

Research Article

## **Al Makmun's Liberal Thoughts in Understanding the Quran as a Mahkluk**

**Muhammad Nasir**

UNW Mataram

Corresponding Author: [penasastra375@gamil.com](mailto:penasastra375@gamil.com)**Abstract**

The study of science plays a very significant role in the Islamic thought scene. Many schools of each school have different characteristics in explaining a concept; The Qur'an, for example, is understood differently depending on the school it follows. The Mu'tazilites as one of the schools that had a very wide influence with reason as the initial basis of their thought. Many of the mu'tazilite schools spawned pioneers who brought about a change in the paradigm of thinking, especially related to the concept of the new Qur'an. Al-makmun in this case very strongly states that the Qur'an is something created and is new. In 212 AH, Al-Makmun stated explicitly that the Qur'an is a creature, in addition to his saying that Ali ibn Abi Talib was superior to Abu Bakr and Umar ibn Khattab. Almost these highly controversial remarks caused great disaster among the Muslims. As it turned out, the people were very sensitive to the issues they considered an important part of the religion. Almost all scholars in the time of Al-Makmun were tested on the creation of the Qur'an. Scholars who agree with the teachings of the creation of the Qur'an will be free from the torment of Al-Makmun. On the contrary, scholars who dispute and disagree with the doctrine receive undeserved treatment for scholars. For example, Imam Ahmad bin Hanbal was one of the victims of the inquisition (mihnah) who had felt the narrowness of the prison and the weight of the handcuff chains he once inhabited and bound him. Months in prison, yet all the suffering could not change Al-Ma'mun's understanding of the status of the Qur'an. Until his death, Imam Ahmad continued to say that the Qur'an was kalamullah.



**Keywords:** Liberal, Al-Makmun, Al-Quran

### **A. Advances**

The Qur'an is the word of Allah which was revealed to Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) as a revelation. The Qur'an, in general, contains stories, laws, and monotheism. Apart from being a source of law, the Qur'an is also a source of inspiration for human life. But if you go back to the past, when the development of thought, especially theologians, involved schools, such as muktazilah and ahlussunnah waljamaah, each of which had a different interpretation of the status of the Qur'an. Among the various views of the Qur'an put forward by the Muktazilah schools here is understanding the Qur'an ala Al-Makmun.

In parallel with the development of human thought, the status of the Qur'an became a discussion of theologians. Some schools disagree on the status of the Qur'an. The Muktazilites understood the Qur'an as a being. One of the Abbasid caliphs who adhered to the Mu'tazilite school was al-Ma'mun. al-Makmun through his rule imposed the Mu'tazilite teachings on the creation of the Quran.

There were differences of opinion about the status of the Qur'an during the reign of al-Ma'mun, forcing him to form a judicial institution. The judiciary is known as mihnah. One of the most important victims of mihnah was Imam Ahmad ibn Hanbal. For months he languished in prison, and the whipping that hit his body was the result of his steadfastness in maintaining the opinion that the Quran is kalamullah.

### **B. Biography Al-Makmun**

Al-Makmun Abdullah Abu Al-Abbas bin Ar-Rashid was born in 170 A.H. on the night of Friday in the middle of the month of Rabiul Awwal, on that night coinciding with the death of Al-Hadi and succeeded by his father, Ar-Rashid. His mother was a former slave who was later married off by his father. Her name was Murajil who died while still in a state of puerperium after giving birth to Al-Makmun. Since childhood, Al-Makmun has learned a lot of knowledge. he was the most special figure of the Abbasids in his strong will, patience, breadth of knowledge, brilliance of ideas, ingenuity, authority, courage, and tolerance. It is said that in Bani Abbas there is an opening and a closing. The opening is As-Saffah, the mediator is Al-Makmun and the closing is al-Mu'tadhid. Al-Makmun was an eloquent speaker and a loud lion of the podium.<sup>1</sup>

Al-Makmun resembles some of his father's traits and does not resemble others. Al-Makmun was shy, honest, noble, loved humans, and was happy if they loved him. In this he resembles his father. But in addition to shyness and honesty, he is a generous person, cautious in action, and far-sighted. In this he does not resemble his

father. Ar-Rashid was a person who could solve problems at that time. As for Al-Makmun, because he was a careful man, he could suspend problem solving until he was convinced of the right thinking. In thinking he is very deep, as deep as a scientist. Of course he was an actual scientist.<sup>2</sup>

