

RECONSIDER THE 'ADĀLAH OF MU'ĀWIYAH: Reviewing His Ḥadth Narrations In His Political Decisions

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Abstract: This paper is motivated by three ongoing discourses; 1) the discourse about re-evaluating the principle that all *al-ṣaḥābah 'udūl* in narrating hadiths based on their subjectivity when transmitting hadiths; 2) the influence of politics in hadith narration; and 3) the presence of negative narratives about Mu'āwiyah. This research fills a gap in the study of the *al-ṣaḥābah* subjectivity by exploring the correlation between Mu'āwiyah's political power and his hadith narration. So, this research aims to reconsider the 'adālah of Mu'āwiyah ibn Abī Sufyān. This needs to be done to provide recommendations for action, if the discourse on reconsidering the 'adālah of *al-ṣaḥābah* is undertaken. This paper is a qualitative research. The method used in this study is descriptive-analytical. The main object of the research is the hadiths narrated by Mu'āwiyah, which are traced using the book *Tuhfat al-Ashrāf bi Ma'rifat al-Aṭrāf* to identify the hadiths of Mu'āwiyah that are found in *ṣaḥīhayn*. These hadith are analyzed in the context of Mu'āwiyah political decisions. In conclusion, the data reveals that Mu'āwiyah narrated hadiths on various themes including theology, worship, virtues, Sufism, law, and politics. Political-themed hadiths occupy the lowest percentage. The two of fifteen hadiths are relevant to his political policies. Mu'āwiyah's interests are mainly reflected in the interpretation of hadiths, where he transmitted the hadiths along with interpretations that benefited him. Furthermore, no hadiths contradict his political policies. The small percentage of politicization indicates that Mu'āwiyah minimally used hadiths as a political tool. Therefore, this research supports the principle of *al-ṣaḥābah kulluhum 'udūl fī al-riwāyah* and the study of the characteristics of *al-ṣaḥābah* is sufficient to be applied only in *fahm al-ḥadīth*.

Keywords: 'Adālah; Hadith Narrations; Mu'āwiyah; Politics; *al-Ṣaḥābah*.

Introduction

The discussion is motivated by several discourses: 1) the discourse on re-evaluating the 'adālah of the *ṣaḥābah* based on their subjectivity in narrating hadiths, 2) the influence of politics in hadith narration, and 3) the negative narratives about Mu'āwiyah according to some historians.

Regarding the first discourse, various studies have emerged over the past few decades. The earliest and most influential was Fuad Jabali's research on the geographical and political distribution of the *Ṣaḥābah*. He concluded that the hadith narration by the *Ṣaḥābah* was influenced by their political affiliations (Jabali, 2003). Secondly,

Muhammad Zain's research that explored the relationship between the professions of the *ṣaḥābah* and their hadith narration. He concluded that there are indications and correlations about both of that. Although in general, hadith narration was more driven by the spirit of da'wah (Zain, 2007). Thirdly, Zunly Nadia's research that study the subjectivity of female *ṣaḥābah* in narrating hadiths (Nadia, 2019). And fourthly, Muhammad Mundzir's research that discussed the subjectivity of 'Ā'ishah and Abū Hurayrah in narrating hadiths (Mundzir, 2023). All four studies agreed on the need to re-evaluate the 'adālah of the *ṣaḥābah*.

Regarding the second discourse, some studies highlight the impact of politics on hadith narration.

Muhammad Fauzi pointed out that politics led to distortions in hadith narration. There are some hadiths was being created to strengthen certain positions (Fauzi, 2023). Ignaz Goldziher mentioned that political motives were behind the emergence of hadiths praising *Masjid al-Aqṣā* (al-A'zamī, 1994; Supian, 2016, p. 31). Fazlur Rahman noted that the concept of *al-jamā'ah* in hadiths was driven by political needs (Rahman, 1983, p. 90).

Regarding the third discourse, the negative narratives about Mu'āwiyah. Rasul Ja'fariyah, a professor in the history department at the University of Tehran, stated that Mu'āwiyah converted to Islam out of self-interest and once pressured hadith narrators to spread hadiths that praised him (Ja'fariyan, 2010, vol. 2, p. 294). Badri Yatim, an Indonesian historian, mentioned that Mu'āwiyah's caliphate was obtained through violence, diplomacy, and deceit (Yatim, 1993, p. 42). Mu'āwiyah also ordered the execution of Ḥujr ibn 'Adī and 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Khālid, a decision that was met with disapproval, including from 'Ā'ishah (al-Ṣallābī, 2012, p. 396–397).

According to al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *'adālah* means obeying Allah's commands, avoiding His prohibitions, refraining from immoral acts, upholding rights and responsibilities in actions and interactions, and guarding one's speech from things that could harm one's faith (al-Baghdādī, 1971, p. 46). Based on this definition, Mu'āwiyah's credibility as a hadith narrator maybe questionable. His history of deceit in gaining power casts a shadow over his integrity in narrating hadiths.

So, the overlap of these discourses raises a critical question. "It is Mu'āwiyah's hadiths truly free from his interests as a ruler?" The issue is "if Mu'āwiyah is considered an unjust or unreliable narrator, this could discredit all the hadiths he transmitted." If the discourse on re-evaluating the *'adālah* of the *ṣaḥābah* is applied here, would it be fair to giving *ḍa'īf* or even reject all of his narrations?

The principle that *ṣaḥābah* are *'udūl* in narrating hadith only impacts the hadiths that have already been codified in the hadith collections today. Therefore, this study aims to offer a different perspective. Instead of merely debating whether a

ṣaḥābah is truly *'ādil* or not in theory, it is more appropriate to analyze in detail the hadiths narrated by a particular *ṣaḥābah*.

