ma'mūn, who often invited him to the court for theological disputes, cf. Nyberg. "Abu al-Hudhayl l-<sup>c</sup>Allāf". p.127; Hourani. "Islamic and Non-Islamic Origin". p.81.
- <sup>26</sup> Ibn al-Murtada. 1961. *Tabaqat al-Mu'tazila*. in S. Diwald-Wilzer (ed.). Wiesbaden. p.44.
- <sup>27</sup> For his biographical note, see Watt. "Al-Ash'ari" in *EP*. i.p.694.
- <sup>28</sup> Al-Ash'ari. 1369/1950. *Maqalat al-Islamiyyin wa Ikhtilaf al-Musallin*. M. M. 'Abd al-Hamid (ed.). Cairo. p.485. Frank. 1969. "The Divine Attributes According to the Teaching of Abu al-Hudhayl al-Allaf" in *Le Muséon*. 82. p.454.
- <sup>29</sup> Al-Khayyat. *Intisar*. p.59; cf. Frank. 1969. "The Divine Attributes". p.455.
- <sup>30</sup> Al-Baghdadi, *Usul al-din*, 5; Rosenthal, *Knowledge Triumphant*, 64. Interestingly, al-Tahanawi reports that al-Razi defines knowledge with a definition that almost identical with that of Abu 'Ali's. Cf. al-Tahanawi. *Kashshaf*. ii. p.1058
- <sup>31</sup> Plato seems to be considering some such definition in Theaetetus 201, and perhaps accepting one in Meno 98. cf. Gettier, E. "Is Justified true belief knowledge?". p.121.
- <sup>32</sup> According to Ibn al-Murtaḍā, Abū al-Hudhayl investigated Aristotle's works, Ibn al-Murtaḍā, *Tabaqat*, 44. H. S. Nyberg also reports that Abu al-Hudhayl enjoyed the favour of al-Ma'mun, who often invited him to the court for theological disputes, cf. Nyberg. "Abu al-Hudhayl l-<sup>c</sup>Allaf". p.127; Hourani. 1976. "Islamic and non-Islamic Origins of Mu'tazilite Ethical Rationalism" in *International Journal of Middle East Studies*. vol. 7.no. 1.Jan. pp.59-87
- <sup>33</sup> Van Ess, J. 1967. "Logical Structure of Islamic Theology" in *Logic in Classical Islamic Culture; Giorgio Levi Della Vida Conference*, ed. G. Grunebaum, Los Angeles. p.21.
- <sup>34</sup> Wolfson. 1965. "Mu'ammār's Theory of Ma'na in *Arabic and Islamic Studies in Honor of H. A. R. Gibb*. Leiden. pp.673-4.

- <sup>35</sup> According to Hourani, those philosophers emigrated from Alexandria to Antioch in the reign of ʿUmar II (r. 717-20), from Antioch to Harran under al-Mutawakkil (r. 847-61), and finally to Baghdad under al-Muʿtadid (r. 892-902), see, Hourani. 1976. "Islamic and Non-Islamic Origin". p.81.
- <sup>36</sup> See Ibn al-Nadim. 1415H/1994. *al-Fihrist*. I. Ramadan (ed.). Beirut. pp.230-45.
- <sup>37</sup> Rosenthal, F. 1970. *Knowledge Triumphant*. p.211; see also F. Kholeif's introduction to *Kitab al-Tawhid*, by al-Maturidi. pp.3-11.
- <sup>38</sup> Al-Maturidi. 1970. *Kitab al-Tawhid*. Fathallah Kholeif (ed.) Beirut. pp.3-27.
- <sup>39</sup> Al-ʿAmili, H. 1990. *al-Madhkal ila al-ʿIlm wa al-Falsafa wa al-Ilahiyat: Nazariyya al-Maʿrifa*. Beirut. p. 11.
- <sup>40</sup> Al-Baqillani. n.d. *al-Tamhid al-Awa'il fi Talkhis al-Dala'il or Kitab al-Tamhid fi al-Radd ʿala al-Mulhida al-Muʿattila wa al-Rafida wa al-Khawarij wa al-Muʿtazila*. Richard J. McCarthy (ed). Beirut. pp.25-30.
- <sup>41</sup> Al-Baghdadi. 1928. *Usul al-Din*. p.36.
- <sup>42</sup> He also the teacher of Abu Hamid al-Ghazali For his biographical note see, C. Brockelmann. "al-Juwayni" in *EF*. ii. p. 605.
- <sup>43</sup> For his biographical note, see Watt. "al-Ghazālī" in *EF*. ii. 1038. From al-Ghazālī's works the influence of Greek philosophy become apparent. Al-Ghazālī writes two influential works on philosophy in his effort to refute the argument of Muslim philosophers; those two works are *Maqasid al-Falasifa (The Intentions of the Philosophers)* and *Tahafut al-Falasifa (The Incoherence of the Philosophers)*. However, despite his rejection of the philosophical doctrine, al-Ghazali accepts logic as an important tool of knowledge. The knowledge of a scholar who does not know logic, according to al-Ghazali, is dubitable. His position in dealing with philosophy has become the foundation for Fakhr al-Din al-Razi to reformulate the Ashʿarites' arguments by using the philosophers' proof.
- <sup>44</sup> For his biographical note, see G.C. Anawati. "Fakhr al-Din al-Razi in *EF*. ii. p.751.
- <sup>45</sup> See Abu Yaʿla. 1874. *al-Muʿtamad fi uṣūl al-dīn*. pp.19-21.
- <sup>46</sup> *Tabaqat al-Muʿtazila*. pp. 44-50. Cf. Hourani. 1976. "Islamic and non-Islamic Origins". p.81.
- <sup>47</sup> Abū al-Hudhayl was reported to say that reason produces the immediate knowledge of the self which leads to the knowledge of God. His ideas then become the foundation for the later Muʿtazilites. A.S. Tritton. 1940. "Theory of Knowledge in Early Muslim Theology" in *Woolner Commemoration Volume*, Lahore. p. 254.
- <sup>48</sup> Nyberg, H. S. "Abu al-Hudhayl al-Allaf". *EF*. i. p.127.
- <sup>49</sup> Frank, R. 1969. "The Divine Attributes According to the Teaching of Abu al-Hudhayl al-Allaf" in *Le Muséon*. p. 455.
- <sup>50</sup> See Van Ess. 1967. "Logical Structure". p. 21.
- <sup>51</sup> The volume that was edited by Ibrāhīm Madkūr and supervised by Taha Husayn.
- <sup>52</sup> For his biographical note, see Madelung. 1970. "Abū al-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī" in *EF*. xii. p.25.
- <sup>53</sup> Al-Jushamī. 1974. *Sharh al-ʿUyūn*. Sayyid, Tūnis (ed.). p. 387; Al-Baṣrī, Y. 2006. "Refutation of Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī's Proof for the Existence of God" in *Rational Theology in Interfaith Communication* W. Madelung & S. Schmidtke. (eds) Leiden. p.37.