THEOLOGICAL INTERPRETATION OF THE QURAN: AN ANALYSIS OF MUʿTAZILAH THOUGHT IN AL-KASHSHĀF BY AL-ZAMAKHSHARĪ

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Abstract: *This article concludes that the interpretation of the Quran depends on the ideological and theological leanings of a mufassir. The findings support H-G. Gadamer's claim about the mufassir's pre-understanding, which is considered to have a close relationship with the interpretation result. This study shares the view of modernist Muslims, such as Naṣr Ḥāmid Abū Zayd, Farid Esack, Khaled Abou el-Faḍl, and feminist scholar Amina Wadud, that subjectivity in the interpretation of the Quran is inevitable because each mufassir lives in a different historical context and cultural reality. This article proves that the theological interpretation in al-Kashshāf is influenced by the Muʿtazilah principles of al-tawḥīd and al-ʿadl. The methodology of interpretation also portrays al-Zamakhsharī as an interpreter who has full authority in expressing his thoughts by using the question-and-answer method in his work. This article concludes that the interpretation of the Quran depends on the ideological and theological tendencies of the mufassir*

Keywords: *Al-Zamakhsharī; Tafsir al-Kashshāf; Theological Interpretation; Subjectivity of Interpretation; Muʿtazilah Interpretation.*

Abstrak: *Artikel ini menyimpulkan bahwa penafsiran teks al-Quran bergantung pada kecenderungan ideologi dan teologis seorang mufassir. Temuan ini mendukung H-G. Klaim Gadamer tentang pra-pemahaman mufassir yang dianggap mempunyai kaitan erat dengan hasil tafsir. Kajian ini sejalan dengan pandangan umat Islam modernis, seperti Naṣr Ḥāmid Abū Zayd, Farid Esack, Khaled Abou el-Faḍl, dan ulama feminis Amina Wadud, bahwa subjektivitas dalam penafsiran teks al-Quran tidak dapat dihindari karena setiap mufassir hidup dalam lingkungan, konteks sejarah dan realitas budaya yang berbeda. Artikel ini membuktikan bahwa penafsiran teologis dalam al-Kashshāf dipengaruhi oleh prinsip-prinsip Muʿtazilah seperti al-tauḥīd dan al-ʿadl. Metodologi penafsiran juga menggambarkan al-Zamakhshari sebagai seorang penafsir yang mempunyai otoritas penuh dalam mengungkapkan pemikirannya dengan menggunakan metode tanya jawab dalam karyanya. Artikel ini menyimpulkan bahwa penafsiran al-Quran bergantung pada kecenderungan ideologis dan teologis para mufassir.*

Kata Kunci: *Al-Zamakhsharī; Tafsir al-Kashshāf; Penafsiran Teologis; Penafsiran Muʿtazilah.*

Introduction

In the process of interpreting the Quran, a *mufassir* uses all his knowledge and understanding to interpret the Quran, so the *mufassir*'s *ijtihād* cannot be abandoned. The use of *ijtihād* in the interpretation of the Quran is an attempt by the *mufassir* to find a meaning that is relevant to the changing conditions of the times in order to create the relevance of the Quran that is directly able to answer various problems faced by society.[1] The dominant form of interpretation with *ijtihād* or *taʾwīl* or *al-tafsīr bi-al-raʾyi* form gives rise to a varied style of interpretation where the subjectivity of the *mufassir* is difficult to avoid.[2]

This argument is reinforced by orientalists such as Ignaz Goldziher,[3] as well as modern Muslim thinkers such as Naṣr Ḥāmid Abū Zayd,[4] Farid Esack,[5] and Khaled Abou el-Fadl who agree that the subjectivity of the *mufassir* cannot be avoided by a *mufassir*, because in the process the *mufassir* is surrounded by existing cultural realities. They assume that every *mufassir* has other pre-understandings beyond his understanding of the Qur'an. Indirectly, the pre-understanding attached to the *mufassir* is used to legitimize the truth of his understanding of the Quran. Amina Wadud, as one of the feminist figures, has the same view that tafsir products since the classical period have been systematically influenced by socio-historical subjectivity. This can be proven through the number of *tafsīr* products that discriminate against the position, rights and obligations of women.[6]

Other figures such as Asghar Ali Engineer, who has similar thoughts with Wadud, stated that discrimination against women in an interpretation product is often caused by the dominance of male thinking in the process

and production of an interpretation, so that women's perspectives in the interpretation process can hardly be found.[7] They agree that feminist subjectivity is now needed in the process of interpreting the Quran related to gender and women's issues in order to avoid the dominance of male thinking, and improve interpretations that are not discriminatory against the position and role of women.

In addition, Sunnī, Muʿtazilī, and Shīʿī *tafsīr* products not only prove the existence of theological subjectivity in *tafsīr* products but also prove that the social reality surrounding the *mufassir* also influences the *mufassir*'s mindset which is unconsciously represented in a *tafsīr* product. This is reinforced by the opinion of Naṣr Ḥāmid Abū Zayd that the cultural reality or socio-historical setting that accompanies the *mufassir* cannot be released in the interpretation of the Quran.[8]

Through indications of a *mufassir*'s socio-historical setting, academics such as Yunus Hasan Abidu[9] are able to categorize an interpretation from its ideological and theological side. Another indicator that also does not escape the observation of academics is the theological and ideological tendencies of a *mufassir* himself during his lifetime. This recognition can usually be found through the product of his interpretation or through the *mufassir*'s own admission in his book. These two things are often found in some classical and modern books of interpretation where the *mufassir* directly mentions himself as an adherent of a particular ideology so that in his interpretation he presents the ideological and theological nuances he adheres to. For example, al-Zamakhsharī and al-Rāzī directly mention themselves as adherents of the Muʿtazilah and Ashʿariyah theological schools.

Justification for the existence of subjectivity in a *mufassir* is often correlated with the socio-historical setting and through his interpretative products thematically. For example, if a *mufassir* adheres to the Sunnī theological school, then the overall nuance of his interpretation is Sunnī, even though not all the Quran talk about God and not all *mufassir* always provide arguments in every interpretation. The refutation that not all interpretations of the Quran verses are influenced by the theology of a *mufassir* is advanced by Andrew J. Lane[10] in his work "You Cannot Tell A Book by Its Author." He stated that the theology of a *mufassir* cannot be justified in general by his interpretation which as a whole also has certain theological nuances, because basically the Quran verses that talk about theology are not more than 80 verses.

For him, the subjectivity of theology and ideology is unavoidable but it is only found in some themes and not as a whole in his interpretation.

Thus, this article tries to argue against Lane's opinion, as a scholar who separates the school of *kalām* adopted by the *mufassir* from the product of his interpretation. This implies that he ignores the historical reality that led to the emergence of *tafsīr* products, which is one of the significant factors for the majority of scholars. In this case, the authors of this article would like to prove that the subjectivity of theology can be seen not only in the interpretation of theological themes, but can also be found through the theme of eschatology which is basically closely related to theology.