For this reason, the hadiths narrated by Mu'āwiyah require more detailed analysis, taking into account his subjectivity as a ruler. This study seeks to answer the question, "How relevant is Mu'āwiyah's power to his hadith narration?" This main question will be broken down into two sub-questions: 1) What are the themes of the hadiths narrated by Mu'āwiyah? Are they mostly related to politics or not? and 2) Do Mu'āwiyah's hadiths have any significance concerning the political policies he implemented during his time as Governor and Caliph?

Materials and Methods

Study area

To answer the question, this paper use a qualitative approach through library research. This paper is part of the study on the subjectivity of companions in narrating hadith. The difference is that, in this paper, the subjectivity examined is related to political interests.

Procedures

Takhrīj al-Ḥadīth

The first procedure in this paper is to collect *Mu'āwiyah's* hadiths narrations in *ṣaḥīḥayn*. So, *takhrīj al-ḥadīth* with the method of the first narrator is used. Mu'āwiyah hadiths are traced by using *Tuḥfat al-Ashrāf bi Ma'rifat al-Aṭrāf*.

Identify its Themes

After collect the Mu'āwiyah's hadith narrations, the following analysis is categorize the hadiths narrated by Mu'āwiyah based on their themes. The themes are divided into six categories: Worship, Virtue (*Faḍillah*), Creed (*'Aqīdah*), Sufism (*Taṣawuf*), Law, and Politics. These themes were selected based on the following criteria; 1) Worship is Hadiths that related to the practice of the pillars of Islam. 2) *Faḍillah* hadiths about the merits of the Prophet or *ṣaḥābah*. 3) *'Aqīdah*, hadiths related to the pillars of faith, future events, and the oneness of Allah. 4) *Taṣawuf*, hadiths concerning ethics,

asceticism, and purity of heart. 5) Law, hadiths related to rules, commands, prohibitions, and punishments. And 6) Politics, hadiths related to choosing a leader.

These classifications are primarily derived from Harun Nasution’s concept in *Islam Ditinjau dalam Berbagai Aspek*, which includes aspects of theology, worship, politics, law, and Sufism. (Nasution, 1990) The themes of history and institutions were excluded due to their lesser relevance to hadith themes. Additionally, the theme of *faḍillah* was included, following the classification used by hadith scholars, which encompasses the virtues of the Prophet and the *ṣaḥābah*.

Identify which hadiths that relevant to Mu‘āwiyah’s political decisions

Mu‘āwiyah’s political decisions that are written in history books are used to analysis which hadith that has political interest with in. Additionally, Muawiyah's narrated hadith is also analyzed by comparing its matn with those narrated by other *al-ṣaḥābah* who reported hadiths with similar meanings. Following that, the individuals to whom Muawiyah narrated the hadith are examined to estimate when and under what circumstances Muawiyah conveyed it. Finally, all analyses are combined to form a conclusion

Data analysis

The method of analysis that used is descriptive-analytical, an analytical method to describe something more detailed. This paper also categorized as content analysis (matn), because its focused to explain matn hadith narrated by Mu‘āwiyah.

Results and Discussion

THE RELEVANCE OF MU‘ĀWIYAH’S AS A RULER TO HIS HADITH NARRATIONS

This study explores the relationship between Mu‘āwiyah’s political power and his hadith narration. To analyze this, the research will trace *takhrīj* Mu‘āwiyah’s hadiths in various hadith collections, group similar hadiths, and categorize

them by theme. Secondly, to assess the significance of his political policies and hadith narration.

Mu‘āwiyah ibn Abī Sufyān’s Hadith Narrations

Figures and tables of maximum of three pages should be clearly presented. Number tables consecutively in accordance with their appearance in the text. Title of a picture is written down below the picture, while title of a table is written above the table. Colored figures can only be accepted if the information in the manuscript can lose without those images; chart is preferred to use black and white images. Author could consign any picture or photo for the front cover, although it does not print in the manuscript. All images property of others should be mentioned source. There is no appendix, all data or data analysis are incorporated into Results and Discussions. For broad data, it can be displayed on the website as a supplement (Figure 2; Table 1).

To present the hadiths narrated by Mu‘āwiyah ibn Abī Sufyān, a *takhrīj* of the hadiths is necessary. The method used here is based on the first narrators found in *Tuḥfat al-Ashrāf bi Ma‘rifat al-Aṭrāf*, which is in the *ṣaḥīḥayn*:

Table 1. Number of Hadiths Narrated by Mu‘āwiyah in *ṣaḥīḥayn*

No	Hadith Collection	Number of Hadiths
1.	<i>Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī</i>	18
2.	<i>Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim</i>	19
Total		37

Out of the thirty seven hadiths, some hadiths are similar or identical content. It’s important to separate hadiths with the same meaning before categorizing them by theme. The reason is that two similar narrations do not necessarily indicate that Mu‘āwiyah narrated different hadiths.

