

# *Political Dynamics In The Hadith Transmission: Hadis Scholars And Orientalists' Perspectives*

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**Abstract** – This article aims to explain the political dynamics in the transmission of Prophet's hadith according to hadith scholars and Orientalists. Hadith scholars say that the process of transmitting hadith had been occurred since the Prophet said or did something, or let his Companions do something or they witnessed Prophet's characteristics which were then heard or witnessed by the Companions and then they were conveyed to others or to the next generation, and so on until the hadiths were collected by hadith collectors (*mukharrij*), such as Malik ibn Anas, al-Bukhari, Muslim, Abu Dawud, al-Nasa'i, al-Turmudzi, Ibn Majah. Meanwhile, some Orientalists argue that the process of transmitting hadith happened when the Muslims who lived at the end of the first century of the Hagra, namely (*tabi'in/Successors*) made some hadiths and they relied them on Prophet's Companions and next to the Prophet Muhammad to get legitimacy. This process is known as projecting back. After that, the Successors or other persons spread the hadiths (as common link) so the hadith had many *isnads* then they were conveyed to the next generation and so on until they were recorded by hadith collectors.

Hadith scholars state that the occurrence of hadith transmission which took very long time since the time of the Prophet to the third and fourth centuries of the Hagra involved many narrators (*ruwat al-hadith*) from each generation and led to the emergence of hadith narrators with different the ability, inclination, and backgrounds, as well as the narration of hadiths motivated by the political dynamics among Muslims since the Companions to the Abbasids era. Each political factions such as the Jumhur, Shi'ah, Khawarij, and Mu'awiyah had been involved in producing and spreading false hadiths for the benefit of their groups. According to Orientalists, hadith or sunnah has relationship with politics which can be seen in government administration and general practices during the Companions and Successors era. Some of the Caliphs involved in making hadith by forcing the Muslim Scholars to make hadiths for the benefit of their authorities. Hadith materials had developed in such a large numbers from one generation to the next. Hadith falsification has also occurred due to competition between political opponents, especially during the Umayyad period. The rulers of the Umayyads adhered to secularism so that they were not interested in Islamic matters. They were not interested in fabricating fake hadiths except those related to their interests. The Medina clergy group, according to the Orientalists, were the first to initiate the hadith forgery movement against the Umayyad rulers.

**Keywords** – Hadith, Politics, Narration, Scholars, Orientalist, *Sunnah*.

## I. INTRODUCTION

The discourse on hadith authenticity is one of the most crucial aspects in hadith studies. It is because, the hadith authenticity and authority normatively do not get guarantee from Allah in contrast to the Koran, it is also closely related to the theological views of the majority of Muslims who make the Prophet's hadith as the second main source after the Koran. So, both the authenticity and authority of the Prophet's hadith became the main concern of hadith scholars and Muslims in general throughout the ages since the hadith was delivered by the Prophet.

The transformation of the Prophet's hadiths had appeared since the beginning of Islam when there was a tradition among the Companions narrating somethings that were said or done by the Prophet, especially concerning the public sectors (Rahman,

1996: 150) as well as those relating to the private ones. As a figure, the Prophet became the center of attention, in his capacity as a messenger of Allah in which his behavior and policy contain Islamic teachings (al-Khatib, 1997: 15-16). He had gotten the attention not only because all of his affairs and actions are filled with teachings, but also he was an example and role model for human life. The teachings originated from the revelations of Allah which were revealed to him and the hadiths in the form of words, deeds, decrees, and his characteristics. Meanwhile, the role models and examples of the Prophet, in conveying these teachings, can be seen through his practice in everyday life. He was the first person who practiced the religious teachings that came down to him before being conveyed to others.

However, in the process of transmission, not all hadiths are declared authentic from the Prophet, there are several of them that are doubtful and even confirmed not to have come from him. Hence, it is needed a hadith criticism. The hadith criticism, aimed to trace the authenticity of the Prophet's hadith, by articulating valid and invalid ones, has a very urgent and needed value especially because, in reality, not all hadiths are authentically from the Prophet, there are fabricated or fake hadiths known as *mawdu'* hadiths which were attributed to him. The occurrence of fake hadiths in the Muslim life in some cases, influenced by political factors, especially when the Siffin war broke out between Ali (the fourth Caliph who ruled in 23-40 Hira) and Muawiyah, the governor of Damascus who pretexted of demanding the death of Uthman, the third caliph. Since then, the fake hadiths had appeared and spread among Muslims (al-Siba'i, 1985: 75). Therefore, there is a relationship between the presence of fake hadiths and the messy political conditions that time. This can be seen in the condition of Muslims who were divided into several factions, namely the Shi'ah, Khawarij, Jumhur, and Mu'awiyah factions, each of whom, to justify their stance and political group jargon, they made fabricated hadiths.

The issue of hadith transmission and forgery, which was initially motivated by political factors, did not only attract the attention of hadith scholars as the 'responsible' party for preserving and safeguarding the Prophet's hadiths from falsification, but also spark the attention of Orientalists in assessing the authenticity and originality of the hadith. Although with different motives, backgrounds and methods, hadith scholars and Orientalists try to trace certain hadiths which they think are problematic and deserve to be reviewed.

