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Traces of Māturīdīsm in the 'Ulamā's Works in Nusantara in the Seventeenth Until Nineteenth Centuries

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Abstract: Theological discourse in Nusantara is always associated with two varieties of Ash'arīsm and Māturīdīsm. Nevertheless, Ash'arīsm became the dominant theological discourse for Muslim people of Nusantara at least since the seventeenth century—or more—which brought by 'Ulamā's. There are some obscurity concerning the history of Māturīdīsm about the carriers and teachings developed. Thus it is often assumed that the theological discourse that developed in Nusantara since Islam entered and developed just an Ash'arīsm and ignored other theology [Māturīdīsm]. This study would prove that Māturīdīsm developed along with the development of Ash'arīsm through the global networks of the Nusantara 'Ulamā around theological discourse in the Muslim world.

This study attempts to provide the justification of Māturīdīsm that developed in Nusantara as well as provide a new perspective about method

of theology for Muslim people of Nusantara. The focus of this study is to explore the intellectual treasures of ulama's works in Nusantara who lived in the period of the seventeentah until nineteenth centuries. This study concludes that theological discourse in Nusantara is a continuous form of global theological discourse that developed in the Islamic world, where the emerging theological discourse always associated on two varieties of Ash'arīsm and Māturīdīsm which later became known as Sunnīsm. In this context, the discourse of Māturīdīsm developed in Nusantara is seen as a method of thinking that is in tune with the tradition of Sunnīsm which emphasizes the elements of moderation and balance in theology.

Keywords: Theology, Sunnī, Ash'arīsm, Māturīdīsm, 'Ulama, Nusantara

Abstrak: Wacana teologi di Nusantara selalu dihubungkan dengan dua macam varian teologi Asy'arīyah dan Māturīdīyah. Walapun demikian, teologi Asy'arīyah menjadi wacana teologi dominan bagi Muslim Nusantara paling tidak semenjak abad ke-17 M.—atau lebih jauh daripada itu—yang dibawa para ulama penyebar Islam. Sedangkan teologi Māturīdīyah tidak banyak diketahui perihal pembawa dan ajaran yang dikembangkan oleh para ulama pembawa Islam di Nusantara. Sehingga kerapkali dianggap bahwa wacana teologi yang berkembang di Nusantara semenjak Islam masuk dan berkembang hanya teologi Asy'arīyah dan mengabaikan teologi lainnya [Māturīdīyah]. Kajian ini berfokus untuk menggali khazanah intelektual dari karya ulama Nusantara yang hidup pada kurun abad ke-17 M. sampai 19 M. Kajian ini hendak membuktikan bahwa teologi Māturīdīyah berkembang di Nusantara berbarengan dengan perkembangan teologi Asy'arīyah melalui wacana dan jaringan global seputar teologi di dunia Islam.

Kata Kunci: *Teologi, Sunnī, Asy'arīyah, Māturīdīyah, Nusantara*

الملخص :إن الفكرة/الحوارات العقائدية الإسلامية التي تنتشر في بلاد جنوب شرق آسيا (نوسانتارا) متعلقة دائما بمدرستين كبيرتين الأشعرية والماتردية. ومنذ القرن السابع عشر الميلادي تقريبا، كانت الفكرة العقائدية الأشعرية هي التي أكثر انتشارا عند مسلمي "نوسانتارا" حيث جاء بها الدعاة المسلمين الأوائل لتلك المنطقة. و في المقابل، لم تكن المدرسة الماترية معروفة و مشهورة عندهم. لذلك باتت الفكرة العقائدية الماتريدية مجهولة. و قد سببت هذه الحالة بأن الفكرة العقائدية الإسلامية التي تنتشر في منطقة "نوسانتارا" هي فقط الأشعرية دون الالتفات و الاهتمام بالماتردية. و هذا البحث سيسلط الضوء على بعض مؤلفات علماء "نوسانتارا" خلال القرن السابع عشر حتى التاسع عشر الميلادي. هناك بعض المؤلفات "النوسانتاراوية" التي تنتمي الى المدرسة الماتريدية و تتعلق بها. و قد يكون هذا دليلا على أن الفكرة الماتردية تنتشر في منطقة "نوسانتارا" مع الفكرة الأشعرية.

الكلمات الإرشادية: العقيدة الإسلامية، أهل السنة و الجماعة، الأشعرية، الماتريدية، نوسانتارا.

The Problem of Theological Studies in Nusantara

Research on the transmission and development of Māturīdīsm in Nusantara and the figures that brought it has not been studied much by the scholars. Though Māturīdīsm name's can not be separated in the Muslim world from the Sunnīsm (Ahl al-Sunna wa al-Jamā'a). The Sunnīsm—as understood by the majority of Indonesian society—is a Islamic thought followed and has a guide in conducting religious activities. Referring to the definition al-Zabīdī says in *Itḥāf al-Sādāt al-Muttaqīn* that Sunnīsm is a Islamic theological has been formulated by Abū Ḥasan al-Ash'arī (d. 324) and Abū Manṣūr al-Māturīdī (d. 333).[1]

During this time, research that has a tendency to study theology in Nusantara which followed Sunnīsm perspective tends to reveal one of the two theological variants and heedless the other theological variants that is Māturīdīsm. Scarcities of study about this discourse be indicated that scholars irresponsive of the other variant thought mainstream of Sunnīsm. The reason is tendency to examine Māturīdīsm is not as interesting and as much as the study of Ash'arīsm. Among the previous studies that attempted to reveal Sunnīsm in Nusantara is *Syi'ah dan Ahlussunnah; Saling Rebut Pengaruh dan Kekuasaan Sejak Awal Sejarah Islam di Kepulauan Nusantara* by Ali Hasjmy (1983),[2] *The Making of Indonesian Islam* by Michael Laffan (2011),[3] and *Teologi Ulama Tasawuf di*

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1 Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī, *Itḥāf al-Sādāt al-Muttaqīn*, vol. 2, (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmīyah, 2017), p. 8.

2 Ali Hasjmy, *Syi'ah dan Ahlussunnah; Saling Rebut Pengaruh dan Kekuasaan Sejak Awal Sejarah Islam di Kepulauan Nusantara* (Surabaya: PT.Bina Ilmu, 1983), p. 45.

3 Michael Laffan, *The Making of Indonesian Islam* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2011), p. 7.

Nusantara Abad XVII-XIX by Arrazy Hasyim (2011).[4] All of these studies have a conclusion that the theological discourse which a resulted from the process of scientific transmission between Nusantara and Ḥaramayn has a tendency to the Sunnīsm especially Ashʿarīsm.

The conception of Māturīdīsm is little known and understood even as "foreign of theology" outside of Sunnīsm because of the dominance of Ashʿarīsm discourse. As if the introduction of conception of Māturīdīsm in the Nusantara society is satisfied by the introduction of conception of Ashʿarīsm because it is considered relatively similar between the two of them. The historical indifferent of mentioning Māturīdīsm in the development of Islamic thought and the formation of theological discourse in Nusantara will have implications for the uncertainty of the transmission and development between Ashʿarīsm and Māturīdīsm. The problems around the distribution of Ashʿarīsm and Māturīdīsm in the Islamic World and the transmission system formed between these two theologies and their development in Malay-Nusantara until now will be difficult to explored comprehensively. That issues can be implicated to the unclear influence of contraction thinking of the a nation, including in Nusantara.

