

Political Integration in the Establishment of Islamic Theological

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Abstract

This article aims to analyze the theological beliefs that have an impact on the formation of political movements and political movements that realize theological schools. This study uses a qualitative approach. The source of the study comes from related references, particularly regarding the development of theology in Islam and its relation to power politics. The findings of the article show that differences in understanding of theology have created the emergence of many groups. Every theological thought has its own argumentation basis. Differences in theological understanding are determined by the understanding of the Qur'an and Hadith. Differences in the meaning of religion are largely determined by reasoning ability and the patron of religious authority that is followed. Each group builds political power to defend and spread its theological understanding. In the early generations, religious patrons had a great opportunity to lead their group's political movements. In the period of its development, the spread of theological schools needed to be integrated with politics. In contrast to the early generations, in later periods, the development of theology depended on the ability of religious authorities to offer an integrative meaning of religion with political power.

Keywords: Politics, Theology, Political Power, Thought, Classical Theology

Abstrak

Artikel ini bertujuan menganalisis tentang keyakinan teologis yang berdampak pada pembentukan gerakan politik dan gerakan politik membentuk aliran teologi. Penelitian ini menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif. Sumber kajian berasal dari referensi-referensi terkait, khususnya mengenai



perkembangan teologi dalam Islam dan hubungannya dengan politik kekuasaan. Temuan artikel menunjukkan, perbedaan pemahaman teologi telah menciptakan muncul banyak kelompok. Setiap pemikiran teologi memiliki basis argumentasi masing-masing. Perbedaan pemahaman teologi ditentukan oleh pemahaman atas Al-Qur'an dan Hadis. Perbedaan pemaknaan agama sangat ditentukan oleh kemampuan penalaran dan patron otoritas agama yang diikuti. Masing-masing kelompok membangun kekuatan politik untuk mempertahankan dan menyebarkan pemahaman teologisnya. Pada generasi awal, patron keagamaan memiliki peluang besar memimpin pergerakan politik kelompoknya. Pada periode perkembangannya, penyebaran aliran teologi perlu diintegrasikan dengan politik. Berbeda dengan generasi awal, pada periode selanjutnya, perkembangan teologi bergantung pada kemampuan

Kata Kunci: Politik, Teologi, Kekuasaan Politik, Pemikiran, Teologi Klasik

Introduction

In the world of Islamic thought, political development cannot be separated from theological development. On the other hand, the development of theology is largely determined by political developments. In the early generations of theological development, theological perspectives shaped political movements. Then during its development, the survival of theology flow was very much determined by political power.

There have been many studies that discuss the relationship between theology and politics. Ahmad Sulaiman, Supriyantho Supriyantho, Fantika Febry Puspitasari examines theological values that can influence social transformation (Sulaiman, Supriyantho, & Puspitasari, 2020). This research is similar to Muslim Abdurrahman's study of Islam and social transformation (Abdurrahman, 1997) and the concept of prophetic social science initiated by Kuntowijoyo (Anifah, Sulistiono, & Alfian, 2017). Rohmatul Izad examines certain theological foundations used by some religious movement groups in driving religious fundamentalism (Izad, 2020). On the other hand, Biyanto examines the theological basis used as a spirit to build religious pluralism (Biyanto, 2015). Titis Thoriquttyas examines the theological views of religious leaders influencing their political tendencies (Thoriquttyas, 2019).

From the analysis of the literature above, research on the relationship between theology and politics focuses a lot on theological views and political tendencies. There has not been found any research that focuses on discussing the development of theological thought which greatly determined political developments in the Islamic world from the early period until the emergence of Ahlu Sunnah wal Jamaah as mainstream in Islamic theology. The main problem raised by this research is how the process of emergence and development of theological schools of thought in Islam is related to their constellation of political power.

The argument of this article is that political developments are integrated to political thought. In the early generations, the emergence of political conflicts came from different theological thoughts. Whereas in the following period, the development of theological schools of thought was integrative with

political tendencies. The Abbasid Dynasty a rational theology to balance a solid Shia theology with rational theology. But the development of rationalism needs to be integrated to suit the political situation. So, the genius of Abu Hamid Imam Al-Ghazali in finding a middle way is greatly appreciated. So that the teachings of the middle way can develop easily. The scientific contribution of this research is to obtain a scientific explanation regarding the role of political power in the emergence and development of classical theological schools.

Rise of Political Theology and Theological Politic

The people of Yathrib, who always fail to produce political leaders who can protect all the existing tribes, finally get news about the glory of a figure named Muhammad (Yalawae, 2015). On a trip to Mecca, Yathrib's envoy asked the Prophet Muhammad to be willing to emigrate to Yathrib to lead their tribes. It was not the religious teachings that attracted the people of Yathrib, but Muhammad's lofty personality (Downum & Bengalee, 1943). Their respect for the Muhajirin was also due to their respect for Muhammad (Utsmani, 2009). The expectations of Yathrib residents are not religious teachings. They need political leaders. However, Muhammad's teachings, especially the verses about social order, were indeed widely passed down in Medina (Siregar, 2018), then it is accepted as the rules they are waiting for from the chosen leader. They will not care whether it is a revelation, what is clear is the order of the leader (Lecker, 2004).

Politics was so important for the people of Yathrib that they took precedence over the matter of changing the leadership and put aside the funeral of the Prophet Muhammad. The people of Yathrib do not question whether Muhammad is the last prophet or not, because what they really need is not a prophet but a political leader. The Muhajirin group who saw Muhammad as a prophet focused on religious charisma as a criterion for replacing a leader (Fakhyadi, 2019). Yathrib residents who respected Muhajirin accepted Abu Bakar as a figure forced by Umar bin Khattab (Pratama, 2018). Umar focused on the religious criteria that belonged to Abu Bakar. With his strength, Umar was able to support Abubakar's leadership until he himself became the leader and was replaced by Utsman bin Affan (Nu'mani, 2015).