This discussion is interesting based on the following considerations: Firstly, the hadith of the Prophet is the second source of Islamic teachings after the Koran which its truth should not be doubted. How can a source be used as a reference if it is wrong or its truth is doubtful. If the source is wrong, then it cannot lead to the truth, while Islamic teaching is intended to bring its people from darkness (mistakes, wrongness, disbelief, and so on) to light (truth, goodness, and faith) (the Koran, 2 : 257). Secondly, the validity and authenticity of the Prophet's hadith need to be questioned, especially after the occurrence of falsification of hadith among Muslims which was initially triggered by political problems after the Siffin War occurred during the caliphate of Ali ibn Abi Talib (died 40 Hira). This incident, not only caused division among Muslim community into several factions, but also caused the Prophet's hadiths not all were authentic from the Prophet but were mixed with fake hadiths made up by irresponsible people at the time. Here, we can see how political arrangements had influenced the existence of hadith as a source of Islamic teaching, even though this had been anticipated by hadith scholars. Thirdly, historical facts show that in conveying his message, the Messenger of Allah was not merely a Prophet and Messenger, but also a head of state in Medina. Even though the state was not the goal of his leadership so that the Prophet was not known as a king, emperor, or sultan, Medina was organized as a state and this became an effective means for the continuation of the Prophet's da'wa. As a community that lived in a country, the people of Medina certainly could not be separated from political life, in the sense that the community was regulated based on the rules that being applied in the country.

## **II. METHOD**

The data in this study are analyzed using several methods. Firstly, the descriptive-analytical method is carried out by presenting the data as they are and then analyzing and interpreting them. According to Surakhmad (1982: 1390), the descriptive method is applied not only to data collection and compilation, but also to data analysis and interpretation. This method is used in explaining the history of political development among classical Muslims, the history of the development of hadith transmission, and the influence of political dynamics on the development of hadith transmission among Muslims. Secondly, content analysis method, namely the analysis of a text contents, by classifying the signs used, using criteria as a basis for classification, and using certain analytical techniques to make predictions (Muhadjir, 1992: 76). This method is specifically used to study the existence of hadith transmission according to hadith scholars and Orientalists. Thirdly, the historical method is used by studying the historical

data of Muslims during the classical period, namely the time of the Prophet, *al-Khulafa' al-Rashidun*, the Umayyads and the Abbasids in relation to the political dynamics and hadith transmission activities at that time.

### **III. RESEARCH RESULTS AND DISCUSSION**

#### **Political Dynamics and Hadith Narration according to Hadith Scholars**

The hadith of the Prophet was narrated for a very long time started when the Prophet was still alive until the next few generations when the hadith was recorded by many collectors (*mukharrij hadith*) such as al-Bukhari, Muslim, Abu Dawud, al-Nasa'i, Ibn Majah, al-Turmuzi, Malik ibn Anas, Ahmad ibn Hanbal, etc. Therefore, the hadith was narrated during the Prophet time, the *al-Khulafa' al-Rashidun*, the Umayyad, and the Abbasid periods for about three centuries. Since the transformation of hadith was carried out by human, namely the narrators of hadith (*ruwat al-hadith*), the human dimension cannot be separated from this transmission activity. A Human besides as an individual is also social being whose live always associate and interact with other human both in the social, economic, political, cultural, and other fields. Likewise the narrators of hadith, besides narrating the hadiths of the Prophet, they also lived together and socialized with other human. In such condition, there are interaction and influence between individuals or groups among them. Moreover, in narrating the hadith, they did not only intend to convey the hadith to others but also at the same time to preach Islam, to spread Islam to various parties and even various regions. In addition, the transmission of hadith which was carried out for a very long time, involved several generations and dynasties with different types and forms of policies.

Such conditions resulted in the influence of interaction and hegemony of life including the political atmosphere which affected the narration of hadith over a long period of time, because not all hadith narrators were in good condition and trustworthy (*thiqah*), some of them carried out activities that irresponsible and contrary to Islamic teachings, by making fake hadiths attributed to the Prophet. Therefore, the quality of hadith narrators is not the same, some are trusted so that their narration can be accepted and some are unreliable so that the hadiths should be rejected. It can be said that there is a relationship between the narration of hadith and the dynamics of politics among Muslims, even though the hadith narrators did not intend to mix politics with the hadiths of the Prophet.

The process of transmitting hadith, according to hadith scholars, uses symbols of transmission known as '*ada al-tahammul wa ada' al-hadith*' such as *haddathana, haddathani, akhbarana, akhbarani, anbaana, anbaani, 'an, qala, sami'tu and sami'na* and so on. At first, the hadiths were conveyed by the Prophet, then passed down from generation to generation until they were recorded by hadith collectors. Clearly, the process of transmitting hadith began at the time of the Prophet which was then conveyed to one or several Companions to Successors and to one or several of their Successors, to the next generation, and so on until it reached the collectors of hadith. The transmission of the hadith was carried out successively starting with the transmission of the words of the Prophet to his Companions and therefore the first narrator in each *muttasil* hadith (continued to the Prophet) was a Companion.

This process can be applied to both *ahad* and *mutawatir* hadiths. However, the difference is that if an *ahad* hadith is conveyed by the Prophet to one or several Companions, *mutawatir* hadith is conveyed to many Companions at once. That is, when the hadith was delivered by the Prophet, the Companions simultaneously listened to and memorized the hadith. Likewise in the process of subsequent transmission, the Companions conveyed the hadith to the Successors (*tabi'in*) in large numbers. By the the Successors, the hadith was conveyed to many next Successors (*tabi' al-tabi'in*), and so on until it reached a large number of hadith collectors (*mukharrij*). Thus, *mutawatir* hadith narrations were carried out by many people in each rank of *isnad (tabaqah)* from the time of the Prophet to the time of hadith collectors such as al-Bukhari, Muslim, Ahmad ibn Hanbal, Abu Dawud, Ibn Majah, al-Nasa'i, al- Tirmidhi, and so on.