The Percentage of Themes in Mu‘āwiyah’s Hadiths

The following analysis categorizes the hadiths narrated by Mu‘āwiyah based on their themes. The themes are divided into six categories: Worship, Virtue (*Faḍillah*), Creed (*‘Aqīdah*), Sufism (*Taṣawuf*), Law, and Politics. These themes were selected based on the following criteria; 1) Worship is Hadiths that related to the practice of the pillars of Islam. 2) *Faḍillah* hadiths about the merits of the

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	someone that <i>dhikr</i> in the mosque		
10	Mu’āwiyah cutting the Prophet’s hair	Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī Number 1730 Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim Number 1246a & b	Worship
11	Witr prayer is 1 <i>raka’ah</i>	Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī Number 3764	Worship
12	One ummah standing firm on Allah’s religion	Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī Number 3641, 7460, 612 Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim Number 1037c	Creed
13	Virtue of <i>Muadhīn</i>	Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim Number 387	Worship
14	The leader must be from the Quraysh tribe	Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī Number 3500 & 7139	Politics
15	Prohibition of begging forcefully	Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim Number 1038	Sufism

Table 2. The Classification of Mu’āwiyah’s Hadith based on its themes

No	The Topic of Hadith	Place of Hadith	Theme
1	Answering the Adhān	Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī Number 914	Worship
2	The Prophet predicting the lifespan of his <i>ummah</i>	Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim Number 2352a & b	Virtue
3	Prohibition of performing Sunnah prayers after <i>ʿAshr</i>	Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī Number 587 & 3766	Worship
4	Prohibition of using a topknot hairsytle	Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī Number 3468, 5932, & 3488 Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim Number 2127a, b, c, & d	Law
5	Fasting on <i>Ashurā</i>	Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī Number 2003 Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim Number 1129a, b, & c	Worship
6	The person whom Allah wills good for	Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī Number 71, 7312, & 3116 Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim Number 1037a & b	Sufism
7	Virtue of Ka’b al-Ahbār	Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī Number 7361	Virtue
8	Prohibition of Sunnah prayers after Jumū’ah without a pause	Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim Number 883a & b	Law
9	Mu’āwiyah’s correction to	Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim Number 2701	Sufism

Below is the classification result:

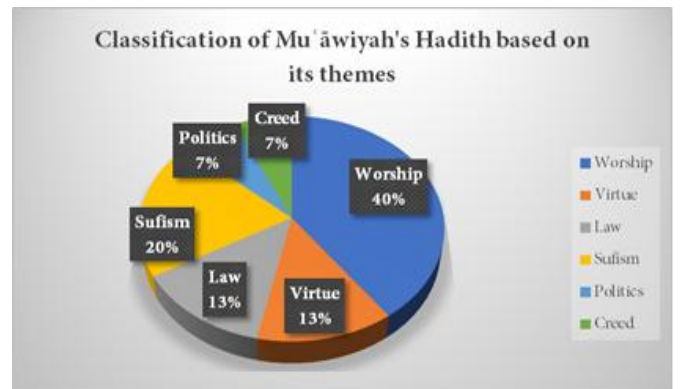


Figure 1. Percentage of Themes in Mu’āwiyah Hadiths in *Ṣaḥīḥayn*

The data shows that the percentage of hadiths directly related to creed and politics is the smallest among all topics. The most dominant themes are Worship theme, followed by Sufism, Virtue, and Law. Mu’āwiyah’s political hadiths is about leadership within the Quraysh tribe. Referring to Lukman Arake’s research (Arake, 2020), which includes forty political and governance-related hadith topics, Mu’āwiyah’s hadiths account for only about three percent of the political hadiths. This indicates a minimal use of hadith in Mu’āwiyah’s political activities.

The Significance of Mu’āwiyah’s Hadith Narration in Relation to His Political Policies

After analyzing the distribution of themes, it is important to discuss the politicization of hadiths by Mu‘āwiyah. The following hadiths narrated by Mu‘āwiyah contain elements of politicization. Two hadiths are considered to support Mu‘āwiyah’s political policies, The Hadith of One Ummah Standing Firm in the Religion of Allah and The Hadith on Leadership from the Quraysh Tribe.

The Hadith of One Ummah Standing Firm in the Religion of Allah (al-Bukhārī, 2005, vol. 3, p. 1331)

حَدَّثَنَا الْحُمَيْدِيُّ، حَدَّثَنَا الْوَلِيدُ، قَالَ حَدَّثَنِي ابْنُ جَابِرٍ، قَالَ حَدَّثَنِي عُمَيْرُ بْنُ هَانِيٍّ، أَنَّهُ سَمِعَ مُعَاوِيَةَ، يَقُولُ سَمِعْتُ النَّبِيَّ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ يَقُولُ لَا يَزَالُ مِنْ أُمَّتِي أُمَّةٌ قَائِمَةٌ بِأَمْرِ اللَّهِ، لَا يَضُرُّهُمْ مَنْ خَدَعَهُمْ وَلَا مَنْ خَالَفَهُمْ حَتَّى يَأْتِيَهُمْ أَمْرُ اللَّهِ وَهُمْ عَلَى ذَلِكَ قَالَ عُمَيْرٌ فَقَالَ مَالِكُ بْنُ يُخَامِرٍ قَالَ مُعَاذٌ وَهُمْ بِالسَّامِ. فَقَالَ مُعَاوِيَةُ هَذَا مَالِكٌ يَزْعُمُ أَنَّهُ سَمِعَ مُعَاذًا يَقُولُ وَهُمْ بِالسَّامِ

“Narrated by al-Ḥumaydī from al-Walīd, who heard from Ibn Jābir, who heard from ‘Umayr ibn Hānī’ that he heard Mu‘āwiyah say: “I heard the Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him) say: There will always be a group from my Ummah standing firm in the cause of Allah; they will not be harmed by those who oppose them until the command of Allah comes.” ‘Umayr said Mālik ibn Yūkhāmīr reported Mu‘ādz as saying, “They are in Syam.” Mu‘āwiyah then confirmed this, saying, “This is Mālik claiming that he heard from Mu‘ādz that the group is in Syam”

There are several reasons for discussing this hadith. First, Al-Ṣallabī notes that Mu‘āwiyah used this hadith to argue for the virtue of the people in Syam and the hadith motivated some Muslims to move to Syam (al-Ṣallabī, 2012, p. 345). So, its strengthening Mu‘āwiyah’s political base. Secondly, Syam was a key pillar of Mu‘āwiyah’s power, and he used such hadith to enhance loyalty among his supporters. And thirdly, after the Battle of Siffin, Mu‘āwiyah needed theological legitimacy for the people of Syam. These reasons are explained in the following details.