Utsman bin Affan as part of the Meccan conglomerate who had high managerial skills prioritized the Quraysh as officials and governors in areas of power. Historians accuse this policy as a result of Utsman's weakness (Hidayah, 2014). But it is also possible that this happened because Quraysh's managerial skills were indeed high due to his experience as an aristocrat (Luth, Kholish, & Zainullah, 2018). A massive reshuffle made political groups in various regions react which resulted in the killing of Utsman (Hasibuan, 2019). Leaders in the Damascus region who were dissatisfied with the central government fought back with the issue of prosecution for Utsman's killers (Sa'adah, 2016). Even those from the Damascus region wanted to overthrow the legitimate power that was in the hands of Ali bin Abi Talib (Murtiningsih, 2018).

At the time of the pursuit of the coup attempt, Mu'awwiyah, as the leader of the rebellion and the governor of Damascus, considered the Qur'anic Mushaf as a sign of peace (Abdurakhman). It is possible that this action occurred as a result of stratagem, panic, or something else. But it cannot be denied, from the accumulation of violence that has occurred since the assassination of Utsman, everything is a civil war among Muslims which should not have happened. Perhaps that was the initial intention of bringing up the Mushaf, to say that it is no longer proper for Muslims to fight each other (Brata, 2017).

But in arbitration mats, new ideas may emerge. Amru bin Ash as Mu'awwiyah's representative instead used Ali's impeachment declaration as a declaration of Mu'awwiyah's inauguration (H. Nasution, 1998). Many people claim that this action was a cunning strategy on the part of Mu'awwiyah (Syed Naquib al- Attas, 1995). But what should be done is to observe the variables that appear every time in each step of the event. So that Abu Musa Al-Asy'ari's suggestion to go up to impeach Ali first, cannot be called a political trick, but must analyze the situation (Maslow & Asmus, 1949). The abstraction of complex events is often used as a reason to justify a problem. What should be studied are the variables that result in an action that is part of an action. And so on for each action (Brata, 2017).

In the Arbitration agreement accepted by Ali, these variables also need to be considered: Fighting with fellow Muslims is indeed not profitable. Some of Ali's followers who disagreed with the arbitration and Ali's followers who agreed with the arbitration actually did not make religious considerations but political considerations that referred to the phenomena and situation at that time, not the arguments in the Qur'an and Hadith. The use of religious arguments for political affairs only emerged after the Khawarij were eliminated from the political constellation of power and religious narratives were used to gain support from the people. (See, Al-Ranîrî, 2011; Miswari, 2018a; I. F. A. Nasution, 2018a).

Religious justification by Ali's group that did not agree with the arbitration, which was later called the Khawarij, only emerged later after the arbitration which was detrimental to Ali took place. Religious justification for this situation only occurred after assessing that Mu'awwiyah appointed the Mushaf. Mu'awwiyah's actions were considered political religionization (Jati, 2014). Thus, the religiousization of politics is endemic to groups that previously disagreed with the arbitration, making them busy gathering arguments to boast about themselves by giving the impression that their views against arbitration have been proven correct: Ali should not have accepted arbitration. From their analysis to evidence, the Qur'an (Al-Maidah: 44) was found as a guide. In that verse it is said that those who do not obey God's law are considered infidels and must be killed. So the target of disbelief was directed at Ali and Abu Musa and Mu'awwiyah and Amru bin Ash. In this matter, the Khawarij only managed to kill Ali (Ibn Smith, 2012).

While Mu'awwiyah was already busy becoming a political leader for a large area of Islamic conquest, the Khawarij were still stuck with the problem

of the definition and meaning of *kuffar*. This is understandable because they were eliminated from the political scene. Their discourse on infidels develops on the issue of perpetrators of major sins, whether they are still considered Muslims or have become infidels (Masturin, 2014). For the Khawarij group, they think that those who commit major sins are infidels and must be killed. Those who think the perpetrators are still Muslims are Murji'ah and those who say the perpetrators are between two manzilah (believers and infidels) are called Mu'tazilah (Nasir, 2005). In addition, the study of human will is also developing. Jabariyah admits that human will is fully controlled by God. Qadariyah claimed that humans have free will without being controlled by God. The Mu'tazilah group tended to think rationally. Philosophy books became their tendency (Masturin, 2014). This group was strongly opposed by the Hambali fiqh group. During the leadership of Al-Makmun in the Ummayyad dynasty, the Mu'tazilah became the official royal school (Zaeny, 2017).

Abu Hasan Al-Asy'ari who was part of the Mu'tazilah joined himself to establish his own sect. Al-Maturidi too. Maturidiyah in Bukhara is traditional and in Samarkand it is more liberal (Masturin, 2014; Nasir, 2005). Maturidiyah has a tendency towards Hanafiyyah fiqh. Asy'ariyah tends towards Syafi'iyah fiqh (Abbas, 2010). Harun Nasution (H. Nasution, n.d., 1998; Nusution, 1975, 2006) claiming the rational flow of Mu'tazilah in Islam began to grow again with the term Neo-Mu'tazilah. If the classical Mu'tazilah are influenced by Greek philosophy, the Neo-Mu'tazilah are influenced by Modern Western philosophy. If in modern times the ideology of the Khawarij can be identified with those who always desire to Islamize profane problems, then those who can be called neo-Mu'tazilah are those who prioritize rationalism in responding to the actual problems they face. Among the rational figures who can be called neo-Mu'tazilah are Shaykh Rifa'ah Badawi Al-Tahtawi, Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan, Jamaluddin Al-Afghani, Muhammad Abduh, Syed Ameer Ali, Sir Muhammad Iqbal (Nusution, 1975).

