

KUFAN HADITH TRANSMITTERS AND GEOPOLITICS IN EARLY PERIOD OF ISLAM

Novizal Wendry,* *Abdul Majid*,** and *Susilawati****

* Universitas Islam Negeri Imam Bonjol Padang, Indonesia

** Institut Agama Islam Negeri Samarinda, Indonesia

*** Marmara University, Turkey

E-mail: novizalwendry@uinib.ac.id

Abstract

This article discusses the hadith transmitters involvement in Kufa politic dynamic in the early time of Islam Period, which was experiencing a long range of social turmoils. These turmoils occurred from 40 H/661 AD until the end of the Umayyad dynasty in 125 H/743 AD. This article adopts a historical approach to conceive of the dynamic of politics among the hadith transmitters. This research revealed that the hadith transmitters built the city of Kufa. The behavior related to discrimination toward the opponents and the disappointments on the Umayyah Dynasty triggered many rebellions such as al-Ḥusayn ibn ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib, Ibn al-Zubayr, Mukhtār al-Thaqafi, al-tawwābūn, and Zayd ibn ‘Alī. These turmoils involved Sa’d ibn Abī Waqqās and al-Mughīrah ibn Shu‘bah. We argue that the hadith transmitter influenced the hadiths they narrated. Based on the investigation of the two hadith contents that they narrated indicated that they took the side of the Mu‘āwiyah Dynasty and ‘Alī’s followers as the opponents.

Artikel ini mendiskusikan keterlibatan sejumlah periwayat hadis dalam dinamika perpolitikan di Kufah pada masa awal Islam yang menimbulkan gejala sosial masyarakat berkepanjangan. Gejala ini terjadi mulai dari tahun 40 H/661 M hingga penghujung Dinasti Umayyah tahun 125 H/743 M. Tulisan ini mengadopsi pendekatan historis untuk memahami

dinamika politik di antara para periwayat. Riset ini menemukan bahwa kota Kufah dibangun oleh sahabat yang sebagian periwayat hadis. Perlakuan diskriminasi terhadap oposisi dan kekecewaan mereka terhadap Dinasti Umayyah menimbulkan beberapa gelombang pemberontakan seperti al-Ḥusayn ibn ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib, Ibn al-Zubayr, Mukhtār al-Thaqafī, al-tawwābūn, dan Zayd ibn ‘Alī. Gejolak ini melibatkan periwayat seperti Sa’d ibn Abī Waqqāṣ dan al-Mughīrah ibn Shu‘bah. Kami berargumen bahwa afiliasi periwayat politik berpengaruh terhadap hadis yang diriwayatkannya. Berdasarkan investigasi terhadap dua konten hadis yang mereka riwayat menunjukkan indikasi keberpihakan mereka terhadap penguasa Mu‘āwiyah dan oposisi pengikut ‘Alī.

Keywords: *hadith transmitter; geopolitics; Kufan society*

Received: October 1, 2020; Accepted: December 13, 2020

Introduction

The issue of the hadith transmitter complicity in the early Islam period becomes an interesting topic to discuss. It related to the theory that no text came free of historical context (Roibin 2018, 132; Ridho 2019). Indeed, this aspect should be related to their credibility in the attempt of narrating the hadith besides the authenticity. Meanwhile, the Sunnī school held that all Prophet’s companions were credible (*‘adūl*), they were individually reliable (Ibn ‘Alī 1993). There is a need to specify the topic into a more micro case, such as what could be found in Kufa, an ideal city of Islam and became the center of economy and science development under the Umayyah Dynasty.

To this research concern, Schacht and Dickinson viewed Kufa on how the local transmitters became the main object of hadith critics, which were mainly identified as Hijazian school (Dickinson 2001; Schacht 1950). In a different view, Hind and al-Zubaydī had formulated the Kufa social stratification that consisted of Arabian aristocrats (*ashrāf al-qabā’il*), slaves, former slaves (*mawālī*), *khawārij*, and followers of ‘Alī (al-Zubaydī, 1970; Hind, 1971). Jabali responded it by focusing his work to map the lay of the companions who migrated to Kufa because of Islam, *hijrah*, and *jihād* (Jabali, 2010). In a more specific context, Nadia explains female transmitters complicity, such as ‘Āishah and Asmā’ bint Abū Bakr in politic and

contributes to the contents of the hadith she narrated (Nadia 2017). Barzegar, Hansu, Holtzman, Abu-Alabbas et al. explore socio-political dynamics related to the transmission of hadith in early Islam (Abu-Alabbas 2017; Barzegar 2015; Baugh 2017; Hansu 2016; Holtmann 2014; Holtzman 2018; Liew 2019). Ulum, in his doctoral research, proves from the other side that political alliances affect the acceptance or rejection of a hadith. He emphatically stated that the traditions that support the ruler tend to be accepted and vice versa (Ulum 2019).

Considering those researches above, there is an urgency to conduct a further track on the Kufa geopolitics and the hadith transmitters. The purpose of this research is to examine the theory that the Kufa is “the city of insurgents” there were many transmitters involved. The author reconstructs it diachronic in the form of the historicity companion’s migration to Kufa and the political dynamics during the Umayyads period in Damascus. Furthermore, this article traced two hadith transmitters of Kufa; Sa’d ibn Abî Waqqâş and al-Mughîrah ibn Sa’d. This investigation was intended to prove that their alignment with the Umayyad rulers influenced the content of the hadiths they narrated.

This research is categorized as a qualitative research taking the data sources from library. The primary data was acquired from classic Islam history literature such as *Kitâb al-Ṭabaqât al-Kabîr fî al-Kûfiyyîn* by Ibn Sa’d (230/845), *Kitâb Futûḥ al-Buldân* by al-Balâdhûrî (278-279/892), *Târîkh al-Ṭabarî* written by al-Ṭabarî (310/923), *Murûj al-Dhahab* written by al-Mas’ûdî (345/956), *Mu’jam al-Buldân* written by al-Ḥamawî (626/1229), and *al-Kâmil fî al-Târîkh* written by Ibn al-Athîr (630/1233). Data of Kufa’s sociohistories was inventoried and categorized according to this theme’s needs based on specific periods, then analyzed on historical explanation (Kaelan 2005; Kuntowijoyo 2008).

The Kufa Historicity and Transmitters Migration

According to Jabali, there were 335 Prophet Muhammad’s companions migrated and stayed in Kufa (Jabali 2010, 331-91). In terms of hadith the companions’ role is as the first listener who transmitted the messages, saw, and directly watched the prophet. They (the companions) were responsible for teaching the prophetic custom, in the new place that had been covered by Muslim troops. Kufa is located along the Euphrat river, 10 kilometers far from Najaf city. In different lini, it is laid 162 kilometers far from Bagdad and 6 kilometers from Hîrah. Kufa is also noted 16 2/3

mile squares wide or equals to 43.17 kilometres (al-Ḥamawī n.d., vol. 4, 490; al-Zubaydī 1970, 36).

Before Islam, Kufa was familiar in common. It was only a small place in Babylonia, Iraq. It became more well-known after Islam came, under ‘Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb. A classic historian, al-Ḥamawī stated that the name “Kufa” was used after Islam control this city. He added that the “Kufa” taken from a hill name, *Kūfāna* recognized in Arabian poetry, *ra’aytu kūfānan wa kūfāna*. However, another idea also confirmed this was a place where many people got together from many places, so that people call it part (*qit’ah*) of a country (al-Ḥamawī n.d., vol. 4, 490–91).

