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The Late Period Mutazilite Mufassir: A Biographical Study of Hākim Al-Jushamī

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Abstract

This article aims to explore Hākim al-Jushamī, a Mutazilite mufassir from the late period, through a biographical analysis, as well as to delve into his exegetical ideas. He is recognized as a trailblazer in Islamic thought, particularly within the Mu'tazila school, and has made significant contributions to the field of tafsir (Quranic exegesis). His persona is regarded as the bridge reinstating the interrupted scholarly lineage between Zamakhsharī and the earlier commentators of tafsir. His principal contribution to the field of tafsir is *al-Tahdhīb fi al-Tafsīr*, a compilation that amalgamates the diverse viewpoints of Mu'tazila scholars whose narratives are not documented in other works. This article is centered on two primary objectives: (1) A biographical analysis of Jushamī within the context of Mu'tazila scholarship. (2) An examination of Jushamī in his capacity as a Mu'tazila mufassir and scholar. The research employs a qualitative methodology, adopting a biographical study approach through a literature review. The research employs data reduction, data presentation, and conclusion as its analytical techniques. The research analysis encompasses an examination of the individual in the socio-historical context and a critique of Mu'tazila philosophy and tafsir (Quranic exegesis) as manifested in his works. The findings revealed that: (1) Jushamī's life, from a socio-historical perspective, exhibits a close association with Mu'tazila and positions him as an integral component of the Mu'tazila intellectual lineage that connects Zamakhsharī to earlier scholars. (2) His diverse body of work is primarily centered on advocating and defending the Mu'tazila doctrine. (3) Jushamī is regarded as a representation of the concluding era of Mu'tazila mufassirs before the group eventually vanished.

Keywords: Mu'tazila Mufassir, Jushamī, *al-Tahdhīb fi al-Tafsīr*

Introduction

The interpretation of the Qur'an underwent swift progression in tandem with the advancement of diverse branches of Islamic scholarship, primarily due to the frequent utilization of the Qur'an as a foundational justification for various scientific disciplines. This includes the field of kalam, where the presence of Quranic interpretation consistently served as the principal foundation for formulating arguments that were subsequently adopted as fundamental principles in the comprehension of various Mutakallimūn (theologians) groups.¹ Mu'tazila, one of the

¹ Hardev Singh, "Ilm Al-Kalam": Meaning, Nature and Scope," *Panchbati Sandesh (Interdisciplinary Research Journal)* 40, no. 2 (2018): 75–86.

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Mutakallimūn groups, although recognized for prioritizing reason over revelation, still employ Quranic arguments as a component of their justification for their beliefs. Consequently, the Mu'tazila developed a distinct system of Quranic interpretation in contrast to another prominent contemporaneous group, namely Ash'ariyya, which frequently engaged in intellectual disputes in the field of kalam (theology).² As a result, it is documented that the leaders of the Mu'tazila, in their writings, interpreted the Qur'an to substantiate their assertions. The history of their Quranic interpretation is documented in numerous tafsir (Quranic exegesis) books, encompassing works from both the Ash'ariyya and Mu'tazila groups.³ Investigating the Mu'tazila group's approach to interpreting the Qur'an holds significance for various reasons. *Firstly*, to gain a comprehensive understanding of the epistemology underlying Mu'tazila's interpretation, which prominently emphasizes reason over religious texts. *Secondly*, to examine the contextual interpretation of specific verses that at times appear to contradict the tenets of their belief system. *Thirdly*, to grasp their approach to interpreting religious texts to comprehensively appreciate the role of revelation as a fundamental principle in their understanding, enabling distinctions to be made from the interpretations of other groups. *Fourthly*, to individually scrutinize the scholars of Mu'tazila interpretation and explore the dynamics of Mu'tazila interpretation, both in its internal and external aspects. The emergence of new discoveries regarding their works has led to the need for a re-examination to reconstruct Mu'tazila thought holistically.

Throughout its history, Mu'tazila underwent significant growth during the Abbasid era, and for several reigns, their doctrines were officially endorsed as the state-sanctioned school of thought. However, as time progressed, Mu'tazila gradually waned to the extent that in the 6th century AH/12 AD, there were hardly any scholars who continued to actively promote its ideology. Zamakhsharī was likely one of the scholars from the twilight of the Mu'tazila era.⁴ Nevertheless, it would be incorrect to assert that Mu'tazila adherents entirely vanished, particularly in light of the presence of contemporary Muslim scholars who are recognized for upholding certain Mu'tazila perspectives. Jushamī is among the Mu'tazila scholars who lived during Mu'tazila's decline. His work, *al-Tahdhīb fī al-Tafsīr*, is deemed significant within Mu'tazila Quranic exegesis thought due to its achievement in gathering tafsir narrations from Mu'tazila scholars that were otherwise unavailable in other sources. The existence of this work, along with his other contributions to Quranic interpretation, establishes Jushamī as a representative of Mu'tazila Quranic commentator scholars. In various research on late-period Mu'tazila exegetes, the name that often appears is Zamakhsharī, with his monumental work, *al-Kashshāf*, which is said to be a major work in the Mu'tazila exegesis treasury. The name Jushamī, who is recorded as Zamakhsharī's teacher is absent. The discovery of *al-Tahdhīb*, authenticated, completely printed, and published in 2018, calls for deeper research on Jushamī. Moreover, research on Jushamī as an interpreter needs to be studied to complement research on the theme of Mu'tazila and the interpretation of the Qur'an.

² Abubakar Abdulkadir, "The Views of the Ash'arites, The Mu'tazilites and the Extreme Orthodox on the Createdness of the Qur'an," *The Mu'tazilites and the Extreme Orthodox on the Createdness of the Qur'an* (March 17, 2011), 2011, <http://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.2041230>.

³ Abu Al-Hasan Barani, Muhammad Ali Akhaviyan, and Mohsen Izadi, "A Comparative Study of Mu'tazilite, Ash'arite, and Twelver Shia Quran Interpreters on Affliction and Its Relation to the Divine Justice: Evidence from the Tafsir-Oriented Views of Qazi Abd al-Jabbar, Ghazzali, and Fayz Kashani," *Comparative Interpretation Research* 6, no. 2 (2020): 59–78.

⁴ H. Subani, *The Secret History of Iran* (Lulu.com, 2013), 67; I.M.N. Al-Jubouri, *Mutazilah: Past and Present* (London: E-Kutub Ltd, 2022), 27.