Before that, this hadith is considered authentic, recorded in *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* and *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, and listed by Al-Suyūṭī as mutawatir (al-Suyūṭī, 1999, p. 216). It appears in *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* (Hadith number 612 and 7460), *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim* (Hadith

number 1037), *Sunan ibn Mājjah* (Hadith number 9), and *Musnad Aḥmad* (Hadith numbers 16849, 16881, 16912, 16931, and 16932). Additional versions are found in *Qatf al-Azhār* by al-Suyūṭī and using Maktabah Shamilah with the keyword لا تزال.

Table 3. *Shawāhid* of the Hadith "One Ummah Standing Firm in the Religion of Allah"

No	Matn Hadith	Narrator of <i>Ṣaḥābah</i>
1.	<i>Musnad Abū Dāwūd al-Ṭayālīsī</i> (133-204 H) لا تَزَالُ طَائِفَةٌ مِنْ أُمَّتِي يُقَاتِلُونَ عَلَى الْحَقِّ حَتَّى يَأْتِيَ أَمْرُ اللَّهِ، وَإِنِّي أُرَاقِدُهُمْ بِأَهْلِ السَّامِ (al-Ṭayālīsī, 1999, vol. 2, p. 68)	Zayd ibn al-Arqām
2.	<i>Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim kitāb al-Jihād</i> (204-261 H) لا تَزَالُ طَائِفَةٌ مِنْ أُمَّتِي طَاهِرِينَ عَلَى الْحَقِّ. لَا يَضُرُّهُمْ مَنْ خَدَعَهُمْ. حَتَّى يَأْتِيَ أَمْرُ اللَّهِ وَهُمْ كَذَلِكَ وَلَيْسَ فِي حَدِيثٍ قَبِيحَةٍ وَهِيَ كَذَلِكَ (al-Naysāburī, 1334, vol. 6, p. 52–53)	Thawbān
3.	لَنْ يَزَالَ قَوْمٌ مِنْ أُمَّتِي طَاهِرِينَ عَلَى النَّاسِ، حَتَّى يَأْتِيَهُمْ أَمْرُ اللَّهِ، وَهُمْ طَاهِرُونَ (al-Naysāburī, 1334, vol. 6, p. 53)	Al-Mughīrah ibn Shu‘bah
4.	لَنْ يَبْرَحَ هَذَا الدِّينَ قَائِمًا، يُقَاتِلُ عَلَيْهِ عَصَابَةٌ مِنَ الْمُسْلِمِينَ، حَتَّى تَقُومَ السَّاعَةُ (al-Naysāburī, 1334, vol. 6, p. 53)	Jābir ibn Samurah
5.	لا يَزَالُ أَهْلُ الْعَرَبِ طَاهِرِينَ عَلَى الْحَقِّ حَتَّى تَقُومَ السَّاعَةُ (al-Naysāburī, 1334, vol. 6, p. 54)	Sa‘d ibn Abī Waqqāṣ
6.	<i>Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim kitāb al-Īmān</i> لَا تَزَالُ طَائِفَةٌ مِنْ أُمَّتِي يُقَاتِلُونَ عَلَى الْحَقِّ طَاهِرِينَ إِلَى يَوْمِ الْقِيَامَةِ. قَالَ، فَيَبْتَرُلُ عَيْسَى بْنِ مَرِيَمَ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ فَيَقُولُ أَمِيرُهُمْ: تَعَالَ صَلِّ لَنَا. فَيَقُولُ: لَا. إِنَّ بَعْضَكُمْ عَلَى بَعْضٍ أَمْرَاءُ. تَكْرِمَةَ اللَّهِ هَذِهِ الْأُمَّةُ (al-Naysāburī, 1334, vol. 1, p. 95)	Jābir ibn ‘Abdillāh

This hadith is also narrated by other *ṣaḥābah*, including al-Mughīrah ibn Shu‘bah, Jābir ibn Samurah, Mu‘ādh ibn Jabal, Jābir ibn ‘Abdillāh, Zayd ibn Arqām, Abū Umāmah, ‘Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, Abū Hurayrah, Marrah al-Bahrī, Sharjīl ibn al-Samṭ, and Thawbān Mawlā Rasūlillah (al-Suyūṭī, 1999, p. 216–217). The number of *ṣaḥābah* and the presence of senior *ṣaḥābah*, such as ‘Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, who also narrated this hadith, indicate that Mu‘āwiyah was not the first to propagate this hadith.