Although at first time, there was no direct correlation between hadith narrations, especially hadiths that were considered authentic (*sahih* and *hasan* hadiths) and political issues, but since the occurrence of political disputes among Muslims during the time of 'Ali ibn Abi Talib (died 40 H.), almost all aspects of their lives were contaminated by this political problem, including the transmission of fake hadiths which were influenced by the political climate that was occurring at that time. In such conditions, a correlation can be seen between the transformation of hadith, which demands validity and authenticity, and the process of transmission and even fabrication of fake hadiths which involve various aspects such as sects, chauvinism, individual cults, or group and sect fanaticism.

During the Umayyad era, political dynamics were seen in the efforts of the Mu'awiyah supporter group to seek normative justification derived from the arguments of the Koran and/or sunnah. Initially, they were looking for arguments for verses of the Koran that could be interpreted to support their political path, but the efforts to find arguments for these verses failed because they encountered many memorizers of the Koran who consistently defended the truth of its purity. Then they turned to looking for hadiths that could be interpreted for their benefit, but they also failed. Because of that, they took shortcuts by making fake reports that could confirm the path and political stance they took. Since then, many fake hadiths have appeared which relate to the interests of the Mu'awiyah group, both directly related to their position and to privileges that support the assumption of Mu'awiyah's superiority and his political leadership (al-Khatib, 1998: 240).

In addition, according to al-Khatib (1998: 240), this fake (*mawdu'*) hadith narration was intended as a part of engineering framework for the defense of the political faction supporting Mu'awiyah to defend and seek support for the correct political attitudes and policies they carried out and to reject the attitudes of opposing party's policies. The next goal of making fake hadith is to raise the image of truth and kindness of the supporters and figures of the Mu'awiyah political faction. To make a variation, they try to reveal the superiority of several other Prophet Companions, who were mentioned in the history related to Mu'awiyah. This is meant to prevent them from being accused of lying by other parties, even though it is still an act of their individual subjectivity which is very bigoted and stupid.

Some of the fabricated hadiths related to the interests of the Mu'awiyah group, can be divided into two forms. Firstly, the hadiths related to political power. These *mawdu'* hadiths tend to show Mu'awiyah's position in front of the Prophet and Allah, even though the information about this position does not explicitly tell the legitimacy of his political leadership. The target of its contents is to legitimize Mu'awiyah's political leadership towards Muslims. Secondly, the hadiths related to personal privileges. These hadiths usually tend to reveal the privileges and personal advantages possessed by Mu'awiyah directly, which come from God, both regarding status, morals, origins, and function as a Companion of the Prophet (Najib, 2001: 96).

The transmission of hadith from the Mu'awiyah faction does not automatically indicate that everyone who close to Mu'awiyah, whether involved or not in his administration, must have made hadith. This can be understood because Mu'awiyah was one of the Prophet's Companions who lived during the Companions and Successors era. Mu'awiyah himself narrated many authentic hadiths from the Prophet spread in six books of hadith (*al-kutub al-sittah*). Likewise, the Companions and Successors who were close to Mu'awiyah were not necessarily involved in making hadiths, because as stipulated in the science of hadith, there is a rule: *kull al-sahabah 'udul* (all the Companions of the Prophet are believable ('*adil*'), which means they were trustworthy (*thiqah*) and their hadiths are acceptable (Idri, 2022: 257-258). Thus, even though Mu'awiyah's party is known to have fabricated fake hadiths, it does not mean that all of their narrations cannot be accepted. Many narrators belong to the Mu'awiyah group, but their hadiths are valid. The making and transmission of fake hadiths is only done by irresponsible people, who sell religion for their political interests.

Besides the Mu'awiyah faction, the Shi'ah group was also involved in making and transmitting fake hadiths which had political implications. Shi'ah was a political faction that was very hostile to the Mu'awiyah and the Umayyads in general. They were a group of people who faithfully followed Ali ibn Abi Talib in particular and established the rights of the Imamate and the Caliphate for 'Ali because they based on the provisions of the texts and the will of the Prophet Muhammad either openly or secretly and believed that the right of the Imamate could not come out of the children or sons of 'Ali. If the right to the Imamate has been out, it means that this right was obtained unjustly and must be dealt with *taqiyah* by 'Ali and his followers (al-Shahrastani, 1991: 146).

The Shi'ah believe that the Prophet had appointed 'Ali to be a caliph. Therefore, the right of the caliphate is in his hand and his descendants, not others. This is based on the provisions of the Prophet's will. The caliphs who had held the caliphate before 'Ali had usurped 'Ali's rights because 'Ali's caliphate rights began on the first day of the Prophet's death. The actions of the caliphs who seized 'Ali's rights were because they did not want to see 'Ali holding it (Jalli, 1988: 151). For the Shi'ah, imamate is the basis principles of religious teachings (*asl min usul al-din*) so that faith is imperfect if someone does not believe in imamate and just as it is obligatory to believe in monotheism and prophecy, believing in imamate is also an obligatory (al-Muzaffar, 1982: 65). Dialectically, they say that the imamate is a continuation of this prophetic mission. The duties and functions of prophetic (*nubuwwah*) which carry God's message to be conveyed to humans are followed by the duties and functions of the imamate. Therefore, God's obligation to send Messengers is the same as the obligation to appoint imams (al-Muzaffar, 1982: 66).