The scholar's comments about Al-Makmun's personality include: Khatib Al-Bagdadi said there were several caliphs known as memorizers of the Quran including Uthman bin Affan and Al-Makmun, but the validity of this statmen is still very doubtful. Khatib also added that so many caliphs memorized the Qur'an. Al-Makmun was among him who recited the Qur'an thirty-three times in one month. <sup>3</sup>

Al-Makmun was known as a caliph who loved science. During his reign, translation of foreign books was encouraged. To translate Greek books, he hired skilled translators of Christians and other religions. He also founded many schools, one of his most important major works being the construction of Bait al-Hikmah, a translation center that functioned as a college with a large library. It was during Al-Makmun's time that Baghdad began to become a center of culture and science.<sup>4</sup>

Abu Ma'syar Al-Munajjim said: Al-Makmun was a caliph who always called for justice, a man who had expertise in psychology and was considered to be in the ranks of the great scholars.

Al-Makmun's willingness in developing science was tireless. He wanted to show a strong willingness to the science and philosophy of the Greek tradition. It provides the cost and strong impetus to achieve great progress in the field of science. one was the movement of translating ancient works from Greece and Syria into Arabic, such as medicine, astronomy, mathematics and philosophy in general.<sup>5</sup>

Among the effects of this translation movement, Greek culture emerged and revived, this is what prompted Europe to rise after they had long been confined in the dark ages of science. This period of European revival is known as the Renaissance.<sup>6</sup>(History of the Caliphate, p. 98)

There were several important events that took place in 212 A.H. Among the events that took place in 212 related to the reign of Al-Makmun were the important statement made expressly by Al-Makmun about the creation of the Qur'an, and the statement about the istmiwaan of Ali ibn Abi Talib. Al-Makmun said that Ali was the most special person after the Messenger of Allah. The statement was made in the month of Rabi al-earlier that year. <sup>7</sup>

### **C. Doctrine of Al Makmun (Thought) Towards Its People**

In the field of theology, a number of schools of thought emerged that colored the development of theology. One of the most widely known schools of theology was the Muktaزيلah, which at its inception was known as the rigid puritan movement. They assert that the teaching that the Qur'an is not God's creation and is eternal will

pollute the oneness of God. But in subsequent developments, this school developed into a group of rationalists who glorified the results of human ratio thinking and regarded them as indications of absolute truth beyond the Qur'an. Thanks to the encouragement and persuasion of his Muktazilite judge, Ibn abi Dawud, al-Makmun whose passion for philosophical thought, gave rise to a new teaching in the State religion which in 827 declared an important statement about the creation (khalq) of the Qur'an.

Al-Makmun was the seventh caliph of the Abbasids who were adherents of the Muktazilah sect. When he became caliph, there emerged from him controversial ideas from the public and his people.

In 212 AH, Al-Makmun stated explicitly that the Qur'an is a creature, in addition to his saying that Ali ibn Abi Talib was superior to Abu Bakr and Umar ibn Khattab. Almost these highly controversial remarks caused great disaster among the Muslims. As it turned out, the people were very sensitive to the issues they considered an important part of the religion. 9

The Mu'tazilites argue that the Qur'an is a new (created) Qur'an is a manifestation of God's kalam. The Qur'an consists of a series of letters, words, and languages that precede the other. The doctrine of monotheism of the Mu'tazilites further explains that no one can equal God. Vice versa, God is not like his creatures. God is immaterial, therefore, unworthy of Him any material attribute. Everything that suggests the existence of God's impurity is, for the Mu'tazilites, unacceptable to reason and impossible.<sup>10</sup>

Thanks to the encouragement and persuasion of his Mu'tazilite judge, Ibn abi Duwad, Al-Makmun whose passion for philosophical thought, gave rise to new teachings in the State religion, in 827 declared an important statement about the creation (khalq) of the Qur'an.<sup>11</sup> Ahmad ibn Abi Duwad tried hard to convince Al-Makmun to act harshly against all those who disagreed with him on the matter, but al-Makmun argued that defeating them by arguing (discussing and argue for truth) is better than defeating them by force or violence. For, according to Al-Makmun, power is not sustainable, it will disappear, while the argument will last as long as man is intelligent.<sup>12</sup>

The teaching on the creation of the Qur'an contradicts the orthodox view by asserting that in its actual form in Arabic the Qur'an is an identical reproduction of its original model in the sky. The new teachings of the Qur'an as a creature soon became the new foothold of the beliefs of Muslims at that time. Al-Makmun went so far as to require the judges on duty to take exams around the new concept. In 833, the Caliph enacted an unpopular decree, which stipulated that any judge or prospective judge who did not recognize the teachings of the "Qur'an as a being" should not be

judges or appointed judges.<sup>13</sup> This attitude shows how Al-Makmun forced his Muktazilah teachings on his subjects.

