

**AL-QĀDĪ ‘ABD AL-JABBĀR’S  
VIEW ON *KHALQ AL-QUR’ĀN*:  
Study of the Book *Al-Mugnī Fi Abwāb*  
*al-Tawḥīd Wa al-‘Adl***

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**Abstract:** In the Islamic doctrine, the Qur'an is divine and sacred. Although majority Muslims believe that the Qur'an is revealed divine words, they dispute over the sacredness of the Qur'an. One emerging central question is whether the Qur'an is created (*jadid*) or not (*qadīm*). One Muslim sect that considers the Qur'an as creature is Mu'tazila, that used to be adopted as the state theological school during the Abbasid period, especially under al-Ma'mūn. This articles discusses the notion of *khalq al-Qur'ān* (the createness of the Qur'an) advanced by Mu'tazila scholar al-Qādī 'Abd al-Jabbār in his work *al-Mugnī fi Abwāb al-Tawḥīd Wa al-‘Adl*. In general, al-Jabbār's view reflects his school's view on the Qur'an. When advancing his opinion that the Qur'an is created, he means to purify the concept of Oneness (*tawḥīd*) of God. Because al-Jabbār perceives only God is *qadīm*, and He is the only uncreated, other than Him must be created, including the Qur'an since it consists of letters and consonants.

**Keywords:** *Khalq al-Qur'ān*, 'Abd al-Jabbār, Mu'tazila, *kalām al-Lāh*, *ḥadīth*, *qadīm*.

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## Introduction

THE DISCOURSE of *Khalq Al-Qur'ān* (the idea that the Qur'an is creature) means questioning the position of the Qur'an, whether as a creature or not. Mu'tazila view that the Qur'an is creature, not as *qadīm*, shook the Islamic world in 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> hijra (H) century. For them, *kalām* is voice consisting of the letters and can be heard; the voice is new and not eternal creation. This is what Mu'tazila means the Qur'an as creatures and not eternal.

In classical Islamic intellectual treasures, whenever the Qur'an was discussed and exposed in a theological perspective; whether the Qur'an was a *makhlūq* (creature) or *gāyru makhlūq*, always stimulate disputes between group of Islamic scholars, especially Ash'ariyya and Mu'tazila. There is a strong presumption that the birth of the last group, Mu'tazila, closely associated with the so-called science of *kalām* since controversy frequently debated among Muslims is around the word of God, or *kalām al-Lāh*. Moreover, there is certainly no innovation of Mu'tazila, which has caused such big controversy reaching out of theologians and echoed in the midst of public life, exceeds this doctrine. The affiliation between top officers of Mu'tazila (well known as the Islamic rationalist) and the Abbasiyah regime contributed to the thought where it was considered and has very strong effect on the political policy of empire. Therefore, it should be assumed that at the beginning of this doctrine, *khalq al-Qur'ān*, did not intended to respond to the issue of mere theological speculation, but it was closely related to the interests of the ruler.<sup>1</sup>

Mu'tazila's view on the Qur'an as a creature is a consequence of its concept of *Tawhīd*. According to Mu'tazila, God is only and only one. Rationally, it is understood that the Qur'an is *qadīm* (without beginning) and not creature then

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<sup>1</sup>According to Ahmad Amin, all fractions and groups emerged as the effect of political progress and phenomena after Rasulullah saw died are called as political groups (*ahzāb al-siyāsiyyah*) since the topics discussed were about the phenomena of welfare (*al-maslāhah*) for all muslims. Oddly enough, it was considered as *an sich* religion, even though they were aware of effects on social-political. Ahmad Amin, *Dūhā al-Islām*, vol. 3 (Cairo: Dār al-Kutub al-Ilmiyah, 1963), 5.

understanding on *qadīm* is divided into two or even more. This creates *ta'addud al-qudamā'* (multiplicity of beginningless entities) or counted *qadīm*. Assuming the existence of the *qadīm* besides Allah is considered idolatrous.<sup>2</sup>

There were many intellectual works by Mu'tazila scholars in 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> Hijriyah century. They were written in lots of volumes. At this time, they seemed to disappear. It is difficult to find manuscripts written by Mu'tazila scholars printed by modern Arab publishers. The works belong to Sunni scholars are widely printed recently. They focused on the book of *tafsir*, *hadith* and *fiqh*. If we go to a bookstore or library, it is almost rare to find books written by Mu'tazila scholars.

The lack of Mu'tazila scholars' work today can be understood. It is the direct effect of indoctrination done by caliph al-Ma'mun (198-218 H) who ruled *Bani Abbasiyah* and gave full support to Mu'tazila by any means. The caliph's alignment to Mu'tazila caused *mīhnah* (the imposition of the qur'an as creature) tragedy in 3<sup>rd</sup> Hijriyah century where some sunni scholars like Muhammad Ibn Hanbal got criminalized and tortured. The tragedy has inflicted hatred amongst sunni people to Mu'tazila.

The caliph al-Mutawakkil (228-232 H) canceled Mu'tazila as an official *madhab* of the state and replaced it with Ash'aria. Then al-Mutawakkil ordered his people to follow the experts of *Hadith* and hold on to the teachings of *Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jamā'ah* pioneered by Ahmad Ibn Hanbal in solving religious problems.<sup>3</sup> Consequently, Muslim people walked away from Mu'tazila teachings. Intellectual works of Mu'tazila scholars had not longer been taught. They were even considered as *gayru mu'tabarah* (not well accepted). The domination of Ash'ariyyah for centuries in the history of Islamic civilization stage is one of the factors that cause the loss of intellectual works of Mu'tazila.

In early 1950, a number of manuscripts found in Yaman, one of them was monumental work of Al-Qādī 'Abd al-Jabbār,

<sup>2</sup>Harun Nasution, *Teologi Islam: Aliran-aliran Sejarah Analisa Perbandingan* (Jakarta: UI-Press, 1986), 52

<sup>3</sup>Ahmad Amīn, *Duḥā al-Islām* (Cairo: Maktabah al-Nahdah al-Misriyah, 1964), 207.

i.e. The book *al-Mugni Abwāb fi al-Tawḥīd wa al-‘Adl*. It was then edited and published in Egypt between 1960 and 1969. The Book consists of 20 volumes.

For some people, this topic might be already out of date. However, we need to review this topic and find out the root of dispute among scholars at that time by directly looking at one of the important figures in Mu’tazila namely ‘Abd al-Jabbār through his monumental work, the book of *al-Mugni Abwāb fi al-Tawḥīd wa al-‘Adl*. This 7<sup>th</sup> volume book discusses *khalq al-Qur’ān*.

