



ZINDIQA AL-WALĪD BIN YAZĪD AN ANALYSIS OF ORTHODOXY AND HETERODOXY IN THE PERSPECTIVE OF CIVIL SOCIETY IN THE Umayyad DYNASTY

Raabiul Akbar¹, Burhanuddin²

^{1,2}Universitas Islam Negeri Syarif Hidayatullah, Jakarta, Indonesia

*Corresponding Author: raabiul.akbar22sps@mhs.uinjkt.ac.id

Article Info

Article history:

Received : 19 Dec 2023

Revised : 03 Mar 2024

Accepted : 28 June 2024

Available online

<http://jurnal.uinsu.ac.id/index.php/analytica>

E-ISSN: 2541-5263

P-ISSN: 1411-4380

How to cite:

Akbar, & Burhanuddin. (2024). *Zindiq Al-Walid bin Yazid An Analysis of Orthodoxy and Heterodoxy in the perspective of Civil Society in the Umayyad Dynasty*. Journal Analytica Islamica. 13 (1) (2024), 74-87



This is an open access article under the [CC BY-NC](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/4.0/) license

ABSTRACT

*This study takes the case of Zindiq Al-Walid bin Yazid as a central point, viewing it as a more political phenomenon with a solid religious background than a purely spiritual issue. This research shows that during the Umayyad Dynasty, the treatment of the Zindiq varied depending on their political impact on the caliph's power. Zindiq, who did not threaten the stability of the ruler, was not punished and even received preferential treatment as heir to the throne. On the other hand, those deemed to interfere with power with political criticism and ties to political rivals were punished. This research uses a qualitative approach using the book *Tārkh al-Ṭabarī Tārkh al-Rusul wa al-Mulūk* by Ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī as primary data. A socio-anthropological approach strengthened by Weber's conflict theory was chosen to understand the historical context related to the concepts of orthodoxy and heterodoxy. This research proves a shift in the political context in the zindiq case. This research contributes to a broader understanding of the relationship between authorities and civil society in religious and political contexts.*

Keywords: Orthodoxy, Heterodoxy, Zindiq, Bani Umayyad.

ABSTRAK

*Studi ini mengambil kasus Zindiq Al-Walid bin Yazid sebagai titik pusat, memandangnya sebagai sebuah fenomena yang lebih bersifat politis dengan latar agama yang kuat daripada masalah agama murni. Penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa pada masa Dinasti Bani Umayyah, perlakuan terhadap Zindiq bervariasi tergantung pada dampak politik mereka terhadap kekuasaan khalifah. Zindiq yang tidak mengancam kestabilan penguasa tidak dihukum, bahkan mendapat perlakuan istimewa sebagai ahli waris tahta. Di sisi lain, mereka yang dianggap mengganggu kekuasaan dengan kritik politik dan hubungan dengan pesaing politik dihukum. Penelitian ini menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif dengan menggunakan kitab *Tārkh al-Ṭabarī Tārkh al-Rusul wa al-Mulūk* karya Ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī sebagai data primer.*

Pendekatan sosio-antropologi yang diperkuat oleh teori konflik Weber dipilih untuk memahami konteks historis terkait dengan konsep ortodoksi dan heterodoksi. Penelitian ini membuktikan adanya pergeseran konteks politik dalam kasus zindiq. Penelitian ini memberikan kontribusi terhadap pemahaman lebih luas tentang hubungan antara penguasa dan civil society dalam konteks keagamaan dan politik.

Kata Kunci: Ortodoksi, Heterodoksi, Zindiq, Bani Umayyah.

1. INTRODUCTION

The dynamics of the relationship between rulers and civil society during the Umayyad dynasty shaped the concept of orthodoxy in a religious context with significant impact. Umayyad rulers faced legitimacy challenges, leading to the use of force as the main way to maintain their power (Ülgül, 2020). The lack of religious legitimacy affected their adherence to religious norms and values. Controversial acts such as massacres by rulers like Yazid I created the perception that Umayyad rulers did not reflect Islamic orthodoxy, weakening the unifying role of religion within the sultanate. Governance strategies that violated Islamic norms, such as the abolition of the deliberation system and the adoption of the dynastic system, further distanced the rulers from religious orthodoxy (Ülgül, 2020). Lifestyles contrary to Islamic values, including pleasures such as music and alcohol, led to protests and discontent (Ülgül, 2020). In contrast, rulers like 'Umar b. Abdulaziz, who aligned their policies with religious norms, were able to establish harmonious relations with civil society. Adherence to religious orthodoxy proved a stronger basis of legitimacy, while the Umayyad dynasty's frequent violations of religious norms led to delegitimization and the emergence of the Abbasid Caliphate, which was perceived as more aligned with Islamic values (Ülgül, 2020). Thus, understanding this relationship opens a window to understanding the importance of religious orthodoxy in shaping the legitimacy and power dynamics of the period.