Ironic and strange, a doctrine implemented through his leadership, Al-Makmun developed racially free thinking, instead becoming a deadly device that emphasized freedom of thought.

In 218 A.H., Al-Makmun tested the scholars on their opinion as to whether the Qur'an was a creature or not. To that end, he wrote to his servants in Baghdad to ask Ishaq bin Ibrahim Al-Khuzai son of Thahir bin Al-Hussein's uncle to test the scholars. Al-Makmun has known that the majority of Muslims from among the common people who do not have a broad view, do not have established knowledge and light of knowledge, and the evidence of truth has equated between Allah and what Allah has revealed. They are ignorants, blinded people, people who are perverted from the true nature of religion. They are unable to put God in their rightful place, and they are unable to know God by proper knowledge. They are unable to distinguish between God and His creatures. As a result, they equate God with His creatures. Therefore they claim that His creatures (meaning the Qur'an) are qadim, and Allah did not create them.

Caliph al-Ma'mun intervened violently and used his power to force the people to adhere to the opinion of the Quran as a creature. For al-Ma'mun, the matter has nothing to do with him at all, if it had anything to do with him, he would have been forgiving, as it is his habit to apologize. But for him the matter is deeper, a problem of Islam that concerns the tree of aqidah, and he is of the opinion that who does not admit it then exits the Islamic faith. Therefore, he announced that as the caliph of the Muslims who manage the problems of religion and the world for them, he is obligated not to use those who leave the religion in government matters, and is also obliged to protect the people from thoughts that he considers misguided and wrong.<sup>14</sup>

God has neatly arranged His Book and explained it. Thus, He is the creator of the Quran. They rely their opinions on the Sunnah and appear to be Ahlu Sunnah Wal Jama'ah who is right. They say that in addition to the group they are vanity and infidels. They say this excessively.<sup>15</sup>

#### **D. Al-Makmun and Controversies in Understanding the Qur'an**

Al-Ma'mun was one of the most prominent Abbasid caliphs. Most historians are of the opinion that, without al-Ma'mun's character and ability, the events of his time would have crippled the Islamic empire and led to total collapse.<sup>16</sup>

Al-Makmun is a Abbasiah caliph. During his reign, Al-Makmun, he was a follower of the Muktazilah madhhab. He loved the people of Muktazilah very much and he once sought help from them.<sup>17</sup>

Among the things mentioned about Al-Ma'mun are his intellect and love of science, as well as his services in that field which have placed him at the top of the list of Abbasid caliphs. In Jerusalem he collected various foreign knowledge, ordered that books by foreign nations be purchased and collected, then ordered that they be translated into Arabic. It was during this time that the great Arab philosopher al-Kindi emerged.<sup>18</sup> (History of Islamic culture vol. 3p137)

The translation of foreign books into Arabic had a great Greek influence during the time of Al-Makmun. The rationalistic tendencies of the caliph and his supporters of the Muktazilites, who held that religious texts should conform to human reason, led him to seek justification for his opinion in Greek philosophical works. In line with his policy, in 830 in Baghdad, Al-Makmun built the Bayt al-Hikmah (house of wisdom), a library, academy, and translation bureau, which in many ways was the most important educational institution since the establishment of the Iskandary museum in the first half of the 3rd century B.C. Beginning in the time of al-Makmun and continuing in the time of his successors, intellectual activity centered on the newly founded academy. (Hit 386)

At that time, Baghdad there was a group of Sunnah Ahl al-Sunnah who condemned philosophy and semantics, even what sciences were unknown to the salaf. However, Al-Makmun continued to encourage the translation of these sciences. He provided a small amount of funds requested by the disciple of Jabir ibn Hiyan (a disciple of Imam Ja'far Ash-Sahadiq) to finance the development of chemistry, including the creation of experimental sites (such as laboratories). However, some Sunnis view this science as sha'wadhah (magic) and bida'ah (religious engineering). They thought so because they witnessed firsthand that some people who pursued chemical experiments, succeeded in converting certain types of minerals (mining materials such as iron, copper, brass, etc.) that were worthless into very expensive gold.<sup>19</sup> The understanding recognized by the government, namely the Abbasid Dynasty under the leadership of the caliphs Al-Makmun, Al-Muktashim, and Al-Watsiq, was the Mu'tazilite understanding, that is, the Qur'an was not qadim.