### **The Biography of Al-Qādī ‘Abd al-Jabbār**

‘Abd al-Jabbār was a prominent thinker of Mu’tazila. He was born in Hamazan, Khurashan area, in 325 H. He died in Ray (Tehran) in 415 Hijriyah (1025 AD) at the age of over 90.<sup>4</sup> His full name is Abū al-Ḥasan ‘Abd al-Jabbār bin Əhmad bin Khaṭīl bin ‘Abdullah al-Hamadhānī al-Asadabadi. Al-Hamdhānī is taken from the name of a town in Khurashan and al-Asadabadi is the name of one country in Khurashan. Another version says that Asadabadi is a small town (his birthplace) and located in Hamazan mountain (the region of Khurashan).<sup>5</sup>

There are many things that are not revealed on the life of ‘Abd al-Jabbār, one of them is his birth. It is very difficult to find information which explains exactly when he was born. Several sources just estimated his birth based on his death and part of his life. ‘Abd Karim ‘Uthman concluded from several

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<sup>4</sup>Ibn Athīr, *al-Kāmil fi al-Tārīkh*, Juz IX (Dār Ṣadir, 1996), 334.

<sup>5</sup>Classic intellectual works which discuss the biography of al-Qādī ‘Abd al-Jabbār are: Ibn al-Murtadā, *Tabaqāt al-Mu’tazilah* (Beirut: Dār al-Muntaṣir, 1961), 113; Shamsuddīn Abū ‘Abdullāh Muhammād al-Dhahabī, *Mīzān al-I’tidāl fi Naqd al-Rijāl*, ed. Sayyid Muhammād Badruddīn al-Halabī vol. 2 (Cairo: Māṭba’ah al-Sā’adah, 1325 H.), 91; Abū Sa’ad al-Muhsīn bin Muhammād bin Karāmah al-Ḥākim al-Jashmī, *Sharḥ Uyūn al-Masā’il* (Tunisia-Alger: Al-Dār al-Tūnisiyah li al-Nashr wa al-Mu’assasah al-Wātaniyah li al-Nashr, 1986), 365-371; Umar Riḍā Kahālah, *Mu’jam al-Mu’allifīn*, vol. 5 (Baghdād: Maktabah al-Mutanabbi, 1957), 78-79; Tājuddīn al-Sabakī, *Tabaqāt al-Shāfi’īyyah al-Kubrā*, ed. Abdul Fattah, et al. vol. 1 (Cairo: Dār Ḫijr li al-Tibā’ah wa al-Nashr wa al-Tawzī’, 1992), 95; al-Khaṭīb al-Bagdādī, *Tārīkh al-Bagdād*, vol. 10 (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyah, n.d.), 113-114; etc.

bibliographies that 'Abd al-Jabbār died in 415 hijriyah in Ray city, at the age of 90.<sup>6</sup> Therefore, it can be concluded that he might be born around 320-325 H.

Besides his birth, it is also not easy to find information on his background of life. He was only known from a disadvantaged family but he has high motivation for learning. There is a representative story describing his situation. One day on afternoon, he bought oil to treat his skin diseases. When he got home at night, he found his lamp oil runs out. He wondered whether the oil is used for light so that he can read, or treating his disease. After having thought, he decided to use oil for light.<sup>7</sup>

His motivation for learning was also witnessed from his persistence in searching for knowledge since early age in his hometown, Asadabad and the neighboring town, Qazwin. Al-Zubayr ibn 'Abd al-Wahid (died in 347 H) and Abū al-Hasan bin Salmah al-Qattān (died in 345 H) taught him. In 340 H, at the age of 17, he went to Hamazan city to learn hadith from 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn al-Jallāb Hamdhān (died in 346 H) and Abū Bakr ibn Muhammad ibn Zakariya. It is important to note that he followed *madhab* Shāfi'i in *fiqh* and *madhab* Ash'ariyya in *aqidah* (theology).

With his knowledge on hadith, he went to Basrah. At that time, Basrah was the center of Islamic studies. Mu'tazila had dominant position in this city. This dominance was proved by many discussion forums and studies conducted by Mu'tazila. Debates which ever emerge were a challenge for 'Abd al-Jabbār, who always responded to the speech of scholars. He learnt hard and was more diligent in joining new forum and *halqah*.

Eventually, with this intellectual clash, he decided to move from Ash'ariyya theology to *i'tizāl*, or well known as Mu'tazila. However, in law (*fiqh*), he still followed *madhab* Shāfi'i. Moreover, his close relation to a teacher, Abū Ishāq 'Alī ibn 'Ayyāṣ (successor of popular Mu'tazila scholar, Abū Hāshim), also affected his decision.

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<sup>6</sup>Read the forward on the book of al-Qādī 'Abd al-Jabbār, *Sharḥ Uṣūl al-Khamsah* (Cairo: Maktabah Wahbah, 1965), 11.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., 15.

After getting more knowledge in Basrah, he went to Bagdad to meet and learn from Abū ‘Abdullah al-Basri, Mu’tazila scholars and the follower of *madhab* Hanafi.<sup>8</sup> According to a biographer, ‘Abd al-Jabbār was worried about his affiliation to *madhab* Shāfi‘ī in fiqh and willing to learn *fiqh* based on *madhab* Hanafi. However, Abū ‘Abdullah al-Basri, his adviser, suggested to remain follower of al-Shāfi‘iyya. At this period, ‘Abd al-Jabbār began to write his works under the guidance of his teacher.

At the beginning of 360 H, he went again to Ramahurmuz, Khuzistan. In the small town that has many Mu’tazila people, he began teaching at the mosque of Abū Muḥammad al-Ramahurmuzī. In this town, he began dictating his greatest book *al-Mugni fī Abwāb al-Tawhid wa al-'Adl*.

‘Abd al-Jabbār’s reputation as a lecturer and writer has spread anywhere. Al-Ṣāhib bin Abbād (326-385 H), famous *wazīr* from Bani Buwayhī during Mu’ayyid al-Dawlah, invited him to be appointed as the *qādī al-qudāh* (chief of magistrate), a prestigious position ever given to the presiding judge of ‘Abāsiya and Fāṭimiyya dynasty in the next era. This position is related to managing political policy in the field of religious courts. This position’s authority is to appoint and dismiss judges. Besides his position, his brilliance could also be seen through his role in actualizing the mindset of Mu’tazila. Eventually, exactly in 415 H/1025 AD, *al-qādī* as he is usually called, passed away in Rayy.