Kufa was mainly controlled by Islam troops in 17/639 led by Sa’d ibn Abī Waqqāṣ (d. 55/674) (Haider 2011, 3). He was one of the prophet companions beside transmitters of the hadith as recorded in *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* and *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*. This big historical event happened after Muslim troops conquer the capital city of Sassanid in al-Madā’in and Basra. Al-Zubaydī explains that this was inhabitant with no one lived there (al-Zubaydī 1970, 21). Ibn Khaldūn (d. 808/1406) tell that it was hard for the soldiers to deal with the geographical condition of Iraq, especially at the beginning time of the expansion and this makes Sa’d told what his soldiers complaint to ‘Umar by saying “*wa al-‘Arab lā yuwāfiqūhā min al-bilād illā mā yuwāfiqū ibluhā*” (The Arabian cannot adapt to an area where their camels cannot adapt). Then, they tried to find a more supporting place, fertile, with water supply and unextreme. They search the place along Iraq to find a strategic place to save their war tools and guns. After finding the place, they started to build houses and warehouses (al-Amīn 2002, vol. 20, 44; Ibn Khaldūn 1992, vol. 2, 524–25).

Another information explains that Sa’ad occupied al-Madā’in as the rest area for him and the troops. The messengers report the current condition to ‘Umar in Medina. The significant change of their body shape wondered ‘Umar. The messengers replied “*wa khūmat al-balad qad gayyaratnā*” (land condition has made us changed). ‘Umar asked them to find a more feasible place and suitable for the Arabian troops until they finally found Kufa. Kufa was the second city to be built in Iraq after Basra (al-Amīn 2002; Ibn Khaldūn 1992).

Based on the land condition, Kufa was a strategic place against all trade corners (*multaqā al-turuq*), making this place the center economy activities and easier for the troops to surrounding areas. It was a gate to

Persia, helping the troops prepare themselves if they wanted to go for the next expansion. By considering this condition, they make Kufa as the barrack of Muslim troops (*qayrawân*) (Jafri 2007). Considering the fertility and the friendly climate, the caliph proposed the city to be the center of the new conquered centre city of migration with the Muslim citizen. ‘Umar called it as *dâr al-hijrah* (al-Balâdhurî n.d.). Obviously, most of the companions were the hadith transmitters moving to this city.

As the second conquered city after Basra, Kufa was regarded as the Islam model city (*qubbat al-Islâm*). Once upon a time, ‘Umar and ‘Alî wrote a letter to Kufa people, called *ra’s al-‘Arâb wa jamjamatuhâ* (Ibn Sa’d 1909, vol. 6, 3), Jafri called as the genuine Islam metropolitan city (Jafri 2007). Besides, since there was still a few people who lived in this city, it was easy to control by the sovereign. A governor managed Kufa. According to al-Sha‘bî and some other sources, some companios becoming a governor in Kufa were Abû ‘Ubaydah al-Thaqafî, Sa’d ibn Abî Waqqâs, ‘Ammâr ibn Yâsir, al-Mughîrah ibn Shu‘bah, al-Walîd ibn ‘Uqbah, Abû Mûsâ al-Ash‘arî, ‘Imârah ibn Shihâb, Ziyâd ibn Abîhi, al-Ḍaḥḥâk ibn Qays, al-Nu‘mân al-Bashîr, Muslim ibn ‘Uqayl, ‘Ubayd Allâh ibn Ziyâd, al-Ḥajjâj ibn Yûsuf al-Thaqafî, Khâlîd ibn ‘Abd Allâh al-Qasrî, and Yûsuf ibn ‘Umar. They officiated as the authorized caliphs (al-Balâdhurî n.d., vol. 2, 343; Ibn Sa’d 1909, vol. 6; 7, 12, 15, 35, 36; al-Ṭabarî 2003, vols. 2; 3, 71, 831; al-Ṭabrânî 1983, vol. 20, 367).

The Politic Turmoil in Kufa: al-Ḥusayn ibn ‘Alî

The historical background of choosing al-Ḥusayn ibn ‘Alî as the caliph was not the same as the previous caliphs. They were appointed as the support of both *muhâjirîn* and *anṣâr* companions. According to Hitti, it was the first form of Islam republic in history because the leader was appointed by involving all Arabian clans (Hitti 2013, 229). On the other way, Mu‘âwiyah appointed as the Damascus caliph after *Ṣiffin* war agreement. Mu‘âwiyah appointed his son Yazîd as the crown prince who would replace his position. He perpetuated his power by running the legacy system. This led some circles to become unsatisfied, especially the ex ‘Alî’s followers.

Al-Ḥasan, Muhammad’s grandson, is one of the hadith transmitters from ‘Alî’s descendant. After the death of ‘Alî, he was appointed to a caliph to replace his father position for five and a half month. Al-Ḥasan gave the authority to Mu‘âwiyah in 41/661 because of being apprehensive with the

current Islam condition who experienced discord (Hitti 2013, 236; Ibn al-Athîr 2006, 3). He appointed Mu'âwiyah as like people in Suriah appointed Mu'âwiyah. Historically, this moment was recorded as the year of unity recovery—*'âm al-ijtimâ'* (Sou'yb 1977, 15). Those who followed al-Ḥasan refuse to choose Mu'âwiyah even later they agreed. Al-Ḥusayn, his brother, was one of those who disagreed. He proposed a protest since he thought that al-Ḥasan forgot their father murder incident. Al-Ḥasan convinced his brother and thought that he understood more about Mu'âwiyah (Ibn al-Athîr 2006, 5-6).

Al-Ḥasan passed away in 49/669 after being poisoned by one of his wife, Ja'dah bint al-Ash'ath ibn Qays al-Kindî on the Mu'âwiyah demand (al-Mas'ûdî, 2005, vol. 2, 6). The assassination attempt was done in several time, because Mu'âwiyah had been worrying if the throne turned back to the *shûra* council. As quoted by Hashem from Ibn Ḥajar that one of the agreements between al-Ḥasan and Mu'âwiyah stated that Mu'âwiyah were not allowed appointed his son as the caliph, but the election must be authorized by *shûra* council which examined the conventional way in Khalifah *râshidûn* era (Hashem 1989, 52).

The 'Alî followers expected would be appointed and replaced his brother as the caliph as Mu'âwiyah had promised. On the other side, Mu'âwiyah thought that it is important to a figure of the next caliph. This change would trigger a struggle for power if he did not intervene the election. This remained him to the turmoil after 'Alî killed. To respond this case, he proposed his son, Yazîd, to be the caliph. His son's appointment as the crown prince was run as the new tradition in the Islam leadership and never been practiced in the prophet and *râshidûn* caliph period. A letter written by Mu'âwiyah in 55, noticed that Mu'âwiyah want to do polling about the next caliph candidate through Marwân ibn al-Ḥakam (Ibn al-Athîr, 2006, vol. 3, 99-100; Nashiruddin and Suwirta 2020).

The Sham people, as the basis of Mu'âwiyah, approved the appointment. However, the main leaders such as Ibn Abî Bakr tried to reproach the Mu'âwiyah decision in proposing his son in his response to Marwân ibn al-Ḥakam suggestion and accusing Mu'âwiyah of being liars who continued the Heracles tradition, Heraclius used to be replaced by the next Hareclius. The same rejection was also addressed by 'Âishah, al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alî, Ibn al-Zubayr, 'Abd Allâh ibn 'Umar, and 'Abd al-Raḥmân ibn Abî Bakr who did not agree to this appointment (Ibn al-Athîr 2006, vol. 3, 100; Samarjani and Nia 2015).

Before his death, Mu'āwiyah remind Yazîd for being careful of the three leaders; al-Ḥusayn, Ibn al-Zubayr and Ibn 'Umar (Ibn al-Athîr 2006, vol. 3, 120, 127; Hagler 2013; Buana 2020). This worry was reasonable because he had been knowing much about them, and they hardly refuse for Yazîd appointment to be the crown prince. Yazîd was named the successor of the Mu'āwiyah caliph in Rajab in 60 AH. As predicted by Mu'āwiyah, the people of Hijaz rejected Yazîd. The force behind this rejection were three main figures, as mentioned by Mu'āwiyah. The rejection also came from the Iraq people. They pledged allegiance to al-Ḥusayn or Ibn al-Zubayr more than Yazîd in Damascus (al-Ṭabarî 2003, vol. 3, 1012; Ikhsan 2013; Kasdi 2015).