In a situation hostile to Ali and Mu'awwiyah, the Khawarij became squeezed. In a remote place near Kufah, they tried to gather strength by developing religious discourse. Religion is indeed an easy tool to influence citizens (Assyaukanie, 2019). Moreover, the people who were influenced were clans that were isolated in the desert with simple thoughts and strong commitment (Schoun, 1995). This tough attitude also colored the Khawarij sect so that it split into many factions. Al-Muhakkimah was an early group of Khawarij who had been with Ali. They expanded the meaning of kafir to include all the perpetrators of grave sins such as adulterers and murderers.

Al-Azariqah rose after the first Khawarij was destroyed. They are more extreme by declaring that sinners are polytheists. All who disagree, do not support, and are not willing to move into their territory are considered polytheists and must be killed, be they men, women, and children. Anyone who is willing to join their group is tested by surrendering prisoners to be killed as a sign of loyalty (Khir, 2017). Al-Najdat is a group that disagrees with Al-Azariqah's view that it is permissible to kill women and children and those

who do not live in their area. The Al-Najdat group believes that those who are disbelievers and eternally in hell are the perpetrators of major sins, which they disagree with. Meanwhile those who are part of their group do not become disbelievers if they commit a grave sin (Yusuf, 2016). Al-Ajaridah is a splinter of the Al-Najdat group. This group has no objection to the group that says domicile in the territory is an obligation. According to Al-Ajaridah, domiciled is only good, not an obligation. This group says the children of residents who do not ban their teachings are not part of the infidel. Al-Ajaridah only recognizes the ghaniman of deceased enemies (Burhanuddin, 2017). Al-Sufriyah is also a fraction of the Al-Azariqah group. The Al-Sufriyah group is not as extreme as Al-Azariqah. This group is of the view that those who commit major sins that can be punished in this world, such as adulterers and murderers, are not polytheists. This group also disagrees that all Muslims outside their group must be fought. According to Al-Sufriyah's teachings, only government groups deserve to be fought (Burhanuddin, 2017). Al-Ibadiyah was the most moderate part of the Khawarij. This group does not regard those who do not agree with them as those who must be fought. They accept the legality of marriage, the law of inheritance and can build relationships with other Muslims. According to the Al-Ibadiyah group, perpetrators of major sins are not considered infidels even if they are not believers (Nata, 2015).

In the sects within the Khawarij group, all of them are radical teachings, intolerant and really can't give room for the possibility of truth outside the teachings of the Khawarij. In terms of naming, the Khawarij do not exist anymore, but today there are very many Muslims who adhere to the ideology of the khawarij. They believe that only what they hold is correct, while other views that are not the same as what they hold are considered heretical. What's worse is that it justifies the blood of Muslims who don't agree with them. They deny the truth that other groups have collected from the ocean of Islamic wisdom and consider that the understanding they have picked up is the entire ocean of Islamic wisdom (Miswari, 2018b).

As a result of the emergence of the Khawarij who were hostile to Ali, those who remained consistent with Ali, namely those who were later referred to as Shiites, became increasingly radical. Among these groups, there are those who choose not to side with Ali or the Khawarij. They are a Murji'ah group. This group then strengthened their existence with theological arguments (Mahasnah, 2017).

As for the views of the Murji'ah are very soothing when compared to those of the Khawarij. Among them is their belief which states that the perpetrators of major sins are not considered disbelievers and will not last forever in hell. Even the moderates among them believe that it is possible for those who commit major sins not to go to hell. They may be put into heaven because Allah's mercy and forgiveness are very great (I. F. A. Nasution, 2018a). Among the moderate Murji'ah followers were Hasan bin Muhammad bin Ali bin Abi Talib and Abu Hanifah. Harun Nasution explained, in Abu Hanifah's view, faith is knowledge and acknowledgment of God, His Messenger, and everything that comes from God. Faith does not decrease or increase, and there is no

difference between people in terms of faith. The consequence of this view made Abu Hanifah see that faith is something that is necessary for believers, and that faith has no effect on practice.

Meanwhile, Al-Jahmiah is an extreme Murji'ah group. This group believes that faith is in the heart, not in other parts. So that whatever words, whatever deeds do not affect faith. Even Al-Jahmiyah is of the view that, even though Judaism and Christian teachings are implemented, he will still die as a believer (Al-Raniri, 2011). Al-Salihin as part of the extreme Murji'ah has the view that what is called worship is knowing God. While prayer, fasting, pilgrimage, zakat, and so on are not considered worship but obedience. From this point of view, another group within the Khawarij, namely Al-Yunusiyah, is of the view that committing immorality does not undermine faith. The Al-Ubaidiyah group believes that if someone dies in a state of faith, then no matter how much immorality he commits, it will not affect his faith. Likewise polytheists, no matter how much their good deeds do not affect their polytheism (Nusution, 2006).

Harun Nasution (Nusution, 2006) believes that Murji'ah's opinions, which are considered extreme, make people lose their manners and morals. Whereas morality can be formed through social relations. Since childhood humans have been taught to be respectful and obedient by their parents. The family is taught to be polite and friendly. The social environment teaches cooperation, mutual cooperation, and so on (Indrawan, 2016; A. H. Saleh, 2017). Although not in accordance with extreme Murji'ah, but some principles of moderate Murji'ah were adopted by Abu Hasan Al-Asy'ari. Among them is the definition of faith, the view that it is God's provision to punish or forgive sinners who die before repenting, and that the perpetrators of major sins will not remain in hell.

Meanwhile, the Mu'tazilah are a group that distances itself from politics, conflict and internal warfare within the Muslim Ummah. They prefer to focus on the development of science. After many Greek philosophies were translated into Arabic, this group built a narrative of Islamic intellectualism with a strong epistemological foundation (Zaeny, 2017). Mu'tazilah teachings deny the nature of God. Because if God's nature exists, then of course those attributes are distant from God's substance. Arguments from the views of the Mu'tazilah became systematic at the hands of Abu Al-Huzail. He studied Greek philosophy well. Abu Al-Huzail was able to win debates with many groups such as atheists, Zoroastrians, Mani, and others (Nusution, 2006). In the view of the Mu'tazilah, if God has properties, then those attributes are separate from matter. God's nature must be very superior like God's substance. So that it necessitates the existence of something that balances the superiority of God (*syarik al-bari*). And this is impossible (Miswari, 2016).