The works of ‘Abd al-Jabbār does not only focus on the fields of theology, but also *fiqh*, *hadith*, debate manual and notes on advices. According to al-Ḥākim al-Jushamī, ‘Abd al-Jabbār’s work is more than 400,000 pages. His works, according to Abdul Karim Ustman cited by A. Jacob Makondang, are 57 book titles. Unfortunately, most of these works are not found again today. Several works that come to us are:

1. *al-Mugni fī Abwāb al-Tawhid wa al-'Adl*. This book actually consists of 20 chapters considered as representative of the whole idea of Mu’tazila through transformation ‘Abd al-Jabbār. However, 6 chapters have not been found until now.

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<sup>8</sup>See Ahmad Mahmud Subki, *Fī Iḥm al-Kalām*, vol. 1 (Beirut: Dār al-Nahdah al-‘Arabiyyah, 1975), 159-263.

2. *Sharḥ al-Usūl al-Khamsah*. This book is a basic guidance for Mu’tazila, as it describes the five basic principles, or “Pancasila” of Mu’tazila.
3. *Faḍl al-I‘izāl wa Tabaqāt al-Mu’tazilat wa Mubayanātuhum li Sā’ir al-Mukhālifin*. This book contains a general introduction to understand Mu’tazila. It explains some of Mu’tazila teachings, misunderstanding of Mu’tazila’s opponents, and biographies of Mu’tazila’s scholars.
4. *Tanzīh al-Qur’ān ‘an al-Maṭā’iñ* and many more.

### **The book *al-Mugnī fi Abwāb al-Tawḥīd wa al-‘Adl***

In early 1950, a number of manuscripts found in Yaman, one of the was a monumental work of Al-Qādī ‘Abd al-Jabbār, the book *al-Mugnī fi Abwāb al-Tawḥīd wa al-‘Adl*. It was then edited and published in Egypt between 1960 and 1969. The book consists of 20 volumes.

It was edited by various experts such as Ibrahim Madkur and Thaha Husein. The book is a monumental work which includes comprehensive theological of Mu’tazila. It is made up of 20 volumes but 14 volumes were found.<sup>9</sup> Six of them have lost, i.e. the first, second, third, tenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth.

The era of Al-Qādī ‘Abd al-Jabbār was the prototype for the final maturity of Mu’tazila’s thought in the second rise when he got political asylum from the palace of Al-Buwayhiya. Some works that came later explore and represent the maturity of thought without having to spread all the books there.<sup>10</sup>

### **Early Emergence of “The Qur’ān as Creature”**

Historically, the view, that the Qur’ān is creature, was popularized by Jahm bin Safwan.<sup>11</sup> In a further development, when Mu’tazila has been the official state doctrine, it has

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<sup>9</sup>A. Chaerudji Abd. Chalik, *Ilmu Kalam* (Jakarta: Diadit Media, 2007), 80.

<sup>10</sup>Nasr Hamid Abu Zayd, *Menalar Firman Tuhan: Wacana Majas dalam al-Qur’ān menurut Mu’tazilah* (Bandung: Mizan, 2003), 20-21.

<sup>11</sup>Aḥmad Amin, *Duḥā al-Islām*, Juz III (Mesir: al-Nahḍah al-Misriyah, 1936), 162.

become a very dominant issue. Mu'tazila reached its golden age during the three Abbasiya's caliph, i.e. al-Ma'mun, al-Mu'tasim and al-Wathiq (813 AD-847 AD). In this period, *al-Mihnah* movement reached top position.

Labib bin al-A'sam al-Yahudi was the first person who promote the Qur'an is creature. He is the one who used to enchant Rasulullah.<sup>12</sup> His words that the Qur'an is creature adopted from his nephew Talud from Bayan bin Sam'an from Ja'ad bin Dirham<sup>13</sup> in the Umayya dynasty. Then he was expelled, fled to Kufah and settled there. In Kufah, there were not many people followed his view except Jahm bin Sufwan.<sup>14</sup> In a short time, he was arrested by the governor of Iraq, Khalid al-Qushairi.<sup>15</sup>

Another figure who pioneered the belief that the Qur'an is creature was Bishr bin Giyath bin Abi Karimah Abi 'Abd al-Rahman al-Muraysi. He was expert on *kalam* (theology) and *fiqh* based on *madhab* Hanafi. He studied *fiqh* to the senior student and friend of Imam Abi Hanifah, al-Qadhi Abi Yusuf Al-Hanafi. He narrated the hadith from Hamad bin Salamah and Sufyan bin Uyaynah. In addition to his expertise in the field of *fiqh* and *hadith*, he also studied thoroughly theology which make

<sup>12</sup>Read information about enchant ion to prophet Muhammad in the book shahih Bukhari no. 5321

<sup>13</sup>Ibn Hajar said that Ja'ad bin Dirham categorized as *Tabi'in*, did misleading thought (*bid'ah*), amongst them; he thought that Allah Has not appointed prophet Ibrahim as *al-Khalil* and Allah did not speak to prophet Musa. He was killed in Iraq at *idul adha*, Ja'ad often spread false news as well.

<sup>14</sup>Abu Asim, *Mukhtasar Ma'arij al-Qabul* (Cairo: Dar al-Shafwah, 1427 H), 56. See also Mustafa Muhammad Hilmi, *Manhaj Ulamah al-Hadith wa al-Sunnah fi Usul al-Din* (Cairo: Dar Ibn al-Jauzi, 2005), 81, and Muhammad Salih bin Uthaymin, *Sharh 'Aqidah al-Safarayni* (Mesir: Dar al-Manar, 1323 H), chapter 1, 21, and al-Shahrastani, *al-Milal wa al-Nihal* (Beirut: Dar Ibn Jazm, 2005), 79-81.