To discuss the matter, Al-Makmun invited present in his palace, forty prominent men. They consisted of philosophers, judges, scholars, and jurists. They were gathered to discuss and exchange ideas. However, the discussion and exchange of ideas did not succeed in reaching an agreement. Imam Ahmad ibn Hanbal did not participate in the discussion, because he was not interested in the meetings held by the rulers, did not want to accept their gifts, however great the need. He was busy with teaching in his halqa and collecting hadiths. His attitude and stance are well known to the public, that is, he does not like to argue. He forbade his students to delve into the issue: whether the Qur'an was a creature of Allah or not. On more than one occasion he stated frankly that the man who would argue had no gain.<sup>20</sup>

After the meeting and debate, the Sunnah openly indulged in the halaqahs, denounced the scholars of science, and accused those who think that the Qur'an is a creature of Allah as infidels, or at least as ahlul bida'ah. Yahya ibn Aktsam as a figure of Ahlussunnah, he could not stop the condemnation and accusations launched by his companions, even they directly conveyed the problem of conflicting thoughts to Al-Makmun.<sup>21</sup>

Religiously based conflicts are not limited to conflicts between Muslims and zindiq or Ahlussunnah with Shi'a only, but also between sects in Islam. The rationally inclined Mu'tazilites were accused of heresy by the salaf. The dispute between the two factions was sharpened by Al-Ma'mun, the seventh caliph of the Abbasid dynasty (813-833), by making the Mu'tazilites the official school of state and performing the mihnah. During the time of Al-Mutawakkil (847-861), the Mu'tazilite sect was abolished as a state sect and the salaf class rose again.<sup>22</sup>

The Ahlussunnah (Al-Ash'ari) and the Mu'tazilites recognize the importance of reason and revelation, they differ in dealing with issues that derive contradictory explanations from reason and revelation. Al-Ash'ari prioritized revelation, while the Mu'tazilites prioritized reason. Al-Ash'ari is faced with two extreme views on the question of the qadim of the Qur'an. It is the Mu'tazilites who say that the Quran was created (creatures) so it is not qadim as well as the views of the Hanbali and Zahiriyah schools which state that the Quran is the kalam Allah, (which is qadim and not created). Zahiriyah even argues that all the letters, words, and sounds of the Quran are qadim. In order to reconcile the two conflicting views, Al-Ash'ari says that although the Qur'an consists of words, letters and sounds, they are not inherent in the essence of Allah and therefore are not qadim.<sup>23</sup>

Based on the above view, the Mu'tazilites hold that Allah speaks (mutakallim) but not with the qadim kalam. He spoke with the new kalam (muhdats) that He invented when he spoke. Starting from the view that Allah's kalam is makhluq, muhdats, the Mu'tazilites hold that the Qur'an is kalam and His revelation is a being. To strengthen the understanding of the creature of the Qur'an, it can be proven by the condition that the letters of the Qur'an are intermittent. Some are beginnings and some are last. Some of the verses and suras of the Qur'an come before others, so it cannot be said to be qadim because the qadim is not preceded by others. The Mu'tazilites say that Allah sent down the Quran to His prophet as a postulate for his prophethood, a guide for mankind in matters of halal and haram. Man must read, hear, purify, and praise him.<sup>24</sup>

Unlike the Mu'tazilites, Ahlussunnah believes that the Qur'anul Karim is kalamullah, not a being. Shaykh Abu Uthman al-Shabuni said, "Ahl al-Sunnah testifies and believes that the Quran is kalamullah, book, word and revelation

revealed by it, not a being. Whoever claims and believes that the Qur'an is a creature is an infidel according to their view (ahlussunnah).<sup>25</sup>