With his brilliant thoughts, Abu Al-Huzail made Islamic theology even more sophisticated. Previously, Islamic theology only focused on religious arguments, namely the Koran and certain hadiths. In the view of Abu Al-Huzail, with his potential as a human being, everyone can know the oneness of God and can distinguish between what is good and what is bad

(Burhanuddin, 2017). Abu Al-Huzail's views were widely opposed by theologians outside the Mu'tazilah. The main accusation was that Abu Al-Huzail relied too much on reason and not too much on revelation. But actually what Abu Al-Huzail wanted was for people to realize that humanity is the main basis for someone to believe in and know God. For this reason, humans must rely on their intellect in knowing God to be further strengthened by revelation. All good is rewarded with good and every bad is rewarded with evil, according to the nature of reason, but the number of rewards is explained by the texts (Gaiser, 2008).

But Abu Al-Huzail was not a philosopher. He is a very rational theologian. What he made the foundation of his thinking was the holy text (*nash*). But the meaning of the text that he builds is very rational. Thus making many other theologians judge that Al-Huzail's views have come out of the meaning of *nash* (Kiswati, n.d.). Abu Al-Huzail is of the view that Allah only does good. It is not right for Allah to do injustice. This view was continued and refined in a more philosophical and more sophisticated manner in the Mu'tazilah theological system by Al-Huzail's student, Ibrahim Al-Nazzam. Al-Nazzam argues that God does not have the power to act unjustly. This view is in accordance with the philosophy that those who do not have cannot give (Miswari, 2016). So that everything that is determined by God is actually not unjust (Nusution, 2006).

Everything that is predicted as tyranny or other negative predications that arise from human judgment actually arises from human meanings that are made through their limitations (Miswari, 2016). In reality, all events are positive because God only requires positive things to happen. God only manifests positive things because he only has goodness (Bagir, 2015).

The Emergence of a Major School in Islamic Theology

In Mu'tazilah teachings, the Qur'an is a creature, a creation of God (Azmi & Wahab, 2013). Because it is a creation, the Qur'an is new, not eternal, just like other creations which are new, changing, not permanent. Every created object, according to the Mu'tazilah, is only the substance, while the accidents are carried out (actualized) based on the characteristics (potential) contained in the substance. The emergence of an accident from substance occurs based on natural law as accepted by the Mu'tazilah group (Nusution, 2006). Abu Musa Al-Murdar, a Mu'tazilah leader from Baghdad, said that the Qur'an is not eternal because if you believe that it is eternal then it is the same as shirk because it implies that something is identical with God (At-Tunisi, 2017). Hisham Al-Fuwati believes that heaven and hell do not yet exist because it is not yet time to enter them (Nusution, 2006).

The five Mu'tazilah principles are, first, the oneness (Al-tawhid) of God in the sense of rejecting the intention of the existence of attributes for Him unless those attributes are His Essence, God's eternity and cannot be seen by the human eye. Nature is divided into the nature of matter and the nature of action, namely the relationship between God and creatures. The second principle is that God only makes good (Al-'adl). The third principle is Al-wa'd' wa Al-waiid, namely the principle of God's justice which rewards good and

punishes those who do evil (Al Sbateen, 2017). The fourth principle, as a consequence of the third principle, namely Al-manzilah bayn Al-manzilatayn, namely the place for the perpetrators of major sins. For the Mu'tazilah, the perpetrators of major sins are not infidels because they still adhere to the creed, nor are they believers because the principle of their faith is the intention of obedience as well as being actualized (At-Tunisi, 2017). Because there is no place other than heaven and hell in the hereafter, the perpetrators of major sins are placed in a lighter hell than the polytheists. The fifth principle is the call to do good and prevent doing bad. It is better for the Mu'tazilah to make this call in a gentle way, but if it is urgent, it can be done with violence as needed (Al Sbateen, 2017).

In the intersection of Islam with other identities such as Zoroastrianism, Maniism, Judaism and Christianity, Mu'tazilah theologians have made a major contribution to Islam. Their mastery of philosophy allows revelation to be defended with rational arguments. In fact, as Iqbal said, after the Mu'tazilah, Muslims had read the Qur'an under Greek philosophy (Iqbal, 2016). Of course this philosophy was developed by the Mu'tazilah theologians. This view is strengthened by the fact that Ahlu Sunnah wal Jamaah is a fraction of the Mu'tazilah (I. F. A. Nasution & Miswari, 2017).

The heyday of the Mu'tazilah was the beginning of its downfall. That period was when Al-Ma'mum from the Abbasids made the Mu'tazilah school the official state stream. At that time also the collapse of the stream began. Precisely when the great scholar Imam Muhammad Ibn Hambal was urged to state his views that were contrary to the Mu'tazilah's intentions (Burhanuddin, 2017).

Imam Ibn Hambal rejects the Mu'tazilah view that believes that God does not exist. Ibn Hambal's reasoning is because it is clear in the Qur'an that Allah characterizes Himself (Junaedi, 2017). The government wanted to execute Ibn Hambal, but due to the large amount of support for him, there was concern that political instability would arise. Even so, due to very repressive government actions. Against citizens and very discriminatory towards scholars who do not agree with the state's official understanding, hatred for Mu'tazilah teachings is growing (Nusution, 2006). This shows that if a teaching is excessively accommodated by politics, then resistance to government policies results in resistance to the schools defended by the authorities (Assyaukanie, 2019).