Numerous studies have endeavored to explore Jushamī and his ideas, with one notable example being Cemal Sünbül's thesis entitled "Mu'tezili Müfessir Hâkim el-Cüsemî'nin et-Tehzîb fi't-Tefsîr Adlı Eserin Tefsîr Literatûründeki Yeri" ("The Place of Mutazilite Exegete Al-Hâkim Al-Jushamī and His work *Al-Tahdhîb Fî Tafsîr* in The Tafsîr Literature"). In it, he reveals Jushamī's position in the chain of Mu'tazila exegetical thought.⁵ Halil Sari with his research entitled "Hâkim el-Cüsemî'nin et-Tehzîb fi't-Tefsîr Adlı Eserinde Mu'tezili Müfessir ve Kelâmcıların Görüş ve Yorumları" reveals Jushamī's various comments on the thoughts of Mu'tazila mufasirs and kalam science figures.⁶ Didik Andriawan in his dissertation entitled "Mu'tezili Müfessir Hâkim el-Cüsemî'nin et-Tehzîb fi't-tefsîr adlı eserinde müşkilü'l-kur'ân" reveals Jushamī's interpretation of abstruse verses in *Al-Tahdhîb Fî Tafsîr*.⁷ Adnan Zarzur in his work entitled *al-Hâkim al-Jushamî wa-manhajuh fi tafsîr al-Qur'ân* examines the method of interpretation adopted by Jushamī in interpreting the Quran.⁸ In their article entitled "The Ayas Jurisprudential Rulings Related to Almsgiving (Zakat) in al-Hâkim al-Jushamî's (D. 494 A.H.) al-Tahtheeb Interpretation Book", Shata Salih and Mohammed Jaber discussed the legal verses related to zakat in *Al-Tahdhîb Fî Tafsîr* with a focus on surah al-Baqarah.⁹ From the various studies conducted, it becomes evident that there is a noticeable absence of research specifically dedicated to investigating Jushamī's biography in the context of his role as a Mu'tazila mufassir. Consequently, the primary objective of this article is to shed light on Jushamī's identity as a Mu'tazila mufassir by delving into the trajectory of his life in pursuit of knowledge, scrutinizing his body of work, and evaluating his role as a Mu'tazila mufassir. This research holds significant importance as it seeks to address inquiries about the mufassir figures and their interpretive ideologies within the comprehensive framework of Mu'tazila.

Method

The research methodology employed is qualitative, employing a biographical study approach characterized by a social interpretative research paradigm.¹⁰ Within the domain of biographical studies, various forms include scholarly chronicles, intellectual biography, life history writing, memoir biography, and narrative biography.¹¹ This research, from a technical standpoint, delves into the academic chronicle of Jushamī's life, alongside an exploration of the principal ideas pertinent to the research theme. Qualitative research leverages diverse data sources to gain insights into the subject under investigation, encompassing interview transcripts, social interaction videos, notes, verbal accounts, and tangible items like books or artworks.¹² The research employs data

⁵ Cemal Sünbül, "Mu'tezili Müfessir Hâkim El-Cüsemî Ve Et-Tehzîb Fi't-Tefsîr Adlı Eserinin Tefsîr Literatûründeki Yeri" (Türkiye, Marmara Üniversitesi, 2019).

⁶ Sari Halil, "Hâkim El-Cüsemî'nin et-Tehzîb Fi't-Tefsîr Adlı Eserinde Mu'tezili Müfessir ve Kelâmcıların Görüş ve Yorumları," *İlahiyat Araştırmaları Dergisi*, no. 20 (2023): 1–45.

⁷ Didik Andriawan, "Mu'tezili Müfessir Hâkim El-Cüsemî'nin et-Tehzîb Fi't-Tefsîr Adlı Eserinde Müşkilü'l-Kur'ân" (Türkiye, Necmettin Erbakan Üniversitesi, 2023), <https://acikerisim.erbakan.edu.tr/xmlui/handle/20.500.12452/10196>.

⁸ Adnan Muhammad Zarzur, *al-Hâkim al-Jushamî Wa Manhajuh Fî Tafsîr al-Qur'ân*, 1st ed. (Damascus: Muassasah al-Risalah, 1391).

⁹ Shatha H. Salih and Mohammed A. Jabr, "The Ayas Jurisprudential Rulings Related to Almsgiving (Zakat) in al-Hâkim al-Jushamî's (D. 494 AH) al-Tahtheeb Interpretation Book: Surat al-Baqarah as a Model," *Journal of the University of Anbar for Humanities*, no. 95–176 : (2023) العدد الخاص بوقائع المؤتمر العلمي الدولي الثاني للعلوم الإنسانية والاجتماعية.

¹⁰ Uwe Flick, ed., *A Companion to Qualitative Research*, Repr (Los Angeles: SAGE, 2010), 101.

¹¹ Craig Kridel, *Encyclopedia of Curriculum Studies*. 2: L - Z (Los Angeles: SAGE Publ, 2010), 2/82.

¹² Martin Packer, *The Science of Qualitative Research*, 1st ed. (Cambridge University Press, 2010), 1, <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511779947>.

reduction, data presentation, and conclusion as its analytical methods. The research analysis encompasses an examination of the figure in the socio-historical context, as well as an appraisal of Mu'tazila's thoughts and interpretations based on his works. The data sources utilized in this research comprise historical documents and oral history materials that pertain to the research topic, encompassing both external records such as the works of other individuals, and internal records in the form of Jushamī's works. Among the external sources are authoritative relevant historical books such as *Tārikh Bayhaq* by Ibn Funduq, *Tabaqat Al-Zaydiyyah al-Kubrā* by Shahārī, *Tabakāt Al-Shāfi'iyyat al-Kubrā* by Tājuddin Subkī, and *Al-A'lam* by Ziriklī. The internal sources include Jushamī's works such as *Al-Tahdhīb fī al-Tafsīr*, *Tahkīm al-'uqūl fī al-Uṣūl*, *Tanbīh Al-Ğāfiṭīn* and *'Uyūn al-Masā'il*. The research instrument in this research is the researcher with analysis techniques in the form of data reduction, data display, and conclusion drawing.

Biography of Jushamī

In various literatures, it is explained that Jushamī has the full name al-Shaykh al-Imām Shaykh al-Islām al-Hākim Abū Sa'd/Sa'īd al-Muhassīn/al-Muhibb b. Muhammād b. Karrāmah al-Jushamī al-Bayhaqī al-Barwaqannī/al-Barawqannī al-Mu'tazilī al-Hanafī al-Zaydī.¹³ He was born in Ramadan of 413/December 1022 in a village called Jusham or Jishum in Persian, a place located west of Khorāsān which is still included in the Bayhaq region.¹⁴ There is different information about Jushamī's name, kunya (teknonym), and year of birth. Brockelmann and W. Madelung, for example, write that Jushamī's name was Muhsin, her grandfather was named Karāmah and she was born in 431 AH.¹⁵ However, the most valid information is that of Ibn Funduq as he is the closest source of information to Jushamī's time and the first source. The term "Jusham," or "Jishum" in Persian, refers to the name of a village located in the Western Khorāsān region of present-day Iran. The name originates from a tribe known as the Jushamīs, who migrated to and established their settlement in the area. As time passed, the tribal name eventually evolved into the designation for the geographical area where they resided. Concerning the title "al-Hākim" assumed by Jushamī, there is no definitive source available to elucidate the origin of this title. There is no sufficient information about whether al-Hākim is related to the title in the field of hadith, which is commonly used in that field, or not. However, according to some information from Zaydi scholars, it is said that the title is not related to the field of hadith because in that field Jushamī did not reach the degree of al-Hākim. In some places, Jushamī is also referred to by titles such as Shaykh al-Islām, al-Mutakallim, al-Mu'tazilī and al-Zaidiy. Jushamī has a lineage that goes back to 'Alī b. Abī Thālib through Muhammād b. Hanafīyya. In full his lineage is al-Muhassīn b. Muhammād b. Karamah b. Muhammād b. Ahmad b. Hasan b. Karamah b. Ibrahim b. Ismail b. Muhammād b. Ibrahim b. Muhammād b. Al-Hanafīyyah b. Abi Talib. Although Jushamī belongs to the Alawīyyūn, he is characterized as a person who does not seek fame, which is probably why he does not mention

¹³ Abū Sa'd al-Muhassīn b. Muhammād b. Karrāmah al-Hākim al-Jushamī, *Al-Tahdhīb Fi'l-Tafsīr*, 1st ed., 10 vols. (Cairo - Bairut: Dar al-Kitab al-Misriyyah - Dar al-Kitab al-Lubnānī, 1435); Fuad Sayyid, *Fażlū'l-İ'tizāl Wa Tabakātū'l-Mu'tazilah* (Beyrut: Dārūl- Fārābī, 1439); Ibrahim b. al-Qāsim b. al-Muayyadbillāh Shahārī, *Tabaqat Al-Zaydiyyah al-Kubrā*, 1st ed., 3 vols. (Amman: Muassasah al-Imām Zāid b. Ali al-Saqafīyyah, 1421)..