In terms of narration of hadith, there is a certain tradition among Shi'ah that is not common among Sunnis hadith scholars. For hadith scholars, hadith is defined as everything originating from the Prophet, such as words, deeds, decrees, physical and psychological characteristics, and his life history before or after being sent as a Prophet (al-Khatib, 1998: 19). Among the Shi'ah scholars, hadith is everything coming from the imam of Ahl al-Bayt, because everything coming from them is the same as everything coming from the Prophet and it is a proof for humans that must be followed. For them, the hadith includes the sayings of every infallible imams, their deeds and decrees. So, the hadith in their terms is the words, deeds and decrees of the Prophet Muhammad as well as of the imams of Shi'ah (al-Salus, 1997: 123) which are free from error.

The difference in views and beliefs between the Sunni and Shi'ah hadith scholars have resulted that the hadiths conveyed by the Shi'ah being declared false by the Sunni hadith scholars because the hadiths did not only come from the Prophet Muhammad but also from the Shi'ah imams. For hadith scholars, the hadith must originate from the Prophet and was conveyed by him when he was still alive and then transmitted from generation to generation and then compiled by the collectors (*mukharrij*) of hadith such as al-Bukhari, Muslim ibn al-Hajjaj, Abu Dawud, al-Tirmidhi, Ahmad ibn Hanbal, Malik ibn Anas, al-Nasai, Ibn Majah, and so on in their hadith books. Meanwhile, the news conveyed by Shi'ah imams is not hadith, but the words of ordinary people which do not contain any legal substance like the hadiths of the Prophet. Besides that, dealing with the Koran, the Imams are also the same as the Prophet Muhammad in explaining, limiting absoluteness, and specifying its generality. Their narrators also forbade practicing the *zahir* (explicit) of Koran because they do not take guidance except from the information of their imams. The imams, according to them, are sources of Islamic teachings independently because they have inspirations the same as the revelations to the Prophet (al-Salus, 1997: 124).

Various group, political, and ideological interests have encouraged the Shi'ah to fabricate and transmit false hadiths. As seen in history, during the reign of the Umayyads and the Abbasids, the Shi'ah were in a marginal position, they were oppressed, fought and insulted. The attitude of the Umayyads who carried out ethnic cleansing against Shi'ah by killing men and children, making their women as slaves, forcing everyone to curse Ali especially in Friday sermons, Eid al-Fitr, and Eid al-Adha throughout the country, and fabricating fake hadiths to reduce Ali's dignity to the lowest level (Hashem, 1989: 49), clearly offended the Shi'ah. Therefore, the Shi'ah put up a fight either through war or other means such as by creating fake hadiths. There are three forms of making fabricated hadiths by the Shi'ah. Firstly, the Shi'ah people who have heard a hadith then make it again by adding text or subtracting it. Secondly, the Shi'ah people who have never heard hadith narrations but they try to deceive Imam Ja'far al-Sadiq in that narration by saying, "Ja'far said, he said Fulan said." Thirdly, the ordinary and stupid Shi'ah people who say that what they want can include anything reasonable or unreasonable (Ibn al-Jawzi, 1983, I: 338).

The fabrication of fake hadiths among Shi'ah is influenced by two factors, namely external factors through the entring of the Islamic enemies such as Zindiks into Islam and the migration of liars and wicked people into the Shi'ah school of thought. Also internal factors that are influenced by their thoughts and beliefs (Fallatah, 1981, I: 247). The concept that later become Shi'ah political beliefs as described above is included in the second factor. Based on this political belief, Shi'ah people always try to realize the Prophet's will that Ahl al-Bayt, according to their perspective, should hold the imamate so that the actual Islamic government can be realized as desired by the Prophet.

The political dynamics relating to the transmission of hadith was also seen in the Abbasid period. During this dynasty, Muslims achieved very rapid progress in various fields. The influence of the advanced nation cultures such as Greece, India and Persia had not only brought progress in the fields of general science such as medicine, mathematics, astronomy, philosophy, literature, chemistry, history, state administration, ethics, etc., but also in religious knowledge sciences such as *tafsir* (interpretation) which had used two methods of interpretation from the first time, namely the *tafsir bi al-ma'thur* and the *tafsir bi al-ra'yi*, the science of *fiqh* (Islamic jurisprudence) through the emergence of imam mazhab (the leaders of Islamic jurisprudence schools) such as Abu Hanifah (700-767 AD), Malik ibn Anas (713-795 AD), al-Shafi'i (767-820 AD), and Ahmad ibn Hanbal (780-855 AD) (Yatim, 2000: 56-57).