After listening to the rejection, Yazîd sent the troops under al-Walîd ibn 'Utbah to make the Hijaz leaders willing to pledge allegiance. Ibn 'Umar submitted to the messenger of Yazîd and was willing to pledge allegiance if others also pledged allegiance (al-Ṭabarî 2003, vol. 3, 1010; Ibn al-Athîr 2006, vol. 4, 14, 17). Al-Ḥusayn and Ibn al-Zubayr considered to reject it and moved to Mecca. This attitude was followed by Mecca citizens who stand behind al-Ḥusayn and Ibn al-Zubayr reject to allegiance Yazîd.

'Abd Allâh ibn Muṭî' met al-Ḥusayn and express his loyalty. He asked for the futher steps. Al-Ḥusayn answered, "I am going to go to Mecca now, after that I want to do *istikhârah*". Ibn Muṭî' remind al-Ḥusayn going Mecca is almost similarly arrived in Kufa. He added the Kufan are guiles, the place where his father 'Alî was killed (Ibn al-Athîr 2006, vol. 3, 132). At the same time Sulaymân ibn Şurad, one of the Kufan leaders, such as Rifâ'ah ibn Shaddâd to Ḥabîb ibn Muṭahhir to discuss the Kufan desire to pledge of allegiance al-Ḥusayn since they feel reluctant to Yazîd. They agreed to invite al-Ḥusayn come to Kufa by sending a letter to through 'Abd Allâh ibn Sab' al-Ḥamdânî. Two days later, the Kufans sent two messengers with 150 letters to support al-Ḥusayn to join them in Kufa.

Al-Ḥusayn replied to the letter through his cousin Muslim ibn 'Uqayl. He read the al-Ḥusayn letter to the people of Kufa:

أما بعد، فقد فهمت كل الذي اقتصصتم، وقد بعثت إليكم أخي وابن عمي وثقتي من أهل بيتي مسلم بن عقيل، وأمرته أن يكتب إلي بحالكم وأمركم ورأيكم، فإن كتب إلي أنه قد اجتمع رأي ملائكم وذروا الحجي منكم على مثل ما قدمت به رسلكم أقدم إليكم وشيكا إن شاء الله، فلعمر ما الإمام إلا العامل بالكتاب والقائم بالقسط والدائن بدين الحق والسلام

“I really understand what you are telling me. For this reason, I sent my cousin Musim ibn ‘Uqayl and I ordered him to monitor your conditions and desires. It has also arrived (news) to me about the condition of your area (Kufa) as conveyed by your delegation, therefore, I sent a messenger to you, for the sake of Allah will give a fair witness and carry out the duties properly, respectfully” (Ibn al-Athîr, 2006, vol. 3, 133).

There were many of Kufan concerned and be full of hope when they know the letter message. The Muslim people had success to gather twelve thousand people of Kufa and declared their support for al-Ḥusayn to be the caliph as Mu‘āwiyah successor (al-Ṭabarî 2003, vol. 3, 1010). Meanwhile, the Umayyah authority for Iraq, Nu‘mân ibn Bashîr could not handle the situation. According to al-Ṭabarî, Nu‘mân partisans prefer obeying to disobedience toward Allah command. Nu‘mân then delivered to Yazîd and it caused a fire. Yazîd appointed ‘Ubayd Allâh ibn Ziyâd as the lord of Kufa who were in charge as Basra’s governor. ‘Ubayd Allâh used a strategic way to handle the turmoils of Kufa who pledged al-Ḥusayn by killing Muslim ibn ‘Uqayl, the emissary of al-Ḥusayn (al-Ṭabarî 2003, vol. 3, 1011).

In Mecca, al-Ḥusayn heard the news about the Kufa pledge of allegiance from a messenger, Muslim ibn ‘Uqayl. It drove him to go to Kufa. Some companions tried to stop him; Ibn ‘Abbâs, Ibn ‘Umar, and Ibn al-Zubayr warned him that it was only guile and told him what happened to ‘Alî, his father. Even Ibn al-Zubayr declared his loyalty if al-Ḥusayn were willing to be the caliph and persuaded people in Hijaz to have the pledge of allegiance on him (Sou’yb 1977, 55–56; al-Ṭabarî 2003, vol. 3, 1025). This advice could not cancel his desire going to Kufa. Finally, al-Ḥusayn and his group decided to join the Kufan.

On the other side, ‘Ubayd Allâh ibn Ziyâd seat 2000 armies under al-Ḥurr ibn Yazîd al-Tamîmî command. Al-Ḥusayn knew his entourage is in danger. After doing a negotiation, he suggested his man who wanted to go back to Mecca to immediately arrive in Mecca (al-Ṭabarî 2003, vol. 3, 1031). On the other side, al-Ḥusayn believed that his travel to Kufa was for a peaceful mision and not for war. Al-Ḥusayn and his group were stopped by ‘Ubayd Allâh under al-Ḥurr ibn Yazîd al-Tamîmî. He thought that Yazîd wanted to deceive by carrying a small number of troops with more troops behind. Al-Ḥusayn hoped can influence al-Ḥurr to support him without

realizing that Iraq forces were in a difficult condition. They are under the ‘Ubayd Allāh ibn Ziyād clutches, but they still acknowledged al-Ḥusayn pledge of allegiance (al-Ṭabarī 2003, vol. 3, 1026).

Both al-Ḥusayn and al-Ḥurr did meet compromise, and al-Ḥusayn was required to go back to Medina. ‘Ubayd Allāh ibn Ziyād instructed al-Ḥurr pressing al-Ḥusayn to move to a dry land called Karbala. In his own prediction, al-Ḥusayn brought 4000 additional armies from Mecca. At that time, al-Ḥusayn could recognize his position and offered three options; provided an opportunity to safely return to Hijaz, provide an opportunity to meet Yazīd in Damascus, or draw a line of defense in an equal way. Due to the rejection, al-Ḥusayn was murdered in Karbala (Kroes 2016; al-Ṭabarī 2003, vol. 3, 1027). All of the group members were also killed, except women and children. Al-Ḥusayn head was beheaded and taken along with women and children, ‘Alī Zayn al-‘Ābidīn to Governor Ibn Ziyād in Damascus.

The Rebellion of ‘Abd Allāh ibn al-Zubayr

‘Abd Allāh ibn al-Zubayr is the son of al-Zubayr ibn al-‘Awwām, a prophet companion. He is an ‘Alī follower who died in Ṣiffīn war. He had a close relation with the Hijaz people. His mother is Asmā’ bint Abī Bakr, the ‘Āishah brother in law. His grandmother—Zubayr ibn al-‘Awwām’s mother—is Ṣafiya bint ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib, the prophet’s aunt. He was one of the Hijaz leaders from the prophet’s companions has strong authority in rejecting the Yazīd pledge of allegiance as the caliph (the successor of his father). Ibn al-Zubayr was one of those who prevent al-Ḥusayn ibn ‘Alī to go to Kufa, which were ended by al-Ḥusayn death in Karbala. He was the first baby born at the first year of Hijrah (al-Dhahabī 2001, vol. 3, 363–64; al-Bukhārī n.d., vol. 1, 9).

Ibn al-Zubayr lived for five generations in the period of Umayyah (Mu‘āwiyah, Yazīd, Mu‘āwiyah II, Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam and ‘Abd al-Mālik ibn Marwān). He did not take an oath of allegiance to the last four caliphs. Indeed, after al-Ḥusayn was killed, he announced himself as the caliph. The death of al-Ḥusayn and his troops had triggered the Hijaz people anger. Ibn al-Zubayr used this opportunity and caused the revocation of the oath of allegiance to the people of Hijaz toward Yazīd (al-Ṭabarī 2003, vol. 3, 1060; Ilhan 2018). He proclaimed himself the caliph and got the oath of allegiance from the Hijaz people and followed by the Yemeni and the South Arabian.