The Subjectivity in the Quran Interpretation

The existence of *kalām* fanaticism goes hand in hand with the development of the style and methodology of the *tafsīr* school. This is proven by Hussein Abdul-Raof in his work, *School of Qurʾānic Exegesis,* which has mapped the influence of politics and the school of *kalām* in the *tafsīr* of the Quran. He proved that the political and theological conflicts of early Muslims widened to the use of several the Quran verses with various theological views as a tool to legitimize the opinions of each sect. This proves that in the early days of Islam, the interpretation of the Quran gave birth to dogmatism of Islamic thought through the political divisions that occurred. Moreover, the use of various methodologies in *tafsīr* of the Quran is also evidence of the development of *tafsīr* schools.[11]

He mapped two categories of the *tafsīr* schools, namely Sunnī as the mainstream *tafsīr* schools while non-Sunnī such as Shīʿah, Ismāʿīlī, Khawārij, Muʿtazilah and Sufi as non-mainstream school. Although the various schools of *kalām* are categorized as non-Sunnī, in various interpretations they still use the general thinking of the Sunnī group.[12]

For him, the polarization of this form of interpretation was formed since the early days of Islam by internal sectarian authoritative figures where it continued until the 20th century which gave birth to many Islamic political party agendas. The development of sectarianism led to the emergence of textualist and rationalist variations of the *tafsīr* methodologies. For Abdul-Raof, these two types of *tafsīr* methods are realities that contribute significantly to the development of sectarianism in *tafsīr*.

In addition to the influence of the use of methodology in the interpretation of the text, the development of the *tafsīr* schools in the early days of Islam was allegedly strongly influenced by authoritative figures in each region who in fact had a major contribution to the spread of the Quran and Islamic teachings. This argument is proven by Abdul-Raof by showing that each authoritative figure in the Islamic region has a different form of *tafsīr*. For example, in Makkah the *tafsīr* used was Ibn

Abbās interpretation, Madinah used a *tafsīr* that was strongly influenced by the role of Ubay bin Kaʿab, Abdullah bin Masʿūd was considered an authoritative figure who influenced the interpretation of the Muslim community in Kufah, while the thoughts of Ḥasan al-Baṣri influenced the form of interpretation in Basrah.[13]

The thoughts of the four figures have contributed to the writing and understanding of *tafsīr* in each region, even the next generation after the companions, namely the *tabiʿin*, have written *tafsīr*. Abdul-Raof considers that this period is the time when the writing of the Quran commentaries began to focus on the *tafsīr* of *mutashābihāt* verses, and in this period the interpretation was contaminated by Jewish narratives, politically oriented theological views, variations in the reading of the Quran, the many hypotheses and opinions of the *tabiʿin* and the interpretation began to be far from quoting *ṣaḥīh* hadiths.

Abdul-Raof added that the development of sectarianism in *tafsīr* is due to the emergence of many discourses on *mutashābihāt* verses among Muslim thinkers. Therefore, every school of thought in Islam is actively involved to participate in interpreting the Quran with different results. Despite the involvement of many schools of *kalām* in the interpretation process, this does not make the *tafsīr* of the Quran independent of the theological principles of *kalām*, so that the involvement of certain theological groups results in subjectivity in the *tafsīr* of the Quran.[14]

The active role of each sect also gave rise to a dichotomy between mainstream and non-mainstream sects where both have their own methods and characteristics in *tafsīr* of the Quran. For example, the mainstream sect, namely Sunnī, uses the *tafsīr bi-al-maʾthūr* method, while non-mainstream sects that are still within the scope of Sunnī such as Muʿtazilī, Ashʿarī and Sufi use the *tafsīr bi-al-raʾyi* interpretation method and vice versa, the non-maisntream sects that fall into the non-Sunnī category use the same method as non-mainstream Sunnī.[15]

The use of these two approaches has led to pros and cons where there is a rejection by the mainstream group for *tafsīr* with rational methods. The rejection is based on several reasons that the interpretation steps taken by non-mainstream groups give rise to esoteric meanings that were not adopted by the Prophet Muhammad and the generations after him. Most of the non-mainstream groups use *tafsīr* of the Quran as a theological and political platform to legitimize their opinions. They cite few hadiths, which in reality are an important part of *tafsīr* of the Quran, and some interpretations by the non-mainstream groups are claimed to be an attempt to oppose the followers of the Prophet Muhammad.[16]

Despite the rejection of the use of *tafsīr bi-al-raʾyi* method by some mainstream groups, the development of *tafsīr* school during the time of the Prophet Muhammad, companions and *tabiʿīn* was dominated by the Muʿtazilah, Shiʿah and Sufi schools, while the modern era, according to Abdul-Raof, the *tafsīr* of the Quran is not only influenced by theological pre-understanding, but also influenced by the understanding of the text itself, as well as other sciences that are able to explain the Quran.

Moreover, sectarianism in *tafsīr* had a major influence on later *mufassir* in some Islamic regions, for example the influence of the interpretation of the Iraq region which was considered to be influenced by the Kufah and Basrah schools. The civil war in Kufah caused by the emergence of the Shīʿah and Murjiʿah schools in Kufah, and some of the founders of the schools uch as Ḥasan al-Baṣrī were allegedly influenced by Qadariyah thought.[17]

Along with the development of the methodology of *tafsīr* the Quran, the justification of the *tafsīr* school also developed. The justification of the *tafsīr* school and the subjectivity of the school of *kalām* in *tafsīr* is identified by many scholars such as Jules Janssens and Martin Nguyen through the history and background of the *mufassir* both in terms of ideological and theological leanings. Even the educational background also affects the *tafsīr* school itself. For example, Janssens mentions that al-Kindi's interpretation is influenced by his pre-*kalām* thought, so that his interpretation does not escape philosophical interpretations.[18] Furthermore, Nguyen polarizes the different interpretations of *al-ḥurūf al-muqaṭṭaʿah* by Sunnī and non-mainstream *tafsīr* schools.[19] The subjectivity of the *mufassir*'s pre-understanding is also identified by Mohammed Rustom in his writing about the interpretation that is identical to the interpretation of Sufism in al-Sulamī's *tafsīr* where he explains that al-Sulamī's socio-historical background is as a practitioner of Sufism, so it is no wonder if his first *tafsīr* in surah *al-Fātiḥah* has Sufism nuance.[20]

From several studies related to *tafsīr* and *tafsīr* school, the authors of this article see that the majority of the results of these studies prove that the *mufassir*'s pre-understanding both in terms of social, ideological and theological aspects applied in the reality of his life has a significant influence on his interpretation model. Apart from the subjectivity of the *mufassir*'s pre-understanding, the influence of the existing socio-cultural construction also sometimes has a major influence on the *tafsīr* of the Quran.

Abdul-Raof said that each figure has a tendency to think and has a different school of *kalām*, so that the *tafsīr* of the Quran at that time

often contains many elements of interest, both from theological and political sides. For him, the theological influence that is very thick in the interpretation of the Quran occurs because of the sectarian issues that evolve, as well as the issue of patriarchy that occurs between schools. In addition, the issue of the subjectivity of this school of *kalām* occurs as a result of a movement to disseminate the ideology of each school using the Quran verses, especially regarding the debate on major sins and divinity.[21]

The argument that there is a relationship between the text and the *mufassir* with all the cultural realities that occur, or what is called the subjectivity of the *mufassir* over the Quran was previously proposed by R. Bultman and Gadamer in other traditions, especially the Christian tradition. They consider that the understanding of the Bible has a close relationship with the socio-political background of the interpreter where he has a presupposition before understanding the Bible.[22]

Khaled Abou el-Fadl, in turn, considers that interpretation in the early Islamic period was influenced by the authoritarianism of a figure so that this had an impact on the misuse of power, misinterpretation of legal verses for group interests, and denial of the ontological reality of a verse. The reality of this authoritarianism reflects the *mufassir* who is confined to many interests without exercising self-control, so that his thoughts are considered the most correct.[23]