<sup>15</sup>When *Idul Adha* came, after praying and the end of preaching, Khalid stated that, "Please go home and have sacrifice, may Allah accepts your sacrifice, today I will sacrifice Ja'ad bin Dirham." Then Khalid step down from his place and got Ja'ad out of the jail then he slashed Ja'ad's throat. Read Ibn Atsir, *Al-Kamil fi al-Tarikh* (Beirut: Dar Al-Afaqi Al-Jadidah, 1987), 263.

him stating that the Qur'an is creature. At Harun al-Rashid's administration, he has not dared to express his opinion about *khalq al-Qur'ān*. Harun al-Rasyid is a firm person in the case of *khalq al-Qur'ān*, as narrated by Muhammad bin Nuh, "I've heard Harun al-Rashid said: "It has reached me that Bishr Al-Murayṣī said that the Qur'an is creature. It is my duty, if Allah swt seeks that person to me, I will give him death sentence in a way that anyone has never had".<sup>16</sup>

After the caliph al-Ma'mun getting his throne, he dared to state that the Qur'an is creature. He even involved in affecting the belief of caliph al-Ma'mun. When the doctrine of Mu'tazila raised the problem of "*khalq Al-Qur'ān*", then theology entered the formal-legal state. This occur at the time of al-Ma'mun under the influence of Bishr al-Muraysi then al-Ma'mun made Mu'tazila as the official doctrine of the state and aimed firmly against opposite ideology. Expressive doctrine is that the Qur'an is creature. Aggressive enforcement of the dogma is marked by *al-miḥnah* movement.<sup>17</sup> It is a dark episode in the history of Mu'tazila that Muslims cannot forget. The episode is known as the tragedy of *al-miḥnah*.

Al-Ma'mun set Mu'tazila as official state doctrine along with this miḥnah tragedy is to have dual purposes: *First*, he wanted to clean every apparatus of government and community leaders from acts of shirk. *Second*, he wanted to increase the number of Mu'tazila's followers. This is proved from his efforts to launch *miḥnah* to jurists (*fuqaha*) and *hadith* experts (*muḥadithin*). It was expected that they wanted to admit the view that the Qur'an is

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<sup>16</sup>Ibn al-Qayyim al-Jawziyah, *Maṇāqib Imām Ahmad bin Hanbāl* (Cairo: Maktabah al-Khamaji, 1979 M), 285.

<sup>17</sup>Louis Ma'luf, *Al-Munjid fi al-Lugah wa al-Adab* (Beirut: 1979), 750 . Al-Miḥnah , this term was ever used to describe the patience of the prophets in facing obstacles in preaching. Read Ahmad Amin, *Duhā al-Islām* (Cairo: Maktabah al-Nahḍah al-Misriyah, II, 1936), 166. Therefore, al-Miḥnah is inquisition. Read Noercholis Madjid, "Disiplin Keilmuan Tradisional Islam, Ilmu Kalām," in *Islam Doktrin dan Peradaban* (Jakarta: Paramadina, 1992), 207. In this context, *al-Miḥnah* can be seen as litsus, i.e. the policy of Abbasiyah government (read: al-Ma'mūn) to clarify (with sanction), someone's opinion about religious problems, especially Khalq Al-Qur'ān.

creature. There were certainly a lot of people who follow the teachings of Mu'tazila.<sup>18</sup>

Besides Bishr al-Muraysī, another figure who propagated *khalq al-Qur'ān*, he then became one of the advisers of Al-Ma'mun and the enemy to the Imam Ahmad, is Ahmad bin Abū Duād bin Alī Abū Sulaymān. He is one of the Mu'tazila scholars. In addition, he is also known as a poet, although he did not have many poems. Da'bal, in one of his books, included Ahmad bin Abū Duād into a row of poets and he also narrated poetry from him.<sup>19</sup>

Ahmad bin Abī Duād is intelligent, gentle and has good attitude. Before the caliph, his word is considered as a law. He opened the caliph's meeting and no one may speak unless after he started. His words can help *dhālim* people, relieve the person who will be punished and uphold the truth. However, his ability is only used fully to support Mu'tazila's teachings and torture Mu'tazila's opponents from the *ahl hadīth* (Hadith experts). Khatib al-Bagdadi said: "If he was not involved in al-miḥnā then his words will always be heard".

### **Mu'tazila's General View on *Khalq al-Qur'ān***

Understanding the Qur'an as creature is a consequence of Mu'tazila teachings, i.e. al-Tawhid. According to Mu'tazila, God is only one. Rationally, it can be understood that the Qur'an is *qadīm* and it is not creature. This means that there are two or even more *qadīm* which emerge a view namely *ta'addud al qudāmā'* or counted *qadīm*. Assuming the existence of the *qadīm* but Allah is considered idolatrous.<sup>20</sup>

The discourse of *khalq al-Qur'ān* is interesting and unique characteristic of Mu'tazila compared to other *madhab* of Islamic theologies. It has been complicated and shocking polemic which causes bloody tragedy in the context of socio-political. This polemic and tragedy reached the top in golden age of the caliph al-Ma'mun. Then what is the essence that makes the Qur'an as

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<sup>18</sup>Nasution, *Teologi Islam*, 62.

<sup>19</sup>Ali al-Tantawi, *Rijāl Min al-Tārikh* (Jeddah: Dār al-Manarah, 1990), 80.

<sup>20</sup>Nasution, *Teologi Islam*, 52.

the object of seizure so the different view on the Qur'an keeps existing: the statement of Mu'tazila's view on the Qur'an *vis a vis* Sunni's view on the Qur'an. Each side insists on maintaining its stance. The discourse of the Qur'an is the first discourse in theology that puts the entity of *aqidah* into scientific discourse and the area of philosophy. This discourse would drive Islamic thought into a thought of Arab-Islamic philosophy genre.

Mu'tazila is closely related to theology (*kalām*). The meaning of *kalām* according to Muzaffaruddin Nadvi is a thought born during the time of the dispute between orthodox Islam with the new Islamic adherents.<sup>21</sup> Meanwhile, Syahrastani stated that this knowledge is called “*kalām*” since the most frequent disputes among various segments of the Islamic community is the issue concerning the word of Allah swt, or science created to face the Greek philosophy which was then named “*mantiq*” since the word “theology” and “*mantiq*” are the same.

Mustafa Muhammad Hilmi, in his book *Manhāj Ulama al-Hadīth wa al-Sunnah fī Uṣūl al-Dīn* quoting from the book *Mafātiḥ al-Ūlum* written by al-Khawarizmi, mentions eight important issues for Mu'tazila as follows:

1. Arguing *ad-Dabriyah* group that states this nature is *qadīm*<sup>22</sup>. Mu'tazila assumes that *hudūth* of body as proof that nature is created by Allah.
2. *Tanzīh* (purification)<sup>23</sup> to Allah, as a rebuttal to the Jews, Christians and Zoroastrians. Jews had equated Allah with His

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<sup>21</sup>Muzaffaruddin Nadvi, *Pemikiran Muslim dan Sumbernya*, translated by Adang Affandi (Bandung: Pustaka, 1984), 6-7.