After Al-Makmum, followers of the Mu'tazilah decreased, apart from discrimination against many prominent scholars, as well as because the teachings were not easily understood by the general public. The foundations of the Mu'tazilah argumentation can only be understood with a good understanding of philosophy. In addition, the teachings of the Mu'tazilah did not pay too much attention to hadith (Al Khalifah & Brindhaban, 2004). There are many hadiths that are considered by the local community to be very valid but are not properly accommodated by the Mu'tazilah. For this last reason, the opposing Mu'tazilah sect emerged, namely Ahlu Sunnah wal Jamaah (Adi, 2019).

The name Ahlu Sunnah wal Jamaah itself is considered to arise from the antithesis of the teachings of the Mu'tazilah which do not really accommodate *sunnah*. Although the terminology for this term existed before the declaration of Abu Hasan Al-Asy'ari leaving the Mu'tazilah group, the name of the Ahlu Sunnah wal Jamaah group was indeed attributed to the teachings of Al-Asy'ari and Al-Maturidi (Azmi & Wahab, 2013). If the teachings of Ahlu Sunnah wal Jamaah Al-Asy'ari spread in Egypt and Yemen, then the teachings of Ahlu Sunnah Al-Maturidi spread in India. In this view, one of the reasons that strengthen the spread of Islam in Indonesia is through Yemen (Hadramaut) compared to the spread through India (Gujarat and Malabar) (Mulyadi, 2018).

Abu Hasan Al-Asy'ari, unlike the Mu'tazilah, believes that God has characteristics. According to him, the nature of God is not the same as His essence. For example knowing. God knows by His nature, not His substance. Because if God knows with His Essence then God's Essence is knowledge ('ilmu), so God is knowledge. Whereas God is not knowledge but the one who knows ('*alim*). So that God knows with knowledge, and His knowledge is not a substance (Nusution, 2006). In this case, when confronted with the teachings of Wahdah Al-Wujud, then Al-Asy'ari's views are of course completely different from the teachings of philosophical Sufism such as Ibn 'Arabi (Miswari, 2017) and Hamzah Fansuri (I. F. A. Nasution, 2017). In the view of philosophical Sufism God is the one who knows ('*alim*). Being three ie '*alim*, *ma'lum* dan '*ilmu* as a metaphorical meaning, only as a creative natural pattern of reason (Ansori, 2004).

Hamzah Fansuri for example said, He is a pious in the context of review who knows. He is also known (*ma'lum*) in the context of reviewing what is known (Miswari, 2018d). And He is also 'knowledge in the context of the relationship between the context that is known and the context that knows. The division of these three concepts into a single entity is formed through the characteristics of reason (Al-Attas, 1970). In Mulla Sadra's epistemology system, this is explained through the fact that what is real is the subject, while the copula is only a description and the predicate is the condition of the subject (Rahman, 2000).

Another difference in the intentions of Alhu Sunnah wal Jamaah and Mu'tazilah is that, according to Alhu Sunnah wal Jamaah, the Qur'an is not a created being (Jawas, 2006). Another difference with the Mu'tazilah is that, according to Alhu Sunnah wal Jamaah, God can be seen in the hereafter. In the principle of Alhu Sunnah wal Jamaah, the attributes of God must show that He was not created. Opinions about God being visible do not show that He was created so that God is possible to be seen (Al Sbateen, 2017).

Abu Bakr Al-Baqillani is a big name who continues the teachings of Alhu Sunnah wal Jamaah (Jawas, 2006). But he has a different view from Al-Asy'ari. According to him, God has a metaphorical nature. For example, the hand of God means His power. Al-Baqilani's view is mostly held by the Alhu Sunnah wal Jamaah group today. While Al-Asy'ari's own view states that God has properties, it means that there is something other than Substance that is attached to God (Wardani, 2015). Al-Baqillani also disagreed with Al-Asy'ari

about human actions. In this case, Al-Baiqillani's views are closer to the teachings of Qadariyah. He said man has will in the form or type of action. God only gives the potential for motion in general, while the shape and type of motion is determined by humans (Rusli & Yanto, 2018).

Another follower of Al-Asy'ari, namely Al-Juwaini, agrees with Al-Baiqillani who says that God's conditions need to be interpreted. God's hand means his power, God's eyes mean his sight, God's face means His Being, and God sitting on the Pedestal means He is powerful. While in understanding human actions, Al-Juwaini becomes more similar to the teachings of the Mu'tazilah. He said that it is not only to the type of action that man wills but also to the motion itself, that is, to the general nature of motion (Nusution, 2006).

Even though Al-Baiqillani and Imam Al-Juwaini in their understandings seemed to move away from the teachings of Al-Ash'ari, the theologian who was very influential in spreading the identity of Alhu Sunnah wal Jamaah, namely Imam Al-Ghazali, had views that were very similar to Imam Al-Asy'ari (Jackson, 2006). So that the identity of Alhu Sunnah wal Jamaah can again be identical with the teachings of Imam Al-Asy'ari even though the Alhu Sunnah wal Jamaah group sometimes accepts Al-Baiqillani's teachings rather than Al-Asy'ari's teachings such as about how to interpret the nature of God by interpret it through hermeneutics (*ta'wil*) (Waskito, 2012).