In addition to Abou el-Fadl, there are several other figures such as Naṣr Ḥāmid Abū Zayd, Asghar Ali Engineer, and Amina Wadud, who argue that subjectivity[24] is no longer a debate about whether or not there is an interpretation, but rather a method to understand some of the verses of the Quran in depth to reconstruct their meaning clearly in various perspectives.[25] For example, they consider that the interpretation of gender verses must involve women to get an acceptable interpretation. Likewise, the interpretation of metaphysical verses must involve the thoughts of philosophers who are already embedded in the reader's mind, so that one's understanding of the Quran cannot be separated from the influence of theological landscape.[26]

Characteristics of Theological Interpretation

As described in the previous section, subjectivity arises because of historical events that gave rise to the existence of theological schools in Islam which have implications for differences in *tafsīr* of the Quran, especially on theological issues, so that the majority of academics use the interpretation of theological texts to prove the theological preferences of a *mufassir* who is considered to have an influence on the thoughts and forms

of interpretation on a *tafsīr* product. Therefore, the majority of scholars agree that if a *mufassir* adheres to a certain theological school such as al-Rāzī, al-Ṣābūnī and al-Ṭabari who adhere to the Sunnī school, then their *tafsīr* are directly in line with the Sunnī thought. In contrast, al-Qāḍī Abd al-Jabbār and al-Zamakhsharī being Muʿtazilīs, their interpretations are certainly in line with all Muʿtazilī principles.

Richard Martin said there are other issues that can be used as an indication of a *mufassir*'s theological preference. This can be proven through the *mufassir*'s argumentation about the debate whether the Quran is a creature or not. According to him, the debate caught the attention of many theologians and Sufis, so that *mufassir* who were fanatical about their theological views, such as al-Zamakhsharī, also wrote his opinion about the Quran as a creature in the introduction to his *tafsīr*. However, this acknowledgment was changed due to protests from the majority of Sunnīs. The issue shows that *tafsīr* in early Islam was very dogmatic, so that readers who for example were predominantly Sunnī could reject forms of interpretation that did not agree with them.[27]

The characteristics of subjective interpretation, apart from being found from the *mufassir*'s argumentation in his interpretation of theology and the debate over the Quran being a creature or not, can also be found through his ideological background: whether he is a Sufi or a rationalist. For example, Kenneth W. Morgan, in his article "The Straight Path: Islam Interpreted by Muslims", mentions that there are differences in the interpretation of a Sufi or rational *mufassir* where Sufi *mufassir* tend towards mysticism while rational people tend to prioritize logic. Morgan mentions this difference in Ibn ʿArabī's interpretation and Waṣil bin ʿAṭaʾs interpretation.[28]

The theological tendencies and pre-understandings of *mufassir*, according to Tariq Jaffer, can be found through the methodology and even the interpretation of Quran. For example, al-Rāzī, as a theologically Ashʿarī *mufassir*, in his interpretations, does not only corner *mufassir* with different theologies such as al-Zamakhsharī, but he also justifies his opinion if the *mufassir* share his thoughts, for example on the issue of *nafs* and *rūḥ*. Jaffer also mentions that al-Rāzī's concept of the soul is the same as that of Sunnī thought. In addition, Jaffer identifies that the interpretation of *Mafātiḥ al-Ghayb* as an interpretation using two methods of interpretative approaches, namely logical and textualist. This shows that al-Rāzī still shows his partiality to the truth about the Muʿtazilah school of thought where he once adhered to the Muʿtazilah theological school, so that it has implications for his textualist-logical method of interpretation.[29]

S.J. Badakhchani concluded that the theological tendencies of a *mufassir*

led to criticism of certain theological schools in order to refute other theological thoughts. For example, Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī, a representative of Shīʿī *mufasssir*, often criticizes Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī's thoughts on various issues including the issue of the essence and existence of God. According to Badakhchani, al-Ṭūsī's attitude is a sentiment and defense of the truth of Shīʿī thought, especially Shiʿah Ismāʿīliyyah thought. This is because al-Ṭūsī was born into a family dominated by Shīʿī thought and was born in Iran where the majority of the people adhere to the Shīʿī school.[30]

Moreover, Badakhchani said that al-Ṭūsī's thoughts on theology and eschatology are closer to those of Imam Ḥasan, who is known as an adherent of the Ismaʿili Shiʿah sect.[31] Hasan Rezaee Haftador and Azam Khodaparast also examined al-Ṭūsī's *tafsīr* where they found that Shaikh al-Ṭūsī was considered subjective because he used more *ijtihādī* methods and a lot of rational arguments. He mentioned that although al-Ṭūsī's *tafsīr* is dominated by *ijtihādī*, it does not diminish the validity of his opinion in *tafsīr* because *ijtihādī* method is a valid method in internal Islam.[32]

Safrudin Ediwibowo in his article "*T*he Debates of the Createdness of the Qurʾan and Its Impact to the Methodology of Qurʾanic Interpretation" states that the theological tendency of a *mufassir* has implications for the methodology of *tafsīr* the Quran. He said that *mufassir* who tend to believe in the attributes of God predominantly interpret the Quran textually, while those who reject the attributes of God such as Muʿtazilah interpret the Quran metaphorically to avoid interpretations that show the similarity of creatures with their creator, so it is not wrong if the subjectivity of the *tafsīr* Quran is difficult to avoid by a *mufassir*.[33]

Khaled Troudi critically examined the objectivity of several commentaries such as those of al-Ṭabarī, al-Zamakhsharī, al-Thaʿalabī, al-Ṭabrisī, al-Rāzī and al-Naysāburī, but he did not find any that were not subjective. For example, the Sufis tend to be metaphorical, the Sunnīs tend to be textualists and the Muʿtazilahs tend to be rationalists.[34] According to Ivry Alfred, this reality shows that the *mufassir* is involved in the symbols of the Quran.[35] Rachel Anne Friedman in her dissertation mentions that Abū Bakr al-Bāqillānī, in interpreting the Quran, tends to the Malikī school. This happened because al-Bāqillānī was known as an adherent of the Malikī school. Friedman said al-Bāqillānī tends to use several explanations that can support the truth of his argument.[36]

Moreover, Emman el-Badawy examined the Salafi-Jihadi style of *tafsīr*. He said that these groups tend to interpret the Quran in an extreme manner. Their interpretations are always different from mainstream circles such as Sunnī, especially regarding the issue of non-Muslims.[37] Ali

Suleiman said that the form of interpretation of the Quran has changed from time to time, and the interpretation of the Quran in each period has certain characteristics both ideologically and theologically. For example, classical interpretations born in the third and fourth centuries of Hijri were more influenced by Sunnī thought such as al-Ṭabarī's interpretation. More than that, he said that in the next century, namely the fifth century of Hijri, the form of interpretation had experienced differences where *mufassir* began to emphasize grammatical, legal and theological analysis in an interpretation. Ali also considers that the *mufassir* has different ideological and theological so that it has implications for the product of interpretation. For example, Shi'ah interpreters tend to consider that the most authoritative interpretation of the Quran is the interpretation of al-Imām Alī bin Abī Ṭālib and the eleven Imāms who were believed to be after the Prophet Muhammad.[38]

Johanna Pink, also shares the same view that there are differences in the interpretation of the Quran from time to time, especially the form of interpretation of the Quran in this modern era, experiencing changes in terms of methods and even the meaning of the Quran. For example, she mentioned that local political forces in Egypt have a major influence on the interpretation of the Quran. In this case, she mentioned that scholars in Saudi Arabia also have the authority to create the meaning of the Quran, which are sometimes full of political interests. Pink's findings show that subjectivity is indeed difficult to avoid for a mufassir, because a mufassir is required to interpret the Quran according to the problems that occur when he interprets the Quran.[39]