The case of the Zindiq Al-Walīd b. Yazīd takes center stage because it highlights a significant deviation from the norms and behaviors expected of a Muslim, especially one in a position of leadership such as the caliphate. Al-Walīd b. Yazīd's actions, which included promiscuity and excessive alcohol consumption, contrasted sharply with Islamic principles that should govern the behavior of individuals, particularly those in power. This phenomenon reflects a political dimension with a strong religious background as the term "zindiq" during the Abbasid period was not only a religious label but also a political tool. The term was used to describe norm-breaking and inappropriate behavior, which could be applied to any period, not just the Abbasid era. The fact that some individuals, such as Al-Walīd b. Yazīd, were allowed to engage in such behavior and even occupy the highest offices shows that political considerations could override religious ones.

The political dimension is further emphasized by the fact that individuals who were clearly proven to be zindiqs were sometimes left alone without any action

being taken against them. This leniency or inaction could be due to a variety of reasons, including political alliances, the need for stability, or personal relationships between the accused and the ruler. In the case of Al-Walīd b. Yazīd, his closeness to Abd al-Şamad b. 'Abd al-A'lā, a muaddib (literary scholar) who was previously imprisoned but later released when Al-Walīd came to power, shows how personal relationships could influence the treatment of those accused of zindiq. In summary, the case of Al-Walīd b. Yazīd as a zindiq was not just a matter of religious law but also a reflection of the complex interaction between religion and politics during the Umayyad dynasty. It shows how political considerations can sometimes obscure religious principles, thus leading to tolerance of behavior that is not condemned by Islamic teachings.

Research on zandaqa accusations in Andalusia under the Umayyads, the phenomenon of apostasy accusations, and the analysis of political inquisitions provide a foundation for understanding the social and political context of the period as well as its relevance to the case of the Zindiq Al-Walīd ibn Yazīd in the Umayyad dynasty. Bello presents empirical data on zandaqa accusations that show no evidence of hidden Manichean cases, highlighting the complexities and politics of responding to disobedience to religious norms (Bello, 1987). Alalwani and Roberts add a dimension by examining apostasy charges against Muslim scholars, showing how ruling policies can affect individuals who hold views or teachings that differ from the ruler's wishes (Alalwani & Roberts, 2011). Ibrahim provided a political perspective on the inquisition, emphasizing that it was not solely religious or ethnic, but rather a political strategy of the trans-Islamic aristocracy and ruling elite (Ibrahim, 1994). El Fegierly and colleagues discussed the urgency of harmonizing Islamic law and freedom of expression to address Islamic extremism, highlighting the challenges of reconciling religion and freedom of speech. Ibrahim adds a political perspective to the inquisition, emphasizing that it was not solely religious or ethnic-based, but rather a political strategy of the trans-Islamic aristocracy and ruling elite (El Fegierly et al., 2017). The importance of this study lies in its in-depth understanding of the complex relationship between religion and politics during the Umayyad dynasty, proving that political considerations could influence the treatment of individuals deemed to have violated religious norms. The case of the Zindiq Al-Walīd ibn Yazīd is important to study because it reflects the complex interaction between orthodoxy and heterodoxy in the context of civil society in the Umayyad Dynasty, where political factors played a crucial role in determining the fate of individuals accused of deviating from religious norms.

This study aims to respond to the shortcomings of previous studies, focusing on analyzing orthodoxy and heterodoxy in the perspective of civil society during the Umayyad Dynasty. Using a qualitative approach and al-Ṭabarī's *Tārkh al-Rusul wa al-Mulūk* as primary data, this study shows that there were variations in the treatment of Zindiqs, depending on the extent to which they were considered a threat to the stability of the ruler. Through contextual analysis, this study makes a

significant contribution to the understanding of the dynamic relationship between the ruler and civil society in the religious and political context of the period. The study aims to shed light on the perspective of the dynamic relationship between the ruler and civil society, as well as how the concept of orthodoxy in the religious context was formed as a result of this relationship. In line with this, three questions can be asked: How did the dynamics of the relationship between rulers and civil society shape the concept of orthodoxy in religious contexts during the Umayyad dynasty? What impact did the lack of religious legitimacy have on the ruler's adherence to religious norms and values? How did political factors affect tolerance of behavior that was considered to violate religious norms, such as the case of the Zindiq Al-Walīd bin Yazīd? The answers to these three questions are expected to provide a deep understanding of the complexity of the interaction between religion and politics at that time and its implications for the concepts of orthodoxy and heterodoxy in civil society in the Umayyad Dynasty.