The interest of this hadith is the additional explanation provided by Mu‘āwiyah in his narration. He interpreted *ṭā’ifah* described in the hadith as referring specifically to the people of Syam. In his narration, Mu‘āwiyah is quoted as saying, “This is Malik who claims that he heard

Mu'adh say they are the people of Syam." Mu'awiyah had a significant interest in spreading this hadith and its interpretation. This can be observed from the list of tābi'īn who narrated this hadith:

Table 4. Narrators of the Hadith "lā yazālu qā'imah" from Mu'awiyah

No	Name of Narrators	Year of Birth/Death	Place of Residence
1	'Umayr ibn Hānī	d. 127 H	Damascus
2	'Isā ibn Ṭalḥah	d. 100 H	Madinah
3	Yazīd ibn al-Aṣamm	d. 101 H	Kufah
4	'Abdullah ibn 'Āmir al-Yaḥṣabī	d. 118 H	Damascus
5	Ḥumayd ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Awf	d. 95 H	Madinah
6	'Amr ibn al-'Aṣ	45 BH - 43 H	Syam, Egypt

In the narrations of 'Amr ibn al-'Aṣ and 'Umayr ibn Hānī', it is mentioned that Mu'awiyah was either delivering a sermon or a speech in public when he cited this Hadith (al-Naysāburī, 1334, vol. 6, p. 53). The varied locations and time gaps between the narrators suggest that they likely did not hear this Hadith at the same time, indicating that Mu'awiyah repeatedly narrated this Hadith. This reflects Mu'awiyah's significant emphasis on this Hadith.

Different scholars of Hadith have different interpretations from Mu'awiyah's. Al-Baghdādī (d. 463 H) explained that the Hadith refers to *Muḥaddithūn* who preserve and defend the teachings of the Prophet. According to him, without *Muḥaddithūn*, there would be no Sunnah among various groups like *Mu'tazilah*, *Rāfiḍah*, *Jahmiyyah*, *Murjī'ah*, and *Ahl al-Ra'y* (al-Baghdādī, 1971, p. 9). Al-Baghdādī also cites other scholars with similar views, like ibn al-Mubārak and al-Bukhārī (al-Baghdādī, 1971, p. 26–27). Its interesting because later interpretations of this Hadith leaned towards different meanings.

Mu'awiyah's understanding that the "ṭā'ifah min ummatī" refers to the people of Syam was not solely his own. It is also supported by other *ṣaḥābah*. This understanding is reinforced by another Hadith:

"Ahl al-Gharb (the people of the West) will always be clear in truth until the Hour comes." (al-Naysāburī, 1334, vol. 6, p. 54)

In Mūsā Shāhin's commentary on *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, various opinions about the meaning of *Ahl al-Gharb* are explained. First, 'Alī ibn al-Madīnī thought *Ahl al-Gharb* referred to Arabs, with "gharb" meaning a large container they often used. Second, it was thought to refer to the western part of the earth, specifically the region west of Hijaz, such as Syam. Ahmad ibn Ḥanbal thought they were in *Bayt al-Maqdis*, and al-Ṭabarānī mentioned they were in Damascus and surrounding areas. Third, *Ahl al-Gharb* could mean those strong in jihad (Lāshīn, 2002, vol. 7, p. 594).

There is an interesting story about 'Ammār ibn Yāsir that relates to the transmission of the understanding of this hadith by Mu'awiyah. This story originates from the Prophet's statement to 'Ammār ibn Yāsir (al-Naysāburī, 1334, vol. 8, p. 186):

وَحَدَّثَنِي مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ عَمْرٍو بْنِ جَبَلَةَ حَدَّثَنَا مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ جَعْفَرٍ (ح) وَحَدَّثَنَا عُقْبَةُ بْنُ مُكْرَمٍ الْعَمِيُّ وَأَبُو بَكْرٍ بْنُ نَافِعٍ قَالَ قَالَ عُقْبَةُ: حَدَّثَنَا وَقَالَ أَبُو بَكْرٍ أَخْبَرَنَا عَنْدَرٌ حَدَّثَنَا شُعْبَةُ قَالَ سَمِعْتُ خَالِدًا يُحَدِّثُ عَنْ سَعِيدِ بْنِ أَبِي الْحَسَنِ عَنْ أَبِيهِ عَنْ أُمِّ سَلَمَةَ أَنَّ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ قَالَ لِعِمَارٍ: تَقْتُلُكَ الْفَيْئَةُ الْبَاغِيَّةُ

In this hadith, the Prophet tells to 'Ammār, "The faction that will kill you is the rebellious one." Another narration in the *Muṣannaf 'Abd al-Razzāq* describes Mu'awiyah's commentary on this hadith as follows (al-Ṣan'ānī, n.d., vol. 10, p. 279):

أَخْبَرَنَا عَبْدُ الرَّزَّاقِ، عَنْ مَعْمَرٍ، عَنِ ابْنِ طَلَّاسٍ، عَنْ أَبِي بَكْرٍ بْنِ مُحَمَّدِ بْنِ عَمْرٍو بْنِ حَزْمٍ، عَنْ أَبِيهِ أَخْبَرَهُ قَالَ: لَمَّا قُتِلَ عَمَّارُ بْنُ يَاسِرٍ دَخَلَ عَمْرٍو بْنُ حَزْمٍ عَلَى عَمْرٍو بْنِ الْعَاصِي، فَقَالَ: قُتِلَ عَمَّارٌ، وَقَدْ سَمِعْتُ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ - صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ - يَقُولُ: "تَقْتُلُهُ الْفَيْئَةُ الْبَاغِيَّةُ"، فَقَامَ عَمْرٌو وَيُرْجِعُ فَرَعًا حَتَّى دَخَلَ عَلَى مُعَاوِيَةَ، فَقَالَ لَهُ مُعَاوِيَةُ: مَا شَأْنُكَ؟ فَقَالَ: قُتِلَ عَمَّارٌ! فَقَالَ لَهُ مُعَاوِيَةُ: قُتِلَ عَمَّارٌ، فَمَاذَا؟! قَالَ عَمْرٌو: سَمِعْتُ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ - صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ - يَقُولُ: "تَقْتُلُهُ الْفَيْئَةُ الْبَاغِيَّةُ"، فَقَالَ لَهُ مُعَاوِيَةُ: دُحِضَتْ فِي بَوْلِكَ، فَأَنْزَلْتُ قَتْلَنَا؟! إِنَّمَا قَتَلَهُ عَلِيٌّ وَأَصْحَابُهُ، جَاءُوا بِهِ حَتَّى أَلْفُوهُ تَحْتَ رِمَاحِنَا، أَوْ قَالَ * بَيْنَ سَيْفُونَا