<sup>22</sup>Qadim means *azali* and eternal, it is no start and no end. There is a different meaning of qadim between the philosopher and language expert. Language expert defines qadim as something preceded but new. Meanwhile the philosophers state that qadim is something unpreceded which means always exist. Read Muḥammad bin 'Ali al-Husaynī al-Jurjānī al-Hanafī, *al-Ta'rifat* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-Ilmiyyah, 2003), 173 dan Abū Ḥilāl al-Askari, *al-Furūq al-Lugāniyah*, ed. Muḥammad Basil 'Uyun al-Su'ud (Beirut: Dār Kutub al-Ilmiyyah, 2000), 71.

<sup>23</sup>*Tanzīh* is declaring that Allah is only one by ignoring His *qadīm* of His character. In Mu'tazila's belief, the assumption of *qadīm* in His nature equals to counted qadim which can be categorized as idolatrous. Therefore, Mu'tazila's concept of *tanzīh* exists as response on Jews' faith dan trinity for Christians.

creatures. Christians assume that Allah swt is three in one (trinity). Zoroastrians say that there are two Gods, i.e. the god of light and the god of darkness.

3. Stating that Allah swt is the all knowing, the foreign lord, the alive and Allah is the One as a rebuttal to the *Mu'atilah* group who rejected the characteristics of Allah.
4. Discussion on *kalām al-Lāb*; whether or not the Qur'an is a creature.
5. Discussion about *Af'al al-Ibād*; whether the Qur'an is Allah's creature or a servant.
6. The law on the people who die doing major sins; whether they will be eternally in hell or if they will get the grace of Allah then they go to heaven.
7. Proving the existence of prophetic in general and the prophetic of Muhammad in particular; as a rebuttal to *Barahimah*<sup>24</sup> which negates prophetic.
8. Discussion about *Imāmah* (leadership); who should manage the government and who does not deserve.<sup>25</sup> In this modern era, or after the collapse of the Ottoman caliphate, the discussion turned to *fiqh siyāsi*, i.e. “*'Adamu fasl bayna al-siyāsah wa al-dīn*” (do not separate between politics and religion).

Regarding the fourth, whether or not the Qur'an is a creature, Mu'tazila view the Qur'an as words consisting of letter and voice. Thus, it can be equal to familiar words.<sup>26</sup> Words reveal its mind in order to be recognized. If the Qur'an consists of words, while the words are new, then the Qur'an is new. Besides that, the characteristic of the Qur'an is not substance's

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<sup>24</sup>Barahimah is rooted in the word Brahma (One of the Gods in Hindu); this religion emerged in 8<sup>th</sup> century BC. Mu'tazilah is a firm group which opposes the idea of Barahimah, they even stated that prophetic is a must, al-Safaraini mentioned that: “the truth of prophets deputation is allowed by common sense and compulsory from syaria” Read al-Safarayni, *Lawāmi' al-Anwar al-Bahiyah wa Sawa'i' al-Asrār al- Athariyah sarḥ al-Durrab al-Mudiyah fi 'Aqīdah al-Firqah al-Mardiyah* (Damsyiq: Muasasah al-Khafiqin, 1982 M), 256.

<sup>25</sup>Muṣṭafa Muḥammad Ḥilmī, *Manhāj 'Ulamā' al-Hadīth wa al-Sunnah*, 94 dan al-Khawarizmi, *Mafatīḥ al-Ulūm* (Mesir: Dar al-Muniriyah, 1342 H), 17-18.

<sup>26</sup>Abd al-Jabbār, *Sarḥ Uṣūl*, 528.

character but it is one of the nature of act. Thus, the Qur'an is creature. It means that God give words (*kalām*) in *Lawḥ Mahfūz* to His messenger.<sup>27</sup>

In fact, there is split opinion in Mu'tazila in defining the meaning of *al-Kalām*, whether it is *jism*, *ard*, or *makhlūq*. They are divided into 3 opinions:

*First*, a part of Mu'tazila group stated that *kalām al-Lāh* is just *jism*. *Second*, al-Nadhām and his followers' opinion; they stated that *kalām* creature is *ard* and has movement. It is not categorized as *ard* if it has not moved. Meanwhile, *kalām khaliq* is *jism* since it consists of letter and voice which can be heard including *fi'il* and Allah's creature. What has been done by human is reading (*al-Qira'ah*). Reading is a movement and it does not include in the Qur'an. And *third*, the opinion of Abu al-Huzail, Ja'far bin Harb, al-Askafi and their followers. They stated that *kalām* is *ard* and creature.

Based on the explanation above, we can draw a conclusion that Mu'tazila has different opinion whether the Qur'an is *ard* or *jism*. However, they have agreement that the Qur'an is creature. To justify their belief that the Qur'an is creature, Mu'tazila interprets several verses of the Qur'an which refer to their understanding that the Qur'an is not *kalām al-Lāh* in the basic meaning.

The verses of the Qur'an addressed by Mu'tazila are as follows:

1. Al-Baqarah [2] 30: "*And (remember) when your Lord said to the angels*". The word "idh" or "when" in the verse is *dbaraf zamān, mādhli*. It indicates a past time. The word of God is declared to have occurred at a particular time. Thus, everything seen derived from a particular time is something new instead of *azali*. This as evidence that the Qur'an is new.
2. Hūd [11] 1: "*Alif lām rā, (This is) a Book, the Verses whereof are perfected (in every sphere of knowledge, etc.), and then explained in detail from One (Allah)*". This verse indicates that the qur'an is composed of verses, i.e. the arranged parts. When it is called so then it is obvious that the Qur'an is new.

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<sup>27</sup>Nasution, *Teologi Islam*, 113.

3. Al-Tawbah [9] 6: “so that he may hear the Word of Allah (the *Qur'an*)”. Each of which can be heard is new, since something audible is in the form of words and sounds.
4. Yūsuf [12] 2: “Verily, We have sent it down as an Arabic *Qur'an* in order that you may understand”. There is no doubt that Al-qur'an is not delivered since *azali*. Descended means moving from one place to another. Each thing which has changed is new.
5. Al-Burūj [21] 22: “Nay! This is a Glorious *Qur'an*. (Inscribed) in *al-Lawh al-Mahfūz* (The preserved tablet)?” That the actual words of *Lawh* protecting the *Qur'an* implies “*khalq*” (temporal) since an object is not protected unless something created. Abu al-Hudhail al-'Allaf, one of the thinkers of Mu'tazila who was born and studied in Basrah then he moved to Baghdad, argued that Allah created the *Qur'an* in *lawh al-Mahfūz*. The *lawh al-Mahfūz* is still in the form of *'ard*. Then it is seen in three places; where it is kept, where it is written, and where it is read and heard.<sup>28</sup>
6. Al-Baqarah [2] 106: The word “*naskh*” is none other than to accept the changes and turnover. This is clearly a proof of the existence of the *Qur'an* as a new form that distinguishes the old form (not presented or *qadīm*). It will not have change and replacehumant.