¹⁴ Abū al-Hasan Zahīruddīn Ali b. Zayd b. Muhammād al-Bayhaqī Ibnu Funduq, *Tārikh Bayhaq*, trans. Yusuf al-Hādī, 1st ed. (Damascus: Daru Iqra, 1425), 390.

¹⁵ Wilferd Madelung, "Al-Hākim al-Djushamī," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 7/343.

this lineage in his works.¹⁶ Regarding her family, there is no information about her father, mother, or other close people who influenced Jushamī's upbringing during her adolescence.¹⁷

The Hanafi school of jurisprudence was the school to which Jushamī was inclined in his early life, but he converted to the Zaidiyya school at the end of his life.¹⁸ There is no detailed information about this, even in his work of tafsir, *al-Tahdhīb fī al-Tafsīr*, Jushamī quotes many Hanafi fiqh opinions which he compares with other schools such as Shafī'i and Zaidiyya. It could be argued that it is possible that Jushamī switched his school of jurisprudence from the Hanafiyah to the Zaydiyyah late in life and that this is not recorded in his works.¹⁹ In the realm of Kalam, scholars concur that Jushamī adhered to the Mu'tazila school throughout his lifetime. Additionally, Jushamī is regarded as inclining the Ahl al-Bayt school. However, it is worth noting that in certain portions of his tafsir, he appears to critique the Shi'ite perspective, which posits that only the Imam possesses the ability to correctly interpret the Qur'an.²⁰

Jushamī received his early education under the guidance of scholars, particularly Mu'tazila scholars in Khorāsān. However, due to escalating internal conflicts and disputes among various schools of thought in Naisabur and its adjacent regions during the fifth century AH, Jushamī, along with other scholars, decided to depart from the area.²¹ Especially during the slander perpetrated by Vizier Kunduri (d. 456/1064), there was bloodshed and unrest between the Ahlusuna and the Shia that forced the scholars, especially the Ahlusuna, to leave Naisabur. Juwaynī (d. 478/1085) and Abu Bakr al-Bayhaqī (d. 458/1066) were among the scholars who left the area. Other Ahlusuna scholars were also put in prison such as Qushayrī (d. 465/1072) and Firātī (d. 446/1055).²² After some time had passed, Nizam al-Mulk (d. 485/1092) who was the minister of the then-ruling king Alparslan (d. 465/1072) managed to restore social and political stability in Naisabur. He built several Ashariyah madrasas in Naisabur and asked the scholars of Ahlusuna to return there. Juwaynī was among the scholars who returned there after having spent some time in the Hijaz region.²³ Jushamī never returned to Naisabur and remained in Mecca until he was assassinated in 494 A.H. This may have been because the government at the time favored the Ahl al-Sunnah school of thought, so Jushamī, who was a Mu'tazila, felt that it would be better for him to go elsewhere to teach and spread his knowledge.

While Jushamī was undeniably a distinguished scholar of the Mu'tazila school, the absence of information regarding his life in Mecca is a matter of intrigue. Given his extended residency in Mecca and his prominence within Zaydī circles, the absence of details about Jushamī's life in historical records appears highly improbable. On this matter, Adnan Zarzur posits that Jushamī entered Mecca covertly to evade pursuit by adversaries.²⁴ Jushamī died being killed in Mecca, but there is no definite information about why he was killed and who killed him. Regarding the time,

¹⁶ Ibnu Funduq, *Tārīh Bayhaq*, 392.

¹⁷ Didik Andriawan, "The Methodology of Mu'tazilah Exegesis: Study of Hākim Al-Jushamī's *Al-Tahdhīb Fī Al-Tafsīr*," *QOF* 6, no. 2 (December 30, 2022): 177–98, <https://doi.org/10.30762/qof.v6i2.314>.

¹⁸ Shahārī, *Tabaqāt al-Zaydiyyah al-Kubrā*, 2/891; Zubayrī, *al-Mawṣū'at al-mūyassarāh*, 2/1887.

¹⁹ Jushamī, *Al-Tahdhīb*, 1/30.

²⁰ Jushamī, 9/6282.

²¹ Abū Naṣr Tāj al-Dīn 'Abd al-Wahhāb ibn 'Alī ibn 'Abd al-Kāfi Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī, *Tabakātu Al-Shāfi'iyyat al-Kubrā*, 2nd ed. (Cairo: Dāru'l-Hijr, 1413), 4/170.

²² Muhammad Mustafa az-Zuhayrī, *Al-Imām al-Juwaynī Imām al-Haramayn* (Bairut: Dar al-Qalam, 1992), 71.

²³ Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī, *Tabakātu Al-Shāfi'iyyat al-Kubrā*, 4/170-171.

²⁴ Zarzur, *Al-Hākim al-Jushamī*, 70.

some say that Jushamī died in Rajab in 494 A.H. Another opinion states that he died in 491 A.H.²⁵ According to one opinion, Jushamī was killed by his enemies who objected to the work he wrote entitled *Risāla Iblīs*. In this work, Jushamī harshly and brutally criticized the various schools of thought that contradicted the school of Mu'tazila and ascribed their opinions to the whispers of the Devil. Among the schools of thought that Jushamī heavily criticized in the work were the schools of Mujbira and Mushabbiha where both groups were referred to by Jushamī as followers and purveyors of Satan's opinions.²⁶ An alternative perspective suggests that Jushamī met with a tragic fate due to jealousy and resentment arising from her establishment of a madrasa that drew numerous students seeking her instruction. This envy and the consequent emergence of adversaries who harbored animosity toward Jushamī allegedly culminated in her untimely demise. Furthermore, this opinion states that Jushamī's *Risāla Iblīs* was not written in his last days, but that it had been written by Jushamī in his youth.²⁷

Jushamī and the Mu'tazila Scientific Chain

Jushamī embarked on his educational journey and pursuit of knowledge under the guidance of teachers in the vicinity of his birthplace, spanning the regions of Bayhaq and Naisabur. During his formative years of education, Jushamī received instruction from both Mu'tazila and Zaydī scholars at educational institutions located in the city of Bayhaq. One of the pivotal figures who profoundly influenced his knowledge was al-Imam al-Natiq bi al-Haq Abu Talib Yahya b Huseyn b. Harun al-Hasani, who lived during the period until his demise in 424 AH/1033 CE. It is estimated that Jushamī was approximately 10 years old at the time and he was with Shaykh Natiq bi al-Haq his teacher while in Tabaristan. During this period Jushamī also learnt from Qawamuddin Ahad b. Husayn b. Abi Hasim al-Husayni Mankdim commonly known as Wajh al-Qamar (d. 425 /1043). Wajh al-Qamar was a student of Qadi Abdul Jabbar so that Jushamī could get the Mu'tazila scientific sanadic route to Qadi Abdul Jabbar through him.²⁸ Many of Qadi Abdul Jabbar's tafsir opinions, especially on the subject of kalam, are quoted in the *al-Tahzib*. Although there is no detailed data on the chain of the narration aspect, it has succeeded in illustrating the model of his teachers on the interpretation.