In the field of hadith, the writing and codification of hadith which had been started since the time of Umar ibn Abd al-Aziz (99-101 H) developed rapidly in the Abbasid period. Hadith codification activities carried out especially during the al-Ma'mun period until the end of the third and the beginning of the fourth century namely in the al-Muktadir period by selecting the hadiths. The emergence of this selection period was due to the fact that during the codification period it had not been separated between the hadiths originating from the Companions (*mawquf* hadith) and Successors (*maqtu'* hadith), as well as the hadiths originating from the Prophet (*marfu'* hadith). Likewise, several *da'if* (weak) hadiths did not be separated from the valid ones. In

fact, there were also *mawdu'* (false) hadiths mixed with the valid hadiths. Therefore, hadith scholars wrote many hadith books. The hadith books compiled during this selection period were numerous, such as *Sahih al-Bukhari* by al-Bukhari, *Sahih Muslim* by Muslim ibn Hajjaj, *Sunan Abi Dawud* by Abu Dawud, *Sunan al-Tirmidhi* by al-Tirmidhi, *Sunan al-Nasa'i* by al-Nasa'i, *Sunan Ibn Majah* by Ibn Majah, *Sunan al-Darimi* by al-Darimi, and *Sunan Sa'id ibn al-Mansur* by Sa'id ibn al-Mansur (Azami, 1977: 101-102).

The attitude of the Abbasid rulers towards hadith, its transmission, and codification was quite good. When the Caliph al-Mansur (754-775 AD) met Malik ibn Anas during the pilgrimage, he asked him to make the book *al-Muwatta'* which was written in 144 H. as a state law source (al-Khawli, 2018: 35), although Malik later refused it. In al-Mansur's period, the fabricated hadith makers had also been hanged, as experienced by Maysarah ibn Abd Rabbih. As stated by Abd al-Rahman ibn Mahdi, Maysarah once claimed that he had made hadiths about the benefit of reason and the benefit of reading Koranic verses (Ibn al-Jawzi, 1983, I: 176). When being asked, where he got the hadiths about the reward of reading the Koranic verses, he replied, "I made the hadith so that people enjoy reading the Koran" (Ibn al-Jawzi, 1983, I: 241). Maysarah was sentenced to be hanged beside for his confessing to making as many as 124,000 hadiths also for being accused of belonging to the Zindik group.

Al-Mahdi (775-785 AD), one of the caliphs of the Abbasids, showed a rather lenient attitude. For example regarding the case of Ghiyath Ibn Ibrahim al-Nakha'i who wanted to please the caliph. According to al-Khatib (1997: 216-217), at the time of the Umayyads there was no one who made hadith to get closer to the ruler. This category of hadith only occurred during the Abbasid period. Precisely, when caliph al-Mahdi gathered ten hadith experts, among them Ghiyath ibn Ibrahim, and when he asked them to convey hadiths, even though he knew that al-Mahdi likes to race pigeons, Ghiyath conveyed a fake hadith as follows: "From Abu Hurayrah that the Messenger of Allah said, "There are no competitions except archery, fencing, horse racing or flying of birds." The word "or flying a bird" at the end of the hadith *matn* was made by Ghiyath to please al-Mahdi. Knowing Ghiyath's intention, al-Mahdi gave him ten thousand dirhams taken from the state treasury. Eventhough knew that Ghiyath was lying about the Prophet, al-Mahdi ignored it and even ordered his dove to be slaughtered.

The Khawarij, Shi'ah, and Mu'awiyah faction are relatively small groups of people compared to the total population of Islamic society. These three factions have been recorded in history, because of their role in opposition to the legitimate caliph, which had an impact on the formation of political factions, political thought, so that they became part of Islamic political treasures. Outside of the three factions, there was an Islamic community which was the majority called *jumhur al-Muslimin*, namely a majority of Muslim community who were loyal to the leadership of all legitimate caliphs, namely caliphs Abu Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthman, and 'Ali ibn Abi Talib. This majority community was then called *Ahl al-Sunnah* or *Ahl al-Jama'ah* (Fallatah, 1981, I: 251).

The *Jumhur Muslimin* group was the majority of Muslim community who justified the entire process and decision to appoint *al-Khulafa' al-Rashidun*, and they were loyal to the caliphs. This group did not commit treason against the leadership of the caliphs, obeyed all orders and programs carried out by them, and did not agree with the decisions of the splinter group against the caliphs. From here, this majority group served as a buffer for the stability of the leadership of each caliphs. In other words, they functioned as a dynamist as well as a stabilizer for the state from all forms of shocks carried out by minority groups such as Shi'ah, Khawarij, or the Mu'awiyah faction. However, in the midst of the persistent spirit of defending the leadership of Muslim community, there were certain people among the majority group who had traits that are detrimental to themselves. This group was called *juhala'* (stupid people) and wicked people, and also the people whose faith was weak (Abu Zahw, 1984: 97). They were often trapped in fanatical attitudes defending the legitimate of caliphates and in order to fight the splinter groups, that was a reactive attitude from the fanaticism of groups opposing the unity of Muslim community.

### **Political Dynamics and Hadith Narration according to Orientalists**

The Orientalists have different views from the hadith scholars regarding the process of transmitting hadith among Muslims. The process of transmitting hadith, according to Joseph Schacht, an influential Orientalist who was born in Rottburg (Sisille) Germany, on March 15, 1902 AD, can be seen in the theory of projecting back he initiated. The theory is the backward projection theory, namely attributing the opinions of the second and third century of Hira scholars to the scholars or figures before them until the Prophet. Schacht as the originator of this theory illustrated his theory by the existence of Iraqis who attributed their opinions to Ibrahim al-Nakha'i (d. 95 Hira) and to gain stronger legitimacy, these opinions then attributed to figures who had higher level authority, for example to Abd Allah ibn Mas'ud (one of Prophet Companions), and at the last stage,

these opinions were attributed to the Prophet Muhammad (Yakub, 2004: 22). This is the reconstruction of hadith *isnad* formation according to Schacht, namely by projecting these opinions to legitimate figures who lived before them (Schacht, 1964: 31-32). Through this theory, Schacht concluded that the series of narrators contained in the hadith are form of engineering by taking popular figures in each era (Darmalaksana, 2004: 117).