The existence of traces of Māturīdīsm in Nusantara has been claimed in Ulamāʾs works. Maḥfūẓ al-Tirmasī (d.1920) in *Kifāyat al-Mustafīd Limā ʿAlā Min al-Asānīd*[5] and Yāsīn al-Fādānī (d. 1990) in *al-ʾIqd al-Farīd min Jawāhir al-Asānīd*[6] claim that theological scholarship obtained from their teachers is connected to al-Ashʿarī and al-Māturīdī. Empirical evidence of Ulamāʾs works in Nusantara is accepted without any constructive criticism and explanation of the mention of transmission of knowledge in

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4   Arrazy Hasyim, *Teologi Ulama Tasawuf di Nusantara Abad XVII-XIX* (Ciputat: Maktabah Darus Sunnah, 2011), p. 138-9.

5   Maḥfūẓ al-Tirmasī, *Kifāyat al-Mustafīd Limā ʿAlā Min al-Asānīd* (Beirut: Dār al-Bashāʾir al-Islāmīyah, n.d), p. 32-3.

6   Yāsīn al-Fādānī, *al-ʾIqd al-Farīd min Jawāhir al-Asānīd* (Surabaya: Dār al-Saqāf, 1981), p. 43.

their works. Does it of transmission of knowledge indicate that Nusantara 'Ulamā's has theological reason of al-Ash'arī and al-Māturīdī, or they just only collect the transmission of knowledge as a legitimation of the doctrinal theology to will be developed in the society, or that case can be seen as the trend of global theology system which necessitates the unions of the transmission of knowledge to the two Sunnīsm bearers.

The notes that need to be known from the existence of the transmission of knowledge of Nusantara 'Ulamā's from various disciplines of religion is that the transmission is not applied as a paradigm of thought. Although Yāsīn al-Fādānī has been the transmission of knowledge in theologically to al-Ash'arī and al-Māturīdī, but he still make Ash'arīsm as the paradigm of thought. While Māturīdīsm is not applied in paradigm of thought of Yāsīn. Similarly, the transmission of Yāsīn in jurisprudence which mentions Ḥanafī, Mālikī, Shāfi'ī and Ḥanbalī,[7] but he only makes the jurisprudence of Shāfi'ī as the only one paradigm for his thoughts.[8]

This is an indication that the transmission of knowledge in various disciplines does not automatically affect or become a paradigm of thought. Internal and external factors of the scholars bacame dominant factors in the orrientation of construction of the thought. The proof which reinforces the proposition that the transmission does not automatically become the paradigm of thought can be known with the 'Ulama's works of they thought such as Nawawī al-Bantānī, Maḥfūẓ al-Tirmasī, and Hāshim Ash'arī.

Nawawī al-Bantanī through his work *Fatḥ al-Majīd* claim as one of the Ash'arī followers (*ash'arīyah*).[9] The argument built in his work could say

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7   Yāsīn al-Fādānī, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd*, p. 66.

8   Some explanations why did Shafi'is follow Ash'arī theology see Mohamed Ahmed Abdelrahman Eissa, *The Jurist and the Theologian: Speculative Theology in Shāfi'ī Legal Theory* (New York: Gorgias Press, 2017).

9   Nawawī al-Bantanī, *Fatḥ al-Majīd fī Sharḥ al-Durr al-Farīd fī 'Ilm al-Tawḥīd* (Bandung: al-Ma'ārif, n.d.), p. 39.

the same with Ash'arīsm in establishing the doctrine of theology. Ash'arīsm known as the theology that believed eternal attribute of God (ṣifat Allāh) so that is named ṣifatīya.[10] Nawawī in *Fatḥ al-Majīd* introduces the discourse of attribute of God with the categorical of *wājib*, *mumkin* and *mustaḥil*. The attribute of God has explicit mentions and establishing in the Qur'an and Sunna of the Prophet that God has a attribute such as *wujūd*, *al-raḥmān*, *al-raḥīm*, and other attributes. The actions of God that indicate He knows, almighty, wills, shows that He has knowledge, almighty, and will.[11]

Although Nawawī mentioned the existence of Mātuīdīsm in *Nihāyat al-Zayn*, but he never adopt an idea and follow of al-Māturīdī's thought in his work.[12] Nawawī had quoted Abū Ḥanīfa—figures of al-Māturīdī's leader—about rejection of the Dahrāya and Mu'tazila has claimed heterodox, but Nawawī's citations of that story is not accompanied with beliefs on theology of Abū Ḥanīfa. Reference about Māturīdīsm doctrine in the Nawawī's work never mentions because his mind was affiliated with the doctrine of Ash'arīsm. Moreover, there has been no study of Nawawī's thought to claim that he is affiliated to Māturīdīsm.[13]

Another 'Ulamā' who is assumed to be the transmitter of Māturīdīsm in Nusantara is Hāshim Ash'arī. This assumption was obtained on Kitab *Kifāyat al-Mustafīd* by Maḥfūẓ al-Tirmāsī edited by Yāsīn al-Fādānī.[14] He mentions the transmission of knowledge by Maḥfūẓ al-Tirmāsī until al-Ash'arī and al-Māturīdī. Maḥfūẓ is claimed as an authoritative scholar

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10 Ibn Ḥazm, *al-Faṣl fī al-Milal wa al-Niḥal*, vol. 1 (Beirut: Dār al-Maʿrifah, 1983), p. 175., Abd al-Qāhir bin Ṭāhir al-Baghdādī, *al-Farq Bayn al-Firāq* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmīyah, 2009), p. 104., Muḥammad bin ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Shahrastānī, *al-Milal wa al-Niḥal*, vol. 1 (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmīyah, 2011), p. 235.

11 Abdurrahman Mas'ud, *Dari Haramain ke Nusantara* (Jakarta: Kencana, 2006), p. 152.

12 Nawawī al-Bantanī, *Nihāyat al-Zayn fī Irshād al-Mubtadiʿīn* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmīyah, 2002), p. 7.

13 Sri Mulyati, "Sufism in Indonesia: An Analysis of Nawawi al-Banteni's Salālim al-Fuḍalā", thesis M.A. (Montreal: University of McGill, 1992), p. 82.

14 Maḥfūẓ al-Tirmasī, *Kifāyat al-Mustafīd*, p. 32-3.

who has been the transmission roots to the two founder of the madhhab. The transmission of Maḥfūẓ which refers to Māturīdīsm assumed as the legitimacy that he as a disseminator Ashʿarīsm and also Māturīdīsm together to his students included Hāshim Ashʾarī.

Maḥfūẓ was known as a highly respected teacher of Hāshim because he has extensive knowledge and comprehensively in the science of religion especially ʿ*ulūm al-ḥadīth*. Hāshim's admiration for Maḥfūẓ is manifested in the attitude that makes the teacher as a prototype of religious thought. Certainly in the orientation of theological thought, Hāshim follow the teacher's belief that is Ashʿarīsm. It is not merely because taqlīd, but based on careful thought and consideration. There is no indication in Maḥfūẓ's works to explanation or mention to supporting Māturīdīsm doctrine, as well as Hāshim who never said a follower of al-Māturīdī's doctrine.

The mention of Māturīdīsm in Hāshim's works related to describes paradigm of Sunnīsm like the definition by al-Zabīdī in *Itḥāf al-Sādāt*. Assumptions can be constructed from the statement implies that Māturīdīsm never become as paradigm of Hāshim's thought. When it is said Hāshim as a disseminator of Māturīdīsm in Nusantara, just only because there is a transmission of knowledge from Maḥfūẓ, that not supported of basic data authentic and credible with content analysis of theological thinking and historical analysis primarily justification themselves as follower of Māturīdīsm.