The Quran is the kalamullah, however it is, what is awake in the chest (which is memorized by the Muslims), which is recited by the oral, or that is written in mushaf-mushaf. Imam Ibn Khuzaimah said: The Quran is a kalamullah, not a creature. Whosoever says: The Qur'an is a creature, then he has disbelieved in Allah, the Almighty, it is not acceptable to receive his syahadat, should not be visited when he is sick, not directed when he dies, and cannot be buried in the funeral of the Muslims. He must be asked to repent, if he does not want to, then he must be cut off his neck.<sup>26</sup>

Al-Baqillani maintains that since the kalam Allah is qadim, the Qur'an as the kalam Allah is also qadim. Kalam Allah is the nature for his substance to exist because of his substance, not because of anything else. Thus Al-Baqillani agrees with Al-Asyari in viewing the Qur'an or kalam god as a qadim trait for him.<sup>27</sup>

Al-Makmun realized that the catastrophe arising from the conflict and consensus between the Mu'tzilah and the Ahlussunnah had almost exploded. He himself believed in the Mu'tazilites' thinking, especially their philosophical methods of thought and their ability to use semantics in debates against the mulhids (atheists) and the zindiqs (heretics). Al-Makmun paid great attention to the Mu'tazilites who said that the Qur'an is a creature of Allah. In addition, he was convinced that debate was the best way to discover truth.<sup>28</sup>

What appears to us is that Ahmad ibn Abi Duwad Al-Muktazili was the vizier or minister at Al-Ma'mun who embodied the slander or accusation, to use the opportunity to ignite the flames of this event in 218.<sup>29</sup>

In terms of theology, the person who is considered most instrumental in overthrowing the Mu'tazilite theories and rebuilding orthodox teachings that have since become the legacy of Sunni Islam is Abu Hasan Ali Al-Asyari from Baghdad. He was originally a student of the Mu'tazilite theologian Al-Zubbai. In subsequent developments Al-Asyari changed his views, and was seen in polemics with his earlier teachers, using logical and philosophical arguments that they had allowed and developed. Thus, in addition to his other achievements, he became the founder of the school of scholastic theology in Islam (kalam).<sup>30</sup>

At the end of the letter Al-Makmun wrote: The Amir al-Mukminin considered that they were as ugly as the ummah, who had very little regard for the sweetness of tawhid. They are nothing more than barrels of ignorance and the face of liars. Their speech is the oral of the devil who speaks through His guardians. They are enemy armies attacking defenders of truth who firmly hold the religion of God. They are people who are questioned for their honesty, denied testimony and cannot believe in



their monotheism to Allah from people who are far from faith and hidayah. And those who do not behave this way are perverts.<sup>31</sup>

#### **E. The occurrence of Mihnah as a result of the doctrination of Al-Makmun**

In 833, the caliph Al-Makmun created the institution of mihnah, a kind of general judicial institution to test and select those who opposed his teachings. The most important victim of the mihnah was Imam Ahmad ibn Hanbal, whose courage and persistence in championing orthodox-conservative thought beautifully adorns the pages of history. The trial against the orthodox continued under the rule of Al-Makmun's successors. But in his second year in power, 848, Al-Mutawakkil reversed Mu'tazilite dominance and re-developed the old teachings.<sup>32</sup>

In the situation of the development of various fields of science, the battle of minds grew fiercer between the mu'tazilites and the Ahlussunnah, especially on the question of the khalq of the Qur'an, (i.e. whether the Qur'an is a creature of God or not). Imam Ahmad ibn Hanbal did not involve himself in the shock of such a situation. He only actively encouraged Muslims to adhere to the principles of religious teachings that are beneficial to human life, and which can underlie the formation of the best and exemplary society.<sup>33</sup>

Imam Ahmad ibn Hanbal has led those who oppose the Qur'anic notion that it is a being. But anyone who examines literary and historical books can assume that Imam Ahmad Bin Hanbal and his supporters did not defend their opinion logically with the evidence of naqli.