The Hijaz Umayyah governor, Marwân ibn al-Ḥakam, who would later become the Umayyad caliph, could not contain the atmosphere in the Hijaz. Marwân ibn al-Ḥakam, later become the Umayyad caliph, could not contain the Hijaz situation. With his successor ‘Uthmân ibn Muḥammad, he left Mecca (al-Ṭabarî 2003, vol. 3, 1063). Yazîd, the caliph, heard this news and sent ‘Utbah, the moslem commander to handle the situation in Hijaz. The ‘Utbah troops (64 H/685 AD) was intercepted by ‘Abd Allâh ibn Ḥanḏalah, Amîr Medina version of Ibn al-Zubayr until a battle broke out. ‘Abd Allâh ibn Ḥanḏalah could be defeated. On the way to Mecca, Muslim ibn ‘Utbah passed away and replaced by his vice al-Ḥuşayn ibn al-Namîr. Ibn al-Namîr was successfully press Ibn al-Zubayr and besiege around the Ka‘ba (60 H). Ibn al-Zubayr’s armies used the hills between Safa to Marwa as a fort. The defend system created Ibn al-Zubayr was very strong and could withstand Ibn al-Namîr for not entering Mecca for 40 days. Ka‘ba was the becoming the target of Ibn al-Namîr armies, causing the walls in the north and southeast along with the roof to fall a part. At the same time, the cloth cover of Ka‘ba was burned (Ibn al-Athîr 2006, vol. 3, 1064, 1069, 1070; al-Ṭabarî, 2003, vol. 3, 2003).

The Attack on Ibn al-Zubayr in Mecca was the first military aggression by Bani Umayyah. The failed attack, done by Ibn al-Namîr in conquering Mecca and the death of Yazîd in Damascus happened at the same time (64 H/683 M). Ibn al-Zubayr knew about the death caliph earlier than Ibn al-Namîr and his armies. He shouted that the caliph has passed away to make Ibn al-Namîr stop his attack. He told Ibn al-Zubayr to follow him going to Damascus in a whisper. Promising that he would get the oath of allegiance on Ibn al-Zubayr as the caliph, but Ibn al-Zubayr attempted a rejection and divulged the offer. Ibn al-Namîr’s armies went back to Damascus, and Ibn al-Zubayr made some renovation on the Ka‘ba (Ibn al-Athîr 2006, vol. 4, 207). The rejection of the oath of allegiance toward Yazîd was continued with his rejection of his son Mu‘âwiyah ibn Yazîd who run the reign for three months. When Mu‘âwiyah ibn Yazîd been oathed by the people of Sham in 64 H, Zubayr then been oathed the people of Hijaz. The Mu‘âwiyah ibn Yazîd successor, Marwân ibn al-Ḥakam was busy of the Kufan complain on the al-Ḥuşayn death in 65 H. The Umayyah intention in defeating Ibn al-Zubayr was realized when ‘Abd al-Mâlik was becoming the caliph of Umayyah.

‘Abd al-Mâlik knew how Ibn al-Zubayr forces the pilgrims visit Mecca every year (started from 64-72H) to pledge of allegiance him as the caliph.

He planned a strategy to subdue Ibn al-Zubayr by empowering his position in Sham and Egypt. In 71 H / 691 AD, ‘Abd al-Mâlik succeeded in conquering Iraq and entered Kufa, and conquered Basra and appointed Khâlid ibn ‘Abd Allâh as his vice. Ibn al-Zubayr brother, Maṣhab ibn al-Zubayr was killed in the battle. While Muhallib ibn Abî Ṣafra, Governor of Ibn Zubayr of the Khurasan region, conquered and counter-linked ‘Abd al-Mâlik. ‘Abd al-Mâlik appointed his brother, ‘Abd al-‘Azîz ibn Marwân become the Governor of Egypt and Bashîr ibn Marwân as Governor of Basra (Ibn al-Athîr 2006, vol. 4, 93).

The next step performed by ‘Abd al-Mâlik was forbidding people pilgrimage to Mecca. He built the shrine, the Ismâ‘îl shrine, *qubbat al-Sakhrâh*, in Jerusalem as a place to worship or pilgrimage to replace the pilgrimage to Mecca. The year after (72 AH), he ordered his commander al-Ḥajjâj ibn Yûsuf who was well known for his iron fist to take the Hijaz. The battle between al-Ḥajjâj and Ibn al-Zubayr lasted for six months and seventeen days. Others said it lasted eight months and seventeen days. Ibn al-Zubayr was pushed back and surrounded in the grand mosque courtyard (al-Ṭabarî 2003, vol. 3, 1189-90).

Before his army was defeated, Ibn al-Zubayr met his mother Asmâ’ bint Abî Bakr, she was old and blind. He asked for her advice, to surrender or to fight to the last drop of blood. Asmâ’ advised him:

أنت والله يا بني أعلم بنفسك إن كنت تعلم أنك على الحق وإليه تدعو
فامض له حتى قتل عليه أصحابك ولا تمكنن من رقبتك يتلاعب بها

“For the sake of Allah, O my son, You know better that You are on the right path and call for it so that your followers will be killed, so that the Umayyads will not play with you” (al-Ṭabarî 2003, vol. 3, 1189-90).

Asmâ’ also reminded how al-Zubayr ibn al-‘Awwâm, his father, surrounded the Babylonian fort for months, and he was the first to climb the fort until the Muslim armies could enter and capture Egypt. Ibn al-Zubayr finally returned to his armies and died with his head decapitated by al-Ḥajjâj (73 H/693 AD).

The success gained by Ibn al-Zubayr persisted as an opposed caliph in Mecca in the five periods of the Umayyad Caliphate was causally related with khawarij, incidentally originated from Kufa. In facing Yazîd armies in

Medina and Mecca, the khawarij was brave as troop (Wellhausen 1958, 75). Later, Ibn al-Zubayr appointed al-Muhallab ibn Abî Şafrah as the Governor of Khurasan. He placed Muşhab ibn al-Zubayr (his brother) as governor of Kufa until 71/691.

The *Tawwâbûn* Rebellion

Tawwâbûn was the incooperation of those who were highly loyal to ‘Alî ibn Abî Ṭâlib lived in Kufa and had a solidarity action on the killing of al-Ḥusayn in the event of Karbala. They argued that most of Kufan were naive, the tribes leaders, invited al-Ḥusayn to Kufa to be appointed as guardians or caliphs, but when al-Ḥusayn and his entourage were ambushed and massacred in Karbala, none of them helped. For this reason, they feel guilty and want to repent by making sacrifices to break their mistakes by naming *tawwâbûn*, people who repent (al-Ṭabarî, 2003, vol. 2, 189).

The *tawwâbûn* movement began by organizing one hundred al-Ḥusayn followers. Most of the members are above sixty years old. The movement was led by Sulaymân ibn Surâd al-Khuzza‘î, the prophet companion. Ibn Surâd was supported by four tribe leaders, Fuazah, al-Uzd, Bakr and Bajilah. Based on Wellhausen's notes, none of these four leaders were originally a Yemenis. Their effort was to hold a routine recitation on Friday at Ibn Surâd's house and listen to their doctrine in surah al-Baqarah verse 54 (al-Ṭabarî 2003, vol. 2, 189).

This ayat was used as the foundation of their struggle by acknowledging the existed tyranny, namely inviting al-Ḥusayn and leaving it in Karbala, then repenting at the expense of themselves. This action was firstly carried out clandestinely until the death of Yazîd ibn Mu‘âwiyah. When Yazîd passed away, many Umayyad subordinate areas broke free because the successor Mu‘âwiyah ibn Yazîd was too young and weak. This opportunity was taken by ‘Abd Allâh ibn al-Zubayr by invading Iraq and sending ‘Abd Allâh ibn Yazîd al-Anşârî as guardian to Kufa.