Another study by Abdul Mustaqim in the work of *tafsīr* Saleh Darat where he has the aim that the Quran does not only focus on textual meaning which is not uncommonly done by *fuqahāʾ*, and the *tafsīr* of the Quran is not only oriented to the inner meaning which is often done by the Sufis, so he created a *tafsīr* that *ishārī* style. This shows that the pre-understanding of a *mufassir* has implications for the form of interpretation, and subjectivity in the *tafsīr* of the Quran is difficult to avoid.[40] Moreover, El Hassane Herrag found an ideological influence on the *tafsīr* of Quran from Arabic to English, Spanish and Catalan. He mentioned that the dominant ideological influence has an impact on changing the original meaning of the Quran that is manipulated due to different idiological orientations. He also considered that the influence of a *mufassir*'s religious understanding also affects the transliteration of the Quran.[41]

The characteristics of subjective *tafsīr* can also be identified through the time of writing and publishing a *tafsīr*. This is proven by Ridhoul Wahidi

and Amaruddin Asra's, and Moch. Ziyadul Mubarok's articles. Wahidi said that medieval tafsir was full of ideological and theological issues and tendencies, so that *mufassir* focused more on theological-philosophical debates. Two medieval theological interpretations are *al-Kashshāf* and *Mafātiḥ al-Ghayb*.[42] While Mubarok found that some sects such as Khawārij, Shīʿah, Muʿtazilah and Ashʿariyah have their own works of *tafsīr*, but not all of them can be accessed until the modern era. According to him, theological *tafsīr* has certain characteristics, namely more use of *taʾwīl* methodology.[43]

From the various findings by academics above, it can be concluded that there are several categorizations of subjective interpretations;

a. A *mufassir* adheres fanatically to a particular theological school.
b. A *mufassir*'s argumentation and interpretation of theology is in line with one of the schools of *kalām*.
c. The arguments and thoughts of the *mufassir* on the issues of major sins, the Quranic omnipotence and eschatology are in line with certain theological schools.
d. A *mufassir* adheres to a particular school of *fiqh*.
e. The writing of his *tafsīr* was done in the middle of the Hijri century.
f. The scientific background of the *mufassir*.
g. The methodology of *tafsīr* is either textualist or rationalist.

Al-Zamakhsharī's Socio-Historical Setting: His Life and Educational Background

Al-Zamakhsharī, popularly known as Jārullāh when he settled in Makkah, Saudi Arabia to write his *tafsīr*, al-Kashshāf. Due to his great knowledge, he was given titles by the community as *Fakhr Khawarizm* (Leader of Khawarizm), *al-Imām al-ʿAllāmah (*Imam of the Elders*), al-Baḥr al-Fahhāmah* (Ocean of Knowledge), *Imām al-Mufassirīn* (Imam of the *Mufassirs*) and *al-Raʾīs al-Lughawiyyīn* (Imam of the Language Experts).[44] His full name is Abū al-Qāsim Maḥmūd ibn ʿUmar al-Khāwarizm, He was born on Wednesday 27 Rajab 467 AH or March 18, 1075 AD in Zamakhshar.[45]

He was born in a social environment full of prosperity and a high scientific spirit. He began to study religion in his hometown and was known as a pious and devout individual, but he came from an economically disadvantaged family. Although he came from a poor family, his father and mother were described by al-Zamakhsharī as religiously observant, *waraʿ*, always fasting, always waking up at midnight to pray and even mastering literature. His father's obedience and high level of knowledge made him

a respected figure and he was always the imam at one of the mosques in Khawarizm.[46]

During his life, al-Zamakhsharī fought for himself as a person who studied and served science until he produced many works that contributed greatly to the development of intellectual knowledge in the Islamic world until now. He was even recorded as a student of al-Jawāliqī (d.539 AH), one of the linguists, at the age of 66. One year before his teacher's death, al-Zamakhsharī passed away on the night of Arafah in 538 A.H. Al-Juwaynī mentions that many of the Muʿtazilah circles and figures chose to live alone, which al-Zamakhsharī also did, choosing to be celibate for the rest of his life. However, his decision to be celibate has produced positive results, namely he was recorded as being able to produce 50 written works from various scientific fields,[47] even some of his works are still in manuscript form.[48]

His love for knowledge grew within his family and became significant when he went to Bukhara, a center of scholarly activity especially on language and literature which became one of the favorite destinations for lovers of knowledge. In Bukhara, he studied hadith with several scholars such as, Abū Manṣūr Naṣr al-Ḥarīthi, Abū al-Khaṭṭāb bin Abū al-Batr, and Abū Saʿad al-Thaqafī. In addition, he also studied literature with Abū Alī al-Ḥasan al-Naisāburī (d. 473 AH).[49]

A few years later, he decided to return to Khawarizm because he heard the news that his father was imprisoned, tortured and died as a result of the actions of the ruler, Muayyid al-Mulk. He continued his education with the prominent scholar Abū Muḍar Maḥmūd bin Jarīr al-Iṣfahānī (d. 507 AH) (d. 508 AH) in his village, which caused him to become one of the best students who were able to master Arabic language, literature, logic, philosophy and *kalām*. Through Abū Muḍar, al-Zamakhsharī not only gained knowledge but also received economic support as a teenager, so that he avoided economic problems.[50]

Although he was known from his youth as a student who had mastered several sciences, he still continued his journey to gain knowledge directly with the scholars of his time or by reading their works. He traveled to Baghdad in 533 AH to study with two renowned scholars, Qāḍī al-Quḍāt Abū ʿAbdillah Muḥammad binn ʿAlī al-Damighanī (d. 478 AH) and al-Sharīf bin al-Shajarī (d. 542 AH).

Both, are scholars who are qualified in the field of Hanafi school, which directly shaped al-Zamakhsharī's thinking as a Hanafi, as well as the style in his *tafsīr* that discusses about *fiqh* issues is also the Hanafi school.[51] In addition to studying jurisprudence, he also met the famous linguist in

Baghdad Abū Mansūr al-Jawāliqī (d. 539 AH) and met an expert in Arabic grammar, Sibawayh, to study with them. Until his old age, he continued to meet al-Jawāliqī to study language and literature.

He lived with a passion to contribute to the advancement of knowledge by composing the *al-Kashshāf*, which was written during his stay in Makkah for three years. In addition to writing, he also taught knowledge to people who needed it openly, so it was natural that many people came to him to take the opportunity to gain useful knowledge from him. Several prominent figures are also mentioned by al-Ḥūfī such as al-Ḥasan Alī bin al-Amaranī al-Khawārizm (d. 566 AH), who studied with him and became a renowned scholar in various sciences, especially in the field of literature so that he also earned the nickname *Hujjah al-Afāḍil wa al-Fakhr wa al-Mashāyikh*. Abū al-Ḥasan, known as a close friend of al-Zamakhsharī, was also his teacher and student, and together they developed literature in Khawarizm.[52]

Al-Zamakhsharī, besides being noted as a figure who loved the development of science, he is also known as a figure who had aspirations to become a leader and who had a position in the government. This desire arose when he saw that many leaders were incompetent and had poor morals in Khawarizm, as well as a government system that discriminated against the common people. Although he was promoted by his teacher Abū Mūḍar, he was unable to realize his ambition. This led him to move to Khurasan, where he was warmly welcomed by the local government, ʿUbaydillah Niẓām al-Mulk, and he was made a secretary. Because of his strong desire to contribute extensively to the government, he then moved to Isfahan where the Saljuk dynasty[53] was still considering Muʿtazilah thought.[54]

Although al-Zamakhsharī insisted on filling government positions, he did not always succeed. It was analyzed in previous research by Saifullah Rusmin et al that there were two possibilities why he always failed to promote himself. First, not only did he present himself as a representative of literary scholars, but he was predominantly known as a demonstrative figure who often propagated his Muʿtazilah views. This had a negative impact on him because he was not neutral, since not all elements of the government accepted his views and were affiliated with the Muʿtazilah. Furthermore, his physical condition was unhealthy, so he failed to occupy the position he wanted.[55]

In the authors' opinion, al-Zamakhsharī not only tried to teach his theological views through the works he wrote, but he also tried to enter the government system in order to be able to transfer Muʿtazilah thoughts

that had faded due to the turmoil of conflict caused by the previous government during the time of caliph al-Maʾmūn in which Muʿtazilah was made the official school of the State and the people were forced to embrace the theology simultaneously.