It argues that orthodoxy during the Umayyad dynasty was determined more by the dynamics of the relationship between rulers and civil society than by religious factors alone. The main point of this argument is that the treatment of Zindiqs, particularly the case of the Zindiq Al-Walīd b. Yazīd, was not solely based on religious considerations, but was heavily influenced by the political impact they had on the caliph's power. It is important to note that this study views the Zindiq phenomenon as more political in nature with a strong religious background rather than a purely religious issue. This argument is important as it highlights that the religious orthodoxy of the time was inseparable from political power dynamics and responses to threats to the stability of the ruler. Support for this argument is found in the variations in the treatment of Zindiqs, where those who did not threaten the stability of the ruler were not punished, even receiving preferential treatment, while those who were considered disruptive to power were punished. Thus, the shifting political context in the case of the Zindiqs shows that religious orthodoxy during the Umayyad dynasty was more related to political and security interests than religious principles alone.

2. RESEARCH METHOD

This research applies a qualitative approach to analyze the role of orthodoxy and heterodoxy during the Umayyah Dynasty, focusing on the case of the Zindiq Al-Walīd bin Yazīd. The qualitative approach was chosen because it allows in-depth research into complex social and political phenomena, providing space for researchers to explore the dimensions of contextuality. This method also provides an understanding of the dynamics of civil society at that time from a historical and sociological perspective. The main material object is the book *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī Tārīkh al-Rusul wa al-Mulūk* by Ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī. The research design integrates historical and sociological analysis to reveal the dynamics of power and religion.

The participants and subjects of the research are historical figures, especially the Zindiq Al-Walīd bin Yazīd and related parties in the Bani Umayyah Dynasty. Data were collected through an in-depth literature study, focusing on relevant primary and secondary sources. Data analysis was conducted by combining sociological and historical approaches, using Weber's conflict theory as a theoretical framework. This approach allows the researcher to gain a more comprehensive understanding of the interaction between religion, politics and civil society during the Bani Umayyah Dynasty.

The methodology is designed to capture the complexity and nuance of the topic under study, by applying a multidisciplinary approach that combines historical and sociological analysis. By focusing on credible and relevant primary sources and solid theories, this research aims to provide valuable insights into how orthodoxy and heterodoxy were articulated and influenced by various factors during the Umayyah dynasty.

3. RESULT AND ANALYSIS

The Dynamics Of The Orthodoxy Vs. Heterodoxy Debate: Religious And Political Perspectives

The dynamics of the debate between orthodoxy and heterodoxy, which at first appears to be closely related to aspects of religion such as *aqidah*, *tasawwuf*, and the beliefs of the *Mazdakiyah* sect, turns out to have more complex dimensions. Although many authors discuss the issue in the context of religion, closer analysis shows that the orthodoxy vs heterodoxy debate is not always exclusive to religious matters. On the contrary, this debate often becomes an arena for political contestation that tends to be processed with very strong religious nuances. Many writings in journals tend to get stuck on the religious aspects, but in fact, the essence of this debate lies in the political dynamics that involve deep religious nuances. The importance of understanding the political dimension of the orthodoxy vs heterodoxy debate becomes clear when looking at how aspects of religion are used as a means to gain and maintain power. Political contestation shrouded in religious nuances can be seen as a strategy to influence public opinion, garner support and create legitimacy among the public. Therefore, in understanding this debate, it is necessary to go beyond just the religious aspects and dig deeper into the political dynamics behind it.

Langer and Simon's research, in their analysis of the interaction of orthodoxy and heterodoxy in Muslim discourse and Islamic studies, illustrates the dynamics that occur in this context. The importance of understanding this dynamic lies in contributing to an understanding of how these two perspectives interact and adapt when faced with differing views in discussions on Islam and Muslim studies. Robert's analysis of the interaction of orthodoxy and heterodoxy in the face of divergence in the context of Islam provides deep insight into the political and

religious dynamics involving these two perspectives (Langer & Simon, 2008). Meanwhile, Schrode discusses divergence in Uyghur religious practice, covering the concepts of orthodoxy and heterodoxy, as well as the associated research values (Schrode, 2008). The importance of Schrode's discussion lies in revealing how Islam among Uyghurs in Xinjiang and Muslims in Central Asia is often perceived as a different form of "authentic" or "official" Islam, illustrating the orthodoxy vs. heterodoxy debate linked to identity and political dynamics. Therefore, both Langer and Simon's analysis and Schrode's approach to orthodoxy and heterodoxy provide a more holistic understanding of the complexity of the interaction between religion and politics in the context of Islamic studies.