The *tawwâbûn* warriors realized this condition, the Kufa residents and the leaders did not fully pledge ‘Abd Allâh ibn al-Zubayr. The hearts of Kufa were partly still loyal to ‘Alî, descendants, and they realized that ‘Abd Allâh ibn al-Zubayr had stolen Alî's inheritance by proclaiming himself as the Caliph of Hijaz. ‘Ubayd Allâh ibn ‘Abd Allâh al-Murrî was succeeded in raising the Kufan feeling of enthusiasm to avenge the death of al-Ḥusayn through his sermon. As a result, the number of *tawwâbûns* had increased to 16.000. Sympathizers' also came from al-Madâ'in and Basra. However, they

had not been on a mission in determining how the sacrifice be made. Some of them this must be accomplished by expelling *ashrâf al-qabâ'il* from Kufa. Others suggested that he directly demand retribution from Umayyah, especially 'Ubayd Allâh ibn Ziyâd who was then the Umayyad Governor in Kufa. *Tawwâbîn* carried out a rebellion executed by Rabi' al-Thâni 65 H a place near the city of Kufa. Surprisingly, there were only 4000 persons present among 16.000 (al-Ṭabarî 2003, vol. 2, 191, 194).

According to Wellhausen, the 4000 were Arabian ethnic from various tribes and most of them were *ḥâfiẓs* (memorizers of the Koran/*qurrâ'*), no one of them from the *mawâlî*. They continued their journey to Karbala, lamenting and acknowledging their mistakes at al-Ḥusayn's grave. This group continued their trip along the Euphrates, until the Sham armies finally destroyed them. Some of them still managed to escape and put deep regret over the mistakes they had made (al-Ṭabarî 2003, vol. 2, 195).

Mukhtâr al-Thaqafi's Rebellion

One of the maneuvers against the Umayyah rule in Damascus was running a movement done by Mukhtâr al-Thaqafi, a figure who claimed to be the founder of the sect of the Shî'a Râfiḍah. According to Ibn al-Athîr, he was once detained by 'Ubayd Allâh ibn Ziyâd while arresting and killing Muslim ibn 'Uqayl in Kufa. He was accused of conspiring with Muslims ibn 'Uqayl, the messenger of al-Ḥusayn to Kufa people. Then 'Abd Allâh ibn 'Umar—his wife was Şafiyah bint Abî 'Ubayd, Mukhtâr's sister—sent a letter to Yazîd to free Mukhtâr (Ibn al-Athîr 2006, vol. 4, 169; al-Ṭabarî 2003, vol. 3, 1097–98). Mukhtâr was released and went to Hijaz to join with 'Abd Allâh ibn al-Zubayr rejecting Yazîd allegiance as the caliph. The event Ibn 'Uqayl killing was the beginning of Mukhtâr's hatred toward Yazîd.

Mukhtâr used the event of the al-Ḥusayn killing to carry out his political efforts. At the beginning, he formed a coalition with Ibn al-Zubayr and took his part in defending the Hijaz from the Yazîd army invasion, which was led by al-Ḥuşayn ibn Numayr. According to Ibn al-Athîr, Mukhtâr showed his skill in fighting and could kill several soldiers. Because he had a dispute with 'Abd Allâh ibn al-Zubayr, Mukhtâr decided to go to Kufa and gained the sympathy of tribes leaders by utilizing the fanaticism of the Kufan towards the descendants of 'Alî. On the way to Kufa, he stopped at the Sakun mosque and greeted the surrounding population by saying,

"أبشروا بالنصرة والفلج أتاكم ما تحبون" (give happy news with help and victory, you have come to your desired people) (Ibn al-Athîr 2006, vol. 4, 171). Those were the ways Mukhtâr took the fanaticism sympathy of the population to the family of 'Alî. Among the tribe leaders involved were 'Ubaydah ibn 'Amr al-Badawî (Bada Tribe) and Ismâ'îl ibn Kathîr (from the Hindun tribe). During a meeting, Mukhtâr preached:

إن المهدي بن الوصي بعثني إليكم أمينا ووزيرا ومنتخبا وأميرا وأمرني
بقتل الملحدين والطلب بدم أهل بيته والدفع عن الضعفاء فكونوا أول خلق
الله بالإجابة

"Verily, al-Mahdî ibn al-Waṣî has sent me to you as a trusted person, wazîr, elected, and 'amîr ordered me to kill atheists and demand the blood of the ahl bayt, to defend the weak. Be all of you first creatures of Allah to accept this appeal!" (Ibn al-Athîr 2006, vol. 4, 172)

All those present pledges of allegiance, Mukhtâr and demand the death of al-Husayn. Mukhtâr's confession was attributed to Muḥammad ibn 'Alî al-Ḥanafiyah, al-Ḥusayn's brother and 'Alî's son from his wife from Ḥanafiyah tribe. Subsequently, Mukhtâr made Kufa the center of his movement. At the same time, Kufa was under the caliph 'Abd Allâh ibn al-Zubayr, with the center of his government in Mecca. Mukhtâr al-Thaqafî succeeded in occupying Kufa in 66/686. Mukhtâr captured and beheaded the perpetrators of the killings of al-Ḥusayn, Ṣammâr ibn Ziljaushan and 'Umar ibn Sa'd. These two heads were sent to Muḥammad ibn 'Alî al-Ḥanafiyah. Thus, at the same time, three camps claimed to be political leaders: the Umayyad camp with a defense base in Damascus, the Ibn al-Zubayr stronghold by taking Mecca as a defense base, and the Mukhtâr al-Thaqafî camp by occupying Kufa as its power base.

The Rebellion of Zayd ibn 'Alî

Zayd ibn 'Alî is the grandson of al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alî ibn Abî Ṭâlib from his son named 'Alî ibn al-Ḥusayn, Imâm Sajjâd. His mother was an *umm al-walad*, a free servant. Shi'a Zaydiyyah considered him an imam so the name of the sect was attributed to his name. He has a good relationship with Abû Ḥanîfah, the fourth Imam in Fiqh (law of Islam). Abû Ḥanîfah had ever

given moral support to Zayd ibn ‘Alī related with his plans for aggression against the Hishām ibn ‘Abd al-Mālik government. Similar support was also given by Abū Ḥanīfah to Zayd’s followers after he was killed by the Hishām army (Ja’fariyan 2004, 819).

This rebellion occurred in Safar 122 H. It was triggered by the accumulation of disappointments over the discriminations of Umayyad Caliphs (Hishām ibn ‘Abd al-Mālik) and the Governor of Kufa (Khālid ibn ‘Abd Allāh Qasrī) against ‘Alī descendants after Karbala. The hatred in the form of a curse was conveyed to the public on Friday Khutbah throughout the Umayyad territories. It was instilled sustainably way and well structured from royal officials to civil society. Zayd’s relationship with the Caliph Hishām ibn ‘Abd al-Mālik began to heat up when he saw Hishām did not rebuke the Christian who insulted the Prophet. On another occasion, the Caliph Hishām once insulted Zayd by saying that he had no right to become a caliph because he came from a descendant of slaves (Ja’fariyan 2004, 758).

Zayd’s arrival in Kufa from Medina was welcomed with joy by Kufan because it was hoped to free the Kufa population, which consisted mainly of former slaves (*mawālī*) and Shi‘ite Muslim followers. They consider Zayd able to lead troops to destroy Damascus troops in Kufa. They see that the power of Hishām in Kufa is small and will not be able to face 100.000 Kufa residents. Especially when Hishām replaced governor Khālid ibn Qisrā with Yūsuf ibn ‘Umar. Zayd did not stay in one house while in Kufa, but moved from one house to another for security reasons. The existence of Zayd is also at the invitation of the Kufa community. Meanwhile, Yūsuf ibn ‘Umar, who was the Governor at that time, did not believe that Zayd was in Kufa because he understood the character of Zayd, who did not want to be involved in political matters. Zayd stayed long in the house of Naṣr ibn Khuzaymah, an influential person at Kufa at the time. Finally, Zayd lived in the house of the Azd woman, whom he married and had three children (Ibn al-Athīr 2006, vol. 5, 492). Zayd said:

إِنَّا ندعوكم إلى كتاب الله وسنة نبيّه صلى الله عليه وسلم وجهاد الظالمين
والدفع عن المستضعفين وإعطاء المحرومين وقسم هذا الفيء بين أهله
بالسواء وردّ المظالم ونصر أهل البيت

“Truthfully, we invite you to return to the Book of Allah and the Sunnah of the Prophet (saw), fight the wrongdoers, defend the

weak, restore the rights of *mahrûmîn*, distribute al-fay' to those entitled to receive it equally, reject the wrongdoers, and help the ahl al-bayt" (Ibn al-Athîr 2006, vol. 5, 233).