Al-Ghazali accepted that God's nature is eternal in a way that is different from His Essence. He also believed that the attributes of God are real and exist apart from the Essence. Al-Qur'an according to Imam Al-Ghazali is eternal and not created (M. Y. Nasution, 1988). According to him, human power and actions were both created by God. Al-Ghazali also believes that God can be seen on the grounds that everything that has a form can be seen. He argued that, with His power, God could pardon all disbelievers and punish all believers (Mujieb & Syafi'ah, 2009). The religious concept developed by Al-Ghazali cannot be separated from the political situation of the Abbasid dynasty, which was trying to find a theology of religion that was capable of protecting religion and at the same time had a strong intellectual base. Thus, Al-Ghazali was considered capable of making Ahlu Sunnah wal Jamaah a sophisticated theological concept. Thus, the teachings of Ahlu Sunnah wal Jamaah developed because of two important factors that were very effective. First, because the political power at that time adhered to this teaching. At that time, if the authorities adhered to one ideology, then they would force it to be adhered to by the people. Second, because the big universities at that time were controlled by the Ahlu Sunnah wal Jamaah group. Even Al-Ghazali who was very influential in spreading Asy'ariyah (I. F. A. Nasution & Miswari, 2017). Ahlu Sunnah wal Jamaah, although it became a major stream in Islamic theology because it had great support from political forces at that time, the flow was divided into Asy'ariyah and Maturidiyah. The Maturidiyah group believes that small sins are erased by Allah through acts of worship. Faith is the determinant of someone going to heaven. While the quantity and quality of faith determines the level of heaven obtained (Bruckmayr, 2009).

Qadariyah and Jabariyah in Political Interest

The extreme Murji'ah group has indeed become extinct. But their tenets are held by many secular intellectuals today. Usually they can be found in several Islamic colleges and liberal Islamic organizations (Husaini, 2006). Among them they think, in fact God's mercy and forgiveness cover everything including His wrath. So that later what humans get after death is the pleasures of God. This teaching is in accordance with the teachings of philosophical Sufism as taught by Jalaluddin Rumi and Ibn 'Arabi (Bagir, 2015; Miswari, 2018c). Usually the views that are similar to extreme Murji'ah are influenced by the teachings of philosophical Sufism such as those of Jalaluddin Rumi, Shaykh Siti Jenar, Hamzah Fansuri, and Ronggowarsito. The philosophical Sufis see that everything that comes from God is good, so that there is no suffering in every gift from God. They also remind that death is going home to Allah. There is nothing that everyone wants more than to go home. There is nothing more beautiful than coming home to Allah (Bagir, 2017).

All agree that Allah is Almighty over all things (Khan, 2016). But the question arises regarding human desires, whether human desires are fully determined by God, or humans have personal wills that are not provisions from God. In this regard, two groups emerged in Islamic theology. The first is the Qadariyah which claims that humans have individual wills, not fully determined by God. The second is Jabariyah which believes that humans have no individual will at all, all wills that are carried out by humans are fully controlled by Allah (I. F. A. Nasution, 2018b).

Ma'bad Al-Juhaini and Ghailan Al-Dimasyqi were advocates of Qadariyah. This understanding appealed to the rulers of the northern region at that time to withdraw support against the central government of the Umayyad dynasty. Al-Dimasyqi was officially invited to the Qadariyah and Jabariyah debates by the political rulers of the Umayyad dynasty (Nusution, 2006). Of course, the central authorities want Jabariyah to be the superior so that the residents will surrender, accept the situation and not put up a fight (Sidik, 2018). Al-Dimasyqi was deemed heretical and executed. According to Al-Dimasyqi, in the individual context, humans are free in determining their will. Humans are given power by God in choosing to do good or evil. This view is actually acceptable Jabariyah. But indeed the rulers tend to subvert the Qadariyah ideology so that they target this misunderstanding through Al-Dimasyqi's mistakes (Nusution, 2006).

Actually Al-Dimasyqi is part of the Murji'ah group. This group has little to do with politics (Nurudin, 2017). But because the Governor of Sajistan needed religious narratives for his political interests, Al-Dimasyqi was dragged into political affairs. Not only because he is a Qadariyah, what is more burdensome for Al-Dimasyqi is because he is a Murji'ah Al-Salihiyah who believes that human deeds do not determine his destiny in the afterlife. This view is not a general view so that making the decision to execute Al-Dimasyqi also benefited the Umayyah because they were considered to defend the

intentions of most people and executed people who were considered heretical (Hudaeri, 2005).

Actually, the political rulers of the Umayyads and of course any rulers anywhere would prefer that their citizens have a Jabariyah ideology. It's safer for them, minimizing the potential for resistance and subversion. But the leader of the Jabariyah teachings, namely Jahm Ibn Safwan, was also the target of execution (Carter, 2007). The reason is, he is the founder of Jahmiyah in the Murji'ah group (Hozien, 2006). This understanding is very disturbing to the general public because it is considered very liberal by equating all forms of worship in every religion (Al-Ranîrî, 2011; Miswari, 2018a).

The Jabariyah teachings brought by Ibn Safwan believe that human actions are exactly like the motion of inanimate objects, there is absolutely no individual will factor. So that the term 'action' for humans is seen as a majasi meaning. Ibn Safwan's understanding is very extreme because it says that human bad deeds are coercion from God (Rusli & Yanto, 2018). Moderate teachings in Jabariyah believe that God and humans both have a role in will. But in fact this understanding seems ambiguous. If it is not interpreted as in the perspective of morality and fiqh, in fact the Jabariyah teachings that Safwan understands have a close relationship with 'irfan who believes in Haqq Ta'ala as the absolute perpetrator of human action (Miswari, 2018d).

Harun Nasution (Nusution, 2006,) said, Qadariyah is an ideology generally held by Mu'tazilah and Jabariyah is an ideology held by Al-Asyariyah. This statement contains the motive that at present, Nasution wants Muslims to be more inclined towards Mu'tazilah teachings so that Islamic intellectualism revives (H. Nasution, n.d.). The trick is through understanding Qadariyah so that fighting spirit grows. The Jabariyah understanding has the potential to make Muslims just surrender (I. F. A. Nasution, 2018b).

Islamic theology (*kalam*) is part of a variant of Islamic thought in addition to other variants namely tasawuf (*'irfan*) and Islamic philosophy (*hikmah*) (Madjid, 1992). The difference between *kalam* and *hikmah* and *'irfan*, when wisdom makes kasyaf or knowledge by presence (*hudhûrî*) as the main basis of knowledge, and wisdom uses propositions and syllogisms as the main basis of knowledge, then *kalam* makes revelation the main foundation of knowledge. Each of these variants accepts the other knowledge base (revelation, intuition, and reasoning) as a knowledge base but does not make it primary. For example, *kalam* accepts rational reasoning and intuition as a source of knowledge but makes revelation the main basis of knowledge (Arrauf, 2017).