The projecting back theory is the conclusion drawn by Schacht from the premises he made regarding the origins of Islamic law. The premise is that Islamic law did not exist at the time of al-Sha'bi (died 110 Hira). This premise leads to a conclusion that if there were hadiths related to Islamic law, then those hadiths were made by people after al-Sha'bi (Schacht, 1959: 149). Schacht believes that Islamic law had only been known since the establishment of judicial institutions and the appointment of *qadis* (religious judges). Around the end of the first Hira century (c. 715-720 AD), the appointment of *qadis* was aimed at "specialists" coming from religious circles. Because their numbers increased, they eventually developed into a group of classical jurists (Yakub, 2004: 23). According to Schacht, they who issued fatwas which were later claimed to be hadiths of the Prophet.

The legal decisions given by the *qadis* required legitimacy from those who had higher authority. Therefore, they did not attribute these decisions to themselves, but to previous figures. For example, the Iraqis attributed their opinions to Ibrahim al-Nakha'i (died 95 AH). In subsequent developments, the opinions of the *qadi* were not only attributed to previous figures who were close by, but even to earlier figures, such as Masruq. The next step, to gain stronger legitimacy, then these opinions were attributed to the people who had higher authority, for example Abd Allah bin Mas'ud. In the final stage, these opinions were attributed to the Prophet Muhammad. This is the reconstruction of the formation of the hadith *isnad* by projecting the opinions of later people, which later known as projecting back or backward projection theory (Yakub, 2004: 23).

The essence of the projecting back theory is the conclusion that there are no hadiths that really came from the Prophet and therefore all hadiths contained in hadith books or other books are fakes, as he stated: "We shall not meet any legal tradition from the Prophet which cannot be considered authentic" (Schacht, 1959: 149). Schacht openly stated that there are no hadiths that really came from the Prophet, so ones should not believe in its existence and even if there are the authentic ones and can be proven, the number of the hadiths is very small. Thus, according to the projecting back theory, the process of transmitting hadith did not start from the Prophet as stated and believed by hadith scholars and Muslims in general. According to hadith scholars, the process of transmitting hadith began when the Prophet conveyed his hadiths which were then accepted by his Companions and passed on to the next generation and so on until the hadiths were recorded by the hadith collectors (*mukharrij*). According to the projecting back theory, the hadith did not originate from the Prophet but it originated from the Successors such as Ibrahim al-Nakha'i and others. Since Ibrahim al Nakha'i's statement was considered to be less legitimate as a basis of Islamic law, this opinion was based on one of the Prophet's Companions such as Abd Allah ibn Mas'ud. Like Ibrahim al Nakha'i, the authority of Abd Allah ibn Mas'ud also being doubted in relation to Islamic law. Therefore, the hadith then based on the Prophet. So, according to this theory, the process of transmitting hadith began with the words of the Successors which were then passed on to the Companions and then backed up to the Prophet. Thus, the hadith was not something coming from the Prophet either in words, deeds, provisions, or characteristics, but rather Successors words that occurred at the end of the first or early second century of the Hira.

In the transmission process, there was someone who spread the hadith so that it was widely known and narrated. This person is known as a common link. Common link is a term for a hadith narrator who heard a hadith from an authoritative person and then forwarded it to a number of students who in turn most of them broadcasted again to two or more of their students. The narrator is the first narrator (the oldest narrator) referred to in the *isnad* (chain of narrators) who transmits hadith to more than one student (Juynboll, 1990: 295-296). So, a common link is a narrator who in an *isnad* firstly conveys a hadith, usually one person, to several subsequent narrators and continues to spread so that the hadith is narrated by many people at various levels (*tabaqah*) of their *isnad*. The narrators who become common links usually come from the *tabi'in* (the second generation in hadith narration) or *tabi' al-tabi'in* (the third generation in hadith narration) (Idri, 2013: 252). It is rare that the common link occurred for a Companion or Prophet. Therefore, the Prophet's traditions historically did not come from the Prophet or his Companions but from the Successors and the next Successors. This reinforces Juynboll's idea about the chronology of hadiths that the hadiths ending in the Successors are older than the hadiths ending in Companions and in turn the hadiths that end in Companions are older than hadiths that end in the Prophet (Masrur, 2007: 4). Therefore, according to the common link theory, from a historical point of view, the hadith of the Prophet originates from the Successors and the next Successors, not from the Companions or the Prophet (Idri, 2013: 252).

The common link theory departs from the basic assumption that the more lines of transmission that meet or leave certain narrators, the greater the moment the narration has a historical claim, in the sense that the truth of the hadith can be accounted for historically. Juynboll (1994: 153) stated, "The more transmission lines come together in one transmitter, either reaching him or going away from him, the more this transmitter and his transmission have a claim to historicity." On the other hand, if a hadith is narrated from the Prophet through one person (Companion) to another person (Successor) and then to another person (next Successor) which eventually reaches a common link, and after that the *isnad* path is branching outward, the history of the single track cannot be maintained (Juynboll, 1990: 296-297). In other words, a hadith that is narrated by many narrators through many *isnad* channels can be accounted for as true historically, in contrast to a hadith which is only narrated by one person (as a common link), even though the next *isnad* route is narrated by many narrators and so on up to the collectors of hadith, then the existence of the hadith is doubtful.