The above speech has at least five points beside the reasons for Zayd's rebellion against the Kufa government, and the government has left the main teachings of Islam carried out from generation the generation after, considered to have been injustice by discriminating against non-Arabian, in this case, the *mawâlî* and slaves who were being the majority population in Kufa, did not equally divided the booty, especially for ordinary people, peasants (ahl al-Sawâd), and discrimination toward the minority Shî'a.

Zayd was succeeded in getting the allegiance from 15.000 Kufan, Basra and Mûşal for ten months (Wellhausen 1958, 325). Abû Ḥanîfah, Kufa hadith transmitters, provided moral support to Zayd with the influence he had and donated some money to his troops. Zayd's plan was finally heard by Yûsuf, governor of Kufa. He paid intruders into Shî'a Muslims and claimed to be followers of Shî'a in Khurasan (Ja'fariyan 2004, 763, 766). By the caliph Hishâm command, Yûsuf gathered Kufa's people in the Jamik Mosque on Tuesday, where Zayd planned the uprising on the evening. He forced all of Kufan, without exception under the threat of being killed. Then they were interrogated and forced to divulge the information about Zayd's whereabouts and they were asked to acknowledge the plot of the revolt against Umayyah.

Followed by 218 armies, Zayd came to the Jamik Mosque on Tuesday night 1 Safar 122 H or January 6, 740 AD, release to free up his followers. They surrounded the Kufa Mosque, but Yûsuf's armies safeguarded the mosque with arrows. One by one, Zayd's troops fell, and he was hit by an arrow on his left forehead. Zayd regained consciousness and said to the people of Kufa, "They treat me like they treat al-Ḥusayn." At the same time, Hishâm sent 2.000 troops from Hirah, located 6 kilometers from Kufa (Ja'fariyan 2004, 768). He was rescued from the battlefield, but he died after the arrow was lifted (122 AH) (al-Bukhârî n.d., vol. 3, 403; al-Rub'î 1410, vol. 1, 285). Yûsuf successfully recognized the place Zayd stayed. His body was crucified at Kufa, while his head was sent to Sham and displayed at the Damascus gate, then sent to Medina, crucified, until Hishâm died. Yahyâ, fled to Khurasan when his son still was a child. He lived in Balkh, and was killed in 125 AH at the time Walîd ibn Yazîd in an attack on the remnants of Zayd's followers.

The Involvement of Hadith Transmitters in Kufa Social Turmoils

Hadith transmitters from the companion generation, *tâbi'in*, to *atbâ' al-tâbi'in* were involved in the sociopolitical activities of Kufa. Sa'd ibn Abi Waqqâs as one example, a prophet companion, a formidable warlord who had large authorities in leading the army to discover Kufa. His full name is Mâlik ibn Wuhayb ibn 'Abd al-Manâf ibn Zuhrah ibn Kilâb al-Zuhri (al-'Asqalânî 2003, vol. 1, 235). He was the prophet uncle to be guaranteed to go to the heaven. Sa'd was appointed as governor of Kufa, five years during the caliph 'Umar and six years during the Caliph 'Uthmân. Sa'd's involvement in the politic also indirectly affected the content of the hadith he narrated. In the hadith in *Sunan al-Turmudhî* it is stated:

حَدَّثَنَا قُتَيْبَةُ ، قَالَ : حَدَّثَنَا حَاتِمُ بْنُ إِسْمَاعِيلَ ، عَنْ بُكَيْرِ بْنِ مَسْمَارٍ ، عَنْ عَامِرِ بْنِ سَعْدِ بْنِ أَبِي وَقَّاصٍ ، عَنْ أَبِيهِ ، قَالَ : أَمَرَ مَعَاوِيَةَ بْنَ أَبِي سُفْيَانَ سَعْدًا ، فَقَالَ : مَا يَمْنَعُكَ أَنْ تَسَبَّ أَبَا تُرَابٍ ، قَالَ : أَمَا مَا ذَكَرْتَ ثَلَاثًا قَالَهُنَّ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ فَلَنْ أُسَبَّهُ ، لِأَنْ تَكُونَ لِي وَاحِدَةً مِنْهُنَّ أَحَبُّ إِلَيَّ مِنْ حُمْرِ النَّعَمِ . سَمِعْتُ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ يَقُولُ لِعَلِيٍّ وَخَلْفَهُ فِي بَعْضِ مَغَازِيهِ ، فَقَالَ لَهُ عَلِيٌّ : يَا رَسُولَ اللَّهِ تَخْلُفُنِي مَعَ النِّسَاءِ وَالصِّبْيَانِ ؟ فَقَالَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ : أَمَا تَرْضَى أَنْ تَكُونَ مِنِّي بِمَنْزِلَةِ هَارُونَ مِنْ مُوسَى إِلَّا أَنَّهُ لَا نُبُوَّةَ بَعْدِي ، وَسَمِعْتُهُ يَقُولُ يَوْمَ خَيْبَرَ : لَأُعْطِينَ الرَّايَةَ رَجُلًا يُحِبُّ اللَّهَ وَرَسُولَهُ وَيُحِبُّهُ اللَّهُ وَرَسُولُهُ . قَالَ : فَتَطَاوَلْنَا لَهَا ، فَقَالَ : ادْعُوا لِي عَلِيًّا ، فَأَتَاهُ وَبِهِ رَمَدٌ ، فَبَصَقَ فِي عَيْنِهِ ، فَدَفَعَ الرَّايَةَ إِلَيْهِ ، فَفَتَحَ اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ ، وَأَنْزَلَتْ هَذِهِ الْآيَةَ { فَمَنْ تَعَالَوْا نَدْعُ أَبْنَاءَنَا وَأَبْنَاءَكُمْ } الْآيَةَ ، دَعَا رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ عَلِيًّا وَفَاطِمَةَ وَحَسَنًا وَحُسَيْنًا فَقَالَ : اللَّهُمَّ هَؤُلَاءِ أَهْلِي .

"Qutaybah told us, Ḥatim ibn Ismâ'il from Bukayr ibn Mismâr from 'Âmir ibn Sa'd ibn Abi Waqqâs reported on the authority of his father that Mu'âwiyah ibn Abi Sufyân appointed Sa'd as the governor and said: What prevents you from abusing Abû Turâb ('Alî), whereupon he said: It is because of three things which I remember Allah's Messenger (may peace be upon him) having said about him that I would not abuse him and even if I find one of those three things for me, it would be more dear to me than the red camel. I

heard Allah's Messenger (may peace be upon him) say about 'Alī as he left behind him in one of his campaigns (that was Tabuk). 'Alī said to him: Allah's Messenger, you leave me behind along with women and children. Thereupon Allah's Messenger (may peace be upon him) said to him: Aren't you satisfied with being unto me what Hâron was unto Moses but with this exception that there is no prophethood after me. And I (also) heard him say on the Day of Khaybar: I would certainly give this standard to a person who loves Allah and his Messenger and Allah and his Messenger love him too. He (the transmitter) said: We have been anxiously waiting for it, when he (the Holy Prophet) said: Call 'Alī. He was called and his eyes were inflamed. He applied saliva to his eyes and handed over the standard to him, and Allah gave him victory. (The third occasion is this) when the (following) verse was revealed: "Let us summon our children and your children." Allah's Messenger (may peace be upon him) called 'Alī, Fāṭima, Ḥasan and Ḥusain and said: O Allah, they are my family." (al-Turmudhī 1998, vol. 6, no. 3724, 83)

The content of the above hadith tells about the Sa'd neutrality in facing the conflict lasted between Mu'āwiyah and 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib. Sa'd refused to reproach 'Alī as propagated by Mu'āwiyah when he became caliph. Besides the objective point of view that the Prophet recognized 'Alī's credibility, it was likely due to familial relations, where he was the Prophet's uncle.