If assumed the transmission of knowledge of Nusantara ʿUlamāʾs as the only one justification to given evidence of Māturīdīsm existence, without supporting evidence from theological content in ʿUlamāʾs works that will be two problem. First, Theological system in ʿUlamāʾs works does not reflect to thinking of Māturīdīsm. This can be seen from the ʿUlamāʾs works references is not refer to litaratures was produced by Abū Manṣūr al-Māturīdī and Māturīdīsm ʿUlamāʾs such as al-Bazdawī, al-Nasafī, al-Bayāḍī, or ʿAlī al-Qārī. Moreover in fact the reference in ʿUlamāʾs work

affiliated to Ashʿarīsm as the works of al-Ghazālī, al-Shahrastānī, al-Sanūsī, al-Dasūqī and also Nawāwī al-Bantānī. Second, the style of theological thought in ʿUlamāʾs works is not specific and identical with Māturīdīsm's thought. We all seen that between Ashʿarīsm and Māturīdīsm there are some different resulting of thought products.[15] But the conclusions of the two product of thinking are relatively similar and there are several aspects of differences. The result of Māturīdīsm's thought distinguishing from Ashʿarīsm thought is not reflected in ʿUlamāʾs works who is claimed as a follower paradigm of Māturīdīsm with only there are justification of transmission (*sanād*).

Two cases to mentions provide some illustration that Nusantara ʿUlamāʾs can not be claimed to have two tendency in theological system, Ashʿarīsm and Māturīdīsm. Because in they works always claim and loyal with as followers with doctrine of Sunnīsm which especially Ashʿarīsm, whereas Māturīdīsm is not explicitly mentioned in their works. This study attempt to provide an evidences of the traces of Māturīdīsm in Nusantara and also to explains the mention of Sunnīsm in Islamic world and Nusantara which always related between Ashʿarīsm and Māturīdīsm.

The Formation of Sunnīsm Discourse in Nusantara

Nusantara ʿUlamāʾs always write and attach in their works about theological system which became guidance in religion. They always recognize as a follower of the great tradition of Sunnī (Ahl al-Sunna wa al-Jamāʿa). M. Naquib al-Attas when writing *the Oldest Known Malay Manuscript*, reveals that the oldest or the first manuscripts of theology in Malay-Nusantara is Kitāb *Durrat al-Farāʾid bi Sharḥ al-ʾAqāʾid ʿalā Sharḥ al-ʾAqīdat al-Nasafīya*.[16]

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15 Some explanations differences between Ashʿarism and Maturidsm see Abū ʿUdhba, *al-Rawḍat al-Bahīyah fī-mā Bayn al-Ashāʾirah wa al-Māturīdīyah* (Hyderabad: n.p, 1322), p. 6.

16 M. Naquib al-Attas, *The Oldest Known Malay Manuscript: A 16th Century Malay Translation of the ʿAqāʾid of al-Nasafī* (Kuala Lumpur: University of Malaya Press, 1988), p. 5.

That manuscript can be perceived that developed theology of discourse in Nusantara in *the* seventeenth century dominated by Sunnīsm traditions. Doctrine of Sunnīsm in *Durrat al-Farā'id* is reflected in translation created by al-Rānīrī, as the author of *Durrat*, towards the book created Māturīdīsm scholar, Abū Ḥafṣ 'Umar bin Muḥammad al-Nasafī (d. 537). The content of theology in al-Rānīrī's work discusses the attributes of God that He is the Unique (*wāḥid*), the powerful (*qādir*), the alive (*ḥayy*), the willing (*murīd*), and there are contents the twenty attributes of God.[17] Statement of al-Rānīrī in his work reveals that he is early of the Nusantara 'Ulamā's who developed Sunnnīsm for Nusantara people's.

In the seventeenth century there are 'Ulamā' excepting al-Rānīrī as a dessemination of Sunnīsm in Nusantara that is 'Abd al-Ra'ūf al-Sinkilī (d. 1693). He claims that the theology taught to Nusantara's people is Ash'arīsm. The doctrine of the attributes of God (*ṣifat Allāh*) formulated into the twenty attributes (*'ishrūn al-ṣifat*) and the division of attributes into three basic frameworks that is *wajīb*, *mustaḥil* and *jā'iz* are very dominant in his work *'Umdat al-Muḥtājīn*.[18]

The book of *'Umdat al-Muḥtājīn* is a al-Sinkilī's work in sufism which felt a very strong theological reason. He realized that the doctrine of Sufism that do not have the basis of true theological (*'aqīdat al-ṣāliḥ*) will easily fall in disbelief (*kufr*) and apostasy (*ḍall*). Al-Sinkilī wants harmonization between Sharī'a and ḥaqīqat in Sufism doctrine in his works. So it is not surprising in al-Sinkilī's works about doctrine of Sufism always related to the existence of God with the theological approach introduced by al-Ghazālī in *Iḥyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn* and *Bidāyat al-Hidāya*.[19]

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17 Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī, *Durrat al-Farā'id bi Sharḥ al-'Aqā'id*, MS collection of PNRI Jakarta, p. f.5v.

18 'Abd al-Ra'ūf al-Sinkilī, *'Umdat al-Muḥtājīn ilā Sulūk Maslak al-Mufradīn*, MS collection of PNRI Jakarta, p. f.3r.

19 Al-Sinkilī, *'Umdat al-Muḥtājīn*, p. 3r-4v.

The allegiance to Sunnīsm expressed by al-Sinkilī in *Daqā'iq al-Ḥurūf* (Jhons 1955: 58-67). This book related to doctrine of *waḥdat al-wujūd* developed by al-Sinkilī from Ibn 'Arabī's (d. 1240/638) and Muḥammad ibn Faḍl Allāh al-Burhanpūrī's (d. 1620) books. A comprehensive understanding of al-Sinkilī to the doctrine of *waḥdat al-wujūd* resulted a proportional attitude in responses to discourse and polemic of being (*wujūd*) in sixteenth until seventeenth centuries in Nusantara. Al-Sinkilī in explaining discourse of being (*wujūd*) terms stand on paradigm of Sunnīsm, based on the doctrine of Ibn 'Arabī, Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Qunawī and Muḥammad ibn Faḍl Allāh al-Burhanpūrī.

Other al-Sinkilī's works which reflecting doctrine of Sunnīsm can be identified in *Tanbīh al-Māshī* and *Sullam al-Mustafidīn*.[20] The impression when read in the al-Sinkilī's works, will be found that he is the scholar of Sunnīsm because there are theology's terms typical of Sunnīsm. There are statement that God has such attributes and this attributes is not substance and also beyond of substance but stand on (*mulāzama*) of His substance. So this makes practical in the seventeenth century that dicsourse of theology in Nusantara, especially in Aceh, dominated by Sunnīsm with strong influence of al-Rānīrī and al-Sinkilī.

In the eighteenth century, there are 'Ulamā from Palembang who became center of Islamic knowledge is 'Abd al-Ṣamad al-Palimbānī (d. 1785).[21] P. Voorhoeve and G. W. J. Drewes consider 'Abd al-Ṣamad as the greatest theologian from Palembang to have a major influence in development of the intellectual tradition in the Malay-Nusantara's world,[22] especially his work entitled *Sayr al-Sālikīn* and *Hidāyat al-Sālikīn*. Doctrine

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20 Oman Fathurahman, *Katalog Naskah Tanoh Abee Aceh Besar* (Jakarta: Komunitas Bambu & PPIM, 2010), p. 47.

21 M. Chatib Quzwain, *Mengenal Allah: Suatu Studi Mengenai Ajaran Tasawuf Syekh Abd al-Shamad al-Palimbani* (Jakarta: Bulan Bintang, 1985), p. 12.