Among the *kalam* groups who really appreciate ratios are the Mu'tazilah (Valiuddin, 2001). This group believes that even without revelation, humans can know the existence of God. They also say that humans can also know good and bad without revelation (Valiuddin, 2001). Asy'ariyah can also accept that if there is no revelation, then humans can also know God. But they cannot accept that humans can know very well what is good and what is bad (Hye, 2001). Even in this case Asy'ariyah in this case emphasizes the urgency of revelation, that without revelation, it is impossible for humans to know that

the perpetrators of evil will be overwritten by sins and the perpetrators of good will be rewarded with rewards (Nasir, 2005). Even so, Asy'ariyah should not be able to deny that every good will produce good and every bad will produce bad. But humans cannot determine the form of the effect of good deeds and the form of the effects of bad deeds. While regarding the rewards of sin and reward, of course this is a doctrine (Sohari, 2013).

In this case what humans can actually know and what humans cannot know without revelation depends on the depth of reflection. Even Fazlur Rahman said the revelation was a form of reflection or a form of the depth of the Prophet Muhammad's mind so that it was able to reach the realm of revelation or the realm of Gabriel (Rahman, 1984). Of course, this perspective is understood with the condition that Gabriel is a high intellect, not a handsome man with a white robe and wings as depicted in mythology. So that revelation is understood as an intellectual achievement (which is higher than that of a Sufi), not a figure who comes down to deliver certain sentences (Rahman, 2013).

Asy'ariyah indeed applies a very systematic understanding through very literalistic definitions (Schoun, 1995). For example in interpreting obligations. According to them, an obligation is an order that is given a penalty if it is abandoned and a reward is given if it is carried out (Purwanto, 2015). Maybe the definition is correct, but when the definition is applied to the context of the discourse on the good and bad that humans do and about the knowledge of God, then it actually becomes less relevant (KUtsmanto, Fauzi, & Jamil, 2016).

Asy'ariyah is of the view that humans can indeed know what is good and what is bad without revelation. They say that without revelation, man cannot know that it is obligatory to know God and know what is good and what is bad. Asy'ariyah argues, if there is no revelation, then if humans know God and are able to distinguish good from bad, there will be no reward for him in the hereafter (Hozien, 2006). Likewise, if humans cannot know God and are unable to distinguish between good and bad, they will not be punished either. Because the punishments and rewards are consequences of obligations and obligations that are in revelation. So this is where the literalistic pattern of understanding revelation lies. In fact, if humans carry out deep reflection by exerting their potential to the optimum, then of course they can understand that this obligation remains absolute for humans (Tufay, 2005). While revelation comes to warn or confirm things that humans can already understand with the optimization of reason (Yanti, 2017).

In this case, Imam Al-Ghazali, a theologian who likes to classify all issues, which has become a tradition of later academics, distinguishes between issues of obligations and prohibitions with the good and bad that humans can know through their minds. According to Al-Ghazali, humans are capable of distinguishing between good and bad (Griffel, 2009). But that's not enough. Only through reason, humans can not distinguish between what is ordered and what is forbidden. In this case, Al-Ghazali is considered successful in solving the debate between the significance of reason and the significance of revelation (S. Z. Saleh, 2009).

Al-Ghazali, who represents Ahlu Sunnah wal Jamaah, is the most simple and easy-to-understand thinker among the constellations of theology. Also the teachings of Ahlu Sunnah wal Jamaah, especially the Asy'ariyah school as held by Al-Ghazali, are the schools of thought that most appreciate the existence of Revelation (Griffel, 2009). On the other hand, those who appreciate reason the most are the Mu'tazilahs (Lukens-Bull, Martin, Woodward, & Atmaja, 1999). Meanwhile, although as a theologian, Al-Ghazali became the most prominent critic of philosophy.

Al-Ghazali totally attacked the ideas constructed by philosophers like Ibn Sina (Reza, 2014). According to him, the views of philosophers come out of the rules that have been determined by revelation. Among his twenty criticisms, three of them are considered to have gone beyond the limits of tolerance in the interpretation of revelation, namely about the eternal nature of nature, about God's knowledge of particular matters, and about bodily resurrection (Zedler, 1963). Al-Ghazali argues, the view of the philosopher who believes that God creates something not from nothing necessitates the belief that there is something that has been original with God. (Janssens, 2001). This means that it rivals God's originality. However, philosophers mean that something that is original is primary material that has existed as a potential for actuality. In the philosophical view, it is impossible for existence to arise from nothing (S. Z. Saleh, 2009; Walzer, Averroes, & van den Bergh, 1956). This view is in accordance with the philosophical principle that those who do not have cannot give (Miswari, 2016). In Al-Ghazali's view, the principle of a philosopher who does not believe in God can compete with God's power. Al-Ghazali's criticisms are very relevant to his Ash'ariyah principled theological understanding. The group greatly appreciates the revelation. Al-Ghazali's teachings are a perfect production for Ahlu Sunnah wal Jamaah. He had the full support of the Abbasid political power. That power requires a teaching that is able to present a counterpoint to the rationalism taught by the Shia groups.