This case (Sa'd) was experienced by other Kufan transmitters. Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal told this in his *Musnad* that al-Mughīrah ibn Shu'bah, a companion of the prophet who had been the governor of Mu'āwiyah for four years in Kufa (al-'Asqalānī, 2003, vol. 2, 137). As a companion who is judged as a fair ('ādil), he is known to have condemned 'Alī in Friday khutbah. For this attitude, he was reprimanded by other companions for the same reason, that 'Alī was one of the prophet's ten companions who was guaranteed to go to heaven and was not worthy of being cursed especially in the Friday khutbah.

حَدَّثَنَا مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ جَعْفَرٍ حَدَّثَنَا شُعْبَةُ عَنْ حُصَيْنٍ عَنْ هِلَالِ بْنِ إِسَافٍ عَنْ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ بْنِ ظَالِمٍ قَالَ خَطَبَ الْمُغِيرَةَ بْنَ شُعْبَةَ فَنَالَ مِنْ عَلِيٍّ فَخَرَجَ سَعِيدُ بْنُ زَيْدٍ فَقَالَ أَلَا تَعْجَبُ مِنْ هَذَا يَسُبُّ عَلِيًّا رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ أَشْهَدُ عَلَى رَسُولِ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ أَنَا كُنَّا عَلَى حِرَاءٍ أَوْ أَحَدٍ فَقَالَ النَّبِيُّ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ

اُنْتُبْتُ جِرَاءً أَوْ أَحَدُ فَإِنَّمَا عَلَيْكَ صِدِّيقٌ أَوْ شَهِيدٌ فَسَمَّى النَّبِيُّ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ
 وَسَلَّمَ الْعَشْرَةَ فَسَمَّى أَبَا بَكْرٍ وَعُمَرَ وَعُثْمَانَ وَعَلِيًّا وَطَلْحَةَ وَالزُّبَيْرَ وَسَعْدًا
 وَعَبْدَ الرَّحْمَنِ بْنِ عَوْفٍ وَسَمَّى نَفْسَهُ سَعِيدًا

“Muḥammad ibn Ja‘far had told us, Shu‘ba had told us, from Ḥuṣayn from Hilāl ibn Yisāf from ‘Abd Allāh ibn Zālim said: al-Mughîrah ibn Shu‘bah preached and denounced ‘Alî, then Sa‘id ibn Zayd stood up and said: Aren't you surprised about this person? He denounced ‘Alî even though I witnessed the Prophet when we were in Hira or Uhud. The Prophet said: "Calm down O Hira' or Uhud, who is above you is a shiddiq or a martyr!" then the Prophet named ten people. "Then Sa‘id mentioned: Abû Bakr, ‘Umar, ‘Uthmân, ‘Alî, Ṭalḥa, Zubayr, Sa‘d, ‘Abd al-Raḥmân ibn ‘Awf, and he mentioned himself Sa‘id” (Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, 1995, vol. 2, no. 1638, 292).

Al-Mughîrah’s unneutrality was based on the involvement of the political elements to Mu‘âwiyah making he was appointed as governor of Kufa. Before the incident, al-Mughîrah also had a negative note that was not revealed by critics of Sunnî hadith (M. Abou El Fadl 2004, 168). When he was the governor of Basra during the Caliphate of ‘Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭab, he used to be imam of the prayers. Abû Bakrah, another companion of the Prophet, was reluctant to share with him because Abû Bakrah and a number of his stepbrothers had witnessed him with a woman who was married to engage in sexual activity, both of them were in one house, without clothes, one of the other bodies pressing and accompanied by heavy breathing. Although then the testimony of Abû Bakrah was not accepted by the session led directly by the Caliph ‘Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭâb because he was unable to testify to their sexual intercourse. Al-Mughîrah’s behavior ethically did not show a credible companion.

Conclusion

The political turmoil that occurred in Kufa influenced the political tendencies of certain hadiths. This can be proven in the content (*matn*) of the hadith he narrated. Al-Mughîrah ibn Shu‘bah for example, narrated a hadith praising the ruler on the one hand and discrediting the oppositions on the other. He was the Governor of Kufa who was appointed by

Mu'āwiyah, took part in denouncing 'Alî in the Kufa public space as in the Friday Khutbah. This finding recommends future researchers to examine the authenticity of observant hadiths suspected of having certain political tendencies.

References

- Abu-Alabbas, Belal. 2017. "The Principles of Hadith Criticism in the Writings of al-Shâfi'î and Muslim." *Islamic Law and Society* 24(4): 311-35.
DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1163/15685195-00244P01>
- Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal. 1995. *Musnad al-Imâm Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal*. Cairo: Dâr al-Ḥadîth.
- al-Amîn, Ḥasan. 2002. "al-Kûfah." In *Dâ'irat al-Ma'ârif al-Islâmiyyah Al-Shi'yyah*, Beirut: Dâr al-Ta'âruf li al-Maṭbû'ât.
- al-'Asqalânî, Ibn Ḥajar. 2003. *Taqrîb al-Tahdhîb*. Cairo: al-Maktabat al-Tawfiqiyyah.
- al-Balâdhurî, Aḥmad ibn Yaḥyâ ibn Jâbir. *Kitâb Futûḥ al-Buldân*. Cairo: Maktabat al-Nahḍah al-Miṣriyyah.
- Barzegar, Abbas. 2015. "Adhering to the Community' (Luzûm al-Jamâ'a): Continuities between Late Umayyad Political Discourse and 'Proto-Sunni' Identity." *Review of Middle East Studies* 49(2): 140-58.
DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1017/rms.2016.35>
- Baugh, Carolyn. 2017. "Revolting Women? Early Kharijite Women in Islamic Sources." *Journal of Islamic and Muslim Studies* 2(1): 36-55.
DOI: <https://doi.org/10.2979/jims.2.1.03>
- Buana, Cahya. 2020. "Al-Akḥṭal's Praise for Yazid bin Mu'wiyah, the Second Caliph of the Umayyad Dynasty (680-683 AD)." *Buletin Al-Turas* 26(2): 221-38.
DOI: <https://doi.org/10.15408/bat.v26i2.14998>
- al-Bukhârî, Muḥammad ibn Ismâ'il ibn Ibrâhîm Abû 'Abd Allâh. *Al-Târikh al-Kabîr*. Beirut: Dâr al-Fikr.
- al-Dhahabî, Shams al-Dîn Abû 'Abd Allâh Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn 'Uthmân ibn Qâymaẓ ibn 'Abd Allâh al-Turkumânî al-Fâriqî al-