The Influence of Muʿtazilah on al-Zamakhsharī and His Tafsīr

The Muʿtazilah sect experienced ups and downs both in the number of its followers and in its role in the society and government.[56] After going through difficult times in maintaining its existence in the governmental sphere, the Muʿtazilah school continued to exist up to Baghdad and again experienced a decline when led by Niẓām al-Mulk as an Ashʿariah adherent. It was precisely during this period that al-Zamakhsharī began to play his role as a Muʿtazilah.[57] Thus, the historical record proves that the Muʿtazilah movement in Basrah was limited to theological issues and the issue of punishment for major sins. It did not try to ground itself in the region by approaching the government.

On the contrary, in Baghdad the Muʿtazilah school began to join and affiliate with the government, so that this school not only wanted to increase the number of adherents, but also had the intention of channeling Muʿtazilah ideas applied in government policies. Therefore, the authors see that in his time al-Zamakhsharī wanted to maintain his existence and theological flow, he did not only dwell on the Islamic problems that occurred, but there were also political elements that aimed to keep Muʿtazilah figures as representatives in the government including himself, so that directly Muʿtazilah thought would be channeled in it. Indirectly, he and the tafsir *al-Kashshāf* that he wrote, not only represented his Muʿtazilah thought, but perhaps his interpretation was also a means to legitimize his thought in the public sphere through the interpretation of verses themed on politics and government.

It would not be wrong if, for example, the author stated that al-Zamakhsharī was influenced by Muʿtazilah thought, both in terms of his thoughts, his life practices, and the works he wrote also represented Muʿtazilah thought. This is because from his childhood until his death, he grew up in an environment dominated by Muʿtazilah thought and was born among Muʿtazilah, and was raised from adolescence by his teacher Abū Muḍār as an influential figure among Muʿtazilah. It was only natural that during his lifetime he confessed to everyone he met that he was a Muʿtazilah and tried very hard to get into the government and even received recommendations from his teacher Abū Muḍār to perpetuate Muʿtazilah thought in government policy. The social milieu of Khwarizm,

where al-Zamakhshari was based, was not only predominantly Muʿtazilah but also characteristically rational and logical. This, in turn, suggests that his environment shaped al-Zamakhsharī's thinking, which was also principled in accordance with Muʿtazilah principles.

More than that, there are some important things that make him and his *tafsīr* as a Muʿtazilah *tafsīr*; first, he always refers to himself as a Muʿtazilah.[58] Secondly, he used the question and answer methodology in his *tafsīr* or used the answer word "*qultu*" which means that he expressed Muʾtazilah thought in his *tafsīr*[59] Third, when he migrated to Mecca and taught there about the *tafsīr* of the Quran. The lecture was sponsored and facilitated by Ibn Wahhās, who was a prominent figure in Mecca and a Muʿtazilī. Al-Zamakhsharī's ability to convey the material on *tafsīr*, as well as his expertise in matters of *balāghah*, led his student to become hypnotized and requested that al-Zamakhsharī continue to teach *tafsīr* and his thoughts in Mecca. The facilitator, Ibn Wahhās, agreed to continue teaching Muʿtazilah thought through the study of *tafsīr*. In addition, Ibn Wahhās was also one of the figures who approved the naming of the *Tafsīr al-Kashshāf* written in Mecca as *al-Kashshāf ʿan Ḥaqāʾiq Ghawāmid al-Tanzīl wa ʿUyūn al-Aqāwīl Fī Wujūh al-Taʾwīl*. Through the name of this *tafsīr*, the majority of *tafsīr* scholars from classical to modern consider that this *tafsīr* contains many elements of Muʿtazilah theological views.[60]

Fourth, in the commentary of *al-Kashshāf,* one of the figures who commented on al-Zamakhsharī's Muʿtazilah was Ibn Wahhās. He mentions that al-Zamakhsharī was a Muʿtazilah who upheld justice so that he was called *ahl al-ʿAdl* and discredited the non-Muʿtazilah.[61] The final proof, which is often used as the main indicator by commentators from classical to modern, that al-Zamakhsharī was a Muʿtazilah adherent and that his commentary is a representation of Muʿtazilah thought can be proven through his *tafsīr* in *al-Kashshāf* of theological verses.[62]

As explained earlier, the majority of scholars see *al-Kashshāf's* interpretation as dominated by the Muʿtazilah theological style. The argument is proven by Muslim intellectuals from classical to modern, by showing the partiality of al-Zamakhsharī's interpretation towards his school, especially in the *tafsīr* of theological verses. In addition to his *tafsīr*, justification comes through evidence of his active recognition in his life both in the introductory scribbles of his *tafsīr* and his confession as an adherent of the Muʿtazilah sect.

Al-Kashshāf is known to be very concise and dense, but the nuances of its *balāghah* and *naḥwu* are very strong.[63] *Al-Kashshāf* is also known as a *tafsīr* that uses dialog where it shows indirectly that the *mufassir* and the

reader are communicating.[64] Sometimes al-Zamakhshari uses poetry as a method of explanation[65] and the dominant is the interpretation of the Quran which refers to the rationality of reason, so that the interpretation of *al-Kashshāf* is categorized as *tafsīr bi-al-raʾyī*.[66]

Another characteristic that characterizes *al-Kashshāf*'s interpretation, which is also one of the indications that al-Zamakhsharī's interpretation has Muʿtazilah theological nuances, is that he interprets the Quran by justifying the opinions and arguments of others who agree with him but refutes the opposite opinion by presenting other verses to legitimize his opinion. In other words, he fanatically emphasized his theological views and without preamble sometimes also discredited other thoughts, especially Sunnī. Moreover, another indicator that the *tafsīr* of the *al-Kashshāf* tends to be subjective to one theological school is because it uses two ways of *tafsīr* the Quran, namely *ʿilm bayān* and *ʿilm al-maʿānī*.[67]

According to al-Zamakhsharī, these two sciences are important for a *mufassir* to be able to produce and interpret the Quran correctly in accordance with the intended meaning of the Quran. As a consequence of using these two sciences, al-Zamakhsharī often used *taʾwīl* to get a meaning that he thought was more comprehensive with his thoughts and the social problems that occurred in his time. Al-Zamakhsharī often interpret the Quran verses that are related to the Muʾtazilah principle of *uṣūl al-khamsah*, one example can be found in QS. Al-Nisāʾ 93.

This verse talks about the act of intentional killing by humans with the reward of *Jahanam* hell and a great punishment for him. The issue of the perpetrators of major sins is indeed the main focus of both Muʿtazilah and other theological groups, so it is possible that they will interpret this verse according to their respective theological schools. For example, the Sunnīs tend to believe that the perpetrators of major sins can receive intercession and forgiveness from Allah. even if they do not repent first. This means that the Sunnīs believe that the perpetrators of major sins will not remain in hell. In contrast, the Muʿtazilīs tend to believe that the perpetrator of a major sin will not be forgiven by Allah, if he does not repent and he will remain in hell.