Taylor, through his research, presents an in-depth perspective on the emergence of heterodoxy in medieval Islam, highlights the integral role of heterodoxy in Islamic history, and reviews the components and contributions of heterodoxy to orthodoxy (Taylor, 1967). The importance of this approach lies in its contribution to understanding the dynamics of the orthodoxy and heterodoxy debates in Islam, particularly in the context of the history and composition of the associated belief components. MacEoin, focusing his research on Shi'ism, discusses nineteenth-century Shi'ism, particularly in the case of sheikhism and babism. His emphasis on the Shia context of orthodoxy and heterodoxy adds a dimension of understanding to this dynamic, making a significant contribution to the study of religion and politics in Islam (MacEoin, 1990). The data from these two researchers, Taylor and MacEoin, show that the discussion of orthodoxy is predominantly related to religious issues. Therefore, the integration of their approaches provides a more comprehensive understanding of the orthodoxy vs heterodoxy debate in Islam, involving both religious and political perspectives.

Understanding this dynamic is crucial in exploring how these perspectives interact and adapt when faced with divergent views in discussions on Islam and Muslim studies. Langer and Simon's analysis includes both political and religious perspectives that provide a holistic understanding of the complexity of the interaction between religion and politics in the context of Islamic studies. On the other hand, Schrode's approach provides further understanding of identity and politics in Islam, particularly among the Uyghurs in Xinjiang. In addition, Taylor and MacEoin's research on heterodoxy in medieval Islam, especially in the context of Shiism, provides an additional dimension to understanding the orthodoxy vs heterodoxy debate, by highlighting the integral role of heterodoxy in Islamic history. The integration of these various perspectives provides a more comprehensive understanding of the orthodoxy and heterodoxy debate in Islam, encompassing both religious and political aspects.

Zindiq Orthodoxy Vs Heterodoxy In The Perspective Of Civil Society In The Umayyad Dynasty Period

During the Umayyad dynasty, the number of individuals accused of being zindiq was not as many as during the Abbasid dynasty. In the Umayyad era, some figures such as Abd al-Şamad ibn 'Abd al-A'lā, a muaddib (literary expert) of Al-Walīd ibn Yazīd ibn 'Abd al-Malik, as well as Al-Walīd ibn Yazīd himself, were accused of being zindiq (Amīn, 2012). However, a comparison with the Abbasid dynasty shows an increase in the number of individuals considered zindiqs. During this period, many figures such as Hammād 'Ajrād, Muhammad b. 'Īsā, Bassyār, and others, were accused of being zindiqs with some of them even being executed as a direct punishment (Amīn, 2012). It is important to examine the dynamics that occurred during the Umayyad dynasty towards individuals accused of being zindiqs. There is a big question why people who were proven to be zindiqs were left without any action, even to the point of occupying high positions such as Al-Walīd ibn Yazīd who eventually became caliph of the Umayyads. The wonder also arises regarding Abd al-Şamad b. 'Abd al-A'lā who was released after being detained, especially after Al-Walīd b. Yazīd came to power, indicating the political factors and close relationships that influenced the handling of zindiq cases at that time. This reflects the complexity of the dynamics between religious and political aspects in response to accusations of orthodoxy vs. heterodoxy in that period (Amīn, 2012).

Muṣ'ab al-Zubairī, the son of his father, recorded a conversation with al-Mahdī, in which Al-Walīd ibn Yazīd was referred to as a zindiq (al-Żahabī, 2006). Furthermore, during the Abbasid dynasty, the term “zindik” was used to refer to abusive behavior, inappropriate actions, excessive freedom of behavior, and a tendency to consume alcohol (Amīn, 2012). This view can be applied to periods other than the heyday of the Abbasid dynasty. In the context of Islam, individuals deemed to have committed zindiq acts have a similar legal status. Some scholars have even stated that if a person is identified as a zindiq infidel, it is permissible to kill him under the hadd punishment in Islamic law (Jābir al-Jazāirī, 1384).