Thus, according to Orientalists, the process of transmitting hadith began during the Successors' period at the end of the first and early second centuries of the Hira because of questions from Muslims to their figures (*qadis*), especially in the field of *fiqh* (Islamic jurisprudence), which were then answered by these figures in the form of statements which were later called hadith. To gain stronger legitimacy, the statement was based on the Prophet's Companions, and to make it even stronger, it was leaned on the Prophet (projecting back). Furthermore, the statement (hadith) by the the Successors either conveying the statement or someone else (common link) is distributed to the next generation until it is recorded by the collectors of hadith. Therefore, according to them, the transmission of hadith began during the Successor and the next Successor periods and before that time hadith did not exist either during the time of the Prophet or the time of the Companions.

In relation to politics, Schacht (1964: 30-31) stated that *sunnah*, in the context of Islam, originally had a political rather than a legal connotation; denotes the wisdom and administration of the caliph. The question whether the administrative actions of the caliphs Abu Bakr and Umar should be seen as binding precedents, perhaps this issue arose at the time of the appointment of Umar and dissatisfaction with the wisdom of the third caliph, Uthman, which led to his assassination in 35 AH /655 AD, because he was accused of deviating from the wisdom of the previous caliph, implicitly deviating from the Koran. In this connection, the concept of the *sunnah* of the Prophet emerges, which has not been identified with a number of positive rules, but provides a series of doctrinal links between the *sunnah* of Abu Bakr and Umar ibn al-Khattab and the Koran. The earliest evidence that is certainly authentic for the use of the term *sunnah* of the Prophet is the letter of Abd Allah ibn Ibad, the leader of the Khawarij addressed to the Umayyad Caliph, Abd al-Malik about 76 AH/695 AD. The same term has a theological connotation, which is accompanied by an example of rebuke, is contained in Hasan al-Basri's treatise addressed to the caliph Abd al-Malik. This definition of *sunnah* was introduced into Islamic legal theory which is thought to have taken place at the end of the first century of Hira by Iraqi scholars.

Thus, according to Schacht, the hadith and *sunnah* of the Prophet cannot be separated from the political phenomena that occurred in the early days of Islam when *al-Khulafa' al-Rashidun* ruled which can be seen in the policies and state administration including the appointment of Umar ibn al-Khattab as caliph by Abu Bakr who are not selected through the formation team. Likewise the case that happened to Uthman ibn Affan who chosed his relatives to become state officials so that he was disliked by many people and caused a rebellion which resulted in Uthman being killed. Such actions, according to Schacht, show that there is a connection between the *sunnah* of the Companions and the political problems that occurred at that time.

That the *sunnah* is not only related to the Prophet but also to his Companions was also stated by Nabia Abbott. According to her, the word *sunnah*, which sometimes uses the plural form (*sunan*), is not only limited to the conduct of the Prophet, but also applies and is used for Companions such as Abu Bakr and Umar ibn Khattab, who have positions in the caliphate government. In terms of its function and position, *sunnah* is more specifically interpreted as a legal practice rather than as an answer or solution to some life activities. Abbott (1967: 7) stated, "The term *Sunnah*, which frequently alternates with the plural *sunan*, is not limited to the examples or conduct of Muhammad but applies also to at least the caliphs Abu Bakr and Umar I and to a number of outstanding men who held high office under these three heads of state. The sunan is question refer not to general activities in any phase of life whatsoever but to specific fields of administrative and legal practices." According to Abbott (1967: 7), the relationship between the term *sunnah* and political phenomena can be seen in three aspects. Firstly, *sunan* is the plural form of *sunnah*. The term *sunnah* is not only limited to what the Prophet Muhammad did and practiced, but also includes something that was practiced by the two Companions after him; Abu Bakr and Umar. Secondly, the word *sunnah* also includes matters relating to



government administration and legal practices. Thirdly, the word *sunnah* also relates to government documents that contain instructions, guidance, and directions, for newly conquered areas or provinces.