Subsequently, Jushamī embarked on a journey to the city of Naisabur to pursue further studies, and he became a student of Abū Hāmid Ahmad b. Muhammad b. Ishaq al-Najjārī al-Nīsābūrī, whose influence on him was profound. Abu Hamid, in turn, had been a disciple of Qadi Abdul Jabbar and was a 12th-generation Mu'tazila scholar himself. Jushamī mentioned that Abu Hamid was one of the Shaykhs Ahl Adl (scholars of Ahl al-Adl) and he learned a lot about kalam and usul al-fiqh from him. Jushamī described Abu Hamid as an expert in Mu'tazila kalam, Abu Hanifah's fiqh, hadith narration, Qur'anic science, and tafsir as well as someone who was not tempted by worldly life and someone pious. After Abu Hamid died, Jushamī studied with other Mu'tazila scholars such as Abul Hasan Ali bi Abdullah (d. 457/1067). Abul Hasan himself was a disciple of Abu Talib Yahya b. Husein, was one of the disciples of Qadi Abdul Jabbar. Jushamī learnt much from Abu Talib about kalam, ushul al-fiqh, and tafseer from Qadi Abul Jabbar.

²⁵ Shahārī, *Tabaqat al-Zaydīyah al-Kubrā*, 2/494, 895; Jandārī, *Tarjīm al-rijāl*, 32; Zubayrī, *al-Mawṣū‘at al-mūyassarab*, 2/1889; Hayruddin al-Ziriklī, *al-Ā'lām* (Lubnan: Dar al-Ilm li al-Malayain, 2002), 5/289.

²⁶ Zarzur, *Al-Hakim al-Jushamī*, 73.

²⁷ Jushamī, *Al-Tahdhib*, 1/43-44.

²⁸ Jushamī, 1/42.

Jushamī mentions the virtues and rhetorical abilities of Abul Hasan in language that shows his astonishment and amazement.

Around 440 A.H., Jushamī decided to put an end to his wanderings and instead focus on the pursuit of knowledge. During this period, he initiated the establishment of his madrasa, where he instructed his students and dedicated time to the composition of books. Jushamī is believed to have left the Khorāsān region around 450 A.H. or in the middle of the fifth century A.H., amidst the upheaval of the Kunduri conflict. His madrasa garnered a considerable number of students, who engaged in the study of Jushamī's works, which were composed in both Arabic and Persian. Since the mid-fifth century AH/10 CE, Jushamī has authored numerous books encompassing various disciplines, including kalam (theology), tafsir (Quranic exegesis), history, and ethics. This prolific body of work solidified his reputation as a prominent author in subsequent eras.²⁹ During the unrest in Khorāsān, Jushamī left Naisabur for the House of Allah in Mecca. It was there that he spent his life establishing madrasas, teaching, and still composing books. One of his works during this period was the *Risala Iblīs* which later led to him being killed by his enemies. However, there is also an opinion that Jushamī was killed not because of his work, but because of the envy of his enemies because he managed to establish a madrasa that was able to attract many students to study with him.³⁰

Jushamī resided in a region that was inhabited by prominent scholars of his era. Much of Jushamī's Mu'tazila philosophy was derived from the students of Qadi Abdul Jabbar and those who had been educated by him. Jushamī himself referred to these individuals as "Ahlul Adl," a term he often used to denote the Mu'tazila. In his book titled *Sharh Uyūn al-Masā'il*, Jushamī mentions several of his teachers. Among them was Abu Hamid Ahmad b. Muhammad b. Ishaq al-Najjari al-Naysaburi, who passed away in 433 A.H. He was among the first of Jushamī's teachers and the one who influenced him the most on Mu'tazila thought. Jushamī learned from him about the science of kalam and usul al-fiqh. Jushamī began studying with Abu Hamid from the beginning of his quest for knowledge at a young age. Jushamī said: *"The first teacher I met of the teachers of Ahl al-Adl was our teacher Shaykh Abu Hamid Ahmad b. Muhammad b. Ishaq Rahimahullah. Abu Hamid learned from Qadi Abdul Jabbar and I learned from him wholeheartedly about the softness of kalam and its majesty and also learned about usul al-fiqh."*

Abul Hasan Ali b. Abdillah, known as Ali b. Abi Talib, was the teacher whom Jushamī learnt from after the death of Abu Hamid (d. 433 AH). Abul Hasan himself had studied with Ali al-Sayyid Abi Talib Yahya b. Husain (d. 424 AH), who was one of the students of Qadi Abdul Jabbar. Jushamī learnt a lot about kalam, usul al-fiqh and tafsir from Abul Hasan.³¹ In addition, one of Jushamī's teachers who influenced his thinking was Muhammad Abdillah b. al-Husain al-Nasihi Qadi al-Qudat (447 AH). He was one of the fiqh imams of the Abu Hanifa school. Jushamī began to study with Abu Muhammad al-Nasihi in 434 AH after the death of his teacher, Abu Hamid (d. 433 AH). Consequently, it can be inferred that Jushamī pursued his studies concurrently with Abul Hasan Ali and Abu Muhammad al-Nasihi. Jushamī characterized his teacher as someone who generally concurred with Ahl al-'Adl, except for their divergence on the matter of "waid."

²⁹ Jushamī, 1/43.

³⁰ Jushamī, 1/43-44.

³¹ Ibnu Funduq, *Tariħ Bayhaq*, 348.

Furthermore, Jushamī acquired knowledge about usul, *al-Jami wa al-ziyadat*, and certain mathematical quandaries from Muhammad al-Nasihi.³²

Jushamī had many students who learnt from her. However, not much is known about his students. In contrast to Jushamī's teachers about whom we can get more information. This is because Jushamī himself was the chronicler of the history of the Zaydīs and the Mu'tazilas, so through his notes we can get information on the Mu'tazila leaders as well as his teachers. However, after the time of Jushamī, the Zaydis did not record their Imams for a long period of time. Shahārī in *Tabaqat al-Zaidīyya* mentions that Jushamī's disciples were many, and among those whose names are known is Ahmad b. Muhammad b. Ishaq al-Khawarizmī. He is one of Jushamī's disciples who is said to have a miracle name: his name, father's name and grandfather's name are the same as the name of Jushamī's teacher, Ahmad b. Muhammad b. Ishaq an-Najjar. In addition to Jushamī, Ahmad b. Muhammad also studied with Jushamī's son, Muhammad b. Muhsin.³³ Jushamī is also said to have had a student named Ali b. Zaid who had learnt from Jushamī about some of his works, such as *al-Safinah* and *al-Tabdżib fi Tafsīr*.³⁴ However, there is not much data about the figure of Ali b. Zaid.