The following is al-Zamakhsharī's argument in response to another argument from the Sunnīs regarding the perpetrators of major sins:[68]

هذه الآية فيها من التهديد والأيعاد والأبراق والأرعاد أمر عظيم وخطب غليظ ومن ثم روي عن ابن عباس ما روي من أن توبة قاتل المؤمن عمدا غير مقبولة, وعن سفيان كان أهل العلم إذا سئلوا قالوا لاتوبة له وذالك محمول منهم علي الا قتداء بسنة

الله في التغليظ والتشديد والآ فكل ذنب محوا بالتوبة

"This verse contains threats and condemnations and warnings like thunder and lightning. The explanation of the verse is extraordinary and a strong statement. Hence, it was narrated from ibn 'Abbās that the repentance of the one who killed his brother in faith would not be accepted. Sufyan's opinion is also similar, if knowledgeable people are asked about this, then they will answer that the one who kills intentionally will also not get forgiveness. This was decided because it is in accordance with the sunnatullah to condemn and threaten the one who kills intentionally. Otherwise, all sins would be easily expiated by repentance."

According to al-Zamakhsharī, QS. Al-Nisāʾ 93 is a strong evidence to position that the perpetrator of major sins will remain in hell if he does not repent. He also provides additional arguments regarding the above issue, "If you ask: Is there any evidence that the one who commits a major sin will remain in Hell if he does not repent? I would answer: The evidence is clear. This is because he is included in Whoever kills, whether he is a Muslim or a disbeliever, repentant or unrepentant. However, the one who repents is out of a position to remain in Hell, because there is evidence for that. So whoever claims that the one who does not repent is also excluded from the eternal state of Hell, let him show similar evidence".

The argumentation of al-Zamakhsharī in his *tafsīr* was responded to by one of the Sunnīs, Ibn Munayyir (683 AH) in his work *al-Intiṣāf* that he responded to al-Zamakhshari's statement with another Quranic argument in QS. Al-Nisāʾ 48 that,

"Indeed, Allah will not forgive the sin of associating partners with Allah, and He forgives sins other than polytheism for whom He wishes. Whoever associates partners with Allah has indeed committed a great sin".

He explains that the killer who still believes will have the *mashīʾah* (will) of Allah. If He wills, then He may forgive or torture the perpetrator of intentional killing, except for the perpetrator who associates partners with Allah/*shirk*.[69]

From the debate above, both have strong arguments to support their understanding of the punishment for intentional murder. For the authors, there is nothing wrong with the arguments they use because both are sourced from the Quran, but both of them deny existing the Quran verses just to legitimize their thoughts. For example, al-Zamakhsharī's opinion that the perpetrators of major sins who repent will have their repentance accepted is also confirmed in other verses, namely QS. Al-Furqan 68-70 and Ibn Munayyir's opinion about God's will or God's power over

punishment for human actions is also confirmed in QS. Al-Nisāʾ 48. This shows that both of them interpreted the text according to the subjectivity of their respective theologies, namely Ibn Munayyir as Sunnī, while al-Zamakhsharī as Muʿtazilī.

Another example related to major sins can be seen through the explanation of his interpretation in QS. Al-Zumār 53. This verse speaks of God's mercy that is always widespread to every individual even though he often sins. In this context, the Muʿtazilah, including al-Zamakhsharī, did not recognize the existence of God's forgiveness other than through repentance by humans, so al-Zamakhsharī turned the textualist meaning of the verse by using another meaning that he thought was more appropriate by taking and referring to the verse after it. The context of the problem discussed in QS. Al-Zumār 54 is about the call to return to God before the punishment comes to humans. By using the context of the problem discussed in the next verse, al-Zamakhsharī finally interprets QS. Al-Zumār 53 with "Allah will forgive man if the man repents before getting punishment, if repenting Allah will definitely forgive man".[70] This interpretation clearly shows that al-Zamkhsharī is trying to uphold the principle of *al-waʾd wa al-waʿīd* among the Muʿtazilah.

Moreover, al-Zamakhsharī in his book also did not hesitate to change the categorization of *Muḥkam* and *Mutashābih* verses if they contradict the principles of Muʿtazilah thought. For example, in QS. al-Zumār 53, generally the *mufassir* categorize this verse as the *Muḥkam* category, unlike al-Zamkhsharī, he makes this verse fall into the *Mutashābih* category.[71] This change in categorization is considered a step to remain principled in *al-waʿd wa al-waʿīd* which agrees that God's promises and threats are true both in this world and in the hereafter. This principle is based on the QS. al-Zalzalah 7-8, *"Whoever does even a dharrah's weight of good, he will see it. And whoever does an evil deed of even a dharrah, he will also see its reward"*.

The above verse was used by Muʿtazilah including al-Zamakhsharī as an argument to legitimize their principle of *al-waʿd wa al-waʿīd*, so it is natural that other verses that contradict their principles are interpreted by al-Zamakhsharīʾ as in the case of Allah's forgiveness in QS. al-Zumar 53.

Conclusion

Based on the above explanation, *al-Kashshāf's* interpretation is proven to be influenced by Muʿtazilah theological subjectivity. This justification can be proven both through al-Zamakhsharī's personality as an *author* who adhered to the Muʿtazilah school of *kalām* and his *tafsīr* which was directly written for his students, the majority of whom were also Muʿtazilah

followers. Moreover, the interpretation of the theological verses described earlier also proves that al-Zamakhsharī's interpretation upholds Muʿtazilah principles and understanding.

This article refutes Lane's conclusion that the interpretation of *al-Kashshāf* is not influenced by Muʿtazilah thought and cannot be called a tafsir that represents Muʿtazilah theology. The authors see that in his research, Lane ignores the socio-historical context surrounding al-Zamakhsharī's life in which the figure of al-Zamakhsharī was a Muʿtazilah adherent as well as one of the figures recommended to be directly involved in government politics in several countries with the aim of giving space to the aspirations of the Muʿtazilah school.

In the authors' opinion, Lane is pushing his thesis statement so hard that he dismisses the evidence surrounding it. He also ignores the opinion of the academic majority with all the evidence presented by them. Thus, the authors agree with the majority of scholars and academics who consider and give full attention to the figure of al-Zamakhsharī as a Mu'tazilah as one of the indications of the Muʿtazilah-ness of *al-Kashshāf*'s interpretation. However, this indicator cannot be avoided because basically the *mufassir* and his social background have a very close relationship that will affect the product of his interpretation.

Endnotes

1. Nasr Hamid Abu Zayd, *Tekstualitas Al-Qur'an; Kritik Terhadap Ulumul Qur'an* (Yogyakarta: Lkis Pelangi Aksara, 2002), 75; Ali Hasan Al-'Aridi, *Sejarah Dan Metodologi Tafsir* (Jakarta: Raja Grafindo Persada, 1994), 34; Moh Arsyad Ba'asyien, "Tafsir Bi Al-Ra'yi Sebagai Salah Satu Bentuk Penafsiran Alquran," *Hunafa: Jurnal Studia Islamika* 2, no. 2 (2005): 178.

2. Muḥammad Ḥusayn Dhahabī, *Al-Tafsīr wa-al-Mufassirūn* (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1976), 21; See also Wardani Wardani, "Objektivitas Dan Subjektivitas Tafsir Teologis: Dari Metode Konvensional Ulūm Al-Qur'ān Hingga Hermeneutika Nashr Ḥāmid Abū Zayd," *Ilmu Ushuluddin* 6, no. 2 (2007): 116.