According to that hadith, when 'Ammār ibn Yāsir was killed, 'Amr ibn Ḥazm visited 'Amr ibn al-'Āṣ and mentioned that he had heard the Prophet say that 'Ammār would be killed by the rebellious faction. 'Amr ibn al-'Āṣ was disturbed and went to Mu'awiyah, who responded dismissively, saying that 'Ammār was killed by

those who brought him to the battlefield, not by their own hands. This hadith about 'Ammār's death is considered mutawatir by Ibn 'Abd al-Barr (al-Barr, n.d., vol. 3, p. 1140) and al-Dhahabī (al-Dhahabī, 1402, vol. 1 p. 421), So its validity is unquestionable. The issue lies only in its interpretation.

'Ammār, who had always participated in battles with the Prophet and had never been killed before. But, he was killed in the Battle of Şifīn. The hadith influenced the battle significantly, as some *ṣaḥābah* used 'Ammār's death to decide which side to support. For instance, Khuzaymah remained neutral until 'Ammār's death, after which he supported 'Alī (al-Şallābī, 2012, p. 200).

'Ammār's death was detrimental to Mu'āwiyah's faction. Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Sulamī visited the Syam camp and saw Mu'āwiyah, 'Amr ibn al-'Āṣ, 'Abdullah ibn 'Amr, and Abū al-A'war al-Sulamī discussing 'Ammār's death. 'Abdullah ibn 'Amr expressed that they had killed the man whom the Prophet had prophesied would be killed by the rebellious faction. Mu'āwiyah responded dismissively, suggesting that they did not kill him directly but rather those who brought him to the battlefield did (al-Şallābī, 2012, p. 201).

'Ammār's death had a negative impact even on 'Amr ibn al-'Āṣ, who wished he had died twenty years earlier. This indicates that even some of Mu'āwiyah's staunch supporters felt that his group was indeed the rebellious faction (al-Şallābī, 2012, p. 203). Mu'āwiyah's interpretation of the hadith was likely driven by political motivations to avoid the implications of being labeled as the rebellious faction. Because if he labeled as rebellious faction, his reputation must be falling to the lowest depths.

Later, *muḥaddithūn* criticized Mu'āwiyah's interpretation. Ibn Ḥajar (al-'Asqalānī, n.d., vol. 1, p. 646) and Ibn Kathīr (al-Dimashqī, 1408, vol. 6, p. 220) argued that the hadith indicated that 'Alī's side was the just one, and Mu'āwiyah's side was rebellious. Al-Qurṭubī pointed out that 'Alī refuted Mu'āwiyah's understanding by comparing it to accusing the Prophet of being a killer for leading his followers into battle (al-Qurṭubī, n.d., vol. 2, p. 223). Ibn Kathīr also criticized Mu'āwiyah's view as being far-fetched, arguing that such an

interpretation would imply that commanders who lead their armies into battle are responsible for their deaths (al-Dimashqī, 1408, vol. 6, p. 221).

Mu'āwiyah's actions in interpreting the hadith regarding the death of 'Ammār ibn Yāsir is relevant to one part of Gramsci's theory of hegemony. Gramsci states that the supremacy of a social group or class manifests itself in two different ways: domination/coercion, and intellectual and moral leadership. The second type of supremacy constitutes hegemony. Social control, in other words, takes two basic forms: besides influencing behavior and choice externally, through rewards and punishments, it also affects them internally, by molding personal convictions into a replica of prevailing norms (Femia, 1987, p. 24). In this case, Mu'āwiyah manipulated the interpretation of the hadith to avoid being labeled as a "rebel" and to maintain his political legitimacy. By asserting that 'Ammār was killed by those who brought him to the battlefield rather than by his own forces, he controlled the narrative and fostered consensus among his followers. This illustrates his efforts to maintain power through religious discourse control, akin to Gramsci's concept of ideological hegemony that creates compliance without direct coercion. Mu'āwiyah's also propagating the hadith about the virtues of the people of Syam as *zāhirīna 'ala al-ḥaqq*. After the Battle of Şifīn, where Syam and Mu'āwiyah's supporters were labeled as a rebellious group, Mu'āwiyah needed a way to reverse that narrative and legitimize his position. By disseminating this hadith, he constructed an ideological consensus that the people of Syam, his loyal supporters, were theologically correct. In Gramsci's terms, this functioned as *consent*, or approval formed culturally, rather than mere military domination. This shifted public opinion and solidified his authority, allowing his reputation and political legitimacy to endure without constantly relying on coercive power.

In conclusion, the aftermath of 'Ammār ibn Yāsir's death had a broader negative impact on Mu'āwiyah and his supporters. Consequently, Mu'āwiyah had a vested interest in presenting the hadith in a way that would absolve his side and uphold his reputation. This led to a selective

dissemination of the hadith to suit his needs, avoiding any hadith that would undermine his position.