Muhammad b. Muhsin was Jushamī's son and his student. He was also the teacher of Abu Ja'far al-Daylamī, who was the teacher of Qadi Ja'far b. Ahmad b. Abdissalam. Muhammad b. Muhsin learnt his father's *tafsir al-Tabdżib fi Tafsīr* in its entirety along with some of his father's other books such as *Jila al-Absar* from his own father. Jushamī's student, Ahmad b. Muhammad b. Ishaq al-Khawarizmi himself also studied with Muhammad b. Muhsin. Ahmad b. Muhammad b. Ishaq also referred to Muhammad b. Muhsin as al-Hakim, al-Imam Shyaikh Qudat al-Haramayn.³⁵ Among the students who learnt a lot of *tafsir*, and whose works are said to have been influenced by Jushamī's *tafsir* works, was Jārullāh al-Zamakhsharī. His full name is Abul Qasim Jarullah Mahmud b. Omar b. Ahmad al-Zamakhsharī, born in 467 H./1075 CE. in the Zamakhsharī area which is still included in the Harazm region. In some biographical studies literature, Zamakhsharī's *tafsir* work, *al-Kasysyāf*, is said to be heavily influenced by Jushamī's *tafsir* entitled *al-Tabdżib*. Jushamī himself was one of Zamakhsharī's teachers in the field of interpretation.³⁶

Jushamī's Credibility as a Mu'tazila Scholar

Jushamī authored numerous works spanning various fields, including *Tafsir*, *Hadith*, *Kalam*, *Jurisprudence*, and *History*. However, only a limited number of his works have survived to the present day. An examination of these surviving works reveals that Jushamī extensively reviewed the viewpoints of the Mu'tazila scholars and critiqued dissenting perspectives. This analysis suggests that Jushamī held a significant role within Mu'tazila thought. Adnan Zarzur, for instance,

³² Ibnu Funduq, 390; Muhammad Kāzīm Rahmatī, *Al-Zaydīyyah Fī Írān*, trans. Mustafā Ahmad al-Bakkūr, 1st ed. (Beirut: al-Markaz al-Arabi li al-buhūs wa dirāsah al-siyāsiyyat, 2020), 184.

³³ Shahārī, *Tabaqat Al-Zaydīyyah al-Kubrā*, 2/1064; Wilferd Madelung, "Al-Hākim al-Djushami," in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam (New Edition)* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 343.

³⁴ Mustafa b. Abdullah Kātib Çelebi, *Kashf al-Zunūn*, Muhammad Sharafuddin Yaltaqiyā (Bairut: Dar Ihya al-Turas al-Arabi, 1941), 1/517; Kahhāla, *Mu'jam al-Muallifin*, 8/187; Ziriklī, *al-Ā'lām*, 5/289; Ja'far al-Sabhani, *Buḥūs fi'l-mīlād wa'n-Nihāl* (Kum: Muesseset al-Ímam Sadik, t.t.), 7/407; Shahārī, *Tabaqat al-Zaydīyyah al-Kubrā*, 2/892; Wajīh, *A'lām al-muallifīn*'z-Zaydīyyah, 822; Zubayrī, *al-Mansū'at al-miyyassarah*, 2/1887.

³⁵ Shahārī, *Tabaqat Al-Zaydīyyah al-Kubrā*, 2/1064.

³⁶ Mustafa b. Abdullah Kātib Çelebi, *Kashf al-Zunūn*, Muhammad Sharafuddin Yaltaqiyā (Bairut: Dar Ihya al-Turas al-Arabi, 1941), 1/517; Kahhāla, *Mu'jam al-Muallifin*, 8/187; Ziriklī, *al-Ā'lām*, 5/289; Ja'far al-Sabhani, *Buḥūs fi'l-mīlād wa'n-Nihāl* (Kum: Muesseset al-Ímam Sadik, t.t.), 7/407; Shahārī, *Tabaqat al-Zaydīyyah al-Kubrā*, 2/892; Wajīh, *A'lām al-muallifīn*'z-Zaydīyyah, 822; Zubayrī, *al-Mansū'at al-miyyassarah*, 2/1887.

positions Hakim Jushamī as the most prominent figure associated with the Jubaiyah madrasa, following in the footsteps of Qādī Abduljabbar. Even the missing link in Mu'tazila thought between Qadi Abdul Jabbar and Zamakhsharī can be found in Jushamī. Jushamī became the defender of the Mu'tazila school in the last period. He wrote many works, especially in the fields of kalam and tafsir, which represented Mu'tazila thought. According to some sources, Hakim Jushamī's works reached a count of 40 books that discuss different fields. Among his works are:

1. *Al-Tahdhib fī al-Tafsīr*

Jushamī's most renowned work, *al-Tahdhib fī al-Tafsīr* provides a comprehensive interpretation of the Quran. This commentary exists in the form of handwritten manuscripts spanning several volumes, scattered across various locations such as Yemen, Italy, Egypt, India, Turkey, and Iran. It was translated by Abdurrahman b. Sulayman al-Sālimī and subsequently published in 10 volumes by Dār al-Kitāb al-Misrī and Dār al-Kitāb al-Lubnānī in 2018. The book offers an interpretation of the Quran, following the sequence of the Mushaf, commencing from Surah al-Fatihah and extending to Surah al-Nas. In interpreting the Quran, Hakim Jushamī explains information about the different Qirā'āt in the verse, then explains the Lughā side in the form of dictionary meaning, i'rāb, then explains the meaning of the verse, and ends by explaining the Ahkam. Jushamī often uses the *tahlīlī* interpretation method, indicating that he involves classical interpretation methods in his interpretations.³⁷ In terms of sources, this *tafsīr* takes sources from scholars both Mu'tazila and salaf mutaqaddimīn. Jushamī takes the narration of *tafsīr* and *Asbāb al-Nuzūl* from the names of scholars such as Ibn Abbas, Mujāhid b. Jabr, Qatādah b. Diāmah and Hasan al-Basrī and so on in a concise manner. It is because of this specificity that some call Jushamī's *tafsīr* a summary of Tabarī's *tafsīr*. In addition, some other specificities of this *tafsīr* are such as criticism of the Jabariya group. It discusses the Quran and interprets it in line with the principles of Mu'tazila. The book *at-Tahdhib* is also cited as one of the main sources of Zaydī-I'tizālī's commentaries including that of Zamakhsharī.³⁸

2. *Al-Tafsīr al-Mabsūt* and *al-Tafsīr al-Mūjiz*

In addition to *al-Tahdhib*, Jushamī authored other Quranic exegesis works, namely *al-Tafsīr al-Mabsūt* and *al-Tafsīr al-Mūjiz*, both of which were written in Persian. These two commentaries were probably composed after Jushamī wrote of *al-Tahdhib*. Regrettably, these two commentaries have not survived to the present day.³⁹

3. *Tanbīh al-Ğāfilin 'an Fadā' il al-Tālibiyyīn*

In this work, Jushamī provides interpretations of verses that he asserts were revealed in connection with 'Ali b. Abi Talib and the Ahl al-Bayt (the family of the Prophet), incorporating narrations concerning him. Within the book, Jushamī identifies approximately 62 surahs that contain verses related to the praise, worldly triumph, and the promise of divine mercy in the hereafter. According to Jushamī, these verses were revealed about the Ahl al-Bayt.⁴⁰

³⁷ Kadir Eser, "Bir Anakronizm Örneği El-Baķara Suresi 205. Ayet İle Er-Rūm Suresi 41. Ayetin Çevre Sorunlarıyla İlişkilendirilmesi," Ankara Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi, May 21, 2024, 152, <https://doi.org/10.33227/auifd.1352314>.

³⁸ Muhammed Eroğlu, "Hākim El-Cüsemî," in *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi* (Ankara: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 1994), 187.

³⁹ Zarzur, *Al-Hākim al-Jushamī*, 94.

⁴⁰ See, Abū Sa'd al-Muħaṣṣin b. Muħammad b. Karrāmah al-Hākim al-Jushamī, *Tanbīh Al-Ğāfilin 'an Fadā' il al-Tālibiyyīn* (Iran: Markaz al-Gadīr li al-ďirāsah al-īslāmiyya, 2000).