*Aqli* arguments which they stated are:

1. God's command is not worth, if there is no party that ruled. As the word of God “establish praying”. When this verse existed since *azali*, meanwhile the party ordered to establish praying did not exist at that time then it is something impossible. There is command but no one is ordered to do. It is a unreasonable case to attribute to God.
2. The word of the God to prophet Musa was not the God's words to prophet Muhammad. Channels of the two *kalām* to the two prophets are different as well. It is not possible that the two words along their understanding are one. Moreover, both news contain the condition of two different people. If

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<sup>28</sup>Jurnal ISLAMIA, 1<sup>st</sup> edition, 39

it is admitted that the two words *azali* of God are not one, then this would be contrary to the idea of the One.

3. If the Qur'an is not a creature, then it is *qadīm*. Besides the *qadīm* God, there is other *qadīm* namely the Qur'an. Thus, there is *ta'addud al-qudāmā'* as the Christians' opinion about Isa.<sup>29</sup>
4. Regarding Allah's *kalām*, they see the word of God is temporary (not eternal) and being created (creature). It consists of sound and letters. It is written by human. Thus, it means that the Qur'an is a creature - in a variety of books in similar ways to the original incarnation. Moreover, all that take place and are created are creature. Every creature is bound to disappear (perish/ not eternal).<sup>30</sup>

Before the view on the Qur'an as creature existed, the scholars had agreed (*ijma'*) that the Qur'an consists of letters, verses, a series of sentences and letters. They also have argued that we read the existing the Qur'an with our tongue, touch it by hand, see it with the eyes, and hear it with the ears. All of these are impossible for God's character. The character of *azali* called *al-kalām* is not possible to be characterized as aforementioned cases.<sup>31</sup> In fact, the Qur'an, which consists of letters, can be damaged or burned immediately. Meanwhile, *jawhar* (essence) of God does not take place, does not have body, and will never be mortal. Thus, the Qur'an is not *kalām azali*.

Those are two arguments addressed by Mu'tazila; argument from the Qur'an (*naqli*) or *aqli* arguments in order to maintain their belief about *khalq al-Qur'ān*. They are very careful in understanding the verses of the Qur'an especially in interpreting one verse with other verses and one word with another word. So, the intent and purpose of these verses are quite obvious. In

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<sup>29</sup>Muhammad Abū Zahrah, *Tārikh al-Madhbāhīb al-Islāmiyah*, Vol. II (Dār al-Fikr al-‘Arabi), 303. This kind interpretation of the Qur'an is called *Tafsīr bi al-Ma'thūr*. Meanwhile, if the Qur'an is interpreted by al-Hadith, it is called *tashrī'*, read Abdul Wahab Khalaf, *Uṣūl Fiqh* (Maktabah al-Da'wat al-Islamiya) 167.

<sup>30</sup>Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-Karīm Shahrastānī, *Sekte-sekte Islam* (Bandung: Pustaka, 1996), 58.

<sup>31</sup>Aḥmad Amin, *Duḥūb al-Islām*, 24-25.

addition, they are very sharp in providing philosophical ‘*aqli* proposition. This is understandable since Mu’tazila understood a lot of science and Greek philosophy given the color of Islam. O.Leary stated that Greek philosophy has left a great influence on the world of Islamic thought. It is very appropriate if Mu’tazila scholars refer to philosophy and are regarded as the first Islamic philosophers.<sup>32</sup> They uphold the Greece philosophers, put them on a prophetic level, and trust their views. Their teachings are considered as complement of Islamic teachings.<sup>33</sup>

Meanwhile, hadith experts (*al-muḥaddithīn*), experts in Islamic law (*al-fuqāḥa*) and generally orthodox responded that “ability to speak” (*al-kalām*) is the nature of God,<sup>34</sup> i.e. eternal without beginning and relentless. It is exactly the same as “power” (*al-qudrat*), “will” (*al-iradat*) and the other infinite nature of His existence. The word, as a manifestation of God who speaks, does not come from a particular act (a will to create) but it has been around forever. Thus, the Qur’an is definitely *qadīm* since it was not created (not the creature) and it is not new at all.

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<sup>32</sup>A. Hanafi, *Theology Islam*, 81.

<sup>33</sup>*Ibid.*, 80.

<sup>34</sup>Mu’tazilah group has sharp different opinion with Ash’ariyya group about “the natures of God”. *First*, for Mu’tazila, the nature of God does not stand outside the substance but it is the essence of God. Thus, God knows with His knowledge and the knowledge is His substance. Muhammad Ibn Abd al-Karim al-Shahrastānī, *al-Mīlāl wa al-Nihāl* (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1997), vol. 1, 49. Meanwhile, Al-Ash’ari stated that, “The nature is not the God’s substance however it is not different from His substance since it could not stand alone and no nature without substance (*qā’imah bi dhātihī*). Thus, God knows with His ‘*Ilmu*. This knowledge is not the nature of God since Allah is not the knowledge but He is “the all knowing”. Abū al-Hasan al-Ash’ari, *al-Ibānah ‘an Uṣūl al-Dījānah* (Cairo: Idarah al-Thaba’ah al-Muniriyah, tt), 40. *Second*, Ash’ariyya group stated that since the God’s substance is *azātī* and *qadīm* then the God’s nature is also *azātī* and *qadīm*. Mu’tazila refuses the God’s nature (*nafyū al-sifāt*) since the existence of this nature can emerge counted *qadīm* except His substance. “Anyone who determines the nature as *qadīm*, he/she acknowledges that there are two Gods”, stated Wāṣil bin ‘Atā’, the leading figure in this movement. Al-Shahrastānī, *al-Mīlāl*, 46.

To clarify the issue, the scholars agreed stating the Qur'an can be viewed from two aspects:<sup>35</sup> *First*, in terms of its source, i.e. God has the nature of *al-Kalām*. The Qur'an is nothing but the word of God and His eternal nature. However, since it often associate with physical things then the words should be interpreted in the abstract form, i.e. anything that lies behind the arrangement of letters, words, and sounds. *Second*, in terms of the letters and sentences, as stated in the official script (*mushaf*) and read by Muslims are new. The Qur'an which is new and created is not the true nature of God but rather a sign or manifestation of God's word. It is called the Word of God in a metaphorical sense (*majaz*).