If the issue of zindiq is considered a religious issue, the treatment of the accused individual should also be consistent with the provisions of Islamic law. The principles contained in Islam demand consistency in the handling of zindiq cases. However, in reality, there was a discrepancy in the treatment of individuals accused of being zindiq during the Umayyad Dynasty. Some were executed, while others were left without detention or execution by the caliph. This indicates a discrepancy in the handling of zindiq cases. In a religious context, Islamic principles should have been applied consistently. However, the difference in treatment suggests that non-religious factors, such as politics, family relationships, or power struggles, influenced the handling of zindiq cases. With a socio-anthropological approach, it can be understood that the issue of zindiq involved the complexity of social and political dynamics at the time. The inconsistent

treatment of individuals accused of being *zindiq* shows that social, political and power factors played an important role in determining their treatment. The dynamic relationship between rulers and civil society in shaping the concept of orthodoxy in the religious context during the Umayyad dynasty was also reflected in the treatment of *zindiq* individuals. The question of this relationship is relevant because the handling of *zindiq* cases is not only influenced by religious principles, but also by political and power factors.

In the context of this research, the issue of *zindiq* as a religious issue raises considerations related to treatment that should be consistent with the provisions of Islamic religious law. Islamic religious principles demand consistency in the handling of *zindiq* cases, but during the Umayyad Dynasty there were discrepancies in the treatment of individuals accused of being *zindiq*. The existence of differences in treatment, such as the execution of some individuals while others were left without detention or execution, indicates the existence of non-religious factors, such as politics, family relationships, or power struggles, which influenced the handling of *zindiq* cases. In the context of Max Weber's conflict theory, this analysis can be interpreted as a manifestation of the complexity of the social and political dynamics of the time, in which these factors played an important role in determining the treatment of individuals accused of being *zindiqs*. The dynamic relationship between rulers and civil society in shaping the concept of orthodoxy in the religious context during the Umayyad Dynasty was reflected in the treatment of *zindiq* individuals. In conclusion, the handling of *zindiq* cases is not only influenced by religious principles, but also by political and power factors, in accordance with Max Weber's conflict theory approach.

In the context of the caliphate of Al-Walīd bin Yazīd bin 'Abd al-Malik bin Marwān during the Umayyad dynasty, there are interesting relationship dynamics. His father Yazīd b. 'Abd al-Malik, before his death, made an agreement that Al-Walīd would become caliph after his brother Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik. However, due to Al-Walīd's young age at the time, about eleven years, Yazīd regretted the decision. The regret arose because Yazīd died when Al-Walīd was only fifteen years old. Hishām b. Abd al-Malik then became caliph automatically. Initially, the relationship between Al-Walīd and Hishām was good and respectful. However, there were changes in Al-Walīd's behavior that began to deviate, especially in promiscuity and the consumption of *khamar* (intoxicants). The influence in this deviation is said to have come from Abd al-Ṣamad ibn 'Abd al-A'lā, a muaddib (literary expert) who was a confidant of Al-Walīd himself. As narrated by Ahmad b. Zuhair, from 'Ali b. Muhammad, from Juwairiyyah b. Asma', Ishaq b. Ayyub, 'Amir b. al-Aswad and others (al-Ṭabarī, 1970).

In the dynamics of the relationship between rulers and civil society during the Umayyad dynasty, social and cultural factors, such as the influence of close individuals, played a significant role in shaping the orientation of orthodoxy or heterodoxy in government. The impact of the lack of religious legitimacy on the

ruler's adherence to religious norms and values is seen in the change in behavior of Al-Walīd b. Yazīd b. 'Abd al-Malik. Despite the agreement with religious elements, the change shows that non-religious factors, such as personal relationships and the influence of certain individuals, can influence political and religious dynamics. Thus, these dynamics confirmed that the relationship between the ruler and civil society was not only influenced by religious factors alone, but also by social and cultural aspects that played a key role in shaping the concept of orthodoxy at that time.

Later, Hishām wished to end the relationship with Al-Walīd and Abd al-Ṣamad. In 119 AH, Hishām sent Al-Walīd on pilgrimage and brought with him a number of dogs kept in several boxes. One of the boxes containing dogs fell off the camel, and Al-Walīd released the dog to run around by hitting it. He also brought a dome similar in size to the Ka'bah that was to be placed over the Ka'bah, and brought liquor (khamar). He sat in the dome and intimidated the people around him. The people said, "We do not trust those who are with you, and we are on your side." Al-Walīd, however, paid no attention to their words, and it was obvious to the people that he had no respect for religion. Later, Al-Walīd reported the incident to Hishām and committed himself to overthrowing him, and swore allegiance to Hishām's son Maslamah b. Hisham. However, Hishām did not agree and said, "Make him (Maslamah) caliph after you." Hishām then broke his promise, gave mudharat (harm) to Al-Walīd, and concealed his intention to appoint his son as his successor. His group responded to the request. Among those who agreed were his two uncles, Muhammad and Ibrahim, both sons of Hishām b. Ismail al-Makhzūmī, from the family of the Banu Qa'qā' b. Khalīd al-'Abbāsī, and other family members (al-Ṭabarī, 1970).