4. *Risāla Iblīs ilā Ikhwānih Al-Manāhīs*

The work has several different names in several makhtutat, such as *Risālah Iblīs ilā Ikhwānih min al-Mujbira wa al-Mushabbiha fī al-Shikāya ‘an al-Mu’tazila* and *Risāla ‘al-Shayb Abī Murra ilā Ihwānih al-Mujbira*. This book is thought to be the last work Jushamī composed in his remaining years. However, there is also a contrary view that it was composed when Jushamī was still young. This work was composed to refute the thoughts and understandings of the Jabariya and Mushabbiha groups. Jushamī's work was translated by Husayn al-Mudarris and published in 1995 under the title *Risāla Iblīs ilā Ikhwānih al-Manāhīs*. In this work, Jushamī discusses many issues of Kalam such as Tawhid, Creation, Actions of Servants, Decree and Predestination, Willingness, Quran, Prophethood, Enjoining good and forbidding wrong, the Promise and the Threat, Death and fortune, and many other Kalam issues.⁴¹

5. *Tahkīm al-‘Uqūl fī Tashīh al-Usūl*

One of Jushamī's works on Kalam was translated by Abdussalām b. ‘Abbās al-Vecih and released in Oman in 2001. It was also typeset by Abdul Basit Hasan al-Nahari and published in Yemen in 2008. The book, titled *Tahkīm al-‘Uqūl*, provides an account of the viewpoints prevalent in the religious and philosophical schools during Jushamī's era, along with Jushamī's own perspectives on these matters. The book comprises a total of five chapters, including an introduction, sections on Tawhid (monotheism), Adālah (justice), Nubuwwah (prophethood), and Sariyyat (jurisprudence). In the preamble chapter, Jushamī explains the favors that Allah has bestowed upon mankind, the things that Allah has enjoined upon His servants, the principles of religion and the difference between right and wrong. In the chapter on Tawhid, Jushamī explains several issues such as The Obligation to Think, The Holiness of Nature, The Establishment of Muhdis and Their Attributes, The Obligatory and Permissible Attributes of Allah, The Explanation of Allah's Lack of Limbs, Allah's Lack of Place and Direction, and several other Tawhid issues. In chapter Adālah, some issues centered on Ta'dil and Tajwir are explained. Ta'dil and Tajwir are Kalam terms that express the debate on whether or not God's absolute justice is restrictive to human actions. In this work, Jushamī explains Allah's inability to do bad things (Qabīh), The Creation of Actions, The Actions of Servants, Willingness, Death, Sustenance and various other issues. In the chapter on Nubuwwah, Jushamī explains the issues of The Beginning of The Prophets Mission, The Infallibility of The Prophet, the abrogation of the Shari'a, the establishment of Muhammad's prophethood and his miracles, as well as the miracles of prophets other than the Qur'an. In the chapter on Shar'iyyāt, Jushamī explains the issues of Wa'id, Shafa'at, Manzila bayn al-Manzilatayn, The Notion of commanding right and forbidding wrong, The Repentance, and the laws of the hereafter.⁴²

6. *‘Uyūn al-Masā’il fī Al-‘Usūl*

This particular work stands out as one of Jushamī's most significant contributions to the field of kalam that has been preserved. The sole known copy of this book is housed in the specialized manuscripts section of the Badr Institution in Yemen. This manuscript is believed to have been transcribed in the year 557 AH and encompasses a total of 191 pages. The content of

⁴¹ See, Abū Sa‘d al-Muhassīn b. Muhammād b. Karrāmah al-Hākim al-Jushamī, *Risālatu Iblīs Ilā Ihwānihi'l-Manāhīs*, 1st ed. (Bairut: Dar al-Muntahab al-Arabi, 1415).

⁴² See, Abū Sa‘d al-Muhassīn b. Muhammād b. Karrāmah al-Hākim al-Jushamī, *Tahkīmu'l-‘uqūl Fi'l-Usūl*, 2nd ed. (San ‘ā: Muassah Imam Zayd b. Ali, 2008).

the work encompasses a comprehensive examination of various aspects, including general information about religions and sects beyond Islam, as well as an exploration of the sects and schools of thought that have arisen within the Muslim community. It delves into their fundamental doctrines, the reasons behind their emergence, and the diverse subgroups within them. It also explains chapters on the science of kalam such as tawhid, justice, prophethood and the afterlife through the Mu'tazila approach. Jushamī's work was translated by Ramazan Yıldırım in 2018 and published by Dar al-Ihsan under the title '*Uyūn al-Masā'il fī al-Usūl*'.⁴³

7. *Al-'Uyūn fī Zikrī Ahl al-Bid'ah*

Jushamī's work is still handwritten and inventoried on microfilm. The book of *al-'Uyūn* consists of 161 sheets and is very similar to his work entitled '*Uyūn al-Masā'il fī al-Usūl*', both in name and content. Some researchers say that if a comparison is made, it can be said that the two works are the same, and it can even be said that *al-'Uyūn fī Zikrī Ahl al-Bid'ah* is a copy of the earlier '*Uyūn al-Masā'il*'.

8. *Sharh 'Uyūn al-Masā'il*

As the name suggests, it is Jushamī's four-volume commentary on his work, '*Uyūn al-Masā'il*', written at the request of his students. The book is organized using the classical method of annotation, repeating topics covered in previous works as summaries and then explaining the details of the subject. Within this work, Jushamī engages in a comprehensive examination of numerous topics about madhhabs (Islamic jurisprudential schools) and the science of kalam (Islamic theology). This includes an exploration of sects beyond the fold of Islam, the Ahl Qibla sect, the Mu'tazila sect, and renowned scholars. Additionally, he delves into several kalam chapters, encompassing discussions on monotheism, the issue of prophethood, and the evidence supporting Shari'ah. These topics are categorically organized into a total of seven chapters. The book exists in handwritten form (makhtutat) and can be found in the libraries of both al-Jāmi' al-Kabir in San'a and Dar al-Kutub al-Misriyya. A portion of the manuscript is also in the library of King Saud University. A part of *Sharh 'Uyūn al-Masā'il* was printed together with two other books, by Nazzām and Qadi Abdul Jabbar, into a book describing the figures of the Mu'tazila school. The book was published under the title *Fadl al-I'tizāl wa Tabakāt al-Mu'tazila*, which was translated by Fuad Sayyid and published by Dar al-Tunusiyah. The first part of the book is a book by Imam Abul Qasim Abdullah al-Balkhi entitled "Maqāla al-Islamiyyīn" which explains the school of Mu'tazila. In the second part, a book by Qadi Abdul Jabbar entitled "Tabaqāt Mu'tazila" is presented which discusses the figures in the school of Mu'tazila in 10 tabaqā. In the third part, the last two Tabaqā Mu'tazila are presented, taken from the book *Sharh 'Uyūn al-Masā'il* by Jushamī. In the last two Tabaqās, Jushamī also explains about the Mu'tazila scholars who lived during his time.⁴⁴

9. *Al-Ta'sīr wa al-mu'assir fī 'Ilm al-kalām*

True to its title, this work grapples with the field of kalam and delves into philosophical topics. The manuscript, presented in handwritten form (makhtutat), is preserved in the library of al-Jāmi' al-kabīr in San'a, Yemen, and a portion of it is also available in microfilm format at Dār al-

⁴³ See, Abū Sa'd al-Muḥassīn b. Muḥammad b. Karrāmah al-Hākim al-Jushamī, '*Uyūn Al-Masā'il Fi al-Usūl*', 1st ed. (Kahire: Dar al-Ihsan, 2018)..

⁴⁴ Zarzur, *Al-Hākim al-Jushamī*, 101.