Hadith about Leadership from the Quraysh Tribe

حَدَّثَنَا أَبُو الْيَمَانِ، أَخْبَرَنَا شُعَيْبٌ، عَنِ الزُّهْرِيِّ، قَالَ كَانَ مُحَمَّدٌ ابْنُ جُبَيْرِ بْنِ مُطْعِمٍ يُحَدِّثُ أَنَّهُ بَلَغَ مُعَاوِيَةَ وَهُوَ عِنْدَهُ فِي وَفْدٍ مِنْ قُرَيْشٍ أَنَّ عَبْدَ اللَّهِ بْنَ عَمْرٍو ابْنَ الْعَاصِ يُحَدِّثُ أَنَّهُ سَبَّكَوْنُ مَلِكٌ مِنْ قَحْطَانَ، فَغَضِبَ مُعَاوِيَةُ، فَقَامَ فَأَثْنَى عَلَى اللَّهِ بِمَا هُوَ أَهْلُهُ، ثُمَّ قَالَ أَمَا بَعْدُ فَإِنَّهُ بَلَغَنِي أَنَّ رَجُلًا مِنْكُمْ يَتَحَدَّثُونَ أَحَادِيثَ لَيْسَتْ فِي كِتَابِ اللَّهِ، وَلَا تُؤْتَى عَنْ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ، فَأُولَئِكَ جُهَالِكُمْ، فَإِيَّاكُمْ وَالْأَمَانَةَ الَّتِي تُضِلُّ أَهْلَهَا، فَإِنِّي سَمِعْتُ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ يَقُولُ إِنَّ هَذَا الْأَمْرَ فِي قُرَيْشٍ، لَا يُعَادِيهِمْ أَحَدٌ إِلَّا كَبَّهَ اللَّهُ عَلَى وَجْهِهِ، مَا أَقَامُوا الدِّينَ

"Abū al-Yamān narrated to us, and Syu'aib reported from al-Zuhri, who said that Muhammad ibn Jubair ibn Muṭ'im once told him that news had reached Mu'āwiyah while he was dealing with some Quraysh people, that 'Abdullah ibn 'Amr ibn al-'Ash had reported that a king from the Qattān tribe (in Yemen) would come. Mu'āwiyah then became angry, stood up, praised Allah Ta'āla and all the glorification that is due only to Him, and then addressed the assembly, saying: 'O honored assembly, indeed, I have received reports from some of you concerning matters that are not found in the Book of Allah nor are they reported from the words of the Prophet. They are the ignorant among you. Therefore, you must beware of delusions that mislead their followers. Indeed, I have heard the Prophet say, "The leadership (caliphate/government) is with the Quraysh tribe, and no one opposes them except that Allah Ta'āla will turn his face to the ground as long as they (the Quraysh) uphold the religion".

This hadith is relevant to Mu'āwiyah's policy of appointing his son as ruler and prohibiting other tribes from leadership. It is considered authentic, reported by al-Bukhārī and included in the list of mutawatir hadiths by al-Suyūṭī (al-Suyūṭī, 1999, p. 428–429). Other *ṣaḥābah* such as Abū Barzah, Anas ibn Mālik, and 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib also reported it. According to Hari Putra's research (2018), it was

also reported by ibn 'Umar and Abū Bakr (Putra, 2018, p. 44–55).

The following are some texts of the hadith about Quraysh leadership, based on Hari Putra's research and searches in Maktabah Shamilah using the words قریش, الأمر, and الأئمة:

Table 5 *shawāhid* of the Hadith on Quraysh Leadership

No	Matn Hadith	Narrator of the <i>ṣaḥābah</i>
1.	Musnad Abū Dāwud al-Ṭayālisī (133-204 H) لا يزال هذا الأمر في قُرَيْشٍ ما بقي في النَّاسِ رَجُلَانِ (al-Ṭayālisī, 1999, vol. 3, p. 462)	'Abdullah ibn 'Umar
2.	الأئمة من قُرَيْشٍ ما عملوا بِبِلَادِ (al-Ṭayālisī, 1999, vol. 2, p. 240)	Abū Barzah
3.	الأئمة من قُرَيْشٍ، إِذَا حَكَمُوا عَدَلُوا، وَإِذَا عَاهَدُوا وَفُوا، وَإِنِ اسْتَرْجَعُوا رَجَعُوا، فَمَنْ لَمْ يَفْعَلْ ذَلِكَ مِنْهُمْ فَعَلَيْهِ لَعْنَةُ اللَّهِ وَالْمَلَائِكَةِ وَالنَّاسِ أَجْمَعِينَ، لَا يُقْبَلُ مِنْهُمْ صَرْفٌ وَلَا عَدْلٌ (al-Ṭayālisī, 1999, vol. 3, p. 595)	Anas ibn Mālik
4.	Musnad Aḥmad No. 12308 (164-241 H) الأئمة من قُرَيْشٍ إِنَّ لَكُمْ عَلَيْهِمْ حَقًّا، وَلَكُمْ عَلَيْهِمْ حَقًّا بِمَا ذَكَرْتُ، مَا إِنِ اسْتَرْجَعُوا فَرَجَعُوا، وَإِنِ عَاهَدُوا وَفُوا، وَإِنِ حَكَمُوا عَدَلُوا، فَمَنْ لَمْ يَفْعَلْ ذَلِكَ مِنْهُمْ فَعَلَيْهِ لَعْنَةُ اللَّهِ وَالْمَلَائِكَةِ وَالنَّاسِ أَجْمَعِينَ (Ibn Ḥanbal, 2001, vol. 19, p. 318)	Anas ibn Mālik
5.	Musnad Aḥmad No. 19777 الأئمة من قُرَيْشٍ: إِذَا اسْتَرْجَعُوا رَجَعُوا، وَإِذَا عَاهَدُوا وَفُوا، وَإِذَا حَكَمُوا عَدَلُوا فَمَنْ لَمْ يَفْعَلْ ذَلِكَ مِنْهُمْ فَعَلَيْهِ لَعْنَةُ اللَّهِ وَالْمَلَائِكَةِ وَالنَّاسِ أَجْمَعِينَ (Ibn Ḥanbal, 2001, vol. 33, p. 21)	Abū Barzah
6.	Ṣaḥīh al-Bukhārī kitāb manāqib (194-256 H) لا يزال هذا الأمر في قُرَيْشٍ ما بقي منهم اثْنَانِ (al-Bukhārī, 2005, vol. 4, p. 197)	'Abdullah ibn 'Umar