3. Ignaz Goldziher is an orientalist who criticized the authenticity of the Quran and hadith. For him, the Quran is not authentic because there is no historical evidence and Muhammad's subjectivity was dominant in the Quran. In addition, the interpretation of the Quran is also strongly influenced by the dominant theological subjectivity during its time. See Ignaz Goldziher, *Introduction to Islamic Theology and Law* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1910), 142.

4. Naṣr Ḥāmid Abū Zayd stressed that subjectivity occurred due to the mix of reality and culture that merged into the *mufassir*'s understanding as well as become a truth belief of the *mufassir*. See Naṣr Ḥāmid Abū Zayd, *Mafhūm al-Naṣṣ: Dirāsah fī ʿUlūm Al-Qurān* (Beirut: al-Markaz al-Thaqāfī al-Arabī, 1994), 67; See also Muhammad Syamsul Arifin, "Konsep Muntaj Tsaqafi Dalam Studi Al-Qur'an Nashr Hamid Abu Zayd," *Studia Quranika* 1, no. 1 (January 17, 2019): 81.

5. For him, subjectivity in interpreting the Quran is inevitable because a *mufassir* certainly brings an established concept within him through various realities that occurred that directly override his understanding. Farid Esack, *Qur'an, Liberation & Pluralism: An Islamic Perspective of Interreligious Solidarity Against Oppression* (Oxford, England: Oneworld

Publications, 1997), 65; See also Sudarman Sudarman, "Pemikiran Farid Esack Tentang Hermeneutika Pembebasan Al-Qur'an," *Al-Adyan: Jurnal Studi Lintas Agama* 10, no. 1 (2017): 86.

6. According to Amina Wadud, classic interpretations intimidated women and had impact on the free movement of women in the social sphere. Thus, interpretation methodology should be progressively changed using other approach, i.e. women subjectivity. Amina Wadud, *Inside the Gender Jihad: Women's Reform in Islam* (Dexter, MI: Thomson-Shore, 2017), 32.

7. Asghar Ali Engineer, "Sharia, Fatwas and Women's Rights," Indian Journal of Secularism: A *Journal of Centre for Study of Society and Secularism* 4, no. 1 (n.d.): 2; See also Irsyadunnas Irsyadunnas, *Hermeneutika Feminisme Dalam Pemikiran Tokoh Islam Kontemporer* (Dissertation, Graduate School UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta, 2002), 12.

8. Nasr Hamid Abu Zayd, *Teks Otoritas Kebenaran*, trans. Sunarwoto Dema (Yogyakarta: LKiS, 2003), 45.

9. Yunus Hasan Abidu, *Tafsir Al-Quran: Sejarah Tafsir Dan Metode Para Musafir* (Jakarta: Gaya Media Pratama, 2007), 53.

10. Andrew J. Lane, "You Can't Tell a Book by Its Author: A Study of Mu'tazilite Theology in Al-Zamakhsharī's (d. 538/1144) Kashshāf," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 75, no. 1 (2012): 31.

11. Hussein Abdul-Raof, *Schools of Qur'anic Exegesis: Genesis and Development* (New York, N.Y.: Routledge, 2010), xi.

12. Abdul-Raof, xvi.

13. Abdul-Raof, 6.

14. Abdul-Raof, 8.

15. Abdul-Raof, 10.

16. Abdul-Raof, 12.

17. Abdul-Raof, 165.

18. Jules Janssens, "Al-Kindī: The Founder of Philosophical Exegesis of the Qur'an," *Journal of Qur'anic Studies* 9, no. 2 (2007): 9.

19. Martin Nguyen, "Exegesis of the Ḥurūf Al-Muqaṭṭa'a: Polyvalency in Sunnī Traditions of Qur'anic Interpretation," *Journal of Qur'anic Studies* 14, no. 2 (2012): 4.

20. Mohammed Rustom, "Forms of Gnosis in Sulamī's Sufi Exegesis of the Fātiḥa," *Islam and Christian–Muslim Relations* 16, no. 4 (2005): 332.

21. Abdul-Raof, *Schools of Qur'anic Exegesis*, 68.

22. Hans-Georg Gadamer, *Truth and Method* (New York: Continuum, 1986), 331; Richard E. Palmer, *Hermeneutics; Interpretation Theory in Schleiermacher, Dilthey, Heidegger, and Gadamer* (Evanston [Ill.: Northwestern University Press, 1969), 193.

23. Khaled M. Abou El Fadl, *Atas Nama Tuhan: Dari Fikih Otoriter Ke Fikih Otoritatif,* trans. R. Cecep Lukman Yasin (Jakarta: Serambi, 2004), 117; See also Rendra Khaldun, "Hermeneutika Khaled Abou El Fadl: Sebuah Upaya Untuk Menemukan Makna Petunjuk Kehendak Tuhan Dalam Teks Agama," *Esu-Islamika* 3, no. 1 (2012): 118–19.

24. Subjective theory was born from the hermeneutic which was considered by Hassan Hanafi as a methodological experimentation to escape from the fanatism and scepticism of the Quran interpretation of law. For him, hermeneutic was not just a theory but a science that is capable of revealing the revelation since its beginning until it's able to elaborate God's intention for the universe. See Sahiron Syamsuddin, "Tipologi Dan Proyeksi Penafsiran Kontemporer Terhadap Al-Qur'an," *Jurnal Studi Ilmu-Ilmu al-Qur'an Dan Hadis* 8, no. 2 (2007): 195.

25. Abū Zayd, *Mafhūm Al-Naṣṣ: Dirāsah Fī ʿulūm Al-Qur'ān*, 67; Wardani, "Objektivitas Dan Subjektivitas Tafsir Teologis," 116; Wadud, *Inside the Gender Jihad: Women's Reform in Islam*, 32; Engineer, "Sharia, Fatwas and Women's Rights," 2.

26. Aziz Al-Azmeh, "Implausibility and Probability in Studies of Qur'anic Origins," *International Qur'anic Studies Association*, 2013, 7.

27. Richard C. Martin, "Understanding the Qur'an in Text and Context," *History of Religions* 21, no. 4 (1982): 372; and Richard C. Martin, "Createdness of the Qur'ān," in *Encyclopaedia of the Qur'ān*, ed. Jane Dammen McAuliffe (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 162.

28. Kenneth W. Morgan, *Islam, the Straight Path: Islam Interpreted by Muslims*, 1st Indian ed (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1987).

29. Tariq Jaffer, *Rāzī: Master of Qur'ānic Interpretation and Theological Reasoning* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 23.

30. S. J. Badakhchani, *Shi'i Interpretations of Islam: Three Treatises on Islamic Theology and Eschatology* (London: I. B. Tauris & Company, Limited, 2010), 15.

31. Badakhchani, 19.

32. Hasan Rezaee Haftador and Azam Khodaparast, "Ijtihad in Quranic Exegesis," *Asian Social Science* 11, no. 27 (2015): 126.

33. Safrudin Ediwibowo, "The Debates of the Createdness of the Qur'an and Its Impact to the Methodology of Qur'anic Interpretation," *Ulumuna* 19, no. 2 (2015): 385.

34. Khaled Troudi, "*Qur'ānic Hermeneutics with Reference to Narratives: A Study in Classical Exegetical Traditions*" (Dissertation, University of Exeter, 2011), 305.

35. Alfred L. Ivry and John Whitman, "The Utilization of Allegory in Islamic Philosophy," in *Interpretation and Allegory: Antiquity to the Modern Period* (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 155.

36. Rachel Anne Friedman, "*Clarity, Communication, and Understandability: Theorizing Language in al-Bāqillānī's I'jāz al-Qur'ān and Uṣūl al-Fiqh Texts*" (Dissertation, UC Berkeley, 2015).