22 P. Voorhoeve, "Abdul Samad al-Palimbani", in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam* (Leiden: Brill, 1967), p. 92., G.W.J. Drewes, "Further Data Concerning 'Abd al-Samad al-Palimbani", in *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land-en Volkenkunde 132*, No. 2/3 (1976), p. 267.

of Sunnīsm in *Sayr al-Sālikīn* can be identified with the explanation in his prologue which affirms that Sunnī (Ahl al-Sunna wa al-Jamāʿa) is the creed and basis of ʿAbd al-Ṣamad in writing of the book.[23] The tradition of Sunnī strongly dominates the theological structure in ʿAbd al-Ṣamad's works with indication of many quotes are taken from Sunnīsm scholars. Among Sunnīsm scholars cited in ʿAbd al-Ṣamad's works is al-Ghazālī in *Iḥyāʾ ʿUlūm al-Dīn* and *Bidāyat al-Hidāya*, Ibn ʿAṭāʾillāh in *al-Ḥikam*, al-Qushayrī in the *Risālat al-Qushayrīya*, Ibn ʿArabī in *Futūḥāt al-Makkīya* and *Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam*, al-Jīlī in *Insān al-Kāmil*. Al-Palimbānī also had the conscience to quote the Nusantara ʿUlamāʾs who are considered in the Sunnī's tradition such as Sham al-Dīn al-Sumaṭrānī in *Jawāhir al-Ḥaqāʾiq* and ʿAbd al-Raʾūf al-Sinkilī in *Taʾyīd al-Bayān Ḥāshiya Īḍāḥ al-Bayān*.[24]

Recognition as followers of Sunnīsm will be found in the ʿUlamāʾs works of Nusantara of Banjar, Muḥammad Arshād al-Banjārī (d. 1812)[25] in *al-Durr al-Nafīs fī ʿIlm al-Tawḥīd, Sabīl al-Muhtadīn, Kanz al-Maʿrifa,* and *Tuḥfat al-Rāghibīn.* Arshād is a ʿUlamā who has specializes and focuses on the study of Shāfiʿī of jurisprudence. Just like al-Rānīrī, Arshād also interest in mysticism (*taṣawwuf*) and had authority in explaining the doctrines in Sufism. This combination of jurists and mysticist (*ṣūfī*) makes Arshād's thought rejected any doctrine of mysticism or sufism that violate of Sharīʿa aspects.

Some aspect that indicate the assertiveness of Arshād in counterring the ideas or thoughts of "Wujūdīya Mulḥīda" (group of the deviating or strayed Wujūdīya), according to the terms given by al-Rānīrī and ʿAbd al-

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23 ʿAbd al-Ṣamad al-Palimbānī, *Sayr al-Sāllikīn ilā ʿIbādat Rabb al-ʿĀlamīn*, vol. 1 (Singapura: al-Haramayn, n.d.), p. 21.

24 Al-Palimbānī, *Sayr al-Sāllikīn*, vol. 3, p. 176-85., see also Nicholas Heer, *A Concise Handlist of Jawi Authors and Their Works* (Washington: n.p, 2009), p. 15.

25 Muhd Saghir Abdullah, *Sheikh Muhammad Arsyad al-Banjari: Pengarang Sabilal Muhtadin* (Kuala Lumpur: Khazanah Fathimiyah, n.d), p. 6.

Ṣamad,[26] are recorded in criticism to Abdul Hamid Abulung's doctrine of mysticism who teach the doctrine of philosophical mysticism (*taṣawwuf al-falsafī*).[27] Arshād considered that Abdul Hamid's thought was uprooted from the roots of Sunnīsm because Hamid considered the essence of God and man it's a alike.[28] Such doctrines will have an impact to Nusantara people's about doctrine of being (*wujūd*) or the relations between God and man as taught the ṣūfī in accordance with the guidance of the Qur'ān and Ḥadīth.

Theology of Sunnī in Arshād's thought will be found in *al-Durr al-Nafīs fī 'Ilm al-Tawḥīd*. This book written by Arshād contains theological arguments built on the basis of the Sunnīsm framework. Arshād wrote his theological work in the form of question and answer about the problem of theology intention of giving a direct impact to the theological system of Nusantara people's. In prologue (*muqaddima*) of this book, he writes that this book is written for laypeople ('awām), who needs the guidance of theology to be saved from a false belief ('aqīdat al-bāṭil). Arshād says that a man who has *mukallaf* is obliged to know the true faith and must believe (to God), if not believe then be punished as *kafir*.[29]

The influence of Sunnīsm in Arshād's thought can be seen in the *Tuḥfat al-Rāghibīn*.[30] There are some figures who are quoted by Arshād in *Tuḥfat* as Abū Ḥanīfa (d. 150) the founder of the Ḥanafī school, Abū Manṣūr al-Māturīdī (d. 333), Abū Najīb al-Suhrawardī (d. 563) the author of 'Awārif al-Ma'ārif, Abū Shakūr al-Sālimī, the author of *Tamhīd fī Bayān*

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26 Al-Attas, "Raniri and the Wujudiyyah of 17th Century Acheh", thesis M.A. (Montreal: McGill University, 1962), p. 30-1.

27 Research Team IAIN Antasari, *Risalah Tasawuf Syekh Abdul Hamid Abulung* (Banjarmasin: IAIN Antarasari, 2003), p. 7-9.

28 Noorhaidi Hasan, "Muhammad Arshad al-Banjari (1710-1812) and the Discourse of Islamization in the Banjar Sultanate", thesis M.A. (Leiden: Leiden University, 1999).

29 M. Arshād al-Banjārī, *Durr al-Nafis fī 'Ilm al-Tawḥīd* (Singapura: al-Haramayn, 2005), p. 2.

30 Noorhaidi Hasan, "The Tuḥfah al-Rāghibīn: the Work of Abdul Samad al-Palimbani or of Muhammad Arsyad al-Banjari?", in *Bijdragen tot de Tall-, Land-en Volkenkunde (BKI)* 161-3, 2007, p. 67-85.

al-Tawḥīd, Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d.608), al-Ghazālī (d. 505), Ibn 'Arabī (d. 638), Ibn Ḥajar al-Haytamī (d. 973), the author of *Tuḥfat al-Muḥtāj*, Ibn al-Muqri' (d. 837), the author of *Rawḍat al-Ṭālib fī al-Fiqh*, Ibrāhīm al-Laqqānī (d. 1041), the author of *Jawhar al-Tawḥīd*, Abū Ma'ālī al-Juwaynī (d. 478), Najm al-Dīn al-Nasafī (d. 537), Sa'd al-Dīn al-Taftazānī (d. 779), the author of *Sharḥ 'Aqā'id al-Nasafī*, al-Sha'rānī (d. 973), the author of *Yawāqit wa al-Jawāhir fī Bayān 'Aqā'id al-Kabīr*, and Zakariyyā al-Anṣārī (d. 926), the author of *Asnā' al-Maṭālib Sharḥ Rawḍ al-Ṭālib*.[31]

There are some aspects that distinguishes Arshād's works from the others that is mentioning names of Māturīdīsm scholars. Among of Māturīdīsm's scholars mentioned in *Tuḥfat al-Rāghibīn* are Abū Ḥanīfa (the foundation of the theology to be used by al-Māturīdī), Abū Manṣūr al-Māturīdī, al-Nasafī, and al-Taftazānī. On the basis of mention Sunnīsm's scholars in *Tuḥfat al-Rāghibīn*, makes Arshād claim his doctrine based on Sunnīsm as the scholars and figures who became the reference in thinking and working in his works.

'Ulamā' from Banjar other Muḥammad Arshād who claimed to be part of the Sunnīsm tradition is Muḥammad Nafīs al-Banjārī (d. 1812).[32] The identity as a Sunnī is enshrined in *Durr al-Nafīs* that in the doctrine of Jurisprudence follows Shāfi'ī, in the doctrine of theology follows Ash'arīya, and in the doctrine of sufism follows Junayd al-Baghdādī.[33] The influence of the doctrine of Sunnī in *Durr al-Nafīs* is related from division of the tawḥīd levels into four; *tawḥīd al-af'āl, tawḥīd al-asmā, tawḥīd al-ṣifāt,* and *tawḥīd al-dhāt*.