Contrary to the above opinion, Mu'tazila actually sees serious violations of the pure monotheism in that explanation. Restoring nature of speech (*anthropomorphic*) to Allah (*al-tajassum wa al-tashbih*) and recognizes the existence of eternal beings beside God Himself. It will cause counted "the Eternal" (*ta'addud al-qudama*). This case, according to Mu'tazila, will potentially undermine the principle of one God (*al-tawḥīd*) since "no *qadīm* but God and only God alone should be *qadīm*".<sup>36</sup> With a great desire to sanctify God (*tanzīh*) from unworthy things, Mu'tazila refuses the view that the Qur'an is *qadīm*.

### **Al-Qadhi ‘Abd al-Jabbār’s view on Khalq al-Qur’ān**

Various answers to the question whether or not the Qur'an is creature almost cause a long dispute among scholars who are majoring *kalām*. Mu'tazila group is not only the group which believe "the Qur'an is *kalām al-Lāh* created from nothing into existence". Khawarij, Murji'a, Zaidiya, Rāfida and even Shi'a do so.<sup>37</sup> However, it seems that Mu'tazila is able to break down and explain about *kalām al-Lāh* as a creation of Allah. This attracts the attention of scholars who oppose it.

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<sup>35</sup>Muhammad Ahmad Abī Zahrah, *Tārīkh al-Madhbāhīb al-Islāmiyah* (Beirut: Dāl al-Fikr, 1975), 182.

<sup>36</sup>Nasution, *Teologi Islam*, 52.

<sup>37</sup>Abū al-Hasan al-Ash’arī, *Maqālāt Islāmiyyīn*, vol. 2 (Cairo: Maktabah al-Khanjī, n.d.), 572.

Understanding Mu'tazila's theory on *khalq al-Qur'an* is enough to read the work of "Maqālat Islāmiyyīn" Al-Asy'ari. It would be more trustworthy if we grasp about Mu'tazila from the encyclopedia of Mu'tazila written by Al-Qādī 'Abd al-Jabbār, i.e. *al-Mugnī fī Abwāb al-Tawbīd wa al-'Adl*. In addition, general understanding on Mu'tazila can be examined in the work of Al-Ash'ari.

In initial discussions, *Kalām fī al-Qur'an wa Sā'ir Kalām al-Lāh*, Al-Qādī 'Abd al-Jabbār described the general view of Mu'tazila. He said:

"Those people have different opinions about the Qur'an and all *kalām al-Lāh*, while our teachers contend that *Kalām al-Lāh 'Azzā wa Jalla* comes from intelligible (*al-ma'qūl*) *kalām* which is different in the real world (*al-shāhid*). It is composed of letters and (issuing) piece of voices. It is also accident ('ard) created by Allah in the corpus (*ajsām*). The reason for this creation is to be heard and understood its meaning. Angels revealed it to the Prophets a.s based on what was commanded by God and taught it for beneficiary. *Kalām al-Lāh* includes commands and prohibitions, news and various parts such as the word of His servants. Thus, it is not true that previous *kalām* believed by some people is different with us. Likewise, it is not true for those who believe in provision that it was a move. Besides, it is not true for those who believe in newly *kalām* provision is different with this intelligible one. Although they argue with the reasons stated by some of them that *kalām* (Allah) stands alone. Furthermore, our teachers disagree on secondary matters (*jurūl*) related to his issue such as the issue of conservation of *kalām* (*baqā' al-kalām*), in story, and *muhkī* (something told), the issues that still need explanation or other, whether *kalām* is voice or not, and so forth. However, all *ahl al-'adl* groups do not have different view that the Qur'an is creature (created), renewed, done, and from nothing to existence. The Qur'an is not Allah '*Azzā wa Jalla*. Allah renews in accordance with His servants' benefits. He has full power to do it. He is attributed as the messenger, speaker, the One who commands and prohibits based on His actions. They all stated that Allah Almighty is the speaker (*mutakalim bil*)."<sup>38</sup>

This text shows the similarities between *kalām al-ma'qūl* which is in the real world (*al-shāhid*), i.e. human's *kalām* and *kalām al-ma'qūl* which is in the unseen world (*al-gā'ib*), i.e. God's

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<sup>38</sup>Al-Qādī 'Abd al-Jabbār, *al-Mugnī fī Abwāb al-Tawbīd wa al-'Adl*, ed. Ibrāhīm Abyari, vol. 7 (Cairo: Maktabah al-Hay'ah al-'Ammah li al-Kitāb, n.d.), 3.

*kalām*. This similarity actually can undermine Mu’tazila’s view about the One by ignoring *qadīm* and His natures in absolute way (*tanzīh al-mutlaq*). If we analyze deeper, Mu’tazila is often get trapped in this kind of analogy. e.g., when they assert that the nature of the word of the divine (Allah’s *kalām*) is not the nature of His substance but it is the nature of the act. Thus, it is easy to understand that the word of the divine is an act of God like human’s *kalām* regarded as human’s action. When *kalām* is still the act then it should have the creator, i.e. Allah. Therefore, Mu’tazila agrees that the issue of “*Allah Mutakallim*” shows that God is the creator of *kalām* or *causa efficiens* (*al-illah al-fā’ilah*) for *kalām*. For this condition, there is one condition, i.e. it is from Allah and takes place in accordance with the intention, the will, and His impulses. Allah has power over all things. He is able to (Almighty) create *kalām*, or even He can become a *causa efficiens* (*al-illah al-fā’ilah*) where His power is *causa* of recognition or approval in which it is *causa kalām*.<sup>39</sup>

This time, al-Qādī ‘Abd al-Jabbār and also Mu’tazila generally start again from the immaterial analogy on material (*qiyās al-gā’ib ‘alā al-shahid*). In other words, he tried to define the notion of “the act of *kalām*”, i.e. Allah is able to speak” is analogized to “the act of *kalām*”, i.e. human’s speech. As consequence, the nature of *al-mutakallim* for Allah as the creator of *kalām* must be interpreted “by Himself” attributed to human as the maker of *kalām*. The questions are: what is evidence to show that the Qur’an (*kalām* which is heard and exist in the real world) as the real Allah’s *kalām*? Is there no other existence in the word of Allah (Allah’s *kalām*) in the Qur’an such as human existence?