Meanwhile, the Mu'tazilah are adherents of the Qadariyah. They believe that humans have free will in their actions. According to them, human actions are not actions that are moved by God but rather from the power that humans have independently. The power which is the source of human action is also not God's power but indeed human power domestically (Watt, 1963). In defending the principle of Qadariyah, Mu'tazilah argues, because human actions are from the man himself, then the good deeds of humans are appreciated by humans and the consequences of bad actions are presented to humans. (Burhanuddin, 2017). In contrast, Jabariyah residents, as is generally the case in Aceh, when receiving kindness from someone, what is said is not thanking the person who did the good, but saying Alhamdulillah (I. F. A. Nasution, 2018b). However, the attitude of the residents is inconsistent because if they receive bad things from someone, then the person who did the bad thing will be punished. This paradox has always adorned the Asharite theological system (Schoun, 1995) as held by Acehnese in particular and Indonesian citizens in general. The history of the appearance of Jabariyah has become the main stream in society, heavily influenced by political power. The

rulers in the past liked the Jabariyah system because it could reduce the potential for community resistance to political power. In contrast to the Mu'tazilah, Ash'ariyah believes that human actions are from humans, not God's actions (Hye, 2001). Just as the Mu'tazilah developed their arguments by borrowing a philosophical system, the Ash'ariyah also did the same thing. Asy'ariyah uses a philosophical system of motion in classifying divisions of motion (Gharawiyah, 2012; Miswari, 2016).

Asy'ariyah distinguish between the source of motion with the moving. The source of motion and the movement itself in a philosophical system are indeed different. By Asy'ariyah, in the case of human actions, the source of motion is attributed to God and the motion itself is human (Nusution, 2006). The reason for this classification is reinforced by the statement that motion is a physical displacement. While God is impossible to move because he does not have a body. Although borrowing a philosophical classification, the Asy'ariyah definition of motion is different from the definition of philosophy. In philosophy, motion is the first perfection of potential actuality (Miswari, 2016).

The classification of motion is also almost similar to the classification of philosophy, as later systematically formulated by Ibn Sina (Hanafi, 1996). What Asy'ariyah uses is the distinction between motion by will and motion by coercion. The analogy that is made of motion with the will is the decision to go or go home. As for the analogy made for non-willed motion, such as the body shivering when it is cold (Nusution, 2006). But regarding actions, which are actually a consequence of movement through the will, Ash'ariyah cannot assert that human actions are truly human actions in the true sense (Syuhud, 2018). Meanwhile, Maturidiyah can be said to firmly believe that human actions are in their true meaning (Syuhud, 2018).

In Asy'ariyah teachings, God's will has no limits (Rusli, 2018). Meanwhile, in the view of the Mu'tazilah, God's power is limited to the decrees that God himself has made. The consequence of each of these views is, Asy'ariyah must admit that when God gives a reward to someone, it is not because of his good deeds. Likewise, when God gives someone a flogging, not because of his bad deeds. Because those deeds are the deeds of God. But unfortunately Asy'ariyah did not fully accept this consequence so that a paradox was found again in Asy'ariyah's teachings (Schoun, 1995). Regarding the consequences of human actions, the Mu'tazilah can be consistent. They can say emphatically that because of a good deed that is done on their own power and will, a person is given appreciation by God. On the other hand, because of bad deeds done on his own power and will, he is given sanctions by God (Masturin, 2014; Rusli & Yanto, 2018).

According to Mu'tazilah teachings, God is considered to have obligations towards creatures (Rusli, 2018). This teaching was unacceptable to the Asy'arids due to the consequences of their understanding of God's power. Asy'ariyah, as emphasized by Imam Al-Ghazali, emphasized that God has no obligations towards creatures (Bagir, 2017). As a follower of Ash'ariyah, Al-Ghazali said that God is not obliged to do good to humans. He also stated that God can give burdens to people even if the person cannot carry them (Mujieb

& Syafi'ah, 2009). These two possibilities can be realized because Asy'ariyah adheres to the assumption that God's will is unlimited (Burhanuddin, 2017).

Meanwhile, the Mu'tazilah thought that by His decree, God had an obligation towards humans. The Mu'tazilah also believed that God would not burden humans beyond what they could bear (Rusli, 2018). With the consequence of God's obligation, Mu'tazilah argues, the sending of messengers is part of God's obligation. The function of the apostle is to convey revelation and worship techniques that humans cannot understand by relying on their reason alone (Rusli & Yanto, 2018). Meanwhile for Asy'ariyah, the sending of the Messenger aims to teach humans which ones are good and which ones are bad. Because for Asy'ariyah, humans cannot find out what is good and what is bad through their reason (Azmi & Wahab, 2013). Regarding God's promises and threats, the Mu'tazilah stated that God has an obligation to fulfill his promises. God put good people into heaven and bad people go to hell because that's His promise. Meanwhile, in the Ash'ariyah view, God could just put good people in hell and put bad people in heaven. It happened for the reason that God's power is unlimited (Rusli, 2018).

One of the most important discourses in Islamic theology is about the nature of God. The Mu'tazilah are of the opinion that the nature of God does not exist. God knows, sees, and hears with His Essence. While Asy'ariyah argues, the nature of God exists, different from His substance. Mu'tazilah argues, God's hand means His power, but for Asy'ariyah, God's hand is really a hand, but how it is, only God understands it (Mujieb & Syafi'ah, 2009). Because philosophy and philosophical Sufism in Islam also respond to these Divine matters, each of these schools also has its own view in a different way. Although in philosophical tasawuf each 'arif has almost the same view, in philosophy, each school has a very different view (Arrauf, 2017). In this case, it can be presumed that the teachings of the Mu'tazilah, which tended too much to reason, were not liked by political power because it could become a threat to the authorities.

Conclusion

Differences in theological thought in Islam led to the birth of political currents as a force movement to defend the theological system they adhered to. Thus, in Islamic thought, the theological school adhered to greatly influences political movements. During the development of the major theological currents in Islam, the balance was determined by political power. Political rulers want a rational theology to balance rationalism in Shia theology, but theological rationality does not threaten power. The great theology that develops must also be able to fulfill the dimension of spirituality so that it can become an alternative for the Sufism movement which has the potential to mislead the public due to errors in interpreting these teachings. The close relationship between politics and theological thought still continues to this day, because theological tendencies largely determine political tendencies.

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