In political dynamics, it is seen that behavior that is considered to violate religious norms, such as the case of Al-Walīd b. Yazīd who was called a Zindīq, can be influenced by political factors. Hishām, as the ruler, may have avoided strict action against Al-Walīd who clearly violated Islamic law. Instead, Hishām took advantage of Al-Walīd's zealotry to plan the succession of the caliphate to his son Maslamah. This indicates that Hishām's actions can be understood as a response to political factors involving considerations of government stabilization and political support. The question that arises is whether Hishām's actions were influenced by considerations of avoiding the political tensions that could arise from strictly enforcing religious norms, or the extent to which Hishām sought to utilize the political situation to support the succession of the caliphate to his son. Thus, there is room to understand how political factors influence tolerance of behavior that is considered to violate religious norms in the context of the case of the Zindīq Al-Walīd ibn Yazīd.

In the context of this study, political dynamics play a key role in understanding tolerance of behavior that is considered to violate religious norms, such as the case of Al-Walīd ibn Yazīd who was referred to as Zindīq. Hishām, as the ruler, seems to

have taken a more political decision by avoiding strict action against Al-Walīd who clearly violated Islamic law, and instead used him to plan the inheritance of the caliphate to his son, Maslamah. In the context of Karl Marx's conflict theory, Hisyām's actions can be interpreted as a response to power dynamics and considerations of government stabilization. This action may have been influenced by the desire to avoid political tensions that could arise from strictly enforcing religious norms, or Hishām may have sought to capitalize on the political situation to support the succession of the caliphate to his son. Thus, the integration of Karl Marx's theory opens up an understanding of how political factors can influence tolerance of behavior that is considered to violate religious norms in the context of the Zindiq case of Al-Walīd bin Yazīd during the Umayyad dynasty.

Furthermore, it is said that Al-Walīd continued to engage in alcoholic beverages and continued to seek pleasure. Hearing this, Hishām expressed his disappointment, telling him, "It is unfortunate, al-Walīd. I do not know whether you still adhere to Islam or not. You not only engage in sinful deeds, but actively seek them out without fear and without trying to hide them." Al-Walīd responded to Hisyām's statement by writing a letter stating, "O those who doubt our belief, we follow the religion that Abī Shākir also followed. We drink by mixing, sometimes with the sensation of heat and warmth in the cup." (al-Ṭabarī, 1970).

The debate over zindiqs, considered a deviant religious sect in Islam, was not only a religious issue, but also a political contestation wrapped in a strong religious framework. Hisyām, who served as caliph, was aware of the behavior of his cousin Abd al-Ṣamad ibn 'Abd al-A'lā, who liked to drink against the teachings of Islam, and should have taken firm action against violators of Islamic shari'a law. Hisyām's response as caliph reflects the complex interaction between religion and socio-political factors, where religion often became a battleground that combined the dynamics of power, politics, and social identity. Hisyām's supposedly strict action against violations of God's law can be understood as a strategy to maintain his religious authority and political prestige. The zindiq debate, which involved a complex interplay of religious, social and political factors, demonstrates how socio-political factors shaped and influenced religious dynamics and interpretations of behavior deemed deviant. Understanding this debate needs to be seen in a broader context, including the social and political factors that influence it.

Al-Ṭabarī continues the story of the conflict between Hisyām and al-Walīd, which was essentially a feud of jealousy over power. After al-Walīd responded to Hisyām's criticism with a sarcastic letter, Hisyām felt angry and expressed his dissatisfaction to his son Maslamah (also known as Abī Shākir). Hisyām stated that al-Walīd had provided an opportunity with Maslamah's presence, even nominating him as caliph. Hisyām reminded Maslamah to act properly and follow religious norms (al-Ṭabarī, 1970). In 119 AH, during the change of seasons, Maslamah began to show his dedication to worship, governance, and gentleness. He distributed his

wealth in the cities of Mecca and Medina, while addressing the city dwellers with a poem alluding to al- Walīd:

"O those who doubt our religion,
We follow the religion of Abī Shākir,
He who has given the mountain peaks,
Is neither a denier nor a disbeliever." He alluded to al-Walid. Maslamah b. Hisham's mother was Umm Hakīm b. Yahyā b. al-Hakam b. Abī al-'Āsh. Al-Kumait said:
"Verily the Caliphate is its foundation.
After al-Walid to Umm Hakīm.."