The questions will not have answer unless we establish prophetic evidence beforehand with convincing arguments. After all, listening to the text of the Qur'an does not necessarily raise a question whether it comes from Allah or not. However, a more precise question on this issue covers in the miracle of the Qur'an. Al-Qādī ‘Abd al-Jabbār is one of the scholars in Mu’tazila who tends to believe the miracle of the Qur'an lies in

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<sup>39</sup>Ibid., 55.

its organized and extraordinary linguistic aspects. Meanwhile, the meanings covered in the Qur'an show the truth and in accordance with common sense.<sup>40</sup>

Furthermore, Al-Qādī 'Abd al-Jabbār tried to reveal the reason why the Qur'an is the new Allah's *kalām* (*hadīth*) and created (*al-makhlūq*)? The answer, if *kalām* is composed of the arranged letters and piece of voices, then it should be new. Theoretically, every *kalām* enables to exist or not, rely on its supporting factors to exist or not since it is not the essence or *jism* (corpus) but rather as *accidence* ('ard) which cannot exist except in places or corpus (*jism*).<sup>41</sup>

In addition, the word of Allah is not possible to be new (*hadīth*) for no other reason which claims that Allah is *mutakallim* (the supreme speak). It means that there are activities or actions to speak (*kalām*). During *kalām* was made, then it is unlikely that *kalām* is *qadīm*. However, it is new (*hadīth*) for sure. Therefore, the statement of *qidam* the *Qur'an* will show itself that the Qur'an is Allah, whereas the Qur'an may not be Allah Himself.<sup>42</sup>

According to Al-Qādī 'Abd al-Jabbār, *kalām* is phrase that can be understood through a certain letter system consist of two or more consonants (hijaiyah's letters). Everything that meets these criteria shall be *kalām*. If it did not comply, then it should not be called *kalām*. If it is expressed as a form of recognition, then it cannot be called *kalām* either unless such expression can be understood or give understanding. Therefore, the speech of birds cannot be called as *kalām* although it could compose of two letters or more.<sup>43</sup>

The definition given by 'Abd al-Jabbār, including the requirement, provides the understanding of definition that rests on one of the very vital pillars of Mu'tazila's thinking, i.e. the issue of validity in analogizing something that cannot be perceived (the language of God) with something which can be perceived (human language). The analogy concludes that Allah's *kalām* (supernatural) is classified in the category of

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<sup>40</sup>Ibid., vol. 16, 153.

<sup>41</sup>Ibid., 24.

<sup>42</sup>Ibid., 56.

<sup>43</sup>Ibid., vol. 7, 6.

understandable *kalām* (as in the real world or *zahir*) in the form of a collection of certain letters and arranged sounds.<sup>44</sup> The differentiating factor between *kalām* in the supernatural and in the real world is our need for a specific structure as a device to experience *kalām* in the real world.<sup>45</sup> Allah in the supernatural does not require the structure of words as a device to carry out a speech. That's because Allah has full power over His substance. He does not require the device nor require any cause.<sup>46</sup>

To this end, 'Abd al-Jabbār concluded that the word of Allah (Allah's *kalām*) is a presentation created by Allah in the objects in the form of instructions or messages that can be heard and understood. Furthermore, the angels present it to the Prophet as commanded by Allah. The word of Allah delivered by the angel can be commands, prohibitions, advices, and all kinds of information as we recognize in the real world. Through this explanation, 'Abd al-Jabbār, came to the conclusion that the word of Allah is the *ḥadīth* (new), not *qadīm* (no starting point) as the view of Asy'ariyyah.

If there are commands, prohibitions, promises and threatens in the Qur'an, then the real position of the commands always require the object to be ordered. For example, verse which ask to pray. It is unlikely to be in old time (*azalī*) where the human had not created since it is impossible if a command ordered to nothing (*ma'dum*). Thus, Allah's command is not *qadīm*.<sup>47</sup>

Al-Qadi Abdul jabbar strengthen his statement with the following arguments: *kalām* (the Word) is part of the act (*af'āl*) of Allah created in a body (*jism*) when He want to make contact with His creatures, whether in the form of commands, prohibitions, promises, or threats. So, every act of Allah should not be called *qadīm*, as we cannot claim that all of Allah's favors and good deeds given to His servants are *qadīm*. Thus the Qur'an as the word of Allah will be the creature automatically since He is part of His act (*af'āl* which is always carried out in accordance with the beneficiaries and needs).

<sup>44</sup>Ibid., 3.

<sup>45</sup>Ibid., 40.

<sup>46</sup>Ibid., 41.

<sup>47</sup>Ibid., 63.

Thus, Mu'tazila concludes that denying the temporal of the Qur'an equals to recognize the plurality of *qadīm* (*ta'addud al-qudama*) since the Qur'an is the word of Allah. The word is always in the form of letters and voices whose form is *a'rad* (accident) and temporal which expressed by Allah when addressing a will (command, prohibition, promise or threat).<sup>48</sup>

## Conclusion

The concept of *khalq al-Qur'an* leads to the purification of *tawhīd* (*tazīb al-bārī*) which negates the counting of God's substance (*nafyū ta'addud al-qudama*). This is due to the nature and the substance of God is one (*al-sifat 'ayn al-dhāt*). So, if it is understood that His nature and substance is separate and each of them is said to be *qadīm*, then there is other *qadīm* except Him. Meanwhile, the Qur'an in the discourse of Mu'tazila is categorized as part of nature of the act in which He will pronounce it when having dialogue with His creature. However, in viewing the Qur'an, Mu'tazila still believe that it is sacred and unchanged when Prophet Muhammad received and delivered it in Arabic.

The concept of *khalq al-Qur'an* according to 'Abd al-Jabbār is similar to his predecessors from Mu'tazila's scholars. The book *al-Muqni Fi Abwāb al-Tawhīd wa al-'Adl* only reinforce and summarize the opinion of previous Mu'tazila's scholars.

*Khalq al-Qur'an* in Mu'tazila's version only dwells on the surface of philosophy related the only one God theology. Because, in general, Mu'tazila's scholars agree that the Qur'an is *kalām al-Lāh* (word of God) and it was created as the other creatures.

Reading and studying the books and the works of Mu'tazila's scholars are part of *talab al-'ilm*. To read their books, we need knowledge about Mu'tazila in the discourse of Islamic intellectual history. This is important so that we can know the position of Sunni and Mu'tazila at that time. So, we do not dissolve in the debate and intellectual battle without end. *Wa al-Lāh a'lām bi al-sawāb*.

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<sup>48</sup>Ibid., 3.

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