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31 M. Arshād al-Banjārī, *Tuḥfah al-Rāghibīn fī Bayān Ḥaqā'iq Īmān al-Mu'minīn*, MS collection of PNRI Jakarta, v.d.w. 37.

32 Ahmadi Isa, "Ajaran Tasawuf Syeikh Muhammad Nafis al-Banjari", thesis Ph.D Jakarta: IAIN Syarif Hidayatullah, 1996).

33 M. Nafīs al-Banjārī, *Durr al-Nafīs fī Bayān Waḥdat al-Af'āl wa al-Asmā' wa al-Ṣifāt wa al-Dhāt al-Taqdīs* (Singapura: al-Haramayn, n.d.), p. 37., see also Abdul Muttalib, "The Mystical Thought of Muhammad Nafis al-Banjārī: An Indonesia Sufi of the Eighteenth Century", thesis M.A. (Montreal: McGill University, 1995), p. 16.

Division of *tawḥīd* like that will be found in many theological works affiliated with the doctrines of Ashʿarīsm. Abdul Muthalib when examining the mystical thought of Nafīs says that the concept of *tawḥīd al-afʿāl* in *Durr al-Nafīs* is more inclined to the Jabbārīya when saying that good and bad actions come from God Himself, whereas human beings do not really act, rather all action belong to God Himself.[34] Other evidence that can be a reinforcement that Nafīs al-Banjārī is a theologian of sunnīsm can be seen from many sources or works from Sunnīsm's scholars used as references in *Durr al-Nafīs*.

Among the work of Sunnīsm's scholars cited in Nafīs's works are *al-Risālat al-Qushayrīya* by al-Qushayrī (d. 467), *Iḥyā ʿUlūm al-Dīn* and *Minhāj al-ʿĀbidīn* by al-Ghazālī (d. 505), *al-Futūḥāt al-Makkīya* and *Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam* by Ibn ʿArabī (d. 638), *al-Tāʾiyat al-Kubrā* by ʿUmar bin al-Farīḍ (d. 633), *al-Ḥikam* by Ibn ʿAṭāʾillāh (d. 709), *al-Yawāqit al-Jawāhir* by ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Syaʿrānī (d. 973), *al-Insān al-Kāmil* by ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Jīlī (d. 805), *Sharḥ al-Ḥikam* by Ibn ʿAbbād al-Rundī (d. 792), *Sharḥ Dalāʾil al-Khayrāt* by Sulaymān al-Jazūlī (d. 870), *Mukhallaṣ Mukhtaṣar Tuḥfat al-Mursala* by ʿAbd Allāh bin Ibrāhīm al-Mirghānī (d. 1207), and *al-Minḥa al-Muḥammadīya* by ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Sammān (d.1189).[35]

Another ʿUlamāʾ that representing the Sunnīsm is Dāwūd bin ʿAbd Allāh bin Idrīs al-Faṭānī. According to Azyumardi Azra predicted that Dāwūd lived in the mid-eighteenth and mid-nineteenth centuries (1153-1265/1740-1847).[36] The doctrine of Sunnīsm in Dāwūd thought can be exposed in *al-Durr al-Thamīn fī Bayān ʿAqāʾid*. This book, according to the information of Engku Ibrahim Ismail, describes the principles of belief according to the principle of Sunnī (*ahl al-sunna wa al-jamāʿa*). This book

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34 Abdul Muttalib, "The Mystical Thought of Muhammad Nafīs al-Banjārī, p. 62-5.

35 M. Nafīs al-Banjārī, *Durr al-Nafīs*, p. 37., Abdul Muttalib, "The Mystical Thought of Muhammad Nafīs al-Banjārī, p. 5-6.

36 Azyumardi Azra, *Jaringan Ulama Timur Tengah dan Kepulauan Nusantara Abad XVII & XVIII* (Jakarta: Kencana, 2013), p. 327-8.

also exposed about *qaḍa* and *qadar* and it's relation to human actions in doctrine of Sunnīsm.[37] Other than *Durr al-Thamīn*, two works of Dāwūd al-Faṭānī which explicitly indicate alignment in support of doctrine's of sunnīsm are recorded in *Kitāb Dua Puluh Sifat* (book of twentieth attributes) and *Taḥṣīl Nayl al-Marām li Bayān Manẓūmat 'Aqīdat al-'Awām*.[38] The interpretation of the doctrine of twentieth attributes (*'ishrūn ṣifat*) and making the *Manẓūmat 'Aqīdat al-'Awām* by Aḥmad al-Marzūqī as the main reference give evidence that Dāwūd al-Faṭānī in his works influenced to doctrin of Sunnīsm, especially by Muḥammad bin Yūsuf al-Sanūsī (d. 895) for doctrine of twenty attributes for God.

The doctrine of sunnīsm in the religious thought of Nusantara 'Ulamā's rapidly developed at the time of the great theologian from Banten, Muḥammad Nawawī bin 'Umar al-Jāwī (d. 1897).[39] In Nawawī's hands, Sunnīsm rapidly developed in Nusantara people's because his works became the standardization of theological books especially among the pesantren. Nawawī's main roles in transmission Sunnīsm in the Malay-Nusantara world because he could do radical thinking in writing the work of theology. Before Nawawī, Nusantara 'Ulamā's wrote the theological works basis of translation and adaptation. But Nawawī did some more advanced step by writing an explanation (*sharḥ*) about theological works. The implications of Nawawī's works of *sharḥ* helped to raise his prestige internationally as a Nusantara 'Ulamā's who wrote theological works can be consumable, not only for 'aṣḥāb al-jāwīyīn' (the people's from Nusantara), but in general Islamic world as used with Arabic language.

Nawawī's identity as a follower of Sunnīsm tradition is found in *Nihāyat al-Zayn*. He claims to be loyal to Shāfi'ī's of jurisprudence and faithful

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37 Engku Ibrahim Ismail, *Syeikh Daud bin Abdullah al-Fatani: Peranan dan Sumbangan terhadap Khazanah Islam di Nusantara* (Kuala Lumpur: Akademi Pengajaran Melayu University Malaya, 1992), p. 35.

38 Nicholas Heer, *A Concise Handlist of Jawi Authors and Their Works*, p. 31.

39 Sri Mulyati, "Sufism in Indonesia", p. 33-4.

to Ash'arī of theology.[40] Nawawī loyalty to Sunnīsm is reflected in a high percentage of al-Ash'arī's thought and called with the 'shaykh of Ahl al-Sunna' which must be followed by his opinion, other al-Māturīdī, for any Muslim who has not authority in theology.[41] The doctrine of Nawawī's thought is a doctrine that opposes the opinion of Dahrīya, Mu'tazila and other madhhabs that are diametrically different from doctrine of Sunnīsm.

One of the central themes of Nawawī's works is the attributes of God. He, like other Ash'arī's scholars, introduces the attributes of God as a *wajīb*, *mustaḥil* and *mumkin*. So, Nawawī's thought can be categorized in *ṣifātīya* who understand that God has attributes that can be known with His actions. Although Nawawī is not the first scholars to explain attributed of God but must be recognized that he the only scholars who succeeds and popularizes it among in Nusantara people's. So it is not surprising that until now, the Nawawī's works are widely used among pesantren and madrasa.