- Dimashqî al-Shâfi'î. 2001. *Siyâr A'lâm al-Nubalâ*. Beirut: Mu'assasat al-Risâlah.
- Dickinson, Eerik. 2001. *The Development of Early Sunnite Ḥadīth Criticism: The Taqdima of Ibn Abî Ḥâtim Al-Râzî*. Leiden and Boston: Brill.
- Hagler, Aaron. 2013. "Repurposed Narratives: The Battle of Şifîn and the and the Historical Memory of the Umayyad Dynasty." *Journal of Islamic and Middle Eastern Multidisciplinary Studies* 3(1): 1-27.
- Haider, Najam. 2011. *The Origins of the Shī'a: Identity, Ritual, and Sacred Space in Eighth-Century Kûfa*. Cambridge University Press.
- al-Ḥamawî, Shihâb al-Dîn Abû Yâqût ibn 'Abd Allâh. *Mu'jam al-Buldân*. Beirut: Dâr Ihyâ al-Turâth al-'Arabî.
- Hansu, Hüseyin. 2016. "Debates on the Authority of Hadith in Early Islamic Intellectual History: Identifying al-Shâfi'î's Opponents in Jimâ' al-'Ilm." *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 136(3): 515-33. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.7817/jameroriesoci.136.3.0515>
- Hashem, O. 1989. *Saqifah Awal Perselisihan Umat*. Depok: YAPI.
- Hitti, K. Philip. 2013. *History of the Arab*. Trans. Cecep Lukman Yasin and Dedi Slamet Riyadi. Jakarta: Serambi.
- Holtmann, Philipp. 2014. "A Primer to the Sunni-Shia Conflict." *Perspectives on Terrorism* 8(1): 142-45.
- Holtzman, Livnat. 2018. *Anthropomorphism in Islam: The Challenge of Traditionalism (700-1350)*. Edinburgh University Press. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.3366/j.ctv7n0b7q> (October 20, 2020).
- Ibn 'Alî, Naşîr. 1993. *'Aqîdah Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jamâ'ah fî al-Şahâbah al-Kirâm*. Riyad: Maktabat al-Rushd.
- Ibn al-Athîr, 'Izz al-Dîn Abû al-Ḥasan 'Alî ibn Abî Kirâm Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Karîm ibn 'Abd al-Wâḥid al-Shaybânî. 2006. *al-Kâmil fî al-Târikh*. Beirut: Dâr al-Kitâb al-'Arabî.
- Ibn Khaldûn, 'Abd al-Raḥmân. 1992. *Târikh Ibn Khaldûn*. Beirut: Dâr al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyyah.

- Ibn Sa'd, Muḥammad. 1909. *Kitâb al-Ṭabaqât al-Kabîr fi al-Kûfiyyîn*. Leiden: E.J.Brill.
- Ikhsan, Muhammad. 2013. "Politik Islam: Telaah Historis Monarchisme Mu'awiyah dan Konflik yang Mengitarinya." *Jurnal Al-'Adl* 6(2): 96-109.
DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.31332/aladl.v6i2.202>
- Ilhan, Mehmet. 2018. "Abd Allah Ibn Al-Zubayr and His Career as Caliph." *Rotterdam Islamic and Social Sciences* 9(1): 119-53.
- Jabali, Fu'ad. 2010. *Sahabat Nabi, Siapa, Ke Mana, Dan Bagaimana*. Bandung: Mizan.
- Ja'fariyan, Rasul. 2004. *Sejarah Islam Sejak Wafat Nabi Saw. Hingga Runtuhnya Dinasti Bani Umayyah (11-132 H)*. Jakarta: Lentera.
- Jafri, S.H.M. 2007. *The Origins and Early Development of Shi'a Islam*. Qum: Ansariyan Publication.
- Kaelan, Kaelan. 2005. *Metode Penelitian Kualitatif Bidang Filsafat*. Yogyakarta: Paradigma.
- Kasdi, Abdurrahman. 2015. "Genealogi dan Sejarah Perkembangan Politik Islam." *Addin; Media Dialektika Ilmu Islam* 9(2): 277-308.
DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.21043/addin.v9i2.616>
- Kroes, Richard. 2016. "Karbala: A Battle Revisited." *Medieval Warfare* 6(2): 33-38.
- Kuntowijoyo. 2008. *Penjelasan Sejarah (Historical Explanation)*. Yogyakarta: Tiara Wacana.
- Liew, Han Hsien. 2019. "Ibn al-Jawzî and the Cursing of Yazîd b. Mu'âwiya: A Debate on Rebellion and Legitimate Rulership." *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 139(3): 631-46.
DOI: <https://doi.org/10.7817/jameroriesoci.139.3.0631>
- Lynch, Ryan J. 2015. "Sons of the Muhâjirûn: Some Comments on Ibn Al-Zubayr and Legitimizing Power in Seventh-Century Islamic History." In *The Long Seventh Century: Continuity and Discontinuity in an Age of Transition*, eds. Alessandro Gnasso, Emanuele E. Intagliata, and Thomas J. MacMaster. Brussels: Peter Lang, 251-67.

- M. Abou El Fadl, Khaled. 2004. *Atas Nama Tuhan: Dari Fikih Otoriter ke Fikih Otoritatif*. Trans. Cecep Lukman Yasin. Jakarta: Serambi.
- al-Mas'ûdî, Abû al-Ḥasan 'Alî ibn al-Ḥusayn. 2005. *Murûj al-Dhahab wa Ma'âdin al-Jawhar*. Beirut: Dâr al-Ma'rifah.
- Nadia, Zunly. 2017. "Women Political Participation in the Era of Prophet Muhammad: Study on the Hadith Transmitters of the Women Companions." *AlAlbab* 6(1): 55-76.
DOI: <https://doi.org/10.24260/alalbab.v6i1.608>
- Nashiruddin, Abdul Aziz, and Andi Suwirta. 2020. "Mu'awiyah bin Abu Sufyan: Peletak Dasar Pemerintahan Islam Monarki 661-680 M." *Factum: Jurnal Sejarah dan Pendidikan Sejarah* 9(1): 75-84.
DOI: <https://doi.org/10.17509/factum.v9i1.23085>
- Ridho, Miftahur. 2019. "Peristiwa Tahkim (Polemik Perselisihan Politik dan Implikasinya)." *Humanistika: Jurnal Keislaman* 5(1): 57-71.
DOI: <https://doi.org/10.36835/humanistika.v5i1.147>
- Roibin, Roibin. 2018. "Pembacaan Kontekstual Fazlur Rahman Atas Sunah dan Hadis (Upaya Mendialektikkan Dua Tipologi Pemikiran Tradisionalis Dan Modernis)." *Ulul Albab: Jurnal Studi Islam* 4(2): 127-45.
DOI: <https://doi.org/10.18860/ua.v4i2.6130>
- al-Rub'î, Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allâh ibn Aḥmad ibn Sulaymân ibn Zubur. 1410. *Mawlid Al-'Ulamâ' wa Wafayâtuhum*. Riyadh: Dâr al-'Âṣimah.
- Samarjani, Sadeghi, and Abbasi Nia. 2015. "Military Policies of Muaviyah in the Battle of Siffin." *Journal of Applied Environmental and Biological Sciences* 5(5S): 354-59.
- Schacht, J. 1950. "The Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence." <http://agris.fao.org/agris-search/search.do?recordID=XF2015046593> (April 4, 2020).
- Sou'yb, Joesoef. 1977. *Sejarah Daulat Umayyah I di Damaskus*. Jakarta: Bulan Bintang.
- al-Ṭabarî, Abû Ja'far Muḥammad ibn Jarîr. 2003. *Târîkh al-Ṭabarî*. Beirut: Dâr Ṣâdir.

- al-Ṭabrānī, Sulaymān ibn Aḥmad ibn Ayyūb Abū al-Qāsim. 1983. *Al-Mu'jam al-Kabīr*. Mūṣal: Maktabat al-'Ulūm wa al-Ḥikam.
- al-Turmudhī, Abū 'Īsā Muḥammad ibn 'Īsā. 1998. *Sunan al-Turmudhī*. Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī.
- Ulum, Muh. Babul. 2019. *Genealogi Hadis Politis al-Mu'awiyat Dalam Kajian Islam Ilmiah*. Jakarta: Kemenag RI.
- Wellhausen, Julius. 1958. *Aḥzāb al-Mu'āraḍah al-Siyāsiyyah al-Dīniyyah fi Ṣadr al-Islām; al-Khawārij wa al-Shī'ah*. Cairo: Maktabat al-Nahdah al-Miṣriyyah.
- al-Zubaydī, Muḥammad Ḥusayn. 1970. *Al-Ḥayāt al-Ijtimā'iyah wa al-Iqtisādiyyah fi al-Kūfah fi al-Qarn al-Awwal al-Hijrī*. Cairo: al-Maṭba'at al-'Āliyah.

Reproduced with permission of copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.