Kutub al-Misriyya. Some of the kalam issues addressed in this work include matters such as the creation of all things, the concepts of qadim (eternal) and hadith (temporal) of nature, the eternal nature of God, the essence of “knowledge” and “hayat” (life), along with several other theological inquiries.⁴⁵

10. *Jilā' al-Absār fī Mutūn Al-Ahbār*

The book comprehensively addresses hadiths and their respective commentaries across 27 chapters. Manuscripts of this book can be located in several libraries, including the al-Jāmi‘ al-Kabīr library in Sana'a, Yemen. Additionally, certain copies of this work, available on microfilm, are housed in the library of Muassasa al-Imam Zayd b. ‘Alī al-Thaqafiyya. The content of this work delves into various traditions that encompass topics such as faith, the Quran, knowledge, the virtues of the pious, the merits of ‘Alī b. Abī Talib and the members of his household, prayer, fasting, hajj, and jihad, among others.

11. *Safīnah al-Jāmi‘ a li Anvā‘ al-‘Ulūm*

This work serves as a testament to Jushamī's prowess in the field of history. The book comprises four volumes, with manuscript copies available in various locations, including the al-Jāmi‘ al-Kabīr library in Yemen. Within its pages, the book presents historical content, encompassing accounts of the lives of the prophets, the life of Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him), and the biographies of significant individuals from the Ahl Bayt (the Prophet's family) spanning from ancient times up to Jushamī's contemporary era.

12. *Al-Risāla al-Tāmma fī Nasīha al-‘Āmma*

According to the manuscripts found, this work was written under various titles. In one manuscript, the work is written under the title *al-Risāla fī Nasīha al-‘Āmma*. According to a manuscript copy dating from 1053 A.H./1643 A.D. in the Ambrosiana library, the book is entitled *al-Risāla al-Tāmma fī Nasīha al-‘Āmma*.⁴⁶ It is explained that this book was originally written by Jushamī in Persian and then translated into Arabic. Manuscripts of this work were found in several places such as San'a, Italy in the Ambrosiana library, and partly in Turkey in the Sulaymaniya Library with 7 manuscripts.⁴⁷

13. *Tanzīh al-Anbiyā’ wa al-A’imma*

It describes prophets as well as priests. It is known that the only manuscript is in the private library of Ālu Hāshimī.⁴⁸

In addition, according to various sources, Jushamī also had works for which no detailed information was found. These works are:⁴⁹ *al-Risālat al-Ġarrā’*⁵⁰, *al-Haqā’iq wa al-Daqā’iq* or *al-*

⁴⁵ Eroğlu, “Hākim El-Cüsemī,” 187; Ramazan Yıldırım, *Mutezile’nin Kelāmī Polemikleri* (İstanbul: İşaret Yayımları, 2016), 58; Zarzur, *Al-Hākim al-Jushamī*, 99.

⁴⁶ See, Abū Sa‘d al-Muhassīn b. Muhammād b. Karrāmah al-Hākim al-Jushamī, *Al-Risālah Fī Naṣīhab al-‘āmmah*, 1438.

⁴⁷ Eroğlu, “Hākim El-Cüsemī,” 187.

⁴⁸ Abū Sa‘d al-Muhassīn b. Muhammād b. Karrāmah al-Hākim Jushamī, *Taḥkīm al-‘uqūl fī l-’usūl*, Abdussalām b. Abbās al-Wajīh (San ‘ā: Muassasah Imam Zayd b. Ali, 2008), 8.

⁴⁹ Wajīh, *A’lām al-muallifīn’z-Zaydiyyah*, 822.

⁵⁰ Wajīh, *A’lām al-muallifīn’z-Zaydiyyah*, 822; Yıldırım, *Mutezile’nin Kelāmī Polemikleri*, 68.

*Haqā’iq fī al-Daqā’iq*⁵¹, *Kitāb al-‘Aql*⁵², *al-Muntaħab fī fiqh al-Zaydiyya*⁵³, *Kitāb al-Asmā’ wa al-Sifāt*⁵⁴, *al-Risālat al-Bāhira fī Firqa al-Hasirah*⁵⁵, *al-Intisār li Sādāt al-Mubājirīn wa al-Ansār*.⁵⁶

Viewing Jushamī as a Mufassir

Of the many works Jushamī wrote in various disciplines, *al-Tahdhīb fī al-Tafsīr* is his greatest work that has come down to us today. This work interprets the Quran in its entirety from beginning to end by supporting the Mu’tazila view and also criticizing the schools that contradict it. Perhaps this is why the work is called *al-Tahdhīb*, which etymologically means “to purify”, “to clear” and “to correct”. In his preamble, Jushamī mentions that later scholars have to reform the tafsir works of earlier scholars and also provide additional benefits. In this work Jushamī summarizes the opinions of earlier scholars, selects, reforms and presents them in a good order and also provides additional commentary, so this may also be the basis for naming his work *al-Tahdhīb*.⁵⁷ It could also be related to Jushamī’s attempt to purify the Qur’an from interpretations contrary to Mu’tazila. *al-Tahdhīb* is an important work of interpretation in the Mu’tazila school, even when compared to *al-Kashshāf*, one of its advantages is that it reveals various Mu’tazila opinions by including quotes from Mu’tazila scholars that are not found in other works of interpretation, such as narrations from Abū Bakr al-’Asamm and Abū ‘Alī al-Jubbātī.⁵⁸ It can be concluded that Jushamī’s interpretation model is an attempt to interpret the Quran with the Mu’tazila understanding which he believes is correct, and criticizes other schools of thought which are not in line. One of the characteristics of Jushamī’s interpretation is to include interpretations of other schools which he considers to be wrong and to criticize them.

As a Mu’tazila scholar, Jushamī appears to adhere closely to the doctrines and inclinations of the Mu’tazila school. This alignment significantly influences the style of his tafsir (Quranic exegesis), establishing a strong connection with the concept of “*tawhīd wa al-‘adl*,” which stands as a fundamental principle within the Mu’tazila school. It can even be said that Jushamī built his rules and principles of tafsir strictly on this school of *Tawhīd wa Al-‘adl*. Jushamī asserted that the science of *Tawhīd wa al-‘Adl* is fundamental to be learnt before studying other basic sciences such as Prophethood, Fiqh, Shari’ah, Hadith and Tafsir. Jushamī also asserted that these sciences are not valid except after the knowledge of Allah, His attributes of omniscience and His attributes of justice.⁵⁹ The principle of *Tawhid* as conceptualized by Qādī Abduljabbār is the knowledge that explains the oneness of Allah according to the corridor, and agrees with it. In this case, there are two important points that are required in the principle of *Tawhīd*, namely knowledge (knowing) and pledge (agreeing/acknowledging). For if one possesses knowledge without acknowledgment,

⁵¹ Wajīh, *A’lām al-muallifīn’z-Zaydiyyah*, 822; Shahārī, *Tabaqāt al-Zaydiyyah al-Kubrā*, 2/893; Yıldırım, *Mutezile’nin Kelāmī Polemikleri*68.

⁵² Wajīh, *A’lām al-muallifīn’z-Zaydiyyah*, 822; Shahārī, *Tabaqāt al-Zaydiyyah al-Kubrā*, 2/893; Yıldırım, *Mutezile’nin Kelāmī Polemikleri*68.

⁵³ Wajīh, *A’lām al-muallifīn’z-Zaydiyyah*, 822; Zubayrī, *al-Mawṣū’at al-miyyassarab*, 2/1889; Shahārī, *Tabaqāt al-Zaydiyyah al-Kubrā*, 2/893; Yıldırım, *Mutezile’nin Kelāmī Polemikleri*69.