Among the Nawawī's works that have Sunnīsm content such as *Fatḥ al-Majīd* as a commentary on Aḥmad al-Naḥrāwī's work from Egypt entitled *al-Durr al-Farīd*, *al-Thimār al-Yāni'at fī al-Riyāḍ al-Badī'a* as a commentary on *al-Riyāḍ al-Badī'a* by Muḥammad Ḥasbullāh al-Shāfi'ī, *Tījān al-Darārī* as a commentary on *al-Bayjūrī* by Ibrāhīm al-Bayjūrī, *Nūr al-Ẓalām* as commentary on *'Aqīdat al-'Awām* by Aḥmad al-Marzūqī, *Bahjat al-Wasā'il* as a commentary on *al-Risālat al-Jāmi'a* by Abdullāh bin Zayn al-Ḥabashī, *Kāsyifat al-Sajā* as a commentary on *Safīnat al-Najā* by Sālim al-Khuḍrī and *Mirqāt Su'ūd al-Taṣdīq* as a commentary on *Sullam al-Tawfīq* by 'Abdullāh Bā' Alawī.[42]

Dominance of Sunnīsm will continue to some 'Ulama's who had interacted with Nusantara 'Ulamā's of the nineteenth century but died

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40 Nawawī al-Bantanī, *Nihāyat al-Zayn*, p. 13., Nawawī al-Bantanī, *Fatḥ al-Majīd*, p. 37.

41 Nawawī al-Bantanī, *Nihāyat al-Zayn*, p. 17.

42 Nicholas Heer, *A Concise Handlist of Jawi Authors and Their Works*, p. 47-51.

in the mid twentieth century such as ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ṣiddīq al-Banjārī (1857-1939) who dedicated in Riau and Bangka and also Hāsyim Ashʿarī (1871-1947), founder of Nahdlatul Ulama (NU). Ṣiddīq al-Banjārī writes doctrine of sunnīsm no less than two theological works such as *Fatḥ al-ʿĀlīm fī Tartīb al-Taʿlīm* and *Risālat fī ʿAqāʾid al-Īmān*. Basically these Ṣiddīq's works talk with the same theme of Sunnīsm, it is also very strong with the theological method developed by al-Sanūsī.[43] While Hāshim Ashʿarī wrote a treatise entitled *Risālat Ahl al-Sunna wa al-Jamāʿa*. He wrote a chapter in his work theological system used by Nusantara ʿUlamāʾs. Hāshim claims that Nusantara ʿUlamāʾs compromised than in doctrine of theology they adheres to Ashʿarīsm.[44]

The development of theological system in ʿUlamāʾs works in Nusantara began from Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī, ʿAbd al-Raʾūf al-Sinkilī, ʿAbd al-Ṣamad al-Palimbānī, Muḥammad Arshād al-Banjārī, Muḥammad Nafīs al-Banjārī and Muḥammad Nawawī al-Jāwī that is the historical evidence from Nusantara ʿUlamāʾs was living in seventeenth until nineteenth centuries who consistently teach discourse of sunnīsm in Nusantara people's. The named of Sunnī in the context of Nusantara ʿUlamāʾs is identified with Ashʿarīsm and Māturīdīsm. Although discourse Sunnīsm in Nusantara is dominated by Ashʿarīsm, with the indication of recognition from ʿUlamāʾs works from themselves. While Māturīdīsm can be traced in *Durrat al-Farāʾid* by al-Rānīrī and *Tuḥfat al-Rāghibīn* by Muḥammad Arshād al-Banjārī with indication there are mentioned some Māturīdī's scholars such as al-Māturīdī himself, al-Nasafī and al-Taftazānī.

The Position of Māturīdīsm Among Dominance of Ashʿarīsm

Explanation about discourse of the develpoment of theology in Nusantara concluded that system of theology of Nusantara ʿUlamāʾs

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43 Ṣiddīq al-Banjārī, *Fatḥ ʿĀlim fī Tartīb al-Taʿlīm* (Singapura: Matbaʿah Ahmadīyah, 1936), p. 76., see also Arrazy Hasyim, *Teologi Ulama Tasawuf di Nusantara Abad XVII-XIX*, p. 67-8.

44 Hashim Ashʿari, *Risālah Ahl al-Sunna wa al-Jamāʿa* (Jombang: al-Maktabah al-Islāmī, n.d.), p. 9.

dominated Ashʿarīsm. Mentions of that should be understood in the context of transmissions of knowledge from their teachers. Ashʿarīsm is the largest theological discourse that developed in Islamic world which formulated of Ahl al-Sunna wa al-Jamāʿa.[45] This proposition was built on the spreading of massive Ashʿarīsm from al-Ashʿarī's followers. This interconnectivity between al-Ashʿarī and his students or followers makes a transmission of Ashʿarīsm its sustainable. Moreover there are influential scholars of Ashʿarīsm in the Islamic world such as Abū Bakar al-Bāqillānī (d. 403), Abū Maʿālī al-Juwaynī (d. 478), Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī (d. 550), al-Shahrastānī (d. 548), and ʿAḍud al-Dīn al-Ījī (d. 756). They are a Ashʿarīsm's scholars who have a big contributions in spreading doctrine of sunnīsm affiliated with al-Ashʿarī's thought.

Frank Griffel mentions that Ashʿarīsm to experience the greatest time of al-Ghazālī.[46] Al-Ghazālī is seen as a scholar has great influence in Islamic world of Sunnī-Ashʿarī because of his service discourse of Ashʿarīsm is almost followed by the majority of Muslims in the world, including in Nusantara. Influence of al-Ghazālī's thought, whether in jurisprudence, mysticism, or theology, can be identified by his doctrines developed by Nusantara ʿUlamāʾs referering to al-Ghazālī's works. Al-Ghazālī's works will be easily found in ʿUlamāʾs works in Nusantara as of adaptations, commentary or explanation, summary (ikhtiṣar) or just translation.

Schrieke in *Het Boek Van Bonang* claims that the primbon of Tuban origin by Sunan Bonang is a summary of *Iḥyā ʿUlūm al-Dīn*.[47] Al-Ghazālī's influence according to al-Attas, is also seen in Ḥamzā Fanṣūrī and Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī's thought. Two figures of sufi are influenced by al-Ghazālī's thought especially in the three works that is *al-Maqāṣid al-Asnāʾ fī Sharḥ*

45 Djohan Effendi, *Pembaruan Tanpa Membongkar Tradisi* (Jakarta:Kompas, 2012), p. 57.

46 Frank Griffel, *Al-Ghazālī's Philosophical Theology* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), p. 31-9., Nurcholish Madjid, *Islam Doktrin dan Peradaban* (Jakarta: Paramadina, 2008), p. 271.

47 G.W.J.Drewes, *The Admonitions of Seh Bari: A 16th Century Javanese Muslim Text* (Den Haag: Martinus Nijhoff, 1969), p. 3-4.

Asmā' al-Ḥusnā, al-Ajwibat al-Lā'iqa 'an Aswilat al-Fā'iqa, and *Iḥyā 'Ulūm al-Dīn.* Three works of al-Ghazālī in theological content of Ḥamza and al-Rānīrī can be seen from the explanation of mysticism (*taṣawwuf*) and arguments of theology produced in their works such as *Asrār al-'Ārifīn, Sharab al-'Āshiqīn,* and *Zīnat al-Muwāḥidīn* by Ḥamza Fanṣūrī and *Ḥujjat al-Ṣiddīq li Daf' al-Zindīq, jawāhir al-'Ulūm fī Kashf al-Ma'lūm,* and *Asrār al-Insān* by al-Rānīrī.