However, tensions arose when Khalid b. 'Abdillah al-Qusari strongly rejected the caliph called Abi Syakir. Khalid b. 'Abdillah al-Qusari said: "I categorically reject the caliph called Abi Syakir." As a result, Maslamah b. Hisham was angry with Khalid. When Asad b. 'Abdullah, the brother of Khalid b. 'Abdullah, died, Abi Shakir wrote a poem containing an allusion from Yahya b. Naufal to Khalid and his brother Asad when they died:

"Is He gone from Khalid and destroyed ...
By his Lord resting his servant named Asad ...
As for his father he is vaguely unclear ...
A servant who deserves to be worshipped with his neck tied."

Then the poem was put into a scroll and someone was sent to deliver the letter to Khalid. Khalid thought that the letter contained an expression of condolences from his brother, and he broke the seal of the letter. However, what he found was sarcasm directed at him. Astonished, he said, "Never have I seen such an expression of condolence before!" (al-Ṭabarī, 1970). From this narrative, several points can be drawn regarding the dynamics of the relationship between rulers and civil society in the context of the Umayyad dynasty. First, the feud among the rulers reflected the tension of power that could shape the concept of orthodoxy in the religious realm. Second, the ruler's lack of religious legitimacy, as seen in al-Walīd's behavior, could affect adherence to religious norms and values. Thirdly, political factors, such as conflict between the ruler and his detractors, can influence tolerance of behavior that is considered to violate religious norms, as seen in the case of the Zindiq al-Walīd ibn Yazīd.

Next, al-Tabari continues the narrative of the closeness between al-Walid and Abd al-Ṣamad b. 'Abd al-A'lā, who allegedly played a role in influencing al-Walid towards behavior that was considered deviant. During the reign of Caliph Hisham, Abd al-Ṣamad b. 'Abd al-A'lā was arrested by the caliph for deviant behavior. According to Ahmad Amin in his book *Ḍuhā al-Islām*, during the Umayyad dynasty, several individuals were accused of being zindics, including Abd al-Ṣamad bin 'Abd al-A'lā, who was the literary teacher of Al-Walid bin Yazid bin 'Abd al-Malik (Amīn, 2012).

Once, Hisham saw al-Walid with some of his close men and followers heading towards the area of al-Azraq, between Arḍ Balqayn and Fazārah, on the water

known as al-Agdaf. al-Walid left his secretary, 'Iyād ibn Muslim Mawlā 'Abdil Malik ibn Marwān, at the dock. Hisham asked 'Iyād to record the events prior to their departure. 'Iyād reported that they had been drinking, and al-Walid asked Abd al-Şamad to deliver a poem. The poem reads:

"Do you not see the star when it spreads, ,
it begins at the height of power.

He was confused by the meaning of the galaxies, ,
there has come a process of sinking something and looking for a place to rise.

Then I said, and liked the situation,,
and it looked like it looked to me, hoping:

May al-Walid come closer to power,,

Then the two merged

And we hope in his kingdom,,

like the hope of barren people, that they will die.

We made provisions for him,,

voluntarily, then for him is his place"

Thereafter, Hisham took a decision against al-Walid and sent a letter, stating that he would not forgive al-Walid's faults and ordered that Abd al-Şamad be expelled in a humiliating manner. al-Walid obeyed the order and wrote to Hisham to inform him that Abd al-Şamad had been expelled. He also denied the slanderous charges against Abd al-Şamad. However, the situation worsened when Hisham beat Ibn Suhail, a leader close to al-Walid, and arrested 'Iyād b. Muslim, al-Walid's secretary. al-Walid expressed his disappointment and realized that his father was wreaking havoc on his family. Hisham then asked Abu Zubayr whether the people still supported al-Walid. Abu Zubayr stated that al-Walid still had the support and pledge of allegiance of the people. Hisham expressed doubt about the hadith that states that whoever holds power as caliph for three days will not enter hell (al-Ṭabarī, 1970).

These data show that the conflict between Hisham and al-Walid had complex dimensions, involving both religious and political aspects. There was an orthodoxy vs heterodoxy debate, in which Hisham's actions against al-Walid and Abd al-Şamad reflected efforts to maintain religious norms and religious authority. The attitude of al-Walid who delivered poems with political meanings showed political involvement in the religious sphere. In the context of the Umayyad dynasty, the emergence of accusations against Abd al-Şamad as a zindik and Hisham's actions in making decisions show the complexity of the relationship between rulers and religious norms. The question of public support for al-Walid, despite the conflict situation, illustrates how political factors and the sustainability of political legitimacy can affect perceptions of the ruler.