From the ordering of the texts based on the century of the hadith collections, there is not much difference in the text across generations. This indicates that the citation by scholars in the 2nd and 3rd centuries was fairly accurate. The differences in text appear to be variations introduced by the *ṣaḥābah*. 'Abdullah ibn 'Umar used the phrase *lā yazālu hadha al-amr*, as all his narrations in three different books have this wording. Meanwhile, the reports from Abū Barzah and Anas ibn Mālik use the phrase *al-'aimmah min quraysh* (the leaders are from Quraysh). There is a slight anomaly in Abū Barzah's narration, which aligns with 'Abdullah ibn 'Umar's narration in 2nd-century books but is similar to Anas ibn Mālik's narration in later generations.

The Tabi'īn who transmitted this hadith from Mu'āwiyah was only Muhammad ibn Jubayr ibn Muṭ'im. He was from Madinah, from the Quraysh tribe, and died in 100 H (al-Mizzī, n.d., vol. 24, p. 573-575). From the hadith text itself, it can be confirmed that it was narrated during Mu'āwiyah's caliphate, most likely in the second decade of his leadership, considering the narrator's death in 100 H. This hadith was also previously mentioned by other *ṣaḥābah* when appointing a successor to the Prophet. After the Prophet's death, the *Ansār*, in a council at *Thaqīfah Banī Sa'īdah*, wanted Sa'd ibn 'Ubādah to be the next leader. Upon hearing this, 'Umar and Abū Bakr attended the council and stated that the caliphate was the right of the Quraysh tribe.

Therefore, Mu'āwiyah was not merely shaping public opinion to benefit himself through this hadith. In this case, Mu'āwiyah's role was more about preserving existing teachings. When the Prophet died, Mu'āwiyah was still young and had not yet had a significant influence, so he had not actively participated in government affairs. Thus, when Mu'āwiyah narrated this hadith, it could signify his attention to leadership matters, both from the Prophet and other *ṣaḥābah*. Mu'āwiyah's personal interest in this hadith is evident as he propagated it to validate his own leadership with the Hadith and theological arguments.

If Mu'āwiyah's action is relevant to one part of Max Weber's theory, traditional authority. According to Weber, traditional authority. The traditional authority system originates from belief systems in ancient time. An example is a leader who holds power due to family lineage or because their tribe has always been the group's leader. Charismatic leaders possibly gain their authority from their abilities, traits, or from the followers' belief that the leader indeed possesses such traits (Ritzer & Goodman, 2007, p. 38–39). In this case, Mu'āwiyah capitalized on the tradition that leadership belongs to the Quraysh, as supported by the Prophet's hadith, to maintain the status quo and reject leadership aspirations from other tribes, such as the *Qaḥṭān*. By emphasizing that leadership should remain with the Quraysh as long as they uphold the religion, Mu'āwiyah reinforced his

position through a traditional authority already recognized in Islamic society at that time.

If Mu'āwiyah's Hadith Narration are analyzed in context of Political Communication, which is divided into white and black campaign. Mu'āwiyah used both of these. Black campaign is a campaign that uses harmful persuasion, insinuations, or rumors spread about the target to candidates or the public, aiming to create perceptions that are considered unethical, particularly in terms of public policy (Riswandi, 2009, p. 30). White campaign refers to a campaign conducted transparently, honestly, and ethically, without using manipulative tactics or misleading information. Its purpose is to provide accurate and factual information to the public or voters, allowing them to make better decisions based on valid data. Therefore, Muawiyah's use of hadiths to support his political actions can be considered a white campaign. The reason is that he used data deemed valid by society, namely the hadiths. However, he engaged in a black campaign when spreading the interpretation of the hadith about 'Ammār ibn Yāsir, claiming that it was Ali's group, who killed Ammar, because they brought him to the battlefield.

Conclusions

The conclusion of this study is that the political power of Mu'āwiyah has only minimal relevance to his hadith narrations. Out of thirty seven hadiths narrated by Mu'āwiyah, found in *ṣaḥīḥayn*, there fifteen topics. These hadiths cover themes of creed, worship, sufism, virtues, law, and politics. Notably, hadiths on politics are the least common, with hadiths on worship being the most dominant. Mu'āwiyah's contribution to political hadiths is insignificant, indicating limited use of hadiths as a political tool.

Two of the fifteen hadith's topics are politically relevant to Mu'āwiyah's policies. His interest is reflected in the hadiths he selected and transmitted with understanding that can benefit him. No hadiths narrated by Mu'āwiyah contradict his political policies, suggesting he avoided narrating hadiths that could be detrimental to him. Only

about fourteen percent of the hadiths are politically relevant, while the rest pertain to worship, sufism, and law, unrelated to politics. This indicates that rejecting all hadiths from a *ṣaḥābah* due to perceived moral flaws is unfair. Therefore, this study supports the principle that *al-ṣaḥābah kulluhum 'udūl fi al-riwāyah*.

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