Further influence of al-Ghazālī can be seen on al-Palimbānī's works and thought. He wrote a translation of *Iḥyā 'Ulūm al-Dīn* entitled *Sayr al-Sālikīn Fī 'Ibādat Rabb al-'Ālamīn.* The 'Ulamā's works from Nusantara which is indicated to be influenced by al-Ghazālī's works give evidence that he (al-Ghazālī) has become prototype of Sunnīsm to construct of discourse of sunnīsm in Nusantara.[48]

The evidence which shows a history of the transmission of Ash'arīsm indicates that discourse of theology in Nusantara is constructed, generally, by influence of discourse of theology developed in Islamic world. The great influence of Ash'arīsm to construction discourse of theology in Nusantara can not be separated from discourse of Islamic theology that developed in Middle East especially Ḥaramayn. Influence of religious discourse that developed in Ḥaramayn can be cosctruct paradigm of thought in Nusantara. This evidence can be seen from the process of transmitting of knowledge and relationship teacher and student between Nusantara 'Ulamā's and Ḥaramayn's scholars.[49]

Mentioned of Ash'arīsm in history of 'Ulamā's thought does not mean that Māturīdīsm is never known in 'Ulamā's works in Nusantara.

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48 Al-Attas, *The Mysticism of Hamzah Fansuri* (Kuala Lumpur: University of Malaya Press, 1970), p. 14., Al-Attas, *Commentary on the Ḥujjat al-Ṣiddīq of Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī* (Kuala Lumpur: Misnistry of Culture, 1986), p. 16-7.

49 Azyumardi Azra, *Jaringan Ulama Timur Tengah dan Kepulauan Nusantara Abad XVII & XVIII* (Jakarta: Kencana, 2013).

This theology developed in Nusantara, and also in the Islamic world, with a rational methodological approaches in explanation theological contexts that are not much different from methodological approaches from Ash'arīsm. Discourse of Māturīdīsm developed through the global network about theological discourse in Islamic world that developed until nineteenth century. Māturīdīsm has become the great family of Sunnīsm traditions in Islamic world. So in fact, methodological makes Nusantara 'Ulamā's in they works in exposing doctrine of theology will be use the approach used of Ash'arīsm and/or Māturīdīsm simultaneously.

Scholars who affiliated with Māturīdīsm in disseminating this system of theology in Islamic world are Abū Yusr Muḥammad al-Bazdawī (d. 493) and Najm al-Dīn al-Nasafī (d. 537). Both of these 'Ulamā's contributions in spreading Abū Manṣūr al-Māturīdī's thought and can be comparing with Ash'arīsm's thought. Al-Bazdawī and al-Nasafī developed Māturīdīsm's doctrine with approaches integrative compromising in various schools of theology including Ash'arīsm and created this theology famous in Islamic world.

Most phenomenal and influential of al-Bazdawī's work in development of Māturīdīsm is *Kitāb Uṣūl al-Dīn*. Ceric claims that this book has greater influence in the Islamic world than al-Māturīdī's works such as *al-Tawḥīd* and *Ta'wīlāt al-Qur'ān*.[50] Popularity of *Kitāb Uṣūl al-Dīn* is not only because it has a significant role in development and expansion of Māturīdīsm, but also because it has characteristic of thought is different from al-Māturīdī's thought. Harun Nasution informed that characteristic of al-Bazdawī's thought is more closed by characteristic of al-Ash'arī's thought than al-Māturīdī.[51] At last it is said that characteristic of Māturīdīsm's thought can be divided into two schools. First's Māturīdīsm who consistently practice

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50 Mustafa Ceric, *Roots of Synthetic Theology in Islam: A Study of the Theology of Abu Mansur al-Maturidi* (Kuala Lumpur: ISTAC, 1995), p. 227.

51 Harun Nasution, *Teologi Islam* (Jakarta: UI Press, 2011), p. 132.

of rationalistic of al-Māturīdī's thought named "Māturīdīyah Samarkand" and the second is Māturīdīsm's school who practice al-Bazdawī's thought that is more closed by characteristic of al-Ash'arī's thought and unrational al-Māturīdī named "Māturīdīyah Bukhara".

Similarity of thought between al-Bazdawī and al-Ash'arī can not be separated from the socio-political context of they life. Al-Bazdawī lived during reign of the Saljūq dynasty, when Alp Arselan and Mālik Sah reigned with his popular primier minister Niẓām al-Mulūk (1066-92). Niẓām al-Mulūk had makes Ash'arīsm as legal theology of the Saljūq dynasty. Influence of power by the Saljūq dynasty then developed to Bukhara which was directly opposite of Iraq, especially with Niẓāmīya of University in Naisabur. In other words, at this time the influence of Ash'arīsm was strong and inferior. Dominance of Ash'arīsm in Islamic world makes al-Bazdawī interested for studying doctrine of Ash'arīms, in addition he also studies al-Māturīdī's thought.[52]

The ideas of unification between Māturīdīsm and Ash'arīsm started by al-Bazdawī gives a profound impression to his student, Najm al-Dīn Abū Ḥafṣ 'Umar bin Muḥammad al-Nasafī (460-537/1068-1143). His famous work is *al-'Aqīdat al-Nasafīya* which describes doctrine of Māturīdīsm. Seen in terms of methods and analysis of theological content, result that this al-Nasafī's work has a doctrine, not only indicated of Māturīdīsm, and also indicated of Ash'arīsm, because it is influenced by the dominance of Muslim intellectual discourse in fifteenth until sixteenth century who is dominate to Ash'arīsm's oriented. The theological concept in al-Nasafī's works has compromise-integrative content and shows no distinction between Māturīdīsm and Ash'arīsm, morever finds the formulation of agreement.

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52 Abū al-Yusr Muhammad al-Bazdawī, *Kitāb Uṣūl al-Dīn* (Cairo: al-Maktabah al-Azharīyah, 2003), p. 13-4.

This phenomena then makes attention of Sa'd al-Dīn al-Taftazānī (d. 791) to write a commentary on al-Nasafī's work entitled *Sharḥ al-'Aqīdat al-Nasafīya*. Duncan Mc Donald in *Development of Muslim Theology, Jurisprudence and Constitutional Theory* says that al-Taftazānī is followers of Ash'arīsm.[53] Al-Nasafī's works which has content of Māturīdīsm is began not appears by the popularity of al-Taftazānī as a scholar or figure of Ash'arīsm. The conclution for al-Taftazānī's work it suggests that a commentary (*sharḥ*) of al-Taftazānī is not purely a work produced by Māturīdīsm's scholars, but can be mentioned theological's works which proposes theological's ideas of Māturīdīsm-Ash'arīsm produced by Ash'arīsm's scholars.

In the context of Nusantara, discourse of Māturīdīsm developed is result of compromise integrative with Ash'arīsm, especially theological reason developed by al-Nasafī and al-Taftazānī. Work's of al-Nasafī and al-Taftazānī has become the standard reading of theology in Islamic world such as Ḥaramayn and other places. The reputation of intellectual treasures of al-Nasafī and al-Taftazānī in Malay-Nusantara world can be associated with al-Ghazālī (d. 505) and al-Sanūsī (d. 895) which affiliated to doctrine of Ash'arīsm. Two names latter are names often mentioned of Nusantara 'Ulamā's in their works in mysticism and theology.

It can be understood that theological reasoning of Nusantara 'Ulamā's is not problems of names of Ash'arīsm or Māturīdīsm, but it is understood as two variants of theology in Islamic thought are included Sunnīsm's tradition. With the evidence of al-Rānīrī's work in *Durrat al-Farā'id* attempting to write to commentary's al-Taftazānī on al-Nasafī's work affiliated with doctrine of Māturīdīsm. Something else that theological reasoning indicated as doctrine of Māturīdīsm can be seen with a mentioning from statement of Māturīdīsm's scholars or figures such as

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53 Duncan McDonald, *Development of Muslim Theology, Jurisprudence and Constitutional Theory* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1903), p. 305.