When asked: Isn't the thing that is made into a creature? He replied: yes. When it was said to him: therefore the Qur'an must be a being. He refused to say. Ahmad bin Hanbal and some of his companions had suffered a lot because they did not want to change their attitude. The general public regarded this attitude as an officer and faith of the group.<sup>34</sup>

In the view of the Amir al-Mukminin, the most lying man is the one who lies to Allah and denies His revelation and always spreads falsehood. They do not know God with true knowledge. Al-Makmun ordered that the judges be read the letter written by Al-Makmun, and that they be tested by what they said so as to reveal their beliefs about whether the Qur'an was a being and new. Al-Makmun also said in his letter that he never asked for help in his deeds and never trusted anyone who did not stick to his religion. If they claim that the Qur'an is a being, and they agree, then instruct them to write the testimony in the midst of those present. And leave the testimony of those who do not claim that the Qur'an is a being.<sup>35</sup>

Then Al-Ma'mun wrote to Ishaq bin Ibrahim to examine seven people, namely Muhammad bin Sa'ad secretary Al-Waqidi, Abu Muslim teacher Yazid bin Aaron, Yahya bin Ma'in, Zuhair bin Harb abu Khaitsmah, Ismail bin Daud, Ismail bin Abi

Mas'ud and Ahmad bin Addauraqy. They were then asked whether the Qur'an was a creature or not, and they answered. After they had delivered their answers, they returned from the riqqa to Baghdad.<sup>36</sup>

Then Ishaq tested the others. They give answers with writing. In this regard Ibn Al-Bakka' said, "I say that the Qur'an was created and it is new because of the nash in the Qur'an!

Ishaq then sent their answer to Al-Makmun. After reading all the answers given by the fuqaha, Al-Makmun wrote back a letter to Ishaq: there has come to me the answers given by those who claim to be qibla experts and those who pursue leadership for which they are absolutely not entitled to it. So whoever does not say that the Qur'an is a creature forbids him to issue fatwas and forbids him to narrate hadith.<sup>37</sup>

As for Ali bin Muqatil, tell him: are you not the one who said the Commander of the Believers you who forbade and legitimize.

Adz-Dzayyal, on the other hand, told him that the food he stole from Anbar did not occupy him at all. As for Ahmad ibn Yazid Abu Al-Awwam and his saying that he did not have a good answer at all in the Qur'an, then teach him that his way of thinking is like a child, and not in his age. A fool will be good if he is taught a lesson. Then if he does not do as he is told, then know that the sword is waiting behind his deeds. As for Ahmad ibn Hanbal, then tell him that the Amir al-Mukminin has understood the meaning contained in his answer, and this all points to the ignorance and sickness that exists in him. He then continued in his letter: Abi Nashr Al-Tamar, meanwhile, told him that the Amir al-Mukminin equated humility with humility in his trading business. As for Ibn Noah, known as Abu Makmar and Abu Hatim, then tell both of them that they would rather be preoccupied with eating usury than talking about the issue of tawhid.<sup>38</sup>

It turned out that from all those present at that time stated that the Qur'an was a being. Only Imam Ahmad bin Hanbal, Sajadah, Muhammad bin Nuh and Al-Qawariri would not say that the Quran is a being. Finally Ishaq ordered that they be handcuffed. Then he asked their opinion about the Quran. It was in that state that they were asked and the prayer mat said yes. Then Ishaq repeated the question three times until Al-Qawariri said yes. Imam Ahmad and Muhammad ibn Noah were eventually sent to Rome.<sup>39</sup>

Until the news to Al-Makmun that those who agreed to it turned out to be forced to do so. Therefore he was furious and ordered that they be presented to him. Finally they were taken to Al-Makmun. It was then that news came that Al-Makmun died before they reached Al-Makmun. It turns out that Allah gave His mercy and love to the scholars who were firm in their stance and delivered them from the tyranny of Al-Makmun.<sup>40</sup>

Imam Ahmad Ibn Hanbal had encountered various sufferings or terrible trials but with these sufferings his position was more famous. Sufferings are the basis of the slanderous accusation that the Qur'an is a new being whereas this opinion has not been mentioned by man before, resulting in the Mu'tazilites.<sup>41</sup>

News of the calamity that befell Imam Ahmad spread throughout Iraq. Everyone strongly denounced the ruler's treatment of Imam Ahmad. In many places he passed, there were voices saying, why is that? It's okay for you to die here, because after all you will go to heaven. More and more people heard the news about what was happening to Imam Ahmad ibn Hanbal, and the news spread by word of mouth until it was carried away by people traveling outside Iraq. Everyone who heard the news about the ruler's treatment of him expressed anger, even though they did not agree with Imam Ahmad in terms of jurisprudence. They dubbed him a "strong and brave man." <sup>42</sup>