37. Emman El-Badawy, "Struggle Over Scripture Charting the Rift Between Islamist Extremism and Mainstream Islam," Tony Blair Institute, 2017, 8.

38. Ali Sulayman Ali, *A Brief Introduction to Quranic Exegesis* (Herndon, VA: International Institute of Islamic Thought, 2017), 5.

39. Johanna Pink, *Muslim Qur'ānic Interpretation Today: Media, Genealogies and Interpretive Communities, Themes in Qur'ānic Studies* (Sheffield, South Yorkshire: Equinox Publishing Ltd., 2019), 9.

40. Abdul Mustaqim, "The Epistemology of Javanese Qur'anic Exegesis: A Study of Ṣāliḥ Darat's Fayḍ al-Raḥmān," *Al-Jami'ah: Journal of Islamic Studies* 55, no. 2 (2017): 359.

41. El Hassane Herrag, "*The Ideological Factor in the Translation of Sensitive Issues from the Quran Into English, Spanish and Catalan*" (Dissertation, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, 2012), 9.

42. Ridhoul Wahidi and Amaruddin Asra, "Corak Teologis-Filosofis Dalam Penafsiran Alqur'an," *SYAHADAH : Jurnal Ilmu al-Qur'an Dan Keislaman* 2, no. 1 (2014): 39.

43. Moch Ziyadul Mubarok, "Mengenal Corak Tafsir Ideologis" 1, no. 1 (2017): 68.

44. Saifullah Rusmin et al., "Penafsiran-Penafsiran Al-Zamakhsyari Tentang Teologi Dalam Tafsir Al-Kasysyaf," *Jurnal Diskursus Islam* 5, no. 2 (2017): 321.

45. Zamakhshar is a large settlement in Khawarizmi area (Turkistan). Manna' Khalil; Mudzakir AS; al-Qattan, *Studi Ilmu-Ilmu Quran* (Bogor: Litera Antarnusa, 2013), 530.

46. Musṭafā al-Ṣāwī al-Juwaynī, *Manhaj al-Zamakhsharī fī Tafsīr al-Qur'ān wa Bayān I'jāzih* (Kairo: Dār al-Mā'ārif, 1968), 26.

47. Not all works written by al-Zamakhsharī are accessible to current modern academics. However, some of his works are still accessible, among others, *Tafsir al-Kashshāf 'an Ḥaqā'iq al-Tanzīl wa 'Uyūn al-Aqawīl fī Wujūb al-Ta'wīl, al-Fā'iq Gharīb al-Ḥadīth, al-Ra'id fī al-Farā'id, al-Jibāl wa al-Amkinah, Mutashābih al-Asmā' al-Ruwāt, al-Kalim al-Nabawigh, Maqāmat fī al-Mawā'iz, Kitab fī Manāqib Imam Abi Ḥanīfah, Dīwān al-Rasā'il, Dīwān al-Tamthīl, Asās al-Balāghah, Muqaddimah al-Adab Fī Lughah, Sharḥ Kitāb Sibawaih, Sharḥ Kitāb al-Mufaṣṣal fī al-Naḥw.* Al-Juwaynī, *Manhaj al-Zamakhsharī,* 51.

48. Al-Juwaynī, *Manhaj al-Zamakhsharī*, 30.
49. Avif Alfiyah, "Kajian Kitab Al Kasyaf Karya Zamakhsyari," *Al Furqan: Jurnal Ilmu Al Quran Dan Tafsir* 1, no. 1 (2018): 57.
50. Naif Fauzan, *Al-Kashshāf Karya al-Zamakhsharī Dalam Studi Kitab Tafsir* (Yogyakarta: Teras, 2004), 46.
51. Zubair Zubair, "*Pemikiran Zamakhsyarî Dalam Hukum Islam: Telaah Terhadap Penafsiran Ayat-Ayat Ahkâm Dalam Tafsir Al-Kasysyâf*" (Thesis, Graduate School UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta, 2015), 25.
52. Ahmad Muhammad Al-Hufi, *Al-Zamakhsharī* (Cairo: Al Hai'ah al Miṣriyyah, n.d.), 125.
53. C. E. Bosworth, *Dinasti-Dinasti Islam* (Bandung: Mizan, 1993), 143.
54. Ahmad Zaeny, "Signifikansi Ajaran Mu'tazilah Terhadap Eksistensi Filsafat Di Dunia Islam," *KALĀM* 9, no. 1 (2015): 105.
55. Rusmin et al., "Penafsiran-Penafsiran Al-Zamakhsyari Tentang Teologi Dalam Tafsir Al-Kasysyaf," 58.
56. Harun Nasution, *Pembaharuan Dalam Islam: Sejarah Pemikiran Dan Gerakan* (Jakarta: Antara Pustaka, 1996), 64.
57. Ahmad Zaeny, "Idiologi Dan Politik Kekuasaan Kaum Mu'tazilah," *Jurnal Tapis: Jurnal Teropong Aspirasi Politik Islam* 7, no. 2 (2011): 105.
58. Maḥmūd ibn Umar Zamakhsharī, *Al-Kashshāf ʿan Ḥaqāʾiq al-Tanzīl wa-ʿUyūn al-Aqāwīl fī Wujūh al-Taʾwīl* (Bayrūt: Mawqiʾ al-Tafsīr, n.d.), Vol. 1, 9.
59. Al-Zamakhsharī, *Al-Kashshāf*, Vol. 1, 22.
60. Al-Zamakhsharī, *Al-Kashshāf*, Vol. 1, 242.
61. Alfiyah, "Kajian Kitab Al Kasyaf Karya Zamakhsyari," 61.
62. Rusmin et al., "Penafsiran-Penafsiran Al-Zamakhsyari Tentang Teologi Dalam Tafsir Al-Kasysyaf"; Alfiyah, "Kajian Kitab Al Kasyaf Karya Zamakhsyari," 62.
63. Al-Zamakhsharī, *Al-Kashshāf*, Vol. 1, 242.
64. Al-Zamakhsharī, *Al-Kashshāf*, Vol. 1, 22.
65. Al-Zamakhsharī, *Al-Kashshāf*, Vol. 1, 14.
66. This categorization was acquired through observation that in *al-Kashshāf* there was only a handful of the Quran interpretation that was explained by other verses, and only few hadiths were used to support the interpretation. In addition, al-Zamakhsharī almost never quoted the opinion and argument of the companion and *tabiʿin*. See Alfiyah, "Kajian Kitab Al Kasyaf Karya Zamakhsyari," 62; Nashruddin Baidan, *Metodologi Penafsiran Al-Qurʾan* (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 1998), 50.
67. Ahmad Thib Raya, *Rasionalitas Bahasa Al-Qurʾan: Upaya Menafsirkan Al-Qurʾan Dengan Pendekatan Kebahasaan* (Jakarta: Fikra Publishing, 2006), 24.
68. Al-Zamakhsharī, *Al-Kashshāf*, Vol. 2, 253.
69. Rusmin et al., "Penafsiran-Penafsiran Al-Zamakhsyari Tentang Teologi Dalam Tafsir Al-Kasysyaf."
70. Al-Zamakhsharī, *Al-Kashshāf*, Vol. 3, 403.
71. Tim Riset Majelis Tinggi Urusan Islam Mesir, *Ensiklopedi Aliran Dan Madzhab Di Dunia Islam*, ed. Artawijaya, trans. Irham Masturi and M. Abidun Zuhdi (Jakarta: Pustaka Al-Kautsar, 2015), 1123.

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