In term of hadith connection to politics, Ignaz Goldziher said that the caliph Malik ibn Marwan carried out the narration and even fabrication of hadith in order to strengthen his governmental position, who stated that the hadith came from Abu Hurayrah from the Prophet, he said, "Do not travel except to three mosques, namely the al-Haram mosque, Nabawi mosque, and al-Aqsa mosque" (al-Salih, 1988: 37). This hadith is authentically narrated by, among others, al-Bukhari (2011, II: 60). According to Goldziher, Malik ibn Marwan, a caliph of the Umayyad dynasty in Damascus, was worried that Abd Allah ibn Zubayr, the governor who proclaimed himself as a caliph in Mecca, would take an opportunity to ask allegiance (*bay'at*) of the people of Sham who were going to perform the pilgrimage. Therefore, he tried to prevent them from going on a pilgrimage to Mecca and instead simply making a pilgrimage to Qubbah al-Sakhrah in al-Quds, by ordering Muhammad ibn Shihab al-Zuhri to make the hadith (Azami, 1980: 456-457). The mention of al-Aqsa Mosque in the hadith above indicates that hajj can be performed not only in Mecca and Medina but also in Palestine's al-Aqsa Mosque (Qubbah al-Sakhrah). This, according to Goldziher, was suggested by Malik ibn Marwan so that Muslims would make the pilgrimage to Bayt al-Maqdis instead of Mecca so that they would not pledge allegiance to Abd Allah ibn Zubayr who at that time proclaimed himself as a caliph there. Goldziher claimed that Malik ibn Marwan had ordered Muhammad ibn Shihab al-Zuhri to produce this hadith. Malik attempted to get people to perform hajj at Qubbah al-Shakhra in Palestine instead of going on pilgrimage to Mecca. He also issued a decree that the tawaf around al-Shakhra is the same value as the tawaf around the Ka'bah. For this political purpose, according to Goldziher, he entrusted a hadith expert, namely Muhammad ibn Syihab al-Zuhri, to make a hadith that its chain of transmission goes back to the Prophet and circulate it among the people so that it can be understood that there are three mosques that can be used for pilgrimage, namely the mosque in Mecca, the mosque in Medina and the mosque in Palestine (Azami, 1980: 456-457, Idri, 1917: 158). At that time there was indeed a war between the Umayyad government and the Shi'ah group led by Abd Allah ibn Zubayr.

However, Ignaz Goldziher's accusation on al-Zuhri's falsification of the hadith above was denied by Azami (1980: 457). According to him, there is no historical evidence to strengthen this accusation because on the one hand the hadith is narrated with 19 *isnads* including al-Zuhri and al-Zuhri's birth is still disputed by historians between 50 H. and 58 H., and he never met Abd Malik ibn Marwan before 81 H. On the other hand, in 68 H., the people of the Umayyads dynasty were in Mecca performing the hajj, Palestine in that year was not yet under the rule of the Umayyads (Malik ibn Marwan), and the construction of the Qubbah al-Sakhrah began in 69 H. (at that time al-Zuhri was between 10 and 18 years old) and it was completed in 72 H. Therefore, it is impossible that Abd Malik ibn Marwan intended to divert Muslims from making the hajj at Mecca to Palestine and it is also impossible that al-Zuhri created a fake hadith between the ages of 10 and 18 years.

#### IV. CONCLUSION

The process of transmitting hadith according to hadith scholars is that the Prophet said or did something (*qawli* and *fi'li* hadith) or let a Companion did something (*taqriri* hadith) or a Companion witnessed the characteristics of the Prophet (*ahwali* hadith). Everything relating to the Prophet were heard or witnessed by his Companions. Then they conveyed it to other Companions or to the Successors and the the Successors conveyed it to the next Successors and so on until the hadiths were collected by hadith collectors in their hadith books. Meanwhile, according to some Orientalists, the process of transmitting hadith was the Successors who lived at the end of the first century of Hira made fake hadiths and then they relied them on the Companions and then the Prophet Muhammad to get legitimacy. This process is known as projecting back. Then the Successors or other people spread the hadith (as common link) so that the hadith has many *isnads* and then it was conveyed to the next generation and so on until the hadiths were recorded by hadith collectors in their respective books. Some Orientalists claim that the transmission of hadiths took place during the time of the Prophet, but in the middle of the journey a large-scale transmission occurred which resulted in a large number of *isnads* (explosive *isnad*) making it difficult to distinguish between the valid and the fake ones.

The political dynamics in hadith transmission according to hadith scholars can be explained as follows: Firstly, the occurrence of hadith transmission which took very long period from the time of the Prophet to the third and fourth centuries of Hira involved many narrators (*ruwah al-hadith*) from each generation and this led to the emergence of hadith narrators with different abilities, inclinations, and backgrounds. This includes the narration of hadiths that are motivated by political dynamics occurred among Muslims from the time of the Companions to the Abbasids. Secondly, the fabrication and transmission of hadiths

caused by political dynamics were intended as justification and legitimacy by producing or transmitting hadiths that supported one's group and bring down other political groups. Thirdly, each of the Muslim majority, Shi'ah, Khawarij, and Mu'awiyah faction had been involved in producing and spreading the false hadiths for the benefit of their groups. Fourthly, the deviation in narrating hadith above had been anticipated by the Muslim scholars in various ways such as by transmitting *isnad* of hadith, codifying hadith, establishing the criteria of valid, *hasan*, *da'if* and *mawdu'* hadiths, as well as increasing scientific activities and research on hadith both in the first, second, third, and fourth centuries of Hira.

In Orientalists perspective, political dynamics have colored the transmission of hadiths among Muslims. Firstly, they claim that there is a relationship between hadith, sunnah, and politics which can be seen in government administration practices and general practices during the time of the Companions and the Successors. Secondly, they claim that the caliph was involved in making hadith by forcing the Muslim scholars to make hadith for the benefit of the authorities. Thirdly, they state that hadith material had developed in such a large quantity from one generation to the next. The development of the number of hadiths is due to the creativity and innovation of recent generations in making hadiths based on sentiment and the interests of legitimacy against their rivals in political, theological, and legal (*fiqh* schools). Fourthly, they state that hadith falsification had occurred due to competition between political opponents, especially during the Umayyad period. Fifthly, they claim that the Umayyad rulers adhered to secularism so that they were not interested in Islamic matters. They were not interested in fabricating fake hadiths except those related to their interests. Thus, the Medina clergy group was the first to initiate the hadith forgery movement against the Umayyad rulers.

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