Abū Manṣūr al-Māturīdī, Abū Yusf al-Bazdawī, Najm al-Dīn al-Nasafī and Saʿd al-Dīn al-Taftazānī in *Tuḥfat al-Rāghibīn* created Muḥammad Arshād al-Banjārī.[54]

Studying of theological works of Nusantara ʿUlamāʾs would have conclusion that they had never considered that developed discourse of theology in Nusantara not contradictory with Māturīdīsm. In fact, the concept of theology according to, not only Ashʿarīsm but also Māturīdīsm. That assumption is reinforced with mention of Nusantara ʿUlamāʾs in theological works that always claims of Ahl al-Sunna wa al-Jamāʿa (Sunnī) as a basis of religious thought. Naming of this Sunnīs's thought, in context of development of discourse of theology in Islamic world in seventeeth until nineteenth centuries, refers to al-Ashʿarī and al-Māturīdī's thought.

However, two variants of theological systems that developed in Nusantara can not be separated because it becomes an integral and inhern of Nusantara ʿUlamāʾs in they works. It can be ascertained that Nusantara ʿUlamāʾs from seventeenth until nineteenth centuries transmitted discourse of Māturīdīsm framed in Sunnīsm tradition. Transmission of this school (*madhhab*) in discourse of theology in Nusantara can be claimed based on some sources of reference in ʿUlamāʾs works which mentions the name of Najm al-Dīn al-Nasafī, that one of leader of Māturīdīsm, as the scholar or figure of Sunnī's thought and work.

The last, In the history of theological discourse in Nusantara, Sunnīsm is understood as a religious thought that considers moderate thought based on al-Qurʾān and Ḥadīth. This thought is also understood as a religious thought that has a religious worldview to bring of moderate of scriptural of Ahl al-Ḥadīth and rationalism of Muʿtazila. In addition, understanding of Sunnīsm can be understood in as a religious thought which contradiction

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54 M. Arshād al-Banjārī, *Tuḥfah al-Rāghibīn fī Bayān Ḥaqāʾiq Īmān al-Muʾminīn*, MS collection of PNRI Jakarta, v.d.w. 37., Nyimas Umi Kalsum, "Tuḥfah Ar-Rāgibīn fī Bayān Ḥaqīqat Īmān al-Muʾminīn", thesis M.A. (Jakarta: University of Indonesia, 2004), p. 43-136.

to the religious thought of Shī'a.[55]

Conclusion

Traces of Māturīdīsm in 'Ulamā's works in Nusantara can be identified with three aspects. *First*, this theology is seen as a system of theology that inherent to great family of Ahl al-Sunna wa al-Jamā'a, besides Ash'arīsm. An approaches used between Māturīdīsm and Ash'arīsm is relatively similar, so there are similarities aspects and reputed as an one understanding. *Second*, there are 'Ulamā's works in Nusantara who gives an adaptations to 'Ulamā's works affiliated with Māturīdīsm. This strong indication can be seen from al-Rānīrī's work in *Durrat al-Farā'id* which that books basis on al-Taftazānī's commentary (*sharḥ*) of *'Aqīdat al-Nasafīya* by Najm al-Dīn al-Nasafī. Genealogically, *'Aqīdat al-Nasafīya* is the work produced from Māturīdīsm's scholars. *Third*, there are 'Ulamā's works in Nusantara who include names and take Māturīdīsm's scholars of thought such as Abū Manṣūr al-Māturīdī, Najm al-Dīn al-Nasafī and al-Taftazānī. That case can be seen in Muḥammad Arshād al-Banjārī's works entitled *Tuḥfat al-Rāghibīn*. []

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55 Ḥamūdah Ghurābah, *Abū Ḥasan al-Ash'arī* (Cairo: Majma' al-Buḥūth al-Islāmīyah, 1993), p. 43.

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[3]Syam, *Tarekat Petani*, p. 173.

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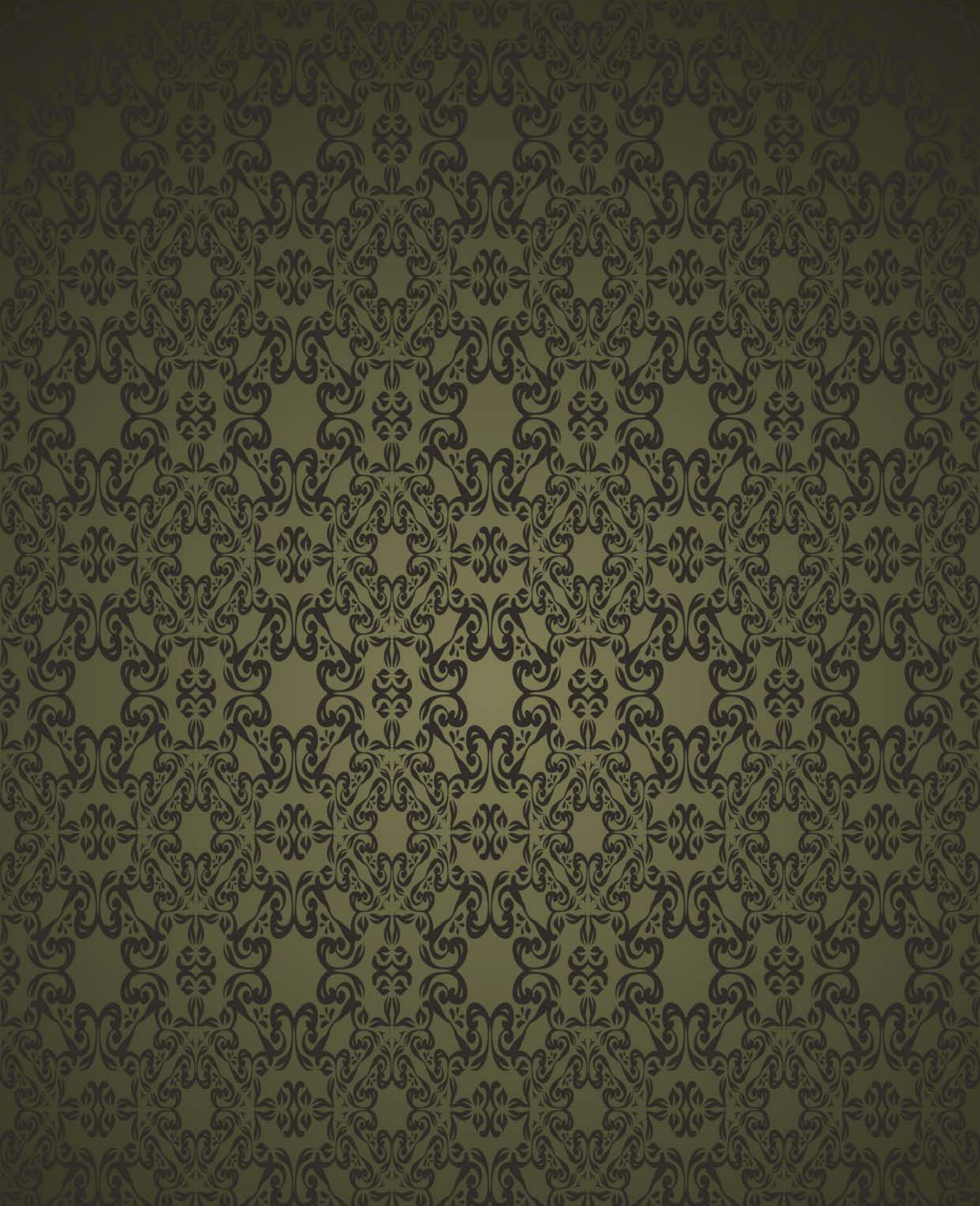Comments on the author's style and presentation.

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