Ahmad ibn Hanbal, a disciple of Al-Shafii and a proponent of mutlaq's observance of hadith. Ibn Hanbal's conservatism was a bastion of orthodoxy in Baghdad against various forms of innovation among the Mu'tazilites. Despite having been a victim of the inquisition (mihnah), and having been tied in chains at the time of Al-Makmun, as well as being humiliated, and imprisoned by Al-Muktasim, ibn Hanbal remained firm in his stance, and did not recognize any form of modification to traditional beliefs.<sup>43</sup>

On another occasion, the vice-caliph gathered all the scholars, all the jurists, and all the judges. Then, they were shown a letter he received from Ahmad ibn Abi Duwad, stating that the caliph threatened them with the death penalty if they still refused to approve of the mind that viewed the Qur'an as a being. Imam Ahmad was a gentle man. When he heard their answer like this, the veins of his neck bubbled (a sign of great anger), his eyes were reddish, and his gentleness of his temper disappeared.<sup>44</sup>

Al-Makmun bequeathed his brother Al-Muktashim to follow him with an opinion that says the Quran is new. While al-Muktasim was in the office of the caliphate, Ibn abi Duwab was still in office, while Ibn Hanbal who was locked up or detained awaiting punishment, ibnu hanbal was called to be questioned and persuaded and made a treaty, but he remained with his stance.

Almost all jurists and scholars submitted to the wishes of Al-Makmun, except for two men, Imam Ahmad ibn Hanbal and his disciple, Muhammad ibn Nuh, yesterday there were still two other scholars who did not give up like Imam Ahmad ibn Hanbal and his disciples, but they could not bear the weight of the chains that bound their hands and feet; could not bear the humiliation of the young slaves. Therefore, they then obeyed what al-makmun wanted, until then they were released. Imam Ahmad, then 56 years old, was led along with his young disciple, Muhammad

ibn Nuh. Both were handcuffed and shackled and humiliated throughout the journey. Both were hoisted on the back of a camel to the distant land of Tharthus.

Imam Ahmad ibn Hanbal spent months in prison in handcuffs. While in prison, he was often persuaded by those who confirmed and supported the view that the Qur'an was a creature of God. It repeatedly convinced Imam Ahmad that believers could say something that was denied truth. He said, it is taqiyyah, Imam Ahmad replied, if those who know the truth are silent in taqiyyah and let those who do not know remain ignorant, then when will the truth overcome immorality? There was once a believer before you arrived, split with a saw, he did not shift from the religion he believed to be true!" 45

## **F. Conclusion**

Al-Ma'mun Abdullah Abu Al-Abbas ibn Ar-Rashid was born in 170 A.H. His competence in religion and other sciences, influenced the pattern of his government. In running his government, Al Ma'mun was very different from his father Harun Arrasyid who upheld Sunni teachings. The doctrine of Sunni teachings was applied by Harun Arr-Rashid. On the other hand, Al-Ma'mun, who adhered to the Muk'tazilite sect, severely punished the people who opposed the teachings of the mu'tazilites.

The spirit of developing science in the time of Al-Ma'mun was so great. This can be seen by the translation of foreign books into Arabic. Thus, the implications of Greek thought are seen in Al-Ma'mun.

Among them is rationalizing the creation of the Qur'an as a being. It was this thought that Al-Makmun forced upon his people. The existence of the institution of mihnah in the time of Al-Ma'mun is proof of the doctrine of this teaching.

The teaching on the creation of the Qur'an, became a new foothold in al-Ma'mun's reign. Al-Ma'mun who is an adherent of the muktazilah school argues that the Qur'an is a being and not qadim. The controversy over the status of the Qur'an in the time of al-Ma'mun involved two major schools of Sunni Islam and muktazilah. This difference is based on a different understanding of nash. Sunnis who think conservatively, understand the Qur'an and hadith related to the nature of Allah in terms of zahir, while the Mu'tazilites rationalize some things related to the nature of Allah.

Almost all scholars in the time of Al-Makmun were tested on the creation of the Qur'an. Scholars who agree with the teachings of the creation of the Qur'an will be free from the torment of Al-Makmun. On the contrary, scholars who dispute and disagree with the doctrine receive undeserved treatment for scholars. For example, Imam Ahmad bin Hanbal was one of the victims of the inquisition (mihnah) who had felt the narrowness of the prison and the weight of the handcuff chains he once

inhabited and bound him. Months in prison, but all the suffering did not change Al-Ma'mun's understanding of the status of the Qur'an. Until his death, Imam Ahmad continued to say that the Qur'an was kalamullah.

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