Weber in his study states that power and politics have a central role in shaping social actions and decisions (Weber, 2009). This can be seen in the handling of the zindiq case, which shows that the caliph's decision was influenced by political

considerations and power struggles, not merely religious issues. For example, the different treatment of individuals in the zindiq case illustrates the inequality of power and competition among groups related to the caliph. Thus, the socio-anthropological approach reinforced by Weber's conflict theory helps reveal that the zindiq issue was not only religious in origin, but also influenced by political dynamics and differences in treatment based on social relations.

4. CONCLUSION

During the Umayyad dynasty, there was a shift in the dynamics of handling zindiq cases, showing the complexity of the relationship between rulers and civil society in the context of religion and politics. This can be explained by the fact that the number of individuals accused of zindiq during the Umayyad dynasty was not as many as during the Abbasid period, and the handling of zindiq cases was not always consistent, involving non-religious factors such as politics and close relations with the ruler. For example, Al-Walīd ibn Yazīd, who was accused of being a zindiq, was not only acquitted, but even held a high position as caliph of the Umayyads, suggesting that political factors influenced the handling of the case. Thus, this study reveals that orthodoxy during the Umayyad Dynasty was not solely determined by religious norms, but was also influenced by political dynamics and social relations that shaped the concept of orthodoxy in a religious context. Suggestions for future research are to be able to more deeply contextualize the handling of zindiq cases within the framework of Islamic teachings in the later period, namely the Abbasid era, and add other individuals so as to broaden understanding and context, digging deeper into understanding how Islamic religious norms influenced and were absorbed in the ruler's policies..

References

- [1] al-Ṭabarī, A. J. M. bin J. (1970). *Tārīkh al-Umam wa al-Mulūk* (Vol. 4). Dar al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyah.
- [2] al-Ḍahabī, S. M. bin A. bin 'Uṣmān. (2006). *Siyar A'lām al-Nubalā'* (Vol. 6). Dār al-Hadīš.
- [3] Alalwani, T. J., & Roberts, N. (2011). Muslim Scholars Who Have Been Accused of Apostasy. In *Apostasy in Islam* (pp. 117–129). International Institute of Islamic Thought; JSTOR. <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctvk8w22r.10>.
- [4] Amīn, A. (2012). *Ḍuḥā al-Islām*. In *Ḍuḥā al-Islām*. Hindāwī.
- [5] Bello, M. I. F. (1987). Accusations Of 'Zandaqa' In Al-Andalus. *Quaderni Di Studi Arabi*, Vol 5/6, 251–258. JSTOR.
- [6] El Fegier, M., Abouaoun, E., Al-Qarawee, H. H., Fadel, M., Iharchane, O., Maghraoui, D., Salamey, I., & Uddin, A. T. (2017). Taking Beliefs to Court

- (Islam and Human Rights, pp. 8–12). Atlantic Council; JSTOR. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep03717.5>.
- [7] Ibrahim, M. (1994). Religious Inquisition As Social Policy: The Persecution of The “Zanadiqa” In The Early Abbasid Caliphate. *Arab Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 16(2), 53–72. JSTOR.
- [8] Jābir al-Jazāirī, A. B. (1384). *Minhāj al-Muslim*. Dār al-Turās.
- [9] Langer, R., & Simon, U. (2008). The Dynamics of Orthodoxy and Heterodoxy. *Dealing with Divergence in Muslim Discourses and Islamic Studies*. *Die Welt Des Islams*, Vol. 48, 273–288.
- [10] MacEoin, D. (1990). Orthodoxy and Heterodoxy in Nineteenth-Century Shi‘ism: The Cases of Shaykhism and Babism. *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 110(2), 323–329. JSTOR. <https://doi.org/10.2307/604537>.
- [11] Schrode, P. (2008). The Dynamics of Orthodoxy and Heterodoxy in Uyghur Religious Practice. *Die Welt Des Islams*, Vol. 48, 394–433.
- [12] Taylor, J. (1967). An Approach to the Emergence of Heterodoxy in Mediaeval Islām. *Religious Studies*, Vol. 2, 197–210.
- [13] Ülgül, M. (2020). Religion and Empire: Islam as a Structural Force in the Umayyad and the Ottoman Empires. *Novus Orbis: Siyaset Bilimi ve Uluslararası İlişkiler Dergisi*, Vol. 2(2), 111–130.
- [14] Weber, M. (2009). *The theory of social and economic organization*. books.google.com. <https://books.google.com/books?hl=en&lr=&id=G3TYBu6-4G0C&oi=fnd&pg=PT2&dq=%22max+weber%22+conflict+theory&ots=XsQmPHpGE2&sig=YF79lUVht0pS3vmn-HpQ6JQqZwc>