⁵⁴ Wajīh, *A’lām al-muallifīn’z-Zaydiyyah*, 822; Zubayrī, *al-Mawṣū’at al-miyyassarab*, 2/1889; Shahārī, *Tabaqāt al-Zaydiyyah al-Kubrā*, 2/893; Yıldırım, *Mutezile’nin Kelāmī Polemikleri*68.

⁵⁵ Wajīh, *A’lām al-muallifīn’z-Zaydiyyah*, 821; Yıldırım, *Mutezile’nin Kelāmī Polemikleri*, 68.

⁵⁶ Wajīh, *A’lām al-muallifīn’z-Zaydiyyah*, 822; Yıldırım, *Mutezile’nin Kelāmī Polemikleri*, 68.

⁵⁷ Zarzur, *Al-Hakim al-Jushamī*.

⁵⁸ Claude Gilliot, “Quranic Exegesis,” in *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, Motilal BanarsiDass, vol. 4 (Delhi: Motilal BanarsiDass, 2003); Zarzur, *Al-Hakim al-Jushamī*.

⁵⁹ Zarzur, *Al-Hakim al-Jushamī*, 175–76.

or acknowledgment without knowledge, then such an individual does not fall within the category of “Muwahhid” (monotheist) or “Ahl al-‘Adl” (people of justice). Within the context of Mu’tazila terminology, “adl” is elucidated as Allah’s actions consistently leading to “hasanah” (something good). This signifies that God refrains from engaging in malevolent deeds, signifying that God does not prompt His servants to eschew “maslahat” (beneficial outcomes) and tread a misguided path. Additionally, all of Allah’s actions are imbued with wisdom, justice, and truth.⁶⁰

Based on the principle of “adl”, Allah will not prevent people from being guided. Because if Allah prevents people from being guided, then it means that Allah is the one who misleads the servant. If Allah misguides the servant, then it is unjust for Allah to punish him, because it is Allah who makes the servant go astray. With this corridor, some verses of the Quran that seem to contradict this principle are interpreted with other meanings. Such as the verse (خَتَمَ اللَّهُ عَلَىٰ قُلُوبِهِمْ) “Allah has sealed their hearts”. Textually, the verse elucidates that Allah has sealed the hearts of the disbelievers. When considered in conjunction with the preceding verse, it leads to the inference that whether or not the disbelievers receive warnings, the outcome remains the same—they will not believe. This is because Allah has closed their hearts. According to Jushamī, such an interpretation is erroneous and runs counter to the principle of “adl” (justice). If Allah were to seal the hearts of the disbelievers, preventing them from believing and subsequently condemning them to hell for punishment, it would imply that Allah is unjust. This would signify that Allah has led people astray and directed them towards wrongdoing.

Regarding this issue, Jushamī then interpreted the meaning of the verse according to the Mu’tazila corridor, citing various narrations as follows:

1. According to Abū Alī (d. 303/916) and a faction of scholars, the term “khatam” in the verse signifies a dark mark that Allah imprints on the hearts of the disbelievers. This mark serves as a sign for the angels, signaling to them that the disbelievers are destined for misfortune and will not attain goodness.⁶¹ This mark does not prevent a person from believing, because it is a mark that Allah made on the hearts of the disbelievers because of their disbelief so that the angels could recognize them.⁶²
2. According to ’Asamm (w. 200/816), Abū Muslim (w. 322/934) and Abū Bakr Ahmad b. Alī (w. 370/981), the word “khatam” means a reproach to the disbelievers that their hearts are as if closed. This is as Allah says: صُمْ بُكْمْ عُمْيٌ “They are deaf; they are dumb; they are blind.”⁶³ The meaning is that disbelief is in the heart of the disbeliever. So the hearts of the disbelievers are closed so that hearing does not reach them. This is confirmed by the words of Allah, (وَعَلَىٰ أَبْصَارِهِمْ غِشَاوَةٌ) “and over their vision is a veil”⁶⁴. This means that the disbeliever becomes a person who does not hear and does not understand and does not see.⁶⁵

⁶⁰ Qādī Abduljabbār, Abū al-Hasan al-Hamadānī, *Al-Muhtasar Fī Uṣūl al-Dīn*, ed. Muhammad Imārah (Cairo, 1971), 169–71, 181, 232–34, 243–48, 252, 278; Abū al-Hasan al-Hamadānī Qādī Abduljabbār, *Sharḥ Uṣūl Al-Khams* (Cairo: Maktabatu Wahba, n.d.), 153.

⁶¹ Jushamī, *Al-Tabdhīb*, 1/239.

⁶² Jushamī, *‘Uyūn Al-Masāil*, 132.

⁶³ al-Baqrārah 2/18.

⁶⁴ el-Bakara 2/18.

⁶⁵ Jushamī, *Al-Tabdhīb*, 1/239-240.

3. According to *Qil* (an opinion), the word (خَتَمَ اللَّهُ) means that Allah decides and testifies that their hearts do not accept the truth. This is like the saying (خَتَمْتُ عَلَيْكَ بِأَنِّكَ لَا تُفْلِحُ) which means “*I bear witness and give judgement on you*”.⁶⁶
4. According to *qil*, “*Khatamallah*” is an istifham (question word) which means “*has Allah closed their hearts?*” This is like the verse (بَسْنَعَ رَقْبَنَ الْجَمْرَ أَمْ بِتَمَانِ) “*have they thrown seven or eight pebbles?*”⁶⁷

The same can also be found in another verse, “*بَلْ ظَبَعَ اللَّهُ عَلَيْهَا*” (“*Rather, Allah has sealed them*”), which also textually explains that Allah has sealed the hearts of the disbelievers. Jushamī explains some interpretations of the verse as follows:

1. According to Abū Alī al-Jubbā'ī (d. 303/916), the word (الظَّبَعُ) in the verse means the sign that Allah puts on the hearts of the disbelievers as a hint to the angels that they are among the disbelievers.⁶⁸
2. According to a certain opinion, the term signifies an affront to the disbelievers, wherein Allah renders their hearts as though sealed, ensuring that they will never attain good fortune. Hasan Basrī (d. 110/728) asserts that an individual with a sealed heart will remain in a state of disbelief indefinitely. Abū Alī (w. 303/916) posits that this “tab” (heart-locking) will dissipate when they embrace faith.⁶⁹ Based on the above review we can see how Jushamī explains the verse of the Qur'an based on the corridor of Mu'tazila principles which can be used as an indicator of Jushamī as a Mu'tazila mufassir.

Conclusion

Based on the research analysis, it has been ascertained that Jushamī's life, when viewed from a socio-historical perspective, exhibits a close association with Mu'tazila and he is regarded as an integral link in the Mu'tazila scholarly lineage, bridging the gap between Zamakhsharī and earlier scholars. His scholarly endeavors, from the commencement of his educational journey to the culmination of his life, appear to consistently align with the tenets of Mu'tazila. This is supported by his various works that focus on propaganda as well as the defense of Mu'tazila. Jushamī in his position as a mufassir is proven by complex data, including biographical data and his works in the field of tafsir, especially the book of *al-Tabdhīb*. The implementation of tafsir presented in his book serves as evidence of his steadfast commitment to the Mu'tazila school, as he interprets Quranic verses by the established Mu'tazila framework. Jushamī is regarded as an exemplar of a Mu'tazila mufassir during the later period leading up to Zamakhsharī's *al-Kashshāf*.

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⁶⁶ Jushamī, 1/240.

⁶⁷ Jushamī, 1/240.

⁶⁸ Jushamī, 3/1814.

⁶⁹ Jushamī, 3/1814.

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